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**Why working-class parents inspire: Class culture and
socialization for mobility over three generations**

Serravallo, Vincent Santo, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1994

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WHY WORKING-CLASS PARENTS INSPIRE: CLASS CULTURE AND
SOCIALIZATION FOR MOBILITY OVER THREE GENERATIONS

by

Vincent Serravallo

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in
Sociology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New
York

1994

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

Why Working-Class Parents Inspire: Class Culture and Socialization for Mobility Over Three Generations

by

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Adviser: Professor Paul Montagna

This is a study of three generations of families who descend from an early 1900s rural, immigrant working-class community of brickyard workers. Based largely on oral histories and in-depth interviews, it seeks to understand why and how the first-generation parents, contrary to dominant explanations, inspired their children to attain better jobs and futures. It also examines why and how their two succeeding generations aspired as children and continued the hopeful inspiration as parents.

Parents' capacity to encourage their sons and daughters is traced to the interplay between the first generation's relations of production and community life. Less alienated objective features of brickyard labor and tightly integrated interfamily relations of survival and leisure in the community are suggested as heightening parents' expectations for their children's future. These expectations, along with other values, form the core of the early families' class culture. This class culture helped pattern an inspiration of hope across families in the community despite much

material and cultural disadvantage. While some elements of this class culture wane, main features endure in the later generations and this helps explain why they carry on the main qualities of their forbearers' mobility socialization.

This class-cultural perspective provides the historical context and attention to the process of mobility that are lacking in conventional approaches, such as the "Wisconsin model." And it broadens the more critical approaches, such as those of Willis and Macleod, by focusing on the more "settled" or "conformist" members of the working class.

Acknowledgments

My deepest gratitude goes to the following members of my family, for they were the inexhaustible experts on and members of the community studied herein: Uncle Louie Natale, raconteur, brickyard worker, and mentor, has been a major informant and inspiration for this project; my parents, Anna Natale Serravallo and Santo "Flash" Serravallo, were my family "chroniclers," arrangers, and guides in the field; Uncle Francis Moran and Aunt Louise Natale Moran, my "second set" of parents, were patient and giving authorities on East Kingston; and Uncle Frankie "Curly" Serravallo eagerly conducted countless Glasco family genealogies. There was nothing they would not do for me.

I also thank the following family and community members: Jerry and Muriel Ausanio, Henry and Teresa Obrayan, George "Nutsy" and Lillian Nagy, John "Rabbit" Tiano, Uncle Paul Natale Sr., Erma Sangaline, Charles Sasso, the late Stella Sasso, Gus Sasso, Tom Sasso, the late Charles "Topsy" Polcrastro, Anthony Rua, Peter Rua, Uncle James Natale, Professor Joseph Francello, Louis Francello, Thomas McNally, Terry Staples, Gladys Nickerson, Howie Whitaker, and Robert Lent.

Of course, none of this work would be possible without the generosity and sincerity of the people who participated in my interviews. Without exception, they were kind and thoughtful. I also thank the respondents to my mailed

survey.

My heartfelt thanks to my adviser, Paul Montagna, for his support from start to finish, and to my committee members Robert Alford and Dean Savage.

I am grateful to Professor Stephen Steinberg for volunteering to read my initial proposal and giving very stimulating comments. Professor Gerald Handel also receives my thanks for reading my first proposal and giving much encouragement. Professor William Kornblum is greatly appreciated for giving me the initial opportunity and support to pursue this work in his course on community and urban sociology.

Thank you to my friends and colleagues Steve Lang and Bill Sites for substantive comments and discussions. Thank you also to my cohorts in Robert Alford's invaluable Dissertation Design Workshop.

I also wish to express my gratitude to the Joseph Monticello Fellowship and the David Spitz Alumni Fellowship. Thanks also to Wayne Geist of Educational Resources at the CUNY Graduate Center for reproducing the photograph on page 127, and to Maria Morales-Harper of the Bureau of the Census.

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Chapter One

ASPIRATION, INSPIRATION AND CLASS CULTURE

Introduction and Overview

How do we understand the forces of social class at the family level over a period of several generations? Would the objective conditions of a working-class life impel the young to envision and seek a life better than that of their parents? Or, would these conditions instead limit the young's conceptions of what is possible to within their existing class context? What of the parents? Do they serve as a medium by which class forces exert themselves? Or, do they mediate the class forces and shape their children's capacities to envision their futures?

This area of inquiry will be applied to three generations of families, the first of which comprised an immigrant working-class community during the early 1900s. Settled in a small rural area in upstate New York, the first generation worked mainly in brickyards, the outdoor factories that made bricks. Their children and grandchildren as a whole gradually advanced to higher levels of schooling and jobs of higher prestige, and continue to live close to the community. On the whole, the first generation inspired hope in their children, and these descendants aspired for a better life.

These origin and outcome patterns and the degrees of

inspiration and aspiration made by parents and children provide an empirical base on which to explore the questions above regarding the relationship between social class, family and intergenerational mobility. In particular, how was it possible for working-class families living in a small rural area to develop and pass on to their children hope for advancement? Similarly, why did most of the descendants aspire to better jobs and futures?

These questions may be examined from two longstanding general perspectives. One perspective is status attainment, and it has dominated sociological research in this area. While it emerged in U.S. sociology in the 1950s, it is best identified with the relatively recent advancements made by Blau and Duncan (1967). They approach this issue by constructing models that predict the occupational and educational outcomes of the younger generation from parents' educational attainment and the pay and prestige attributes of their occupation. Class forces in this view are the influences of one's position on a continuum of material and cultural rewards. This perspective has demonstrated that education and occupation are two components of class that are associated with the child's future rank along the rewards scale. Blau and Duncan, however, do not formally specify or measure the effects of the intervening variables that translate socioeconomic standing into aspiration and outcome. Thus, how the parents attained their rank on the

continuum, and how they socialized their children about attaining ranks on the continuum (and the formation of the continuum itself) are not formally explored. This area of inquiry was pursued by Sewell and his associates (e.g., Sewell et al., 1969; Sewell and Shah, 1968). Their rigorous studies of Wisconsin high school students resulted in their "Wisconsin model," a refined status attainment model that seeks to explain the link between parents' class position and children's ambitions and outcomes by measuring the influence of background variables, such as parental and significant other socialization and children's intelligence. Regarding family socialization, it finds support for the capacity of parents to mediate their objective position by encouraging children to go to college. This is important because an assumption of this view is that higher education cancels the negative effects of class forces on families. Thus parents' encouragement of college is seen as an important social-psychological variable explaining children's aspirations and job outcomes. Consistent with status attainment, the Wisconsin model sees families as independent units holding a place, or moving from place to place, along the income and prestige continuums.

The second perspective, one that I will identify broadly as Marxist, views the family level as important for social class only in so far as it is linked to historically determined macro-level issues of class. That is, class

forces are understood not for how they shape job outcomes of individual family members, but for how they promote or limit class formation, class struggle or class consciousness--each of which affects in turn the very structures that shape them, namely production relations and the state. Class forces are seen not just as material and cultural rewards, but as historically created structures beyond the immediate influence of families. The Marxist perspective emphasizes families' capacity to act, but mainly in terms of class-conscious collective actions to improve living standards at the worksite and societal level, and ultimately to reorganize the social structure.¹ Aside from research on the role of the household division of labor in the daily reproduction of wage labor (e.g., Humphries, 1977), Marxists' accounts of family-level actions that may shape the young's future position in the occupational structure are overshadowed by research on institutionalized discrimination and labor market dynamics. As with status attainment, schooling is given much attention by this view,

¹ Benenson (1985), for example, discusses the facilitating role of family in working-class protest. On the other hand, Ollman (1980[1971]:247-248) contemplates that the family is responsible for creating a character structure in the children which causes a time lag between changing objective conditions and the subjective responses to them:

If Marx had studied the family more closely, he would surely have noticed that as a factory for producing character it is invariably a generation or more behind the times, producing people today who, tomorrow, will be able to deal with yesterday's problems.

but either as a component of the state that functions to attempt to reproduce rather than level the forces of class (Anyon, 1980; Bowles and Gintis, 1976), or as an institution in which working-class students invigorate and affirm their subculture (Macleod, 1987; Willis, 1977). Contrary to the Wisconsin model, the Marxist perspective sees no significant role played by the parents' encouragement of college as a means of fostering an improved life for the young.

The task of this dissertation is to understand the forces of social class at the family level by applying particular elements of the two main perspectives. I will study three generations of families with working-class origins to consider the capacities of parents to mediate their objective conditions and socialize their young for their future, as is done in the Wisconsin model. However, the families will be seen not as autonomous units located on a scale of reward distributions. This conception of family does not appear wide enough to include the sources of socialization patterns, or the variation from these patterns among families with similar job, income and education attributes. Thus, families will be viewed as groups with a historical context who share particular objective and subjective experiences in relationship to production, as is done by the Marxist perspective. These shared experiences of production relations include non-work affairs as well as the labor process. The non-work experiences include such

phenomena as interfamily relations, the formation of leisure organizations and the identification with place, or in short, community. With regard to the labor process, I will go beyond areas of income and prestige rank, which are emphasized in the status attainment approaches, and include the extent of worker control and satisfaction in work, which are rooted in the Marxist notion of alienated labor (Marx, 1964[1844]:106-119). Consistent with this view, the extent of worker autonomy and satisfaction will be inferred from an examination of the main objective features of the labor process, but not on an empirical examination of workers' views and attitudes of their work (Edwards et al., 1986). The point is that worker autonomy and satisfaction are issues of concern for Marxist-oriented research--such as class struggle and class consciousness--and I will attempt to extend their application by viewing them as comprising, as well, the social roots of parents' capacity to mediate their objective conditions of class and socialize their children for work and future. This is based on the assumption that workplace satisfaction and control affect family relations. While I will describe the destinations of the young, as does status attainment research, my focus will be on the processes of attaining the destinations. This provides some understanding of the extent to which the shared experiences and socialization capacities of the parents persist over time in the lives of the young.

Finally, for both perspectives, family socialization alone is insufficient to understand these matters. It has long been recognized that the interplay of socialization with the broader structure of social stratification must be examined. But research on this socialization-structure interplay, whether in the work of critical researchers, such as Macleod (1987), or the more conventional writers, such as Kerckhoff (1976), gives insufficient historical and cultural context of the parents as a group when socialization is examined. Widening the conception of family to include the historical contexts of the socialization agents and the actual intrafamily activities they perform will enhance our understanding of the socialization-structure relationship.

Mobility Socialization and Marxism

Although I expand conventional approaches to family socialization by incorporating Marxian views of production relations, my ultimate focus is family mobility socialization, or in other words, the way parents raise their children regarding work and future. Clearly, this presents a fundamental inconsistency with Marxism, for its concepts were not designed to directly address the question of the role parents play in shaping their children's ambitions and attainments in the class structure. Thus the inquiry of this study risks falling in the category of research that Poulantzas (1978:33) saw as the "stupidity of

the bourgeois problematic of social mobility" that focuses on the agents of the class structure instead of the places the structure creates. This assumes the origins and persistence of the class structure and the system of class power and inequality it supports.² Yet there are those who are sympathetic with Marxism and accept Poulantzas' view of the primacy of class structure and class consciousness but who nevertheless believe social mobility issues should be brought into the ambit of Marxist analysis (Mach and Wesolowski, 1986:58-78; Westergaard and Resler, 1975:280-296). Mach and Wesolowski base their position on a general aim toward "enriching research projects and interpretive analyses," and forming "clearer positions in at least some of the controversies about mobility" (58).

Due to the dearth of empirical research along these lines, it remains uncertain how successful or appropriate is the inclusion of social mobility into the Marxist perspective. My primary aim of examining family socialization, however, is not to explain the families' movements within the class structure. It is instead to study intrafamily relations regarding work and future as

² "[I]t is clear that, even on the absurd assumption that from one day to the next, or even from one generation to the next, the bourgeoisie would all take the places of workers and vice versa, nothing fundamental about capitalism would be changed, since the places of bourgeoisie and proletariat would still be there, and this is the principal aspect of the reproduction of capitalist relations" (Poulantzas, 1978:33).

subjective symptoms of class forces--class forces, that is, as seen in the wider sense of the interplay of work and community relations. These symptoms may in turn be one source of action that either perpetuates or challenges class forces. Or, in the Marxist terminology, these subjective symptoms may help explain the process of social reproduction or class consciousness. Why should parents' communication of work and future possibilities with their children be seen as any less a consequence of capitalist production relations than parents' capacities for class struggle?

As a reaction to production relations, however, mobility socialization, since it is a likely causal factor in social mobility, would be viewed mainly as "false consciousness" because it is a family-based activity for personal achievement rather than a class-based activity for universal emancipation. This returns us to the bourgeois problematic explained by Poulantzas. But Vanneman and Cannon's (1987:25-26;266-273) empirical reassessment of the effects of social mobility on indicators of class consciousness, such as worker militancy and class identification, challenges this mobility-as-false consciousness view. I will not pursue this issue in this study, but I will remain sensitive to the possibility that parents may inspire their children for a better personal life while simultaneously passing on to children their awareness of inequality and their awareness of the myth of

individual achievement.

In the following two sections I will review the relevant arguments in two interrelated areas of socialization research: level of aspiration and value transmission. Each body of literature mainly examines one side of the inspirer-aspirant relationship, with aspiration research focusing mainly on job goals of adolescents, and the value transmission researchers working mainly to identify the type of parents' values, their source and the process by which they are passed on.

Level of Aspiration

Researchers of the intergenerational dynamics of social class have long studied the goals adolescents set for their future. Their selection of goals, the modifications they make on them, and the energy with which they pursue them have been subsumed under the general term aspiration.³

³ I use the term, "aspiration", but some sociologists have favored "ambition." For example, Rosen (1956) and Kerckhoff (1974) use ambition to refer to the "willingness to achieve." Spenner and Featherman (1978), too, in their review of the multitude of literatures on the topic define the area as ambition. While I have not seen any explanation for the distinction, one speculates that ambition might appear to add to the active element of motivation to the process: aspiration may describe the selection of a career; ambition may express the effort to actually pursue it. For example, I aspire to be a lawyer, but my ambition (willingness) to achieve it could be very low. Using ambition could also be sociologists' deliberate attempt to distinguish their research from psychology, wherein the earliest formal work on the topic was done (see Lewin et al., 1944) and which employed the term "level of

Aspiration is seen by sociology as the subjective dimension of longitudinal studies of social class. That is, it helps us understand the elements of individual thought and action that constitute the continuity and change in the class structure. Thus, I view aspiration as the capacity of individuals to envision and to realize their future position in the class structure. And my goal is to examine the social forces that shape this capacity.

While intrafamily influences of aspiration have long been studied, especially in quantitative sociology, much room remains for improving our understanding of the subjective factors involved. I will start by summarizing the main ways aspiration has been used in mobility research. Two questions can serve to organize the vast body of knowledge on this topic: How did social mobility researchers come to study aspiration, and how did they understand it?

The Role of Aspiration

Sociology's focus on aspiration emerged from its

aspiration." But the classical psychological conception of aspiration contains both processes of selection (goal-striving) and willingness (motivation). And more importantly, aspiration denotes upward direction within a hierarchical occupational structure. Since knowing what is upward social movement is an element of one's culture, it seems to me that "aspiration" better suits sociological work.

attempt to understand the subjective bases for the continuity of inequality and one's position in the class hierarchy. Among the earliest authorities on social mobility, Sorokin (1959 [1927]:308-311) held that "strong ambition" was one psychological trait shared by the upper strata necessary to maintain their power. He maintained (308) that, in addition to intellect,

it is likely that there are other psychological differences between the upper and the lower classes. The more important among them seems to be as follows: except during the period of decay, the upper strata are composed of persons possessed of strong ambitions, bold and adventurous characters, with inventive minds, with harsh and non-sentimental natures, with a sort of cynicism and, finally, with a will for domination and power.

Sorokin's psychological and cross-class orientation has since dominated sociology's approach to the subjective realm. It was given formal substantiation by the studies of psychologists during the 1930s. In that work (see Lewin et al., 1944) "level of aspiration" was the term developed to represent the goal-striving behavior one exhibited during ring-toss experiments. The term included both ideal (initial) goal striving, and realistic goal striving that was tempered by the experience of attempting to achieve the first goals. Although sociologists have refined the term,⁴

⁴ Emprey (1956) distinguished between "relative and absolute aspirations." The conventional method is to use occupational prestige scales as the direct reference points by which to measure one's aspirations, which gives the absolute aspiration. Relative aspiration, on the other

individual impetus continues to be the basis of aspiration in their works.⁵ And specific job goals and educational plans are the two main indicators of aspiration.⁶ In their review of the subject, Spenner and Featherman (1978:375) claim that "level of aspiration has become the modal ambition concept in the sociological literature." More critical writers, such as Goldman and Tickamyer (1984),

hand, uses the class ranking of the family of orientation as the reference point so that the child's aspiration is compared not directly to a standardized scale but to the status of his or her parents. Rodman *et al.* (1974) found that adolescents experience a "range of aspirations," denoting not an attribute of the individual, but a process of forming and modifying aspirations upon exposure to work settings. These conceptions by Emprey and Rodman *et al.* are important because they challenged the truism of the field that aspirations are directly related to class. The lower-class adolescents studied by Emprey and Rodman *et al.* did exhibit high aspirations when social contexts (family, work) other than the job prestige scale were used.

⁵ An under-appreciated exception to the psychologically dominated view is given by Rosen (1956) who separated aspiration into psychological and cultural components. The former is represented by "achievement motive," and the latter by value orientations. His point is that achievement motive must be guided by cultural factors to result in socially understood notions of mobility. These cultural factors include "certain values which affect mobility in that they provide a definition of goals, focus the attention of the individual on achievement, and prepare him to translate motive into action (206)." Rosen points out that the possession of these values ("implementary values"), and not simply differences in motive, is what distinguishes inter-class mobility rates.

⁶ A cogent critique of inferring the degree of aspiration from the goals one specifies was given over thirty years ago by Keller and Zavollini (1964). Like Emprey (1956), they sought a more relativist position due to the various opportunity structures families face.

Robinson (1984), Horan (1978) and Israel (1977) claim that the dominance of this individualist perspective is rooted in the ideology of economic individualism that supports capitalist economic relations. As I will argue farther below, this individualist orientation should be widened by incorporating the social contexts of work and community.

How, in these studies, did aspiration help explain the system of class inequality? Sorokin's approach spawned what came to be a large and long-term focus on cross-class studies of aspiration. Much work was done in measuring the class differences in aspiration, and it found over and again that aspirations were in direct relationship with class standing: class inequality was based, in part, on the truism that the lower classes did not have high occupational and educational aspirations (see Sewell et al., 1957; Hollingshead, 1949). Why was this? The main explanations can be sorted into three main perspectives: class-cultural differentiation, structural constraints and social-psychological traits of parents.

The general class-cultural differentiation view is represented in works such as those of Riesman (Riesman and Glazer, 1964) and Banfield (1958), but direct focus on aspiration is given by Hyman (1953) and Lipset and Bendix (1959). Based on public opinion research, Hyman provides the most empirical support for the class-cultural basis of low aspirations in lower classes. He argues that the lower

classes live by a value orientation which is distinct from upper classes and which inhibits upward striving. According to him, the value system of the lower classes will "involve less emphasis upon the traditional high success goals, increased awareness of the lack of opportunity to achieve success, and less emphasis upon the achievement of goals which in turn would be instrumental for success" (427). This value system results in a "self-imposed barrier to an improved position" (427).

Critics of Hyman, such as Rodman (Rodman et al., 1974; Rodman, 1963), represent one of several versions of the structural constraints view. In contrast to a class-cultural differentiation view these writers claim that members of all classes initially share success values, as Merton (1968: 131-160) argued, but due to discriminatory practices at work, lower classes level their aspirations.⁷ For Rodman et al., individuals' experiences with seeking employment and at work settings force them to lower their preferred goals, thus creating a "stretch" between those that they realistically expect to attain and those that they would accept minimally. These stretches vary by social class. Those of lower-class individuals were found to be wider, that is, they were more willing to span their level

⁷ The actual historical sequence was that Hyman's research challenged Merton. But since Sorokin, who predates Merton, first took a class differentiation view, Hyman's view is probably older.

of tolerable goals farther "down" to lower occupational aims. Kerckhoff (1976) focused on discrimination in the labor market and termed it the "allocative process" that interacts with family socialization to lower aspiration.

Hollingshead (1949) applies another version of structural constraints to support the claim that aspiration is in a direct relationship to class. The structures he considers are not those of employers but are those of the material conditions of families and communities. In his community study, Hollingshead found that occupational aspirations varied by social class, but lower-class adolescents were able to form high aspirations. The largest segment of adolescents in his lower class, for instance, aspired to his highest job category--business or professional. Yet this rate is much lower relative to the higher classes, and Hollingshead suggests this is due to the (unspecified) restricted experiences children have from their family and class upbringing: "[W]e believe that the adolescents' ideas of desirable jobs are a reflection of their experiences in the class and family culture complexes (285)." Rubin (1976) also points to the inability of working-class parents to provide or act as role models for advancement due to their daily struggles for survival, but in contrast to Hollingshead, she goes so far as to infer that their children cannot aspire. As she expressed it,

For the child--especially a boy--born into a professional middle-class home, the sky's the

limit; his dreams are relatively unfettered by constraints. . . . For most working-class boys, the experience is just the reverse. Born into a family where daily survival is problematic, he sees only the frantic scramble to meet today's needs, to pay tomorrow's rent. Beyond that it's hard for parents to see. In such circumstances, of what can children dream? . . . [I]n the context of their lives and daily struggles, looking either backward or forward makes little sense; planning for the future seems incongruous. Consequently, work life generally is not planned; it just happens (1976:38-39).^{*}

There are several other versions of structural constraint, but because these are characterized by their focus on non-family institutions, or because they view such institutions as powerful enough to render aspiration insignificant, I will not examine them.⁹

^{*} Rubin, however, is unclear about who in her sample this conclusion represents. She (30) distinguishes two main types of working-class lifestyles: settled-livers and hard-livers. The former group is more financially secure, less involved with alcoholism and violence, and is generally more hopeful and active about the future. In this quotation, however, she does not specify which group she means, and it appears to apply to both. In the penultimate chapter of the book (205) she claims that most of her working-class subjects grew up in settled-living families, and seems to contradict herself by saying they had hopes for improvement: "But those early years were . . . a time of hope, a time when they dreamed dreams of life different from the one they'd known, when they believed they could 'make it' in a way their parents had not." In the initial quotation given in the text above, Rubin may be distinguishing between the lack of aspiration for specific job goals on the one hand, and general hope for improvement on the other. Given the tenor of the book as a whole, however, I perceive her main point to be the more deterministic view expressed in the first quotation.

⁹ Macleod (1987:9-22) provides a review of the major structural constraint (social reproduction) theories of this kind. The views he finds least deterministic and open to

The third and most researched main explanation for lower aspiration in lower classes is based on the social-psychology of parental inspiration. This approach dates back at least to the 1950s in the works of those like Rosen and D'Andrade (1959), Dynes et al. (1956), and Kahl (1953)¹⁰ who observed varying degrees of parental pressure for education. But Sewell and colleagues (e.g., Sewell et al., 1969; Sewell and Shah, 1968) best represent this view due to their extensive data base and rigorous model, known as the Wisconsin model. Their attempt is to complement Blau and Duncan's (1967) classic model of status attainment by adding the roles of aspiration, significant others, intellect and ability. With regard to aspiration, the basic

the actions of people, such as those of Willis (1977) and Giroux (1983), deal with relations at school, not relations within the family. Macleod also points out a cultural determinism in cultural writers, such as Bourdieu (1977). Bourdieu examines the subjectivity of social class, but he is less interested in its formation and developmental processes in the family than he is in how it interacts with the schooling process. While these writers have enhanced our understanding of class reproduction, I will exclude them due to their lack of focus on family relations. I have also omitted research on structures within the family, such as family size, sibling age, etc., because while they do examine occupational outcomes they are not concerned with aspiration (e.g., Blake, 1985). (By the same token, and with regard to the class-cultural differentiation perspective, I have omitted the work of class integration theorists, such as that of (an earlier) Marcuse (1964).)

¹⁰ Kahl's work on parental pressure for college stands as an early exception to the cross-class framework. He described the varying degrees of parental inspiration within the lower-middle class, a class composed of "minor white collar, skilled, or semi-skilled workers" (190). He employs Lloyd Warner's self-referential term, "common man," for this class.

model is that "parental encouragement" shapes children's education aspirations, which in turn help shape occupation and income. Parental encouragement is represented by adolescents' recollection of their parents' encouragement of college education, and is an important intervening social-psychological variable that helps explain the direct relationship between socioeconomic status and level of aspiration. But because it "is a social-psychological variable, it is presumably subject to modification by means of programs of counseling directed at parents or parents and children" (Sewell and Shah, 1968:571).

The above three main explanations for class variation of aspiration share a linear model, implied or formally expressed, in which some factor--class value orientations in Hyman, material deprivation in the structural constraints view, or the lack of parental encouragement in the Wisconsin model--lowers aspiration, and low aspiration in turn affects job and income. Important questions emerge from the main argument shared by all three. First, what is the source of interclass differences? That is, what accounts for the interclass value differences found by Hyman, and the class-based variations in parental encouragement for college found by the Wisconsin model? Second, is there no possibility that parents and children can challenge the values of class subculture? Must their limited experiences in their community and their obstacles in the labor market

necessarily suppress their aspirations, as is held by the structural constraints view? Or, could these experiences and obstacles also work to bolster their ambitions?

Towards a Social Class Basis of the Capacity to Aspire

There is no doubt that the question of aspiration variations by social class has provided useful knowledge about the continuity and change in the class stratification system. Specifically, it has helped us to understand how various features of social class work to lessen one's capacity to aspire and in turn help explain the lack of success.¹¹ But cross-class aspiration research need not limit itself to the explanation of success. For the most part, though, this is just what it has done. This, coupled with the overwhelming attention given to explaining the aspiration deficiency of the lower classes, has resulted at best in neglecting any other possibility than that the working-class capacity to aspire is prefigured by

¹¹ In fact, however, the power of aspiration to explain success is questionable. Researchers have tempered their views of the role of aspiration due to the modest correlation coefficients they found between aspiration and attainment. In short, as Spenner and Featherman (1978:409-410) explain, "the successes and failures of persons in schools and across their occupational careers are more likely to result from contingencies in their life cycles such as marriages, divorces, and births of children rather than from their differential ambition to achieve in these competitive settings." They only concede (410) that aspiration's biggest effect is during adolescents' transition from school to first job.

irreducible cultural, social-psychological or structural forces. At worst, it has resulted in denying the working class its very capacity to aspire.

Transcending the cross-class success problematic may enable us to explore the active dimension of aspiration, and give a more dialectical understanding of the process of aspiration capacity. That is to say, the linear model could be reexamined to consider the interplay between the sources of aspiration and the adolescents so affected by them. What are the roots of parents' value orientation or educational encouragement? Do they determine parents' capacity to inspire their children, or are there areas in which parents can alter them? Likewise, are the children's capacity to aspire determined by the parents and other socialization agents, or can they also play an active role? How could we expand the time line backward to conceive of inspirers as former aspirants, and forward to conceive of aspirants as future inspirers? In short, the question of inter-class differential rates of success and levels of aspiration has tended to overlook the capacity of working-class members to think and act about their future position in the class hierarchy. While the disadvantages of social class and their influence on aspiration have been well documented, less well known is what members of the working class think and do in their situations of disadvantage. Of course, the social conditions that structure this thought and action

must also be examined. As I argued much earlier, despite sociologists' concern with class-based patterns of aspiration, there is no attempt to explain the social mechanisms behind such patterns. Socialization by parents or significant others is held as one main process, but this process appears to be driven by agents without historical or cultural context. As Kerckhoff (1974:63) has admitted about the Wisconsin model, "parental influence is a function of what the parent is rather than of his/her values and goals." Cultural differentiation writers such as Hyman did consider value orientations, and they were shown to vary in particular ways. But the source of the values was not addressed. In our attempt to explain the cross-class variations and the reasons for success or failure, we have come to overlook the question of how aspirations are formed by social forces.¹²

¹² Colcough and Horan (1983) anticipate a state of crisis and subsequent reanalysis of the status attainment model that could lead to addressing these issues of aspiration. Reviewing twelve years worth of articles in The American Sociological Review and The American Journal of Sociology between 1968 and 1980, they document work that is critical of and alternative to the status attainment model. These critiques and alternatives add structural variables, challenge the linear representation, or redefine the occupational structure in Marxist terms. The main thrust of this is to move status attainment studies away from a distributive framework, wherein the unit of analysis is individuals who are assumed to act in rational economic ways in a homogenous free market system, to a more relational orientation which studies the interplay between production processes and the system of social stratification.

However, these alternatives provide no reevaluation of aspiration. Recent studies of aspiration continue to give priority to cross-class differences, including a widening of

To summarize, I suggest that we may better understand the intergenerational dynamics of social class by addressing the active part members of the working class play and the social conditions that structure that active role.

Recent community and ethnographic studies have taken on this task. In his ethnography of two groups of British working-class school boys, Willis (1977) provided an intra-class study that has been hailed as a corrective to an economic deterministic perspective on class reproduction (Aronowitz, 1977). One group, the "Lads," resisted and challenged the relations and values of the school and the middle class, and the other group, the "Ear'oles," conformed. Willis focussed on the former group and found that they strived to affirm their class culture against the ideology and structures of the school, and aspired to manual blue-collar occupations. They were not passive recipients of school and middle-class achievement ideologies, but instead formed a "counter-school culture." While status attainment sociologists would categorize the Lads as adolescents deficient in the appropriate success values, Willis sees them instead as precocious teens who realize the

scope to include ethnic differences (Marjoribanks, 1992). And the bases of these differences rest on the measurement of aspiration in terms of specific job goals and educational plans. Moreover, despite some attempts to expand our understanding of the subjective process (Jacobs *et al.*, 1991), the wider social-class basis of aspiration is not examined.

myth of achievement values and who understand abstract labor, that is, that there is no difference in the jobs to which they aspired--they see all work as uninteresting and unrewarding. But Willis gives us no view of the intra-family relations of these boys. With no knowledge of the Lads' socialization we may be correct to conclude that they were passive recipients of working-class culture.¹³ Willis explains (52-59) that there are "many profound similarities" between their counter-school culture and the shop floor culture of their fathers, and so assumes that the shop floor culture of masculinity, practical over abstract knowledge and blue-collar over white-collar work is smoothly internalized by the Lads. The group that conformed, the Ear'oles, share working-class origins, yet they neither internalized nor asserted such a culture. Why not? Willis (207) encourages future researchers to examine this very question by applying his framework of working-class cultural affirmation to other conforming working-class groups like his Ear'oles.

Jay Macleod (1987) took on this task in his study of two working-class youth gangs that were similar to Willis'

¹³ In her recent ethnography of high school students in a Northeastern city whose manufacturing industries had sharply declined, Lois Weis (1990) challenges Willis and other "reproduction" theorists from another level of analysis. She asks, in short, how can working-class youth be prepared for working-class jobs by their parents or schools when the traditional blue-collar jobs of the parents are no longer available due to the wider deindustrialization process of the last ten to fifteen years?

in that one group, the "Brothers," conformed and had relatively high education and job aspirations, and the other group, the "Hallway Hangers," like the Lads, were disaffected, refused to accept the achievement ideology and had low or no aspirations. Both groups lived in the same public housing building in a bleak neighborhood of a northeastern city, and both groups lived in poverty-level families.

Attempting to explain the source of the different outlooks and aspirations of the two groups, Macleod extended his scope to include relationships in the family, the peer group and the worksite as well as in the school. With regard to the family life of the Hallway Hangers, the boys who said they would probably be dead or in jail twenty years hence, Macleod notes a high degree of autonomy granted the teens by their parents. Explaining their lack of inspiration for education and more prestigious jobs, Macleod argues, from talking with just one mother, that parents of the Hallway Hangers were so impressed by their perception of low mobility probabilities for their sons that they deliberately declined to encourage them to achieve in order to spare them from future disappointment. But Macleod provides no detailed account of intrafamily relations. His focus is instead on family structure (such as the number of working adults and role models of success) and length of time in public housing. For the Brothers, those with high

education and middle-class occupational aspirations, family life was marked by less time in public housing, more two-parent families and more working adults. Macleod argues that the Brothers showed higher aspirations due to their perception of an extension of opportunity by civil rights legislation. The Brothers' parents, he argues, perceived their children's life chances under a set of objective circumstances slightly different from the Hallway Hangers', and he deduces from such actions as setting curfews and monitoring schoolwork that they encouraged their sons to avail themselves of the new opportunities and get ahead, despite the fact that they face the same disadvantages of class and neighborhood background as the Hallway Hangers.

Macleod draws conclusions from his ethnography that facilitate the search for the social roots of aspiration and for the active dimension of parents and children. Like the structural constraint perspective he notes that the Hallway Hangers lower or lose the capacity to aspire due to the conditions of low-prestige jobs, unrewarded work, and lack of clues that hard work has paid off for anyone in their neighborhood, including themselves. But this does not hold for the Brothers even though they live in the same housing unit and have the same class background. To explain this he argues that, in addition to family structure and duration in the projects, it is parental inspiration that overcomes the objective probabilities of the Brothers' immobility. Thus

structural constraints can be challenged by parents. But what is the source of this inspiration? For the Brothers' parents it was a shared understanding that old racial barriers were removed, and this was an example of parents realizing their frustrated ambitions in their children. Perception of racial discrimination is thus a variable that mediates between the objective conditions and aspiration. The Brothers' parents shared a subjective orientation on racism not held by the Hallway Hangers' parents, and they applied it to their particular objective constraints.

Willis and Macleod represent an alternative approach to class and aspiration research. On the one hand, they both explore certain youths' counter-school culture as simultaneously a collective base of children's aspiration and source of resistance to school structures. On the other hand, Macleod finds that objective conditions, such as low income, depressed neighborhood and racism, are insufficient on their own to explain certain children's aspirations. And with regard to parents, Macleod acknowledges the importance of parental encouragement, as do Sewell and Shah, but he attempts to explain the source of parents' roles by pointing to a shared outlook on racism of the Brothers' parents which leads them to inspire their sons to attain what they could not.

In their study of working-class adolescents, Steinitz and Solomon (1986) examine community of orientation as

another factor of young people's life that guides their capacity to aspire. From in-depth interviews with adolescents from three working-class communities near Boston, they found that such community variables as size, socioeconomic mix of the population and urban or rural status patterned three distinct career aspirations and political outlooks. These community variables operate by affecting four areas: "the range of privilege and power encountered in each place; the emotional supports, educational resources, and adult models available to youth; the degree of consensus or conflict in community messages about what young people should value and how they should behave; and the insularity or openness of each community" (145). "Researchers should not take it for granted," they conclude, "that becoming upwardly mobile necessarily means the same thing to all working-class youth, for the meaning of ambition varies from place to place" (150). Steinitz and Solomon found that the common debate on mobility, regarding whether the working class is constrained by its family and peer-group affiliations not to move up, or if it experiences marginality as it aspires to the values of its reference group, was contingent upon community context, and neither answer could serve as the appropriate generalization. Young people in "Cityville," for example, do not want to break relations with family and friends, but those in "Townline" do. Cityville is a small and homogeneous working-class

community; Townline is composed of more middle-class inhabitants and several ethnic groups, and its working-class youth felt alienated from these groups in high school. A third community, "Milltown," is also a homogeneous working-class community. It is much like the community of this study, as I will explain in the next chapter, in that relations with extended family members are strong, and hard work and decency are two of its distinguishing values. Milltown adolescents see aspirations as a form of maturity and individual responsibility that would not sever their relationships with family and friends even though they might lead them to careers outside the community. Their visions of their futures are collectively based. A balance is thus struck between individual achievement and the maintenance of community ties. Steinitz and Solomon, however, like Macleod and Willis, do not discuss the mechanisms by which the community variables are internalized by the adolescents.

Each of these studies adds a crucial component to the process of working-class aspiration. Willis demonstrates the active part adolescents perform as they affirm their culture of manual labor, masculinity and practical knowledge against the schools. Macleod demonstrates the ability of different intrafamily relations to affect different aspirations despite similar objective constraints. And Steinitz and Solomon demonstrate the role of the context of place on affecting differential patterns of aspirations.

What I believe must be added, however, is a close examination of the intrafamily relations. Of course, while these intrafamily relations require examination of particular families, these particular families' work and community group context must be maintained. Sociological research on intrafamily relations regarding the intergenerational transmission of values must next be reviewed.

Inspiration

Value transmission research and most aspiration studies are similar in that both focus on cross-class comparisons and both perceive family in the narrow sense described earlier. While the goal of aspiration research mainly has been to measure and explain class-differentiated levels of aspiration, the main goal of intergenerational value transmission research has been to measure class-differentiated parental values and to measure the congruency of these values with the children's values. Put simply, value transmission research asks, are children's values similar to those of their parents, and if so is this due primarily to parental socialization? Its methodology is complicated, and its findings appear counter-intuitive. Researchers have had to confront such questions as whether or not the children accurately perceive parents' values, whether and how the children influence parents' values, and

to what extent value congruency is related to shared conditions of parents and children rather than deliberate and direct parental influence. Moreover, general notions of values are not consistent. Kohn et al. (1986:87), for example, following Clyde Kluckhohn (in Williams, 1963:401), refer to them simply as "conceptions of the desirable," but Milton Rokeach (in Gecas, 1988:830) distinguishes between terminal, or end-state values, such as world peace, and instrumental values that refer to modes of conduct, such as honesty. On the whole, the research finds surprisingly weak support for both the general argument that children's values resemble their parents' values, and that this is due to family socialization (Gecas, 1988; Smith, 1983). More specifically, in one of the very few studies on values of occupational aspiration, Furstenberg (1971) finds a low association between family members for mobility orientation--indicated by parents' educational and occupational values and goals and attitudes about achievement--and points to children's misperception of parents' values, conflictual family relations and outside influences such as peers to explain the small amount of congruency. Given such weak support for the power of parents to influence children's values, how can one make a case, as is done in the present study, for the role of parents as inspirers of values regarding occupational mobility? I will address this question in the following review of the most relevant work

on intergenerational value transmission for my purposes:
Melvin Kohn's "linkage hypothesis."

Kohn's basic argument links culture to social structure, and his model is expressed as follows: jobs vary by the degree to which they require either "self direction" ("initiative, thought and independent judgment in work" (Kohn and Schooler, 1969:659) or "conformity;" self direction or conformity affects workers' values and orientations; these values and orientations constitute a socialization orientation; parents activate their values and orientations via child rearing; and the children internalize these values and orientations. Expanding on their earlier measurements of male workers, Kohn and his colleagues' more recent work (Kohn et al., 1986) included both spouses' jobs and both spouses' education to arrive at an independent variable that they call the "stratification position" of the family. The family's stratification position is associated with self direction at work. Families of higher stratification positions are associated with more self direction at work, i.e., more independence and self control; families of lower positions are associated with conformity, i.e., conditions of externally imposed rules, like neatness and obedience. By extending his analysis to the capacity of children to apply their values of self direction or conformity in education, Kohn implies that his class-based socialization theory explains reproduction of the social

structure (Kohn et al., 1986:99), a point that Bowles and Gintis (1976) borrowed from Kohn and applied to explain working-class reproduction.

A main criticism of value transmission researchers is that while each of Kohn's independent hypotheses is modestly supported (e.g., stratification position is associated with parental values; parental values are associated with parental socialization), the explanatory power of all combined is much weaker (Gecas, 1979:382-383; Lueptow et al., 1979:472). The role of parents as direct agents of socialization, therefore, is not established.

In response, Kohn and his associates state in their more recent work that "it is not socialization theory but the empirical evidence that is deficient," and claim that both the overall theory and the direct role of parents is stronger than previously believed, and that class-based value transmission is inherent in industrial society (Kohn et al., 1986:74). The new empirical evidence Kohn provides concerns his inclusion of new variables: wife's occupation, both spouses' education, and the reciprocal effects of parents on their jobs and children on their parents. In addition to these new variables, he finds that children need not demonstrate accurate perception of their parents' values in order for value congruency to succeed.

Kohn's model is very useful for its general approach to linking social class to socialization, and its implication

that this link explains class reproduction. However, whether or not he has been successful in substantiating his claim is not my concern. This is because it might be both unnecessary and undesirable to base the power of Kohn's model on its ability to find high value congruency between parents and children. The near exclusive focus on value congruency by value transmission researchers, in my view, under-appreciates the active role of parents in the socialization process. Transmission studies such as Kohn's give insufficient attention to the processes of family socialization. They also fail to widen their conception of family socialization to consider the non-work contexts of parents' values, such as their family history and their community and extended family relationships (cf. Gecas, 1979:383; Taber, 1972:12).¹⁴ One feature of family history is intergenerational work genealogy. Families' "stratification position" does not take into account the effects of previous degrees of self direction or obedience in the work history of the family line. Consequently Kohn's value linkage model is deterministic in that parents' work situation and education unilaterally shape occupational and educational values. The model that "successfully" demonstrates intrafamily value congruency would thus depict

¹⁴ Socialization researchers do study child-rearing practices, a common one being techniques of punishment. But these practices are studied as an end in themselves, and not linked with value socialization.

a closed and static social structure. Van Zeyl (1974:xv), though not referring explicitly to Kohn, is aware of how this perspective in general is inconsistent with the reality of social mobility:

[L]arge-scale mobility makes it difficult to conceive of class culture exclusively as a product of transmission from generation to generation. If it is true that class cultures maintain a continuous identity for longer than a single generation then we must ask the questions: How do upwardly and downwardly mobile individuals acquire the values of the classes to which they move and why do they do so?

While Van Zeyl's "large-scale mobility" is better understood as status attainment rather than social mobility, his point seems justified: Kohn's model and intergenerational value transmission research that focuses on value congruency are not designed to sense indications that parents consciously attempt to alter their orientations of their work situation, and ultimately they are unable to explain social mobility. For instance, I will describe in later chapters parents who deliberately negate the attributes of their "stratification position," but they are not taken into account by Kohn. Moreover, jobs are not neatly characterized as requiring either self direction or conformity. As I will describe in the third chapter, jobs that make up what Kohn would see as low stratification positions entail some self direction.

One study that does examine the actions of parents as class actors is that of Lareau (1989). Lareau does not

explicitly address the issue of value transmission.¹⁵ She examines the different degrees of involvement working- and middle-class parents have with their children's schooling, such as attending Parent Teacher Association meetings and private talks with teachers concerning the child's performance. Unsurprisingly, due to the material and cultural advantages of class, she finds that middle-class parents are more involved. They have no difficulty approaching teachers and administration as equals, their friendship networks include educators and professionals, and they are well-informed of the latest curricula changes and teaching methods. Using Bourdieu (1977), she notes that cultural capital is an important feature of their advantage. One of Lareau's contributions, however, is her point that middle-class families must "activate" their cultural capital in order to ensure good school performance of their children:

Privilege associated with class does not automatically yield benefits, for individuals must 'activate' those resources. ... [Previous] work on cultural capital, however, confuses possession of cultural resources with actually realizing a social advantage from these cultural resources. Members of the same social class may possess similar cultural resources but may not use them (or need to use them) to gain educational and

¹⁵ But Lareau does use her data to demonstrate, in contrast to class differentiation views, that working-class parents do value education. To the extent that these parents apply these values in the form of being involved with their children's schooling, her work can be incorporated into the value transmission debates.

occupational advantages. The transformation of cultural resources into activated cultural capital has frequently been glossed over in the literature (her emphasis, 177; 178).

But what of the working-class parents? Lareau does not address this directly, but since they have less cultural capital, or more precisely a cultural capital that is less rewarded in institutions such as education, she implies that activation of working-class cultural resources would be damaging to school performance (assuming her evidence that these parents want their children to do well in school). Lareau's important notion of activation of cultural resources appears one-sided. A more balanced approach would need to include (working-class) parental actions in the face of disadvantages to not only encourage education but motivate children to perform well. In other words, do working-class parents consciously try to "de-activate" what they perceive as limiting aspects of their lifestyles? Without such a notion, we risk a similar form of determinism by which working-class children can not improve their condition. Yet such actions are plainly evident in many working-class parents, as exemplified by their attempts to suppress in their children those speech patterns, styles of dress and leisure activities which betray their class. In chapters five through seven I will search for such de-activating efforts by parents. As an aspect of intergenerational value transmission, then, and in contrast

to conventional transmission research, I will not view an absence of value congruency as evidence for the lack of parental influence. On the contrary, parental socialization of values includes what the parents try to suppress as well as what they try to pass on.

Value transmission studies are tightly interrelated with those of aspiration, and both must be considered when studying the components of family socialization. I have kept the analytical distinction between them in order to locate relevant arguments. I will indicate value transmission across the generations as the extent to which parents over the generations discuss the general issue of mobility with their children in ways similar to their parents. Thus it is the similarity in these child-rearing practices that will represent value transmission. But what values do the parents use to perform mobility socialization, and what is their source? The following section on class culture will address these questions.

Class Culture

This study will use the term class culture to refer to the values and roles that guide parents and children in their process of forming and realizing occupational futures. It is not a macro-level concept designed to examine the capacity of working-class families to develop class consciousness, as it is in class-formation studies, or to

study workplace resistance, as it is done in studies of class struggle. Neither is it used to advance what Van Zeyl (1974:3-5) classifies as a class-as-subculture argument that classes are separated by their distinct subcultures. In this study it will be applied as a micro-level historical concept referring mainly to specific interrelated work and community features shared by the homogeneous community of first-generation families. The effects of these features is to shape a pattern of mobility socialization to which most of the families conform. The class culture is thus a background variable, or nurturing element, for both parental inspiration and children's aspiration. The particular work and community features comprising the class culture, of course, emerge from and interact with a larger political and economic context and a wider national character which render them mutable and dynamic. Thus, the role of class culture is not expected to persist in full force across all generations. Let me next elaborate on the work and community components of class culture.

