KOMPARATĪVISTIKAS ALMANAHS

JOURNAL OF COMPARATIVE STUDIES

DAUGAVPILS UNIVERSITY
ACADEMIC PRESS "SAULE"
2020

Kačāne I., Hasan A. M. (red.) *Komparatīvistikas almanahs Nr. 13 (42)*. Daugavpils: Daugavpils Universitātes Akadēmiskais apgāds "Saule", 2020, 126 lpp.

Kačāne I., Hasan A. M. (eds.) *Journal of Comparative Studies No 13 (42)*. Daugavpils: Daugavpils University Academic Press "Saule", 2020, 126 p.

EDITORIAL BOARD

Ilze Kačāne, Daugavpils University, Latvia – editor
Aveen Mohammed Hasan, Daugavpils University – editor

Elisa Bizzotto, Iuav University of Venice, Italy
Jian-bang Deng, Tamkang University, Taiwan
Stefano-Maria Evangelista, University of Oxford, United Kingdom
Sonia F. Farid, Cairo University, Egypt
Alena Fedorova, Ural Federal University, Russia
Tatiana Filosofova, University of North Texas, USA
Rolf Füllmann, University of Cologne, Germany
Benedikts Kalnačs, University of Latvia, Latvia
Ervand Margaryan, Russian-Armenian (Slavonic) University, Armenia
Kristina Mullamaa, University of Tartu, Estonia
James M. Nyce, Ball State University, USA
Irēna Saleniece, Daugavpils University, Latvia
Anita Stašulāne, Daugavpils University, Latvia
Geoffrey Swain, University of Glasgow, United Kingdom
Ryszard Wolny, University of Opole, Poland

The publication of the Journal has been approved at Daugavpils University Science Council meeting on 7 October, 2020, Minutes No 9.

Lay-out: Marina Stočka

All papers in the Journal are anonymously peer-reviewed.

ISSN 2255-9388 (print)
ISSN 2592-8279 (online)

© Daugavpils University, 2020

DAUGAVPILS UNIVERSITY

SCIENTIA VINCES

INSTITUTE OF HUMANITIES
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

JOURNAL OF COMPARATIVE STUDIES

NO 13 (42)

CONTENTS

FOREWORD

Humans are social beings and such aspects as living, interacting and working together are inevitable, thus, natural laws of social conduct including respect for others, their beliefs and their qualities are vital things to be taken into account. Different means have been used for self-identification and for identifying others, which has led to an emergence of a complex classification scheme looked upon in the framework of social, gender, religious, ethnic, national and other aspects. Among significant distinguishing (and also – unifying) factors there is religion, language and culture which differ from each other but at the same time are interrelated and influence the life of an individual and the humankind in general in very diverse ways. Understanding these factors and the ways they are employed by different individuals, communities and countries help us better explain the similarities and differences we find today among people and nations.

Religion serves for uniting people, regions and nations, as well as for their distinction from each other culturally. Religions are identified by two key features with the first one mainly being humans' need for faith, i.e. to believe in what is conceivable but intangible. The other key feature is that religions seek to influence and affect the manner, in which the believer lives and interrelates with other people in the society. This feature of religion needs to be adaptable in order to deal with the continuously changing patterns of life. Like religion, language is also considered one of the defining characteristics of an individual and nation. The significance of language lies in the manner how it has contributed to the powerful mind-set of developing nationalism. As people increasingly embraced their nation-states with emotional commitment and loyalty, national pride came to be expressed in terms of national distinction. This development, in turn, was linked to linguistic uniqueness and solidarity. As for culture, humans' living and working together lead to the formulation of common sets of beliefs which again are used to unify and distinguish them from others. Some cultures struggle to preserve these beliefs, while others work to change them to deal with the rapid advancements of their societies. Some cultures are oppressive against or supportive towards others or some particular members of the society, which results in conflicting situations or societies.

Research papers included in this collection present the studies which by employing comparative methodology address various aspects of religion, language, social studies and culture important for individuals and societies in general. The findings by the authors of the papers help specifying various forms and functions of these aspects and their impact on people's lives.

The influence of religion on the everyday social life of people is investigated by Anton Piyarathne in his paper "Secularising Buddhism: An Ethnography of Roadside Buddhist Shrine Worshiping in the City of Colombo". The author focuses on the effects of constructing and worshipping Buddhist roadside shrines in Colombo, Sri Lanka. Based on ethnographic data, the shrines are multi-functional by nature. The author uses the term "secularising" to depict the fact that in today's world, especially in urban contexts, the spiritual has often been replaced by profane and "people tend to have more focus on secular benefits than sacred needs" (Piyarathne). Secularization of Buddhism as such is exemplified by obtaining the blessings of the Buddhist pantheon and cosmology, minimizing vulnerabilities and getting the maximum benefit from the liberal economic trends and globalisation patterns.

The effects of bilingualism and living in a conflicting diglossic situation is examined by Jonathan Durandin. In his article "Franco-Latvian Children and the Latvian Diglossic Situation", the influence of the diglossic situation on the children speaking several languages and their opinions have been analysed based on the interviews of four children attending school in Riga, the capital of Latvia. According to the study, the children place themselves in two distinct linguistic environments and value their French-Latvian or French-Russian bilingualism. A detailed analysis of the psychological and social functions of the children's first languages reveals their reasons for using several languages, among which there is a possibility to stand out from the Latvian-speaking context or other people in Latvia, avoidance of suffering or fostering any social tensions brought by specific situations.

In a survey carried out in the territory of Latvian – Russian borderland in the framework of a postdoctoral project "Transformations of Festive Culture in the Borderland: The Case of Latgale and Pskov Regions" supported by the European Union European Regional Development Fund, Oksana Kovzele analyses the festive culture and its exposure to commercialization in Latgale and Pskov region.

The survey, which included 906 people, revealed that nowadays almost all groups of festivities are exposed to commercialization processes. According to the data provided in the research, adopted, state, traditional, and religious festivities are the most affected ones. The intensity of commercialization processes differs significantly in both statistical regions: on the one hand, the residents of Latvia's region are a great deal more accustomed to commercialisation and have adapted to the role of festive consumers, on the other hand, expressions of counter-reaction aimed at decommercialization are emerging emphasizing the need of preservation authentic cultural values in a modern consumer society. In the neighbouring region of Russia, which is the minor object of the research, the problem identified in the study is in the initial stage of discussion, thus the participants of the survey often refrain from commenting on this topic.

The paper "Sòókò Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow: Continuity and Change in the Royal History of Ilé-Ifè" by Ayowole S. Elugbaju and Lanre Hassan, acquaints the readers with the Sòókò institution, its origin and place within the Ilé-Ifè socio-cultural structure and investiture ceremonies within the context of continuity recorded by the institution. The study reveals that while the institution is as old as the ancient town and has existed over several centuries, it has, however, undergone transformations that are affecting its investiture ceremony and relevance in the traditional political institution of the town. The paper concludes that while the institution has been impacted by changes imposed by modern world tendencies, it continues to remain a relevant body in the sustenance and continuation of the monarchy and its culture.

Finally, Nubia Nieto analyses the origins and current state of violence against women in Mexico and Brazil, the countries with critical level of impunity and machismo influenced by their political, social, economic and cultural structure. According to the author, machismo continues to stay a stable phenomenon in the culture of these two countries and contributes to developing high level of tolerance towards violence against women. The study contributes to deeper understanding of gender inequality and social exclusion, as well as recognizes women's rights for the empowerment of women individually and collectively.

All the papers touch upon the impact of the cultural transformation process or emphasize the importance of and need for cultural change.

Editors of the collection:
Ilze Kačāne
Aveen Mohammed Hasan

SECULARISING BUDDHISM: AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF ROADSIDE BUDDHIST SHRINE WORSHIPING IN THE CITY OF COLOMBO

ANTON PIYARATHNE

Anton Piyarathne, PhD, Professor
Department of Social Studies
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences
The Open University of Sri Lanka, Nawala, Nugegoda, Sri Lanka
e-mail: apiya@ou.ac.lk or antonpiyarathne@gmail.com
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9556-601X

Anton Piyarathne has been working at Open University of Sri Lanka since 2001; he has been Professor in Anthropology and Sociology in the Department of Social Studies since 2019. He served as the Sri Lanka Chair in the South Asia Institute of the Heidelberg University, Germany in the summer semester, from April to end of September, 2018. He earned his PhD in Anthropology from Macquarie University, Sydney in 2014. Professor Anton Piyarathne has recently published a book titled "Constructing Commongrounds: Everyday Lifeworlds Beyond Politicised Ethnicities in Sri Lanka" (2018) which explains the everyday strategies of negotiating politicised ethnicities and constructing social spaces in which members of conflicting ethnonational backgrounds can collaborate. He has also published other books: one explains the changing livelihood patterns among the plantation youth (2005) and the other is on how the housing intervention can alter the stigmatised social identity of the marginalised Tamil community which lives in tea and rubber plantations in Sri Lanka (2008). Some of his key research interests are identity construction and negotiations, ethnicity, nationalism, democracy, social change and everyday social lifeworld, rituals and religion, pilgrimage, religious movements, subjectivity, inter-subjectivity and objectivity, and existential social realities.

ABSTRACT

The construction of roadside shrine rooms in Colombo, Sri Lanka has been a recent phenomenon, a trend which started after the 1970s. These roadside shrines are constructed and maintained by Buddhists, Catholics and Hindus and are a testimony to the increase of religious influence on the everyday social lives of people. Against this backdrop, an ethnographic research was conducted in 2009 and 2019 by the author aiming to explain why and how city folk construct roadside shrines in Colombo and worship at these shrines, and also to identify alternative and emerging religious practices. The paper based on the ethnographic data collected in relation to the Buddhist shrines suggests that roadside shrine worshipping has a lot of functions for the everyday social life which is identified as secularising Buddhism in the sense of Durkheim's definition. This paper is based on a functionalist approach to discuss those urban religious practices which play a very significant role in explaining how people in the city negotiate their goals, the aspirations of their lives and the means to achieve them. In general, most people visit these shrines to obtain the blessings of the Buddhist pantheon and cosmology to minimize vulnerabilities and get the maximum benefit from the liberal economic trends and globalisation patterns. Moreover, these mini-shrines which give easy and quick access to a people friendly religious place pay more attention to this worldly life than that of considering other worldly benefits, which seems to be the priority of the urban dwellers.

Keywords: urban religious beliefs and practices, roadside shrines, urbanisation, Sinhala Buddhism, secularism, Colombo

INTRODUCTION

Anyone who travels around Sri Lanka in general would surely observe the increasing number of small Buddhist, Catholic and Hindu shrines in public places along the main roads, junctions, close to railway stations, parks, hospitals, schools, government offices and various other places. The city of Colombo is no exception to this trend of constructing mini-shrines affiliated with various religious beliefs. These mini-shrines consist of idols of the Lord Buddha, Gods or statues of Saints of the Catholics. While observing these shrine rooms in 2009 some of the questions that arose in the author's mind were: Do these shrines exist in isolation? Why do people construct and maintain roadside shrines? Why do they appear so? What are the benefits people get out of them? Who are the people behind these shrines? And what is the process of shrine development? These questions were very useful in order to understand the religious behaviour of the city folk and the socio-cultural and economic conditions. Based on this background the current research was conducted by the author aiming to explain why and how city folk construct and worship roadside shrines in Colombo, and also to identify the alternative and emerging religious practices. The ethnographic data collection happened in the year of 2009 and exactly 10 years later in 2019. Initially, basic socio-economic data were collected from the respondents via a small questionnaire. Following that, in-depth interviews with individuals and group discussions were conducted to get more details on the nature of the worship pattern and the reasons for worshiping at roadside shrines. Moreover, the research team took part in the various community activities and religious activities organised by the respective committees to obtain more participatory analysis of the processes. In addition, the research team members observed the way in which various parties take part in the rituals at the roadside shrines in order to grasp worshipping patterns, nature of the devotees etc. The detailed interviews and narratives were analysed which enabled for common themes to be collected to describe the religious behaviour of the devotees at the small shrine rooms. Mostly the same shrine rooms were visited and observed on both occasions.

This paper concentrates on why and how city folk construct roadside shrines in Colombo and worship at these shrines, and also identify alternative and emerging religious practices. The paper begins with a brief introduction to the multicultural nature of Colombo. The next section gives a description of mini-shrines that facilitate anyone to grasp the urban religious traditions. The following section is linked to the critical discussion on the role of Bō trees in the development process of mini-shrines. Then the paper pays attention to the theoretical background connected to the city, religion, and human struggles in the city. Finally, the paper shows why and how people worship these mini-shrines from the vantage of a theoretical point of view of functionalists.

MULTI-CULTURAL NATURE OF COLOMBO

The city of Colombo, identified as කොළඹ [Kolamba] in Sinhala (hereafter S:), and கொழும்பு [Kolumbu] in Tamil (hereafter T:), has a long colonial heritage and has been the home of an average of one million people composed of numerous ethnic, religious, cultural and social groups. The Colombo Municipal Council (CMC hereafter) spread on 37.5 square kilometres and composed of 35 Grama Niladhari (hereafter GN) divisions falling under the Thimbirigasyaya Divisional Secretariat office (hereafter DS office) and 20 GN divisions belonging to the Colombo DS office, is home to 561,314 persons representing diverse ethnoreligious backgrounds according to the "Census of Population and Housing 2012 – Final Report." Moreover, the city of Colombo receives more than 500,000 daily commuters with diverse ethnoreligious backgrounds. Colombo is home to a multi-religious group of people. According to a census done in 2012, 1,632,225 (70.2%) Buddhists, 186,454 (8.0%) Hindus, 274,087 (11.8%) Muslims, 162,314 (7.0%) Roman Catholics, 66,994 (2.9%) Christians and 2,275 (0.1%) other religious followers live in the Colombo district. As reported in the official website of the CMC, it has an annual budget of Rs. 16.9 billion with 106,068 of residential properties, 35,604 of commercial properties and 10,158 of government properties included in the 155,501 of total number of properties. The Colombo city dwellers mainly use Tamil and Sinhala in everyday communication. English is also an official language of the country. Sri Lankans are not always confined to one religion and are mostly practitioners of religious syncretism. They tend to worship or visit religious sites of other religions to seek support from the cosmological forces of those religions depending on the demands of the circumstances and the situations. For example, most of the Buddhists visit Hindu kovils [T: "koils" or temples] invoking the blessings of those gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon. The

St. Anthony's Church in Kochchikade, Colombo, one of the three churches which was a target of a well-coordinated attack launched by the so-called Islamic State on Easter Sunday in 2019, is a place of worship visited by Buddhists, Muslims, Hindus and other religious believers considering the Saint's popularity for fulfilling the desires of devotees to achieve prosperity and wellbeing. Compared with the census done in 2001 an increase of non-Buddhist religious groups can be observed. Many reasons have contributed to create Colombo as the most crowded city. Among those reasons, the nearly three-decade long war, economic pressure of the estate sector and rural areas, education, and economic prosperity of the Colombo city compared to similar areas in the peripheries can be considered as very important factors. This demographic change raises the question – "Is what we observe religious pluralism or is it something else?".

CHARACTERISTICS OF MINI-SHRINES

Even though these shrines are called mini-shrines, they have their own unique sizes. Some of these shrines are very small; for example, it can be a concrete pillar which is nearly 3-6 feet high on which a Buddha statue is kept in a small box made from glass which is 2x2 feet in size. Examples of the largest shrines are those located in Pettah (Colombo Fort), Punchi Borella, Narahenpita and Borella junctions. Furthermore, most of these small shrines are constructed overnight which appears to be a very common phenomenon. The rationale behind this behaviour was that once the shrines are constructed, no officials of the respective administration bodies such as the Road Development Authority, Urban Development Authority or some other body would attempt to remove them as it was considered a sinful activity by the society. Moreover, attempts to remove them will lead to community agitations despite the legality of their construction. This was well evident in the effort of the government to remove the Punchi Borella shrine during the tenure of President Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga. The study observed a sample of 16 shrines, of which 10 shrines were built after the year 2001. One situated opposite a famous public school was constructed in 1998. The other three were constructed between 1980 and 1983. Among those shrines, the Pettah, Punchi Borella and Narahenpita are the oldest and have a long history. The shrine in Pettah had successfully started alms giving shed [S: Dansala] in 1958, which means it has a long history. Considering the socio-economic changes that took place during this period, it can be speculated that the increase in shrine construction is linked in some way to these changes. These shrines show attempts of using new technology such as architecture, lighting system and sound systems which vary from one shrine to another as mentioned by Berkwitz (2003, 70); the impact of new technology shaping religious practices in a much wider sense.

Development of these shrines can be considered as a process. They are established by various people in different epochs based on diverse reasons. It appeared that the new shrines and old shrines are developed in two contexts. The new ones are constructed as community work of three-wheel associations. It is a common phenomenon that the three-wheel drivers have established their vehicle parking places [S: "Park Eka"] by the side of the main roads as well as almost all the junctions in the city of Colombo as well as in faraway places. On the one hand, the construction of mini-shrines closer to three-wheel parks or the sponsorship of three-wheel drivers in establishing shrines can be interpreted as a peaceful attempt of securing their business space or a way of rationalising their existence in public places. Their construction is considered as part of their civic activities and community engagements. Most of the shrines were built as a collective effort with the help of many other people.

Most of the Buddhist shrines were constructed through contributions from the newly developed bourgeoisie of the city of Colombo. The study of the development of these shrines will be useful in analysing the social evolution and change of the city of Colombo. The old ones located in Narahenpita, Borella, Punchi Borella, and Rajagiriya could be linked with the Buddhist revival movement of the country. As a part of the Buddhist revival movement led by Migettuwatte Gunananada Thero, Bō-trees were planted in the city of Colombo in defiance against the support of imperialists who tried to promote Christianity in Sri Lanka. Consequently, shrines have been developed by various individuals in these sites with the support of priests and politicians. There was also support from the emerging bourgeoisie for the improvement of these older shrines. However, the shrines developed recently have more support from the petty-bourgeoisies class of the city such as three-wheel service providers. Also, the general public of the area have extended their support for the development of these shrines. The administration of the old shrines has passed from one group to another over a period of time.

The small shrines developed recently are mainly an initiation of the petty bourgeoisies of the city; especially the three-wheel drivers of the areas. As a result of the open economy, the taxi service was developed in the city of Colombo as a response to the poor public transport system. Under this, the three-wheel vehicles which were mainly bought from India were used to provide transport to the people in the city. The authorities have allocated certain parts of the city as three-wheel parks; places where three-wheels are parked awaiting customers. Some of these drivers or the three-wheel owners are from the locality or else they are outsiders who have come to work in the area for quite a long time period. In the process of interaction most of these three-wheel drivers have formed some associations with standard positions such as president, secretary, treasurer, etc. They have also developed an acceptable mechanism to await their turn as well. Some of these three-wheel associations have collected 10 rupees from a three-wheeler per day as membership fee for the development of the association. According to the study, eight mini shrines out of sixteen have been constructed under the leadership of the three-wheel drivers associations and four of them are maintained by the three-wheel drivers associations.

ROLE OF BŌ TREES IN THE PROCESS OF SHRINE DEVELOPMENT

Some shrines have been developed purely because of a Bō tree which was already there. This situation is true for more than six such worshiping places included in the study sample. Traditionally, Buddhists and Hindus tend to worship Bō trees. There are three important objects Buddhists worship in a temple; Buddha statues, Pāgoda (Dāgoba) and Bō tree. The Buddhists identify the Bō Tree as "Bōdhēēn Wahansē" (S:). There are two reasons for Buddhists to worship Bō trees. The first reason is that the Buddha achieved enlightenment under its shade. Following this, the Lord Buddha himself had shown respect to the Bō tree which sheltered him to achieve enlightenment by performing the "Animisa Lochana Pūjawa." The second reason is that the Buddha recommended Ananda thero to plant a Bō sapling in the Devuram Vehera[1] temple premises for the benefit of the devotees visiting the temple in the absence of the Buddha because Ananada thero had observed that the devotees who visit Devuram Vehera in order to listen to the preaching of the Buddha go back with a great frustration in his absence in the temple. "Bōdhi Pūjā" ritual is a long tradition among the Buddhists. By performing "Bōdhi Pūjā", they expect blessings of "Bōdhēēn Wa-

[1] One of the ancient temples where Buddha resided in India.

hansē" to improve their secular life. For example, they may expect the blessings of "Bōdhēēn Wahansē" to cure their patients, for comfortable baby delivery, to pass examinations, to get a good job, to get rid of evil spirits and to win court cases, etc. During "Bōdhi Pūjā", the devotees wash the roots of "Bōdhēēn Wahansē" with fragrant water or milk, garland the Bō tree, hang flags on the branches of the tree, wrap a cassock around the trunk of the tree, light oil lamps, and offer flowers. This has been a well-established tradition among not only the urban Buddhists irrespective of their social status as Seneviratne (1980) highlighted but also the rural. When we trace back the history of "Bōdhi Pūjā", we find that King Ashōka had started it when he ruled India. Furthermore, worshiping large trees located by the side of roads has been a practice for many years. Perhaps it is this practice that has influenced the developing of shrines centred to Bō trees as a part of indigenisation of Buddhism brought to Sri Lanka from India. Some of the shrines are newly established and even in most of these newly established places Bō trees are planted.

CITY, RELIGION, AND HUMAN STRUGGLE

The study shows that the city folks show a great deal of interest in living in an increasing religious space in the city of Colombo in the backdrop of developed cities in the western world where a city is a secular space which is determined by well planned, centrally monitored systems such as basic infrastructure maintenance to more complex financial activities. The Colombo city dwellers are competing to collect resources to improve their material life and they take a lot of risks and have very high vulnerability, since there is a lack of systems with high predictability. Mallikarachchi (1998) who studied the everyday religious rituals performed by the Sinhala-Buddhist traders in the city of Kandy (a city in the hill-country Sri Lanka) highlights the close link between religious and economic activities and illustrates symbiosis between trading and religious rituals. The nature of the country in general is shaped by the mismatch between the aspirations or desires and the means compared with the systematically developed countries which make most of the people vulnerable. With the education system, media, globalisation and the fact of living at the gate to the globe, the people living in Colombo have a lot of aspirations. However, the means are not clear. In such a context people tend to go behind *whoever* preach *whatever* from *whichever* religious groups or follow *whatever* religious practice which has more “hāskam” irrespective of *whatever* religion they belong to at birth. This shaped the religious syncretism of Colombo. This paper discusses how Buddhists and Sinhalas use their religious practices to meet this worldly aspiration.

Religion is what we see rather than what is explained in definitions as it is a part of a lived human experience. Anthropological approach is much interested to see “how religions are actually practiced and used by real people in their real socially structured lives” (Eller 2007, 28). Religion is part of lived human existence. Emile Durkheim (1858–1917) describes two functions of religion which are sacred and profane (or secular, S: “laukika”) in his book “The Elementary Forms of Religious Life” published in 1915. According to Durkheim, religion is something highly social and this acknowledgement suggests it as a basis of social solidarity. Religion also represents collective social reality. Religion gives a meaning to people’s life which is a critical segment of the social system. It shapes the nature of social cohesion, purpose of life, social space of communication, interaction and gathering, and reaffirms social norms. Even though the above indicated Durkhiem’s theory is very simple, other anthropologists starting from Radcliffe-Brown to Mary Douglas had used it in their studies on religion (Eller 2007, 148). In general, Buddhism gives much emphasis to sacred lives but increasingly in today’s urban context people tend to have more focus on secular benefits than sacred needs, which persuaded me to use it in the title. This shows the replacement of religion’s spiritual or “other worldly” concerns with “this worldly” concerns, which is known as secularization of religion (Henslin 2004, 366–380). The two aspects of sacred and profane are defined by Durkheim (1915) as “the sacred is the special, powerful, set-apart realm – the one that we dare not touch or approach carelessly, if at all. The profane is the ordinary, the mundane, the everyday realm – the one that we dwell in most of the time but that would disrespect or corrupt the sacred by contact” (Eller 2007, 21). The local researcher Desmond Mallikarachchi used these two concepts in Sri Lanka in this study on local traders in the city of Kandy, the hill capital in Sri Lanka, “The incense rite, on the other hand, directly links money with the sacred while the rite of lighting the lamp is connected with the idea of prosperity” (1998, 149). In this he suggests the association between the trading (livelihood/mundane activities) and religion or rituals (supramundane).

Obeyesekere (1970) discussed the transformation of doctrinal or theological religion considering the pressure of human needs or motives or through the operation of social, structural and economic variables. The transformation of Theravada Buddhism to fulfil the various needs of devotees also has happened as a response to the changing needs of the people who live in the rapidly changing socio-economic context today. Max Weber has discussed the change of doctrinal Buddhism. Obeyesekere (1970) in his article "Religious Symbolism and Political Change in Ceylon," discusses the changes which occurred in Buddhism as a result of the massive social changes, especially the political changes. He mainly contextualises his discussion into the urban context. During 1956, the political power of the Christian middle class had disappeared and the power transferred to the Sinhala speaking Buddhist population. His discussion is based on the renaming of some of the Colombo roads and exhibition of some doctrinal Buddhist ethics in the roundabouts of the city of Colombo. It is considered as a result of the transition of political power into the hands of Sinhala Buddhists after 1956. Obeyesekere (1970) discussed the process of bringing Buddha into the hub of the vents due to three reasons such as: 1) to project Sri Lanka as a Buddhist nation, 2) the emergence of Buddhist monks as a political force, 3) due to psychological reasons such as to show it as a nativistic movement. Obeyesekere pointed out that the movement of Buddhist statues to the market place in the urban areas indicate the involvement of Buddhism with the rest of the world and the acquisition of political power by the Buddhists while the construction of shrines in homes indicate the nature of attitudinal change which occurred among the urban Buddhists. Finally, he concludes that the appearance of Buddhist symbols in the city indicated some changes. These changes were the spatial shift showing the entry of Buddhism into the "world"; provision of a symbol of a new order; the role shifts of the religion towards these world matters directing political and social goals; and finally, rationalisation of the religious life. The analytical framework has been developed considering the functions of the mini-shrines. Mostly the functional analysis discussed by Emile Durkheim, Bronislaw Malinowski, A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, were used to describe the phenomenon of shrine construction.

The narratives collected on the shrines suggest the involvement of two groups in the city, patrons and clients, connected to the construction and maintenance of these shrine rooms. The patrons are the chief or key organisers of the activities of these shrines. They may be categorized as some societies [S: popularly known as "Sameethiya"] of the area. These "sameethiya" are connected to three-wheel associations of the junctions or the area mostly composed of the residents of the area. A significant percentage of the key organisers are drawn from the large-scale businessmen of the town as well as small-scale entrepreneurs such as those who run small shops such as eateries and small outlets where they sell daily essentials. In addition, the residents who have been living for a long period in the area also serve as key figures that looked after, maintained, and performed rituals. These patrons are the key people who lead various activities in the shrine rooms with the support and generous contribution of the neighbours and the visitors to the respective areas. The clients or the worshippers of the shrine rooms are composed of many groups. Some of them are the residents of the neighbourhood, some are residents of various suburbs from Colombo and the others are daily visitors to the city. There are more than five hundred thousand people commuting to Colombo daily for various purposes. Among these daily commuters the state and private sector employees claim a significant portion. Most of the main offices of the state and private sectors including the various ministries, best private and public hospitals, public and private schools, airport and the harbour, and big business establishments selling large machineries as well as daily essentials to the houses are located in Colombo and people visit these places to meet their needs. Those who run small-scale businesses such as daily sweep tickets or lottery sellers and those running small shops also become the patrons of these shrines. The ordinary residents of the area too become worshippers at these shrines. However, it is the neighbours who serve as patrons who are the significant worshippers with utmost devotion. More interestingly, even people who live in other suburban areas of Colombo may specially come to the various shrine rooms considering their popularity in “hāskam” [S: miracles or miraculous power] of the Bō trees to perform “Bōdhi Pūjā” as explained above. To become a patron in these free religious spaces where there are no monks or other persons as gatekeepers, the stigmatised ethnicity or religion is immaterial as well-illustrated in the narratives.

