

IV. VIEW OF SOCIETY AND OF SELF

Social psychology has said much about the construct "self image." A person's self image is defined by one author as the regularized manner in which a person acts with reference to himself.¹⁶ In an interview situation the question of the self image of the respondent can be approached by paying careful attention to what he regularly says about himself.

A person's self image is largely a product of his perceptions of others' stable reactions to him. Little Rafaelito (see pp. 55-6), crying in the corner as the grownups chide him for being such an ugly, dark "Haitian," will most likely have a very negative self image, will come to accept the appraisals of the grownups and see himself as quite unlikeable because of his dark skin and "ugly" appearance. The little white child of La Loma, on the other hand, constantly praised for the "beauty" of his white skin by his proud mother, will come to think of himself in quite positive terms. The self image of each--its valence as well as the dimensions along which the self evaluation is made (color, in the example given above)--is a product of what each perceives to be the general reaction of significant others.

Self image in turn strongly influences behavior. One's personal identity channels his behavior in social situations. A Spanish missionary Padre in Santo Domingo

is not likely to display the same reaction to a señorita passing on the street as a group of tigares (roughly equivalent to American corner bums). Even apart from desires; were the Padre to feel an attraction, and were he in civilian dress, his image of himself would still preclude any piropos (flowery compliments common in Latin America); the young macho on the other hand might feel somewhat compelled by his image of himself to make some flowery remark, which the señorita by virtue of her self image as decente and seria, would feel obliged to ignore. Desire to maintain a positive self-image channels behavior along certain norms. These norms differ from person to person, as they differ from group to group.

What are the most salient elements of the self image of the people of La Loma? Prescinding from the traits by which one person in the community distinguishes himself from his neighbors, what are those commonly shared self concepts by which the people of La Loma differentiate themselves as a group from other groups in society? Indeed, where do they see themselves as a group in relation to society as a whole? What is their subjective view of Dominican society and where do they fit in?

Their view of Dominican society is very simple. There's the rich and there's the poor, the big man and the little man. And they are the poor; almost everybody

in La Loma calls himself "un probe infeli'," an unlucky poor man. This basic view of society as bipartite-- they being on the bottom layer--is shared by both groups, worker as well as serrano.

Ah no no no. Le digo con su conciencia de Dió, que aquí en el país dominicano...el único que vive bien e' el rico porque el rico hace así... "L' habichuela.." Mire, una ve' 'tuvo el aceite aquí a uno cuarenta. Hicié'n lo millionario' rru rru rru y cogié'n tó' el aceite. Y tení'ano' que comprarlo a \$1.40. Matao! Y ja'ta fiao lo tení'ano' que cogei a vece'. Y ello' 'taban sentao con tó' eso'...su aimacén apretao ahí de..de comida. Nosotro' lo' campesino' pagamo' tó'. Sí. Porque el rico tiene cuaito'. Y pue'... eh..pue deci'..ei rico no cré en Dió'. Porque ei rico tiene tó'. Tiene su dejayuno, su comia y su cena. Y se jaitó, se aco'tó, lo que sea la hora. Y nosotro' lo' chico' no...que nojotro' vivamo' tó' ei día y to' la noche agonizando pa' podei su'tener los hujo'. Que ei pobre que vive maí aquí. Ei pobre e' que vive maí. Y ei probe..ei pobre que paga tó' lo' impue'to' que se ofre'can.

Ah no no no. I tell you..God be my witness..that here in the Dominican country the only one who lives well is the rich man, cause the rich man goes like this: "Beans will..." Look once cooking oil cost \$1.40... the millionaires went whoosh and grabbed up all the oil. And we hadda pay \$1.40 for it. Murder! 'F we even hadda buy it on credit some times. And there they were nice and comfy with their storerooms... splitting at the seams with food. We campesinos pay for everything. Cuz the rich man's got money...it's like..the rich man don't believe in God, cuz the rich man's got everything. He's got his breakfast, his dinner and his supper. He stuffs himself and goes to bed anytime he wants. Not us little guys. We're eating our heart out day and night to support our kids. It's the poor man who's got a lousy life here. The poor man's got a lousy life, and it's the poor man that pays all the taxes that pop up.¹⁷

Another man:

El rico aquí ha vivido sobre del-pobre. Eso sí. Que aquí los ricos mayormente son terratenientes. Que muchas veces el campesino necesita tierra y tal vez hay dos mil campesinos aquí que no tienen tierra, pero vaya un rico allí que tiene medio

The rich man here has lived on top of the poor man. That's a fact. The rich men here are usually landlords. A lot of times the campesino needs land, let's say there are two thousand campesinos here who don't have land, but over there there's a rich man who's got

millón de tareas, y tal vez no está utilizando cien mil.

half a million tareas of land and he may not even be using a hundred thousand of them.¹⁸

The people of La Loma seem to look upon the Dominican Republic as a rich, or potentially rich, country. But out of ambición, selfishness, those on top are preventing those on bottom from reaching the good life that would be possible for all on this island.

E'to aquí era rico, poderoso, pero lo' inteligente' empleado' d' enante se llevaron lo' millone' y no han vuelto aquí a la República. Aquí era rico de tó', rico, rico, pero lo' inteligente' que ascendían a Vice-Presidentia y Presidente...cuando 'taban así se llenaban, así se diba. To' eso hay que vei.

