CENTRE FOR POLICY ALTERNATIVES

WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP AS A ROUTE TO GREATER EMPOWERMENT REPORT ON THE DIAMOND LEADERSHIP MODEL

SRI LANKA

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The author's views expressed in this publication do not necessarily reflect the views of the United States Agency for International Development or the United States Government.

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ACRONYMS

ASP	Assistant Superintendent of Police
BASL	Bar Association of Sri Lanka
CBO	Community Based Organization
CSO	Civil Society Organization
CSP	Committees for Special Purposes
CPA	Center for Policy Alternatives
DIG	Deputy Inspector General of Police
DLM	Diamond Leadership Model
DS	Divisional Secretariat
GA	Government Agent (District Secretariat)
GOSL	Government of Sri Lanka
IGP	Inspector General of Police
JSC	Judicial Service Commission
JVP	Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna
LA	Local Authority
MMDA	Muslim Marriage and Divorce Act, No. 13 of 1951
MP	Member of Parliament
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPC	National Police Commission
PC	Provincial Council
PS	Pradeshiya Sabha (local Government authority)
RTI	Right to Information
SC	Select Committee
SDIG	Senior Deputy Inspector General of Police
SDGAP	Strengthening Democratic Governance and Accountability Project
SLAS	Sri Lanka Administrative Service
SLFP	Sri Lanka Freedom Party
SOC	Sectoral Oversight Committee
SP	Superintendent of Police
SSP	Senior Superintendent of Police
UNP	United National Party
UGC	University Grants Commission
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WPS	Women's Power Score

MAP OF SRI LANKA

CHAPTER 1

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study is part of a broader global study based on the Diamond Leadership Model (DLM) that will advance understanding of the nature and extent of women's leadership and political empowerment. The purpose of this assessment was to identify major trends and challenges with regard to women's leadership in Sri Lanka based on the DLM.

The DLM Study is focused on women's representation in four key Government sectors; namely the executive, legislative, judicial, and security sectors, spanning three different leadership tiers; high, mid, and low.

This study will frame key recommendations for Government and civil society institutions working on women's leadership and political empowerment, to help design and implement their respective programs and policy initiatives more effectively.

KEY FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

- Women's progress in terms of representation in leadership positions in the legislative and executive branches of Government shows minimal advancement over the last few decades.

- When the path for recruitment, progression and advancement is exclusively based on academic merit based on equal grounds, females have been able to advance freely and, in most cases, outnumber and outshine their male counterparts.

- Women's advancement in the judicial sector indicates greater progress, compared to the other three sectors and in comparison to the history of the judicial sector. There are no legal or policy barriers restricting female advancement in the sector.

- Women are not afforded equal access in the security sector. A special cadre has been developed exclusively for women and their progress is limited by the policy and structure of the female cadre which is in variance to the policies and regulations of the male cadre. This structural limitation of female cadres in the security sector has been highlighted as a barrier for women's promotion and is recognized as a violation of the right to equality guaranteed by the Constitution.

- The quota system has been an affirmative action to increase female participation at local authority level. It is too early to identify the level of participation or the overall impact. All females interviewed believe that affirmative action is required to break the entrenched repressive environment. The opinions of respondents are varied on the process, purpose, and the future use of this affirmative action, while, in principle, agreeing to the need of affirmative action.

- Women in civil administration have greater representation at the highest leadership tier, with a more conducive environment for equal career progression. For example, women occupy the Secretary position (equivalent to the Chief Executive) in 16 of the 54 national level Ministries, amounting to a total of 29.6 percent.

- Strong decision-making abilities, family background, a consistent and strong voter base, party loyalty (often attributed to loyalty for the leader and/or being unlikely to cross over), popularity with the media, and professional qualifications have all been considered enabling factors for women's advancement in the political arena.

- Informal subcultures within political parties are a deterrent to active female engagement and pursuance of leadership. These and all the hallmarks of a "boys' game"render politics a setting in which Sri Lankan women feel intensely uncomfortable to operate in and, if they do, they face derisive and demeaning treatment.

