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இலங்கையில் இளைஞர்கள் தீவிரமயமாக்கல் பற்றிய சொற்பொழிவுகள்

DISCOURSES ON YOUTH RADICALISATION IN SRI LANKA

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DISCOURSES ON YOUTH RADICALISATION IN SRI LANKA

Study Series No: 11, 2022

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Discourses on Youth Radicalisation in Sri Lanka.

The CEPA Publication Series include Studies, Edited Volumes, Working Papers, Poverty and Thematic Briefs, Think Pieces and Policy Briefs.

The interpretations and conclusions expressed in this Study are those of the individual authors and do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of CEPA or the publication sponsors.

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Acknowledgment

The project "Co-creating alternative narratives; mobilizing youth for social change" was designed to have academic and policy level outcomes that speak of specific post-war grievances held by Sri Lanka's youth. The project was conducted with the aim of creating a space for youth voices to be heard at both mainstream and alternative media platforms.

The two-year project was based on three main pillars: research, youth networking and communication & media engagements. The research was one of the main components of the project that was conducted throughout the project period. The research projects were conducted under the broader concept of youth and radicalisation. Researching new forms of vulnerabilities faced by Sri Lankan youth across geographical, class, sectoral, religious, ethnic, gender and other divides that inhibit their voice and realization of potential was a key objective of the project. In order to meet this objective, CEPA worked with four young researchers facilitated through a research fellowship program, two commissioned studies, and three studies headed by junior researchers at CEPA.

As the team leader of the project, I am glad that the project provided diverse opportunities for the youth to express themselves through research publications, creative outputs and media engagements in all three languages. The project was conducted in a context in which the role of the youth and radicalisation had become a critical topic in the Sri Lankan public sphere. I should thank everyone who contributed to the success of the project that was conducted in a turbulent time period where Easter Sunday bombings and Covid-19 had serious effects on social, political and economic aspects of Sri Lanka.

The synthesis publication is the flagship publication of the project which consists of the research produced by young research fellows, young researchers at CEPA and mid-career researchers. The broader thematic focus of the publication is Youth and Radicalisation in which the research projects were conducted on related overarching themes. It needs to be highlighted that this publication mainly consists of the work of young and up and coming researchers and for most of them, this is their first major research engagement. The initial ideas and concepts of the young scholars were developed into substantive research projects by the senior researchers who are mentored them throughout the project.

I wish to thank the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) for providing this excellent opportunity for the Sri Lankan youth to actively engage in research, networking and communication activities on issues pertaining to their everyday social, cultural and political life. This project would not have been possible without the support extended by Navsharan Singh and Farah Naqvi from IDRC.

Senior researchers from CEPA and external researchers supported our young researchers by mentoring them in their respective projects. The young researchers would not have been able to publish their work in this synthesis publication without their guidance. I take this opportunity to thank all the senior researchers who supported this scholarly endeavour.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the young research fellows, CEPA young researchers and the guest researchers who contributed to this publication with their research papers.

As the team leader, I would not have been able to successfully conduct this challenging

Foreword

The project "Co-creating alternative narratives; mobilizing youth for social change" was undertaken by CEPA in 2019. As the new Executive Director of CEPA, I saw many enthusiastic young people doing their research, and participating in many activities the project entailed. A few mid-career researchers also contributed with their scholarly inputs. However, youth led experiential research was the novelty in this work, and this was also the first major research work for most of them. The youth who contributed to this project were also recipients of research fellowships by CEPA.

The key words in the research were 'Youth and Radicalism'. When seeing this research progress, what came to my mind was how Sri Lanka has experienced three major youth led socio-political uprisings from the 1970's onwards; its multidimensional effects, some almost forgotten and the fragile social fabric - tattered requiring cautious social re-engineering. The importance of creating a central role for youth to craft the future of the country needs much more recognition I felt. But there was a long way to go.

An inevitable result of not addressing felt needs and aspirations of youth is their radicalisation and inevitable conflicts. Radicalisation, in the project discourse revolves around "conflict" and "socio-political violence". The project was designed to engage youth at all levels of knowledge generation and policy influence. The authors of the different chapters were provided training and coaching support to undertake the studies, collect data and write. The knowledge generation and sharing included other activities

such as workshops, film forums, webinars, dialogue with policy makers, video productions, etc. the whole process was intense and engaging.

Thus, I found the project conceptualised by CEPA truly interesting. It envisaged creating platforms for youth led knowledge generation; engaging with youth as well as policy makers to address core issues faced by them, to seek lasting solutions.

The work was undertaken at a difficult time. The aftermath of the Easter Sunday bombings in April 2019 took a toll on the project. The political regime changes as a result of general elections also created an environment of uncertainty and tension. Thereafter, the COVID pandemic imposed numerous restrictions. However, the project with necessary modifications continued to its fruition. The articles are in three languages, the researchers have reached out to a cross section of society, each reader will process the information differently. Some may be able to connect the book to everyday experiences in life in past and present and maybe the future as well.

The research outputs reflect what the researchers experienced themselves; the realities that young people in Sri Lanka encounter. The knowledge generation undertaken by the writers, could be termed 'work in progress' and will get refined with time, and with greater insights and experience. The writers can be contacted for further engagement.

Dr Wijaya Jayatilaka
Executive Director,
Center for Poverty Analysis

Abbreviations

CEPA	The Centre for Poverty Analysis
CHATHRA	CHATHRA LGBTIQA+ Network of Sri Lanka
COJ	Companions on a Journey
CSA	Common Students Alliance (Podu Shishya Ekamuthuwa)
CTF	Consultation Task Force
CWDF	Community Welfare and Development Fund
DAST	Diversity and Solidarity Trust
EG	Equal Ground
FGD	Focus Group Discussions
GFTAM	Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria
GIZ Sri Lanka	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
GMOA	Government Medical Officers Association
GOSL	Government of Sri Lanka
GS Divisions	Grama Niladhari Divisions
H2H	Heart to Heart
ICES	International Center for Ethnic Studies.
IDRC	International Development Research Centre
ILGA	International Lesbian and Gay and Bisexual and Trans and Intersex Association
ILO	International Labour Organization
IGLHRC	International Gay and Lesbian Human Rights Commission
JS	Jaffna Sangam
JTN	Jaffna Transgender Network
JVP	Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (Peoples' Liberation Front)
LBT	Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender
LGBT NGOs	Non-governmental Organisations working on the rights of SOGIESC communities
LGBTIQA+	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex, Questioning and Asexual
LKR	Sri Lankan Rupee
LLRC	Lessons Learned and Reconciliation Commission
LTTE	Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (දෙමළ ඊලාම් විමුක්ති කොටි සංවිධානය)
NAITA	National Apprentice and Industrial Training Authority
NHDA	National Housing Development Authority
NTN	National Transgender Network
PR	Participatory research
PRC	Public Representations Committee
PYS	The Poverty and Youth Survey
SAITM (සයිටම්)	South Asian Institute of Technology and Medicine
SMO	Social Movement Organisation
SOGIESC	Sexual Orientations, Gender Identities and Expressions, Sex Characteristics
SURAR project	Support to Resettlement and Reconciliation through the United Nations Joint Programme for Peace
UDA	Urban Development Authority
UN-Habitat	United Nations Human Settlement Programme
USO	United Students Organisation (Eksath Shishya Sanvidhānaya - එක්සත් ශිෂ්‍ය සංවිධානය)
VTN	Venasa Transgender Network
WSG	Women's Support Group
YOH	Young Out Here
අන්තරය	අන්තර් විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ශිෂ්‍ය බල මණ්ඩලය
ජ.වි.පෙ.	ජනතා විමුක්ති පෙරමුණ

Executive Summary

The research encapsulated in this document is the outcome of an effort of young people telling their story of being radicalized. In each of the studies a young person brings her or his perspective and experiences into conceptualizing and undertaking the research.

Following Sri Lanka's civil war of nearly three decades, the country has been characterised by political instability, high levels of corruption, an unwillingness to empower local government, an over centralisation of policymaking, and a much touted, yet unsubstantiated reconciliation process. While on paper, Sri Lanka's economy has grown, pushing the island nation into 'middle income' status, the country is today in a fragmented state and with glaring inequalities that are due in part to the victor's peace of 2009 and long-term structural issues. One such issue is the situation faced by Sri Lanka's youth fraught with many barriers to achievement and exacerbated precarity. This precarity, in turn, has fueled a politics of resentment that has built upon existing prejudices to create an environment of radicalisation seen amongst youth from all ethnic groups.

Historically, Sri Lanka's youth are no strangers to radicalisation, as in the insurrections of 1977 and 1987, and the involvement of youth in the civil war that lasted 28 years. The mass participation of Sri Lanka's youth in these struggles gained them an infamous association with violence. While Sri Lanka has seen three successive governments since the ending of the war there has been an increase of authoritarian, militarist and nepotistic practices coupled with the curtailing of freedoms and the long-standing grievances of Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim youth are yet to be addressed. In Sri Lanka's post-war economy different 'radicalisms' emerge. Much of this has to do with a growing gap between the center and periphery. Alarmingly, conflict in the post–war period has increasingly spilt into violence along ethno-religious and class lines, and youth have been both perpetrators and victims of violence. We see youth violence and radicalisation in post war Sri Lanka to be triggered by two inter-related push factors – agentive forces and structural inequalities. Such forces, for example, have been responsible for the increasing regularity of violence between Sinhala and Muslim communities. The other set of triggers for violence are embedded in structural inequalities within education, employment, political participation and gender discrimination.

In this group of studies, the researchers attempt to discover what it means to be radical in Sri Lanka and what pushed them to take on radical actions. The collection of research studies published by the Centre for Poverty Analysis adopts a Participatory Action Research approach to examine varying forms of radicalisation among Sri Lankan youth of diverse ethnicities and backgrounds, and to delve into what is a radical and what makes a radical. The studies, nine in all, including the Introduction examine radical and radicalisation in diverse ways. **Chapter 1** highlights the origin and evolution of LGBT NGOs in Sri Lanka. The study looks at the origin and evolution of sexual and gender justice work in Sri Lanka. **Chapter 2** moves into the university sphere and ragging, to consider if institutional acts lead to negative radical action and entrench structural violence in those educational spaces. **Chapter 3** considers radicalisation as caused by the conditions of marginalisation among vulnerable youth from an underserved community seeking how their daily living experiences lead to radicalisation. In **Chapter 4**, the very different world of a resettlement area in Jaffna, only recently ravaged by civil war, becomes the area of study where the researchers assess the relationship between social integration and social harmony against a backdrop

where horizontal and vertical inequalities are exacerbated. Youth activism and radicalisation in Sri Lanka's social media landscape, the subject of **Chapter 5**, provides us with an understanding of how young people, mobilised by competing ideologies, worked to influence others in political campaigning. **Chapter 6,** considers another aspect by studying the role of student movements in Sri Lanka's political history. **Chapter 7,** also studies the social media landscape, and takes up the case of women's engagement in such spaces, noting the radicality of even engaging publicly. The radical trends in Sri Lankan music of the 1980s, is the subject of the study in **Chapter 8**. **Chapter 9**, touches upon the role of women in radical social movements, especially women in the JVP in the mid 1980s.

This diverse set of studies is published in Sinhala, Tamil and English, in keeping with the trilingual policy of the Centre for Poverty Analysis. Abstracts in English are provided for the studies published in Sinhala and Tamil. One of the aims of this group of research studies was to identify and work with communities of young people as a group of participants that share common end-goals. It was done in order to increase their voice and power in the research context. It is hoped that the publication of the research will lead to the facilitation of social action to solve problems identified through such collaborative research.

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රැඩිකල්කරණය හා ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ තරුණ රැඩිකල් ප්‍රවණතා පිළිබඳ තරුණ පර්යේෂකයින් විසින් සිදුකළ ලද පර්යේෂණයන්හී සාරාංශයක් මෙහි අඩංගුවේ. මෙම පර්යේෂණය සිදුකළ බොහෝ තරුණ තරුණියන් අදාල ක්ෂේත්‍රයන්හී කටයුතු කරණ අය වුවද මෙවැනි ආකාරයක පර්යේෂණාත්මක කටයුත්තක නිරත වූ ප්‍රථම අවස්ථාව ලෙස මෙය හැඳින්විය හැක.

දශක තුනකට ආසන්න කාලසීමාවක් පුරා පැවති ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ සිවිල් යුද්ධයෙන් පසුව මෙරට දේශපාලනික වශයෙන් අස්ථාවර, දූෂණය ඉහළ මට්ටමින් පවත්නා, ප්‍රාදේශීය පාලනය ස්වබලගැන්වීමට අකමැත්තක් දක්වන, ප්‍රතිපත්ති සැකසීමේදී මධ්‍යගත පාලනයට වැඩි අවධානයක් යොමුකරණු සහ අතරමැදියන් රාශියකගෙන් යුක්ත එනමුත් නිවැරදි බවින් තොරවූ සංහිදියා ක්‍රියාවලියක් තිබෙන බව අවධාරණයවී තිබේ. සංඛ්‍යා දත්තවලට අනුව ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ආර්ථිකය වර්ධනය වී, මධ්‍යම මට්ටමේ ආදායම් ලබන රටක් බවට පත්වී ඇතත්, අද වන විට අප රට 2009 දී ජයගත් පාර්ශවයේ සාමයේ ප්‍රතිඵලයක් ලෙසට සහ දීර්ඝකාලයක් පුරා පවත්නා ව්‍යුහාත්මක ගැටලු නිසා ඉතා පැහැදිලි අසමානතාවයන්ට ලක්වීමත් සමගින් දුර්වල රාජ්‍යයක් බවට පත්ව තිබේ. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ තරුණයින් මුහුණදෙන මෙවැනි එක් ගැටලුවක් වන්නේ තමන්ගේ අරමුණු දිනාගැනීමේදී පවත්නා බාධාවන් හා දැඩි අවිනිශ්චිතතාවය මත ඇතිවන්නාවූ ආතතිකාරී තත්ත්වයන්ය. මෙම අවිනිශ්චිතාවයහි ප්‍රතිඵලයක් වශයෙන් සියලුම ජාතීන්ට අයත් තරුණයින් අතර පවත්නා පූර්ව විනිශ්චයන් මත විප්ලවකාරී වාතාවරණයන් ඇතිවීමටත් වෛරී දේශපාලනයකටත් හේතුවී ඇත.

වෛතිහාසිකව ගත් කල, 1977 සහ 1987 කැරලිවලට මෙන්ම වසර 28ක් පැවති සිවිල් යුද්ධයට තරුණ සහභාගීත්වය තුළ ශ්‍රී ලාංකික යෞවනයින් විප්ලවවාදී වීම ආගන්තුක තත්ත්වයක් නොවේ. මෙම අරගල සඳහා ශ්‍රී ලාංකික යෞවනයින් විශාල වශයෙන් සහභාගී වීම නිසා ඔවුන්ට ප්‍රචණ්ඩත්වය හා බැඳුනු අපකීර්තිමත් නාමයක් පටබැඳුනේය. සිවිල් යුද්ධය නිමා වීමෙන් පසු ශ්‍රී ලංකාව බලයට පත්වූ ආණ්ඩු තුනක අත්දැකීම් ලබාගෙන ඇති අතර එම පාලනයන් තුලින් අධිකාරිවාදයේ, මිලිටරිවාදයේ සහ ඇති

සංග්‍රහයේ වර්ධනයත් සමග නිදහස කප්පාදුවීම සිදුවී ඇති අතර, සිංහල, දමිළ සහ මුස්ලිම් යෞවනයින්ගේ දිගුකාලීන දුක්ගැනවිලි කෙරෙහි වැඩි අවධානයක් යොමු වී නොමැත. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ පශ්චාත් යුද ආර්ථිකය තුල විවිධ 'විප්ලවවාදී තත්ත්වයන්' ඉස්මතු වේ. ඒවායින් බහුතරය කේන්ද්‍රය සහ පර්යන්තය අතර වර්ධනය වන පරතරය හා සම්බන්ධ වේ. බිය ගෙන දෙන කරුණ වන්නේ පශ්චාත් යුද සමයේ ඇතිවන ගැටුම් වඩ වඩාත් වාර්ගික, ආගමික හා පන්ති බේද ඔස්සේ ප්‍රචණ්ඩත්වය කරා ව්‍යාප්ත වීමත්, යෞවනයින් අපරාධකරුවන් සහ ප්‍රචණ්ඩත්වයේ ගොදුරු බවට පත්වීමත්ය. පශ්චාත් යුද සමයේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ යෞවනයින් හිංසනය සහ විප්ලවවාදී තත්ත්වයන් කරා බලගන්වා තල්ලු කරවන අන්තර් සම්බන්ධිත සාධක දෙකක් අපි දකින්නෙමු. එනම්, න්‍යායපත්‍රික බලවේග සහ ව්‍යුහාත්මක අසමානතාවයන්ය. නිදසුනක් ලෙස, සිංහල සහ මුස්ලිම් ප්‍රජාවන් අතර වැඩිවන ප්‍රචණ්ඩ ක්‍රියාවන් සඳහා එවැනි බලවේග වගකිව යුතු වන්නේය. ප්‍රචණ්ඩත්වය බලගන්වන අනෙකුත් ප්‍රභේදයන් සමූහය අධ්‍යාපනය, රැකියාව, දේශපාලන සහභාගීත්වය සහ ස්ත්‍රී පුරුෂ සමාජභාවය වැනි සාධක තුල සිදුවන ව්‍යුහාත්මක අසමානකම් තුල ගැබ්වී ඇත.

මෙම අධ්‍යයන සමුහය මඟින් පර්යේෂකයින් උත්සාහ දරන්නේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ විප්ලවවාදීවීම යනුවෙන් අදහස් කරන්නේ කුමක්ද යන්න සහ විප්ලවවාදී ක්‍රියාමාර්ග ගැනීම සඳහා ඔවුන් පොළඹවන ලද්දේ කුමන සාධකයන් දැයි සොයා ගැනීමටය. දරිද්‍රතා විශ්ලේෂණ කේන්ද්‍රය (Centre for Poverty Analysis-CEPA) විසින් ප්‍රකාශයට පත් කරන ලද පර්යේෂණ අධ්‍යයන වාර්තා එකතුව මඟින්, විවිධ ජනවාර්ගික සහ ජීවන පසුබිම් වලින් යුත් ශ්‍රී ලාංකික යෞවනයින් අතර විවිධ වූ විප්ලවවාදීකරණයන් පරීක්ෂා කිරීමට සහ රැඩිකල්වාදී යනුවෙන් අදහස් කරන්නේ කුමක්ද සහ රැඩිකල්වාදී වන්නේ කුමක් නිසාද යන්න සොයා බැලීම සඳහා සහභාගීත්ව පර්යේෂණ ප්‍රවේශයක් අනුගමනය කර ඇත. හැඳින්වීම ඇතුළ අධ්‍යයන පරිච්ඡේද නවයක් තුලින් රැඩිකල්වාදීහාවය සහ විප්ලවවාදීකරණය විවිධාකාරයෙන් පරීක්ෂා කර ඇත. පළමුවන පරිච්ඡේදය මඟින් ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ස්ත්‍රී සමලිංගික, පුරුෂ සමලිංගික, ද්වී ලිංගික සහ සංක්‍රාන්ති ලිංගිකයින් (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender LGBT) පිළිබඳ

රාජ්‍ය නොවන සංවිධාන වල ආරම්භය සහ පරිණාමය ඉස්මතු කර ඇත. මෙම අධ්‍යයනයෙන් ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ලිංගික සහ ස්ත්‍රී පුරුෂ සමාජභාවය පිළිබඳ යුක්ති ක්‍රියාවන්ගේ ආරම්භය සහ පරිණාමය සොයා බලා ඇත. ආයතනික ක්‍රියාවන් ප්‍රශ්ණාකාරී විප්ලවවාදී ක්‍රියාවන්ට මග පාදන්නේද සහ අධ්‍යාපන අවකාශයන් තුල ව්‍යුහාත්මක ප්‍රචණ්ඩත්වය ඇති කරන්නේද යන්න සලකා බැලීමට දෙවන පරිච්ඡේදය තුලින් අවස්ථාව සපයා ඇත. තුන්වන පරිච්ඡේදය තුලින් රැඩිකල්වාදිකරණය සලකා බලන්නේ ආන්තික සමාජයක අවදානම් සහිත තරුණයින් අතර ඔවුන්ගේ දෛනික ජීවන අත්දැකීම් රැඩිකල්කරණය කරා රැගෙන යන්නේ කෙසේදැයි සෙවීමෙනි. සිව්වන පරිච්ඡේදයේ අධ්‍යයන ක්ෂේත්‍රය බවට පත් වන්නේ මෑතකදී සිවිල් යුද්ධයෙන් විනාශයට පත් වූ යාපනයේ නැවත පදිංචි කිරීම සිදුකළ ප්‍රදේශයක් වන අතර, තිරස් හා සිරස් අසමානකම් උගුරු පසුබිමක් තුල පර්යේෂකයින් සමාජ ඒකාබද්ධතාවය සහ සමාජ සමගිය අතර සම්බන්ධතාවය පිළිබඳව සිදුකරන තක්සේරුවක් ඊට ඇතුලත්ය. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ සමාජ මාධ්‍ය ජාලය තුල යොවුන් ක්‍රියාකාරකම් සහ රැඩිකල්වාදිකරණය පස්වන පරිච්ඡේදයේ මාතෘකාව වන අතර, තරගකාරී මතවාදයන් ගෙන් බල ගැන්වුනු යෞවනයින් දේශපාලන ව්‍යාපාර සඳහා අන් අයට බලපෑම් කිරීමට කටයුතු කළ ආකාරය පිළිබඳ අවබෝධයක් එමඟින් අපට ලබා දෙයි. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ දේශපාලන ඉතිහාසයේ සරසවි ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරවල කාර්යභාරය අධ්‍යයනය කරමින් හයවන පරිච්ඡේදය විප්ලවවාදිකරණය පිළිබඳ තවත් පැතිකඩක් සලකා බලයි. හත්වන පරිච්ඡේදය මඟින් ද සමාජ මාධ්‍යය

පිළිබඳව අධ්‍යයනය කරන අතර, එවැනි ක්ෂේත්‍රයන් තුල කාන්තාවන් සම්බන්ධකර ගැනීමේදී, සමහර විෂයන් පිළිබඳව ප්‍රසිද්ධියේ කතා කිරීම පවා රැඩිකල්වාදියැයි සැලැකෙන බව සඳහන් කරයි. අටවන පරිච්ඡේදයෙන් 1980 දශකයේ ශ්‍රී ලාංකික සංගීතයේ විප්ලවවාදී ප්‍රවණතාවයන් අධ්‍යයනය කරන අතර, 1980 දශකයේ කැරලිවල යොවුන් ක්‍රියාකාරකම් සහ විප්ලවවාදී ක්‍රියාකාරිත්වය පිළිබඳ මතකයන් අධ්‍යයනය මෙවලමක් ලෙස භාවිතා කර ඇත. නවවන පරිච්ඡේදයෙන්, සමාජ ව්‍යාපාර තුල කාන්තා භූමිකාව 1980 මැද භාගයේ ජ.වි.පෙ කැරැල්ල ආශ්‍රයෙන් විග්‍රහ කරයි.

දරිද්‍රතා විශ්ලේෂණ කේන්ද්‍රයේ (Centre for Poverty Analysis-CEPA) ත්‍රිභාෂා ප්‍රතිපත්තියට අනුකූලව මෙම විවිධ වූ අධ්‍යයන මාලාව සිංහල, දමිළ සහ ඉංග්‍රීසි භාෂාවන්ගෙන් ප්‍රකාශයට පත්කර ඇත. සිංහල සහ දමිළ භාෂාවලින් සිදුකරන ප්‍රකාශයන් සඳහා ඉංග්‍රීසි භාෂාවෙන් සාරාංශයක් සපයා ඇත. මෙම පර්යේෂණ කණ්ඩායමේ එක් අරමුණක් වන්නේ පර්යේෂණ සන්දර්භය තුළ ඔවුන්ගේ හඬ සහ බලය තහවුරු කරගැනීම සඳහා පොදු අවසන් අරමුණු හුවමාරු කර ගන්නා සහභාගීවන්නන් කණ්ඩායමක් ලෙස යොවුන් ප්‍රජාවන් හඳුනාගෙන ඔවුන් සමග වැඩ කිරීමය. පර්යේෂණ වාර්තාවන් ප්‍රකාශයට පත්කිරීම මඟින්, එවැනි සහභාගීත්ව පර්යේෂණ තුලින් හඳුනාගත් ගැටලු විසඳීම සඳහා සමාජ ක්‍රියාකාරකම් වලට පහසුකම් සැලසීමට මග පෑදීම අපේක්ෂා කරනු ලැබේ.

நிறைவேற்றுச் சாரம்சம்

இந்த ஆவணத்தில் இணைக்கப்பட்டுள்ள ஆராய்ச்சி இளைஞர்களின் தீவிரவாதத்தின் கதையைச் சொல்லும் முயற்சியின் விளைவாகும். ஒவ்வொரு ஆய்விலும் ஒரு இளைஞர் தன்னுடைய முன்னோக்கு மற்றும் அனுபவங்களை கருத்துருவாக்கம் செய்து ஆராய்ச்சியை மேற்கொள்கிறார். ஆய்வுகளின் உள்ளடக்கம் சமீபத்திய இன- அரசியல் மோதலிற்குப் பின்னரான காலப்பகுதியாகும்.

இலங்கையின் கிட்டத்தட்ட மூன்று தசாப்த கால உள்நாட்டுப் போரைத் தொடர்ந்து, நாடு அரசியல் ஸ்திரமின்மை, அதிக அளவு ஊழல், உள்ளூர் அரசாங்கத்தை அதிகாரமளிக்க விரும்பாதது, கொள்கை வகுப்பின் அதிகப்படியான மையப்படுத்தல் மற்றும் மிகவும் புகழ்பெற்ற, ஆனால் ஆதாரமற்ற நல்லிணக்க செயல்முறை ஆகியவற்றால் வகைப்படுத்தப்பட்டுள்ளது. இலங்கையின் பொருளாதாரம் வளர்ந்து, தீவு தேசத்தை "நடுத்தர வருமானம்" என்ற நிலைக்குத் தள்ளியது, நாடு இன்று ஒரு துண்டு துண்டான நிலையில் உள்ளது மற்றும் வெற்றியாளரின் சமாதானம் மற்றும் நீண்ட கால கட்டமைப்பு சிக்கல்களுக்கு காரணமாக உள்ளது. இலங்கையின் இளைஞர்கள் எதிர்கொள்ளும் சூழ்நிலை, சாதனைக்கான பல தடைகள் மற்றும் தீவிரத்தை எதிர்கொள்வது போன்ற ஒரு பிரச்சினை. இதையொட்டி, அனைத்து இனக் குழுக்களிலிருந்தும் இளைஞர்களிடையே காணப்படும் தீவிரமயமாக்கல் சூழலை உருவாக்க தற்போதுள்ள தப்பெண்ணங்கள் மீது கட்டியெழுப்பப்பட்ட வெறுப்பு அரசியலை இந்த முன்னெச்சரிக்கை தூண்டியுள்ளது.

வரலாற்று ரீதியாக, இலங்கையின் இளைஞர்கள் தீவிரமயமாக்கலுக்கு அந்நியர்கள் அல்ல, 1977 மற்றும் 1987 கலகங்கள் மற்றும் 28 ஆண்டுகள் நீடித்த உள்நாட்டுப் போரில் இளைஞர்களின் ஈடுபாடு போன்றவை இதற்கு உதாரணங்களாகும். இந்தப் போராட்டங்களில் இலங்கையின் இளைஞர்களின் பெருமளவான பங்கேற்பு அவர்களுக்கு வன்முறையுடன் ஒரு மோசமான தொடர்பைப் பெற்றது. யுத்தம் முடிவடைந்த பின்னர் இலங்கை தொடர்ச்சியாக மூன்று அரசாங்கங்களைக் கண்டாலும், சர்வாதிகார, இராணுவவாத மற்றும் உறவினர்களுக்கு சலுகை வழங்கும் பழக்கவழக்கங்களின் அதிகரிப்பு மற்றும்

சுதந்திரங்களை குறைத்தல் என்பவற்றுடன், சிங்கள, தமிழ் மற்றும் முஸ்லிம் இளைஞர்களின் நீண்டகால குறைகள் இன்னும் தீர்க்கப்படவில்லை. இலங்கையின் போருக்குப் பிந்தைய பொருளாதாரத்தில் வெவ்வேறு 'தீவிரவாதங்கள்' வெளிப்படுகின்றன. இதன் பெரும்பகுதி மையத்திற்கும் சுற்றளவிற்கும் இடையில் வளர்ந்து வரும் இடைவெளியுடன் தொடர்புடையது. எச்சரிக்கையாக, போருக்குப் பிந்தைய காலகட்டத்தில் மோதல்கள் இன-மத மற்றும் வர்க்க அடிப்படையில் வன்முறையில் பெருகி வருகின்றன, மேலும் இளைஞர்கள் வன்முறையாளர்களாகவும் வன்முறையால் பாதிக்கப்பட்டவர்களாகவும் இருந்தனர். போருக்குப் பிந்திய இலங்கையில் இளைஞர் வன்முறை மற்றும் தீவிரமயமாக்கல் ஆகியவற்றுடன் ஒன்றுக்கொன்று தொடர்புடைய ஆக்கிரமிப்பு சக்திகள் மற்றும் கட்டமைப்பு ஏற்றத்தாழ்வுகள் போன்ற காரணிகளால் தூண்டப்படுவதை நாம் காண்கிறோம். உதாரணமாக, சிங்கள மற்றும் முஸ்லீம் சமூகங்களுக்கிடையில் அதிகரித்து வரும் வன்முறைக்கு இத்தகைய சக்திகள் காரணமாக உள்ளன. வன்முறைக்கான மற்ற தூண்டுதல்கள் கல்வி, வேலைவாய்ப்பு, அரசியல் பங்கேற்பு மற்றும் பாலின பாகுபாடு ஆகியவற்றில் உள்ள கட்டமைப்பு ஏற்றத்தாழ்வுகளில் உட்பொதிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன.

இந்த ஆய்வுக் குழுவில், ஆராய்ச்சியாளர்கள் இலங்கையில் தீவிரமானவர்களாக இருப்பதன் அர்த்தம் என்ன என்பதைத் தெரிந்துகொள்ள முயன்றனர் மற்றும் தீவிரமான நடவடிக்கைகளை எடுக்கத் தூண்டியதற்கான காரணங்களை அறியவும் தலைப்பட்டனர். வறுமை பகுப்பாய்வு நிலையத்தால் வெளியிடப்பட்ட ஆய்வுகளின் தொகுப்பானது, பல்வேறு இனங்கள் மற்றும் பின்னணிகளைக் கொண்ட இலங்கை இளைஞர்களிடையே பல்வேறு வகையான தீவிரமயமாக்கலை ஆய்வு செய்வதற்கும், தீவிரமானது என்ன என்பதை ஆராயவும் ஒரு பங்கேற்பு நடவடிக்கை ஆராய்ச்சி அணுகுமுறையைப் பின்பற்றுகிறது. ஆய்வுகள், ஒன்பது, அறிமுகம் உட்பட பல்வேறு வழிகளில் தீவிர மற்றும் தீவிரமயமாக்கலை ஆராய்கிறது. **அத்தியாயம் 1** இலங்கையில் நங்கை நம்பி ஈரர் திருநர் (ந.ந.ஈ.தி) (LG BT) அரச சார்பற்ற

நிறுவனங்களின் தோற்றம் மற்றும் பரிணாமத்தை எடுத்துக்காட்டுகிறது. இந்த ஆய்வு இலங்கையில் பாலியல் மற்றும் பாலின நீதிப் பணியின் தோற்றம் மற்றும் பரிணாம வளர்ச்சியைப் பார்க்கிறது. **அத்தியாயம் 2** பல்கலைக்கழக செயற்களம் மற்றும் பகடிவதை குறிப்பிட்டிருக்கிறது, நிறுவனச் செயல்பாடுகள் எதிர்மறையான தீவிர நடவடிக்கைக்கு வழிவகுக்கிறதா மற்றும் அந்தக் கல்வி இடங்களில் கட்டமைப்பு வன்முறையை ஏற்படுத்துகின்றனவா என்பதைக் கருத்தில் கொள்கிறது. **அத்தியாயம் 3** தீவிரவாதமயமாக்கல் ஒரு தாழ்த்தப்பட்ட சமூகத்தைச் சேர்ந்த பாதிக்கப்படக்கூடிய இளைஞர்களிடையே ஓரங்கட்டப்பட்ட நிலைமைகளால் ஏற்படுவதாகக் கருதுகிறது. **அத்தியாயம் 4** இல், யாழ்ப்பாணத்தில் மீள்குடியேற்றப் பகுதியின் மிகவும் வித்தியாசமான உலகம், சமீபத்தில் உள்நாட்டுப் போரால் சிதைக்கப்பட்டது, ஆய்வாளர்கள் கிடைமட்ட மற்றும் செங்குத்து ஏற்றத்தாழ்வுகள் தீவிரமடையும் பின்னணியில் சமூக ஒருங்கிணைப்பு மற்றும் சமூக நல்லிணக்கத்திற்கு இடையேயான உறவை மதிப்பிடும் ஆய்வுப் பகுதியாகும். இலங்கையின் சமூக ஊடக நிலப்பரப்பில் இளைஞர் செயல்பாடு மற்றும் தீவிரமயமாக்கல், **அத்தியாயம் 4** இல், போட்டியிடும் சித்தாந்தங்களால் அணிதிரட்டப்பட்ட இளைஞர்கள், அரசியல் பிரசாரத்தில் மற்றவர்களை எவ்வாறு செல்வாக்கு செய்துள்ளனர் என்பதைப் புரிந்துகொள்ள நமக்கு உதவுகிறது. **அத்தியாயம் 6** இலங்கையின் அரசியல் வரலாற்றில் மாணவர் இயக்கங்களின் பங்கைப் படிப்பதன் மூலம் மற்றொரு அம்சத்தைக் கருதுகிறது. **அத்தியாயம் 7** சமூக ஊடக

நிலப்பரப்பையும் ஆய்வு செய்கிறது, மேலும் இதுபோன்ற இடங்களில் பெண்களின் ஈடுபாட்டின் வழக்கை எடுத்துக்கொள்கிறது, பகிரங்கமாக ஈடுபடுவதன் தீவிரத்தன்மையையும் குறிப்பிடுகிறது. **அத்தியாயம் 8** என்பது இலங்கையில் சிக்கல்மிகுஅரசியல் பற்றிய ஒரு ஆய்வு ஆகும், இது வினோதமான செயல்பாட்டின் பரிணாமத்தை வரைபடமாக்குகிறது மற்றும் ஒரு தீவிரமான மோதலுக்குப் பின்னரான பகுதியில் ஒரு மாற்று இடத்தில் ஒரு தீவிர இயக்கத்தின் வரலாற்று ஆய்வை வழங்குகிறது. ஆய்வு பாடத்தில் 1980 களில் இலங்கை இசையின் தீவிர போக்குகள். **அத்தியாயம் 9** ல் தீவிர சமூக இயக்கங்களில் பெண்களின் பங்களிப்பை குறிப்பாக 1980 களின் ஜே.வி.பி. யில் பெண்களின் ஈடுபாடு குறித்து தொடுகிறது

வறுமை பகுப்பாய்வு நிலையத்தின் மும்மொழி கொள்கைக்கு ஏற்ப இந்த மாறுபட்ட ஆய்வுகள் சிங்களம், தமிழ் மற்றும் ஆங்கிலத்தில் வெளியிடப்படுகின்றன. சிங்களம் மற்றும் தமிழில் வெளியிடப்பட்ட ஆய்வுகளுக்கு ஆங்கிலத்தில் சுருக்கங்கள் வழங்கப்படுகின்றன. இந்த ஆராய்ச்சி ஆய்வுக் குழுவின் குறிக்கோள்களில் ஒன்றாக, இளைஞர்களின் சமூகத்தை பங்கேற்பாளர்களின் குழுவாக அடையாளம் கண்டு பணியாற்றுவது உள்ளது. ஆராய்ச்சியின் வெளியீடு இத்தகைய கூட்டு ஆராய்ச்சி மூலம் அடையாளம் காணப்பட்ட பிரச்சினைகளைத் தீர்க்க சமூக நடவடிக்கையை எளிதாக்கும் என்று நம்பப்படுகிறது.

Introduction

Pulling up from the Root:
Exploring the Radical and Radicality and the Case for Participatory Research

Anupama Ranawana

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Abstract

This essay provides a reflection on the different discourses on radicalisation and narratives of the radical—in the extant academic literature. It attempts to situate these discourses in terms of the project carried out by the Centre for Poverty Analysis on radicalisation amongst youth in Sri Lanka. In particular, the essay argues for a need to recognise the positive as well as pejorative ways in which definitions of radical and radicalisation manifest. The essay also provides a brief sketch of the different studies contained within this project, highlighting the varied ways in which each project approached the concept of the radical.

සංක්ෂිප්තය

මූලයෙන්ම වැළැක්වීම: රැඩිකල්වාදියා හා රැඩිකල් භාවය සහ සහභාගීත්ව පර්යේෂණ සඳහා පවතින අවස්ථාව විමසා බැලීම

අනුපමා රණවන

මෙම රචනය විද්‍යමාන විද්වත් සාහිත්‍යය තුළ රැඩිකල්කරණය පිළිබඳව සිදු වන විවිධ කතිකාවන් සහ රැඩිකල්වාදියා විස්තර කෙරෙන ආකාරයන් සලකා බලයි. එය මෙම කතිකාවන් අනාවරණය කර ගැනීමට ප්‍රයත්න දරන්නේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ තරුණයන් අතර සිදු වන රැඩිකල්කරණය පිළිබඳව දරිද්‍රතා විශ්ලේෂණ කේන්ද්‍රය විසින් ක්‍රියාත්මක කරනු ලබන ව්‍යාපෘතියට සම්බන්ධිතවය. විශේෂයෙන්ම මෙම රචනය රැඩිකල්වාදියා සහ රැඩිකල්කරණය පිළිබඳ නිර්වචන ප්‍රකාශයට පත් කෙරෙන ධනාත්මක හා අවමානාත්මක ආකාරයන් හඳුනා ගැනීමේ අවශ්‍යතාවක් පවතින බවට කරුණු දක්වයි. මෙම රචනය එක් එක් ව්‍යාපෘතිය රැඩිකල්වාදියා පිළිබඳ සංකල්පයට ප්‍රවිෂ්ට වන විවිධ ආකාරයන් ගෙන හැර පාමින් මෙම ව්‍යාපෘතියට ඇතුළත් වන විවිධ අධ්‍යයනයන් පිළිබඳ කෙටි විස්තරයක් ද සම්පාදනය කරයි.

சுருக்கம்

முளையோடு கிள்ளியெறிதல் : தீவிரமயப்படுத்தலையும் தீவிரத்தன்மையையும் பங்கேற்பு ஆய்வினூடாக ஆராய்தல்

அனுபமா ரணவனா

இந்தக் கட்டுரை தீவிரமயப்படுத்தல் தொடர்பான வேறுபட்ட உரையாடல்கள் மற்றும் தற்போதுள்ள கல்வி சார் இலக்கியத்தில் தீவிரமயப்படுத்தல் பற்றிய விவரிப்புகள் குறித்த பிரதிபலிப்பினை வழங்குகின்றது. இது இலங்கையில் இளைஞர்களுக்கிடையில் நிலவும் தீவிரமயப்படுத்தல் குறித்து வறுமை ஆராய்ச்சி நிலையம் மேற்கொண்ட திட்டத்தினை அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்டு இவ்வுரையாடல்களை நிலைநிறுத்த முயற்சிக்கின்றது. குறிப்பாக, தீவிரத்தன்மை மற்றும் தீவிரமயப்படுத்தல் தொடர்பான வரையறைகள் வெளிப்படுத்துகின்ற சாதகமான மற்றும் தனித்துவமான வழிகளை அங்கீகரிக்க வேண்டிய அவசியத்தை கட்டுரை எடுத்துரைக்கின்றது. இத்திட்டத்தில் உள்ளடக்கப்பட்டுள்ள வெவ்வேறு ஆய்வுகளின் சுருக்கமான கருத்தோட்டப் பதிவுகளையும் இக்கட்டுரை வழங்குவதோடு, ஒவ்வொரு திட்டமும் தீவிரமயப்படுத்தல் எனும் விடயத்தை அணுகிய பல்வேறு வழிகளையும் எடுத்துக்காட்டுகின்றது.

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Introduction

What is 'radical'? What makes a radical? and importantly, which dominant toolkits get to define what radicality is or what it should be? These are pertinent questions.

Consider the following images. A monk raising his hands and calling for militant action. A group of men destroying a mosque. A young woman standing outside a courtroom in North America to protest a draconian abortion law. A gay pride parade demanding equal rights for LGBTQIA people. A young man detonating himself inside a church as an act of religious extremism. Gangs on motorbikes razing shops as reprisals against a terrorist attack. A young man shooting worshippers in a mosque as an anti-immigrant act. Farmers committing suicide over unfair laws. The tearing down of the statue of a slave trader. A smiling protestor being led away by police for demonstrating peacefully on a bridge. A council woman who galvanizes the community in the favelas to demand their rights. A group of masked people destroying private property as part of environmental action. Mothers lamenting the violence being enacted upon their children by the state. A long, silent, non-violent Salt March as part of an anti-colonial movement. The voluntary conversion of a group of Dalits to Navayana Buddhism in protest over state oppression. A group of habited Roman Catholic nuns protesting the building of a Port City. All of the above can be seen as radical acts, radical images.

In the first moments of discussing the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) project on Youth and Radicalisation, administered by the Centre for Poverty Analysis (CEPA), our first response was a conceptual one. We struggled to think through what these terms meant and how we could define them. Thinking beyond the constraints of English, we had to ask, what

does radicalism even mean in Sinhala and Tamil? In fact, on this, we can note that in Sinhala, the English word 'radical' is often deployed, but the Tamil word that is used, translates most closely to mean 'to be at the tipping point'. The linguist Dilini Algama (2020) notes something specific within Sinhala too, in that the proper phrasing is රැඩිකල්වාදය, and that, if we have inflected it, could it mean that radical is loved and accepted, in as much as it still suggests a kind of difference?

These discussions ranging from language to history, the past to the present, framed the larger conceptual discussions on this project. It was found that this internal struggle for meaning was mirrored in approaches from political commentary and academic discourse as well. Some may find this uncomfortable, but uncomfortable questions are at the heart of this research project. Through a series of participatory research studies, the project aims to understand what it means to be a 'radical' amongst youth in Sri Lanka, and what draws youth to radical action. The studies contained in this anthology were conducted by young, and on occasions first time researchers, and in the newness and spontaneity of the work, we can see a wide variety of views and positions.

This introductory chapter attempts to set the stage for the chapters that follow by providing a review of the different ways in which the term radical or radicality has been understood. The ways in which the question was approached by the different studies also argues the case for the participatory research approach; an approach which allows the space for conversations in diverse and meaningful ways. It is important to stress that the purpose of the essay is not to suggest any definition or final understanding, but to simply sketch out the various narratives and the complex nature of this discourse.

Collective Yearning

One last image to consider; in 2017, scores of Indian women turned out onto the streets in protest of the rising rates of sexual violence against women. A photographer captured what some called the most striking image of the protest. It was of a middle-aged Roman Catholic nun, looking quite at the end of her tether, and holding a sign that read "We're trying to change the world. Sorry for the inconvenience." The slogan itself was not a new one. The slogan had appeared in social movements from New York to Malaysia. What struck commentators was the radicality of the image of a habited Roman Catholic nun making such a strong public statement. The perception of her radical stance discounts the many years of Catholic social movements for liberative, critical justice. But in what is seen and symbolized, one can provoke a discussion on the varying discourses associated with radicalism and radicality.

Radicality has both negative and positive connotations, can be both transformative and destructive, and is both liberative and incarcerative. This essay does not, therefore, aim for a particular definition of these terms, but aims, to open the discussions that guide the research studies presented throughout the anthology. The possibility of being 'radical' is always within us, it marks our everyday condition. In his defence of the anarchist approach to life, the anthropologist James C. Scott notes that the playground is the ideal metaphor for sociality and sees little resistances like speeding or jaywalking – as an important condition for modern life, as the quotidian ways in which we are able to live with the state as we know it (Scott 2012). It is also, for Scott, a way in which to 'keep fit' for the final revolution that is to come. This is a view of the world that espouses that everyday insubordination is necessary in the pursuit of freedom and justice and would agree with the idea that we must always be free to exercise our creative and moral capacities, and to position ourselves at the tipping point. Yet, that which

is radical is not simply a daily occurance, it can also be cosmological. In their introduction to the edited volume The Intimate Life of Dissent, Oustinova-Stjepanovic, et al. (2020) discuss what it means to go against the grain of social and political life, noting in particular, the importance of not just dissatisfaction, but open and determined opposition. The radical Sri Lankan Catholic thinker, Tissa Balasuirya also saw purpose and potential in what could be seen as radical, specifically radical stances as the point at which injustice could and should be contested. For Balasuriya, the key characteristic of the modern age is that it would be one of radical contestation (1984: 112). In their anthology The Radical in Ambedkar (2018), Suraj Yengde and Anand Teltumbe centre a similar understanding, noting Dr. Amedkar's importance against and within a global scenario of resistance, and in terms of the critical solidarity between global movements for rights and justice. For Kothari and Joy (2017) in an extension of this similar vision, the radical stance is overlapped within the liberative one, one that looks towards

> **"a common future .... a challenge of reconstituting our pasts as well, of rendering them legible in ways that are radically different from the ways in which nations and nationalisms constitute a singular past – that is to say by referring back to some pristine time which inevitably makes it exclusivist. Indeed, even for those who apparently live or lived in the same time, the pasts may not be the same. We know after all that the great battles that were fought by the Sramanic traditions like Buddhism, Jainism, or the Ajivikas against the dominant Brahmanical one, have a different story to tell about what we assume to be the same past. Many of lower caste revolts in the early twentieth century after all, drew precisely upon those traditions, especially Buddhism, to articulate their vision of an emancipated future." (2017: 169).**

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There is radicality in a shared vision, as the decolonial feminist Maria Lugones reminds us when she writes that,

> **"It's only possible to resist it by understanding the world and life experience that is shared and able to understand its own actions – assuring the right recognition. The communities, and not the individuals, make it possible to do; people produce with each other, never isolated." (2019: 372-373)**

Similarly, for the indigenous scholar Nick Estes, the very act of solidarity across the Third World decolonization movement, and radical Indigenous, Black, Asian, Caribbean, and Chicanx national liberation movements that not only envisioned but claimed a new future is the epitome of the radical stance (2019). The civil rights activist Angela Davis, for example, looks to the importance of a collective movement, and argues that to be radical means to 'grasp at the root' (Davis, 2016)) – that, to see a change, we must understand the conflict's fixed origins and aim to dismantle the embedded elements of the problem. The writer and activist Audre Lorde pushes us further, telling us that to perform this disestablishment (1988), we must develop radical and alternative tools and ways of thinking. Academics and writers like Sylvia Wynter (2003) who looks to the necessary settling and unsettling Antonio Gramsci et al. (2005) and Paolo Freire (1973) argue that to be radical, and to spark the space of radical politics, one needed to challenge systems of formal education, and then cultural and political discourse. For the cultural theorist Gloria Anzaldúa, who sought to escape categorisation and bordering, the simple act of writing was a radical one.

> **I pick the ground from which to speak
> a reality into existence
> I have chosen to struggle against
> unnatural boundaries (2015: 200).**

The feminist theorist bell hooks, takes us back to the politics of location, noting that choosing to be part of this collective yearning is the necessary participation in the process of counter-hegemonic revision (hooks 1989). It is the movement against oppressive boundaries, it is defiant political gesturing that confronts the reality of choice and location whereby the radical is always repositioning themselves against complex and ever shifting realms of power relations. It is the creation of the space where transformation is possible. Here, important examples that both Hooks (1989) and Davis (2012) cite are what they see as America's most important social movements: worker rights and social justice. A such, radical positions are part of emancipatory politics that are prepared to rethink the state in a fundamental way, especially with regards to the wider issues of global poverty. Such a radicalised site, being bound up in emancipatory politics, must also confront the role of violence as a feature in human life, and contest it (Sivanandan 1990).

Within these framings, as the scholars above have pointed out, the space of the radical is always the space and site of struggle. If placed only within these considerations, radicality then is also about the work that must be done in the present, whilst looking to the future, it is the work that inspires action and new forms of solidarity. What radical imaginaries are meant to do is to suggest and then move us towards movements that build solidarity across boundaries and borders, whether these are real or imagined. Indeed, what we can argue here is that radical movements and moments such as those seen above, are part of the empirical work of connected histories and sociologies that seeks to reconstruct and reorder our epistemological categories (Bhambra 2014, Subrahmanyam 1997). Indeed, in the larger aspect of this project we connect to this reconstruction by considering the radical and radicality from a variety of spectrums.

The Radical as a Site of Destruction

This discussion must also travel from yearning and hope to the pejorative (expressing contempt

or disapproval). Often, we encounter the word 'radical' as a word used to evoke associations with extremism, instability or absolutist approach to politics. The negative understandings of radicalism are more dominant in today's discourse, especially within Global Politics, as seen in the section to follow. In dominant discourse now, we see the association radicalism has with extremism. As such, governments, policy makers, populist leaders and media commentary conjure frightening images of the young men in the Global South calling for global jihad, or the young men in the Global North calling for a Great Replacement. Indeed, as McLaughlin (2014) notes, radicalism has become almost synonymous with extremism. Within these discourses, 'radicalism-extremism' takes on fundamentalist, dogmatic formulations. It is seen as a simplistic and reactionary world view that expresses itself through indiscriminate violence (terrorism).

Prior to the radicalism-extremism nexus, the dominant discourse had identified radicalism negatively with revolutionism. As Colin Beck (2015, also Beck and Miner 2013) notes, the problem of revolution has always been a troubling one for social scientists. In the clear and classic meaning of radicalism, McLaughlin notes, the political point was to decry revolutionaries as dangerous radicals (2014). The major negative association of radicalism is with revolutionism-extremism. In terms of content, it generally became a marker of enlightened, liberal to left-wing political tenets, opposing reactionary political establishments. Astrid Bötticher, in the journal article Towards Academic Consensus Definitions of Radicalism and Extremism, (2017) states;

> **"Radicalism became a political doctrine inspiring republican and national movements committed to individual and collective freedom and emancipation, directed against the monarchic and aristocratic post-1815 status quo. At that time, radicalism was mostly anti-clerical, anti-monarchist, and definitely pro-democracy. Some of its demands (like female suffrage) have become mainstream ideas and were realised in most parts of the world during the 20th century. Political opponents often sought to portray radicalism as a revolutionary, mainly left-wing, – and lately religious – subversive force. In the mid eighteenth century the form of political action that we now term formally as a social movement was not thought of as political participation. "**

Instead, this revolutionary collective action was seen as the product of crowd behaviour and mob psychology, forcing scholarship to begin to study spontaneous collective contention. Revolutionary activity was also negatively associated with the 'masses', that is, that it arose from groups who were relatively deprived of economic resources. As such, the space of the radical-extremism-revolutionary was pejoratively something that emanated from the grievances of the marginalised. There was a possibility of 'deviancy' which suggests that the radical can only be attuned to the negatively destructive. Skocpol (Barba, 1985) argued that revolutions occur not as the product of a revolutionary movement but because a government becomes relatively weak and begins to fall apart under competing demands. State-centred theory of revolution was very influential and remains so today. Interestingly, there are those who see the utopianism of the radicalism in the negative. This is to critique the radical tendency to 'dare to dream' (Chrostowska 2017). Here, the radicalism of New Marxists and Anarchists, as an example, is understood as a kind of drug, illusory and dangerous and prone to fantasism.

Interlocking Circles

As such, as various scholars have noted, radicalism, broadly and sociologically construed, resists definition. If we follow the three aspects mentioned above, of radical, revolutionary and terrorist, we can also see that while each space in itself is unique, there are also spaces

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where the three overlap. To understand any of it, to understand political struggle and political violence, we must understand all three. We must aim to elicit research that seeks to examine collective challenges based on common purpose, social solidarity, charting the various and sustained interactions with elites, opponents and authorities.

Broadly, then radicalism as an ideological mindset tends to be very critical of the existing status quo where restructuring or overthrowing outdated political structures are pursued. Eventhough radicals are often portrayed as violent by the state or establishment, it is not entirely true. It is said that radicalism tends to be associated historically more with a progressive reformism than with utopian extremism. Thus glorification of violence is often rejected.

As postulated by Bötticher : Radicalism is emancipatory and does not seek to subjugate people and enforce conformity like extremism does. Radical narratives contain utopian ideological elements, but they do not, unlike, for example right wing extremist movements, glorify a distant past. The radical can be open to rational arguments as to the means to achieve their goals. Unlike extremists, radicals are not necessarily extreme in their choice of means to achieve their goals. Unlike extremists who reject the extremist label, radicals also self-define themselves as radicals .

Radicalisation as Understood in a Post 9/11 World

While examining the negative aspects of radicalisation in a post 9/11 and post April 21 2019[1] world, and against the backdrop of shootings carried out by white supremacists in the Global North, it is important to dedicate some time within this discussion to what is termed as 'violent extremism[, that is, terrorism. Whilst the majority of the studies carried out for this project

did not focus on violent extremism, it was a significant part of the discussions including workshops that took place throughout this project. Radicalism and radicality are already older discourses, while the discussions on extremism are relatively new. In drawing our attention to the discourses that transform world politics, Anna Agathangelou, and Lily Ling (2009) remind us that in order to understand current international discourse on violent extremism and radicalism, one must understand also that at the center of it all is the binary of 'Self' versus 'Other' that besets world politics, creating situations of violence for all. As the neoliberal 'absolute power' steers us always to nation building and liberalization, these multiple modes of discipline, wherein the 'Self' always issues ultimatums to the 'Other', often results in violent action. Security Dialogue scholars suggest various definitions of extremism and terrorism but agree on some key points. According to Botticher, extremism characterises an ideological position embraced by those anti-establishment movements, which understand politics as struggle for supremacy rather than as peaceful competition between parties with different interests seeking popular support for advancing the common good. Extreme positionings often find their violent performativity in terrorism.

The following paragraphs show how some Security Studies scholars have chosen to derive their definition of terrorism or extremism from.

Common wisdom is that terrorism is a label that individuals, movements, and governments use to stigmatise those they do not agree with. Yet governments struggle to define terrorism in a consistent fashion. Beck suggests two popular definitions; the first as provided by the U.S State Department, that terrorism is "premeditated, politically motivated violence perpetrated against non-combatant targets by subnational groups or clandestine agents, usually intended to influence an audience." This definition is rife

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1 On April 21 2019, On 21 April 2019, Easter Sunday, three churches in Sri Lanka and three luxury hotels in the commercial capital, Colombo, were the scenes of suicide bomb attacks by a group of young men claiming associations with ISIS

with difficulties; however, it does not explicitly tell us if terrorism is a crime or if it can be used during conventional warfare, but it does suggest that terrorism's goals are political, undertaken by opponents to or agents of a government, and is distinctive in that it targets non-combatants and seeks to influence a larger audience. As Kundnani (2014) notes, the purpose of such definitions serves primarily to establish the "war on terror paradigm [as an] perpetual, open-ended, global war" (ibid:7-8).

A second definition comes from the terrorism expert Bruce Hoffman (Gus 2004) who defines terrorism as "violence – or equally important, the threat of violence – used and directed in pursuit of, or in service of a political aim". Hoffman's definition sees terrorism as having a political goal and that it includes threats as well as violence, but it does not tell us explicitly whether it is illegal, how it differs from war, who uses it, or if it is a distinctive strategy.

A correlation between socioeconomic deprivation and terrorism is strongly rejected by some groups of analysts. Their logic is simple: most terrorists are neither poor nor uneducated. In fact, there is empirical evidence that the majority seem to come from middle class, ordinary backgrounds (Taşpinar 2009, Lee 2011). In Fighting Radicalism, not 'Terrorism': Root Causes of an International Actor Redefined Ömer Taspınar delves into this. The narrative we find is that terrorism is therefore perceived almost exclusively as a 'security threat' with no discernible socioeconomic roots or links with deprivation. 'Terrorism' has multiple causes, attempts to create a single typology of terrorism or generic profiles for terrorists are often misleading. The author goes on to say on the subject.

An ideal breeding ground for recruitment emerges when various social, cultural, economic, political, and psychological factors come together. And even when such negative dynamics converge, different terrorist networks have different political objectives. According to these definitions, despite such complexities and diversity, all terrorist groups share one common objective: the willingness to kill or harm civilians for their cause. All terrorists, within these narratives, are termed as radicals. (Ö Taşpınar · 2009)

However, definitions of extremism differ from radicalism in many ways. Extremism exists at the periphery of societies and seeks to conquer its centre by creating fear of enemies within and outside society. They divide fellow citizens and foreigners into friends and foes – akin to securitised discourse itself –, with little room for diversity of opinions and alternative lifestyles. As with state legitimised violence, extremist discourses can only flourish within black and white, simplistic narratives. As has been shown above, radical narratives are often complex and necessarily intersectional. Extremism, due to its necessary dogmatism, is characteristically intolerant and unwilling to compromise. Extremists, viewing politics as a zero-sum game, tend – circumstances permitting – to engage in aggressive militancy, including criminal acts and mass violence in their fanatical will for gaining and holding political power. When extremists gain state power, they tend to destroy social diversity and seek to bring about a comprehensive homogenisation of society, based on an often faith-based – or purportedly faith-based – ideology with apocalyptic rhetoric. At the societal level, extremist movements are authoritarian, and, if in power, extremist rulers tend to become totalitarian (Phadnis and Ganguly 2001). Extremists glorify violence as a conflict resolution mechanism and are opposed to the constitutional state, majority-based democracy, the rule of law, and human rights for all. The concept of extremism, therefore, is closely linked to authoritarian dictatorships and totalitarianism (Khalid 2019).

Thinking in terms of the post-9/11 world, for the post 9/11 generation of non-western scholars, resisting certain narratives of terrorists and extremists forms an everyday struggle, in building our scholarship, as well as navigating

the carceral borders that limit our mobility as workers (Ranawana 2020). The post 9/11 world has predominantly examined the effect on the West even though highly sophisticated and long-running debates have occurred in other spaces (Shilliam 2011). In the post-9/11 world, there was a renewed interest, however problematically built, on the role religion plays in international relations and a problematising of the ways in which Enlightenment assumptions had treated religion.

Much of this interest was based on the fact that many world tensions were rooted in religious fundamentalism or religious-based tension, specifically a kind of 0rientalising of Islam, and a hope to 'explain it', indeed, one could argue that there was some kind of a fetishization of the violence within religion, something that itself is attached to the secular bias, especially within International Relations (Ranawana 2020).

Historically, as argued above, radicalism has been more egalitarian and less elitist while extremists are supremacists opposed to the sovereignty of common people. Radicalism draws strongly on the political legacy of the 18th century Enlightenment, with its ideas of human progress and its faith in the power of reason. Extremism, on the other hand, is linked to an irrational, usually religious and fanatical belief system, that claims a monopoly of truth on the basis of which it seeks to transform society according to its retrograde vision.

Astrid Bötticher is quoted as saying that extremists openly confront the notion of universal human rights and those institutions that serve to uphold them for all. Radicalism is not opposed to equal human rights; historically, progressive radicals have sought to extend human rights to the underprivileged. Extremism is, by its very nature, anti-democratic; it seeks to abolish constitutional democracy and the rule of law. Radicalism, according to Bötticher (2017) is, in all senses emancipatory and not per se anti-democratic. Extremist movements cannot be integrated into liberal-democratic societies due to their intolerance towards ideologies other than

their own. Democracies can live with radicals but not with uncompromising, aggressive extremist militant. Radical movements tend to use political violence pragmatically and on a selective basis, while extremist movements consider violence against their enemies as a legitimate form of political action and tend to embrace extreme forms of mass violence as part of their political credo. What is important to note here, however, is that radicalism and extremism – in the ways that they are understood – are both situated at some distance from the middle ground – politically moderate, mainstream positions in democratic societies.

The Case for Community Based, Participatory Research

Consider then, the weight of all these competing and complex discussions when entering into a project that seeks to understand youth and radicalism. There is no singular narrative that can be comfortably suggested as the anchor for such a project. This is of greater pertinence in a country like Sri Lanka that saw a thirty-year ethnic war between the State and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. To suggest a label for radicalism and extremism would also mean labelling the parties in the conflict within concrete binaries. Sri Lanka is also a multicultural, multivocal society with competing interests and different ways in which collective yearning manifests. Placed within South Asia, as well as being an aspirant middle-income country, Sri Lanka is also caught up in discourses of good governance and security, never more so than in the post-Easter Sunday political situation. Importantly, how do you provoke young researchers to willingly engage with what one cannot simply and singularly define?

To enter into this space, the project chose to use community based, participatory research that hinges on three key characteristics: community, collaboration and co-creation. As such, researchers were asked to consider what challenges affect, cause, intersect with radical/ radicality within their own communities, whether

it be their local neighbourhood or their university faculty. What is elicited from within, as well as from the research as a co-participant in the community with regards to definitions of radicalism, or what moves young persons to radical actions?

Participatory research (PR) is understood by this project as the co-construction of research through partnerships between researchers and people affected by and/or responsible for action on the issues under study. Participatory research is defined as 'an umbrella term for a school of approaches that share a core philosophy of inclusivity and of recognising the value of engaging in the research process (rather than including only as subjects of the research) those who are intended to be the beneficiaries, users, and stakeholders of the research. Among the approaches included within this rubric are community-based participatory research, participatory rural appraisal, empowerment evaluation, participatory action research, community-partnered participatory research, cooperative inquiry, dialectical inquiry, appreciative inquiry, decolonising methodologies, participatory or democratic evaluation, social reconnaissance, emancipatory research, and forms of action research embracing a participatory philosophy.

In thinking in terms of research that is, itself, emancipatory, the 'southern tradition' of pedagogical theory and practice that questions the values of research and education in relation to political power and oppression is key here. Indeed, our hope in recruiting young, sometimes completely new researchers was to allow for their studies to perform a kind of self-reflection on values and structural understandings that they themselves may have.

Here, our project design owes much to Freirian pedagogical tools. In 1970, Paulo Freire from Brazil in Pedagogy of the Opressed posited individuals not as empty vessels and objects of inquiry, but as full participants in inquiry, who are able to determine their own needs to improve their own lives. Barbara Israel et al , have outlined eight key components of PR with communities.

These include; recognising community as a unit of identity; building on strengths and resources within the community; facilitating collaborative partnerships in all phases of the research; integrating knowledge and action for mutual benefit of all partners; promoting a co-learning and empowering process that attends to social inequalities; involving a cyclical and iterative process; addressing health from both positive and ecological perspectives; and disseminating findings and knowledge gained to all partners. A collaborative research approach that is designed to ensure and establish structures for participation by communities affected by the issue being studied, representatives of organisations, and researchers in all aspects of the research process to improve health and well-being through taking action, including social change. Community, as a collaborator, is a social and cultural entity that can actively engage and influence its members in all aspects of the research process. Participation by people who experience the issue being studied. Community participation in research is a planned and directed process for shifting power in decision making from researchers to all collaborators equitably.

The Key Studies

It is this ethic and centring that was kept foremost in mind, as well as a strong understanding of the broad spectrum of what radicality, radicalism and the 'radical', are and are not, and could be in the design of the different research studies contained in this anthology. As such, the nine studies conducted by this project provide us with differing and unique ways of approaching the concept of the radical and radicality.

Avanthi Arsecularatene leads us to think of radicalisation as caused by conditions of marginalisation. Having worked with marginalised and vulnerable youth from underserved communities across the Rajagiriya area, she has evoked their stories and everyday experiences to understand how their situation could lead to radicalisation. Gunasekera, Samarasinghe and

Chathurika open our minds to another aspect by studying the role of students' movements in Sri Lanka's political history. Here, we are provided a long lens on the motivations towards the consequences of engaging in social movements. Dewasiri, Werawella and Mallawarachchi also locate us in the lives of university students and asks if institutional acts lead to negative radical action and entrench structural violence in such spaces. Sivesan and Hensman transport us from the university to a resettlement area in the North of Sri Lanka and assess the relationship between social integration and social harmony against a backdrop where horizontal and vertical inequalities were exacerbated.

In this manner, it acts as a parallel study to that provided by Arsecularatene. Weerasinghe's study on the youth activism and radicalisation in Sri Lanka's social media landscape provides us with an understanding of how young people, mobilised by competing ideologies, work to influence others in political campaigning. Waradas' long-term study on queer politics in Sri Lanka maps the evolution of queer activism and provides a historical study of a radical movement in an alternative space, in a radicalised post conflict locality.

Sivalingam takes us back to the social media landscape and takes up the case of women's engagement in such spaces, noting the radicality of even engaging publicly, as well as the ways in which women can contribute to further radicalisation of such spaces. Thennakoon's study returns us to the historical eye providing a bird's eye view of the radical music trends in 1980s Sri Lanka. Finally, a parallel study to that of Thennakoon's, Senn uses memory as a tool with which to study the youth engagement and radical activism of the insurrections of the 1980s.

We find, then, a diverse and yet complimentary range of studies that engaged the youth of Sri Lanka, both past and present, using a variety of participatory approaches. From each, a particular understanding of the radical and radicality arises, each suggesting ways in which futures were imagined or contested and all providing important interventions in the ongoing literature not only on youth movements in Sri Lanka, but also the global literature on radicalism and radicality.

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CHAPTER 1

Paradox of 'Radical' and 'Non-Radical'
Exploring the Origin and Evolution of LGBT NGOs in Sri Lanka
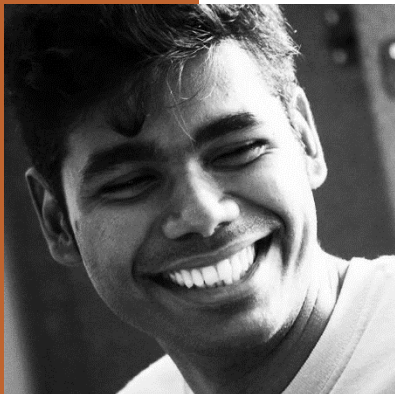
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Abstract

This paper explores the origin and evolution of LGBT NGOs in Sri Lanka. Unlike their counterparts in India and Nepal, the understanding of the institutionalized landscape of sexual and gender justice movement in Sri Lanka has seldom been studied, despite it being one of the earliest movements in South Asia. The study asks 'what is the origin and evolution of sexual and gender justice work in Sri Lanka? What are the key characteristics of the trajectory of LGBT NGOs in Sri Lanka and its implications?' Using a conceptual framework informed by 'radicalism' the study exposes the paradoxical relationship between 'radical' goals and 'non-radical' means of LGBT NGOs during different political transitions since 1995. This is not an exhaustive investigation of LGBT NGOs. Rather, it is a mapping exercise of imperfect but indicative key characteristics of LGBT NGOs in Sri Lanka. The paradoxical relationship also highlights the limits of radicalism due to the normative burden in understanding a movement encountering a volatile political landscape.

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ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ LGBT රාජ්‍ය නොවන සංවිධානවල ආරම්භය සහ පරිණාමය ගවේෂණය කිරීම

ත්‍යාගරාජා වරදාස්

මෙම ලිපිය ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ සමරිසි සමාජ (ස්ත්‍රී/පුරුෂ සම ලිංගික, ද්වී-ලිංගික සහ සංක්‍රාන්ති ලිංගික) (Lesbian, Gay, Bi-sexual, "Trans-sexual" – LGBT) රාජ්‍ය නොවන සංවිධානවල ආරම්භය සහ පරිණාමය ගවේශණය කරයි. ඉන්දියාවේ සහ නේපාලයේ ඔවුන්ගේ සගයන් මෙන් නොව, ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ලිංගික සහ ස්ත්‍රී පුරුෂ සමාජභාවී සාධාරණත්වය පිළිබඳ ව්‍යාපාරයේ ආයතනික පසුතලය පිළිබඳ අවබෝධය දකුණු ආසියාවේ පැරණිම ව්‍යාපාරයක් වන නමුත් ඒ පිළිබඳව අධ්‍යයනය කර ඇත්තේ කලාතුරකිනි. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ලිංගික සහ ස්ත්‍රී පුරුෂ සමාජභාවී සාධාරණීකරණයේ ආරම්භය සහ පරිණාමය පිළිබඳව සහ ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ සමරිසි සමාජ රාජ්‍ය නොවන සංවිධාන වල ගමන් පථයෙහි ප්‍රධාන ලක්ෂණ සහ ඇඟවුම් පිළිබඳව ලිපියෙන් ප්‍රශ්න කරයි. "රැඩිකල්වාදය" විසින් හඳුන්වා දෙන ලද සංකල්පීය රාමුවක් භාවිතා කරමින් 1995 සිට විවිධ දේශපාලන සංක්‍රාන්ති සමයන් තුළ සමරිසි සමාජ රාජ්‍ය නොවන සංවිධානවල "රැඩිකල්" ඉලක්කයන් සහ "රැඩිකල් නොවන" මාධ්‍යයන් අතර පරස්පර විරෝධී සම්බන්ධතාවයන් අධ්‍යයනයෙන් හෙලිවේ. මෙය සමරිසි සමාජ රාජ්‍ය නොවන සංවිධානවල පරිපූර්ණ සමීක්ෂණයක් නොවන අතර, එය ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ පවතින සමරිසි සමාජ රාජ්‍ය නොවන සංවිධානවල ප්‍රධාන ලක්ෂණ සිතියම් ගත කිරීමේ අභ්‍යාසයකි. අස්ථාවර දේශපාලන පසුතලයන්ට මුහුණ දෙන ව්‍යාපාරයක් අවබෝධකර ගැනීමේ සාමාන්‍ය දුෂ්කරතාවය නිසාම පරස්පර විරෝධී සම්බන්ධතාවයන්ගේ "රැඩිකල්වාදී" සීමාවන් ඉස්මතු කරදෙයි.

சுருக்கம்

'தீவிர' மற்றும் 'தீவிரவாதமற்ற' முரண்பாடு: இலங்கையிலுள்ள எல். ஜி.பி.டி தொடர்பான அரச சார்பற்ற நிறுவனங்களின் தோற்றம் மற்றும் பரிணாமம்

தியாகராஜ வரதாஸ்

இந்தக் கட்டுரை இலங்கையிலுள்ள எல்.ஜி.பி.டி தொடர்பான அரச சார்பற்ற நிறுவனங்களின் தோற்றம் மற்றும் பரிணாமம் குறித்து ஆராய்கின்றது. தெற்காசியாவின் ஆரம்பகால இயக்கங்களில் ஒன்றாக இருந்த போதிலும், இந்தியாவிலும் நேபாளத்திலும் உள்ள சக நிறுவனங்களை போலன்றி, இலங்கையில் பாலினத்தையும் பாலின நீதியையும் பாதுகாக்கும் இயக்கத்தின் நிறுவனமயப்படுத்தப்பட்ட பரப்பின் புரிதல் குறித்து அரிதாகவே ஆய்வு செய்யப்பட்டுள்ளது. இலங்கையில் பாலினம் மற்றும் பாலின நீதி தொடர்பான பணிகளின் தோற்றமும் பரிணாமமும் என்ன? இலங்கையில் உள்ள எல்.ஜி.பி.டி அரச சார்பற்ற நிறுவனங்களுடைய போக்கின் பண்புகள் மற்றும் அவற்றின் தாக்கங்கள் யாவை? போன்ற கேள்விகளை இந்த ஆய்வு எழுப்புகின்றது. 'தீவிரமயமாக்கல்' எனும் ஒரு கருத்தியல் கட்டமைப்பினை பயன்படுத்தி, 1995 இலிருந்து ஏற்பட்ட வெவ்வேறு அரசியல் மாற்றங்களின் போது எல்.ஜி.பி.டி அரச சார்பற்ற நிறுவனங்களின் 'தீவிர' மற்றும் 'தீவிரமற்ற' வழிமுறைகளுக்கு இடையிலான முரண்பாடான உறவை இந்த ஆய்வு வெளிப்படுத்துகின்றது. இது எல். ஜி.பி.டி தொடர்பான அரச சார்பற்ற நிறுவனங்கள் குறித்த முழுமையான ஆய்வல்ல. இலங்கையிலுள்ள எல்.ஜி.பி.டி தொடர்பான அரச சார்பற்ற நிறுவனங்களை அடையாளப்படுத்துவதில் குறைபாடுகள் உள்ள போதிலும் அவற்றின் பண்புகள் குறித்து சுட்டிக்காட்டப்பட்டுள்ளது. ஒரு நிலையற்ற அரசியல் பரப்பினை எதிர்கொள்ளும் ஒரு இயக்கத்தைப் புரிந்துகொள்வதில் அதன் நெறிமுறை சார்ந்த சுமை காரணமாக ஏற்படும் தீவிரமயமாக்கலின் வரம்புகள் குறித்து முரண்பாடான உறவின் மூலம் சுட்டிக்காட்டப்படுகின்றது.

Acknowledgement

Background

Although Sri Lanka is home to one of the few early sexual and gender justice movements in South Asia from the early 1990s, its presence in the discourse on gender and sexual rights movements in South Asia have seldom been explored. The trajectory of the sexual and gender justice movement in Sri Lanka is yet to be unearthed. This empirical research is an attempt to explore the trajectory of LGBT NGOs in Sri Lanka in filling the above gap. It asks what is the origin and evolution of sexual and gender justice work in Sri Lanka? What are the key characteristics of the trajectory of LGBT NGOs in Sri Lanka and its implications? Hence it unearths the origin, major trends and key characteristics of LGBT NGOs in the island during different political transitions.

Using a conceptual framework informed by 'radicalism' the study analyses the origin and features of LGBT NGOs and its implications for institutionalised sexual and gender justice activism in the country from 1995 to 2020. The sexual and gender justice movement embodies the collective political struggle for emancipating communities with diverse Sexual Orientations, Gender Identities and Expressions, Sex Characteristics (SOGIESC) from sexual and gender-based oppression. This includes entities explicitly engaged with the rights of sexual minorities often identified as Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex, Questioning and Asexual persons (LGBTIQA+) in international praxis. Non-governmental organisations working on the rights of SOGIESC communities are referred here as LGBT NGOs for the purpose of this text. It is operationalised in the text as an umbrella term for civil society organisations and loose collectives whose work is exclusively centred on the emancipation of SOGIESC communities.

This paper begins with a brief discussion on the radical and radicalisation to outline the conceptual frame which will be followed by the research agenda of the study. Then it maps the origin of the institutionalisation as a radical shift in organised form of the intervention to the movement. This will be followed by an examination on the relative nature of radical or non-radical elements of LGBT NGOs.

'Radical', Conflict Transitions and NGO Civil Society

The trajectory of "radicalism" as a concept evolved through diverse appropriations of meaning making both in discourse and practice. Historically radicalism has a legacy of progressive meaning and practice which is often associated with enlightenment linked to the French and American revolutions of the 18th century relating to a political process of thorough social and political reforms (A. Schmid 2013). It was later changed into a reformist agenda from the revolutionary approach. In the 19th century "radical" referred to liberal, anti-clerical, pro-democratic and progressive political positions. Some of the radical groups' demands such as voting rights for women in the 19th century have now become entitlements. It was kind of politics historically considered as respectable (A. Schmid 2013; M. Sedgwick 2010).`

However, in less than a century the content of radical has completely changed to the exact opposite of what it was regarded as in the 19th and early 20th century with the emergence of a new discourse on radicalisation. The recent popularity of radicalisation was brought into the academic discussion by policy makers who coined the term 'violent radicalisation' after the violent bomb attacks of Madrid and London in 2004 and 2005 respectively (A. Schmid 2013). Since then, it has become the central theme in terrorism studies and counter-terrorism policy debates. For instance, with the 'war on terror' political discourse, radicalisation has been used as a lens to understand Muslim minorities as most of such literature focuses on Islamist radicalisation in the West (Kundnani 2012). Some do even claim that radicalisation can be better positioned in relation to mainstream political activities of democratic systems where individuals are moved away from

moderate political ideologies to extreme ones(M. Sedgwick 2010; "Radicalization: A Guide for the Perplexed" 2009). And today, 'radical' is referred to as anti-democratic and extremist ideologies in the political discourse, making it an unwelcoming political trend. It has been used to serve the needs of governments' security establishments and targeted towards Islamic violent extremism. This has further aggravated through the discourse that connect terrorism, Islamic radicalisation and violent extremism with the concept of radical.

Radical as a concept is essentially a relative one. It is relative to time and the nature of the mainstream political ideologies such as democracies. It has changed from time to time, making what was considered as radical at a point of time no longer be radical in another time of history. For instance, fighting for women's rights might not be considered as radical at present as it was a few decades ago. Similarly, radical referred to as a progressive enlightened political position in the past is now being referred to as extreme forces working against an established mainstream political setting such as democracies; as depicted by the new discourse on radicalisation.

Attempts have been made to clarify the relative nature of radical in order to assist in the analysis and research. One such attempt distinguishes activism from radicalism where activism was defined as the readiness to engage in a legal and non-violent manner while radicalism was interpreted as an illegal and violent manner, of engagement (Moskalenko and McCauley 2009). Arguably the differentiation made based on legality of actions is problematic here, and not all legitimate actions are legal considering that undemocratic laws may tend to prevent legitimate non-violent actions from taking place. Therefore, the distinction made using illegal and violence may not necessarily provide a feasible framework to approach the Sexual and Gender Identity movement in Sri Lanka.

Nevertheless, an operational definition on radicalisation is provided by Sedgwick (2010) who

claims that radicalism is an act to bring sweeping political change as systemic transformation based on the conviction that the existing status quo is unacceptable. Further, the means of such change can be violent and non-democratic or non-violent and democratic (A. P. Schmid 2011; Roger 2007). This definition entails two key elements. One is related to the position of radical agents as being anti-status-quo and which demands sweeping political changes that would change the status quo. Any actions that do not change the status quo might run the risk of failing to qualify as radical. Whether one is favourable or opposed to the status-quo becomes the central criterion in defining radical. The other is entangled with the means of acquiring the objective. Whether the radical actions use non-violent democratic means or violent undemocratic means of engagement is very case specific reference. According to this definition, radical actions can be violent undemocratic and/or non-violent and democratic too. However, means do not constitute the decisive factor in defining radicalism but rather an additional feature of it.

Using a conceptual framework based on the above operational definition would be a feasible approach to understand the nature of the institutionalisation of the Sexual and Gender Identity Movement in Sri Lanka. Its outline along with the literature on Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) civil society is useful in locating the sexual and gender identity movement within the NGO civil society sphere.

Debates surrounding civil society and NGOs are centred on the idea of distinguishing them as a competitive entity with the state; in other words, in relation to the state (Chazan 1992; Orjuela 2003; Bernal and Grewal 2014). Starting from political theory to development policy and peace studies, the concept of civil society is used to describe 'peoples' association with each other that is not necessarily formed and controlled by the state, family ties or kinship but by a common purpose and interests' (Orjuela 2003, 196). This definition indicates the agency of people who would voluntarily come together for a common interest

and initiate socio-political changes. However, the narrow definition of civil society describes the institutionalised version of a social organisation that is different from the state. In other words, civil society is identified as voluntary NGOs that are presumed to 'do good'.

The scholarship on NGOs remains divided. Liberal scholarship coming from the liberal organisational view influenced by the Tocequevillian tradition stands in favour of NGOs for three reasons. First, by the very existence as 'autonomous' actors, NGOs pluralize the institutional sphere which then generates pressure on the state. It assigns a 'watchdog' role for NGOs (Garrison 2000; Clarke 1998; Silliman and Noble 1998). Secondly NGOs widen and deepen the civil society participation as it said to be working with grassroot level organisations comprising of citizen participation. Since it represents marginalised groups and their interests, NGOs are presented as seeking policy changes for marginalised groups(Clark 1991; Bebbington et al. 1993; Fowler 1993). Thirdly, NGOs are presented as acting to counter state power at both national and local level by developing alternative views and policies. NGOs have emerged as key contributors to the democratic transitions in the developing world (Diamond 1999; Garrison 2000; Clarke 1998). This liberal democratic view on NGOs is very much rooted in the idea that NGOs function as a separate entity from the state and thereby contribute to the civic maxim of liberal politics(Mercer 2002). This set of literature represents a normative idea that NGOs and civil society are 'good things' in the developing world that is going through a democratic transition.

Scholarship on conflict resolution and peacebuilding tend to portray civil society and NGOs as contributors to peace and thereby adhering to a highly normative perspective that represents civil societies as 'good' ones and therefore NGOs are 'good' ones too(Garrison 2000). Based on liberal democratic values, the literature contends with the question of how international actors can contribute to the peace and resolution of contemporary conflicts(Orjuela

2003). This importance given to civil society derives from the idea that they are better connected to local communities as peace cannot be sustained only at the top level. The multi-track diplomacy argues that peace built by popular involvement is most likely to succeed (Ramsbotham, Miall, and Woodhouse 1999; Lederach 1997). Civil society groups can build social capital which is instrumental in preventing conflicts (Putnam 1992; Burton 1990; Rotberg 1996; Varshney 2008), working in war zones(Anderson 1999), supporting negotiations(Mor 1997; Rupesinghe 1995)and endorsing reconstruction and reconciliation work(Cousens, Kumar, and Wermester 2001).

However, the radical strand of scholarship on NGOs and civil society is much focused on the idea that, NGOs are civil society organisations formed as contestants to state and are better understood as agents or consequences of neo-liberalism and globalization and thereby becoming part of international neoliberal regimes (Feldman 1997). The NGOs have become part of the expansion of globalization and limiting of local power (Schuller 2007). Influenced by the Gramscian view which is to not essentialise the division of state and non-state, civil society can also be understood as a contested space occupied by a wide range of organisations that both sustain and challenge the existing order in which ideological hegemony is contested. The contestation also enables civil society as a fluid entity(Maglaras 2013).

The recent literature focusing on the nature of their funding and structure provides a critical and contextual account of NGOs(Mercer 2002; Bernal and Grewal 2014). They attempt to understand NGOs as they are caught up between funding sources, governments and international neo-liberal forces. The expected role as democratic entities in civil society is circumscribed by the political and economic neoliberal forces such as international financial institutions, states and donors(Mercer 2002). Such a situation can be further complicated by political situations such as civil wars and conflicts. Conflict transitions often condition the nature and dynamic of civil society(Orjuela 2005). Civil societies can be further

weakened in societies where prolonged armed conflict and ethnic polarisation is high(Orjuela 2003). In such contexts, militarisation and ethnic polarisation can divide NGOs along ethnic lines.

The Sri Lankan armed conflict (1983-2009) is a prime example of an ethnic conflict of which the dynamics of the intra-state conflict between the Tamil Rebels and the Government of Sri Lanka evolved through a number of conflict transition periods creating opportunities and constraints for civil society groups. Particularly, conflict transition brings opportunities for oppressed groups to address their grievances. Lund(2016), using Sahlins' (1972; 2017) and Solway's (1994) ideas on "revelatory crisis", argues that conflict transition is 'open moments' where the nature of the social contract between state and society are re-negotiated during conflict transitions. In such open moments, civil society groups such as LGBT NGOs can act as agents of reconfiguration of politics.

Recent scholarship on gender and conflicts highlights the dual role played by diverse SOGIESC communities during conflicts. SOGIESC communities are not passive victims but become active agents when they respond to conflict transitions(Ashe 2009; Duggan 2017; Megan and Henri 2018). Moving beyond the essentialisation of victimhood mirrors much of the debates on the relative roles of structure and agency in the way society is formed. As argued by Giddens(1986), structure and agency are mutually constitutive entities that dynamically interact. In this way, SOGIESC communities are not merely victims but also engage with forms of collective agency that interact with social structure(Gardiner 1995). This premise along with the argument on 'open moments' provides a sound conceptual basis to understand the dual role – victim and agent– of SOGIESC communities during conflict transitions. It allows me to posit sexual and gender justice movement within a conflict setting in a manner that informs the nature of LGBT NGOs.

Navigating such a volatile, conflict affected political landscape in neoliberal stride, NGOs are confronted with two major challenges. One is the legitimacy crisis of NGOs, whereby they lose the connection with grass-root constituencies (Bebbington et al. 1993) and then end up serving the state by contributing to maintain the status quo instead of questioning state policies, a position considered as opposite to radical. Second, building on the idea of civil society as a contested space, the socio, political, economic and cultural cleavages are reproduced by NGOs rather than challenging them. This is also evident in the internal structure and values of NGOs. NGOs are often characterised by internally undemocratic rule with authoritarian or charismatic personalized leadership, competitive and driven along class, gender, religious, ethnic, regional and spatial fault lines; and often geared by state and/or donors (Mercer 2002).

Another justification to consider the context in which sexual and gender justice politics operate, comes from the contemporary critique of the existing categorisation of the SOGIESC community by the queer theories on sexual identities which defines gender identities as constructed through and contingent upon time, space and context(Butler 1988; 1990; 1993; Foucault 1978; Fuss 2013; E. K. Sedgwick 1990). The SOGIESC community is not a homogenous and uniformed entity but is diverse depending on caste, class, context, religion, ethnicity, language, etc. This is a reminder of the need to be cautious about treating SOGIESC communities as a homogenous entity and instead to be open about the diverse intersections within the community itself(Dickson and Sanders 2014). Therefore, any understanding of LGBT NGOs or civil society organisations related to sexual and gender justice politics necessitates a careful consideration of the context in which LGBT NGOs operate and the optics of their function as perceived by the state and larger civil society. Hence, NGOs represent a contestation of different values attached to them. For the purpose of this study a broad definition of NGOs is utilised. It includes entities of collective actions organised around shared interests, values and aims that are informed by the contradictions discussed above.

A research agenda

Although voluntary formations to address the needs of society have been there since pre-colonial times (Saravanamuththu 1998), the modern conventional type of civil society in Sri Lanka began with the western Christian missionary movement which was later mirrored by the Buddhist, Hindu and Muslim cultural revival movements in the late nineteenth century against the British colonial rule. During the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century a number of movements such as the temperance movement, cooperative movement, Buddhist revivalist and nationalist movement emerged. The labour movement and anti-colonial movements began in the 1920s. The anti-colonial movement was later dominated by the Sinhalese and paved the way for a Tamil nationalist movement which was largely a non-violent struggle and later became an armed conflict. With the institutionalisation of the labour movement, a new violent leftist movement broke out with the leftist Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP – Peoples Liberation Front) in 1971. With the introduction of the open market economy system and the emergence of armed conflict with the Tamil nationalist movement in the 1980s, the number of non-governmental organisations including foreign NGOs, based on funding from foreign countries and international organisations have increased and become widespread. These civil society groups have emerged and evolved around the lines of ethnicity, caste, class, labour rights, religion, rural, democratic, temperance, anti-colonialism and socialist lines (Orjuela 2005).

These NGOs historically have maintained a close relationship with the state and are thus rarely able to directly challenge the state. In other words, NGOs have either co-operated with the state or have been accustomed to political party patronage, for example NGOs in the Sudu Nelum (White Lotus) Movement during 1990 (Walton and Paikiasothy 2011). It is also argued that the civil society formation in Sri Lanka has been 'weakened' by the welfare policies and political patronage systems of the post-colonial state(Stokke 1998). In the absence of locally driven enthusiasm, it is unavoidable that civil society organisations are inclined to receive support from external agencies. Apart from the village based funeral assistance societies, almost all the civil society groups are either supported or encouraged by external agencies such as foreign governments or NGOs (Orjuela 2005).

NGOs and groups working on peace, human rights and democracy in the island emerged in the 1970s with the open economy, state oppression and ethnic conflict. Many NGOs work on raising awareness about peace and human rights and advocacy and policy inputs though they seldom constitute a mass movement in the country. NGOs have been inescapably shaped by the civil war in Sri Lanka and as in other countries, heterogenous NGOs entail internal contradictions regarding peace work. The rise of foreign funded NGOs is also correlated with the decline of state welfare (Orjuela 2005). This confirms the discourse surrounding NGOs which paint them as agents of global neo-liberal regimes taking over the welfare function of the state. However, by aligning with the critical NGO literature, some argue that the relatively better social conditions and a strong patronizing system along with the mentality cultivated to 'receive everything' from the state, were some of the major causes of a weakened Sri Lankan civil society(Hettige and Mayer 2000). The danger of such an argument is that it tends to portray the 'incivility' in the local society as a hurdle for developing a 'civilised' civil society(Mercer 2002). Looking at the prominent LGBT NGOs in Sri Lanka differently, Ellawala argues that, LGBT NGO's reproduce the structural violence produced by the state and hinder other local queer ontologies of emancipation (Ellawala 2019). Focusing on a major LGBT NGO in Sri Lanka, Ellawala elaborates how LGBT NGOs tend to police the diverse forms of queer engagements while co-opting with state and the international neo-liberal forces such as World Bank and other international donor communities.

The above account underlines that historically NGOs in Sri Lanka occupy an ambivalent

relationship with the state, foreign donor agencies and local communities. Such a relationship is a manifestation of a political navigation of extremely volatile conflict-ridden context and compounded by donor conditions, domestic constraints and opportunities and internal dynamics of NGOs. However, these conditions tend to dominate the nature in which we work with other organisations. Subsequently it indicates the degree of radical elements that NGOs possess in relation to the mainstream political and ideological structure of the state and society. This study attempts to explore the political landscape of LGBT NGOs in Sri Lanka through the framework informed by the above debates.

Data has been collected through desk based archival research, semi-structured informant interviews and observation of events during the period of 1995-2018 using a qualitative approach. It maps the trends and key features of the LGBT NGOs. Ten qualitative interviews have been conducted with individuals who have been part of the sexuality and gender justice movement in Sri Lanka. Newspaper archives and online news portals have been consulted in deriving data. In addition to that, virtual information related to LGBT NGOs have been accessed where it is possible to collect data about such institutions.

The study focuses only on the period in which SOGIESC communities were organised into institutions and groups between 1995-2020. The first LGBT NGO in Sri Lanka was formed in 1995. The study has covered 14 LGBT NGOs including the ones that are no longer functional as they fall within the time frame of 1995-2020. Former and current leaders and active members of these groups and organisations formed the pool of key informant interviews. Certain interviews have been repeated given the prolonged nature of conversations.

One of the major limitations of conducting the study is the positionality of the researcher. As a member of the queer community in Sri Lanka and an activist voicing on institutionalised politics of SOGEISC groups, it was not possible to have interviews with all the key persons within the queer community. Nevertheless, an attempt was taken to mitigate this limitation by interviewing activists who have had experiences with organisations, groups and individuals whom the author had very little access to during the research. Data collected through these informant interviews covers the elements that otherwise would have been missed due to this limitation. Another limitation of this study is the limited sample size of organisations and groups that are explicitly and directly working on SOGIESC rights. There are very few other groups and institutions that have engaged in works related to SOGIESC issues along with their mandate for other human rights work. However, these NGOs that are not explicitly and exclusively working on SOGIESC issues have been excluded from this study as it is imperative to capture the nature of visibility politics of LGBT NGOs.

Situating LGBT work in Sri Lanka

The literature portrays SOGIESC communities in Sri Lanka as victims of direct, structural and cultural violence, emanating from the criminalisation of homosexuality in Sri Lanka. Both policy and academic discourse is mainly interested in identifying the types and causes of violence faced by SOGIESC communities in Sri Lanka and mapping possible mechanisms of remedies. Prevailing discrimination in the legal system has been identified as one of the foremost causes of violence against SOGIESC communities(Damith 2014; Human Rights Watch (Organization) 2016; Nichols 2010). Laws based on Victorian moralities during the British Colonial rule which criminalises consensual same-sex conduct between adults (See Table 1.1 below) remains intact and implemented by the law executing agencies in Sri Lanka. Three major laws are noteworthy. First, the colonial inherited Sri Lankan penal code prohibits "Carnal Knowledge against order of the nature" and "gross indecency" commonly understood as same-sex conduct between consenting adults including in private spaces(Human Rights Watch (Organization) 2016). Second, the

Vagrancy Ordinance which prohibits soliciting or committing acts of 'gross indecency' (Article 7) or being 'íncorrigible rogues' (Article 5 & 9) procuring illicit or unnatural intercourse' (Vagrants Ordinance 1842) is also used to arrest SOGIESC persons in public spaces. Finally, the law against 'cheat(ing) by personation' is also used to subject transgender persons into violence as mentioned in the Table 1.1.

Apart from that, widely prevalent conservative religious and social values that demonize sexual conduct other than what is conducted between male and a female is also one of the major causes of violence against SOGIESC communities(Human Rights Watch (Organization) 2016; Damith 2014; Nichols 2010). Another report(IGLHRC 2014) prepared by the Womens' Support Group (WSG) in Sri Lanka, highlights forms of violence experienced by Lesbians Bisexual and Trans women (LBT- women) such as, violence in both private and public sphere, discrimination and social stigma, and sexual harassment at the work place.

Table 1.1: Laws affecting SOGIESC Communities in Sri Lanka

Law	Offense	Punishment
Penal Code 365: Unnatural Offences	Unnatural Offences between adults including whoever voluntarily has carnal intercourse against the order of nature with any man, woman or animals	Imprisonment up to 10 years and/or fine
	Unnatural Offences between an adult and a person below 16 years	Rigorous imprisonment of minimum 10-20 years and/or fine
Penal Code 365 A: Gross Indecency	Any person who, in public or private, commits, or is a party to the commission of, or procures or attempts to procure the commission by any person of any act of gross indecency with another person	Imprisonment up to 02 years and/or fine
	Gross Indecency between an adult and a person below 16 years	Rigorous imprisonment of minimum 10 to 20 years and/or fine
Vagrants Ordinance A 5: Incorrigible Rogues	Every person convicted for being - idle and disorderly - rogue and vagabond - Every person escaping from a legal confinement	Imprisonment at hard labour up to 4 months and to corporal punishment up to 24 lashes.
Vagrants Ordinance A (7): Gross Indecency	Any person soliciting and acts of indecency in public places	Imprisonment up to 06 months or a fine up to 100 Rupees (<1 USD) or both
Vagrants Ordinance A 9: Certain Incorrigible Rogues	A person on prostitution Who systematically procures Who earns persons for illicit or unnatural intercourse	Imprisonment up to 06 months and/or a fine up to 100 Rupees (<1 USD)
Penal Code 399: Cheating by personation	Cheating by pretending to be some other person	Imprisonment up to 01 year and/or a fine

Source: Drawn from Penal Code and Vagrants Ordinance of Sri Lanka

Certain studies have traced identity formations of SOGIESC persons in Sri Lanka. Wijewardene (2007) explaining "trans" self-perceptions as an important resource tool in the lives of two "trans" persons from lower middle class background in Colombo attempts to bring the significance of self-perception in identity making of gender atypical persons. Expanding the tension between the unfinished identity articulation process and western models of identity formations Ellawala (Ellawala 2018) argues that such identity formation highlights the complex but distinct process of articulation of identities from western models of identity formation. Further it urges the need of context specific research rather than compartmentalized identity categories manufactured and used indiscriminately. These western models are further displaced by the process of identity making marked by uncertainty of terms and ambiguous desires in queer subjectivities in Sri Lanka where Ellawala (Ellawala 2020) argues the potential of indeterminacy as a new paradigm of sexuality studies. Another study by Ariyarathna(2020) who traces the individual agency of transgender "Jogi Dancers"[2] in Sri Lanka, argues that such performative moments are negotiating sites for subaltern agencies where uncertain and unique identities of transgender communities are manifested. Such manifestation is considered as the emergence of individual agency by escaping their marginalised subjectivities. These studies have mainly focused on individual agency of SOGIESC communities in politics of identity formation and performance.

A few recent attempts to articulate the territory of collective political engagement of SOGIESC communities must be noted here. Ellawala (2019) in his recent publication argues that LGBT NGOs are caught between the interests of state and global hegemonies resulting in the crisis of legitimacy. This has eventually made LGBT NGOs a normative 'LGBT' citizen thereby limiting the range of queer desires which exclude many.

Through this Ellawala highlighted the limits and consequences of institutionalised LGBT NGOs in politics of desires. Similarly, Wijewardena and Jawardena (2020) in their recent study on laws affecting SOGIESC Sri Lankans, presented an interrogation of narratives pertaining to the legal status of SOGIESC persons highlighting its limits and the need to develop a thick understanding of legal status. These two articles mark an exception to the existing body of literature that presents sexual and gendered subjectivities from a victimized and individual agency focused approach. However, this beginning of describing and understanding the collective agency of sexual and gender justice movement has to be developed and expanded to a greater extend to understand the trajectory of it. Below is an attempt to map the origin and evolution of the sexual and gender justice movement in Sri Lanka. It is not an exhaustive account rather an exercise to map a few key elements of its trajectory.

Early Queer Encounters

Prior to the establishment of institutionalised entities dedicated to persons with diverse SOGIESC identities in Sri Lanka in 1995, individuals used to make their own spaces for meeting in beaches, public toilets, parks and popular bus stops and railway stations in the capital city of Colombo. These are public places where a certain level of discretion and risk taking was crucial to meet individuals with similar desires, particularly men who desire men. These meetings were also spaces to discuss and share issues among them. The informal encounters were opportunities to make new friends with each other, who either lead a discreet gay life due to forced marriages or due to being thrown out of their families (Anonymous 04 2019).

These contested spaces are also where queer desires encounter state regulation through police harassment and a culture of impunity.

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2   Jogi Dance is a dance collectively performed by the 'transgender' community in Sri Lanka. This is not a popular cultural element tradition in Sri Lanka like the Kandyan dance. However it is performed and maintained through generations by the gender non-conforming and/or transgender communities. It is normally performed every year in December consisting of different characters.

Although there was no evidence to suggest regular patrolling or arrests carried out as part of a policy, men who meet at these places were subject to harassment and extortion of money and valuables from both police and robbers (Anonymous 05 2019). Individuals had to incur such risks to access these spaces as there was a strongly felt need to heal the wounds of their life by meeting fellow friends or persons with the same desires(Anonymous 04 2019). Unlike today, the absence of virtual spaces like Facebook or apps made those physical places popular because of the opportunity provided to meet individuals of same desires.

Some who had been in and out of these contested spaces were conscious of the need for a collective safe queer space and that has led to the culmination of one of the early queer movements in South Asia. "…we felt there were deep wounds in everybody and no place for us to sit together and see if we can collectively heal… it was a matter of trying to support each other … we were not thinking of any sort of organisations as such…..'' (Anonymous 04 2019) said one of the interviewees who had been part of these early initiatives. Similar feelings were shared by other contemporaries whose consciousness was shaped by the experiences of those contested spaces.

Origins of LGBT NGOs

The first generation of LGBT NGOs consist of three fecund organisations formed in the 1990s and 2000s with three different processes of origins. These origins manifest a certain level of fecundity in forming new entities working on issues faced by Sexual and Gender Identity communities. The first process can be referred as independent origin of the organisation. These organisations enjoyed a greater degree of independence from other LGBT NGOs in forming themselves. However, independence from other SOGIESC initiatives does not necessarily mean that the organisation evolved without support from other civil society groups and organisations working on human rights and social justice. The

first organisation, Companions on a Journey (COJ) was formed in 1995 as an informal group with the aim of doing "something good" for the SOGIESC community, which later became an internationally recognized LGBT NGO working for SOGIESC communities in Sri Lanka and beyond. COJ displayed a sense of inclusivity and was less territorial in setting up independent mechanisms which was instrumental in starting other groups dedicated to SOGIESC issues.

The second organisation started in 1999 was called Women's Support Group (WSG) as part of COJ but with relative independence from COJ. WSG functioned within COJ as an independent unit dedicated to issues related to LBT women while COJ continued to function as an umbrella body for SOGIESC issues. This can be identified as a fostered process of origin. The infant organisation was supported, hosted and fostered by the 'mother' organisation until it became its own. However, it was not a total dependence on the mother organisation. Rather a legacy of being fostered with relative independence from the mother organisation is what made the fostered process a reality (Anonymous 02-1 2019; Anonymous 03 2019; Anonymous 04 2019; Anonymous 05 2019; Anonymous 06-II 2019).

Unlike the above two processes, the third type refers to the divergent origin process which describes creation of a contending or a diverging entity from the mother organisation. Infant organisations formed after breaking away from the mother organisation for different reasons can be categorised into this. The third organisation, Equal Ground (EG) formed in 2004 was a critique to both COJ and WSG's 'lack' of inclusive human rights approach to SOGIESC issues. Some of the founder members of EG were initially with WSG of which a leading individual of EG held a paid position. These criticisms may not necessarily relate to ideological differences but may also relate to accusations against the dissenting group. For instance, certain founder members of EG were accused of resource misappropriation within WSG. The nature of such mutual accusations against each other might

have hindered a conducive environment to form a fostering relationship between WSG and EG(Anonymous 02-1 2019; Anonymous 03 2019; Anonymous 04 2019; Anonymous 06-II 2019; Anonymous 06-I 2019).

None of the above processes is mutually exclusive. This is evident in the second-generation LGBT NGOs formed during 2006-2014. They have inherited the features of more than one process of origin. The SAKHI Collaboration (SAKHI-friend) which was formed in 2009 by a group of individuals echoed a fashion of independent origin. However, it also had key individuals who had been directly and indirectly associated with other LGBT organisations such as EG. Its formation was meant to be a consolidation of ongoing work by other organisations while contributing to advocacy (Sakhi Collaboration 2009). SAKHI also maintained a strict position of not entertaining direct foreign funds which could also be understood as a response to the increased criticism of 'dollar dependency' of NGO sector in Sri Lanka. It has rarely been fostered by any other SOGIESC organisation, but maintained harmonious relationships with them.

On the other hand, Heart to Heart (H2H) which was established in 2011 followed a divergent origin process after COJ was shut down due to the systematic sabotage of government forces. H2H was never fostered in its establishment process and was rather meant to take over and continue with some of the functions of COJ (Anonymous 02-1 2019; Anonymous 03 2019). Some of the key founders of H2H were part of COJ but it was dissimilar to the process EG followed. Further, H2H was meant not to replicate the criticisms levelled against COJ. Diversity and Solidarity Trust (DAST) which was formed around this period also followed SAKHI in a fashion. Another group called Young out Here (YOH) which was formed as the youth wing of the HIV prevention advocacy of the Family Planning Association of Sri Lanka has inherited a fostering origin while some of their members have close association with DAST as the mentor entity. In the second generation, apart from DAST, no other organisations tend

to be fecund. DAST continued to support and enhance the activities of YOH and even assisted in the formation of new organisations which will be discussed below.

The third generation of LGBT organisations formed after 2015, feature the characteristics of origins of both first- and second-generation LGBT NGOs. On the one hand there are organisations like Venasa Transgender Network (VTN) and CHATHRA with a single origin process. Venasa Transgender Network (VTN) inherits a divergent origin as it was founded by a breakaway group from EG in 2015 whereas CHATHRA was formed in 2016 with an independent origin. In contrast there are organisations with multiple origin processes. Similar to COJ, CHATHRA fostered Community Welfare and Development Fund (CWDF) which was established in 2018 as a way to respond to the mounting criticism against LGBT NGOs. The Jaffna Sangam (JS) which was formed in 2018 June, depicts a fostering origin while maintaining its independence from CHATHRA. Similarly, National Transgender Network (NTN) was formed in 2018 as an independent entity but was also supported and empowered by other LGBT NGOs.

Considering all three generations of LGBT NGOs and their processes of origins, it is indicative that the processes of origin have become more and more complex with the evolution of the queer movement. The earlier organisations tend to depict a single origin process while the legacy of origin of the latter groups depicts a mixed origin process. Being fostered or of divergent origins seem to be the popular trend in forming LGBT NGOs in Sri Lanka. This indicates the fecundity of LGBT NGOs in Sri Lanka perhaps due to the tension between the legacy inherited from a small group of SOGIESC activists and internal complexities caused by the interests of different SOGIESC groups.

The radical step and timing of the first LGBT NGO in Sri Lanka

The timing and political context during which LGBT NGOs were created is of greater importance in

Figure 1.1: Conflict Transition Continuums in Sri Lanka
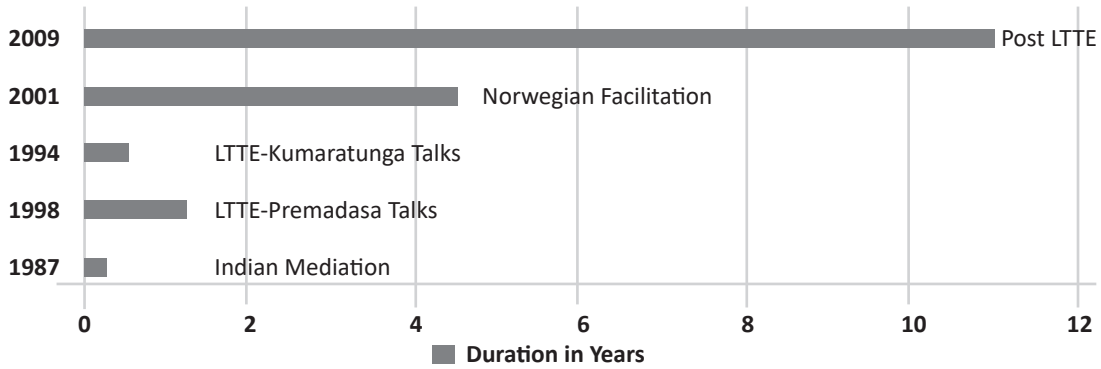
Source: Prepared by the author

Figure 1.2: Growth of LGBT NGOs in Sri Lanka

Figure 1.2: The Figure has been compiled by the author using websites, facebook pages of the relevant organisations and groups, and through informal conversations with activists from Sri Lanka. International human rights reports and official websites of the International SOGIESC organisations have also been consulted to compile the information.

understanding the nature of their trajectory. In order to understand the role of timing and the political context, a brief sketch that would provide an overview of the conflict-ridden political landscape of the period from the 1990s to 2018 is warranted, as most of these NGOs were established during a protracted ethnic conflict.

The conflict in Sri Lanka between the majority Sinhalese 'represented by' the government

of Sri Lanka (GoSL) and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Ealam or famously known as Tamil Tigers 'representing' the Tamil ethnic minority is considered as a classic example of an ethnic conflict which ended in 2009 with the military victory to the GoSL forces after almost three decades of prolonged war. The conflict costed 65000-100000[3] lives and was considered as one of the intractable intra-state armed conflicts in the

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3   Different accounts claim different number of estimates Uppsala Conflict Data Programme claim stands at 65372 battle-related deaths.

world ("UCDP - Uppsala Conflict Data Program" n.d.; Hoglund, Kovacs, and Thiyagaraja 2016; Orjuela 2005). Since the violent intensification of the conflict in 1987, the ethnic factor has become an over determining character of the political landscape of the island (Gunasinghe 1996). In negotiating with a state that functions in a political landscape determined by ethnic factors, civil society navigates an extremely volatile and contested space.

Conflict dynamics in Sri Lanka has often been fluctuating and involved both escalations and opportunities resulting in transitions. Figure 1.1 shows the number of periods of conflict transitions that occurred in Sri Lanka. The current period since the end of the war in 2009, marks the longest transition period whereas the period from 2000 to 2004 remains the second longest transition period. Apart from a brief relaxation of tension during early 1994 no other significant transition period overlaps with civil society politics.

A few crucial implications can be revealed with regard to the timing of the multiple origins of LGBT organisations in Sri Lanka in relation to conflict dynamics. As depicted in Figure 1.2 below, which shows the evolution of a total number of LGBT NGOs over a period of 25 years (1995-2020), LGBT NGOs in Sri Lanka have witnessed three major stages regarding its growth and evolution.

Firstly, the founding period (1995-2008) was occupied by three organisations; COJ, WSG and EG. These first generation organisations account for almost half of the time period of the institutional history of the gender and sexual justice movement in Sri Lanka. This was a period of slow but incremental growth with no organisation being shut down as shown in the Figure 1.2. Except for EG, the other two organisations were formed at a time when a brutal war between the LTTE and the GoSL was its peak stage. EG was established at a time of conflict transition where a peace process facilitated by Norwegians was in effect and NGOs were supported by both Tsunami relief funding and peace work aid (Anonymous 02-1 2019; Anonymous 06-I 2019).

One might wonder what the importance of initiating an LGBT organisation in a highly volatile and intense conflict context that is not necessarily conducive for civil society organisations is. The formation of COJ in 1995 and subsequent establishment of WSG in 1999 is significant to the sexual and gender justice movement in Sri Lanka in many ways. The institutionalisation of sexual and gender identity politics begun with COJ which created much visibility for a historically oppressed and stigmatized community by embracing the risk of being exposed to hostile political and societal responses by publicly working for the rights of SOGIESC communities. It was also a period when civil society organisation in Sri Lanka started to gain root in the political space amidst an intense war. These civil society organisations were not openly identified as entities working for the rights of SOGIESC communities when COJ was started. There were no single openly LGBT NGOs in the country. COJ and WSG brought a visible queer voice into the realm of NGOs in Sri Lanka which was a radical start. It was a radical start because COJ and WSG refused to be invisible within the civil society space and work under a different label. The entities demonstrated that a LGBT NGO is a possibility within civil society politics. COJ disrupted the NGO order within civil society by exposing its limited practice of gender, sexuality and visibility. In many aspects the pioneers of COJ and WSG were not in favour with the status quo within the NGO civil society. Hence starting COJ and WSG is a radical manifestation of the beginning of an institutionalised sexual and gender justice movement in Sri Lanka as it was not only a disrupter to the civil society but also taken initiated the process of queering the socio-political landscape of the country.

Secondly a period of adversity (2007-2014) towards SOGIESC communities was marked by fluctuations in the number of LGBT NGOs. During this period new LGBT NGOs have emerged and leading LGBT NGOs were shut down. As shown in Figure 1.2, the first half of the period was marked by the continuation of the slow but incremental growth while the second part (2009-2014)

witnessed a steady decrease in the number of LGBT NGOs. Among first-generation organisations, except for EG, COJ and WSG were not able to navigate the period of adversity which led to the closure of the two pioneer LGBT NGOs in Sri Lanka. Despite the adverse environment for NGOs, this is also the period in which four new second-generations LGBT organisations were formed. However, except for H2H none of the other three (SAKHI, DAST, YOH) organisations were able to remain resilient in the face of an adverse environment for NGOs. Until the regime change occurred in 2015, only H2H and EG was able to navigate the political climate with demonstrated resilience to the changing conditions.

Unlike the second period, the final phase, starting from 2015 to 2020, can be described as a promising time for LGBT NGOs. SOGIESC groups witnessed a rapid increase in number of organisations and expanded beyond the capital city of Colombo. Ten new third generation organisations – Venasa Transgender Network (VTN), Community Welfare and Development Fund (CWDF), CHATHRA LGBTIQ Network of Sri Lanka, National Transgender Network (NTN), Jaffna Sangam (JS), Equite Sri Lanka, Samaabhimaani Collective (PQC), Jaffna Transgender Network (JTN), Trans Equality Trust (TET) and Dedunu Sangwaada- were started in addition to the revival of two second generations organisations – DAST and YOH – that were dysfunctional at the latter part of the previous period. The total number of LGBT NGOs rose to 12 marking an all-time high in the history of sexual and gender justice movement of Sri Lanka. And for the first time a LGBT NGO – JS – was formed in the war affected areas in Jaffna outside of the capital Colombo. JTN later bifurcated from JS. No organisation was shut down during this period. As for today, at the time of writing this paper, there are twelve functional LGBT NGOs and groups from all three generations.

The origin of the sexuality and gender justice movement in Sri Lanka indicates that a majority of LGBT NGOs were formed during conflict transitions when tension between the GOSL and the LTTE was lower and a transition was underway.

Except for COJ and WSG, almost all the second and third generation organisations including EG were formed during conflict transitions after the war from 2009-2019 during the ten-year period. EG was formed during the Norwegian Peace Process period in 2004. A cursory view on this as described above might support the negative relationship between violence and civil society, as no other organisations were formed during the escalation of violence except for COJ and WSG.

However, a closer look at the situation reveals that the highest number of LGBT NGOs in Sri Lanka was closed during the post-war transition period of 2009-2014 as shown in Figure 1.3. It is observable that the first part of the post-war situation in Sri Lanka was not necessarily a civil society friendly situation. Although there were 4 LGBT NGOs existing during the end of conflict in 2009, the period of 2011-2014 can be marked as a detrimental period in the history of the sexuality and gender justice movement of Sri Lanka as two major organisations (COJ and WSG) were shut down and the rest were forced into self-censorship or temporary suspension of activities. Although organisations belonging to the second generation; SAKHI (2009), H2H (2011), YoH (2012), DAST (2013) were formed during the post-war administration led by president Mahinda Rajapaksha, COJ was subjected to severe state sponsored sabotage in September 2011 which led to its eventual closure. Increased sabotage of COJ has resulted in other organisations resorting to self-censorship. DAST was voluntarily shut down and YoH discontinued their work. The only surviving organisations were EG and H2H which also confined their crucial activities until 2015. WSG was dissolved in 2012 due to internal strife among the members.

This indicates that the conflict transition was not necessarily conducive for the durability and expansion of LGBT NGOs. In other words, the origin and the evolution of LGBT NGOs in Sri Lanka problematise the negative relationship between civil society activities and conflicts. Therefore, it is suggestive that ongoing conflict dynamics in Sri Lanka do not necessarily correlate
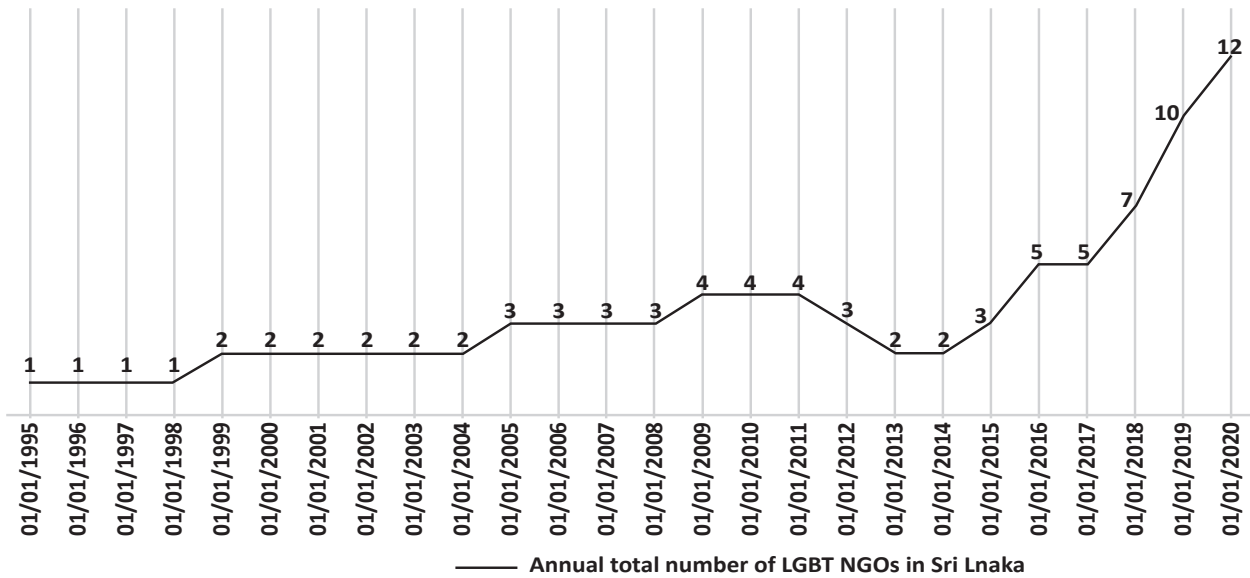
Figure 1.3: LGBT Organisations and Conflict Periods
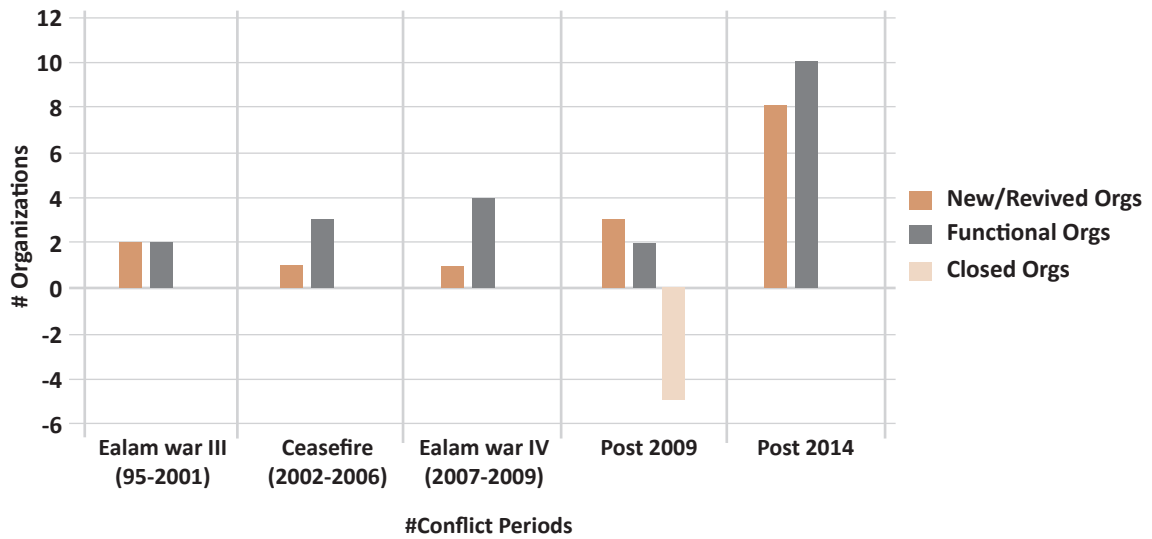
Source: The Figure has been compiled by the author using websites, facebook pages of the relevant organisations and groups and through informal conversations with activists from Sri Lanka. International human rights reports and official websites of the International SOGIESC organisations have also been consulted to compile the information.

with the emergence of LGBT NGOs. The closure of WSG and SAKHI is much to do with internal strife whereas the closure of COJ, DAST, YOH was possibly forced by the political context that is not confined to conflict transition.