The process of secularising or using of religion for mundane affairs of the city people, which is the main focus of this paper will be discussed with reference to three broader fields such as: 1) security or the protection, 2) wellbeing, and 3) building identity in people. These three aspects that illustrate the process of secularisation of Buddhism will be discussed separately below.

ROLE OF SMALL SHRINES TO ASSURE SECURITY OR THE PROTECTION OF PEOPLE

At this point the concept of security is considered more broadly in order to include the threats from human beings as well as the invisible evil spirits for the individuals, their family members and connected groups. Furthermore, at this point the author focuses on the evil effects a person could have as a result of planetary movements. In general, most of the shrines have Bō trees and devotees were used to performing Bōdhi Pōōjā there. People perform these rituals to get rid of their "Navagraha Dōsa", flaws in the positioning of the planets in the horoscopes of the individuals that result in bad and malefic effects on an individual's life. The "Navagraha Dōsa" is connected to the movements of nine planets such as the Sun, Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, Rahu and Ketu. When people have "apala kālaya" [S: bad time] they themselves or the relatives perform Bōdhi Pōōjā rites to prevent the respective person becoming vulnerable to meeting with accidents, loss of livelihoods or any other harmful situations on the individual as well as any other family member due to the planetary movements. People with "apala kālaya" due to the influence of "Navagraha Dōsa" tend to perform these with the advice of the astrologer who reads their horoscopes and predicts about the evils that can harm the people and recommend possible preventive measures. They give specific poems named "Seth Kavi" [S: protective discourse poem chanting for blessings] to recite at the "Bōdhi Pōōjā" function. It was observed that people perform rituals in these shrines expecting protection for their sons, daughters and other relatives who are suffering from severe illnesses/other chronic diseases, court cases, or any other forms of threats in the society. On the other hand, people expect wellbeing as well through the same "Bōdhi Pōōjā". Those who live in faraway places which are more than 20–30 kilometres away also visit these shrines considering its popularity to address certain problems of the people. Some of the shrines situated in Borella, Punchi Borella, Rajagiriya and Narahenpita are very popular among the devotees. The "Kapu Mahattayā" [S: lay clergyman] of the Punchi Borella shrine was very popular for reciting "Seth Kavi" in a more influential manner. These acts give protection from enemies and accidents and also cure from chronic illnesses such as cancer etc. Kusumawathie, a 55-year-old lady, one of the clients of Punchi Borella explained that most of the patients who go to the general hospital, especially to the cardiology unit, perform "Bōdhi Pōōjā" in the shrine expecting better health after medical treatment. People from faraway places come to the Rajagiriya Bōdhiya (Bō Tree) as it is believed to have supernatural powers to heal diseases. The research team could see the small flags hung on the branches of the Bō tree to make vows expecting better health for certain family members who did "Bōdhi Pōōjā."

It was observed that these shrines have pantheon of gods along with the Buddha statue. Leach (1962) established a relationship between Lord Buddha and Pilleyar, who is one of the gods in Hindu pantheon when discussing Sinhala-Buddhist worship of this God in the North Central Province of Sri Lanka. The Gana deiyō and his brother Aiyanar are the "feudal dependents of the Lord Buddha, and the Lord Buddha is the supreme ascetic" (Leach 1962, 83), which suggest the syncretic nature of Sinhala Buddhism. Among this pantheon of gods there are guardian deities who protect the rights of the good people from bad people and also the gods who bless people to achieve prosperity by helping them to pass examinations, find better jobs or a life partner, etc. In general, people believe that there are a lot of injustices taking place against the poor, decent people and they cannot expect justice as they have to deal with most corrupt institutions. In that context they seek justice with the help of these gods. The Punchi Borella shrine had Lord Buddha's large statue in the centre and small statues of the pantheon of gods and goddesses placed by the side of the shrine. Among these were the Goddess Pattini, Kāli, Sriya Kanthāwa, and Saraswathie, and Gods such as Nātha, Vibhishana, Thadimunda, Kataragama, Vishnu, Gana [T: Pillayar], Saman, and Sōōniyam. Kusumawathie explained that the *Kapu Mahattayā* of Punchi Borella performs the "dewa pōōjā" [S: offerings to gods] very professionally and has the power to get the attention of the gods towards the issue of the client.

The clients of the shrines believe that it contributes to reduce road accidents, traffic jams and other criminal activities. This was highlighted in a discussion with three-wheeler drivers at Pitakōtte junction, Ananda Balika Mawatha, Narahenpita junction and the shrine constructed in front of Ananda College. According to the respondents, there was a time when a lot of road accidents had taken place in Narahenpita junction and they were reduced after constructing the shrine. There were serious accidents taking place at the junction where the shrine is constructed in front of Ananda College, Maradana which had caused many deaths but after the shrine was put up these accidents have reduced significantly.

During national crisis situations too, the Buddhists perform various rituals in temples as well as at these small shrines to bless the leaders of the country and the armed forces. During the internal war, people have performed various rituals in the shrines at Narahenpita, Borella and Rajagiriya asking for protection for their family members who are in the battlefield as well as praying for the cure of wounded soldiers. There were banners exhibited at these shrines blessing the soldiers who were fighting against the LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) in the northern and eastern areas of the country. It was observed that the organisers at the Wijerama Junction have exhibited a banner blessing the soldiers of the Sri Lankan military forces. This has shown the thought and commitment of the organisers of these shrines towards national security aspects as well.

People coming into the city as strangers just worship at these shrines or put money into the tills because of various reasons. For them this could be a way of seeking protection during their stay in the city of Colombo and safe return to their houses.

The Three-wheel Associations expect protection at most of the shrines put up by them by performing various rituals. One of the respondents at Mati Park junction said in 2009:

"As we run on three-wheels there is a high risk always. Anything can happen during our career. We worship at the shrine in the morning before starting our daily routine expecting our protection as well as the protection of the passengers. Even the Roman Catholics worship at the shrine before starting their day's work. Who knows whether the passenger is a suicide bomber or a criminal? Even recently the police arrested a LTTE suicide member with a grenade while he was travelling in a three-wheel at Pēliyagoda." (male, 50, urban)

Similar stories were gathered during the interviews conducted with the three-wheel drivers who parked their vehicles next to mini-shrines. Another three-wheel driver narrated his experience connected to a narrow escape from a road accident:

"Whenever we accept a hire we just pray for the security as we start the journey from this place. I met with accidents several times, but I escaped sustaining only minor injuries. I have all the reasons to believe that this shrine has protected me." (male, 45, urban)

More similarly, the worshippers of the Catholic mini-shrines in Colombo also highlighted the significant contribution of worshiping in their shrines in reducing road accidents. According to them some of these shrines have reduced not only road accidents but also train accidents. Martin (67) and George (47), committee members of the Wattala Catholic Association who looked after the Statue of Sacred Heart (Jesus Christ) shrine in Alwis Town in Wattala mentioned that there was a drastic reduction of road accidents in the area after establishing their shrine. The statue is situated in a junction where there is a road crossing the Colombo-Negombo main road. The mini-shrine dedicated to St. James located in Galawala junction also has similar benefits. The establishment of mini-shrine rooms dedicated to St. Anthony and Mother Mary in Borella 'B' "watta" [S: mostly urban slum and shanty communities living in Colombo are identified by this name], has reduced the number of train accidents in the area. According to Bond, a 47-year-old Tamil Catholic, they have ensured the protection of the members living in Borella 'B' "watta" from train accidents by establishing the shrine room with statues of St. Anthony and Mother Mary. Furthermore, these people believed that those who died due to train accidents became evil spirits or avatars, and that people who have seen these avatars walking along the railway track in the night have developed various psychological diseases.

CONTRIBUTION OF SHRINES IN ASSURING WELLBEING OF PEOPLE

As Berkwitz predicted, "We can also expect that the effects of economic and cultural globalization will continue to have a substantial impact upon the shape of contemporary Sri Lankan Buddhism" (Berkwitz 2003, 70). The current research shows that the existing economic pressure and global mass consumerism have changed the Buddhist religious practices. Discussion under wellbeing could be considered as personal, extended family, family friends, community and the entire people of the country. People perform "Bōdhi Pūjā" expecting improvements in the lives of children, development of their business, passing examinations, successful married life, etc. The size of the Bō trees that are grown is used as an indicator whether the shrine in general and Bō tree in particular has the power to help in various problems of the people.

It was noted that the maintenance of the shrine at Wattegedara Junction has been done by a company in the area called Orange. They colour wash the shrine once a year and renovate it. During the field visit we observed that two employees of the company in their uniforms were renovating the shrine. Perhaps it was a belief in the blessings of the gods or some other supernatural power that led the senior management of the company or the leadership of the company to continue to do this renovation every year. Kusumawathie, the 55-year-old lady who frequently visited the Punchi Borella shrine mentioned that a lot of people going to their offices or work places put some money into the till when they passed the shrine or just worshiped expecting the best in whatever the work they were going to do. Sirisoma, a 50-year-old influential businessman said that the relatives of the resident patients at the National Hospital Colombo as well as pregnant mothers visit the Punchi Borella Bōdhiya.

In general, the people who worship at these shrines believe they have a "pihitak" [S: help/care/bless] from the shrines (or from the supernatural powers believed to be hanging around the shrines) through the rituals they perform at these small shrines established in public places. Those who were interviewed at almost all the shrines have revealed that they have a "pihitak" from the shrine, but they were reluctant to reveal further. This reluctance seems to have arisen due to many reasons but in general there is a belief that the relationship with the supernatural forces should not be revealed or publicly discussed as they are unique connections. According to Sumanarathne who played a leading role in establishing the Rattanapitiya shrine, one of the persons who performed various rituals at the shrine won a lottery of one million rupees. After constructing the shrine, this person has been in charge of switching on and off the lights of the shrine continuously. People of the area believe he got this reward for the good work he did for the place.

In almost all the shrines where the three-wheel driver associations were involved, the majority of the drivers worshipped at the small shrines in the morning before they began their duty, offering flowers or lighting oil lamps or by performing some other rituals expecting their personal development, safety and protection. The members of the Mati Park shrine also perform various rituals individually. Kumara, who initiated building a small shrine at the junction of Rubberwatte Road, spoke about the blessings he had received:

"I am a father of six children. We have limited income here. I wanted to build a shrine here and I did it. After building it I was able to buy two three-wheels and I am satisfied with the income I get. I have all the reasons to believe that I am blessed by this." (male, 40, urban)

Gunasekara, a 65-year-old lady, who has been worshiping at the Rajagiriya shrine, mentioned that her family has been blessed by this shrine. She had brought up her two sons and a daughter on her own after the death of her husband in 1986. Now one of her sons lives in Japan while the other lives in London. Her only daughter lives in Rajagiriya and serves as a United National Party (UNP) organiser in Rajagiriya. She had all the reasons to believe that she was blessed by the Bō Tree of the shrine since she started worshipping it in 1970. Furthermore, she reported that there are a lot of people visiting the shrine every day indicating the rising popularity and the power of the shrine in Rajagiriya. She further explained the way the shrine helped her in coping with the political problems:

"We as UNP supporters happened to suffer a lot from the very beginning. There was no one to discuss or share the threats we had. We have been crying continuously then. There were situations when I had been crying for hours and hours at the Bōdhiya and praying for help from the supernatural forces to get rid of political threats and intimidations. Today most of the people who harassed us are not alive; they are punished as I had prayed a lot at the shrine." (female, 40, urban)

According to Jeewananda, the Chairman of the Bōdhi Protection Society of Rajagiriya, people visit the shrine before accepting appointments; when submitting an application to contest in the elections; and before going for interviews, etc. He referred to a situation where a mayor of the Kōtte Municipal Council worshipped at the shrine before submitting his nominations to contest in the election. Kusumawathie explained how her expectations were fulfilled by the vow she made at the Punchi Borella shrine. Her son and daughter too were blessed:

"Earlier I used to visit this shrine everyday but now I can't do so as I am not physically well. But whenever I come to the clinic at the General Hospital every month, I visit this shrine. I made three vows here and all have come true. My son got a job and my daughter had two babies and we were able to sell our vehicle after making vows here. Therefore, I believe we have a lot of pihita [S: blessings] from this shrine." (female, 55, urban)

They had struggled a lot to sell their vehicle but once they had made a vow at the shrine, they were able to sell the vehicle for a good price. According to her, there were some drug addicts also who had given up their habit of using drugs once they made a vow at the shrines. She had made vows for their children to get through their examinations which came true because of the blessings received at the shrine. These first-hand experiences of the people cannot be discarded simply and it suggests the highly complex nature of the wants and needs of the people for which they seek blessings at the shrines.

When we pay our attention to the various clients visiting these shrines, we could identify several groups. Young people who came from villages to the city to work in the garment factories or in other institutions also visit them expecting protection and wellbeing. Householders in the vicinity who pass these shrines daily on their way to office or work places make a vow, put money into the tills or just say silent prayers without stopping at these public places seeking wellbeing and protection for themselves during their stay in the city.

These mini-shrines have united the people in the area and those who perform similar activities. For example, even the Catholic three-wheel drivers at Mati Park Junction worship at the Buddhist shrine before they start their work. Almost all the three-wheel drivers whoever they are find the time to clean the shrine and light the oil lamp without waiting for someone else to perform these rituals. Sometimes the statues have been put up with the intention to create a better, peace loving, atmosphere removing evils such as drug addiction, alcoholism, etc. Therefore, the organisers wanted to put up statues everywhere expecting to change the young people who are prone to engage in socially unaccepted behaviours.

With regard to the wellbeing of the community we could discuss many programmes done at the Buddhist shrines from time to time. Some of the common activities organised by the groups who look after the shrines are, conducting "dansal" [S: alms giving sheds] during Wesak[2] and Poson[3] festivals, arranging pandals and decorating the shrine rooms and the vicinity with colour bulbs and flags during the Buddhist festivals, and organising "bana" [S: Lord Buddha's doctrine] preaching (Dhamma sermon) by a monk every Poya day (monthly full moon holiday when Buddhists engage in religious activities). Shrines which have been there for a longer period have better financial capacity to do community work as a lot of money has been collected from devotees who attended the shrines for various reasons. Sirisoma, a member of the committee looking after the Punchi Borella statue revealed that during his time in 2009 as a committee member they started a programme to give 500/- rupees per month to 20 students from poor families as well as giving the same amount to another 20 elderly persons out of the money collected in the till of the shrine. People around the Wanatha shrine got together to organise blood donation camps, particularly when there was a national need for blood for soldiers injured in the battlefield and when the hospitals had to be kept ready to treat civil casualties during terrorist attacks in various forms including bomb explosions in 2009.

---

[2] *Wesak* is a religious festival of Buddhists to celebrate the birth, the enlightenment, and the demise (*the Parinibbana*) of the Lord Buddha.

[3] *Poson* is a religious festival of Buddhist to celebrate to receiving Buddhism from India to Sri Lanka by a team of priests including the venerable Mahinda Thero.

The Narahenpita shrine based Bōdhi Raja Sameethiya organise medical clinics, distribute spectacles, and conduct campaigns against alcohol consumption and smoking. Extending their service, the organisers have taken steps every year to release cows from the butchers at the slaughterhouse. These cows are handed over to the farmers of the area which improve the income of some of these families. The organisers conduct various public lectures on different topics. One of the lectures conducted on "Medical Science and Buddhism" was attended by around 70 persons. They also award scholarships to the needy children who also show significant educational achievements, i.e., passing grade five scholarship examination. The Bōdhi Raja Sameethiya is trying to have a close link with the Mahabōdhi Samagama of India to improve their service. Furthermore, they distribute the Buddhist newspaper, "Sinhala Bauddhaya" [S: The Buddhist] among their members. The secretary of the association mentioned that they sponsor religious activities organised by the schools as well.

In the same way even the organising committees of the Catholic shrines and patrons too, engage in lot of social services and welfare activities. St. Anthony's society in Weluwana Road consisting of 50 members did a lot of community work while looking after the matters related to the St. Anthony's shrine. Among the community work, helping to renovate houses of the Christians with financial problems; giving help for the funerals of Christians; giving alms at the shrine; blood donation; and helping the homes for elders are very significant. Similar welfare activities were done by the organising committee of the Elakande shrine as well. The Wattala Catholic Association built the Statue of Sacred Heart (Jesus Christ) and donates school uniforms for around 200 students representing poor families at a function which is held at the shrine on February 13 every year.

SHRINE BUILDING AS PART OF THE PROCESS OF IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

On the whole, the entire process of shrine construction could be considered as an effort of identity construction. This identity has basically two forms: 1) personal or individual identity and 2) group or community identity (religious, ethnic, moral, etc.). First, I will explain about individual identity. In the discussion of individual identity, the people who take the leadership to construct the shrine or perform various rituals try to project themselves as "good human beings" to the outside world. They have a need to exhibit their "good moral behaviour" to the public. This identity projection creates a social niche which is very beneficial to them. The view of a group of three-wheel drivers on such a patron who established a shrine was a testimony for such a situation. According to them, the businessman who took the initiative of constructing the shrine and its maintenance is really a liar who misuses the money collected in the till. He always dealt with the political party in power and was really a corrupt person. They found it difficult to draw a parallel between his illicit brewery selling and engagement in this sort of religious affairs. They assume that the businessman was engaging in "good" things to cover up the illicit arrack selling business and his corrupt nature.

Under the group identity there are many forms as indicated at the beginning. Most of these shrine constructions can be considered as a part of establishing or confirming the religious identity of the area. This was evident at the very early stages of the establishment of the Punchi Borella and Borella shrines too. There was a religious revival led by Soma Thero and the political movement for the uplift of Buddhists through the Jāthika Hela Urumaya party [S: National Heritage Party] who after the death of Soma Thero has played a major role in building the religious identity of Buddhists against the acts of religious conversions of Buddhists into Christians as well as the Muslims. Soma Thero's arguments against the concept of god were a threat to the Christians and Muslims when he was alive, and his sudden demise created a lot of suspicions in the minds of the Buddhists of the country. This situation also has contributed to the building of Buddhist shrines in the city of Colombo as a way of establishing their identity. The organisers of the Wijerama Junction shrine have taken action to celebrate the death anniversary of Soma Thero by organising an alms' giving to the "Sanga" [S: Buddhist monks] annually.

The effort to project the three-wheel drivers as a "good group" is also one of the aspects of this identity construction. Today people have lost trust in the three-wheel drivers as they believe that they possess unworthy qualities such as being cunning, crafty, liars and indecent in general and they are seen as risky drivers in particular. Therefore, this situation created a demand for decent drivers and people who were able to get more customers than the others. This led to the three-wheel drivers trying to project themselves as "decent human beings" who respect the human rights of others through this shrine construction.

Every year, the Narahenpita shrine based Bōdhi Raja Sameethiya organise an event to commemorate Anagarika Dharmapala, a Buddhist revivalist who fought for the freedom of the country from the British Raj with the intention of popularising the thinking of Dharamapala. The organisers have erected a statue of Dharmapala just in front of the shrine widening the physical space belonging to the shrine. The statue was opened at a function with state sponsorship with Sarath N. Silva, then Chief Justice as the Chief Guest. The construction of the shrine could be considered as a process of establishing the country's Buddhist identity. Mallikarachchi (1998) also explained the persistence of nationalist feeling among the Sinhala-Buddhist traders in Kandy. Sirisoma, an influential businessman of the area, expressed his views as follows:

"We are a Buddhist country; it is a precious stone. There is no harm in constructing shrines in public places, but we have a responsibility to continue looking after it. We cannot get rid of it. If you want to establish a shrine, do so, but performing rituals in it must not be neglected." (male, 60, urban)

All those who acted as key persons in developing shrines in almost all the places held this view. They believed that as this is a Buddhist country, it was our duty to protect and maintain it. The organisers as well as the clients of the shrines hold the right based approach. Contrastingly, the other section of the same research on Christian, Hindu shrines suggest a slight challenge or contestation for the above supposed claim when analysing the ethnonational / ethnoreligious party-based politics. However, there is an emerging trend in establishing Christian hegemony as well by constructing shrine rooms of various Saints, the Cross and Jesus Christ in the catholic areas. Moreover, the Hindus too create mini-shrines dedicated to various gods and goddesses in the Hindu pantheon in their respective communities in Colombo.

CONCLUSION

Finally, this could be interpreted as "living the Buddhist way": an everyday struggle to live amidst the changing socio, political-economic space in the city in line with Lord Buddha's teaching while staying connected and living in a morally justifiable manner [S: dhārmika] to him/herself and to the society. In a city where people have gathered to achieve various material prospects and a comfortable life in a very competitive world which is shaped by means and achievements that are not clear, the people tend to get more benefit from their own religions. This background has created an increasing demand for living in a religious space for all religious groups in general, while this article highlighted the shape of the struggle of Buddhists in Colombo. The discussion in this article suggested why and how Buddhist shrine worshiping witness the use of Theravada Buddhist ideology as a means to worldly benefits (secular) rather than achieving those of other worldly (profane) objectives, which is identified as secularisation of Buddhism. This seems to be an increasing pattern when comparing the ethnographic data collected in 2009 and 2019. There is no clear indication of this pattern changing in the foreseeable future. Therefore, it would be really interesting to explore more on novel religious trends, subjective experience of individuals and groups and explanations of the cosmological forces and religion and their impacts on their social life world.

This work was supported by the Distance Education Modernisation Project (DEMP) in 2009 & the Open University of Sri Lanka (OUSL) Annual Research Grant 2019.

REFERENCES

Berkwitz, C. S. (2003). "Recent Trends in Sri Lankan Buddhism." *Religion* 33, 57–71.

Carter, J. R. (1979). *Religiousness in Sri Lanka*. Colombo: Marga Institute.

Eller, J. D. (2007). *Introducing Anthropology of Religion*. New York: Routledge.

Gombrich, R. and Gananath, O. (1990). *Buddhism Transformed: Religious Change in Sri Lanka*. Princeton: Princeton University Press City: Publisher.

Gombrich, F. R. (2006). *Theravãda Buddhism: A Social History from Ancient Benares to Modern Colombo.* Oxon: Routledge.

Henslin, J. M. (2004). *Essentials of Sociology: A Down-to-Earth Approach*. Pearson: New York.

Leach, E. R. (1962). "Pulleyar and the Lord Buddha: An Aspect of Religious Syncretism in Ceylon." *Psychoanalysis and the Psychoanalytic Review* 49 (2), 81–102.

Mallikarachchi, D. (1998). "The Scrambling of the Sacred and the Profane by the Contemporary Sinhallese Buddhist Traders in the City of Kandy, Sri Lanka: A Case Study." *Sri Lanka Journal of Social Sciences* 21 (1&2), 135–166.

Obeyesekere, G. (1963). "The Great Tradition and the Little in the Perspective of Sinhalese Buddhism." *The Journal of Asian Studies*

22 (2), 139–153. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2050008> (accessed August 2020).

Obeyesekere, G. (1970). "Religious Symbolism and Political Change in Ceylon." *A Journal of Social Sciences* 1 (1), 43–63.

Obeyesekere, G. (1977). "Social Change and the Deities: Rise of the Kataragama Cult in Modern Sri Lanka." *The Man* 12 (3/4), 377–396. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2800544> (accessed August 2020).

Piyarathne, A. (2017) "Collective Ritual as a Way of Transcending Ethno-religious Divide: The Case of Kataragama Pāda Yātrā in Sri Lanka." *Sri Lanka Journal of Social Sciences* 40 (1), 41–52. Available at: <http://doi.org/10.4038/sljss.v40i1.7500> (accessed August 2020).

Piyarathne, A. (2018). *Constructing Commongrounds: Everyday Lifeworlds Beyond Politicized Ethnicities in Sri Lanka*. Nugegoda (Colombo): Sarasavi Publishers.

Seneviratne, H. L. (1980). "Bodhipuja: Collective Representations of Sri Lanka Youth." *American Ethnologist* 7 (4), 734–743. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable /643479> (accessed August 2020).

Stirrat R. L. (1979). "The Shrine of St Sebastian at Mirisgama: An Aspect of the Cult of the Saints in Catholic Sri Lanka." *The Man* 16 (2), 183–200. Available at: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2801394> (accessed August 2020).

The Official Website of the Colombo Municipal Council. Available at: <https://www.colombo.mc.gov.lk/colombo.php> (accessed July 2020).

FRANCO-LATVIAN CHILDREN AND THE LATVIAN DIGLOSSIC SITUATION

JONATHAN DURANDIN

Jonathan Durandin, PhD, researcher
Centre of Cultural Research
Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences
Daugavpils University, Latvia
e-mail: jonathan.durandin@bluemail.ch
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1843-4080

Dr. Jonathan Durandin is a researcher of the Centre of Cultural Research at Daugavpils University Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences. He earned a PhD degree in Language Sciences from the *Université de Franche-Comté* in Besançon, France. His main fields of research are foreign language didactics and sociolinguistics. Jonathan Durandin has researched the empowerment of teachers and learners of French as a foreign language and the social representations of language learning and learner autonomy at the university level in Latvia. He has conducted research on the influence of theatre practices on foreign languages teaching/learning in the university context. He is currently conducting research on Franco-Latvian children's social representations of their first languages and bilingualism.

ABSTRACT

Sociolinguistically, Latvia is an example of a conflicting diglossic situation between the Latvian and Russian languages. Most of the research carried out on this sociolinguistic context focuses on the language policies implemented previously and nowadays in this state and on the changes in the language practices and representations of members of the Latvian and Russian-speaking communities during the twentieth century and up to the present day. This paper looks at the same context from a different angle: its aim is to understand how the children of Franco-Latvian families attending school in Latvia view the Latvian diglossic situation and themselves in it and what influences their opinions. Referring to the Dell Hymes model of SPEAKING, the study is based on the analysis of interviews of four children, an 8-year-old Latvian-speaking boy and girl and two 10-year-old Russian-speaking girls attending school in Riga, the capital of Latvia. According to the analysis of their language practices and representations, the interviewed children place themselves in two distinct linguistic environments and value their French-Latvian or French-Russian bilingualism. Detailed analysis of the psychological and social functions that the children attribute to their first languages reveals that they do this to claim a daily life outside the Latvian-speaking context (Russian-speaking children) or to stand out from other people in Latvia (Latvian-speaking children). These two distinct strategies allow the children to place themselves on the fringe of the Latvian diglossic situation.

Keywords: Franco-Latvian children, bilingualism, language practices and representations, language psychological and social functions

INTRODUCTION

From the sociolinguistic perspective, Latvia is generally considered a case of a conflicting diglossic situation between the official language, Latvian, and a minority language, Russian. Most studies on this subject focus on policies and planning implemented in favour of either Russian or Latvian language during the different political periods through centuries and especially from the 1920s on (Hogan-Brun et al. 2008; Metuzāle-Kangere and Ozolins 2005; Ozolins 1999; Veisbergs 2019), as well as on the evolution of linguistic practices and representations in Latvian and Russian-speaking communities (Dilans 2009; Pisarenko 2006; Priedīte 2005; Romanov 2000), after 1991, namely the restoration of independence of the Republic of Latvia.

This paper offers a unique analysis of Latvia's diglossic situation by focusing on children who speak Latvian or Russian but who are characterised by bilingualism shaped by another language, which has no relation to Latvian historical or sociolinguistic context. The focus of this paper is on children from mixed Franco-Latvian families. The French language is not a part of the evolution of the Latvian diglossic situation. French plays a marginal role in Latvia (Kibermane and Kļava 2016a, 57–70) and French presence is limited and generally visible only in Riga, where the Embassy of France, the French Institute and the Jules Verne Riga French school are located. These Franco-Latvian children belong to different linguistic communities. Depending on the case, they can be considered as a part of the Latvian-speaking or Russian-speaking community, or sometimes both, but also of the French-speaking community. Thus, the case of these Franco-Latvian children could make it possible to renew the study of this diglossic situation and the relationship between the Russian and Latvian languages. To this end, the following questions will be considered: how do these children view the Latvian diglossic situation and themselves in it? What does this bring to a new or different understanding of the current Latvian diglossic situation?

