



Coolitude in an Era of Cultural Globalization and Creolization: An Epistemological Perspective

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Résumé

Creolization - a facet of cultural globalization - and cultural autonomy/purity in the beginning of the 20th Century are two concurrent forces which, being present in the Caribbean, are continually in confrontation. The former is being viewed as a predator to the latter. Coming from this premise, this chapter attempts to examine the logic of the Coolitude which is a literary expression that describes a coolie's experience: coolies are indentured or unskilled manual laborers from various countries of Asia mainly immigrants from India and China. Coolitude Movement aims at cultural purity through an active cultural globalization which is a call for Indian cultural purity and retention of their tradition of rituals and festivals. It first appeared in the last part of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century. Khal Torabully sees the movement as the acclimatization of Indian culture. The chapter presents creolization in the Caribbean as an indomitable predator to the various cultural identities in the region and argues that cultural purity in such a social context may just be considered utopian experience. The cultural protectionism often advocated for or constructed by nation building is never perfectly efficient in ensuring purity of national cultures as nation-states are themselves compromised to varying degrees by globalization in their capacity to maintain exclusivity of identity attachment. In the case of the Caribbean, the Indian culture is marginalized in institutional development and socializing institutions. This exposes Indian culture more to the predatory forces of cultural globalization.

Key words: Coolitude, Creolization, Cultural globalization, Cultural purity, Cultural imperialism

Introduction

Cultural globalization has often been associated with formidable whole of negative phenomena among which are cultural dilution, cultural meltdown, cultural hegemony, and cultural imperialism (westernization/Americanization). Cultural globalization is, in this wise, conceived as a threat to the cultural identity of most developing nations including countries of the Caribbean region. Cohen insightfully presents the demonization of the phenomenon when he contends that the idea of the inevitability of global cultural integration was flawed in that, "local cultures could now see themselves in relation to other cultures and to a global whole. Meanwhile, this element of reflexivity could result in a negative assessment of global culture; a re-evaluation and re-assertion of the local in often complex ways" (4)

Various paradigms have been advanced to situate the relation between cultures and globalization. Some critics predicate cultural globalization on the idea of an inevitable conflict between local and alien cultures while others are grounded on the assumption that a growing connectivity between cultures will lead to standardization and uniformity; that is, cultural imperialism¹. Illustrating the first paradigm (the one resting on the fact that the deep rootedness, fixity and localization of cultures are disturbed by the forces of cultural globalization), Cohen(2007), adds that:

The evolution of particular cultures had often rested in the territorialization of meaning. This can be seen in the earliest societies where particular geographical features - like crags, ancient trees, a volcano or a seascape - acquire powerful symbolic meanings. Material culture affirmed and extended these meanings [...] by deterritorializing and dislodging these symbols of fixity, globalization revalorized old 'travelling cultures' and created new intoxicating mixture. (4.)

¹ For more on paradigms situating the relation between culture and globalization see Robin Cohen. 'Creolization and cultural globalization: The soft Sounds of Fugitive power' In *Globalizations*, 4(3) 2007

Nevertheless a counter argument is given to this "pessimistic view" of globalization. Tomlinson, for instance, argues that, "far from destroying cultural identity, globalization (cultural globalization) is the most significant force 'in creating and proliferating' cultural identity" (270). He criticises anti-globalization critics who view the phenomenon (cultural identity) as "'a sort of autonomous cultural dynamic, surging up from the grassroots as an oppositional force to globalization'" (271). According to him, such a conception of identity fails to see the rather compelling inner logic between the globalization process and the institutionalized construction of identities. This I think lies in the nature of the institutions of modernity that globalization distributes. To put the matter simply: globalization is really the globalization of modernity, and modernity is the harbinger of identity. (Id.)

