

Cultural Identity and Globalisation among the Contemporary Lugbara: Towards a Plural Cultural Identity

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Introduction

Since the onset of globalisation, the debate on culture has moved from being associated exclusively with pre-modernism to become part of popular discourses all over the world (Meijl 2008). This is not only as a result of the rigorous reflection and analysis of the different meanings and significance of contemporary culture, but also its enormous implications for everyone's conception of self - the self of individuals and those with whom they associate. For that reason, the examination of how this interplay to form cultural identities becomes very useful to address the different and ever opposing demands resulting from the differentiation of culture in the context of globalisation.

According to Al-Rodhan and Stoudmann, "globalisation is a process that encompasses the causes, course, and consequences of transnational and transcultural integration of human and non-human activities" (2006, p.5). This denotes that globalisation is not an end in itself, but a complex process that has continued over hundreds of years with cultural, economic, political and social implications for human life.

Cultural identity has to change along with incoming identities, especially those brought about by the globalisation processes. Identity in this context refers to the set of meanings that define who one is when one is an occupant of a particular role in society, a member of a particular group, or claims particular characteristics that identify him or her as a unique person (Burke and Stets 2009). If culture is "the system of shared beliefs, values, practices,

language, norms, rituals, and material things that group members use to understand their world” (Bodley 2000, p.8), then it becomes apparent that a group of people who identify themselves in a particular way within a culture subscribe to a culture-based identity and this is what I refer to as cultural identity in this chapter. That is to say; cultural identity in this case is about how individuals or groups see or perceive themselves and define themselves, which refers to ‘self-images’ (acquired cultural identity), and how other individuals or groups see and define them termed as ‘images by others’ (ascribed cultural identity).

Identity is formed through the socialisation process and the influence of social institutions like the family, the education system and the mass media which constitute the global environment. “Culture exists to guarantee human survival and reproduction” (Bodley 2000, p.9) – that is, culture is a unique means by which people meet their needs, distribute social power, manage resources and regulate the size of their society. This is achieved through the self-images and images by others highlighted above. The implication of this is that, the way one defines him/herself and how they are defined by others (identity) determines the means to one’s social power, needs and desire to manage resources. However, if this works within an environment that appreciates only the definition of ‘oneself’ as opposed to or without the recognition of ‘others’, it becomes problematic in bringing about plural cultural identity.

In a globalised context (that is; an increasingly integrated and interdependent world where large, international organisations dominate, changes in business, working and living environment are rapid, pervasive and perpetual (Gray 2004), multiple identities or opportunities for a new or integrated form of identity/identities are produced. This has the potential of becoming what this chapter posits as a plural cultural identity with high attributes of respect for each other’s cultural identity. This further elucidates the fact that globalisation presents the “flow across cultures of ideas, goods, and people at unprecedented speed, scope, and quantity” which is profoundly implicated in identity formation (Jensen, Arnett, and McKenzie 2011, p.285).

In the context of African cultures, identity (acquired cultural identity) is, in many cases, inopportunately overpowered by dominant identities – ascribed cultural identity – that comes with the globalisation forces and this disconnect tends to shape the way one behaves, understands oneself and others, makes choices, and determines what they can/will do or not do regardless of previously acquired cultural identity anchored and harbored in their cultures.

This chapter therefore acknowledges that the debate on cultural identity and globalisation continues to generate mixed outcomes both positive and negative. Imperatively, a natural and spontaneous growth and assimilation of cultures in the context of globalisation and other processes is not in itself a problem but rather a forced or misconceived mind-set (ethnocentric stance or cultural imperialism) that African culture is primitive thus has to be changed is problematic. Such culturally insensitive and de-meaning ethnocentric tendencies often result into clashes of identities manifested within communities and across cultures. For instance, on one account, the influence of ‘Western culture’ is seen to substitute and/or compete with local cultural identities, thus is often blamed for risky behaviours such as smoking and alcohol consumption, increasing social conflict, and loss of locally rooted identity. On the other hand, Western influence has been applauded for bringing about cultural exchange that has increased tolerance, understanding, and positive social change such as access to information, better lifestyles, gender equality, and respect for human rights, among others (WHO 2016). This chapter thus contends that the ethnocentric stances or cultural imperialists’ conceptualisation of globalisation as Western culture that must be adopted and practiced in Africa is problematic. Instead, a conscious recognition that from a variety of cultural identities comes diversity that must be shared among the differing cultural identities ought to be embraced. This way a desire for plural cultural identity is eminent. The chapter also tries to move away from one-way deliberation of looking at globalisation as Western versus African to the debate among the Africans within Africa.

The central question this chapter seeks to answer is: “How has

African cultural identity been influenced through the process of globalisation in the formation of or move towards a plural cultural identity? To this central question, it becomes crucial to specifically establish how globalisation processes have been received and operationalised within the varied African cultures when presented with multiple cultural expressions, including their local culture and other cultures they may come into contact with via globalisation. This has been elaborated with illustrative reflection on the cultural identity experiences of the Lugbara people.

Whereas there may be a lot of debate on the concept of African cultural identity in terms of whether there is a thing called 'African culture', this chapter does not address itself to this question. Nonetheless, in trying to understand how a plural cultural identity can be and arrived at, it uses the concept (African cultural Identity) to denote how individuals or groups see and define themselves (and as defined by others) within Africa as a result of globalisation.

Methodology

This chapter employed a qualitative approach for exploring and understanding the meaning individuals or groups ascribe to the outcome of the nexus between globalisation and cultural identity in shaping a plural cultural identity (Creswell 2014). The chapter used a (single) case study of Lugbara cultural identity to illustrate how globalisation and cultural identity relational deliberations have influenced and shaped the formation and transformation of identities. As Yin (2009) posits, the case study design allows the investigator to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events such as cultural exchanges.

The desire to understand the outcome of the complex social phenomenon brought by the interface of cultural identity and globalisation has been explorative and descriptive in nature, and this helped in getting the needed insight (Yin 2009) in addressing the central question of this chapter. A single case was considered not as representative of a typical African culture, but to illustrate how the process of cultural identity formation manifests among different people and how globalisation has affected it differently.

Several key informant interviews were conducted with Lugbara elders, cultural (clan) leaders obtained through snowball sampling and several opinion leaders - mainly the district officials obtained purposively to learn from their privileged insight into the issues. The youth were also engaged to share their side of story.

Thematic analysis was employed for analysing the data gathered from in-depth interviews and in the overall analysis of the work. Additionally, documentary review of relevant literature was done to provide theoretical understanding of the data for deducing theoretical contribution (Bryman 2012). Minimal narrative analysis, specifically, the use of unstructured interviews (anecdotal) was applied to gain insight of the lived experiences of participants and to obtain the context and social situation in which experiences relating to the focus of the chapter are created.

In the organisation of chapter, the introduction and methodological aspects discussed above sets the question, framework and approach for this study. Following the chapter themes, relevant literature is reviewed together with conceptual and theoretical discussion to illustrate the conceptual linkages and their corresponding outcomes. Lugbara culture as a single case is then discussed before exploring the findings and discussions together with theoretical reflections. A synthesis of key emerging knowledge contributions is then presented before concluding.

Theoretical perspectives on Globalisation and Cultural Identity

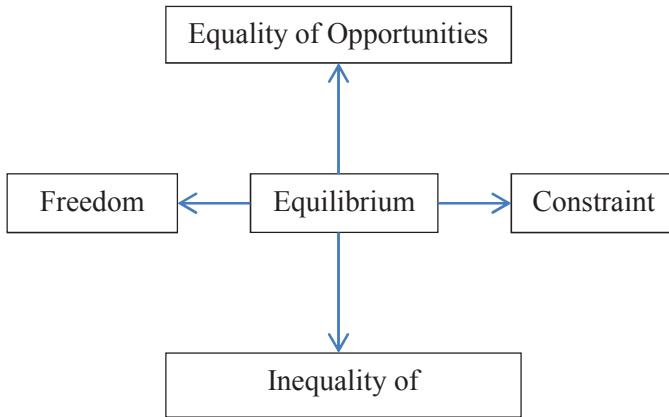
This chapter employs several theoretical frameworks in understanding the complexity of how cultural identities interface with globalisation in bringing about plural cultural identity. The sociological campus (*Fig. 1*) provides the general framework for the entire chapter while Berry's theory of acculturation and cultural survival were used to further explain how Lugbara people have experienced and adjusted to the multiple cultural contexts they are being exposed to as a result of globalisation. That is, how the Lugbara have received and adjusted to changing global needs for their continuity. These frameworks are not mutually exclusive or independent of each other but rather have been employed to

strengthen each other's explanatory power.

The Sociological Campus

Sociologists agree to the many opportunities to quality life and human freedom presented by globalisation (Furze *et al.* 2008), nonetheless, they also acknowledge and fault it for social-structural barriers to the realisation of that promise (of good life and freedom). This is illustrated in *Fig. 1* below – a contrast of a promise versus a contrast of barrier.