This place used to be rich, powerful. But the smart government officials who used to be here took away all the millions and haven't come back to the Republic. This place used to be rich in everything, rich, rich. But the smart men who became Vice President and President...when they were here that's how they got rich, that's how things went. We have to face facts.¹⁹

Porque e' que si lo' rico' ayudaran lo' campesino' aquí, aquí se viviera la vida, porque e' que e'te una ..e'te una..un paí' rico, poderoso.

Because if the rich would only help the campesino here life would be good here, because this is a rich country..powerful.²⁰

This is the basic dichotomy made by both groups. The mass below is being stepped on by those above. And the poor help the poor while the rich help the rich;

Porque aquí, si e'tuvieran lo' obrero' trabajando, ma' fácil se consigue dié' peso' con un obrero que con un rico. Porque yo que soy pobre y Ud. e' pobre, y yo tengo veinte peso' y se le pone un muchacho malo, y Ud. viene onde mí: "Empré'teme dié' peso' por e'te muchachito, que yo no lo' consigo.." Pero ei rico no. Ei rico

Because if the workers were making money here, it'd be easier to get ten bucks from a worker than from a rich man. Cause let's say I'm a poor man and you're a poor man and I've got twenty bucks, and one of your kids gets sick and you come to my house: "Lend me ten bucks for this kid of mine...I can't find any.."

tiene que ver que Ud. tiene la vaca, tiene el burro, tiene el chivo, tiene el pueico..Ud. no sabe eso? Y nosotros no. Nosotros sí semos' tó' igualito', no tanto fuéndono' uno' con otro', ni que pasemos trabajo.

Qué hago yo con di' ahora onde Francisco Lama: "Empréteme cien peso."

"Aah, no pue dar." Pero si va..eh..eh..lo Bermúde' onde Lama, que le empréte cien peso, dice "Muy bien, si lo necesita." De una vé' lo' e'tán contando. "Vea su cien peso."

But not the rich man. The rich man's first gotta make sure you've got a cow or you got a burro or you've got a goat...know what I mean? Not us. We're all in the same boat; we're not trying to make it hard for each other, even though we're all having a hard time. What good would it do me to go to Francisco Lama's house (owner of Company, fictitious name) and say "Lend me a hundred dollars." He'll say "Nope, no can do." But just let...just let one of the Bermúdez (well known owners of rum industry) go up to Lama and ask for a hundred bucks. "Why sure! Anything you need." And he begins counting off the bills right away: "Here's your hundred dollars."²¹

The conflict rages. Life is getting harder and harder for the poor man. The rich are raising all the prices; the poor are the ones that suffer.

Pero una libra de habichuela vale veintidó centavo. Aquí! Donde se produce esa.. esa produ..eh..producción que se produce aquí. Mira lo cigarrillo de nosotros lo' pobre'..cinco centavo' lo' subié'n. Y el millionario no le subié'n ná. Ello' millionario ga'tan sesenta centavo'. Cigarrillo' bueno'. Eso no no' subié'n ni un chele. A nosotros' lo pobre fué que no' subié'n. Nosotros' pagamo' to' lo impué' to aquí.

But a pound of beans costs 22 cents! Here, in this country, when it's grown right here! And look at the cigarettes that we poor people use..they raised them 5¢. But the millionaires' they didn't raise at all. The millionaires spend 60¢, good cigarettes. They didn't raise them a cent. They only raised them for us poor people. We're the ones that pay all the taxes here.²²

This is the view which the people of La Loma have of the present social situation in the Dominican Republic. There is a deep anger and frustration at their

present situation. It is the type of frustration that appeared in Cantril 's study²³ and allowed him to predict the revolution years before it occurred. The anger is connected to the belief that their poverty is the result of purposeful, selfish malevolence on the part of those on top.

Do they really believe this? Or is this a rhetorical exaggeration of their plight, staged for the benefit of the visitor from outside? This latter is the first interpretation that comes to mind, both to the visitor as well as to the Dominican who is living well in the city.²⁴ There is that common belief that the poor have become "accustomed" to their lot and that their complaints are basically rhetoric. But this interpretation simply finds no justification in any of the data. What appears is discontent and a belief that one group of people is preventing them from reaching the good life of which their island is capable. If anyone believes these people are the "happy poor," the burden is on him to prove it.

The bipartite view of society which appears in the protocols is filled in differently by each of the groups in La Loma. Analyzing the protocols further, one begins to see important differences in the manner in which each of these groups sees itself. The basic plot is the same; but the specific roles and the actors that fill the roles differ somewhat in each group.

Principally themselves. The two groups differ in the traits that they tend to attribute to themselves and the dimensions along which they evaluate themselves.

First the serrano. Here we have the paradox of a man taking pride in his humility. This is not to be confused with being content with his lot; he is by no means content. But he considers it a matter of pride and a cogent proof of the injustice of his present lot, that in every situation he is tranquilo, quiet, peace loving, respecting the law, just tending his conquito, his little peace of land on the hillside.