Brick Work

All of the families in this study descend from fathers and grandfathers whose paid work was in one or more of many brickyards, and mothers and grandmothers whose paid work was in garment factories. But most women did not work for pay and most of the garment factories, unlike the brickyards,

were a few miles outside of the community. Brickmaking will thus be given most attention. I will examine three features of the brickmaking industry: its labor process, its labor relations, and its relations with the community. I will examine the brickyard labor process to describe the physical demands of brickmaking, and to assess the extent of worker satisfaction and "self direction." The labor relations of brickmaking refers to the relations between labor and capital, and I will study the extent of conflict and harmony between these two groups. And regarding the brickyards' relations with the community, I will describe the correspondence of brickmaking production demands with family relations in the community, and the character of brickyard owners' relations with the community.

Community

The first-generation families lived in a small and rural area comprising two formally distinct townships. Interactions between the families in the area, however, were of such intimacy as to form a single, trans-territorial community that I call "Brickerland." Family interactions were based in three interrelated activities: brickwork, home-based production and leisure. The home-based production refers to the self-sufficiency work, such as gardening, small-animal raising, food preservation and other domestic crafts. I will study these activities to also

describe the interfamily reciprocal relations, such as the sharing of food and labor. The leisure activities were influenced by religious and ethnic traditions of the families, such as church-related benevolent societies and bazaars, and family-centered affairs, such as weekly get togethers.

This mixture of wage labor and community solidarity may also be seen as a mixture of traditional and modern social relations. Since most of the first generation originated from agrarian societies or regions, and lived as share croppers, day laborers or peasants, the brickyards were very likely their first experience as free wage-laborers. Or, in the Marxian perspective, the first generation underwent the transition to reified social relations, wherein, as Marx's (1967[1867]:72) well known statement describes it, "there is a definite social relation between men, that assumes, in their eyes, the fantastic form of a relation between things." Yet these relations may have been "softened" by their more traditional interfamily relations, i.e., relations between families in the community, which facilitated their home-based production and leisure-time activities. The brickmaking industry had not fully dismantled these "noncommodified" relations; it necessitated them.¹⁶

¹⁶ Goldman and Tickamyer (1984) criticize status attainment research for its assumption of capitalist market relations, and provide an historical overview of the

Five main values emerge from the interplay of these work and community features: hard and responsible work, cooperation, individual responsibility, family decency and hope for a better future for the young. Hard and responsible work is indicated by the workers' emphasis on uncompromising and dutiful work, consistent and punctual attendance, and compliance to work rules. Cooperation is indicated by charitable and reciprocal actions with neighbors and other community members. Individual responsibility is indicated by a drive for self sufficiency. Family decency includes norms for interacting with one's nuclear and extended family. And hope for the young's future is marked by words and deeds that inspire the young to attain better economic and social positions.

Class Culture and Ethnicity

Brickerland was a community heavily dominated by poor

penetration these relations made into American life. Regarding the initial period of capitalist development in the U.S., they refer to Mike Davis' (1978) point that

during the initial period of capitalist industrialization, capital accumulation "based upon the maximum extension of the working day" necessitated maintenance of noncommodity relations (e.g., tending small gardens, raising chickens and rabbits, and supplementary domestic production such as the making and remaking of clothing) "to help subsidize the very low wages and long hours." Capitalist development did not immediately absorb the population into fully commodified relations (Goldman and Tickamayer, 1984:199).

immigrants from eastern and southern Europe, most of whom were Italian. I will not, however, attempt to distinguish the undoubtedly strong influences of this ethnic and regional force. There are two reasons for this. The first is that crucial cultural distinctions exist between the southern Italian immigrants in Brickerland and southern Italians who settled elsewhere in the United States, such as in the big cities. This implies particular experiences in the new environment modify ethnic forces. Classical and recent studies of early twentieth-century southern Italian immigrants were based on the urban experience (e.g., Reider, 1985; Barzini, 1964; Gans, 1962). Hard work and family decency, it is well known, were found in these settings, but so was a strong suspicion of neighbors, (middle-class) outsiders, and the schools. Moreover, bonds to the family were found so important as to block one's attempt to aspire to white-collar careers. But such suspicion and familism were not the main characteristics of Brickerland's Italians even though they shared the same ethnic, regional and class origins. Brickerland's work and community interplay modified these ethnic features.

Secondly, the work features and the main types of non-work features of Brickerland were carried out similarly by all ethnic groups living there--Hungarian, Irish, German and blacks as well as Italian. Both the paid work of brickyard and garment labor and the home-based production, including

breadmaking, gardening, hunting, fishing, food preservation and a variety of river-based activities, were performed in like manner regardless of national origin. Moreover, as will be described in the third chapter, these activities were usually done in a collective manner--necessitated by the brickmaking cycle--that transcended race and ethnicity.

What these two reasons imply, then, is not that ethnicity is unimportant in shaping family socialization, but that certain work and community features of Brickerland accommodated certain ethnic influences. One explanation for the pace and extent of social and economic improvement of Italians and other ethnic and racial groups in the U.S. is these groups' cultural traits. Banfield (1958) is perhaps the best known proponent of this view as it regards southern Italians. He found "amoral familism" to be one of the main components of their culture that explains their resistance to change. But this view has long been criticized for its failure to acknowledge the effects of material conditions (e.g., Vecoli, 1964). My emphasis on the experiences of work, survival and leisure in Brickerland will examine such material conditions. Rather than distinguishing the effects of ethnicity and class in these families, I will use the existing literature on southern Italian immigrant culture and note the variations in Brickerland families. My focus will be on the particular features of the community of Brickerland that allow certain ethnic traditions to thrive.

That is, whatever ethnic forces of southern Italians were used to shape Brickerland--and Catholicism and family decency were two such major forces--these forces were tempered by the demands of the brickmaking production cycle. Family decency, for example, may well be prior to work and life in Brickerland. But the particular ways family decency is patterned by Brickerland help make up what I term Brickerland's class culture.

In sum, the interplay of brickmaking, the community-based self-sufficiency and leisure-time events, and southern Italian culture resulted in what I call class culture. The term is used to describe the combined effects of ethnic, work and community factors. Only the latter two factors, however, will be the focus of this study. The question I will pursue is what role did (and does) this class culture play in shaping the capacity of parents to socialize hope in their children, and the capacity of the children to aspire an improved way of life?

Aspiration, Inspiration and Class Culture: Hypotheses

I found two clear patterns of outcomes for each successive generation in this study: they made gradual advances in terms of occupational prestige measures, and the vast majority continue to live in or near the original community (see Appendix A). The attempt of this study is to examine the family socialization side of the socialization-

structure interplay to understand the processes involved in these intergenerational dynamics. The following three arguments are posited for this attempt.

First, parents do have the capacity to mediate their objective conditions of class. Features of unskilled manual labor do not necessarily limit parents' role to that of class reproduction. Thus, the first generation is expected to show some anticipation that their children improve, as measured in the conventional terms of encouragement for school and better jobs. Due to their very limited economic and cultural capital, however, this generation's understanding of the local and national labor markets will not likely be strong enough to provide substantive inspiration and guidance for specific lines of work and study.

Second, it is the interplay of work and community relations that helps parents transcend financial and educational limitations to inspire hope. Greater degrees of meaningfulness and satisfaction at work and stronger community integration combine to help develop in parents a generally optimistic outlook for their children's futures, and a confidence that their inspiration is worthwhile. When work and community relations interact to satisfy basic needs, higher expectations for the children's futures are likely to emerge.

Finally, the work and community interplay is the basis

of a class culture, and this provides guidelines for appropriate mobility socialization for the parents as a whole. These guidelines, moreover, are internalized by the children as a whole and so used and passed on in turn in their families of procreation. Thus, due to the transmission of class culture, the mobility socialization of the first generation is expected to be the main pattern followed by the latter two generations.

The class culture, however, is not everlasting but limited in duration due to inherent contradictory forces and external change. The stronger the class culture is upheld by parents and followed through by children, the greater is the likelihood of intergenerational change, and thus the weaker become its initial supporting conditions of work and community. This diminishing influence can be indicated by the decline of particular value transmission and by population outflow from the community. The external forces on the class culture are those of the national and local political economy and national character, and can be indicated by the dynamics of the occupational structure, the decline of the brick industry, the decline of noncommodified community relations, and changing family and gender roles. This study will concentrate on the internal stresses of the class culture as they interact with the changing community-level forces, such as the decline in brickmaking and traditional interfamily relations.

Chapter Two

RESEARCH METHODS

Overview

One main feature of this research is that it is longitudinal, and studies three generations of related families. A second main feature is that it explores the role of the first generation's interrelated work and community experiences in shaping intergenerational dynamics for the next two generations. Thus, the population of families in this study refers to a first, or stock, generation of married couples with children and other particular features in the early 1900s, and their two related descendant generations. Several stages, often overlapping, were involved in identifying this population and its early work and community life, and selecting a sample to interview.

The first stage involved collecting historical data of the first-generation families at the aggregate level and at a specific time. The starting point selected is 1925, a date that is optimal for two main practical reasons. The first is that it provides the best opportunity to conduct primary research on three generations of married couples with grown children. The second reason is that 1925 was the last of several New York State Census decennial enumerations (U.S. Government, 1925 (henceforth, Census)), and it

captures all of the important demographic and occupational features of the first generation of families at the aggregate level. The Census data was confirmed and enhanced by historical data I collected from individual and focus-group oral histories with members of the second generation.

The second stage involved identifying the first generation's progeny and charting their occupational and residential outcomes--searching for the branches and twigs rather than the roots of the family trees. I conducted focus-group interviews with the second generation and a mailed survey to the second generation for this end.

The final stage involved selecting an interview sample, and conducting in-depth, loosely-structured interviews with members of the second and third generations regarding mobility socialization.

As a member of the population of families myself, I applied my personal experiences when relevant to assist in all stages of data gathering and to conceptualize the issues to be studied.

Generations

Many different conceptualizations of the term generation have been applied by social scientists for many different issues (Acock, 1984; Kriegel, 1978). I will use a combination of two such notions of generation due to the practical and theoretical reasons involved with studying

three related generations of adults. The primary use of the term will be in the sense of "rank descent," that is, a particular position of lineage (Acock, 1984:151-152). This is because my main empirical work was conducted on parent-child dyads over three related generations. Temporal notions of generation, such as homogeneous-age cohort or historical-era cohort, are not the determining features. But, if only rank descent is used, the stock generation--and its progeny as well--could span an age range of over fifty years. This would completely exclude wider social influences since such particular events and trends would be experienced in very different stages of the life cycle, or not experienced at all. While I will focus on intrafamily relations, it is important to maintain the wider context in which they exist. Thus, I applied an approximate fifteen-year age range requirement in addition to lineage position.

Since this research is on individual families within a wider community context, generations will be discussed in the aggregate when community-level data is required, and at the level of related family members when intrafamily relations are examined.

The Community of Brickerland

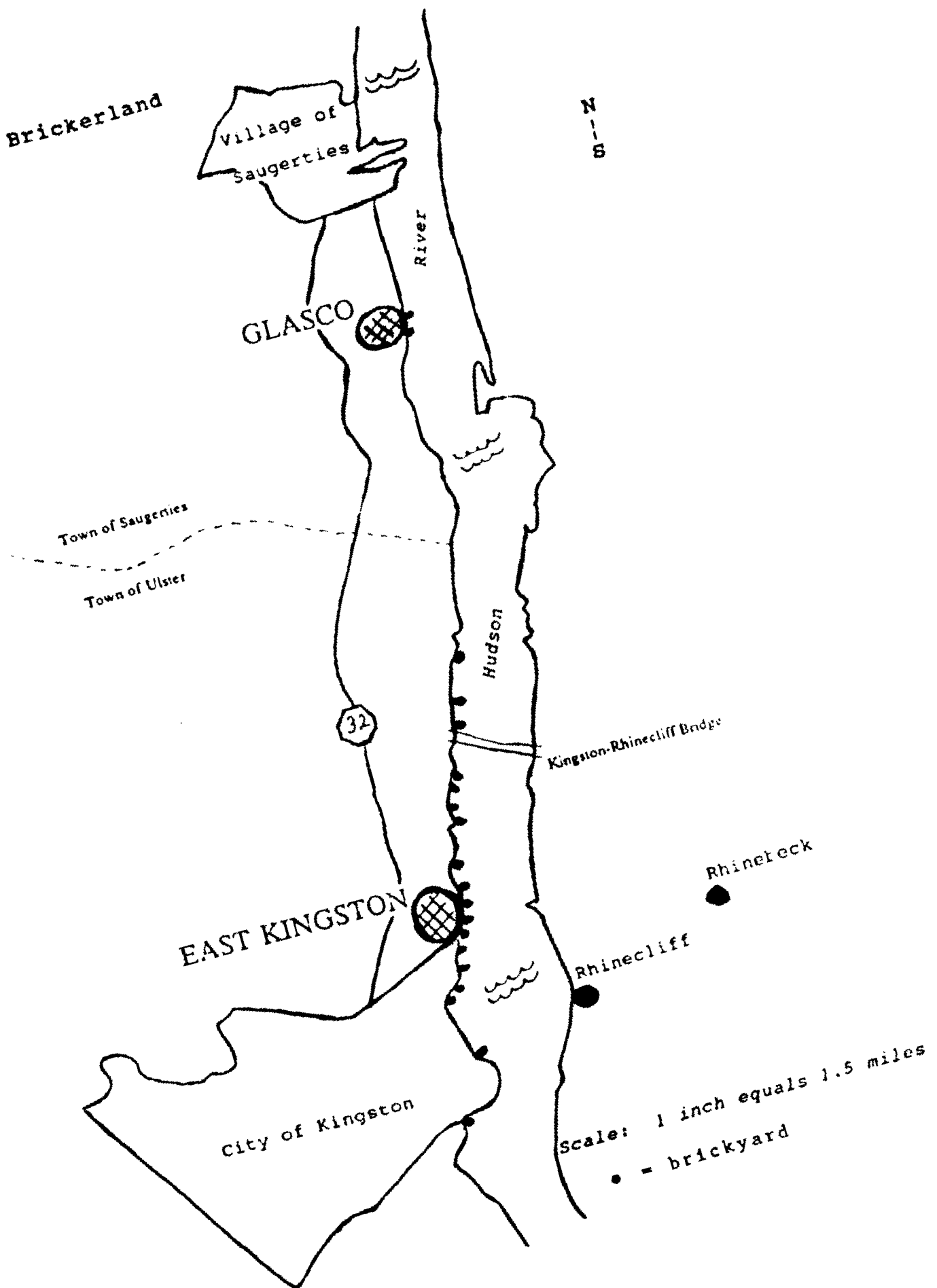
Cultural and Physical Boundaries

The community from which the families descend will be

called, "Brickerland." It is a historical and quasi-territorial community that I have constructed based on individual and group oral-histories and on the Census. It is historical because it refers to ways of work, self survival and leisure during the first three decades of the 1900s. These features, to be discussed in the following two chapters, helped constitute a culture that defined the inhabitants as a community. The features have since declined, and the present residents are no longer so integrated. The physical and politically-defined territory in which this cultural boundary once existed, however, has remained the same. It is a small area of land along the west bank of the Hudson River in southeastern New York State, near the small city of Kingston. Parallel with the shoreline, it is approximately one mile wide and five miles long. It traverses sections of two townships. The northern township is the Town of Saugerties, and the Town of Ulster is the southern. Within each township there is a hamlet-- Glasco, in the northern township, and East Kingston in the southern. It has remained a rural area bordering a small urbanizing region (see Map 1 on page 52).

Brickerland thus represents the totality of work and non-work experiences once existing within two contiguous official territories. Following the oral histories, I have bracketed out the official borders and unified the two hamlets into one community.

Map 1: Brickerland



Population

The Census lent much support to my conception of Brickerland, for in almost all areas the enumerations were conducted along the trans-territorial lines I specified. That is, the Census used the same informal titles of the area that the people used--such as brickyard names--to collect data, and this gave local- and aggregate-level data within the "Brickerland" framework. Data on the larger Townships could be bracketed out. For example, a small cluster of households living just outside of East Kingston and known by all as "living down Roses' Brickyard," were designated by the Census as residing in "Roseville"--an unofficial district no longer inhabited.

The Census reports that the entire population of men, women and children in Brickerland in 1925 was 2,960 (with 1,448 in Glasco, 1,357 in East Kingston, and 155 in the small settlements near the latter). There were 612 households (living quarters shared in all varieties of living arrangements). Of these, 575 were family households (living quarters shared by relatives), and 460 of them consisted of varieties of parent-child arrangements (e.g., dual parents, single parents, extended families, adult working children, and combinations of these).

Work

There were 588 households in the labor force. Reviewing the occupations of all heads of these households, I constructed eleven job categories and found that brickyard work accounted for eight out of ten employed household heads (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1: Job Categories of Household Heads, 1925.¹

<u>Job Category</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Brickyard Work	482	82.0
Small Business	24	4.1
Farm	17	2.9
Skilled Trade	14	2.4
Sales	8	1.4
Factory	8	1.4
Laborer	7	1.2
Service	6	1.0
Professional	4	.7
Office	4	.7
Brickyard Owner	1	.2
missing data	13	2.2

Total Households Heads: 588

Source: U.S. Government (1925)

In the category of brickyard work I have included the very small number of foremen and superintendents, and the small number of special brickyard jobs, such as machine operator referred to as "engineer," kiln worker known as "fireman" and brick-barge worker known as "boatman." Small business is represented by such jobs as shoemaker and

¹ The percent figures total more than 100 due to rounding.

tailor, and by what the Census terms "merchants." The skilled trade refers to such jobs as carpenters and masons. Four blacksmiths are in this category, though they were most likely employed by the brickyards as equipment repairers. The professional category consists of one teacher, two clergy and one nurse. The office category consists of one "insurance" worker and three bookkeepers. Like the blacksmiths, it is very likely the bookkeepers worked for the brickyards.

When looking at all workers over 16 years old and in the labor force, the proportion of brickworkers to all other jobs falls only slightly to about 78 percent (753 out of 968). Brickerland was thus for all intents and purposes a one-industry community, and comparisons of socialization patterns of families headed by non-brickworkers would not be fruitful. Non-brickworking families, that is, would not be included in the study population.

Country of Origin

Brickerland was dominated by Italians in 1925, though Irish, Hungarian and German immigrants and African Americans from the South were other groups in this community. Detailed information about country of origin, however, is difficult to establish because the Census gives this data only for foreign-born household heads. As heads of their own households, the children of such households would not

have their country of origin provided. Heads of black households are an exception here because "black" is listed without regard to native status (though "black" is certainly not a country of origin). A more complete account of Brickerland's ethnic composition in 1925, then, requires a close tracking of family names over previous Census counts. The Census made such counts in 1915 and 1895, and ideally one would use all three Census years to conduct a more thorough longitudinal analysis of Brickerland, a strategy that would enhance job and residence data as well. However, as Yans-McLaughlin (1970) found, the time involved in such an undertaking would overwhelm even the largest research teams, and I lacked the necessary personnel and financial resources. Moreover, ethnicity is not a primary variable in this study. In any case, the ethnic data I have compiled is limited to brickyard family heads with children, and shows that over two-thirds were Italian (see Table 2.2).

Table 2.2: Country of Origin of Brickworker Family Heads, Age Eighteen and Older, With Children, 1925

<u>Country</u>	<u>%</u>
Italy	68.4
Hungary	4.4
Ireland	3.7
Germany	3.1
Native Born: black	2.7
Native Born: unspecified	17.7
	100
Total Family Heads:	294

Source: U.S. Government (1925)

Almost all in the unspecified native-born category had seemingly Italian surnames, but I made no assumptions of national origin on this basis. From questionnaire and interview data gathered in later stages, I found that the Italians came from small towns, such as Cosenza, Belsito and Caivano in the southern regions of Calabria and Naploli.

The labor process of brickmaking and the community relations during the era of these early households, roughly 1910 to 1930, were the next two important variables to study. In the absence of published history on the community, and with only a few informal publications of the labor process, I conducted individual and focus-group oral histories. A total of twenty-five second-generation descendants served as informants on both these issues, though I met most frequently with and gathered most information from a core group of six. These sessions took place over the course of six years, which accorded much time to confirm the recollections. They were usually planned, but in many instances they were spontaneous. The age and residence features of the informants and the circumstances of the sessions will be described for each appropriate context.

The brickmaking Labor Process

The local Chamber of Commerce and the Union that eventually represented the brickworkers had no information

about the area's brick industry. Historical data of the brickmaking labor process was thus collected mainly from six male informants on both an individual and group basis, with between four and six in a group. Their dates of birth ranged from 1906 to 1919. All of them worked in the brickyards as their main job and since childhood. All were close friends, and many were closely or distantly related. Information on the social organization of brickmaking, the tasks of each of its specific jobs, work technique, the number and location of each yard and related information were given in sharp detail and corroborated by the informants. As Hareven (1982:375) found, my informants often stood up and demonstrated a particular task. Much of this history had previously been passed on to me as a child from my maternal uncles, and I used it as a base on which to obtain more detailed information of the specific components of the labor. I conducted five controlled individual and group sessions, each lasting several hours, but there were countless individual and short-lasting interviews, done in person or by telephone, as well. All group sessions and most of the individual sessions were recorded on tape with the informants' consent.

The most important time period is when the first-generation population worked as brickyard workers, roughly between 1910 and 1930. My informants, like almost all others of the second generation in the community at this

time, lived very near the brickyards, played in them and began helping their fathers there as children. Moreover, most became full-time brickworkers while their fathers were still employed there. Thus, the second generation informants provided essential information about the labor process during the appropriate historical juncture. I also interviewed one former brickyard owner. Though his position as owner occurred after World War II, his father and in-laws were brickyard owners during the specified time period.

In addition to these informants, I used three published accounts of the brickyard labor process. The main source is a popular and loosely autobiographical account of a former brickworker and brickyard owner, supported with newspaper reports (deNoyelles, 1982). Its focus is the large cluster of brickyards about fifty miles south of Brickerland, in the City of Haverstraw, NY, but the labor process as described by the author is identical to that described by my informants. The second source is a brick industry trade publication with some information on the labor process and labor relations particular to the Brickerland region (Hall, 1906). The third source is an article published in the circular of a local newspaper (O'Connor, 1989). It is based on oral history of a second-generation brickworker just south of Brickerland.

Community History

No published social history exists of the region that makes up Brickerland for the early 1900s. I could not collect written sources, such as diaries and letters. There were no newspapers specific to the area, but the two papers from the two Townships did give occasional though very brief coverage. In spot searches I found a total of five important small articles during the 1920s concerning crime and a brickyard walkout. And there was an irregular tiny piece in one such paper for Glasco, titled the "Brick Borough," that was mainly an obituary column. The bulk of the community history, however, is based on taped oral history by the twenty-five informants. They include men and women with birth dates ranging between 1906 and 1925. Similar to the procedure used for the labor process, I conducted group sessions (three) and numerous, sometimes spontaneous, individual interviews. The group sessions also consisted of between four and six close friends and relatives, and were taped. Three sessions consisted of married couples, both spouses being descendants of Brickerland.

That my informants' recollections of the worksite were consistent is undoubtedly due to the fact that the brickmaking process was uniform in the area's brickyards. Recollections of the way of life in Brickerland, in contrast, would appear more vulnerable to subjective views

and selective memory. Yet, there was much uniformity in community life as well, and informants' oral histories on this topic were also consistent. One main feature of the community was home-based survival tactics, and my informants consistently described details about such activities as outdoor bread baking, hog slaughters, gardening and food preservation. Leisure-time activities were also shared, and the informants detailed such activities as the church events and backyard get-togethers. Consistent accounts of shared community life, however, may also consistently omit certain features. But, such collective omissions do not seem to be the case because two other methods were used which gathered historical information from at least 234 other subjects--a mailed survey and the main intrafamily interviews--and they confirmed my initial findings.

Identification of the Descendants

After compiling the demographic data of the early households, I had to learn the generational outcomes of the 460 first-generation family households with children. Did their children live to adulthood? If so, what were their occupational and residential outcomes? Did they eventually have children of their own? Prior to this, there were some first-generation childless couples at child-bearing age to consider. Did they have children after 1925? The Census posed shortcomings for this end. One problem was that it

discontinued its decennial manuscript enumerations in 1925, and updated information specific to Brickerland for the second and third generations was not recorded by state or local agencies. Data on these generations were aggregated into the larger townships and school districts, but they were insufficient to determine the required family ties to the first generation. A second shortcoming of this or any Census that provides a "snapshot" of an area concerns miscounts of those temporarily away. Confounding these problems was the fact that nearly all of the first-generation members were deceased or incapacitated for interview. I responded to this situation first by conducting oral histories and focus-group interviews with older members of the second generation to confirm the Census data and to identify and locate the next generation. I then conducted a mailed questionnaire to the second-generation for information on them and their children. I will first discuss the oral histories.

Identifying the Second Generation

Based on advice from one Town Clerk and from members of the community, I selected nine second-generation descendants to update my Census data. Four of them were from the Glasco area, and I met with them as a group for a seven-hour period to give information on the Glasco-area descendants. I did the same with the five who were from the East Kingston area,

but for a period of ten hours over two days. In this case, I divided Brickerland into its two main official hamlets and questioned informants expert in their specific space. This should not weaken my conception of the wider community of Brickerland, for it does have a territorial element, and distinct neighborhoods did exist along physical lines. These sessions were not tape recorded. The informants' dates of birth ranged from 1905 to 1920, but six were born around 1915. All but two of them have lived their entire lives in Brickerland.

These focus sessions took place in 1990 in my parents' house. I narrowed the list of households to those family households with children whose heads were brickworkers. Recalling that there were a total 460 family households with children, and subtracting those heads not employed by the brickyards, there remained total of 360 to study (58.8% of the 612 total households). I copied the names, ages and approximate address of every member of these 360 brickworking family households from the Census onto separate index cards. This entailed over 2,000 individuals. The procedure of these sessions was that I asked the informants to tell me the job, residence and marital outcomes of each child.

These informants proved to be highly knowledgeable. They gave updated information on nearly all individuals in 233 households, or about 65% of the total of 360 households.

In some cases their information was detailed, explaining the exact job and company and residence of both the descendant in question and his or her children. In other cases only general information was provided, such as "The last I heard, he was still on construction before he retired." The majority of those for which they had no data were black migrants and those who moved out of the community when my informants were very young.

The group context proved a good way of verifying the Census data, and of checking each other's answers. Several surnames were misspelled by the Census, or were illegible, but as I named the children and their ages, the informants provided the missing information. Each was attentive, and as a group they identified mistakes and arrived at a consensus. For these reasons, I have full confidence in the information provided by these informants.²

The next step was to learn the more detailed job and

² I cannot over stress the value of these informants. They are Brickerland's demographers. Our meeting area was informal--the same dining-room table many had been at countless times in the past as guests--but these informants were serious, patient and committed to answering my questions. Discussing the outcomes of the community's families, in fact, is a strong feature of their culture, as is likely the case with other small communities. Also like other small towns, my informants referred to a majority of those on my list by their nicknames first. What often followed was a humorous anecdote of the person in question. In retrospect, I regret not exploring and taping these parts of the sessions, for these shared stories, after all, constitute the people's record. But, if I stopped to pursue each of these stories the task of tracing the descendants would have taken too much time.

residence progression of the second generation and their children.

Outcomes Data

Based on the approximate information given by my informants, I conducted a mailed survey of the total second generation asking about the occupational, educational, and residential history of them, their parents, their children, and their grandchildren. I constructed an eleven-page questionnaire, and mailed out 401 (See Appendix A). Since the survey asked for information of spouse, I sent just one questionnaire to the ninety-three subjects who intermarried. For those whose address was unavailable, or who were deceased, or whose status was not certain, I added a personal hand-written note to the survivor or close relative on the list--usually widows and siblings--requesting their cooperation. They could send the questionnaire to the intended person, which I said I preferred, or they could fill out the survey as that person, or send me the address. In these cases I enclosed extra questionnaires.

A meaningful figure for the return rate of the survey is difficult to calculate. I received back 234 complete questionnaires. This rate of return (58%) indicates the rate of response for those who received the survey, but it is not a proper indication of information I actually received. On the one hand, this figure overstates the data

I collected. The 401 questionnaires I directly sent, plus the 93 spouses of the intermarriages, represent 39% of the total second-generation population of 1,299. As Table 2.3 shows, my formal survey was weak for those second-generation members who are dead or without a known address.

Table 2.3: Mailing Record of the Questionnaire

Total Questionnaires Sent.....	401
total sent to living.....	318
total known living.....	393
(81% of total sent)	
total sent to survivors.....	83
total known dead.....	227
(37% of total sent)	
 Total Questionnaires Not Sent.....	 805
vital and/or marital status unknown.....	438
dead.....	144
procedural error.....	223
unmarried/no children.....	148
other.....	75

The procedural errors resulting in not sending out 223 questionnaires refers in part to mistakenly excluding 148 individuals without children. The survey was conducted during a time I initially narrowed the second generation to those with families. The 75 other cases refer to a variety of clerical errors. In retrospect, a higher response might have been obtained had I simplified the request to survivors, such as enclosing a one-page structured data

sheet.

On the other hand, the return rate under-represents the data I received. I was given consistent occupational information by my group informants on most of those who either did not receive a questionnaire, or did not respond. This includes job and residential data on their children as well. Moreover, I received forty-seven "partial" questionnaires from survivors which I do not count as returns, but which provide me with the key job and residential sketch of these people and their children. Thus, despite the return rate of my formal survey, I was able to gather at least some data on those living to adulthood for the two important variables, occupation and residence. I received occupational data for 606 (47%) of the total 1,299 second-generation members, and residence data for 878 (67.6%) of the total. These data, including both the specific jobs and generational comparisons by Census job categories, are given in Appendix B.

Identifying the Third Generation

My informants were very useful for supplementing the questionnaire on data for the third generation. There are at least 943 members of this generation, and from this total I gathered occupational information on 684 (73%), residential data on 726 (77%), and educational data on 511 (54%). However, it is conceivable that I missed close to

900 people, assuming all of those second-generation members with unknown vital and marital status (438) married someone not from Brickerland and had an average of just over two children. Assuming this, the completeness of my data for these three variables could drop, on the whole, to a little over one-third.

The Population of Families

With this basic data accumulated, I could formally specify a population from which to select an interview sample and explore the main perspectives on mobility socialization. These specifications serve to limit the population to those first-generation couples whose grandchildren matured to adulthood, or in other words, those first-generation couples who had children who, in turn, produced children currently in adulthood. The population of families is thus composed of three generations, the features of which are explained below.

The First Generation

There are five required features of the population of the first, or stock, generation: they must have lived in Brickerland in 1925, they must have been between or very near the ages of 21 and 45 in 1925, they must have been married couples with children by 1930, they must have lived

in Brickerland long enough to raise their children to adolescence, and the husbands must have worked in brickyards in 1925.

The first generation is "first" because it marks the starting point of my study, not necessarily because it designates "first-generation immigrants." While most of them do conform to the common use of the term referring to foreign-born immigrants, a small number of them were born here. The age requirement is deliberately imprecise to include those couples with one spouse slightly out of the age range, for one's parenthood status takes priority in such situations.

Upon completing latter stages of the research, I found that of the total 612 households in Brickerland in 1925, there were 300 families meeting the requirements for first-generation population. The average age of the father in that year was thirty-six, while the mother was thirty-one. In fifty-one of these families, one parent--usually the father--was older than forty-five, but I defined them as first-generation families because the spouse was within the designated age group. A small number (seven) lived with their parents, while the remainder lived in their own homes.

The Second Generation

The population of the second generation is composed of the sons and daughters of the first generation. The four

requirements for inclusion were that they were born of the first-generation population, that they were born between or very near 1915 and 1930, that they grew to adolescence in Brickerland, and that they eventually became married parents (single parenthood was so rare for this generation that no further special conditions were necessary).

Data from the Census, focus-group interviews and mailed survey found that the first-generation population had a total of 1,299 children. Their average age in 1925 was eight years, while the mode was one year or younger. Longitudinal data from these same sources found that a total of 620 married couples meeting the requirements for inclusion in the second-generation population were formed from these children.

The Third Generation

The third-generation population had to satisfy just two conditions: they had to be the children of the second-generation population, and they had to have been born between or very near 1945 and 1960. Based on data from the Census, focus-group interviews and a mailed survey, I found that the second generation produced at least 943 children. For aggregate-level outcomes information, it was not necessary that they be married with children, and so I did not search for the number meeting this criterion. This condition did have to be met, however, for the interview

process.

I thus had an opportunity to examine each generation as parents, and to examine the second and third generations as children as well. That is, the first generation was studied in its role as inspirer, and the two latter generations were examined in their roles as both inspirer and aspirant.

Sample Selection and Interviewing

The final stage of the research involved semi-structured interviews with a sample to understand the mobility socialization each generation received and performed. Because almost all of the first generation are deceased or incapacitated, I limited my interviews to the second and third generations. The families interviewed reflected the aggregate-level job, education, residence and ethnic characteristics on the one hand, and the familial and age specifications of the research population on the other. Based on a computer-derived random sample, excluding friends and members of my extended family, I selected twenty families (i.e., twenty second-generation couples representing twenty different family names) and their children. The total number of individuals interviewed was sixty-six (not including fourteen partial interviews I had with siblings, children, or spouses who were present at the time). The average length of the interview was ninety minutes.

The aggregate-level job, education, sex and ethnicity data for each generation was used to draw a stratified sample. A stratified sample was preferred because the occupation and community life of the first generation are the independent variables for the processes and outcomes of the latter two generations. This study does not suggest a cumulative perspective wherein the third generation is viewed in terms of the additive effects of the first and second generation's job and education attainments. In any event, the outcomes of the third generation do not vary by those of their parents--the majority are in two Census job categories regardless of their parents' category (see Appendix B).

Taking an example with jobs, this meant that, using the 1980 Census (U.S. Government, 1982) job categories, forty-five percent of the second-generation families to be interviewed would be in "Level V," made up of "machine operatives and laborers." More specifically, and consistent with the pattern of particular jobs and employers, I sought the proportion for each occupational category within the larger levels. For example, of the Level-V workers, sixteen percent would need to be factory operatives, seventeen percent laborers and helpers, and so on. This procedure was complicated by taking several other variables into account as well: whether or not the males worked in the brickyards and of what duration, intermarriages, and the jobs of the

females (i.e., second-generation daughters). The same technique was applied for the third generation, though with many fewer job variables.

Whether or not the residence of the families in the interview sample proportionately represents the population depends on how residence is defined. While only 75 of the 460 first-generation families in Brickerland moved out soon after 1925 to unknown destinations, a majority of the second generation (70 percent) moved out upon adulthood. Their destinations can be put in two broad categories: movements to the nearby surrounding area, and movements much farther away. The majority (seventy-one percent) fit in the first category.

On the one hand, this means that a large majority moved within a twenty-mile radius of Brickerland, with the large majority moving only five to fifteen minutes away by car to the City of Kingston, Village of Saugerties and other areas in the two Townships. This allowed close ties with the "old" community to be maintained by visits with family and friends and participation in community events. With the demise of the brick industry, and the resulting loss of business in Brickerland, nearly all economic and leisure relations and schooling shifted to the City of Kingston and nearby areas in the Townships--especially the Town of Ulster, due to its business expansion generally after World War II and its recent boom in the last two decades. Thus,

most second-generation descendants could be seen as relocating to the economically viable area closest to Brickerland. Since this meant that members of second generation often continued to share their main daily activities with one another in their new location, those in this nearby area could be considered as "remaining" in the community.

On the other hand, this reflects a large movement out of Brickerland, as defined by the cultural and geographical boundaries specified at the start of this chapter. While economic activity took place outside Brickerland, the community remains a very convenient residential location. In many cases, especially for those who continued to work in the brickyards, the jobs of the second generation were closer to Brickerland than their new residences. Yet, most moved out. Moreover, visits back to the old community, regardless of their frequency, could not sustain the way of life of the early families in light of the structural changes that brought the end of "Brickerland." In this sense, most of the second generation "left" the community. Indeed, in this strict sense, even those remaining in the original boundaries could be seen as "outside."

The meaning of residence, then, may vary by the variables considered. That is, for purposes of occupational outcome for the second generation, it would be sensible to view the majority as "staying." Most remained in the

nearest economically viable place. For the issue of mobility socialization, however, the majority of the third generation is the first to be raised outside the original community, and in this case most of the second generation should be seen as "leaving." That is, most reared their children outside the context of Brickerland life. Thus, I selected a proportional number of second-generation families staying in the original community, and a proportional number living in the nearby locations. Included in both categories are those in the third generation who have moved beyond the twenty-mile radius. There were five such descendants in my sample, and I interviewed them by telephone.

Two groups of second-generation families were excluded from the interview sample, mainly for practical reasons. The first are those whose parents moved away when they were in childhood, and thus had nearly no direct experience with Brickerland. I had no means of identifying and contacting them. The second group were raised in Brickerland but moved outside the twenty-mile circle surrounding Brickerland upon adulthood. This group would represent a much clearer departure from the home community. Despite the fact that they are in the minority, my generalizations of the community influences will be limited due to excluding them. That is, I have no information regarding the mobility socialization they received from their parents, their aspirations, or the type of mobility socialization they

conducted with their children. However, my focus on the second-generation families who remained within the twenty-mile radius provides the advantage to assess the structural constraint arguments which claim that small homogeneous working-class communities inhibit mobility socialization for advancement. If this were true, we should expect the families who grew up and remained in the area to exhibit low inspiration and aspiration for a better life.

Deciding the generation with which to begin the sampling process--second or third--was arbitrary. I began with the second generation because of the greater number of variables to consider. I initially selected twenty families from this process. The final decision was attained by adjusting the computer-formed random sample by eye after viewing how the parents and children as a whole measured up to the overall pattern. For example, if I had the correct representation of parents but a disproportional number of third generation teachers, I tried another potential family until I achieved the best family mix that represented the second and third generation as a whole. The exact characteristics needed for each variable and each generation, and the number actually attained for the interviews, are given in Appendix C.

I did not include all the second-generation siblings of a stock family, for to do so would overemphasize the individual family at the expense of the class and community

forces. I did, however, attempt to interview all the third-generation siblings to be able to study the parent-child interplay for more than one child of a family. This was not possible with the second generation due to the unavailability of their parents.

I was able to interview nineteen complete families, and I did "partial family" interviews (of just one generation) for seven families. In other words, in the process of trying to reach all members of families, there were seven cases where one generation was not available. Since both second and third generations are represented in these partial families, I do not see any reason to reject their data, as long as I distinguish their responses from the "completes."

I expressed my preference at the outset to meet the generations separately, but some respondents arranged otherwise. I opted to meet the generations separately for two main reasons. The first is that respondents might not be frank in the presence of their parent or child, and the second is that some of the questions are generation specific, which required excessive turn-waiting. This risked losing rich interaction between the generations regarding the child-raising experience, including memory-stimulation. But, I did get much of this because I did meet parents and children together in six cases.

Potential respondents from both generations were sent

request letters and later contacted by telephone. Annette Lareau (1989), who compared working-class and middle-class families, sent such letters only to the middle-class families. Working-class families, she was advised, are not accustomed to receiving letters from researchers with university letterheads, and would be less likely to cooperate. I did not encounter such problems with those in my sample who had little education and mainly did manual work, other than the typical curiosity of all potential respondents regarding the precise nature of the study. My "insider" status, explained below, undoubtedly helped with this. Also, because the intergenerational character of the interviews was made clear to both generations, much discussion between the typically blue-collar parents and their college-educated children was to be expected. When I called to set up an appointment, it was clear that everyone had read my letter and gave both the topic of my work and the chance of being interviewed sufficient consideration.³

³ Based on my experience, the broad generalization Lareau was advised to follow (by Lillian Rubin) assumes a monolithic and stereotypical view of working-class life that should be challenged in future research on at least three grounds. In the first place, this view neglects the fact that a member of the working class can be college educated and employed in a "white-collar" job, such as a clerical worker at a university. Secondly, it assumes an anti-intellectual character of the working class. And third, it assumes that "alien" correspondence is met by the working class with ignorance and passivity, and omits the possibility that they might take efforts to get to the bottom of it, such as consulting with family, friends or a dictionary.

All but one of the interviews were tape recorded. The average length of each was about ninety minutes. Soon after each interview, I wrote a two to four page summary. The interview questions for each generation are provided in Appendix D.

Since the interviews rested on subjects' memories, it is important to acknowledge the long-standing problem of accuracy and ability of recollection. Accuracy is subject to the effect of normative influence. The respondent may give socially expected rather than "objective" answers. This likelihood is heightened in my interviews since the questions raised the two very strongly-held values of parenting and success. Accuracy is also subject to distorted memory. I required descendants to recall interactions that took place between twenty and forty years ago. The general response to these shortcomings by historians and sociologists has been to accept that the recollections represent more of what the respondents subjectively define as real rather than the actual facts as they were (e.g., Hareven and Langenbach, 1978).⁴

⁴ Hareven and Langenbach (1978:32) make this point and provide an interesting example:

What is important in oral history is not merely the facts that people remember but how they remember them and why they remember them in the way they do. For example, a number of interviewees, when asked when they finished working in the [factory], replied 1922. The work records of many of these people show, however, that they continued working into the 1930s... This discrepancy comes from the fact that the strike of 1922

In addition to accepting this, I made some particular attempts to minimize normative bias and strengthen recollection. One way was by isolated cross examination. Regarding inspiration, for example, after asking parents what their actions were in this regard, I asked the children, in almost all cases in separate interviews, to recall how their parents handled this issue with them. A second technique was to describe my personal experiences when the questioning was formally over. Upon turning off the tape recorder I stimulated much recollection by explaining what my parents told me and what I job goals I envisioned.

My Roots in the Population

I am a third-generation descendant of Brickerland, but I was not born and raised there. Upon marriage, my parents moved to Kingston, and that is where I was raised. I do, however, consider myself to be a unique insider of the community in many ways because my paternal roots are in Glasco, my maternal roots are in East Kingston, and my parents never severed ties with Brickerland. Almost every weekend during the first ten years of my life my family made visits to their parents and other older relatives. I often accompanied my father to the local bars and to some of his friends' homes. I spent much of my childhood summers

was such a shattering experience that the world they had known seemed to end with it.

visiting and sleeping over with my same-age maternal cousin. From these experiences, I became familiar with the people and institutions of each hamlet. I was not, of course, a full participant in their village affairs and organizations, but I did frequently (and consistently for East Kingston) take part in their sports teams, church feasts, church masses, firehouse parties, and taverns. As a child I made many acquaintances in these villages, and learned much about them from overhearing my relatives' gossip. I could easily identify a family name with the appropriate village, and for East Kingston, the appropriate street. All of the people I eventually studied, indirectly or face-to-face, knew one or both of my parents.

While I was close with my grandparents and others of the first generation, and in fact my maternal grandmother lived with us, they did not discuss much of their past with me. I learned the area's history instead in bits and pieces over many years from my parents and especially from two uncles as they recalled work and life "on the brickyard" and applied their past experiences to present-day issues.

Chapter Three

BRICKERLAND: WORK AND LEISURE IN AN IMMIGRANT OCCUPATIONAL COMMUNITY

Introduction: Early Brickmaking in New York

Much of Upstate New York's nineteenth-century industrial development along the Hudson River Valley was forged by the Great Fire of 1835 in New York City's Wall Street area. Lasting 16 hours, the blaze destroyed 674 buildings on 52 acres of the financial district, and rendered 14 of the City's 25 fire insurance companies insolvent (deNoyelles, 1982:11; O'Connor, 1989:27). In response, the City ordered that all new buildings be made of non-flammable material. The material of choice fulfilling this requirement was brick. For the next century entrepreneurs commenced investing in building outdoor riverside brickmaking plants along much of the River's 100 mile stretch between Haverstraw and Albany, employing over 10,000 workers and producing over a billion bricks annually.¹

The area's geography and the industry's low start-up costs made such investments relatively easy. Blue clay and sand deposits--primary ingredients in the bricks--were

¹ Data presented here and throughout this chapter on the workforce size, brick production, and geographical advantages of the area are provided by deNoyelles (1982) and Hall (1905).

abundant right along the riverbank or beneath the River itself. Informal tests on the depth of the clay deposits, for example, show that the substance went at least 100 feet deep below the surface. The River provided the direct transport line to the City's construction contractors. The brickyards themselves were set up in between the water and the clay pits and sand deposits, thus facilitating the supply of raw materials, production, and transport essentially in one location. Independent enterprisers were attracted by the cheap and uncomplicated investment needs of the labor process (though some sections required more digging and clearing of land than others). It was a labor intensive industry. Its main requirement was the mixing machine, which mixed and pressed the clay into molds, small implements like shovels and wheelbarrows, and riverbank land. Hundreds of brickmakers set up brickyards in this region, many of whom were small-scale producers who rented the means of production from the larger, more long-term brickyard owners.² Production was seasonal, beginning in

² deNoyells (1982:55-56) provides one newspaper reporter's account of the start-up process for such small-scale independents during the 1890s in the Haverstraw, New York area:

The process of leasing a brickyard was simple. One oldtimer explained it thusly: Suppose you and I were sitting down in [a] saloon one spring evening having a beer. I had a couple of thousand dollars in the bank and so did you. I'd say, "Let's rent three machines this season and make brick." And you agreed. Then we'd go out, rent our machines..., round up a gang of men, buy some

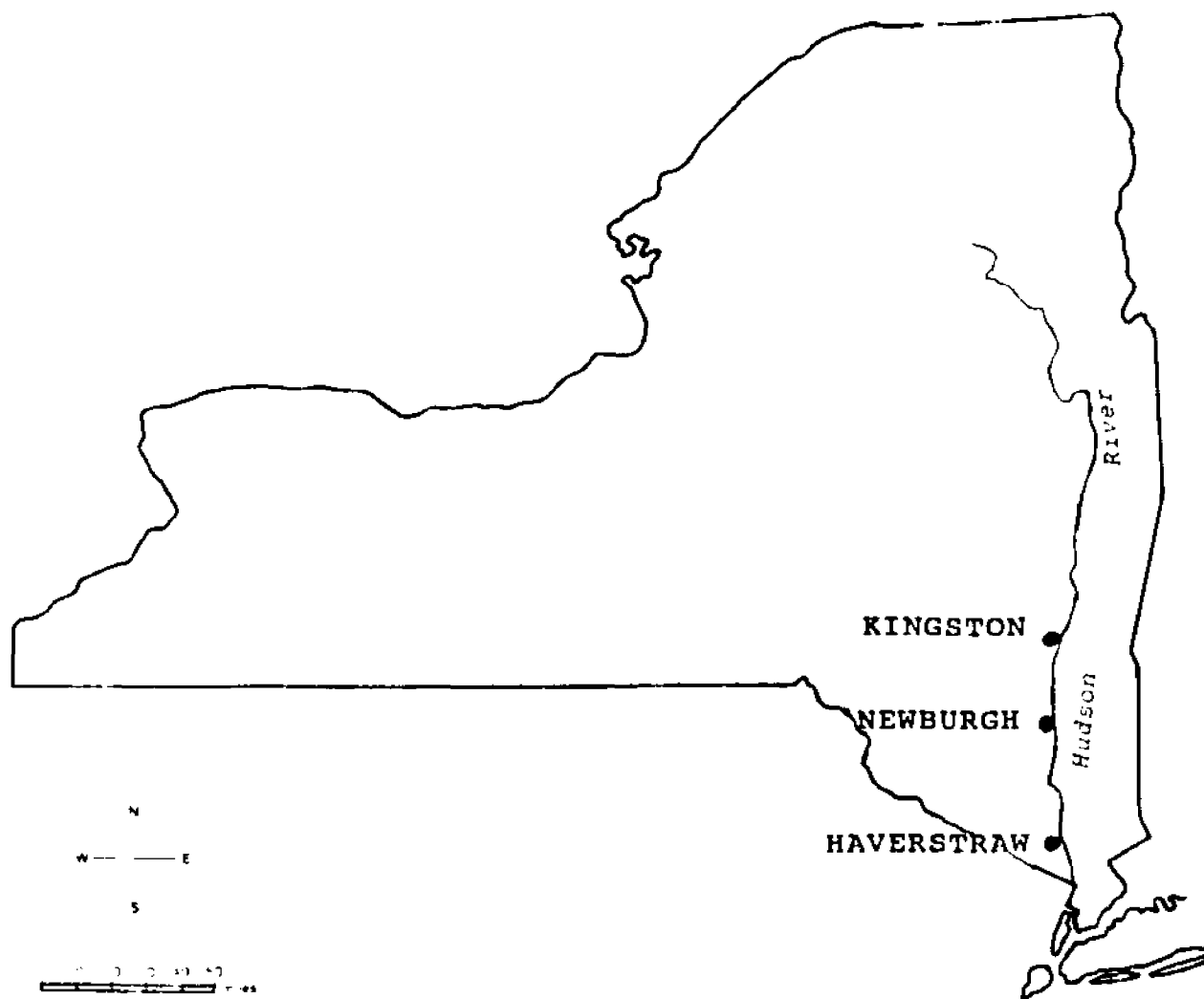
the spring and ending in the fall when the ground hardened.

