

## VIII RELATIONSHIP TO COMPANY

The preceding chapters have dealt with sections of the protocols in which there are vivid intergroup differences. In the following chapters areas are covered where intergroup differences are less striking than the intergroup similarities. The differences were viewed in terms of participation in different economic systems. The similarities will be viewed in terms of participation in the same type of authority system.

The crisis that hit the village was brought down from above. Thus it brought into play authority-related responses. It has been pointed out earlier that despite the economic differences of the two groups, the frame of reference in which they view authority is basically the same, reflecting the caudillo mentality prevalent in many parts of Latin America.

How do the workers relate to the Company? The most accurate adjective to describe their attitudes toward the Company is "bitter." But there are many forms of bitterness. To understand the feelings of the workers of La Loma toward the Company, one must go beyond the objective economic relation of worker to Company as revealed in the payroll records.

Indeed, judging from the objective situation

of the workers in comparison to that of the nation as a whole, one has the impression that they, though their situation is far from ideal, are better off than many other people. The amount of income will be dealt with below.

On the basis of daily records that three sawmill families were asked to keep for the period of a week, the cost of living in the sawmill, varying with the amount of children, averaged out between \$2.90 and \$3.00 per day per family. Of course most of this "cost" was incurred in the Company store, not with money, but with a vale, a specially printed credit slip. As has already been pointed out, this money spent on credit was deducted from fortnightly earnings. Approximately half of the workers were in debt to the Company. It is interesting, and perhaps significant, that the workers who had been with the Company the longest length of time were in general those who owed most.

The sawmill was capable of sawing 7 or 8 thousand-board-feet per day, but for the six month period between January and July of 1967, the sawmill averaged out to 3.3 millares per day. Since almost all the employees were paid on the basis of how much was sawed--i.e. so much per worker per millar sawed--the salaries were low compared to what the workers knew could be earned if the sawmill were operating at top efficiency. The lowest paid workers,

the "peones de camión," truck-loading assistants, earned .70¢ per millar, averaging out to \$2.31 per day. The highest paid worker, the truck driver, was paid \$1.35 per millar, averaging out to \$4.46 per day. Since the average cost of living per day approached \$3.00, it is plain that some made it and some had a harder time.

However the lower paid workers tended to be younger and, in two cases, without families, reducing their living costs to below the average; the higher paid workers, who seemingly earned more, were often in debt to the Company, as mentioned before. In short, everyone was pretty much in the same straits, either in debt to the Company or just holding the line. And most of the transactions were carried out via credit slips, not money. By the time they earned money, it had usually been eaten up before hand.

To give a picture of this, a few examples will be given. On the left hand side is listed the title of the worker and the amount of money that he had theoretically earned during the last six month period on the basis of sawmill output. In the second column is the actual amount of money that reached his hands during the entire six month period.

road worker:	\$395.70	--	\$44.30
saw-man	348.54	--	74.29
truck driver	695.65	---	73.97

classifier: \$420.00 -- \$30.70  
tractor dr. 502.19 -- 85.11

And the pattern continues. Thus the frustration of the workers was doubly compounded. Not only did the frequent breakdown of the machinery slow down output to much less than half of what the workers knew was possible; but the periods of inactivity caused the running up of debts which reduced the payments, when they finally came, to a fraction of what he had actually earned. He earned a fraction of what he could have earned if the sawmill didn't break down, and he received only a mini-fraction of what he earned. And to boot, half the workers were in debt to the Company.

However there was work; nobody went hungry; and they ~~saw~~ some money regularly, minute as the quantity might be. They did have lodging in the Company's houses. Although their life was far from ideal, their per capita income compared favorably to the \$251 per capita income for the country as a whole.<sup>79</sup>

It is very easy to dismiss the bitterness of the complaints as being somehow exaggerated. I have heard men in high industrial positions in the Dominican Republic write off the Dominican worker as a griper and malcontent. Even the foreman in La Loma, who was amongst the most bitter of the

complainers, felt that the workers in La Loma were basically content despite their gripes.

Ellos con cualquier cosa se acotejan. Ud. los oye que gritan y dicen todas las cosas, pero están ahí aguantados, como son de aquí, la mayor parte de la sierra, ellos están bien con eso.

They're satisfied with any little thing. You hear them complaining and saying all sorts of things, but they're holding out all right. Since a lot of them are from here, most of them from the sierra, (which was not true), they're satisfied with what they have.<sup>80</sup>

That is to say: objectively their situation compares favorably to that of most other of their class; besides they're used to this sort of life. Therefore: their complaints are largely rhetoric.