The increased sabotage of LGBT NGOs during the post-war period (2009-2014) perhaps had much to do with the nature of the regime in power and the legacy of the ending of the war. The post-war period from 2009 to 2014 was marked by President Rajapaksha's war time nationalist regime consolidating state power by diluting the democratic system and space for civil society. Increased militarisation, ethnic polarisation and delays in transitional justice mechanisms and reconciliation efforts (Goodhand 2012) contributed towards an authoritarian turn (DeVotta 2010). Dissent had been suppressed and a culture of impunity emerged through the politicisation of the judiciary(International Crisis Group 2013). The government resisted international pressure for accountability of possible war crimes during the war, and established its own government driven 'home grown', Lessons Learned and Reconciliation Commission (LLRC) in May 2010 which eventually concluded with the

publication of a report in December 2011. Since then, the decentralisation and grievances of the Tamil minorities that led to the conflict remain unaddressed by the government of Sri Lanka (Höglund 2019).

However, the change of regime in 2015 marks a change in the dynamic conflict transition approach into a more conciliatory and consultative approach which in turn reversed the hostile environment for civil society existing under the Rajapaksha regime. With the end of the war time regime led by President Mahinda Rajapaksha, much of the restrictions on civil society and NGOs were relaxed and the reconciliation and transitional justice process was given a fresh start. The Government of Sri Lanka initiated a 'consultative process' both locally and internationally to restart the reconciliation process. In 2015, the government agreed to the UN Human Rights Council recommendation to start a commission on non-recurrence and truth seeking – Truth and Reconciliation Commission, office of mission persons and reparations, and an inquiry comprising foreign judges and experts into alleged war crimes (UNHRC 2015). The government even appointed a Secretariat for

Coordinating Reconciliation Mechanisms and a Consultative Task Force for Reconciliation Mechanisms which has encouraged and allowed civil society participation in the reconciliation process. The conciliatory approach of the regime has facilitated the emergence of a third generation of organisations totalling the highest number of LGBT NGOs in the history of Sri Lanka while no organisations were shut down. The change in 2015 marked the end of a war time regime even though the conflict ended six years previously, in 2009. In contrast to the first and second generations of LGBT NGOs the third-generation organisations seem to have benefitted from the favourable environment created by the new reconciliation regime – ten new LGBT NGOs were formed during the period of 2015-2019.

This 'openness' has allowed civil society to actively contribute to the ongoing discourse on reconciliation. Particularly, LGBT NGOs not only renewed their social activities but have also contributed to the ongoing reconciliation process. This was well documented and reflected in the suggestions of the Consultation Task Force (CTF) which was established in January 2016. For instance, CTF recommendation 2.18 (a) stresses the need of recruiting staff of reconciliation mechanisms that are sensitized to the issues of LGBTIQ communities (CTF 2016). In addition to that, the SOGIESC community's submissions to the public consultations on constitution making process has not simply been acknowledged by the Public Representations Committee (PRC) on Constitutional Reforms, but the Committee has also recommended that the government of Sri Lanka include an equality clause in the new bill of rights that ensures that no person shall be discriminated based on their sexual orientation and sex and gender identities(See(Public Representations Committee on Constitutional Reform 2016, 90,94).

Looking at the above account, it is possible to argue that the origin of LGBT NGOs in Sri Lanka in the mid-1990s, particularly the establishment of two prominent organisations was a radical step

towards institutionalising the sexual and gender justice movement of the country. However, the origin and expansion of other LGBT NGOs after that, is not confined to the parameters of what constitutes a radical act against the status quo. Their strategic invisibility enforced by self-censorship and state sabotage and re-emergence during the conciliatory period is a conforming to the status-quo. Hence one might be cautious to frame different trajectories of origin as a radical process, as it is compounded by the time and contemporary political contexts. Below is an account of the major trends explored, and the elements of radicalism that prevailed in their functions.

The function of LGBT NGOs

The nature of work, sources of funding, connections and strategies adopted by LGBT NGOs in navigating different contexts is traced in this section. These will be interrogated to assess the relevance of radical as a concept in understanding their role in sexual and gender justice politics.

The strategic goal of many LGBT NGOs tends to depict a radical position in a society that is sceptical of changing the status-quo in relation to SOGIESC rights. Understandably decriminalisation of non-heterosexual conduct and repealing criminalizing legal provisions as highlighted in Table 1.1, have been the central strategic goal of many LGBT NGOs which can be considered a radical goal, as it stands against the status-quo that legitimises sexual conduct that is considered not 'indecent' and 'unnatural'. Apart from existing legal barriers to ensure the sexual and gender justice, widely prevalent societal stigma against SOGIESC communities makes it difficult to visibly raise a voice for decriminalisation. Decriminalisation as a demand for sexual and gender justice is widely perceived and portrayed as being against the existing culture and status-quo of the cultural norms of Sri Lankan society. The mere presence of being a voice for decriminalisation, is an act of changing the status-quo of what is considered cultural.

However, the ways in which LGBT NGOs operate to materialise decriminalization might not necessarily constitute a radical practice as the legal approach adopted by them favours state machinery to retain the control over individual desires. LGBT NGOs have devoted a significant amount of labour to exploit opportunities for decriminalising anti-sodomy laws that are housed in the provisions 365 and 365A of the colonial penal code. Sensitisation and awareness raising programmes, advocacy and lobbying, workshops style dialogues and mainstreaming issues related to LGBT communities are major activities carried out by LGBT NGOs in the direction of decriminalisation. An initial attempt to decriminalise non-heterosexual conduct was made by few other human rights NGOs in the second half of the 1990's, which then backfired resulting in expanding criminalisation to include non-heterosexual conduct among women (Khubchandani 2016; Ellawala 2019) which was not a crime before. Since then there has been a number of attempts to include decriminalisation as part of the government policy which met with failure. The most recent attempt was made in 2017 to include decriminalisation as an action point in the National Human Rights Action Plan as part of larger conflict transition process that was under implementation during the second half of post-war transition period which was conducive for civil society work. However, this attempt was rejected at the cabinet of ministers headed by the former President Sirisena (2015-2019). The president's refusal of the proposal to decriminalise was a clear act of preserving the status-quo as explained by the president himself who claimed that he had safeguarded the culture by rejecting it. On the one hand the strategic goal of decriminalisation tends to portray a radical stance against the status-quo while the legal approach adopted towards it aims to strengthen the state control of human desires. Therefore, the practice of decriminalisation in Sri Lanka so far, mirrors the elements of a radical goal with a non-radical approach.

The third generation organisations expanded their agenda beyond decriminalisation and attempts were taken to include non-discrimination during transitional moments of the post-war reconciliation process. Explicit submissions were made to the Public Representation Committee on Constitutional Reforms in 2016 by LGBT NGOs such as EG, H2H and VTN to ensure the rights of SOGIESC communities (World Political Review 2017). The demands were to include a non-discrimination clause based on sexual orientation and gender identities into the new constitution, and inclusion of SOGIESC communities in the transitional mechanisms in addition to decriminalisation (CTF 2016; Public Representations Committee on Constitutional Reform 2016). Following the discourse on non-discrimination of SOGIESC communities, CHATHRA and CWDF have also engaged in lobbying political parties, which resulted in one of the mainstream political parties represented in the parliament, the JVP accepting non-discrimination as their official policy on protecting the rights of SOGIESC community. These attempts are nevertheless subject to critical conversations within the SOGIESC communities for their state centred approach which looks at these reforms as a part of building the post-war state. In this sense one could argue that strengthening the state legal system can be considered as favourable to the existing system. However, considering the political and cultural antagonism against sexual and gender justice of SOGIESC communities in Sri Lanka, voicing against criminalisation is certainly against the status quo and might even qualify as a radical position with a broader goal.

In addition to the dominant radical consensus on decriminalisation, LGBT NGOs tend to manifest approaches that are not necessarily against the status-quo. The HIV and health based approach adopted by many LGBT NGOs is a position of such contention. The approach adopted by the first-generation LGBT NGOs was well informed by the contemporary debates on whether to join the global HIV/AIDS campaign, as it can be instrumental in activism in places where there was no favourable environment for SOGIESC activism. COJ in its early years was explicitly engaged in human rights advocacy geared by the politics of

visibility which entails claiming rights as a queer subject and not necessarily duplicating the global HIV/AIDS campaign, an agenda which was embraced by many contemporary South Asian LGBT NGOs. However, it did later engage in HIV/AIDS prevention advocacy and became one of the key advocates for the HIV/AIDS lobby in the South Asian region in the later years of 1990s. WSG and EG had been mainly working through the human rights approach to SOGIESC issues and maintained a strategic distance from HIV/AIDS prevention advocacy. The same approach has been followed by CHATHRA, CWDF and JS and JTN whereas YOH, DAST, H2H heavily relied on the HIV/AIDS health based approach. Some of the other NGOs, in the second and third generations VTN, NTN, SAKHI and Equite use both approaches from time to time depending on the circumstances.

One such major determinant of selecting the approach is the source of funding and state of safety it would provide for SOGIESC work. Almost all the LGBT NGOs are supported in their work through international non-governmental agencies and state entities such as embassies of countries from the western hemisphere. Major funding for LGBT NGOs working on sexual health comes from the global fund for programmes on HIV prevention and Aids control. DAST, NTN, H2H, YOH are clear examples of the heavy reliance on the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, TB and Malaria (GFATM) in the early stages of their work and are often vulnerable to the risk of becoming dysfunctional between funding cycles if the source of funds is not diversified. COJ, WSG, EG, Equite, JTN, VTN and to a certain extent CWDF rely on foreign sources of funds. The heavy reliance on foreign funds has exposed LGBT NGOs to a legitimacy crisis in the eyes of the state and conservative segments of the Sri Lankan society. On the other hand, accessibility to a considerable amount of foreign funds has enabled these organisations to set up their own physical establishments which function as drop-in centres and safe spaces for SOGIESC community members. It is in a way understandable as to why these NGOs run the risk of a legitimacy crisis by obtaining foreign funds as

there is not much support locally to keep up the level of their activities.

Another set of organisations, such as, SAKHI, CHATHRA and Jaffna Sangam tend to maintain a regulated relationship with foreign funds and attempt to mobilise local resources as a way to increase local legitimacy and avoid the vulnerabilities caused by heavy reliance on foreign funds. These groups engage in local fund-raising activities and host inexpensive events to maintain as little reliance on foreign funds as possible. These organisations do not have drop-in centres or a permanent physical establishment. These organisations either rent or rely on local NGOs, the corporate sector or strategic philanthropies for physical space and their activities. Interestingly organisations that are not reliant on foreign funds rarely had heavy engagement with sexual health activities related to the SOGIESC communities except for SAKHI.

Although a majority of the LGBT NGOs are dependent on foreign sources for funds, and often painted as pro-status-quo neo-liberalisation of LGBT NGOs, these funds were used to strategically deploy a movement that is rather radical in mainstreaming the rights of sexual and gender identity communities in Sri Lanka. The strategic utilisation of foreign funds can also be considered as a pragmatic approach to ensure the LGBT NGOs deliver their radical goal in a context where no other local resources are accessible in addition to the ongoing sabotage over the LGBT NGOs.

However, the choice of strategic utilisation of foreign resources led to reproducing practices that are in favour of the status-quo. One such outcome is the hierarchal asymmetric relationship between donors and different local LGBT NGOs. There are well-funded globally connected LGBT NGOs that tend to be the model of LGBT NGOs. Only a few organisations have been able to connect with global SOGIESC lobbies. COJ, WSG and EG have enjoyed a greater degree of international affiliations and thereby contribute to the global movement for SOGEISC rights. The founders of both COJ and EG have had

leading positions in the International Lesbian and Gay and Bisexual and Transsexual Association (ILGA) and other leading global and regional SOGIESC organisations. After the closure of the COJ and WSG, EG tends to hold the monopoly of the international lobby. The transnational engagement and connections of the pioneer individuals were instrumental in establishing these organisations. For instance, COJ was formed through the support of a famous diaspora gay individual of Sri Lankan origin and a foreign embassy in Sri Lanka. WSG immensely benefited by international training programmes and dialogues especially in the Anglophone world. Currently EG is the only entity that has a greater degree of access to international resources and the network while other organisations formed during the second and third generations have not been able to contribute to the international SOGIESC movement to the same extent. Rather they have been benefiting from sexual health conferences, 'capacity building' training and some events and a few grants. This is a one-dimensional relationship that places global donors as givers and local LGBT NGOs as receivers.

Another outcome would be the professionalisation drive within the sexual and gender identity rights movement. Due to the heavy focus on funded projects, a majority of LGBT NGOs have become heavily professionalised where activists get paid a monthly salary for full-time work tasked with deliverable outcomes of projects. Although there is a rich practice of volunteerism, the dependency on paid work remains a common feature especially among LGBT NGOs working on sexual health and the HIV/AIDS prevention sector. This does not exclude organisations like EG which is heavily reliant on foreign funds and is predominantly a salaried working entity. Apart from COJ and WSG, SAKHI, CWDF, CHATHRA and JS embrace volunteerism as a key mode of operation though not exclusively. Salaried working culture has created a situation where SOGIESC activists have become NGO professionals and activism has become a major source of livelihood for SOGIESC activists. This has a tremendous impact on the relationship between the funded

organisations and the SOGIESC activists. This culture of professionalisation not only created a technocratic working force but also continues to reproduce the exploitative patronising systems existing in the neo-liberal economies. This setting has enabled majority of the organisations to welcomes skillful English speaking sort of 'cultured' individuals, often from upper middle class backgrounds while others from the social margins are considered to be 'less cultured' who need to be trained to be given greater stake in those organizations. They are either made into guinea pigs or mere subjects of the workshops and trainings conducted by professional staff of LGBT NGOs as these individuals from the social margins 'do not' possess the necessary 'skills' required by the NGO industry. Even though organization that have recruited individuals from less privileged background, key tasks including dealing with donors are often delegated to those who are considered 'cultured'. The organizations that are attempting to shift from this NGO professionalization are often struggling to replace the normative privilege of 'cultured' professionals.

Centralisation is another outcome characterised by patronisation and urban based LGBT activism. Patronising systems are not only allowed but also used to maintain elements that are not democratic, as the LGBT NGO leaders tend to control their staff and access to their resources. Most of the NGOs have often been centred around a founder or one leader. COJ was founded by one gay man who was the head of the organisation until it was closed. In EG's fifteen years of existence, it was headed by one single cis-lesbian woman, and no other person seems to have emerged to replace her leadership. Similar patterns can be identified with VTN, DAST, NTN, and YOH. However, there are organisations that have attempted different styles of oligopoly leadership. WSG, SAKHI, H2H, CHATHRA, CWDF and Jaffna Sangam are some of those examples. These organisations are often formed by either individuals or groups of individuals and such leaderships are subject to multiple forms of consultative processes although they tend to have leaders from time to time.

The organisations under discussion are overwhelmingly Colombo centred and seldom maintain a physical presence outside of Colombo the capital. A majority of the drop-in centres were situated in the gentrified areas of Colombo where middle-class or upper middle-class settlements were located. Even the attempts to start regional entities have been sabotaged. COJ attempted to start centres of their NGO around the country which was later abandoned due to the ultranationalist lobby and state apparatus. This has been a predominant feature of the LGBT NGOs in Sri Lanka until recently when CHATHRA set up the Jaffna Sangam in the war affected Northern Town of Jaffna. The reason for the organisations to be constrained to Colombo could be due to multiple causes such as security concerns, lack of capacity and a self-censorship or for all of those reasons. Although they are centred in Colombo, these NGOs maintain a wider network of individuals and ally organisations throughout the country. This network was maintained by sending letters and telephone directories at the beginning. But with the development of technology, social media is often used to maintain networks in rural areas which are used to draw participants for workshops and activities in Colombo. This has created a tension between the periphery and the centre where much of the resources are being spent on the entities in Colombo whereas there is very little left for rural areas. This is an indication of NGOs being centralised to the capital city with accumulated resources which then effectively suppress different forms of queer agencies from the peripheries.

As most of these organisations are situated in the metropolitan city of Colombo where different ethnic groups speaking Tamil and Sinhala reside, the major organisations tend to use English as their language of operations and fail to materialise the importance of using local languages. This could be due to the legacy of English-speaking middle-class leadership. English language skills are often considered to be qualifications for higher pay whereas individuals fluent in local languages are given lower wages. Most of these organisations

have rarely had individuals with trilingual skills. As a result, there were rarely individuals fluent in Tamil and no specific LGBT NGO worked for the Tamil speaking community in the country until 2018. The first Tamil speaking LGBT NGO was started in 2018, Jaffna Sangam which later bifurcated to JTN. It is often English speakers that are sent abroad for training and dialogues which occurs often upon the discretion of the head of the organisations.

It is also unavoidable that LGBT NGOs often maintain a relationship with both state and non-state entities. The Sexual and Gender Rights sub-committee of the National Human Rights Commission of Sri Lanka was one of the key entities that connects the LGBT NGOs with the state. Unlike the radical agenda of collective mobilisation for queer rights, these LGBT NGOs maintain a transformatory approach with state entities. The same goes with the National Sexual and Aids Control Programme (NSACP) under the Ministry of Health where a significant portion of GFATM grants are given for HIV prevention and AIDS control in Sri Lanka. Apart from that, maintaining relations with donors including embassies is a key feature among the major organisations such as EG, WSG and COJ. However, the nature of global visibility has not been a key feature of the organisations that emerged during the second and third generations. Although there are individuals who enjoy exposure to international and regional meetings and trainings, they are seldom translated into organisational outcomes in acquiring competitive grants and contributions to the global lobby.

By the time of writing this paper, of those key LGBT organisations, the pioneers and founders from the first generations of organisations COJ and WSG are no longer functional. The only remaining first generation organisation is EG with the largest annual budget and widest international recognition and influence on policing queer subjectivities in Sri Lanka. Among the second generation organisations, SAKHI is closed and DAST and YOH have revived after a brief closure and become key grass root implementing sub-agents for the HIV lobby funded by The Global

Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria (GFATM). In addition to that, NTN and H2H also rely on funds from GFATM. However, the majority of third generation organisations tend to deviate from dependencies on the HIV lobby and diversify their source funds. VTN, CWDF, CHATHRA and Jaffna Sangam aspire towards a locally rooted model supported by multiple stakeholders. NTN and YOH have also started diversifying their funds to attract more resources towards their work.

Compartmentalisation of NGO labour based on SOGIESC identities has become evident. There are two organisations dedicated exclusively on transgender issues. VTN works mainly on transgender men and trans-masculine issues while NTN focus more on transgender womens' issues. JTN works with transgender persons from Northern Sri Lanka. CHATHRA and CWDF although claiming to be reaching out to different identities remains largely dependent on gay and lesbian women. Although EG claims to be open to different queer subjectivities they tend to attract middle class or mostly upper middle-class gay and lesbian women while H2H tends to attract lower middle-class transgender women and gay men. DAST currently navigates the space between different LGBT NGOs and donors as a technical assistance provision agency run by two Sri Lankan gay men who are interested in HIV and the sexual health lobby. YOH has a network of gay men. This compartmentalisation also serves a divided constituency formation as NGOs have increasingly become focused on competing for funding for their survival along with territoriality and gate keeping of their respective work.

Summary and Implications

The origin of the institutionalised sexual and gender justice movement in Sri Lanka is a radical step towards unearthing the struggle of historically oppressed communities. The struggle for decriminalisation and sexual and gender justice represents a radical strategic goal given the widespread opposition against changing the status-quo which continues to criminalise non-heterosexual conduct. Therefore, the very

existence of LGBT NGOs tasked with strategic consensus on decriminalisation is a radical origin in itself.

In materialising such a radical goal, LGBT NGOs in Sri Lanka depict a mixed picture that is not necessarily confined to the idea of radicalism. These NGOs had to navigate a political landscape that is affected by a number of transitions and shocks due to war, shrinking civil society space and state-sponsored queerphobia. These circumstances along with the interests of global donors, makes radicalism a difficult terrain of contention to comply with. In their operations and function, LGBT NGOs embody and reproduce features that are in favour of the status-quo which in a sense make them part of the existing structure rather than a force against it. Donor dependency, professionalisation, autocratic leadership style, state-centred engagement, marginalisation of native languages, compartmentalisation of NGO labour and centralised structures of function are highlighted as such manifestations of non-radical features in their operations.

The LGBT NGOs origin and evolution in the struggle for sexual and gender justice in Sri Lanka is marked by this paradoxical relationship between their radical goal and non-radical means. The study points out that the non-radical means were instrumental in securing the radical existence of LGBT NGOs and their voice for decriminalisation. The paradox of being radical and non-radical offers a pragmatic approach that enables NGOs to navigate a hostile political landscape for the sexual and gender justice movement.

However, such a paradoxical framework of being 'radical' and 'non-radical' is limited in understanding the internal and external determinants of dynamic of LGBT NGOs. Highly normative conceptual tools like 'radicalism' tend to fail in capturing the rationale behind rational decisions often informed by contemporary circumstances and interests of NGOs. As explained above, the empirical account suggests a move towards a more rational choice model in understanding the evolution of LGBT NGOs in Sri Lanka.

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CHAPTER 2

Ragging and its hidden violence:

A study on ragging in the Faculty of Arts,

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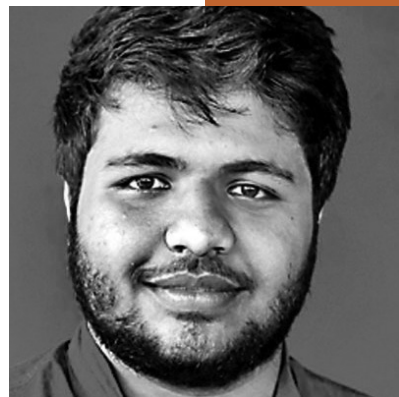
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Abstract

Despite Act No. 20 of 1998 which prohibits ragging and other forms of violence in educational institutions, ragging is still prevalent in Sri Lankan state universities. This study analyses the parliamentary debate that took place when the Act was being presented as a Bill in parliament, student interviews and surveys conducted at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Colombo and identifies gaps in the understanding of how violence takes place through ragging. The study understands that various power relations that reinforce and are reinforced by ragging foster structural violence. The study observes that the 'mild-rag' sympathising approach of entities that claim to be against ragging has led to the failure of measures taken by the same entities to curb ragging. This is because all forms of ragging are different manifestations and aspects of a unified structure of violence.

සංක්ෂිප්තය

නවක වදය සහ එහි සැඟවුණු ප්‍රචණ්ඩත්වය: කොළඹ විශ්වවිද්‍යාලයේ ශාස්ත්‍ර පීඨයේ නවක වදය පිළිබඳ අධ්‍යයනයක්

හිරණ්‍යදා දේවසිරි, කනිෂ්ක වේරවැල්ල සහ තරින්ද මල්ලවාරච්චි

1998 අංක 20 දරණ අධ්‍යාපන ආයතනවල නවක වදය සහ වෙනත් ස්වරූපයේ සාහසික ක්‍රියා තහනම් කිරීමේ පනත ශ්‍රී ලංකාව තුළ බලාත්මක වුවත්, රටේ රාජ්‍ය විශ්වවිද්‍යාල තුළ නවක වදය තවමත් දක්නට ලැබේ. උක්ත පනත කෙටුම්පතක් ලෙස පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේදී භාජනය වූ විවාදය සහ කොළඹ විශ්වවිද්‍යාලයේ ශාස්ත්‍ර පීඨයේ සිසුන් සමග සිදු කළ සම්මුඛ සාකච්ඡා හා සමීක්ෂණ විශ්ලේෂණයට ලක් කරන මෙම අධ්‍යයනය නවක වදය හරහා හිංසනය සිදුවන ආකාරයන් පිළිබඳව ඇති තේරුම්ගැනීමේ පවතින හිඩැස් හඳුනාගනි. නවක වදය ශක්තිමත් කරන සහ නවක වදයෙන් ශක්තිමත් වන විවිධ බල සම්බන්ධතා ව්‍යුහාත්මක ප්‍රචණ්ඩත්වය පෝෂණය කරන බව මෙම අධ්‍යයනය තේරුම්ගනි. නවක වදයට විරුද්ධ යැයි කියාගන්නා ඇතැම් පාර්ශවයන් විසින් අනුගමනය කරනා 'මෘදු නවක වදය' ට විරුද්ධ නොවන ප්‍රවේශය විසින් ඔවුන් විසින්ම නවක වදය වැළැක්වීමට ගෙන ඇති පියවර අසාර්ථක වීමට හේතුව බව මෙම අධ්‍යයනය නිරීක්ෂණය කරයි. ඒ සෑම ස්වරූපයක නවක වදයක්ම එකම හිංසන ව්‍යුහයක පැතිකඩ හා ප්‍රකාශන වන නිසායි.

சுருக்கம்

பகிடிவதையும் மறைக்கப்பட்ட அதன் வன்முறையும்: கொழும்பு பல்கலைகழக கலை பீடத்தில் நடைமுறையிலுள்ள பகிடிவதை குறித்த ஆய்வு

ஹிரண்யதா தேவசிறி, கனிஷ்க வெரவெல்ல மற்றும் தரிந்த மல்லவாராச்சி

கல்வி நிறுவனங்களில் பகிடிவதை மற்றும் ஏனைய வன்முறைகளைத் தடுக்கும் வகையில் 1998ஆம் ஆண்டின் 20ஆம் இலக்கச் சட்டம் அமுல்படுத்தப்பட்ட போதிலும், இலங்கை அரச பல்கலைகழகங்களில் பகிடிவதை இன்னும் நடைமுறையில் உள்ளது. இச்சட்டம் நாடாளுமன்றத்தில் ஒரு மசோதாவாக முன்வைக்கப்பட்டபோது நடந்த விவாதத்தின் பகுப்பாய்வு ஊடாகவும் கொழும்பு பல்கலைகழகத்தின் கலை பீடத்திலுள்ள மாணவர்களுடன் நடாத்தப்பட்ட நேர்காணல்கள் மற்றும் ஆய்வுகளின் ஊடாகவும் பகிடிவதை மூலம் வன்முறை எவ்வாறு நிகழ்கிறது என்பதை அறிந்துகொள்வதில் உள்ள இடைவெளிகளை இந்த ஆய்வு கவனத்தில் கொள்வதோடு கட்டமைப்பு வன்முறையை வளர்ப்பதன் மூலம் வலுப்படுத்தப்படுகின்ற மற்றும் வலுப்படுத்தப்பட்ட பல்வேறு அதிகார உறவுகளை புரிந்து கொள்ளவும் உதவுகின்றது. அத்தோடு இது பகிடிவதைக்கு எதிரானது எனக் கூறப்படுகின்ற நிறுவனங்களின் 'மிதமான பகிடிவதை அனுதாப அணுகுமுறை' அத்தகைய நிறுவனங்களால் முன்னெடுக்கப்படுகின்ற பகிடிவதை தடுப்பு நடவடிக்கைகளின் தோல்விக்கு வழிவகுக்கிறது என்பதை புரிந்து கொள்ளவும் உதவுகின்றது. ஏனெனில், அனைத்து வகையான பகிடிவதையிலும் வன்முறையின் ஒருங்கிணைந்த கட்டமைப்பின் தோற்றங்கள் மற்றும் அம்சங்கள் வேறுபடுகின்றன.

Discourses on Youth Radicalisation in Sri Lanka | CHAPTER 2
Ragging and its hidden violence: A study on ragging in the Faculty of Arts,

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Introduction

Ragging is a topic that surfaces periodically at the beginning of every new academic year in most Sri Lankan state universities[4]. News reports regarding incidents of ragging and statistical data on students abandoning university education due to ragging are released and discussed during this time. In simple terms, ragging in the Sri Lankan university context is a phenomenon where senior students get junior students to obey a code of conduct prescribed by them, something they claim has been practiced for many generations. A legal framework was introduced to prohibit ragging in educational institutions in 1998. Although the Prohibition of Ragging and other forms of Violence in Educational Institutions Act was enacted almost two decades ago, ragging still prevails in universities, and deaths directly or indirectly connected to ragging are still reported. The seriousness attributed to ragging and the efforts made to curtail ragging are more often heard with regard to instances where bodily harm is inflicted. Yet the practice of ragging is not limited to manifestations of physical violence that cause bodily harm. This study explores the different ways in which power has been organised inside the university, in ways that still foster ragging. Finally, it argues that Act No. 20 of 1998 is not sensitive to these power dynamics that stand above the practice of ragging itself. It also explores the thinking behind the drawing up of Act No. 20 of 1998 which is non-sensitive to the organisation of power behind ragging; and argues that they only respond to acts of physical violence. Thus, the Act might be able to punish ragging in certain instances but not completely eradicate ragging from universities.

This essay understands that the direct and physical violence in ragging is only an external manifestation of a system that is constructed upon structural violence. The Act No. 20 of 1998 as the most powerful entity against ragging and violence fails to recognise this. The essay makes assertions that structural violence caused by inequalities in power relations exists in the university; and that both students and staff members become offenders of direct violence where their very actions demonstrate the existence of structures that pave the way for structural violence. Then, it illustrates how the law commits foundational violence by way of giving authority to a perspective that sees ragging as an act essentially connected to leftist political ideologies. It thereby works under assumptions that criminalize popular forms of protest as well as deny student agency. The study is based on the Faculty of Arts of the University of Colombo, focusing on relations between students and staff and how power plays out within those relations[5]. We thank Mr. Thiyagaraja Waradas for his insightful feedback and guidance.

Ragging, Violence and Political Mobilisation

State universities in Sri Lanka have seen ragging as an evolving practice of its culture. However, ragging has been recognised as a form of violence and therefore a criminal act by Act No. 20 of 1998, the Prohibition of Ragging and other forms of Violence in Educational Institutions Act. Ruwanpura (2011) cites Silva in stating that ragging is a common[6] phenomenon in Sri Lankan universities and describes it as a "process by which new students entering university are subjected to varying degrees and forms of mental, verbal and/or physical violence by senior students. Ruwanpura (2011) finds ragging to be a way in which senior students play a key role in shaping

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4 This observation does not imply that non-state universities are ragging free.

5 This study does not take non-state universities and other such bodies into account. This, however, does not suggest that such institutions are ragging free.

6 The degree to which ragging's presence is felt may differ from one university, faculty or campus to another. This study also acknowledges that there are certain state universities, faculties and campuses where ragging is not practiced.

and controlling the sociality of new students and this process is one that is characterised by violence.

Ragging is a form of violence and a criminal act by Act No. 20 of 1998, the Prohibition of Ragging and other forms of Violence in Educational Institutions Act.

One view is that ragging is a result of an admissions policy that throws together students from widely different social backgrounds (Matthews 1995). Garg (2009) suggests that junior students are ragged by "organised group(s) of tormentors", who would be senior students whom junior students are usually too frightened to resist. Providing an explanation to this, Ruwanpura (2011) states that regardless of how the rag is recalled by those who went through it, with approval or otherwise, the sense of obligation, uneasiness and fear was what they experienced during its course. She then concludes that ragging instils a sense of fear among the new entrants and that it is intended to control. Even though the rules which apply during the rag are specific to the duration of it, they set the foundation for a hierarchy based on age which students need to comply during their time spent at the university (Ruwanpura 2011). Characterised by fear that allows themselves to be controlled, ragging is reinforced and reproduces a power dynamic that is hierarchical. However, whether this hierarchy is based on age (as Ruwanpura (2011) suggests) could be explored further through the course of this essay.

The practice of ragging is also understood as having an equalizing or levelling function in a student body that hails from various backgrounds (Matthews 1995) in terms of culture and class. Wanasundera (2000) cites that Silva et al. concluded that even though ragging is perceived as a social 'equaliser' in class terms, to the extent it enables senior male students to enforce their will on female freshers, it tends to reproduce unequal gender relations characteristic of mainstream society within the counterculture among university students as well. Furthering the discussion on the equalising dynamic of ragging, Matthews (1995) asks whether the student groups that politically mobilise students through ragging can be identified as mere bullies or whether they represent a class struggle. Bullying is defined as the "repeated oppression, psychological or physical, of a less powerful person by a more powerful one" (Farrington 1993). If ragging is always practiced on newcomers (Garg 2009) this implies that ragging would end once they stop being considered newcomers. If bullying is repeated oppression, the question of how often it must be repeated for an act of oppression to be bullying can be raised. Moreover, ragging is practiced on bodies that are identified as 'newcomers', an identity, the newcomer status, and not individual persons. This complicates the notion that ragging is equal to bullying where a less powerful person is oppressed by a more powerful one. Farrington (1993) also elaborates that bullies are aggressive, tough, strong, confident, and impulsive whilst victims of bullying are unpopular, lonely, rejected, anxious, depressed, unwilling to retaliate, and lacking in self-esteem and that enjoyment is a factor that could reinforce the practice of bullying. The idea of being organised and the fact that newcomers are targeted in ragging because of their newcomer status shows that the emotive and personality traits mentioned by Farrington does not seem to be the immediate factors that influence ragging, particularly in the Sri Lankan state university context, or that at least there is room for debate. It is then revealed that identifying senior students who engage in ragging as bullies is complicated and problematic.

The viewing of raggers as representing a class struggle (Matthews 1995) could be explored by turning to the history of ragging in Sri Lanka. In their book, Thel Bammen Obbata (Beyond the Thel Bamma[7]), the Socialist Students Union, which was then (in 2002) the student wing of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna[8], states that

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7 Thel Bamma is the place where seniors gather to rag junior students in the University of Kelaniya. Thel bedanawa in the university dialect refers to passing down political ideology from one person to another, particularly from a senior to a junior – authors.

8 People's Liberation Front (JVP), the leftist political party formed by Rohana Wijeweera in 1965

ragging is a classed practice that was brought to Sri Lankan Universities by the elite as a mirroring of ragging that existed in universities like Oxford and Cambridge. Many assert that ragging was always a part of Sri Lankan university culture but credits a sadistic turn in ragging to the 1971 JVP youth insurrection (Matthews 1995). The history of political activities inside universities points to one political force, the left leaning, socialist JVP which was then subsequently eliminated as an immediate threat to the state (Matthews 1995). During those times of political turmoil, the JVP found the university campuses to offer the best conditions for refuge and protection from the police (Matthews 1995). Sørensen, B. (2008) asserts that the JVP, following the legacy of the power they had within universities during the youth insurrections of 1971 and the late 1980s, still "continue to have many supporters among Sinhalese university students, who are still involved in violent ragging and political mobilisation". This points towards a possible link between the practice of ragging and political mobilisation; and grounds ragging in the political history of the country since the inception of the practice is viewed as a possible class negotiation.

The variables that Matthews (1995) states: university, faculty, accommodation, gender and social class, in his opinion, not only results in ragging but they become the basis and context as to how ragging is organised. The three variants, severity, violence, and type of ragging (Matthews 1995) is key to definitions of ragging and how ragging as a practice is recognised. Wedage and Gunatilake (2009) makes a distinction between severe ragging, extreme physical and sexual torture that causes mental trauma and psychological disorders, and mild ragging which may cause mental trauma but has no aspect of extreme physical and sexual torture. This distinction reveals that the idea of severity is based on an idea of violence that Galtung (1969) calls a common sense understanding of violence which is "the somatic incapacitation, or deprivation of health, alone (with killing as the extreme form), at the hands of an actor who intends this to be

the consequence". This definition is narrow, and it only captures physical violence. Although the Wedage and Gunatilake (2009) dichotomy understands both as harmful, physical violence (not in terms of the act of violence but the result of it) is seen as more severe, which would naturally draw more attention and as needing intervention with regards to curbing it with urgency.

"Ragging could be a form of physical abuse, commanded by the seniors. Engaging juniors in labourious work could fall under 'severe' ragging.

Forms of disruption of any academic activities, financial extortion, forceful expenditure cause psychological harm

Which affects mental health and self-confidence".

(Wedage and Gunatillake, 2009)

Wedage and Gunatilake (2009) examines types of ragging from India to describe various forms that ragging could take. Quoting the 2006 Committee Report on Ragging by the Supreme Court of India and Garg, they (Wedage and Gunatillake, 2009) say that ragging could take the form of physical abuse, the performance of acts under command of seniors and engaging juniors in laborious work, could fall under 'severe' ragging. While forms of disruption of the academic activities of junior students, financial extortion and forceful expenditure, acts that cause psychological harm affecting the mental health of students could be verbal or another form of non-physical abuse. Dress barriers which function as a dress code that is imposed on juniors by seniors, sexualised conversations, being forced to "toughen up" through the following of various procedures of conduct and organised programmes of mass ragging are what is termed 'mild' ragging. Ruwanpura (2011) says that much of the rag which is reported as being cruel and sadistic is driven by the political agenda of student groups, which can be linked to previously discussed ideas expressed about the JVP and their relationship to

ragging. This links political agendas and student political activism to the type of ragging that is mostly condemned, which is cruel and sadistic, again, perceived so because of the severity.

To Galtung (1969), violence is present when human beings are being influenced so that their actual somatic and mental realisations are below their potential realisations. This means that violence is the cause of this gap between the actual and the potential which could be caused by a change at either end. This definition raises questions, particularly in relation to what the referred 'potential' entails. Per Galtung (1969), when the definition moves away from somatic aspects and towards mental aspects, aspects that fall under what Wedage and Gunatilake (2009) call 'mild' ragging, there may not be a strong consensus on whether a particular act is violent or not because the potential is intangible. In such cases, Galtung (1969) states that the potential will be based on what is fairly consensual. According to Wedage and Gunatilake (2009), there are positive and negative impacts to ragging. Respondents of their study conducted in the University of Sri Jayawardenapura identify the rag as a mechanism of induction or orientation to the institution and a process that teaches important life skills by way of identifying features that they find to be positive and therefore a didactic practice. The study finds students speaking nostalgically about the rag, finding the process to be advantageous to an extent.

> **Ragging is seen as a mechanism of induction or orientation. According to a Study by the University of Sri Jayawardenapura, students speak nostalgically about the rag, and ragging as being advantageous.**
>
> **However, ragging should not be used to promote political views and party politics...and should not be misused to mobilise students towards political action.**
>
> (Wedage and Gunatilake 2009)

A smaller, though unwavering, group insisted that ragging was worthy and essential in a university context (Ruwanpura 2011). Because of the intangibility of potentials when it comes to violence related to mental aspects, results of what is called mild ragging are often voiced as the positive aspects, although it is not always the case. The respondents of the University of Sri Jayawardenapura held that ragging should not be used to promote political views and party politics and gain student support for political parties and that in the process of ragging, issues in the university system or the country should not be used to mobilise students towards political action (Wedage and Gunatilake 2009). This belief falls in line with the idea that ragging turned sadistic following the JVP's intervention in university politics and ragging. This allows 'severe' ragging, which is more consensually agreed to be violent because of its physical aspects.

Sørensen, M. (2014) argues that Foucault's understanding of disciplinary power problematises the nature of 'human potential' that Galtung uses to define violence. The didacticism, which ragging is associated with, brings it close to a process that disciplines. Disciplinary power, which works under the same mechanics, sometimes enhances the human potential and even the path to its achievement (Sørensen, M. 2014). This complicates the viewing of ragging as violence as it is claimed to have the disciplinary aspect which seems to reduce the gap between the actual and the potential somatic and mental realisations as humans and as students of these institutions in particular.

Another aspect of ragging is that it seems to be a structurally ingrained practice that is always pronounced hand in hand with the cultures in Sri Lankan state universities. There may not be any person who directly harms another person in the structure, as Galtung's (1969) words go. The violence is built into the structure and shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances (Galtung 1969). Structural is not simply that they do not obey the juridical grammar, where an individual agent must be assigned

the responsibility for an action. It is structural also because of its "recurrent and iterative temporality, the fact that it is reproduced and that this reproduction and reproducibility are not just contingent but constitutive aspects of contemporary economies of violence" (Winter et al. 2012). This extension of the definition suggested by Winter et al. (2012) allows structural violence and violence in general in ragging and in the university to be explored through new perspectives.

The existence of inequalities within the university was discussed in this section earlier, pertaining to how ragging functions as an equalising process, especially in terms of class, but also how it establishes unequal gender relations. Ruwanpura (2011) also asserted that ragging reinforces hierarchical relations within the student body. In terms of structural violence then, it also becomes necessary to explore the dynamics and layers of hierarchical inequalities that exist within the university space when it comes to both student and staff. Ediriweera Sarachchandra (n.d) in an essay titled "Oba Vishwavidyalayakata Piwisa Atha" ("You have entered a university") emphasises that the University is a space of equality. He rejects the traditional hierarchised teacher-student relationship and asserts that the university is a space where the academic community seeks knowledge together as equals. To quote him, "If equality exists somewhere as the prime goal, that is in the space of the university".

> **"Ragging reinforces hierarchical relations within the student body" (Ruwanpura, 2011).**
>
> **"University is a space of equality".** (Ediriweera Sarachchandra (n.d)
>
> **"University is a space where the academic community seeks knowledge together as equals"** (Ediriweera Sarachchandra (n.d)
>
> **"If equality exists somewhere as the prime goal, that is in the space of the university"** (Ediriweera Sarachchandra (n.d)

As a starting point, Sarachchandra differentiates the university from a school. E. W. Adikaram (n.d) who among other things in University Education, talks about discipline or Sikkha (Shiksha in Sanskrit). He understands Sikkha as a necessary value in university education and states that it is an idea that is often misconceived. The cause of Sikkha, according to him, should not be fear. Discipline can exist in many ways and the way in which discipline is chosen to be imposed is through intimidation, which denies the agency of the student, further denying any inclination towards non-conformity. These ideals, in a way could be used as a point of departure in examining the nature and role of inequalities when it comes to power relations inside the university and how they pave the way for violence.

Ragging however, as mentioned before, has been a crime in Sri Lanka since Act. No. 20 of 1998 prohibiting ragging and other forms of violence in educational institutions, was enacted by parliament. As a legal document, this becomes the state's voice in defining ragging and directing action that is taken around it. Galtung's (1969) definition of peace as the negation of violence and some of its elaborations and criticisms sheds light on how law and policy may be viewed as violence on their own. Galtung (1969) asserts that because peace serves as a mean of consensus, when efforts are made to plead almost any kind of policy, it is often asserted that policy, in addition to its other merits, will also serve the cause of peace. Winter et al.'s (2012) criticism asserts that peaceful deliberation, contracts between consenting parties, promises of eternal friendship, and the reciprocal recognition of sovereign independence are sometimes not the counter to violence , (peace, according to Galtung) but the form that violence takes.

> **"When analysing the causes of violence and student unrest in universities, one has to recognise that the university is a microcosm of the society and that similar causes could result in causing violence in both settings"**

Derrida argues that, the founding or grounding of the law cannot rest on anything but themselves, that it is violence without grounding because no authority can be grounded in a right, given that authority is what creates 'right' (cited in Winter et al. 2012). He also states that since the founding of anything, may it be a state, always happens with violence and that this is not a form of direct violence but foundational violence, a violence of its own. (Derrida cited in Winter et al. 2012). The foundation of one happens by erasing another and recognises it as foundational violence committed on what is erased in the act of erasing (Winter et al. 2012). Winter et al. (2012) claims that what was there before must be cleared away for the new authority to be authoritative. Expressing their views on the Act No. 20 of 1998, the Socialist Student's Union (2002) claims that although the expressed intention of the above Act is to eliminate ragging, the underlying intention is to suppress students and academic and non-academic staff members. They elaborate that most of the Act's sections are provisions to counter various forms of protests and that only very little of the Act is directly relevant to ragging.

Narada Warnasuriya (2008), the former Vice-Chancellor of the University of Sri Jayawardenapura states that when analysing the causes of violence and student unrest in universities, one must recognise that the university is a microcosm of the society and that similar causes could result in causing violence in both settings (Warnasuriya, 2008). However, he also states that there are endogenous factors that cause violence in universities with regards to the special characteristics of the university environment (Warnasuriya, 2008). To him, structural inequalities that result in uncertain employment prospects are then capitalised upon by radical student groups to serve their political interests, causing student unrest and violence (Warnasuriya, 2008). He states that intolerance towards opposing views, and the tacit acceptance of these sentiments by the passive majority are characteristic of the university space that he encounters and that in this light, universities have failed to provide space

for the free and open discussion of ideas and values (Warnasuriya, 2008). He says that ragging is used as a process of indoctrination into the views of political parties that are dominant in Student Unions and that this is seen as affecting the quality of the academic activities within the university, as it stifles independent thinking (Warnasuriya, 2008).

Political mobilisation of this nature can be referred to as radicalism or radicalisation. The predominant understanding of radicalisation has created a "corollary political agenda" which is called the "counter-radical" or "counter-extremist" (Githens-Mazer 2012), one that has global hegemonic power articulated within discourses of security and stability, by which the understanding of 'radicalisation' is always coloured by, as a threat to security and stability of the existing social order (Githens-Mazer 2012), something that must be countered and erased. However, the radical also refers to the challenging politics of the 1960s such as the American civil rights movement, university sit-ins, movements that strived to transform societies that had deep inequalities (Githens-Mazer 2012). Reviewing other literature, Githens-Mazer (2012) illustrates different ways in which 'radicalisation' is used. According to Ellner it has been used to indicate forms of populism related to revolutionary opportunity and to Ferrero it is a revolutionary act in response to declining power (cited in Githens-Mazer 2012). The existence of a body of knowledge that is built upon the idea of countering radicalism in a sense is then a discourse that serves to safeguard the existing status quo. The history of political activism inside and around university spaces and students allow it to be read as radicalisation characterised by how these student activists chose to take political action and what drives these student activists.

The hierarchised relations of power in the institutional space of the university have been referred to by many scholars. However, a closer inquiry of this in a more specific scope could unearth dynamics of these power relations and inequalities, as well as how such relations allow violence to take place. Attention could particularly be paid to how these relations extend to the staff members where

they are in this hierarchy. This inquiry of violence could focus more on aspects of structural and foundational violence which seems to always be overshadowed by direct violence, the more visible and tangible out of all.

Method and Methodology

This study is based on the Faculty of Arts of the University of Colombo, where the researchers explored layers of inequalities and ways in which violence played out in the daily realities and relations of individuals and groups in the faculty.

Although the study is based on the Faculty of Arts, University of Colombo, the discussion of findings of this study is an engagement with the dynamics of violence in the state university system of Sri Lanka in general. However, this does not suggest that it is a microcosmic study.

An often proclaimed 'fact' by students and staff alike, (belonging to the subject faculty as well as those who do not), is that the Faculty of Arts is one of the faculties that has been able to minimize ragging.

In the absence or minimal presence of 'direct violence' (that are acts that the study assumes to be ragging) , a window is created to observe structural violence more clearly as it does not live under the shadow of direct violence.

This study hypothesises that there is in built violence in the Faculty of Arts that goes beyond the manifestations of direct violence. Forms of structural violence exist due to inequalities in power caused by various aspects. The study attempts to establish that these forms of violence are considered with less seriousness compared to direct violence. As an explanation to this, the study will explore how the existing knowledge on ragging and certain understandings of how it is linked to political activism has facilitated this unbalanced approach to violence inside the university.

A concern regarding the quality of the findings and conclusions of this study would be that the researchers were too intimate with the field.

Although this would make arriving at objective conclusions problematic, the researchers aim to bring in their first-hand experiences in the field to the study, eventhough subjective. Understanding the phenomenon of "ragging" from an 'inside' perspective becomes tricky. But an internal perspective could also unearth facts that might not have been receptive to an inquiry that is made on the topic from the perspective of one that is outside a given structure at that point in time. However, the idea of an 'internal' and the 'external' becomes ambiguous as well, since the researchers may not have directly experienced what they are analysing.

The study is therefore located in this ambiguity and it makes the ambiguity a part of the subject of the study itself. The study is limited to student spheres that predominantly communicate in Sinhala and will not explore the dynamics of inequalities across ethno-religious lines. The study, however, acknowledges that various ethno-religious and language factors play a key role in shaping the power dynamics inside the faculty and in the practice of ragging in particular, though this study does not look into this side of things because this study has a narrower scope.

The study uses both primary and secondary sources of data. The study was conducted between November 2018 and May 2019. In order to explore the power dynamics within the Faculty of Arts, the researchers gathered testimonies of the students from the Faculty through individual interviews and a survey that was circulated across the faculty throughout two weeks in May 2019 and gathered quantitative data from a convenient sample of 102 current undergraduates. The questionnaire inquired upon terms used by students to address other students (based on age and year of study) and staff members to inquire about existing hierarchical relations. The fact that this study uses the perspective of the students of the faculty needs to be stated. Since the study explores individual experiences of students, it needs to be acknowledged that these experiences cannot be generalised since they are a part of a subjective experience. The testimonies gathered through the interviews have been anonymised (they have been given

pseudonyms) to safeguard the identities of the students.

In order to locate these experiences in the larger narrative around youth and student politics, universities, and ragging, the study will bring in textual and audio-visual sources as other primary data. Out of those sources, Act No. 20 of 1998, the Prohibition of Ragging and Other Forms of Violence in Educational Institutions Act will be used as a primary source as the study will be evaluating the dynamics and politics of curbing ragging in relation to its terms. The study will first look at the manner in which power is organised inside the Faculty of Arts in ways that enable structural violence to take place, and then move on to discuss how the legislation that has been introduced to curb ragging is not sensitive to structural violence.

Findings and Discussion

The Faculty of Arts of the University of Colombo, like many other state universities in Sri Lanka, is entitled to hold elections and democratically elect their student representatives to the faculty's Students Union. Wedage and Gunatilake (2009) quote the 2006 Committee Report on Ragging by the Supreme Court of India which claims that ragging is low in institutions that promote the democratic participation of students in representation. Upon inquiry into the recent history of elections in the faculty, it was revealed that, there were no official elections till 2016. Although two political groups existed, the Common Students Alliance (Podu Shishya Ekamuthuwa - CSA) and the United Students Organisation (Eksath Shishya Sanvidhānaya - USO) that claim support in numbers among the student populace of the faculty, they have not contested in formal elections in the recent past, till 2016. Until 2012, the United Students Organisation has had majority power in the faculty allowing them to hold office in the Faculty's student representative

body, which changed in 2012, shifting power to the Common Students Alliance. Prior to 2016, the faculty did not hold a student body election as the process of electing occurred informally involving just the undergraduates who resided in hostels[9]. An informal vote was taken at the hostels and only the winning party would hand over nominations for the student body elections, to which they would be appointed by default. This was a component of the culture of ragging as all hostel stayers were subjected to ragging, which created a distinction between those who stay at university hostels and those who do not. Since they began to formally contest for elections, both parties have shown that they have support within the student populace of the faculty. At present, the faculty has seen the appointment of three democratically elected student representative bodies since 2016[10]. The use of the word 'democratically' here implies that the informal elections that were held in hostels prior to 2016 were not democratic. Voting was only open for a group of students, who were residents of hostels and undergraduates who were ragged more as newcomers than those who did not reside in hostels, because the ragging that took place in hostels, as the word goes, was more 'severe'. Although the technical possibility for other students to contest in the election existed, it was not practiced. The handing over of nominations by other groups only took place following the elections in 2016, which still saw the electing of either of the two main political groups, the CSA or USO. The elections that are conducted within hostels can be considered undemocratic, these informal elections cannot be disregarded as they reflecte a – forced or otherwise – consensus among students, if not for the elected members, for the system of election, although this eventually changed. However, as a point of departure, the relationship between elections and hostels show how linked ragging and politics inside the university are.

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9   The University of Colombo is not a residential university. Its hostels are located in various parts of Colombo   and are segregated by sex. Because of the limited number of hostel facilities, hostel accommodation is only   offered to a limited number of students based on their needs.

10 The year 2018 did not see an election as the list of nominations from one group was rejected due to technical reasons allowing the other party to be appointed by default.

Elections and the appointment of student representatives to the Students Union is an administrative activity that has much to do with university governance. The method which denied non-hostel students their voting rights can be identified as an inequality faced by them. These students have experienced less rights because they did not reside in university hostels although they took part in ragging within the university. If the maintenance of a consensual distance between those who stay in hostels and those who do not is coming from a structure imposed through ragging, a further inquiry into the matter sheds light on how hostels play a role in ragging, the organising of these activities, persons involved, and what inequalities are at play.

Rohan, a 4th year undergraduate at the Faculty of Arts chose to stay at the university hostel due to financial reasons.

"If you want to stay at the hostel, you have to be ragged"

He said that although there is no legal 'case' or 'right' for one to stay at the hostel and not be ragged, other students who are being ragged will make the stay 'difficult' if one refuses to take part. It is a common belief in the faculty that one cannot be in hostels if one does not want to be ragged. This situation then, is a result of a structural inequality. If one is in a financial position to reside at a private boarding house, one can avoid being ragged. Sahan, another 4th year undergraduate followed this method to avoid being ragged in university. Residing close to the university, then becomes a factor determining whether an individual has the power to refuse to be ragged. If one does not have the ability to make such choices, one is unable to realise the potential (per Galtung's (1969) definition), of not being ragged. Therefore, their actual realisation is being ragged while staying at university hostels. Whilst the immediate action of ragging allows one to identify an element of direct

violence, the inability to break away from it due to financial or other reasons expose a layer of structural violence. The iterative temporality, the generational passing-down of a belief structure is an extended form of structural violence (Winter et al. 2012). Rohan, however, has never witnessed a student who opposes ragging to be residing in a university hostel. When asked why a student who wished not be ragged could not stay in university hostels, he explained that other students would isolate him or her, that this individual student would be discriminated against, made fun of etc. But Rohan, when questioned further said that this was mere speculation as he has not witnessed anyone having to go through that because "normally" no one staying in hostels refuses to take part in ragging. It is evident that more than an actual practice, the belief has been passed down from generation to generation, a belief engrained in the structure and a belief that continues to be true on one level, because it is believed to be true. In logical terms, it has allowed one's choice to stay at hostels (although there isn't much of a choice for students who do not have the financial capability to afford other forms of lodging) to be read as consent to being ragged which complicates the identifying of perpetrators within the logic of that particular structure. It is somewhat clear that there is more than one form of structural violence underlying the direct violence related to ragging in university hostels.

As explained earlier, ragging in hostels amounts to the 'severe' kind in the Wedage and Gunatilake (2009) dichotomy. The structural order that is constructed by 'severe' or 'mild' ragging is a hierarchised one and is evident in other cultural features that may not be considered as a part of the process of ragging. Ruwanpura (2011) states that the hierarchy that is constructed among students through ragging is based on age. However, an age-based hierarchy is something that exists in Sri Lankan society and is evident using kinship terms like Aiya, Akka, Nangi, Malli,[11]

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11 Aiya – elder brother, Akka – elder sister, Nangi – younger sister, Malli – younger brother

among people that are not kin to each other. The use of kinship terms, however, sheds light on who is held to be more senior or more powerful in a hierarchy. A survey was conducted with the participation of a convenient sample of 102 in the Faculty of Arts. The participants ranged from age 19 to 27, and 27.5% the majority, was 23 years of age. 93.1% of the sample amounted to undergraduates between the ages 20 and 24. Out of the entire sample, 37.3% of the respondents were from the first year, 18.6% from the second year, 21.6% from the third year and 22.5% were from the fourth year.

According to Figure 2.1, 69% of the sample said that using kinship terms is an element of university sub-culture. Although the use of kinship terms remains a normal cultural practice outside the university, the fact that it is considered an element of university sub-culture, a culture that is believed to be unique to Sri Lankan state universities[12], warrants inquiry upon why it especially comes to be so.

Figure 2.1. Do you agree that using kinship terms like Akka, Aiya, Nangi, Malli are elements of university sub-culture?
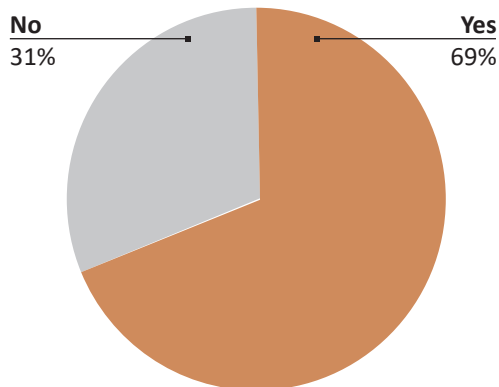
Though 31% disagreed that the use of kinship terms was a part of university subculture, the

available data is insufficient to determine whether this is because they disagree with the idea of a university subculture or, whether they believe in it but do not recognise the use of kinship terms as a part of it . Figure 2.2 reveals that 65% of respondents believe that this is a practice that should be preserved and continued.

Figure 2.2 Do you think the use of such terms is an element of university culture that should be preserved and continued?
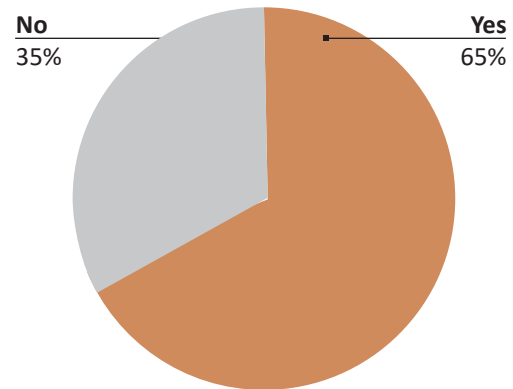
Figure 2.3 How do you address an older student from your batch?
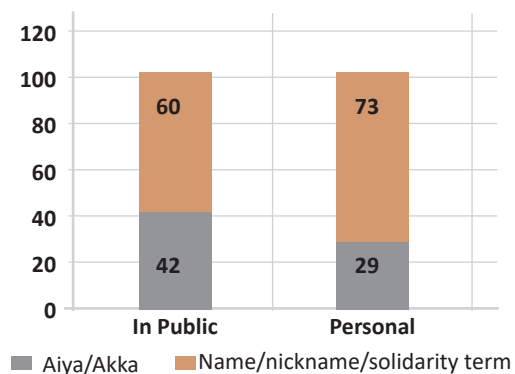
The questions that followed revealed that the hierarchy among students are mostly based on their years of study rather than their age. Since students are awarded university admission based on when they sat for their Advanced Level exams,

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12 There are varying views as to whether the elements that are identified as a sub-culture amounts to the sociological definitions of a subculture.

a single batch of students that enter in a particular year consists mostly of peers. But since individuals who have not been selected to a university have the option of facing their A/L exams again, they may enter university a one or more years later, putting them in a batch of students who are possibly. younger than them. The questionnaire also inquired upon the variation of the use of such kinship terms according to the domain of its use, whether it changes when they are used in public spaces inside the university i.e. during ragging or in a formal meeting or generally around other students and when they are used at a personal level.

Figure 2.4 How do you address someone younger than you from a senior batch?
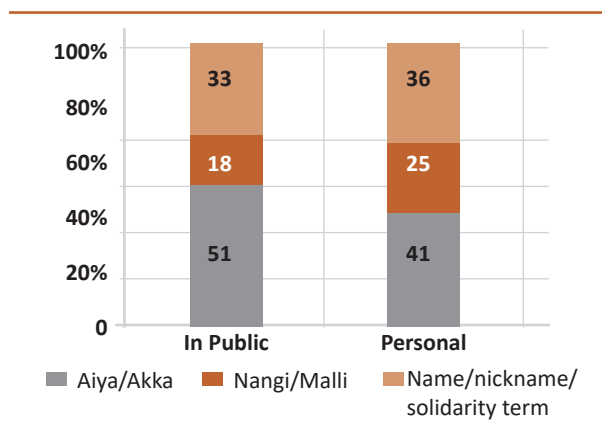
Figure 2.3 reveals that 60% of the respondents do not use a kinship term to address a person from the same batch who is older than them in a public space. In private this figure changes to 73%. The responses become interesting when compared to situations where one has to address a younger student who is senior in batch.

Figure 2.4 reveals that although the student is younger than the respondent, 51% of the sample would refer to them as Aiya or Akka due to their seniority. Privately, this drops to a 41% which could be an acknowledgement that this individual is younger. In public, only 18% use kinship terms meant for younger addressees,

Nangi and Malli but privately this goes up to a 25% which reflects that there is less obligation to stick to batch-dependent kinship terms in private relations compared to public relations inside the faculty. There is an equal number of 33% and 36% of respondents that claimed to use a name, nickname[13] or another solidarity term[14] which indicates that they maintain equalising relationships with the addressee. This section of the sample could also amount to the respondents that did not identify with the use of kinship terms in the first part of the questionnaire. However, since there is an increase of such when moving to private domains of communication, it could also be that since the addressee is younger, but from a senior batch, the addresser would resort to the use of a solidarity term in order to reach a balance or a compromise between the two.

The findings of this survey illustrate that although age is a factor that would be considered when determining the hierarchising of student relations in universities, in the Faculty of Arts, of the University of Colombo, this seniority is primarily based on the year of study or the batch of the student. This contrasts with the conclusion arrived at by Ruwanpura (2011) based on her study of the University of Kelaniya which asserted that this hierarchy is based on age. Ashan, a third-year undergraduate at the Faculty of Arts, who is also an office bearer of the Arts Faculty Students Union, does not personally believe that the university should have power hierarchies. But as a member of the students union, he claims that it is difficult to carry out certain tasks without these hierarchies. He says that there are no hierarchical signifiers used apart from saying "Aiye or Akke (Elder brother or sister)".

But during ragging, he claims, because there is a programme that has to be followed during the course of the ragging season, there is a distance maintained between first year and second year students and this relationship is only maintained

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13 Nickname refers to what is known as a 'card' which is a nickname given to a student at the end of a ragging period which denotes that he or she has now been socialised into the university sub-culture through the ragging process and is now an in-group member of the students living in this sub-culture.

14 A solidarity term is a term of address that suggests solidarity between the addresser and addressee (Eg: Machan)

between the students of the first and second years. Hierarchical kinship terms like "Aiya and Malli" are used because of the difference in maturity, he added. Ashan's explnation shows that according to him the distance created by seniority has been subjected to change through the years, dialuting the boundaries. However, his testimony also reveals a necessity for the maintenance of a social order which governs certain tasks when it comes to faculty student activities. The logic is similar when it comes to ragging. According to Ashan, the distance among seniors and juniors is maintained according to a programme and for the sake of carrying out this programme. However, evidence from the survey contradicts that this hierarchical relationship is confined to only the first- and second-year students, as Ashan claims. It was revealed that this is a norm followed by a majority of students from all years and is also practiced after the end of the 'rag season'. However, the survey is unable to make any claims pertaining to whether any other aspects of the relationship between these hierarchical relationships have changed.

Moving on from the hierarchy among students, the survey (which encompasses the general objectives of the study) directs the essay towards inquiring upon the next tier of the hierarchy, the staff. As for staff, this study only takes the academic staff of the faculty into consideration.

Figure 2.5 shows that 59% of the sample believe that it is problematic to address a lecturer by his or her name. But there is also a 41% that believe it is not problematic and that is quite a large minority. However, according to figure 2.6, only 14% out of the sample believe that the university context allows them to address lecturers by their names.

By name the study refers to using a first or last name instead of using terms such as 'Sir' or 'Madam' to refer to a lecturer. Thirty two percent of the sample believes that they can refer to lecturers by their names 'sometimes'. This would imply that there are certain lecturers who are comfortable with being addressed by their names or that there are certain domains within which the respondents find such behaviour appropriate.

Figure 2.5 Do you think it is a problem to address a lecturer with his or her name?

No 59% Yes 41%
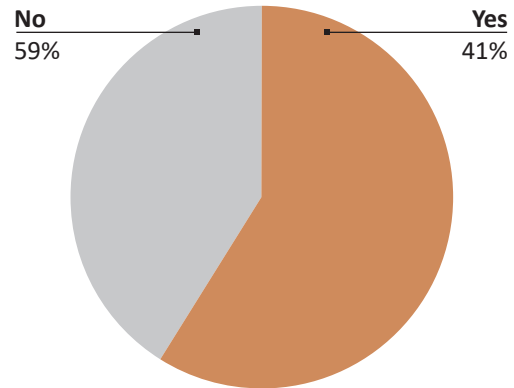
Figure 2.6 Do you think it is possible to address a lecturer by his/her name within the university context?

Maybe sometimes 32% Yes 14% No 54%
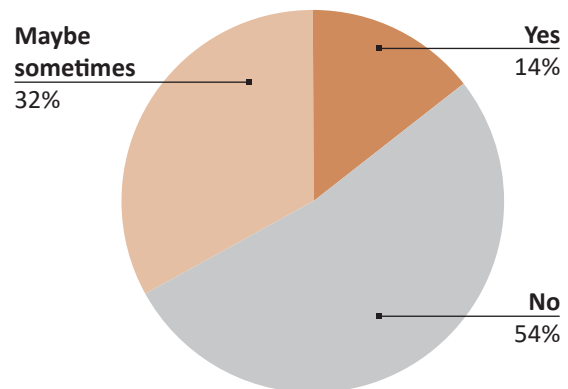
"In the past, students did not stay in hostels where students of different years shared accomodation. But now that difference in seniority has changed, we even have a drink (alcohol) together from the first year", said Ashan.

Fifty four percent of the sample do not think that it is possible to address a lecturer by his or her name within the university context. This brings to light a hierarchy, an inequality between the lecturers and students which places the lecturers in a higher position of power within the power relations inside the university. This can be viewed in contrast to the ideals presented by Sarachchandra (n.d.) where he rejected the traditional hierarchised

teacher-student relationship and asserted that the university is a space where the academic community seeks knowledge together as equals.

Experiences of students however, revealed incidents where the institutional power hierarchy (where the academic staff are in a higher position of power than students), is abused by members of staff. It was thereby seen as not only committing direct violence but also revealing an existing structural violence as well - as reproducing and reinforcing those structures that allow violence. As illustrated previously in the essay, ragging is also operated in terms of imposing dress codes which is also practiced in the Faculty of Arts[15]. Although this is a dress code that new entrants are expected to follow during the 'rag season'[16], there is a widespread belief that no one can wear shorts inside university premises. This of course does not seem to apply to the canteen staff and other staff members who are engaged in heavy laborious work. However, this unwritten code seems to apply to students and staff members as they are never seen wearing shorts. Within the logic of imposing dress codes, however, this does not seem to be very different from the dress code practice that is associated to ragging. Nirmalie, a fourth-year undergraduate revealed that during her first year as a new entrant at the Faculty of Arts, she was questioned by seniors about her wearing jeans as a first-year student, which is against the dress code imposed upon first year students during ragging. She was questioned by these students before the beginning of the rag season, during which students who adhered to the dress code were observable. Nirmalie's account shows that students did not need to be instructed as to which dress code to follow since even when they enter the university, they already knew what dress code to follow. This is common to many students who either chose to follow or not to follow the dress code, the information was available to everyone irrespective of their choice, often through cultural sources. It has reached a level where university dress codes during ragging

are common knowledge all. What Nirmalie says is clear. The fact that a new entrant should dress according to this unwritten code is expected and when someone does not seem to adhere to the dress code, they are highlighted and are then confronted by seniors. Wearing shorts, although not directly linked to ragging, is a form of control that requests conformity to a certain type of behaviour inside the faculty.

Tharaka's experience of violence reveals how hierarchised violence that is embedded in the structure could cripple the agency of students and make them helpless. Because of the special powers that members of the academic staff (who also have administrative positions in this case) yield, they are able to influence the students, using that power, into conforming to standards that they deem fit, although they may have no institutional legitimacy backing those claims. Although there is clear direct violence present here in terms of intimidation and threats, there is also a layer of structural violence that exists in two layers. On the one hand, the power that administrative and academic staff hold (to decide the opportunities of students) is abused to control student behaviour. This is a form of direct violence as well as a form of structural violence because it is an inequality in power that is delivered through the way in which institutions are structured. On the other hand, the fact that only one staff member could speak out in Tharaka's favour reveals that many other staff members for whatever reason, were in favour of the dress code at that particular moment and disagreed with his right to wear shorts to the university. Therefore, it can be concluded that even amongst the majority of the staff, there is a consensus regarding the dress code that should be followed when entering university premises and attending classes. Another observation that can be made through Tharaka's account is that he was later the subject of an anonymous poster campaign that was derogatory, which ridiculed him.

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15 Long skirts and blouses for girls, office pants and shirts with socks and shoes for boys.

16 A period determined by seniors which is designated for ragging, which ends by a 'bucket' and a 'social', rituals that welcome the students officially as members of the university and its culture (Socialist Students Union 2002).

Since the poster campaign was probably done by students (which could be speculated through the fact that Tharaka was ridiculed in social media platforms like Facebook by students) this draws a link between the perspectives promoted by students and staff, in terms of imposing dress

Tharaka wore shorts to the university to protest the imposition of such an unwritten dress code, which however was not against institutional rules and regulations as it has not imposed such a dress code. The academic staff, he said, ridiculed him. One lecturer asked him "Are you wearing shorts because you do not have longer pants?" Following this, a senior administrative official of the university who is also a member of the academic staff of the faculty had confronted Tharaka on the matter. He had asked him why he was wearing shorts. The staff member inquired which department he was studying in and requested him to produce his student ID. Tharaka had revealed his department to the staff member and produced his ID. Later the head of the department confronted Tharaka. The said academic staff member had questioned the head of the department about the 'bad discipline' of their studentship in response to which the head of the department had asked Tharaka to stop wearing shorts if he wanted to follow a special degree in the said department. "All except one lecturer questioned me for wearing shorts, only one staff member spoke out in my favour". Tharaka, because of the disapproval he found among many of his colleagues for having had worn shorts to the university, found himself being unable to face certain people, especially the academic staff, when he was wearing shorts. Tharaka found he was the subject of ridicule and the subject of an anonymous poster campaign targeting him, his attire, and his girlfriend.

codes during ragging. This reveals that inequalities and violence of this nature are not only practiced amongst students, but that these relations extend to the staff as well.

Act No. 20 of 1998

Act No. 20 of 1998, known as the Prohibition of Ragging and other forms of Violence in Educational Institutions Act which is "an act to eliminate ragging and other forms of violence, and cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment, from educational institutions" is the central legal document that defines ragging and violence that takes place within universities.

Problematics and nuances of this Act were debated in parliament on the 22nd of April 1998 and the background from which this Act is born, as well as its implications can therefore be discussed better when making references to the parliamentary debate.

When looking at the Act and what it intends to address for the apparent purpose of curbing violence inside the university, several points come across as crucial. One, is that the Act, which is colloquially referred to as the "Anti-Ragging act" is not simply one that has been enacted to curb ragging but to address what is identified as "ragging and other forms of violence in educational institutions" (Doss 2019). This shows that in the process of drafting the Act, "ragging" has been equated with other forms of violence that are identified within the university by the parties drafting the Bill. Provided that one legal framework is introduced with the expectation of delivering justice to victims of ragging and other forms of violence inside the university, this equating becomes problematic. A central issue here is that ragging, which is a very specific organised practice with a history and a considerable social appeal is equated to practices which are termed criminal in nature, through adapting a single legal document to deliver justice and create a deterrence against such acts. Thus, criminal intimidation, hostage taking, wrongful restraint, unlawful confinement, forcible occupation, and

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damaging of institutional property etc. also falls within the Act. The Act assumes that ragging can be dealt with the same measures used to deal with these other so-called forms of violence that the Act responds to. On the other hand, the parliamentary debate raises the concern that the Bill unifies ragging and what are called 'other forms of violence', a point raised by Dr. Neelan Tiruchelvam (pp. 1339) in Hansard Report 116/12. He draws the attention of the house to the fact that this Bill defines ragging as a new form of criminal offence (pp. 1336) and asks the house to inquire upon the purpose of distinguishing ragging from other forms of social behaviour. This could be read in the perspective which questions the need for a legal framework that addresses ragging, of which the manifestations which are illustrated in this Act can be responded to through already prevailing laws. The fundamental rights case titled Priyangani Navaratne and Others v. Chandrasena (1997) is an example for a case of ragging of which perpetrators were punished by the law prior to the enactment of Act No. 20 of 1998.

Ragging being recognised as a criminal offense poses the question whether ragging itself should be criminalised, if it is just another social behaviour. Ragging is often justified as harmless fun or having an impact on building the personality of an individual. A former Minister of Higher Education, Mr. Wijeyadasa Rajapakshe, during his term, joined a television discussion on ragging in universities and stated that "Navaka Wadayata Api Viruddha Nehe" (We have no objection against ragging) and elaborated that being asked to do things like singing a song, getting on a desk to deliver a speech and putting up dramatic performances are okay. He further states that what he is fighting against is "violence and sexual harassment" (Rajapakshe 2018). Rohan, an interviewee revealed that he wanted to take part in ragging because he was always told by older students that he knew before entering university and by his tuition teachers that ragging was a very enjoyable period of time in their university lives. This shows that the trivialisation and romanticising of 'mild' ragging is a general attitude held by decision makers of the country as well as the general public. A.C.S Hameed at

one point, to emphasise why strict action should be taken to combat ragging, compares the situation under debate to the rag of the 'olden days' which was 'alright' and 'fun' (pp. 1316). This distinction between what is violent and therefore criminal and unacceptable and what is harmless creates a problem in definition. Act No. 20 0f 1998, by 'ragging', refers to any act which causes or is likely to cause physical or psychological injury or mental pain or fear to a student or a member of the staff of an educational institution. It is clear that "psychological injury, mental pain or fear" are subjective experiences. Mr. Rajapakshe's statement therefore creates an ambiguity in determining what practices precisely are addressed by this Act (2018). When the authorities that defend this legal framework state that 'ragging is okay', the legitimacy of the framework as something that exists to combat whatever that is referred to as ragging, wavers. As stated before in this essay, this attitude towards ragging can be understood through the distinction that Wedage and Gunatilake (2009) make between severe and mild ragging. What is often referred to as 'fun' or 'harmless' are often acts that cause no physical harm but are psychologically traumatic and this kind of harm is not immediately visible. Therefore, the belief that these forms of ragging lacks severity make individuals claim that it is okay for ragging such as this to exist. However, these types of ragging are also a part of a structure that contain more 'severe' forms of ragging. The refusal to address the entire system makes these agents slack in their efforts to curb ragging and structures of violence inside the university.

Inquiring upon the background within which the Act emerges, sheds light on the possible objectives of the Act. In the Hansard for the 22nd of April 1998, the death of Varaprakash, a first-year undergraduate at the University of Peradeniya, the death of Kelum Thushara Wijethunga at the Hardy Technological Institute in Ampara and the injuries that were faced by Rupa Rathnasheeli of the University of Peradeniya (pp 1305-1306) are given as the incidents that drove the government to draft the Bill that prohibits ragging and other forms of violence. The three given incidents are produced as examples for the brutality of

ragging in state universities and functions as the main emotional drive towards the passing of this Bill. However, these acts, understood as events that occurred during the process of ragging, are not connected to the 'other forms of violence' that the Bill refers to. Minister Richard Pathirana asserts to the parliament that he has received letters from students requesting him to take drastic and swift action to combat ragging (pp. 1308) and quotes from the editorial of The Island (1997.10.30) which calls for the minister to act to maintain discipline in seats of learning (pp. 1311). He brings these to parliament in order to support the claim that this Bill is after all the will of the people. Certain clauses of the Bill (Article 7 in the Act) refer to the forcible occupation of a building as a criminal offense that is punishable by the law. Dr. Tiruchelvam pointed out that seizure of buildings was an important expression of political protest in the Civil Rights Movement in the United States (pp. 1339). In bringing this point, he illustrates that there is a problem with criminalising forms of political protest and further that these acts of protest arise in contexts that are different from the context of ragging and that therefore unifying these acts as criminal offenses through this Bill is problematic. Connections between ragging and political mobilisation of students have been drawn before. The Act therefore goes on to further illustrate such a connection. It allows one to say that the Act goes on to suppress student activism and protest within the university space under the guise of passing anti-ragging legislature. Reviewing literature has made it evident that ragging is often viewed to be conducted hand in hand with the political interests of left-wing political parties like the JVP. This view is possibly what is behind the unifying of political protest and ragging as scholarly writings have attributed the 'sadistic turn in ragging' to JVP activism inside universities (Ruwanpura 2011). The previously discussed remarks by Minister A. C. S. Hameed also attest to this assertion because the reference to harmless ragging in 'olden days' refer to times before ragging, and university politics took a left-wing turn.

The Hansard report's speeches sheds light on the way in which legislators viewed university students, their activities and the background against which the bill was brought in and passed. In the speech of the then Minister of Education and Higher Education, Richard Pathirana, university students are constantly referred to as children with the aspirations of their parents always brought hand in hand with their own aspirations (pp 1305). The idea that university undergraduates are children also reinforces and reproduces the idea that they are incapable of making agentive choices instead of being viewed as adults. Drawing attention to clause 7 of the Bill, Mr. G. L. Peiris states that the Bill does not see the forcible occupation of university property or causing mischief or damage to university property as acceptable forms of student agitation and that these modes are a denial of the autonomy of the university system (pp. 1323).

An important matter that has been discussed during the parliamentary debate pertaining to this Bill was whether the academic community should be referred to in the Bill as having any agency in ragging. During the debate, Minister A. C. S. Hameed points out that members of the academic community should not be considered as an involved party when it comes to matters of ragging (pp. 1314). Prof. G. L. Peiris states in the debate that it is not appropriate to refer to a member of the staff in juxtaposition with the students and proposes to therefore delete the particular words that describe the academic community in this way (pp. 1321). He also states that the entire objective in the furtherance of which this legislation is being introduced by the government is to ensure that the child (authors' emphasis) who enters the university system should be able to grow in a free environment without fear of intimidation (pp. 1317). The previous section of this essay revealed that staff members also play a role in intimidating students similarly, if not more violently. Since Act No. 20 of 1998 refers to the possible offender as 'any person', this allows a student to seek justice against a staff member. That, however, does not negate the fact that at the inception of the Bill, the thinking behind it revealed that it is not suitable to recognise staff as possible offenders under this Act. However, Thel Bammen Obbata asserts that this is an Act that

was introduced to suppress students and staff members alike (Socialist Students Union 2002).

On the 20th of November 2011, the Sunday Times reported the remanding of a few undergraduates of the University of Peradeniya. "The undergraduates were remanded for their alleged unruly behaviour when the Minister of Higher Education, S.B. Dissanayake visited the University of Peradeniya in 2010, for the opening of an administrative building" (Senaratne, 2011). "Counsel Karavita submitted to court that a further report was filed in June 2011, where it was alleged that these four undergraduates, who are now in remand, had violated section 4 of the Anti-Ragging Act" (Senaratne, 2011). Section 4 of Act No. 20 of 1998, under hostage taking, observes that,

> **"Any person who does any act by which the personal liberty and the freedom of movement of any student or a member of the staff of an educational institution or other person within such educational institution or any premises under the management and control of such educational institution (authors' emphasis) is restrained without lawful justification and for the purpose of forcing such student, member of the staff or person to take a particular course of action, shall be guilty of an offence under this Act and shall on conviction after summary trial before a Magistrate, be liable to rigorous imprisonment for a term not exceeding seven years."**

This incident exposes the public to the incidents to which Act No. 20 of 1998 could be applied as this is not an incident of ragging nor is it an act of violence that created any physical harm, yet the students who behaved in an "unruly manner" are liable to punishment. This could be viewed as an incident where the provisions of the Act were utilised to suppress student dissent towards political leadership.

Considering the way in which this Act works, it cannot be called direct or structural violence . However, the definition of foundational violence allows the Act to be understood as violence in those terms. That is a definition through which any law can be recognised as authoritative on its own per Winter et al. (2012). Apart from that, when inquiring upon the draft Bill and the debates behind it, it can be observed that the thinking behind it is not one that is oriented towards countering ragging per se but as a law that would assist anyone who would want to act against direct violence committed.

Conclusion

The first section of the study discusses the ways in which power is organised inside the Faculty of Arts, in ways that enable structural violence to take place.

The second section of the study discusses how the legislation that has been introduced to curb ragging is not sensitive to structural violence.

Two types of ragging are believed to exist – severe ragging and mild ragging. Certain types of ragging are viewed to be more harmful than others and this has led to a belief that certain practices of ragging are acceptable while what are considered more severe forms are not. However, all practices of ragging and the power hierarchies reproduced and sustained by these practices are interlinked with many belief systems that exist inside university spaces which are not always acknowledged to be a part of ragging, especially when these practices coincide with the attitudes and beliefs of members of staff. Given that the laws created to prevent ragging are also only focusing on direct forms of violence, the mainstream narratives coloured by official legal definitions of criminal acts, talks about ragging as a form of direct violence and stops there. In this light, the Faculty of Arts has managed to reduce physical violence within the university premises. Yet there still are structures of inequality that allow violence to take place under the shadows of institutional claims that ragging has been successfully responded to. In such light, the acknowledgement of foundational and structural violence for which not only students but staff members and the state are responsible for, becomes necessary to understand the dynamics of ragging and violence within the power relations inside Sri Lankan state universities.

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CHAPTER 3

Reframing Radicalisation:
Ethnicity & Education Inequality in a Low-Income Urban Community

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Abstract

This study explores how 'youth radicalisation' can be applied to the context-specific socio-economic and political drivers that affect low-income, ethnic-minority youth in an urban setting. It centres the perceptions of Tamil youth (defined as those between 17-35 years) in order to better understand the most pressing problems affecting them, and to consider how these factors work in tandem to foment violence in the community. The findings revealed that the main issues affecting youth were: barriers to education; unemployment and underemployment; a lack of recreational spaces; ethnically-biased police conduct; abuse of alcohol and drugs, and domestic violence. Respondents noted that ethnicity and low-income levels were seen to interplay with state structures perceived as being discriminatory to create a sense and situation of social deprivation. They commented on forms of systemic discrimination in education spheres, judicial systems and trends in urban development, which were seen to contribute, directly or indirectly, to violence within the community. The church proved to play an important role in providing material, psychological and spiritual support for community members, tautening the slack of state institutions with education, health and employment-related opportunities. However, various interpersonal and community-level forms of violence remained high amidst the lack of opportunity available to the youth in the community for ascending levels of education, employment and lifestyle.

සංක්ෂිප්තය

රැඩිකල්කරණය යළි සුත්‍රගත කිරීමෙ අඩු ආදායම් නාගරික ප්‍රජාවක් තුළ ජනවාර්ගික හා අධ්‍යාපනික අසමානතාව

අවන්ති අර්සකුලරත්න

මෙම අධ්‍යයනය නාගරික පසුබිමක දී අඩු-ආදායම්ලාභී, ජනවාර්ගික-සුළුතර තරුණ තරුණියන්ට බලපාන සන්දර්භ-විශේෂිත සමාජ-ආර්ථීක හා දේශපාලනික ප්‍රේරකයන්ට 'තරුණ රැඩිකල්කරණය' අදාළ කළ හැකි ආකාරය විමසා බලයි. දෙමළ තරුණ තරුණියන්ට බලපාන වර්තමාන ගැටලු වඩාත් හොඳින් අවබෝධ කර ගැනීම පිණිස සහ මෙම සාධක ප්‍රජාව තුළ ප්‍රචණ්ඩත්වය ඇවිල්වීම සඳහා එකට එක් විය හැකි ආකාරය සලකා බැලීම සඳහා විය (අවුරුදු 17-35 ලෙස නිර්වචනය කෙරෙන) දෙමළ තරුණ තරුණියන්ගේ අදහස් කේන්ද්‍ර කර ගනියි. පර්යේෂණයෙන් අනාවරණය වූයේ තරුණ තරුණියන්ට ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන් බලපාන්නේ මෙම ගැටලු බව යි; අධ්‍යාපනයට පවත්නා බාධක; විරැකියාව හා ඌන සේවා නියුක්තිය; විනෝදායන අවකාශ නොමැතිකම; ජනවාර්ගික අගති සහිත පොලිස් වර්‍යාව; මද්‍යසාර හා මත්ද්‍රව්‍ය භාවිතය සහ ගෘහස්ත ප්‍රචණ්ඩත්වය. ජනවාර්ගිකත්වය සහ අඩු ආදායම් මට්ටම් රාජ්‍ය ව්‍යූහයන්ටත් අනෙක් අතටත් වශයෙන් අනෙ‍ඌන්‍යව බලපාන බව ප්‍රතිචාර දක්වන්නන් විසින් සඳහන් කෙරුණු අතර මෙය වෙනස්කම් කිරීමක් ලෙස දැක ගන්නා නිසා සමාජීය අහිමි වීමේ තත්ත්වයක් හා හැඟීමක් නිර්මාණය වේ. ඔවුන් විසින් අධ්‍යාපන ක්ෂේත්‍ර, අධිකරණ පද්ධති සහ නාගරික සංවර්ධන ප්‍රවණතා තුළ පවත්නා ක්‍රමානුකූල වෙනස්කම් කිරීමේ ස්වරූපයන් පිළිබඳව අදහස් පළ කෙරුණු අතර ජීවා සෘජුව හෝ වක්‍රව ප්‍රජාව තුළ ප්‍රචණ්ඩත්වයට දායක වන බව ඔවුන්ගේ අදහස විය. දේවස්ථානය ප්‍රජා සාමාජිකයන්ට ද්‍රව්‍යමය, මානසික හා ආධ්‍යාත්මික සහාය සම්පාදනය කරමින් වැදගත් කාර්ය භාරයක් ඉටු කරමින් අධ්‍යාපනය, සෞඛ්‍යය හා රැකියාව ආශ්‍රිතව ප්‍රමාණවත් අවස්ථාවන් සම්පාදනය කිරීමට රාජ්‍ය ආයතන අසමත් වීම නිසා ඇති වී තිබෙන ආතතිය අඩු කරන බව පෙනිණ. කෙසේ වුව ද අධ්‍යාපන, රැකියා හා ජීවන රටා මට්ටම් ඉහළ නංවා ගැනීම සඳහා ප්‍රජාවේ තරුණයන්ට අවස්ථාව නොමැති තත්ත්වය තුළ ප්‍රචණ්ඩත්වයේ විවිධ අන්තර් පුද්ගල හා ප්‍රජා මට්ටමේ ස්වරූප ඉහළ මට්ටමකට වර්ධනය වී ඇත.

Discourses on Youth Radicalisation in Sri Lanka | CHAPTER 3
Reframing Radicalisation: Ethnicity & Education Inequality in a Low-Income Urban Community

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சுருக்கம்

தீவிரமயப்படுத்தலை மீள்உருவாக்கல் : குறைந்த வருமானம் பெறும் சமூகத்தில் நிலவுகின்ற இன மற்றும் கல்வி சமத்துவமின்மை

அவந்தி அரசகுலரத்ன

நகர்ப்புற அமைப்பில் குறைந்த வருமானம் பெறும், சிறுபான்மை இன இளைஞர்களைப் பாதிக்கின்ற சூழல் சார்ந்த சமூக-பொருளாதார மற்றும் அரசியல் இயக்கிகள் மீது "இளைஞர் தீவிரமயப்படுத்தலை" எவ்வாறு பிரயோகிக்கலாம் என்பதை இந்த ஆய்வு ஆராய்கின்றது. தமிழ் இளைஞர்களைப் (15-35 வயதுக்குட்பட்டவர்கள் என வரையறுக்கப்படுகின்றது) பாதிக்கும் மிக முக்கியமான பிரச்சினைகளை புரிந்துகொள்வதற்காகவும் சமூகத்தில் வன்முறையைத் தூண்டும் வகையில் இக்காரணிகள் எவ்வாறு செயல்படுகின்றன என்பதைக் கருத்தில் கொள்வதற்காகவும் அவ்விளைஞர்களின் கருத்துக்களை மையமாக கொண்டதாக இந்த ஆய்வு அமைந்துள்ளது. கல்வியை பெற்றுக்கொள்வதில் உள்ள தடைகள், வேலையின்மை மற்றும் கீழுழைப்பு, பொழுதுபோக்கு சார்ந்த இடங்களுக்கான பற்றாக்குறை, இனரீதியான பக்கசார்புடைய பொலிஸ் நடத்தை, மது மற்றும் போதைப்பொருள் துப்பிரயோகம் மற்றும் வீட்டு வன்முறை போன்றன இளைஞர்களைப் பாதிக்கும் மிக முக்கியமான பிரச்சினைகளாக ஆய்வின் கண்டறிவுகள் வெளிப்படுத்தி நிற்கின்றன. சமூக இழப்பிற்கான ஒரு உணர்வையும் சூழ்நிலையையும் உருவாக்க பாகுபாடுடையதாக கருதப்படும் அரச கட்டமைப்புகளுடன் இனம் மற்றும் குறைந்த வருமான நிலைகள் ஒன்றிணைந்து செயல்படுவதாக பதிலளித்தவர்கள் குறிப்பிட்டனர். கல்வித்துறைகள், நீதித்துறை அமைப்புகள் மற்றும் நகர்ப்புற வளர்ச்சியின் போக்குகள் ஆகியவற்றிலுள்ள முறையான பாகுபாட்டின் வடிவங்கள் குறித்து அவர்கள் கருத்து தெரிவித்தனர், அவை சமூகத்துக்குள்ளான வன்முறைகளில் நேரடியாகவோ அல்லது மறைமுகவாகவோ பங்களிப்புச் செய்கின்றன. சமூக உறுப்பினர்களுக்கு பொருள், உளவியல் மற்றும் ஆன்மீகம் சார்ந்த ஆதரவினை வழங்குவதிலும் கல்வி, சுகாதாரம் மற்றும் வேலைவாய்ப்பு போன்றவற்றுடன் அரச நிறுவனங்களின் மந்தநிலையைப் போக்குவதிலும் ஆலயம் முக்கிய பங்கு வகிக்கின்றது என்பதை நிருபித்துள்ளது. இருப்பினும், கல்வி, வேலைவாய்ப்பு மற்றும் வாழ்க்கை முறை ஆகியவற்றில் முன்னேறிச் செல்வதற்கு சமூகத்தில் உள்ள இளைஞர்களுக்கு கிடைக்காத வாய்ப்புகளுக்கிடையில் பல்வேறு தனிப்பட்ட மற்றும் சமூக அளவிலான வன்முறை வடிவங்கள் அதிகமாக உள்ளன.

Introduction

On April 21st, 2019, Sri Lanka experienced its most recent wave of radicalism in the form of suicide bombers, responsible for eight bomb blasts in targeted churches and luxury hotels across Colombo, Negombo and Batticaloa ("Sri Lanka Easter bombings," 2019). This was not Sri Lanka's first encounter with coordinated attacks such as this. The country has witnessed a history of radical youth movements, and as such, discourse on youth radicalisation is often perceived to revolve around organised groups, often belonging to the same (often underprivileged) demographic, exerting violence in a controlled and coordinated way.

Having conceptualised the term 'radicalisation' as connoting a process in which ethnic, religious and/or class-based groups experiencing a sense and situation of social deprivation came together around a discriminated identity to attempt to violently effect some form of social change, I responded to the Centre for Poverty Analysis' call for research proposals on the topic of "Creating Alternative Narratives of Youth Radicalisation in Sri Lanka". The research venture that I chose, revolved around less-prominent, often overlooked forms of what could arguably be termed processes of youth radicalisation.[17] Having witnessed how a great sense of urgency was created around large-scale, violent acts, such as the events that took place during the Civil War (1983-2009) and

the Easter Bombings in April of 2019, I wished to explore other forms of violence that I felt were given less prominence and attention, yet which appeared to fall suitably within the paradigm of radicalisation. I considered radicalisation as connoting the cultivation of violence through a series of context-specific circumstances, and I wished to explore how this violence was enacted and experienced by ethnic minority youth groups in a low-income urban community.

This interest was sparked and deepened by working with children of Tamil ethnicity (for the most part of Christian religion) aged 5-12 from a low-income urban community, through a church-led education programme.[18] Having had prolonged contact with the children, their families and the church-leaders who spearheaded this programme, I came to learn of the myriad personal, educational and professional challenges that not only the children, but also the youth and adults faced, both in public and private spaces. Through conversation with these individuals, I learned of the key role that the church had continually played in providing the community with support where state institutions had failed to do so.[19] This prompted my investigation into specifically where, and how, the state was failing to provide essential services to this community, and what the wider-reaching impacts of this were.

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17 Although the definition of youth used for the purpose of this paper (age 17-35) contravenes the existing developmental parameters defining adolescence and youth set by the World Health Organisation and other international bodies, the reason it has been defined as such is because the priest who served as organiser and facilitator of the meetings with the youth selected those individuals that were unmarried.

18 Organised and led by the priests and nuns belonging to a Catholic Church in the neighbourhood, these education programmes took place every Saturday afternoon. English and mathematics classes were run by volunteers (many of whom were professional teachers), who were in charge of creating Plans of Work and carrying out the classes every week.

19 This support included providing spaces of shelter and dry rations during times of heavy rain that caused flooding in homes; educational support through the programmes; employment support through connecting youth to employers through church-contacts, and emotional support for families (especially women) going through difficult times. Through conversations, it became apparent that the church was identified as a consistent and supportive institution that stepped in where state institutions not only failed to offer adequate support, but also often actively contributed to worsening the issues faced.

Sensitive to the historic discrimination that ethnic and religious minorities have faced in Sri Lanka, and aware that the chosen community comprised primarily of low-income families, I attempted to reframe the concept of radicalisation. My focus was on how youth affected with 'minority' ethnic identities, especially from low-income families, contribute to violence within the community in their interaction with various state structures. Focused on a multi-ethnic, multi-religious, low-income urban community in Colombo within two Municipal Council areas, this study will frame issues through perceptions of youth belonging to the Tamil (ethnic) demographic. They have reported perceiving themselves as victims of discriminatory policies and practices.

The relevance of this study lies in a number of factors; the first of which is about continued ethnic discrimination and inequality, which remains prevalent and prominent for a Sri Lanka perceived to be the sanctuary and bulwark of Buddhism, and often legitimised in its violent defense as such by extremist groups (Lehr, 2019). Secondly, the fact that Sri Lanka anticipates a growing urban future – one that is increasingly subject to global markets and which could foresee an increase in situations of inequality that will continue to affect a growing portion of Sri Lanka's population. This would include especially those that can be considered the most marginalised in terms of access to services and meaningful integration into the growing global economy.

The most recent population census showed that 18.2% of the country lived in the urban sector (DCS, 2012) – one that is increasingly the site of urban development plans aimed at beautifying the city and creating a "slum-free" environment (Perera et al., 2017, p. 2). This directly involves and affects low-income urban communities, as the issues existent in low-income urban areas are often presented as those in need of addressing only where the urban poor are considered impediments to the "neoliberal reconstruction of the attractive city" (Rasnayake, 2019, p. 88). More attention is often placed on removing them as a threat to city beautification via the clearance of slums and shanties, and relocation of residents to high-rise housing, rather than attempting to redress and improve the problems and conditions existent on site.

This paper is an attempt to create a more acute sense of awareness about conditions affecting youth within such urban spaces – conditions that prove to be dictated by class and ethnicity. The findings of this study indicate that the following: drug abuse; domestic violence; ethnic-based violence; a lack of access to affordable, quality education; development processes that consume recreational spaces available to the community; and biased police intervention during times of conflict were the main problems that youth identified as issues affecting them. It was found that the first three factors (drug abuse, domestic violence, and ethnic-based violence) were promulgated by the latter three (lack of access to affordable, quality education, lack of recreational spaces, and biased police intervention during conflicts, which were perceived as working in favour of the Sinhalese residents in the community).

This paper begins with a literature review that explores the following: past and popular conceptions of radicalisation; low-income urban communities; issues of education, unemployment and drug use prevalent in low-income urban communities, and the way in which regulatory bodies, such as the police force, have been reported as enacting discriminatory policies and procedures against this minority group. The documents used for this review include official government reports, journal articles, news reports and grey literature from Non-Governmental Organisations, both nationally and globally. It will then go on to describe the Methodology that this research study adopted, which includes qualitative modes of analysis through three Focus Group Discussions with 25 youth, two in-depth interviews with community youth and four Key Person Interviews with church leaders. Following this, the paper will present the analysis of findings, ending with a Summary and Conclusion that consolidates the analyses made.

Literature Review

Youth Radicalisation in Sri Lanka

Although considered an elusive concept without a definite meaning, radicalisation is most often referred to in the context of terrorism (De Zylva, 2017; McGlynn & McDaid, 2016; Sedgwick, 2010). Within the last 50 years, Sri Lanka has been the site of multiple violent outbreaks by youth insurgent groups – the most prominent being thoe of the Marxist Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) and the Tamil ethno-nationalist Liberation of Tiger Tamil Eelam (LTTE). Although movements have typically originated in rural areas, urban centres have also been host to active youth groups, especially those in the university system (Samaranayake, 2015). Despite the ideological differences that have underpinned these radical movements, they have shared similar origins; the JVP and LTTE both emerged from dissatisfied, often rural, yet relatively well-educated young people and were both expressions of youth dissatisfaction and struggle with a political establishment perceived to be exclusionary (Kloos, 1999). Other reasons given for militant uprisings of Sri Lanka's past have been the following: an economy and a government that continually failed to meet youths' aspirations, inequality among social groups, exclusion from societal and economic structures, exclusion from educational institutions and a struggle for minority rights (Abeyratne, 2004; Costanza, 2015; Little & Sabates, 2008; Perera, 2001; Sarma et al., 2018).

The Poverty and Youth Survey (PYS) conducted by the Centre for Poverty Analysis (CEPA) in 2003 found that almost half of the 346 youth respondents indicated that in cases of extreme injustice, violence is indeed justified (Ibargüen, 2005). Many respondents equated injustice to a political system that is seen as corrupt and non-responsive, and the majority of them stated that there existed no avenues for youth to present their demands to the government. Many have explained the tendency of turning to violence as a response to a sense of continuous abuse of political power from public institutions and a strong feeling of social injustice (Government Publications Bureau, 1990).

Theorists speculating on the causes of radicalisation suggest that when avenues for political participation are denied to youth populations, they come to consider force and confrontation as the only viable ways of pursuing liberty (Peiris, 2013). Another given cause is that their depraved conditions leave them feeling as though they are without use or purpose, unable to control their situations and surroundings. This situation leads them to engage in violence as a means of self-assertion, and as a method of escaping from an identity and role that they perceive to be superfluous (Alsop & Heinsohn, 2005).

Are youth responses to the above-mentioned forms of injustice and exclusion always militant and focused towards achieving social transformation? In what ways do individuals and communities that face forms of structural violence enact different responses? This will be one of the primary enquiries of this study – to identify the ways in which institutions, circumstances and situations perceived to be unjust or exclusionary foment tensions and violence within the study community, whether directly or indirectly

Low-income Urban Communities: Slums & Shanties

Low-income urban communities, often referred to as slums, shanties, and "wattas" (in the Sri Lankan context) are urban spaces that have been characterised in academia by the following: having poor access to resources and services (in spite of potential proximity); comprising high density, compactly arranged habitations; being illegally constructed without proper land tenure (in the case of shanties); built with unstable or poorly stable materials; inhabited by low-income earning workers who are primarily engaged in informal sector work; inhabited primarily by minority ethnic groups; inhabited by individuals with low educational achievements; inhabited

by a high portion of drug users and alcohol consumers, and lacking physical infrastructure (Chesang, 2013; Fernando, 2018; Gunetilleke & Cader, 2004; Hossain, 2011; Lakshman et al., 2016; Niriella, 2010; Silva & Athukorala, 1991)

Although the term "watta" generally denotes clusters of both slum and shanty communities, slums and shanties differ in definition, primarily based on location, status of land tenure and building materials and structure. Slums in Sri Lanka have been characterised as typically being located on highlands in inner city areas, whereas shanties most often lie on the periphery of the city in low-lying areas, radiating along canals, river banks, sea coasts, railway lines, and roadsides (Hemachandra, 1985; UN-Habitat, 2003; Silva & Athukorala, 1991). Slums occupy authorised lands, which is to say residents have legal status of occupancy, whereas shanty-residents often inhabit state or privately-owned land without such legal rights (Niriella, 2010). The former is commonly defined as consisting of housing units that are deteriorated permanent structures, whereas the latter is defined as consisting of make-shift houses that are often made of non-durable material, such as corrugated iron sheet for roofs and timber planks for walls (Hemachandra, 1985; Niriella, 2010; Silva & Athukorala, 1991).

Shanty settlements are most commonly constructed on either private (reservation or recreational) land, municipal land, or government-owned land[20] (UN-Habitat, 2003). Because those who live in shanties do so without legal tenure, often occupying precarious land areas, they often do not have regular water, sanitation, or electricity supplies, and the majority of houses are built on land that is subject to frequent flooding (Gunetilleke & Cader, 2004). Thus, although both slum and shanty residents are often believed to occupy the most underprivileged and deprived areas of the urban landscape, slums are often

considered more stable, protected and better placed than shanty settlements (Hemachandra, 1985).

There also exists a marked variation in inter-community income levels within each of these individual categories (Hemachandra, 1985; Silva & Athukorala, 1991). Fernando (2018) emphasises the heterogeneity existent in communities, noting that many who live in low-income communities are not economically poor, and that a significant number of residents have in fact reached lower-middle or even middle-class status. Criticism has been levelled against narratives of slums that categorise residents as belonging to homogeneous states and classes, portraying these communities in generalising terms (Silva & Athukorala, 1991). This is significant, for portrayals of the slum as "poverty pornography" (Roy, 2011, p. 225) i.e., of the slum as a monolithic entity of depravity, can serve to justify demolitions or other such interventions that further subordinate residents rather than safeguard or empower them.

Despite the above-mentioned heterogeneity of such communities, they have been reported as sharing certain features, due to the previously noted physical and economic conditions they usually exist within. These shared features include the existence of complex family dynamics[21], unemployment, high school drop-out rates, exclusion (economic, physical and social) and violent crime (UN-Habitat, 2003). It is important to note the way in which each of these situations and factors play into one another, creating a cycle of social immobility, frustration and violence.

One of the first comprehensive studies of slum and shanty residents, and the conditions in which they lived–Silva and Athukorala's, "The Watta-dwellers: A Sociological Study of Selected Urban Low-income Communities in Sri Lanka"–reveals that certain characteristics of the inner-city

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20 This includes land belonging to the National Housing Development Authority (NHDA), the Commissioner of National Housing, the Urban Development Authority (UDA), Ports Authority, Sri Lanka Land Reclamation and Development Corporation, and Sri Lanka Railway Department.

21 Often referred to as "broken families".

slums studied were the predominance of ethnic minority groups, the bilingualism of residents and the weaker sense of ethnic consciousness that resulted from this situation of sharing a living space (Silva & Athukorala, 1991). Whereas ethnic violence has, and continues to be, a staple part of conflict cycles in Sri Lanka, Silva and Athukorala (1991) suggest that the bilingual nature of the residents of many low-income urban communities often results in relatively weak ethno-religious sentiments, a lesser likelihood of linguistic nationalism and a weaker sense of ethnic consciousness developing amongst them. This will be one of the key concepts explored in the study community.

Issues of Education, Unemployment and Drug Use in Low Income Urban Communities

Low Education Levels & Informal Sector Employment

The majority of economically active residents living in low-income urban communities tend to be engaged in work in the informal sector[22] because the skills required for this kind of work are often not obtained through the formal education system, and participation in the formal sector may not be realistic due to low educational levels and the lack of capital (Chaudhuri, 2015; Silva & Athukorala, 1991). Despite the fact that residents of low-income urban communities manufacture products for global markets (Roy, 2005), belonging to an informal sphere of employment means that they are often not remunerated for the value of their production.

The informal economy includes certain structural labour conditions, such as the lack of a recognised employer and a lack of legally prescribed regulations and protections (Chen, 2012). This work can exist as a family enterprise,

and it is often the family and wider kinship and friendship networks that help individuals to find jobs in the informal economy (Hossain, 2011). Informal economy work often involves low capital investment and technology-use, less book-keeping, and a lack of other formal managerial mechanisms (Silva & Athukorala, 1991) and is therefore easier to access for those without proper training and expertise in such methods of formal management. This sheds light on the phenomenon of youth leaving school to help their parents with income-generating activities, which will be explored in the analysis of findings.

It is usually the case that such informal work is inconsistent and unstable. There are a number of reasons that youth from low-income urban communities take on work in the informal economy in addition to those noted above. In addition to the fact that living in impoverished neighbourhoods prevents, or reduces, the likelihood of forming and maintaining well-developed job connections (UN-Habitat, 2003), education – or rather the lack of it – is identified as one major factor that contributes to young people's reduced prospects of being able to enter into sustainable, lucrative and meaningful job opportunities and situations.

Classification of Schools & Disparities

In Sri Lanka, schools are categorised as national schools and provincial schools – the former being funded by the Ministry of Education and the latter funded by provincial councils. These schools are further divided by functional grade, gender and medium of instruction. Functional grades are divided into 1AB schools (Advanced Level Science stream classes), 1C schools (Advanced Level Arts and/or Commerce stream but no Science stream), Type 2 schools (classes only up to grade 11), and Type 3 schools (classes from grade 1-5 or 1-8) (Ministry of Education, 2018).

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22 This refers to manual labour work, including the following: fishing, collecting of discarded bottles and other reusable materials, sex work, money lending, unskilled work in markets and establishments, domestic work, three-wheeler driving, construction work, small trading, selling (fruits, fish, vegetables, ornamental goods, household items, etc.), repair and cleaning activities, and cart-pulling (Silva & Athukorala, 1991).

In the Western Province, out of the 1,359 schools registered, a mere 19 are bi-lingual (Sinhala and Tamil medium), 1062 are Sinhala medium and 106 are Tamil, with 16 being trilingual (Sinhala, Tamil and English mediums). Of the 10,194 schools in the country, 6,332 are Sinhala medium, 3,009 Tamil are medium and 75 are bilingual (Ibid., 2018).

Despite the appearance of an impressive system of universal education up to the tertiary level, Sri Lanka's system of public education suffers from poor education outcomes and wide disparities in academic achievement, largely due to disparities in physical and human resource allocation, which can be seen to be determined by school type, size, geographical location and level of income, among other factors (Abayasekara & Arunatilake, 2018; Amarasuriya et al., 2009). Despite having achieved universal primary school completion, many students perform poorly on academic tests (Aturupane et al., 2011). It is often observed that the quality of many schools is not of adequate standard to ensure good educational and employment opportunities (Sarma et al., 2018). Amarasuriya (2010) comments that some analysts consider ethnic discrimination to play a significant factor in the allocation of government resources and service provision, and Wettewa (2013) notes that the larger, well-known urban schools are allocated more resources than the smaller, lesser-known ones.

Considering resource allocation, it is also important to consider access (to schools and the resources they offer) as a factor affecting school completion. Silva and Athukorala (1991) found that the primary schools that were established and available in the nearby slum areas (their sites of study) were often not directly linked to any school of higher education. This resulted in difficulties faced by students attempting to transfer to senior secondary education. Parents were required to expend additional efforts to transfer children to a local secondary school, and the difficulties of doing so often acted as a deterrent, resulting in higher drop-out rates.

Fernando (2018) Hemachandra (1985), Hossain (2011) and Silva & Athukorala (1991) attribute school dropouts to young people entering the workforce to assist their families. Considering that work in the informal sector is often carried out by closely-knit family and community groups, this appears to be a prevalent phenomenon in low-income urban communities. Thus, early school leaving, and low educational attainments prove to be serious problems faced by the city's poor and, in spite of the few instances of upward mobility via these schools, overall they do not appear to contribute to changing the pattern of life in the community (Niriella, 2010; Silva & Athukorala, 1991).

Drop Out Rates & Substance Abuse

Literature on the nexus between high school dropouts, unemployment, drug abuse and violence is widespread. Globally, research (Ayllón & Ferreira-Batista, 2018; Chesang, 2013; Galea et al., 2005; Mcilwaine & Moser, 2004; Mugisha et al., 2003; Panigrahi et al., 2008; UN-Habitat, 2003) has indicated the correlation between school dropout rates and substance abuse due to an insidious cycle of events. Researchers observe that for students who drop out of school, an excess of free time makes them more susceptible to substance abuse to occupy themselves. They observe that unemployment creates a sense of hopelessness, specifically for would-be breadwinners, causing them to seek refuge in addictive substances, and that economic stress regarding uncertainty about future income pushes youth to self-medicate. They also argue that the perceived non-existence of the achievement of goals can compel youth to indulge in anti-social behaviour and retreat from mainstream social participation, and that a lack of recreational facilities/outlets, such as organised sports and youth clubs, creates in youth a sense of boredom which they seek to satisfy through drug use (Ayllón & Ferreira-Batista, 2018; Mugisha et al., 2003; Panigrahi et al., 2008).

Mugisha et al. (2003) note the gendered dimensions of drug use, commenting that men are much more likely than women to partake

in drugs and consume alcohol. Globally, this has proved to be a phenomenon due, in large part, to the strong influence of social and cultural factors, such as alcohol-related norms, values and constraints (Wilsnack et al., 2009). Scholars such as Hunt & Antin (2019) have cited extensive research to note changing patterns over time, and how in certain parts of the world such as the US and Europe, this gender gap in alcohol use can be seen to be narrowing. In Sri Lanka, however, social and cultural norms dictate the improperness of women consuming alcohol (BBC, 2018) and it remains the case that alcohol consumption is primarily a male activity (Somatunga et al., 2014).

Within this broader patriarchal social context, the interplay between substance abuse and intimate partner violence is important to note. P. J. Goldstein (1985), in his tripartite conceptual framework for examining the drugs/violence nexus, presents the psychopharmacological, the economically compulsive, and the systemic as factors relating drugs to violence Although the specificities of violence will not be explored in this paper, domestic violence is reported as a common feature in households that have at least a one alcoholic or drug addict (Fernando, 2018).

Considering these factors as they affect youth, recreational spaces have been seen to be the site of initiation into substance abuse (Panigrahi et al., 2008). However, the lack of recreational space has also been seen as a factor that increases youth vulnerability to drug use due to unlimited free time and the desire for forms of diversion (Chesang, 2013; McIlwaine and Moser, 2004; Mugisha et al., 2003). This is an important factor that will be explored further. In the context of urban development, it is often the case that access to legal land is limited for the urban poor, due to the high commercialisation of the land market (Fernando, 2018). Perera et al. (2017) and Rasnayake (2019) describe the eviction and relocation of slum residents for large-scale urban renewal projects, and Roy (2011) describes the way in which slums are increasingly seen as assets to global capital, especially given their central city location. In this way, land within and around

slum areas are often absorbed and privatised within large-scale urban renewal plans, depriving residents the space for habitation and recreation. These projects have often involved Sri Lankan security forces, central in the forced evictions of slum and shanty dwellers for urban renewal projects (Perera, 2015). Media reports (Journalists for Democracy in Sri Lanka 2018; Tamil Guardian, 2018) have levelled criticism against the Sri Lankan police force for the way in which it is largely made up of Sinhalese officers who have either watched on without intervention in cases of conflict in which Tamil individuals were being victimised, or else actively victimised Tamil individuals. Although there have purportedly been structural moves to address this in the form of recruiting more Tamil-speaking youth into the police force in Jaffna, for example, a transformative change is yet to be seen (Ada Derana, 2018).

There appears to be a gap in the research addressing the way in which the above-mentioned factors interplay in a low income urban community, how education institutes, law enforcement officials, and urban development schemes contribute to tensions and violence within such communities. In the Sri Lankan context, It inquires and to what extent such violence is dictated by factors such as ethnicity, which have previously fuelled radical youth movements. With the majority of the literature reviewed suggesting that low-income urban communities in Sri Lanka often have fewer ethnic tensions due to their multi-ethnic, multi-religious, bi-lingual composition, further investigation into the dynamics between ethnic groups, and the existing conflicts that emerge within these communities along ethnic lines is required.

With ethnicity-related factors having played a large role in youth radicalisation in Sri Lanka's past, this paper will aim to apply the concept of youth radicalisation to the context-specific socio-economic and political drivers that affect low-income ethnic-minority youth in an urban setting. Youth radicalisation, and the specific processes through which it develops, and the ways in which it manifests, will be important to

explore in the context of youth from slums and shanties, as these youths can be considered heavily marginalised in education, employment and mainstream societal/cultural spheres; factors that have historically been seen to contribute to radicalisation. Additionally, bearing in mind the variation of experience and status of residents from the community, it will be important to explore whether, and what, forms of privilege exist (on account of economic status, ethnicity, and gender) for the groups that occupy this community, and how these factors affect youths' susceptibility to becoming involved in, and being victimised by, acts of violence.

Methodology

This study, while accepting the problematic close association and near synonymy that popular discourse has made between radicalisation and militancy, will explore instead the varied, and less focused upon ways in which radicalisation can exist. It will explore the reasons for Christian Tamil youths' grievances (youth defined as those between 17-35 years) in this low-income community, framing these issues as social and structural ones that cause intensified violence through interplay with one another. It will also explore how the Church has remained an important and reliable actor for decades – one that has attempted to tauten the slack of the above-mentioned state bodies and provide this community with consistent support in achieving legitimacy (to land, education, employment and health-services). Attempting to explore the potential for youth radicalisation (in whatever form this would be), this study attempted to answer the following research questions:

Research Question One: What factors do Tamil youth perceive to be the most problematic within their community for their age group?

Research Question Two: How do these factors interplay with one another to foment forms of violence?

The low-income urban community that was the centre of this research includes a mixture of slum and shanty communities of both Sinhala as well as Tamil ethnicity.[23] The reason this was chosen as the site of study is because I had previously had a lot of contact with the children and parents from this community through volunteering for church-led educational classes. Given my close association with the religious leaders of the church who work closely with the youth, I had a point of entry to the community. Furthermore, my presence working with children from this community meant that I had a foundational knowledge of certain hardships experienced, which was the base off which this investigation was built.

The research involved a qualitative mode of analysis, as a quantitative one did not appear to lend itself to this particular research topic, due to the fact that the research sought youth perceptions. Focus Group Discussions (FGD) facilitated by the Assistant Parish Priest (referred from here on, as Father Chris)[24] were held in the month of February with 25 community youth (9 females, 16 males); two in-depth interviews with community youth were held between mid- January and late March; three Key Person Interviews were held with church leaders between January and May, and informal observations were made through the church-led classes and from repeated visits to the community during the entire research period. The FGDs were carried

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23 Occupying an area of land that is segregated by a river canal, the shanties occupy the area on one side–closer to the canal edge in marshy land that belongs to the one Municipal Council–while the "legitimate" houses lie on the other side of the canal, further up hill, and fall within a different Municipal Council.

24 All names used throughout this paper will be pseudonyms to protect the privacy of the individuals concerned.

out by myself and two research assistants (thus breaking off into three focus groups), and the in-depth interviews were carried out with a male youth at the church, and a young mother of two children who works as a domestic worker (neither of whom were involved in the FGDs). Key Person Interviews were conducted with the Parish Priest (Father Jack), the Assistant Parish Priest (Father Chris), the head-nun of a Franciscan Church who was involved in the education sessions with the youth (Sister Margaret), and a Representative of the Diocese of Colombo.

Limitations

For an outsider, conducting fieldwork in such a community without developing a good rapport and strong bonds of trust with community members is not an easy task (Fernando, 2018). This is especially so when questions are of a sensitive nature, including questions about social conflicts, which Fernando (2018) categorises as 'troublesome questions' (p.18). Although I had developed a good rapport with the children of the community, attempting to conduct interviews with youth with whom there existed no prior contact proved to be difficult, and for this reason, Father Chris facilitated the sessions. Father Chris worked closely with the youth of this community, as well as with youth from other low-income urban communities in the area. The fact that he was the focal point who convened the group discussions and maintained a presence throughout, presented a number of limitations in and of itself. First, Father Chris' definition of youth was not bound by age but was defined as young adults who were not married, which in this instance spanned the ages of 17 to 35. Therefore, youth who were married were excluded from the discussions. Another significant limitation was the fact that Father Chris is in a position of authority in this community, which meant that his presence could have affected the participants' inputs.

Referring to the troublesome questions that were referred to above, and which will be discussed in the Analysis section of the report, many youth in the FGDs commented that there was no tension between Sinhalese and Tamil youth and that relations were fluid. This was contrary to feedback from individual in-depth interviews, which appeared to suggest that there were indeed major tensions between the two ethnic groups. Both sets of diverging insights are included in this paper, bearing in mind the very real possibility that the above-mentioned limitations resulted in FGD participants not feeling secure or comfortable to speak openly.

This information could also have been affected by the fact that my research assistants and I conducted these discussions in the Sinhala language rather than in the Tamil language. Because the youth are bilingual, they participated in the discussions without difficulty. However, having had to speak in Sinhala, they could possibly have felt a sense of discomfort, or threat, when asked about any existent tensions with Sinhalese community members. That the focus groups were not conducted in the participants' first language therefore may have worked as a barrier to acquiring more accurate information.

Furthermore, due to the fact that the FGDs were conducted following Mass one weekday evening, my research assistants and I were required to group together with the participants in an informal setting (as Mass is held on the side of the road due to the lack of an official space/building for this purpose). Father Chris explained to us that most of the participants would be unable to gather in a more official setting due to time commitments, and that conducting the sessions after Mass would be the best option. Therefore, standing in clusters as we conducted the sessions, and hurrying to take down notes in our notebooks, we were unable to note the specific details of the respondents (age, gender, etc.) who made certain comments. The comments made have therefore been presented as coming from either FGD 1, FGD 2 or FGD 3 rather than from specific participants.

Analysis of Findings

The FGDs revealed the following as the biggest problems affecting youth in the community:

• Barriers to Education.

• Unemployment and underemployment.

• Lack of, and absorption of existing recreational spaces into development schemes. Unjust, biased police conduct.

• Abuse of alcohol and drugs.

• Domestic violence, and in some cases, random acts of violence existing along ethnic lines.

Notably, it appeared to be the case that, as opposed to militant youth that have emerged from, and fuelled, previous radical movements in the country, youth reactions to these forms of structural violence were different. It did not result in active, organised militancy against the established institutions, with the aim of achieving social transformation. Rather, their responses indicated a manifestation of what Amarasuriya et al. (2009) describe as "more random acts of violence for more individualist purposes" (p, 7).