Perceptions of globalization and its effects on cultures therefore vary from one critic to another. Reactions to the phenomenon are similarly divergent. As noted by Ekpang (2008), "while some developing nations have reacted to the apparent threat by adopting measures to counter the rampaging awful effects of globalization on their cultures, others have so far watched helplessly the demolition or adulteration of their core cultural values or again, their being supplanted by western cultures" (5). In the Caribbean region, one movement which can be said to resist such cultural adulteration or dilution is the Coolitude Movement. This politico-cultural movement aims at defending a particular definition of coolieness/indianess,² which can be viewed as essentialist. As Misir (2010) insightfully notes:

At any rate, Indians mainly display ethnic cleavage and closure, as they perceived their culture to be pure; resisting creolization to preserve their perceived 'pure' culture [...] Indians believe that they have cultural purity and autonomy. This perception of cultural purity and autonomy among Indians produces enormous energies

² Though the Coolitude Movement seeks to carter for the protection of the coolie culture in general, I focus principally on the theory's defense for a pure Indian culture.

for an aggressive promotion in the Caribbean that Indians are 'different' since they do not conform wholly to the creole culture. (306)

The Coolitude Movement springs up in a context of active creolization and cultural globalization in the Caribbean in particular and the world in general. Cultural globalization has arguably been viewed as an indomitable force, bound to permeate and occasion redefinition of local cultures. As Hennerz (1992) once said, "we are living in a 'creolizing world'" (60). How pertinent and realistic is the Coolitude Movement's philosophy to protect the coolie culture from adulteration in a world governed by the forces of creolization and cultural globalization? This chapter attempts an answer to this question.

Coolitude as a Cultural Identity Movement

As a cultural identity movement, coolitude is an expression of the coolie experience and cooliness (Bragard ,2003: 12). The term is a neologism derived from the pejorative word "coolie", referring to an unskilled laborer, or someone who is wretched and has no history. The coolies therefore form a group of mostly unskilled, indentured manual laborers from various parts of Asia (mainly India and China) who, around the 19th and 20th centuries, were sent to the Americas, the Pacific Islands, Oceania or Africa to work in plantations, mines and on railway construction projects. Their experience as indentured workers was in many respects likened to slavery³. Si-eun observes that:

They could be sold or bought by their "masters" or people they work for, and their mass exportation and other such practices were similar to those of slave trade hence the term "coolie trade". By law, coolies

³ For a detailed account on coolies's historical experience (their origin, slavery) and present condition in the Caribbean's, see Lee Si-eun, *History of Indian and Chinese Coolies and their Descendants*. A Term paper in AP Europeans' History Class presented at the Korean Minoj Leadership Academy (International Program).2008, Visited on 23/08/2013.

were better than slaves, supposed to receive a certain amount of wages and not treated like property. In reality however, coolies were in many ways mistreated, badly treated like chattels, and reminded people of slavery. (2)

Though movements for the coolie renaissance were noted as far back as in the 1940's, as they crystallized support from Indians and stressed on the cultural difference between them and other ethnic groups in the Caribbean, the term coolitude was first used in contemporary times, to refer to a movement that sprang up after creolity or "créolité", a concept developed by the Caribbean trinity (Jean Bernabé, Raphaël Confiant and Patrick Chamoiseau) in 1989 following the publication of their manifesto "*Eloge de la Créolité*" to combat socio-cultural oppression and to serve as a political weapon against French departmentalization in the French Caribbean. The neologism was first coined by Khal Torabully in 1999 who, in his book titled "*Coolitude an Anthology of Indian Labor Diaspora*", defines the movement as "an alter ego of creoleness." Khal Torabully views coolitude as "the acclimatization of Indian culture on plural grounds." Khal Torabully cited by Bragard, submits that:

Ce concept repose sur une double articulation d'une part, la reconstitution d'une mémoire problématique qui flue entre repli imaginaire vers la partie aviatique - l'indianité en temps qu'ensemble de valeurs inaliénables de l'Inde millénaire - et la nébuleuse des signes née de la rencontre difficile des valeurs de l'Inde en exil avec les cultures en présence dans le pays d'accueil. D'autre part, l'apport d'une poétique, fondée sur la part indienne et orientée par le fait que le coolie s'inscrit comme le dernier arrivé chronologiquement dans l'élaboration des sociétés plurielles (367).

{This concept rests on a double articulation. On one hand, it is the reconstruction of a problematic memory which stands in between the imaginary

return to the atavistic side - Indian identity as the embodiment of all the inalienable values of millennial India - and the nebulous signs born of the uneasy reconciliation by the coolies of India's values with cultures present in their new motherland, in their days of exile. On the other hand, it is the contribution of a poetic grounded on the Indian heritage and oriented by the fact that a Coolie is, in chronological order, the last arrival in the development of plural societies (Our translation).

