

Gert Oostindie

*Ethnicity in the  
Caribbean*

Essays in Honor of  
Harry Hoetink

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‘One and the same person may be considered white in the Dominican Republic or Puerto Rico, and “coloured” in Jamaica, Martinique, or Curaçao; this difference must be explained in terms of socially determined somatic norms. The same person may be called a “Negro” in Georgia; this must be explained by the historical evolution of social structure in the Southern United States [...].’

Thus wrote Harmannus – better known as Harry – Hoetink, in his seminal work *The Two Variants in Caribbean Race Relations* (1967).

Four decades later, this quotation may seem to border on the tautological. Yet at the time of its writing, ‘race’ and essentialized racial identities were widely understood as the unchanging core issues modeling the societies of the Caribbean, and the Americas at large. Harry Hoetink was a pioneer among the first generation of post-World War II scholars who helped to rethink the meaning of ‘race’ and color in the wider Caribbean.

Departing from a comparative historical and sociological perspective, Hoetink did not shy away from bringing social psychology into his analysis, as in his introduction of the concepts of ‘somatic norm image’ and ‘somatic distance’. At the same time, however much he may have been educated in a Western mold, his writings demonstrate a resolute rejection of unjustifiable generalizations based on ‘the ideal-typical Western homogeneous society, which unfortunately keeps producing the conceptual framework for the sociological analysis of completely different types of society’ (*Slavery and Race Relations in the Americas*, 1973).

Harry Hoetink developed such insights as an outsider to the region. Born in the town of Groningen, in the north of the Netherlands, he studied social geography in Amsterdam and embarked for Curaçao in 1953, at the age of only twenty-two, to become a secondary-school teacher on this Dutch Caribbean island. After this first arrival in the Caribbean, he immediately became an observant outsider and soon an honorary insider. In Curaçao, he met his future wife Ligia Espinal, who strongly contributed to his initiation into Curaçaoan society as well as into the society of her native Dominican Republic.

In 1958, he defended his dissertation on the social structure of pre-twentieth-century Curaçao, written while on the island, at Leiden University. His reputation as a prominent scholar on race relations in the Caribbean and the Americas at large was established in the late 1960s and early 1970s with the publication of *The Two Variants in Caribbean Race Relations* and *Slavery and Race Relations in the Americas*. Moreover, in 1971 he published his seminal historical study *El pueblo dominicano* (published in the United States as *The Dominican People* in 1982).

By then Harry Hoetink had been a professor at the University of Puerto Rico (1960-64) and the director of the UPR’s Institute of Caribbean Studies (1970-75), as well as a vis-

\* This preface was mainly taken from my In memoriam published in the *New West Indian Guide*, vol. 79 no. 1&2, pp. 5-6. The quota-

tions from Professor Hoetink’s own work are annotated in my original introduction to the present book.

iting professor at Yale and the University of Texas, Austin (1969). He was particularly proud of the special title of *profesor visitante permanente* conferred on him in 1981 by the Universidad Madre y Maestra (in Santiago, Dominican Republic). His writings are characterized by erudition, a comparative perspective, and a truly independent gaze. Former students recollect that his teachings had the same merits.

After two sojourns in the Americas (1953–64 and again in 1969–75), Hoetink spent the remainder of his academic career, and indeed his life, in the Netherlands, serving as the director of the Centre for Latin American Studies and Documentation (CEDLA) in Amsterdam (1964–68 and again from 1975–77) and as a professor at the universities of Rotterdam (1964–68) and Utrecht (1977–83). Perhaps, in retrospect, this was not the happiest time of his scholarly life, as much of his energy was taken up with time-consuming and often tedious university bureaucracy.

Nonetheless, Hoetink continued to be a major figure in Caribbean studies by dint of a long series of articles, because of his continuing engagement with his two chosen Caribbean homelands, Curaçao and the Dominican Republic, and because of his decisive role, with Professors Richard and Sally Price, in transforming the formerly Dutch-language *West-Indische Gids* into the *New West Indian Guide* as it stands today, the oldest scholarly journal in Caribbean studies, published continuously since 1919. Over the years, he was awarded many more academic distinctions as well as a high royal distinction in the Netherlands.

When the concept of ethnicity made an academic comeback in the 1990s, Hoetink's work retained much of its original relevance. Although he had forcefully argued against the reification of 'race' and color as unchanging propositions, he also objected to the extreme constructionist readings, which came to prevail in much scholarly writing of the past two decades. He did not really need to rethink his approach. As early as 1967, he cautioned in *The Two Variants in Caribbean Race Relations* that 'The sociologist's exposure of racial prejudices as mere myths will not put an end to their psycho-social reality, nor will his diagnosis of these prejudices as a mere defense spell their doom. On the contrary optimism is not the most natural reaction to the race problem.'

Professor Hoetink passed away on 11 February 2005. Within days, scholars and newspapers across the wider Caribbean circulated messages deploring his death and honoring his scholarly work. A deep appreciation for his scholarly work and his personality pervaded these many spontaneous articles, speeches, and email messages. Harry Hoetink will be dearly missed as a thinker, and for many of us also as a friend and *caballero*, in the best possible meaning of these words.

In 1996, I had the privilege of editing and publishing with Macmillan the present volume, *Ethnicity in the Caribbean*, on the occasion of Hoetink's retirement from Utrecht University. The book aimed to be more ambitious than an ordinary *Festschrift*. Judging by its subsequent acclaim, the book came at least close to meeting that objective. Its success, of course, reflects not so much my work as an editor but rather the quality and dedication of the contributors to this volume, most of these long-standing intellectual peers of Hoetink himself.

*Ethnicity in the Caribbean* was out of print within one or two years after its publication. A reprint was considered, as was a translation into Spanish. Neither of these two options materialized, and I decided to leave it at that. The recent initiative by Amsterdam University Press to start its new Amsterdam Academic Archive series however provided an excellent opportunity to redress this. I am therefore truly grateful that, in the very year of his passing away, this collection honoring Harry Hoetink's seminal work is available online and in print again.

Gert Oostindie

October 2005

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## Acknowledgements

In editing this book I have collected a mass of debts. First and foremost, I would like to thank all contributing authors for helping me make this book something better than a *Festschrift* of miscellaneous papers. *Ethnicity in the Caribbean* has a genuine focus, and I feel it is a book worthy of the scholar we all wanted to honor, Harry Hoetink. I also thank the contributors, either for their patience with my insistent queries and suggestions, or for leaving me with nothing to request at an early stage. I am grateful that over the last years, their friendship to Harry seems to have spilled over to me as well.

