

III. LIFE IN LA LOMA

In his treatment of The Little Community,⁴ Redfield frequently alludes to the choice the anthropologist has of emphasizing the "outside view" of the community, or the "inside view," describing life either in terms of what he, the anthropologist, sees, channeling his perception into pre-determined, scientific categories, or in terms of how the villagers who are living it perceive and react to it.

The loosely-structured interviewing technique was an attempt to approach La Loma from the latter point of view. The question asked by the study--how did people perceive and react to the crisis--is best approached by taking this inner view and becoming familiar with the frame of reference of the man of La Loma, the categories within which he perceives, the goals in terms of which he acts, wishes, and fears.

Indeed, anticipating the conclusion, there was a strong reaction to the downhill path on which their life seemed to be stumbling; but this negative perception, sharpened by the crisis, had few apparent repercussions in the behavioral sphere. Life "on the outside" went on as usual. The crisis hit them "inside"; it caused a storm, (whose center this study hoped to catch a glimpse of), but it was within the men. A strictly external view of the community would produce a description of a well-ordered, tranquil mountain village, poking picturesquely along as it had been doing for years. The crisis had to be approached from the "inner view."

But a picture of external daily routine in La Loma is necessary. The picture would be incomplete were one to emphasize what the people thought to the point of neglecting what they did in their daily routine. With this in mind, a description of life in La Loma must accompany the description of how they reacted to the crisis.

The following treatment will be almost skeletal in nature. While the study was being made, a great wealth of details were collected; detailed facts about serrano farming technology, treatment of crops, campesino cooking, social life in the sierra, local version of the merengue, mountain folklore, and many other colorful aspects of life in the Cordillera. With deep reluctance, most of these details will be left out in the following description, being peripheral to the central question at hand. It is unfortunate--and personally frustrating--to have to bypass those aspects of life in the village that most enlivened one's stay there and made it a memorable personal experience. One feels he is betraying the hospitality and warmth that the serranos so generously extended by describing their life in anything but the richest and most colorful detail. The frustration is increased by the knowledge that so much of what is seen in the Sierra of the Dominican Republic has not yet been put into writing.

But unfortunately great anthropological detail would

serve no purpose here. Description will be kept to a minimum, just enough to give a picture of the setting and daily routine which constituted the external life whose internal counterpart will be given in analysis of the protocols.

Location and description of the community.

La Loma is the gateway to the Cordillera Central for a traveller who wishes to cross the mountains to San Juan. The village is connected to the nearest town on the north by a rutted, twisting 25 kilometer stretch of dirt road that, taking origin in the dry, colorless scenery that characterizes much of the northern part of the Dominican Republic, soon ascends into the cool, pine-covered foothills of the Cordillera. La Loma, well up into this green pine region, is the first mountain community that the traveller will encounter.

There are about 45 dwellings in La Loma. These dwellings are divided up into two distinct, widely separated nuclei. One is referred to as "La Sabana de la Loma," with some twenty houses forming a U around a tract of flat ground, the local chapel being at the head of the U. The principal bodega (general store) is in the Sabana, and it is here that the one passenger vehicle in La Loma stops: a jeep that daily makes the steep, bouncing journey between Santiago and La Loma.

About half of the inhabitants of La Sabana are hill farmers, and half work in the sawmill. La Sabana

de La Loma is the gateway to the outside world for thousands of hill-families in small communities farther into the mountains. It is here they come to catch a vehicle. And it is here many come monthly to Mass, celebrated by a Spanish missionary working out of Santiago Rodríguez.

Some 300 yards before the Sabana, beyond the open end of the U, is the cuartel, a military outpost of the National Army, the last outpost between La Loma and San Juan de la Maguana, on the other side of the huge mountain range that looms to the south of the village. Any vehicle or animal that brings people into La Loma must pass by the cuartel and fall under the scrutiny of the cabo, the commander of the outpost, and the eight or nine guardias under his command.

The other nucleus of houses in La Loma is about a kilometer to the west. It is composed of the sawmill and the two dozen rather drab houses that surround it, providing shelter for the men who work in the sawmill. (Some of the workers, it was mentioned above, have houses in the Sabana.) The drab appearance of the sawmill is heightened by the mountain of sawdust that stretches away beyond the sawmill and the ever present pall of smoke that issues forth from this mountain, due to the fires lit there gradually to burn away the refuse sawdust--a losing battle in view of the fresh sawdust dumped there every day that the sawmill is functioning. There is frequent travelling on foot between

the two nuclei of houses. But in general the people of the sawmill keep to themselves. There is no official contact between the workers and the serranos and no contact of an economic nature, though the two groups frequently cross paths in recreational activities. Compadre-relations, as revealed in the census, indicated that the serranos choose serrano godparents for their children, and workers choose worker-godparents. Two independent groups are living in the same community.