Coolitude has variously been described by critics who either associate it with or distance it from other Caribbean identity movements. Its pursuit of cultural purity (essentialism) has caused it to be viewed by some literary critics like Brenda cited in Bragard (367) as "an indianized version of negritude and a displaced imaginary construction of nostalgia". The founders of the creolity movement counted it among the contributors to the emancipation of their movement. Confiant (1999) particularly opines, "coolitude is an indispensable stone to the edifice of creolity." The founders of creolity (Bernabé, Confiant and Chamoiseau) therefore include the Indians and Chinese with other resident groups (African, European and Lebanese) in their movement as clearly stated in their manifesto⁴. Nevertheless, the Coolitude philosophy is indisputably an explicit alternative to other cultural identity theses which have sought to define caribbeaness. Brian et al cited by Bragard (2003) contrast it to other cultural identity philosophies thus:

After the Negritude movement, which sought to recover and assert the richness of Black culture and values, after Antillanité which attempted to understand the caribbeaness that exist beyond island boundaries, after creolity, which seeks to reclaim the oral tradition and popular culture of creoleness, comes coolitude which endeavors to validate coolie

⁴ Jean Barnabé, Patrick Chamoiseau, and Raphaël Confiant. *Eloge de la créolité*, Paris: Gallimard, 1989

history and culture, to take possession of an entangled past that other generations "had evaded as an area of shameful bondage.

The Coolitude Movement thus seeks to construct a singular cultural identity in an area where the forces of creolization (manifestation of cultural globalization) are greatly at work. The Coolitude Movement is clearly grounded on the assumption that associating the coolie history and culture to other cultural identity theories amount to cultural loss. As Misir puts it, "the coolies believe that 'clearly, significant cultural loss reduces an ethnic group's productivity and psychological zeal to advance a quality of life'" (316). A good number of coolie writers have expressed this cultural theory in their writings. A good example is Derek Walcott's lamentation⁵ at the continuous cultural creolization in the Caribbean, which, to him, represents a serious threat to Indian cultural purity in his *The Schooner Flight*:

They had started to poison my soul
With their big house, big car, big-time bohbohl
Coolie, nigger, Syrian and French creole,
So I leave it for them and their carnival
I taking a sea-bath, I gone down the road.

The sea bath recommended by Derek Walcott symbolically suggests a decreolization of the Indian culture, an ideal strongly defended by many other coolitude writers. Erikson notes that cultural decreolization occurs in a situation where, "in the case of group-based power differentials and inequalities, the subordinate group is socially or culturally assimilated into the dominant one, [...] or when a creolized idiom is 'purified' and made similar to a metropolitan or 'high culture' form" (173). Erikson presents Indians' efforts at cultural decreolization with respect to language and other cultural aspects thus:

Their language of reference still tends to be an
Indian language, which means that although they

⁵ Derek Walcott. *The Schooner Flight and The Saddhu of Couva*. In *Collected Poems, 1948-1984*, London: Faber and Faber. 1992.

live in a society based on up rootedness, migration, and mixing; they retain a rooted self-identity based on notions of purity, continuity, and boundaries. Creole, as an ethnic group, has a fixed criterion for membership. Creole Dom means impurity, openness, and boundaries. The Kreol language is seen as an oral idiom lacking history and literature, and as rather superficial and limited compared to the great civilizational languages (168).

It may be argued that collie's efforts at cultural decreolization and purification of Indian culture do not result in a post-creole continuum but rather aims at strengthening boundaries and removing ambiguities. Besides advocating for cultural decreolization as a tool for cultural purification, proponents of the Coolitude Movement celebrate the retaining of cardinal aspects of coolie (Indian) material culture and place importance in the perpetration of rituals and festivals (the Diwali festival for instance)⁶ as well as the keeping of active links with relatives in East Asia. Taking Indian communities in Trinidad as a case study, Lai (2014), that these practices aimed at cultural purification and more when he succinctly contends that:

Indians as a whole, despite the formidable adversities placed in their way, have been able to retain their self-dignity, preserve and enhance their culture, and enrich themselves by selective engagement with other culture. The landscapes, art, music, cuisine and religious edifices and customs of Indians in Trinidad provide an illuminating testimony of the manner in which Indians in Trinidad have been able to inscribe themselves into the history of Trinidad [...] in conditions of adversity; Indians were bound to take refuge in their culture (97).