E'ta es una sección muy humilde, una sección muy buena de gobernaila. Aquí cualequier muchachito mand' e'ta sección. Porque aquí.. aquí no hay vagamundoría, aquí no hay hombre' malo', aquí todo el mundo quiere ocuparse de viví' trabajando, de producí'.

This is a very humble district, a very good district to govern. A little boy could govern this district. Because here there's none of that funny stuff, here there aren't any bad men, here everybody just wants to keep busy working and producing.²⁵

The following is told by a serrana. She once went down to Santiago Rodríguez for a rally to see Balaguer while he was campaigning in 1966. She was in the crowd, dying to get closer to Balaguer, pressing against the tape boundary that had been raised across the sidewalk, beyond which the people were not supposed to pass:

Entonce' fué un hombre y me dijo a mí que: "Doña, rompa la cinta." Entonce' yo le di, porque sabía que no se podía romper, sabe..digo: "Bueno, si Ud. vino con poco respeto aquí, rómpala Ud. Pero yo vine respetando lo

Then a man went and said to me: "Lady, break the tape." Then I said..because I knew you weren't supposed to break it, y' know, so I said "Well if you've come here without any respect, you break it. But I came here respecting what

que hay que repetai. Si no se puede entrai, no entro, digo, pero no tengo que rompei eso." Y entonces ei policia taba ahí y me vido y me dijo que entrara. Que ei vido que yo quise re'petaila. Porque ello' hay mucho' que quicren dir hacei la cosa como atento a orgullo...o no sé si e' de guaperia o cómo e'. Yo no. Yo re'peté. Y como ei vido que yo juí con mi re'pe'co, ei me dejó entrai a mí.

has to be respected. If we're not supposed to go through, I'm not going through. And I'm not going to break it." Then the policeman there saw me and told me I could go through. He saw that I was willing to respect it. Cause there's a lot of people who want to go and do things sort of out of pride.. or I don't know if they're just wise guys or what. But I respected. And since he saw that I went with my respect, he let me go through.²⁶

Thus reward has come for being respectful and knowing one's place. When authority places a boundary, it is to be respected without complaint, be it human authority or divine:

Yo vivo no má' debido a la misericordia de Dió' y al lao de la ley, pero yo no vivo de ná'. Porque yo era hombre que producía en ei trabajo y ahora no produ'co ná. Nada, no toy en ná. No ya, yo me entrite'co pero digo que...ei que hace lo' tiempo' chiquito' también lo' sabe hacei' grande'..y haceilo' chiquito. Y de la conformidá viene tó. Porque yo siempre vivo e'peranzado de la misericordia de Dió'. Sí. Y de María Santísima. Eso somo' lo' pobre'. Y que vivemo siempre como tamo viviéndo, tranquilo, que no haiga nada sobre de mí ni de nadie, lo que vivemo' así.

I just live depending on God's mercy and obeying the law, but I have nothing to live by. Because I used to make money farming, and now I don't make anything. Nothing, nothing at all. No. I'm pretty sad off now...but I always say that He who makes the times little can also make them big..and make them small again...and resignation brings all things. Because I always live counting on God's mercy. Yes. And the blessed Virgin. That's the way of us poor. We should always live like we're living now, tranquil...and nothing bad will happen to me or any of us that are living this way.²⁷

Already a contradiction has set in. "Conformidá", resignation is one of the most prized virtues among the serranos. And yet complaints against the rich ene-

mies are bitter, against those on top. According to one theory, there should be cognitive dissonance resulting from this contradiction.²⁸ But, as will be seen in later chapters, the value is preserved and the contradiction resolved by cognitive differentiation. Authority will be saved by separating it from the viewed source of evil.²⁹

"We are humble, tranquil, obedient, interested not in dissipation, but only in our little plot of land..." What else? Catholic; very Catholic. As was seen, the mountain folk pride themselves on being Catholic. When they think of themselves as a group, "Catholic" is one of the first traits that springs into their mind. In the following, I had asked the man: If a visitor from outside were to ask you in general "What kind of people are the Dominicans?," what would you say?

Adi6, son gente guena, gente honrada, cat6lico'. Por-eso' son..eso e' lo que se profesa aqu6..cat6lico.

Why..they're good people. Honest people, very Catholic. Because that's what we profess here...Catholic.²⁹

To say "cat6lico" is to say "bueno" y "honrado". One of the salient features of the "bad" people is that they don't believe in God. (See the first quote given in this chapter, p. 63.) It's simple: bad people don't believe in God, the people that are attacking Balaguer are bad. Ergo: the people who are attacking Balaguer are atheists:

Si lo' americano' ayuden a Balaguer, y una paite do lo' dominicano' que no creen en Dió' dejen el gobierno quieto, lo' americano' ponen ese gobierno que tengamo' saítao de la tierra de aquí a do año'.

If the Americans can help Balaguer, and those Dominicans who don't believe in God just leave the government alone, within two years the Americans will have this government going strong.³⁰

And one of the worst qualities of communists are that they are atheists. The interview question on Cuba, because of the fuzzy notions which the respondents generally had about Cuba, served somewhat as a projective test.