But beyond these two nuclei of houses in La Loma there stretch many wide dirt roads extending out into the hills in all directions. These roads were built by the sawmill Company and are travelled principally by the sawmill truck and tractors, which go out to haul in the huge pine logs chopped down in the surrounding mountains.

But the surrounding hills are inhabited by people as well as pines. Small communities stretch back into the hills all the way across the sierra. The people in these communities are all serranos, people whose economic livelihood was so drastically affected by the Ley Forestal. I spent a week in the nearest of these serrano communities, El Manguito, living with one of these families. (El Manguito, being farther away from the sawmill, presented a picture of "pure" serrano life, less affected by the presence of the sawmill.)

To sum up: La Loma is a small community in a mountain

pine-forest, inhabited by two different groups of people: sawmill workers, imported mostly from outside, and living in the Company-built houses around the sawmill; and serranos, mountain folk who practice subsistence farming on the mountainsides. Each of these groups goes its own way independently of the other; both of these groups were struck severely by the decree that said that henceforth the hills were off limits to men with axes and saws.

Work: sawmill.

The sawmill of La Loma is just one of the sawmills belonging to the Company, with its center in Santiago. Orders for lumber are received in Santiago and transmitted to the office in La Loma. The Company has purchased from the government permission to cut down a certain number of pine trees; when this quota is filled, no more permits will be issued and the sawmill will be closed. But in the meanwhile, life goes on as usual.

The work is divided among two groups of men: those who go out into the hills to chop the wood and bring it into the sawmill, and those who actually saw it. To the former group belong the corteros (those who chop the trees), the tractor drivers and their assistants, and the truck driver and his assistants. The crew that stays in the sawmill is composed of the men who work the various sawing and planing machines, the fireman (the sawmill being driven by an old locomotive motor, fueled by wood), and a few men who handle the sawdust

that piles up and the useless slivers of wood (called "cotanera") left over from the cutting.

Most of the workers have been working for the Company for more than 15 years--some as many as 24 or 25. The sawmill in La Loma opened in 1958, and the men, working for the Company in other regions, were brought into La Loma.

They are not paid a regular salary; what they earn depends upon how much the sawmill cuts. Production is measured by millar, one millar equalling a thousand board feet of wood. When working at peak production the sawmill can cut 8 millares a day; on a more average day it will cut 5. However, as will be pointed out in a later chapter, it had been averaging only 3.3 millares a day for the first 6 months of 1967. The reason: frequent breakdown of the machines. The sawmill may be paralyzed for as much as a week before the central office in Santiago gets around to sending up repair parts.

The wages vary according to the job. The lowest paid men get 70¢ per millar. The tractor drivers, the highest paid, get \$1.30 per millar. (Dominican currency has as its basis the peso, which is on par with the U.S. dollar) There are a few men, such as the foreman and the bookkeeper, who get a regular salary independent of the sawmill's production.

But most of the men are tied to the sawmill's production--and chained to its breakdowns. How do they

eat when no wood is being sawed? The system used reminds one of 19th century "evil boss" techniques.

There is in La Loma a Company store. The workers are issued Company credit-slips, good for use only at the Company store. They can buy what they need on credit, and when payday comes around, it is deducted from the wages, and the worker receives what money is left over. What might have been expected happens: breakdowns are frequent enough to have thrown half of the workers in debt to the Company, and to insure that the other half receive very little. Whether there is intention on the part of the Company to sustain this situation or not, the fact is that money rarely reaches the workers' hands except in ludicrously small quantities; and half of the workers are in debt to the Company.⁵

The Company store has neither fresh milk nor fresh meat; the men have no money to buy these needed items elsewhere. The following tactic is used by the men: they purchase on credit a carton of cigarettes for \$1.20, and resell it to the owner of the main bodega in La Loma, who pays \$1.00 for it. The workers regularly take a loss of 20¢. Nobody is starving to death; but nobody is very happy either.

A further analysis of their economic life will be given in the discussion of their attitudes toward the Company. To sum up their situation, they are wage earners who earn few wages--and they know it.

Work: serranos.

The mountain folk are in a radically different situation. Their livelihood will be discussed in some detail now.

The serranos are farmers who have no title to the land on which they work, but who keep everything of what they produce. The nature of "land tenure" has been touched upon already. Most are not sure who really owns the land officially; but they know that nobody will take away from the the conucos which they have had encircled for many years.

But according to the serranos, the land in the mountains doesn't produce very well. For the first year or two crops are good. But after that the soil is tired and a man has to find new land. Usually the old conuco will be planted with grass and be used as grazing land for any animals which the serrano has. But his life depends on the freedom to clear new land every few years.