⁶ Diwali is one of the popular Indian festivals in the Caribbean. It is celebrated by Indian communities in St Lucia, Trinidad and Tobago, and Belize among others.

The Coolitude Movement's claim for cultural purity can be viewed as being very much grounded on the assumption that culture is an enclosed and self-contained construct. Meanwhile such an assumption can only be inadequate in examining emerging identities in an ever-globalizing world. The current movement of cultural globalization calls for a rethinking of cultural claims in the world as will be demonstrated in the subsequent section of this chapter.

Creolization and Cultural Globalization in the Caribbean

Cultural globalization in the Caribbean countries can be seen in the creolization process, which, for some decades now, is ongoing in the region. Creolization is most often used as a synonym for mixing or hybridity. Nevertheless it can be contended that, viewed from the different manifestations of the phenomenon in different parts of the world, its conceptualization naturally varies with respect to authors. Cohen(2007), defines creolization as a "process occurring when participants select specific elements from incoming or inherited cultures, endow these with meanings different from those they possessed in the original cultures and then creatively merge these to create new varieties that supersede the prior forms" (2). According to Erikson, "besides suggesting a situation of cultural metissage, the concept of creolization indicates a relative degree of cultural standardization, which, in fact, is the fruit of this complex process of culture merger." He contends that:

Creolization directs our attention toward cultural phenomena that result from the displacement and the ensuing social encounter and mutual influence between /among two or several groups, creating an ongoing dynamic interchange of symbols and practices, eventually leading to new forms with varying degrees of stability. The term "creole culture" suggests the presence of a standardized, relatively stable cultural idiom resulting from such process (173).

Glissant,⁷ cited by Reno, views creolization in the context of the Caribbean as an infinitive cultural "métissage" process with indefinable outcomes. He argues that, "*si nous posons le métissage comme, en général une rencontre et une synthèse entre deux différent, la créolisation nous apparaît comme le métissage sans limites dont les éléments sont démultipliés, les résultantes imprévisibles. La créolisation diffracte, quand certains mode de métissage pourraient concentrer encore* (207)." [If we consider métissage as a mixture and the synthesis between two different elements, creolization appears to us as an endless métissage with multiple and multiplied constitutive elements and unpredictable outcomes. Creolization diffracts even though some mode of métissage may pull together the more] (Our translation).

Using the term as a contemporary sociological phenomenon, Cohen (2) argues: "creolization is a key aspect of cultural globalization". Main discourses of caribbeaness have, in varied ways, advocated for creolization and cultural globalization in the region. Edouard Glissant's Antillanité cultural theory can be cited as one of such pro- cultural globalization theses. Glissant seems very much committed to the philosophy of creolization, seeing a wide implication of the phenomenon in contemporary Caribbean countries. Cited by Stoddard and Cornwall, he posits: "perhaps creolization is becoming one of our present day goal not just on behalf of the Americas but of the entire world" (349). Glissant's Antillanité theory advocates for a rhizomatic identity and stresses the need to fabricate a specifically Caribbean and, as such, creolized form of cultural identity. Far from being an identity that would not be the projection of a unique and sectarian root, the rhizomatic identity (derived from the word rhizome -a root with a multiplicity of extensions in all directions and not killing what is around it as a unique root) would facilitate the establishment of communication and relation with other cultures in the Americas as in the world at large. The Antillanité cultural theory therefore advocates

⁷ Glissant in Fred Reno. "*Lecture Critique des Notions de Domination et d'Identité chez les écrivains Militants de la Créolité*", *Pouvoir dans La Caraïbe*. [En ligne], Special/1997, Accessed on 23/3/2013.

for a cultural configuration that is favourable to cultural globalization (Clarke146; Burton 25; Cohen 5). As Burton (12) concedes, Glissant's Antillanité theory lays emphasis "on the multiple process whereby all the constituent elements of Caribbean culture interacted with each other and were transformed-creolised into something neither 'African', European, nor whatever but seized of its inalienable quiddity".