- Entrenched patriarchy in the culture is reflected in the entire political environment and political parties continue to be one of the most constraining bottlenecks for women to advance in the executive, across local, provincial and national levels of Government.

- Greater participation of women in democratic processes at national, provincial or local levels does not necessarily imply they have an equitable share of space to influence decision-making at corresponding levels

- Hindering female voices and disregarding their perspective, opinions and recommendations within and outside Parliament has caused adverse effects on both women's political empowerment and by extension on the country's overall development.

- The study reiterates that the political leaders of the country have not taken sufficient affirmative action towards increasing female representation and gender equality. It is further highlighted that they are responsible for women's underrepresentation in decision-making positions within political parties.

- The core decision-makers of political parties act as gatekeepers. They are recognized as a major barricade for women to enter into politics and secure decision-making positions.

- There is more female representation at the entry-level in the judicial sector. However, the percentage drops drastically when moving to higher courts.

- Community relationships with police improve with the inclusion of female police cadres which provide greater access to justice for females and children, especially young girls and women, who are victims of GBV. However, the limited female cadre in the police has been a restrictive factor in strengthening the above interaction.

KEY RECOMMENDATIONS

Overall Recommendations

- The Government and CSOs should maintain synergy with enabling strategies, plans, and long-term goals to increase female leadership at decision-making levels while working towards broader consensus on increasing women's representation with policymakers.
- Designing and implementing training and capacity building programs which incorporate local values to address repressive social norms towards women and inculcate gender sensitivity.
- The Government should maintain duly updated databases of gender statistics, including disaggregation of data to better understand intersectional issues related to gender inequality.
- The Government should promote better understanding of gender and power dimensions through school curricula, by both incorporating them into existing syllabi and introducing new programs.
- CSOs, activists, researchers, and academia should work together to identify change agents and mobilize them to lead people's movements from different dimensions towards a collective advocacy strategy to promote women's leadership in Sri Lanka.
- Governments should ensure a mechanism for the effective implementation of laws and policies guaranteeing equal opportunities for women at all levels.
- More detailed research should be carried out to uncover local dynamics that exclude women from higher decision-making roles and impede their upward mobility through the glass ceiling effect.
- Training should be conducted for media personnel on gender sensitivity; and irresponsible media actors held accountable for gender discrimination, gender inequality and gender insensitive reporting.
- Civil society should initiate a broad societal discourse to articulate the definition of success of women and women's empowerment within the country context while considering experiences from international contexts.
- Civil society should support women to enhance their networks, personal development and advocacy skills by possibly networking for resources, skills development to be more active in decision-making, promotional guidance, psychological and emotional support, campaign assistance, mentoring, solidarity with female political colleagues and policy advisors.
- Female leadership should be developed through active involvement of women in development discourse, transitional justice mechanisms, exploring solutions to the ethnic conflict, current and future governance reforms, disaster responses, resolving religious tensions, and addressing other social political and economic issues.

- Transformation of discriminatory social norms should be done through innovative programs, arts and culture activities and public discourse, which raises awareness among the public, political parties and women themselves about the value and contribution of women's participation.

Executive Sector

- Female representation should be ensured at all levels of executive bodies such as among the Cabinet of Ministers, Provincial Governors, mayors and chairpersons of local authorities.

- The Government should introduce a policy framework and guiding principles to ensure women's representation in a diverse range of Government committees, commissions, boards of directors and other decision-making governing bodies.

- Affirmative action should be taken in all executive appointments to ensure inclusion of women in leadership positions at national, provincial and local levels.

Legislative Sector

- Policymakers should initiate necessary legislative reform to implement women's quota systems at the Provincial Council and national Parliament levels.

- All political parties should review their respective party constitutions and bring appropriate reforms enabling women to have due representation in central executive committees, working committees, nomination boards, and other governing structures.

- Political parties should adopt criteria within their governing rules and regulations to ensure inclusion of women in nomination lists.

Judicial Sector

- The Judicial Service Commission should adopt a gender sensitive process for transferring judges, especially ones who have infants or young schooling children under their care

- Promotions of judges should be done in an impartial, independent, and transparent manner based on performance review criteria which addresses both quantitative and qualitative aspects of their decisions.