How is a conuco made? The man explores the hills, looking for a likely spot. In former days, before the Forestry Department began meddling, the serrano could choose his site almost at will. But now two conditions must be met. There must be very few pine trees on the projected site, pines which might be damaged or destroyed by the fire the serrano lights to clear the land. And there must be no streams in the folds of the hills, as the streams dry up if the growth on their banks is stripped

off by the serrano.

The second condition is easily met. It is the first which brings trouble. In former days, before there were so many people in the hills, there were many "montes": i.e. hillsides covered not with pines, but with bushes and trees of no value. No longer is this true. The montes have all been used up. Everywhere one turns there are pines; in choosing a site nowadays, the serrano is going to have to have pines--which he may not touch--on his conuco. But the forest rangers are very reluctant to give the farmers the o.k. to plant a conuco where there are even a few pines, because the brush fire which the farmer sets to clear the land invariably gets out of control and harms the pines. Thus permission for new conucos are very infrequent.

This in essence constitutes the serranos' crisis. If the farmer could chop pines--even just a few--land could be cleared for conucos. The forest rangers are there to say no. But the old land is tired and does not produce; and new land is not available. An essential element in the serrano's way of life is the freedom to clear new land, and this has now been legislated out of existence; and with the disappearance of this freedom the way of life of the serrano becomes a violation of the law. The personal agony that this creates apart from its economic repercussions will become clear when the discussion turns to the great value that the

serranos place on conformity to the law. For now suffice it to say that the serrano is a man who takes pride in being a gobiernista, a follower of the government. But now the only way of life he knows brings upon his head the wrath of the authority whose sanction he so deeply needs. The personal suffering that results from this will be seen in the protocols.

To continue, if a man finds a hillside or part of a hillside that meets the above-mentioned requirements, he approaches the forest ranger to ask for permission. If he manages to obtain it, the work begins.

First "los palos de monte"--worthless trees and brush--are all chopped down. The larger trunks are split up and pulled off to the side. Suitable branches are saved for making the fence, and the rest is left where it lies to dry. At this stage the cleared plot is called a tumba, a "clearing": it is not yet a full fledged conuco.

When the branches and twigs are dry, the tumba is set on fire. In former days, during tumba time, smoke from these fires filled the sierra. The tumbas have become fewer in number as the restrictions have become greater. It is at this stage, the burning, that most of the violations are accidentally committed.

Once the critical stage of burning is done, the final stage in the preparation of the tumba is to surround it with a fence--1' empalizada'. The fences are not for the

neighbors, but rather to keep out stray animals.

Now the tumba is ready. To the untrained eye, it is an ugly sight. Gone are whatever green plants or trees covered the hillside; the rutted earth and rocky gullies are exposed. The naked hillside is dotted with the black, charred stumps which were too large to be consumed by the fire.

But to the farmer it is a beautiful sight: the tumba is ready to plant. As might be expected, the technology is primitive. Even were machines available, the hills are much too steep and rocky; often a farmer has to tie himself to, or grab hold of, nearby stumps while he is working to prevent himself from falling. His main tools are the machete (a short, wide tool that resembles in size and shape a butcher's cleaver. The long and tapered "slashing" tool which in the U.S. is often referred to as a machete is in this part of the Dominican Republic called a colín), axe, colín, and knife.

In general the serrano plants what he eats. The principal crops are yuca (a starchy tuber which is perhaps the principal element in the serrano's diet), rice, beans, plantains, corn, sweet potatoes, and chick peas. There are others, but almost every conuco will have the above-mentioned crops.

Basically the conuco is seen as the defense of the poor man; his form of staying alive when money is scarce. The conuco provides food for the family; the serrano does

not in general cast his hope on any regular income of money. As one serrano said: "Cuando u'té no tiene que comprar el vívere, u'té tá bien." When you don't have to buy your food, you're well off. The conuco system in its ideal form would be generally moneyless.

However it does not exist now in its model state. Money is for the serrano a much desired object, though he looks to the conuco as a protection when that desired object is scarce. If the harvest is good, much of what is taken from the conuco will be sold. The hills are dotted with small general stores which carry articles of clothing and even foodstuffs which are available only with money. The general pattern is to take from the conuco enough for the family's consumption, and sell what is left over. According to the serranos the past few years have seen poor yields; thus the people have eaten but money has been scarce.