Though viewed by some critics as an exclusivist and retrograde cultural identity theory⁸, the creolity movement can, to an extent, be considered as a creolization force in the Caribbean region. The founders of the creolity movement produced a compelling manifesto that recognized the multiracial definition of the Caribbean societies and opted for an inclusion and integration of these resident groups. To Cohen,(2007) through creolity, creolization in the Caribbean has escaped its colonial cage. He further argues that the contribution of creolity to cultural globalization is evident, since:

The universal virtue of creolity as a form of cultural politics and creolization as a sociological category become apparent. They allow us to include all population groups, including later migrant arrivals in addition to the original tracheotomy (the colonial, creole and indigene). They allow us to escape the political cage and unscientific trap of racial, phenotypical and biological categorizations, therefore avoiding such expressions as coloured, mulatto, quadroon, octoroon, *gens de couleur*, half breed, *zambo*, *griffe* and many other descriptions that are even less flattering (17).

Though acclaimed, creolization has a high degree of euro centrism. A number of critics have found it difficult, if not impossible, to dissociate

⁸ Condé offers a radical critique of the creolity movement relegating the movement a retrograde scheme which is not compatible with the ruling contemporary idea of cultural globalization and creolization in the Caribbean in . Chercher Nos Vérités, In *Penser la Créolité*, Karthala, paris.1995

creolization in the Caribbean from European cultural domination. Misir,(2010:363) opines that "amid all the 'mixing conception of [...] Creolization, Ethno genesis, Inter-ethnic fusion, Metissage and Hybridity', it is the creole culture that usually is synonymous with Caribbean identity". He further argues that the process of creolization emerged out of a creole continuum with white creoles at one end and Africans at the other end. This continuum facilitated the emergence of a dominant European culture. Lending arguments from the history of the Caribbean, he insightfully contends that:

The creole continuum was fashioned from the insertion into slave society of two historically produced racialised categories that, in European imagination, existed universally at the opposite poles of civilization. Creolity was produced in the confluence of these two categories. The Afro-creole (what is popularly considered 'black' in the region) is located at one end of the continuum. As a social category, it is the embodiment of the (changing) representations and practices of descendants of enslaved populations transported from West Africa for plantation labor by 'pure' descendants of Africans, its creolization is the product of a syncretic mix of traditional African culture with the cultural forms of the dominant European colonial overlords. 'White Creoles' or 'local Whites' are located at the other end of the continuum (363).

Misir's assertion confirms the cultural standardization paradigm of cultural globalization. He doubts the claims of cultural hybridity in the context of the Caribbean. In the face of such apparent cultural imperialism (manifested through cultural globalization), relatively essentialist movements as Coolitude seem to gain pertinence. Creolization is synonymous to cultural imperialism, ethnic dominance (creole cultural dominance more precisely). Misir, (2010:64) concludes that under such circumstances in the Caribbean, Indians hardly input the drive to national unity through the application of their own value

system -application of their own culture since "Creole culture as a form of ethnic dominance reduces the cultural impact of subordinate ethnic groups".

The Logic of the Coolitude Movement in a Globalizing World

It has been argued by a number of critics that some of the effects of globalization, cultural dilution, cultural meltdown and cultural imperialism among others on Coolitude are inevitable. Even societies where forms of cultural autonomy are manifested in the guise of nation building are not exempted as globalization often sets in to "paralyze"/frustrate efforts aimed at the construction of exclusivist cultural identity. In line with this idea, Tomlinson (271) argues: "nation-states are to varying degrees compromised by globalization in their capacity to maintain exclusivity of identity attachments". He illustrates his point with the following explanation:

The complexities and tensions introduced by the multi-ethnic construction of societies arising from global population movements - a chronic feature of all modern nation-states (Smith 1995; Geertz 2000) - pose obvious problem for the continued cultural 'binding of twenty-first-century nations into coherent identity positions. This problem is more dramatic in its consequences for some nations of the developing world, where multi-ethnic composition arising from the crude territorial divisions of colonial occupations combines with comparatively weak state structures to produce a legacy of often political instability and inter-ethnic violence (id.).