Fig. 1. Sociological Campus



Source: Adapted from Furze et al. 2008

The vertical axis contrasts the equality (promise) and inequality (barrier) of opportunities against the horizontal axis contrasting the individual freedom (promise) and constraint (barrier) on that freedom. The balance of all these creates equilibrium. On one hand, globalisation advocates credit the equality brought about by the globalisation processes (WHO 2006; Furtze *et al.* 2008), such as the gender equality, opportunities for choices, increased competition among others while on the other side it is being attacked for creating inequality in resource distribution, cultural ethnocentrism, double standards in jobs, growing inequalities between the rich and the poor etc. Indisputably, the freedom of choice in terms of religion, education, ethnic, racial and sexual identities have changed overtime and this has worked well for those not comfortable being in a 'box' - that is, those totally entrenched with their particular cultural norms and values that define their identity. However, many have also gone beyond the 'box' by creating their own identities that suits them.

Berry's Theory of Acculturation

Since the sociological campus (Furtze *et al.* 2008) illustrates only the values that come with globalisation presented in the axis, Berry's theory of acculturation (Berry 1997) was employed to

illustrate the understanding of how globalisation promotes or influences the diverse cultural identities within African communities with clear illustrations from the Lugbara culture. It acknowledges that not only can globalisation be viewed in 'Western versus African' debate, but also a debate among the Africans themselves. This theory clearly captures the dynamics of appropriation and repositioning as a result of the mix of globalisation and culture (Berry 1997). In this theory, Berry raises the question, "What happens to individuals, who have developed in one cultural context, when they attempt to live in a new cultural context?" (Jensen, Arnette, and McKenzie 2011, p.290), but, in this chapter, I restate the question as; "What happens in the cultural identity development or formation of Africans when presented with multiple cultural contexts, including their local culture and other cultures they may come into contact with via globalisation?"

One of the patterns of acculturation is assimilation and in this pattern people (are made to) leave or reject their culture for a new one, that of another. The second pattern is separation, which is the reverse of assimilation. Here value for retaining the original culture is limited to the extent of avoiding contacts with people in the new culture to which they have immigrated (mental and ideological immigration). Integration is the third pattern and this lies between the assimilation and separation patterns. At this point, people may have little interest in maintaining their original cultural identities, but also reject (or are rejected by) the new cultural identities. Berry's theory helps us to understand the opportunities and values globalisation presents to us in the sociological campus by adding the cultural touch to the processes of integration, assimilation, and separation as illustrated in the preceding sections. It (Berry's theory) also aptly echoes the fact that cultural change in the Lugbara has been partly through the migration process which is well articulated. It should be noted that immigration has not been treated merely as human movement, but it encompasses immigration of non-physical human activities such as ideology, values and beliefs.

The Cultural Survival Kit

The Sociological Campus and Berry's theory are further conceptualised in what Furze *et al.* (2008) describe as the cultural survival kit and this analogy will help expound on the role of culture in shaping our identity and how globalisation has influenced it. The cultural survival kit concept was introduced on two fronts; first, to show how African cultural identity has interface with the processes of globalisation and, secondly, to illustrate (using its three main tools) how such interface has inspired the formation of or move towards a plural cultural identity (the equilibrium as in *Fig. 1*). The cultural survival kit contains three main tools namely; abstraction, cooperation and production. Abstraction means the capacity to create general ideas or ways of thinking that are not linked to a particular instance (vertical axis in *Fig. 1*). Symbols are important ideas and they are referred to as anything that carries a particular meaning, including the components of language mathematical notations and signs. They allow us to classify experience and generalize from it (horizontal axis *Fig. 1*). Cooperation on the other hand relates to the capacity to create a complex social life by establishing norms, or generally accepted ways of doing things. It means advancing humanity through schools, communities and its institutions that enable them gain skills, pooling resources, creation of social arrangements and institutions such as healthcare systems, religious and political systems.

Lastly, production is the capacity to make and use tools that improve our ability to take what we want from nature. Such tools and techniques are known as material culture because they are tangible, while symbols, norms and other elements are nonmaterial culture (equilibrium in *Fig. 1*). This system works in a reward and punishment dynamic, that is, people are usually rewarded for following cultural guidelines and punished when they do not. These rewards (positive sanction) are aimed at ensuring conformity within social control (the sum of sanctions in a society by means of which conformity to cultural guidelines is ensured). The Punishment (or negative sanction) range from avoidance and contempt to arrest, physical violence and banishment. This is one

way global values have persisted because cultures have received rewards (through aid and grants) for observing and embracing ideals of dominating cultural identities and have consequently changed the way the recipients behave. The survival kit is very crucial to understanding how the engagements stipulated in the Sociological campus and Berry's theory actually operate. This is necessary for deducing the extent to which cultural identities have fared with globalisation for a potential plural identity.

These theories significantly illustrate that much as cultural identity is meant to control people, people often reject some elements of existing cultural identity and create new elements of or new cultural identities. However, just as such identities are needed to control and ensure stable interaction, some resistance to such control is needed to ensure cultural innovation and social renewal. That is why, even with the punishments, it is never a guarantee that such punishments will deter those who do not adhere. Stable but vibrant cultural identities are able to find a balance between control and cultural innovation through a process of cultural identity survival highlighted in the cultural survival kit concept.

Related Literature

Understanding Globalisation, Culture and Cultural Identity

The debates and discussion over what globalisation is and/or what it constitutes in this chapter is not about which one is right because what constitutes globalisation connotes differently to the different disciplinary orientations. However, this chapter tends towards sociological theorisation of cultural identity for illustrating practically how globalisation processes have affected and transpired for different cultural identities. This is done in reference to the above theoretical discussion.

In his article, 'The globalisation of nothing', Ritzer observes that "[a]ttitudes toward globalisation depend, among other things, on whether one gains or loses from it" (2003, p.190). This is clearly illustrated in the reward and punishment system in the cultural survival kit discussed above. It then becomes apparent for those

who gain or want to gain from it (the equality and individual freedom – the promise of opportunities) to use the available space within the political, social and economic spheres to dehumanise those against it (inequality and constraint - the barriers of opportunities) in a bid to ensure social control and conformity. As Al-Rodhan and Stoudmann (2006, p.5) alluded, “globalisation is a process that encompasses the causes, course, and consequences of transnational and transcultural integration of human and non-human activities.” This helps to illustrate what culture constitutes.

If culture relates to the language, beliefs, values and norms, customs, dress, diet, roles, knowledge and skills, and all the other things that people learn that make up the ‘way of life’ of any society, then globalisation is part and parcel of the cultural processes. This means that culture is passed from one generation to another, so do globalisation processes. In this case a person develops an identity as he/she passes from one generation to another. In this sense, the person is presented with many opportunities that are available for choice resulting from globalisation and cultural norms. In the process of socialisation in the cultural acquisition, there are different aspects one acquires, especially when exposed to different cultures in a globalised arena. However, the fact that there are many aspects of everyday life which are shared by most members of society cannot be underestimated. Cultural Identity in this case is about how individuals or groups see and define themselves, and how other individuals or groups see and define them. This is what Berry articulates through the patterns of his acculturation processes. Identity is formed through the socialisation process and the influence of social institutions like the family, the education system and the mass media are crucial to this. The positives (reinforcers or opportunities) brought about by the institution are rewarded, thus they become part of the reward system of the cultural survival kit. This means that attainment of the equilibrium espoused in the sociological campus can be weighted upon as exemplified in the findings later in this chapter.

While globalisation is happening, cultures respond in terms of the capacity to create alternative ideas or ways of thinking,

advancing capacities that enable the gaining of skills, pooling resources, creation of social arrangements and institutions, and the capacity to make and use tools that improve our ability to take what we want from nature - such as formation of new cultural norms. In other words, it must dynamically appropriate and reposition itself at three levels at which culture functions; at the Mental (or what people think), behavioural (or what people do) and Material (what people produce) (Bodley 2000; Furze *et al.* 2008).

Globalisation processes spare no cultural identity. This is evidenced by the inclusion of non-human activities such as the spread of bacteria and diseases as well as natural disasters such as tornadoes, tsunamis, earthquakes, and hurricanes, not forgetting climate change. These activities/events/things have greatly cut across cultures because of their huge impact on human and global security. It is thus imperative to treat globalisation as a process of influencing people in various ways; some to our benefits while others to our detriment; than treating it as a force that must be stopped. This also highlights the extent to which globalisation debate moves away from West versus Africa debate.