But in addition to the occasional sale of conuco products, the mountain folk have other ways of acquiring money. "La crianza," animal raising, used to be a rich source of money, according to the stories of the old men, but now it has dwindled down to nothing. Pigs are fairly common, cows are rare, chickens are all over the place but scrawny. Animals are seen as money in the bank; in general they are valued more for their salability than their edibility, though they are on occasion eaten. The serrano who comes into a few pesos will very likely

invest them in animals which, by a process of natural reproduction, will produce animals and consequently more money in the future. The following individual imagined what he would do if some money came his way:

Ud. con su familia dice:	So you look at your family and
Bueno, déjame comprai do...	say to yourself: Well, I guess
do marranita...poneil' ahí.	I'll buy me two sows...and you
Y si puede comprai una vaqui-	set 'em out there. And if you
ta, también compr' e'ta vaqui-	can buy a cow, you go buy it...
ta...poneil' ahí. Y pensando	and you set 'er there. And
que mañana, si Dió' quiere,	you think, if God wills, to-
Ud. se ve ya...ya sin dinero.	morrow you'll be..without
"Bueno, ei dinero se tei-	money. "Well, no more money,
minó, ya tamó' arrancao..."	we're broke..." But with that
Pero con esa vaca que Ud.	cow that you set out there,
puso ahí, y esa' do' marra-	and them two sows, that'll be
na, que si Dió' quiere, sean	nice and fat, if God wills,
do' pueica' así, y le paren	and have lots of little pig-
mucho' lechone', con eso Ud.	lets, well that's what you're
se va so'tenei, no e' veidá?	gonna support yourself with,
Con eso que Ud. je va so'te-	right? Yep, that's what you're
nei.	gonna support yourself with. ⁶

But even more important for a source of income are the cafetales, the coffee groves. This part of the Sierra is considered a zona cafetera, a region particularly suited to the production of coffee. Many serranos have several tarcas of coffee, which is sold to buyers who come up into the hills. Though much coffee is saved for home consumption--coffee being the principal beverage in the sierra--coffee is grown principally as a source of income.

Besides livestock and coffee, the sale of firewood brings in some money. Cooking is done in earthen stoves heated with firewood. Though most families fetch their own wood, bundles are also sold in the bodegas. A man willing to go far into the hills looking for worthless

tees to chop down can make a few pesos; though the forest rangers are looking more askance at this profession now.

But these money making devices do not change the basic stance of the serrano to survival: don't count on the presence of money; it's wonderful if you can get it, but keep a good conuco just in case.

In concluding this description of the economic life of the two groups, two observations should be made.

The objective economic situation of the serrano differs radically from that of the sawmill worker. For the former, money has been seen to be an "added attraction"; but the latter have as their central work goal the eventual acquisition of money. The farmer is his own boss in his productive activity; the worker is part of a hierarchical structure. The farmer is the technical agent for the entire cycle in which he participates; the sawmill workers perform a small, repetitive activity. In short, insofar as their productive activity goes, the farmer is operating in what resembles a traditional peasant system (with the exceptions noted on p. 19), and the worker is a wage earner in what for all practical purposes is a modern factory system. That is, there are two historically non-contemporaneous economic systems operating side by side in this small village.

However, (as will be seen) the psychological participation in and commitment to their respective systems is somewhat ambivalent in the case of both the workers and the serranos. The farmers express hope that the government will put an "industry" in the hills and allow them to earn a regular income and keep their conucos at the same time. And the workers express in their fantasies and wishes the desire to return some day to a situation where they are in primary contact with, and in control of, the means of the production which keeps them alive. That is, La Loma is an example of a community in the stage of transition. Those who are in the "old" system have been to a certain degree psychologically released⁷, to the extent that they are dissatisfied with some of the limitations of being in that system and would like to participate at least "part time" in the new system. Whereas those who are in the "new" system, for reasons to be discussed, are not fully integrated into this system psychologically, expressing desires for a life situation with certain elements that are characteristic of the old system.

The second general observation, however, concerns a sphere of activity where both groups are firmly entrenched in the old: politics and authority relationships in general. Thus, whereas in the economic sections of the protocols, both groups express different attitudes, in this "other sphere" both groups appear to be under

the influence of a common historical and cultural background which regulates many aspects of their feelings, perceptions, judgments, expectations, etc., giving to the protocols a certain uniformity which transcends the perceptual, and attitudinal, influences of radically different economic situations. Stated in another fashion, their economic behavior and attitudes have come somewhat under the control of modernization, the workers finding themselves physically and to a large degree attitudinally part of a modern productive system. But in the "authority" sphere both groups are operating in a frame of reference that, originating in another age, has resisted change throughout much of Latin America⁸ and persisted into the modern period. Thus there is a state of asynchronism⁹ in La Loma, where groups and even individuals find themselves participating simultaneously in frames of reference which belong to different epochs; the workers especially have, in certain aspects of their behavior, and attitudes, changed with the times and in others retained the same frame of reference that was in vogue when the conquistadores were still around. This will be treated more specifically in Part II.

Housing.