By 1905, 187 brickyards operated on the Hudson, and the industry reached its peak in the State. Most of them were set up in clusters near larger cities. Three major brickyard clusters were formed near Haverstraw, Newburgh, and, the subject of this study, Kingston (see Map 2 on page 85). In 1910, 34 yards operated in the Haverstraw district, 26 in Newburgh, and 25 existed in an five-mile stretch of riverside territory adjacent to Kingston, and constitute Brickerland (see Map 1 on page 52). Brickerland's major contribution was "common brick," the blocks used for structure in inner walls, as opposed to "face brick," which are of deeper and consistent color used for building exteriors. In more recent years its flawed and broken bricks were crushed and used as surface for the warning tracks of professional baseball fields, including Yankee and Shea Stadiums.

molds.... Then we'd go [get] fifty shovels and we were in business. And if we ran it well, we'd end up in the winter with our men and leases paid off and a couple of thousand dollars more than we had in the spring.

Each brick machine rented for between \$3000 and \$4000, and the average number rented by brickmakers was three. They hired about fifty workers.

Map 2: Major Brickmaking Locations



By the mid-1930s brick production in the Hudson Valley began to decline. All of the brickyards in Glasco closed down before World War II, and two or three yards remained in the East Kingston area. A brief upturn in the construction industry after the War kept a few yards going until the early 1960s. The last brickyard in Brickerland remained in sporadic operation until 1976.³

The brickmaking process could not be performed, of course, without the other component of production--labor power. From the early 1800s until the start of the decline of the industry in the 1930s, immigrants strenuously toiled in the brickyards. Irish workers constituted most of the labor force in Brickerland up until the late 1800s. They were followed by eastern Europeans and southern Italians who arrived in the second great wave of immigration at the turn of the century. Shortly thereafter, southern blacks were conscripted by yard owners throughout the Hudson Valley as replacements for those Europeans who, like the Irish before them, were able to rise out of the arduous labor. Once here, these blacks developed networks with brickyards in

³ Bricks are still made in the Hudson Valley, but the process is completely different from the yards that existed in the time I am discussing. While many changes took place in these earlier yards, they remained labor intensive, using gang labor for the three main operations: mixing and molding the components, burning them and loading them for transport. The modern factories operating today use the fully automated moving assembly line that mixes, shapes and burns all in one process. Considerations are currently taking place about setting up an old fashioned ("molded brick") brickyard several miles north of Glasco.

Brickerland.

How did the workers in these brickyards and their families work and live? The next section attempts to answer that question by describing features of brickmaking and the leisure activities, including home-based survival tactics to complement the paid labor. I will discuss the implications of these work and community features for the way parents socialized their children about their future in the next chapter and in the final chapter.

Work in Brickerland: Wage Labor and Self Sufficiency

Brickerland's first generation survived their new environment through a combination of paid brickyard labor and self-sufficient household production. A small number of brickworkers also worked in the area's few ice houses during the winter months, when the brickyards closed. The seasonal character of brickmaking and ice harvesting required the first families to apply their agrarian talents to survive during the off-months, and the paternalism of the yard owners accommodated these survival tactics. Let me first describe the work of brickmaking.

Brickmaking

The labor process of brickmaking during the first three

decades of the 1900s was composed of six main labor-intensive steps. First, raw materials (clay and sand) were dug by hand and sent by horse-drawn carts to be mixed. Next, the raw materials were mixed and pressed into molds by the "brick machine." Soft and moist, these molded blocks, called "greenbricks," were then put out in open yards to be dried (this is the probable derivation of the term brickyard).⁴ After several days of drying in the open air the greenbricks were gathered up and stacked by hand to make up the very kiln that would harden them. The kiln was then heated ("burned") for between five and seven days. Finally, after another five to seven days of cooling, the finished blocks were taken down and loaded on barges by hand for transport. Each step was accomplished by gang work of between five to ten workers.

Each yard in Brickerland was similarly structured (see Diagram 1 on page 90). The main supervisory roles were performed by the yard foreman. He did much of the on-the-

⁴ One of O'Connor's (1989:38) respondents, a member of what I term the second generation, pointed out that modernization, like the steam dryers that replaced outdoor drying yards, redefined the original name for the worksite:

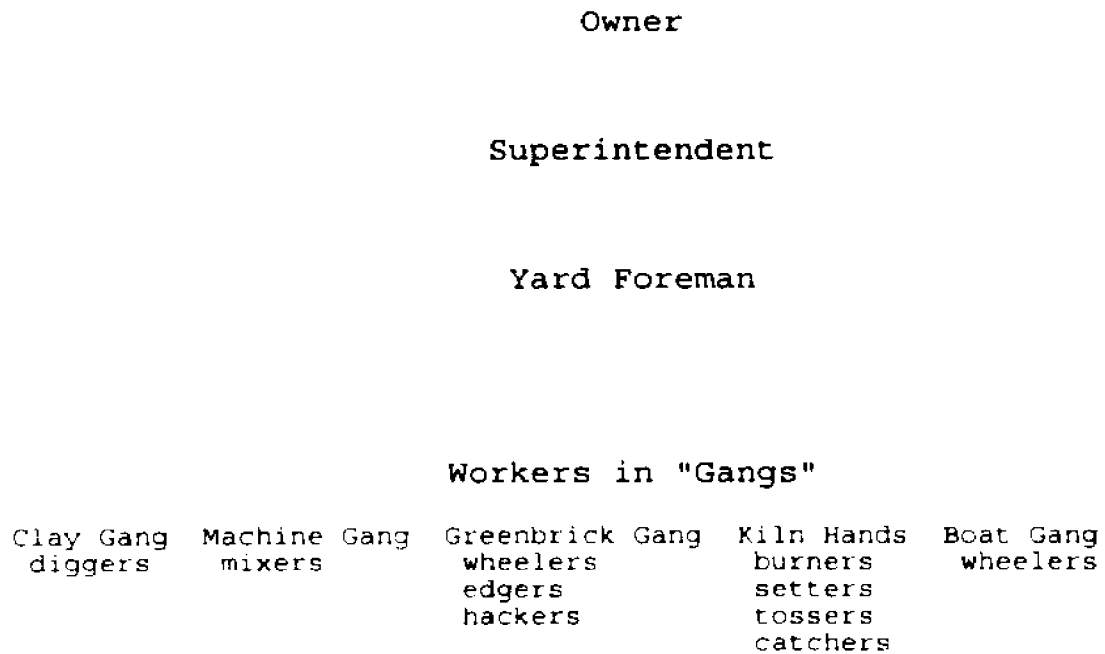
My father keeps calling it the brickyard. I didn't consider it a brickyard. When I worked there, everything was done with modern machinery. We considered it a brick plant.

In all of my interviews with all generations, and throughout my life, I only heard the term brickyard, despite everyone's awareness of the modernization processes used.

spot hiring and firing, and he coordinated and monitored the five main work gangs. Above the yard foreman, the superintendent was more involved with sales and distribution than with the daily production process. In each work gang was a strawboss who filled in any of the specific jobs to ensure smooth gang work.

Brickmaking in the Brickerland yards was a mass-production operation, but it was unlike the typical rationalized factory in three main interrelated ways. First, most of brickwork was stint work. Unlike the relentless production of other mass-produced commodities, the daily brick output was limited by many factors, such as the two-week burning and cooling cycle, the size of the kilns, and the size of the drying yard which determined the amount of greenbricks that could be dried at one time. Consequently, brickyard owners were forced to seek a plant-wide--and not an individual--daily quota of work that accommodated these factors. The yard foremen then sought appropriate production goals from each gang. Once the daily maximum amount of work possible for the production cycle was completed, such as molding bricks or loading a barge, workers were free to end work and go home. Thus, their pay could not be based on either a piece-rate or hourly basis. And so when circumstances slowed down the labor cycle, such as machine breakdown, the loss of a kiln of bricks due to improper burning, or transportation difficulties, the yard

Diagram 1: The Social Structure of a Typical Brickyard



foreman disregarded the work-quota system, forcing workers to stay until the stint was completed and paying them only for that work regardless of how much longer it took to do. Workers referred to this as the "day that never ended." Thus, there was no reason for workers to engage in tactics common to those in more closely monitored and rationalized work settings, such as restricting output or saving finished work for a "kitty." Only the kiln "burners" worked in shifts around the clock to monitor the burning and cooling.

The second variation between brickwork and typical factory labor was that brickworkers had some degree of job autonomy. This was most commonly expressed in their ability to establish their starting time. They collectively decided to begin work at sunrise so they could finish their stint early, usually before two o'clock p.m. Also, they could experiment with different ways of speeding their work, like trying new kinds of carts to move the bricks. Workers at one brickyard converted an old automobile for such purposes.

A third difference is that the workers were given more opportunity to work in many stages of the process. Most workers could perform in any gang when needed, and often did rotate their jobs--though the job of burning kiln was not completely open to all. They had a much fuller understanding of the process as a whole than did the typical assembly-line or piece-rate worker. Indeed, brickworkers were given charge of making repairs on the machinery and

buildings. This was a further distinction with typical factory work. Workers had much control over equipment and machinery. These pieces were not fixed in place, like the assembly line, and workers had license to redefine the function of, say, a shovel or wheelbarrow, and move them wherever special problems and worker creativity demanded. Testifying to the extent to which the machinery was "held in common," keys were left in the ignitions of the newly-acquired mechanical shovels and other engines. Moreover, workers were given much responsibility for integrating new mechanisms. They became self-taught "mechanics" and "electricians" in the process.

While the stint system may have been attractive for its promise of an early quitting time, it was also a successful incentive for physically intensive, fast-paced labor on the part of all gangs. In the kiln-hand gang, for instance, "tossers," rapidly threw four greenbricks at a time, two in each hand. They tossed them up a distance of about six feet to the men above, the "setters," who caught them four at a time and carefully set them at the right spacing to form the kiln. After the bricks were burned and cooled, the tossers broke down the kiln and tossed the newly-formed bricks, about one million in an average kiln, to the "catchers" below with the same intensity. It was typical that this gang set, tossed and caught a stint of 100,000 bricks in five hours, or about 16,000 bricks per worker. Since each

brick weighed four pounds, each worker handled about eight tons. In the boat gang, "wheelers" literally ran the 100,000 bricks via wheelbarrow, 120 bricks per load, onto the barge. Carl, a second-generation brickworker, born in 1914, underestimated these figures this way:

You know that song, "Sixteen Tons?" Well we pretty damn near moved that much down the brickyard. When we were wheeling, Paulie and I would load into a wheelbarrow 120 bricks, wheel it up a gang plank onto a barge, and then come back in and get another load. We'd have to catch these 120 brick thrown down to you from the kiln. And two men put on 33,000 brick: catch them, load them, wheel them, and stow them in the barge. And we used to get done in four or five hours. (informant interview, 1985, his emphasis)⁵

If this recollection is accurate--and the concurring accounts from other workers support that it is--then each complete trip was done by these wheelers in about two minutes. These wheelers also played a work game called "makin' plank," in which, during high tide, they tried to run their load up the steep plank onto the barge unassisted by the "puller" who helped them make the last four or five yards of the incline. One former worker, born in 1906,

⁵ My primary data in this chapter is provided by the second generation. Most were informants interviewed between 1985 and 1991 for oral history. Carl has been my key informant for nearly all aspects of this study. But I include some quotations from respondents in my 1991 main interviews concerning mobility socialization. Since interviews with my oral history informants spanned several years, and since the age span within the second generation is about fifteen years, I will put the date of birth for the oral history informants. When referring to the main interview respondents, I will give their ages as of the year 1991.

described the intensity and the pressure for speed the wheelers in the greenbrick gang experienced:

I always said you almost had to be in a prize-fighter's condition to be a brickwheeler and like that. These brick, when they came out of the mixing machine, you didn't walk out in the yard with them, you'd run, like a Chinese coolie. And you'd run back, 'cause there was just enough men running them bricks away from the machine to keep the men going. You had to run in order to, what we called, "keepin' in." (informant interview, 1985, his emphasis)

This former brickworker added that southern blacks were lured to the brickyards by company representatives who told them they could "run a truck," without explaining this would be their literal task. (They were also told by company representatives that they could work in "banks," by which they meant digging clay from the clay banks.) Although he does not use the term, deNoyelles (1982:151-2), has written from his experience as a part-time brickworker, and later as a yard owner, about this norm of "keepin' in" in the larger cluster of brickyards in the Haverstraw, New York area during what I estimate to be the second decade of the 1900s:

This urge to get through our jobs speedily, caused an intense competitive spirit between machine gangs within the company.... Greenbrick wheelers raced other wheelers, and hacking a third of brick was always a contest. When we heard the rivals sing the song "And the Monkey Wrapped His Tail Around the Flagpole," we were sure some struggling worker was exhausted from the frantic pace and had thrown in the towel to gain a rest.... None of [us] schoolboys wearied too much in contrast to the regular workers, who were insistent in working fast and furious.

The fast pace was self-controlled by the gangs. Some workers were so annoyed by slower partners that blows were exchanged. Fed up with his partner's inability to keep pace at the mixing machine, for example, one worker picked up a metal tray and hit the sluggard on his head.

Stint work continued right to the end of the industry, even when production was modernized and no longer constrained by the drying and burning stages. After World War One, for instance, greenbricks were dried quicker and with more control by steam dryers that rendered the open air method obsolete. Superintendents then often got the idea to extend the day to a full eight hours and operate more like a regular factory. But some realized the futility of this transition, as this second-generation descendant, age sixty-nine, once a yard foreman, explained:

Some managers tried going to eight hours, but it wasn't too long that they realized the stint work was more productive. They'd say, "Well, let's make it eight hours--we'll get more done." Well, [workers] didn't produce in eight hours what they did in five or six. They had an incentive: do it and get it done. And I made sure that was always there, 'cause that was ideal. You didn't even have to supervise them. They found their own ways of doing things. They'd find shorter cuts than you. (interview with descendant, 1991, my emphasis)

Thus, while workers were given the ability to set their hours and modify their work process, their movements were constrained to the high-paced rhythm of gang labor.

Most of the brickmaking processes during the early 1900s, however, were not rationalized. Setting the

greenbricks to make the kiln and burning the bricks were extremely important stages, and the know-how involved was possessed by setters, burners and the yard foreman, but it was applied mainly by the former two. The fate of millions of bricks rested in their hands and eyes. Spacing the greenbricks was crucial for proper heat conduction and an even burn, and attaining and maintaining the proper heat was essential. Thousands of bricks were burned by one flame source, some very near the fire, and others up to fifty feet away. There were no temperature gauges, no written procedures or standards for spacing, and no timing devices to signal or automatically shut off the flame (though there were strict standards which the finished product had to meet). One of O'Connor's (1989) informants, an eighty-nine-year-old former brickworker, put it this way:

It was just like baking a cake. It was all trial-and-error. If the brick shrunk too much, you added sand. If it burst, the clay was too strong, so once again you added sand. If it was wet, you added lime to absorb the water. This became second nature to the oldtimers.

As that former brickworker explained, burners were given freedom to experiment with the heat and length of the burn. The second-generation respondents rightly refer to these jobs as an art. They learned it as children playing or helping their fathers at the kiln. Their fathers did not know the work until they arrived in the United States, and one assumes they picked it up from the earlier predominantly

Irish burners and setters they eventually replaced. When the yards replaced the coal fires with oil burners in the 1920s, the kiln burner had to use even more independent judgement to guide and monitor the fire due to the increased amount of control oil burners offered.

The stint work also encouraged child labor. Most brickworkers brought their boys and girls to the yard before school or during the summer to do work better suited for short backs and thin wrists. Older boys sometimes climbed to the top of the kiln to help seal the spaces with mud. In the process, they were socialized to the general work process and developed the skills necessary for specific jobs that many went to do at least for some time as adults. However, the most common work for the children were back-bending jobs of hacking--laying the greenbricks out to dry--and edging--turning them on edge for an even dry. Some children were hired directly by the yard foreman for about fifty cents per day, and others worked alongside their fathers so to help them finish earlier. This child labor, however, was not as physically dangerous as that faced by children in Northeast factories (unless their fathers brought them into the kiln shed), and it was not as intensive as farm labor. The second-generation men and women mainly recall their necessity to do physical work as youngsters, not that danger or intensity were involved. The following seventy-nine-year-old respondent, for example,

said they made it fun:

Well, we always made fun out of it. Even hacking brick, we used to sing. We used to do everything, and it was never a chore. It was fun doing it. Like with [my little brother], lot of times we would jerk him and he would fall off of the rake. And we used to come home full of red paint, go down the River and take a bath. In the summer that was wonderful--how you could go in the River. (interview with descendant, 1991)

The children also had the task of "carrying the pails" of breakfast and lunch to their fathers, older relatives, or friends in the common three-tier metal containers. The workers created the norm of working an hour or so at sunrise, before eating. They would stop around seven o'clock for breakfast, and eat again in the late morning. Workers did not simply bring their breakfast and lunch with them in the morning, they demanded fresh, hot meals. And, twice a day, they got it: for breakfast, the wives or older daughters prepared big hot portions of fried potatoes with peppers, pork and eggs from their own pigs and chickens, homemade bread, homegrown fruits and vegetables, homemade wine and coffee, and for lunch they made pasta. They put the coffee in the bottom tier to keep the food hot. The children then shared the job of bringing the pails to the worksite. The schools adjusted their schedules so the students carried breakfast before class, and recess began at 11:30 so they could carry the lunches. Some workers who had no children or relatives paid children two dollars per month to do it for them. While at the yard, these children

observed the goings on and heard the men's work talk.

For the adults, and typical of industry of the time, brickyard work was dangerous and dirty. Wheelers often fell into the River while loading the barge, and some drowned. Some workers in the clay banks were crushed in landslides. Most commonly, workers were hit by falling bricks. In the absence of a company health center, here is the way the brickyards handled these situations in the more recent times of the 1940s and 1950s, as told by Carl:

I remember this one guy, Bill, who wore a baseball cap. He got hit in the head one day when a brick fell from the kiln. Now, in the boiler room they used to keep some bandages and iodine. No doctors or anything like that--just some of the machine tenders who were there. If you got hurt, you'd go in there and if they saw you were alright, they'd patch you up and send you back out. If you looked bad enough, they'd say, "You alright?" And if you looked okay you'd drive yourself to the hospital. So, Bill goes to the boiler room and they saw that his cut was kind of deep. They put some bandages on his head, and it looked funny 'cause they put his cap on over the bandage. So, they told him to go to the hospital. Now, when he walked out of the boiler room, instead of turning right to go to his car, he turned left towards the area where we used to take a crap. He was stunned. When they saw him going that way someone yelled out, "Hey, Bill! Where you going, to take a shit!?" "No," he said, "I'm going to the damn doctor." And Francis says, "Jesus Christ, they could at least point him in the right direction!" (group interview, 1985.)

The daily hazard faced by all the workers was the red dye used for coloring. In the form of brick dust, it settled on everything. Second-generation former workers told me they would spit up the red dust hours after leaving the yard.

They covered their car seats and their chairs at home to protect from the dust, and despite washing, their work clothes had a permanent red tint. Kiln hands risked greater danger from the fumes of the coal-burned fires of the big ovens. The fires were not hot enough to destroy harmful exhausts. Today's pollution standards render such old-fashioned kilns inoperable.

Brickyard work, in summary, was very strenuous, dangerous and dirty. But it was based on worker autonomy and skill, and it paid well relative to other work in the vicinity. Nonetheless, it was seasonal work, and the first-generation families were frequently in debt. The children went barefoot during the summer to save the parents from buying new shoes. Shirts and dresses were worn until threadbare, and children fortunate enough to go to high school felt ashamed to wear the same clothes day after day. Due to the seasonal nature of brickmaking during the first three decades, and despite winter work in the ice houses or mushroom plants, one's savings rapidly diminished due to store-bought necessities. The families fell back on their agrarian talents to survive. These talents were accommodated by Brickerland's rural environment which offered land for farming and hunting, and the River for fishing. Of course, this environment was very different than the big cities in which most of their cohorts lived and worked, such as New York, Boston and Philadelphia. I will

discuss this in the next chapter when I compare Brickerland with the experience of other communities documented in the literature.

Home-Based Production

"I don't know how they did it," went the common recollection of the second generation of their parents. Always eager to point out the differences between "them days" and today, they gave a long list of tasks the first generation performed for their family's survival. There were vegetables to grow, animals to tend, clothes to mend, shoes to repair, food to cook and preserve, pigs to butcher, meat to cure and hang in the shanties, ovens to be built, root cellars to be built, firewood to gather, homes to repair and expand, and wine and beer to be made. "There was no welfare them days," they added. Medical care was poor. The Census listed no doctors in Brickerland. Midwives delivered the babies. And, the families were big. The average number of children for the brickyard-working families in 1925 was 4.1. Food and clothes could be bought at the brickyard company store, and most families did this during the winter. But their summer savings were soon depleted, and the workers' first several checks of the following spring would be withheld to cover the debt. Almost all families adapted by securing many goods themselves. The garden, the livestock and the outdoor oven

were the three important means of self sufficiency. All of Brickerland's ethnic and racial groups used these means as they had done in their original countries and regions.

The first-generation families grew tremendous gardens in Brickerland. In the typical garden would be grown corn, potatoes, carrots, lettuce, chicory, chard, spinach, zucchini, pumpkins, grapes, and the highly prized tomatoes and peppers. It was also common for families to have a small number of fruit trees producing peaches, pears, apples and cherries. The men would dig and plant the garden in the afternoons after their stint in the brickyard. Wives and children shared the chores of weeding and controlling insects. The families enjoyed the fresh produce during the summer, of course, but the gardens were prepared for long-term needs as well. Women worked several days peeling, cooking and preserving tomatoes and other fruits, and making jelly. The food was stored in the basement, and here is how one Hungarian second-generation respondent, age seventy, remembers them:

Them days you went to one of them cellars. No matter where you went in East Kingston. They looked like Grand Union. Honest. I bet you could pick out at least thirty different kinds of jams and jellies on one wall of my mother's cellar. And on the other wall she had about five barrels of wine--that's fifty-gallon barrels. But you go into a real Italian cellar, shit, they would have maybe ten or fifteen barrels. (interview with descendant, 1991)

Other vegetables, like potatoes and some store-bought greens

as well, were preserved in shallow ground and dug up as needed.

Most first-generation families had their own pigs, many had chickens and some had goats and cows. Each hamlet had one or two men who butchered the families' pigs in the fall. "We ate everything except the squeal," many said. Aside from the meat they ate at the time and the prized sausage they dried, they made lard from the fat, and fried and made pudding from the blood. These family survival practices of preserving tomatoes, winemaking and pig butcherings, were performed as social events.

A final main home-based activity was making bread in homemade outdoor ovens. Not every family had an oven, and it was common for two or three families to share one. The husbands took bricks from the brickyards and constructed a large round oven in the backyard. As Carl describes:

The men would get the bricks from the brickyard and make an oven. It would stand about three or four feet off the ground and look like an igloo. They would fill in the cracks between the bricks with "daub"--I guess the actual word is adobe, like the Indians used, you know, clay and mud. Inside they would put a layer of about five or six inches of sand over the oven floor. On top of the sand they would lay down bricks on their sides, and fill in the cracks with sand. The floor was round, and there was a little door. (group interview, 1992)

The rest of the work was the woman's. She gathered wood to build a fire, and like a brick burner in the brickyard, she gauged the heat by eye. Carl continues:

Now, the women, man that was really something. They would first start a fire with brush to heat up the bricks. Then they had to take their broom to clean out the ashes. They had that way of flicking their wrists to clean out all the crap. Then they used a wet mop to clean the oven floor. Then comes the part that they had to know what they were doing. They'd take a little flour and sprinkle it on the floor. They could tell by the color and how fast it turned color whether the oven was the right temperature to start baking. They'd either have to wait till the oven cooled down a little, or start another fire. They made big round loaves that lasted a couple of weeks. When you cut a slice, it was so big that it took up the whole plate. That bread with a tomato from the garden was our meal. (group interview, 1992)

Making clothes was another activity the women did. It was common for the women to use flour sacks to make bed sheets, pants or under garments for their children. Patched-up clothes were so common a sight up to the end of the Second World War that some men were identified as winners in the category of "best patched-up clothes on the brickyard."

To summarize the range of self sufficiency activities let me quote at length from the following account by a sixty-seven-year-old second-generation descendant that was published in a local newspaper (Rinaldi, 1988):

Determined not to indenture themselves to the point where they owed their soul to the "Company Store," they resorted to "Old World survival" methods, planting gardens and raising animals. (...) Everything was canned, buried, dried or stored in basements with a terra-firma floor. Most vegetables including King Tomato were canned. Pumpkins, hot peppers and some tomatoes were dried. Potatoes, apples and pears were stored in the cellar. Cabbage was buried and it took a Herculean effort to dig them out after the ground was firmly frozen during January and February. Goats furnished milk and on some festive occasions

a "Kid" was butchered for the big meal. Most [second]-generation children, who have been around for at least fifty or sixty summers, were chicken experts long before Frank Purdue was conceived. They knew white leghorns were laying chickens, but the Rhode Island Reds were better eating. (...) Every two weeks huge loaves of bread were baked in the outside ovens, wrapped in bed sheets--usually washed white flour bags--and hung in the attic for storage. The bread was stored along side the capacoli, ham and prusciutto, stored to dry for later consumption.

The gang-work in the brickyard, especially the kiln hands, and the home-based survival tactics, required much "self direction." Of course, this was not unique to the Brickerland families, since rural dwellers throughout the country at this time lived similarly. Obviously, the first-generation brickyarders had no substantive decision-making powers, and there was no "workplace democracy" in the brickyards. Likewise, the first families held no positions of authority in the towns. Thus they had nearly no direct influence in the structure of their economic and political institutions. However, they were able to use much of their own judgement and creativity within these frameworks.

Brickmaking and the work of self provision took up most of these families' time. Given this and the fact that they were isolated to an extent from the City of Kingston and Village of Saugerties, one wonders if their lives were marked by loneliness, despair or emptiness. What else was there to do besides paid or self-sufficient labor? Did their daily survival needs isolate them from the other

families? Did competition for scarce resources engender mutual suspicion? The following section will show that the first-generation families of Brickerland were very close, and that they shared a variety of leisure activities that revolved around their work lives.

Leisure Time: Social Dimensions of Survival and Non-Work

Communality in Survival Activities

Typical of small rural communities of this era, there was little practical distinction between spheres of work and relaxation in Brickerland. The first generation's non-work activities were shared with co-workers. And, due to their survival needs, the separation between their work and non-work activities was hardly clear. Growing vegetables and raising pigs, as described above, helped these early families to make it over the winter months. But, these were also times of fun and community interaction. One such activity that the second generation recalls with great fondness was the autumn pig butchering. Relatives and neighbors came to help and watch the event. The fresh meat was shared with neighbors. According to Rinaldi (1988), "It was one long weekend party in the neighborhood with neighbor helping neighbor." The following two accounts from second-generation informants, ages seventy-six and seventy-two describe well these rituals:

Rose: Now, you know, when they butchered the pigs, that was a real party. The guitars would come out and they'd have a good time making the sausage. Everybody would work together. Then, everybody would have turns. We'd go to [another person's] house, and there'd be another party.
(interview with descendant, 1991)

Fred: The butcherings of the pigs on late fall Saturdays was, for me, an exciting and enjoyable experience. You didn't have to be invited to the killing. If you had the time and you heard the pig squeal, you went automatically to help out. Five or six husky guys would hog-tie the pig and lay him on the overturned trough. Out would come Mr. T____, a senior citizen with considerable credentials for bringing the hog's life to a quick end. Often, a pail of blood would be caught (constantly stirred) as the pig bled away his life. This would be turned into bloodwurst, a sweet and less than savory morsel as far as I was concerned. The day would end with all the helping neighbors sharing in a feast of succulent pork tidbits cooked with home fries. Man! I enjoyed that meal.
(personal correspondence, 1991)

The butcherings were not spontaneous. It is a testament to the cooperation between the families that the slaughters were actually strategically staggered on a weekly basis throughout the fall so that each family could share fresh meat. Months later, sharing the dried sausage was another social occasion. The family with the first sausage of the season would make a plate and give it to neighbors. The neighbors would reciprocate when their meat was ready.

Breadmaking was another survival act done as a social occasion. It was typical that two or three households

shared the outdoor brick oven. Breadmaking did not have the festive characteristics of pig butcherings, but it was a time the women would meet and talk. The same took place when women canned their fruits and vegetables. On a daily basis, and like the case of other immigrant neighborhoods (e.g., Gans, 1962), the women sought to finish their domestic work by late morning so they could then visit with friends.

Church Activities

The families spent much of their time left over from home-based production participating in church affairs. The families were predominantly Catholic. Weekly attendance at the Sunday mass was strictly enforced by the first generation. (One middle-aged third-generation respondent, in fact, commented that she just recently stopped going to church, and she must keep this secret from her parents.) As the following comment by a second-generation respondent, age seventy, shows, church day was a social occasion:

Them days, everybody knew everybody. Every Sunday morning everybody dressed up in good suits. They'd have that vest with the gold-chained watch going from one side to the other, and they would all go to church. They'd all walk and kind of out-dress each other. Honest. It was something. (interview with descendant, 1991)

After mass, the typical activity was to have a big spaghetti supper. But church activities included much more than

weekly mass, as the following written comment from one seventy-two-year-old informant about the role of the church shows:

The community was, by and large, religiously oriented, which helped immeasurably in developing strong moral standards. There was Protestant church and a Catholic church. Each had regular Sunday and Holy Day services, and each provided social events which further bound the community. The Protestant church often had dinners, or offered delicious clam chowder for sale, and they had a dart game league. The Catholic church had a large hall near the church in which local Friday night dances were held. They also produced excellent minstrel shows, with white- and black-faced humor--the talent was all local. It was a popular event attended by many from other nearby towns. (personal correspondence, 1991)

By far, the major church-related social events of the year were the "saint society" feasts. Each summer various groups of Catholics who honored a particular saint held an outdoor spaghetti supper followed by dancing and fireworks. The events were actually a day of obligation to various saints. The two main saints in Brickerland were Saint Liberata⁶ and Saint John. Each saint was honored by a collectivity of men of Italian origin that formed the "society." Membership was by invitation only and restricted to men of at least paternal Italian descent. Each society

⁶ The story of Saint Liberata, according to a member of the Society, is that she was born a beautiful woman who loved only God. In order to escape the love of mortal men and the urges of her father that she marry, Liberata prayed to God to become ugly. When she awoke the next morning she had grown a beard. Her father was so upset that he killed her, thus allowing her to go to heaven and remain with the lord.

had the statue of their saint brought over from Italy. For one weekend in the summer the society paraded the statue through the streets in the mornings soliciting donations. After a special mass, all of Brickerland could attend the outdoor supper and dancing that took place later that night, regardless of sex or national origin. While not actual members of the societies, the wives of members were involved with preparing and selling the spaghetti, fried bread dough, coffee, soda, and deserts. These feasts were anticipated all year, for these were the times the children of the brickworkers met and danced. As these second-generation informants, born between 1906 and 1921, told me:

Joe: It was a long-awaited thing. It was the only entertainment we had. I used to be walking down the road and everybody'd say, "Don't forget, I'll see you down the feast." It was usually a two-day affair. The older men, you'd hear them having loud conversations and drinking beer. The younger men were chasing women and dancing.

Mary: They used to put up a platform and get a band and we'd pay ten cents a dance.

Joe: And anybody who wanted to show off his stuff and feel very proud would get on the dance floor. We used to go from one [feast] to the other, and we were all from the brickyards. We used to go to Glasco, East Kingston and Kingston Point. (group interview, 1985)

The societies held their feasts on the same day the events were held in Italy. On at least one of these days, August fifteenth, the Italian brickworkers would not work, and the owners honored their wishes. Joe and Mary commented,

Joe: We didn't have too many holidays, but the fifteenth of August, there's a funny one. It was a very religious day to the oldtimers. The brickyard owners could never understand why we never wanted to work on that day.

Mary: And people coming from Italy always celebrated that day in Italy, so they kept that tradition here. But our generation stopped observing that day.
(group interview, 1985)

The societies used the money they made from food and game sales to provide for members' needs, like medical care and, later on, college aid. Each society had a marching band as well.

Today, only one society remains, Saint Liberata, and consists of just twelve active members. Over the last decade it has ceased the procession, the dancing and the fireworks, but continued the special mass and spaghetti supper. In 1992, faced with a lack of help, the Saint Liberata Society held its final feast.⁷

⁷ Some of my own recollections of the feasts may be useful. Even though I did not live in Brickerland, I, too, looked forward to them as a boy growing up in the 1960s with almost the same anticipation as the previous respondent. They seemed to be enjoyed by a wide variety of people. Teenagers in rock and roll bands vied for the chance to play there, and young teens grouped around the bandstand. It was also a place for teens to show off their customized cars. The first generation stayed mostly under the pavilion, talking among themselves, and the second generation stood outside in groups near the games of chance. In the older generations the sexes were usually separate. In more recent times local politicians attended. Friends and relatives from Kingston and towns much farther away would come. Just walking the streets, crowded with cars and people on their way to and from the bazaar, was exciting. The otherwise silent and still hamlet was alive with lights and sound.

Informal Neighborhood Interactions and Support

What was perhaps the gayest leisure event in Brickerland up to the Second World War was the summer-time backyard get-together. First-generation families made wine from nearly any source available. When red concord grapes were not available, they used the local dandelion or even raisins. On Sundays the families took turns sharing their output. Relatives and neighbors met in the backyard. The activities were clearly divided along the lines of sex: the men played cards and the women "gossiped" and distributed the food. As Carl recalls:

The Sunday recreation usually was that three or four families used to congregate at one guy's house. We'd sit outside. We all had outside tables. The men used to take the table over. The boys would find some kind of game, and the women would gossip. The men would play [a drinking-based, team card game] called "brisk." The fun part was that the owner of the house used to supply wine and the trick was to try like hell to make "boss" and don't let him drink. Meanwhile, everybody else is drinking his wine and leaving him dry. And the following Sunday they used to go to another house. (group interview, 1985)

The second generation recalls sitting around their parents and older relatives at these get-togethers with amusement as

Even as a young boy, I felt amused by the community's folksiness and simplicity that the bazaars brought out, and so did most of the children living there. Gossiping was everywhere. Everyone knew not just the other person, but the other person's entire family. After asking me my name, second-generation residents, for example, would name my parents, grandparents, and aunts and uncles, and talk about my father's brickworking abilities.

they told stories or as the relatives and neighbors teased the host about his wine or his garden. The family garden, in fact, was a main topic of conversation at get-togethers: "They used to always talk about their gardens when they got together--who had the biggest tomatoes, who had the most peppers," one woman of the second generation said.

Both card games and gossiping, however, were not limited to the weekend get-togethers. The card games were also played in the local taverns, an area limited to men. Not every family attended backyard get-togethers. When asked what their parents did in their spare time, several said their fathers went to the bar and played cards, or they gathered under a certain tree--each hamlet had one--and talked about Italy. Courtship and family responsibilities, especially the need to request state aid, were common topics of gossip. While the topics of discussion were often village specific, the wide brickyard influence and the heavy use of nicknames helped to lend a distinctive consistency to both the substance and style of the talk. "Everybody had a nickname," the respondents said. Respondents could identify people by their full names if pressed, but the easiest way for them was the nickname. In fact, I had to use my relatives' nicknames in order to fully identify myself and gain permission to conduct my research with the descendants.

Some of the women of the first generation formed sewing circles. Each member took turns hosting the circle. They

had coffee and snacks and shared techniques of sewing. Mainly, these women did not sew for pay but to do patch-up work for their families. When not patching clothes, they spent a lot of time putting lace on items, like pillowcases. Community gossip was carried on in the circles as well.

I have mentioned the survival skills of these families at various times, and as pointed out above, they were frequently the cause for festive get-togethers. They were also used, however, as a means of support for relatives and neighbors. For, as I will discuss in the next chapter, during times of unemployment or the death of a family head, the first generation was reluctant to seek what limited state aid was available. The more acceptable form of assistance was the informal material support given by neighbors and family. Families in need received food, clothing, and labor. Domestic labor was provided by women, as this second-generation respondent, born in 1921, explains of the first generation:

They were very giving. They had nothing, but whatever they had they gave. Whenever Mrs. Q. had an operation, the husband came to Mama and said, "Do me a favor. You have to bake bread for me," for I don't know how long until she got better. So poor Mama used to bake our bread and bake bread for them so they had bread to eat. For weeks Mama made their bread. (group interview, 1985)

And this seventy-year-old respondent said this with regard to childbirth:

When a baby was born, the new mother didn't cook. All her friends would get together and take turns

for a week going to her house to set the table and cook--cook chicken and soup and, oh my God, what food they would bring! No doctors, just midwives. (interview with descendant, 1991)

It was common for the men to plant and tend a garden for next-door widows or households comprised of women.

The term most often used by the second-generation respondents, whether spoken in interviews or voluntarily written on my mailed survey, was "closeknit." The communality of Brickerland and the informal material support given is clearly exemplified in this interchange between three members of a family and an in-law born between 1906 and 1921:

Emma: We were a closeknit community.

VS: How were you closeknit?

Julia: We were close because we knew what every family ate for that day and what they were going to do the next day. It was just like one big family. We all knew from morning to night what everybody was going to do.

Emma: If your mother got sick and was laid up, well, you'd have a neighbor come in and do your wash.

Mike: That's the best way to describe it: the brickyard communities were like one big family.

Emma: You knew everybody's business, even how much money they had. When Papa had pneumonia, my God the people that came to our house!

Julia: When the pigs were butchered, they all used to come over and make sausage together. This week it was our house, next week it was someone else's. When

Papa died, [our Hungarian neighbor] took us all to Kingston and bought us all black clothes for the funeral. Another thing was that whoever butchered their pig first, you'd have to make up a plate with the best pieces of every part of that pig and give it to this family and that family. Then when they killed their pig we got one of these plates right back.

Emma: And when you made wine, you'd have everybody come over and taste it when it was ready.

Julia: And before you made your wine you made up a big bowl of grapes and took it around to the other families. (group interview, 1985)

Ethnic Relations

Based solely on informants, interview respondents and comments to unstructured survey questions, ethnic relations in Brickerland were congenial. "Whatever they had they gave" to one another regardless of race or nationality. The most common expression whenever the matter arose was "we never had trouble like you see today," and it is directed to relations between the blacks and white ethnics. This is the consensus, but it rests in part on residential segregation of the migrant black workers--brickyard owners put them in barracks along the river shore, farther from the others. For as the whites put it, "they never caused any trouble," or "they naturally stayed to themselves," as if harmonious relations were based on the blacks staying in their place. But there is also good evidence that black-white relations

were harmonious, if especially for the permanent black families who lived closer to the whites. A fifty-year-old black third-generation descendant, for example, agreed that relations were close, and recalled as example being given invitations for lunch from several Italian families as he walked the streets and passed by their homes. His father, he added, spoke Italian better than some of the second-generation Italians. The pendulum swung both ways on this, for the black families influenced the English spoken by the European immigrants. The blacks had the best command of English outside the formal agents of socialization, such as teachers, and due to the greater exposure to these families, the white ethnics came to speak English with a clear southern intonation that is still heard in the voices of many older second-generation descendants.

In another case, a second-generation Italian descendent told me his father always shared the fresh pig meat with black families:

When my father killed pigs, it was like a national holiday. The colored people used to come and my father gave them the skins and the head 'cause that's what they liked. They were welcomed in the house just like everybody else. My mother would be frying pork chops and the blood by then, and if they didn't come into the house and have a glass of wine with whatever she was cooking, he wouldn't give them the stuff. And they would come in.
(interview with descendant, 1991)

Relations between the white ethnics were claimed to be harmonious also. This was especially the case for families

living in company housing wherein different groups were put in two-family houses. As an example of this, recall Julia, an Italian, and her story about being given funeral clothes by her Hungarian neighbor. Based on personal informal observations, cross-ethnic marriages--mainly Italian with Irish--were frequent for the second generation. Outside of Brickerland, however, in Saugerties and Kingston, informants and respondents claim much discrimination existed. Italians, for example, spoke of mistreatment from "white banks," and school teachers.

Sports

The second generation fondly remembers ice skating on and swimming in and across the Hudson. Some enjoyed the freedom of small-game hunting and fishing nearby their homes. Those second-generation males who hunted and fished as youngsters with their fathers took pleasure working seasonally in the brickyards or on construction as adults so they could maintain their Fall and Spring hunting and fishing habits. Spontaneous boxing matches were also held outdoors in makeshift rings. But, larger numbers of Brickerland's first- and second-generation males participated in organized baseball. Glasco and East Kingston had teams that played one another and played other nearby towns as well. Some teams were sponsored by the brickyards, and they had uniforms and other equipment, but

it is not clear who the other sponsors were, or who funded the maintenance of the ball fields.

Conclusion

The work and leisure of the first-generation families were structured by the brickmaking industry. Its labor was arduous and high-paid, but its seasonal production cycle left the workers penniless for nearly half the year. At the family level, workers responded by employing their children and by applying agrarian survival skills. At the neighborhood level, the survival activities were accomplished through festive cooperation of nearby families. And at the community level, church affairs, taverns and sports brought together the families of the larger area. In short, Brickerland's families adapted to their conditions of material deprivation by uniting individual family survival skills with neighborly and community cooperation. Or, as one seventy-year-old survey respondent concisely put it,

I'm sure that you are aware that brickyarders had a tough life. However, all had a Family Spirit helping one another in those days. (written comments on mailed survey, 1990)

The population constituting this "family spirit" was largely Italian, and some of their traditions dominated the community, such as the saints' procession and church feasts. But it would be inaccurate to cast Brickerland solely as an

Italian enclave. For, the activities of everyday work and life in Brickerland were based on the similar ways each of its ethnic groups satisfied its survival needs in its home country or region. The southern blacks and southern and eastern Europeans who dominated Brickerland in the early 1900s had gardened, raised small livestock, and baked bread in outdoor ovens as a feature of their agrarian circumstances prior to coming to Brickerland.

What are the implications of brickyard labor and the "family spirit" of Brickerland's families for parents' socialization practices? The first chapter hypothesized that the substance of working-class parental socialization is rooted in the totality of shared experiences of work and leisure particular to a collectivity of families. With the basic features of those experiences of Brickerland's families now described, I will next examine the main values associated with them.

Chapter Four

BRICKERLAND'S CLASS CULTURE

"They were hard-working, decent people that minded their own business, and were always ready to help somebody, and they always had lots of friends. If they had a son or daughter that went to work everyday, went to church on Sunday, found a nice girl and didn't go roaming around, that is what they were looking for." (second-generation respondent's description of Brickerland's first generation)

The first-generation brickworking families shared conditions of seasonal employment, hard manual labor, monetary poverty, and agrarian self-sufficiency in a rural, one-industry community. How did they guide their lives under these shared experiences? The present chapter identifies the main values that comprise a nurturing context, or background variable, informing parental roles for mobility socialization and the children's aspirations.

I will follow Williams' (1963:397-409) understanding of what values are. He distinguishes between commonly understood notions of values and those that are less obvious. The things and behaviors that we say or imply we desire are the more obvious ways of determining our values. They are the objects of desire. In this way we may say, for instance, that we value schooling. But this alone does not allow us to distinguish between schooling as a means to material gain or as an end in itself. To know this difference, we need to understand what standards we use to

decide what we desire. For Williams, our standards give insight into patterns of shared affections over what is desirable. Thus, he concisely regards values as "affective conceptions of the desirable" (1963:402). Hog slaughters and vegetable gardens, for example, were behaviors and objects highly desired by the first generation in Brickerland. However, as I will explain below, these behaviors and objects were desired not only for satisfying primary survival needs, but for emotional and social aspects (i.e., affective conceptions) as well. Determining these conceptions requires generalizing from a number of empirical indicators that Williams considers, such as the choices we make between objects and actions, the attention we give to them, our explicit statements about them, and the social sanctions we form about them.

