

X. CONCLUSION

What do humans do when the carpet is about to be pulled out from under them? The specific question formulated at the beginning of this thesis was: how did the people of La Loma perceive and react to the news that the sawmill was to be closed and the pine hills declared off-limits, news that struck at the heart of the economic life of the squatter-farmers and sawmill workers who lived in the village?

A culture teaches its participants solutions to problems. The response of the people of La Loma could be predicted neither in rational terms nor in terms of what the visitor, from another culture, would have expected them to do. To avoid as far as possible pre-structuring the situation into my own categories and thus perhaps missing the central thrust of what was happening in the community, I chose a loosely structured, open-ended interview as the principal tool, allowing the people of La Loma to talk of themselves in their own categories and, it was hoped reveal in content analysis their own perception of and reaction to their crisis.

An analysis of the protocols, seen in the light of what was observed during the course of the study, revealed that what was operating both in the perception of the crisis' cause and the people's reaction to it was a culturally learned pattern of behavior toward authority, called in

this study caudillismo. A strong attachment to, and belief in, Joaquín Balaguer resulted in a spontaneous turning toward him in the crisis, and a vehement rejection of any information that cast doubts on the validity of their definition of the situation. The aggression generated specifically by over a year of unfulfilled hopes with regards to government help was diverted from the government onto the "rich" and the "communists," who were viewed as the evil plotters, separating Balaguer from his humble followers, keeping from him news of their sad plight, and seeking eventually to overthrow him. Their solution to the crisis: find somebody who would listen to them and tell their Jefe face to face what was happening. Both groups met the crisis with eyes uplifted to Balaguer.

There were many differences between the two groups, differences that stem to a large degree from their commitment to different economic systems. But the workers were seen to have carried over paternalistic authority expectations even into the lumber Company. Their commitment to this type of relationship was threatened when they were faced with the possibility of being helplessly swindled out of their severance pay. But the presence of a higher authority, Joaquín Balaguer, permitted them to seek a solution to the dilemma without forfeiting the security of this dependent, filial stance toward authority. They rejected the evil, rich bosses and clung to Balaguer.

What was stated in the United Nations report on Latin America¹³⁶ was borne out in this study: the "cliente system"

of authority relationships defies the attacks of change in the economic sphere, adapting itself to new situations, bouncing back and reasserting itself when temporarily threatened. In the face of authority figures that fail them, the people of La Loma merely seek new persons to fill the slot and allow them to confront life in the same fashion that they have always confronted it.

No attempt is being made to assess Balaguer's programs or policies; what is being studied is the reaction of the people of La Loma to Balaguer and the place that they, with or without his knowledge, assign to him in their scheme of things. He is our jefe; long life the Jefe; after God, it's Balaguer forever. This should cause some sober thought in the apostles of the democratic system who believe they can transpose untouched the political institutions and electoral mechanisms of one society onto another. "Democratically held elections" were often talked of as the key to a democratic future. "We've done it" must have been the relieved sigh of those supervisors--largely foreign--who kept the country together during the period between the revolution and the election of Balaguer. Yet the paradox is that the electoral process--which under optimum conditions would serve as the expression of intelligently conceived political wishes--served in La Loma as the mechanism for bringing to power a man who the people thought would allow them to revert to an earlier type of dependence. Thus, though the enthusiasm which the people

of La Loma now have for politics and the political power they are now conscious of wielding constitutes a step forward, one wonders if the wholehearted revival of what was a threatened caudillo spirit doesn't constitute a step backwards. At any rate the missionaries who wish to export the "democratic process" into every hamlet of the globe would do well to listen more carefully to the villagers who have already cast their votes. What has transpired at the voting table may be far from "democratic."

The reader who has read the conclusion might well be a little disappointed. A crisis such as the one that hit La Loma should have provoked a much more colorful response-- an uprising, at least. But if the study has revealed anything, it is that the participants in a caudillo system are to a large degree locked psychologically in the system. To fight the system means to defy authority; that is precisely what is forbidden by the caudillo system. To defy authority means to take one's life into one's own hands. But the people of La Loma have placed their lives in the hands of another.

