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THE IMPACT OF AMERICAN ECONOMIC DECISIONS ON COMMUNITY
SOCIAL LIFE AND ASSOCIATIONAL PATTERNS: DILEMMAS OF
PARENTING AND CITIZENSHIP IN A NEW JERSEY SUBURB

City University of New York

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COMMUNITY SOCIAL LIFE AND ASSOCIATIONAL PATTERNS:
DILEMMAS OF PARENTING AND CITIZENSHIP
IN A NEW JERSEY SUBURB

by

GAIL BAUGHER KUENSTLER

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty
in Anthropology in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of
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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Anthropology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

THE IMPACT OF AMERICAN ECONOMIC DECISIONS ON COMMUNITY
SOCIAL LIFE AND ASSOCIATIONAL PATTERNS: DILEMMAS OF
PARENTING AND CITIZENSHIP IN A NEW JERSEY SUBURB

by

Gail Baugher Kuentler

Adviser: Professor Eleanor Burke Leacock

This thesis describes the undermining of local community ties which is caused by corporate disinvestment and other economic changes in the Essex region. The informal and formal associations of a New Jersey suburb of working people are discussed as these associations are shaped by changes at the deepest structural levels of a world economic system. The impact of these changes on the social lives of a group of individuals and on the associational life of their locality is presented.

The disappearance of the rich associational life of the factory and its neighborhood, and the separation of the workplace and the residential community have resulted in a community of workers of diverse occupations who are increasingly focused in their nonwork lives on children's interests and on sports. The terms 'political apathy', 'false consciousness' and 'privatization' are illuminated as the impotence of the local community, the industrial union and the political party are revealed.

Through interviews with individuals, families and leaders, participant observation of everyday activities, and through archival research, the study examines the new isolation of men and the important role which women continue to

play in shaping the social life of the family and the community.

An analysis of two community problems (environmental pollution and corporate relocation of industry), and consideration of state and federal actions concerning these problems, show how the local community is trapped in a series of contradictions and becomes increasingly focused on ineffective cures for symptoms of larger economic processes. The "economic" decisions made by corporations have resulted in the transformation of a town of union or lodge or party members into a town of individuals whose primary community identity is as parents.

Acknowledgments

The most important source of support beyond my family came from the Danforth Foundation. Their blessing made the project possible and for this they have my deepest gratitude and thanks. My daughter Emily helped through every stage of the work, letting me tell her and more importantly, telling me about her friends and the Bloomfield school. Her respect for my work, her help with household tasks and her independence have allowed me to accomplish this large task. My supportive advisor, Eleanor Leacock, whose quick understanding made it such a pleasure to talk to her, May Ebihara, who worked with me throughout the long process, and William Kornblum, who encouraged me with his helpful suggestions, are all to be praised and thanked for their support. Several sociologists, although not officially on my committee were always ready to help me, Rolf Meyersohn and George Fischer. My dear friend, Ann Snitow, has been a source of inspiration and calm. Eric R. Wolf shared with me his vast bibliographic knowledge and listened patiently to a good many reformulations in the early stages of the work. Richard Lynch, Executive Vice-President Emeritus of the New Jersey State AFL-CIO shared with me the fruits of many years of dedicated research, testifying and organizing.

Kathy Haubner and Laurie Dobyns both helped at several points with the research. Joanne Perez typed the final draft of the thesis. I would especially like to acknowledge the help of all the individuals in Bloomfield

who sat with me at the beginning of my work and talked in marathon sessions about their families, their passions and their community. Finally, to all of the scholars' work upon which this thesis rests, I would like to extend my thanks. They have guided me in what I sometimes experienced as a bewildering sea of social fact.

INTRODUCTION

This is a study of the social life of an American community and how that life is shaped by changes in a world system of production. Researchers have said that workers' behavior and attitudes can only be understood if more is known about their increasingly extensive non-work lives, their social life and its evolution. This study is a description of the nonwork activities and social relations which occupy the lives of working people in a residential suburb in New Jersey. Although studies of contemporary working people in the United States are rare in the anthropological literature, the task seems suited to the goal of anthropology: "the study of the totality of the lives of a people set in the context of the interrelation of social factors in a single social system."¹

Social life and, especially, those groups in a community which have social change or problem solving as a goal have been of interest to democratic theorists since Alexis DeToqueville in his Democracy in America described the life in America in the period from 1835-1840, and observed the importance of "interest groups" in American communities.² Americans, and especially American working people, have a long and proud history of instrumental voluntary associations that deal with workplace, party and community issues.

At present however, Bloomfield, New Jersey residents have little "participation in organized groups formed in order to further common interests"³ as a part of their daily lives. In fact, the number of opportunities for adults to interact formally or informally with other adults seems to have declined steadily over the last decades.

Bloomfield's associating is of a different order; it is service oriented, often occurring in a child-focused sports context. Men are seldom purposively involved or even alone with other men in a nonwork environment. Nor are women; they work to forward children's interests and prepare for work, look for work or simply work.

This state of affairs is, this study argues, an outcome of a particular system of production, and the resultant particular ways in which working people make their living. Working class social and political life in a particular region of a world system, called New Jersey, is strongly conditioned by a corporation-planned, internationally organized, world system of production. The political apathy and disaffection which this system apparently engenders has become a concern of many political scientists. If adult men and women cannot come together and address their mutual problems, i.e. govern themselves, then democracy is a lost form. The establishment of economic democracy becomes more problematic if a political democracy must first be

re-established. To look closely at the nature of this political loss and how it follows from the structure of production is the task of this study.

¹Elizabeth Colson, quoted by Elizabeth Bott, Family and Social Network, 2D ed, (New York: The Free Press, 1971), p. 9n.

²Alexis De Toqueville, Democracy in America, edited by Phillip Bradley (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1947).

³David Sills, "Voluntary Associations: Sociological Aspects," Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 1968 edition, volume 16 (New York: Macmillan and Free Press).

This thesis is dedicated, with love, to
my husband, Simms Taback.

I never did any playing in all my life. There was nothing in my childhood; only work. I never had pleasure. One day a year I went to Felixstowe along with the chapel women and children, and that was my pleasure. But I have forgotten one thing--the singing. There was such a lot of singing then, and this was my pleasure too. Boys sang in the fields and at night we all met at the Forge and sang. The Chapels were full of singing. When the first war came, it was singing, singing all the time. So I lie; I have had pleasure. I have had singing.

Fred Mitchell, horseman,
as quoted by Ronald
Blythe, Akenfield:
Portrait of an English
Village.

There has been incalculable progress since the good old days - and who does not prefer everyday triviality to famine if the choice were to be made, and wish the populations of India an ordinary everyday life?

Henri Lefebvre,
Everyday Life in the
Modern World.

How far can a compendium of compulsions and determinisms assume the appearance of a freely created world?

Henri Lefebvre,
Everyday Life in the
Modern World.



BLOOMFIELD AND THE SURROUNDING TOWNS

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CHAPTER 1THE PROBLEM, THE LITERATURE, AND THE METHODS
EMPLOYED IN THIS STUDYThe Problem

This is a study of a twentieth century American urban community. Its goal is twofold: to describe, in anthropological terms, the social life of a modern day American community, and to show how this social life is shaped by the community's place in a larger socioeconomic system. This analysis explains the shape of local level social life by reference to changes in a larger system. It relies on the concepts employed in the anthropological study of communities and on the newer anthropological work which looks at communities as parts of a regional and world system. It is an analysis of informal and formal associations in a working class town in suburban New Jersey seen as outcomes of organizational changes at deep structural levels in a system. The study examines the impact of these changes on the social lives of a group of individuals and on the associational life of their locality.

One of the most important organizational changes, which forms the initial focus for this work, is the separation of

worker and workplace. In working class towns of the past, the social ties formed at work were carried over into the leisure social lives of workers; neighborhood life, union, political party and cultural association were extensions of the social life at work. After World War II, the availability of affordable suburban housing for workers and the relocation of many industries from the inner city to the suburb created a ring of working class towns around the major cities of the northeastern United States. Separated from the old factories with their adjoining neighborhoods, workers began to commute from their place of residence to their workplace. The towns thus created are generally homogeneous with regard to race and class but contain working people of diverse occupations and workplaces. The workplace is rarely in the community of residence. Dubin and Alt¹ have described the decrease in work as a source of important social relationships for workers. The present study describes changes in the associational patterns connected with the workplace for a locality's residents in the context of information about the nature of the work experience for a group of individuals, their work histories, and their attitudes about work.

The thesis addresses the questions: What is the impact of changes in workplace associational life on the nonwork lives of Bloomfield residents? Has the residential community become the setting for new patterns of informal and formal associating? How do people spend their nonwork time? What activities do they engage in? What do they do together, either with other men and women, or as couples, or as families, and what do these activities mean to the participants? The resulting inventory of activity for a selected group of individuals and for the locality as a whole is the basis for an analysis of the characteristic patterns of associational life in the locality.

As Morris Janowitz has stated, advanced industrial society increases the separation between work and residence. This creates residential communities

which vary in their stability, diffuseness of boundaries and internal cohesion. Likewise, in any residential settlement, the members' involvement and sense of attachment vary greatly...A person's relation to his community--his social investment in his community is such that, when the community fails to serve his needs, he will withdraw. The extent of withdrawal varies from community to community, from group to group. But for most persons there is a point at which he cuts his losses and therefore the term community of "limited liability."²

One task of the study is to measure the amount of community members' social investment in the community and link it to the manner in which the community is meeting the needs of its citizens. However, the study recognizes that contemporary

American communities are hardly autonomous and may fail their members because of forces external to the community.

The study community is viewed as a "locality" because, like most local areas in the modern world system, it does not have the resources and institutions of the autonomous complete community as defined by Arensberg.³ Localities, the geographic areas in which people of necessity place themselves,⁴ or nodes of interaction⁵ have a very limited share in the decision making which shapes and ultimately creates their way of life. The degree of interaction and social investment present in the locality and the manner of the locality's integration into the larger system is examined in this study, following the work of Steward,⁶ Wallerstein,⁷ and Barnet and Muller.⁸ These scholars placed localities in larger contexts and showed the impact of multinational corporate decision making on local areas, especially those in the "underdeveloped" world. This study addresses the question: What are the consequences of the most recent shifts in world capitalism for the social life of a highly "developed" locality in the United States?

This study shows that political apathy is not the cause of the collapse of local level political life.

Our present danger doesn't come from government as such, or from self-seeking individuals either. The danger to our democratic institutions comes rather from the declining effectiveness of just those

intervening structures, the civic associations of all sorts, that serve to mediate between individual and state. But it is the economic institutions that are the key to our present difficulties, and it is a new way of linking our economic life with our democratic culture that is the key to their solution.⁹

This study shows the withering effect of the economic organization on these intervening structures. Bloomfield's citizens want to participate and do participate in activities in the locality. They want to be GOOD--good parents and good citizens. But increasing concentrations of power at the corporate and state levels vitiate the interconnections between people at the local level. A vacuum is created, because without shared political decision making, ties between individuals have no focus. Fragmentation and isolation are the result. Only "private" life remains and a nearly random pattern of arbitrary connections develops.

Americans are no longer "joiners." The only decision-making, aside from minor workplace decisions and voting, takes place around the topics of children and consumption. Alt¹⁰ has noted this but its causes do not lie, as he maintains, in family life or in the mysterious process, "privatization."

Implications for Consciousness

Local importance rather than the apathy of citizens is the explanation for the deterioration of local associational

life, and especially of local political activity. Political attitudes occur in a context; in themselves they are nearly meaningless. Individuals in localities like Bloomfield are caught up in large scale processes which are not understood by them or by the politicians who should be addressing them. People in localities cannot make an adequate response to economic changes. They are deprived of the facts of their situation; this is their "false consciousness." Therefore they experience strong and uncomfortable feelings of powerlessness, and vague anxiety. They wonder "where things are headed" but simultaneously defend the corporation's legal right to leave the locality. The exception in Bloomfield is the environmental group. This group, which has been so successful at meeting the needs for community sociability and improvement, may come to play a more important role as the environment deteriorates further.

Work has become a maze of diversity and specialization for many Bloomfield workers, but without the development of an "organic solidarity." Workers in Bloomfield are more or less discontent, more or less frightened, yet none of these emotions and attitudes get connected to unions or to community associational life. The social nature of shared work oppression no longer operates towards greater worker control, both at work and in the community, because oppression related

to the workplace has become so exquisitely individualized. No two people are in the same situation. Union "economism" is just one result. Issues of working conditions, as opposed to wages and benefits, cannot be raised. Consumerism is another result, not cause. Work remains primary but as a limiter, rather than a shaper of associational life.

Women are the shapers of social life. They are the social directors of the family. The pattern which was found by the Lynds among the business class in their study of Middletown¹¹ is now the pattern for working class women in Bloomfield. Women play a central role in organizing the activities of the family and in leading participation in the popular family activities of scouts, the Home and School association, and children's sports. Furthermore, they plan all social contact for the family; for example the planning of Saturday night recreation for their husbands and themselves has become the women's task. Women connect the family to the community; however their exclusion from the work force in a majority of cases means that this social life is shaped by a group who are only marginally connected to political issues and feel acutely the low social worth of their "housewife" status.

In Bloomfield, men simply don't see other men from work in the locality after work. Neighbors are no longer workmates. After work, men generally don't go out to a bar with workmates but home to family, dinner and T.V. This pattern,

in which men are never alone with each other in an unstructured situation, is striking. Ironically, the women who work in Bloomfield may have fellow workers who are friends and live in the community because women are more likely to insist on working in the community.

For the majority of women, the home workers, their natural associates are other home workers. Together, these women concern themselves with "their real job," raising children; in Bloomfield this means that the school, scouts and children's sports must be supported. Children's needs become the family project, yet much of the labor and stress of childrearing still falls on Bloomfield women. Because of the price which women with children pay when they work, many of Bloomfield's mothers 'choose' not to work. In a way though, they are the other major group of discouraged workers. Again, decisions about productive life ultimately shape women's state of mind, as well as the community life which they create.

Family as Luxury

Bloomfield families know that a secure and happy family life is a great luxury. All the material collected attests to this fact. As children, these parents often had working parents. They may have had less leisure time together as a

family. They may have faced at some point the fear of family breakup which can accompany a lay-off. Now, these parents can be together with their children a great deal. This is the goal toward which Bloomfield's workers strive. Father home for dinner; mother at home when the children arrive from school--these are the ideals.

The local activity is children. Children are what remains in the locality which can be shared. Scouting and the PTA and children's sports are the groups in Bloomfield. Nonlocal work and locality child-rearing means that a situation has been created in which adult life is limited to the group life around children. There are no important collaborative activities for adults in the community except those which are centered in children.

Adults' lives are occupied in living with their children in the children's lives. As Sennett and Cobb have shown,¹² adults, and especially working class adult males, may claim respect and worth in this society by working very hard for their families. In a similar way, working for and spending time with the children and family becomes an opiate in Bloomfield. The intense involvement in childrearing and children's activities is seen by many parents as part of a model lifestyle which they have chosen for this period of their lives. Good parents are at the Pinewood Derby with their children. Bad parents miss pack meetings.

For adults, helping children seems to be one of the few ways to experience adulthood. The popularity of Scouts and Little League may be explained by the chance which it gives to adults to act as teachers and coaches and managers. Adult power can be expressed in supervising children and providing "experiences" for them. But more importantly the adults appreciate and rightly so, that embracing children is a form of embracing life. Children are an absolute good, a form of wealth and a luxury which they are still able to support. This goodness of children exists in a sphere apart from skills, credentials, lay-offs, high taxes, etc.

The desire for human solidarity and love beyond the family must find its substitute in family love. This puts tremendous pressure on the family. The split, described by Alt, between workplace and residential life which occurs with the development of the suburb is present in Bloomfield. Alt's thesis that workers cannot unite if they don't share a nonwork community is supported by Bloomfield's pattern. "Community" has dissolved into "family." No effective organizational forms exist for addressing community problems.

The powerlessness of the community is discussed in the context of an analysis of the failure of government at all levels to address two major problems which directly affect life in Bloomfield--the relocation of industry and environmental

pollution. This analysis (Chapter 6) reviews the actions of the major political actors, the state and the federal governments, and reveals the manner in which the local community becomes trapped in a series of contradictions and increasingly devoted to ineffective cures for symptoms of larger structural processes.

A number of factors play a role in creating the pattern of daily experience in a locality which is also part of a larger system. It is the task of this study to name them and to weigh the relative importance of each. Three areas were the focus of initial inquiry: (1) the nature of the organization and regulation of productive life as it affects the locality. What are the economic and political forces bearing on the locality? (2) the attitudes and perceptions of the individuals in the locality which shape associational life and which are themselves created by particular work and community experience, (3) the activities of everyday life for families. Alt asserts that certain processes are occurring in family life which explain the low levels of political activity in American working class localities. This study addresses the roots of "privatization" and "home centeredness" and explains their reflexive character.

The Anthropological Study of Voluntary Associations

Associational forms do die. The social fabric begins to be interconnected in a new way and at points particular social forms disappear and create, at least for a time, a rent in the fabric. Craft unions, the progressive woman's club, and the lodge are three forms whose disappearance we have seen in this century.

Anthropologists have contributed to the definition of voluntary associations characteristic of complex societies. A voluntary association is an ongoing group founded by its members to pursue common interests. Wallerstein¹³ distinguished this kind of group from a group which is based on birth (like the clan). It is extragovernmental and includes trade unions, hobby groups, and professional associations. At the local level it is the recipient of volunteer labor, but this is not usually the case for nationally organized groups. This inclusive definition is useful; all organized associating can be seen in its interconnections.

As part of the study of urbanization in Africa and South America, anthropologists like Little,¹⁴ Banton,¹⁵ and Mangin¹⁶ have described the voluntary associations which new migrants to the city create, based on their tie to their rural countrymen. These associations are service

oriented; they provide insurance, employment and death benefits. Sometimes, as in a study of miners by Epstein,¹⁷ ethnically based groups are transformed into trade unions. Sometimes they operate as neighborhood self help development groups.¹⁸ These studies suggest that voluntary associations which affiliate people with particular tribal or rural identities are a favorite strategy at a particular phase of urbanization. For example, in the American case, immigrant workers who settled around the Holmstead mill in Pennsylvania created Slavic fraternal orders which provided insurance services to these Slavic immigrants. Their decline began when the state began to provide these same services through union activities.¹⁹

From the work of Clark,²⁰ who describes the interconnections between mill production and union, lodge and civic association in Everett, Washington, in the 1890-1920 period, to the description by Lynd and Lynd²¹ of a changing way of life for a working class town from 1890 to 1935, we can see the connections between changing productive forms and changes in everyday associational life for working people. Middletown is discussed in detail in Chapter III; here it is enough to say that during the period described by Lynd and Lynd, the system of production changed from one of small manufacturing plants using skilled workmen organized into

small craft unions and fraternal lodges to a system of production characterized by a few large-scale assembly plants which employed large numbers of unskilled workers. As wealth became more concentrated in the hands of a local elite, working class associational life in both unions and lodges was eclipsed in vitality by the organizations of the new business class in the community. The diminished strength of the working class at the local level was reflected in both their weakened unions and in their increased social isolation.

Lynd and Lynd, trained by anthropologists, anticipate the equally impressive work of the team of Julian Steward²² in Puerto Rico. This study shows clearly how locality life, including its associations, changes with shifts in a world economy, and the resultant changes in the organization of production at the local level. Silverman²³ shows that with particular modes of production, no forms of associational life will emerge beyond the family. Her work was in response to Banfield's assertion that the absence of associational life in an area in Southern Italy can be attributed to the social ethos of the locality. Silverman describes the social relations required by the way of getting a living in the area, and shows that it is a particular mode of production that keeps families in the area in opposition.

Leeds²⁴ connects the power of local areas to the associational life in the locality. He sees voluntary associations as the means by which pressures emanating from outside the local area, from business and the state, are resisted by the local citizenry who organize to prevent the state from extracting resources. Valentine²⁵ describes "the plethora" of associations life which he finds in a relatively poor area. The most vital of these associations, a group that has taken over a local daycare center closed by the city bureaucracy, has emerged in response to the state's attempt to withdraw services and resources.

The Sociological Tradition

The extent of Americans' participation in associational life beyond the family has always been viewed as an indicator of the vitality of American democracy. From DeToqueville to studies of the 1950's and 1960's, like The Joiners,²⁶ the extraordinary number and variety of voluntary associations of like-minded individuals pursuing their interests--Knights of Columbus, Boy Scouts, unions, professional associations, civic associations--all marked the American way of life, as characterized by diverse connections of the citizens to each other and to the structures that mediate between the state and the individual.

Widespread involvement in voluntary associations in the community has long been thought to be related to increased community power and to a vital democracy.²⁷ Almond and Verba²⁸ link participation in local voluntary associations with the political competence to be a citizen in a democracy. Understanding the causes of recent American apathy is the goal of many voluntary association researchers.

In 1956, civic and service groups, which Hausknecht describes as "do-gooders, Lions and Kiwanis" were the most popular groups nationally. In 1971, Campbell's figures show a sharp decrease in participation in civic groups for both sexes.²⁹ His figures also show a doubling of church membership, a decline in women's clubs and the emergence of a new type of local service group whose members are largely professional or clerical workers.

Unions and lodge and fraternal order membership had declined. The most socially isolated individuals were service workers and operatives. Campbell's study of the quality of life was the first indication that many, particularly Americans with less education and lower incomes, were more isolated and less involved than they had been. Lodges, veterans' groups and some unions appeared to be in decline. Parenti³⁰ and Wolfe³¹ both deplore the increasing isolation and powerlessness of the American citizenry.

The overall decrease in American associational life may be connected to an overall decline in locality power. For example, Warriner and Prather³² studied the organizational life of an American community of 30,000 people and found 700 groups in 1965. Bloomfield, New Jersey, the town which is the locality to be studied here, has presently nearly twice as many citizens and hardly a seventh the number of voluntary associations.

Correlations with class. Sociologists have demonstrated repeatedly that leisure time use varies with the social class of the individual. The higher the social class, the more actively involved the individual is in associational life, hobbies, and sports. The literature contains many studies which group the Boy Scouts and elite associations, like the AMA, then observe that workers are members of fewer such groups.³³ In some national studies unions and political party are included, but often they are dealt with as a separate category of experience.³⁴

Another group of works attempts to connect the lack of "class consciousness" with the compensations provided in the nonwork life. The idea has been that leisure compensates for alienating work and therefore the lack of worker militance, despite dissatisfaction with the job, is explained. For example, Dubin³⁵ predicts a resurgence of community focused

social life because work is no longer "a valued social experience" nor a "central life interest" for workers. However, researchers Riesman, Goldthorpe, Dubin, and Glickman and Brown³⁶ agree that the nonwork life of most workers is characterized by "home centeredness," "privatization," or "family centeredness" and that the dimensions and causes of this trend are unknown. Some researchers have tried to connect alienation on the job with the character of leisure time use, but with contradictory results.³⁷ For example, Lockett³⁸ attempts to connect the specific oppressions and deprivations experienced by coal miners with the particular characteristics of the leisure activity--pigeon raising--favored by the group of French miners which he studied.

A majority of Americans are dissatisfied with their jobs,³⁹ yet the idea that nonwork or leisure time activity can "compensate" for alienated labor is based on an unwarranted assumption about human nature: that human needs are a finite quality to be obtained from one sphere of life or another.

What processes do inhibit the development of a cultural infrastructure necessary for broad political action among dissatisfied workers? Alt⁴⁰ suggests, now that the social ties of the workplace do not form the basis for the social

life of workers, that the privatized leisure and familial existence of workers is the proper area in which to explore the answer. What do the popular adult-sponsored children's activities, for example, offer Bloomfield adults? How are these activities an expression of a process which inhibits the development of a political life for residents? Gans⁴¹ suggests that the home centered pattern is either an expression of powerlessness or the product of a dynamic between members of a couple. A description of the nonwork life and an analysis of the forces which shape this pattern will address these questions.

The disruption of the older neighborhoods of workers.

For my purposes, the works of Young and Willmott and Bott are of interest because they were the first to show the impact of workers' "new towns" on the associational life of workers and their families who relocated to these new housing estates far from the old neighborhood. The dense overlapping of social relationships from sphere to sphere is described in the work Coal Is Our Life⁴² or in Young and Willmott's study of an East London neighborhood.⁴³ It is by this standard, often unacknowledged, that working class suburban life of the post-World War II era is seen as "home

centered,"⁴⁴ a term which means that the family are the significant personnel and often the only personnel in the individuals' lives outside of the workplace and that the home is the center of social activity.

In another English study, published in 1957, Bott used the concept of the ego-centered network to describe the differences in social network between different classes of families. Bott relates the conjugal roles in a family with the class of the family and the shape of its network. The working class family type in her study of twenty families is characterized by a close-knit extended family network, limited leisure time spent together and a sharp distinction between male and female work. Men spend time away from home with their male friends, and women see a great deal of their female relatives. According to Bott, the nonworking-class family has a more open network, conjugal roles are more similar, and the family is more socially isolated. Bott explains that the cohesiveness of the working-class family type depends upon economic ties among kin, the homogeneity of the neighborhood, and the lack of opportunity for advancement or for physical and social mobility. Given this list of factors, Bott may be describing changes which happen to families as they leave the urban neighborhood, which is close to shared workplace, and are scattered among housing estates beyond London, far from families and co-workers. What appears to be a class continuum may be

instead a time line which describes the movement of a class out of the old urban neighborhoods. She suggests as much when she observes:

But because a man has a manual occupation he will not automatically have a close-knit network. He may be living in a relatively heterogeneous area, for not all manual occupations are localized. He may live in one place and work in another.. He may move.⁴⁵

Perhaps the social isolation of nonworking class families is less attributable to income or occupational differences than to the impact of development policies. Young and Willmott describe both stages or ways of life, first in their study of an East London neighborhood and then in a study of a worker housing estate in a new town outside of London.⁴⁶ The second pattern in which families are more isolated becomes the pattern for a majority of English families, according to Young and Willmott's⁴⁷ survey of family life and leisure.

Suburbs. In the early sixties, American sociologists began to assess the effect on working class behaviors and attitudes of the relocation of families from urban neighborhoods to suburban housing developments. Would workers become more conservative and more actively involved in associational life in the community? By 1969, in England Goldthorpe⁴⁸ used leisure styles as a measure of class consciousness in his study of factory workers.

To test this "suburb myth," Berger studied Ford plant workers living in a new community constructed around the factory in California. In a sample of 100 families, Berger⁴⁹ finds that less than 10 percent of the men are involved in any associations, with the exception of their union whose meetings they rarely attend. Only a fifth of the women are members of groups like Scouts or PTA. Here the close proximity of the workplace to the residential development has not created a vital associational life for these workers.

Gans' study of Levittown, New Jersey, a larger and occupationally and educationally diverse bedroom suburb, again looks at a brand new community. Although Gans' definition of social classes is confusing (lower middle class is defined as high school graduates, blue and white collar workers, and professionals), he states that this lower middle class, three quarters of Levittown, and the smaller working class are both home centered. Membership in child-related associations actually accounts for much of the participation in Levittown. (Only 30 percent of the total sample belong to an association.) The suburban experience does not eliminate working class families' greater isolation. Many in fact are more isolated in Levittown than they were in their former Philadelphia neighborhoods.

The first group founded in Levittown was a Veterans of Foreign Wars post, which Gans sees as simply a replacement

for the neighborhood tavern. By this logic, one of the questions which can be raised is: Why have Bloomfield men not created a place where men gather informally?

Gans work unfortunately ignored locality power, and was shaped by the magical effect which suburbs were supposed to have on association life. It was left to Kornblum⁵¹ to show what Levittowners may have lost with his study of a fading and important form--the neighborhoods in Chicago around a steel mill. He emphasized the role of primary work groups and nonwork social life in creating solidarity, transcending tensions between workers of differing status.

This review of the literature reveals the bases for the study of associational life lie in an appreciation of the following:

1. Associational life is strongly conditioned by the structure of productive life which creates particular relations between groups of individuals, between workplace and community life and between localities and economic and political forces external to the American contemporary community.
2. Although it has been established that the less affluent tend to be more isolated, the reasons for the current low levels of associational life in American communities of working people are not well understood.

3. Social life and its organizational forms are not a stable set of types, but in fact change from decade to decade in terms of total amount of participation, and the forms which this participation takes. In fact, some social forms do become extinct, and others emerge which better meet the needs of the community and national social groups.

Methodology

The goal has been to collect data at every level of social life, which must include the level of the individual up to and including the state and corporate levels. In order to connect individual everyday life to a world system of capitalism means that broad methods must be employed. To some the data may seem weak at every point. To others, the obviousness of descriptions of everyday life may be disturbing and offensive, perhaps because of their familiarity. My hope is that the synthesis of daily life and the forces external to the locality which shape it will be valuable for those who are attempting to develop the next forms of associational life for Americans.

Restrictions on the Locality Chosen for Study

The study required a site where working-class families are in the majority. The site also had to include workers

of both the traditional variety, factory operatives, for example, and those with newer working-class occupations such as technical, clerical, and service workers⁵².

Bloomfield is representative of this post-industrial pattern; less than half of its workers are engaged in the production of goods. The locality has a very small professional and executive group.

Bloomfield has a large number of couples in their thirties and forties, the prime years for organizational activity, according to Mann⁵³ and Goldthorpe.⁵⁴ Bloomfield contains few minorities (Blacks and Hispanics) and few newly immigrated families. The locality is populated primarily with persons born in New Jersey.

Leeds⁵⁵ defines a locality as a node of interaction, a geographic area in which individuals interact, e.g., a crossroads in a farming community. The extent of actual interaction among individuals in the locality is the subject of my study. Despite the regional character of many interactions among residents of Bloomfield and suburban towns around it, enough activities of a formal character are organized specifically for town residents to make the town an important unit for the study of social life. There are many exceptions, particularly the activities of professional and special interest groups.

Bloomfield is not a recently developed suburb, but a suburb of Newark (see Figure 1) which developed into a town and then, after World War II, was further developed with the addition of a large residential area, Brookdale. Although some residents may not be boosters of Bloomfield, the town has developed, over its several hundred year history a strong sense of itself vis-a-vis its neighbors. It is particularly proud of creating a number of amateur and professional sports champions. The public officials in Bloomfield consciously work to keep a "small town" image. Although this is in some ways a myth, Bloomfield has a town civic center and a physical center, the town green. Because a newspaper is an important tool of data collection for any study of associational life, the site chosen was required to have its own newspaper. Many suburban towns receive a regional paper but the Bloomfield paper is written exclusively for a Bloomfield readership and a regional supplement added when it is distributed.

Data on the Locality's Informal
and Formal Associational Life:

A certain amount of information about the locality came from living in it for a year (July 1977-August 1978) with my family for one stage of fieldwork. Like other families living in Bloomfield, our twelve year old

child was an important connection between the family and the residential locality--both through her friends, her activities, and her school. She also located information about the community quite naturally and described local customs and attitudes.

Data collection summarized. The following data have been collected over the course of a year of field work in Bloomfield and in subsequent visits in the period 1979-1981.

1. Information about work (workplace, social ties, work history, work satisfactions and dissatisfactions, and experience with unions) for each of the men and women in the group of individuals interviewed about their daily life.
2. Information concerning informal nonwork socializing between families, couples and men and women for these same individuals.
3. Information concerning formal associating, gathered from the activity profiles for individuals and from printed materials and interviews with community leaders. Descriptions of a Bloomfield parade, the Bloomfield sports program for adults and children, Home and School association (PTA),

scouting activities, Women's Club, Knights of Columbus, the environmental group, the rescue squad and other charitable service groups are included to form a picture of formal associational life in the locality.

4. Information about the economic trends shaping the locality, changes in class structure, the effects of these economic trends on life in the locality, especially on the environment, tax base and local development strategies.
5. Information concerning attitudes toward voluntary associations of Bloomfield residents, perception of the changes occurring in Bloomfield, definition of issues by politicians and citizenry for the locality.

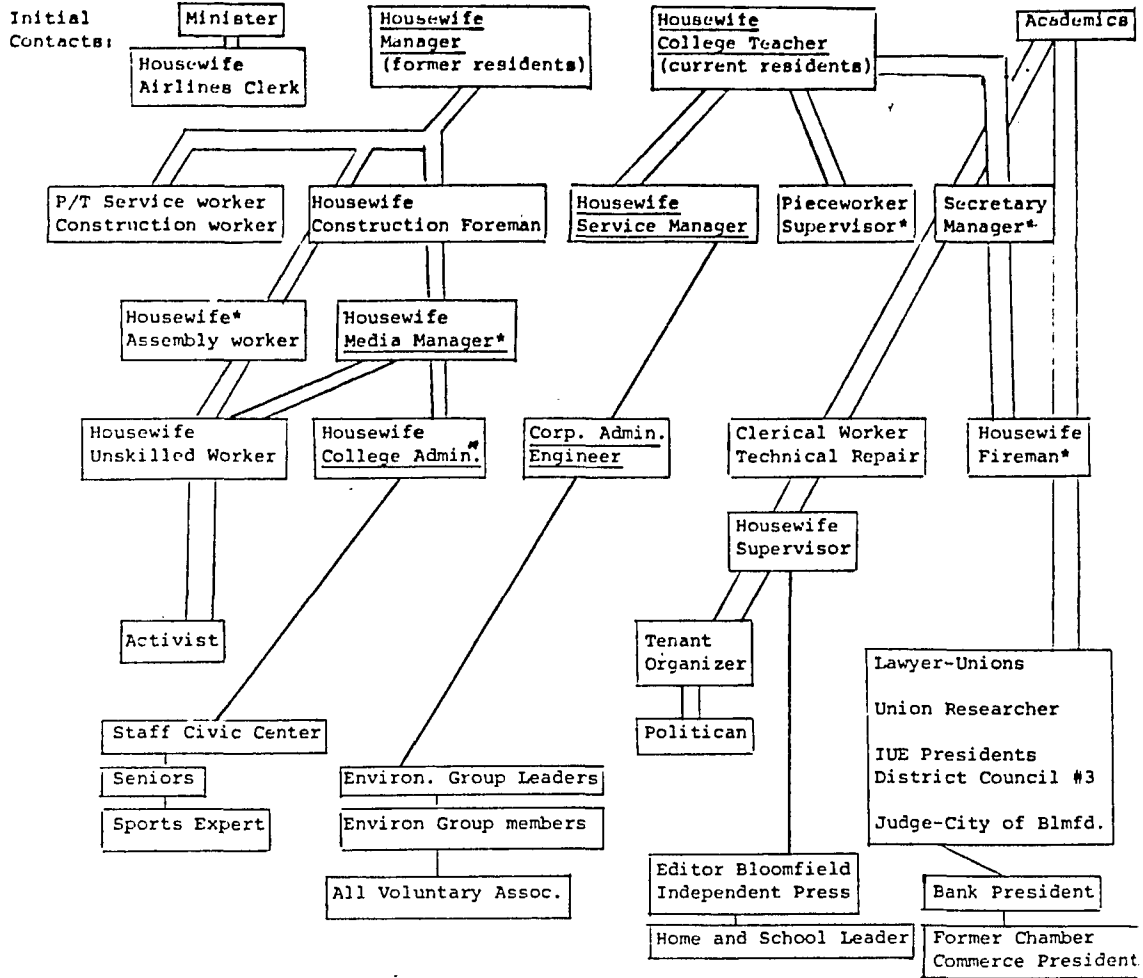
The home interview. A three-hour home interview was used to collect data on the role of informal and formal associating in the lives of a sample of twenty individuals. The interview schedule includes questions about the activities and the personnel of daily life, and about the individual's attitudes, interests, pleasures and social participation of all sorts. The information that the interview provides on the manner in which individual lives are constructed is

used as indicative of informal and formal associational patterns in the locality to be confirmed by other sorts of information. Therefore, the home interview was followed up by the study of formal associational life in the locality as a whole, as described below.

Home interviews were often supplemented by phone calls and further questions thereby establishing relationships more firmly and enabling further contact to occur over the course of the fieldwork. Often second and third home visits were made.

Choosing the individuals for home interviews: The Modified Snowball Sampling Technique: As the basis for choosing twenty workers to constitute the sample, four individuals of differing occupations were located through personal contacts. These individuals provided the next names of their friends who were willing to participate and this process continued until a group of twenty individuals had been interviewed. (See Figure 3.) Generally, participants in the study would ask their friends if they would be willing to participate and then the researcher would call them for an appointment. Individuals select their most presentable friends, often close friends who would not be offended that their names had been offered.