I based my analysis of the main values of the first generation mainly on indirect sources: the oral history and written survey comments of the second and third generations. However, I do have some direct sources in the form of photographs of the first generation and newspaper reports. From both these sources I generalized four values of the first generation: hard and responsible work, cooperation, individual responsibility and family decency. I will discuss them by analyzing the work and non-work features of Brickerland presented in the previous chapter, and by making comparisons with other community studies. I will conclude

by arguing that these values help guide parents to inspire hope and advancement in their children.

It is important to emphasize that these values are inferred largely from the second generation's interpretations, even if support is found in independent concurring accounts of the labor process and community history. Examined here, then, is not necessarily the complete value system of the first generation, but rather the values of lasting impression for their sons and daughters. These are of greater importance in this study, for they comprise the second generation's nurturing context. I will begin by examining work values.

Hard and Responsible Work

Pride and Responsibility in Hard Labor

Given their working conditions, how did the first-generation brickworkers endure? What kind of workers were they? In the words of the descendants the answer is, "They were not afraid to work." This is the common, understated expression the descendants use to distinguish themselves and their forbearers from lazy and irresponsible people. The first generation held in high regard the worker who was dependable, conscientious and undaunted by strenuous labor. That is what it means to be unafraid to work. The neighborhood drunk, the family deserter or the household

head who "ran around" were derided by the community. The model worker missed no days of work and was at the beck and call of the yard owner.

Of course, the particular conditions of their employment, such as fast-paced stint work, may well have precluded other orientations to work, thus coercing rather than accommodating values of hard work. But what is important is that the workers did come to accept these standards as a guide for themselves and others, such as their children. For instance, the second generation noted their fathers' pride in physical prowess. To the yard owners and brickworkers alike, the people of nearby Kingston and even the area's farmers could not handle the physical demands of the yards. Older brickworkers take pleasure in recalling the times outsiders attempted the work but quickly left after learning that the exhausting pace they put in for the day would have to be doubled in order to keep up with the regulars. Others proudly show pictures of their fathers and themselves during their brickmaking days with very well-developed torsos and stomachs that, as one put it, looked like washboards. "The other thing was how many bricks they could pick up in one hand--that was another big pride factor," a forty-seven-year-old third-generation man added.

They also took pride in the technique of their specific jobs. The second generation saw their elders as conscientious and patient workers who were, at times,

perfectionists. Many told of never being able to meet the standards of their fathers with regard to work--whether it was work around the house or paid labor. The following account by this seventy-year-old second-generation Hungarian brickworker of his father is typical:

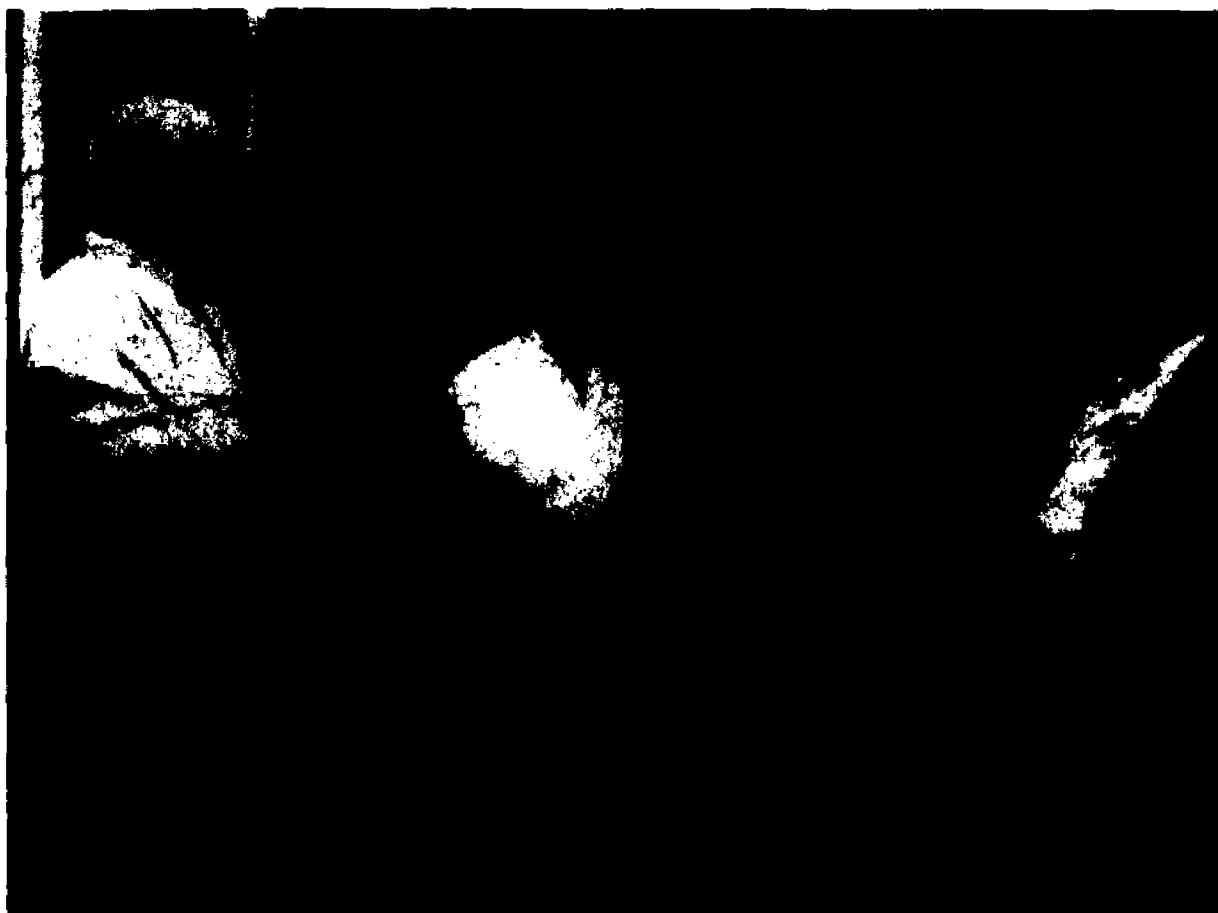
He would get a start on the next day. That's the kind of guy he was. People would come down and look at the kiln and want to know who the bricksetter is 'cause everything was smooth, even the heads. He done nice work. And, like I said, I don't know where he got the energy. ... And, in the spring, he's digging his garden. I won't go in there when he's in there. So, when he ain't there, I go in the garden. Oh, he comes home and he finds all kinds of fault with my work: "It's not straight. It's lumpy. It's hilly. It's not level. Stay out of the garden!" he says. Oh, he was like that. (interview with descendant, 1991)

Another expression of their views toward work was the satisfaction and pride of working itself. For example, one second-generation informant, Carl, told of a very important personal event, a sort of a rite of passage in his life, that demonstrates the general pride in working that the first generation had and passed on to their children. Carl had been smoking cigarettes secretly since he was a boy, but his father allowed him to do so openly once he put in one full day's work as an adult. At sixteen the boy finally did work full time on the brickyard, and that evening at the dinner table he began smoking in front of his parents. His mother quickly protested to the father, but the father smiled and explained the agreement. Carl remembers the feeling:

I was the proudest man you'd ever want to see. I was sixteen and working and drawing a man's pay. Now I could smoke in front of my father.
(informant interview, 1986)

More indication of worker satisfaction is seen in the form of family photographs. The descendant families have large numbers of pictures of the first generation at work: at the brickyards, on the brick barges and in the ice houses. The photograph on page 127, taken in the late 1950s, shows a group of first-generation workers attending an eightieth birthday party. The elderly men are dressed in suits, but they are in kiln-hand formation and are re-enacting their tossing and setting jobs with actual bricks. One would not expect workers and their families to pass on their work scenes in the form of photographs, or to re-enact their work several decades after retirement if their work was not somehow satisfying and important for them.

Another factor to consider in the work attitudes is the brickmaking process itself. Originating from agrarian societies and regions, the first generation may have had a smooth transition to brickwork due to its close resemblance to farm operations: all of the labor was outdoors (except for the kiln sheds, and even they were more canopy-like than actual buildings), the great expanse of ground that was used to dry the wet bricks in the open air was raked and prepared like a new field for planting, and the long rows of the soft, wet bricks carefully and individually placed on the



yard took the form of vegetables ready to harvest. Indeed, the task of laying the bricks out, "edging" them to dry uniformly, and picking them up for transport to the burning shed did resemble the back-breaking work of picking crops. And, like a farmer's close eye on the weather, some workers were available twenty-four hours to watch the clouds and listen for rain in order to go to the yard to cover the greenbricks. Erikson (1976:100-101) pointed out these farming features of non-agricultural labor in his study of Appalachian coal miners. When combined with the rural geography and garden plots, Brickerland recreated much of the first generation's history--whether that of rural southern states or Europe.

Benevolent Owners

The paternalism and liberal temperament of the brickyard owners gave workers even more reason to feel content in their hard labor. Each yard was a family operation and employed between fifty and seventy-five workers. The brickyard owners knew each of their worker's names, and personally gave them their paychecks. Some cleared out riverbank sections for a children's swimming area. They allowed workers a small ration of coal for heat and cooking, and in later years they gave women hot water from the cooling system for washing. In the winter, yard owners hooked up plows to their horses and cleared the

streets. Many second-generation respondents claimed their parents built or repaired houses, sheds and outdoor ovens for baking bread with the (probably slightly flawed) bricks they were allowed to take from the yards. Since the workers had the know-how of burning bricks, it was typical that owners would pay a visit to a worker's home at one or two o'clock a.m. to ask him to tend to an emergency situation, such as a faulty kiln fire. In some cases, like after a drunken brawl, some owners bailed their workers out of jail--though this was mainly because, as the respondents well knew, the owner needed them at work the next day. In one of the smaller, rural yards the owner made a personal visit to the surviving large family of a brickworker who died relatively young. He promised the oldest son, then twenty-one years old, he would always have work, and he would be treated as the family head--a position the owners and foremen considered deserved the better jobs and slightly higher pay. When, in fact, this young worker was not treated fairly by his foreman, the owner intervened on the worker's behalf. Brickyard owners also extended credit at the company store over the winter, and they offered a variety of extra work opportunities, like tending the horses that pulled the clay cars. But what was undoubtedly most important for the self sufficiency of the families living on company property was that the owners let the workers use land--often several different plots--for gardening and

animal raising. The owners' "enlightened" approaches may have blocked the formation of worker resentment, for these conditions were a vast improvement over the first generation's earlier peasant lives. As one main informant, Carl, interpreted these new conditions:

Today, the way we lived down Roses' Brickyard we'd call it poverty. But when my father got here and he was told how he would get work in the spring of the year and work until Thanksgiving, and he could use all that land, and he could get all the manure he wanted out of the barn, and he could use the horse and wagon, and he could cut down trees for the stove--all for nothing. And so like you hear, "streets of gold." Well he had found it. He felt so secure that he was never afraid of having another child. (informant interview, 1985)

In some yards in the area between Glasco and East Kingston, the yard owners were especially close. In addition to the credit given at the company store over the winter, for example, workers sometimes asked for and received small loans. "If we needed an extra five dollars, we had no problem getting it from the owners," one brickworker daughter said. In fact, when her father died relatively young, the yard owner loaned them a car for the funeral, sent flowers and sincerely mourned the loss of a good worker.

These compassionate gestures were backed up with the highest pay for manual labor in the area. The average weekly pay in the brickyards during the first decade of the 1900s was twelve dollars. Garment work, the other main option for the first generation, paid seven dollars for men.

The owners embodied the success offered in the United States: they lived away from the brickyards in the wealthy section of the City of Kingston (or, as a small number who stayed close to their operations, lived in big country estates); they rode in large chauffeured cars; they had domestic workers; and they were educated. While these marks of class privilege could have easily stirred up resentment, I found evidence to the contrary. As one informant, born in 1921 put it:

Man, we had respect for them: "Hello, Mr. Rose," we used to say whenever we saw them. We felt like we were meeting somebody. (group interview, 1985)

And, this woman's brother added that the yard workers tipped their hats to the two brothers who owned that brickyard. The lack of oral criticism of the owners was conspicuous in all stages of my research. Some foremen were openly detested, but the first-generation families showed great deference toward the brickyard owner. Without exception, none of the second-generation respondents ever recalls hearing their parents give any unfavorable words about the owners--no anger, no frustration, no dissatisfaction. These respondents are consistent, however, in their recalling that their parents stressed the importance of attendance and fulfilling the boss' orders.

Labor Relations

Labor relations at Brickerland's yards were peaceful. It was not until 1937 that the workers unionized, and the drive itself was not launched by brickworkers in Brickerland, but by New York City stevedores and tug-boat operators seeking to increase their negotiating power by expanding their bargaining unit. The Union was not inconsequential for the brickworkers, for some yard foremen were infamous for their biased hiring practices and general abusiveness of workers. It also put an end to the "day that never ended," wherein work beyond eight hours to complete a stint went unpaid. By the time the Union was formed and banned these practices, though, the industry began its decline, and many in the first generation were in their late fifties and at the end of their brickworking careers.

Prior to the Union, brickworkers did not challenge the yard owners and they did not collectively challenge the yard foremen. This is not to say conflict was absent. Discriminatory hiring practices were the main complaints. But they were handled on an individual basis, such as bribing the foreman with chickens or wine, walking off the job and returning when ready, or by walking to another brickyard to find work. On the other hand, foremen who were fair were held as positive models. Fairness was measured not by "going easy" on workers, or granting any favors. "You don't have to be the guy's friend," as one descendant

put it. Fairness was indicated by impartiality in the distribution of work assignments, by willingness to share in the work when needed, and by showing respect to the worker. This is a further indication of the views they had of work, for it was this type of fairness that was held as desirable for all workers, not just superiors.

The lack of unionization and the deference to yard owners and immediate superiors may not be sufficient indicators of harmonious labor relations. Labor historians and sociologists have provided countless studies demonstrating how dissatisfied workers imaginatively express their resentments in such ways as sabotaging the assembly line or restricting output. Conflict and dissatisfaction may often be acted in informal and covert ways that are more difficult to identify without the benefits of participant observation. I have no evidence, however, that the first generation made any such rebellious acts in a significant and consistent manner. Given the way brickwork was carried out, their work was in small part a form of game playing in which they ultimately participated in their own control, as Burawoy (1979) found in his machine shop experience (but recall the section on worker satisfaction above). The sabotaging by brickyard work gangs of any one of their specific processes would wreck the production of the kiln's output. Without support from all other gangs, and given the norm of "keepin' in" with the gang rhythm, no one

significant subversive action by a worker or a gang occurred. This is not to imply that dissatisfaction was absent, but to argue that I found neither overt nor covert patterns of challenge or resistance directed to those in charge of the labor process.

There were, however, two instances of collective resistance during the early 1920s. One large brickyard in Glasco did attempt to unionize in 1924. As was the case with the eventual larger unionization movement in Brickerland thirteen years later, the union was initiated and organized by the Longshoreman Workers Union based in New York City. The union's first move was to form a contract and demand higher pay. Going unrecognized by the yard owner, the union called a strike. The owner's first move was to conscript blacks from South Carolina as strikebreakers. But it was the yard owner's second action which was completely successful in getting the strikers to return. Since about seventy-five percent of the strikers lived in company housing, the owner began eviction proceedings. Every worker but two returned to work as a result of the impending evictions, and their wages were the same as before the strike. But, to become reinstated, each worker had to surrender their union book and union button. The union was broken.

While the workers did walk off the job and did show strong solidarity by not returning, the commitment and

enthusiasm necessary for improving working conditions do not appear to have been present. According to my informant, who was nine years old at the time and whose father was involved, the majority of the strikers made no effort to defend the strike and block the use of strikebreakers. They did not clash with the blacks. Indeed, the workers did not even stay in the area. They rode the local bus line to other brickyards in and outside of Brickerland, and worked in other brickyards. The situation went on this way for two brickmaking seasons until the eviction proceedings were, according to my informant, reluctantly taken. And though the yard owner took the precaution to summon the State Police, the workers made no attempt to disrupt the brickyard operations. "There was no violence," my informant said, "because they were not a belligerent people." For him, the strike was the work of outsiders in the union, plus a small group of local leaders so influenced. "The Union needed to justify itself," he said. He defined the strike as a needless interference of the family-like labor relations by an outside force, namely the City-based Union. From his account, both the yard owner and the workers were forced into actions for which they had no strong feelings. The lack of local newspaper reports and the lack of knowledge of the strike by all but a few informants lend some support to his view. It is true that the average age of the second generation was about eight years at the time of the strike

(1924), and memory and understanding of the event by such a young person would be very weak. However, would it not be fair to expect the saga of a two-year strike in a small close-knit community to be kept alive in public discussion and passed on directly or indirectly to the young had it been a significant episode in their lives? Yet the basic facts of the strike remain a mystery to most.

A second collective action occurred two years earlier. This action, reported in the local newspaper, did indicate a worker-initiated drive that targeted the wage policy of the yard owners. Workers at one of the smaller brickyards in the rural area near East Kingston demanded pay equal to that of larger yards in the area. They stopped work and marched to the nearby yards to gain support from their workers. Dozens of State Troopers were on the scene, but the workers were halted by one of the brickyard owners, who was also the local Deputy Sheriff:

The strikers marched toward the brickyard of the Rose Brothers, but were seen coming Wednesday by Irving Rose, who is a Deputy Sheriff, and he met them before they reached his brickyard and told them to get off his property or he would shoot them, displaying his revolver. The order was obeyed and the strikers left (Kingston Daily Freeman, 1922a:1).

The brunt of the strike was countered by the owner-Deputy, a man who, unlike the Troopers, was known personally and was depended on by most of these workers and their friends. Minor actions in other yards did continue, but order was

established in the area within five days.

These two instances of worker collective action, especially the second case, show that the first generation was not completely passive, and the yard owners were ready to use deadly force to keep their power. Indeed, deadly force and eviction threats are concrete expressions of coercion that may better explain the overall absence of worker resistance than would workers' values of fair and responsible hard work. It is just these values, however, that impressed the second generation and so constitute the first generation's legacy, whether based on fact or myth.

The following remark by a second-generation informant, born in 1921, provides a good summary statement of the first generation's contentment with their work (and the lack of such by their sons):

Work was a power word to them, I guess that's how to put it. It was next to God. They used to be proud of what they had here. Other people saw us as poor. But not them. You never heard them complain about their work like you did with the second generation. All they did was talk about Italy when they got together. The second generation complained about the treatment [at the brickyards]. They didn't like it like their fathers did. You never heard the older men gibber about the brickyards like the younger generation did. (informant interview, 1992)

These standards were shared by most members of all the ethnic and racial groups in Brickerland. In fact, inter-ethnic conflict was often transcended by attention to one's work abilities, as is exemplified by the statement of a

second-generation Italian regarding a black worker: "I used to love to watch him work." The origins of these standards is not clear. Given the satisfaction they expressed in their work and their unity of home, work and community, these standards cannot be seen solely as aspects of a worksite culture (Burawoy, 1979). But, the benevolence of the yard owners and the features of the labor process seem to have played a combined primary role to maintain them.

Interfamily Cooperation and Individual Responsibility

For the first generation, the good families were those who gave material support in times of financial or personal crises. Nearly all my second-generation respondents recited to the letter, "We had nothing, but whatever we had we shared." This was exemplified in the food and labor sharing. Such aid crossed ethnic and racial lines. An eighty-year old Irish brickworker, for example, recalled that his parents helped feed a black family when the company store refused to extend credit:

A permanent worker, a colored man and his wife, through the winter time had nothing to eat. So, they would send up here for a piece of pork and a couple of heads of cabbage. And we'd always send it down. My mother had to feed them down there.
(informant interview, 1985)

Yet also desirable in Brickerland families were efforts toward independent survival. The good families were responsible for securing basic needs. Home-based labor,

like vegetable gardening, bread making, and animal tending, and extra paid labor, like tending the brickyard horses, exemplified the right actions to take for living. During focus-group interviews with the second generation regarding community demographics, unprompted comments revealed a consensus that certain named families were "lazy and dirty." My informants shook their heads in disfavor as they recalled the shiftless families.

Families that did exhibit independent survival but who nonetheless were in need, however, were not seen as failures. The black family mentioned above that was fed by the Irish mother was one such example. It was a victim of circumstances out of its immediate control: the yards were closed, the weather was harsh and the company did not extend credit. These were excusable conditions under which the more fortunate families were expected to help, and the less fortunate were expected to accept. But accepting formal assistance from the State agencies was not appropriate for anyone. As Carl expressed it:

To have the stigma on you that you lowered yourself that low to receive [State assistance], you were a complete failure. They used to whisper about you. They used to [accept] it secretly. Today [people] demand it. [Our parents] were very proud. They might not have much, but you talk about honor and pride... (informant interview, 1985)

Attempting to explain the distinction between the two forms of assistance, the descendants reasoned that help from the

agencies was help from "strangers," and somehow inappropriate. Assistance based outside of the community could not be returned, and thus the reciprocity that constituted interfamily cooperation could not occur. The Great Depression, however, forced some of Brickerland's households to accept some State aid. The yard owners cut back on their production, or closed completely, and so no credit was available at the company store. This credit was crucial over the winter when basics like flour, dried beans and pasta were needed. Accepting the aid was not easy for the first generation. In his following written account, one son, age seventy-four, witnessed his father's reaction to receiving Federal aid:

We ate pretty well, except in 1932, during the Great Depression. No work. Families had to rely to some extent on Uncle Sam who handed out rice, canned beef, dried beans, etc. I remember my dad had a real problem with reconciling himself to accepting the handout, but eventually swallowed his pride to feed his family. (personal correspondence, 1990)

Another son recalled that his mother quickly disposed of the envelope that carried the assistance check so no one could see.

Thus, sharing food and labor while independently providing for one's family were desirable behaviors for the first generation. Vegetable gardening, animal raising, food preserving, bread baking, backyard get togethers and aid in times of crises exemplified these related values of

cooperation and independence. Of course, these activities were important for individual and community survival. But these actions were meaningful in other respects. For, sharing food and services was expected in more prosperous times as well as the poor. Scheduling weekly hog slaughters so each family could eat fresh meat, for example, was not done for reasons of survival. Donating some of one's cured pork to a needy family during the winter, though, was. Instead, sharing plates of fresh meat from the day's butchering were rituals that reinforced the value of cooperation. The same was true for sharing homemade wine and beer and some of the season's first tomatoes and peppers. Still another example is given by this seventy-year-old Hungarian descendant:

See, we lived in a big brickyard house. We took up and down on one side, and [an Italian family] took the other side. Christmas come, Easter come, the holidays come, their mother would come over with a big platter of Italian pastries, and my mother would give her a big dish of Hungarian pastries. (interview with descendant, 1991)

As this and other such examples show, the values of cooperation and individual responsibility were shared by members of Brickerland's various racial and ethnic groups.

Family Decency: Honor and Aid to One's Family

Family decency refers to the appropriate attitudes and behaviors to both one's relatives and to the families in the

community. Family decency regarding relations with families in the community overlaps with the values of cooperation and individual responsibility discussed above. In this section family decency will refer to the desirable spouse roles and relations between parents and children. Family decency was constituted generally by mainly "traditional" gender roles, financial assistance by working children, respect for parents, and upholding the family "name."

By "traditional" gender roles in the family, I refer to the roles characteristic of families in the United States during its colonial era (Degler, 1980). Family survival roles in these families were more equally divided between the husbands and wives. By the early 1800s, wives' contribution to family survival diminished due to the replacement of home-based production by wage labor. This general account is based on middle-class families and farm families. Working-class and immigrant women who did become wage earners, and thus important for family survival, were exceptions. Most of Brickerland's wives, however, were consistent with the traditional family. Almost two-thirds of them did not work for pay. Their husbands were wage laborers, but due to the seasonal nature of brickmaking, wage labor could not suffice as the only means of survival. Like the traditional family, the first-generation wives performed important family survival roles. As has been mentioned all along, the wives' gardening, animal tending,

bread baking and food preserving were crucial for making it through the winter months. The first-generation wives' contributions are well described in this remark by a second-generation survey respondent of his mother:

I think she had her hands full: Diapers to wash, all home cooking, clothes to make or sew, carry water to heat on the stove and wash with, chop wood to cook with, feed the chickens, milk the cow, take care of the garden. I think if someone had to do that today, they would jump off the [Kingston-Rhinecliff] Bridge! (written comments to survey, 1990)

The good husband, too, worked hard at the home. These roles of the spouses overlap with both the values of hard work and individual responsibility.

With regard to courtship and marriage within the first generation, the descendants know little. Those who have some information about their parents' marriage said the wedding was directly or indirectly arranged. Some said their mothers followed the traditional norm of marrying in chronological order, *i.e.*, the older sister wed first. As parents themselves, the first generation as a whole did not arrange their children's courtship and marriage. One informant, for instance, recalled her mother's more liberal position on this issue, based on her often repeated story about two lovers' double suicide in response to the demands of their parents to separate. Nonetheless, the first generation did express some authority in matters of courtship. One seventy-six-year-old second-generation

descendant recalled that his future father-in-law brought him aside and told him to marry: "Her father said, 'I think maybe before the winter comes you ought to get married.' They didn't like you to be hanging around, you know" (interview with descendant, 1991). And after just a few dates with a man, one third-generation young woman recalled how her grandfather already anticipated marriage when he said, "When will I get the invitation?" Also, the first generation did socialize their children along repressive norms of sexuality, as seen in their close supervision of their daughters' courtship and overall intolerance of promiscuity. For example, here is how one seventy-two-year-old second-generation respondent described her father's actions:

My father would follow us when we had dates. We had to be chaperoned. And we used to call my father Dick Tracey, because when I met [my future husband] at the roller rink he used to peek in to see if we were doing anything wrong. But years ago we never thought of that crap. We didn't. We were afraid. Your father'd kill you, really. (interview with descendant, 1991)

At this point her son coaxed her to tell of her misunderstanding of sex. Laughing, she explained:

We thought that by kissing a fella you could get pregnant. That's how stupid we were. Our mothers didn't tell us nothing when we were little. And my father would give us a beatin' every time we asked a question. We didn't dare ask. We were afraid. (interview with descendant, 1991)

Another aspect of family decency, and interrelated with

proper sexuality, was children's obedience. Obedient children respected parents and all other adults, and they did not cause "trouble," such as "running around," failing to work for pay and around the house, and causing the constables to come to the house. Law enforcement officials, however, were rarely present, for social control in Brickerland was mainly self-imposed and informal. Parental authority was a main factor. Here, for example, is how Carl and his sister, Rose, describe their fathers' authority:

Carl: Around eight o'clock at night you'd hear different whistles. Johnny's father had one, Papa had one, everybody had one. Each kid understood their own call.

Rose: And you'd better run too!

Carl: And if you didn't, you'd see the Old Man coming for you with a switch. And I remember one day when I was getting water somebody threw rocks at me. So I picked up a rock and threw it where I saw some bushes move. Well it turned out to be Johnny and he went home crying. When I got home the Old Man says, "Did you hit Johnny with a stone?" I said "Yes, but..." and man, he really gave me a beating. When he was finished I was able to tell the full story, and then I guess he felt a little bad. But he told us not to ever throw stones, or lie, or anything like that.
(group interview, 1985)

The second generation also explains that their parents demanded their children to respect school teachers as much as they did. If the parents learned that their child behaved improperly and was punished at school, that child was punished again at home with no chance to explain--what the second generation called the "double header."

A longstanding explanation for strong parental authority, especially paternal authority, is that the wage earner can only express this power with his family of procreation (e.g., Rubin, 1976:113). His low status in the work sphere frustrates any such attempts to exercise it there, and often also weakens his ability to meet the "good provider" role. But this explanation is not fully appropriate for Brickerland's first generation. Focusing on men, brickwork did not strip men of their autonomy and control as was the case with other mass-production labor. And, their paid labor was not the only source of their contributions to family survival. They applied agrarian talents and home-based craftwork to complement their wages. Thus, their authority in the family was desirable for other reasons beside an expression of frustrated masculinity.

Another element of family decency was the expected financial contribution to the family by the child who worked yet lived with the parents. The typical arrangement was that the worker would be given a small allowance and bus fare, if needed, but the bulk of the paycheck would be given to the parents. The terms of the contribution varied by family, but the respondents said the parents and the working children alike were proud of such family contribution. The parents themselves were expected to send some of the combined earnings of their household to their relatives in Europe or the South.

The parents and children not performing these roles of family decency risked blighting their family "name." "Don't ever ruin our name," the second generation remembers their parents saying. Though not directly concerning the first generation, this fifty-year-old third-generation descendant summarizes the emphasis on family honor he knew:

Oh, Christ, wheew! The name meant something back in those days. Oh, did that family name mean something! Actually, everybody knew everyone out there, and if you were disrespectful, my parents knew about it. If you didn't call somebody "mister," even if you walked passed somebody and didn't speak to them, my parents would know it. They was tough. They was rough. (interview with descendant, 1991)

Like the other two main values, family decency was shared by members of the various racial and ethnic groups.

Summary: Class Culture as a Background Variable

The main values described above did not exist separately in practice, but instead were overlapping. As Williams (1963: 412-413) points out, it is more useful to speak of value systems to reflect the interdependencies and consistencies of the main specific values. Growing a garden in Brickerland, for example, displayed each of the four main values: the family worked very hard to raise it (hard work; individual responsibility), all family members were expected to contribute to it (family decency) and the families in the community took pride in and shared its bounty with other

families (hard work; cooperation). But gardening as an activity was structured in very large part by the brickmaking process. Its seasonal nature made gardening necessary for surviving the winter, the stint-work process--maintained by the hard work of the workers--allowed workers time to start and tend the garden, and the yard owners' benevolence provided the land. This one activity alone shows the inextricable and multiple interconnections of values and production relations. But Brickerland's production relations are not the source of the first generation's main values of work, cooperation, independence and family, for they are rooted in the traditional lives of the immigrant groups. These origins will not be traced in this study. But what is important is that Brickerland's production relations structured the various traditional ethnic cultures in common ways. It was not just the Italians who baked bread and raised pigs in an independent yet cooperative manner, and it was not just the Italians who "weren't afraid to work." I found no significant deviance from these values by ethnic group. It is for these reasons that I refer to the values examined here as components of a class culture, a class culture that is particular to Brickerland. I apply Brickerland's class culture as the "background" of the families.

Class Culture and Mobility Socialization

What could be expected of the first generation's mobility socialization? Clearly, the means to inspire their children to pursue higher-paying, more prestigious jobs in Kingston, Saugerties or beyond were lacking due to their physical and cultural (i.e., language and education) isolation from the groups and individuals knowledgeable about and in control of such positions. But what would the absence of such wherewithal to inspire material success mean? Would the first generation inspire their children to "follow their footsteps" to the brickyards (and to a lesser extent to the garment factories)? Or, would they withdraw themselves from mobility socialization, consciously or not, and let fate have its way with their sons and daughters?

I will approach these questions in ways other than those of the dominant perspectives--cultural differentiation, structural constraints, and parental social psychology perspectives--and use a class-culture approach. Let us proceed by considering the expected influences of each of Brickerland's three main values.

Hard and Responsible Work

Given the satisfaction the first-generation brickworkers showed in their work and the way of life it sustained, one would expect the first generation to transmit

their pride with brickyard labor to their sons (I will consider the daughters farther below). There is no evidence that this generation viewed brickyard labor as interchangeable with other manual or factory labor, but much which shows that it was held as uniquely desirable. This is very different from the experience of immigrant Italians studied by Gans (1962). In his classic study, the group who compare to my first generation were people

whose occupational skills and choices were few, and for whom work usually mean [sic] backbreaking labor at subsistence wages. But although the immigrants encouraged their children to escape this kind of work--if they needed any encouragement--they had no reason or precedent to urge them toward any identification with work, or to expect any satisfaction from it. (...) And given the conditions they encountered in America, it would have been foolhardy for the immigrants to encourage their children to seek emotional involvement in work (126).

Gans' study, like the great majority of research on Italian immigrants, focuses on the urban experience. While backbreaking, brickwork allowed more autonomy than the mainly factory labor in our nineteenth- and early twentieth-century cities, and it did provide reasons, the owners' benevolence not included, for workers to urge their sons toward an identification with it.

However, would this generation be expected simultaneously to discourage non-manual work¹? As

¹ It is well known in the sociology of work that the categories, "manual" and "nonmanual" are very crude because they do not distinguish job characteristics shared by both

described above, they showed much deference and respect to teachers, and they did the same for law enforcement officials and small-business people. Therefore, one would not expect the first generation to discourage non-manual or "middle-class" work.

Yet Lockwood (1975 [1966]) presents another possibility. In his notion of the "deferential traditional proletariat community," he suggests workers would consider the positions of their superiors at work and in the community beyond their (and their children's) reach, and thus limit their children to working-class statuses. This type of working-class community is small and isolated, characterized, among other things, by pride in work and strong primary work groups, and the worker "does not identify himself with his superiors or strive to reach their status; he defers to them socially and politically" (18). Like Gans, Lockwood suggests that non-manual work would not be encouraged, but for reasons of deference and resignation, not contempt. Brickerland was consistent in many ways with

physical and nonphysical jobs, such as decision-making roles regarding production and investment. And even the physical features of work are not well captured by these terms since most jobs require a combination of manual and nonmanual tasks. The same holds for other main distinctions, like "indoor" and "outdoor" work, "blue collar" and "white collar," "office" work, and "high-prestige" work. They are all very general subjective accounts. However, as I will explain in chapter five, I will use the unrefined terms, "nonmanual," "office," "indoor" and "prestige" work to articulate what the descendants meant: jobs that were mainly nonmanual, cleaner than brick, construction or factory labor, and required schooling.

this notion of a deferential traditional proletariat community, as seen in their work pride, deference and primary group relations. But it is not clear if they displayed other features Lockwood describes. Lockwood's deferent worker has a clear understanding of the class structure, perceives himself as working-class, and accepts his lowly status as natural and unchanging. I did not collect information about the first generation's "class imagery," and thus cannot decide if it was of this type.² It is possible, then, that like Lockwood's deferent proletariat, they would consider non-manual, high-prestige positions as unobtainable, but unlike the case with Gans, they would see them as desirable.

It is clear, however, that the first generation shared strong pride in their work and community, and this leads us to suspect that they anticipated work experiences in their children to be not simply hard and obedience-demanding, but also satisfying and fair. This is further found in their self-perceptions of their community. Outsiders considered Brickerland to be a poor and depressed community, as this forty-five-year-old third-generation Kingston resident recalls:

One very distinct thing I do remember about the

² Bulmer's (1975) edition, Working-Class Images of Society, provides empirical tests of Lockwood's deferent worker by Batsone (116-130) whose survey research on English workers found that the deferent worker did not consider upward mobility unobtainable.

brickyards and the Hudson River is: you did not live near the River. You just didn't do it. You couldn't give [land] away because nobody wanted to move down there because of the brickyards. That's where the poor people lived. That's where the hard-working slob lived who worked a seven-day week and had to make a living. Everybody else lived in Uptown Kingston. (interview with descendant, 1991)

But recall from earlier what one informant said of the first generation's work pride:

Work was a power word to them, I guess that's how to put it. It was next to God. They used to be proud of what they had here. Other people saw us as poor. But not them. You never heard them complain about their work... (page 137 above)

Given this pride in work and community one would expect the first generation generally to exhibit and pass on an identity with hard yet satisfying labor to their children, and, specifically, to encourage their sons to work in the brickyards. We would not predict, though, that they would discourage non-manual work.

Cooperation, Individual Responsibility and Family Decency

The value of individual responsibility shares much in common with the previously discussed value of hard and fair work. Individual responsibility, though, refers mainly to non-remunerative labor, and is linked with cooperation. These two values reflect the community integration formed by the first generation. "We were all one big family," as the second generation put it. And their value of family decency

supplements this integration. Due to their strong sense of community, one would expect the first generation to encourage their children to seek jobs in the local area or discourage their children from moving away, or both.

Brickerland's interfamily cooperation and intrafamily decency distinguish it from the experiences of other predominantly Italian working-class communities. Referring to Gans (1962) once again, the lives of the Italians he studied in Boston were nearly the polar opposite of those in Brickerland. Mutual family suspicion characterized his neighborhood. It was not the community of families but the smaller "peer group society" that gave individuals a sense of attachment. But the peer group kept individuals from upward mobility and from movement out of the neighborhood. Could Brickerland's interfamily solidarity act in the same way? While Brickerland did have strong interfamily bonds, they did not exhibit the same kind of suspicion of the non-Italian institutions, or "outside world," that Gans' subjects did. The peer group society appears to have constrained the individual in ways far stronger than did Brickerland's families. Brickerland's interfamily cooperation was in balance with individual responsibility and intrafamily decency. Admittedly, Brickerland's first-generation Italians were conscious of discrimination against them in schools and other institutions in the nearby City and Village, such as the "white banks." Thus, there is

evidence that they mistrusted and had contempt for outside institutions. But none of this was sufficient to draw individuals exclusively into the family or the community. Interfamily networks, of course, were used to achieve the services inaccessible from outside institutions. But while this unified the community, it did not appear to work to constrain individuals from personal goals. Again, individual responsibility may have provided more independence. Thus, we would not expect the first generation to demand its children to suppress or sacrifice their personal goals and talents for the community.

Finally, and with regard to the inspiration given to females, one would expect the mainly traditional (i.e., pre-industrial) gender roles of Brickerland's family decency to inspire girls to contribute to her family of procreation via survival tasks. A minority of the first-generation wives worked for pay, but nearly all who did were seamstresses. Like the husbands, their paid and non-paid labor and their leisure activities overlapped. In general, one would expect the daughters also to be inspired to seek hard and satisfying work.

At the general level, I conclude that the first generation is not expected to show indifference to its children's outcome, nor is it expected to assume the view that its children would invariably end up like them, and so feel that parental involvement in the process would be

unnecessary. Instead, and due to the combination of their pride in work and their pride in their community, this generation would not be expected to anticipate less for its children, but probably would hope for more. But, unable to discuss and prepare its children for specific jobs and industries, its anticipation can only be expected to be generally optimistic.

Chapter Five

MOBILITY SOCIALIZATION BY FIRST-GENERATION PARENTS

"There was just no one around to guide you at all. It was up to you to make your own mind what you wanted to do." (sixty-six-year-old second-generation descendant)

To understand the extent and type of inspiration the first-generation parents expressed to their children¹ about work and future, I asked the second-generation subjects in my sample the following initial question:

Do you recall what your parents said to you about what you could do with your future-- what kinds of jobs you could, should or should not go into? Did they point to anyone as a model of what you could do or should do, or could or should not do? Or did they leave it pretty much up to you?²

A clear pattern emerged from their responses that transcended ethnic and gender aspects of the sample. As we

¹ Unless explained otherwise, I use the word "children" just to refer to offspring, and not in the chronological sense to specify an age group.

² Since my focus is on families as members of both generations and classes, I will not distinguish between mothers and fathers when I use the term "parents." When asked, respondents gave no indication that one or the other parent was the dominant socializer or that their parents were in disagreement over the issue.

might assume for indigent immigrant parents in a relatively isolated, one-industry community, the first generation held no deliberate or explicit substantive discussions about work and the future with their children. But they were not passive or aloof in this matter, for they did inspire hope and expectations in their children for a "better" life. How did they do this?

Absent Plans: Explicit Hopes

According to the second generation, the first generation did not directly or deliberately talk with their sons and daughters about work and future. They formed no agenda for dealing with this issue, regardless of the age and sex of their children. In short, they were not directly involved with this aspect of their children's lives. Twenty of the twenty-one second-generation respondents answered that their parents and older relatives or community members were not directly involved. The following is one such typical response from a sixty-six-year old retired shipping clerk with International Business Machines (IBM) to my question about what the parents said about work and future:

No, no. Nothing like [discussions or pointing to examples]. It was up to you. No one to guide you.

V.S.: What about other older relatives?

There was just no one around to guide you at all. It was up to you to make your own mind what you

wanted to do.³

My continued attempts to determine what the parents explicitly said resulted in the same answers: they did not say anything, and the topic never came up. Moreover, most parents (thirteen of the twenty-one families) expressed no opinions about the first full-time job their children took.

It is important to note that the respondents interpreted the noninvolvement of their parents as more than detachment or silence. They viewed it instead as very liberal parenting. Nearly all of the respondents immediately contrasted their parents' handling of this issue with parental pressure to determine the child's future. Their responses did not appear apologetic, and they continued to stress their parents' liberal views despite my repeated attempts to rid my question of any hint of parental coercion. These responses were typical:

They didn't force us to work anywhere. They didn't tell me I had to do this and I had to do that, you know what I mean. They wasn't putting the pressure on me to do what they wanted me to do. (seventy-one-year-old retired assembly worker at IBM)

They were very liberal. Whatever I wanted to do, it was up to me. (sixty-nine-year-old retired brickworker)

This interpretive act is a significant factor in mobility socialization of descendants because this liberal-parenting

³ All quotations are from interviews with descendants in 1991, unless stated otherwise.

view persists in the second and third generation. The very act of interpreting their parents' (in)action demonstrates the capacity of children to make sense of what appears as parental silence on work and future possibilities.

Without direct interviewing with the first generation, however, it is unclear whether these interpretations by the second generation are influenced less by their childhood experience, and more by their own actions as parents. That is, the second generation may be projecting their own norms of mobility socialization back to their parents. The first generation's actions may have been based on economic and cultural disadvantage rather than liberal values. This may then be another expression of the continual possibility of value misperception between generations.

But the respondents were clearly aware of the structural constraints faced by their parents. "What could they do?" the respondents asked. By seeing their parents as liberal the respondents were not claiming that their parents were withholding preferences, for they knew the elders could offer no real options. They indicated that their parents were uneducated, poor, and new to the language and customs of the United States. They knew they were socially and physically apart from employer and labor groups knowledgeable of the job market outside of Brickerland, and thus had no basis on which to give or assist in substantive planning for work and future. Occasionally someone might

know a friend or a cousin who was a barber or tailor outside of Brickerland in need of an apprentice. But, for the vast majority, the work options in and out of Brickerland were limited to brickmaking, road construction, and factory work in garment, cigar and paper mills. The Depression narrowed the job options even further for members of the second generation (though many men did travel into Kingston or farther upstate to work in the Civilian Conservation Corps and the Works Project Administration).

Given their understanding of the objective constraints faced by their parents, the second generation's near unanimous perception of their parents as non-interfering is better seen as a rationalization of their parents' actions rather than a way of affirming their own manner of parenting.

While it is very clear that the first generation did not initiate talks with their children about their futures, this does not mean that they were substantively uninvolved in mobility socialization, and it does not mean they were unable to inspire their children to attain work and life different from what their existing conditions offered. For, in response to related subsequent questions I found that when their children came of working age, or when their children faced specific options for work, the first generation became directly involved and expressed explicit hopes, albeit in some ways I did not expect.

One form of involvement contrary to my expectations was the parents' explicit discouragement of brickworking. Ten of the fourteen males (excluding one who was physically unable) said their parents did not wish to see them work in the brickyards. The parents of the remaining four who made no explicit proscription of brickmaking, did not encourage brickwork, and two of these expressed satisfaction when their son either left or had an opportunity to leave the brickyard. The following respondent, the only one out of the twenty-one whose father did suggest a specific job, provides a good example of how the first generation derided brickyard labor:

He would say to me, "Please try to get something that you won't have to work on the brickyard." For instance, we would take a ride to Kingston and he would see a policeman, and he would say, "Now there's a nice job. He's dressed up, he doesn't get dirty, he doesn't have to work hard, just walks his beat, and he makes a decent living. He doesn't have to get up three or four o'clock in the morning and go work till three in the afternoon for a lousy two dollars." He used to tell me that. (seventy-year-old retired city worker)

This respondent, moreover, was one of the eight whose parents did make comments on their child's first full-time job, and in this case his father was critical of him for quitting high school and doing manual work in a dairy, despite the fact that he was a supervisor. Two other pairs of parents expressed disappointment at their sons' first job, and for both it was brickyard work that they denounced.

The expectation that the first generation would encourage brickwork was not borne out. I found none who did so, but on the contrary, a majority who discouraged it.

Another way the first generation was involved with mobility socialization was by encouraging schooling. Ten of the twenty-one respondents said their parents strongly promoted schooling, which for most meant going to high school. Parents who explicitly pushed schooling supported their words with deeds, as the seventy-year-old retired city worker recalls:

When we came home from school, we weren't allowed to play. The first thing my mother'd ask was if we had any homework to do. My father was working, my mother couldn't help [with homework], so we'd ask and help our brothers and sisters.

Ten other respondents did not say their parents openly advocated school, but these parents did convey the importance of schooling by their strong respect for teachers and by actions similar to those of the parent above. One seventy-one-year old respondent, for example, said that during the winter her parents instructed her two older brothers to clear her a path to school in a deep snow by walking just ahead of her for the entire mile-and-a-half trek. Only one respondent, a seventy-year-old retired seamstress, said her father explicitly prevented her from going to high school, and his reason was that women should not attend.

Such explicit job and education expectations appear

inconsistent with the autonomy that was claimed to have been granted to the children and the assertions that nothing was discussed on the matter. Yet the lack of deliberate discussions about work and future and the withholding of "preferences" may not mean the parents had no hope, and neither does it mean they had no concerns about jobs. The first generation may have faced strong frustration in having hope for their children while constrained from assisting them attain it. Consequently, their contributions took a more passive form of reacting to the job and education possibilities their children presented to them.

The explicit socialization by the first generation directly related to mobility, then, was their rejection of brickyard work and encouragement of schooling. To determine their actions on the other four main expectations presented in the previous chapter--i.e., their views of non-manual labor, promotion of work in the community, the sacrifice of individual goals and talents, and the work of women--some inferences must be made.

