

VI. PUEBLO VS. CAMPO

The intergroup differences discussed in the last chapter also come out in those sections of the protocols where the respondents compare life in the pueblo with life in the campo. As might be expected, the serranos prefer the latter, the workers the former. The reasons given by each group for its choice cast light on the differences in the frame of reference by which each group evaluates its present life and entertains hope for the future.

The following came from a serrano:

La vida dei campo e' mejor. (Porqué?) Adiós, porque la vida dei campo e' má' tranquila. Síii...en ei pueblo, en ei pueblo nada más se vive 'tudiando ya, oiga, ya en ei pueblo se vive 'tudian-do par' enriquecer, otro' e'tudian para tumbai ei go-bierno, otro' e'tudian pa-ra ir pa' Nueva York. Y no-sotro' lo' campesino'...na-da má' p' hallaino' tranqui-lo'. Entonce' la vida dei campo...que nosotros' saiga-mo' por ahí y veamo' una ga-llina...veamo'...hallamo' lo' huevo'..ho' hallamo' bien. La vida dei campo e' mejor...hallando protegimien-to, como uno protegeise. E' mejor la vida dei campo que la dei pueblo.

Life in the campo es better, yes. (Why?) Well, because life in the campo is more tranquil. Yes...in the pueblo you're always making plans, like, in the pueblo you live making plans to get rich, others make plans to overthrow the government, others make plans to go to New York. But we campesinos... all we want is to stay tran-quil. Another thing about life in the campo: we walk out our front door and we see a hen...we se..we find the eggs...and we're content. Life in the campo is better, you find more ways to stay alive. Life in the campo is better than life in the pueblo.<sup>60</sup>

The tranquility of the campo is seen as presenting a sharp and pleasant contrast to the "plotting" and agitation that the campesino believes is an essential part of life in the pueblo. What most disturbs him about the

life of the pueblo? There people just plot to get rich; not so in the campo. There people plot to overthrow Balaguer; a strong contrast to the loyalty to the Jefe found in La Loma. The serrano views with anxiety the dog-eat-dog helter skelter struggle that seems to characterize the quest for money; he fears the ominous anti-government rumblings that seem to originate in the crowded, noisy barrios of the pueblo. On examination these two images can be seen as threatening because they are direct challenges to two of the values that seem most precious to the serrano. First, it is "wrong" to act solely por interés.<sup>61</sup> In the sierra, as has been seen, money is sought somewhat apologetically, though it is sought; but the serrano never makes flagrant wholehearted commitment to the quest for money as the prime goal in life. Secondly the serrano values obedience to authority. "Yo soy, sigo, y seré del gobierno, del que 'té y del que venga." "I'm a follower of the government, the one that's here now and whatever one comes along." This was frequently affirmed. This might be considered the motto of the serrano; it is no wonder he fears the pueblo, where the opposite motto seems to fill the air: "Abajo el gobierno! Abajo el que suba!" "Down with the government! Down with whoever rises!"

But some serrano fears of the pueblo are quite concrete and practical. Without money one starves in the pueblo; in the campo, one can always "hallar

protegitamiento," "find protection." And in the pueblo, the people are seen as smart, educated; the serrano, on the other hand, sees himself as stupid, "with closed eyes." Such fears recur throughout the serrano protocols with little variation.

En ei campo ei probe..ei campo..vive..se defiende mejor. Pero en ei pueblo, si Ud. tiene conque defenderse, lleva su vida mejoi que en ei campo. Ei campo e' par' ei probe.

In the campo the poor man.. the campo..lives..gets by better. But in the pueblo, if you have the wherewithal, you live a better life than in the campo. The campo is for the poor man.<sup>62</sup>

En ei campo no hay ninguna exigencia. Nooo, porque vea, Ud. vamo suponai...nosotro' en ei campo nadie compra... se ocupa de comprai caibon pa' cocinai. Pa' que 'ta leña ahi? Nadie ha comprado. La carne..si Ud. la quiere comprai. Pero si Ud. tiene su pollito que lo ha criado, la mujer mata ei pollo. Bueno. Y e' má, con cuaiquei cosa Ud. pas' ei dia en ei campo, Ud. sabe. La vida dei campo e' má...e mejoi, sí. En ei pueblo hay má' exigencia.