This paper focuses on four bilingual children, aged 8–10, through analysing in-depth interviews carried out by one of their parents on the child's first languages and bilingualism. Section 1 of the paper specifies the national historical sociolinguistic and sociocultural context which presumably has been influencing these children attitudes, social representations and discourse. In section 2, the conceptual and methodological framework of the research will be detailed, including information on the participants and the interviews conducted. The presentation of the results will then show how the children attribute certain functions to their first (or native) languages in order to highlight their bilingualism in the Latvian context and to place themselves on the fringes of the Latvian diglossic situation.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Latvia is a country in North-eastern Europe with a population of 1.919,968 (Eurostat 2020). Its size is 64 589 km^2 about the same as Switzerland or Ireland (Orcier 2005, 12). Latvia has been a member of the European Union since 2004. Latvia shares borders with Estonia to its north, Russia to its east, Belarus to its south-east, and Lithuania – to its south; to its west, lies the Baltic Sea. Before the proclamation of the Republic of Latvia on 18 November 1918, the territory of this nation-state experienced various invasions or dominions for centuries: the proto-Baltic people (Prussians, Latvians, Lithuanians), the Livs, the Swedish Vikings, the German Teutonic Order, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Kingdom of Sweden and Tsarist Russia (Orcier 2005). It is in the Tsarist period that the current Latvian diglossic situation finds its sources.

By the end of the nineteenth century, a national awareness movement brought to life the idea of a Latvian culture as such and of territory specific to its culture and to a goal to create an independent Latvian state. At the end of World War I, this dream could become a reality and the Republic of Latvia was proclaimed. The Latvian population, society and state were characterised by the predominance of ethnic Latvians and their emerging culture. Minorities which made up around a quarter of the country's population including Russians (10% of the population), Jews (5%), Germans (3%), Poles, Belarusians and Lithuanians, were integrated into society and given the same civil and political freedoms and rights that the Latvian majority had (Champonnois and de Labriolle 2003, 200–202). Latvian was proclaimed the national language in 1918 and became the primary language used in political and public life. In 1935, the first language law of the Republic of Latvia (Ulmanis and Gulbis 1935) required the use of the Latvian language in all official, administrative, commercial and public acts and documents. However, communication with the municipal authorities could be carried out in Russian or German, if the local majority was constituted of Russian or German speakers. Minorities were allowed to teach their languages or use them as languages of instruction in the schools they set up, to publish newspapers and literary works as well as hold meetings or religious gatherings in their languages, provided that these events were held as private.

World War II destroyed this relatively consensual cultural and linguistic balance among the majority and minorities living in Latvia. The secret German-Soviet pact of 1939 ensured organised repatriation of the 60000 Baltic Germans to Germany and during the war 90% of the Latvian Jewish population was exterminated. Finally, when the Soviets occupied Latvia in 1944, Yiddish and German languages had almost disappeared from Latvian territory. Demographic and sociolinguistic situations and language policies were to evolve into an intense conflict between the Latvian and Russian populations and languages.

After World War II and until the end of the 1980s, Latvia underwent a policy of sovietisation based on the industrialisation of the country and the Russification of society. The massive immigration of Slavic and Russian-speaking populations to urban centres transformed the ethnocultural composition of Latvia's society. The number of Russians in Latvia jumped from 8.8% of the population in 1935 to 34% in 1989. By 1989, the Slavic population represented 42% of the population. As a result, the percentage of the ethnic Latvian population decreased in parallel from 83% in 1940 to 62% in 1959 and 52% in 1989 (Champonnois and de Labriolle 2003, 212; Grenoble 2003, 103; Plasseraud 1996, 70). This demographic policy was supported by a language policy deliberately in favour of the Russian language (Grenoble 2003, 26). Latvian lost its status as an official language in favour of Russian that became established throughout the society during the Soviet period. According to Plasseraud (1996, 71), the rate of Latvian-Russian bilingualism among ethnic Latvians rose from 47.4% in 1959 to 65.7% in 1989, making them one of the most Russian-speaking peoples in the Soviet Union.

In 1988, a rebalancing of the sociolinguistic situation began with a decision of the Council of the Latvian SSR in favour of the Latvian language, which benefited from its national language status. Latvian language development and teaching activities were decided and its use was guaranteed in all sectors of social, cultural and administrative life, alongside Russian (Latvijas Padomju Sociālistiskās Republikas Augstākās Padome 1988). The situation turned completely in favour of Latvian with the restoration of Latvian independence on August 21, 1991. In 1992, a Language Law based on an ethnolinguistic policy was introduced to ensure the status of the Latvian language as State language and a substantial institutional arsenal for its development, teaching and defence (Latvijas Republikas Augstākā Padome 1992). In 1998, the status of the Latvian language was strengthened by adding an article to the constitution guaranteeing that the state language of the Republic of Latvia is the Latvian language (Latvijas Republikas Saeima 1998). In 2000, the Law on the State Language was adopted, replacing the 1992 Law on Languages, establishing the Latvian language's principal status in the national territory and all areas of public and social life (Latvijas Republikas Saeima 1999).

The policy put in place, which is in effect to this day, recognised the rights of linguistic minorities to practise their languages in the private sphere but also within companies or in the national media, under the control of the authorities. Linguistic minorities could also teach their languages in private schools or dedicated public schools, albeit under the supervision of the Ministry of Education. However, peaceful yet virulent ethnolinguistic conflict developed in the 1990s between the Russian-speaking community and the Latvian authorities. This conflict, orchestrated or at least maintained by selected politicians and journalists, originated from loss of control over political and social life for the Russian-speaking community. In order to better understand this situation, it is necessary to emphasise that Russian speakers have felt discriminated politically and civically since the early 1990s. An exclusionary citizenship policy, based on nationalist rhetoric (Pabriks and Purs 2001, 72–73), was then implemented restricting access to Latvian citizenship only to those who were already citizens of Latvia in 1940 and to their descendants. Under the pressure of international organisations and with a view to accession to the European Union, new laws on citizenship were adopted, gradually lifting restrictions on the granting of citizenship (Droit 2005, 46). However, the government policy closely linked citizenship with the learning and use of the Latvian language, hence the requirement for applicants for citizenship to prove their proficiency in the Latvian language in a test that also included a cultural questionnaire (Latvijas Republikas Saeima 1993).

It is therefore understandable that the debate on the Law on Education of 1998 was also the perfect stage for a language conflict between Russian speakers and the Latvian authorities – a phenomenon that continued with the reforms implemented in minority education in the following years and during the 2000s. Pluča (2019, 199–201) explains that from 1995 onwards, minority education policy was oriented towards the introduction and development of Latvian and Latvian-language teaching throughout schooling in state schools and by the end of the 2000s, teaching in Latvian accounted for 60% of the total number of courses compared with 40% for the minority language. In 2018, the Latvian Parliament amended the Law on Education to gradually extend the Latvian language education to all levels of schooling by 2022 (Latvijas Republikas Saeima 2020).

The Latvian diglossic situation has calmed down over the years. The results of quantitative studies carried out between 1996 and 2015 show increasing use and knowledge of Latvian among members of linguistic minorities (Priedīte 2005) and a general trend that has been emerging since the early 2010s towards balanced societal bilingualism between Russian and Latvian (Kibermane and Kļava 2016a, 88–89). The use of Latvian has grown among members of linguistic minorities because they are increasingly comfortable in its use (Kibermane and Kļava 2016b, 100). Moreover, they have developed an increasingly positive attitude towards the Latvian language. It appears that "since regaining independence, the Latvian language has been acquired and language skills improved more and more not only in order to, for example, pass the state language proficiency attestation and get a job, but also because there is a need to use the Latvian language." It should be noted that "especially in the younger generation of minorities, a higher level of language skills and a positive linguistic attitude are increasingly based on the desire to belong to Latvian society and the state, the desire to use the Latvian language in various communication situations is also growing" (Kibermane and Kļava 2016b, 102, 112–113).

Finally, the Latvian language has taken on a priority and stable role in formal situations involving interaction with administrations. The sociolinguistic situation seems to be slowly changing in favour of the use of Latvian, particularly under the influence of young people's practices and attitudes. However, Russian is still a part of the linguistic landscape, particularly in everyday and informal communication situations and in specific contexts, including that of the capital. The sociolinguistic situation today is characterised by an accepted distribution of the status, roles and uses of the Latvian and Russian languages. A new linguistic landscape is taking shape in Latvia, characterised by a peaceful diglossic situation between Latvian and Russian. Under the impact of globalization, English plays an increasingly important role in this situation, especially at school and in the society, notably in Riga (Kibermane and Kļava 2016a, 57–70).

METHODOLOGY

The article looks at language situation in Latvia from the point of view of Franco-Latvian children living in Latvia and complement the work that was carried out in 2019 (Durandin 2019) by analysing qualitative research on children's social representations of their languages and bilingualism among them, i.e. their language social representations.

Social representation relates to any object, real or symbolic, and it is "a form of knowledge, socially elaborated and shared, having a practical aim and contributing to the construction of reality common to a social group" in relation to the object to which it refers. From the social representation of a given object, "the diffusion and assimilation of knowledge, individual and collective development, the definition of personal and social identities, the expression of groups, and social transformations" are defined. It is in this way that social representations "engage the social belonging of individuals with the affective and normative implications, with the related internalisations of experiences, practices, models of conduct and thought, socially inculcated or transmitted through social communication" (Jodelet 2003, 53). The best way to access social representations is to establish "a collection of individual discourses" (Moliner et. al. 2002, 5) through interviews and to carry out analysis of these individual discourses.

The individual discourses that are analysed are those of children between the ages of 8 and 11, since this period represents a time in life when people are integrating increasingly broad and varied instances of socialization and language practices. Children of this age are able to relate sociolinguistic experiences and situations and values from the family circle but also from other wider social circles, e.g., school, extracurricular activities, peer groups. Therefore these children are expected to present language representations that are built in a more or less elaborate way on the experiences and values they are confronted with in different instances of socialisation in Latvia, or even in France or elsewhere. The selection of the children to be interviewed is based on two main criteria: they belong to bilingual French-Latvian or French-Russian families with one parent of French nationality and the other of Latvian nationality, and they live mainly and attend school in Latvia. As discourse analysis has to be conducted in French – the researcher's native language – interviews are carried out mainly in this language.

For the research reported in this article, two children were interviewed in December 2018 – January 2019 and two others a year later. All of them live and attend school in Riga. Each child was interviewed by their parent in French thanks to a precise, semi-directive interview guide (see Figure 1). The interview guide focused on each child's language practices in different social backgrounds as well as their thoughts and feelings about French, Latvian or Russian and about bilingualism.

Topics	Questions or reminders
Relationship to both languages	Since when do you speak Latvian-Russian/French? Which language did you speak first? When you first spoke Latvian-Russian/French, what was it about?
Practices in both languages: circles, domains and functions	In Latvian-Russian/French, when, where, who do you talk to? Do you listen? read? write? Do you do other things in this language? If necessary, give examples: counting, watching films, playing...
Relationship to both languages	What do you think of Latvian-Russian, French? How do you like this language?
Relationship to both languages	What do you like to do in Latvian-Russian/French? To speak? listen? read? write? Anything else? How do you feel when you speak, listen, read, write in Latvian-Russian / French?
Relationship to both languages	In your opinion, it is better to speak, listen, read, write, etc. in which language? Why do you think so? In your opinion, in which situation is it better to use Latvian-Russian? French?
Relationship to the language of schooling and the other language	How do you feel about using only Latvian-Russian/French in the school premises and Latvian-Russian/French outside?
Relationship to bilingualism (identity of the bilingual)	In your opinion, is it "special" to speak two or more languages? How so? Do you like it or dislike it? What do you like or dislike?
Experience and relationship to both languages, bilingualism (identity of carriers, possible identification)	According to you, how are the people who speak French? Latvian-Russian? both languages? other languages?
Experience and relationship to both languages, bilingualism (cognitive and sensory processing)	How do you think it works in the head and body of a person who speaks Latvian-Russian? French? Latvian-Russian and French in life? In your opinion, how does it work in the head and body of a person who speaks one language? several languages?

Figure 1: Interview guide

For the proper conduct of each interview, the interview guide was presented individually to each parent who took charge of the discussion with his or her child. This presentation in a preparatory meeting made it possible to obtain additional general information on each child's family and social environment (see Figure 2) and also to partly understand how the parent viewed his or her child's language practices. This allowed to carry out later a nuanced analysis of the interviews between child and parent by taking into account the positions of the two interlocutors.

Each interview took place in a familiar and pleasant environment for the child and the parent: at home (in the child's room or living-room) or in a quiet cafe. These configurations of interviews between a parent and a child allowed each of the participants to respect the expected forms of this type of interview while at the same time putting both parties in a position of trust. Children therefore did not hesitate to talk about their relationships to their parents or to their environment while focusing on their language practices.

The relationship of the participants to the French language was also taken into account in the analysis of the interviews. In each "linguistic" group, one child is interviewed by his French-speaking father while the other is interviewed by his mother whose first language is not French but Latvian or Russian. This has an incidence on the course of the interview and on the attitude of the interlocutors during the interview. Interviews conducted by French-speaking fathers are longer than those conducted by non-French-speaking mothers. Marija's interview lasts 24 minutes and Anna's almost 30 minutes, while Roberts and Alina's interviews are only about 15 minutes long. In interviews with fathers, both interviewees seem to pay less attention to answering questions without diverging and have more expressive freedom than in interviews with mothers. This may be explained by the fact that children give more detailed answers with Francophone parents because the relationship to the language of the interview, French, is not the same as with non-Francophone parents.

The primary parameter in this study is the native language(s) and languages used by children in their family and school circles. Anna and Roberts constitute a group of French-Latvian bilinguals where Latvian seems to have an important role. In contrast, Alina and Marija represent French-Russian bilingualism with several languages of schooling – Russian, Latvian or French. The difference between the two language groups is reinforced by the age difference: the two bilingual Franco-Latvian children are 8 years old while the other two are 10 years old.

Native languages	French and Latvian French-speaking father, Latvian-speaking mother		French and Russian French-speaking father, Russian-speaking mother	
Interviewee (pseudonym)	**Anna**	**Roberts**	**Alina**	**Marija**
Age at the time of the interview	8	8	10	10
Family situation	Married parents. She lives with her parents in Riga. Family languages are French and Latvian. Parents speak English and Russian to varying degrees.	Divorced parents, one younger brother (4 years old). He lives with his mother in Riga and sees his father during visits in Riga or on school holidays. His mother speaks Latvian and French with her children. His father speaks French with his children. The father speaks English and some Latvian; the mother is fluent in French, English and Russian.	Divorced parents, one older sister (13 years old). She lives alternately with both her parents (no detailed information on this matter). Parents used to speak French and English in the family. Currently, her mother speaks Russian with her children. She also speaks French and English. No information available on her Latvian language practice. Her father speaks French with his children. He speaks English otherwise. His knowledge of Latvian is not specified.	Divorced parents, one younger step-sister (2 years old) from her father's side. She lives alternately with both her parents: 2/3 of the time with her mother, 1/3 with her father. Parents used to speak English in the family, and each one spoke their own language with their daughter. Currently, her mother speaks with her in Russian. English is the spoken language within her father's family, but he speaks French to his daughter. The father's partner can speak Russian.

Native languages	French and Latvian French-speaking father, Latvian-speaking mother		French and Russian French-speaking father, Russian-speaking mother	
Interviewee (pseudonym)	**Anna**	**Roberts**	**Alina**	**Marija**
Schooling	Schooling in Latvian since pre-school (Latvian private/public schools)	Schooling in France for 1 year of pre-school, followed by 2–3 years of pre-school in Latvia. Schooling in Latvian since pre-school (Latvian public establishment)	Pre-school in Russian for 1 year then schooling in French (with some lessons in Russian and Latvian) at the Jules Verne Riga French school.	Pre-school at the Jules Verne Riga French school for 3 years, then schooling in Latvian and Russian in a public minority school in Latvia.

Figure 2: Profiles and language environments of the interviewed children

Dell Hymes model of SPEAKING (1977, 53–62) were used to conduct a discourse analysis based on the information parents provided about the circumstances of the interviews, the recordings they made of the interviews, and the transcripts of the interviews. This involved analysing the physical (time/place) or psychological framework of each situation (*Setting*). The *Participants* have been considered. It was necessary to situate socioculturally and in their relationships the persons and voices who contribute to the act of enunciation by speaking or not, present or physically absent. For each situation, its purposes and goals and its results were analysed, both in an overall perspective and for each participant (*Ends*). Were considered the Acts of utterances, i.e. their content and form, their style and the Key of each situation by identifying the tone used by the interlocutors and their attitudes. For each situation among *Instrumentalities*, the codes (linguistic, behavioural, socio-cultural) that were relevant for the participants and the *Norms* of interaction (interruptions and overlaps, silences) and of interpretation (according to socio-cultural presuppositions, the socio-historical context and the experience of each individual) were taken into account. Finally, it was necessary also to analyse the evolution of the Genre of discourse in each interview: short answers to a questionnaire, testimonies, free discussions between parent and child.

In particular, the use of certain deictics in children's speeches was analysed, for example, the personal pronouns "tu", "nous", "on". Thanks to these pronouns, the enunciator can mark his or her personal positioning in relation to others. In addition to this, the adverbs and adverbial locutions that specify the temporal location but also the different dates and periods that the children use as references were taken into account as well as the relationships that the children presented with the people and places they evoked.

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The interviews and discourse analysis made it possible to study the children's language representations, focusing on their relationship with the Latvian diglossic situation. The first step was to assess their language practices and attitudes by identifying the circumstances in which they use their first languages and their relationship to them, to languages in general and bilingualism.

LANGUAGE PRACTICES IN LATVIAN OR RUSSIAN, AND IN FRENCH

Anna and Roberts often refer to the Latvian language being used with other children, mainly at school but also outside the school with other Latvian-French speaking children. This language is mainly used in games. Especially Roberts enjoys creative games that require writing in Latvian with some friends, with whom he also reads comic books. Latvian also allows children to communicate with each other, both orally and in writing by sharing notes, especially with classmates. Roberts does not present Latvian as the language of family communication clearly, whereas Anna does so in a seemingly paradoxical way: she states that she speaks Latvian with her French father at the beginning of her interview and only later mentions situations in which Latvian is used with her Latvian mother, emphasising the evening reading her mother does before Anna goes to bed. Both children present Latvian rather rarely and very superficially as a language used in the wider society, for example, with other children's parents or their parents' friends.

On the other hand, Marija and Alina do not report any practice in Latvian. Instead, they present their practices in Russian, which is the primary language within their family circles. Alina's family circle consists of her mother and sister, but she does not specify her practices in Russian with them. Marija is more precise on this point: she converses in Russian with her mother and grandmother, as well as reads with her grandmother. Both girls mention the fact that Russian is the language used with their friends at school. To this, Alina adds that she also speaks Russian with "girlfriends" who are "not from school" and she says: "I play with my girlfriends in Russian, normally."[1] Alina and Marija talk briefly about their individual Russian practices. They read and they listen to or watch programmes on YouTube channels (Marija) or television, without specifying the type of these programmes. Marija specifies that she prefers comic books, whereas Alina does not say anything about the types of books she reads. Finally, it is most likely that Russian is the language of externalised internal discourse used when playing. Alina likes to "invent games" in Russian while Marija says "I play, I talk with them, with my toys". The two girls make a few remarks about the use of their first language in Latvian society, with their parents' friends and also

[1] From here on, all quotations are translated from French.

with strangers they have met on the street. When her father asks her when, where and with whom she speaks Russian, Marija immediately quotes her family and friends, adding: "There are people who ask me to show something and so I too can speak with them in Russian." Later in the interview, she notices that everyone in Latvia speaks Russian with her. To the question "When is it better to use Russian and when French?" she answers that "Russian is better when you are in a cafeteria having a small coffee or something like that". To the same question, Alina gives the same kind of answer: "And, if you are in Latvia, it's still better to speak Russian because there are more people who speak Russian". One can notice that Anna and Roberts do not mention the use of their native language, Latvian, in everyday communication situations in society. As for Russian, Anna and Roberts do not evoke any practice in this language.

The language practices that the four children have in common are carried out in French. In this language, interactions with others are generally confined to the restricted family circle consisting of the father and a few members of the larger circle in France, such as grandparents, an uncle or cousins. The father is presented as the main interlocutor in discussions in French by all the children, but only Anna and Roberts watch film with their father at the cinema or home. Anna also discusses the pleasure of reading with her father or listening to stories that he reads to her. Marija, on the other hand, remembers learning to count in French with her father. Anna, Marija and Roberts more or less accurately position their mother to the francophone family circle of practice. As for the four children's French-speaking friend circles, they generally consist of a few bilingual or even French-speaking children and a few adults from the parents' friend circle. Only Anna presents her parents' French-speaking friends as her own and shows that she has personal activities with them, mainly games or creative activities. The other children report the adults as occasional interlocutors without giving details on the interactions they have in French with them. As for activities in French with other children, they mainly relate to games with two or three children for Anna and Roberts, and discussions for Alina and Marija. On this point, Alina stands out from the other children because she says that she speaks French "with the girlfriends who don't speak Russian". No doubt she is referring to her classmates at the Jules Verne Riga French school she attends. The other children, for their part, say they have contact with bilingual people. The subject of French at school is broached by the two children who have or have had regular contact with the Jules Verne Riga French school, Marija and Alina. The latter says very briefly that she speaks French with her teachers, but does not talk about her school activities in French. Marija, for her part, recalls a teacher at the Jules Verne Riga French school whom she associates with exercises in writing in French. The children quite often present themselves alone in their practices in French. Roberts notes that he speaks French when he plays by himself. All the girls talk about reading in French as a regular activity. Marija specifies her favourite reading medium: comic strips. She also finds pleasure in watching YouTube channels in French. Anna, for her part, values the pleasure of recording herself reading a story or singing a song in French and listening to herself afterwards.

As for language practices in other languages, only Marija states this. She notes that she plays in French as well as in Russian, but also in "an imaginary language or in English". At the end of her interview, she insists on the fact that English is very familiar to her: "English is almost one of my maternal languages, too". She explains this by the fact that she has been hearing this language since her early childhood and "even on YouTube". In conclusion, she notes that she is learning Japanese – a language that impresses her because she finds it "cute". Surprisingly, while she is schooled in an environment where children of different nationalities live side by side, Alina makes no direct remarks about speaking languages other than Russian or French.

To sum up, the four children present language practices around their two first languages: French and Latvian or Russian. Considering the extent of the circles of use of these languages, and the variety and frequency of use in these languages, it can be deducted from their statements on bilingualism that Latvian or Russian are the dominant languages for these children, although French plays a significant role.

BILINGUALISM: A COMMONPLACE BUT VALUED PHENOMENON

All four children regularly present bilingualism as a commonplace phenomenon. For example, Alina considers that "it's normal to speak several languages". Anna thinks that adults speak three or four languages, whereas children at least two, "for example, English-Latvian, Russian-Latvian". According to her, some children speak three languages, "for example, Russian-English-Latvian". This commonplace phenomenon is beneficial for those who master it. Roberts notes that "it's special because you can go to more countries and talk a lot, a lot with people". Marija thinks "it's really an advantage to speak two languages, three languages, four [...] because you will be able to understand more people since you are little". Alina insists on the handicap of being monolingual, except for those who speak

English: “If you only speak one language, apart from English, you can’t really talk to all the people”. Roberts considers bilingualism very useful because it helps to develop knowledge about the world as well as about language systems. For him, bilinguals “know many, many, many more things than others who speak only one language. But if they learn another language, they also know a lot about that language.” Marija talks about the fact that knowing one language makes one want to learn another.

As for their bilingualism, the four children emphasise it in their discourse. Thus, from their first answers to questions about their practices in one of their first languages, Anna and Marija insist on their two first languages. Anna states that she speaks Latvian with her father – not a priori the most representative speaker of this language – and with other Latvian-French bilingual children. Her answer blurs the language reference points and helps to promote the Franco-Latvian bilingual model. Marija does the same when her father asks her, as the first question of the interview, to explain on which occasions she speaks Russian or French. She answers: “When I am in France, I can have thoughts in Russian, but it’s just that in Latvia, I can have thoughts in French and it depends where I am and who is speaking to me”. She states further on in her interview that she likes to speak two languages. When Roberts’ mother asks him at the very beginning of their interview how he feels when he speaks Latvian or French, Roberts answers: “I like both languages”. Alina insists on the need to practise her bilingualism, even at the Jules Verne Riga French school: “I find that speaking when I’m at school all the time in French wouldn’t be very cool. I like to speak different languages even in school”.

Alina and Marija show their bilingualism in a positive light by placing their two first languages on an equal footing. However, this does not allow them to conceal the fact that it is the locally-established language that is predominant in their practices, which they master better than French and which they often prefer. For example, Marija believes that she started speaking both French and Russian simultaneously; to her, there is no chronological first language. In a series of questions about which language “is better to use” in each language skill (i.e. speaking, listening, reading, writing), she tries not to differentiate between the two languages, for example, she states “I think it’s normal to speak both languages [...]”. For listening and reading, she answers that “it’s the same”. As for reading, she says that she does not know which language she is more comfortable in. On the other hand, she admits that she has a better command of and feels more comfortable writing in Russian than in French. However, when it comes to saying how she feels in one language or another, she makes no difference between them – she feels "good, comfortable" in both languages, adding: "Because they are my languages. They are my two favourite languages." Even though Alina has a reserved attitude towards French, the language of her schooling, she still tries to give it prominence in comparison with Russian, but without any real success. Thus, while she lists with ease all the things she likes to do in Russian, when it comes to French, she hesitates and searches for her answer, repeating the question aloud before answering "I don't know". Finally, Alina ends up saying: "Well, I like reading more in French. [...] But there are a lot of words I don't understand, so for me it's good. I like to read in French. Voilà!" When asked how she finds her two first languages, she avoids judging the French language by giving it, without conviction, characteristics similar to Russian: "For me, it is a little easier than Russian. But what do I think of it? Well, it is beautiful, and that's all." Only Marija and Alina apply this strategy of erasing the differences between their two first languages and valuing their bilingualism as an undividable whole.

Furthermore, the four children use another strategy to enhance the value of the French language and their bilingualism. This strategy is based on what this author considers to be the principle of attributing psychological and social functions to the languages that make up their bilingualism. The idea is to assign similar functions to these languages or, if this is not possible, to give them complementary functions. Some of these functions can be identified in the language practices presented above, while others will be discussed here on the basis of new cases.

The functions most often assigned to their languages are the communicative functions. According to the children's statements, languages often enable them to exchange information or ideas with other people. These contacts or exchanges are usually presented at an interpersonal level, but they can also be presented at a social level in Latvia, France, or elsewhere in the world with strangers in public places, or with members of a given social group, such as teachers or classmates' parents. This interpersonal communicative function can often be seen in statements on language practices with family or friends, as in Marija's statement: "If I don't speak both languages, I can't understand one of my parents".

The affective function of languages is identifiable when a language allows a child to express or feel emotions in a relationship with themselves or with others, mainly their parents. This is quite often the case in Anna's interview, especially when she talks about reading together or sharing songs with her parents, in French and Latvian.

Globally, the schooling function of a language is little or not presented by the children. It is even sometimes rejected by Alina and Roberts for whom the status of French as a language of schooling seems to weigh on their relationship with that language. As cited earlier, Alina does not seem to want to abandon Russian in favour of French at school. In a conversation with his mother, Roberts tries to make her understand that he does not like the French teaching that she imposes on him:

Roberts' mother: Okay. And what do you like to do in French?

Roberts: Huh. In France or in French?

Roberts' mother: In French.

Roberts: Not much.

Roberts' mother: Really?

Roberts: Yes.

However, Roberts uses the learning function of French to enhance its value: this language allows one to develop one's knowledge of the world or language systems in general. A language can also have a recreational function, which appears in particular in language practices related to audio-visual media, such as listening to audiobooks (Marija's pastime) or watching videos on YouTube. Reading comic books or books also has a recreational function, virtually in all children. It can also be seen with Roberts that comic book reading can have an interpersonal communicative function, for example, when he reads comic books in Latvian with his friends.