While the first-generation brickworkers took much pride in their physical prowess, there is no indication that these brickworkers held a "shopfloor culture" to the extent characterized by Willis (1977:185-198) in which non-manual, "middle-class" work was deplored, practical actions were held above the abstract and contemplative, and modern masculinity was strongly enforced. While proud of their

work and practical abilities, they did not reject, but instead deferred to those with education and clean jobs. In their environment, those holding such positions were elementary school teachers, brickyard owners, merchants and musicians. Just one first-generation parent explicitly advocated police work as a clean and less strenuous alternative to brick labor, but at least two urged their children to do service (barber) and secretarial work when they faced options, and six others were reportedly happy when their children eventually achieved secretarial work, tailoring work, or indoor (though assembly) work with the new giant office and paragon of middle-class work: IBM. When some in the second generation eventually got such jobs, or learned more about them through others, they were able to compare brickyard and factory labor with the non-manual and cleaner work, and at that time did some make the types of criticisms described by Willis (though still promoting them for their children). Their parents, however, held those kinds of jobs in high regard.⁴

⁴ I am using the unrefined terms, "nonmanual," "office," "middle-class" and "prestige" work to articulate what the descendants meant: jobs that were mainly nonmanual, cleaner than brick, construction or factory labor, and required schooling. None of the respondents in any generation used the notion of power at work when talking with their children, but instead expressed their thoughts as, "Don't break your back," or "Stay away from pick-'n-shovel work," or as the father in the quote above said of the policeman, "...doesn't get dirty...doesn't have to work hard." While objective positions of power, like boss or manager, were definitely in the "nonmanual" category, none of the respondents held them as the exemplars.

With regard to expected attempts to keep their children working in the community or sacrificing individual goals incompatible with the community, there was no such indication that the parents restricted the second generation, aside from disallowing non-married women from travelling much farther than Kingston or Saugerties. While the first generation highly valued their community, they were hardly sedentary. Most first-generation immigrant males crossed the Atlantic several times to revisit their native country before settling in Brickerland. Several others temporarily left the community to find work throughout the United States, as far as California, Oregon, Kansas, and Pennsylvania. Overnight boat trips to New York City were frequent. The vast majority of black workers were hired as migrants, and were moved by yard owners to Virginia and South Carolina during the winter. While Brickerland's communality was important for them, and many refused to move just minutes away when very old to spend their last years with their children, it was not sufficiently strong to overcome their frequent trips outside for work. The closeness of the community was probably felt much more by the second generation. It is this generation that lived, and is living, its life cycle uninterrupted in the community. It is more likely that they, rather than their parents, would impose restrictions on individual goals and

mobility on themselves and their children.

Finally, with regard to the expected attempt to have their daughters continue as non-paid household workers, here too there was no such evidence. On the contrary, the parents of all six of the women in my sample were happy that these daughters entered the paid labor market upon finishing school, including business school and nursing school for two of them.

Clearly, the general impression of my respondents was that their parents hoped they would improve. "Naturally, they wanted us to do better," most said of their parents and of Brickerland in general, but these hopes were overwhelmed by economic needs to have their children work wherever possible and as soon as possible. For males this meant brickwork, and for females this meant work in the shirt and dress factories. Five of the ten respondents whose parents discouraged them from brickyard labor took work there as soon as they were old enough to get their working papers. Two parents voiced a negative reaction to this. The parents' hopes were tempered with the economic reality of the Depression and the narrow local job market, and, like most respondents told me, "They were just happy to see us working." And four of the six women respondents went to work in the garment factories upon completion of elementary and high school.

For the men, brickmaking was both an attractive and

most realistic option. Its pay was the highest in the area for unskilled labor, the work site was very close, and the stint work offered much autonomy. And as the following comments from this seventy-year-old former brickworker show, the first-generation brickworkers expected their sons to help them on the job:

V.S.: Did your father ask you to help him
on the brickyard, or did you just go?

Jake: It was...let's say it was a part of
life.

He then went on to describe his first days working as a child and the explicit encouragement from his father to do brickyard labor:

I was only a kid and I used to bring breakfast to all these people [at the brickyard] at half-past seven or half-past eight in the morning before school. And this old guy would say, "Hey, Jake, c'mere. Let me catch a chew." He just wanted to chew tobacco and walk around a little bit, and so I'd take his job over. Then when I used to bring lunch to my father, he said to one of the [wheelers], "You toss for me; let the boy wheel." So I would take the wheelbarrow, and instead of loading it up with 120 brick, I would load less. And I'd run out. Because when nobody's around, like nights or Sundays, we'd be down there. We'd be playing with these wheelbarrows all up and down, down in the sheds.

Every one of the twenty-one second-generation respondents, including the six women, said they went to the brickyards as children to help their fathers with light work or at least to "carry pail." Of the fourteen male respondents who were not physically excluded from brickwork or who matured when

the yards were still in operation, all but three wished to become involved with brickyard work in any capacity as a child or adult. After spending much time carrying food or otherwise playing around the yard, brickyard labor seemed for both generations to be taken for granted.

In the population of second-generation males, forty-four percent did follow their father's footsteps into the brickyards for at least some period of time. But this figure is higher if the Glasco men are excluded because the brickyards in the Glasco hamlet closed much earlier than the rest of Brickerland. Looking at the hamlet of East Kingston and surrounding settlements, where a half-dozen yards remained in operation until the early 1960s, fifty-nine percent of the population of second-generation men became brickworkers for some period of time, including durations of less than one month.

For the women, garment factory work was most accessible. They outnumbered the paper and cigar mills in the locality, and as children the women gained experience by often helping their mothers sew and mend family clothes and bedspreads from flour and seed sacks. Several of the immigrant mothers in the population did home work for New York City garment shops upon arrival in the United States, and some of the older second-generation women helped their mothers with that work. The second-generation seamstresses in my sample told me they helped their mothers sew at home

and then learned how to operate the factory machines while on the job. The overwhelming majority of the population of daughters of the first-generation brickworkers, eighty-seven percent, worked at least some time in the garment factories, and fifty-one percent did this kind of work as their main job.

In summary, despite absent plans, the first generation did want their children to become educated and to work in cleaner and less strenuous conditions. They did not unthinkingly accept brickmaking and garment factory outcomes for their sons and daughters, but they did not provide them with alternative visions. And due to the need of their children to work and the limited number of available jobs, the parents accepted the fact that their children would not immediately transcend their way of work and life in the brickyards and garment factories.

A fuller understanding of the first-generation's mobility socialization, however, may come from exploring other actions besides their explicit encouragement for school and "better" jobs. Did the parents act in some cumulative way to prepare their children for the better life they inspired? That is, did the parents complement their hopes with a moral framework that shaped in the second generation "proper" views towards school and work? Brickerland's class culture could provide such a framework for the parents, and I will turn to this next.

Socialization of Class Culture

How were the four main values of Brickerland's class culture--hard and responsible work, individual responsibility, cooperation, and family decency--socialized by the first-generation parents? Since my understanding of the first generation's class culture comes mainly from those raised in it, that is, the second generation, my discussion of this activity is limited. In the first place, I have no primary data on the values of the first generation to compare with their children. And, secondly, this leads to a bias towards what was socialized, and a neglect of what the parents could have withheld. What follows, then, is not an assessment of value congruency between these two generations. It is instead a description of the ways certain values were socialized by word and deed. I will begin by describing how the value of hard and responsible work was passed on to the second generation.

The first generation introduced their children to the value of work early in their childhood by assigning them year-round chores at home and in the brickyards, and by exemplifying and articulating what a good worker was. Regarding household work, all the respondents worked in their family garden, carried breakfast and lunch pails to their fathers or others at the brickyards, and fetched wood for oven fires. When home, the parents closely monitored this work and set high standards, as we recall from the

previous chapter this seventy-year-old second-generation respondent's recollection of preparing the ground for the garden:

In the spring my father's diggin' the garden. I won't go in there when he's in there. So, when he ain't there--he goes to work or something--I go in the garden. Oh, he comes home, he finds all kind of fault with my work: "It's not straight. It's lumpy. It's hilly, it's not level. Stay out of the garden!" he says. Oh, he was like that.

And this sixty-six-year-old African American woman remembers the drudgery of garden work as a child:

On our knees. I used to say, "Boy, my knees will be scurvy all the time till I get to be a grown woman." [And my father would say,] "Dig it, Dig it! Put the plant in, go to the next one, do this do that!" You get sore on your knees. Your fingers get sore. When I got tired I went in; the rest of [my siblings] were scared. They stayed out there. I said, "I'm tired, I'm going." I got something to eat, sat there and rested awhile, and then I went back out.

Young children did small jobs at the brickyards, such as setting the moist greenbricks to dry (hacking). The girls did this as well, and all of the female respondents knew the terms and processes of brickmaking ("The women was strong too, there wasn't no weaklings," one woman explained). The following seventy-eight-year-old female respondent recalls hacking:

Oh, yes, I hacked brick. When I was old enough to carry two bricks to the hack, we went out in the morning to carry them. Oh, yes. We had to. That's what I say, we were never afraid to work--we always worked.

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respondent, males and females alike, recall pleasure from simply watching the workers.

Finally, parents socialized work values by telling their children how to behave as workers, regardless of the specific job. As a phenomenon I found near the last of my interviews with the second generation, I have incomplete data regarding the extent of this type of socialization. But, a majority of the second generation respondents, exemplified by these four, said their parents told them to perform well,

My father said, "Anytime you work, either you be as good as that next man, or better." (sixty-eight-year-old African American retired brickworker)

be punctual,

Oh, he always told us to be early, to be on time. That was his main [point]. He would be working at the clay bank and he would come over to see if we were up and ready to go to work--make sure that we were up. (seventy-one-year-old retired seamstress)

and show respect to the boss,

My parents always told you, "[Employers] don't need you, you need them. So, you do a good day's work and you'll get along fine." (seventy-year-old retired city worker)

My parents used to always lecture: "Always do a good day's work. Always be nice to the bosses," and all that. In them days we didn't call them by their first names, you know. We used to call them "Mister." In them days they'd used teach you how to respect. They were strict on that. (seventy-year-old retired seamstress)

The second generation knew their parents lived out these words, for the brickyard and factory owners often voiced their praise of the workers. Applying for his first job in a garment factory, one seventy-year-old second-generation respondent recalls the owner saying to him, "If you can work like your mother, you got the job."

The values of cooperation and individual responsibility were passed on by example. All of my knowledge of the views of welfare and community cooperation is based on the observations the second generation made of their parents, such as the gossip about those on relief, the sharing of food and clothes and the sharing of labor. The second generation also participated in the sharing by transporting food and clothes to neighbors, and, as the following sixty-one-year-old African American respondent demonstrates, by gathering food from the garden:

Every Sunday you would think there was a wedding or a funeral at our house because here comes all the [people] from Kingston to Glasco. And, [my parents would yell], "Lenny, go out and pick some corn for these people," "Lenny, go out there and pick some tomatoes and peppers." And we used to work our butts off. We had a huge, huge garden and they gave all their stuff away.

Family bonds, at the personal and community levels, were very important in Brickerland, and the second generation learned of their worth through such experiences as the weekly family get togethers and parental constraints on courtship. The second generation was also given more

explicit advice by their parents regarding parental respect and general decency expected of a young adult. This occurred when they began working full-time. When seeking work, for instance, especially work in Kingston or Saugerties, "You couldn't just pick up and go," one seventy-seven-year-old respondent told me about his first job in a Kingston dry-cleaning shop. He first had to inform his father what the job was and that a family friend recommended it. When I asked this respondent, Frank, how, if at all, his parents reacted to his first job, he revealed the manner in which parents expressed the aspects of family decency:

Frank: They were happy because I was ambitious and wanted to work. A couple of guys didn't want to work. There's always those bad apples in the barrel. I didn't drink or smoke, so.... They thought a lot of me, honest to God.

V.S.: How do you know? Did they tell you directly, or say things to other people?

Frank: Well, they knew we never had no problems. In those days they didn't come like today: kiss and "Hi!" and this and that and baby talk. You grew up, that's it. But as long as there was no problem with you, I would sense they were happy, right? Because, suppose I came home nights or I ran around or went out drinking? I would hear about it, right?

In fact, regarding this question about the parents' reactions to their child's first full-time job, I found that in all but one of the twenty-one cases the first generation responded in terms of the child's character traits rather than the aspects of the job. The first generation expected decency in their children as they made their transition to

work. The following comment expresses it succinctly:

V.S.: What did your parents think about you spending time with your neighbor, learning to be an auto mechanic?

Respondent: They liked it. They knew [the neighbor] was a good fella and all that, and they knew I would get into no trouble if I worked with him. (seventy-one-year-old retired IBM assembly worker)

It is unlikely that the parents expressed their views of the children's jobs only in terms of family decency, but averting trouble is what the second generation recalls as most important. This sixty-eight-year-old retired salesman sums it up in his recollection of his mother's "philosophy:"

My mother was a great believer in being honest, doing a day's work...and if you see somebody doing wrong, you walk the other way. Don't stay there 'cause it's easy to get into trouble and damn hard to get out of it. That was my mother's philosophy: Go where you want to go, but don't get yourself into trouble.

In sum, the first generation explicitly expressed their desire, though unpremeditated and lacking specificity, that their children better themselves along the lines of higher prestige in work and education. That they, especially the men, found much satisfaction in their work and were proud of their accomplishments did not automatically mean they could not or would not inspire them to achieve more. And since the major employer, the brickyard, did not provide high pay on an annual basis, but instead kept them poor, it is unlikely that their inspiration was based on their monetary

gains. The source instead was their working conditions that gave them a sense of pride and autonomy, and their community life that offered optimism from its solidarity. And as socialization agents of Brickerland culture, the first generation imparted values necessary for upward mobility--hard and responsible work, individual responsibility, cooperation, and education.

However, economic disadvantage blocked many parents' hopes for schooling and better jobs. In fact, most of the population of the second generation did not graduate from high school, and the great majority obtained jobs in the garment factories and worked as semi-skilled and unskilled manual laborers. How did this generation then socialize their children about work and the future?

Chapter Six

MOBILITY SOCIALIZATION BY SECOND-GENERATION PARENTS

"I was raised with that work ethic. Before I went to my first job, my father said to me, "Don't forget, they're paying you to work. So, you don't stand around. You give them a day's work for a day's pay. Otherwise, don't go." I grew up with that, and that's the way I feel." (third-generation respondent)

Brickerland underwent much change as the second generation matured. At the community level, brickmaking sharply declined during the 1930s and 1940s. All of the brickyards in the Glasco section closed by the start of World War II, and just six of the twenty yards once operating in Brickerland remained open after the war. The number of taverns and grocery stores dropped concomitantly. And workers in the more rural brickyard settlements in between the two hamlets began to move mainly to East Kingston as their landlord-employers closed their brickyards. Based on my focus-group interviews and mailed survey responses, fifty-three percent of the second generation population remained in the Brickerland area, with about one quarter of them staying in the Brickerland boundaries and three quarters moving between one and five miles of the original community, mainly to the adjacent City of Kingston and Village of Saugerties.

With regard to living standards, unionization and federal aid programs helped those families living in company

houses to buy or take them over from the yard owners, or helped them move to more prestigious sections of the community, like "up-the-hill," that were farther away from the brickyards and migrant-worker bunk houses. Most of the second generation continued to raise gardens, but certainly not for subsistence. They did not raise or butcher pigs and chickens, and they discontinued the backyard bread baking. Indoor plumbing, electricity and the personal automobile were much more common. The car and the experience of the war, including the G.I. Bill, exposed the second generation to opportunities outside of Brickerland. Moreover, the second generation attained schooling. Eighty-two percent graduated from grammar school. Of these, forty-two percent went on to attain some high school, nearly twenty-eight percent graduated from high school, and twelve percent were college educated. I have insufficient education data on the first generation with which to make comparisons with the second, though most of the respondents said their parents had little or no schooling here or in Europe. The point is that the great majority of the second generation received a formal elementary education in United States schools.

Regarding the changes taking place at the worksite, the second generation began the transition to new working conditions that had begun several decades earlier for the United States working class in general. That is, unlike their fathers they worked at jobs requiring much less skill

and craft. Many in the second generation experienced this first-hand in their own work history. For, despite much automation, the brickyard labor process was never rationalized in Brickerland. The art of setting and burning bricks remained the domain of the workers right up to the last day of brickmaking in the mid-1970s. And although modernization reduced the need of keeping tight synchronization between processes, and although it kept the yards open year round, the workers maintained the stint system. Thus, while the general trend toward deskilling had begun by the start of the 1900s for most workers in the United States (Gordon et al., 1982:100-164), the second-generation males who worked in the yards labored under conditions very much like their fathers. But the tenure of most of these brickworkers was short. Just eight percent of the second-generation population claim brickwork as their main source of employment. The great majority did experience the country's dominant trend of deskilling, and they saw the loss of their own skills in their lifetime¹. If we take the year 1950 to represent the end of

¹ From my personal experience, this is especially true for the kiln burners. It might help explain why they have told me many more stories about their brickwork than their construction or assembly work, and why their brickwork recollections are more about their work activity. It might also explain some other possible long-term effects of brickmaking: A former burner, Carl, said an old kiln mate met him at the supermarket and asked, "Carl, do you ever dream about the brickyard? I do." Carl said he did not, but he has nevertheless told me countless stories about kiln burning.

brickmaking, their average age was thirty-three, and they went into factories and construction jobs that offered much less autonomy than brickmaking.

Given this change at the community, individual and point-of-production levels, how did the second generation socialize their children with regard to their futures? How did they compare with their parents along these lines? Moreover, the second generation is the first and only generation, on the whole, to be raised and to have lived their lives in Brickerland. All second-generation interviewees live in or near Brickerland. Would their attachment to the community be passed on to their offspring and thus act to limit their inspiration of their children?

On the whole, I found that this generation, like their parents, had no premeditated plans to discuss work and future, yet strongly promoted college and clearly discouraged the type of manual work with which they had most experience, namely construction, construction-related, and the remaining brick and cement jobs. Also like their mothers and fathers, the second generation did not support their hopes with specific strategy or guidance. Furthermore, the second generation passed on by word and by example much of Brickerland's class culture.

Absent Plans: Explicit Hopes

Seventeen of the twenty-one pairs of second-generation parents indicated they gave no substantive and deliberate conversation about what kinds of jobs their children could do. The four cases in which parents said they did discuss this matter (stating, for example, "Oh yes, we talked about it all the time."), this amounted to strong encouragement of college, with no specific discussion of work. The lack of explicit and deliberate discussions about job possibilities is exemplified by this respondent:

We never discussed it. We never sat down with our kids at the table and said, "Gee, you ought to go into this here." No, I don't remember even once discussing that. (seventy-seven-year-old retired small businessman)

And the general stress on education while deliberately avoiding talk about jobs is seen in this comment:

My wife and I never told the kids what would be best for them or what field to go into. We just said to get all the education you can get because the more you get the better off you're gonna be. And whatever you pick, that's up to you. (seventy-year-old retired city worker)

Without exception, the third generation confirmed that their parents handled the situation the way they reported. This thirty-three-year-old third-generation nurse's recollection serves as an example:

Connie: They pushed college. It was important to go to school to get a good education to get a good job.

V.S.: Any particular college?

Connie: No, that was my choice.

V.S.: Do you think they didn't want you to work at IBM?

Connie: No, they didn't care where I worked, as long as I got an education. If that's what I wanted to do, and went to school for that, that's fine.

V.S.: Did they point to any people as examples?

Connie: They felt that it was my decision to do what I wanted to do, and they didn't push one way or the other--who, what, where.

As the children entered the job market and faced job options, however, twelve second-generation couples did become involved by making specific suggestions or by intervening on the child's behalf, such as getting job applications or, as in one case, getting the daughter employed in a bakery to test her expressed interest in that line of work. This is nearly the same number of first-generation parents (ten) who intervened when their children presented or recently decided upon job options. When the children faced job options or when they faced unemployment, IBM was suggested most by the parents (four of twelve). But the parents who made these recommendations said they left it up to the children to decide, and they deferred to their children's decisions.

The second generation claimed their lack of education and experience hindered them from becoming more involved with their children regarding work and the future.

And at the same time, they delighted in saying they granted their children full autonomy regarding work choices:

I never told my kids what to do. The three of them went to college, and I figured, let them work it out. They know why they went to college for. Let them work it out. They got more education than I do. I never pushed them, tell them you should do this and you should do that. I don't force them to do anything. Like, my son wanted to be a teacher--I didn't say no. Same way with my other two children--I didn't tell them, "Don't do it." (seventy-one-year-old retired IBM assembly worker)

They carried on what they interpreted from their parents' noninvolvement actions: grant the child complete autonomy in job selection by withholding unsolicited comments. Thus, they made no distinction between the role of assisting their offspring on the one hand, and that of interfering with or inhibiting their autonomy on the other. It seemed to me that my question was so often taken by the second generation to mean, "Did you tell them what they had to do?," that I frequently repeated my question in different terms to ask about what generally took place, if anything, with regard to talk about their futures. Still, it is clear from their responses that any such discussion represented an invasion by them into their offspring's freedom of job choice:

My daughter wanted to be a teacher. I didn't say, "You have to go." (seventy-seven-year-old retired small businessman)

After hearing all the respondents claim they left it pretty much up to the child to decide, I asked them where

they thought their children got their ideas for what they wanted to do. Unsurprisingly, given their "preference" to stay aloof from this area, they did not know for sure. The common answer was that their children were more the recipients than the creators of their futures ("They drifted into it," "It just come out.").

Could this type of mobility socialization by the parents be rooted in their gender rather than Brickerland's class culture? Recent qualitative work has shown clear differences in parenting by men and women, with fathers tending toward (or recently moving away from) "noninvolvement," or a more detached form of parenting (e.g., Gerson, 1993; Hochschild, 1989). Because I focused on parents as members of the Brickerland population I did not design formal comparisons along the lines of gender. Of the thirteen Brickerland women in my second-generation sample of twenty-one, however, there was no reported difference in their mobility socialization. They, too, were quick to say they did not force their children into or out of particular futures. In addition, the second generation as parents and the third generation as children agree that there was no major difference along gender lines for the way parents socialized for mobility.

It is possible their mobility socialization varied by their views of equality of opportunity. If the second generation felt opportunities were unavailable, then they

might be less likely to become involved with inspiring their children, regardless of how satisfying and meaningful their work was, and despite the hope their own parents held. I asked the second generation the following question to assess their views of equality of opportunity:

Do you feel that anybody can become whatever they want, regardless of their background, as long as they work hard? Or, do you feel it is more the case that our family background pretty much determines what we will achieve, regardless of how hard we work?

I posed the question for both when the second generation was in its childhood ("when you were growing up") and for when they were parents ("as your children were growing up"). When answering for their time period the second generation's answers were equally divided. Thus, one's views on equal opportunity for his or her own generation seemed to have no strong impact. The parents conducted no deliberate and explicit talks about work and future whether or not they felt equality of opportunity existed for them.

But when they responded to the question for their children's time period, eighteen of the twenty-one agreed in various degrees with the first answer, that individual effort is more important. It would appear from this that even believing that one's child has more opportunity for advancement does not seem to result in more involved and deliberate inspiration. But the second generation's non-involved behavior was limited just to planned and focussed

discussion. For, despite the absence of deliberate talks about work and future, all of the second-generation respondents anticipated their children would do well. All but two openly and strongly promoted college. Nine couples explicitly encouraged office and teaching jobs when their children faced job options, and all had expectations that their children would attain high-prestige jobs, like teaching and managerial jobs. These expectations were simply understood by the third generation. For example, the following third-generation respondent testifies to how well the second generation expressed its expectations without overt discussion. Having to abandon his aspiration to become an archeologist for financial reasons, the son considered pursuing his other interest, photography, but knew this was not acceptable for his parents since it did not require a college education:

To go to my parents at that time and say, "Look, I'm not going to college," that wasn't an acceptable kind of thing to do. If I want to do photography as a hobby, fine. They never really told me, "No, you cannot do that." But at that time of my life, I kind of understood that that really wasn't what I ought to be doing. I had to go to high school and then I should go to college. And that's basically what I did. (forty-eight-year-old high school teacher, my emphasis)

In fact, he became a geology teacher, and sees his outcome as a compromise: teaching required him to go to college, thus satisfying his parents, and teaching geology satisfies his archeology interests--both without the financial burden

of graduate education that would be, in his view, a prerequisite to being an archeologist.

The second generation used a variety of conscious and unconscious means to promote higher-prestige work. They revered school teachers, and thus reinforced the achievement ideology they promulgated in the schools. The same undoubtedly occurred when, in the presence of their children, they supported other socialization agents disseminating this view, such as television and movies, or when they conversed with other adults about this issue. But like their own parents, they explicitly denounced manual and low-prestige labor. Only four of the fourteen first-generation couples with sons did not discourage them from entering the brickyards, and only three of the second-generation couples did not seem to mind if their children pursued a skilled trade or other non-office work. The first generation discouraged brickyard labor for their sons, but accepted the fact that it would often be necessary to do; the second generation continued to denounce this type of labor, but they did so with much fervor. Here is how one son remembers his father's exhortations:

He was constantly saying, "You better stick with a pencil and paper, 'cause this breaking-your-back stuff is no good." That was ingrained in me ever since I can remember. He always had a project going, like digging out a cellar, and he would remind me, "This is what you have to do if you don't have an education." I just specifically remember this one thing where we'd be handing bricks to each other and he said, "Ha! How'd you like to do this? This is what they did on the

brickyard all day." And when I was using the wheelbarrow, if it was half full he'd say, "You gotta put 120 brick on there! That's what you gotta do on the brickyard." (forty-four-year-old school administrator)

Even when faced with (the small minority of) children who expressed a desire for manual work, be it skilled or not, parents abandoned their detached stance and tried to discourage them. There were two cases in which the sons avidly sought unskilled construction work, and in both cases the parents discouraged them, as this son of a brickworker and garment worker explains:

They never wanted me to work on construction. I wanted to go to welding school, but they said, "Don't do that, it's bad for your eyes." I wanted to go to vocational school for masonry, but, "Don't do that, it's bad for your back. Why don't you go to college?" They wanted me to work in an office or something where I could go dressed up and stay clean. Once, my father and I worked together putting in a sidewalk, and he kept saying, "See, this work's not for you." But I loved it. (thirty-seven-year-old utility worker)²

² While this father and one other accepted their sons' decision and eventual job outcomes, two other parents continue to harbor disappointment as their children approach middle age. In one interview with a forty-three-year-old delivery driver and his seventy-two-year-old mother together, for example, the tension between the mother's hope and the son's outcome was clear. The son worked at a number of manual and non-manual jobs, including fast-food manager:

Mom: I wanted him to go to college to become something.

V.S.: Did you ever give him any ideas?

Mom: Yeah, to be a...lab techni...to work in the laboratory...X-ray. He always talked about X-rays when he was a kid--was going to be an X-ray technician. I always wanted him to go to college.

In sum, the second generation socialized their children to work and the future along the pattern set by their own parents, but with heightened stress on college and non-manual work. How did they compare with their parents regarding the three main values of Brickerland's class culture?

Son: She wanted me to be a successful doctor or lawyer or something like that.

Mom: I wanted him to become something.

Son: I did, I became a very useful member of society. Unfortunately it wasn't what you wanted me to be.

Mom: Well see, you can't tell a child what to do, right? I thought he was going to become something, to do something with his life. But I guess what he does is alright. But it wasn't up to my standard because I really wanted him to go to college.

Son: You wasn't even happy when I became a district manager in the restaurant business.

Mom: Yes, I did, but you didn't stick by it.

Son: It would have cost me my marriage. Would you have liked me to trade?

Mom: No. That's what I say, he has to live his own life. Am I right or wrong? What can I say? But, at the time when he was growing up, I always said he had to go to college. Just like he's doing with his own daughter now. But he didn't go.

Socialization of Class Culture

Work

With regard to work, the typical second-generation parent was more concerned with how their children worked than with what kind of work they did. Seventeen of the twenty-one pairs of second-generation parents passed on the value of hard and responsible work. According to their children, about half of them did this by example, and half did by direct talk. Here is how one father explicitly promoted his daughter to work hard:

Before I went to my first job, my father said to me, "Don't forget, they're paying you to work. So, you don't stand around. You give them a day's work for a day's pay. Otherwise, don't go."
(fifty-four-year-old clerical worker)

And one father reminded his son not to abuse his new grocery store managerial position, but to conform to his superiors:

I always told him, as long as you ain't spending your money and the place ain't yours, you have to listen to somebody. Somebody is going to be your boss. You've got to be careful how you talk to people. (seventy-year-old retired cement worker)

Five third-generation respondents became construction or heavy-equipment operators, and three of them gave much credit to their fathers for imparting the value of hard work. And just like their parents said of their grandparents, the third generation recalled the high standards of work set for them:

My father was always tough on me. I could never satisfy him, but I could satisfy everybody else. He was always on my case making sure I did things right. So, when I worked for somebody else, it was never a problem. I was used to working, I never sat around. I never missed a day of work in my life, and I was never late. Anybody I ever worked for have complimented me on my work. My father never did though. And it's because of him. That's why--he always pushed. (forty-three-year-old truck driver)

And some faced the same standards in the vegetable garden as their parents did before them:

Believe me, if we thought we were going to hit and miss in that garden, we were back. So, even starting as a kid, when you were pulling weeds, you did a good job. The first thing my father would do when he came home from work was get out of the car and go up to see if we did what we were supposed to do. If we did, not a problem. Pass inspection, not a problem. But if we thought that we were going to skip corners, then we had a problem. (forty-seven-year-old community worker, my emphasis)

As for the examples of hard and responsible work set for them by their parents, almost all of the sons and daughters of the seventeen second-generation parents who passed on these values recalled that their parents never missed a day of work, unless they were gravely ill. This third-generation respondent exemplifies how his generation perceived their parents' work:

My parents were not the type of people who would lecture you or even try to direct you by specific comments. What they would try to do is set an example, though. Like, my father would not miss a day's work. I know that he went to work sick many times, probably. And my mother also, when she was working. They were hard workers, and honorable people, too. They would never try to cheat and

never try to pull anything over on their bosses.
(forty-four-year-old high school teacher)

These perceptions were supported by "outsiders"--employers and others living in the City of Kingston and Village of Saugerties with whom the third generation came into contact, and who praised their parents for their hard work.³

The second generation added another interrelated value to guide their children's performance at work. They expressed it as "Do your best":

I didn't tell them what to be, or what they had to go for, but whatever they went for, try their best to do it. Even if it was a garbage collector, I didn't care. (sixty-eight-year-old retired cement worker)

I found that just five of the second-generation couples expressed this explicitly in the unstructured format of my questions on this general topic, but doing one's best was, from my personal experience with the community, a common outlook. The following forty-three-year-old third-generation delivery driver shows how doing one's best was important for his parents, and how it was tightly connected

³ For example, a third-generation respondent ran for a local office, and during his campaign he said, "People came up to me and said, 'Your mother and father--they're hard working people.' I never heard their names mentioned if that phrase or thought wasn't passed along." In another case, a former school bus line operator hired one second-generation Bricklander, "Pat," and said he saw a clear difference in this worker: "Pat was the only driver who first walked around and checked out the bus like you're supposed to. Before every trip he'd check the mirrors and tires. The rest didn't give a shit. Who did it? Pat."

with the other values of hard and responsible work:

What I got from my father and my mother was that if your boss wants you to do whatever, so long as he's paying your salary, you do it. If you were told to wash a wall, you washed that wall so you don't have to do it twice. You're going to be the best wall-washer you could be, or toilet washer or shit shoveler, or anything. You be the best that you can be. And never allow yourself to be satisfied that that's the best you could do. If you unload 100 bricks, why aren't you trying to unload 100 more? That's what I was told.

Interestingly, the aspiration literature has found that parental encouragement to "do/be your best," or what is generalized as "achievement training," is associated with high levels of aspiration (Rosen and D'Andrade, 1959). And the relationship is stronger when parents give the child autonomy with regard to achieving success, or "independence training" (Anderson and Evans, 1976). Both of these types of "training" were performed by the second generation, as a whole. But none of my respondents gave any indication that doing one's best was to be performed by the child primarily as a means to achieve individual success. That is, the parents hoped for their children's success, but they did not advocate doing one's best as the primary means to this goal. It was instead, as I believe the delivery driver above demonstrates, first and foremost a component of what it meant to be a good worker.

Family Decency

Upon marriage and forming families of their own during the 1940s and 1950s, the second generation experienced the transition to modern gender roles that the middle-class had experienced over a century earlier (Degler, 1980). That is, they adhered to the men-as-breadwinner and women-as-homemaker ideal. This was somewhat different than their parents. While it is true that the first-generation husbands were the primary providers through their brickyard wages and their wives were home, the women's home-based production--gardening, food preservation, clothes making--was crucial for family survival because brickyard wages were seasonal and insufficient. The wife's survival skills were as important as the husband's. (Shoemaking, homebuilding, and food production were some of his contributions.) For these reasons, the first-generation couples were more like "traditional," or pre-revolutionary, couples in the United States. But the second generation entered the workforce as wages rose during the two decades after World War Two.⁴

⁴ The second generation did enter the work world and did raise their children during the post-war steady rise in real income that characterized the nation as a whole up to the early 1970s (Harrison and Bluestone, 1988). But I did not collect wages and earnings data for any generation. Their main jobs--in construction and apparel--were marked by frequent short- to long-term layoffs (which were welcomed by the hunters and anglers). But they were represented by two strong unions--the ALGWU and the AFL-CIO--which had, and most likely used, its wherewithal to fight for the second generation's piece of the growing economic pie. Thus, despite the lack of actual income data, I assume that larger

This stronger family wage provided this predominantly blue-collar generation with the means to finally establish the separate-sphere marital roles (i.e., wife as full-time homemaker) long practiced by middle-class families (Skolnick, 1991:53-55). As one sixty-eight-year-old retired cement worker explained about building his own house in 1953,

When we were designing the house I told my wife to design the kitchen 'cause that's where she'd spend most of her time.

But their actual behaviors were not always consistent with their new ideology about gender. They did not fully fit the modern model because over eighty percent of the second-generation wives in my population did not stay in the private sphere of the home but instead worked for pay. They were still important for the survival of the family, as is common for the working class in general. But their contributions were quantitatively as well a qualitatively different from that of their mothers. For almost all were part-time low-wage garment factory workers--almost all temporarily leaving work to raise their children. Their part in family maintenance was undoubtedly stronger than middle-class wives, but not as strong as their mothers. However, in their socialization the second generation gave

structural changes regarding an expanding social wage did affect these parents and did provide them with wages and earnings higher than their parents.

more support to the ideal of modern gender roles and de-emphasized women's provider role. This is seen in the less enthusiastic support for their daughters' college education. The second generation's strong push for college favored the sons. There were seven families in the sample composed of children in both sexes, and in five of these families the son was assumed to be going to college, while the daughter either, as the parents put it, "did not want to go to college," or was given less financial and emotional support. The parents' reasoning was that the future husband would be the main provider. In this extreme example a forty-two-year-old third-generation woman was given this reasoning very bluntly:

I remember just what my father said to me: "If you want to go to college, that's great. Don't expect any help from me. Your brothers need an education more than you do. They're men and they're going to have to provide for a family." I said, "What about me?" And he said, "You're only going to get married."

The brothers of these woman readily admit that their parents were clearly biased towards their attaining college. I did not find this bias in those families with female-only children.

It is important to acknowledge the challenges to this type of socialization from external forces. The majority of my third-generation respondents were born between 1950 and 1955, and thus were exposed to the "second wave" of feminism of the late 1960s to the mid-1970s as they developed plans

for college and work. Their parents, however, had completed their primary socialization roles, including the transmission of family decency, prior to that time. The third-generation daughters must have entered work or college in the midst of these cross pressures, though unfortunately I made no inquiry about this experience. I did, however, examine the possible consequences of that experience indirectly through my interviews with the third-generation mothers. That is, I studied their degree of transmission of family decency, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

Another aspect of family decency was maintaining the decent image of one's family name. This was carried on by thirteen families in the sample. "Don't tarnish our name," was what the children in these families recall being told. Keeping the name clean was done in several ways. Being respectful of other community members was one way the second generation raised their children to maintain one's family decency. This forty-seven-year-old third-generation community worker remembers this in his childhood:

Everybody knew everyone out there, and if you were disrespectful, my parents knew about it. If you didn't call somebody "Mister," even if you walked past somebody and didn't speak to them, my parents would know it. Cause if you misbehaved, somebody would come up to your father and say, "I seen your son today and he did this." So you didn't misbehave. And respect? Boy. I'll tell you, we had respect out in [Brickerland] them days.

Another way was to stay out of trouble with the law

The family name was a biggie. I remember once a police

car coming to our neighbor's house. Now if a police car came to our house, I'd still be limping. My father said something to the effect of, "Don't ever let that happen to this house. We might not have a fancy house or have a lot of money, but we won't let your name get spread around so that people will say a Cassano did something wrong." (forty-three-year-old hair stylist)

And another way, which was directly related to modern gender roles, was to avoid promiscuity:

My mother is always worried about what the neighbors are going to say. Heaven forbid! I'll never forget, I had gone out with this man who I met at my cousin's wedding. And then, a week later, I went out with somebody else. I don't even think I kissed him goodnight, and my mother said, "God, you're going out with somebody else? You just went out with the other man. What are they going to think?" (forty-one-year-old teacher)

Family decency was also expressed by closeness to one's family. Every second-generation family in the sample continued to hold weekly family get togethers. They were always held at the parents' (first generation) house, and usually centered around church on Sunday and, for the Italians, early afternoon spaghetti dinners ("You could walk down any street and smell the tomato sauce and garlic."). These family affairs spawned many close relationships between the third generation and their older relatives. Five third-generation respondents lived with or stayed with their grandparents for some period of time, usually during the summer or when their parents were at work. For many in the third generation, as I will discuss in chapter eight,

aunts and uncles were close friends and very influential with regard to aspirations.

In sum, family bonds, upholding the family name and modern gender roles were components of family decency passed on by the second generation.⁵ Undoubtedly, most of these values described above constitute the moral order of small towns of various class and ethnic compositions throughout the United States. Further along, however, I will examine the meanings such values had for the third generation as they pursued their careers. Family decency is also connected with the value of interfamily cooperation, to which I will now turn.

⁵ From my experience with several Brickerland families, the second generation performed rituals with young children that also reinforced family decency. One of these is the practice of giving a small gift of money, like one to three dollars, to small children during less-frequent family visits. The child's parents give a perfunctory protest to the donor, and then instruct the child to say thanks by the cue, "What do you say?" The gesture demonstrates the donor's conformity to cooperation (reciprocity and charity). Another custom is to put a young child in certain dilemmas. One is a "family dilemma." That is, upon leaving the host's home, the host holds the child and says (or asks if) he or she will stay with them instead of leaving with the parents, thus forcing the child to chose between the host--usually grandparents and aunts and uncles--and the parents. The parents play along with the tease by waving goodbye. In another such staged dilemma, the child is asked to share whatever he has at the moment, be it money, food or toys. The child that readily shares is rewarded with praise; the child that does not share is not so rewarded. I witnessed one recent situation in which a great uncle deliberately gave his two great nephews a package of five candies and eagerly waited to see how the two boys would divide the odd-numbered goods.

Cooperation and Individual Responsibility

The first generation survived life in early Brickerland by home-based production and by sharing their labor and their goods with community members. As the second generation matured and raised their families, the conditions on which this self survival and charity were based obviously changed greatly. The Brickerland area offered secure, good-paying jobs in IBM and building construction, and except for IBM most were unionized. Moreover, as most second-generation couples moved just outside Brickerland and into the surrounding area, the physical distancing was a further reason for the erosion of family and neighborly sharing, despite the fact that family and community contacts were maintained. Thus, the third generation witnessed none of the self-sufficient work and much less of the support networks of early Brickerland as they grew up.

Nonetheless, their parents did continue much of the family and neighborly sharing they experienced when growing up, if for different reasons. For, while living conditions improved relative to the first generation, the great bulk of the second generation who became IBM, construction, garment, or factory workers still relied on their informal support lines to purchase durable goods or to make savings by avoiding repairmen, like working-class families in general continue to do (Rapp, 1982). Thus, like other working-class children the third generation did observe their parents and

older relatives pool resources. This included some of the original forms of sharing. For example, a common sight during the summer months for many Brickerland descendants is the brown shopping bag filled with tomatoes and other garden vegetables that friends and relatives bring to one another. But not all second-generation descendants continued to grow vegetable gardens. Most did so for a short period of time, but only five second-generation respondents in the sample have done so consistently and continue to raise them presently. The "garden culture" is still strong for them: they supply their non-growing relatives, and friendly rivalries over the earliest and best-looking tomato persist. It is customary for a host to produce a bag and invite a visitor back into the garden to pick some vegetables. Additionally, canned tomatoes, cooked food and clothing were shared, though these were mostly given to one's extended family members. And those in the second generation who continued to hunt and fish share their catch, wrapped in freezer bags, with friends and neighbors. This is especially true for big game, like deer.

Thus, like other working-class children in general, the third generation experienced the important pooling of resources, and they also witnessed a more rural-based feature of it. The more intense reciprocal norms their grandparents followed for survival, of course, were absent. But the third generation was knowledgeable of this history.

I asked third-generation respondents if they were ever told of their grandparents' interfamily survival tactics by their parents or older relatives or neighbors. Forty-one of the forty-three third-generation respondents said they were told about the food and labor sharing of early Brickerland.

Summary

Without premeditated plans, Brickerland's second generation inspired their children to attain a college education, clean and non-manual jobs, and to achieve an improved standard of living. They made no explicit career suggestions and offered no concrete guidelines to help them reach their goals. They took pride in remaining detached from doing so. Yet their children were sensitive to the power of their parents' unspoken hopes for cleaner, non-manual, and professional outcomes. And in cases when the mature child faced job options the parents did explicitly and strongly urge them to avoid manual work. Their attachment with the community did not seem to restrict their capacity to inspire.

With these desires for an improved life were also transmitted moral guidelines based on values of work, family decency and cooperation, which were three components of the first generation's class culture. Hard and responsible work and close family ties stand out as the values most strongly upheld, as they were passed on by word and deed in almost

all of the families. Other aspects of family decency carried on by the second generation that were rooted in early Brickerland were honoring the family name and obedience to parents. But the second generation conformed to a newer ideology of family roles shared by the dominant culture, such as homemaking wives. And the second generation socialized interfamily cooperation, though this was based not on material necessity but on non-essential goods. Most in the third generation, however, were told of the necessary resource sharing of their ancestors.

Chapter Seven

MOBILITY SOCIALIZATION BY THIRD-GENERATION PARENTS

"I would talk with [my children] more, find their interests and expose them to people in that area--like a catalyst." (third-generation respondent)

Brickmaking in Brickerland was virtually finished by 1964. Just one yard at the community's southern tip stayed in sporadic operation until 1976, employing some of the community's career brickworkers and some third-generation descendants doing summer work. Two new industries did emerge in the community as the brickyards closed, but both lasted only briefly. One was a cement plant that employed many former brickworkers, and the other was garment work that spawned three small-scale shops and was very convenient for seamstresses who would otherwise need to travel to Kingston for such jobs. The cement plant closed in the mid-1970s, and the last garment shop closed in the early 1980s. The significance of these jobs was not for bolstering the community economy. The taverns and corner stores continued to close--all but one of the taverns and all but two small corner stores closed by the late 1970s, and some small purchases could require residents to drive into town. And neither industry brought much outside labor. Their importance, instead, was mainly for carrying many former brickyard workers and seamstresses over to retirement or

semi-retirement status via convenient and secure work.¹

Meanwhile, the ranks of the benevolent societies declined rapidly as no new membership was gained, and the activities at their summer bazaars were gradually reduced each year. By the start of the 1980s, due to lack of help and excessive insurance costs, the outdoor music, dancing, games of chance, fireworks and the general hustle and bustle of cars and people were no longer a part of the great bazaars. What remained was just an outdoor spaghetti-and-meatball supper attended mostly by the second generation. In 1991 this, too, ended. The saints' days are now celebrated only by mass in the church.

Most second-generation descendants had already left the original community boundaries by the early 1960s, when Brickerland was well into its transition to a retirement village for the first generation. Thus just approximately thirty percent of the third-generation population (of 943) were born and raised there. An additional forty-three percent were raised just outside the original borders, but they did, nevertheless, experience the changing community life in Brickerland because their parents brought them there

¹ But the cement plant posed many problems for workers and community residents. Work in the plant was known to be very dangerous, and the plant's operations did much to reduce the quality of life in the community. The major problems were the noise, debris and tremors from its blasting operations, the thick dust from regular operations, and the noise from its trucks. Some residents became active in a fight to oust the plant. Insurance claims from homeowners are still being adjudicated.

regularly to visit with the first generation--on both short-term and long-term bases.

Compared with their parents and grandparents, the third generation was the first to become college educated as a group. Fifty-six percent of them attained some college, and nearly one-fourth received a four-year degree. Public colleges in New York State were the most commonly attended schools for those attaining bachelor degrees. This was also the case for the ten percent who got advanced degrees. And the Ulster County community college was the most common school for the fourteen percent who got associate degrees. With the help of these degrees and the national growth of what the Census Bureau defines as service and professional jobs since the 1950s, the bulk of the third generation descendants, 161 in total, became teachers, nurses and office workers--most of the latter at IBM. The third generation became the first to be mainly white-collar workers. Given these circumstances, how did the third generation compare with the previous generations regarding mobility socialization?

Maintaining Autonomy and Facilitating Aspirations

There were thirty-two third-generation couples who qualified to respond to my questions about mobility

socialization.² As a whole, they both upheld some aspects and changed other aspects of the pattern of mobility socialization set and carried on by their ancestors. They maintained the standard by reproducing three of its main elements. One is the strong encouragement of college. Only one of the thirty-two couples did not mention college as an assumed achievement for their children.³ A second is the

² I interviewed forty-three individual members of the third generation. Forty-two of them married. Six of them intermarried, giving a total of thirty-nine married couples. Of these thirty-nine, I could not interview seven about their mobility socialization, which gave me a total of thirty-two couples that I did interview about this topic:

total married couples.....	39
childless couples/no data.....	7
will not have children.....	4
wed a single parent with older child...	1
no data.....	2
total couples interviewed about socialization..	32
couples with children.....	29
couples planning to have children.....	3
number of couples with children in age groups:	
infants-preschool.....	3
young children.....	12
pre-teen to teenager.....	8
adolescents.....	6
(Three couples have children in both the teen and adolescent groups.)	

As is the case with the previous generation, I found no elementary disagreements between the couples about how this issue was or will be handled. I will thus use the terms, "parent" and "couples," interchangeably. (Of the thirty-two couples interviewed with these questions, I met with nine couples with both spouses present.)