- Mandated authorities in the judicial sector should commission and conduct research studies to find reasons for lower women's representation at High and Superior Courts in Sri Lanka and request the Ministry of Justice to provide solutions.

Security Sector

- The Government should review and address the structural constraints and discrimination caused by implementing the cadre system in the police service and security forces

- The Government should address the issue of limited cadre vacancies for higher ranks (WASP, WSP, and WSSP) that discriminate against female police personnel and violate their right to equality.

- The Government should review the retirement age and the maximum term of service for female officers in armed forces and, as in the case of the medical and legal sectors, female officers should be allowed to decide whether to advance in or leave their jobs.

CHAPTER 2

INTRODUCTION

Sri Lanka is an island of 65,610 square kilometers, located in the Indian Ocean, with an estimated population of around 21 million. The gender ratio of the population is 51.6 percent female and 48.4 percent male.[1] Sri Lanka is a multi-ethnic, multi-religious nation. The largest ethnic group are the Sinhala people, comprising 74.9 percent of the total population. Sri Lankan Tamils, the largest ethnic minority, make up almost 11.2 percent of the population and Indian Tamils, 4.1 percent with Muslims consisting of 9.3 percent. [2] According to the 2011 census, 70.19 percent of Sri Lankans are Buddhists, 12.6 percent Hindus, 9.7 percent Muslims and 7.4 percent Christians.[3] Sri Lanka is considered a religiously devout country and faith communities form the basis of many individual identities, relationships, cultures and structures.

Both men and women enjoy relatively high standards in health and education, in contrast to most other developing countries. Socio-economic indicators now place Sri Lanka among the more developed of South Asia's nations, boasting high levels of literacy (95.7per cent),[4] and low maternal and infant mortality and malnourishment levels, which appear almost negligible in comparison to other countries of the region. Sri Lankan women enjoy a life expectancy of 78.3 years.[5]

However, in terms of women's representation in leadership positions within a diverse range of decision-making institutions, women in Sri Lanka are far below in comparison to the leadership status of women in other countries. The governance system in operation for decades, development strategies, inter-ethnic conflict and socio-cultural norms and practices are all factors interconnected with the status of women's advancement in Sri Lanka.

Governing Structure

Sri Lanka is a unitary state with three levels of administration: national, provincial and local. The head of state and head of the national Government is the President who is directly elected in five-yearly Presidential elections and accorded executive power. At the national level, the Parliament, also elected in five-yearly Parliamentary elections, enacts the laws of the country. The Cabinet of Ministers which is drawn from the Parliament, and appointed by the President on the recommendation of the Prime Minister, is headed by the President. Parliament is responsible for enacting laws of the country.

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[1] Jana Hā NivāsaSaṅgaṇanaya, 2012.http://www.statistics.gov.lk/PopHouSat/CPH2011/Pages/Activities/Reports/FinalReport/FinalReport.pdf

[2] Jana Hā NivāsaSaṅgaṇanaya, 2012.http://www.statistics.gov.lk/PopHouSat/CPH2011/Pages/Activities/Reports/FinalReport/FinalReport.pdf

[3] Jana Hā NivāsaSaṅgaṇanaya, 2012.http://www.statistics.gov.lk/PopHouSat/CPH2011/Pages/Activities/Reports/FinalReport/FinalReport.pdf

[4] Jana Hā NivāsaSaṅgaṇanaya, 2012.http://www.statistics.gov.lk/PopHouSat/CPH2011/Pages/Activities/Reports/FinalReport/FinalReport.pdf

[5] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_life_expectancy#List_by_the_World_Health_Organization_(2015)

The second-tier of Government is the Provincial Council level. The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution provides for the establishment of directly elected Provincial Councils.[6]In addition, the President appoints a Governor for each Province. Legislative power is vested in Provincial Councils in respect of a number of matters specified in the Constitution (in the Provincial Council List). In regard to these matters, the exercise of executive power in a Province is vested in the Governor on the advice of the Board of Ministers. The Board of Ministers is also collectively responsible and answerable to the Provincial Council. Parliament may make laws with respect to such matters after consultation with the Provincial Councils. In some other matters specified in what is known as the Concurrent List, both the central Government and the Provincial Councils share authority. However, the power given to Provincial Councils to make statutes with respect to these matters is restricted.

