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The use of Technologies of the Fourth Industrial Revolution in Arab Press Institutions: An Exploratory Study of Opportunities and Challenges

By Dr. Amira Mohammed Ahmed

Abstract- The study sought to monitor the opportunities offered by artificial intelligence technologies in the press institutions in the Arab world and its challenges, by drawing on the tools of examining documents for studies, research and codified interviews with media experts, academics, and artificial intelligence technology experts, relying on this on several approaches, represented in: the anthropological approach, Analytical hierarchy approach, the inductive approach, through five steps, represented in: Monitoring the techniques of artificial intelligence that can be employed in the media work, followed by monitoring the tasks and opportunities that they provide, then presenting models for news organizations that employed these techniques, then monitoring the requirements for employing these technologies In Arab journalistic institutions from the experts point of view, up to the fifth stage which was represented in: Monitoring the challenges hindering the possibility of employing artificial intelligence techniques.

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Keywords: media institutions - artificial intelligence – challenges.

I. INTRODUCTION

In the context of the increasing use of artificial intelligence technologies in various fields, media institutions in various countries of the world have witnessed a major change in recent years; As a result of the knowledge explosion and the information and communication revolution, as the technologies of the fourth industrial revolution entered the media field, represented in artificial intelligence techniques, and the news-elded newsrooms in most of the international news and press institutions have passed many programs, the most prominent of which are: algorithms, chatbots, big data, sources Open and content management in the field of news, stories, economic, sports, financial, scientific, medical, weather forecasts, disaster news and epidemics, where these programs put news, stories, reports and articles into a ready and diversified program structure; Which contributed to creating a rapid media boom, and even the emergence of modern digital technologies in the field of news and reports industry, publishing and enriching the digital content provided, by analyzing big data and developing different statistics, and anticipating some news, such as high stocks and stock and vice versa, and others.

As it has changed the traditional logic of journalism by implanting computational thinking in

newsrooms, these technologies have provided a modern style in telling stories, news, and reports in an automated way through cloud computing, which has led to several changes in the ways news and reporting are syntactically, stylistic and formal, which can Algorithms from automatically creating economic news and reports on the basis of statistical information without human intervention from journalists, as well as converting written texts into visual, pictorial, audio, and graphic segments, etc. It can also be used to create multiple templates that handle the same news in multiple ways according to the quality of the audience consuming the content, but it has difficulty programming Stylistic style, and its creative craftsmanship in offering and handling.

Well-established news organizations are automating the production and writing of news, stories and reports using robots and algorithms, such as Thomson Reuters, BBC, CNN and the newspaper "L.A." Times, the Washington Post, the USA Today, the Associated Press, the Los Angeles Times, the Chinese News Agency (Xinhua), the New York Times, the Guardian, the British newspaper Daily and others, despite the accreditation of some of the media institutions in the Arab world, especially the press ones. On the techniques of data analysis in the work of many investigative reports, some of which employed the course media technology in telling news and news stories such as the homeland and the seventh day and the constitution, and the Arab and foreign channels, however the media institutions in our Arab countries are still in urgent need to employ the tools and techniques of the industrial revolution Fourth in the newsrooms, taking advantage of the technologies of that revolution according to professional and ethical standards appropriate to the Arab media work environment, which requires strengthening the professional capabilities of media professionals to suit these innovative technologies, big data, open platforms, cloud computing and natural language processing technologies (NLP), as it requires the necessity of providing A media work environment that is supportive of the requirements of that revolution, so that we can benefit from it on a large scale Press standards and media legislation, and expanding the field of automated journalism from simple descriptions to the richest and most creative narratives, and studying the challenges

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faced by press institutions for applying these technologies, the problem of the study in setting A future vision of opportunities and challenges for the possibility of employing artificial intelligence techniques and tools in developing the journalistic work environment in Arab press institutions; To enrich the information content provided by reformulating the structure of newsrooms in a way that is compatible with the possibility of employing artificial intelligence techniques such as algorithms programs, robots, open source, big data and its analysis, cloud computing and automation in all stages of news production; To enhance efforts to transform these rooms into the ranks of the world news elders, which requires developing the skills of journalists with the new press situations and concepts that these technologies require, so that they can be employed in an optimal way, in addition to monitoring challenges and obstacles to implementation

II. LITERATURE SURVEY

In this section, we are going to discussed some past research that have been done:

1. (Waleed Ali, Mohamed Hassoun,) The study aimed at giving an insight into the impact of artificial intelligence technologies on changing the practice of journalism, identifying the potential and implications of these technologies for the future of journalists, and extrapolating ethical and professional challenges that may disturb the practices of the journalistic profession. The study found the following: In the digital age, in addition to its ability to overcome the basic problems facing contemporary journalism, combating false news, and editorial policy, it also concluded that artifical intelligence techniques in journalism may raise professional and ethical issues, especially undermining creativity, lack of oversight, bias, transparency, Equity, data use and quality .
2. (Seth C. Lewis, et al,) An experimental study of a sample of the press sites of American institutions indicated that those sites had formed in response to an increasing number of artificial intelligence (AI) technologies - such as chat bots, social robots, and algorithms; To be employed in building and writing news and news reports, she concluded that these programs had a role in news writing, and had become a de facto central and humanitarian component of journalism, reinforcing an upcoming era of employing artificial intelligence techniques in journalistic work on a large scale .
3. (Daewon Kima & SeongcheolKimb,) It sought to monitor the position of journalists on automated journalism and automated news writing, as it identified three trends toward automated journalism and employed them in writing news, reports and articles, using the Q methodology applied to a random sample of journalists from South Korean newspapers, the study found: The first type shows that automated journalism has exceeded the capabilities of robots, as the term refers to "elite journalism", while the second type shows greater interest in introducing robots based on bleak scenarios, while the latter type has formed a relatively different viewpoint, focused on a positive scheme for this type of journalism and writing Automatic news, despite acknowledging some of the threats surrounding journalists and writing news in professional ways .
4. (Yue Zhenga, et al,) It sought to monitor the media transformation of the twenty-first century skills represented in the use of algorithms in writing news and news reports in American and Chinese newsrooms, how well they are accepted by news users, how they perceive the quality of machine news, and how much they like and trust them in these news, using the comparative approach, and the study found that American and Chinese users expressed their opinions that there are more shared and not different perceptions of automatic news, and users did not realize the automated content in a linear fashion, but watched it by looking at the interaction of the authors (i.e. journalists or algorithms), the media, and the cultural background of the users .
5. (David Caswell & Konstantin Dörr,) It provided an exploratory algorithmic approach to expanding the field of machine journalism from simple descriptions to the richer and more complex narratives, based on original applied research through a review of the practice of machine journalism, and identifying a major impediment to the possibility of automating journalistic writing, namely the lack of sufficient data models to encode journalistic knowledge necessary for news writing and stories that are automatically driven by events, and using the exploratory approach, the study presented a detailed proposal that addresses this limitation, based on the representation of journalistic knowledge as an organized event and organized narrative data through a model database of events and structural stories>
6. (DaewonKima & Seongcheo IKim,) discussed identifying the editor-in- chief's determinants of automated journalism in newsrooms, where the analytical hierarchy process was used as a methodology, and the data required to be analyzed were obtained from editor-in-chief surveys from newspapers, and according to the results, the expected business performance resulting from the introduction of the press The mechanism and the desire of news consumers to read machine-written news is one of the most important elements in the criteria for considering whether press institutions

plan to introduce automated journalism or not, on the other hand, the position of journalists on automated journalism lies behind considerations of commercial performance and changes in the external market environment.

7. (Neil Thurman, et al.) It endeavored to uniquely analyze professional journalists' experiences with technology and related opinions in automatically writing news releases and reports, as participants were selected from a range of news organizations - including BBC, CNN, and Thomson Reuters, who have first hand experience working with the automated writing program Provided by a leading technology supplier, and the results revealed that journalists have concluded that there are restrictions imposed on automation, including the nature of its sources and its sensitivity to news, however, journalists believe that automated journalism will become more popular, which increases the depth, breadth, breadth, privacy, and timeliness of the information provided.
8. (Carl-Gustav Linden,) sought to take a quick look at the commercial operations of automated news in the United States, in addition to five European countries, to explore how the logic of press news has been interpreted and translated into software, and how industry experts anticipate the future using a case study approach, and drawing on the codified interview with data journalists, news managers and scientists The computer, academics, and industry experts who produce this new ecosystem for journalism, the study found that: There are many forms of friction that create barriers to increasing automation news, and there is a belief that the development of learning algorithms leads to more advanced forms of machine news, however, Journalists have demonstrated a strong ability to adapt and mitigate the effects of this new technology.

- Commenting on the LITERATURE SURVEY

From the previous factual monitoring of studies, it can be said that:

1. Studies indicated the work of artificial intelligence techniques as an assistant to the journalist in order to collect and analyze standard information, but it does not replace a human journalist; Missing the advantage of creativity.
2. The tools varied between codified interviews, qualitative content analysis of stories, machine news and questionnaire.
3. The approaches varied between the case study approach and the experimental approach, the Q methodology, the qualitative approach, the exploratory approach, the comparative approach, and the analytical hierarchy methodology for analyzing the surveys.

4. Studies varied between exploratory, experimental, comparative and analytical studie
5. The previous studies also differed with the current study in several points represented in the sample, the time period, the environment.

III. METHOD/EXPERIMENTAL WORK

a) *The Importance of the Study*

- Every scientific study has its importance which the researcher urges to conduct, and its importance stems from several basic points, represented in
- It deals with a recent trend in the fields of applications of the techniques of the fourth industrial revolution in the media field, which is the application of artificial intelligence techniques in newsrooms in press institutions -The results of that study will raise the efficiency of newsrooms in press institutions from all aspects, whether technical, technical, professional, informational, ethical, etc., and then qualify them to achieve leadership and competition.
- Achieving the maximum benefit from the field of artificial intelligence techniques that are developing in journalistic institutions and developing the capabilities of journalists.
- Its importance also stems from identifying the professional, technical, ethical and legal requirements that must be met in media institutions, in order to be able to benefit from the techniques of the fourth industrial revolution.

b) *Goals of the study*

The study aimed at exploring the requirements of the possibility of employing artificial intelligence technologies and tools in media institutions in the Arab world, especially the press, in an attempt to improve the status of newsrooms by re-configuring them to allow the use of these applications, in order to form a forward-looking vision for a comprehensive picture of the challenges and opportunities of employing digital technologies Of all kinds, in a manner that is compatible with the Arab media work environment, by identifying.

- Artificial intelligence techniques that can be employed within Arab press institutions.
- The nature of the tasks and functions performed by artificial intelligence techniques in newsroom.
- Monitor the experiences of international news organizations in the application of artificial intelligence techniques.
- Requirements for employing artificial intelligence techniques in journalistic institutions in the Arab world.
- Challenges facing the application of these technologies in the Arab newsrooms.

c) *Type of-the study*

This study belongs to the quality of descriptive and exploratory research, which adopts a future view from the study of the opportunities offered by the techniques of the Fourth Industrial Revolution for media institutions, especially newsrooms and their evaluation, to reach the requirements necessary to employ them in journalistic work in Arab press institutions, and to identify challenges as well.

d) *Curricula of the study*

In the light of the nature of the study and the goals it seeks to achieve, the study relies on several integrated approaches, which are:

The inductive approach: It is based on adopting a future exploratory vision of the reality in which it is hoped to enrich the Arab digital content - benefiting from the data of the Fourth Industrial Revolution.

Analytical Hierarchy Approach: To define requirements for employing AI techniques in Arab newsroom.

The Anthropological Approach: To reveal the features of the work environment within the international newsrooms by monitoring the nature of the technologies used within them, and the nature of the tasks and functions that they perform in the news work

e) *Data collection tools*

The study relies on collecting data on several tools, which are the standardized interviews.

With a number of specialized experts and practitioners of media and technology work, represented in: (10) newsroom chiefs in press institutions, (10) contactors in press institutions, (10) media academics, (10) experts of artificial intelligence technology, To find out the nature of the requirements for employing artificial intelligence technologies within Arab newsrooms, and the aspects of the challenges they face.

f) *Examination of documents*

Associated here with studies and sources that deal with the use of media institutions in the techniques of artificial intelligence within them; To learn about the most prominent technologies used and the nature of the tasks and opportunities provided by news organizations, and monitor the experiences of international news organizations

The Study population and its sample:

It is represented in the media institutions that employed the techniques of artificial intelligence, and a random sample was chosen from those institutions; To get acquainted LP with the techniques used and the nature of the tasks that you perform in journalistic work, which facilitates the process of identifying the tools that can be employed in Arab press institutions in a manner that suits their capabilities.

IV. RESULTS, DISCUSSION

a) *The proposed perception of the study*

The visualization process went through several stages, some of which relied on the comprehensive survey of research, studies and scientific sources that dealt with the applications of artificial intelligence in media institutions, and some relied on the work of a codified interview with experts and specialists, and is represented in

The first stage: Monitoring the techniques of artificial intelligence that can be used in media work from the reality of examining documents for studies, research and scientific sources.

The second stage: Monitoring the tasks and roles of artificial intelligence techniques in media work from the reality of examining documents for studies, research and scientific sources.

The third stage: Examples of international news organizations that employ artificial intelligence technologies, and the news tasks they perform from examining documents for studies, research and scientific sources.

The Fourth stage: Monitor the requirements for employing artificial intelligence techniques in Arab journalistic institutions from the viewpoint of media experts, academics and experts in artificial intelligence technology.

The Fifth stage: Monitoring challenges that hinder the possibility of employing artificial intelligence techniques, from the point of view of the study samples.

These stages can be dealt with in some detail, as follows

The first stage: Monitoring the tools and techniques of artificial intelligence that can be used in the media work.

Any press relies on the products of the Fourth Industrial Revolution, such as: open platforms, D printing, Internet of things, big data analysis, smart phones, and new tools in montage and photography, (Mohamed, 2019:11). These tools can be displayed as follows:

- Robots: Voice chat programs, such as the chat bot, can be used in voice interaction with news and social media surfers, and to respond to their inquiries.
- *Advanced algorithms programs:* These programs contribute to the automation of newsrooms, in terms of automatically collecting news, raising journalists awareness of important issues, listening to and responding to conversations, and making content (Francesco Marconi@ <https://insights.ap.org>).

Cloud computing: Provides the journalist with more interactive means to influence the target audience, in

addition to faster access to smart information sources. (Mohamed, 2019:66).

- *Big Data*: It is the raw material that feeds the artificial intelligence algorithms, and helps the journalist to collect several information from various sources.
- *Open platforms*: Accelerate the use of artificial intelligence; Because it allows less time spent on routine programming. (Mohammed Bin Rashid Al Maktoum Knowledge Foundation Report, 2019: 9).
- *Social Media*, which provides superiority to the news published on it and provides search engines and digital maps. (Ehab, 2017:62).
- *Automatic Text Generation Platforms (NLG)*, as these techniques rely on selecting content and automatically the structure of the text, as they allow deeper articles and text that are similar to the articles produced by the journalist, in a way that is difficult to differentiate between them, and was developed to generate more diverse text, (Hille & Emiel @ <https://ajr.org/2019/10/24>) and among the templates based on it (Word smith) It is already able to write articles, reports and analyzes using the information technology NLG, a platform for generating the natural language that transforms the data into narration My story. (David & Konstantin, 2018:491-492).
- *News Whip*: This tool facilitates maintaining the accuracy of the data collected.
- *SAM Program*: It is used in creating news stories based on the scenario of Mechanism Script, where it translates the original text into an internal text independent of the surface form of the language, and it creates a summary in different natural languages from this internal representation of the language and a scenario for news stories (Alain, 1993:88-89).
- *BAOBAB Program*, to conduct live interviews with website users.
- *Reality Augmented*: It is a combination of actual direct reality with other virtual elements, such as sounds and two-dimensional and three-dimensional images as well as video clips in a harmonious way. (Samia, et.al, 2018:15).
- *Fact Mata*: A tool used to verify the authenticity of the content published on the site, and thus improve the quality and accuracy of news on the other hand.
- *Internet of things platforms*: supports continuous communication between various media tools, whether computers, robots, camera, satellites and technical tools for digital content. The media can remotely control these tools in communicating with the public and transferring the submitted content. (Mohamed, 2019:64).
- *Expert Systems* are used in imitating the human element, automatic machine learning, and it

requires you with a large amount of data to be effective. (Samia, et al, 2018:10).

As this software allowed the production of informational materials such as articles and reports that became more interactive than the journalist produced and were designed specifically to accomplish routine news and publish it based on the information in the data sources; In turn, it becomes able to automatically tell stories, news, and articles that can be published, highlighting the role of big data in journalism. (Jonathan, et al, 2015:40-64).

It is clear to us from the former subtraction of polytechnic tools and techniques that can be used in the media, allowing media institutions an opportunity to benefit from that move to identify the tools that can be employed - in line with their potential and infrastructure To become dining and intelligent newscasts of international newspapers, but keep pace with the fourth industrial revolution and techniques.

The second stage: Phase Monitor the nature of tasks performed by artificial intelligence tools and techniques in media work (monitoring opportunities and benefits of employment of these technologies in media work), multiplicity and roles of technology and intelligence techniques.

Transferring the events are taken by taking and transferred images in the most dangerous places. The media can not do, such as: wars and places where epidemics, infectious diseases, seafood and space, and the analysis of black fund data.

Collecting data and analyzing them from several sources: as social networking, email sites, sites and others, by searching for large data and open platforms on various forms using algorithms, building news and news reports and writing in several forms less Interaction with the public through interactive Android tools, where it is used to respond to public inquiries, and work live encounters with the public by employing interactive programming languages, (the so-called chat BOOT).

The visual action for the complicated big data and introducing them simply in the form of Infographic attractively, quickly and to be easy for reading and understanding where these technologies allow a massive cababilities in displaying the visual drawn ontentt in a high quality which immitate the reality especially data and complicated digits as stock market and the medical terms etc.....

Enhance the quality of news resolution, design and industry media content through automated data classification, and delivery to the public in various ways, such as the content conversion of written text for visual text, photographer or text-related text.

Exchange of experiences, information and achieving sustainable freedom There is no government restrictions on the freedom of transfer, as they reduced the obstacle to media.

The media consumer is aware of the kind of privacy and intimacy directly, providing intimate and unique content by studying its behavior. The tools and techniques have contributed to the enrichment of digital content, and bring a revolution in the world of news and strategic change in the industry of the news story, and contributed to accelerating journalism and losing, and therefore can be taken advantage of that stage.

The third stage: Presenting the experiences of the international media institutions that employ the techniques of artificial intelligence.

This phase includes the presentation of examples from media organizations, which employed artificial intelligence technologies, and are represented in:

The New York Times

It relied on the method of processing the algorithm data to determine the articles that it hopes will be most important to each reader, based on this user's reading record. (Mohamed, 2019:125).

The Washington Post

She developed her own techniques, using the robotic reporter program, called (Heliograph), and this program has produced nearly articles, mainly used in the formulation of political and sports news, it was used during the Summer Olympics. (Waleed & Mohamed, 2019:43).

British Broadcasting Corporation

It relied on the (juicer) tool to collect news and extract content, from articles from BBC and other news sites, then automatically analyze and classify them with information entities, grouping them into four categories: people, places, organizations, and things. (Mohamed, 2019:126).

It is clear from that stage that the international media in its various forms - newspapers - radio and agencies - sought to take advantage of these technologies in their work, and they became an essential component in the newsrooms indispensable, as the nature of the tasks varied.

Fourth stage: Monitor the requirements for employing artificial intelligence techniques in media institutions.

In this step, it was relied upon to monitor the most prominent expert opinions after merging them, and they were divided into several requirements, which are represented in the following form:

Professional => Technology=> Ethical=> legal.

Indicators for each requirement can be presented, based on the opinions of experts and specialists, as an imperative and competitive strategic advantage, as follows- :

First: Professional requirements

In other words, to determine the professional skills that a journalist must have in order to deal with

smart newsrooms, keep abreast of those digital technologies and how they are used and applied in journalistic work, these requirements are- :

- *Possessing* the skills of a whole team of tools for digital analysis, designing and analyzing data and collecting them from its various sources, and understanding the way in which different application software can be used and dealing with data in all fields of journalistic work, and using them to collect, produce and edit media material in its various forms.
- Learn how to use digital programs in researching open data and big data platforms, analyzing them, and drafting news and reports.
- To be a journalist specializing in data analysis, so that he can benefit from big data in writing reports backed by stocks and statistics.
- Knowledge of journalists with many skills, including the skill of emotional intelligence, emotional, social and creative, programming skills, skills of flexibility in the media work, digital interaction and digital culture, competitive intelligence skills and good awareness to employ these tools and techniques in journalistic work.
- Enhancing the skills of big data analysis, open platforms, languages, science and algorithms for journalists, which requires an organized mechanism and methodology for data analysis governance, and the presence of data experts and information security experts, because journalists under these technologies become analysts and coordinators of data.
- Journalists acquire many technical and practical digital skills, programming learning of these technologies, and employing them in media work with high qualifications, and how to use them in the correct way to take advantage of their great capabilities in enhancing their career path.

Second: The technical requirements

Media institutions must pay attention to the security and technical aspects alike, and develop the organizational and technical environment technically for newsrooms, that is, provide programs and tools to employ them inside newsrooms in the press work, and they are:

Developing programs and tools capable of dealing with the intricacies of journalistic work, by providing them with the latest programs for data analysis and linking.

- *Developing* software and technical skills, conducting data analysis, and creating interactive tools and news applications within newsrooms; To build and design special software and tools that assist journalists in their work inside the newsroom.
- *Arabicization* of the language, as the digital techniques used in the programs are not Arabized

or keep pace with the Arabic language for the developments of the techniques of the Fourth Industrial Revolution and virtual linguistic space.

- *Developing* the speed of the Internet, modern programs and applications that the press industry needs.
- *Re-create* the newsroom architecture to allow the use of AI applications.
- Providing technical support from digital components, advanced devices, an information revolution, platforms for producing ideas and generating meaning, and G technology to enrich media content.
- Developing programs by providing them with logical inference mechanisms, as well as the symbolic language that relies on converting human experiences and experiences into that language in which artificial intelligence techniques are programmed, to be more clear than natural language in the process of communicating with the public.

That is, it can be said that we need to apply AI techniques in media organizations to:

Algorithmic programs: To show how information is used and analyzed.

Data systems: To obtain information and data from their celebrated sources.

In other words, providing newsrooms with technology related to artificial intelligence from hardware, programs and algorithms, and merging between media and technical specializations, to create automatic and dynamic media content.

Third: The ethical requirements

These requirements are in compliance with media professional standards and ethics, and can be monitored as follows:

The data entry of the ideological ideology is not affected by the journalist, so that a balanced media material can be presented, away from the journalistic bias, and thus the media establishment, especially when dealing with the most sensitive issues and topics, such as elections, political debates and others.

- The need to adhere to the ethical principles of artificial intelligence, which assumes the creation of a safe environment that permits the exchange and storage of information.

Maintaining the national and information security of states, not spying, and violating the systems of institutions and states.

- That the behavior of the techniques of the industrial revolution employed in the media work reflects societal values and takes into account the social responsibility of the media towards society.

Observing honesty, truthfulness, and alignment with the truth in covering events, not overstating coverage, and avoiding excitement, bias, and misinformation.

- Utilizing these technologies to achieve communication between peoples and governments, and to form an effective and positive public opinion, in order to improve the use of the digital information weapon.

Taking into account commitment to the ethical and professional style in telling stories, reports and news articles.

- Although artificial intelligence techniques mimic human intelligence, they are ultimately just a machine that depends on its learning and intelligence on the information provided to it; Therefore, the responsibility to ensure that the information is correct, accurate and unbiased towards a specific aspect rests with the media practitioners who supply the machine with data.

Fourth: The legal requirements

It consists of adhering to media laws and legislations regarding the use of this method, and is represented in

- Media institutions should develop appropriate policies, regulations and strategies for digital transformation, in light of the virtual openness.

Achieving cooperation at all local, regional and international levels to maintain the information security of countries.

- Develop comprehensive security plans within an international cooperation system, to protect the issue of digitization and use it in media work.

To enact comprehensive, accurate legislation appropriate to resisting crimes that result from the misuse of these technologies and tools.

- Strengthening the policy of international cooperation in the field of enacting international legislation and legal regulations, so that associations are formed to develop such legislation.

Where opinions embodied the need to develop a comprehensive strategy professionally, legally, ethically and technically; To employ these technologies in Arab press institutions

Fifth stage: Monitoring challenges

These challenges can be monitored by monitoring the most prominent opinions of experts and specialists - the study sample - after incorporating them, as there is a new media reality that is taking shape, and is represented in

First: professional challenges

Lack of credibility in the published data and manipulation of the results of opinion polls, especially in

matters related to elections or sports matches, among others.

Journalists' unwillingness to switch to new systems, and their unwillingness to use the new tools of artificial intelligence in the belief that it undermines their importance and also their expertise.

- The lack of skills required to keep pace with these technologies, among many journalists present in the Arab world, digital training in the use of these technologies is not available in the newsrooms of the institutions due to the lack of availability of these programs and devices.
- Bias in publishing news and stories, because they are related to the way in which they were programmed, where there can be biased data feeds for materials that are entered by the media, leading to biased results, as the inputs and outputs of these programs may not guarantee objectivity at all times.

Lack of technical knowledge, lack of, and lack of cultural awareness in the areas of artificial intelligence on the part of media professionals, dealing with the techniques of the fourth industrial revolution, and employing them in media work, and a lack of skills for media workers dealing with the analysis of big data and open platforms.

Failure to comply with media professional and ethical standards in the production and formulation of media materials.

A limitation of the many jobs performed by the media, and the psychological anxiety that this causes among the media professionals to employ these techniques.

Media jobs overlap and change the nature of professional descriptions of some of these jobs.

Second: material challenges

- The large financial requirements needed to provide digital infrastructure to employ these technologies in newsrooms in institutions.
- The lack of clarity on the economic benefits and value of these technologies on journalistic institutions.

There is a digital technology gap in the press institutions in the Arab world, compared to international newsrooms.

Third: technical challenges

These challenges are represented in many elements, and are

- Breaching the security of data and its privacy for states and institutions, and infringing the intellectual property rights of institutions, individuals and countries regarding covering some events; Which may raise ethical and societal issues.
- Disclosing important secrets to countries, institutions, organizations, and individuals, which may result in exhaustion and confusion of society

and state institutions, if these technologies are used incorrectly, which may cause crises and challenges for press institutions.

Failure to take a strict approach to data security in the open virtual space.

- Lack of appropriate digital technologies for big data analysis.
- There are no Arabized programs that suit the media work environment in Arab press institutions.
- Focusing solely on telling stories without focusing on higher-order thinking skills and alternative critical analysis.
- Misuse of the voice chat service (ChatBoot).
- Utilizing these technologies to spread false news.
- Speaking specifically of Arab media, Arabic is one of the most difficult languages to address in the areas of artificial intelligence; Due to the rich nature of their compositions.

V. CONCLUSION

Despite the opportunities offered by AI technologies for media organizations, which lie in facilitating some tasks that require time and effort, especially routine work, such as ease and speed.

Deep analysis of the data in a few seconds, providing dynamic, interactive and real-time content, and carrying out daily routine activities such as collecting news from multiple sources, such as electronic magazines, social media sites, news sites, news agencies, and providing news using text-to-video or audio files or Geographical drawings, etc. The machine cannot replace the human element in general and the professional journalist in particular, but rather be used as an aid to them in their work; The possibility of the machine occurring in some errors that in turn causes us to get inaccurate results according to the data given, and there are a set of disadvantages to these technologies, which are: Algorithms lack creative and critical thought, and as a result, we find that automated journalism has its limitations in its ability to monitor society And accomplishing journalistic tasks, such as directing and forming public opinion, in addition to its ability to fragment public opinion. (Noam, 2015:65-80) as well as the lack of transparency, legal accountability and difficulty in developing software; Because it is expensive and slow.

VI. RECOMMENDATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

Based on the previous presentation, the study proposes a number of recommendations and proposals, which are:

- Media organizations must prepare and train workers in the newsrooms psychologically and technically on the skills required to use the techniques of

artificial intelligence and automate the news automatically and how to deal with it, that is, professional, technical and psychological rehabilitation for media professionals.

- Institutions must restructure them in line with keeping pace with the techniques of artificial intelligence, and changing their media system, starting with the fact that the technological development is not waiting for anyone, and whoever has not developed will not continue with the requirements of the times and all that this technology imposes.
- Media institutions should embrace the distinguished media talents and creations, which are able to compete with the techniques of artificial intelligence.
- Media institutions should take advantage of the opportunities offered by the techniques of artificial intelligence in the best possible way to keep pace with the techniques of the Fifth Industrial Revolution.

Conducting more suggested future research on

- How automation changes the roles of journalists and the skills required.
- How automated digital content affects public opinion and the formation of public opinion in a virtual society.
- Attitude of the public towards the automated content of news and stories.
- How to take advantage of these techniques in storytelling and news writing in a more quality way.
- The future of Arab media in light of these current digital transformations.

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Bangladesh-India Diplomatic Relations (1975-1996): Transitions, Bilateral Disputes, and Legacies

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Abstract- Bangladesh, born in 1971, endured her very first setback in 1975 when a bloody military coup took place, which killed the father of the nation, and subsequently, the army seized power. From then to 1990, two military dictators ruled the country for a short time as a military dictator and the rest of the time under the veil of the democratically elected President. With the fall of the Mujib government, a new diplomatic stance had taken up; from a socialist, liberal, secular, and democratic state, Bangladesh crawled down to a capitalist, conservative, Islamist and authoritarian form of state. It appears from the policy of the dictators that they had tried to satiate the people through the amendments in the constitution to shape it as an Islamist country and to satisfy the capitalist class, they replaced the moderate socialist economy into a capitalist one. An identical procedure that was implemented by the Pakistani military ruler in the pre-independence era, had been ensued by the military dictators in independent Bangladesh.