³ One of the more explicit ways the third generation urges their children to go to college is exemplified by the forty-year-old teacher's aid who has on her refrigerator door the following anecdote taken from a magazine:

engagement in spontaneous rather than planned discussion of work and the future. Just one parent said he would approach the issue in a deliberate rather than a spontaneous manner. And the third element they carry on is upholding the child's autonomy in the matter. Only six couples said they suggested a specific or general occupation to their children.⁴ All emphasized they would not pressure or form expectations for their children. Thirteen specifically used the phrase, "I don't push them..." Like their parents, they adamantly denounced parental pressure and advocated the child's autonomy for selecting and pursuing work. These three features of mobility socialization held regardless of the parents' occupation. Each of these elements is seen in the following four examples:⁵

I went off to campus one day to have lunch in the food corridor of the local mall. I found myself sitting next to a woman with a small son. The inquisitive boy was noticing how the waist-high counters ran across the entire front of the restaurants, which were staffed by teenagers. "How do they get out of there," the child asked his mother. "They go to college," she replied.

The respondent says she frequently refers her children to the story.

⁴ The jobs suggested were professional and semi-professional: teacher (1), court reporter (1), health care (2) scientist (1), engineer (1), newscaster (1), and doctor or lawyer (1).

⁵ The parents quoted are the spouses who are Brickerland descendants. Unless specified, I do not use the words of non-descendant spouses. Thus, the occupations of the parent refers to the occupation of the descendant only, and this may not be the "primary" job of the family in terms of

I kinda left [work and future] up to them. I felt that as long as they were educated and could get a decent job, and it was something they enjoyed, that's the main thing. I mean, you can't push something on anybody else. I didn't push, really. (fifty-two-year-old nurse with four grown children, ages twenty-three to twenty-seven)

I figure I'd rather see what he really wants to do and really be. Let him see what that big aspiration is first, and then deal with that. (forty-year-old elementary school principal with two children, ages twelve and fifteen)

Well, the oldest one, she grew up so fast, I never really got to sit down and say, "What do you want to do?" She got a part-time job at the bank the summer after [high school] graduation, and they liked her and they asked if she wanted full-time. She asked me, and I said, "Well, that's up to you." (forty-three-year-old truck driver with two children, ages fifteen and nineteen)

I don't think we really thought of it. Just eventually they were in an academic program in high school. Why we didn't encourage them to be doctors and lawyers, I don't know. (fifty-one-year-old elementary school teacher with three children, ages twenty-eight and twins ages twenty-seven)

Table 7A shows the high degree of consistency between the second and third generations regarding the main elements of mobility socialization.

income.

Table 7A: Mobility Socialization of Second and Third Generation, By Number and Percent

<u>Mobility Socialization</u>	<u>Generation</u>			
	<u>second</u>		<u>third</u>	
	total=21		total=32	
	#	%	#	%
spontaneous talk	17	81	31	97
encourage education	19	90	31	97
let child initiate career	21	100	32	100
unsolicited career suggestion	4	19	6	19

However, I found two differences in the way this generation approaches this issue. One is that while they promote college and white-collar jobs, they do not do so with the intensity of their parents and grandparents. At least three parents do not uncritically accept college as an automatic requirement. In one such couple with pre-teenage children both spouses are teachers, and their work may explain their views:

As teachers, we've seen too much of this, "Every kid must go to college." It's a bunch of baloney, because not every kid is cut out to go to college. (non-descendant wife, approximately forty years old)

But this is not an elitist view, for as her forty-eight-year-old husband explains, a blue-collar job would not be unthinkable for his children:

I think if my children decided they didn't want to go to college as part of a job [requirement], I would probably still say to them, you should go to college so that even if you're a plumber you're going to be able to converse with people intelligently, and you're going to be a different kind of plumber or electrician. If you don't want to go, I'm not going to force anybody to go to college, 'cause I don't know if that works. And

even in a subtle way I don't think I'm going to tell my children, "You have to go to college," or "You must go to college, or you'll never get a job if you don't go to college."

Wife: I agree that if my kids don't want to go to college I wouldn't force them, but I would also encourage it. If my son or daughter wanted to go into a trade, they could have another route if that didn't work out. (...) Maybe we should have more respect for people that are trash collectors and mechanics and so on so that people would do a good job that are skilled to do that job.

The wife's comment that college would be helpful if a trade did not work out, and the husband's point that college would make a plumber "a different kind of plumber," directly opposes the dominant view of the second generation. For the second generation, college would be the means to a primary, white-collar career; it would not play a supporting role or serve as a backup plan for an abandoned attempt at blue-collar work. Interestingly, the husband quoted above is the respondent in the previous chapter who understood from his parents' assumptions that he must set aside his interest in photography and pursue more "acceptable" work by going to college.

The second difference found in the third generation is more widespread. A slight majority of the parents in this generation (seventeen) has added to the main pattern of mobility socialization. While maintaining the basic components of the standard, these parents also said they made, or will make, deliberate efforts to know their children's interests and job ideas, and then provide

information and critical reinforcement to help develop those interests. One parent, a fifty-year-old vice-president of a small data processing company with two teenage children, captured the essence of this role nicely in the term, "pro-active." Compared to his parents, he claimed,

I'm more pro-active. I'm trying to identify something that excites interests in [my children]. Then I discuss the options once they develop an idea.

Another parent following this approach sees himself as a "catalyst":

I would talk with [my children] more, find their interests and expose them to people in that area-- like a catalyst. (thirty-five-year-old graphic artist, no children)

These self-described active roles do more to accommodate than limit the child's autonomy. This forty-year-old elementary school principal with two young teenage children expresses this point clearly:

[My son] makes up his decision about the thing he wants to do. And that's where I want to come in. Let's look at this profession and look at it totally.

The new mobility socialization the third generation is forming, then, is marked by a new role of facilitation: understand the child's interests and ideas, and then provide guidance and information. Eleven couples stated they did or would purposefully handle the situation with their children differently than the way their parents had done with them,

and this new role was given as the distinguishing feature.

Most of the seventeen couples who support this facilitator role (thirteen) have college degrees and work in professional or semi-professional jobs. Their ages did not seem to matter. In comparable job and education positions, parents-to-be in their twenties and older parents with teenage and adolescent children gave similar priority to this way of handling the issue of work and future. Moreover, there is indication that work satisfaction is anticipated. Five of the seventeen couples explicitly mentioned their role was to see that their children achieved "happiness" in their work. This too, represents a shift from the second generation wherein I found no such mention of work satisfaction, and wherein higher prestige was more important.

Furthermore, the degree of involvement in this facilitation process varied by the couples. Close to half of them (seven) focus mainly on responding to their children's ideas for work and future. They would provide literature and discuss the ramifications of the career after the child raised it. This observe-and-guide role is exemplified by this fifty-four-year-old clerical worker with two young adult children:

I'd bounce [their ideas] back. I'm a big one for saying, "If that's what you want, go find out about it. Tell me more." My house is full of books, and there was always someplace you could go for information. If you didn't know, come and ask me, I'll find out.

In general, they could not say exactly how their child formed these ideas, but mentioned school and peers as the probable means.

The other half (ten) are the most involved parents of all generations. They become involved at an earlier stage by performing a cultivating role: they help the children develop interests in the first place, and point them out to the children as such. They do this by exposing their children to a wide range of places and experiences to help them develop interests, as these two respondents explain:

I also, unlike my parents, try to see that [my twelve-year-old daughter] gets involved in things, like skiing and sports things. We take her when we go away on vacation. She's had a lot more exposure and opportunity than I did when I was growing up. She's been to lots of places and is doing lots of things. And I don't stop her if she wants to get involved in something like a club or sport. (forty-one-year-old elementary school teacher)

I tried to expose them to other things, other than just what your own little realm is. I encourage reading, meeting, going to different groups, and activities, and things like that. I was not encouraged along that...we didn't do that. We didn't go on vacation. So you were just with your own little world. But if you encourage kids and help them broaden their horizons by doing that, they fit in better. (fifty-two-year-old nurse with four grown children, ages twenty-three to twenty-seven)

This group within the third generation sees itself as more involved with communicating with and observing their children than were their parents. "If you ask my parents where our [siblings'] interests lie," one respondent said,

"they wouldn't know." But this generation is changing that. The model of this new role of cultivate-and-guide is best expressed in the following extended response by Rose, a forty-three-year-old elementary school teacher with two children in junior high school:

I think my thrust with them is to just help them to learn who they are, basically. Like, [get them to ask themselves,] what do I like, do I like to be indoors or outdoors, do I like people? Get them to understand who they are, and hopefully that will then sort of give them a direction.

My daughter is beginning to show some interest in--although she doesn't see it--biology. And I keep thinking of medical, in terms of a nurse. [My husband and I] told [our children], too, that we don't care--and I don't--what they do or become. Right now [my girl] wants to become a dancer, and that's fine with me. She's thinking in terms of choreography or something, and that's fine. But I think it's important for them to really get a handle on themselves as a person so they will be happy doing whatever it is.

V.S.: So, do you help them find out who they are?

Rose: I think so. You know, if I notice something about them I will tell them. My son loves anything that is a puzzle in any way, shape or form--mysteries, games, puzzles. I think that's something he needs to be aware of. Maybe he would be mechanical minded, or go into something like computers. And he's very interested in math and science.

V.S.: So, do you say that explicitly, "You would be good with computers?"

Rose: Oh, no, no, no. I just say, "Boy, Bill, you really enjoy puzzles, you really like to figure things out." My daughter doesn't have any tolerance for that at all. I think our thrust has been, when you grow up, you're going to have to work. So the ideal is to find something that you're going to be happy doing. That's what's really important--that you're happy doing it.

In sum, as Table 7A shows, the third generation maintains the generational pattern of socialization wherein discussions about work and future occur spontaneously, and the children have much autonomy in forming their futures. However, while they advocate college and nonmanual work, they do not do so as strongly as their ancestors, and this is probably so because they have attained these statuses themselves and because of the rise in college attainment nationally. More importantly, as seen in a slight majority of couples, this generation emphasizes a more active role in facilitating aspirations and seeking happiness in their children. They want to expose their children to new experiences, observe the interests and career ideas that then emerge, and guide these ideas with information and critical support.

Table 7B provides a comparison for mobility socialization for all generations.

Table 7B: Type of Mobility Socialization For Each Generation, by Number and Percent

<u>Mobility Socialization</u>	<u>Generation</u>					
	<u>first</u>		<u>second</u>		<u>third</u>	
	total=21		total=21		total=32	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
spontaneous talk	20	95	17	81	31	97
encourage education	20	95	19	90	31	97
let child initiate career	21	100	21	100	32	100
unsolicited career suggestion	1	1	4	19	6	19
facilitate aspiration					17	53
observe and guide					7/17	41
cultivate and guide					10/17	59

Socialization of Class Culture

Obviously, upon adulthood the third generation experienced full-time work, marriage and parenthood in ways very different from their ancestors. They had no shared employer, no opportunity to have one's manual work--paid and home-based--observed and judged by neighbors and family, no occasion to face public humiliation for "indecent" actions, like failing to survive on one's own, and no interfamily participation in butchering pigs and sharing the garden harvest. In short, the third generation lived more private lives with far less unity of work, family and community. Could values of hard and responsible work be passed on despite the nonmanual, white-collar character of their jobs? And could family decency, individual responsibility and cooperation be transmitted under the new conditions of private family life? In general, and considering the twenty-nine couples in the sample with children, I found that the work values were passed on, while the family decency, cooperation and individual responsibility values were not. I will begin with work.

Work

Just over one-half of the couples (sixteen) said they passed on the value of hard and responsible work to their children. Most of them (ten) claim they did this by setting

examples, such as perfect attendance, punctuality and commitment to the job, as expressed through after-hours work. For example, these respondents immediately and without preparation told me the exact number of sick days they forfeited over many years of working. Obviously, however, unless the children are surveyed, the awareness of these examples as such cannot be known. Moreover, in just six parents was there a conscious effort to pass on the value of work, whether by example or by word. But neither the awareness on the part of children as recipients, nor the pre-meditated action of parents as role models is the issue. What is important is that the parents' conformity to the value of work is displayed daily. How this takes place is described by the following forty-seven-year-old computer programmer with four children, ages sixteen to twenty-four. When asked if and how she discussed proper working behavior with her children, she explained:

I can recall doing it explicitly. I think that I'm over-serious with my job. I'm over-committed. In the work that I do I serve the customer of the big machines that are out in the field and I'm directly involved with the customer as a programmer if the customer has a problem. And my kids know this. They know that I might not come home from work at five o'clock because there might be a problem and I won't come home until I solve it. Or, they might get up in the morning and I'm not here because I'm going to work to solve it. And I think my twenty-four-year-old son is the same way. He's very, very serious about his responsibilities to his job, and over-responsible.

While there is much subjectivity in her response, e.g., she

thinks she is over-serious, there are also the objective features of her late hours and her accommodation of her personal routines to the job that support her perceptions.⁶ Like her, other parents in this group spoke of clear and strong examples, mostly of good attendance ("I never missed a day of work, and my kids see that") and punctuality ("I've never been late for work"). This forty-year-old elementary school principal with two children, age twelve and fifteen, compared his behavior with that of his father:

I send those messages [to my children] indirectly. Again, I get here early, where I don't have to be here that early. I rarely take off for sickness. I would come to school with a cold, no question about that. My father would go on construction with an aching back or whatever, a cold or a flu. He couldn't miss that day's work.

One twenty-year-old fourth-generation camera salesperson

⁶ The intergenerational transmission of hard and responsible work is clearly exemplified by this family. This respondent had this recollection of her grandfather:

He was very, very serious about his job. I don't know if I should say intimidated, but come hell or high water he had to get to his job and do his job. He, in fact, was diagnosed with cancer, and used to walk to the brickyard. He refused to have an operation and refused to quit his job. So he did that for a few years until he was very, very sick because that was his whole life--to get to work and do an honest day's work.

Her father said this when asked how he described himself as a worker:

Well, I think satisfactory--above satisfactory. I always got good opinions. They always marked me up good. In IBM I got "man of the year" one year. Took my wife with me, seventeen of us. I always got along with my bosses and always did my share of work. So, they wouldn't give you that for nothin'!

testifies to these influences of third-generation parents:

I'm always on time for work. I do what I'm told.
That's what they brought me up to be like.

Her parents were among the few (three) to explicitly instruct their children to be good workers. This is what her father, a forty-three-year-old delivery driver, said he told her:

You don't do work twice--waste your employer's time by making mistakes. If he wants you to make this coffee cup, then every coffee cup should come out exactly the way he wants it, 'cause that's what he's paying you to do.'

⁷ Though this family represents a small number in the sample, an extended transcript of the interview with them gives much detail about the way mobility socialization in general and work values in particular are discussed. Both the parents, Ron--the Brickerland descendant--and Doris, and the daughter, Sue, were present. When I asked Ron about his mobility socialization, he called his daughter to the table, and said, "Here she is, ask her." The following is an excerpt of the exchange that then took place:

V.S.: Did they ever say how you should behave as a worker, regardless of the job you did?
Sue: Yeah. I'm always on time for work. I do what I'm told. That's what they brought me up to be like.
V.S.: Did they tell you that directly, or set examples?
Sue: They set examples.
Doris: We were always on time for work. We're never late for work. Never.
V.S.: Did they ever tell you directly to be responsible?
Sue: Yeah. Dad, mostly.
V.S.: Did he say why he wanted you to be a responsible worker?
Sue: He never really told me why, it was just that that was the way it was supposed to be.
V.S.: [to Ron] Do you agree with her version?
Ron: Yeah, pretty much, but she's forgotten some of the things I tell her on how to be a successful worker.
Sue: But he hasn't told me much in a while. I think I've done pretty good.
Ron: Sure. But what I told you, I expect you to put into use.

It is important to note that few parents in the United States would claim their work habits are much different than those of the respondents above. My respondents, however, did often root their habits in the context of their parents and grandparents, thus seeing themselves as continuing a particular tradition of Brickerland.

Family Decency

Unlike their parents, the third-generation respondents did not mention the "family name," decency or respect as important values for their children. Many, instead, mocked the constraint on personal life in Brickerland in general, and the close paternal control of their own family in particular. One mother called her twelve-year-old daughter to the interview while we discussed this topic, and asked the girl to describe a typical visit to her grandparents'

Sue: And I do. I think I'm doing excellently.

Ron: But [I said that] your value system should be on how to be a good employee and what...you know, you're always on time, you never call in sick...

Sue: Unless I'm sick...

Ron: ...unless you're sick. You don't take any time off. That's the kind of stuff... And yeah, not only told her--and my son, too--I set an example. They never see me stay home.

Sue: You had pneumonia and you were still going to work.

Doris: That's how we were brought up years ago. And our son makes less mistakes than anybody else at his [machinist] job. I think it has to do with the work ethic, but also with the person who trained him. But he's like us: he's never out sick, he's always on time.

V.S.: So, you told him the same thing you told your daughter?

Ron: Yeah.

home in Brickerland. The mother took pleasure when the girl rolled her eyes and complained about the many rules she must follow, such as where and when to play. The third generation planned not to raise their children that way. They favored more communication with their children, an activity many said was lacking in their family of orientation. This thirty-six-year-old grocery stock clerk expressed the lack of communication when I asked him to recall his parents' reaction to his interest in music:

There was no sense in... See, it was like, you listened. It wasn't like these kids nowadays. I mean, forget it. You talk about a difference. When we were kids it was, you lived there, you ate there, you slept there, and that's all you did there, you know? You had no say. You didn't say anything, you know, about anything. And that's the way it was. You know, very strict.

And this fifty-two-year-old nurse, Carmella, described a similar situation in her home:

They weren't talkative. You didn't talk. Did you find that to be so?

V.S.: Definitely.

Carmella: Good, I'm glad to hear that. There's not that openness, it's very weird.

V.S.: You have to compare to say that it's weird. Were you exposed to a different lifestyle where the parents did talk?

Carmella: When I met my husband, it was different there. See, his family moved away from the little hamlet there were everybody's all alike, and they had been away from there for so long, so that's why it was different. It was a different thing in that house from what I was accustomed to: the conversation. There was conversation in my house, but not meaningful stuff. You know, you skimmed

over the important things.

The third generation did try to be more permissive and communicative. This is seen in their facilitator role for inspiring work, as discussed earlier.⁶

Cooperation and Individual Responsibility

Ten of the twenty-nine couples with children spoke highly of the familial and community cooperation and support they experienced in Brickerland. Some said it helped them succeed in their career. Consider, for example, the following fifty-year-old vice-president of a small data processing company who now lives out of state:

One thing I never appreciated until I left the area was the benevolent society. They paid the grocery bills, and that's what gave the people of my generation an advantage. [The second generation's] sense of community allowed me to go to college. You can never repay that. The lack of that is a big problem in our society right now. Seeing uncles and having [extended] family meals is a loss to my kids. They'll never experience what I got. (...) If my neighbor lost his job, he wouldn't feel comfortable coming over to dinner, but if I lost my job back home, I could eat at a different house every night.

This forty-seven-year-old community service worker sees the community cooperation as a factor in his outcome as well:

I would think that being brought up to respect people helped people not being selfish and self-serving. Not being selfish and self-serving means

⁶ Two parents in the sample, however, clearly did not enact their goals of more communication, but instead behaved more like their own parents.

a lot. And it goes back to what I said earlier: when I was living in Brickerland as a kid and somebody was building a house, everybody chipped in. There was never any money passed 'cause you were obligated to help. It was a part of doing the right thing. I guess when you're brought up-- as a way of life--feeling that you're supposed to help people and not look for any rewards, then I think that it stays with you.

Many regretted their children did not or would not also experience them.

When I think back at it, I know my kids had a lot of opportunities that I didn't have... But, I do wish that they had been able to get the same set of values. Their values are different than mine. (fifty-four-year-old clerical worker with two children, ages twenty-four and twenty-five)

Despite tribute to this value, only three couples said they consciously sought to pass them on. Their means of transmission was by bringing their children to Brickerland to visit older relatives, and to attend the summer bazaars. As the elderly die and the community institutions like the bazaars fade out, the experiences of interfamily cooperation particular to Brickerland (and other communities like it) will not be shared by the fourth generation. Without the advantage of long-term family observation, it is difficult to know if the communality is passed on in other ways.

Likewise with the value of individual responsibility. In old Brickerland, individual responsibility was celebrated through community cooperation. This is no longer the case for the third generation. Just three parents said they passed on this value, and for two of them individual

responsibility was defined as the ability of the female children to be independent of a man, as Carmella, the fifty-two-year-old nurse explained:

I certainly encourage my kids to go to college. And I especially stress that to the girls--to make sure that they have an education and a job so that they can support themselves because you cannot depend on a man to take care of you.

In sum, like the two previous generations, the third generation makes much explicit and deliberate efforts to instill values of hard, responsible work. They do not, however, demonstrate the same effort for family decency. In fact, they consciously avoid passing on much of the family decency values they experienced as children, and try to reverse some aspects. And while they pay homage to the cooperative and supportive community in which they grew, only a few have the ability to pass it on. A comparison of all generation regarding the reproduction of Brickerland's class culture is given in Table 7C.

Table 7C: Degree of Transmission of Brickerland Class Culture By All Generations

<u>Value</u>	<u>Generation</u>		
	<u>first</u>	<u>second</u>	<u>third</u>
hard, responsible work	strong	strong	strong
family decency	strong	strong	weak
individual/cooperative	strong	weak	weak

I will discuss the implications of this intergenerational continuity and change in the concluding chapter. Prior to that, I will next examine the career

outcomes and the processes so involved for the second and third generations.

Chapter Eight

ASPIRATIONS: ENVISIONING AND REALIZING JOBS

The foregoing three chapters concerned the capacity of parental inspiration, and show a trans-generational socialization of hope. Each generation of parents, on the whole, anticipated a better life for their young, as seen in their promotion of education, jobs of higher prestige and the value of hard and responsible work. This chapter assesses the descendants' aspirations within this context of parental inspiration.

The main indicator of aspiration most commonly used in research on class and mobility has been job goals. Job goals are particular jobs or job areas that people claim they desire. Three main different conclusions about the influence of class on job goals have been made from this research: 1) the objective conditions of class preclude the capacity of lower classes to form any job goals at all (Rubin, 1976; Langston, 1992 [1988]); 2) the level of job goals vary directly by class positions (Hollingshead, 1949); 3) high levels of job goals are formed by all classes, but job-market impediments lower the job goals of the lower classes (Rodman *et al.*, 1974; Jacobs, 1991). Each of these views, which are various versions of the social reproduction perspective, gives little or no exploration of the mechanisms of class forces. The first is a deterministic

argument that assumes the work circumstances of the parents absolutely block children's aspiration. The second view focusses on the cultural symptoms of social class that limit the experiences, or "cultural capital," of children. This results in disadvantages that keep lower-class children from forming aspirations as high as national occupational ranking surveys.¹ The third view assumes that the society-wide achievement ideology motivates all classes to aspire for high job goals, but institutional discrimination, "or classism," limits them in the end.

To understand how class background affects job goals I will add five other related indicators of aspiration: the direct sources of job goals, residence preferences, job preferences, job moves and college experience. By direct sources of job goals I mean the people or events that the respondent claims shaped their ideas about jobs, if he or she had job goals. By residence preferences I mean the preferences one makes within the wide distinction between the Brickerland area and any location significantly farther away. Job preferences are desired specific aspects of work. Job moves refers to the process of getting work and making subsequent job changes, within or between lines of work. And the respondents' college experience refers to the (mainly third-generation) process of selecting colleges and

¹ This view is also found in the works of those like Bourdieu (1977) and Willis (1977), though they are not directly concerned with empirical questions of job goals.

areas of study. These five features provide the social context of one's goals, and thus shed more light on the ways class circumstances operate to shape aspiration.

Examining these indicators, I found that roughly similar proportions of the respondents in the second and third generation--about one-half--recalled forming specific job goals as adolescents. Teaching and skilled-trade job goals were common for both, but the third-generation males hoped more for professional jobs. Relatives, especially aunts and uncles, were a major source of these goals. Almost all respondents raised in or near Brickerland preferred to live in the Brickerland area, and some sacrificed high incomes and prestigious jobs to do so. With regard to the process of getting their jobs, both generations, including both those with and without stated job goals, followed similar steps. They attained their jobs through what Wilensky (1961) has termed "disorderly career moves." That is, they did not follow a predetermined, orderly series of related steps toward a specific job. Instead, friends and family provided opportunities for either a long-term job or a series of unrelated jobs. Moreover, about half in each generation had job preferences, but most formed them as a consequence of working, and did not use them as a means to select work. And as for college plans, an activity almost completely limited to the third generation, almost all informed themselves of college

offerings and requirements before enrolling, most entered with specific study plans, and most went to local public schools. I will provide a closer look at the experiences of each generation below, and assess the results in light of the three perspectives on the relationship between class origins and aspirations discussed above.

Job Goals

I sought to find the respondents' job goals by asking them a series of related questions beginning with,

Before you started working as a full-time worker, did you ever have a job in mind that you wanted to do?²

By specifying a pre-work period, I sought a stage in the

² This question presents the two long-standing problems of accuracy and ability of recollection. Accuracy is subject to the effect of normative influence. The respondent may give socially expected rather than "actual" personal job desires, e.g., he might claim to have had higher goals than was actually the case, or she might make up a goal when none existed. Typical structured social mobility and aspiration surveys increase this risk by pressuring adolescents to articulate their current views. In my interviews, however, the question about job goals was nested within a series of related biographical questions dealing with their education, first jobs and childhood life in general. This provided more time for them to think about and discuss this issue, and more opportunities for their memories to be stimulated. I found that respondents with job goals gave supporting evidence, such as their exact age when they formed the goals and their parents' reactions to them. Moreover, in the course of the interview I had the opportunity to check for the respondent's consistency. Nonetheless, some may have completely forgotten that they had job goals, and my numbers could err on the low side.

lives of the respondents that best isolates the effect of Brickerland's class culture on their formation of job goals. Goals formed during this time are what Ginzberg et al. (1951:59-72) call "tentative" job goals.³ Ideas about jobs formed by young children before that time are mainly guided by fantasy. Goals formed after this period are highly subjected to the experiences of high school, college and work.⁴ Tables 8A and 8B summarize the responses to this

³ In their developmental notion of aspirations, these authors distinguish between three types of job choices: fantasy, tentative and realistic. Fantasy choices are those of children between six and eleven years of age, and are based on short-term, pleasurable (rather than "socially functional") attributes. Realistic goals, on the other hand, are formed by adults who have entered or who are just entering the labor market, and they result from "rational considerations" of one's role and future in the labor market. Tentative goals are formed during adolescence and well before experiencing the job market, and reflect one's developing "rational activity" concerning the long-term future. Without explaining my question much further to them, all of the respondents voluntarily distinguished these three types in terms very close to those of Ginzberg et al., and they specified the age at which they formed their goals at between thirteen and fifteen, the precise age span specified by the researchers for tentative goals. I use the terminology of Ginzberg et al. only to distinguish broad stages of the life cycle. I am not applying their developmental theory of aspiration.

⁴ The "fantasy" goals of young children are equally important for understanding the effects of class on aspirations. However, since it is unlikely that adults recall the job goals they might have formed as youngsters--and none of my respondents did--interviews with young children are necessary. This would render trans-generational research within the life time of one researcher nearly impossible. The strong influences of higher education and work are also acknowledged, but are simply bracketed out for the moment. They will be discussed farther along.

question for the second and third generations respectively:

Table 8A: Recalled Job Goals of the Second Generation by Sex and Number Realized

<u>Goal</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Realized</u>
elementary teacher	3	0	3	0
automobile mechanic	2	2	0	1
artist	1	0	1	0
interior decorator	1	0	1	0
nurse	1	0	1	1
lawyer	1	1	0	0
undertaker	1	1	0	0
total	<u>10</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>

total respondents: 22 (15 men; 7 women)

Table 8B: Recalled Job Goals of the Third Generation by Sex and Number Realized

<u>Goal</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Men</u>	<u>Women</u>	<u>Realized</u>
professional	12	9	3	4
nurse	2	0	2	1
doctor	2	2	0	0
physical therapist	1	1	0	0
dentist	1	1	0	0
veterinarian	1	1	0	0
general health	1	0	1	1
engineer	2	2	0	2
archeologist	1	1	0	0
architect	1	1	0	0
semi-professional and service	11	6	5	3
elementary teacher	7	2	5	3
athlete	2	2	0	0
barber	1	1	0	0
proprietor	1	1	0	0
manual	2	2	0	1
construction	1	1	0	1
mechanic	1	1	0	0
total	<u>25</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>

total respondents: 43 (24 men; 19 women)

The first social reproduction view, represented by those like Rubin and Langston, does not hold for my respondents. These authors do not use formal empirical methods of research, but neither do they present their views to be more than suggestive. Nonetheless, it does remain a powerful intuitive explanation. But about one-half of the respondents in both generations formed job goals, and nearly all of these goals stated by both generations were for jobs very different from the parents. Classic and more recent

ethnographic studies, like those of Hollingshead (1949), Macleod (1987) and Handel (1991), and survey research (Jacobs, et al., 1991) provide detailed evidence that working-class youth certainly do form job goals. I can compare these numbers, however, only with Hollingshead's (1949) study which is the only one to provide the within-class proportions of those with no goals. His survey of high school students in the class closest to my respondents ("Class IV") had a much higher proportion with job goals, though his sample was much larger.⁵ Eighty percent of his respondents formed goals, leaving twenty percent who were "undecided," while forty-five percent of my second and fifty-eight percent of my third generation formed goals.

The more systematic social reproduction view claims that lower classes do envision jobs for themselves, but these jobs are of lower absolute levels of prestige, and this results from a lack of higher-status role models in the family and community, or the perceived lack of enough evidence that aspiring to higher positions would be worthwhile. As expressed by Hollingshead (1949:283), "the horizons of their experience" constrain the goals of lower-class adolescents. Focusing on the second generation, it is clear their horizon of experience was limited. Raised in

⁵ Hollingshead surveyed almost five times more adolescents, 312, of similar class position than I did, and he explained his methodology as: "Each adolescent in the study was asked to name the job or occupation he would like to follow when he reached maturity" (282).

rural poverty, the vast majority lacked proper housing and clothing, and they worked inside and outside the home as youngsters to pay off debts to the company stores. They were exposed to elders whose occupations were limited mainly to just brickyard, garment factory, and unskilled construction labor. Yet the statuses they hoped for were high relative to both their parents and to national occupational prestige surveys of that time.⁶ And of the jobs they envisioned only teacher and auto mechanic were a common part of their daily experiences; the rest were not. Admittedly, since their parents' jobs of low-skilled heavy manual labor and seamstress were at the floor of the socioeconomic ranking system, perhaps any job goal the second generation formed would be at least relatively high. Moreover, although most of the goals were for jobs mainly outside their everyday experiences, the number of aspirants for these jobs is the same as the number who aspired for jobs common to anyone growing up in Brickerland. The point remains, however, that for those who envisioned particular jobs, none seem constrained to the type of jobs dominating

⁶ I refer to the National Opinion Research Center's 1947 survey, as discussed in Hodge et al. (1966). The occupations of nurse and interior decorator, however, were not included. Smith's (1943) survey does include these two jobs, and they are ranked 26 and 29, respectively, out of 100. Smith conducted his survey during three time periods that are closer to the time the second generation formed their job goals--1938-1941--and his results are consistent with those of NORC, but the NORC survey has been more widely accepted and replicated.

the community. Even prior to the powerful influence of the mass media and despite living in their small rural community, the first generation was well aware of and showed the ability to at least mention to their children different lines of work besides manual and factory labor. Recall from Chapter Five, for example, the first-generation father who pointed out to his son a policeman on the beat and encouraged that career for its cleanliness and non-manual requirements. Rubin (1976:39) claims that not one in her sample of fifty working-class men "ever recalled thinking of, let alone planning for, a professional career." My sample of second-generation members is less than half the size of hers, and, since they were born about twenty-five years before hers, it is safe to say they had much less exposure to and understanding of the occupational structure as children. Yet two men in my second generation had professional goals, and four women had semi-professional goals, using a strict notion of professional. The notion that working-class experience automatically precludes or limits capacities for job goals does not hold for my sample.

The situation is similar for the third generation. With the exception of just one respondent, those in this generation who did form goals aspired higher than their parents according to a variety of prestige scales. And their goals were high in the absolute sense. Teaching remained a popular goal for women in both generations. But

desires for professional jobs is the striking feature of the third generation.⁷ They represent nine of the fifteen goals, and as was the case with their parents, these professional jobs were not a commonly experienced feature of Brickerland. But also like their parents, when we look at the number of people forming goals rather than the number and type of goals alone, almost equal numbers of respondents aspired for statues within their experiential reality as outside of it--thirteen and twelve respectively.

When we examine the job goals along gender lines, however, the apparent intergenerational stability in amount of goals begins to fade. For women, the proportion with job goals drops by forty-four percent, from six out of seven in the second generation to eight out of nineteen in the third, while the types of job goals remain nearly identical--teacher and nurse. For the men, however, the change is equally large in the opposite direction. The proportion with job goals rises by forty-four percent, from four in fifteen in generation two to seventeen in twenty-four in generation three. In addition, for men the range of goals widens from just three to thirteen, and the level of goals rises absolutely. Thus, when gender is considered there is an intergenerational increase in the amount, range and level of job goals for men, while there is a drop in the amount of

⁷ For a convincing argument that elementary teaching is not fully a profession, see Lortie (1989 [1969]).

goals held by women. This gives some support to the converse of the cultural reproduction view in that as material conditions of childhood improve and experiential conditions widen, as was the case for the third generation, job goals increase. But this does not hold for females.

Finally, there is no apparent pattern of goal formation based on whether the parent had goals. That is, the number of third-generation respondents with job goals whose parents had goals is about the same as those whose parents did not: seven and ten respectively. Conversely, the number of third-generation members who did not form goals is also nearly the same for parents who did and who did not form goals: nine and eight respectively.

Direct Sources of Job Goals

Just as job goals are an indication of aspiration, the direct sources of these goals may help us understand the role of Brickerland's class culture. That is, if parents, relatives and community members are found to be directly influential, then the persistent influence of the earlier community as transmitted by family is given support. Thus, I asked respondents to identify what they thought influenced their formation of job goals by asking, "How do you think you came to have that goal?" This would give their conscious accounts of influence.

As Table 8C shows, the two main sources for both

generations were relatives--especially nurturing aunts for girls and mechanically-inclined uncles for boys--and school teachers:

Table 8C: Direct Source of Job Goals

<u>Source</u>	<u>2nd Generation</u>	<u>3rd Generation</u>
nearby relative	3	9
school experience	3	4
home experience	1	3
non-parent community models	1	3
volunteer experience	0	2
does not know	2	2
no data	0	2
total	10	25

Home experience refers to activities done by the adolescent around the home. For example, a second-generation respondent said she spent much time decorating her parents' house and wished to become an interior decorator. A third-generation respondent said as a boy he collected small animals from his daily romps in the woods behind his house and "dissected" them in his backyard for neighborhood friends. His goal was to become a veterinarian. Volunteer experience is exemplified by two women who volunteered in the local hospital. One hoped to become a speech pathologist from the experience, and the other volunteered in conjunction with a school assignment and hoped to become a nurse.

The main stated sources of job goals--relatives and teachers--operated from propinquity and intensity. A

seventy-one-year-old second-generation aspiring auto mechanic spent most of his time as a young teen with his godfather, a mechanic living just around the corner:

I used to be with him all the while. He used to take me here and there and go up to Saugerties to his relative's garage. I used to eat over his house. I really wanted to be a mechanic. I used to stay with him all day long.

When asked why he thought he did not realize his dream, he points to the fact that his godfather married and moved just outside of Brickerland, implying that the break in contact was the main reason.

The third generation respondents with job goals pointed heavily to aunts and uncles as inspirers. The influence of such relatives is a distinguishing feature of the third generation, and is due mainly to family demographics. Their generation had the most aunts and uncles, and relations with them were intense and enduring. This is consistent with research on informal associations of working-class couples of my second generation's age which finds that they spend more time with siblings than non-related friends (Gilbert and Kahl, 1993:125-137). This close relation with aunts and uncles was even stronger for these descendants due to their close physical proximity. It is thus no surprise that seven of the nine who rooted their job goals to relatives said nearby aunts and uncles were influential. "My uncle transformed my life," one third-generation respondent, age fifty, said when explaining his interest in becoming an

engineer. His uncle was a war-time pilot who gave him a book on airplanes. His other uncle was an auto mechanic who taught him to take apart an engine by the time he was fifteen. In this case it was the uncles' general technical knowledge that was inspiring, not their specific jobs. But some did serve as occupational role models, such as nurses (two) and manual workers (two).⁸

Five of the seven from both generations who said school was the source of their job goals referred to the teachers as role models. Lortie (1975:25-54) has identified teachers as role models for working-class youth as a whole due to the enduring relations in the classroom.

Of course, none of the direct sources of job goals operates in isolation from the others; they are much more complementary than the figures in Table 8C alone are able to show. Nonetheless, the respondents' recollections do support the notion that family and community are influential factors for envisioning work and future.

Residence Preferences

Ideas about where one hopes to live give broader

⁸ Informal observations from my personal experience in Brickerland support this influential role of aunts and uncles. For my friends and relatives in my generation, aunts and uncles were godparents, surrogate parents, teachers and friends. It is telling that in forming guest lists for special occasions, like graduation parties and confirmations, parents usually limited the adult invitations to "just the aunts and uncles."

meaning of one's aspiration since residence is a condition, if not an expression, of job goals. Were the second and third generations willing to live anywhere to realize a job goal or take advantage of an opportunity for advancement? Or, did residence preferences take priority? I sought this issue by asking the respondents questions such as, "Did you ever have an urge to live and work outside of this area?" and "Did you ever have an opportunity to move out?"

Prior to examining the responses to these questions, the reader is reminded that, as discussed in Chapter Two, all of the second- and third-generation respondents were born and raised in or very near Brickerland, and all but five, in the third generation, have remained. Moreover, none indicated they would move away if given the opportunity. How well does this represent the population? Based on survey responses and focus-group interviews, Table 8D shows that a slight majority of the second-generation population have remained in Brickerland and the nearby area.

Table 8D: Residence Outcomes, Second Generation

<u>Residence</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>%</u>
remained	683	53
moved	195	15
no data	421	32

total second-generation members: 1,299

Thus I have no data on nearly one-third of the population, and did not interview any of the at least fifteen percent of

the population of second-generation families who grew to adulthood in Brickerland, and then moved far away and began their family of procreation. Over three-fourths of the third generation remained, but this data is based almost entirely on survey returns that may omit up to two-thirds of the third-generation population, as discussed in Chapter Two. While there has been no mass departure from the area for either generation, there is a large number who left upon adulthood whose experiences are not included.

My interview sample does, however, equally represent the local-level residential relocations of the second generation. That is, comparisons are made between a minority, twenty-nine percent, who remained within the original community on the one hand, and the large majority, seventy-one percent, on the other hand who left the original cultural and physical boundaries of Brickerland to settle and raise their families within twenty miles of it. Most of the latter live on the west bank of the Hudson, and have relocated within a five-mile semi-circular "buffer zone"--neither within the old community nor completely extricated from it.

What follows, then, are the experiences of those in original Brickerland and those in the buffer zone. Thus we cannot consider the community influences on residence patterns in general because there is no data on those who moved beyond the buffer zone. What we will consider instead

is how those who stayed, both in and near the community, balance residence preferences and job goals. The second generation was the most embedded in Brickerland of all three generations. On the whole, they were the first and only to experience the entire life course there. We found in Chapter Six that this did not limit them, as inspirers, from explicitly inspiring their children to pursue college and implicitly to attain prestigious jobs. That is, their distinctly community experiences did not overshadow their class cultural inspiration of hope. How did it affect their own job goals as aspirers? The majority of the third-generation population were born and raised in the buffer zone. How do they compare with those raised in the original community?

Second Generation

Of the eleven second-generation descendants who remained in the original community, all said they do not recall ever having a desire to leave. Four left temporarily to find work, either alone or with a spouse and children, but all of them said they knew their move was temporary beforehand. The reasons they gave for returning were "family" or "the roots."

Some are very strong in their conviction to stay. One sixty-six-year-old respondent living in Brickerland, for example, said his goal was to stay in the house in which he

was born:

I was born in this house, I watched my parents die here, and I'm gonna die here, too. I made that promise.

Four, including the man above, had an opportunity to work outside the area in either their current work or a new line of work, but refused on the basis of residence. For example, one sixty-eight-year-old respondent turned down two extraordinary opportunities in order to remain in the original Brickerland area. His first was a contract with the Brooklyn Dodgers farm team (class D), and the other was enrollment in Cambridge University through the Army. He regrets passing the baseball offer, but said he did so because he married his childhood neighbor and "had to start a living" as opposed to "travelling and living in flea-bag hotels." As for the college opportunity, he knew he "could have probably got bigger and better things," but he had no ideas for an area of study, and he recalled he "just, more or less, wanted to get home and start a life, and that's all."

Of the ten second-generation descendants who moved to the buffer zone upon adulthood, two had opportunities to move far away. One declined, and the other moved to Chicago but returned after twelve years, citing problems of reconciling work and immediate family. With the exception of the descendant who moved to Chicago, none in this group left Brickerland for reasons of job location. Three, in

fact, worked in Brickerland or closer to Brickerland than their buffer-zone residences. Only one, a retired garment worker, wished to be back in Brickerland. Moving out fourteen years ago to a new home in a housing development outside of Saugerties, he said,

Between you and me I'd rather be in [Brickerland]. The neighbors here think who they are because they work at IBM or something. They don't talk to you even to say hello when you're taking out the trash. I like people.

The remainder in this group had no such strong feelings. They pointed generally to the lack of business and cultural institutions in the former occupational community as reasons for leaving. The buffer zone, for this group, is their urban migration. They see it as their movement out and away from the material poverty and cultural backwardness of Brickerland. Recall the words of the forty-four-year-old third-generation teacher:

One very distinct thing I do remember about the brickyards and the Hudson River is: you did not live near the River. You just didn't do it. You couldn't give [land] away because nobody wanted to move down there because of the brickyards. That's where the poor people lived. That's where the hard-working slob lived who worked a seven-day week and had to make a living. Everybody else lived in Uptown Kingston. (interview with descendant, 1991)

But all in this group maintained ties with the original community, such as attending the saint society feasts and bazaars, hunting and fishing the land, frequenting the taverns and other "hang outs," and attending at least some

if not all church functions. And four maintain close family and friendship ties including one descendant who organized a "reunion" of twenty-seven women who lived in a certain section of Brickerland.

Third Generation

As for the third generation, twenty-one respondents were raised in the Kingston-Saugerties area, and four in this group moved farther away upon adulthood (Albany, NY, Watertown, NY, North Carolina and Colorado). Just one prefers to return. Four others said they would consider moving. While many had an opportunity to live away for a period of about one year, all except four said they never considered leaving permanently. And while nineteen in this group went to college, just three went farther than sixty-miles, and three of them left the school after one year to return to a local college primarily to be home. Nine were strongly attached to their area. One thirty-two-year-old woman, for example, actually abandoned her promising career in art because it would have taken her out of the area. Like their parents, they claim family ties--parents, in-laws and their children--are what keep them in the area.

Twenty-one respondents were raised in original Brickerland, and eighteen have moved out. Seventeen of these moved to the buffer zone upon adulthood, and one moved farther away (Florida). The three who remained strongly

prefer to stay, and the seventeen in the outskirts strongly prefer to stay there. There was no significant differences within the two groups of the third generation--both preferred the buffer zone.

An older third-generation member of the group raised in Brickerland and then moving out upon adulthood to the nearby area said "it just wasn't heard of" to leave. Carmella, the fifty-two-year-old nurse, expressed how difficult it was for her to move from Brickerland to Albany upon marriage:

Carmella: That was trauma, leaving home, let me tell you!

V.S.: Going to Albany?

Carmella: Going anywhere! I hate to admit this. I had been away to school ... but somehow [marriage] was so final or something. Really severing the cord!

V.S.: What was the cord you were severing, was it family or friends or both?

Carmella: I guess it was both, but it seemed like more family, somehow. I remember bawling my eyes out going on my honeymoon. Now that's pretty pathetic. But that's what I remember doing.

One forty-four-year-old high school teacher raised in Brickerland went to an out-of-state college because "it was the thing to do, to go to school away from home," but returned after just one year to return to normalcy:

Well, it was getting back to what I defined at that time as a normal situation for me. Being away was not normal, getting back was a normal situation.

He moved to Kingston upon adulthood, while his parents

stayed in Brickerland, and he has no desire to leave the area:

I think because of the closeness of our family, I had no desire to [leave]. And I still wouldn't want to do that. Maybe twenty or ten years from now it may be different, but at this point we're still close. At holiday time we know what's going to happen: like Thanksgiving time usually at a certain person's house, Christmas eve we always go to my father's house. You know, we're all together. And to avoid all the traveling and to try to keep all the contacts--not only holidays, of course--we didn't move out.

One of those contacts he speaks of is the weekly Friday evening visits he and his two siblings and their families make to his father's house. Of the twenty-one third-generation families in my sample who now live in the buffer zone, twelve share very close parent-child (second to third generation) relations. Like the respondent above, they make weekly or more-frequent visits, each of which has provided child care for third-generation parents, and sustained closeness between grandparents and older grandchildren. Three second-generation parents live with a child, and two others work with their child in some capacity. This forty-six-year-old education administrator, raised in Brickerland and living in the buffer zone, typifies those with close family ties:

I was never away from home much. Even when I was at Siena I would come home every weekend. I did do some thinking about that while I was in school. And it was the first time I had been away from home and that stuff, and I just liked the close-knit family thing. And I can remember making a conscious decision at that point that life is very

short and if you can't spend it with your family, what's the sense? And so I never even considered moving away. I'm just a home-boy.

This thirty-six-year-old stock clerk found it hard to articulate the forces keeping him home in the buffer zone, even when on a trip, in terms other than general community ties or natural forces:

I could've moved anywhere I wanted, really. But I never... You know what it is? For some reason--I know a lot of people in Glasco are like this too, unless when they get older--I can't stand going nowhere 'cause alls I want to do is come home, you know? Even if I go...like we went to Cape Cod once, right? I couldn't wait to get home. I don't know why. It must be in your blood. You don't want to leave your roots, I guess.