There's never any need in the campo, no. Because look, let's suppose...here in the campo nobody buys...worries about buying charcoal to cook with. What do you think all that firewood is laying around for? Nobody buys it. Meat...if you want to, you can buy it. But if you've raised a chicken, your wife can kill the chicken. Sure. And besides, you can eat any little thing and get through the day in the campo. Life in the campo is better..yes, it's better. In the pueblo demands are greater.<sup>63</sup>

Running through this is the theme: don't count on money, keep animals and a conuco; which was seen to be one of the differences between the serrano and the worker. The following is in the same vein.

Me gu'ta má ei campo. Porque en ei campo cria Ud. ei pollo, cria Ud. tó', puede trabajai. En ei pueblo tiene que comprai paicela, o aiquilai, pa' podei vivi'. Y en ei campo no. En ei campo cria Ud., onde no

I like the campo better. Because in the campo, you can raise your chicken, you can raise everything, you can farm. In the pueblo you have to buy a plot, or rent one, to stay alive. Not in the campo. In the campo you can

haija mucha gente, cria gallina, cria de tó'. Trabaja sus horas. Y en el pueblo no. En el pueblo si Ud. no tiene paicela, tiene que vivir d' e'clavo. El día trabajando pa' la noche taivé comí y cenai. Sí. La vida del pueblo e' buena, pero e' pai que tiene cuaito'. Sí; el que no tiene cuaito' pasa trabajo. Y que mientras uno 'tá en salud', consigue el pan; pero si cayó enfermo, sin tener un centavo, y no tiene quien se duela por uno, se acabó. Y en el campo no. En el campo e' la gente, que si... pué ser, en comparación, que yo no tenga familia aquí, y caigo mal. La gente me ve aquí, empiezan a cuidarme de lo' primero' día'. Pero váyase a un pueblo onde no lo conocen, y caiga mal; allá lo hallan muerto. Por la cédula sabrán de ond' era, y si e' hombre o mujer, je je. Así mi'mo.

raise, where there aren't many people, you can raise hens, raise everything, and work your own hours. Not in the pueblo. In the pueblo if you don't have a parcela, you have to live like a slave. You have to work all day so you can maybe dine or sup at night. Yes. Life in the pueblo is good, but it's for the man who's got money. Yes; if you don't have money, you have a real hard time. And as long as your health holds out, you can get bread; but if you get sick and don't have a penny, and you don't have anybody to take pity on you, you've had it. Not so in the campo. People in the campo..for example..let's say I don't have relatives here and I get sick. People who see me here begin to take care of me from the first day. But go to a pueblo where nobody knows you and get sick there; they'll find your body. And only by your I.D. card will they know where you came from and if you were a man or a woman, ha ha. That's exactly how it is.<sup>64</sup>

There are many interesting attitudes that are between the lines in the above segment. "You work your own hours; in the pueblo you're a slave..." Factory work is seen as slavery; conuco work is seen as freedom. This indicates that attachment to the conuco isn't entirely preventive; i.e. to ward off starvation when no money is available. On the contrary there is positive affect attached to the conuco. Whereas for a person raised and educated in the city, fewer life-styles seem more dismal than that of the serrano, for the serrano himself

there is freedom and security at the same time in the conuco. All that is required is freedom from the money motive, which plagues the people in the pueblo. The above segment also reveals a need for primary relationships and a fear of being among people but not interacting with them. Such segments reveal the elements in campo life which the serranos value, by fantasies of the lack of these elements when the serrano thinks of the pueblo.