But to consider the complaints as rhetoric is to miss an important point: attitudes must be considered largely in the framework of a person's expectations, and not solely in the light of objective situational factors. If the workers are dissatisfied with conditions and are bitter against the Company, the dynamism underlying the complaints may largely stem from expectations which they have entertained but which have been frustrated.

In viewing their complaints against the Company, this becomes clear. Many of the resentments were caused by the frustration of expectations that are quite legitimate in terms of ordinary wage contracts. The workers weren't receiving all their money. But many of the complaints which the workers voiced indicate the presence of expectations that are not sanctioned as such in the wage contract. Such

complaints indicate that the psychological relationship of the workers to the Company is not purely contractual; he expects more from the bosses. Stated another way, he perceives his relationship to the Company not in the cut-and-dry impersonal wage-contract categories characteristic of the industrial system, but in the categories of personalistic, paternalistic authority relations prevalent in his culture, which the worker carries over into the work setting.

This paternalistic frame of reference in industry is quite akin to the caudillo system in politics. The elements of paternalism and personal attachment are applied by the workers to both cases. The frequency with which these almost filial expectations come out on the protocols suggests that economic behavior and authority-related behavior are two highly autonomous spheres, even within the same individual. That is, the economic situation of the workers has influenced many aspects of their self-image, their values, their aspirations and ideas of the good life. But to a large degree it has left untouched their manner of relating to authority.

Before examining the complaints as appearing on the protocols, it will help to mention once again the important aspects of the workers' situation. The bosses were far away in Santiago, rarely seen by the workers. The workers were living in Company houses. None of the workers farmed; their livelihood depended,

came strictly from work with the Company. The sawmill frequently broke down, during which time the workers ran up a debt in the Company store. The Company collected these debts by deducting them from later earnings. There was very little money seen by the workers of La Loma.

The complaints of the workers against the Company fall into two categories: ongoing gripes and fears of future dirty dealings, especially in regard to the severance pay when the sawmills shut down.

The most frequent complaint is that the Company has been strict in collecting debts; that is, if through a sawmill breakdown, the workers have run up a debt on food, the Company has unfailingly collected it come payday. The protests indicate that the workers find it incredibly selfish and exploitative (in their own words) for a Company to be so exact in collecting debts; the fact that one is working in a Company should entitle a worker to "consideration."

Porque el día que yo tra- Because here I only earn  
bajo, yo gano. Y el día money on days I work. The  
que yo no trabajo, yo no days I don't work I don't  
gano. Si se me pasa una make money. If a week goes  
semana sin trabajar, yo by without working, I don't  
no gano un centavo. Toy make a cent. I'm eating on  
comiendo fiao con ese credit with that white peice  
papel blanco ahí. Pero of paper there. And then the  
entonces la quincena next week, when I'm working  
siguiente que viene, again, I owe all the money  
de que vengo a trabajar, there. For example if I eat..  
ese dinero yo lo debo a- in a week, at home..let's  
hí. Si por ejemplo yo say I eat 25 o 30 pesos  
consumo..en la casa... worth of food, well I've hadda  
vamo ponci en la semana take those 30 dollars on cre-  
25, 30 peso', bueno pue dit from them, to pay it

eso treinta peso yo se lo cogí fiao a ello', para pagá-selo en la quincena que viene. Si en esa quincena que viene me sobraron 15 peso', pue ello' hacen así: rrran" y se de'cuentan tó..lo quince peso'. No me mandan a pagai ni siquiera cinco peso' para la leche. Se lo de'cuentan todo. Y le quedo debiendo 30. Quiere 'cir que cuando ello' dijeran "Bueno, el aserradero 'tá parado..por culpa de nosotros', no por culpa d'ello', vamo' a daile la comida al personal." Bueno fuera otra cosa. No, pero ello no lo hacen. Ello no lo hacen.

back on the next payday. If during that week I have fifteen dollars left over, well they go like this, whoosh, and discount the fifteen dollars. And they don't send me up even five dollars for milk. They discount it all. And I'd still owe them thirty. I mean, if they'd say: "Well the sawmill's broke down... it's our fault, not theirs, let's give the workers food." Well things would be different. But they won't do that, no. They won't do that. &

By modern standards, it's a horrible system. No group of workers in an advanced industrial state would put up with it. Yet this worker complained not about the system; his complaint was that the boss didn't give free food. He is quite willing to stay in the bounds of the present system if only the bosses would have more heart. The same worker repeats this complaint often:

Y mire, eso' día cuando el aserradero 'tá dañado, o el camión se daña, no pagan eso' día'. Si laigamo' un solo millar en la quincena, y e' un sólo millar que se hace, eso no' pagan. Podamo' tai.. podamo' tai um mé' parao, entonces' tengamo' que comer.. tengamo' que comer esa comida fiá'. Y de'pué' que rompamp' a trabajar, no' la cobran. Si repoitamo'..si debamo' 20 peso' y repoitamo' lo' veinte peso', y se lo' debamo' de una vé' no' lo cobran tó'! E'..e' de'tafando a uno. Pue yo considero, yo le he pue'to 20 peso, Ud. cóbrese cinco! Porque yo e'toy trabajando

And look, any day that the sawmill breaks down, or the truck breaks down, they don't those days. If we cut only one millar in a fortnight, that's what they pay us. We can be...we can be stopped for a whole month, then we have to eat..we have to eat that food on credit. And when we begin working, they charge us for it. If we make.. if we owe 20 dollars and we cut twenty dollars and we owe it to them, right away they charge it all! That's swindling you. I believe... if I've taken 20 pesos... you should just charge five! Because I'm working with you



con Ud. en es' empresa! in that company!<sup>82</sup>

"De'tafando," (standard Spanish: estafando) swindling. They have a right to consideration from the bosses. Much of the anger comes from lack of money, but much of it comes from the image of an unresponsive, selfish boss. That is, over and above the desire for money is the desire for an understanding boss concerned for the welfare of his workers. The fact that he is part of the firm (empresa) should entitle the worker to this. Not all his frustrations are economic; money is not all he expects in return for his work.

Other complaints: the bosses are slow in repairing breakdowns; before they were rich they used to fix the machines fast, but now:

Se para el camión, se para el aserradero y no se apuran ello', ya sentao con un pali-llo en un carrazo.. "Pa ahí.. ah, que 'tá parao? Ah, no se apure...esa pieza...de'pué' se arregla...coman fiao."

The truck breaks down, the sawmill breaks down..do they worry? Naw..there they are sittin' in their limousine with a toothpick in their mouth. "Aah...sawmill broke down? Aw so what...we'll fix it later on...let 'em eat on credit." <sup>83</sup>

In the past there used to be a labor union, but the bosses destroyed it.

Lo' patrono' duraron un año bien, cumpliendo con nosotros y nosotros' con ello..ch..de acuerdo a laj ley. Pero al año par' alante, elio consigieron lo' directivo' y lo' que no pudieron conseguir, lo' sacaron. Bueno pue de'forzaron el sindicato.

The bosses went a whole year doing their part of the bargain and we ours..according to the law. But after a year the bosses bought out the union officials, and the ones they couldn't buy out they fired, and so they destroyed the union. <sup>84</sup>

Selfishness, indifference, and malevolence at times; these are the traits that the workers attribute to the bosses. Because of this the workers feel that the bosses are going to make attempts to get out of paying the severance pay to the workers when the sawmill closes down. This was perhaps the biggest concern expressed among the workers.

Porque lo' patrono' de aquí e'tán aco'tumbrado que...que cada vé que paren una industria, una cosa, dicen: "No, porque eso fué el gobierno que lo paró. Nosotros no tenemos que darle su liquidación, porque fué el gobierno que lo' paró." Entonce' ello' echan eso al gobierno.

Bueno, e'ta compañía a vece' se acoge que e' un paro por el gobierno, porque según, e' un paro por el gobierno. Y quizá no le den nada ya ahí. Aquí hay gente que tienen trabajando dieciocho y veinte año'. Y como son gente vieja trabajando con ello', sabe que ya una persona que 'té trabajando ahí con ello' ya de 18, 20 año', ello a ese trabajador va tocaile un promedio de do' mil, tre' mil peso'. Que eso e' lo..la chica cosa que no' dan ello' de liquidación. Entonce' ello allí se adectan a que porque fué un paro por el gobierno, ello no le van a dai ná. Que le van a pret' un' ayuda, y le dan lo que ello' le da la gana.

Because the bosses in this country have the habit... every time they close an industry or somethin', they say: "Well, it was the government that shut us down. We don't have to give you your severance pay, because it was the government who closed us down." Then they leave it up to the government.<sup>85</sup>

Well this company...sometimes they hide behind the fact that the shutdown is from the government, because supposedly, it's a government shutdown. And they might not give the workers anything. There are people who've been working here 18 and 20 years. And since they have been working a long time with them, they know that somebody that's been working with them 18 and 20 years, they're going to have to give that worker two or three thousand dollars. That's the...paltry sum they give us as severance pay. So they tell themselves that since it was a government shutdown, they're not going to give anything. They say they'll give a little help and then give the workers what they feel like giving them.<sup>86</sup>

And the workers feel helpless. They've waited for that bundle of severance pay, and are afraid it is going to be kept away from them. And they will have no way of demanding it:

El patrón hace así..Ud. e' un patrón, y yo voy y reclamo al patrón. El patrón me dice a mí: "Que no, que sé yo qué...." Lo que le dice e;:"Ud. e' un comuni'ta." Ya me..ya me concetan como yo so' un comuni'ta, que sé yo qué. Y no soy nada, un infelí, un infelí obrero. Entonce' ello' por no liquidarme, que so' un trabajador que tengo 20 o 24 año allí, dicen "Es' e' un comuni'ta." Ya me llevan preso. Dondequiera que voy "Es' e' un comunita" Dondequiera que voy reclamai.