Yo ni sé como ej eso, yo ni sé. Porque yo de comuni'mo no sé nada, porque poi noticia que uno oye la cosa dei comuni'mo. Porque según noticia, en Cuba nadie tiene nada, nada. Hay que trabajai todo paí' ei gobierno. Todo paí' gobierno. Y de'pué', de'pué' en ese paí', lo que tan mai son lo' católico'. porque lo' comuni'ta' no. Porque ya ei que se metió a comuni'mo no tiene ariente ni pariente a nadie, como digamo'. Una palabra populai. Que ei matai ei taita, matai la mama, matai l' heimano e' lo mi'mo que ná'. Ei católico ej ei que tá mai allá. Ese ei que tá mai en Cuba. Ei que tiene conciencia.

I don't know what it's like there, I don't know. Because I don't know anything about communism, because you hear about communism just through the news. According to the news, in Cuba nobody has nothing, nothing. You have to do all your work for the government, all for the government. And besides, in that country the people that are bad off are the Catholics, not the communists, because once you've become a communist, you're not kith or kin to anybody, like we say, a common expression. To kill your dad, to kill your mom, to kill your brother--it's just like nothing. The Catholic is the one that's bad off in Cuba, That's the guy that's bad off in Cuba. The guy that that has a conscience.³¹

In short, his Catholicism is an integral part of the self image of the serrano.

But there are still other traits by which the mountain folk evaluate themselves and others. An important one is generosity to the wayfarer. There is a res-

possibility felt to the peregrino, the passer by. It is a source of esteem to be generous to the wayfarer and in the eyes of the people of La Loma is one of the virtues that distinguishes the rich from the poor.

Lo' campesino' son bueno' de tratai. Ud. pué' dí' a cuaiquei casa campesina y e'tán repaitiendo su comida y lo llaman: "Ven a comer." Ud. llega: "Vamo haceile café!" Pero ei rico no...no se apuran daile comía. Llega un campesino, y quiza, taivé... mejor la guaidan, lo dejan ahí. Pero ei campesino no, ei campesino, Ud. pué' llegar ahora mi'mo, yo le digo a la mujer: "Vaya, cuélame café a e'te amigo mío. Anda, anda, huye! Arregleme do' do' huevo' ahí, con yuca o plátano si lo' tengo. Y si no, casabe! Dámele comida." Ei campesino aquí e' sueito. E' sueito ei campesino.

The campesinos are good people to deal with. You can go to any campesino house and if it's mealtime they call you over: "Come on 'n eat!" You get to the door: "Let's make him some coffee!" Not the rich man...they don't worry about giving you food. If a campesino comes to the door... they hide the food, they leave him there. But not the campesino...the campesino, you can come to my door right now and I'd yell to my wife: "Go get some coffee ready for this friend of mine. Hurry up! Hurry up! Fix him up those two eggs that are there...with yuca or plantain if I have any. And if not, casave. Give him some food!" The campesino here is generous, he's generous.³²

So much is this trait valued that for the serrano one aspect of the good life is to have enough to comply with this norm of generosity to the traveller who knocks at your door. The following was in response to the question: Imagine you could change your life. What would you most like to have?

Adió...le voy a deci' a Ud... Yo lo que me gu'taría a mi tenei má de todo, de todo.. no sé si e' porque eso e' lo que sé hacei...e' mi agricultura. Mi agricultura. De'pué que yo tuviera mi agricultura

Well...I'll tell you. What I'd like to have most of all...I don't know it it's because that's what I know how to do.. is my farming. My farming. Once I have my farming...then I'd need my house; and then

lo que necesito e' mi rancho. enough to keep my family alive
Y ci protegimiento de mi fa- and to help out any pilgrim
milia y..p' haceile un fa- that comes to my door...then
voi a un pelegrino que lle- I'd be happy.³³
gue...ya yo 'toy contento.

Perhaps the highest compliment a serrano can pay a man is to call him projimista. This word appears frequently in the protocols, though it is rarely heard outside the sierra. Translated literally it means "neighborly." But for the serrano the word is much more emotion-laden than its English counterpart. This serrano is proud that he was called projimista by a man whom he respected:

Mire, yo fui onde un hombre que era inteligente, bu'cai remedio. Entonce le dice a lo' de su casa, le' dice: "Mira, e'te hombre, démele café, comida; e'te hombre e' projimi'ta." Qué quiere deci' projimi'ta? Projimi'ta e' que si veo a uno ma' apurao que yo de necesidá, y no tengo con que le doy la limo'na, y cuando no se la doy, el corazón se me presiente poi quereisele dai, y con eso cumplo como si se la diera. Eso se llama projimi'ta.

Listen, once I went to the house of a man who was very intelligent to get some medicine. And he tells the people in his house, he says: "Look, give this man coffee, food; this man is projimista." What does projimista mean? Projimista is if I see somebody who's worse off in need than I am, and I don't have any alms to give him, and though I don't give him anything, my heart is breaking for wanting to give him something. And with that I've done my duty as though I had given him something; That's called "projimista."³⁴

Thus a projimista is one who is moved by the sight of your suffering. The essential element seems to be an emotional involvement in the suffering of one less fortunate.