The two military dictators and an elected government of the time discussed in this study tried to draw the attention of world leaders who were holding the same ideologies and interests that ran here by them.

Keywords: *military, democracy, diplomacy, accords, disagreements.*

GJHSS-A Classification: FOR Code: 190499



Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:



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Md. Habibullah ^α & Emran Hossain ^ο

Abstract- Bangladesh, born in 1971, endured her very first setback in 1975 when a bloody military coup took place, which killed the father of the nation, and subsequently, the army seized power. From then to 1990, two military dictators ruled the country for a short time as a military dictator and the rest of the time under the veil of the democratically elected President. With the fall of the Mujib government, a new diplomatic stance had taken up; from a socialist, liberal, secular, and democratic state, Bangladesh crawled down to a capitalist, conservative, Islamist and authoritarian form of state. It appears from the policy of the dictators that they had tried to satiate the people through the amendments in the constitution to shape it as an Islamist country and to satisfy the capitalist class, they replaced the moderate socialist economy into a capitalist one. An identical procedure that was implemented by the Pakistani military ruler in the pre-independence era, had been ensued by the military dictators in independent Bangladesh.

The two military dictators and an elected government of the time discussed in this study tried to draw the attention of world leaders who were holding the same ideologies and interests that ran here by them. Consequently, the friendly and warm diplomatic relations with India came to an end and the foreign dependency of Bangladesh became dependent on Pakistan and pro-Pakistan friendly nations for the protection and support of the military government. China and the USA, who vigorously opposed our liberation war, became the key friends of Bangladesh in the diplomatic arena and our largest neighbor country without her help; we couldn't possibly have our independence, became an ultimate scapegoat of our newly adopted foreign policy. A new trait in politics had been intentionally indoctrinated that was the anti-Indian sentiment. From then to now, this trait has been nurtured by most of the political parties who are now out of mainstream politics. In this study, we will try to investigate the transitions, bilateral disputes, and legacies of Bangladesh's diplomatic relations with India from 1975 to 1996.

Keywords: military, democracy, diplomacy, accords, disagreements.

I. INTRODUCTION

The partition of the Sub-continent birthed two new nations; of them, Pakistan had helmed the westernmost part of the sub-continent, but Radcliff's line provided the opportunity to bag East Pakistan, which was situated thousands of miles away from her main territory. The existence of the Eastern portion, which had a boundary with India from three

sides, was very sensitive to India both geographically and militarily. This impractical and ascribed demarcation fuelled with 23 years of misrule, oppression, authoritarianism, and militarization of democratic institutions provoked Bengalis to reveal in the 1971 war, and with the join of India on 3rd December as an ally, Bangladesh becomes an Independent nation. As a war-stricken and newly liberated country, Bangladesh ascertained her goal in foreign relations to draw foreign economic assistance and recognition from the outer world. Bangladesh's largest neighbor and a key ally of the liberation war, India has been a crucial factor in the country's foreign policy (as well as domestic politics). Again India-Bangladesh collaboration is cultural, civilizational, social, and economical, many factors unite the two countries historically viz shared history, common heritage, geographical contiguity, and cultural and linguistic affinity. But Dhaka's perception of India, and consequently its approach toward that country, has varied over time and under different governments: sometimes perceived as a positive factor, it has, at other times, been viewed as a key source of a threat to security.¹

The first government after the independence headed by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman pursued a clear pro-Indian foreign policy. Then to 1975, Dhaka and New Delhi adopted a very close, cooperative relationship, which is generally dubbed as a 'honeymoon' period.² The Bangladesh-India connexion dropped straight down at high speed over the night and became hostile when the Awami League government collapsed and Bangladesh fell into a military regime led by General Zia. Bhumitra Chakma rightly opined that "mistrust and mutual hostility were the dominant room in Bangladesh-India relations during Zia's tenure".³ A similar kind of relationship was further maintained by the subsequent military junta H.M Ershad and the first elected Government in 1991 after the assassination of Mujib.

We may recall the comment of the ex-Prime Minister of India Manmohan Singh. In an interaction with editors in 2011, he said that "we must reckon that at least 25 percent of the population of Bangladesh swears by the Jamiat-ul-Islami and they are very anti-Indian...."⁴ This group of people was targeted by the subsequent head of the governments for the support and stability of their governments. In exchange they are permitted in doing politics which was banned after the independence due to their brutal role in the liberation war, thus they

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rehabilitated the accused leaders in mainstream politics and society.

This paper is organized into four sections. The first section will deal with the diplomatic personnel who were deployed and the Ministers from both nations involved in the maintenance of bilateral-relationship. In the second section, the stance that was taken by Zia regarding Bangladesh's relations with India, Pakistan, and the then anti-liberation superpowers of the world and the status of mutual issues between India and Bangladesh during his tenure. The third section will evaluate the extension of Zia's policies and Islamization of the state and constitution by H.M Ershad. The fourth section will focus on the policy and approach of the first democratic government towards India.

II. OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The key objective of this research is to trace out the trends of diplomatic relations of Bangladesh with India and the factors that played a significant role in this regard. Moreover, some specific objectives will be pursued such as

1. To review the historical roots of Bangladesh-India relation.
2. To find out the factors which deteriorated the bilateral relations between the two nations.
3. To identify the settled, semi-settled, and unsettled bilateral issues.
4. To predict the ways to reach into a common understanding for settling the issues which are threatening the friendly relations of Bangladesh with India.
5. Finally, this study will try to recommend that India-Bangladesh relations should be on a good terms for

Prime Ministers of India:

Prime Ministers	Tenure	Political Parties	Visits to Bangladesh
Indira Gandhi	Mar 1971 to Mar 1977	Indian National Congress	Mar 17, 1972
Morarji Desai	Mar 1977 to Jul 1979	Janata Party	Apr 16, 1979
Charan Singh	Jul 1979 to Jan 1980	Janata Party (Secular)	N/A
Indira Gandhi	Jan 1980 to Oct 1984	Indian National Congress	N/A
Rajiv Gandhi	Oct 1984 to Dec 1989	Indian National Congress	Jun 2, Dec 7, 1985
Chandra Shekhar	Nov 1990 to Jun 1991	Samajwadi Janata Party	May 12, 1991
P.V Narashima Rao	Jun 1991 to May 1996	Indian National Congress	Apr 10, 1993

The Chief Martial Law Administrators/Presidents/Prime Minister of Bangladesh

Names of Presidents/ Prime Ministers	Tenure	Political Parties	Visits to India
Ziaur Rahman	Apr 1977 to May 1981	BNP	Dec 19-20, 1977 & Jan 21, 1980
H.M. Ershad	Dec 1983 to Dec 1990	Jatiya Party	Oct 6-7, 1982, Nov 4, 1982 & 14 Jul, 1986
Khaleda Zia	Mar 1991 to Mar 1996	BNP	May 26, 1992 & May 2, 1995

mutual convenience by comprehending the shared history, ethnic compliance, lingual harmony, geographical dependence, and role of India during the liberation war at any time.

III. METHODOLOGY AND STRATEGY OF THE RESEARCH

The overall research is conducted with the consultation of primary and secondary sources. Local and international journals covering this topic are also addressed. Interviews of the retired and current officials, diplomats, and ministers have been taken. Relevant information from national newspapers of both countries from 1975 to 1996 is being recuperated for a better understanding of the past incidents. For collecting pertinent information, relevant website information and sources are also consulted.

IV. DIPLOMATS AND MINISTERS

A significant number of diplomats and ministers were in charge of high commissions and foreign ministries during the tenure of several Indian Premiers, and two military dictators, and a Prime Minister in Bangladesh from 1975 to 1996. They were the key personnel to ascertain the policies and objectives of their respective governments as per the government's political and diplomatic stance. The following tables illustrate the names of the Head of Governments, Ministers, High-Commissioners, and other relevant information so that it would be clear to understand and to evaluate the transitions of bilateral relations of the time under discussion.

Foreign Ministers of India:

Names of Foreign Ministers	Political Parties	Head of Governments
Atal Bihari Bajpayee	Janata Party	Morarji Desai
Shyam Nandan Prasad Mishra	Janata Party (Secular)	Charan Singh
P.V. Narasimha Rao	Indian National Congress	Indira Gandhi
Bali Ram Bhagat	Indian National Congress	Rajiv Gandhi
P. Shiv Sankar	Indian National Congress	Rajiv Gandhi
N.D. Tiwari	Indian National Congress	Rajiv Gandhi
P.V. Narasimha Rao	Indian National Congress	Rajiv Gandhi
I K Gujral	Janata Dal	V.P Singh
Dinesh Singh	Indian National Congress	P.V Narasimha Rao
Pranab Mukherjee	Indian National Congress	P.V Narasimha Rao

Foreign Ministers of Bangladesh:

Names of Foreign Ministers	Political Parties	Head of Governments
Muhammad Shamsul Haque	BNP (Education Minister Of Yahah Khan 1969-1971)	Ziaur Rahman
A.R. Shamsud Doha		H.M Ershad
Humayun Rashid Chowdhury	Jatiya Party	H.M Ershad
Anisul Islam Mahmud	Jatiya Party	H.M Ershad
A S M Mustafizur Rahman	BNP	Begum Khaleda Zia

High-Commissioners of India:

Names of The High-Commissioners	In-Office	Power Parties in India
K.P.S. Menon	Jan 1977 to Sep 1979	Janata Party
Muchkund Dubey	Oct 1979 to Oct 1982	Janata Party (Secular) & INC
I.P Khosla	Nov 1982 to Aug 1985	Indian National Congress
I.S Chadha	Oct 1985 to Feb 1989	Indian National Congress
K. Srinivasan	Feb 1989 to Mar 1992	Janata Dal (National Front)
K. Raghunath	Apr 1992 to Mar 1995	Indian National Congress

High-Commissioners of Bangladesh:

Names of The High-Commissioners	In-Office	Names of Military Dictators
Shamsur Rahman	Aug 1975 to Oct 1978	Ziaur Rahman
Abul Ehsan	Nov 1978 to May 1982	Ziaur Rahman
A.K Khandkar	Jul 1982 to Jul 1986	H.M Ershad
Faruk A. Chowdhury	Aug 1986 to Jan 1992	H.M Ershad and Caretaker
Farooq Sobhan	May 1992- Feb 1995	Khaleda Zia
C.M Shafi Sami	Apr 1995- Jun 1999	Khaleda Zia

V. LT. GEN. ZIAUR RAHMAN'S TENURE

Professor Sukumaran Nair⁵ divided the years from the post-Mujibur regime to the end of Zia's regime into three periods regarding the fall and formation of the Indian government. According to him, the first period is from Nov 1975 to 1977 during an internal emergency in India and when Indira Gandhi was the Prime Minister. The second period is between Mar 1977 and 1980 during Janata Party's tenure and the third period is from 1980 until the assassination of Zia. The Janata Party's government, the first Non-Congress government, initiated 'bilateral beneficialism' as the key principle of its approach regarding diplomatic relations towards the immediate neighbors.

On 15 Aug 1975, a bloody military coup took place in which President Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his whole family, except two daughters, were killed.⁶ The leading conspirator and President Mujib's cabinet member Khondaker Mushtaq Ahmed gained the Presidency, though for a very short time; this transition of power ushered a new horizon for Ziaur Rahman to attain the political authority of the country. K.M Shafiullah, Army Chief appointed by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, was replaced with Ziaur Rahman as the new Army Chief. Meanwhile, a counter Coup was staged again on 3rd Nov by General Khaled Mosharraf (Veteran freedom fighter) and Shafat Jamil, they forced Ziaur Rahman to throw up his position and put him under home arrest. It was followed by the so-called 'Soldiers and People's Coup'⁷ on 7 Nov, a mutiny staged by the

Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal (JSD) under retired Lt. Col. Abu Taher and a group of socialist military officials.

The key players of the 3rd Nov coup, Khaled Mosharraf was killed and Jamil was arrested. Zia became the Army Chief for another time. Justice Sayem had taken the office of President and Chief Martial Law Administrator on 6 November 1975. He has given up the office of the Chief Martial Law Administrator on 29 November 1976 and office of the President on 21 April 1977.⁸ Justice Sayem was installed in the key positions of the state because it was Khondokar Mushtaq who recommended placing someone in power who has no political affiliation. Although Zia was the de facto leader of Justice Sayem's government, he retired from the Bangladesh Army as a Lieutenant General (promoted by himself) in 1978 effected from 28 Apr. Bangladesh formally entered into an era of military dictatorship, uncertainty, and a capitalist economy.

Before evaluating General Zia's foreign policy and diplomatic relations with India, It is opting to have a brief overview of Bangabandhu's policy toward India and the status of diplomatic relations during his regime. The main factor for adopting an India-friendly foreign policy orientation by Sheikh Mujib's government was due to India's contribution to the liberation war. India, the mighty immediate neighbor, contributed through providing diplomatic and moral support and sheltered more than 10 million refugees from erstwhile East Pakistan for several months. India also interfered militarily, and played a very crucial role in the fall of the Pakistani forces in East Pakistan, and thus facilitated the emergence of Bangladesh as an independent nation.⁹ Even India recognized Bangladesh as an independent country on 6th Dec before the ultimate victory. Hence, it was apparent that Dhaka would follow an India-positive foreign policy and that both nations would construct a very intimate relationship after the liberation war of Bangladesh.¹⁰ Eastern bloc countries also supported Bangladesh during the liberation war. In the months following the independence, Bangladesh had maintained warm relations with them. A treaty was signed between India and Bangladesh for 25 years on the matter of peace and security. Bangabandhu was grateful to USSR and established friendly relations with the leaders of the socialist bloc. Due to the warm relation and strong bargaining power of Bangabandhu with the Indian government, he was successful in rehabilitating 10 million refugees and to persuade Indira Gandhi to take back the Indian Army by 16 Mar 1972. Bangabandhu promulgated a constitution in a record short time, which emphasized on the establishment of a secular state and socialist economy. His foreign policy and the constitution of Bangladesh made him familiar to the world as a secular statesman and a moderate socialist leader.

The Bangladesh-India diplomatic collaboration was jeopardized and became rancorous when the

Awami League government was collapsed and General Zia took the authority of the state. A new era of mistrust and mutual hostility was initiated by the new military government. Even the coup and killing of Bangabandhu was tried to justify on the ground that Bangladesh will have embraced the fate of Sikkim¹¹ and Dhaka was so subservient to India in a way that it would work as a satellite state of India and the Mujib government was selling out Bangladesh's interests to India.

As Bangladesh-India relations became hostile, the Zia regime fostered closer ties with Pakistan, China, and Middle-Eastern countries as a countervailing weight to lessen Indian pressure and rivalry.¹² Dhaka's neo-policy caused a heavy disturbance for Indian policymakers and placed a serious impact on Indo-Bangla relations. The political combination, formed by the USA, China, and Pakistan, fully endorsed the coup and they gave it kind of legitimacy, providing political and financial support, which enabled Ziaur Rahman's regime to assert that Bangladesh's survival depended on its ability to come out of the Indo-Soviet orbit.

Bangladesh's extreme poverty, economic instability, and aid dependency directly or indirectly exacerbated Indian concerns about external intervention in the region. The post-Mujib rulers deepened Indian apprehension by emphasizing and promoting Bangladesh's link with the USA, China, and the Arab countries, the long-standing allies of Pakistan, India's key enemy in South Asia.¹³ Zia cultivated warm relations with Saudi Arabia and China, Pakistan's wartime allies. These countries opposed Bangladesh's birth and hadn't recognized it until 1975.¹⁴ In addition to strengthening diplomatic ties with China and Muslim countries, Zia also paid special attention to establishing an intimate tie with Pakistan for which he insisted on Islamic values and omitted the secular principle. The modus operandi for initiating a friendly relation with Pakistan centered on his firm stand against Pakistan's staunch enemy India.¹⁵ Zia altered the Constitution's ideological statement on the fundamental principles, in particular, changing the Shiekh Mujib emphasis on secularism to "complete trust and faith in almighty Allah."¹⁶ While detaching Bangladesh from India, Zia sought to enhance ties with other Islamic countries, particularly Saudi Arabia.¹⁷

It was Zia's perception that a significant portion of the population was carrying an identity crisis, both religious and as a nation. Intending to heal this, he started the Islamisation process of Bangladesh.¹⁸ Unlike Mujib, Zia avowed three principles only viz Democracy, Nationalism, and Socialism and dropped Secularism¹⁹ as a fundamental feature of the Bangladesh constitution.²⁰ The following changes were brought by Zia in the constitution by which he changed the nature of the state.

- In the preamble, he affixed the obeisance "*Bismillahir-Rahmaanir-Rahim*" (In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful).²¹

- In Article 8 (1) and 8 (1A) the statement "absolute trust and faith in Almighty Allah" was added, replacing the socialist religious free commitment to secularism. Socialism was redefined as "economic and social justice" under his leadership.²²
- In Article 25(2), Zia introduced the principle that "the state shall endeavor to consolidate, preserve and strengthen fraternal relations among Muslim countries based on Islamic solidarity."²³
- Zia removed article 38 from the constitution which provided that "No person shall have the right to form or being a member or otherwise take part in the activities of any communal or other association or union, which in the name or based on religion has for its object other political purposes."²⁴

The policies adopted by Zia to Islamize the country and to create a gap between India and Bangladesh had a bunch of commonalities with that of the Pakistani military junta. They had attempted to win the public sentiment through creating a religious fantasy as Islam was the religion of the major portion of people and intensifying the anti-Indian sentiment. The identical procedure that was instituted in Pakistan by Ayub Khan was also followed by Zia in Bangladesh in the post-Mujib era through the amendments in the constitution and adopted necessary initiatives to normalize the relation with Pakistan²⁵ and Pan-Middle Eastern countries. Zia preferred to open/write his public and official speeches/messages with the invocation 'Bismillahir Rahman-Ur-Rahim' and concluded with 'Joy Bangla', by doing all these; Zia was keen to strengthen relations with the Islamic nations of the world with which he could boast of religious, historical and cultural ties.

Several causes that helped Zia to nurture anti-India sentiment are as follows:

1. A voluminous section of society that occupied power after the military coup of 1975 wasn't in favor of liberation and they postulated that the people of Bangladesh were far better during the Pakistan era.²⁶
2. Bangladeshi media also played a very crucial role in escalating the anti-India tirade, thereby deteriorating the relations between the two countries.²⁷
3. Various mutual issues have remained unsettled since Independence also irritated the Bangladeshi people.
4. The unlawful trafficking of goods, stuff, and currency throughout the open and unsecured border caused severe resentment to Bangladeshi traders and the government. Moreover, the Bangladeshi market was poured with Indian products just like in the pre-independence time when Bangladesh became the shopping mall for West Pakistani products.
5. Pro-Mujib devotees led by Tiger Siddiqui were sponsored by Indira Gandhi both militarily and

financially, which exerted security concern for Bangladesh.

India was also disturbed for several reasons which also exacerbated cold diplomatic relations between the neighbors; the series of brutal killings, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman along with his family members, four national leaders, numerous freedom fighters, and some top-ranked army officials. Mujib was a dependable friend of India, who symbolized those values that were dear to the people of India. The support, sacrifice, and contribution which are bestowed by Indian people during the war of liberation and the economic reconstruction of the war-stricken economy in the subsequent years, the legacy of those was fading away during the Zia regime under the state patronage.

Zia's policy of Islamization and the introduction of communal politics also generated insecurity among the Hindus of Bangladesh.²⁸ The communal harmony and co-existence were again jeopardized due to the revival of pro-Pakistani state policies.

VI. THE STATUS OF DISPUTES AND ISSUES WITH INDIA DURING THE ZIA REGIME

Of the two states, India was in a far better position to compromise. Bangladesh did not represent a military threat and had much more to lose than India. The bilateral disputes should have been swiftly resolvable through diplomatic channels. Instead, the conduct of the issues was represented by "belligerence and insensitivity on India's part, and oversensitivity and suspicion on Bangladesh's part."²⁹

The Ganges and Tista Water Distribution: President Mujib was successful in reaching a temporary agreement with India on the matter of water sharing at Farakka due to the close ties with India, but this agreement expired in May 1975. The subsequent government led by Zia failed to go for another treaty or to extend the tenure of the treaty. Zia sought international interference on the matter. Bangladesh raised the issue at the OIC conference of foreign ministers in Istanbul, 1976 and, at the NAM summit at Colombo. Subsequently, the issue was also placed on the 31st session of the General Assembly in Nov 1976 to draw international attention to the matter. To settle the issue, three rounds of ministerial talks were held, but no progress was made. Thus a bitter relation of distrust and hostility initiated at the very beginning of Zia's regime.

Tin-Bigha Corridor: The Tin-Bigha corridor is very tiny in size; under the 1974 accord between Indira Gandhi and Mujibur Rahman, India agreed only to lease in perpetuity to Bangladesh an area of approximately 178 meters by 85 meters near Tin Bigha to connect Bangladesh's mainland with its enclave Dahagram. The agreement on the terms of the lease was reached in 1982. Only in 1992, it was implemented.

South Talpatti Land Issue: A tiny new deltaic island was discovered by the U.S satellite, which India calls New Moore and Bangladesh calls South Talpatti, and became a new dispute in the maritime boundary talks in 1979. Bangladesh demanded that in May 1979, Indian P.M. Morarji Desai agreed with the demand of Deputy Prime Minister of Zia's government, who had called on him to hold a joint survey. However, the Talpatti stand of India was changed, when the new Prime Minister Indira Gandhi came into power. She claimed that the island belonged to India.

Pro-Mujib Guerilla's in India: Kader Siddiqui was a devoted disciple and the leader of the guerilla who wanted to take revenge and to overthrow Zia's government. They were trained by India, and Mrs. Gandhi was providing economic assistance to them. Zia accused the Indians of arming and alleged that BSF helped them to infiltrate into Bangladesh to attack the northern border outposts. When the Janata government came into power, they projected a new approach in foreign policy 'Bilateral Beneficialism' by which Morarji Desai wants to normalize the relation between the two neighbors. He met with General Zia in London on 10 June 1977 during the meeting of the commonwealth, where Mr. Desai promised to Zia not to provide any more help to Kader Siddiqui but refused to deport Kader Siddiqui.

The dispute over Exchange of Enclaves: Indira-Mujib signed a land-boundary agreement to settle the dispute, but Indira failed to ratify it in Parliament. The issue remained unsettled during Zia's regime too, although Morarji Desai and Zia talked on the matter.

Illegal Migration and Border Issues: Indo-Bangla border talks held in Dhaka in Jan 1977 proved to be unresolved. Bangladesh claimed that over 1300 border skirmishes had taken place between the two countries since Nov 1975 where fifty-six civilians from the Bangladesh side were killed and more than 200 dissidents either capitulated or were arrested.³⁰

Evaluation: In the case of foreign relations, Zia was successful to obtain recognition from some Middle Eastern countries, China, and some other Pakistani allies, but he initiated a new approach of separation with the long-examined friend and the key ally in our liberation war.

VII. THE TENURE OF LT. GEN. ERSHAD

After the assassination of Ziaur Rahman on 30 May 1981, Ershad remained loyal to the government.³¹ He ordered the army to suppress the coup attempt by General Abul Manzoor. Ershad was subservient to the new president Abdus Sattar, who had led the BNP to victory in elections in 1982.³² Ershad followed the same mechanism which was introduced by Zia, he first installed a civil government then took over the

government in March 1982 through a bloodless coup as a CMLA. Finally, in 1986 he established a new political party named *Jatiya Party*, with the noted members of various sections of the society, and later with a disputed election in 1986, he was elected as the President of Bangladesh.

Ershad's policy in domestic and foreign policy had a significant resemblance with Zia and it won't be hyperbole to term his policies as the extension of Zia's policies in domestic and foreign affairs. Islam rightly pointed "Dhaka more or less followed a similar approach towards India as that of the predecessor, the Zia regime."³³ In domestic policy, Ershad had adopted the footprint of Zia regarding turning the country into an Islamic state through the amendments in the constitution. Ershad amended the constitution and made 'Islam' as the state religion; article 2A was added to the eighth amendment in 1988.³⁴ He gave importance to keep intimate relations with China, Pakistan, and the Muslim countries. There was continuity in the Indian policy during the second military regime and Bangladesh-India relations remained cold most of the time during the tenure of Ershad.³⁵

Indira Gandhi's government welcomed the installation of the Ershad government in Bangladesh and wished to strengthen friendly relations with the neighbors and emphasized on the early settlement of unsettled issues mutually.³⁶ Naroshima Rao visited Bangladesh in 1982 and promised to provide one lac tons of wheat and Ershad paid his visit to India in the same year and also expressed his strong determination to maintain warm relations between the two countries. On Ershad's return visit, both leaders have agreed to form a joint economic co-operation to settle the mutual issues.

- They agreed to settle the dispute over the ownership of Newmoor/South Talpatti Island.
- They were successful in extending the 1977 Farakka agreement for two more lean seasons and directed to the joint river commission to settle the matter on river and water sharing disputes.
- Both also agreed to implement the 1974 land agreement, which up to then wasn't ratified by the Indian parliament.
- India additionally agreed to transfer the tin bigha corridor in eternity to Bangladesh.³⁷
- They agreed to settle the maritime boundary dispute in a spirit of understanding and good neighborliness.

The earlier joint-economic commission, which was formed soon after the liberation war, was in hibernation for a long time, so a new joint economic commission was formed in 1982, but it couldn't make any headway. Since its establishment, it has met only thrice in 1986, 1990, and 1993. It appears that India wanted to reunite the ties between the two countries

soon after the fall of Zia's regime. Hence Delhi started immediate interaction with the new military ruler, but the new leader didn't bring any change to the previous policies and also carry coal to the anti-India sentiment.

In Oct 1984, Indira Gandhi was assassinated by his two Sikh bodyguards and Rajiv Gandhi, son of Indira Gandhi, had taken charge of the government. The Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi was trying to play the role of big brother with the neighboring countries. However, the foreign policy goals set by Rajiv Gandhi were aimed to strengthen the relationship with the neighbors. By this time, both leaders had visited each other for several times, and on some issues, they also agreed to settle down.

After Rajiv's first visit to Bangladesh, a special envoy visited Bangladesh to find out a long-lasting solution to Ganga water sharing issues. In 1986-88, the water sharing of Ganga was extended for more three lean seasons through an MoU signed by the respective ministers of both sides. Both agreed to form a task force composed of experts to control the flood caused by two major joint-rivers the Ganga and Brahmaputra and the way to use the surplus water. Both sides also promised each other that they would minimize cross-border insurgency and illegal trafficking of goods. India during Rajiv Gandhi's period again promised to hand over the tin bigha corridor. Rajiv Gandhi and Ershad agreed that negotiations on the maritime boundary between the two countries in the Bay of Bengal region will be resumed.

The diplomatic relations of the two countries under Indra Gandhi and Rajiv Gandhi was improved significantly during the Ershad regime, though the Bangladeshi government placed some impediments viz; Islamization, strengthening relation with Islamic and anti-India powers, etc. alludes the fact that the India-Bangladesh relations rely on the tendency of the leaders of both sides rather than the objectives circumstances. The Ershad regime saw the continuous commitments from the Indian side, but the policies and directives of Ershad never tempted and persuaded India to settle the issues and the outcome of bilateral talks, visits, and MoU's seem to us as formal and routine tasks. However, this formal relationship was again strained when India planned to fence the border to stop the influx of Bangladeshi people. It was also during the Ershad period, Bangladesh became safer for the separatists of India. As a consequence, ISI was involved in this matter to infuriate the separatists and provided all types of help to separate North-East popularly the seven sisters from India, which deteriorated the diplomatic relations between Bangladesh and India severely.

VIII. THE TENURE OF BEGUM KHALEDA ZIA

At the end of the Ershad regime, an unprecedented mass movement was taken place in the late eighties, where all walks of people have joined.

Major political parties came under the same platform to resist Ershad at any cost; Awami League, BNP, and other Islamist parties called for country-wide hartals and blockades. Eventually, the economy, communication, and daily affairs of people have come to a standstill. He was backed by the Western countries basically by the superpowers for almost a decade, but they were no longer supported him with the effective end of the Cold War. Moreover, the Chief of the Army Staff Lieutenant General Nuruddin Khan also didn't want to back the President. On the teeth of an all-pervading student movement, General Hussain Muhammad Ershad was forced to hand over the power to Justice Sahabuddin Ahmed as the head of an interim Government aiming to arrange a free, fair, and neutral election on 6th Dec 1990. In the 5th General elections held on 13 Jan 1991, the Bangladesh Nationalist Party (BNP) got the highest number of votes and it emerged as the largest party in parliament with 140 out of the 300 seats (without reserved for women). One hundred fifty-one seats are needed to form the Government, finally, with the support of Jamat-e-Islami, Khaleda Zia was sworn in for her first term on 20 Mar 1991.