Centring ethnic violence as a key issue will involve privileging in-depth interviews over the findings of the FGDs. However, (more indirect) disparities based on ethnicity were indeed considered problems across the board in both the FGDs and the in-depth interviews, with youth perceiving educational institutes and police officials as favouring Sinhalese residents and thus as offering them more opportunities and resources. The following section will explore each of the above-mentioned problems that youth mentioned, and then analyse how these factors can contribute to the above-mentioned forms of violence, or as we framed in this paper, to a process of youth radicalisation.

Barriers to Education Affecting Community Youth

The FGDs and in-depth interviews revealed that most children completed primary education, some completed secondary education, and many dropped out of school between ages 14 and 16 following completion of the Ordinary Level (O Level). An in-depth interview with Sister Margaret (personal communication, January 12, 2019) and findings of the FGDs indicated that the majority of schools available to the community residents were those that fall into the Type 3 schools– segregated by ethnicity. This proved to be the major reason as to why the youth perceived themselves as not being able to attain higher education levels. Youth participants from FGD 1 commented that it was difficult to access good schools after completing Grade 5 (which is often when the Type 3 school ended). Due to a lack of facilities at the Tamil schools which they attended, they were unable to do Advanced Level (A Level) examinations or go ahead with higher studies (FGD 2 and 3). Due to the language-based segregation of schools, participants of both FGDs 1 and 2 noted that children had great difficulties changing to Sinhala schools that did have A Level facilities due to language issues (as their bilingual abilities did not necessarily extend to competency in the written language). Participants from FGD 3 commented that, whereas previously there were no Sinhala lessons for Tamil medium students, this had changed over time and now school curricula taught both languages. However this did not appear to have a large bearing on the accessibility of Sinhala schools for Tamil students.

Although schools tend to be segregated along language and ethnic lines, one of the schools that many of the children from the community (and youth in their childhood) attended was a Sinhala/Tamil mixed-medium school. Participants commented that this mixed-medium school used to be solely a Tamil school before the government added a Sinhala counterpart to it. One participant commented that there was an influx of Sinhala-Buddhist students, which reduced the proportion of Tamil-Christian students, and also noted that the newly-created Sinhala section was amalgamated with a Sinhala medium school in the vicinity, thus increasing the Sinhala section in size. Within extremely close proximity, the two

parts of the schools were segregated based on language of instruction.

Participants from all 3 FGDs commented on the unequal distribution of resources in Sinhala and Tamil schools. Participants in FGD 3 commented that whereas government schools and provincial-level Sinhala medium schools in the area were equipped with recreational facilities in the form of large playgrounds, the Tamil-medium school they attend was not. Thus, national education institutions were perceived to be discriminatory towards Tamil schools, and to favour Sinhala ones by distributing resources unequally in favour of the latter.

It was commonly accepted by these youths that education is a tool of social mobility, yet they commented that they faced numerous problems to continuing school and improving their chances further. In this instance, youth were vocal about the advantages unequally afforded to the Sinhala section of the school, they felt that this education system that community youth interacted with, heightened their consciousness of ethnic identities.

The majority of residents interviewed were bilingual yet noted that they still faced barriers to accessing Sinhala schools. Participants commented that they would have to seek higher level education in Sinhala schools, which are well-equipped, or that they would have to pay unaffordable amounts to enter a higher-level Tamil school. They note that the "fees" required for entrance into prestigious schools were very high – "sometimes close to 2 lakhs" – and that this was a major deterrent to children and youth continuing and completing education. This is of concern considering the fact that education is supposed to be free and accessible to all and indicates to the competitiveness and the role of financial payments to secure a placement. Due to this, community members reported that children rarely followed A Level classes.

When discussing methods to overcome these barriers, participants from FGD 1 commented that

some families moved to Kotahena, Bambalapitiya and Borella to provide their children with a good education but noted that many could not do so due to economic barriers.

Other participants from FGD 3 commented that it was possible to pay donations to transfer children to higher-grade schools in order to complete A Levels, mentioning two large (gender-segregated) government schools as commonly sought ones. This was, however, reserved for those with the economic means to do so, meaning that children from more economically privileged families had a greater chance of completing their A Levels. Youth were acutely aware of the way in which their low-income status prevented them from advancing to higher levels of education.

Participants noted that most of the children go to what are now provincial/national schools – those that were initially founded by the church. They claimed that these schools had less resources and provided fewer opportunities compared to larger, well-resourced schools. A participant from FGD 1 commented, "we don't know the reason for the lack of resources in these schools because we're in an urban area" suggesting that the city was perceived to be an area of opportunity and resources, yet was one which did not provide for this demographic, emphasising their sense of deprivation.

Due to the fact that the slum portion of the community is better protected (with residents having legal tenure, with homes built of more stable material, and with homes being situated on higher-lying land) it appeared that residents of shanties faced more barriers to continuing school on account of physical risks that their homes faced. Father Jack (personal communication, January 9, 2019) noted that the shanties were often inundated by floods, two to three times a year, due to their location by a river canal on marshy land. He noted that during such times, residents relocated to halls in government schools that were willing to house them until the rains stopped or until their homes had been cleared

of the flood water.[25] An in-depth interview with 17-year old Sachith (personal communication, January 19, 2019) who lives in the slum area, corroborated that fewer children from the shanties attended school compared to those from the slum (referring to these divisions as those on one side of the canal and those on the other). The reasons, he noted, were attributed more to economic status than to susceptibility to physical risks alone.

> **He noted that usually children from the shanty side drop out of school and the girls go to work in the high-rise apartments in the neighbourhood, cooking and cleaning, while the boys go to work at World Market (in Pettah), or else take out a loan and buy a 3-wheeler, or work with lorries. These jobs were referred to, by one participant, as 'small jobs'.**

Participants of FGD 2 and 3 corroborated and echoed what the literature says about employment, with many of them noting that most youth in the community were untrained, non-professional workers in the informal sector.[26]

Thus, it appears to be the case that Tamil youth faced multiple barriers to accessing and continuing education – factors that fall along economic lines as well as ethnic lines. Participants perceived educational institutes as being ethnically biased, favouring the Sinhala population, both in terms of access and opportunity, which also undermined their ability to remain in school and subsequently gain employment. An additional factor noted was the high turnover rate of teachers, which was perceived as a phenomenon that existed due to poor salaries (Shashi, personal communication, January 27, 2019). Therefore, structural inequalities in the education system were perceived as stemming students' pursuance of higher education, and it was expressed that such inequalities were connected to ethnicity.

Unemployment and Underemployment Affecting the Community

Although the majority of youth commented that they dropped out of school following O Levels, a few participants noted that they had completed A Levels; yet could not find employment. This appeared to be a trend for those who had passed O Levels and A Levels – they were still unable to acquire jobs. A participant from FGD 1 commented, "in this area, finding a job is the most difficult thing". Another commented, "we need guidance on how to fulfil our needs according to modern development. Education and economic patterns are competitive". Many of the youth appeared to be aware of the requirements of the modern job market, yet felt helpless in acquiring these skills due to educational shortages. As one youth member from FGD 1 commented, "we are happy with these jobs since we don't have good educational qualifications. We know that we cannot afford good jobs" and many participants from FGD 2 commented that they were happy with their current jobs when comparing them to those of their parents. These comments suggest that there had been a level of social mobility between the generations.

One participant in the FGD 3 commented that it was often Father Chris who assisted the youth in securing jobs for the youth of the community. Similarly, Sister Margaret noted that many jobs were coordinated for certain youth through networks that the church had.[27] She noted that she had personally taken a few young boys from

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25 During my time teaching at the church-led classes, many children would not attend classes during periods of heavy rain, and when they finally did, they would say they had been unable to come on account of the destruction the floods had caused. They would note that they had not been able to attend school either, and also that their books had been drenched by the water.

26 They commented that the majority of them and their peers worked as store keepers, sales assistants, saloon assistants, three-wheeler drivers, and helped in bakeries.

27 She spoke about the case in which a member of the church – a hairdresser – conducted English classes and hair-dressing classes for youth, after which she placed a few of these students directly into positions of employment at salons.

the Parish for interviews at the National Apprentice and Industrial Training Authority (NAITA), and also noted the Vocational Training Centre as, "an institute that does good work for the youth of the community". She said that for this particular programme, youth required sponsorship for a 1 to 2-year programme, and after either O Levels or A Levels, they were able to choose a programme to enrol in. She stated, "if we motivate them, they'll go," suggesting that the youth felt reluctant to pursue further training, indicating the role that the church plays in pushing forward job prospects. She also mentioned a prominent hotel chain as one that trains many of the youth putting them into hotel courses, commenting, "if the kids are intelligent, there are opportunities" (Sister Margaret, personal communication, January 12, 2019).

Many youth faced barriers to complete higher levels of secondary education, yet even those who had completed, have faced difficulties in acquiring jobs. The church has played an elemental role in using its networks to connect youth with opportunities for higher levels of study, as well as employment options. However, as was noted, these opportunities were reserved for those students considered more able and intelligent. Therefore, the lack of educational and employment opportunities remained large issues affecting the majority of children and youth.

Drug Use & Domestic Violence Affecting Community Youth

> **Participants mentioned that "ganja" (marijuana), "ice" (crystal methamphetamine), and "kudu" (heroin) were the most prevalent drugs circulating in the community, and that it was primarily male youth abusing these drugs.**

One participant from FGD 2 mentioned, "you won't find a single male who doesn't use these drugs. Older males also use them, but women do not consume alcohol or drugs," and a participant from FGD 1 commented that it was primarily young males – 15 and 16 years old – those who were, "not controlled by their parents" that were most susceptible to becoming drug users and abusers.

Sister Margaret, who works very closely with the community, commented that when she conducted home visits with her fellow sisters, they witnessed drug dealers enter and leave the community, exchanging drugs for money.[28] She said, "everywhere, we see drug addicts…looking drowsy" and said that the younger children were often aware of what was occurring due to the fact that it all happened within a small space. She noted that, "houses are very close to each other, and children quickly pick up language and behaviour from those around them," further noting that "small kids do drugs" and "youngsters also drink". She described how parents often consulted her about this situation, feeling anxious and worried because they felt ill-prepared to deal with it (Sister Margaret, personal communication, January 12, 2019).

Across all FGDs and in-depth interviews, domestic violence was identified as a problem affecting the women of the community. A participant from the FGD 1 noted that there existed cases of women who were "beaten every day by their drunk husbands," and an in-depth interview revealed that men say "kunuharapa"[29] to their wives, and hit them frequently (Shashi Rajendran, personal communication, January 27, 2019). Participants noted that many male members of the community did not work; they drank while remaining at home, creating a situation in which women were required to work and often forced

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28 Whereas scholars such as Fernando (2018) have described the way in which drug-sales originate within the community – and can be a lucrative source of income – this particular study did not broach the topic of whether drugs were sold by those within the community as a form of income-generation due to this being another sensitive topic that would have required more time and close interactions to discuss.

29 Filthy/harsh language

to give their earnings to the men to sustain their drinking habits. She placed emphasis on how hard women have to work due to the lack of opportunities available to them, and the lack of support they receive from their husbands. Participants in FGD 1 commented that, "about 80% of women are working and men hardly work," and that children were affected by this behaviour, feeling the stress of the violence that often surrounded them in their home environment. Others commented that youth who suffered from drug problems beat their parents, and that boys started speaking "kunuharapa" to their mothers as they grew older and got involved with drugs and alcohol (Shashi Rajendran, personal communication, January 27, 2019).

Additionally, in-depth interviews and FGDs revealed that gender roles and expectations played a large part in the way that violence became gendered, putting a double burden on women. Taking care of the home and of being bread winners, and also becoming victims of sexual and domestic violence, reported as being fomented by alcohol and drug use on the part of men. Considering the social roles and responsibilities that girls and boys are disproportionately/differently assigned, it appeared that boys had more freedom of movement – often unsupervised – which was reported to increase their risk of becoming involved in drug use. Girls on the other hand were more protected, expected to remain within the home – a factor that contributed to the double burden ultimately placed on them.

(Lack of) Recreational Spaces Affecting Community Youth

Participants from all three focus groups commented on the lack of recreational space available for the children and youth in the community, noting that, "little kids do not have a playground or park. They do not know how to enjoy their childhood…that is one reason that they become addicted to drugs – it gives them freedom that they can't find elsewhere". One

older youth commented that it was not just the youth and children that suffered from a lack of recreational space, but also adults who did so, for they had nowhere to go to, "relax and to release energy". Participants commented on the fact that there was not even enough space for religious functions, resulting in them having to hold Mass on the side of the street, which Father Chris oversaw monthly. Many noted that the land that used to be available as a playground was recently absorbed into an urban development project, yet that the owner of the apartment complex beside their community had offered them certain leisure-based opportunities. Despite being given access to the gymnasium in the apartment complex, the youth expressed discomfort at the thought of using it. They commented that this was not a desirable option for them, which can be understood given the economic and social disparities between those who inhabit the apartment complexes and those who inhabit the low-income communities amongst them.

With regard to the problem of Montessori education, participants commented that Father Chris had communicated with this same owner of the apartment complex in order to set up a Montessori for Tamil and Sinhala children (taught in 2 mediums) within the building. A participant of FGD 3 noted that this Montessori charged Rs. 700 per month for each child, as well as providing bags, stationery, books, gifts on special occasions like Christmas, and stationery lists up to 1000 children for grade 1 - grade 13 (FGD 3). Participants expressed deep appreciation for Father Chris for having organised this with the owner of the apartment complex, noting that it was a great support to the community.

Youth appeared to perceive the lack of recreational space as an issue because it not only denied them an enabling space to interact with peers and spend time together, but it was also seen as a contributing factor to other issues in the community, such as drug use. In addition to commenting on the lack of recreational space in their community, they also discussed how the lack of recreational facilities at school was

a major issue that was perceived to exist along ethnic lines. As mentioned previously, participants from FGD 3 commented that whereas the Sinhala section of their school had a playground (constructed by the government) the Tamil medium section did not. Participants complained, "there is only education – no sports". When asked about the reason as to why the Sinhala section was presented a playground and the Tamil section was not, participants commented that a prominent politician in the Municipal Council who had attended the Sinhala-medium school supported its development, ensuring certain benefits such as a large playground. "That's how it is, no?" one participant commented, suggesting the way in which political patronage was seen to be a common method of accessing resources.

Ethnic Violence Affecting Community Youth

During the research, findings regarding ethnic tensions were two-fold. Participants from all three FGDs corroborated Silva and Athukorala's findings that there were no notable ethnic tensions within the community with comments such as, "we are all humans and we treat each other with respect" and, "we live peacefully" (FGD 1). Participants from FGD 2 commented, "we don't have ethnicity issues between Sinhala and Tamil families" but reported that when an argument or problem occurred, individuals got involved in such conflicts with a "group spirit" that was more dependent on friends and family rather than "Tamil groups or Sinhala groups". Thus, participants reported not perceiving ethnicity to be a dividing factor, and many mentioned that Tamil and Sinhalese people worked together when it came to Vesak Dansals, shramadaanas[30], and other public events. An in-depth interview

corroborated this, where the respondent claimed that at New Year celebrations and during certain festivals, Sinhalese and Tamil people got together to put up decorations and celebrate, and that there existed a sense of community between them, but commented that this was limited to such occasions.

The two in-depth interviews revealed that Sinhalese-Tamil conflicts were in fact a major issue in the community. One revealed that there was a lot of Sinhalese-Tamil tension, primarily exacerbated by the older boys (20-25 year age group) who provoked each other and frequently quarrelled (Sachin Antony, personal communication, January 19, 2019).[31] The second revealed that the 2015 political election had been a pivotal point in ethnic relations as, "Sinhalese people were very upset about the change of government and Tamil people were very happy, so the Tamil people celebrated, and following this, there would be fights" (Shashi Rajendran, personal communication, January 27, 2019).[32]

Such information did not come forth in the FGDs, and more complex dynamics of power/tension were not commented on. During an in-depth interview with Father Jack, he commented that, "there is one family controlling all the others" (Father Jack, personal communication, January 19, 2019). However, such information was not forthcoming during the FGDs. It is important to bear in mind the lapses of information and the failures of the FGDs to acquire a complex picture of the dynamics within the community, which could have occurred (as suggested by one in-depth interviewee when told that FGD participants had stated ethnic relations were fluid and not antagonistic) due to fear and a lack of trust in the researchers. It thus appeared to be the case that the fluidity of ethnic relations, which

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30 Vesak Dansals translate to food stalls and shramadaanas translate to voluntary services, such as cleaning public/ community spaces.

31 He noted one particular occasion on which a fight was sparked due to a vehicle accident, resulting in one man hitting another over the head with a brick. He noted that when the police arrived, the perpetrator had disappeared, yet since then he has returned to the community and the police have not apprehended him yet.

32 She noted incidents such as one in which one boy cut another's arm with a knife, saying that these isolated incidents have caused tensions to escalate. She noted that people were very violent and that recently, the Christian shrine at the edge of the road had been smashed and had had to be replaced.

Silva and Athukorala (1991) referenced, were limited to festivals and celebrations.

Relations with Police Affecting Community Youth

Although they differed in their accounts of ethnic violence in the community, responses from all three FGDs and the in-depth interviews revealed that police officers were perceived to foment issues of conflict between ethnicities, as they were considered, "partial, swayed by bribes, and ineffective in solving drug and violence related issues that afflict the community". During the FGDs, when discussing the issue of drug use, participants commented that although it happened rarely, police sometimes came to the community and caught the drug dealer, but the following day, drug selling and buying would resume. Participants from FGD 1 commented that, "sometimes police come to the community and arrest all the people who are outside their homes; every man and woman, on the grounds that they are drug-selling suspects".

Not only were the police perceived to be ineffective with intervening in the drug problem, but participants from FGD 2 also mentioned that police entered the community and instigated problems along ethnic lines. FGD participants reported that during a conflict, individuals grouped together without ethnicity as a factor in mind, but that police made ethnicity the central issue whenever they intervened in conflicts. They suggested that the police officers' biases infiltrated into the mediation of such conflicts, causing more harm than good, and fuelling ethnic rivalries, which participants commented in many cases had not previously existed.

Both in-depth interview participants noted that the police take bribes from Sinhalese people and are, "always on their side when they are called in due to any conflict". One participant of the in-depth interview noted that the police, "witness conflicts, yet don't do anything, often due to bribes". The second in-depth interview indicated a similar perception – that, "police are always on

Sinhalese people's side because they give them money". She noted that, "nowadays, police are everywhere". Not only due to conflict, but on other occasions, Sinhalese people are reported as having called the police to the community. She noted that on one occasion during a party ("you know how Tamil people like to sing and dance") the police arrived because Sinhalese neighbours had reported a disturbance, and that they "took everyone to jail". She noted that Tamil youth were extremely aggravated by this and that a new cycle of conflict began between Sinhalese and Tamil youth (Shashi Rajendra, personal communication, January 27, 2019).

Thus, there was evidence of numerous conflicts, smaller and larger, between Sinhala and Tamil community groups, and it appeared to be the case that the police were perceived to be a biased and non-neutral regulatory body that failed in interventions with issues in the community, and rather than solving, actually escalated conflicts.

Church Involvement: Tautening the Slack of Public Institutions

In global case-studies, the church has been identified as a key institution that has organised, and fuelled social movements, providing relief to the most marginalised communities in society (Dias and Alvez, 2008; Lenk, 2014; Oladipo, 2000; Wood, 2003). Writing on a low-income urban community in Colombo, Fernando (2018) describes the way in which residents looked to the church for material and psychological support, with one interview participant in the study having reported converting from Buddhism to become a member of the Assembly of God church because the church was perceived as providing educational, nutritional and spiritual support to her.

Father Jack noted that it was primarily women, who came to the church's services, seeking material, spiritual and emotional support. He mentioned that "some men come, but irregularly" (Father Jack, personal communication, January

9, 2019). One community member revealed that prayer is her primary way of persisting with the tasks of scarce income and maintaining her children – ensuring that they are doing well and that they are taken care of (Shashi Rajendran, personal communication, January 27, 2019). Within this study community, the church has proved to play a historical and vital role, not just providing spiritual and psychological support, but also by supporting and legitimising the community members' educational, employment, recreational and land-related issues, where the state has seemingly failed to do so.

A conversation with a Representative of the Diocese of Colombo[33] revealed that the homes that fall under the slum category used to be shanties, and that the land on which the current residents had previously been squatting had been private land owned by a bishop of the Anglican Church (Representative, personal communication, January 19, 2019). In 1996, those squatting on this land made a collective appeal to the Bishop for rights over this land. He then transferred the land to them, requesting a nominal fee, ultimately granting them with land rights. Having their own land has precluded them facing eviction threats and has given them greater security and a sense of ownership over their homes. It has also meant that the local church has been able to provide them with assistance in building up their homes. On the other hand, because the shanties do not legally belong to the residents, it has been difficult for organisations that provide relief and support to the community to assist residents with building more stable houses (Father Jack, personal communication, January 9, 2019). In terms of the way in which shanties, especially, are affected by flooding, although the church is unable to assist residents to build permanent structured houses due to the technical illegality of their presence, the local church does assist them to repair houses during such times. It also appears to play a key role in making up for the structural deficiencies

– in education, employment and recreational opportunities – that community members are forced to manoeuvre. In addition to providing dry rations to affected individuals during disaster times, it provides educational support in the form of English and Mathematics classes out of school hours (often in the evening on two week days and during the weekend) as well as employment opportunities for youth as has been detailed above.

In terms of education, participants in the FGDs noted that the nuns who lead the extra-curricular, church-led education programmes helped them to transition into higher schooling levels through contacts with administrators and teachers at secondary schools. Sister Margaret noted that they spoke to the principals of Christian schools to request concessions for students. Furthermore, as discussed previously, it was Father Chris who had spoken with the owners of the apartment complex and requested the establishment of a nursery for young children in the community. Sister Margaret commented that, "networking is very important when searching for jobs for the youth". She notes that the reason they began their extra-curricular education programmes was because the parents of the community could not afford tuition and were struggling. After having expressed these concerns to Father Jack, he requested the nuns begin classes with the community. She commented that, "the target is to bring them up to A Levels – to improve skill development so that they can find a job" and she also noted that it is not enough to find them a potential employer but that they had to actively insert the individual into a post with an employer. Education in itself often did not yield employment opportunities (Sister Margaret, personal communication, January 12, 2019).

Father Chris noted that he often took the youth out for excursions to redress the lack of recreational facilities available to them. During the FGDs when hearing the youth speak about the lack of recreational spaces available to them,

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33 Who wished to remain anonymous.

he suggested that perhaps it would be possible for the church to secure land for recreational purposes.

What appears to be the case is that religious institutions attempt to pick up the slack of the public education system by providing a range of education programmes and other material support measures. Sister Margaret highlighted how the church-led education programmes aimed to, "teach children the value of discipline, being peaceful with their peers, and to sit silently in a form of meditation," noting that such social skills were not given due emphasis in formal education (Sister Margaret, personal communication, January 12, 2019). Although such programmes are helpful to the community in perhaps providing additional forms of mentorship and attempting to alleviate certain social problems in the community, it is important to question how far they can go in terms of addressing gaps in the state's education system.

Summary and Conclusion

This study's research questions – what factors Tamil youth perceive to be the most problematic within their community for their age group, and how do these factors work, independently or in tandem, to foment forms of violence – yielded the following results:

The main issues affecting the youth of this community were -

1. Barriers to education
2. Unemployment and under-employment
3. Lack of recreational spaces
4. Unjust, biased police conduct
5. Abuse of alcohol and drugs
6. Domestic violence
7. Violence that existed along ethnic lines

The first three factors were seen to contribute to, and intensify, the latter three, with a lack of access to education, employment, and recreational spaces being given as short-term and long-term drivers of alcohol and drug abuse, domestic violence, and more random acts of violence along ethnic lines.

Discussions revealed that segregation based on language and ethnicity in educational institutes, the unequal distribution of (recreational and educational) resources to schools, and the biased conduct of police officers served not only to increase violence, but also to heighten youth's consciousness of ethnic identity and relative deprivation in this multi-ethnic, multi-religious urban space. Given responses from the FGDs – that Tamil-Sinhala ethnic relations were fluid and collaborative, especially during times of festivals – it can be argued that state structures heighten ethnic identities in antagonistic ways, creating a scarcity of opportunity and engendering forms of violence that create an insidious cycle of deprivation in the community.

Youth noted the existence of high rates of school dropout because there were facilities lacking for A Level study in the schools that the majority of children attended. Either because the cost of transferring to a Tamil school that did have the facilities was unaffordable, or because Tamil children could not access Sinhala-medium schools that offered A Levels, they left school and either remained without work, or entered work in the informal economy with their family members. Educational institutions, on account of being segregated by type and language, appeared to disadvantage students who attended the Tamil medium school and smaller schools with fewer resources. Whereas there was a discussion about what we can perceive as an attempted amalgamation of Sinhala and Tamil medium schools, what this discussion revealed was that this attempt to bring together the schools and students actually reinforced youth's perceptions of ethnic identity, as they were particularly aware of the way in which the Sinhala medium section had been provided recreational spaces and the Tamil medium section had not.

The lack of recreational spaces at school and within the community were highlighted as causing increased restlessness for community members, and also contributing to drug and alcohol abuse, which young teenage boys were becoming entangled in. This was considered a

continual problem, especially for women, who were often burdened with having to take on the role of breadwinner, as well as take care of home matters. They would also be subjected to abuse and violence on account of sons and husbands who partook in drugs and alcohol. The lack of recreational space in the Tamil section of the school, and the fact that there existed no dedicated space for religious worship (with a shrine previously having been smashed due to a conflict) indicates the existence of perceived discrimination based on ethnicity. The fact that existing recreational spaces in the community are made exclusive by development schemes, and that the community is in close proximity to apartment complexes for wealthy residents also indicates a heightening sense of economic deprivation.

Police forces were reported as escalating tensions rather than tempering them when they became involved in conflicts within the community, and they were reported as framing the conflict as one based on ethnicity when participants didn't necessarily identify ethnicity as a central point of the dispute. In FGDs, ethnicity was not given as a point of contention, but residents noted that those of Sinhalese and Tamil ethnicity had cordial, friendly relations and worked together during festive times, such as when constructing Dansals. In-depth interviews, however, revealed that ethnic tensions were high, and that many conflicts existed.

Discussions on the police force and residents' perceptions of them revealed that they felt they had little to no support from the state's judicial system in addressing any issues/conflicts that they had, and often felt actively targeted due to police collaboration with Sinhalese residents. In some instances, police were identified as instigating problems along ethnic lines.

Furthermore, considering the forms of privilege that exist (on account of economic status, ethnicity, and gender) it was found that residents in shanty communities faced a harsher plight due to the physical and economic insecurities they

faced, and that women were often subject to abuse and violence while having to take on the double burden of being the bread winner and managing the household.

It is often youth who belong to underprivileged groups, made aware of their situation of deprivation, that are the most susceptible to becoming involved in radical groups and movements. Therefore, it is important to consider this particular case study, for youth evidently experienced discrimination and a sense of deprivation – of opportunities in the spheres of education, recreation, employment and accessing systems of justice.

> **Rather than concerted effort against these discriminatory establishments, youth have responded to these inequalities in more individualist ways such as partaking in drugs and alcohol, arguably as a refuge from the lack of opportunities and options they faced, enacting violence in the home against (primarily) women family members, and enacting violence against other members of the community – violence that in certain isolated cases appeared to exist along ethnic lines.**

When considering the issues that were revealed through FGDs, in-depth interviews and key person interviews, what was evident was that the majority of these issues stemmed from a lack of access to quality education. The lack of quality education – while fomenting divisions based on language and ethnicity – prevented children from low-income families from continuing to higher levels of study, from accessing recreational spaces to complement their studies with sports and play, and ultimately resulted in poor employment options. The attempted integration of the Sinhala and Tamil-medium schools proved to heighten a sense of ethnic identity rather than quell it and was identified as having failed to provide students with the necessary skill set to navigate the modern job market. Therefore, education systems appeared to be the primary institutions

that created a sense of scarcity in youth while heightening their sense of ethnic identity and economic deprivation.

Education therefore appears to be the area of most critical engagement to address. Education remains the area with which children have most consistent, sustained interaction, and where youth have identified a great extent of inequality to access of resources. In addition to inadequately equipping children with the skills necessary to navigate the modern job market, it appeared to heighten a sense of ethnic identity through the disparity of resource distribution. The other ways in which education systems increase ethnic tensions and heighten a sense of ethnic identity (and other forms of gender-based violence), for example, through the content of curricula - was not explored in this study. However, this is important to examine to better understand the multiple and various ways in which state-led education systems contribute to inter-community and interpersonal violence.

As was noted, even when students do possess higher levels of educational qualification, many still struggle to access employment. Therefore, the issue of students with the relevant educational qualifications facing unemployment will have to be further investigated to understand where the gap exists between the educational qualifications of the students and the requirements of employers.

In addition to high rates of school dropout and the failure to access meaningful avenues of employment, the lack of access to recreational spaces proved to be a great contributor of initiation into drug use and dissatisfaction among youth. Therefore, due attention will need to be placed on the availability of recreational spaces, both in school and in the community, as a measure to curb the violence reported as resulting from this scarcity. Whereas it appeared to be the church that would be the most likely actor to procure and provide such a recreational space, it is important to consider the responsibility on the relevant regulatory state bodies to

address these situations when dealing with low-income urban communities. Especially so, given the increasing importance of potential sites for property development.

Overall, it appeared that wherever ethnic divisions were commented on, the reasons given for such divisions were seen to exist on account of institutions (educational, judicial, urban planning-related) which created situations of disparity in which a sense of economic deprivation and ethnic consciousness was heightened. For the future, this could possibly mean heightened tensions and more open violence, as currently, it is perceived as existing in micro-spaces.

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CHAPTER 4

Radicalisation and its impact on social changes – **in Nallinakkapuram**

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Abstract

At the end of Sri Lanka's civil war in 2009, the government of Sri Lanka initiated a post-war reconstruction and resettlement drive in the Northern Province. This study uses qualitative methodology to collect the data, and examines youth radicalisation and its impact on social changes in Nallinakkapuram, a settlement area consisting people from different communities. The youth in Nallinakkapuram were born in different refugee camps and were seriously affected by thirty years of war. It is seen that their lifestyles, behaviours, traditions are very different from those living in the Jaffna Peninsula. This has led to problems such as paedophilia, prostitution, consumption of alcohol, drug usage, and vandalism in Nallinakkapuram. The lack of basic infrastructure facilities, unemployment, poverty, caste discrimination and lack of social integration are some of the main root causes for the emergence of radicalisation in Nallinakkapuram. The community at Nallinakkpuram is moving from emergence stage, where people are not happy with the existing social situation, to a coalescence stage, where people complain to each other about the injustice in society against them. The government should take necessary steps to mitigate unemployment among youth. The importance of education should be emphasised through awareness programmes and women-friendly institutions, youth clubs should be established and empowered through activities such as skills training and development. Counseling programmes should be promptly provided to the Nallinakkapuram community. It is seen that counselling should particularly be given to the natives of the Tellipalai area as they do not mingle with people who have been resettled in Nallinakkapuram. Social media awareness should also be created among the youth in Nallinakkapuram, and proper entertainment avenues and sports activities would be most suitable for the youth in Nallinakkapuram. Many social changes have taken place in Nallinakkapuram due to radicalisation, and if the government does not take the correct steps to mitigate these changes at this stage, radicalisation is likely to become organised bureaucritisation.

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රැඩිකල්කරණය සහ නලිනාක්කපුරමිහි සමාජ වෙනස් වීම් කෙරෙහි ඉන් ඇති වූ බලපෑම

ග්‍රේස් හෙන්ස්මන් සහ සිවේසන් සිවනන්දමූර්ති - යාපනය විශ්ව විද්‍යාලය

2009 දී ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ සිවිල් යුද්ධය අවසන් වීමත් සමග ශ්‍රී ලංකා ආණ්ඩුව උතුරු පළාත තුල පශ්චාත් යුද නැවත ගොඩ නැඟීමේ හා නැවත පදිංචි කිරීමේ ප්‍රයත්නයක් සඳහා මුල පිරුවේ ය. මෙම අධ්‍යයනය තරුණ රැඩිකල්කරණය සහ ජනාවාස ප්‍රදේශයක් වන නලිනාක්කපුරමිහි සමාජ වෙනස් වීම් කෙරෙහි ඉන් ඇති වූ බලපෑම විමසා බලයි. දත්ත රැස් කිරීම සඳහා ගුණාත්මක ක්‍රමවේදයක් යොදා ගන්නා ලදි. නලිනාක්කපුරම් විවිධ ප්‍රජාවන්ට අයත් ජනයාගෙන් සමන්විත ප්‍රදේශයකි. විවිධ සරණාගත කඳවුරුවල දී උපන් නලිනාක්කපුරම් තරුණයෝ තිස් අවුරුදු යුද්ධයෙන් දැඩි බලපෑමකට ලක් වුහ. ඔවුන්ගේ ජීවන රටාවන්, චර්යාවන් හා සම්ප්‍රදායන් යාපනය අර්ධද්වීපය තුල ජීවත් වන අනෙක් ජනයාට වඩා බෙහෙවින් වෙනස් ය. මෙම තත්ත්වය නලිනාක්කපුරම් ප්‍රදේශය තුල දරුවන් අපයෝජනය, ගණිකා වෘත්තිය, මද්‍යසාර භාවිතය, මත්ද්‍රව්‍ය භාවිතය හා නාශකවාදය (පොදු වස්තූන් විනාශ කිරීම) පැතිර යාමට හේතු වී ඇත. නලිනාක්කපුරමිහි රැඩිකල්කරණය පැන නැඟීමට බලපා ඇති ප්‍රධාන මුල හේතූන් වන්නේ මූලික යටිතල පහසුකම් නොමැතිකම, විරැකියාව, දරිද්‍රතාව, කුලය පදනම් කර ගත් වෙනස්කම් කිරීම සහ සමාජ ඒකාබද්ධතාවක් නොමැතිකම යි. නලිනාක්කපුරම් ප්‍රජාව පවත්නා සමාජ වාතාවරණය පිළිබඳව ජනයා අතෘප්තියෙන් පසු වූ ආරම්භක අදියරේ සිට තමන්ට විරෙහිව සමාජය තුළ සිදු වන අසාධාරණකම් පිළිබඳව ජනයා එකිනෙකා සමග අදහස් හුවමාරු කර ගන්නා අදියරකට මාරු වෙමින් සිටිති. ආණ්ඩුව තරුණයන් අතර පවත්නා විරැකියාව අවම කිරීම සඳහා අවශ්‍ය පියවර ගත යුතු ය. දැනුවත් කිරීමේ වැඩසටහන් හරහා අධ්‍යාපනයේ වැදගත්කම අවධාරණය කළ යුතු අතර කාන්තා හිතකාමී සමාජ, තරුණ සමාජ පිහිටුවා නිපුණතා පුහුණුව හා සංවර්ධනය වැනි ක්‍රියාකාරකම් කිහිපයක් මඟින් ඒවා බල ගැන්විය යුතු ය. නලිනාක්කපුරම් ප්‍රජාවට කඩිනමින් උපදේශන වැඩසටහන් සම්පාදනය කළ යුතු ය.

විශේෂයෙන් ම නලිනාක්කපුරම්හි නැවත පදිංචි කර ඇති ජනයා සමග මුසු නොවන බැවින් තෙල්ලිපලෙයි පුදේශයේ මුල් පදිංචිකරුවන්ට උපදේශනය ලබා දිය යුතු ය. නලිනාක්කපුරම් තරුණයන් අතර සමාජ මාධ්‍ය දැනුවත්කම ඇති කළ යුතු ය. නලිනාක්කපුරම් තරුණයන්ට වඩාත් ම සුදුසු වන්නේ නිසි විනෝදායන කුම හා කීඩා කියාකාරකම් බව කිව හැකි ය. රැඩිකල්කරණය නිසා නලිනාක්කපුරම් පුදේශය තුළ සමාජ වෙනස් වීම් රැසක් සිදු වී ඇත (කෞමාර කාමය, ගණිකා වෘත්තිය, මද්‍යසාර භාවිතය, මත්දුව්‍ය භාවිතය හා පොදු වස්තූන් විනාශ කිරීම). ආණ්ඩුව මෙම වෙනස් වීම් අවම කිරීම සඳහා මෙම අදියරේ දී නිවැරදි පියවර නොගත හොත් රැඩිකල්කරණය සංවිධානාත්මක නිල තන්තුයක් බවට පත් විය හැකි ය.

சுருக்கம்

நல்லிணக்கப்புரத்தில் தீவிரமயப்படுத்தலும் சமூக மாற்றங்கள் மீதான அவற்றின் தாக்கமும்

கிரேஸ் ஹென்ஸ்மன் மற்றும் சிவேசன் சிவானந்தமூர்த்தி – யாழ்ப்பாண பல்கலைக்கழகம்

இலங்கையில் நிலவிய உள்நாட்டு யுத்தம் 2009 ஆம் ஆண்டு நிறைவடைந்தவுடன், இலங்கை அரசாங்கம் போருக்குப் பின்னரான புனரமைப்பு மற்றும் மீள்குடியேற்ற செயற்பாடுகளை வடமாகாணத்தில் முன்னெடுக்கத் தொடங்கியது. இந்த ஆய்வானது, இளைஞர்களது தீவிரமயப்படுத்தல் குறித்தும் ஒரு குடியேற்றப் பகுதியான நல்லிணக்கப்புரத்தில் சமூக மாற்றங்கள் மீது அவை கொண்டுள்ள தாக்கம் குறித்தும் ஆராய்கின்றது. தரவுகளை சேகரிப்பதற்கு பண்புசார் ஆய்வு முறையானது பயன்படுத்தப்பட்டுள்ளது. நல்லிணக்கப்புரம் பல்வேறு சமூகத்தவர்களை உள்ளடக்கியுள்ளது. நல்லிணக்கப்புரத்தில் உள்ள இளைஞர்கள் வெவ்வேறு அகதி முகாம்களில் பிறந்தவர்களாக இருப்பதோடு முப்பது ஆண்டுகால போரினால் கடுமையாக பாதிக்கப்பட்டுமுள்ளனர். அவர்களின் வாழ்க்கை முறைகள், நடத்தைகள், மரபுகள் போன்றன யாழ்ப்பாண தீபகற்பத்தில் வாழும் ஏனைய மக்களிடமிருந்து மிகவும் வேறுபட்டுள்ளன. இது நல்லிணக்கப்புரத்தில் "பெடோபிலியா" (வளர்ந்தவர்களால் சிறார்களை பாலியல் தேவைக்கு பயன்படுத்தல்), விபச்சாரம், மது அருந்துதல், போதைப்பொருள் பாவனை மற்றும் நாசகார செயற்பாடுகளுக்கு (பொதுச்சொத்துகளுக்கு சேதம் விளைவித்தல்) வழிவகுத்துள்ளது. அடிப்படை உட்கட்டமைப்பு வசதிகள் இன்மை, வேலையின்மை, வறுமை, சாதி ரீதியான பாகுபாடு மற்றும் சமூக ஒருங்கிணைப்பு இன்மை போன்றன நல்லிணக்கப்புரத்தில் தீவிரமயப்படுத்தல் தோன்றுவதற்கு முக்கிய காரணங்களாகும். நிலவும் சமூக சூழ்நிலையில் மகிழ்ச்சியடையாதவர்களை உள்ளடக்கிய ஆரம்ப நிலையில் இருந்து, மக்கள் தங்களுக்கு எதிராக சமூகத்தில் நடக்கும் அநீதிகள் குறித்து ஒருவருக்கொருவர் முறையீடுகளை மேற்கொள்ளக்கூடிய ஒரு ஒருங்கிணைந்த நிலையினை நோக்கி நல்லிணக்கபுரத்தில் உள்ள சமூகம் நகர்வடைகின்றது. இளைஞர்கள் மத்தியில் நிலவுகின்ற வேலையின்மையைக் குறைக்க அரசாங்கம் தேவையான நடவடிக்கைகளை எடுக்க வேண்டும். விழிப்புணர்வு நிகழ்ச்சிகள் மூலம் கல்வியின் முக்கியத்துவம் வலியுறுத்தப்பட வேண்டும் அத்தோடு திறன் பயிற்சி மற்றும் அபிவிருத்தி போன்ற பல நடவடிக்கைகள் ஊடாக பெண்கள் தோழமை கழகங்கள், இளைஞர் கழகங்கள் நிறுவப்பட்டு அவற்றுக்கான அதிகாரமளிக்கப்பட வேண்டும். நல்லிணக்கப்புர சமூகத்திற்கு உடனடியாக ஆலோசனை நிகழ்ச்சித் திட்டங்கள் வழங்கப்பட வேண்டும். குறிப்பாக, நல்லிணக்கப்புரத்தில் மீள்குடியேற்றப்பட்டவர்களுடன் ஒன்றிணையாத தெல்லிப்பளைப் பகுதியில் வாழும் மக்களுக்கும் ஆலோசனை வழங்கப்பட வேண்டும். நல்லிணக்கப்புரத்தில் உள்ள இளைஞர்களிடையே சமூக ஊடகம் தொடர்பான விழிப்புணர்வு உருவாக்கப்பட வேண்டும். மேலும், நல்லிணக்கப்புரத்தில் உள்ள இளைஞர்களுக்கு சரியான பொழுதுபோக்கு வழிகள் மற்றும் விளையாட்டு நடவடிக்கைகளை ஏற்படுத்திக் கொடுப்பது மிகவும் பொருத்தமானதாக இருக்கும். தீவிரமயப்படுத்தல் காரணமாக நல்லிணக்கப்புரத்தில் பல சமூக மாற்றங்கள் ("பெடோபிலியா"- வளர்ந்தவர்களால் சிறார்களை பாலியல் தேவைக்கு பயன்படுத்தல்-, விபச்சாரம், மது அருந்துதல், போதைப்பொருள் பயன்பாடு மற்றும் நாசகார செயற்பாடுகள்-பொதுச்சொத்துகளுக்கு சேதம் விளைவித்தல்-) நிகழ்ந்துள்ளன. இந்நிலையில் இத்தகைய மாற்றங்களைக் குறைக்க அரசாங்கம் சரியான நடவடிக்கைகளை எடுக்கவில்லையென்றால், தீவிரமயப்படுத்தல் ஒழுங்கமைக்கப்பட்ட அதிகாரத்துவமாக மாற வாய்ப்புள்ளது.

Discourses on Youth Radicalisation in Sri Lanka | CHAPTER 4
Radicalisation and its impact on social changes -   in Nallinakkapuram

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Introduction

The term 'radicalisation' emerged in political violence research studies during the 1970s in the developed nations. The term was used to emphasise the interactive and processual dynamics in the formation of violence by clandestine groups (Della Porta, 1995). According to Bartlett and Miller (2012) there are two types of radicalisation. One is radicalisation which leads to violence (violent radicalisation) and the other one is radicalisation which does not lead to violence (non-violent radicalisation). Violent radicalisation is a course by which individuals undertake terrorist activities. Non-violent radicalisation refers to the course by which individuals come to hold radical views in relation to their status quo but do not engage in terrorist activities. The term radicalisationis is understood and used in a variety of different ways, which in itself produces confusion. Sociological understanding about radicalism and radicals has been vague and ill-defined, McCormack (1950) elaborated that "radicals are persons who advocate institutional change". Freeman's (1999) radical flank theory propounds the practical dimension of radicalism. Radical flank effects are synergetic processes involving radical and moderate factions of social movements and third parties outside the social movement.   They result in damaging and/or beneficial impacts of radical group actions upon the image and efficiency of more moderate collective actors (stakeholders), typically social movement organisations. In recent years, this phenomenon has achieved a peculiar place in political violence (Della Porta & LaFree, 2012). Freeman (1999) introduced the thought as a means of referring to elements within the women's liberation movement. The goals of the women's liberation movement deviated from the majority of other movements. Women's liberalisation is less violent compared to other movements and its focus was mainly on women's rights and equality. Similarly, Haines (1984) used Freeman's radical flank theory to examine radical civil rights institutions. Freeman and Haines argued that radical organisations and activists employ positive or negative influence on mainstream movements to urge them towards action rather than non-radicals.

Notwithstanding the theoretical and practical relevance, radicalisation studies have emerged as a separate discipline and area. Different waves of violence have been addressed by researchers seeking solutions in different geographical areas, using different toolkits. The wave of Islamic political violence, particularly, has attracted much attention.

Following Sri Lanka's independence in 1948 and certain constitutional changes, a radical segment of the Tamil community, motivated by some extremist Tamil politicians with egoistic motives, embarked on self-determination. This led to tension between the two major communities in Sri Lanka which ultimately turned into an armed struggle against the Government of Sri Lanka. Until 1981, Jaffna remained peaceful and civilian life prospered with a second economy based on agriculture, trade and fishery. Jaffna was the island's epicenter of education that continued to produce many scholars and intellectuals until peace was threatened by anti-governmental activists. In 1981, five days of terror attacks took place in Jaffna which led to a loss of hope and confidence in the government and law enforcement organisations. Again, in 183, 13 soldiers were killed in Jaffna marking a new beginning of violence. This violent act of terrorism was the most significant root cause of the violence (Business Today, 2012).

Since the country emerged from decades of violent conflict, infrastructure and economic development have been made central to the agenda of achieving lasting reconciliation by the Rajapakse government.

According to the National Policy on Durable Solutions for conflict-affected displacement, there should be no discrimination against the displaced, refugee returnees or persons affected by displacement in the enjoyment of any rights and freedoms on the grounds that they are internally displaced, or on account of gender, language, religion or belief, political opinion, ethnic, caste or social origin, legal or social status, age, disability or similar reasons. After the civil war, the central and provincial government in the Northern Province was involved in a program to relocate refugees. However, the younger generation of refugees has encountered many challenges. These include gender inequalities, lack of employment opportunities, poverty, lack of social integration, and caste discrimination (Burnham, 2001). These challenges are the main sources for radicalisation. Throughout the world, many scholars point out that youth are a critical global resource that should be protected from the evil of different extremist ideologies (Freilich et al., 2009; Malone, 2002; Umberson, 1987; Young, 1997). A comparison of the political ideologies of the older and younger generations in Nallinakkapuram demonstrates a clear distinction, particularly after the civil war, as will be discussed in this paper.

The Valikamam North Divisional Secretariat area was selected for the purpose of this study. Two thirds of the area was under the control of government forces from 1990 due to the prolonged civil war and the village of Nallinakkapuram falls within this division.

During the war, the people were pushed into a situation where they had to stay in refugee camps located in several areas in other districts (i.e. Vanni). Following the end of the civil war, people from three different camps and of different communities and castes were resettled in Nallinakkapuram. One hundred and ten (110) families were resettled in the area, with each family being allocated 20 perches of land with a house gifted by the government. Poverty as well as political, social, and economic inequalities

between the groups make them predisposed towards conflict. Youths in this area were born in several refugee camps. Their socio-psychological needs differ from other youngsters as they have different mind sets, insufficient parental supervision, peer pressure, drug usage and trauma. Traumatic experiences which inevitably results as an aftermath of war not only affects the youngsters but the community as a whole. As a result, the people in relocated areas are struggling to socialise in their new environment even 10 years after resettlement. To some extent, the concept of radicalisation in relocated areas has created political conflict, religious conflict, and caste problems. Young people in Nallinakkapuram are involved in violence especially due to unemployment and drug addiction. Political and religious beliefs in Nallinakkapuram, play a significant role in generating radicalisation. The main objective of this study is to study the social changes facing the youth in Nallinakkapuram and how radicalisation impacts on them.

This study aims to provide invaluable research findings for academics as well as practitioners, demonstrating the extent to which radicalisation influences social change. It is hoped that the findings will be of value to academics, researchers, policymakers and practitioners engaged in relocation initiatives.

Literature Review

Having existed for decades at the periphery of public and private agendas, the concepts of radicalisation and extremism have emerged at the center of socio cultural and political dialogue in the recent past. Haggerty and Bucerius (2018, p. 1) pointed out that "radicalisation has become one of the most high-profile social scientific concepts circulating in academic and public discourse, informing both scholarly research and public policy". However, as noted by Borum (2011, p. 7), "…. the term radicalisation is widely used but remains poorly defined". Some researchers have spent their energy on proving that the phenomenon actually does not exist. For

example, Hoskins and O'Loughlin (2009) noted that media and security agencies played and play a substantial role in promoting radicalisation. Ramakrisha (2016) stated that the Royal Canadian Mounted Police looks at radicalisation as a purely cognitive phenomenon, consisting of "the movement of …. individuals from moderate mainstream belief to extremist views". The Australian Government's definition is that:

Radicalisation happens when a person's thinking and behaviour become significantly different from how most of the members of their society and community view social issues and participate politically. Only small numbers of people radicalise and they can be from a diverse range of ethnic, national, political and religious groups.

(Australian Government, 2015).

When stated in this manner, radicalisation is strongly connected with changes in the socio-cultural environment and government systems. Generally, radicalisation can be classified into three dimensions: ideological, issue-based, and ethno-nationalist. From the perspective of political science, the concept of radicalism is grounded on the belief that society and its behaviour should be changed, and that these changes are only possible through revolutionary and violent means.

"The process by which an individual, group, or mass of people undergo a transformation from participating in the political process via legal means to the use or support of violence for political purposes"

(Crossett & Spitaletta, 2010, p. 10).

The word "radical" originates from the Latin word "roots". The idea is that any revolution must begin at the roots, from the foundation of society. In fact, much of literature to date points out that

the conceptualisation of radicalisation is difficult (Thompson & Bucerius, 2017; Haggerty & Bucerius, 2018). As pointed earlier, it has many meanings. Veldhuis and Staun (2009) recently explained:

"Although radicalisation has increasingly been subject to scientific studies, a universally accepted definition of the concept is still to be developed. Nevertheless, faced with pressure to tackle radicalisation, policy makers have developed a few definitions. Definitions of radicalisation most often center around two different foci: (1) on violent radicalisation, where emphasis is put on the active pursuit or acceptance of the use of violence to attain the stated goal, and (2) on a broader sense of radicalisation, where emphasis is placed on the active pursuit or acceptance of far-reaching changes in society, which may or may not involve the threat of or use of violence to attain the stated goals".

Researchers struggle to define the term of violent radicalisation. "Violent radicalisation is the process by which a person, to an increasing extent accepts the use of undemocratic or violent means, including terrorism, in an attempt to reach a specific political / ideological objective".

According to Ashour and Azzam (2009), "Radicalisation is a process of relative change in which a group undergoes ideological and/or behavioural transformations that lead to the rejection of democratic principles (including the peaceful alternation of power and the legitimacy of ideological and political pluralism) and possibly to the utilisation of violence, or to an increase in the levels of violence, to achieve political goals".

Drawing more on social psychological principles, McCauley and Mosalenko (2008) classify individual mechanisms of radicalisation in the following way:

- Individual Radicalisation through Personal Grievance: An individual becomes radicalised as a result of some (perceived) harm or injustice perpetrated upon him/her or a loved one.

- Individual Radicalisation through Political Grievance: An individual becomes radicalised as a result of some harm or injustice perpetrated upon, or threatening, a group with which he identifies.

- Individual Radicalisation in Action—The Slippery Slope: An individual engages with a radical group or persons espousing a radical ideology and follows a progressive, though sometimes insidious, progression of subversive behaviours, sometimes culminating in terrorism.

- Individual Radicalisation in Action—The Power of Love: An individual initially engages with a radical group or persons espousing a radical ideology because of social or emotional bonds to its members; those bonds become the impetus for action on behalf of the group.

- Individual Radicalisation in Status and Thrill Seeking: An individual is lured to engage with a radical group, expecting either to elevate his social status and perceived power or to engage in the glamorous and dangerous life of a terrorist.

- Individual Opening to Radicalisation: Unfreezing: An individual experiences a destabilizing life event, such as the loss of family that removes social/lifestyle barriers to radicalised activity.

Social Movements and Social Changes

Social movements are purposefully institutionalised groups which are formed to work towards a common agenda. Generally, these groups could be attempting to create change. In other words, as noted by Oberschall (1973), Tajfel (1974), and Dobash and Dobash (2003), social movements, which is one of the main tools enabling social shifts

can be viewed through three key perspectives.

1. **The symbolic interaction perspective:** the symbolic perspective focuses on the day-to-day interaction of social movements, the meanings individuals attach to involvement in such movements, and the individual experience of social change.

2. **The critical perspective:** this perspective studies the creation and reproduction of inequality. Someone applying the conflict perspective would likely be interested in how social movements are generated through systematic inequality, and how social change is constant, speedy, and unavoidable.

3. **The functionalist perspective:** looks at the big picture, focusing on the way that all aspects of society are integral to the continued health and viability of the whole.

Social movements throughout history have been reviewed repeatedly. Some social movements have changed the communities in which they arose, and some have failed in their ultimate mission.

Social movements do not just occur, but they involve many resources and have many stages through which they progress. It must be noted that people do not unexpectedly become disappointed with policies, changes or with governing systems and then suddenly establish a social movement with an idea of protesting or forcibly damaging the existing power structure.

A social movement does not have a clear definition. Giving an exact definition for a social movement is difficult. A social movement is not a political party or interest group, which has consistent connections to political power or political leaders; nor is it a mass fad or trend, which is disorganised, short-lived and without goals. Rather, according to Freeman (1999) a social movement lies somewhere in between these.

According to Della Porta and Diani (2006, p. 20) some characteristics of social movements are

that they are "involved in conflictual relations with clearly identified opponents; are linked by dense informal networks; and they share a distinct collective identity". Social movements, then can be defined as informal community entities which are organised and engage in institutional conflict that aims towards a goal.

Early scholars have questioned why people get caught up in collective actions and what conditions were necessary to form such social movements among them. This leads to the mass society theory. The theory of mass society was established with the increasing industrialisation of society, which many felt led to a sense of isolation among persons, as traditional social structures and support networks broke down.

Social movements develop through four stages. Herbert Blumer is one of the earliest scholars to study the social movement and identify its life cycle. The four stages he described were: "social ferment," "popular excitement," "formalisation," and "institutionalisation" (Della Porta &Diani 2006, p.150). These four stages were then refined and renamed as follows:

- o Emergence
- o Coalescence
- o Bureaucratisation
- o Decline

Even though the fourth stage has negative connotations, it is not necessarily understood in negative terms. According to some scholars (Macionis, 2001; Miller, 1999) the decline stage is marked in different ways - success, organisational failure, co - optation and repression or establishment within mainstream society.

Stage I: Emergence

The first stage of a social movement is known as emergence or social ferment. There is no organisation at this stage. Potential participants may be unhappy with some policies and some ruling conditions. But they have not taken any action against it.

This initial stage can also be reflected within a specific social movement organisation (SMO). The SMO relates to a social movement and carriesout the activities in order to ensure that any social movement cansurvive and be successful in itsgoals. During the emergence state, the members of the SMO serve as agitators. Agitators raise awareness about issues and help to develop asense of displeasure among the general population.

Stage 2: Coalescence

This stage is called coalescence or the popular stage. Social movements in this stage have overcome some obstacles which many social movements never overcome. Social unrest and unhappiness pass when there is no organising or widespread mobilization. People in a community might complain to each other about a general unfairness, but they do not get together to act on those issues. When this happens, the social movements remain at the same level. This stage is defined as the sense of discontent. Rex D. Hopper (1950) clearly states that at this stage "unrest is no longer covert, endemic, and esoteric; it becomes overt, epidemic, and exoteric. Discontent is no longer uncoordinated and individual; it tends to become focalized and collective" (p. 273). Further he proclaims, "this is the stage when individuals participating in the mass behaviour of the preceding stage become aware of each other" (p. 273). It was during this stage that famous leaders, such as Martin Luther King Jr, started to emerge.

Stage 3: Bureaucratisation

This stage is defined as formalisation by Della Porta & Diani, (2006). In this stage, the social movement has greater power compared to the earlier stages. Social movements are established in this stage through higher levels of organisation and coalition-based strategies. They have raised awareness to a degree that a coordinated strategy is necessary. SMOs rely on educated

expert staff who can run the organisation and target their goals. At this stage the SMO cannot rely on mass rallies or inspirational leaders but rather must depend on trained staff. A classic example for this stage is the gay rights movement.

Stage 4: Decline

The final stage in social movements is the institutionalisation or decline stage. However, it does not mean failure of the movement. According to Miller (1999) there are four pathways for this stage. They are repression, co-optation, success, and failure.

Repression

This is the most probable way in which a social movement can decline. It occurs through authorities or agents who use several tactics to control or destroy the social movement. Miller (1999) states "repressive actions may be defined as legitimate by the state...but they are never legitimate from the perspective of the movement" (p. 305). Governments will pass laws or justify attacks on some social movements. This type of activity will not allow the social movement to carry on withitsactivities and achieve its social goals.

Co-optation

Co-optation happens when leaders of a movement decide to associate with authorities, or they target others more than with the constituents of the social movement. Leaders could also be rewarded by authorities or target groups who request them to redirect their activities in exchange for the rewards.

Success

Not all the social movements end up in failure because of repression or co-optation, some decline because they achieve their goals, or they are successful. Miller (1999) pointed out a classic example for this in a movement that mobilised to stop the construction of an airport. When the

social movements have very specific, clearly defined goals, it is easy to achieve success.

Failure

This occurs due to organisational or strategic failings. Failure occurs at the organisational level through factionalism and encapsulation (Miller, 1999).

Establishment with the mainstream

There is another reason for the occurrence of decline: that is when the organisation becomes established with the mainstream. At this stage the social movement's goals and missions are adopted by the mainstream and there is no longer any need for the social movement .

Scholars and sociologists can use these four stages as an analytical tool to measure the status of the social movement. Since social movements differ in goals and appearance, it is better to use this framework and analyse how widely they will affect the society as a whole. Sociologists and scholars can use the four stages to evaluate whether the social movement is effective or not, as well as to gain insights into the changes they undergo.

Social movements are a major force in the world. Therefore, scholars and sociologists have studied social movements and their past history, in depth, to gain knowledge on how they changed the world and to gain an understanding of future trends.

The Sri Lankan Context

Civil conflicts uproot and force people to displace within their homeland. Such internally displaced persons (IDPs) are known to face deep and chronic impoverishment and pauperisation. During the thirty years of civil war, more than 450,000 persons from communities in the Jaffna district were displaced to several parts of the Northern Province. Displacements forced people into poverty along with the loss of family assets

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and livelihoods. Due to the prolonged civil war, infrastructure in the district of Jaffna too suffered serious damage and neglect, substantially affecting the living conditions of the resettled people.

There were nearly 75,000 displaced families in Jaffna District following the war, leading to many challenges for the region. These included the establishment and handling of reception centres, administration of a vast number of IDPs (internally displaced persons), establishment and management of relief villages called Welfare Villages, clearing territory which was previously under the control of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) for almost three decades, and the implementation of habilitation or resettlement plan for the immediate resettlement and rehabilitation of the Northern region. Considering these challenges, the President of Sri Lanka appointed a Presidential Task Force for Resettlement, Development and Security in the Northern Province under the leadership of a very senior minister to immediately implement the programme for the rapid resettlement and reconstruction of the Northern Province.

The resettlement policy envisaged that the resettlement process be voluntary and not forced; and that the IDPs be resettled in their original places of habitation; that the process be dignified and safe in terms of International Humanitarian Law; that the Sri Lankan Army be an active partner in the resettlement process and that it will involve informed choice of the displaced family through the facilitation of go and see visits. These were the important elements of the resettlement policy.

The Presidential Task Force adopted a three-pronged approach for working out an efficient resettlement programme. The approach consisted of, providing relief and humanitarian assistance; restoring basic facilities prior to the resettlement because most of the basic infrastructure was devastated as a result of the war; establishing and immediately setting upon the early recovery process and developing

much needed development infrastructure. This approach was named the "Uthuru Wasanthaya". During the resettlement programme the President Force Task faced two major problems, one was de-mining activities and the other, the restoration of basic facilities. The resettled areas are currently facing many challenges, such as in water supply, electricity, health issues, unemployment, and educational needs.

The Sri Lankan government has undertaken several projects to solve the water issue in resettled areas. There is currently an initiative to divert excess water from Iranaimadu tank to provide drinking water to Jaffna. The government has also taken necessary steps to reduce the infant mortality rate and malnutrition rates that prevail in the resettled areas to comply with Sri Lankan standards. The infant mortality rate has decreased from 140/1000 births in 1945 to 8 in 2018. This improvement is due to the existing health care infrastructure and socio-economic factors such as free health care and education, food subsidies and gender equality (Gunasekera, 2014). Government officials also check and supervise dropouts from schools and the educational needs of the resettled people.

Methodology

This study employs the qualitative method for its research. Researchers focused on the following two research questions.

> **RQ1: What are the social changes faced by the youth in Nallinakkapuram?**
>
> **RQ2: How does radicalisation impact them?**

This study focuses on radicalisation and social change, in a resettlement area. Data on aspects of socio-cultural environment, social integration, radicalisation and economic livelihood were needed to address the research questions. The study used an interpretive research philosophy whereby the researcher investigates how people experience their world. Therefore, the

qualitative research approach was chosen as it complemented best with an interpretive research philosophy.

Method, Instruments and Sources

Primary and secondary data collection methods have been used in the of data collection process of this study. Secondary data was gathered from the annual publication of the District Secretariat of Jaffna and used to develop the research and analyse youth radicalisation and social change. Further, an analytical review of these documents provided a strong foundation for preparing the questions for interview.

The semi-structured interview was one of the primary methods of data collection. This allowed rich data to be collected whilst enabling the researcher to respond to answers and verify responses. The interview questions were designed by the researchers; and used to collect the primary data. Through the application of primary data collection techniques, a holistic picture was built of various stakeholder perceptions and issues related to youth radicalisation and social change associated with the resettled area of Nallinakapuram. This holistic picture allowed the researchers to meet the research objectives of this study.

Research Area

Jaffna city is a significant administrative, cultural heritage and historical destination located in the Northern part of Sri Lanka some 396 km from the Sri Lankan capital, Colombo. The District comprises 15 District Secretariats (Delft, Island South, Island North, Karainagar, Jaffna, Nallur, Valikamam South West, Valikamam West, Valikamam South, Valikamam North, Valikamam East, Thenmmaradcy, Vadamarachy North, and Vaddamarachy East) and 1453 villages. The total population of the District is 809,202 and 90 percent of the population is rural ((District Secretariat-Jaffna 2018). The extent of area covered by Valikamam North is 15,200.38 acres and it is the

location of many cultural heritage destinations including the Maviddapuram Kanthaswamy Kovil, the Kankasanthurai Harbour and the Naguleswaram Shiva Temple.

Field research was undertaken in a settlement area, Nallinakapuram under the Tellippalai Divisional Secretariat (Valikamam North), 15 km from Jaffna town. It is situated near the Palali Airport, Kankasanthurai harbour and Keerimalai. The area falls within two GS Divisions, J/231 and J/233. There are about 110 families in Nallinakapurum who mainly engage in traditional livelihoods and fish mongering. The families were from three different refugee camps. Both females and males were selected for interview with a majority (80 percent) of them being youth.

Sampling Method

A non-probability purposive sampling technique has been used to collect the data. This approach is in keeping with the interpretive paradigm. In this study, purposive sampling is a favourable sampling method, because it is able to consider local conditions and values. Flexibility in the data collection process is desirable for this study topic. Ten participants were interviewed and one focus group discussion was conducted for this study during March 2019. People from Nallinakkapuram and government officials attached to Nallinakkapuram division were included in these interviews.

Validity of Data

Accuracy in data collection is most significant to the research process (Burnard, 1991; Dawson, 2012) and in this study, this was ensured by recording each interview on a mobile device. Prior to the interviews, in order to record the interview, permission was sought and received from all participants. It was interesting to note, however, that some respondents from government organisations were hesitant at the beginning of the interview as they felt that the information might be used against them at a

later date. The original residents of the area were also reluctant to participate in the interview process. Researchers tried and failed, on many occasions, to get information from these residents in the area. To keep the privacy of individual stakeholders (and to diminish their fears) codes were created to recognise each individual stakeholder interview on the mobile device and all interviews have been transcribed. During the data collection process, while interviewing the executive officers, the researchers realised that during the interviews they were distracted by phone calls and interrupted by subordinates. During the data collection process, two identified stakeholders declined to participate in the study.

Data Analysis

Qualitative researchers employ different analysis methods namely, analytic induction, narrative analysis, discourse analysis, template analysis and grounded theory methods. These methods have unique features and are employed in different situations. Kirsty, Lisa, and Paul (2013) note that undoubtedly in the qualitative data analyzing process, researchers are considered as the primary analytic agents and findings are obtained by the application of the inductive approach.

In this study, the discourse analysis technique is employed to address the questions. As defined by Lupton (1992) discourse analysis is a set of ideas which can be discerned from conversations and textual information in the social phenomenon. In fact, discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary investigation strategy; it aids in understanding the real world. We gathered information through formal interview conversations as well as indirect observation. For this sort of research, discourse analysis works best to examine the data. Throughout literature, this method has been located in many sociaäpsychology and policy-based studies (Lupton, 1992; Merriam, 2002; Miles & Huberman, 1994; Potter, 2004; Thompson, 1988).

Analysis and Discussion

The empirical evidence integrates information from different stakeholders. Interviewees provided insights into the extent to which the socio-economic environment and radicalisation constitutes social changes in Nallinakapuram. It also considers the level of awareness on youth radicalisation and social changes. Much of the preceding discussion has focused on youth radicalisation and its impact on social changes in resettled areas. Many interviewees confirmed that the following challenges impact on youth in Nallinakapuram; poverty and unemployment, mobility constraints, political and economic environment that discourages independent initiatives, caste discrimination and lack of understanding and awareness amongst youth about the value of democracy. These challenges become the main problems for youth extremism.

Unemployment and Poverty

Poverty is typically conceived as a negative state of being that threatens life and denies livelihood opportunities, a condition that people seek to evade and one for which there exists a moral imperative for the wealthier to help the poor to escape from (Holden,2013, p. 1). Poverty remains a menace to settled communities. As a result, poverty reduction has received more attention in developing countries where inter-governmental and private collaboration are more prevalent. The Sri Lankan researcher Gunasena (2011) argues that macro-economic benefits are directly connected with the poverty reduction process and ensures sustainable livelihoods along the Sri Lankan coastal belt. In Nallinakkapuram, both government and non-governmental organisations have strongly committed to reduce poverty.

There is a lack of small and medium-scale industries in Valikamam North, and is the main barrier to obtain employment in the area. Interviewees confirmed that the refugees' economic class stratification has collapsed through displacement.

When they were resident in their own places/lands, they had a well-established economic system. The prevailing pattern of economic class stratification in Nallinakapuram has been fundamentally altered. Many youth struggle to get appropriate jobs. Some have been refused employment by employers due to the fact that they were refugees. One of the participants felt that they are continuously insulted not only by being refused employment but in all activities by the host community as well.

> **Only an estimated five percent of young women are working in minor jobs including as cleaning officers and security guards at industries.**

They receive a very low salary which is not enough to manage their household finances. Through field visits, it can be observed that some women in Nallinakapuram have been able to successfully combine their domestic roles with entrepreneurial economic activities such as operating small shops and producing handicrafts. In undertaking such activities, the women suffer from a lack of capital and often face considerable difficulties in obtaining bank loans, business skills and the support of their spouses. In one interview with the resettled respondents, it was stated that it is not considered appropriate for women to do business of any kind, and it may be perceived as reflecting badly on the husband's ability to support the family.

One of the participants from the Sri Lankan Public Service pointed out that in Nallinakapuram social stratification is based on a number of factors including economic position, caste, political affiliation, occupation, religion and education level. The way in which these hierarchies structure society is complex; it is expressed in a variety of ways ranging from subtle to blatant; it is employed with varying emphasis according to particular circumstances and traditions; and, the various factors reinforce, intersect, and coincide with each other in a multitude of patterns. Because most of these aspects of social stratification are

beyond an outsider's comprehension, the greater focus is on the most discernible – the economic element.

One participant mentioned that:

> **The operation of home-based businesses by women may lead to increase in their economic and decision-making power within the household. However, it does little to challenge the prevailing gender roles in the broader society. (I3)**

Many women work individually, but they do not have a cooperative network to produce and sell their handicrafts and lacework. The economic development of the citizens of a country is one of the main tools for promoting social well-being of communities and reducing the emergence of extremism among them.

Due to poverty and unemployment, youth and young married males are frustrated. Most of them have spare time and no proper ways to utilise their time in a fruitful way. Vandalism increases due to these reasons. Youth engage in unwanted conflicts and inflict damage upon private and public properties.

Equity and Social Structure

People from three different communities reside in Nallinakapuram and they live in a peaceful manner. However, some participants perceive that the most complex and difficult aspect of Jaffna society is its social structure, including its most intricate feature, the caste system. Further, they feel, that there is caste discrimination on some occasions. In particular, at religious festivals and school admission, the original residents of the area do not allow the resettled people to freely participate in rituals and traditions. This attitude has eventually culminated in a proposal for the resettled people to have a separate cemetery for their own use. This is because they have not been allowed use of the cemetery used by the original residents in the Tellipalai area.

The caste system divides society into a number of self-contained and completely segregated units (castes), and mutual relations between them are ritually determined on a graded scale. The caste system in Sri Lanka is a social stratification system found among Sri Lankan Tamils, Sinhalese, and Indian Tamils from ancient times. While the caste system was based on their occupations, caste among Sri Lankan Tamils can be described as a rigid system. It defines inequality, discrimination and social rejection driven by the religiously articulated notion of untouchability.

The Vellalar caste is considered the highest and most dominating caste. It has power, influence, and high status in Jaffna society (Pfaffenberger 1982, Siddarthan 2003, Mahroof 2000). The lower castes in Jaffna are collectively known as "Panchamar" consists of Vannâr (Dhoby, i.e. Washerman), Ampattar (Barber), Pallar (Landless labourers), Nalavar (Toddy tappers) and Parayar (Funeral drummers).

A person from one caste would not eat in the house of a person of a different caste. Among the high classes and among families raised by position, wealth and influence, these traditions are even stronger. They refrain from social gatherings. Ancient tradition in the Tamil community dictated that many jobs were allocated in the host community based on caste. Even presently, caste-based jobs are in practice within the Nallinakkapuram area. Interviews confirmed that the respondents have a keen interest to come out from those social constructs.

> **"We are from the fishing community. So, we are not allowed to carry the temple statues and to pull the chariot. We are cornered by the original residents."**

However, their society does not tolerate making these social changes. On considering the youth in particular, it was seen that they do not have appropriate skills and knowledge to work in the contemporary world. At present, they continuously look to the government and other donor agencies to provide them with financial and non-financial benefits to sustain their livelihoods. The present government has contributed greatly to the uplifting of Nallinakapuram, however, the beneficiaries have misused the benefits.

Early marriage is another major problem. Many young people are married under the age of 21. In Nallinakapuram, five families have been abandoned by their husbands/fathers. Most children from these families work in motor mechanic shops and on cultivations where they earn LKR 500/= to 800/= per day.

In terms of social impacts resulting from poverty and unemployment, paedophilia overwhelmingly draws the most vehement exclamations. Paedophilia appears to be much more common among males than among females. The large majority of identified sex offenders against children are male (Greenfeld 1996; Seto, 2009). Poverty is not the only cause for the sexual abuse of children. Idleness among the youth is also leading to the abuse of children. The youth in the community have plenty of time but they do not utilise it to communicate with people outside of their community. The youth of the area also lack awareness of social media which also contributes to this lack of communication. An interview with a government official confirmed that many young people are not aware of social media.

> **"Youth don't have appropriate entertainment here. For example, if they like to play cricket, they don't have bats. It's better to arrange for entertainments. In addition to this, a library is needed to enhance reading skills. In doing so, youth can select the best way which suits them, either entertainment or enhancing reading skills. It helps to put them in a right way. Youth in this area do not know what social media is. They are unaware of it.**

The youths do not have any recreational activities apart from playing cricket and volleyball. During an interview with a young girl, it was revealed that they have no knowledge of Facebook. Most of them do not have smart phones and they do not use Facebook or any other social media applications. Therefore, they do not have the opportunity of gaining knowledge on what is happening around the world and of global events.

Many children are not interested in attending school, the practice is not encouraged by their parents either, as they send the children to work as casual labour, as helpers in farm or field. A recent development has been the increase in the use of drugs. There are currently two boys under the age of 18 who are sentenced to imprisonment from the area due to drug abuse.

Social interaction

Displacement can potentially lead to unalterable changes in the culture of the refugees. The refugees, numbering over 100 families–at Nallinakapuram, reside in a small area, and do not have access to any entertainment facilities. They spend a majority of their time with other resettled people. The relationships within that society, the mode of interaction, the lifestyles, the customs and traditions are all subject to change through integration with those with different habits. If the interactions between the local/original residents of Tellipalai and resettled people are of a nature that strains the limits of hospitality of the host population, the host populace may eventually lose their enthusiasm and interest in interacting with the resettled community. At present the support extended by the host community to the resettled community is very minimal. The original residents/host community of the Tellipalai village have a different mindset and they do not treat the resettled community with respect. As discussed earlier, the resettled community has been ignored on many occasions. This is one of the major reasons for the emergence of many of the social problems in the area.

According to Herbert (citied by Della Porta &Diani 2006, p.150) social movements develop through the 4 stages of emergence, coalescence, bureaucratization and decline. During data collection for this study, it was observed that the people in Nallinakkapuram are at the second stage of a social movement. The first stage is known as emergence or social ferment. At this stage, participants are unhappy with the policies and ruling conditions. In Nallinakkapuram, people are not satisfied with the basic infrastructure available to them, such as the sanitary and water supply facilities that have been provided by the government.

The community at Nallinakkapuram while being unhappy and unsatisfied is also now becoming vigilant about the living conditions in that area. It has been nine years since the resettlement of the community and the people are now more aware of the benefits and livelihood initiatives that they receive from the government. They have started to complain to each other about the inadequacies. During an interview with one member of the cleaning staff, she mentioned that the Grama Niladari is not serving the area well. She stated that he doesn't take care of the people, does not obtain any assistance for them and also stated that he ill-treats them. As a result, the people had formed into small groups and lodged complaints at the Assistant Divisional Secretariat's office that the Grama Niladari be changed. It becomes clear therefore, that the Nallinakkapuram community is moving from the first stage to the second stage. However, they still do not have a formalised group. They currently form into very small groups to make the complaints. Yet there is no formal leader to take over the responsibility and to organise these actions into an institutionalised group.

Conclusion

As stated in the study, Nallinakkapuram is a resettled area in Valikamam North. People from different communities who were in different refugee camps have been resettled here.

The youth in this area face many hardships with unemployment and poverty being the most crucial among the problems. The lack of education, skills and job opportunities for youth are the main causes for unemployment. Therefore, in order to fulfill their basic needs, they engage in doing odd jobs. Young girls and women too do not have proper opportunities to earn an income. Due to the high level of unemployment and poverty, youths in Nallinakkapuram engage in anti-social activities such as the usage of drugs, alcohol and vandalism.

The people of Nallinakkapuram are also from different castes. This has led to discrimination from the people who were already resident in the area. The natives of Tellipalai (those who reside on the opposite side of the road from Nallinakkapuram) do not mingle with Nallinakkapuram community. The resettled people are not invited for any religious festivals or home functions. They engage only in their caste-based jobs and this has trapped them in a vicious cycle, which they are not able to break out of.

Social interaction is an exchange between two or more individuals and is the building block of society. Social interaction between the resettled community and the host community at Nallinakkapuram is very minimal. The youth who have been resettled in Nallinakkapuram were born and bred in the refugee camps and their lifestyles, behaviours and traditions are very limited. Therefore, the original resident community of Tellipalai does not interact with the people of Nallinakkapuram. These challenges have opened an avenue for youth radicalisation within Nallinakkapuram. It has further led to paedophilia, consumption of alcohol, drug usage and vandalism in Nallinakkapuram.

Both the government and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) need to take relevant actions to alleviate the challenges faced by the people in Nallinakkapuram. The development of utilities such as water supply and sanitary facilities in this area is the most important infrastructure solutions needed for Nallinakkapuram. Infrastructure development facilitates the construction and improvement of foundational services with the goal of sparking economic growth and improvements in the quality of life. Electricity, telecommunication facilities, road facilities and health care facilities need to be adequately provided to the resettled people in Nallinakkapuram. Through the interviews conducted for this research study it was evidenced that the Uthuru Wasanthaya approach by the government of Sri Lanka has failed to fulfill its objectives. People were resettled in Nallinakkapuram with new houses which consist of a small hall, two rooms, an attached washroom and a kitchen. But the other infrastructure facilities were not promptly provided for the resettled community.

Government officials need to analyse and find out which jobs are most appropriate for the youth of this area. The importance of education should be made clear via awareness programmes. Appropriate employment opportunities should be provided for youth, by providing skills training programmes. The youth of Nallinakkapuram are still engaged in caste-based jobs. Even though they want to break out of this caste-based employment circle, the government should also take steps to preserve these ancient jobs such as the Parai Dance. This could be done by integrating them into a regularised mechanism where other people are also provided with an awareness about these occupations. Institutionalised poverty alleviation programmes should be initiated among the people of Nallinakkapuram. For example, at present, the government provides equipment for masonry work, however, due to inadequate job opportunities for the labourers, they sell the equipment.

Counseling services are another vital need for the people in Nallinakkapuram, particularly for children, youth and young parents. The people of Nallinakkapuram people live with depression and anxiety due to several reasons such as war, the refugee tag and unemployment. Children who are below 18 years engage in odd jobs such as labour work in the fishing industry.

Educational counseling needs to be provided to the children in Nallinakkapuram.

There is also a huge need for women's empowerment in this area. Women are often idle and do not have many opportunities to support the economic condition of their families. This could be addressed by starting women-friendly clubs and providing skills, training or empowering them and creating more jobs such as in handicrafts and homestead gardening. On the other hand, counseling and thoughtful programmes also need to be provided to the original residents or natives of Tellipalai and Valikamam North, to gradually change their mindset to acceptance of the resettled community.

Youth extremism in the area is evidenced by paedophilia, prostitution, vandalism, consumption of drugs and alcohol. Awareness regarding drugs, alcohol, and prostitution should be provided to the Nallinakkapuram community and this can be done by conducting street dramas and raising awareness on these concepts. Ways of creating inter relationships between the different communities need to be explored, particularly to create a bridge between the settlers at Nallinakkapuram and the original residents of Tellipalai.

Raising awareness of social media is another important aspect for the youth at Nallinakkapuram. The young people at Nallinakkapuram have no access to social media and are therefore unaware of events and advances taking place around the world. Therefore, the basic advantages and positive aspects of social media should be shared with them and through that increase their opportunities to mingle with the outsiders.

Nallinakkapuram is just one of the resettled areas of Jaffna following the civil war. There are several other resettled areas such as Mayiliddy and Thaiyiddy with similar or other issues. Further research studies of these communities would be of benefit for the administration and distribution of infrastructure and services and to stem the resurgence of radicalisation in these areas.

Radicalisation is a major issue in this resettled area. Radicalizsation is a process of escalation from non-violent state to increasingly violent repertoires of action that develop through a complex set of interactions unfolding over time. Dissatisfaction among the resettled people has grown due to poverty, unemployment, the social structure and lack of social interaction. If the problems of the youth in Nallinakkapuram are not addressed, it would pave the path to the establishment of a social movement. There is a clear need for a national solution to systematically tackle the problem of youth violence in this resettled area.

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CHAPTER 5

සමාජ මාධ්‍ය සහ තුරුණු 'රැඩිකල්කරණය'

Ashan Weerasinghe

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ප්‍රවේශය

අශාන් වීරසිංහ

සමාජ මාධ්‍ය ආශ්‍රිත තරුණ රැඩිකල්කරණය විෂයික ප්‍රවණතා සහ එහි සංස්කෘතික-දේශපාලනික ගම්‍යතා කිහිපයක් පිළිබඳව විමසා බැලීම මෙහි අරමුණ වෙයි. මෙහිදී 'රැඩිකල්කරණය' යන පදයෙහි වත්මන් ජනප්‍රිය අර්ථ ගැන්වීම්, විශේෂයෙන්ම බටහිර ලෝකයේ දේශපාලනික ප්‍රවණතා හේතුවෙන් වරනැඟුණු ප්‍රකට අර්ථ නිරූපණයන්ට වෙනස්ව, මෑතක් වන තුරුම එම පදයෙන් අදහස් කෙරුණු පරිදි පවතින සමාජ කතිකාව විෂයික පෙරළිකාර ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණාත්මක අදහස් ජනනය වීම කෙරෙහි වැඩි අවධානයක් යොමු කෙරේ. එසේම, සමාජ මාධ්‍ය යන පුළුල් අවකාශය තුළට ෆේස්බුක්, ට්විටර්, ඉන්ස්ටග්‍රෑම් ආදි මාධ්‍ය රැසක් ඇතුළත් වුවද සිංහල මාධ්‍යයෙන් ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණාත්මක කතිකාවන් බහුලව දක්නට ලැබෙනුයේ ෆේස්බුක් ආශ්‍රිතව හෙයින් එය කෙරෙහි විශේෂ අවධානයක් යොමු කර ඇත. විශේෂයෙන්ම, සමාජ මාධ්‍ය ජනප්‍රිය කතිකා අවකාශයක් ලෙස ප්‍රචලිත වීම නිසා මෙතෙක් පැවති ගතානුගතික මුද්‍රිත මෙන්ම විද්‍යුත් මාධ්‍ය 'හෙජෙමනිය' අභියෝගයට ලක් වූ අයුරුත්, සමාජ මාධ්‍ය ආශ්‍රිත තරුණ රැඩිකල්කරණය එකී ගතානුගතික මාධ්‍ය හෙජෙමනිය වෙත ප්‍රති-කතිකා අවකාශයක් අභිමුඛ කරන අයුරුත් සලකා බැලේ. මෙහිදී න්‍යායික පසුබිමක් සකසා ගනු පිණිස ඉතාලි ජාතික පශ්චාත්-මාක්ස්වාදී චින්තකයෙකු වූ අන්තෝනියෝ ග්‍රාම්ෂි විසින් දේශපාලනික කතිකාව තුළ ප්‍රචලිත කරන ලද 'හෙජෙමනිය' යන සංකල්පය/ක්‍රියාවලිය යොදා ගනු ලැබේ. මෙහි තවත් අරමුණක් වනුයේ සමාජ මාධ්‍ය ආශ්‍රිත තරුණ ප්‍රජාව ප්‍රකට කරන රැඩිකල් ප්‍රති-කතිකාවන් හේතුවෙන් සිවිල් පුරවැසියා වෙනුවෙන් වන අදහස් දැක්වීමේ අවකාශ පුළුල් වූ අයුරු විමසා බලන අතරම, විවිධ අධිපතිවාදී දේශපාලනික න්‍යාය පත්‍රයන් මත පදනම්ව එකී අදහස් දැක්වීම් මර්දනය කෙරෙන අයුරුද සලකා බැලීමයි.

Abstract

Social Media and Youth 'Radicalisation'

Ashan Weerasinghe

The main objective of this paper is to analytically address the concept of youth radicalisation in the context of social media and some of its cultural-political implications. In doing so, the commonsensical meaning of the term 'radicalisation' which was popular among the public until the recent past, as opposed to its current interpretations based on certain political reactions in the western academia, is used throughout the paper. Even though the term 'social media' covers several platforms including Facebook, Twitter, Instagram etc., the focus of this paper will be on Facebook since it is the most active platform among Sri Lanka's Sinhala speaking youth population. The paper also pays attention to how the traditional media hegemony, both print and electronic, has been significantly challenged and re-shaped by social media-based youth activism. As a theoretical basis, the concept/process of 'hegemony' which gained a serious political sense due to the work of the Italian post-Marxist thinker Antonio Gramsci is used. Another objective of this paper is to discuss some of the challenges raised by the selected political agendas of dominant ideologies to the 'citizens' who use social media as a platform for active political participation, while also considering how social media platforms have encouraged youth participation(s) in the cultural-political context(s) of Sri Lanka.

சுருக்கம்

சமூக ஊடகமும் இளைஞர்கள் மத்தியிலான 'தீவிரமயமாக்கலும்'

அக்‌ஷான் வீரசிங்க

சமூக ஊடக சூழலில் இளைஞர் தீவிரமயமாக்கல் தொடர்பான எண்ணக்கருவையும் அதன் சில கலாச்சார-அரசியல் தாக்கங்களையும் பகுப்பாய்வு செய்வது இந்த ஆய்வின் முக்கிய நோக்கமாகும். இவ்வாறு ஆய்வு செய்கின்ற போது, மேற்கத்திய கல்வியில் சில அரசியல் எதிர்வினைகளை அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்ட அதன் தற்போதைய விளக்கங்களுக்கு மாறாக, அண்மைக்காலம் வரை பொது மக்களிடையே பிரபல்யமாக இருந்த 'தீவிரமயமாக்கல்'என்ற சொல்லின் பொது அர்த்தம் இந்த ஆய்வு முழுவதும் பயன்படுத்தப்படுகிறது. 'சமூக ஊடகம்' என்ற சொல் முகப்புத்தகம், டுவிட்டர், இன்ஸ்டாகிராம் உள்ளிட்ட பல தளங்களை உள்ளடக்கி இருந்தாலும், இந்த ஆய்வு முகப்புத்தகத்திலேயே அதிக கவனம் செலுத்துக்கின்றது, ஏனெனில் இது சிங்கள மொழி பேசும் இளைஞர்களிடையே அதிகளவில் பயன்பாட்டில் உள்ள தளமாக விளங்குகின்றது. அச்சு மற்றும் இலத்திரனியல் போன்ற இரு பாரம்பரிய ஊடக மேலாதிக்கமானது எவ்வாறு சவாலுக்குட்படுத்தப்பட்டு, சமூக ஊடக அடிப்படையிலான செயல்பாட்டின் மூலம் மீள வடிவமைக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது என்பது தொடர்பாகவும் ஆய்வானது கவனம் செலுத்துகின்றது. இத்தாலிய பிந்தைய மார்க்ஸிச சிந்தனையாளரான அன்டோனியோ கிராம்சியின் பணியின் காரணமாக தீவிரமான அரசியல் உணர்வைப் பெற்ற 'மேலாதிக்கத்தின்' எண்ணக்கரு/ செயல்முறை ஒரு கோட்பாட்டு அடிப்படையாக பயன்படுத்தப்பட்டுள்ளது. சமூக ஊடகங்களை செயற்றிறனுடைய அரசியல் பங்கேற்புக்கான தளமாகப் பயன்படுத்தும் 'குடிமக்களுக்கு' மேலாதிக்க கருத்தியல்களின் தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்பட்ட அரசியல் செயல்திட்டங்களால் எழுப்பப்பட்ட சில சவால்களைப் பற்றி விவாதிப்பது இந்த ஆய்வின் மற்றுமொரு நோக்கமாக இருக்கின்ற அதேவேளை, இலங்கையின் கலாச்சார-அரசியல் சூழலில்/களில் இளைஞர்களின் பங்கேற்பை/புகளை சமூக ஊடகத் தளங்கள் எவ்வாறு ஊக்குவித்தன என்பதையும் கருத்தில் கொள்கின்றது.

"Power produces, it produces reality"

(Foucault, 1979, p. 194).

දේශපාලනික කථිකාව තුළ ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණාත්මක තරුණ අදහස් පුළුල් ලෙස සක්‍රිය වීම පසුපස සමාජ මාධ්‍ය සතුව ප්‍රබල භූමිකාවක් පවතී. මේ අතරින්ද ෆේස්බුක් ජාලය අතිශයින් කැපී පෙනේ. මෙම ලිපියේදී ප්‍රමුඛ අවධානය ෆේස්බුක් වෙත යොමු කිරීමට හේතු වනුයේ මෙරට සිංහල සමාජ මාධ්‍ය තරුණ ක්‍රියාධරයන් අතර 'කථිකමය අවකාශයක්' ලෙස වඩාත් ප්‍රචලිත හා සක්‍රිය වන්නේ එය බැවිනි. මෙරට තරුණ ප්‍රජාව අතරෙහි පුළුල් සංස්කෘතික-දේශපාලනික මැදහත්වීමක් ප්‍රචලිත වීමටත්, පවතින සන්දර්භයන් තියුණු ලෙස ප්‍රශ්න කිරීමට ලක් කිරීමටත් මෙවැනි සමාජ මාධ්‍යයන්ගෙන් ලැබී ඇති දායකත්වය සුළුවෙන් නොතැකිය යුත්තකි. ගතානුගතික ප්‍රධාන ධාරාවේ මාධ්‍ය අවකාශයන්ට සාපේක්ෂව තරුණ ප්‍රජාව අතර 'රැඩිකල්'[34] දේශපාලනික සක්‍රියභාවයක් ඇති වීමට සමාජ මාධ්‍යයන්, විශේෂයෙන් සිංහල මාධ්‍යය සලකා බැලූ විට ෆේස්බුක් වැනි අවකාශයන්, දායක වී ඇති අයුරු මෙහි ඉදිරියට සංවාදයට ගැනේ.

විශේෂයෙන්ම, ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ මෑතක් වන තුරුම පැවැති ගතානුගතික දේශපාලනික සන්දර්භයේ බොහෝ අංග ලක්ෂණ ප්‍රශ්න කිරීමට ලක් වීමට මෙම තත්ත්වය දැඩි ලෙස බලපා ඇති බව නොරහසකි. සමාජ මාධ්‍ය ආශ්‍රිතව දේශපාලනික කාරණා සම්බන්ධයෙන් තරුණ තරුණියන් අතර ඇති සක්‍රියභාවය දේශපාලනික පැරඩි, 'මීම් සංස්කෘතිය, ආදී ස්වරූප රැසකින් විළඹසිනු නිතර දැකිය හැකිය. කෙසේ වෙතත්, විය යුතු පරිදිම සුවිශේෂී න්‍යායපත්‍රවලින් ඔබ්බට ගිය ස්වාධීන ක්‍රියාකාරීත්වයක් පොදුවේ දක්නට ලැබෙන්නේද යන්නද විමසා බැලිය යුත්තකි.

සමාජ මාධ්‍ය වැනි පුළුල් මෙන්ම අතථ්‍ය (virtual) අවකාශ ආශ්‍රිත තරුණු රැඩිකල්කරණය වැනි මාතෘකාවක් පිළිබඳව විශ්ලේෂණය කිරීමේදී පළමුකොටම මතු වන සීමාකම් අතර ප්‍රමුඛස්ථානයක් ගන්නා එකක් වන්නේ සංකල්පගත කිරීමේ දුෂ්කරතාව බවද සඳහන් කළ මනා ය. විශේෂයෙන්ම, සමාජ මාධ්‍යයන්ගෙන් පරිබාහිර සන්දර්භ තුළ 'තරුණ ප්‍රජාව' ආදී පද යොදා ගැනීමේදී නිශ්චිත නිර්ණායක, දත්ත රැස්කිරීමේ සංඛ්‍යානමය කාරණා, නිර්වචන පිහිටුවා

ගැනීමේ හැකියාවන් ආදිය පැවැතියද, පැහැදිලි මායිම් සහිත සංකල්පගත කිරීම් මත පිහිටීමේ අසීරුතාව නොසලකා හැරිය නොහැක්කකි.

'තරුණ' යන්න නිශ්චිත වයස් කාණ්ඩයකට ලඝු කොට විශ්ලේෂණය කිරීමද මෙවැනි අවකාශයන්හි ගැටලුවක් වන්නේ ෆේස්බුක් ප්‍රොෆයිල ආදිය නිර්මාණය කිරීමේදී ලබා දෙන වයස ඇතුළු අනෙකුත් තොරතුරුවල සත්‍යාසත්‍යභාවය පහසුවෙන් මිනිය නොහැකි වන හෙයිනි.

විසේම, මෙම ලිපියෙහිදී 'රැඩිකල්' (radical) හා 'රැඩිකල්කරණය' (radicalisation) යන පද යොදා ගැනෙන සුවිශේෂී අර්ථයද මුලින්ම පැහැදිලි කිරීම අවශ්‍ය වේ. පවතින අති බහුතරයක් මූලාශ්‍රවලට අනුව මෙම පද මගින් ගම්‍ය වනුයේ අන්තවාදය, ප්‍රචණ්ඩවාදය හා මුලධර්මවාදය හා බැඳි අති අරුතකි. විශේෂයෙන්ම මෑතකාලීන ගෝලීය මෙන්ම දේශීය ප්‍රවණතාද සැලකිල්ලට ගනිමින් ඉංග්‍රීසි radicalisation යන්න මෙහි පවා සුලභ ලෙස භාවිත වනුයේ දේශපාලනික ප්‍රචණ්ඩත්වය හඟවන එම අර්ථයෙන්ම ය. විශේෂයෙන්ම, මෙම සංකල්පය යොදා ගැනෙන බොහොමයක් රචනාවන් ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන්ම ආගමික න්‍යායපත්‍ර මුල්කොටගත් ප්‍රචණ්ඩකාරී ව්‍යාපාර කෙරෙහි අවධානය යොමු කිරීම ඇතැම්විට එම අර්ථය ජනප්‍රිය වීමට හේතුවක් වන්නට ඇත. මේ පිළිබඳව පවතින සාහිත්‍ය විමර්ශනයෙන් ගම්‍ය වන කරුණක් වන්නේ ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන්ම එක්සත් ජනපද හා එක්සත් රාජධානිය ඇතුළු යුරෝපීය බුද්ධිමය සංකථන තුළ මෙම නව අර්ථ ගැන්වීම ජනප්‍රිය වී ඇති බවකි. කෙසේ වතුදු, රැඩිකල්කරණය යන සංකල්පය සම්බන්ධයෙන් විශ්වීය තනි නිර්වචනයක් පිහිටුවා ගැනීමේ අසීරුව මෙන්ම එය හුදෙක්ම සන්දර්භ-පාදක සංකීර්ණ සංකල්පයක්/ක්‍රියාවලියක් ලෙස වටහා ගත යුත්තක් වන අයුරු Schmid විස්තර කරයි (Schmid, 2013, pp. 5). මෙම ලිපියෙහිදී ඉහත කී පදය භාවිත වනුයේ ස්ථාපිතව පවතින ප්‍රධාන ධාරාමය දෘෂ්ටිවාදයන් සම්බන්ධයෙන් ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණාත්මක ප්‍රති-දෘෂ්ටිවාදයන් පිහිටුවා ගැනීම සම්බන්ධයෙන් තරුණ ප්‍රජාව අතර පවතින පෙරළිකාර අදහස්මය ප්‍රබෝධය සිහි තබාගෙන වන අතරම, විය එක්තරා ආකාරයකට පවතින ස්ථාපිත ක්‍රම-විරෝධී කථිකාවන් ස්ථාපිත කිරීම සඳහා ඔවුන් දක්වන දායකත්වය ගම්‍ය කරවන්නකි. එමෙන්ම, පවතින ක්‍රමය වෙනස් විය යුතු බවට නැගෙන ප්‍රගතිශීලී අදහස් දැක්වීම

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34 මෙම ලිපියෙහිදී 'රැඩිකල්' යන පදය යොදා ගැනෙන අර්ථය ඉදිරියේදී පැහැදිලි කෙරේ.

හා සබැඳි මෙහි ව්‍යය භාවිත වන හෙයින් ජනප්‍රිය

ප්‍රබෝධයක් මෙහිදි මින් අදහස් කෙරේ.

ගතානුගතික මාධ්‍ය 'හෙජෙමනිය' අභියෝගයට ලක් කරන සමාජ මාධ්‍ය

මෙම ලිපියෙහිදී 'හෙජෙමනිය' යන පදය යොදාගනු ලැබෙන්නේ ඉතාලි ජාතික පශ්චාත්-මාක්ස්වාදියෙකු වූ අන්තෝනියෝ ග්‍රාම්ස්චි විසින් සිරගතව සිටියදී ලියන ලදුව ඔහුගේ මරණීන් පසුව 'සිරමැදිරි සටහන්' (Selections From the Prison Notebooks) යන හිසින් සම්පාදනය වූ ග්‍රන්ථයේදී යොදාගන්නා අර්ථයෙන්. ඒ පිළිබඳව දීර්ඝ විස්තරයක් කිරීම මෙහි පරාසයෙන් පිට පවතින්නක් වන නමුදු මෙහි ඉදිරියට කිහිප තැනක මෙම පදය යෙදෙන හෙයින් ඉතා කෙටියෙන් වුව ව්‍යය හඳුනා ගැනීම වැදගත් වනු ඇත.

'ග්‍රාම්ස්චි හෙජෙමනිය' යන පදය යොදාගන්නේ කිසියම් ආකාරයක අවනතියක් (consent) පාදක කරගත් ආධිපත්‍ය භාරගැනීමක් නොහොත් අවනත වීමක් යන අර්ථයෙන්. මිනිසුන් පාලනය කර, යටත් කර තබාගත හැකි ආකාර දෙකක් ගැන ග්‍රාම්ස්චි සඳහන් කරයි. මින් එක ක්‍රමයක් සෘජු පාලන උපක්‍රමයක් වන අතර අධිපති කණ්ඩායම විසින් පොලිසි, නීති, අධිකරණ, දඬුවම් ක්‍රම හා බන්ධනාගාර ආදි විවිධ මර්ධන යාන්ත්‍රණ යොදා ගනිමින් පාලිතයන් යටත් කර තබා ගනියි. හෙජෙමනිය අදාළ වන්නේ මෙම ක්‍රමයට නොව දෙවන ක්‍රමයටය. මෙහිදී සිදු වන්නේ දෘෂ්ටිවාදීමය වශයෙන් ආධිපත්‍ය පැතිරවීමක් තුළින් පාලිතයන්ගේ ස්වේච්ඡාත්මක අවනතභාවය (spontaneous consent) අධිපති පන්තියේ දෘෂ්ටිවාදය වටා ඒකරාශී කරගෙන ඔවුන්ව පාලනය කිරීමකි (Gramsci, 1971, p.12). මෙනයින් බලන කල හෙජෙමනිය' ඉතාම උපායමාර්ගික පාලන උපක්‍රමයක් වන අතර පුළුල් අරුතකින් ගත් කල අධිපති පාලක දෘෂ්ටිවාදය සියුම් ලෙස පොදු ජන විඥානය තුළට කිඳා බස්සවා පුරවැසියන්ට නොදැනීම ඔවුන්ගේ අවනතභාවය අධිපති මතවාදයට යටත් කොට තැබීමක් එහිදී සිදු වේ.

මෙම ලිපියේ ඉදිරියේදී සාකච්ඡා කෙරෙන ඇතැම් කාරණාවලටද අදාළව සඳහන් කරන්නේ නම්, පවතින අධිපති දෘෂ්ටිවාදයේ 'සිත් රිද්දන' සමාජ-දේශපාලනික-ආර්ථික-සංස්කෘතික' ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණ ඉල්ලා සිටින 'චුල්ල' දෘෂ්ටිවාදයන් පහසුවෙන්ම මර්දනය කිරීමට, එකී මර්දනයන් 'පොදු සමාජ යහපත' යන සටන් පාඨය හමුවේ සාධාරණීකරණය කොට බහුතර මතය ඒ වෙනුවෙන් දිනා ගැනීමටත්

හැකි වන්නේ මෙම හෙජෙමනික ආධිපත්‍යය නිසාවෙනි.

ශ්‍රී ලාංකේය සන්දර්භය තුළ නම් 'අපේකම', 'ජාතිකත්වය', 'ආගමික උරුමය', 'විජාතික බලපෑම්වල ග්‍රහණයෙන් රට ජාතිය බේරා ගැනීමේ කාලීන අවශ්‍යතාවය', 'සංස්කෘතිකවත්භාවය' ආදි අනේකවිධ උප-දෘෂ්ටිවාද ඊට නියාමක බලය සපයයි. එක අතකින් සමාජ මාධ්‍ය ආශ්‍රිත තරුණ දෘෂ්ටිවාදීමය ප්‍රබෝධය මෙම හෙජෙමනික ආධිපත්‍යයට විපක්ෂව මෙන්ම පක්ෂවද ඉදිරිපත් වන අවස්ථා සියුම් ලෙස බලන විට ප්‍රකට කෙරේ.

සෑම අවස්ථාවකදීම පවතින අධිපති දෘෂ්ටිවාදයේ ආරක්ෂකයන් මෙන්ම ප්‍රති-දෘෂ්ටිවාදයන්ද හෙජමොනික ස්වරූපයෙන් ජන විඥානය මත පටවන ප්‍රධාන මගක්ව පැවති (සහ තවමත් පවතින) ප්‍රධාන ධාරාවේ ගතානුගතික මාධ්‍ය අවකාශයන් සමාජ මාධ්‍ය ආශ්‍රිත තරුණ ප්‍රබෝධය හේතුවෙන් දැඩි ලෙස අභියෝගයට ලක්ව ඇති බව සඳහන් කළ යුත්තේ මෙම පසුබිම තුළය. විශේෂයෙන්ම, ගතානුගතික මාධ්‍යයන්හි අදහස් දැක්වීමට ඇති ඉඩ වරප්‍රසාදලාභී සීමිත පිරිසකට වෙන්ව තිබුණු අයුරුත්, සමාජ මාධ්‍ය ප්‍රචලිත වීමෙහි එලයක් ලෙස ඕනෑම අයෙකුට අධිපති ධාරාවේ මාධ්‍ය අවකාශ මත රඳා පැවතීමකින් තොරව තමන් ජීවත් වන සමාජ-දේශපාලනික සන්දර්භය සම්බන්ධයෙන් සක්‍රියව දායක වීමට ඉඩ ව්‍යවර වූ අයුරුත් සලකා බලන විට මේ තත්ත්වය වඩා පැහැදිලි වේ. සමාජ මාධ්‍ය නිසා සිදු වූ මේ අදහස් දැක්වීමේ ඉඩකඩ ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රීකරණය වීම සම්බන්ධයෙන්ද ඉතාම විචාරාත්මකව සලකා බැලිය යුතු වුවද ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදයේ මූලික ස්ථම්භයක් වන පුරවැසි දේශපාලනික සංවේදීභාවය පුළුල් වීම සලකා බැලිය යුත්තකි. සමාජ මාධ්‍ය පුළුල් ලෙස ව්‍යාප්ත වන තුරම පැවති ගතානුගතික ප්‍රධාන ධාරාමය මාධ්‍ය අවකාශවල ආධිපත්‍යය සුළු පිරිසක් වෙත පැවරී තිබුණු අතර ඔවුන් වටා ඒකරාශී වී තිබුණු 'බුද්ධිමය හෙජෙමනිය' (intellectual hegemony) හේතුවෙන් සෑම දෙනාටම සිය අදහස් ප්‍රකාශයට පත් කිරීමේ ඉඩකඩක් පැවැතියේ නැති බව සත්‍යයකි. විශේෂයෙන්ම, තරුණ දේශපාලනික සංවේදීභාවය ඉහළ යාමට ඉන් සිදු වූ ලොකුම සේවය නම් එකී අවකාශයන් ප්‍රශ්න කිරීමට ලක් වීමයි. අද වන විට, සාම්ප්‍රදායික මුද්‍රිත හා විද්‍යුත් මාධ්‍යයන්ට පවා පැවැත්ම පිණිස සමාජ මාධ්‍ය මත රඳා පැවතීමට සිදු වීමෙන් පෙනී යන්නේ මේ දෘෂ්ටිවාදීමය ප්‍රබෝධය පහසුවෙන් නොසලකා හැරිය හැක්කක් නොවන බව මෙන්ම සමාජ මාධ්‍ය කතිකාවන් බරපතල ලෙස ගැනීමේ අවශ්‍යතාවයි.

තරුණ රැඩිකල්කරණය නිර්මාණශීලී සංස්කෘතික-දේශපාලනයක් ලෙස

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ දේශපාලනික සන්දර්භය ඓතිහාසික වශයෙන්ම 'සංස්කෘතිකමය' ලෙස අධිපති දෘෂ්ටිවාදය තුළ වරනැගුණු කාරණා පාදක එකක් වන බව නොරහසකි. විශේෂයෙන්ම, රාජ්‍ය සහ ආගම්කත්වය වැනි අති සංවේදී සංස්කෘතිකමය කථිකාවන් එකිනෙකින් වියුක්ත නොවුණා, ලෞකික පුරවැසි දේශපාලනයක නැගී ඒමට අනෙකවිධ බාධාවන් පැවැති හා පවතින පසුබිමක් තුළ පෙනී

යන තවත් කැපී පෙනෙන කරුණක් වන්නේ සමාජ මාධ්‍ය ආශ්‍රිත බොහෝ සමාජ ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණාත්මක කථිකාවන් බොහෝ විට මෙම සංස්කෘතික-දේශපාලනයට ප්‍රතිචාරාත්මක විකල්ප කියවීම් ලෙස සංවිධානය වන බවයි (ඊට පක්ෂව මෙන්ම විපක්ෂවද). ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ බිම්ගත දේශපාලනික යථාර්ථය සියුම් ලෙස සලකා බලන විට සංස්කෘතික-දේශපාලනික කථිකාවෙන් ඇත් වුණ ආර්ථික-දේශපාලනයක්වත් නොපවතින බවට අධිපති දෘෂ්ටිවාදයම දෙස් දෙයි. බහුවාර්ගික හා බහු-සංස්කෘතික පසුබිමක වුවද ඉතාම සාර්ථක ලෙස ධුරාවලිගත වාර්ගික ස්ථානගත කිරීමක් පවත්වා ගැනීමට හැකි වීම, රටෙහි සිවිල් නීතිය පවා ආගමික ව්‍යාපාර විසින් අභියෝගයට ලක් වූ මෑත අතීතයේ සෑම අවස්ථාවකම පාහේ නෙතික මෙන්ම දේශපාලනික බලාධිකාරීන්ද ඒ සම්බන්ධයෙන් ප්‍රතිචාරාත්මක නොවීම, මැතිවරණ නීති උල්ලංසනය කරමින් දේශපාලනික න්‍යායපත්‍ර මත නාග ධාතූන් වැඩම කළ අවස්ථාවකදී වැල නොකැඩී ජනතාව වන්දනාවේ මෙහෙයවීමට හැකි වීම ඇතුළු තවත් බොහෝ ප්‍රවණතා මෙකී සංස්කෘතික-දේශපාලනික හෙජෙමනිය කොතෙක් ස්විමත්ව මෙරට සන්දර්භය තුළ ස්ථාපිතව තිබේද යන්න මනාව පෙන්නුම් කරයි. අනෙක් අතට, ඕනෑම කාරණයක් සම්බන්ධයෙන් තමන් වටා ජනතාව ඒකරාශී කර ගැනීමට අධිපති දෘෂ්ටිවාදයන් හට අවශ්‍ය වූ සෑම මොහොතකම පාහේ මෙම සංස්කෘතික-දේශපාලනික හෙජෙමනිය සහායට පැමිණි ඇති බවටද ඕනෑ තරම් සාක්ෂ්‍ය ඇත. තවත් නිශ්චිත නිදසුනක් ඇසුරින් මේ ගැන කියන්නේ නම්, පුද්ගලයෙකුගේ පෞද්ගලික වරණයක් වන සිය ලිංගික අනන්‍යතාව පවා 'සංස්කෘතිය' ඇසුරින් අර්ථකථනය කිරීමට නිතර තැත් කරන මෙම සංස්කෘතික දේශපාලනික 'හෙජෙමනිය' නිරන්තරයෙන්ම සමාජ මාධ්‍ය තරුණ විකල්ප කියවීම් තුළ තවමත් ප්‍රශ්න කෙරෙමින් පවතී.

මෙවන් බොහෝ අවස්ථාවලදී ප්‍රධාන ධාරාවේ මාධ්‍ය මෙවැනි සිදුවීම්වලට පක්ෂව මෙන්ම විපක්ෂවද දෘෂ්ටිවාදයන් සමාජගත කරවීමෙහි ප්‍රෝත්සාහී වූ බව

නොරහසකි. කෙසේ වෙතත්, සමාජ මාධ්‍ය භාවිතාවන් පවා තෝරාගත දේශපාලනික හා දෘෂ්ටිවාදීමය න්‍යායපත්‍ර මත පදනම් වූ ඒවා නොවන බවක් මින් ගම්‍ය නොවේ. එතෙකුදු වුවත්, කිසියම් දෘෂ්ටිවාදයක් සම්බන්ධයෙන් විචාරාත්මකව හැසිරීමට සමාජ මාධ්‍ය අවකාශ වෙතින් පුරවැසියන්, විශේෂයෙන්ම තරුණ ප්‍රජාව, වෙත විවර කර ඇති අවස්ථාව ගතානුගතික මාධ්‍ය හෙජෙමනිය විසින් පනවා නොතිබීමද අමතක නොකළ යුතු කරුණකි.

සමාජ මාධ්‍ය ආශ්‍රිත මෙම තරුණ දේශපාලනික සව්ඥානිකත්වයෙහි අන්තර්ගතමය ස්වරූපයද ගතානුගතික මාධ්‍යවලින් බෙහෙවින් වෙනස් වේ. මෙහි කැපී පෙනෙන ලක්ෂණයක් වන්නේ නිර්මාණාත්මක කෙටි පෝස්ට් (post), මීම් (memes), පැරඩිමය සංවාද වැනි එළැඹුම් ඔස්සේ පවතින සිදුවීම් වෙත ඉතාම කඩිනම් ප්‍රතිචාරාත්මකභාවයක් දැක්වීමට තරුණ ප්‍රජාව තුළ ඇති උත්සුකභාවයයි. මේ නිසා, සමාජ මාධ්‍ය ආශ්‍රිත තරුණ රැඩිකල්කරණය, නොව්සේ නම් විකල්ප දෘෂ්ටිවාද පිහිටුවීමට ඇති ප්‍රබෝධය අවශ්‍යයෙන්ම 'ආසන්නතම ප්‍රතිචාරාත්මක' වීමක් බවද කිව යුතු ය. සමාජ මාධ්‍ය තරුණ රැඩිකල් දේශපාලනය සුළුවෙන් තැකිය නොහැක්කේ මෑතක වන තුරුම පැවති දේශපාලනික පරිසරය කෙරෙහි සැලකිය යුතු මට්ටමේ පරිවර්තනීය බලපෑමක් එල්ල කිරීමටද එය සමත් වී ඇති බැවිනි.

සමාජ මාධ්‍ය පදනම් කරගත් තරුණ දේශපාලනික සව්ඥානයට කිසියම් විකල්ප බලයක් අත් වීමද මෑතකාලීන ප්‍රවණතාවකි. එක් අතකින් දේශපාලනයේ 'පුරවැසි සාධකය' ඉස්මතු වීමක් ලෙසද මෙය කෙනෙකුට අර්ථ ගැන්වීය හැක.

මෑතක් වන තුරුම මෙරට ආධිපත්‍යකර දේශපාලනය තුළ පුරවැසියාට දේශපාලනික භූමිකාවක් හිමි වූයේ මැතිවරණවලදී ඡන්දය ප්‍රකාශ කිරීම සහ තමන් පෙනී සිටින දේශපාලනික පක්ෂය ආරක්ෂා කිරීම වෙනුවෙන් කොන්දේසි විරහිතව ප්‍රයත්නයන්හි නියැළීම වැනි ඉතාම සීමිත කාරණාවලදී පමණි. බලපෑම් එල්ල කිරීම සෑම විටම ඉහළ සිට පහළට, එනම් පාලකයාගේ සිට පාලිතයා දක්වා සිදු කෙරුණා මිස පාලකයා වෙත පාලිතයා විසින් බලපෑමක් එල්ල කළ අවස්ථා සාධනීය ලෙස පැවතියේද යන්න සියුම් ලෙස ප්‍රශ්න කළ යුතු කරුණකි. සමාජ මාධ්‍ය ආශ්‍රිත රැඩිකල් තරුණ දෘෂ්ටිවාද විසින් සැලකිය යුතු පරිවර්තනයකට බලන් කරන ලද තවත් වැදගත් පැතිකඩක් ලෙස මෙස සැලකීම සාවද්‍ය නොවනු ඇත. අනෙක් අතට පුළුල් දේශපාලනික අර්ථයකින් ගත් කල ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය යනු හුදෙක් මැතිවරණ හෝ ඡන්දය දැමීම්වලට ලසු වන්නක් නොවේ.

පවතින දේශපාලන ක්‍රමයෙහි සැලකිය යුතු පරිවර්තනයක් මේ නිසා සිදුව නොමැති බවටද කෙනෙකුට තර්ක කළ හැකි නමුදු වචන කිහිපයකින් සමන්විත එක් ෆේස්බුක් පෝස්ට්‍රවකින් හෝ මීම් සටහනකින් දැවැන්ත දේශපාලනික ප්‍රතිරූපයක් ප්‍රහසනගත කරන්නට හැකිව තිබීමද නොසලකා හැරිය නොහැක. මෙවැනි සමාජ මාධ්‍ය ක්‍රියාකාරීත්වයන් ඔස්සේ සක්‍රිය දේශපාලනයේ ඇතැම් හැසිරීම් වෙත කිසියම් කම්පනයක් එල්ල කිරීමට ඉඩකඩ දැන් පැදී තිබීමද බැහැර කළ නොහැකි අතරම මෙදා සමාජ මාධ්‍ය ආශ්‍රිත රැඩිකල් දෘෂ්ටිවාදිමය කතිකාවක් පවතින බව ගම්‍ය කරන්නකි. නොව්සේ නම් ෆේස්බුක් වැනි සමාජ මාධ්‍ය ක්‍රියාකාරීත්වයේ ප්‍රතිඵල ලෙස ඇතැම් ඉහළ පුටුවල වෙනස්කම් පවා සිද්ධ වීමට ඉඩක් ඇතිද?

සමාජ මාධ්‍ය ආශ්‍රිත මෙම සංස්කෘතික-දෘෂ්ටිවාදිමය දේශපාලනික ක්‍රියාකාරීත්වයේ පැහැදිලි නැඟී ඒමක් සිදු වූ අවස්ථා දෙකක් ලෙස 2015 'යහපාලන' ආණ්ඩුව බලයට පත් වීම සහ ගෝඨාභය රාජපක්ෂ මහතා ජනාධිපති ධුරයට පත් වූ මේ ලියන මොහොත වන විට ආසන්නතම ජනාධිපතිවරණය හමුවේ සමාජ මාධ්‍ය ආශ්‍රිත තරුණ මතවාදි සක්‍රියයාවන් දැක්විය හැක. ඇතැම් පාර්ශ්ව අවශ්‍යා සහගත ලෙස නොසලකා හැරියද, 'යහපාලන' ආණ්ඩු පෙරළිය සඳහා මෙන්ම, ඉන් පසු නැවත රාජපක්ෂාගමනයක් සඳහාද අවශ්‍ය වූ මතවාදිමය පෙරළිය සැලකිය යුතු අන්දමින් සමාජගත කිරීමට සමාජ මාධ්‍ය වෙතින් ලැබුණු දායකත්වට සුළුපටු නොවේ.

තුරුණු රැඩිකල්කරණය හමුවේ හෙජෙමනික බලාධිපත්‍යයේ ඇතැම් ප්‍රතිචාර

සමාජ මාධ්‍ය ආශ්‍රිත තරුණ ප්‍රජාවෙහි දේශපාලනික මැදහත්වීම් අවතක්සේරු කිරීමට මෙන්ම එය අඩු වැඩි වශයෙන් මර්ධනය කිරීමටද ආධිපත්‍යධාරී කල්ලි නිතර වෙහෙසෙනු දක්නට ලැබේ. ඇතැම් විට ඊට බලපා ඇති ප්‍රධානතම හේතුවක් විය හැක්කේ සමාජ මාධ්‍ය, විශේෂයෙන්ම මෙහිදී ප්‍රමුඛ අවධානයට ලක් කෙරෙන ෆේස්බුක් ජාලය, එකම අවස්ථාවේදී නව විකල්ප පුවත් මූලාශ්‍රයක් මෙන්ම විශ්ලේෂණාත්මක කතිකා අවකාශයක් ලෙසද සිංහල මාධ්‍ය ප්‍රජාව අතර සක්‍රියව පැවතීමයි. ශ්‍රී මීන් පෙර ගතානුගතික මාධ්‍ය හෙජෙමනිය' යටතේ පොදු ජනතාව වෙත 'පුවත්' කතාන්දර ගලා යාම සීමිත විද්‍යුත් හා මුද්‍රිත

මාධ්‍ය ප්‍රමාණයක් හරහා පමණක් සිදු වූ අතරම එකී මාධ්‍ය න්‍යායපත්‍රයන්ද දේශපාලනික කල්ලි කිහිපයක දෘෂ්ටිවාද නියෝජනය කළ හා තවමත් කරන ඒවා බව පැහැදිලිව පෙනී යන කරුණකි. මින් පෙරද සඳහන් වූ පරිද සමාජ මාධ්‍ය දේශපාලනයද තෝරාගත් න්‍යායපත්‍රවලින් ඔබ්බෙහි පිහිටන්නක් වන බවක් මින් අදහස් නොවන නමුදු පෙරට වඩා පුවත් ලෙස ඉදිරිපත් කෙරෙන සිද්ධිවල 'ප්‍රවෘත්තිමය' ගුණය තෝරා බේරා ගැනීමේ වැඩි නිදහසක් දැන් හිමිව තිබේ. මේ නිසාම, අධිපති දේශපාලනික කතිකාවන් පුරවැසියන් මත පැටවීමට උත්සාහ කරන කතා ප්‍රවෘත්ති සහ දෘෂ්ටිවාද ප්‍රශ්න කිරීමකට ලක් නොවී සමාජගත වන තත්ත්වයක් තවදුරටත් පෙනෙන්නට නැත. මෙම තත්ත්වය හමුවේ ඊට මුලික වශයෙන්ම බලපා ඇති සමාජ මාධ්‍ය තුරුණු සක්‍රියයහාව සම්බන්ධයෙන් අධිපති දේශපාලනික කතිකාවේ ප්‍රතිචාරයද විමසා බැලිය යුත්තකි.