Besides, the existence of nonhuman activities underscored above are not created by the West, thus, it becomes important to realise that within Africa such nonhuman activities are present and force people to learn how to cope. A typical example of this scenario is the introduction of cassava which has now become the cultural food identity of the Lugbara. This implies that human capacity to withstand 'cultural shock' is crucial; a term coined in the 1960's to refer to the experience of those suddenly immersed in a culture very different from their own. The term generally implies a negative reaction (physical, cognitive, and psychological) to movement within or between societies, but it may have benefits for the individual concerned. Those who become partially, or fully, immersed in a new culture may suffer from return cultural shock when re-entering their own society (Barfield 1997). This is because the cultural identity that defines their culture is learned and involves the arbitrary assignment of symbolic meanings - the human ability to assign meaning to any object, behavior, or conditions makes culture enormously creative (Bodley 2000).

For that reason, people can change cultures in positive ways. These paradoxes of globalisation (impact of global influences) are particularly evident in small-scale societies such as Lugbara culture that are believed to be in danger of losing their cultural uniqueness. As a consequence, they have become engaged in a large scale revival of cultural traditions (Otto and Pedersen 2000; 2005).

Just like the debated meaning of globalisation, identity has been treated by different scholars and disciplines differently (Fearon 1999; Jansen, Arnette, and McKenzie 2011). According to Fearon (1999, p.2), the term identity has two connotations in its usage, that is; social and personal senses. In the social sense, an identity connotes a social category, that is; “a set of persons marked by a label and distinguished by rules deciding membership and (alleged) characteristic. This is what Chriosti (2003) and Omotola (2009) described as ‘self-images’ (acquired identity). In the personal sense, identity “is some distinguishing characteristic(s) that a person takes a special pride in or views as socially consequential, but more-or-less unchangeable”. This brings about the ascribed identity. Therefore, the two faces of identity are interdependent, yet they also constitute a duality (Raab 2009). Hekman further attests to this:

Each of us possesses a personal identity that is constituted by an array of influences and experiences that form us as a unique person. These forces are both public, the hegemonic discourses that define our social life, and individual, the character and situation of those who care for us as infants, and through whom the public concepts are transmitted to us. The result of these influences is . . . our core self... (cited in Raab 2000, p.229).

Raab (2009) adds to the definition of identity being two-pronged. One path ends in commonality or identity shared by a person with others as members of certain categories or collectivities (cultural identity); the other ends in individuation or uniqueness by differentiating one person from another. This

conforms to what Hildebrandt (2007) argues saying that there are two interrelated concepts of identity. One derives from *idem*, the Latin word, “meaning sameness, similarity and/or continuity;” the other “refers to the concept of *ipse* or self . . . the *sense of self* that is constitutive of the human subject (Raab 2009, p.227). Hildebrandt (2007) notes that *ipse*-identity - “the sense of self” cannot emerge without the *idem*-identity we experience (our sense of continuity) and sometimes the *idem*-identity is ascribed by others (establishing a sense of self in contrast to others). Both kinds of identity are interdependent, thus they are relational; that is, *ipse* “is constructed in confrontation with an environment,” while *idem*’s “establishment of sameness builds on comparison.” (Hildebrandt 2007, p.17 cited in Raabs 2009, p.227).

Globalisation is such a confrontational environment where identities are modified based on the values that are rewarding. The above understandings of identity are contextual hence some variations might be expected with varying purposes; more so with pervasiveness and rapid changes of globalisation values. The self-images and images by others discussed in the introduction is not different from this outlook – the two ways. Thus, at social and individual levels, the way we perceive ourselves tends to shape how others perceive us and vice versa. These consequently influence our behavior and choices within our highly globalised development space.

It can therefore be observed in the above conceptualisation that there are multiple identities and this makes it problematic to look at one definition as absolute. However, the reverse can be true if there is some degree of acceptance of the identities of other cultures in our various conceptualisations of cultural identity. Likewise, this chapter delimits itself to the concept of cultural identity with the view of exploring how the identities brought about by globalisation processes interact with African cultural identities in shaping and forming a plural cultural identity. This doesn’t discredit the importance of looking at self-identity (*ipse*).

Lugbara Culture and Identity

The Lugbara belong to the Madi-Moru ethnic community together with the Madi, the Metu, and the Okebu. According to Nziza, Mbaga and Mukholi (2011), this ethnic community is the smallest compared to the Bantu and the Nilotic ethnic communities in Uganda. The Madi-Moru group is not only found in Uganda but also in South Sudan, DR Congo and Central African Republic (*ibid*). They all trace their origin from the South Sudan (formerly Sudan), however, they differ significantly in some cultural aspects. The Lugbara constitutes the largest ethnic group in West Nile Sub-region (comprising districts of Arua, Adjumani, Koboko, Maracha, Moyo, Nebbi and Zombo districts) in the North-Western Uganda. The Lugbara occupied the current districts of Arua, Maracha, Yumbe. They are Sudanic speaking peoples, a language of the eastern Sudanic languages of the Madi, Lugbara, Keriko, Logo and the Avukaya.

As Obetia notes, Lugbaras are Madi. That is, the Madi and Lugbara have the same historical and cultural background. This is the reason for their mutually intelligible languages and their shared myth of origin as the children of Dribidu and Ofunyaruru (Obetia 2008) - although for Middleton (1960, pp.18-19) it is Jaki and Dribidu.

The ancestors of Lugbara peoples were said to live an uncivilised life (the 'un-civility' used here pertained to ethnocentric tendencies) in South Sudan. They later migrated to Lugbara land from different routes. Their movement sparked the coming of civilisation into their life based on the experiences they encountered in the process of migration (Dean 1978). In traditional Lugbara culture, the identity is premised on the dichotomy of inside (*aa*) versus outside (*amve*) where the world is an aggregation of venn diagrams. What is for us a restricted metaphor for logical types is for them the only physical and social reality (Dean 1978, p.34). This implies that even before coming in contact with foreign cultural identities, the Lugbara were not engaged in abstraction, cooperation and production (stated in the

cultural survival kit) through separation and marginalization. On the other hand, the process of assimilation and integration (stipulated in Berry's theory) in the attainment of equilibrium stipulated in the sociological campus (*Fig. 1*) is limited. These are further illustrated in the proceeding paragraphs. However, Lugbara cultural identity has been shaped by political, social and economic factors both internal and external (global) wielding the necessity for plural cultural identities discussed concurrently with the findings in the next sections.

Lugbara Tradition and Identity - Social, Economic, and Political Organization

The Lugbara are predominantly agriculturalists, although according to Middleton (1960) and Dean (1978) their tradition shows that once they were essentially cattle owning people. The main food crops grown by the Lugbara include: sorghum, simsim, maize, cassava (introduced into the culture as a famine crop), beans, peas, groundnuts, sweet potatoes and a variety of vegetables. Meat and fish were occasionally eaten on special occasions. Other sources of food included hunting for buffaloes, bush buck, antelopes, rabbits, squirrels, and other animals and insects. This portrays a sense of coexistence with the natural environment. Except for certain meat, all food can be consumed by both sexes.

They practiced mixed cropping and crop rotation. Land was categorized into three; virgin land, fallow land, and land under cultivation - and all land was communally owned. However, according to Dean (1978), agricultural land included; home or compound fields, outside fields, and fields by the water. Captivatingly, home fields were fertilized with cow dung and were used for growing grains and vegetables. This was an important culture of production. Nevertheless, land fragmentation driven by globalisation of consumerism is what we are experiencing today.

The Lugbara were also engaged in the production of various artifacts and handicrafts. The women produced various types of baskets and pots for decoration. Furthermore, the Lugbara engaged in barter trade with other cultures to showcase their identity. These practices increased the chances of identity

exchange as a result of exposure through the aforementioned activities in which practices that are beneficial are attained and practiced.

In addition to the above cultural practices, the following norms and values define a Lugbara cultural identity; respect of elders and parents, patriarchal leadership system, collectivism towards work and societal wellbeing, dependence on agriculture and protection of environment/nature, dialogue and community based decision making processes chaired by clan leaders. In the Lugbara society, the elders and senior men were as primary in the structure of power as the clan leaders. Nziza, Mbagwa and Mukholi (2011, p.175) note that:

... the highest social political organisation among the Lugbara was the clan. The clan was normally headed by the clan leader called *opi*. All members of the clan claimed descent from a common ancestor to whom they were paternally related.

Unlike the kingship model of other ethnic communities in Uganda, all the elders of the Lugbara clans exercised influence over political and social affairs and they had powers to curse and punish their subordinates.

Globalisation and Lugbara Cultural Identity Change

Aside from the ancestral migration and encounter, the arrival of Europeans disrupted the intricate balance of traditional Lugbara society. The history of Lugbara culture drastically changed economically and structurally due to the influence of western ideologies and imperialism accompanying the Europeans ('westernisation').