The boss goes like this.... let's say you're a boss, and I go and demand something from the boss. The boss tells me no no no and all that stuff. Then he says to you: "You're a communist.!" And from then on they...they tag me as a communist and all that stuff. And I'm nothin'.. just a poor man, just a poor worker. But so they won't have to give me my severance pay...I'm a worker who's been with them 20 or 24 years... they say: "That guy's a communist." And they arrest me. And anywhere I go: "That guy's a commie..." anywhere I go to collect.<sup>87</sup>

This is all rumour, of course. No word had come from the Company's office that the bosses were going to pull this stunt. But the workers have come to fear the worst.

Ello' lo que quieren e' eclavizai ei trabajadoi. Clavizailo. Ahí! Ahí! Ahí! Que sí a mí me tocan 500 peso', ello' luchan por darme cien. Y si.. si me tocan 500..lo que me quié'n dai e' cien. Entonce' cuando yo voy a recibí' ese dinero me dicen "Vueiva mañana." Ello' 'tán jaito', tienen su carrazo ahí, tienen su buena case cimientó, su bueno' carrazo' a la puerta, y me dicen "Vueiva mañana." Yo que soy un infelí, que lo he hecho millonario, que tienen su carro que se lo he hecho yo ganai...ello' viven bien, ni se apuran. Pero yo que tengo hambre y

What they wanna do is make a slave of the worker. Make a slave of him. Work! Work! Work! If they owe me 500 dollars, they try to get away with giving me 100. If I've got 500 comin' to me, they'd like to give me just 100. And then when I go to collect the money, they tell me: "Come back tomorrow." Their bellies are full, they've got their fancy car there, they've got their nice concrete house, a fancy limousine at the door. And they tell me to come back tomorrow...me, a poor man, who's made them millionaires, they've got their car which

e'toy fajao, trabajando duro...me remueide la sangre eso.

I've enabled them to buy. They're livin' high and don't give a damn. But I'm hungry and breaking my back, working hard... That makes my blood boil.<sup>88</sup>

It is taken for granted that the bosses don't care about the workers, want to get as much out of them as possible for the least possible price. If, as has been suggested, these workers had expected a type of personal relationship with the boss, then the belief that they are plotting thus must hurt all the more. For it is as though one's own father were playing these tricks; the resentment goes far beyond the economics involved.

What indications are there in the protocols that the workers expected a personal type of relationship with the boss? One indication has already come up (see p. 128). But it comes out more clearly in other passages. For example one of the workers in La Loma had written to the boss asking to be transferred to Santo Domingo.

En días pasados yo le escribí una carta suplicándole, que yo tenía mi mamá enferma en la capital, y que yo era el único hijo varón, y que yo sabía que él tenía industrias en la capital, y que me ayudara...que yo era un hombre sin interés en la compañía.. que me ayudara en eso, y ni siquiera me contestó.

A while back I wrote a letter pleading with him; I told him how my mother was sick in the Capital and that I was her only male child, and that I knew that he had factories in the capital, and asked him to help me out...I told him I was a man who wasn't out to get anything from the Company...I asked him to help me out in this. And he didn't even answer me.<sup>89</sup>

That passage is very revealing. The worker asked to be switched to another industry of which the same man

was owner. That is, his attachment is to the boss, not to a specific job in a specific factory. Furthermore what reasons does he give to support his request? First of all his mother was sick in the Capital and he was an only son. This is enough to touch the heartstrings of any Dominican: "carifio de madre" (mother love) is sung about over the radio stations; it is considered the most beautiful and irreplaceable treasure in human life and evokes emotion as few concepts do. By inserting this in his plea, the worker was making a very personal appeal to the boss. Moreover the worker says to the boss: "Yo soy un hombre sin interés en la Compañía." This is difficult to render in English; perhaps more accurate than the translation given in the quote is the following: "I'm a man of disinterested attachment to the Company." This is a norm that was seen to be strong among the serranos, condemning action done for personal gain. But it is not limited to the serranos, as can now be seen. This produces the incongruous situation of a wage-earner declaring to his boss that his bond to the boss and the Company is above impure lucrative motives, is truly disinterested. In effect, he had declared his personal attachment to the boss.