Earlier versions of the contributions by Richard M. Morse, Sidney W. Mintz, Anthony P. Maingot, Richard and Sally Price, and Franklin W. Knight were presented at a conference in January, 1993, organized on the occasion of Hoetink's retirement as a Professor of Anthropology from Utrecht University. The articles by Michiel Baud, Angel Quintero Rivera, Colin Clarke, and myself were subsequently written on request. I should express my thanks to Geert A. Banck for organizing this conference with me, and to Kootje Willemse of the Department of Anthropology for her logistic support. I note with gratitude the financial support given to the conference by Utrecht University, the KNAW/Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences in Amsterdam, the KITLV/Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology in Leiden, and KabNA/Netherlands Cabinet of Antillean and Aruban Affairs, the Hague.

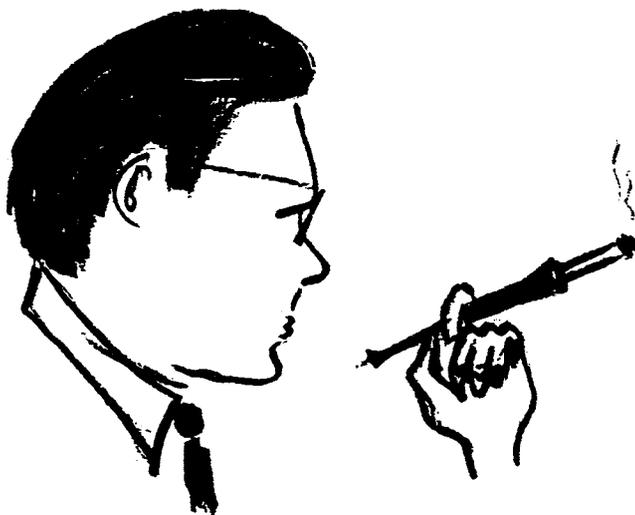
In the final, sometimes tedious, technical stages of editing, I was cheerfully and efficiently assisted by Marco Last. Peter Mason helped to smooth remaining stylistic inelegancies in some of the non-native speakers' contributions. It was a pleasure working with both of them.

Professor Alistair Hennessy, formerly of Warwick University, might just as well have been a contributor to this book. I am not even particularly certain why he is not, and I know the blame is on me. Anyway, his enthusiasm about the project was very welcome, and I am delighted that the English edition of the book is published in 'his' series.

Finally, I should thank Harry for bearing with this project in his own special way: slightly embarrassed, flattered, and worried at the same time, and trying hard – and successfully – not to interfere. As always, his few careful comments were salutary.

The subtitle to this book is 'Essays in Honor of Harry Hoetink', yet the dedication also bears the name of his wife, Ligia Espinal de Hoetink. This is not just a token of my personal appreciation, which I know is shared by all contributors. It is also a way of expressing an awareness of how the life and works of a former outsider, who in his recent book on *Santo Domingo y el Caribe* could legitimately refer to 'nuestro país', became inextricably and happily intertwined with this gracious *dominicana*, herself engaged in the liberating act of trespassing frontiers too.

GO



Harry Hoetink in the 1960s

## CHAPTER 1

# Introduction: ethnicity, as ever?

*Gert Oostindie*

Race and often biologized conceptions of ethnicity have been potent factors in the making of the Americas. They were so, more often than not in the most blatant forms of racism and racial antagonism, throughout the centuries of post-Columbian exploration and colonization. They remain crucial factors in the contemporary Americas, even if far more ambiguously than before. This collection of essays addresses the workings of ethnicity in a part of the Americas where, from the early days of empire through today's post-colonial limbo, this phenomenon has arguably remained in the center of public society as well as private life. The essays deal with various parts of the Caribbean and cover various periods of its history. Both the variety of themes and periods discussed and the authors' interest in providing a comparative perspective to their contributions are in line with the intellectual explorations of the Dutch scholar for whom these essays were written, Professor Harry Hoetink.

Ethnicity is a central theme in the scholarly writings of Harry Hoetink, from his early work on preindustrial Curaçao through his seminal studies on slavery and race relations in the Caribbean and the Americas at large to his later work. His early comparative work on race relations was characterized not only by theoretical sophistication, but equally by a subtle inclusion of his own experiences in the region. Both his 1962 *De gespleten samenleving in het Caraïbisch gebied*, translated as *The Two Variants in Caribbean Race Relations* (1967), and *Slavery and Race Relations in the Americas* (1973) were highly acclaimed studies. The references made to the conceptual reflections and tools developed in these books by the contributors to the present collection testify to the continuing relevance of Hoetink's work for the analysis of ethnicity in the present-day Americas.

### *Slavery and race relations*

In *The Two Variants in Caribbean Race Relations* as well as *Slavery and Race Relations in the Americas*, Hoetink questioned many commonplaces

from the prevailing sociological analyses of 'race relations' in the Americas, and introduced fresh insights into this field of study. Two of these contributions should be summarized, both to put Hoetink's work into proper perspective and to help the reader of this collection in appreciating the use made of these concepts by authors in this book. The first is his theorizing of the linkages between slavery and race relations; the second is the concept of the somatic norm image.

Scholarly concern with comparative race relations had assumed increasing importance in the US since the 1940s. Concern over the enduring dichotomy in American society between white and black informed the perspective of scholars such as Tannenbaum, who contrasted the supposedly relaxed racial relations in Latin America with the sad realities of their own world. For Tannenbaum and later American scholars, notably Elkins, there was a distinct relation between contemporary race relations and the divergent colonial experiences of slavery in the various parts of the Americas. The alleged harshness or mildness of slavery in a given colony was related to the religious and cultural backgrounds as well as the political traditions of the various metropolises exploiting slaves in the New World. Moreover, a direct linkage was proposed between the nature of slavery in any particular colony or group of colonies and the contemporary and subsequent record of race relations. Where slavery was allegedly mild, as in the Iberian Americas, race relations were supposed to be fluid and relaxed; the cleavage between white and black was easily bridged. For the Anglo-Saxon and Dutch colonies, the opposite was held to be true.

The scholarly fate of such theorizing seemed sealed within a relatively short time. In the academic debate, the Caribbean functioned as a crucial frame of reference and indeed as a laboratory for preparing and testing hypotheses. First, there was the empirical falsification of the idea that slavery in the Iberian colonies had always been mild. Not only had this interpretation been based more upon the letter than upon the actual implementation of slave codes such as the *Siete partidas*, but historical research made it increasingly clear that, for instance, slavery in the booming Cuban economy of the early nineteenth century hardly differed in severity from eighteenth-century slavery on Jamaican or Suriname sugar estates. Among the scholars contributing to the present collection, both Sidney W. Mintz and Franklin W. Knight played an important role in this debate. Mintz (1958) introduced the concept of a systadial analysis, that is, the cross-colonial, 'same-stage' comparison of systems of slavery. Knight, in his pioneering *Slave Society in Cuba in the Nineteenth Century* (1970), helped to destroy the myth of a benevolent slavery in the booming Spanish colony.