Networking Chart, Figure 5
 (// = direct referral, / = suggested by interviews)



*With two exceptions, most of these individuals are Irish, Polish or Italian Catholics, in their mid-thirties to late forties. They have all lived in Bloomfield for ten or more years, and with only one exception. Children range in age from 4 to 22. All of the families have from 2-5 children, with one exception. The asterisked occupations were not interviewed. Mgr. = manager of small plant, middle manager in corp., or bank. Supervisor = factory foreman, supervisor in utility, etc. An underlined occupation indicates undergraduate degree.

Restrictions on individuals chosen for study. My initial contacts offered, with few exceptions, the names of appropriate persons for participation in the study. All individuals were married and had children of school age. Families with very young children, divorced or separated individuals, or individuals without children were excluded from the study. All newcomers to Bloomfield were excluded; participants in the study have lived in Bloomfield for at least five years. All individuals are males with an occupation which is working class and/or women married to men with working-class occupations. The exceptions or borderline cases which were included have provided valuable insights on the differences in life styles.

The small sample size was possible finally because the patterns of informal and formal associating proved to be remarkably similar. The few individuals who have a very strikingly different, and these differences can be clearly explained. The interview schedule appears below in its entirety:

Fig. 2. Activities Check List

Never	Occasionally	Regularly (once a month at least)	
_____	_____	_____	gardening
_____	_____	_____	car washing
_____	_____	_____	car repair
_____	_____	_____	decorating (painting, wallpapering)
_____	_____	_____	home repair, improvements
_____	_____	_____	shopping (other than food), looking, yard sales
_____	_____	_____	adult education
_____	_____	_____	travel
_____	_____	_____	movies
_____	_____	_____	theatre
_____	_____	_____	concerts (dance, music)
_____	_____	_____	group therapy, EST
_____	_____	_____	medication, TM
_____	_____	_____	yoga
_____	_____	_____	tv _____ hours per week. Soaps? Favorites:
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	hiking or climbing
_____	_____	_____	fishing
_____	_____	_____	camping
_____	_____	_____	golf
_____	_____	_____	hunting
_____	_____	_____	sailing
_____	_____	_____	squash, paddle tennis
_____	_____	_____	running, jogging
_____	_____	_____	boating
_____	_____	_____	skiing
_____	_____	_____	special cooking
_____	_____	_____	church
_____	_____	_____	investigating family "roots"

Please indicate the three most satisfying and the three least favorite from the list of activities.

Favorites: 1.
 2.
 3.

Least Favorites 1.
 2.
 3.

Are there activities (in which you engage) which you would say are creative or allow you to express yourself?

4. Why are these your favorite activities? Let's start with _____.
Why are these your least favorite? Let's start with _____.
5. What did you do last weekend?
The last couple of weekday nights?
Plans for next weekend?
Is this typical?
6. When did you move to Bloomfield?
Where else did you live?
Where did you go to high school?
Then what did you do?
Where did you live while growing up?
Did you mother work?
What did your father do?
Age of kids?
How did you meet?
7. When did you start working full time? (Women: add, as a mother and houseworker?)
Since then, have you changed jobs for any reason?
Have you ever done any other kind of work?
8. Do you like any of your other jobs more than the one you have now? If yes, why?
9. Have you ever thought of changing your job? If yes, why?
Have you done anything about it? Look in paper?
What keeps you here?
10. Are there any other jobs you would prefer? Why?

11. If there is one thing about your job you would change, what would it be?
12. How would you feel if you moved to another job away from the men or women who work near you now? Would you feel very upset, fairly upset, not much bothered, not at all bothered?
Do you see any of the people with whom you work outside?
13. If you had it to do over again, what would you do?
14. Which decisions do you make at work?
Which decisions do you and fellow workers make?
15. If you could do anything, what would you do?
16. Here are some things thought to be important about a job: which would you look for first, then second?
 - making a contribution to society, doing worthwhile work
 - helping people
 - good pay
 - good workmates
 - supervisor who doesn't breathe down your neck
 - pleasant working conditions
 - strong active union
 - variety, interest, challenge
 - chance to solve work problems or plan the work with others
 - chance to use intelligence, be creative
 How would you rate your job as far as these two things are concerned?
17. Do you attend any of the following on a regular basis?
 - school related groups
 - social club, card club, country club
 - political party club or team
 - sports club, boosters, parent's organization for children's sports
 - church related group
 - Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, Chamber of Commerce
 - environmental group, energy alternatives, taxpayers association
 - other social action group
 - women's group, Heritage association, Historical Society

-- veteran's group, lodge (Elks, Masons)
Are you a member of a union? If yes, when did you join and why? How often do you go to shop meetings? Vote in elections? If no, were you ever a union member? Would you consider it?

18. What is your experience with all these groups? Let's take _____.
19. Generally what do you think groups of people working together accomplish? Get examples.
20. Is there a social problem which faces you, which concerns you in your life?
Is there anything you might do?
21. I am upset about environmental pollution, especially nuclear radiation. Are you? What might be done?
What might you do?
22. What about the problem of industry relocating to other areas and laying off workers here? Why do they do this?
How do you think this problem might be solved?
23. Have you ever tried to do anything about problems like this?
24. Do you believe your participation changed anything?
Do you agree or disagree with the following:
 1. A person should try to lead his own life in as decent a way as he can, but there isn't much one can do about the big problems of the world.
 2. There's an order of things in life and there's not much we can do about our fate.
 3. The important matters are decided by a small group of powerful people, and there's not much of anything the average person can do about it.
25. Choose several of the most satisfying activities from those activities that you consider work. Now, if we mix these with your leisure favorites, how would you rank them, putting most favorite first?

26. If you could do anything in your leisure time, what would you do? If you could change any single thing in your nonwork life, what would it be?
If you could make one criticism of your nonwork or leisure life what would it be?
27. If you could change anything about your life in general, aside from the quality of personal relationships, what would it be?
What are your personal goals? Where would you like to be in ten years?
What keeps you going? What are your joys?

Interviews with voluntary association leaders, elites, and officials (20). In addition to attending association meetings and observing other kinds of activities, the leaders of associations and activities were interviewed. For example, leaders in local Home and School groups, the head of the local environmental group, a tenant organizer, a regional anti-nuclear activist were among this group of interviews. To more completely understand the impact of economic and political conditions on the associational life of the town, a variety of local leaders were interviewed. Union officials, a bank president, the local newspaper editor, the science editor of the Newark paper, and a defeated local politician were asked for their opinions about town problems and the trends in the regional development (see Figure 3).

Participant Observation. All activities which were seen as important by those interviewed, and any activities which achieved any prominence locally (see archival research) were observed by the researcher. These activities included voluntary association meetings, Cub Scouts, children's sports, shopping mall events, regional library programs, parades, tag sales, etc. The environmental group, the only instrumental

voluntary association except for the union and party, was observed over a period of six months in both formal meetings and more informal activities.

Anthropological research in a society in which work cannot be observed and nonwork life occurs largely within the individual residence means that participant observation is carried out at customer locations--the local Friendly's, the Kresge's, the Stop and Shop, the Willowbrook Shopping Mall, which serves Bloomfield and a number of other localities. In Bloomfield, the civic center where many associations met, the regional library, and especially the parks with their recreational programs were good sources of information about the locality.

Archival research. The Bloomfield Independent Press was used as a source of information especially about associational life. An analysis of several issues a month over the period 1945-1981 was completed in order to ascertain whether important aspects of associational life had been overlooked and to draw a picture of the past. This paper was also a good source of information about significant economic events in the region and revealed how the local politicians defined the critical issues for Bloomfield. Other sources included local library collections for historical materials, the Newark Public Library's New Jersey collection,

governmental documents, census materials, municipal records,
etc.

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CHAPTER II
ENTERING BLOOMFIELD

Bloomfield, New Jersey, is located about a half hour's drive west from the Lincoln Tunnel, which connects Manhattan's West Side and New Jersey. It is a former suburb of the city of Newark and located next to historic Montclair, below wealthy Glenridge and above the older working-class industrial towns of Kearney, Arlington, and Belleville. Bloomfield is a town of approximately 52,000 people, part of Essex County. On the map the town's area is carved up by 90 miles of streets and highways; its long narrow shape which runs along the bottom of the slopes leading to Montclair and Glenridge is evidence that it lost a struggle with the more powerful towns which surround it, and now serves as a buffer between these towns on the one side and Newark on the other. In the last decade this has meant that it is a community defending itself against urban decline and racial conflict. The attempt to prevent block busting--the practice of panic selling of the houses on a block--has become inextricably bound up with the pressure to keep Blacks out.

In entering Bloomfield, the motorist experiences a sharp break between the highway and the world of neat houses, small lawns, and empty sidewalks. The motel-gas station-chemical factory strip is left behind--apparently.

In truth, however, the residential areas are part of a complex which includes the one-family homes, the industry located in the interstices between communities next to the highways and the shopping malls, older downtown areas, and small groups of stores which serve a part of a town. This complex continues to the north and south of Bloomfield; the town is just one locality in this sprawl.

Driving out of Bloomfield Avenue, Newark and Bloomfield flow into each other. The banks and stores at a large intersection and the town green several blocks later indicate a separate town center. If you drive through the Lincoln Tunnel and out Route 3, you pass the surreal sports complex (Hartz Mountain's Meadowlands), strange canals and brown grasses, smells, a strip of motels and gas stations, and then the exit at the shopping center, where there is a modern building--not a house, not a store--but a union headquarters. Then you pass the neat houses and the empty years and sidewalks. This northern part of town, the Brookdale section, was developed after the second world war. The older southern section of Bloomfield contains the older factory buildings and a business district called The Center. The distinguished houses around the town green, just north of the business district, were built when Bloomfield was a Newark suburb. Near them is the

Oakes mill, which manufactured uniforms for the Northern Army during the Civil War. Near here, too, is Bloomfield College, originally a Protestant seminary.

Bloomfield is a long strip. At first glance it seems that the road which runs through its length, Broad Street, and which stretches from north to south, is utterly without distinguishing features. Shopping areas including a fruit market and dry cleaners are interspersed with modest homes all alike in appearance and this alternation is continued for a number of miles. But finally the spell is broken by a small park at the midpoint, and then an enormous high school, the town green, the old and new libraries, the civic center and Sacred Heart Church. This is "The Center" although residents who live in the north and north central areas may never enter it. Here the business district begins. This center is populated by shoppers and employees of stores and banks in the daytime. The shoppers are mostly elderly persons or the relatively poor. Most Bloomfield residents shop at the Willowbrook or Paramus Malls. (Their ownership of cars allows them to drive there.) After school, the teenagers take over The Center, using the dime stores and ice cream parlors as meeting places. If they congregate on the street, however, they are directed to move on by the police.

Bloomfield has the business center of an older industrial town. It was built in that vague middle era in this

century whose two story business architecture has no name, before the shopping mall, when dime stores, large banks, one good local department store of several stories, a train station (now unused) and several diners were a common combination for a small downtown. Its lack of glamour or New England charm, at least that New England town of farmers, not industrialists, gives Bloomfield a discarded, hollowed-out quality. Of course it has been partially discarded by developers and abandoned by industry, as we shall see.

As the research progressed, the disparity between what seems and what is in Bloomfield became more apparent. Bloomfield seems to be a small New Jersey town with a charming town green and a newspaper in which the local high school team can make front page headlines. It is a town which appears to have an impassioned local political life judging from the headlines, a town determined to preserve its "suburban" qualities, its autonomy from the federal government's housing policies, and its high sport consciousness. It sees itself as different from Montclair, its century-old football rival, different from Glenridge, the adjoining wealthy suburb and bedroom community, which broke away from Bloomfield and different from Newark, the scene of inner-city rioting in the late sixties. As this thesis demonstrates, the locality Bloomfield is created from without. There is a pretend quality therefore surrounding

the symbols of American community life, like the town center with its green, libraries and civic center. They appear as miniatures, as playhouses, to the observer. A quality of nostalgia pervades moments in Bloomfield. For example, Bloomfield band concerts on the green in green leafy August nights bring back memories of other eras in other towns, when the whole population would participate in such an event. In having these concerts, it is as if Bloomfield wishes to remember being a town with the self-determining power of pre-depression American communities before the age of major concentrations of wealth and power in corporations and in the federal government.

The two major taxpayers in the town of Bloomfield are Lummus, a subsidiary of Combustion Engineering (C-E) and Schering Plough. Combustion Engineering manufactures and assembles equipment, products and services for a wide variety of energy uses. The plant in Bloomfield is a modern, all-glass, research and development facility set back from the Garden State Parkway amidst green lawns. Major products include (1) fossil-fueled and nuclear steam supply systems and maintenance and construction services for electric utilities, (2) design, engineering and construction services for petroleum industries, petrochemical and other process industries, e.g., oil refineries, (3) oil and gas drilling and production equipment, (4) service equipment for environmental control and energy conservation

(new orders for pollution control equipment are up by 10 million dollars for 1978, (5) specialty minerals, refractories, chemicals, glass and wood building materials (these items are manufactured by many subsidiaries of C-E, sold to other companies and also used by C-E on projects of other subsidiaries).

C-E has 45,000 employees worldwide. The net sales of C-E, as of 1978, were \$2,331,000,000. Income before taxes and extraordinary expenses was \$159,000,000. in 1978. This is a profit to sales ratio of 7.6 percent (a rate of 13 cents on the dollar). Its net income (profit) after taxes of \$78,000,000 was \$80,000,000. Combustion Engineering has unfilled orders of \$2,879,000,000 in 1978. Probably profit rates are not accurately reflected, especially for foreign earnings.¹ Combustion Engineering invested \$74,900,000 in purchasing several companies in 1977.

C-E's steam supply systems account for 40 percent of electric utility generating capacity in the United States. It has supplied a processing system for Egypt's Ras Shukeir terminal on the Gulf of Suez. A subsidiary, Gray Tool, has provided the well head assemblies for oil fields in Alaska's North Slope and in the Samaria fields in South Mexico (through EPN-Gray). C-E Vetco has provided a satellite sub-sea production tree off the coast of Brazil, C-E Natco

equipment is used in the Kern River Oil Field near Bakersfield California. (They inject steam into the ground to enhance recovery of high viscosity crude oil.) Lummus' subsidiary (Lummus Netherland, headquartered in the Hague) designed, engineered and constructed Norway's first polyethylene plant at Bamble, Norway. C-E Lummus proprietary technology (here the Third World buys knowledge of a process for their plant) is used in Brazil's 350 million dollar olefin aromatics complex. C-E Lummus and Thyssen Rheinstahl Technik of West Germany are using a Rhine River port facility as one of the three equipment staging areas for their billion dollar petrochemical complex being built in Iraq (here Iraq will probably not own the plant, or be paid taxes).²

With two thirds of its business volume outside the United States, C-E is a fine example of the voluntary movement of the United States corporation to locate manufacturing and major sales volume outside the United States while remaining company headquartered in New Jersey.

C-E, its subsidiaries and their plants, form a vast domain only part of which is reflected in the annual report.

Nevertheless, the list below from the report to the stockholders gives the following further indication of their scope and operations: (1) a new plant for coating oil country tubular goods in West Bladbeck (refinery parts), (2) a new plant in Tennessee for the production of ceramic fibers for use as refractory material at Erwin, Texas, (3) work continues on a new Pasadena plant for the production of intermediate chemicals used to process oil and gas, (4) some manufacturing is done at Maple Grove and Bettsville, Ohio. At Bettsville, custom blended fuel additives are blended. The annual report shows a picture of a man using an atomic absorption spectrometer. Energy saving refractories are manufactured at Maple Grove. Both are part of Basic Incorporated, C-E's operating unit which has extensive mineral resources and many plants in Nevada, Florida (Port St. Joe), Pennsylvania and Kentucky, (5) the plant in Grenville, Tennessee, is being expanded. It is a fused silica, fine grinding facility. Silica is used in castings and refractories (a large version of the beaker and glass tubing used in chemistry). At Chattanooga, a stainless steel tubing mill is being enlarged, (6) a recently completed plant in Moncton, New Brunswick which produces nuclear fuel bundles for heavy water reactor power plants.

Characteristics of the United States multinational corporations as outlined in Barnet and Müller's book Global Reach³ are found in Combustion Engineering: the tremendous concentrations of capital, multiple subsidiaries, and interlocking directorates, the large foreign business volume (two thirds of all sales volume for the corporation), the very low taxes (\$78,000,000 on a net sales of \$2,331,000,000), and the high profits, which can be estimated conservatively at several times the amount taxed. Federal and state governments in the United States will receive approximately \$60,000,000 of the \$78,000,000 provision for future taxes. Foreign governments will receive \$19,000,000 in total. According to the annual report, the "effective tax rate was 49 percent in 1978."

The small amount of foreign taxes paid by Combustion Engineering,⁴ despite the fact that two thirds of the total sales volume is foreign, can be explained by noting the joint efforts with foreign subsidiaries which yield tax exemptions from the cooperating country, and the foreign subsidiaries which save Combustion Engineering, as a whole, money because goods can move across political boundaries but be recorded as internal company transfers.

Combustion Engineering works and shares a pool of personnel with at least the Department of Energy, the NRC and

the Electric Power Research Institute and the Institute for Energy Analysis at Oak Ridge.

Schering Plough is a smaller company than Combustion Engineering. Its sales in 1978 were \$1,082,000,000; consolidated income before taxes was \$272,000,000. Net income was \$193,000,000. The company therefore declared twice the profit on half the sales volume of Combustion Engineering. (C.E declared \$159,000,000 on sales of \$2,000,000,000) Schering Plough has 17,000 employees worldwide, compared to C-E's 45,000 employees worldwide. Schering Plough manufactures drugs (garamycin, a broad spectrum antibiotic), cosmetics like Maybelline and Coppertone, as well as over the counter remedies like Solarcaine, Feen-A-Mint, and Di Gel.

Schering Plough pays a total of \$54,000,000 in United States taxes on an income of \$272,000,000, foreign taxes of \$20,000,000 and taxes "to states" of \$4,000,000. This is a total of \$78,000,000 in taxes compared with approximately the same amount in taxes paid on a \$2,000,000,000 net sales by Combustion Engineering. Nevertheless, Schering Plough claimed an exemption on their Puerto Rican operations which decreased the tax rate for them from 48 percent of the statutory rate to 28 percent.⁵

The subsidiaries in Puerto Rico are operating under tax exemption grants expiring in 1987, 1988, and 1993.

Worldwide investments for Schering amounted to \$51,000,000 for the year. The United States investment figure is not offered although the annual report claims to be doing more with United States facilities.

Areas in New Jersey which are losing workers' jobs apparently find that attracting Schering Plough may be preferable to other alternatives. For example, the new Schering plant in progress in Union, New Jersey, will be a pilot project. It is so named. In Union, the jobs lost and community deterioration are more severe than in Bloomfield. The pilot plant is a plant for the development of advanced antibiotic extraction, purification and chemical modification processes.

The Bloomfield plant is the major research center for the company and employs 900 highly technical and scientific personnel. Production, the actual manufacturing of the drugs, is carried on in Puerto Rico and in Greece, in a facility in Essex Pharma AE (a joint venture). Antibiotic fermentation facilities are located in Jacarepagua, Brazil, in the Amazon Basin. Forty-four percent of corporate sales are in the Schering Plough's international division. Agreements announced in 1977 include a contract to market the products of an English drug company in Latin American and a contract to market a Japanese product in Europe,

Latin America and Asia. Many products are sold abroad which have not yet completed clinical trials in the United States.⁶

The preceding pages have described a powerful nongovernmental private organization, the modern American form of the corporation, supported by friendly tax laws and Congress. Barnett and Müller stress the proven power of multi-nationals to outmaneuver communities, regions, nation-states and unions.⁷ Ironically only a few of the individuals I knew in Bloomfield worked for either Combustion Engineering (Lummus) or Schering Plough. Such is the nature of American community life.

*

New Jersey is the most densely populated and most urban state in the nation.⁸ Until the system was reformed in 1967, the State was governed by a governor and his appointed cabinet. The state assembly and senate which were created in the reform have co-existed with strong political organizations at the county level until very recently.

Party life at the county level in New Jersey has determined the candidates for state office for many years.⁹ Historically the county bosses controlled the prosecutor of the state who would normally investigate charges of corruption. These same bosses chose the candidates who would represent their parties in state and national races. These were:

the days of Mayor Frank Hague of Jersey City and more recently, of the era when

John V. Kenney, Mr. Hague's successor in Hudson County, teamed up with Dennis F. Carey in Essex, David T. Wilentz in Essex, David T. Wilentz in Middlesex and Anthony J. Grossi in Passaic, among others, to sit down and pick candidates for Governor and other high state offices.¹⁰

However, in the primaries of 1977-78, Sullivan says that the powerlessness of the two parties at the county and state level was demonstrated. Neither Bell in the Republican primary or Bradley in the Democratic Senate race had any experience previously with their parties. A few years ago, experience in the party in New Jersey was essential, according to Sullivan. The State level is weak and one reason is because of corruption at the county level, and the disarray of the county party.

Essex county collects large tax revenues (\$180,000,000 in 1977) which have increased dramatically each year, for example in 1977-78, they went up 23 tax points for Bloomfield residents.¹¹ Of taxes collected in Bloomfield in 1978, \$8,961,000 goes to the county and \$6,809,000 goes to the town, the municipality. The high percentages of the taxpayer's dollar which goes to the county are a source of much complaining especially because wealthy areas pay the same county tax rate and the largest item in the county budget is the welfare bill for Newark residents. Schools are financed by localities and the state. Party politics of a sort do operate on the county level. Patronage is accepted; many educated women in the area were working on campaigns in the hopes of employment.

For example, 70 Ceta jobs were given out by administrators at the county level to Bloomfield non profit organizations, in 1978. Administrators of county programs get their jobs through county politicians. County charter reform resulted in the restructuring of Essex county government in 1978. Peter Shapiro, a young liberal, was elected county executive. The Chairman of the Democratic Party in Essex County for a decade before his retirement in 1978, Harry Lerner was indicated in 1979, along with the Essex County Sheriff on racketeering, conspiracy, bribery and extortion charges by a Federal grand jury.¹²

Most of the state legislature works at a second job. In the most recent period, the governor has been Democratic while the house has been Republican.

As of the late sixties, 62 of the nations 75 largest industrial corporations were headquartered in the State. (More recently Delaware gives the largest incentives to corporations to headquarter there). According to McCormick,¹³ New Jersey has been characterized by conservatism in public policy since its beginnings. As of 1969, the smallest proportion of the considerable income of its citizenry went for the support of state and local services of any state in the union. It ranks at the bottom in all services.

After the American revolution, the New Jersey governing body made Perth Amboy tariff free and the Tory manufacturers were invited to relocate there. In 1900 New Jersey was called the Traitor State after they revised their corporate laws to attract industry. New Jersey has a long history of corruption and bossism. Peirce¹⁴ lists the ex-New Jersey officials and Mafia who are presently in jail, and cites Henry S. Ruth, an expert on crime in New Jersey who estimates that the Mafia grossed one billion in the late sixties in Northern New Jersey; one boss-don controlled Port Newark and a dozen unions.

We will see the state's response to the problem of industrial pollution. The state's efforts to cope with relocating industry has been unsuccessful. During the last two decades, from the early fifties up until present, the legislature was not able to pass any measures which would either effectively encourage industry to stay or punish the corporations and protect the worker. In fact no state in the union, (with the exception of a Massachusetts bill passed in the late seventies which would require advance warning), was able to pass a bill directly addressing the relocation question. Two bills are in committee now at the federal level and have been for ten years. The current ones are sponsored by Senators Harrison Williams and Ford. Town politicians concentrate on the tax rate. The structure of

the economic and political context in which the town of Bloomfield is situated, is not discussed by town politicians.

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Bloomfield itself is working class locality.¹⁵ It has a smaller number of professionals of both sexes, a large group of manufacturing workers and skilled manual workers, a large sector of clerical workers and some managers and sales people (see Table 1). The great diversity of working class occupations represents the post-industrial pattern for the United States as described by Braverman and Levison.¹⁶ The new category of continuous process worker (chemicals and refineries) is included.¹⁷ In addition, two sectors have burgeoned: government employees at all levels and employees of services to business, e.g., banking, insurance and finance, which employ both clerks and managers.¹⁸

The median income is the income below which and above which there are an equal number of incomes, if one were to make a chart including all Bloomfield families. According to the U.S. Census for 1970, the median income is \$11,733. Variation from census tract to census tract ranges from \$10,000 a year median income to \$16,000 a year median income per family. Only 3.7 percent of the population were under the poverty level of \$3,721 (the level in 1969) for a family of four, now \$7,500. Almost 30 percent of the families in Bloomfield in 1970 made more than \$15,000 a year in 1970. About half (46 percent) of the women work.

Half of the entire population works, and more than half of Bloomfield residents own their own homes. Only 11 percent of Bloomfield residents have graduated from college, according to the 1970 census.¹⁹

The regional mode of production therefore has created a locality of relatively "affluent" families in which husband and wife work in nearly half the cases, and often in the non-manufacturing sector. Another element of the post-industrial composition of the work force is the high rate of unemployment found among construction and manufacturing workers.

OCCUPATIONS IN BLOOMFIELD ACCORDING TO THE 1970 CENSUS^a

	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Professional, technical, health workers, teachers	3,534	14.9
Managers and Administrators--salaried	1,951	8.2
Managers, retail trade (self-employed), sales workers	2,103	8.9
Clerical (approximately one half work for government) ^b	6,094	25.8
Craftsmen, foremen, including construction craftsmen and machine repair	3,381	14.3
Operatives	3,032	12.8
Transportation workers	796	3.3
Laborers	583	2.4
Farm	---	0.0
Service	2,197	9.3
Private household	<u>54</u>	<u>.2</u>
Total employed, male and female, 16 years and over	23,598	99.9

^aU.S. Census Bureau, U.S. Department of Commerce Census of the Population: 1970, Vol. 1, Characteristics of the Population, Part 32, New Jersey, P. 32-313.

^b1970 Census Tracts, Newark N.J., #146, P-83. Four out of every nine women work as clerical workers. Five out of nine women are service workers, operators in factories or nurses, health workers or teachers.

^cOf employed persons in the New York-Northeastern New Jersey Standard Consolidated Area, 24.6 percent are in manufacturing, 57.4% are in white collar occupations and 15.3% are government workers. (1970 Census of Population, Volume I Characteristics of the Population, part I, U.S. Summary, Section 1, p. 1-552).

As manufacturing leaves, the older industrial worker is left unemployed or re-employed in a marginal job. Overall, a new kind of younger worker is required who is more likely not to work on an assembly line in a manufacturing plant, but to be a technician, a government clerk, or a service worker at an airline, in a very different workplace employing many fewer workers.

As Leggett and Cervinka²⁰ point out, the unemployment figures provided by both census and state sources are subject to manipulation. For example, according to Table 88 of the census, 37.1 percent of the population in the work force in 1969 in Bloomfield did not work a full year.²¹ In 1978, the City and County Data Book²² reports that all employment in manufacturing dropped 14 percent from 1967 to 1972 in New Jersey. In 1975, they report that New Jersey had an unemployment rate of 13 percent. Although the real rate of unemployment in the area is not clear, we can assume that the older men (over fifty) and their families will be highly unemployed if they have also been operatives or construction workers, foremen, etc. It is generally acknowledged that industrial workers will not get pension bearing jobs or jobs with benefits after fifty if they are laid off. Construction workers also are adamant on this point.

Not only is quite a high percentage of Bloomfield's population unemployed but the diversity of occupation, as indicated to some degree by Table 1, is remarkable, when compared with the simplicity of occupational categories in the Lynd and Lynd study of 1930. There are literally hundreds of job descriptions and occupational categories in a single community. This means that a worker's daily life, both at the workplace and in the community, may contain no one who shares his exact situation. The implications of this statement and further proof for it will be found in the subsequent pages; it is as critical in effecting the social ties formed between citizens in the locality as the workplace-residence divide.

The removal of the large factory system of production and the creation of "residential" suburbs for working people which are often far from palces of work has created localities of workers who may work anywhere within their county, their Labor Market Area, and even beyond. (New York City, for example, is not part of the Newark Labor Market Area.)

Bloomfield employers employ 16,000 workers according to the Industrial Directory,²³ but 24,000 residents work; therefore even if all of them worked in the town, approximately 8,000, a third, would have to leave the town to work.

Table 2 shows that 27% of Bloomfield residents worked outside the county of Essex. Table 3 shows that 35% of the Essex work force comes into the county every day for work. For many Bloomfield residents, Bloomfield is not the town in which they work. The travels of these commuters within the county and without, define a region which the individual may not share with anyone else within his residential locality or his workplace. It is this profound transformation of residential social life which is the topic of this study.

TABLE 2
BLOOMFIELD RESIDENTS WORKING IN AND OUT OF THE COUNTY

All workers (Bloomfield residents)	23,287	
Worked in <u>county</u> of residence	15,423	
Percent of all workers		66%
Worked outside of <u>county</u> of residence	6,233	
Percent of all workers		27%
Not reported	1,631	
Percent of all workers		7%

Source: US Census of Population, 1970: Characteristics of the New Jersey Population, p. 32-276.

TABLE 3
ESTIMATES OF ESSEX COUNTY COMMUTING PATTERNS

Essex residents (employed)	375,170	
Essex residents who also work in Essex	265,322	
Percent of residents who also work in Essex		70.0%
Residents who leave Essex to work	109,848	
Percent of residents who leave		29.0%
Essex Work Force	408,079	
Percent of work force who live outside of Essex		35.0%

Source: US Census of Population, 1970; adjusted by the New Jersey Department of Labor and Industry, Division of Planning and Research, 1977.

Almost all residents live in households of three persons in single family houses or apartments. There are 17,837 households. Of these households, 14,299 are also classified as families, a group of persons who are related by marriage or birth and headed by a male or female. One thousand six hundred of these families have a female head.²⁴

Half the families have children from 0 to 25 years of age. Of these families with children, 20 percent approximately have children under six and nearly an equal number have children living at home between eighteen and twenty-four. The relatively low numbers of younger children can be explained by understanding at least two factors--the fact that 6,487 persons are more than 65 years old (in a population of 52,029) and that the category of persons 45-65, which numbers 14,250 persons is considerably larger than the category of persons of childbearing age (11,882).²⁵ This may be explained by the difficulty which younger couples are experiencing buying their own homes in Bloomfield. Most housing in Bloomfield is single-family dwellings, which, even in 1970, were valued at between \$20,000 and \$30,000.²⁶

In 1970 in Bloomfield, 9.6 percent of the residents were foreign born. Twenty-nine and six-tenths percent of the residents born here have parents of mixed heritage,

chiefly Italian, Irish, and Polish.²⁷ Peirce describes the history of immigration in the state:

The 1800s brought vast numbers of Irish to dig the canals and build the railways. Germans immigrated in vast numbers, later to be joined by Poles and Hungarians who worked in the factories. Many Russian Jews arrived early in the 20th century, and today the state has about 400,000 Jews, or 5.5 percent of its population. Only New York State has a higher percentage. (Jersey's Jews, however, have shown fewer leadership qualities than their counterparts across the Hudson.) And then there are the Italians, who arrived in such huge numbers toward the end of the 19th century and early in the present one that they represent today, by some estimates, as much as 35 percent of the population. (The overall Roman Catholic share of the population, which would include most but not all the Italians, is 38.0 percent--the fourth highest Catholic population share among the 50 states.)²⁸

In Bloomfield, there are 17 Protestant churches and 3 Catholic churches, the largest of which claims 2,895 families (in 1978) of the 14,000 families in the locality, and 2 synagogues. According to the 1970 census, one fifth of the children in Bloomfield go to private elementary schools.²⁹

Although Bloomfield has an extremely diverse population, judged by ethnic heritage, ethnic differences have not been found to be an important determinant of the social relationships which are the topic of the thesis. Throughout the study, class differences (for example, between an Italian doctor and an Italian chemical worker) have been found to be more related to differences in associational style than differences between Poles and Irish of the same occupation and same length of residency in the United States.

During the year in which this fieldwork was conducted, 1977-78, Bloomfield's library (actually a regional library located in Bloomfield) and the town of Bloomfield's Cultural Commission, a newly created town commission, sponsored a series of monthly celebrations of Bloomfield's ethnic groups. Several persons from each ethnicity included in the year's program took responsibility for planning events appropriate to the ethnicity of the month. For example, the Swedes planned a showing of Greta Garbo films. The Irish presented a selection of scenes from Irish plays and a display of Irish handicrafts (see appendix). The town and the library worked together to extend the richness of the library's displays and special events using ethnicity as a focus.

Although the presentation of the history, for example, of the Irish and Afro-Americans in Bloomfield (see appendix) was informative and even moving, such display, which might be called reification of ethnicity, is a strong indication that the cultural heritages, although of interest and celebrated, are no longer important shapers of the lifeways of these American offspring. The celebrations of Irish culture, food, music, arts by the Irish in Bloomfield are an expression of the deep acceptance of ethnic, if not racial, differences by the residents of this locality. The ethnic festival must also be seen as a white ethnic answer

to Roots, a program shown the year before concerning the Afro-American history in the United States, and an expression of the flourishing interest which all Americans experienced in this period in their family history.

Bloomfield contains a score of dedicated artistic, musical, and professional people who love the arts and have provided support of all kinds for a diverse array of musical groups connected with the town symphony, opera, chorus, band and mandolin orchestra. These activities are supported by a group of residents, many of them older, whose families have lived in the area for sometimes several hundred years. Other supporters are professional couples, with either the wife at home or at work, who are well educated. Both groups are hard working and dedicated, often serving full time for the library a town commission, or the opera company. The regional library plays an important role in disseminating information about events in the region and is the regional cultural focus; professionals from this library are town residents and work very hard for the cultural commission and the musical groups. It is a chance for all to share hobbies, professional skills, artistic talents, public relations, communications expertise, and a knowledge of the government arts networks.

The regional library sponsors many events which enrich the locality, and the civic center of the town gives important

support to associations in the town and to recreation. The civic pride which Bloomfield expresses in support for their teams is discussed in the chapter on sports for children. Bloomfield is sports crazy or sports conscious, as the residents explain it to me. The older men are very proud of their many champion athletes:

Lou Gehrig played ball in Bloomfield. Alex Ferguson and Hank Broad played in two world series. Valentine's Athletic Club is the oldest in the state. Johnnie Gibson, a great amateur golfer, and Chet Sonuck, a metro open basketball champ, lived in Bloomfield. It's not just Trepuka. It's a tradition.

If men have been actively involved in their own lives with sports, they are likely to be involved with the newly created Bloomfield Hall of Fame, especially if they are somewhat older or closely connected with the town's programs (politicians, newspaper editor, employees of the town's recreation program, etc.). Symbolic displays which the town finances--the Fourth of July Fireworks, the Memorial Day Parade, the sports program, the town paper which is supported strongly by local politicians and businessmen, and the school football program--are expressive of a commitment of many Bloomfield citizens to Bloomfield.

Yet in my experience, couples in which the male is a college professional or manager (the wife may or may not be college educated; she may or may not have a professional career of her own) are particularly critical of Bloomfield. They express a desire to move, yet often participate in community life. They are concerned with school quality,

deplore the speech patterns of other residents and call Bloomfield a "redneck town." Probably it is accurate to accuse Bloomfield residents or their rental agents of practicing housing discrimination, based on the need of the Black Newark population for housing and the number of Blacks who have entered the area since 1956 and 1976. Racial tensions have been a problem. For example, the Bloomfield Commission on Human Rights sponsors a Rumor Control Center whose purpose is to:

check reported rumors and endeavor to ascertain accurate facts in order to reduce the possibility of public confrontation.

The goal of the group is to eliminate discrimination and one of its duties is to cooperate with all other units of government, particularly the New Jersey Division on Civil Rights of the New Jersey State Department of Law and Public Safety. (The Black population of Bloomfield has remained 1,000 individuals from the mid-fifties up until the last census figures available, 1970.)³⁰

Town image and identity are particularly important in a locality such as this one where many activities take place outside of the locality and many neighboring localities are much wealthier and have been for a century. The first question one is asked at a sporting event, for example, which takes place between communities is "Where are you from?" Bloomfield left a league in mid-season in 1977 in which it had played high school football for fifty years

after it lost a game against a Black Newark team due to personal fouls. (The local editor attributes this to city-suburb rivalry rather than racism.)

The conflict between a small number of liberal professional residents, educated and ambivalent toward the community, and the majority of the working class residents is important in the town dynamics, as is the legendary split between the slightly more affluent north end and the older south. The professional working class conflict was very evident in the Vietnam War era when these two groups supported the United States in quite different ways. Unfortunately, the children of working people in the town were serving and dying in Vietnam. The better educated and more affluent got a court injunction to have an Anti-Vietnam War display included in the Memorial Day parade in 1970.

Half of all Bloomfield males are veterans.³¹ One fourth of all Bloomfield males are veterans of the Second World War. According to the 1970 Census, there were a total of 3,138 males 16-24 in 1970, and 1,018 of these were veterans of the Vietnam War.