And what was the result? "...ni siquiera me contestó." "...he didn't even answer me." The emotional meaning of that accusation could easily be lost on ears not attuned to the personal feelers that the worker sends out to boss over and above the impersonal terms of the wage contract. The entire paragraph quoted above gives a glimpse into

the type of relationship that the workers fancy as their fight with the boss. Even the words chosen--"suplicándole" (pleading with him), "...que me ayudara" (I asked him to help me), provide insight into the tone of the relationship.

Expectations such as these--rather the frustration of expectations such as these--provides the dynamism for much of the resentment against the bosses that appears in La Loma, resentment that in a sense prescinds from the poor and irregular wages that the workers receive. And in a sense one suspects that even the poor and irregular wages are also viewed in the paternalistic frame of reference; that is, a boss should pay wages that allow a decent life because of the concern he has for men who by their selfless, menial labor for him have earned a right to "selfless" concern for them on his part. This is a far cry from the impersonality of the wage-contract that ideally characterizes a modern industrial system. Perhaps this paternalistic frame of reference operating in La Loma is a carryover of norms and expectations connected with some other sphere of behavior--perhaps political--into the industrial sphere. Whatever its origin, it influences the perception of the worker as to his relationship with the boss and the Company.

Keeping in mind the paternalistic frame of reference, many attitudes expressed in the interviews fall into place. On several occasions the Company had lent rather substantial sums of money to various workers because of illness

in their family. This was considered perfectly natural by the workers; in fact the Company was criticized for attempting to recollect the loan by deducting it gradually from subsequent wage payments. This attitude might strike an observer as unreasonable. But what appears as preposterous from the point of view of an impersonal wage contract makes sense within a paternalistic frame of reference.

In comparing their lot to that of workers in other companies, the workers in La Loma indicated what for them is a "good boss."

Aquí hay una' indû'tria'.. e'te..lo Bermude'. Ese e' diferente. Porque esa son gente que se pué' trabajar con ello'. Porque 'tá bien que ello' no pagarían..ch.. un precio necesario. Pero han hecho un barrio, han hecho su' casita' a to' su' trabajadoré'. Han hecho su barrio. Veán..le han dao a cada uno su casa. 'Tán en su barrio. Que ei día de Nochebuena, lo' paquete'..ei mé' pa'cuai.. su colchón de papeleta que le' dan...pa' la' vacaciones'.. Ei mé' pa'cuai.

There are some industries here...for example the Bermudez. They're different. Those are people you can work with. Because...all right, maybe they don't pay such good wages. But they've made a neighborhood, they've made houses for all their workers. They've given every one of them a house. They have their own neighborhood. And at Christmas, loads of packages. At Easter time, they give out piles of pesos...for vacation. At Easter.<sup>90</sup>

A good boss is somebody who builds a house for you and is generous with bonuses and little extras "...even if he doesn't pay such a good salary." But this Company:

Yo tengo 24 año' aquí trabajando. No tengo una casa donde viví'. No tengo nada. E' decir que ya Ud. ve, que uno que tenga 24 año' en una compañía y no se há podido hacer de una casa, ni siquiera de una chozita donde vivir...quiere decir que el patrón no ha sido muy bueno con uno.

I been workin' here 24 years and ain't got a house to live in, I ain't got nothin'. I mean, anybody that's been in a company for 24 years and hasn't been able to get hold of a house, not even a hut to live in...that means the boss hasn't been very good to you.<sup>91</sup>

But to be a "good boss," bonuses and free houses do not suffice. One must also know how to talk with the workers and listen to them with attentive interest.

Cuando dicen "patrón bueno" e' porque por ejemplo, la gente trata su gente, vamo suponei, lo' trata bien, lo' trabajador e', sabe. Lo' trata bien. (En qué sentido?) Bueno, que ello' hay patrone' que casimente Ud. ni puede hablar con ello'. Porque si Ud. es un trabajador, y atento a que Ud. es un trabajador, quizá Ud. poi su necesidad, va hablarle. Le hacen...lo que le salen e' con un "¡aaa naaa! Váyase! Váyase! Váyase!" Ah pue..ya eso, sabe..le hacen exigencia. Eso son exigencia. Pero si Ud...su patrón..Ud. va a e'plicarle, a suplicarle vamo suponei cualquier necesidad subió, y ei lo atenciona, Ud. sabe. Y quizá si Ud. le dice "Yo toy en necesidad, y mi trabajo no me da pa' yo so'tenerme. Yo quiero que Ud. me pre'te veinte peso." Y ei hace: "Ah sí, sí. Tenga." Pue ya ese un hombre bueno, no e' veidá? Síii, ya es' e un hombre bueno. Ya lo desempeñó a Ud. Y Ud. como un trabajador, él lo atenciona. Sin embargo, no le hace exigencia. Pue ya, pa' nosotros ya ese un hombre bueno.