As evidenced in the Caribbean, globalization has quickened the pace of the cultural adulteration of subordinate groups. According to Tomlinson (2003:364), "the creolization process -which is just a version or manifestation of this cultural globalization - 'is dominantly rooted in euro centrism'" and "has an affinity with the external agencies' goals vis-à-vis their bid to control the local society". In the face of this, the

Coolitude cultural theory comes in as an antithesis to the Eurocentric creolization. Misir opines that:

Indians perceive their culture to be pure and autonomous that is untouched by creolization. They therefore feel a need to protect and gain recognition for their culture. Coolitude [...] is another ethnic identity theory that is now presented as having greater credence than creolization and ethno genesis, Inter-ethnic fusion, metissage and hybridity (363).

The orientations of the Coolitude Movement may, to an extent, sound retrograde and utopian, as a good number of questions can be raised bordering on its capacity to realize its objectives "of mediating the creolization process in the post-colonial era so that it becomes more illusionary and integrated into Caribbean art, poetry, literature, history".⁹ It may therefore be interesting to know how the Coolitude Movement may pursue the course for cultural purity and yet seek insertion of the Indian culture into a culture that is essentially an Euro-African mix. It may equally be interesting to know how the coolie culture may successfully adapt to a plural landscape. Cultural purity in an era of globalization may be a doubtful experience and in this wise, the rhetoric of Coolitude may be, just as Misir puts it, "'the subject of future cultural experiments' is to attain a singular cultural identity in places like the Caribbean, governed by creolization."¹⁰ Raghunandan (9) succinctly argues, that "the same as metissage, creolization can be viewed as 'an antidote to essentialist depictions of culture and identity

⁹ Verene Shepherd. "Coolitude": The Diasporic Indian's Response to Creolisation, Negritude and the Ranking Game?" in Prem Misir (ed) *Cultural Identity and Creolisation in National Unity: The Multiethnic Caribbean*. Lanham MD: University Press of America of the Rowman and Littlefield Publishing Group, 2010.

¹⁰ Prem Misir. "Toward National Unity in Multicultural Societies" in Prem Misir (ed) *Cultural Identity and Creolisation in National Unity: The Multiethnic Caribbean*. Lanham MD: University Press of America of the Rowman and Littlefield Publishing Group, 2010: 336

as fixed and static entities". It is with respect to this line of argument that the ideal of cultural purity - fervently defended by a good number of Coolitude adherents - has become a subject of serious debate in many Caribbean countries notably St Lucie, Trinidad and Tobago among others. Raghunandan,(2012) for instance notes that:

Spokespeople for Hindu-based organizations and the Indian cultural nationalists are generally against the label "creole", while others recognized the influence of creole forms on their culture and their influence on creole culture. The slippage of the term "creole" as Afro-centric or a national symbol of the culture of Trinidad and Tobago is an often contested question in Trinidad and Tobago as the term carries different meanings in the wider Caribbean as well as outside of the Caribbean (14).

The controversy surrounding the concept of cultural purity has equally bred a number of pro-cultural globalization sentiments even among coolie writers. Rushdie and Naipaul represent good examples of this progressive shift from cultural purity to globalization (Cohen 17; Erikson 226). The authors' inclination to cultural globalization has earned them disdain from certain coolie (mostly Indians) communities. They have even been branded prophets of the impure. Writing particularly about the authors, Erikson opines that Naipaul "became a writer about torn identities". Basing his argument on the writer's literary prowess, he argues that:

Several of his mature, largely tragic novels [...] are about men who try to be something that they are not, usually because they can see no alternative. [...] It can be said that the tragic grandeur of Naipaul's best book confirms an assumption, which he himself might reject that exile and cultural hybridity are creative forces (226).

Similarly, Rushdie's book titled *Satanic Verses* is often viewed as a radical attack on authenticity, singular and monochromatic identities as well as a counter thesis to the ideas of "single Truth" and "Pure way" upheld by other coolie writers (by proponents of the Coolitude Movement). This position is not without attracting detractors who see him as an advocate of the impure. Rushdie defends his position as expressed in his book *The Satanic Verses* thus:

Those who oppose the novel most vociferously today are of the opinion that intermingling with different cultures will inevitably weaken and ruin their own cultures. I am of the opposite opinion. The Satanic Verses celebrate hybridity, impurity, intermingling and the transformation that comes out of a new and unexpected combinations of human beings, cultures, ideas, politics, movies and songs. It rejoices in marginalization and fears the absolutism of the Pure. *Melange*, hotchpot, a bit of this a bit of that is how newness enters the world. It is the great possibility that mass migration gives the world, and I have tried to embrace it (394).