The third-tier of Government is the local Government level. This comprises of 341 local Government bodies which may be municipal councils, urban councils or *pradeshiya sabhas*[7], depending on the population it services. The main pieces of legislation relating to local Government are the Municipal Council Ordinance No. 29 of 1947, the Urban Councils Ordinance No. 61 of 1939, and the Pradeshiya Sabha Act No. 15 of 1987.

Administratively, Sri Lanka is divided into nine Provinces and 25 districts (with each Province consisting of 2-5 districts). A Government Agent (also called a District Secretary) is appointed to each District, and acts as the head of public services in that District. Each District is further subdivided into a number of Divisional Secretariats (with there being a total of 331) which are in turn divided into GramaNiladhari divisions, which act as the smallest administrative unit (a total of 14,022)

Social Cohesion

Social cohesion should aim to contribute to building a society which ensures the well-being of all citizens without any exclusion or discrimination, and which provides equal opportunities for both women and men to advance in their respective personal and societal aspirations of upward social mobility. In Sri Lanka, numerous economic, political and social factors have severely impeded social cohesion, with adverse effects on women in particular.

The transition to an open economy in 1978 created both economic opportunities and pressures for female migration, both internally (predominantly as workers in urban Free Trade Zones) and externally (predominantly as domestic workers). Further, internal displacement due to the country's long-running war, frequent episodes of communal conflict, large-scale development projects (such as the Mahaweli Development programme), and natural disasters (such as the 2004 tsunami), all resulted in people being alienated from existing community structures and damaging the established social cohesion of communities.

Uneven economic development in combination with disparities in resource allocation and the deterioration of the agricultural economy have further augmented this shift, leaving the nation with fluid and unstable community structures. These dynamics have pushed the boundaries of co-

[6]http://srilankalaw.lk/constitution-of-the-democratic-socialist-republic-of-sri-lanka.html

[7]There are 276 PradeshiyaSabhas, introduced in 1987 through the 13th Amendment to the Constitution in Sri Lanka, which are the legislative bodies that preside over the third tier municipalities in the country. They are responsible for providing a variety of local public services including roads, sanitation, drains, housing, libraries, public parks and recreational facilities.

existence, resulting in repeated ethnic and ethno-religious clashes, a phenomenon that is recurrent even following the end of the war. These clashes are eagerly fuelled by politicians to strengthen their voter bases which also ensure their on-going recurrence.

Conflict, Insurgencies and Security

Conflict in Sri Lanka has a number of causal factors, including access to resources, opportunities, and land. The causal factors have often been magnified through ethnically divisive state policies and practices which have enforced discrimination and exclusion. Politics in Sri Lanka has grappled with various power-sharing models within the multi-ethnic composition and there have been various attempts at adopting new governance models through constitutional reform and amendment (*E.g.* 13th Amendment), and various political alliances being formed. This situation has resulted in political bargaining, coalition Governments and the need to appease different stakeholders to hold on to political power. Therefore, the political landscape has been taken over by a politics of bargaining instead of a principle-based direction. Such politics have not focused on inclusion, but on coalitions between elite political actors; not on women's empowerment but on sustenance.

Even a decade after the end of Sri Lanka's armed conflict, war-affected women in northern and eastern regions who inevitably lead female-headed households, internally-displaced women, war widows, youth and ex-combatants are still seeking long-lasting solutions for a diverse range of challenges they faced from many years before. Discrimination, gender-based violence, poverty, psychological trauma, vulnerability, exclusion and numerous impediments to rebuild their livelihoods and enjoy their social, economic and political rights are among the core challenges hindering women's advancement.