Bloomfield is an affluent working class community, poised between the new research laboratories and the old factories, between Newark and Glenridge, between Brazil, Elizabeth, Tennessee and Hong Kong. It represents many

American communities, particularly in the Eastern Seaboard-Midwest Region. At some later date, Florida suburbs and localities in South Carolina and Texas may come more and more to experience some of Bloomfield's problems.

The next chapter introduces the reader to the associational life of Bloomfield. In the first section of the chapter the connections between productive life, class, union, political party and associational life are presented for one well studied community, Middletown, in the period from 1924 to 1935. This analysis of the Middletown material will demonstrate the manner in which these connections can be articulated, and the mode of analysis will later be employed on the material collected from Bloomfield, but with a special emphasis on the eras from 1945 to 1965. It is only by comparing the present Bloomfield pattern to the locality's past that its shape can be fully understood.

- ¹Combustion Engineering, Incorporated Annual Report 1978, p. 46.
- ²Combustion Engineering, Incorporated Annual Report 1978, p. 7.
- ³Barnet and Müller, Global Reach.
- ⁴Combustion Engineering, Incorporated Annual Report 1978, p. 39.
- ⁵Schering-Plough Annual Report 1978, p. 25.
- ⁶Schering-Plough Annual Report 1978, p. 6.
- ⁷Barnet and Müller, Global Reach.
- ⁸League of Women Voters of New Jersey, New Jersey Spotlight on Government, edited by Helen M. Kushner, (3d ed.; New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1978), pp. 6-9.
- ⁹Michael Barone, Grant Ujifusa and Douglas Matthews, "New Jersey Politics," The Almanac of American Politics, (New York; Dutton, 1977).
- ¹⁰Joseph F. Sullivan, "Lost Reference," New York Times, November, 1978?
- ¹¹Editorial, Bloomfield Independent Press, November 3, 1977, p. 2.
- ¹²Alfonso Narvaez, "Essex Sheriff and Two Aides Indicted With A Former Democratic Chief," New York Times, August 23, 1979, p. B1.
- ¹³League of Women Voters of New Jersey, New Jersey Spotlight on Government, p. 8.
- ¹⁴Neal R. Peirce and Michael Barone, The Mid-Atlantic States of America, (2d ed; New York; Norton Publishing Company, 1977), p. 240.
- ¹⁵A class is merely a category. Like all categories the parameters are produced by the values of the social science researcher. A particular grouping or categorization can be defended as a category only if it seems useful in analytical practice. For example, Marx, in studying the possibilities for major social change in nineteenth century Europe, observed the mass of workers newly created by capitalism and hypothesized that this class was one of two major forces in the society. The capitalist mode of production had produced these two major forces, which are defined by their relationship to each other

Marx and Lenin used the term class in the context of predicting how people might group themselves in action. The refusal to engage in an analysis of these groups (major categories in the society) in favor of an analysis which looks at socioeconomic status (an aggregate amount), prestige, status, income, and life style in terms of "amounts" or as a stratification continuum (see, for example, Warner) can be connected loosely to Weber's contribution to a definition of class. He pointed out that the status of the individual may not always match the class position of the individual. Furthermore, class is linked more closely to market position than to a historically specific mode of production and the basic forms of human relationships generated by a changing capitalist world system.

If the basic forms of human relationship are oppressive, the working class share oppressive life experience, according to Marx. Defining oppressive life experience (the possible issues for a class) and connecting experience to consciousness has proven to be difficult, particularly in complex societies. For example, certain groups in contemporary America, such as college educated technicians, workers in particular automated industries, clerical workers, white collar workers, professionals, teachers have been suggested as candidates for a new working class because of their oppressive life experience or their special view of the social system. But the most salient point about modern United States capitalism is that the mass of factory workers described by Marx have been largely replaced by a bewildering variety of specialized and nonindustrial workers, two-thirds of which are not members of any union.

¹⁶Braverman, Labor and Monopoly Capital; Levison, The Working Class Majority.

¹⁷See Serge Mallet, Essays on the New Working Class, edited and translated by Dick Howard and Dean Savage, (St. Louis: Telos Press, 1975).

¹⁸Governor's Economic Recovery Commission Report, Volume 1, January, 1976 (State of New Jersey, 1976), p. 67.

¹⁹U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Census of the Population: 1970, Census Tracts, Newark, New Jersey, #146, p. P-126, P-44.

²⁰John Leggett and Claudette Cervinka, "Countdown: Labor Statistics Revisited,": Society (November-December, 1972) p. 99-104.

²¹U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Census of the Population: 1970 Volume 1, Characteristics of the Population, part 32 New Jersey, p. 32-305. The reported unemployment rate for Bloomfield: 2.8 percent of civilian labor force males 16 years old and over are unemployed. (U.S. Census, 1970, p. 32-305).

²²U.S. Bureau of the Census, County and City Data Book 1977: A Statistical Abstract Supplement, (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1978) p. 715. Of 700 people laid off at the Rheingold Brewery in 1977, a plant which employed a number of Bloomfield males, only 19 were working again by January 19, 1979.

²³US Census, 1970, adjusted by the New Jersey Department of Labor and Industry, Division of Planning and Research, 1977, p. 132; New Jersey State Industrial Directory (State Industrial Directory Corporation, 1979), p. 281.

²⁴U.S. Census, 1970, Census Tract Newark, p. P-1.

²⁵U.S. Census, 1970, p. 32-81.

²⁶U.S. Census, 1970, Census Tract Newark, p. H-3.

²⁷U.S. Census, 1970, p. 32- 213.

²⁸Peirce, The Mid-Atlantic States, p. 212.

²⁹U.S. Census, 1970, p. 32-213.

³⁰U.S. Census, 1970, p. H-3.

³¹U.S. Census, 1970, p. 32-276.

Chapter III

BLOOMFIELD'S ASSOCIATIONAL HISTORY

The Middletown Associational Pattern, 1924-1935

The associational pattern of Middletown in the period from 1924 to 1935, as described by Lynd and Lynd¹ reveals new associational forms which can be identified to a considerable extent as the product of changes in the mode of production. Social life, which includes both formal and informal associational life, is shaped by a particular way of getting a living and the resulting divisions between the life situations of individuals. To demonstrate the accuracy of this statement, the interconnections among the way of getting a living, class formation, union, party and other forms of associational life will be laid out first for Middletown, then Bloomfield.

In 1890, the Middletown of small factories had been described as one of the best organized cities in the United States, but by 1924 large scale factories employed the vast majority of the workforce. Small craft unions persisted especially in the building trades but the glass and metal factories of the 1924-1935 period were never successfully organized. By 1935 a local elite, in concert with the national level union organizations involved in

Middletown, brought organizing efforts to a standstill. This failure to create successful industrial union locals in Middletown also had implications for the political party in Middletown.

Politics and the Party

In the midst of the depression, one Middletown observer characterized to the Lynds the general state of affairs: government had taken over most of the purely political issues, so local candidates, "too smart to befuddle the popular mind" with highly technical administrative problems, conducted campaigns on the vague issues of putting honesty into government, running out the gamblers in town, getting more Federal money poured into Middletown, wrecking the contractor's trust, and beautifying the city.²

City officials, according to Lynd and Lynd, are both ignored by the inner business control group economically and socially and used politically. Crime, (fraud by public officials), is a regular part of life, particularly in connection with liquor and gambling. There is a strong connection between local politics and local lodges, pool rooms and card rooms. A typical headline reads: "New Mayor places Third Relative on the City Payroll." There is much apathy about local politics but the citizenry still rises to the challenge for the national election. Unions are

still told to abjure partisan politics, yet there is a lot of political pressure on the factory floor. Battles, even during the depression, continued between the ins and outs around the issues of sewers, police, etc. Once the vital issue of the ownership of utilities came near being the subject of an election but an injunction halted the proceedings.

The lodge or fraternal order, at least until 1920, was the organization for the men of the town, but by 1935 the business class had their own organizations, and the vitality of both the unions and lodges, especially for working class men, had diminished.

Among the working class, the isolated man is apparently more common than formerly, as the decline of unions and lodges as social agencies, the disappearance of the corner saloon, greater mobility, and similar factors have combined to scatter the working personnel of a given factory, and no new organizations such as the business class civic clubs have arisen. Such statements as the following by some of the working class wives interviewed appear to represent a considerable group.

"He don't go to the lodge anymore. The picture show has killed the lodge. He just stays home and don't see anyone."

"He liked the man who lived next to us, but he's only seen him on the street once since we moved."

He just sees the men at work. He don't go to the lodge any more. The auto has ruined the lodges and everything else."

"He says he's just a lone wolf."³

Changes in Quality

Lynd and Lynd estimate that there are 458 clubs for a population of 36,640. They see not only a bigger Middletown, but a vastly more organized town. The 1915-1924 period seems to have been a period of working class integration, judging from the number of unions and lodges, the seriousness of intellectual life for the worker and the cross class social life which was still apparent. By 1930, cards and dancing organize all leisure. Social clubs organize card parties, and working people are more isolated.

As Middletown grew from the small town of the corn-belt, containing a few manufacturers in 1890 to the Middletown of the twenties to thirties period already described, certain forms of adult associational life were lost forever. The small craft union, the work exchanges between neighboring farm families, the neighborhood social life centered at the neighborhood school, the tent religious revival of the farm community, the workingman's educational association, the lyceum, the elite discussion group, singing societies, the serenade, the taffy pull and family reunion with singing, recitations and tableaux are forms best seen during this 1890 period.

By 1935, a large business class had emerged--not the elite of an industrializing town amidst farms of the 1890 period--but a major new group (one of every five residents) of middle class assistants to business and to

banking, who manage or serve the new factories where several thousand men labor in one large room, simultaneously. The business class is the dynamic group socially. Their style is formal, highly structured, and "organized." The best example is the card party, the business class's most popular form, arranged by the wives.

Middletown's emerging class, the business class has been created by a particular kind of productive arrangement and in turn creates new forms of associational life. The eclipse of the craft union and the social life which it engendered in the 1890 period is the result of the creation of a new way of producing goods, employing large numbers of semi-skilled factory workers. This new form of work life and the difficulties in creating organizations of the workplace (unions) had far reaching consequences for every aspect of working class social life in Middletown.

Lodge life plays a declining role in the lives of both the business class and the working class, but the working class is especially affected because new forms do not emerge in this period for them. The material on the lodges, provided by Lynd and Lynd suggests that the push towards inclusivity, in keeping with the earlier egalitarian ideals of the lodge, may ultimately have weakened the organization. It was unable to mediate the tensions between an emerging business class membership and the

working class members. Finally the business class developed its own social forms, the locality civic-business groups, like the Rotary and Kiwanis.

At the same time, women of all classes were shaping leisure forms which met their own social needs and in which their husbands could be included. Card parties were organized by all women, although working class women were members of fewer such groups. Their isolation is very marked and may be explained in part by the number of times the working class family moved during this period. The social retreat and isolation of both working men and women are both a reflection of and a cause for the failure to organize the major industries of the town. In an earlier era the lodge and the craft union co-existed; ties formed in one organization strengthened the other. Workers' lessened power in the 1924-1935 period resulted in increasing isolation. The union no longer provides a place of association and nonwork social life appears to be of diminished variety and richness. The void is filled with the movies and long car trips.

Bloomfield's Associational History

In the following section, the interconnections between a particular mode of production, union organization, political party and various forms of associational life in Bloomfield during the twenties, thirties and more thoroughly, during the period from 1947 to 1965 will be

presented. The study of this last period is based on information concerning economic changes,⁴ the Rosenthal and Blydenburgh study, Politics in New Jersey⁵ and Troy's work on organized labor in New Jersey,⁶ as well as a sampling of associational news in the local Bloomfield paper. One issue a month for the period 1947-1965 was analyzed, as a source for both news of associations of all types and for information about the climate of the period. The year 1947 was chosen because it was judged that associational life would be disrupted by the war and require a minimum of two years for a normal pattern to be established. The period ends at 1965, to allow approximately a decade to elapse in order to compare the 1947-1965 period with 1977-1978, the year in which the main portion of the information contained in this study was gathered.

The purpose for embarking on this is to establish some comparative data for the study of present day Bloomfield and to show how the various spheres of life have been connected in the past in order that contemporary Bloomfield will be simpler to analyze. Precedents for this task are relatively few.⁷ However, attempts to explain the birth of new associational forms and the perserverance of older forms, in relation to the history of a particular class and to unions and political parties, have not been made. National surveys have shown the

decline of certain types of associations empirically but without a parallel analysis of new important classes or strata, or the effects of external factors on community life. No explanation for the decline of associational life is possible without consideration of these factors.

In 1913 Randolph Bourne,⁸ the radical critic, described his hometown, Bloomfield, for his master's thesis. At that time, Bloomfield had a population of 15,000 persons, 95 percent of whom lived in the south of Bloomfield, the area near Newark. Bourne emphasized that life in the locality was strongly conditioned, even devitalized by the proximity of Bloomfield to Newark, despite the independent growth of Bloomfield as a manufacturing center in the nineteenth century. Residents shopped in Newark and unskilled wage earners traveled to Newark for popular entertainment. Bourne suggested that the skilled workers, who outnumbered the unskilled two to one in the locality, settled in Bloomfield because of "its religious tone." Elsewhere, the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics says that working-class housing conditions were the best in the state in the era in which the study was conducted. There were still 77 farmers in Bloomfield; it was only after the Civil War that the old families sold their estates in the south of Bloomfield for housing developments. Already the pull between keeping the area residential (suburban) and industrializing it was apparent. Rubber, pins, paper hats, cream separators, castings, electric lamps, machinery, drugs, and wool were manufactured by a work

force of 4886, including 1968 skilled and 873 unskilled workers in a population of 15,000. Westinghouse was established in 1906 in Bloomfield and had a work force of 1400 employees by 1913. Already a trend was established. Half of Bloomfield's residents worked in Bloomfield, and the remainder worked in Newark, New York, and elsewhere in the county.

By the twenties, Bloomfield was a major manufacturing town of long standing adjacent to a major port, Newark. Through Newark passed millions of immigrants. In the Bloomfield paper of 1924, we see that a wealthy manufacturer of textiles has given Bloomfield a settlement house where residents dress up in black-face costumes for events entitled "Gypsy Frolic." In 1924-1926, a period of labor unrest around the area, the Masons completed a new lodge in Bloomfield just as they did in the same period in Middletown. In 1924, the Kiwanis were only ten years old. Both they and the Elks sponsored Follies.

Bloomfield manufacturers during this era included G. E., Westinghouse, the car manufacturer Cunes-Henneberry Club, Frisco Chemicals and the Walter Kidde Corporation, a machine parts manufacturer who is still located in Bloomfield. All of these sponsored a Chamber of Commerce exposition which was attended by 100,000 persons. Rallies sponsored by the Republican Club drew hundreds; the Women's Club in 1924 heard Amelia Earheart and William Jennings Bryan speak. "Abolishing War" was the topic of one of their discussion meetings.

By the thirties, 500 properties in Bloomfield were being sold for taxes, and WPA grants were finally received by Bloomfield residents. The differences between socialism and Communism were discussed at the Kiwanis, and a hiking club was formed to walk in the mountains behind Montclair. One industrial worker to whom I spoke told me he first came to Bloomfield in 1927, at the age of 18, to join his brother who worked on the trolley. He had been laid off from his job at a textile mill in Providence, Rhode Island, when the mill closed. He arrived in Bloomfield during the depression; he remembers that they bought a single case of pork and beans and put their feet in the oven to keep warm. This worker had been a member of the YMCA in Montclair as a young single Bloomfield worker and had joined the hiking club mentioned above.

We traveled around, had picnics at Stokes Forest, streams running into a ravine. We went to Virginia, and to Armstrong, Quebec--hiking, backpacking and canoeing. We didn't hang around on corners.

When reminded of the 4th of July footraces in the twenties, he said that 500 would come from all over the state to a July 4th meet. He also remembers industrial league baseball, and dancing at the White Eagle Tavern on Saturday nights. "They had the biggest orchestras in the country," he recalls.

The Post-War Period (1947-1965)

By the end of the World War II, the United States had doubled its gross national product and Bloomfield emerged from the war still a major center for the location of large electrical appliances as well as for other food and machinery manufacture. This remained true until the late fifties; in 1959, G-E left Bloomfield. In the state as a whole, electrical machinery, chemicals and apparel remained the top three industries, employing 36 percent of all factory workers in the state up until 1962.⁹ However, enormous transformations of the productive life in the area had already begun. With export of the apparel business, employment in textile mill products had dropped by 35,000 workers between 1947, when the war ended, and 1962.¹⁰ The number of manufacturing jobs remained relatively constant from 1939 to 1962 after the sharp fluctuation in the early years. However, non-manufacturing jobs (e.g., wholesale and retail trade, services, government, contract construction and finance, insurance and real estate) climbed steadily.

The political climate was such that world news was still reported in the local paper; the Mayor announced his support for Truman's Food Plan. Food was collected and sent to feed Europe; fundraising appeals of all sorts characterize this period. Employees at one plant donated their entire wages for a Saturday to the local hospitals. Atomic power is already seen as a major threat but much

more space to devoted to the problem of juvenile delinquency, especially during the Korean war years. By 1953, the headline "Communism in the Schools and How to Combat it" appeared. The locality's power to determine its own fate received a sharp set-back with the building of the Parkway through Bloomfield during this period. The paper reported no protest to the relocation of 300 families.

After 1939, when the NLRB became effective and political bosses in New Jersey, like Hague in Jersey City, stopped harrassing the CIO, union organizing in the Bloomfield area met with substantial successes. The Westinghouse plants in the area, Delco-Remy (GM) in Bloomfield and Edison in Bloomfield were organized by the leading CIO union, the United Electrical Radio and Machine Workers (UE), the UAW-CIO and the IUE-AFL. However, by 1949, the UE was expelled from the CIO; the Greater Newark Industrial Union Council had opposed the vote condemning the Communist Party in 1946. The UE, with 42,000 members (1947-1948) split and the IUE later captured most of the membership. This battle between the AFL and the CIO did not end in Jersey with the national merger of the two groups but persisted at least into the early sixties.

Generally though, unions kept growing until 1953. In 1955-56, Westinghouse's plant in Bloomfield was struck, with 7000 workers out. Only 800 of the strikers accepted a Christmas loan from the company. However, despite this

militance, writers on New Jersey politics like McCormick² see the New Jersey trade union movement as relatively weak. Certainly the conflict between the AFL and CIO in New Jersey, and the loss of critical New Jersey manufacturing hurt organized labor. Throughout this period, Republicans dominated the town council in Bloomfield through political clubs in each ward, as well as the State Senate from 1915 to 1966. Corruption at the state and county level remained the rule through this period and up until the seventies.¹³

This period is the last in which local groups of business men can be seen to be flourishing. The Chamber of Commerce, the Merchants Association, the Business Association, the Kiwanis and the Rotary met regularly. As Lynd and Lynd explain, these groups are an expression of the interests of the local businessmen and allow for important socializing in the context of service projects. In addition to the unions, the Knights of Columbus was the most important new group for working men who are also Catholic. Their fund raising events, like those of the earlier fraternal orders, were to raise money for the needy among their own membership. The Elks had been in Bloomfield since the late 19th century (1870) and operated a sort of country club like facility, where the members socialized, played cards and had a drink. The Italians in Bloomfield also began UNICO during this period, a group which has survived through the seventies. The older

lodges like the Masons were not active during this period. In Bloomfield the Masons were mostly Scottish Protestants. The associations for veterans (The American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars) were both important as schools were organized for veterans and federal benefit programs were instituted.

For women, the Junior Women's Clubs and the Friendship Clubs continued along side the DAR, for the aristocratically minded, and the American Association of University Women for the college educated women. The Vice President of the United States spoke to the AAUW about Formosa during this period. In general there seem to be a declining number of groups and especially of special interest groups like the Quilt Club, Planned Parenthood Club, the Chess Club, the Music Study Club, and the Camera Club. Another group which no longer functions after this period is the Tavern Association which represented the interests of the many neighborhood bars serving the workers from the major plants in Bloomfield, especially the G-E and Westinghouse plants. Another type of association, the local politician's civic group, appears for the first time during this period. In later years this type of group will become an important Bloomfield associational form.

The late fifties and early sixties were characterized by the decline of union strength in the area as key industries relocated, and new unorganized industries

became increasingly important. The groups for local businessmen also declined during this period and their functioning became more sporadic. By 1977-1978, the Kiwanis, Rotary, Chamber of Commerce and Business Association are entirely inactive.

As small manufacturers closed their doors and major employers like General Electric left the area, a local elite who participated in the business groups of the town was dispersed. The regional developers of the malls began to contribute heavily to the expenses of the town and created a new type, the town developer, and a new group of regional developers who engaged in "economic development" as defined by the federal bureaucracy. All of these trends created a gradual diminishment of local elites, and explain the weakening of the local business men's groups. These changes are reflected in the elections for the town council; a few Democrats and a Democratic mayor are elected for the first time in Bloomfield's history in 1963. The fund drives are replaced by a nationally administered United Fund which is increasingly less well supported. The lodges are less in evidence and the industrial league baseball and sports in general are covered for the first time. The League of Women Voters, the Women's Republican Club and other associations for non-working educated women continue but will not survive through the 1977-1978 period as more and more women work outside the home. Children's activities, especially

scouting, appear for the first time during this period and structured time for children will continue to be the important feature of Bloomfield life.

The Newark riots of 1967 mark the end of this period. Bloomfield becomes more security conscious, less committed to improving race relations and a Taxpayers Association is formed during this period which signals the emergence of a particular type of anti-liberal, anti-federal government sentiment. The pattern of decline in manufacturing jobs continued after 1965 at an accelerated pace. One hundred eighty-five thousand jobs had been lost in the manufacturing sector between 1969 and 1975 alone. This is nearly a 20 percent decline in the manufacturing workforce from 1969 to 1975. For every hundred workers laid off, another 75 lost their jobs in the retail commercial sector.¹⁴ Government employment and tourism¹⁵ were the only sectors to grow between 1969 and 1975. Manufacturing in the state decreased in all categories except chemicals (drugs and basic chemicals) and printing. Thousands of workers were laid off in the electrical industry, apparel, fabricated metals, food, primary metals, and transportation equipment. In Table 4, each New Jersey sector is compared with changes in the national rate.

TABLE 4
NEW JERSEY CHANGE IN EMPLOYMENT^a
(1969 to MARCH, 1975)

Sector	Change in Employment	% of Change	
		NJ	US
Manufacturing	-158,300	-17.7	-10.7
Construction	- 28,400	-24.3	- 8.7
State and Local Government	+ 96,900	+33.6	+30.7
Service	+ 72,500	+18.4	+21.6

^aGovernor's Economic Recovery Commission Report, Vol. 1, January 1976 (State of New Jersey: 1976), p. 62.

Until at least the mid-sixties New Jersey's growth kept up with the nation's growth, unlike other north-eastern industrial areas, e.g., areas producing textiles, shoes, steel. However, by 1977, Peirce writes:

New Jersey has a problem with its image. Suspended between the massive urban centers of New York and Philadelphia, it still has some of the attributes James Madison ascribed to it--a cask tapped at both ends. There are places in America, like Oakland and East St. Louis, that suffer from what is known as a "second city" syndrome; only New Jersey could be said to have a second (or perhaps third) state syndrome. Even though it is, next to California, the most urbanized state of America, New Jersey lacks a single city of distinction. To recite the names of New Jersey's cities is depressing enough; the reader can test himself on the list of places like Newark, Jersey City, Paterson, Camden, Trenton, Elizabeth, Bayonne, Hoboken, and the rest. All have decayed alarmingly in the post-war years and have become cauldrons of racial discord. New Jersey is the most suburban state of America, suburban towns ranging from handsome to drab and ugly.¹⁶

Both the Labor Market Area and the state have an unusually large number of chemical plants and refineries when compared with the region as a whole. They also have exceptionally high densities, "free trade zones" where goods are assembled after they are imported duty free, and an unusually large number of services to business (finance, insurance and research and development).¹⁷

Corporations leave the area for a number of reasons which are described fully by Barnet and Müller.¹⁸ These include: (1) increased profits; (2) tax incentives for capital investment under United States tax law; (3) exemptions from state and local taxes for industries willing to invest capital in particular states or territories (for example see Schering Plough's tax savings from investment in Puerto Rico); (4) the savings in wages, taxes and energy (fuel oil, water) in the South or abroad, compared with Northeast-Midwest region; (5) the savings in health benefits and pensions which result from replacing an aging workforce with a younger workforce; (6) industry concentration which is accomplished by buying up the competition's operations, and then closing the less profitable plants; (7) the cost of refitting outmoded plants; (8) the weak trade union movement in the South; and (9) the laws of countries like Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong which forbid the creation of unions. To offer one example here, General Instrument left the Newark area and Chicopee, Massachusetts, (6,000 laid off), to build a

factory employing 12,000 workers in Taiwan, where employees earned as little as twenty-two cents an hour.¹⁹ Another reason for relocation is the low tax rates paid by multinationals to foreign countries because of transfers between subsidiaries of one company.²⁰

Workers' Power Shrinks

The inability of states or localities to control or negotiate effectively with corporations because of corporate strength and flexibility can be seen in the Westinghouse and Rheingold relocation cases. Very often the company announces its decision to leave the area to local elected officials and the union the day before it announces the decision to the press and long after a plant has been constructed elsewhere. But in the Westinghouse case, officials of the company negotiated with the unions and the municipality. A description of this process is provided by Archer Cole, Treasurer of District 3, IUE. He recalls that the Westinghouse officials listed their objections to the area: lack of lighting, the lack of police protection, and the presence of a porno theatre in the area, etc. When all of these had been dealt with by Newark officials, the company admitted that none of these were important. "It is the 3 million savings we will make in wages by moving to Florida that is persuading us to move. If you can do something about that, then we have another ball game."²¹

In the case of the Rheingold brewery in Orange which closed in December of 1977, Pepsico bought it because of a distribution battle which they wanted to win. They were never interested in making beer, observed the workers, who bartered away their vacations and pay raises after Pepsico promised to keep the plant open. After months of rumors and negotiations with town officials and the union, they closed the plant without notice. The men came to work on a Sunday night and found the gates closed.

This trend toward the relocation of manufacturing, which escalated so dramatically between 1969 and 1975, and the accompanying elimination of major factories and the creation of a new kind of worker in Bloomfield -one who may be employed in a service industry, or as a skilled technical worker shapes the pattern of associational life in Bloomfield. In the next chapter, the associational patterns at the workplace will be described; the impact of the relocation trend can be clearly seen in the new kinds of workplaces which Bloomfield workers have, and in the changed associations at the workplace. In the following chapters, the nonwork associational consequences of these economic trends will be described and in the conclusion to the study generalizations will be made which summarize the changes in Bloomfield's associational life between 1947 and the present day.

Chapter III Footnotes

- ¹Lynd and Lynd, Middletown, Middletown in Transition.
- ²Lynd and Lynd, Middletown in Transition, p. 320.
- ³Lynd and Lynd, Middletown, p. 277.
- ⁴Major trends in the regional mode of production may be found by examining the information collected for the Newark Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (Census) or by examining the data on the Newark Labor Market Area, which conforms nearly to the SMSA and includes the area of four counties from Newark to Morristown. Other important information for this metropolitan Newark Labor Market area can also be found in material prepared for the state as a whole. For the purposes of this thesis, the region is defined as the Newark SMSA-Labor Market Area. The "structural-functional unit" is world capitalism and this smaller region is a manifestation of the workings of a larger system.
- ⁵Alan Rosenthal and John Blydenburgh, Politics in New Jersey, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press for the Eagleton Institute of Politics, 1975).
- ⁶Leo Troy, Labor Organization in New Jersey, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press for the Institute of Management and Labor Relations, 1965); Leo Troy, Organized Labor in New Jersey, Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1965).
- ⁷Frederick Bushee, "Social Organization in a Small City," American Journal of Sociology, 51 (November 1945); Charles Warringer and J.E. Prather, "Four Types of Voluntary Associations," Sociological Inquiry 35 (Spring, 1965).
- ⁸Randolph S. Bourne, "A Study of the Suburbanizing of a Town and the Effects of the Process upon Its Social Life," (Unpublished Master of Arts thesis, Columbia University, 1913).
- ⁹New Jersey Department of Labor and Industry, Bureau of Statistics and Records, Non-Agricultural Payroll Employment and Hours and Earnings in Manufacturing, 1939-1962 (State of New Jersey, May 1963). p. 7.
- ¹⁰New Jersey Department of Labor and Industry, Non-Agricultural Payroll, p. 7.
- ¹¹Troy, Organized Labor, p. 92.

¹²Richard McCormick, "Organized Labor and Political Power," in Rosenthal, and others, New Jersey Politics, pp. 23-35.

¹³Peirce, The Mid-Atlantic States, p. 217, p. 241.

¹⁴National Chamber of Commerce, cited by Richard Lynch, Executive Vice President Emeritus, New Jersey State AFL-CIO (unpublished leaflet, 1976).

¹⁵"New Jersey Facts," Channel 5 telecast, July 4, 1978: Marvin Scott.

¹⁶Peirce, The Mid-Atlantic States, p. 225.

¹⁷New Jersey Department of Labor and Industry, Recovery, p. 67.

¹⁸Barnet and Müller, Global Reach.

¹⁹In conversation with Richard Lynch, State AFL-CIO.

²⁰Barnet and Müller, Global Reach.

²¹Hearings before the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources, "Plant Closings and Relocations, 96th Congress, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, January 22, 1979). In these hearings, see Richard Lynch's list of over 700 industries which have left the area over the last 15 years. Capital expenditures in Essex County have decreased from 1967 to 1972, a five year span, by 23 percent. Value added by workers to the price of manufacture has decreased 36.3 percent between 1967 and 1972 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, County and City Data Book, p. 715). In the Northeast-Midwest industrial region, General Electric has shut down the following plants: Bloomfield, New Jersey; Wooster, Massachusetts; Wabash, Indiana; Scranton, Pennsylvania; East Cleveland, Ohio; White Plains, New York; New Britain, Connecticut; York, Pennsylvania; Bristol, Connecticut and Cleveland, Ohio.

CHAPTER IV

THE WORKPLACE AND ASSOCIATIONAL LIFE

As we have argued, changes in associational life occur with changes in the mode of production as the craft worker and his union are replaced by the large scale factory and the industrial union. In comparing contemporary Bloomfield with earlier eras, our first task therefore is to examine the contemporary organization of production and its associational consequences. Using a variety of individual occupations, a majority of which are working class, the discussion will proceed from the conditions of the work itself, the organizations of the workplace and finally to the patterns of social relationship which characterize the workplaces.¹

The most significant differences being examined are between the older factory style worker, who was associated with a union and had a leisure life with fellow workers, and the newer technical service worker, who is more isolated because his workmates are not part of his community social life. This is the important fact of suburban life for the working class: the social relations at work, commuting distances, lack of unions, and other possible causes keep coworkers separate. Leisure does not include coworkers and coworkers are viewed for the most part, with indifference rather than with interest or affection.

One important finding of the study is the centrality of women and especially women who do not work outside the home, in shaping social life. Therefore, the conditions of everyday life for women will be described in detail and the manner in which associational life is integrated in daily life for women will also be described. The profiles of individual women are quoted extensively in order to define the context of each remark and the interconnections between what happens in the several spheres of an individual's life. The respondents' spouse is included because the relationships between men's lives and women's lives are a central dynamic in American associational life.

The Social Relations of the Homemaker

"Housewife" is the single largest occupation in the census description of Bloomfield. The most socially isolated of all occupations, home work nevertheless produces strong connections between women and their communities. The patterns of informal associating which stem from this job are enacted in the locality. Women who do not work outside the home overcome this isolation by talking to friends on the phone for several hours a day. These friends come from a wide variety of sources: church, Home and School Associations, children's sports, scouting, the neighborhood. Close neighbors who are seen or spoken to a great deal may have

been met at one of these community groups and then selected over time as a close friend because of proximity.² Social clubs do not play a role in the lives of those women to whom I spoke; this is understandable, as we will see when we look at the social clubs for women in Bloomfield. But church, school, PTA, Scouts, and neighborhood were all sources for female friends. Very often these friends would not be seen in person very often nor would they and their husbands be entertained together as a couple. The women to whom I talked in Bloomfield were all struggling with the question of returning to work. Friends all around them were going back, thereby transforming their relationships, often with the result that one woman would become suddenly unavailable for conversation to her unemployed friend. But even working women generally had several close friends who made frequent contact.

Women who do not work outside the home also socialize in person with their good friends and/or neighbors in informal visits ("Come for Coffee"), shopping excursions, and in the course of other errands to the center or the mall. (These errands are especially time consuming for women with more than two children and may include much chauffeuring.)

Some idea of the way the homemaker-mother role shapes social relations in the community can be seen in the following profile.

A mother and her clerical/administrator husband. Didi was returning to school before she became pregnant. She was

reared in Paterson, moved to Passaic where they had an apartment, and has lived in Bloomfield for ten years. Her mother worked part-time as a bank teller; her father was a salesman for a large corporation. She has five children. Before she married she worked as a secretary in New York. Her husband Ron works in one of the administrative offices of a local college; he has a high school education. She finds staying home more rewarding, but "it is nice to get a pay check." She believes that she could not work and raise a family because she would not be able to take care of the house. This is also the problem with returning to school but later she added that she was planning on returning before she became pregnant with the last baby. Daycare for small children would not be possible; she could not imagine anyone else telling her how her child was growing. In some ways "this last baby is really her first." She is enjoying her.

Her house, which she believes is too small, is the thing she would change about her job (in answer to my question) and her leisure, and the thing she would do if she could do anything. Her mother-in-law tells her "Stop thinking about it." She has carefully planned alterations to enlarge it, which apparently they have already done once. She enjoys reading enormously. She can "lose herself." Ceramics and gardening are activities which are creative and allow her to express herself. She also cooks elaborate dinners for friends and relatives every couple of months which she

finds satisfying. She saw some ceramic carollers--little singers which hold a small candle in their heads--at a friend's house. She loves this kind of holiday decoration and it was this that she was able to make in ceramics. Her children play basketball and baseball. Her husband coaches the girls' team and is involved with scouts. Birthday parties and events in which children are performing at school make for busy weeks even if there are no other planned activities, if you have five children. Her relatives are close. The father-in-law particularly visits almost every day since his wife died.

She is secretary for Catholic Sunday School, helps her husband with his scouts, and participates in fund raisers for Home and School. She has tried to find out about Junior Women's Club. She is interested. On the other hand, she would only join a union if she had to. "Unions cause trouble."

Right now in her life she is involved with the school, which she hopes her children "will get through all right." A tea that she gave for a retiring teacher is "one of the best days of her life." She and her friend arranged the tea for 126 people. She has been a class mother and helped with ard parties. "People are there (in the Home and School) to glorify themselves. They are out for themselves (and their children!). Last year they sent a letter: We are not a clique."

She explains when you have to round up a bunch of volunteers because you have agreed to head up fund raising--

a huge job--you call your friends. Sometimes "it goes further and some people are simply not welcome. Then factions are created." There are only a few leadership positions. "People complicate matters, hold on to their power, are petty, controlling, and there is a lot of 'name calling' and 'conniving.'"

The events themselves, the teas, the card parties, the fundraising fairs are cited as what people working together in groups accomplish. The sums raised are proof of their success. Last summer they had a fair for Muscular Dystrophy and raised \$74. They had a whipped cream throw, popcorn and circus music. The kids lined up. It was an answer to summer boredom.

Women's exclusion from work has created Didi's social life in Bloomfield. Therefore it is important in the study of social life to understand the barriers to women's full participation in adult life. All of the home working women to whom I talked wanted to be working at home. In other words, they, at least in talking with me, were positive about their decision to stay home; they saw the burdens of support as distributed equally between themselves and their husbands. My initial hypothesis was that homework was work of the sort that could be compared with work for wages. Yet my own experience with the homemaker role was that the isolation and lack of stimulation which exists for women alone at home raising young or school age children, the lack of fellow workers, the insulation from workplace issues and

thus from the realm of adult politics were the important features of this role. In other words, a sexist socialization followed by even several years of dependence as a homemaker result in an under-development which is difficult to overcome. Nothing in the Bloomfield conversations with women contradicts these early opinions. The dependency and the division of labor which is developed in the traditional family do result in a particular feminine sensibility.