When they call a man a "good boss" it's because a man treats his people, let's say, he treats his people well, y' know, his workers. He treats them well. (In what sense?) Well, there are some bosses who you can hardly talk to. Because if you are a worker, and realizing you're one of his workers.... maybe..something's come up and you go to speak to him. And they go...what they come out with is "No! No! Go way, go way go way!" Ah, well now that's...he's offending you. But if..you..you go to your boss and explain to him..to plead with him, let's say, about some need that has come up, and he pays attention to you..y' know..and maybe, if you say to him, "I'm in need, and my work doesn't pay enough for me to support myself. I'd like you to lend me twenty dollars." And he goes "Oh sure, sure. Here." Well now that's a good man, right? Yep. That's a good man. He's given you a hand. Because you're one of his workers, he takes care of you. And he doesn't offend you. Well now for us that's a good man.<sup>92</sup>

"My job doesn't pay well enough for me to support myself. Would you lend me twenty pesos?" Instead of: would you pay me a decent salary. This is a vivid example of boss-worker relationships in a paternalistic frame of reference. The following segment also expresses what the worker would consider an ideal relationship:



Bueno si yo, que he hecho millonario a Ud., pue' Ud. debe sei conciente', si tiene corazón... "Yo soy millonario y ese hombre trabajaba conmigo. Ya que se para el aserradero, le voy a dar a e'te para que viva su vida. Ya yo soy millonario; le voy a dar a e'te que viva su vida." Yo ei día que saiga de donde Ud. le digo yo: "Gracia le doy a Dió' que trabajé con Ud. que me..me ayudó, pa' yo vivir mi vida."

Well if I've helped make you a millionaire, you should feel some concern, if you've got any heart at all. "I'm a millionaire. This man has worked with me. Now that the sawmill is closing, I'm going to give him enough to lead a good life. I'm a millionaire; I'm going to give this fellow enough to lead a good life." And the day that I leave your office, I say to you: "I give thanks to the good Lord that I worked with you; you've helped me to live my life."93

No comment is necessary; such segments of wish-fulfillment give a colorful picture of the patrón-system in work. It is astonishingly similar to the caudillo system in politics, as a comparison with the chapter on "Attitudes toward the Government" will show. The man on top "has heart;" the man on bottom responds with thankful, admiring praise. On the basis of so many repetitions in the protocols, one must assume that expectations of this kind, concerned, selfless behavior from the boss were very salient in the workers' view of their relationship with the Company. If so, then many seemingly exaggerated, rhetorical statements such as the following take on poignant meaning:

Entonce' ahí e' que yo toy. Porque yo considero que uno 'tá trabajando pa' merecer un día. Pero...ya yo 'toy 'ebaratao de tanto trabajai, y no veo bonfá. Ne veo..l' apiración que tiene el patrón de ayudai a un trabajadoi, que lo han hecho millonario. Nosotros aquí de noche fajao, tirando palo'. Y ello' allá aco'tao.

So look at where I am. I believe that a man works so that one day he'll deserve something. But I'm wrecked from working so much, and I still don't see any kindness. I don't see any desire on the part of the bosses to help a worker who's made them millionaires. Here we are day and night, breaking our backs, hurling logs. And they're down there in bed.94

To sum up the train of thought that has been running through the past few pages: the workers of La Loma have approached their work in a frame of reference that is largely paternalistic; wages are only part of what they have been working for; over and above wages they tend to feel that their labor for the Company should earn them the esteem of their boss as well as a secure place in his heart, such that he will respond spontaneously and generously whenever any sickness or unplanned-for need affects them. And he will look for ways--bonuses, houses--to make their live easier in every way, and perform these kind, fatherly deeds quite apart from any commitment to the wage contract; he will listen attentively and respond when they approach him with any request.

Thus money is only one element in the frustration of the workers of La Loma. Or perhaps more accurately: the scarcity of money brings from the workers accusations against the bosses of being, not selfish crooks, but failing fathers. The hardships of their condition are viewed not in terms of injustice, but of unkindness.

In a sense the workers are "locked" into this system. There are strong economic reasons that have prevented them from leaving the Company to look for a better lot: namely, no other jobs would have been easily found. But because of expectations along paternalistic lines, they are to some degree tied emotionally as well to the Company and its bosses. This statement seems a little far-fetched

in light of the vicious invectives that have been hurled against the rich bosses; but there are other parts of the protocols that suggest an ambivalence on the part of the workers toward the Company.