In these discussions, Hoetink introduced the Dutch Caribbean as a laboratory-like test case of the theory linking metropolitan cultures to New

World slavery, and the nature of slavery in a particular colony to its contemporary and subsequent race relations.<sup>1</sup> The Dutch plantation colony on the Wild Coast of the Guianas, Suriname, had long held a reputation for presenting the worst in New World slavery.<sup>2</sup> The Dutch trading post of Curaçao, a tiny Caribbean island off the Venezuelan coast, held the opposite acclaim. This contrast by definition falsified the claim for a predominantly metropolitan determination of New World slavery, suggesting instead the predominance of economic function and geographical characteristics in determining the severity of slavery.

Moreover, as Hoetink demonstrated, race relations in these two Dutch colonies failed to conform to the Tannenbaum–Elkins logic. Whereas the large proportion of free blacks and coloreds in Curaçao and the contrasting low proportion in Suriname might seem to fit the theory, the record of race relations did not. The conspicuous thing about the the free Afro-Curaçaoan population during slavery was not so much its size. The high frequency of manumissions corresponded primarily to the whimsicality of a commercial economy in which during the frequent slumps a calculation of present costs of maintaining slaves set against the possible future gains to be made from them induced many slave holders to opt for manumitting their bonded labor. The more remarkable point is that the high proportion of free Afro-Curaçaoans served to imbue the local white elite with a sense of distrust and menace which only strengthened the racial barriers. After Emancipation, and in fact right up to the 1960s at least, ‘color’ would continue to be a crucial marker in Curaçaoan society.

Manumission figures in Suriname remained low throughout the eighteenth century, an indication of the economic rationality of plantation slavery in the colony. Whereas this seemed to underline the bad reputation of Suriname slavery, the other side of the equation was provided by better rather than slimmer chances of upward social mobility for free blacks and coloreds. It would again be difficult to construe a causality between slavery type and racial relations. Rather, the proportion of the various color groups dominated the outcome. During slavery, the small white elite started to tolerate and even co-opt free coloreds, thus hoping to establish a buffer between themselves and the slave masses. After Emancipation, the demise of the plantation colony and the resultant further depletion of the white population only served to enlarge the chances of Afro-Surinamers to reach the higher echelons of colonial society, particularly through the colonial educational system. Again, the previous experience of slavery was not the major explanatory factor for subsequent race relations.

### ***The somatic norm image***

The various contributions to this debate served to falsify the theory of a necessary and 'logical' relationship between metropolitan cultures and types of slavery, and between types of slavery and subsequent race relations. Yet they did not necessarily address, much less explain, the enigma conceded by most observers: the generally greater fluidity of color distinctions in the Iberian Americas compared to the rigidity of the non-Hispanic Americas. In this context, Hoetink's concept of 'somatic norm image' was a truly innovative infusion to the debate.

A truth often lost on North American observers, socialized into a rigid two-tier view of race relations which considered all persons not defined as 'white' by phenotype as 'black', Hoetink emphasized time and again the socially construed psychological dimension to perceptions and definitions of 'race':

One and the same person may be considered white in the Dominican Republic or Puerto Rico, and 'coloured' in Jamaica, Martinique, or Curaçao; this difference must be explained in terms of socially determined somatic norms. The same person may be called a 'Negro' in Georgia; this must be explained by the historical evolution of social structure in the Southern United States (1967:xii).

By analyzing the divergent patterns of race relations *within* the Caribbean and Latin America, he helped to undermine the then prevailing tendency to consider precisely 'such anomalies as the North American socioracial dichotomy'<sup>3</sup> as the yardstick whereby the significance of ethnicity in the Americas should be measured. Analytically, he introduced the distinction between socioracial structure and the character of race relations. Once historically established under the influence of economic and demographic factors, the hierarchy as defined in the socioracial structure was resistant to change. The racially as well as socioeconomically dominant group would see to its permanence out of sheer self-interest. This permanence applied to *all* multiracial societies, and would continue to do so – 'only their rationalizations adapt themselves to the fashions of the times' (1973:55). From this perspective, the US experience might be interpreted as unique in that it developed a two-tier (white-black) socioracial structure instead of the three-tier variants (white-colored-black) or virtual racial continuums emerging over time elsewhere in the Americas. Yet all these socioracial structures concurred in the resilience of their socioracial hierarchies. Structurally, then, Brazil or Cuba were not as fluid as American observers had held them to be.

Yet according to Hoetink, the character of race relations *did* change

from one place and period to another. Here, one could indeed discern a contrast of a kind between the Anglo-Saxon or Northern European variants on the one hand and the Latin variant on the other. Cultural ingredients such as religion, shared ideas regarding community, and modes of cultural communication all determined the character of daily racial contact. The Latin American variant indeed boasted a far greater social skill in downplaying the significance of race and color differentiations. Instead of the American experience of virtual segregation and dual cultures, Latin America had developed a wide array of cultural expressions and institutions symbolically bridging the racial divide between two opposite poles now linked by substantial numbers, if not a majority, of intermediate groups. As such, its social atmosphere was indeed more fluid and amenable; yet below this deceptively relaxed surface, a hierarchical socioracial structure with its corresponding racist conception of white supremacy remained in place.

In *The Two Variants in Caribbean Race Relations*, Hoetink discerned three ideal-typical variants of race relations in the Americas. The most rigid, two-tier variant belonged to the US alone. Most of the non-Hispanic Caribbean had developed a three-tier variant, in which the colored group held an intermediate position. The Latin variant, finally, was characterized by its racial continuum. Departing from the presumption that all segmented Caribbean societies tended towards homogenization, in which ultimately racial factors as such would no longer determine social structure, Hoetink predicted two divergent future scenarios for the region. One option would be homogenization through the elimination of the racially distinct – white – minority; a long-term process. In a three-tiered society, elimination of the white segment would not produce instant homogeneity: the remaining tiers would again be faced with various future scenarios. The alternative option was homogenization through the gradual mingling of racial groups and cultures. The latter option implied both biological miscegenation and probably greater cultural acculturation. His prediction was clear enough: ‘The Iberian type tends to homogenization through mingling, the North-West European one to homogenization through the elimination of the dominant segment’ (1967:175).

Before attempting to evaluate these scenarios in the light of subsequent history, two more ingredients to the theoretical apparatus developed in *The Two Variants in Caribbean Race Relations* and *Slavery and Race Relations in the Americas* should be introduced. In an effort to escape from the socially relevant, but analytically untenable concept of ‘race’, Hoetink introduced the concept of somatic norm image, defined as ‘the complex of physical (somatic) characteristics which are accepted by a group as its norm and ideal’ (1967:120). The product of socialization, the somatic norm image guides an individual in a segmented society in his or her everyday dealings with other individuals who may have different physical character-

istics. This socialization has been structured in an historical context of both intersegmentary acculturation and a continuing racial hierarchy. A society's somatic norm image therefore, according to Hoetink, tends to reflect the preferences of the dominant segment which in time and to a certain extent become accepted by the lower segments as well.