After 16 years of the autocratic military regime, a new era of the democratic journey had been started with the 5th general election in the early 1990s. Although a truly elected government was in charge of state power in Bangladesh, during the whole period of the first post-military government, the Bangladesh-India relationship till then stood materially frozen. The key reason for this was that the ruling BNP as a political party is right of center, anti-Indian, of an Islamic bent, and largely favored by the business community of the country.³⁸ Moreover, eminent political scientist Professor Rounaq Jahan in her book "Political Parties in Bangladesh" says that "these political stands were inspired by the BNP's traditional anti-Indian posture which was one of its foundational positions under Zia. New Delhi, on its part, did not demonstrate any goodwill towards the new government or interest in improving the bilateral relations of the two countries. Mistrust and mutual suspicion again continued as before."³⁹

During the tenure of General Ziaur Rahman and to the reinstallation of his wife in state power, BNP was stick with anti-Indian policy and on the other hand, adopted a policy of friendship with Islamabad as a counterpoise to that of Delhi. Unlike BNP, during different tenures of the rule of the AL, Bangladesh has pursued an India-friendly foreign policy. The new India policy of the BNP-led alliance government in the early nineties raises the question, 'Why BNP had undertaken the policy of anti-Indian stance and a pro-Pakistan stance even after a decade of the fall of Zia's Government?'. It could be for voting politics, BNP as the key force in a communal-based alliance tried to grab the attention and support of the Muslims through adopting an anti-India stance. Moreover, Jamat-e-Islami was one

of the strong partners of their alliance, traditionally doing politics with exacerbating hatred against the minority Hindus and India.⁴⁰ Moreover, General Zia had permitted the revival of Jamat-e-Islami as a political party, which was banned by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on the ground of its role during the liberation war of 1971. It maintained a strong communal sentiment and historically held a strong anti-Indian approach from the perspective of religion and India's conflict with Pakistan on several issues. Khaleda Zia failed to get an absolute majority in the 1990's general election and only successful in forming the Government when Jamat-e-Islami joined with her. Soon after the formation of the Government, Khaleda Zia preferred to strengthen the relationship with Pakistan to pacify the will of Jamat-e-Islami and to follow the path of enmity with the trusted neighbor India. Hence little change occurred in Bangladesh-India relations during the tenure of the BNP-led coalition government from 1991 to 1996.

Even before the formation of Government, during the election campaign, Khaleda Zia formally reinstated her anti-India stance. At a public meeting in Dhaka on February 23, 1991, Khaleda Zia said, 'If Awami League comes to power, the land till Feni will be captured by India. You will not be a citizen of Bangladesh; you will get enslaved to India'. All through its history, the party has also opposed closer trade and communications connectivity with India, which was a manifestation of its anti-Indian politics.⁴¹ Khaleda Zia termed the military and strategic friendship treaty between Bangladesh and India signed by Mujib and Indira as "a treaty of slavery."

The Kashmir conflict and the separatist movement in the North-Eastern provinces of India caused deadly casualties for the Indian Armed forces and a severe threat to Indian sovereignty. It was an Indian fear that the separatist groups could use the Bangladesh land for their bases to operate militant operations against India. Eventually, ISI has been active in Bangladesh during the first term of Begum Khaleda Zia's government (1991-1996). ISI in a collaboration with Jamat-e-Islami is alleged to have aided a network in strengthening Northeast India's rebel groups during the BNP's rule. The spy agency was also alleged to have launched a campaign from Bangladesh to destabilize Northeast India by patronizing and providing logistic support, weapons, training, money-laundering to fund covert operations by the separatist groups from Bangladesh.⁴²

India is also, for its part, reluctant to build a warm and friendly relation with Bangladesh due to communal intolerance and post-election violence against the minorities. Around 3000 temples in Bangladesh were demolished, many Hindus were forced to leave the country, many women raped and properties of Hindus were usurped following the

demolition of Babri mosque in India in December 1992 during the tenure of Khaleda Zia.

Despite this, both states recognized that they needed to cooperate to address mutual problems. But no significant progress was made despite many issues were unresolved. Nonetheless, India agreed in 1992 to grant Bangladesh a perpetual lease over the Tin Bigha corridor, covering an area of 1.5 hectares.⁴³ Secretaries' Committee met six times alternatively between Dhaka and New Delhi from Apr 1990-Feb 1992 on the matter of Ganga water distribution; no advancement was achieved during the tenure of Khaleda Zia's government till 1996. Only a Protocol was signed on July 31, 1991, between the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research of India and the Science and Technology Division of Bangladesh on Scientific and Technical Cooperation.

On May 28, 1992, a joint communiqué was issued at the end of the visit of Bangladesh Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia to India where the Prime Minister of India and Bangladesh have expressed their determination to further consolidate the friendly, harmonious, and good neighborly relation for the larger interest of the peoples of the two countries and for the peace and stability in the region.

They were agreed that efforts should be intensified to resolve the India-Bangladesh Land Boundary Agreement of 1974, New more/South Talpatty Islands, Ganga and Teesta water distribution, large-scale illegal immigration of people across their borders, speedy repatriation of all Chakma refugees to Bangladesh in full safety and security. Eventually, all the matters remained only in the communiqué; no apparent measure was taken from the Bangladesh side to strengthen the tie with the influential neighbor and to bargain for grabbing some advantages for Bangladesh.

It is worthy of mentioning some of the remarks of Begum Zia after the end of his tenure. When the Ganges water treaty was signed, Khaleda Zia, as the opposition leader had stated 'Although the Ganges water treaty was signed, Bangladesh will not get a single drop of water, vehicles will be run in the mighty river the Padma within two years.' She also had stated in the election campaigns of 1996 that *Adhan* (call for Muslim prayer) would be replaced in Bangladesh by blowing of conch shells if the Awami League came to power. It could be stated from the speeches of Khaleda Zia that she and her party didn't want to improve relations with India due to basically voting politics.

IX. CONCLUSION

Bangladesh's geographical location made it dependent on India. Bangladesh is surrounded on three sides by India and there are 257 rivers in Bangladesh, from which 59 are transboundary rivers, fifty-five of them emanate from India. All of these rivers play a

prospective role in the economic development of the country and also caused floods in deltaic Bangladesh as annually, these rivers carry about 6 million m³/s water flows.⁴⁴ After the erection of the Farakka dam, Bangladesh partly became dependent on India's mercy for water distribution during the wet season and water management during the rainy season. Moreover, historically, the two countries have a shared history, heritage, culture, and common ethnicity and the demarcation in 1947 was so ascribed and impractical. Again, during the war of 1971, India extended unprecedented humanitarian, political and military assistance to Bangladesh. India was the first country to recognize Bangladesh as an independent nation. As a result, warm relations between the two countries were continued, but the assassination of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman ceased the close ties. From then to 1996, Awami League, the party that led the liberation war, wasn't in state power, and almost all the governments formed had maintained anti-Indian stance and geared up the anti-Indian sentiment among the mass people. There was a huge scope to strengthen the relation of the two countries, India could have taken the lead and by giving priority to the demands of Bangladesh, the two countries became an intimate friend. They could ensure free entrance to each other territory rather than fencing the border. In return, India could have taken a transit facility to transmit supplies to the North-Eastern provinces and to control the separatist forces there. Ultimately, when Sheikh Hasina formed the Government in 1996, the relation between the two countries again reached into a new height.

The Real transformation in the bilateral equation between the two countries began with Sheikh Hasina, daughter of Sheikh Mujib, assuming office in 1996. The signing of the Ganges water treaty of 1996 and the Chakma Agreement of 1997 removed the two key irritants that had plagued Indo-Bangladeshi relations for years. Although the two neighbors during this period had several unresolved issues between them, they were firmly on a friendly track. Unfortunately, this momentum was lost after the next elected government of the BNP alliance took over in 2001. It is seen that bilateral ties reached their lowest point between 2001 and 2006.⁴⁵ Again in 2009, Sheikh Hasina became the Prime Minister of Bangladesh for the second time and the mutual ties got a new redeem. Mozammil Ahmed rightly suggested that "India and Bangladesh share the fifth-longest land boundary in the world. It has long been important for India to maintain a positive working relationship with Bangladesh to bolster security and border management."⁴⁶ Both nations worked hard to strengthen their bilateral agreements and diplomatic ties.

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Youth and Gender in a Mayan Town in Yucatán

By Maya Lorena Pérez Ruiz

Abstract- In this article I propose to analyze the social construction of youth among the population of Yaxcabá, Yucatán, Mexico, using ethno-history, linguistics and anthropology. I demonstrate the continuity and differences of what it means to be young in Mayan culture, paying attention to the differences and inequalities between men and women, shown by Mayan language and certain social practices and beliefs. I finally analyze what high school students think about what it means to be Maya, to be young and whether or not they conceive themselves as Mayans.

Keywords: *being young in the mayan language, generational inequality, gender inequality, mayan identity, changes and continuities.*

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Youth and Gender in a Mayan Town in Yucatán

Juventud Y Género En Un Pueblo Maya De Yucatán

Maya Lorena Pérez Ruiz

Resumen- En este artículo recorro a la etnohistoria, la lingüística y la antropología para analizar la construcción social de la juventud entre los habitantes de Yaxcabá, Yucatán, desde la época pre-hispánica hasta la actualidad. Para de esta manera, mediante el trabajo antropológico, analizar los elementos de continuidad y cambio en la concepción de ser joven en la cultura maya. Se pone atención en lo que significa ser joven entre hombres y mujeres, como una construcción de género que expresa las asimetrías y la desigualdad en la lengua maya y en ciertas prácticas y creencias sociales. Se muestra, además, lo que los jóvenes estudiantes de bachillerato piensan acerca de lo que significa ser maya y sobre si ellos se conciben o no como mayas.

Palabras claves: *ser joven en lengua maya, desigualdad de generación, desigualdad de género, identidad maya, cambios y continuidades.*

Abstract- In this article I propose to analyze the social construction of youth among the population of Yaxcabá, Yucatán, Mexico, using ethno-history, linguistics and anthropology. I demonstrate the continuity and differences of what it means to be young in Mayan culture, paying attention to the differences and inequalities between men and women, shown by Mayan language and certain social practices and beliefs. I finally analyze what high school students think about what it means to be Maya, to be young and whether or not they conceive themselves as Mayans.

Keywords: *being young in the mayan language, generational inequality, gender inequality, mayan identity, changes and continuities.*

1. YAXCABÁ YUCATÁN. ESCENARIO DE CAMBIO Y CONTINUIDAD

Yaxcabá es un municipio rural del estado de Yucatán, ubicado a 90 km de la ciudad de Mérida. Tiene una superficie de 1,079.40 Km² y forma parte de la región milpera, donde se produce maíz y cultivos asociados (frijol, calabaza y chile), bajo el sistema prehispánico de roza-tumba y quema. Sistema tecnológico que incluye un manejo diversificado de los ecosistemas regionales, entre ellos la apicultura para mercados internacionales (Hernández Xolocotzi, 1980, Pérez Ruiz, 1983 y 2018, Mariaca, 2011). Además, este municipio exporta trabajo asalariado, principalmente para la Riviera Maya. En este municipio viven 13, 243 habitantes, de los cuales 13,062 son hablantes de lengua maya. Laboran en el sector primario 2,834 personas (probablemente jefes de hogar), de los cuales

2,821 son indígenas. En el sector secundario trabajan 736 personas, de las que 728 son indígenas. Mientras que en el sector en el terciario laboran 736 individuos y de estos 719 son indígenas. Por otra parte, saben leer y escribir 5,705 personas, y de ellas 5,631 son indígenas. De ese total de población son analfabetas 2,017 personas de las cuales 2,013 son indígenas. Su población masculina joven, de entre 15 y 24 años, es de 1,363 personas, siendo indígenas 1,351. Las muchachas jóvenes, en cambio, son 1,318 y de éstas 1,295 son indígenas.¹ El municipio en su conjunto cuenta con 21 instalaciones de educación preescolar, 25 primarias, 9 secundarias y un bachillerato, este último instalado en el pueblo, cabecera municipal, que también se llama Yaxcabá². Aquí se instaló, en 2019, una Universidad Benito Juárez por iniciativa del gobierno de Andrés Manuel López Obrador³, con la licenciatura en Ingeniería en Desarrollo Sustentable, aunque únicamente cuenta con 17 estudiantes inscritos y 4 docentes. Por las características de ser sede de las principales instalaciones educativas, el poblado de Yaxcabá ha sido un espacio ideal para investigar la situación de los jóvenes estudiantes de origen maya. Cómo se verá en este trabajo, en ellos se expresan las tensiones entre conservar su filiación cultural e identitaria tradicional—entendida como el arraigo a lo que consideran propio— o ser modernos —entendida la modernidad también desde parámetros propios.

Sin embargo, no todos los jóvenes yaxcabeños son iguales. Algunos muchachos son visiblemente campesinos y apicultores; otros, son estudiantes de secundaria y bachillerato y con sus uniformes escolares se apropian de la plaza. Incluso las muchachas que ya no estudian han abandonado el hipil tradicional y visten con ropa moderna. A ese escenario se agregan las personas que trabajan en las ciudades de Mérida y Valladolid o en la Riviera Maya y regresan al poblado los fines de semana y los días de fiesta. Son quienes, con su vestimenta, peinado y accesorios, anuncian un estatus diferente al de los que se quedan en Yaxcabá. Las muchachas que trabajan fuera del poblado,

¹ Datos para el año 2000, de la Comisión para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indígenas (CDI), en: <http://www.cdi.gob.mx/cedulas/2000/YUCA/31104-00.pdf>

² <https://escuelasmex.com/preescolar/municipio/yaxcaba>

³ <https://www.yucatan.com.mx/yucatan/nuevas-universidades-para-yucatan> y <https://contralacorrupcion.mx/universidades-benito-juarez-en-el-limbo/>

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regresan con el pelo teñido de rubio, o peinadas como las turistas, además que se maquillan a la moda y se atreven a perforarse la nariz o las orejas para colocarse varios anillos de metal. Los muchachos migrantes, por su parte, usan ropa holgada, tipo cholo, con letreros en inglés, y muestran tatuajes y perforaciones corporales. Otro aspecto visible es que no todos los jóvenes tienen el fenotipo maya y algunos son de piel blanca, con ojos claros. Lo que expresa la historia de este poblado que, siendo frontera entre la República de Españoles y la República de Indios permitió, en la época colonial, que allí se establecieran españoles para ejercer sus negocios. De modo que desde entonces los miembros de esas familias se auto conciben como “vecinos”, para diferenciarse de los que tienen un origen maya, a quienes nombran despectivamente como indios macehuales (Pérez Ruiz, 1983 y 2015). El trabajo de investigación sobre jóvenes de origen maya se realizó con los estudiantes de bachillerato, de 2002 a 2010, además se entrevistaron a otros jóvenes no estudiantes, lo mismo que a personas adultas de diferentes edades.

II. LOS JÓVENES INDÍGENAS, ¿PRODUCTO DE LA MODERNIDAD?

En México, durante el siglo XX, los estudios de juventud tuvieron como objetivo investigar las culturas e identidades juveniles, en espacios urbanos⁴. Según Reguillo (2000 y 2004), han existido tres vertientes de investigadores: los primeros, de finales de 1970 y los albores de 1980, se preocuparon por el agotamiento del modelo de desarrollo y su impacto en los jóvenes; los segundos, se plantearon atender la problemática juvenil inmersa en fenómenos ligados a la urbanización y a las migraciones del campo a las ciudades; y los terceros, bajo la perspectiva de los estudios culturales, incursionaron en las subjetividades de los actores juveniles, sus adscripciones identitarias y sus vínculos con la globalización y el neoliberalismo. Bajo esta última tendencia, hasta la actualidad se indagan las identidades y culturas juveniles, como una clave de interpretación impulsada por Carles Feixa (1998), para explicar sus estilos distintivos de vida y consumo (Urteaga 2011, 19). Bajo el supuesto de que los jóvenes eran inexistentes en los pueblos originarios de América, los estudios de juventud no abordaron a los jóvenes indígenas, sino hasta los albores del siglo XXI, y lo hicieron bajo el supuesto de que éstos eran producto de la modernidad.

En mi caso, para abordar la investigación de los jóvenes mayas era fundamental resolver dos aspectos: primero, confirmar que los estudios antropológicos no habían investigado a los jóvenes indígenas, a causa de su inexistencia; y, segundo, corroborar si éstos eran, o no, producto de la modernidad. Bajo esos interrogantes, desde 2002 revisé etnografías relevantes y convoqué a diversos investigadores de América Latina a participar en investigaciones sobre el tema. Los resultados colectivos pueden verse en los libros: *Jóvenes indígenas y Globalización en América Latina* (INAH, 2008), *Juventudes indígenas: de hip hop y protesta social en América Latina* (INAH, 2014) y *Jóvenes indígenas, educación y migración* (UPN, 2015).

Para responder a la pregunta sobre la supuesta ceguera de la antropología en cuanto a los jóvenes indígenas, se revisó la etnografía relevante del siglo XX en México. Mencionaré sólo algunos trabajos: Alfred M. Tozzer (1982) quien trabajó con lacandones de Chiapas y mayas de Yucatán, entre 1902 y 1905; de Robert M. Zingg (1982), que estuvo con los huicholes en 1934; Ricardo Pozas Arciniega (1987) que en 1944 estudió a los chamulas en Chiapas; Julio de la Fuente (1977) que en 1947 analizó los cambios en los jóvenes zapotecos de Yalalag, inducidos por la educación escolarizada, la migración y los medios de comunicación; Margarita Nolasco (1963) que en 1960 reporta la ceremonia de la pubertad entre los seris; Jane F. Collier (1980 y 1995) quien analizó el noviazgo entre los zinacantecos en de 1961; Italo Signorini (1979) y Carla M. Rita (1979) que estudiaron a los huaves de San Mateo del Mar en 1970; Douglas Butterworth (1962 y 1975) quien, entre 1960 y 1970, conoció la región mixe y siguió a sus migrantes de Tilaltongo, a la ciudad de México; Francisco R. Córdoba (1975) que se adentró en los cambios de los jóvenes zoques como producto de la educación, la migración y el cambio religioso; y Felix Báez-Jorge (1975) quien analizó a las mujeres jóvenes en Ocoatepec y Chapultenango, Chiapas como producto de la educación y la migración. En tales investigaciones, si bien los jóvenes no son el centro de las indagaciones, se habla de ellos al analizarse los ciclos de vida, el parentesco, el noviazgo, el matrimonio, la organización social y el cambio cultural. Estudios que recuerdan los de Margaret Mead (1970 y 1979 [1928]) y Ruth Benedict 2008 [1928], donde los jóvenes han de comprenderse dentro de sus contextos familiares y comunitarios.

Para responder a la segunda pregunta, relativa al origen moderno de los jóvenes en los pueblos indígenas de México, se recurrió a las indagaciones aportadas desde la etnohistoria y la lingüística, para corroborar su existencia desde tiempos prehispánicos. A continuación lo relevante de los hallazgos.

⁴ Trabajos pioneros sobre las culturas juveniles fueron Ralph Linton (1942) y Talcott Parsons, 2008 [1942]); el primero al observar que los adolescentes norteamericanos comienzan a construir un mundo separado al de sus padres con sus propias normas y valores. Y el segundo al dar cuenta de una “cultura juvenil” que genera consciencia generacional, que cristaliza en una cultura autónoma e interclasista centrada en el consumo hedonista y que, con el uso del tiempo libre, se aleja del trabajo e incluso de la estructura de clases.

III. HISTORICIDAD DE LOS JÓVENES INDÍGENAS

Entre los estudiosos del México antiguo se da cuenta de la existencia del sector joven entre la población prehispánica para quienes existían instituciones para su educación:

“En diferentes culturas de Mesoamérica, como la maya y la nahua, la niñez y juventud fueron años de sabia y rigurosa formación, tanto en el hogar como en las escuelas. El principal propósito de educar a niños y jóvenes era prepararlos para participar e integrarse en la vida comunitaria”... “Cuando un niño nacía luego lo llevaban, bien sea al *calmécac* (la escuela sacerdotal), o al *telpuchcalli* (la casa de los jóvenes). Quiere decir que los padres lo prometían allí, lo presentaban como ofrenda para que llegara a ser sacerdote o joven guerrero” (León-Portilla 2003, 22 y 23).

León-Portilla, señala que en el *Códice Mendoza* se representa el ingreso de los muchachos de quince años en los *calmécac*, o escuelas sacerdotales, y *cuicacallí*, o casas de canto:

“puede verse a los educandos acarreando leña, púas y ramas de abeto para los servicios religiosos (a); siendo adiestrados para la guerra (b); barriendo (c); y aprendiendo a tocar instrumentos musicales (d); Otras ocupaciones incluían la observación de las estrellas (e); y la navegación en canoas (f); Asimismo, se representaban los castigos que se imponían en casos de desobediencia (g). *Códice Mendoza* f. 63r.” (León-Portilla, et al. 2003, 28).

Además, en el *Códice Florentino*, este autor y su equipo de trabajo, encuentran referencias sobre cómo era la vida en los *telpochcalli*, casas de jóvenes, y lo que se estudiaba en los *calmécac*, escuelas sacerdotales, lo coincide con lo descrito en el *Códice Mendoza* (León-Portilla et al. 2003, 28). Respecto a la educación de las muchachas en el texto llamado Huehuetlahtolli encuentran que también había escuelas para ellas, “donde se les enseñaban los oficios y quehaceres de las mujeres: barrer, preparar alimentos, moler maíz, hacer tortillas y tamales, hilar, tejer y bordar (León Portilla 2003 et al., 29). También en el código Borbónico encuentran referencias relativas a los jóvenes de ambos sexos:

“Cuando, con el paso del tiempo, muchachas y muchachos habían madurado y podían ya contraer matrimonio, salían de sus respectivas escuelas. A las jóvenes iba a corresponder cuidar del hogar y de los hijos que tendrían; a ellos proteger y alimentar a su familia y tomar parte activa en la vida del pueblo del que eran parte. Unos tendrían oficios de artesanos, jardineros o albañiles, otros mercaderes o guerreros y, en niveles más elevados, maestros, artistas,

funcionarios públicos, capitanes, jueces, sacerdotes y gobernantes” (León-Portilla et al., 2003, p.29).

Para el ámbito maya, León-Portilla encuentra a los jóvenes en un vaso cilíndrico y policromo del período Clásico Tardío:

“En él se ve a un *ab ts'ib*, escribano-pintor anciano, representación del dios solar, sentado junto a dos jóvenes que parecen ser sus discípulos. El anciano vuelve a representarse en el mismo vaso mostrando a sus discípulos un códice... El texto se ha interpretado como una alusión metafórica del anciano haciendo ver a sus estudiantes que la escritura es sustento del pensamiento” (León-Portilla et al. 2003, 29).

Para el área maya, sin embargo, las mayores referencias las aporta el libro *Relación de las Cosas de Yucatán*, escrito por Diego de Landa (2001, 51 y 52), quien llegó a la Península de Yucatán en 1549, al describir un ritual que denominó como bautismo, ya que los jóvenes, hombres y mujeres, eran bendecidos por un sacerdote, con un agua virgen preparada con flores y cacao. De la larga descripción hecha por este fraile destacan algunos elementos: a) la existencia de casas de educación para jóvenes varones, a quienes se les permitía tener trato sexual con mujeres pública, en contraste con el valor de la virginidad que imperaba como obligación para las muchachas; b) la transitoriedad de la juventud, que concluía con el matrimonio; 3) la supremacía de los hombres respecto a las mujeres; y 4) la predominancia de los adultos sobre los jóvenes. Lo cuál se expresaba en aspectos como los siguientes: en la obediencia que éstos deberían tener hacia los adultos; en las prescripciones sociales que regían su comportamiento; al decidir los padres el matrimonio de hijos e hijas; y al estar todas las mujeres, sin distinción de edad o soltería, bajo el predominio masculino. Elementos que permanecen hasta hoy.

La subordinación de las mujeres se advierte, entonces, en el sistema de herencia que privilegiaba a los hijos, o a los hermanos o incluso a un tutor, antes que a las hijas o esposas:

“Que los indios no admitían que las hijas heredaran con los hermanos si no era por vía de piedad o voluntad; y entonces dábanles algo del montón y lo demás lo partían igualmente los hermanos, salvo que al que más notablemente había ayudado a allegar la hacienda, dábale su equivalencia; y si eran todas hijas, heredaban los hermanos (del padre) o (los) más propincuos; y si eran de (tal edad) que no era prudente entregarles la hacienda, dábanla a un tutor, deudo más cercano, el cual daba a la madre para criarlos porque no usaban dejar nada en poder de (las) madres, o quitábanles los niños, principalmente siendo los tutores hermanos del difunto” (Landa 2001, 48).

El fraile lo explica, además, al mencionar cómo el control ejercido sobre las mujeres, su cuerpo, su sexualidad y su reproducción era extensivo a todas las mujeres, aunque con un trato diferente hacia las esclavas, huérfanas y viudas, al considerárseles como “terrenos sin dueño” (Landa 2001, 66-70).

Situación de subordinación que coincide con el análisis etnolingüístico de Álvarez (1984) cuando, al analizar los diccionarios de maya colonial, encuentra cómo, en el maya yucateco se emplea el mismo verbo (*a/*) para el parto de la mujer y para la producción de la tierra; de modo que después del matrimonio la mujer pasa a ser propiedad del esposo, de forma similar a cómo éste posee y usa la tierra. Así que cuando una mujer perdía su capacidad reproductora perdía el prestigio asociado al ser madre/reproductora y se acentuaba su dependencia y subordinación a un hombre, ya fuese de su marido, su hijo, o un hermano. En términos contemporáneo podemos decir que era tratada ya no como adulta, sino como a una “menor de edad”. Respecto a la obediencia que los jóvenes debían tenerle a los adultos, esta autora los corrobora también, ya que de acuerdo a su esquema el sentido de vida, *cux*, y los componentes *tzic* y *tibib* expresan la actitud de la sociedad ante el individuo: el primero implica “respetar, obedecer, honrar, venerar, acatar, y respeto y reverencia que uno tiene a otro”, y el segundo implica “respeto o temor reverencial que a uno se tiene” (Álvarez 1984, 66, 67 y 76)

Los testimonio de Landa, además, permiten advertir cómo desde entonces el ser joven está condicionado por factores, no sólo biológicos ni sólo culturales. Eso se expresa, por ejemplo en el hecho de que los frailes europeos, junto a la catequización forzosa, obligaron a los nativos a casarse más jóvenes para obtener mayores ingresos económicos por la vía del pago de las ceremonias de las bodas y los bautizos. De modo que si antes se casaban alrededor de los veinte años o más, desde ese momento se fomentó que lo hicieran desde los doce o trece años:

“Que antiguamente se casaban de 20 años y ahora de 12 ó 13 y por eso ahora se repudian más fácilmente, como que se casan sin amor e ignorantes de la vida matrimonial y del oficio de casados; y si los padres no podían persuadirlos de que volviesen con ellas, buscabanles otras y otras. Con la misma facilidad dejaban los hombres con hijos a sus mujeres, sin temor de que otro hombre las tomase por mujeres o después volver a ellas; pero con todo eso son muy celosos y no llevan a paciencia que sus mujeres no sean honestas; y ahora, en vista de que los españoles, sobre eso, matan a las suyas, empiezan a maltratarlas y aun a matarlas. Si cuando repudiaban (a sus mujeres) los hijos eran niños, dejábanlos a las madres; si grandes los varones, con

los padres, y (si) hembras, con las madres...” (Landa 2001, p. 49).

En el trabajo que realicé en Yaxcabá en la década de 1980, al estudiar las estrategias familiares de trabajo, matrimonio y reproducción, encontré que si bien persistía el matrimonio entre personas muy jóvenes, ésta no era la tendencia mayoritaria, ya que según el apellido y las relaciones ampliadas con parientes biológicos y rituales (relaciones compadrazgo) los hombres solteros de una familia nuclear podían retrasar la edad del matrimonio hasta más allá de los 25 años. Lo que deja ver la existencia de espacios de autonomía en las decisiones de los campesinos de origen maya, respecto a las imposiciones externas (Pérez Ruiz 1983).

En el mismo campo de las continuidades culturales, De la Garza (2003), al interpretar a Landa, encuentra elementos de continuidad simbólica y ritual con los mayas actuales. Señala que el rito de pubertad consistía en quitarle a las adolescentes la concha roja que se les había colocado en el pubis cuando tenían tres años, para significar un cambio ontológico y social. Entre los mayas actuales, señala esta investigadora, la concha sigue empleándose entre las parteras para evocar la fecundidad propia de lo acuático. Además que ésta recuerda el órgano sexual femenino y el mundo subterráneo donde la vida tiene su origen. En cuanto a los niños, Landa describe que se les pegaba una piedra blanca en la coronilla, para simbolizar que por su edad todavía era incapaz de comunicarse con lo sagrado. Y sobre este aspecto, De la Garza encuentra que, hasta hoy, los mayas creen que la comunicación sobrenatural se da por la cabeza. Así, la autora corrobora que la finalidad de la vida de la mujer maya era el matrimonio y la reproducción; en tanto que la del hombre era el vínculo con lo sagrado. La ceremonia de la pubertad descrita por Landa, ella la llama *caputzihil*, significa ‘nacer de nuevo’, y contemplaba el *emkú*, es decir la ‘bajada de Dios’ (De la Garza 2003, 332-333). De allí que fuera concebida por este fraile como “bautizo” estableciendo similitudes y equivalencias con la religión católica.

Lo anterior, presentado aquí de forma breve, permitió comprobar que los jóvenes tenían presencia social desde la época prehispánica. Si bien, como dice De la Garza (2003, 32), en el momento de la conquista, la sociedad maya estaba jerarquizada, de tal modo que las mujeres referidas por Landa, eran las del pueblo, y no las nobles plasmadas en códices y pinturas.