(A Ud. le gustaría vivir con muchos cuartos en el pueblo o con mucha tranquilidad en el campo?) Mhá' vale vivir tranquilo, arrancao, en el campo, y no con mucho cuaito' en el pueblo, que lo sepa la gente. Porque así no amanece en e'tos año'. Que anochece uno aco'tao, y no amanece, ei que saben que tiene cuaito'.

Hay mucha gente buena en el pueblo. Pero de'pué, Ud. sabe que la tigueteria, es en lo' pueblo' que 'si'te. Ahí e' que si'te la tigueteria. En lo' campo' no esi'te eso. Que Ud., ve Ud. aquí, Ud. pué' andai por onde le dé la gana. Ud. pué' aco'tarse onde le dé gana. No; pierda cuidao. Pierda cuidao. Lo meno' en e'ta regione'.

(Would you rather live with a lot of money in the pueblo or tranquilly in the campo?) It's better to live tranquil, though flat broke, in the campo, rather than with a lot of money in the pueblo. If people there know you've got money, you won't live till morning in these times. You go to bed at night and you never wake up, if they know you've got money.<sup>65</sup>

There are a lot of good people in the pueblo. But then again you know that a lot of thugs are in the pueblo. That's where all the hoodlums are. There's none of that in the campo. Take yourself right here; you can roam wherever you feel like it. You can go to sleep wherever you feel like it and don't have to worry. You don't have to worry, at least in this region.<sup>66</sup>

In short the pueblo symbolizes a threat to many of the values which the serranos are most attached to.

But there are many instances on the protocols where the serranos talk of life in the pueblo as though it were

superior to life in the campo. There is ambivalence. Life in the pueblo is hostile, selfish, threatening--- but at the same time it is for more intelligent people, it provides a better way of life "par' ei que pueda," "for the person who can swing it," than life in the campo.<sup>67</sup> The following campesino was the one who was afraid they would find him dead in bed in the pueblo.

Ay no no no. Ud. vive en ei pueblo y vive diferente...si tiene una inteligencia de que vivi'. Y si..si se va con cuaito', tambien, aunque no tenga inteligencia, y sabe tasai lo' cuaito', dura mucho tiempo. Allá con un chin que uno coma, tiene el etómago y el cuerpo bien pue'to. Y aquí 'tá sí, el e'tómago vacío. Porque aquí lo que se come e' basura. Porque lo' probe' comamo' basura porque no alcanzamo' comei lo que...ei que puede comei bueno...alcanzamo' comei lo que Dió' no dé. Y ei que vive en ei pueblo, por eso e' que vive gordo, por lo que come, comida buena.

Ah no no no. If you live in the pueblo, you live a different kind of life, if you have intelligence to live by. And if...if you go with money, you also get by, even though you have no money, if you know how to budget your money. You can last a long time there. And there with any little bit you eat, your stomach and body feel well. And here...you've got an empty stomach. Because here the food is garbage. Because we poor people eat garbage because ...we never get to eat...if you can eat well...what we get to eat is what God gives us. But the man who lives in the pueblo...that's why he's fat, because of what he eats; he eats well.<sup>68</sup>

The ambivalence comes out clearly. Is this man contradicting what he said before? By no means. In each case he is speaking from within a different frame of reference. When he eulogizes the campo, the values that are engaged are the traditional serrano values of tranquility, neighborliness, etc. When he praises the pueblo, he has on

his mind other "values": live by intelligence rather than by brute labor, have money, eat fancy food. This is a way of life that the serrano in the Dominican Republic knows exists, and he knows that the people who live it consider themselves superior to him, and to a certain degree and in certain situations accepts their evaluation. The occasional longing glance that he casts towards the pueblo reveals this ambivalence, about which Redfield writes.<sup>69</sup>

How does the serrano deal with the ambivalence? Most of the ones interviewed were middle aged to old, and the ambivalence was not much of a problem in this area. The values in this "pueblo" way of life are so alien to the serrano's concept of himself and his life possibilities that no strong aspirations are raised and no real frustration comes from this quarter. If given the choice, he'd take the sierra any day.