But women who have always worked may continue to share a sexist ideology with their husbands which interacts with their perspective as workers. All women were asked, "Which are the most important characteristics of a job for you?" This question was asked with a card which listed some possible job attributes. (See questionnaire for list.) Women who did not work outside the home would answer this question as if for a job, choosing items like "pleasant working conditions, chance to use intelligence and creativity." All women who worked at home said that variety, interest and challenge were one of the two most important groups of attributes for a job. Pay, or pleasant working conditions or chance to use intelligence and creativity were chosen as the other attribute. The next question asked them to rate their present job as homemaker in terms of these attributes. They would try to fit these two realms together, as in, "Well, I do have pleasant working conditions here at home," or "this job at home provides interest and challenge but variety is not always present." In my view, looking at

homework as a job interested these women perhaps because I took it seriously. All of their comparisons between a job and the job as homemaker emphasized either the lack of variety or the lack of a chance to use intelligence. No one mentioned the isolation of the house, the "lack of goals which are shared by fellow workers" or "the lack of a sense of contribution."

Below is but one example of the game response which all these women gave. There are a number of probable causes for the strain in this statement:

Housework has a chance to use intelligence and creativity. . .and variety, interest and challenge. But you can get in a rut, especially with babies. It has creative aspects too like making doll clothes and cowboy outfits.

Certainly the women's movement has made this woman defensive about her choices and critical of them, but this response implies that if you are home and creative, it is all right. Being creative is a "should" for the women to whom I talked. Unfortunately having a career and being available to and responsible for the children are also "shoulds." The dissonance created by these contradictory three models, if they are all held at different levels and simultaneously in the mind, gets somewhat dissipated in psychological talk and soul searching with close friends over the telephone. The lack of knowledge about the real barriers to returning to work, for example, makes it difficult to choose any one model for very

long. Media pressures to return, financial incentives, husbands' pressures (a few women did mention them) and barriers to returning are all considerable.

Here is another example: "I feel my job as a homemaker is important; I don't have to work." Many women faced returning to a job that was far less prestigious, well paid and less powerful than that held by their husbands. The statement quoted above was followed by another which proved how competence in the present volunteer job is recognized. Then she added, "but my real job is providing security and happiness in this establishment." This phrase "my real job" refers to the way things really are. Providing emotional states for others becomes "a job." She adds, "I am in charge of the life of two human beings. Besides, I want the summers off and to be able to travel."

This quality which is shared by all the women's statements of doing with one hand and undoing with the other has been produced by the enormous changes in women's roles which these women have experienced in the course of their adulthood. Generally school age children's needs are not seen as keeping women at home, as we see in the honest added phrase about the summers and travel.

The shape of the women's work histories is further explained by one woman who remarked on the new freedom to put off having a family which younger Catholics feel. The implication was that she felt she had to begin a family immediately after marriage, less because she could not

choose not to conceive then because piety at the period in which she married required it. Church policy toward birth control and family changed for these women after their sexual lives as married women had begun and after some of them may have had unwanted children or at least unplanned pregnancies. Abortion would not be considered by many of the women to whom I talked (although this topic was not formally included in our talks). Medical discharges continue to be given which allow women to use birth control. Of course, the refusal to abort has profound implications for women's view of themselves as workers because their participation may therefore be interrupted, either for a few weeks or years depending on child-care arrangements.

For some women, the same barriers to work which keep them at home undoubtedly keep them married. In other words for some, divorce and going to work are a package. For many women with whom I spoke, divorce financed solely on the husband's income would result in a sharp change in living standards. (Nationally more than half of divorced fathers contribute nothing to the household of the former wife and children.) Most women with whom I spoke could not support themselves and their children with their current skills. (In New York State, the progressive displaced housewife program is designed to pay for retraining of women who are divorced and unemployable.)

The women's movement was seldom mentioned in the context of the decision to work or stay home, although some

traces of an impact on nearly every woman's life could be traced. For example, one woman said she realized at thirty that she could do what she pleased: "I don't have to answer to anybody." She attributed this feeling to the women's movement, yet she went on to say that "her creativity continues to be wasted." Then she added,

But I would not change anything about my life. I am content. In ten years I would like to be more content. In ten years, the shape of my life will be the same. The kids will be gone; possibly I will be working or go back to school.

Part of this confusion may well be caused by the need to be honest and defend the choices she has made when talking with someone who has made apparently the opposite choices. Generally with the women's contradictions, problems are not resolved on the cognitive level until they are resolved in real life, in action. However, the formulation of the choices is instructive. The problem "waste of creativity" is stated; an abstract and probably unknown quantity is being wasted. Connecting this lack to a real world of work is hard, especially with a limited educational background. Connecting it to the development of a home handicraft or art interest is even harder. For example, one resident, Judy, was valedictorian of her class. She worked as a secretary after high school for a while. The union came to her defense and got her salary raised and she feels "You need unions for protection." She stopped working when she was five months pregnant and has not worked since. She "likes being her own

boss." The children's needs "keep her at home"; she isn't considering going back to work while she has children. If she had it to do over again, she might have gone to college. "Look at all the things I could have done." before kids. She would rather live somewhere alone--no neighbors. The street disrupts her harmony. She would like to have a crafts store--she and her husband (who works for a utility)--but they would do separate things. She admits executing this plan would take a good deal of nerve. She wants a chance to use intelligence and to be creative in her work; she does not see housework as important--"anything you do in the home doesn't require much intelligence." She also would like a job where the supervisor does not breathe down her neck. She laughs: "He wouldn't dare!" She is referring to her husband.

She watches one soap and Barney Miller every day. She reads a lot and listens to music. Her favorites are Neil Diamond, Engleburt Humperdinck and Fleetwood Mac. She has always loved this kind of music and has followed it for many years. She loves to sew, to make things for her dollhouse (a surprise present from her husband) and to design her own needlework pieces. She talks on the phone several hours a day, she estimates, and usually twice a day to her mother.

Judy has served as a class mother and a library worker at school. She felt acutely like an outsider there. She says the same group dominates the school committees year after year; no friendship is forthcoming from them. You

are there doing a service and then you go home. She said it seems that they say to themselves. "I am now important." She offer that unions and the emergency squad are examples of what people working together can achieve.

Judy is concerned about the children her children have to associate with, particularly on their block. Recently a boy across the street has been persecuting her son. In response to my asking if she had heard about the satellite falling, she said.

"They only could tell us what they want." They're just down in Washington filling their pockets." What could she do? She could write letters, but do they read the letters? Yes, she does vote. "It's like the Board of Education meetings where they talk down to everyone."

Like almost everyone else I talked to she believes that run-away industry must be attracted back to Bloomfield by making Bloomfield more attractive. They have a right to go. It is not fair to workers here, but in the south they need the work too. Supervisory staff go along; just workers are hired in the south.

Judy has not ever been involved in trying to solve problems like these and in fact she agrees completely that "there's not much of anything the average person can do." "You need money to even begin to try so everybody just schleps along."

*

The marked differences between the work histories of men and women contribute to the division between men's and women's daily experience. Most of the work lives of Bloomfield

male residents to whom I talked have been spent with the same employers. Generally, the women worked before marriage and were not working at the time of the interviews. The four exceptions had worked before marriage and had returned to work after many years' absence. The woman with the greatest work experience had worked as a secretary, a sales clerk, and then returned to secretarial work because the hours were convenient.

Another woman had worked at the phone company and then had returned to front office work in a local business. The location close to her home and the job responsibilities were both seen as the desirable characteristics of the job. She also sold products from her home before returning to work; she says she dislikes selling but certainly this experience helped her get the current job. A woman did piecework at home assembling plastic parts. She had tried waitressing very briefly. A corporate personnel specialist in the home interview group had changed jobs once.

The work histories of men and women, when compared, demonstrate the difference between male and female lives in Bloomfield, which result in the profound differences in associational life and consciousness. The men, with the exception of the assembly worker and the construction workers, had the same jobs for a great part of their working lives, a span of between seventeen and twenty-seven years. However, even the construction workers either work out of the same union hall or for one company at different locations. This

continuity of work life for the men is contrasted with the women's work histories.

Almost every women with whom I talked had stopped work for at least ten years to raise a family. The difference between male and female work histories then is very marked, with these women reaching ages between thirty-five and forty-five with only several years work experience at the lowest income and skill levels, and with no other skills except those gained on volunteered jobs. They, with one exception, had worked for no more than three years before marriage as telephone operators, typists, secretaries and assembly workers.

One of the women does not follow this pattern. She is younger than most of the others, a college graduate and committed to working. She has a relative close by who provides daycare for a new baby.

A manager and an engineer. Laura was interviewed with her husband, Stewart. Both were raised in Bloomfield and moved back four years ago. They live in an apartment off Brookside Park. He attended a Technical Institute in Hoboken; his father was a guard in a plant and spent several years on the assembly line there. Stewart works as an engineer and supervisor of projects for a firm which manufactures weapons, mostly for the United States Defense Department. With regard to the decisions he makes at work, he answers that the team on a project sits down and does a self-critique and brain-storming. People are assigned tasks, however, and

there are performance reviews. He is amazed at how the young kids argue when they are evaluated! His pleasures include the Vermont ski house, wonderful cut throat bridge games at work during lunch hour, and participation in the golf league at work. We joked about what he calls inherited wealth--season tickets to the Giants games--handed down from father to son. He enjoys playing the guitar when he comes home from work. Last summer he took his father and sister on a trip to Ireland.

Laura worked after college as an insurance claims adjuster. Outside adjusters made more money so she and some others organized a strike. Now she works as a compensation specialist in a personnel department of "a paternalistic company." She travels some, and participates in management by objectives; she creates her own goals and then works toward them. Her salary increases are tied to her performance. She says she is not committed to staying with her company but happy for the moment. She says she would like to change the continuing male chauvinism at work. (She would not be at all bothered to leave workmates.) If she had it to do over again, she would maybe have gotten married sooner.

She says she "needed more information about careers. She would have liked to work with old people, but she has not found anything better than what she is doing. Maybe she would have liked to have been a doctor."

She said her favorite pleasure was the time alone with her husband. They "have a lot of laughs." She told a won-

derful story of fishing with him; she fell in and was being carried down stream. As her waders were filling with water, he pulled her out.

Laura and Stewart are not members of any association in Bloomfield. They would not consider joining a union; he says now the point is to keep unions out. Years ago they were useful; now management is smarter. They extend benefits and operate independently. Both agree that unions create situations where the simplest repair cannot be made because of union rules "so you wait one month." Both of them are concerned about acts of unfriendliness in Bloomfield--throwing rocks at the ducks, and uncivil behavior at the bank. Their answer to what might be done is to move. He feels air pollution is not as bad as people make out, although one could join a group. He will not, because he does not want to be committed. On the other hand, if somebody told him to go help on specific days he would.

Groups don't accomplish that much. One can't clean up the park or town employees get upset. Besides the problems start up stream. In Bloomfield it feels hopeless. Even if 10,000 people get involved, you have to educate people. There is no way to enforce litter laws.

In answer to my standard relocation question he explained: "Industry relocates because of the labor rates in the South. The problem might be solved by depressing union wages in the north or let the south catch up by unionizing the south." He says he has never tried to do anything about problems

like these but she fought against unequal conditions for women on her first job.

He agrees that the average person cannot do much of anything individually, but certainly can as a group. The only trouble is getting together. Initially Vietnam war protesters were draft dodgers but they did change things. She says she agrees there is not much of anything the average person can do but she did go to a demonstration of 10,000 people opposing the state income tax. She notes "that politicians will say anything. The system is corrupt and it's our shame."

This couple is exceptional in Bloomfield. The engineer is much more secure than most Bloomfield workers, and the manager will always be able to find work. She and he will share the experience of work, which will strengthen their mutual interests. Because of her relative youth and education, Laura has been able to avoid the anguish which other Bloomfield women experience when considering the topic of "satisfying work."

There is no doubt that the aesthetic pleasures of decorating and maintaining a house seemed to be appreciated by most of the home working women to whom I talked, although nobody likes to clean. Almost all the women were playing the piano on a regular basis or learning to play the piano (often from their daughters, who were taking lessons). One woman described her apparently very serious interest as an obsession which she felt she had to overcome. Many of the

women were attempting to develop their needlework, writing or cake decorating. These activities were invested with plans for the future and sometimes with hopes for new solutions to the work problem. The lack of a community of fellow artists or craftswomen, the lack of training, the lack of public acknowledgement of their efforts, the lack of pay for these pursuits seem an important barrier to the realization of these plans, or even for the further development of the interests. The fact that they are supported by their husbands may well be an obstacle to investing in further training.

One woman said that she thinks of doing something through her needlework, and then she adds: "I am really a creative person; isn't it a shame?"

Compare the sentences above to those of another woman who decided to stay at home: "I am afraid of boredom. That's why I am trying to shake my husband up. Earlier in the interview she said that she is "her husband's whole world; he has no other interests." "He can't provide everything; I'm growing. I'm going to find out who I am. I don't like a bunch of women but I am going to (an all women workshop)." Regardless of her husband's interests or lack of interests, her confusion between her needs and his real condition belie the baffling intertwining which exists in couples' perceptions of themselves. Self-exploration with other women like herself is seen as an antidote to boredom. Any investigation of "the

public sphere," the political or economic sphere outside the home is not considered. In this case the women's movement is associated with knowing the self, rather than the world. Self-knowledge is opposed to looking to a man for definition or to his looking to find everything in the spouse.

When children are at school, midday television dramatic series and novels are the two most popular activities for almost all the women to whom I talked. The television shows, popularly called "soap operas," depict the domestic and sometimes workplace lives of a small group of men and women whose tragedies, affairs, intrigues and family crises unfold over months or even years. Usually women follow at least two of these, which means that they watch for at least an hour every day. All women estimate that they spend 14 hours a week reading, at least, and this is the second most popular activity for women who do not work. (TV is the first.) Several women mentioned gothic novels as their favorite type of reading. Others read the latest best sellers, like Thornbirds. In my view, the intense interest in people shown by the enthusiasm for soap operas, which study character in "the human drama," is a product of social deprivation, a narrow range of social contact, and the loss of the public dimension which Sennett³ describes.

Emotional and intellectual involution is created by turning energies inward toward the house and self. Geertz,⁴

in describing another kind of involution, explains that involution is the product of colonial rule. Keeping women imprisoned, each alone in her own house, is a social experiment less than a hundred years old. It results in a pattern of dependency on a powerful other, and an over-cultivation of the same ground, with the same result, "self-development" year after year. This results in intensely introspective, emotionally sensitive "readers" who have the leisure to attend to new social fashion and consequently are often the victim of fashion developed by the media for other, more privileged groups.

The women's movement particularly has been a mixed blessing. In an earlier era, issues like girls' sports, men helping with housework, women's right to work and to a measure of independence, were relevant, but failed to emphasize both the sterility of the house and the sterility of the work in the clerical, sales, service and factory work which 80% of all women enter. The most confusing topic for many, judging from the women I talked to in Bloomfield, is why the home's possibilities of freedom are so difficult to actualize. The sense of getting away with something by being able to stay home is inescapable. There seems to be no reason why the life of the artist should not be possible when children are in school. Yet self-direction seems difficult.

The decision to work or not work seems to be the result of choice, but decisions are strongly influenced by

a set of barriers which are difficult to articulate but real nonetheless. Returning to work is contemplated by some women and they state that they like staying home.⁵ Several women who expressed no interest in working in the interview returned to work shortly afterwards. This was probably a topic which was subject to some censoring or editing, because of the choices which the interviewer had obviously made in doing the fieldwork.

No one expressed a desire to return to the jobs which he or she had previously held. One barrier to women returning to work therefore is their memories of work. Furthermore their skills are in lower prestige occupations, which may provide quite a contrast with the husband's present job.

Several women spent time trying to think of jobs in which they would have summers and holidays off to be with their children. The husband of one woman who had just returned to work made only one comment: "The holidays don't seem the same anymore." For nearly every woman, the summer and holidays were offered as the reason for not returning to work; in their view children could not be cared for through these periods without the mother at home. In my view, Bloomfield's summer program for children was too loosely structured to allow parents any security, but it is not certain that the program would have been used if it had been more structured.

For at least one woman, one who had worked on an assembly line before marriage (after quitting a secure clerk job when she found that the men were making more for the same work) her "lack of skills" are the reason she does not return to work. She recalled how, several years ago, she would spend an hour or more a day visiting on the phone with her friends. Now, they are all working.

Returning to work may also be complicated by new expectations. One woman who happened to be reading Passages⁶ at the time, said rather defensively: "I don't need a career to tell me who I am." Her ambivalence about going back to work had become ambivalence about having "a career." This woman had several children, enormous educational expenses and no college education. Yet her possible return to work, an idea developed in the context of materials about "career," becomes inflated. She worked as a typist approximately fifteen years ago. Her task is not to find a typist's job (after some refresher courses perhaps) but she must re-enter the world of work and begin "a career," despite the obstacles which she faces due to her educational background and limited financial resources.

Furthermore, when returning to work is discussed, at least in this family, the new salary must be high to start, if work is to cover the new expense for transporting children to school and clothing. Return is further complicated by the observation that "men want a

second career too." A wife's return suggests the possibility that the husband will be freed to explore new job possibilities. However, in most cases the wife's earning power is half the husband's; the idea is impossible for most families with children. After a consideration of all these problems, the wife's thought may be, "Why bother?"

One woman added that the choices between different careers were offered when she was too young to understand their meaning. There were presented in such a way that she felt that she was making a choice between home-family and career. Her choice, to do secretarial work, seemed connected to choosing family and home. Another college graduate remembers a nun at school (they called her "Rigor Mortis") suggesting they become stewardesses.

Children's ages and family finances both appeared to be factors in the decision to return to work but the single most important factor is undoubtedly the availability of an acceptable job. The fear of returning for most women seemed outweighed by the fear of not being able to return. For some, fears of the outside world are quite strong. In the hints of phobias among several women to whom I talked, the increasing incidence of agoraphobia, an undifferentiated fear of the outdoors or the realm beyond the house among housewives, may be reflected.⁷

Although it is tempting to think of changes which these women might experience as they are integrated into the work force, it should be noted that raising more than

two teenagers at once is a full-time job. Apologists for nonworking women and their true defenders re-emphasize that raising children is worthwhile, challenging, etc. In the profile below the shape and magnitude of this task, when the children are mostly teenagers, is apparent. Imagine this mother's efforts if they were to be combined with a full-time job as an operative.

Being a mother. Anita has lived in Bloomfield almost all of her married life, with the exception of a year in Irvington, right after they married. She grew up on Staten Island. Her father was a police captain with ten children. They have five children, fifteen to five. She says she had them before she knew any better. It was just what one did after marriage. She worked three years as a typist before she was married and eight months as a waitress in the Five and Ten when her youngest was two, "but it was too much aggravation." Now she does piecework at home, at least 90 to 100 hours a week. The kids help a little. However, this interview is conducted between us as if she were only doing her housework because neither of us considered the piecework work.

She told me the piecework for a plastic concern pays for the car and the kids' schools. She says she would love to work; they need the money. On the other hand it does not pay her to work; they would have to pay transportation costs for the kids' schools. (The older two go to Catholic high schools in nearby towns.) Besides she

does not want her life to be completely wrapped up in her kids (this is a reason for going to work outside the home); on the other hand, she cannot imagine working summer when the kids are out of school.

Her passion presently is her writing. She has taken two adult courses in a row at the Bloomfield Adult School in creative writing. She began because friends had always told her that she wrote wonderful letters. Recently she helped a friend write a terrific graduation speech and this experience also encouraged her. She also loves crocheting and camping. This summer they drove out west with everybody including her mother-in-law. She wanted to bring South Dakota back with her. "Anybody who doesn't believe in God and America should see Mt. Rushmore." We talked a little bit about the pressure on kids today--how they worry about the future; then we looked at her living room set which she waited seventeen years to get!

Anita is thinking about how to take her interest in writing and expand it. "The men want a second career too but how is it possible for them?" She says "I don't need a career to tell me who I am. I tell my husband I am going to get \$200 a week if I go back to work." He has been working a second job in a photo lab. He is a supervisor on days. He believes his company is being run to lose money for tax purposes.

She has been a class mother (PTA), a Brownie mother, and serves on Scouts' committees. She feels that her

goals are not clear enough, but in ten years she would like to travel. I ask her what keeps her going. She says, "I can balance the books and laugh at myself in situations." But then she adds, "How can you stop?"

In subsequent conversations, and after my own daughter had become a teenager, I talked to this mother again. One teenager was having a health crisis, another was choosing a college, a third was just entering the teens. These children did not need simply appropriate clothing, meals and transportation but guidance, supervision and love. All five were getting all of this from these parents, but a high cost in pressure to the parents.

To a great extent, despite the increase in work outside the home for women, women continue to relate to the community as men relate to their workplaces. Community life in a locality like Bloomfield is profoundly shaped by the roles which women have assumed in these communities. This aspect of the problem is of equal importance with the male's relationship to his workplace and the female worker to hers. The associational activity of the home working women, a major part of community life, has been shaped by child rearing, the shared activity of these women. This fact has played a more important role in creating community associational life than any other single fact.

Social Life at Workplaces Outside of the Home

Two sets of profiles will be used to summarize the most salient differences between the associational work-lives of Bloomfield's workers. The first profile shows how social ties formed at work do carry over into the nonwork residential life. The few couples in the sample for which this occurs are generally approaching retirement age, give or take ten years. Generally the younger worker (described in the second profile) is more isolated. Younger workers also tend to have jobs in the new and growing "new working class" occupations.

In the first set of profiles (the couple, Bob and Mary), Bob works in a sector of food manufacturing which is representative of an old system of production. His relations with his fellow workers both on and off the job reflect this older industrial pattern described by Alt⁸ and Kornblum.⁹ Mary has stayed at home for a number of years.

Bob is representative of that group of men who learned a skill as an apprentice and then worked all their lives in a factory as a semi-skilled crafts person, repairing the equipment of the plant. He has had therefore a long association with his craft union, one of the construction unions. (He collaborates with his fellow teammates and socializes at his union.) After work he socializes with the men from the job and union. His wife Mary and he live in a ranch home with a garden and lawn.

She has a diverse group of neighbors to draw on for friendship. Her best friend is another woman whose husband is a media manager. One of the things they share is their experience of the changing nature of Catholicism and its impact on their lives. Mary has worked hard for school, church and children's sports including soccer and Little League.

The husband of the second couple, Ray, is a technician who repairs complex electronic machinery. In his particular industry, speedup and merger seem the order of the day. He and Susan have five children; the youngest is five and the oldest is a teenager. After returning to work several years ago, she negotiated a day off to do household work and is generally delighted with her clerical/administrative job in an office.

Ray is representative of the most recent trend in the regional economy, the increase in the technical-service workforce. These workers are generally employed outside the immediate locality and in this case outside of the country itself. His wife Susan has joined the workforce in an effort to help her husband keep up with inflation. Mary, the wife of the first, has also very recently returned to work to help her family over a lay-off. Both of these women have worked at home for a number of years. Their connection as well as their families' connection to the community Bloomfield was shaped by their role as mothers and wives.

The steamfitter and his wife. Bob and Mary were born and raised in Harrison, New Jersey, had their first house in Belleville, and have lived in Bloomfield for thirteen years. They have three children, ages twenty-two to eleven. He left high school to support his mother. He has worked for almost thirty years as a steamfitter in construction. The last ten have been in the same factory. He would rather be a silver or soft sodder; it is more skilled. Years ago he wanted to be a police officer. If he had it to do over again, he would be a carpenter. In remembering the job (he has has been laid off), he also remembers working in the cold cellars, lying on the ground in the wet. Thirty-five degrees for eight hours a day have ruined his legs, he says. He would be "fairly upset" to lose the people he works with; he sees them at bowling, parties, weddings. At work, his foreman (for a two man gang) is supposed to lay out the work but in fact the whole gang discuss the job; the foreman is from his local and may have fifteen years less experience than Bob does. They may get a manager to intervene with the engineer if they do not like the plans. The most important elements on a job for Bob are: a chance to plan the work and good workmates. He rates his former job as good on both these counts.

He goes bowling with the men who were laid off with him, and this practice has continued after the layoff. All the team members in the bowling league know each

other. He explains bowling's pleasures to me: "You may have known your teammates for ten years. The company puts in a little money for corsages and beer, but you recruit for the team. Everybody kids each other a lot. When you bowl badly, they say, "'Oh, you stink!'" Three fellows on the present team are working; one of them is the president of the old company who is currently working as a salesman for the conglomerate which bought the factory. He expects to be laid off any day.

When the factory closed, Bob lost sixteen years of retirement money in his pension fund. He is fifty-four years old. Bob says the company has a right to move their operations elsewhere even though it "ruins" the local economy. He explains that industries relocate to keep costs down. In the south wages are lower; there are no unions. "Unions should be less grabby." Also taxes, Con Ed, sewage, water--everything is cheaper down South. "The city should give the companies tax breaks to get them to stay." "Corporations don't care." The union, he tells me, had meetings with the Mayor of East Orange (the location of the factory) and the company. Before the company actually closed down the factory they had accepted a number of concessions from the union which were offered that the factory might remain open. Bob calmly reviews with me these offerings of the union: no raises, half of workers' vacation time. I asked him at some point in the interview whether his participation in trying to solve

social problems had ever changed anything. He said his only participation is jury duty. Yet he spoke warmly and appreciatively about his union which is finding work for him. Already he is doing part-time maintenance work in New York City.

He used to belong to the American Legion and the Moose. They had good parties but work prevented him from getting to meetings regularly so he dropped out. Also Mary, his wife is not a big dancer or drinker, and they moved away from Belleville to come to their new house in Bloomfield. Bob spends alot of time doing carpentry projects in fixing up his basement. The interview took place on a snowy day of a hard winter. When I asked what social problems concern him he mentioned a terrible plowing job the town did on his street. Is there anything you might do, I asked. "No. No one listens to you. You could talk to the mayor or councilman; they are doing their best, but they couldn't do anything. The kids on the plow just don't know how to plow."

Mary worked after high school in the Transit Authority of Newark as a clerk. She found out that the men were making more for the same job and quit! Then she worked for four years on the line at RCA. She was in the union. She says she has no desire to work--no skills. Both Bob and Mary have been enjoying until very recently the pleasures of theater tickets, vacations to Cape Cod and Florida, a little extra money and only one child at

home. She was learning to play the piano when her mother died; she has not opened it since.

She has been a giants fan for years although she "deplores the violence of professional football." The Giants, she says, "is a team for those who always root for the underdog; oh to see them trying desperately to get it together." She loves to shop; she always looks carefully at everything in the handbag and glassware departments. She reads a lot, listens to music alone in her bedroom. She does not drive and when the children were younger she would walk hours every day picking them up and delivering them. Lately roaming dogs in the neighborhood alarm her. Several years ago, she remembers spending an hour or two on the phone with friends but now many of them are working. (Several weeks after this interview, I talked to Mary again and she had found a part-time job within walking distance, using her cooking skills.)

Mary had recently gotten involved in starting a children's soccer league in Bloomfield. Her son plays soccer and she has always liked the game. For eight years she was a den mother for the Boy Scouts. It was "a good experience for her." She taught them how to crochet. She wonders now whether Scouting offers anything to this current generation of kids; they are so sophisticated. We also talked about her former involvement with the Junior Women's Club when they lived in Belleville. She remembers playing pinochle with the women there in the evenings

while her husband babysat. The Women's Club worked on increasing involvement in the school board elections; their statewide project was unwed mothers. Mary is adamant about voluntarism in the schools; she has had it with contributing time and energy to the public schools; enough cakes for cake sales!

She talked to me passionately about the ordeal which the last years have been for traditionally educated Catholics. She spoke of her suffering over the constantly changing edicts on birth control use, and finally of how betrayed she felt by her church. She is opposed to parochial schools being funded with tax dollars; this is the issue which most concerned her and is the group she would join if she were going to get involved in anything. I asked her what causes people to do something about a problem. She patiently explained: People are basically selfish. They get impressed with the importance of an issue when they are personally touched. On the Vietnam issue she felt compelled to at least talk about it with others. She feels the protests were of small effectiveness. "To her mind, it took a long time to stop it." In a later conversation, she told me how all the wives of the laid-off workers got on the phone and talked about what to do. But nothing came of it; they did not know what to do.

The younger technically trained worker and an administrator/clerk. Susan and Ray moved to Bloomfield

fourteen years ago. Her father was an assistant manager in a garden farm supply chain. His father repaired machines on an assembly line. They have five children--13, 12, 10, 8, and 4 1/2. She has just working. Her other experience was as a receptionist at the telephone company. She likes front desk work; "she likes people but knows how to handle irate customers," but not selling. When she was raising kids, she did do some home demonstrations for Tupperware. She would prefer to be a hospital administrator but she would have to go back to school for this. She has done so well at her job that she has been offered two just in the few months she has been there. She "loves the people" at work and does see some of them outside work. She has some decisions to make at work. She can change rates and reject work. She has no say "of course" in policy, for example.

She likes the job and says that it has variety, interest and challenge, a chance to use intelligence and good workmates. Her husband has accepted her working, except to say that "the Christmas holidays don't seem the same." She would not consider joining a union at her job. "She's not a great one for unions. They often make the situation worse."

Her favorites are camping, ceramics and sewing. She loves to go camping with the family--"no TV, no phone." She remembers getting up at 8:00 a.m. and sitting with a cup of tea by herself in the woods, next to their camper.

Camping, the family becomes reacquainted, especially now that she works and her husband is often on the second shift. They "get to know each other again." Now that she does work the kids do chores at home after school. She does a load of laundry before work and one after and then prepares dinner.

She went to ceramics because there are things she wanted. At ceramics many items which you see in the stores can be reproduced. She needed lamps, and she enjoys painting the already molded ceramics objects and the group of women who go on her night.

Often on Saturday night they go out with another couple to a restaurant. They like to try different restaurants and different cuisines. They met many of these couples through the Bloomfield Home and School Association at their elementary school. Susan has had a six year experience with this Home and School. Her experience is good and bad--"depending on how well the members' priorities meshed." Mostly this experience was an "experience of serving." She says, "you learn tact" in dealing with the teachers and principal.

She is concerned about child abuse, which upsets her. She does not want to see children and their abilities wasted. "The Board of Ed looks down its nose." It is hard for her to worry about educational problems now that she is working. Some of the schools have gotten specialists. Although she is at a loss to deal with

problems about environmental pollution and radiation (my questions), she does know about the group in town, BEAG, and suggests working with them as a way of doing something. Taxes are cited as the reason industry has left Bloomfield; she agrees with the editor of the paper that services in Bloomfield could be cut, particularly the number of schools. Business does have a right to leave. After all they are out to make money.

She agrees that there are times when she feels that there is not much of anything ("especially around tax time") the average person can do about important matters. She would like to travel more, do something with the house and get new furniture. She would like to spend more time with the family, not worry so much about the house. Her personal goal is to lessen her husband's work load. He travels one hour each way and works some weekends, some evenings and many nights.

He is working as a computer repairman. His company, which he joined after high school, offered him a year's training so that he could service computers. He has moonlighted as a machinist but he does not do this now. He likes his job, or at least he did ten years ago (he has been in this job for fifteen years). He goes out alone, all over the five boroughs. In the past five years, due to changes within the company, about half the workforce has left and not been replaced. He feels he cannot do good work, the pace is so speeded up. He is called on for

weekend work and also works many evenings. He says, "It's common knowledge among the workers that they are using the profits for headquarters" (exporting them). His wages have not keep pace with inflation; there is a "merit system" which controls wages and which he believes to be unfair.

He has not "thought seriously" about leaving but recently his wife tells me he did go on one interview. After fifteen years, he does not think he can match his salary anywhere else.

He still believes that he could have been happy being a cop; the Bloomfield Emergency Squad, of which he is an inactive member, works closely with the police. However, you had to be twenty-one to join the state police. This force seemed to him an elite force; they looked nice; the operation seemed well run, responsible, dependable. He is somewhat friendly with his fellow workers; there is usually a get-together once a year, but "some only look out for themselves and do not care about the effects of their sloppy work on others."

If he had it to do over again, he would not come to this part of the country to work; he would like more room, lower taxes, more country. He feels confined in his house with its small lot.

He is waiting for a union to approach his company because there are other unions in the building where the

company's office is located. At work he can plan his route to some extent. They used to have a suggestion box, and he often made suggestions for modifications on the machines so they would work better. He would like to have his own business; then he could treat his workers the way he would like to be treated. Pay and variety, interest and challenge are important to him but the pay has slipped "somewhat."

Camping is his favorite activity. He loves to "get away with the kids." They can run around and do not have to be closely supervised. He and his wife talk and walk around, sit by the fire and talk. He has four weeks of vacation. He will use one while the kids are off school so they can sight-see in New York City. He also loved the Broadway plays he has seen recently: Annie, Sly Fox and The Magic Show. He loves the ocean, getting away in a power boat, out in the open. He lived as a youth in Lakewood, New Jersey, on the coast.

Beside the Bloomfield Emergency Squad, he was also an assistant scout master, but the chairman of the committee dropped out and no one else had the time to fill this gap. The squad, at least the original group, was very close and got together for picnics. In his experience with the scouts he was impressed with the planning and scheduling requirements, and how well they were fulfilled when the experienced people were active. Of late the emergency

squad has been "pushed around" by the state who passed laws which increase the time commitment unrealistically. In answer to a question he says he is concerned about several problems: his safety on the streets of New York, and the blocking of cars from Bloomfield College on his own street in Bloomfield. He says the police do not enforce the parking regulations. When pressed for what he could do, he said one could write a letter but that he "didn't know about a response." If the letter did not work, he says he would go to town council. Approaching the neighbors may not be a solution because they may not consider it a problem. Allhouse, President of Bloomfield College, cannot do anything because it is a public street; yet his parking lots for the college are crowded.

He does not know who to believe regarding the safety of nuclear power stations. He would like to see import tariffs imposed to protect American workers. He suggests writing to his congressmen. What would move him to do this? He replies, "You have to feel it yourself." In fact, he has been involved in three successful efforts to keep his neighborhood intact. The neighbors organized to prevent an unsightly driveway, a beauty parlor and an apartment house. He admits that these were three victories, but adds these are "not really like the big problems." He participated "just as part of a group." He agrees there is not much you can do, unless you group

together. There are "too many big corporations that control money and decisions more than any small group. It's a question of clout."

If he could do anything in his leisure, he would fly big planes and go boating more. He also would like more time for the house and car and for himself "to get in shape." His family keeps him going--"after all you don't want to be on relief." Seeing his family happy--all out together and all happy at once--is his joy.

These sets of profiles reveal the difference between workplaces in terms of social relationships for an older, unionized semi-skilled manufacturing worker and a younger technically trained nonunionized service worker. The technical service worker is more isolated at work and fewer of the ties formed at work extend into his nonwork life in the community. As we have seen in the chapter "Entering Bloomfield," more and more of Bloomfield's workers will be working in situations which resemble the more isolated pattern. The older worker who has close ties to fellow workers and to his union is the exception in Bloomfield. The older woman has been connected to the community through her children; the younger one has largely replaced this tie with a very harried schedule.

In general, people like their fellow workers yet would not mind leaving them for another job. Dubin¹⁰ shows that workers "are no longer interested in work" as a

source of friends or meaningful social context. He implied from this finding that workers are interested in leisure. But these responses might also mean that the job comes first, far ahead of any social relationships at the workplace, partly because work fails to provide a social context for workers, even on the job. As we will see, relations between people do not deepen through the tasks which most of the occupations studied offer because of the limited share in decision making which they allow. Most jobs are not unionized; therefore there is no chance for socialization through this mode. Most commute to work outside the locality as was seen. All persons to whom I spoke, with one or two exceptions, said they would not be "at all bothered," or "much bothered" by leaving their fellow workers. One engineer, in the profile below, plays golf in a company league after work. Another manager sees his fellow workers (business associates) socially. One new woman worker who is happy working, likes her fellow workers and would be unhappy to lose them. Generally, however, social relations stemming from the job, for example the number of friends seen outside of work who were met initially on the job, or the attachment to people at work, no longer seem of much importance to Bloomfield residents. With one or two exceptions, no one sees fellow workers outside the workplace. For many, this is certainly a function of physical inaccessibility. The fellow

worker may live a hundred miles from his workplace and even a greater distance from his fellow worker who lives in Bloomfield.

Unions and Associational Life

This section will examine the implications which the social climate at work, which we have seen, has for the formal associations of the workplace, unions. A majority of the Bloomfield workforce are not members of a union. This statement is in reality a deduction based on the extremely low levels of unionization in most of the occupations of the workers of Bloomfield and the fact that 70 percent of the New Jersey workforce is not unionized.¹¹ As Table 5 summarizes, the electrical workers union, according to Byewater (District president of IUE) lost nearly half its members in relocations in New Jersey between 1957-1975. Judging from the small group to whom I spoke and from labor data sources, union leaders, and a lawyer for the trade union movement, there is very little attempt to organize or reorganize unions in workplaces in New Jersey. Ofcourse the number of election defeats in organizing efforts, and the failure to change the labor laws (in 1978) are factors (see Table 5).