There is one further serrano trait that comes out in the protocols as a strong norm, very much akin to

what has been spoken about thus far. " A mí no me gusta hacer las cosas por interés." "I don't like to do things out of a desire for personal gain." Hospitality and favors must be extended, but not with an eye to getting something out of the recipient. The opposite of "hacer las cosas por interés" is "hacerlas del corazón," to act from the heart. Favors must be extended spontaneously and with feeling, not manipulatively--especially not out of a desire to receive money. When I offered 10¢ to the little girl who brought me water from the river, the mother protested. "No, no es bueno que los muchachos aprendan a hacer las cosas por interés." "No, it's not good for children to get in the habit of doing things for interest."

To sum up, the serrano sees himself as humble, hard working, obedient, poor, resigned to whatever comes from "above," be it from God who will restore their lot, or from the government which will restore their lot (to be seen in a later chapter). They are proud of their Catholicism, devout in their observation. To their fellows they are generous in hospitality, eager to lend a helping hand, sympathetic to the lot of those worse off than themselves. And they act out of spontaneous generosity, not out of selfish calculation.

This has been called their "self image." It would more accurately be called their "idealized self image."

What they have revealed is not so much their actual behavior, but what they believe should be their behavior. In the interview situation, faced with an outsider questioning them about themselves qua serranos, they expressed the values which provide the norms that ideally guide their life.

Many of these are fulfilled to the hilt. The hospitality and warmth of these people in sharing what little they have is astounding. The visitor from outside has probably never been in touch with people in whom the "old" virtues are still such a living part of daily existence. In thinking back, I confess that I was uneasy when accorded this treatment, suspecting that there was some ulterior motive behind it all--e.g. they wanted money from me. And being from the culture in which I grew up, I felt obligated to offer money and uneasy when specific prices weren't established for specific services. In light of all that has come out in the protocols, it is clear that this was a mistake. If one wishes to spend any time in the Sierra of the Dominican Republic, he will have to reciprocate in kind, repaying warmth with warmth and uncalculated generosity with uncalculated generosity, taking the price tag off many things--a style of life for which an urban American background poorly equips one.

On the other hand there is tension between norm and actual practice in some cases. Some services

for example, do have a specific price. The woman who buys and cooks food for the single soldiers and forest rangers sets a monthly price; a set price is paid for renting a house or a mule. But there is always a little embarrassment when prices are mentioned; the practice of expecting and receiving money for services is part of a different system, gaining greater prevalence throughout the country, but coming into conflict with the values that subtended the old system. If the new system is to gain prevalence, new norms will have to be established, or there will be tension. In the case of the serranos, the tension is there but is slight; and one can predict that money will win the conflict hands down, as soon as it becomes more readily available.

Despite these slight conflicts, the serranos still maintain their idealized self image, seeing themselves as has been depicted above. And the values expressed in their idealized self-image are truly influential in shaping their expectations of how the outside world should behave toward them. "Since we are humble, poor, obedient, etc., therefore:..." Their greatest expectations lie with Balaguer and with the U.S. government. Recalling what was said about the caudillo system, it will be seen how this self image conveniently fits into the framework of that system, and their view of themselves makes it quite sensible

and congruent for them to turn to a stronger leader. The great congruence between their self-image and the caudillismo frame of reference is what makes the study of their self image relevant to the question of how they perceive and react to their crisis; for as will be seen, it is in the framework of the caudillo system, through the categories provided by this system, that the facts of their crisis filtered into their awareness.

The protocols of the sawmill workers show different dimensions of self evaluation. It has been remarked earlier that the shared cultural and historical background of the two groups gives a certain uniformity to the protocols which transcends the economic differences of the groups. But in the area of "idealized self image" there are definite differences. What the workers assert about themselves indicates that at least in some areas their concept of themselves differs from the serrano self image.

In the first place the workers tend to give more emphasis to the fact that they are men who are "breaking their back." If the serrano claims esteem because he sees himself as humble, the worker claims it because he sees himself as willing to sweat. Even the foreman: the question was: is your work easy or hard compared to that of the other men?

No, lo que yo hago, naturalmente, lo que tengo que hacer es mandar. Naturalmente yo soy un hombre que yo me fajo. Si hay que coger piedra para tapar un hoyo ahí, yo lo tapo. Si hay que coger a trochar para una loma, yo lo hago. Que por allá hay que hacer un preliminar para echar una carretera, pues yo también ando las lomas primero, para conocerle el sitio. Sí, yo camino mucho, yo ando mucho.

No...naturally what I do... what I have to do is give orders. But naturally I'm a man who can really work hard. If we have to lift a boulder to cover up a hole there, I cover it. If we have to slash out a path up a hillside...that's what I do. Let's say we have to make a preliminary study for a road, well I wander around the hills first to determine the right place. Yeah, I have to do a lot of walking, a lot of moving.³⁵

The important element is that he insists that he works and felt somewhat apologetic about the fact that his principal job was just to give orders. This is significant in light of the disdain for manual labor, the symbolic value of a life where one has others working for him, that still pervades Latin America.³⁶ That is, one of the characteristics of him who has "made it" is that he doesn't have to work; the necessity of working with one's hands is a symbol of low status in itself. And yet the workers of La Loma point out with pride that they work hard

Another worker is even more eloquent about himself:

Porque si yo pegando botone' vivo la vida, pué' yo la voy a vivir. Y si e' con una hacha, también la voy a vivir. Porque yo...yo tengo una gazeta, que yo 'toy en ei mundo, pero e' pa' trabajai. No e' p' e'tai sentao con la mano cruzao, no. Yo no me quiero impo'tura, no. Yo me crié en un tiempo que se trabajaba. El papá mío m' enseñó a trabajai.