According to historian Alan Moorhead (cited in Dean 1978), the first European to enter the Lugbara country was Emin Pasha, a German naturalist and explorer who took over the governing of Uganda - by then called 'Equatorial province', under Charles Gordon in 1878. In 1885 he is said to have entered what was called 'West Nile District, now called West Nile Sub Region and stayed in

the place currently called Wadelai along River Nile in present day Nebbi district from 1885-89. Accompanying him were Nubian troops from South Sudan who consequently became important in the early colonial governance of the Lugbara and whose descendants still formed a somewhat separate ethnic group in the then West Nile district. West Nile was hereafter included in the Lado Enclave and in 1894 it was leased by the British to the Belgian Congo. In 1900, under the administration of the Belgians, several administrative boundaries were opened - one of which was at Ofude, now Ofude Sub County in present Maracha district - in Lugbara Country where a small garrison was kept for five to six years harbouring several other European officers and a detachment of Congolese troops.

The presence of the troops created conflict because the troops subsisted by raiding neighbouring Lugbara for cattle and grain and the relationship became strained and later the Belgians found it hard to deal with the acephalous group such as the Lugbara and so they appointed chiefs to mediate between themselves and the locals. This meant that culturally the Lugbara had to fight for preservation of their identity. Belgians made selected Lugbara (by appointment against the ancestry to clan leadership) as chiefs and paid them for their services in cattle (a reward for submission/forfeiting cultural identity as emphasised in the cultural survival kit). Unfortunately, these were people marginal to the traditional centers of power and wealth and their appointment marked the erosion of the Lugbara traditional lineage system (Middleton 1965, 3). In 1908 the whole of West Nile became part of the Sudan, which had little effect upon the Lugbara, except taxation that was introduced for the first time and marked another trend of cultural economic change in Lugbara culture.

The presence of Europeans (including Teddy Roosevelt) marked the beginning and increased the practice of hunting and killing elephants for ivory as opposed to traditional hunting for wild meat (Dean 1987). There was no absolute control over the great influx of foreigners then and the extent of their influence on Lugbara culture was believed to be considerably great (*ibid*). Today

we continue to grapple with issues such as poaching, unprecedented exploitation of natural environmental resources, etc. simply because the foreign influx monetised the social and economic systems, promoted competition and exploitation which consequently altered the traditional coexistence of Lugbara with nature. In 1914, the southern part of Lado Enclave was transferred to the Uganda section of British administration, and A.E. Weatherhead became the first District Commissioner of West Nile where he set up a governmental station at Arua and this made Arua until now the seat of government for West Nile Sub-Region.

After the transfer, the institution of '*Pax Britannica*' marked the arrival of Arab and Indian shopkeepers and taxation was then instituted permanently. West Nile also suffered from many epidemics, including the 1918 influenza pandemic, small pox and cerebrospinal meningitis epidemics. In 1919, anti-European uprising ensued and led to deportation of Chiefs appointed by Belgians. Weatherhead appointed Nubians as native agents. Local administration then went back in hands of the government-appointed Lugbara chiefs. By this time the Lugbara traditional power structures and ancestry to leadership were severely weakened. The influence of missionary groups; the evangelical Protestants Africa inland mission and the Roman Catholic Verona Fathers in 1920s further undermined the traditional power structures when they converted Lugbara's to Christianity. They also started several small bush schools which co-existed with government schools in the late colonial and early independent government (Dean 1987). These processes established 'cooperation', that is, creating norms and general accepted ways of doing things. Later after independence (1962), school curricula were standardised and schools formally united into one educational system under the national government. The schooling resulted into the removal of productive members of households' economic structure. With the experiences from western Uganda, due to migration of Lugbaras who were recruited as soldiers and to provide labour in colonial plantations, they started engaging individually in cash crop production for its monetary value (Middleton 1965).

This move towards cash crop economy also changed the balance of power between Lugbara men and women. The above trends in the cultural change of Lugbara people are an indication that, current trends in the cultural identity change are a result of the external (global) influence driven by the West, although this does not rule out the changes that happened before their intrusion into Lugbara land.

Findings and Discussion

The core question for this chapter is how African cultural identity through the process of globalisation has changed and led to the formation of and/or move towards a plural cultural identity. This section provides the findings of how the Lugbara cultural identity interfaced with globalisation to form new experiences that have influenced the move towards the former. These have been analysed based on the themes developed from the findings and in line with the theoretical frameworks employed. The themes include; multiplicity and clash of identities; culture, ethnocentrism and diversity; erosion of authority, leadership and natural Change; consumerism and African production capacities; and, value change – traditionalist versus materialism.

Multiplicity and Clash of Identities

Berry's Model of adaptation to immigration clearly captures the dynamics of appropriation and repositioning as a result of the encounter between globalisation and culture (Berry 1997). The four pillars of Berry's theory (patterns of acculturation) above clearly explains how African cultural identities have reacted to other cultural identities brought about by globalisation.

A standpoint on this can be observed in the view expressed by one prominent Lugbara elder regarding the appropriation and repositioning that is, the multiplicity and 'clash' of identities:

The problem we have is... we are presented with multiplicity of things [value choices] although not bad as such, but the capacity to choose and mainstream the new values into our own cultures for their betterment is a challenge....today you will find people choosing to

ignore their culture for the sake of obtaining benefit, without working for it, yet our culture has the value that ‘you have to work for what you need’ this is a problem and is actually becoming endemic...(Interview with elder in Ediofe – Arua district, December 18, 2015).

In the above perspective, we notice that it is difficult to withstand the forces or values brought by globalisation. In the event that the globalisation process interfaces with the effort to maintain ones’ or a groups’ cultural stance (cultural identity), the likelihood of multiple identities can never be discounted. This apparently justifies the need for policies and laws that govern cultural integration processes with other cultures. In addition, the above response indicates the failure to attain equilibrium as illustrated by the sociological campus (*Fig. 1*) - that is the failure to balance the equality of opportunities presented with freedom of choice and the inequality of opportunities presented in the form of constraints results into a clatter of cultural identities.

The reward that comes with ‘freedom and opportunities’ (such as individualism, exploitation of nature for individual profits) have been taken by the Lugbaras as the ‘ideal’ without further scrutiny of its implications to their wellbeing and collective responsibility towards community-based challenges such as climate change. This is perhaps the point at which the Belgian-appointed Lugbara Chiefs who received rewards in terms of cows received backlash from the entire Lugbara populace. It should be noted that the phenomenon of globalisation is well recognised across several cultures including the Lugbara culture. However, it is contested for the ‘positive and negative’ effects it brings to a particular community. They feel threatened for the loss of such values and identities as is the case with the elder’s perspective above. This point signifies that, in the attainment of plural identity, we must dialogue but not tolerate each other’s identity. The elder appears to seek dialogue which highlights the fact that it is a conscious and critical engagement with diversity.

Some of the manifestations of the multiplicity of and clash

of cultural identities are further illustrated in the context of Berry's four patterns of acculturation. The four illustrate the bone of contention in the reception of globalisation by the Lugbaras against their strong traditional cultural identity. Imperatively, the discussions in regards to Berry's patterns are treated as 'global immigration' – that is, it is virtual and perpetual (mental, ideological, institutional, perceived and ascribed) as opposed to physical immigration of human beings. These patterns are the processes involved in attaining the axes in the sociological campus and describe what happens when globalisation presents itself within different cultural contexts.

One of the patterns of acculturation is *assimilation* and in this pattern people leave or reject their culture for a new culture. They either do not wish or are forced not to maintain their original cultural identity (Berry 1997). Globalisation as a value and ideology relates to or builds upon this consideration. While the values may befit the 'ascribers' (ascribed cultural identity), this may occur at the expense of their cultural identity and they become the 'other' with accompanying connotations such as 'the white, modern'. In congruence with this, the Lugbara youth especially those born in the late 20th Century and 21st Century are mostly faulted for destroying or abandoning their cultural identity for 'evil' ones:

When we adopt some of the new values especially the way we dress, dance... we are branded as 'spoiled' simply because we may prefer a formal or casual dress or 'modern' dance styles not in conformity with the traditional values. In extreme cases, opposition to or challenging some of the bad values such as role identity [women subordination to men] lands you in conflict with unexposed culturists (mostly elders) stuck in this conservative cultural identity not relevant to current world trends (Interview with a youth respondent in Arua town, December 20, 2015).

The 'spoiled' tag has costs in the processes of identity formation and limits the potential for a 'blended' or 'plural culture

identity' that might benefit the entire culture. That is, certain practices and values to which one identifies within the Lugbara are bad to their wellbeing, for instance, 'the extreme subordination of women' which limits their freedom to self-expression. The fact that many cultures allow multiplicity of identities (such as being a man, woman, child, single, married among others), should be exploited by all within the cultural setting and extended to cultural values in order to jumpstart a move towards plural cultural identity. If indeed Lugbara mythical cultural identity relates to sameness (of Meme (woman) and Dribidu (man) – fore ancestors) then there ought to be freedom of expression and decision making. It can be clearly observed here that, within the African cultures there are competing identities that are not linked to the influence of modernisation or globalisation. This reinforces the argument that, cultural identities are a source of cultural process behind the formation of new cultural Identities. Therefore, cultural identity formation is an engagement with diversity which can be sought through dialogue and negotiation of values and norms.