Of those men and women (about half) who said they would not join a union and criticized unions, the complaints are offered not as problems to be solved by

TABLE 5

UNION ORGANIZING EFFORTS NATIONALLY

Industry	Which Industries Are Unionized? ^a	
	%Unionized	Total Industry Employment
Contract Construction	69	4.0 million
Transportation & Utilities	69	4.6 million
Mining	54	0.7 million
Manufacturing	46	20.0 million
Government	21	14.2 million
Services	13	13.6 million
Finance, Real Estate and Insurance	1	4.2 million

	Unions: More Tries, Fewer Wins		
	No. of Representation Election	% Union Wins	No. of Workers Added to Unions
1960	6380	59	286,048
1970	7773	56	307,104
1977	8653	48	204,237

	Losses in Decertification Elections ^b		
	No. of Representation Election	% Union Wins	No. of Workers Added to Unions
1960	237	69	8,695
1970	301	70	8,558
1977	849	76	22,398

^aDollars and Sense 39 (September 1978):6.^bIbid., p. 7

unions but as reasons for them to cease to exist. These attitudes occur even though almost all those union critics had parents who were in unions. For example, union rigidity in protecting job descriptions is seen as inefficient.

Of those involved in unions, something about the way they are held can be discerned from the phrase, "ATT benefits are out of this world." The union is not mentioned by name although the speaker's reason for joining the union reveals that he understands that it is the union and not the utility which is responsible for the benefits: "I am a member because there is strength in numbers." The same speaker explains that there has not been a meeting of the union at this workplace for five years. The workforce has shrunk to 1/22 its former size. A transfer or relocation would be very inconvenient for this unskilled worker. The contract is negotiated in Washington. This last explanation for the dearth of union meetings is offered immediately. The local plays no role; therefore there is no reason, in this worker's view, for a meeting. There is not bargaining over job control but only over economic issues. These older industrial unions and in fact all major unions in New Jersey have been very hard hit because of relocations and the failure to organize unions where companies relocate. Internal communications are difficult for them to arrange because it takes funds to stay in touch with their membership.

It was my impression in Bloomfield that many workers understand that a smart management can deliver on the demands of money and benefits, if these are all the demands which workers make. In other words, workers appreciate the corporations for their intelligent efficiency and their ability to produce solid benefit packages.

The Assembly Worker. Tony moved to Bloomfield four years ago from Newark, with his family, which included his mother-in-law. They bought a single family house. He went to Bloomfield High School, as did his boys--eighteen and twenth-two. His father was a maintenance man in a factory. He started to work after high school in a factory and has continued with this work ever since. His favorite job was as a senior quality control representative which required him to travel to other plants and discuss the quality of the parts manufactured with other supervisors. He is working now at a plant in Jersey as a quality control man. If he had it to do over again, and he says "I have gone through it nine million times," he realizes he should have stayed in the army and gotten more training.

In answer to my question, he says he would like to be rich and live off stocks and do volunteer work or own a little candy store. In discussing career he says he did not understand, as a youth, and said to himself, "I'm going to work all my life, what does it matter." He says

his job has neither challenge, interest, or variety, nor good pay. I ask, "what can he do?" He answers, "get off your butt and look." He compares himself at work to a donkey with blinders, tired, and in the same rut.

"This is the way of the cross; I have to be satisfied. I have five more years. There is no revolt," he explains, "because they have standard procedures." Besides somebody has to do the work. I suggest that all this sort of boring work might be shared. He answers, no, everybody cannot cope with interesting work. "The foreigners can do the boring work;" my plan, which he agrees is a little wacky, would be wasting talents, he believes. Also, people might be afraid they could not do the interesting work. Then he adds, guys there make six dollars an hour pushing a broom. Still the unions keep pushing for more. Some of those guys that have been working in the plant forty years are lost if they change the design of a part. He is a member of the union, but says, "that his local is lousy--sweet to management, but it is democratic." Most members are between forty-five and fifty. There is a fear of layoff; the union is in no position to fight.

Conditions at the actual workplace or even low wages and poor benefits seem the least of this man's worries and therein lies the problem for his union. The forces which threaten to overwhelm him, like the unemployment of his

two young sons have little to do, experientially, with what goes on on the line every day. As Sennett¹² shows, working men like this will work three jobs to protect their children, and this man does.

Unfortunately, this condition of the unions is certainly not improved by the distance of social ties on the job. In most cases, the older industrial unions have budgets based on revenues, a majority of which is not dues related.¹³ But this is but one explanation for a whole set of union priorities in an era of precipitous declines in membership. The pension issue rather than organizing would far outweigh any other issues for unions in this period. New women workers have almost no experience with unions, and they appreciate their jobs tremendously.

Another unskilled younger man, Tom, has seen that facilities shrink and that all those around you can be laid off. He constantly fears lay off. Unions do get him good benefits but so far they do not address directly his fear of being out of work after fifteen years. Nor do they help him gain a skill which might protect him later. He has mastered his ambition; his wages are good and his leisure does compensate him, with its rigorous and serious recreational interests. But his wife confides that she wants a bigger house. For a warehouseman, for example, in a corporation which has moved its operations, his union, his fellows at work and he himself accept that they make no decisions of any importance at the workplace. He has

seen the union cooperate through the period of personnel shrinkage. He does not want supervisory duties at the workplace because, as he puts it, "he doesn't have the right attitude."

One older industrial worker, George, whose plant was bought by a multinational and then closed, has seen that the mayor of East Orange and the Union are no match for the representative from Chock Full of Nuts. He has learned that profits are more important to the corporation than the detrimental effects of relocating a plant employing hundreds of workers. Certain workers have moved from involvement with their work to a more machine-like application of their skills. The engineer, the servicer of machines, the draftsman (an example offered by a construction worker's wife) have experienced this progression and commented on it in the interview. Speedups on service and repair of machines is very likely because of the absence of unions in the growing electronics-computer area and the nature of the work in technical services.

An older crafts worker, Harry, who has been involved with the union local in a leadership role feels inadequate to cope with the pressures which unions are under in the area. He says he fights speedup all the time in the construction industry. He also wants "to get close" to the boss; he likes his sporting friends to be salesmen and doctors. He attacks the left for their lack of alternatives and calls himself a "half-assed socialist," a

fan of Gompers. Construction workers are famous, he explains, for their good wages, versatility, and resourcefulness; they can always get some kind of work. But these men who have been affluent for the last twenty years need to make a great deal of money. As they get older, they do not want to work as hard because of the physical strain which construction places on them, and they certainly do not want to be the boss on the job; they are conserving their energy, and rightly so. These workers especially move all over northern New Jersey, from one construction site to another within the area. One worker in the region knew nobody who worked with him who lived in Bloomfield.

The ties which might extend from work into the community life have been broken, and the formal organization of the workplace is an endangered form; the disruption between work and home is both cause and effect. In an opinion poll conducted for the Department of Labor by the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center, 33 percent of those nonunion workers polled would vote to join a union if given a chance. The North Central region of the country was the most anti-union.¹⁴

Of course, the single most important reason for union decline has been its impotence in the face of corporate might.

Connecting Work Dissatisfaction With Formal Workplace Associations

Questions about job satisfaction and job attributes were used to measure the amount of dissatisfaction with work. Anger about the conditions of work has a complicated relationship with the expression of that anger in unified action. Because of the extreme fragmentation of the working class community the diversity of occupation and employer, anger does not connect with increased solidarity.

Only three persons could think of a more desirable job which they had held in the past, despite the fact that they had complaints about their present jobs. (Clearly their limited work experience is a factor in this.) One supervisor preferred his Coast Guard job which had variety, autonomy and excitement. He handled shipboard emergencies as a damage controlman. The assembly worker had preferred his job as a senior quality control representative which allowed him to travel to other plants to check parts. The only job changers were several professionals. They described their old jobs as "routinized, overcrowded"; "I felt like a clerk"; "people screamed at you on the phone." Two women left jobs before marriage when they found that the men were making more money for the same work. One younger woman had organized a strike around the question of women wearing pantsuits to work, on a job which she left after one year.

Nearly everyone had some complaint about his or her job; although no one admitted to being actively looking, a few then were, according to their wives. The supervisor or the technician and the unskilled all complained of speed-up. In the case of one worker, overtime demands and a merit system (which he believes is a quota system) cause him to be actively discontented. The unskilled suffer from boredom, worry over transfers and the exhaustion of physical work which is often accomplished in the cold and wet. "Young legs" is a term in the construction industry which suggests the wear and tear on older men. One woman would like an electric typewriter and better chances for advancement but the hours are perfect for her. This is a most important characteristic because she has elementary school children. Apart from simple survival, workers are kept on the job by the benefits, the "easiness" of some unskilled jobs, their ages and the salaries which they could not match starting out with a new company, or their liking for the job. Two would prefer police work and a third wanted to be a policeman but the Vietnam War protests changed his mind.

Most women literally could not imagine a better job. Of course this is not a measure of their contentment necessarily; it could reflect limited work experience.

Only one of the workers, male and female, had no regrets about her choice of work. She would not choose a

profession if she had it to do all over again because she still feels that she would be choosing against her family. In some ways she is the realist. Several men who did not go to college say they would have gotten more education if they had it to do over again. Another worker regrets not getting more training in the Army. Many regret not travelling more when they were younger, because now it is simply not possible.

For all workers, "variety, interest and challenge" is the most often chosen set of job attributes. With two exceptions, these are listed first or second by everyone.¹⁵ A construction worker who had worked as a team with two other friends said that a chance to plan the work and good workmates were the most important job attributes. Helping people was mentioned in the case of a service manager. Good pay is an important attribute for several who are poorly paid.

When comparing how the jobs they hold rate in the terms they have chosen, above, their own jobs are rated as good by the unemployed (in this case their past jobs) and by several manager-administrators. The assembly workers assembly worker who valued variety, interest and challenge and good pay said that his job had none of these attributes. He compared himself to a donkey wearing blinders. Of course, almost everyone had some major qualification. For example, the job may have "variety, interest and challenge," but the pay is slipping in the

past years. Unlike the assembly worker, some workers are not willing to invalidate their rather arduous and anxious life so easily.

In further explaining why workplace associational life seems at such a low ebb in Bloomfield, the experience within a major corporation (ATT) which one of the men had will be described. This middle manager, although not anti-union, is the most pro-corporate of those participating in the study's home interviews.

A Middle Manager. Steve got married and moved to Bloomfield fifteen years ago. He was raised in Jersey City, then moved to East Orange and then to Bloomfield. (This pattern of in-state migration is common to most individuals interviewed.) They have two children, a boy twelve and a girl eleven. He went to work for the company after high school, starting in the mailroom, moving through collector, sales rep, assistant manager and is now a supervisor. He manages an office of twenty to thirty-five men and is spending this year as part of the corporate staff thinking of ways to do the job better regarding methods. He also deals with federal regulation. His father was a supervisor at a tire plant, shipping department-building maintenance. His mother worked as a salesclerk before and after kids. He volunteered for the Coast Guard (after high school) and spent four years. "It was a good way to get away." He thought about being a cop after high school, but had to be twenty-one. He really had "no game plan."

The ambiguities in the job (the fact that he writes practice, but does not make policy) drive him crazy. All decisions are overseen; but responsibility is not clearly defined. He liked his job in the field (before he came to corporate staff). It rated high in helping people, and in variety, interest and challenge. It has less variety than the staff job but more immediate feedback.

He has been involved with Scouts and Little League, and gives eighteen hours a week to the emergency squad. This came ahead of everything else which he does in his leisure time; even, he admits, often ahead of his family.

The squad has given him a chance to learn and to escape--"when he is involved he forgets everything else--it's a big high." He does his twelve hour shift, goes to meeting and training. When I asked him what groups accomplish, he told me that "a camel is a horse made by a committee." Then he said, "people working together accomplish a great deal, unless they are only working toward their own ends." The squad is constantly recruiting because it is hard to find dedicated people.

A social problem which concerns him is the reluctance of people to get involved and the inclination of the government to get too involved. This could be cured if people were more informed. Then they could vote more intelligently, voice their opinions at town meetings, write letters to their congressmen. But he (the opposite), he is "a doer."

Regarding environmental pollution, he believes that people have to be willing to pay for what they want. "Who should clean up is a continuing problem related to taxes." On runaway industries he says that they are actually starting to come back.

He agrees that there is not much one can do about the big problems and that important matters are decided by a small group of powerful people--but there is an exception--"getting involved, being aware, getting heard."

This couple said they liked talking to me; we sat and watched TV together after the interview and he told me that the company sends him out with other employees to visit stockholders, "to tell them about the company, to let them participate in running the company."

As we have seen in the profile, Steve is very identified with corporate views (on pollution, for example) and is quick to deny the effects of corporate relocation policies. He has risen far in the company and as part of management, sells the company to its stockholders. This last experience certainly requires familiarity with handling questions about corporate decisions. How widely his experience is shared nationally among people at his level is not known.

Decision Making at Work and Its Implications for the
Social Relations of the Workplace

Those workers who are happiest at work are generally those who have their minds most involved with the goals of their companies. They are attempting to solve the problems which intervene between the company's goal of increased profits and the achievement of the goal. The big decisions which are made at headquarters related to these goals are so large that their magnitude prevents the worker from noticing them. For example, the engineer does not participate in decisions regarding the organization of the work or the foreign policy implications of company choices although he does supervise a team where problems about the work are discussed and schedules dovetailed. Another worker participates in setting his own goals within the company's course. Instead of a supervisor monitoring goal accomplishment, this worker contracts to reach certain goals in a fixed time period. For most workers the boss' evaluation is still critical, despite the emphasis on "teamwork."

Another service worker works within a finance institution as a financial-psychological counselor. When asked if he shares in decision making at work (the question: How democratic is it at work and what decisions do you make with fellow workers?), he answers that he can tell direct subordinates what to do. He regulates his pace less than the assembly worker because of the high

service ideals of his job. Procedures tell him what to do; they are developed by those above him or by him. "The process works," as he puts it; "great injustice will be corrected." "Teams" with a strong captain are used here to parcel out the work and to solve problems.

These descriptions of what occurs on the job help to highlight the problems of a structural nature which individuals must surmount if they are to change work conditions as a group. As we also see, unions are faced with major impediments, and may in fact be moving toward extinction. The industrial unions failed to control corporate disinvestment and Bloomfield's anger at workplace conditions does not fuel union activity. This can be seen in the declining national figures for union membership and the increased difficulties of certification in areas with work forces similar to New Jersey's. At the present rate, we could witness the death of unions by the end of the century unless unions like the Communications Workers of America, the unions of clerical workers who organize industries which provide services to business and other organizations of the growing service and/or professional sectors make great strides in the last decades of the twentieth century. Despite the union's destruction by Reagan, the air controllers' strike of 1981, with its internationally coordinated job action, and the state federation of local groups, e.g., Mass Fair Share, which organizes around tax, utility and property

issues, (in communities in advance of Bloomfield in their decline), both represent possible new directions for the organizations of working people.

Conclusion

Men are generally isolated and not integrated into community life (i.e., few overlappings occur from sphere to sphere for them.) But they do have an attachment, not quite as adults, but as parents through their children's lives. They have few other means of connecting up with adult values in a nonwork environment and little strengthening of the weak workplace ties through community association or "after hours" social life. Women workers with families are overwhelmed; housewives are tied to locality life socially and their focus is on children's interests--perhaps because rearing children is their chief claim to being workers too. The division between the social women (including the working women) and the isolated men, the caretaking and protected women and the hard-working men is very marked. But this last will become more striking in the next chapters. Women's roles, as traditionally formed, are probably not too good for women. The style of their associational interaction, both formally or informally, bears traces of their oppression, their lack of freedom. This creation, a community life by women, will be discussed in the following chapter on the social life, both formal and informal, of the community Bloomfield.

Chapter IV

¹For this chapter, interviews with a labor lawyer practicing in Newark, local trade union leaders and several trade union experts were used as well as corporate annual reports, and the individual home interviews. The section of the home interview on work was constructed employing questions from the studies of Young and Willmott, The Symmetrical Family, Goldthorpe and others, The Affluent Worker; Report of a Special Task Force, "Work in America" and from both Middletown volumes.

²Mirra Komarovsky, Blue Collar Marriage (New York; Vintage, 1967) Komarovsky finds that, for her population neighborhood was the primary source of friends for working class women. Another source was old high school friends.

³Richard Sennett, The Fall of Public Man, (New York: Knopf, 1977).

⁴Clifford Geertz, Agricultural Involution: The Processes of Ecological Change in Indonesia, (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1971). Rochelle S. Albin, "Has Feminism Aided Mental Health?" New York Times, June 16, 1981.

"In little more than a decade the feminist movement, some recent research suggests, has already had a beneficial effect on the mental health of women. That observation has been made repeatedly as scientists take on the difficult job of assessing how an improving job market for women has affected their emotional wellbeing. The conclusion persists, despite criticism that it is premature and that the elements in the issue are too vague to define rigorously. Among those who see a clear relationship between feminism and mental health is Dr. Grace Baruch, a Wellesley College psychologist. Following her new study, she declared: 'The mental health of women has improved with the women's movement. Feminism leads to equality and equality to mental health.' In 1978, Dr. Baruch and Dr. Rosalind Barnett began to study almost 300 women from the ages of 35 to 55. Interviewers asked the women about their work and family life, their expectations and satisfactions. They found, reports Dr. Baruch, that 'women who work enjoy greater self-esteem and suffer less anxiety and depression than women who do not work. The prestige of a woman's work, as one might expect, had an added impact; Those in high status occupations showed a greater sense of mastery--a feeling of control over what is important to them--than other women. 'Marriage and children did not affect feelings of mastery,' Dr. Baruch says. 'Nor did the presumed strain of multiple roles. The women with the highest rates of life satisfaction had both families and high prestige jobs.'"

⁵N. Belloc suggests a significant link between employment and female labor force participation. Examining data for metropolitan areas, she found a positive correlation between the labor force participation rates of women and the predominance of services and light industry in a city's economic makeup. Quoted in G. Smith, The Changing Woman Worker: A Study of the Female Labor Force in New Jersey and in the Nation from 1940-1958 (Institute of Management and Labor Relations, Rutgers, the State University, n.d.). Periods when wages are high and jobs go begging, and periods when husbands are laid off are both times of re-entry for women (Smith, pp. 15-17).

In "An Overview of Women in the Workforce" by the National Commission of Working Women, age is cited as a factor. Nearly 7 out of every 10 women born between 1954-1958 are now in the work force. The overall percentage of wives in the labor force was largest--51 percent where the husband's income was between \$10,000 and \$15,000. At the \$15,000 to \$25,000 level of husband's income, there was a clear dropoff in the percentage of working wives, down to 44 percent. The sharpest dropoff was for mothers of children under six whose participation was 28 percent in this income class, as against rates in excess of 40 percent in the two lowest brackets. At the top bracket, a husband's income of \$25,000 or more, the percentage of working wives fell to 33 percent. The rate for mothers with children under six was 19 percent. For women with older children, the rate was 37 percent, and for women without children, it was 34 percent. Ann Draper, "Why Women Work," AFL-CIO Federationist, May 1977.

⁶Gail Sheehy, Passages (New York: Dutton 1976). A study of adult development, particularly among the 'successful'.

⁷B. Delatiner, "Housewife's Disease: Agoraphobia," Good Housekeeping #184, June 1977, p. 84ff.

⁸Alt, "Beyond Class".

⁹Kornblum, The Blue Collar Community.

¹⁰Dubin, "Industrial Workers' Worlds".

¹¹Troy Organized Labor, p.81. Fifty-six percent of the county's work force is unionized as of 1965.

¹²Sennett and Cobb, Hidden Injuries of Class.

¹³Lynda Ewen, Corporate Power and Urban Crisis in Detroit (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978) page 263.

¹⁴"Attitudes Toward Unions: A Survey," Dollars and Sense (September, 1979) p.9.

¹⁵This is of course the central finding of the Report of a Special Task Force, Work in America.

CHAPTER V

THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE OF BLOOMFIELD

In this chapter, the social activities of daily life of both a formal and informal nature will be examined. The whole of social life for the locality --formal organizations, sports, get-togethers with friends, television, shopping --all will be surveyed in order to give a picture of everyday social life in Bloomfield. Political life, including instrumental voluntary associations, will be treated in this chapter.

This first section begins with an overview of a typical week and its activities, including the activities' meaning to the participants and attitudes about leisure time and social life. This establishes a context for the more detailed examination of particular activities and groups. In the second section, differences between leisure style and occupation, and more importantly for Bloomfield, differences between the male and female experience of locality social life will be described.

In the third section, the formal organizations of the locality, will be briefly surveyed. This section includes discussions of the role of the Home and School Association, Scouting and other, often sex-segregated, groups for

men and women. A description of the most important Bloomfield activity, sports, will conclude the chapter.¹

After Work and The Weekend

With the important exception of a Scouts meeting or a children's sports event on a weekday night, most leisure time after work is spent watching television. Most of the twenty or so viewing hours a week which Bloomfield residents report is within the Monday to Thursday night round. One of the favorite shows is "Little House on the Prairie", a drama about an isolated farm family. Bloomfield watches even more television (20 or more hours a week) than the English families studied by Young and Wilmott² (12 hours per week in 1966. The University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research, in their time allocation study, 1974-1976, report that time spent watching television has increased, especially among women, who also report a decrease in housework and visiting.³⁾

The Family weekend is characterized by a reversal of this rather relaxed and passive mid-week pattern. Like the formal organizations of the weekday the informal associations of the weekend are usually engaged in as a family, but outside the house, and actively. Given the number of possibilities for family activity on the weekend--much of it essential, especially if the mother is working--it is understandable that lack of time was the biggest single complaint offered about leisure time.⁷

The chief complaint that workers have regarding their nonwork or leisure lives is that there is not enough leisure. The time away from work is too little in which to fit their essential leisure activities. For example, the essentials for a very busy weekend for families are as follows: 1. Family Visits. About half mention visiting parents or nearby siblings every weekend. Often the families live close by because these couples in the younger generation have never been forced to relocate through work or education.

2. Friends. Typically everyone gets together with a couple or two over the weekend. Saturday night is always the night to have dinner out, to go dancing, sometimes to a New York play, to the movies (even Deep Throat!) or to have friends in for a special meal. Sometimes friends get together on Sunday to watch a game and a snack is served. For at least a third of the couples to whom I spoke cash is probably very limited, influencing entertainment possibilities. The wife may make friends from her children's school, church, neighborhood, but if she was raised nearby her high school friends are a possibility.

For several, the college experience changes this somewhat although most go to college in the area. One couple went to dinner parties with the husband's business friends. If the men are locally raised, the friends of the couple may be her old high school girlfriends.

3. Shopping. Grocery shopping must be done every week and always one or two other kinds of special items must be purchased. A family visit to the mall is also a regular weekend event.

4. Church. Very little is known in general about this activity or its meaning. Bloomfield women speak of going to church as a regular weekend activity. Male attendance is probably much lower. The Catholic church is by far the most viable church in the area because of the large Italian population.

5. Family outing for father and children. A Newark museum or a flea market may be chosen. No second homes are owned or rented by these families, with two exceptions. Garage and tag sales are very popular. They provide a chance to make some money for families and people apparently need to be able to consume, on limited funds. One can get carried away and spend very little, especially at the "good cause" sales. Tag sales at people's homes, especially when this is a business, may be different. House sales are a favorite activity of some. One person told me that she had a sale and people offered her money for the scotch tape accidentally left on the table. There are permits issued for tag sales each month in Bloomfield.

6. Special Events (birthdays, anniversaries, confirmations, showers, a play at school, musical event at school, graduation). If you have five children, your

attendance at one of these every weekend is likely. Everyone reported attending at least one such event a month.

7. Home repair. Wallpapering the kitchen, repaneling the attic--these projects continue for as long as families own a home. Everyone to whom I talked had a project underway or was planning one. The hardware store has weekend seminars in the various techniques of applying particular kinds of tile, etc.

8. For working mothers, housework, including almost all the cleaning must somehow be accomplished during this weekend period.

9. When weather permits, the entire family goes camping in their camper for the weekend, perhaps once a month. A long trip is planned for the summer vacation. Family leisure is camping in the summer. There is a real leisure style division between the campers and the few families who rent summer homes on the beach and ski on winter weekends. The profile below shows the shape of this atypical social life.

A Non-working Class Leisure: The Financial Servant and his Wife

Henry and Alice have lived in Bloomfield for ten years. They were both raised here, moved back to New York City after college and then back to raise a family. His father was a manager for a local grocery chain; his mother

a secretary. Her father was a lather. Both she and her sisters when to college.

After graduation, Henry went to work for one financial institution and then moved to his present job. He is a bank officer and quite happy with it. He counsels individuals regarding the handling of their money and does all their paperwork, connected with trusts. He would choose the same job if he had it to do over again. For him, variety, interest and challenge are most important on a job, followed by "making a contribution", which he rephrases as "helping people." He would rate his job as high in both qualities; sometimes it is even overstimulating - ten new things a day--and sometimes if they all write to you on the same day the answers must all go out.

He is treasurer for the environmental group. He and his family belong to a country club. They play bridge with a group of couples and participate in a gourmet club. He says he has sworn off groups since his college days. He had his fill. He adds that he is afraid of the time commitment; he has things to do in the house. He would be indifferent to joining a union, but would, if it was a requirement for a job.

Problems with the economy, inflation and the cost of living worry him; he thinks we should spend less. In response to the question what he could do, he says, "A public affairs club might deal with this, they might

exchange ideas, commiserate. But this might not be effective. I leave this problem up to the people who are supposed to deal with it. This is true also for the problem of crime. This also disturbs me but I think they are doing OK. But I am not joining anything. Why? Because of the time commitment.

He has never been involved "politically" (interviewer's word). He sees the environmental group as "nonpartisan." If he could see the environmental group do anything, he would have them plant more trees. "That is a satisfying activity." His pleasures are time with the children, skiing and bridge. He loves to teach them, see them learning and developing, asking questions and commenting. He likes to ride bikes with them, play games, use electric trains. He loves bridge "because its a hard, intricate complicated game. You keep going because its so difficult." Skiing requires skill and agility. The weather's unpredictable and he enjoys watching the kids.

If he had two extra hours, he would sit down and read and maybe go to a gym. He would like to get more sleep (he gets up very early to commute). He says "I feel harassed; there's not enough time. I guess you could say I am a victim of the clock." If he could change anything he says he would like to be able to get up later; but then he adds "no, I wouldn't work less. I enjoy my work." I asked if he could consider half time so that he could share child rearing (all other things remaining constant). He was not enthusiastic.

His least favorite activities are concerts and bowling. His wife is there during the interview and she talks about a friend who is a very conscientious housekeeper. He listens for a moment and then asks if I believe in astrology. He and the housekeeper have the same sign. In response to the question, "what keeps you going?" he answers, without so much as a pause: "The desire to change things, to influence situations at work or here in Bloomfield, to make the situation viable."

She worked before her marriage as a stockbroker. She tells me a funny story about career counseling in her parochial school. The sister, whom they called Rigor Mortis, said, and here she mimics the sister's nasal tone, "Oh, yes, you would make a lovely airline stewardess." We talked about working women. There is a woman at her husband's work who is a Vice-President, but she says she couldn't do this to her kids. "When does she see them?" She says they need the money and she thinks of nothing else but how to go to work, but on the other hand, she wants school vacation time off. She needs "a high paying part-time job." In fact one idea she has for a job is to start an agency for women like herself. She feels the women's movement has not been practical. Here, she cites the bra burnings; but she adds that she doesn't follow the movement much.

For fun, she skis in the winter in Vermont with her family. "At the highest points it's like a fairy land." She takes piano lessons with her daughter. In the summer they share a house with another couple in Martha's Vineyard. On the weekends, they may go to Flea Markets (her mother-in-law sells antiques), or take the kids on an excursion. "My husband is very family oriented," she adds.

She works on a town commission and goes to environmental group meetings and does work for them, leads a Girl Scout group with a friend, teaches Catholic Sunday School as well as participating in bridge and gourmet clubs. Being a Girl Scout leader is like teaching a class, she explains. "You prepare and do research." She was a Scout and wanted her girl to have the experience. I tell her how impressed I am that they went to the trouble to take them to the lake for a day. She says that she "sees these years as her years to serve."

In response to a question about political involvement, she says, "Even Carter hasn't been able to do anything. His intentions are sincere. He can't hold out against the lobbyists, big business and oil interests." It's beyond our scope to change things; it's too complicated. Both the President and the Congress want to get reelected." He says, "Oh, but there has been progress." She says, "We have to get along as best we can. It's too complicated. Nobody can do anything."

This couple is an exception in terms of their very active club social life and their leisure style of vacation houses and weekend ski trips and of course their income. Most families drive around in campers in the summer vacation, "seeing America," as they put it. They go to Niagara Falls, the Pocanos, Virginia--all in one vacation. Or they may drive out to see Yellowstone or Mount Rushmore.

The weekend is hectic for Bloomfield families with children. Time was mentioned by everyone when they thought of "changing their nonwork lives." Twenty out of twenty wanted more time. The exception was one woman who wanted a new job for her husband. All apparently want to live their lives to the fullest and their desires apparently exceed their grasp. None feel they can "get enough time with their families." They do not have enough time "to pursue their real interests." They are too busy, life is too hectic. Changes in either size of house or lot were also mentioned (3).

Several wouldn't change anything. Only one man could dream of not working at all. There was no mention of any changes of a "political" nature. When asked "What keeps them going," with one exception, all agreed. "the family" keeps them going.

For most men, get-togethers with couples are the only nonworkplace association with other men and with other women mentioned. There is little bar life, after work, of

the type described by Kornblum⁴ or LeMasters⁵ for male Midwest construction workers. The needs which men have (perhaps) to socialize in larger groups or alone with other men may be satisfied to some extent by Little League or Scouts. But both associations are highly structured, not informal like bars. Couples usually get together for dinner out and a movie, or in order to view a game on television, or even to follow a favorite jazz group throughout northern New Jersey, attending whichever club they are playing in. Cocktail parties and dinner parties at home for six or more persons are associated with the few executives in the study. These events are Montclair-Glenridge-NYC centered with Bloomfield participants rather defensively mentioning their locality over drinks.

The Couples' Friends

In Bloomfield, as in Middletown, the women are the social directors. They connect with each other and plan an activity for themselves and their husbands. These women make their friends either through high school and/or through church, school, Home and School and neighborhood. This informal social life is characterized by frantic weekends, especially for working women, and a pattern of isolation for males. Women who work at home are becoming more lonely as friends return to work and the interests connected with their growing children become less compelling.

If we compare Bloomfield with Middletown in other eras, several kinds of activity are entirely absent. The most important of these is the opportunity for public discourse. In Middletown of the 1890s it was not necessary to announce the subject of a 'lecture' to draw a crowd, according to the Lynds. In the twenties, a group of craft workers and local intellectuals would sit down on a regular basis to discuss social and political ideas. Open air tent revivals and mass political gatherings had declined completely, as well as the lyceum program, a series of educational lectures for working people. In Bloomfield the televised political debate and college based adult education has replaced these earlier forms.

Two other activities, making music as a group and making art have been a part of the everyday social life in other eras. Generally the singing societies for working class men (choruses) disappeared at least in Middletown by the 1930s. Although the Bloomfield Civic Center has just sponsored a barbershop quartet, generally individuals in Bloomfield do not make music in groups, with the exception of at least one hundred or so people in the mandolin orchestra, the civic theatre, the civic opera, orchestra and bands which are important parts of local life in Bloomfield and much praised and appreciated. The spontaneous singing described in the 1890's like serenading or singing at family reunions (which would begin with a prayer and end with an address) are not found

even in the Middletown of the thirties. Singing at lawn fetes and parties of all classes and as part of roaming about town, have disappeared.

Although a few women in the area are part of an art league which exhibits their work and studies painting at the civic center, for most Bloomfield residents making art is not a part of their lives. For men there is almost no exception to this pattern. For women, there is one art-work activity which is an indigenous art form, but in a complicated sense.

In at least 10 storefronts and in the basements of homes, ceramics are made in molds which are purchased by the studio owner from one of several companies. The women who come to the studio paint the ceramic objects either in styles which are taught by the owner (e.g., a Limoge look with glazes) or in a manner which may be original in choice of color and glaze. Very often these women have seen these objects (a ceramic basket for the table, a Santa Claus for the mantle, a set of lamp bases or a tiger for the foyer) at the department store or at each other's houses. In order to get the specific item or simply to fill the need for a living room lamp, they manufacture these objects at the studio, which is open 12 or 16 hours a day every day. For women who wait sometimes twenty years for a new living room set, these objects are more easily obtained--their prices range from \$.50 to \$100. At the sessions there is also a chance to talk about family

problems and share work-family experience. The owner of one such studio worked in Newark until her husband wouldn't let her, (because of crime). The women come regularly - once a week. They recruit each other by word of mouth and some poster advertising. The form is explained: "throwing pots is too strenuous, you have to have muscles." Someone calls on the phone and wants her piece. "I know you wanted it for Easter" she replies. The teacher has a big house, four children, cooks, bakes and sews.

Why do they come? "It's a night out with the girls and a chance to achieve something. Better than bingo because you go home with something. Great therapy. Chance to get out--a happy atmosphere."

Planning consumption and dreaming figure prominently in Komarovsky's Blue Collar Marriage, where she lists the most enjoyable activities for the whole group as judged by the women: 1. TV, 2. playing with children, 3. having friends over, 4. gardening, 5. having family over and planning home improvements, 6. planning Xmas gifts, 7. swimming, 8. attending church, 9. visiting, 10. shopping for clothes, 11. dreaming of children's futures.⁶ In Bloomfield the dreams may be about European travel or elite educations for the children, but certainly, this activity captured by Komarovsky in her study is a part of Bloomfield life.

In Bloomfield, informal association for the individual adult male or female also includes the female associational activity of "talking on the phone." This is not an activity among men. Women, especially if they do not work, talk on the phone at least one hour a day, and often much more. The other vicarious informal associating is watching the human dramas on television.

Bloomfielders are tremendously social people; it is not that they have in any way turned their back on participation. They are politically immobilized at least to some extent, as we will see, but they expend enormous energy on the groups and social life described here. One of the consequences, however, of the manner in which the region has developed is that these energies are directed at a set of centers, geographically quite separate from one another and often outside of the community.

The locality as a whole may relate to different regions for recreation, for art, for theatre and special commodity purchases. For example, the shopping region for families over a certain income may be the two shopping malls in Paramus and Willowbrook located one hour from Bloomfield in opposite directions and speciality shops in Upper Montclair. For recreation, a family may travel to a nature reserve beyond Montclair, and be part of a league which plays games with Union, New Jersey teams (see map) and travel to the YMCA in Montclair. Families live in and relate to a region which is defined by driving time (one

half hour to three-quarters of an hour away). This defines a region which includes at least 10 other communities (localities). This region is not the appropriate unit for analysis, but it is the effective sphere of operations for residents of a locality in this region. The New Jersey telephone classified directory for home use and the local paper define to some extent which localities will be used for recreation. For example only a few movie theatres are listed in the yellow pages, and the local paper carries listings for a few more. Other, often more desirable theatres, with better programs, are located near the moviegoer's locality but in a different zone, described in different telephone directories and locality newspapers. Unless the moviegoer has purchased the New York paper, each theatre must be called individually.

Informal, distanced social contact is myriad, in stores, with professionals (doctors, etc.), with teachers and with door-to-door salespeople. Children and adults in the area are constantly selling raffle tickets and magazine subscriptions to support various activities.

Informal social life is characterized in Bloomfield by activities which include the family and which are focused around children's activities, with minimal socialization in mixed (male and female) groups. Women tend to experience more daily intimacy, largely with other women; the men are more isolated and spend most nonwork time with their families, rather than with other men.

Home and School Association

Almost all the women in Bloomfield who have a child of elementary school age have some contact with their Home and School Association at their neighborhood elementary school. The six elementary schools involve at least 600 mothers a year in one way or another. Mothers who do not work were especially likely to contribute many hours. Cakes for fund raising parties, accompanying trips, teas for retiring teachers, fairs to raise money and service on the many school committees are the main sorts of tasks.

Committees are curriculum, health and safety, hospitality, library, membership, mimeo newsletter, program chairman, public relations, school affairs and ways and means.

The card party committees for fund raisings often result in participants' believing that the organizers who want parents to contribute time are in fact "a clique." In one area, the Home and School Association directly countered a rumor that they were a clique. This was explained as a good indication that they were as closed a group as one member had experienced them to be. Perhaps they appear this way because the leaders do not offer friendship, yet are seen as desirable women to have as friends. Those who are enlisted and not offered ongoing friendship are offended.