To continue with the description of La Loma: the houses are all made of lumber cut from the hills. The typical serrano dwelling is a two room cottage--"ci bojío"--made of crude, hand-chopped horizontal boards nailed to solid upright posts, with clay stuffed into

the cracks between the uneven boards. There are two types of roofing: tabletas, a type of pine shingle; and the less expensive cana, palm fronds of the type distributed in the U.S. in Catholic churches once a year. (Tin roofs and roofs of yaqua, common in other parts of the Dominican Republic, were not found here.) The cottages are usually painted white with a mixture of light soil and water; at times some red-soil paint is used, and the house is painted in alternate white and orange squares, giving a checkerboard effect. The two rooms are the apostento (bedroom) and the sala, (living room); the kitchen is never in the house; it is usually a crudely constructed shack out back.

The house usually has no windows, but many doors, which are left open during the day. The floor is of dirt, but treated with water and packed down in such a way as to make it solid and possible to keep clean. The walls of the house are covered with holy pictures and pictures of Balaguer, treated with equal reverence. (When John F. Kennedy was president of the United States, his picture was also present in many, if not most, campesino homes. Lyndon Johnson--who many Dominicans are sure was behind Kennedy's assassination--is not accorded the same homage.) There is also usually a large picture frame in which are inserted small photos of members of the family or of relatives and friends.

The sawmill houses present another picture. They are also constructed of crude boards, but nailed vertically and left unpainted. The houses are slightly elevated and have floors of wooden planks. They are lined together around the sawmill, and in their crowded appearance and with the pall of smoke that constantly hangs over them, present a drab contrast to the often picturesque cottage of the serrano, perhaps hundreds of yards from his nearest neighbor.

Sanitation.

Every dwelling has an outhouse in the back; neither the river nor the bushes are employed as receptacles for human waste (though most men are not finicky about where they urinate, especially after dark). The people bathe frequently in the river, men upstream, women downstream (around the bend). Clothes are also washed in the river; cheap soap is purchased at the local bodega. Animals--especially pigs--have complete freedom of movement and utilize it, leaving their droppings in the most imaginative of places. I learned that it was not wise to get angry at the many stray pigs that wander into the house; it's their community, they seem to feel, and if agitated will leave a nasty souvenir on the floor before ambling majestically off.

Children walk around barefoot, indoors and out, and are not squeamish about hopping purposely from one cow-pat to the next, in sort of a game. Whether any

diseases. are transmitted by the universal presence of animal feces, I am in no position to say. There appeared to be no problem with any sickness in the community.

Drinking water comes from the same river in which people bathe and wash clothes. Some people draw it from downstream, but most people of La Loma draw it from upstream, above where humans utilize it for bathing and washing clothes. The people frequently comment that the water in La Loma is extremely good compared to water in lower parts. But there are almost certainly some impurities in the water. I made the mistake of drinking the water without purifying it and as a result spent a good deal of the summer making rapid trips to the nearest outhouse-- testimony to the quality of the water. Apparently the water has no effects on the people of La Loma, perhaps to immunity born of frequent contact.

Facilities.

There is no electricity in La Loma; light is provided at night by kerosene lamps. The only telephone is that installed in the military outpost and was for official use only. No mail is brought regularly to the community. The post-master in the nearest town delivers any letters addressed to La Loma to truck drivers who are going up into the mountains to haul lumber from the sawmill. Outgoing mail is given

to the jeep driver who travels back and forth between Santiago.

Food.

Three meals are eaten daily. The following is part of the week-long record kept by the eldest daughter in the house in el Manguito where I spent a week.

Monday

We sold: 5 boxes of beans from conuco at \$1.50 a box.

Breakfast:

12 pieces of yuca from the conuco
20¢: sausage
10¢: cooking oil
2¢: salt
3¢: onion
6¢: 2 squares of chocolate (for hot chocolate drink.)

Dinner:

32¢: 2 pounds of rice
15¢: cooking oil
4¢: garlic and onion
38¢: pound and a half of meat
2¢: sauce
3¢: olive
1¢: pepper

Supper:

12¢: half pound of spaghetti
9¢: 3 squares of chocolate
10¢: oil
2¢: onion
2¢: sauce
10 pieces of yuca from conuco

Tuesday

Breakfast:

11¢: 4 squares of chocolate
8¢: 2 pieces of bread
6¢: 2 eggs
10¢: oil
2¢: salt
8¢: bottle of milk

12 plantains from conuco

Dinner:

24¢: pound and a half of rice
20¢: oil
15¢: pound of beans
50¢: 2 pounds of meat
3¢: salt
2¢: sauce
1¢: pepper
4¢: garlic and onion

Supper:

20¢: sausage
10¢: oil
2¢: salt
2¢: onion
6¢: 2 squares of chocolate
10 pieces of yuca from conuco

Wednesday:

We sold: \$5.00 worth of stuff (doesn't specify what).