පවතින දේශපාලනික හෙජෙමනිය' දැඩි ලෙස ප්‍රශ්න කිරීමට ලක් කෙරෙන සමාජ මාධ්‍ය ක්‍රියාකාරීත්වයන් හමුවේ 'අසත්‍ය ප්‍රවාර', 'ආණ්ඩු අපහසුතාවයට ලක් කිරීමේ ප්‍රයත්න', 'රට අස්ථාවර කිරීමේ උත්සාහයන්' ආදී අනේකවිධ සටන් පාඨ උපායශීලී ලෙස සමාජගත කරමින් පමණක් නොව ඉන්දු නොනැවතී බහුතර ජන විඥානයේ හෙජෙමනික අවනතිය උපයෝගී කර ගනිමින් මෙම තුරුණු ක්‍රියාකාරීත්වයන්ට එරෙහිව නීතිමය පියවර පවා ගත් අවස්ථා කිහිපයක්ම මෑත ඉතිහාසය තුළ වාර්තා විය. මෙහි සියුම්ව විමසා බැලිය යුතු කාරණය වන්නේ මේ බොහෝ අවස්ථාවන්හිදී බහුතර ජන දෘෂ්ටිවාදය සමීපව බැඳී සිටින වාර්ගිකාගමික (ethnoreligious) නැඹුරුවද පෙරමුණට ගැනීමයි. මෙහි සටකපටම නිරූපණයක් ලෙස සැලකිය හැක්කේ ඇතැම් අවස්ථාවලදී අධිපති හෙජෙමනිය විසින් සමාජ මාධ්‍ය ආශ්‍රිත නිදහස් අදහස් දැක්වීම් මැඩපැවැත්වීම උදෙසා ස්වකීය සමාජ මාධ්‍ය කල්ලිද යොදා ගැනීමයි. පසුගිය කාලයේ කොටිකතාවක් ලියා සමාජ මාධ්‍යයට මුදා හළ එක්තරා ලේඛකයෙකු ආගමික දෘෂ්ටිවාද හා බලපෑම් කල්ලි මත පිහිටා නීතිය හමුවට පැමිණවීමත්, ඉතාම උපායශීලී ලෙස එකී ක්‍රියාව සඳහා අවශ්‍ය පොදු අවනතිය දිනා ගැනීමට කටයුතු කිරීමත් එක් නිදසුනක් පමණි.[35]

මේ අතරම, මෑතකාලිනව සමාජ මාධ්‍ය සම්බන්ධයෙන් එල්ල වූ තවත් එක් බලපෑමක් ලෙස මේ මොහොත වන විටත් සංවාදයට බඳුන් වෙමින් පවතින්නේ

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[35] අදහස් දැක්වීම අතින් ගත් කළ ෆේස්බුක් වැනි සමාජ මාධ්‍ය ඉතාම ස්වාධීන අවකාශ නොවිය හැකි නමුදු, එමෙන්ම දිනපතා අසත්‍ය හා අපහාසාත්මක ප්‍රවාර එහි නිරන්තරයෙන් පැතිර යන නමුදු, මෙම ගතවෙමින් පවතින තොරතුරු යුගයේ 'පුවත්' හා සිද්ධි භාරගැනීම සම්බන්ධයෙන් පෙරට වඩා විචාරාත්මක ප්‍රවේශයක් අනුගමනය කිරීමට තරුණ සමාජ මාධ්‍ය ක්‍රියාධරයන් නුරුව ඇති බවද අමතක කළ නොහැක.

සමාජ මාධ්‍ය නියාමනය කිරීමේ නොහොත් ලියාපදිංචි කිරීම සම්බන්ධ ප්‍රයත්නයයි. ඉහත කී පරිදි මෙම උත්සාහයද සමාජ මාධ්‍ය තරුණ ක්‍රියාධරයන් අතර ඉතාම උපහාසාත්මක ලෙස විවේචනය වීමම ඇතැම් විට එය ක්‍රියාත්මක නොකිරීමට හේතු වුවා වන්නටද බැරි නැත! නිර්වචනීය අර්ථයෙන් ගත් කල සමාජ මාධ්‍ය යනු පුරවැසියන්ට නිදහසේ සිය අදහස් පළ කිරීමට ඉඩ සලසන අවකාශයක් විය යුතුව තිබුණද, එවන් විකල්ප අදහස් මර්ධනය කිරීම අරමුණු කරගත් විවිධ ප්‍රයත්න සම්බන්ධයෙන් උදාහරණද ශ්‍රී ලාංකේය සන්දර්භය තුළ ඕනෑතරම් ඇත.

සමාජ මාධ්‍ය කොම්පැනි ධනවාදය හා රැඩිකල්කරණයේ 'ව්‍යාකුලතාව'

මෙතෙක් සංවාදයට බඳුන් කරන ලද පසුබිම තුළ විමසා බැලිය යුතු තවත් පැතිකඩක් වන්නේ සමාජ මාධ්‍ය ආශ්‍රිත තරුණු ප්‍රජාවන් මුල් කරගත් 'දෘෂ්ටිවාදිමය විප්ලව' හමුවේ ෆේස්බුක් වැනි සමාජ මාධ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරික සමාගම්වල ප්‍රතිචාරාත්මකභාවයයි. ෆේස්බුක් සමාජ ජාලය තුළම මෑතකාලීනව සාකච්ඡාවට ලක් වූ 'සමාජ මාධ්‍ය ප්‍රජා සම්මතයන්' (community standards) සහ 'ප්‍රගතිශීලී මත වාරණය' පිළිබඳ කතාබහ ඊට එක් නිශ්චිත නිදසුනක් සපයතැයි සිතේ. මෙම කතිකාව විශේෂයෙන්ම ජාතිවාදී හා වාර්ගිකාග මික අන්තවාදී මුහුණුවරක් ගන්නා අන්තර්ගතයන් සම්බන්ධයෙන් ෆේස්බුක් වැනි සමාගම්වල ව්‍යාපාරික න්‍යායපත්‍ර ක්‍රියාත්මක වූ ආකාරය වටා කේන්ද්‍රගත වූවකි. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ බහුතර ජන දෘෂ්ටිවාදය වාර්ගික-ආගමිකත්වය පෙරටු කරගත් සේම කලින් කලට විවිධ දේශපාලනික න්‍යායපත්‍ර විසින් ජනගත කරනු ලැබෙන 'හීතිකා ලෝක' (ලංකාව බටහිර ආධිපත්‍යයට නතු වීම හා දේශීයත්ව අභියෝගයට ලක් වී වැනි) විසින් මඩනා ලද්දක් වන බවට කතාබහක් පවතී. ආගමික-දේශපාලනික න්‍යායපත්‍ර පෙරටු කරගත් විවිධ ව්‍යාපාර මූල්කර ගත් දේශපාලනික උපායශීලීත්වයන් පිළිබඳ කතාබහක්ද කලක සිට පටන් කරළියට පැමිණ තිබේ. මේ අතර අපගේ විශ්ලේෂණයට අනුව සැක පහල කරන්නට සිදු වන කාරණයක් වන්නේ බහුතරවාදී දෘෂ්ටිවාද සම්බන්ධයෙන් කිරීමක් සිදු නොවන සහ එකී අධිපති දෘෂ්ටිවාද අභියෝගයට ලක් කෙරෙන විකල්ප මත 'වාරණය' කිරීමේ නැඹුරුවක් මෙවැනි ගෝලීය කොම්පැනි ධනවාදය තුළ ඉස්මතුව තිබේද? යන්න යි.

සාමාන්‍යයෙන් අදහස් වාරණය අරමුණු කරගත් ඕනෑම 'නියාමනයක්' සමාජ ඉදිරියේ නිරූපණය කෙරෙනුයේ 'පොදු යහපත' තකා සිදු වන්නක් ලෙස ය. සිංහල මාධ්‍ය සමාජ ජාලවල ජාතිවාදී නැඹුරුවක් ගන්නා, එසේම 'අන්‍ය' ජාතීන් පීඩාවට පත් කිරීමේ ස්වරූපයක්

ප්‍රකට කෙරෙනා අන්තර්ගතයන්ට සැලකිය යුතු තරමේ බාධා කිරීමක් හෝ වාරණයක් (සමාජ මාධ්‍ය පදමාලාවෙන්ම කියනුයේ නම් 'අදහස් බ්ලොක් කිරීමක්') සිදු නොවන අතරම එකී අධිපති කතිකා ප්‍රශ්න කෙරෙනා ප්‍රති-දෘෂ්ටිවාද පහසුවෙන්ම අවහිර වීම සිදු වන්නේ බහුතර දෘෂ්ටිවාදය ප්‍රවර්ධනය කිරීම වැඩි

පිරිසක් අතර සිය ව්‍යාපාරික අභිලාෂ ප්‍රවලිත කිරීමේ සාර්ථක උපක්‍රමයක් ලෙස මෙවැනි සමාගම් වටහාගෙන සිටින හෙයින්ද යන්න විවෘත කතාබහට ලක් කළ මනා කරුණක් වන්නේ එබැවිනි.

සමාජ මාධ්‍ය ආශ්‍රිතව මෑතකාලීනව ජනප්‍රිය වී ඇති තවත් ප්‍රවණතාවක් වන්නේ ජනප්‍රියහාවයෙන් ඉහල, එනම් සාපේක්ෂව ඉහල අනුගාමික සංඛ්‍යාවක් (followers) සහිත පිටු විවිධ කණ්ඩායම් වෙත අලෙවි කොට මුදල් ඉපැයීමේ ව්‍යාපාරයයි. ආසන්නතම අතීතය තුළ එවැනි ඇතැම් ජනප්‍රිය ෆේස්බුක් පිටු මැතිවරණ ඉලක්ක කරගෙන විවිධ දේශපාලන පක්ෂ ප්‍රවර්ධනය කිරීම සඳහා අලෙව් වීම මෙන්ම කැපී පෙනෙන ප්‍රතිරූප ගොඩනගාගෙන සිටි ඇතැම් සක්‍රිය සමාජ මාධ්‍ය ක්‍රියාධරයන් වෘත්තීමය වශයෙන් එවැනි කණ්ඩායම් හා විවිධ ව්‍යාපාරික ආයතන වෙනුවෙන් ප්‍රවර්ධනාත්මක මතවාද සමාජ මාධ්‍යගත කිරීම සම්බන්ධයෙන් ප්‍රසිද්ධ කතාබහක් ඇති විය. මේ අතරින් ඇතැම් තරුණ ක්‍රියාකාරීන් මේ බව ප්‍රසිද්ධියේ පිළිගත් අවස්ථාද දක්නට ලැබුණි. අත්‍ය අවකාශයේ මෙවැනි ප්‍රවණතාවන්ද මෙහිදී සිහිපත් කිරීම වැදගත් වන්නේ 'සමාජ මාධ්‍ය තරුණු රැඩිකල්කරණය' මූලමනින්ම විකල්ප ප්‍රති-දෘෂ්ටිවාද ඉස්මතු කිරීමක් වෙත ඉලක්ක වන්නේද? නොව්සේ නම් වර්චුවල් අවකාශයක් තුළ විකල්ප මත ප්‍රවර්ධනය පහසුවෙන් හඳුනා ගැනීම අසිරු කෙරෙනා පරිද ව්‍යාකුල වීමට ඉඩක් ඇතිද? යන ප්‍රශ්න දෙක ඉස්මතු වන හෙයිනි.

මෙහි නොවැලැක්විය හැකි ප්‍රතිඵලයක් වශයෙන් රැඩිකල් නොහොත් මෙහි යොදා ගැනෙන අර්ථයෙන් නම් සමාජ ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණාත්මක මතධාරී 'කල්ලිවාදයක්' ඉස්මතු වීම බවද සියුම්ව විමසා බලන විට පෙනී යයි. විශේෂයෙන්ම, තුරුණු සමාජ මාධ්‍ය ක්‍රියාකාරීත්වයන් අතර ඇතැම් ප්‍රතිරූප බිහි වීම හා එකී ප්‍රතිරූප වටා සංවිධානය වූ කල්ලිවාදයන් අතර සටිනය නිතර දැකිය හැක්කකි. මේ නිසා, මෙම ලිපියේ මුලදී විමසා බැලුණු පරිදි ගතානුගතික හෙජමොනික මාධ්‍ය අවකාශයන් අභියෝගයට ලක් කිරීමේ හවයතාවක් සහිත සමාජ මාධ්‍ය යනු රැඩිකල්කරණයෙන් ඔබ්බට ගිය ගතානුගතිකත්වයේ නව එළැඹුම් නොහොත් 'අතත්‍යකරණයන්ද'? යන්නද ප්‍රශ්නාර්ථයෙන් සලකා බැලිය යුතු කරුණකැයි හැඟේ.

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CHAPTER 6

ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලන ව්‍යාපාර විප්ලවීයකරණය වීමේ ප්‍රවණතා සහ ඒවායේ දේශපාලනික සහ සමාජ ආර්ථික බලපෑම
(ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ සයිටම් අධ්‍යාපන ආයතනය (SAITM) අහෝසි කිරීමේ ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරය මත පදනම් වූ අධ්‍යයනයක්)

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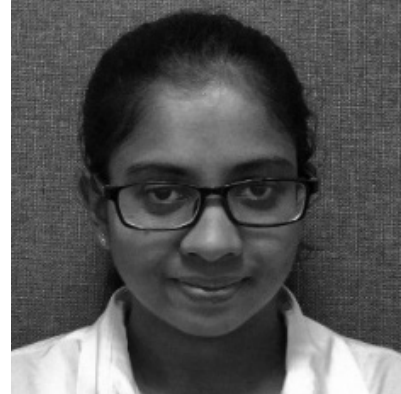
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සංක්ෂිප්තය

අමාලි සමරසිංහ, සදුනි කාවින්ද්‍යා ගුණසේකර සහ චතුරිකා ගමගේ

මෙම අධ්‍යයනය රටක ආර්ථික, සමාජීය සහ දේශපාලන ක්ෂේත්‍රයන් කෙරෙහි ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ තරුණ ප්‍රජාව තුළ පවතින රැඩිකල් හා විප්ලවීය (Radical) අදහස්, ක්‍රියාකාරකම් සහ එකී විප්ලවීය ව්‍යාපාර සිදුකරන බලපෑම පරීක්ෂාකරන සිද්ධි අධ්‍යයනයකි. මෙම අධ්‍යයනය සිදුකර ඇත්තේ විශේෂයෙන්ම ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ යෞවනයින් ඉලක්ක කර ගනිමිනි. එයට හේතු වන්නේ යොවුන් ප්‍රජාව නිසැකවම ආවේගශීලී සහ විප්ලවීය වන අතර එහි බලපෑම ව්‍යාප්ත කිරීමට නම් දැරු සාධකයක් වීමය.

විප්ලවීයකරණය යනු කුමක්දැයි දැනගැනීම වැදගත්‍ය. විප්ලවීයකරණය යනු දේශපාලනික හෝ සමාජීය කරුණු සම්බන්ධයෙන් විප්ලවීය ස්ථාවරයක් ගැනීමට හේතුවන ක්‍රියාවක් හෝ ක්‍රියාවලියකි. මානව සංවර්ධන දර්ශකයේ අකුණු ආසියාවේ පළමු තැනට ශ්‍රී ලංකාව ඔසවා තබන නිදහස් අධ්‍යාපනය සහ නිදහස් සෞඛ්‍යය වැනි දේශපාලන සහ සමාජ සංවේදී අංග මෙම සිද්ධි අධ්‍යයනයේ අවධානය යොමුවූ අංග නියෝජනය කරයි. මෙම අධ්‍යයනය පදනම් වී ඇත්තේ විප්ලවීය විලාසිතාවේ විප්ලවීයකරණය සහ රීනියා සයිටම් අර්බුදය මතය. මෙම අධ්‍යයනයේ ප්‍රධාන ගැටලුව වන්නේ ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලන ව්‍යාපාරයේ විප්ලවීය දිශානතිය සහ එහි සමාජ-ආර්ථික සහ දේශපාලන ප්‍රතිවිපාකයන්ය. සමාජ, ආර්ථික සහ දේශපාලන සාධක සංක්ෂිප්ත කළ නොහැකිය. සයිටම් අර්බුදයට වඩා බරපතල ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරයන්ට ශ්‍රී ලංකාව මුහුණ දී තිබුණද මෙම අර්බුදය පුළුල්ව ව්‍යාප්තවීම නිසා විප්ලවීය ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපරයේ නවතම නිදසුන ලෙස මෙම අධ්‍යයනය සිදුකිරීමේ හැකියාවක් ඇත. එමනිසා, සයිටම් පෞද්ගලික වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාල පිහිටුවීමට එරෙහි රාජ්‍ය විශ්ව විද්‍යාල සිසුන්ගේ විප්ලවීය ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරය මෙම සිද්ධි අධ්‍යයනයට පදනම් වී ඇත. ඔවුන්ගේ සටන් පාඨයන් වූයේ සයිටම් ආයතනය මගින් ප්‍රමාණවත් පහසුකම් නොමැතිව සහ සුදුසුකම් නොලත් සිසුන් සඳහා රාජ්‍ය විශ්ව විද්‍යාල වෛද්‍ය උපාධියට සමාන උපාධියක් ප්‍රදනය කරනු ලබන අතර එය ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ නිදහස් අධ්‍යාපන පද්ධතියට බලපෑමක් ඇතිකරන බවය. සයිටම් ආයතනයට එරෙහිව වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාල විසින් පවත්වනු ලබූ ශිෂ්‍ය ක්‍රියාකාරකම් පිළිබඳ මූලික අධ්‍යයනයක් ලෙස මෙම අධ්‍යයනය භාවිතා කර ඇත.

සම්පත් යෙදවීමේ න්‍යායය සහ සාමුහික චර්යා න්‍යායය මත පදනම් වන මෙම අධ්‍යයනය සඳහා පුවත්පත් වාර්තා සහ ලිපි, සමාජ මාධ්‍ය, පොත්, පර්යේෂණ හා සම්බන්ධ පිළිතුරු සහිත මහ බැංකු වාර්තා වැනි ද්විතීයික දත්ත ඒකාබද්ධ කිරීමක් සිදුකරන ලදි. ඉගෙනීමේ ක්‍රියාවලියේදී යොදගන්නා ලද දත්ත සහ වෙනත් සාධක සැලකිල්ලට ගැනීමේදී මෙම අධ්‍යයනයේ සිද්ධි අධ්‍යයන විශ්ලේෂණය කිරීම පහසු කරවීය. ඉලක්ක ගත කණ්ඩායම විශ්ව විද්‍යාල සිසුන් වන අතර ඔවුන් පෞද්ගලික විශ්ව විද්‍යාල සහ රාජ්‍ය විශ්ව විද්‍යාල නියෝජනය කලහ. මෙම අධ්‍යයනය මගින් ගුණාත්මක දත්ත විශ්ලේෂණයක් සිදුකර ඇත්තේ එය ප්‍රමාණාත්මක දත්ත වලට වඩා සැබෑ අර්බුදය නියෝජනය කරන බැවිනි.

මෙම අධ්‍යයනයෙන් ලබාගත් නිගමනවලදී ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන් අවධානය යොමු කරන ලද්දේ යොවුන් ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරවල විප්ලවීය ක්‍රියාකාරකම් පොදුවේ සමාජ, ආර්ථික සහ දේශපාලන අංග කෙරෙහි ඇතිකර තිබෙන බලපෑම කෙරෙහිය. මෙම අංග තුනම එකිනෙකට සම්බන්ධ වන අතර බලපෑම සාධනීය මෙන්ම අහිතකර විය හැකිය. එනමුත් මෙම සිද්ධි අධ්‍යයනයේදී සාධනීය බලපෑම්වලට වඩා බෙහෝ අහිතකර බලපෑම් පෙන්වා ඇත. ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාර අහිංසාවාදී මෙන්ම ප්‍රචණ්ඩ ක්‍රියාකාරකම් අනුගමනය කරනු ලබන නමුත් පළමුව සිදු කරන්නේ සම්මුඛ සාකච්ඡා, මාධ්‍ය සාකච්ඡා සහ පෙත්සම් වැනි අහිංසාවාදී ක්‍රියාකාරකමිය. ආර්ථික, දේශපාලන සහ සමාජීය සන්දර්භය තුළ මෙම බලපෑම් කෙටි කාලීන සහ දිගු කාලීන වශයෙන් කොටස් දෙකකට වෙන් කළ හැකිය. කාලය නාස්තිවීම, සිසුන්ට සිය දේශන මගහැරීම සහ සිසුන්ගේ ආක්‍රමණශීලී සහ කලහකාරී හැසිරීම් නිසා ඇතිවන ගැටුම් වලදී තුවාල සිදුවී සිසුන් රෝහල්ගත කිරීම යනාදිය කෙටිකාලීන බලපෑම් වන්නේය. බලපෑම්වල වැදගත් අංගය වන්නේ සෞඛ්‍ය සේවයේ ගුණාත්මක බව සහතික කිරීම, පුද්ගලික විශ්ව විද්‍යාල අහෝසි කිරීම නිසා වෛද්‍යවරුන්ගේ සංඛ්‍යාව අඩුවීම සහ පුද්ගලික විශ්වවිද්‍යාල සඳහා කෙරෙන ආයෝජන මර්ධනය කිරීම ආදි දිගුකාලීන බලපෑමිය. අතීතයට සාපේක්ෂව යොවුන් ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරවල විප්ලවීය ක්‍රියාකාරකම් අඩුවී ඇති බව අධ්‍යයනය මගින් අනාවරණය විය. තාක්ෂණයේ දියුණුව සහ කාර්බහුල සහ සංකීර්ණ අධ්‍යාපන ක්‍රමය ඊට හේතු විය හැකිය. කෙසේ වෙතත්, යොවුන් ශිෂ්‍ය ප්‍රජාවගේ විප්ලවීය ආකල්ප සහ අභිලාෂයන් සහ ඒවායේ ආර්ථික සහ දේශපාලනික ප්‍රතිවිපාකයන් පිළිබඳව කිසියම් අවබෝධයක් ලබා ගැනීමට මෙම අධ්‍යයනය උපකාරී වනබව සඳහන් කිරීම වැදගත්‍ය. අතීත හානිය මැන බැලීම සඳහා වර්තමාන තත්ත්වය පිළිබඳ අවබෝධය යොදගත හැකිවන අතර එය අනාගතය පිළිබඳව අනාවැකි පළ කිරීමේදී ප්‍රයෝජනවත් විය හැකිය.

Abstract

Radicalising Trends of Student Political Movements and their Political, Socio- Economic impact.

(A study based on the student movement to abolish the SAITM in Sri Lanka)

This case study examines the impact of radical ideas, activities and radical movements in Sri Lanka's youth community on the economic, social and political spheres. This study is aimed specifically at the youth of Sri Lanka. This is because the youth community is seen as undoubtedly impulsive, radical and able to spread their influence. Radicalisation is seen as the action or process of causing someone to adopt a radical position on a political or social issue. The focused case study represents both political and social sensitive areas, such as free education and free health which has resulted in Sri Lanka ranking high in the Human Development Index, especially in South Asia.

The study is based on the radical trend like activities that took place around the so-called SAITM crisis. The main problem of this study is the radical orientation of the student political movement and its socio-economic and political consequences. Therefore, the Social, political and economic factors cannot be abstracted from the movement. Though Sri Lanka had experienced more severe student movements than the SAITM crisis, this problem and ensuing agitation was so widespread that it was feasible to conduct this study as the 'most recent' example of a radical student movement. As such, the radical student movement of the state university students against the establishment of the SAITM private medical college is the basis of this case study. The slogans included ' SAITM awarded a degree equal to the state university medicine degree'; 'a degree without adequate facilities for disqualified students'; and 'the affect on the free education system in Sri Lanka'.

This study, based on the Resource Mobilisation Theory and Collective Behavior Theory was carried out by combining secondary data sources such as newspaper articles, social media posts, publications and Central Bank Reports with research-related answers. The methodology used to analyse the case study is simple, considering the data and other factors that are involved in the process of learning. The target group is university students, and it represents both private and state university students. This analysis is conducted on qualitative data because it represents the actual situation more accurately than quantitative data.

The conclusions drawn from this study are mainly concerned with the impact of the radical activities of young student movements on the social, economic and social sectors in general. All these three areas are interconnected and present both positive and negative impacts. However this case study shows more negative than positive effects. Student movements emulate violence and non- violence actions, but first they follow non-violence activities such as interviews, press conference, petitions. The effects can be short-term or long-term in economic, political and social contexts.

Short-term effects include, wasting of student time, students missing their lectures, and some students being hospitalised due to injuries sustained in aggressive encounters. However, more important are the long-term effects such as, the standard of the quality of healthcare, decrease in numbers of medical officers because of the abolishing of private universities, repressing investments on private universities etc.

The study also found that the activities of radical youth student political movements were relatively lower in comparison to the past, which can be attributed to the advances in technology and the overloaded and complex education system. This study gives a glimpse of the radical attitudes and aspirations of a young student population and the economic and political consequences resulting from it. It is felt that an understanding of the present state of affairs can be useful in gauging the damage of the past, and also be of use in making predictions about the future.

சாரம்சம்

மாணவர் அரசியல் இயக்கங்களின் தீவிரமயமாக்கல் போக்குகள் மற்றும் அவற்றின் அரசியல், சமூக– பொருளாதார தாக்கம்.

(இலங்கையில் SAITM, ஒழிக்க மாணவர் இயக்கத்தை அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்ட ஆய்வு)

அமலி சமரசிங்க, சந்துனி காவிந்த்யா குணசேகர மற்றும் சதுரிகா கமகே

இந்த சம்பவ கற்கை இலங்கையின் இளைஞர் சமூகத்தில் தீவிரமான கருத்துக்கள், செயல்பாடுகள் மற்றும் தீவிர இயக்கங்களின் தாக்கத்தை பொருளாதார, சமூக மற்றும் அரசியல் துறைகளில் ஆராய்கிறது. இந்த ஆய்வு குறிப்பாக இலங்கையின் இளைஞர்களை இலக்காகக் கொண்டது. ஏனென்றால், இளைஞர் சமூகம் சந்தேகத்திற்கு இடமின்றி தூண்டுதலாகவும், தீவிரமாகவும், தங்கள் செல்வாக்கை பரப்பக்கூடியதாகவும் காணப்படுகிறது. தீவிரமயமாக்கல் என்றால் என்ன என்பதை அறிவது முக்கியம். தீவிரமயமாக்கல் என்பது ஒரு அரசியல் அல்லது சமூகப் பிரச்சினையில் ஒரு தீவிர நிலைப்பாட்டை ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளும் செயல் அல்லது செயல்முறையாகக் கருதப்படுகிறது. கவனம் செலுத்திய சம்பவ கற்கை அரசியல் மற்றும் சமூக உணர்திறன் பகுதிகளான இலவச கல்வி மற்றும் இலவச சுகாதாரம் போன்றவற்றை பிரதிநித்துவப்படுத்துகிறது, இதன் விளைவாக மனித வளர்ச்சி குறியீட்டில், குறிப்பாக தென்காசியாவில் இலங்கை உயர்ந்த தரத்தில் உள்ளது.

SAITM சர்ச்சை என்று அழைக்கப்படும் செயல்பாடுகள் போன்ற தீவிர போக்கை அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்டதாக இந்த சம்பவ கற்கை இருக்கின்றது. இந்த ஆய்வின் முக்கிய பிரச்சனை மாணவர் அரசியல் இயக்கத்தின் தீவிர நோக்குநிலை மற்றும் அதன் சமூக பொருளாதார மற்றும் அரசியல் விளைவுகள் ஆகும். எனவே, சமூக, அரசியல் மற்றும் பொருளாதார காரணிகளை இயக்கத்திலிருந்து பிரித்தெடுக்க முடியாது. SAITM சர்ச்சையை விட கடுமையான மாணவர் இயக்கங்களை இலங்கை அனுபவித்திருந்தாலும், இந்த பிரச்சனையும் அதைத் தொடர்ந்து கிளர்ச்சியும் மிகவும் பரவலாக இருந்ததால் தீவிர மாணவர் இயக்கத்தின் "மிகச் சமீபத்திய" உதாரணமாக இந்த ஆய்வை நடத்துவது சாத்தியமானது.

அதுபோல, SAITM தனியார் மருத்துவக் கல்லூரி நிறுவப்படுவதற்கு எதிராக அரச பல்கலைக்கழக மாணவர்களின் தீவிர மாணவர் இயக்கம் இந்த சம்பவ கற்கையின் அடிப்படையாகும். இந்த பிரசாரங்களில் "SAITM அரசப் பல்கலைக்கழக மருத்துவ பட்டத்திற்கு சமமான பட்டத்தை வழங்கியது", "தகுதியற்ற மாணவர்களுக்கு போதுமான வசதிகள் இல்லாத பட்டம்" மற்றும் "இலங்கையில் இலவசக் கல்வி முறையில் பாதிப்பு" என்பன உள்ளடங்குகின்றன.

தகவல் திரட்டல் கோட்பாடு மற்றும் கூட்டு நடத்தை கோட்பாட்டை அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்ட இந்த ஆய்வு, பத்திரிகை கட்டுரைகள், சமூக ஊடக பதிவுகள், வெளியீடுகள் மற்றும் மத்திய வங்கி அறிக்கைகள் போன்ற இரண்டாம் நிலை தரவு ஆதாரங்களை ஆராய்ச்சி தொடர்பான பதில்களுடன் இணைத்து மேற்கொள்ளப்பட்டது. கற்றல் செயல்பாட்டில் உள்ள தரவு மற்றும் பிற காரணிகளைக் கருத்தில் கொண்டு, சம்பவ கற்கையை பகுப்பாய்வு செய்ய பயன்படுத்தப்படும் முறை எளிதானதாகும். இலக்கு குழு பல்கலைக்கழக மாணவர்கள், இது தனியார் மற்றும் அரச பல்கலைக்கழக மாணவர்களைக் குறிக்கிறது. இந்த பகுப்பாய்வு தரமான தரவுகளில் நடத்தப்படுகிறது, ஏனெனில் இது அளவுசார் தரவை விட உண்மையான சூழ்நிலையை துல்லியமாக பிரதிபலிக்கிறது.

இந்த ஆய்வில் இருந்து எடுக்கப்பட்ட முடிவுகள் முக்கியமாக சமூக, பொருளாதார மற்றும் சமூகத் துறைகளில் இளம் மாணவர் இயக்கங்களின் தீவிர நடவடிக்கைகளின் தாக்கத்தைப் பற்றியது. இந்த மூன்று பகுதிகளும் ஒன்றோடொன்று இணைக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன மற்றும் நேர்மறை மற்றும் எதிர்மறை தாக்கங்களை முன்வைக்கின்றன. இருப்பினும் இந்த சம்பவ கற்கை நேர்மறையான விளைவுகளை விட எதிர்மறையாகக் காட்டுகிறது. மாணவர் இயக்கங்கள் வன்முறை மற்றும் அகிம்சை நடவடிக்கைகளை பின்பற்றுகின்றன, ஆனால் முதலில் அவர்கள் நேர்காணல்கள், பத்திரிகையாளர் சந்திப்பு, மனுக்கள் போன்ற அகிம்சை நடவடிக்கைகளை பின்பற்றுகிறார்கள். பொருளாதார, அரசியல் மற்றும் சமூகச் சூழல்களில் இதன் விளைவுகள் குறுகிய காலத்திற்கானதாக அல்லது நீண்டகாலத்திற்கானதாக இருக்கலாம்.

குறுகிய கால விளைவுகள், மாணவர்களின் நேரத்தை வீணாக்குதல், மாணவர்கள் தங்கள் விரிவுரைகள் கலந்துகொள்ள முடியாமல் போவது, மற்றும் சில மாணவர்கள் ஆக்ரோஷமான சந்திப்புகளில் காயங்கள் காரணமாக மருத்துவமனையில் அனுமதிக்கப்படுவது ஆகியவை அடங்கும். இருப்பினும், சுகாதார தரத்தின் திறன், தனியார் பல்கலைக்கழகங்களை ஒழிப்பதன் காரணமாக மருத்துவ அதிகாரிகளின் எண்ணிக்கை குறைதல், தனியார் பல்கலைக்கழகங்களில் முதலீடுகளை ஒடுக்குதல் போன்றன நீண்டகால விளைவுகளில் மிக முக்கியமானவையாகும்.

தீவிர இளைஞர் மாணவர் அரசியல் இயக்கங்களின் செயல்பாடுகள் கடந்த காலத்துடன் ஒப்பிடுகையில் ஒப்பீட்டளவில் குறைவாக இருப்பதையும் ஆய்வு கண்டறிந்துள்ளது, இது தொழில்நுட்பத்தின் முன்னேற்றங்கள் மற்றும் அதிக சுமை மற்றும் சிக்கலான கல்வி முறைக்கு காரணமாக இருக்கலாம். இந்த ஆய்வு ஒரு இளம் மாணவர் சமூகத்தின் தீவிர அணுகுமுறைகள் மற்றும் அபிலாஷைகள் மற்றும் அதனால் ஏற்படும் பொருளாதார மற்றும் அரசியல் விளைவுகளை ஒரு பார்வை தருகிறது. தற்போதைய நிலையைப் புரிந்துகொள்வது கடந்த காலத்தின் சேதத்தை அளவிடுவதில் பயனுள்ளதாக இருக்கும், மேலும் எதிர்காலத்தைப் பற்றிய கணிப்புகளைச் செய்வதிலும் இது பயனுள்ளதாக இருக்கும்.

පසුබිම

ශ්‍රී ලංකාව පසුගිය ඉතිහාසය පුරාම විවිධාකාරයේ ආර්ථික, සමාජීය, දේශපාලනික වෙනස්කම් වලට භාජනය වෙමින් ඉදිරියට පැමිණි රටක් ලෙස දැක්විය හැකි වේ. ඉන් ආසන්න දශක හතරක කාලය බොහෝ සෙයින් වැදගත් කාලපරිච්ඡේදයකි. ඇතැම් විද්වතුන්ට අනුව එම කාලපරිච්ඡේදය රටට අහිමි කාලපරිච්ඡේදයකි. මෙය විවිධ ජාති, ආගම්, කුල ආදී අන්තවාදී ගැටුම් හා දේශපාලනික ගැටුම් හේතුවෙන් ලංකාවට අත්කර ගැනීමට තිබුණු ඉහළ ආර්ථික ඉලක්ක මගහැරුණු කාලයක් ලෙස දැක්විය හැක. එක අතකින් රැඩිකල්කරණය නිසා ආර්ථියට බලපෑමක් වුවා සේම තවත් අතකින් ආර්ථිකය නිසා රැඩිකල්වාදී ආකල්ප ඉස්මතු වීමටද බලපෑමක් වූ අවස්ථාද දැකගත හැකිය. මෙම සංකල්ප එකිනෙක සම්බන්ධ වූ සංකීර්ණ සංකල්පයන්ය. කෙසේ වෙතත් ඒවායේ බලපෑම වර්තමානය තෙක් ම සෑම ශ්‍රී ලාංකිකයෙකුටම අත්විඳීමට සිදුව ඇත. තරුණ ප්‍රජාව මෙම ගැටුම් හි කේන්ද්‍රස්ථානයක් ගනු ලබන බව කිව හැකිය. මන්දයත් තරුණයා යනු, ස්වභාවයෙන්ම තම ආධිපත්‍යය, අනන්‍යතාවය තහවුරු කර ගැනීමට වෙහෙස වන කොටිඨාශයක් වන අතර ඒ නිසාම ආවේගශීලි, කලහකාරී සහ රැඩිකල් ලෙස කටයුතු කරන පිරිසක් ලෙස හඳුනාගත හැකිය. එබැවින් පසුගිය දශකයන් හි සිදු වූ අන්තවාදී ගැටුම් පැන නැගීමෙහි ලා තාරුණ්‍යය මූලික වී ඇති බව පෙනී යයි.

මෙම අධ්‍යයනය තුල රැඩිකල්කරණය යන සංකල්පය මූලික වන අතර ඒ පිළිබඳව සැකෙවින් විග්‍රහ කිරීම මෙහිදී වඩා වැදගත් වේ. රැඩිකල්කරණය යන සංකල්පය උදෙසා නිශ්චිත නිර්වචනයක් සැපයීම දුෂ්කර වන අතර ඒ සඳහා විවිධ කාලයන්හිදී විවිධ පිරිස් විසින් නිර්වචන සපයා ඇත. ඉන් කිහිපයක් කෙටියෙන් හඳුනා ගැනීම මෙම සංකල්පය නිවැරදිව හඳුනා ගැනීම සඳහා වැදගත් වේ. රැඩිකල්කරණය

යනු පවත්නා ආයතන හෝ දේශපාලන, සමාජ, ආර්ථික තත්ත්වයන් හි මූලික වෙනස්කම් හෝ සම්පූර්ණ වෙනසක් සිදුකිරීමට පුද්ගලයෙකු දක්වන ප්‍රියතාවය වේ. රැඩිකල්කරණය ජනවාර්ගික, ආගමික, ජාතික, දේශපාලන කණ්ඩායම් දක්වා පරාසයක විහිද යයි. එමෙන්ම තාරුණ්‍යය රැඩිකල්කරණය වීම මගින් ඔවුහු සමාජයේ ස්වභාවය හා පවත්නා රජය වෙනස්කිරීමට උත්සාහ දරයි. රැඩිකල්කරණය ඇතිවන්නේ පුද්ගලයෙකුගේ හැසිරීම හා චින්තනය අනෙක් අයට වඩා වෙනස් වු විටය. එසේ සිදුවන්නේ සමාජයේ පවත්නා ගැටලු නිසාවෙනි යන්න ඇතැමුන්ගේ මතයයි. මෙම සංකල්පය ප්‍රචණ්ඩකාරී මෙන්ම ප්‍රචණ්ඩකාරී බවින් තොරව (Violence Or Non- Violence) පැවතිය හැකි වුවද, රැඩිකල්කරණය පිළිබඳව කතාකිරීමේදී බොහෝ සාහිත්‍යයන්, පීඩාකාරී රැඩිකල්කරණය පිළිබඳ වැඩි නැඹුරුවක් දක්වයි. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවද මෙවැනි රැඩිකල්කරණයේ විවිධ ආකාර වලට මුහුණ දී ඇත. එනම් මාක්ස්වාදී පක්ෂ මගින් මෙහෙයවනු ලැබූ තරුණ රැඩිකල්වාදීන්ගේ ප්‍රධාන කැරලි වන 1971 සහ 1987-1989 කැරලි මෙන්ම මෑත කාලයේ පැවතී LTTE -යුධ ගැටුම් පෙන්වා දිය හැකිය. මේ නිසා ලංකාවේ සංවර්ධනයට බොහෝසෙයින් අහිතකර බලපෑම් රැඩිකල් චින්තනය හරහා ඇල්ල වී ඇතිබව පැහැදිලිය.

එනමුත් වර්තමානය වන විට තරුණ රැඩිකල්වාදී ක්‍රියාකාරකම්වල පසුබෑමක් දක්නට ලැබෙන අතර ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාර තුළින් පමණක් විටින් විට මෙවැනි රැඩිකල්වාදී ස්වරූපයන් දැකගත හැකිය. මෑත භාගයේදී එවැනි රැඩිකල්වාදී මුහුණුවරක් ගත් කැපී පෙනෙන අවස්ථාවක් ලෙස සයිටම් (SAITM) අර්බුදය හඳුන්වා දිය හැක. එබැවින් මෙම අධ්‍යයනය සඳහා සයිටම් අර්බුදය සිද්ධි අධ්‍යයනයක් ලෙස තෝරා ගැනීම යථාර්ථවාදී වේ.

පර්යේෂණ ගැටලුව

ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලන ව්‍යාපාරයේ රැඩිකල්වාදී නැඹුරුව සහ එහි සමාජ, ආර්ථික සහ දේශපාලන ප්‍රතිවිපාක මොනවාද යන්න මෙම අධ්‍යයනයේ ප්‍රධාන ගැටලුව ලෙස දැක්විය හැක. සමාජ, දේශපාලනික සහ ආර්ථික සාධකයන් එකිනෙකින් වියුක්ත කළ නොහැක. මෙම ගැටලුව වඩාත් පුළුල් ප්‍රදේශයක පැතිර පවතින නිසා රැඩිකල් ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලනයේ ආසන්නතම උදාහරණය වන සයිටම් අර්බුදය ඔස්සේ සොයා බැලීම වඩා ප්‍රායෝගික සහ සාධනීය වේ යයි සිතිය හැකිය. ඒ

අනුව මෙම අධ්‍යයනය සයිටම් පෞද්ගලික වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාලයට එරෙහිව රජයේ විශ්ව විද්‍යාල සිසුන් ගෙනගිය රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය ක්‍රියාකාරකම් මූලික සිද්ධි අධ්‍යයනය ලෙස යොදාගෙන ඇත.

පර්යේෂණ ප්‍රශ්න

- ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරයේ ස්වභාවය කෙසේද? (සැකසීම, ඓතිහාසික තත්ත්වය හා විකාශය පිළිබඳව)
- ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරවල ක්‍රියාකාරීත්වය කෙසේද?

- ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලන ව්‍යාපාර රැඩිකල්කරණය වීම සඳහා තඩුදුන් කරුණු මොනවාද?

- රැඩිකල් ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරය මගින් ඇතිකරන සමාජ ආර්ථික දේශපාලන බලපෑම් මොනවාද?

මෙම ප්‍රශ්න වලට මූලික වශයෙන්ම පිළිතුරු ලබා ගැනීමට සයිටම් පෞද්ගලික වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාලයට එරෙහිව රජයේ විශ්ව විද්‍යාල සිසුන් විසින් ගෙනගිය රැඩිකල්වාදි ක්‍රියාමාර්ග යොදාගෙන ඇත.

පර්යේෂණයේ කල්පිතය

- රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලන ව්‍යාපාර රටට ආර්ථීක, සමාජ හා දේශපාලන අංශ ඔස්සේ සෘණාත්මක බලපෑමක් ඇති කරයි.

පර්යේෂණයේ අරමුණු

ප්‍රධාන අරමුණ

රැඩිකල්වාදි ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලන ව්‍යාපාරයන් හේතුවෙන් රටකට ඇතිවන සමාජ, ආර්ථික හා දේශපාලනික බලපෑම කෙසේදැයි සයිටම් අර්බුදය ඇසුරින් මැන බැලීම මෙම අධ්‍යයනයේ මූලික අරමුණ වේ.

විශේෂිත අරමුණු

- ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරයේ ස්වභාවය පිළිබඳව සොයා බැලීම. (සැකසීම, ඓතිහාසික තත්ත්වය හා විකාශය පිළිබඳව)

- එම ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරයේ ක්‍රියාකාරිත්වය කෙසේද යන්න හඳුනා ගැනීම.

- එම ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාර රැඩිකල්කරණය වීම සඳහා තුඩුදුන් සාධක හඳුනා ගැනීම.

- රැඩිකල් ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාර මගින් ඇතිකරන සමාජ ආර්ථික දේශපාලන බලපෑම හඳුනා ගැනීම

සටහන 6.1 : සංකල්ප රාමුව
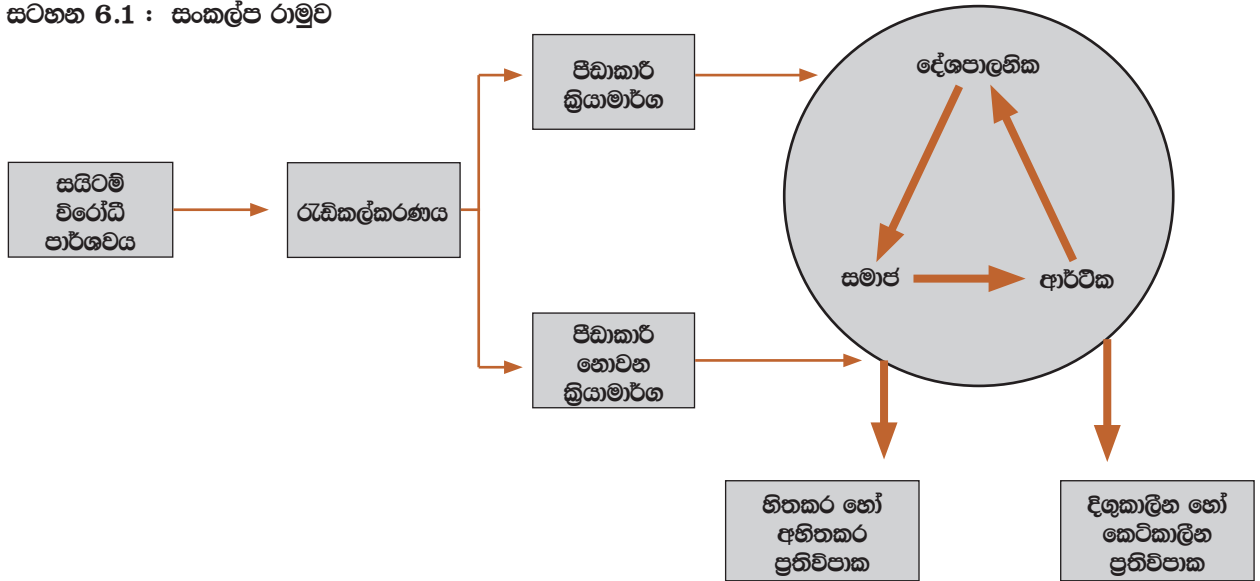
පර්යේෂණය සමාජගත කිරීම

ඉහත සඳහන් කල පරිදි මෙම අධ්‍යනය මගින් අප විශ්ලේෂණය කරනු ලබන කරුණු තුලින් එළඹෙන නිගමන හා මෙම තත්ත්වයන් හි ඉදිරි ප්‍රතිපත්ති සම්පාදන කටයුතු පිළිබඳව අප දරන අදහස් හා ඒ සඳහා කරනු ලබන යෝජනා පිළිබඳව ජනතාව සහ ප්‍රතිපත්ති සම්පාදකයන් දැනුවත් කිරීමට අදහස් කරයි. ඒ සම්බන්ධව ඔවුන් (විශේෂයෙන් සමාජයේ තරුණ කොටස්) දක්වන ප්‍රතිචාරය සහ ඔවුන් මේ සඳහා සෘජුව මැදිහත් කර ගැනීමට එනම් ඔවුන් තුලින්ම මේ පිළිබඳව කතිකාවතක් ගොඩනැංවීමට අපි බලාපොරොත්තු වෙමු. එම කටයුතු දියත් කිරීම

සඳහා විද්‍යුත් ප්‍රවාරණ මාධ්‍ය භාවිතා කිරීම අපගේ අපේක්ෂාව වේ. නිදසුන් ලෙස YOU TUBE , FACEBOOK, TWITTER දැක්විය හැකිය. එයට මූලික හේතුව ලෙස වත්මන් තරුණ පරපුර තුල විද්‍යුත් මාධ්‍ය කෙරෙහි පවතින දැඩි නැඹුරුව සහ ඒ සඳහා ඔවුන්ට පවතින අවකාශයන්ගේ සුලභ බව පෙන්වාදිය හැකිය. මෙහිදී තවදුරටත් විස්තර කොට දක්වන්නේනම් මෙම අධ්‍යනයේ ප්‍රතිඵල ඇසුරින් අප සකස් කිරීමට අපේක්ෂා කරනු ලබන කෙටි වීඩියෝව (THE SHORT VIDEO) අප විසින් මෙම අධ්‍යනය සඳහාම නිර්මාණය කිරීමට බලාපොරොත්තුවන යු ටියුබ් වැනලය (YOU

TUBE CHANNEL) ඔස්සේ ඉදිරිපත් කිරීමට අප තීරණය කර ඇත. ඒ සඳහා YOU TUBE යොදා ගැනීමට හේතුව ලෙස වර්තමානයේ තරුණ පරපුර අතර වඩාත් ජනප්‍රියම මෙන්ම පහසුම සන්නිවේදන මාධ්‍ය ලෙස YOU TUBE VIDEO හැඳින්වා දිය හැකිය. එය ශ්‍රව්‍ය දෘශ්‍ය මාධ්‍යයක් වීම තුලින් මෙම අදහස් ඉක්මනින් සමාජ ගත වීම අපේක්ෂා කල හැක.

පර්යේෂණයේ වැදගත්කම

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ තරුණ ප්‍රජාවගේ මැදිහත් වීමෙන් දශක හතරක් පුරාවට ඇතිවූ රැඩිකල්වාදී ක්‍රියාකලාපයන් නිසා රටෙහි සංවර්ධනයට සිදුවූ බලපෑම පිළිබඳ විවිධ වූ සාහිත්‍ය මූලාශ්‍ර සහ පර්යේෂණ දැකගත හැකිය. නමුත් මෑත කාලීනව සිදුවූ තරුණ රැඩිකල්වාදී ක්‍රියාකාරකම් පිළිබඳව පර්යේෂණ සඳහා එතරම් අවධානයක් යොමු වී නැති බව පෙනී යයි. එම රික්තකය පිරවීම උදෙසා මෙම පර්යේෂණය සිදු කිරීම වැදගත් වේ. මේ වන විට මෙම අර්බුදය සඳහා විසඳුම් ලැබී ඇති අතර විහිදී වැදගත් වූ ප්‍රතිපත්තිමය විවාදයන් දැකගත හැකි විය. මේ පිළිබඳ තරුණ ප්‍රජාව පමණක් නොව සියලු පුරවැසියන් දැනගත යුතුය. මන්දයත් එවැනි ක්‍රියාමාර්ග හේතුවෙන් තම රටට කෙතරම් පාඩුවක් සිදුවීද නැතිනම් වාසියක් සිදුවුයේද යන්න දැනගැනීමට හැකිය.

මෙවැනි අවස්ථාවකදී සිදුවිය හැකි දේපලහානි, ජීවිත හානි, කාලය අපතේ යාම ඇතුළු අනෙකුත් පාඩු අවම කරගැනීම තුලින් රටට අහිමි වීමට නියමිත ආර්ථික, සමාජ සහ දේශපාලනික වාසි පිළිබඳ අවබෝධයක් රජයට හා අනෙකුත් ප්‍රතිපත්ති සම්පාදකයන්ටත් මෙම අධ්‍යයනය මඟින් ලබාගත හැක. මෙවැනි අවස්ථාවකට මුහුණදීම සඳහා රජයක් ලෙස පෙර සුදානම් වීමට මෙම අධ්‍යයනය වැදගත් වේ යයි අප විශ්වාස කරමු.

මෙවැනි රැඩිකල් ක්‍රියාමාර්ගයන්ට යොමුවීමට හේතුවද ආර්ථිකය හා සම්බන්ධ කරුණක් විය හැක. එවැනි අවස්ථාවක එය වැලැක්වීමට අවශ්‍ය ප්‍රතිපත්ති සම්පාදනයට මෙම අධ්‍යයනය මනා පිටුවහලක් විය හැකිය.

තරුණ තරුණියන් ඇතැම්විට තම ස්වාර්ථය පදනම් කරගනිමින් හා වෙනත් හේතු මූල් කරගනිමින් සිදු කරන මෙවැනි රැඩිකල්වාදී ක්‍රියා හේතුවෙන් රටට සහ ඒ හේතුවෙන් ඔවුනටද ඇතිවන අහිතකර ආර්ථික සමාජ සහ දේශපාලනමය බලපෑම් පිළිබඳ අවබෝධයක් ලබාගැනීමට තරුණ ප්‍රජාවට මෙම අධ්‍යයනය වැදගත් වේ යයි කිව හැකිය.

අතීතයේ සිදුවූ හානි මැන බලමින් වර්තමාන තත්ත්වය පිළිබඳ අවබෝධයක් ලබාගත හැකි අතර එමඟින් අනාගත තත්ත්වය පිළිබඳ පූරෝකථන ලබාදීමට මෙය පිටුවහලක් වේ යයි අප විශ්වාස කරමු.

පර්යේෂණයේ සීමා

ලෝකයේ බොහෝ රටවල මෙන්ම ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේද විවිධ රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරයන් දැකිය හැකිය. මෙම රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාර සහ ඒවායේ සමාජ ආර්ථික දේශපාලනික ප්‍රතිවිපාක පිළිබඳ අධ්‍යයනය කිරීම ඉතා පුළුල් ප්‍රදේශයක පැතිර පවතී. එම නිසා අධ්‍යයනයේ නිරවද්‍යතාවයට හානි සිදුවිය හැකිය. එය වැලැක්වීම සඳහා අධ්‍යයනය, සයිටම් අර්බුදය සඳහා පමණක් සීමා කිරීමට සිදුවිය. එමෙන්ම මෙම අධ්‍යයනය සඳහා ද්විතීයික මූලාශ්‍ර වැඩි වශයෙන් යොදා ගනී. මෙහිදී පුවත්පත් සඟරා ආදිය වාර්තා කර ඇති තොරතුරු වල සත්‍යතාවය පිළිබඳ සොයා බැලීමට එකම සිදුවීම සම්බන්ධයෙන් දෙවරක් හෝ ඊට වැඩි ප්‍රමාණයක් පරීක්ෂා කිරීම සඳහා කාලයක් වැය කිරීමට සිදුවීම නිසා කාලය සීමා වේ. රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලන ව්‍යාපාර සම්බන්ධ දත්ත වල අඩුවක් සාපේක්ෂව දැක්නට ලැබේ.

අන්තර්ගතය

මෙම පර්යේෂණ කෘතිය පරිච්ඡේද පහකින් සමන්විත වන අතර ඒවා පහත පරිදි හඳුනාගත හැකිය.

පසුබිම : මෙම පර්යේෂණය පිළිබඳ පූර්ණ හැඳින්වීමක් කර ඇති අතර එමඟින් මෙම පර්යේෂණය පිළිබඳවත්, එහි පසුබිම පිළිබඳවත්, න්‍යායික ප්‍රවේශය හා ක්‍රමවේදය පිළිබඳවත් අවබෝධයක් ලබාගත හැකිය.

සාහිත්‍ය විමර්ශනය : මෙම පරිච්ඡේදය මඟින් මෙම පර්යේෂණය සම්බන්ධයෙන් ලියැවුණු දේශීය මෙන්ම විදේශීය මූලාශ්‍ර පිළිබඳව කළ සාහිත්‍ය විමර්ශනයක් දැකිය හැකි ඇති අතර එමඟින් මෙම මාතෘකාවේ අවශ්‍යතාවය මෙන්ම ඒ සම්බන්ධයෙන් ඇති දැනුම ලබා ගැනීමට මෙම පරිච්ඡේදය ඉවහල් වේ.

පර්යේෂණ ක්‍රමවේදය : මෙම පරිච්ඡේදය මඟින් මෙම පර්යේෂණය සිදු කිරීමට භාවිතා කරන පර්යේෂණ ක්‍රමවේදයත්, එම දත්ත ලබාගන්නා මූලාශ්‍ර සහ ඒවා විශ්ලේෂණය කරන ආකාරයත් හඳුනාගත හැකිවේ.

දත්ත විශ්ලේෂණය : මෙම පරිච්ඡේදය මඟින් ලබාගත් දත්තයන් පිළිබඳව විශ්ලේෂණයක් අඩංගු වන අතර රැඩිකල්වාදී ක්‍රියා හේතුවෙන් ආර්ථිකමය, දේශපාලනික

සහ සමාජමය වශයෙන් සිදුවන ප්‍රතිවිපාක පිළිබඳ පුළුල් අවබෝධයක් ලබාගත හැකිය.

නිගමන සහ යෝජනා : මෙම පරිච්ඡේදය ඔස්සේ මෙම අධ්‍යයනයේ අවසාන නිගමනය, යෝජනා සහ ඒවා ක්‍රියාත්මක කරන ආකාරය පිළිබඳ සඳහන් කොට ඇත.

සාහිත්‍ය විමර්ශනය

හැඳින්වීම

මෙම අධ්‍යයනය මධ්‍යගත වනුයේ සයිටම් අර්බුදය ඔස්සේ වුවත් මෙහි මූලික අරමුණ වනුයේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ සමස්ත ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලනයේ ක්‍රියාකාරීත්වයත් ඔවුන්ගේ රැඩිකල්වාදී ක්‍රියා සහ එම ක්‍රියාවන් නිසා රටට සිදුවන සමාජ, ආර්ථික හා දේශපාලනික ප්‍රතිවිපාක පිළිබඳ අධ්‍යයනය කිරීමයි. මෙම ගැටලුව සම්බන්ධයෙන් දේශීයව මෙන්ම විදේශීයවද ලියවුනු ග්‍රන්ථ හා පර්යේෂණ මුලාශ්‍ර සපයා ගත හැකිය. මෙම පරිච්ඡේදයේ දේශීය මෙන්ම විදේශීය මුලාශ්‍ර ඇසුරින් සිදුකරන සාහිත්‍ය විමර්ශනයක් සඳහන් අතර එය මෙම අධ්‍යයනය පිළිබඳව අවබෝධයක් ලබා ගැනීමට ඉවහල් වන බව කිව හැකිය.

න්‍යායික ප්‍රවේශය

Altbach (1992:1444) ගේ ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලනය සම්බන්ධ න්‍යායට අනුව ශිෂ්‍ය ක්‍රියාකාරීන් යනු ස්වභාවයෙන්ම ශාස්ත්‍රීය පසුබිමක් සහිත ප්‍රජාවකි. එමෙන්ම ඔවුන් විශ්ව විද්‍යාල තුල මෙන්ම සමජයේදී ද තම බලය පතුරුවා හැරීම අබණ්ඩව සිදු කරනු ලබයි. (Luescher 2005) මෙතෙක් පැවති මුලාශ්‍රවල ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලනය පිළිබඳව ඉදිරියට ආ සංකල්ප ලෙස ශිෂ්‍ය ක්‍රියාකාරීත්වය, ශිෂ්‍ය අසහනකාරීබව, ශිෂ්‍ය නියෝජන, ශිෂ්‍ය විරෝධය සහ උද්ඝෝෂණ පිළිබඳ විශේෂ අවධානයක් යොමුකරනු ලැබිණ.

මෙම අධ්‍යයනය ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන්ම රැඩිකල්කරණය කේන්ද්‍ර කරගෙන සිදු කරනු ලබන අතර මූලික න්‍යායක් වශයෙන් සාමූහික හැසිරීම් න්‍යාය (Collective Behaviour Theory) හඳුන්වාදිය හැකිය. සාහිත්‍ය මුලාශ්‍ර අධ්‍යයනය කිරීමේදී සාමාජ දේශපාලන ව්‍යාපාරයන් සමග වැඩිවශයෙන්ම කතාවන න්‍යායක් ලෙස මෙම න්‍යාය හඳුන්වා දිය හැකිය. (Crossley, 2002) සාමූහික හැසිරීම් න්‍යායට අනුව, සමාජ ව්‍යාපාර (Social Movement) යනු, සමාජ පීඩනය සහ දුක්ගැනවිලි වැඩිවීම හේතුවෙන් එයට විරුද්ධව ඇතිවන ක්‍රියාවලියක් ලෙසයි. තවද, මෙම න්‍යාය

මගින් මෙම විරෝධය පළකිරීම තාර්කික නොවන සහ ස්ව කැමැත්ත සහිතව සිදුවන දෙයක් ලෙසත් එය සමාජ ප්‍රතිමානයන්ට හානි කරන බවත් විශ්ලේෂකයන් පවසති.

මීට අමතරව මෙම අධ්‍යයනයේදී සම්පත් බෙදීයාම පිළිබඳ න්‍යාය වැදගත්වේ. (Resource Mobilisation Theory) එයද ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලන ව්‍යාපාරය නැගී ඒමෙහිලා වැදගත්වන න්‍යායකි.

එමෙන්ම ටැරෝ විසින් ඉදිරිපත්කරන ලද Cycle Of Protest න්‍යාය ද මෙම ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලන ව්‍යාපාරයන්ගේ ස්වභාවයන් පිළිබඳ අවබෝධය ලබා දෙයි. එම න්‍යායට අනුව මෙම විරෝධාවල ස්වරූපය පවතින සමාජයේ ස්වරූපය අනුව උච්ඡාවචනය වේ. එමෙන්ම එය අබණ්ඩ , දීර්ස කාලීන හෝ කෙටි කාලීන, ක්‍රියාකාරකම් සහ බලපෑම්වල ප්‍රතිඵලයකි.

ආනුභවික මුලාශ්‍ර

තාරුණ්‍යය යනු, ළමාවිය සහ වැඩිහිටි අවධිය අතරමැද අවස්ථාවක් ලෙස කිව හැකිය. පූර්ව කාර්මිකරණ අවධියේ දී මෙම තරුණවිය සහ වැඩිහිටි අවධිය පිළිබඳ වෙනසක් පවතින බවට නිගමනය කර ඇති බව වාර්තා වී නැත. කාර්මිකරණයත් සමග නගරයට පැමිණ සේවය කල කම්කරුවන් තම පාලකයන් ඔවුන් වෙත ලබාදුන් අඩු අවධානයද, ඔවුන්ට විසඳීමට සිදුවූ ගැටලුද සමග යම් දේශපාලනික බලවේගයක් ගොඩනගා ගැනීමට පෙළඹිණ. (Mitterauer, 1986, 1992) මෙලෙස වෘත්තීයන් තුල පැවති මානසික සහ කායික වශයෙන් අසහනකාරි හේතුන් නිසා විවිධ අන්තවාදි සහ රැඩිකල් මතවාදයන් බහුල ලෙස තරුණ ප්‍රජාව තුලින් ඉස්මතු විය. ඒ හරහා අපගාමී සමාජ ක්‍රියාකාරකම් කෙරෙහි තරුණ පිරිස් වල නැඹුරුවක් දක්නට ලැබුණි.

එලෙස ඇතිවූ හිංසනකාරී, විප්ලවකාරී සහ අනෙකුත් රැඩිකල්වාදි ක්‍රියාකාරකම් හේතුවෙන් දේශීය, විදේශීය, කලාපිය මෙන්ම අන්තර් ජාතිකවද බොහෝ ලෙස ආර්ථික, සමාජිය, දේශපාලනික හා සංස්කෘතිකමය වශයෙන් බලපෑම් රැසක් ඇතිකර ඇති අතර තවමත් නිරන්තරයෙන් ලොව පුරා බලපෑම් ඇති කරමින් පවතී.

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ සමස්ත ජනගහනයෙන් 27% ක් පමණ වයස අවුරුදු 15-29ත් අතර කාණ්ඩයට අයත් වේ. මෙම කණ්ඩායම පිළිබඳව සමාජ, ආර්ථික සහ දේශපාලනික වශයෙන් අවධානය යොමු කිරීම අතිශය වැදගත් වන්නේ ඔවුහු මෙරට සමාජ සංවිධානය තුල ගාමක බලවේගය වන බැවිණි.

විශේෂයෙන් ප්‍රතිපත්ති සම්පාදන ක්‍රියාවලියේදී තරුණ කණ්ඩායම පිළිබඳව අත්‍යවශ්‍ය අවධානයක් යොමු කළ යුතු වන්නේ එය අනාගත සමාජ ආර්ථික සංවර්ධනයට රුකුලක් වනවා මෙන්ම තරුණයින් මුහුණ දෙන සුවිශේෂී ගැටලූ පිළිබඳව කථිකාවක් නිර්මාණය වීම කාලීන අවශ්‍යතාවක් වශයෙන්ද මතු වී ඇති බැවිණි.

වර්තමානය වනවිට ලෝකයේ බොහෝ රටවල සමාජ-ආර්ථික සහ දේශපාලනික ව්‍යුහයන්හි ප්‍රධාන බලපෑම් කණ්ඩායම බවට පත් වී ඇත්තේ තරුණයන්ය. විශේෂයෙන් මෑත කාලයේ ලොව විවිධ සමාජයන්හි සිදු වූ දේශපාලනික සහ සමාජ ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණයන්හි බලවේග සැපයුම්කරුවෝ බවට පත් වී තිබුණේද තරුණ ප්‍රජාවයි. පසු ගිය වසර කිහිපය පුරා ටියුනීසියාව, ඊජිප්තුව, ලිබ්‍යාව, සිරියාව, ඉරානය වැනි මැදපෙරදිග රාජ්‍යන්හි දේශපාලන ව්‍යුහයේ ඇතිකරන ලද සංවිධානාත්මක අරගලයන්හි දී සහ චිලී, පේරු, බ්‍රසීලය වැනි ලතින් ඇමරිකානු රටවල තව දුරටත් ක්‍රියාත්මක වන සමාජ-ආර්ථික හා දේශපාලන ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණ ඉල්ලමින් සිදුකරන දේශපාලන ව්‍යාපාරයන්හි ත් පෙරටුගාමී සහ සක්‍රිය කණ්ඩායම වී ඇත්තේ තරුණ තරුණියන්ය. එහි දී පෙනී යන්නේ නව සමාජ වෙනස සඳහා අවශ්‍ය උත්ප්‍රේරකයක් වශයෙන් තාරුණ්‍යය ක්‍රියාත්මක වන බවයි. එම නිසා තාරුණ්‍යය බොහෝ සමාජවල සමාජ-ආර්ථික සහ දේශපාලනික ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණ සඳහා බලපෑම් කරන සමාජ ව්‍යාපාරයක් ලෙස පෙනී සිටියි.

ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලන යන සංකල්පය 19 වන සියවස පමණ ඈත අතීතයට විහිද යයි. ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලනය පිළිබඳ නිශ්චිත නිර්වචනයක් සඳහන් කල නොහැකිය. බොහෝ විට ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලනය සමග මහා සමාජයේ දේශපාලනය බැඳී පවතී. රැඩිකල්කරණය යනු කුමක්ද යන්න පිළිබඳව නිශ්චිතවම අර්ථකතනයක් දිය නොහැකිය. රැඩිකල්කරණය යනු පුද්ගලයින් ආයතනික වෙනස්කම් සිදු කිරීමට පෙළඹීම යි යන්න දළ වශයෙන් අර්ථකථනය කල හැකිය (Mccormack, 1950).

තරුණයන් සමාජ ව්‍යාපාරවල උද්‍යෝගිමත් හා ක්‍රියාකාරී වීම සඳහා බලපාන හේතු කිහිපයකි. ඉන් එක් හේතුවක් වන්නේ දෘෂ්ටිවාදාත්මක හා අභිප්‍රේරණය (Ideological or Motivational) යන්නයි. යෞවනයන් යථාර්ථය ගැන ලෝකය හා අනාගතය පිළිබඳව දැඩි උනන්දුවක් දක්වන පිරිසකි. යෞවනයන්ට ප්‍රබල අභිමතාර්ථ ඇති අතර කැරලි ගැසීමට කැමැත්තෙන් සිටිති. (Murer,2011).

විශ්ව විද්‍යාලවල තරුණ පිරිස් විශ්ව විවේචනාත්මක හා සමාජ විවේචනාත්මක අදහස් වලට නිරාවරණය වන තරුණ පිරිස් සිටිති. ඔවුන් සමාජ දේශපාලන හා ආර්ථික ගැටලු විශ්ලේෂණය කිරීමට හා ඒවා හඳුනා ගැනීමට හැකියාව ලබ දෙන අතර අවධිමත් හා විධිමත් ශිෂ්‍ය සංවිධාන ඒවාට ඉඩ සලසනු ලබන රාමුවක් සපයනු ලබයි. (Crossley, 2008).

විශ්ව විද්‍යාල සිසුන් සිය අරමුණු වෙනුවෙන් දේශපාලන ක්‍රියාමාර්ග වලට එළඹෙන අතර ඒ සඳහා විවිධ හේතු සහ සාධක බලපෑ හැකිය . ඒවා පොදු හෝ පෞද්ගලික අරමුණු මත ගොඩනැගුනු ඒවා විය හැකිය. අරමුණෙහි ස්වභාවය කෙසේ වුවද එය ඔවුන් විසින් සමූහයක පොදු අරමුණක් ලෙස නිරූපනය කෙරේ. එනම් මෙම ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලනික ක්‍රියාමාර්ග සිසුන් සමූහයක එකතුවක් ලෙස සාමූහික ක්‍රියාවලියක් ලෙස ක්‍රියාවෙහි යෙදේ.

රැඩිකල් ආකල්පවල ප්‍රතිඵලයක් ලෙස රැඩිකල්වාදී ක්‍රියාකලාපයන් ඇතිවේ. ශිෂ්‍යන්ගේ හා ඔවුන්ගේ සමාජවල පවත්නා ගැටලු හේතුවෙන් ඔවුන් මෙලෙස රැඩිකල්කරණය වන බව වැඩිදුර කියවීමේදී පැහැදිලි වන කරුණක් වේ. තරුණ පරපුර නිරන්තරයෙන්ම තාර්කිකව සිතීමට පෙළඹෙන අතර එය ඔවුන්ට අධ්‍යාපන රටාව මගින් ලැබෙන දෙයකි. මෙලෙස ඔවුන්ට අධ්‍යාපනය මගින් ලැබෙන තාර්කික ඥානය රැඩිකල්කරණය කෙරෙහි මග පාදයි.

කොළඹ විශ්වවිද්‍යාලයේ සමාජ විද්‍යාංශයේ ආචාර්යවරයකු වූ ආචාර්ය එස්. ටී. හෙට්ටිගේ මහතාට අනුව තරුණයා යනු ආවේගශීලී කොටසක් ය යන ගතානුගතික මතයේ සමාජය එළඹ සිටිනවා මිස, ඔවුන්ගේ ගැටලු දෙස නිවැරදි ආකාරයෙන් බලන්නට, ඔවුන්ගේ අනාගත සුරක්ෂිත භාවය ආරක්ෂා කරන්නට සුදුසු කිසිදු ප්‍රතිපත්තිමය තීන්දු තීරණවලට නොඑළඹේ. තම ආවේගයන් පාලනය කළ නොහැකි ස්ථාවරයට පැමිණ තරුණ ද පුතුන් කිසිදු අනුකම්පාවකින් තොරව රාජ්‍ය බලය යොදා මර්දනය කරති. එකී මර්දනය සාධාරණීකරනය කිරීම සඳහා විවිධ හේතු සාධක ඉදිරිපත් කරමින් පවු සෝදා හරිති. තම සංස්කෘතියෙන් සහ සමාජ පරිසරයෙන් උරුම වී ඇති අභිලාශයන් මුදුන්පත් කර ගැනීමට නොහැකි වන විට පුද්ගලයකු තුල යම් පීඩාකාරී තත්ත්වයක් නොහොත් ඉච්ඡා භංගත්වයක් (Frustration) ඇති වෙයි. එහෙයින් ඔහු ඊට එරෙහි ව ප්‍රතිචාර දක්වයි. මෙම ප්‍රතිචාර ආකාර කිහිපයකි. ඉන් එකක් නම් ඔහු සමාජයෙන් වියුක්තව හුදෙකලා (පරාරෝපණය) වීම යි. යට කී නොසන්සුන් භාවය නිසා හටගන්නා ප්‍රවණ්ඩත්වය සමහරෙක් තම

කෙරෙහි (සිය දිවි හානි කර ගැනිම පිළිබඳ පවතින සංඛ්‍යානමය දත්තවල පෙන්වන අන්දමට) යොමු කරන අතර සමහරෙක් විය සමාජය කෙරෙහි යොමු කරයි. ප්‍රචණ්ඩත්වයට ආදාළ මනෝවිද්‍යාත්මක පසුබිම එබඳු ය. පුද්ගලයන් වශයෙන් තනි තනිව ම දක්වන මෙම ප්‍රතිචාරය සාමූහික වශයෙන් ද ප්‍රකාශ විය හැකි ය. එහි දි පුද්ගලික අභිමතාර්ථවලට වඩා තම අයත් සමූහයේ නොහොත් කණ්ඩායමේ අභිමතාර්ථ බලපවත්වයි. වර්තමාන ලාංකීය සමාජයේ ඇතැම් තරුණ කණ්ඩායම් අතර මෙබඳු ස්වභාවයක් දක්නට ලැබෙයි. එහෙත් මෙම විරෝධය තරුණ අයගෙන් වැඩිහිටි අයට එල්ල වන විරෝධයක් හෝ වෙනත් එබඳු වයස් මට්ටමකට අනුව දක්වන විරෝධයක් නොවේ.

1960 දශකයෙන් පසුව මෙරට ඇති වූ තරුණ ගැටලු බොහොමයක් තරුණ අසහනය පදනම් කරගනිමින් නිර්මාණය වූ ඒවාය. තරුණ කොටසේ ප්‍රමාණාත්මක බව ඉහළ යාමත්, ඒ හා සමඟාමීව අධ්‍යාපන ක්ෂේත්‍රයේ ඇති කරන ලද ප්‍රතිපත්තිමය වෙනස්කම් හේතුවෙන් ඉහළ අධ්‍යාපනය ලැබුවන්ගේ ප්‍රමාණය ඉහළ යෑමත් මෙම කාල සීමාවේ දැකිය හැකි මූලික ලක්ෂණයක් විය. නමුත් 1977න් පසු ආර්ථික වශයෙන් ඇතිකරන ලද නිදහස් ප්‍රතිපත්ති, ආර්ථික ව්‍යුහය තුළ දැකිය හැකි වූ වෙනස් කම් හේතුවෙන්, ගුණාත්මක වශයෙන් ඉහළ මට්ටමක සිටි සියලු තරුණ ප්‍රජාවම රටේ ආර්ථික ක්‍රියාවලියට උරා ගැනීමේ දුෂ්කරතාව මතු කරන ලදි. අනෙක් අතට දැඩි අනුග්‍රාහක දේශපාලනය හේතුවෙන් සේවා නියුක්ති ඉඩ ප්‍රස්ථාවන්ට ප්‍රවිෂ්ට වීමේ දුෂ්කරතාවද මතු කළ අතර, බොහොමයක් තරුණයින් දේශපාලන ක්‍රියාවලියෙන් පරිබාහිර වී සිටියහ. මේ අතර තරුණයින්ට සුවිශේෂී වූ ගැටලු සම්බන්ධයෙන් වූ ප්‍රතිපත්ති සඳහා තීරණ ගැනීමේ ක්‍රියාවලියට දායක වීමට තිබූ ඉඩ ප්‍රස්ථාවන් ද සුලභ නොවීය. මෙම හේතු නිසා තරුණයින් අතර ඇති වූ අසහනය දේශපාලනික වශයෙන් ප්‍රකාශයට පත් වූයේ ප්‍රජාතාන්ත්‍රික ක්‍රමවේදයක් මඟින් නොව රැඩිකල් දේශපාලනික මුහුණුවර මඟිනි. 1971 සහ 1988/89 කාලසීමා තුළ මෙරට ඇති වූ තරුණ දේශපාලන අරගල සහ උතුරේ දමිළ තරුණයින් ඇති කරනු ලැබූ ඇතැම් ව්‍යාපාරවලින් අප තේරුම් ගත යුත්තේ දේශපාලනික ක්‍රියාවලිය තුළ, විශේෂයෙන් ප්‍රතිපත්ති තීරණ ගැනීමේ සහ ක්‍රියාවට නැගීමේදී තරුණයින් සක්‍රිය අන්දමින් සහභාගී කරවා ගත හැකි සුසමාදර්ශයක් පිළිබඳව අප වර්තමානයේ අවධානය යොමු කළ යුතු බවයි.

හිටපු ජනාධිපති ජේ. ආර්. ජයවර්ධන මහතා 1971 මාර්තු 10 වන දින කොළඹ නවනගර ශාලාවේදි ගැමි

තරුණ සම්මේලනය අමතමින් කියා සිටියේ තරුණයින් බලකාමී දේශපාලනයට රුචි නොවන අතර ඔවුන්ට සුවිශේෂී ගැටලු විසඳා ගැනීම දේශපාලනික වශයෙන් බලාපොරොත්තු වන බැවින් ඒ සඳහා ඉඩ ප්‍රස්ථාව සැලසීමත්, ජාතිය ගොඩ නැංවීමේ කර්තව්‍යයට තරුණයන්ට සහභාගී වීමට ඇති ඉඩ ප්‍රස්ථා පුළුල් කළ යුතු බවත්ය. එසේ කළ යුත්තේ පවතින දේශපාලන යාන්ත්‍රණය තුළ ඔවුන්ගේ ගැටලු විසඳා ගැනීමට ඇති ඉඩ ප්‍රස්ථා අහිමි වීමෙන් ඊට පරිබාහිරව එම ප්‍රශ්න විසඳා ගැනීම සඳහා මාර්ග ඔවුන් විසින්ම සොයා ගැනීමට ඇති ඉඩ කඩ පිළිබඳ අවධානම අවම කිරීම උදෙසාත්ය යන්න ද අවධාරණය කෙරුණි. මෙම සාකච්ඡාවෙහි වැදගත් වන්නේ තරුණ ප්‍රජාව ජාතිය ගොඩ නැංවීමේ ක්‍රියාවලියට සම්බන්ධ කරගැනීම සහ ඔවුන්ට සුවිශේෂී ගැටලු සම්බන්ධයෙන් කතිකාවකට දේශපාලන ඉඩ ප්‍රස්ථා සැලසීමත් යන සංරචකයන් වර්තමානයේ තාරුණ්‍යය හා සම්බන්ධ මූලික අවශ්‍යතාවක් වී පවතින බැවිණි.

> ජර්මනියේ විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයන්හි රැඩිකල්කරණය කෙරෙහි නැඹුරු වූ සිසුන් අඩු වීමට හේතු ගණනාවක් බලපා ඇත. අධ්‍යාපනික තීරණ ගැනීම් සඳහා සහභාගී වීම, සිසුන් සංඛ්‍යාවේ විශාල වෙනස්කම් ඇතිවීම, ශ්‍රම වෙළඳපොල ප්‍රශ්න යනාදියයි. වර්තමානය වන විට විශ්ව විද්‍යාල තුළ දේශපාලන වශයෙන් ක්‍රියාකාරී සිසුන් ඇත්තේ සුළුතරයකි. **(Webler, 1980)**

කොළඹ විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයේ මහාචාර්ය සිරි හෙට්ටිගේ මහතා විසින් වත්මන් ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ මූලික අධ්‍යාපනය අවසන් කළ තරුණ කොටස් ඇසුරින් පර්යේෂණයක් සිදු කරන ලදි. එම පර්යේෂණය තුළින් අනාවරණය වී ඇත්තේ තරුණ තරුණියන්ගෙන් වැඩි දෙනෙකු රට තුළ පවතින තත්ත්වය ගැන කළකිරී විදේශගත වීමේ අපේක්ෂාවෙන් පසුවන බවයි. 1989 දකුණේ තරුණ අරගලවලින් පසු පත්කළ තරුණ අසහන කොමිසම මෙන්ම උතුරු නැගෙනහිර අර්බුදයට විසඳුම් නිර්දේශ කිරීමට 2010 වසරේ පත්කළ උගත් පාඩම් හා ප්‍රති සංධානය සඳහා වූ කොමිසම යන ආයතනවල විද්වත් නිර්දේශ මඟින් ද අනාගත පරපුර හෝ මෙවැනි අවසනවන්ත තත්ත්වයට පත් නොකිරීමේ වගකීම රටේ අධ්‍යාපනයට පැවරෙන බව පෙන්වා දී තිබේ. අධ්‍යාපනය තුළින් සමාජ විෂමතා ඉවත් කළ යුතු බවත් අධ්‍යාපනය සඳහා ඇති ඉඩ ප්‍රස්ථා වර්ධනය කළ යුතු බවත් නිර්දේශ කර තිබේ.

උගත්කම දිලින්දාට සම්පතකි. ධනවතාට ගෞරවයකි. තරුණයාට ආධාරකයකි. මහල්ලාට සැනසීමකි. රටක සංවර්ධනයට ද මෙවලමක් වෙයි. සෙසු ඕනෑම දෙයකින් අතපසු වීම අධ්‍යාපනය මගින් නිවැරදි කළ හැකිය. නමුත් අධ්‍යාපනය තුළින් අත්හදාබලමින් සිදු කරන අත්වැරදීම් නැවතත් නිවැරදි කළ නොහැක. එහෙයින් රජයන්, ඇමතිවරුන්, නිලධාරීන් වෙනස් වනවාත් සමගම පැලැස්තරවාදී ප්‍රතිපත්ති ද වෙනස් කිරීමේ සම්ප්‍රදායෙන් බැහැරව ජාතික ප්‍රතිපත්ති මත පිහිටා අධ්‍යාපනය හැසිරවිය යුතු වේ.

සමාජ විද්‍යා ආචාර්ය එම්. එම් සෙනෙවිරත්න මහතා දක්වන අදහස්වලට අනුව විශ්වවිද්‍යාල ප්‍රජාව සෑමවිටම පෞද්ගලික විශ්ව විද්‍යාල හරහා නිදහස් අධ්‍යාපනය වැළලී යන බවත් ඒවා තුළින් බිහිවන උපාධිධාරීන් ගුණාත්මක බැවින් අඩු බවත් පෙන්වා දෙමින් ඒවා වසා දැමිය යුතු බව පවසයි. එහෙත් රජයේ විශ්ව විද්‍යාලවලට පමණක් රටේ උසස් අධ්‍යාපන අවස්ථා සපුරාලිය නොහැකි නිසා ඒවා වසා දමනවාට වඩා ඒවායේ ගුණාත්මක බව වැඩි දියුණු කිරීමට බලපෑම් කිරීම සුදුසු බව එම පාර්ශව වටහා ගත යුතුය. පාසල් අධ්‍යාපනය අවසන් කරන සුළු පිරිසකට උපාධියක් ලබා ගැනීමට අවස්ථාව සලසා දීම පමණක් විශ්ව විද්‍යාල සතු වගකීමක් නොවේ. ලෝකයේ විශ්ව විද්‍යාල මිනුම් කරන මිනුම් දඬු සමහරක් වන්නේ ලබා දෙන අධ්‍යාපනයේ ගුණාත්මකභාවය (Quality of Education), පර්යේෂණ එළි දක්වන ප්‍රමාණය (Research Output), ශාස්ත්‍රීය කීර්තිනාමය (Academic Prestige) ආදිය යි. එහෙත් අප වැඩි අවධානයක් යොමු කරන්නේ උපාධියේ ගුණාත්මකභාවය කෙරෙහි පමණය. ඒ වෙනුවෙන් විවිධ ක්‍රියාමාර්ග හා යෝජනා ඉදිරිපත්වන නමුත් රජය සහ මැති ඇමතිවරුන් නිලධාරීන් මාරුවන අවස්ථා අනුව විශ්ව විද්‍යාල නවීකරණ වැඩසටහන් ද වෙනස් වේ.

ලෝකයේ වෙනත් රටවල්වලට සාපේක්ෂව ගතහොත් අප රට ඉතා කුඩා දිවයිනකි. එහෙත් බ්‍රිතාන්‍ය යටත් විජිත යුගයෙන් අනතුරුව වුව ද උතුරේ සහ දකුණේ තරුණ කොටස් විටින් විට සිය අයිතිවාසිකම් ඉල්ලා සිටන වැදුණු සටන් බිමක් ලෙස මෙම දිවයින ඉතිහාස ගතව ඇත. පාලකයන් දකුණේ ද උතුරේ ද පැවති ඒ අරගල ලෙයින් යකඩින් මර්දනය කළෝ ය. අනතුරුව ඊනියා පුනරුත්ථාපනයක් හඳුන්වා දී රටේ

තරුණ කොටස් තව තවත් රැවටීමට ලක් කළෝ ය. අද්‍යතනයේ ද එකී රැවටීම ඒ ආකාරයෙන් ම පවත්වාගෙන යමින් සිටිති. එහෙත් ඊනියා නිදහසින් පසු බිහි වු කිසිදු පාලක පක්ෂයක් රටේ උගුව පවත්නා තරුණ අසහනය කෙරෙහි අවධානය යොමු නොකරති.

විශ්ව විද්‍යාල අධ්‍යාපනය සමග එකට බද්ධ වී යන ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලනය පිළිබඳව සමාජයේ විවිධ අදහස් තිබිය හැකිය. ඇතැමුන් ඒ පිළිබඳව ප්‍රශංසා මුඛයෙන් කතා කරද්දී තව අය විරුද්ධව අදහස් පළකරති. බොහෝවිට විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයට ප්‍රවේශ වන ශිෂ්‍යයන් එහි ගත කරන වසර කිහිපයේදී අරගලවල යෙදුනද ඉන් බහුතරයක් දෙනා විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයෙන් නික්ම ගිය පසුව දේශපාලනය අත්හරිති. ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලනයේදී උසස් අධ්‍යාපන අමාත්‍යාංශය, විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ප්‍රතිපාදන කොමිෂන් සභාව ප්‍රධාන සතුරු මධ්‍යස්ථාන ලෙස සිසුහු සලකති. මෙම ස්ථාන ඇතුළව පැවති සහ පවතින ආණ්ඩුවලට එරෙහිව පසුගිය කාලය පුරාම විශ්වවිද්‍යාල සිසුන් විසින් ගෙන ගිය උද්ඝෝෂණ, විරෝධතා පා ගමන්, පන්ති වර්ජන ඇතුළ ක්‍රියාකාරකම් සඳහා නායකත්වය දුන්නේ අන්තර් විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ශිෂ්‍ය බල මණ්ඩලයයි. විදා සිට මේ දක්වා එම සංවිධානයේ සිටි නායකයන් ශිෂ්‍යයන් මෙහෙයවා ජයග්‍රහණ ලබාග න්නා අතරතුරදී සිරගතවීම් වලටද මුහුණ දීමට සිදුව තිබුණි. එය ඔවුන්ගේ අස්වැන්නේ කොටස් බව එම ශිෂ්‍ය නායකයෝ විශ්වාස කළහ.

පර්යේෂණ ක්‍රමවේදය

පර්යේෂණ ප්‍රවේශය

මෙම අධ්‍යයනය විශේෂයෙන්ම සිද්ධි අධ්‍යයන ක්‍රමය ආශ්‍රයෙන් සිදු කරන අතර, මෙහිදී මෙම සිදුවීම් සම්බන්ධයෙන් වාර්තා වී ඇති ද්විතීයික දත්ත මූලාශ්‍ර ඇසුරින් මෙම අධ්‍යයනය සිදු කර ඇත. මෙහිදී වැඩි වශයෙන්ම ගුණාත්මක දත්ත යොදාගෙන ඇති අතර, ප්‍රමාණාත්මක දත්ත කිහිපයක්ද අඩංගු වේ. හවුසර්, (2011) ට අනුව ගුණාත්මක දත්ත භාවිතයෙන් වඩා ගැඹුරින් අධ්‍යයන ක්ෂේත්‍රයේ තොරතුරු ලබාගත හැකිවන අතර විචල්‍යයන්හි සම්බන්ධතාව පිළිබඳ මනා අවබෝධයක් ලබාගත හැකිය. මෙම අධ්‍යයනයේදී සලකා බලනුයේ රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාර සහ රටේ ආර්ථිකය, සමාජය සහ දේශපාලනික යන ක්ෂේත්‍රයන්ට එම රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාර බලපානුයේ කෙසේද, ඒවා අතර ඇති සම්බන්ධය කුමනාකාරද යන්න සොයා බැලීමයි.

ඉලක්කගත ප්‍රජාව.

මෙම අධ්‍යයනය විශේෂයෙන්ම ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ තරුණ ප්‍රජාව ඉලක්ක කරගනිමින් සිදු කරනු ලබන අධ්‍යයනයකි. ඒයට හේතුව වනුයේ තරුණ්‍යය සහ තාරුණ්‍යය නිසැකයෙන්ම ආවේගශීලී, රැඩිකල්මතවාදී සහ තම ආධිපත්‍යය පැතිරවීමට බෙහෙවින් ප්‍රිය කරන කොටිඨාශයක් නිසාය. එමෙන්ම ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ රැඩිකල් ක්‍රියාකාරකම් පිළිබඳ ලියවී ඇති ඉතිහාසය ගත් කල එය වැඩි නැඹුරුවක් දක්වනුයේ තරුණ ප්‍රජාව වෙතටය. එමනිසා මෙම අධ්‍යයනය තරුණයන් කේන්ද්‍ර කරගෙන සිදුකරනු ලබයි. සිද්ධි අධ්‍යයනයේදී විශේෂයෙන්ම විශ්ව විද්‍යාල සිසුන් අධ්‍යයනයට යොදාගනු ලබයි. විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ශිෂ්‍යයා ස්වභාවයෙන්ම රැඩිකල්වාදී ක්‍රියාකාරකම් සඳහා පෙළඹෙන ප්‍රතිශතය ඉහළය. සිද්ධි අධ්‍යයනයට නිමිති වන සයිටම් අර්බුදයේදීද එය එලෙස විය. එම නිසා මෙහිදී තරුණ ප්‍රජාව නියෝජනය කරමින් විශ්ව විද්‍යාල තරුණ ප්‍රජාව පිළිබඳ අධ්‍යයනය කරයි.

දත්ත එක්රැස් කිරීම සහ පර්යේෂණ ක්‍රියාවලිය

මෙය සිද්ධි අධ්‍යයනයක් ඇසුරින් සිදු කරනු ලබන අධ්‍යයනයක් වන අතර සාහිත්‍ය විමර්ශනයක් ලෙසින් සිදු කරනු ලබයි. මෙහිදී ප්‍රමාණාත්මක (Quantitative Data) දත්ත හා ගුණාත්මක දත්ත (Qualitative Data) යොදාගන්නා අතර ද්විතීයික මුලාශ්‍ර මේ සඳහා විශේෂයෙන්ම යොදා ගනී.

උදාහරණයක් ලෙස,

• සේවා වියුක්තිය - මහ බැංකු වාර්තාව • විදේශ ආයෝජන- මහ බැංකු වාර්තාව • රැඩිකල්වාදී උද්ඝෝෂණ ව්‍යාපාරවල දත්ත- පුවත්පත් සහ ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාර විසින් නිකුත් කරන ලද පොත්, සඟරා, අත් පත්‍රිකා සහ සමාජ මාධ්‍ය. • උද්ඝෝෂණ සඳහා වැය වන අමතර වියදම්.- ප්‍රජා පොලිස් ඒකකය	ප්‍රමාණාත්මක දත්ත

• ශ්‍රම බලකාය - ජන හා සංඛ්‍යාලේඛන දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවේ • රැඩිකල්වාදී උද්ඝෝෂණ ව්‍යාපාරවල දත්ත* පුවත්පත් සහ ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාර විසින් නිකුත් කරන ලද පොත්, සඟරා සහ අත් පත්‍රිකා • බුද්ධි ගලනය- ආගමන හා විගමන දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව/ පර්යේෂණ වාර්තා • ආර්ථික ප්‍රතිපත්ති පිළිබඳ කරුණු, දේශපාලනික කරුණු - පනත්, ග්‍රන්ථ සහ හැන්සාඩ් වාර්තා. • මුද්‍රිත සම්මුඛ සාකච්ඡා හරහා ලබා ගන්නා දත්ත	ගුණාත්මක දත්ත

මේ සඳහා ද්විතීයික මුලාශ්‍ර භාවිතා කිරීමට ප්‍රධාන හේතුව ලෙස අධ්‍යයනයේ නිරවද්‍යතාවය සහ ගුණාත්මකභාවය ආරක්ෂාකර ගැනීම දැක්විය හැකිය. එමෙන්ම මෙම අධ්‍යයනය සඳහා පවතින කෙටි කාලසීමාවේදි උපරිම වශයෙන් ප්‍රතිඵල ලබාගැනීමටත් නිශ්චිත වශයෙන් සංඛ්‍යාත්මක අගයන් ලබා ගැනීමටත් ද්විතීයික මුලාශ්‍ර උපකාරී විය. එමෙන්ම මෙම දත්ත ලබාගැනීමට වැයවන ශ්‍රමය ප්‍රාථමික දත්ත මුලාශ්‍ර වලට වඩා අඩුය. මෙම දත්ත ලබාගැනීමට මුලික වශයෙන්ම මහබැංකු වාර්තා සහ ජන හා සංඛ්‍යාලේඛන දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවේ දත්ත මුලාශ්‍ර භාවිතා කරන ලදි.

තවද ද්විතීයික දත්ත ලබාගැනීමට ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ආර්ථිකය සහ දේශපාලනය හා සම්බන්ධව ලියවුනු විවිධ ග්‍රන්ථ පරිශීලනය කරන ලදි. මෙමගින් අප ලබාගන්න ලද ද්විතීයික දත්තයන්හි නිරවද්‍යතාවය තහවුරු කරගැනීමටත් ඒවායේ සවිස්තරාත්මක තොරතුරු පිළිබඳ අවබෝධයක් ලබා ගැනීමත් මෙමගින් අපේක්ෂා කෙරිණි. මෙහිදී පුවත්පත් වාර්තා භාවිත කරයි. එහි නිරවද්‍යතාවය පිළිබඳ ගැටලු ඇතිවීම වැලැක්වීමට එකම සිදුවීම සම්බන්ධ පුවත්පත් වාර්තා 2ක් හෝ 2ට වැඩි ප්‍රමාණයක් ලබාගෙන සංසන්දනය කර නිවැරදිම තොරතුර ලබා ගැනීම අපේක්ෂාව විය.

දත්ත විශ්ලේෂණය

ද්විතීයික මුලාශ්‍ර ඇසුරෙන් ලබාගන්නා ලද දත්ත එකතු කර අපගේ පර්යේෂණ ප්‍රශ්න වලට පිළිතුරු ලැබෙන ආකාරයෙන් පෙළ ගස්වා අධ්‍යයනය කරන ලදි. මෙම

අධ්‍යයනය සාහිත්‍ය විමර්ශනයක් වන බැවින් ද්විතීයික දත්ත ඇසුරෙන් ලබාගත් දත්ත සහ අනෙකුත් කරුණු කාරනා සලකා බලා සිද්ධි අධ්‍යයනය විශ්ලේෂණය කිරීම පහසු විය.

රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලන ව්‍යාපාර පිළිබඳ ප්‍රවේශයක්

ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලනය යන සංකල්පය 19 වන සියවස පමණ ඈත අතීතයට විහිද යයි. ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලනය පිළිබඳ නිශ්චිත නිර්වචනයක් සඳහන් කල නොහැකිය. බොහෝ විට ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලනය සමග මහා සමාජයේ දේශපාලනය බැඳී පවතී. රැඩිකල්කරණය යනු කුමක්ද යන්න පිළිබඳව නිශ්චිතවම අර්ථකථනයක් දිය නොහැකිය. Thelma Herman Mccormack[36] ට අනුව රැඩිකල්කරණය යනු පුද්ගලයින් ආයතනික වෙනස්කම් සිදු කිරීමට පෙළඹීම යි. (Mccormack, 1950)

රැඩිකල් ආකල්පවල ප්‍රතිඵලයක් ලෙස රැඩිකල්වාදී ක්‍රියාකලාපයන් ඇතිවේ. ශිෂ්‍යන්ගේ හා ඔවුන්ගේ සමාජවල පවත්නා ගැටලු හේතුවෙන් ඔවුන් මෙලෙස රැඩිකල්කරණය වන බව වැඩිදුර කියවීමේදී පැහැදිලි වන කරුණක් වේ. තරුණ පරපුර නිරන්තරයෙන්ම තාර්කිකව සිතීමට පෙළඹෙන අතර එය ඔවුන්ට අධ්‍යාපන රටාව මගින් ලැබෙන දෙයකි. මෙලෙස ඔවුන්ට අධ්‍යාපනය මගින් ලැබෙන තාර්කික ඥානය රැඩිකල්කරණය කෙරෙහි මග පාදයි. සිසුන්ගේ කාර්යභාරිය හා රටක පුරවැසියන්ගේ කාර්යභාරය වෙන්කළ දැක්වීමට නොහැක. රටේ පුරවැසියන් ලෙස අනාගතය බාර ගනු ලබන්නේ තරුණ පරපුර යි. ජාතික දේශපාලන ක්‍රියාදාමයේ කොටසක් ලෙස ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලනය ද දැක්විය හැකිය.

> රැඩිකල් සිසුන් බිහිවන්නේ ඉහළ හා මධ්‍යම පාන්තික පවුල් වලිනි. ඔවුන් සමාජ විද්‍යාවන් ඉගෙනගැනීම කෙරෙහි වැඩි නැඹුරුවක් දක්වයි. ලෝක මට්ටමින් ගත්කල ස්කැන්ඩිනේවියානු රටවල් වල සමාජ විද්‍යාව ඉගෙන ගනු ලබන සිසුන් අනෙක් ක්ෂේත්‍රයන්හි සිසුන්ට වඩා රැඩිකල් අදහස්වලින් යුක්ත වේ. ශිෂ්‍ය රැඩිකල්කරණයේ අඩු වැඩි වීම කෙරෙහි ජනමාධ්‍ය මගින් ඉතා වැදගත් කාර්යභාරයක් ඉටු කරයි.

> ශිෂ්‍ය ක්‍රියාකලාපයන් අඩු වීමට හේතු ලෙස සමාජ විද්‍යාවන් කෙරෙහි පවතින ජනප්‍රියතාවය අඩුවීම, ජනමාධ්‍ය කෙරෙහි අවධානය අඩුවීම, දේශපාලන වාතාවරණය වෙනස් විම යනාදිය දැක්විය හැකිය. (Wilson yd Levine) ට අනුව ශිෂ්‍ය ක්‍රියාකාරීවීම් වල අඩුවීමක් සිදු නොවී ඇති අතර සිදුව ඇත්තේ එහි ස්වරූපය වෙනස් විම පමණකි. (Arthur Levine and Keith R. Wilson, 1979)

විශ්වීය වශයෙන් තරුණ පරපුර මුහුණපාන ගැටලු ලෙස තමන් හදාරන උපාධි පාඨමාලා සඳහා ලැබිය යුතු වටිනාකම නොලැබීම, උගත් දැනුමට සරිලන රැකියා අවස්ථා රැකියා වෙළඳපොල තුල සම්පාදනය නොවීම, සේවා වියුක්තිය, උණ සේවා නියුක්තිය යනාදිය දැක්විය හැකිය. මේ නිසා තරුණයන් රැඩිකල්වාදී හා විප්ලවකාරී ක්‍රියාකාරකම්වලට පෙළඹේ. කෙසේ වුවද වර්තමානය වන විට තරුණ ප්‍රජාව තුල රැඩිකල්කරණය කෙරෙහි වූ උනන්දුවේහි පසුබෑමක් දැකගත හැකිය. එය ඉතිහාසය සමග සසඳන විට පැහැදිලි අඩු වීමක් ලෙස හඳුනාගත හැකිය. ඒ සඳහා පවතින සමාජ, දේශපාලන සහ ආර්ථික රටාවෙහි ස්වභාවය සෘජුවම බලපායි.

ජර්මනියේ Wolfe Dietrich Webler[37] ට අනුව විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයන්හි රැඩිකල්කරණය කෙරෙහි නැඹුරු වූ සිසුන් අඩු වීමට හේතු ගණනාවක් බලපා ඇත. අධ්‍යාපනික තීරණ ගැනීම් සඳහා සහභාගී වීම, සිසුන් සංඛ්‍යාවේ විශාල වෙනස්කම් ඇතිවීම, ශ්‍රම වෙළඳපොල ප්‍රශ්න යනාදියයි. වර්තමානය වන විට විශ්ව විද්‍යාල තුල දේශපාලන වශයෙන් ක්‍රියාකාරී සිසුන් ඇත්තේ සුළුතරයකි. (Webler, 1980)

විශ්වවිද්‍යාල සිසුන් රැඩිකල්කරණය වීම රටක සමාජ ආර්ථික තත්ත්වයන්හි ප්‍රතිඵලයකි. ශිෂ්‍ය සංගම් ඔවුන්ගේ සාමාජිකයන් රැඩිකල්කරණය කෙරෙහි නැඹුරු කිරීම උදෙසා විශාල කාර්යභාරයක් ඉටු කරයි. ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලනය කිසිම සමාජ සංස්ථාවක ප්‍රතික්ෂේප කළ හැකි දෙයක් නොවේ. සෑම සමාජ සංස්ථාවකම එය කුමන පාලන විධික්‍රමයට යටත් වුවද ඊට අදාල ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලනයක් තිබුණි. විශේෂම සමාජය, වැරදි (සාමාන්‍යය ජනතාව පීඩාවට පත් කරන) දේශපාලන ප්‍රවාහයක ගමන් කරන විට, ඒ සඳහා මුල්ම කතිකාව

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36 Thelma Herman McCormack is an urbane and publicly engaged communication scholar and feminist who has rarely been recognized as the creative and pioneering figure she is.

37 Wolff-Dietrich Webler (born April 28, 1940 in Berlin) is a German sociologist and historian (focus on science and education research from the micro level of teaching, learning and knowledge processes to the macro level of international system comparisons) and publisher (UniversitätsVerlagWebler in Bielefeld).

ඇතිවන්නේ ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලනය තුළය. ඔවුන් සිය ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලන ප්‍රවාහය තුළදි තම රැඩිකල්වාදි අදහස් ක්‍රියාවට නංවන ආකාරයන් විවිධ වේ. ඒවා අතර උද්ඝෝෂණ පැවැත්වීම්, පෙළපාලි යෑම්, පන්ති වර්ජනයන්, කළු පටි ව්‍යාපාර, අට්ටාල, සටන් පාඨ ඔස්සේ සිය පෙරළිකාර අදහස් ඉදිරිපත් කිරීම් ආදිය දැක ගත හැකිය. මෙම කරුණු ඔස්සේ යම් ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරයක ස්වභාවය එනම් ඔවුන්ගේ රැඩිකල්වාදි ස්වභාවය පිළිබඳව අපට යම් යම් නිගමනයන්ට එළඹීය හැකිවේ.

'පෙඩගොජි ඔෆ් ද ඔප්‍රෙස්ඩ්' (Pedagogy of the Oppressed) නමැති කෘතිය රචනා කළ ප්‍රකට බ්‍රසීල අධ්‍යාපනඥයෙකු වූ පවුලෝ ෆ්‍රෙයෙරේ (Paulo Freire) සඳහන් කළ මූලික කාරණයක් නම් සංවාද සඳහා ව්‍යුහය ඉඩ නොදෙන්නේ නම් වෙනස් කළ යුත්තේ ව්‍යුහය, යන්න ය. (ඉලංගමුව, 2016)

රැඩිකල් ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරයන් වෙත සිසුන් යොමු වන්නේ ඇයි?

විශ්ව විද්‍යාල සිසුන් සිය අරමුණු වෙනුවෙන් දේශපාලන ක්‍රියාමාර්ග වලට එළඹෙන අතර ඒ සඳහා විවිධ හේතු සහ සාධක බලපෑ හැකිය. ඒවා පොදු හෝ පෞද්ගලික අරමුණු මත ගොඩනැගුනු ඒවා විය හැකිය. අරමුණෙහි ස්වභාවය කෙසේ වුවද එය ඔවුන් විසින් සමූහයක පොදු අරමුණක් ලෙස නිරූපණය කෙරේ. එනම් මෙම ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලනික ක්‍රියාමාර්ග සිසුන් සමූහයක එකතුවක් ලෙස සාමූහික ක්‍රියාවලියක් ලෙස ක්‍රියාවෙහි යෙදේ. ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලනික ව්‍යාපාර බොහෝවිට දැඩි අනම්‍ය සුළු ස්වභාවයක් ගනු ලබන අතර පවත්නා තත්ත්වයන්ගේ වෙනස්කම් සිදු කිරීමේ දැඩි උවමනාවකින් යුක්තව කටයුතු කරන ආකාරයක් දැකගත හැකිය.

ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාර අනම්‍ය සුළු ස්වභාවයක් ගැනීමට හේතු ලෙස ශිෂ්‍යයන් තුළ පවතින දැඩි මතවාදිමය ස්වභාවය, බාහිරින් ඇතිවන පෙළඹවීම්, න්‍යායාත්මක පසුබිම, ගැටලු සඳහා විකල්ප අදහස් මතු නොවීම, විශ්ව විද්‍යාල තුළ වාමාංශික වීමේ ප්‍රවණතාවය, ගෝලීය අත්දැකීම්, මහා සමාජය තුළ පවතින සමාජ, ආර්ථික සහ දේශපාලනික ගැටලු උත්සන්න වීම, බලයේ පවතින දේශපාලන පක්ෂ ඇතුළු හේතු ගණනාවක් පවතී.

ඉහත සඳහන් කළ රැඩිකල්වාදි ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාර පිළිබඳ සංසිද්ධීන් සඳහා දායක වන සාධක කොටස් දෙකකි, එනම්, එය බාහිර හා අභ්‍යන්තර සාධක, ලෙස හඳුනාගත හැකිය. බාහිර සාධක අතරට අධ්‍යාපනය

හා උසස් අධ්‍යාපනය පාලනය කර ඇති සමාජ ප්‍රතිපත්ති මගින් ප්‍රධාන කාර්යභාරයක් ඉටු කර ඇති අතර, 1960 දශකයේ ශිෂ්‍යයන්ගේ සමාජ පසුබිමෙහි දැවැන්ත වෙනසක් ඇති කිරීමට දායක වී තිබේ. (Samaranayake, Gamini, 2013)

ගවේෂණාත්මක මාධ්‍යවේදි ධර්මන් වික්‍රමරත්න මහතා විසින් ජ.වි.පෙ දෙවන කැරැල්ල පිළිබඳව කරන ලද කරුණු සොයා බැලීමකදී ඝාතනයට ලක් වූ සිසුන්ගෙන් සියයට විසි පහක (25%) පමණ ප්‍රමාණයකගේ සිය කුඩා කාලයේ සිය මව හෝ පිය මියගොස් තිබිණ. නැතහොත් දෙදෙනාගෙන් එක් අයෙකු අතහැර ගොස් තිබිණ. එබැවින් ඔවුහු පිතෘ හෝ මාතෘ වියෝග කාංසාවට ලක්ව සිටියහ. ඇතැමෙකුට දරිද්‍රතාවය හා සමාජ පීඩනය ද උරුම විය. සමහරෙක් පීඩනය නිසා සමාජය කෙරෙහි වෛරයෙන් යුතුව බැලීමට පුරුදුව සිටියහ.

ජර්මානු බාඩර් මයින්හොන් සහ සැන්ඩිනිස්ටා ගරිල්ලන් පිළිබඳව පසුකාලීනව කළ අධ්‍යයනයන් වලින් පෙනී ගියේ ඔවුන් රැඩිකල් ව්‍යාපාර වෙත යොමු වීම සඳහා ළමා කාලයේ අත් දුටු කාංසාමය සිද්ධීන් හේතු කාරක වූ බවය. (වික්‍රමරත්න)

ළමා කාලයේ සිට මෙවැනි කාංසාමය තත්ත්වයන්ගෙන් පීඩා විඳ කොටස් රැඩිකල් ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරයන් වෙත යොමු කරවා ගැනීම අපහසු නොවේ. කොටි සංවිධානය තම සමාජිකයින් ආකර්ශනය කර ගත්තේ උතුරේ වෙල්ලාල දුවිඩයන්ගේ කුල පීඩනයට යටත්ව සිටි දුවිඩ තරුණයන්ට තුවක්කු දීමෙනි

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලන ව්‍යාපාර

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලන ව්‍යාපාර සඳහා ලියවුණු නිශ්චිත ග්‍රන්ථයක් හෝ වෙනත් මුලාශ්‍රයක් නොවේ. නමුත් ඒ පිළිබඳ අනෙකුත් ද්විතියික දත්ත මුලාශ්‍ර (පුවත්පත්, පර්යේෂණ වාර්තා, අතීත සහ සමකාලීන ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලනය පිළිබඳ ලියවුනු පොත් පත්, අන්තර්ජාල තොරතුරු) ඔස්සේ කරුණු ගවේෂණය කළ හැකිය. ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලන නැඹුරුව දේශපාලන නිදහසට පෙරද පැවතී තත්ත්වයකි. ඉන් පසුවද එම තත්ත්වය දකගත හැකි විය. 1953 වසරේ පේරාදෙණිය සරසවි සිසුන් හා පොලිසිය අතර ඇතිවූ ගැටුම මෙහි පළමු අවස්ථාව ලෙස දැක්විය හැක. (සමරකෝන්, 2018) නිදහසින් පසු එනම් 1960 සහ 1970 ගණන් වල රැඩිකල්කරණය කෙරෙහි මෙරට තරුණයන්ගේ නැඹුරුව ඉහල ගියේය. එයට හේතුව එම කාල පරිච්ඡේදය තුල බිහි වූ වාමවාදි පක්ෂවල

බලපෑම ලෙසද කිව හැකිය. සමසමාජ, කොමියුනිස්ට් පක්ෂ ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයත් සමග සන්ධානගත වීම මෙයට මුලික හේතුවක් විය. ඒ හා සමාන්තරව ඇති වූ චීන-රුසියානු මතභේදය මත, වඩා රැඩිකල් තරුණ කොටස් කොමියුනිස්ට් පක්ෂයේ චීන පිල දෙසට ආකර්ෂණය වීමක් ද දකින්නට ලැබිණි. ලංකාවේ රැඩිකල් තරුණ දේශපාලනයේ තිඹිරිගෙය වන්නේ චීන පිල වන අතර ජනතා විමුක්ති පෙරමුණ ගොඩනැගීම සඳහා මුල් වන තරුණ නායකත්වය ඒකරාශී වන්නේ චීන පිල නිසාය. මුලින් ඔවුන් චීන පිලේ බලය අල්ලාගැනීමට උත්සාහ කළ ද පසුව ඒ උත්සාහය ව්‍යර්ථ විය. ඉන් අනතුරුව ඔවුන් වෙනම දේශපාලන ව්‍යාපාරයකට මුලපුරන ලදී. (පැරකුම්, 2018)

එවකට පැවති සමාජ, ආර්ථික සහ දේශපාලනික බලපෑම් නිසා බොහෝ පිරිසක් රැඩිකල් අදහස් දරන පුද්ගලයන් බවට පත් වූ අතර විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ශිෂ්‍යයන් කෙරෙහි ද රැඩිකල්වාදී ආකල්ප ඇති වීමට ය ඉවහල් විය. ශ්‍රී ලාංකේය ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරයේ ආරම්භයේ පටන්ම අරගලය. යන්න ප්‍රධාන භාවිතය ලෙස ක්‍රියාත්මක වූ ආකාරයක් දැකිය හැකි අතර අධ්‍යාපනය හා වෙනත් විවිධ සංවේදී කාරණා සම්බන්ධයෙන් කාලයෙන් කාලයට පැන නැගී ගැටලු, අර්බුද හමුවේ ශිෂ්‍යයන් 'අරගල' කළ ඉතිහාසය 1970 දශකයේ සිට ඉදිරියට දිගහැරෙන නමුත් ශිෂ්‍ය අරගල වඩාත් උණුසුම් ලෙස ක්‍රියාත්මක වුයේත්, සමාජ අවධානය වැඩි වශයෙන් ඒවා කෙරෙහි යොමුවුයේත් 1980 දශකයේ සිට ඉදිරියට ලියැවුණු ඉතිහාසයේදීය. (වික්‍රමසිංහ, 2017)

ජාතික මට්ටමින් ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදයට නැඹුරු වීමෙන් පසුවද විශ්ව විද්‍යාල තුල රැඩිකල්වාදී උරුවක් දැකිය හැකි විය. විශ්ව විද්‍යාල තුල බහු දේශපාලන පක්ෂ සඳහා ඉඩක් ලැබුන නමුත් සිසුන් සාකච්ඡා මාර්ගයෙන් ඔවුනොවුන් අතර ඇතිවන ගැටලු විසඳා ගැනීමට නම්‍යශීලී නොවූ බව පෙනිණි. ශ්‍රී ලාංකේය ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරය දෙස අවධානය යොමුකිරීමේදී පැහැදිලි ලෙස හඳුනාගත හැකි කාරණය නම් මෙරටේ ක්‍රියාත්මක වන වාමාංශික දේශපාලන පක්ෂ ඊට වක්‍රව නායකත්වය හා මගපෙන්වීම ලබා දී ඇති බව සහ ලබා දෙන බවය. ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරයේ ආරම්භක කාලයේදී ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ කොමියුනිස්ට් පක්ෂයට එහි වැඩි බලයක් හිමිව තිබූ අතර ඊට අමතරව එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයේ හා ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේද ශිෂ්‍ය සංගම් විශ්ව විද්‍යාල අභ්‍යන්තරයේ ක්‍රියාත්මක විය. (වික්‍රමසිංහ, 2017)

ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරය යනු, සමස්ත ශිෂ්‍යයන්ගේ ක්‍රියාකාරිත්වයයි. එහි ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන් ක්‍රියාකාරිව සිටින සංවිධානය ලෙස විශ්වවිද්‍යාලවල මහා ශිෂ්‍ය සංගම්වල එකතුවෙන් නිර්මාණය වී ඇති අන්තර් විශ්වවිද්‍යාලීය ශිෂ්‍ය බලමණ්ඩලය හඳුන්වා දිය හැකිය. විශ්ව විද්‍යාල සිසුන්ගේ සහභාගිත්වයෙන් සමන්විත පීඨ ශිෂ්‍ය සංගම්, මහා ශිෂ්‍ය සංගම් සහිත ධුරාවලියකින් මෙය සමන්විතව ඇත. අන්තර් විශ්වවිද්‍යාලීය ශිෂ්‍ය බලමණ්ඩලය යනු, රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරයකට කියන තවත් නමක් නොවන නමුත් ලංකාවේ විශ්වවිද්‍යාල තුළ ක්‍රියාත්මක වන ප්‍රධානතම රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය සංවිධානය වන්නේ අන්තර් විශ්වවිද්‍යාලීය ශිෂ්‍ය බලමණ්ඩලයයි. එහි ව්‍යුහය සකස් වී පවතින්නේ විවිධ දේශපාලන මත දරමින් ක්‍රියා කල හැකි ආකාරයටයි. (මධුරංග, 2016)

ගෙවී යන කාල සීමාවේ මෙරට විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ශිෂ්‍ය ප්‍රජාව අතර අර්බුද රැසක් ඉස්මතුව ඇති. ශිෂ්‍ය ගැටලු යන්න විශ්ව විද්‍යාලවලට නුපුරුදු අත්දැකීමක් නොවේ. පෞද්ගලික වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාල විරෝධය, අධ්‍යන සුබසාධන ගැටලු, නවක වද විරෝධය යන මාතෘකා ඔස්සේ විවිධ සටන් පාඨ නිර්මාණය කරමින් විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ශිෂ්‍යයෝ විරෝධතා ව්‍යාපාරවල නිරත වෙති.

සිද්ධ අධ්‍යනය හැඳින්වීම

සයිටම් යන්නෙහි අර්ථය වන්නේ South Asian Institute of Technology and Medicine යන්නයි. සයිටම් ආයතනය වූ කලි උසස් අධ්‍යාපනය සපයන පෞද්ගලික ආයතනයක් ලෙස 2008 වර්ෂයේදී මාලඹේ දී ආරම්භ කරන ලදී.

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ රාජ්‍ය ව්‍යවසාය පෞද්ගලිකරණය ආරම්භ වුයේ 1989 දීය. වතු, විදුලි සංදේශ, බස් සහ ගුවන් ගමනාගමනය එලෙස පෞද්ගලිකරණය කරන ලදී. 2005-2006 කාලවකවානුවේ උසස් අධ්‍යාපන ඇමති වූ විශ්වා වර්ණපාල මහතා සඳහන් කළේ ලංකාවේ උසස්පෙල අයදුම්කරුවන් ලක්ෂ 2 ක් සිටින අතර රාජ්‍ය විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ඇතුලත් වීමට වරම් ලබන්නේ ඉන් 18,000ක් පමණ සිසුන් ප්‍රමාණයකි. අනෙක් සිසුන් විදේශ රටවලට ගොස් අධ්‍යාපනය ලැබීම හෝ වෙනත් පාඨමාලා හෝ වෘත්තීන් කෙරෙහි යොමු වේ. එම නිසා උසස් අධ්‍යාපනය සඳහා ආයෝජනය කිරීමට පෞද්ගලික අංශයට අවස්ථාව පවතින බව ඔහු පෙන්වා දුන්නේය.

නෙවිල් ප්‍රනාන්දු මහතා සයිටම් ආයතනය ආරම්භ කළේ වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාව, ඉංජිනේරු තාක්ෂණය, තොරතුරු තාක්ෂණය, කලමනාකරණය හා මුල්‍ය, තොරතුරු හා සන්නිවේදන තාක්ෂණය හා මාධ්‍ය

ආදී ක්ෂේත්‍රයන් සඳහා තෘතියික සුදුසුකම් ලබාදීම අරමුණු කොටගෙනය. අන්තර් විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ශිෂ්‍ය බල මණ්ඩලයේ හා රජයේ වෛද්‍ය නිලධාරී සංගමයේ විරෝධය මධ්‍යයේ 2013 වර්ෂයේ අගෝස්තු 30 වන දී සයිටම් ආයතනය වෛද්‍ය උපාධි ප්‍රධානය කිරීමේ ආයතනයක් ලෙස විශ්ව විද්‍යාල කොමිෂන් සභාවේ අනුමැතිය ලබා ගන්නා ලදී.

නෙවිල් ප්‍රනාන්දු මහතාගේ අදහස් වලට අනුව ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ පෞද්ගලික විශ්ව විද්‍යාල පද්ධතියක් නොපවතින නිසාවෙන් වසරකට සිසුන් විශාල ප්‍රමාණයක් විදේශ රටවල් වෙත අධ්‍යාපනය හැදෑරීම සඳහා පිටත් වේ. සයිටම් ආයතනයෙහි වසර 6 ක් සඳහා පාඨමාලා ගාස්තු මිලියන 9.5 කි. නමුත් ඕස්ට්‍රේලියාවේ හෝ එක්සත් රාජධානියෙහි පාඨමාලා ගාස්තු වසරකට මිලියන 20 ක් පමණ වේ. සයිටම් හි විෂය නිර්දේශය රාජ්‍ය විශ්ව විද්‍යාලවල විෂය නිර්දේශයට සමාන බව ඔහු පෙන්වා දේ. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ වෛද්‍යවරුන්ගේ හිඟයක් පවතී. විදේශ රටවල වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාලවල ප්‍රමිතිය ඇතැම් විට ඉතාම අඩුය. සයිටම් ආයතනයෙහි උපාධිය ලබා ගැනීම සඳහා උසස් පෙළ සමත්වීම (C2 ක් හා S ක්) ප්‍රමාණවත් වේ. රාජ්‍ය විශ්ව විද්‍යාල වලට ඇතුලත් වීම සඳහා මන්නාරම වවුනියාව ආදී ප්‍රදේශවල සිසුන්ට C සාමාර්ථ 3 ක් ප්‍රමාණවත්ය. නමුත් ගාල්ල , කොළඹ, නුවර යන දිස්ත්‍රික්කයන්හි සිසුන්ට රාජ්‍ය විශ්ව විද්‍යාලවලට ඇතුලත් වීම සඳහා විශාල තරගකාරිත්වයක් පවතී. එම දිස්ත්‍රික්කවල A, B සාමාර්ථ සහිත සිසුන්ට පවා විශ්ව විද්‍යාල වරම් අහිමි වන අවස්ථා පවතී. මෙලෙස රාජ්‍ය වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාල වලට ඇතුලත් වීමට වරම් නොලැබූ නමුත් උසස් පෙළ ඉහළ ප්‍රතිඵල ලබාගත් සිසුන් බොහොමයක් සයිටම් ආයතනයෙහි අධ්‍යාපනය ලබන බව ඔහු පෙන්වා දේ.