Jensen, Arnette, and McKenzie (2011, p.291) further argue that assimilation is not only "an immigration pattern, but a possible cultural identity path for young people growing up with globalisation..." This takes place where there are rapid socio-economic changes. In the event of opportunity to the changes present, people may decide to compare the changes with their local cultural identities. It is often apparent that in the evaluation of opportunities, people incline to cultural identities that contribute to their wellbeing. Such identities are retained as opposed to those that offer little or have nothing to offer them. This relates to the case of the Lugbara youth (noted above) who see their future in the new cultural identity (global culture), but not the local (traditional) cultural identity. Consequently, as soon as the opportunities or the positive things - usually emerging from the changes – present themselves "they leave behind the ways of their local culture as much as possible for the ways of the global culture" (Jensen, Arnette, and McKenzie 2011, p.291).

One such example in Lugbara culture is further illustrated in one of the conversations with one female interviewee from

Maracha district as narrated below:

... when I moved to town as a house girl, everything looked new, the house where I worked had everything we used to hear people talk about – a TV, cars, fridges, dressing and many others. But I was often ... reserved and my social life was limited to people who were reserved as well, like the watchman, cleaners who were also brought from the village. But as time went on, I got challenges on several occasions in terms of the way I was addressed by the house wife, the children, and they gave me exposure. And gradually I gained more confidence and begun to learn and adopt the ways of the city. Now if I go to the village everything looks backward and I rarely fit with people there... I think I am comfortable with this new life and I will teach my children this new way of life but not village life... (Narrative from a female respondent during an interview in Nyadri – Maracha district, December 28, 2015).

The above excerpt aptly indicates what most people undergo in the face of globalisation or when presented with many 'choices'. "In effect, they engage in culture shedding at a rapid rate, and embrace instead the values of the global culture as presented to them in city life: individualism, consumerism, and self-development" (Jensen, Arnette, and McKenzie 2011, p.291) as opposed to collectivism. This is further illustrated with the reward system of cultural survival kits discussed above. Good behaviours (such as the Lugbara cultural values) are rewarded and this leads to rapid shading of original culture for new cultural Identities. With this kind of exclusive identity stances supported by the reward system, the tendency towards plural cultural identity may not be attainable simply because the equilibrium elaborated in the sociological campus becomes unattainable. That is, chances for relativism are high at the expense of dialogue to engage with diversity.

The second pattern of Berry's theory is *Separation*. This is the reverse of assimilation where value for retaining the original culture is limited to the extent of avoiding contact with people in

the new cultural identity to which they have immigrated (mental and ideological immigration). The Lugbara who have maintained their cultural identity regardless of the pervasive and rapid trends of globalisation are mostly those who were not exposed to education, modern technology, etc., but at the same time have experienced a rural setting where the role of formal institutions is limited. They are resolved to cultural processes that recognise a strong attachment to cultural identity with a high level of ethnocentrism and less tolerance for multiculturalism. Above all, a high value is placed on natural processes of cultural identity exchange as it happened in the past - such as activities of butter trade (a perfect example of negotiation through dialogue for a good cause). Such ideology is embedded in their social thinking and ultimately makes them exclusively define who they are:

The future of today is doomed; we don't know how we can teach the ethics of being a good Lugbara to our children. Today children are misbehaved simply because they watch foreigners and copy their lifestyles like dressing and lack of respect for elders and parents... and this completely erases the sense of Lugbara goodness hidden in the respect and value for elders, parents and, above all, respect and dignity for the human body and natural environmental protection... (Interview with an elder in Vurra Sub County – Arua district, December 30, 2015).

The emphasis on respect and dress code can be related to the 'barriers' as illustrated in the sociological campus above (*Fig. 1*). Although the punishment and reward system of cultural survival kits points to the possibilities of elimination of such behaviours, there are several examples that point to the fact that even punishing such behavior would not automatically result into change of behavior or reinstatement of original culture. Dialogue and managing diversity can never be attained by punishment (coercion). A case in point is that punishment was part of ensuring social control in Lugbara culture, unfortunately the administration of this control (punishment) rests in the hands of elders (parents

and clan leaders). These parents and clan leader are already biased towards the cultural identity stance that reinforces punishment. and this does not allow for analysing the problem from the youth point of view or seeking a dialogical conclusion. For instance, labour migration that ensued among the Lugbara greatly contributed much more to Lugbara cultural identity change. Young Lugbaras were recruited as soldiers and taken to southern Uganda, and sometimes beyond, by the British. Within this period, they learned about wage labour, new technologies and cash crops that were unknown to them when in Lugbara land. It then became customary for young men to go to southern Uganda and work as wage labourers to make and save money to help their fathers with bride-wealth in order to marry on their return. Whereas the young men were reprimanded for bringing back such experiences, it was such a good response to the cash economy that had already taken over the Lugbara following the intrusion and operation of foreigners in the then Lado Enclave (now West Nile Region) where the Lugbara lived.

Instead of evaluating these young men positively and constructively, most of them came under sharp criticism from elders on their return - criticism for their acculturation experience in the south, and they were less befitting in the traditional authority structure of Lugbara culture on accusations that they were disrespectful, drunkards, selfish (failure to share their wealth with the lineage members), and that they had become a constraint to elders. They gained new technological skills, language (such as English), and money, and some of them became non-submissive to the elders, which was not the case in the past. This response was a failure to ensure equilibrium indicated in the sociological campus (*Fig. 1*). This meant that new technological skills the Lugbara youth sought to negotiation for better ways of living was seen as align to the original identify (before their experience in the south). This created opportunities for the youth to use other means such as disobedience, protests and use of force to champion their skills rather than dialogic approach. This lack of dialogue brings about the punishment the elders imposed on the youth. In this way the plural cultural identity remains at stake.

Ironically, it is through the failure to embrace the equilibrium that the cultural institutional system of leadership became severally challenged by the new identity brought about by globalisation and interaction with other cultural identities. Today several Lugbara allow their children to adapt to global values with minimal restriction, although with strong emphasis on acceptable practices such as respect for parents, studying (educating them) rather than coercing them to a particular identity – which has failed with several of them. Therefore, the separation pattern of Berry's theory may negatively affect or reduce the drive for multiculturalism which are practices with potential of delivering a plural cultural identity.

Unless identities resulting from globalisation are blended with our own cultural identities, then there remains a high possibility of clash of identities for the 'worse than for the good' of cultures. This is reflected in continuous inequality (or divides) in the present Lugbara community in terms of income, wealth, access to power and authority. Much as my findings reveal bitterness on the part of the proponents of the original culture (the elders and clan leaders), the competing views or clash among cultural identities must happen in order to attain the equilibrium prescribed in the sociological campus. This will allow for the attainment of plural cultural identity brought about by the blend of assimilation and separation patterns known as integration highlighted in Berry's theory. I still strongly emphasise though that what is important is how the clash of the identities interact and leads to a negotiated end.

Integration is the third pattern of Berry's theory and this lies between the assimilation and separation patterns. The original cultural identity is combined with elements of the new culture (Huyh *et al.* 2011) to produce an 'integrated or blended' cultural identity. In such circumstances, global identities provide the avenues through which a new construction of identity that is highly preceded by recognition of difference and an awareness of what self is not is possible. The youth fall in this category; they seek new and progressive opportunities while shedding off what they call conservative culture. As noted previously, cultural identity

shedding is very fast among the youth because of their higher exposure to different identities.

At this present time (contemporary space) globalisation leads to the development of the cultural industries (explained in later sections) and an identity created by understanding the need for a means of living that promotes the original cultural values together with some global values. This expounds on what Bodley (2000, p.9) earlier on posited that “culture exists to guarantee human survival and reproduction”. This implies that culture exists as a means by which people in a given society satisfy their human needs, regulate the size of their society, distribute social power, and manage natural resources. Thus people can change cultural identity in positive ways when confronted with environmental circumstances such as global pressure.

Due to the limited capacity of the some Lugbaras to integrate and assimilate new cultural identities brought about by globalisation, many of them (Lugbaras) have engaged in the cultural industry. As explained in the sociological campus, this means that the freedom accruing from the Lugbara cultural interface with globalisation for opportunistic reasons have turned out to be limitations to advancing new or integrated cultural identities. Similarly, the cultural survival kit element of production - the capacity to make and use tools that improve our ability to take what we want from nature – is drastically reduced and weakened, yet material culture is crucial for cultural identity survival as well as for the future of tomorrow's global environment.