In the women's eyes, hardly any activity could be more trivial than working for the PTA on a fundraising committee, yet they are all committed enough to the principle of participation to volunteer their time. Some mothers do a great deal (a hundred hours a year?) yet they insist that it is "hogwash." When they finally revolt and refuse to work at one more bake sale, it is done with considerable guilt. In answering a question about how democratic the committees are, one woman says, "Oh, it's not that interesting. I really don't want to have more impact on these meetings." Thousands of dollars are raised at the fundraisings. Children and families have a good time together for several hours. Class mothers, another job title, work quite closely with the teacher, as her assistant often, in arranging trips and parties. As one mother explained, this can be an experience of learning tact.

Many see others as being out to glorify themselves. Often, for example, PTA mothers demand special attention for their children or expect their involvement to improve the children's grades. At least this is what one mother said. She herself had given very generously of her time in special ways--both to this and to other charities. One mother who had had a long career (six years) in the executive committee of the local school said that "you need militant parents and their priorities have to mesh."

One of the two or three major stories in every Bloomfield paper concerns the schools. Forty-two percent of all taxes go to the public schools. Education was taken over by the state in 1975. The State supplements property taxes collected at the municipal level in districts which are poorer and have less to spend. The State also sets standards and controls federal funds going into Bloomfield. Education in Bloomfield is supposedly organized by the local board but in fact the State superintendent and district superintendent control all major decisions.

The local view is that the school board is dominated by the North; they are resented most heavily and the North does have the better schools, no doubt. The attitude of the less affluent parent can be seen in the following anecdote: a slender woman with bouffant dyed black hair and a black leather jacket is sitting with her friend at parents night at the kids' desks. She explains to her friend, "They try to keep you quiet by treating you like a child, but don't be fooled. Ask what you want."

In State administered reading tests, Bloomfield ranked 10th out of the 18 school systems tested in the region, with Newark on the bottom. Some mothers tried to make an issue of these test results, along with the editor of the local paper, Russell Roemmelle, who asks in an editorial, "Are we Second Rate?" Bloomfield is twelve percentage points behind the schools of the wealthy suburb

Glenridge in these tests and some Bloomfield parents were very concerned.

My impressions of the educational system and especially the efforts of the Home and Schools Associations to change it are based, not only on discussions with mothers, but on my own daughter's experience in the Bloomfield school system.

There seem to be some very good teachers and some very bad ones. The quality of the thought presented by teachers and to which children are exposed and which forever colors their experience with subject areas seem more to be regretted than the poor skills. For example, on open school night teachers said: "Africa is important because it is everchanging," "We cover Blood in the 8th grade." These examples of how poorly the material has been grasped by the teacher can be compared with another science teacher who was presenting the scientific method and "laws of nature" in a manner which required some serious hard work from the children. In general my view is that the children can't really apply themselves because parents don't know enough of what goes on to be supportive, the teachers don't keep parents abreast of their children's behavior and the children can't engage themselves because of the bewildering fragmentation of the material itself.

The strong support for sports is probably dysfunctional given the fact that many don't graduate from

high school. At the junior high level, tracking (the separation of children by reading skills) is widespread and common knowledge. All children know exactly what the grade number means, e.g. 8-12 or 8-1. Parents immediately recognize these codes, and know exactly where a particular child stands in the ranking system.

"The Bloomfield School Story" a handout for parents, opens with an article entitled, "What Are You Doing for the Rest of Your Life?" The pictures accompanying this article on a careers day for 300 ninth graders show the invited expert on beauty culture and a police detective, but many other professionals were invited too.

The parent learns that art has been replaced this year, by music and then by a course called "Values." Boosterism, cheerleading for the girls and football for the boys continue. The local newspaper editor berates the school for their failure to teach Bloomfield's children how democracy works; and in the same editorial below, describes his love for the high school sports program. The following editorial expresses beautifully the contradictions within the breast of a very concerned citizen who wants the best for Bloomfield's children. He carried on a one man educational crusade for many years in Bloomfield.

Our Town by Russell Roemmele

The latest scandal, dear reader,
is that I almost was arrested
Saturday. I was driving through
Irvington and Bloomfield with five

fired-up Bengal fans, and I was blowing my horn like a real nut, I was by no means the only culprit, of course, but my beat-up Mercury seems to be attracting police attention lately...

Every once in a while, I get the urge to act a la Emile Zola and blast across the front page in bold type "I ACCUSE." Then I realize that I am an editor, not a savior; a crusader perhaps, but certainly not a self-righteous moralist. Nonetheless, I do wish to present an "indictment" of our school system. I refer particularly to their failure to properly teach our children about the most basic lesson of all - how our democracy works. Now, don't think that I am referring only to Bloomfield; other, most other, school systems also must bear the guilt. The indictment reads: "Failure to teach our youth about government, taxes, ratables, zoning, neighborhood, preservation, federal and state funding, budgetary process, law and judicial procedure, separation of powers, the role of business in our society, and a multitude of other political and economic matters that affect our everyday lives and about which our students know little or nothing. I am appalled by the ignorance of even our brightest seniors about the most pressing problems in our community, our county, and our state.

Bloomfield's educational median of 12.2 years of schooling reflects the occupational structure. There is a close relationship among parents' occupation, the quality and amount of education which they can purchase for their children after they are working age, and children's future occupations. A quarter of males between 16 and 21 in Bloomfield are not enrolled in school in 1970. Of those

25 and over, 10.4% have completed four or more years of college. 77.1% of males between 18 and 24 were in the work force at least half a year in 1969.⁹

Not only are children taught that they are less than bright from the age of eight or nine, but their high school associational opportunities do not allow for the discovery of special interests or hobbies, at least in the school setting, which would offer another happier experience. When Bloomfield High School is compared with Glenridge High School, the low number of interest clubs available and the focus on sports for Bloomfield children is very marked.

The discomfort with and distrust of others, in organizing, talking or sharing their experience describes the feeling that other group members cannot give up their own needs for gratification in favor of the group's needs or the needs of other group members. One concludes that these associations allow parents to connect very real worries about their children's future in school with acts of service to the school. A particular type of discontent and insecurity of parents is channeled into fundraisings and bake sales. Parents want to influence the situation in the schools and this is a way which is readily available. Non-participation carries a small threat that the authorities will learn of parental uncooperativeness and punish the child, or at least see the child in a less favorable light.

The Home and School associations are one of the most popular voluntary associations in the locality. In working with them, women do learn how to plan a successful fundraiser with others, as well as a variety of other vocationally useful skills. The popularity of these groups testifies to the continuing concern with children and the continuing willingness of parents to serve.

The lack of solidarity in an informal context among men and women in Bloomfield is reflected and to some extent even explained by the 12 level tracking in the junior high. The more affluent or ambitious mothers, or those with truly gifted children fight for an hour of special instruction for their children. For this one hour, which is obtained by agreeing that a few kids are special, and that the bottom track has been stupid, all hope of educational change is lost. The school PTA is tightly controlled by the school administration and parents' impact is blunted by the local board in its interactions with the state and district.

In explaining why parents don't demand more, one informant said that parents are afraid their children will somehow be punished by teachers if the parents get involved and complain. "People don't know what they should do," she says. "Should they approach the principal, the board or go to the State Capital in Trenton?" She "fished around" for information. The Chamber of Commerce in Bloomfield provides some

information about the schools because it is often a factor in choosing a house in Bloomfield. She tells me that "everybody" in Bloomfield wants to move to a better suburb, yet her temporary commitment to the town doesn't keep her from getting involved. The editor of the local newspaper and a parent have taken on school quality as their cause celebre. A few of the active parents involve couples in which the mother works, has some college education and the father is a professional. The University of Michigan Social Science Research Center's data¹⁰ shows that this group is fairly malcontent (dissatisfied) when compared to other educational levels. Complaints which can be lodged by parents are individual in their nature because parents accept the major categories: bright, dumb, fast track, slow track. One's own child is always unappreciated, in the wrong class, has a bad teacher, is not being helped or is put at the bottom. Parents may have a child who needs very specialized skills because of some supposed disability or a child who is gifted--or both. The parents accept these labels.

Scouting

Another popular activity for many women and some men is working with a scouting group. Most of the women and all of the men worked in leader or helper roles in the Cub Scouts (young boys 7-10). In fact a woman took over the

pack "CubMaster" position for the first time in Bloomfield history in 1978.

Half of those interviewed in the comprehensive interviews were directly involved with scouting, including both members of several couples.¹¹ The spouse would be in charge of the den (a group of 8-10 scouts) and the other would work on or at least attend the committees for planning and fund raising.

The sexual structure is: men run troops of boy scouts, although women can lead cub scouts as well as girl scouts of course. Usually women play other roles, for example as members of planning committees. Perhaps because these involved duties that men cannot get accomplished with their schedules. A majority of the members of these fund raising, program and backup committees are women, judging from the interviews and from the Scouting organizations themselves at the locality level. Women also help the cubmaster or scoutmaster when the group meets in the adult's home, or in a local church. Women seem to concentrate on activities indoors when they predominate. When more males are involved, the program involves more sport and camping. Scout mothers of Brownies and young scouts handle the weekly meetings in their own homes. They often feel unappreciated for all their volunteered service, particularly if it is unacknowledged by the children or their parents.

Parental involvement is a value; parents who do not attend monthly pack meetings are not looked on favorably by other participating parents. Often parents become involved, in their view, because no one else will take the group. One father and mother I met at a cub pack meeting had a child in Girl Scouts and a child in Cub Scouts. The father and son were in a choir together which required three rehearsals a week. Both parents were working full time and the father was going to school full time. This level of activity for a family was presented as desirable.

Scouting involves the organization of complex tasks, like taking ten children camping for several days. It involves a set of relationships between a teacher leader and children in need of care and instruction. Some Bloomfield men say that in the planning meetings for the scouts everybody "is trying to show off." They prefer the teaching roles for themselves; group planning does not seem to be enjoyed by anyone. Sometimes the meetings can be unpleasant; there are furious resignations or attacks. The image of the Bad News Bears tumbling out of their car, like a dwarf circus act, can be seen in Bloomfield on any weekend as the scout or the softball team arrive at the park. It is an image not necessarily of family, but of a stronger adult and many children organized and coping with nature or with the opposing team. Another scouting image is of ten-year-old boys bombarding the leader with snow-

balls (who is in uniform) and the other assisting fathers. This bombardment game means "attacking authority," said the delighted father who told me this story.

There is a pack meeting once a month. This level, which includes 6-8 dens, is coordinated by a committee of fifteen and a cubmaster, a recruiter and a treasurer. When the pack meets there is a chance for families to get together in a group of perhaps two hundred people. The Pinewood Derby is an annual event in which families produce small racing cars and compete against one another at pack meetings. Fathers and sons (this being a Cub Scout event) manufacture these perfectly balanced carved wooden cars, modeled on advanced aerodynamic principles. This competition is held for eight- and nine-year olds at 7:30 on a school night. The meeting ended at about 10:30. Some parents talked with one another, but most watched the races. Last year one father accused the judges of cheating and perhaps tampered with someone else's car. This year, one mother did the same to his car. Social evenings, for the parents only, were announced as well as a request for fathers to sign up as Little League coaches and managers.

The monthly pack meeting is the place where awards, which children have earned, called badges, are presented. The goal of scouting is finally to earn many of these badges. They can be earned by mastering a set of tasks, which are spelled out in the scouting handbook. These

tasks are grouped into various interest areas and when a particular set is judged to be completed the child receives a small cloth badge, a circle with a symbol embroidered on it, which is sewn onto the child's uniform. Boys in Bloomfield for example win badges entitled Sportsman, Travelor, Aquanaut, Artist, Citizen, etc. For one group, Citizen may be the popular badge. In another den, everyone may be working on their Aquanaut badge. Character awards are also given out at the monthly pack meetings.

Below is one description of a pack gathering by a reporter from the local paper. The focus of the meeting was hobbies:

The Pack had its first Pack Meeting of the season on September 23, with the theme "Doorway to Adventure." The Cubs, Webelos, and some adults displayed items from their respective hobbies. Cubscout T.B. showed his model B42 airplane, Webelos J.R. displayed his New Jersey Rock Collection. Webelos P.B. showed his collection of model airplanes and boats and J.B. his motorized erector set elevator.

Adults showing or talking about their hobbies included E.P., making fishing flies; B.T., a demonstration on amateur radios, R.G. bullet making and gun collecting; and A.J. displayed his spoon collection.¹²

Sometimes, especially if the pack has a number of older boys in it, the scene of the pack meeting can be quite nostalgic:

Honored guests included Rev. Dr. and Mrs. I., a pastor; R.C., World Commissioner; W.K., Cubmaster 25 years ago; S.S., Pack 26 Cub 20 years ago. Mrs. M.S., former den mother; and Mr. and Mrs. N., former committee members.

Cubmaster B. read a letter from former Cub Scout (G) who is now a scout leader in Fairbanks, Alaska, encouraging the boys to continue their scouting experience and pointing out how helpful and rewarding it can be. (B) then turned everyone's attention to the display of pictures of Pack 26 dating back to its very early days.

The Webelos presented a special plaque to Cubmaster B. Each member of the pack and all of the honored guests received a special neckerchief commemorating 30 years of cub scouting for Pack 26...¹²

The pattern of involvement is exemplified by one of the older couples, who were involved in scouting for eight years. The woman had a cub group, including her son, for two years, as cubmaster. She taught them to crochet or knit, arranged around her kitchen table. Six of these years she was a den mother, which means that she did planning for the group. Now she has shifted her allegiance and efforts to her son's new interest in soccer. She associates this change in her life to "the general boredoms of suburban life which cause so much divorce." The couple's retirement from scouting marks the end of an era for their family.

The Troop

The troop, a group of packs, contains older boys who have achieved the rank of Star, Eagle or Life Scout. The concept of community service is an important one here and elsewhere in Bloomfield as we will see when we look at men's associational life. Eagle Scouts have a community service requirement for example which is fulfilled when a scout cuts down trees, sells the lumber and gives the money to a charity like the Family Service League.

The Tamarack Council includes all the troops in nine communities. Like the pack, the Council has an annual dinner dance, where volunteers are given awards for their service to scouting. The highest award at the Council level is the Silver Beaver, which is awarded for distinguished service to scouting.

The council as well as the pack sponsors special events like sledge races, Olympics and competitions in scouting skills. The opening ceremonies in the fall in each community and pack and den begins with pledges of allegiance, promises to obey the scout code and a color guard of two boys holding the American and scouting flags.

The Girl Scouts

The Girl Scouts in Bloomfield are part of the Greater Essex Council which is well run, well funded and embraced by the affluent suburbs. In Bloomfield, the college educated women were the scout leaders. As a consequence

perhaps there were few groups of Girl Scouts when compared with the Boy Scouts. The Girl Scouts work to earn their badges and do charity work, e.g., a carnival for Multiple Sclerosis or delivering plants to shut-ins. Also the leaders of the small groups (8-10) take the girls on camping trips, special outings to lakes for swimming, and entertain them in their homes on meeting nights. For Brownies, this means setting up an activity and a snack. The Council might arrange an exhibit at the shopping mall of projects which the Scouts had completed: Pom-Pom and Styrofoam Snoopies, bird feeders, shadow boxes, collages, quilting, tie dyeing, pine cone bird feeders. The following summary of a meeting illustrates the structure of Girl Scouts as well as one aspect of their activities:

The first Community Association meeting of the 1977-78 Girl Scouting season, chaired by Mrs. B., the recently appointed Community 'L' Chairman, was held this week at the Civic Center. Long-range project announcements and plans included:

1. Introduction of the newly trained leaders and other adult volunteers, 30 or more, who will serve....
2. A candle-light investiture ceremony.
3. A guest speaker from the Montclair Council Office explained the proposed changes in the Girl Scout Council By-Laws.
4. A deadline date of October 30 was set for submission of posters on the G.S. Cookie Sale which is set to run from January 14-March 17, 1978. All girls in all troops are encouraged to participate.
5. The Calendar Sale the DAR Sewing Contest and

Needlework Guild projects, setting a date for the Annual G.S. Christmas Caroling, a Juliette Low town-wide Birthday Party, and a Spring Camporee were discussed.

6. On Saturday, October 15, a Recruitment Rollathon will start in Nutley and proceed to cover most of, if not ALL of Essex County. A long stream of cars, carrying appropriate banners and enthusiastic Girl Scouts and supportive volunteers, will proclaim to all and sundry that Girl Scouting is Alive and Well.¹²

Some of the appeal of scouting can be explained by remembering that all men's organizations do a great deal of "honoring" of individual men for acts of service to the community. These citizens awards, and halls of fame of various sorts are important in Bloomfield. Scouting is particularly rich in award ceremonies, and, special orders, (e.g. The Virgil Honor of the Order of the Arrow) and hierarchies of elite. This civic group seems a transformation of a combination of the Kiwanis, an older civic group and the lodge or ritual order. The Boy Scout Tamarack Council Distinguished Citizen Dinner is a scouting event. In fact, the organizer of this dinner, a sixty year old small businessman, whose business is located in an adjoining community, but who lives in Bloomfield, received the Silver Beaver Award. His duties as a regional director were a series of administrative tasks, for example, opening part of the National Historic Trail.

The need to take responsibilities for children and to act in the role of helper-teacher for children is very evident in all of Bloomfield's activities and is an expression of the need to act as an adult, to nurture, and to have an experience of mastery. Certainly none of these are present in political life as will be seen in the concluding chapter on locality power.

Fading Forms: Groups for Women

The Women's Club

Some women in Bloomfield, perhaps thirty or forty, are actively involved with the Women's Club, daytime Division. The heyday of these groups can be seen in the 1910's and 20's in the state, when these clubs of women reformers saved the Palisades from destruction and worked for prison and school reform. In Bloomfield in the twenties the women's club discussed "Abolishing War" at one of their meetings and invited William Jennings Bryant to speak in 1924 and Amelia Earheart in 1935. In the state presently, the clubs work for improved legislation for seniors. In Bloomfield, the daytime Women's Club itself is still reminiscent of the pattern found in Middletown in the thirties among younger women of the business class especially. In Bloomfield, older women from their mid-fifties on meet. They are women who have never worked except in the home and as volunteer workers.

They have the leisure and the special skills to participate in musical presentations, teas and luncheons, the yearly membership tea, art shows, book sales, tea tastings, programs on subjects like metrics and a Christmas evening program. This program, the theme of which was Christmas Carols, included in 1977, the singing of carols by 8 women together (and without their families), and the telling of stories concerning the source of the carols. Solos and piano selections were also offered.

The Evening Membership program has card parties to raise money for the State's project. One of these divisions continues to deliver Christmas baskets to the poor--a custom seen in Dickens and in Middletown of the thirties. The Junior Women's Club (18-35) gives a spring luncheon where two high school girls are honored for their good citizenship and achievement. They also established a chapter of Big Brothers-Big Sisters in Bloomfield and Glenridge, and held a party for the blind in a school in Jersey City. The needs of these special groups are also the focus for men in the community as we will see. The women because of their relative immunity from the demands of the work day (they meet in the day) have had to band together with women from more affluent Glenridge for the Big Brothers program.

Another current activity for women is helping with the Catholic Churches educational programs (CED) which are

administered by the nuns. Locality clerical workers who are not working may do typing or other clerical work for these programs.

Knights of Columbus Auxiliary

This auxiliary is composed of older Catholic women, wives of Knights of Columbus. There are perhaps 20 active members. They prepare cancer dressings as a group during the day for the local hospital. They hold an annual card party to raise funds, and an exemplification of the order of the first degree, an investiture ceremony for new candidates for the auxiliary, Squirettes, the teenage girls group. Nine young girls became members in 1978. In this way the Knights of Columbus Auxiliary is like a hybrid; it combines the qualities of: 1) the charities (Heart, Cancer, MS) of the affluent suburb, 2) the lodge, and 3) the African age set--a same sexed group for boys or girls. Here it should be noted that sexually separate activities are the rule among this older group.

The all female Veterans auxiliary has a yearly picnic for patients in the Veteran's Hospital (the Scouts also sometimes visit the Vets in the hospital). This event is attended by the male Vets themselves. It is my impression that the group in Bloomfield is older and on the wane.

Small Scale Vital Forms

The Civic Association

Politicians in Bloomfield not only serve on the committees for fund raising dances for charities and sponsor ball teams. They also establish small charitable organizations which take on a specific task. These civic associations bear their standard-bearers' name, and have "community goals." There are at least 5 of them in Bloomfield. The Russomanno-Gasparini Civic Association, called later the Gasparini Civic Association, holds its annual dinner dance at a large catering establishment in East Orange. At the dinner, volunteers for the association's goals were honored. These goals are providing a bowling program for the retarded children of Bloomfield. The on-going fundraising and program work is done by a committee of twelve women. (Gasparini also takes the submissions for the Bloomfield Sports Hall of Fame.)

Anthony Gallo is a supervisor at the county level and sponsors a dinner dance where awards are given to women for work toward providing more athletic programs for Bloomfield youth. Gallo is also a town councilman. Four hundred people attended the dinner dance in 1978. The officers of the association are men. The theme of the dance was "April Showers." It is relevant here that the major Catholic Church in Bloomfield also held a dinner

dance for the parish to celebrate its 100th anniversary. They are enjoyed because they are a chance to socialize with a few couples which is Bloomfield's favorite mode and to dress up, an activity which continues to delight women especially. All of the officers of the Gallo Association are Italian and two plaques were awarded to two women for their many years of service to many Bloomfield youth organizations: Cubs, Little League, and Home and School.

These organizations, the civic associations, are transformed versions of the Italian family group, which bears the name of the eldest male and undertakes a charitable project in the name of the family and the standard bearers. The civic association which bears the name of the younger Italian politician (usually its founder), has the effect of keeping the politician's name somewhere in the paper and creates an ongoing organization of friends and relatives who can also be encouraged to campaign for the politician. In other words in Bloomfield these small feudal service associations are the political party in a very real sense, as we will see when we look at local party organizations. Of course, that they have a charitable rather than an instrumental social action focus is the critical aspect, but the transformation of the older form to the new civic association with a clear director is an interesting new form which may undergo further changes as other conditions in Bloomfield change.

There is undoubtedly a rentier class, interacting with the local politicians who attract capital to the area. Molotoch¹³ shows this to be and calls this group a rentier class to distinguish it from Marx's ruling class; this group in the Bloomfield-Essex region would be responsible for the Willowbrook mall and the plans for industrial parks in Newark, and the office building complexes in some of Bloomfield's streets.

Bloomfield lacks an active Kiwanis and Rotary although these organizations exist in the region. The Bloomfield chapter of the Chamber of Commerce, as well as the Chamber of Commerce in adjoining localities, is inactive.

This local-regional group of entrepreneurs and developers act with local business and banks to sponsor pro-business advertising in the local paper. For example, in one full page ad Alcoa's board Chairman, John Harper, talks about business under a picture of a young female Haitian refugee and the caption: "If You Don't Know What Makes America Worth The Risk of Life Itself. Business must generate new and more effective ways to communicate. We must begin in the schools. We must tell the factory workers as well as the students. Our words must reach deep into the core city and out into the rural heartland of America." The article concludes with the phrase "giving business a voice." The article is signed "Key Newspaper Community Service Programming and it ends with

the words, "You should know as much or more about this country's economic advantages as the average alien. At no risk whatsoever." The reader is urged to write for a description of the economic system from the offices of the local newspaper.¹⁴

Other Men's Service Groups

Two other groups are reminiscent of the self help groups of rural areas. They are the Bloomfield Emergency Squad and the Radio Emergency Associated Citizen's Team (REACT), an auxiliary police group which aid police. They observe and report to the police. They do this by cruising in their vans (equipped with communications devices) and reporting their findings on short wave. REACT is a nonprofit public service organization. Nationwide, it involves 100,000 citizen's band radio volunteers in more than 1,500 groups in the U.S. and Canada. . .They also monitor emergency channel 09 and relay information to the authorities.

David Group in Bloomfield has 24 members at 21 base stations. The group has two mobile base station vans fully equipped with radio communications gear and a generator. In addition to the regular meetings, this group also holds an annual dinner. Local REACT teams are encouraged to assist the police and to participate in their community predisaster planning scheme. On a local scale, David Group provided stationary monitoring of the

route for the recent March of Dimes Walkathon and participated in the Newark Columbus Day Parade. With the sanction of the Bloomfield Police Department, David Group will be providing "eyes" and "ears" on Halloween. The group will provide seven two man patrols.

The Bloomfield Emergency Squad played a large role in the lives of several of the men to whom I talked. The squad is one of the few visible volunteer activities for adult men and one of the very few vital groups for younger men.

The period served in the Army or Coast Guard is, for many men, the time of greatest excitement, danger and social integration. This may explain the appeal of this group which asks for 18 hours per week, including one 12-hour shift plus training every week. One man participates because he likes the paramedic training and the escape; "when you are involved you forget everything." The officers tend to be men in the health field.

The most important point to be remembered here is that few of the men in Bloomfield are involved in any formal association. A large majority of the men interviewed were not active in any voluntary organization. A review of the existing groups, to follow, shows that many of them are declining or are, both in their goals and structure, limited severely in the kind of participation they allow in the context of the realities of peoples' lives. In other words there are fewer and weaker

organizations than previously, especially for the working class and weaker unions. Acorn, which organizes grass roots groups at the locality, county and state levels have not arrived in Bloomfield but have racially segregated groups focused on community issues in the South and Midwest, where "growth" is occurring.

In addition to scouting which has been described, a few men are involved with the Knights of Columbus, a Catholic men's organization with several active women's clubs, the Elks which are a Protestant lodge and the Veterans Post, a social group for veterans of the wars which America has fought and which educates on war. (e.g. the program on the American conditions during the Second World War, "Life on the Homefront" presented at the local junior high by the local vets). No activities of the Knights of Columbus (the male branch) are evident from paper or interviews, although one informant claimed to belong. The Elks lodge #788, in Bloomfield since the 1870's offers bowling and Friday Evening social events for couples such as a cocktail party or evening of social drinking in a club atmosphere. This is a departure from the older pattern of the lodge as social club for groups of men exclusively. At the Elks Italian Night Dinner Dance in 1977, a local politician (town councilman, John Crecco) was honored. The Elks and Vets hold yearly dinner dances with presentations of awards. The 57th Anniversary of the Bloomfield Veterans Post was celebrated at the post

in Cedar Grove. At this event, the Vets honored a woman in 1977, chairman of the Bloomfield Cultural Commission, with the Outstanding Citizen of Bloomfield award. This award had been given by the Vets since 1939. This woman's daughter is active in the affairs of a nearby community as its mayor, and she herself probably was instrumental in developing the ethnic heritage program in Bloomfield.

The award was given to the older female rather than to one of the younger male Italian politicians. It may have been awarded by the women of the Knights of Columbus. The associations which local politicians have formed to do good works in the community have resulted in their inactivity in the Veterans, or the Elks or the Knights of Columbus. Some decline of the Vets is further evidenced by the fact that the local post's anniversary was celebrated in an adjoining town, although the Ladies Auxiliary of the Post #711 appears to be active, with at least twenty or so members.

Service is an ideal for Bloomfield men and women who spend considerable energy on a community wide basis (compared with Glenridge), serving the community and honoring each other for this service. The irony of course is that the locality is not being well served by other larger administrative units, but this point is elaborated in the section on Political Life. Men in Bloomfield are involved in scouts, sports, or Little League rather than in these direct civic or service associations.

Participation may result from less administratively taxing jobs or as compensation for any one of a number of lacks, including the scarcity of opportunities for social and political activity.

If the service ideal, which Sennett and Cobb for example see as compensatory in The Hidden Injuries of Class, is a religious ideal it is because serving man may be a way of serving God in a time when the latter task seems impossible. It is a humanist ideal, an important part of the teachings in both Protestant and Catholic creeds, and focused especially in Bloomfield on male and female children. They are Bloomfield's product, its opiate and its focus.

Political Associations in the Community

This section will look at that portion of associational life in the locality which has expressly political goals. It will include political party organizations as well as voluntary associations that work for change on a single issue. Voluntary associations of a charitable nature were treated earlier, although in Bloomfield, they are organized by a few of the local town council members and function as an important source of volunteer labor at election time.

Local Level Politics

Bloomfield, from the perspective of this researcher, has unofficially adopted the town manager model of government while maintaining, at least officially, the elected mayor-town council mode. In the 1977 mayoralty race, Barry, the Democratic candidate and a long time member of the town council, ran against the Republican incumbent, Kinder who had already completed two terms as mayor-- Kinder won. A longer discussion of the definition of the issues in this race will follow. Here it is sufficient to say that the most clearly articulated part of the Barry program was the construction of a pool-recreation complex in Bloomfield. The fact that this issue was made the cornerstone of his campaign, in a town whose residents are highly sensitive with regard to racial issues, seems peculiarly naive on Barry's part. In addition, one of Barry's own political workers could not explain the choice of this issue and explained to me that Bloomfield High School has a pool which is used for storage, rather than allow integrated swimming. This piece of evidence suggests that the race for mayor was not seriously fought and that Kinder's management of the town for a third term was not contested. Kinder's slogan, appropriately enough, was "Re-elect the Management Team." In the May 1, 1980 issue of the Bloomfield paper, it was reported that no Democrats had filed for the town primary.

Despite the placards in front of the homes of residents at election time, the large ads in the local paper (paid for by the GOP Finance Committee) and the letters to the editor from town council members about the election, there are no ongoing party organizations at the local level. At election time, politicians draw on members of organizations organized for other purposes for political workers. These organizations (already described), which raise money for the retarded or for other good works are composed usually of the local politician (a town councilman) and a number of female volunteers.

For the large majority of Bloomfield residents, political activity beyond voting is not a part of their lives. The McGovern campaign was the last national election to mobilize more than a few political workers. According to the political commentator Bill Moyers, this crisis of party organization at all levels is widely acknowledged.¹⁵ In their discussion of the local governments of the New York Metropolitan Region, Wood and Almendinger¹⁶ point to the growth of the executive role and the decline of organizations for politics at the local and county levels. They explain that part of the thrust of the reform movement, pursued largely by the middle class in metropolitan areas, was to separate local and national politics, moving to separate local elections and often the town manager model. During the middle seventies, the use of direct mail campaigns by single

issue groups was emerging as a powerful new form of political organization. Richard Rovere writes:

The decline of the party system began at least as far back as the thirties, when, under the New Deal, national issues began to supersede local and regional ones, and the central government replaced city and state organizations as the dispenser of welfare patronage. The growth of the central government was unaccompanied by structural changes to nationalize the parties in the way that other institutions were being nationalized. Mass communications advanced the process. Politicians found ways of building personal followings outside and largely independent of the regular organizations. . . . Party discipline became increasingly difficult to maintain. . . . When the money came in large sums from well-healed donors, the clubhouses were still effective instruments; they could not organize a movement, but with necessary funds they could get out the vote. Now other organizations have that function. . . . Nonpartisan organizations like Common Cause and Public Citizen and the National Rifle Association are in many places, more effective than the local parties.

As we have seen, decisions at the international level of corporate operations strongly condition life in the local area, yet these large scale changes and their locality impact are not a topic of discussion in the locality. One reason for the decline in local level participation in political decision-making since the 1910-1930 era is the manner in which the issues are defined by local politicians.

Politicians define the issues around which political campaigns are waged at public events and in the media. Citizenry may do this somewhat differently and this topic will be discussed. As far as local politicians are concerned the tax rate is the major issue.

In Bloomfield, the expenses of maintaining a population and its work force (food, housing, energy, health care, sewage, fire, etc.) have been paid for by the workers directly and in the form of taxes paid to all levels of government, and by industry in the form of taxes. As industry leaves the area, the workers in the locality through property taxes and taxes to the state and federal government must support these services to an increased extent.¹⁸ For example, layoffs in New Jersey had exhausted state welfare funds by the summer of 1979, and the federal government was asked by the state to assume some of these costs. In Bloomfield, industry's value has dropped 10 million dollars in the period from 1975 to 1982. In 1978, only three industries in Bloomfield had assessed values greater than those of landlords owning multiple dwellings.¹⁹

Loss of tax revenues from industry which is leaving the area has two major consequences for political life in the area. It makes the area more vulnerable to uncontrolled and polluting development, and of course, it causes the tax burden of the locality's property owners to increase along with their dependence on the federal government. It is sufficient to add that if working people

of modest incomes cannot pay their property taxes, they must sell their homes. Research uncovered only a few reports of "blockbusting" (the use of rumor, often of a sort which plays on racial fears, by real estate dealers to create a panic situation in which whole blocks and neighborhoods change hands rapidly). These reports described events occurring in the older, most industrialized area of Bloomfield on the Newark border. In this area, the commercial centers have a blighted appearance since the removal of General Electric from the area in 1960. Two bake shops, a tailor, a haberdashery, two luncheonettes and an independently owned supermarket, one Finast, two dry cleaning stores, two hand laundries, two delicatessans, a laundromat, barber shop, jewelry shop, shoe repair, dress shop and department store closed. Often the owner lost a life time investment.²⁰

This relationship between a plant and the surrounding neighborhood, means that the centers of the locality have shifted, without the locality's control. The most recent shift has been out of the locality altogether. The Center, the business district around Broad and Bloomfield Avenue, has also come to be abandoned by capital in favor of the Willowbrook Shopping Mall. The highest praise from the Editor of the local paper to the incumbent mayor on election eve is:

He has been able to stabilize the municipal tax rate. In fact, this year the cost of municipal operations actually went down eight tax points.

However, keeping the tax rate low is made more difficult if industry leaves the area. The editor goes on to say of the mayor:

He has been able to keep our major industries and to bring in new ones, thereby providing jobs and ratables (tax income) to Bloomfield. Lummus, Schering, Westinghouse, Gordos and the other firms have chosen Bloomfield.

Somewhat contradictorily, the mayor is also credited with:

maintaining the suburban nature of the community...he has protected our oasis from the urban octopus that nearly surrounds us.

This does not mean that the mayor discourages industry from locating in Bloomfield. Generally it is high rise and commercial developers who are seen as the major threat:

He has maintained the suburban nature of our community. Indeed, in the last three years, no garden apartments have been built. In the past the town provided for apartment seeking residents. Mayor Kinder understands that Bloomfield has no further need of multiple-family dwellings, except for senior citizens. His appointments to the Zoning Board and the Planning Board have been outstanding. Time and time again, those two boards have turned

down variances for multiple family buildings.

Regardless of the accuracy of this statement, some developers are forced to look elsewhere for their sites. The mayor cannot afford, judging from the available information, to discourage too many because the town has to provide services to a population which is having a difficult time paying its taxes.²¹

Another solution is to borrow:

He has been able to keep the town's high credit rating--AA. Our most recent bond issue sold at an incredibly low interest rate, a major triumph of prudent management.

A third solution is to get money from the federal government through programs passed by Congress to provide aid to local areas:

He has been able to secure more than five million dollars in federal and state grants, without sacrificing our home rule. Federal monies have poured into the older sections of town--the Watsessing and Ampere neighborhoods. We have a rent subsidy program for needy tenants. We have no low rent public housing.²²

A fourth solution is to use revenue sharing monies (money paid in taxes by the local area to the federal and state governments and returned to the town) to hold down property taxes.

The town in New Jersey provides for public safety (policy, Communications Center, Municipal Court, civil de-

fense, fire protection and fire inspections). Recreational programs are offered to the residents of the town as well as celebrations of public events, senior citizens bus transport, and a library. A Department of Health, public health nursing, dog regulation, welfare, youth guidance, and child guidance services are also provided. Public buildings in the town are maintained, streets are lit, and garbage, sewage, and snow removed, by the town Department of Public Works.

Although there is a state law which forbids new spending on many items in the town budget to exceed 5%, the mayor and town council are expected to deliver these services. They do this by the solutions laid out above-- borrowing, attracting industries and commercial developments (malls, stores, multiple dwellings).

Other solutions which are employed by nearby communities and by Bloomfield are the exemption from taxation of new industry which can be persuaded to locate in the town, the creation of free ports (foreign trade zone) into which goods can be shipped for assembly without a tariff or duty being imposed (this means a loss of revenue to the federal government) and the creation of programs which allow the town rather than the industry to finance and provide the plant for the industry ("industrial park"), as in Elizabeth and Jersey City.²³

The locality and its mayor maneuver in a situation which can be defined by a series of contradictions. If

the area becomes too "developed" (the editor of the paper cites Route 46 as an example of a strip which is too industrial and commercial) and "not suburban" it will be undesirable and a process will begin which will result in declining property values and a further decline in taxes that can be collected. On the other hand, if the tax base is made up of the property taxes collected from families, as is the case in wealthier suburbs, the tax burden will cause a problem for the owners and they will be forced to sell. An intermediate and more common phenomenon is the deterioration of housing stock because of the tax burden, and other life factors--unemployment or retirement. The low income federal home improvement loans to homeowners are offered to prevent this situation from occurring. The mayor as well as the citizenry may be encouraged to reduce their demands for services and for a "suburban" environment because of the widely held notion that corporations leave the area because of the high local property taxes.