Two other functions, attributable to languages, exist but are difficult to identify in the language practices presented earlier. One of them appears in individual language practices that Anna or Marija particularly highlight. Both children seem to pay attention to their voices in their first languages and derive aesthetic pleasure from them. Anna enjoys singing certain songs because "they are good to hear, when you hear them". She records herself in French and then listens to herself again and says: "I like to hear how I speak". Marija, after indicating that Russian and French are her "two favourite languages", explains that she "really likes the sounds" in Russian, that she can change her voice in French and that she can have a "really soft voice" in both languages. It seems that listening to oneself speaking or singing is a part of a process of becoming aware of one's singularity which comes through the pleasure of the sounds one produces. In fact, this personal identity function is observable in the activities in which children handle or learn language or in their conception of such handling and learning. This is what can be understood thanks to Roberts, who does not talk about aesthetic work with his languages and who rejects school work on French. Nevertheless, he confidently presents his conception of the acquisition of his first languages. According to him, these languages are innate because they are brought to him by his parents and their relationship. For example, he explains that he spoke Latvian when “Mummy married Daddy” and spoke French “because Mummy married a Frenchman”. Later, he explains his bilingualism in these terms: “it works because you were born with two parents, one from France and one from Latvia. That’s it.” Roberts sees his bilingualism as a genetic inheritance, while Anna and Marija see it as a personal construction. If every language is a vector of identity construction (Marc 2005, 48–50), it seems that the work that each person does on their first language(s) or their conception of this work is part of their personal identity construction.

This is what leads us to another identity function of languages that arises in language practices with others or in what children say about these practices. This function is easily identifiable in certain statements about practices in French or their bilingualism characterised by French. At the beginning of his interview, after having said that he loves his two first languages, Roberts remarks: “When I speak in French, in my school, I think everyone says *woah!* and they would like to know how I do that”. When her father asks her if it is special to speak French, Anna answers “Yes. [...] Because I like it and there are not many children who speak French, it is rare”. Elsewhere in her interview, she says she prefers French to Latvian, for a reason, which has to do with her relationship with another French-Latvian-speaking child: “I speak more French with R. when there are other children [...] when we have things, little secrets. All those things.” All this reveals the fact that language allows the individual to place themselves in society and give them a singular status, to be different. In this case, French allows either to have a positive and special image among the children at school or to have intimate socialisation apart from the large Latvian-speaking friend circle. On the contrary, a language can be used not to distinguish oneself from a given group but to integrate into that group. This appears on one occasion in Anna’s interview. After characterising the people who speak French, based on examples of activities she does with them, she clarifies her views on “Latvian speakers” as follows: “They too are nice, we communicate, we’re all together. We are together, we understand each other.” In this case, Anna points out that Latvian, beyond the fact that it is used for communication, makes it possible to create a sense of belonging among Latvian speakers, to create a group identity.

These few examples reveal what can be called the sociocultural identity function of languages and highlight the relationship that a function given to a language may have within a given sociolinguistic and sociocultural situation. The identity that a person attributes to themselves should mark their sociological or even ideological position in relation to that situation. What do the psychological and social functions attributed to their languages show about the relationship that children have with the diglossic situation in Latvia?

Functions that relate to the Latvian diglossic situation as a whole are the interpersonal and overall communicative functions of languages, the sociocultural identity function, and their schooling function. All the functions favoured by the children are identified, splitting these functions per language, then further distinguishing the two groups, formed by Anna and Roberts on one side and Alina and Marija – on the other.

	Function attributed to the **Latvian** language by	Function attributed to the **Russian** language by	Function attributed to the **French** language by	
Interpersonal communicative function	Anna Roberts	Alina Marija	Anna Roberts	Alina Marija
Overall communicative function in Latvia	Anna Roberts*	Alina Marija	Anna Roberts*	Alina* Marija*
Overall communicative function in…		Alina: Russia	Anna and Roberts: France, worldwide	Alina and Marija: France
Personal identity function		Marija	Anna Roberts	Marija
Sociocultural identity function	Anna* Roberts		Anna Roberts	Alina* Marija
Intrapersonal affective function		Marija	Anna Roberts*	
Interpersonal affective function	Anna		Anna	
Schooling function	Anna*	Alina* Marija*	Roberts	Alina Marija
Learning function	Anna		Roberts	Alina
Recreational function	Anna Roberts	Alina Marija	Anna	Alina* Marija

* implicitly attributed or superficially evoked function

Figure 3: Distribution of psychological and social functions of languages among the children interviewed

CHILDREN'S SUBJECTIVE LINGUISTIC ENVIRONMENTS

When analysing the language schooling function, it is noticeable that the children make no mention of the fact that several languages are used in their classes. This seems logical for Anna and Roberts, who are in a Latvian-speaking environment. However, they do not seem to consider Latvian as the language of schooling – they do not speak about it. Marija does not mention her classes in Latvian at all. She speaks very little of the ones that focus on Russian, and the only aspect she points out is that she writes in Russian at school. As for French, she remembers learning to write in this language at school. Alina quickly mentions that the Russian classes bore her because she has to concentrate on details that seem useless to her; she does not talk about her classes in French. It has been seen that Roberts complains about his home-schooling in French. Furthermore, no child mentions their English classes, even though they exist. Thus, the children concern themselves with the details of their learning of or in their first languages rather superficially.

They talk significantly more about the fact that their first languages fulfil their interpersonal communicative function with friends at school. This function, as presented throughout the four interviews, is perfectly fulfilled by the three languages in their interpersonal relations in Latvian or Russian and French in the family circle and in the circle of friends. It is remarkable that these interpersonal contacts do not take place in a secondary language: Latvian for Russian-speaking children, and vice versa. This suggests that the children place themselves in two distinct linguistic environments.

Looking at the communicative function of languages in the Latvian context, i.e. the fact that they enable exchange with strangers or members of an identified social group, it appears that here, too, the children place themselves into two distinct linguistic environments. This conclusion can be drawn from the fact that the children talk about their interactions in their "local" first language or French with strangers or little-known people. Anna says that she uses Latvian with all her friends' parents, suggesting that they are all Latvian speakers. Marija and Alina insist on the usefulness of Russian compared to French to communicate in Latvia, Marija even stating that everyone speaks Russian to her in Latvia.

It appears that by placing themselves into two distinct linguistic environments, the children are outside the Latvian diglossic context, they deny its existence: there is no contact between Latvian and Russian, and there are no differences in their status and usage since the other language does not exist.

ELEMENTS OF THE LATVIAN DIGLOSSIC SITUATION

There are few indications that children are in contact with speakers of other languages outside their family or friend circles, for example, Roberts says that he speaks Latvian "with [friends'] Latvian mothers and fathers too". His answer implies that he meets parents of other nationalities or who speak other languages, but he does not discuss this subject any further. Anna notes that "there are not many children who speak Latvian, there are more who speak Russian, English and all that" in Riga's playgrounds or parks. Marija mentions a situation of contact with "people who speak Latvian". These situations of contact with allophones, therefore, exist in the children's lives but they make minimal mention of these, or, like Alina, not at all.

Furthermore, when they talk about these kinds of situations, they point to a problem with it. For example, in the exchange Anna had with her father after her statement on the absence of Latvian kids in playgrounds in Riga, she acknowledges that the children at her school and people whom she meets on the street speak Latvian, but she insists that the children on playgrounds do not. She, without a doubt, has a problem with this: she cannot establish contact with these children and play with them. Roberts, for his part, hardly ever discusses subjects related to the communicative function of the Latvian language. Perhaps he doubts too that it fulfils its communicative function in Latvia, especially since he emphasises another deficiency concerning its sociocultural identity function:

> Roberts' mother: Okay. And what do you think of the Latvian language? What do you think of it?
>
> Roberts: ... (*Whispers*)
>
> Roberts' mother: Tu drīksti pateikt dažas lietas arī latviski.[2]
>
> Roberts: I find it, um, *tautistu, tautisku*...
>
> Roberts' mother: What does that mean?
>
> Roberts: Because... well... in Latvia, we also sometimes speak a little bit of the Russian side. (*Whispers*) And that's it...

It is probable that Roberts is repeating a statement that he has picked up from one of his socialisation circles without understanding or mastering the elements that make up this discourse. Indeed, he is first of all mistaken about the term that he should use to characterise the Latvian language (*tautistu*). He then gives it a more or less a clear adjective, *tautisku*, which means that it is the language "of the

[2] From Latvian "You can say something in Latvian, too".

people" or "popular". Subsequently, the link he makes between what he has just said about Latvian and "the Russian side" is not precise. He presumably wishes to speak of the fact that the Latvian language is involved in the building up of a cultural group, or even an ethnic nation, and that the Russian language or Russian culture in Latvia hinders this process. Whispering implies that he is embarrassed to talk about it, perhaps because he cannot correctly master the concepts involved and the lexicon corresponding to them. It is likely that he also feels that the subject is problematic and should not be addressed out aloud.

On one occasion, Marija tells her father about a problem she came in contact with Latvian speakers concerning the communicative function of the Russian language in Latvia:

> Marija's father: Okay. In your opinion, in what situation is it better to use Russian?
>
> Marija: I don't think it's when I'm with people who speak Latvian because they don't like Russian too much. So, I can speak at home, in a library, but very, very quietly... well, silently.

Children cannot define and analyse the Latvian diglossic situation exactly, but some of them focus on elements of the sociolinguistic situation that disturb them or pose problems for them. Roberts and Marija seem to consider contact between Russian and Latvian or between the speakers of these languages as conflicting and disturbing. The societal multilingualism that characterises the streets of central Riga seems to annoy Anna.

STRATEGIES OF PLACING ONESELF ON DIGLOSSIC SITUATION

How do these children position themselves in relation to the problems posed by the sociolinguistic situation in Latvia? How can be explained the fact that Alina does not talk about this subject at all? Two strategies of placing oneself on diglossic situations are identifiable among the four children.

In the extract above from Marija's interview with her father, she reveals her opinion under the guise of presenting a fact: Russian is not accepted as a language of socialisation by Latvian speakers, posing a problem for her relating to the sociocultural identity function of Russian in Latvia. She cannot express herself in Russian; she cannot show her Russian identity. Faced with this situation, she advocates discretion. As noted by the interviewee, Russian can be used within the family circle but not in public; if used in public, it should be done so in a discreet way, especially in cultural establishments. Following this same strategy of discretion, she insists on the functions of her French-Russian bilingualism which relate to interpersonal contacts or personal development. As a symbol of this, here is a quotation where she highlights the personal identity function of her first languages, based on a historical characteristic of French-Russian bilingualism: "I can say that these two languages are a little bit put together because before in Russia, in the families that were really rich. So, they used to speak in French with their children, with their parents. So, they were speaking French and Russian". For Marija, it is probably a question of using a historical fact rather than a personal opinion to show that her bilingualism distinguishes her socially and culturally from other people in Latvia. By this historical reference, she neutralises the importance of Russian in her bilingualism. She does the same when she states that she favours personal plurilingualism in which French and English have an important place. When making this statement, she also includes Japanese – a language that fulfils an affective function in relation to herself, since she loves it because it is "cute". It seems that by loving and discreetly living her Russian and plurilingual linguistic practices and identity, she distances herself from the Latvian diglossic context. Alina seems to cultivate this strategy even further by complementing it with a disinterest in or denial of Latvian diglossia. Indeed, unlike the other three children, she presents her language practices in situations of communication with friends or family members with little context and thus insists on the interpersonal communicative function of her languages. Even though she notes that Russian is a useful language for socialisation in Latvia and Russia, she makes no specific remarks on the communicative or identity functions of the languages that would allow her to show what she thinks of the sociolinguistic situation in Latvia. Moreover, she states that in her daily life, she applies both French and Russian as languages of socialisation, schooling or recreation, but these languages do not seem to participate in her affective life or in the construction of her identity, which is probably not the case in practice. In conclusion, it appears that Alina, same as Marija, is distancing herself from Latvian diglossic context and any conflict situations that it may pose by highlighting the Franco-Russian bilingualism of everyday life.

As for Latvian-speaking children, they understand that Latvian is not the only language that can fulfil functions of communication in the society, competing with Russian and, according to Anna, sometimes even English. Faced with this situation, the two children more or less explicitly take up the discourse which imposes Latvian as the language of the state and nation. However, they do not take a clear personal stance on this, probably because they are not able to, or they do not want to. This can be seen in the extract where Roberts whispers about Latvian as an ethnic language and of "the Russian side" in Latvia. Note that this notion also appears in Anna's comments on Latvian speakers: "They too are nice, we communicate, we are all together. We are together, we understand each other". This statement shows that Anna considers both the communicative function of the Latvian language in Latvia and its cultural identity function by implicitly referring to the Latvian diglossic situation. She does not clearly state her position. Either she wants to show that everyone who speaks Latvian integrates into the Latvian linguistic and cultural group – one that is considered to be the Latvian nation by the authorities and many people – or she highlights the fact that she belongs to the Latvian linguistic and cultural community and therefore stands out from the Russian-speaking linguistic group. These two hypotheses can be combined, which seems highly probable given its bilingualism with French. The two children are doubtful about the overall communicative and the sociocultural identity functions of Latvian.

This leads them to value their French-Latvian bilingualism. French fulfils personal and sociocultural identity functions and marks Anna's and Roberts' singularity in Latvia. The French language also has an interpersonal communicative function in Latvia and abroad which allows them to evolve outside the Latvian-Russian diglossic context. Moreover, French allows Anna to have an affective relationship with herself, while it allows Roberts to have an affective relationship with others. Finally, their French-Latvian bilingualism helps both children to stand out in the Latvian diglossic context or to open up to various sociolinguistic contexts both locally and internationally.

None of the four children expresses a clear and personal ideological position regarding the Latvian diglossic situation. However, one can note that the two Latvian-speaking children seem to be looking for one. They take up elements of the official discourse favouring Latvian in this situation, but they do not fully understand or assume them, probably because the diglossia issue is beyond them. It is probably for this reason that all children adopt the same social position: they put themselves as much as possible on the fringe of the Latvian diglossic context. For this purpose, they seem to adopt two strategies based on their bilingualism with French: Latvian-speaking children stand out from other people, and Russian-speaking children make themselves discreet in order to live normally while speaking Russian.

CONCLUSION

A discourse analysis based on the notion of language representation was carried out, taking into account the psychological and social functions that Franco-Latvian children attribute to their first languages. This allowed to understand how these children give meaning to their bilingualism in the Latvian sociolinguistic context or how they position themselves in relation to the existing diglossic situation in Latvia. The children highlight their bilingualism with French, a neutral language in this diglossic situation. They can thus disengage themselves from this situation. This author hypothesizes that they probably do so to avoid suffering or fostering any social tensions that this situation brings and that they may experience or feel, quite possibly without understanding them. It remains to be seen whether this phenomenon of disengagement persists when individuals grow up or exists among adults. Moreover, it would be interesting to investigate whether this phenomenon also develops when bilingualism is built up with a language that is neutral in relation to the diglossic situation and is a foreign language for the child, i.e. a language learned at school or acquired through practice, such as English in Latvia.

The development of this kind of bilingualism among the population could help to smooth out the diglossic conflict that Latvian society has experienced so far. However, the disengagement of bilinguals from the diglossic situation could, as in the case of Anna-Roberts and Alina-Marija, consolidate the constitution of two distinct worlds with two separate linguistic and cultural communities that would use a neutral lingua franca. The result would then be the exact opposite of what the Latvian authorities are seeking to achieve, i.e. the integration of linguistic minorities through their Latvianisation. A considerable amount of work can be done in this respect when it comes to Latvia's language education policy and on the choice of the first foreign language compulsory at school: English, Russian or a range of several languages?

REFERENCES

Champonnois, S. and De Labriolle, F. (2003). *Dictionnaire de la Lettonie*. Crozon: Editions Armeline.

Dilans, G. (2009). "Russian in Latvia: An Outlook for Bilingualism in a Postsoviet Transitional Society." *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 12 (1), 1–13, Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050802149481> (accessed May 2020).

Droit, E. (2005). “Lettonie, les russophones entre intégration et repli identitaire.” *Le courrier des pays de l’Est* 1052 (novembre-décembre), 42–49.

Durandin, J. (2019). “Comment des enfants franco-lettons vivent-ils et comprennent-ils leur bilinguisme en Lettonie? Perspectives de recherche sur leurs représentations.” In: Berchoud, M. (dir.) *Bi-pluri-linguisme et éducation. Comparaisons internationales*. Louvain-la-Neuve: EME Editions, 75–140.

Eurostat. (2020). Population on 1 January by broad age group and sex. Available at: https://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=demo_pjanbroad&lang=en (accessed May 2020).

Grenoble, L. A. (2003). *Language Policy in the Soviet Union*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

Hogan-Brun, G., Ozolins, U., Ramonienė M. and Rannut, M. (2008). “Language Politics and Practices in the Baltic States.” *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 8 (4), 469–631, Available at: <https://doi.org/DOI: 10.2167/cilp124.0> (accessed May 14, 2020).

Hymes, D. H. (1977). *Foundations in Sociolinguistics*. Oxon: Tavistock Publications Limited.

Jodelet, D. (2003). “Représentations sociales : un domaine en expansion.” In: Jodelet, D. (ed.) *Les représentations sociales*, 7ème ed. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 47–78.

Kibermane, K. and Kļava, G. (2016a). “Valodas Latvijā: valsts valoda, valodu prasme, valodas izglītībā.” In: Lauze, L. and Kļava, G. (eds.) *Valodas situācija Latvijā: 2010/2015. Socioligvinstisks pētījums*. Rīga: LVA, 35–92.

Kibermane, K. and Kļava, G. (2016b). “Valsts valodas lietojums sociolingvinstikajās jomās.” In: Lauze, L. and Kļava, G. (eds.) *Valodas situācija Latvijā: 2010/2015. Socioligvinstisks pētījums*. Rīga: LVA, 93–122.

Latvijas Padomju Sociālistiskās Republikas Augstākās Padome (1988). *LPSR Augstākās padomes lēmums par latviešu valodas statusu.* Available at: <http://www.vvk.lv/index.php?sadala=135&id=167 (accessed June 2020).

Latvijas Republikas Augstākā Padome (1992). *LR likums par grozījumiem un papildinājumiem LPSR Valodu likumā.* Available at: <http://www.vvk.lv/index.php?sadala=135&id=165> (accessed June 2020).

Latvijas Republikas Saeima (2020). *Izglītības likums.* Available at: <https://likumi.lv/ta/id/50759> (accessed June 2020).

Latvijas Republikas Saeima (1993). *Pilsonības likums.* Available at: <https://likumi.lv/ta/id/57512> (accessed June 2020).

Latvijas Republikas Saeima (1999). *Valsts valodas likums.* Available at <https://likumi.lv/ta/id/14740> (accessed June 2020).

Latvijas Republikas Saeima (1998). *1998. gada 15. oktobra likums "Grozījumi Latvijas Republikas Satversmē.* Available at: <https://likumi.lv/ta/id/50292> (accessed June 2020).

Marc, E. (2005). *Psychologie de l'identité. Soi et le groupe*. Paris: Dunod.

Metuzāle-Kangere, B. and Ozolins, U. (2005). "The Language Situation in Latvia 1850–2004." *Journal of Baltic Studies* 36 (3), 317–344. Available at <https://doi.org/10.1080/01629770500000121> (accessed May 2020).

Moliner, P., Rateau, P. and Cohen-Scali, V. (2002). *Les représentations sociales : Pratique des études de terrain*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.

Orcier, P. (2005). *La Lettonie en Europe*. Riga: Zvaigzne ABC.

Ozolins, U. (1999). "Between Russian and European Hegemony: Current Language Policy in the Baltic States." *Current Issues in Language and Society* 6, 6–47. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13520529909615534> (accessed May 2020).

Pabriks, A. and Purs, A. (2001). *Latvia, the Challenges of Change*. London and New York: Routledge.

Pisarenko, O. (2006). "The Acculturation Modes of Russian Speaking Adolescents in Latvia: Perceived Discrimination and Knowledge of the Latvian Language." *EuropeAsia Studies* 58 (5), 751–773. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09668130600732100> (accessed May 2020).

Plasseraud, Y. (1996). *Les Etats baltes*. Paris: Montchrestien.

Pluča, V. (2019). "Valsts valoda un māzakumtautību skola." In: Veisbergs, A. (ed.) *Valoda un valsts*. Valsts Valodas Komisija. 10. sējums, Rīga: Zinātne, 198–208.

Priedīte, A. (2005). "Surveying Language Attitudes and Practices in Latvia." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 26 (5), 409–424, Available at <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434630508668413> (accessed May 2020).

Romanov, A. (2000). "The Russian Diaspora in Latvia and Estonia: Predicting Language Outcomes." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 21 (1), 58–71, Available at: < https://doi.org/10.1080/01434630008666394> (accessed May 2020).

Ulmanis, K. and Gulbis, V. (1935). *Likums par valsts valodu*> Available at: <http://www.vvk.lv/index.php?sadala=135&id=166 (accessed June 2020).

Veisbergs, A. (ed.) (2019). *Valoda un valsts*. Valsts Valodas Komisija. 10. sējums, Rīga: Zinātne.

GROUPS OF FESTIVITIES MOST EXPOSED TO COMMERCIALIZATION PROCESSES: OPINIONS OF RESIDENTS IN LATGALE AND PSKOV REGION

OKSANA KOVZELE

Oksana Kovzele, Dr. philol., researcher
Centre of Cultural Research
Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences
Daugavpils University, Latvia
e-mail: oksana.kovzele@du.lv
https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9696-4212

Dr. philol. Oksana Kovzele is a researcher of the Centre of Cultural Research at Daugavpils University Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences (Latvia). She is the author of more than 40 scientific articles and the editor and member of the Scientific Boards of 15 scientific journals and conference proceedings. Her main research interests are comparative literature, comparative linguistics, and cultural studies. Currently she is implementing a postdoctoral project "Transformations of Festive Culture in the Borderland: The Case of Latgale and Pskov Regions" supported by EU European Regional Development Fund (ERDF).

ABSTRACT

The paper is based on the survey (questionnaire and interviewing) of residents in Latgale (south-eastern region of Latvia – the major object of the research) and residents in Pskov region (part of the north-western federal province of Russia – the minor object of the research). The survey was conducted between January 2018 and June 2019 with the aim of detecting the views of the local population on contemporary festive culture and ongoing changes in this sphere.

The survey, which included 906 people, revealed that nowadays almost all groups of festivities are exposed to commercialization processes. Adopted, state, calendar (traditional), and religious festivities are affected the most (in Latgale these festivities are Christmas, Easter, Līgo/Jāņi, and St. Valentine's Day; in the Pskov region, they are Easter and Christmas). Family festivities (birthdays, weddings, and jubilees) are less affected. However, the materials show that these indicators are increasing with time.

At the same time, the intensity of commercialization processes differs significantly in both statistical regions, namely, in Latgale it is significantly higher.

Residents of Latgale either become accustomed to the status of consumers of festive products over time, or criticize the changes that have occurred in the festive culture under the influence of commercialization processes. As a result, they are increasingly thinking about the need to preserve cultural and moral values in a modern consumer society. In turn, the residents of the Pskov region who participated in the survey over time observe the problem identified in the research, although in most cases they still refrain from commenting on this topic.

Keywords: festive culture, commercialization, Latgale, Pskov region, survey

INTRODUCTION

In the present-day shifting socio-cultural environment, researchers' attention is more and more frequently attracted to festivities and their transformations and genesis (Djomina 2011, 103). On the one hand, research literature traditionally defines festivity as one of the most stable forms of spiritual culture (Filatova 2013, 143; Vasil'ev 2003, 51) that entails folk mythological thinking, features of ancient cults and rituals, social order modelling, daily and family life standards, psychology and morality (Burmenskaja 2009, 246; Medvedeva and Romah 2007, 69). On the other hand, none of the world cultures is thinkable as a completely frozen, static phenomenon. In real life situation, culture, including festivities, manifests a certain dynamic of traditional culture forms and innovations (Ķencis 2008, 128).

In the reality affected by the model of globalization and consumerist society, there are transformations concerning various festive culture levels:

- festivities are gradually losing their initial exclusiveness, i.e., massive expansion of their elements is observed in the sphere of daily life;
- hyperfestive reality provokes the change of the initial content of festivities;
- under the impact of globalization and multiculturalism, there happens borrowing and adopting of foreign festive culture realia;
- the segment of festivities is constantly subjected to the impact of commercialization processes – more and more frequently festivities and festive events are turned into commodities that need to be sold with a maximum profit.

The present paper, on the basis of the materials of the survey of residents in Latgale (south-eastern region of Latvia – the major object of the research) and Pskov regions (part of the north-western federal province of Russia – the minor object of the research) conducted in 2018–2019 with 810 questionnaires processed and 96 interview records, singles out and characterizes the groups of festivities most exposed to commercialization processes according to the views of residents from both countries, considering also the amount of the demand for these festivity attributes.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

A growing number of scholars acknowledge that nowadays the commercial sector actively exploits the readiness of consumers to spend huge sums of money during festivities that is not characteristic of other, non-festive time periods (Popelková 2017, 183). The trend of commercialization of festive culture is regarded in European and world scientific literature in various possible perspectives, three whereof can be singled out as dominant.

The scholars focus on festivals (mostly – those of art, music, and sports) characterized as demonstrations of the brightest contemporary culture achievements and financially profitable products. This problem scope is studied by Anderton 2011; Jaeger and Mykletun 2013; Jordan 2016, and other scholars.

Many scholars characterize the significance of festivities and festivals in the context of tourist industry development and location branding. In this respect, the contribution of Diedering and Kwiatkowski 2015; Herstein and Berger 2014; Karabağ et al. 2011; Prentice and Andersen 2003 and other experts in diverse (sub)branches of science must be mentioned.

Recent scientific literature regards festive advertising as an independent and rapidly developing branch of advertising industry. The greatest number of such studies are dedicated to television festive advertising – its content (Çetin 2019), symbolical and attributive code (Kurochkina 2015), and techniques of impacting, mostly on the example of the trade of production targeted at children and young people (Buijzen and Valkenburg 2000; Pine and Nash 2002; Pine et al. 2007; Holiday et al. 2018); much more rarely there occurs characteristics of festive advertising available in social networks (Fotis et al. 2012; Fernández-Gómez and Díaz-Campo 2015) and press editions (Popp 2012).

From the above-mentioned trends, the latter has been studied in the scientific discourse of Latvia most widely. This is approved by the research by L. Stašāne and M. Zitmane (2014), where festive advertising is regarded as an indicator of consumption development and reflector of identity. Another study by S. Murinska-Gaile (2016) is dedicated to the semantic and discursive analysis of festive advertising, placing special emphasis on the colour, symbolical, and verbal code. Furthermore, M. Zitmane, S. Kalniņa, and L. Stašāne (2016), in their paper, have analysed publications (including advertising items) dedicated to the subject matter of Christmas in the popular news portals of Latvia. However, it must be emphasized that there is still a lack of studies of the outlined trends based on the material of Latvia and particularly the region of Latgale, especially taking into consideration the state of festive culture in neighbouring countries. This refers also to the most detailed study of festivities and festivity groups most prone to the processes of commercialization in the context of Latvia (Latgale).

The idea that under contemporary conditions festivities gradually become an object of consumption is expressed by Russian scientists as well. Their attention is focused on the activities of the organizers of festivities and festive events (Tihomirova 2016) and on the closely related phenomenon of *pseudo* festivities (Filatova 2013; Medvedeva 2007), as well as perspectives of exploiting festivities for the purpose of advertising (Popelenskaja (Lopahina) 2012; Shamsutdinova and Turhanova 2010). Significantly, in these research works the Pskov region as a part of Russia is considered important in respect of material and non-material culture legacy that is to be promoted for attracting additional financing by means of festivals, fairs, exhibitions, and other similar activities (Eshina 2005), thus facilitating the development of regional event tourism (Hadimullina and Zhukov 2017). It must be noted that festivities and festivity groups most exploited for commercial purposes are not characterized either.