Hoetink argued that segmented societies are characterized by varying measures of somatic distance, that is, degrees of difference subjectively experienced between the dominant somatic norm image and the physical appearance of different groups in society (including one's own). Hoetink used both concepts to explain why, in his opinion, the Latin American process of ethnic homogenization could and indeed did proceed via biological and cultural mingling. An absence of racism among the Euro-Latin elites would be a poor explanation: Iberian whites, Hoetink maintained, tended to entertain much the same racial prejudices as their Caribbean counterparts of North-west European origin. Yet the somatic norm image did diverge between the two white groups, as did, consequently, attitudes towards part of the nonwhites. In the North-west European variant, the social definition was such that members of the group defined as 'light coloreds' were generally not accepted as marriage partners. In the Iberian variant, in contrast, a slightly darker norm emerged, mainly under the influence of Iberian-European standards of beauty which in turn had incorporated pre-*conquista* Mediterranean and particularly Moorish contributions. The resulting higher grade of acceptance as whites of individuals who would have been defined as 'light coloreds' by the North-west Europeans created a white elite with comparatively more intimate, socially accepted, relations with part of the intermediate group.<sup>4</sup> This process in turn stimulated not only the emergence of a continuum of 'racial types' but equally the process of cultural transfers. Therefore, even if the somatic distance between white and black was large in both the North-west European and the Iberian variants, the latter's fluidity in the white-colored spectrum could conceivably allow for an ultimate homogenization of this type of segmented society. There was indeed more to the Iberian variant than a significantly greater social skill in interracial contacts alone. The lesser somatic distance in the Iberian world allowed for a somewhat easier, and socially acceptable, crossing of the color divide. From the divergences in this sphere of intimate relations emerged the wider societal contrast between the variants of American race relations.

### ***Caribbean ethnicity revisited***

The concepts of the 'somatic norm image' and 'somatic distance' provided challenging – if in a sense speculative and therefore debatable – theoretical

tools to move back and forward from the origins of Caribbean colonialism to the contemporary Americas, and particularly from the macro-perspective of national cultures to the private lives of citizens in such variegated roles as intellectuals, parents, or lovers. Yet as the Caribbean has changed enormously over the past decades, one may well wonder about the contemporary significance of both Hoetink's first work and his later writings, in which he pondered some of the new characteristics of the postwar Caribbean, particularly the dynamics of 'decolonized politics' and the impact of Caribbean migrations.

Perhaps the most persistent and worrying cases of ethnic division in the Caribbean continue to be the three societies characterized by an African-Asiatic pluralism. Whereas these countries were not discussed in *The Two Variants in Caribbean Race Relations*, Hoetink later included the particular cases of Guyana, Suriname and Trinidad as *sui generis* in the region.<sup>5</sup> In *Slavery and Race Relations in the Americas*, he was extremely prudent regarding the future role of ethnicity in these societies (1973:95-6). In the mid-1980s, his views were more outspoken and rather pessimistic:

So far, mutual suspicion, negative stereotyping, and a sense of indentity nurtured by what is distinctive in each group rather than by what they have in common have proved hard to overcome (1985b:75).

From the perspective of the mid-1990s, the cases of Guyana, Suriname and Trinidad indeed seem to have confirmed in the most glaring terms the weight of a continuing ethnic pluralism. A measure of acculturation may be evident in all of these three nations. Yet it is still difficult to discern, beyond the persistence of ethnic divides, processes of genuine cultural homogenization, much less significant biological mingling. It is not just the divergence in historical trajectories and even cultural traditions which serves to separate the African and Asiatic ethnic groups from one another. A traditional mixture of stereotypes and truths concerning each group's socioeconomic orientations and, consequently, potential for social mobility has continued to aggravate the divide. Subsequent scholarship may have stressed the colonial origins of ethnic division and its continuing manipulation for electoral and other less applaudable purposes, yet an emphasis on the processes of antagonistic ethnogenesis cannot ignore the reality of an enduring and potentially explosive ethnic divide in these three nations.<sup>6</sup> Ironically, these three cases, and possibly the more recent case of Belize with its creole versus *latino* antagonisms, demonstrate the continuing weight of ethnicity in the Americas even more dramatically than the African-European cases which dominate Hoetink's analyses.

The continuing importance of ethnicity elsewhere in the Caribbean might be taken as a demonstration of the futility of earlier optimisms

regarding the presumed declining significance of race. Even if the once heated debates on the plural or segmented societies in the Caribbean have withered, it is hard to deny that such concepts have retained much of their earlier heuristic – arguably, as opposed to explanatory – validity. Even so, the record of race relations has inspired other, more optimistic conclusions too.

At the level of individual Caribbean states, the past decades have witnessed a change of discourse towards the emphasis on local or regional unicity rather than on the traditionally acclaimed Western models. This by definition implies changes in ethnic rhetoric and practice as well. Black politicians now dominate government in virtually all but the Hispanic Caribbean nations. Their national pantheons now feature heroes from slave revolts through leaders of anti-colonial resistance to contemporaries such as the late Bob Marley. Postwar decolonization and the search for nationhood have indeed stimulated the positive commitment to Afro-Caribbean culture.

One may wonder though about the depth and range of such processes. Clearly one witnesses contradictory developments and open-ended negotiations. Thus, the rhetorical emancipation of the Afro-Caribbean state and its cultural legacy has developed in an ambivalent context. On the one hand, since Garvey, *négritude*, decolonization, and Black Power, both black politics and the African American cultural legacy have become fundamental to Caribbean life and self-esteem. Yet at the same time, there is a consistent drive to remain firmly embedded in the Western, and particularly US orbit. Obviously, a sensible pragmatism dictates this policy.<sup>7</sup> Yet precisely this predicament of emphasizing unicity while remaining fully within the realm of the West, with all its imperial and ethnic connotations, does little to boost the former. The Haitian case has not helped. To the previous history of mismanagement, brutality, and the continuing relevance of color, the most recent chapters of this tragic story have added the factor of a historically remarkable US intervention. As this time the North Americans intervened in favor of the good guy – Aristide – against the bad ones, this move even more than most earlier ‘neocolonial’ US interventions in the region served to enhance the painful realization of the Caribbean’s post-colonial dependency.

Nor do the Hispanic Caribbean cases allow for easy generalizations. In all of these three nations, white elites continue to be of crucial importance in the economy, culture, and politics. Yet there is no longer a question of an exclusively white elite, and, moreover, the strict delineation of what is ‘white’ is probably less to the point in an Hispanic Caribbean context. Whereas both the Dominican and Puerto Rican elites have tended to emphasize their Hispanic antecedents, one may surmise different subtexts. In the Dominican case, this discourse should certainly be interpreted in the context of the traditional antagonism towards the neighboring black republic of

Haiti. It is a moot point whether one may discern at the same time a confirmation of an internal hierarchization along socioracial lines in such a discourse. In Puerto Rico, the project of *hispanidad* is predominantly directed towards the US, to which the island is subordinated in a Commonwealth construction. If we take the continuing predominance of Spanish over American English as a yardstick, elite policy and popular practice have dovetailed nicely. At the same time, the scant attention paid to the African contribution to Puerto Rican culture, at least until very recently, serves not only to illustrate a wider Latin American tendency to value European over US markers, but equally to underline the island's subordination in the American cultural universe with its problematic attitude towards African American culture. But then again, it is evident that comparatively, the Afro-American element is simply less present in the Puerto Rican population than in the Dominican Republic or Cuba.