The Bloomfield Environmental Action Group

The concern with maintaining property values can be seen by the fact that Bloomfield's only instrumental voluntary association has as its focus the preservation of the suburban atmosphere of Bloomfield. It is a successful group because it works at the local level on tangible projects which quite literally improve the appearance of Bloomfield. It is also the only mixed sex group in Bloom-

field, with the exception, not of Scouting itself, but of the planning committees of Scouting. The group established a town garden, a town recycling program and a town tree planting program. They got a part of the town declared an historic district. They applied and got CETA workers to conduct educational programs in the schools. They challenged the local college regarding the destruction of an historic building by raising money to hire an architect who was instructed to prepare alternative plans. (Unfortunately this building burnt to the ground in a suspicious fire before the plans could be considered.) The group meets together for meetings once a month and plans outings together for camping or visits to gardens or other social events.

The Membership

The fifteen or so active members are drawn from both the professional group and clerical workers. Young male college graduates who are experts in a particular area, e.g. historic preservation or the environment, are the leaders. One older executive is the treasurer. The combination of young male expert and older hard-working housewife or professional woman characterizes this group. The women do the newsletter and make the arrangements; the young males have the contacts, know where to get the information and largely define the group's goals. Concern with problems of water pollution, nuclear dangers,

emissions from the nearby chemical plants were not voiced in the six months during which the group was observed. These individuals have made a commitment to Bloomfield and work toward preserving the locality as a desirable place in which to live. Equally important is members' need for social contacts within the community, rather than exclusively at the workplace. Because of the alternative technologies which are involved with the group's activities, uneducated working people with skills make a contribution to the group. The environmental group is an exception in Bloomfield; its social action occurs, however limited its impact.

A Vital Mass Form: Sports

The associational category, sports, and especially children's sports, is responsible for the greatest number of organizations of all the formal associations in the locality. This kind of associating of course involves, not open-ended collaboration towards a goal, or informal socializing (although this is an important element in participation), but predetermined sets of behaviors based on the rules and goals of particular games. Although the appeal of sports is not an easy topic to investigate either by verbal inquiry or by observation (this researcher has virtually no experience with competitive sports), some conclusions about the appeal which sports,

particularly children's sports, have for parents and children will be offered in the conclusion.

Bloomfield, as a town, is self-consciously "sports conscious." It is the policy of both the local politicians and local businesses of all sizes, including multinational corporations with plants in Bloomfield, to support child and adult teams by lending their name and their contributions. The editor of the paper sees the enhancement of town pride and unity and the encouragement of local teams as his most important task. Politicians through town budget and civic associations raise money for sports. Bloomfield has its own sports Hall of Fame which honors sportsmen either born or residing in Bloomfield. Since 1900, Bloomfield has produced twenty or thirty major professional sports figures including Johnny Gibson, and most recently Tom Fleming and Kelly Tribuka, whose career is chronicled on a nearly weekly basis in the paper. This is the only figure to be treated in this way by the Bloomfield Independent Press, with the exception of the mayor.

Sports is quite a new phenomenon when compared to Middletown in the thirties, where the Lynds report that the federal government had just begun to give money for children's playgroups and children's summer playground programs. Baseball was the rage in the 1890's but the Lynds report little about sports organizations for adults and for children in 1930. The YMCA had just begun in Middletown in the late 1920's:

An organized sport boom is being led by the Young Men's Christian Association sponsored by the business class for the community. Bowling at the lodge, golf on the city course, gym classes at the Y for the business class, and leagues for children and adults have emerged quite recently.²⁴

High School Sports

High School football is followed by thousands of Bloomfield fans. The Thanksgiving Day game, traditionally played against Bloomfield's old rival, Montclair, attracts ten or fifteen thousand fans. However:

For the first time since 1922 Bloomfield and Montclair will not meet on the gridiron on Thanksgiving morning. However the annual dinner to honor members of the squads that played 25 years ago will be held....²⁵

In 1977, the squads who played in 1953 were honored, but all members of the football squads, not necessarily the letter men from the two schools from 1922 to 1953, are eligible to attend this \$15.00 a plate dinner.

The local paper's editor acts as the master of ceremonies at a party for the high school football coach's 100th victory. The front page of the paper features a picture of a mound of enormous young men, all wearing equipment and uniforms with their heads shaved in arrow patterns ("the cone heads") and their faces streaked with black sunguard. This coverage is deplored by the college

educated young housewife but these youths continue to face the youths of surrounding towns. It is in these sports contests, according to Stacy, that the class tensions between neighboring towns are expressed.²⁶

The Town Recreation Program

The director of the town's recreation program estimates that 40,000 of Bloomfield's 54,000 residents passed through the doors of the civic center in 1976. He added that he orders a thousand baseballs a year. The town provides the following recreation program:

Basketball

- a. Senior League - for men born on or before January 1, 1958. Program conducted on Monday and Thursday evenings.

Intermediate League - for boys born between January 2, 1957 and January 1, 1960. Program conducted on Wednesday evenings.

Junior League - for boys born between January 2, 1960 and January 1, 1963, and also for bona fide seventh grade students. Program conducted on Saturday mornings.

Girls' Clinic and League - for girls in the fifth through ninth grades. Program conducted on Saturday afternoons.

One-on-One Tournament - conducted in February. 5 age categories.

Bowling

- a. Girls - program held at Broad & Bay Lanes, commencing in November and ending in March. Two sessions.
- b. Boys - program held at Broad & Bay Lanes, commencing in November and ending in March. Two sessions.

- c. Adult-Child - held on Saturday evenings at Broad & Bay Lanes from 6:00 P.M. to 7:30 P.M., December through March. Parent and Child (9-12 years old) team combo.
- d. Women - two sanctioned leagues - Monday morning and Tuesday morning at Broad & Bay Lanes for adult women. Program commences in September and ends in May.

Baton - for girls 8-14 years of age. Held on Saturday mornings at the Civic Center from 9:00 A.M. to 12:00 Noon. Fall session which commences in October and ends in December. Spring session which commences in February and ends with participation in the Memorial Day Parade.

Football - clinic for boys aged 9-14. Program conducted Saturday mornings at Foley Field, from September through November.

Gymnastics

- a. Girls - spring gymnastic class held at the Senior High School on Saturday mornings, from 9:00 A.M. to 1:30 P.M. in April for a five week period. Three sessions.

Summer program held at North Junior High on Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays during the month of July. Classes start at 9:00 A.M. and end at 2:30 P.M. Open to girls in grades 1 through 9, split into three sessions.

Boys - 1 program held at the Senior High School on Saturday mornings from 10:30 A.M. to 12:00 Noon. Open to boys aged 9-15, from January through March.

Golf - Annual Tournament (Open); held in September; 100 entrants.

Physical Fitness Center - Universal Gym Set located at Memorial Park. Monday, Wednesday, and Friday evenings, year 'round.

Soccer

- a. Summer Program - Senior League - for Senior High and College students.
- b. Clinic - boys grades 4-9. Program conducted Saturday mornings from 9:00 A.M.-11:00 A.M. Held at North Junior High and Wright Field from September through November.

Softball

- a. Girls - (1) Peppermint League: 9-12 year old division. Held at Memorial Park from July through August. (2) 13-17 year old division. Held at Memorial Park from July through August.
- b. Women - (1) Fat Pitch (sic): For women 18 and older. Held at Memorial Park from July through August. (2) Slow Pitch: For women 25 and over. Held at Memorial Park from July through August. (10 teams)

Women's Slow PitchFinal Standings

Mom Moms	Crecco
Rebels Crecco A.C.	Sacred Heart
Jokers De Witt Fillies	Schmidt Electric
Gallo Girls	(Charlie's Angels)
Glenwood Confectionary	Park Saloon Debs

Women's Fast Pitch

Condors	Gallo Girls
Crecco A.C.	Garden State Printing
Valefi	

- c. Men's Senior League - consists of two divisions, Senior A and Senior B. Open to men 18 and over, with Fast Pitch Rules. (18 teams in 1977)
- d. Men's Fat and Forty League - open to men 35 and over, and Slow Pitch Rules govern play. Play commences in May and runs through the middle of August (46 teams in 1977)
- e. Men's Industrial League - open to men who are employed by Bloomfield industries. Play commences in May and runs through the middle of August.

Volleyball

- a. Men - program conducted at Demarest School on Tuesday night from September through April. For adult men, from 7:00 P.M. to 9:00 P.M.
- Program conducted at Watessing School on Thursday night from September through April. For adult men, from 7:00 P.M. to 9:00 P.M.
- b. Women - program conducted at Senior High School on Tuesday evenings from October through April. For adult women, from 7:30 P.M. to 9:30 P.M.

Tennis

- a. Clinic - open to Junior and High School students and adults. Program held in July and August at Vassar and Memorial Park.

Wrestling - program conducted Saturday mornings at the Senior High School for boys aged 9-15. Season runs from January through March, from 8:30 A.M. to 10:30 A.M.

Volleyball/Basketball - this is an indoor school program held in the evening. It is an open program, not structured league play.

In 1977, Little League in Bloomfield, the best in the state, had a Midtown League (Kiwanis, Elks, Marvelo, Zarro and P.B.A. [Policeman's Benevolent Association]), a Southern League (8 teams), Central League (Lummus, Bloomfield Savings, Brook Drugs, Brookdale Confectionary, E & G, Knights of Columbus, Terry Drugs, and 7 more) and a Northern League which had within it three leagues - 7 majors, 16 minor teams) and Pee Wee Leagues (4 teams), for seven and eight year olds. Each League sponsors a dinner at the end of the season. For example at the 1977 awards dinner of the Northern League, more than 400 boys and girls and their parents were present.

This is a large number of sports teams and activities for a community which has 8,000 children between the ages of 5 and 14.²⁷ The large number of professional athletes produced by this program serves to reinforce the program and to fuel the hopes of children and parents who see a possible career in professional sports. The recreation program of the town does self consciously groom children for competitive high school sports which is the level from

which they are recruited by colleges and professional teams. However, participation is also valued as an end in itself.

The federal government, local corporations and the business community are all eager to promote sports. Bloomfield got large block grants for tennis courts from the federal government, and all the teams are sponsored by businesses of some sort. Other sponsors of sports include churches, schools (e.g., one elementary school sponsors an adult-child bowling league) and the YMCA in Montclair. This last organization offers swimming and a gymnastic program, both of which are more costly choices than activities sponsored by the town. The churches sponsor basketball for young boys, supplementing the over crowded and more competitive program sponsored by the town.

All of these children's sports require observers, managers, coaches and referees. All of these positions are filled by adults. Children must be taken to try-outs, uniforms must be purchased, and transportation to games out of the locality must be provided by parents. Raffle tickets and subscriptions to magazines are the main ways by which monies are raised to finance these activities.

The parents' generosity in giving of their time was explained by one parent who said, "the parents are over-involved. First they want to be with the kids and then they start wanting to win." Others explain that the parents follow sports themselves and have always wanted to

be a coach and try out their own ideas after many years of armchair coaching. Another father noted the bitter enmities which develop between parents; he himself equated success in the world with success in sports. Certainly the fathers express a desire to be with their children, and this need to find activities which they can participate in with their children is one explanation for the popularity of children's competitive sports. The study of the Boy Scouts completed in 1968 by the firm of Yankelovitch found that one criticism of scouts made by boys was the very limited opportunities available in scouting for competitive sports.

Parents' energies may be directed toward these activities merely to fill some void in their own lives, but successful competitive performance for children is considered to be an essential in later life success. Luschen²⁸ says the values of sports are those of Protestantism, with its emphasis on achievement and asceticism. It is interesting to note that the other important children's activity which adults direct is scouting, which expressly styles itself a game, according to Huizinga.²³

Judging by the one in-depth description available, one adult-sponsored children's activity, suburban football for six to nine years olds, is hardly playful.³⁰ The emphasis on winning is the responsibility, ultimately, of parents and the parent-coach. Are parents fulfilling some

need in themselves for an experience directing or teaching? Or are parents deeply worried about their children measuring up and therefore see these anxious trials as a sort of training? Inter-family rivalry may be a factor. There is some evidence that families compete against each other in certain scouting events. The enormous popularity of organized sports and scouting activities for children is quite a new phenomenon in American life. Nothing like it is reported for Middletown in 1935, or even by Gans in his study of Levittown in 1967.

The differing ways in which sports are integrated into the lives of residents can be seen by the several members of the group of individuals to whom I talked most extensively. The relationship to sports to these individuals is a telling indication of larger differences in their situation. One older worker's leisure exemplifies the role which sports can play in strengthening work solidarity. He was a member of a plant bowling league which had been in existence for about ten years. This nonwork association with fellow workers does provide an experience of solidarity for this worker. In fact the bowling team has outlived the workplace, which has relocated to the South.

One individual was also a member of the golf league at his company. Bowling and golf are very different experiences. Bowling requires that groups of men compete against each other. Golf requires that a small group of

men compete against each other. These two sports seem to have a symbolic value for Bloomfield residents; they are associated with social class. Older workers especially angrily demand to know the point of golf. When they see golf on the list of activities they demand to know "What is the point of golf? I don't see the point!" On the other hand, one skier (a rarity because of the expense) says that bowling has the image of "fat women in hair curlers."

Weightlifting is part of a newer leisure style for some younger workers. One weightlifter works out in the basement of his house. When asked about his pleasure, John jokes that his first joy is his family, followed very closely by weightlifting. His routine takes one and one-half hours. He works out with his cousin three days a week. He loves "the total awareness of all my muscles, the total awareness of my body." He likes to "feel that things are where they are supposed to be." This younger man is an unskilled worker with some college education. He reads history books, is angrily articulate and very involved with his children. He had a woodworking hobby which produced many beautiful pieces of furniture. It got to be like a job (he couldn't think of anything else), so he stopped. This may happen with weightlifting also. This movement from passion to passion perhaps reflects the greater amount of leisure available.

John resembles the young, spiritually oriented sample in Aronowitz' book on young Lordstown car assembly workers. John and Karen have lived in Bloomfield for seven years. Before that they lived with her mother in Nutley, the neighboring town. They have two children, 10 and 8, a boy and then a girl. They are in their mid-thirties. After marrying right after high school, they waited eight years for children. They met at a bowling alley in Clifton, a neighboring town. He is a warehouseman for a shrinking facility (from 1,000 to 70 workers) of a utility based in New York City. He is a member of a union because there is strength in numbers; "the utility company benefits are out of this world." The contract is negotiated in Washington by the Communication Workers of America. The last union shop meeting was 5 years ago. He has had the same job since the early fifties; he says he could have been making more money but "they want a certain attitude." Now, the men get the work done, usually in 5 or 6 hours and go home. He would rather own a gym or be a lumber jack, but "its an easy job."

Although he was not involved in high school sports, he has always liked handball and long-distance running. He and his cousin bike 25 miles. "You tell your mind to push, see if you can do it." He generally has no group experience. He sees himself as antisocial, although I think he likes people and wants to hear what they have to say. He doesn't like to go to the planning meetings for

cub scouts. He says people in groups "talk to talk", "cite past triumphs," "talk to impress each other" or "talk about the past." Certainly the women outnumber the men in this situation (at cubs) but he adds, "Don't bother me with planning." He is very happy assisting the den leader in helping the boys. He gleefully described a snowball fight where the kids "go after the authority." He also goes camping with the scouts. He is "happy being with his kids." They choose what they want to do and he joins them. They assume he will be there. He would always like to have something to do with them and would even like to have more children. He's not so worried about the money for college, he has decided.

He sees political effort as futile; "they would have a war, even if nobody came," yet he considered "making a contribution" his first choice as a job attribute. In his opinion the Vietnam War ended because of the lies which were exposed, not because of protest, in which he was not involved, although he was opposed to the war. He said war changed his mind about being a cop.

There is "not really" a social problem which concerns him. He is "happy" not to be involved. His understanding of why industries relocate is adequate "tax breaks, lower labor and other costs;" he defends their right to relocate, but not to pollute.

He agrees that there isn't much one can do about the big problems of the world but "the system, could be

changed, where people have more to say. Now the system is run by business but it could be changed around." How? "by people joining together." He laughs -because he has just said he hates groups. Then he adds, "someday when our goals change, when we are less greedy." He suggests that it is necessary to start with "the family."

Karen's mother worked in a factory from the time she was about 11. They needed the money for a house they were building. Her father was the service manager in a car dealership. She worked after high school as a secretary for chemists and engineers at Hoffman Laroche.

Her response to questions about environmental pollution is that the problem is so big; she has "no idea where to start." When I told her about the satellite falling in Canada, she asked, "was it an accident?" "If you knew half of what goes on. The government decides what we can hear."

She says that you can try, if you feel strongly, to do something about the big problems of the world. She believes the average person can do something if you have enough people--look at Ralph Nader. When I asked what she would do say if she found the water supply polluted she said she would 1. write a letter to the newspaper, 2. write to her national congressman. Get lots of people to write, 3. go down there. "Would they let you see your congressman?"

This couple's style resembles that of the engineer and his wife. They have less money but theirs is a vanguard in leisure style quality in the way that the Lordstown workers were seen as a potential breakaway group. They are exceptional in their amount of information, exposure to new ideas through the media, mistrust of authority and the ease of their lifestyle. They do more of what they want than almost anyone else in Bloomfield and perhaps more than the driven highly paid executive in the Young and Wilmott student³¹ who spends little time with family and works a hundred hours a week, then has an exhausting social weekend (see also Sectorsky's Exurbanites, a study of the advertising executive at home in the rural and very expensive suburb).

Explaining the Centrality of Sports

Children are at the center of social life. Their sports and their groups are the form of adult social life, generally. The Center is literally the name for the southern shopping area in Bloomfield, a constellation of stores, ice cream parlors, dime stores, where children and seniors are the great majority of those who shop and walk around. Children and old people are literally and symbolically at "The Center." Bloomfield's Memorial Day Parade of May 29, 1978 also reveals that children and the elderly are at the center of the town's ritual life. The hollowed out quality of the town's business district,

described earlier, is echoed in the absence of adults between the ages of 25 and 55 in the town's parade. This age group, normally at the center of community life (see for example Warner's description of a Memorial Day parade³²) stand on the sidelines and form the audience for a display of the associational life of the town, which involves the elderly and the children.

The marchers in the parade included a variety of musical groups from the high schools in the area, three children's Irish dancing groups, elderly representatives from veterans groups, children receiving leadership and citizenship awards, youths representing baseball leagues, Catholic youth organizations, Scouts, Brownies, Cub Scouts, athletic groups and 4-H Clubs. Several older adults represented the service groups in Bloomfield (Knights of Columbus and their auxiliary, Elks, Red Cross and Big Brothers, and one Livingstone (a neighboring town) lodge. There were also a group of adult square dances (The Patriotic Squares) and one precision marching band of males. The only other younger males participating marched for the Army National Guard, the Fire Department, the Bloomfield Emergency Squad (a group of volunteers already described at the end of this section), Civil Defense and Disaster Control Departments, and the Police Department. The mayor and the town council also participated along with church officials from the Catholic churches in town. There were no younger women participating except those who marched with the Brownies and Cub Scouts.

The parade is a symbolic expression of the realities of town associational life. In the parade are combined the local area's interest in and support for the activities of children and the older forms of associational life which continue to be supported by the elderly.

The pleasures and appeals of parades and sports are myriad. They probably handle tension in a very healthy way and as we have seen there may be quite a lot of stress for children as well as adults. One tennis film by a pro on television showed a child losing control (a boy of perhaps 11) and punching his opponent after losing the game. Sports seem to rather harmlessly engage the emotions and perhaps avoid family discord, a usual response to stress.

The activity for children may compensate for poor school performance and its shames for parents and children. In Little League if you are not good at baseball you are kept back with children a year younger rather than let you move to the better league. This is very like the ranking system in school and indicates a need for a parallel structure. I asked a parent: "Aren't they touchy about their kids?" "Of course they are touchy," she replied. Then she paused, 'about the kids'... then a big breath: "Yes! Everybody's kid is the best."

These parents' lives are rather fragmented and somewhat isolated compared to the minority life style of the professional and executive, yet there persists a strong need for sociability. Sports are the solution. Most impressive in the home interviews is the desire to be good and actual goodness - kindness to family and friends, helpfulness, charitableness, for children, family and community.

The man in charge of town recreation tells me they have a thousand kids involved in Saturday activities.... He explains: "Bloomfielders have always been good recreation people. There is a tradition of sports mindedness in Bloomfield. The way of celebrating Thanksgiving was to go to the game (always against Montclair). There would be 15,000 people at the game."

Bloomfield has always supported sports. It's "a way of keeping the kids busy and out of trouble." The Bloomfield way represents "a clean way of life," at least for the older men and women. Other explanations include a father's who said, "I like a child who participates." Competition among adults can be seen in the "Fat and Forty" male baseball league which has all the drama of a world series in the best years. When questioned about the competition, most respond as if I had said, Why sports? They patiently explain, "Sports creates a bond between people. You can joke about the competition between you and meet them at the same. It's a way of

meeting people. Of course you don't want to make a fool of yourself. You've seen the ABC of Sports: Agony of Defeat Show. Losing is agony."

Stacy³³ explained the sports craziness of towns in England by showing how sports developed firm class boundaries between communities. Bloomfield up until recently played the towns who were exerting pressure on Bloomfield: Newark, Glenridge, Nutley, and South Orange. But now the ancient Montclair/Bloomfield competition is over at last. Bloomfield had to leave its league because of a riot with the Newark team on the field in 1979.

*

DEAR DR. BROTHERS: Our two boys, aged 6 and 9, are on the local Peewee football team. They're tough little players and we feel they're learning a lot from the game and from the community support they're receiving as little stars.

Our daughter, however, who's a twin of the six-year old, has told us she doesn't like being a cheerleader. She cries more than her brother did when he first got on the team. It's embarrassing to me and to her father and yet we hate to take her out of the group.

My husband is afraid this will be like telling her that when she cries she can just get her own way. She says she won't go to school if she has to continue being a little cheerleader. My mother spent weeks making all her costumes and I just don't know what to do. Apart from this, she's a doll and never gives us any trouble. - V.R.

The mother in the Dr. Joyce Brothers' letter quoted above wants to be involved in something beyond the family, something with "community spirit."

Descriptions of ritual show how ritual allows for lives to be illuminated by a shared meaning. The loss of this form of transcendence may represent a greater deprivation than many others which are more readily imagined; sports may allow for a similar experience of sharing.

One mother was defending television as an important relaxation after sports pressure. Sometimes her son "gets tense from school and try-out pressures, but in front of the TV, he relaxes and laughs." At one game between St. Cassian's (the local parochial school and a team from Union), the girls were only allowed to play after a lead had been established. These 8 and 9 year olds kept trying to win even when they were losing badly; the coach kept up a running stream of invocation and directives. At one point, the tall female star of the team, (the only Black child on the team) and the coaches - all white and male - went into a huddle to discuss strategy. The other children patiently waited for them to finish. At one point, one small boy gave his fallen teammate a little pat.

To the researcher living in Bloomfield it seems that the only community activity is children; children are to the locality as work is to the nonlocal. Children are

what remains in the locality. They are the concern that all share. Organizational life of the more traditional type has declined but the community or locality Bloomfield is highly organized, not into instrumental voluntary associations but into teams which play each other in sports. Sports for children, and for some men, are the most numerous formal associations in Bloomfield. Nonlocal work and locality sports, with women involved in community formal associations is the pattern for a working class locality in the inner suburbs like Bloomfield. But it is only after reading Chapter VI, Explaining Political Apathy, that the reasons for Bloomfield's rather apolitical focus will be clearer.

CHAPTER V FOOTNOTES

1The information for this chapter was gathered from the individual home interviews, the Bloomfield Independent Press, 1978-80, materials issued by the Bloomfield Civic Center, interviews with specialists, e.g. the director of the town's recreation program, a ceramics studio instructor, several parents involved in sports and in improving the local schools and local sports and political figures.

2Young and Willmott, The Symmetrical Family, p. 213.

3NSF Annual Report (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976) p.12.

4Kornblum, Blue Collar Community.

5LeMasters, Blue-collar Aristocrats.

6Komarovsky, Blue Collar Marriage, p. 324.

7The Senior Citizens of Bloomfield and their associational life consists of an association for retired professionals and an active program for Seniors at the Civic Center has not been the focus of inquiry for this thesis. Largely the activities of the seniors involve providing excursions, and trips as well as other services (for example cheaper prescription drugs, etc.). Seniors are the participants in several of the clubs which meet at the Civic Center, for example the legal secretaries club professional women's club, practical nurses, retired insurance salesmen and retired Wagner Electric employee's club. Older residents of Bloomfield provide much of the membership of the Knights of Columbus auxiliary which is active in producing cancer dressings. One other group which meets at the Civic Center, The Bloomfield Taxpayer's Association is an important group which was overlooked by the researcher. In the one meeting which this researcher attended, newsletter excerpts were read from a conservative national group which focuses on high taxes. The group in Bloomfield actively protested the school budget, which they believed to be too high, at a school board hearing on the budget. The budget was defeated and a more modest one accepted later. Some regional groups like the DAR and the Tri Town Business and Professional Women's Club, the Optimists and the Italian Heritage Group (the Unico), and the Polish Heritage Group were also neglected because they play such a small part in the life of the town, based on all interviews, and newspaper reviews. Churches connected with several women's groups which have a yearly event were also excluded. These groups also seem to be made up of elderly women.

8Russell Roemmele, "Our Town," Bloomfield Independent Press, November 10, 1978, p. 2.

9U.S. Census, 1970, p. 83 (Table 32-284).

10Campbell and others, The Quality of American Life.

11Yankelovitch found that half of all boys belong to some club or group. Scouting is more popular among "middle income, younger suburban boys." (Daniel Yankelovitch, Is Scouting in Tune with the Times, A Research Report, July 1968.)

12A. Yannuzi, "Scouting News," Bloomfield Independent Press, February 17, 1979, p. 4.

13Harvey Molotoch, "A Rentier Class in Regional Development," Talk given at a colloquium of the Department of Sociology, City University of New York, 1978.

14"If You Don't Know," B.I.P., September 22, 1977, p. 12.

15"Bill Moyer's Journal," Channel 13 Telecast, February 14, 1979.

16Robert C. Wood and M. Vladmir Almendinger, 1400 Governments: The Political Economy of the New York Metropolitan Region, New York Metropolitan Region Study #8 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961).

17Richard Rovere, "Affairs of State," The New Yorker, May 8, 1978, pp. 140-43.

18This assumes that a locality has no direct access to resources or to the means of production.

19One curious feature of the employee's attitude toward tax abatements for his corporation is that corporations may pay taxes to the locality in which it operates a plant. Because the worker lives in another locality, often, his feelings are quite divided on the question of local property taxes paid by the corporation, especially if he owns shares in the company, as is the case of one middle level manager in a utility who is included in this study, or if the company is threatening to leave "because of taxes."

20For example, from 1975 to 1982 the industrial ratables in Bloomfield fell from 41 million to 31 million dollars while the total ratables only increased by 4 million dollars (\$432,726,900 to \$436,718,300). (Bloomfield Tax Assessor, in conversation, January 29, 1982).

21Richard Lynch, "The Effects of Relocation."

22The tax rate in Bloomfield is \$6.07 on every hundred dollars of assessed value. If a house is assessed at \$20,000 (most houses in Bloomfield are assessed at between 20 and 25), they pay \$1,214 per year.

23Editorial, Bloomfield Independent Press, November 3, 1977, p. 2.

24Defining the Issues for a Locality and Town Planning may appear to be related issues. Planning for the development of Bloomfield is officially carried on by a planning board. The Town Council approves a recommendation from the board to hire a firm to write the plan. Economic planning for the locality is not considered part of the planning board's duties. Both municipalities and county receive federal funds for planning.

25Lynds, Middletown, p. 283-284.

26Editorial, Bloomfield Independent Press, October 27, 1977, p. 2.

27Margeret Stacy, Tradition and Change: A Study of Banbury, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960).

28U.S. Census, 1970, p. 32-81.

29Gunter Lüschen, "The Interdependence of Sport and Culture," Sport in the Sociocultural Process, edited by Marie Hart, 2d ed (Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown Company, 1976).

30Johan Huizinga, "The Play-Element in Contemporary Civilization," Sport in the Sociocultural Process.

31Hank Burchard, "Boys Play the Men's Game," Sport Sociology edited by I. Ylannakis and others, (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall Hunt Publishing Company, 1976).

32Young and Willmott, The Symmetrical Family.

33William Lloyd Warner, The Living and the Dead; A Study of the Symbolic Life of Americans, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959).

34Stacy, Tradition and Change.

Chapter VI

EXPLAINING "POLITICAL APATHY"

Information which serves to explain the political activity in Bloomfield is drawn from the following areas: individual attitudes and perceptions of problems and of appropriate responses; federal and state initiatives which have an impact on locality decision-making; the manner in which issues are addressed by local politicians which has been discussed, and the response of organized labor to problems at local, state and federal levels. The following discussion of these four areas will be organized around the two major problems which face New Jersey localities like Bloomfield: the problems of industry relocation and environmental pollution. The first section of the discussion will address state and federal level response to these problems. (For a discussion of the extent of relocation itself, see Chapter 3).

State and Federal Response to Major Problems

The Regulation of the Chemical Industry

The most critical long term effect on the lives of New Jersey residents of corporate decisions, unmodified by democratic controls, lies in their impact on the environment. Although excluded for twenty years

from public consciousness, as we will see, the effect of relocation of industry shrinks in significance when compared with the pollution of the water supply of an entire densely populated state. Only recently has this issue has been discussed:

In 1976, residents of New Jersey were both dismayed and confused to learn that their chances of contracting cancer were the highest in America. That year, a retrospective analysis of medical records from 1950 to 1969 revealed that, in some areas, they were suffering 30 percent more deaths from a variety of malignancies and that, overall, the incidence was a startling 14 percent or more above the national average. Every 12 months, according to the tabulation, 14,000 people in the state were dying from what was ambiguously termed "environmental cancer." Another 24,000¹ or so were in the earlier stages of developing it.

New Jersey had the highest cancer rates in the nation, up until 1980². Chemical dumping of toxic wastes has rendered toxic (cancer causing) the water of all New Jersey including the Passaic Water Table. This fact was established as early as 1971.³

This pollution has been created by industries which produce a variety of toxic wastes. Among the most important are polychlorinated biphenyls, used as an insulator in the manufacture of electronics. The industry's wastes were not addressed by any legislation until 1968 when the first toxic waste laws regulating PCBs were passed by the federal government. Most electronics factories had left New Jersey by the early seventies.

10,000 factories in New Jersey produce chemical waste (from manufactured drugs, and petrochemical products (plastics, insecticides, etc.)). Many of these are toxic. Their disposal requires complicated and expensive burning processes. Many critics of inground storage believe that these storage efforts cannot be made secure over the long term. Dumping into the sea, 106 miles from land, is the present preferred but expensive and in the long run disastrous disposal method.

Many state officials believe there must be "some connection" between the high environmental concentration of toxic chemicals and the cancer rates, though they are quick to point out that such a connection has not been proved. Most worrisome to them, however, have been the dump sites. In New Jersey there still remain about 300 landfills that are causing significant concern, and every year some 1.3 billion gallons of highly poisonous waste is generated.⁴

The disposal of wastes is handled by a regional agency of the federally funded Environmental Protection Agency, which exists as a separate entity between the state environmental agency and the federal government. For many months in 1978 the New Jersey EPA (Solid Wastes Administration) left industries in the state without a legal means of disposing of "the 1.3 billion gallons of highly poisonous" waste generated annually. The one treatment plant in the state was destroyed by fire in

February of 1978.⁵ In June of the same year, a conglomerate called SCA Services was granted a permit (with easements) by the EPA to construct a plant for the treatment of a small percentage of the needs of the state. This assessment was made by the EPA Director at that time. During this interval of many months, chemical companies used ten carters, at least one of which had already been caught and fined for illegal dumping. These carters were left to deal with perhaps as much as half of the yearly wastes generated. Dumping is widespread, especially in Newark and in the Pine Barrens. On the New Jersey Nightly News in the winter of 1981, SCA head, Viola, was accused of having underworld ties and of illegal dumping. However the news report never mentioned his critical role in the state pollution efforts. Nor was this mentioned in the Brown article cited above about New Jersey's "clean up act".

The failure to control illegal dumping of toxic wastes in the state by the EPA and inability of that agency to restore New Jersey's only facility for burning waste was recognized by the creation in 1980 of a new state authority empowered to take over the problem. Janson⁶ reports that the state Department of Health refused to do a study of the Tom's River area, a rural New Jersey township, where residents near a landfill can no longer use their well water and experienced an epidemic of fatal health problems

due to the toxicity of their drinking water. Toxic wastes were deposited illegally in the town dump over the previous eight years. The town hoped to earn revenue by allowing the disposal of liquid wastes.

In Bloomfield itself, this waste problem has not been addressed by the local press, with two exceptions. An eager if somewhat ill-informed reporter attempted to interview an official connected with the Newark Water system. His interview produced the following article. It is important to know two facts: 1. that chlorine combines dangerously with organic matter in water, and 2. it seems difficult for local residents to know the source of their water (Bloomfield residents now believe that their water comes from an entirely different source than that at Newark.)

The Water We Drink--Really, How Good Is It
by Bob Scherer

The quality of the water servicing Bloomfield residents is "one step below excellent," according to Daniel Berardinelli, Manager of the Newark Water Supply.

Berardinelli said findings from testing of the water supply conducted last year indicate that the presence of natural organics, which when mixed with the chlorine could produce contamination, are "well below danger limits."

To resolve the problem, the EPA is proposing a two part regulation. The first would establish limits on chloroform and related organics in the water. The second would require many cities to install a special type of filtration equipment called granular activated carbon to remove the chemicals. However, cities that do not need it will not have to comply with the granular activated carbon requirement.

Berardinelli said the Newark Water Supply is one such city which would not have to comply. He said the water supply is under state mandate to construct a filtration plant for the purpose of meeting certain water quality standards that regard esthetic quality only.

"We have at times exceeded the standards for iron, manganese, color, and turbidity," Berardinelli said. "However, meeting these standards is for esthetic purposes only, and none of the excesses represent a health hazard."

Berardinelli pointed out that in one test of water standards rats were exposed to carcinogenic chemicals extracted from contaminated water which, if it were to be ingested by a human, would require that person to drink a normal amount of water for 184,000 years.

Scherer's article was written shortly after an article appeared in The Times reporting that the Passaic water table was polluted with PCBs. During the drought in 1980 and 1981, the Passaic River was heavily chlorinated because it contained large quantities of sewage effluent.⁸

The other recognition of the waste problem in the local paper's was in July of 1979, when Bloomfield itself experienced a reported "statistically significant" number of childhood cancer cases in one neighborhood. In this case the state health department, more specifically Annette Sternhagen, investigator to Dr. Ron Altman of the Division of Laboratories and Epidemiology recommended to the town that they watch the Ampere neighborhood. Four of the five cases of cancer were similar. The reader should remember that the cases are significant because they are above country and state averages⁹.

The possibilities of citizens' participation in decisions which affect their lives must be assessed against the state's poor performance in protecting its citizens' lives--not livelihoods--but lives. On the level of public responsibility, there is no possible explanation for this performance record.

The State's Response

To give the flavor of the legislature, which Peirce asserts virtually doesn't function, the following overview of the 1975 League of Women Voters Legislative Summary is offered. 1975 was the year that the state development agency officially recognized New Jersey's crisis of disinvestment. In that year, Democratic Governor Brendon Byrne's 5% personal income tax bill was defeated by the Republican legislature, even after Byrne slashed the budget and cut off state services for a month. The legislature later returned to Trenton to raise 263.5 million in revenues and raised at the same time, the unearned income ceilings to encourage capital investment. The legislature also passed a bond issue which raised 600 million dollars, half for highways and half for mass transit. An additional 324 million dollars, for housing, human services and water supply also passed. In this session it was decided that all proposed legislation on environmental or taxation matters and proposed changes in rules and regulations regarding the environmental or tax

laws be subjected to an economic impact assessment by the Office of Economic Policy.

The inadequate legislative response to New Jersey's problems is not surprising, especially given the power and number of corporations incorporated in the state and the state's "traditions." Peirce writes:

Jersey companies with a potentially great public role include Prudential Insurance, Campbell's Soup at Camden, and Becton Dickinson in Bergen County (a big instrument manufacturer). Among the individuals of unusual influence are W. Paul Stillman, president of the First National State Bank in Newark, Leon Hess of the Hess Oil Company, and Gene Mori, who operates the Garden State Race Trac.¹¹

The state in the late seventies was described by Angelo Baglivo, as quoted by Peirce:

At this stage in New Jersey's political evolution, there is one dominant new force that is shattering traditional voting patterns. It is the independent voter who lives in his mortgaged home in the suburbs. On his middle-income salary, he frets about rising taxes--but demands more and better services from government.