IV. SER JOVEN EN LA CULTURA MAYA

Una manera de corroborar la existencia y persistencia de las nociones para nombrar la juventud y a los jóvenes en la cultura maya, fue recurrir a los diccionarios de maya-español, antiguos y actuales, así

como al habla cotidiana. Se recurrió, en primer término, al *Diccionario etnolingüístico del idioma maya yucateco colonial*, de Cristina Álvarez (1984), que reúne seis obras fundamentales: el Diccionario de Motul (atribuido a fray Antonio de Ciudad real. Editado por Domingo Paredes, 1929; Mérida, Yucatán, México); Diccionario de Motul (español-maya, de la colección John Carter Brown); el Diccionario de Motul (maya-español, de la colección John Carter Brown); Diccionario de la lengua maya (de Juan Pío Pérez, 1866-1877, Mérida Yucatán); el Diccionario de Viena (español-maya); y el *Ethno-Botany of the maya* (de Ralph L. Roys, 1931, editado por The Tulane University of Louisiana. New Orleans, USA). En la obra de Álvarez, por tanto, es posible conocer, no sólo el léxico maya empleado en el periodo prehispánico, sino que permite comparar las percepciones del mundo que entraron en contacto: lo que se expresa en la traducción literal del maya y la construcción del significado que se le da en el español. Por ejemplo, al traducir lo referente a la vida sexual de las mujeres: *ix ma tzil*, en maya significa “no rota”, y se traduce al español como “incorrupta, mujer no corrompida”; y *Kub-an y-ol xib lal*, cuya traducción literal es “entregó corazón a hombre”, se le da el significado de “varón o mujer que ya no son vírgenes”. Así, este diccionario es de gran importancia para conocer cómo se identifican y nombran a los hombres y mujeres jóvenes. La juventud masculina se dice *celem-al* y *celem-il* y se remite a la edad o mocedad de la tierra, cuando tiene fuerza y vigor; mientras que la juventud de la mujer se nombra *ch'up il-il*, en referencia a sus cualidades de belleza y reproducción. Algunos términos describen los cambios físicos que se inician con la pubertad hasta que hombres y mujeres están listos para el matrimonio, otros dan cuenta de formas de comportamiento y otros más, describen el momento en que se está listo para el matrimonio. Por ejemplo: *mun pal* significa tierno muchacho; *ah p'u-cal* significa el que hace buches y muda la voz; *ah tzotzom* significa barbeando; y *tan celem* significa medio joven. Como formas de comportamiento se consigna, entre otros, *pal-ach can* y *pal-ach t'an*, que significan muchacho contar y muchacho hablar, y se traducen como “Niñerías y muchacherías de burla y risa y contarlas”. Para las mujeres jóvenes, *ix lok bayen-tal* significa “adolescente” y se traduce como “Llegar la mujer a la edad de la pubertad”; *box tan yem* significa “calabacita tiene”; *tuch-lahal* significa “tener pecho”; *ix tan pam ch'up-lal* significa “medio hermosa/mujer”; *tan pam* que significa “medio hermosa” al ser una mocetona de veinticinco años”; y *ah top' zakab* que se traduce como “doncella casadera”; *Ch'up-ul* significa hembra en los animales irracionales; y *Chu'up-lal* se refiere a la hembra respecto del macho, en cualquier especie de animales; e *icham-ben*, significa mujer casadera, en edad de tener marido (Álvarez, 1984, p. 253-256). Tanto en hombres como en mujeres, la juventud indica una

etapa de la vida que se inicia con la pubertad y concluye con el matrimonio, cuando han de asumirse responsabilidades y compromisos sociales de envergadura. Importa señalar que la cualidad de aprendizaje se consigna para los varones y no para las mujeres.

Por su parte, en los diccionarios contemporáneos de maya-español se pudo corroborar que existen todavía términos en lengua maya para nombrar lo joven y a los jóvenes, aunque en menor número. En el diccionario de lengua maya *Diccionario Básico Español-Maya-Español* (1992) se dice que: *X ch'uup* es mujer o hembra, *Ch'up*, *ko'olel*, *(X)ba'al* nombran a una mujer, *X Chu'úupal*, es muchacha; *ch'úupal* y *(x)lo'obayan*, se emplea para señalar lo joven femenino; *Ch'úupalil* y *(x)lo'obayanil* es juventud femenina; *Xi'ipal*, y *Táankelem*, para indicar lo joven masculino; *T'aankelemil* y *Xi'ipalil* como juventud masculina. Mientras que según el Diccionario Maya-español (2001)⁵ *X-chu'pal* significa muchacha y *Tan ichamil* es una mocetona en edad casadera. En tanto que, para los jóvenes varones, *(AH) Mun* significa “tierno” y corresponde al joven dios del maíz y se puede utilizar para indicar a un adolescente, y *pal yol* se usa para indicar que alguien es un mozo, mancebo o joven que no es casado.

En lo que respecta a la noción de lo joven, de muchacho y muchacha, que se emplea en el habla cotidiana, la reducción de términos es aún mayor, aunque se conservan los significados sustantivos. Así, a los muchachos se les llama *paal*, *táankelem* o *xi'ipal*, haciendo referencia a su soltería y su descripción se asocia a la fuerza y el vigor. Y en ese marco, su comportamiento sexual es permisivo al admitirse que su iniciación pueda quedar en manos de viudas o mujeres solas (por soltería o abandono), ya que tal comportamiento se percibe como travesura, y se sanciona, a la vez que se festeja, de forma ambigua. Por ejemplo, a través de chistes, anécdotas y cuentos. Así se muestra, por ejemplo, en el relato de un señor que al tener que irse a trabajar fuera de Yaxcabá le pide a un *Alux* (ser mítico, pequeño y travieso), que en su ausencia cuide su casa para que no entren hombres. El *Alux*, obediente golpea a todo aquél que se atreva a cruzar el umbral de su vivienda, y cuándo el campesino regresa y pretende entrar a su hogar, es golpeado duramente porque él también es un hombre.

En cuanto a las muchachas, desde que son púberes y mientras permanecen solteras, se les nombra como *chu'palech*, que se dice que significa que una muchacha está en peligro y que a su vez genera peligro. Tal caracterización se asocia, igual que antes, a las normas de control sobre su sexualidad y su capacidad reproductiva; de allí que no sea bien visto que las muchachas salgan solas a la calle, se

⁵ Antiguo diccionario conocido como Cordemex.

relacionen con un muchacho sin la autorización de los padres, y tengan un comportamiento inadecuado en el espacio público, como el abrazarse o besarse con su novio. Para algunos, la denominación *chu'palech* expresa, además, la situación subordinada de la mujer, al considerarla "sucio" por la menstruación. De allí que las muchachas, pero también las mujeres adultas, permanezcan bajo el dominio de los hombres, sean estos los padres, hermanos, tíos, o abuelos. Y de allí también que se mantenga la antigua idea, presente en los diccionarios coloniales, de que una mujer que permanece soltera o que ha enviudado, si no tiene la protección de un varón, es "como un terreno sin dueño". La percepción de que las mujeres jóvenes son capaces de generar peligro se transmite, además, a través de relatos y cuentos tradicionales que responsabilizan a las mujeres jóvenes de los placeres malsanos. Un ejemplo es la leyenda de la *Xtabay* que se cuenta en Yaxcabá: una mujer hermosa que habita los senderos de la selva y se le aparece a los hombres solos y ansiosos sexualmente, para seducirlos. Los relatos narran que los hombres seducidos se encuentran al otro día amarrados a una ceiba, totalmente enloquecidos. La ceiba, *ya'axche* en lengua maya, es un árbol sagrado, pilar de la cosmogonía maya.

Para descalificar a las muchachas que transgreden las normas tradicionales de comportamiento, incluso, existe el término "caslocas":

- A las muchachas que tienen muchos novios pues les dicen que son medio turulatas.... Así le dicen. Le dicen que son turulatas porque conversan con ese, conversan con ese, con ese, con ese, pero así también conversan con su novio. Y a veces, [ellas] sólo se ponen a hacer mal a alguna muchacha. A veces aquí tiene novia y aquí a otra, se chocan, y le hace mal a la otra. A la otra muchacha, que es su amiga y se pone a hacerle el mal. Empieza a conversar, a conversar, a conversar, así, para hacer el mal. Y entre ellas se empiezan a pelear: '¡Te lo voy a quitar!' y empiezan a pelear.
- ¿Hay una palabra en maya para llamar a esta muchachas, así, que están con muchos novios?
- Sí, si hay, les dicen *cas/ocas*⁶.
- ¡Ah! ¿Y qué quiere decir?
- Que están locas...porque conversan con ese, conversan con ese, pero como noviazgo, como si

fuera novios, entonces por eso les dicen 'Estás *cas/oca*', dicen '¡Estás loca porque estás así', dicen, 'Correspondes a este, correspondes a este, correspondes a este, como novios'.

- ¿Y esas muchachas pueden conseguir un buen novio y casarse después, o ya no?
- Pues a veces no, porque la califican por los hombres, por los otros, le dicen [al muchacho] 'Esa fulanita ya no es para que sea tu novia, porque esa muchacha está de turulata'. Hasta le dicen a veces, hasta cinco veces se le dicen... Pierde, ella pierde la memoria. Se pone a conversar con cualquiera sin límite.
- ¿Y cómo se le dice en español a las que andan así, que a cualquiera le corresponden?
- Les dicen ramera... le dicen puta. Así, le dicen porque ella sigue a fulano y recibió a otro, recibe otro, le dicen puta o ramera porque tiene hijos de otros, de otra persona y de otra persona. (Testimonio, noviembre de 2007).

Como puede verse, en lengua maya el ser joven, para muchachos y muchachas, está íntimamente relacionado con la evolución biológica y social de los individuos, dentro de una etapa transitoria, que implica respeto y obediencia hacia los adultos y con diferencias importantes entre géneros. Y justamente la educación escolarizada, el trabajo migratorio, y los medios de comunicación, como nuevos ámbitos de socialización, están influyendo para que se modifiquen las relaciones entre jóvenes y adultos. Generándose una crisis de los que significa ser joven en la cultura maya, con la consecuente rebeldía de éstos para romper con algunas normas de comportamiento que los sujeta a los adultos (Pérez Ruiz, 2015).

De acuerdo a la información obtenida entre los jóvenes estudiantes de bachillerato, se observa que mayoritariamente se conserva el sentido transitorio de la juventud, el carácter vigoroso de los varones (expresado en su pasión por los deportes) y las cualidades de belleza y la capacidad de tener/portar hijos en su vientre. Sólo que a lo anterior se agregan nuevos significados: la búsqueda de derechos, un creciente sentido de individualidad (contrario al sentido colectivo predominante entre los adultos), un sentido de superioridad respecto a sus padres al saber el español y estudiar; y ellas, agregan, además, el derecho de estudiar (elemento definitorio sólo de los varones en los diccionarios coloniales) y, sobre todo, el derecho a decidir sobre su vida, su cuerpo y su sexualidad. Es decir, que las muchachas se rebelan en contra del papel subordinado y dependiente que han tenido dentro de la cultura maya. Lo que se expresa en los términos para nombrarlas en lengua maya, pero también en la forma como se construye su identidad como mujeres (Pérez Ruiz, 2015).

⁶ La mujer entrevistada, mayor de 80 años, no supo cómo se escribe "caslocas" en maya. Sin embargo, en el Diccionario Maya-Español (2001), se encontraron indicios para suponer que se trate de una combinación del *k'as* o *k'ax*, en maya con "locas" en español: *k'as*, en maya, es fea cosa, lo malo, lo feo, fealdad. En tanto que *k'ax* es imponer penitencia, trabajo u otra cosa penosa, pero también calumniar, cargar a otro. Descifrar esto ha de ser tarea de los lingüistas.

V. HACERSE HOMBRE O MUJER.

En Yaxcabá el ser hombre y ser mujer se construyen desde el nacimiento, y las características y valores de cada género se refuerzan a lo largo del ciclo de vida: a través de la participación en la vida familiar y social, así como mediante su especialidad en el trabajo y los conocimientos. Por ejemplo, el valor diferente entre hombres y mujeres se construye al nacer, entre quienes recurren a la partera para dar a luz:

- Es un poco más caro cuando es varón, sí, da la diferencia como de 20 pesos...Yo, desde cuando yo empecé a tener mis hijos, a mi me cobraban treinta pesos si es varón, veinte si es niña...
- ¿Y por qué es la diferencia?
- Porque dicen que es varón. Mucho hombre cuando oiga que es varón su hijo pues está alegre... Hay esposos que cuando vea que... cuando hay puras niñas los esposos se molestan, porque es pura niña, pero gracias a Dios que yo, cuando yo empecé a tener hijas, hijas, pues mi esposo no se molestó... nomás yo le pedía mucho a Dios, de que pues Dios ya me regaló mis hijas, Dios me va a bendecir con ellas para que yo pueda vivir con ellas. (Testimonio, noviembre de 2004)

Esa percepción parece acorde a la lógica campesina que busca lograr un equilibrio entre productores y consumidores dentro de una unidad familiar de producción; relevante al ser las actividades agrícolas y forestales el centro de las actividades económicas, y cuando los hombres eran los únicos que podían salir del pueblo a vender su mano de obra. De allí que una unidad familiar fuera productiva cuando tenía muchos varones, al reducir la carencia de mano de obra para los periodos críticos de los cultivos, y al tener menos mujeres consumidoras. En esta zona, una familia nuclear (padre, madre e hijos pequeños) siembra alrededor de 50 mecates de milpa, o sea dos hectáreas. Pero si los hijos varones son mayores pueden sembrar hasta 100 mecates, es decir 4 hectáreas, o incluso más. Dicha perspectiva, sin embargo, ignora el valor del trabajo de las mujeres, tanto para la reproducción de la familia (cuidado de la casa, de los niños, tareas domésticas, etc.), como para bordar hipiles y servilletas y tejer hamacas, producir animales de solar (gallinas y pavos, principalmente), de hortalizas, de plantas medicinales y de frutales ubicados dentro del hogar, e incluso para participar en labores de la milpa, como en la cosecha del maíz (Pérez Ruiz, 1983). Ese valor diferenciado para hombres y mujeres se expresa aún, en la costumbre de servir mayores raciones de comida varones, y de que ellos coman primero. Y aunque la milpa ya no es, para todas las familias, la actividad económica principal, y también salen a trabajar mujeres, persiste esa visión en la que predomina el hombre sobre la mujer. Y que se expresa,

por ejemplo, en el permiso y el apoyo económico que muchas familias le brindan a los hombres para que estudien, y no a las mujeres que, generalmente, siguen siendo percibidas como aptas sólo para el matrimonio y las labores domésticas.

El siguiente paso en la construcción de la diferencia de género se presenta con la ceremonia del hetzmek: cuando se carga a los pequeños por primera vez a horcadas y simbólicamente se les enseña el trabajo, según su sexo y lo que se espera de cada individuo. Se realiza a los tres meses si es niña "porque son tres piedras las que tiene el fogón de la cocina", y a los cuatro meses se le hará a los varones, porque "cuatro esquinas tiene la milpa". Se trata del momento en el que los padres del infante, apoyados por un padrino o por una madrina y un rezador o rezadora, colocan en la mano del niño aquello que les servirá para el trabajo: en los niños serán herramientas para la milpa, y se le pondrá un lápiz y un cuaderno si se desea que vaya a la escuela. A las niñas se les colocará lo necesario para que sean amas de casa y aprendan a bordar, y en algunos casos, lápices y cuadernos para que también vayan a la escuela. Otro paso más, en la construcción del género es cuando los infantes tienen alrededor de cinco o seis años, y dejan de jugar para empezar a aprender. Los niños acompañan al padre a las labores del campo, mientras que las niñas, colaboran en el cuidado de los hermanitos, ayudan a darle de comer a los animales, acompañan a la madre al molino, barren, riegan y se involucran en todas las actividades de la madre. Además, que el ser mujer se forja también en las formas diferenciadas como se cuida el cuerpo y la alimentación, lo que incluye enfermedades específicas para las mujeres:

- El pasmo es cuando a veces la muchacha no se cuida... Mi hermana, dice mi mamá, que así se murió... ella trabajaba con una misionera... (ella) estaba planchando y lo mandaron a comprar, y tenía ido a comprar y lloviznó... y con eso se pasmó, no se le bajó su mes y se fue quedando así, como con calentura diarios, diarios... Doce años tenía cuando se murió... Si no se cuidan eso los mata.
- ¿Y cómo se tienen que cuidar para que no les dé el pasmo?
- Pues se cuidan, de hace tiempo... No comían limón, no comían naranja, no comían mucho esa jícama, porque la jícama es muy mala, muchas cosas así que les impiden que lo coman... sí. Y si no lo obedecen, lo comen, pos se pasan así...
- ¿Y ahora también sucede así?
- Si hay. Hay hasta personas que se casan hasta hoy no llegan a tener hijos por lo mismo, porque no se cuidaron. (Noviembre de 2007)

La diferencia de géneros, además de desarrollarse mediante el trabajo, se expresa en la

participación ritual y en el aprendizaje de prácticas de salud. Los hombres pueden aprender a ser sacerdotes mayas (*h-men*) y participar en ceremonias exclusivamente masculinas como las que se realizan en los campos antes de tumbar la selva o cazar, así como en el *Cha' chaac*, ceremonia anual que invoca al dios maya de la lluvia con el apoyo de elementos católicos. Ellas, en cambio, pueden aprender a curar con plantas, y ser sobadoras y parteras (*x-aalansaj* o *xk'am champal*), por lo que atenderán al recién nacido, y curarán las enfermedades de las mujeres. Además, podrán especializarse como rezadoras en las ceremonias religiosas del hogar. Por ejemplo, para asistir a "las novenas" (rezar el rosario durante nueve días) cuando muere alguna persona, así como para festejar el nacimiento del niño Dios el 24 de diciembre, y en fiesta del día siguiente, cuando se baila en torno a una "cabeza de cochino" que porta una mazorca de maíz en el hocico. Se trata de una ceremonia que hace coincidir el tiempo de cosecha del maíz con el nacimiento del niño Jesús. De esta forma, la especialización de las mujeres, se asocia con la casa y la reproducción familiar, en el marco de la concepción tradicional de que la mujer tiene como futuro casarse y pertenecer, desde entonces, a la familia del esposo, por lo que tendrá que vivir con sus suegros los primeros años de su matrimonio.

VI. LA REBELDÍA

La rebeldía de los jóvenes se aprecia en diversos aspectos de la vida familiar, en donde la obediencia y el sometimiento a los adultos parece resquebrajarse. En un cuestionario levantado en 2004 entre los jóvenes estudiantes de bachillerato⁷, encontramos, que uno de los cambios más significativos en relación con sus padres y abuelos, es su sentido de independencia y originalidad respecto de su identidad individual y su personalidad; como lo ejemplifica la respuesta que dieron acerca de a quién desean parecerse: el 50% de ellos consideró que quieren "ser como son" puesto que desean "ser ellos mismos" y "no parecerse a nadie". Entre las mujeres este porcentaje fue del 55%, y entre los varones fue de 47%. Otros jóvenes (el 26%), dijeron que estarían satisfechos de parecerse a algún cantante, actor o actriz de moda. Entre las muchachas el porcentaje fue del 19%, en tanto que entre los muchachos fue del 30%. Los que deseaban parecerse a su madre, a su padre o a sus abuelos, fueron apenas el 15%: el 17% entre ellas y el 14% entre ellos. Esta distancia, que se expresa en

nuevas actitudes, los adultos la califican como rebeldía y desobediencia.

Otra expresión de rebeldía se presenta en torno a la elección de la pareja para el matrimonio, ya que los jóvenes han incorporado la práctica del noviazgo para ser ellos quienes escojan. Tal como lo refiere Landa (2001), y hasta hace pocos años, lo usual en este lugar era que los padres decidieran el matrimonio de hijos e hijas, como una vía para pactar alianzas entre familias. En esa medida, las familias de los conyugues compartían la responsabilidad del funcionamiento de la nueva pareja, ya fuera aportándoles recursos para la producción, mano de obra para los momentos críticos, o apoyando a alguno de ellos en los casos de engaño, abandono o maltrato. El compromiso familiar se establecía cuando el joven pedía permiso para "visitar"⁸ a la muchacha en su casa, luego de lo cual se fijaba la fecha de la boda.

El arreglo matrimonial generalmente se respetaba, aunque podía provocar reacciones de oposición, como la fuga del muchacho o la muchacha, para mostrar su desacuerdo. Además, que la sujeción de la voluntad de las mujeres a los padres, en ocasiones conducía a que la muchacha fuera "vendida", "regalada" o "intercambiada", para pagar alguna deuda o un favor. Y hasta la década de 1980, la supremacía masculina se expresaba también en la posibilidad de que un hombre tuviera varias "esposas" o "mujeres", viviendo en un mismo hogar; bajo el principio de que un hombre milpero podía tener varias mujeres, que habitaran en la misma casa para compartir el cuidado de los hijos y las responsabilidades. El número de mujeres era decidido por la capacidad del hombre milpero para "tumbar" el monte/selva para luego sembrar: a mayor número de hectáreas, mayor número de esposas posibles. La convivencia se facilitaba si se trataba de hermanas, o de una madre y una hija, en el caso de que ésta fuera viuda o abandonada. En mi trabajo de campo entre 1979-1983, pude constatar la existencia de varias de estas familias. Y en ellas lo común fue que los milperos tuvieran tres esposas (Pérez Ruiz 1983 y Pérez Ruiz 2015, 279).

Una de estas mujeres, que sin su consentimiento fue la tercera "esposa" simultánea de un hombre mayor, cuando la entreviste tenía más de 90 años y ya era viuda. Así que en su testimonio mostró su alegría de que ahora las muchachas fueran más libres y tomaran sus propias decisiones. Su hija, que actuó como traductora, describe así su experiencia:

– ¡Ay!, (Mi mamá) dice, que ahora es muy diferente, [las muchachas] hasta saben más que la mamá,

⁷ De los 149 estudiantes entrevistados, el 43% fueron mujeres y 57% hombres. Los resultados de esta encuesta pueden consultarse en Pérez Ruiz y Arias Reyes (2006), "Ni híbridos ni deslocalizados. Los jóvenes mayas de Yucatán", en *Revista Iberoamericana de Comunicación* núm. 10, primavera-verano, Universidad Iberoamericana, México, pp. 23-59.

⁸ Anteriormente no se hablaba de tener novio o novia. Y cuando un muchacho "visitaba a una muchacha", se hacía con el consentimiento de los padres de ambos, y con el compromiso de concretar el matrimonio.

más que el papá... ahora los muchachos están muy libres, escogen sus gustos... Dice mi mamá que...hasta de los embarazos así, ella totalmente así (no sabe) aunque ya crecieron (su panza), pero no sabe cómo nace un bebé. No sabemos, sólo estamos viendo que la panza está grande pero no tenemos ni idea cómo va a nacer. Pero las muchachas hoy, dice, hasta las más niñas te dicen "¡Mi mamá tiene bebé en su panza!"... Dice que ahorita, que de vieja que ya está, ella vive mejor porque ya está libre... Dice que lo que debió hacer de muchacha no lo hizo, que es lo que está haciendo ahora... Que las muchachas ahora tienen una buena vida porque están muy libres para andar, no como ella... (Testimonio noviembre de 2007)

La rebeldía de algunas mujeres jóvenes, la ejemplifica una muchacha, no mayor de veinte años, nacida en un poblado cercano, que decidió "juntarse" con el chico yaxcabeño que a ella le gustó y eligió:

- Yo vine a pasear a Yaxcabá, y andaba con unas amigas cuando me encontré al hermanito de él... Y entonces empezamos así a platicar y a bromear y le pregunté si no tenía un hermano, y me contestó que sí, pero que trabaja en Cancún, pero que iba a venir para la fiesta. Y vino a la fiesta y yo vine también, y primero lo miré y pues sí me gustó y entonces le hablé y luego así salimos a pasear, y nos llevamos bien. Pero como él se iba a regresar a Cancún, pues que le digo que nos juntemos, que no lo quería perder. Y él me dijo que estaba bien, que sí, y pues nos venimos a su casa, y yo ya no me regresé a Libre Unión, nomás nos venimos para acá. Ya luego Don Chuy le habló a mis papás y les dijo que yo estaba en su casa, que me había juntado así con su hijo de él, pues para que no estuvieran con pendiente de dónde estoy, de que me hubiera pasado algo malo. Y no. Tampoco ellos se molestaron. Como que saben que es mi vida... y ya ni modos.
- ¿Y cuánto tiempo estuvieron de novios?
- ¿Desde que nos conocimos así? Pues fueron como dos semanas.
- ¿Y tan pronto se juntaron para vivir?
- Sí. Es que yo ya he vivido mucho. Ya viajé, ya conocí, ya trabajé hasta en Mérida y en Cancún. Y como ya he vivido mucho estoy cansada y pues quería quedarme de fijo y estar con alguien para formar mi familia (Testimonio, noviembre de 2010).

La libre elección de la pareja es percibida de diferentes maneras. Para los jóvenes elegir a la pareja significa libertad e individualidad. Para algunos adultos, el que los muchachos decidan y hasta se "junten" sin casarse tiene ventajas, ya que se conocen antes de formalizar una relación. Mientras que para otros, tal situación expresa desorden, desobediencia y rebeldía.

Una de las consecuencias de esa libre elección, es que al ser los muchachos quienes deciden, serán ellos los responsables de resolver sus problemas, sin que sus familias tengan el derecho de intervenir:

- A veces me dice mi hija: 'A veces empiezo a discutir con mi esposo y le digo que lo voy a dejar, que me voy a separar de él'. Y que él le dice a ella: '¡No voy a dejar que te vayas sola a dónde sea, aunque no quieras pero te amarro, y te llevo con tu papá porque de allí te saqué'. Que entonces ella le dice: '¿Me vas a llevar con mi papá? Creo entonces que mi papá me obligó a casarme contigo, por eso, vas a llevar a su hija para que lo mantenga'. Pero eso es así, como le digo, son problemas que a veces, pues creo, que en casi toda familia hay, y que hay que se solucionar (Testimonio, noviembre de 2007).

Otro cambio importante, se relaciona con la migración de las mujeres, que deciden vivir fuera de Yaxcabá por largas temporadas y a veces de forma definitiva, razón por la que son ellas quienes deciden su matrimonio:

- M'hija empezó a trabajar y se casó allá (en Cancún) y se quedó allá... Pero su marido es de acá, sólo fue a trabajar allá, y allá se vieron. Sí, se conocieron... Y cuando llegó y dijo que se van a casar, así pues se casaron ¿Y qué más? Cuando lo supo, don Chel, mi esposo, dice: 'No quito su gusto de mi hija. Si lo quito, lo guardo [a ella], tres días y se me va a escapar', dice. "Y se va otra vez" dice. ¡Ah! 'Porque hay muchos así, lo quitan su gusto, pero tres días y se escaparon otra vez, ya se fueron. Pero yo no lo quito', dice él. 'Que vaya, es su gusto, pues, es su gusto', dice (Testimonio, noviembre de 2007).

No obstante, esa libertad de elección va aparejada con la pérdida del apoyo cercano de su familia biológica y de su nueva familia política; lo que significa, por ejemplo, que en caso de parir una mujer carece de las posibilidad de guardar los 40 días de reposo que antes se acostumbraba. Tiempo durante el cual sus hermanas y sus cuñadas eran quienes le hacían la comida, limpiaban su casa, lavaban su ropa, hacían las tortillas y atendían a sus otros hijos y al marido. La muchacha a la que se refiere el anterior testimonio, por ejemplo, el mismo día que nació su hija, tuvo que ir a trabajar⁹.

⁹ Mary Kay Vaughan (2002), señala cómo el neoliberalismo prefiere a los trabajadores inmigrantes, hombres y mujeres porque su trabajo es más barato. Además, que es proclive a contratar mujeres, porque es más barato aún. El debilitamiento del orden patriarcal de la familia rural mesoamericana patrivirillocal genera, entonces, paradojas y contradicciones en torno a la condición de las mujeres. Patricia Arias (1999), muestra cómo en Yucatán las empresas explotan la mano de obra femenina. En contraste, Castilla Ramos (2004) muestra un caso donde una empresa extranjera emplea la "mayanidad" de sus

Así, entre los jóvenes sean estudiantes o trabajadores migrantes, es cada vez más frecuente que ellos y ellas decidan por sí mismos quién será su pareja; ya sea como novio-novia, sin llegar al compromiso de casarse, o como pareja matrimonial. Y los criterios para la elección están influidos por las concepciones que se conocen a través de los medios masivos de comunicación, en donde el amor y el enamoramiento tienen un papel central. De manera que en una encuesta levantada en 2010¹⁰, entre 80 jóvenes de bachillerato, el 93% declaró creer en el amor (el 94% entre los hombres y el 89% entre las mujeres). Dentro de ese consenso, ellas, buscan las siguientes cualidades en su pareja: que él sea amoroso y cariñoso (46%), que sea comprensivo y amigable (32%), que sea honesto y no mienta (25%), que sea romántico y detallista (21%), que sea responsable y trabaje (11%); que sea guapo (4%); y que sea poco inteligente (4%). Mientras que entre ellos, las cualidades que buscan son: que sea sincera, buena y no mienta (23%), que sea amistosa, amable y comprensiva (17%), que sea bonita/hermosa (10%), que sea inteligente (6%), que sea sensible (4%), que sea sencilla y sin ambiciones (4%), y que sea divertida y alegre (4%)¹¹. Además de que en las respuestas aparece un porcentaje de jóvenes que hablan abiertamente de la opción del divorcio (6% entre los hombres y el 25% entre las mujeres), perspectiva impensable en las generaciones anteriores. Dentro de sus expectativas los jóvenes incluyen el ideal de poder construir su propia casa para vivir desde el principio de forma independiente con su pareja. Así que el 90% de los jóvenes ya no quiere vivir con sus padres, y sólo el 8% aceptó la posibilidad de habitar inicialmente con sus suegros.

Sin embargo, hay que decir, que en esa búsqueda de libertad no todo es positivo, así que en esa misma encuesta de 2010, los jóvenes identificaron los graves problemas que los aquejan: drogas (72%), alcoholismo (55%), tabaquismo (19%), vandalismo (11%), y vicios en general (8%). Además mencionaron la falta de comunicación y de amor en su familia, y otros causados por su desobediencia a los padres (15%). En relación con sus amigos y con su pareja, hablaron de

los embarazos no deseados, de la violencia en la pareja y del suicidio (10%). Otros problemas que expresaron fueron: la inseguridad, la discriminación, la pobreza y la falta de información (11%). Y un 8% señaló problemas de actitud en los jóvenes, como el de ser negativos en su forma de pensar, y que no luchan por salir adelante.