In the first place there is a glorification of the Company. Many of the workers believe that their Company is the largest of all the industries on the island. Though I was unable to make direct investigation into the size and spread of the Company, there is much evidence that the workers' ideas concerning the Company were somewhat grandiose. It was frequently stated that closing of the sawmill would put "millions" of men out of work. It was emphasized that ~~this~~ this Company was so much richer than the other lumber companies, that the government should help the poorer companies to give the proper severance pay to their workers but should force this Company to do so on its own. Whatever the origin of this blown-up idea of the Company's size and power, this aspect of the image was certainly a positive one, lending esteem to him who worked in the company as well as a sense of security. The following paradoxically comes from the man who was most vitriolic in his complaints:

Si vienen compañías americana'	If American companies come
trabajai..me voy con ello'.	here to work, I'd go with
Pero pa' yo trabajai con o-	them. But as for working
tra compañía aquí, Dominicana,	with some other Dominican
..trabajo con e'ta. Porque e'-	company...I'd stay working
ta paga barato, pero paga su	with this one. Because this
dinero. E' la má rica que hay	one pays cheap, but it pays.
en el paí'. La compañía de lo	It's the richest in the coun-
aserradero. Porque d' eso...	try...the sawmill company.
'tá viviendo casi la mitá'	Because almost half the coun-
del paí'.	try is living off it. <sup>95</sup>

Another typical comment:

La compañía e' millionaria onde nojotro trabajamo. Ello' <u>pueden ayudaino'</u> bien a noso- tro'. Una compañía millonaria. Ello' no lo demue'tran, pero ello son millonario'.	The company we work in is a millionaire. They <u>could</u> easily help us. It's a millionaire company. They don't show it, but they're millionaires. <sup>96</sup>
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The imagined size of the Company, its imagined power, draw the workers to it; there is a positive bond. The negative reactions born of frustration are much more salient; but there is ambivalence. It appears in other subtle ways.

For example, several workers expressed individual beliefs that the bosses, despite their neglect, harbored positive feelings of esteem for each of them. The worker thought the boss was aware of the record of fine work he had accomplished and considered him valuable for the Company. Stated strongly, many have indulged in a fantasy, projecting into the boss the admiring feelings and resulting glance of approval that they have such a strong need for by virtue of the paternalistic frame of reference in which they operate.

Y por eso quizé e'..ei chin  
de consideración que tengo..  
aquí en la Compañía...en  
dié' año' que tengo traba-  
jando.

And maybe that's why I've  
earned a bit of respect...  
in the Company...in these  
ten years I've been working  
for them.<sup>97</sup>

A mí nunca me han querido  
liquidai. Porque yo he hecho  
un recor' muy grande. Yo he  
trabajao y nunca han tenío  
que llamarme l' atención.  
"Vea, Ud. trabajao mai, Ud.  
daño...e'te camión por de-  
cuido..." A mí nunca me  
han llamao en eso. Na sío

Theyve never wanted to sever  
me. Because I've had a very  
great record. I've worked and  
they've never had to call my  
attention to anything.  
"Look, you've done bad work..  
you've hurt the truck with  
your carelessness.." They've  
never had to say that to me.

trabajando ahí, ahí, ahí, ahí. A mí nunca me han llamado, han tenido que corregir me..una mala repue'ta no he dado..un trabajador. Porque ya uno en l' edá' mía que tengo yo, que tengo tanto tiempo trabajando ná' má' en ese solo pue'to, cargando palo grande', que ya yo pueo tai rabioso..a cuaiquier lo fajaría! Ya, arrancao, 'ebaratao, con un hueso roto, ya yo tuviera ha'ta pique. Sabe porque no lo hago? Porque tengo reputación de trabajai.

It's always been work, work, work, work. They've never had to call me in to correct me...for any backtalk as a worker. Because in all the years that I've been working in just that one spot...lugging around big logs...I should be furious...anybody would be pissed off! Flat broke, a physical wreck, with a broken bone...I should be hopping mad. But you know why I don't do anything? Because I've got a reputation as a good worker.<sup>98</sup>

There are other examples also. Moreover in recounting the Company's past crimes, the Company is often accused of using methods to prevent the workers from leaving the job.

He estado, desde hace mucho tiempo...yo he luchado para salir de ese trabajo. Pero no he podido, porque ni me lo han cambiado...y siempre he tenido el problema de que le debo a la compañía.

For a long time now...I've been trying to get out of this job. But I haven't been able to..because they haven't wanted to give me another one..and I've the problem that I owe money to the Company.<sup>99</sup>

Si aquí hubiera mucha' industria, ello' tratarían el obrero mejor, porque dice "Se va para otra." Pero como no lo hay, ello' tratan a uno como a ello' le da la gana. Y uno entonces' obligao aguantarse ahí. E' decir que nosotros' hemo vivio subyugao todo el tiempo aquí.