Because if it's by sewing on buttons that I have to stay alive, that's how I'll live. If it's with an axe, I'll live that way too. Because I have a destiny; I was put on this earth to work, not to be sitting down with my hands on my lap. No, I'm not gonna strike up any poses. I grew up in a time when you hadda work. My father taught me how to work.³⁷

There was in the above an allusion to the fact that people "higher up"--he'd be "pretending"--are the ones that sit with their hands in their lap. But he states his willingness to work almost with pugnacity. Were he evaluating himself strictly in the light of the disdain-for-work value mentioned above, one might have expected him to be somewhat apologetic, at least about the fact of his working. But he says it with pride, as in the following:

Nosotros' salimo' echai noch.. We've gone out to spend the
ei día peidenino' aquí y en night...killing ourselves
la noche fajao, amaneci pito in the day and breaking our
a pito, fajao tirando palo' backs at night too, working
de p' allá...en el tiempo from dusk to dawn, breaking
del invierno, con un saco our backs hurling around logs
arropao. Y Uá. sabe porque from the hills...during win-
lo haciano' nosotros'? Por ter, covered with a sack. And
la familia. you know why we did it? For
our family.³⁸

This same worker, and a few others, tend to claim esteem because of the supposed success which their working habits would give them with the Americans, were they to get a job in "New York."

Yo he oído muchos dominicanos que vienen de allá que dicen "Bueno, yo voy por compromiso, porque allá se gana dinero, pero la vida es dura." La vida es dura, lo hallan ellos, como nunca habían trabajado en compañías americanas. Pero yo que me crié en compañías americanas sé como es que se trabaja; con los americanos nunca lo he encontrado duro. Porque soy un hombre trabajador y me gusta ganar dinero. Yo iría allá y me parece que viviría bien,

I've heard a lot of Dominicans who come back from New York and say "Well, I'm going because I have to, because you make money there. But life is hard." They find life hard since they've never worked in American companies. . But when I was growing up, I worked in American companies (in the Dominican Republic); I know how you're supposed to work. I've never found it hard with the Americans. Because I'm a hard worker and I like to make money. I'd go to the U.S. and I think I'd get

porque yo sé cómo es que se trabaja. Que si Ud. va a laborar ocho horas, es a trabajar; nada de vuelta. Si Ud. va a manejar una maquina, es a tender a esa maquina durante ese tiempo. Y como yo estoy impuesto a hacerlo....

Porque el americano sabe lo que vale un hombre de trabajo. Sabe lo que vale un hombre que trabaja duro como yo he trabajado, duro, que yo nunca trabajo ná' liviano. Ha sido tó' pesado, tó' caigao. Si yo vea compañía americana', me voy con lo' americano'.

along just fine. Because I know how you're supposed to work. If you've got an 8 hour work day, it's 8 hours, no time off. If you have to work a machine, you have to take good care of it during that time. And since I'm used to doing it...³⁹

Because the American recognizes a worker. He knows the worth of a man who works hard, like I've worked, hard, hard. I've never had an easy job. It has always been hard work, heavy. If an American company turns up, I'd go with the Americans.⁴⁰

The implication is that the Company does not appreciate them for what they are--which is exactly what they are trying to say. They have many complaints about the Company, as will be seen; one of these is the lack of esteem and consideration when they think these should be forthcoming.

This is perhaps an idealized image of themselves; but it is their image. What they value in themselves--exaggerated though much of it might be--is quite different from what the serrano values in himself. It is not radically opposed: the serrano mentions his sweat on the conuco along with his humility and submission to authority; the worker mentions his loyalty to the government and his generosity, along with his ability to work. But the emphasis is different. The serrano seems largely guided by his ethos of tranquil submission; the worker appears more influenced by an ethos of faithful sweat.

When the serrano thinks of the Americans, he feels it is his humble condition that should endear him to them.

"Los americanos se conduelen de los infelices..." "Americans have pity on the poor people.." But the worker, as has been seen, believes his value is as a faithful laborer. "El americano sabe lo que vale un hombre de trabajo como yo." "The American knows the worth of a hard worker like myself."

To continue with the worker's self image: esteem tends to be claimed not only on the basis of hard work, but also because the worker has "rubbed elbows" with more important people.