On the level of national self-definition, revolutionary Cuba with its large population of African descent has been the only Hispanic Caribbean nation formally recognizing the African heritage in its national culture. Castro's concept of Cuba as *afrolatino* corresponded not only to the renewed effort at nation-building and the revolution's reaching out to the Caribbean and Africa, but arguably also to his program of positioning Cuba as an antipode to the US. In this context the North American racial record was a moot point indeed. Yet beyond the rhetoric, one cannot ignore the sad fact that during the entire revolutionary period, the contribution of black Cubans to the new elites has been extremely limited. Revolutionary politics therefore, whatever the rewards for the black Cubans, remained controlled by their white fellow citizens. There is an ironic – though unfinished – contrast here with the more conservative Dominican Republic. The same black politician mentioned by Hoetink in the mid-1980s as a candidate still widely considered to be not-presidential because of his partly Haitian origin would nearly win the Dominican elections of 1994.<sup>8</sup>

If these last observations underscore what have by now become fashionable criticisms of the Cuban revolution, there is a deeper reality beyond this. The debate on Cuba's racial policies remains open to many interpretations. Yet perhaps more than to the failure of the revolutionary leadership, the persistence of a socioracial hierarchy testifies to the resilience of such structures and mentalities which not even a would-be totalitarian state can dismiss. To quote from personal experience, it was frightening to hear, on the beaches of Cojímar during the mid-1994 crisis, Cubans leaving the island on their ramshackle *balsas* and others staying behind ridiculing and cursing one another in the most blatantly racist terms – as if, indeed, all the rhetoric and genuine policies of the revolution had not made any difference, or worse.

In recent decades, encompassing attempts at defining the national heritage have also been made by intellectuals stressing the creole nature of Caribbean society. Metaphorically, the concept of *créolité* as elaborated particularly in the French Caribbean is the synthesis of the European-African, imperialist-colonized antagonism. It emphasizes both the unique and newly-created character of Caribbean culture and the contributions made to this cultural genesis by all ethnic groups historically represented in the process. Parallels may be found in the ideas of such West Indian intellectuals as Stuart Hall and Rex Nettleford or, on another level, in the social and even political significance of Papiamentu as the vernacular of all social classes and ethnic groups in Curaçao.

These concepts of creolization and creole culture have become very popular in modern Caribbean studies. The praise of cultural acculturation and the reminders of a tradition of miscegenation recall Hoetink's theorizing on the ultimate homogenization of racial groups and cultures in the Hispanic Caribbean. In the non-Hispanic Caribbean, biological homogenization would only follow the elimination – through its departure – of the leading white elite; a process of cultural homogenization in contrast might well be underway long before that phase. The ascendancy of the concept of creole culture, precisely in the non-Hispanic Caribbean, seems to illustrate a scenario in which the gradual elimination of the once-dominant white segment stimulates ethnic acculturation. Concepts such as *créolité* indeed originated mostly in societies where the white elite had already lost its previously dominant position, or had eliminated itself by departure. The contemporary efforts of intellectuals of various ethnic backgrounds to substitute creole culture for earlier counter-discourses such as *négritude* therefore seems to address the project of bringing together the remaining colored and black segments of the local population no less than the attempt to insert the local culture as a unique entity into the outside cultural world.

From this suggestion, it is but a step towards the next caveat regarding the 'praise of creole culture'.<sup>9</sup> It has become somewhat fashionable to portray Caribbean cultures as having been in the forefront of cultural globalization for centuries. Yet whereas the observation may be correct and whereas the resultant cultures and their internationally marketed highlights have indeed made a disproportional impact around the world, the specter of cultural globalization, US-style, seems not particularly promising. Paradoxically, at a time when elements of specific Caribbean cultures – a range of musical styles, prose and poetry, the region's contributions to the ideologies of the South, – boost a hitherto unthinkable prestige, the very foundations of these cultures are being progressively undermined.

Whereas 'purity' is not the relevant concern here, the various Caribbean countries' capacities to maintain some of their cultural unicity is. In this context, ethnicity and race relations re-enter the picture: the gradual

though uneven insertion of the entire Caribbean into a 'global' culture still dominated in this hemisphere by its American variety may well have implications for the ways in which race and ethnicity are conceptualized.<sup>10</sup> In spite of the impressive broadening of the ethnic make-up of the US, its rigid, two-tier stratification of black-and-white relations has remained painfully in place, as has a mixed opinion of African American culture. The West Indian diaspora in the US has gone through a long history of negotiating a niche of its own in, or preferably beyond, this traditional dichotomy. Other Caribbean migrants in the US have since gone through similar ordeals, certainly not always successfully. Today, the increasing exposure to the US, through migrations and such media as television, educational standards and business may bring home this pressure to the Caribbean itself. The endurance of the hard-won Caribbean unicity, including its specific and by North American standards still flexible race relations, may well be put to the test again.

These and several other themes have been discussed time and again in the enormous literature on ethnicity in the Americas and the Caribbean in particular. Yet one notes that recent scholarship has been reluctant to use sociopsychological concepts such as Hoetink's concept of the somatic norm image, and in many cases hesitates to detail the continuing – yet arguably changing – everyday discourse of 'race' and color.<sup>11</sup>

One may speculate why. Few would deny the persistent legacy of a past which shaped the logic of hierarchies of beauty, the perverse ideal of *mejorar la raza*, and the discomfiting vocabulary linking 'race' with behavior, as in the Papiamentu saying, *Stop di hasi kos di bo koló*.<sup>12</sup> It is in his analyses of such phenomena that one senses Hoetink's fascination with the deep structures of ethnicity and his interest in the continuing enigma of the origins and contemporary workings of the varying somatic norm images characterizing societies as seemingly close in geographic and historical terms as those in plantation America at large, and even within the Caribbean proper. If many scholars, presumed insiders and outsiders alike, now generally eschew such reflections, there may be an interest in avoiding the field where one may be seen to lose track of political correctness – in fact, some critics once upheld the absurd claim that the concept of the somatic norm image was racist (Hoetink, 1973:197). Yet it may also be because the seemingly unending daily discourse on race and beauty is still too embarrassing to the academic, and Fanon's reasoning of black internalization of white racism still more relevant than one might be prepared to acknowledge.