Breakfast:

20¢: oil
20¢: half pound of codfish
2¢: 2 bars of soap (not eaten; used for washing dishes).
3¢: sauce
5¢: garlic and onion
2¢: salt
10 pieces of yuca from conuco
6¢: bottle of milk
6¢: 2 squares of chocolate

Dinner:

32¢: 2 lbs. of rice
15¢: 1 lb. of beans
25¢: oil
5¢: garlic and onion
3¢: salt
3¢: sauce
1¢: pepper
38¢: pound and a half of meat

Supper:

12 chunks of yuca from conuco
2¢: salt
9¢: 3 squares of chocolate
15¢: 5 eggs
20¢: bottle of oil

This is a fairly characteristic diet for the sierra. There were six people eating the above food. The list is atypical in that the family relied more on sales and purchases than is probably true for most serrano families, who rely more heavily on the conuco. But there are supposedly few families who don't need money for some aspects of their diet; oil, for example, is an absolute necessity in serrano cooking and must be purchased. To make the above list

more typical, subtract some of the meat, add more yuca and plantains, and list rice and beans as coming from private stock rather than from the bodega.

As far as the diet of the sawmill people, it comes almost entirely from the Company store, except for occasional meat and fresh milk which is bought locally. As with the serranos, rice and beans play a crucial part in the diet. Less yuca is eaten, and more spaghetti, since yuca comes from the conuco and spaghetti is from the bodega. As will be seen in a later section, food costs and wages cancel each other out in certain large families. This means the men see little money, since the food is bought ahead of time on credit.

Education:

Only some 20% of those asked in the census said they did not read and write. This does not agree with the national figures, which place the Dominican Republic in an illiteracy bracket of 57%.¹⁰ Thus in many cases the truth was probably being stretched by the people asked. Among the sawmill people, the average education was 2nd or 3rd grade. Only a few claimed higher grades, and a few more said they had had no schooling. The serranos also claimed high literacy, and no attempt was made to ascertain the truth of these claims.

There is a school in La Loma (not in session while I was there). The school in El Manguito, however, was in session, its calendar being set on the basis of the

agricultural cycle to allow the children to be free from school when they are needed for harvesting. School attendance is sporadic and the instruction given is mediocre--in the judgment of the serranos themselves--but all the children learn how to read and write at least.

Since leaving the community, I have carried on correspondence with several of the people of La Loma, children as well as adults. The letters are intelligible, though spelling mistakes abound. In general the letters are written in a formal style, which stays the same from person to person. (The handwriting changes; that is, the people themselves compose the letters.) The frequency with which members of the immediate family go to the pueblo to visit and stay with relatives makes letter writing a fairly common practice. The familiarity of the people of La Loma with "letra" belies the stereotype of the serrano which one often finds in the Dominican Republic, by which a serrano and a burro are more or less considered intellectual peers. My impression is that, were a careful study of this question to be made in La Loma, the literacy rate would be about the same as the 43% given for the country as a whole.

Religion.

Everybody in La Loma is Catholic, in name at least. The people frequently emphasize their Catholicism. No

instances were seen of Protestant sects evangelizing in the sierra, as they are doing in many parts of the Dominican Republic, both urban and rural. They would most likely find few converts in La Loma; there is a self-righteousness at times fierce in the assertion "I'm a Catholic!" often heard in La Loma.

The missionary Padre comes once a month to offer Mass in La Loma. Attendance is good; people flock in from the surrounding communities, men as well as women. But religious practice is also carried over into the daily routine of the serranos. In the house in El Manguito where I stayed, the man and woman rose before sunrise and prayed out loud before the picture of the Virgin (La Virgen de Altagracia, the patroness of the Dominican Republic). The frequent religious programs that appear on the radio are listened to faithfully. The rosary is prayed daily over the radio; in houses where there is no radio, the daughters lead the rosary.

The sawmill workers appear less vehement in their assertions that they are Catholic. However one hears the rosary coming from many sawmill houses at night. And the sawmill workers attended Mass as well. The impression is, however, that religion plays a less important role for the workers than for the serranos.

Though the people are "Catholic," there is much in their religious belief that departs from official doctrine of the Catholic Church. Belief in ghosts is

very widespread among both groups. In La Loma the ghosts come out at night. On several occasions, finding myself quite a distance from my house after sunset, I was warned quite seriously by people in the houses where I happened to be visiting; they expressed concern--disbelief--that I was planning to walk home alone after dark. There was a bridge that crossed a stream on a dip in the road between the sawmill and La Sabana de la Loma; this was one of the favorite places where "los muertos salen de noche," the ghosts come out at night. The people in the house where I was visiting offered to accompany me home in order that I wouldn't be all alone when crossing the bridge. I pshawed and reassured them that no harm would befall me, and was indeed intellectually quite convinced of that. But though in fact no ghosts ever accosted me there, the inevitable attack of dryness of the mouth and pounding of the heart every time I crossed that bridge at night was a tribute to the power of mountain folklore. The serranos take pride in the fact that their community is tranquil and obedient to the law: "You can sleep outdoors at night and nobody will bother you." But it would take a great emergency to make a serrano--or a worker--leave his house alone at night; it's not the living he fears, but the dead.