The concept of cultural purity and the homogenization of Indianness figure principally in the politico-literary arena. They do not perfectly represent the layman's construction of Indianness. To many coolies, the narrative of the "Pure" and the "fetish nature of the 'original' Indian traditions is a problematic construction, a discursive attempt by the politician and the coolitude writers to establish a Caribbean Indian identity that actually limits the options of Caribbean Indians." Raghunandan (2012:4) therefore describes this purist agenda as "a sort of political pressure aiming at downplaying the pro-cultural globalization feeling among some Indians." She notes that institutional narratives have variously elided the Indian sense of belonging to India as a motherland and the Caribbean as a nation. To her, therefore, "ethnic, political and cultural identities are self-ascribed by individuals on a tactical basis, depending on the interlocutor and the situation. It

seems possible that this reflection is key to an understanding of how Indians negotiate identities inflected by political debate."

Despite efforts by the politico-literary class, the philosophy of the "Pure" is viewed by many coolies as a very laudable scheme and is therefore not generally endorsed. No doubt Richard Dickie(2006) laments over the disappearance of some core aspects of the Indian as a result of cultural globalization when he notes that:

There was a time, when Indians used to dance their dance and sing their music and meet regularly and remember their history. It is a sorry state of affairs that Indians lost both their culture and their history, that people don't even know that today is Independence Day for India. They don't know anything about India; they don't know about the who *she me she*,(a lower class language of the Coolies) they don't know about anything that is going on with the Indians in the country (56).

Proponents of cultural exclusivist theories tend to dread globalization. They demonize it and seek all ways to counter it. Tomlison (2003:271) on his part criticizes the tendency of always viewing cultural identity as "a victim of cultural globalization." He argues that cultural identity is not likely to be "an easy prey of globalization" as identity is not a kind of fragile communal-psychic attachment but "a considerable dimension of institutionalized social life modernity". He elaborates his argument with particular reference to the dominant form of national identity:

Particularly in the dominant form of national identity, it is the product of deliberate cultural construction and maintenance via both the state regulatory and socializing institutions of the state: in particular the law, the educational system and the media. The deterritorializing force of globalization thus meets a structured opposition in the form of what Michael

Biling (1995) has called 'banal nationalism' - the every minute re-enforcement; the continuous routinized 'flagging' of national belonging, particularly through media discourse - sponsored by developed nation-state (271).

Based on this assertion one may see no logic in coolitude's objective to advocate for cultural purity as there might be no fear of globalization in victimizing their cultural identity. However, the truth is that the coolie (most especially Indian) cultures are marginalized in the institutional development in the Caribbean. The Creole culture [which is dominant] has for years only input institutional development and evolution in terms of defining their social need, and the cluster of their values, norms and statuses. As Misir (2010:365) notes, "the residual aspects of Indian culture inevitably utilized in meeting social needs [in the region] represent a cultural dilution". The protection which the Nation-state could provide the Indian culture so that it faces globalization is therefore theoretically absent. This makes coolie culture to be a potential prey of cultural globalization.

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to examine the logic of Coolitude claim of pure cultural identity in an era of active cultural globalization. It attempted to demonstrate that cultural globalization in the Caribbean (manifested through creolization) can be viewed as an indomitable predator to cultural identities in the region. Cultural purity in such a social context of cultural pluralism may be a utopian experience. The cultural protectionism often constructed by nation-building is never hundred percent efficient in ensuring the purity of national (local) culture as nation-states are themselves compromised to varying degrees by globalization in their capacity to maintain exclusivity of identity attachment. In the case of the Caribbean, the Indian culture is marginalised into institutional development and socializing institutions. This exposes this culture more to the predatory forces of globalization.

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Coolitude in an Era of Cultural Globalization.....

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