### ***The persistence of ethnicity***

Even though he is one of those exceptional Caribbeanists bringing a truly comparative perspective to his work, Hoetink did allow for a distinct geographic bias in his writings – not coincidentally, one in line with his personal biography. The Dutch Caribbean, and particularly Curaçao, where as a secondary school teacher he taught geography in the 1950s, was his first chosen specialization. In the mid-1990s, his 1958 study of pre-industrial Curaçao is still considered the best introduction to the subject, and he continues to be acknowledged as one of the few intellectuals able to mediate between Antillean and Dutch cultures.

From Curaçao, Hoetink moved to Puerto Rico and briefly to the US mainland, and eventually to his native Netherlands where he worked for two decades at Dutch institutions of higher learning. His second geographic focal point, however, would be yet another Caribbean country, namely the Dominican Republic (Hoetink, 1982, 1985a). Personal motivation – his wife Ligia Espinal is *dominicana* – need not be emphasized too much in an introduction of this kind, any more than other personal dimensions of his biography. Suffice it to state that through his writings on the country, particularly his classic *El pueblo dominicano*, he not only managed to win broad confidence within the Dominican Republic as an intellectual speaking out for his *segunda patria*, but through this work, he also substantially helped to bring the country more into the spotlights of Caribbean and Latin American studies. Formerly, this rightful place seemed denied to the Dominican Republic as if by a conspiracy in which all history and all modern scholars concurred: no history dominated by slavery as was wont for Caribbean countries; a struggle for independence too hesitant and too uneventful in comparison to neighboring Haiti, and actually fought mostly against this heroic neighbor; a present deemed not spectacular enough in contrast to revolutionary Cuba and not as schizophrenic as its other Spanish Caribbean relative, Puerto Rico; a country, in sum, unduly ignored in much writing on the Caribbean (and, incidentally, Latin America as well). Hoetink's efforts to help the Dominican Republic attain its rightful place in Caribbean and Latin American studies also reflect an empathy which very few 'outsiders' have been able to replicate.

In all of his work – and even when the term was still *avant la lettre* – Hoetink has been an interdisciplinary scholar, combining insights and methodologies from the historical and sociological sciences with a keen interest in literature and the arts. At the same time, his oeuvre – still in progress – reflects an intellectual endeavor to pose the pertinent questions and to offer tentative suggestions rather than to come up with final verdicts. His generalizations, such as, indeed, the concept of somatic norm image, are of the most prudent type. In the same vein, he consistently criticized both the

unwarranted lumping together of all non-Western countries under such delusive labels as 'the Third World', and the thoughtless application of theories and concepts derived from Western sociology to these cultures.<sup>13</sup> Or, to cite another theoretical concern, while invariably emphasizing the historical dimension to contemporary issues, he eschews the illusion of linearity. It was precisely in this spirit that he strongly questioned the sociological optimism about the declining significance of race and ethnicity so fashionable in the 1960s and 1970s.<sup>14</sup> Time would tell indeed.

Hoetink's first published works addressed issues hotly debated in the Americas, but rather subdued in Europe. Ethnicity was relatively 'cold' in Western Europe, and the specter of American race relations seemed far afield from the realities of Europe. Today much of this has changed, and with it, easy optimisms have been shattered. The disintegration of the former Communist bloc of Eastern Europe has brought about in a dramatic way the resilience of the ethnic factor in international and domestic politics. Moreover, the contemporary issue of ethnic minorities in Western Europe has caused an avalanche of so-called ethnic studies. Whatever the strands of this boom – ranging from supposedly straight empiricism to an obsession with the issue of 'constructions' or 'inventions' of ethnicity – 'race' and ethnicity have definitely been reconfirmed as central concerns of the social sciences today. This has had the ironic effect that whereas initially the expatriate Hoetink's analyses of ethnicity were underestimated by many a Dutch scholar, today an early concept such as the somatic norm image has been conceptually 'translated' for the analysis of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands (Gowricharn, 1993).

Certainly this brief discussion does not pretend to cover, much less to discuss in a satisfactory way, all of Hoetink's oeuvre. Of the themes neglected here, suffice to mention his further theorizing on the divergence in phases of colonization and slave imports and the varying consequences to the development of creole cultures (1979, 1985b), or his writings on the impact of the extraordinary phenomenon of migration on Caribbean nationalisms and ethnicity (1985b).

It should be clear, though, both that ethnicity continues to be a crucial factor in the Caribbean – as in the Americas and the world at large – and that Hoetink's writings may still inspire critical enquiry into this phenomenon. The persistence of ethnicity in itself confirms his early objections against the sociological optimism regarding the declining significance of race and somatic differences. At the same time, in contemporary scholarship one notes a move away from the micro-levels and sociopsychological dimensions of ethnicity towards the, in a way less unsettling, study of phenomena such as the relations between ethnicity and national identity,

and the 'invention' and engineering of ethnicity for strategic purposes. In fact, the present collection is no exception to this rule.

### ***On this book***

This collection of essays was written by a disparate group of scholars, all close to Hoetink. Most are old friends from his Caribbean decades, a few are friends made later in life and graduates turned colleagues – in several ways, they illustrate his intellectual biography. In their contributions, they honor both a prominent scholar and his subtle and wide-ranging approach to the study of Afro-American and particularly Caribbean ethnicity.

In 'Race, culture and identity in the New World,' Richard M. Morse discusses five seminal Latin American and Caribbean identity essays. Three were published in 1928: Mariátegui's *Siete ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana*, Price-Mars's *Ainsi parla l'oncle*, and Prado's *Retrato do Brasil*. These three essayists all aimed at uncovering the blockages keeping their nations from the 'normal' development they sought to achieve, that is, following the model of the industrialized world while retaining their distinctive national or regional cultures. Yet their thoughts on ethnicity differed markedly. Mariátegui, in accordance with his Marxist leanings, thought little of *indigenismo* and was harsh on the presumed Afro-Peruvian primitivism. Price-Mars departed from an opposite position, 'ripping off the *masque blanc* from the *peau noire* long before the terms were coined'. In Prado, Morse uncovers an affinity with Catholic traditions rather than with modernism, and at the same time an emphasis on the shared character of all Brazilians rather than on their alleged ethnic tripartition. The two later essayists discussed reflected further on the uniqueness of their national cultures. Ortiz's *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y azúcar* (1940) construed the Cuban condition from the demands of the country's two leading crops, while at the same time uncovering the dazzling variety of ethnic and cultural ingredients making up the *cocción* of *cubanía*. Finally, González' *El país de cuatro pisos* (1980) argued against the asphyxiating post-colonial condition of Puerto Rican culture, and for a 're-Caribbeanization' of the island's cultural consciousness, in which the hitherto suppressed African contribution would be more adequately represented. In a postscript to this essay, Morse stresses the renewed importance of the Latin American identity essay, arguing, with Paz, '[t]he essayist does not colonize, he discovers'.