"Promises" are frequently made to the Saints. If one is in need, has lost something, has a sick family

member, he asks a saint's help and offers to perform some act in return if the request is fulfilled. One may promise to wear burlap, make a pilgrimage, offer money as alms, or let one's hair and beard grow to outlandish length. (Dominicans, looking at some of the American Peace Corps Volunteers, have supposedly been heard to comment: "Será que tiene promesa,"; "He must be keeping a promise.") During the last electoral campaign, many "promises" were made in order to get Balaguer elected; the saints were recruited in his campaign. The main function of the ghosts is to haunt people who have not fulfilled promises--or to haunt a friend or relative of the delinquent.

In short the people are "muy católico," very religious, but with their own version of how things work.

Recreation.

Baseball is the national sport of the Dominican Republic. The men of La Loma were excellent and avid ball players, especially the workers. Every Sunday several ball games were played, usually between members of the community. On occasion, however, the entire community would mount up and ride over to a neighboring village to play against the team over there. Women and children went along, and the rooting was enthusiastic. It was an opportunity to be away from La Loma of which almost everyone took advantage.

For daily recreation, the men had the billar, the

pool hall. An empty shack housed an old pool table and every evening some 15 to 20 men shot pool by the light of kerosene lamps until around midnight.

There are frequent informal dances either in the empty storeroom of a bodega or in a private house. The music in La Loma was supplied by a battery-run record player owned by one of the workers, who also had a pile of 45 R.P.M. records. At a typical get-together, the young people would do the dancing and the older people sat around the wall conversing. The most popular dances were the merengue, guaracha, and bolero, which prevail throughout the Dominican Republic; though the serranos dance them with a bit more vigor: "como brincando empaliza'"(like jumping fences), in their own words. In El Nanguito the music was live, supplied by a perico ripiao, a three man band with tambora (a drum which is beat at both ends), guira (a gourd that is scraped and gives a scratching rhythm to the music), and acordeón (a small accordion).

The weekly lottery is a big event. Quiñeleros, lottery-ticket vendors, make their way weekly up into the hills and an amazing number of people manage to produce the money for tickets. For many a serrano the lottery is almost a religious event; he looks upon it as the instrument that God may well employ to change his lot. Local lotteries are also held, in which prizes are won by guessing the final two digits of the winning num-

ber in the national lottery.

Cock-fighting also takes place in La Loma, but is limited to certain seasons. No fights took place while I was there, and the subject never came up in conversations. There was however a gallera, an arena in which the fights took place during season.

The recreational activities mentioned above took place in La Loma despite the crisis. Indeed they appeared to serve as an escape from worries about the situation in the community. During the baseball games, or when the perico ripiao was pounding out a merengue, no trace was visible of the bitter dissatisfaction that to a visitor seems to be part of the community's general stance toward life.

Color.

The racial composition of La Loma is typical of that of the nation as a whole: a small percentage of whites and blacks and the majority of the people somewhere in between. In La Loma, however, there is a much heavier concentration of people toward the fair-skinned end of the continuum than is true of the country in general.¹¹

It is very difficult to assess the attitudes toward color in the community. On the one hand, the Dominican Republic is frequently cited as a model of racial integration.¹² This belief is frequently stated by Dominicans,

who, citing the racial tensions prevalent in the United States, sigh with relief that "...here we're all the same." In La Loma there was frequent intermarriage between the races, and no comments on such unions were heard. The impression is that they are taken for granted. In the socio-economic sphere, race is completely irrelevant in La Loma: the foreman of the sawmill was a Negro, (married to a white woman), and the truck driver's assistant (the lowest paid job) was white.

On the other hand there is abundant evidence of the presence of keen racial awareness, in the country as a whole, and in La Loma in particular. To limit the discussion to La Loma, the prevailing attitude seems to be that the lighter your skin and the more Caucasian your features (especially hair and nose), the better off you are; destiny has been kinder to you. Mothers with children of different colors (a frequent occurrence due to the racial intermarriage) are frequently heard praising the fair-skinned ones for their beauty and berating the dark-skinned ones. Rafaelito was a little mulatto boy--missing one eye--in the house where I ate. On several occasions the conversation ran as follows: "Jerry, take Rafaelito with you back to New York--do they let such ugly things with black skin in the country?...bet you they wouldn't let him off the plane...they'd put him on

a fish-hook and feed him to the sharks...he looks like a son of Duvalier...like a black Haitian..." On one occasion Rafaelito had started crying to himself in the corner, but the dialogue went cruelly on.