Not so the workers. They have very different notions of what the good life consists of.

Me gusta más el pueblo. Porque en el pueblo Ud. trabaja...si quiere tomar un helado, quiere tomar repollo, si quiere comer comida fina, la come. Pero en el campo, uno 'ta fajao trabajando...vea nosotros 'tamo fajao ahí trabajando, y no podemos comer repollo, no no' podemos tomar un helado, porque no lo hay. Pero en el pueblo, Ud. acaba de trabajar a su hora, cambia de ropa, se baña, se va y se sienta ahí

I like the pueblo more. Because in the pueblo you work...if you want to eat some ice cream, if you want to eat cabbage, if you want to eat fine food, you eat it. But in the campo you're always breaking your back...look how we're always killing ourselves here, and we can't eat cabbage, we can't have an ice-cream, because there is none. But in the pueblo, you finish work at a certain time, you change your clothes,



en un parque.. "Deme un Country Club ahí..deme una cervecita fría pa' bebermela.." sentao en ei paigue ahí. E' una vida muy cómoda.

you take a shower, you go and you sit down there in the park.. "Let me have a Country Club (soft drink) there...I'll have a cold beer to drink.." sitting there in the park. It's a very comfortable life.<sup>70</sup>

Y a laj vej de que allí ei medio de vida en Santiago, o en lo' pueblo', e' un medio de vida mejor que en el campo. (En qué sentido?) El sentido e' porque allí lo que Ud. desea si e'tá en condicione' de Ud. comprarlo, pue Ud. lo compra. Ud. satisface su e'to..su estu.. su apestito. Lo cuai que aquí en ei campo no. Por ejemplo allí en ei pueblo Ud. desea y dice, "Bueno, yo voy a variar la comida." Le dice a su señora: "Vete allá ai mercado, cómprate un pollo." Cuando no quiere pollo, dice: "Bueno, no vamos a comer carne, ni habichuela, ni arró', ni nada d' eso. Vamo' hacei un' ensalada." Con un' ensalada de tomato, de..molon-drone', lechuga, repollo, azahoria, d' e'pinaca, y así en fin uno ve ahí. Por ese motivo yo digo que la vida dei pueblo e' mejor que la dei campo.

...At the same time the standard of living in Santiago, or in the pueblos, is better than in the campos. (In what sense?) In the sense that because there, whatever you want, if you have money to buy it, well you buy it. You satisfy your app..appit.. appetite. Not here in the campo. For example there in the pueblo, you get the urge and you say: "Well, guess I'll vary my food." You tell your wife: "Go to the market, buy a chicken." When you don't want chicken, you say: "Well, we're not going to eat meat or beans or rice or anything like that, let's make a salad." And you make a salad of..tomatos, molondrones, lettuce, cabbage carrots, spinach...and that gives you an idea.. That's why I think life in the pueblo is better than life in the campo.<sup>71</sup>

For the worker the campo holds none of attraction that it holds for the serrano. For the worker it is drab and monotonous. The pueblo is modern, comfortable, full of diversions and good food. Obviously the workers are evaluating the pueblo in terms of a different frame of reference from the one the serranos use. Diversions, refreshments, clean clothes after work. What the workers



find rewarding is quite different from what the serranos find rewarding. What is at the root of the difference in attitudes? Commitment to two different life-styles, each permeated with different values. The system in which the serranos live depends heavily on tranquility, neighborliness, submission to authority; that of the worker depends on money and commitment to the goods that money can buy. Each system shapes in its members characteristic needs and goals; evaluation of pueblo vs. campo takes place on the basis of the satisfaction of, or threat to, the needs of each group found in the pueblo and campo. In this light the serranos cling to the sierra; the workers look with nostalgia toward the town. And once again asynchronism is seen in La Loma: the coexistence, side by side, of non-contemporaneous systems, due to the head start which one of the groups has in becoming involved in a modern system.