With the contribution by Sidney W. Mintz, 'Ethnic difference, plantation sameness', the focus shifts from the Latin American context to the Caribbean proper. Mintz returns to one of the themes fundamental both to Hoetink's writings and his own: the consequences for the genesis of

specific ethnicities of the region's uneven development towards a series of plantation economies. In a broad historical analysis, Mintz analyzes both the major migration moves linked to the plantation complex and the fate of various ethnic groups on the margins of this system. The latter include the Barbadian Redlegs, the Puerto Rican *jíbaros*, and the Maroons. Other 'marginal' and ethnically distinct groups such as the Jews, the Portuguese, and the Lebanese were often there precisely because they were functional to the system. Mintz argues that only systadial (same-stage) analyses may help to explain the differential patterns of ethnic insertion in societies characterized by 'plantation sameness'. While admitting the continuing and often divisive weight of ethnicity in the Caribbean, he stresses the remarkably peaceful ways in which Caribbean ethnicities are played out. Mintz suggests that the absence, for virtually all Caribbean ethnic groups – all migrants, after all – of a *Blut und Boden* mystique may help to explain the low level of interethnic hostility.

No doubt, the Haitian Revolution has written some of the most dramatic chapters in Caribbean slavery, ethnic relations, and decolonization. In 'Haiti and the terrified consciousness of the Caribbean', Anthony P. Maingot analyzes how the specter of the slave revolution and the subsequent existence of the free black state of Haiti haunted not only Europeans and Americans, but also, and particularly, whites in the region. From Miranda through Bolívar to the majority of Cuban intellectuals in the nineteenth century and beyond, Haiti inspired nothing but racially based distrust. Yet, Maingot argues, the postwar decolonization of the non-Hispanic Caribbean has turned the tables. In spite of the shift of power towards the black majority, the small pockets of whites still living in islands such as Jamaica, Trinidad, and Martinique remain firmly tied to their native countries. Their feeling of security should be credited to the policies of the new black leadership. Contrary to the fears embodied in the terrified consciousness inspired by the myths surrounding Haiti, the new leaders of the non-Hispanic Caribbean have chosen the path of racial tolerance, democracy, and non-violence. In choosing this 'more conservative path to liberation', Maingot concludes, they have set an example for much of the world: 'Decolonization without terrified consciousness should be the metaphor for the twenty-first century.'

In 'Museums, ethnicity, and nation-building', Richard and Sally Price focus on France's Overseas Departments in the Caribbean, exploring how, in a context of continued dependence on the metropole, these ex-colonies negotiate their 'national' identities and represent their ethnic make-up. They argue that in both Martinique and Guadeloupe – relatively homogeneous societies in terms of ethnicity – identity politics are played out in the context of a polarity formed by France's largely successful *mission civilatrice* on the one hand, and the celebration of a folklorized past (what

Glissant has referred to as *le culturel*) on the other. In Guyane, the third of France's territories in the Caribbean, a long-standing ethnic pluralism has mushroomed even more in recent years through a flood of immigrants, both legal and illegal, largely from Brazil, Haiti, and Suriname. The Prices analyze the ideologically charged task of defining an ethnic identity in Guyane, by looking at plans for a state-run museum in the capital and pointing to the celebration of ethnic difference in its vitrines even as assimilationist programs, notably *francisation*, are hard at work to eradicate those very differences in people's daily lives. Their digressions to consider museum depictions of two other plural societies (Belize and Suriname) allow them to contextualize and broaden their insights about ethnicity and nation-building in the Caribbean.

Franklin W. Knight's 'Ethnicity and social structure in contemporary Cuba' is the first of three articles specifically focusing on the Hispanic Caribbean. In reviewing the dearth of solid studies on race and ethnicity in contemporary Cuba, Knight highlights both continuities and contrasts with the colonial epoch and the period of the *pseudorrepublica*. The revolutionary government made a concerted effort to improve the situation of the lowest strata of the population. As these were disproportionately black, Afro-Cubans benefitted greatly from the Revolution. Moreover, racial discrimination was officially prohibited. In a quasi-totalitarian state, such policies could indeed be put into effect in public life, even if critics have argued that discrimination persisted. As for its incursions in private life, Knight argues that the state was not successful in removing race considerations from daily intercourse, nor for that matter gender or class. Even if critical in relation to the achievements of the communist regime, Knight voices particular caution regarding the present situation of instability and the effects of a possible transition. Not only may a future regime be less prepared to support the still predominantly Afro-Cuban lower orders of society, but a return to Cuba of the exiled community could disclose worrisome contrasts not solely in the respective social and economic realities and aspirations, but equally in their somatic norm images and perceptions of somatic distance.

In ' "Constitutionally white": the forging of a national identity in the Dominican Republic', Michiel Baud discusses ideologies of Dominican nationhood and the specific significance of ethnicity in this discourse. The Dominican case shares many elements of the wider Latin American problem of nation-building as seen from the perspective of the elites, particularly their ambivalence between a drive towards modernization and a nostalgia for traditional society, and their identification with European models and ethnicity in spite of the actual ethnic heterogeneity of the population. In the Dominican case, the dominant ideology emphasizes *hispanidad* coupled to anti-Haitianism. Thus the extant ethnic heterogen-

eity and socioracial inequality is downplayed, and the domestic tensions are externally projected. Yet, argues Baud, popular agreement with this construction of *dominicanidad* is not as strong as both the elites and many observers suggest. He hypothesizes that instead, lower-class Dominicans are well aware of the socioracial inequality within their own society, and do not share the virulent anti-Haitianism propagated within elite circles, particularly those around the conservative President Joaquín Balaguer.

Angel G. Quintero Rivera's paper, 'The somatology of manners: class, race and gender in the history of dance etiquette in the Hispanic Caribbean', addresses the process of the formulation of national identity from another, at first sight strictly cultural, perspective. In comparing the development of Hispanic Caribbean etiquette in the nineteenth century to similar processes in Europe, Quintero discloses an important extra dimension to the upper-class formulation of good manners and civility, that is, the 'somatization' of etiquette. While in Europe table manners occupied a central role in the coding of etiquette, the Hispanic Caribbean plantocracy focused on the body, especially on the public act of body movement and proximity *par excellence*: dancing in couples. This project aimed at formulating etiquette by excluding the African element in local culture, with a particular view to isolating white women from Afro-Caribbean culture, and black and colored men specifically. A striking expression of this biased forging of Puerto Rican identity may be found in the elite's abhorrence of – as well as deep fascination with – the 'voluptuousness' of the *danza* and above all the *merengue*. In distancing themselves from this music and the corresponding dancing and intimacy, Hispanic Caribbean elites attempted to emphasize their own respectability. The contrast with successful currents in recent Puerto Rican culture is dramatic. Today, Quintero argues, there is a provocative emphasizing of precisely those features of Puerto Rican popular culture which for centuries were discarded as tasteless. The modern counterdiscourse highlights the previously subdued dimensions of race and gender in Puerto Rican culture, ferociously refusing to conform to exclusive standards of civility.