ගණිතයෙන් අපොස උසස් පෙළ සමත් වන සිසුන්ට මොරටුව, පේරාදෙණිය ආදී විශ්ව විද්‍යාල වලට අමතරව තවත් විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ගණනාවක් තිබේ. එසේම විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයකට යාමට නොහැකි නම් වෙනත් තාක්ෂණික පාඨමාලා ද තිබේ. එසේත් නොමැති නම් SLIIT වැනි ආයතන තිබේ. ගණකාධිකාරි විභාගයකට වුවද උගත හැකිය. මේ සමහර ආයතන වලට මුදල් ගෙවා අධ්‍යාපනය ලබා ගත යුතු වුවත් ඒවාට විරුද්ධව ශිෂ්‍ය උද්ඝෝෂණා ඇති වන්නේ නැත.

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ වෛද්‍ය පීඨ කිහිපයක්ම තිබේ. වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යා උපාධියට ලකුණු මදි නම්, දන්ත වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාව, සත්ව වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාව (veterinary science) , කෘෂිකර්ම විද්‍යාව ද (agronomy)විශ්ව විද්‍යාල

වල උගත හැකිය. එසේත් නොමැති නම් ඖෂධ වේද්‍ය පාඨමාලාව හැදෑරිය හැකිය.

කිසියම් ශිෂ්‍යයෙකුට මේ අවස්ථා තිබියදීත් වෛද්‍යවරයෙකු වීමටම ආශාවන් ඇති විය හැකිය. මෙවන් සිසුහු විදේශ රටවලට ගොස් වෛද්‍ය උපාධිය ලබාගනිති. එවැන්නෙකුට ලංකාවේ පෞද්ගලික වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාල තිබුණි නම් තමන්ගේ සිහිනය සැබෑ කර ගැනීමට හැකියාව තිබුණි. නෙවිල් ප්‍රනාන්දු මහතාට අනුව ඔහු සයිටම් ආයතනය ආරම්භ කළේ එය ජාතික අවශ්‍යතාවයක් ලෙස හා බුද්ධි ගලනය නතර කිරීමට ය.

මෙහිදී මෙම සිද්ධිය පර්යේෂණ වාර්තාවට යොදාගැනීමට හේතු පාදක වූයේ, මෙම පෞද්ගලික වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාලය ආරම්භ කිරීමට එරෙහිව විශ්ව විද්‍යාල සිසුන්, ගුරුවරුන්, විද්වතුන් මෙන්ම වෘත්තීය සංගම් සහ දෙමවුපියන් විසින් දියත් කළ අරගලකාරී ක්‍රියාමාර්ග රැඩිකල්වාදී මුහුණුවරක් ගැනීම හේතුකොටගෙනය. අපගේ පර්යේෂණ අරමුණ වන ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ තරුණ ප්‍රජාවගේ රැඩිකල්වාදී හැසිරීම අධ්‍යයනය කිරීම වන බැවින් විශේෂයෙන්ම මෙම අරගලයේදී විශ්ව විද්‍යාල සිසුන්ගේ ක්‍රියාකාරිත්වය පිළිබඳව අවධානය යොමු කරමින් මෙම සිද්ධි අධ්‍යයනය සිදු කරන ලදී.

සයිටම් අර්බුදය සහ රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලනය

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ පළමුවන පෞද්ගලික වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාලය ආරම්භ වුයේ 1980 දීය. එහි දේශීය මෙන්ම විදේශීය සිසුන් ද අධ්‍යාපනය ලබා ඇති අතර ඒ සඳහා ද එකල පවතී ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලන ක්‍රියාකාරීන් මාක්ස්වාදී හා අනෙකුත් දේශපාලන පක්ෂ, විද්වතුන්ගේ, විශ්ව විද්‍යාල සිසුන්ගේ විරෝධය මත ජනසතු කිරීමට සිදුවිණි. වර්තමානයේ කැලණිය වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාලය බවට පත්ව ඇත්තේ එයයි (Fernando, 2009). එකල පැවති දේශපාලන පක්ෂය වූයේද වත්මන් පාලන බලය හිමි එක්සත් ජාතික පක්ෂයම වීමද විශේෂත්වයකි.

මාලඹේ පිහිටි පෞද්ගලික වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාලයක් වන සයිටම් ආයතනය ආරම්භ වුයේ 2008 වර්ෂයේදී ය. එහි සභාපතිත්වය වෛද්‍ය නෙවිල් ප්‍රනාන්දු මහතා දරූ අතර උප කුලපති ලෙස කටයුතු කරන ලද්දේ මහාචාර්ය ආනන්ද සමරසේකර මහතා විසිනි. 2011 අගෝස්තු 30 විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ප්‍රතිපාදන කොමිෂන් සභාව මඟින් සයිටම් වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාලය නිල වශයෙන් පිළිගන්නා ලදී. සයිටම් වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාලය ඇතුළු පෞද්ගලික විශ්ව විද්‍යාල සාධාරණීකරණය කරන පිරිසට අනුව, මෙම පෞද්ගලික වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාලය මඟින් විදේශ රටවලට

වෛද්‍ය උපාධිය හැදෑරීම සඳහා යන වියදම එනම් අප රටේ මුදල් පිට රටට ගලා යාම (විදේශ විනිමය) අවම වේ. එමෙන්ම ඉතාමත් අඩු ප්‍රතිශතයකට හිමිවන විශ්ව විද්‍යාල වරම අනෙකුත් සිසුන්ටද ලබා ගැනීමට හැකියාව මෙමගින් ඇතිවේ. කෙසේ වුවත් රාජ්‍ය විශ්ව විද්‍යාල මඟින් සයිටම් ආයතනය වෙත දිගින් දිගටම රැඩිකල්වාදී ක්‍රියාමාර්ග අනුගමනය කරන ලදී.

විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ප්‍රවේශය තරඟකාරී වන අතර එමගින් වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාල ප්‍රවේශයද ඉතාම තරඟකාරීය. රාජ්‍ය විශ්ව විද්‍යාල පද්ධතිය තුළ වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාල 8ක් පවතී. මෙලෙස ඉතා තරඟකාරී ලෙස ලබා ගන්නා රාජ්‍යේ වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාල ප්‍රවේශය, පෞද්ගලික වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාලයක් මඟින් උසස් පෙළ, සාමාර්ථ 3කින් ලබාගත හැකි වීම ගැටලුකාරී තත්ත්වයක් ලෙස සයිටම් විරෝධී පාර්ශවය විසින් දිගින් දිගටම ප්‍රකාශ කරන ලදී. එය වෛද්‍ය උපාධියේ ගුණාත්මක බවට හානියක් බවත්, එය දිගු කාලීනව සෞඛ්‍යමය වශයෙන් මෙරට සිටින ජනතාවගේ ජීවිත වලට කරන අනතුරක් ලෙසත් ඔවුන් පෙන්වා දුනි. එයට ප්‍රධාන හේතුවක් ලෙස ඔවුන් පෙන්වා දෙන්නේ, ප්‍රජා වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාව සහ අධිකරණ වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාව ඇතුළු අංශ කිහිපයක සායනික පුහුණුව සයිටම් සිසුන්ට නොලැබීමයි.

විශ්ව විද්‍යාල සිසුන් මෙම අරගල ආරම්භ කළේ අධ්‍යාපනය හා සෞඛ්‍යය යන දෙකම අයිතියක් ලෙස සමාජයේ ස්ථාපිත කරලීම උදෙසා වන බව ඔවුන් මුල සිටම දක්වන අදහසයි. වාමාංශිකයින්, ප්‍රගතිශීලීන් මෙයට ක්‍රියාකාරීව සම්බන්ධ වන ලදී. වෛද්‍ය පීඨ ශිෂ්‍ය ක්‍රියාකාරී කමිටුව ද මෙම අරගලය සඳහා සක්‍රියව දායකත්වය දක්වන ලදී. අන්තර් විශ්ව විද්‍යාලීය ශිෂ්‍ය බල මණ්ඩලය සහ ඊට අමතරව විශ්ව විද්‍යාල සිසුන්ගේ දෙමව්පියන්, ගුරුවරුන්, වෛද්‍යවරුන්, දුම්රිය සේවකයින්, පෞද්ගලික අංශ සේවකයින් ක්‍රියාකාරීව සම්බන්ධ වන ලදී. ඔවුන් ගෙන ගිය රැඩිකල්වාදී ව්‍යාපාර ලෙස විශ්ව විද්‍යාලය ඉදිරිපිට උද්ඝෝෂණ, අඛණ්ඩ උපවාස, ආසන්න නගර පාගමන්, විරෝධතා රැලි, දින 100 ඉක්ම වූ අඛණ්ඩ සත්‍යග්‍රහ, සම්මන්ත්‍රණ, පෝස්ටර් ව්‍යාපාර, සංකේත සත්‍යග්‍රහ, විරෝධතා බැනර්, ගමින් ගමට සිදුකල දැනුවත් කිරීම්, වෛද්‍ය පීඨ සිසුන්ගේ මාස 10ක පන්ති වර්ජනය, වෛද්‍ය පීඨ දෙමව්පියන්ගේ මාරාන්තික උපවාසය, වෛද්‍යවරුන්, ගුරුවරුන්, දුම්රිය සේවකයින්, පෞද්ගලික අංශ සේවකයින් සිදුකල සංකේත වැඩ වර්ජන හා විරෝධතා රැලි ආදිය යි.

සයිටම් අරගලයේ මූලික සටන් පාඨ දෙක වූයේ **සයිටම් අහෝසි කරනු**, හා **සයිටම් ජනසතු කරනු**, යන්න යි.

මෙම සටන් ව්‍යාපාරයේ ආරම්භක සටන් පාඨය වූයේ අධ්‍යාපනය හා සෞඛ්‍යය වෙළඳ භාණ්ඩයක් බවට පත්කිරීමට එරෙහිව ඉදිරිපත් වූ **නිදහස් අධ්‍යාපනයත් නිදහස් සෞඛ්‍යයත් වනසන මාලබේ හොර උපාධි කඩය අවසන් කරනු**, යන්න යි මොවුන් දිගින් දිගටම ප්‍රකාශ කළේ සයිටම් විශ්ව විද්‍යාලය මඟින් සෞඛ්‍ය සේවයේ ගුණාත්මකභාවය අඩු වන බවය.

සයිටම් ආයතනයේ සිසුන් මෙම පෞද්ගලික වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාලය පිළිබඳව දරන්නේ මෙවන් අදහසකි. "උසස් පෙළ සමත් වූ රජයේ වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාල වලට යාමට නොහැකි වූ සිසුන් අප්‍රමාණය. තෙවරක්ම උසස් පෙළට මුහුණ දුන්න ද වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාලයට යාමට නොහැකි අවස්ථා තිබේ. ඉහළ ප්‍රතිඵල තිබුණත් වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාල සිහිනය බොඳ වන අවස්ථා තිබේ. එවන් සිසුන්ට මුදල් පවතී නම් පෞද්ගලික වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාලයකට ගොස් වෛද්‍යවරයෙකු වීමේ සිහිනය සැබෑ කර ගැනීමේ අවස්ථාවක් තිබිය යුතුය." සයිටම් හි අධ්‍යාපනය ලබන සිසුන් පවසන්නේ ඔවුන් වෛද්‍ය උපාධිය මිලදී නොගන්නා බවත් ඒ වෙනුවෙන් ඔවුන් වෙහෙස මහන්සි වී අධ්‍යන කටයුතු වල නිරතවන බවත් ය.

අන්තර් විශ්ව විද්‍යාලීය ශිෂ්‍ය බල මණ්ඩලයේ හිටපු කැඳවුම්කරු ලහිරු වීරසේකර සයිටම් අර්බුදය පිළිබඳව පුවත්පත් සාකච්ඡාවකදී දැක් වූ අදහස් මෙසේය.

උපුටා ගැනීම

"නිසැකවම ලංකාවේ අධ්‍යාපන ක්ෂේත්‍රය තුළ අර්බුදයක් මතුව ඇත. නිදහස් අධ්‍යාපන අයිතිය ලබාගැනීම සඳහා සිසුන්ට සටන් කිරීමට සිදු වී ඇත. මගේ අදහස නම් මේ වාතාවරණය තුළ ලංකාවේ නිදහස් අධ්‍යාපනයක් නොමැති බවයි. නිදහස් අධ්‍යාපනය යනු හුදෙක් මැතිවරණ කාලවලදී ඉස්මතුවන මාතෘකාවක් පමණි."

රාජ්‍ය විශ්ව විද්‍යාලවල වෛද්‍ය පීඨ මාස 07 ක් තිස්සේ වසා තිබු නිසාවෙන් වෛද්‍ය සිසුන්ගේ වටිනා කාලය අපතේ යාමක් සිදු වුණිද යන්න පිළිබඳව ලහිරු වීරසේකරගෙන් විමසු විට ඔහු මෙලෙස අදහස් දක්වන ලදී.

"අධ්‍යාපනය පෞද්ගලිකරණය කිරීමට එරෙහිව හඬ නැගීම කිසිදා අපතේ යාමක් සිදු නොවේ. අපගේ මේ වෑයමේ ප්‍රතිඵල ලබා ගන්නේ අනාගත පරම්පරාවයි. රජයේ අදහස වන්නේ තව පෞද්ගලික වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාල බිහිකර ඔවුන්ට ලාභ අත්කර දීමයි. එවිට මතු දිනෙක රාජ්‍ය විශ්ව විද්‍යාල නොසලකා හරින තත්ත්වයට

පත්වේ. මෙම අරගලය සඳහා සහාය වීමෙන් සිසුන්ගේ කාලය අපතේ යාමක් සිදු නොවේ. මන්ද යත් ඔවුන් රටේ පවත්නා සමාජ ආර්ථික තත්ත්වය පිළිබඳ එමඟින් මනා අවබෝධයක් ලබා ගන්නා බැවිනි. උද්ඝෝෂණ ව්‍යාපාර වලට එක්වීමෙන් සාමුහිකත්ව වගකීම හා කණ්ඩායම් හැඟීම පිළිබඳව මනා ලෙස හඳුනා ගනී.

අදහස් ප්‍රකාශ කිරීමේ හා අසාධාරණයට එරෙහි වීමේ වැදගත්කම පිළිබඳව ඉගෙන ගැනීමට ඔවුන්ට මෙය ඉතා වටිනා අවස්ථාවකි. ඔවුන්ගේ ඉගෙනීම් පන්ති කාමරයට පමණක් සීමා නොවේ. ඒවා මුළු සමාජය පුරාම ව්‍යාප්ත වේ. උද්ඝෝෂණ ව්‍යාපාරවලට සහභාගී වීමෙන් ඔවුන්ගේ අධ්‍යාපනික කටයුතු මග හැරුණු නමුත් මෙමඟින් ඔවුන් සමාජය පිළිබඳව මනා අවබෝධයක් ලබා ගන්නා අතර ඔවුන් අනාගත සමාජයට වැඩදායි පුරවැසියන් පිරිසක් බවට පත්වේ.

රජය උත්සාහ දරනුයේ අධ්‍යාපනය පෞද්ගලිකරණය කිරීමටයි. ස්ව අභිමතාර්ථ ඉටු කර ගැනීම උදෙසා පමණක් රජය කටයුතු කරයි. එම නිසා සිසුන්ගේ ප්‍රශ්නවලට රජය විසඳුමක් ලබා දෙතැයි අපේක්ෂා කළ නොහැක. විවෘත ආර්ථිකයත් සමග සමාජ සුභ සාධනය කපාහැරීමේ වැඩ පිළිවෙලක රජය නිරතව සිටි. රජයට අවශ්‍ය වන්නේ ලාභ උපයා ගැනීම පමණි. රෝහල්, අධ්‍යාපනික ආයතන වැනි පෞද්ගලික ආයතන සංවර්ධනය රජය මඟින් නතර කරන අතර එවිට ඒවා අකාර්‍යක්ෂම තත්ත්වයට පත්වේ."
(Ilangamuwa, 2016)

වසර ගණනාවක් (වසර 10ක් පමණ) පුරා මෙම අර්බුදය පැවතිනි. වර්තමානය වන විට මෙම ගැටලුව විසඳී ඇත. එනම්, සයිටම් විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයේ දැනට සිටින සිසුන් කොතලාවල ආරක්ෂක විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයට අනුයුක්ත වෛද්‍ය පීඨයට ඇතුලත් කිරීම සහ නෙවිල් ප්‍රනාන්දු රෝහල රජයට පැවරා ගැනීම තුලිනි. තවද වෛද්‍ය උපාධිය සඳහා පවතින අවම ප්‍රමිතීන් හඳුන්වා දීමට ද රජය ක්‍රියාකරන ලදි. වසර ගණනාවක් පුරා පැවතී මෙම අර්බුදය හේතුවෙන් ඇතිවු සමාජීය, ආර්ථික, සහ දේශපාලනමය ප්‍රතිවිපාක සොයා බැලීම වැදගත් වේ.

රැඩිකල්වාදි ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලන ව්‍යාපාර නිසා ඇති වූ සමාජීය ප්‍රතිවිපාක

රටක පවතින සමාජීය ගැටලු විසඳමෙහිලා ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලනයද මැදිහත් විය යුතු බව සත්‍යකි. නිදහස් අධ්‍යාපනය සහ නිදහස් සෞඛ්‍යය නොමැති වූ විට රටක බහුතර සාමාන්‍ය ජනතාවට එය බොහෝ සෙයින් බලපායි. ආර්ථික වශයෙන් මෙම සිසු අරගලය තුලින් රටට අවාසි සහගත තත්ත්වයන්ට මුහුණ පෑමට සිදු

වුවද සමාජ හා දේශපාලනික ලෙස මෙමඟින් ලැබුණු අවසන් ප්‍රතිඵලය සෘණාත්මක මෙන්ම ධනාත්මක ලෙස ද බලපෑ හැකිය. විය මෙලෙස විමසා බැලිය හැක.

සයිටම් පෞද්ගලික වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාලයට එරෙහි මෙම අරගලය නිසා රජයේ විශ්ව විද්‍යාලවල සිසුන්ට මෙන්ම සයිටම් වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාලයේ සිසුන්ටද ඊට අමතරව ඉන් පිටත බාහිර පොදු සමාජයටද විශාල වශයෙන් අහිතකර සමාජීය ප්‍රතිවිපාක ඇති විය. වෛද්‍ය සිසුන් මාස ගණනාවක් තිස්සේ දේශනවලට සහභාගී නොවී මෙම අරගලවල යෙදි සිටීම (මාස 10කට අධික කාලයක්) නිසා ඔවුන් විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයෙන් පිටවන කාල වකවානුව දීර්ඝ විය. එම හේතුන් මත උසස් පෙළ විභාගය නිමවී වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාල සඳහා ඇතුලත් වීමට අපේක්ෂාවෙන් සිටින සිසුන් වැඩි වශයෙන් මෙමඟින් අපහසුතාවයන්ට ලක්විය. එවිට රටට අවශ්‍ය ශ්‍රම සම්පත නිසි කාලයට නොලැබීම හේතුවෙන් රටේ සේවා පද්ධතිය අකර්මණ්‍ය වීමක් සිදුවිය හැකිය. එනම් එමඟින් රටේ ශ්‍රම බලකායට වන හානිය සුළුපටු නොවේ.

ශ්‍රී ලංකාව තුල මේ වනවිට රජයේ වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාල 08 ක් සහ කොතලාවල වෛද්‍ය පීඨය ඇතුළත්ව මුළු වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාල ප්‍රමාණය 09 ක් වේ. මෙම වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාල මඟින් වර්තමානයේ වෛද්‍යවරුන් 1,650ක් වාර්ෂිකව සෞඛ්‍ය පද්ධතියට එකතු වේ. (Siribaddana, Agampodi, & Siribaddana, 2012) වර්තමානයේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ වෛද්‍යවරුන් හා ජනගහන අනුපාතය 1:2,000 ක් වේ (Siribaddana, Agampodi, & Siribaddana, 2012). ලෝක සෞඛ්‍ය සංවිධානයට අනුව එන අනුපාතය 1:1,000ක් ලෙස පැවතිය යුතුවේ. පැහැදිලිවම එමඟින් පෙනී යන්නේ රටෙහි ජීවත්වන ජනගහනයට සාපේක්ෂව සිටිය යුතු වෛද්‍යවරුන්ගේ හිඟයක් පවතින බවයි. එසේ තිබියදීත් වෛද්‍ය සිසුන් වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාලයෙන් පිටවීම ප්‍රමාද වන විට සෞඛ්‍ය පද්ධතිය තුල ගැටලු ඇති වීම නොවැලක්විය හැකිය. වෛද්‍ය සිසුන්ගේ මාස ගණනාවක පන්ති වර්ජන හේතුවෙන් ඔවුන්ගේ ජීවිත ද විශාල පසු බෑමකට ලක් විය. අනෙක් අතට මෙම රැඩිකල්වාදි ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලන ව්‍යාපාරය හා සම්බන්ධ වූ වෛද්‍ය නොවන අනෙකුත් උපාධි අපේක්ෂක සිසුන්ටද අධ්‍යාපනය සඳහා වැය කිරීමට තිබුණු කාලයෙන් වැඩි ප්‍රමාණයක් මෙම අරගල සඳහා කැප කිරීමට සිදු විය. තවද, ජල ප්‍රහාර, කඳුළු ගෑස් සහ ආදී මර්ධනකාරී ක්‍රියාමාර්ග හේතුවෙන් විශ්ව විද්‍යාල සිසුන්ට රෝහල් ගත වීමට සිදු වූ අවස්ථාද දැකිය හැකි විය. මෙම සයිටම් පෞද්ගලික වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාලයට එරෙහිව ගෙන යනු ලබූ අරගලය පිළිබඳ කරන ලද අධ්‍යයනය තුලින් (අන්තර් විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ශිෂ්‍ය බල මණ්ඩල Facebook වෙබ් පිටුවෙන්) ලබා ගත්

තොරතුරු වලට අනුව   බොහෝ අවස්ථාවලදී සිසුන් සිය අරගල සඳහා   යොදාගෙන ඇත්තේ   සතියේ දින විම හේතුවෙන් සිසුන්ට අධ්‍යයන කටයුතු සඳහා යෙදවීමට ඇති කාලය අපතේ යැවීමට සිදු විය.

රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලන ව්‍යාපාරවල වැඩි වශයෙන්ම දැකිය හැකි ලක්ෂණයක් වනුයේ උද්ඝෝෂණ ව්‍යාපාරයන්ය. (සටහන 6.2) දත්ත වාර්තා අනුව එම උද්ඝෝෂණ ව්‍යාපාරයන් වැඩි වශයෙන් සිදු කරනු ලබා ඇත්තේ අඟහරුවාදා, බදාදා සහ සිකුරාදා දිනවලදීය. එනම් කාර්යබහුල සතියේ දිනවලය. (වගුව 6.1 සහ 6.2) බදාදා යනු   රජයේ මහජන
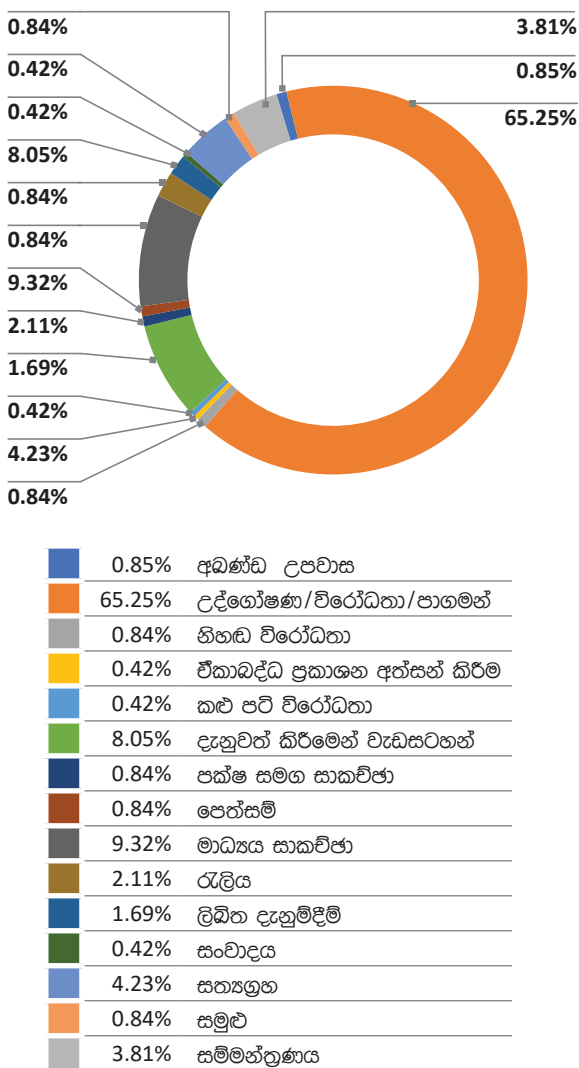
දිනයයි. එනම් විය කොළඹ නගරය තුල පමණාක් නොව මුළු රටේම ඉතා කාර්යබහුල දිනයකි. එමෙන්ම සතියේ දින රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාර සඳහා වැඩි වශයෙන් යොදාගෙන ඇත. මෙමඟින්   මහජනතාවට සමාජීයමය වශයෙන් බලපෑම් ඇති කරයි. එනම්, දිගු කාලයක් මහමඟ රැඳීමට සිදු වීම, කාලය අපතේ යාම, මානසිකව මෙන්ම ශාරීරිකව ද විවිධ පීඩාවන්ට ලක්වීමට සිදු වීම(කඳුළු ගෑස් සහ ජල ප්‍රහාරවලට ලක්වීමට සිදු වීම) ආදිය දැක්විය හැකිය. මෙම කරුණු මත මහජනතාව තුල මෙම ශිෂ්‍ය ක්‍රියාමාර්ග කෙරෙහි චිතරම් පැහැදීමක් දක්නට නොලැබුණි.

මෙම අරගලය පිළිබඳව සමාජයේ බොහෝ කතා බහට ලක්වූ අතර විය රටේ මහජනතාව අතර මෙන්ම මහජන නියෝජිතයන්ගේ පවා අවධානයට ලක් වුණී.

සටහන 6.2: සයිටම් අර්බුදය පැවති සමයේ ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාර මගින් ගත් රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය ක්‍රියාමාර්ග (2015-2018)

■	0.85%	අඛණ්ඩ උපවාස
■	65.25%	උද්ඝෝෂණ/විරෝධතා/පාගමන්
■	0.84%	නිහඬ විරෝධතා
■	0.42%	ඒකාබද්ධ ප්‍රකාශන අත්සන් කිරීම
■	0.42%	කළු පටි විරෝධතා
■	8.05%	දැනුවත් කිරීමෙන් වැඩසටහන්
■	0.84%	පක්ෂ සමඟ සාකච්ඡා
■	0.84%	පෙත්සම්
■	9.32%	මාධ්‍ය සාකච්ඡා
■	2.11%	රැලිය
■	1.69%	ලිඛිත දැනුම්දීම්
■	0.42%	සංවාදය
■	4.23%	සත්‍යග්‍රහ
■	0.84%	සමුළු
■	3.81%	සම්මන්ත්‍රණය

මූලාශ්‍ර: අන්තර් විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ශිෂ්‍ය බලමණ්ඩලයේ Facebook වෙබ් පිටුව

වගුව 6.1 : සයිටම් අර්බුදය පවති සමයේ ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාර මගින් සිදුකල උද්ඝෝෂණ ව්‍යාපාර පැවති දවස් ප්‍රතිශතයක් ලෙස (2015-2018)

දවස	උද්ඝෝෂණ පැවති ප්‍රතිශතය %
සඳුදා	11.76
අඟහරුවාදා	21.56
බදාදා	19.60
බ්‍රහස්ප්‍රතින්දා	11.76
සිකුරාදා	19.60
සෙනසුරාදා	5.88
ඉරිදා	9.80
	100

මූලාශ්‍ර: අන්තර් විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ශිෂ්‍ය බලමණ්ඩලයේ Facebook වෙබ් පිටුව

වගුව 6.2 : සයිටම් අර්බුදය පැවති සමයේ ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාර මගින් සිදුකල රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාර පැවති දින ප්‍රතිශතයක් ලෙස (2015-2018)

දවස	ප්‍රතිශතය %
සඳුදා	16.66
අඟහරුවාදා	22.22
බදාදා	15.74
බ්‍රහස්පතින්දා	11.11
සිකුරාදා	11.11
සෙනසුරාදා	12.03
ඉරිදා	11.11
	100

මූලාශ්‍ර: අන්තර් විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ශිෂ්‍ය බලමණ්ඩලයේ Facebook වෙබ් පිටුව

සයිටම් පෞද්ගලික වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාලය පිළිබඳ සාකච්ඡාවේදී ජනමාධ්‍ය සහ සමාජ මාධ්‍ය ජාලා ඔස්සේ සිදුවූ බලපෑම දැක්වීම අත්‍යාවශ්‍යය. මන්දයත්, සමාජයට දැඩි බලපෑමක් එල්ල කල හැකි මාධ්‍ය ලෙස මේවා ඉස්මතු වන අවස්ථා (ජනපතිවරණ ප්‍රචාරණය, වීල්පත්තුව වන සංහාරය පිළිබඳ ක්‍රියාමාර්ග) කිහිපයක් ඇති අතර ඒ අතුරින් සයිටම් සිදුවීම ප්‍රමුඛස්ථානයක් ගනී. අතීතයට වඩා විශ්ව විද්‍යාල සිසුන් තුල පවතින රැඩිකල්වාදී ස්වරූපය ක්‍රමයෙන් අඩුවන බව පැහැදිලිය. එයට හේතුවක් ලෙස මෙම ජන මාධ්‍යය සහ සමාජ මාධ්‍ය භාවිතය ඉහල යාම පෙන්වා දිය හැකිය. තරුණ ප්‍රජාවට තම සිතැඟි ඉදිරිපත් කිරීමට මෙමගින් පහසු වීමත් මහ මග සිට තම කාලය ශ්‍රමය කැප කර හඬක් නගනවාට වඩා සමාජ මාධ්‍ය ඔස්සේ හඬක් නැගීමට පෙළඹීමත් නිසා රැඩිකල් ක්‍රියාමාර්ග ශ්‍රී ලංකාව තුල ක්‍රමයෙන් වියැකී යාමට හේතුවන බව සයිටම් සිදුවීම ඔස්සේ නිගමනය කළ හැක. එයට කදිම නිදසුනක් ලෙස සටහන 6.2 හි දැක්වෙන පරිදි සමස්ත ක්‍රියාමාර්ගවලින් ආසන්න වශයෙන් 10% පමණම මාධ්‍ය සාකච්ඡා පැවැත්වීම පෙන්වා දිය හැකිය.

වර්තමානයේ ශ්‍රී ලංකා නිදහස් පක්ෂයේ මහ ලේඛම් මෙන්ම හිටපු අමාත්‍ය එමෙන්ම හිටපු ශිෂ්‍ය ක්‍රියාකාරිකයෙකු ද වන දයාසිරි ජයසේකර මහතාට අනුව, වර්තමාන ශිෂ්‍ය ප්‍රජාව සිදු කරන අරගල වැරදියි යි ඔහු කොයි වෙලාවකවත් ප්‍රකාශ නොකරන බවත් ශිෂ්‍ය අයිතිවාසිකම් සඳහා අරගල කළ යුත්තේ විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ශිෂ්‍යයන් බවත් පවසයි. පෙළපාලි යා යුතු වුවත් ඒවාට තුඩුදෙන කරුණු කාරණා හරි හැටි තෝරා බේරාගත යුතුයි බව ඔහු පවසයි. සයිටම් අර්බුදය නිසා වෛද්‍ය පීඨය මාස පහමාරක් තිස්සේ වසා තිබීම දේශනවලට නොයාම, අවුරුදු එකහමාරක් තිස්සේ ශිෂ්‍යයෝ සෑම විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයක් ඉදිරිපිටම අට්ටාල ගසා උපවාස කිරීම ඔහු අනුමත නොකරයි. ආණ්ඩුවක් ලෙස කල යුතුව තිබුණේ ඉක්මනින් මෙම ගැටලුවට විසඳුම් ලබා දීම බවත් එසේ නොවුණහොත් ඇතැම් විට ශිෂ්‍යයෝ අවි ආයුධ අතට ගන්නා තැනට පත් වන බවත් එය 1980 ගණන්වල සිට අත්දැකපු යථාර්ථය බවත් ඔහු පවසයි. (වික්‍රමසිංහ, 2017)

වෛද්‍ය සිසුන් හා අන්තර් විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ශිෂ්‍ය බල මණ්ඩලය එක්ව සයිටම් ආයතනයට විරෙහිව ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරය ආරම්භ කළ ද පසු කාලිනව එයට

වෘත්තිය සමිති, බහුජන සංවිධාන, සිවිල් ක්‍රියාකාරීන්, කලාකරුවන් ඇතුළු බලවේග ගණනාවක් එකතු විය. රජයේ වෛද්‍ය නිලධාරී සංගමය මගින් වෛද්‍ය අධ්‍යාපනයේ ප්‍රමිතිය, ගුණාත්මකභාවය රැකගැනීම උදෙසා සයිටම් ආයතනයට විරුද්ධව වැඩ වර්ජන පවත්වන ලදි. ඒ නිසා රජයේ රෝහල්වල රෝගීන් මහත් අපහසුතාවයට පත් වූහ. මධ්‍යම පාන්තික රටක් වන ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ජනගහනයෙන් බොහෝ පිරිසක් වෛද්‍ය ප්‍රතිකාර ලබා ගන්නේ රජයේ රෝහල්වලිනි. එනම් ශ්‍රී ලංකාව තුල නිදහස් අධ්‍යාපනය මෙන්ම නිදහස් සෞඛ්‍ය සේවාවක් ද පැවතීම මත රජයේ රෝහල් තුල පවතින වැඩවර්ජන සහ රැඩිකල්වාදී ක්‍රියාකාරකම් මගින් අපහසුතාවයට පත් වූ පිරිස ඉහල අගයක් ගනු ලැබිය.

මෙමගින් අපට ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලනයේ රැඩිකල්වාදී ක්‍රියාකාරකම් වල තවත් සුවිශේෂී ලක්ෂණයක් හඳුනාගත හැකිය. එනම්, ඔවුන් තම අරගල සඳහා තනිව සංවිධානය වනවාට වඩා සිවිල් සමාජයේ වගකිව යුතු ආයතන, පුද්ගලයින්, දේශපාලන පක්ෂ සහ සාමාන්‍ය ජනතාව යන පාර්ශව සමග එකතුව තම මතය තහවුරු කර ගැනීමට පෙළඹීමයි. එය දිගු කාලීනව එම මතය සමාජය තුල ස්ථාපිත කිරීමට පිටිවහලක් වූ බව පෙන්වා දිය හැකිය. නමුත් එමගින් සමාජයේ සිවිල් ජනතාවට දුෂ්කරතා අත් විඳීමට සිදු වූ බව දැකිය හැකි විය.

රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලන ව්‍යාපාර නිසා ඇති වූ ආර්ථික ප්‍රතිවිපාක

සයිටම් ආයතනය පිළිබඳ ගැටලුව පැන නගින්නේද ආර්ථික පසුබිමක් මුල් කරගෙනය. අධ්‍යාපනය වෙළෙඳ භාණ්ඩයක් නොවේ, යන්න විරෝධතා කරුවන්ගේ ප්‍රධාන සටන් පාඨයක් විය. එය සුබසාධනවාදී ආර්ථික ක්‍රමය හා බැඳුනු සංකල්පයක් ලෙස පැවසිය හැක.

සුහසාධන රාජ්‍ය සංකල්පය යනු ධනවාදී ආර්ථිකය යටතේ ඇති වූ සංකල්පයකි. 1960 දශකය දක්වා ම මෙම ක්‍රමය යටතේ සියලුම අධ්‍යාපන කටයුතු සහ සියලු උපාධිධාරීන්ට රැකියා ලබා දීමද රජය සතු යුතුකමක් විය. ශ්‍රී ලංකාව තුල හැටේ දශකයේ ඇති වූ අධ්‍යාපන පුනරුදයත් සමග බොහෝ ශිෂ්‍යයන් උපාධි ලබා ගැනීම ධනවාදී රජයන්ට දරාගත නොහැකි විය. ඒ නිසාම උසස් පෙල සමතුන් වර්ග කොට සීමිත කොටසක් පමණක් විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයනට ඇතුල් කර ගැනීමේ ක්‍රමවේදයක් රජය ආරම්භ කරනු ලැබිය. එමෙන්ම කලා සහ විද්‍යා උපාධිධාරීන්ට රැකියා ලබාදීමේ වගකීමෙන් රජය මගහරිනු ලැබිය. උසස්

පෙළ විෂයයන් 3 ක් සමත්වීම උපාධියක් ලැබීමට සුදුසුකමක් ලෙස සැලකුවත් නොයෙකුත් විධි ක්‍රම වරින් වර භාවිතා කරමින් ඉතාමත් සීමිත කොටසක් පමණක් විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයනට ඇතුල් කර ගැනීම නිසා බොහෝ කොටසක් අනාථාවට පත්කරනු ලැබීය. යම් මුදලක් වියදම් කිරීමට හැකි ඉන් පිරිසක් බාහිර උපාධි සඳහා ඇති විද්‍යා ආයතන වලට ගොස් බාහිර උපාධියක් ලබාගැනීමට තැත් කළ අතර අන් පිරිස උසස් අධ්‍යාපනය ලැබීම අත්හැර දැමීය. (පීරිස්, 2017)

එය රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරවල හිස එසවීමට හේතු කාරණා වූ බව කිව හැකිය. විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ඉදිරිපිට උද්ඝෝෂණ, ආසන්න නගර පාගමන්, විරෝධතා රැළි, සම්මන්ත්‍රණ, අඛණ්ඩ උපවාස ආදිය හේතුවෙන් මඟී ජනතාවගේ කාලය මහත් සේ නිකරුණේ නාස්ති විය. වෛද්‍යවරුන්, ගුරුවරුන්, දුම්රිය සේවකයින් සහ පෞද්ගලික අංශයේ සේවකයින් සිදුකළ සංකේත වැඩ වර්ජන හේතුවෙන් ආර්ථිකයට අහිමි වූ ශ්‍රම පැය ගණන අප්‍රමාණය. අනෙක් අතට මෙම රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලන ව්‍යාපාරයන් සඳහා විශාල මුදලක් වැයවේ. (ප්‍රවාහනය සඳහා බස් රථ, පෝස්ටර්, බැනර් ආදිය සඳහා වියදම් ආදිය.) එම අරමුදල් සපයා ගනුයේ විශ්ව විද්‍යාල සිසුන් විසින් දියත් කරන කැට ව්‍යාපාර හරහාය යන්න අන්තර් විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ශිෂ්‍ය බල මණ්ඩලය පවසයි. එලෙස වියදම් වන්නේ ද පොදු මහජනයා සතු ධනයයි.

මහාචාර්ය මහේෂ් හපුගොඩට අනුව මුළු ලෝකයම අද ගෝලීය ධනවාදයකට ප්‍රවේශ වී ඇත. ඒ පිළිබඳව නිශ්චිත අවබෝධයක් නැතිව වැඩකිරීම නිසා ශිෂ්‍යයන් පරාජයට පත් වී අවසන් බවත් අතීතයේ තිබුණු සුබසාධක රාජ්‍ය සංකල්පයට අනුව වර්තමානයේ වැඩකළ හැකි ද යන්න ගැටලුවක් ව ඇති බවත් නොරහසකි. මෙකී සුබසාධන රාජ්‍ය සංකල්පය වගේම මාක්ස්වාදය, වාමවාදය වගේ සංකල්ප අද වන විට මිය ගොසින්ය. ඊවා නැවත ඉදිරියට ගෙන යෑමෙන් කිසිදු ප්‍රයෝජනයක් නොවනවා මෙන්ම අවම වශයෙන් ශිෂ්‍යයන් ඉගෙන ගත හොත් මේ තත්ත්වයන් තේරුම් ගෙන ප්‍රශ්න කිරීමට හෝ ඔවුන්ට පුළුවන් විය හැක. විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ශිෂ්‍ය ප්‍රජාවගේ කාලය ශ්‍රමය කොතරම් නම් මහපාරේ ගත වෙලා යනවා ද යන්න අප බැලිය යුතුය. සතියකට දවස් තුනක්වත් පාරට බහිනවාට අමතරව විදි නාට්‍ය සඳහා දවස් ගණන් බාහිර ක්‍රියාකාරකම්, විවිධ ක්‍රියාකාරකම් සඳහා විශාල කාල සීමාවක් වැය කිරීමට සිදුවන බව ඔහු පවසයි. පැරණි සමාජයේ දේවල් ප්‍රතිනිර්මාණය කරන්න ඔවුන් උත්සාහ දරන නමුත් අලුත් කිසිවක් සිදුවෙන්නේ නැත.

(හපුගොඩ, 2016)

මෙම රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලන ව්‍යාපාරයන් මඟින් ගනු ලබන ක්‍රියාමාර්ගයන් ඔස්සේ පොදු මහජනතාවට සහ පොදු දේපලවලට හානි සිදු වූ අවස්ථා වාර්තා විය. සෞඛ්‍ය අමාත්‍යංශ ගොඩනැගිල්ලේ දේපල වලට හානි කරමින් වියට ඇතුල් වීම නිදසුනක් ලෙස දැක්විය හැකිය. එමෙන්ම උද්ඝෝෂණයක් පවතින බොහෝ අවස්ථා වලදී ඒ සඳහා අමතරව පොලිස් හට පිරිස් සහ කැරලි මර්ධන ඒකක යෙදවීමට සිදුවේ. පොලිසිය අත්‍යවශ්‍ය සේවයක් ලෙස සලකන නමුත් කැරලි මර්ධන ඒකකය එසේ නොවෙයි. මේ නිසා කැරලි මර්ධන ඒකකය විසින් සිදු කරන කඳුළු ගෑස් විදීම්, ජල ප්‍රහාර එල්ල කිරීම් ආදිය සඳහා විශේෂ දීමනාවක් ලබාදීමට රජයට සිදුවේ. එමෙන්ම මෙම අරගල මර්ධනය කිරීම සඳහා භාවිත කරනු ලබන රථ වාහන, ජල ප්‍රහාරක රථ සඳහා ඉන්ධන වියදම් ආදිය මෙම ක්‍රියාකාරකම් හේතුවෙන් අමතරව දැරීමට සිදුවේ.(ප්‍රජා පොලිස් ඒකකය.)

සයිටම් හිතවාදී පාර්ශව ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන්ම ඉස්මතු කරන කාරණයක් වනුයේ, මෙම ආයතනය නිසා වෛද්‍ය උපාධිය සඳහා විදේශගත වන සිසුන් සංඛ්‍යාව අඩු වීමත් එමගින් විදේශය වෙත ඇදෙන මුදල් හා සම්පත් ප්‍රමාණය අවම කරගත හැකිය යන තර්කයයි. ආසියානු කලාපයේ සිසුන්ගෙන් 40% ක් උතුරු ඇමරිකානු කලාපයටත්, 32% යුරෝපයටත්, 28%ක් ආසියා පැසිපික් කලාපයටත් අධ්‍යාපනය ලැබීම සඳහා සංක්‍රමණය වන බව සඳහන් වේ. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවෙන් විදේශ රටවලට සංක්‍රමණය වන සිසුන්ගෙන් වැඩි පිරිසක් බටහිර රටවලට සංක්‍රමණය වීමට වැඩි ප්‍රවණතාවක් දක්වයි. එම සිසුන් අධ්‍යාපනය ලැබීම සඳහා සංක්‍රමණය වනවා සේම අධ්‍යාපනය ලැබීමෙන් අනතුරුව එම රටවලම රැකියාව කිරීමටත් පුරවැසිභාවය ලබාගැනීමටත් පෙලඹෙන බව පෙනේ. කැනේඩියානු මහා කොමසාරිස් කාර්යාලයට අනුව ලංකාවේ සිසුන් සඳහා වසරකට දළ වශයෙන් වීසා 140 ලබාදෙනු ලබන අතර එංගලන්තයට යාම සඳහා 2000-2008 කාලයේදී වීසා 14,427 ක් ලබා දී ඇත. (OECD 2004). (Jayawardhana, Thilini; Jayathilaka, Ruwan;, 2008) මෙලෙස සිසුන් උපාධිය හැදෑරීම සඳහා විදේශගත වීම සයිටම් ආයතනය නිසා අවම වේ යි එම පාර්ශවය විශ්වාස කරයි. එමෙන්ම උසස් අධ්‍යාපනය හිමිවන ප්‍රමාණය අවම වීම වෙනුවට එය අහිමි වන සිසුන්ටත් තම අභිමතය පරිදි උපාධියක් හැදෑරීමට මෙමගින් අවස්ථා හිමිවේ. රටක අධ්‍යාපනය යනු මානව සම්පත ගොඩ නැගීමෙහිලා

ප්‍රමුඛ නිර්ණායකයකි. තෘතීයික අධ්‍යාපනය ලබන සිසුන් ප්‍රමාණය වර්ධනය වීම යනු රටක මානව සම්පත ඉහළ යාමකි. එනම් එය රටක සංවර්ධනය කෙරෙහි බෙහෙවින් ඉවහල් වේ.

ආර්ථික විද්‍යානුකූලව බැලූ කල සැපයුම ඉහළ නම් මිල පහල යයි. අද වන විට ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ වෛද්‍යවරු හිඟයක් පවතී. ගම්බද ප්‍රදේශවල වෛද්‍යවරු හිඟකමින් රෝහල් වැසීම දක්වා පැමිණ ඇත. එයට පිලියමක් ලෙස සහකාර වෛද්‍යවරුන් බඳවා ගැනීම යෝජනා කලත් එහිද හිඟයක් දක්නට ලැබේ. ප්‍රාථමික සෞඛ්‍යය සංරක්ෂණය යටතේ සෞඛ්‍ය ග්‍රාමෝධය වැඩසටහනක් ක්‍රියාත්මක වුවද එය නිසියාකාරව කිරීමට නොහැකි වීම නිසා ජනතාව දුෂ්කරතා වලට මුහුණ දේ. අනෙක් අතට රජයේ වෛද්‍යවරුන්ගේ පෞද්ගලික වෛද්‍ය සේවා පහසුකම් ගාස්තු සාමාන්‍ය ජනතාවට දැරිය නොහැකි ලෙස ඉහළ ගොස් ඇත. මෙවැනි පසුබිමක වෛද්‍යවරු බිහිකිරීමේ ප්‍රමාණය ඉහළ දැම්ම රජයේ වගකීමකි. මන්දයත් රටක සෞඛ්‍ය අංශය ශක්තිමත් වීම රටේ සංවර්ධනය දක්වන දර්ශකයක් බැවිනි. ඉහත කරුණු විමසා බැලුවිට පෙනී යන්නේ ධනේශ්වර සුහසාධන සංකල්පය ඇතිකල නිදහස් අධ්‍යාපනය සහ, නිදහස් සෞඛ්‍ය යන සංකල්පයන් ධනේශ්වර ආර්ථික ක්‍රමය යටතේම තර්ජනයට ලක්ව ඇති බවය. එමෙන්ම ධනේශ්වර ක්‍රමයෙහි වෙළෙඳපොල අසමත් වීම් නිසා ඇතිවන සමාජ අසමානාත්මතාවය සහ සාධාරණත්වය බිඳ වැටීම යන කරුණු රැඩිකල්භාවය ඉස්මතු වීමට හේතු වන බව කිව හැකිය.

රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාර මගින් ආර්ථිකයට විශාල බලපෑමක් එල්ල කරන බව ඉහත කරුණු වලින් කිව හැකිය.

රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලන ව්‍යාපාර නිසා ඇති වූ දේශපාලනික ප්‍රතිවිපාක.

ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලනයේ ප්‍රගමනය කෙරෙහි සෘජුවම බලපාන සාධකයක් ලෙස පවතින දේශපාලන ධාරාව මෙන්ම එහි ස්වභාවය විශේෂයෙන්ම බලයෙහි පවතින දේශපාලන පක්ෂයේ ප්‍රතිපත්තිවල ස්වභාවය පෙන්වාදිය හැකිය.

සයිටම් විරෝධය උසස් අධ්‍යාපන ගැටලුවකට එහා ගිය දේශපාලන ගැටලුවක්, පාපන්දුවක් බවට පත්ව තිබිණ. සයිටම්වලට සෘජුව අදාල සයිටම් සිසුන් හා දෙමව්පියන් එක පැත්තකින් ද සයිටම් විරෝධී රාජ්‍ය සරසවි සිසුන්, වෘත්තීය සමිති, දේශපාලක

ක්‍රියාකාරකයින් පිරිසක් අනෙක් පසින් ද සිටිති. මේ දෙපිරිස අතර දිගු කාලයක පටන් තිබෙන වෛරී සහගත ගැටුම නිරාකරණය කිරීම රජයට විශාල ගැටලුවක් බවට අද පත්වී ඇත. මෙම තත්ත්වය ඒ වන විට තර්ක විතර්ක වලින් විසඳිය හැකි මට්ටමින් එහාට ගොස් තිබිණි. සයිටම් ආරම්භ කිරීමේ දී හා එය පවත්වාගෙන යාමේ දී ද යම් යම් වැරදි සිදු වී තිබිය හැක. එවැනි වැරදි සිදු වූ ආයතන මීට පෙරද පැවත ඇති අතර ඒවා විසඳුම් සහිතව ඉදිරියට ගිය අවස්ථා ද තිබිණි. නමුත් මෙම සයිටම් ගැටලුව දඩ්මා කරගෙන විශාල දේශපාලන අර්බුදයක් බවට පත් කර ගැනීම කණගාටුදායක. ඒ තුළ දරුවන් දෙමාපියන් රැසක් පීඩාවට පත්වී ඇත. එම නිසා මේ ගැටලුව ප්‍රමාද වී හෝ බේරාගැනීම ඉතා හොඳ නමුත් එයට ප්‍රමාද වැඩි ද යන ගැටලුව ද පවතී. (ගුණවර්ධන, 2017)

මෙම අදහසින් පෙනී යන්නේ සයිටම් අර්බුදය දේශපාලන ක්ෂේත්‍රයේ විශාල පෙරළියක් ඇතිකල සිදුවීමක් බවයි. සයිටම් අර්බුදය සහ එමනිසා ඇති වූ රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය ක්‍රියාකාරකම් දිනෙන් දින දේශපාලකයන්ගේ කතාබහට ලක්වූ අතර ඒ හරහා ඔවුන් තම පක්ෂයේ ප්‍රසිද්ධිය වර්ධනය කරගැනීමටත් උත්සහ දරා ඇති බව පෙනේ. සැබවින්ම මෙය දේශපාලන අධිකාරිය වගකිවයුතු ගැටලුවකි. සයිටම් අර්බුදය පැවති සමයේ දෙපාර්ශවයේම සාමාජිකයන් විවිධ දේශපාලන පක්ෂ සමග සාකච්ඡා පැවැත්වීම, ලිඛිත දැනුම්දීම් සිදු කිරීම දක්නට ලැබුණි. එමෙන්ම දේශපාලන පක්ෂ නියෝජිතයන් රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරවලට සහය පළකරමින් සහභාගී වීමද දක්නට ලැබුණි. විශේෂයෙන් වාමාංශික දේශපාලනික පක්ෂ ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලන ව්‍යාපාර සඳහා වැඩි සහයෝගයක් දක්වයි.

රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලන ව්‍යාපාරයන් හි කැඳවුම්කරුවන් 11 දෙනෙකු මෙවැනි සටන් ව්‍යාපාර වලින් දිවි පුදා ඇත. එම ශිෂ්‍ය සංගම් වල අතීත නායකයන් වර්තමානයේ වාමාංශික පක්ෂ වල මෙන්ම ධනවාදී දක්ෂිණාංශික පක්ෂ වලද දැකගත හැකිය. ඔවුන් සයිටම් අර්බුදය සම්බන්ද දැක්වූ අදහස් පිළිබඳ අවධානය යොමු කිරීම වැදගත් වේ.

අන්තරයේ හිටපු කැඳවුම්කරු (1995-1996) ජ.වි.පෙ පාර්ලිමේන්තු මන්ත්‍රී සුනිල් හඳුන්නෙත්ති මහතාට අනුව වර්තමානයේ පවතින ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරවල ආරම්භය ඔවුන්ගේ ශිෂ්‍ය කාලයේ සිට ආරම්භ වුවක දිගුවක් බවයි. ඔවුන් එකල දියත් කල ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරවලට නිදසුන් ලෙස, යක්කල විකුමාරච්චි ආයුර්වේදයට විශ්ව විද්‍යාල පිළිගැනීම ලබාගැනීමේ අරගලය,

සෞන්දර්ය විශ්වවිද්‍යාලයේ නේවාසිකාගාර අරගලය, පේරාදෙණිය විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයේ නේවාසිකාගාර පිළිබඳ අරගලය, මොරටුව විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයේ එන්.ඩී.ටී. පාඨමාලාවට උපාධි තත්ත්වය ලබාගැනීම වෙනුවෙන් කරපු අරගලය දක්වයි. ඔහුට අනුව වර්තමානයේදී මෙන්ම සිය ශිෂ්‍ය සමයේදීද අධ්‍යාපනය පෞද්ගලිකරණය කිරීම් දක්නට ලැබී ඇති අතර විය අද පවතින තත්ත්වයට වඩා තරමක් වෙනස් වුවක් බවයි. ඔහුට අනුව එදා පැවති විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ඇතුළෙ මුදල් ගෙවා ලබා ගන්න පුළුවන් පෞද්ගලික උපාධි පාඨමාලා ආරම්භ කිරීමේ උත්සාහයක් බවත් අද තියෙන්නෙ අමු අමුවෙන්ම පෞද්ගලික විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ආරම්භ කිරීමේ උත්සාහයක් බවයි. (ගුණවර්ධන, 2017)

තාරුණ්‍යයේ දී රැඩිකල්වාදී අදහස් දරන සහ ක්‍රියාමාර්ග වලට එළඹි පිරිස් විසින් තම ජීවිතයේ විවිධ අවස්ථා වලදී සමාජයේ පවතින ක්‍රමයට විරුද්ධව යමින් එම සමාජ සම්මතයන් පරාජය කිරීමට සහ ඒවා වෙනස් කිරීමට පෙළඹෙන ආකාරයක් මෙම අදහස් ඉදිරිපත් කිරීම් මගින් ගම්‍යමාන වේ. එනම් ඔවුන් නිරන්තරයෙන් සිය අදහස් විවෘතව මෙන්ම පෙරළිකාරී ලෙස ඉදිරිපත් කිරීමට මෙන්ම පිරිස් බලය උපයෝගී කොටගෙන සමාජයේ කතා බහට ලක්වන අන්දමේ ක්‍රියාකාරකම් වල නිරත වීමට වැඩි නැඹුරුවක් දක්වන බව පෙනී යයි. විවිධ රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාර තුළින් ඇතිවූ යහපත් තත්ත්ව පිළිබඳ ඉහත ප්‍රකාශයෙන් අපට අවබෝධයක් ලබාගත හැකි වේ.

අන්තරයේ හිටපු කැඳවුම්කරු (2000-2001) චමීර කොස්වත්ත දක්වන ආකාරයට ඔවුන්ගේ ප්‍රධාන ගැටලුව වුයේ අධ්‍යාපනය පෞද්ගලිකකරණය කිරීමයි. විවිධ අධ්‍යාපන ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණ හරහා එම කාල වකවානුවේ පෞද්ගලික අධ්‍යාපනය පැමිණ ඇති අතර පෞද්ගලික විශ්ව විද්‍යාල පිහිටුවීම ගැන වාර්තාවක්ද නිකුත් වී තිබුණි. රාජ්‍ය විශ්ව විද්‍යාලවල ප්‍රතිපාදන පහසුකම් කපා දැමීමේ උත්සාහයක් පැවතුණි. එදා පැවති තත්ත්වයට වඩා වර්තමාන තත්වය දරුණු වී ඇති බවක් පෙනෙන්නට ඇත. වර්තමානයේ පමණක් නොව එදත් ඔවුන් මේවාට විරුද්ධව අරගල කළහ. ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරය වගකීම් දැරීම හරහා විය මගහැරිය නොහැකි සමාජය වගකීමකට බැදෙන්න සිදු වුණි. ඔහු අන්තරයෙ කැඳවුම්කරු ලෙස විශ්වාස කළ සහ පැවසූ දේවල් වෙනුවෙන් වර්තමානයෙත් කටයුතු කරන්න සිදු වී ඇති බවත් ඒ නිසා පූර්ණකාලීනව දේශපාලනය තෝරා ගත් බවත් පවසයි. (ගුණවර්ධන, 2017)

මින් පෙනී යන්නේ අතීතයේ රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාර

මගින් බොහෝ විට ජයග්‍රහණ ලබාගත්ත ද, නැවතත් නැවතත් කාලයාගේ ඇවෑමෙන් එම ගැටලුව විවිධ ස්වරූපයෙන් පැමිණෙන බවය. එලෙසම වර්තමානයේ කොතලාවල ආරක්ෂක විශ්ව විද්‍යාල පනත මගින් මෙම ගැටලුවට විසඳුමක් ලබා දුන්නද, අනාගතයේ මෙවැනි ගැටලු නැවත ඉස්මතු වීමට ඉඩ ඇති බව ප්‍රෝඪටනය කළ හැකිය.

අන්තරයේ හිටපු කැඳවුම්කරු (2004-2008) පෙරටුගාමී සමාජවාදී පක්ෂයේ ප්‍රචාරක ලේකම් දුමින්ද නාගමුව පවසන්නේ සයිටම් අර්බුදය නිසා විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ශිෂ්‍යයො සෞඛ්‍ය අමාත්‍යාංශය වැටලීම සම්බන්ධව වර්තමානයේ මිනිසුන් කතා කරන බවකි. නමුත් මේ ශිෂ්‍යයන් මේ ගැටලුව විසඳා ගැනීමට සෞඛ්‍ය අමාත්‍යාංශයට යාමට පෙර පන්ති වර්ජන සිදු කරන ලදි. ශිෂ්‍යයො වගේම ඔවුන්ගේ මවුපියොත් උද්ඝෝෂණය කළහ. මේ සියල්ල සිදු කළත් පාලකයන් ඇහුම්කන් නොදුන් නිසාවෙන් මේ ශිෂ්‍යයන් සෞඛ්‍ය අමාත්‍යාංශයට පැමිණියහ. මෙවැනි සිදුවීම් මීට පෙරත් සිදු වී ඇති අතර ඔවුන්ගේ කාලේ කර අරගලවලදිත් මේ වගේ කඩාවැදීම්, වැටලීම් තිබුණු බව ඔහු පවසයි. ඒ තුළින් විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ගණනාවක ශිෂ්‍ය ශිෂ්‍යාවන් වෙනුවෙන් පහසුකම් ලබාගන්නත් හැකියාවක් ලැබුණු බවද අන්තරය යනු දේශපාලන පක්ෂයක සංවිධානයක් නොවන බවද, එය ශිෂ්‍යයන් ගොඩනගාගත් සංවිධානයක් වන බවත් ඔහු පවසයි. වාමාංශික පක්ෂ සිදු කරන්නේ ශිෂ්‍යයන්ගේ කැමැත්ත දිනාගෙන ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරය ඒ ඒ ව්‍යුහවල ක්‍රියාකාරකම්වලට සම්බන්ධ වීමයි. ඒ නිසා ඉතා පැහැදිලිවම අන්තරය ස්වාධීන ව්‍යුහයකි යන්න ඔහු පවසයි. ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරයෙන් දේශපාලනයට අවතීර්ණ වුණේ ජ.වි.පෙ. න් බව ඔහු තව දුරටත් පවසයි. (ගුණවර්ධන, 2017)

මෙම ප්‍රකාශයෙන් අපට වැටහෙන්නේ රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාර මගින් ගන්නා ලබන ක්‍රියාමාර්ග වල යම් අනුපිළිවෙලක් ඇති බවය. එනම් පළමුව පීඩාකාරී නොවන ක්‍රියාමාර්ග වලට එළඹ ඉන් ප්‍රතිචාරයක් නොමැති වූ විට පීඩාකාරී රටට දැනෙන සුළු රැඩිකල්වාදී ක්‍රියාමාර්ග ගන්නා බවය. මෙය දේශපාලනික වශයෙන් ඇතිවන ප්‍රතිවිපාකයකි. මන්දයත් තරුණ ප්‍රජාවගේ ගැටලු වලට රජයක් වශයෙන් විසඳුම් ලබා දීම රටකට වැදගත්ය. එසේ නොවුනහොත් තරුණ ශිෂ්‍ය ප්‍රජාවගේ රැඩිකල්වාදී අදහස් හේතුවෙන් මුළු දේශපාලන පද්ධතිය මෙන්ම සාමාන්‍ය ජනයා එමගින් පීඩාවට පත්වේ.

කොළඹ විශ්වවිද්‍යාලයේ නීතිපීඨ ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරයේ හිටපු ක්‍රියාකාරී සාමාජික හිටපු ක්‍රීඩා ඇමැති දයාසිරි

ජයසේකර මහතා සිය ශිෂ්‍ය සමයේදී තමන් ලද අත්දැකීම් විස්තර කළේය. එහිදී ඔවුන් දියත් කරන ලද ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරවල ස්වභාවය පිළිබඳව නිදසුන් සහිතව අදහස් දක්වා ඇත. ඔහුගේ පළමු ශිෂ්‍ය අරගලය යක්කල ආයුර්වේද වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාලය මඟින් ගෙන යනු ලැබූ අරගලය බවත්, ඉන් පසුව තවත් අරගල ගණනාවකට සම්බන්ධ වූ බව පවසයි. එම අරගල වලදී ඔවුන් එකල සංස්කෘතික අමාත්‍යාංශය තමන් යටතට පත් කරගැනීම, පා ගමන් සංවිධානය කිරීම, සිසුන් දස දෙනෙකු විසින් "මාරාන්තික උපවාසයක්" සිදු කිරීම ආදිය දක්වා ඇත. එමෙන්ම ඔවුන් එදා ගෙන ගිය මෙම රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාර නිසාවෙන් ඔවුන් ලද ජයග්‍රහණ පිළිබඳවද මෙලෙස අදහස් දක්වා ඇත.

> "මුත්තයියා පාරේ තියෙන හොස්ටල් එක හැදුවේ, අපි ගිහින් එතන අල්ලගත්ත නිසා. කොළඹ කැම්පස් එකේ අද තියෙන කළමනාකරණ හා මූල්‍ය පීඨය තියෙන තැන එදා තිබුණේ සංස්කෘතික අමාත්‍යාංශය. අපි එතනට ගිහින් ඒක අල්ලගත්ත. එකේ ප්‍රතිඵලයක් හැටියට, ඒ පීඨය එතන හැදුණ."

ඔහුට අනුව ශිෂ්‍යයින් අරගල කල යුතු බවත් නමුත් ඒ සඳහා නිසි පරිදි කරුණු තෝරා ගත යුතු බව දක්වයි. සයිටම් අර්බුදය පිළිබඳව ද ඔහු මෙහිදී අදහස් දක්වන ලද අතර එහිදී ඔහු දක්වන්නේ මෙවන් අදහසකි. ඔහුට අනුව, සයිටම් අර්බුදය නිසා වෛද්‍ය පීඨය මාස පහමාරක් තිස්සේ වසා දැමීමත් , දේශනවලට නොයැමත්, අවුරුදු එකහමාරක් තිස්සේ මෙම ශිෂ්‍යයන් හැම විශ්වවිද්‍යාලයක් ඉදිරියේම අට්ටාල ගසා උපවාස කිරීමත් ගැටලුවකි . ආණ්ඩුවක් විදියට මේ ප්‍රශ්නය ඉදිරියට ගෙන නොයා විසඳුමක් ලබාදිය යුතුව තිබුණා යන්න ඔහුගේ අදහසයි. විසඳුම් නොදුනහොත් ශිෂ්‍යයන් අවි ආයුධ අතට ගැනීමට පෙළඹෙන බව අතීතය සාක්ෂි දරයි. තවදුරටත් ඔහු පවසනුයේ එදා නිදහස් අධ්‍යාපනය වෙනුවෙන් කරපු අරගල දරපු ආකල්ප අදටත් ඒ විදියටම පිළිගන්නා බවය. නමුත් මේ සයිටම් ප්‍රශ්නේදී ශිෂ්‍යයෝ හැසිරුණ ආකාරය සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම වැරදි බවත්, එයට හේතුව ඔවුන් අරගල භාවිතයෙන් පිට යාමත්‍ය. මෙම ශිෂ්‍යයෝ සෞඛ්‍ය අමාත්‍යාංශයට ගියේ ඇමතිවරයා මුණගැහෙන්න වෙලාවක්වත් වෙන්කරගෙන නොවන බවත් සෞඛ්‍ය අමාත්‍යාංශය වැටලීමට බවත්, අනිත් අමාත්‍යාංශ වටලනවා කියා ශිෂ්‍යයෝ තර්ජනය කර තිබුණු බවත් අමාත්‍යාංශ වටලන්න කවුරු

හරි ත්‍රස්තවාදියෝ විදියට කටයුතු කරනවා නම් අනිවාර්යෙන් ඔවුන්ට විරුද්ධව නීතිය ක්‍රියාත්මක විය යුතු බවත් ඔහු පවසයි. (ගුණවර්ධන, 2017).

මෙම අදහස අතර පරස්පර විරෝධීබවක් දැකිය හැකිය.ඔහු අතීතයේදී සංස්කෘතික අමාත්‍යාංශය ඔවුන් යටතට ගත් බව පවසයි. අනෙක් අතට වර්තමානයේ එවැනි වැටලීම් ත්‍රස්තවාදී ක්‍රියා ලෙස පවසයි. වියින් පෙනී යන්නේ පුද්ගලයාගේ වත්මන් දේශපාලන කියවීම තුල, රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය ක්‍රියාකාරකම් වල ස්වභාවය අර්ථකථනය කිරීම වෙනස්වන බවය.

පේරාදෙණිය විශ්වවිද්‍යාලයේ දන්ත වෛද්‍ය පීඨ ශිෂ්‍ය සංගමයේ හිටපු ක්‍රියාකාරී සාමාජික සෞඛ්‍ය, පෝෂණ හා දේශීය වෛද්‍ය ඇමැති රාජිත සේනාරත්න මහතා විසින් මෙම සයිටම් පෞද්ගලික වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාලය පිළිබඳ අරගල සම්බන්ධව ප්‍රකාශ කල අදහස් අනුව ඔහුගේ විශ්ව විද්‍යාල කාලය තුලදී ඔහු ලද අත්දැකීම් මෙලෙස සැකෙවින් විස්තර කර ඇත. ඔහු විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ශිෂ්‍යයෙක් ලෙස කටයුතු කළ   කාලයේ නිදහස් අධ්‍යාපනය වෙනුවෙන් පෙනී සිටිමින් සටන් කළ බව පවසයි. වර්තමානයේද එසේමය . ඒත් අද මේ අය නිදහස් අධ්‍යාපනය කියලා කියන්නේ මොකක්ද? යනුවෙන් ඔහු ප්‍රශ්න කරයි. නිදහස් අධ්‍යාපනයේ පියා සී.ඩබ්ලිව්.ඩබ්ලිව්. කන්නන්ගර මැතිතුමා නිදහස් අධ්‍යාපනය ඇති කළාට එතුමා පෞද්ගලික අධ්‍යාපන ආයතන වසා දැමිය යුතුයි කියා පවසා නැති බව ඔහු කියයි. පෞද්ගලික ආයතන පවතිද්දී රජයේ අධ්‍යාපන ආයතන ශක්තිමත් කිරීම එතුමා විසින් සිදු කරන ලදී. (ගුණවර්ධන, 2017)

එමෙන්ම අමාත්‍යවරයා විසින් තමන් බලයට පත්ව සිටින වත්මන් සමයේ ආණ්ඩුව ලෙස මෙම අරගලය දෙස බලන ආකාරය මෙලෙස දක්වා ඇත. වත්මන් ආණ්ඩුව විසින් නිදහස් අධ්‍යාපනය ශක්තිමත් කිරීම සඳහා වයඹ, සබරගමුව විශ්වවිද්‍යාලවල වෛද්‍ය පීඨ සෑදීමටත් මොරටුව විශ්වවිද්‍යාලයේ වෛද්‍ය පීඨයක් ඉදිකිරීම ගැනත් සාකච්ඡා කරමින් සිටින බවත් පවසයි. එමෙන්ම ඔහුට අනුව උසස්පෙළ විද්‍යා අංශයෙන් හදාරන සිසුන්ගෙන් වෛද්‍ය සිහිනය සැබෑ වන්නේ 17% පමණක් බවත් ඉතුරු 83% සඳහා සාධාරණයක් ඉටු කිරීමට පෞද්ගලික විශ්ව විද්‍යාල අවශ්‍ය බවත් පවසයි. (ගුණවර්ධන, 2017)

කොළඹ විශ්වවිද්‍යාලයේ මහා ශිෂ්‍ය සංගමයේ හිටපු සභාපති (1990-1994) හිටපු නිපුණතා සංවර්ධන හා වෘත්තීය පුහුණු කටයුතු නියෝජ්‍ය අමාත්‍ය කරුණාරත්න පරණවිතාන මහතා, එදා අන්තරය

තිබුණේ කාගෙවත් දේශපාලන හස්තයකට යටවෙලා නොවන බව පවසයි. යම් යම් දේශපාලන පක්ෂ උත්සාහ කළත් අන්තරය තමන් යටතට ගැනීමට ඔවුන් එයට ඒකට ඉඩ නොදුන් බවද පවසයි. අද ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරය ක්‍රියාකාරිත්වය එදා ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරයේ ක්‍රියාකාරීත්වයට බොහෝ දුරට සමානයි. ශිෂ්‍ය ජීවිතයේදී හුඟක් සාමූහිකත්වය, සාධාරණත්වය ගැන අවේගශීලීව හැඟීම්බරව කටයුතු කිරීමට පුහුණු වූ බව ඔහු පවසයි. එදත් අදත් අතර ඔහු දකින වෙනස නම් අද ශිෂ්‍ය නායකයින් තමන් කරන සටන්වල සටන් පාඨ ගැන යථාර්ථවාදී තක්සේරුවකින් කටයුතු කරනවද යන්න ගැටලුවක් වීමයි. එසේම පෙරටුගාමී සමාජවාදී පක්ෂය ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරයේ බලය තහවුරු කරගැනීම සඳහා තම මතය ශිෂ්‍යයන් අතර තදින් තහවුරු කිරීමට උත්සාහ දරන බවත්, ඉදිරිපත් කරන සටන් පාඨ නිවැරදි ද යන්න සෙවිය යුතු බවත් ඔහු පවසයි. ඔහුට අනුව වත්මන් ශිෂ්‍යයා සියලු දේ නොමිලයේ ලබාදෙන සුබසාධන ක්‍රමයක් අපේක්ෂා කරන අතර එය සමාජවාදය ලෙස සිතයි. මෙය දාර්ශනික පිලි පැනීමක් ලෙස ඔහු දක්වන අතර එමගින් බොහෝ පිරිසකට තම අධ්‍යාපන අයිතිය අහෝසි වන බව පවසයි. (ගුණවර්ධන, 2017)

ඉහත කරුණු වලින් රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරවල සාධනීය ලක්ෂණද දැකගත හැකිය. එමෙන්ම අතීත ශිෂ්‍ය ක්‍රියාකාරී නායකයන් බොහෝ පිරිසක් විශ්ව විද්‍යාල අධ්‍යාපනයෙන් අනතුරුව දේශපාලන ක්ෂේත්‍රයේ අනාගත නායකයන් බවට පත්ව ඇති බවත් හඳුනාගත හැකිය. නමුත් ඔවුන් තුළ සිය තරුණ අවධියේදී පැවති රැඩිකල්වාදී ආකල්ප, ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාර පිළිබඳ කියවීම වර්තමානයේදී තමා නියෝජනය කරනු ලබන දේශපාලන පක්ෂය සහ එහි ප්‍රතිපත්තීන් අනුව වෙනස් වී ඇති ආකාරයක් මෙමගින් අවබෝධකර ගැනීමට හැකිවේ.

නිදහස් අධ්‍යාපනය සුරැකීම අප දෙවුර මත පැටවුණා වගකීමකි. වශයෙන් වන සටන්පාඨ සරසවිය තුළ නිරන්තරයෙන්ම ප්‍රදර්ශනය කිරීම හරහා ඔවුන් ලබාදෙන ඉඟිය නම් නිදහස් අධ්‍යාපනය නිරන්තරයෙන්ම ධනවාදයේ ගොදුරක් බවට පත්වීමේ අවදානමක් පවතින බවත් ඊට එරෙහිව නැඟීසිටින කේන්ද්‍රීය නිර්ධන පන්තිය ඔවුන් බවත්ය. මේ සටන් පාඨයට ප්‍රතිපක්ෂ වන ඕනෑම බලවේගයක් සරසවිය තුළ මර්ධනය කිරීම එම දේශපාලනයේම කොටසක් වීම යුක්ති සහගත කළ හැකි තත්ත්වයක් වශයෙන් ඔවුහු සලකති. ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලනය විසින් රාජ්‍යය දිගින් දිගටම අධ්‍යාපනයේ ප්‍රමුඛතම නිෂ්පාදකයා

වශයෙන් සැලකීමත්, පෞද්ගලික අංශයට අධ්‍යාපනය, විශේෂයෙන්ම වෛද්‍ය, අකප දෙයක්‍ය වශයෙන් දැකීම නිසාත් සහ නිදහස් වෙළෙඳපොළ ප්‍රවර්ධනය කරන ආණ්ඩුවේ ප්‍රතිපත්තිවලට තදින්ම පහරදීම නිසාත් ආණ්ඩුවේ මර්ධනකාරීත්වයේ ගොදුරක් බවට එය පත්වීම ඓතිහාසිකවම සිදුවන අබණ්ඩතාවකි. (අතුලසිරි සමරකෝන්)

සයිටම් අර්බුදය සැලකිල්ලට ගැනීමේදී දේශපාලන අත පෙවීම දෙපාර්ශවය තුලින්ම දක්නට ලැබුණු බව සත්‍යයකි. එක අතකින් සයිටම් ආයතනය තුල තම දූ දරුවන් නැඳ හිතවතුන් සිටින දේශපාලඥයින් එම පාර්ශවය රැකගැනීමට උත්සාහා කරන ලදි. අනෙක් පසින් සයිටම් විරෝධී පාර්ශවයට එල්ල වන දරුණු චෝදනාවක් වනුයේ විවිධ දේශපාලන න්‍යාය පත්‍ර වලට තම රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය ක්‍රියාකාරකම් සිදු කරන බවය.

අවසානයේ පෙනී යන කරුණ වන්නේ රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරයන් තම අරමුණ ඉටුවන තුරුම අනම්‍යශීලීව විවිධ ක්‍රියාමාර්ග වලට එළඹී ඇති බවය. නමුත් , රජය පාර්ශවයද දිගින් දිගටම මෙම ගැටලුවේදී අනම්‍යශීලී ප්‍රතිපත්තියක් අනුගමනය කල නිසා විශාල වශයෙන් පීඩාකාරී ක්‍රියාමාර්ග සිසුන් විසින් අනුගමනය කල ලදි. එම ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාර හමුවේ දේශපාලන ක්ෂේත්‍රයේ ද මේ සඳහා විශාල කතිකාවතක් ඇති විය. තම දේශපාලන පක්ෂයේ ඉදිරි පැවැත්ම උදෙසා අනෙකුත් දේශපාලන පක්ෂ මෙම ගැටලුව දඩමීමා කරගත් අවස්ථාද දැකිය හැකි විය. අනෙක් අතට මෙම අර්බුදය පාර්ලිමේන්තුවේ දින ගණන් සාකච්ඡාවන මාතෘකාවක් බවට පත්විය. සයිටම් වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාලයේ මෙතෙක් ඉගෙනුම ලැබූ සිසුන්ටද රාජ්‍ය විශ්ව විද්‍යාල වල සිසුන්ටද කන්දීමට ආණ්ඩුවට සිදුවිය.

එමනිසා, අවසාන තීන්දුව වශයෙන් සයිටම් වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාලයීය සිසුන් කොතලාවල ආරක්ෂක විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයට අන්තර්ග්‍රහණය කිරීමත්, ඉතා හොඳ පහසුකම්වලින් යුත් සයිටම් ආයතනයේ සායනික පුහුණුව සඳහා ආරම්භ කරන ලද නෙවිල් ප්‍රනාන්දු රෝහල රජයට පවරා ගැනීමටත්, වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යා උපාධියේ අවම සුදුසුකම් නීතිගත කිරීමටත් දේශපාලන අධිකාරිය විසින් පත්කළ කොමිසම විසින් නියම කරන ලදි. මෙමගින් රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරවල ජයගැනීමක් ලෙස හෝ එය රටකට අවශ්‍ය වන බව හෝ කිව නොහැකිය. එයට හේතුව එය තීරණය වනුයේ රටක රාජ්‍ය ප්‍රතිපත්තිවල ස්වභාවයත්, ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාර මගින් ඉදිරිපත් කරන ඉල්ලීම්වල ස්වභාවය මතත්, ඔවුන් දියත්කරන ක්‍රියාමාර්ගවල ස්වභාවය ඇතුළුව විශාල හේතුකාරණා ප්‍රමාණයක් මේ සඳහා

බලපානු ලබන බැවිනි. එම හේතුන් මත විවිධ කාල වලදී විවිධ සාධක පාදකකොට ගනිමින් ගෙනයනු ලබන රැඩිකල්වාදී තරුණ ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාර වල ස්වභාවය සමාජ, ආර්ථික සහ දේශපාලනික වශයෙන් රටකට බලපාන ආකාරය පිළිබඳව වෙන වෙනම හැදෑරීමකින් තොරව නිගමනයකට එළඹීම සිදු කල නොහැකිය.

නිගමන සහ යෝජනා

මෙම අධ්‍යයනය විශ්ලේෂණය කිරීමේදී පෙනී යන්නේ රැඩිකල්කරණය යනු යම් පුද්ගලයෙකු හෝ පුද්ගල කණ්ඩායමක් පවතින තත්ත්වය වෙනස් කිරීමට පෙළඹීම යන්නයි. අධ්‍යයනය පුරාවට සාකච්ඡා කල කරුණු අනුව රැඩිකල්කරණය පීඩාකාරී සහ පීඩාකාරී නොවන ලෙස පැවතිය හැකිය. එමෙන්ම මෙම සිද්ධි අධ්‍යනයේ දී ලබාගත් දත්ත අනුව රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය ක්‍රියාකාරකම් හේතුවෙන් ඇති වන සමාජීය, දේශපාලනික සහ ආර්ථිකමය ප්‍රතිවිපාක දිගුකාලීන වශයෙන් සමාජයට බලපාන සහ කෙටිකාලීන වශයෙන් බලපාන ලෙස බණ්ඩනය කල හැකිය. එම කුලකය ද ධනාත්මකව සහ සෘණාත්මකව සමාජයට බලපාන ප්‍රතිවිපාක ලෙස දැක්විය හැකිය.

විශේෂයෙන්ම රැඩිකල්කරණයට අධ්‍යාපනය බලපාන බව නිගමනය කල හැකිය. එයට හේතුව නම් අන් රටවල මෙන්ම ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ද විශ්ව විද්‍යාල සිසුන් මූලිකව රටේ ඇතැම් ප්‍රශ්න වලට රැඩිකල් ස්වරූපයෙන් මැදිහත් වීමය. අතීතයේ සිට ම අධ්‍යාපනය හා වෙනත් විවිධ සංවේදී කාරණා සම්බන්ධයෙන් කාලයෙන් කාලයට පැන නැගි ගැටලු, අර්බුද හමුවේ ශිෂ්‍යයන් අරගල කල ඉතිහාසය 1970 දශකයේ සිට ඉදිරියට දිගහැරෙන නමුත් ශිෂ්‍ය අරගල වඩාත් උණුසුම් ලෙස ක්‍රියාත්මක වූයේත්, සමාජ අවධානය වැඩි වශයෙන් ඒවා කෙරෙහි යොමුවූයේත් 1980 දශකයේ සිට ඉදිරියට ලියැවුණු ඉතිහාසයේදීය. තරුණ දේශපාලනයේ තිම්බිරිගෙය වන්නේ වාමවාදී පක්ෂ බව දැකිය හැකිය. ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරයේ ආරම්භයේ පටන්ම අරගල. යන්න ප්‍රධාන භාවිතය ලෙස ක්‍රියාත්මක වූ ආකාරයක් දැකිය හැකි අතර අධ්‍යාපනය හා වෙනත් විවිධ සංවේදී කාරණා සම්බන්ධයෙන් කාලයෙන් කාලයට පැන නැගි ගැටලු, අර්බුද හමුවේ ශිෂ්‍යයන් අරගල කරන ලදී.

මෙහිදී සිද්ධි අධ්‍යනය ලෙස සයිටම් අර්බුදය තෝරා ගැනීමට විශේෂ හේතුව වන්නේ තරුණ රැඩිකල්වාදී ක්‍රියාකාරකම් සඳහා යාවත්කාලීන වූ එකම උදාහරණය එිය වන බැවිනි. සයිටම් යන්නෙහි අර්ථය වන්නේ South Asian Institute of Technology and Medicine යන්නයි. සයිටම් ආයතනය වූ කලි උසස් අධ්‍යාපනය

සපයන පෞද්ගලික ආයතනයක් ලෙස 2008 වර්ෂයේදී මාලඹේ දී ආරම්භ කරන ලද ආයතනයකි. මෙයට විරුද්ධව රජයේ විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ගෙනගිය අරගලය සයිටම් අර්බුදය වේ.

මෙම අධ්‍යයනය මගින් ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලනයේ ස්වභාවය පිළිබඳ ලබාගත හැකි නිගමන කිහිපයක් වේ. ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලනය බොහෝ විට රැඩිකල් ස්වරූපයක් ගනී. රැඩිකල්වාදී ක්‍රියාකාරකම් වලට උදාහරණ ලෙස උද්ඝෝෂණා පැවැත්වීම්, පෙළපාලි යෑම්, පන්ති වර්ජනයන්, කළු පටි ව්‍යාපාර, අට්ටාල, සටන් පාඨ ඔස්සේ සිය පෙරළිකාර අදහස් ඉදිරිපත් කිරීම් ආදිය දැක්විය හැකි වුවත් ඔවුන් පළමුව පීඩාකාරී නොවන ක්‍රියාමාර්ග අනුගමනය කරයි. එනම් පළමුව ලිඛිත ඉදිරිපත් කිරීම්, සාකච්ඡා, පෝස්ටර් ව්‍යාපාර ආදිය සිදුකර ඉන්පසුත් එයට සාධාරණයක් නොවේ නම් ඉහත සඳහන් රැඩිකල්වාදී ක්‍රියාකාරකම් කෙරෙහි යොමුවේ.මෙය සාමූහික ක්‍රියාවලියක් වන අතර බොහෝවිට දැඩි අනම්‍ය සුළු ස්වභාවයක් ගනී. එයට හේතුව දැඩි මතවාදීමය ස්වභාවය, බාහිරින් ඇතිවන පෙළඹවීම්, න්‍යායාත්මක පසුබිම, ගැටලු සඳහා විකල්ප අදහස් මතු නොවීම, විශ්ව විද්‍යාල තුල වාමාංශික වීමේ ප්‍රවණතාවය, ගෝලීය අත්දැකීම්, මහා සමාජය තුල පවතින සමාජ, ආර්ථික සහ දේශපාලනික ගැටලු උත්සන්න වීම, බලයේ පවතින දේශපාලන පක්ෂ ඇතුළු හේතු වේ. සයිටම් අර්බුදයෙදී මෙය කැපී පෙනිණි. රජය සහ සයිටම් පාර්ශවය කෙසේ කීවද ශිෂ්‍ය ක්‍රියාකාරීන් බොහෝ කාලයක් කැප කිරීම් කර එහි ජයග්‍රහණය ලැබෙන තුරම දැඩි අනම්‍යශීලී ස්වරූපයක් ප්‍රකට කරන ලදි.

මෙහි සමාජීය දේශපාලනික සහ ආර්ථික ප්‍රතිවිපාක විමසා බැලීම ඉතා වැදගත්‍ය. පෙර පැවසූ පිරිදි මෙම ප්‍රතිවිපාක දිගුකාලීන ප්‍රතිවිපාක සහ කෙටිකාලීනව ඇති වූ ප්‍රතිවිපාක ලෙස දැක්විය හැකි නමුත් මෙම දිගුකාලීන සහ කෙටිකාලීන ප්‍රතිවිපාක එකිනෙකට සංසන්දනය කල නොහැක. එයට හේතුව වන්නේ ඇතැම් විට කෙටි කාලීනව යහපත් තීරණ ගැනීම අනාගතයේ දී රටට හා සමාජයට දිගුකාලීනව අයහපත් ලෙස බලපෑ හැකි බැවිනි. එබැවින් නිගමනයේ හරවත්භාවය උදෙසා දිගුකාලීන සහ කෙටි කාලීන ප්‍රතිවිපාක වෙන වෙනම දැක්වීම නිවැරදි වේ.

සයිටම් අර්බුදය පිළිබඳ සිද්ධි අධ්‍යනයේදී කෙටිකාලීන වශයෙන් සිදුවූ ප්‍රතිවිපාක බොහෝය. ඒ අතරින් රැඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය ක්‍රියාකාරකම් නිසා සමාජීය වශයෙන් ඇති වූ ප්‍රතිවිපාක ලෙස උසස් අධ්‍යාපනය

හැදෑරූ පෞද්ගලික අධ්‍යාපන ආයතන වල සිසුන්ට එක්වරම අධ්‍යාපනය අහිමි වීම දැක්විය හැකිය. කොතලාවල ආරක්ෂක විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයට මෙම සිසුන් අන්තර්ග්‍රහණය කලද, නැවත මුදල් ගෙවීමට සිදුවීම නිසා බොහෝ පිරිසක් විදේශගත වී ඇති බවට තොරතුරු වාර්තා වේ. එමෙන්ම රාජ්‍ය විශ්ව විද්‍යාලවල වෛද්‍ය පීඨ මාස ගණනක් තිස්සේ වසා තිබූ නිසාවෙන් වෛද්‍ය සිසුන්ගේ වටිනා කාලය අපතේ යමක් සිදු වුණි. උසස් පෙළ විභාගය නිම වී වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාල සඳහා ඇතුලත් වීමට අපේක්ෂාවෙන් සිටින සිසුන් හට වැඩි කාලයක් නිකරුනේ ගෙවා දැමීමට සිදුවිය. තවද, ජල ප්‍රහාර, කඳුළු ගෑස් සහ ආදි මර්ධනකාරී ක්‍රියාමාර්ග හේතුවෙන් විශ්ව විද්‍යාල සිසුන්ට රෝහල් ගත වීමට සිදු වූ අවස්ථාද විය. මෙම උද්ඝෝෂණ ව්‍යාපාර වැඩි වශයෙන් ඇත්තේ සතියේ දිනවල වීම හේතුවෙන් සිසුන්ට අධ්‍යයන කටයුතු සඳහා යෙදවීමට ඇති කාලය අපතේ යැවීමට සිදු විය.

එමෙන්ම මෙමගින් මහජනතාවට දිගු කාලයක් මහ මඟ රැඳීමට සිදු වීම, කාලය අපතේ යාම, මානසිකව මෙන්ම ශාරීරිකව ද විවිධ පීඩාවන්ට ලක්වීමට සිදු වීම සහ මෙයට සම්බන්ධ වෛද්‍යවරුන් ගෙන ගිය වැඩවර්ජන නිසා රජයේ රෝහල්වල රෝගීන් මහත් අපහසුතාවයට පත් වීමද දැකිය හැකි විය.

සයිටම් අර්බුධය කෙටි කාලීනව දේශපාලන පාපන්දුවක් විය. එනම් එකිනෙක දේශපාලන පක්ෂ මෙමගින් තම දේශපාලන පක්ෂයේ ප්‍රසිද්ධිය වර්ධනය කර ගැනීමටත්, අනෙක් දේශපාලන පක්ෂ වලට මඩ ගැසීමටත් මෙය භාවිත කරන ලදි. සමස්ත දේශපාලන පද්ධතියේම අර්බුද ඇති වීම නිසා දේශපාලනික වශයෙන් සාමාන්‍ය ජනතාවද පීඩාවට පත්විය. එමෙන්ම මෙම ගැටලුවේදී ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන්ම දේශපාලන අත පෙවීම් දැකිය හැකි විය. දේශපාලනඥයන්ගේ දූ දරුවන් හිතවතුන් වෙනුවෙන් සයිටම් පාර්ශවය යහපත් යයි කියන පිරිසක්ද තවත් අතකින් වාමාංශික පක්ෂ තම මතය තහවුරු කරගැනීම උදෙසා අන්තර් විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ශිෂ්‍ය බල මණ්ඩලය සමඟ එක වීමක්ද දැකිය හැකි විය. සත්‍ය වශයෙන්ම මෙම ගැටලුව අර්බුදයක් වනුයේ දේශපාලනික අත පෙවීම් නිසා බව කිව හැකිය. රජයක් ලෙස ශිෂ්‍යයන්ගේ මතයට කන් දුන්නා නම් මෙවැනි අර්බුදයක් පැන නැගීමට ඉඩ නොවන්නට තිබිණි. කෙසේ වුවත් නිගමනයට එළඹිය හැකි තවත් කරුණක් වනුයේ ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලනය ප්‍රධාන ධාරාවේ දේශපාලනය හා සෑබුවම වර්තමානය වන විට බැඳී ඇති බවය. එමෙන්ම ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලනය හා එම ක්‍රියාකාරකම් තුලින් සාමූහික හැඟීම, නොබියව අසාධාරණය වෙනුවෙන් ඉදිරිපත් විය හැකි ශිෂ්‍ය

ප්‍රජාවක් ඉස්මතු වීමය සාධනීය ලක්ෂණ වේ.

සයිටම් පෞද්ගලික වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාලය පිළිබඳව ගෙන ගිය රැඩිකල්වාදී ක්‍රියාකාරකම් නිසා ආර්ථිකයට සෘජුව සහ වක්‍රව බලපෑම් ඇති විය. සයිටම් වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාලය සහ වෙනත් පෞද්ගලික විශ්ව විද්‍යාලවල අධ්‍යාපනය ලැබීමට බලාපොරොත්තුවෙන් සිටි බොහෝ පිරිසක් විදේශගත වීම නිසා මෙරට මුදල් පිටරටට ඇදී යාමක් සිදුවිය. එමෙන්ම මෙම අර්බුදය නිසා විශ්ව විද්‍යාල සිසුන්ට අහිමි වූ කාලය සහ රජයට අහිමි වූ මුදල විශාලය. එමෙන්ම මහමඟ නිකරුනේ සාමාන්‍ය ජනතාවට මහමඟ කාලය නාස්ති කිරීමට සිදු වීමෙන් රටට අහිමි වූ ශ්‍රම පැය ගණන විශාලය. මෙම රැඩිකල්වාදී ක්‍රියා සඳහා වැය කරනුයේ විශ්ව විද්‍යාල සිසුන් කෙට ව්‍යාපාර මඟින් එකතු කල මහජන මුදල් ම වේ. අනෙක් අතට මෙම රැඩිකල්වාදී ක්‍රියා හේතුවෙන් පොදු දේපල වලට හානි වන අවස්ථාද ඇත. මේවා කෙටි කාලීන වශයෙන් සිදුවන ආර්ථික හානි වේ.

මෙම අධ්‍යයනයේදී වැදගත්ම කොටස වනුයේ දිගු කාලීනව සමාජයට, ආර්ථිකයට සහ දේශපාලනික අංශයට ඇති වූ ප්‍රතිවිපාක නිගමනය කිරීමය. විශේෂයෙන් ම වෛද්‍යවරුන්ගේ හිඟයක් පවතින ශ්‍රී ලංකාව වැනි රටකට මෙවැනි පෞද්ගලික හෝ උපාධි ලබාදෙන ආයතන වැදගත් වේ. එසේ නොමැතිනම් රාජ්‍ය විශ්ව විද්‍යාල වලට බදවා ගන්නා සිසුන් ප්‍රමාණය ඉහල දැමිය යුතු නමුත් පහසුකම් සීමිත විම නිසා විය එසේ කල නොහැක. නමුත් අනෙක් අතට එම උපාධි ලබාදෙන ආයතන ගුණාත්මක බැවින් තොර නම් අනාගතයේදී සෞඛ්‍ය සේවයේ ගුණාත්මක බව අඩු විය හැකිය. එනිසා මෙම රැඩිකල්වාදී ක්‍රියා හේතුවෙන් සෞඛ්‍යය සහ අධ්‍යාපන අංශයේ ගුණාත්මක බව රඳා පවත්වා ගැනීමට මෙහෙයක් වුවා යයි පැවසිය හැකිය. එමෙන්ම අධ්‍යාපනය සෞඛ්‍යය යනු මිනිසාගේ මූලික අයිතිවාසිකමක් වන අතර එය තහවුරු කිරීමට මෙය ඉවහල් වූ බවද කිව හැකිය. දේශපාලනික වශයෙන් ගත කල අනාගත දේශපාලන නායකයන් බිහි වීම මෙම රැඩිකල්වාදී ක්‍රියා හේතුවෙන් සිදුවන බව පෙන්වා දිය හැකිය. එයට හේතුවේ අතීත රැ ඩිකල්වාදී ශිෂ්‍ය ක්‍රියාකාරීන් බොහෝ පිරිසක් වත්මන් දේශපාලන ව්‍යුහය තුල විවිධ මත දරමින් ක්‍රියාකාරීව සිටීමය. මෙම අර්බුදය රජයේ විශ්ව විද්‍යාල වලට ජයග්‍රහණයක් අත් කර දෙමින් සමතයකට පත් වූ නමුත් මේවා විවිධ රජයන් මාරු වීමත් සමඟ නැවත නැවතත් සිදුවන දෙයක් බව නිගමනය කල හැකිය. විශේෂයෙන් ධනවාදී පක්ෂ බලයට පත්වූ සෑම විටම පාහේ මෙවැනි ගැටලු පැන නැගිණි. ආර්ථිකය අතින් ගත් කල රටට හිමි වීමට ගිය දිගුකාලීන ආයෝජන සහ

විදේශ විනිමය ඉපයීම් මේ නිසාවෙන් වැලකීගිය බව නිගමනය කල හැකිය. රටක ආර්ථික සංවර්ධනයට මානව සම්පත සෘජුව බලපායි. මෙම අර්බුදය නිසා රටට හිමි වීමට තිබුණු මානව සම්පත්වල අඩුවක් සිදුවන බව පැවසිය හැකිය. එමෙන්ම රටේ ශ්‍රම සම්පත කලට වෙලාවට නොලැබීම නිසා සිදුවන ආර්ථික හානියද ඇති විශාලය.

මෙවැනි දිගු කාලීන සහ කෙටි කාලීන සමාජීය, ආර්ථික සහ දේශපාලනික ප්‍රතිවිපාක මෙම සිද්ධි අධ්‍යයනයේදී දැකිය හැකි වේ. මෙය පොදු තත්ත්වයක් යටතේ ගත් කලද මෙසේමය. එනම්, රැඩිකල්වාදි ක්‍රියා හේතුවෙන් සමාජයට ඇති වන ප්‍රතිවිපාක මේ ලෙසම දැක්විය හැකිය. ඒ ඒ දෘෂ්ටිකෝණයන්ගෙන් බැලු කල මේ එක් එක් ප්‍රතිවිපාකවල යහපත් හෝ අයහපත් භාවය ඒ ඒ පුද්ගලයාට වෙනස් විය හැකිය. මෙය අධ්‍යාපනය සම්බන්ධ ගැටලුවක් වීම නිසාවෙන් මෙමගින් ඇති වූ ප්‍රතිවිපාක යහපත් මෙන්ම අයහපත් ආකාරයෙන්ද නිරීක්ෂණය කල හැකි වුවද සාමාන්‍ය අර්ථයෙන් රැඩිකල්කරණය සහ රැඩිකල්වාදි ක්‍රියා හේතුවෙන් සමාජයට, දේශපාලනයට සහ ආර්ථිකයට ඇතිවන ප්‍රතිවිපාක බොහෝදුරට අයහපත් වේ. එමෙන්ම මෙම අධ්‍යයනයට හේතු කාරණා වූ සිද්ධි අධ්‍යයනයේ උක්ත විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ප්‍රජාව ප්‍රකට කරනුයේ රැඩිකල්කරණයේ මූලික අවස්ථාවක් පමණි. මෙම අවස්ථාවට විසඳුම්

ලබා නොදුනහොත් මෙය අන්තවාදයක් දක්වා වර්ධනය විය හැකිය. 1970-80 දශකයන්වල දැකිය හැකි වුයේ මෙවනි තත්ත්වයකි. තරුණයන් රැඩිකල්කරණය ඔස්සේ පිබිඳී ආයුධ අතට ගෙන අන්තවාදය වෙත යාමක් නැවත ශ්‍රී ලංකාව තුල ඇති නොවීමට අප සියලු දෙනා වගබලාගත යුතුය. කෙසේ වෙතත් අතීතය හා සලකා බැලීමේදී විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ශිෂ්‍යයාගේ රැඩිකල්වාදි අදහස් සහ ක්‍රියාවන්වල අඩු වීමක් නිරීක්ෂණය කල හැකිය. මෙය වත්මන් ශිෂ්‍ය දේශපාලනය තුල දැකිය හැකි කැපී පෙනෙන ලක්ෂණයක් ලෙස කිව හැකිය.

ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදි සමාජයක මෙවැනි රැඩිකල්වාදි ක්‍රියා ඇති වීමට හේතුව එම සමාජ ක්‍රමයේම ඇති වැරැද්දක් ලෙස දැක්විය හැකිය. ඒවාට වගකිවයුතු ආයතන එවැනි රැඩිකල්වාදි ක්‍රියා ඇතිවීමට හේතුවන හිඩැස් පිරවීම අනිවාර්ය වේ. එවැනි ක්‍රියාකාරකම් ඇති වීමක් පිළිබඳව දැනගත් වහා ඒවාට පිළියම් යෙදීමෙන් මෙවැනි රැඩිකල්වාදි ක්‍රියා වලක්වා ගත හැකිය. එමෙන්ම විශේෂයෙන් රටක යහපත් සමාජ, ආර්ථික, දේශපාලනික, සංස්කෘතික සහ ආකල්පමය වටපිටාවක් පවතී නම් මෙවැනි රැඩිකල්වාදි ක්‍රියාවන්හි අඩුවක් දැකිය හැකි වේ. එම වටපිටාව ඇති කිරීම සියලු පුරවැසියන්ගේ යුතුකමකි.

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ඇමුණුම්

වගුව 01: සයිටම් අර්බුධය පැවති සමයේ ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාර මගින් ගත් රැඩිකල්වාදි ශිෂ්‍ය ක්‍රියාමාර්ග (2015*2018)

ක්‍රියාමාර්ගය	එම ක්‍රියාමාර්ගය ගෙන ඇති වාර ගණන	ප්‍රතිශතය.
අඛණ්ඩ උපවාස	2	0.85
උද්ඝෝෂණ/විරෝධතා/පාගමන්	154	65.25
නිහඬ විරෝධතා	2	0.84
ඒකාබද්ධ ප්‍රකාශන අත්සන් කිරීම	1	0.42
කළු පටි විරෝධතා	1	0.42
දැනුවත් කිරීමෙන් වැඩසටහන්	19	8.05
පක්ෂ සමග සාකච්ඡා	2	0.84
පෙත්සම්	2	0.84
මාධ්‍ය සාකච්ඡා	22	9.32
රැලිය	5	2.11
ලිඛිත දැනුම්දීම්	4	1.69
සංවාදය	1	0.42
සත්‍යග්‍රහ	10	4.23
සමුළු	2	0.84
සම්මන්ත්‍රණය	9	3.81
	236	100

මූලාශ්‍ර■ අන්තර් විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ශිෂ්‍ය බලමණ්ඩලයේ Facebook වෙබ් පිටුව

CHAPTER 7

பெண்களும் பெண்களின் இனப்பெருக்கம் சார்ந்த உரிமைகளும் தொடர்பாக முகநூல் ஊடகத்தில் கலந்துரையாடப்படுதல்

இனப்பெருக்கம் சார்ந்ததான பெண்களின் உரிமைகள் தொடர்பில் முகநூலில் காணப்படும் பெண்களின் மௌனம்

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Mehala Mahilrajah

Mehala has a master's in social policy from the University of Melbourne and Master of Development Practice from the University of Peradeniya. She worked at CEPA from 2013 to 2018, and engaged in research assignments, especially in North and East. Currently she is working as a policy consultant for gender inclusion - a project that works with women with disabilities for livelihood improvement - for the Centre for Governance Innovation Jaffna . She is a facilitator for women in leadership and learning - working with women political representatives in the local government for the organisation Center for Women & Development and is also a trainer and facilitator at the Provincial Youth Empowerment Network - working with youth and conducting information sessions on Sexual Reproductive Health and Rights.   (mehala.mahilraja@gmail.com)

அறிமுகம்

சிவலிங்கம் அனுஷா, புனிதவதி மேகலா மகிழ்ராஜா

2018 ஆம் ஆண்டு ஜனவரி மாதத்து புள்ளிவிபரங்களின்படி உலக சனத்தொகையின் நூற்றுக்கு எண்பது வீதமானோர்கள் சமூக வலைத்தள பாவனையாளர்களாக உள்ளார்கள். இலங்கையில் மொத்த சனத்தொகையின் நூற்றுக்கு தொண்ணூறு வீதமானோர்கள் சமூக வலைத்தள பாவனையாளர்களாக உள்ளனர். சமூக வலைத்தளங்கள் பாரிய மாற்றங்களுக்கு குறிப்பாக அரசியல் ரீதியிலான மாற்றங்களுக்கு காரணியாக அமைந்திருப்பதை சமீபத்திய உதாரணங்கள் மூலம் சுட்டிக்காட்ட முடியும். பெண்கள் அரசியல் சார்ந்ததாகவோ அல்லது வேறு ஆழமான விடயங்கள் சார்ந்ததாகவோ கருத்துக்களை வெளியிட விருப்பமற்றவர்கள் என்பதை விட கருத்துக்களை பகிர்வதில் தயக்கம் காட்டுகின்றவர்கள் என பல ஆய்வுகள் குறிப்பிடுகின்றன. இந்த தயக்கத்திற்கு காரணம் பெண்கள் தமது கருத்துக்களை முன்வைக்கும்போது அக்கருத்துக்களுக்கு எதிர்மறையான கருத்துக்கள் முன்வைக்கின்றவர்களின் சவால்களுக்கு முகம் கொடுக்க நேர்கின்றமை ஆகும். பாலியல் மற்றும் இனப்பெருக்கம் சார்ந்ததான உரிமைகளும், அடிப்படை மனித உரிமைகள் என்ற ரீதியில் ஐக்கிய நாடுகள் சபையும் பாலியல் மற்றும் இனப்பெருக்கம் சார்ந்ததான உரிமைகள் என்பதற்குள் குடும்ப திட்டமிடல் மற்றும் இனப்பெருக்கம் தொடர்பில் முடிவெடுக்கும் உரிமையும் உள்ளடக்கப்படுகின்றன. தனி மனித உரிமை தொடர்பிலும் இனப்பெருக்கம் தொடர்பிலான முடிவெடுப்பதிலும் கருத்தரிப்பை தீர்மானிப்பவர் யார் என்பது சமூக மற்றும் அரசியல் கலந்த விடயமாக இருக்கிறது. இலங்கையிலும் 2011 ஆம் ஆண்டில் நாடாளுமன்றத்தில் முன்வைக்கப்பட்ட கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான சட்ட சீர்திருத்த வரைபு நாடாளுமன்றத்தால் நிராகரிக்கப்பட்டது. மதம் சார்ந்த பழைமைவாதப் போக்கே இதற்கு காரணம் என பல பெண் உரிமை சார்ந்த ஆய்வுகள் குறிப்பிடுகின்றன.

ஒரு புறத்தில் கருக்கலைப்பு என்பது இவ்வாறு சமூக-அரசியல் சார்ந்து கட்டுப்படுத்தப்படுகின்ற ஒன்றாக உள்ளது. மறுபுறத்தில் உரிமை சார் விடயமாக பெண்கள் பல்வேறு விதமாக அதற்கான முன்னெடுப்புக்களை மேற்கொள்கின்றனர்

எனவே இலங்கையில் பெண்களின் சமூக வலைத்தள தொடர்பாடலும் அத்தொடர்பாடலின்போது அவர்களது பங்களிப்பு எவ்வாறு அமைந்துள்ளன என்பதையும் அறிந்து கொள்வதில் நாம் ஆர்வம் கொண்டோம்.

இதன் அடிப்படையில் வறுமை ஆராய்ச்சி நிலையம் (CEPA) ஒரு பங்கேற்பு ஆய்வுத்திட்டமொன்றை நடாத்தியது. இத்திட்டமானது இலங்கையில் இளம் தலைமுறையினர்களின் தீவிரமயமாக்கல், அதன் பண்புகள், முகங்கொடுக்கும் சிக்கல்கள் மற்றும் சமூக, அரசியல் செயற்பாடுகள் தொடர்பாக ஆராய்வதற்கு முயல்கிறது. இத்திட்டத்தினூடாக ஆராய்ச்சிகளை மேற்கொள்ள ஒரு தளத்தை CEPA உருவாக்குகிறது. இத்திட்டத்தின் கீழ் பல ஆய்வுகள் இளம் தலைமுறையினர்களால் முன்னெடுக்கப்பட்டன. அதில் ஒரு ஆய்வாக **"பெண்களின் இனப்பெருக்கம் சார்ந்த உரிமைகள் தொடர்பில் முகநூலில் காணப்படும் பெண்களின் மௌனம்"** என்ற தலைப்பில் ஆய்வொன்று மேற்கொள்ளப்பட்டது.

Abstract

Sri Lankan Women's Silence on Facebook about Women's Reproductive Rights

Anusha Sivalingam and Mehala Mahilrajah

It is estimated that by year 2020, nearly fifty percent of the world's population will be identified as social media users. Sri Lanka too has a growing population of Social Media users around 7.9 million users.. Recent observations point to the fact that social networking sites are a major factor influencing many changes in society, especially in relation to political change.

However, Numerous studies also indicate that women are more reluctant to share their opinions on political and other sensitive issues. The reason for this reluctance is that women feel inadequate to deal with challenges which are posed by users who present opposing ideas.

It is interesting to note the involvement of women in social networking and how their contribution relates to the involvement of women in rights issues. The Centre for Poverty Analysis (CEPA), therefore conducted a participatory research project, "Women's Silence on Facebook on the Subject of Women's Reproductive Rights", to study the phenomena. The study is part of a larger research project conducted by CEPA, with support from the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), to study the radicalisation of the younger generation in Sri Lanka, its characteristics, issues faced and social and political activities. To this end, CEPA has created a platform to facilitate and conduct research for this larger research project and many studies have been carried out by young Sri Lankan researchers.

Sexual and reproductive rights and the right to make decisions regarding family planning and reproduction within sexual and reproductive rights are included as fundamental rights by the UN. Deciding on fertility and reproduction is a social and political issue within individual human rights. In Sri Lanka, the draft law relating to abortion, which was tabled in Parliament in 2011, was rejected by the House. Many studies conducted by women's rights organisations point out that the cause for the rejection of this draft law was religious conservatism. While women are involved in raising a variety of rights issues, abortion is just one of the issues that are socio-politically controlled.

සංක්ෂිප්තය

ෆේස්බුක් සමාජ මාධ්‍ය අවකාශය තුළ කාන්තා ප්‍රජනන අයිතිවාසිකම් පිළිබඳ කාන්තා නිහඬතාව

අනුෂා සිවලිංගම් සහ මේහලා මහිල්රාජා

2020 වසර අවසානය වන විට ලෝක ජනගහනයෙන් සියයට 48ක් පමණ සමාජ මාධ්‍ය පරිශීලකයන් ලෙස හඳුනා ගනු ලැබ ඇත. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ද සමාජ මාධ්‍ය පරිශීලකයන් ප්‍රමාණය පසුගිය වසර කිහිප තිස්සේ ඉතා වර්ධනය වී ඇති අතර නවතම සංඛ්‍යාලේඛන වලට අනුව මෙරට මිලියන 7,90 ක පිරිසක් සමාජ මාධ්‍ය භාවිතා කරති. මෑතකාලීන නිරීක්ෂණයන්ට අනුව පෙනියන්නේ මෙරට සමාජ දේශපාලනික වෙනස්වීම් කෙරෙහි සමාජ මාධ්‍ය මගින් සැලකියයුතු දායකත්වයක් දක්වන බලයි. මෙරට සමාජ මාධ්‍ය පරිශීලකයන් ප්‍රමාණය වර්ධනය වෙමින් පැවතුන ද කාන්තාවන් දේශපාලනික හා වෙනත් සංවේදී කාරණා පිළිබඳව සිය අදහස් බෙදාහදා ගැනීම සාපේක්ෂව තවමත් පසුගාමී තත්ත්වයක පවතින බව නිරීක්ෂණය වේ.

මෙලෙස ස්වකීය අදහස් දැක්වීමට පසුබට වීමට ප්‍රධාන හේතුවක් නම් ප්‍රතිවිරුද්ධ අදහස් ඉදිරිපත් කරන පරිශීලකයන් විසින් එල්ල කෙරෙන අභියෝගයන්ට මුහුණ දීමට පිළිබඳව විශ්වාසයක් වර්ධනය වී නොතිබීමයි.

ලිංගික හා ප්‍රජනන අයිතිවාසිකම්වල කොටසක් ලෙස පවුල් සැලසුම් කිරීම හා ප්‍රජනනය පිළිබඳව තීරණ ගැනීමට ඇති අයිතිය එක්සත් ජාතීන් විසින් මූලික අයිතිවාසිකමක් ලෙස ඇතුළත් කරනු ලැබ ඇත. ස්වල්පතාව හා ප්‍රජනනය පිළිබඳ තීරණ ගැනීම යනු පෞද්ගලික මානව අයිතිවාසිකම්වලට අදාළ සමාජීය හා දේශපාලනික කරුණකි. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ දී 2011 වසරේ පාර්ලිමේන්තුව තුළ සභාගත කරන ලද ගබ්සාව පිළිබඳ නීති කෙටුම්පත ව්‍යවස්ථාදායක සභාව විසින් ප්‍රතික්ෂේප කරනු ලැබිණ. කාන්තා අයිතිවාසිකම් සංවිධාන විසින් සිදු කරන ලද බොහෝ අධ්‍යයනයන් පෙන්වා දෙන්නේ මෙම නීති කෙටුම්පත ප්‍රතික්ෂේප කිරීමට හේතු වූයේ ආගමික ගතානුගතිකත්වය බව යි. කාන්තාවන් සිය නිදහස හා අයිතිවාසිකම් සම්බන්ධ ගැටලු මතු කරමින් සිටින අතර ගබ්සාව යනු ඒවා අතර පවත්නා සමාජ-දේශපාලනිකව මුහුණුවරක් දක්වා වර්ධනය වී ඇති කතිකාවකි. සමාජ මාධ්‍ය තුළ කාන්තාවන්ගේ සහභාගිත්වය සහ සිය අයිතිවාසිකම් පිළිබඳ ක්‍රියාකාරිත්වය පිළිබඳව අධ්‍යයනය කිරීම කාලීනව වැදගත් වන්නකි. දරිද්‍රතා විශ්ලේෂණ කේන්ද්‍රයේ (CEPA) අනුග්‍රහය යටතේ "ෆේස්බුක් සමාජ මාධ්‍ය අවකාශය තුළ කාන්තා ප්‍රජනන අයිතිවාසිකම් පිළිබඳ කාන්තා නිහඬතාව" නමින් සහභාගිත්ව පර්යේෂණ ව්‍යාපෘතියක් ක්‍රියාවට නැංවුයේ මේ සඳහා පර්යේෂණාත්මක මැදිහත්වීමක් සිදුකිරීමේ අරමුණෙනි.

ஆய்வு அறிமுகம்

ஐக்கிய நாடுகளின் நிலைபேறான அபிவிருத்தி இலக்குகளில் உள்ளடக்கும் பால்நிலை சமத்துவத்தை நிலைநிறுத்தல் மற்றும் சகல வயதினரினதும் நல்வாழ்வை உறுதிப்படுத்தல் என்ற இரு இலக்குகளை மையமாகக்கொண்ட செயற்பாடுகள் ஐக்கிய நாடு சபையால் முன்னெடுக்கப்பட்டு வருகின்றன. இச்செயற்பாடுகளில் ஒன்றாக மகப்பேற்று கால இறப்பை தவிர்க்க பாதுகாப்பான கருக்கலைப்பினை நாடுவதற்கான வாய்ப்பு உருவாக்கப்படுதல் குறித்தும் அதேநேரம் இலங்கையில் ஏற்கனவே அமுலிலுள்ள கருக்கலைப்பு சட்டத்தில் மாற்றங்களை மேற்கொள்ளும் சட்ட வரைபினை நடைமுறைக்கு கொண்டுவருவது பற்றியும் தேசிய அளவில் விவாதங்கள் இடம்பெற்று வருகின்றன. இவ்விடயம் தொடர்பில் பெண்களின் கருத்துக்கள் எவ்வளவு தூரம் கவனத்தில் கொள்ளப்படுகின்றன?, பெண்கள் இதில் பங்களிப்பு செய்கிறார்களா? அல்லது அவர்கள் தடைகளை எதிர்கொள்கிறார்களா? என்பனவற்றினை குறித்து ஆழமாக தெரிந்துகொள்வதற்காகவும் அதேநேரம் கருக்கலைப்பு என்பது தனிமனித உரிமை தாண்டி சமூகம் மற்றும் அரசியல் சார்ந்த விடயமாக நோக்கப்படும் காரணத்தாலும் இக்கலந்துரையாடல்களின்போது பெண்களுடைய பங்களிப்பின் நிலைப்பாட்டைப் பற்றி அறிந்து கொள்ள நாங்கள் விழைந்தோம்.

அபிவிருத்தியடைந்தும், தொடர்ச்சியான மாற்றங்களை சந்தித்துக்கொண்டும் வருகின்ற உலகச் சூழலில் பொதுவாக கருத்துக்களுக்காக குரல் எழுப்பும் செயற்பாடு, சமூக வலைத்தள தொடர்பாடலில் பங்களிப்பு என்பனவற்றினை சார்ந்ததாக மக்களின் நிலைப்பாடு, குறிப்பாக பெண்களின் நிலைப்பாடு எவ்வாறு அமைந்துள்ளது என்பதை சுட்டிக்காட்டும் ஓர் ஆய்வாக இது அமையும் என்று நாங்கள் நம்புகின்றோம். இலங்கைப் பெண்கள் குறிப்பிடத்தக்களவில் பாரம்பரிய பின்னணிகளைக் கொண்டவர்களாக உள்ளார்கள் என்பதையும் பல்வேறு விடயங்களில் அவர்களின் பிரதிநிதித்துவம் மிகக்குறைவாகவே உள்ளது என்பதையும் இதன்போது மிக முக்கியமாக குறிப்பிடவேண்டியவை ஆகும். அவர்களது கருத்துக்களோ அல்லது குரல்களோ வெளிவருவதில்லை என்பதையும், முக்கியமான விடயங்களின்போது அக்கருத்துகளோ குரல்களோ உள்வாங்கப்படுவதில்லை என்பதையும் எடுத்துக்காட்டவும் அதேநேரம் அவர்களின் பிரதிநிதித்துவத்தை ஊக்குவிக்கப்படுவதிலுள்ள முக்கியத்துவத்தை எடுத்துக்காட்டவும் அதற்கு ஏதுவான நடவடிக்கைகளை மேற்கொள்ளும்பொருட்டு உரியவர்களுக்கு சுட்டிக்காட்டவும் இந்த ஆய்வு அடித்தளமாக அமையும். அத்தோடு தீவிரமயமாதல் தொடர்பிலான இலக்கிய மீளாய்வுக்கான தமிழ் மொழி மூலமான மூலாதாரங்கள் மிகவும் அரிதானதாக உள்ள நிலையில் எமது ஆய்வின் பங்களிப்பு ஒரு முக்கியத்துவம் வாய்ந்ததாக அமையும் என கருதுகின்றோம்.