Con lo anteriormente dicho, fue relevante preguntarse si, en ese escenario de cambio, era posible que los jóvenes se identificaran como mayas.

VII. SER MAYA ENTRE LOS JÓVENES

En Yucatán la identidad maya está a debate. Para algunos autores se trata de una construcción externa a los así denominados, mientras que para otros se trata de una identidad que ha persistido en el tiempo a través de la continuidad de la cultura maya¹². En mi caso, con base en el trabajo de campo realizado en Yaxcabá desde 1979, considero que aquí la identidad "maya" es de reciente introducción. Por lo cual, hasta ahora en el siglo XXI, no es frecuente que sus habitantes, hablantes de maya, con apellidos mayas y practicantes de la cultura maya, se auto identifiquen como mayas.

Aquí, la población recurre a diversas identidades colectivas para auto y hetero identificarse. Se reconocen como yaxcabeños si nacieron en Yaxcabá; y pueden ser mayeras (si hablan maya), milperas (si hacen milpa), mestizas (si las mujeres usan el hipil), catrinas (si las mujeres usan ropa moderna) y sólo hasta años recientes, y por influencia de la escuela, los medios de comunicación y el turismo, algunas personas comienzan a pensarse e identificarse como mayas. Además, que en el marco de la asimetría y desigualdad inténica que prevalece este poblado, la población se divide entre "vecinos", cuando se trata de pobladores de origen español, e indios macehuales, si se trata de población de origen maya. De modo que los vecinos, se identifican por el apellido español y, aunque sean ejidatarios y nacidos en Yaxcabá, si siembran maíz no se les reconoce como milperos, ni como mayeros aunque hablen maya. Y a las mujeres no se les reconoce como mestizas aunque usen hipil, ya que ese caso se dice que se viste "como" mestiza, y no que "sea" mestiza. Además, los yaxcabeños se adscriben y se reconocen como yucatecos, y sólo hasta décadas recientes, como mexicanos¹³. Entre ellos no es usual que se use la denominación de "indígena" para auto referenciarse y ser identificados por otros, como sucede en otras partes de México con los pobladores de origen prehispánico (Pérez Ruiz, 2015).

trabajadoras para crear arreglos laborales, y sin que desaparezca la explotación, las trabajadoras combinan las nuevas capacidades para reforzar su cultura propia y su posición dentro de su familia y su comunidad. Lo que en conjunto muestra la complejidad de lo que significa la incorporación de las mujeres de origen maya a los mercados laborales externos a sus lugares de origen.

¹⁰ Esta encuesta se levantó a 52 muchachos y a 28 muchachas (80 en total) de bachillerato, con edades de 14 a 18 años. La diferencia entre ellos y ellas se debe a la composición del grupo escolar, con el que se trabajó. Los porcentajes citados no suman 100% ya que un mismo estudiante pudo señalar varios elementos. Los resultados completos pueden consultarse en Pérez Ruiz (2015).

¹¹ Aunque la encuesta se procesó diferenciando a los estudiantes con apellidos españoles o mayas, esta variable no fue significativa en las respuestas. De allí que se presentan los resultados de todos.

¹² Participan en el debate, entre otros: Bracamonte (2007) desde la etnohistoria; Quintal (2005) y Lizama (2007) desde la etnografía.

¹³ En 1980 recogí testimonios de personas de Yaxcabá que señalaban que los mexicanos (wachos) eran los que nacieron "en México", es decir fuera de la Península de Yucatán. Y en el 2010 todavía hubo personas que llamaron wachos a los que no nacieron en Yucatán.

En ese contexto, era importante saber si los jóvenes de bachillerato se identificaban o no como mayas; para lo cual se levantó en 2004 un cuestionario a 58 jóvenes (28 mujeres y 30 hombres) de entre 14 y 18 años. Las preguntas se diseñaron de tal manera que los estudiantes avanzaran de lo más lejano hacia lo personal, para que elaborasen sus propias conclusiones¹⁴. A continuación algunas respuestas:

¿Quiénes fueron los mayas? El 34% contestó que se trataba de sus antepasados. En cambio el 66% por ciento contestó que se trataba de una civilización del pasado, versión que se maneja en la educación escolarizada. Ejemplos¹⁵:

- Los mayas fue una cultura que tenía sus propias costumbres y tradiciones y que habitaron los estados de Yucatán, Campeche, Quintana Roo y parte de Honduras. (Muchacho de 15 años)
- Unas personas que hacían, las cosas por si solos y tenían muchos dioses, fueron los creadores de grandes pirámides y que hasta ahora existen pero son muy escasos, solo en los lugares marginados. (Muchacha de 15 años)

¿Quiénes son los mayas en la actualidad? El 48% contestó que son los que continúan hablando maya y tienen sus costumbres. Ejemplo:

- En esta epoca los mayas son las personas mas marginadas o las tribus mas alejadas de las ciudades o del modernismo. (Muchacho de 14 años)
- Los que hablan el maya, los que conservan sus tradiciones, vestimenta, forma de pensar (Muchacha 14 años)

Sólo el 30% asumió esa identidad como propia al contestar "Nosotros":

- Yo creo que los mayas de ahora somos nosotros porque somos los descendientes de ellos. Y también los que seguimos practicando sus costumbres y tradiciones. (Muchacho de 15 años).
- Yo creo que los mayas somos también nosotros, porque de ellos fuimos surgiendo nosotros (Muchacha de 15 años)

Hubo, además, un 20% que considera que "Todos los yucatecos son mayas".

¿Qué se requiere para ser maya? El 57% de las respuestas remitieron a elementos como la cultura, la lengua y las tradiciones. Por ejemplo:

- Tener su idioma, la forma de vestir, la forma de hablar como también su comportamiento. (Muchacho de 15 años)

¹⁴ Para el procesamiento de la información se hizo un análisis que diferenciaba las opiniones de hombres y mujeres. Sin embargo, al no variar significativamente las respuestas, aquí se manejan los porcentajes globales.

¹⁵ Se conserva la escritura de los jóvenes.

- Se necesita saber como hablar la maya y ser como ellos eran antes. (Muchacha de 15 años)

Y sólo el 27% de los estudiantes consideró que para ser maya se requiere descender de los mayas:

- Tener sangre maya prácticamente (Muchacho 15 años)
- No es solo vivir en un lugar donde habitaron los mayas si no que tengas algo en común o ser descendiente de ellos. (Muchacha de 17 años)

Únicamente el 14% mencionó como indicador hablar la lengua maya.

- Conocer y saber hablar la lengua maya (Muchacho de 16 años)
- Para ser maya necesito platicar con mis abuelitos que saben maya (Muchacha de 16 años)

¿Es lo mismo ser maya que ser ser mayero (hablar el maya)? Llama la atención que el 74% de los jóvenes estudiantes consideraron que no es lo mismo ser maya que ser mayero; y el 60% señaló que hablar maya no significa "ser maya", ya puede haber mayas que no hablen la lengua maya, sin que por eso dejen de ser mayas y puede haber quien hable el maya y no sea maya.

- No. Porque ser maya es nuestra cultura que no se pierde y ser mayero, es hablar maya pero si no se pertenece a la cultura no es un maya aunque sepa el idioma. (Muchacho de 15 años)
- No porque yo soy yucateco, hablo maya pero no soy maya (Muchacho de 15 años)
- No, porque ser maya significa, que solo lo hablas, en cambio mayero, es ser como eran los de antes, como vestimenta, zapatos etc. (Muchacha de 15 años)

¿Quiénes en tu familia son mayas? Fueron relevantes dos aspectos derivados de las respuestas: El primero fue que todos los estudiantes en esta pregunta se reconocieron como descendientes de los mayas (en contraste con el 66% de los que en la primera pregunta creían que los mayas eran los del pasado) y segundo, que el 33%, si bien reconoció que sus familiares son mayas, el estudiante no se asumió como maya. Ejemplos de la primera tendencia:

- Mis abuelos y mis papás, yo un poco (Muchacho de 16 años)
- Todos porque somos descendientes de ellos (Muchacho de 15 años)
- Mis abuelos, mis padres y los hijos (nosotros) con mis hermanos, tíos, primos, etc. (Muchacha de 15 años)
- Yo creo que mi abuelo, mi abuela, y parte nosotros. (Muchacha de 15 años)

Ejemplos de la segunda tendencia:

- Mis abuelos y los papas de mi abuelo osea que los que ya murieron. (Muchacho de 16 años)

- Mi abuelo mi abuela y hermano y mis padres y mis tías y tíos (Muchacho de 16 años)
- Mis papas, porque ellos platican o hablan maya (Muchacha de 15 años)
- Mis abuelitos y algunos de mis tíos, mi mamá y mi papá casi no (Muchacha de 14 años)

¿Tú eres maya? Aquí lo sorprendentemente fue que, como producto de la reflexión generada por el cuestionario, el 92% de los estudiantes reconoció ser maya: porque es descendiente de los antiguos (48%), porque su familia lo es (19%), porque habla la lengua maya (14%), porque sigue las costumbres (9%).

- Yo pienso que soy maya porque mis padres son mayas y los padres de mis padres son mayas y los padres de los padres de mis padres son mayas (Muchacho de 15 años).
- Sí porque sigo la cultura y el idioma de los mayas (Muchacho de 15 años).
- Maya, sí. Porque se nace con ese pensamiento pero no se como expresarlo (Muchacha de 15 años)
- Soy maya porque lo habla, lo visto y tengo la sangre maya (Muchacha de 15 años).

Algunos, estudiantes, sin embargo, expresaron dudas sobre su identidad como mayas:

- No se. Si. Porque soy descendiente de los mayas que habitaron la península yucateca (Muchacho de 15 años).
- No se si porque simplemente por el motivo de hablar un poco del idioma maya (Muchacho 15 años).
- Soy una mujer q se dedica al estudio y hacer moderna. No se. ¡Por que no se! ¿Me entiende? (Muchacha de 15 años)
- Soy mexicana, creo que si. Porque no se si maya antigua o hablar maya (Muchacha de 15 años).

Y únicamente el 5% no se reconoció como maya.

- Yo no soy maya porque no lo se hablar. (Muchacho de 18 años)
- Un maya no porque no lo se hablar porque no lo aprendi a hablar. (Muchacho de 16 años)
- No. Porque no me visto como maya hablo maya pero no soy maya. (Muchacho de 15 años)

¿Cómo se deja de ser maya? Se encontraron dos puntos de vista importantes: el 46% asoció la pérdida del ser maya con abandonar las costumbres, las tradiciones y la lengua; y el 40% que consideró que nunca se deja ser maya, porque se lleva en la sangre. De modo que quien se vaya de Yaxcabá seguirá siendo maya, aunque no quiera serlo. Ejemplos de la primera tendencia:

- Cuando alguien se olvida de las costumbres y tradiciones de los mayas (Muchacho de 16 años)

- Tal vez dejando las costumbres y tradiciones otra y lo mas importante dejar de hablar el idioma maya. (Muchacho de 15 años)
- Entrando a la moda de hoy. (Muchacha de 14 años)
- Se deja de ser maya cuando buscas otra cultura y otras tradiciones o costumbres (Muchacha de 17 años)

Ejemplos de la segunda tendencia:

- Pues no podemos dejar de ser maya porque lo llevamos en nuestra sangre (Muchacho de 16 años)
- No se puede. Aunque salgas del estado siempre seguiras siendo maya (Muchacho de 16 años)
- Nunca se deja de ser maya, aunque te mueras no lo dejas de ser, porque lo llevas hasta en los huesos (Muchacha de 15 años)
- Nunca se deja de ser maya porque heredaste la cultura maya. (Muchacha de 14 años)

¿Qué significa ser moderno? Nuevamente hubo dos grandes tendencias: la de aquellos que percibieron que ser moderno era agregar elementos nuevos a su cultura, sin que debiera abandonarse o destruirse lo propio; y los que consideraron que la modernidad sí es excluyente de lo que han sido los mayas. Así, el 52% señaló que ser moderno implica adaptarse a lo actual, modificando formas de vestir, pensar y actuar, así como utilizar cosas nuevas y vivir más rápido, sin abandonar lo propio. Mientras que el 45% consideró que cambiar y ser modernos sí implica abandonar la forma de vida maya. Ejemplos de la primera tendencia:

- Ser moderno es adaptarse a la forma de hablar de comportarse de las personas hoy en día (Muchacho de 14 años)
- Pues hacer más rápido las cosas y hablar otros idiomas (Muchacho de 16 años)
- Es vivir ahora en la actualidad con la ciencia y la tecnología avanzadas (Muchacha de 17 años)
- Es utilizar las cosas que surgen ahora siempre y cuando estén a tu alcance. (Muchacha de 15 años)

Ejemplos de la segunda tendencia, donde ser moderno excluye el ser maya:

- Ser moderno es vivir el presente, olvidarse de todo lo que fueron los mayas (Muchacho de 15 años)
- Es dejar todo lo maya atrás y cambiar nuestras formas de vestir y hablar (Muchacho de 16 años)
- Es tener diferente cultura, diferente forma de pensar, vestir y de hablar (Muchacha de 15 años)
- Es dejar las cosas antiguas y aprender lo que es ahora (Muchacha de 16 años)

Ejemplos que asocian el ser moderno con la libertad y estar abiertos:

- Vivir la vida muy al aire libre sin que existan reglas (Muchacha de 14 años)

- Es ser mas abierto o ya no importarle nada de lo antiguo (Muchacha de 14 años)

¿Los mayas pueden ser modernos? El 59% pensó que NO, porque implica bandonar sus costumbres y sus tradiciones. Ejemplos:

- Tal vez no, porque ellos deben estar apegados a sus tradiciones (Muchacho de 15 años)
- No porque al ser moderno dejarían de ser mayas (Muchacho de 15 años)
- No porque si una persona no sabe que significa español no puede ser moderno, solo en su lengua (Muchacho de 17 años)
- No, porque lo llevan en la sangre y no lo pueden cambiar por nada. (Muchacha 15 años)

Mientras que el 41% consideró que Sí se puede ser maya y ser moderno:

- Sí, porque yo me considero maya y soy moderno respecto a la forma de vestir etc. (Muchacho de 15 años)
- Si pueden ser modernos con la ropa, la comida, pero el espíritu del maya siempre estarán el ellos (Muchacho de 15 años)
- Sí, pero sin perder sus costumbres y su lenguaje (Muchacha de 15 años)
- Sí, porque cambian su forma de vestir, de comer pero siempre son Mayas (Muchacha de 17 años)

¿Cuál es el futuro de los mayas? Las respuestas se agruparon nuevamente en dos tendencias: el 47% consideró que los mayas permanecerán y continuarán transmitiendo su cultura a sus hijos; mientras que el 40% supuso que éstos van a desaparecer. Ejemplos de la primera tendencia:

- Los mayas tienen un futuro que nunca acabara porque mueren unos y nacen otros (Muchacho de 15 años)
- Que deben de aprender que significa la maya y no olvidar sus creencias porque es muy importante (Muchacho de 17 años)
- En que se preparen mas y enseñar a mas personas su cultura (Muchacha de 15 años)
- Tener una vida noble, que nos respeten, que nos valoren y que seamos felices (Muchacha de 15 años)

Ejemplos de quienes consideran que los mayas desaparecerán.

- Quisas se vayan perdiendo con el paso del tiempo o con el engrandecimiento de la modernización (Muchacho de 14 años)
- Por la modernidad y la poca práctica de su lengua (Muchacho de 15 años)
- Pues seria un futuro en cual no se conocera la cultura maya porque esta cultura se esta olvidando y no debe ser asi (Muchacho de 15 años)

- Pues se puede perder todo por la modernización (Muchacha de 15 años).

¿Qué es lo positivo de ser modernos? Aquí es interesante que al reflexionar en lo moderno, algunos estudiantes en lugar de hablar de sus aspectos positivos, se remitieran a señalar lo negativo. Así que el 47% señaló como malo que se estuviera perdiendo la cultura maya y sus tradiciones; el 40% se refirió a la introducción reciente de las drogas y al crecimiento de la violencia y el peligro (respuestas dos y tres). Y algunas muchachas (el 7%) concluyeron que ese comportamiento lo tienen los hombres¹⁶. Ejemplo:

- Es malo porque trae problemas. Como drogadiccion, alcoholismo, enfermedades entre otras. (Muchacho de 14 años)
- Ya hay delincuencia, asesinatos, etc. (Muchacho de 15 años)
- El lenguaje q ahora los jóvenes usan y la forma en que muchos se visten y se comportan (Muchacha de 15 años)
- Que ahora te da el derecho de gritarle, ofenderle, o en ocaciones pegarle a las personas (Muchacha de 14 años)

VIII. REFLEXIONES FINALES

Para la investigación sobre los jóvenes de origen maya, recurrir a disciplinas como la lingüística y la etnohistoria, articuladas por la mirada antropológica que privilegia el trabajo de campo, permitió resolver el problema de la existencia de los jóvenes indígenas, al demostrar que éstos existen desde tiempos prehispánicos; y al desmontar la idea de que éstos, en todas las sociedades indígenas, son un producto reciente de la modernidad. Además, que al revisar los diccionarios de maya-español, los coloniales y los actuales, para corroborar la existencia cultural de los jóvenes, se construyó una base lingüística que orientó el trabajo de campo para poder dar cuenta de los cambios y continuidades de lo que significa ser joven en la cultura maya.

Conocer los significados en lengua maya del ser joven, permitió, a su vez, acercarse a la posición subalterna de los jóvenes respecto de los adultos y de las mujeres respecto de los hombres; lo que se corroboró con la información levantada en campo, y permitió, a su vez, reconocer las continuidades, los cambios y los conflictos en torno a lo que significa ser joven en la cultura maya. Dándole un peso importante a la reproducción de la posición subordinada de las mujeres, como base para comprender la rebeldía y las demandas de las muchachas jóvenes.

¹⁶ Importa aclarar que el cuestionario incluyó otras preguntas que permitieron ahondar en lo que para ellos significa ser moderno en relación al ser maya, pero aquí se omitieron por cuestiones de espacio.

Acercarse a la construcción social de las diferencias de generación y género, a través del empleo de categorías que jerarquizan y subordinan a sectores específicos de la población, se considera que sienta las bases para desnaturalizar tales diferencias, que suelen presentarse como evidentes, naturales y objetivas. Sin que se advierta que forman parte del mecanismo para mantener la asimetría y la desigualdad, en beneficio de la reproducción del orden social (Poutignat, y Streiff-Fenart, 1995.).

Como lo muestra el caso de los jóvenes que se rebelan, el conflicto generacional y las demandas de género, expresan la actual lucha social por las clasificaciones sociales, en una batalla por conseguir reconocimiento (Giménez 2009, 182-189) y la adquisición de derechos, que implica, entre otros, el derecho a definirse por sí mismos, y a transformar la asimetría social vigente.

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The Role of Facebook in Quota Reform Movement of Bangladesh

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Keywords: Facebook, quota, reform, movement, Bangladesh, social media.

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The Role of Facebook in Quota Reform Movement of Bangladesh

Mahmudul Hasan ^α, Arnab Biswas ^σ & Ali Ahsan ^ρ

Abstract Technology and society have become intertwined in this age of the 4th industrial revolution. Bangladesh is flourishing at a tremendous speed with keeping pace with the present technology-driven world system. As mass consumption of technology taking place, every aspect of life is continually also being shaped through it. The way of public protest has also been changed after the net sphere has become so much dynamic. This study, based on the methodology of the survey and an in-depth interview, has tried to dig out the interrelation between the formation and development of the Quota Reform Movement and the usage of Facebook. This study has found that Facebook has worked as a catalyst in both organizing and accelerating the Quota Reform Movement of Bangladesh.

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I. INTRODUCTION

In contemporary times, it has been observed that social media have played important roles in public protests in several countries around the world. It has also been noticed in Bangladesh. The recent Quota Reform Movement is said to be organized through social media, basically Facebook, throughout Bangladesh (Khan, 2018). This new dimension of organizing protest was first introduced after giving verdict by the International War Crimes Tribunal to a war criminal in Bangladesh; several online blogger activists started to protest against the nature of the verdict. They gathered in Shahbag Square in Dhaka, the capital city of Bangladesh, to protest against the verdict. However, the protest gained a new momentum because of social media, particularly Facebook. Being informed through social media, more and more people gathered in Shahbag Square and demanded trial of all the war criminals in Bangladesh. Though mainstream media frequently reported on this event, social media gave more information and united the public about the protest. The leaders of the protest were the extensive social media user. Though Bangladesh is a Third World country, it facilitates internet connection for the general people. 80% of the people of Bangladesh who use the

internet have a Facebook account (The Daily Star, 2015). In Bangladesh, there are 96,199,000 users as of 2020, among them, 33,713,000 are Facebook users (Internet World Stats, 2020). As Facebook is a low-cost medium of communication, it is extensively used for connecting with people. Tufekci(2014) stated that recent uprisings and large protests around the world have provided indications that digital infrastructure empowers protests and movements in specific ways. If we see some movements like The “Tahrir Square” protest in Egypt, protests in Tunisia, The Occupy Movement in the USA, we can observe the extensive use of social media for the collective action of the general people. Social media have empowered protesters in three key areas: public attention, evading censorship, and coordination or logistics (Tufekci, 2014). With the help of social media, street protests can be coordinated easily than before. So, social media play roles in mobilizing public protests.

II. BACKGROUND OF THE RESEARCH

The roles of social media in public protests and collective action have been observed in several parts around the world, including Bangladesh.

In the middle of December, in 2010, a revolutionary wave of demonstration and protest began in Tunisia and spread throughout Arab countries and its surroundings. The protests shared some techniques in public resistance to persist movements involving strikes, demonstrations, marches, and rallies, as well as the extensive use of social media to organize, communicate, and raise awareness for the protest. The youth members of the Arab population used social media the most against the state attempts of repression and Internet censorship.

In Turkey, government, along with submissive media conglomerates, has been increasingly controlling broadcast media through political and financial power. Mass media in Turkey has become quiet in areas that were not to the government’s liking, such as reporting on corruption, violence, or extralegal influence on the government’s economic policies. A salient example was the aerial bombing on smugglers from Roboski; a Kurdish village closed to Turkey’s border with Iraq. This bombing killed thirty-four Kurdish smugglers. It was broadly known within Turkish newsrooms but was being censored. This story, however, broke by a journalist named Serdar Akinan. Mr. Akianan decided that he

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would no longer wait for the government approval. Using his own money to travel to Roboski, he soon found himself in a devastating scene—a grief-stricken funeral procession snaking around a hilltop with dozens of coffins being carried by wailing mourners (Tufekci, 2014). Though at the time, this event was well known among the Kurdish community who had alternative news sources like social media, coverage of this event was censored in the Turkish press. The journalist snapped a picture on his cell phone, uploaded it to Instagram, and tweet it out. Instantly, an absolute news blackout was broken as the heartbreaking images spread rapidly and broadly through social networks. This ultimately forced mass media to cover the story. Then extreme criticism against the Government widely spread in social media. (Tufekci, 2014)

At the beginning of February in 2013, some young blogger activists organized a protest at Shahbag Square in the capital city of Dhaka, Bangladesh. It aimed to protest the nature of the verdict given by the War Crimes Tribunal to a war criminal for his association with crimes against humanity in the 1971 war against Pakistan (BBC News, 2013). The protesters were demanding capital punishment of the war criminals. The following days had seen thousands of people joining and showing solidarity with this greater protest events. This protest was different from any social movement in the country. It was organized through social media especially using Facebook and Blogs.

Samiul Islam Rajon, a 13 years old boy, was brutally murdered by a group of people in the northeastern city of Sylhet in the second week of July in 2015. One of them took video footage of this incident and spread it to Facebook. Against this brutal murder, people upsurge and demanded their death penalty through social media. Being informed from the social media, different influential media like BBC, Al Jazeera covered the issue with importance. Rothwell (2015) reported, 'the 28-minute video of Samiul, which went viral after being posted on social media, has sparked an outpouring of anger, with petitions and demonstrations demanding the attackers face the death penalty'.

The quota reform movement first erupted on the campus of Dhaka University on April 8th, 2018, in Bangladesh (The Economist, 2018). Of all government jobs, only 44% was allocated for mass people where 56% percent was for different quota holders like son and grandsons of freedom fighters, physically disabled persons, indigenous people and, so on. For this imbalance in government job sector, students and the unemployed work force demanded logical quota reform. And they started showing their demand in the Shahbag and Dhaka university campus. The protest became strong on 8th April 2018 when thousands of students marched around Shahbag area in Dhaka City. And this situation became worsen when a clash took place between police and students after several provocations.

And this mass movement took place in the only a couple of days across the country where different social media, especially Facebook, worked behind it. (Rahman, 2018)

The road-Safety protest was an another massive student uprising between 29th July to 8th August 2018 when two school students died in a road accident in Dhaka. This movement fueled up when a clash took place on August 2. This movement was also upraised within a very short time and, the role of Facebook and other social media was very crucial here and needs to be researched (Rahman, 2018).

These circumstances, particularly in Bangladesh have triggered the question of the involvement of Facebook in both organizing and fueling movements. This study has tried to dig out one of them, which is The Quota Reform Movement of Bangladesh.

III. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This research has done based on one key question

How did Facebook play roles, if any, in the quota reform movement of Bangladesh?

For getting the answer to this question, we also used some sub-questions.

- Did quota reform movement get organized and mobilized through Facebook?
- Did any awareness about this movement have created through Facebook?
- Was Facebook being used for circulating any information about the protest?
- Did Facebook as a platform have played any role in ensuring justice?
- Are protest activities getting public attention through Facebook?

IV. LITERATURE REVIEW

Many literatures showed a relation between public protests and social media. Wolfsfeld et al. (2013) suggested two principles for understanding the role of social media by examining the several events of twenty Arab countries and the Palestinian Authority. On the first principle, they stated that one could not understand the role of social media in collective action without first taking into account the political environment in which they operate. On the second principle, they suggested that a significant increase in the use of social media is much more likely to follow a significant amount of protest activity than to precede it. They argued that social media are important because they can give information and images that can motivate people, they allow groups to organize and mobilize much more effectively than earlier, and they allow protesters to disseminate their messages around the world (Bennett 2003; Earl and Kimport 2011; Tufekci and Wilson 2012). They argued that social media should be seen as facilitators of protest rather than causes. And the higher

the level of political grievances, the higher the level of protest and, the more difficult the political environment is in a country, the higher the protest. In the second principle, they showed that during a protest, social media penetration is very high. In the present study, social media penetration during protest will be re-examined in the Bangladeshi context.

Hussain and Howard (2012) studied the protests of the Gulf States, which exhibited high levels of social media penetration low levels of protests. Anderson (2011) concluded that the key to the protests was not social media but how this technology resonated in the various local contexts. In the view of Bellin, noting four important explanatory factors in Egypt and Tunisia: long-standing grievances, an emotional trigger, a sense of impunity, and access to new social media fostered protests (Bellin, 2012).

'Social Software has the potential to foster grassroots activism, political inclusion, and community building that decrease oppressive or elitist forms of political decision making. At the same time, an exclusive character of Social Software can be observed, especially in developing countries where an enormous social gap is predominant'. (Neumayer and Raffl, 2008)

By analyzing the role of social media for a political protest, they showed new possibilities but also limits this kind of grassroots activism. They argued blogs, wikis and, social networking sites provide a technological basis for grassroots action to coordinate and for activists to communicate. Still it also creates gap among the people who do not use social media. By using social media, protests are getting public attention, but some people remain ignorant about this.

Valenzuela (2013) showed how social media played roles in protests activity. To show this, he examined three explanations for this relationship in the context of citizens' protest behavior: information, opinion expression, and activism. His findings suggested that using social media for opinion expression and activism mediates the relationship between overall social media use and protest behavior. There are a plethora of evidence in both developed and developing countries suggesting that people engaging in public and political activities, including protest behavior, are frequent users of social media ((Bekkers, Beunders, Edwards, & Moody, 2011; Earl & Kimport, 2011; Valenzuela, Arriagada, & Scherman, 2012).

Harlow (2011) found that the social network site was used to organize an online movement of the justice for Guatemalan lawyer Rodrigo Rosenberg that moved offline. Just before his murder, he posted video footage on Facebook and YouTube claiming that he was being assassinated by President Álvaro Colomo of Guatemala. Users' activities on Facebook helped to organize a massive protest. He argued that social media can

immediately spread messages to the masses, unobstructed by time and space. The rise of an internet-based 'Activism 2.0' along with the Web 2.0 provides an opportunity to explain how online activism organized by social networking sites gave birth to offline activism that took to the streets.

Research on the effect of social media visuals on the visual communication of social movements found that 97% of the students depend on Facebook for any information (Photos, videos, opinions) during movements (Chowdhury et al., 2019).

Several literature showed this new technology appears to be able to provide a movement with powerful, speedy, and relatively low-cost tools for enrollment, fund-raising, the dissemination of information and images, group discussions, and mobilization for action. But the results were from western democracies and The Arab Spring perspective. In the Bangladeshi perspective, it is worth researching what the role of social media is in this region.

V. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

a) Network Society

Today we live in an information age where information is called the Nucleus of this age. Every computer is linked with another through a network. Manuel Castells is one of the key thinkers of 'The Network Society' theory (Littlejohn & Foss, 2009). Castells (2005) described, 'The network society is a social structure based on networks operated by information and communication technologies based in microelectronics and digital computer networks that generate, process, and distribute information based on the knowledge accumulated in the nodes of the networks. He also stated the network society is based on networks, and communication networks transcend boundaries, the network society is global, it is based on global networks.