And two in this group also declined occupational opportunities that would take them away. One forty-eight-year-old IBM worker, for instance, was considered for clerical positions with the Central Intelligence Agency and the Federal Courts. The CIA job would have taken her to Africa, but she turned them both down saying,

They were big money, but the only reason I even applied for those jobs was because the college expected you to apply to these jobs. I had no intention of taking any of them. I just went through the motions.

In sum, both generations prefer to remain in the area. But aside from a small number of respondents who explicitly stated family and friendship ties of Brickerland and the immediate area for reasons to stay, it is not possible to

explain these residential preferences in terms of Brickerland's class culture alone. How might this residential preference, regardless of its source, be related with the process of realizing jobs?

Job Preferences

The process of realizing one's job future is not addressed in the aspiration literature. It is difficult for large survey researchers to re-survey their respondents several years later to assess longitudinal effects. The "range of aspirations" view does argue that lower-class aspirants are likely to lower their initial hopes after they experience obstacles in the labor market (Rodman et al., 1974) or due to life-cycle and job experiences (Jacobs et al. (1991). But here, too, the emphasis is on the changing level of aspiration rather than the processes undergone by the aspirants. Sociological research on the actual process of pursuing jobs is found in works such as those of Granovetter (1974), Blackburn and Mann (1979), and Wilensky (1961).

Granovetter's argument is that personal contacts from recent or distant acquaintances play a more important role in securing work than do institutionalized job searches or formal applications. Such acquaintances were not the dominant process for either of the two generations in my study. Unsurprisingly, because they lived in a well-

integrated small community, family and close friends were the dominant means to finding a job for the second generation. And these means continued to be important for the third generation, though they used formal applications most often. Only six respondents, three from each generation, got their main jobs through distant or fleeting acquaintances.⁹

But even if Granovetter's notion of "weak ties" explains how jobs are found, is there no screening process used by the job seeker to decide whether or not the job opportunity provided by his or her indirect contacts is one that should be pursued? Blackburn and Mann claim that workers do engage in such a process by applying "job orientations." Rigorously surveying English workers near London, Blackburn and Mann found that workers have job preferences. Job preferences are certain specific desirable attributes of jobs, like level of pay, whether the work is indoors or outdoors, and aspects of the workplace environment, such as noise. Their main goal was to see if workers had a pattern of preferences that acted as a wider organizing principle, or job orientation. They found that their workers did have (weak) orientations, and that they

⁹ One of these cases would fit well into one of Horatio Alger's novels. A third-generation aspiring graphic artist had a temporary job as a bridge toll collector near Brickerland, and by chance he noticed drawings in the back seat of a driver's car. He struck up a conversation with the driver, a designer in a North Carolina firm, who helped him get his present job there.

applied them in their decisions on choosing jobs.¹⁰ The present study is not designed to examine job orientations, but I was able to discern retrospective job preference data from a majority of third-generation respondents via non-solicited responses. Job preferences differ from job goals in that goals envision specific occupations, while preferences indicate specific characteristics of unspecified work. Someone might say, for instance, that they prefer mechanical work, but they do not have a particular mechanical occupation in mind. Also, the job preferences of the respondents are not specific to any time period, as the job goals were specific to their pre-work stage.

There are two ways in which job preferences can be used to support a socialization and class-cultural perspective on aspiration. Having preferences, in the first place, challenges the more deterministic versions of social reproduction. Secondly, and more importantly, if preferences are applied as a means for choosing a job, then we can assess the degree of congruency between class background, job preferences and job choices. But, if

¹⁰ Blackburn and Mann confined their study to a specific stratum of workers within a narrow labor market who were not involved with forming occupational aspirations. The workers' general occupational outcomes were already established, and they were limited to the nine firms in the industrial community under study. Blackburn and Mann's application of job orientations was thus a narrow, though exhaustive, approach that assessed the congruency between one's orientations and one's working conditions within a predetermined occupational spectrum.

preferences are formed later as a result of the job, then the linkage between background and job choice is not supported. The respondents' job preferences are given in Table 8E:

Table 8E: Unsolicited Job Preferences, Second and Third Generations.

<u>Job Preference</u>	<u>2nd Generation</u>	<u>3rd Generation</u>
"helping people"	0	9
"work with kids"	0	7
"outside/physical"	5	5
"mechanical/hands on"	2	4
"cerebral"	0	1
"inside"	2	0
total	9	26
none stated	13	17
total respondents	22	43

The deterministic version of the social reproduction argument is not supported, for not only did approximately one-half in both generations have job preferences, there were, at least for the third generation, several types. Did the respondents use them like an occupational compass to seek specific occupations? Or, were they accommodations to the jobs they attained? The answers vary by generation.

For the second generation, all with preferences were men. All of those with "outside/physical" and "mechanical/hands-on" preferences did apply them as conditions of employment; they did not form them as a consequence of their work. This is to be expected given

their own experience as brickyard laborers as young teens. The cultural reproduction perspective emphasizing experiential conditions seems appropriate here in the case of job preferences. The men's actual early work experience was little else than outdoor physical labor. Even though many aspired to do better than brickyard work, these same men could still prefer the aspects of work to which they were socialized. Just as Blauner (1966 [1961]) found, some of my second-generation respondents used the term "fever" to illustrate the power of this socialization. I heard this in the following seventy-nine-year-old second-generation respondent who hoped to get out of the brickyards, and in fact wanted to be an undertaker, but after searching very hard for other work ended up a brickyarder:

That's the trouble about brickyard: you hear [a brickyard] opens up and just that fever's right into you.

As for the third generation, the majority became aware of their job preferences only after experience with their work. But this was mainly the case for those with "people" and "kids" preferences. Fourteen of the sixteen respondents with these preferences formed them as a consequence of their work experience (though they did play an important role in guiding their attainment of their primary jobs not long after they entered the labor market). Exemplifying this is a current forty-six-year-old special education supervisor who worked for the Department of Social Services upon

college graduation, "and then it got into the whole thing about helping people, working with people, that type of situation" (my emphasis). Those who do appear to have applied their preferences in their occupational search are those favoring "outdoor and physical" and "mechanical/hands on" work, as was the case with the second generation. Two of the four preferring "mechanical" work planned and carried out an "orderly" process by selecting appropriate colleges, attaining an engineering degree and getting jobs in that field. A third followed the same steps in hopes of becoming an industrial arts teacher, but pursued and attained carpentry work when he realized he could not meet the college requirements. Most who prefer "outside and physical" work showed similar early commitment, as is probably best exemplified in the case of a thirty-six-year-old public utility troubleshooter, Vito. Vito selected masonry and welding classes in high school over the perfunctory discouragement of his father, a construction worker. He disliked his high school supermarket job, even though he became a manager, because he had to wear a tie and work inside. He also disliked his brief forklift job at IBM, saying it was the worst six months of his life. He liked the work, but the problem was "dealing with them idiots." This was because,

they just acted different than people I was used to. I was used to people that worked for a living. I mean, you know, regular people, let's

say like your uncle. And these people were in three-piece suits all the time with their noses up in the air and would hardly ever talk. They spent a lot of time walking around without doing anything.

Vito clearly had job preferences prior to his transition to work, and applied them over the skepticism of his father. His job realization process was not as smooth as the two engineers, but it was no less guided by conscious desires. That pre-existing job preferences might not be immediately realized is also seen in the case of Mike, a forty-three-year-old college-educated truck driver and construction worker. Mike achieved an associate degree in accounting--graduating high in his class--and worked as an accountant for a short while. But this seems to have been done more to please his parents, for his goal was always construction work. Since leaving his accounting job nearly twenty years ago he has been driving trucks and operating a machine rental business.

The above description of job preferences finds that a majority of the third generation formed job preferences. But only a small number, four, applied their preferences as one component in forming a smooth, reasoned process of getting a job. The vast majority, including most with job preferences and job goals, worked at a variety of non-related jobs--sometimes by accident, sometimes by deliberate application--before getting the occupation they enjoy or the occupation they have settled on. Wilensky (1961) has

conceptualized this process, and I will now turn to his work.

Job Moves

Wilensky focused on middle-class workers and found, like my case, that only a few of their job histories followed a calculated and cumulative trajectory of upward or downward moves, or what he termed, "orderly career moves." A perfect example of upward orderly career moves is the forty-one-year-old speech pathologist who developed "helping people" job preferences, aspired to be a speech pathologist, selected an appropriate school, worked as a speech pathologist for a private organization for sixteen years, and now has her own private practice. Another good example is a forty-eight-year-old lawyer who preferred "cerebral things," decided to study law, selected a law school on the basis of its location, sought the appropriate contacts necessary for practicing in the area he wanted to live, worked for the district attorney, and now has his own firm. Wilensky also included horizontal orderly moves, exemplified by a forty-one-year-old engineer who took rational steps to get an engineering job with IBM, and has had several positions in that company within the same general level of management.

The three above-mentioned job histories appear ordinary and uneventful, but they are actually atypical. The vast

majority of the respondents from both generations did not form such job histories, as Table 8F shows:

Table 8F: Job Moves, Second and Third Generation

	<u>2nd Generation</u>	<u>3rd Generation</u>
disorderly	16	33
orderly	2	7
one job	4	3

The typical process is described by the third-generation respondents as out of their control, or for Wilensky, "disorderly" or "chaotic": "It was like riding in a car with somebody who doesn't know how to work the clutch," one forty-eight-year-old high school teacher said of his disjointed job history. He worked as a photographer and auxiliary police officer, and considered careers in these areas before attaining a teaching job. A forty-three-year-old teacher said she recalled feeling "like a boat being tossed by the waves" when she graduated college. Frank, forty years old, was preparing for an interview for a teaching job when I spoke with him. His job history demonstrates a wide variety of non-related jobs one may attain. He had a part-time radio announcer job upon graduating college, and soon took a second job as a manager at McDonald's. He soon quit these jobs to work for the Social Services Department. A few years later he took temporary jobs at IBM and a gas station. He quit these jobs and took his present job for the parole board, but he plans

to leave this job soon for pursuit of the teaching occupation which he initially shunned. While the variety of his jobs are greater than many, most third-generation respondents share the same disconnected cross-occupational movement throughout the early and middle years of their working lives.

There was much less "order" available for the second generation's career trajectories. Brickyard and garment were industries too unstable to provide secure work, and their simple division of labor offered little advancement opportunity. Even in its heyday the technical division of labor in the area's garment industry was simple. There were two main positions in the "stitching room" corresponding to the complexities of the sewing machines: a common job of collar and sleeve piece-work, and the more complicated job doing more intricate work on jackets and dresses. And of the three levels of management, only the lowest position of "floor lady" was available to those from Brickerland. The higher positions went to non-ethnic City residents. The same was true for brickyard labor. While there were several components in the labor process, they were in lateral arrangement. More importantly, both of these industries declined significantly by the 1950s. Fortunately, construction and IBM work was available and expanding at that time. The workers were qualified to move smoothly into these new jobs, but these moves were more abrupt

occupational switches that did not constitute conscious and progressive steps toward a career, though the job security, pay and benefits of IBM were certainly a great improvement. And many who started out in brickyard, construction and garment labor stated that their move to IBM was their "promotion." The two second-generation respondents who did form orderly moves, a mechanic and a garment worker, did so in a horizontal manner within one line of work.

There is, however, one lone college graduate in my sample of the second generation. Though just one case out of twenty-two, it is valid to ask what his career trajectory was given the great educational advantage he had over his cohorts. At the end of World War Two a friend in his Army unit suggested he go to college on the G.I. Bill, and he heeded the advice. The two went to the same school, Siena College, but he had no goals and no idea for a major. Not knowing what to do upon graduation--with a Bachelor's degree in sociology--he heard from a friend there was a teaching job available in his old elementary school in Brickerland, and recalling the time, he said, "I said, 'what the hell.' I just got married, and I figured I'd give it a shot." He got the job, taught until he retired in the mid-1980s, and enjoyed it ("Frankly, I still miss it to this day."). His market capacity, thus, did result in a secure and relatively high-paying occupation, but he made no rational plans for such a career, and he remained at the position. In fact, to

augment his income he took a second job as a bartender rather than pursue an upward path into administration, which would constitute an orderly move for Wilensky.

Disorderly job moves are important in so far as they give more evidence for the lack of an occupational compass to make and pursue job decisions. Combined with the lack of a priori job preferences, support is found for the social reproduction arguments that working-class youth are more the passive recipients rather than the active subjects of their work and future.

College Experience

Fifty-six percent of the population of third-generation Brickerland descendants completed a minimum of two years of college.¹¹ As a group, their college years were mainly between the mid-1960s and late 1970s. Although as a group they attended a large number of different and distant colleges (eighty-eight), most went to schools in the close-by area. Almost thirty percent of the college students (67 of 231) went to just two colleges within twenty miles of Brickerland--Ulster County Community College (49 students) and the State University College at New Paltz (18 students).

¹¹ This figure is roughly consistent with national survey results, such as presented by Mortenson and Wu (in Gilbert and Kahl, 1993:180). Exact comparisons cannot be made, however, because they use income categories and not occupation.

In total, and including transfers, fifty-eight percent attended fourteen colleges within a sixty-mile radius of Brickerland, seven of which are public colleges.

Each of the twenty-nine third-generation college graduates in my sample said lower costs and close location were the main reasons for their choices, with costs being the primary constraint for every respondent with whom I spoke except one. Cost, however, only blocked one respondent from going to college. Of the fourteen who did not enroll in higher education, twelve were adamantly opposed to going. Twenty went to local colleges. Twelve of them commuted, and eight went to the Albany area (mainly to Siena College). Most in the latter group made very frequent visits home. One forty-one-year-old State University at Albany graduate helps explain why:

Geneseo also had speech therapy but I chose Albany, and I remember thinking that the closeness was an issue because I had never been away from home. And I remember the first week of college I cried. I was homesick. So it was a combination of finance and closeness how I ended up choosing it.

Her comment also exemplifies the fact that the vast majority who went to college did so with at least some information about academic programs. Only three picked colleges in a completely haphazard manner, using criteria like siblings and friends. And just about two-thirds of the college-bound (nineteen of twenty-nine) had a major or area of study in mind prior to going. Eight in this group pursued majors in

line with their job goals, and five of them eventually achieved their aim. But gaining academic information was an independent effort for almost all. About one-half said their guidance counselors were not very helpful, and most parents (eleven of fourteen) were not involved at all with the college selection process. Negotiating the application and financial aid processes was also largely an independent act.¹²

¹² The following case of Mike, a forty-year-old elementary school principal, exemplifies the college selection pattern:

V.S. How'd you go about selecting New Paltz college, through your guidance counselor?

Mike: No. It was a financial decision. My father worked construction, and he was lucky if he made his twenty weeks [to qualify for unemployment checks].

V.S. Did your parents play any part?

Mike: No, I did it on my own. The guidance counselors weren't much help. They didn't give much support or information about things like financial aid and scholarships.

One forty-three-year old respondent was slightly resentful of her parents' noninvolvement with the college-selection process when asked to compare it with the case of her middle-class friends:

Oh, I remember that well. I remember feeling...what is it, lacking in that department? I wished that they were better able to guide me, because I felt very unsure of what I wanted to do. I wasn't opposed to going to college, that was fine with me because I enjoyed academic pursuits. But I felt that I didn't get enough guidance...that they knew me so much better than all these other people did, and that they weren't really able to guide me. That they didn't really know how to go about doing that.

Different paths were taken by women in the older ranges of this generation, those now in their mid-forties and early fifties, and were clearly shaped by gender forces. Two noted that their parents stressed college for the sons but hardly encouraged it for them. Several of these brothers and one father admitted this bias. The sons were expected to go, whereas the daughters had a choice, and when a woman did not go it was because "she didn't want to go." Upon deciding to go to college, their selection of schools was limited to the closest and, for the better-off, all-women schools. One woman, for example, described having to make a very strong effort to convince her parents that she should quit her job and go to college. The two-year college she selected was in an alcohol-free small rural area, an area she knew would resolve their fears. Thus, while a majority of the third generation went to college, gender was a very powerful force in college decisions.

By the time of graduation, a majority of those going to college (eighteen out of twenty-nine) experienced a "smooth" transition to their work world. By this I mean that they formed an idea for an occupation while in college, pursued it, and were able to gain a job in that occupation within months after graduating. Two twins, age thirty-two, who entered the same community college are a striking example. Both always planned to stay in the area--the same street of

their parents in fact--and one twin abandoned her interest in art due to the lack of opportunity in the community. Unlike the majority in the sample, each based their selection of the particular college on the faulty assumption that the other decided on the school first. Once enrolled, one said she picked courses without logic, and the other, having dropped her pursuit of art, only knew that she did well in math and science. But, within the two years, the first graduated with honors and was sought for by health-care employers, and the second planned and attained a computer programming job with IBM. Both got their jobs upon graduation in the late 1970s. While the large majority did not form orderly career moves, most entered the labor market with plans, and realized their plans. Market dynamics, of course, are crucial for their success in getting work. But my point is that the respondents came to master their college experience well enough to form and enact job plans prior to graduation. While some said they saw stronger college preparation and smoother overall acclimation on the part of their middle-class roommates and friends, the majority mentioned no insurmountable obstacles in completing their degrees (just four dropped out, and three of them eventually returned and finished). As a generation pioneering higher education in the absence of the support that family experience and tradition could have given, the third generation, as a whole, maneuvered college life

smoothly.

But this still leaves a sizeable number (eighteen out of forty-three) who formed neither orderly moves nor smooth transitions into the labor market, a slight majority of whom (eleven) had college degrees. Most in this group were determined to stay in the community, and sought work in the local labor market. This was true regardless of their age, or in other words, regardless of the particular performance of the changing local job market. This market remained strong between the mid-1960s and late 1970s due to IBM's expansion and the subsequent rapid commercial development of the Kingston area, especially the surrounding Town of Ulster. Thirteen of these people worked at several different jobs as they finished high school or college, and soon attained a job that they continue to hold. Only five moved out of the area, but four of these were women who did so for their husband's employment, and all but one of them returned. Most, then, did settle into a long-term job in the hometown, but four continue to search for a main job.

The third generation's experience of college, in sum, was shaped by their desires to save money and maintain contact with the home community. They approached the event rationally to the extent that the large majority entered with specific majors of study and informed themselves of college offerings and requirements. But their college experience appears more to have accommodated desires for

respectable jobs in the hometown area than served as an uninhibited exploration and development of career possibilities. And, in fact, respectable jobs in the hometown area is what most in the third generation attained. The contending forces of inspiration (constituted by family-inspired high-level job goals and college education) on the one hand, and the status attainment process (marked by disorderly job moves and the lack of a priori job preferences) on the other, appear to have forged a dynamic "mobility compromise." Each generation reconciles their preferences for family and hometown with the shared goal of upward mobility. I will examine the role of class, community and socialization in this mobility compromise in the next and final chapter.

Summary: Aspiration and Class Culture

Job goals is the main variable in mobility and socialization research used to measure aspiration. This chapter has considered five additional variables that help provide a broader social context of job goals: sources of job goals, residence preferences, job preferences, job moves and the college experience. To what extent is this broader social context of job goal formation and realization shaped by Brickerland's class culture?

Of the five variables, the direct source of job goals appears most influenced by class culture, specifically the

extended-family relations upheld by family decency. One's aunts, uncles and "fictive kin," such as neighbors and godparents, for both the second and third generation, were to be given the same respect and attention as one's immediate family members. These relatives were very influential as a source of job goals.

Regarding residence preferences and college experience, it is difficult to distinguish between general attachment to community on the one hand, and class cultural forces on the other due to the interrelations between the two. A minority in both generations preferred to stay for broad reasons, like family and friends, but only the second generation demonstrated ties to Brickerland institutions (summer bazaars, church and taverns). But data are lacking on the distinctively class cultural aspects of community attachment.

The job preferences and job moves of the descendants give no evidence of the role of class culture in shaping the formation and application of job goals. While a background of family decency and interfamily cooperation might have helped most descendants form preferences in the first place, and "helping people" and "work with kids" preferences in particular, these preferences may be rooted in the larger and dynamic cultural (American character) and economic (job structure) conditions. Brickerland's class culture, however, did provide family and community guidelines that

could be seen as at least facilitating them.

The fact remains, however, that both generations displayed hopeful aspirations. Whether hopeful aspirations are rooted in community or class culture, the point is that families exist in a larger network that forges and passes on such hope.

Chapter Nine

CONCLUSION:
THE ROLE OF CLASS CULTURE IN MOBILITY SOCIALIZATION

About fifty years of research on class origins and outcomes has assumed a direct relationship between class position and the quantity and quality of socialization for work and future. Lipset et al. (1955:231) serve as an example:

If an individual comes from a working-class family, he will typically receive little education or vocational advice; his job plans for the future will be vague while he attends school; and when he leaves school he is likely to take the first available job he can find. Unfavorable economic circumstances, lack of planning, and failure to explore fully the available job opportunities which characterize the working-class family are handed down from generation to generation. The same cumulation of factors which in the working-class case adds up to mounting disadvantages, works to the advantage of the child coming from a well-to-do family.

Yet, this research employs narrow understandings of its key terms. Family background is seen as individual parents, and this excludes these parents' historical and cultural contexts. The mobility socialization is seen as explicit technical guidance about jobs and the concrete steps to get them, and this may overlook the inspiration of hope that is usually vague, contradictory and implicit but exists

nonetheless.¹ The authors of the above quote do, however, call for considering the "value system of the cultural group to which the individual belongs," (Lipset et al., 1955:232). While it is unclear if that cultural group in question would be at the societal or community level, this study has taken up that call by tracing two current generations to their roots in a class culture of an early nineteenth-century working-class community. Before concluding about the role of that cultural factor, it is helpful to review the ideal-type early-Brickerland family and its two descendant generations, as pictured by the dominant demographic, occupational, residential and ethnic patterns found. We can call this representative family the "Mattone" family. It will serve as a composite of both interfamily relations and the dominant aggregate trends of each generation.

Three Generations of a Typical Brickerland Family

Mr. Frutanato Mattone came to Brickerland in 1915 at the age of twenty-five from the Province of Calabria, Italy, and worked in the brickyards six days a week. The work was strenuous, dirty and fast-paced. But unlike his cousin who stayed in New York City and worked in a garment factory,

¹ Of course, if misused, the dominant and long standing axiom about class and socialization, even when wider educational, economic and political forces are included, may also lead to an overemphasis on individual parents for the source of and solution for inferior mobility socialization, or in other words, "blaming the victim."

Frutanato felt more in control of his work. He was not closely watched or frequently prodded by a supervisor. Frutanato and others in his work gang decided to a large extent the speed and brute power of their work. For, as soon as their stint was completed they could go home. To get the earliest possible start, Frutanato left his company house and made the short walk to the yard before sunrise and without breakfast. One of the children in the community would bring him his hot homemade breakfast around seven o'clock for a few cents and whatever was leftover in the pail. Frutanato was finished at the brickyard between noon and two in the afternoon.

Frutanato was married but did not initially bring his wife, Josepina, with him to the United States. After his second trip back to Italy he convinced Josepina to move to Brickerland with him in 1916. One child, Mary, was due to be born latter that year, but their second baby failed to survive beyond a few months. Three other children, Teresa, Cosmo and John, were born between 1918 and 1923, and did survive. All of Frutanato's children, the girls as well as the boys, did some small jobs in the brickyard when they were between eight and fifteen years old, like edging and hacking bricks, or helped him when he did some extra work, like tending the Company horses or patching the kiln. The owner of the brickyard compensated Frutanato for these jobs and other little favors by giving him use of even more

Company land to grow a vegetable garden. The garden was crucial for surviving the winter when the yards closed. Frutanato spent most of the afternoon preparing the garden, and his wife, Josepina, and his children helped tend the big variety of vegetables once they were planted. Josepina did not work for pay, but worked very hard in and around the home. She baked bread in the oven Frutanato made with bricks from the brickyard, she preserved the produce of the garden, and she made and patched most of the family's clothes.

Frutanato and Josepina were proud of their work and accomplishments, but if there ever came a time they lacked enough to eat or wear, they knew they could rely on their neighbors for help, just like they often helped out others. The Mattones enjoyed the summer months when they could sit outside and share their homemade wine and beer with their neighbors, many of whom came from eastern Europe and some of whom were southern blacks. These families looked forward to the autumn when each butchered their pig and shared some of the fresh meat. The Mattone children were also excited because a crowd gathered for each slaughter, and some of the men played guitars and sang.

These family interactions were the main after-work events for the Mattones, but there were others. With any time left over from the gardening Frutanato went to the local tavern and met other brickworkers to drink and play

cards. Josepina and the other wives would never go to the taverns, but they would visit one another in the late morning after the bulk of their household chores were done. And every Sunday the Mattones dressed up in their best clothes and went to mass in the Catholic church. Associated with the church was the St. Liberata Society, a benevolent organization composed of Italian men. Frutanato was a member, but he did not play in its big band. Like everyone else in Brickerland, though, he looked forward to the outdoor feast and bazaar the Society held every July.

As parents, Frutanato and Josepina demanded much obedience from their children. They made certain they contributed to the household chores as soon as they were able, that they went to church and school, and that they behaved well in front of other adults. While Frutanato often expected his two sons to help him at the brickyard, he did not want them to work there full-time when they finished school. He would rather they did something cleaner and less strenuous. Frutanato told all his children to stay in school and give absolute obedience to the teacher. He and his wife never deliberately spoke with their children in detail about what they could do with their futures, but their hope for a better life were palpable nonetheless. They were happy, then, when one son, Cosmo, said he wanted to become an undertaker, and one daughter, Teresa, said she wanted to be a teacher. Neither of these children, however,

realized their hopes. There was not enough money for college for Teresa, and once Cosmo worked at the brickyard as a young teen to help the family he never went back to finish high school. Mary went to grammar school, but quit at age twelve to help her mother around the home. Teresa went to high school for about one year, and then quit to work in a garment factory in Kingston. She gave most of her paycheck to her parents. John completed one year of high school, and then quit to pursue a mechanics job. All of them were hard-working and admired by their employers.

Mary married a man in the neighborhood in the mid-1930s. His main job was brickyard work. Upon the demise of the industry he worked in East Kingston's cement plant. He and Mary had four children between the late 1930s and mid-1940s, and lived with Frutanato until just before the Second World War. They moved just a few streets away from Frutanato's house. Mary never entered the paid workforce.

Teresa married a man from Brickerland she met at a St. Liberata feast. Her husband also started out as a brickworker. Upon his return from the War, he was ready to try other work. He worked in various factories, but felt most comfortable in the brickyard. In 1950, as the yards were closing, he learned through a cousin of an opening in construction. He got the job as an unskilled laborer, and he and Teresa moved to Kingston. Teresa continued to work in the local dress shops, leaving temporarily to raise her

two children born in the late 1940s.

Cosmo worked sporadically in several jobs--the brickyards, the garment factories and some house painting. In 1955, he applied and got a job in the shipping department with IBM which just opened a plant two miles from Brickerland in the Town of Ulster. His wife is from Kingston, and he met her at IBM. They have one daughter, born in 1953, and they live within walking distance of Brickerland in the Town of Ulster.

John was anxious to leave the brickyard. He never became a mechanic, but had several related truck-driving and equipment-operating jobs. He also moved away for a year to work in a brass factory in Connecticut. He returned to Brickerland and got into the assembly line at IBM with his brother's help. He married a nurse from Saugerties, and they live there with their two children, born in the late 1950s.

Frutanato and Josepina bought their house from the Company in 1938, and lived in it until 1973 when Frutanato died. Josepina then moved in with Mary. Before his death each of Frutanato's children visited him and Josepina two to three times a week. Every Sunday they brought their own family to Frutanato's house for a spaghetti dinner after church. Frutanato and Josepina's grandchildren liked those Sunday get togethers because they played with their cousins and feasted on the food. Their aunts and uncles were very

close with them. They gave them gifts for Christmas and their birthdays, and some continued giving them ten or fifteen dollars before going to college each semester.

Five of Frutanato and Josepina's nine grandchildren went to college. Three received an Associate degree from Ulster County Community College, and one of them continued and attained a Bachelor degree at the State University at New Paltz. The other two went to and graduated from four-year schools--one at the State University at Albany, and the other at Siena. Each of the parents strongly encouraged them to go and to get clean, nonmanual work. They never intentionally sat with their children to discuss work and the future, and they made sure not to pressure them into specific lines of work. "Whatever you do, do the best you can," these parents often said. Despite their parents' explicit policy not to interfere, the children knew they would make their parents proud by behaving in school, going to college and searching for a professional job. There was one exception: Teresa's son wanted to work on construction, and he eventually did. But the other grandsons either envisaged being teachers and engineers, or had some general feeling that they would become workers of that type. Most are now in their forties with young children of their own, and are educators and low-level managers in the Brickerland area or about twenty minutes away by car. The Mattone granddaughters, on the other hand, knew their options for

professional and semi-professional work were narrower than the boys'. Some, like Cosmo's daughter Rose, who was born in 1953, secretly fantasized of being architects or pilots, but one became a nurse and two, like Rose, became teachers. Until 1993, IBM was the biggest employer of the Mattones. After massive layoffs and rumors of complete shutdown of the plant in the Town of Ulster, the grandchildren working there are nervous. John's son moved reluctantly to North Carolina with IBM to keep his job as a systems analyst.

Rose and her husband, Mike, whom she met at the State College at New Paltz, live in Kingston and used to bring their children to visit Josepina at Aunt Mary's house three or four times a month until she died in 1980. Although she is unfamiliar with the details of the work, Rose explained to her children that brickyards once dominated the area, and their grandfather, great grandfather and all their great uncles worked there. Grandpa Cosmo often amuses Rose's children with his childhood stories about having to use an outhouse, tend a garden, toss bricks and go barefoot throughout the summer. Sometimes in the car on the way back home from his house, and with these stories on their minds, the topic of work and future comes up. Rose and Mike listen to hear what ideas their children have in mind about this issue. Like her parents, Rose strongly promotes college and never deliberately raises the topic of work and future, but she sees her role in this matter as different than that of

her own parents. She and Mike take the children to many different places on vacation and get them involved in a variety of clubs and organizations. And they try to discern what interests their children are forming so they can help them learn more about them. Rose and Mike, however, are very careful not to persuade the children to choose a particular career. "They can be whatever they want," she says, "as long as they're happy with what they're doing."

Cosmo is proud of his and his generation's advancement from their brickyard origins. But he is especially proud of Rose's educational and career accomplishments. Rose, however, feels he expresses this pride mostly to his friends, while he shows little appreciation directly to her for her college degree and sixth-grade teaching job. Initially hurt, she quickly realized--though she undoubtedly always knew--that her parents were not fully able to share the pride of her attainments because college and teaching are alien experiences for them. Rose considers this neither painful to her feelings nor an obstacle to her relations with her parents.

Rose and her cousins are, of course, keenly aware of the differences between them and their ancestors that their education and career attainments have caused. They make light of the family gossiping, the old-fashioned norms of reciprocity, parental authority, and the persistence of modern gender roles in their parents' lives. These cousins

enjoy one another's company during special family affairs, but they do not maintain the close and frequent contacts their parents had with their siblings. And for the first time in Brickerland family history, it is difficult for parents and children to discuss their work with each other. Men and women of all ages used to share the language of brickyard work and garment work. But that is no longer the case. As one of Teresa's sons, an engineer, put it, "How can you explain microbes to people who carried lunch pails on brickyards? So, I say, 'I make the computers work,' and that seems to satisfy them."

Work, Community and Sources of Hopefulness

Considering the similar way Rose and most of her cousins socialize their children for work and the future, or in other words their mobility socialization, the generational differences described just above are not enough to break a certain continuity over the generations. The main characteristic of this trans-generational continuity is the hope each generation had for its children to advance in status and prestige. By "hope" I do not mean parents necessarily expressed full faith in the achievement ideology or equality of opportunity. While, logically, it is true that one must accept these beliefs in some degree for there to be optimism, my second- and third-generation respondents gave no clear views on these beliefs. Each did, however,

state unequivocally that they wanted to see their children have "better" work and a "better" life than they did. It is this vision of a better life that I mean by hope. It was by inquiring about the mobility socialization that I found hopefulness to be a feature of Brickerland's subculture. What was the source of this explicit hope, given the material disadvantages of the first generation? How did members of a close-knit, homogeneous working-class community develop the capacity to negate their conditions of disadvantage?

Until more recent ethnographies were conducted, social psychological (e.g., Kohn, 1969), critical (e.g., Rubin, 1976) and neo-Marxist (e.g., Bowles and Gintis, 1976) perspectives offered no explanation for working-class attempts to challenge or think outside of their subculture, or they avoided this matter, seeing it as an irrelevant issue in the face of larger economic forces. They conceived of a direct and unilateral relationship between work and material conditions on the one hand, and the capacities to form alternative outlooks or to aspire for advancement on the other. In this view, the opportunities for change were overshadowed by the emphasis on reproduction of class values and class position.

Macleod (1987) and Steinitz and Solomon (1986), however, found that parents, peers and community mediated this relationship and inspired disadvantaged youth to strive

for a better life. Status attainment theory (e.g., Kerchhoff, 1974; Sewell and Shah, 1968; Blau and Duncan, 1967) had not neglected the influence of such factors, and in fact had rigorously measured their explanatory powers, but they offered no account of their origins or processes. Only Macleod provided accounts of the processes of family and peers and some genealogical and historical context of an improvement imperative found in one of his two youth gangs, the predominantly black group called the "Brothers." The most powerful inspiration for the Brothers' parents and, subsequently, for the Brothers was the civil rights movement. But the large majority of Brickerland's first-generation families were white ethnics with no such comparable federal legislation or compensatory programs.

One possible source the hope of the Brickerland families is the example set by success. Youth from all class backgrounds may aspire, but the deciding factor is the message sent to them by the actual lives of those in the community who transcended their origins, or who are in the process of doing so. Such role models are undoubtedly influential, but it is not clear if this influence is either direct or always inspiring. Brickerland did have a well known success story--that of Louis Buonaqua. With help from a caring teacher, this second-generation descendant went to high school and eventually became a medical doctor. My respondents familiar with this case, however, were not in

agreement about its implications for upward mobility. Some saw it as support for individual effort, while others saw it as an exception that proved the rule of persistent inequality. Since he was the only member of this generation to become a doctor, the latter group's view is warranted. Successful individuals, then, may not automatically serve as inspirers.

For the early twentieth-century immigrants, the job opportunities in the United States would clearly seem to be another main source of their hope. But, according to Gans (1962), this does not appear to be the case for immigrants who settled in the big cities. They had jobs, but the outside world of the middle class was not something to aspire for. From my understanding of early Brickerland families, it was not the amount or availability of work in the U.S. that served to inspire hope, but the features of their work and their family and community relations shaped by those features. Brickyard labor, the labor of eight of every ten family heads, had a dual character that appears to have shaped two contending impressions in the minds of these workers. On the one hand, being arduous, dirty and requiring no formal training, it bestowed the workers with low esteem--an identity many Italians accepted and ridiculed with their self-derogatory expression, ciuccio di fatica (work mule), or beast of burden. Yet at the same time, because it offered areas of autonomy and required artistic

ability, it appears to have been sufficiently un-alienating to have provided workers with a sense of satisfaction and self esteem. This second impression undoubtedly went unnoticed by Brickerland outsiders, and thus did not alter the common lowly perception of brickwork. But it influenced the family and community life of the workers in ways I contend developed a feeling of hopefulness from which parents inspired their children to move up the class structure.

To be clear, the brickmaking process does not challenge Marx's (1964 [1844]) notion of estranged labor. But, the brickyard labor process was sufficiently different in several ways from Marx's exemplar of the closely supervised indoor factory system. And just as Marx understood that the worker's dehumanizing work experience carries over into his life at home, I suggest that the less alien character of brickmaking affected the first-generation brickyarder's relations with his family of procreation. This is not to say that violence and emotional problems in the family were lacking, for they were not. It is to suggest, instead, an argument that is based in part on Kohn's (Kohn, 1969; Kohn et al. 1986) evidence of a link between the values of working-class parents and their work circumstances. Kohn, however, emphasizes the conformist values the working class stresses and passes on to their young due to the obedience requirements of their work. But, while the brickworkers'

circumstances called for obedience, they also provided meaningfulness and contentment. And these more positive feelings may have served to help the parents inspire advancement for their young even while they simultaneously socialized obedience. For, at the very least, by not perceiving their work merely in terms of short-term survival, short-term survival was not what the parents expected of their children's future.

However important the labor process was in shaping hopefulness, it did not act alone. Due to its seasonal nature, brickyard employment did not resolve the problem of survival. Home-based production and interfamily cooperation were necessary, and these were the dominant characteristics of the community structure. They were reaffirmed by certain rituals such as pig slaughters, bread making, gardening and saint society bazaars. It is likely that these actions have ethnic and religious roots that pre-date the settlement of Brickerland. But brickyard work, the relations between brick workers and yard owners, and the geographical features of Brickerland served to accommodate them. Gardening and the food sharing it supported, for example, required the appropriate time and land that brickmaking, yard owners and the geography of the area provided. Moreover, these activities were integrated ethnically and, to a larger extent than in other cases, racially. Though these interfamily relations could not overcome financial poverty

and the general struggle for existence, these material conditions did not automatically result in resignation. On the contrary, these community features augmented the meaningfulness and satisfaction of the worksite and enhanced the inspiration of hope. They were unable to give substance to this hope, as in the form of preparing their children for specific careers, or providing financial support. These are direct and indirect symptoms of relations to production that cannot be transcended by hope alone, and help explain why the first generation did not conduct planned and explicit talks about work and the future. But they did inspire nonetheless.

The second generation, the generation to experience the post-World War Two rising living standard, did improve financially, yet they carried on the non-involved manner of their parents, and interpreted it as "liberal" and just. They felt it was beyond their power to take part in active and substantive job planning with their children because they still lacked the appropriate cultural resources due to their lack of education, despite their improved material situation. It was the third generation that made a shift toward more involved mobility socialization, though still conforming--at least in theory--to the "liberal" model. Their attainments toward assimilation via high school and their college experience gave them the wider understanding of the workings of the job market that had been missing in

their parents and grandparents.

The effects of the mutual reinforcement of less-alienating work features and community integration may be demonstrated by comparing two other cases. One such case was done by Walter George (1954), and is of a brickyard company town called Sproul, near Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Sproul was founded in 1910, and from that time until the early 1950s its brickyard used the same labor processes and underwent the same transformations as did the yards in Brickerland (though Sproul produced a different type of brick that was used mainly for industrial rather than housing purposes). Since his earlier workers labored under very similar work circumstances as did Brickerland's first generation, did they not also socialize their children for work and future in similar ways? George did not examine the socialization practices of the earlier workers, nor did he discuss worker satisfaction, but he did note that his contemporary workers during the 1940s and 1950s did not inspire their children for higher statuses. Education and better nonmanual jobs were not encouraged. The labor process alone, then, does not seem to account for mobility socialization patterns. The community life in Sproul, however, may help account for the difference in mobility socialization. George provides little details of family and community life, but the information he gives does allow for some general comparisons.

Like Brickerland, Sproul was rural and small. The brickyarders (during the entire forty-year period of George's study) raised vegetable gardens and shared their harvest with neighbors. These families also shared money and other goods. Moreover, relations between the yard owner and workers in the earlier period were paternalistic. The owner knew his workers personally, extended credit during the Depression, and maintained the streets (though this relationship turned more formal in the face of mechanization and New Deal programs). Despite these similarities, interfamily relations in Sproul were of a different content and less intensity than those of Brickerland. Apparently, Sproul's interfamily relations throughout the forty-year period were not as crucial for survival, nor were they as enduring as those in early Brickerland. There were no such integrating activities, like church bazaars, bread baking or pig butchering. The two main non-work features of Sproul's organization were "loafing" by the brickworkers after work outside a tavern, and "neighboring." By neighboring, George refers to the practice of borrowing such items as flour and sugar. Again, this was not the focus of his study, and comparisons of community integration are difficult to draw, but this form of neighboring seems to lack the cooperative values of Brickerland, as seen in the weekend get togethers, shared bread ovens and cooperative work projects.

Two other community features besides interfamily

relations, however, must be acknowledged. Ethnic culture is one such important factor. Sproul's population was entirely white native-born. However important Brickerland's ethnic heterogeneity might have been for shaping its families' lives, it was accommodated by the work and environmental features of the area, and this was different from the case of Sproul. Secondly, Sproul was a much more isolated community with fewer close-by opportunities for non-brickyard blue-collar work. Brickerland was nestled between Kingston and Saugerties, and they offered garment and construction work. In sum, interfamily relations, ethnicity and the local job market are three reasons why the non-work features of Brickerland and Sproul were different, and why brick workers in Sproul had lower hopes for their children's futures.

Gans' Italian neighborhood is the second case. Here the community life was somewhat similar to Brickerland in that the peer group--though not the neighborhood--was tightly integrated, but the work circumstances were very different. Gans' workers had no satisfaction in their work. And like the brickyarders in George's study, they did not inspire their young for middle-class jobs or education. Brickerland is unique in its inspiration of hope, and the roots of this are in its complementary relationship between work and community.

Class Culture and Continuity of Mobility Socialization

The first-generation parents did not express their hope for their children's futures in clear and purposive ways. They simply did not make deliberate talks on this issue. And without the financial means to provide higher education or the personal contacts with the labor market beyond Brickerland, there was little substance to their inspiration. I refer to this as "empty inspiration." Moreover, their empty inspiration was overshadowed by their daily expressions of contentment and pride in their work and community through their relations with work mates and neighbors and their involvements in community rituals. Given this, it would seem unlikely that the hope of the first generation would be influential either on the aspirations of the second generation or on the inspiration the second generation held for their own children. The number of second generation respondents with aspirations, in fact, was just less than half, and only two of these fulfilled their hopes. As a whole, the second generation remained blue-collar and assembly workers like their parents. Yet all of my second-generation respondents carried on the inspiration of hope with their own children. Why was this?

One explanation of this continuity of hopefulness is the tendency found by Chinoy (1955:126-127) for parents to project their unattained ambitions onto their children. It

was the second generation that underwent the assimilation process--with their parents' support. They were the first generation of Brickerland to go to school, to speak English and to maneuver the labor market and other institutions outside of Brickerland. Over forty percent of them formed aspirations, nearly all of which were for nonmanual careers. However, financial poverty and a poor local and national economy limited their opportunities as they reached adulthood. But these obstacles were greatly reduced for their children. As most of the third generation grew up during the 1950s and 1960s, two major changes took place that undoubtedly heightened the second generation's optimism for their children's future: the rising accessibility of a college education and a booming economy. These openings, it could be argued, were the source of the second generation's hope that their children would become what they could not.

There is no doubt that parents' frustrated ambition is a source of the hope they have for their children. Macleod found this to be the case for the parents of his predominantly black gang. They felt the civil rights legislation opened doors that had been closed for them. While I did not formally collect data on parents' frustrated ambitions, several parents in my sample and many others in their comments on my mailed survey did claim they wanted to see their children take advantage of college opportunities and move up primarily because they were blocked from doing

so themselves. However, all of my second-generation respondents, regardless of their outcomes, inspired hope. Six of these parents either became financially successful, moved into middle-class jobs, or achieved their goals, and they inspired no less than the others. Of course, these parents may have experienced not a loss but a change in their frustrations for a variety of reasons related to their new positions, thus rendering frustrated ambition a much more complex and dynamic notion. This study was not designed to examine the changing perceptions of job satisfaction, and thus the role of vicarious ambition cannot be discussed. The point, however, is that vicarious ambition shifts the focus to the particular job circumstances of individual parents, thus breaking the link to the initial community context. The present study wishes instead to maintain this connection between parents and Brickerland's class culture and consider the supra-familial forces that may reproduce inspiration.

Another possible reason why the second generation carried on their hope is due to the larger success ideology, that is, the "American Dream." Here again, the second generation was the first to be socialized by institutions of the dominant culture. The Brickerland families constituted a subculture that conformed to the core value of material success. "All parents want to see their children do well," one second-generation parent said, reminding me of the

naturalness of the strive for improvement.

As with the case of unfulfilled ambition, this study did not formally examine the respondents' internalization of the success value. It did, however, examine two related ideologies to which the parents would need to adhere in order for the success value to be influential: individual achievement and equality of opportunity. That is, they must have faith that their children will have an equal chance at attaining a better future, and that their individual effort will be rewarded. I found that the large majority (eighteen of twenty-two) of the second-generation respondents could be described as feeling that their children's individual efforts and the country's equality of opportunity cancelled out any disadvantages of one's class background.

The larger American success ethic, then, was an important factor in the parents' mobility socialization, and any hopeful inspiration they socialized could well be assumed to be rooted in it. But ideologies such as this one must form some degree of attachment to an existing structure of belief. The first generation was almost completely foreign-born. If the American success ethic was to be internalized it would need to conform to aspects of their lives in Brickerland. One such aspect of their lives was their work-community interplay. Satisfaction in brickmaking, the liberal temperament and charity of the yard owners, and cooperative coworkers and neighbors may well

have been the substance of first-generation life in which the American dream took root and consequently flourished in the second generation. Brickerland's class culture, it could be argued, facilitated the wider social value of success.

Taken together, the elements of Brickerland's class culture provided the foundation of a stable and secure life. They help working-class families cope with financial hardship, interfamily conflict and the challenges to intrafamily stability, such as divorce and intergenerational conflict. Over three decades ago Miller and Riessman claimed that "one of the central determinants in working-class life is the striving for stability and security," and yet this has been ignored in the research due to its major emphasis on "the underprivileged, lower class, unskilled, irregular worker and the middle-class oriented worker" (Miller and Riessman, 1961:91,95). For them the typical working-class family engaged in the struggle against destabilizing pressures. This is in contrast to the focus of more recent research on the working class, such as that by Howell (1973), Rubin (1976), Willis (1977) and Macleod (1987). In these studies the typical family succumbs to alcoholism, spousal violence, chronic unemployment, high rates of divorce or separation, disaffection and hopelessness. Howell (1973:262-352) has placed these opposing stable and unstable lifestyles on a continuum of

"settled-living" and "hard-living" working-class life. Divorce, alcoholism, family conflict, and a present-time orientation are some of the main features of the hard-livers.² Brickerland was mainly a settled-life community. Its views of work, individual responsibility, interfamily cooperation and family life provided its member families with security despite their financial hardships. This is clearly evident with respect to their individual and cooperative values, whereby any family showing evidence of self sufficiency and sharing would receive economic support from the collectivity. This was expressed more formally in the benevolent societies, whether in the mutual aid accorded to its members or the annual ceremonies of their bazaars that coalesced the larger community. Secondly, from their experience with yard owners and garment shop owners, the families knew their hard and obedient work habits would be rewarded with steady employment and other benefits. And family decency provided security at the individual level. The children who tended the family garden and years later gave their weekly paychecks to the family found survival through intrafamily cooperation. Stability and security are gained in these manners, and this helps explain the continuity of hopefulness over the generations.