ஆய்வுப் பின்னணி

இலங்கையில் நடக்கும் கருத்தரிப்புகளுள் மூன்றில் ஒன்று திட்டமிடப்படாத கருத்தரிப்பாக அமைகின்றது. அத்துடன் நாளாந்தம் கருக்கலைப்புகள் இடம்பெறுகின்றன. குடும்பத் திட்டமிடல் முறைகளின் பயன்பாட்டை இளம் பருவத்தினர் சரிவர தெரிந்துகொள்ளல் அவசியம். அதேபோல கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான அறிவும் அவர்களுடைய முக்கியத் தேவையாக உள்ளது என இலங்கை மருத்துவ சங்கத்தின் 2019 ஆம் ஆண்டு வருடாந்த கல்வி அமர்வின் போது மருத்துவ நிபுணர்கள் குறிப்பிட்டு இருந்தனர் (Adaderana.lk, 2019).

பாலியல் சுகாதாரம் பற்றி வெளிப்படையாக பேசுதல் என்பது மரியாதையயற்றதொன்றாகவே சமூகத்தில் கட்டமைக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. அது மாத்திரமல்ல கருத்தரிப்பு மற்றும் குடும்பத் திட்டமிடல் என்பனவற்றிக்கான மதங்களின் ஆதரவு என்பது மட்டுபடுத்தப்பட்டளவிலேயே உள்ளது (Stacey, 2019). குடும்பத் திட்டமிடல் என்பது சனத்தொகைக் கட்டுப்படுத்தல் ஆகும் என்ற தவறான புரிதலும் இதற்கான ஒரு காரணமாக அமைந்துள்ளது. இது உண்மையில் பெண்ணின் தெரிவு சார்ந்த உரிமையே ஆகும். இளைஞர்கள் குடும்பத் திட்டமிடல் சேவைகளை நாடுவதற்கும் இனப்பெருக்க சுகாதார தகவல்களைப் பெறுவதற்கும் தடையாக சமூகத்தில்

நிலவும் இந்த நிலைமை காரணமாக அமையக்கூடாது என்பதை இதன்போது வலியுறுத்தப்பட்டது. (Adaderana.lk, 2019).

எனவே பெண்களின் தெரிவு சார்ந்த உரிமை என்ற அடிப்படையில் இத்தகைய விடயங்களின்போது பெண்களின் கருத்து ரீதியான பங்களிப்பானது முக்கியத்துவம் வாய்ந்தது. அத்துடன் பெண்கள் தமது கருத்துக்களை தெரிவிக்கும்போது பயன்படுத்தப்படும் வலுவானதும் உணர்ச்சிப்பூர்வமானதும் கடுமையானதுமான மொழிப்பிரயோகங்கள் அப்பெண்களின் இனம்-மதம், கலாசாரம் மற்றும் கல்வித் தரம் என்பனவற்றுடன் தொடர்புடையவையாக உள்ளதா என்பதை அறிந்துகொள்ளவும் இவ்வாய்வு ஏதுவாக அமையும்.

பெண்கள் தமது கருத்துக்களை முன்வைக்க தயாராற்று இருத்தல் அல்லது அவர்களை தமது கருத்துக்களை முன்வைக்காது இருக்க பலவந்தப்படுத்தப்படுதல் என்பது 18 ஆம் நூற்றாண்டுகளில் இருந்தே குறிப்பிடத்தக்கதான விடயமாக வந்துள்ளது. தமது கருத்துக்களையோ கண்ணோட்டங்களையோ திரைக்கதை வழியாகவும் நடிப்பு ஊடாகவும் வெளிப்படுத்த விரும்பிய பெண்கள் பெருமளவில் ஊக்கப்படுத்தப்படவில்லை. அத்துடன் தமது உணர்வுகள் தொடர்பாக எழுத வேண்டிய கட்டாயமான நிலைமையை தோன்றியபோது அவர்கள் வாய்மொழி ரீதியானதும் பௌதிக ரீதியிலானதுமான துஷ்பிரயோகங்களுக்கு உட்படுதலில் இருந்து தம்மை பாதுகாத்துக்கொள்ள தமது அடையாளங்களை வெளிபடுத்தாமல் இருந்தனர் (Harmon, 2012). ஆயினும் சமூக வலைத்தளங்களின் அறிமுகமும் அவற்றின் பாவனையும் ஏற்பட்ட பிறகு இந்த நிலைமை மாற்றமடைந்து சகலருக்கும் தமது கருத்துக்களை வெளிப்படுத்தக்கூடிய ஒரு வெளியை சமூக ஊடகம் உருவாக்கியது.

இத்தகைய பொதுவெளிகளானது தமது கருத்துக்களை முன்வைக்க சௌகரியமானவை என்று பெண்களிடம் கூறப்பட்டாலும் பெண்கள் தமது கருத்து வெளிப்படுத்தலானது குறித்த சில விடயங்களுக்கு மட்டும் என்று மட்டுப்படுத்திக்கொண்டிருந்தார்கள். இணைய வழித் தொடர்பாடல்களின் தொடக்க காலகட்டத்தில் அவை சமவுரிமைகளுக்கும் பெண்ணியம் சார்ந்த சமூக ஒன்றுதிரட்டல்களுக்கும் அத்துடன் புதிய மாற்றங்களுக்கும் ஏதுவாக அமையும் என்று தான்

பெண்ணியவாதிகள் கருதினார்கள். ஆனாலும் அவை இவ்விடயங்களில் பாரியளவில் கைகொடுக்கவில்லை என்று ஹார்மோன் குறிப்பிடுகிறார் (Harmon, 2012). தமது கருத்துக்களை வெளிப்படுத்துவதில் பாரம்பரிய விடயங்கள் தம்மை கட்டுப்படுத்துகின்றன அல்லது தம்மை ஊக்கவிக்கப்படுத்துவதில்லை என்று கூறும் பெண்கள் இணைய தொடர்பாடலில் சுதந்திரமாக கருத்துக்களை முன்வைப்பதை தவிர்த்து தொடர்ந்து அவர்களுக்கென திசைகாட்டப்படும் பாரம்பரியங்களையே பின்பற்றுகின்றமையானது ஒரு முரண்நிலை எனவும் அவர் குறிப்பிடுகிறார். சவூதி நாட்டில் மேற்கொள்ளப்பட்ட ஆய்வொன்றில் கலந்துகொண்ட பெண்கள் சமூக வலைத்தளங்களில் தமது கருத்துக்களை சுதந்திரமாக முன்வைக்க முடிகிறதாக இருந்தாலும் அதன்போது தமது அடையாளங்களை மறைக்க வேண்டிய நிலை இருப்பதானது பாரிய விடயமாக கவனத்தில் கொள்ளப்படவில்லை என்பது குறிப்பிடத்தக்கதொன்றாகும் (Guta and Karolak, 2015).

வேறுபட்ட புவியியல் பின்னணிகளைக்கொண்ட பெண்களினது கருத்துக்களும் வேறுபட்டு உள்ளமையை இங்கே அவதானிக்கக் கூடியதொன்றாகும். எனவே நாங்கள் இலங்கையில் சமூகவலைத்தள பாவனை மற்றும் அதன் பங்களிப்பு பற்றி அறிய ஆவலாய் இருந்தோம். குறிப்பாக பெண்களுக்கான சம வாய்ப்புக்களும் பெண்களின் பங்களிப்புக்களின் முக்கியத்துவமும் பரவலாக ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட்டுள்ள நிலையிலும் பாலியல்சார் சுகாதார உரிமைகள் தொடர்பிலான தீவிரமயமாதல் விடயங்களில் தமது நிலைப்பாடு குறித்து பெண்களின் அமைதி அல்லது கருத்துக்களை வெளிப்படுத்தும் தன்மை எமக்கு கூறுகின்ற செய்திகள் எவை என்பதை நாங்கள் இந்த ஆய்வின் வழியாக அறிந்துகொள்ள முற்பட்டோம்.

ஆய்வுப் பிரச்சினை : ஏன் (இளம்) பெண்கள் இனப்பெருக்கம், குறிப்பாக கருக்கலைப்பு சார்ந்த உரிமைகள் குறித்து சமூக வலைத்தளங்களில் மௌனத்தை காக்கின்றார்கள்?

முகநூல் (FaceBook) என்ற சமூக ஊடகத்தை பயன்படுத்திக்கொள்ளும் இளம் பெண்களுள் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான கருத்து வெளிப்பாடு முகநூலில் மிக குறைவாகவே இருப்பதை

அவதானிக்கக்கூடியதாக இருந்தது. குறிப்பாக சமூக, கலாசார மற்றும் அரசியல் என்பனவற்றுடன் இணைந்துள்ள விடயங்கள் தொடர்பில் தீவிரமயமாக்கப்பட்ட கருத்துகளை முக நூலில் இளம் பெண்கள் வெளிப்படுத்தினாலும் கருக்கலைப்பு என்ற விடயத்தின்போது அவர்களின் பங்களிப்பானது மிக குறைவாகவே உள்ளது. இவ்வாறு சமூக - அரசியலுடன் இணைந்த கருக்கலைப்பு என்ற 'பெண் உரிமை' சார்ந்த விவாதப் பொருளில் பெண்கள் குறிப்பாக இளம் பெண்கள் தமது நிலைப்பாடுகளை குறித்து சமூக வலைத்தளத்தில் முன்வைக்காமல் இருப்பதற்கான காரணங்கள் எவை? அதன் பின்னணி எது? என்பனவற்றை அறியும் அடிப்படையிலேயே இந்த ஆய்வினை முன்னெடுக்க நாம் தீர்மானித்தோம்.

ஆய்வுக் கேள்விகள்

1. இலங்கையில் சமூக வலைத்தளத்தில் குறிப்பாக முகநூலில் பெண்கள் தமது கருத்துக்களை முன்வைக்கும் தன்மை எவ்வாறு உள்ளது? பெண்களால் அதிகம் பகிர்ந்துக்கொள்ளப்படும் அல்லது முன்வைக்கப்படும் கருத்துக்கள் எவை?

2. கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக முகநூலில் காணப்படும் (இளம்) பெண்களின் நிலைப்பாடும் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பிலான நிலைப்பாட்டை வெளிப்படுத்தும்போது பெண்கள் எதிர்கொண்ட சவால்களும் எவை?

3. கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்ப்பில் ஏன் பெண்கள் முகநூலில் மௌனத்தைக் காக்கிறார்கள்?

முறைமையியல்

நாம் நோக்குகின்ற பாதுகாப்பான கருக்கலைப்பானது அரசியல் மற்றும் இனம் ஆகிய விடயங்களுடனும் அத்துடன் பெண்களின் பங்களிப்பு எனும் நிலைமையுடனும் தொடர்புபடுகின்றது. எனவே இவை தொடர்பில் பெண்களின் நிலையை ஆழமாக அறிய முற்படுகின்றதன் காரணமாக நாங்கள் பண்புசார் முறைமையை அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்ட விவரண ஆய்வாக இந்த ஆய்வை மேற்கொள்ள தீர்மானித்தோம். எனினும் குறிப்பிட்ட அளவு எண்சார் முறைமையும் உள்ளடங்கலாக இந்த ஆய்வை முன்னெடுக்கப்பட்டது. சமூக வலைத்தளத்தை குறிப்பாக முகநூலை அடிப்படையாக கொண்ட ஒரு இணையவழி ஆய்வாக இவ்வாய்வு அமைந்தது.

1. தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்பட்ட தனிநபர்களின் முகநூல் பக்கங்களை பின்தொடர்தல் – 10 பெண்கள்.

2. பாலியல் சுகாதார உரிமைகள் தொடர்பிலான தெரிவு செய்யப்பட்ட முகநூல் பக்கங்களை பின்தொடர்தல்.

(சிங்கள, தமிழ் மற்றும் ஆங்கிலம் என்ற மும் மொழிகளும் உள்ளடங்கலாக).

தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்பட்ட தனிநபர்களின் முகநூல் பக்கங்களையும் அத்துடன் இவ்வாய்வுப்பொருளுடன் தொடர்புள்ள முகநூல் பக்கங்களையும் பின்தொடர்ந்து அங்கு எவ்வாறான விடயங்களை பகிரப்படுகின்றன என்பதையும் எவை அதிகளவில் பகிரப்படுகிறன என்பதையும் அவற்றிக்கான பின்னூட்டல்களைப் பற்றியும் அப்பின்னூ ட்டல்களின் தன்மைப் பற்றியும் தரவுகள் திரட்டப்பட்டன.

இவ்வாறு பக்கங்களின் பின்தொடர்தலின்போது பின்னூட்டல்கள் அதிகம் பெறப்படுகிற விடயம் எது, அதிகம் பகிரப்படுகின்ற விடயம் எது, எவ்வாறான கருத்துக்கள் எத்தன்மையில் உள்ளன போன்ற தரவுகளை பெற்றுக்கொண்டதும், அக் கருத்துப் பரிமாற்றத்தில் பங்கெடுப்பவர்கள் தொடர்பிலான தகவல்களும் திரட்டப்பட்டன. கருத்துகளை தெரிவிக்கும்போது உபயோகிக்கும் மொழி சார்ந்த அம்சங்கள் மற்றும் மொழியின் தீவிரத்தன்மைப் பற்றி மூன்று மொழிகளை சார்ந்ததாகவும் கவனம் செலுத்தினோம்.

ஆய்வு நோக்கத்துக்காக ஒப்பீடு செய்யும்போது பின்வரும் பிரிவுகளாக பெண்களின் தனிநபர் பக்கங்கள் பின் தொடரப்பட்டன.

1. சமூக வலைத்தளத்து கலந்துரையாடல்களிலும் கருத்து வெளிப்படுத்தல்களிலும் பெருமளவு பங்களிப்பு செய்யும் பெண்கள் (பாலியல் சுகாதார உரிமைகள், குறிப்பாக கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பில் கருத்துக்களையும் உள்ளடங்கலாக கருத்துக்களை வெளிப்படுத்தும் பெண்கள்) - 05 பெண்கள்.

2. சமூக வலைத்தளத்தில் பொதுவாக ஆர்வங்கொண்ட ஆயினும் பாலியல் சுகாதார உரிமைகள் தொடர்பில் குறிப்பாக கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பில் கருத்து வெளிப்படுத்தாத பெண்கள் - 05 பெண்கள்.

இதைத் தவிர தேர்ந்தெடுக்கப்பட்ட பக்கங்களுக்கு பின்னூட்டலிலும் தனிநபர்கள் உள்ளடங்கலாக ஒவ்வொரு பிரிவிலும் உள்ளடங்கும் தனிநபர்களிடம் ஆய்வு தொடர்பான அனுமதியுடன் மேலதிக தேடல்கள் மேற்கொள்ளப்பட்டு அவர்களது அனுபவங்களையும் கண்ணோட்டங்களையும் ஆய்வுக்கு உட்படுத்தினோம்.

பெறப்பட்ட தரவுகள் ஒன்றுதிரட்டப்பட்டு பகுப்பாய்வுக்கு உட்படுத்தப்பட்டன. பகுப்பாய்வின் போது அவர்களது பங்களிப்பின் பின்னணியில் உள்ள சமூக பொருளாதார கட்டமைப்புகளும் கவனத்தில் கொள்ளப்பட்டன. பகுப்பாய்வின் பின்னர் இதனை ஒரு அறிக்கை ஆவணமாக சமர்பித்துள்ளோம்.

ஆய்வு வரையறைகள்

1. விடய வரையறைகள்

தீவிரமயமாக்கல் தொடர்பில் இரண்டு எதிர்மறை விடயங்கள்: பாலியல் சுகாதார உரிமைகளில் கருகலைப்பு தொடர்பான சட்ட சீர்திருத்தங்களைப் பற்றி விவாதங்கள் தற்போது நடந்துகொண்டுள்ளன. இதன் காரணமாக இவ் விடயம் மட்டுமே ஆய்வுப் பொருளாக எடுக்கப்பட்டது.

2. புவியியல் வரையறை:

இது முகநூலை அடிப்படையாகக்கொண்ட ஆய்வாக இருந்தாலும் இலங்கை சார்ந்த இளம் பெண்களை மட்டுமே ஆய்வுக்கு உட்படுத்தினோம்.

இலக்கிய மீளாய்வு

பெண்கள் தமது இனப்பெருக்க உரிமைகள் குறித்து சமூக வலைத்தளங்களில் மௌனங்காக்கின்றார்களா? என்ற விடயம் தொடர்பான ஆய்வுக்காக பாலியல் சமத்துவம், பாலியல் வன்முறை மற்றும் கருக்கலைப்பு என்பன தொடர்பாகவும், மதம் சார்ந்த விவாதங்கள் தொடர்பாகவும் அத்துடன் ஊடகங்களின் குறிப்பாக சமூக வலைத்தளங்களின் செயற்பாடு குறித்தும் ஏற்கனவே எழுதப்பட்டுள்ள, வெளியிடப்பட்டுள்ள நூல்கள், கட்டுரைகள் மற்றும் ஆய்வுகள் ஆகியவை இணைத்து ஒரு இலக்கிய மீளாய்வை வழங்குவதற்கு இந்த அத்தியாயம் முயற்சிக்கின்றது.

பாலினம், இனப்பெருக்கம் சார்ந்த சுகாதாரமும் உரிமைகளும்

பாலினம் (Gender) என்பது ஒருவரின் பால்நிலைதொடர்பாக ஒரு சமூகங்கொண்டுள்ள பண்புகள், மனப்பாங்குகள், உணர்வுகள் மற்றும் நடத்தைகள் என்பன குறிக்கிறது. பால்நிலை அடையாளம் (Gender Identity) என்பது சமூகத்தால் மட்டும் அல்லாமல் ஒருவர் தானாக, தனது அனுபவங்களால் தன்னை எந்தப் பால்நிலையை சார்ந்தவராக உணர்கிறார் என்பதைப் பொறுத்தும் அமைகிறது. பொதுவாக பால்நிலையானது ஆண் அல்லது பெண் என்ற இரு துருவ தொடர்மத்தில் வரையறை செய்யப்பட்டிருக்கின்றது. ஆனால் ஆண் (Male), பெண் (Female), திருநர் (Transgender), மாற்றுப்பாலியலாளர் (Transgender) என்று பல்வேறு பாலினங்கள் இத்தொடர்மத்தில் உண்டு (Shankar. G, 2013). பால்நிலை அடையாளம் ஒருவரது தன்னுணர்வுடனும் ஆணாக அல்லது பெண்ணாக இருக்கும் உணர்வுடனும் தொடர்புடையது. ஒருவருடைய பாலின அடையாளம் பாலியல் போக்கிலிருந்து வேறுபட்டது, அதுவும் சட்டக்கோவையின் கீழ் பாதுகாக்கப்படுகிறது. நபர்களின் பால்நிலை அடையாளம் அவர்களுடைய பிறப்பினால் வழங்கப்பட்டதாகும் (Ontario human rights commission).

உலக சுகாதார அமைப்பு (WHO) பாலினம் தொடர்பாக "பாலினம் என்பது சமுதாயத்தால் வழங்கப்பட்ட கட்டமைப்புகளாகும். அது ஆண், பெண் என்ற அடிப்படையில் பிரிக்கப்பட்டதாகவும் அவ்வாறு பிரிக்கப்பட்டமைக்கான காரணிகள் என்பது பெண் குழந்தைகளுக்கும் ஆண் குழந்தைகளுக்கு இடையிலானநெறிகள், பாத்திரங்கள் மற்றும் உறவுகள் என்றும் கூறி உள்ளது. இது சமுதாயத்திலிருந்து சமுதாயத்திற்கு மாறுபடலாம்" என்பதையும் சுட்டிக்காட்டியுள்ளது. பாலினம் (Gender) என்பது சமூகத்தால் கட்டமைக்கப்படுகின்றதொன்றாகும். ஏனெனில் சமூகம் கூறும் தன்மைகளைக் கொண்டிருப்பவர்களையே பாலின வரையறைக்குள் கொண்டு வருகிறார்கள்.[38] பாலினம் என்பது பெண்ணை, ஆணிலிருந்து வேறுபடுத்திக்காட்டும் உயிரியல் ரீதியான ஒன்று மட்டுமின்றி, சமூகம், கலாசாரம், இவற்றினால் அமைக்கப்பட்ட குணாதிசயம், செயல்பாடு, நடத்தை

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38 க. பஞ்சாங்கம், தலித்துகள், பெண்கள், தமிழர்கள் ப.249.

ஆகியவற்றையும் உள்ளடக்கியதொன்றாகும்[39]. 'பாலினம்'என்பது இலக்கண வழக்காகும். இது மனிதன் வகுத்துக் கொண்ட செயற்கைத்தன்மையான ஒன்றாகும். ஆணுக்கென்றும், பெண்ணுக்கென்றும் சில பண்புகளையும் வேலைகளையும் சமூகக்கட்டுத் திட்டங்களையும் வரையறுத்துக் கொள்வதாகும்.[40]

முகநூலில் காணப்படும் பெண்களுடைய கருத்துக்களின் பண்புகள்

இனப்பெருக்க சுகாதாரக் கொள்கைகள் தற்போது சிறந்த முறையில் நடைமுறைப்படுத்துவதாக காணக்கூடியதாக இல்லை. எனவே உரிமைகள் அடிப்படையிலான அணுகுமுறைகள் பலப்படுத்தப்பட வேண்டும். பாலினம், வயது, மதம், இனம், திருமணநிலை மற்றும் பாலியல் நோக்குநிலைகளில் எந்தொவொரு பாகுபாடுமின்றி இக்கொள்கைகளை அமுல்படுத்தப்பட வேண்டும். திருமண வன்புணர்வு (marital rape) என்பது கணவனால்/ துணையினால் பாலியல் வன்முறைக்கு உட்படுதல் ஆகும். பாலியல் நோக்குநிலை என்பது உணர்ச்சி, காதல் அல்லது பாலியல் ஈர்ப்பை விவரிக்கப் பயன்படும் சொல் ஆகும். பாலியல் நோக்குநிலையிற்குள் சமப்பாலீர்ப்பாளர்கள் (homosexuality), வேறுபட்ட பாலினம் என்று கருதப்படும் ஈரினச் சேர்க்கை அதாவது ஆண்கள் மற்றும் பெண்களின் எதிர்பால் உறவு (heterosexuality) மற்றும் இருபால் உறவு (bisexuality) மற்றும் அனைத்து பாலினங்களும் (pan-sexual), அல்லது பாலீர்ப்பின்மை (asexuality) ஆகியவை உள்ளடக்கப்படும்[41]. பால்நிலை அடையாளம் (gender identity) மற்றும் பால்நிலை அடிப்படையிலான வன்முறைகள் தொடர்பான கவனம் அனைவரும் சார்ந்ததாகவும் செலுத்தப்படவில்லை (Judith, Mirsky, Marty, Radlett. (2000).

இலங்கையில் முஸ்லிம் இனத்தவர்களின் எண்ணிக்கை 1981ஆம் ஆண்டில் 1.04% ஆக இருந்துள்ளதுடன் 2012ஆம் ஆண்டு அது 1.87% ஆக அதிகரித்துள்ளது. 1981 ஆம் ஆண்டில் இலங்கை முழுச் சனத்தொகையின் 1.04% என்று இருந்த இலங்கை முஸ்லிம் மக்களின் சனத்தொகையானது 2012ஆம் ஆண்டில் 1.87% வீதமாக அதிகரித்துள்ளது.

இது சிங்கள குடிசனத்திற்கு "அச்சுறுத்தலாக" இல்லை என்று கருத்துகள் வெளியாகி இருக்கின்றன (எதிரிசிங்க, 2013). ஆனால் இது சிங்கள சனத்தொகைக்கு பெரும் அச்சுறுத்தல் என்று தீவிரமாக பிரச்சாரம் செய்ய சிங்கள சமூகத்தில் சில அமைப்புகள் உருவாகின. கருக்கலைப்பை ஏற்படுத்தும் உணவுகளை பரிமாறும் உணவகங்களாக முஸ்லீம் உணவகங்களை மையமாக வைத்து 2014 ஆரம்பத்தில் வதந்திகள் பரப்பப்பட்டன. மலட்டுத்தன்மையை ஏற்படுத்தும் இரசாயனங்கள் பெண்களின் உள்ளாடைகளில் சேர்க்கப்பட்டுள்ளதாக கூறப்பட்டது. அவை மறைமுகமாக சிங்களப் பெண்களுக்கு கொடுக்க முஸ்லிம் இனத்தவர்கள் முயல்கின்றதாக குற்றச்சாட்டுகள் முன்வைக்கப்பட்டன (IQNA, 2016). இது இனவாதத்தின் அடிப்படியில் வளர்ந்துவரும் கருத்தாக காணப்படுகின்றது. இந்த கூற்றுகளுக்கு அரசாங்கம் பதிலளித்ததாகத் தெரிகிறது. பின்னர் அரசு மருத்துவமனைகளுக்கு இது தொடர்பாக அறிவுறுத்தப்பட்டது. மீளமுடியாத பிறப்பு கட்டுப்பாட்டை நிறுத்த தனியார் நிறுவனங்கள் முயற்சித்தன (Christopher. C, 2014).

கருக்கலைப்பு

கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பில் உலக சுகாதார நிறுவனத்து 'சுகாதார கட்டமைப்புகளுக்கான பாதுகாப்பான கருக்கலைப்பிற்கான தொழில்நுட்ப மற்றும் கொள்கை வழிகாட்டல்' என்ற கைநூலில் 'உலகளாவிய ரீதியில் ஒரு வருடத்தில் 22 மில்லியன் பாதுகாப்பற்ற கருக்கலைப்புகள் மேற்கொள்ளப்படுகின்றன என்று குறிப்பிடுகின்றது. இவற்றினால் 47,000 வரையான இறப்புக்களும், மேலதிகமாக 05 மில்லியன் பெண்களுக்கு பாதிப்புகளும் ஏற்படுகின்றன என மதிப்பிடப்பட்டுள்ளது (WHO). அநேகமாக சட்ட ரீதியான பாதுகாப்பான கருக்கலைப்பு மற்றும் கருக்கலைப்பின் பின்னரான பராமரிப்பு சேவைகள் மூலமாகவும் தவிர்க்கப்படக்கூடியவை எனவும் அதில் சுட்டிக்காட்டப்பட்டது[42].

"பெண்மையைக் கருத்தில்கொண்டு, கருக்கலைப்பைச் செய்துக்கொள்ள விரும்பும் பெண்களுக்கு பாலின விதிமுறைகளுக்கமைய கருக்கலைப்பு பற்றிய

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39 வி.நிர்மலாராணி, தமிழ்ச் சிறுகதைகளில் பாலின வேறுபாடும் பெண்ணடிமைத்தனமும், ப.9.

40 https://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/bitstream/10603/233112/8/08%20chapter%205.pdf

41 https://www.healthlinkbc.ca/health-topics/abj9152

42 (https://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/handle/10665/70914/?sequence=1).

தெளிவு அல்லது புரிதல் வழங்கும் செயற்பாடுகள் உள்நாட்டில் நிரணயிக்கப்பட வேண்டும்'' (Hessini and Mitchell, 2009).

இங்கிலாந்தில் கர்ப்பிணிப் பெண்கள் உடல்நல ஆரோக்கியம் தொடர்பாக பல ஆபத்துகளை எதிர்கொள்கிறார்கள். 1967ஆம் ஆண்டு இங்கிலாந்தில் கருக்கலைப்பு சட்டத்தின் கீழ்[43] கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான சில முக்கிய விடயங்கள் அறிமுகப்படுத்தப்பட்டன (Sheldon, 2016). பாதுகாப்பானதும் சட்டபூர்வமானதுமான கருக்கலைப்புக்கான உரிமை என்பது உலகெங்கிலும் உள்ள பல சர்வதேச மற்றும் பிராந்திய மனித உரிமை ஒப்பந்தங்கள் மற்றும் தேசிய அளவிலான அரசியலமைப்புகளின் கீழ் பாதுகாக்கப்பட்ட ஒரு அடிப்படை மனித உரிமையாகும். சுதந்திரமாகக் கருக்கலைப்புகளை செய்துகொள்ளும்[44] வசதிகளை ஏற்படுத்தி இருந்தாலும் கருக்கலைப்புச் சட்டத்தினால் கருக்கலைப்பு ஒரு "மாற்று" (alternative) நடைமுறையாக அமைக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. பிள்ளை பெறுவது தொடர்பில் முடிவெடுக்கும் திறன் இல்லாத பெண்கள் இந்தச் சட்டத்தினூடாக பாதுகாக்கப்படுகின்றனர் (Boyle, 1998; Lee, 2003; Sheldon, 2016).

இங்கிலாந்து அச்சு ஊடகங்கள் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக எதிர்மறை கருத்துகளையே வெளிப்படுத்த முயன்றுள்ளன (Purcell, Hilton and McDaid, 2014). குறிப்பாக கருக்கலைப்புக்கு எதிர்மறையான கூட்டிணைவு ஒரு கருக்கலைப்புக்கு எதிரான கருவி மூலம் உருவாக்கப்படுகிறது என்பதும் கருக்கலைப்புக்கான சுதந்திரம் கொடுத்திருந்தாலும் சட்டத்தினூடாக கூறப்பட்ட வழிமுறைகளை பின்பற்றும் எண்ணிக்கை ஆக குறைவாக இருக்கிறது (Boyle, 1997; Lee, 2003; Sheldon, 2016). இதனால் கருக்கலைப்பு செய்யும் தனிநபர்களினால் கருக்கலைப்பு செய்யாத பெண்களுக்கும் தவிர்க்கமுடியாத பாதிப்பினை ஏற்படுத்தும் ஒரு விடயமாக கருக்கலைப்பு உள்ளது (Franklin, 1991). கருக்கலைப்பை ஒரு ஒழுக்கவியல் ரீதியாக சர்ச்சைக்குரிய (Morally controversial) விடயமாக கருத்தும் நிலைமையை தவிர்க்க வேண்டும். கருக்கலைப்புக்கு எதிரான கருத்தானது

கருவுக்கும் உயிர் உள்ளது என்றும், கருக்கலைப்பு செய்துகொள்கின்ற பெண்கள் மன ரீதியாகவும் உளரீதியாகவும் பாதிப்புகளுக்கு உட்படுவார்கள் (Nick, Hopkins., Steve, Reicher, Jannat, Saleem, 1996) என்னும் கருத்துகள் முன்வைத்துள்ளார்கள்.

கருக்கலைப்பு பற்றிய முடிவெடுப்பதில் உள்ள சிக்கல்கள் என்பது ஆய்வுகள் மூலம் கண்டறியப்பட்ட இன்னொரு விடயம் ஆகும். கருக்கலைப்பு பற்றிய பெண்களின் முகநூல் பக்கங்களில் நியாயப்படுத்தப்படுவதைக் கண்டறிய இந்த ஆய்வை மேற்கொண்டிருக்கிறார்கள் (Purcell, Hilton and McDaid, 2014).

இலங்கையில் கருக்கலைப்பு சட்டமானது சீர்திருத்தப்பட வேண்டியதொன்றாகும் என்பது விவாதத்தில் உள்ளது. 1983ஆம் ஆண்டு கருக்கலைப்புச் சட்டத்தின் 303ஆம் பிரிவின் பிரகாரம் "பெண்ணின் உயிருக்கு ஆபத்து ஏற்படும் நிலையில் மட்டுமே கருக்கலைப்பு அனுமதிக்கப்படுகிறது" என்று குறிப்பிடுகிறது. இந்த சந்தர்ப்பத்தை தவிர பாலியல் வன்புணர்வு மூலமான கருத்தரிப்பு மற்றும் குறைபாட்டுடன் இறக்கக் கூடிய கரு எனக் அடையாளம் காணப்படும் சந்தர்ப்பம் என்றவகையில் கருக்கலைப்பை அனுமதிக்க வேண்டும் எனக் கோரி 2011 ஆம் ஆண்டில் அதற்கான சட்டவரைபை பாராளுமன்றத்தில் சமர்ப்பிக்கப்பட்டது. எனினும் 'கலாசார மற்றும் மத' ரீதியான விவாதங்களால் சர்ச்சையாக்கப்பட்டு அது சட்டமாக்கப்படுவது தடுக்கப்பட்டது (Perera, L. 2015).

கருக்கலைப்பிற்கு சட்ட ரீதியான தடங்கல் இருக்கின்றபோதிலும் இலங்கையில் ஒவ்வொரு நாளும் ஏறத்தாழ 650 பாதுகாப்பற்ற கருக்கலைப்புகள் இடம்பெறுகின்றன என கணிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. எனினும் சட்ட ரீதியான கட்டுப்பாடு இருப்பதாலும் இக்கருக்கலைப்புக்கள் அரச அல்லது முறைசார் மருத்துவமனைகளுக்கு வெளியில் இடம்பெறுகின்றவை என்பதனால் துல்லியமான புள்ளிவிபரங்களை முன்வைப்பது கடினம் எனவும் குறிப்பிடப்படுகிறது (Kumar, R. 2013). ஆயினும் கருக்கலைப்புக்கான தேவையை இப்புள்ளிவிபரங்கள் சுட்டிக்காட்டுகின்றது. எனவே இது தொடர்பான 'அறிவூட்டல் மற்றும் பாதுகாப்பான கருக்கலைப்பை அணுகுதல்

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43 1967 c. 87 (1967, இங்கிலாந்தில் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான c. 87 எனும் சட்டம்).

44 சுதந்திரக் கருக்கலைப்பு என்பது "ஒரு குழந்தையைப் பெறுவது அல்லது கருக்கலைப்பு செய்வது பற்றிய முடிவு எடுக்கும் உரிமை பெண்ணுக்கு உள்ளது என்பதுவே.

பற்றிய விழிப்புணர்வு போன்றவை பெண்களுக்கு வழங்கப்படுவது அவசியம்.' அரசாங்கம், கொள்கை வகுப்பாளர்கள் மற்றும் சுகாதார அதிகாரிகள் இது குறித்து கவனம் செலுத்த வேண்டும் (Perera, L. 2015).

இங்கிலாந்தில் மருத்துவர்கள் இருவருடைய சம்மதம் இருந்தால், 16 வயதிற்கு உட்பட்ட பெண்ணுக்கு பெற்றோரின் அனுமதி இல்லாமல் கருக்கலைப்பு செய்துக்கொள்ளலாம்[45].

பாதுகாப்பான கருக்கலைப்பு சேவைகளை அதிகரிக்கும் நோக்கில் கருக்கலைப்புக் கொள்கைகள் தொடர்பில் பல கருத்துக்களை தெரிவித்த நாடுகளில் இந்தியா ஒரு வலுவான எடுத்துக்காட்டாக விளங்குகிறது. 1971 இல் சட்டரீதியாக கருக்கலைப்புக்கான சுதந்திரம் கொடுக்கப்பட்டமையால் கர்ப்பிணி பெண்களுடைய மரணங்களை குறைக்க முடிந்தது. அதற்கு பின்னர் குடும்பக் கட்டுப்பாட்டு தேவையும் சட்டரீதியாக அனுமதிக்கப்பட்டது (Rahman, E. 2018).

கருக்கலைப்பு ஒரு பொது சுகாதாரப் பிரச்சினையாக கருதியும் குடும்பக் கட்டுப்பாட்டு மற்றும் கருக்கலைப்பு என்பன பெண்கள் உரிமைகளாக கருதியும் அதற்கான பிரச்சாரப் பணிகள் இந்தியாவில் ஆரம்பமானது (Rahman. E, 2018).

பாலியல் சுகாதாரம் மற்றும் உரிமைகள் சார்ந்த விடயங்களைப் பற்றி பேசுவது என்பது ஒரு விலக்கப்பட்ட விடயமாகவே பெரும்பாலானவர்கள் கருதுகிறார்கள். இலங்கை மட்டுமல்ல சர்வதேச ரீதியில் கூட அவ்வாறான கருத்துகள் நிலவுகின்றன. பாடசாலைகளில் பாலியல் கல்விப் பாடத்திட்டத்தின் மீது எதிர்மறையான பார்வையை செலுத்துவற்கும் அல்லது அதனை தவிர்ப்பதற்கும் இவ்வாறான சமூக கலாசார ரீதியான கட்டுப்பாடுகளே காரணமாக அமைகின்றன (Jacob, 2018) ; (Gopal. M, 2014). அதேபோலவே கருக்கலைப்பானது விலக்கப்பட்டதொரு விடயமாகவே கருதப்படுகிறது. மத ரீதியானதும் ஒழுக்கம் சார்ந்த கண்ணோட்டத்திலும் கருக்கலைப்பை அல்லது கருவுறுதலை (Fertility) தடுப்பதை ஆதரிக்கவில்லை. கருக்கலைப்பை அணுகும் அல்லது கருக்கலைப்பை மேற்கொண்ட பெண் ஒதுக்கப்படுவதையும் பாலியல் சேர்க்கை சார்ந்த கேலிக்கு உட்படுத்தாப்படுவதும் அத்துடன

அவமரியாதைக்கு உள்ளாக்கப்படுவதையும் பரவலாக இடம்பெறுகின்றன. எனவே பெண்கள் பாதுகாப்பற்ற கருக்கலைப்பை நாடி செல்கின்றனர். அதை தடைப்படும்போது அது பெண்களின் மகப்பேற்றுகால இறப்பு மற்றும் வேறுபட்ட சிக்கல்களுக்கு வழிவகுக்கின்றது (Gopal. M, 2014).

இவற்றோடு மக்கள் மத்தியில் நிலவும் கருக்கலைப்பின் நீண்டகால பின்விளைவுகள் தொடர்பிலான தெளிவற்ற நிலைமையும் தவறான புரிதல்களும் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பில் மக்கள் எதிர்மறையான கருத்துக்களைக் கொண்டிருக்க காரணமாகின்றன. இதன்போது ஊடகங்களின் பங்கு மிகவும் முக்கியமானதாகும். கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான உறுதிப்படுத்தப்பட்டதும் சரியானதுமான தகவல்களையே ஊடகங்கள் வழங்க வேண்டும். தெரிவு செய்யும் உரிமை தொடர்பில் கண்ணோட்டங்கள் மாறினாலும் ஊடகங்கள் (தொலைகாட்சி மற்றும திரைப்படங்கள்) பாரபட்சமாக கருக்கலைப்புக்கு பாதகமான விடயங்களேயே சுட்டிக்காட்டி செயற்படுகிறன (Toynbee, 2014); (Gopal. M, 2014).

கருக்கலைப்பு மற்றும் பாலியல் சுகாதாரம் தொடர்பில் வெளிப்படையானத்தன்மை இல்லாமைக்கு இத்தகைய புரிந்துணர்வின்மையும் கட்டுப்பாடுகளும் காரணிகளாக அமைகின்றன.

ஊடகங்கள் மற்றும் சமூக ஊடகங்கள்

உலகளாவிய கைத்தொலைபேசி புள்ளிவிவர அறிக்கையின்படி[46] 2013 ஆம் ஆண்டு பெப்ரவரி மாதத்தில் உலக மக்களில் 96.2% வீத மக்கள் கைத்தொலைபேசியைப் பயன்படுத்திருக்கிறார்கள்.

உலக சனத்தொகையில் 53% வீதமானோர் இணையத்தை பயன்படுத்திக் கொள்கின்றவர்களாக உள்ளார்கள் என்பதுடன் அவர்களில் ஏறத்தாள 80% வீதமானோர் சமூக வலைத்தள பாவனையாளர்களாகவும் உள்ளார்கள் என்று 2018ஆம் ஆண்டு ஜனவரி மாதத்து புள்ளிவிபரங்கள் தெரிவிக்கின்றன (McDonalad, 2018). ஆண்களை விட பெண்கள் சமூக வலைத்தளங்களை அதிகமாக உபயோகிக்கின்றனர். மதசார்பற்ற மக்களை விட மத சார்புடைய மக்கள் அதிகம் சமூக வலைத்தளங்களை உபயோகிக்கின்றனர் (Shahghasemi, Emamzadeh,

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45 https://www.fpa.org.uk, 2016

46 mobiThinking.com report

2018). அமெரிக்க இளைஞர்களிடையே சமூக ஊடக பயன்பாடு அதிகரித்து வருகிறது (Liu et al.,2016). 2008 ஆம் ஆண்டில் மட்டும் அமெரிக்க இளைஞர்களின் 10 சதவீதமானோர் "பல வகையான சமூக ஊடகங்களை" பயன்படுத்தியிருந்தனர். பத்து வருடங்களுக்குப் பிறகு இந்த தொகையானது 77% ஆக உயர்ந்துள்ளது[47]. அமெரிக்காவில் பெரியவர்களுக்குள் மிகவும் பிரபல்யமான சமூக ஊடகம் முகநூல் (Facebook) ஆகும். மக்களில் 68 சதவீதமானோர் முகநூலைப் பயன்படுத்துகிறார்கள். ஏனைய சமூக ஊடகங்களின் சராசரி பயன்பாடு சுமார் 25% ஆகும். கையடக்கத்தொலைபேசி ஊடாக சமூக ஊடகங்களைப் பயன்படுத்தும் அமெரிக்கர்களின் எண்ணிக்கையும் அதிகரித்துள்ளது (Jantsch, 2018).

2014 ஆம் ஆண்டு நெயில் பாடேலின் ஆய்வில் குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளதன்படி பெண்களில் 76 சதவீதமானோர் முகநூலை பயன்படுத்துகிறார்கள். பாடேலின் ஆய்வுக்கமைய ஆண்களை விட 55 சதவீதத்திற்கும் அதிகமான பெண்கள் முகநூலில் பகிர்வுகளை மேற்கொண்டுள்ளார்கள். அத்துடன் ஆண்களை விட 69 சதவீதமான பெண்களுக்கு முகநூலில் உள்ள நண்பர்களின் எண்ணிக்கையும் அதிகரித்துள்ளது. கையடக்கத் தொலைப்பேசினூடாக முகநூலை பயன்படுத்திற்கொள்ளோர்களின் எண்ணிக்கையும் 69 சதவீதமாக காணப்படுகின்றது.

தகவல் பரிமாற்றத்திற்கும் சித்தாந்தங்களை மற்றும் கருத்தியல்களை உருவாக்குவதற்கும் ஊடகம் தேவைப்படுகின்றது (Senarath. S, and Senavirathne. K, 2016). வெகுசன ஊடகங்கள் என்பது தொழில்நுட்பத்தினூடாக வெகுசன பார்வையாளர்களை அடைய விரும்பும் ஊடகங்கள் ஆகும். பொது மக்களிடம் வேகமாக செல்ல முடியும் என்பதும், அதிகூடிய பார்வையாளர்களை ஒரே நேரத்தில் அடையக்கூடியதும் என்ற சிறப்பு அம்சங்கள் வெகுசன ஊடகங்களுக்கு உண்டு. தகவல் பரிமாற்றத்தின் உச்சக் கட்டத்தை அடையும் முக்கியப் பங்கும் ஊடகங்களுக்கு உண்டு. வெகுசன ஊடகங்களின் பொதுவான தளங்களாக பத்திரிகைகள், சஞ்சிகைகள், வானொலி, தொலைக்காட்சி மற்றும் இணையம் என்பன அடையாளங் காணப்பட முடியும். பொது விவகாரங்கள், பொதுவாக அரசியல் பிரச்சினைகள்,

சமூகப் பிரச்சினைகள்,பொழுதுபோக்கு மற்றும் சனரஞ்சக கலாசாரத்தின் அம்சங்களையும் தகவல்களையும் வழங்குவது வெகுசன ஊடகங்களின் முக்கிய செயலாகும் (Weerasinghe, T. 2012).

பொது வெளியில் எழுத்து மூலமான கருத்து பரிமாற்றல் என்பது சென்ற தலைமுறைப் பெண்களுக்குக் கிட்டாத ஒரு வாய்ப்பு ஆகும். பெரும்பாலும் தோழிகளுக்குக் கடிதம் எழுதுதல் என்ற எல்லைக்கு மட்டுப்படுத்தப்பட்டதாக அது இருந்திருக்கும். பெண் எழுத்தாளர்கள் என்று சொல்லப்படுபவர்கள்கூட விரல்விட்டு எண்ணக்கூடிய அளவிற்கே இருந்தனர். ஆனால் சமூக வலைதளங்கள் வந்தபின் அத்தகைய இடர்கள் குறைந்துபோய் எழுத்துமொழி பெருமளவில் பயன்படுத்தப்படுகிறது. பத்துக்கு ஆறு பெண்களாவது எழுதக்கூடியவர்களாக இருக்கின்றனர். இதன்போது என்ன எழுதுகிறார்கள் என்பது முக்கியமன்று. எழுத்து மூலம் கருத்துப் பரிமாற்றம் நிகழ்வது அதிகரித்துள்ளது (Elham and Moghadam, 2014).

சவுதி அரேபியாவின் ஆட்சி மாற்றத்திற்கு சமூக வலைத்தளங்கள் காரணியாக அமைந்ததுடன் அதற்காக செயற்பட்டவர்களின் அதிகமானோர் பெண்கள் ஆவார்கள் என்று குறிப்பிடப்படுகின்றது. (Ahmed, 2014). பெண்கள் அரசியல் பேசுவதிலும் இலக்கியம் பேசுவதிலும் கடந்த நான்காண்டுகளில் கண்டுள்ள துரித வளர்ச்சியில் சமூகவலைதளங்களுக்குப் பெரும்பங்கு உண்டு. அதேபோல பெண்கள் எழுத்தாளர்களாக அங்கீகாரம் பெறுவதும் சாதாரண விடயமன்று. ஆனால் இன்று முகநூலில் எழுதியோ அல்லது ப்ளாக்கில் (blogs) எழுதியோ பின்பு அவற்றைத் தொகுத்து வெளியீட்டுவதன் வழியாக எளிதாக எழுத்தாளர் என்று அறியப்படலாம் (Elham and Moghadam, 2014).

இலங்கையில் இணையத்தள பயனாளிகளின் எண்ணிக்கையானது 2017ஆம் ஆண்டில் 32% வீதமாக அதிகரித்துள்ளது. பெண்கள் இணையத்தளங்களில் கருத்துகள் வெளிப்படுத்த ஆரம்பித்தப் பின்பு அவர்களுக்கு எதிரான நேரடியான வன்முறைகள் அதிகரித்து உள்ளன. இலங்கையில் நடாத்தப்பட்ட ஆய்வுகளின் மூலம் இது கண்டறியப்பட்டுள்ளது. இணையத்தளத்தில் நேரடியாக கருத்து விவாதங்களை

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47 Statistic of Social media usage in America. https://www.statista.com/topics/3196/social-media-usage-in-the-united-states/

நடாத்தும் பெண்கள், பெண் ஊடகவியலாளர்கள் மற்றும் சாதாரணப் பெண்கள் டிஜிட்டல் (Digital) இடைவெளிகளைப் பயன்படுத்திக்கொள்ளும்போது பாரியளவில் இனவாதம், மதவாதம் என்பனவற்றினால் பாதிக்கப்படுகின்றனர் (OECD Development Centre, 2015).

பெண்ணின் நற்பெயர் பாலியல் ரீதியாக சிதைக்கப்படும் போது அது அப்பெண்ணின் குடும்ப சூழலை பெரிதும் பாதிப்புக்கு உட்படுத்தும் காரணியாக அமைகின்றது. குறிப்பிட்ட பெண் திருமணமாகாத பெண்ணாக இருக்கும்பட்சத்தில் அப்பெண்ணின் தாயும் தந்தையும் பாலியல் ரீதியாகத் திட்டப்படுவதையும் குடும்பப் பெண்ணாக இருக்கும் பட்சத்தில் அப்பெண்ணின் ஒழுக்கத்தைக் கேள்விக்கு உட்படுத்துவதையும் என இங்கு பாலியல் ரீதியான தாக்குதல்கள் ஏராளம் இடம்பெறுகின்றன (Skalli, 2014).

மேலும் சைபர் (Cyber) குற்றப்பிரிவானது பணமோசடிகள் என்ற விடயத்தில் துரிதமாக இயங்கிக் குற்றவாளிகளுக்கு தண்டனையளிக்கும் அளவிற்கு பெண்கள் மீது நிகழ்த்தப்படும் சைபர் குற்றங்களில் ஆர்வம் காட்டுவதில்லை. ஒரு பெண்ணைப் பற்றி பாலியல் ரீதியாக தவறாகப் பேசுவதற்கோ அல்லது எழுதுவதற்கோ பயப்படும் அளவிற்குச் சட்டங்கள் கடுமையாக்கப்பட வேண்டும். முகநூலில் போலிக்கணக்குகளை முடக்குவதில் அரசு தீவிரம் காட்டினால் பெண்கள் மீது நிகழ்த்தப்படும் சைபர் குற்றங்கள் பெருமளவில் குறையும்.

அத்துடன் பெண்களின் சுதந்திரமும் பாதுகாக்கப்படும். சமூக வலைதளங்களிலேயே கேள்விக்குள்ளாகும் நிலையில் பெண்களுக்குப் பாதுகாப்பற்ற நாடுகளுக்குள் இந்தியா முதலிடத்தில் இருக்கின்றமையானது வியப்பானதொரு விடயம் அல்ல (விஷ்ணுப்பிரியா,BBC). ஷாக்ஹாசேமி (Shahghasemi) மற்றும் எமாம்சாதீஷ் (Emamzadeh) குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளதன்படி சமூக வலைத்தளமானது பல்வேறு முறைமைகளூடாக அரசியல் பங்குபற்றலில் குறிப்பிடத்தக்களவு தாக்கத்தை செலுத்துகின்றதொன்றாகும் (Ehsan. Shahghasemi and Zahra. Emamzadeh, 2019**).** எனினும் இக்கூற்றானது அமெரிக்கா சார்ந்தது. இலங்கையை பொறுத்தவரையில் இந்த நிலைமைகளைத் தொடர்பாக மிகச்சிறிய அளவிலேயே தகவல்களை பெறக்கூடியதாக உள்ளது. ஆயினும் இலங்கையில் தற்போதைய சூழ்நிலையில் சமூக ஒன்றுதிரட்டல் மற்றும் அரசியல் தொடர்பான விடயங்களில் சமூக

வலைத்தளங்கள் எவ்வாறு பயன்படுத்தப்பட்டன என்பதற்கு குறிப்பிடத்தக்களவில் உதாரணங்கள் காட்டக்கூடியதாக உள்ளது. உதாரணம்: தேயிலைத் தோட்டத் தொழிலாளர்களின் சம்பள உயர்வுக்கான போராட்டம். 2018 இலங்கை அரசியல் குழப்பத்தின் போது மக்கள் ஒன்று திரண்டமை (2018,November 12, Peoples Dispatch).

இன–மத பதற்றங்களை உருவாக்கும் வெறுப்பு பேச்சுகள்

மற்றைய இனத்தை அல்லது மதத்தை சார்ந்தவர்கள் என்றவகையில் வேறு அடையாளங்களைக்கொண்டவர்களின் மீதான வெறுப்பு பேச்சுகளை வெளிப்படையாக பயன்படுத்தப்படுகின்றமையானது இணையத்தளங்களில் குறிப்பாக முகநூல், டுவிட்டர் மற்றும் ஏனைய சமூக வலைத்தளங்களில் காணக்கூடியதாக இருந்தது. பின்பு மற்றைய இனத்தை அல்லது மதத்தை சார்ந்த பெண்களின் நடத்தை, உடல் மற்றும் உணர்வுகள் போன்றவை தொடர்புப் படுத்தி இலங்கையில் சிறுபான்மையினர்களுக்கு அச்சுறுத்தல்கள் விடுத்தார்கள். அதிகம் பயன்படுத்தப்படும் தளங்களில் தேசியவாதத்தின் அடிப்படையில் கொண்டுநடாத்தும் இனவாத நிகழ்ச்சி நிரல் உள்ளது என்று கூறலாம். இவ்வாறான நிகழ்ச்சி நிரலுக்குள் நின்று சமூக வலைத்தளங்களில் பெரும்பான்மையினர் வெறுப்பு உணர்வுகளை மற்றைய சமூகத்தவர்களின் மீது செலுத்துகின்றனர். இந்த சூழலில் முகநூல் உள்ளடக்கத்தின் வேகமான வளர்ச்சியுடன் இனங்களுக்கும் மதங்களுக்கும் எதிரான செயற்பாடுகளும் அதிகரித்தன. இச்செயற்பாடுகள் சிறுபான்மையினர்களுக்குள் தாழ்வு மன நிலையை உருவாக்கியுள்ளது.

வெறுப்பை பரப்புவதில் குறைந்த செலவைக்கொண்டு அதிக தாக்கம் ஏற்படுத்த இணையத்தளங்களினூடாக முடிந்தது. குறிப்பிட்ட சமூகங்களை அல்லது தனிநபர்களை இலக்காகக்கொண்டு அவ்வறான செயற்பாடுகள் நடந்ததை அவதானிக்கக்கூடியதாக இருந்தன (Haththotuwa. S and Samaratunga. S, 2014).

சமூக வலைத்தளப் பயன்பாட்டில் ஆதிக்கம் செலுத்தும் காரணிகள் தொடர்பாக அமெரிக்காவை களமாகக்கொண்டு 2018ஆம் ஆண்டில் நடாத்தப்பட்ட ஆய்வொன்றில் பின்வரும் விடயங்களை குறிப்பிடப்படுகின்றன. குறிப்பிட்ட ஆய்வின்போது

வயது, பால்நிலை, திருமணநிலை, வருமானம், மதம் போன்ற குடிவிபரவியல் காரணிகளும் சமூக வலைத்தள பயன்பாட்டுடன் உற்று நோக்கப்பட்டன. இந்த ஆய்வின் முடிவுகளின்படி ஆண்களை விட பெண்கள் (பதிலளித்தவர்களின் எண்ணிக்கையானது 33,318 ஆக இருந்ததுடன் அதில் பெண்களின் எண்ணிக்கையானது 17,079 என்றும் ஆண்களின் எண்ணிக்கையானது 16,239 என்றும் இருந்தன) சற்று அதிகமாக சமூக வலைத்தளங்களை பயன்படுத்திக்கொள்கிறார்கள் என்பதை குறிப்பிடுகின்றது. அத்துடன் மதம் சார்ந்தோர் மத சார்பற்றோரை விட அதிகமாக சமூக வலைத்தள பயன்பாட்டில் உள்ளார்கள் என்பதையும் குறிப்பிடுகின்றனர் (Emamzadeh,2018). இங்கு மதசார் என்பது தொடர்பாக தெளிவான விளக்கமொன்று கொடுக்கப்படவில்லை என்ற போதிலும் குறிப்பிட்ட ஆய்வு முடிவுகள் தனிநபர் சார்ந்த காரணிகள் நிச்சயமாகவே சமூக வலைத்தள பாவனையில் தாக்கம் செலுத்துகின்றன என்பதை குறிப்பிடுகின்றது. அவ்வகையில் இளம் பெண்களை மையப்படுத்தி இந்த ஆய்வை நாங்கள் மேற்கொண்டதினால், அவர்களின் வயது, இனம்,மதம் போன்ற காரணிகள் சமூக வலைத்தள பாவனையில் எவ்வகையான செல்வாக்குகள் செலுத்துகின்றன என்பதை அவதானிக்க முடிந்தது.

சமூக வலைத்தளங்களும் பெண்களும்

சமூக வலைத்தளங்களில் கருத்துகள் வெளிப்படுத்துவதையும் விவாதித்தலில் பெண்கள் பங்களிப்பு செய்வதையும் அத்துடன் அதன் விளைவுகளைத் தொடர்பாகவும் மேற்கொள்ளப்பட்டுள்ள ஆய்வுகள் பற்றி இதன்போது ஆராயப்படும்.

பாலியல் ரீதியான துன்புறுத்தலின் நோக்கங்களையும் அதிலுள்ள மிருகத்தனத்தையும் அம்பலப்படுத்த உதவும் ஒரு சூழலை அரபு வசந்தத்திற்குப் பின்னர் காணக்கூடியதாக இருந்தது (Compendium 2013).

குடிமக்களும் ஆர்வலர்களும் "பாலியல் ரீதியான தாக்குதல்களுடன் சம்பந்தப்பட்ட ஆவணங்களையும் காட்சிகளையும் பதிவுசெய்து YouTube, facebook போன்ற சமூக வலைத்தளங்களில் பகிர்ந்திருந்தனர் (Amar, 2011).

பெண்களின் மீதான பாலியல் துன்புறுத்தல்களின் சாட்சியங்கள் நீண்ட காலமாகவே மௌனத்திற்குள்

மறைக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. எனவே இவ்வாறான உரையாடல்கள் சமூகங்களில் நிலவும் பாலியல் ரீதியான துன்புறுத்தல்களைக் குறைக்க உதவியது. பாலியல் ரீதியான துன்புறுத்தலின் பாதிப்பானது வட ஆபிரிக்க சமூகங்களில் அனைத்து ஆணாதிக்க சமுதாயங்களிலும் பரவலாக உள்ளது. பெண்கள் மௌனம் காப்பதும், செயல்முறைக்கு வன்முறையை கண்டனம் செய்வதும், சாதாரணமாகவும் முரட்டுத்தனமாகவும் கண்டனம் செய்வதும் காணக்கூடியதாக உள்ளன. பெண் உடலையும் பெண்ணின் நடவடிக்கைகளையும் "தூய்மை" மற்றும் கௌரவத்தின் குறியீடுகளால் கடுமையாக கட்டுப்படுத்தப்படும் சமூகங்களில் பெண் உடலின் மீதான எந்தவகையான அத்துமீறலையும் முழு குடும்பத்திற்கும் அல்லது சமுதாயத்திற்கும் ஏற்பட்ட அவமதிப்பாகவே கருத்தில் கொள்ளப்படுகிறது (loubna, 2013). எனவே சில வருடங்களுக்கு முன்பு கேள்வி எழுப்பாத விடயங்களின் மீதான விவாதங்கள் இப்போது தொடங்கியுள்ளன. வீடுகளில், வானொலி நிலையங்களில், தொலைக்காட்சி நிகழ்ச்சிகளில் மற்றும் பொது கூட்டங்களிலும் கூட பரவலாக இந்த விவாதங்கள் இடம்பெறுகின்றன. உதாரணமாக மொராக்கோ நாட்டில் பெண்கள் துன்புறுத்தப்படுவதற்கு எதிராக ஒரு குழு முக நூல் ஊடாக விவாதங்களைத் தொடங்கியது. விருப்பத்துடன் இருவர் அன்பு ரீதியாகவோ பாலியல் ரீதியாகவோ உறவுக்கொள்வதற்கும் ஒருவரின் அனுமதி இல்லாமல் அவரை துன்புறுத்துவதற்கும் இடையே உண்மையாகவே ஒரு வித்தியாசம் உண்டா? பெண்களின் ஆடைத் தேர்வானது பாலியல் துன்புறுத்தல், வன்புணர்வு அல்லது பெண்களுக்கு எதிரான வேறு எந்தவிதமான வன்முறையையும் நியாயப்படுத்தக்கூடியதொன்றா? ஒரு ஆர்ப்பாட்ட போராட்டத்தால் மனப்பான்மையை மாற்றியமைக்க முடியுமா? நீங்கள் எந்தவொரு இயக்கத்திற்காவது ஆதரவு வழங்க தெருவில் இறங்க தயாராக இருக்கிறீர்களா? (ஆண்கள் மற்றும் பெண்கள்). நீங்கள் மொராக்கோ நாட்டில் நடக்கும் பாலியல் துன்புறுத்தல்களுக்கு எதிரானவர்களாக இருக்கிறீர்களா? என்ற கேள்விகள் இதன்போது கேட்கப்பட்டன (Loubna, 2013).

சமூக இயக்கங்களுக்கு பொருத்தமானவை என்று நான்கு சமூக உளவியல் செயல்முறைகள கம்சன் (Gamson, 1992) முன்வைக்கிறார்.

அவரால் அறிமுகப்படுத்தப்படும் குறுக்கு வெட்டான (intersection) என்ற செயல்முறையானது சமூக அடையாளங்களுடனும் கட்டமைப்புக்களுடனும் அதிகாரத்தை தொடர்புபடுத்துகிறது. கட்டுப்பாட்டுக் குறுக்கீடு என்பது மேலாதிக்க முறைகளின் ஒருங்கிணைப்பு என்றே குறிக்கிறது. அரசியல் குறுக்கீடுகள் அரசியல் தீர்வுகளுடன் முரண்பட்டு சமூக முன்னேற்றத்தை தடுக்கிறது. பிரதிநிதித்துவக் குறுக்கீடு என்பது ஒரு அரசியல் சொற்பொழிவை உள்ளடக்குகிறது (Crenshaw,1991).

கறுப்பின பெண்களிடம் வன்முறைப் பற்றிய விழிப்புணர்வை ஏற்படுத்துவதற்காக கறுப்பின பெண்கள் முகநூலைப் பயன்படுத்திக்கொண்டார்கள் (Terriquez, 2015). கறுப்பின பெண்களுக்கு எதிரான வன்முறைகள் தொடர்பில் கவனம் செலுத்துவதற்காக #SayHerName என்று கறுப்பின பெண்கள் தொடங்கிய முகநூல் ஊடான போராட்டத்தின் மூலம் சமூக ஊடக செயற்பாடுகள், அரசியல், கல்வி போன்ற துறைகளில் விழிப்புணர்வை ஏற்படுத்தியது (African American Policy Forum (AAPF), 2015). 2015 ஆம் ஆண்டு ஜூலை மாதம் பொலிஸ் காவலில் இருந்தபோது இறந்த சன்றா பிலவுட்ஸின் இறப்புக்குப் பிறகு அரசாலும் சமூகத்தினாலும் கறுப்பின பெண்களுக்கு எதிராக மேற்கொள்ளப்படுகின்ற வன்முறைகளை எதிர்த்து ஆப்பிரிக்க - அமெரிக்க கொள்கை மன்றம் (AAPF) இந்த #SayHerName பிரசாரத்தை ஆரம்பித்தது. #SayHerName மூலம் பெண்கள், LGBT[48] சமூகம் ஊனமுற்றோர் என்போர்களுக்கு நீதி கோரி குரல் எழுப்ப தொடங்கியது. #SayHerName இன் ஆதரவாளர்கள் சமூக ஊடகங்களைப் பயன்படுத்தி கறுப்பின பெண்கள் வன்முறைகளால் பாதிக்கப்படுகின்றமையை ஆவணப்படுத்தினார்கள். ஆர்ப்பாட்டங்களை ஒழுங்கமைக்கவும் தகவல்களைத் தெரிவிக்கவும் அந்த ஆவணங்களை பயன்படுத்திக்கொண்டார்கள். அவர்கள் 2016ஆம் ஆண்டு மே மாதம் "பெண்கள் மீதான வன்முறைக்கு எதிரான தேசிய தின நடவடிக்கைக்கு" கறுப்பின இளைஞர் செயற்திட்டம் (Black Youth Project) என்று பெயரிட்டார்கள்" (Crenshaw, 1991).

பத்தொன்பதாம் நூற்றாண்டில் கூட சமூகத்தில் மதம் முக்கியத்துவம் வாய்ந்ததொன்றாக இருந்துள்ளது என்பதை ஆய்வாளர்கள் எடுத்துக்காட்டியுள்ளார்கள் (Inglehart. Norris, 2004). அரசியல் தகவல்தொடர்பாடலின்போது இலக்கு பார்வையாளர்களிடம் அரசியல் உள்ளடக்கத்தைக்கொண்ட ஒரு செய்தியை வழங்கப்படுவதை காணலாம். அரசியலமைப்பு தொடர்பில் நேரடியான அல்லது மறைமுகமான தாக்கங்களை செலுத்தும் செய்திகளை கட்டுமானம் செய்தல், அனுப்புதல், பெறுதல் மற்றும் செயலாக்கப்படுத்துதல் ஆகியவற்றை அரசியல் தொடர்பாடல் கொண்டுள்ளது. அரசியல்வாதிகள், ஊடகவியலாளர்கள் அல்லது குடிமக்கள் மூலம் அனுப்பப்படும் செய்திகளான அரசியல் தொடர்பாடலானது கிறாபர் (Graber and Smith, 2005) மற்றும் கெமிலா (Camelia Beciu, 2002) என்போர்களின் கருத்தின்படி இரு முகங்களைக்கொண்டுள்ளது. "அரசியல் தகவல் தொடர்பு கருவி" மற்றும் "நிறுவன முன்னோக்கு" இந்த இரு முகங்கள் ஆகும். அரசியல்வாதிகள் செய்தி ஊடகம் மூலம், வெகுஜன ஊடகங்கள் மூலம் அல்லது பிற ஊடகங்களின் மூலம் செய்திகளை அனுப்புகிறார்கள்.

பெண்ணியவாத கோட்பாடானது பாலினம் மற்றும் அதிகாரம் என்ற இரண்டினை மட்டுமே உள்ளடக்கியதொன்றல்ல, மாறாக பாலியல், மதம் மற்றும் இனம் போன்ற பிற அம்சங்களையும் உள்ளடக்கியதொன்றாக இருக்க முடியும் என்று சுக்லான்ஸ் (Cucklanz, 2016) வாதிடுகிறார். கடந்த நூற்றாண்டில் பெண்களின் செயற்பாடுகள் காரணமாக பாலியல் சார்ந்ததும், சட்டங்கள் சார்ந்ததும் மற்றும் கொள்கைகள் சார்ந்ததும் மாற்றங்கள் உலகின் சகல பிராந்தியங்களிலும் இடம்பெற்றுள்ளன. பெண்கள் தொடர்பான குடும்பச் சட்டம், பெண்களின் மீதான வன்முறைகளுக்கு எதிரான குரல் மற்றும் பெண்களின் அரசியல் அதிகாரம் என்பன சார்ந்ததாக பெண்கள் தற்போது அரசியல் ரீதியாக செயற்படுகிறார்கள் (Orlof, Palier, 2009).

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48   பாலினம் என்பதன் பொருள் முந்தைய காலங்களில் மிகவும் எளிதாக இருந்தது. இரு பாலினரும் எதிர்பாலினரிடம் ஈர்க்கப்படுவது இயல்பானதாக இருந்தது. ஆனால் தற்போது பாலினத்தை சிறிய வட்டத்துக்குள் அடைக்க முடிவதில்லை. L, G, B, T - L அதாவது Lesbains எனப்படும் பெண் ஓரினச்சேர்க்கையாளர்கள், G அதாவது Gays எனப்படும் ஆண் ஓரினச்சேர்க்கையாளர்கள், B அதாவது Bisexuals எனப்படும் ஆண், பெண் என்ற இரு சாராருடனும் உறவுகொள்கின்றவர்கள் மற்றும் T அதாவது Transgenders எனப்படும் திருநங்கைகள். https://www.quora.com/

அரசியல் நோக்கத்திற்காக ஊடகங்களை எவ்வாறு பயன்படுத்திக்கொண்டார்கள் என்பதைப் பற்றியும் அதற்காக ஒவ்வொரு தலைப்பினூ டாக செய்த விளம்பரப்படுத்தல்களைப் பற்றியும் கப்ரியேலா பிறேயா (Gabriela Firea) மேற்கொண்ட ஆய்வொன்றில் மதம் சார்ந்த விடயங்களையும் குறிப்பிட்டு அவரின் கருத்துகளை முகநூலில் பதிவுசெய்துள்ளார். அதற்காக அவருக்கு கிடைத்த எதிர்வினைகளின் எண்ணிக்கையானது 26,295 ஆகும். அதில் 99% வீதமானது நேர்மறையானவையாகும் (Adina-Loredana, 2019).

பெண்களின் மௌனம்

பதினாறாம் நூற்றாண்டில் பொது கருத்துக்கள் அல்லது மீளுருவாக்க சிந்தனைகளை முன்வைப்பதில் பெண்களின் பங்கு (எழுத்தாளர்கள் உட்பட) குறித்து ஆய்வுகள் மிகக் குறைவு என்பதை மௌனத்தை உடைத்தல் என்ற தனது ஆய்வுக்கட்டுரையில் நியூசிலாந்தின் மதேசன் (Matheson I) குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளார்[49]. அதற்கு குறிப்பிட்ட காலக் கட்டத்தில் பெண்கள் பொதுவெளியில் தமது கருத்தை முன்வைப்பதில் இருந்த சமூக மற்றும் மதம் சார்ந்த கட்டுபாடுகள் முக்கிய காரணிகளாக அவர் முன்வைக்கிறார். எனவே ஆர்வலராக துடிப்புடன் செயற்படுவதற்கு 'சட்ட உரிமைகளின் நிலை' உட்பட அவர்களின் மீது விதிக்கப்பட்டிருந்த மௌனங்களை உடைக்க வேண்டிய கட்டாயநிலை இருந்தது' என்று அவர் குறிப்பிடுகிறார். இதை அடிப்படையாகக்கொண்டு மௌனத்தை உடைத்தல் என்பது பெண்கள் தமது கருத்துக்களையும் விருப்பங்களையும் வெளிப்படுத்தாமல் இருக்க சமூக கலாசார மற்றும் பாலின ரீதியாக திணிக்கப்பட்டுள்ள அல்லது விதிக்கப்பட்டுள்ள மட்டுப்படுத்தல்களை, எல்லைகளை விட்டு வெளியே வந்து தமது கருத்தை முன்வைத்தலா எடுத்துக்கொள்ள முடியும். அவ்வாறு முன்வரும் போது அவர்களின் கருத்துக்களை எல்லோராலும் வரவேற்கப்படுமா? அல்லது வேறுவகையான அழுத்தங்களை அவர்கள் எதிர்கொள்கிறார்களா? என்பதை பற்றியும் நாம் கவனம் செலுத்தல் வேண்டும்.

முகநூலில் பெண்களுடைய கருத்துக்களின் பண்புகள்

இந்த அத்தியாயமானது முகநூலில் காணப்படும் இலங்கைப் பெண்களின் நிலைப்பாடு சார்ந்த விடயங்களை ஆராய்வதற்கு எடுத்த ஒரு முயற்சியாகும். இளம் பெண்கள் தமது இனப்பெருக்கத்திற்கான உரிமைகள் தொடர்பாக குறிப்பாக கருக்கலைப்பு குறித்து சமூக வலைத்தளங்களில் மௌனம் காப்பது ஏன் என்ற ஆய்வுப் பிரச்சினையை விரிவாக ஆராய்வதற்காக சமூக வலைத்தளத்தில் குறிப்பாக முகநூலில் இலங்கைப் பெண்கள் தமது கருத்துக்களை முன்வைக்கும் சுபாவம் பற்றியும் பெண்களால் அதிகமாக பதிவுச் செய்யப்படும் அல்லது பகிர்ந்துக்கொள்ளப்படும் கருத்துக்கள் எவை என்பது பற்றியும் ஆராய்தல் அவசியமாகும். எனவே ஆய்வுக்கு உட்படுத்தப்பட்ட நபர்களின் கருத்துக்களை பின்வருமாறு பதிவுச்செய்யப்படுகின்றன.

கருத்துக்கள் தொடர்பான பகுப்பாய்வு

முகநூலில் இலங்கைப் பெண்களின் நிலைப்பாடு தொடர்பான பகுப்பாய்வு கீழ்வருமாறு அமைகின்றன.

(அ) முகநூலை பயன்படுத்திக்கொள்ளும் பெண்களுடைய சதவீதத்தின் வளர்ச்சி

உலக சனத்தொகையில் 80% வீதமானோர்கள் சமூக வலைத்தள பாவனையாளர்களாக உள்ளார்கள் என்று 2018ஆம் ஆண்டு ஜனவரி மாதத்து புள்ளிவிபரங்கள் தெரிவிக்கிறன.

இலங்கையில் மொத்த சனத்தொகையில் 90% வீதமானோர்கள் சமூக வலைத்தள பாவனையாளர்களாக இருக்கிறார்கள். இவர்களில் பெண்களின் வீதம் 30% ஆக காணப்படுகிறது (McDonalad, 2018). முகநூலை பயன்படுத்தும் இளம் பெண்கள் என்ற வகையில் ஆராயும்போது தினசரி முகநூலூடாக கருத்துக்களை பதிவுசெய்யும் மற்றும் பகிரப்படும் பெண்களுடைய கருத்துகளின் நிலைப்பாட்டை கவனிக்கும்போது முகநூலுடனான பெண்களின் பங்களிப்பு மிகக் குறைவென்பதையே அவதானிக்க முடிந்தது. இருந்தபோதிலும் கடந்த சில வருடக் காலமாக இதில் மாற்றம் நடந்திருப்பதை அவதானிக்க முடிந்தது. அதாவது முன்றைய

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49 Flora I Matheson , Nihaya Daoud , Sarah Hamilton-Wright , Heidi Borenstein , Cheryl Pedersen , Patricia O'Campo Sep-Oct 2015. 'Where Did She Go? The Transformation of Self-Esteem, Self-Identity, and Mental Well-Being among Women Who Have Experienced Intimate Partner Violence'. Pdf is available on https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/26116987/

காலத்தைவிட பெண்கள் பல் வெறு முறைகளினூடாக முகநூலில் பிரவேசிக்கும் தன்மையைக் காண முடிந்தது.

இலங்கையைப் பொறுத்தவரை சமூக ஊடகங்களில் பெண்களின் பிரவேசம் கடந்த பத்தாண்டுகளுக்குள் குறிப்பிடத்தக்களவு வளர்ச்சியை கண்டுள்ளதாக வெளிநாட்டில் வசிக்கும் பெண்மணி ஒருவர் கூறியுள்ளார். "கடந்த பத்தாண்டுகளுக்குள் தான் குறிப்பிடத்தக்களவு வளர்ச்சி நிகழ்ந்திருக்கிறது. கருத்துக்களை முன்வைப்பது, ஒரு விடயம் சார்ந்த தெளிவு அல்லது தாம் செயற்படுகின்ற இயங்குதளம், இணையத்தளம் குறித்து பிரக்ஞையோடு வெளிப்பாடுகளை மேற்கொள்ளல் என்ற விடயங்களில் பெண்களின் பங்களிப்பு குறைவாகவே இருக்கிறது[50]".

"இலங்கையில் சமூக வலைத்தளங்களில் குறிப்பாக முகநூலில் பெண்கள் தங்களது கருத்துகளை பதிவு செய்வதை விட மற்றவர்கள் ஏற்கனவே பதிவுசெய்தவை பெண்களும் பகிர்ந்துகொள்வார்கள்[51]". முந்தைய காலத்தை விட பெண்களின் முகநூல் பங்களிப்பானது குறிப்பிட்டளவு கூடியிருந்தாலும் அவர்களின் கருத்து பங்களிப்பானது மற்றவர்கள் ஏற்கனவே பதிவு செய்த விடயங்களை மீண்டும் பகிர்வதாகவே உள்ளது என்று கருக்கலைப்பு சார்ந்த விழிப்புணர்வுகளை வழங்கும் நிறுவனமொன்றில் பணிபுரியும் ஒரு பெண்மணி கூறுகிறார்.

2014 ஆம் ஆண்டு நெயில் பாடேலின் ஆய்வில் குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளதன்படி முகநூலை 76சதவீதமான பெண்கள் பயன்படுத்துகிறார்கள். பாடேலின் ஆய்வுக்கமைய ஆண்களை விட 55 சதவீதத்திற்கும் அதிகமான பெண்கள் முகநூலில் பதிவுகளை பகிந்துக்கொள்கிறார்கள் (நெயில் பாடேல், 2014). பல்கலைக்கழகத்து பெண்மணியின் கருத்துகளுக்கமைய பெண்கள் முந்தையக் காலத்தை விட தற்போது கருத்துகளை வெளிப்படுத்துகின்றனர். "கடந்த காலத்தில் விட பெண்கள் கருத்து தெரிவிப்பதற்கு முன் வருவதாக கூற முடியும். முகநூல் போன்ற ஊடகங்களை

அதற்காக பயன்படுத்துகிறார்கள்".[52]

"என்னைப் பொறுத்தவரையில் தற்போதைய காலத்தில் இளம் பெண்களின் 20-25% போல் அவர்களின் கருத்துகளை முகநூலில் வெளிப்படையாக வெளிப்படுத்துகிறார்கள்[53]".

இலங்கையை பொறுத்தவரையில் பெண்கள் குறிப்பாக இளம் பெண்கள் முகநூலை ஒரு ஊடகமாக முக்கியமாக சில பெண்கள் அதை ஒரு ஆயுதமாகவும் பயன்படுத்திக்கொள்வதை அவதானிக்கக்கூடியதாக உள்ளது[54].

இக்கருத்துகளைப் பற்றி கவனம் செலுத்தும்போது கடந்த சில ஆண்டுகளாக பெண்கள் முக நூலை பயன்படுத்துவது குறிப்பிட்ட அளவு கூடி இருந்தாலும் பெண்கள் அவர்களின் பங்களிப்பை வழங்கும் முறைகளைப் பற்றியும் உள்ளடக்கத்தைப் பற்றியும் கவனம் செலுத்துதல் அவசியமாகும். குறிப்பாக சுயமாக பதிவுகளை மேற்கொள்வதில்லையென்றாலும் மற்றவர்களின் பதிவுகளை பகிர்ந்துக்கொள்வதின் மூலமாகவும் பங்களிப்பை வழங்குகிறார்கள் என்பதை உறுதிப்படுத்தப்படுகின்றது.

கருத்து பங்களிப்பில் காணக்கூடிய மாற்றங்களுக்கு அடுத்தப்படியாக பெண்களால் பதிவுசெய்யப்படும் அல்லது பகிரப்படும் கருத்துக்கள் எவை என்பது பற்றி கவனம் செலுத்தல் அவசியம். குறிப்பாக பெண்கள் சமூக, அரசியல் மற்றும் பொருளாதாரம் போன்ற பொது விடயங்களைத் தொடர்பில் முகநூலில் உரையாடல்களை மேற்கொள்வதை அவதானிக்க முடிந்தன. ஆனால் அந்த உரையாடல்களானது இனம் மற்றும் மதம் சார்ந்த உரையாடல்களைத் தாண்டியுள்ளன என்பது எமது அவதானிப்பு ஆகும்.

(ஆ) இன அடிப்படையானதும் மத அடிப்படையானதுமான உரையாடுகளை மேற்கொள்ளல்

மதச் சார்பற்றவர்களை விட மதம் சார்ந்தவர்களே அதிகமாக சமூக வலைத்தளங்களை

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50 வெளிநாடு ஒன்றில் வசித்து வரும் இலங்கையின் இஸ்லாம் மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு பெண்மணி, 12.12.19

51 கொழும்பில் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான நிறுவனமொன்றில் பணிபுரியும் பௌத்த மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு பெண்மணி, 07.11.1

52 ஜயவர்தனாபுரப் பல்கலைக்கழகத்தில் கலைத்துறையில் கற்கும் கிறிஸ்துவ மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு மாணவி, 07.11.19

53 யாழ்ப்பாணத்தில் வசிக்கும் இந்து மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு பெண்மணி, 18.12.19

54 ஜயவர்தனாபுரப் பல்கலைக்கழகத்தில் கலைத்துறையில் கற்கும் கிறிஸ்துவ மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு மாணவி, 07.11.19

உபயோகிக்கின்றனர் என்று ஷங்கசேமி (Shahghasemi) இமாம்சதேஷ் (Emamzadeh) கூறுகிறார்கள் (Shahghasemi, Emamzadeh, 2018). "கூடுதலான பெண்கள் எனது நண்பர்கள் வட்டத்திற்குள்ளேயும் கூட படித்தவர்கள், குறிப்பாக அரசியல், சமூக, பொருளாதாரம் போன்ற துறைகளில் விமர்சன ரீதியான அறிவுத்திறனைக் கொண்டுள்ளவர்களும் இனம், மதம் சார்ந்த விடயங்களை பகிரும்போது அவர்கள் இத்தகைய துறைச்சார் அறிவைக் கொண்டுள்ளவர்களா என்பதைப் பற்றி சற்று சிந்திக்க வைக்கிறது. எனது நண்பர்களின் வட்டத்திற்குள் மதம் மற்றும் இனம் சார்ந்த விடயங்கள் அதிகம் பகிர்கின்றவர்களுக்குள் ஆண்கள் அதிகமாக இருந்தாலும் கூட பெண்களும் அவ்வாறான விடயங்களைப் பற்றி உரையாடியுள்ளார்கள்[55]".

மேலே குறிப்பிட்டுள்ள கருத்துக்களின் அடிப்படையில் பார்க்கும்போது அதிகமான பெண்கள் சமூகம் சார்ந்த விடயங்கள் தொடர்பில் முகநூலூடாக கருத்து தெரிவிப்பதில் அவரவரின் துறைகள் எந்தளவு முக்கியமான காரணியாக உள்ளது என்பதை அவதானிக்க முடிகிறது. அத்துடன் இனம் மற்றும் மதம் சார்ந்த விடயங்கள் தொடர்பிலும் பெண்கள் முகநூலில் உரையாடுவதை இக் கருத்துகளால் உறுதிப்படுத்தப்படுகின்றது.

"பெண்கள் சமூகம் சார்ந்த விடயங்களுக்கு அதிகமாக இன-மத வெறுப்புகளை முகநூலில் பதிவு செய்கிறார்கள்."[56]

குறிப்பாக தேசியவாதத்தை அடிப்படியாகக்கொண்ட கருத்துகளை வெளிப்படுத்தல் காணக்கூடியதாக உள்ளது. அந்நிய இனங்கள், மதங்கள் மீது வெறுப்பை வெளிப்படுத்தும் தகவல்களையும் கருத்துகளையும் அவர்கள் பரிமாறிக்கொள்கிறார்கள். இவர்களின் நண்பர்கள் வட்டத்துக்குள் இருக்கும் அதிகமான நபர்கள் பாடசாலை நண்பர்களும் உறவினர்களும் ஆவர்கள். அவர்களின் கருத்து பரிமாற்றமானது தேசியவாதத்தை ஊக்குவிப்பதாக உள்ளது. விசேடமாக சமூகம் சார்ந்ததும் தேசியவாதத்தை பின்பற்றாத, வலியுறுத்தாததுமான

நண்பர்களின் கருத்துகளை விட தேசியவாதத்தை அடிப்படையாக கொண்டவர்களின் கருத்துகளையே முகநூலில் அதிகம் காணக்கூடியதாக உள்ளன. சமூகம் சார்ந்த விடயங்களை பகிந்துகொள்ளும் பெண்கள் பொறுத்தவரையில் அவர்கள் புதிதாக கருத்துகள் குறிப்பிடுவதை விட மற்றவர்களால் பதிவுசெய்யப்பட்ட கருத்துகளை பகிரவதே அவதானிக்கக்கூடியதாக உள்ளது[57].

முகநூலில் இனம் மற்றும் மதம் சார்ந்த விடயங்களை கலந்துரையாடும்போது தேசியவாதம் என்ற அடிப்படை தீவிர தேசியவாதம் (இனத்தேசியவாதம்) உள்ளடங்கியுள்ளமையை காண முடியும். கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான விழிப்புணர்வை வழங்கும் நிறுவனமொன்றில் பணிபுரியும் பெண்மணியின் கருத்தானது பல்கலைக்கழகத்தில் கல்வி கற்கும் மாணவியுடைய அனுபவங்களுடன் உறுதியாகின்றது. அதாவது இனம் மற்றும் மதம் சார்ந்த விடயங்களை பற்றி பெண்கள் முகநூலூடாக உரையாடல்களை மேற்கொள்கின்றதாக பல்கலைக்கழகத்தில் கல்வி கற்கும் மாணவி கூறுகிறார். அத்துடன் கருக்கலைப்பு பற்றிய விழிப்புணர்வை ஏற்படுத்தும் நிறுவனமொன்றில் பணியாற்றும் பெண்மணி அது தேசியவாதத்தின் அடிப்படையில் தான் அடங்கியுள்ளது என்று கூறுகிறார்.

பெண்கள் இனம் சார்ந்ததும் மதம் சார்ந்ததுமான விடயங்களில் அடிப்படைவாதத்துடன் இணைந்திருக்கும் இனவாத மற்றும் மதவாத கருத்துக்களை முகநூலூடாக பகிர்ந்துகொள்வது என்பது சமூகத்தை பாதிக்கும் கருத்துகளை பகிர்ந்துக்கொள்ள முயற்சிக்கும் ஒரு பிற்போக்கான நிலைமையாகவே கூற முடியும்.

(இ) சமூக, அரசியல், பொருளாதார மற்றும் பெண்களின் உரிமைகளைச் சார்ந்த பங்களிப்பு

"சமூகம் சார்ந்த விடயங்கள் தொடர்பான கருத்துகளை பகிர்ந்துகொள்கிறார்கள். அதுவும் எனது நண்பர் வட்டத்துக்குள் இருக்கும் பெண்கள் அரசுசாரா அமைப்புகளில் பணியாற்றுகின்றவர்கள்

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55 கொழும்பில் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான நிறுவனமொன்றில் பணிபுரியும் பௌத்த மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு பெண்மணி, 07.11.19

56 கொழும்பில் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான நிறுவனமொன்றில் பணிபுரியும் பௌத்த மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு பெண்மணி, 07.11.19

57 கொழும்பில் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான நிறுவனமொன்றில் பணிபுரியும் ஒரு புத்த மதத்தை சேர்ந்த பெண்மணி, 07.11.19

என்பதனால் அவர்கள் சமூகம் சார்ந்த விடயங்கள் தொடர்பாக கருத்துகளை தமது முகநூல் பக்கத்தில் பதிவுசெய்கிறார்கள்[58]**.**

பெண்களின் பலர் பெண்கள் சார்ந்த விடயங்கள் தொடர்பாக உரையாட முன்வருகிறார்களா என்பதை ஆராயப்பட வேண்டியதொன்றாகும்.

"பெண்கள் அதிகமாக பெண்கள் சார்ந்த விடயங்களைப் பற்றியே கதைக்கிறார்கள். பொது விடயங்கள் அதாவது அரசியல் மற்றும் பொருளாதாரம் போன்ற விடயங்கள் தொடர்பில் சற்று பின்தங்கிய நிலைப்பாட்டையே அவர்கள் கொண்டுள்ளமையை காணக்கூடியதாக உள்ளது[59]".

முகநூலை பயன்படுத்தும் பெண்களில் சமூக அரசியல் விடயங்கள் தொடர்பான நிலைப்பாடுகளைக் கொண்டுள்ள எவர்களின் எண்ணிக்கையானது பின்தங்கிய நிலைமையை கொண்டுள்ளமையையே காணக்கூடியதாக உள்ளது என்று பல்கலைக்கழக மாணவியும் யாழ்ப்பாணத்தில் வசித்து வரும் பெண்மணியும் கூறினார்கள்.

"இன்னுமொரு 25% வீதமான பெண்கள் அவர்களின் கருத்துகளை பதிவுகளாகவோ அல்லது குறிப்புகளாகவோ (comments) வெளிப்படுத்துவதில்லை. பொது விடயங்கள் அதாவது அரசியல், பொருளாதார மற்றும் சமூகம் சார்ந்த விடயங்கள் தொடர்பில் எந்தவொரு கருத்தும் அவர்கள் வெளிப்படுத்துவதில்லை[60]".

எழுத்து மூலம் பொதுவெளியில் கருத்து பரிமாற்றத்தை மேற்கொள்ளல் என்பது சென்ற தலைமுறைப் பெண்களுக்குக் கிட்டாத ஒரு வாய்ப்பாகும். சமூக வலைதளங்கள் வந்தபின் ஏற்கனவே இருந்த இடர்கள் குறைந்து எழுத்துமொழி பெருமளவில் பயன்படுத்தப்படுகிறது. பத்தில் ஆறு பெண்களாவது எழுதக்கூடியவர்களாக இருக்கின்றனர். இவ்விடத்தில் என்ன எழுதுகிறார்கள் என்பது முக்கியமற்றது என்று எல்ஹாம் மற்றும் மொக்ஹடம் கூறியிருந்தாலும் (Elham and Moghadam, 2014) பெண்கள் சிலர் சமூக அரசியல்

தொடர்பாக தமது சொந்த கருத்துக்களை நேரடியாக முன்வைக்கிறார்கள் என்பதை இக்கருத்துக்களின் வழியாக உறுதியாகின்றது. அத்துடன் குறைந்த எண்ணிக்கையான பெண்களே சமூக அரசியல் தொடர்பாக நேரடி பங்களிப்பை வழங்குபவர்களாக இருந்தாலும் அவர்கள் மற்றவர்களின் நேரடி பதிவுகளை பகிர்வதன் வழியாக மறைமுகமாக சமூக அரசியல் கருத்துக்களை முகநூலில் முன்வைக்கின்றவர்களாக உள்ளார்கள் என்பதை அவதானிக்கக்கூடியதாக உள்ளது.

பெண்கள் முகநூலூடாக அரசியல் மற்றும் பொருளாதாரம் சார்ந்த விடயங்களை பற்றி கலந்துரையாடுவதில்லையென்றாலும் பெண்கள் சார்ந்த விடயங்களை பற்றி கலந்துரையாடுகிறார் என்பதை இதனை அடிப்படையாகக்கொண்டு கூற முடிந்தாலும் யாழ்ப்பாணத்தில் வசித்துவரும் பெண்மணியின் கருத்தின்படி பெண்களில் ஒரு சிலர் சமூகம், அரசியல் சார்ந்த விடயங்களைக்கூட முகநூலில் முன்வைக்கிறார்கள். "விரல்விட்டு எண்ணக்கூடிய அளவிலான பெண்கள் மட்டும் தான் சமூகம், அரசியல், பெண்ணியம், பொருளாதாரம் சார்ந்த விடயங்கள் தொடர்பில் தங்கள் கருத்துகளை வெளிப்படையாக முன்வைக்கிறார்கள். மனித உரிமை, பெண்களின் உரிமை சார்ந்த விடயங்கள் தான் அவ்வாறானப் பெண்கள் முகநூலில் பேசுகிறார்கள். 25% வீதமானப் பெண்கள் மட்டும் தான் பெண் உரிமைகள், மனித உரிமைகள் தொடர்பான விடயங்களை முகநூல் ஊடாக பதிவிடுகின்றார்கள். அவற்றினைப் பற்றி விவாதிக்கின்றார்கள". "சிறுவர் துஷ்பிரயோகம் போன்ற விடயங்கள் தொடர்பில் அவர்கள் தமது கருத்துகளை வெளிப்படுத்துகிறார்கள். பெண்கள் உரிமை தொடர்பில் விவாதிக்கிறார்கள்[61]".

யாழ்ப்பாணத்து பெண்மணியின் கருத்துக்கமைய முகநூலை பயன்படுத்தும் 25% வீதமானப் பெண்கள், பெண்கள் சார்ந்த விடயங்கள் தொடர்பில் முகநூலில் உரையாடுகிறார்கள். இக் கருத்தையும் பல்கலைக்கழக மாணவியுடைய கருத்தான சிறுவர் துஷ்பிரயோகம் மற்றும் பெண்கள்

58　கண்டியைச் சேர்ந்த இந்து மதத்தை சேர்ந்த, சிங்கள மொழியில் முகநூலில் உரையாடும் பெண்,09.11.19

59　ஜயவர்தனாபுர பல்கலைக்கழகத்தில் கலை கற்றகையில் ஈடுபட்டிருக்கும் கிறிஸ்துவ மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு மாணவி, 07.11.19

60　 கண்டியைச் சேர்ந்த இந்து மதத்தை சேர்ந்த, சிங்கள மொழியில் முகநூலில் உரையாடும் பெண்,09.11.19

61　யாழ்ப்பாணத்தில் வசிக்கும் இந்து மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு பெண்மணி, 18.12.19

உரிமை சார்ந்த கருத்துக்களை பெண்கள் முகநூலில் பகிர்ந்து வருகிறார்கள் என்றக் கருத்தையும் இணைத்து பார்க்கும்போது பெண்கள் முகநூலின் ஊடாக பெண்களைச் சார்ந்த விடயங்களை கலந்துரையாடுகின்றமையும் விவாதிக்கின்றமையும் அவதானிக்க முடிகின்றது.

அரசசாரா அமைப்புக்களில் பணிபுரியும் பெண்கள் மட்டும் அதிகமாக சமகம் சார்ந்த கருத்துக்களை நேரடியாக முன்வைக்கிறார்கள். அதாவது அரசியல், பொருளாதாரம் சார்ந்த கருத்துக்களை முன்வைக்கிறார்கள். இந்த இருவகையும் சாராத சில பெண்களும் பெண்கள் சார்ந்ததும் பெண் உரிமை சார்ந்ததுமான விடயங்களைப் பற்றி முகநூலில் உரையாடி வருகிறார்கள். ஆனால் இந்த மூன்று பிரிவினரும் ஒட்டுமொத்தத்தின் சதவீதமாக பார்க்கும்போது சிறிதளவிலான எண்ணிக்கையைக்கொண்ட பெண் குழுக்கள் என்றே கூற முடியும். இந்த குழுக்களுக்குள் உள்ளடங்காத அதிகமானப் பெண்கள் முகநூலை எதற்காக பயன்படுத்துகிறார்கள் என்பதைப் பற்றி கவனம் செலுத்தல் பெண்களின் முகநூல் ஈடுபாட்டின் பண்புகளை புரிந்துகொள்ள உதவுகின்றது.

(ஈ) பொழுதுபோக்கு ஊடகமாக முகநூலை பயன்படுத்துதல்

முகநூலுடன் பெண்களின் ஈடுபாடு பற்றி அவதானிக்கும் போது பெண்கள் அதிகமாக வெறும் பொழுதுபோக்கிற்காகவே முகநூலை பயன்படுத்துகிறார்கள் என்பதை அறிய முடிகிறது. அஹமட்வின் கூற்றின்படி சவூதி அரேபியாவில் ஆட்சி மாற்றத்திற்கு காரணியாக சமூக வலைத்தளங்கள் அமைந்தபோது அதற்காக செயற்பட்டவர்களின் அதிகமானோர் பெண்கள் ஆவார்கள் (Ahmed,2014). பெண்கள் அரசியல் பேசுவதிலும், இலக்கியம் பேசுவதிலும் கடந்த நான்காண்டுகளில் துரித வளர்ச்சியைக் கொண்டுள்ளமைக்கு சமூகவலைதளங்கள் பெரும்பங்களிப்பை வழங்கியுள்ளதாக எல்ஹாம் மற்றும் மொக்ஹடம் குறிப்பிட்டிருக்கிறார்கள் (Elham and Moghadam,

2014). ஆனால் இலங்கையைப் பொறுத்தவரையில் சமூக வலைத்தளத்தை வெறும் பொழுதுபோக்கிற்காக பயன்படுத்தும் நிலைமையானது ஆழமாக ஆராய வேண்டியதொரு விடயமாகும்.

"அதிகமான பெண்கள் அன்றாட வாழ்க்கையில் அவர்கள் செய்யும் வேலைகளும் சாப்பிடும் உணவுகளையும் சுற்றுலா செல்லும் இடங்களையும் காட்சிப்படுத்தும் புகைப்படங்களை முகநூலில் பதிவிடுவார்கள்[62]".

"தமது சொந்த வாழ்க்கையின் நிகழ்ச்சிகளையும் ஏற்கனவே நடந்த விடயங்களையும் தாராளமாக பதிவுச் செய்வதையும், சமையல் மற்றும் மருத்துவக்குறிப்புகள் போன்றவற்றினை பகிர்வதையும்தான் அதிகம் காணக்கூடியதாக இருக்கிறது. அதற்கு அப்பால் சென்று பெண்ணியக் கருத்துக்களும் சமூக சிந்தனைகளையும் அரசியல் கலாசாரப்பதிவுகளையும் சிறிதளவில் காணமுடிகிறது[63]".

பெண்கள் பொதுவாக பெண்மை தொடர்பான விடயங்களையும் புகைப்படங்களையும் மட்டுமே பகிர்ந்துக்கொள்கிறார்கள்.

"பெண்கள் முகநூலைப் பயன்படுத்தி அவர்களின் உடல் அழகு (beauty) பற்றிய பதிவுகள் மேற்கொள்கிறார்கள். மற்றவர்களின் அவ்வாறான பதிவுகளை பகிர்ந்து கொள்கிறார்கள். காதலைப் பற்றி கதைக்கிறார்கள். உணவு வகைகள் பற்றி கட்டாயம் கதைக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால் பொதுவாக சமூக, அரசியல் மற்றும் கலாசாரம் போன்ற விடயங்கள் தொடர்பில் விரல்விட்டு எண்ணக்கூடிய அளவிலான பெண்கள் மட்டுமே கருத்துகளை பதிவிடுகிறார்கள்[64]".

மேலே குறிப்பிட்டுள்ள மூவரின் கருத்துகளைப் பற்றி கவனம் செலுத்தும்போது முகநூலை பொழுதுபோக்குக்கான ஊடகமாக பயன்படுத்துவது தவறெனக் கூற முடியாது. ஏனெனில் முகநூல் என்பது ஓர் ஊடகம் ஆகும். அதனை அவரவர் தனக்கு ஏற்ற வகையில் உபயோகிக்கும் சுதந்திரம் அனைவருக்கும்

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62 யாழ்ப்பாணத்தில் வசிக்கும் இந்து மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு பெண்மணி, 18.12.19

63 ஜயவர்தனபுர பல்கலைக்கழகத்தில் கலைத்துறையில் கல்வி கற்கும் கிறிஸ்துவ மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு மாணவி, 07.11.19

64 ஜயவர்தனபுர பல்கலைக்கழகத்தில் கலைத்துறையில் கல்வி கற்கும் கிறிஸ்துவ மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு மாணவி, 07.11.19

உண்டு. அத்துடன் பொழுதுபோக்கான விடயங்களை பெண்கள் முகநூலில் பகிர்ந்துகொண்டாலும் சமூகம் சார்ந்ததும் அரசியல் சார்ந்ததுமான விடயங்களை முகநூலில் பகிர்வது குறைவு என்றும் கூறப்பட்டிருக்கின்றன. உலகத்தில் அரேபியா போன்ற ஆணாதிக்கம் நிறைந்திருக்கும் நாடுகளில் முகநூலை பயன்படுத்தி பெண்கள் அரசியல் மாற்றங்களையே கொண்டுவந்தனர். இலங்கைப்பொறுத்தவரையில் பல விடயங்களை பகிர உபயோகிக்கும் இந்த முகநூலை ஏன் பெண் சுதந்திரத்திற்கான உரையாடல்களையும் விழிப்புணர்வையும் ஏற்படுத்துவதற்காக உபயோகிக்கக் கூடாது? ஏன் பெண்கள் அவ்வாறு செய்வதில்லை? அன்றாடம் இடம்பெறுகின்றவைக்கு ஆண்கள் பதிவுகளை மேற்கொண்டு அவர்களின் கருத்துகளையும் சிந்தனைகளையும் வெளிப்படுத்தும்போது பெண்கள் ஏன் அவ்வாறு செய்வதில்லை? என்றக் கேள்விகள் எழும்புகின்றன.

"முகநூலை பாவிக்கும் பெண்களில் அதிகமானோர் தமது தனிப்பட்ட விடயங்களை மட்டும் தான் பகிர்ந்துகொள்வார்கள்[65]".

"அதிகமானோர் மற்றவர்கள் ஏற்கனவே பதிவிட்ட சமூக, அரசியல் மற்றும் கலாசாரம் சார்ந்த பதிவுகளை தமது முகநூல் பக்கங்களில் பகிர்ந்துக்கொள்கிறார்கள்[66]".

மேலே குறிப்பிட்டுள்ள கருத்துகளை ஆராயும்போது குறிப்பாக அதிகமானப் பெண்கள் முகநூலை பொழுதுப்போக்கிற்காக பயன்படுத்தக் கொள்கின்றமை உறுதியாகிறது.

(உ) பெண் உரிமைகளுக்கு எதிரான கருத்துக்களை பெண்களே முகநூலூடாக ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளல்

கறுப்பின பெண்களிடம் வன்முறைப் பற்றிய விழிப்புணர்வை ஏற்படுத்துவதற்காக கறுப்பின பெண்கள் முகநூலைப் பயன்படுத்திக்கொண்டார்கள் (Terriquez 2015; Tounsel 2015). கறுப்பின பெண்களின் மீதான வன்முறைகள் தொடர்பில் கவனம் செலுத்துவதற்காக *#SayHerName*

என்று கறுப்பின பெண்கள் ஆரம்பித்த முகநூல் கணக்கின் ஊடான போராட்டத்தின் மூலம் சமூக ஊடக செயற்பாடுகளை மேற்கொண்டு அரசியல், கல்வி போன்ற துறைகளுக்கான விழிப்புணர்வு ஏற்படுத்தப்பட்டது (African American Policy Forum (AAPF), 2015). இவ்வாறான நிலைமை காணப்படுகையில் இலங்கையில் பெண்களுடைய உரிமைகளுக்கு எதிரான கருத்துக்கள் பெண்களாலே ஆதரிக்கப்படுகின்றமையுடன் சார்ந்த சமூக, கலாசார சூழலை புரிந்துக்கொள்ளருலும் அவசியமாகும்.

"பெண்களின் உரிமைகள் மற்றும் சுதந்திரம் போன்ற விடயங்களுக்கு எதிராக ஆண்கள் பதிவிடுவார்கள். அவ்வாறான பதிவுகளை எதிர்க்காமல் அந்த கருத்துகளை ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளும் பெண்களின் பல பதிவுகளை நான் பார்த்துள்ளேன்[67]".

பெண்கள் முகநூலூடாக பகிர்ந்துகொள்ளும் கருத்துக்களில் இன்னுமொரு சுவாரசியமான பக்கமும் உண்டு. அதாவது பெண்களே பெண்களுக்கு எதிரான கருத்துக்களை ஆதரித்து வருவதையாகும். இக் கருத்தானது வெளிநாடு ஒன்றில் வசித்து வரும் இலங்கையில் இஸ்லாம் மதத்தை சேர்ந்த பெண்மணியின் கருத்து மூலம் உறுதியாகியுள்ளது. குறிப்பாக பெண் உரிமைகளுக்கு எதிர்மறையான கருத்துகளை கூட முகநூலூடாகவே ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளும் தன்மையானது மிக முக்கியமாக கூற வேண்டியதொன்றாகும். இதிலும் குறிப்பாக இந்தியா போன்ற ஆசிய நாடுகளில் கூட முகநூலை பெண் உரிமைகளுக்கு குரல் கொடுக்கும் ஒரு ஊடகமாக அந்நாட்டு பெண்கள் பயன்படுத்திக்கொள்ளும்போது எமது நாட்டின் அதிகமான பெண்கள் பெண் உரிமைகளுக்கு எதிரான கருத்துகளை ஆதரிக்க முகநூலை பயன்படுத்துவதை அரசியல் - கலாசார விடயங்களின் கண்ணோட்டத்தில் அணுகுவது மிக அவசியமானது. இக் கருத்துக்களை பற்றி ஆழ்ந்த அவதானிப்பை செலுத்தும்போது குறிப்பாக இச் சூழ்நிலையானது இலங்கை கலாசாரத்தின் அடிமட்டத்தில் அடங்கியுள்ள அடிமை மனநிலையின் பிரதிபலிப்பாக உள்ளது என்பது தெளிவாகின்றது.

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65 சட்டத்தரணி ஒருவரான, கொழும்பில் வசித்துவரும் பௌத்த மதத்தை சேர்ந்த பெண்.

66 கொழும்பில் அரச பத்திரிகை ஒன்றில் பணிபுரியும் பௌத்த மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு பெண்மணி, 13.12.19

67 வெளிநாடு ஒன்றில் வசித்து வரும் இலங்கையில்இஸ்லாம் மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு பெண்மணி, 12.12.19

(ஊ) பெண்கள் முகநூலை பயன்படுத்தும் முறைகளைச் சார்ந்த போக்குகள்

தற்போதைய காலத்தில் பெண்கள் முகநூலில் வெளிப்படையாக உலாவுவதை விட மறைமுகமாக அதாவது முகநூல் குழுக்களாக இணைந்து செயற்படுவதை அவதானிக்கக்கூடியதாக உள்ளது.

பெண்கள் அரசியல் அல்லது ஆழமான விடயங்கள் சார்ந்ததாக கருத்துக்களை வெளியிடுவதில் விருப்பமற்றவர்கள் அல்லர், மாறாக அவர்கள் கருத்துக்களை பகிர்வதில் தயக்கம் காட்டுகிறார்கள் என்று அடனசோவா கூறுகிறார் (Atanasova, 2016). எனவே அவர்கள் முகநூலை வரையறுக்கப்பட்ட சூழல்களில் மட்டுமே பயன்படுத்த முயற்சிக்கிறார்களா என்றக் கேள்வி எழும்புகிறது.

"தற்போது முகநூலில் பல பெண்கள் குழுக்களாகவே (groups) இணைந்துள்ளார்கள். இந்த முகநூல் குழுக்களுக்குள் சென்று அவர்கள் அதிகம் பேசுவது தனது கணவனைப் பற்றித்தான். உதாரணமாக ஒரு பெண்: "காலையில் எழும்பியவுடன் காரணமே இல்லமால் கணவர் என்னை அடித்தார்" எனக் கூறுவார். இதைப் பற்றி அந்த நாள் முழுவதுமே மற்றப்பெண்கள் கதைத்துக்கொள்ளுவார்கள். கேள்வி கேட்பார்கள். ஆனால் இவ்வகையான சம்பவங்கள் பொது வெளியில் (முகநூலில்) வெளிப்படையாக எந்த ஒரு பெண்ணும் பதிவிடுவதையோ விமர்சிப்பதையோ காணக்கூடியதாக இல்லை. பெண்களும் முகநூலும் என்று பார்க்கும்போது எனக்கு நன்கு தெரிந்த பல நண்பிகள் முகநூலில் இருக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால் அது அவர்களின் சொந்தப் பெயரில் அல்ல. போலியான பெயர்களைக்கொண்டும், புகைப்படங்களைக்கொண்டும் கணக்குகளை வைத்துக்கொண்டு தான் அவர்கள் முகநூலில் இருக்கிறார்கள். தனது சொந்தப் பெயரில் முகநூல் பக்கங்களை வைத்திருப்பதே ஆணாதிக்க இலங்கையில் தனிப்பட்ட ரீதியில் தடையாக்கி இருக்கும் போது பெண்களின் கருத்து பங்களிப்பைப் பற்றி கூறியா ஆகவேண்டும்[68]?

மேலே குறிப்பிட்டுள்ள அனுபவத்தின் அடிப்படையில் பெண்கள் மறைமுகமாக கருத்து பங்களிப்பில் ஈடுபடுவதையும் குறிப்பாக வெளிப்படையான உரையாடலைத் தவிர்த்து கருத்துக்களை உரையாட முயற்சிப்பதையும் காணக்கூடியதாக உள்ளது.

முடிவுரை

இந்த அத்தியாயத்தினூடாக முகநூலில் பெண்களின் நிலைப்பாடு மற்றும் அவர்களின் கருத்துக்கள் தொடர்பான போக்குகளை பகுப்பாய்வுக்கு உட்படுத்தினோம். இந்த பகுப்பாய்வுக்கமைய பெண்கள் கடந்த காலத்தை விட முகநூலை பயன்படுத்துவது உறுதியாக்கப்பட்டது. அத்துடன் பெண்கள் முகநூலோடாக பகிர்ந்து கொள்ளும் கருத்துக்களின் தன்மையையும் பகுப்பாய்வு செய்தோம். இந்த பகுப்பாய்வுக்கமைய குறிப்பாக இனம்,மதம் என்பனவற்றை அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்டதான உரையாடல்கள் நிகழ்த்தப்படுவது உறுதியாக்கப்பட்டது.

அத்துடன் இனம் மற்றும் மதம் சார்ந்த விடயங்களை முகநூலில் கலந்துரையாடும்போது இனவாதம் மற்றும் மதவாதத்துடன் இணைந்திருக்கும் தேசியவாதம் (Nationalism) மற்றும் அடிப்படைவாதம் (fundamentalism) அதில் உள்ளடங்கியிருப்பதையும் உறுதியாகப்பட்டது. பெண்கள் மீதும் அந்நிய இனங்கள், மதங்கள் மீதும் பாதிப்பு செலுத்தக்கூடிய அளவில் குறிப்பிட்ட கலந்துரையாடல்கள் அமைந்துள்ளன. ஆனால் சமூகம், அரசியல், பொருளாதாரம் மற்றும் பெண்களின் உரிமைகள் குறித்து முகநூல் ஊடாக வழங்கும் பங்களிப்பானது குறைவு என்பது உறுதியாக கூற முடியும். அதிகமான பெண்கள் முகநூலை பொழுதுபோக்கிற்காக பயன்படுத்தி வருகிறமை என்பது உறுதியாகிறது. பெண்கள் முகநூலூடாக பகிர்ந்துகொள்ளும் கருத்துக்களைச் சார்ந்ததாக காணக்கூடிய இன்னுமொரு கவனிக்கத்தக்க அம்சமாக பெண்களுக்கு எதிராக முகநூலில் பகிரப்படும் கருத்துக்களை (பெண் உரிமைகளுக்கு எதிரானவை கூட) பெண்களே ஆதரிக்கிறார்கள் என்பதும் இதன்போது உறுதியாக்கப்படுகின்றது. அத்துடன் தற்போதைய பெண்கள் முகநூலில் வெளிப்படையாக தோன்றுவதை விட மறைமுகவாக அதாவது முகநூல் குழுக்களாக இணைந்து செயற்படுவதையும் காணக்கூடியதாக உள்ளது.

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68 கொழும்பில் அரச பத்திரிகை ஒன்றில் பணிபுரியும் பௌத்த மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு பெண்மணி, 13.12.19

முகநூலில் காணப்படும் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான பெண்களின் நிலைப்பாடும் கருக்கலைப்பு சார்ந்த நிலைப்பாட்டினை வெளிப்படுத்தும்போது பெண்கள் எதிர்கொள்ள நேர்ந்த சவால்களும்

இந்த அத்தியாயத்தில் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக முகநூலில் காணப்படும் இளம் பெண்களின் நிலைப்பாடுகளைப் பற்றியும் குறிப்பிட்ட நிலைப்பாடுகளை வெளிபடுத்துவதன் காரணமாக பெண்கள் எதிர்கொள்ள நேர்ந்த சவால்களைப்பற்றியும் ஆராயப்படுகின்றன. இனப்பெருக்கம் சார்ந்த உரிமைகளைப் பற்றி குறிப்பாக கருக்கலைப்பு குறித்து சமூக வலைத்தளத்தில் இளம் பெண்கள் ஏன் மௌனம் காக்கின்றார்கள்? என்ற ஆய்வுப் பிரச்சினையையுடன் சார்ந்ததாக ஆராய கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக முகநூலில் காணப்படும் இளம் பெண்களின் நிலைப்பாடுகளை அறிந்துக்கொள்வதும் அத்துடன் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பிலான நிலைப்பாட்டை வெளிப்படுத்தும்போது இளம் பெண்கள் எதிர்கொள்ள நேர்ந்த சவால்களை அறிந்துகொள்வதும் அவசியமாகும். எனவே அவ்வாறு பெறப்பட்ட அவர்களின் கருத்துக்கள் பின்வருமாறு பகுப்பாய்வு செய்யப்படுகின்றன.

பகுப்பாய்வு

முகநூலில் காணப்படும் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான இலங்கை இளம் பெண்களின் நிலைப்பாடுகளும் குறிப்பிட்ட நிலைப்பாடுகளை வெளிப்படுத்துவதன் காரணமாக அவர்கள் எதிர்கொள்ள நேர்ந்த சவால்களும் இந்த அத்தியாயத்தின்போது கீழ்வருமாறு பகுப்பாய்வுக்கு உட்படுத்தப்படுகின்றன.

(அ) சமூகம், அரசியல் மற்றும் பெண் உரிமைகள் என்ற விடயங்களை சார்ந்த உரையாடல்களில் கருக்கலைப்பு என்ற வார்த்தை இடம்பெறுவதில்லை.

முகநூலில் உள்ள பதிவுகளைப் பற்றி கவனம் செலுத்தும்போது அரசியல் மற்றும் பொருளாதாரம் போன்ற விடயங்கள் தொடர்பில் இளம் பெண்களுடைய

நிலைப்பாடுகளானது சற்று பின்தங்கிய நிலையில் உள்ளன என்பதை அவதானிக்கக்கூடியதாக உள்ளது. ஆனாலும் இவ்விடயங்களைக் குறித்து உரையாடல்களில் ஈடுபடாத பெண்கள் கூட சிறுவர் துஷ்பிரயோகம் போன்ற விடயங்களைக் குறித்து தமது கருத்துகளை வெளிப்படுத்துகின்றமையை அவதானிக்க முடியும். சிலர் பெண்களின் உரிமைகள் சார்ந்த கருத்துக்களை முன்வைக்கிறார்கள். அல்லது விவாதங்களில் கலந்துகொள்கிறார்கள். ஆனால் அதே பெண்கள் "கருக்கலைப்பு" என்ற விடயத்தின்போது மௌனங்காக்கிறார்கள்.

"சமூக, அரசியல் மற்றும் பெண் உரிமைகள் சார்ந்த விடயங்களை கலந்துரையாடலுக்கு எடுத்துக்கொண்டாலும் கருக்கலைப்பு என்று விடயம் கலந்துரையாடலுக்கு வரும்போது பெண்கள் மௌனமாக இருக்கிறார்கள்[69]".

"பொதுவெளியில் சுகாதாரத்தைப் பற்றி கலந்துரையாடும்போது கூட கருக்கலைப்பு பற்றி முகநூலில் கதைக்கமாட்டார்கள். சுகாதாரத்தின் அடிப்படையில் கருக்கலைப்பை அணுகாமையை அவதானிக்கக்கூடியதாக உள்ளது".

"சமூகம் மற்றும் அரசியல் சார்ந்த விடயங்களைப் பற்றி நான் முகநூலில் கதைத்தாலும் கருக்கலைப்பு பற்றி எனக்குள்ள எந்த சிந்தனையையும் நான் முகநூலில் பதிவு செய்யவில்லை[70]".

"25% சதவீதமான பெண்கள் குறிப்பாகப் பெண்களின் சுதந்திரம் பற்றியும், சமூக அரசியல் போக்குகள் பற்றியும் உரையாடுவார்கள். இந்த சதவீதத்திலும் அரசியல் சமூக பிரச்சினைகளையும் பெண் சுதந்திரத்தை பற்றியும் கதைத்தாலும் கருக்கலைப்பு என்று விடயம் வரும்போது இரண்டு மூன்று பெண்களாவது முகநூலில் பதிவுகளை பதிவுசெய்ததோ அல்லது உரையாடங்களை நிகழ்த்தியதோ ஞாபகம் இல்லை[71]".

மேலே குறிப்பிட்டுள்ள கருத்துக்களைப் பற்றி கவனம்செலுத்தும்போது பெண்கள் உரிமை சார்ந்த விடயங்களைப் பற்றி முகநூலூடாக கருத்துக்கள் வெளிப்படுத்தினாலும் கருக்கலைப்பைப் பற்றி உரையாடல்கள் நிகழ்த்துவதில்லை என்பது

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69 ஜயவர்தனாபுரப் பல்கலைக்கழகத்தில் கலைத்துறையில் கற்கும் கிறிஸ்துவ மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு மாணவி, 07.11.19

70 சட்டத்தரணியாக பணியாற்றிவரும் பௌத்த மதத்தை சேர்ந்த பெண், 11.11.19

71 யாழ்ப்பாணத்தில் வசிக்கும் இந்து மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு பெண்மணி, 18.12.19

உறுதியாகியுள்ளது. இதனூடாக கருக்கலைப்பை பெண் உரிமை சார்ந்த விடயமாக பெண்கள் கருதுவதில்லையா என்ற கேள்வியும் எழும்புகின்றது.

(ஆ) கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான விழிப்புணர்வை ஏற்படுதல் சார்ந்த வேலைகள் செய்யும் பெண்கள் கருக்கலைப்பைப் பற்றி உரையாடுகிறார்கள்

"கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான விழிப்புணர்வை ஏற்படுத்துதல் சார்ந்த தொழில் ஒன்றில் ஈடுபட்டிருப்பதன் காரணமாக என்னுடைய முகநூல் பக்கத்தில் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான விழிப்புணர்வை ஏற்படுதல் சார்ந்ததாக வேலைகள் செய்யும் ஒவ்வொரு மாவட்டங்களிலும் உள்ள பெண்கள் நண்பிகளாக இருக்கிறார்கள். அவர்கள் எந்தொவொரு அச்சமுமின்றி தங்கள் கருத்துகளை தெளிவாக பகிர்ந்துகொள்கிறார்கள். பிரதான முகநூல் பதிவுகளுக்கு சென்று அவர்களின் சொந்த கருத்துகளை பதிவு செய்வதையும் (commenting) அதேபோல பகிர்ந்துக் கொள்வதையும் காணக்கூடியதாக உள்ளன[72]".

"கருக்கலைப்பு பற்றிய விழிப்புணர்வை ஏற்படுத்தும் செயற்பாடுகளில் ஈடாபாடுகொண்டுள்ள பெண்கள் எந்தொவொரு அச்சமும் இன்றி கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக முகநூலில் வெளிப்படையாக கதைக்கிறார்கள்" என்று கருக்கலைப்பு பற்றிய விழிப்புணர்வை ஏற்படுத்தும் செயற்பாட்டிலுள்ள பெண்மணி கூறும் கருத்தானது ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளத்தக்கது. ஏனெனில் இவர் குறிப்பாக கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக உரையாடல்களை உருவாக்க தான் பணிசெய்யும் அமைப்பின் கீழ் இயங்கும் முகநூல் பக்கத்தை வழிநடத்துகின்றவர் என்ற வகையில் அவரின் அனுபவக் கருத்துக்களானது ஏற்றுக்கொள்ளப்பட வேண்டியவையாகும்.

"கருக்கலைப்பு பற்றிய விழிப்புணர்வும் அதைப்பற்றிய நேர்மறை (positive) சிந்தனைகளை ஏற்படுத்தும் துறையில் பணியாற்றியபோது இவ்வகையான சிந்தனைகளை மக்களிடம் கொண்டு செல்ல

முகநூலை ஒரு ஊடகமாக பயன்படுத்திக்கொண்டு முகநூலில் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான நேர்மறை சிந்தனைகளை பதிவு செய்த பின்னர் அதிகமான ஆண்கள் கருக்கலைப்பை கேலியாக எண்ணி பதிவுகளை இட்டதையும், பெண்களும் அவ்வாறான எதிர்மறை கருத்துகளையே பதிவு செய்தமையும் காணக்கூடியதாக இருந்தது[73]".