RESEARCH PROCEDURE AND METHODOLOGY

The present paper is based on the anonymously conducted survey in the territory of Latvian – Russian borderland from January 2018 to June 2019, with the aim of detecting the views of the local population on contemporary festive culture and ongoing changes in this sphere. The survey was conducted within the framework of the project "Transformations of Festive Culture in the Borderland: The Case of Latgale and Pskov Regions" financed by the European Regional Development Fund.

The first stage of the survey constituted a questionnaire with twenty closed and open type questions available in both paper format and electronic version on the Internet. The questionnaire made it possible to specify the most current nuances of the perception of festivities in the territory under analysis, most popular festivities there, the intensity of participation of the local population, degree of knowing and observing traditions, changes of festive culture and their provoked risks, the impact of festive advertising, the most demanded festivity attributes and other information valid for the topic under study. Within the first stage, responses provided by 467 residents from Latgale and 343 residents from Pskov region were selected and summarized. The received questionnaire forms were assessed and selected not only by their quality but also according to the diversity of respondents' social and age groups.

The Latgale's and Pskov region's questionnaire responses were statistically analysed using the SPSS program. The survey data were weighed according to the main lines of stratification: gender, age, ethnic origin, place of residence.

In Latgale questionnaire base the deviation of the sample parameters from the parameters of the overall total after correction did not exceed ± 5%. The interval of distribution assurance/significance was at the level of 0.03-0.1. 49% of respondents from Latgale comprised females, and 51% – males; 45.7% comprised Latvians, 35.9% – Russians, 5% – Poles, 3.5% – Belarusians, 2.6% – Ukrainians, 0.3% – Lithuanians, 7% – other; 80% of respondents were in the working age from 15 years of age and 20% – above the working age (retired people); 11.6% obtained basic education, 46.1% – secondary education and 42.3% – higher education; 40.5% of respondents were urban residents and 59.5% – rural residents.

In Pskov region questionnaire base the deviation of the sample parameters from the parameters of the overall total after correction did not exceed ± 5%. The interval of distribution assurance/significance was at the level of 0.2–4.4. 40.8% of respondents from Pskov region comprised females, and 59.2% – males; 82.2% comprised Russians, 3.1% – Ukrainians, 0.7% – Belarusians, 14% – other; 76.8% of respondents were in the working age from 15 years of age and 23.2% – above the working age (retired people); 0.4% obtained basic education, 42.3% – secondary education and 57.3% – higher education; 69.4% of respondents were urban residents and 30.6% – rural residents.

Within the second stage – interviewing (10 questions) – replies with argumentation of 73 interviewees from Latgale and 23 interviewees from Pskov region were recorded with dictaphone for deeper characteristics of the topic under analysis. Interview recordings were transcribed and saved in Microsoft Word format.

The present paper, on the basis of the materials of the abovementioned survey carried out in two stages, singles out and characterizes in a comparative perspective the festivity groups most exposed to commercialization in the opinions of respondents and interviewees from both countries.

Summarized information relates to Question 17 in the questionnaire: "To what extent, in your opinion, is this festivity [1) adopted festivities and holidays; 2) family festivities; 3) calendar traditional / religious festivities; 4) state holidays] related to commerce?" that was offered three reply options: 1) fully related; 2) sometimes related, 3) not related at all. In addition, extended responses were considered provided by respondents during the interviews to Question 10: "To what extent are festivities nowadays related to commerce? Which of them, in your opinion, are subjected to market laws and have become a commodity?"

RESEARCH RESULTS

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SITUATION IN LATGALE

Survey data reveal that respondents of Latgale consider the *adopted festivities and holidays* as most related to commerce (80.1%). These festivities have entered the Latvian culture environment in various historical periods – in the Soviet period (e.g. March 8) as well as nowadays (e.g. St. Valentine's Day and Halloween). It is noteworthy that this opinion is expressed by respondents of various age groups, but especially younger and older generation representatives ("20–24 years of age" – 94.74%, "65–69 years of age" – 91.80%, "70+ years of age" – 100%); Latvians (86.85%); people who do not live in official marriage (those living in unmarried cohabitation – 89.13%, the widowed – 93.88%); residents with no children under age in their family (83.58%). The opinion of the close relatedness of adopted festivities to commerce in Latgale is not significantly affected by the respondents' gender, education, and place of residence [1].

Significantly, in the opinion of interviewees, it is exactly St. Valentine's Day [2] that is stably associated with intrusive advertising and abundance of thematic products in shops, e.g.:

"People make a good profit on this, especially, well, I don't know, how it's with me, say, I enter a shop and see the counter, say, recently, too, it was 14 February, and everything is decorated with hearts, various notebooks and candles, what not. You enter and get interested in that, you look at it and you like all that. Bright and attractive at once, an all." (female, 18, Russian, Daugavpils/Krāslava)

"14 February now it was, which means again buy-buy, then yes, advertising annoys you." (male, 32, Latvian, Daugavpils)

"[...] because there are such sales, as if sales there are, but those are best selling goods for those festivities." (female, 46, Russian, Rēzekne region, Zahariha)

Indeed, according to the questionnaire data, the indicators of the demand for the attributes of the respective festive day in the region are rather high (goods are regularly purchased by 32.2% of the total number of respondents), and this situation is not affected by the respondents' gender, number of children under age in family, or place of residence [3]. Most active buyers of the attributes of St. Valentine's Day are people aged between 45 and 49 (51.11%), local Ukrainians (76.92%), respondents with secondary education (42.99%), people living in unmarried cohabitation (50%).

The festivity of March 8 that was introduced in the Soviet period and has recently experienced a new wave of popularity is stably associated in the region with commerce as well. Interviewees emphasize that flowers and candies are bought in mass on this date, while indecisive customers are attracted in shops by seemingly good offers of thematic products:

"[…] for March 8 there are always a huge lot of flowers, cards." (female, 46, Russian, Rēzekne region, Viļāni)

"Well, strong festivities, especially March 8, commerce gives a lot of flowers and people make money on this." (female, 65, Russian, Rēzekne region, Kruķi)

It is surprising that, according to the results of questionnaire, second larger festivity group after adopted festivities regarding the impact of commercialization processes in Latgale is *state holidays* (52.1%). Within the mentioned trend, attention is attracted by a group of residents opposing this opinion. It entails respondents of medium and older generation ("45–49 years of age" – 55.56%, "70+ years of age" – 68.75%), Latvians residing in Latgale (33.02%), people having basic education (59.26%), married respondents (39.16%), people with no under age children in family (33.13%), and rural residents (40.07%). However, if the remaining part of respondents has intuitively defined state holidays as commercial in their questionnaires, interviewees avoided commenting this situation, with some exceptions:

"[...] all state holidays, sports festivities, political festivities – all is related to commerce, advertising, and market [...]." (female, 40, Latvian, Riebiņi region, Galēni)

"Well, commodities here, of course, state commodities. These are state holidays [...]." (male, 73, Russian, Daugavpils)

Notwithstanding the diversity of opinions, it must be noted that state holiday attributes available in the region are gradually entering modern festive industry. Certainly, these attributes are purchased more seldom than New Year, Christmas, etc. products that are much more diversified, yet the trend of commercialization is growing obviously also on the state festivity level.

Questionnaire data testify that 21% of the total surveyed people regularly purchase attributes of the Proclamation Day of the Republic of Latvia and 13.5% – those of Lāčplēsis Day. Admirers of the attributes of the Proclamation Day are female residents of Latgale (25.99%), people aged 65 to 69 (52.46%), Latvians (33.96%), respondents having higher education (36.04%), the widowed (35.29%); the same category of respondents (people aged 65 to 69 (44.26%), Latvians (23.94%), respondents having higher education (25.51%), the widowed (22%)) is more attracted also by the attributes of Lāčplēsis Day. In both cases, intensity of purchasing does not depend on respondents' place of residence and the number of under age children in family; in the case of Lāčplēsis Day, respondents' gender is not decisive either [4].

Next group of festivities noted as commercial by respondents from Latgale comprises *calendar traditional and religious festivities* (45.7%) [5]. It must be emphasized that, in relation to this group, on the whole there is a sharp distinction among opinions of the surveyed female (54.39%) and male (36.97%), younger ("20–24 years of age" – 73.68%, "30–34 years of age" – 69.23%), middle ("45–49 years of age" – 28.89%), and older generation ("70+ years of age" – 3.13%), with lower (basic education – 11.11%) and higher education level (secondary education – 43.46%, higher education – 57.65%), urban (61.38%) and rural (35.02%) residents. The position of Latvians (49.06%) and Russians (47.90%) from Latgale in this issue is not essentially different; the number of children under age in respondents' families has not determined the distribution of the abovementioned opinions [6].

It is important that the surveyed residents of the region during interviews agreed on particular examples of festivities to be identified as part of the contemporary festive culture most related to commerce.

Firstly, this is Christmas. Interviewees specify that they mean "Catholic" ("Polish") Christmas that is "very much", "definitely", "most of all" exposed to the market rules nowadays. In other words, this is the time when commerce revitalizes, the shop assortment expands (dwarfs, Santa Clauses, angels, etc. products), and the sales system becomes active which, in turn, makes people powerless in the face of this huge festival of trade:

"Well, certainly Christmas, because all those, all these things with presents, and it's so much insisted by those traders: "Buy that, and that!" Christmas is coming, and those sales, those grand sales that are on in shops online […]. And yes, it's really very much related to market, and so it goes. We can do nothing about it anymore." (male, 19, Latvian, Daugavpils)

"Well, nowadays festivities, yes, they are somewhat related to commerce, because as we are waiting for some festivity, all shops are re-planned, and all goods are offered just, just with such a festive air. [...] if it's Christmas – then with Santa Clauses, Snow-whites, and dwarfs [...]." (female, 35, Latvian, Rēzekne region, Kruķi)

Respectively, this concerns the common decommercialization trend; however, its extent, intensity, as well as correlation to the commercialization processes analysed in the present paper and their perception in the society ought to be regarded in a separate study. It must be pointed out that such a position is mostly espoused by Latvian interviewees of diverse age groups residing in the region, for instance:

"So, Christmas, […] about those presents, material values, that come up, the spiritual ones and fellowship then, I don't know. [...]. Then everybody knows at once, what is there, what they want to buy – this and this, but I don't know... It is maybe not so maybe negative, evil side, but then, but nowadays it usually happens like that." (female, 16, Latvian, Preiļi/Daugavpils)

"[..] everybody goes crazy, especially at Christmas, well, everybody is buying things and forgets such true values, they think more: "Oh, I've bought presents for everyone!" rather than, maybe, sparing an hour and meeting people, not so to say… Not presents, presents – this is not the main thing or purchases." (female, 24, Latvian, Daugavpils)

"Our Christmas has been commercialized to the utmost probably, that in essence is a very light festival and with a totally different idea, not just Santa Claus, expensive gifts and like that." (female, 48, Latvian, Rēzekne region, Pustinka)

According to the questionnaire data, respondents of Latgale purchase Christmas attributes very often (regularly – 70%); this indicator is surpassed only by New Year (80.4%). More actively Christmas produce in the region nowadays is purchased by female respondents (77.19%), people aged "30–34" (84.2%), "35–39" (81.82%), and "65–69" (100%), equally often – by Russians residing in Latgale (67.86%) and Latvians (67.14%), respondents having higher education (73.60%), widowed respondents (86%) and, surprisingly – people having no under age children in families (72.62%). The above-mentioned opinion has not been directly determined by respondents' place of residence [7].

Secondly, Easter is characterized as related to commerce. Interviewees generally deal with the attributes available in shops (eggs, rabbits, confectionary, etc.), their insistent advertising, as well as real opportunity to do without them, if a person genuinely prefers observing the traditions of this religious festivity:

"A hundred years ago nobody would have thought of buying for Easter plastic decorations for Easter eggs produced in China or any other oriental country that has no relation to Christianity. Eggs at that time were dyed exclusively by natural dyes, but now all shop counters are packed with this kind of products before Easter and they sell well, are on high demand." (female, 48, Russian, Rēzekne region, Kruķi)

"Well, we have now all related to commerce, they sell dyed eggs in shops, ready-made kuliches [Easter yeast pastry bread], I'm not saying it's bad, but it's new. It is actually much more pleasant to eat a home-made kulich, to try paskha [sweet dish from cottage cheese]. Well, I think that modern festivities are still related with non-festive culture, they don't make you somehow better, don't charge with that brisk energy that our ancestors had." (female, 49, Russian, Aglona region, Grāveri rural municipality)

"Today you can buy eggs and paskha, all in the shop. [...]. Well, those who are lazy to dye eggs themselves. [...]. Well, those who find it easier to buy than to dye. But we are collecting onion-skins; I put them in advance into a box. [...]. People buy, they display more then. Of course, they get rich." (female, 56, Russian, Daugavpils region, Koroļevščina)

It must be added that Easter attributes concerning their popularity at the moment in the region rank third: they are always bought by 64% of the total respondents of Latgale irrespective of their gender, education level, and number of children under age in families [8]. Respondents' correlation according to other demographical criteria yielded surprising results, taking into consideration the fact that preservers of festive traditions are mostly people of older age residing in the rural environment. To wit, Easter products are nowadays actively purchased by respondents of various age but especially people over 70 years of age (sic!) (84.38%), including Latvians (65.57%), but also Russians residing in Latvia (56.89%), people living in unmarried cohabitation (82.61%), rural residents (sic!) (68.23%).

Thirdly, the relatedness of the present-day festive culture to commerce is foregrounded in interviewees' accounts of the procedures of Līgo/Jāņi [midsummer solstice] festivity:

"For every festivity – Easter, Christmas, Līgo – the same traditions, just slightly modernized. Everything remains the same. Well, ok, if modernized, say, at Līgo they drink beer and buy, previously people brewed their own beer, now they buy it in the shop, but the idea remains the same. Traditions… people made their home cheese, everybody had a farm, now we buy everything. But the idea remains, that's most important." (female, 36, Polish, Daugavpils)

"[...] like Jāņi previously – all you need for celebrating you had to prepare at home, such as cheese or beer, and observing all traditions and doing all works. Now it's all reduced to one trip, a trip to a shop." (female, 40, Latvian, Riebiņi region, Galēni)

It must be added that Līgo/Jāņi attributes are constantly bought by 41.7% of the total respondents of Latgale (in popularity it ranks as position 4 in the region), irrespective of gender and place of residence [9]. Most often these are representatives of younger ("20–24 years of age" – 66.47%) and older generation ("65–69 years of age" – 60.66%), equally active – Latvians (48.11%) and Russians residing in Latgale (46.11%), respondents having higher education (48.73%), residents of the region living in unmarried cohabitation (63.83%), people with three and more under age children in families (54.55%). Hence, one may conclude that this festivity in the region has a unique, consolidating character: they equally well unite people of different age and ethnicity that are ready to pay for this nice opportunity of being together.

However, notwithstanding the common statistics, some interviewees consider that Līgo/Jāņi is not to be regarded as the most striking example of commercial festivity due to the limited assortment of the available attributes, that stands out against the background of other festivities and festive holidays (adopted, calendar, religious), for instance:

"Other festivities – less (related to commerce). For example, nothing really to buy for Jāņi. Just making cheese, buying snacks and going outside, somewhere in the open air." (female, 19, Latvian, Preiļi region)

Another trend that was spotted in the course of questionnaire is commercialization of *family festivities* (29.7%). It is mostly noted by the females surveyed in the region (37.72%), representatives of age groups "20–24" (52.63%), "35–39" (50%), and "70+" years of age (100%), Ukrainians residing in Latgale (66.67%), respondents having basic education (53.70%), the widowed (52%). The above-mentioned notion has not been directly determined by such demographical indicators as respondents' place of residence and the number of children under age in their families [10].

Though residents of Latgale point out that this festivity group is least exposed to commercialization, the development of contemporary entertainment industry and the broad range of services offered (scenarios of weddings, animators for organizing and conducting birthday parties, jubilee celebrations, and wedding parties, etc.)

facilitate gradual growth of its impact also in the private festivity segment:

"I think, you can't do without it. Like they are trying to make profit, so do we. For instance, with presents. [...]. Birthday parties." (female, 16, Latvian, Daugavpils)

"Well, anyway, some Birthday parties, probably." (female, 18, Russian, Daugavpils)

"Well, probably, not the state festivities, not the popular festivities, but the private, probably, festivities, those, like weddings, birthday parties, jubilees. Here they are, one needs, probably, to think about it." (female, 47, Russian, Aglona region, Grāveri rural municipality)

Finally, the last major trend: the questionnaire conducted made it possible to specify festivities that take a leading position as regards the demand for festive attributes in the region. That is the New Year celebration that is hard to relate to a particular festivity group at the moment. Respectively, this festivity stands apart (at some time it had been adopted, in essence – both state and private, family festivity), yet it is extremely popular and demanded not only in the statistical region under analysis but in the country on the whole.

According to the questionnaire data collected in Latgale, the New Year produce is regularly bought by 80.4% of the total surveyed residents. Most active in buying are representatives of all three generations ("20–24 years of age" – 88.89%, "45–49 years of age" – 82.22%, "65–69 years of age" – 100%, "70+ years of age" – 84.38%), Ukrainians residing in Latgale (83.33%), Russians (84.52%) and Latvians (74.53%), respondents living in unmarried cohabitation (93.48%) irrespective of gender, education, the number of children under age in families, and place of residence [11].

In interviews, the idea of the commercial character of New Year has been expressed most broadly by interviewees of Latgale who analysed particular festive attributes (fir-trees and their decorations, presents, alcoholic beverages, etc.), for instance:

"It's definitely New Year: fir-tree decorations, artificial fir-trees, candles, and such. Like, before New Year basically there is advertising of alcohol." (male, 16, Latvian, Daugavpils)

"Probably it's New Year, when they really, just make money. The very greatest, I think, the greatest festivity." (female, 18, Russian, Daugavpils)

"But I think this is all related to commerce: New Year – there's a fir-tree market, to buy a fir-tree, all those decorations." (male, 46, Russian, Daugavpils region, Saliena)

This leads to a conclusion that the attitude of respondents from Latgale to the commerce of New Year is generally neutral or positive.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SITUATION IN PSKOV REGION

It must be admitted that the results of the survey of residents in Pskov region on the whole demonstrate a situation that is very similar to that in Latgale region, yet there are some essential nuances.

Like respondents from Latgale, the respondents of Russia express the opinion that festivities most closely related to commerce are *adopted festivities* (80.6%). This opinion is more insistently expressed by respondents of older generation in the region ("65–69 years of age" and "70+ years of age" – 100%), titular Russians (76.87%) and even more – representatives of other ethnicities (98.04%), people having secondary education (86.18%), divorced respondents (87.18%) irrespective of gender, the number of under age children in families, and place of residence [12].

On the whole, this statistics is justified by a negative attitude towards the adopted culture segment in the country in general; as a result, interviewees were laconic in their statements about this issue – sales dedicated to these festivities in the region – or refused to comment on it, for instance:

"Sales – they are profitable, let it be a festivity each and every day. Generally, I've saved so much money due to those sales at festivity time." (female, 15, Russian, Opochka region, Glubokoye)

This is also approved by rather low indicators of the demand for produce of recently adopted festivities in Russia (St. Valentine's Day and Halloween), as compared to the information provided by residents of Latgale.

That is to say, Valentine's attributes are regularly purchased only by 11.2% of the total respondents of Pskov region. Mostly those are females (13.70%), younger generation representatives ("15–19 years of age" – 40%), Russians (13.27%), respondents living in unmarried cohabitation (18.60%), people having one or two children under age in their families (17.17%). This trend is not directly affected by such demographical indicators as respondents' education and place of residence [13].

Thematic produce of Halloween in the region is demanded even less – only 1.2% of the total number of respondents buy it on regular basis. It is noteworthy that, judging by the questionnaire data, this is never done by the males, whereas active female buyers of Halloween produce in the region constitute only 2.74% of the total number of respondents. A small group of regular buyers includes respondents between 15 and 19 years of age (20%) as well as people having three and more children under age in families (10%). These indicators are not determined by respondents' ethnicity, education, marital status, or place of residence [14].

Second group of festivities identified by respondents from Pskov region as greatly related to commerce is *calendar traditional and religious festivities* (55.3%), followed by narrow margin by *state holidays* (54.4%). As stated above, in Latgale the characteristics of the degree of commercialization of both of these festivity groups differs. The survey revealed a closer bond of state festivities with commerce.

The exposedness of calendar traditional and religious festivities to the rules of commerce is most often accentuated by male respondents from Pskov region (65.57%), respondents of age group "30–34 years of age" (79.49%), respondents who identified their ethnicity as "other" (92%), people having secondary education (66.23%), respondents having several children under age in their families (88.89%), urban residents (62.10%). This opinion is not directly determined by respondents' marital status [15].

Regarding festive attributes, this group is dominated in the region by Easter (in Latgale – Christmas), the thematic goods are regularly bought by 44.5% of the total respondents. In most cases these are female respondents (67.81%), people aged from 60 to 64 (74.29%), Russians (48.30%), respondents with higher education (50%), the widowed (70%) irrespectively of the number of children under age in families and the place of residence [16].

Availability of Easter attributes and the use of this festivity for commercial purposes are characterized also in interviews:

"Sure, sure. People make money in all possible ways. These are shops, first and foremost. Need something – go and buy, don't need – pass it by, pass by. I don't force you to buy things. Things are offered – many would buy them – eggs, like presents, those, those, all kind of, for presents…" (female, 59, Russian, Opochka region, Opochka)

"Well, if it's commerce, like stark commerce, then it's, of course, before Easter, all that. [...] Yes, most strongly. Those eggs, say, all the rest. [...] You know, all those expensive ones, nothing like that is needed for Easter, so." (female, 66, Russian, Pskov region, Zagorici)

Also in Pskov region Christmas attributes are on high demand: they are regularly bought by 33.3% of the total respondents, most actively by females (47.95%), people aged from 50 to 54 (60%), Ukrainians residing in the region (81.82%), people having higher education (36.10%), the widowed (65%), respondents having one – two under age children in families (42.86%) irrespective of their place of residence [17]. However, as pointed out by the residents during interviews, the region and the state on the whole are not comparable as regards the consumption at this festival to Western Europe where, in their opinion, Christmas has become much more commercialized:

"[..] Christmas abroad, yes, we know western environment, they have all those Christmas sales, discounts and all, we don't have it." (female, 66, Russian, Pskov region, Zagorici)

It must be noted that the demand of other traditional calendar festivities in the region on the whole is very low. For instance, Kupala Night symbols and attributes for celebrating it are regularly bought by just 5% of the total respondents of the region, though the festivity as such is mostly characterized by them as something interesting and even exotic. Other festivities of the above-mentioned group were not specifically highlighted in the context of commercialization.

Identical to respondents from Latgale, a large number of participants of the questionnaire conducted in Russia are certain that nowadays *state holidays* are also greatly related to commerce. Reply "fully related" was chosen by 54.4% of the total surveyed residents of Pskov region. Most often these were representatives of both the younger ("20–24 years of age" – 78.95%, "25–29 years of age" – 79.17%) and older generation ("65–69 years of age" – 88%), Russians (59.18%) and local Ukrainians (91.67%), people having secondary education (55.63%), unmarried respondents (73.91%), respondents having three and more children under age in their families (81.82%). In this respect, two demographical indicators are not determining – respondents' gender and place of residence [18].

However, as shown by the questionnaire results, the thematic produce of this festivity group is rather little demanded in the region. Hence, attributes of Russia Day are regularly bought by 4.7% of the total surveyed, most often people aged between 25 and 29 (20%), Russians (3.74%), single respondents (13.04%), urban residents (6.02%) [19]; the same concerns the produce related to Unity Day that is regularly bought by the same group of respondents: 4.3% of the total number of the surveyed, mostly people aged between 25 and 29 (20.83%), Russians (3.4%), single respondents (13.04%), urban residents (5.62%) [20]. During interviews this fact was not commented.

Identical to respondents from Latgale, residents of Pskov region state that family celebrations have recently become exposed to processes of commercialization – 28.7% of respondents expressed the opinion that this relatedness is full. This opinion is more insistently defended by younger respondents from the region ("15–19 years of age" – 54.55%, "25–29 years of age" – 54.17%) and opposed by older generation people ("65–69 years of age" – 73.08%, "70+ years of age" – 100%). This opinion is mostly held by the Russians (29.49%) and local Ukrainians (75%), single respondents (44.68%), people having three and more under age children in their families (40%), urban residents (34.54%) irrespective of gender and education level [21].

Finally, the trend that unites both statistical regions is the popularity of New Year and the great demand for its attributes. According to the questionnaire data, in Pskov region this produce is regularly bought by 68% of the total number of respondents. The group of regular buyers of it includes females (88.44%), both younger ("20–24 years of age" – 84.21%), medium ("40–44 years of age" – 87.50%), and older generation ("60–64 years of age" – 100%) representatives, Russians (76.19%) and local Ukrainians (100%), people having higher education (79.02%), single respondents (91.30%), those who have one or two under age children in families (77.78%). These opinions are not determined by respondents' place of residence [22].

By interviewees from Pskov region New Year is characterized mostly in the context of advertising industry.

CONCLUSION

Commercialization of festivity culture as one of the major forms of contemporary festive culture transformations was determined not only by the scientific validity of this topic but also the ideas of interviewees and respondents, that is, their certainty that festivities are constantly turning into commodity, that is defined as a serious condition to be taken into consideration.

As stated by the surveyed residents of Latvia and Russia, currently there are on-going processes of commercialization in the festivity segment in these countries that concern all groups of festivities: to a greater degree – adopted, state, traditional calendar and religious festivities (in Latgale those are Christmas, Easter, Līgo/Jāņi, and St. Valentine's Day; in Pskov region – Easter and Christmas), less but growing obviously – family celebrations (birthday parties, weddings, jubilees). Extremely popular and commercially profitable product in the whole border territory under study is New Year – a public festivity form with a status hard to define. At the same time, the intensity of the processes of commercialization differs significantly: in Latgale region, the same as in Western Europe on the whole, it is stronger. An important argument in this respect is the fact that, among the consumers of festive produce, the number of older age people and rural residents is constantly growing (it is clearly revealed in the example of Easter). The same can be stated concerning the reaction of the local residents to the on-going processes in contemporary festive culture: residents of Latgale have had a closer connection with festivity commercialization, they grow accustomed to these conditions and gradually feel better in the role of the consumers of festivity produce. A counter-reaction to these trends in the region is the trend of decommercialization that is not yet as broadly manifested as the former (the surveyed Latvians were those who mostly reflected on the need for preserving culture and moral values under the conditions of consumerist society), yet it is to be analysed in a separate study as an intrinsic part of contemporary festive culture perception and development.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

[1] Gender: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = 0.008, p-value = 0.878; MWUT: p-value = 0.878; education: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = - 0.088, p-value = 0.076; MWUT: p-value more than 0.05 in all comparable positions; place of residence: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = - 0.083, p-value = 0.093; MWUT: p-value = 0.093.

[2] For instance, in opposition to St. Valentine's Day, Halloween's attributes are bought by the surveyed respondents much more seldom (just 2.1% from the surveyed total number of residents from Latgale do it on regular basis); they are mostly young people ("15–19 years of age" – 8.70%), Polish residing in Latgale (4.35%), respondents living in unmarried cohabitation (4.35%), urban residents (3.70%). So low indicators are accountable for by the fact that the survey did not include children younger than 15 years of age.

[3] Gender: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = - 0.063, p-value = 0.206; MWUT: p-value = 0.205; number of children in family: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = - 0.060, p-value = 0.224; MWUT: p-value more than 0.05 in all comparable positions; place of residence: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = 0.062, p-value = 0.207; MWUT: p-value = 0.207.

[4] Proclamation Day of the RL: number of children in family: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = - 0.045, p-value = 0.359; MWUT: p-value more than 0.05 in all comparable positions; place of residence: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = - 0.036, p-value = 0.471; MWUT: p-value = 0.470.

Lāčplēsis Day: gender: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = - 0.071, p-value = 0.150; MWUT: p-value = 0.150; number of children in family: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = - 0.032, p-value = 0.521; MWUT:

p-value more than 0.05 in all comparable positions; place of residence: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = - 0.088, p-value = 0.076; MWUT: p-value = 0.076.