The last pattern of Berry's theory is *marginalisation*. In this pattern, there are categories of cultural identities which do not fall in either of the above patterns. People have little interest in maintaining their original cultural identities, but also reject (or are rejected by) the new cultural identities. They create their own identity, that is, ‘sub-cultural identities’ (derived from the term sub-culture). This is because people shed cultural identities of both their indigenous and the new (those brought by values of globalisation) identities and create their own identities. This type of identity is not so much rooted or experienced among the

Lugbara, but this does not disregard the fact that there are those subscribed to these values especially among the youth.

However, the extent to which this pattern survives assimilation, integration and separation patterns and opportunities in terms of scope and time in context of globalisation is not known. Indeed, the globalisation and cultural identity nexus may not work in favour of some cultures; this means that those in this (marginalisation) as highlighted in the preceding discussions might have come through the experience of the first three of Berry's patterns (integration, separation and integration) before reaching this stage (marginalisation).

Culture, Ethnocentrism and Diversity

When culture takes strong ethnocentric elements, we miss the values that are enshrined in the different cultures. That is, judging one's own culture exclusively in relation to the other cultures breed conflicts in many fronts especially when 'other' cultural identity is deemed as odd, irrational and even inferior. The second and third elements of the cultural survival kit (production and material culture) in the context of Lugbara culture clearly illustrate the cultural identity response (Furze *et al.* 2008) to globalisation. For example, culturally, the use of organic manure is promoted for crop production, however, the introduction of so called 'better manure' in the names of artificial manure (chemical fertilizers) has destroyed the capacity of some Lugbaras to make their own context specific manures. This was the case in this scenario of tobacco farmers in Terego, Arua District:

Most of us don't use our traditional manure such as cow dung, tree leaves, because the companies we work with in our tobacco production have introduced us to chemical fertilisers which of course make the tobacco to grow faster, but require continuous use. The problem with this is that we have lost some of our traditional and yet important practice of using natural fertilizers. To make it worse, when you begin using that fertiliser (artificial) provided, it destroys the soil to the extent that without it crops cannot grow. Other

crops are most affected. But with organic you can apply it once and it takes you the full production season or even more... (Interview with a tobacco farmer in Terego – Arua district, December 28, 2015).

The issues presented above show the level of ethnocentrism by the proponents of chemical fertilisers who view the use of organic manure as traditional practice, irrational by their own standards. The use of organic manure turns out to be economically and environmentally friendly and, to a greater extent, cultivates an identity to cultural production capabilities of the Lugbara culture. This important cultural practice has now come under attack. Further, the use of artificial (chemical) fertilisers has destroyed the soil to the extent that you have to continuously use it year in - year out in the production season as opposed to organic manure as espoused in the case above. There may be other effective artificial fertilisers out there, but the point of emphasis here is the problematic and misleading conclusion or thinking that one culture is superior to the other when the two can actually become harmoniously productive for a better cultural practice. As Bodley (2000) further stretches in his three aspects of culture, in the guise of new culture which when not taken considerably destroys humanity, this ethnocentrism affects the mental – or what people think, the behavioral – or what people do, and material – or what people produce. It is important to recognise the market-driven ideology captured by multinational companies who mind profits other than the future and respect of different cultural identities they come across. This globalisation of ‘consumerism’ is problematic as it exacerbates cultural inequality and division.

In the absence of coercion (ethnocentrism) by the multinational organisations and other imposing factors, the above process of integrating aspects of acquired and ascribed cultural identity is not far from a plural cultural identity where people actively produce and interpret culture, and to a certain degree people are at liberty to choose how culture affects them. It is important to note the principle of liberty which is a core parameter in attainment of plural cultural identity. In the case of

Lugbara, we see two faces of culture in absence of coercion (Furze *et al.* 2008). First, culture provides the “opportunity to exercise our freedom” – we create elements of culture in our everyday life to solve practical problems and to express our needs, hopes, joys and fears. Secondly, we are confronted in the process of defining the new culture by our existing cultures. Undoubtedly globalisation has contributed to diversification of cultural identities by broadening the choices for cultural identities. As Furze *et al.* (2008) emphasizes above, attainment of a ‘best’ outcome (perhaps a plural cultural identity) is possible only if it works in a natural equilibrium (as in *Fig.1*) where the forces of opportunities and constraints interface without eternal pressures (from other identities). This way threats to liberty and equality which are important parameters for natural equilibrium to occur can be overcome.

Let us look at a typical Lugbara social institution (the clan, birth, marriage, burial). Within such institutions, anti-social behaviours were not part of the Lugbara cultural identity. The traditional Lugbara had mechanisms of checks and balances for behaviour and wellbeing of the community enforced by all members within the social institutions, thus it was a collective responsibility. In the conduct of the Lugbara, the following behaviours are among those which are condemned: A man eating food, and doesn’t invite you, or his relatives, to share it; a man showing off his agility dancing and impressing girls, while you, his relative stand at the edge of the circle alone; a man striking or fighting with an older relative; a man deceiving close kinsmen by stealing, cheating, or lying; a woman quarreling with her husband, striking him, or denying him rights he holds in her; and a man failing in his duty as heir or as guardian (Middleton 1970, p.38 cited in Dean 1978, pp.52-53).

However, as illustrated before, on return from migrant labouring, the Lugbara youth resorted to judging their own traditional cultural identity based on their new identity. This ethnocentric stance consequently brought about the faulting of the youth by the elders who performed the duty of care-taking and administering the culture through the values and norms. However,

the question we need to ask relates to how best social institutions can integrate cultural identities for an effective or equilibrated cultural identity that respects 'other' identities (multiculturalism). This is explored more in the proceeding discussions. However, culture does not belong only to the past. It evolves in response to outside influences and to the fact that people innovate and create new cultural traits. In a given culture there are, therefore, some elements which are adopted and some created. This is why culture is defined as 'the complex whole of knowledge, wisdom, values, attitudes, customs and multiple resources which a community has inherited, adopted, or created in order to flourish in the social and natural environment (Eade, Verhelst, and Tyndale 2002, p.10). The focus must be geared towards respect for different cultural identities and the reduction of absolute misjudgment of other cultures. We must seek plurality across cultural identities in a natural or coercion-free environment, lest we become entrenched in continuous conflict over superiority and dominance of cultural identities in the face of globalisation. In other words, cultural integration must operate within fairly negotiated social, economic, political and spiritual chances for all to benefit.

Cultural change processes: The antagonistic and the plural

The Lugbara were a classless community with elements of class limited to eldership and, to some extent, low class accorded to women in the society (subordination). The Lugbara cultural identity did not experience what is referred to as cash economy or what the capitalist advocate for, viz., private ownership of property and competition in the pursuit of property. The capitalistic tendencies have transverse the current Lugbara community, it has produced an individualistic identity (*ipse* identity) based on the aforementioned capitalist values. This has further polarised the community in terms of collective action for the poor, needy, and other vulnerable groups (communalism system of Lugbara that catered for the poor or the destitute was lost) seen in the rise of sub-cultural identities. These categories were catered for by the general community aimed at lifting their status to the level

of others, a clear principle of equality. But this is fading away due to reasons highlighted and as a result of the ‘clash’ of identities underscored in Berry’s theory. This doesn’t mean that the Lugbara were a totally classless community and experienced ‘equal distribution of wealth’. This argument corresponds to what I earlier hinted on, that is, the ipse identity tendencies promotes tolerance and avoidance of ‘other’ identities and this limits plural cultural identity. By this I mean tolerance and avoidance are not good recipes for attaining plural cultural identity. There must be freedom of interaction and engagement in attaining plural cultural identity but not through ethnocentric private property ownership and competition. The emphasis here is not exclusive communally owned property but rather the ability to respect others in the means of owning and competition.

In terms of settlement, the Lugbaras did not experience the ‘slum’ nature of growth experienced in urbanising countries today. Urbanisation is coming with ever increasing rates of unemployment, crime, unsanitary conditions, and cosmopolitanism. More so, several languages are being eliminated because of languages brought by colonialists and the present globalisation. Given the fact that language is at the core of expressing a people’s culture – myths, humour, values, and prayers, – its loss tantamounts to disappearance of tradition and identity. Indigenous languages, traditions and heritage bear the original history, art and culture of a land. This explains why the cultural industry faces a lot of challenges among the Lugbara (later explained in this section). Today the Lugbara have been classified as: A – those who speak the language with originality and knowledge of the culture; B – those close to the A; then C, D in that order until those who do not know anything about the cultural identity but still define themselves as Lugbara. Most Lugbaras that live in towns cannot fully express themselves in the Language (Lugbara), one has to either mix English with Lugbara or tries to speak with grammatical errors.