குறிப்பாக கருக்கலைப்புக்கு ஆதரவாக முகநூலில் பதிவுகளை மேற்கொள்ளும்போது ஆண்களும் அதேபோல பெண்களும் அதை எதிர்த்து எதிர்மறையான கருத்துக்களை முன்வைப்பார்கள். அதை மேலே குறிப்பிட்டது போன்று கேலி செய்யும் விடயமாக கருதியிருப்பதை அவதானிக்க முடிகின்றது. கேலி எனும் வடிவத்தில் மேற்கொள்ளப்படும் சவால்களை எதிர்கொள்ள நேரிடும் என்பதை இக்கருத்துகளினூடாக புலனாகிறது.

பாடசாலைகளில் பாலியல் கல்வியை கற்பித்தலுக்கான பாடத்திட்டங்களின் மீது எதிர்மறையான பார்வையை செலுத்துவதற்கு அல்லது அதனை தவிர்ப்பதற்கு இவ்வாறான சமூக கலாசார ரீதியான மட்டுப்பாடுகளே காரணமாக அமைகின்றன (Jacob. J, 2018;Gopal. M, 2014).

"பெண்களின் கருத்து வெளிப்பாடுகள் வெவ்வேறு விடயங்களைச் சார்ந்ததாக மிக அரிதாகவே சமூக ஊடகங்களில் காண முடிகிறது. சொந்த அனுபவப் பகிர்வுகளைக் கூட ஒரு விதமாக அடக்கி வாசிக்கும் பதிவுகளே அதிகம். இதற்கு மேலதிகமாக கருக்கலைப்புசார் மருத்துவக் கருத்துக்களை இத்துறைசார் பெண்கள் சிலர் முன்வைப்பதை கூறலாம். மற்றையவர்கள் அதை பகிர்ந்துக்கொள்கின்றார்கள்[74]".

பெண்கள் கருக்கலைப்புக்கு எதிரான கருத்துக்களை பகிர்ந்துக்கொள்ளும்போது கருக்கலைப்பு துறைச்சார்ந்த பெண்கள் இத்தலைப்புசார்ந்த மருத்துவ ரீதியான கருத்துக்களை முகநூலில் முன்வைப்பதும் குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது. வெளிநாடு ஒன்றில் வசித்து வரும் இஸ்லாம் மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு இலங்கைப் பெண்மணியின் கருத்துகளானது

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72   கொழும்பில் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான நிறுவனமொன்றில் பணிபுரியும் பௌத்தமதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு பெண்மணி, 07.11.19

73   கொழும்பில் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான நிறுவனமொன்றில் பணிபுரியும் ஒரு புத்த மதத்தை சேர்ந்த பெண்மணி,07.11.1

74   வெளிநாடு ஒன்றில் வசித்து வரும் இஸ்லாம் மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு இலங்கைப் பெண்

மேலே குறிப்பிட்டுள்ள கருத்தை மீண்டும் உறுதியாக்கியுள்ளது.

இருந்தபோதும் பல்வேறு நிறுவனங்களால் இயங்கவைக்கும் முகநூல் பக்கங்களில் கருத்துகளை பதிவு செய்வதை காணக்கூடியதாக உள்ளது. 05% சதவீதமானப் பெண்கள் மட்டும்தான் அவ்வாறு கருத்துப் பதிவை மேற்கொள்கிறார்கள். இந்த 05% சதவீதமானப் பெண்கள் கருக்கலைப்பை சட்டமாக்கப்பட வேண்டும் என்று கருக்கலைப்புக்கு நேர்மறையாகத்தான் முகநூலில் கருத்துகளை வெளிப்படுத்திருந்தார்கள். கருக்கலைப்பு பற்றிய விழிப்புணர்வு பணிகளில் ஈடுபாடுக்கொண்டுள்ள பெண்கள் கருக்கலைப்பைப் பற்றி முகநூலூடாக உரையாடல்களில் ஈடுபடுவது மீண்டும் உறுதியாகின்றது.

(இ) கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக எதிர்மறைக் கருத்துக்களை முன்வைத்தல்

கருக்கலைப்பினால் ஏற்படும் நீண்டகால பாதிப்புகள் தொடர்பில் மக்கள் மத்தியில் நிலவுகின்ற தெளிவற்றும் தவறானதுமான புரிதல்களும் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பில் எதிர்மறையான கருத்துக்களை கொண்டுள்ளமைக்கு காரணமாகியுள்ளது என்று ரொயின்பி (Toynbee) குறிப்பிடுகிறார் (Gopal. M, 2014).

"அதிகமானோர் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பில் எதிர்மறை கருத்துகள் பதிவிடுகிறார்கள். குறிப்பாக கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான விழிப்புணர்வை ஏற்படுத்தும் வேலைகள் செய்யும் பெண்கள் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான விழிப்புணர்வை ஏற்படுத்துவதற்காக பகிர்ந்துகொள்ளும் பதிவுகளை அடிப்படையாக்கொண்ட விமர்சனங்களை மற்றைய தரப்பிலுள்ள அதிகமான பெண்கள் முன்வைக்கிறார்கள்[75]".

மேலே குறிப்பிட்டுள்ள கருத்துகளின் அடிப்படையில் அவதானிக்கும்போது குறிப்பாக பெண்கள் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக எதிர்மறை சிந்தனைகளையே முகநூலூடாக வெளிப்படுத்துகிறார்கள். இதனூடாக முகநூலில்

கருக்கலைப்புப் பற்றி எதிர்மறையான கருத்துக்களை பெண்களால் முன்வைப்பது உறுதியாகிறது.

"எனது நண்பர்கள் வட்டத்திற்குள் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக பெரிதாக எவருமே கதைத்ததில்லை. இரண்டு மூன்று பெண்களைத் தவிர மற்றையவர்கள் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பில் எந்தவொரு சொந்த பதிவுவையும் மேற்கொள்ளவில்லை. குறிப்பாக கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக ஒவ்வொரு பிரதானப் பக்கத்தில் பதிவுகளைமேற்கொண்டபோது அல்லது நிறுவனங்களினால் பகிர்ந்திருந்தப்போது அவ்வ-கையான பதிவுகளுக்கு கீழ் கருக்கலைப்புக்கு எதிராக பெண்கள் பதிவுகளை மேற்கொண்டமையை நான் பார்த்திருக்கிறேன். எனது நண்பர்களும் கருக்கலைப்புக்கு எதிராக கருத்துகளை (comments) பதிவிட்டிருந்தார்கள்[76]".

"கருக்கலைப்பை நான் ஒத்துக்கொள்ளமாட்டேன். இருப்பினும் நான் எந்த எதிர்மறையான கருத்தையும் ஒரு பதிவாக இட்டதில்லை. ஆனால் கருத்துகளாக (comments) கூறி இருக்கிறேன்[77]"

மேலே குறிப்பிட்டுள்ள கருத்துக்களை அவதானிக்கும்போது பெண்கள் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக எதிர்மறை கருத்துக்களை முன்வைப்பதை உறுதியாக்கப்படுகின்றது.

"நான் கருக்கலைப்புத் தொடர்பான நேர்மறை கருத்துகளை எனது சொந்த முகநூல் பக்கத்தில் பதிவிடும்போது அதற்கு யாரும் எதிர்மறை கருத்துகளை முன்வைப்பதில்லை. ஆனால் அவர்கள் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான நேர்மறை சிந்தனை இல்லாதவர்கள் என்று எனக்குத் தெரியும்" என்று கருக்கலைப்பு பற்றிய விழிப்புணர்வு ஏற்படுத்தும் அமைப்பொன்றில் பணியாற்றும் ஒரு பெண்மணி கூறினார்.

அவ்வாறான பதிவுகளுக்கு சென்று ஒரு சில பெண்களும் அதிகமான ஆண்களும் தமது கருத்துகளை பதிவிட்டிருந்தார்கள். அக்கருத்துக்களின் "அதிகமானவை கருக்கலைப்புக்கு எதிரானவையாகும். ஒரு பெண் கூட கருக்கலைப்புக்கு ஆதரவாக கருத்துக்களை பகிர்ந்திருக்கவில்லை[78]. இவ்வாறு

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75 யாழ்ப்பாணத்தில் வசிக்கும் இந்து மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு பெண்மணி, 18.12.19

76 சட்டத்தரணியாக பணியாற்றிவரும் பௌத்த மதத்தை சேர்ந்த பெண், 11.11.19

77 யாழ்ப்பாணத்தில் வசிக்கும் இந்து மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு பெண்மணி, 12.11.19

78 ஸ்ரீ ஜயவர்தனாபுரப் பல்கலைக்கழகத்தில் கலைத்துறையில் கற்கும் கிறிஸ்துவ மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு மாணவி, 07.11.19

அக்காலப்பகுதியில் பதிவுசெய்யப்பட்ட கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான கருத்துக்களில் கருக்கலைப்புக்கு எதிரான கருத்துக்கள் உள்ளடங்கிருந்தன என்று உறுதியாகிறது.

"கருக்கலைப்புத் தொடர்பான விழிப்புணர்வை ஏற்படுத்தும் தொழில் ரீதியான முகநூல் பக்கத்தை தலைமைத்தாங்கி நடாத்தியபோது குறிப்பிட்ட பதிவுகளின் மீதான குறிப்புகளாக வந்த கருத்துகளை (comments) பதிவிடாமல் இருந்தாலும் கருக்கலைப்புக்கு எதிரான கருத்தை கோபத்தை வெளிபடுத்தும் ஸ்டிக்கர் (angry stickers) மூலம் பல பெண்கள் தெரிவித்தார்கள்[79]"

கருக்கலைப்புத் தொடர்பாக உரையாடும்போது எதிர்ப்புகளை வார்த்தைகளால் கூறாமல் ஸ்டிக்கர் மூலம் தெரிவிப்பதை அவதானிக்கக்கூடியதாக இருந்தது.

"கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான உரையாடல்கள் மேலெழும்பிய சந்தர்ப்பத்தில் சில நிறுவங்களால் கருக்கலைப்புத் தொடர்பான நேர்மறை கருத்துகளை பதிவு செய்யப்பட்டன. அப்போது அந்தப் பதிவுகளுக்கு கீழ் இரண்டு அல்லது மூன்று பெண்கள் நேர்மறை கருத்துகள் பதிவிட்டிருந்தார்கள். நேர்மறை கருத்துகளை பதிவிட்ட அப்பெண்களை கொச்சைப்படுத்தியும் கேவலமானவர்களாகவும் முறையற்றவர்களாகவும் குற்றஞ்சாட்டியும் ஆண்களும் அதிகமான பெண்களும் பதிவுகளை மேற்கொண்டிருந்தார்கள்."[80]

குறிப்பாக கருக்கலைப்புத் தொடர்பாக நேர்மறை கருத்துக்களை பதிவிடும் குறைந்தளவிலான பெண்களின் பதிவுகளுக்கு கீழ் அதிகமானளவு பெண்கள் எதிர்ப்புகளை முன்வைக்கிறார்கள் என்பது இக்கருத்துக்களின் அடிப்படையில் உறுதியாக்கப்படுகிறது. ஆகையால் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பில் உள்ள எதிர்மறை கருத்துக்களின் அளவை அவதானிக்க முடிகிறது. "கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான பதிவுகளை முக நூலில் பகிரும்போது அவ்வாறான பதிவுகளுக்கு எந்தவொரு எதிர்மறை கருத்தும் எவரும் தெரிவிப்பதில்லை. ஆனால் முகநூ

ல் நண்பர்களின் பெரும்பாலானோரிடம் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான நேர்மறை கருத்துகள் இல்லை. கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான பதிவுகளை பகிரும்போது நேராக அதற்கு எதிர் கருத்து தெரிவிக்காமல் இருந்தாலும் நேர்மறைக் கருத்துக்களை பதிவிடும் நபர்களின் சொந்த வாழ்க்கையே விமர்சித்து நண்பர்கள் முகநூலுக்கு வெளியே கதைப்பார்கள்."[81]

இக்கருத்துகளைப் பார்க்கும்போது கருக்கலைப்பு பற்றிய முகநூல் உரையாடல்களுக்கு எதிர்மறையான பதில்கள் (commenting on abortion) தெரிவிக்காமல் இருந்தாலும் எவரும் கருக்கலைப்புக்கு நேர்மறையான கருத்துக்கள் தெரிவித்ததில்லை என்பதை கூற முடியும். அத்துடன் கருக்கலைப்பு பற்றிய விழிப்புணர்வை ஏற்படுத்தும் அமைப்பொன்றில் பணியாற்றும் பெண்மணியின் கருத்துக்களுக்கமைய கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான உரையாடல்களுக்கு எதிர்ப்பு தெரிவிப்பதில்லையென்றாலும் அவரின் முகநூல் வட்டத்து நண்பர்களுக்கு கருக்கலைப்பு பற்றிய நேர்மறையான சிந்தனைகள் இல்லையென்பது தான் அறிவதாக கூறுவது மூலம் கருக்கலைப்பை எதிர்மறையான செயலாகப் பார்ப்பதை வெளிபடுத்துக்கின்றதாக இல்லையா என்றக் கேள்வி தோன்றியுள்ளது.

"எதிர்மறை அனுபவங்களுள் முதலாம் இடம்வகிப்பது பாலியல் வசை" என்று ஷொபியா, ஷெபீ மற்றும் ஸாண்டர் கூறுகிறார்கள் (Sofia, Sofie amd Sander, 2018). பெண்ணியவாதக் கோட்பாடானது பாலினம் மற்றும் அதிகாரத்தை மட்டுமே உள்ளடக்கியதொன்றல்ல, மாறாக பாலியல், மதம் மற்றும் இனம் போன்ற பிற கூறுகளையும் உள்ளடக்கியதாக உள்ளடக்கியதொன்றாக இருக்கலாம் என்று சுக்லான்ஸ் வாதிடுகிறார் (Cucklanz, 2016). ஆனால் இலங்கைப் பொறுத்தவரையில் கருக்கலைப்பைப் பற்றி விமர்சனங்கள் முன்வைக்கும்போது பாலினமும் அத்துடன் இணைந்து மதம் அல்லது இனம் என்பனவும் மிக முக்கிய விடயங்களாக மாறியிருக்கின்றன.

"எதிர்மறை அனுபவங்களில் முதலாம் இடம் வகிப்பது பாலியல் வசையாகும். உடல் ரீதியான விமர்சனங்கள், பகிடிகள், தவறான சித்தரிப்புகள் போன்றவை

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79   கொழும்பில் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான நிறுவனமொன்றில் பணிபுரியும் பௌத்த மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு பெண்மணி, 07.11.19

80   சிங்கள மொழி மூலம் முகநூலில் உரையாடும் கண்டியில் வசிக்கும், ஹிந்து மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு பெண், 25.11.19

81   கொழும்பில் கருக்கலைப்பு அறிவூட்டல் தொடர்பான நிறுவனமொன்றில் பணிபுரியும் பௌத்தமதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு பெண்மணி, 07.11.19

பெண்கள் வழக்கமாக எதிர்கொள்கின்றவையாகும். முதன்முறையாகத் தாக்கப்படும்போதே பல பெண்கள் கணக்கை முடிவிட்டு கிளம்பிவிடுகிறார்கள் என்று ஷெ ஈபியா, ஷொபெய் மற்றும் ஸான்டர் கூறுகிறார்கள்" (Sofia, Sofie and Sander, 2018). "பெண்ணுடைய பெயர் பாலியல் ரீதியாக சிதைக்கப்படும்போது அது அக்குடும்பச்சூழலை பெரிதும் பாதிக்கும் காரணியாக உள்ளது. திருமணமாகாத பெண்கள் எனில் அவர்களது தாய் தந்தை பாலியல் ரீதியாகத் திட்டப்படுவதும், குடும்பப் பெண் எனில் அவளின் சுய ஒழுக்கத்தை கேள்விக்குறியாக்குவதும் என்று இங்கு பாலியல் ரீதியான தாக்குதல்கள் ஏராளம்" (Skalli, 2013).

"ஒரு பெண்ணாக இருந்து பெண்மையை கேவலப்படுத்துவதும் தாய்மையை கேவலப்ப-டுத்துவதும் உங்களுக்கே கேவலமான செயலாக தெரியவில்லையா என முகநூலில் வெளிப்படையாக கேட்டார்கள். அது மட்டுமின்றி கருக்கலைப்பைப்பற்றி நீங்கள் எவ்வாறு இப்படி கதைக்கிறீர்கள் என்று பல நபர்கள் முகநூலில் கேட்டிருக்கிறார்கள்[82]".

கருக்கலைப்புக்கு சார்ப்பான சிந்தனைகளை முன்வைத்தமையால் பெண்மையை கூட தொடர்புப்படுத்தி எதிர்ப்புகள் நிகழ்ந்திருக்கிறது.

"பெண் சுதந்திரம் என்ற அடிப்படையில் கருக்கலைப்பை ஆதரிக்கும் பெண்கள் எனது நண்பிகள் வட்டாரத்துக்குள் இருக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால் அவர்கள் எவரும் முகநூலூடாக தமது கருத்துகளை வெளிப்படுத்துவதில்லை. கதைத்து ஏன் பிரச்சினையை விலை கொடுத்து வாங்க வேண்டும் என நினைத்து மௌனமாகவே தான் இருக்கிறார்கள். இதற்காக முகநூல் குழுக்களாக இணைந்து கதைப்பதும் நான் கண்டதில்லை. ஆனால் பல தேவைகளுக்காக குறிப்பாக உடல் ஆரோக்கியம், உடல் அலங்காரம், கணவர்மார்களை பற்றி எல்லாம் கதைக்க ஆரம்பித்திருக்கும் முகநூல் குழுக்களுக்குள் (face book groups) சில வேளைகளில் கருக்கலைப்பு பற்றியும் கதைப்பதை நான் அவதானித்திருக்கிறேன். ஒரு பெண் திடீரென அவரின் கரு கலைந்து விட்டதாக கூறினார். அதன்

தொடர்ந்து கருக்கலைப்பைப் பற்றி மற்றையவர்கள் கதைத்தார்கள். ஆனால் எதிராக யாரும் கதைக்கவில்லை[83]".

முகநூலில் வெளிப்படையாக கருக்கலைப்பை பற்றி உரையாடுவதற்கு மறுத்தாலும் முக நூல் பக்கங்களில் கருக்கலைப்பைப் பற்றி உரையாடல்கள் நிகழ்ந்து வருவதை அவதானிக்க முடிகின்றது. ஆனால் அந்தப் பெண்மணி அறியாமல் கரு கலைத்தமையால் கருக்கலைப்பையோ அல்லது குறிப்பிட்ட பெண்ணையோ விமர்சித்து எவரும் கதைக்கவில்லையா? என்றக் கேள்வி எழும்புகின்றது. அல்லது பெண்கள் வெளிப்படையாக கருக்கலைப்பை எதிர்த்து மறைமுகமாக அதனை ஆதரிக்கிறார்களா? என்றக் கேள்வியும் எழுப்பக்கூடும்.

"ஒரு பெண் அவர் விரும்பி யாருக்கும் தெரியாமல் கருவைக் கலைத்துக்கொண்டதாக (abortion) inbox யில் கூறியிருந்தார். ஆனால் இவ்வாறு தனிநபர்களுக்குள் கருக்கலைப்பு பற்றி கதைத்தாலும் கூட கருக்கலைப்புக்கு எதிராகத்தான் மற்றைய பெண்கள் அந்த பெண்ணுக்கு ஆலோசனைகளை வழங்கியிருந்தார்கள்[84]".

குறிப்பாக மட்டுபடுத்தப்பட்ட இடங்களில் கூட கருக்கலைப்பைப் பற்றி கதைக்கும்போது அதற்கு எதிர்மறையான விமர்சனங்களையே முன்வைக்கிறார்கள் என்பது இந்த கருத்தைப் பார்க்கும்போது தெளிவாகின்றது. வரையறுக்கப்பட்ட இடங்களில் கூட கருக்கலைப்புக்கு எதிராக விமர்சனங்களை பெண்களே முன்வைக்கும்போது முகநூலில் வெளிபடையாக எதிர்மறை கருத்துக்கள் முன்வைக்கும் சூழ்நிலையை அவதானிக்கக்கூடியதாக உள்ளது.

(ஈ) முற்போக்கு சிந்தனைகளைக்கொண்ட பெண்கள் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக உரையாடுகிறார்கள்

"கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான பதிவுகளுக்கு முற்போக்கான பெண்கள் விருப்பத்தை காட்டப்படுவதையும் முற்போக்கான கருத்துகளை

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82 ஸ்ரீ ஐயவர்தனபுரப் பல்கலைக்கழகத்தில் கலைத்துறையில்கல்வி கற்கும் கிறிஸ்துவ மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு மாணவி, 07.11.1

83 ஸ்ரீ ஐயவர்தனபுரப் பல்கலைக்கழகத்தில் கலைத்துறையில்கல்வி கற்கும் கிறிஸ்துவ மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு மாணவி, 07.11.1

84 சிங்கள மொழி மூலம் முகநூலில் உரையாடும் கண்டியில் வசிக்கும், ஹிந்து மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு பெண்,25.11.19

85 கொழும்பில் அரசப் பத்திரிகையொன்றில் பணிபுரியும் பௌத்த மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு பெண்மணி, 13.12.19

பகிர்ந்துள்ளமையும் அதிகம் காணக்கூடியதாக உள்ளன[85]".

முற்போக்கு சிந்தனைகளைக்கொண்ட பெண்கள் மட்டுமே கருக்கலைப்புப் பற்றிய நேர்மறை சிந்தனைகளை முகநூலில் முன்வைக்கிறார்கள் என்று கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக விழிப்புணர்வு ஏற்படுத்தும் அமைப்பொன்றில் பணிபுரியும் பெண்மணி கூறியுள்ளார். இருப்பினும் அவ்வாறான முற்போக்கு சிந்தனைகளைக்கொண்ட பெண்கள் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக நேர்மறை சிந்தனைகளைக்கொண்டிருந்தாலும் அதை முகநூ லூடாக பகிர்ந்துக்கொள்வதில்லை என்று அரச பத்திரிகையொன்றில் பணிபுரியும் ஒரு பெண் கூறுகிறார்.

"எனக்கு ஒரு நண்பி இருக்கிறாள். அவர் சில நாட்களுக்கு முன்பு கருக்கலைப்பை செய்துக்கொண்டாள். அவரிடம் நான் அது பற்றி கேட்டப்போது கருக்கலைப்பு என்பது தனது உரிமை என்றும் பெண்களுக்கு அதற்கான சுதந்திரம் இருக்க வேண்டும் என்றும் கூறினார். அவர் கொஞ்சம் இடதுசாரி சிந்தனையுள்ளப் பெண். முற்போக்கு சிந்தனையுள்ளப் பெண், மற்றைய விடயங்கள் தொடர்பில் முகநூலில் விவாதிக்கும், அதிகம் முகநூலூடாக கதைக்கும் ஒரு பெண்மணி. கருக்கலைப்பு என்ற சுதந்திரத்திற்காக நாம் போராடவேண்டும் என்று கூறியவர். ஆனால் அவ்வாறு கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான அவர் பேசின சுதந்திரம் என்ற சிந்தனையைக்கூட அவர் முகநூ லில் எழுதவில்லை[86]".

"5% சதவீதமான பெண்கள் கருக்கலைப்பு சட்டமாக்கப்பட வேண்டும் என்று முகநூலூடாக கருத்துகளை முன்வைக்கிறார்கள். அவ்வாறான பெண்கள் முகநூலில் குறிப்பாக சமூக அரசியல் தொடர்பாக தொடர்ந்து கருத்துக்கள் வெளிப்படுத்தும் பெண்கள் ஆவார்கள்[87]".

இந்த அனுபவத்தினூடாக கருக்கலைப்பை செய்துக்கொள்ளும் பெண்கள் பெண்களுடைய சுதந்திரம் என்றோ அல்லது பெண்களின்

உரிமை என்றோ கருதி, கருக்கலைப்பை நோக்கினாலும் இவ்விடயங்கள் தொடர்பில் முகநூ லில் வெளிப்படையாக கருத்து பரிமாற்றுவதில் தயங்குகின்ற நிலைமையே காணப்படுவது உறுதியாக்கப்படுகிறது.

"சிறு குடும்பம் என்ற எண்ணக்கருவானது (*The concept of a little family*) இலங்கைக்கு ஒத்து வராத ஒரு விடயமாகவும், இது சிங்கள இனத்தை அழிக்க முயலும் சிந்தனையாகவும் பெண்களின் கருத்து பரிமாற்றம் இருந்தது. இவ்வகையான எதிர்மறை கருத்துகளை பார்க்கும் போது கருக்கலைப்பை ஒரு இனம் சார்ந்த விடயமாக கருதி மற்றைய மதத்தின்மீது செலுத்தும் வன்முறையாகவே இந்தப் பதிவுகள் இருந்தன. குறிப்பாக சமுதாயத்தில் முஸ்லிம் இனத்தை சேர்ந்த நபர்கள் அவர்களின் இனப்பெருக்கத்திற்காக அதிக எண்ணிக்கையான பிள்ளைகளை பெறுகிறதாகவும் மற்றய இனங்களைச் சேர்ந்த இலங்கையர்கள் கருக்கலைப்புகள் செய்துக் கொள்கின்றார்கள் எனவும் ஒரு கருத்து சமூகத்தில் நிலவுகிறது. எனவே இந்த கருத்தை முன்வைத்து கருக்கலைப்பை ஊக்குவிக்க முயன்றதாக கூறி கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான நேர்மறை சிந்தனைகளை முன்வைக்கும் பெண்களைத் தாக்கி பெண்களே பதிவுகள் மேற்கொண்டிருந்தார்கள்[88]".

இதுவரை குறிப்பிட்டுள்ள விமர்சனங்களை தொடர்ந்து மேலே குறிப்பிட்டுள்ள விவாதத்தை நோக்கும்போது முஸ்லீம் இனத்துடன் தொடர்புபடுத்தி விமர்சனங்களை முன்வைப்பவர்களுள் பெண்களே அதிகமாக இருக்கிறார்கள் என்பதை உறுதியாகின்றது. அத்துடன் இலங்கையில் அதிகமானப் பெண்களின் அரசியல் மற்றும் சமூக சூழலை புரிந்துகொள்ள மேலே குறிப்பிட்டுள்ள கருத்துக்கள் உதவுகின்றவையாக உள்ளன.

இந்த அனுபவ ரீதியான கருத்துகளின் மூலம் கருக்கலைப்பை ஒரு இனம் சார்ந்த விடயமாக கருதி மற்றைய இனத்தின் மீது செலுத்தும் வன்முறையாகவே கருக்கலைப்பை கருதுவது குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது. முஸ்லிம் இனத்துப் பெண்கள்

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86   கொழும்பில் அரசப் பத்திரிகையொன்றில் பணிபுரியும் பௌத்த மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு பெண்மணி, 13.12.19

87   ஸ்ரீ ஜயவர்தனாபுரப் பல்கலைக்கழகத்தில் கலைத்துறையில் கல்வி கற்கும் கிறிஸ்துவ மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு மாணவி, 07.11.19

88   யாழ்ப்பாணத்தில் வசிக்கும் இந்து மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு பெண்மணி, 18.12.19

கருக்கலைப்புக்களை செய்துகொள்ளுவதில்லை என்றும் சிங்கள இனத்துப் பெண்கள் மட்டும் ஏன் கருக்கலைப்பைச் செய்துகொள்ள வேண்டும் என்றும் முகநூலூடாக கேள்வி எழுப்பப்படுவது இந்த அனுபவங்களினூடாக வெளிப்படுத்தப்படும் குறிப்பிடத்தக்கதொரு விடயம் ஆகும்.

"நான் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக கதைக்க ஆரம்பித்து ஐந்து வருடங்கள் ஆகிவிட்டன. அப்போது நான் பதிவிட்ட பதிவுகளுக்கு கீழ் கருக்கலைப்புக்கு எதிராக எதிர்ப்பு தெரிவித்த கருத்துகள் தான் கூடுதலாக இருந்தன. ஆனால் பிறகு நான் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாகத்தான் வேலை செய்கிறேன் என்பதை அறிந்தப் பிறகு எனக்கு எதிர்ப்பு நிறையவரவில்லை[89]".

இப் பெண்மணி ஐந்து வருடங்களுக்கு முன்னர் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக கதைக்கும்போது இருந்த எதிர்ப்பு அவர் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான விழிப்புணர்வை ஏற்படுத்தும் துறை சார்ந்த தொழில்புரிகின்றவர் என்பதை அறிந்துக்கொண்ட பின்னர் குறைந்துள்ளன.

(உ) இனம், மதம் சார்ந்த விடயமாக கருக்கலைப்பை பார்க்கின்றமை

தேசியவாதத்தின் அடிப்படையில் கருக்கலைப்பை ஒரு இனம் சார்ந்த விடயமாகவும், மதம் சார்ந்த விடையமாகவும் கருதுகிறார்கள். மத ரீதியானதும் ஒழுக்கவியல் ரீதியானதும் கண்ணோட்டங்களில் கருக்கலைப்பு அல்லது கருவுறுதலை (Fertility) தவிர்த்தல் ஆதரிக்கப்படவில்லை (Gopal. M, 2014).

தேசியவாதத்தின் அடிப்படையில் அதிகப் பெண்கள் அவர்கள் சொந்த முகநூல் பக்கங்களில் கருக்கலைப்பை மதம் சார்ந்த விடயமாகவும், இனம் சார்ந்த விடயமாகவும் மற்றும் பாவச் செயலாகவும் கருதுகின்றமையை அவதானிக்கக்கூடியதாக இருந்தது[90].

"கருக்கலைப்பை இனம் சார்ந்த விடயமாகவும், முஸ்லிம் இனத்துடன் கருக்கலைப்பை இணைத்தும் சிங்கள இனத்தை காப்பாற்ற வேண்டுமென்றால் கருக்கலைப்புக்கு எதிராக வேலை செய்யவேண்டும் என்றும் கூறுகின்ற விசேட பதிவுகள் அதில் இருந்தன[91]".

பெண்கள் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான கருத்துகளை தெரிவிக்கும்போது கருக்கலைப்பை இனம் சார்ந்த விடயமாக கருதியும் முஸ்லீம் இனத்துடன் தொடர்புப்படுத்தியும் தெரிவிக்கும் ஒரு சூழல் உருவாகியுள்ளது என்பது இதனூடாக உறுதியாகிறது. அண்மைக்காலத்தில் முஸ்லீம் இனத்தவர்கள் மீதான குற்றச்சாட்டுகள் முன்வைப்பதை உலகலாவிய ரீதியிலும் அதேபோல குறிப்பாக இலங்கையில் போருக்குப் பிந்திய காலப்பகுதியிலும் காணமுடிகிறது. இந்த சூழலானது வர்த்தக ரீதியில் மலட்டுத்தன்மையை ஏற்படுத்தும் மாத்திரையுடன் சம்பந்தப்படுத்தி முன்வைக்கப்படுகின்ற பிரச்சினையாக இருப்பதுடன் கருக்கலைப்பையும் அவற்றினையுடன் இணைத்து உரையாடல்களையும் வழிநடாத்தி கொண்டுசெல்கின்றமை இலங்கை ஊடகங்களின் பார்வையாளர்கள் நன்கு அறிந்த விடயம் ஆகும். முகநூலில் குறிப்பாக இளைஞர்களின் நடவடிக்கைகள் காரணமாக இது இன்னொரு கட்டத்திற்கு சென்றுள்ளது. அதாவது கருக்கலைப்பு என்பது இலங்கைப் போன்ற ஒரு நாட்டுக்கு ஒத்துவராத விடயம் என்பதேயாகும். இதைத்தவிர மத குருமார்கள், உதாரணமாக பிக்குகள் கருக்கலைப்பை வன்மையாக கண்டித்திருந்தார்கள். பெண்கள் அதிகமானோர் கருக்கலைப்பு என்பது இலங்கை கலாசாரத்திற்கு முரணான ஒரு செயலாகவே கருதியிருந்தனர்.

பெண்கள், பெண்களின் நடத்தை, பெண் உடல் மற்றும் பெண்களின் உணர்ச்சிகள் போன்றவை தொடர்புப்படுத்தி இலங்கையில் சிறுபான்மையினர்களுக்கு அச்சுறுத்தல் ஏற்பட்டன. தேசியவாத நிகழ்ச்சி நிரல் என்பது அதிகம் பயன்படுத்தப்படும் தளங்களில் ஒன்றாகும். இந்த சூழலில் முகநூலில் உள்ளடக்கத்தின் விரைவான வளர்ச்சியுடன் இனங்களுக்கும் மதங்களுக்கும் எதிரான செயற்பாடுகள் அதிகரித்தன. வெறுப்பை பரப்புவதில் குறைந்த செலவில் அதிக தாக்கத்தை இணையத்தளங்களினூடாக செய்ய முடிந்தன.

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89   கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான விழிப்புணர்வை ஏற்படுதல் சார்ந்த நிறுவனமொன்றில் பணிபுரியும் பௌத்த மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு பெண்மணி, 07.11.19

90   கொழும்பில் அரசப் பத்திரிகையொன்றில் பணிபுரியும் பௌத்த மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு பெண்மணி, 13.12.19

91   கொழும்பில் கருக்கலைப்பு அறிவூட்டல் தொடர்பான நிறுவனமொன்றில் பணிபுரியும் பௌத்தமதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு பெண்மணி, 07.11.19

குறிப்பிட்ட சமூகங்கள் அல்லது தனிநபர்கள் குறித்து அவ்வகையான செயற்பாடுகள் நடந்தமையை காணக்கூடியதாக இருந்தன (Haththotuwa and Samarathunga, 2014).

"மலட்டுத்தன்மை ஏற்படுத்தும் மருந்துக் குளுசையுடன் முஸ்லிம் இனத்தவர்களும் கருக்கலைப்பும் இணைக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. இலங்கையில் சில பகுதிகளிலுள்ள உணவகங்களில் மலட்டுத்தன்மை ஏற்படுத்தும் மருந்துக் குளுசைகளை உணவுகளுக்குள் கலக்கப்படுவதாகவும் அதை முஸ்லிம் இனத்தவர்களால் மற்றைய இனத்தவர்களின் இனப்பெருக்கத்தை குறைப்பதற்காக செய்யும் செயலாகும் என்றும் கருதியதால் இலங்கையில் பல பகுதிகளில் பல்வேறுபட்ட வன்முறை சம்பவங்கள் நடந்தன என்பது குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது. மலட்டுத்தன்மை ஏற்படுத்தும் மருந்துக் குளுசையூடாக கருக்கலைப்புகளை இடம்பெறுவதாகக்கூறி இக்குறிப்பிட்ட வன்முறைகளை மேற்கொண்டார்கள். இந்த சூழலில் கருக்கலைப்பைப் பற்றி முகநூலில் உரையாடும்போது அத்துடன் மலட்டுத்தன்மை ஏற்படுத்தும் மருந்துக் குளுசைகளையும் இணைத்து விமர்சனங்களை முன்வைப்பது தொடர்கின்றது[92]".

"இத்தைகைய சம்பவங்களை அடுத்து கருகலைப்பையும் முஸ்லீம் இனத்துடன் தொடர்ப்புப்படுத்தி கருக்கலைப்பை எதிர்க்கும் கருத்துகள் பதிவிட்டிருந்தார்கள்[93]".

மேலே குறிப்பிட்டுள்ள அனுபவங்களைப்பார்க்கும்போது கருக்கலைப்புடன் இனங்களை இணைப்பது என்பது இலங்கை அரசியல் கலாசாரத்தின் ஓர் உள்ளடக அம்சமாக கருதுவதை காணமுடியும். குறிப்பாக இலங்கையில் போருக்குப் பிந்திய சூழ்நிலையில் வன்முறையைத் தூண்டக்கூடிய விடயமாக முஸ்லிம் என்ற இனத்தை பயன்படுத்தி வருவது காணமுடிகிறது. அத்துடன் இனப்பெருக்கத்தையும் இணைத்து உரையாடல்களை நிகழ்த்துவார்கள். இந்த விமர்சனங்களை முன்வைத்து பதில்கள் பதிவுசெய்வது என்பது மிகப்பெரிய சவாலாக அமைந்திருக்கின்றது.

"கருக்கலைப்பைபற்றி கூறி ஏதேனும் பதிவிட்டால் அதை பௌத்த மதத்துடன் இணைத்து எவராவது எதிர்வினை பதிவுகளை (comments) மேற்கொள்வார்கள். அதற்குப்பின்னர் நான் ஏதோ கருக்கலைப்பு ஊடாக பௌத்த மதத்திற்கு எதிரானவர் என்று கருதி அனைவரும் பதிவிடுவார்கள். இதனாலேயே நானும் கருக்கலைப்பு பற்றி முகநூலில் கதைக்க மாட்டேன்[94].

கருக்கலைப்புடன் மதத்தை தொடர்ப்படுத்துவதை அவதானிக்க முடிகின்றது. குறிப்பாக பௌத்த மதத்துடன் கருக்கலைப்பை இணைத்து கருக்கலைப்புக்கு எதிர்ப்பு தெரிவிப்பார்கள். கருக்கலைப்பைப் பற்றி நேர்மறையான கருத்துக்களை முகநூலில் முன்வைக்கும் போது இவ்வாரான எதிர்ப்புகளையும் சவால்களையும் சந்திக்க நேர்கின்றமை குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது.

இந்த அனுபவங்களையும் தகவல்களையும் ஆராயும்போது இலங்கையில் சமூக வலைத்தளத்தில் குறிப்பாக கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக முகநூலில் காணப்படும் இளம் பெண்களின் நிலைப்பாடானது விரல்விட்டு எண்ணக்கூடியளவான பங்களிப்பையே வழங்கியுள்ளது. குறிப்பாக முகநூலில் ஒவ்வொருக்காலக்கட்டங்களில் ஒவ்வொரு விடயங்கள் பேசும்பொருளாக விவாதத்திற்கு வருகிறது. இந்த விடயங்களை அடிப்படையாகக் கொண்டுதான் முகநூலூடனான கருத்து பரிமாற்றங்கள் நிகழ்கின்றன. முகநூலில் கருக்கலைப்புத் தொடர்பாக பதிவுகளை மேற்கொண்ட அல்லது கருத்துகளை முன்வைத்த சிறிதளவிலான முகநூல் பாவனையாளர்கள் கூட கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக கதைத்ததே கருக்கலைப்பு என்ற விடயம் வந்தப்பிறகுதான். கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக அவர்கள் முகநூலில் பங்களிப்பு வழங்கியது பெரும்பாலும் குறிப்புகளை பதிவுசெய்தன் வழியாகவே (comments) ஆகும்.

அவரவர்களின் முகநூல் பக்கங்களில் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக பதிவுகளை பதிவிடாமல் இருந்தாலும் கருக்கலைப்புதொடர்பான மற்றயவர்களின் பதிவுகளை பகிர்ந்துக்கொள்ளுவார்கள் (sharing). கருக்கலைப்புத் தொடர்பாக கருத்துகளை முன்வைக்கும்போது

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92 கொழும்பில் கருக்கலைப்பு அறிவூட்டல் தொடர்பான நிறுவனமொன்றில் பணிபுரியும் பௌத்தமதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு பெண்மணி, 07.11.19

93 வெளிநாடு ஒன்றில் வசித்து வரும் இலங்கையில் இஸ்லாம் மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு பெண்மணி, 12.12.19

94 கொழும்பில் கருக்கலைப்பு அறிவூட்டல் தொடர்பான நிறுவனமொன்றில் பணிபுரியும் பௌத்தமதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு பெண்மணி, 07.11.19

அதில் அதிகமாக கருக்கலைப்புக்கு எதிரான (எதிர்மறையான) கருத்துகளே காணமுடிகின்றது. இவ்வாறு எதிர்மறையான கருத்துக்களை பதிவிடும் நபர்களில் பெரும்பான்மையினர் பெண்களாகத்தான் உள்ளார்கள். கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான எதிர்மறை சிந்தனைகளை பதிவிடும்போது அதில் குறிப்பாக கருக்கலைப்பை மதம் சார்ந்த விடயமாக கருதி விமர்சித்திருப்பதும் அத்துடன் இலங்கை கலாசாரத்திற்கு ஒத்துவராத விடயமாக கருத்திட்டிருந்தமையும் அவதானிக்க முடிகின்றது. கருக்கலைப்புக்கு எதிர்மறையான கருத்துகளை வழங்கியிருந்தமையும் மற்றும் ஸ்டிக்கர் சின்னங்கள் ஊடாக எதிர்ப்புகளை தெரிவித்திருந்தமையும் குறிப்பிடத்தக்கது.

குறிப்பாக கருக்கலைப்பு போன்ற உணர்ச்சிக்கரமான விடயங்களுக்கு நேர்மறையான கருத்துகளை வெளிப்படுத்தும்போது நாங்கள் உபயோகிக்கும் மொழி கூட முக்கியமான விடயமாக மாறுகின்றது. என்னைப் பொறுத்தவரையில் இவ்வாறான விடயங்கள் ஆங்கிலத்தில் பதிவிடும்பட்சத்தில் எதிர்ப்பு வருவது மிகக்குறைவு. ஆனால் சிங்கள மொழியில் கருக்கலைப்புக்கு நேர்மறையான கருத்துகளை வெளிப்படுத்தினால் பதிவிடும் நபர்களையே கேவலப்படுத்தி பேசுவார்கள். "நீ எல்லோரனும் படுக்கிற ஒரு பொம்பிளை தானே" என முகநூலிலேயே வெளிப்படையாக பேசுவார்கள். இதனாலையே பெண்கள் கருக்கலைப்பு பற்றி கதைக்க முன்வருவதில்லை[95]".

விமர்சனங்கள் முன்வைப்பதில் பதிவுகளை மேற்கொண்டுள்ள மொழிக்கூட முக்கிய காரணியாக அமைகிறது. ஆங்கில மொழியில் கருக்கலைப்புக்கு நேர்மறையான உரையாடல்கள் மேற்கொள்ளும்போது எதிர்ப்பு வருவது குறைவாகவும் சிங்கள மொழியில் அவ்வாறு கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான கலந்துரையாடல்கள் மேற்கொள்ளும்போது எதிர்ப்புகள் கூடுதலாக எழும்புகின்றமையும் இந்த அனுபவக் கருத்துகளின் அடிப்படையில் கூற முடியும்.

முடிவுரை

இந்த அத்தியாத்தில் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக முகநூலில் காணப்படும் இலங்கை இளம் பெண்களின்

நிலைப்பாடு பற்றி ஆராய முயற்சித்தோம். இந்த பகுப்பாய்வின் படி சமூகம், அரசியல் மற்றும் பெண் உரிமைகள் சார்ந்த உரையாடல்களுக்கு மத்தியில் கருக்கலைப்பு என்ற வார்த்தை இடம்பெறுவதில்லை என்னும் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான விழிப்புணர்வை ஏற்படுதல் சார்ந்த வேலைகள் செய்யும் நபர்கள் கருக்கலைப்பைப் பற்றி உரையாடுகிறார்கள் என்பதும், கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக எதிர்மறைக் கருத்துக்களை அதிகம் பெண்களே முன்வைக்கிறார்கள் என்பதும் முற்போக்கு சிந்தனைகளைக்கொண்ட பெண்கள் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக நேர்மறை சிந்தனைகளை முன்வைக்கிறார்கள் என்றும் கருக்கலைப்பை இனம், மதம் சார்ந்த விடயமாகவும் பார்க்கப்படுகிறது என்பதும் உறுதியாக்கப்படுகின்றன. இந்த பகுப்பாய்வுக்கமைய கருக்கலைப்பைப் பற்றி பேசினால் அதை கேலியாக எண்ணி விமர்சிப்பதையும் கருக்கலைப்பை இனங்களுடனும் மதங்களுடனும் தொடர்புப்படுத்தி விமர்சனங்களை முன்வைப்பதையும் குறிப்பாக முஸ்லீம் இனத்தவர் மீதான வன்முறைகளுக்கான காரணியாக கருக்கலைப்பை பயன்படுத்திக் கொள்கின்றமையும் சிறிய குடும்பம் போன்ற கருத்துக்கள் இலங்கை சமூகத்துக்கு ஒத்துவராதவையாக கருதி அதையும் முஸ்லீம் இனத்தவர் மேல் எழும் குற்றச்சாட்டுகளுடன் இணைத்து விமர்சனங்களை முன்வைப்பதையும் பெண்மையுடன் கருக்கலைப்பை இணைத்து பெண்மையை விமர்சிப்பதையும் சவால்களாக அமைத்துள்ளன. அத்துடன் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக ஆங்கிலத்தில் பதிவிட்டால் எதிர்ப்புகள் வருவது குறைவாகவும், இலங்கை மொழிகளில் உரையாடலை நிகழ்த்தினால் எதிர்ப்புகள் கூடுதலாக வருவதும் உறுதியாகிறது.

அத்துடன் பதிவுகளை மேற்கொள்ளும்பட்சத்தில் அப்பதிவுகளை முன்வைக்கும் நபர்களை தொடர்ந்து விமர்சிக்கப்படுவதையும் உறுதியாக்கப்படுகின்றது.

கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக முகநூலில் பெண்களுடைய மௌனம்

முகநூலில் காணப்படும் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான பெண்களின் மௌனம் பற்றி இந்த அத்தியாயத்தின்போது ஆராயப்படுகின்றது. ஏன் இளம் பெண்கள் இனப்பெருக்கத்துடன் சம்பந்தப்பட்ட

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95 ஸ்ரீ ஜயவர்தனாபுரப் பல்கலைக்கழகத்தில் கலைத்துறையில் கல்வி கற்கும் கிறிஸ்தவ மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு மாணவி, 07.11.19

உரிமைகளைப் பற்றி குறிப்பாக கருக்கலைப்பு குறித்து சமூக வலைத்தளங்களில் மௌனம் காக்கின்றார்கள்? என்ற ஆய்வுப் பிரச்சினையை விரிவாக ஆராய்வதற்காக இலங்கையில் சமூக வலைத்தளத்தில் குறிப்பாக முகநூலில் காணப்படும் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான பெண்களின் மௌனம் பற்றி ஆராய்வது அவசியமாகும். ஆகையால் இலங்கையில் சமூக வலைத்தளத்தில் குறிப்பாக முகநூலில் பெண்கள் தமது கருத்துக்களை முன்வைக்கும் போது கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக மௌனம் காக்கச் செய்யும் காரணங்கள் எவை என்று ஆராய்வதற்கு ஆய்வுக்காக இணைத்துக்கொண்ட நபர்களின் கருத்துக்களை பின்வருமாறு பதிவுச்செய்யப்படுகின்றன.

பகுப்பாய்வு

"மௌனத்தைக் கலைத்தல்" என்ற தனது ஆய்வுக்கட்டுரையில் நியூசிலாந்தின் மதேசன் (Matheson. P, 1996) குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளதன் படி பதினாறாம் நூற்றாண்டில்பொது கருத்துக்களை அல்லது மீளுருவாக்க சித்தனைகளை முன்வைப்பதில் பெண்களின் பங்கு (எழுத்தாளர்கள் உட்பட) தொடர்பான ஆய்வுகள் மிகக் குறைவு.

(அ) கருக்கலைப்பு என்ற தலைப்பு முகநூலில் வந்தால் மட்டும் கருக்கலைப்பைப் பற்றி உரையாடல்கள் நிகழும்

"கருக்கலைப்பு என்ற கருத்து தலைதூக்கிய காலத்தில் முகநூலில் சில கருத்துகள் பகிரப்பட்டன. ஆனால் விரல்விட்டு எண்ணக்கூடியளவிலான பெண்கள் மட்டுமே அவ்வாறான கருத்துகளை பொது வெளியில் முன்வைத்தார்கள்[96]".

"வெளிநாடுகளில் இருந்து இயக்கப்படும் முகநூல் பக்கங்களில் கருக்கலைப்பு பற்றிய உரையாடல்கள் உள்ளடங்குகின்றன. அது தவிர கருக்கலைப்பு சட்டமாக்கப்படுவதற்கான உரையாடல் நிகழும்போது கருக்கலைப்பு பற்றி இலங்கையிலும் விசேடமாக முகநூலில் ஆண்கள் மற்றும் பெண்கள் கதைத்தார்கள். ஆனால் அது அந்த காலப்பகுதியில்

தான். குறிப்பாக சொன்னால் முகநூலில் உரையாட அடுத்த தலைப்பு வரும்வரை தான். கருக்கலைப்பு பற்றி முகநூலூடாக கதைக்காமல் இருப்பதற்கு முதல் காரணமாக ஒவ்வொரு காலக்கட்டங்களில் தலைதூக்கும் தலைப்புகளைக் கூற முடியும்[97]".

முகநூல் எனும் சமூக ஊடகத்தைப் பொறுத்தவரை காலம் கடந்த விடயமொன்று அதில் உரையாடலுக்கு வருவதில்லை. மேலே குறிப்பிட்டுள்ள கருத்துகளின் அடிப்படையில் குறிப்பாக கருக்கலைப்பு எனும் தலைப்பு வரும்போது மட்டுமே முகநூலில் கருக்கலைப்பைப் பற்றி பெண்களும் ஆண்களும் உரையாடுகிறார்கள் என்பதை உறுதியாகும் அதேநேரம் அவ்வாறான பதிவுகள் விரல்விட்டு எண்ணக்கூடியளவில் மட்டுமே உள்ளது என்று கூறமுடியும்.

(ஆ) சமூக கண்காணிப்புடன் இணைந்த விமர்சனங்களின் வருகை.

தங்கள் அனுபவங்களையோ சிந்தனைகளையோ பெண்களால் வெளிப்படையாகச் சொல்ல முடியாமைக்கு முக்கியமான காரணம் அதன் பின்விளைவுகளை சுமக்க வேண்டிவரும் என்ற பேரச்சமே ஆகும். "கல்விசார் புகைப்படங்கள் போட்டால் கூட விமர்சனங்கள் வரக்கூடும். பெண்கள் தாம் சார்ந்திருக்கும் குடும்பங்களை பற்றியும் யோசிக்க வேண்டியிருப்பதால் தங்களது கருத்துக்களை பொதுவெளியில் தைரியமாக முன்வைக்கத் தயங்குகிறார்கள். இளம் பெண்களிடம் குறித்த விடயங்களைச் சார்ந்த தெளிவின்மையும், கருத்துக்களை முன்வைப்பதற்கான பாதுகாப்பான சூழல் சமூகத்தால் ஏற்படுத்திக் கொடுக்கப்படாமையையும் இது சுட்டிக்காட்டுகிறது[98].

அநேகமான பெண்களுடைய முகநூல் வெளியின் சுதந்திரம் என்பது சமூகத்தின் முழுநேரக் கண்காணிப்பின் கீழ் உள்ளது. அவர்களது தொழில்சார் அல்லது கல்விசார் புகைப்படங்கள் வெளியிடுவது கூட விமர்சிப்பதாக சமூக அமைப்பு இருப்பது துரதிஷ்டமானது. இதனால் கருத்துக்கள் வெளிப்படுத்துவதில் கூட பெண்கள் எச்சரிக்கையாகத்தான் இருக்கிறார்கள்.

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96 சிங்கள மொழி மூலம் முகநூலில் உரையாடும் கண்டியில் வசிக்கும், இந்து மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு பெண், 25.11.19

97 ஸ்ரீ ஜயவர்தனாபுரப் பல்கலைக்கழகத்தில் கலைத்துறையில் கற்கும் கிறிஸ்துவ மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு மாணவி, 07.11.1

98 வெளிநாடு ஒன்றில் வசித்து வரும் இலங்கையில் இஸ்லாம் மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு பெண்மணி, 12.12.19

முகநூலில் கருக்கலைப்பைப் பற்றி உரையாடுதல் என்ற விடயத்தை சற்று ஒதுக்கிவைத்து பார்த்தாலும் கூட பொதுவாக பெண்களின் கருத்துக்களைப் முகநூலில் (பொதுவெளியில்) உரையாடுவதே சவாலாகத்தான் இருக்கிறது. பொதுவெளியில் உரையாடும் பெண்களுக்கு சமூகத்தால் வழங்கியுள்ள பாதுகாப்பான சுற்றுச்சூழலைப் பற்றி மேலே குறிப்பிட்டுள்ள அனுபவக் கருத்துகளின் மூலம் புரிந்துகொள்ளக்கூடியதாக உள்ளது.

(இ) கருக்கலைப்பு செய்துக்கொள்ளலானது திருமணத்திற்கு முந்திய பாலியல் உறவு கொண்டதன் காரணமாகவே ஆகும் என்று கருதுதல்.

"கருக்கலைப்பு என்பது ஒரு பாவமான செயல் ஆகும். திருமணத்திற்கு முன்பு பாலியல் ரீதியான உறவுகளை வைத்துக்கொள்வது பிழை இல்லை. ஆனால் அவர்களுக்கு ஒரு முன் திட்டம் (pre plan) இருக்க வேண்டும். அதை செய்யாமல் கருக்கலைப்பு செய்வது முறையற்ற செயல் ஆகும். ஆனால் எனது இந்த கருத்தை நான் முகநூலில் பதிவு செய்ததில்லை[99].

இக் கருத்துகளை அவதானிக்கும்போது கருக்கலைப்பு செய்துக்கொள்ளலானது திருமணத்திற்கு முந்திய பாலியல் ரீதியான உறவுகளை வைத்துக்கொள்வது காரணமாகவே ஆகும் என்று கருதுவது வெளிப்படையாகின்றது. அத்துடன் இதனாலேயே கருக்கலைப்புக்கு எதிர்ப்பு தெரிவிப்பதையும் கூற முடியும். ஆனால் அந்த எதிர்ப்பைக் கூட முகநூலில் பதிவு செய்யாமல் மௌனம் காப்பது ஏன் என்ற கேள்வி எழும்புகின்றது.

கருகலைப்பைப் பற்றி கதைத்தாலே மற்றையவர்கள் தங்களை பற்றியும் தவறாக எண்ணுவார்கள் என்று நினைக்கின்றமையால் பெண்கள் கருகலைப்பு தொடர்பில் எந்தவொரு விடயமும் சொல்ல முன்வருவதில்லை. ஆனால் இலங்கையில் கருக்கலைப்பை அதிகம் செய்துக்கொள்ளுவது திருமணமான பெண்கள் ஆவார்கள்[100].

திருமணத்திற்கு முதலான பாலியல் உறவு என்பது குற்றம் என்று கருத முடியாது. ஆனால் அவர்களுக்கு பாலியல் உறவுப் பற்றிய முன் திட்டமொன்று இருக்க வேண்டும். கருக்கலைப்பு என்பது இதற்கான முடிவாக இருக்க கூடாது.

கருக்கலைப்பு செய்துக்கொள்ளலானது திருமணத்திற்கு முந்திய பாலியல் உறவுகளை வைத்துக்கொள்வதன் காரணமாகவே ஆகும் என்ற கருத்து சமுதாயத்தில் நிலவுகின்றதன் காரணமாக கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக நேர்மறையான சிந்தனைகளை முகநூலில் முன் வைத்தால் குறிப்பிட்ட பெண்களையும் திருமணத்திற்கு முன்பு பாலியல் ரீதியான உறவுகளை வைத்திருக்கும்/ வைத்திருந்தவர்கள் என்று கருதுவதினால் பெண்கள் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பில் முகநூலில் உரையாடுவதை தவிர்க்கிறார்கள் என்பது இக்கருத்துக்களின் அடிப்படையில் உறுதியாகிறது.

(ஈ) கருக்கலைப்பை விலக்கப்பட்ட விடயமாக (taboo) கருதுதல்

"இவ்வகையான விடயங்கள் பற்றி சமூக ஊடகங்களில் கருத்து வெளியிடும்போது குறிப்பிட்ட விடயம் பற்றிய தெளிவு அவசியம். அதேசமயம் அதற்கான எதிர்வினைகளை எதிர்கொண்டு விளக்கமளித்துக்கொண்டிருக்க வேண்டும். இதில் ஆர்வம் இல்லாத மேலோட்டமான விமர்சனங்களுக்கும் பதிலளிக்க வேண்டும். இது அதிக நேரமெடுக்கும் சமயங்களில் மன உளைச்சலை ஏற்படுத்தும் விடயமாகும். ஒரு பெண்ணாகத் தனித்துநின்று சமூக ஊடகங்களில் கருத்து வெளியிடுவதை விட நான் பணியாற்றும் பெம் ஏசியா (FemAsia) இணைய இதழ் ஊடாக இவ்வாறான விலக்கப்பட்ட விடயங்களைப் பற்றிப் பேசுவதையே நான் பார்த்திருக்கிறேன்"[101].

கருக்கலைப்பானது ஒரு விலக்கப்பட்ட விடயமாகவே கருதுகின்றனர். குறிப்பாக கருக்கலைப்பு பற்றி முகநூலில் உரையாடுவதற்கு குறிப்பிட்ட துறைசார் அறிவு அவசியம். அது மட்டுமின்றி பதிவுகள் தொடர்பாக விமர்சனங்கள் வரும்போது தொடர்ந்து கருத்துக்கள் பதிவு செய்ய வேண்டும். அதற்காக நேரம் ஒதுக்க வேண்டும். இக் காரணங்களால் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பில் கருத்து தெரிவிக்க முன் வருவதில்லை என்று இக் கருத்துக்களின் அடிப்படையில் கூற முடியும்.

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99 யாழ்ப்பாணத்தில் வசிக்கும் இந்து மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு பெண்மணி, 18.12.19

100 Arulkumaran, 2018. https://groundviews.org/2018/09/02/abortion-where-is-sri-lanka-on-the-spectrum/

101 கொழும்பில் கருக்கலைப்பு அறிவூட்டல் தொடர்பான நிறுவனமொன்றில் பணிபுரியும் பௌத்தமதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு பெண்மணி, 07.11.19

பாலியல் (sexuality) என்பது இலங்கை பொறுத்தவரையில் ஒரு சங்கடமான வார்த்தையாக இருப்பது எந்தளவு உண்மையோ கருக்கலைப்பு என்ற வார்த்தையும் அதேயளவான ஒரு சங்கடமான வார்த்தையாக தான் உள்ளது. கருக்கலைப்பை சங்கடமான விடயமாக கருதுவதினூடாக இலங்கை சமூகத்தில் வெளிப்படையாக காணப்படும் கலாசாரத்தை அடையாளங்கான காணமுடியும்.

"பெண்களும் முகநூலும் என்று பார்க்கும்போது எனக்கு நன்றாக தெரிந்த பல நண்பிகள் முகநூலில் இருக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால் அது அவர்களின் சொந்தப் பெயரில் இல்லை. போலியான பெயர்களையும் புகைப்படங்களையும்கொண்ட கணக்குகளை வைத்துக்கொண்டு தான் அவர்கள் முகநூலில் காட்சி தருகிறார்கள்[102]". தனது சொந்தப் பெயரில் முகநூல் பக்கங்களை வைத்திருப்பதே ஆணாதிக்க இலங்கையில் தனிப்பட்ட ரீதியில் தடை செய்திருக்கும்போது பெண்களின் கருத்து பங்களிப்பைப் பற்றி தனியாக கூற வேண்டிய அவசியம் இல்லை.

கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பில் கருத்து தெரிவிப்பதில் உள்ள பின்தங்கிய நிலை உருவாக காரணங்கள் எவை என்பதை இக்கருத்துக்களின் அடிப்படையில் நன்கு விவாதிக்கப்படுகின்றன. சொந்தமாக முகநூல் கணக்கொன்று கூட பெண்களால் திறக்க முடியவில்லை என்றால் கருத்து பங்களிப்பில் காண்ப்படும் பின்தங்கிய நிலைமையும் கருக்கலைப்பு போன்ற விடயங்கள் தொடர்பில் முகநூலில் மௌனம் காப்பதையும் தெளிவாக புரிந்துக்கொள்ள இயலும்.

(உ) சுகாதாரம் எனும் அடிப்படையில் கூட கருக்கலைப்பைப் பற்றி உரையாடாமை

"இலங்கைப் பொறுத்தவரையில் கருக்கலைப்புக்குப் பிந்திய சுகாதாரம் என்பது சட்டத்திற்கமைய தவறான செயலல்ல. நிறைய பெண்கள் சட்டவிரோதமான வழிகளில் கருக்கல்புகளை செய்துக்கொண்டு பின்னர் கஷ்டப்படுகிறார்கள். நிறைய பெண்கள் எங்கள் நிறுவனத்துடன் தொடர்புக்கொள்கிறார்கள். அவர்களுக்கான விழிப்புணர்வை நாங்கள் முகநூல்

ஊடாகத்தான் செய்தோம். ஆனால் எந்தொவொரு பெண்ணும் அவ்வாறு தவறான வழிகளினால் கருக்கலைப்பைசெய்தபின்பு அவர்கள் எதிர்கொள்ளும் பிரச்சினைகள் தொடர்பில் வெளிப்படையாக கதைப்பதற்கு முன்வருவதில்லை[103]".

முகநூல் ஊடாக கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான விழிப்புணர்வு வழங்கப்பட்டாலும் எந்தொவொரு பெண்ணும் அவ்வாறு பாதுகாப்பற்ற சட்டவிரோதமான வழிகளால் கருக்கலைப்பை செய்த பின்பு அவர்கள் எதிர்கொள்ளும் பிரச்சினைகள் தொடர்பில் வெளிப்படையாக விழிப்புணர்வை வழங்கக்கூடிய முறையில் கருத்து தெரிவிப்பதற்கு முன்வருவதில்லை என்பதை இந்த அனுபவக் கருத்துக்களின் அடிப்படையில் கூற முடியும். ஆகையால் இச் சூழ்நிலையிலும் பெண்கள் மௌனம் காக்கிறார்கள்.

(ஊ) கருக்கலைப்பை உணச்சிக்கரமாக பார்ப்பதற்கு முகநூலில் கருக்கலைப்பு பற்றி பேசுவதற்குப் பயன்படுத்திக்கொள்ளும் மொழிக்கூட ஒரு காரணியாக அமைதல்

"குறிப்பாக கருக்கலைப்பு போன்ற உணர்ச்சிகரமான விடயங்களுக்கு நேர்மறையான கருத்துகளை வெளிப்படுத்தும்போது நாங்கள் உபயோகிக்கும் மொழி கூட முக்கியமான விடயமாக மாறுகின்றது. என்னைப்பொறுத்தவரையில் இவ்வாறான விடயங்கள் ஆங்கிலத்தில் பதிவிட்டால் எதிர்ப்பு வருவது மிகக்குறைவு. ஆனால் நாங்கள் சிங்கள மொழியில் கருக்கலைப்புக்கு நேர்மறையான கருத்துகளை வெளிப்படுத்தினால் பதிவிடும் நபர்களையே கேவலப்படுத்தி பேசுவார்கள். நீ எல்லோருடையும் படுக்கிற ஒரு பொம்பிளை தானே என முகநூலிலையே வெளிப்படையாக பேசுவார்கள். இதனால் பெண்கள் கருக்கலைப்பு பற்றி கதைக்க முன்வருவதில்லை[104].

ஆகையால் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக மௌனத்தைப் பின்பற்றுவதற்கு மொழி கூட காரணமாக இருப்பதாக கூறப்படுகிறது.

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102 ஸ்ரீ ஜயவர்தனாபுரப் பல்கலைக்கழகத்தில் கலைத்துறையில் கற்கும் கிறிஸ்துவ மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு மாணவி, 07.11.1

103 கொழும்பில் கருக்கலைப்பு அறிவூட்டல் தொடர்பான நிறுவனமொன்றில் பணிபுரியும் பௌத்தமதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு பெண்மணி, 07.11.19

104 கொழும்பில் கருக்கலைப்பு அறிவூட்டல் தொடர்பான நிறுவனமொன்றில் பணிபுரியும் பௌத்தமதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு பெண்மணி, 07.11.19

(எ) கருக்கலைப்புடன் தொடர்புடைய விடயங்களைப் பற்றி முகநூலில் உரையாடி பெற்ற அனுபவமங்கள்

"சில நாட்களுக்கு முன் ருஹுனு பல்கலைக்கழகத்தில் நடந்த சம்பவமொன்றுடன் தொடர்புடையதான ஒரு பதிவை நான் முகநூலில் மேற்கொண்டேன். அதாவது ருஹுனு பல்கலைக்கழகத்தின் துணைவேந்தர் அவர்களுக்கு மூன்று ஆணுறைகள் காலி பல்கலைக்கழக வளாகத்திலிருந்து கிடைத்தன என்று அவர் கூறியதாக ஒரு செய்தி முகநூலில் பகிரப்பட்டது. இந்த செய்தியை தொடர்ந்து, பாலியல் ரீதியான இன்பத்தை அடையும் நோக்கத்திலான உறவின்போது ஆணுறைகளை உபயோகிப்பது என்பது ஒரு முன்னோக்கான செயல் எனவும் அதற்காக மாணவர்கள் மீது குற்றச்சாட்டுகளை முன்வைக்காமல் சந்தோஷமடைய வேண்டும் என்றும் நான் எனது பதிவில் கூறினேன். இதற்கு நிறைய இளைஞர்கள் என்னை கேலி பண்ணி பதிவுகளை மேற்கொண்டிருந்தார்கள். அன்பைப் பற்றியும் பாலியல் உறவை பற்றியும் தான் நான் எழுதியிருந்தேன். ஆனால் என்னை"வெட்ட மாற அக்கா[105]" எனக்கூறி கேலியான பதிவுகளை பகிர்ந்திருந்தார்கள். ஒரு கட்டத்தின்போது கருக்கலைப்பு என்பது ஒரு சாதாரண விடயம் என்று எனக்கு தோன்றியது. ஆனால் நான் எந்தொவொரு பதிவுமே இட்டதில்லை. ஏனென்றால் நான் ஏற்கனவே குறிப்பிட்ட ருஹுனு பல்கலைக்கழகத்தில் நடந்த செய்தி போல் ஆகிடும் என நினைத்து நான் பயந்தேன்[106].

இக்கருத்துகளைப் பார்க்கும்போது உணர்ச்சிகரமான விடயங்களாக இலங்கை சமூகம் கருதும் விடயங்களைப் பற்றி முகநூலில் உரையாடிப் பெற்ற கசப்பான அனுபவங்கள் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக முகநூலில் மௌனத்தைக் காக்க காரணமாக அமைந்துள்ளமையை காணமுடிகிறது.

சுகாதார பட்டிகள் (sanitary napkin) மற்றும் ஆணுறைகள் என்பன உபயோகித்தல் போன்ற சுகாதார, தொழில்நுட்ப மற்றும் சமூக-கலாசார அபிவிருத்தியுடன் இணைந்த விடயங்கள் தொடர்பில் பேசும்போது அவ்வாறு பதிவுகளை மேற்கொள்ளும்

பெண்களை விமர்சிக்கப்படுவதையும் கேலியான பதிவுகளை பெண்களும் ஆண்களும் மேற்கொள்வதும் நடக்கின்றதன் காரணமாக கருக்கலைப்பு போன்ற விடயங்கள் தொடர்பில் கதைப்பதில் பெண்கள் அச்சம் கொள்கிறார்கள். தெரிந்தவர்கள், குடும்ப உறுப்பினர்கள், உறவினர்கள் என்போர்களும் முகநூலில் இருக்கின்றதன் காரமணாக அவர்களுக்கு பயந்தும் இவ்வாறான விடயங்கள் தொடர்பில் பெண்கள் மௌனம் காக்கிறார்கள்.

பெண்கள் உரிமை தொடர்பில் விவாதிக்கிறார்கள். ஆனால் அதே பெண்கள் கருக்கலைப்பு என்று கருத்து வரும்போது மௌனமாக இருக்கிறார்கள்.

(ஏ) பாலினம் விமர்சிக்கப்படுதல் காரணமாக

குறிப்பாக அரசியல் அல்லது பொருளாதாரம் போன்ற விடயங்கள் தொடர்பில் தனிப்பட்ட நபர்களின் கருத்துகளை முகநூலில் பதிவிட்டால் அதை ஒரு கருத்தாக மட்டும் தான் எடுத்துக்கொள்கிறார்கள். அவ்வாறான விடயங்கள் தொடர்பில் பதிவிட்ட நபரின் பாலினத்தை கேள்விக்குட்படுத்தப்படுவதாக இல்லை. ஆனால் கலாசாரம் அல்லது கருக்கலைப்பு, பாலினம் போன்ற விடயங்கள் தொடர்பில் பதிவுகளை மேற்கொண்டால் பதிவிடும் நபர்களின் பாலினம் முதலாவதாக விமர்சிக்கப்படுகின்றதாகவும் குறிப்பிட்ட நபர் முன்வைத்த கருத்துகளை கருத்துகளாக பார்க்காமல் பெண்மையுடனும், அதேபோல பதிவிடும் பெண்ணின் சொந்த வாழ்க்கையின் ஒரு பகுதியாகவும் தொடர்புப்படுத்தி விமர்சிக்கிறார்கள். இக் காரணத்தினால் பெண்கள் தமது கருத்துகளை பகிரும்போது கருக்கலைப்பு, பாலினம் போன்ற விடயங்கள் தொடர்பில் முகநூலில் வெளிப்படையாக கதைக்க முன்வருவதில்லை. இறுதியாக முகநூலில் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாகவும் இவ்வாறான உணர்ச்சிக்கரமான விடயங்கள் தொடர்பிலும் பெண்கள் மௌனமாக இருக்கின்றமைக்கு பின்னால் பெண்களினாலும், ஆண்களினாலும் மற்றும் இந்த ஒட்டுமொத்த சமுதாயத்திலினாலும் மேற்கொள்ளப்படும் ஒரு கூர்மையான கண்காணிப்பை இக் கருத்துகளினால் பதிவாக்கப்படுகின்றது.

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105 "வெட்ட மாற அக்கா" இது பல்கலைக்கழகங்களில் உபயோகிக்கும் மொழிகளில் உள்ள மொழி நடையொன்றாகும். இந்த வசனத்தினமானது பெண்கள் மீது செலுத்துகின்ற ஆணாதிக்கத்தின் ஒரு வெளிப்பாடு என்றே கூற முடியும். பாலின ரீதியாக மட்டுமல்லாமல், பாலிய ரீதியாகவும் பெண்களை அவமரியாதைப்படுத்த உபயோகிக்கும் மொழிநடையாகவும் காணப்படுகிறது.

106 ஸ்ரீ ஜயவர்தனாபுரப் பல்கலைக்கழகத்தில் கலைத்துறையில் கற்கும் கிறிஸ்தவ மதத்தை சேர்ந்த ஒரு மாணவி, 07.11.1

முடிவுரை

கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான உரையாடல்களின்போது பெண்கள் ஏன் மௌனம்காக்கிறார்கள் என்ற விடயம் இந்த அத்தியாயத்தில் பகுப்பாய்வு செய்யப்பட்டது. இப்பகுப்பாய்வினூடாக கருக்கலைப்பு என்ற தலைப்பு முகநூலில் வந்தால் மட்டும் கருக்கலைப்பைப் பற்றி உரையாடல்கள் நிகழும் என்பதையும் குறிப்பாக சமூக கண்காணிப்புடன் இணைந்த விமர்சனங்கள் தோன்றுவதால் கருக்கலைப்புகள் செய்துகொள்ளலானது திருமணத்திற்கு முந்திய பாலியல் உறவில் ஈடுபட்டதன் காரணமாகத் தான் என்று கருதுகின்றது என்பதையும் கருக்கலைப்பை விலக்கப்பட்ட விடயமாக கருதுகின்றமையும் சுகாதாரம் என்ற அடிப்படையில் கூட கருக்கலைப்பைப் பற்றி உரையாட மறுப்பதையும் கருக்கலைப்பை உணச்சிக்கரமாக பார்ப்பதையும் கருக்கலைப்பை பற்றி பேசுவதற்கு பயன்படுத்திக்கொள்ளும் மொழிக்கூட ஒரு முக்கிய காரணியாக அமைகின்றமையும் கருக்கலைப்புடன் சம்பந்தப்பட்ட விடயங்களை பற்றி முகநூலில் உரையாடி பெற்ற அனுபவம் மற்றும் பாலினத்தைக் கூட விமர்சிக்கப்படுகின்றமை என்ற விடயங்கள் காரணமாக பெண்கள் கருக்கலைப்பு என்ற உரையாடல் குறித்து மௌனம் காக்கிறார்கள் என்பது உறுதியாகிறது.

தமது இனப்பெருக்கத்திற்கான உரிமைகள் குறிப்பாக கருக்கலைப்பு குறித்து ஏன் இளம் பெண்கள் சமூக வலைத்தளங்களில் மௌனம்காக்கின்றார்கள்? என்ற ஆய்வுப் பிரச்சினையை விரிவாக ஆராய்ந்து விடை காண்பதற்கு இலங்கையில் சமூக வலைத்தளங்களில் குறிப்பாக முகநூலில் பெண்கள் தமது கருத்துக்களை முன்வைக்கும் தன்மை பற்றியும் பெண்களால் அதிகமாக பகிர்ந்துக்கொள்ளும் அல்லது முன்வைக்கும் கருத்துக்கள் எவை என்பது பற்றியும் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக பெண்கள் முகநூலில் உரையாடுகிறார்களா, அவ்வாறு உரையாடுகின்றபட்சத்தில் அதனால் அவர்கள் எதிர்கொள்ளும் சவால்கள் எவை என்பது பற்றியும் மற்றும் முகநூலில் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பில் மௌனங்காப்பதாக இருப்பின் அதற்கான காரணிகள் எவை என்பது பற்றியும் ஆராய்வதற்காக ஆய்வில் இணைத்துக்கொண்டவர்களிடம் நேர்காணல்களின் வழியாக திரட்டப்பட்ட கருத்துக்களின் அடிப்படையில் ஆய்வின் முடிவுரையாக இந்த அத்தியாயம் அமைகின்றது.

இலங்கையில் சமூக வலைத்தளங்களில் குறிப்பாக முகநூலில் பெண்கள் தமது கருத்துக்களை முன்வைக்கும் தன்மை மற்றும் பெரிதும் பெண்களால் பகிர்ந்துகொள்ளும் அல்லது முன்வைக்கும் கருத்துக்களைப் பற்றி அவதானிக்கும்போது, பெண்கள் கடந்த காலத்தில் விட அதிகமாக முகநூலை பயன்படுத்துவது உறுதியாக்கப்பட்டது. அதேபோல பெண்கள் முகநூலூடாக பகிர்ந்துக்கொள்ளும் கருத்துக்களின் தன்மையையும் பகுப்பாய்வு செய்தோம். இந்த பகுப்பாய்வுக்கமைய குறிப்பாக இனம், மதம் என்பன அடிப்படையாகக்கொண்டு உரையாடல்களை மேற்கொள்ளல் என்பது உறுதியாக்கப்பட்டது. அத்துடன் இனம் மற்றும் மதம் சார்ந்த விடயங்களைப் பற்றி முகநூலில் உரையாடும்போது தேசியவாதம் எனும் அடிப்படைவாதம் அதில் உள்ளடங்கியுள்ளமையையும் உறுதியாகப்பட்டது.

அந்நிய இனங்கள், மதங்கள் மீது பாகுபாடுகாட்டுகின்றளவில் இந்த உரையாடல்கள் அமைந்திருக்கின்றன. ஆனால் சமூகம், அரசியல், பொருளாதாரம் மற்றும் பெண்களின் உரிமைகள் சார்ந்ததாக பெண்களின் முகநூலூடனான பங்களிப்பானது குறைவு என்பதை உறுதியானது. அதிகமானப் பெண்கள் முக நூலை பொழுதுப்போக்கிற்காகவே பயன்படுத்திக்கொண்டு வருவது உறுதியாகிய விடயமாகும். பெண்கள் முகநூலூடாக பகிர்ந்துக்கொள்ளும் கருத்துக்களில் இன்னுமொரு சுவாரசியமான பக்கமாக பெண்களே பெண்களுக்கு எதிராக முகநூலில் பகிரப்படும் கருத்துக்களாக பெண் உரிமைகளுக்கு எதிர்மறையான கருத்துக்களை ஆதரித்து வழங்கும் கருத்துகள் உள்ளன என்பதையும் இதன்போது உறுதியாக்கப்படுகின்றது. அத்துடன் தற்போதைய சூழலில் பெண்கள் முகநூலில் வெளிப்படையாக உலாவுவதை விட மறைமுகமாக அதாவது முகநூல் குழுக்களாக இணைந்து செயற்படுவது இந்த பகுப்பாய்வினூடாக உறுதியாகியது.

இலங்கையில் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக முகநூலில் காணப்படும் இளம் பெண்களின் நிலைப்பாடானது குறிப்பிட்ட விடயம் தொடர்பாக குறைந்தளவிலான பங்களிப்பை மட்டுமே வழங்கியுள்ளது என்பது இப்பகுப்பாய்வினூடாக கண்டறியப்பட்டதொன்றாகும். சமூகம், அரசியல் மற்றும் பெண் உரிமைகள் சார்ந்த உரையாடல்களுக்கு மத்தியில் கருக்கலைப்பு என்ற வார்த்தை இடம்பெறுவதில்லை

என்று உறுதியாக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றது. ஆனாலும் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான விழிப்புணர்வை ஏற்படுதல் சார்ந்த வேலைகள் செய்யும் பெண்கள் கருக்கலைப்பைப் பற்றி உரையாடுகிறார்கள் என்பதும் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக எதிர்மறைக் கருத்துக்களை அதிகம் பெண்களே முன்வைக்கிறார்கள் என்பதையும் இப்பகுப்பாய்வினால் உறுதியாக்கப்பட்ட விடயங்கள் ஆகும். அத்துடன் முற்போக்கு சிந்தனைகளைக்கொண்ட பெண்கள் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக உரையாடுகிறார்கள், நேர்மறை சிந்தனைகளை முன்வைக்கிறார்கள் என்றும் கருக்கலைப்பை இனம், மதம் சார்ந்த விடயமாகவும் பார்க்கப்படுகிறது என்பதும் இப்பகுப்பாய்வால் உறுதியாக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன.

முகநூலில் பெண்கள் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக உரையாடியதன் காரணமாக எதிர்கொள்ள நேர்ந்த சவால்கள் தொடர்பாக மேற்கொள்ளப்பட்ட பகுப்பாய்வின்போது கருக்கலைப்பைப் பற்றி பேசினால் அதை கேலியாக எண்ணி விமர்சிக்கப்படுவதை உறுதியாக்கப்பட்டிருக்கின்றது. இந்த கேலியான மனநிலைகளுடன் இணைந்ததாக இனங்களுடனும் மதங்களுடனும் தொடர்புப்படுத்தி விமர்சனங்களை முன்வைப்பதையும் குறிப்பாக முஸ்லீம் இனத்தவர் மீது செலுத்தும் வன்முறைகளுக்கான ஒரு காரணியாக கருக்கலைப்பை பயன்படுத்திக்கொள்வதையும் பகுப்பாய்வின் வழியாக உறுதியாக்கப்படுகின்ற விடயங்களாக உள்ளன.

சிறிய குடும்பம் போன்ற கருத்துக்கள் இலங்கை சமூகத்துக்கு ஒத்துவராதவையாக கருதி அதையும் முஸ்லீம் இனத்தவர் மீது செலுத்தும் குற்றச்சாட்டுகளுடன் இணைத்து விமர்சனங்களை முன்வைக்கின்றமை என்பது பகுப்பாய்வினால் உறுதியாக்கப்பட்ட விடயங்களாக கூற முடியும். பெண்மையுடன் கருக்கலைப்பை இணைத்து பெண்மையே விமர்சிக்கப்படுவது சவாலாக அமைத்துள்ளமை உறுதியாக்கப்பட்ட விடயம் ஆகும். அத்துடன் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பாக ஆங்கிலத்தில் பதிவிட்டால் குறைந்தளவிலான

எதிர்ப்புகளையும் இலங்கை மொழிகளில் பதிவுகளை மேற்கொள்ளும்பட்சத்தில் தொடர்ந்து அப் பதிவுகளை முன்வைத்த நபர்களை விமர்சிக்கப்படுவதும் இவ் ஆய்வினால் உறுதியாக்கப்பட்டுள்ள விடயங்களாகும்.

பெண்கள் ஏன் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான உரையாடல்களின்போது மௌனம்காக்கிறார்கள் என்ற பகுப்பாய்வினூடாக குறிப்பாக கருக்கலைப்பு என்ற தலைப்பு முகநூலில் வந்தால் மட்டும் கருக்கலைப்பைப் பற்றி உரையாடல்கள் நிகழும் என்பதை இவ் ஆய்வினால் உறுதியாக்கப்படுகின்றது. குறிப்பாக சமூகத்தின் கண்காணிப்புடன் இணைந்த விமர்சனங்கள் முன்வைக்கப்படுகின்றதன் காரணமாக கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பில் பெண்கள் மௌனம் காக்கிறார்கள் என்பது உறுதியாக்கப்பட்டுளது. கருக்கலைப்புகள் செய்துக்கொள்ளுவது திருமணத்திற்கு முந்திய பாலியல் உறவு நடந்ததன் காரணமாகவே என்று நினைப்பதன் காரணமாக பெண்கள் முகநூலில் மௌனம்காக்கிறார்கள் என்பதை இப்பகுப்பாய்வு ஊடாக உறுதியாகின்ற இன்னொரு விடயம் ஆகும். கருக்கலைப்பானது விலக்கப்பட்ட விடயமாக (taboo) கருதுகின்றதன் காரணமாகவும் சுகாதாரம் எனும் அடிப்படையிலாவது கருக்கலைப்பைப் பற்றி உரையாட மறுப்பதினாலும் கருக்கலைப்பு தொடர்பான உரையாடல்களில் மௌனம் நிலவுகின்றமை உறுதியாக்கப்படுகின்றது. கருக்கலைப்பு உணச்சிக்கரமானதாக பார்க்கப்படுகின்றதன் காரணமாகவும் கருக்கலைப்பை பற்றி பேசுவதற்கு பயன்படுத்திக்கொள்ளும் மொழி கூட மௌனத்திற்கான காரணியாக அமைந்திருப்பதையும் இவ் ஆய்வின் மூலம் உறுதியாக்கப்படுகின்றவையாகும். அத்துடன் கருக்கலைப்புடன் இணையும் விடயங்களைப் பற்றி முகநூலில் உரையாடி ஏற்கனவே பெற்ற அனுபவங்கள் மற்றும் இது தொடர்பில் உரையாடினால் பாலினம் கூட விமர்சிக்கப்படுகின்றமை கூட பெண்களின் மௌனத்திற்கான காரணிகளாக உள்ளமையை உறுதியாக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. இவ்வகையான காரணிகளால் பெண்கள் கருக்கலைப்பு என்ற உரையாடல் குறித்து மௌனம் காக்கிறார்கள்.

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CHAPTER 8

1980 දශකයේ ශ්‍රී ලාංකේය ගීත කලාවේ රැඩිකල් ප්‍රවණතා පිළිබඳ අධ්‍යයනයක්
(පවන හා විමුක්ති ගී ඇසුරින්)

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සංක්ෂිප්තය

ඉසුරු සම්පත් තෙන්නකෝන්

භාෂාව පුද්ගලයන්ගේ හැඟීම් ප්‍රකාශනය උදෙසා භාවිත කෙරෙන සක්‍රීය සන්නිවේදන මාධ්‍යයකි. භාෂාවක වචන හැසිරවීම තුළින් ඒ ඒ භාෂාවට අදාළ ප්‍රකාශන විවිධාකාරයෙන් සමාජ ගත කළ හැකිය. එමෙන්ම කවිය, ගීතය ආදී වන සාහිත්‍යාංග ඇසුරෙන් පුද්ගලයන්ගේ මනෝභාවයන් ඉතා සංවේදීවත්, සියුම්වත් විවිධ ඉසව් කරා මෙහෙය විය හැකි බව නොරහසකි.

ලාංකීය සංස්කෘතිකමය පාර්ශවයේ ප්‍රාරම්භක අවධියේ සිටම ජාතිකත්වය හා විප්ලවකාරී භාවය ඉස්මතු වී තිබේ. පුරාතන නැලවිලි ගීයෙන්, ජන ගීයෙන් ඉස්මතු වන සාහිත්‍යය ඉනික්බිතිව රණ ගී දක්වා විකාශනය වූ බව හඳුනා ගතහැකිය. ඒ අනුව සාහිත්‍යය නිර්මාණයකට ජාතික චින්තනය ඉස්මතු කරමින්, පුද්ගල සිත් සතන් තුළ සිතිවිලි විප්ලවයක් කිරීමේ ශක්‍යතාව පවතින බව පෙනී යයි.

මෙම අධ්‍යයනය ඔස්සේ මූලිකවම අධ්‍යයනයට බඳුන් කෙරෙන්නේ 1980 දශකයේ සිංහල ගීත නිර්මාණ කලාව ඔස්සේ රැඩිකල් මානසිකත්වය හා තරුණ නැගිටීම් වෙනුවෙන් වන විප්ලවකාරීව ගීතය නිර්මාණ අංගයක් ලෙස මෙහෙයවා තිබෙන ආකාරය පිළිබඳව ය. අධ්‍යයනය ඔස්සේ අපේක්ෂා කරන්නේ නිර්මාණ කරුවන්ගේ නිර්මාණයන් සමාජයේ පැවති රැඩිකල් බව ඉස්මතු කිරීම උදෙසා කොපමණ දායකත්වයක් දක්වා ලද්දේද යන්න පිළිබඳව ය. එමෙන්ම එම ගීත වර්තමානයේ තරුණයන්ගේ භාවිතය පිළිබඳවද විශේෂ අවධානයක් යොමු වේ. විශේෂයෙන්ම මෙම අධ්‍යයනයේ දී සලකා බැලෙන්නේ අසූව දශකයේ දකුණේ සිංහල ජනතාවගේ නිර්මාණයන් පිළිබඳව පමණක් වන අතර දකුණේ ගීතය රැඩිකල්කරණයට ලක්වීම හා එම ගීත තරුණ රැඩිකල්කරණයට බලපෑවේද යන්න මෙම පර්යේෂණය ඔස්සේ අධ්‍යයනය කෙරේ.

පවන හා විමුක්ති ගීත භාවිතය මෙන්ම තරුණ රැඩිකල් ක්‍රියාකාරිත්වයට ඒ ඔස්සේ ලැබුණු දායකත්වය සාකච්ඡා කරන මෙම අධ්‍යයනය තුළ පුවත්පත්, පර්යේෂණ හා ගීත රචනා ඇසුරේ වන ද්විතියික දත්ත සහ පවන හා විමුක්ති ගී වර්තමාන භාවිතය පිළිබඳව වන සම්මුඛ සාකච්ඡා පදනම් කර ගනිමින් කරන ලද තොරතුරු ඇතුලත් වේ. ඒ අනුව අසූව දශකයේ ගීතය විසින් තරුණ රැඩිකල් බව ඉස්මතු කිරීම පිළිබඳ කරුණු අනාවරණය කිරීමත්, ගීත වර්තමාන භාවිතය අධ්‍යයනය කිරීමත් තුළින් සමාජ ආර්ථික දේශපාලනික තත්ත්වයන් ඉස්මතු කිරීමත්, තරුණයන්ගේ රැඩිකල් ක්‍රියාකාරිත්වයට ගීතයේ දායකත්වය විමර්ශනය කිරීමත් මෙම අධ්‍යයනයේදී සිදුවේ. අසූව දශකය ගීතය හා තරුණ රැඩිකල් ක්‍රියාකාරිත්වය මෙන්ම වර්තමානයේ තරුණ පරපුරේ රැඩිකල් ගීත භාවිතය අධ්‍යයනය කිරීම තවදුරටත් සිදුවියයුතු අංශයක් බවට මෙම අධ්‍යයනයෙන් නිර්දේශ කෙරෙයි.

Abstract

A study on the radical trends of Sri Lankan songs of the 1980 decade (reference to "Pawana" and, "Vimukthi gee".)

Language is an active medium of communication which is used to convey feelings of people. By using the words of a language in different ways, the relevant statements can be communicated in various modes. It is also not a secret that poetry and songs can demonstrate people's feelings in a profound and sensitive manner.

Nationalism and radicalism has been highlighted in Sri Lankan culture from its inceptional stage. Such literal features are found to be entrenched in old folk songs and nursery rhymes which expanded and developed into war songs. This shows that a literary creation has the feasibility of emphasising national idealism and creating a revolutionary attitude in the mind of the people.

This study mainly concentrates on the manner in which Sinhala songs in decade of the 1980s have contributed to and operated as a radical tool in the revolutionary psychopathic youth uprising. The objective of the study is to assess the contribution made by these creations in building a climax of the radicalism in society with a special emphasis on the use of these songs by present-day youth. This study only concentrated on the creation of radical songs among the Sinhala community in the south and the research will study the manner and extent in which these creations affected youth radicalism.

It discusses the contribution made by "Pavana" and "Vimukthi gee" to the youth insurrection. This study includes secondary data from newspapers, research, libretti and lyrics of the songs and, information based on interviews on the current use of "Pavana" and "Vimukthi gee". Therefore, this study will disclose the facts on the rise of youth radicalism through songs in 1980s decade, highlight the present socio-economic and political status associated with the use of songs at present and, investigate the contribution made by the songs towards youth radicalism. This study recommends further investigation into youth radicalism and the songs of the decade of the 1980s and, the use of radical songs by the present-day youth.

சுருக்கம்

1980ம் ஆண்டுகளில் தோற்றம் பெற்ற இலங்கைப் பாடல்களின் தீவிரமயப்படுத்தல் (பருமாற்றவாதப்) போக்குகள் குறித்த ஆய்வு (பவன மற்றும் விழுக்தி கீ பற்றிய குறிப்பு)

இசுரு சம்பத் தென்னகோன்

மொழி என்பது கருத்துப்பரிமாற்றத்திட்கான ஒரு சுறுசுறுப்பான சாதனமாகும், இது மக்களின் உணர்வுகளை எடுத்துக்கூற பயன்படுகிறது. ஒரு மொழியின் சொற்களை பல்வேறு வழிகளில் பயன்படுத்துவதன் மூலம், தொடர்புடைய கூற்றுக்களை பல்வேறு முறைகளில் தொடர்பாடலுக்கு உட்படுத்தலாம். கவிதை மற்றும் பாடல்கள் போன்ற இலக்கிய புராண சாதனங்களால் மக்களின் உணர்வுகளை ஆழமாகவும் உணர்ச்சிகரமாகவும் வெளிப்படுத்த முடியும் என்பது அனைவரும் அறிந்ததே. மேலும் இலக்கியம் மற்றும் புராண சாதனங்கள் என்பது இரகசியமானதும் அல்ல.

இலங்கை கலாசாரத்தில் அதன் ஆரம்ப கட்டத்திலிருந்தே தேசியவாதம் மற்றும் தீவிரமயப்படுத்தல் (பருமாற்றவாதம்) போன்றன முக்கிய கவனத்திட்குறியதாக கருதப்பட்டுள்ளன. இத்தகைய வெளிப்படை பொருள் சார்ந்த அம்சங்கள் பழைய கிராமப்புற பாடல்களிலும் பாலர் பாடல்களிலும் இடம்பெற்றதோடு அவை விரிவடைந்து போராட்ட உணர்வை தூண்டும் பாடல்களாக வளர்ச்சியடைந்தன. இலக்கிய படைப்பொன்றுக்கு தேசிய இலட்சியவாதத்தை வலியுறுத்துவதற்கும் மக்களின் மனதில் ஒரு புரட்சிகர மனப்பான்மையை உருவாக்குவதற்கும் சாத்தியக்கூறுகள் உள்ளன என்பதை இது எமக்கு வலியுறுத்திக் காட்டுகின்றது.

இந்த ஆய்வு முக்கியமாக 1980 களில் தோற்றம் பெற்ற சிங்களப்பாடல்கள் புரட்சிகர இளைஞர் எழுச்சியில் ஒரு தீவிரமயப்படுத்தல் (பருமாற்றவாத) கருவியாக பங்களிப்பு செய்த மற்றும் செயல்பட்ட விதம் குறித்து கவனம் செலுத்தியுள்ளது. இன்றைய இளைஞர்களால் இத்தகைய பாடல்கள் பயன்படுத்தப்படுவது குறித்து முக்கியத்துவம் அளிக்கப்பட்டு சமூகத்தில் உச்சகட்ட தீவிரமயப்படுத்தலை உருவாக்குவதில் இத்தகைய படைப்புகள் கொண்டுள்ள பங்களிப்பினை மதிப்பிடுவதே இந்த ஆய்வின் நோக்கமாகும். இந்த ஆய்வு தெற்கிலுள்ள சிங்கள சமூகத்தினரிடையே நிலவும் தீவிர சிந்தனையுடைய பாடல்களின் உருவாக்கம் குறித்து மட்டுமே கவனம் செலுத்துகின்றது. மேலும், இத்தகைய படைப்புகள் தீவிர சிந்தனையுடைய இளைஞர்களை பாதித்த விதம் மற்றும் விஸ்தீரணத்தையும் ஆய்வு செய்கிறது.

இளைஞர்கிளர்ச்சிக்கு "பவன" மற்றும் "விழுக்தி கீ" அளித்த பங்களிப்பை இது விவாதிக்கிறது. இந்த ஆய்வில் பத்திரிகைகள், ஆய்வுகள், இசை நாடகச் சுவடி (லிப்ரெட்டி)மற்றும் பாடல் வரிகள் போன்ற இரண்டாம் நிலை தரவுகளும் "பவன" மற்றும் "விழுக்தி கீ" போன்றவற்றின் தற்போதைய பயன்பாடு தொடர்பாக மேற்கொள்ளப்பட்ட நேர்காணல்கள் மூலம் பெறப்பட்ட தகவல்களும் உள்ளடக்கப்பட்டுள்ளன. எனவே, இந்த ஆய்வு 1980 தசாத்த காலங்களின் பாடல்கள் மூலம் இளைஞர்கள் மத்தியில் தீவிரமயப்படுத்தல் (பருமாற்றவாதம்) எழுச்சி பெற்றமை குறித்த உண்மை நிலையை வெளிப்படுத்துகிறது, தற்போது பயன்பாட்டிலுள்ள பாடல்களுடன் தொடர்புடைய தற்போதைய சமூக-பொருளாதார மற்றும் அரசியல் நிலையை முன்னிலைப்படுத்துகிறது. மேலும், பாடல்கள் இளைஞர்கள் மத்தியில் தீவிரமயப்படுத்தல் (பருமாற்றவாதம்) தோற்றம் பெறுவதற்கு அளித்த பங்களிப்பையும் ஆராய்கிறது. மேலும், இளைஞர் மத்தியிலான தீவிரமயப்படுத்தல், 1980 களில் தோற்றம் பெற்ற பாடல்கள் மற்றும் தற்போது இளைஞர்கள் மத்தியில் பயன்பாட்டிலுள்ள தீவிரமயப்படுத்தல் தன்மையைக் கொண்ட பாடல்கள் குறித்த மேலதிக ஆய்வுகள் அவசியம் என்பதையும் பரிந்துரைக்கிறது.

හැඳින්වීම

භාෂාව පුද්ගලයන්ගේ හැඟීම් ප්‍රකාශනය උදෙසා භාවිත කෙරෙන සක්‍රිය සන්නිවේදන මාධ්‍යයකි. භාෂාවක වචන හැසිරවීම තුළින් ඒ ඒ භාෂාවට අදාළ ප්‍රකාශන විවිධාකාරයෙන් සමාජ ගත කළ හැකිය. එමෙන්ම කවිය, ගීතය ආදී වන සාහිත්‍යාංග ඇසුරෙන් පුද්ගලයන්ගේ මනෝභාවයන් ඉතා සංවේදිවත්, සියුම්වත් විවිධ ඉසව් කරා මෙහෙය විය හැකි බව නොරහසකි.

ලාංකීය සංස්කෘතිකමය පාර්ශවයේ ප්‍රාරම්භික අවධියේ සිටම ජාතිකත්වය හා විප්ලවකාරී භාවය ඉස්මතු වූ බව විවිධ පුරාතන ග්‍රන්ථයන්හි වාර්තා වේ. පුරාතන නැළවිලි ගීයෙන්, ජන ගීයෙන් ඉස්මතු වන සාහිත්‍යය ඉනික්බිතිව රණ ගී දක්වා විකාශනය වීය. ඒ අනුව සාහිත්‍ය නිර්මාණයකට ජාතික චින්තනය ඉස්මතු කරමින්, පුද්ගල සිත් සතන් තුළ සිතිවිලි විප්ලවයක් කිරීමේ ශක්‍යතාව පවතී.

මෙම අධ්‍යයනය ඔස්සේ මූලිකවම අධ්‍යනයට බඳුන් කෙරෙන්නේ 1980 දශකයේ සිංහල ගීත නිර්මාණ කලාව ඔස්සේ රැඩිකල් මානසිකත්වය නැතහොත් ජාතිකත්වය වෙනුවෙන් වන විප්ලවකාරීව ගීතය නිර්මාණ අංගයක් ලෙස මෙහෙයවා තිබෙන ආකාරය පිළිබඳව ය. මෙම අධ්‍යයනය ඔස්සේ අපේක්ෂා කරන්නේ නිර්මාණ කරුවන්ගේ නිර්මාණයන් සමාජයේ පැවති රැඩිකල් බව ඉස්මතු කිරීම උදෙසා කොපමණ දායකත්වයක් දක්වන ලද්දේ යන්න පිළිබඳව ය. එමෙන්ම එම ගීත වර්තමානයේ තරුණයන්ගේ භාවිතය පිළිබඳවද විශේෂ අවධානයක් යොමු වේ. විශේෂයෙන්ම මෙම අධ්‍යයනයේ දී සලකා බැලෙන්නේ අසුව දශකයේ දකුණේ සිංහල ජනතාවගේ නිර්මාණයන් පිළිබඳව පමණි. එහෙයින් දකුණේ ගීතය රැඩිකල්කරණයට ලක්වීම හා එම ගීත තරුණ රැඩිකල්කරණයට බලපෑම (අතීත හා වර්තමානය භාවිතය ඔස්සේ) යන්න මෙම පර්යේෂණය ඔස්සේ අධ්‍යයනය කෙරේ.

පර්යේෂණ අරමුණු

- සිංහල ගීත නිර්මාණ ඇසුරෙන් විප්ලවකාරීත්වය ඉස්මතු කර ඇති අයුරු අධ්‍යයනය කිරීම.

- නිර්මාණයන් ඇසුරෙන් ඉස්මතු කරන ලද විප්ලවකාරීත්වය සහ රැඩිකල් අදහස් කාලයත් සමග සමාජ තත්ත්වයන් තුළ වෙනස් වී තිබේදැයි අධ්‍යයනය කිරීම.

- අසුව දශකයේ පැවති සමාජ ආර්ථික දේශපාලන හා අනෙකුත් තත්ත්වයන් තරුණ රැඩිකල් බවට සිදු කරන ලද බලපෑම අධ්‍යයනය කිරීම.

- එම ගීතයන් වර්තමාන තරුණ පරම්පරාවේ භාවිතීය පදනම සහ ඒවා වර්තමානය තුළ රැඩිකල්කරණය සඳහා බලපෑමක් කරන්නේද යන්න අධ්‍යයනය.

පර්යේෂණ ගැටලුව

මෙම පර්යේෂණය සිදු කරනු ලබන්නේ රැඩිකල් අදහස් ඉස්මතු කරන නිර්මාණයන් තරුණයන්ගේ රැඩිකල් බව කෙරෙහි සිදුකරන බලපෑම පිළිබඳව අධ්‍යයනය කිරීමට ය. විශේෂයෙන්ම ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ තරුණයන්ගේ රැඩිකල් බව ඉස්මතු කිරීම සඳහා ගීතය විසින් සිදු කරන ලද බලපෑම පිළිබඳව සිදුවී තිබෙන පර්යේෂණයන් ඉතා අල්පය.

වික්ටර් අයිවන් මහතා විසින් 1971 අරගලය පන්ති අරගලය හා එහි මුලිකත්වය ගත් තරුණ කැරලිකරුවන්ගේ සමාජ පසුබිම පිළිබඳව අධ්‍යයනයක් සිදුකර තිබේ. එහෙත් ඒ ඇසුරෙන් මූලික කෙරෙන්නේ රැඩිකල් තරුණයන්ගේ සමාජ පසුබිම පිළිබඳවයි. කොළඹ, ලක්ෂ්මන් කදිරගාමර් ආයතනයේ පර්යේෂිකා අනිෂ්කා ද සිල්වා විසින් 2017 වසරේ කරන ලද අධ්‍යයනයකට අනුව 1960 සිට මෙරට වූ රැඩිකල් තත්ත්වයන් අංග තුනක් යටතට අයත්වන බව සිය පර්යේෂණ වාර්තාව ඇසුරෙන් කතිකා කරයි. නමුත් තරුණ රැඩිකල් කරුවන් භාවිත කරන ලද ගීත හා ඒ ආශ්‍රිතව වන කරුණු ඒ ඔස්සේ හඳුනා ගැනීම දුලබ වේ.

අසුව දශකයේ ගීත විප්ලවීය ගීත හා තරුණ රැඩිකල් කරුවන් පිළිබඳව බොහෝවිට හමුවන්නේ පුවත්පත් වාර්තාවන් ය. ඒ අනුව ලංකාදීප හා දිවයින පුවත්පත්වල සමකාලීනව මේ පිළිබඳව වාර්තා දක්නට ලැබේ. ඒ ඔස්සේ කරුණු ගවේෂණයට මග පෙන්වයි.

නමුත් ගීතය හා භාවිතය පිළිබඳව වන පර්යේෂණ වල තිබෙන හිඟ කමත්, තිබෙන පර්යේෂණ තුළ ගීතය තරුණ රැඩිකල්බවට දක්වන ලද බලපෑම අධ්‍යයනය ඉතා අවම මට්ටමේන් අධ්‍යයනය කර තිබීමත් මෙවැනි පර්යේෂණයක් කිරීමෙහිලා හේතු සාධක විය.

වර්තමානයේ ද විශ්වවිද්‍යාල ප්‍රජාව බොහෝවිට සිය ක්‍රියාකාරකම් කෙරෙහි රැඩිකල් ගීත යොදා ගැනීම දක්නට ලැබේ. එහිදී වැඩි වශයෙන් භාවිත කරනු ලබන්නේ අසූව දශකයේ දී ලියැවුණු හා භාවිත කරන ලද ගීත බව පෙනී යයි. එය මා පෞද්ගලිකවම විශ්ව විද්‍යාලය තුළ හා තරුණ ක්‍රියාකාරකම් තුළදී පවා අත් දැක තිබේ.

මෙම පර්යේෂණයේ ගැටලුව වන්නේ "අසූව දශකයේ සිංහල ගීත කලාවේ කැපීපෙනෙන රැඩිකල්කරණයක් දක්නට ලැබෙන්නේ ඇයි? යන්න පිළිබඳව අධ්‍යයනය කිරීමයි.

1980 දශකයේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ සිදුවූ තරුණ නැගිටීම් සහ විප්ලවකාරී තත්ත්වයන්, සැලකියයුතු ලෙස වාර්තා වීමක් දක්නට ලැබුණි. එම තත්ත්වයන් තුළ තරුණ රැඩිකල් බව ඉස්මතු වීම කෙරෙහි එවකට පැවති ගීත කලාවේ කිසියම් බලපෑමක් සිදුවුයේදැයි මේ ඔස්සේ අධ්‍යයනය කෙරෙයි. විශේෂයෙන්ම අසූව දශකය තුළ මෙරට ඉතා වැදගත් සිදුවීම් රාශියක් ඉස්මතු විය.

- උතුර හා දකුණ දෙපාර්ශවයේම තරුණයන්ගේ නැගී සිටීම හා රැඩිකල්කරණය.

- විවෘත ආර්ථිකකරණය.

- ජනප්‍රිය වාණිජ සංගීත කලාවේ ආරම්භය (කැසට් පට ගීත කලාව).

- රාජ්‍ය කේන්ද්‍රීය විද්‍යුත් මාධ්‍ය හැසිරීම මෙන්ම විවිධ ගීතයන් හා කැසට් පට රජයේ තහනමට ලක් වීම.

- තරුණයන් මූලික වීමෙන් විප්ලවකාරී ගීත හා ප්‍රසංගයන් පැවැත්වීමේ නැඹුරුව.

උතුර දකුණ භේදයකින් තොරව තරුණ තරුණියන්ගේ නැගිටීම් රාශියක් ඉස්මතු වූ කාල වකවානුවක් ලෙස 1980 දශකය හඳුනාගත හැකි වේ. තරුණ තරුණියන් තුළ පැවති ආර්ථික දේශපාලනික හා සමාජමය පීඩනය බොහෝ දුරට මෙම නැගිටීම් කෙරෙහි ඉවහල් වූ බව පැහැදිලි වේ. සේවා වියුක්තිය තුළ රැකියා නොමැතිකමත් රටතුළ පැවති දේශපාලනික වට පිටාවත් මෙම තරුණ නැගිටීම් වලට වස්තු බීජ සපයන්නට ඇත.

1980 දශකය මෙරට සංගීත කලාවේ විප්ලවීයාත්මක වෙනසක් සිදු කරන ලද වකවානුවකි. ශ්‍රී ලංකා ගුවන් විදුලි සංස්ථාව විසින් ප්‍රචාරය කරන ලද ගීත හැරුණු

විට අනෙක් ව ගීත ඇසීම සඳහා පැවති ඉඩකඩ සීමා වී තුබුණි. විශේෂයෙන්ම කණ්ඩායම් සංගීත කලාව තරමක් ප්‍රචලිතව තිබුණද සංයුක්ත ගීත රචනා රස විඳීමේ ඉඩකඩ ඉතා අවම මට්ටමක පැවතිණි. අසූව දශකයේ මෙරට කැසට් පටය හා කැසට් රෙකෝඩරය ප්‍රචලිත වීමත් සමග ගීත අඩංගු කැසට් පට නිකුත් වීම සිදු විය. එය ගීත රසවිඳීමේ විප්ලවීය වෙනසක් සිදුකිරීමේහිලා සමත් සිදුවීමකි.

අසූව දශකය මෙරට ආර්ථිකයේද විප්ලවීය වෙනසක් කරන ලද යුගයකි. 1977 මැතිවරණ ජය ලැබූ ජේ.ආර්. ජයවර්ධන ජනාධිපතිවරයා විසින් මෙතෙක් ආවෘත ආර්ථිකයක් ව පැවති මෙරට ආර්ථිකය සඳහා විවෘත ආර්ථික ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණ ඔස්සේ ආර්ථික ලිබරල් කරණ ප්‍රතිපත්තීන් හඳුන්වා දෙනු ලැබීය. ඒ අනුව මුදල් මත පදනම් වූ වාණිජ ආර්ථික රටාවක් මෙරට ව්‍යාප්තවීමේ ආරම්භය සිදු විය. එමෙන් ම ආර්ථික සමාජ හා සංස්කෘතිකමය වශයෙන් මෙරට සමාජය අසූව දශකයේ කිසියම් විපරිවර්තනයක් වාර්තා වූ වකවානුවක් බවට පත් වේ.

අධ්‍යාපන ක්‍රමවේදයේ පවා කිසියම් පරිවර්තනයක් වූ කාලයක් ලෙස අසුව දශකය හඳුනා ගනු ලැබේ. විශේෂයෙන්ම මෙරට තරුණයන්ගේ රැකියා විරහිතභාවය සහ අධ්‍යාපන ක්‍රමවේදයන්ගේ ගැටලු හේතුවෙන්ද තරුණ ප්‍රජාව වෙතින් රජය විරෝධයක් හා කැරලිකාරීත්වය ඉස්මතු වීම දක්නට ලැබුණි. විශේෂයෙන්ම පෞද්ගලික වෛද්‍ය විද්‍යාල ගැටලුව හා නිදහස් අධ්‍යාපනය රැක ගැනීම උදෙසා වූ තරුණ නැගිටීම් මෙන්ම රැකියා ලබා ගැනීමේ ගැටලු මතුවෙමින් සමාජය තුළ එකී තරුණ නැගිටීම් වේගවත් විය.

අසුව දශකය මෙරට රාජ්‍ය බලය ජනතාව වෙනුවෙන් වැඩිවශයෙන්ම යොදවන ලද වකවානුව ලෙස එවක සිදුවූ සිදුවීම් අධ්‍යයනයෙන් පෙනී යන කරුණකි. විශේෂයෙන්ම අසුව දශකයේ මෙරට සිදු වූ තරුණ නැගිටීම් මර්ධනය සඳහා රජය විසින් හමුදා බලය හා මැර බලය යොදවන ලදී. මරා දැමීම, අතුරුදහන් කරවීම් වලට අමතරව දේපල විනාශ කිරීම්, සේවයෙන් පහ කිරීම් ආදිය ද ඒ අතර වේ. එවකට රාජ්‍ය මාධ්‍ය ඒකාධිකාරයක් පැවති අතර ගුවන්විදුලිය එකම සන්නිවේදන මාධ්‍ය බවට පත් ව තිබුණි. විවිධ අවස්තා ඇසුරෙන් විවිධ වැඩසටහන්, ගීත ආදිය ප්‍රවාරණය වාරණයට ලක් කිරීම ඒ අනුව සිදු කරනු ලැබිණි.

මෙරට සංගීත කලාව විවිධ වෙනස්කම් වලින් සමන්විත වෙමින් පවතින අතර කණ්ඩායම් සංගීතයද සැලකියයුතු මට්ටමකින් අසුව දශකය වන විට වර්ධනීය මාවතකට පිවිස තිබිණි. එහෙත් එළිමහන් ප්‍රසංග කලාව සඳහා පැවතියේ සීමා සහිත ඉඩකඩකි. නමුත් අසුව දශකය තුළ නිර්මාණ කලාව සහ ඒවායේ තේමාවන් බොහෝ විට තරුණ නැගිටීම්, රැඩිකල් බව සහ රාජ්‍ය විරෝධය අරමුණු කර ගනිමින් රචනා වීමක් හඳුනා ගැනේ.

උපන්‍යාසය

''අසුව දශකය තුළ ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ පැවති ආර්ථික, සමාජීය සහ දේශපාලනික පීඩනය තරුණයන් තුළින් විරෝධාකල්ප ගීත කලාව ඉස්මතු වීම කෙරෙහි බලපෑමක් කරන ලදී'' යන උපන්‍යාසය තුළ පිහිටා මෙම අධ්‍යයනය සිදුවේ.

ඒ අනුව තරුණයන්ගේ විප්ලවකාරී ක්‍රියාවන් හා තරුණ නැගිටීම සඳහා එවක පැවති විරෝධාකල්ප ගීත කලාව බලපාන ලද බව උපකල්පනය කරමින් මෙම අධ්‍යයනය සිදු කරන අතර, එම සිදුවීම් වලට අදාලව වන තොරතුරු මේ ඇසුරෙන් ගවේෂණය කරනු ලැබේ. එමෙන්ම තරුණ තරුණියන් විසින් එම ගීත හා නිර්මාණයන්ගේ වර්තමාන භාවිතය පිළිබඳව ද අධ්‍යයනය කරනු ලැබේ.

පර්යේෂණ ක්‍රමවේදය

මේ යටතේ අධ්‍යයනය සිදු කෙරෙන්නේ ගුණාත්මක දත්ත ක්‍රමවේදයන් පදනම් කර ගනිමිනි. විශේෂයෙන් ම ගුණාත්මක දත්තයන් මේ සඳහා යොදා ගනු ලබන්නේ උක්ත තේමාවට අදාලවන බොහොමයක් තොරතුරු පවතින්නේ ගුණාත්මක දත්ත මුලාශ්‍රයන් වල නිසාවෙනි. මෙම අධ්‍යයනයේ දී ගුණාත්මක දත්ත හා ඒ ආශ්‍රිත ද්විතීයික දත්ත භාවිත කරනු ලබයි. පර්යේෂණ ලිපි, පුවත්පත් වාර්තා මෙන්ම රැඩිකල්කරණය හා ගීතය පිළිබඳව ලියැවුනු පොතපත ආශ්‍රිත කරුණු මෙම පර්යේෂණයේදී මූලිකවම යොදා ගනු ලැබිණ.

ගීතය තරුණ තරුණියන්ගේ අදහස ප්‍රකාශන මාධ්‍යයක් බවට ද පත් වෙයි. හුදෙක් විප්ලවකාරීත්වය පමණක් නොව ප්‍රේමය, විරහව, සමාජ අසාධාරණය මෙන්ම මිනිසත්කම පවා ගීතය කවිය ඔස්සේ ප්‍රකාශ වේ. විප්ලවකාරීත්වය සහ තරුණ නැගිටීම් පිළිබඳව ලියැවී තිබෙන ගීත නිර්මාණ මූලිකව අධ්‍යයනයට ලක් කෙරෙන නමුත් එම ගීත ඔස්සේ ඉස්මතුවන මානව ප්‍රකාශනයක් ද තත් සමාජ ආර්ථික ක්‍රමයේම

පිළිබිඹුවක් ලෙස හඳුනාගත හැකිය. පුළුල් පරාසයක් ඔස්සේ විහිදෙන ඒ එක් එක් නිර්මාණ ඇසුරෙන් කුමන ආකාරයේ ප්‍රකාශනයන් සමාජගත කරන්නේද යන්න ඒ ඇසුරෙන් සාකච්ඡාවට බඳුන් කෙරේ.

ඒ යටතේ,

1. අසුව දශකයේ ලියැවී තිබෙන සිංහල ගීත නිර්මාණයන් අධ්‍යයනය කිරීම.

2. නිර්මාණයන් පිළිබඳ ලියැවී ඇති පර්යේෂණ හා ලිපි ලේඛන අධ්‍යයනය.

3. රැඩිකල් තාරුණ්‍යය හා සමාජයේ රැඩිකල්කරණයට නිර්මාණ කරුවාගේ පෙළඹවීම අධ්‍යයනය.

4. දිවයින පුවත්පත හා එහි ලිපි, (87 හා (88) කාල සීමා වල වේදිකා ගත වූ ''පවන'' හා ''කම්පන'' ප්‍රසංගයන් පිළිබඳව වන කතිකාව සහ දත්ත අධ්‍යයනය.

5. අසුව දශකයේ ලියැවුණු, රැඩිකල් ගීතයන්ගේ වර්තමාන භාවිතය පිළිබඳ මූලික සම්මුඛ සාකච්ඡා. (වර්තමානයේ මෙම ගීත භාවිත කරන විශ්වවිද්‍යාල විද්‍යාර්ථීන් ඇසුරේ මෙම සාකච්ඡා සිදු කරනු ලැබිණ)

රැඩිකල් ගීතයන්ගේ වර්තමාන භාවිතය පිළිබඳව කරුණු අධ්‍යයනය කරනු ලැබුවේ මෙරට විශ්වවිද්‍යාල ප්‍රජාව ඇසුරින් ය. ඒ අනුව තරුණ විප්ලවකාරීත්වයන් වැඩි වශයෙන් වාර්තා වූ රජය විශ්වවිද්‍යාල කිහිපයක් තෝරා ගනිමින් එම විශ්වවිද්‍යාල වල විද්‍යාර්ථීන් අහඹු නියැදියක් ලෙස තෝරා ගනිමින් සම්මුඛ සාකච්ඡා සිදු කරනු ලැබිණ. ඒ අනුව වර්තමාන ශිෂ්‍ය ක්‍රියාකාරකම් සඳහා රැඩිකල් ගීතය භාවිත කිරීම පිළිබඳව වන තොරතුරු ලබා ගැනීම මූලික සම්මුඛ සාකච්ඡා 10ක් ඇසුරෙන් සිදු කරන ලදි.

අධ්‍යයනයේ සීමා

1. මෙම අධ්‍යයනය හුදෙක් ම මූලික වන්නේ තාරුණ්‍යයේ විප්ලවකාරී බව ඉස්මතු කිරීමට නිර්මාණකරුවා භාවිත කළ ගීතය පිළිබඳව විමර්ශනය කිරීමට වන හෙයින් අනෙකුත් සාහිත්‍යාංගයන් කෙරෙහි වැඩි අවධානයක් යොමු නොකෙරේ.

2. මූලිකව ම අසුව දශකය පමණක් මෙම අධ්‍යයනයේදී සලකාබලන හෙයින් අනෙකුත් කාල වකවානු තුළ ලියැවුණු නිර්මාණවල අන්තර්ගතය පිළිබඳව වන අවධානය අවම වේ.

3. මෙම අධ්‍යයනයේ දී සලකා බැලෙන්නේ සිංහල බසින් ලියැවුණු දකුණේ ගීත රචනා පිළිබඳව පමණි. එහෙයින් දමිළ හා වෙනත් භාෂා රචනා මෙන්ම උතුරු නැගෙනහිර ප්‍රදේශ ආවරණය නොවේ.

4. මූලිකවම ගීත සාහිත්‍ය තුළින් තරුණ විප්ලවකාරී බව ඉස්මතු කිරීම යන අංගය පමණක් සලකා බලන නිසා පවතින සියලුම ගීත අධ්‍යයනයට නොහැකි වීමත් මෙම පර්යේෂණයේ එක් සීමාවක් වේ.

සාහිත්‍යය විමර්ශන

රැඩිකල්කරණය යනු කුමක්ද යන්න පිළිබඳව කතිකා කිරීමත්, රැඩිකල්කරණය පිළිබඳ ලාංකීය කියැවීම කිනම් අයුරුද යන්න හඳුනා ගැනීමත්, රැඩිකල්කරණය ලාංකීය සමාජය සඳහා වන නිර්වචනය කරන්නේ කෙසේද යන්න පිළිබඳවත් මෙම පරිච්ඡේදය ඔස්සේ සිදු කෙරේ.

රැඩිකල්කරණය යනු කුමක්ද?