[5] This joint group is singled out because sometimes it is impossible to clearly define the status of a particular festivity – religious or calendar.

[6] Number of children in family: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = - 0.042, p-value = 0.400; MWUT: p-value more than 0.05 in all comparable positions.

[7] Place of residence: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = 0.001, p-value = 0.979; MWUT: p-value = 0.979.

[8] Gender: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = - 0.084, p-value = 0.091; MWUT: p-value = 0.091; education: SRCC: p. (Spierman) = - 0.021, p-value = 0.669; MWUT: p-value more than 0.05 in all comparable positions; number of children in family: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = 0.076, p-value = 0.122; MWUT: p-value more than 0.05 in all comparable positions.

[9] Gender: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = - 0.061, p-value = 0.220; MWUT: p-value = 0.219; place of residence: MWUT: p-value = 0.049, p-value = 0.322; MWUT: p-value = 0.322.

[10] Number of children in family: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = - 0.039, p-value = 0.432; MWUT: p-value more than 0.05 in all comparable positions; place of residence: ρ (Spierman) = - 0.010, p-value = 0.847; MWUT: p-value = 0.847.

[11] Gender: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = - 0.068, p-value = 0.170; MWUT: p-value = 0.169; education: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = 0.009, p-value = 0.850; MWUT: p-value more than 0.05 in all comparable positions; number of children in family: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = 0.075, p-value = 0.130; MWUT: p-value more than 0.05 in all comparable positions; place of residence: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = - 0.072, p-value = 0.143; MWUT: p-value = 0.143.

[12] Gender: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = - 0.042, p-value = 0.475; MWUT: p-value = 0.474; number of children in family: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = 0.020, p-value = 0.738; MWUT: p-value more than 0.05 in all comparable positions; place of residence: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = - 0.083, p-value = 0.162, MWUT: p-value = 0.161.

[13] Education: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = - 0.038, p-value = 0.525; MWUT: p-value more than 0.05 in all comparable positions; place of residence: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = 0.026, p-value = 0.660; MWUT: p-value = 0.659.

[14] Ethnicity: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = 0.044, p-value = 0.459; MWUT: p-value more than 0.05 in all comparable positions;

education: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = - 0.071, p-value = 0.230; MWUT: p-value more than 0.05 in all comparable positions; marital status: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = - 0.078, p-value = 0.188; MWUT: p-value more than 0.05 in all comparable positions; place of residence: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = 0.054, p-value = 0.366; MWUT: p-value = 0.365.

[15] Marital status: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = 0.096, p-value = 0.107; MWUT: p-value more than 0.05 in all comparable positions.

[16] Number of children in family: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = - 0.029, p-value = 0.625; MWUT: p-value more than 0.05 in all comparable positions; place of residence: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = 0.025, p-value = 0.676; MWUT: p-value = 0.675.

[17] Place of residence: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = 0.024, p-value = 0.689; MWUT: p-value = 0.688.

[18] Gender: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = - 0.027, p-value = 0.650; MWUT: p-value = 0.649; place of residence: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = - 0.115, p-value = 0.053; MWUT: p-value = 0.053.

[19] This opinion is not fully determined by respondents' gender (SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = 0.000, p-value = 0.997; MWUT: p-value = 0,997) and education (SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = - 0.032, p-value = 0.590; MWUT: p-value more than 0.05 in all comparable positions).

[20] This opinion is not fully determined by respondents' gender (SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = - 0.003, p-value = 0.966; MWUT: p-value = 0,966), education (SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = 0.030, p-value = 0.618; MWUT: p-value more than 0.05 in all comparable positions), number of children in family (SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = - 0.064, p-value = 0.279; MWUT: p-value more than 0.05 in all comparable positions).

[21] Gender: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = - 0.092, p-value = 0.122; MWUT: p-value = 0.122, education: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = - 0.098, p-value = 0.097; MWUT: p-value more than 0.05 in all comparable positions.

[22] Place of residence: SRCC: ρ (Spierman) = - 0.082, p-value = 0.165; MWUT: p-value = 0.165.

The research was elaborated within ERDF project "Transformations of Festive Culture in the Borderland: The Case of Latgale and Pskov Regions" (agreement No. 1.1.1.2/16/I/001; application No. 1.1.1.2/VIAA/1/16/109).

PostDoc Latvia

NACIONĀLAIS ATTĪSTĪBAS PLĀNS 2020

EIROPAS SAVIENĪBA
Eiropas Reģionālās attīstības fonds

IEGULDĪJUMS TAVĀ NĀKOTNĒ

REFERENCES

Anderton, C. (2011). "Music Festival Sponsorship: Between Commerce and Carnival." *Arts Marketing: An International Journal* 1 (2), 145–158. doi.org/ 10.1108/20442081111180368

Buijzen, M. and Valkenburg, P. M. (2000). "The Impact of Television Advertising on Children's Christmas Wishes." *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 44 (3), 456–470. doi.org/10.1207/s15506878 jobem4403_7

Burmenskaja, D. B. (2009). "K voprosu o roli globalizacii v funkcionirovanii tradicionnogo prazdnika." *Vestnik Burjatskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta* 6, 244–247.

Çetin, I. (2019). "Televizyon Reklamlarında Cinsellik Kullanımı Üzerine Etik İnceleme: Hasbro Yılbaşı Reklamı." *Aksaray İletişim Dergisi* 1 (2), 156–180.

Diedering, M. and Kwiatkowski, G. (2015). "Economic Impact of Events and Festivals on Host Regions – Methods in Practice & Potential Sources of Bias." *Polish Journal of Sport and Tourism* 22 (4), 247–252. doi.org/10.1515/pjst-2015-0033

Djomina, L. V. (2011). "Tradicionnyj narodnyj prazdnik v kontekste sovremennoj kul'tury." *Vestnik Cheljabinskoj gosudarstvennoj akademii kul'tury i iskusstv* 1 (25), 103–107.

Eshina, T. S. (2005). "Kul'tura Pskovskoj oblasti kak resurs razvitija." *Upravlencheskoe konsul'tirovanie* 2 (18), 219–225.

Fernández-Gómez, E. and Díaz-Campo, J. (2015). "La estrategia de marketing del sector del juguete en Facebook: Análisis de la campaña de navidad 2014 en españa." *Prisma Social* 14, 124–151.

Filatova, E. A. (2013). "Sushhnost' tradicionnogo prazdnika." *Vestnik Gumanitarnogo universiteta* 3 (3), 143–148.

Fotis, J., Buhalis, D. and Rossides, N. (2012). "Social Media Use and Impact During the Holiday Travel Planning Process." In: Fuchs M., Ricci F., Cantoni L. (eds.) *Information and Communication Technologies in Tourism.* Vienna: Springer, 13–24. doi.org/10.1007/ 978-3-7091-1142-0_2

Hadimullina, A. D. and Zhukov, P. V. (2017). "Osobennosti razvitija sobytijnogo turizma v Pskovskoj oblasti." In: Gumerov A. V. (ed.) *Molodezh'. Turizm. Obrazovanie. Materialy IV nauchno-prakticheskoj ochno-zaochnoj konferencii dlja shkol'nikov, uchitelej i studentova*. Kazan': OOO "Roketa Sojuz", 213–217.

Herstein, R. and Berger, R. (2014). "Cities for Sale: How Cities can Attract Tourists by Creating Events." *The Marketing Review* 14 (2), 131–144. doi.org/ 10.1362/146934714X14024778816832

Holiday, S., Norman, M. S., Commins, R. G., Hernandez, T. N., Holland, D. and Rasmussen, E. E. (2018). "Television Advertising's Influence on Parent's Gift-giving Perceptions." *Journal of Consumer Marketing* 35 (7), 665–675. doi.org/10.1108/JCM-07-2017-2274

Jaeger, K. and Mykletun, R. J. (2013). "Festivals, Identities, and Belonging." *Event Management* 17 (3), 213–226. doi.org/10.3727/152599513X13708863377791

Jordan, J. (2016). "Festivalisation of Cultural Production: Experimentation, Spectacularisation and Immersion." *ENCATC Journal of Cultural Management & Policy* 6 (1), 44–55.

Karabağ, S. F., Yavuz, M. C. and Berggren, C. (2011). "The Impact of Festivals on City Promotion: A Comparative Study of Turkish and Swedish Festivals." *Tourism – Original Scientific Paper* 59 (4), 447–464.

Kurochkina, E. V. (2015). "Novogodnjaja reklama kak sposob vlijanija na potrebitelja." In: Dmitrieva L. M. (ed.) *Tvorchestvo molodyh: dizajn, reklama, informacionnye tehnologii.* Omsk: Omskij gosudarstvennyj tehnicheskij universitet, 90–93.

Ķencis, T. (2008). Svētku simulācija. *Letonika* 18, 128–134.

Medvedeva, M. A. (2007). "Kvazicennost' "prazdnika potreblenija" v sisteme sovremennogo obshhestva." *Analitika kul'turologii* 1 (7), 222–226.

Medvedeva, M. A. and Romah, O. V. (2007). "Prazdnichnaja transformacija mental'nosti lichnosti." *Analitika kul'turologii* 2 (8), 69–73.

Murinska-Gaile, S. (2016). "Vizuālā un tekstuālā komunikācija pilsētas svētku afišās." *Komparatīvistikas almanahs "Svētku fenomens kultūrā"* 9 (38), 246–267.

Pine, K. J. and Nash, A. (2002). "Dear Santa: The Effects of Television Advertising on Young Children." *International Journal of Behavioral Development* 26 (6), 529–539. doi.org/10.1080/01650250143000481

Pine, K. J., Wilson, P. and Nash, A. S. (2007). "The Relationship between Television Advertising, Children's Viewing and Their Requests to Father Christmas." *Journal of Developmental and Behavioral Pediatrics* 28 (6), 456–461. doi.org/10.1097/DBP.0b013e31815eddff

Popelenskaja (Lopahina), T. E. (2012). "Sobytie prazdnika v industrii vpechatlenij." *Kul'tura. Duhovnost'. Obshhestvo* 2, 137–144.

Popelková, K. (2017). "Holidays – the Mirror of Society. The Social and Cultural Contexts of Present-day Holidays in the Slovak Republic." *Slovenský národopis* 65 (2), 171–186.

Popp, R. K. (2012). *The Holiday Makers: Magazines, Advertising, and Mass Tourism in Postwar America*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press.

Prentice, R. and Andersen, V. (2003). "Festival as Creative Destination." *Annals of Tourism Research* 30 (1), 7–30. doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383(02)00034-8

Shamsutdinova, D. V. and Turhanova, R. I. (2010). "Integracionnaja priroda prazdnika." *Vestnik Kazanskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta kul'tury i iskusstv* 3, 28–31.

Stašāne, L. and Zitmane, M. (2014). Svētku svinēšana un patērēšana. Reklāma un patērētāju identitātes. In: Rozenvalds J., Zobena A. (eds.) *Daudzveidīgās un mainīgās Latvijas identitātes*. Rīga: LU akadēmiskais apgāds, 229–242.

Tihomirova, S. V. (2016). "Processy simvolizacii v sovremennyh predstavlenijah molodezhi o prazdnike." *Pedagogy & Psychology. Theory & Practice* 6 (8), 71–74.

Vasil'ev, M. I. (2003). "Problemy sohranenija russkoj tradicionnoj prazdnichnoj kul'tury v sovremennom prazdnichnom kalendare." *Vestnik Novgorodskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta im. Jaroslava Mudrogo* 24, 51–56.

Zitmane M., Kalniņa S. and Stašāne L. (2016). "Svētki un patērniecība: Ziemassvētku patēriņa aspekti un prakses." *Komparatīvistikas almanahs "Svētku fenomens kultūrā"* 9 (38), 268–292.

SÒÓKÒ YESTERDAY, TODAY AND TOMORROW: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN THE ROYAL HISTORY OF ILÉ-IFÈ

AYOWOLE S. ELUGBAJU

LANRE HASSAN

Ayowole S. Elugbaju, PhD student
Lecturer, Department of History and International Studies
Redeemer's University, Nigeria
e-mail: elugbajuayo@gmail.com
ORCID ID: 0000-0001-6616-4153

Lanre Hassan, independent researcher
Ifè, Nigeria
e-mail: Lanrehassan@gmail.com

Ayowole S. Elugbaju lectures in the Department of History and International Studies at Redeemer's University, Ede, Osun state. He is also a doctoral student in the Department of History and International Studies at the University of Ilorin. He specializes in the political, social, and cultural history of the Yòrùbá people, with a focus on religion, conflict resolution, and political institution.

Lanre Hassan holds a MPhil. in History from the Department of History at Obafemi Awolowo University. He is an independent researcher with an interest in Yòrùbá social and cultural history.

ABSTRACT

The Sòókò institution is one of the under-researched areas within the socio-political system of Ilé-Ifč despite its primal position in the sustenance and continuation of the traditional political system of Ilé-Ifè. The paper employed primary and secondary data in examining the Sòókò institution, precisely, its origin; its place within the Ifè socio-political structure and investiture ceremonies within the context of change and continuity recorded by the institution thus far. The study discovered that while the institution is as old as the ancient town of Ifè and has continued to exist over several centuries, it has, however, not escaped the changes affecting its investiture ceremony, and relevance in the traditional political institution of the town. The paper concludes that while the institution has been affected by changes from modernity, for instance, it continues to remain a relevant body in the sustenance and continuation of Ifè monarchy and culture.

Keywords: Yòrùbá, Ilé-Ifè, Oòni, Festivals, Sòókò, Prince

INTRODUCTION

The twentieth century witnessed a renaissance of African historiography (Omer-Cooper 1980). During this period, specifically within the space of three decades, there was a surge in the research and reconstruction of Yòrùbá history – a phenomenon Ilé-Ifè benefitted from immensely (Horton 1979). This development resulted in the publication of numerous kinds of literature that covered Ifè's early history (Makinde 1980; Akinjogbin 1992), indigenous constitutional structure (Fasogbon 1985); war and diplomatic relations (Akintoye 1971), and arts (Blier 2015). Despite the extant texts on Ilé-Ifè history, there remain, however, gaps in the history of Ilé-Ifè that are yet to be studied with the Sòókò institution being one of such gaps.

This institution is made up of a group of princes and princesses elected from several branches of the four ruling houses in Ilé-Ifè (Oyediran 1973). Thus, it is one of the oldest forms of representation within the indigenous political system of Ilé-Ifè. With the preceding fact, it is evident that the body forms an essential component in the socio-political and socio-cultural structure of Ilé-Ifè and it is, therefore, expedient to attempt a reconstruction of the origins of the institutions and its roles in the socio-political and socio-cultural system in Ilé-Ifè. The dearth of literature in this area of study cannot be overemphasised. Therefore, this paper draws on the limited available texts and personal correspondence sourced oral evidences which scholars have argued to hold a pivotal position in the reconstruction of the early traditional history of people (Vansina 1985). The study also relies on data gleaned from personal observation of the festival restricted solely to the Sòókò group known as "Odún Ode Omo Oòni" [the festival of the child of the Oòni who is a hunter].

This study intends to add to the growing list of literature available on Sòókò chieftaincy and institution given the scanty nature of the literature presently available. The paper aims to present a reconstructed history of the evolution of the title, the roles it plays at the compound level, "ògbón" [ward level] and the larger Ifè kingdom; and to present an analysis of the possible changes that are obtainable within the institution today. For a precise analysis, the theme of the paper has been structured into sections, and they include the origin of the institution; an overview of the institution in its original form; and the changes induced by colonialism and religion.

SÒÓKÒ: THE ORIGIN

The political history of the Yòrùbá people occupying present-day Nigeria, Togo, and the Republic of Benin from the earliest times is replete with the activities of notable personalities in the indigenous administrative systems. Several works have been written about the evolution of the Yòrùbá monarchy system in Ilé-Ifè and the subsequent spread to other Yòrùbá states where several princes and princesses from Ilé-Ifè were said to have migrated to and replicated this political system which originated in Ilé-Ifè (Biobaku 1956). The periods of dispersal leading to state formations engendered the emergence of political systems having semblance to that of Ilé-Ifè but with varying degrees of alterations, which may be due to factors such as warfare, diplomacy, geography, and intrigues in the process of migration (Akinyele 1981; Ajisafe 1964).

The alterations in the indigenous political systems vary across Yòrùbá kingdoms ranging from the roles of the king (Johnson 1921), the number and roles of the chiefs (Fasogbon 1985), the place of women in the socio-political structure (Ojo 2005), and the placement of princes in the administration of the kingdom (Johnson 1921). For instance, Òyó, a town founded by Oranmiyan, an Ifè prince, operated a system whereby the "Àrèmo" [the first male child of the king] not only ruled with the Aláàfin but also died with him. Apart from the acclaimed migrations of Ifè princes and princesses leading to the establishment of several Yòrùbá towns, the early history of Ilé-Ifè is silent about the place of princes in the socio-political structure of Ilé-Ifè. Therefore, this raises the question of what a Sòókò is and when the phenomenon began in Ilé-Ifè?

A school of thought suggests that the origin of Sòókò ties to an honorary title given to an Ìjèsà prince who was denied the right to succeed his paternal grandfather who was the Owá of Ìjèsàland at the time. Consequently, he returned to his maternal grandfather, who was then the reigning Oòni of Ifè and to make up for his loss in the contest for the Ìjèsà throne, he was made a crown prince of Ifè with the title Owáníkin (otherwise referred to as Wáníkin of Wáníkin royal compound of Giesi ruling house) by the said Oòni whose name and period of reign are yet to be ascertained. The Oòni was said to have accorded state recognition to this Sòókò who moved around exercising authority just as his grandfather. From this hypothesis, we can attempt to define Sòókò as a princely title next in importance to Oòni in Ilé-Ifè whose authority is as far as the extent of Oòni's sphere of influence (Salami 2016; Prince Abiola Olayiwola, Personal Communication, 2019).

Another school of thought suggests that at a point in the history of Ilé-Ifè, there emerged a specific royal lineage in Ilé-Ifè that replaced certain autochthonous chiefs who had hitherto headed a republican system in which the leadership of Ilé-Ifè was rotated. This new royal lineage is linked to Oòni Lájàmìsán whose two sons, Lájòdókún (otherwise knowns as Ládéjogún) and Láfogído, were the founders of the royal families of Ilé-Ifè today. These families can be found in all the five indigenous quarters of Ilé-Ifè with their unique features and appendages. Bearing in mind that these generations of Oòni were diviners, warriors, hunters and successful businessmen (and women in the case of Oòni Lúwò Gbagida) the sight of a prince in Ilé-Ifè heralded fear, respect and honour all put together because whatever a prince does is considered an act of the Oòni himself. Thus, the people pray to meet favour in the presence of a prince hence the phrase "asòro kò bí Omo oba" meaning dreadful to encounter like a prince or princess. A definition of Sòókò from this hypothesis is a person of royal birth who is respected and honoured like their father. (Professor Steve Adewusi, Personal Communication, 2018).

In a protest letter written by the Wáníkin family of Wáníkin royal compound at the Ògbón Ehindi quarters of Ilé-Ifè to Oòni Sijuade Olubuse, it was stated that the title of Sòókò Wáníkin originated from the Owodo royal compound of the larger Láfogído ruling house (Sòókò Wáníkin Family, Personal Communication, 1998). The members of the compound further made an argument that they were not only the originator but also the proprietor of the title which predated Owáníkin royal house of Giesi ruling house (Sòókò Wáníkin Family, Personal Communication, 1998). Furthermore, the members of this compound pressed their claims by indicating their patrimony of certain non-material pieces of evidence rooted in certain socio-cultural practices such as a particular incantation split into five parts recited only at the Sòókò initiation rites of a newly elected Oòni (Sòókò Wáníkin Family, Personal Communication, 1998). Also, reference was made to the ritual practices attached to the Sòókò investiture arrival and departure of a newly elected Oòni forming a part of his enthronement rituals (Sòókò Wáníkin Family, Personal Communication, 1998).

A notable aspect of this protest letter can be found in the list of the Sòókò Wáníkin title holders probably intended to suggest that the title had been in the Wáníkin family since time immemorial. However, according to the content of the letter, the period during which this title was first held was placed between 1830 and 1840 (Sòókò Wáníkin Family, Personal Communication, 1998), which therefore contradicts the pre-historic periodisation often ascribed to the institution in the oral history of Ilé-Ifè. Another perspective contradicting the pre-historic period ascribed to the Sòókò appellation was given by Fabunmi (1985) who ascribed the origins of the Sòókò Wábodù, an elision of "Wá bo Odùduwà" [come to propitiate Oduduwa], to the reign of Derin Ologbenla, an Oòni-elect of 1880 to 1894. The author further suggested that Wábodù, the foremost Sòókò title for princesses, originated in the nineteenth century when Derin Ologbenla conferred it on his eldest child and most beloved child whose name was given as Depetun for her bravery and capability for militancy during the Yòrùbá internecine war (Johnson 1921).

Despite the varying nature of these hypotheses, what is, however, clear is that the Sòókò institution is an appendage of the ancient throne of Ilé-Ifè. And while one may not be able to date the period of the emergence of Sòókò as a titular position embedded within an institution consisting of initiation, rites, and duties to Ilé-Ifè, one can, however, hazard a guess that the title is as old as the proliferation of ruling houses across the indigenous quarters in Ilé-Ifè. By considering the importance of history, it, therefore, becomes imperative to explore the unrecorded history of this institution. Thus, reflecting the definition of history by Dr. J. H. Clarke as cited in (Gray and Skeesuck 2019, 3), which says:

"History is not everything, but it is a starting point. History is a clock that people use to tell their political and cultural time of day. It is a compass they use to find themselves on the map of human geography. It tells them where they are but, more importantly, what they must be." (Gray and Skeesuck 2019, 3)

This paper will, as such, attempt to reconstruct the history of the change and continuity of the Sòókò institution by developing a narrative that investigates its past, extrapolates it with the present and projects a future for it.

THE SÒÓKÒ YESTERDAY: THE RETROSPECT

The works of literature available on the theme of this study are limited. This stems from the theme being an under researched area. As such, this section draws from oral data sourced from personal correspondence with titled princes who are members of the Sòókò council of Ilé-Ifè. Every child with a royal ancestry in Ilé-Ifè, male and female alike, share Sòókò as a cognomen. However, family compounds, since time immemorial, select the most suitable adult male or female to use the cognomen as a title in that such selected candidates become the official representatives of the princes and princesses of their "agbo-ilé" [family compound] (Professor Steve Adewusi, Personal Communication, 2018).

To extract the import of this position, one can suggest that while there have been people of royal birth either through the maternal or paternal lines, the period of Owáníkin or Wáníkin was probably a watershed in the history of Ilé-Ifè. This is in a sense that as a prince, Owáníkin seemed to have been the first person to have adopted Sòókò as a title with somewhat unlimited powers and benefits as derived from the primal position of his grandfather who was the Oòni at the time. However, be that as it may, what seemed to have followed was the proliferation of this phenomenon as started by Owáníkin or Wáníkin across the ruling houses in Ilé-Ifè such that there were and still are as many Sòókò as there are ruling lineages (Prince Adeyemi Anibijuwon, Personal Communication, 2019).

The titled Sòókò, as a result of the political, social, and economic power drawn by them from the Oòni appeared to have been exempt from the existing laws of the land. Such that whatever was done by a Sòókò was thought of as being done by the Oòni (Prince Aratunde Adeyoju, Personal Communication, 2019). As such, questioning the deeds of the Sòókò was synonymous to questioning the Oòni – an abomination. The appendage of the powers of the Sòókò to that of the Oòni set them apart from other titled persons in Ilé-Ifè (Eluyemi 1986). In the time past, the Sòókò were probably the only group of titled persons within the Ifè socio-political system who were not answerable to the Oòni for any of their actions inside and outside of the palace (Prince Adebisi Mulekanle, Personal Communication, 2019).

This spectacular place of the Sòókò also sets them apart from all the other titled personalities in Ilé-Ifè. Like the Oòni, they also have a retinue of attendants who were found wherever the Sòókò was located (Professor Steve Adewusi 2018). However, among these attendants is a person who acts as an aide-de-camp to the Sòókò. This aide is known as Lóòdókó and he is also selected from the same house as that of the Sòókò and plays specific roles such as leading the Sòókò's entourage while brandishing the emblems of royalty ahead of the Sòókò like it is done for the Oòni (Professor Steve Adewusi, Personal Communication, 2018). For instance, it was said that in the time past, the Lóòdókó would often wear a bell made of "ide" [brass] around their ankles such that during processions it would chime to announce the presence of the Sòókò in public and in reaction, people who were not of royal birth deferred to the

Sòókò or withdrew from the scene entirely (Professor Steve Adewusi, Personal Communication, 2018).

The Sòókò possessed certain paraphernalia reported to further indicate the cardinal nature of their place within the administrative structure of the town and, probably, to periodically remind the public of the intermix between them and the Oòni. The Sòókò were the only group with certain paraphernalia constructed around royal materials. A notable example of this is the ancient Aare crown which he periodically employs in reasserting the linkage between his position and his subjects (Prince Adebisi Mulekanle, Personal Communication, 2019). The Sòókò, among the various strata making up the administrative system of Ilé-Ifè, were the only group with a particular type of headgear with some features directly similar to the Aare crown of the Oòni. The Sòókò wear what they refer to as "ìkórí" [a type of headgear] (Prince Adeyemi Anibijuwon, Personal Communication, 2019). Like the Aare crown, it has bead fringes covering the face but at a much shorter length among other features mirroring the Aare crown which, therefore, symbolises the royalty of the Sòókò as being like that of the Oòni who by birth is a Sòókò and during the coronation, is initiated into the conclave of the Sòókò.

Thus far, one can deduce that while Sòókò is a cognomen for people with royal ancestry and as such, becoming the titular Sòókò of a lineage appears not to be automatic. Apart from the Oòni-elect whose coronation rites mandatorily begin with an initiation into the Sòókò conclave (Prince Adeyemi Anibijuwon, Personal Communication, 2019), every other Sòókò contestant or nominee seemed to have gone through certain rigours. The induction and inauguration of a Sòókò were said to begin from the "agbo-ilé" [family compound] where princes and princesses contested among themselves, usually with money, properties, and specific qualities like knowledge of charm or militancy (Prince Adebisi Mulekanle, Personal Communication, 2019). Upon selection, the Sòókò was required to provide resources as are necessary for initiation and investiture. Notable among this was the task of getting a pouch with which to convey materials for admission to the site of initiation, as such when a Sòókò does this, he or she is said to have "di òké" [tied pouch] (Prince Aratunde Adeyoju, Personal Communication, 2019).

This pouch was said to be called "òké" [pouch], and the only place it was woven was at Ejirin (Prince Aratunde Adeyoju, Personal Communication, 2019). The present site of the Ejirin where this material was obtained, seems unclear today. Still, a Sòókò nominee had to cover a long-distance journey to negotiate for it, and this, in most cases, required weeks or months of carrying out the task (Prince

Aratunde Adeyoju, Personal Communication, 2019). Also, given the royal status of the title, a Sòókò-nominee, upon return from the journey to get the "òké" [pouch], was expected to hold a feast for one week during which he or she has to feed the whole of the town throughout every period of the entire week (Prince Aratunde Adeyoju, Personal Communication, 2019). The meal for this occasion was "iyán" [pounded yam], "obè ègúsí" [melon soup] and "efòn" [buffalo meat] which were expected to be in endless supply (Prince Aratunde Adeyoju, Personal Communication, 2019). This inauguration and initiation were said to come to an end with the final rites, which involved the participation of the Oòni (Prince Adeyemi Anibijuwon, Personal Communication, 2019).

The Sòókò, particularly in the pre-colonial times, were a group of people who were much feared among the people of Ilé-Ifè. And apart from co-ruling with the Oòni during the period when it was a taboo for the Oòni to be out in public, they were also arguably the only group with unlimited access to see and mingle with the Oòni. This serves as a link or a bridge between the people and the secluded monarch. Nonetheless, despite the place of the Sòókò in the administrative structure of Ilé-Ifè, the mechanism of the Sòókò institution like several phenomena in Ifè history is known to have been subjected to change and continuity. As such, while the historical past of the Sòókò institution remains in the memory of the people, the institution itself has been subjected to a continuous evolution, which has affected it in several ways.