Similarly, there were two anti-state insurgencies in Southern Sri Lanka in 1971 and 1989. In each of these insurrections, the numerous lives lost resulted in widows and the prevalence of female-headed households. The protracted 30-year conflict and the insurgencies in early 70s and late 80s have critically changed the landscape of the security forces in Sri Lanka. Recruitment, promotions, operations, role and scope have been defined by the nature and scale of such conflict. The overall functions of the Police have also evolved along these lines. There has been a constant demand to meet with international norms, local political demands, ethno-nationalistic voices and their own contextual challenges. Therefore, the consideration for women's representation has mainly been based on the contextual needs rather than as a part of women's empowerment.

Recent Developments in Governance in Sri Lanka

Constitutional Reforms - the 19th Amendment to the Constitution in April 2015 is considered an important development towards the achievement of Good Governance. It reversed many of the features of the 18th Amendment which is widely considered to have entrenched a centralised, autocratic form of executive rule in the country by concentrating on key executive powers in the President and removing constitutional safeguards.

With the implementation of the 19th Amendment, the tenures of President and Parliament were reduced from six years to five years; a two-term limit for the individual holding Presidential office was reintroduced; and the President was restricted from dissolving Parliament, being able to do so only after four and a half years. Another significant element of the 19th Amendment is the

establishment of the Constitutional Council, which advises the Government on significant public sector appointments. The reintroduction of the Constitutional Council and the establishment of independent commissions can be highlighted as positive outcomes towards good governance. The independent functioning of the Police Commission, the Elections Commission and the Public Service Commission have all had the valuable effect of ensuring a reasonable degree of transparency which is an essential element of good governance.

Right to Information - the 19th Amendment provided for a constitutional right to information, which was supplemented by the Right to Information (RTI) Act No. 12 of 2016. RTI law now allows any citizen of Sri Lanka to obtain relevant information held by any public authorities, subject to a number of restrictions. Decisions of public authorities can be challenged by citizens up to the Right to Information Commission, established by the RTI Act as an independent statutory commission to oversee RTI law. Lack of access to information has been a serious obstacle to combating corruption and making public representatives accountable for their decisions affecting the lives of people. Implementation of RTI law and wider awareness campaigns on the part of civil society to promote the use of RTI, will be one of the most effective mechanisms to ensure public accountability in Sri Lanka in future.

Women's Quota System - As a step to address the prolonged issue of low women's representation in the political sphere, Sri Lanka Parliament passed the Local Authorities Elections (Amendment) Act No. 1 of 2016, to increase women's representation at the Local Government level by introducing a 25 percent mandatory quota for women. This was the first time in Sri Lanka a mandatory 25 percent quota for women in local Government was operationalized. A further amendment of the local Authorities Elections Act in 2017 (The Local Authorities Elections (Amendment) Act No. 16 of 2017) now ensured that local councilors are elected according to a proportional representation system where 60 percent of members represent a single member or multi member wards and 40 percent are returned from a list called the 'additional persons' list without a ward based constituency. Given these legislative reforms, women's representation has been substantially increased at the local Government level, which is the main entry point to politics and can be the basis for advancing towards provincial and national level politics.

OVERALL STATUS OF WOMEN IN SRI LANKA

This section will discuss the overall status of women in Sri Lanka under three main topics: the legal and policy framework, political empowerment, and participation in the labour force.

Legal and Policy Framework

Article 12(2) of the Sri Lankan Constitution, under the chapter on fundamental rights, provides that, "***No citizen shall be discriminated against on the grounds of*** *race, religion, language, caste,* ***sex****, political opinion, place of birth or any such grounds".* Article 12(4) also provides that "*Nothing in this Article shall prevent special provision being made, by law, subordinate legislation or executive action,* ***for the advancement of women****, children or disabled persons.*" Thus, gender discrimination has not only been constitutionally prohibited but the Constitution further guarantees the space and mandate to initiate affirmative action for the advancement of women, children or disabled persons.[8]

[8]The Constitution of Sri Lanka – 1978 - https://www.Parliament.lk/files/pdf/constitution.pdf

Sri Lanka is signatory to a number of international conventions and national frameworks in support of gender equality, including the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) (1981), the National Action Plan to Address Sexual and Gender-based Violence, and the Women's Charter and the National Framework for Women-Headed Households. The Prevention of Domestic Violence Act (PDVA) No 34 of 2005 faced considerable challenges to its implementation.