රැඩිකල්කරණය යන්න පුළුල් හා සංකීර්ණ සංකල්පයකි. ඒ අනුව එය නිර්වචනය කිරීමත්, ප්‍රායෝගිකව සිදුවන රැඩිකල් ක්‍රියාකාරකම් පිළිබඳව අධ්‍යයනය කිරීමත් වැදගත් කරුණකි.

රැඩිකල්කරණය නිර්වචනය කිරීමට විශ්වීය වශයෙන් වන පොදු නිර්වචනයක් නොමැති අතර එම සංකල්පයට විවිධ නිර්වචන පවතී. ප්‍රචණ්ඩත්වය සඳහා වන රැඩිකල්කරණය වැළැක්වීමේ මධ්‍යස්ථානය විසින් (Centre for the Prevention of Radicalization Leading to Violence (CPRLV) රැඩිකල්කරණය නිර්වචනය කරන්නේ,

"සිය අන්තවාදී මතයකින් කිසියම් දෘෂ්ටිවාදයක් ප්‍රවලිත කිරීමට, දේශපාලන ව්‍යාපෘතියක්, දර්ශනයක් සමාජගත කරමින් භාවිතය ඔස්සේ ගැටුම්කාරීත්වය සඳහා අනුබල දීම හෝ ගැටුම්කාරීව හැසිරීම හෝ සමාජ පරිවර්තනයක් වෙනුවෙන් භාවිත කිරීමේ ක්‍රියාවලියයි.'' යනුවෙනි.

එමෙන්ම රැඩිකල්කරණය යන්න අර්ථ දක්වමින්, රැඩිකල්කරණයට බලපාන්නේ අන්තවාදය හා කැරළිකාරී ස්වභාවය නිරන්තරවම භාවිත වීම බව

ඒ. එම්. එයිජ්ක්මන් (A.M. Eijkman) සිය අධ්‍යයනයන් ඇසුරෙන් දක්වයි. වෘත්තිකයන්ගේ රැඩිකල්කරණය වීම අධ්‍යයනය වැදගත් බව පෙනීයයි. ඒ අනුව අදාළ වෘත්තිකයන්ගේ ක්‍රියාකලාපය පවා ඒ සඳහා බලපාන බව පැවසේ.

"අන්තවාදය හා රැඩිකල්කරණය ඔස්සේ ත්‍රස්තවාදය වෙත පෙළඹවීමක් ඇතිවන බව පෙනී යන කරුණකි. (Eijkman) (2019)''[107]

රැඩිකල්කරණය යන්න අර්ථ දක්වන ආරක්ෂාව සහ සංවිධානය පිළිබඳව වන යුරෝපා සංවිධානය (Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe) පෙන්වා දෙනු ලබන්නේ මෙම රැඩිකල්කරණය යන්න නිර්වචනය කිරීමේ දී ඊට බලපාන හේතු විශාල ප්‍රමාණයක් පවතින බවත්, රැඩිකල් අදහස් හා කලහකාරීත්වය අතර සබඳතාවයක් පවතින බවයි.[108]

රැඩිකල්කරණය යන්න නිර්වචනය කිරීමේ දී, පුද්ගලයන් තනිව හෝ කණ්ඩායම් වශයෙන් යොමුවන, අනුගත වන හා ක්‍රියාත්මක වන නව මතවාදයන් හෝ විශ්වාසයන් සමූහයක් උදෙසා ආර්ථික දේශපාලනික හා සමාජමය වශයෙන් හෝ ප්‍රචණ්ඩකාර නොවන අයුරින් දක්වන ප්‍රතිචාරය ලෙස දැක්විය හැකිය.

අසමානතා සිද්ධාන්තය අනුව විමසීමේදී පෙනී යන කරුණ වන්නේ, සාපේක්ෂව සිදුවන ආර්ථික අසමානතාවය හා ජාතිය පිළිබඳ වන ගැටලුව අසාධාරණ අයුරින් ජනතාවට බලපා තිබෙන බවත් තව දුරටත් මේ සඳහා නිශ්චිත පිළිතුරක් අවශ්‍ය වන බවයි. ඒ අනුව පෙනී යන කරුණක් වන්නේ රැඩිකල්කරණය යන්න නිර්වචනය කිරීම සඳහා වන පොදු නිර්වචනයක් නොමැති බවත් එය නිර්වචනය කිරීම සමාජයෙන් සමාජයට හා පුද්ගලයාගෙන් පුද්ගලයාට විවිධ වන බවයි.

රැඩිකල් බව හෝ රැඩිකල් ක්‍රියාකලාපය පිළිබඳ ලාංකීය කියැවීම සුවිශේෂී වේ. තරුණ තරුණියන්ගේ ක්‍රියාකලාපය විශේෂයෙන්ම ලාංකීය ඉතිහාසය තුළ කැපී පෙනෙන ලක්ෂණයකි. විශේෂයෙන්ම අතීතයේ සිට ම රට සහ ආගම සහ විදේශ ආක්‍රමණ වලින් බේරා ගැනීම සඳහා තරුණ තරුණියන් යුද වැදුණු බවත් නායකත්වය ගත් බවත් ඉතිහාසයේ සඳහන් වේ.

කැරැල්ලක්, තරුණ නැගිටීමක් හෝ වෙනත් විප්ලවකාරී තත්ත්වයක් මත ජීවිත හානි හා දේපළ හානි

107 https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/19434472.2018.1457069

108 (The Role of Civil Society in Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism and Radicalization that Lead to Terrorism A Guidebook for South-Eastern Europe 2018)

අනිවාර්යෙන්ම සිදු වීමේ ඉඩකඩ පවතී. විශේෂයෙන් ම තරුණ තරුණියන්ගේ රැඩිකල් හැසිරීම ඔස්සේ ඔවුන්ගේ ජීවිත අහිමි වීම් සිදු වීම සිදු වේ. ඒ බව වික්ටර් අයිවන් දක්වන්නේ මෙසේය.

"71 කැරැල්ලේ දී ද මිනිස්සු මිය ගියෝය. එහෙත් ඒ මිය ගියැන්ගේ ගණන 5000 නොඉක්ම විය. සිදු වූ දේපල හානිය රුපියල් කෝටි 40කට වඩා නොවීය." [109]
(වික්ටර් අයිවන්.1990)

කලින් කලට ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ඉස්මතු වූ තරුණ අරගල හෙවත් තරුණ නැගිටීම් සඳහා විවිධාකාරී හේතු මුල බීජ වී තිබේ. වික්ටර් අයිවන් මහතා දක්වන පරිද 1971 අරගලය පන්ති අරගලය මූලික වුවත් ඉනික්බිති අරගල මූලිකව ම විවිධ අරමුණු ද බලපා තිබෙන බව පැහැදිලි කරුණකි.

ඒ අනුව කලින් කලට ඉස්මතු වූ තරුණ අරගලයන් එම තත්ත්යුගය තුළ පවතින ලද සමාජ ආර්ථික හා දේශපාලනික තත්ත්වයන් හුරු කොට ගනිමින් ගොඩනැගුණු බව හඳුනාගත හැකිය. එමෙන්ම එම තරුණ නැගිටීම් මර්ධනය කිරීමට ඒ එක් එක් යුගයන් වල ක්‍රියාත්මක වූ රාජ්‍ය යාන්ත්‍රණ විවිධාකාරී උපක්‍රමයන් ද ක්‍රියාත්මක කරනු ලැබිය.

කොළඹ, ලක්ෂ්මන් කදිරගාමර් ආයතනයේ පර්යේෂිකා අනිෂ්කා ද සිල්වා (Anishka De Zylva[110]) විසින් (2017) වසරේ කරන ලද අධ්‍යයනයකට අනුව (1960) සිට මෙරට වූ රැඩිකල් තත්ත්වයන් අංග තුනක් යටතට අයත්වන බව සිය පර්යේෂණ වර්තාව ඇසුරෙන් කතිකා කරයි. ඒ අනුව,

- Left-wing radicalisation; the JVP (1960s-1980s) 1960-80 සිදු වූ ජනතා විමුක්ති පෙරමුණේ වාමාංශික අරගලය.

- Right-wing radicalisation; the LTTE (1976- 2009) 1976-2009 එල්.ටි.ටි.ඊ. දක්ෂිණාංශික අරගලය.

- Politico-religious radicalisation; the Bodu Bala Sena (2012-present) 2012 සිට වර්තමානය දක්වා බොදු බල සේනා දේශපාලන හා ආගමික රැඩිකල්කරණය.

තරුණ නැගිටීම් සඳහා දේශපාලන දර්ශනයන්ගේ ද මූලික අධිතාලමක් සකස් ව තිබෙන බව අදහස යි. විශේෂයෙන්ම ජනතා විමුක්ති පෙරමුණ හා ඒ ආශ්‍රිත ඉගැන්වීම් වල කිසියම් ධනාත්මක බලපෑමක් සිදු වී තිබෙන බව අධ්‍යයනය කිරීමේදී හඳුනා ගත හැකිය. (1987/89) කාලයන් තුළ සිදු වූ තරුණ නැගිටීම් හේතුවෙන් තරුණ තරුණියන් 60,000ක් පමණ අමානුෂිකව මරා දමන ලද බව වාර්තාවේ. (Youth radicalization in south Asia. 2018)[111]

මේ සියලු අධ්‍යයනයන් විමර්ශනය කරනු ලැබුවත් රැඩිකල්කරණය සඳහා ගීතයන් හි දායකත්වය පිළිබඳව වැඩිදුර තොරතුරු සපයා ගැනීම අපහසු වේ. එහෙයින් රැඩිකල්කරණය සඳහා ගීතයේ දායකත්වය පිළිබඳව අධ්‍යයනයේ අවශ්‍යතාවය මතු වේ.

ජාතික සටන් ව්‍යාපාරය, විරෝධාකල්ප ගීත හා දේශපාලනික පසුබිම

ජාතික නිදහස් සටන වෙනුවෙන් 19 වන සියවසේ අග සිට විසිවන සියවසේ මධ්‍යම භාගය දක්වාම තරුණ තරුණියන් වෙනුවෙන් කවි ලියු ටිබෙටි ජාතික එස් මහින්ද හිමියන් ද ජාතික සටනට සවිය දුන් අනගාරික ධර්මපාල වැනි නායකයන්ද ඉතිහාසයේ හමු වේ.

මේ කවිය ඔස්සේ එස් මහින්ද හිමියන් ඉස්මතු කරන්නේ ජාතික නිදහස වෙනුවෙන් තරුණයන්ට නැගී සිටින මෙනි. ටිබෙටි ජාතික එස්. මහින්ද හිමියන් විසින් මූල් යුගයේ රචිත නිර්මාණයන් බොහෝ විට ජාතික නිදහස වෙනුවෙන් ලියු විප්ලවකාරී රැඩිකල් කවි ලෙස හඳුනා ගත හැකිය.

කෙස් ගහ පවා වෙන රටවල් | මිනිසුන්නේ
උස් නිදහස පිණිස සටනට | සැරසෙන්නේ
(එස්. මහින්ද හිමි)

2019 මැයි මස 17 වන සිකුරාදා ජන සටනට පණ දුන් විරෝධාකල්ප ගී නමින් ලංකාදීප පුවත් පතෙහි පළවන ලිපිය ඔස්සේ මෙරට ජන සටන් හා තරුණ නැගිටීම් වලට ගීත කලාවේ වූ බලපෑම මැනවින්

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109 ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ නූතන කැරලිකරුවන්ගේ සමාජ පසුබිම, හැඳින්වීම.1990

110 International Engagement in Countering Youth Radicalization: Sri Lanka's Untapped Opportunities Anishka De Zylva, 2017 මැයි

111 Samal Wimukthi Hemachandra. Chapter- Trends in Youth radicalization in Sri Lanka pp.55

විස්තර කෙරෙයි. මෙම ලිපියෙහි කතුවරයා පුෂ්පනාත් ජයසිරි මල්ලිකාරච්චි මහතා වන අතර උක්ත ලිපිය ඔස්සේ රැඩිකල් තරුණයන් හා ජනතාවට ජනසටනකට පණ දුන් ගීත, ගායකයන් හා ගීත රචකයන් පිළිබඳ විමර්ශනයක් කෙරෙයි.

'ගීතයට කලින් කවිය මගින් ජනතා හැඟීම් පුබුදු කිරීමේ කාර්ය සිදු කෙරිණ. ටිබෙට් ජාතික එස්. මහින්ද හිමියන් ඇතුළු 40-60 දශකවල කවියෝ අධිරාජ්‍යගැති ආකල්ප හා සංකල්ප වලට එරෙහිව කවි ගෙතූහ.[112]' (ජන සටනට පණ දුන් විරෝධාකල්ප ගී, (2019) ලිපියෙනි.

උක්ත ලිපියෙන් රචකයා එකල ගීතය විප්ලවකරුවන්, රැඩිකල් තරුණයන් සන්නිවේදන මාධ්‍යක් ලෙස යොදා ගත බවට ඉඟියක් පළකරයි.

"1970-71 සමයෙහි ජනතා විමුක්ති පෙරමුණ මෙහෙය වූ අප්‍රේල් කැරලි සමයේ සටන්කාමී ගීත සාහිත්‍යයක් නිර්මාණය විය. මේ සමයේ ප්‍රබල සන්නිවේදන මාධ්‍ය වී තිබුණේ ගුවන් විදුලිය යි. කොළඹ සිට ඈත ගම්බද ප්‍රදේශ වලට පුවත්පත් පැමිණීමටත් පෙර ගුවන් විදුලිය මගින් ජනතාව දැනුවත් කර තිබිණි. එනිසා කැලේ ගල් ගුහාවල සැඟව සිටි සටන්කාමීන්ට තම සගයන් සමග අදහස් හුවමාරු කර ගැනීමටත්, රටේ සිදුවන දේ පිළිබඳව දැනුවත් වීමටත් ගුවන් විදුලිය උපකාරී විය. සන්නිවේදනයට සම්බන්ධ ඇතැම් ජ.වි.පෙ. ක්‍රියාකාරිකයන් විසින් ගුවන් විදුලියේ ඇතැම් ගීත තුළින් සංඥා ලබා දෙන බවට ආණ්ඩුව සැක කළේය. රැජින මමයි-අපේ රාජ්‍යේ, කුරුල්ලනේ වරෙල්ලා, කන්දෙන් කන්දට වැනි ගීතද තහනමට ලක්විණි. (ජන සටනට පණ දුන් විරෝධාකල්ප ගී, 2019)

තරුණයන් සඳහා ගීත කලාව අතිශයින්ම දායකත්වයක් දක්වන ලද බව බොහෝ කරුණු අධ්‍යයනය ඔස්සේ පැහැදිලි කර ගත හැකිය. ඒ අනුව රටේ තරුණ නැඟිටීම් දිරිමත් කිරීම උදෙසා ලියැවුණු ගීත අසුව දශකයේ විවිධ ස්ථානයන් හි ගයන ලද බව සඳහන් වේ.

එවක ගැයුණු විමුක්ති ගී ප්‍රසංගය මෙන්ම ගුණදාස කපුගේ ශූරීන්ගේ කම්පන ගී ප්‍රසංගය සමාජයේ තරුණ ප්‍රජාව තුළ තාරුණ්‍ය විප්ලවකාරී අදහස් ගොඩ නැඟීම කෙරෙහි පූර්ණ දායකත්වයක් සපයා තිබේ.

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ තරුණයන්ගේ නැඟී සිටීම උදෙසා බොහොමයක් වූ තරුණ තරුණියන්ගේ විප්ලවකාරී ක්‍රියා කලාපයන් 'ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ නූතන කැරලි කරුවන්ගේ සමාජ පසුබිම' ඇසුරෙන් වික්ටර් අයිවන් මහතා විසින් කැරලිකරුවන්ගේ සමාජමය පසුබිම පිළිබඳව විමසුමක යෙදෙයි.

''විවෘත ආර්ථික ක්‍රමය විසින් රටේ දුප්පතුන්ගේ ප්‍රමාණය ඉහළ දැමීමෙන් නොනැවතී දුප්පත්කම හා පොහොසත්කම අතර පරතරය ද විශාල ප්‍රමාණයකට වැඩි දියුණු කළේය. කලින් පැවති තත්ත්වය තුළ ඉහළම ආදායම් ලබන්නන් සමස්ත ආදායමෙන් උපයන පංගුව අතර වන වෙනස තුනී කරන දිසාවක් වෙත රට යොමු වෙමින් තිබුණද නව ක්‍රමය නිසා මෙම දෙකණ්ඩායම අතර පරතරය වැඩි දියුණු කෙරෙන නව දිසාවක් වෙත රට යොමු කොට තිබුණේය.'' (වික්ටර් අයිවන්,1990).[113]

ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ සිදු වූ තරුණ නැඟිටීම් සඳහා ජනතා විමුක්ති පෙරමුණේ මාර්ක්ස්වාදී චින්තනය හා දර්ශනය මත සමාජවාදී විප්ලවය මූල් වූ බවත් ඒ සඳහා දකුණේ තරුණ තරුණියන් පමණක් නොව උතුරේ තරුණ තරුණියන්ද රැඩිකල් ප්‍රවේශයකට යොමු වූ බව දක්නට ලැබෙන බව ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ජාතික ආරක්ෂක අධ්‍යයන ආයතනය (Institute of national security studies Sri Lanka) විසින් සඳහන් කරයි.[114]

තරුණ නැඟිටීම් සඳහා රැකියා විරහිත බව සෘජු බලපෑමක් සිදු කරන ලද බව පෙනී යයි. "එහෙත් 1969-1970 වන විට ප්‍රකට සේවා වියුක්තිය 550,000 ක් දක්වා එනම් ශ්‍රම බලකායෙන් 14% දක්වා ඉහළ නැග තිබුණේ ය. සේවා වියුක්ත වූවන්ගෙන් 69%ක් ම ග්‍රාමීය අංශයට අයත් වීමද 89%ක් ම අවුරුදු 14-24 ත් අතර වයස් කාණ්ඩවලට අයත් ගැටවර වියේ තරුණ තරුණියන් වීම ද කැපී පෙනෙන ලක්ෂණය විය." (වික්ටර් අයිවන්, 1990)[115]

ආර්ථිකමය වශයෙන් ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ බිඳ වැටීම් කෙරෙහි ද මෙම තත්ත්වය බලපෑම් කරන ලද බව එම වකවානු වල දී, රටේ ආර්ථික තත්ත්වයන් විමසීමේ දී හඳුනාගත හැකිය. 1971 සිට 1994 දක්වා කාලය තුළ රට තුළ ලේ වැගිරීම් රාජ්‍ය හා රාජ්‍ය නොවන බලවේගයන් වෙතින් සිදු කරන ලද බව සමල් විමුක්ති

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112 ජන සටනට පණ දුන් විරෝධාකල්ප ගී, (2019)

113 ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ නූතන කැරලි කරුවන්ගේ සමාජ පසුබිම. වික්ටර් අයිවන්. (20) පිටුවග

114 (https://www.insssl.lk/preview.php?id=46)

115 ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ නූතන කැරලි කරුවන්ගේ සමාජ පසුබිම, පිටුව (09)

හේමචන්ද්‍ර මහතා සිය පර්යේෂණ ලිපියක දක්වයි. (Trends in youth radicalization in Sri Lanka, Samal Vimukthi Hemachndra. 47)

විශේෂයෙන්ම, තරුණ ප්‍රජාවගේ ගැටලු විසඳීම වෙනුවෙන් 1990 තරුණ අසහන කොමිසමේ වාර්තාව වැදගත් වේ. එම ජනාධිපති කොමිෂන් සභා වාර්තාව අනුව පෙනී යන කරුණ වන්නේ මෙරට රජයේ ආයතන හා ජනතාව අතර දුරස්ථභාවයක් පවතින බවයි. ජනාධිපති කොමිෂන් සභාවේ වාර්තාව මගින් රජයේ නිල ආයතන සඳහා තරුණයින්ට දැනෙන දුරස්ථභාවය ද හෙළි විය. (තරුණයන් පිළිබඳ ජනාධිපති කොමිෂන් වාර්තාව 1990, (ජයදේව උයන්ගොඩ 1992).[116]

1990 වසරේ ඉදිරිපත් කරන ලද ජනාධිපති කොමිෂන් සභාවේ වාර්තාව මගින් රජයේ නිල ආයතන සඳහා තරුණයින්ට පවතින දුරස්ථභාවය හඳුනා ගනු ලැබිණි. මහජන විශ්වාසය බිඳ වැටීම මත රජයේ ආයතන වෙතින් සැලකියයුතු සේවාවක් සිදු නොවන බවත්, අවශ්‍ය අංශයන් සමාජයේ සංවර්ධනය නොවීම මත තරුණයන්ගේ නැගී සිටීමක් සිදුවූ බවත්, ඒ සඳහා අවශ්‍ය ක්‍රියා මාර්ග ගැනීමේ අවශ්‍යතාවයත් ඒ ඔස්සේ ඉස්මතු කරනු ලැබීය. එමෙන්ම දේශපාලන ක්‍රමවේදයන් ඔස්සේ තරුණයන් ගොඩනැංවීම අසීරු කාර්යයක් බවද ඒ ඔස්සේ ඉස්මතු කරන ලදි.

"තරුණයන් රැඩිකල්කරණයට බලපාන හේතු අධ්‍යයනය කිරීමේදී පවුල, මිතුරන්, පෞද්ගලික සබඳතා සහ අසල්වාසීන් යන අය බලපාන අතර, ඒ හේතුවෙන් රැඩිකල් කරණය යන්න කෙරෙහි කිසියම් බලපෑමක් කරයි. රැඩිකල් බව ඉස්මතු කරන සමාජ කණ්ඩායම්, අසංවිධ පවුල් පරිසරය, ස්ත්‍රී පුරුෂ සමාජභාවය කෙරෙහි පවතින ආකල්ප, දේශපාලන හෝ ආගමික නායකයන්ගේ අන්ධානුකරණය මෙන්ම වැඩිහිටියන් සමග යහපත් සම්බන්ධතායන් නොවීම යන සාධක මේ සඳහා බලපාන බව ඉස්මතු කෙරෙයි."[117]

බොහෝ විප්ලව හා තරුණ නැගිටීම් වෙත ගීතයන් වෙතින් සව්ය සැපයු බව පෙනී යන කරුණකි. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ තරුණ රැඩිකල්කරණය මෙන්ම අසුව දශකයේ ගීත එම රැඩිකල් බව කෙරෙහි බලපෑම් කරනු ලැබුයේ කෙසේද යන්න පිළිබඳව ලියැවුණු පර්යේෂණ සීමා සහිත වේ. ඒ අනුව මෙම පර්යේෂණයේ මූලිකම

අවධානය යොමු වන්නේ අඩු අවධානයක් හා අවම අධ්‍යයනයක් වුනු එම ගීත කලාව මෙන්ම රැඩිකල් භාවිතය පිළිබඳව අධ්‍යයනයි.

විශ්ලේෂණය

මෙම පරිච්ඡේදය ඔස්සේ සිදු වන්නේ විමුක්ති ගීතය හා පවන ගීතයන් ඔස්සේ ඉදිරිපත්වන රැඩිකල් ප්‍රකාශනයන් මෙන්ම එම ප්‍රකාශනයන් තුලින් ඉස්මතු වන සමාජ ආර්ථික හා දේශපාලනික ප්‍රකාශනයන් පිළිබඳව කිසියම් අවබෝධයක් සැපයීමයි. ඒ අනුව පවන හා විමුක්ති ගී ඇසුරෙන් වන ගීත රචනා හා ඒවායේ ප්‍රකාශන මෙම පරිච්ඡේදය ඇසුරෙන් විමර්ශනය කෙරේ.

පුද්ගලයන්ගේ රැඩිකල් බව හෝ විප්ලවකාරී බව ඉස්මතු කිරීමට හැකි ක්‍රමවේද දෙකක් ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන් හඳුනාගත හැකිය. ඒ භෞතික වශයෙන් දක්වන හැසිරීම හා මානසික වශයෙන් දක්වන ප්‍රතිචාර ලෙස ය. ඒ අනුව කලහකරිව හැසිරීම, ප්‍රචණ්ඩත්වය ආදිය භෞතිකමය ප්‍රකාශන ලෙස හඳුනාගත හැකි වේ. මානසික වශයෙන් වන චිත්ත වේග අනුව සිදු කරන ලද නිර්මාණ, කවි ගීත, චිත්‍ර ආදි ප්‍රකාශන ආදිය අනෙක් අංගය ලෙස හඳුනාගත හැකිය.

අසුව දශකයේ ගීතය හා තරුණ චින්තනය ඉස්මතු වීම.

ගීතය තුලින් මෙරට තරුණ තරුණයන් තුල චින්තන විප්ලවයක් කිරීමට සමත් වූ නිර්මාණකරුවන් බොහොමයක් අතීතය පිළිබඳ අධ්‍යයනය කිරීමේදී හඳුනාගත හැකිය. මෙරට ගීත කලාවේ තාරුණ්‍යයේ විප්ලවකාරීත්වය වෙනුවෙන් ගී ගැයූ ගායක ගායිකාවන් සමූහයක් හඳුනාගත හැකි ය. ඒ අතරින් විශාරද නන්දා මාලනිය ප්‍රමුබ වේ. නන්දා මාලනිය ස්වකීය ගීතයන් ඇසුරෙන් තාරුණ්‍යයේ රැඩිකල් බව ඉස්මතු කර තිබෙන අයුරු අධ්‍යයනය වැදගත් වේ.

හෙළයා උනත් ජඩයෙකු නම් පහර   දෙනු

දෙමළා උනත් විරුවෙකු නම් ගරු   කරනු

(පවන)

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116 http://www.cepa.lk/content_images/publications/documents/83fe752f3d8cb7f4dc6939f73546192f-Youth-in-Sri-Lanka.%20-%2002.pdf

117 මූලාශ්‍රය-https://pjp-eu.coe.int/documents/1017981/7110668/YW-against-radicalisation-web.pdf/90a7569d-182d-0b0c-ce5d-9a0fe111ec9

නන්දා මාලනිය ගැයූ මෙම ගීතය ඇසුරෙන් තාරුණ්‍යය තුළ රැඩිකල්කරණය වන තරුණයින් සඳහා කිසියම් උත්ප්‍රේරණයක්, ලබා දීමක් හඳුනාගත හැකිය. ඒ අනුව තරුණයන් තුළ, විප්ලවකාරී හා රැඩිකල් හැසිරීම, කෙරෙහි ඉස්මතු වන මානසිකත්වයක්, ජාත්‍යාලයක් ඉස්මතු කිරීමක් දැක්නට ලැබේ.

එමෙන්ම අසාධාරණය වෙනුවෙන් සටන කිරීමත්, යහපත් දේ වෙනුවෙන් සටන් කිරීමත් පිළිබඳව වන ප්‍රකාශනයක් සමාජ ගත කරයි. 70 සහ 80 දශකයන් තුළ, නන්දා මාලනී විසින් ගයන බොහොමයක් ගීතයන් තුළින්, තාරුණ්‍යයේ, විප්ලවකාරීත්වය හා රැඩිකල් හැසිරීම ඉස්මතු කර තිබේ. ඒ අතර

යදමින් බැඳ විලංගු ලා මගේ පුතා රැගෙන යන්න

ඉදිකටු ඇන ඇඟිලි තලා දෙතිස් වදය පමුණුවන්න

(පවන)

යන ගීතය, තම දරුවා රටේ අසාධාරණය වෙනුවෙන් විප්ලවකාරියෙකු ලෙස කටයුතු කර රජයෙන් ඔහුට දඬුවම් දීමට ගෙන යන අවස්ථාවක මව විසින් ගයන ගැයුමක් ලෙස නන්දා මාලනිය ගයයි.

තාරුණ්‍යය අතිශයින් විප්ලවකාරී අවධියකි. ඔවුන්ගේ සිතිවිලි හා හැසිරීම් වුවද විප්ලවකාරීත්වයෙන් පිරි පවතින බව නොරහසකි. ලාංකීය තාරුණ්‍යය නිරන්තරවම නේකවිද සමාජ ආර්ථික හේතු ඇසුරෙන් සැඪ ප්‍රතිචාර දක්වන කණ්ඩායමක් බවය.

සාහිත්‍යය නිර්මාණ ඇසුරෙන් 1970 හා 80 දශකය තුළ, මෙරට සිදු වූ ආර්ථික හා දේශපාලනික වෙනස්කම් ඔස්සේ සමාජය තුළ නිර්මාණය වූ නිර්මාණ ඇසුරෙන් ජන මනස හා කම්කරුවා යුක්තිය අසාධාරණය වෙනුවෙන් නැඟී සිටුවීමට එම නිර්මාණ සමත් ව ඇත.

විශේෂයෙන්ම සරසවි ප්‍රජාව, කම්කරුවන් හා රටෙහි තරුණ ප්‍රජාව මෙහිලා නැඟී සිටි බලවේගයන් බවට පත් විය. 1978 වසරේ කොළඹ නගර ශාලාවේ පැවති විමුක්ති ගී නම් ප්‍රසංගය ගීතයේ විප්ලවීයාත්මක ප්‍රවේශයක් ලෙසින් තරුණ රැඩිකල් ප්‍රජාව ආමන්ත්‍රණය කළ මොහොතක් ලෙස හඳුනාගත හැකි ය. චන්ද්‍රා වාකිෂ්ට වැනි ගේය පද රචකයන් හා ගුණදාස කපුගේ ගායකයන්ගේ මූලිකත්වයෙන් පෝෂණය වූ නිර්මාණ විශාල ප්‍රමාණයක් මෙම ප්‍රසංගයේදී ගයනු ලැබිණි.

ගුවන්විදුලිය එකම විද්‍යුත් සන්නිවේදන මාධ්‍ය වූ, හා එසමයේ ජනතාව රටේ සියලු තොරතුරු දැන

ගනු ලැබුවේ ගුවන්විදුලිය ඔස්සේ ය. එමෙන්ම ගුවන්විදුලිය හරහා ජනතා විමුක්ති පෙරමුණ දායකත්වය දැක්වූ තරුණ ප්‍රජාවට එක් එක් කරුණු සන්නිවේදනය කරන අංශයක් බවටද ගීතය පත්ව තිබුණි. උදාහරණයක් ලෙස රැජින මමයි අපේ රාජ්‍යේ, කුරුල්ලනේ වරෙල්ලා, කන්දෙන් කන්දට වැනි ගීත රජය මඟින් ප්‍රචාරණය තහනම් කිරීමද ඒ අනුව පියවර ගනු ලැබිණි. ඒ අනුව එවක ගීතය කොතරම් ප්‍රබලව සමාජය කෙරෙහි බලපෑම් කළේ ද, යන්න හඳුනාගැනීමට ඉහත උදාහරණය ප්‍රමාණවත් ය.

විශේෂයෙන්ම එම ගීත නිර්මාණයන් ඔස්සේ සමාජීය වශයෙන් විප්ලවීය කතිකාවක් ගොඩ නංවන ලදි.

ජනතා විමුක්ති පෙරමුණ ඉතා බලවත්ව නැගී සිටි 70 සහ 80 දශකයන් තුළ මෙරට තාරුණ්‍යයේ විප්ලවකාරීත්වය අතිශයෝක්තියෙන් වර්ණනා කිරීම සඳහා වන නිර්මාණයන් බිහිවීමද දැක්නට ලැබුණි. එහෙත් බොහෝ නිර්මාණ තුළ ගැබ්ව තිබුණේ නව ලෝකයක්, වෙනුවෙන් තරුණයන් පෙළගැසි, එක්ව සටන්කළ යුතුය වැනි සංකල්පයකි. ඒ ඔස්සේ තාරුණ්‍යයේ රණකාමිත්වයත්, විප්ලවකාරීත්වයත් ඉස්මතු කිරීමට සමත් නිර්මාණ සමුහයක් තත් යුගය තුළ බිහි විය.

උද්දේනි බන්දුල - විමුක්තිය රතු උදාර බුහුමන්

අම්බලන්ගොඩ සුබසිල කොඩිකාර - විප්ලව රණ ගී

ලයනල් බෝපගේ - නිර්දැනීය සවනත රැව් දෙන්නේ.

මෙවනි නිර්මාණයන් සමාජ ක්‍රමය වෙනස්කිරීමටත් තරුණ රැඩිකල් බව වර්ධනයටත් මනා පිටුවහලක් සපයනු ලැබිණි.

''විමුක්ති ගී මංගල දර්ශනය 1978 දී නව නගර ශාලාවේ දී පැවත්විණි. එය පැය 3ක් පුරා දිවෙන ගී සමුච්චයකි. ජවිපෙ තහනමට ලක් වූ 1983 ජූලි දක්වා විමුක්ති ගී ප්‍රසංග රට වටේ පවත්වමින් ගායනා කිරීමට වරින්වර ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන් ශිල්පි ශිල්පිනියෝ රැසක් දායක වූහ. ඒ අතර ජවිපෙ ලේකම් ලයනල් බෝපගේ, සුනිලා අබේසේකර. නන්දන මාරසිංහ, බුද්ධදාස විතානාරච්චි, චිත්‍රා මුදලිගේ. අයිරාංගනී මාලනී, තිලක් ඉද්දමල්ගොඩ, හාරිස්පත්තුවේ ගනකධාර, නුවර නෝමන් පෙරේරා, අශෝක ජයවර්ධන, ජයතිලක ගමගේ. සමන්මලී වගආරච්චි, නයනා සුමතිපාල, මාලනි බුලත්සිංහල, ලක්ෂ්මන් විජේසේකර ඇතුළු කිහිපදෙනෙක්ම වූහ. ප්‍රවීණ සංගීත ශිල්පි රෝහණ වීරසිංහයන් ඇතුළු ස්වාධීන කලා ශිල්පිහු පිරසක් ද

විමුක්ති ගී සාර්ථක කරගැනීමට දායක වූහ. නන්දන මාරසිංහ තබිලාද, ජයතිලක බණ්ඩාර සිතාර්ද, නිමල් ආටිගොඩ බටනලාද, ජයසේන කඹුරුගමුව බෙර වාදනයෙන්ද, ප්‍රසන්න සහ රනිල් අබේසේකර ගිටාරයෙන්ද විමුක්ති ගී ඉදිරි ගමනට අතහිත දුන් පිරිස අතරින් කිහිපදෙනෙකි. ''රණකාමීත්වයෙන් උපන් ජ්වපෙ විමුක්ති ගී-2017-නොවැම්බර් 15- ලංකාදීප ලිපිය

විමුක්ති ගී නිර්මාණාවලිය තුළ 'උතුරු කොනේ නුඹ හිනැහෙන නදරාජා මල්ලියේ', 'කෝම්පිට්ටු ඉදිලා ද පුතුනේ මගේ කුසේ ගිනි නෑ', 'කම්හල ගොවිපළ ඇතුළේ නිති කල්ගෙවනා', 'ගොවිපළෙන් අර ඇහෙන්නේ උදලු හඬ නොවේ', 'ඇල්මෙන් අකුරු කෙරුවේ නුඹ මොටද පුතේ' ආදී ගීතයන් ප්‍රසංගය තුළ ප්‍රමුඛ ගීත ලෙස වාදනය වූ බව තව දුරටත් එම ගී ප්‍රසංගය පිළිබඳ ලිපියේ සඳහන් ව තිබේ.

ගීත තුළින් සමාජ ක්‍රමය පිළිකුල් කිරීම

ගීත ඔස්සේ තත් සමාජ ක්‍රමය තුළ සිටි පාලකයන් හා ඔවුන්ගේ දීන බව පිළිකුල් කරන අතර රට වෙනුවෙන් තරුණයන්ගේ හා අරගලකරුවන්ගේ නැගී සිටීම මනාව විස්තර කරනු ලබයි.

පිළිම නෙලා නැති විරුවන් පිරිසක්

සැමරුම් දින නැති විරුවන් පිරිසක්...

(පවන -නන්දා මාලනී)

යන ගීතය ඇසුරේ ඉස්මතු කෙරෙන්නේ රට වෙනුවෙන්, හා පුරවැසියන්ගේ අනාගතය වෙනුවෙන් විප්ලව කරමින් මිය ගිය තරුණ තරුණියන් පිළිබඳව ය. ඒ අනුව ඔවුන් දිවි පිදුවේ මුදලට හෝ බලයට නොව අනාගත ජනතාවගේ සුබ සෙත උදෙසා බව ගීතය ඇසුරෙන් ඉස්මතු කෙරෙයි. ඒ අනුවම විප්ලව කරුවන්ට නැතහොත් රැඩිකල් තාරුණ්‍යයට අයුක්තිය අසාධාරණය සහ සමාජ යහපත වෙනුවෙන් නැගී සිටීමට කිසියම් ධනාත්මක පෙළඹවීමක් මේ ඇසුරෙන් සිදු කෙරේ.

1971, 1983, 1988 යන කාල සීමා මෙරට තරුණ නැගිටීම් සිදු වූ අතර එම තත්ත්වයන් රජය විසින් පාලනය කරන ලද්දේ මැර බලය හා හමුදා බලය යොදා ගනිමින් බව බොහෝ විචාරක මතය යි. මේ හේතුවෙන් සැලකිය යුතු තරුණ ජීවිත ප්‍රමාණයක් රටට අහිමි විය.

ඉනික්බිති හටගත් ඊළාම් සිවිල් අරගලය ද දශක තුනකට ආසන්න කාලයක් මෙරට තරුණ ජීවිත දහස් ගණනක් බිලි ගැනීමට සමත් විය. එය එක අතකින් භූමියේ අඛණ්ඩතාවය උදෙසා වූ සටනකි. නොබෙදුණු දේශයක් උදෙසා සිය ජීවිත පූජාවෙන් සටන් කළ රණ විරුවන් වෙනුවෙන් දහසක් රණ විරු උපහාර ගී ලියැවිණි.

ලාංකීය සමාජ ක්‍රමය, දේශපාලන පරිසරය හා ආර්ථික වටපිටාව බොහෝ විට ජනතාවගේ චින්තන විලාශය, හා හැසිරීම කෙරෙහි සෑහෙන බලපෑමක් එල්ල කරනු ලැබුවේය. බොහෝ තරුණයන් එකී ආර්ථික පීඩනය හෝ සමාජ පීඩනය මගහරිනු පිණිස හෝ ජයගනු පිණිස විප්ලවීය මාවතට අවතීර්ණ විය. සමහරු එම පීඩනය ඉවසා ගත නොහී සියදිවි නසා ගත්හ. විප්ලවීය මාවතට පිවිසියවුන් විටෙක අවි අතට ගත්හ. තරුණ නැගිටීම් බොහොමයක් ආයුධ සමග කරන ලද විප්ලව බවට පත් වීමට හේතුව වුයේ එම තරුණ අසහනය යි. 1988 දී මෙරට තරුණයන්ගේ නැගී සිටීම පිළිබඳව අධ්‍යයනය කිරීම පිණිස තරුණ අසහන කොමිසමක් මෙරට ස්ථාපිත කිරීමද විශේෂ වේ. එම තරුණ අසහන කොමිසම ඔස්සේ බලාපොරොත්තු වුයේ 83 හා 88 තරුණ නැගිටීම් සඳහා හේතු පාදක වූ කරුණු කාරණා සෙවීමත්, ඒ සඳහා විසඳුම් හා යෝජනා ඉදිරිපත් කිරීමත් ය.

විශේෂයෙන් ම විමුක්ති ගීතයේ මූලික අභිප්‍රාය බවට පත්ව තිබූ මූලික අරමුණ බවට පත්ව තුබුයේ තාරුණ්‍යයේ රණකාමීත්වයත්, හදවත් තුළ ගොඩ නැගෙමින් තිබූ රාජ්‍ය විරෝධයත් ඉස්මතු කිරීමත් බව පෙනී යයි.

කුසට සාගිනි හදට සෝගිනි ඉනට වැරහැලි කැබලි එල්ලා

සතුට සැනසුම අහිමි කරලා, අදුර දිනු කාලය	ගිහිල්ලා
නොසිට මැරි මැරි සතුරු පා යට වකුටු වී අත පය	හකුල්ලා
නැගිටපල්ලා නැගිටපල්ලා නුඹලගේ කාලය	ඇවිල්ලා

(රෝහණ විජේවීර)

තබිලාව වෙනුවට බෙලෙක් තැටියත්, ජෝගුවත්, මියුරු සංගීතය වෙනුවට ගොරෝසු කටහඬත් එක කොට සිර කුටි තුළ පැවැත්වූ සමරු ගී වැඩසටහන් තුළින් විමුක්ති ගී උපත ලද බව ඉතිහාසය කියැවේ. විමුක්ති ගීතයෙහි 'මුකලානේ කටුක ජීවිත' නමින් ගැයෙන විමුක්ති ගීතය ඇසුරේ ආර්ථික පීඩනයත් දේශපාලනික පීඩනයත් පිළිබඳව වන හැඟීම ඉස්මතු කෙරෙයි.

...අහසින් වැහි පොදක් නැහැ තව වැටෙන්නේ

කවදද සරුසාර යායක්
කොටන්නේ...

(විමුක්ති ගී)

රාජ්‍ය, ජනතාව සහ සමාජ විප්ලවය

පුළුල් සමාජ විප්ලවයක් කිරීම සඳහා සමාජයේ තරුණ තරුණියන් වෙතින් ඉස්මතු වූ විප්ලවකාරීත්වය මෙන්ම ජීවිතය රැක ගැනීමට දුක්විඳින ජනතාව පිළිබඳව වන ප්‍රකාශයක් මෙම ගීත ඔස්සේ ඉදිරිපත් කෙරෙයි.

'කුළුගෙඩි ඔසවන කම්කරුවන්ගේ සහෝදරත්වය' නම් විමුක්ති ගීතයෙන් කියැවෙන පරිදි

රතුබල පෙන්වයි රතු දද නන්වවූ කම්කරුවෙනි ගොවියෙනි විත්වවූ'' යන ගේය පද 1960 දශකයේ මෙරට ඉස්මතු වූ සඟ, වෙද ගුරු, ගොවි කම්කරු යන පංච මහා බලවේගය සිහිපත් කරයි. නිරන්තරවම රැඩිකල් තරුණයන් ආමන්ත්‍රණය කරන ලද්දේ මෙරට වැඩ කරන ජනතාවට ය. එහෙයින් මෙම ගීත පොදු සමාජය වෙත පවා ඉතා ඉක්මනින් සමීප විය.

'තරුණ අදහස් දැක්වීමට මා ඉඩකඩ සලසනවා. ජනාධිපති පවසයි.' යන මාතෘකාව ඇසුරෙන් ලියැවෙන 1989 පුවත්පත් වාර්තාව ඔස්සේ තරුණයන් කෙරෙහි රජයේ අවධානය යොමු වීමේ අවශ්‍යතාව පෙන්නුම් කර තිබේ.

'තරුණ පරපුරේ අභියෝගයට මුහුණ දිය යුත්තේ තරුණ පරපුර මර්දනය කිරීමෙන් නොව ඔවුන්ගේ මත, හැකියාවන් සාධාරණ ලෙස සමාජයට විපතක් නොවන අන්දමට ඉඩකඩ සැලසීමෙන් ය. ඒ සඳහා ඉඩකඩ සැලසීමට මම බලාපොරොත්තු වෙනවා. සමාජයේ ප්‍රගතිය සඳහා ඊට අවකාශ සැලසීම අත්‍යවශ්‍යයි. යෞවන කටයුතු අමාත්‍යංශය ආරම්භ කර ඇති වැඩපිළිවෙළවල් අපේ ඒ අපේක්ෂාව ඉටු කර ගන්නට හොඳ පදනමක් වෙනවා' යැයි ආර් ප්‍රේමදාස මැතිතුමා යෞවන සම්මාන ප්‍රධාන උළෙල අමතමින් ප්‍රකාශ කළේය.'

(1989 වසරේ ජනවාරි 09 වන දින දිවයින)

''දිනෙන් දින උග්‍ර වන ප්‍රශ්න අතර උපාධිධාරීන්ගේ රැකියා ගැටලුව විශේෂත්වයක් දක්වයි. තම වටිනා තරුණ කාලයත්, ධනයත් අධ්‍යාපනය වෙනුවෙන්

වැයකර, රැකියාවක් නොලැබීම හේතුවෙන් ගෙදරට තව දුරටත් බරක් වී ජීවත් වීමට සිදු වීම ඔවුන් මානසික අසරණයන් බවට පත් කරවීමකි.''

('ස්ථීර විසඳුමක් නැති උපාධිධාරී රැකියා පැනය.''චූලානන්ද වෙල්ලප්පිලි (1983 අප්‍රේල් 09,) දිවයින පුවත්පත)

ඒ අනුව එවක වන විට රැකියා විරහිත උපාධිධාරීන් ප්‍රමාණය 10,000කට ආසන්න වන බව වාර්තා කෙරෙයි. එවකට පැවති විශ්වවිද්‍යාල වලින් උපාධි සම්පූර්ණ කරන ලද තරුණ තරුණියෝ රැකියා අපේක්ෂාවෙන් මෙන්ම රැකියා විරහිත බවින් පීඩාවට පත්ව සිටි බව එම යුගයේ පුවත්පත් අධ්‍යයනයේදී හඳුනා ගත හැකිය.

දශකය වන විට මෙරට ගීත කලාව, රසවින්දනය හා ප්‍රචාරණය

80 දශකය වන විට මෙරට ගීත කලාව තුළ පෙරළිකාර වෙනසක් බවට පත් වූයේ පුවත්පත පමණක් නොව, කණ්ඩායම් සංගීත කලාවත් ඒ හා කැසට් පට ගීත කලාව ප්‍රවලිත වීමත් සමග ය. පුවත්පත් වල බහුලව කැසට් පට පිළිබඳව වන දැන්වීම දැකගත හැකි වූ අතර කැසට් රෙකෝදර හා ඒ ආශ්‍රිත ගුවන්විදුලි යන්ත්‍ර අලෙවියේ කැපී පෙනෙන වර්ධනයක් පැවතින.

'යොවුන් සිහින ලෝකය ප්‍රිය කළ දයාබර රසික ඔබට මෙවර සුනේත්‍රා වෙතින් පිදෙන පුංචි පුංචි මල්....'මේ 1983 අප්‍රේල් 14 වන බ්‍රහස්පතින්දා දිවයින පුවත්පතෙහි පළ වූ ගීත කැසට් පටයක් සඳහා වන ප්‍රචාරක දැන්වීමකි.

ගීත කැසට් පට කලාව සේම රේඩියෝ කැසට් රෙකෝඩර් සඳහාද සැලකිය යුතු ඉල්ලුමක් එකල තිබිණා. ඒ එවකට නිකුත්වූ විවිධ ලේබලයේ කැසට්පට රසවිඳීමට සමාජයේ බොහෝ දෙනෙකු දක්වන ලද ඇල්ම හා ආශාව නිසාවෙනි. ඒ අනුව වඩාත් සමාජයේ සිංගර් වැනි සන්නාම සහිත කැසට් රෙකෝඩර් සඳහා ඉල්ලුමක් පැවතින.

'කදිම මියුරු හඬ ගෙන දෙන (TCR) (273) රේඩියෝ කැසට් රෙකෝඩරය.. පහසු මිලට' 1983 ජනවාරි 14 දිවයින පළ වූ කැසට් රෙකෝඩරයන් සඳහා වන වෙළෙඳ දැන්වීමකි.

එවකට ගුවන්විදුලිය ප්‍රධානතම විද්‍යුත් සන්නිවේදන සහකරු බවට පත් වෙමින් තිබුණු අතර ඒ ඔස්සේ ජනතාව ගුවන් විදුලිය වටා රොක් වෙමින් සිටියහ. ජනතාවට වඩාත් සමීප වීමේහිලා ගුවන්විදුලිය විසින්

ප්‍රාදේශීය සේවා හඳුන්වා දෙන ලදී. රජරට සේවය, මහනුවර සේවය ආදිය ඉන් කිහිපයකි.

ගුවන් විදුලිය අදහස් ගංගාවකි. ගුවන් විදුලිය දේශනා පවත්වන ස්ථානයක් නොව ගැමියා හා බුද්ධිමතුන් අතර සංවාදයක් පවත්වන ස්ථානයක් විය යුතුමය. ප්‍රාදේශීය සේවා ආරම්භ කිරීමේ අරමුණද ගැමි ජනයාගේ සහජ කුසලතා ඔප මට්ටම් කිරීමය." රාජ්‍ය ඇමැති ආනන්ද තිස්ස ද අල්විස් මහනුවර සේවය විවෘත කළ අවස්ථාවේ දී. (1983 අප්‍රේල් (16) /දිවයින)

තරුණ නැඟිටීම් හා රැඩිකල් ක්‍රියාකලාපයන් දකුණට පමණක් නොව උතුරට ද වර්ධනය වීමක් අසුව දශකය තුළ දක්නට ලැබූ බව නොරහසකි. එවකට දෙමළ තරුණයන්ගේ ක්‍රියා කලාපයන් පුවත්පත් වාර්තා කර තිබේ. උතුර තුළ රැඩිකල් වූ දෙමළ තරුණ තරුණියන් උතුරට වෙනම රාජ්‍යයක් ඉල්ලා සිය උත්සෝෂණා හා පෙළපාලි මෙහෙය වීම පිළිබඳව වන සිදුවීම් අසුව දශකයේ පුවත්පත් වාර්තා කර තිබේ. බොහෝ විට එම තරුණ නැඟිටීම් මර්ධනය කිරීම සඳහා රජයන් රාජ්‍ය බලය භාවිත කරනු ලැබිණි.

''උතුරට වෙනම රාජ්‍යයක් ඉල්ලා යාපනය සිට ජේදුරු තුඩුව දක්වා ගිය පෙළපාලිය විසුරුවයි.'' යනුවෙන් 1983 අප්‍රේල් 06 දිවයින පුවත්පත් වාර්තා කරන්නේ එම සිදුවීම් මාලාවේ එක සිදුවීමක් පමණි.

අසුව දශකය තුළ මෙරට පැවති සේවා වියුක්තිමය ගැටලුව උපාධිධාරීන් ට පමණක් නොව අනෙකුත් තරුණයන්ටද සෑහෙ බලපෑමක් එල්ල කල බව නොරහසකි. ඒ පිළිබඳව වන කතිකා හා වාර්තා සමකාලීන පුවත්පත් වලින් ඉස්මතු වේ.

ඉදිරි වසර 10 ඇතුළත සිසුන් ලක්ෂ 40ක් පාසැල් වලින් ඉවත් වන්නේද යැයි ද ඉන් ලක්ෂ 30ක් රැකියා බලාපොරොත්තු වන්නේ යැයි ද එතරම් විශාල පිරිසකට රැකියා අවස්ථා ලබා දීම විශාල ප්‍රශ්නයක් වී ඇතැයිද තැපැල් හා විදුලි සංදේශ ඇමැති ඩී.බී විජේතුංග ප්‍රකාශ කළ බව 1983 අප්‍රේල් 22 දිවයින පුවත්පත වාර්තා කර තිබේ.

නොයෙකුත් දේශපාලන හැලහැප්පීම් වලට ගායකයන්ට මුහුණ දීමට අසුව දශකයේ සිදු වූ බව නොරහසකි. විශේෂයෙන්ම පැවති රජයේ අඩුපාඩු වෙනුවෙන් දුප්පතුන් වෙනුවෙන් හඬ නගන ලද ගීත ගායකයන් අතර ගුණදාස කපුගේ සුවිශේෂී චරිතයකි. කපුගේ සුවිශේෂී ගායකයෙකු වන්නේ ඔහු පුකට කරන ලද චින්තනය ඔස්සේ ය. කපුගේ ගී ගැයුවේ මෙරට වැඩ කරන ජනතාව වෙනුවෙනි. ඔවුන්ගේ දුක කඳුල

වෙනුවෙනි. යුක්තිය අසාධාරණයට විරෙහිව ඔහු ගැයූ බොහොමයක් ගීත තරුණ හදවත් තුළ රැඩිකල් හැඟීම ජනිත කිරීමෙලා සමත් විය. ඔහුගේ ගීත රචනා 1977 වර්ෂයේ බලයට පත් වන ජේ. ආර් ජයවර්ධනගේ ආණ්ඩුව විසින් රතු එළියක් නිකුත් කරන්නේ ගීත ගුවන් විදුලියෙන් ප්‍රචාරය වීම වළක්වාලීමට වාරණ නියෝගයක් නිකුත් කරමිණි.

විමුක්ති ගී

1971 අරගලයෙන් සිරගත කරන ලද අරගල කරුවන් සිය අරගලයේ පණිවිඩය ජනතාවට ගෙන යනු පිණිස අරඹන අද සන්නිවේදන ක්‍රමවේදය ලෙස විමුක්ති ගී සමාරම්භය හඳුනාගත හැකි වේ.

විමුක්ති ගී සමුච්චය තුළ ගීත අතර අප ගෙන ගිලිහුන යුතුකම් රැකුමට, අතීත රණ ගී නිධානයයි, දස මසක් මා කුස දැරූ, දෙරණ තලයේ, දෑතේ වීරියෙන් මා පදිනා පාරුවෙන්, එක ලොවක දෙලොව දෙස, ජාත්‍යන්තර ගීතය, කඳ දෙවි රජුනේ, කඳුයාය මත, රතු බල පෙන්වී රතු ධජ නංවවි, රැන් රැන් කුරුළු රැන්, රිවි කැල්මෙන් සඳ කැල්මෙන්, රැපුන් සමග සටන් වැදී, සදා සමරමු සොහොයුරෝ, සති පූජා දර සෑයේ, ඇල්මෙන් අකුරු කෙරුවේ නුඹ මොටද පුතේ, සොම් සඳ වන් මුව කමලා, උතුරු කොනේ නුඹ හිනෑහෙන්, උතුරු කොනේ (දෙමළ), විල්ලුද සළු සඳලු තලේ, වේලුපිල්ලේ අයියා (දෙමළ), වේලුපිල්ලේ අයියා, වැල්ලේ ඇටසැකිලි ඇතුළු ගීත හඳුනා ගතහැකිය.

සංගීතය භාෂාවකි. ගීතය එම භාෂාවේ ප්‍රකාශනය යි. විප්ලවකාරී ගීත ඔස්සේ තරුණ රැඩිකල් බව ඉස්මතු කිරීමේ මනා හැකියාව ගීත රචකයන් හා සංගීත ශිල්පීන් සතුව පිහිටා තුබුණි. රැඩිකල් තරුණයා තුළින් ඔහු සතුව පවතින ජවය ඉස්මතු කිරීමටත්, එම ජවය විප්ලවිය ස්වභාවයකින් භාවිත කිරීම සඳහා මෙහෙයේ වීමටත් ගීතය නොයෙක් විට භාවිත වෙයි.

නැඟූ රණ ගොස දෙරණ පතුරා

නැඟූ ජයමග එළිය කරවා

ඔබ නැඟූ හඬ ඔබ පිදූ ලෙය

පතා ජනතාවගේ ගරුත්වය

සදා සමරමු සොහොයුරෝ //...

(විමුක්ති ගී)

උක්ත ගීතය ඔස්සේ නිදහස් විප්ලවය උදෙසා දිවිදුන් වීර මිනිසුන් පිළිබඳව වන ප්‍රකාශනයක් ඉස්මතු

කෙරෙයි. රතු ලොවක් ගොඩනගන්නට දහදිය කඳුළු වපුරන ලද රැඩිකල් තරුණයන්ගේ විප්ලවීය නැගී සිටීම ඔස්සේ සමාජ සාධාරණත්වය වෙනුවෙන් කැපවීමත් පිළිබඳව වන සමාජ ප්‍රකාශනය මෙම ගීතය ඔස්සේ විප්ලවකරුවන් ඉස්මතු වේ.

> සතිපූජා දර සෑයේ
>
> සිරවි මොට්ටක්කිලියේ
>
> සාරසංඛ්‍ය කප් සියක්
>
> වධයට කැප වූ කතුනේ
>
> ඔබේ ලොවයි දැන් බිහි වන්නේ ...
>
> (විමුක්ති ගී)

දහසක් වූ කරදර හා බාධක මැද දිවි ගෙවන කාන්තාවන්ගේ විමුක්තිය සහ සංවර්ධනය වෙනුවෙන් වන සමාජ පෙරළියක අවශ්‍යතාව මේ මොහොතේ ඉස්මතුව තිබෙන බව උක්ත ගීතය ඔස්සේ ඉස්මතු කරන අතරම සමාජ සංවර්ධනයට කාන්තාවන්ගේ දායකත්වය ඉහළ දැමීමත් එක්ව නැගී සිටීමේ උවමනාවත් අනිවාර්යය බව මෙම ගීතයෙන් ඉස්මතු කෙරේ.

වැඩකරන ජනතාව

වැඩ කරන ජනතාව රටක ශක්තිය බවත්, මේ සියලු නිර්මාණයන් ගොඩ නගුනේ එම ජනතාවගේ දහදියෙන් හා කඳුලින් වන බවත් සිහි කර වීම මෙම ගීතය තුලින් ඉස්මතු වන කරුණකි. විශේෂයෙන්ම මෙම ගීතය ඔස්සේ ඉස්මතු කෙරෙන්නේ ලොව වෙනස් කිරීම සඳහා කම්කරුවන් ප්‍රමුඛ වැඩ කරන ජනතාව තුල පවත්නා අසීමිත ශක්තියයි.

ලෝකය ගොඩ නගන්නට රතු ගිනිසිළුව පුබුදුවන්නේ දයාබර දූ පුතුන් බව පැවසෙන විමුක්ති ගීතයක් හමුවේ. යුක්තිය හා අසාධාරණය වෙනුවෙන් නැගී සිටීමෙන් සදාකල්හිම රට නිවහල් නිදහස් දේශයක් බවට පත් කිරීම සඳහා පෙරමුණ ගටහ්යුත්තේ රට දය කෙරෙහි අසීමිත වූ ආලය දක්වන දයාබර වූ දූ පුතුන් වන බව පහත දක්වනු ලබන එම විමුක්ති ගීතය ඔස්සේ අවධාරණය කෙරෙයි.

දුක්විඳින ජනතාව වෙත අමතන මෙම ගීතය ඔස්සේ උත්සහ කෙරෙන්නේ නෙයෙක් දුක් කරදර මැද දුක්විඳින ජනතාව විමුක්ති අරගලයක් මෙහෙයවීමට අවශ්‍ය නායකත්වය සහ උපදේශනය සැපයීමයි.

> මේ යාය සරු වුනේ අපේ දහඩියෙන්
>
> ඒ දියර රතු වුනේ අපේ ලේවලින් // ...
>
> (කඳු යාය මත වැතිරි- විමුක්ති ගී)

රණ පෙරමුණ වෙත යන මාවත හා ඒ ඔස්සේ ගොඩනැගෙන මනෝභාවයන් පිළිබඳව වන ප්‍රකාශනයක් මේ තුල අන්තර්ගත වේ. ඒ අනුව ඉස්මතු කෙරෙන්නේ යුක්තිය වෙනුවෙන් නැගී සිටීමෙන් යුක්තිය උදෙසා පෙනී සිටීමත්, සමාජ සාධාරණත්වය වෙනුවෙන් නැගී සිටීමටත් දිනයක් කවදා හෝ පැමිණෙන බවයි.

> අප මලගම වෙනුවෙන් ගමනේ සෝ ගී ගැයුමට අය ඒ නම්
>
> මරු හමුවන කොතැනක දී දුව වුන් පිළිගැනුමට අප සුදානම්...
>
> (විමුක්ති ගී)

තමන් වෙතින් ගිලිහෙන යුතුකම් රැකුමට තවත් පරම්පරාවක් ගොඩ නැගෙන බව පෙන්වා දෙන නිර්මාණකරු අනාගත පරම්පරාවට වෙත බාධක බිඳ දමමින් ජය මාවත වෙත යා යුතු දිශාව පෙන්නුම් කරනු ලබයි.

කම්පන, විමුක්ති ගී සහ පවන යන ගී කාණ්ඩයන් තත් සමාජය තුල තරුණයන් තුල විප්ලවීය අදහස් ඉස්මතු කරන්නට හේතු ඊ තිබෙන අතර පවන ගී සමූහය පිළිබඳව සමාජයේ නැගෙන කතිකාව ඉතා වැදගත් වේ.

විශේෂයෙන්ම පවන ගී සමුච්චය හැත්තෑව දශකය තුල ගොඩ නැගී අසුව දශකය තුල තරුණයන් අතර වඩාත් ජනප්‍රියත්වයට පත් වූ අතර එම ගීත හුදෙක්ම පැවති සමාජ ක්‍රමය තුල වාණිජවාදී වෙළඳපොල බලවේග යන්ගේ අවශ්‍යතාවය මත ලියැවුණු ගීත මිස ඒ තුල සැබෑ පරමාදර්ශී චින්තනයකින් ලියවුවක් නොවන බවට මතයන් පවතී.

විමුක්ති ගී සහ පවන රැඩිකල් ගීත වර්තමානයේ භාවිතය

විමුක්ති ගී සහ පවන රැඩිකල් ගීත භාවිතය වර්තමානය වන විට විශ්වවිද්‍යාල ඇසුරේ සිදු වන්නේද? එසේ නම් කුමන හේතු අරමුණු කර ගනිමින් ද?

මේ අනුව පහත දැක්වෙන්නේ එක් එක් විශ්වවිද්‍යාල වල ශිෂ්‍ය නායකයන් හා ශිෂ්‍ය ක්‍රියාකාරීන් වෙතින් පවත්වන ලද සම්මුඛ සාකච්ඡා පදනම් කර ගනිමින් වන අධ්‍යයනයයි. ඒ ඔස්සේ පවන, විමුක්ති ගීත හා විකල්ප ගීත ආදියේ වර්තමාන භාවිතය පිළිබඳව විමසීමක් සිදු කෙරේ. ඒ අනුව අදහස් ප්‍රකාශ කළ තුවන්ගේ නම් ගම් මෙහිදී ඇතුළත් නොවන අතර ඔවුන්ගේ අදහස සහ විශ්වවිද්‍යාලය පමණක් මෙහි ඇතුළත් වේ.

කොළඹ විශ්වවිද්‍යාලයේ මහා ශිෂ්‍ය සංගමයේ සාමාජිකයෙකු විසින් විමුක්ති ගීත සහ අසූව දශකයේ රැඩිකල් ගීත සිය විශ්වවිද්‍යාලය තුළ භාවිතය පිළිබඳව දැක්වන ලද අදහස් වලට අනුව සරසවියේ විවිධ ශිෂ්‍ය ක්‍රියාකාරකම් අවස්ථා වලදී පවන ගීත මෑත කාලයේ දී භාවිත කරන බවත්, ශිෂ්‍ය වීර දිනය සමරන අවස්ථාවන් වලදී විරු සිසු ගීතය හා විවිධ ගීත ගායනය සිදු කෙරෙන බවත් ප්‍රකාශ කරන ලදී. එමෙන්ම ශිෂ්‍ය අරගල වලදී බොහොමයක් සටන් පාඨ සඳහා එම විප්ලවීය ගීතයන් උපයෝගී කර ගන්නා බවත්, ඒ ගීත ඇසුරෙන් නිදහස් අධ්‍යාපනයත් අධ්‍යාපනයේ නිදහසත් වෙනුවෙන් අපමණ කැපවීම් කළ විරුවන් පිළිබඳව වන හැඟීමක් අපගේ හදවත් තුළ ජනිත කිරීම අපේක්ෂා බවත් පෙනී යයි. ඒ අනුව අනෙකුත් විශ්වවිද්‍යාල පරිශ්‍රයන් හි ද ශිෂ්‍ය ක්‍රියාකාරකම් වලදී මෙම රැඩිකල් ගීත භාවිත වන බව අදහස් දැක්වන ලද විද්‍යාර්ථීන්ගේ අදහස් විමර්ශනයෙන් හෙළි වේ. ඒ අතර සබරගමුව, රුහුණ, පේරාදෙණිය හා කැළණිය යන විශ්වවිද්‍යාල ප්‍රමුඛ වේ.

ජයවර්ධනපුර විශ්වවිද්‍යාලයේ විද්‍යාර්ථියෙකුගේ අදහස වූයේ එම රැඩිකල් ගීතයන් ඇසුරෙන් තවත් විප්ලවීයව හා රැඩිකල්බව ඉදිරියට යන විශ්ව විද්‍යාල විද්‍යාර්ථීන් ශක්තිය හා හැකියාව ඇති කරන බවයි. විශේෂයෙන්ම මේ සියලු ශිෂ්‍ය ක්‍රියාකාරකම් වල අරමුණ වන්නේ පොදු යහපත උදෙසා සටන් කිරීමත්, ඒ ඔස්සේ නව ලෝකයක් වෙත අභියෝග ජය ගෙන ඉදිරියට යාමටත් ගීත වලින් ධනාත්මක පෙළඹවීමක් ඇති කෙරෙන බව අදහස් දැක්වූ බොහෝ විද්‍යාර්ථීන්ගේ මතයයි. විශ්වවිද්‍යාල ශිෂ්‍යයෙකු තුළ රැඩිකල් බව හා සමාජය වෙනුවෙන් යහපත් දෙය කිරීමට ඔහුට තිබෙන හැකියාව වර්ධනය විය යුතු බවත්, ඒ සඳහා

අනිවාර්යෙන්ම කලාව හා සාහිත්‍ය ඇසුරු කිරීම අනිවාර්ය බවත් කැලණිය විශ්වවිද්‍යාලයේ ශාස්ත්‍ර පීඨය ඇසුරේ අදහස දැක්වූ විද්‍යාර්ථීන් ඔස්සේ ඉස්මතු විය.

රජරට විශ්වවිද්‍යාලයේ, ශිෂ්‍ය සංගමයේ ක්‍රියාකාරීව නියෝජනය කළ විද්‍යාර්ථයෙකුගේ අදහස් විමර්ශනයේදී පෙනී යන්නේ අසූව දශකයේ විප්ලවිය ගීත පමණක් නොවන නව යුගයේ සිසු විරුවන් සිහිපත් කිරීම වෙනුවෙන් රචනා කරන ලද ගීතයන් ද විශ්ව විද්‍යාල විද්‍යාර්ථීන් විසින් භාවිත කරන බවයි. ඒ අතර මාතලන්, සිසිත වැනි ය වෙනුවෙන් ලියැවූ ගීත ප්‍රමුඛ වේ. ඔවුන්ගේ අදහස අනුව විශ්වවිද්‍යාලය බහු සංස්කෘතික හා විවිධ අදහස් සහිත ස්ථානයක් වන අතර, විවිධ අදහස් හා විවිධ පුද්ගලයන් සිටියත් පොදු ශිෂ්‍ය ගැටලු වලදී සරසවි ප්‍රජාව නැගී සිටින බවත්, ඒ අවස්ථාවලදී ශිෂ්‍ය අරගල ඉදිරියට ගෙන යාමට මෙම ගීත විශාල දායකත්වයක් සපයන බවත් හඳුනා ගනු ලැබිණ.

රැඩිකල් ගීත හා අසූව දශකයේ විමුක්ති ගීත වර්තමානයේ භාවිත කිරීමට හේතු

සමස්තයක් ලෙස මෙම අසූව දශකයේ රැඩිකල් ගීත භාවිතය පිළිබඳව අදහස් දක්වන ලද සියලුම විද්‍යාර්ථීන් පාහේ පොදු ගැටලු වලදී හා ශිෂ්‍ය අරගල සරසවි ප්‍රජාවගේ ඉදිරිපත් වීම පිළිබඳ සිය අදහස් දක්වා තිබිණි. රජරට විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයේ පවන හා විකල්ප ගීත ආශ්‍රිත ප්‍රකාශන හා භාවිතයට ගැනෙන බවත් බොහෝ විට නවක සිසුන් සඳහා ද එම ගීත ගායනය කෙරෙන බවත් සම්මුඛ සාකච්ඡා ඇසුරෙන් හඳුනා ගන්නට හැකි විය. විශේෂයෙන්ම මීට වසර කිහිපයකට නුදුරේ විශ්වවිද්‍යාලයේ පැවැත්වුණු සිකුරාදා හැන්දෑව නම් වැඩසටහන් වලදී මෙම විකල්ප ගීත ගායනය හා රසවිඳීමට වැඩි ඉඩක් ලැබුන බවත්, එමෙන්ම වර්තමානයේ පවා මෙම රැඩිකල් ගීත විශ්ව විද්‍යාල සමාජයේ විවිධ අවස්ථා වලදී භාවිතා කෙරෙන හෙයින් ඉදිරියටත් මෙම ගීත භාවිත වීම අනිවාර්යෙන්ම සිදුවන බවට ඔවුන් විශ්වාස කරන බව දැක්වූ අදහස් මත හඳුනා ගත හැකිය.

විශ්වවිද්‍යාල විද්‍යාර්ථීන් සඳහා පරිපාලකයන්ගෙන් වන විවිධ අකටයුතුකම් හා අපහසුතා වලට එරෙහිව ශිෂ්‍ය ප්‍රජාව එකතුවන අතර බොහෝ අවස්ථාවලදී මෙම ශිෂ්‍ය අරගල වල විප්ලවකාරී ලෙස මෙම ගීත බෑණ්ඩයන් භාවිත කිරීම සිදු කරන බව පේරාදෙණිය විශ්වවිද්‍යාලයේ කළමනාකරණ පීඨයේ විද්‍යාර්ථීන්ගේ අදහස යි. එමෙන්ම එම විශ්ව විද්‍යාලයේ අදහස් දැක

වූ අනෙකුත් විද්‍යාර්ථීන්ගේද අදහස ඔහුගේ ප්‍රකාශනය හා සමාන බව පෙනී යන ලදී. විවිධ ශිෂ්‍ය අරගල වෙනුවෙන් උද්ඝෝෂණ හා පෙළපාලි සඳහා කොළඹට පැමිණෙන අවස්ථා වලදී පවා මෙම විප්ලවීය ගීත ගායනය වීම සාමාන්‍යයෙන් සිදුවන බව ඔවුන් සියලු දෙනාගේ ම අදහස අතුරින් ඉස්මතු වන ලදී.

මෙම ගීත භාවිතයෙන් ලැබෙන ප්‍රතිලාභ කවරේද?

විශ්ව විද්‍යාලය තුළ සිදුවන බොහෝ ශිෂ්‍ය ක්‍රියාකාරකම් වලදී සටන් පාඨ සහ පවන ගීත භාවිතය සිදුවන බව අදහස අධ්‍යයනයේදී පෙනී යන කරුණකි. විශේෂයෙන්ම පවන ගීත ඇසුරේ ශිෂ්‍ය කණ්ඩායම් වෙත රැඩිකල්කරණය සඳහා ධනාත්මක පෙළඹවීම, හා ඒ තුළින් ගොඩ නැගෙන සමාජ සාධාරණත්වය පිළිබඳ ප්‍රකාශන ඉතා වැදගත් වන බව බොහෝ දෙනෙකුගේ අදහස් වලින් හඳුනා ගනු ලැබිණ.

මෙම ගීතයන් බොහෝ විට ශිෂ්‍ය වීර දිනයන් සමරන අවස්ථාවේදි වාදනය කිරීම සිදු වන බවත්, ශිෂ්‍ය කණ්ඩායම් එකතුවීමෙන් හා පුහුණුවීමෙන් අනතුරුව ගායනා කිරීමද සිදු වන බව වාර්තා විය. මෙම ගීත විවිධ ආකාරයෙන් තරුණ ප්‍රජාව තුළ විප්ලවීය හැඟීම් උද්දීපනය සඳහා උපයෝගී වන බවත්, විශේෂයෙන්ම අසාධාරණය හා අයුක්තිය හමුවේ නැගී සිටීමටත්, ඊවාට විරුද්ධව පෙළ ගැසීමටත් එමගින් නව අදහස් ඇති කෙරෙන බවත් ප්‍රතිචාර දැක්වූවන් බොහෝ දෙනෙකුගේ මතය බවට පත්ව තිබේ.

මෙම ගීත සරසවි උප සංස්කෘතියේ කොටසක්ද?

ජයවර්ධනපුර හා කැලණිය වැනි විශ්ව විද්‍යාල තුළ නිදහස් අධ්‍යාපනය හා අධ්‍යාපනයේ නිදහස ආරක්ෂා කර ගැනීම වෙනුවෙනුත්, පොදු සමාජ ගැටලු අරමුණු කර ගනිමිනුත් විවිධ අවස්ථා වලදී ශිෂ්‍ය ව්‍යාපාරය විසින් විවිධ බලපෑම ක්‍රමවේද හා උද්ඝෝෂණ ව්‍යාපාර සංවිධානය කරනවා. මේවාවලදී පවා මෙම විකල්ප ගීත භාවිතය වීමක් දක්නට ලැබෙනවා.

විශේෂ වශයෙන්ම පවන ආදී වන විප්ලවීය ගීත නැතහොත් රැඩිකල් ගීත වාර්ෂිකව සංවිධානය වන ශිෂ්‍ය වීර දිනයන් වලදී ගායන කෙරෙන බව වාර්තා වී තිබේ. ගායනය නොකර ගීත වාදනය කෙරෙන අවස්ථාවන්ද පවතින බව අදාළ සාකච්ඡා අධ්‍යයනයේදී පෙනී යන කරුණකි. එමගින් ශිෂ්‍ය ප්‍රජාවට පොදු සමාජ යහපත කෙරෙහි රැඩිකල්ව නැගී සිටීමට ධනාත්මක පෙළඹ වීමක් සහ ජවයක් ලැබෙන

බව බොහෝ දෙනෙකුගේ විශ්වාසය වන බව හඳුනා ගත හැකි විය.

ඔබ සිතන ආකාරයට මෙම රැඩිකල් ගීත තුළ තිබෙන විශේෂිත්වය කුමක්ද?

මෙම ප්‍රශ්නය සඳහා ලබා දෙන ලද පිළිතුරු අධ්‍යයනයේ දී පොදුවේ හඳුනාගත් විශේෂ කරුණු කිහිපයකි. විශේෂයෙන්ම එම ගීතයන් තුළ ඇතුලත්ව තිබෙන භාෂාවත්, එමගින් ප්‍රකාශිත අදහසත් ශිෂ්‍යන්ගේ සිත් වල විප්ලවකාරිත්වයත්, සටන්කාමීත්වයත් එමෙන්ම යුක්තිය සාධාරණත්වය වෙනුවෙන් සටන් කිරීමට දක්වන පෙළඹවීමක් ඉතා වැදගත් ලක්ෂණ බවට පත් ව තිබේ.

නිදහස් අධ්‍යාපනයත්, අධ්‍යාපනයේ නිදහසත් වෙනුවෙන් විශ්වවිද්‍යාලයක් ලෙස සාමූහිකව ක්‍රියා කරන බොහෝ අවස්ථාවලදී, යුක්තිය අසාධාරණය වෙනුවෙන් නැගී සිටීමට පවන වැනි ගීතයන් තුළින් විද්‍යාර්ථීන්ට විශේෂ ජවයක් සැපයෙන බවත්, මෙන්ම එම ගීත නිරන්තර එවැනි අවස්ථාවන් වල භාවිත වන බවත් මෙම අධ්‍යයනය ඔස්සේ වාර්තා වූ සුවිශේෂී කරුණකි.

සියලු අදහස් අධ්‍යයනයේදී තුළින් ඉස්මතු වුයේ විශ්වවිද්‍යාලයේ විවිධ අවස්ථා පදනම් කර ගනිමින් මෙම ගීත භාවිත වෙන බවයි. එය සරසවි උප සංස්කෘතියේ කොටසක් බවට පත් ව තිබෙන බවත්, ඒවා සරසවි ඇසුරේ පැවැත්වෙන ශිෂ්‍ය වීර දිනයන් සැමරීම, ශිෂ්‍ය අරගල හා උද්ඝෝෂණ ආරම්භ කිරීමට පෙර පවා මෙම ගීතයන් වාදනය කිරීමක් සිදු කෙරෙන බව හඳුනා ගනු ලැබිණ.

ඒ අනුව පැහැදිලිව පෙනී යන කරුණක් වන්නේ අසූව දශකය තුළ පමණක් නොව වර්තමානයේ පවා මෙම විමුක්ති ගීත සහ පවන ගීත නොයෙකුත් අවස්ථා හා අරමුණු පෙරදැරි කර ගනිමින් භාවිතයේ පවතින බවයි. විශේෂයෙන්ම විශ්ව විද්‍යාල ප්‍රජාව ඒ අතර ප්‍රමුඛතම ප්‍රජාව බවට පත් වේ. එහෙත් සමස්ත පොදු ජන භාවිතාවය දෙස බලන විට මෙම ගීත භාවිතය, හා ඇසුරු කිරීම ඉතා අවම වී තිබෙන බව සමාජය අධ්‍යයනය කිරීමෙන් හඳුනා ගත හැකි බව අදහස විමසීමේදි පැහැදිලි විය. එමෙන්ම ගුවන්විදුලි මාධ්‍ය තුළ පවා මේවා ප්‍රචාරණය ඉතම කලාතුරකින් හෝ අවම මට්ටමකින් සිදුවන බවත් ප්‍රතිචාර දැක්වූවන්ගේ මතය යි.

නිගමන සහ නිර්දේශ

මෙම පරිච්ඡේදය ඔස්සේ සිදු වන්නේ සමස්ත අධ්‍යයනය ඔස්සේ හඳුනාගත් සමස්ත ලක්ෂණ හා ඒ ඔස්සේ ඉස්මතුවන තරුණයන්ගේ රැඩිකල්කරණ ක්‍රියාවලියට දක්වන ලද දායකත්වයන් පිළිබඳව වන කරුණු පිළිබඳව තොරතුරු ඉදිරිපත් කිරීමයි. ඒ අනුව ගීත කලාවේ රැඩිකල් හැසිරීමට බලපාන ලද සමාජ, ආර්ථික හා දේශපාලනික හේතු මෙන්ම ගීත කලාවෙන් තරුණයන් තුළ රැඩිකල් බව වර්ධනයට බලපාන ලද හේතු පිළිබඳවත් මෙම පරිච්ඡේදය ඇසුරෙන් සාකච්ඡා කරයි.

අධ්‍යයන නිගමන

රැඩිකල් තරුණයන්ගේ ජීවිතය කෙරෙහි අසුව දශකය තුළ ලියැවුණු ගීත කලාවේ බලපෑමක් සිදුව තිබෙන බව පැහැදිලිව අවබෝධ කරගත හැකි කරුණකි. විශේෂයෙන්ම තරුණ නැගිටීම් බහුලව සිදු වූ යුගයක් ලස හඳුනාගැනෙන 1980 දශකය තුළ විප්ලවකාරී නැගී සිටීම උදෙසා තරුණ තරුණියන්ගේ ප්‍රබල දායකත්වයක් දක්වනු ලැබ තිබේ. ශිෂ්‍ය අරගල පමණක් නොව විමුක්ති අරගල තුළ පවා තරුණයන්ගේ එම විප්ලවකාරී සහ රැඩිකල්කාරී තත්ත්වය ඉස්මතු වී තිබේ.

රැඩිකල් ක්‍රියාකලාපය සඳහා විවිධ සමාජ ආර්ථික විපරිවර්තනයන්ට හේතු වී තිබෙන බව පැහැදිලිව පෙනී යන කරුණකි. විශේෂයෙන්ම මෙම සමාජ විපරිවර්තනයන් සඳහා තරුණ තරුණියන්ගේ ක්‍රියාකලාපයන් හේතු වීමත් වීමත් උතුර, දකුණ භේදයකින් තොරව එකී සමාජ රැල්ල ගලායාමත් අසුව දශකයේ කැපී පෙනෙන ලක්ෂණයකි.

ආර්ථික හා සමාජ පසුබිම මෙන්ම එම වකවානුවලදී තරුණයන් ඇසුරෙන් මතුවූ තරුණ අසහනයන් පවා සමාජය තුළ එලෙස අර්බුදයන් හට ගැනීම කෙරෙහි ධනාත්මක පෙළඹවීමක් සිදුකර තිබෙන බව පැහැදිලි වන කරුණකි. විශේෂයෙන්ම පැවතී දේශපාලන වාතාවරණයන් හා රාජ්‍ය මැදිහත්වීම තුළ බොහෝ තරුණ තරුණියන්ගේ ජීවිත මර්දනයට ලක් වූ බව පැහැදිලි වන කරුණකි.

පවන සහ විමුක්ති ගී අසුව දශකය තුළ තරුණ තරුණියන් තුළ රැඩිකල් ආකල්ප ඉස්මතු කිරීම මෙන්ම ඒ ඔස්සේ තරුණ තරුණියන් විප්ලවකාරී ක්‍රියා පිළිවෙත් වෙත යොමු කිරීම කෙරෙහි පිටිවහලක් සපයන ලද බව පෙනෙයි.

ගීත වලට මෙන්ම ගීත ආශ්‍රිත ප්‍රකාශන සඳහා සමස්ත සමාජය වෙත කිසියම් බලපෑමක් කිරීම කෙරෙහි පැවති ශක්‍යතාවය අසුව දශකයේ කැපී පෙනෙන ලක්ෂණයකි.

විමුක්ති ගීතය හා පවන ගීත සමුච්චය අසුව දශකයේ ඉස්මතු වන්නේ එවක පැවති සමාජ ආර්ථික හා දේශපාලනික වටපිටාව හේතු කොටගෙන වන බව පැහැදිලිව පෙනී යන කරුණකි. එමෙන්ම එවක රැඩිකල් මතවාද ඔස්සේ එකතු වූ තරුණ ප්‍රජාව එම ගීත හා ප්‍රකාශන භාවිතා කරන ලද්දේ සිය රැඩිකල් අභිලාෂයන් හා ක්‍රියාකලාපයන් ඉස්මතු කිරීමට බව පෙනී යයි. එහෙත් එම ගීත හා ප්‍රකාශන වර්තමාන පරම්පරාවේ භාවිතය පිළිබඳ අධ්‍යයනය කිරීමේදී පෙනී යන කරුණ වන්නේ එම ගීත ඉතා බහුලව සමාජයේ භාවිත නොවෙන අතර විශ්වවිද්‍යාල ආදී ස්ථාන වල ශිෂ්‍ය ප්‍රජාව එම ගීතයන් විවිධ අවස්ථාවන් වලදී වර්තමානයේ භාවිතයට ගන්නා බවයි.

එම ගීත භාවිතය ඔස්සේ ඔවුන් බලාපොරොත්තු වන්නේ ගීත ඇසුරෙන් ඉස්මතුවන රැඩිකල් බව හා යුක්තිය අසාධාරණය වෙනුවෙන් කැප වී ක්‍රියා කිරීමට හැකි වන තරුණ ප්‍රජාවක් ගොඩ නැගීමයි. විශේෂයෙන්ම තරුණ ප්‍රජාව විරු සිසු සැමරුම් හා විවිධ පොදු අරමුණු පෙරදැරිකර ගනිමින් ශිෂ්‍ය සටන් හෝ උද්ඝෝෂණ මෙහෙය වන අවස්ථාවේදී මෙම ගීත භාවිත කරන බව හඳුනා ගන්නා ලද අතර, ඒ ඇසුරෙන් තරුණ ප්‍රජාව වෙත කිසියම් උත්තේජනයක් ලැබෙන බවත් එම ගීත භාවිත කරනු ලබන විශ්වවිද්‍යාල ශිෂ්‍ය ප්‍රජාව අධ්‍යයනය කිරීම හා ඔවුන් සමඟ සාකච්ඡා කිරීම ඔස්සේ හඳුනා ගන්නට ලැබිණි.

විශේෂයෙන්ම තරුණයන් තුළ ගොඩනැගෙන රැඩිකල් අදහස් හා විමුක්තිකාමී චින්තනය අරමුණු කර ගනිමින් පවන හා විමුක්ති ගීතයන් භාවිත කෙරෙන බව පෙනී යන කරුණයි. ඒ අනුව තරුණ කණ්ඩායම් රැඩිකල් ගීත භාවිතය කෙරෙහි සැලකියයුතු මැදිහත් වීමක් දක්නට ලැබෙන අතර පොදුවේ තරුණ තරුණියන් මෙම ගීත භාවිතයේ හෝ ඇසුරු කිරීමේ අඩුවක් දක්නට ලැබේ. විශ්වවිද්‍යාල වල බොහෝ අවස්ථාවලදී පෝස්ටර් හා විප්ලවීය ප්‍රකාශන සඳහා මෙම ගීත බණ්ඩයන් භාවිත කිරීම දක්නට ලැබේ.

විශේෂ ව බලන විට පෙනී යන්නේ, අසුව දශකය තුළ ගීත රැඩිකල් හා විප්ලවකාරී ස්වරූපය පහත කරුණු ඔස්සේ අවබෝධ කර ගැනීමට හැකි බවය.

1. අසූව දශකය තුළ ගීත කලාව විප්ලවීයාත්මක වෙනස්කම් රාශියකට මුහුණ පා තිබෙන අතර ඒ සඳහා එවක සමාජ ආර්ථීක හා දේශපාලනික මෙන්ම සමාජ වටපිටාව ද ප්‍රබල ලෙස බලපා තිබේ.

2. එම යුගය තුළ රචනා වී සමාජය තුළ ප්‍රචලිත වූ පවන සහ විමුක්ති ගී යන ගීත අසුරින් යුක්තිය සහ සාධාරණත්වය වෙනුවෙන් නැඟී සිටීමේ අවශ්‍යතාවය සහ වැඩකරන ජනයා මෙන්ම තරුණ පරම්පරාව එම විප්ලවීය වෙනස්කම් සඳහා ප්‍රමුබත්වය ගතයුතු බව ඉස්මතු කරන ලදී.

3. එම ගීත හා ප්‍රකාශන වල පැවති ප්‍රබලත්වය කොතරම් වේද යත්, එම ගීත තුළින් තරුණ තරුණියන්ගේ ප්‍රවණ්ඩත්වය කෙරෙහි බලපෑමක් ඇති කරන බව හඳුනාගත් රජය විසින් එම ගීත වාරණයට හා තහනමට ලක් කිරීමට පවා පියවර ගෙන තිබේ.

4. ගීත තුළ උපයුක්ත වූ භාෂා භාවිතය මැනවින් අධ්‍යයනය කිරීමේදී පෙනී යන කරුණ වන්නේ ඉතා ප්‍රබල භාෂාවක් හා සංවේදී වූ යෙදුම් මෙම ගීත අසුරින් භාවිතා කර තිබෙන බවත්, එම ගීත ශ්‍රවණය කිරීම ඔස්සේ විප්ලවීයාත්මකව හා ජවයකින් යුතුව තරුණයන්ගේ ආකල්ප වර්ධනය කෙරෙහි ඒවා තුළින් ධනාත්මක පෙළඹවීමක් ඇති කෙරෙන බවයි. ගීත රැඩිකල් අදහස් හා රැඩිකල් භාෂා භාවිතයකින් යුක්ත වීම එයට හේතුවයි.

5. විද්‍යුත් මාධ්‍ය ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන් රාජ්‍ය කේන්ද්‍රීයව පැවතී යුගයක ජනතාවගේ අදහස් ප්‍රකාශනය සහ තරුණයන්ගේ ගැටලු පිළිබඳ අවම අවධානයක් යොමුවෙමින් පැවතීමත්, විවිධ වූ ආර්ථික හා දේශපාලනික ගැටලු මත පීඩනයට පත් වීමත් හේතුවෙන් විකල්ප ගී ඇසුරේ හා විකල්ප අදහස් සහිත තරුණ පරම්පරාවක් මෙන්ම, නව සමාජ ක්‍රමයක් ගොඩ නැඟීමට අපේක්ෂා කර තිබෙන බවත්, ගීත අධ්‍යයනය ඇසුරෙන් මනාව අවබෝධ වන කරුණකි.

අසූව දශකයේ ලියැවුණු රැඩිකල් මෙම විකල්ප ගීතයන් වර්තමානයේ විශ්ව විද්‍යාල තුළ භාවිත වන්නේද යන්න පිළිබඳ ව කරන ලද අධ්‍යයනය ඇසුරෙන් ඉස්මතු වී පෙනෙන කරුණු කිහිපයකි.

විශ්වවිද්‍යාල තුළ සිදුවන ශිෂ්‍ය අරගල හා ක්‍රියාකාරකම් තුළ දී පවන හා විමුක්ති ගීතයන් භාවිතය තවමත් සිදුවන බව සිදු කරන ලද සම්මුඛ සාකච්ඡාවන ඇසුරෙන් හඳුනා ගනු ලැබිණි.

බොහෝ විශ්වවිද්‍යාල ප්‍රජාව නිදහස් අධ්‍යාපනය හා අධ්‍යාපනයේ නිදහස වෙනුවෙන් අරගල කරන ලද හා ඒ අරගල නිසා අහිමි වූ සිසු විරුවන් සිහි කිරීම පිණිස තවමත් ශිෂ්‍ය වීර දිනය සමරන බව වාර්තා වන අතර එම විරු සැමරුම් වලදී මෙම ගීත වාදනය හා ගායනය කෙරෙන බව තහවුරු විය.

එමෙන්ම පවන ගීත මාලාවේ බොහොමයක් ගීත තුළින් ශිෂ්‍ය ප්‍රජාව වෙත ආත්ම අභිමානය සහ රැඩිකල්කාමී හැඟීම් ඉස්මතු කෙරෙන බව විශ්වවිද්‍යාල ප්‍රජාව ඇසුරෙන් අදහස් දක්වුවන්ගේ මතය බවට පත් විය.

තවමත් විශ්ව විද්‍යාල වැනි ආයතන වල ශිෂ්‍ය ප්‍රජාව මෙම ගීතයන් යම් තාක් දුරට භාවිතා කරනු ලැබුවද පොදු සමාජය තුළ මෙම ගීත භාවිතය හා මාධ්‍ය මඟින් ප්‍රචාරණයත් දක්නට ලැබෙන්නේ ඉතාමත් අවම මට්ටමින් බව ඒ අනුව වාර්තා විය.

මෙම රැඩිකල් ගීතයන් තරුණ පරම්පරාව තුල පවා කිසියම් රැඩිකල්කාරී අදහස් හා සිතිවිලි ජනනය කිරීම උදෙසා ධනාත්මක පිටු බලයක් සපයන බව හඳුනා ගන්නට ලැබිණි.

උක්ත කරුණු කාරණා අනුව අසූ දශකයේ ගීත කලාව රැඩිකල් වූයේ කුමන හේතු පදනම් කර ගනිමින්ද යන්නත්, එම ගීත තරුණ පරපුර තුළ රැඩිකල් අදහස් ජනනය කෙරෙමින් වර්තමානයේ භාවිත වන්නේ කෙසේද යන්න පිළිබඳවත් කිසියම් අවබෝධයක් හා දැනුමක් මෙම අධ්‍යයනය ඇසුරෙන් ලබා ගැනීමට හැකියාව ලැබිණි.

නිර්දේශයන්

කවිය ගීතය යනාදී සාහිත්‍යාංගයන් ඔස්සේ විවිධාකාර වූ සමාජ ප්‍රකාශයන් ජනගත කිරීමේ ප්‍රබල හැකියාවක් පවතී. එම නිර්මාණවල ඇසුරු කෙරෙන භාෂාව මෙහිදී විශේෂ වේ.

පුද්ගලයන්ගේ හෝ තරුණ තරුණියන්ගේ රැඩිකල් බව විප්ලවකාරී බව කෙරෙහි පවා ඔවුන් ඇසුරු කෙරෙන සාහිත්‍යාංග බලපාන බව නොරහසකි. එහෙයින් රැඩිකල්කරණය යන්න තනි තනිව අධ්‍යනය සිදු කිරීම ඉතා අපහසු ක්‍රියාවලියකි.

තවදුරටත් ගීතය හා ඒවායේ රැඩිකල් චින්තනය, තරුණ ජීවිතයේ රැඩිකල් හැසිරීම කෙරෙහි බලපාන්නේ කුමන

අයුරින්ද යන්න අධ්‍යයනය කළයුතු ක්ෂේස්ත්‍රයක් ලෙස නිර්දේශ කරන අතර ඒ පිළිබඳ පර්යේෂකයන්ගේ හා දැනුම සොයා යන්නන්ගේ අවධානය අනිවාර්යෙන්ම යොමු විය යුතුම ය.

රැඩිකල්කරණය යන්න බොහෝ විට සමාජයේ ජනගත ව තිබෙන්නේ සෘණාත්මක සංකල්පයක් ලෙසය. නමුත් ඒ තුළ පවා ප්‍රගතිගාමී ක්‍රියාකාරකම් හඳුනා ගතහැකිය. සමාජ යහපත සඳහා වන තරුණ තරුණියන්ගේ පෙළඹවීම ධනාත්මකව යොදා ගතහොත් ඒ ඔස්සේ සමාජ සංවර්ධනය වේගවත් කිරීමේ හැකියාවක් පවතී.

එමෙන්ම තරුණ ගැටලු සහ අවශ්‍යතා පිළිබඳව සමාජයේ සියලු ප්‍රජාව වෙත අවබෝධයක් තිබීමත්, ඔවුන් වෙනුවෙන් අවශ්‍ය නිසි ක්‍රියාමාර්ග ගැනීමත්, රජය විසින් ඔවුන් යහපත් මාවත් වෙත යොමු කිරීමේ ක්‍රමවේද අනුගමනය කිරීමත් තුළින් අතීතයේ සිදු වූ බොහෝ ගැටලු මගහරවා ගනිමින් යහපත් අනාගතයක් කරා සමාජය මෙහෙය වීමේ හැකියාව පවතින බවද මේ ඔස්සේ නිර්දේශ කරයි.

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දිවයින (1981-1989.) ප්‍රකාශන

CHAPTER 9

Invisible Agency of Women within a Radical Social Movement:

An Exploratory Study on the Role of Women in the second JVP Insurrection of 1987

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Abstract

The complexities of how women interweave power and agency should be readily available in the retelling of the histories of women within social movements

The documented history of Sri Lanka's social movements, however, place women away from the epicentre of agency and focuses on women as the victimised individual. While there are variants of this narrative, the entire discourse on women with radical movements in Sri Lanka is framed in a predominantly West centric lens; the voice and agency of Global South women is viewed as inconsequential or marginal.

This exploratory study focuses on women who were a part of the second JVP (Janatha Vimukthi Peremuna known as the People's Liberation Front in English) insurrection in 1987 and how they are portrayed or "remembered" in political and academic circles. The paper questions how Sri Lankan literature conceptualises and views women within these movements. Knowledge of the role of women and their involvement in radical movements in Sri Lanka is deeply limited and most literature leans towards the portrayal of women through a West-centric framework of power and agency (or the lack thereof). A majority of the academic literature that exists on the JVP looks at it as a radical group, with little to no focus on women. A quick online search indicates that a majority of literature written during the 1980s with regard to Sri Lanka centres on ethnic conflict and the civil war, with a few studies on the insurrection of 1987. The literature available does not holistically focus on the role of women within the lesser globally known radical narrative of Sri Lanka.

Data for this paper was gathered through a series of primary data collection methods. An extensive literature review as well as six in-depth interviews were conducted. The interviewees included three academics, two former male JVP members and a journalist who reported on the JVP and the effects of the insurrection during the 1980s. It was decided that in-depth interviews were the best format to gather information regarding women and the JVP, since literature does not provide sufficient information about women and their participation in the second insurrection.

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රැඩිකල් සමාජ ව්‍යාපාරයක් තුළ ඉස්මතු නොවූ කාන්තා අරමුණු, බලය සහ හැකියාවන්: 1987 දෙවන ජ.වි.පෙ. කැරැල්ලේ කාන්තා භූමිකාව පිළිබඳ ගවේෂණාත්මක අධ්‍යයනයක්

අටාරා සෙන්

සමාජ ව්‍යාපාර තුළ කාන්තාවන්ගේ ඉතිහාසය පිළිබඳව කියවීමේදී, කාන්තාවනගේ අරමුණු, බලය සහ හැකියාවන්-සමඟ සංකීර්ණව සම්බන්ධ වන ආකාරය පිළිබඳව පැහැදිලිව දැකිය හැකි විය යුතුය.

කෙසේ වෙතත්, ලංකාවේ සමාජ ව්‍යාපාර පිළිබඳ ලේඛනගත ඉතිහාසයහි, කාන්තාවන් නියෝජිතායතනයේ කේන්ද්‍රස්ථානයෙන් දුරින්ව තබා ඇති අතර, පීඩාවට පත් වූ වින්දිත තැනැත්තන් ලෙස කාන්තාවන් නිරූපනය කරයි. මෙම කථාවේ අනුවාදයන් තිබියදීත්, ලංකාවේ රැඩිකල් ව්‍යාපාර තුළ කාන්තාවන් පිළිබඳ සමස්ත කතිකාවම මූලික වශයෙන් බටහිර කේන්ද්‍රිය කාචයකින් - දෘෂ්ටි කෝණයකින් රාමු කර ඇත. ඒ නිසා ගෝලීය දකුණු කාන්තා නියෝජිතායතනයේ අදහස්/ හඬ නොගැලපෙන හෝ නොවැදගත් ලෙස සැලකේ.

මෙම ගවේෂණාත්මක අධ්‍යයනය අවධානය යොමු කරන්නේ 1987 දී දෙවන ජනතා විමුක්ති පෙරමුණේ කැරැල්ල හි කොටසක් වූ කාන්තාවන් පිළිබඳව ය. තවද ඔවුන් දේශපාලන හා ශාස්ත්‍රීය කවයන් තුළ නිරූපනය වී ඇති ආකාරය පිළිබඳව ය.

ලාංකික සාහිත්‍යය, දේශපාලන ව්‍යාපාර තුළ කාන්තාවන් සංකල්පනය කරන්නේ කෙසේද සහ එය කෙසේ දකින්නේද යන්න මෙම පර්යේෂණ ලිපිය ප්‍රශ්න කරයි. ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ස්ත්‍රී භූමිකාව සහ ඔවුන්ගේ රැඩිකල් ව්‍යාපාරවලට සම්බන්ධ වීම පිළිබඳ දැනුම ඉතා සීමිත වන අතර, බොහෝ සාහිත්‍යය බටහිර කේන්ද්‍රිය බලය සහ නියෝජිතායතනය (හෝ එහි හිඟකම) තුළින් කාන්තාවන්ගේ නිරූපණය වෙත නැඹුරු වේ.

ජ.වි.පෙ. පිළිබඳ ශාස්ත්‍රීය සාහිත්‍යයෙන් බහුතරයක් එය දෙස බලන්නේ රැඩිකල් කණ්ඩායමක් ලෙස ය, කාන්තාවන් කෙරෙහි වැඩි අවධානයක් යොමු නොකරයි.

අන්තර්ජාල සෙවුමකින් පෙනී යන්නේ 1987 කැරැල්ල පිළිබඳ අධ්‍යයනයන් කිහිපයක් හැරුණු කොට, 1980 ගණන් වලදී ශ්‍රී ලංකාව පිළිබඳ ලියවුන සාහිත්‍යයෙන් වැඩි කොටසක් ජනවාර්ගික ගැටුම් සහ සිවිල් යුද්ධය කේන්ද්‍ර කරගත් බවයි. ලබා ගත හැකි සාහිත්‍ය ලියවිලි වල ගෝලීය වශයෙන් එතරම් ප්‍රසිද්ධ නොවූ ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ රැඩිකල් වෘත්තාන්තය තුළ, කාන්තාවන්ගේ භූමිකාව පිළිබඳ පූර්ණ වශයෙන් අවධානය යොමු කර නැත.

ප්‍රාථමික දත්ත එක්රැස් කිරීමේ ක්‍රම මාලාවක් මඟින් මේ සඳහා දත්ත එක්රැස් කරන ලදි. තවද පුළුල් සාහිත්‍ය විචාරයක් මෙන්ම ගැඹුරු සම්මුඛ සාකච්ඡා හයක් ද පැවැත්විණි. සම්මුඛ පරීක්ෂණයට ඇතුළත් වූ අය අතර උගතුන් තිදෙනෙකු ද ජවිපෙ හිටපු පිරිමි සාමාජිකයින් දෙදෙනෙකු ද, ජවිපෙ සහ 1980 ගණන් වල කැරැල්ලේ බලපෑම් ගැන වාර්තා කළ මාධ්‍යවේදියෙකු ද ඇතුළත්විණි. කාන්තාවන් සහ ජ.වි.පෙ සම්බන්ධව තොරතුරු රැස් කළ හැකි හොඳම ක්‍රමය ගැඹුරු සම්මුඛ සාකච්ඡා බව තීරණය කෙරිණි, මන්ද, ලිඛිත සාහිත්‍යය තුළින් කාන්තාවන් සහ දෙවන කැරැල්ලට සහභාගී වීම ගැන ප්‍රමාණවත් තොරතුරු ලබා නොදෙන බැවිනි.

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Invisible Agency of Women within a Radical Social Movement:
An Exploratory Study on the Role of Women in the second JVP Insurrection of 1987

சுருக்கம்

ஒரு தீவிர சமூக இயக்கத்திற்குள் பெண்களின் கண்ணுக்கு தெரியாத அமைப்பு: 1987ஆம் ஆண்டின் இரண்டாவது மக்கள் விடுதலை முன்னணியின் எழுச்சியில் பெண்களின் பங்கு பற்றிய ஒரு விளக்கக் கற்கை

அடாரா சென்

சமூக இயக்கங்களுக்குள் பெண்களின் வரலாறுகளை மீள்பார்வை செய்வதில் பெண்கள் அதிகாரத்தையும் நிறுவனத்தையும் எவ்வாறு பின்னிப் பிணைக்கிறார்கள் என்ற சிக்கல்கள் உடனடியாகக் கிடைக்கக் கூடியதாக இருக்க வேண்டும்.

எவ்வாறாயினும், இலங்கையின் சமூக இயக்கங்களின் ஆவணப்படுத்தப்பட்ட வரலாறு, பெண்களை நிறுவனத்தின் மையப்பகுதியிலிருந்து விலக்கி, பாதிக்கப்பட்ட பெண்ணாக பெண்களை மையமாகக் கொண்டுள்ளது. இந்த கதையின் மாறுபாடுகள் இருந்தாலும், இலங்கையில் தீவிர இயக்கங்களைக் கொண்ட பெண்கள் பற்றிய முழு விளக்கமளிப்பும் முக்கியமாக மேற்கு மைய பார்வையில் வடிவமைக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது: உலகளவில் தென்பகுதி பெண்களின் குரல் மற்றும் நிறுவனம் பொருத்தமற்றதாக அல்லது விளிம்புநிலையில் பார்க்கப்படுகிறது.

இந்த விளக்க ஆய்வு இரண்டாவது ஜே.வி.பியின் (ஆங்கிலத்தில் மக்கள் விடுதலை முன்னணி என்று அழைக்கப்படும் ஜனதா விமுக்தி பெரமுன) ஒரு பகுதியாக இருந்த பெண்கள் மற்றும் அவர்கள் அரசியல் மற்றும் கல்வி வட்டாரங்களில் எவ்வாறு சித்தரிக்கப்படுகிறார்கள் அல்லது "நினைவில் வைக்கப்படுகிறார்கள்" என்பதை ஆராய்கின்றது. இலங்கை இலக்கியம் இந்த இயக்கங்களுக்குள் பெண்களை எவ்வாறு கருத்தாக்கம் செய்கிறது மற்றும் பார்க்கிறது என்று கேள்வித்தாள் கேள்வி எழுப்புகிறது. இலங்கையின் தீவிர இயக்கங்களில் பெண்களின் பங்கு மற்றும் அவர்களின் ஈடுபாடு பற்றிய அறிவு ஆழமாக மட்டுப்படுத்தப்பட்டுள்ளது மற்றும் பெரும்பாலான இலக்கியங்கள் அதிகாரத்தை மற்றும் மையம் (அல்லது அதன் பற்றாக்குறை) என்ற மேற்குமைய கட்டமைப்பின் மூலம் பெண்களை சித்தரிப்பதை நோக்கி சாய்ந்துள்ளன. ஜே.வி.பியில் இருக்கும் பெரும்பாலான கல்வி இலக்கியங்கள் அதை ஒரு தீவிரக் குழுவாகப் பார்க்கின்றன, பெண்கள் மீது சிறிதும் கவனம் செலுத்தவில்லை. 1980 களில் இலங்கை பற்றி எழுதப்பட்ட பெரும்பாலான இலக்கியங்கள் இனமோதல், உள்நாட்டு போரை மையமாக கொண்டு காணப்படுவதுடன், 1987 கிளர்ச்சி பற்றி சில ஆய்வுகள் இணையதள தேடலின் பொது சுட்டிக்காட்டுகின்றன இலங்கையின் உலகளவில் அதிகம் அறியப்படாத தீவிரமயமாக்கப்பட்ட கதைக்குள் கிடைக்கப்பெற்ற இலக்கியங்களில் பெண்களின் முழுமையான பங்கை மையப்படுத்தப்படவில்லை

இந்த ஆக்கத்திற்கான தரவானது தொடர்ச்சியான முதன்மை தரவு சேகரிப்பு முறைகள் மூலம் சேகரிக்கப்பட்டது. ஒரு விரிவான இலக்கிய ஆய்வு மற்றும் ஆறு ஆழமான நேர்காணல்கள் நடத்தப்பட்டன. நேர்காணலில் மூன்று கல்வியாளர்கள், இரண்டு முன்னாள் ஆண் ஜே.வி.பி பாராளுமன்ற உறுப்பினர்கள் மற்றும் ஜேவிபி மற்றும் 1980களில் எழுச்சியின் விளைவுகள் பற்றி அறிக்கை செய்த ஒரு பத்திரிகையாளர் அடங்குவர். பெண்கள் மற்றும் ஜே.வி.பி பற்றிய தகவல்களைச் சேகரிக்க ஆழமான நேர்காணல்கள் சிறந்த வடிவம் என்று முடிவு செய்யப்பட்டது. ஏனெனில், இரண்டாவது கிளர்ச்சியில் பெண்கள் மற்றும் அவர்களின் பங்கு பற்றிய இலக்கியங்களில் போதுமான தகவல்கள் வழங்கப்படாத காரணத்தினால்.

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Background

The JVP at its inception functioned as a self-proclaimed youth political group that engaged in left wing politics. Influenced by global left movements, the party prompted an armed struggle with the aim of improving the lives of underprivileged rural youth in Sri Lanka. Though ultimately declared a failure, the JVP insurrection of 1987-1989 resulted in serious casualties. Unofficial records state that over thirty-two thousand civilians were killed during this three-year period (Sri Lanka Brief, 2014). While there is a clear dispute on the number of persons killed, with estimates ranging from a thousand to over thirty thousand, the official death toll stands at thousand two hundred (Samaranayake, 2008. Most of those killed during the insurrection were youth who were a part of or affiliated with the JVP.

The JVP's followers were mainly young rural Sinhalese Buddhists who lived in the South and Central provinces of Sri Lanka (Watkins, 2005) The movement included both men and women who worked together to propel its ideology among the youth, particularly in local universities. However, despite being a part of the movement, literature portrays women who were part of the movement as victims who were sexually and emotionally violated (Perera, 1998; Commission of Inquiry into Involuntary Removal or Disappearance of Persons, 1998)).

This is rather surprising/worrying since the JVP throughout its political journey had a prominent women's wing symbolising the importance of women within the movement . This is also reflected in some key figures who were involved in the 1970's aborted insurrection going on to become key feminist activists. In the 1980s, while this wing was a strong component of the movement (considered integral as it was used to influence cultural aspects of the movement), it played an extremely gendered role within the party. The women's wing focused on cultural events which included musical processions (known as vimukthi gee), the designing and drawing of posters for campaigns, and ensuring that male JVP members seeking refuge were cared for while residing in safehouses across the country. The constant reiteration of the roles of women within the movement through a gendered lens despite women being active members of the movement, sidelines women's narratives and raises the question as to why their involvement was easily sidelined.

Popular Representation of Women within the JVP

To understand the role of women within the JVP during the 1987 insurrection, it is imperative to look at dominant dynamics that controlled women's participation and roles in society in the 1980s. Factors such as culture and politics were integral in shaping positions provided to women. Mapping out roles of women within the movement in relation to the dominant narratives as well as looking at women through a global North feminist framework, sets global South women as victims (Mohanty, 2003). This mapping is a minor step toward a larger research and narrative project that reclaims local female agency.

The Commissions of Inquiry established in the early 1990s to look into disappearances and killings of people during the second JVP insurrection has a separate section on women. Though there is acknowledgement of women being involved in the insurrection itself, the details are limited to a paragraph, as opposed to larger sections of content on women as victims in a section dedicated to women primarily as victims (Commission of Inquiry into Involuntary Removal or Disappearance of Persons, 1998.

The report states that women were easy targets due to their 'fragile' nature and for having the 'body' of a woman. The report is written framing women in the global South as being victims of

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violence of toxic masculinities. It does not focus on women who were part of the movement and were in and of themselves integral to ensuring the functions of the party ran smoothly[119]. The report by the commission focuses on the killing, abducting and raping of women as a strong message directed at the male members of the party. The report feeds into the notion that women belonged to men, and that it is the harming of women (i.e. the property of man) that would force men, or the more "prominent" members of the JVP to reconsider their actions against the state.

The commission iterates that "women are always victims – [and] the future of this country hangs on these women's ideas and ideologies" (Commission of Inquiry into Involuntary Removal or Disappearance of Persons, 1998). This is ironic as the ideas that the report refers to focus on the woes of women being victimised by the JVP, or the armed forces in their attempt to curb the insurrection. Despite women in the JVP being involved in several integral military activities and strategic plans,[120] women within the movement are barely studied or attempted to be understood in a context that is not gendered or oppressed.

The JVP itself used the prevalent discourse of state brutality to promote itself as a victim of state oppression. The reinforcement of this fact shows how the JVP themselves immediately categorised woman as a victim, despite there being many female members of the JVP who actively fought on behalf of the movement. "While the government was displaying its brutality by killing the arrested youth and raping young women, the youths of the JVP that were involved in the struggle displayed their heroism" (The History, 2016). Note that the "youths" in this quote is a direct reference to the men involved in the

party, not the women. Many of the women who were arrested for being a part of the JVP and brought to detention centres were in fact tortured and killed in a similar manner. This is not to state, however, that means of sexual punishment and acts were not prevalent; rather, the narrative which was chosen for the women by the leaders of the party was that of victimisation.

Despite having a strong presence in numbers within the JVP, women were not given political authority within the movement. The Central Committee or the politburo lacked the presence of women due to the adoption of a heavy left-centred Marxist ideology and structure that did not place women within higher political structures[121]. Additionally, the inherent patriarchal structure that formed the JVP in the late 1960s, continued to the 1980s and has not changed to date.[122]

This has resulted in marginalising women's voices and limiting them to an identified, socially acceptable set of roles. While the global North at present is focusing on incorporating genders outside of a heteronormative framework, the global South is particularly focused on continuing to reinforce the heteronormativity first introduced to many countries through an anglicised colonial project (Lugones, 2016).

The power-knowledge nexus of feminist cross-cultural scholarship tends to be expressed through Eurocentric, falsely universalizing methodologies (Mohanty, 2003). The dominant nature of such research and power asserted through global North academia has undoubtedly influenced the local perception of how men should be framed and analysed. In the case of Sri Lanka, research should be attentive to the micropolitics of context, subjectivity, and struggle, in addition to the macro politics of global economic and political systems and processes (Mohanty, 2003). As pointed out

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118 Interview with former male JVP member, 2019

119 Interview with former male JVP member, 2019

120 Interview with former male JVP member, 2019

121 Interview with female academic scholar, 2020

122 Interview with former male journalist, 2019

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by Mohanty, not all marginalised locations yield crucial knowledge about power and inequity. However, as has been observed through the desk review and interviews conducted for this paper, women are categorically left out of being able to participate in forms of systemic or hierarchical power structures.

Women's Agency within the Movement

The interviews conducted depict the left movement in Sri Lanka as an interesting outlier, which incorporated cultural and gender norms and practices to the movement. The focus in that instance was then not univocal equality but rather a complacent system that held gendered practices in place [123].   While women's wings in Latin America and South East Asian countries within leftist and liberal evolutionary political groups were strong (Safa, 1990) Sri Lanka's left movement towards the late 1980s did not see women in high positions. This is in contrast to the first JVP insurrection of 1971 wherein more women had higher positions of power and were involved militarily[124].

This, however, did not mean that the women who were a part of the second insurrection were not skilled in weaponry and combat. Many young women were a part of military training camps and their activities, despite not being allowed to take part in the attacks[125]. There were several instances where the JVP used women as spies or as messengers, as women were able to visit places more discreetly, simply because they were women. According to a former member of the JVP who was incarcerated in a detention camp,

He further recalled instances where women were part of the armed movement with comparatively minor tasks such as transporting weapons to different locations in the country. The demure

and docile nature of the woman which is the predominant perception within the patriarchal structure of the country allowed for women to be used as unsuspecting objects to infiltrate various areas that were heavily guarded by the military. The State itself bought into this notion and rarely suspected women of being associated with an underground movement, which further helped the cause of the JVP in transporting military equipment.

The incident was, they plotted to kill Ranjan Wijeratne, the State Minister of Defense at the time. They [...] tried to launch a suicide attack using bomb studded vehicle. Somehow, they couldn't implement it. They were caught before [the bomb exploded] by someone who was also a part of it [informed the military]. They planned to go as a newly married couple and target the Minister. So, both men and women were indeed involved in certain plots (sic), (December 4th, 2019).

While it is generally acknowledged that women were not allowed to take part in armed activities, there is no evidence to prove that women who wanted to take part in such activities were denied the opportunity. Rather, through the literature and almost all interviews conducted for the study, it appears that women were content with their role within the movement. The assumption could be made that, women were given military training in order to make them feel more accepted as members and place them on equal footing with the male members of the party, and to empower themselves against the steady onslaught of violence from state agents particularly through forms of sex-based violence.

Despite using the body of the woman as a guise to pass on information to and from the JVP, many

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123 Interview with female academic scholar (2), 2020

124 Interview with former male journalist, 2019

125 Interview with former male JVP member, 2019

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female members of the party were arrested by the State and placed in detention centres. There are reports of women who were beaten, raped and made to disappear while in custody. Amnesty International (1990), reports that on certain occasions male detainees were forced to sexually abuse female detainees. Such punishment, while meted against women members for being part of a rebellious movement, can also be viewed as a graver form of punishment for transgressing the gendered roles assigned to women; sex-based violence as a form of punishment also reinforces the secondary role of women and their subjectivity in the face of the patriarchal state.

Despite the information collected for this research, it was difficult to ascertain if women wanted a more active role within the insurrection. Furthermore, there is no strong evidence to indicate that women were unhappy with their delegated tasks. Through the interviews conducted, however, it appears that most of the women felt that they were equal to their fellow male party members. The rhetoric seemed to be that women themselves did not feel the need to take up more 'masculine' roles in order to feel important. However, several questions can be asked regarding the complacency of young women with their roles in the movement. A glaring gap in this exploratory study is that it was difficult to find women who were a part of the second insurrection movement that we could talk to. The second, is that since most of the literature is not focused on the agency and the roles of women within the second insurrection, there is no concrete information regarding the histories and stories of women.

The Need for Further Analysis

This exploratory study relied heavily on existing literature as well as on a few interviews with key individuals who could provide insight to women's roles within the JVP in the 1980s. Rather than being exhaustive, this piece of work offers only a slice of what women's roles entailed and how these roles were viewed and framed consequently. Rather than being able to generate major findings, the key take-away message is to emphasise the need for further critical analysis that centres around women's experiences as well as critical re-thinking of how their intention to join and become active members of the JVP as well as their participation in the movement, perhaps points to a more complex ideology around agency and power.

In the interviews conducted, the interviewees did not necessarily view the role of women as important (or simply do not consider it in the retelling of their own stories), as women are seen playing a marginal role. It appeared as though women were predominantly viewed as objects that could be manoeuvred by the JVP for the benefit of the movement. Cultural roles were appropriated to women by society and the manner of engagement by young women within the movement were not viewed as forced, but rather as a preference of working within prescribed(?) gender roles.

The complexity of the role women within the JVP continues to be a point of tension. Insufficient information creates a lack of understanding on how women were portrayed and saw themselves within this movement. While appearing to be highly gendered, there is also a sense of autonomy within the women. Preferring safe gendered roles assured a higher possibility of survival rather than engaging at the forefront. However, it is uncertain if this way of thinking was prescribed by the JVP to the women in the party. While the limited data available for this study reveals that this was possibly due to inherent patriarchal cultural practices within the JVP, it is also unclear if the female members of the party also sought to follow and not challenge this patriarchal system. Therefore, much research needs to be conducted on how women viewed themselves. Were they satisfied within the created structure of the party? Were women not allowed to assume more masculine roles? And within the narrower frame/scope of activities, how did the women exercise their agency and fulfil their aspirations of being part of such a politically driven movement?

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There is a need to understand the real and concrete effects of a patriarchal and anglicised system of research and power. Bodies of women within social movements in history and how they affect the continued narrativisation of women in the global South is integral to invert and reclaim their own history (Mohanty, 2003). Sri Lankan women do not have agency that is acknowledged because the framings used are unable to recognise the multiplicity and complex forms in which women may choose to exercise their agency. Research should not disregard the role that women have played and the agency that they possess in the country's history. Normative Sri Lankan discourse seldom talks about women and their function in political discourse. This approach does a disservice to the women who have engaged in such movements and perhaps, challenged the patriarchal structures that existed even within what was considered a rather "radical" movement such as the JVP insurrection. Without a more nuanced understanding of women's experiences as being part of such movements, we are unable to understand the implications of such women's participation.

The failure of existing studies to capture these complex narratives and experiences is worrying. Instead of researching and writing from a global North prescribed feminist framework of agency and re-telling of histories, a local method of conceptualisation to understand how women existed within these movements needs to be established. Therefore, there is a need to better explore and examine the roles of women and their agency within the movement. This would help address the existing vacuum in women's historical engagement in different forms of political movements in Sri Lanka – a chasm that needs to be filled if we are to better understand how women challenged, resisted or fell-in-line with normative framings of women as victims and secondary players in effecting change. Without this, the continuing struggle of Sri Lankan women in the political sphere cannot be fully understood, especially in terms of the complex ways in which they exercise agency and their gendered identity.

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