<p>Bueno, Ud. sabe que siempre el obrero tiene una disciplina más que el campesino, porque el obrero tiene roce con industriales, y con gente que tienen otra categoría diferente al campesino. Sobre ese particular no son igual.</p>	<p>Well you know the worker is always more educated than the campesino, because the worker has contact with industrialists, and with people who are of a different class from the campesino. In this respect they' re not the same.⁴¹</p>
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Either he has had contact, or he feels he should have it;

<p>Yo no he ido a los E'tado' Unido', pero he dicho que ya que se me ofre'ca salir d' e'te paí', bu'co ei blanco como yo. Me voy a lo' blanco'.</p>	<p>I've never gone to the United States, but I've always said that the first chance I get to leave this country, I'm goin' up where there are white men like myself. I'm goin' up where there are white men.⁴²</p>
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A third element in the workers' self image: he wants esteem because of his profesión, his skill. There is a believe in La Loma that farming the land is stupid people--it is not considered a skill, but a way

of life for those who have no skill. The following two segments are from serranos.

No, nunca, nunca. (Le gusta la agricultura nada más?) L' agricultura nada más. (Porqué?) Porque... como quien dice... porque e' mi capacidad, mi capacidad. Nada má' me daba pa'... me da pa' eso. Porque yo no sé ni la "o," porque e' como le digo a Ud., yo no me sé ni, como quien dice, ni e' presai. Ud. sabe lo que 'tai fajao dende por la mañana, con la jacha en la mano? E' con el enemigo encima tó' ei tiempo... meterse Ud. debajo un monte, que tiene Ud. que botai. Pero entonces eso... eso lo único que sé hacer, Ud. comprende.

Aquí e' una vida atrasá. Sí, porque en otro país e', en otro país... aquí en e' te país, casi todo ei mundo... son poco' lo' que no viven laboreando la tierra. Pero en otro país e' no. Viven de profesione', todo ei mundo, Ud. lo sabe? De profesione.

No, never, never. (You only like farming?) Yes, just farming. (Why?) Because that's sort of what I'm fit for, what I'm fit for. I was only good enough for that... because I don't even know how to write the letter "o," and like I say, I kind of don't even know how to express myself. Do you know what it's like to be working from early in the morning, with an axe in your hand, with the enemy (the sun)... the enemy over you all the time? To start working in thick brush that you're going to have to clear away? But that's the only thing I know how to do, you understand?⁴³

Here it's a backwards life. Yes, because in other countries... in other countries... here in this country, almost everybody... there aren't many people who don't live just tilling the soil. But not in other countries. They live from skills, everyone, y' know? From skills.⁴⁴

With this attitude, any job in the sawmill is seen as a profesión: a profession (probably more accurately translated as "skill"). Each job in the sawmill, no matter how menial, is given its official title. The man who walked around greasing the machines was called "mecánico." The man who shovelled sawdust into wheelbarrows and dumped it over the hill was called "el serrinero." Even the worker who picked up the useless

slivers and piled them up out of the way has his title: "varillero." The truck driver's job (chofer), which in English is called bluntly enough truck-driving, is called in La Loma by the much more awe-inspiring title of "choferismo," (chaufferism). Among the workers there is a great consciousness of having a skill and a title.

The truck driver, in thinking back to his first work on trucks, said he used to help load them: "yo era admini'tradoi," "I was the administrator." In less euphemistic terms he would have been called a "peón." The foreman, thinking back to his childhood, recalls the cows his father used to own: "Éramos hacendados," "We were livestock raisers." In short, esteem is borrowed by the workers from any contact with machines and any knowledge of something besides farming. Some sections where this comes out:

Después que mi padre murió, me fui al lado de mi mamá, y ahí comencé a trabajar en los ingenios. Donde trabajé mucho en los talleres de mecánica, trabajé en los departamentos de bombas, corriendo motores de la centrifuga, en los ingenios. Y después también aprendí a maquinista en la Vía Férrea, de ahí también pasé al departamento de tractores, arando y trabajando en bulldozers...yo me crié en compañías americanas.

Ah, yo he trabajao en tó' Yo he trabajado como ayudante 'tra'toi, ayudante' camión, eh, banquero, eh, de'trompadoi, leñero, he

After my father died, I went with my mother and began to work in the sugar mills. I worked in machine shops, I worked in the pump department, running the centrifugal motors, in the sugar mills. And afterwards I also learned how to be a machinist on the railroad. From there I passed to the tractor department, ploughing and running bulldozers...I grew up in American companies.⁴⁵

Aah, I've worked at everything. I've worked as a tractor assistant, a truck assistant, bench-er, planer, woodman, I've worked in the hills...I've worked at all

trabajao en todo' lo'
trabajo' recio'.

the hard jobs.⁴⁶

Ud. no ve to' esa' carrete-
ra que hay en la' loma'...
carretera. To' eso' he he-
cho yo. To' eso' he hecho
yo! De'toconándole y hacien-
do la trocha y ei buidó'
atrás' ahí. To' esa' carrete-
tera que Ud. ve; to' eso'
trabajo' he hecho yo...

Do you see all those roads
in the hills? Roads..I'm the
one that made them all. I've
made all those roads. Clear-
ing the stumps, making a
path, and the bulldozer right
there behind me. All those
roads you see...I'm the one
that did all the work.⁴⁷

Every effort is made to separate themselves status-
wise from those who have no skills. For example: looking
ahead to the closing of the sawmill, there seemed to be
a tendency for those who considered themselves "skilled"
to say: "I'm worried about those poor unskilled workers
who won't be able to find a job. With my skill, of course,
I could find a job in a week...but what about the poor
guys that have no skill...maybe they shouldn't close
the sawmill..."