As the network society spreads and new communication technologies expand their networks, there is an explosion of horizontal networks of communication, quite independent from media business and governments that allow the emergence of what he calls self-directed mass communication (Castells, 2005). In the network society, anyone can disseminate information all over the world by using communication technologies. Thus a new form of state that Castells calls it 'The Network State'. It is also clear that new changes in technology and the social responses to them (such as social networking, cell phone use, Internet blogging, file sharing, and so on) ensure that as the network society spreads yet further (Littlejohn, & Foss, Ed. 2009). As of late, in social movements, networking sites have been used in Bangladesh. Movements such as the Quota reform movement are coordinated, maintained, and facilitated by social

media, which Castells (2000) called a 'networked social movement' of the Information Age. This networked social movement was based on cultural values; it was a loose and semi-spontaneous alliance depending on internet technologies, and was a locally based movement aiming globally.

b) *Technological Determinism*

In this age of 4th industrial revolution in every aspect, technology has gained the power of controlling the life of most of the human beings of the planet. As a gift of technological advancement, Facebook has become one of the giant social media platforms having billions of active users. It has become one of the most used social media platforms to disseminate information in the world as well as in Bangladesh. From building campaigns for electing any political party to protest against them, Facebook as a platform is always there to help. This high level of technological dependency of today's society has coined a new theory called Technological Determinism. A website based on explaining communication theories introduced this particular theory as a reductionist theory that aims to provide a causative link between technology and a society's nature. Its main objective is explaining as to whom or what could have a controlling power in human affairs. The theory questions the degree to which human thought or action is influenced by technological factors. The term 'technological determinism' was coined by Thorstein Veblen and this theory revolves around the proposition that technology in any given society defines its nature. Technology is viewed as the driving force of culture in a society, and it determines its course of history ("Technological Determinism," 2018). This study is analyzed through this theory as this study's main goal is to dig out the interrelation between the quota reform movement of Bangladesh and Facebook.

VI. SAMPLING

As the main objective of this study is to know the role of Facebook in the Quota Reform Movement in

Bangladesh, this study covers responses from all the eight divisions of Bangladesh. So, this study has used cluster sampling. To conduct the survey all over Bangladesh is time-consuming and very costly. To avoid this problem, this study selects the samples in categorizes. This procedure is known as cluster sampling. With cluster sampling, one can divide the State or country into districts, counties, or Zip code areas and select groups of people from these areas (Wimmer & Dominick, 2010). Data has been collected randomly from 25 respondents to each divisional city. Total of 200 responses have been collected from all over Bangladesh.

VII. METHODOLOGY

a) *Survey Method*

A descriptive survey attempts to describe or document current conditions or attitudes-that is, to explain what exists at the moment (Wimmer & Dominick, 2010). This study gathered data from general people. As this research's aim is to find out the role of Facebook in the quota reform movement in Bangladesh, the survey is conducted in 8 divisional cities of Bangladesh.

b) *In-Depth Interview*

This study also conducts an In-depth interview with leading activists of the Quota reform movement. To explore the insides of the protests, Nurul Haque Nur, Faruk Hasan, both are the Joint Conveners of the Quota Reform Movement have been interviewed. And a social media manager is also interviewed for getting a broader insight into the movement.

VIII. FINDINGS

a) *Analysis of Survey Data*

The study has conducted this survey on 200 students. These students represent every divisional city of Bangladesh. From each division, we've 25 responses. Among the participants, about 69% are undergraduate, 14% are graduate, and 17% are postgraduate students.

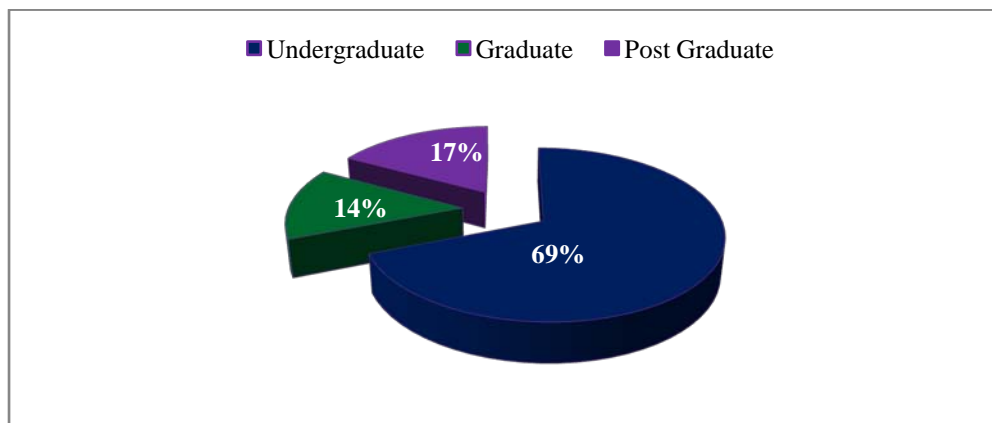


Figure 1: Educational Qualification

From survey data, the study has got some crucial understanding about the impact of Facebook on the Quota reform movement of Bangladesh. Data shows that almost every respondent use Facebook. It indicates

Facebook is a very popular social media in Bangladesh. The study found that Facebook is a top priority based on social media among the students.

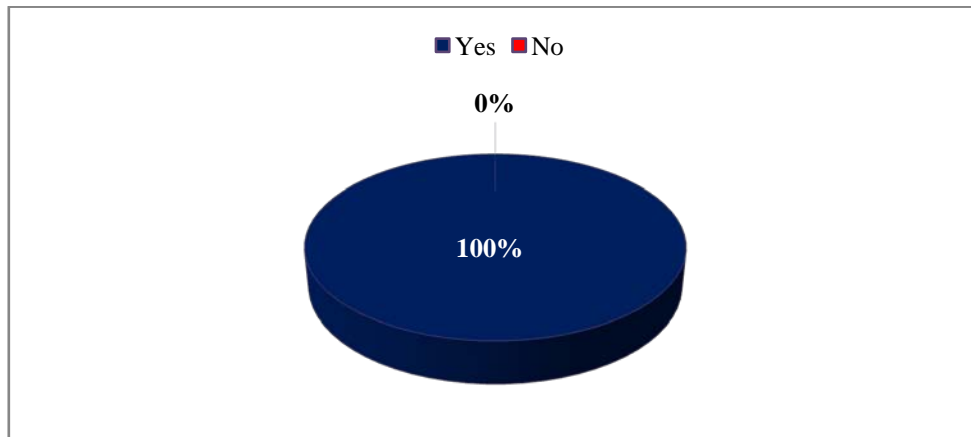


Figure 2: Facebook Users

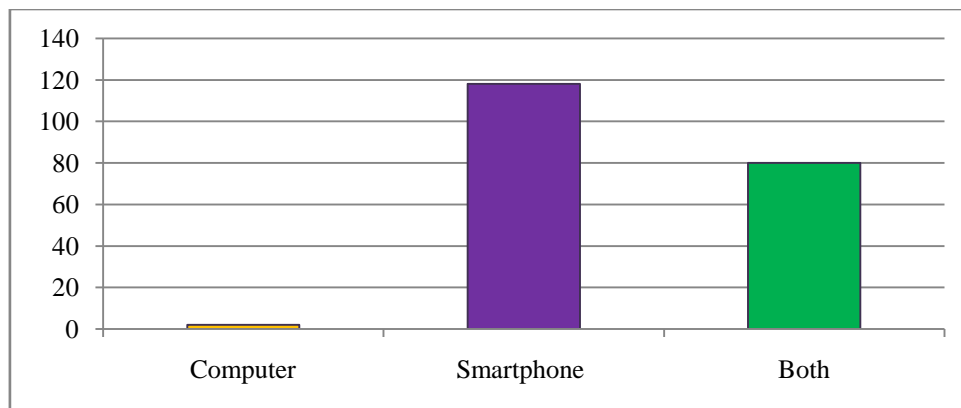


Figure 3: Facebook Using Device

The study has also found that 59% of students said that they use only smartphone for getting access to Facebook. 40% of the students said they use both a smartphone and computer to access Facebook. And

the only 1% said that they use only computers to get access to Facebook. This research has found that most of the students use smartphones to get access to Facebook. Only a little use computer for this reason.

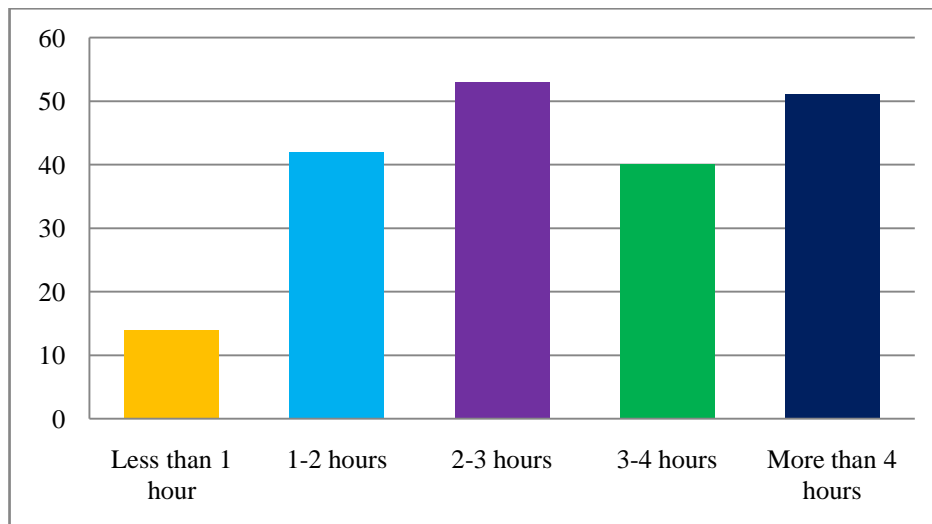


Figure 4: Facebook Using Time Length per Day

Respondents were asked about how much time they spend using Facebook. This study observed that about 26.5% of students use Facebook for 2-3 hours per day. And 25.5% of students use Facebook for more than 4 hours. About 21% use it for 1-2 hours, and 20% of students use it for 3-4 hours. And about 7% of students use it for less than 1 hour. So, it's clear that most of the

students spend a handsome amount of time using Facebook as the research discovered that 72% of the students spend more than 25% of their working time (excluding 8hrs sleeping time) using Facebook. So, we can say that Facebook has become an integral part of the life of most of the students of Bangladesh.

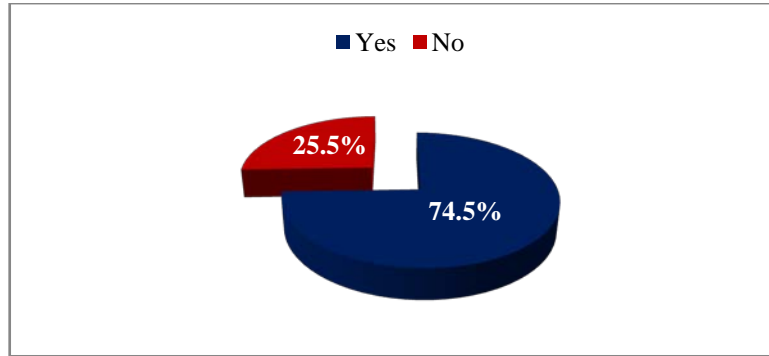


Figure 5: Follower of Quota Reform Movement on Facebook

It was noticed in this research, about 74.5% of the students followed this movement, and about 25.5% of students didn't follow. So it can be said that this

movement had the strength of involving most of the students on Facebook.

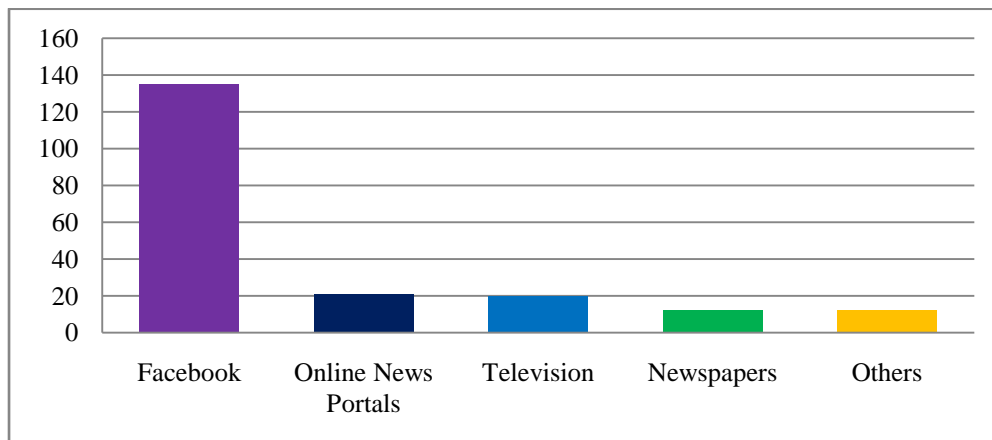


Figure 6: Sources from Where People Came to Know about the Movement First

The study has found that most of the students came to know about this protest through Facebook, which is about 67.5%. 10.5% came to know about it through online news portals. 10% of total students came to know from television, and 6% from newspapers. Students are highly dependent on Facebook and they got the very first boost to follow this movement through the info wave of Facebook. A little portion of the students is dependent on mainstream media like television and newspapers till now.

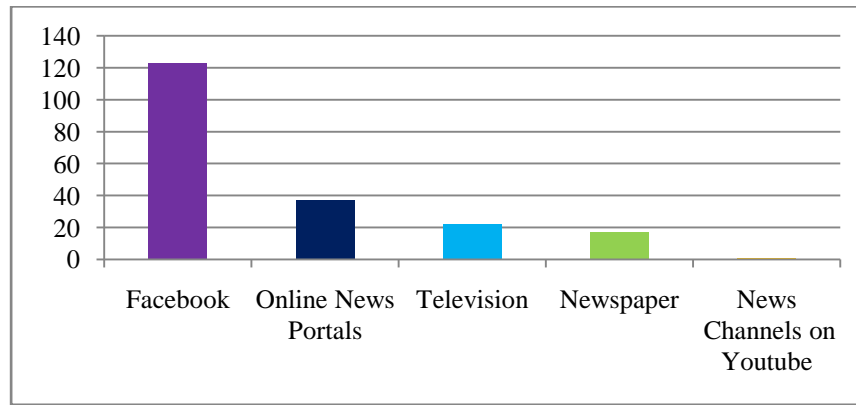


Figure 7: Media Mostly Used for Getting Information about This Movement

This study shows that about 61.5% students used Facebook to get information about this movement. 18.5% used online news portals, 11% used television, and 8.5% used newspapers. So it's clear that Facebook worked as the most essential platform for being updated about this movement.

In this study, most of the students agree that they use Facebook because it's very much handy

though some students said that they use Facebook not for being handy. Almost all students think that Facebook is an affordable platform. And for that reason, they use Facebook. All kinds of media can be found on Facebook. This characteristic of Facebook is also very important to the students for using Facebook, despite some of them who don't agree with it, and others are neutral.

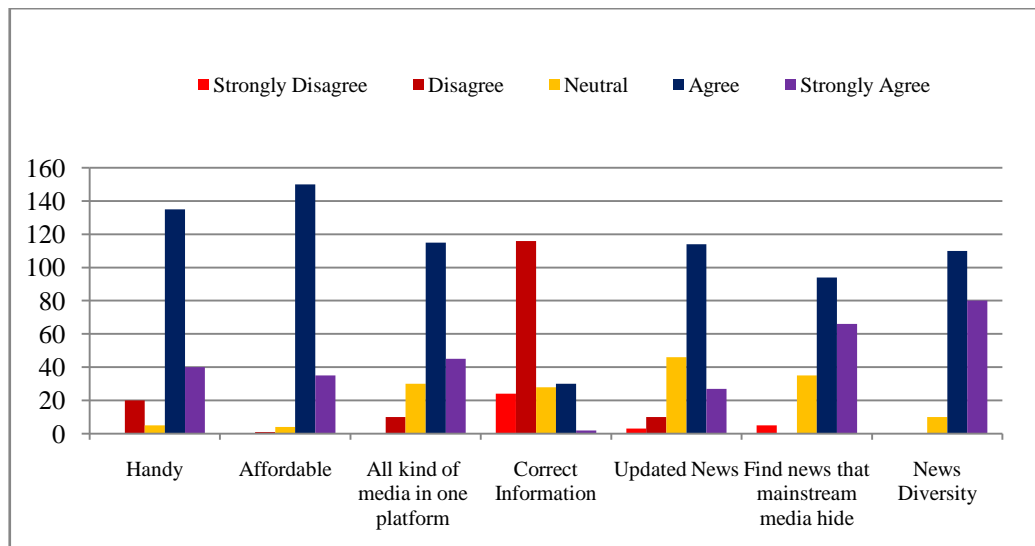


Figure 8: Causes Behind Using Facebook

This part is very important for our research because from this chart, we can see that though most of the students use Facebook for many reasons but not accurate information. So the credibility of Facebook in terms of accuracy of information is very poor till now. Most of the students are neutral or disagree that they use Facebook for correct information. The study also comes across that most of the students agree that they use Facebook for updated news. Some are neutral, and a little portion doesn't think so. Most of the students think that they use Facebook more than media because they want to find news that mainstream media don't flush. They agreed that on Facebook, they find news that mainstream hide. But some are neutral about this.

In this study, most of the students agree that they use Facebook for news diversity. Some strongly agree with it though some students are neutral.

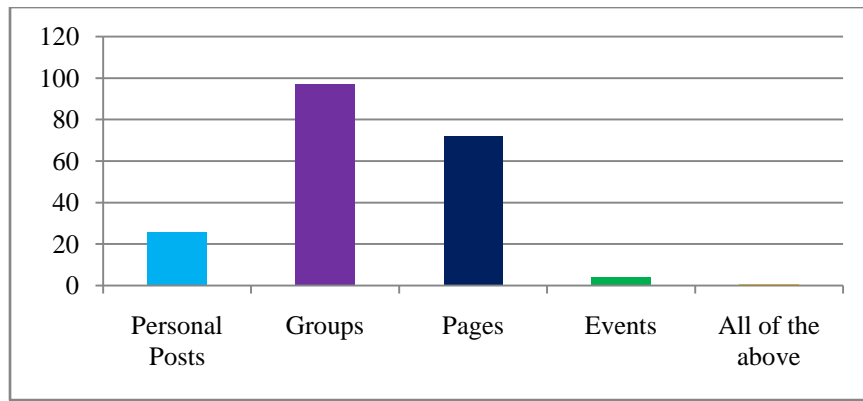


Figure 9: Mostly Used Feature of Facebook

The research shows that about 48.5% of students got information from the Group feature of Facebook to get updated about this movement. 36% of students said that some pages gave them the most

benefit for being updated. 13% said it's the personal posts of a Facebook account that help them most for being updated.

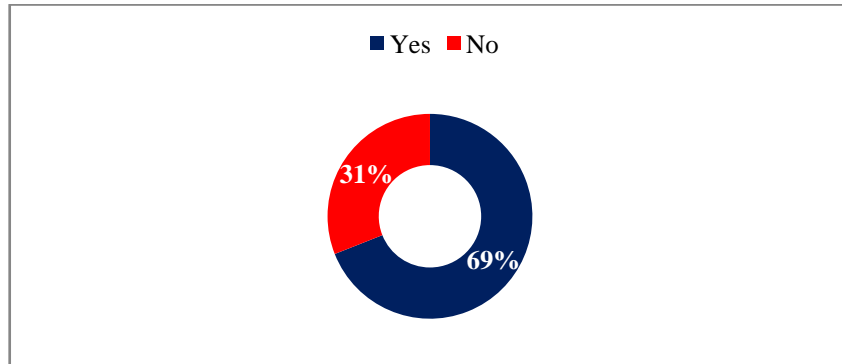


Figure 10: Percentage of Direct Participation after Getting Information from Facebook

The study clearly shows that on Facebook, how much motivated the students are for participating in this movement. About 69% think that 'yes' they were

motivated to participate in this movement after getting information from Facebook Though 31% don't think so.

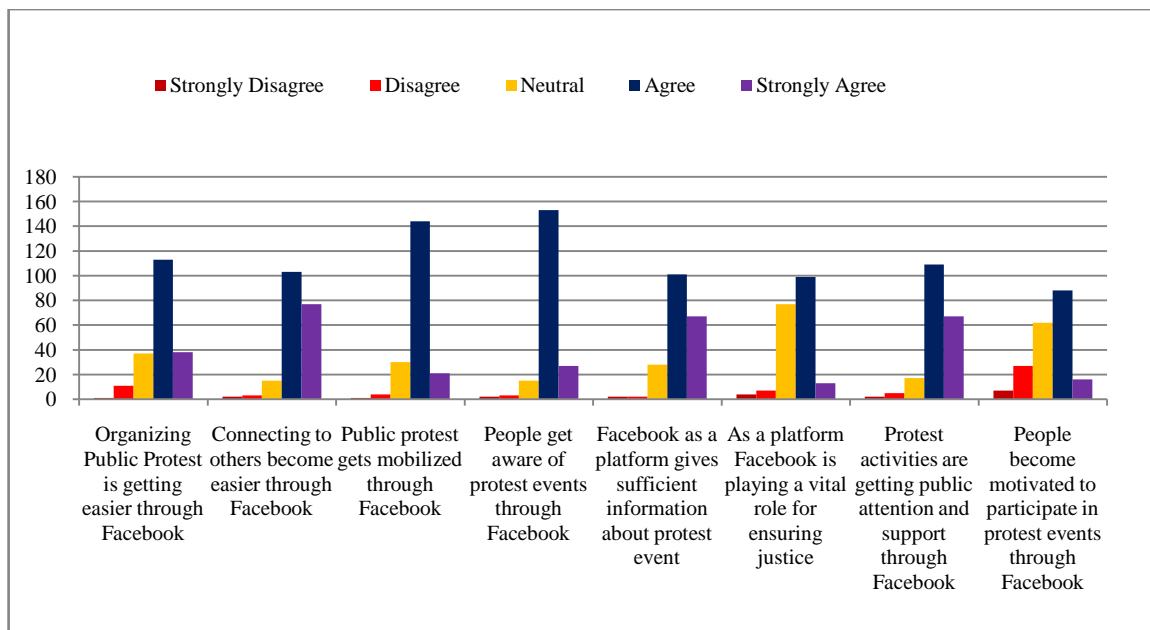


Figure 11: Role of Facebook in Quota Reform Movement

According to the study, most of the students agreed organizing public protests is getting easier through Facebook. So, it can be said that Facebook is playing an important role to organize public protest. The Survey found that most of the students agree, and some strongly agree that connecting to others has become easier. In the quota reform movement, this easy access worked greatly in acquiring the public sentiment so quickly. In this study, almost all students agree that public protests mobilized through Facebook. Also, most of the students agreed that people get aware of public protest through Facebook though some are neutral on this question. 'Facebook as a platform, gives sufficient

information about protest events' majority of the students agree with this statement also some others are neutral about it. Though most of the students agreed as a platform Facebook is playing a vital role in ensuring justice, but a handsome amount remained neutral. It is also found that most of the students agree that protest activities are getting public attention and support through Facebook. And finally, most of the students agree that people become motivated to participate in protest events through Facebook. But a large amount of students remained neutral about this.

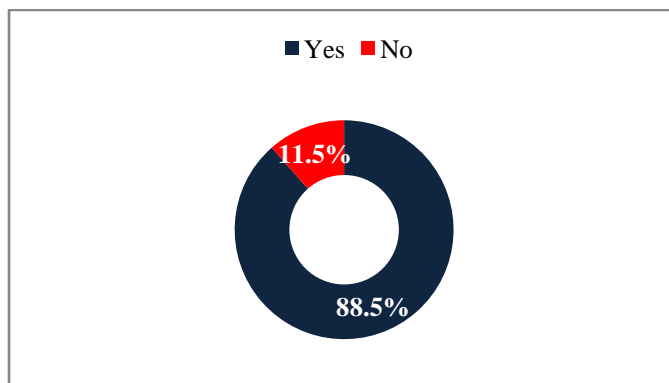


Figure 12: Percentage of People Who Think Facebook Added New Dimension in the Movement

This research indicates that Facebook added new dimensions to strengthen the quota reform movement, as 88.5% of students of Bangladesh think

so. At the same time, 11.5% of students don't think that this platform added any dimension.

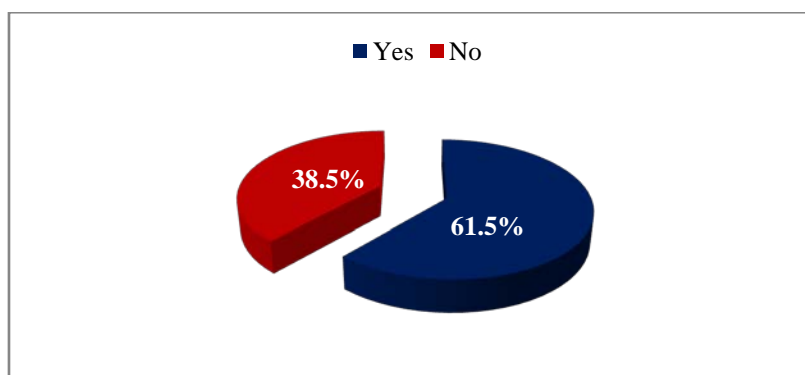


Figure 13: Percentage of People Who Think the Movement Was Largely Depended on Facebook

This research demonstrates that about 61.5% of students of Bangladesh think that the quota reform movement was largely dependent on Facebook, where 38.5% don't think so. In this age of the fourth industrial revolution, it can be said that the traditional movement procedure is changing for technological advancements.

b) In-Depth Interview Analysis

The study has conducted in-depth interview on three quota reform movement activists. The study has got crucial insights from them on the role of Facebook in the quota reform movement in Bangladesh.

It was in the year of 1996 when the first-ever movement on the quota issue took place, and after that, it was in 2012. But none of the movements could become successful. Again in 2018, some students of the public library near University of Dhaka called for a protest creating a Facebook group. And from then Facebook became part and parcel of this quota reform movement as per the statement given by a joint convener of this movement, Mr. Faruk Hasan.

He added that Facebook played a more important role than any other traditional media for organizing this movement. Print and electronic media

were largely depended on their Facebook group for any kind of updated information. Mr. Nurul Haq Nur another joint convener of this movement gave us the same answer.

In the question about whether the public agenda became the media agenda in this particular movement, both of the joint conveners Mr. Faruk Hasan and Mr. Nurul Haq Nur fully agreed. Mr. Nur added that in the initial stage of this movement, most of the traditional media didn't pay any heed. Still, after some days, this issue becomes a viral topic on Facebook, and the traditional media couldn't help publishing news about this movement. He also added that now in Bangladesh, most of the people spend more time on Facebook than any other traditional media, and they also believe it. Though traditional media usually don't highlight any general event, but some issues sometimes become viral in Facebook, and traditional media had to publish that. Tanu, Rajon and Nusrat's murder cases can be examples of his concern.

The group named '*Quota Sangskar Cha*' or 'We Want Quota Reform' in English was a massive platform of 3.4 million people though it was hacked afterward. But there is a group in the same name which has about 1.1 million members still now. Mr. Faruk said that this Facebook group worked as the real 'spokesperson' of this movement. They also used the Facebook messenger group feature to contact with other fellow activists from different districts and convey a message about further plans.

Another activist worked as a social media manager of this movement said that they used Facebook in almost every way possible. His duty was to filtering Facebook posts given on their public group. He was assigned for checking comments and publishing their views and sharing news about the protest in that particular group.

They had back up groups for continuing the protest as their biggest two Facebook groups containing 3.4 million and 1.2 million members had become hacked. They also opened pages for passing information about this movement.

As a social media manager, they had to disapprove and delete any post against the movement. They also had to be aware of any sensitive post that may contain any insight against the sentiment of the liberation war of Bangladesh. He said that they had central and regional chat groups. They conducted Facebook live for reaching more people and to convey their message more clearly. He strongly agreed that it was social media that played the most significant role behind the success of this movement.

The respondents were also asked about the positive and negative side of Facebook in organizing this movement. Mr. Faruk uttered that the positive side was the easy of making connectivity. They could share their views more easily. And from the beginning to the

success of the movement, Facebook was always with them.

There are some negative sides too as per their concern. Sometimes rumors spread through Facebook that caused damages of public properties, including the Vandalism that happened in the residence of the vice-chancellor of the University of Dhaka. But all three of them said that they always had to aware of this kind of propaganda. For that they always had filtered every post made in the group. They always had made clear statements about any kind of rumor that may criminalize the total movement. Mr. Faruk said that they made their position clear in television talk shows. They gave statement like if any person can prove any rumors, then they are ready to have any kind of punishment. For this, the public sentiment grew more on their side. The general activists across the country believed them.

Behind the success of the quota reform movement, Mr. Nurul Haq Nur and Mr. Faruk Hasan both remarked that first of all, they build up a strong organizational structure and this structure lead them to success. A contemporary movement called Road Safety Movement could not be able to achieve success for lacking of this organizational structure according to them. Social media played another salient role, mainly to connect to others at any moment. Mr. Faruk Hasan said that it's important to make media cell in every targeted area and publish movement-related updates in social media all the time. All the activists must be divided into spot activists and online activists. According to the social media manager of the quota reform movement, online activists must always be concerned about any rumor or propaganda as well as conveying any protest message.

IX. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The study has found some logical understanding of the movement in this technology-based society. In both survey results and in-depth interviews, this study thoroughly discovered the presence of technological determinism. And from the very beginning of the movement, the establishment of network society through Facebook groups and Messenger chat groups were the founding stones.

From the survey, It is found that most of the students use Facebook now and they spend 25% of their working time on Facebook. So, it's clear that we are living in a network society where everyone is connected through social media. Most of the students (74.5%) followed the quota reform movement and among the students, the biggest part (67.5%) came to know about this movement through Facebook first and used Facebook to get updated (61.5%).