THE SÒÓKÒ TODAY: REPRESSION AND REBIRTH

African societies have been known to revise their cultural practices and institutions due to internal dynamics or contacts with their neighbours. However, the era of missionary activities, which was closely followed by colonialism, engendered some profound changes across Africa such that traditions have either been eroded or altered. Ilé-Ifè, as recorded by Frobenius, was a city content with being isolated from the activities of other Yòrùbá towns to focus on daily religious rites (Frobenius 1913). This perhaps reflects the frustration which the missionaries recorded with establishing Christianity in Ilé-Ifè (Olupona 2011) and also probably serves as the causative factor for the ignorance of the colonialists who appeared to have heard of the primacy of the Oòni only during the Èlépè and Àkárìgbò conflict (Smith 1988). Be that as it may, Ilé-Ifè seems to have witnessed the presence of explorers, missionaries, and contact with the colonialists during the peace negotiations to end the Ekitiparapo wars (Johnson 1921). During the reign of Oòni Adelekan Olubuse I, Ilé-Ifè did not become open to being penetrated by the missionaries and colonialists until the late nineteenth century.

This period was marked with the presence of missionaries who permeated the town and focused on perpetuating a discontinuity in the cultural practices of Ilé-Ifè. Besides, the colonialists implemented a system which they considered viable; they implemented Native Authority system and as such altered the socio-political landscape of the town which the Sòókò institution was a part of (Oyediran 1973). To begin with, available records show that the missionaries upon being allowed to move into the city proceeded to implement proselytization policies targeted mostly at the people of a specific age range and those at the helms of the administrative affairs of the town (Rev. Adeboye Awoyode, Personal Communication, 2019).

These missionaries recorded some gains, such as having certain Oòni and members of their lineage participating in Christianity (Rev. Adeboye Awoyode, Personal Communication, 2019). This development goes to show the success of the missionaries in permeating the royal families in Ilé-Ifè. Also, the colonialists who did not study landscape affected drastic changes in the socio-political structure of the city. Explicitly speaking, certain groups forming the part of the administrative mechanism of the town were repositioned and allotted more responsibilities. In contrast, some groups were outrightly relegated, almost to oblivion – the Sòókò institution forms a part of the latter (N.A.I., Ifè Div. 1/2, File 109).

On the premise of these external intrusions, the Sòókò institution has recorded several changes. One can assume that given the implementation of the European legal system in the colonial and post-colonial era, the Sòókò lost the privilege of immunity from the domestic laws, which they once enjoyed. This is in the sense that the idea that a Sòókò could be arrested and charged to court for infringing on the rights of others may have contributed to the decline in which the Sòókò wielded and used their power. Also, the requirement to have an absolute monarch in whom total colonial support would be invested led the colonialists to repress any group that could hold or implement any form of power to rival that of the king – in fact, one can suggest that between 1910–1930 the position of the Sòókò had become very redundant and that an attempt was made to install an "Àrèmo" [heir apparent] as it was done in Òyó (Fasogbon 1985).

This repression was further implemented through state recognition accorded to the indigenous political system in the sense that while the Sòókò were recognised as a part of the body-politic of Ilé-Ifè, their position was largely ignored. Instead, the Ilé-Ifè administration was structured in the sense that the gap-bridging place of the Sòókò rapidly dwindled so that in the latter part of the twentieth century, it was said that the total number of Sòókò in Ilé-Ifè was abysmally low (Prince Aratunde Adeyoju, Personal Communication, 2019) and that the title became left mostly to the aged as opposed to young, vibrant people who had hitherto occupied the position (Prince Adeyemi Anibijuwon, Personal Communication, 2019).

Despite these challenges, the twenty-first century recorded a resurgence and an attempt at repositioning the Sòókò. The reason for this resurgence is not particularly apparent. Still, one can either attribute it to a shift in paradigm among the Ifè and Yòrùbá at large who in recent times appeared to have taken an interest in reviving some of their cultural practices or one can attribute it to the Oòni who has embarked on a renaissance policy for the Ifè socio-cultural practices (Rev. Adeboye Awoyode, Personal Communication, 2019). Be that as it may, the Sòókò today appears to be resurging in the sense that, before this time, many royal houses had their Sòókò titles unoccupied for years. Still, in recent times, many of these vacancies have been filled up by young and vibrant professionals from all walks of life, a reflection of Sòókò from the past.

Despite this renaissance of the Sòókò in Ifè, the changes that have so far been implemented can be said to have been a clear break with the past. Probably because of the peculiarities of the twenty-first century, for instance, specific requisites for the selection of a Sòókò seem to have been developed along the lines of modern realities. Among others, a necessary condition for consideration of a nominee for the Sòókò title is that such a candidate must be from a recognised royal family with traceable ties to a particular royal lineage (Orasakin Oraniyi, Personal Communication, May 2019). Apart from this, the person must: be of good character; be gainfully employed or engage in a valid legal business; get the approval of his immediate family and compound; be reasonably free from unmanageable debts or records that may tarnish royalty; and get the approval of the Oòni (Prince Adebisi Mulekanle, Personal Communication, 2019).

Available records indicate that many of the religio-cultural and social practices associated with the inauguration and initiation of the Sòókò have been either altered or removed. For instance, the "òké didi" [pouch tying] has been transmuted to cash (Prince Aratunde

Adeyoju, Personal Communication, 2019); the week-long festivity has been compressed to a 3-day event primarily restricted to the Sòókò council and the concerned lineages (Princess Funmi Elugbaju, Personal Communication, May 2019); the magico-spiritual underpinnings of the initiation of the Sòókò which was said to relate to Òrìsà practices (deity worship) closely have been obliterated (Prince Aratunde Adeyoju, Personal Communication, 2019).

These changes nonetheless appear not to have had an impact on the place of the Sòókò in the administrative system of Ilé-Ifè. Today, many Sòókò contribute to the growth and development of the town within the bounds of their profession and economic stature. Apart from this, they are duty-bound to an avowed resolution to support every incumbent Oòni to succeed (Prince Adeyemi Anibijuwon, Personal Communication, April 2019, Ilé-Ifè). Other roles of the Sòókò today, including but not limited to the following: advising the Oòni from time to time; to protect the interest of the royal household; to ensure the pursuance of due process in the selection of new Oòni; to give leadership at the agbo-ilé and àjo levels, and to serve as custodians of royal and community history, culture, and tradition (Prince Adeyemi Anibijuwon, Personal Communication, 2019).

The Sòókò institution appears to have recorded a chequered history. Still, despite that, it has somewhat resurged, regrouped, and rebirthed in such a way that its present state cannot be separated from its past, and, its future. This position finds a basis in the thoughts of Croce, an Italian who propounded a philosophy of history which stated that "all history is contemporary" (Arnold 2003). E. H Carr, in analysing this statement, described it as "consisting essentially in seeing the past through eyes of the past present" (Carr 1961). As such, to attempt a projection of what the future holds for the Sòókò, it is essential to be grounded in the facts of its past.

THE SÒÓKÒ TOMORROW

The council of Sòókò has so far been able to repopulate its rank, and as such, no house is left without representation. It can be adduced that a closer look at this repopulation goes to indicate that the council is setting standards as to the requirements demanded from prospective members, and this will consequently go towards having a profound effect on repositioning the Sòókò tomorrow. In the time past, before the missionary and colonial epochs, the Sòókò, in the administrative arrangement of Ilé-Ifè, was right next to the Oòni –

they were his only blood relatives in the system (Professor Steve Adewusi, Personal Communication, 2018). Additionally, with the groundwork being put in place today by the Sòókò, there is a clear indicator that their position in the Ifè socio-political system, which seemed to have been displaced as a result of colonialism, may become renegotiated for reinstatement over time but there might be challenges and oppositions. Regardless of that, to continue to hold importance in Ilé-Ifè, the sacred city of the Yòrùbás and the Yòrùbá seat of idolatry, the Sòókò may have to re-instate the magico-spiritual features of its initiation and continue to inject itself into the economic, political, social sphere of Ilé-Ifè to launch itself back into prominence and also answer the many questions of the Ifè who have severally asked what the duty of the Sòókò is (Adegoke 1995).

CONCLUSION

Finally, while it may seem impracticable to veer off into a task of attempting to ascertain the actual period of the inception of Sòókò as a descriptive tag for those of royal birth and as a princely title, what remains apparent however is that over time it evolved into an institution with political, religious and social features. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries Yòrùbáland recorded several phenomena such as warfare, religion, and colonialism which have been reported to have had far-reaching consequences on the political, social, and cultural systems of the Yòrùbá people. For the people of Ilé-Ifè, the remarkable phenomena of these centuries include the destructive Ifè-Modakeke war, the intrusive religions of Islam and Christianity, and colonialism which appeared to have been disruptive. However, despite the changes engendered by this disruptive phase of Ifè history, what remains apparent is the remarkable place of this institution in providing continuity particularly in the monarchy history, structure, candidate selection, Oòni investiture rites and the administration of the town.

REFERENCES

Adegoke, E. (1995). "A Study of the Role of Women in the Burial Rituals of the Ife of Southwestern Nigeria." *PhD Thesis*. University of London.

Ajisafe, A. (1964). *History of Abeokuta Abeokuta*. Abeokuta: Fola Publishing.

Akinjogbin, A. (1992). *Cradle of a Race: Ife from the Beginning to 1980*. Port Harcourt: Sunray Publications Limited.

Akintoye, S. (1971). *Revolution and Power Politics in Yorubaland, 1840–1893*. New York: Humanities Press.

Akinyele, I. (1981). *Iwe itan Ibadan ati die ninu awon ilu agbegbe re bi Iwo, Oshogbo ati Ikirun*. Ibadan: Board Publications Limited.

Arnold, D. (2003). *Reading Architectural History*. London: Routledge.

Biobaku, S. (1956). "The Problem of Traditional History with Special Reference to Yoruba Traditions." *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 1 (1), 43–47.

Blier, S. (2015). *Art and Risk in Ancient Yoruba: Ifè History, Power and Identity, c. 1300*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Carr, E. (2008). *What is History?* London: Penguin Books.

Fabunmi, M. (1985). *Ife: The Genesis of Yoruba Race*. Ikeja: John West Publications.

Fasogbon, M. (1985). *The Ancient Constitutional History of Ile Ife Ooyelagbo*. Lagos: Unity Comm. Printers.

Frobenius, L. (1913). *The Voice of Africa: Being an Account of the Travels of the German Inner African Exploration Expedition in the years 1910–1912*. London: Hutchinson.

Gray, P. and Skeesuck, J. (2019). *Imprints: The Evidence Our Lives Leave Behind*. Illinois: Tyndale House Publishers Inc.

Horton, R. (1979). "Ancient Ife: A Reassessment." *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 9 (4), 151–185.

Johnson, S. (1921). *The History of the Yorubas: From the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the British Protectorate.* Lagos: C.M.S.

Makinde, M. A. (1980). *Ilé-Ifè: An Introduction.* Ibadan: Abiodun Printing Works.

Ojo, O. (2005). "Slavery and Human Sacrifice in Yorubaland: Ondo, c. 1870-94." *The Journal of African History* 46 (3), 379–404.

Olupona, J. (2011). *City of 201 Gods: Ilé-Ifè in Time, Space, and the Imagination*. California: University of California Press.

Omer-Cooper, J. D. (1980). "The Contribution of the University of Ibadan to the Spread of the Study and Teaching of African History within Africa." *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 10 (3), 23–31.

Oyediran, O. (1973). "The Position of the Ọọni in the Changing Political System of Ile-Ifẹ." *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 6 (4), 373–386.

Salami, E. (2016). "The Complexity and Ironic Nature of Sòókò in Ife Praise Poetry." *Africology: The Journal of Pan African Studies* 9 (6), 73–84.

Smith, R. (1988). *Kingdoms of the Yoruba*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Vansina, J. (1985). *Oral Tradition as History*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

PERSONAL COMMUNICATION

Abiola Olayiwola, Sooko Wanikin of Wanikin compound, Giesi ruling, Moore, Ilé-Ifè, 10th January, 2019.

Adebisi Mulekanle, Sooko Idu Ladere, Idu royal compound, Giesi ruling house, Ilode, Ilé-Ifè, June 2019.

Adeboye Awoyode (Very Reverend), St. Phillips Anglican Church, Ayetoro, Okerewe, Ilé-Ifè, October 2019.

Adeyemi Anibijuwon, Sooko Adejolu Okemo, Adejolu Ogbooru royal compound, Ogboru ruling house, Ilare, Ilé-Ifè, April 2019.

Aratunde Adeyoju, Sooko Lelodo, Olodo royal compound, Ogbooru ruling house, Ilare, Île-Ifè, June 2019.

Funmi Elugbaju, Yannigan Olojo royal compound, Lafogido ruling house, Okerewe, Ilé-Ifè, May 2019.

Orasakin Oraniyi, Chief Otun Awo Ilode, Opa compound, Edena area, Okerewe quarters, Ilé-Ifè, May 2019.

Steve Adewusi (Ph.D.), Sooko Owodo, Owodo royal compound, Lafogido ruling house, Okerewe, Ilé-Ifè, May 2018.

Sòókò Wáníkin family compound. Letter to Ooni Sijuade Olubuse. December 22, 1998. Personal Collection of Sòókò Wáníkin family compound.

ARCHIVAL MATERIALS

Fasogbon, M. O. (1951). The Federal Council of Ifè Chiefs (Egbe Isowopo Ijoye Esindale Ifè).

N.A.I., Ifè Div. 1/2, File 109.

MEXICAN AND BRAZILIAN MACHISMO: CULTURAL TOLERANCE

NUBIA NIETO

Nubia Nieto, PhD, independent researcher
London, the United Kingdom
e-mail: continents.sky@gmail.com
ORCID ID: 0000-0001-9454-5922

Nubia Nieto has Ph.D in geopolitics from University Pantheon-Sorbonne Paris I, in France. She also holds Master degree in Latin American Societies from the Institute of Latin American Studies-Paris III; and another Master in Political Science from National Autonomous University of Mexico – UNAM, Mexico. She graduated with a Bachelor Degree in Sociology, and another degree in Communication Sciences from the Autonomous Metropolitan University UAM-Campus Xochimilco, Mexico. She has taken some seminars on research methods and management at the University of Greenwich and she has given some seminars on international aftairs at the Coventry University, in the United Kingdom. She has a multidisciplinary professional experience and worked as a journalist, foreign correspondent, translator, poetess, lecturer, researcher, political-financial analyst and business manager in Mexico, France and the United Kingdom. She is currently working as an independent researcher in London on Latin America and Mediterranean Europe issues leading projects for global firms and institutions such as the World Economic Forum, the British Council and the Department for International Development (DFID) recently named the Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office (*FCDO*). She has published numerous research projects and papers worldwide regarding corruption, violence and emerging markets.

ABSTRACT

Thousands of Latin American women disappear on daily basis. The United Nations through the Women Unit classifies Mexico as an emergency State, and Brazil as an alarming country in terms of violence and murder against women and little girls. However, the key question is to analyse the tolerance toward violence and subjugation of women in Mexico and Brazil. The hypothesis of this work is based on the idea that violence against women in Mexico and Brazil is due to prevalent machismo in those countries, which is influenced by the political, social, economic and cultural structure. The present text aims to understand how machismo is embodied into Mexican and Brazilian culture, reflected into family and social structures and values, as well as inside the political establishment, which contributes not only to subjugating women, but also to increasing gender violence in these countries, where corruption and impunity are also critical. The text is based on an interdisciplinary perspective, with ethnographic data extracted by direct interviews conducted in the communities of Xochimilco, South of Mexico City, Mexico. The article exposes the main perspectives about machismo, offers a cultural description of family values and social tolerance towards machismo, provides a general picture about the levels of gender violence in Mexico and Brazil, and presents the role of political establishment in the development of machismo, and finally it offers some conclusive comments.

Keywords: machismo, women, Mexico, Brazil, violence

INTRODUCTION

Machismo studies are keys to understand gender inequality. The gender perspective allows analyzing and understanding the characteristics that define women and men in a specific way, as well as their similarities and differences. This gender perspective analyzes the vital possibilities of women and men, the meaning of their lives, their expectations and opportunities, the complexity and differences that occur between both genders, as well as the institutional and daily conflicts that they face. The feminist gender perspective also contains multiplicity of proposals, programs and alternative actions to contemporary social problems derived from gender oppressions, gender disparity and inequity (Lagarde 1996, 13).

In recent years, there is a reasonable extensive bibliographic production on machismo, misogyny and gender inequalities in Mexico, Brazil and Latin America. However, a few studies have analysed it from a multidisciplinary perspective and taking into account the gender perspective.

Certainly, Mexico and Brazil have launched several initiatives to fight gender violence, and thanks to the work of feminists groups in both countries, machismo has been recognised as a large and complex social and cultural problem despite the advancements to make this issue visible and the introduction of many international treaties, national reforms, and new public policies. Machismo and violence against women continue causing more deaths and damages in women than malaria, AIDS or wars (Sagot 2008, 36).

According to Liang, Salcedo, and Miller, machismo is "the masculinity ideology, which is composed by prescriptive attitudes and beliefs, shaped by cultural beliefs that guide men behaviour" (Liang et al. 2011, 201). Giraldo adds "machismo consists basically in the emphasis or exaggeration of masculine values, as well as in the belief of superiority. In addition to this exaggeration, machismo includes other peculiar characteristics attributed to the concept of manhood [...]. The outstanding characteristics of the male are his heterosexuality and his aggressiveness" (Giraldo 1972, 295).

In the same line, Edelson coincides with Giraldo. Both authors relate physical, psychological and cultural features to describe machismo. Following Edelson, "machismo refers to a set of beliefs about how males should behave. Positive traits associated with machismo are honour, pride, courage, responsibility, and obligation to family, while negative traits are sexual prowess, high alcohol consumption, and aggressiveness [...] While women assume traits such as submissiveness, and self-sacrificing behaviour. These behaviours are consistent with the second dynamic, *marianismo* [...] which is the ideal role of women presented as a self-sacrificed mother, loyal wife and without sexual desire" (Edelson et. al. 2007, 2).

The machismo, as a cultural and social construction, leads to male patriarchy and male supremacy over women. From this perspective, Abbasi and Aslinia indicate that machismo is a process of learning aggression and other observational behaviours, in which a child is able not only to learn aggression from his parents, siblings, uncles, family members and friends, but also learn other characteristics assigned to machismo such as dominance, protectiveness, love, assertiveness, and power (Abbasi and Aslinia 2010).

Among attributes given to machismo are beliefs and behaviours of superiority of men. The values behind machismo are physical force, risk, courage, independence, and capacity to infringe violence against women (Abbasi and Aslinia 2010).

Violence against women becomes a very complex issue due to the fact that men and women are learning social norms at early age (from family, school, church, politics, TV, etc.). For Cabrera, the socialization process of machismo drives men and women to adopt some features of behaviour. Women have been taught to be passive and men to be active and assertive (Cabrera 2014, 6). Violence against women is an issue that is affecting women worldwide, however there are some features in each country that increase men aggression such as family values, social environment and social tolerance.

When abuse becomes prominent in the domestic space, there is a psychological violence that women go through, ultimately affecting their decision to stay in abusive relationships, which could possibly tie into the socialization process (Cabrera 2014, 8). In addition, in macho societies women, who abandon these relations are viewed socially as "bad women" or "bad mothers".

Cabrera defines emotional abuse as "any behaviour that causes emotional damage and decreases self-esteem. It is a behaviour that degrades human condition as such and threats, embarrassment, humiliation, manipulation, isolation, constant surveillance, and exploitation are the most common emotional abuse" (Cabrera 2014, 8).

In many societies, physical and sexual violence are not classified as such, and even worse, psychological and emotional violence are invisible. "The socialization process through violence, presents gender violence as "an acceptable behaviour". Machismo creates a type of violence that it is obscured and difficult to distinguish; sometimes it is disguised as "love" (Cabrera 2014, 9).

Often, women who experience domestic violence in marriage have also experienced violence in their home families. In this sense, these women have been socialized in patriarchal and macho families with father, brother or male figures exercising machismo and violence against women. The violence becomes normalised since early age, not only for "the victim", but also by the whole society that accept this violence as a "normal" way to control the behaviour of women.

Violence against women is a structural component of gender oppression system. The use of violence is not only one of the most effective means of controlling women, but also one of the most brutal and explicit expressions of domination and subordination. The position of women and men is organized in a hierarchy, in which men have control over the main resources of society, among them, women. There are numerous ideological, moral, political, economic and legal supports for exercising men authority over women. Although these supports are historical and cultural, the use of violence is one of the most prevalent and widespread forms that help the exercise of that authority (Sagot 2008, 36).

CULTURAL AND SOCIAL TOLERANCE OF MACHISMO

Historically machismo was introduced and institutionalised in Mexico by Spanish conquerors, and in Brazil by Portuguese conquerors as a way to impose their values and interpretation of male dominance. Machismo culture was fostered and endorsed by the Catholic Church as a way to preserve male power and female submission, and promote women purity (Stergakis 2018).

For Perilla (1999) machismo began to develop when Spaniards and Portuguese invaded Latin America and took control and power over these territories and individuals, establishing themselves as masters and destroying native cultures. This new ethnic organisation would create a new political system based on ethnic origin known as *mestizaje* (blending of Spaniards and native Latin American people) (Perilla 1999). The characteristics of *mestizaje* are closely related to the characteristics of machismo and social dominance, which are power and control over a population leaving them with little or no voice. A*mestizo* child (son of a European and Native Latin American person) was educated to develop his identity of manhood by exercising his dominance over females inside a patriarchal family system

(Perilla 1999). This behaviour is best known as machista. Male behaviour left women to be viewed as a possession or territory to be won over. Female intimacy would be profoundly violated through the emergence of machismo in young *mestizo* men (Perilla 1999).

As for Segato, the expression patriarchal-colonial-modernity describes adequately the Latino American societies, since the priority of patriarchal society is the appropriation of the body of women. The woman's body is the first territory, where the power can be exercised like a colony, conquered by a conqueror. This dominant relation shaped the modernity of Latino American social relations. The conquest itself would have been an impossible enterprise without the pre-existence of a victorious masculinity ready to conquest women's bodies (Segato 2016).

From Spanish conquest (1519–1521) until the colonial period (1535–1810), and arriving to the twenty-first century, the machismo has been present and profoundly rooted in Latin American countries with catholic colonial past. Certainly, there are some advances on women's rights due to feminist movements. The gender inequality and violence against women started to be visible in the 1980's. The creation of women associations advocating against gender violence was more prosperous in the 1990's, and at that time women movements achieved to place women violence into the global agenda. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the feminist groups also discussed that violence against women, and it was condemned by international laws and national public policies (Sagot 2008, 38).

In Mexico, there are some legal regulations to control physical abuse against women, such as the General Law of Access to a Free Life for Women enacted in 2007, reformed in 2011 and 2018. The General Law for Equality Between Women and Men enacted by the Chamber of Deputies of the Honourable Congress of the Union created in 2006 and reformed in 2018, and the Federal Law to Prevent and Eliminate Discrimination promulgated in 2003 expressed in article l of the Mexican Political Constitution (SRE 2019).

In Brazil, there are many regulations in place against women violence. For example, the Maria da Penha Law (MPL) introduced in 2006, which integrates polices and criminal procedures to deal with gender violence. Another important step was the law amended to require domestic violence aggressors to pay for victims' treatment (Projeto de Lei 2438/2019). However, the gender oppression continues being present in families and social structures, as well as State institutions as a tool to control and oppress women bodies, desires and expectations.

Mexican women are often treated as "children" without full empowerment; while Brazilian women are frequently educated as "beauty dolls"; in both cases women should pay respect to their father, brother or husband, and later on to their own male son meaning that a woman in herself is never totally free of her decisions and she should always be under the protection of a male.

In Latin America culture, men have the right and ownership over their partners, or over females around them. The social and cultural context might influence men to feel that they need to protect themselves against other men, who can possibly have an interest in "their women." When this occurs, women become submissive as men take control.

In Mexico and Brazil, men dominance is present since their households and home communities; women tend not to have a voice about familial choices. There is a higher likelihood for men to become machista, when they hold traditional attitudes regarding sex roles and acceptance of patriarchal values (Ceballos 2013, 8).

Male social dominance, patriarchy, and gender roles within families, communities and society are accepted as part of the Mexican, Brazilian and Latin American culture, and characteristics such as dominance, control, protectiveness, and provider are associated with male role. In this sense, Latin American machismo is in one way or another, experienced through familial and social system on daily basis (Ceballos 2013, 13).

In Latin America, there is the expectation that femininity and masculinity should be performed in a way that conforms to the traditional compulsory binaries of gender and sexuality (Stergakis 2018), particularly in Mexico and Brazil.

The process of gender socialization[1] in Mexico and Brazil empowers men to feel and be superior towards women in family, work and public places. To understand the mechanisms of socialization, which ease the development of machismo, it is necessary to understand a family, social, cultural and political structure, where social practices are put in places such as family, school, media, friends, community and neighbourhood organizations, political

[1] The process of socialization is a process of constant learning, which allows for individuals to learn and interpret codes, values and experiences of their political, social, cultural and family context, although this learning is also influenced by personal features such as temperament, personality and psychological predisposition. These characteristics help to adapt individuals to live and share values collectively (Manheim 1983, 55–56).

parties, bureaucracy and state institutions (Manheim 1983, 55–56).

Without stereotyping, many Latin American men feel the right to use women for their personal service, that means: "you should clean the house, keep discrete regarding other men, being a self-sacrificed mom – you should stay with your husband even if there is adultery from men side, for the good sake of her children –, not having sexual desire for anybody else and being ready to have sex with her man when he wants, keep quiet and accept any physical, emotional or psychological mistreatment, and accept men polygamy as condition to keep the marriage going on" (Nieto 2019, 2).

Women condition in Mexico and Brazil is quite demanding not only in terms of family and social expectations, but also among the women themselves: "In Mexico when you divorce, even if legally it becomes less problematic, your family and other women look at you as a failure, because you were unable to keep the father of your children with you. Socially, other men look at you differently, as if you are available to have sex without any compromise or you don't have any men to respect you socially. Among women, you become a threat as you may take their husbands from their side" (Nieto 2019, 4).

The role of women in Mexico and Brazil is not easy. Socially, women learn to normalise emotional and physical violence since childhood and it is reproduced along their lives. Brazilian national statistics indicates that there is a link between the age of the woman and the relationship with the aggressor. During childhood, parents are the most common offenders against girls (with a prevalence of mothers as offenders); in adolescence the offenders are the parents, partners, boyfriends (current or former) and brothers. During their young and adult lives, women are offended most commonly by partners, boyfriends and brothers; and older women are mostly offended by their sons, followed by their partner, their brothers and carers (Pierobom 2018, 17).

In Latin America male power is predominant; this power is nourished by the same women, social relations, family values blended with values of reciprocity and hierarchy since childhood[2].

---

[2] Machado describes the Brazilian family as "social institution" with "predominant values" vis à vis the generalization of individualism. In Brazilian society, the codes of personal relations and family values permeates the whole society. These codes are articulated with individualistic codes, leading to a variety of kinds of family organization based on principles of reciprocity and hierarchy, according to class situations and positions (Machado 2001, 16).

For instances, “My mother used to tell us, cook for your brother, he is a man and he can’t cook, this is why he will get a woman. Besides, my mother used to tell us. Listen to your father he is the man of the house, and you need to learn to respect the authority of a man” (Nieto 2019, 3).

Machismo in Brazil is translated into a system where men are viewed as strong and powerful and must prove their virility through premarital and extramarital affairs. Women, in contrast, are considered weak and are expected to remain chaste until marriage and faithful after.

The macho culture is presented in the media such as TV programs, songs, social-cultural events and community festivals as a positive feature of Latin American macho culture: “In Mexico, las charreadas – family parties, where men are dressed with distinctive clothes such as hat, boots and charro costume, and they display of horsemanship and bullfighting – are parties to glorify the machoculture such as physical strength, virility, and admiration for men power” (Stergakis 2018). The charro figure is the central character of the festival; traditionally this image has symbolized the masculinity through the dramatic feats of acrobatics and strength.