Porque hay mucha gente de
esos que no tienen profesio-
nes. Al menos, yo, me pare-
ce que si salgo de aquí, no
duro un mes sin trabajar, por-
que tengo varias profesio-
nes. Y cuando yo no agarre
uno, agarre el otro.

Because a lot of those peo-
ple have no skills. Me, at
least..when I leave here,
I won't be a month with-
out work, because I have
so many skills. And if
I don't grab on to one thing,
I'll grab ahold of something
else.⁴⁸

This is a great contrast to the serrano who sees
himself as generally stupid (along with all the posi-
tive qualities mentioned earlier):

Bueni, ei dominicano, le
voy a decir yo a Ud., ei
dominicano e' una gente
saivaje..una gente que no
conoce. Porque el e'tranjero
son gente to' de intelligen-
cia, de su cabeza, y cono-

The Dominican...well, I'll
tell you, the Dominican is
a savage, a guy who doesn't
know...because the foreign-
ers are all intelligent peo-
ple, who live with their
heads, and know all sorts of

cen toda' la cosa'. Y no-
sotro' semo' una gente...
el dominicano, como quien
dice...ma' de bueno, pero
ei dominicano e' como quien
dice...una gente salvaje,
Ud. comprende. Para mí semo'
gente...gente brutaime.

things. And we're...the Domi-
nican is...as good a person
as you'd ever want to meet...
but the Dominican is sort of..
savage, y' understand? In
my opinion we're....you can
hardly call us people...⁴⁹

Morally good but backwards: this is the serrano's
view of himself. Another serrano talks of his people:

Y hay otro que no pueden
dí' a lo' claro', porque
no saben desenvoiveise.
E' que p' hablai le ticm-
bla la lengua, y no sabe
'plicaise nunca.

And there are others who
can't even leave the hills,
because they can't take
care of themselves. Their
tongues tremble when they
start to speak, and they
can never express themselves.⁵⁰

To sum up, each of the groups esteems itself on
the basis of an idealized self image, idealized traits
which they each claim to possess. But the self images
are quite different in both cases.

But the question of status and self-esteem would be
incomplete without mentioning the other small group that
lived in La Loma: the soldiers, forest rangers, and
alcaldes. These individuals comprised "l' autoridad",
the authorities. Though it is tangential to the central
theme of the study, the traits by virtue of which they
claim esteem present an interesting contrast to the
serranos and workers. Since no interviews were held
with them, their "self image" will have to be inferred
from their behavior.

Fortunately their dress, posture, and behavior is
often an eloquent testimony to the image of the ideal

"autoridá."

It appears that the basic and most indispensable badge of authority is a pistol, preferably a revolving six-shooter with a handsome pearl handle. The authorities wear their guns every chance they get. One of the forest rangers was especially fond of this image. When the men took off on muleback for a neighboring community to play baseball, the lesser men took bats and balls; the authority took his pistol. When the lady-governor of the province came to La Loma, she was greeted by the ranger and his gun. And when I offered to take a picture of him and his family, he first ran inside and strapped on his six-shooter. While his family smiled naturally and simply into the camera, he frowned off into the distance, his hand on the hilt of his gun, the very image of responsible authority.

But several elements are still lacking in the picture of "l' autoridá." For example the wrist watch. There were about four wrist watches in La Loma, none of which worked, but all of which were worn by "l' autoridá" on important occasions. Next comes the brown helmet and sunglasses. Add to all these a mustache and a cigarette, dangling from the lips, and you have the full fledged macho.

Not all authorities fit this image. The young government forest ranger (whose picture appears in the photos), refused to wear a gun and was in general

quite unassuming. But the portrait given above seems to be the model for a certain type of authority. The men who pose in this fashion seem to be saying about themselves: "I'm not an ordinary nobody. I'm an autoridá. I'm important--important enough to have to wear a gun to protect myself. And if you step out of line, I have a mano de hierro, an iron fist."

This is an impressionistic picture of the traits which an authority seems to attribute to himself qua authority. But the self image of the farmers and the workers has been abstracted from the assertions about self made on the protocols. There appear to be systematic differences, the serrano placing great emphasis on his tranquility and obedience to the law, the worker pointing to his faithful and willing performance of extremely hard tasks and his various "skills."

A concluding observation could be made. The difference between the self image of the two groups is closely related to the participation of the workers in a factory setup. Esteem, as well as wages, are expected because of work and skill. The workers are still viewing the world in the frame of reference of a bipartite society, where the rich step on the poor and the solution is for the poor to seek help from above. But the workers' image of their own role is much more active than that of the serranos. Assuming for the moment that the country is moving in general from a traditional bipartite stratifi-

cation system ~~System~~, where an individual is born into his class, toward a modern industrial system where upward mobility is theoretically possible through individual achievement, the sawmill workers have moved psychologically closer to participation in the modern system. For although they still retain the paternalistic frame of reference of the caudillo system in their political thought, and even a paternalistic orientation toward the Company (as will be seen), their fascination with their work and their skills makes them now expect, as their due, esteem and consideration. When a man seeks esteem through work and skill, rather than through humble submission, he has begun to move into the twentieth century.