This study tried to found out the root causes behind the popularity of Facebook among students, and from the survey, it is found that most of the students use

Facebook for its being handy, affordability, presence of all kinds of media in one platform and to get updated news. Students also use Facebook to get the news or incidents that mainstream media hide and to get diversified news. But this study found noteworthy information from the survey that most of the students don't use the Facebook platform for correct information. So, it can be said that the credibility of the information that spread through Facebook is still not believed by most of the users.

Most of the students (48.5%) said that they followed some groups to get updated about the movement. And about 69% of the students got motivated to participate in the protest after getting information about the event. One of the activists of the movement, Mr. Faruk Hasan also claimed that their public group 'Quota Sangskar Chai' or 'We Want Quota Reform' was the hub to get the movement updates. Quoting a post of their group, he said that a random person from Teknaf (An Upazila from the farthest south of Bangladesh) commented that he would come and join the movement. He added that this comment might have motivated other members of the group from near places from Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh, and encouraged to participate. So, Facebook also motivated students across the country psychologically.

This research also found some correlation between Facebook and the organization of the movement. Most of the students agreed that organizing public protest is getting easier through Facebook because connecting to others has become easier through Facebook. Most of them think that Facebook gives sufficient information about any movement, and people get aware after having that information and for this reason public protest get mobilized. The students also agreed that protest events get more attention and support in the Facebook sphere. From the survey, it is also found that people get motivated to participate in protest events after getting sufficient information, and now, in Bangladesh as a platform, Facebook is working to ensure justice.

In the survey, most of the students (88.5%) said that Facebook added new dimensions for strengthening the quota reform movement, and most of the students (61.5%) also believe that the quota reform movement was largely dependent on Facebook.

As well as the students, both of the joint conveners and the social media manager of the quota reform movement think that technology shaped the nature and structure of the movement on a large scale, and they also stated that future movements would be technology-driven.

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Òrìṣà Bîyá Kòsì (There is No God Like Mother): A Reassessment of Motherhood in Contemporary Yorùbá Society as Viewed by Ògúndá Méjì in Ifá Corpus

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Abstract- Òrìṣà bîyá kò sí, taní je ṣe bí ẹnì bíni lójó tó bá nira? or òyániwúrà is often used to describe the sacred roles being played by a woman in the life of her child or children particularly in Yorùbá Society. This includes her role from conception to birth, from birth to maturity and ensuring that the child becomes successful in life. To achieve this, many mothers will rather go hungry than see their children move about or sleep with empty stomach. Many will even prefer to go naked or die just for their children to be successful because, they believe that their children are their pride and their tomorrow whether alive or dead. As a result of these unreserved love and roles, many sayings, poems, songs, drama and sweet quotes have been used to describe women such as the above. Besides, these profound and unique roles have been discussed and evaluated in many scholarly works. The roles played by mothers put them in good stead among their children. This is the reason the Society believes that mothers have great influence and dominion over the lives of their children to the extent that if they pronounce any curse on them, it will come into fulfillment in the child's life.

Keywords: *orìṣa, iya, reassessment, yoruba society, ifa divination.*

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Orìṣà Bìiyá Kòsì (There is No God Like Mother): A Reassessment of Motherhood in Contemporary Yorùbá Society as Viewed by *Ògúnda' Meji* in *Ifá* Corpus

Oláléyè Samuel Káyòdé ^α & Titilope Olusegun Olalere ^σ

Abstract- *Orìṣà bìiyá kò sí, taní jẹ ṣe bí ẹnì bíni lójó tó bá nira?* or *lyániwùrà* is often used to describe the sacred roles being played by a woman in the life of her child or children particularly in Yorùbá Society. This includes her role from conception to birth, from birth to maturity and ensuring that the child becomes successful in life. To achieve this, many mothers will rather go hungry than see their children move about or sleep with empty stomach. Many will even prefer to go naked or die just for their children to be successful because, they believe that their children are their pride and their tomorrow whether alive or dead. As a result of these unreserved love and roles, many sayings, poems, songs, drama and sweet quotes have been used to describe women such as the above. Besides, these profound and unique roles have been discussed and evaluated in many scholarly works. The roles played by mothers put them in good stead among their children. This is the reason the Society believes that mothers have great influence and dominion over the lives of their children to the extent that if they pronounce any curse on them, it will come into fulfillment in the child's life. However, in this modern time where child abandonment is the order of the day, can we still say women play these roles in the life of their children? Can the curse and negative pronouncement of such mothers who neglected their children be binding on them? If a woman is held with such high esteem, what is the fate of the father who works day and night to care for the well-being of both the child and the mother? These are some of the questions in which answers will be provided to in this paper. In achieving this, 10 women, 10 men and 10 children were interviewed and their views were content analysed. In reassessing the roles of women in the Society today, it was discovered that such roles are almost nonexistent today because of the attitude of many contemporary women toward their children in respect of lack of care and abandonment.

Keywords: *orìṣà, ìyá, reassessment, yorùbá society, ifá divination.*

I. INTRODUCTION

In Yorùbá culture, the saying of *Orìṣà bìiyá kò sí, taní jẹ ṣe bí ẹnì bíni lójó tó bá nira* meaning there is no god like mother, who will behave or act like one's mother on the difficult day? is often said and believed. The reason for this is not farfetched. One, considering the fact that in marital relationship, it is expected that the wife should be pregnant shortly after wedlock since children are believed to be the profit of a marriage - *Ọmọ lèrè ìgbeyàwó*. Therefore, if few months after the marriage ceremony, the new bride has not conceived, the relatives would be worried, particularly the woman involved. As a result of this, all necessary measures such as taking of herbs that could aid conception will be resorted to or to consult the *Ifá* oracle. In this kind of situation, the woman will be willing to do anything just to have a child she can call her own. As expressed by Apalowo, after a prolonged delay, if such a woman sees some of her mates that got married around the same time with her having their own children, she would be sad and in such a scenario, she would not mind to be pregnant, give birth to a child in the morning and if the child dies in the evening, because it will at least change her status from being a barren woman to a still birth woman. This validates the saying of the Yorùbá that "*Ojú ló npón àgàn tó ndabá' abíkú, kí lomo bíbíkú nṣe é fún ní?*" Meaning 'the affliction of the barren made her proposed for a born to die child, what value would a child that would die add to one'?

However, looking at the extent of love showered on children and the manner in which children were being cherished and treated in those days by women which in turn made them goddesses made their children to always avoid the wrath of the mothers which could lead to negative pronouncement on their lives. As it was in the early days, can we say of the same today in this modern generation of women that detest having children? A generation advocating for abortion and perverted generation that does not care about the success of their offspring. Can we still boldly speak of the concept of *Orìṣà bìiyá kò sí* as mothers were being cherished by their offspring then? These are questions this paper tried to address. In doing this, interviews were conducted and the views of the interviewees

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¹ Bola 'Fajembola, (Secondary School Teacher), Personal Interview, Ibadan, 31/05/2020

were content analysed. In reassessing the roles of women in our Society today, it was discovered that so many of the binding factors between a child and the mother are almost empty today because of women's attitudes toward their children in respect of lack of care and abandonment.

II. THE YORUBÁ WOMEN AND THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD CHILDBEARING

As earlier discussed, the Yorubá generally especially the women can do anything just to have children. They are ready to go extra miles in removing the shame and stigmatization of barrenness from friends, family, in-laws and the rest of the community. The Yorubá believes that one can still bear the shame of having no money than to not having children because it is arguably believed that it is one's *Orí* – Inner head that provides wealth and riches. Even if one is rich and wealthy with no child, there is no one to inherit such wealth. To buttress this enquiry, Prince Adekunle² a musician per excellence in one of his debut albums sang that;

<i>Omṣoniṣi</i>	Children are the prestige
<i>Omṣonide</i> ,	Children are the brass
<i>Omṣo laṣṣẹ̀yìndẹ̀ bọ́ ba' dale'.</i>	Children shall be left behind after death

Other musicians in this category include Sunny Ade³, Peter King⁴, Elemure Ogunyemi⁵, Dele Ojo⁶, Emma George⁷, Olayinka Babalola⁸, Yinka Ayanda⁹ and so on. Also, gospel musicians like Tope Alabi¹⁰ and many others are not left out as well. Some Yorubá writers were also involved in writing to praise mothers for the sacred roles dutifully played in the lives of their children. Many of these writers composed beautiful poems in honour of mothers to show how important children are to the Yorubá women. J.F. Odunjo¹¹ expressed this in his *Alawiye Iwe Keji* Book Series. Also, Yoruba Nollywood movie artists were not left out such as Adeyemi Afolayan (Ade love) with the title *Iyaniwura*¹² Hence, child bearing is a must in the Yorubá Society. This particularly even speaks to women so as to remove the pang of being called a witch especially if such a woman is wealthy. This belief has to do mostly with the social structure of the Society unlike developed nations that have social serenity, whereby whether one has a child or not, the government will take care of one's responsibility at old age. In Africa, particularly in Yorubá Society, one's child or children are the social security that will take care of one's future when old age sets in. This is where the idea of *Árólé* – a sustainer of the family name that will continue to bear one's name comes in. Therefore, it is not just the issue of bearing children that matters but having *Árólé* is equally important. Although in the case of a desperate situation, this may not count.

Besides, in the past, before the advent of current civilization, when agriculture was predominantly the only profession available, child bearing is important to help in the farm. Therefore, having many wives and children were considered signs of wealth because one has many mouths to feed. Also, it enlarges the family size and name. For instance, there are some families in Yorubaland today that wherever their names are mentioned, one can tell the town and family they came from.

Also, the unending joy of being surrounded by many children, most especially women made them desire them at all cost and means. This feeling of joy and love would made them prefer to go hungry than allow their children do. This corroborated Ilesanmi's¹³ assertion that Yorubá women believe that it is honourable to be a mother in spite of the natural attendant problems of child conception, delivery, miscarriages and child care coupled with the cultural attendant demands like family taboos and other demands attached to motherhood. Therefore, barrenness is believed to be evil in Yorubá Society. A barren woman in Yorubá Society, regardless of her wealth, riches and affluence is often a miserable and a sorrowful woman. This is demonstrated in Efunsetan Aniwura's attitude toward her slaves after the death of her only daughter during childbirth.¹⁴ As a result of this, all angles are usually explored particularly through the help of *Ifá* to find the root cause and solution to remove the shame of barrenness. What then is the position of *Ifá* toward child bearing?

² Prince Adekunle, 1976, Record Label Code: KLPS 87&88 Titled *Omoniṣi*, Omonide, Lagos: Ibukunola Printers (Nig.) Ltd.

³ Sunny Ade, 1988, Record Label Code: APLS 6A, Titled *the Child*, Atom-Park.

⁴ Peter King, 1975, Record Label, Miliki Sound MRBLP103, Titled *Ijo Olomo*, Sonny Roberts' Orbitone.

⁵ Elemure Ogunyemi, 19... in the album *Omṣo nigbẹ̀yìn ola*, vol 3-1

⁶ Dele Ojo & His star Bothers Band, Titled *Iyaniwura*, www.mziiki.com, Retrieved on 15/06/2020

⁷ Emma George, 2017, Orisabiya, m.youtube.com, Retrieved on thr 16/06/2020

⁸ Olayinka Babalola, 2018, *Iyaniwura*, Lineage Alive Foundation, School of Yoruba Language and Culture, Houston, Texas, www.lineagealive.org, Retrieved on the 16/06/2020

⁹ Yinka Ayanda, *Iya mi*, Produced by Seun Oke, m.youtube.com, Retrieved on 16 /06/2020

¹⁰ Tope Alabi, 2015, Record Tittle, *Ormo Laso*, Gospel Vibes Ltd

¹¹ Joseph Folahan Odunjo, 1967, *Alawiye Iwe Keji*, Ibadan: Longman Publishers Ltd, 34

¹² Ashorun Raji Babatunde, 2015, *Iyaniwura*, Olaoye Global Concept NIG. Ltd

¹³ T.M. Ilesanmi, 2013, *Obinrin: A Cultural Assessment of Yoruba Women*, Nigeria: astra – J Multimedia Ng Ltd, 13

¹⁴ Akinwumi Isola, 2010, *Efunsetan Aniwura Iyalode Ibadan*, Ibadan: University Press Plc, 9

III. THE POSITION OF *IFÁ* DIVINATION TOWARD CHILD BEARING

Ifá, as viewed by the Yorubá is the word of *Olodumare* under the custody of *Orunmila*, the mouth piece of other gods and the intermediary between God and man in relation to man's destiny which is the purpose of man on earth. It is the explanation to every happening and what seems to be a mystery to humanity in general. This is the reason why Adewale¹⁵ defines *Ifá* divination as the means of explaining the past, present and the future. It is also a means of declaring guilt and innocence in times of dispute and misunderstanding. Again, *Ifá* is the means of dividing land and deciding the issues of war and peace as well as act of discovering hidden knowledge and mysteries. Therefore, *Ifá* divination is performed to penetrate the world of unknown (spiritual) to ascertain what the future holds for individuals, groups, and the nation from the gods in other to avoid their angers, particularly *Olodumare* who Yorubá believes is the Creator of heavens and earth.¹⁶ As earlier said, *Ifá* divination is a diagnosing tool for both physical and spiritual matters that includes marriage, child bearing and care of such child till maturity. This is what Idowu¹⁷ viewed when he says that the full responsibility of life affairs belongs to *Ifá* divination and the only part of man is to obey as he is ordered through the priests and diviners whom they believe to be the interpreters and middle men of the will of *Olodumare*. He went further to say that "Through all the circumstances of life, through all its changing scenes, its joy and trouble, it is the deity who is in control. Before a child is born, the oracle is consulted and one's rites observed, when a child is born, the oracle gives directions about it, at every stage of life – puberty, betrothal, marriage, taking up a career, building a house, going on a journey and in feet, the thousand and one things which are up to human existence here on earth is in the head of the deity who dictate in law and waiting on the other side of this life to render to him as he deserves."

This is also one reason why *Ifá* is consulted if there is a problem of conception in marriage to know the root cause of the matter and the way to approach it for proper remedy. Again, because of the belief and trust that the Yorubá have in *Ifá* divination for solution to issues of child bearing, hardly do we have *Odu Ifá* that does not make reference to the agony that (the Yorubá particularly) women are passing through in other to have children. Such expression like, *O nfi omi oju sogbere omọ, o romọ leyin adie o bu puru sekun* etc. are very common in many of the *ese Ifá* that has to do with women and issues of conception. However, the causer factors of barrenness in *Ifá* are numerous which ranges from the spiritual to the physical just as we have in *Ogúnda Mejì*;¹⁸

<i>Okó kangi</i>	Okó kangi (name of a priest)
<i>Si pada sẹyin</i>	Si pada seyin
<i>A dlfá f'Onírése 'lé</i>	Ifa divination was performed for Onirese'le
<i>A bú fun t'oko</i>	Also for Onirese oko
<i>Onírése omọ lẹwà</i>	Onirese children beautifies one
<i>Okòrèse omọ lẹwà ẹni</i>	Okorese, a child is someone's treasure.

Here, *Ifá* speaks about two friends that consulted the oracle because they could not conceive. *Ifá* says one would give birth and the other would be blessed with affluence and fame. However, at long last, the one with affluence would regret not having children. They were asked to offer sacrifice which they did. *Onírése Ile* offered sacrifice to have children, while *Onírése Oko* offered her own to have wealth. Their sacrifice was accepted. *Olodumare* fulfilled what they offered sacrificed for. *Onírése Oko* who was rich, while going out dresses gorgeously that attracted people to admire her beauty and the expensive dress, while *Onírése Ile* had not much clothes to wear but was blessed with many children. Because of this, *Onírése Oko* usually disgraces her friend with her wealth. So, *Onírése Ile* decided to pay her back on a faithful day when they went out together for a party. *Onírése Ile* told other friends present that she wanted to sing a song which they must sing together with her. They all agreed and she started like this;

¹⁵ Adewale S.A. 1978, The Role of Ifa in the Work of the 19th Century Missionaries in Orita, Ibadan Journal of Religious Studies, xi/June, 23.

¹⁶ Olaleye S.K. 213, *Ebo as a Healing Technique in Ifa Divination System, An Investigation of Potent Therapeutic Mechanism for Today's Health Problems*, Germany: Lap Lambert Academic Publishing, 60.

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¹⁸ Fasina Agboola, 1989, *Ojulowo Oriki Ifa, Apa Kinni*, Lagos: Project Publication Limited, 128-130

Onírése ọmọ ọ rẹ dà?
Okòrèse ọmọ ọ rẹ dà?
Onírése ọmọ ọ rẹ dà?
Okòrèse ọmọ ọ rẹ dà?
Ajíṣolá ọmọ ọ rẹ dà?
Okòrèse ọmọ ọ rẹ dà?

Onirese where is your child?
Okosere where is your child?
Onirese where is your child?
Okosere where is your child?
Ajisola where is your child?
Okosere where is your child?

Onirese Oko who had no child was ashamed and went home crying. She went for consultation and was told that she must offer all her beautiful clothes and wealth as sacrifice for her to have children. She was also asked to stop her gorgeous dressing for a while and use every medication prepared for her conception religiously. She obeyed all the instructions and everything went well. This validates the above claim that regardless of one's wealth and affluence, one is nothing in Yoruba Society if one is childless. Therefore, the Yoruba would prefer not to be wealthy than not to have children. So, losing wealth and riches for the sake of having children is no big deal. Also, in *Qbara Iretẹ*,¹⁹ as viewed by Awosola there, *Ifa* says;

Pankéré téré lawo inú igbo'
Eèsúń wowo awo imo egi
A d'Ifá fún Olásùnnsoṣkún,
Obìnrin Qbàràrètẹ
Lọjọ tí nsunkún pé òun kò bímọ
Qpọlọpọ ilẹkẹ
Ni kò jẹ kí Olásùnnsoṣkún ó bímọ.

A tinny cane is the priest of the forest
Fresh elephant grass is the initiate of imo egi
Casts divination for Olasunsokun
The wife of Obararete
On the day she was crying for lack of a child
A lot of beads
Deprives Olasunsokun of having children

The above illustrates that Olasunsokun husband was a *Babaláwo* – *Ifa* priest who had tried all he could to make sure that his wife get pregnant but she could not. Most of the time, part of what he prepared for her in terms of aids to get pregnant were given to other women and had worked to solve their problems. Thus, the saying of the Yoruba that *ọbẹ kii mú kí ó gbẹ èkú ara rẹ* or better still, *àtùpà a má tan ná rídí onídí, wọn kii tanná rídí ara wọn* came to play a big role in their case. It became a sad situation for both of them. At the end, the husband, *Obàràrètẹ* called two other *Ifa* priests to come and divine for her wife. It was revealed by *Ifa* through these Priests that her waist beads were what had hindered her conception long time ago. She was then asked to offer the beads as sacrifice together with one goat and some cowries. She offered this sacrifice and she became pregnant. This practically showed that she was not bio-medically sick.

As said earlier, there are so many places in *Ifa* divination where we can find issues relating to this. In fact, there is no major *Odu* that has no reference to barrenness in one way or the other. Again, as mentioned above, besides biomedical sicknesses like *ẹdà*- dripping of sperm from the vaginal after intercourse, *inu gbígbóná*-hotness of stomach, *jẹdídí*-dysentery, *aràn*- worms, *ṣọmúróró*-concentration of hormones in the breast, there are many other factors that could be responsible for inability to conceive and bear children. For instance, if a woman is too foppish as explain by *Odu Ogúndá Mèjì* above, it could hinder her conception. At the same time *Ifa* may recommend that a woman should always be gorgeously dressed as we have in *Oyeku Meji*;²⁰

Orunmila lo san wee
Ifa mi oruku yo tooroto
O lori tio ba sunwon
Ninu ajere ide lo ti i wa
Orun tio ba lo ejigba ileke
Ninu ajere ide lo ti i wa
Bebe idi tio ba lo alahanrangunkan
Aso oba tii kona yanranyanran
Ninu agogo ide ni ti i wa
A difa fAduke
Nijo ti n mekun oju se'rahan omo.

Orunmila lo sa wee
Ifa I said dust came out very tinny
It say he who will excel in life
Will come out of brass (struggle to attain it)
The neck that will use expensive beads
Will come out of brass (struggle to attain it)
The buttock that will use alahanrangunkan (a kind of clothes),
An expensive clothes for the kings
Will come out of brass gong (struggle to attain it)
Casts divination for Aduke
On the day she was weeping for being barren

¹⁹ Awosola Fatoosin, an Ifa Priest, Personal Interview, Ibadan, 01/06/2020

²⁰ Fasina Agboola, 1989, *Ojulowo Oriki Ifa Apa Kinni*, Lagos: Project Publications Limited, 26

Aduke consulted the Oracle for lack of children and was advised by Ifa to offer sacrifice and was also advised that unless she takes to foppish life, she would not bear children. Also, families can team up to contribute money for a woman to offer sacrifice without which conception will take place as viewed by *Odu Iká Meji*,²¹

<i>Baba gbèdè Ilá'</i>	Baba gbede ila
<i>Baba gbèdè Ikan</i>	Baba gbede ikan
<i>Àgbàdò tinú' iyá ẹ sòmọ tuntun wá'nú' aye'</i>	The maize sprouts corn cob from its mother's womb
<i>A dífá fún Fẹkúnwẹ</i>	Casts divination for Fekunwe
<i>Ọmọ wàrè wàrèè 'Fẹ mẹfẹfẹ'</i>	The child of Ife six initiates
<i>Níjọ tí nsunkún aláíríbí</i>	On the day she was weeping for not having offspring
<i>Ó ngbàwẹ aláírípòn</i>	She was fasting for lack of a child to back
<i>Ó fọwọ osùn nùgiri gbígbe</i>	She was cleaning her camwood hands on a dry wall
<i>Ó rọmọ lẹyìn adìẹ</i>	She saw chicks running after their mother
<i>Ó bú puru sẹkún.</i>	She busts into uncontrollable wailing

Ifá, as indicated by Famuagun who said that *Ifá* may sometimes dictate that the person involved should be more concerned with the issue of conception than having any other thing in his or her life as instructed by *Ifá* in *Ọkanran Meji*²²

<i>Okanran kan nihin-in</i>	One Okanran here
<i>Okanran kan lohun-un</i>	One Okanran there
<i>Okanran meji abenu simini</i>	Two Okanran making a perfect match
<i>A difa f'Omolohunjingín</i>	Ifa divination was performed for Omolohunjingín

Who was more concern about material things than having children? She was not bothered until she started seeing what the children of those who had were doing for them. Again, *Ifá* may recommend that before a woman can be pregnant and bear children, she must marry a particular type of person like a Babalawo as we have it in *Ogbèdí*²³ where *Ifá* says;

<i>Ìrọfá abenu gíngíní</i>	Irofa with pointed mouth
<i>Ló dífá fún àgàn àìbí</i>	Ifa divination was performed for the barren
<i>Èyí tó torí ọmọ dífá</i>	Who consulted Ifa for the sake of children
<i>Wọ́n ní yíó bí ọmọ obìnrin kan</i>	She was told that she would bear a baby girl
<i>Akò sì gbọdọ pa orúkọ rẹ dà.</i>	Her name must not be changed
<i>Dàdà ní ọmọ naà yíó maa jẹ</i>	Her name would be Dada
<i>Babaláwọ ní yíó sè ọkọ rẹ</i>	She must marry an Ifa priest

There are times that it could be the ability or inability to listen to warning and instructions just as we have it in *Ọbàrà lẹtẹ*²⁴ where *Ifá* says;

<i>Ẹ kú ànà'</i>	How was yesterday
<i>Ẹ kú ònì</i>	How is today
<i>Àìfẹnìí kí</i>	If one does not want to greet
<i>Nlẹkú ijẹta ọ sẹé kíra ẹnì</i>	Is the reason why one does not say how was three days ago
<i>E kú ànà ló dàdùn jù</i>	How was yesterday is the sweetest
<i>A dífá fún Adéyokun</i>	Ifa divination was performed for Adeyokun
<i>Níjọ tí nfomi ojú nsògbéré ọmọ</i>	On the day she was crying for lack of a child
<i>Wọ́n ní kó rúbọ</i>	He was asked to offer sacrifice

²¹ Awosola Fatoosin, Ifa Priest, Personal Interview, Ologuneru, Ibadan, 01/06/2020

²² Famuagun Ayelaagbe, Ifa Priest, Personal Interview, Awotan, Ibadan, 23/05/2020

²³ Ayo salami 2000, *Ifa, A Complete Divination*, Lagos: NIDDC Publishing Company, 387

²⁴ William Bascom, 1969, *Ifa Divination, Communication between Gods and Man in West Africa*, London: Indiana University Press, 182.

Wón ní yóó bímọ́ láyé
Wón lẹ́mọ ẹ́ ó sì pọ́
Wón ní ó fí jígí rúbọ
Ó sè ẹ́

He was told he would have children on earth
And that his children would be many
He was asked to offer a mirror as sacrifice
He offered.

Here, *Ifá* instructed that the person involved should not look at mirror, otherwise she will not bear children in life. There are other countless reasons beyond biomedical ailments that could prevent women from having children in Yoruba culture, and *Ifá* divination is one of the means to resolve it. This is where the role and importance of *Ifá* divination comes out in child bearing in particular and in human life in general. Besides obeying taboos, following instructions and order given by *Ifá*, offering of sacrifice is equally important because this is the one of the therapy that will proffer solution to the problem after diagnosing through *Ifá* divination. However, items for this sacrifice range from personal belongings like clothes, cap, shoes, hoe, cutlass, money etc. to food items of all kinds and animals' parts which can be wild and domestic as we have in *Irosun Meji*:²⁵

Àdà fọ́ fẹ́jú àwọn

The cutlass used its hands to expand the face of the net

A d'*Ifá* f'*Oníderè*

Casts divination for *Onirese*

Ọmọ a fàdán sẹbọ ọmọ

The offspring of he who made child's sacrifice with a bat

Again, after the offering of sacrifice, *Ifá* may instruct the *Ifá* priest during consultation that *koóko Ifá* or *ewé Ifá* – *Ifá* medicinal herbs be made as part of the therapy to solve the problem as we have in *ese Ifá* cited above. Here after offering the sacrifice with six bats, six hens and six hundred cowries, medicinal herbs were further recommended for her before she became pregnant. Though, this may not be the case all the time.

IV. MOTHERHOOD AND THE CONCEPT OF ÒRÌṢÀ BÌIYÁ KÒSÌ

In Yorubá Society, motherhood goes beyond biological readiness. According to Ilesanmi,²⁶ giving birth to children is the beginning of motherhood which involves a lot of activities such as feeding, caring and educating the baby. In some families, there are certain rituals and taboos that some women have to undergo when they newly give birth that are dehumanizing. This sometimes has to do with the kind of food they are permitted to eat, places they can live in, the kind of dress they can put on, and the surrounding atmosphere of where they can sleep for the first few days after delivering for the survival and wellbeing of the child.

Traditionally, Yorubá women breastfeed their babies for certain reasons. One, the milk is considered a gift of nature for the baby. Emotional attachment of the child while feeding on the mother's breast is another. As the child sucks the breast, he/she will be looking at the mother's eyes as the mother also looks at the product of her womb with all joy. As the child is being breastfeed, he/she feels the warmth of the mother which is believed gives emotional attachment between the mother and the child apart from the placenta that is attached through the mother to the baby from which the baby receives its food and excretes to the mother's system, and through which its survival of breathing in that womb lies. Going through all these physical and emotional stress all in the name of procreation makes the Yorubá believe that it is only the gods that could perform this right and among the gods, the mother stands out. Therefore, they view *Oríṣà bíiyá kòsì*, *taní jẹ́ ẹ́ bí ẹ́nì bíni lójó tó bá nira?* - there is no god like mother, who will behave or act like one's mother on the day that of suffering or is difficult? as important.

Also, the pain of giving birth through the vagina and the pool of the mother's blood poured on the child in the labour room, the breast that the child sucks and the knee of a mother are believed to have spiritual influence on every child. Therefore, if any woman touches any of these parts and place or pronounce a curse on an incorrigible child, it is believed that such a curse is irreversible. Although in those days, only very few mothers would pronounce a curse on their children, no matter the situation. Annoyance might set in after considering all the pains and efforts gone through to raise the child up to that stage. Besides, if anything happens to the child as a result of the curse placed on him or her, would there be a replacement for the child? Though the thought that the child can turn a new leaf at the end of the day might come to her, but if she had cursed the child, she wouldn't be able to reverse it.

These are some of the reasons why a mother would restrain herself from doing irreparable damage in the life of her child. However, one may ask here, considering the current wave of events in the contemporary Yorubá Society today where some women consciously kill their children, abort them, get pregnant for the purpose of selling such a child, offer them for witchcraft ritual, kidnap and sell other people children, throw them into pit latrine, feed them to death, or sometimes drown them, can we accept as true that such a concept is still binding if a curse is placed on a child that was not given adequate and motherly attention due to those factors mentioned above coupled with social and economic situation of things in the country that turned many women to be breadwinners of

²⁵ Fasina Agboola, 1989, *Ojulowo Oriki Ifa Apa Kinni*, Lagos: Project Publications Limited, 73

²⁶ T.M. Ilesanmi, 2013, *Obinrin: A Cultural Assessment of Yoruba Women*, Nigeria: astra – J Multimedia Ng Ltd, 15

their family thereby delegating their motherly roles to the care of nannies and house helps? It is important therefore to reassess this concept via the roles of Motherhood in the contemporary Yorubá Society.