One very dark skinned man with a white daughter commented to me: "Ella tan clara y yo tan prieto..." "She's so fair-skinned and I'm so black..". He was actually ashamed to be photographed with his wife and daughter and compromised by standing in the background.

When I asked to photograph different families, there was inevitably a rush into the house by the girls to slap on some white powder.

Haitians are disliked (from a distance--there are none in La Loma). The reason that is usually given is that they are "prieto y sucio," black and dirty. There is more involved than that in the attitudes of Dominicans toward Haitians: they'd kill you without batting an eyelash and they can turn babies into pigs by magic, were some of the reasons given in La Loma. There are historical reasons, connected with border disputes and the importation of Haitians to cut cane. But the black skin and Negroid features of Haitians are always among the most salient characteristics about which negative comments are heard in La Loma, and in the country as a whole.

The nature of color-consciousness in the Dominican Republic is enigmatic and elusive, and merits a study

on its own. What Wagley says in his article "On the Concept of Social Race in the Americas"¹² would probably be found to be true in the Dominican Republic: color-awareness is strong but it is not a discrimination that in itself has socio-economic relevance, except accidentally, by the differential availability of education. In La Loma it has absolutely no relevance, either marital or economic; but on a more personal plane an individual's self esteem would probably be found to be quite bound up with his color.

Authority and Politics.

The entire community went to the polls on election day in 1966.¹³ La Loma voted as a bloc for Balaguer. There is a strong consciousness in the community that it was the campesino vote that brought Balaguer to office; and as will be seen in the protocols, expectations were high. To anticipate: many political attitudes expressed in the community and occurring in the protocols are intelligible in the frame of reference of a "clientele system"¹⁴ of authority relationships, to be referred to in this text as "caudillo system" because of the common occurrence of that word in the Dominican Republic. In this type of system, a group attaches itself to a leader who embodies the personal qualities admired in the group and who will wage battle on higher up levels out of the group's reach, winning favors for the group, protecting them against their enemies, and

demanding in return unquestioning loyalty to his person. In the words of one author:

In politics (of the caudillo system) a man is not commonly elected or acclaimed to office because he represents the social, economic, and political positions of his followers, but because he embodies in his own personality those inner qualities that they feel in themselves and they would like to manifest, had they but the talent to do so, in their own actions.¹⁵

The essential elements of this system--as it operated in La Loma--are personal attachment to the leader, frequent protestations of his greatness and of one's loyalty to him, and a turning to him for the resolution of difficulties too great to be solved by the little man himself, feeling the right to personal attention from the caudillo because of loyalty and attachment rendered him.

The external mechanism for putting Balaguer into office was a modern "democratic election." The internal frame of reference within which the voters of La Loma were operating was this not-so-modern caudillo system. The people of La Loma have no local caudillo; there is nobody, neither in La Loma, nor in the provincial capital Santiago Rodríguez, who evokes any sentiments of praise or loyalty from the people of La Loma. Their ideals and aspirations are embodied in Joaquín Balaguer.

Because of this an analysis of the formal political hierarchy affecting the people of La Loma might be misleading. As far as they are concerned, there is only one significant authority figure: el Jefe, ei Do'toi Balagueri. However,

formally speaking there is a hierarchy of power reaching from the President, to the Provincial Governor (a female), to the President of the Ayuntamiento (City Council), to the local alcalde pedáneo (sheriff), who is a resident of La Loma. All the offices beneath the President are filled by appointees; the people of La Loma had no say in their nomination. Not that they really care: all they wanted was to put their Jefe into office, and he'd take care of things from there.

Caudillismo in its original form consisted of attachment to local strong men. Caudillismo in La Loma (and, one gets the impression, in most of the Dominican Republic) means attachment to the national leader. Everybody in between the Jefe and "ei probe infeli'" (the poor guy) is at most of minor importance. All the man of La Loma wants is somebody to put him in touch with el Jefe and things will straighten out.

But there are other authorities in La Loma. The military outpost houses lo' guaidia', the soldiers whose job it is to keep tranquility. Their job also entails watching out for any sign of subversion in the hills. There were rumours of guerrilla rumblings in the sierra while I was there. I was most fortunate in being in a community with a very level-headed, young corporal as military commander. Another Harvard student collecting lizards in another part of the mountains was arrested by the local commander and ousted from the

country as a guerrilla suspect.

The forest rangers constitute another independent authority in La Loma. (Since the summer, the Forestry Department has been turned over to the Army.) They patrol the hills watching out for illegal conucos, deciding which trees the Company may cut down, and being on hand to combat any forest fires which might arise.

This concludes the description of life in La Loma. Much has been omitted that would interest the anthropologist or sociologist; but enough has been said to give a picture of life in La Loma and allow an examination of the protocols.