Certainly the paternalism described in this study is not peculiar to the Dominican Republic--nor is it all pervasive in the Dominican Republic, as the revolt of 1965 testifies. But it is a factor to be dealt with in communities such as La Loma. People who wish to be agents of change in such communities usually view the world from a frame of reference quite different from that of the people they

wish to change. And it is no easy task to lay aside temporarily one's own frame of reference; but it is the only way of "getting inside" another person and influencing from within.

This study has been an attempt to understand, not to program for change. But one very practical point emerges as a commandment: to speak the language of La Loma (and other communities operating from the same frame of reference), knowledge of Spanish is only the beginning of communication; the would-be agent of change had better be trained as well to see, think, feel, and speak paternalismo, or chances are he will be only partially communicating with the villagers, when he speaks of progress, initiative, community action, and the like. The following is a section of a letter which I received from La Loma:

La esperanza de nosotros es Ud. o no Ud. sino el gobierno de los Estados Unidos haga algo por los infelices dominicanos porque aquí no hay esperanza de nadie que haga algo por nos. ... No deje de escribirme seguido reciba esta carta mandándome una buena esperanza. ... Con la esperanza en Dios y en los Estados Unidos que nos saquen de esta situación crítica que tenemos los dominicanos, Sin más nada..

Our only hope is for you.. or not you yourself but the government of the United States to do something for the poor Dominicans, because here there's no hope that anybody is going to do anything for us. ... Be sure and write me as soon as you receive this letter, and send me some hope. ... With trust in God and hope that the United States will rescue us from the critical situation that we Dominicans are in, I remain, yours, .

José el Moncho

La Loma.

APPENDIX A

Census and Interview

I. Serrano houses: census.

1. How many people live in this house?
2. Are they members of immediate family?
3. What are the ages?
4. How many people in the house read and write?
5. How many conucos does the family work? How many tareas?
6. What animals does the family have?
7. Have you always lived in La Loma? If not, place of origin.
8. Do you go to pueblo much? Do you have any relatives in the pueblo?
9. Is there a radio in the house?
10. Who are your relatives in La Loma?
11. Who are your compadres?

II. Sawmill houses: census.

I. Background

1. Did you grow up in pueblo or campo? What did your father do?
2. Did you go to school? How many years?
3. Do you read and write?
4. How many years have you worked in Company?
5. What jobs have you had in past?
6. What is your age?

II. Present Job

1. What is your job in the sawmill?
2. How much does that job pay?

III. House

1. How many people live here?
2. Are they of your immediate family?
3. How many are working?

IV. Contacts with outside.

1. How often do you go to pueblo?
2. Do you listen to radio?
3. Do you have close relatives in the pueblo? In Santo Domingo? In the U.S.?

V. Associations in La Loma

1. Do you have relatives in La Loma?
2. Who are your compadres?

III. Serranos: interview.

A. General Questions

1. How long have you been here?
2. How old are you?
3. In general, how is life here?

B. Past

1. How was life in the past? Better than now or worse? why?
2. What was the happiest period of your life? Why?
3. What was the worst period of your life? Why?

C. Present.

1. What is the biggest problem in your life now?
2. What do you most enjoy doing now?

D. Future.

1. Do you think things will get better or worse in the future. Why?
2. Do you worry about the future? What worries you? What would be the worst thing that could happen to you?
3. What is missing in your life to make you perfectly happy? If you could change your life tomorrow, what would you do? If God were to perform a miracle and give you anything you ask for, what would you request?

E. Farming.

1. Do you like farming? Why?
2. Would you rather work in the sawmill? Which is better: to live from the sawmill or to live from the conuco?
3. How is land here compared to land in other parts of the country?
4. What is the reason for farming being so difficult today?

F. Self-image.

1. What kind of a person is a Dominican? If somebody from outside were to ask you: what kind of a person is the ordinary Dominican, what would you say?
2. What kind of person is the campesino.
3. Is there any difference between the man from the pueblo and the man from the campo?

G. Government.

1. What should the government do for the serrano?
2. Do you think the government will really do this?
3. How is life under this government compared to life under Trujillo?

H. Life in other parts.

1. If you had your chance and could get by in both places, would you rather live in the pueblo or the campo. Why?
2. How do you imagine life in the U.S.?
3. How do you imagine life in Cuba?