The resulting impact of this, for example, is the erosion of leadership and authority. At present, the Lugbara are more likely than they were before to defer to authority in the family, politics

(governing), and schools (empowerment). The Lugbara used to have several (about fifty as per Middleton) patrilineal clans called 'suru' all of which were equal and cooperating. Nevertheless, with the colonial intrusion and globalisation the clans have engaged in conflicts (latent conflict) over deregulation and partition of territory, and modern administration systems. Unfortunately, this has come with selfish and 'clanism' elements (favoritism).

Further, a good example of challenges of developing new cultural identity can be observed with the introduction of cash crops (cash economy). This ushered the use of money (paper money) as opposed to traditional barter trade and this changed the balance of power between Lugbara men and women. In the traditional Lugbara society, women take charge of subsistence cultivation and own the crops whereas men take charge of cattle, sheep and goats. However, the cash crop economy created competition over land. Both men and women for the first time engaged in struggles over land. The failure to adapt meaningfully to the enforced ideology of producing cash crops has continued to create divisions today.

The above scenario can be contrasted with the process of globalisation that led to the spread of the cassava plant which has become a staple food for the Lugbara. This is a perfect example of creating equilibrium which the sociological campus advances, and what I would refer to as building a plural cultural identity.

The 1942-43 droughts in Lugbara land that led to loss of several lives led to the introduction of the cassava plant which was expected by the British to be planted by every Lugbara. Although introduced by the British as a reserve crop (famine crop), it did not discontinue the Lugbara from their traditional crops (millet and sorghum among others). Being a new world root crop that reached Uganda by 1900 (Dean 1978), this added another unique way of cultivation. Unlike the traditional crops, this was propagated by a mature cassava stalk whose tubers are consumed in place of seeds, grows in poor quality soils and requires less care than the traditional crops.

Much as this was somewhat outside the traditional symbolism of ancestors as seeds and crops as children, the process itself

warrants recognition. Most important in this process is the fact that the introduction of this crop was blended with the production of traditional crops. Cassava's being underground, pest and drought resistant (due to hydrocyanic acid), plus open harvesting time outweighed its complicated preparation process. This diversified the cultural agricultural system as it became supplementary to the traditional crops. It consequently helped balance the protein content of 1-2percent to that of traditional crops of 6-8percent (Dean 1978). The reception and integration of cassava illustrates an ideal process through which a well-balanced or equilibrium of cultural and globalisation identities ought to occur. The ultimate positive outcome from this experience is the spontaneous and communal response to absorb the new crop, which has become Lugbara cultural food identity (cultural cuisine synonymous to the Lugbara culture today).

Within this experience we need to observe and maintain this standpoint: The Lugbara had the liberty to choose what they were presented with and this was done in an equal manner, thus alluding to the importance of liberty and equality in attainment of the plural cultural identities this paper seeks to elucidate. This relates to what I earlier on referred to as a negotiated process through a dialogue of integrating traditional values and the values brought from the outside.

Comparatively, in my earlier discussions on the scenario of tobacco farmers and the introduction of cassava, the introduction of artificial fertilizers in the production of tobacco significantly reduced the long-term benefit as opposed to the introduction of cassava to the Lugbara which has now lasted over a century. Now a farmer has to undergo a serious and labour-intensive process to fight against pests and improve impoverished soils. The Genetically Modified Organisms (GMOs), especially of cassava species (almost changing cassava species every year), that have been recently introduced have rather ruined the future of the traditional cassava, including those of the traditional crops. Indeed, this trend is informed by the capitalistic nature and drive of today's world by multi-nationals and international agricultural companies whose ultimate desire is for private ownership, and competition in

the pursuit of profits. This unfortunately has worked to the demise of important aspects of the Lugbara cultural identity and many other African cultural Identities.

Consumerism and African Production Capacities

The dignity of the Lugbara people has been reduced to making money for self-actualisation other than the good for all – a tradition inherent to the Lugbara cultural identity. Consumerism is at its peak ever since globalisation took an unprecedented trend in the 1980s, and this has greatly shaped cultural identity. The tendency to define ourselves in terms of goods we purchase (consumerism) has unintended consequences, which can be observed in Lugbara culture.

Elements of excessive consumption were not part of Lugbara cultural norms. Instead, the Lugbara greatly balanced consumption and production capacities very well - and this helped in environmental protection. One who was excessively consuming was referred to as a 'glutton', something condemned.

The negative consequence of this excessive consumption among the Lugbara is one of the causes of environmental degradation(a remarkable effort of consumerism). The Lugbara have lost their cultural identity power to drive change to becoming a 'means of making money', an action reminiscent of globalisation and its capitalistic stance. The Lugbara are experiencing global warming, industrial pollution (polythene papers, water bottles), and the continuous decline of biodiversity on which the Lugbara culture is so much dependent.

All this at most is driven by global identity that demands individuals and communities to behave and live in a certain way (consumerism). This has increased demand, surpassing local capacity to produce, thus triggering the supply through overexploiting of the natural resources. The consumerism patterns have created multiple identities where the youth have become advocates for and the elders against the current patterns of consumerism, particularly the individualistic orientation.

The Lugbara learnt to coexist with nature through hunting for meat, local herbs, fruits and materials for construction. But, with

globalisation, the business or trade trends increased beyond what the Lugbara can manage. The demand for ivory, rhino horns increased in Africa, yet Africans had little demand (for such raw materials) and capacity to use them. Instead, Africans have become big consumers (markets) of the illegal products from their own mother nature manufactured from abroad and sold expensively to them.

Many Lugbaras take a lot of pleasure from such products and they are used to define status in the present Lugbara community. A typical example of change of Lugbara economy can be seen immediately when the Westerners (Europeans) stepped in Lugbara land. Following the appointment of chiefs who were unfortunately people marginal to the traditional centers of power and wealth, there was erosion of the Lugbara traditional lineage system (Middleton 1965). Also, European-led hunting and killing of elephants for ivory with no absolute control increased significantly and this has far reaching consequences in Lugbara society.

Value Change – Traditionalist versus Modern Materialist

Today we are free to choose what we want; however, there is a saying that ‘free things are not free’ which relates to the Lugbara norm of ‘working for whatever you want’. In this conversation, Furze *et al.*’s (2008) conceptualisation of the traditional/modern and materialist/post materialist in regards to globalisation becomes important.

First, in their tradition, the Lugbara took care of the sick, disabled, elderly and poor. However, this did not mean a free thing, a gift or a burden. The parameters of determining these were very clear (such as being born lame or sick, old age – a kind of old age benefit - loss of parents due to natural calamities like floods and drought). This meant that tendencies of forgery, pretence, laziness were not allowed as part of the cultural system. You were not considered a Lugbara if you were Lazy and did not work. Similarly, respect for elders and leaders were paramount and taught right from childhood unlike today. All these values were important and reinforced because, as explained by behaviorism theory; ...past consequences of a given behaviour governs its

present state... and its reward (ability to strengthen/reinforce) and costs (ability to reduce – punishment) determines the likelihood of a behavior (Ritzer and Goodman 2004, p.401). In my conversation with the elders, I learnt that actions such as abortion, adultery (except widow inheritance), fornication were forbidden and, once found, were severely punished or settled at a clan level to ensure sanity. In the present day, these views are treated as traditional and outdated (especially by the youth), thus undermining collective efforts and the role of promoting the common good in a given society.

The youth often opt for modern values such as independence and self-determination rather than obedience, which has regrettably resulted into consumerism. This has further reinforced ethnocentrism and limited multiculturalism, an opportunity for developing plural cultural identity. What we are witnessing is conflict over values of change brought about by globalisation. In effect, this is the implication of failure to attain the equilibrium of the sociological campus through a negotiated or dialogical approach and it has diminished the opportunities for cultivating a culture of pluralism.

Table 1.below contrasts some of the values among the youth (who tend toward globalisation) and elders (who tend toward traditional Lugbara identity).

Table 1. Different Values among the Lugbara Youth and Elders

<i>Lugbara youth (More towards global Values)</i>	<i>Lugbara Elders (More of traditional Lugbara cultural Identity)</i>
• Freedom of choice for behavior such as dress code • Respect for traditions not a necessity • Individualism • Material comfort	• Respect for elders and parents • Respect of tradition and environment • Hardwork for family and community • Communalism

• Progress (individualistic) • Technology and science • Equality • Democracy	• Controlled freedom • Hierarchy and patriarchy • Natural art and craftsmanship
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As previously illustrated in *Fig. 1* above (the sociological campus), in order to attain equity for a less extreme or ethnocentric society, the need to ensure equilibrium of ideas (such as in *Table 1* above) is paramount. That is, the balance between the equality (promise) and inequality (barrier) of opportunities – on the vertical axis against the individual freedom (promise) and constraint (barrier) on that freedom on the horizontal axis. It is therefore crucial to note that without liberty and equality as core rationale behind the different conceptions and responses to globalisation and African cultural identity, attaining plural culture might be a dream.