V. CONTEMPORARY YORUBÁ WOMEN AND THE PERCEPTION OF ORÌṢÀ BÌYÁ KÒSÌ

In Yorubá Society today, a lot of things have changed as far as the roles of women or motherhood is concerned due to western influence, civilisation and foreign religions. Western education for instance brought in the knowledge and the ability to read and write which is not bad, however, its appearance deprived the younger generation's ability to learn and practice the traditional form of education. In fact, it became an old system that must be done away with, and this started the beginning of the tragedy that befell us as a nation. The new educational system predominantly occupies our everyday space to the extent that songs were composed in some parts of Yorubá Society to discourage people from sending their wards to school. Such songs like the one below were composed in Èkìtì dialect for that purpose;

<i>Elú ò è</i>	Hello here
<i>Èlú o à</i>	Hello there
<i>Ọni kó bímọ mẹfà</i>	The person that gave birth to six children
<i>Kọ sọfẹfẹ sí sùkùrù</i>	And sent the six to school
<i>Ka a gbódó iyán</i>	That will carry mortal alone
<i>Kà à tìka á tòmí</i>	And fetched water alone
<i>Mí a jùrà lójú ọmọ kí mọ tìka bí o è.</i>	I will not suffer in the presence of the children I gave birth to.

This song is not to say that the Èkìtì people are convicting western education in totality. After all, in Nigeria today, Ekiti State was listed as number four on literacy rate by the UNESCO with 74.7% rate, and was ranked as the state with the highest number of professors in the country.²⁷ Rather, they are quick to see the evil that this brings to the Society in future which is part of what we see in our Society today. Apart from the fact that western education deprived younger ones from running errands for the parents, it also taught them more about western civilisation that brought in knowledge of foreign culture. It also brought foreign religions which encourages us to do away with almost everything about our own culture as viewed by Babalola.²⁸

The factors mentioned above hence greatly changed the status and roles played by women in Africa, particularly the Yorubá Society. As their roles are changing in the Society, so is their traditional attributes also changing. Consequently, motherhood in Yorubá Society is no longer what it used to be in the past due to some of the factors discussed below. As earlier said, infiltration of foreign culture has damaged our own culture because more attention is being paid to foreign culture than Yorubá culture. In the past, there was nothing like abortion or divorce. Nowadays, there are many literate girls who are not culturally educated about the implication of sexual relationship that could result in abortion when they are not ready to become mothers at that age.

Today, in some quarters, there are some groups that are advocating for the legalization of abortion even within religious circle. Again, many mature ladies these days do not frown at being single for the rest of their lives simply because many cannot tolerate the cry of babies or the stress of taking care of them. This is a mentality inherited from the colonial worlds through the forms of education, films, travelling and way of life of the developed countries. Some will even prefer to change their gender. A lot have taken their profession as their husbands and kids, therefore attached no importance to having children. In Nigeria today, particularly in Yorubá Society, there are a lot of baby factories where young girls are hired to give birth to children, and these children are sold out to interested people in the Society, either for ritual or adoption purposes with the intention of getting huge money without any iota of concern for what will happens to the child at the end of the day.²⁹ Those who are found doing this are one way or the other mothers or mothers to be. Some will even give birth and abandon such children as a result of personal hardship without any consideration of what befalls such children. As a result, many babies have been found on refuse dumps, uncompleted buildings, in front of rich men gates, with the hope that if such a child is found, proper attention and care will be given to the child. Some leave their children beside lonely roads and so on.

Also, the economic problems in the country most time put women as breadwinners of their homes, and that does not give them enough choice and time to take care of their kids. Such children are either left to take care of themselves or are left in the care of nannies and house helps. Some women who are into one business or the other are always focused on it whether locally and internationally all in the name of working for the children they are not

²⁷ Most Educated States in Nigeria (2020), <https://nigerianinfopedia.com.ng>, Retrieved on 23/05/2020

²⁸ E.O. Babalola, 1981, *Christianity in West Africa (An Historical Analysis)*, Ado-Ekiti: Bamigboye & Co. Press (Nig.) Ltd, 118

²⁹ *Baby Factories in Nigeria: a New and Challenging Source of Abuse*, www.sciencedirect.com, Retrieved on 23/05/2020

properly taking care of, forgetting that *omọ tá ò kọ ní yíó gbébé táa kọ tà*- a child that is not well brought up (built) will be the one to sell off the house built by his/her parents. Such children would later become a problem in the home they are trying to build with the proceeds of the business and the entire Society.

As a result of these factors, the concept of *orisa biya* had been greatly damaged to the extent that even if some mothers place or pronounce curses on their children, it will not hold any water. (though only few mothers would do that no matter how annoyed they could be). Taiwo,³⁰ an interview respondent, said she was told that her mother abandoned her when she was ten months old and she did not set her eyes on her until she was twelve years old. She opines that she does not have any feelings for her whatsoever. Therefore, if she places or pronounce any curse on her, it will not have any effect on her. Bamidele,³¹ another interview respondent said he did not see her mother until he graduated from the university. According to him, he only recognised his grandmother that brought him up as his mother. Yet another respondent said that his mother left him at the age of three months to be cared for by an elderly woman in their family whom he knows and recognises as his mother.³² According to him, life was so miserable for him that he made attempt to terminate his life twice by drinking goldsmith chemical (the vocation he was learning then). Unfortunately for him, the chemical did not kill him in all his attempts. He turned a drunkard coming home at odd hours with the hope that one of the evil spirits moving around his town of residence will kill him. These were the incidents that happened in his life which eventually led him to becoming born again and became a Pastor even till today. He went further to say that if anyone should pronounce a curse on him; it would not be his mother that failed to take care of him. Ademola³³ claimed that he forgave his mother who left him at the age of four because he is now a Pastor and that the Bible teaches that one should forgive those who offended them, otherwise he would not have. His mother according to what he was told abandoned him because of *afẹ́ ayé* – worldliness.

As argued by one of the informants, the fact that a woman gave birth to a child is not enough to think that if she places a curse on the child it will come to pass. She said further that bringing a child to the world must be accompanied with adequate care the child needs within the reach of the parents. If mothers are claiming that they suffered to bring their children up, what about the fathers that struggle day and night to provide for both the mother and the child she asked? The fact that the father has no space in his stomach to carry the pregnancy, the virginal to give birth to the child and breast that the child will suck milk from to survive does not indicate that if a child misbehaved to such a father, his curse will not come to pass on the child. Thus, validates the saying of the Yoruba that *onbini ko to onwoni* - giving birth to a child is not up to taking good care of the child. In her final analysis, she believes that both parents have something to do in the life of their children and must be responsible and play their roles as parents before they can pronounce any valid curse on their children if at all they would do. Therefore, for a mother to become *Orisa* before her child, she must have done something great and spectacular in the life of such a child beyond giving birth to an untrained and untutored child alone.

Although, despite these negative reports, there are still some mothers today who take good care of their children in spite of the pressures they are facing. However, the percentage is very low compared to those that the wake and tide of economic hardship and *afẹ́ ayé* have taken away completely. Some of these mothers too are over pampering their children because they suffered when they were growing. As a result, they believe in the principle of *iyà tí wọn jẹ, omọ wọn kò gbòdò jẹ*- the suffering I experience, my child must not experience it. As said earlier, what they failed to realise is that *omọ táò kọ, ní yíó gbélé tá a kọ tà*- a child that is not well brought up (built) will be the one to sell off the house built by his/her parents. Eventually, the over pampered children will become rebellious if they no longer get the attention needed and they in turn become a torn in their parents' flesh. At this level, even if such mothers pronounced any curse on such children, it may not work because they have failed in their responsibilities by over pampering their children.

VI. CONCLUSION

It is important to make a reflection and pick some of the virtues that are still good in our culture in this modern time. *A ò lè sọ p'áyé d'áyé òlájú ká má a fójú egbò tẹlẹ*- and it is not possible for us to eat our cake at the same time have it. In the view of *Ajireni*, a mother of three children who affirmed that the concept can still work in this modern time but is conditional. She said if one fails to play her roles as a mother on a child, let such a mother rain curses on the child for eternity, it will not have any effect on the child. According to her, it is the design of the Creator for women to give birth to children and these children are believed belonged to *Olodumare* that gives to the mothers as he deems fit. For anyone to lay claim to the will of the Creator therefore, without performing her obligations as a mother is like calling *Olódumàré* a fool.

³⁰ Taiwo Olaleye, (a PhD Student, Department of History, University of Ibadan), Personal Interview, Ibadan, 30/05/2020

³¹ Ilori Bamidele, (a Business man), Personal Interview, Bodija, Ibadan, 20/05/2020

³² Gideon Olatunji, (a Pastor, Odo-Oba), Oyo State, Personal Interview, 20/05/2020

³³ Ademola Adeyanju, (a University Lecturer), Phone Interview, Akure, Ondo State, 21/0/2020

Also, the fifth commandment in the Bible says, “honour your father and your mother, so that your days may be long in the land that the lord your god has given you (Exodus 20:12)”. However, this honour begins from the father and the mother. Parents who failed to do the needful are not different from the proverbial man that puts an ant invested wood on his path and expected the company of fowls on his way back. What the Bible says is not so much different from what *Ifá* says in *Odu Ọ̀ṣetúrá* or *Ọ̀ṣe-Ọ̀túra*³⁴ that;

<i>Àgbàrá kò lẹ̀wọ̀</i>	Erosion has no hands
<i>Ó gbẹ̀lẹ̀ kàn'lẹ̀pa dòdò</i>	It digs grand dip to the red soil
<i>A dífá fún ịṣẹ̀ṣe</i>	Cast divination for tradition
<i>Tí ọ̀mọ olórí nífẹ̀.</i>	Who is the son of a leader in Ife?
<i>Kí lán nbo nífẹ̀ kátó ríre?</i>	What do we worship in Ife before we get fortune?
<i>Ịṣẹ̀ṣe là nbo nífẹ̀.</i>	It is the tradition that we worship in Ife
<i>Baba ẹni,</i>	Ones father,
<i>Ịṣẹ̀ṣe ẹni ní.</i>	Is one's tradition?
<i>Ìyá ẹni,</i>	Ones mother,
<i>Ịṣẹ̀ṣe ẹni ní</i>	Is one's tradition
<i>Ịṣẹ̀ṣe là nbo nífẹ̀ kátó ríre.</i>	It is the tradition that we worship in Ife before we get fortune

In Yorubá Society, it is the responsibility of the whole elders in any given community to collectively train their children to prevent them from going astray. This corroborates the Yorubá proverb that says, “*ọ́jú mẹ́rin ló nbímọ, igba ọ́jú ló ntọ*”- it is only four eyes (father and mother) that gave birth to a child, it is two hundred eyes that will look after the child. What this means is that every elderly man and woman in Yorubáland is regarded as parents. If a child had done something bad, they do not wait to see the biological parents before they discipline the child for bad conduct. Therefore, in those days, issues relating to children upbringing was a matter of “our children” (when we were living communal life) and not “my children” as we have it today. As a result, no mother can claim sole authority on any child to the level of raining curses on him or her. Parents, particularly mothers should wake up to their responsibility by training their children the way they would be useful to the family and the entire Society as a whole since they are closer to these children than the father, rather than chasing shadows all in the name of modernity. They can limit their vocations to those ones that would allow them have proper access to the training of these kids as we have in the past.

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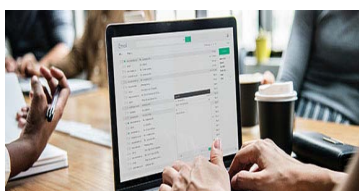
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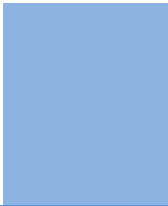
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TIPS FOR WRITING A GOOD QUALITY SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH PAPER

Techniques for writing a good quality human social science research paper:

1. Choosing the topic: In most cases, the topic is selected by the interests of the author, but it can also be suggested by the guides. You can have several topics, and then judge which you are most comfortable with. This may be done by asking several questions of yourself, like "Will I be able to carry out a search in this area? Will I find all necessary resources to accomplish the search? Will I be able to find all information in this field area?" If the answer to this type of question is "yes," then you ought to choose that topic. In most cases, you may have to conduct surveys and visit several places. Also, you might have to do a lot of work to find all the rises and falls of the various data on that subject. Sometimes, detailed information plays a vital role, instead of short information. Evaluators are human: The first thing to remember is that evaluators are also human beings. They are not only meant for rejecting a paper. They are here to evaluate your paper. So present your best aspect.

2. Think like evaluators: If you are in confusion or getting demotivated because your paper may not be accepted by the evaluators, then think, and try to evaluate your paper like an evaluator. Try to understand what an evaluator wants in your research paper, and you will automatically have your answer. Make blueprints of paper: The outline is the plan or framework that will help you to arrange your thoughts. It will make your paper logical. But remember that all points of your outline must be related to the topic you have chosen.

3. Ask your guides: If you are having any difficulty with your research, then do not hesitate to share your difficulty with your guide (if you have one). They will surely help you out and resolve your doubts. If you can't clarify what exactly you require for your work, then ask your supervisor to help you with an alternative. He or she might also provide you with a list of essential readings.

4. Use of computer is recommended: As you are doing research in the field of human social science then this point is quite obvious. Use right software: Always use good quality software packages. If you are not capable of judging good software, then you can lose the quality of your paper unknowingly. There are various programs available to help you which you can get through the internet.

5. Use the internet for help: An excellent start for your paper is using Google. It is a wondrous search engine, where you can have your doubts resolved. You may also read some answers for the frequent question of how to write your research paper or find a model research paper. You can download books from the internet. If you have all the required books, place importance on reading, selecting, and analyzing the specified information. Then sketch out your research paper. Use big pictures: You may use encyclopedias like Wikipedia to get pictures with the best resolution. At Global Journals, you should strictly follow [here](#).



6. Bookmarks are useful: When you read any book or magazine, you generally use bookmarks, right? It is a good habit which helps to not lose your continuity. You should always use bookmarks while searching on the internet also, which will make your search easier.

7. Revise what you wrote: When you write anything, always read it, summarize it, and then finalize it.

8. Make every effort: Make every effort to mention what you are going to write in your paper. That means always have a good start. Try to mention everything in the introduction—what is the need for a particular research paper. Polish your work with good writing skills and always give an evaluator what he wants. Make backups: When you are going to do any important thing like making a research paper, you should always have backup copies of it either on your computer or on paper. This protects you from losing any portion of your important data.

9. Produce good diagrams of your own: Always try to include good charts or diagrams in your paper to improve quality. Using several unnecessary diagrams will degrade the quality of your paper by creating a hodgepodge. So always try to include diagrams which were made by you to improve the readability of your paper. Use of direct quotes: When you do research relevant to literature, history, or current affairs, then use of quotes becomes essential, but if the study is relevant to science, use of quotes is not preferable.

10. Use proper verb tense: Use proper verb tenses in your paper. Use past tense to present those events that have happened. Use present tense to indicate events that are going on. Use future tense to indicate events that will happen in the future. Use of wrong tenses will confuse the evaluator. Avoid sentences that are incomplete.

11. Pick a good study spot: Always try to pick a spot for your research which is quiet. Not every spot is good for studying.

12. Know what you know: Always try to know what you know by making objectives, otherwise you will be confused and unable to achieve your target.

13. Use good grammar: Always use good grammar and words that will have a positive impact on the evaluator; use of good vocabulary does not mean using tough words which the evaluator has to find in a dictionary. Do not fragment sentences. Eliminate one-word sentences. Do not ever use a big word when a smaller one would suffice.

Verbs have to be in agreement with their subjects. In a research paper, do not start sentences with conjunctions or finish them with prepositions. When writing formally, it is advisable to never split an infinitive because someone will (wrongly) complain. Avoid clichés like a disease. Always shun irritating alliteration. Use language which is simple and straightforward. Put together a neat summary.

14. Arrangement of information: Each section of the main body should start with an opening sentence, and there should be a changeover at the end of the section. Give only valid and powerful arguments for your topic. You may also maintain your arguments with records.

15. Never start at the last minute: Always allow enough time for research work. Leaving everything to the last minute will degrade your paper and spoil your work.

16. Multitasking in research is not good: Doing several things at the same time is a bad habit in the case of research activity. Research is an area where everything has a particular time slot. Divide your research work into parts, and do a particular part in a particular time slot.

17. Never copy others' work: Never copy others' work and give it your name because if the evaluator has seen it anywhere, you will be in trouble. Take proper rest and food: No matter how many hours you spend on your research activity, if you are not taking care of your health, then all your efforts will have been in vain. For quality research, take proper rest and food.

18. Go to seminars: Attend seminars if the topic is relevant to your research area. Utilize all your resources.

Refresh your mind after intervals: Try to give your mind a rest by listening to soft music or sleeping in intervals. This will also improve your memory. Acquire colleagues: Always try to acquire colleagues. No matter how sharp you are, if you acquire colleagues, they can give you ideas which will be helpful to your research.

19. Think technically: Always think technically. If anything happens, search for its reasons, benefits, and demerits. Think and then print: When you go to print your paper, check that tables are not split, headings are not detached from their descriptions, and page sequence is maintained.



20. Adding unnecessary information: Do not add unnecessary information like "I have used MS Excel to draw graphs." Irrelevant and inappropriate material is superfluous. Foreign terminology and phrases are not apropos. One should never take a broad view. Analogy is like feathers on a snake. Use words properly, regardless of how others use them. Remove quotations. Puns are for kids, not grunt readers. Never oversimplify: When adding material to your research paper, never go for oversimplification; this will definitely irritate the evaluator. Be specific. Never use rhythmic redundancies. Contractions shouldn't be used in a research paper. Comparisons are as terrible as clichés. Give up ampersands, abbreviations, and so on. Remove commas that are not necessary. Parenthetical words should be between brackets or commas. Understatement is always the best way to put forward earth-shaking thoughts. Give a detailed literary review.

21. Report concluded results: Use concluded results. From raw data, filter the results, and then conclude your studies based on measurements and observations taken. An appropriate number of decimal places should be used. Parenthetical remarks are prohibited here. Proofread carefully at the final stage. At the end, give an outline to your arguments. Spot perspectives of further study of the subject. Justify your conclusion at the bottom sufficiently, which will probably include examples.

22. Upon conclusion: Once you have concluded your research, the next most important step is to present your findings. Presentation is extremely important as it is the definite medium through which your research is going to be in print for the rest of the crowd. Care should be taken to categorize your thoughts well and present them in a logical and neat manner. A good quality research paper format is essential because it serves to highlight your research paper and bring to light all necessary aspects of your research.

INFORMAL GUIDELINES OF RESEARCH PAPER WRITING

Key points to remember:

- Submit all work in its final form.
- Write your paper in the form which is presented in the guidelines using the template.
- Please note the criteria peer reviewers will use for grading the final paper.

Final points:

One purpose of organizing a research paper is to let people interpret your efforts selectively. The journal requires the following sections, submitted in the order listed, with each section starting on a new page:

The introduction: This will be compiled from reference matter and reflect the design processes or outline of basis that directed you to make a study. As you carry out the process of study, the method and process section will be constructed like that. The results segment will show related statistics in nearly sequential order and direct reviewers to similar intellectual paths throughout the data that you gathered to carry out your study.

The discussion section:

This will provide understanding of the data and projections as to the implications of the results. The use of good quality references throughout the paper will give the effort trustworthiness by representing an alertness to prior workings.

Writing a research paper is not an easy job, no matter how trouble-free the actual research or concept. Practice, excellent preparation, and controlled record-keeping are the only means to make straightforward progression.

General style:

Specific editorial column necessities for compliance of a manuscript will always take over from directions in these general guidelines.

To make a paper clear: Adhere to recommended page limits.



Mistakes to avoid:

- Insertion of a title at the foot of a page with subsequent text on the next page.
- Separating a table, chart, or figure—confine each to a single page.
- Submitting a manuscript with pages out of sequence.
- In every section of your document, use standard writing style, including articles ("a" and "the").
- Keep paying attention to the topic of the paper.
- Use paragraphs to split each significant point (excluding the abstract).
- Align the primary line of each section.
- Present your points in sound order.
- Use present tense to report well-accepted matters.
- Use past tense to describe specific results.
- Do not use familiar wording; don't address the reviewer directly. Don't use slang or superlatives.
- Avoid use of extra pictures—include only those figures essential to presenting results.

Title page:

Choose a revealing title. It should be short and include the name(s) and address(es) of all authors. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations or exceed two printed lines.

Abstract: This summary should be two hundred words or less. It should clearly and briefly explain the key findings reported in the manuscript and must have precise statistics. It should not have acronyms or abbreviations. It should be logical in itself. Do not cite references at this point.

An abstract is a brief, distinct paragraph summary of finished work or work in development. In a minute or less, a reviewer can be taught the foundation behind the study, common approaches to the problem, relevant results, and significant conclusions or new questions.

Write your summary when your paper is completed because how can you write the summary of anything which is not yet written? Wealth of terminology is very essential in abstract. Use comprehensive sentences, and do not sacrifice readability for brevity; you can maintain it succinctly by phrasing sentences so that they provide more than a lone rationale. The author can at this moment go straight to shortening the outcome. Sum up the study with the subsequent elements in any summary. Try to limit the initial two items to no more than one line each.

Reason for writing the article—theory, overall issue, purpose.

- Fundamental goal.
- To-the-point depiction of the research.
- Consequences, including definite statistics—if the consequences are quantitative in nature, account for this; results of any numerical analysis should be reported. Significant conclusions or questions that emerge from the research.

Approach:

- Single section and succinct.
- An outline of the job done is always written in past tense.
- Concentrate on shortening results—limit background information to a verdict or two.
- Exact spelling, clarity of sentences and phrases, and appropriate reporting of quantities (proper units, important statistics) are just as significant in an abstract as they are anywhere else.

Introduction:

The introduction should "introduce" the manuscript. The reviewer should be presented with sufficient background information to be capable of comprehending and calculating the purpose of your study without having to refer to other works. The basis for the study should be offered. Give the most important references, but avoid making a comprehensive appraisal of the topic. Describe the problem visibly. If the problem is not acknowledged in a logical, reasonable way, the reviewer will give no attention to your results. Speak in common terms about techniques used to explain the problem, if needed, but do not present any particulars about the protocols here.



The following approach can create a valuable beginning:

- Explain the value (significance) of the study.
- Defend the model—why did you employ this particular system or method? What is its compensation? Remark upon its appropriateness from an abstract point of view as well as pointing out sensible reasons for using it.
- Present a justification. State your particular theory(-ies) or aim(s), and describe the logic that led you to choose them.
- Briefly explain the study's tentative purpose and how it meets the declared objectives.

Approach:

Use past tense except for when referring to recognized facts. After all, the manuscript will be submitted after the entire job is done. Sort out your thoughts; manufacture one key point for every section. If you make the four points listed above, you will need at least four paragraphs. Present surrounding information only when it is necessary to support a situation. The reviewer does not desire to read everything you know about a topic. Shape the theory specifically—do not take a broad view.

As always, give awareness to spelling, simplicity, and correctness of sentences and phrases.

Procedures (methods and materials):

This part is supposed to be the easiest to carve if you have good skills. A soundly written procedures segment allows a capable scientist to replicate your results. Present precise information about your supplies. The suppliers and clarity of reagents can be helpful bits of information. Present methods in sequential order, but linked methodologies can be grouped as a segment. Be concise when relating the protocols. Attempt to give the least amount of information that would permit another capable scientist to replicate your outcome, but be cautious that vital information is integrated. The use of subheadings is suggested and ought to be synchronized with the results section.

When a technique is used that has been well-described in another section, mention the specific item describing the way, but draw the basic principle while stating the situation. The purpose is to show all particular resources and broad procedures so that another person may use some or all of the methods in one more study or referee the scientific value of your work. It is not to be a step-by-step report of the whole thing you did, nor is a methods section a set of orders.

Materials:

Materials may be reported in part of a section or else they may be recognized along with your measures.

Methods:

- Report the method and not the particulars of each process that engaged the same methodology.
- Describe the method entirely.
- To be succinct, present methods under headings dedicated to specific dealings or groups of measures.
- Simplify—detail how procedures were completed, not how they were performed on a particular day.
- If well-known procedures were used, account for the procedure by name, possibly with a reference, and that's all.

Approach:

It is embarrassing to use vigorous voice when documenting methods without using first person, which would focus the reviewer's interest on the researcher rather than the job. As a result, when writing up the methods, most authors use third person passive voice.

Use standard style in this and every other part of the paper—avoid familiar lists, and use full sentences.

What to keep away from:

- Resources and methods are not a set of information.
- Skip all descriptive information and surroundings—save it for the argument.
- Leave out information that is immaterial to a third party.



Results:

The principle of a results segment is to present and demonstrate your conclusion. Create this part as entirely objective details of the outcome, and save all understanding for the discussion.

The page length of this segment is set by the sum and types of data to be reported. Use statistics and tables, if suitable, to present consequences most efficiently.

You must clearly differentiate material which would usually be incorporated in a study editorial from any unprocessed data or additional appendix matter that would not be available. In fact, such matters should not be submitted at all except if requested by the instructor.

Content:

- Sum up your conclusions in text and demonstrate them, if suitable, with figures and tables.
- In the manuscript, explain each of your consequences, and point the reader to remarks that are most appropriate.
- Present a background, such as by describing the question that was addressed by creation of an exacting study.
- Explain results of control experiments and give remarks that are not accessible in a prescribed figure or table, if appropriate.
- Examine your data, then prepare the analyzed (transformed) data in the form of a figure (graph), table, or manuscript.

What to stay away from:

- Do not discuss or infer your outcome, report surrounding information, or try to explain anything.
- Do not include raw data or intermediate calculations in a research manuscript.
- Do not present similar data more than once.
- A manuscript should complement any figures or tables, not duplicate information.
- Never confuse figures with tables—there is a difference.

Approach:

As always, use past tense when you submit your results, and put the whole thing in a reasonable order.

Put figures and tables, appropriately numbered, in order at the end of the report.

If you desire, you may place your figures and tables properly within the text of your results section.

Figures and tables:

If you put figures and tables at the end of some details, make certain that they are visibly distinguished from any attached appendix materials, such as raw facts. Whatever the position, each table must be titled, numbered one after the other, and include a heading. All figures and tables must be divided from the text.

Discussion:

The discussion is expected to be the trickiest segment to write. A lot of papers submitted to the journal are discarded based on problems with the discussion. There is no rule for how long an argument should be.

Position your understanding of the outcome visibly to lead the reviewer through your conclusions, and then finish the paper with a summing up of the implications of the study. The purpose here is to offer an understanding of your results and support all of your conclusions, using facts from your research and generally accepted information, if suitable. The implication of results should be fully described.

Infer your data in the conversation in suitable depth. This means that when you clarify an observable fact, you must explain mechanisms that may account for the observation. If your results vary from your prospect, make clear why that may have happened. If your results agree, then explain the theory that the proof supported. It is never suitable to just state that the data approved the prospect, and let it drop at that. Make a decision as to whether each premise is supported or discarded or if you cannot make a conclusion with assurance. Do not just dismiss a study or part of a study as "uncertain."



Research papers are not acknowledged if the work is imperfect. Draw what conclusions you can based upon the results that you have, and take care of the study as a finished work.

- You may propose future guidelines, such as how an experiment might be personalized to accomplish a new idea.
- Give details of all of your remarks as much as possible, focusing on mechanisms.
- Make a decision as to whether the tentative design sufficiently addressed the theory and whether or not it was correctly restricted. Try to present substitute explanations if they are sensible alternatives.
- One piece of research will not counter an overall question, so maintain the large picture in mind. Where do you go next? The best studies unlock new avenues of study. What questions remain?
- Recommendations for detailed papers will offer supplementary suggestions.

Approach:

When you refer to information, differentiate data generated by your own studies from other available information. Present work done by specific persons (including you) in past tense.

Describe generally acknowledged facts and main beliefs in present tense.

THE ADMINISTRATION RULES

Administration Rules to Be Strictly Followed before Submitting Your Research Paper to Global Journals Inc.

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Segment draft and final research paper: You have to strictly follow the template of a research paper, failing which your paper may get rejected. You are expected to write each part of the paper wholly on your own. The peer reviewers need to identify your own perspective of the concepts in your own terms. Please do not extract straight from any other source, and do not rephrase someone else's analysis. Do not allow anyone else to proofread your manuscript.

Written material: You may discuss this with your guides and key sources. Do not copy anyone else's paper, even if this is only imitation, otherwise it will be rejected on the grounds of plagiarism, which is illegal. Various methods to avoid plagiarism are strictly applied by us to every paper, and, if found guilty, you may be blacklisted, which could affect your career adversely. To guard yourself and others from possible illegal use, please do not permit anyone to use or even read your paper and file.



CRITERION FOR GRADING A RESEARCH PAPER (COMPILATION)
BY GLOBAL JOURNALS

Please note that following table is only a Grading of "Paper Compilation" and not on "Performed/Stated Research" whose grading solely depends on Individual Assigned Peer Reviewer and Editorial Board Member. These can be available only on request and after decision of Paper. This report will be the property of Global Journals

Topics	Grades		
	A-B	C-D	E-F
<i>Abstract</i>	Clear and concise with appropriate content, Correct format. 200 words or below	Unclear summary and no specific data, Incorrect form Above 200 words	No specific data with ambiguous information Above 250 words
<i>Introduction</i>	Containing all background details with clear goal and appropriate details, flow specification, no grammar and spelling mistake, well organized sentence and paragraph, reference cited	Unclear and confusing data, appropriate format, grammar and spelling errors with unorganized matter	Out of place depth and content, hazy format
<i>Methods and Procedures</i>	Clear and to the point with well arranged paragraph, precision and accuracy of facts and figures, well organized subheads	Difficult to comprehend with embarrassed text, too much explanation but completed	Incorrect and unorganized structure with hazy meaning
<i>Result</i>	Well organized, Clear and specific, Correct units with precision, correct data, well structuring of paragraph, no grammar and spelling mistake	Complete and embarrassed text, difficult to comprehend	Irregular format with wrong facts and figures
<i>Discussion</i>	Well organized, meaningful specification, sound conclusion, logical and concise explanation, highly structured paragraph reference cited	Wordy, unclear conclusion, spurious	Conclusion is not cited, unorganized, difficult to comprehend
<i>References</i>	Complete and correct format, well organized	Beside the point, Incomplete	Wrong format and structuring



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