In Brazil, the macho culture is portrayed on TV programs as the “rich, strong and powerful man who can have the most beautiful women fighting for his love and virility” (Chong and La Ferrara 2009). Men are represented as decisive, aggressive and patriarchal leaders (Braga 2016).

Mexican songs, folklore and popular sayings are full of messages to remind women that they need to accept the fact that men can have many women, otherwise they will leave and they will always find a young woman available: “All men, we have a church – referring to wife or principal woman; a cathedral – talking about the lover or concubine, who represents a second woman, and chapels – referring to any women that they can encounter for sex without social and emotional compromise, that means they are the rest of the women on the list, but without taking any relevant role in men’s life” (Nieto 2019, 2).

Mexican males feel entitled to set up and rule relations with women. This empowerment is expressed in many traditional Mexican songs, which glorify male power in the collective memory of Mexican people: “You leave because I want you to go / At any time that I want I can stop you / I know that you need my love / Because you want or not / I am your owner” (Jiménez 1972, 1).

The family structure and social and cultural environment contribute to legitimising and reinforcing machismo in Mexico and Brazil.

Abusive macho practices in Mexico are displayed even in public places, such as harassment, groping and male masturbation. For example, "It is common to see and feel male genitals close to your ass or in front of your vagina in rush hours on the metro, this is why there are wagons of the metro allocated just for women. This is why there are also buses for women" (Nieto 2019, 4).

Similarly, in Brazil, machismo and misogyny are often together. Cases of "corrective rape" to give a lesson to a woman for challenging men power are frequent: "It doesn't matter if a woman is a lesbian, transgender, bisexual or heterosexual; she can still be called a 'racha', a slur meaning 'hatchet wound', referring to what all women supposedly have between their legs" (Braga, 2015).

The number of women killed in Brazil is associated with the widespread levels of other forms of violence against women. In 2014, there were 47,646 reported rapes of women, equating to one rape each 11 minutes. According to a survey, 90.2% said they were afraid of being raped. Alarmingly, 42% of Brazilian men think that, if a woman is wearing "provocative" clothes, she cannot complain if she is raped (FBSP and Datafolha 2016, 17).

The machismo in Mexico, Brazil and Latin America is quite complex, since different sectors of the society continue endorsing this behaviour, and even worse, admiring male superiority as a positive value, even by the same women, who have been the victims of Macho behaviour. This situation complicates the analysis of machismo as women and men validate this behaviour and reproduce it in their next generation of children.

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

Violence against women is a worldwide problem; "unfortunately in Latin America society, violence is accepted, since it is taught that violence is the way to keep men power, and machismo is a hegemonic model of masculinity" (Watson 2016).

The Mexican machismo combined with other problems such as corruption, impunity and the development of other global crimes such as narcotrafficking, and trafficking of human beings are contributing to the increase of violence against women, particularly from poor and vulnerable background (Watson 2016). Similar situation is experienced in Brazil, where violence against women is normalised by family and society.

The reports about violence against women in Mexico are alarming. According to National Commission to Prevent and Eradicate

Violence against Women (CONAVIM), on average in 2016 six women died due to a violent act each day in Mexico (Watson 2016). According to figures from the Mexican Executive Secretariat of the National Public Security System (SESNSP), in November 2018, 760 cases were opened for homicides committed against women due to gender reasons (Becerril 2019). In many parts of Mexico such as the state of Mexico, Morelos and Guerrero women cannot get out alone after 10 PM, otherwise they risk to be raped and kidnapped for sexual purposes (López 2019).

While in Brazil, in 2015, the government released a study that showed that every seven minutes a woman was a victim of domestic violence. Over 70% of the Brazilian female population have suffered some kind of violence throughout their lifetime and 1 in every 4 women reports being a victim of psychological or physical violence (FBSP and DATAFOLHA 2016, 17).

In 2013, 4,762 women were killed in Brazil, a rate of 4.8 female killings per 100,000 people, an average of 13 per day. In 2013, Brazil was the fifth in the international ranking of female homicides. The rates of female killings increased 21% from 2003 to 2013; 50.3% of these deaths were committed in the context of family violence, and 33.2 % in context of Intimate Partner Violence (IPV). This means that, in Brazil, there were four IPV deaths per day (Pierobom 2018).

Since 1985, 92,000 Brazilian women have lost their lives, often at the hands of a husband, partner or family member (Hargreaves, 2015) and for decades, domestic violence was not part of the Brazilian criminal code, it was until 2006 when the president Luiz Inácio da Silva known as Lula (2003–2010) passed to the Congress an initiative to criminalise domestic violence (Hargreaves, 2015).

The legal recognition of femicide[3] in Mexico and Brazil is quite recent. In Mexico, *femicide* was recognized as a specific crime thanks to the Mexican and international feminists in 2009. The femicide was defined in legal terms as a form of extermination of women under schemes of physical or sexual violence (Monárrez 2004, 4).

In Brazil, Dilma Rousseff (2011–2016) ex-president of Brazil launched a zero-tolerance policy towards violence against women and girls, and the Brazilian Congress changed the penal code to include femicide in 2015 – it is defined as any crime that involves

[3] The word femicide is used as the killing of women or female children committed by a man, on the grounds of gender hate (OCNF 2018).

domestic violence, discrimination or contempt for women, which results in their death (FBSP and DATAFOLHA 2016).

Victims of sexual femicide in Mexico and Brazil were considered, until recent years, by media, political establishment and social imaginary in relation to victims' behaviour that moved away from the idealization of feminine prototype (Mona´rrez 2004, 4). This means, they were killed, because they were not complying with their social role assigned by their gender, and they were considered "bad women".

Among 25 countries with the highest rates of femicide in the world, 14 countries are in Latin America and the Caribbean, with a rate of 12 women murdered every day. In Mexico alone, seven women were killed each day in 2016, according to the women office of the United Nations (ONU 2017).

On the other hand, the National Survey of Housing conducted by the National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI) in Mexico indicates that one in two women have been victims of abuse. This figure is impressive considering that more than 50% of the population are women, approximately 57 millions. From these women, 63% have suffered any kind of violence at any point of their life, and 47% of this violence is inflicted by a male partner (INEGI 2014).

It is also important to say that having exact statistics is difficult, due to the fact that it is hard to prove that a murder was committed because of a gender cause, particularly in countries where up to 99% of crimes go unsolved, many victims' families often do not go to authorities to denounce crimes, because they believe it will not change anything (Watson 2016) or due to the high levels of corruption in Mexico and Brazil, where having access to the justice system, means spending money for paying bribes to public functionaries or police officers to investigate a crime.

The risk of suffering violence increases, when gender is intersected with racism and poverty. In Mexico indigenous and poor women are the target of sexual depredators and domestic violence. Following the report of the Mexican Executive Secretariat of the National Public Security System (SESNSP) six of the 32 Mexican states of the country received 49.6% of the total number of femicides; these states concentrate more on indigenous and poor women (Becerril 2019). Similarly, in Brazil black women represent 66.7% of female victims of homicide, whereas only 51% of the total female population is black. From 2003 to 2013, the number of homicides of white women dropped 9.8%, while this number increased by 54.2% for black women (Waiselfisz 2015). Studies also indicate that macrosocial factors, such as income inequality and community disaggregation, increase the risk of lethal domestic violence (Pierobom 2018, 17).

POLITICAL ESTABLISHMENT AND THE MACHISMO

The Mexican Political Establishment[4] has been composed historically by men. Women have had a secondary role on the political system. The integration of women in politics was driven by international requirements, feminist fights, and evolution of a Mexican political system. However, the main political positions have been placed into men's hands. Certainly, women have won political and civil rights such as the right to vote achieved in 1953.The access for women to the political representation in Mexico has been difficult as the history shows. At the end of the 1950s, there were just a few women with important political positions. Between 1954 and 1989 there were just 229 women with high political positions in the judiciary, executive and legislative powers (Rodríguez 1999, 56).

In Brazil, women's rights to vote were introduced earlier than in Mexico, in 1932. Brazilian political establishment evolved faster than the Mexican with a multi-party system, but under a caudillismo-coronelismo – strong men – which eased the concentration of power on men hands. The representation in the Chamber of Deputies met only 10% of women in 2016. The proportions are also low in municipalities and state level governments. Currently, there is just one woman as a governor (among 27 positions) and, in 2016 elections, just 12.57% of the candidates for mayors were women. This data shows the low rate of women presence in power even after the implementation of the gender quota law in 1996, and the pressure by women politicians to reach equal presence in political positions (Thome 2018).

In contrast in Mexico, women represent an important political force and they have achieved better representation in the Mexican Political System. According to the National Electoral Institute (INE), during the presidential and legislative elections in 2018, women

---

[4] The term Political Establishment refers to powerful people, who hold political, economic and cultural power not only to the President and Parliamentarians of the country, but also to the influential people who holds power, representation and authority in the country. The Political Establishment may include politicians, civil servants, judges, police and army decision makers, academic and organic intellectuals, governors, businessmen, high clergy, and ambassadors. The term establishment is taken in the sense of Henry Fairlie, who describes it as the whole matrix of official and social relations within which power is exercised (Fairlie 1968).

reached 65 places in the senate against 63 for men. In the Chamber of deputies, women reached 246 places against men, who got 254 (Zamora 2018).

The achievement of women into the political representation in the Senate, Chamber of deputies and local and state governments have had important consequences to the advance of the democracy[5] in Mexico. Nevertheless, this representation has not been translated in the reduction of violence against women and the tolerance of machismo inside of the Mexican population.

Women political representation in the Mexican system has been questioned through different occasions. For example, many women legislators have received the name of *Juanitas* or *Manuelitas* to denominate women, who have been popularly elected, but they are obliged by their male leader of the party or governors of the states to renounce, require an absence licence, and pass their position to the second person in line, who usually is a man – *suplente*. These cases have been well documented in different states, for example, in Chiapas under the governor Manuel Velasco Coello (2012–2018), 50 women elected were replaced by their male colleagues (Pimienta 2018).

The Mexican women political representation is manipulated in order to comply with the international gender quotas, rather than having a real impact on gender equality, this logic of double standard is reproduced also with the gender programs launched by different governments. While in Brazil the absence of women in political office is notorious. According to Thome (2018), the reasons behind lie in age, marital status, children, education, social and cultural predisposition to work on political issues considered mainly as a male issue. It is important to mention that Brazil has already experienced a female president, Dilma Rousseff, but *in Mexico this situation has not occurred yet, since all presidents have been males.*

In recent years, Mexico created important institutions to support women's rights such as The National Institute for Women (Inmujeres) to promote women's rights, and fight against sexual harassment;

---

[5] This text takes the term democracy described by Linz who states: "Democracy is a form of governance of life in a *polis* in which citizens have rights. These rights are guaranteed and protected by the State. To protect the rights of citizens and to deliver other basic services, citizens demand a democratic government which needs to be able to exercise effectively its claim to the monopoly of the legitimate use of force in a territory" (Linz and Stepan 1996, 10–11).

the gender commission inside the Senate, Chamber of deputies, the International Institute for Research and Training for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW), the Office of the Special Advisor on gender issues (OSAGI) and the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) (SRE 2019). The law and legislation to defend women's rights in Mexico is quite advanced. For example, the General Law for Equality between Women and Men, promulgated in 2006 in Mexico establishes that the National State, including the Federation, states and municipalities provide the infrastructure to guaranty equality between women and men (SRE 2019).

Moreover, Mexico has signed international agreements and it is part of the most important international organisations in the world to protect women's rights such as the United Nations-women Unit, the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against women "Convention of Belém Do Para" in 1994. Later in 2004, the first World Conference on the status of women held in Mexico City in 1975, the fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995 are among the most important (SRE 2019).

On the other hand, women in Brazil enjoy the same legal rights and duties as men, which are clearly expressed in the 5th article of Brazil's 1988 Constitution. The 2003 Civil Code improved women's rights, providing gender equality in the acquisition, management, and administration of property brought into the marriage or acquired after marriage. Another important women's right was a law that was passed in 1991 outlawing sexual harassment and making it a crime punishable by a fine of up to US$ 20,000. In 2001, a law was passed under the civil code raising the punishment for sexual harassment to one to two years of jail time (BDHRL 2006; BBC 2001).

Brazil has also signed important international women's rights agreements such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), by the United Nations General Assembly, and the Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against women "Convention of Belém Do Para" in 1994 (BDHRL 2006). Domestically, Brazil has improved the legal framework to protect women's rights. For example, Brazilian Parliament in 2006 approved a specific Gender Violence Statute, later called the Maria da Penha Law (MPL), after intense advocacy by Brazilians feminists (Pierobom 2018, 17). In terms of education Brazilian women are ahead of men. In 2018, it was estimated that female education was 93.4%, and male 93%, which means that women are better educated than men. As for education expectancy – from primary school to baccalaureate education –, women attend school until the age 16, while male – until the age 15, which means that men stay in school one year less than women (CIA, 2018). Since the 1970s, women surpassed men in the higher levels, but women are largely behind in salaries and political influence. Certainly, there are many women going to universities, but still aren't seen equal in the workforce and professional mobility.

In Mexico and Brazil, women's rights are protected by written law. However, a few women use the legal State infrastructure to demand help against domestic or social violence. When examining the Mexican and Brazilian culture, government, political institutions and judiciary system have a huge responsibility in shaping machismoand violence against women. "It is observed throughout history that men reshape public power with positions of power like presidency, vice-presidency and other high positions to oversee the country and make important decisions. These men are required to be assertive, strong, powerful, and dominant which are characteristics found in machismo" (Ceballos 2013, 8–9).

In Latin America, the political establishment has not evolved at the same level than written laws; therefore, there is a mismatch between the law and its implementation. Even, the men who are advocators of women's rights are found later on, using their representative power to abuse or rape young women.

For many politicians from the right to left, it is normal to be portrayed in the press with several young women. They like to be perceived as conquerors, powerful, important, virile and having young women is like having a trophy, which "they deserve" and they "feel entitled for it", and the rest of society normalise this behaviour, and even they admire "macho politician". For example, the current Brazilian president Jair Bolsonaro (2019 – currently) has been labelled as a macho politician as he justifies the gender pay gap:

"I wouldn't employ a woman [...] with the same salary as a man because women get pregnant" (Uchoa 2018). Other comments attributed to Bolsonaro are "I wouldn't rape you because you don't deserve it" (Uchoa 2018), saying this phrase to Congresswoman Maria do Rosario, from the left-wing Workers Party in 2018, during Bolsonaro's political campaign.

Mr. Bolsonaro also caused uproar while talking about his own daughter during a public event in April 2017: "I have five children. I had four boys, and in the fifth, I weakened and a girl came" (Uchoa 2018).

The exercise of the political and judiciary power in Mexico and Brazil is also accompanied by the exercise of violence against women, using rape as tool to suppress human rights. The violence against women continues being a serious matter, particularly when politicians, decision makers, and the whole political establishment endorse directly or indirectly the superiority of men over women.

In Brazil, for example, the Penal Code considered until 1991, "defence of honour" as a principle, whereby a man could with impunity kill a wife who has been sexually unfaithful, and get free from prison. This law gave the right to men over the body of a woman: mother, wife, sister or any woman who could damage man's honour. The honour defence was embodied into Brazilian culture and legal institutions over female sexuality (Welchman and Hossain 2005).

In recent years, women of all ages have taken to the streets in Mexico City and other Mexican towns to protest against sexual abuse by police officers, criminal gangs, bosses, and family male figures. For example, in November 2019 more than 3,000 women marched in Mexico City, demanding the Mexican government to put an end to violence against women and forced disappearances (Mexico News Daily 2019, 26).

The Mexican women protesters also stated their vulnerability faced to corruption and violence caused by the organised crime, where women are target for sexual slavery and rape:

"Today we raise an angry voice because we want safe abortion. We are in a time of emergency, the enemies are strong, they are many, they're everywhere. We need a pact among women, to be together […] We're in a time of war […] and we want to be alive, free and together" (Mexico News Daily 2019, 26).

Impunity, work and social inequality are some of the main disadvantages that Latin American women faced. Mexico is Latin America's second-most dangerous country for women, after Brazil (The conversation 2019).

The social and political tissue in Latin America contributes to reinforce the macho culture, therefore the tolerance to this abusive behaviour continues being present in the social and cultural collective imaginary[6] of Mexican and Brazilian people. In both countries,

---

[6] The social imaginary is used in the sense of the philosopher Cornelius Castoriadis to name the social representations incarnated in the institutions: "the social imaginary is, primordially, the creation of signification and creation of the images and figures that support these significations [...] The social imaginary exists as social-historical doing/representing. The social imaginary institutionalises and obliges to accept the social-historical existence" (Castoriadis 1998, 222–225).

women contribute to reproduce machismo, since they are the main educator of their children: "when you have a child you expect to be respected by men and women, then you need to make him learn to be strong, not crying like a woman, and being the chief of the household" (Nieto 2019, 4).

In many Latin American countries, including Mexico and Brazil, the traditional law of status, linked to male honour, infiltrates the modern law of the legal contract, where there is a conflict between the status system and a legal contract. The legal contract recognised the civil rights of women, but the status system gives women a role of status-object, status-instrument of lineage and inheritance, and status-dependent on male honour, contributing to the women subjugation (Segato 2003, 8).

CONCLUSION

The Mexican and Brazilian machismo are historical and complex phenomena and deeply rooted in the social imaginary of their people, which goes in detriment of the equality of gender. This toxic feature is melted into their culture, contributing to the psychological, emotional, symbolic and physical violence against women.

There are some cultural small changes in recognizing women's rights, but there is a long walk ahead: "You can think that men from the left wing or men educated abroad would be different, but there is not always the case. The middle-class men know that they have more advantages in a society like Mexico. For example, they can change a wife easily, always for a young one, and they can display some financial, political or international power to attract more young women around them and use women as trophies and sexual objects" (Nieto 2019, 3).

The machismo in Mexico and Brazil is considered even a positive value, which is admired among men and among some sectors of the society, in this sense the eradication of machismo in these countries is far away from being achieved in the near future.

After analysing the questions raised at the beginning of the text, we can draw the following conclusions:

1) The Mexican and Brazilian machismo is nourished since the family structure, as parents reproduce unequal relations based on gender, between themselves and among their children, keeping patriarchal and authoritarian relations with male supremacy.

2) In both countries, society reflects high levels of tolerance towards machismo, since family and community groups reproduce macho practices such as sexist comments, aggressive music with high contents of verbal abuse against women; and groping and public male masturbation are part of "usual" men's behaviour, which is reflected in schools, universities, hospitals, public transport being among the most notorious places.
3) The Mexican and Brazilian machismo contributes to the increase of violence against women, since men feel entitled to perpetrate violence based on gender privileges. Macho behaviour such as stubbornness, defiance, warrior, superiority, virility, promiscuity and aggressiveness are part of male features, which increase trends to commit violence against women.
4) The political establishment in both countries has not addressed machismo as a structural problem, where the political system encourages this phenomenon, even after adopting cutting edge laws, reforms and increasing gender quota.
5) The change of laws to protect women's rights in Mexico and Brazil has not been embodied by the whole society, even by the same women. For example, in rural areas women from vulnerable background are more likely to suffer domestic and social violence than educated and middle class women.
6) Corruption, narcotrafficking, impunity and global crimes have also contributed to the increase of the levels of violence against women.
7) Mexican and Brazilian machismo is an intricate part of family, culture, social tissue and political establishment, which is far away from being reduced. Machismo continues being present in the culture of these countries and it contributes to developing high levels of tolerance towards violence against women.

Violence against women in Mexico and Brazil implies a denial of their human rights, placing women in a situation of disempowerment and social exclusion. In that sense, the eradication of violence would imply a change in power relations. Violence must be addressed and conceptualized as a manifestation of unequal power relations between women and men. Laws, policies and programs should serve to empower women individually and collectively, and never to re-victimize them. The norms and laws must be effective to face the nature and scope of the problem (Sagot 2008, 41).

The machismo in Latin America is a social and historical construction, learned, and reinforced since childhood, and reproduced in adulthood, which goes against integrity, empowerment, freedom, health and life of women that needs to be addressed seriously by the State to promote an equal society, and eliminate social tolerance towards gender violence.

REFERENCES

Abbassi A. and Aslinia, D. (2010). "Family Violence, Trauma and Social Learning Theory." *Journal of Professional Counseling: Practice, Theory & Research* 38 (1), 16–27.

BBC News (2001). "Brazil Tackles Sexual Harassment." *BBC Latin America*, UK, April 1.

Becerril, A. (2019). "En 6 estados, 50% de feminicidios; suman 377 casos en 11 meses." *Excelsior* 1 (37,014), 16.

Braga, M. (2016). *In Brazil's Macho Culture, Homophobia and Misogyny Are Intertwined*. Brazil: Feminist Collective of the Faculty of Casper Libero-Frente Feminista Casperiana Lisandra.

Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor (BDHRL) (2006). *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices* 2006. The United States of America: Department of State, March.

Cabrera, R. (2014). "Violence against Women and Machismo. A Research Study of how Machismo Justifies Cases of Violence against Women and the Psychological Process that Influence Women to Remain in Abusive Relationships in the City of Fortaleza." *University of Colorado-Independent Study Project (ISP) Collection* 12 (1), 10–22.

Castoriadis, C. (1998). *The Imaginary Institution of Society*. Trans. K. Blamey (1975). London: UK, MIT Press.

Ceballos, M. (2013). *Machismo: A Culturally Constructed Concept.* Thesis to Obtain the Master of Social Work in the College of Health and Human Services. California: University of California State.

Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) (2018). *The World Factbook-Brazil*. Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/resources/the-world-factbook/geos/br.html> (accessed August 2020).

Chong, A. and La Ferrara, E. (2009). "Television and Divorce: Evidence from Brazilian 'Novelas'." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 7 (2/3), 458–468.

Edelson, M., Hokoda, A. and Ramos-Lira, L. (2007). "Differences in Effects of Domestic Violence between Latina and Non-Latina women." *Journal of Family Violence* 22 (1), 1–10.

Fairlie, H. (1968). "The Evolution of a Term." *The New Yorker,* UK, October 19, 173.

Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública/ Brazilian Forumon Public Security (FBSP) and DATAFOLHA (2016). *A Polícia Precisa Falar Sobre Estupro: Percepção Sobre Violência Sexual e Atendimento a Mulheres Vítimasnas Instituições Policiais*. Available at: <http://www.forumseguranca.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/FBSP_Policia_ precisa_falar_estupro_2016.pdf> (accessed August 2020).

Hargreaves, M. (2015). "Brazil's 'machismo': a Licence for Abuse." *New Internationalist* May 13, 18.

Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (INEGI) (2014). *Encuesta Nacional de Vivienda*. México: INEGI.

Jiménez, J. A. (1972). *La media vuelta. No me amenaces. Lo mejor de lo mejor*. México: DIMSA. Available at: <https://www.letras.com/jimenez-jose-alfredo/343535> (accessed April 2019).

Lagarde, M. (1996). *Género y Feminismo. Desarrollo Humano y Democracia*. México: Siglo XXI.

Liang, C., Salcedo, J. and Miller, H. (2011). "Perceived Racism, Masculinity Ideologies, and Gender Role Conflict among Latino Men." *Psychology of Men & Masculinity* 12 (3), 201–215.

Linz, J. J. and Stepan, A. (1996). *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

López, L. (2019). "Diputada Propone 'Toque de Queda' a Mujeres para Evitar Femicidios." *Excelsior* 1 (37,029), 16.

Machado, L. (2001). "Familias e Individualismo: Tendencias Contemporáneas en Brasil." *Interface* 5 (8), 11–26.

Manheim, J. (1983). *La Política por Dentro. Manual de Actitudes y Comportamientos Políticos*. Trans. M. De Peredo. México: Gernika.

Mexico News Daily (2019). "No More Femicide: Over 3,000 Women March in Mexico City against violence", November 26. Available at: <https://mexiconewsdaily.com/news/over-3000-women-march-in-mexico-city/> (accessed April 2019).

Monárrez Fragoso, J. (2004). *Elementos de Análisis del Feminicidio Sexual Sistémico en Ciudad Juárez para su Viabilidad Jurídica*. México: H. Cámara de Diputados.

Nieto, N. (Interviewer) (2019). *Oral Women Histories in Xochimilco. Conversaciones con Mujeresen San Gregorio Atlapulco and San Luis Tlaxialtemalco/ Conversations with Women in San Gregorio Atlapulco and San Luis Tlaxialtemalco*. Interviews were taken in Xochimilco, Mexico City from April 10th to May 11th, México: n. p., 1–25.

Observatorio Ciudadano Nacional del Feminicidio (OCNF) (2018). *Informe Implementación del Tipo Penal del Feminicidio en México:*

Desafíos para acreditar las razones de género 2014–2017. México: OCNF.

Organización de Naciones Unidas (ONU) Mujeres (2017). *El Largo Sendero Hacia la Justicia: la Persecución Judicial del Feminicidio en México*. México: ONU.

Perilla, J. (1999). "Domestic Violence as a Human Rights Issue: The Case of Immigrant Latinos." *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences* 21 (107), 106–133.

Pierobom de Avila, T. (2018). "Facing Domestic Violence against Women in Brazil: Advances and Challenges." *International Journal for Crime, Justice and Social Democracy* 7 (1), 15–29.

Pimienta Franco, X. (2018). "'Juanitas' y 'Manuelitas', la historia se repite." *Forbes Mexico* September 19. Available at: <https://www.forbes.com.mx/juanitas-y-manuelitas-la-historia-de-repite/> (accessed December 2019).

Projeto de Lei 2438/2019. *Brazilian Chamber of Deputies*. Brazil, August 20, 2019.

Rodríguez, V. (1999). "Las mujeres y el cambio político en México." *La ventana, Revista de Estudios de Género* 10, 50–83.

Sagot, M. (2008). "Los Límites de las reformas: violencia contra las mujeres y políticas públicas en América Latina." *Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, Universidad de Costa Rica II (120), 35–48.

Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores (SER) (2019). *Acciones y Programas. Igualdad entre Mujeres y Hombres*. México: SRE.

Segato, R. L. (2016). *La guerra contra las mujeres*. Madrid: Traficantes de sueños.

Segato, R. L. (2003). *Las estructuras elementales de la violencia: contrato y status en la etiología de la violencia*. Brasil: Departamento de Antropologia Instituto de Ciências Sociais-Universidade de Brasília, Brasilia, (Serie Antropologia), 2–19.

Stergakis, A. (2018). "Making Machismo, Contextualizing Queer Life and Death in Colima." *Queer Here*. Available at: <https://wearequeerhere.com/making-machismo> (accessed April 2019).

The Conversation (2019). "Mexican President López Obrador has a Woman Problem", July 10. Available at: <http:/theconversation.com/mexican-president-lopez-obrador-has-a-woman-problem-113529> (accessed December 2019).

Thome, D. (2018). "Why Brazil still an Outlier in Women's in Political Power? – Looking inside a Group of Aspirants." *Panoramas* June 28, 17.

Uchoa, P. (2018). "Jair Bolsonaro: Why Brazilian Women are Saying #Not Him." *BBC News,* UK, September 21. Available at: <https://

www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-45579635> (accessed August 2020).

Waiselfisz, J. (2015). *Mapada Violência 2015: Homicídios de Mulheres no Brasil*. Brasilia: Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (Flacso).

Watson, K. (2016). “Making a Noise about Machismo in Mexico.” *BBC News*, UK, May 20. Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-36324570> (accessed May 2019).

Welchman, L. and Hossain, S. (2005). *‘Honour’: Crimes, Paradigms and Violence against Women.* London: Zed Books.

Zamora Mendieta, H. (2018). “Histórico: Mujeres alcanzan paridad en el Congreso.” *Milenio, Mexico* 3567, 15.

Daugavpils Universitātes Akadēmiskais apgāds “Saule”
Izdevējdarbības reģistr. apliecība Nr. 2-0197.
Vienības iela 13, Daugavpils, LV–5401, Latvija