The above discussion looked at how globalisation processes have been received and operationalised within African cultures (with the Lugbara example), and the nature of its appropriation and reposition experiences that have taken shape in the formation of a plural culture. The formation of cultural identity of Africans when presented with multiple cultural contexts, including their local culture and other cultures they may come into contact with via globalisation, presents a mix of issues from which we can learn - especially the great examples of how this can be done effectively. Below are some of the lessons learnt and theoretical reflections for attaining the formation of or move towards a plural cultural identity.

Theoretical/Conceptual Reflections and Lessons Learnt

Globalisation is real, pervasive and complex. As such, we must strike a balance to ensure its positive influence on our cultural identity. Culture is composed of various types of ideas, norms of behavior and human-made material objects. To this effect, the ability to create symbols, cooperate and make tools, that has enabled us to thrive in our various environments, must be upheld

since it has become slower as a result of the nature of the globalisation process today. It becomes crucial to view cultural identity in the right view (appreciating diversity) when we are not too deeply immersed in it nor too much removed from it (tolerance) – we need a balance. This implies that while understanding culture, one ought to refrain from taking his/her cultural identity for granted and judging other cultures by the standards of one's own. Consequently, for us to believe in shared principles of living cooperatively, which is imperative to attainment of a balance, we must acknowledge that “the idea of a set of core values is central to how we think of cultural identity (Furze *et al.* 2008, p.81). The need to avoid judging the ‘other’ by our standards and living cooperatively as illustrated in the way cassava was introduced and integrated into Lugbara culture serves as a good example for seeking plural cultural identity.

The values that come with globalisation – social cohesion, private ownership, international business, democratic freedom and participation, equality, among others, ought to operate in recognition of other identities. The radicalism of certain particular identities rather than a spontaneous process that takes into consideration values of all identities are part of the warnings of failure to attain the equilibrium or to negotiate for an engagement for all identities to flourish – at least to the widest extent possible.

The current trends of globalisation will tend to predominate Lugbara cultural identity and many other African cultural identities. As a result, the continued polarisation of African cultural identities (viewed as backwards) and globalised identities (the way to go – progressive) is likely to continue in the future. This further illustrates how the struggle for African cultural identities like the Lugbara is likely to continue if globalisation processes and their associated technological changes and governance come with such imperialistic agenda.

Evident to this are the above experiences of Lugbara youth who are the future of their cultural identity but tend more to globalised identities than their own. The tendency to assimilate into the new cultural identity is at the core of Lugbara interface

with globalisation rather than integration, marginalisation and separation. This limits the move towards plural cultural identity.

There is no doubt that, to some extent, globalisation seems to bring together the formerly divided communities to interact (closer to homogenisation). For instance, the Lugbara are found in Uganda and DR Congo, they differ in nationality - state/national identity. They share language, beliefs (e.g. on marriage, rite of passage). As such, much more focus must be paid to the process of homogenisation rather than the desire to break the colonial boundaries (or hype one's own cultural stance based on boundaries) for the reasons illustrated by the cassava scenario above.

The three elements of culture pointed by Furze *et al.* (2008) namely abstraction, cooperation and production would provide the ideal for humans to relate to nature and to life in which they are able to produce and use goods. This will allow them to exchange, relate to symbols and rituals which help them structure social relationships, build community and celebrate it. In lieu of the above, efforts towards creative industry (sometimes interchangeable with cultural industry) becomes imperative. This can work best in an ideal process like the Cassava example. Cultural industry – an industry whose inspiration derives from heritage, traditional knowledge, and the artistic elements of creativity – is crucial to plural cultural identity as it promotes liberty and equality to one's own cultural identity when in contact with other identities. According to UNESCO (2010, p.1), “the notion of ‘cultural industry’ places emphasis on the individual and his or her creativity, innovation, skill and talent...”.

The above outlook of culture resonates with the question, what response must we adduce in order to reposition and appropriate our cultural identities when faced with pervasive and rapid global identities? How do we come to terms with the varying cultural practices that qualify who we are in our cultures and how do we ensure we respectfully tolerate each other?

In Uganda today a policy has been developed to ensure harmonization of cultural identities in the face of rapid trends of

globalisation and it clearly specifies the cultural industries in Uganda including; “producing, publishing, sale, preservation and distribution of creative products such as local literature (books, magazines, and newspapers), audio-visual tapes of music and drama, art and crafts” (Uganda National Cultural Policy 2006, p.7). Given the fact that cultures are unique and keep evolving, the policy continues to confirm and approve the listing, and this is based on the fact that all items of a cultural industry be produced in a way which can enable the affirmation of the potential and contribution of culture in the economy as well as helping in identifying regional potential and growth prospects of culture enterprises. This simply implies that the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development seeks to ensure the harmonisation of current global development trends without affecting the importance and contribution of the role of cultural identities.

This confirms the reality that ‘culture does not belong only to the past’; it is evolving, innovative and creative in response to outside influence in search of new cultural traits (identities). The efforts towards cultural industry is one aspect of how global values can be negotiated. However, efforts towards building new cultural identities should focus beyond only building individual capacity. It should be well anchored in an environment free from extreme materialism and consumerism, for it will breed ethnocentrism. This in-turn delimits plural cultural identity tendencies.

Although Uganda may have tried to ensure that global processes adhere to the country’s processes, the capitalist drive accompanying this process cannot be ignored for its role in the weakening of traditional socio-political setups. As discussed above, capitalist tendencies lead to perpetuation of one-way cultural identity (Western or globalised cultural identity) streams. The implication of this is that the cultural products of this so-called base/superstructure relationship such as individualism, private ownership and profit-oriented business, in the long run become ideological to the extent that they implicitly or explicitly support the interests of the dominant groups (individuals) who, socially, politically, economically and culturally, benefit from the economic

organization of society (Storey 2001).

Consequently, the outcome of this relationship (apart from weakening of traditional socio-political setup of the Lugbara) has greatly affected the aspects of the cultural identity such as indigenous knowledge and traditional health care systems that have since been ignored or belittled. In spite of this, many communities exemplified by the strong stances of the Lugbara continue to attach great value to their cultural identity such as use of local products like organic manure, local herbs, and communalism and endeavour to conserve, inculcate and sustain it. This will ensure that the total sum of the ways in which a society preserves, identifies, organises, sustains and expresses itself is not only less ethnocentric and homogenising but also plural. The latter concept is crucial. As Berger (2002, p.11) postulates, "...pluralism does not necessarily change *what* people believe, but *how* they believe'. The lessons from the above deliberations show that an environment marked by liberty and equality without ethnocentric lenses perpetuates the move towards plural culture. By liberty and equality, I mean the environment as that explained in the cassava example mentioned above. Therefore, attaining plural cultural identity means more than having relative and diverse identities alone. It is a continuous engagement which should be attained through negotiation (dialogue) and the recognition and understanding of difference as reflected in the many cultural identities we come in contact with.

Conclusion

The theories employed in the understanding of how globalisation has influenced cultural identity have explicitly underscored how globalisation and cultural identity have continuously co-existed regardless of the outcome. The findings give the impression that the two are in parallel confrontation and show the strengths and weaknesses of each identity. The continuous move towards triumph or supremacy of one cultural identity over the 'other' often perpetuates one way cultural identity flows and breeds disruption and conflict among various cultures. The current rate and trend of globalisation means that identity is up for grabs –

freedom of choice the most dominant reigns. In context of the three elements of culture discussed in the cultural survival kit above (abstraction, cooperation and production), culture is changing. People make culture, culture makes people. Since a lot of innovation is taking place with the culture, people (such as the Lugbara) are not passively accepting the influence of globalisation. They have great subjectivity and freedom to change and create culture. Therefore, we seem to somewhat move towards promotion of plural cultural identity given the fact that today, people have become concerned about their identity. The deliberations about good and bad stances of both globalisation and cultural identity serves as a concern for advancing togetherness and closeness about identities, other than constantly searching for cultural roots and defending them exclusively. It is therefore categorically and fundamentally correct to emphasise that if we can only respect the diversity of peoples and their cultures that works for the common good of humanity in this new era, there are high chances of attaining a plural cultural identity, a process further elaborated in the cassava case. This respect doesn't mean tolerating everything, but those that promote common good for all.

Given the experiences and lessons learnt above, attaining plural cultural identity means four things and this has been emphasised by Eck (2006); first, plural culture doesn't mean diversity alone, it is an engagement with diversity; secondly, it must seek understanding across the differences brought about by other cultural identities (it is not just tolerance); thirdly, it is not only relativism, that is, we must hold our identities not in isolation but in relation to others and fourthly, it must be negotiated, and the best platform for negotiation is dialogue – engaging all. This chapter adds the fifth, civility and respect for diversity without which the four considerations advanced by Eck will not work. The fifth aspect builds on the reality that cultural neutrality is impossible, but with civility and respect (as in the cassava case above), we attain a plural cultural identity marked by principles of liberty and equality.

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