If there were a lot of industries here, these guys would treat the worker better, because they'd say "He's leaving for some other job." But since there aren't any others, they treat you like they feel like it. And there's nothing you can do except put up with it. We've lived subjugated all the time we've been here.<sup>100</sup>

Y ello' no quisié'n liquidai. No' dejó ahí trabajando como burro'. Como burro viejo' seguimo' trabajando.

And they didn't want to sever us...they kept us there working like burros; we kept on working like old burros.<sup>101</sup>

In all these, the overt reason for the Company's

keeping them on was selfishness. But at the same time one wonders if there isn't a little wish-fulfillment involved, the workers attributing to the boss desires to keep them in the Company. At any rate, there is no instance of a worker accusing the boss of trying to get rid of him.

In short, there is ambivalence. The first impression is that there is complete hostility toward and alienation from the Company and its bosses in the workers. But a closer examination of the protocols reveals passages where, almost in spite of themselves, the workers reveal strong attachments to--need for--the Company and its bosses, somewhat independent of the financial needs that tie them to the company.

But ambivalence or not, one thing is clear from the data: the frame of reference in which the worker of La Loma views his relationship to the Company and its boss is strongly paternalistic; what is expected is a type of relationship in which the boss will feel a personal concern for the worker, exhibit a spontaneous generosity in the face of need in the worker; and the worker will respond with faithful work and personal loyalty. The workers feel they have done their share; the bosses have not responded. The bitterness that this has engendered brings in personal elements that go beyond the demand for money.

Having emphasized the paternalism in the stance of worker toward Company, the contrary must be presented. There are a few sections in the protocols which seem to

indicate more modern attitudes, those these sections are few and far between. For example the question of labor unions was raised by some of the respondents. "The union was good while it lasted; we ought to revive it." However the impression is that in this area, the rhetoric of unionism had gained more sway than the concepts underlying it. The following segment is an example.

Yo considero que si habemo un grupo, como lo habemo aqui, un grupo de trabajadores tan grande, porque nosotros no podemos hacerle fuerza, todo unido? Hacerle fuerza poi..por el progreso dei mi'mo...dei mi'mo centro de trabajo. Ello mi'mo saben...nosotro mi'mo sabemo que hemo sido plotai.. 'plotao por la Compania. No solamente vosotros', no, sino todo lo trabajadore. No hacen ninguna fuerza. Por cuando Ud. te en peore condicione com lo habemo aqui, porque yo soy uno d'ello', yo lucharía...o lucharíamos para el progreso en bienetar de.. dei mi'mo personal...o en de vosotro mi'mo.

I consider that if we have a group, as we have here, such a big group of workers, why can't we exert pressure all united? Exert pressure for..for the progress of.. of the work center itself? They themselves know... we ourselves know...that we have been exploit..exploited by the Company. Not only ye (sic), but all the workers. They don't make any effort. For when you're in such bad conditions as we are here... because I'm one of them... I'd struggle...or we'd struggle for progress in the welfare of the personnel themselves...or of ye ourselves.<sup>10</sup>

The giveaway is in the use--twice--of the word "vosotros" (Eng: ye) as a fancy form of "nosotros" (we). "Vosotros" is the archaic form of the second person plural, used in La Loma only by the Spanish missionary in his sermons. The truck driver here uses it incorrectly as a substitute for the first person plural "nosotros." The fact that "nosotros" appears at all other times in his protocol suggests that the segment about labor unions was highly rhetorical, so much so that it warranted

a grandiose vosotros, "ye." In general, the workers envision the solution of their problems more in terms of a personal visit to the boss than in concerted group action.

But apart from the labor union, the men insisted that they had a right to their severance pay; they had worked for it over the years. It was not a "gift" from the boss. The overall tone of paternalistic dependence is broken here and there by a few sharp jolts of insistent demands. There is an element of rights involved; the workers sense with a panic that their long awaited severance pay may never be given them; this fear-evoking thought produces many reactions on the protocols: one of which is the realization that severance pay is a right, not a gift from the bosses. If it were a gift they would have no claim to it, except in terms of the unenforceable norms of their ordinary paternalistic frame of reference. They needed stronger assurance as the crisis drew closer.

One gets the impression that the news of the shutdown must have shaken the paternalistic outlook; the impending crisis caused them--perhaps out of sheer desperation--to envision some sort of confrontation with the boss, in which the worker is not asking, but telling: the money is mine, no tricks. But it is a weak trend in the protocols; it would be even weaker in a real meeting between boss and worker. The old way has centuries of habit behind it, and the workers of La Loma still live by it.