IV. Sawmill interview: same as serrano interview except for the following:

E. Sawmill work.

1. Do you like your job? Why? (Why not?)
2. Is working in the sawmill better than working conucos? Why?
3. How is the Company? How is this Company compared with other companies.
4. Do you plan to stay working with the Company if the sawmill stays open? If it closes, what will you do?

F. Self-image.

1. What kind of person is the Dominican obrero, etc...

FOOTNOTES

1. Hadley Cantril, The Pattern of Human Concerns (Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, N.J., 1955), Chap. III
2. No account will be given of the indigenous pre-Columbian inhabitants of the island. They were wiped out; little remains of their culture except a few place names and legends.
3. Robert Redfield, The Little Community & Peasant Society and Culture (University of Chicago Press, 1960) Chapter II of Peasant Society and Culture.
4. Redfield, op. cit.
5. I was given access to the Company's payroll records in La Loma and was able to see the financial situation of each one of the workers.
6. Francisco, serrano.
7. For this concept, and for several others, I am indebted to Gino Germani. A gathering of many of his concepts are found in his article "Social Change and Intergroup Conflicts," in the volume The New Sociology (ed. Irving L. Horowitz), Oxford University Press, New York, 1955.
8. United Nations (Economic Committee for Latin America), The Social Development of Latin America in the Post War Period, Doc. E/CN. 12/660 (May 11, 1963.)
9. Germani, op. cit.
10. Statistics on the Dominican Republic taken from Rev. Roger Vekemans and J.L. Segundo, "Essay of a Socio-Economic Typology of the Latin American Countries," Social Aspects of Economic Development in Latin America, Vol. I (ed. Egbert de Vries and José Medina Echavarría), UNESCO, 1963.
11. No strict count was made. However I was rather surprised to find the high number of white-skinned people with blue eyes and light colored hair. Having spent much time in other areas, rural and urban, of the Dominican Republic, my impression is that the proportion of fair skinned people is much higher in the Sierra than in the nation as a whole.
12. For example in Selden Rodman's history of the Dominican Republic, Quisqueya. Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1964.
13. This was frequently stated by the people. The enthusiasm that existed for Balaguer makes the assertion credible.

14. United Nations, ECLA, op.cit.
15. John. P. Gillin, "Some Signposts for Policy." Social Change in Latin America Today (Lyman Bryson, ed.). New York; Random house, 1961, p. 31.
16. Tamotsu Shibutani, Society and Personality (Prentice-Hall, 1961), Chap. VII.
17. Cholo, sawmill worker, reared in campo.
18. Jorge, sawmill, reared in pueblo.
19. Panchón, serrano.
20. Cholo, sawmill.
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. Cantril, op. cit. The actual prediction was made in an article in which Cantril expanded on the data collected in the Dominican Republic. Having read the article in 1967, I was unable to locate it for the correct reference. The wording was somewhat as follows: There exists a state of high aspirations and expectations, higher than that for most countries, along with a state of high frustration. This type of situation is highly explosive; anything could happen. This was stated just a few years before the revolution of April, -1965.
24. From personal conversations in Santiago and Santo Domingo.
25. José el Moncho, serrano.
26. Mercedes, serrana.
27. Panchón, serrano.
28. See Roger Brown, Social Psychology (New York, Free Press, 1965), Chap. XI.
29. Cognitive differentiation as a solution for dissonance is discussed in Brown, op. cit., pp. 550-57.
- 29b. Juan Pablo, serrano.
30. Cholo, sawmill.
31. Juan Pablo, serrano.
32. Cholo, sawmill

33. El Viejo Pablo, serrano.
34. Panchón, serrano.
35. Jorge, sawmill
36. United Nations, ECIA, op. cit.
37. Cholo, sawmill.
38. Ibid.
39. Jorge, sawmill.
40. Cholo, sawmill.
41. Jorge, sawmill.
42. Cholo, sawmill.
43. El Viejo Pablo, serrano.
44. Juan Pablo, serrano.
45. Jorge, sawmill.
46. Morán, sawmill.
47. Manico, serrano who has worked on occasion for Company.
48. Jorge, sawmill.
49. El Viejo Pablo, serrano.
50. Panchón, serrano.
51. José el Moncho, serrano.
52. Manico, serrano.
53. Panchón, serrano.
54. Manico, serrano.
55. José el Moncho, serrano.
56. Cholo, sawmill.
57. Jorge, sawmill.
58. Alberto, sawmill.
59. Morán, sawmill.