He worries about the quality of education his children are receiving--but votes against increased school budgets and complains about teacher strikes and student activists.

He expresses sympathy with the plight of the dis-advantaged in the city ghettos--but is frightened by black militancy and asks where it's all going to end.¹²

Baglivo is really describing a two party system screeching to a halt, a phenomenon occurring both on the state level and in elections for federal congress. The contradictions between a frightened, but greedy liberalism and a frightened but greedy conservatism have literally immobilized the system.

As have have seen the town politicians define the issues in a way which will allow them to defeat their opponent. Such tactics create a narrow range of issues for local individuals while the more critical overarching patterns are not addressed.

Control of Disinvestment

The State's policy is to keep industry in New Jersey and attract new industry. The Economic Development Authority of New Jersey has announced a plan authorizing the state to arrange low-interest long term financing for industrial and commerical projects. The authority is empowered to issue tax exempt bonds, to guarantee loans, to enter into contracts, and to buy and sell property.¹³ Developers therefore are sold state lands with federal and state monies and excused from taxes, just as Schering Plough now does in Puerto Rico. "Parks" for industry in New Jersey have already been established in Elizabeth and Jersey City.¹⁴

The state also developed a sports complex in the Meadowlands. As the editor of the Bloomfield paper points out, location in the center of one of New Jersey's many major cities might have been a less destructive choice to the environment, work force, existing business downtown, etc., as well as a less expensive one. The complex is owned by Hartz Mountain and was built with state money. A feat accomplished without the voters approval, by a N.J.

Authority. The revenues from the Authority are deposited in the same fund as the revenues from the Authority which controls state race tracks.

Development priorities for the area are also shaped by the New York-New Jersey Port Authority. The Port Authority now seeks legislation to enable the agency to study municipalities and develop industrial parks in the central cities. It will spend a billion dollars over the next ten years in state and private funds. Clearly, the transportation choices made by the Port Authority have been revealed by Caro to be monstrous. As the New Jersey Conservation Foundation recently stated:

...New Jersey surely needs an intelligent policy on its future growth. Why destroy the countryside to build new cities when existing cities are wasting away. A rusting city is incredibly expensive and a lot worse for the environment than any other kind of solid waste we find blotting out landscapes.²⁵

We have seen in brief outline how the state is handling the problem of relocation and state development. But how is the federal government contributing to the state's problems?

Federal Role

"Jobs for the Community, Chamber of Commerce, Housing and Urban Development"; these words are written on a sign

that stands in front of the local high school, which is being refurbished with federal money. The National Chamber of Commerce furnished the sign. In October of 1977, the mayor of Bloomfield announced housing and community development grants amounting to 3.8 million dollars over the next three years, part of the 12.5 billion dollar national Housing and Community Development Act of 1977. The federal government affects the local community and its residents by providing jobs in nonprofit organizations (CETA), construction jobs refurbishing the local recreational facilities, low interest loans in historic areas in Bloomfield, and low interest loans to low-income homeowners. Below is a table which shows the money which the federal government has paid the municipality in the last five years:

1972	\$ 247,175	
1973	722,427	
1974	556,225	
1975	816,726	
1976	1,353,036	(revenue sharing, 427 thousands, CETA, 545,000, Section 8 rent subsidies (low-income) 120,396, community development 149,000).
1977	5,772,023	(Local public works 1,466,000 New Jersey revenue sharing 352,000, CETA 2,879,201, anti-recession WPA, 134,153).

The mayor estimates that Bloomfield has received 9 million, 467 thousand dollars in federal and state funds

since 1972.¹⁶ As the table above shows, federal and state revenue sharing funds have increased since the abandonment of the federal urban renewal program in the early 70s. In 1978, the block grant method of allocation was used by the Housing and Urban Development agency of the federal government to award "the inner suburb" of Bloomfield one million, 217 thousand dollars which Bloomfield used to clean up the local pond, recreation areas, rehabilitation for housing, housing for seniors, repairs for storm sewers, parks and streets. Money allocations are approved by the Town Council after the Council holds two public meetings. At these meetings, residents are invited to offer suggestions about spending the one million. For example, in 1978, representatives of the handicapped and the local tenant organization spoke. Suggestions for curbing in a local park and housing rehabilitation at Clark's Pond South, and housing rehabilitation in the Watsessing area were contributed. The three suggestions for physical improvement were included. The town of Bloomfield receives \$.73 for every dollar in taxes paid to the federal government. Yet the federal government plays an important role in the locality through its programs and the federal stipulations which determine how these monies may be spent. As we have seen, programs which speak more directly to the locality's needs may be imagined.

Federal tax laws for corporations are critical in causing the locality's changes, as we have seen but there is other legislation passed which attempts to soften the effects of the mode of production on regions and localities. Deep structural changes do not emanate from government, at any level; corporations are the strong actors.

Federally financed regional development schemes sometimes are directed to the locality's need for jobs, however, they often have other social impacts. The Urban Development Action grant would permit the town to join with a private company to receive a federal grant for all or partial purchase of land or for demolition of old buildings. This policy is an incentive to business to locate in the community but it also encourages new buildings in an already densely populated area. These new industrial parks and shopping malls will later attempt to get tax free port status or tax breaks from the locals. In the former case, the federal government loses revenue. The state appears to be as powerless as the locality; and federal legislation locks the locality into a conservative position because all money is earmarked. Town politicians become managers and maintainers rather than advocates of a party platform at the local level.

Political Attitudes

As we have seen, the Bloomfield locality has two major, externally induced problems. The failure of political leaders to discuss these problems is one explanation there-

fore of the low level of political activity in the locality. As long as the causes for locality problems, like the rising tax rate, remain obscure, a response by the citizenry of the locality remains impossible.

The failure of leaders of either party to focus political discussion on cause rather than effect will be treated in the following section on the citizen's perception of political issues. A discussion of the connection between activity and mental constructs or "consciousness" will include: 1) attitudes about corporations and their decisions, 2) worries about social problems, 3) the vision of how social problems are solved, 4) attitudes toward organizations (groups), 5) the role which thoughts of escape from their present situation play, and 6) attitudes toward pollution.

The Decisions of Corporations

As we will see, false reasons for corporate relocation were held by Bloomfield's citizenry. That their views were widely shared can be seen in the Progressive Alliance publication which appeared in the late seventies.¹⁸ In that document it was announced that local taxes are never the reasons corporations leave. When Bloomfield residents were questioned on the causes for corporate relocation, all residents, without exception, mentioned high taxes in the local area as the reason for leaving. This was offered in nearly every case as the

first reason. Three quarters mentioned the cheaper costs for labor which industries pay in the South or abroad. The South was seen as the major competitor despite the fact that a major local industry, the electronics industry, went to the Far East.

The most devoted union member in the study (he had the longest continuous association with his union and had depended on it for jobs for twenty years) said that unions should be "less grabby. It was the strong unions that drove industry out of the area." He has been involved in the local negotiations carried on between the union, the town, and a relocating major corporation.

Those who saw labor as the expense which was pushing industry out of the area offered no solution. One person recognized that the industries' decision to make more profits was connected with the problem, but she went on to compare her own lack of integrity with that lack of integrity which allows corporations to destroy local economies.

All recognized this destruction. Five persons blamed the Newark work force for the supposed refusal to do the work which industry requires. In their view, it is the Black population of Newark who are being left, rather than the workers of Bloomfield.

The rights of business were upheld by every one without exception. "They have a right to relocate." The solution to this problem was universally thought to be

that the towns should lower their taxes for business and cut service. "We must make ourselves more attractive, so they will stay," they say. "We must cut services, eliminate schools."

Bloomfield's Perception of Problems

In my estimation, the issues which are of the utmost importance for Bloomfield are the environmental conditions in the region and locality (air and water pollution, particularly), and unemployment, especially of youth, older manufacturing workers and wives of older workers. High taxes and deteriorating housing stock, two more areas indirectly caused by corporation relocation, are also very important.

In interviewing residents of Bloomfield about their social and leisure lives, a few questions were included which dealt with their perception of social problems or issues of concern to them. However, most of the women expressed concern with problems related to the lives of their children (violent television shows, child abuse, bad education in the schools, drugs). Snow removal (2), crime (1), racism (1), pollution, apathy (1), misanthropic attitudes of the General American (1), layoff and aging, (2), government spending (1), and inflation, (1), were offered by the remaining participants as social problems which concerned them.

The two unskilled and semi-skilled workers who were in most economic trouble and who had the most pressing personal trouble were the most irate about failures of municipal services (snow removal). An employee of a large corporation mentioned earlier combined his concern about apathy with concern about too much government intervention. Yet he also wanted to give the clearest picture of classic democratic behavior. "People should be better informed, they should vote more intelligently." Here he cited the town meetings and letters to congressmen. The corporate ideology to which this individual has been exposed has this contradictory potential. The ideas of participation and democracy are kept alive as they are being undermined. This particular man had visited stockholders for his company and had responded to other issues in a way which indicated that he had absorbed a lot of pro-corporate ideas. For example, on environmental pollution he said the public will have to decide how much "clean-up" it is willing to "underwrite."

Who Can Solve These Problems?

Although a few people had tried to change particular problems, most had not and patiently explained to me that "you have to be personally touched." One woman, who told me this, had been recently involved in the personal effects of relocation which she discussed with other women who were talking about doing something. One worker had been

involved in three successful zoning battles. He had learned that he and his neighbors could win at the zoning board, at least in contests with some opponents. (They repelled a beauty parlor, and some apartment houses). One man cited, as an example of trying to do something about a social problem, his volunteering for service in Vietnam and his recruitment of people to work on the emergency squad.

For some, "social problems" are equated with workplace organizing efforts. The words elicit material on union activity or the lack of it. A social problem may also mean a racial problem and prompts thoughts about supporting a swimming pool in the town. (This pool proposal was defeated in the last mayoral race.)

As a further measure of powerlessness¹⁹, participants were asked to agree or disagree with the following:

1. A person should try to lead his own life in as decent a way as he can, but there isn't much one can do about the big problems of the world.
2. There's an order of things in life and there's not much we can do about our fate.
3. The important matters are decided by a small group of powerful people, and there's not much of anything the average person can do about it.

With one exception to question one, and several to question three, Bloomfield residents to whom I talked all answered this set of questions in the same way: 1. Agree, 2. Disagree, 3. Agree, but....The variation consists in the strength of the "but." For example:

- I agree, with the exception of getting involved, being aware of what's going on, getting heard either through letters or speaking out.
- I agree, you need money to even begin so most just schlep along.
- I agree, it's our shame there is so much corruption.
- I agree, but certainly groups can do something. Look at the last war. Initially they were seen as draft dodgers. They did change the war.
- I agree, but it's a question of clout.
- I agree, but the system is a democracy. It could be changed when people have more say. It's not free enterprise now. It's run by business. The only way is to join a group. There has to be a way where more say is given people. You have to start with the family.
- I agree, if you care enough you can do something. If you really care, but it might not change.
- I agree. If you had enough people...look at Nader.

They all agree on their powerlessness, but theoretically democracy is still possible.

Attitudes Toward Instrumental Policy Activity

In the national study of Campbell, Converse and Rodgers,²⁰ data was collected, but never written up, regarding the relationship between satisfaction with group activity and activity in these groups. An analysis of the data tapes shows in fact that neither group experience nor occupation nor conviction about the importance of organizational life predicts group satisfaction well. In another study of workplace organizing Mann²¹ attempted to measure the consciousness of workers almost immediately

before a walk out in which workers stormed the administrative offices of the factory. He failed to predict the militance which was apparently submerged at the time of the study.

In Bloomfield, a question about the effectiveness of groups was greeted first with laughter. Then perhaps an anecdote about "the camel, a horse made by a committee," and then some version of the statement of guarded optimism which follows: "They accomplish a great deal. People get together. At the same time they have only their own ends." Unions and the emergency squad were offered as examples of what groups can accomplish. Other examples included Nader's consumer action and the PTA fundraisers.

One man said he had been active and now didn't have time. He was implying that at an earlier stage he had tried, and many others made similar hints (7). One could feel the thought processes wending their way to doing nothing in the present. His solution was to connect social problems and group activity, but he had had enough in college.

A recurrent theme from participants is that individuals are showing off--talking just to talk, their egos are too involved. Their second explanation for inaction may be that group work is ineffective or has been ineffective in the past because the mechanisms of power--how to get access to government decisionmakers, for example--are so little understood and so remote. Women are especially unknowing about this area of life.

Even when causes of social problems are clear, the rights of the corporation and the rights of the individual cannot--at least at the current level of analysis--be connected. The limits of the analysis of social problems available to Bloomfield residents through their schools, the New Jersey media and their politicians at all levels, may well impede efforts. The explanations for the dislike of groups may include other factors. The strong reluctance of people to become involved in a group whose purpose is change was clear.

With few exceptions, workers to whom I talked in Bloomfield do not contemplate a marked increase in their status or income, or a change in their occupation, two elements in traditional measures of class consciousness. In fact, they seem to fear a decline for themselves, and some difficulty in transmitting their gains to their children. Vacations, travel and leisure do not seem to offer an 'escape' from these fears, but rather, a chance to think about them.

Handling Pollution Anxiety

Because there is no reactor in Bloomfield itself, residents do not perceive of themselves as living on top of one, as residents of Harrisburg do. At the time of the accident at Harrisburg, residents of Bloomfield (environmental group members) told this researcher that Harrisburg "is far away" and few worried about the event.

The only experience which the citizens of Bloomfield have with the nuclear industry is indirectly through presentations by the industry to educate school children about atomic energy. The Oak Ridge Association of Universities, part of the pro-nuclear Institute for Energy Analysis, sends speakers to elementary school classrooms in Bloomfield. The theme of their talks is summarized in the phrase "in your hands lies the destiny of this atomic world." This non-governmental nonprofit corporation showed students the basic principles of nuclear energy, its sources and its potential role in agriculture, industry, medicine and research. Specially designed electronic equipment was used during a forty minute program to demonstrate the sources of radiation, how nuclear energy is harnessed to furnish power for cities, and the use of radioisotopes to aid in diagnosis. NASA (National Aeronautics and Space Administration) also sends a representative to Bloomfield to describe NASA's space age technology and nuclear weaponry.

When asked whether this problem concerned them and what they might do about it, Bloomfield residents had a variety of maneuvers which distanced them from the anxiety which this topic aroused. To a significant degree, events seem simply out of control.

The first and most widely employed maneuver was to mention that there is a recycling program in town. The recycling program, of course, has little effectiveness in

terms of the scale of the problem raised. The failure to grasp this scale is revealed in one woman's response to the information that a nuclear satellite had fallen into the Canadian woods: "Thank God it wasn't my backyard." No one had heard of this incident, although it was reported on the front page of The New York Times.

The regional director of the SANE-Mobilization for Survival sees Bloomfield as not the best place for his organizing efforts, given his limited resources. Other nearby areas in the region have more "public spirited" individuals and more money. The Bloomfield Independent Press and the Bloomfield Environmental Group were united on the need for a town recycling center, which the town has taken over after the group established it. It is to the group and the paper's credit that everyone to whom I talked knew about the recycling program.

Another maneuver by the people with whom I talked was to assert disbelief in the position of either the nuclear proponents or the environmentalists. In other words, they polarize the issue and the speaker remains an observant third party. Both sides distort the information; therefore "one doesn't know whom to believe." Action is impossible. The issues, literally, immobilize Bloomfield residents.

Added to the lack of trust in the experts on either side is the impossibility of researching the question for oneself. Many in fact do suggest that only a group effort

would be possible. The state of confusion or suspiciousness avoids the problem of taking sides and perhaps of identifying with an environmental group which often appeared --at least in the period in which the study took place--as anti-worker and anti-human in an almost fastidious love of purity and animals. Also of course corporations threaten to leave if the EPA standards are enforced at the workplace.

Another strategy is angry denial. It can take the form:

I hear about environmental pollution. It took me seven years to stop smoking. The nuclear jazz is too far off. People have so much to worry about. Finally, you say, let them worry. How much can I worry? They have cried wolf once too often. I can't believe they would be so stupid as to start a third world war.

Anxiety is rejected. It is no longer a realistic warning, but rather a form of unwanted intervention from the nagging media.

Another response of denial is: "Air pollution here is not as bad as people make out." The problem is elsewhere. Yet another response is the corporate line (self blame): "People have to decide what they want and they must be willing to pay for cleaning up." One person said that corporations can relocate but not pollute.

The satellite news prompted one woman to say:

There's another example. They only tell us what they want. They do what they like. They just sit in Washington filling their pockets. They have an answering service for our letters. I am not sure they read them.

A large majority of their responses included phrases like "at a loss," "Wouldn't know where to begin," "So much above us." Control is impossible. One reaction to the satellite falling was: "Accidents do happen; trains crash." A lack of information on the issue, lack of imagination, or experience of lack of information and lack of a grasp of the issue was clear. Processes are occurring, at least in Bloomfield, which allow the safety of residents to be threatened without allowing them to recognize that this event is occurring. Industry is not seen as the source of pollution hazards. Problems of environmental carcinogens are not experienced because of their vague TOTAL nature, and their familiarity, their everydayness.

Footnotes

¹Michael Brown, "New Jersey Cleans Up Its Pollution Act," New York Times Magazine, November 23, 1980.

²Donald Janson, "Toxic Wastes, A Nightmare for Jersey," New York Times, February 2, 1980, page B5.

³In conversation with the Science editor of the Newark Star-Ledger, Gordon Bishop.

⁴Brown, "New Jersey Cleans Up".

⁵Robert Hanley, "SCA Conglomerate to Construct Treatment Plant," New York Times, February 23, 1979.

⁶Donald Janson, "Toxic Wastes, A Nightmare for New Jersey," New York Times, February 2, 1980, p. B5.

⁷Bob Scherer, "The Water We Drink," Bloomfield Independent Press, February 16, 1978, p. 5.

⁸Robert Hanley, "Passaic River Effluent Increase in Drought," New York Times, January 25, 1981, p. 33.

⁹Joseph D'Arco, "Five Cancer Cases in One Area," Bloomfield Independent Press, July 26, 1979, p. 5.

¹⁰WCBS and The League of Women Voters of New Jersey, 1975 Roll Call Report From the 196th New Jersey Legislature (Montclair, New Jersey: The League of Women Voters, 1975).

¹¹Pierce, The Mid-Atlantic States, p. 214.

¹²Peirce, The Mid-Atlantic States, p. 215.

¹³Editorial, Bloomfield Independent Press, April 13, 1978, p. 2.

¹⁴Editorial, Bloomfield Independent Press, March 23, 1978, p. 2.

¹⁵Editorial, Bloomfield Independent Press, March 23, 1978.

¹⁶Indirect federal funds distributed through school lunch programs, food stamps, local public works programs, higher educational, veterans, block grants, unemployment, state and local government fiscal assistance amount to 51 million, 338 thousands.

Source: Geographical Distribution of Federal Funds in New Jersey: A Report of the Federal Government's Impact by State, County and Large City (Community Services Administration, Technical Information Service of U.S. Department of Commerce, Report #FIXS-77-31).

¹⁷Leonard Silk, "Economic Scene," quotes a forthcoming article in the Journal of Policy Analysis and Management of Harvard University, by Dr. Janet R. Pack, New York Times, p. D2, January 27, 1982.

Bloomfield, in 1981, declared itself a township for the express purpose of collecting 500,000 extra federal dollars. Once again, this is an example of the way in which the federal government regulations can turn localities into petitioners.

¹⁸Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison, Capital and Communities: The Causes and Consequences of Private Disinvestment.

¹⁹Charles Bolton, "Alienation and Action: A Study of Peace-Group Members," American Journal of Sociology, 78 #3.

²⁰Campbell and others, The Quality of American Life.

²¹Mann, Consciousness and Action.

Chapter VII

The Impact of American Economic Decisions
on Community Social Life

As we saw in the last chapter, government at the local, state and federal levels is unable to effectively address Bloomfield's problems and in fact on occasion act to exacerbate them. When judged by the magnitude of the effects, the major decisions are not made by government but by corporations. Conventionally defined political decision-making, at least in the case of pollution and relocation, comes after the fact and is expressed in adequate and contradictory actions which fail to address the sources of these problems.

Bloomfield's level of social participation is probably greater than that of many other suburban communities yet the separation of the workplace and the residential community, the increasing smallness and uniqueness of each workplace, the decrease in the strength of organized labor, and of associations expressing the civic interests of a local elite, the continued exclusion of women, the erosion of local centers and fragmentation of daily experience, the increasing distance of Bloomfield from the centers of power and decisionmaking - all these changes pull Bloomfielders apart. Engaging in politics becomes increasingly "un-thinkable"; politicians appear irrelevant. Bloomfield's fate was and is dependent on the investment policies of major

corporations. In this context the turning away from politics becomes more understandable.

This thesis promised to show how changes in the mode of production impact on locality associational life. The eclipse of the lodge, the party, the local businessmen's association, the women's service group, and increasingly the union and even the taxpayer's association in New Jersey can be traced to the breakup of the neighborhood factory complex, the decline of industry, the continuing existence of full time housewife-mothers, the increasing class homogeneity of the community -- all these in turn emanate from decisions about productive life made in the corporate sector. The resulting fragmentation has transformed a town of "joiners," and especially workplace "joiners," into a town of "parents." Working men are the most isolated; and Bloomfield is the poorer for the loss of all the associational forms which have declined.

Implications For The Study of Class Consciousness

The term "working class consciousness" was first used by Marx in describing the mental conditions of workers. Marx and subsequent students of social change in capitalist societies, where a majority of the citizens sell their labor power to corporations and other institutions which they do not control, have differed in their views about which groups among workers are likely to cause revolutionary

changes in the ordering of the society. Marx said that, with the creation of a new factory mode of production which is privately owned, a new group of workers constituting the majority of the society would be created. These workers would experience their oppressive working conditions and/or the discrepancy between private ownership and their collective efforts in the factory. They would come to understand how the factory worked as part of a social system and their collective power within it.

Another interpretation might put more emphasis on the process whereby suffering and oppression (including the boredom which workers experience who do not control their work) are experienced in an increasingly social context. As Michael Mann explains:

....consciousness of the proletariat emerges from its direct and practical experience of the fundamental contradictions between the existing individualist relations of productions and the emerging collective forces of production. While capitalist relations are based on individual private property, the productive forces develop a proletariat whose power is collectively based and experienced. Working class consciousness grows dialectically therefore with experience in trade unions, in political parties and in the sphere of production itself.¹

At least part of the process of growing consciousness, then, is the experiencing of this contradiction with others. Work is seen as the critical life experience; the lack of control over the work by the collectivity is the key. The concept of "oppression" is enlarged to include powerlessness on the job.

The relationship to work, the role at work, the relationships with others which the role dictates, produce shared ways of living, the same relationships between self and others both in and out of the family, a particular leisure life, a particular consciousness or set of ideas about reality. The phrase "relation to production" contains all of this life experience.

Mann defines four elements of working class consciousness or revolutionary consciousness: class identity or the definition of oneself as working class; the perception that the capitalist and his agents constitute an enduring opponent (class opposition); the acceptance of the two mutually reinforcing elements above as the defining character of one's total social situation and the whole society in which one lives, and finally the conception of an alternative society as a goal. Mann himself suggests that all these elements are not found together very often in empirical tests of consciousness. Measures of class consciousness often fail to predict militant activity.²

In Bloomfield, massive fragmentation and specialization prevent the formation of consciousness based on a shared work experience and consciousness of the social nature of production and its private control. Low levels of knowledge about what is occurring in the region, and its impact on the local level, the fragmentation of social life within a region

and acute individualization at the workplace all account for political apathy.

Associational life in Bloomfield is not splintered into associations of various classes. The town has almost no associations which are off-limits to the working class man or woman. The groups for children, the service organizations, even the Italian dominated civic associations for town politicians, are nearly class homogenous. The gentry that ran the factories in earlier studies of community life are no longer living in towns like Bloomfield; no face to face, cross-class experience occurs any longer. The decisionmakers, once visible, are now aloft in a private jet. Employees for corporations have become shareholders; these high school graduates sell the stock of the company. Party and union are in decline. Alienated labor is but a part of a much larger and more staggering social alienation and powerlessness. Unemployment and dangerous environmental pollution are more frightening than alienation at work. Wolfe³ argues that passivity and apathy can be attributed to the contradictory messages received by the citizenry which creates a schizophrenic-type set of symptoms. As we have seen, individuals are both buffeted by information about serious problems and at the same time kept quite ignorant. They have neither the social relations of the factory as described by Marx or the objective oppression of 19th century workers. Yet their lives are threatened.

Their universe feels and is out of control, an important new form of oppression. Anxiety pours from the media and is indirectly experienced, of necessity. They are dissatisfied and baffled.

How Does the Consciousness of Bloomfield Compare with that Described in Earlier Eras?

Consciousness in Earlier Eras

The Lynds in their study of Middletown described the consciousness of a Midwestern industrial town in the midst of a depression. They found that ideas about social relationships are divided between the values for small farmers and the new business values. It is officially desirable to be individualistic, neighborly, egalitarian, sound, steady and friendly. However, it is acknowledged that success is achieved by "forcefulness," "enterprise," "shrewdness," and "power".....[Middletown]...[makes] allowances for the failure of its successful businessman ideal to be the complete embodiment of all its ideals."⁴ On the other hand, the rich continue to be seen as more intelligent, and industrious than the poor. They are also public benefactors because they create employment, which explains the widespread need to excuse the coldness of businessmen. Individuals through their own efforts believe they can move from one social class to another, or at least from one sphere or class strata to another.

Progress is "the law of life;" the slow evolution which is progress has a direction--from what is low and base to what is good. Large size indicates the presence of progress. Social welfare is the result of the interaction between individual initiative, hard work and thrift and progress. The individual in the long run will get what he deserves.⁵

The belief in progress is a view which sees causes as first causes, which induce subsequent good. A related idea is that the economic system is completely uncontrollable, a natural phenomenon. A view of an economic system as part of nature means that the first collapse produces pervasive economic fear directed at all the apparent actors: an organized labor and an interfering government. These troublemakers are feared and hated. It is feared that business will relocate; businessmen, corporate owners, bankers are not despised; they are seen as social benefactors who are sometimes personally disliked for their cold personality.

Democracy

It is believed in Middletown that the voters are free and that they control the operation of the American government. Of course the government is not perceived of as the same as the natural order economy. It is seen as possible that the government could solve big problems (presumably

connected to the economy). "People" continue to control the government. Change can occur then, somewhat contradictorily, by "letting nature take its course" or by law.⁶

It is the Congress, not the citizenry, who can solve big problems: but "it is impossible to plan on a large scale." Already too many factors are involved according to the average citizen. Certainly one could predict that those who underline the role of the economically and politically powerful in creating the society of which Middletown is a part would be held in contempt, their statements greeted with disbelief, incomprehension and anxiety. The American way, private initiative, is held up to these foreigners, advocates of central planning. Although the Lynds point out that events in 1933 "have been causing large numbers of people to think about more government regulation of business."⁷

Class Consciousness

The Lynds discuss the class consciousness or rather the "incipient" class consciousness of Middletown's working class. For the most part they do not think of themselves as different from people on the other side of town. Elsewhere the Lynds conclude that the working class see themselves as apart but also that they feel "licked," and hope continues to flicker.

A later study of the consciousness of Americans is The Middle Americans by Robert Coles.⁸ Its theme is how individuals come to psychological terms with the social reality in 1971.

The working class middle Americans to whom Coles spoke were in the midst of the Vietnam War and protests against the war at home. Their sons were being killed in Vietnam while deferred college students, children of the "liberals," were implying that these soldiers were morally wrong or foolish to fight. Blacks had also begun to demand a fairer share of the fruits of capitalism, in some circumstances they directly threatened the relatively new found physical and economic security of these working class white families.

Social relationships between groups in the American society of 1971 are revealed in the names these people choose for themselves: Middletown's "the common man" with an implication of heroic stature is replaced by the names "plain," "ordinary," "average." This means not-rich, not-professional, not-big businessman. The rich are observed to be getting richer. The big corporations are disliked, and seen as "powerful beyond belief."

Shadowy figures run the country: "I don't know who the big people are. But it's a clique. They own the stocks. It's up to them." Politicians fail to control these big people. Often these middle Americans speak of themselves as "at a loss."⁹ Coles gives a picture of a

class goaded and enraged, without allies, isolated and to some extent scapegoated, or at least misunderstood. The times are quite different than in the Middletown of the depression. Anticorporate feeling has increased; nobody mentions that businessmen create jobs. Class differences, class enemies are more pronounced. Hatred of politicians, especially at the national level seems more pronounced. No lip service is paid to democratic ideas. These Americans are more befuddled than Middletown's citizens--at a loss in a period of rapid social change, and angrier, and younger. Bloomfield seems less angry, but more baffled and passive.

The studies above show workers to be of two minds, and in fact, this was Lynd's conclusion in their study of class consciousness. Middletown's residents did and didn't feel entitled to more than simply having a job. In this matter, Bloomfield's residents' attitudes are also contradictory. Their thinking reflects the changes in their lives which have accompanied the prosperous decades of the fifties and sixties and the progress which the trade union movement has made in providing an increased standard of living and education, and an increased access to the media. (In this regard, its deregulation in the Carter administration has created increased diversity.) Bloomfield's workers both grandly defend corporations' rights and in the next breath declare their own powerlessness.

In the final analysis, Bloomfield workers are not class conscious in the terms outlined above by Mann. They don't "oppose" themselves to a capitalist class. But their oppression includes new elements: an increased social isolation and vague but real fear about the pollution of the total environment. These new dimensions of "oppression" must be included in any discussion of the consciousness of modern workers. Their relation to production remains the critical limiter of their lives, but with a new dynamic: increasing powerlessness as workers results in an increasingly menacing environment. The inability to protect themselves from pollution threats is one consequence of the weakness of organized labor in New Jersey, a powerful potential ally.

Union Decline: The Key Factor

The most important reason for the decline in local level participation in political decisionmaking is the decline of organized labor in New Jersey. (Chapter Four) The new character of the work force in New Jersey, which tends to be small and unorganized;¹⁰ and the decline in organized work force sectors has meant that unions in New Jersey are in an embattled position, and therefore play an even more limited role in state politics than previously. Their position is further weakened by the numbers of immigrants which have entered the state. During the decade of

the sixties, 488,000 people entered the state of New Jersey (this figure is the excess of people migrating in over out).¹¹ New Jersey gained more in net migration than any other state except California. This means for example that the number of children living in poverty between 1970 and 1975 has grown by 38,000 children, the fourth highest gain among the fifty states.¹² New Jersey workers and the federal government will of course foot the bill; however, the state's ideas for development must ultimately result in further deterioration in conditions in the state, especially in the urbanized portions. The wave of Cubans, Pakistanis and South Americans are the workforce in the new industrial parks. In some cases the welfare poor will supplement the immigrant work force and indeed it is on this basis that the tax exemptions were granted, but they will not constitute the main portion of the work force. Tax revenues will therefore not increase, yet because these parks are often excused from government regulation, particularly in the area of health, and are not expected to be organized, work related disabilities of all sorts will increase, raising costs to the localities. The point here is that this pattern of development is extremely detrimental to union growth.

Liz Ewen,¹³ in her description of Detroit, observes that in 1970, for the first time, unions receive more dividends from investment than from union dues. Therefore union incentives to organize are further weakened.

In New Jersey of course unions have been hard hit by relocation, and smaller bargaining units, but (at least in the late seventies in the Newark area), some also were controlled by gangsters. This is a further impediment to democratic growth. Yet another factor has been the domination of the state's organized labor by the conservative building trades' unions.¹⁴ The building trades work actively for increased spending for highways and increased federal grants to localities for construction; the needs of the industrial workforce, especially in the area of pensions, are less easily satisfied by the state legislature.

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Many environmental hazards are imperceptible to the human organism; they cannot be tasted or smelled or seen. They don't enter into "consciousness" in the way in which other forms of "oppression" do. Therefore, if individuals are not in possession of the facts about their situation, their militance or the lack of it should be weighed less heavily in assessing the prospects for social change. In the documentary film, "In Our Water,"¹⁵ one public official of the state admitted that when he found a community's water unfit for human consumption, he didn't announce his finding because "it wasn't my job to do so." The nature of water pollution in the New Jersey case allows it to be hidden; that this sort of deception can occur means that an entirely new dimension is added to the study of consciousness in a particular region. Because the

imperceptibility of environmental hazards has introduced such a basic change in "reality testing" the role of the expert in alerting citizens to danger has become critical.

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Some communities in the United States do support groups which promote change. Neighborhood women's development groups (NCNW in Brooklyn), statewide neighborhood action groups (Massachusetts Fair Share), neighborhood housing groups (RAP in Boston), etc., show that although Bloomfield may be representative of American communities in many respects, it is not the whole story. New forms of face-to-face organizations which will cut through the immobilizing web of multiple governmental units, diversity of roles for the individual, and the regional rather than local foci which characterize Bloomfield have not yet emerged.

Clearly, the forms of economic democracy must be established if participation in major decisions is to be strengthened. Local level development initiatives, regional economic planning and national legislation which controls corporate investment strategies must be supported. For this to be done democratically, the state democratic political party must be re-established. Infusions of ideas and money into state party structures would allow for the revival of both state and local party organization. Subsidizing the participation of local men and women organized into delegations of advocates for New Jersey communities

would allow for the development of a platform which would protect New Jersey communities. These state parties might in turn be able to help strengthen union structures at the state or regional level, and to change the level of discourse at the congressional level.

Ironically, it is not enough to be a good parent in Bloomfield. As parents train their children to participate through sports, and Scouts, the environmental hazards produced by unregulated corporations overtake them. The nature of production in the community remains the critical area: industry both produces the most severe threats to life in Bloomfield and creates conditions which divide residents from each other, as summarized above. In particular, the exclusion of women from the world of work has meant that community associational life has been shaped around children and their interests. Women have been delegated the job of creating a community life. Their response has been to give children what they "need" because, after all, meeting children's needs is seen by women as their task. Women have real power; they direct social life for their families, as they themselves struggle toward the workplace and socially recognized participation as adults. Discouraging women with children from work outside their home, and encouraging a role for women as emotional caretakers and social directors has been as critical in

shaping the "apathy" of Bloomfield as the earlier destruction of the large factory workplace and the separation between workplace and residential community.

Sexism costs women too much. It is women who have the most to gain by providing humane jobs which are suitable for working mothers. A demand for democratic regional development, by town, groups of towns or county speaks to the needs of women especially. In China, neighborhood women constructed back yard steel mills; what does self-reliance mean for Bloomfield?

American life calls out for the participation of its citizenry in slowing down the rate of technological change and in building a national debate on the next economic steps to be taken. Clearly the task ahead of us is the control of corporations, which will begin with bailing out the domestic nuclear industry in order to secure its safe dismantling and securing the by-products of our weapons industry. These corporate-produced problems will constitute an insurmountable burden on the lives of our children unless our economic system can be brought under control.

The drama of adult life remains in the locality and at the workplace. The most basic reality (the rearing of children) is an essential task in any society. In Bloomfield, capitalism has created a world in which it is the only reality for many of its citizenry. So far economic

decisions of the last decades have tended to be destructive of a rich social life for localities like Bloomfield. More even than the decline in living standards, further sharp increases in social isolation are to be feared by all Americans even the "corporate sector."

1. Mann, Consciousness and Action, p. 12.
2. Mann, Consciousness and Action, p. 12-13.
3. Alan Wolfe, The Limits of Legitimacy.
4. Lynd, Middletown in Transition, p. 423-424.
5. Lynd, Middletown in Transition, p. 405-409.
6. Lynd, Middletown in Transition, p. 413, 474.
7. Lynd, Middletown in Transition, p. 414.
8. Robert Coles, The Middle Americans.
9. Coles, The Middle Americans, p. 6-7.
10. Frederick C. Klein, "Some Firms Fight Ills of Bigness by Keeping Employee Units Small", Wall Street Journal, Feb. 5, 1982, p. 1. Starting in the mid sixties, the trend has produced a decline in the proportion of people employed in establishments of 500 or more which peaked in 1967 at 27.6% and fell steadily to 22.4% in 1979. This figure resembles closely the percent of the workforce still unionized.
11. Peirce, The Mid-Atlantic States, p. 212.
12. Ed Burks, "Rise In Poor Children Costs the State Millions," New York Times, March 6, 1979, B2.
13. Ewen, Corporate Power, p. 263.
14. Peirce, The Mid-Atlantic States, p. 221.
15. Meg Switzgale, "In Our Water," screened at The Film Forum, Jan. 12, 1982.

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