² Howell discusses seven "ingredients" of hard-living: heavy drinking, marital instability, toughness, political alienation, rootlessness, present-time orientation, and a strong sense of individualism (263-352).

Brickerland's class culture, however, has changed over the generations. The third generation, for instance, was not found to socialize most elements of family decency and interfamily cooperation. On the one hand, this did not seem to alter the main components of mobility socialization. College was encouraged, and the child's autonomy in this manner was strongly respected. The initial practices of the grandparents have persisted in this regard. Class forces, such as low education and lack of association with middle-class institutions, have kept the first and second generation from forming anything more than the most general conceptions of and pathways to the better life. Despite its advancement along those lines, the third generation does not appear to apply its relative advantages toward a fundamentally different mobility socialization. Their commitment to the child's autonomy in this matter may be rooted in the security and stability of early Brickerland. That is, there appears to have been no need for parents to become involved with preparing their child to compete for worldly success when the solidarity of the community satisfied individual needs.

On the other hand, the change in Brickerland's class culture did result in some generational variations in mobility socialization. Intrafamily cooperation was greatly diminished as the third generation became parents, and this may explain their stronger involvement with their children

relative to their parents and grandparents. They act more as facilitators: they stimulate their children's interests, help them identify these interests, and then help them develop them. They strongly support the child's autonomy, and claim to have carried it out in practice. And almost none purposefully initiated substantive discussions about work and future. But their deliberate attempts to expose their children to places and organizations, and their efforts to discern the career talents or interests that ensued mark rational acts more fitting of individual rather than collective satisfaction of needs.

The collective organizations, like the saint societies, and the informal institutions, like shared labor, shared ovens and shared gardens, have faded out due to state programs and the shift of Brickerland from a one-industry community to a retirement village.³ Regular visits to parents and older relatives still living there are insufficient for maintaining these mutual aid organizations

³ Although I collected no formal data on financial matters, such as income, debt or savings, and did not inquire about the quantity of leisure time, the third generation in my sample appears to have had to adjust to the "new inequality" in ways described by Currie *et al.* (1994). All of the third-generation married couples were two-job families. The only couple not openly worried about paying for their children's college costs was one whose husband is employed at a college that provides free tuition on condition of acceptance. And when asked about their attendance to the saint society bazaars or raising gardens, many--including teachers with work-free summers--said lack of time, such as the need to work second jobs, kept them from doing such activities.

or the Brickerland class culture in general. Some third-generation parents claim their adolescent children exhibit the main features of this culture, like hard and responsible work and family decency, while others say it is a losing battle for them to pass it on. The fourth generation must be studied to know for sure the extent of this class culture's persistence.

Class Culture and Conformity

The next step is to examine the aspirations of the children in light of the intergenerational inspiration of hope. Prior to that, however, it is important to challenge an aspect of the settled-living/hard-living continuum. Howell's continuum is a very useful descriptive device for examining variations in working-class life.⁴ When used in this manner it gives a convincing critique of the monolithic perceptions of the working class. And, since one's (shifting) position on the continuum is, according to its appliers, ultimately determined by economic factors, the

⁴ Howell was not the first, of course, for as mentioned above, Miller and Reissman drew attention to this, and other researchers, such as Gans (1962) and Shostak (1969) have given more complex portraits of settled-livers. Shostak, for instance, specified settled working-class sons and daughters as "accommodators" and "achievers." Both these groups, unlike the "rebels," dilute or resist hard-living, but while the accommodators accept school and other middle-class institutions as a necessary evil, the achievers seek to advance and become "white-collarites" (1969:142-184).

"culture of poverty" perspective is challenged. In my view, however, an unwarranted step is taken beyond these applications: the conception of settled-livers as conformists, and the hard-livers as nonconformists or rebels. The settled-livers are seen as conforming to the American dream and a middle-class orientation because they aspire, or inspire their children, to advance up the class hierarchy, while the hard-livers are marked as rebels who challenge or refuse to take part in the "race."⁵

The rebel-conformist dichotomy appears to be based upon the then dominant class-convergence model (Blumberg, 1981). That is, if the U.S. working class as a whole is said to identify more with the middle class, then those clearly rejecting middle-class values are seen as the nonconformists. Even though they reject the class convergence perspective, those applying the dichotomy fall prey to its influence. For example, both Willis (1977) and Macleod (1987) explicitly cast their two youth groups as

⁵ Rubin (1976:34,36) gives a clear example:

The hard-livers are, in some fundamental way, the nonconformists--those who cannot or will not accept their allotted social status. (...) [T]he settled livers are, at bottom, the conformists--those who have bought into the system, who believe in the ethic of hard work, who believe in the American myth that everyone can pull themselves up by their bootstraps if only they have the will and the brains.

conformist or nonconformist in line with its basic assumption. Using a middle-class orientation or mobility ethic as the reference point for degrees of conformity and resistance is not inappropriate per se. But, it may distract us from deeper sources of working-class variation. For the Brickerland families it was the work and community interplay that acted as the standard for conformity. For Willis' "nonconformist" Lads, for instance, it was their fathers' shop-floor culture to which they conformed. In both cases working-class youth conform to their subcultures, but the mobility socialization was completely different. But to infer that the Brickerland families conformed to the middle-class orientation would not be justified, for this orientation might mean little or nothing to them. In fact, for the first and second generation, and up to the time the third generation reached adolescence, there was little or nothing of a middle-class orientation that could be encouraged by parents and relatives, although there was much in their class culture that valued advancement: hard work, cooperation and family decency.⁶ Cross-class studies tend

⁶ It is important to note that the descendants' hopefulness, especially that of the first and second generation, is the anticipation that one's children will do better in terms of more prestigious work and higher educational attainment, but does not necessarily mean the striving for a middle-class way of life. This study did not measure the degree of middle-class orientation in the respondents, but it did find that each generation's mobility socialization was vague with regard to specific and substantive notions of work and future. Hope was certainly communicated by word and deed, but it was empty in that, due

to block such understandings because the standards for comparison and contrast usually reflect the norms of one class.⁷ From the perspective of Brickerland, the descendants were socialized to rebel against certain aspects of their origins, such as its low prestige brickyard work, as well as to conform to other aspects, such as hard work and family decency.

Class Culture, Aspiration and Outcomes

Thus far the argument has been made that certain features of work and community combine to help create a settled life, and this settled life in turn accommodates a

to forces out of their immediate control, parents could provide neither a clear idea of what constituted a successful middle-class career nor the concrete means to achieve it. Thus empty inspiration, as one feature of these families, cannot facilitate a middle-class orientation, even though it does anticipate advancement.

⁷ Miller and Reissman (1961:87) noted the shifting standards used in cross-class research during the 1940s and 1950s, and a general "sociocentric" perspective, exemplified by the middle-class bias of "deferred gratification":

It may very well be that the whole issue of deferred gratification does not have special relevance to workers' lives. The concept might stem from a sociocentric point of view, where the middle-class observer, in a sense, says, 'If I were in the workers' boots, I wouldn't postpone gratification...' This thinking does not arise out of the context in which workers' behavior takes place, but rather is imposed upon it. In other words, the entire concept of deferred gratification may be inappropriate to understanding the essence of workers' lives.

mobility socialization of hope. This, in other words, helps explain the reproduction of a particular type of parental inspiration over three generations. Can the children's aspirations also be linked to the settled-life class culture?

As they matured, the second and third generation may well have perceived a discrepancy between the hope their parents had for their future, and their experience with school, peers, job-seeking and work. Their actual experiences might have convinced them that aspiring was not worthwhile. I did not inquire about such a discrepancy, but if it existed in their minds it did not keep nearly one-half of the second generation and a majority of the third generation of my respondents from aspiring, most of which was for positions relatively higher than their parents. This is consistent with past research (e.g., Handel, 1991; Macleod, 1987; Shostak, 1969; Ellis and Lane, 1966; Hollingshead, 1949). Also consistent with previous findings, the majority of respondents in the second and third generations formed job preferences (after getting their jobs) for working with people or children. But as Shostak (1969:159-160) and Ellis and Lane (1966:286-287) point out, most of the aspirations were not absolutely high, and their job preferences were not applied to jobs of higher prestige. "People" jobs could include psychologists, professors, lawyers and public office, but most of the

second and third generation aspired to or did not wish to transcend primary and secondary teaching and health-care jobs, such as nursing or physical therapy. And, most of those who preferred outdoor and manual work did not pursue such careers as architecture, design or skilled trades, such as carpentry, but aspired to or wished not to exit from truck driving and semi-skilled construction jobs.

Socialization researchers usually explain these aspirations and outcomes in terms not of cultural deficiency but of the material disadvantages of family background. The working class aspires to and attains less than upper-middle class professional careers not because it wishes not to, but because it is unknowledgeable of or unfamiliar with them. Their parents' material conditions cannot provide the necessary cultural resources.

While this explanation is useful in its emphasis on the interplay between material and cultural conditions, much work needs to be done to specify the disadvantages. An examination of Brickerland's class culture is helpful in this regard. As agents of this culture, the parents activated a moral dimension that could serve to guide the children's conception of desirable work and future. The main themes were, do your best, be decent and work hard. One consequence I interpret from this is a "mobility compromise," whereby jobs of high prestige relative to the parents are aspired to or found acceptable because they

satisfy the contradictory nature of the parents' inspiration: their push for clean nonmanual work, yet their assertion of family and community decency and their personal satisfaction in manual work. The nature of the compromise is also shaped, of course, by historical and economic circumstances. For the second generation college and professional work were unrealistic. Their compromise was one of attaining secure and more respectable blue-collar work close to home. We recall from Chapter Eight that the small majority who remained in the area did so purposefully, as exemplified by their unwillingness to leave, and in some, by their rejection of outside job opportunities. For the third generation such a compromise begins with the college selection process. We recall from Chapter Eight that the third generation did not fully exploit their college education, and this was not due to ignorance or haphazard preparation but to their high priority for staying close to home. Such a priority is certainly not limited to Brickerland descendants or members of the working class, and this study did not examine the community interactions of the college graduates to assess the effects of such community ties in college selection. But given such family influences like the close relations with aunts and uncles and their role in developing job ideas, and the strictness of the parents, I argue that whatever "natural" proclivities one has for picking a nearby college were enhanced for the third

generation by the value of family decency. The point is that this generation restricted its college potential and thereby set the stage for a mobility compromise. Their college education was instrumental in providing them with teaching, nursing and low-level managerial jobs, but not for the higher professions.

The value of hard work may also be found in the aspirations and outcomes of the third generation. Both those in manual and white-collar work claim to enjoy those aspects of their jobs that require their practical efforts and hands-on duties. Truck drivers, construction workers and maintenance workers take great satisfaction in their physical work and ability at problem solving. This can also be seen in the teachers, managers and engineers. All of these respondents declined or disliked administrative opportunities in these areas. Every teacher, for instance, gave priority to classroom work. A forty-two-year-old at IBM enjoys his engineering job because it is "almost like construction work," and likes the days he is outside on the worksite:

I enjoy the work I do today. It's kind of almost like construction work, and I enjoy that. I do work behind a desk quite a bit, but I get out in the field and that's what I like. I don't do a lot of physical work, I do a little bit of stuff every once in a while, but at least I'm out there watching the guys do it. It's not like I'm designing these little circuit boards.
(descendant interview, 1991)

And one fifty-year-old data processing manager distinguished

between his mainly managerial duties and his "task-oriented" programming work. He does the latter, which he says is his "therapy," one or two nights per week, and gains more satisfaction from its sense of accomplishment, which is lacking in his regular job. He even made a comparison to brickmaking:

You don't get the satisfaction of completion. You can't say, "This brick is done, go on to the next one." Nothing is finite. That sense of accomplishment is there at the computer center where I keep busy with the machines. (descendant telephone interview, 1991)

In sum, the upward moves of the second and third generation relative to their parents and grandparents could have been higher, but they limited the range of their advances. In contrast to Sennett and Cobb's (1973) findings, upward moves were defined not in terms of gaining power at work, but more in terms of prestige that would result from hard and responsible work. This is what helped the young understand if their actions were appropriate. Unlike the case with Willis, they did not apply their working-class culture against the dominant institutions--their parents did not let them. Instead, they applied their working-class culture of decency, hope, hard work and family. I found no evidence that "hidden injuries" resulted, but neither were there great qualitative leaps up the job and prestige structure. The descendants made modest upward moves approved and celebrated by all generations.

Conclusion

The way parents educate their children for work and future, the aspiration the children develop, and the work and future they attain are thoughts and actions shaped by the interplay of family socialization and the social structure of stratification. This study has focused on socialization. The limits of such a focus are clear. Important factors that shape work and future outcomes are beyond our immediate control, regardless of the intensity of parental socialization. But parents maintain the capacity to inspire, and will undoubtedly continue to do so even if our current structure of stratification were to be fundamentally changed. Conventional research on parental socialization, however, remains insensitive to wider historical and cultural factors. In contrast, this study saw families as members of a particular occupational, historical and community context which formed a distinguishing class culture. This class culture facilitated parents' inspiration and children's aspiration that was more hopeful and less destabilizing than that found in traditional cross-class research. Appreciation for the differentiation of the U.S. working class was thereby enhanced.

Brickerland's class culture, of course, is not the only social force shaping the descendants, nor can it be assumed to be the primary one. It was found, for instance, that

gender was a contending force. Hope was inspired for all second- and third-generation descendants, but more so for males. And Brickerland descendants lived within larger American success values, and, indeed, this value attracted the first generation to begin with. This wider value, and the related ideology of achievement and equal opportunity, however, were accommodated by the positive experiences the first generation shared in its spheres of work and community. The same held for ethnic forces. Brickyard work and brickyard life accommodated the religious and agrarian traditions of the particular groups. Moreover, the patterns of brickwork, residence and survival in Brickerland helped integrate them.

The focus on class culture also improves our understanding of the temporality of class forces. Subjective aspects of work and community do not end with the structural changes in the labor market. New jobs are filled by descendants of an earlier time who maintain certain orientations toward work passed on by their elders. These orientations guide the young adults in their work behaviors and their aspirations. The class culture, however, is not static. Brickerland's class culture, like other working-class cultures, is fading due to the changing political economy of the late twentieth century. This does not necessarily result in the end of the role of family socialization as guided by class culture. Examination of

the fourth and later generations, of course, is required to assess this. And it does not necessarily bode ill for the descendants. The death of the brick industry and the flight of the garment factories did not entail the social costs observed in the current decline of occupational communities, like those of steel and auto workers. The first- and second-generation parents did not ever see the future in garment work or brickmaking. In fact, their settled life was well maintained after the fall of the brickyards by better jobs in the nearby area. But whether due to job flight of some of these jobs, like IBM, or due to larger economic and cultural changes that personalize family life, such as the need for dual-earning couples and the sacrifice of leisure, the stability and security of Brickerland is eroding. From limited examination of some fourth-generation descendants, two possible outcomes were observed. On the one hand, the youngest descendants might abandon the cooperative and obedient work values, and partake in individualist striving. This was seen in the two children of the fifty-four-year-old third-generation mother who put their personal financial gain above family and community. The mother felt she failed to pass her values to the two children. On the other hand are those third-generation parents able to stay close to Brickerland who, as one parent put it, "struggle" to maintain the values by keeping close ties to the surviving elders and by deliberately strong

attempts to socialize hard and responsible work. A third possibility is that the youngest descendants would recognize their declining settled life relative to that of their ancestors, and in addition to individualistic striving or attempting to hold firm to the old class culture, they might take steps to combat the larger political and economic forces at work. Though this was not observed it is nonetheless possible because the younger descendants have a tradition of cooperation and hope to guide them.

Appendix A
MAILED SURVEY

Name: _____

Check here if you want a copy of the results of these questions____ (They're free.)

For all of the questions, you are welcome to make small changes in my wording or to write in comments if you feel it is necessary. If you can't remember or don't know an answer, just write "DK" next to the question. Many questions might not apply to you, and you may skip them. Feel free to use extra paper if there's not enough room. Remember, no one else will know your answers.

PART ONE: QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR PARENTS

1. If your father was an immigrant, do you know what kind of work he _____ did before he came to the U.S. and worked on the brickyard?

2. Which of the following brickyards did your father work on? Please put a check next to all the ones he worked on, and if you can, please put a circle around the one he worked on the most.

Main's____ Roses'____ Brigham's____

Washburn's in Glasco____ Lynch's____

Shultz's____ Diamond's____ Brophy's____

Staple's____ Dwyer's (KBI)____

Washburn's in Ulster____ Terry's____

Upper Goldrick's____ Hendrick's____

Hutton's Lower Goldrick's (or Star)____

3. What kind of work did your father do on the brickyard? Please put a check next to all the jobs he did on any of the yards he worked on, and if you can, please put a circle around his main job.

hacker____
dryers____
clay gang____
tossers____
boat gang____

stower____
wheeler____
puller____
machine gang____

setter____
office work____
burned kiln____
foreman____

other brickyard jobs or
comments: _____

4. What other jobs did your father have in this country?

ice house____ longshoreman____ miner____
construction____

other
jobs: _____

5. Of all your father's jobs, whether here or in another country, which one did he do the longest?

6. Did your mother ever work for pay? yes____ no____

If she did, could you tell me what kind of work she did?
And if possible, please circle her main job:

dress or blouse factory____ paper mill____

seamstress piecework at home____ cigar factory____

other jobs? _____

**PART TWO: QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR WIFE'S OR YOUR HUSBAND'S
PARENTS**

If you never got married, you may skip to question #10.

If you have had more than one spouse, please answer for the parents of the one that was living with you the longest as your child or children were growing up.

7. What kind of work did your father-in-law mainly do?

8. Did he ever work on the brickyard? yes___ no___

9. What kind of work did your mother-in-law mainly do?

PART THREE: QUESTIONS ABOUT WHERE YOU LIVED

10. Where did you live as a child growing up? Put a check next to all the places you lived. If you lived on a particular brickyard's property, please give the name.

Glasco___	if on a brickyard, which one?_____
Ulster Landing Road area___	if on a brickyard, which one?_____
East Kingston___	if on a brickyard, which one?_____
Steep Rocks___	if on a brickyard, which one?_____
Kingston Point___	if on a brickyard, which one?_____
other place, or comments:_____	

11. Did you ever move away any distance from the place you grew up, both before and after getting married? (Don't count going to war as a move.)

no___ yes___ If yes, can you tell me where you lived:_____

1st move:_____

2nd move:_____

3rd move:_____

4th move:_____

Also, if you moved, did you ever return to live where you grew up?

no___ yes___ yes, but moved out again___

other situation:_____

12. Where did your spouse live as a child growing up?

13. Did you ever go to the church bazaars that took place during the summer? yes no

If you did ever go, which ones did you usually go to?

only the one in Glasco____
only the one in East Kingston____
only the one in Kingston Point____
went to the ones in all three places____
went to just two places;

14. Have you ever gone to the St. Liberata spaghetti
suppers that are still held?
yes no

If yes, which of the following best describes your attendance?

I go to just about every one____
I go to a lot, but not all (maybe one a year)____
I only go occasionally____
I don't go any more

other situation:

PART FOUR: DID YOU EVER WORK ON THE BRICKYARD?

If you never worked on the brickyard at all, skip to part five.

15. If you ever worked on the brickyard for any length of time, please check off the various yards you worked on, and circle the one you worked on the most:

Main's _____ Roses' _____ Brigham's _____
Washburn's in Glasco _____ Lynch's _____
Shultz's _____ Diamond's _____ Brophy's _____
Staple's _____ Dwyer's (KBI) _____
Washburn's in Ulster _____ Terry's _____
Upper Goldrick's _____ Hendrick's _____
Hutton's _____ Lower Goldrick's (or Star) _____

any others? _____

16. If you worked on the brickyard, please check off all the jobs you did, and please circle the one you did the most.

machine gang___	dryers___	puller___	burned kiln___
boat gang___	tosser___	wheeler___	foreman___
clay gang___	stower___	setter___	office work___

PART FIVE: QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR MAIN JOBS

The next group of questions is about the major jobs you have had in your life, including the brickyard work you might have listed above. Your first job would be the one you did when you feel you began working as an adult. Don't put down work you did for friends or that lasted just a few days or weeks. I'm only interested in the major jobs that were on the books and more long-lasting.

Please give me a brief description of your work for those jobs whose titles might not be clear to an outsider. For example, if you say you worked at IBM, please tell me what kind of work you did there.

Also, if you became a construction worker, I don't want you to list all the different worksites you worked on. Just tell me what your title was (for example, mason tender, carpenter, driver, and so on).

17. What was your first job? _____
 Who did you work for? _____
 How long did you work there? _____

What was your second job? _____
 Who did you work for? _____
 How long did you work there? _____

What was your third job? _____
 Who did you work for? _____
 How long did you work there? _____

Use the space below to continue if you had more jobs:

fourth job: _____
 employer: _____
 length of job: _____

fifth job: _____
 employer: _____
 length of job: _____

18. Lots of times, children ask their parents what kind of work they do. Of the jobs you listed above, which one did you use to describe yourself as a worker to your children when they were growing up?

19. Please tell me how much education you have had:

some grammar school____
 graduated grammar school____
 some high school____
 graduated high school____
 high school equivalency____
 some college____
 which college?_____

what was studied?_____

graduated college____
 which college?_____

what major?_____

other:_____

PART SIX: QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR SPOUSE'S MAIN JOBS

If you have a spouse, questions 20 through 22 are about her or him. If you no longer have a spouse, please answer as best you can for her or him. If you have had more than one, please answer for the one in the house the most when the children were growing up.

20. What was your spouse's first job? _____
 Who was the employer? _____
 How long did she or he work there? _____

What was your spouse's second job? _____
 Who was the employer? _____
 How long did she or he work there? _____

What was your spouse's third job? _____
 Who was the employer? _____
 How long did she or he work there? _____

Please continue if you need to:

fourth job: _____
 employer: _____
 how long: _____

fifth job: _____
 employer: _____
 how long: _____

21. Which of those jobs did she or he use to describe herself or himself as a worker to the children when they were growing up?
-

22. How much education has your wife or husband had?

some grammar school _____
 graduated grammar school _____
 some high school _____
 graduated high school _____
 high school equivalency _____
 some college _____
 which college? _____
 what was studied? _____
 graduated college _____
 which college? _____
 major? _____

PART SEVEN: QUESTIONS ABOUT YOUR CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN

These last two questions are about your children and grandchildren over age 18, if any. I would appreciate it if you answered for them, but if that's not possible, give me their addresses and I'll send the questions to them.

23. Please give the information for each of your children over 18 one at a time. I'm only interested in the primary job. In other words, just put down the job that provides your son or daughter with the main income, the one that is done most of the time, and the one they use to describe themselves when talking with friends and family. If he or she is in college, just write "student."

CHILD #1:
 name: _____
 age: _____
 address: _____
 job: _____
 employer: _____

how long has he or she worked there? _____

child #1 continued:

How much education has this child had? _____

(If any college, please give the name of the school or schools and the major he or she studied.)

CHILD #2:

name: _____

age: _____

address: _____

job: _____

employer: _____

how long has he or she worked there? _____

how much education has this child had? _____

(If any college, please give the name of the school or schools and the major he or she studied.)

CHILD #3:

name: _____

age: _____

address: _____

job: _____

employer: _____

how long has he or she worked there? _____

how much education has this child had? _____

(If any college, please give the name of the school or schools and the major he or she studied.)

CHILD #4:

name: _____

age: _____

address: _____

job: _____

employer: _____

how long has he or she worked there? _____

how much education has this child had? _____

(If any college, please give the name of the school or schools and the major he or she studied.)

CHILD #5:

name: _____

age: _____

address: _____

job: _____

employer: _____

child #5 continued:

how long has he or she worked there? _____

how much education has this child had? _____

(If any college, please give the name of the school or schools and the major he or she studied.)

24. Do you have any grandchildren over 18 years old?

no _____ You may go to the last part on the last page.
 yes _____ Please fill out the question below which is
 just like the one about your children.

GRANDCHILD #1:

name: _____

age: _____

address: _____

job: _____

employer: _____

how long at that job? _____

how much education has this grandchild had? _____

(If any college, please give the name of the school or schools and the major he or she is studying.)

GRANDCHILD #2:

name: _____

age: _____

address: _____

job: _____

employer: _____

how long at that job? _____

how much education has this grandchild had? _____

(If any college, please give the name of the school or schools and the major he or she is studying.)

GRANDCHILD #3:

name: _____

age: _____

address: _____

job: _____

employer: _____

how long at that job? _____

how much education has this grandchild had? _____

(If any college, please give the name of the school or schools and the major he or she is studying.)

GRANDCHILD #4:

name: _____

age: _____

address: _____

job: _____

employer: _____

how long at that job? _____

how much education has this grandchild had? _____

(If any college, please give the name of the school or
schools and the major he or she is studying.)

LAST PART: WOULD YOU LIKE TO MAKE ANY COMMENTS?

If you think that I left something out that is important for
our community, or if there is something you want to add
about your life or your family's lives, or if there is
anything you want to say about my questions, tell me about
it in the space below and on the back page, if you need it:

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME

Appendix B

JOB OUTCOMES OF THE SECOND AND THIRD GENERATIONS

Tables 1 and 2 in this appendix give the alphabetical list of specific main jobs of the second and third generations, respectively, by sex. The data are not of the total population of Brickerland, but are of the population of the descendants of first-generation brickyard workers who satisfy certain age and marital conditions explained in Chapter Two.

The data come from my mailed survey (see Chapter Two). Since my interest is the intrafamily relations of the descendants, my notion of "main job" is a subjective one based on the particular image of worker the respondent presented or believes he or she presented to the child. This is usually but not necessarily synonymous with an objective notion of one's job, which is the one that has been held the longest, whether sequentially or cumulatively. The job titles in the tables were gained from respondents by the following question:

Lots of times, children ask their parents what kind of work they do. Of the jobs you listed above [on this survey], which one did you use to describe yourself as a worker to your children when they were growing up?

Table 1: Main Jobs Attained by the Second Generation

	Males	Females	Total
Accountant	4	0	4
Appraiser	1	0	1
Barber	8	0	8
Beautician	0	6	6
Biologist	1	0	1
Bookkeeper	1	6	7
Brickyard	24	1	25
Butcher	1	0	1
Cable Splicer	1	0	1
Cafeteria	0	1	1
Carpenter	2	0	2
Cashier	0	1	1
Cement Plant	14	0	14
Chef	1	0	1
clerk	3	5	8
Construction	39	0	39
Cook	1	0	1
Driver	<u>25</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>25</u>
boat	2	0	2
bus	7	0	7
truck	16	0	16
Editor	1	0	1
Electrician	2	0	2
Factory	<u>10</u>	<u>81</u>	<u>91</u>
cigar	0	4	4
electronics	0	1	1
explosives	2	4	6
machine shop	1	0	1
pocketbook	0	1	1
textile	5	71	76
airplane	1	0	1
not specified	1	0	1
Farmer	3	0	3
Gas Station	1	0	1
Groundskeeper	1	0	1
IBM	<u>31</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>42</u>
accounting	1	0	1
assembler	6	3	9
asst. controller	1	0	1
cafeteria	0	1	1
clerk	0	1	1
customer serv	1	0	1
janitor	1	0	1

manager	1	0	1
parts order	1	0	1
quality cont	1	0	1
secretary	0	1	1
shipping clerk	1	0	1
technician	1	0	1
not specified	16	5	21
Installer	3	0	3
Janitor	5	0	5
Landlord	1	0	1
Landscaper	1	0	1
Lawyer	3	0	3
Mail carrier	2	0	2
Manager	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>
auto	3	0	3
dairy	1	0	1
plant	1	0	1
sales	3	0	3
store	2	0	2
warehouse	1	0	1
Mason	8	0	8
Meat Cutter	1	0	1
Mechanic	7	0	7
Mover	1	0	1
Nurse	0	4	4
Operator, hvy equip	2	0	2
Owner	<u>37</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>39</u>
cleaners	3	0	3
construction	1	0	1
floor cover	3	0	3
gas station	1	0	1
luncheonette	2	0	2
oil/plumbing	1	0	1
paving	2	0	2
produce	1	0	1
restaurant	7	2	9
store	3	0	3
sport goods	2	0	2
tavern	9	0	9
textile	2	0	2
Painter	1	0	1
Pattern Maker	1	0	1
Plumber	3	0	3
Police Officer	5	0	5
Postal Worker	2	1	3
Railroad	2	0	2
Renovator	1	0	1

Repairer	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>
oil burner	3	0	3
television	1	0	1
Sales	<u>12</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>12</u>
auto	2	0	2
beer	1	0	1
cigarette	1	0	1
dept store	1	0	1
insurance	4	0	4
real estate	1	0	1
spice	1	0	1
not specified	1	0	1
Sanitation	2	0	2
secretary	0	8	8
Security	1	0	1
Service	6	0	6
Shoemaker	3	0	3
Stenographer	0	1	1
Supervisor, food serv	1	0	1
Teacher	<u>8</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>10</u>
college	2	0	2
primary	1	0	1
secondary	1	0	1
principal	1	0	1
not specified	3	2	5
Upholsterer	3	0	3
Waitress	0	6	6
Welder	1	0	1

Table 2: Main Jobs Attained by the Third Generation

	Males	Females	Total
Accounting clerk	2	4	6
Accountant: CPA	6	1	7
Administrator	3	3	6
Anesthesiologist	0	1	1
Appraiser	1	0	1
Architect	1	0	1
Artist	3	0	3
Baker	1	1	2
Bar Business	1	0	1
Bar Tender	3	0	3
Beautician/Barber	5	9	14

Bookkeeper	0	3	3
Building Contractor	2	0	2
Butcher	1	0	1
Carpenter	8	1	9
Cashier	0	6	6
Caterer	0	2	2
Cement Work	1	0	1
Chemist	1	0	1
Chef	1	0	1
Chiropractor	1	0	1
Cleaner	1	0	1
Clerk/Clerical	6	16	22
Computer Operator	2	0	2
Conservation Officer	1	0	1
Construction	9	0	9
Controller	0	1	1
Coroner	1	0	1
Correction Officer	1	1	2
County/City Worker	3	0	3
Data Processor	1	0	1
Decorator	1	0	1
Dental Assistant	0	3	3
Dentist	3	0	3
Designer: Textile	1	0	1
Draftsman	1	0	1
Driver	<u>19</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>20</u>
bus	1	1	2
truck	18	0	18
Editor	0	2	2
Electrician	5	0	5
Engineer	<u>10</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>10</u>
chemical	1	0	1
civil	3	0	3
electrical	4	0	4
environmental	1	0	1
mechanical	1	0	1
Excavator	1	0	1
Expeditor	1	0	1
Factory	<u>12</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>17</u>
chemical	2	0	2
electric	0	2	2
explosive	4	1	5
textile	0	1	1
not specified	6	1	7
Financial Analyst	1	0	1
Firefighter	3	0	3

Fisherman	1	0	1
Flight Attendant	0	1	1
Food Server	0	3	3
Foreman: Maintenance	1	0	1
Forest Ranger	0	1	1
Forestry Scientist	1	0	1
Garbage Collector	1	0	1
Grocery Mkt/Retail	2	1	3
Grower: Mushroom	4	0	4
Health Aide	0	1	1
Homework: Textile	0	1	1
Hostess	0	1	1
IBM	<u>63</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>81</u>
accountant	1	0	1
accounting clerk	1	0	1
assembly	1	2	3
business planner	1	0	1
credit union	0	1	1
engineer	1	0	1
engineer: chem	1	0	1
engineer: cust	1	0	1
engineer: elec	1	0	1
food purchase	1	0	1
info developer	1	0	1
manager	4	0	4
manager: office	3	0	3
manager: purchase	1	0	1
problem analyst	1	0	1
programmer	5	2	7
purchase agent	0	1	1
sales	1	0	1
secretary	0	6	6
security guard	1	0	1
technician: chem	1	0	1
technician: lab	1	0	1
technician: water	1	0	1
tool & die maker	1	0	1
writer	0	1	1
not specified	33	5	38
Inspector: Health & Food	1	0	1
Installer: Carpet	1	0	1
Investigator: Private	1	0	1
Kitchen Helper	0	1	1
Laborer: Produce	1	0	1
Lawyer	2	2	4
Librarian	0	1	1
Lineman: Public Utility	1	0	1
Loan Officer	0	2	2
Machinist	6	0	6
Mail Carrier	2	0	2

Manager	<u>24</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>35</u>
art dept	1	0	1
auto service	2	0	2
bank	1	1	2
deli	1	0	1
dept store	0	1	1
drugstore	0	1	1
fast food	2	0	2
federal housing	1	0	1
gas station	1	0	1
grocery mkt	2	0	2
insurance office	1	0	1
inventory	1	0	1
linen service	1	0	1
mini mart	0	1	1
office	0	2	2
plant mgr	1	0	1
project mgr	1	0	1
restaurant	2	1	3
sales	3	1	4
shoe dept	0	1	1
not specified	3	2	5
Maintenance	3	0	3
Marshal	1	0	1
Mason	5	0	5
Mechanic	<u>7</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>8</u>
auto	2	0	2
airplane	1	0	1
public utility	2	0	2
motorcycle	1	1	2
vending machine	1	0	1
Medical Assistant	0	1	1
Meter Reader	2	0	2
Military	5	1	6
Monitor: School	0	1	1
Musician	2	0	2
Nurse	0	24	24
Nurse: Aide	0	1	1
Nurse: School	0	2	2
Operator: Const Equip	1	0	1
Orderly	1	0	1
Owner	<u>21</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>26</u>
antiques	1	0	1
audio/video	1	0	1
bar	1	0	1
cleaner	2	0	2
construction	3	0	3
deli	1	0	1

delivery svc	0	1	1
dress factory	1	0	1
family produce	4	1	5
floor covering	2	0	2
oil business	0	1	1
paving	1	0	1
restaurant	2	2	4
sporting store	2	0	2
Painter	1	0	1
Payroll Specialist	0	1	1
Personnel	0	2	2
Pharmacist	1	1	2
Photographer	0	2	2
Physical Therapist	0	1	1
Pilot	3	0	3
Pipefitter	1	0	1
Plumber	4	0	4
Plant Operator	1	0	1
Policeman	3	0	3
Post Office	2	2	4
Priest	2	0	2
Printer	1	1	2
Probation Officer	1	0	1
Producer: TV	0	1	1
Programmer	1	0	1
Psychiatrist	1	0	1
Psychologist	0	1	1
Public Relations	2	0	2
Railroad	4	0	4
Recruiter: Blood	0	1	1
Repairer	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>5</u>
auto body	2	0	2
coffee machine	1	0	1
refrigeration	1	0	1
typewriter	1	0	1
Sales	<u>15</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>25</u>
auto	3	0	3
ad company	0	1	1
ad dept	0	1	1
telecommunications	0	2	2
pens	1	0	1
cigarettes	1	0	1
elec/plumb	2	0	2
insurance	2	0	2
real estate	1	1	2
retail/dept store	0	4	4
tools	2	0	2
travel	0	1	1
not specified	3	0	3

Secretary	<u>0</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>22</u>
labor dept	0	1	1
legal	0	5	5
medical	0	1	1
private bus	0	6	6
school	0	4	4
not specified	0	5	5
Social Worker	0	1	1
Speech Pathologist	0	1	1
Speech Therapist	0	2	2
Stenographer	0	4	4
Superintendent	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>
highway	1	0	1
plant	0	1	1
public works	1	0	1
schools	2	1	3
Supervisor	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>7</u>
city lab	1	0	1
maintenance	2	0	2
oil co.	1	0	1
rehabilitation ctr	0	1	1
not specified	2	0	2
Tax Preparer	0	1	1
Technician	4	3	7
Teacher	<u>21</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>57</u>
elementary	1	11	12
high school	13	10	23
guidance	0	1	1
principal: elem	1	0	1
professor	3	2	5
special ed	1	1	2
teacher's aide	0	5	5
not specified	2	6	8
Teller	0	3	3
Tool Maker	1	0	1
Trainer: Animals	1	0	1
Trainer: Athletes	0	1	1
Undertaker	2	0	2
Welder	3	0	3
Writer: Freelance	0	1	1

Table 3 categorizes the data from Table 1 and Table 2 by job levels formed by the U.S. Census (1982), and compares the two generations (and the national figures).

Table 3: Job Distribution of Descendants* by Census Level,** Four Generations

Level	Generation								
	1		2		3		4		Nat'l
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	%
I	4	3.5	38	8.2	161	27.8	31	24.8	25.6
II	2	1.8	84	18.1	213	36.7	51	40.8	30.4
III	7	6.2	71	15.3	80	13.8	18	14.4	13.6
IV	6	2.4	58	12.5	59	10.2	13	10.4	11.6
V	93	82.3	211	45.4	58	10.0	12	9.6	15.2
VI	1	.9	3	.6	9	1.6	0	0	3.4
	tot=113		tot=465		tot=580		tot=125		

* Excludes non-Brickerland descendant spouses.

** Level I: professional and managerial
 Level II: technical and administrative support, including sales and clerical
 Level III: service
 Level IV: precision production and craft
 Level V: labor and machine operative
 Level VI: farm and forestry

Table 4 is the aggregate outflow from the second to the third generation. It shows the job destinations of the third generation from the second-generation origins, without regard to individual intrafamily movements.

Table 4: Outflow From Second to Third Generation,
by Census Level*

Second Generation Origins	Third Generation Outcomes					
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
I	64.7	20.6	5.9	2.9	5.9	0
II	36.2	41.0	9.5	5.7	7.6	0
III	21.3	19.1	38.3	12.8	8.5	0
IV	28.8	30.8	11.5	21.2	7.7	0
V	19.7	42.3	15.4	11.5	10.6	.5
VI	0	0	0	100	0	0

- * Level I: professional and managerial
 Level II: technical and administrative support, including
 sales and clerical
 Level III: service
 Level IV: precision production and craft
 Level V: labor and machine operative
 Level VI: farm and forestry

Appendix C
INTERVIEW SAMPLE CONDITIONS

The following is the list of variables used in the interview selection process, including the number required for proportional representation from a sample of twenty families, and the number I actually achieved.

Job codes were taken from the U.S. Census (U.S. Government, 1982). I sought a proportional representation from each job category. I sought to include an equal number of men and women. For the men in the second generation, I distinguished between those who ever worked in the brickyard, those who once did, and those whose main job was brickmaking. For the second-generation women, I made these distinctions for their husbands. I also noted those who married spouses from Brickerland.

SECOND GENERATION

1. Occupation: respondent's main job

<u>Census job codes</u>	<u>number needed</u>		<u>number interviewed</u>	
	<u>men</u>	<u>women</u>	<u>men</u>	<u>women</u>
1 owner/exec	0	0	0	0
2 professional	1	1	1	0
3 technical	0	0	0	0
4 sales	1	0	0	0
5 office/clerical	1	1	2	1
6 domestic service	0	0	0	0
7 protective service	0	0	0	0
8 other service	1	1	2	2
9 skilled	2	0	2	0
10 factory operative	1	5	2	4
11 driver	1	0	2	0
12 unskilled labor	2	0	6	0

2. Occupation: in-law and respondent brickyard status

category A: both respondent and father-in-law worked in the brickyard for some time

number needed: 4 number interviewed: 5

category B: female respondent whose father-in-law worked in the brickyard

number needed: 3 number interviewed: 3

category C: respondent worked in the brickyard, but father-in-law did not

number needed: 2 number interviewed: 4

category D: female respondent whose father-in-law did not work in the brickyard

number needed: 3 number interviewed: 3

category E: respondent did not work in the brickyard, but father-in-law did

number needed: 3 number interviewed: 3

category F: neither respondent nor father-in-law worked in the brickyard

number needed: 5 number interviewed: 3

3. Sex son or daughter of 1st generation brickyard worker

	<u>number needed</u>	<u>number interviewed</u>
men	10	15
women	10	13

4. Residence

	<u>number needed</u>	<u>number interviewed</u>
Brickerland	7	8
surrounding area	13	13

5. Education

	<u>number needed</u>		<u>number interviewed</u>	
	<u>men</u>	<u>women</u>	<u>men</u>	<u>women</u>
1. grammar	4	3	8	3
2. some high school	2	3	2	2
3. graduated h.s.	3	3	4	1
4. some college	0	1	0	1
5. four-year degree	0	0	1	0
6. graduate school	1	0	0	0

6. Race/Ethnicity

	<u>number needed</u>	<u>number interviewed</u>
1. Italian	14	17
2. Hungarian	1	1*
3. Irish	1	1
4. German	0	1
5. Black	0	1*
6. Other	3	0

* Plus one "partial family" of just one generation.

THIRD GENERATION

I sought the same proportional representation for the occupation of the third generation. More specifically, there would be thirteen percent employed at IBM, nine percent teaching, and four percent nursing. I also included a proportional number who left the area.

1. Occupation: overall

<u>Census job codes</u>	<u>number needed</u>		<u>number interviewed</u>	
	<u>men</u>	<u>women</u>	<u>men</u>	<u>women</u>
1 owner/exec	1	0	1	0
2 professional	5	7	8	10
3 technical	1	1	0	2
4 sales	2	2	1	1
5 office/clerical	4	9	2	3
6 domestic service	0	0	0	0
7 protective service	1	0	2	0
8 other service	2	3	1	2
9 skilled	4	0	2	0
10 factory operative	1	1	0	1
11 driver	2	0	4	0
12 unskilled labor	1	0	0	0
13. farm	1	0	0	0

2. Occupation: major specific jobs

	<u>number needed</u>		<u>number interviewed</u>	
	<u>men</u>	<u>women</u>	<u>men</u>	<u>women</u>
teacher	2	4	4	6
IBM	4	2	2	2
nurse	0	3	0	4
clerical/office	0	4	0	3

3. Residence

	<u>number needed</u>	<u>number interviewed</u>
Brickerland	5	3
nearby area	32	31
away	11	7

4. Education

	<u>number needed</u>		<u>number interviewed</u>	
	<u>men</u>	<u>women</u>	<u>men</u>	<u>women</u>
grammar	0	0	0	0
some high school	1	1	0	0
graduated h.s.	10	9	6	3
some college	5	5	5	7
4-year degree	5	6	5	6
graduate school	3	2	5	3

5. Sex

	<u>number needed</u>	<u>number interviewed</u>
men	24	21
women	24	19

I did not calculate occupational correlations between parents and children at the individual family level. The job patterns for the third generation as a whole do not vary by that of their parents'. That is, each job level of the parents has had a majority or, in the case of Level III, a near majority of its children obtain jobs in the first two levels. Had I calculated the near impossible task of achieving intrafamily proportional representation, my list of interviewees would be too small, for these numbers would represent no real family.

Appendix D

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Second-Generation Question Areas

I would begin each interview by asking them to give their general occupational history, including part-time and full-time work.

I. Brickerland culture and history

1. What do you remember most about growing up in Brickerland?

What was it about those times that you felt were good?
Was there any part you feel was not so good?

2. Can you remember what your parents and neighbors did in their spare time?

Did they do things with others, or did they stay pretty much alone?

3. Are there any spare-time things that you still do today that you did when you were growing up in Brickerland? Any that are different?

II. first-generation mobility socialization

4. Do you remember what your parents said about their working conditions?

Did they say anything about their boss or brickyard owner?

5. Did your father ever take you to the brickyard?

If so, what did you think about the yards at that time?
And, what did you think of the work and the workers?

6. Thinking back to when you were growing up, what did your parents say to you about your future--the kind of work you might do, where you'd live, your education?

Did they give any specific examples of what to do or

what not to do?

Did they point to anyone as an example--an example of what to become or what not to become?

7. Did you have anything in mind at that time as to what you would be?

If so, where do you think you got that idea from?
Did you tell your parents, and if so, how did they react when you told them?

8. Do you remember how your parents reacted to your first full-time job?

How did you feel about the way they reacted at that time?

9. How would you explain how you came to do the type of work you mainly did?

10. Was there ever a job or line of work you wanted to do but never did?

III. inspiration

11. Did you ever discuss you children's future with them?

Did you ever encourage a specific job or line of work?

Did you say anything about education?

Did you ever point to specific people as a good or bad example of what they could become?

Did you deliberately set aside time to raise this topic, or did it just come up?

12. Or, did you pretty much leave it up to them to decide?

If so, where did you think they would get their ideas from?

13. Did you ever talk with your children about how they should behave as workers, regardless of the type of work they would do?

14. What did you think about their first full-time job?

And their residence?

15. Did you ever take your kids with you to where you worked?

If so, was this mainly for baby-sitting purposes, or did you deliberately want to show them around?

IV. residential and marriage issues

16. Did you ever live any place else, or have an opportunity to?

Did you ever consider moving?
Why did you move back?

17. How did you meet your spouse? What kind of work does he or she do?

If not from Brickerland, what did he or she think of the community?

V. achievement ideology

18. Back when you began working as a full-timer, do you think that, on the whole, everyone had an equal opportunity to become whatever they wanted, and that regardless of your family background, you could get a good job and make good money, so long as you worked hard? Or, was it the case that family background pretty much determined the kind of future you'd have--that equal opportunity for good jobs and money didn't really exist?

What about later, for time when your children were beginning their full-time work?

I initially asked this in the format of asking them to listen to both answers and then pick one. I soon stopped asking it in this rigid way because it was too long, needed repeating, and usually required me to give long explanation. So, I put it in a more conversational style. I could never say it exactly the same way twice, as was the case for most of the questions, since they would "interrupt" me.

19. Do you have any questions about me or my work, or want to make any comments?

Third-Generation Question Areas

I asked the same questions for this generation, but added these:

1. Did you ever notice any differences with the way other students in school went through the process of deciding what they would do with their future?
2. Did your parents, grandparents, or any older relatives or friends from the community talk with you about the way things were in Brickerland when they were young?

Did you spend much time with your older relatives?

4. Are you in touch with any of the people you grew up with?

Do you know anyone who moved away? Did they talk with you about why they moved? Do you keep in contact with them?

5. Did you go to the church bazaars when you were growing up?

What were they like? Do you still go?

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