The same interest in culture as a factor in the process of nation-building informs Colin Clarke's 'Jamaican decolonization and the development of national culture'. Yet as Clarke focuses on the period of decolonization and independence, he discloses the emergence of a national culture based on local elements, rather than one imagined as derived from metropolitan standards. Post-independence Jamaica has been haunted by economic hardship, massive emigration, and political violence. Yet in spite of this – and to a degree perhaps because of these crises – Jamaica's achievements in the field of culture have been impressive. From a culture defined as parochial and imitative of British standards, contemporary Jamaican culture evolved as innovative, plural, and also successful beyond

its own territory, as is witnessed in the world-wide reputation of reggae music. Discussing the development in the plastic and the performing arts, Clarke emphasizes the new dynamism connected to the old antagonisms of 'up-town' versus 'down-town', standard-English versus Creole, European versus Afro-Jamaican, tutored versus untutored, and Culture versus 'slackness'. The novel cross-fertilization between the two could only have been possible through a consistent effort to decolonize the minds of artists and the general population alike. This, Clarke argues, is precisely what the independent state has helped to procure.

Finally, in my own contribution, 'Ethnicity, nationalism and the exodus: the Dutch Caribbean predicament', I return to the hesitant search for national identity in the Caribbean. Much in line with Hoetink's writings on the former Dutch colonies, my focus on Dutch Caribbean experiences ultimately serves to address a wider problem, that is, the interplay of ethnicity, nation-building, and the frustrating experiences of the exodus from the Caribbean and decolonization in the region. The failure of independence in Suriname has strengthened the Antillean and Aruban determination to remain within the fold of their former colonizer. The exodus to the Netherlands further underlines the narrow parameters left to nationalist rhetorics in either of the former colonies. In view of continued economic and political dependency, Dutch Caribbean nationalism expresses itself mostly – and ambiguously – in the sociocultural field, struggling for a measure of individual identity between an increasingly US-dominated regional culture and a metropolitan culture as strongly present as ever. The regional parallels are obvious.

Geographically, then, the book deals with all parts of the Caribbean, yet looks beyond the region to include such themes as the writings of the Peruvian Mariátegui, the significance of the Caribbean diaspora, and the continuing impact of metropolitan linkages. The essays span a period from the initial European colonization right through today's paradoxical balance sheet of decolonization. The topics addressed vary from the international repercussions of Haiti's black revolution to race in revolutionary Cuba, from Puerto Rican dance etiquette through a *musée imaginaire* in Guyane to Jamaica's post-independence culture.

This is a spoonful indeed. Yet beyond this variety, each of the authors displays a shared interest in identifying the underlying and ever shifting significance of ethnicity as a potent factor in shaping both intimate relations and the public and even international dimension of Caribbean societies. As such, the authors attempt to honor Harry Hoetink by addressing the kind of enigmas that he has contemplated and so elegantly discussed himself over the past nearly four decades. Implicitly, they all demonstrate that in the Caribbean as in the Americas at large, no matter how much this 'culture

area' has changed over the past decades, ethnicity remains a crucial concern, as ever, if not always the same.

## Notes

- 1 See particularly Hoetink (1967, 1973).
- 2 On the pedigree and validity of this reputation, see Oostindie (1993).
- 3 Hoetink, 1973:55. In fact, one would be hard-pressed to find another candidate in this category. Not even South Africa under apartheid held a two-tier racial hierarchy.
- 4 Of course, sexual relations *outside* marriage, transgressing socioracial borders, were frequent in all these societies.
- 5 In the Dutch original, Hoetink (1962:6) briefly mentioned these cases. These remarks were subsequently 'lost in translation'.
- 6 For example, Williams (1991:185). 'This lack of cultural distinctiveness, on the one hand, leads [Guyanese] to comment that, culturally, "Awl ahwee a Doogla [mixed]." On the other hand, it results in intense and intriguing manipulations directed at claiming group ownership [of particular cultural ingredients of Guyanese culture]. . . . Consequently, in an ideal world, [they] conclude, Guyanese should simply be proud of their cultural diversity. . . . That such tolerance and sharing are considered difficult to achieve they attribute to fear and hostility resulting from centuries of racism and discrimination, to current manipulations by such external forces as the US Intelligence Agency, and to the actions of the national elite which, they claim, does everything it can to keep "mati at mati throat" in order to maintain their privileges.'
- 7 On a geopolitical level as well as at the level of individual social mobility. Of course, the emphasis on Western values has traditionally been strongest in the middle and upper classes, but has 'filtered down' continuously.
- 8 This candidate, Peña, claimed to be defeated only by fraud. Eventually, the contending parties agreed on a new round of elections.
- 9 On *créolité*, see Burton (1993).
- 10 Hoetink's concept of the world's future as one segmented society included some ideas inherent in subsequent theorizing on cultural globalization (Hoetink, 1967:141–7). Yet his theorizing of this phenomenon may have been marked too much by the overpowering influence of the West, and particularly the US, at the time. He speculated that as the world would become more tightly knit together, a process of cultural homogenization was inevitable and was likely to result in the global adoption of a – possibly somewhat modified – Western somatic norm image. On both empirical and conceptual grounds, this reasoning may be questioned. Today, the world-wide dominance of the West is less complete than may have been thought some decades ago, and seems to be eroding. Moreover, whereas in specific parts of the world – such as, indeed, the Caribbean – globalization seems to set the conditions for a particular (US-style) homogenization, the world as a whole continues to be characterized by 'cultural complexities' (Hannerz, 1992). Coupled to the defiance of Western/white dominance in the South, among the non-white population in the US and Europe, and perhaps most significantly in the increasingly powerful Asian states, these phenomena are not likely to result in the adoption of one shared concept of culture, much less one somatic norm image. Either way, after *The Two Variants in Caribbean Race Relations* Hoetink did not elaborate on the concept of the world of the future as a segmented society.
- 11 See however, for example, Austin-Broos (1994).
- 12 'Don't behave according to your [dark] color.'

- 13 For example, 'the ideal-typical Western homogeneous society, which unfortunately keeps producing the conceptual framework for the sociological analysis of completely different types of society;' (Hoetink, 1973:121; cf. Hoetink, 1967:127 and *passim*, 1981, 1987:51). In this effort to emphasize cultural specificity, Hoetink gladly draws on such distinguished theorists from the Western canon as Weber and Ortega y Gasset to illustrate his case against an overly simplifying sociology.
- 14 For example, 'The sociologist's exposure of racial prejudices as mere myths will not put an end to their psycho-social reality, nor will his diagnosis of these prejudices as a mere defense mechanism spell their doom. On the contrary . . . optimism is not the most natural reaction to the race problem' (Hoetink, 1967:68; cf. Hoetink, 1965, 1973:210).

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