- 186
60. Jose el Moncho, serrano.
 61. cf. p. 73.
 62. Manico, serrano.
 63. Ibid.
 64. Panchón, serrano.
 65. Ibid.
 66. Juan Pablo, serrano.
 67. Many of the serranos have close relatives in the various pueblos. No attempt was made to find out what percentage of the community had left for the pueblo. The impression was generally that for the serrano the pueblo is an interesting place to spend a few days with a relative, but the hills are the only place to live for us.
 68. Panchón, serrano.
 69. Redfield, op. cit.
 70. Cholo, sawmill.
 71. Alberto, sawmill.
 73. Vekemans, op. cit., p. 88.
 74. Jorge, sawmill.
 75. Cholo, sawmill.
 76. Alberto, sawmill.
 77. United Nations, ECLA, op. cit.
 78. Manico, serrano who has worked occasionally for sawmill.
 79. Cantral, op. cit., p. 30.
 80. Jorge, sawmill.
 81. Cholo, sawmill.
 82. Ibid.
 83. Ibid.
 84. Alberto, sawmill.

85. Gallito, sawmill.
86. Alberto, sawmill.
87. Gallito, sawmill.
88. Cholo, sawmill.
89. Jorge, sawmill.
90. Cholo, sawmill.
91. Gallito, sawmill.
92. Manico, serrano who occasionally worked for sawmill.
93. Cholo, sawmill.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid.
96. Gallito, sawmill.
97. Alberto, sawmill.
98. Cholo, sawmill.
99. Jorge, sawmill.
100. Gallito, sawmill.
101. Cholo, sawmill.
102. Alberto, sawmill.
104. cf. quote on p. 58.
105. cf. p. 72.
106. This was learned through personal investigation prior to the beginning of the study.
107. Panchón, serrano.
108. cf. p. 73.
109. Juan Pablo, serrano.
110. José el Moncho, serrano.
111. cf. Brown, op. cit., p. 147.
112. ibid. chap. XI.

113. Ibid., 550-57.
114. Juan Pablo, serrano.
115. José el Moncho, serrano.
116. Juan Pablo, serrano.
117. Ibid.
118. Ibid.
119. Mercedes, serrano.
120. Ibid.
121. Ibid.
122. Juan Pablo, serrano.
123. José el Moncho, serrano.
124. Ibid.
125. Ibid.
126. Ibid.
127. Panchón, serrano.
128. José el Moncho, serrano.
129. Ibid.
130. Ibid.
131. Gallito, sawmill.
132. Ibid.
133. Cholo, sawmill.
134. Gallito, sawmill.
135. Ibid.
137. United Nations, ECLA, op. cit.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Brown, Roger. Social Psychology. New York; Free Press, 1965
- Cantril, Hadley. The Pattern of Human Concerns. New Brunswick, N.J.; Rutgers University Press, 1965.
- Germani, Gino. "Social Change and Intergroup Conflicts." The New Sociology, Irving L. Horowitz, ed. New York: Oxford University Press; New York, 1965.
- Gillin, John P. "Some Signposts for Policy." Social Change in Latin America Today, Richard N. Adams, et. al. New York; Random House, 1961.
- Redfield, Robert. The Little Community; and Peasant Society and Culture. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960.
- Rodman, Selden. Quisqueya; a History of the Dominican Republic. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1964.
- Shibutani, Tamotsu. Society and Personality. Prentice-Hall, 1961.
- United Nations (Economic Committee for Latin America). The Social Development of Latin America in the Post War Period. Doc. E/CN. 12/660 (May 11, 1963).
- Vekemans, Roger and J.L. Segundo. "Essay of a Socio-Economic Typology of the Latin American Countries." Social Aspects of Economic Development in Latin America. UNESCO, 1963.
- Wagley, Charles. "On the Concept of Social Race in the Americas." Contemporary Cultures and Societies in Latin America, Dwight B. Heath and Richard N. Adams. Random House