The customary laws of Sri Lanka continue to operate in relation to Kandyan Sinhalese, Jaffna Tamil and Muslim communities. Some of these customary laws still include discriminatory provisions relating to female ownership, inheritance, transfer and disposal of land and property, as well as provisions regulating legal capacity, marriage, divorce, and child custody.

Amongst other discriminatory legal provisions are sections of the Penal Code relating to consensual same sex relations, statutory rape (exemptions for married girls between the ages of 12-16) and impersonation, provisions in the Land Development Ordinance No. 19 of 1935 and State Lands Ordinance No. 8 of 1947 that grant state land in single ownership, instead of joint or co ownership, and the Vagrants Ordinance No. 4 of 1841 and the Brothels Ordinance No. 5 of 1889 which inordinately criminalize sex workers. Further, despite the fact that there are even constitutionally guaranteed provisions not to discriminate based on inter alia, gender, there is a massive chasm between the law and the actual practice that negatively impacts women specifically.

As one female representative from the highest tier of the judicial sector stated, *"Women in Sri Lanka face numerous challenges including discrimination simply because of the ineffective implementation of laws and policies and the lack of political will to bring legal reforms to amend discriminatory provisions of customary laws in Sri Lanka".*

Women's Political Empowerment

Sri Lanka (then Ceylon) was one of the first Asian countries to grant women the right to vote in 1931. In the first Ceylon State Council (1931-1936), there were two women representatives accounting for 3.4 percent of total representation. Sri Lanka was the first nation in the world to elect a woman as Prime Minister and head of state in 1960. Sri Lanka also elected a woman as the Head of State (Executive President) in 1994 and re-elected her for a second term in 1999. However, female representation in the national legislature (Parliament) has never exceeded six percent since the first Ceylon State Council was commissioned.[9]

In the most recent Parliamentary election held in 2015, only 13 female members were elected to the house of 225.[10] At present in 2019, there are only 12 female representatives (5.3 percent) in the national legislature.

[9] www.statistics.gov.lk

[10] There were 13 female members of Parliament after the Parliamentary election of 2015 accounting for 5.8 percent of the total representation. However, upon a decision of the Supreme Court, one female MP lost her seat in 2017

Table 1 reflects female representation in Parliament in Sri Lanka since its independence and reiterates the lack of affirmative action to recognize the significance of women's inclusion in the democratic governance processes over seven decades.

TABLE 1. WOMEN ELECTED TO THE PARLIAMENT – 1947-2015[11]

Year	Total Elected	No. of Women Elected	% of Women
1947	101	3	**3.0**
1952	101	2	**2.0**
1956	101	4	**4.0**
1960 (Mar)	157	3	**1.9**
1960 (Jul)	157	3	**1.9**
1965	157	6	**3.8**
1970	157	6	**3.8**
1977	168	11	**6.5**
1989	225	13	**5.8**
1994	225	12	**5.3**
2000	225	9	**4.0**
2001	225	10	**4.4**
2004	225	13	**5.8**
2010	225	13	**5.8**
2015-19 (current)	225	12	**5.3**

The Global Gender Gap Report of 2018 of the World Economic Forum places Sri Lanka 143 out of 149 countries for women in Parliament and 137 out of 149 countries for women in ministerial positions, placing Sri Lanka amongst the 15 least politically empowered countries for gender parity.[12]

The electoral system for local Government authority elections was changed in 2018, as part of which a 25 percent women's representation quota system was introduced.[13] This has ensured a substantial increase in the number of women representatives in local Government authorities. Before the introduction of the 25 percent women's representation quota, the total number of women represented in local Government authorities was 90 (2.01 percent); and these numbers went up to 1,986 (23.24 percent) after the 2018 election.[14]

[11] The Struggle for Equal Political Participation of Women in Sri Lanka, ChulaniKodikara-with data updated by CPA 2019

[12] *Global Gender Gap Report of 2018* http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2018.pdf

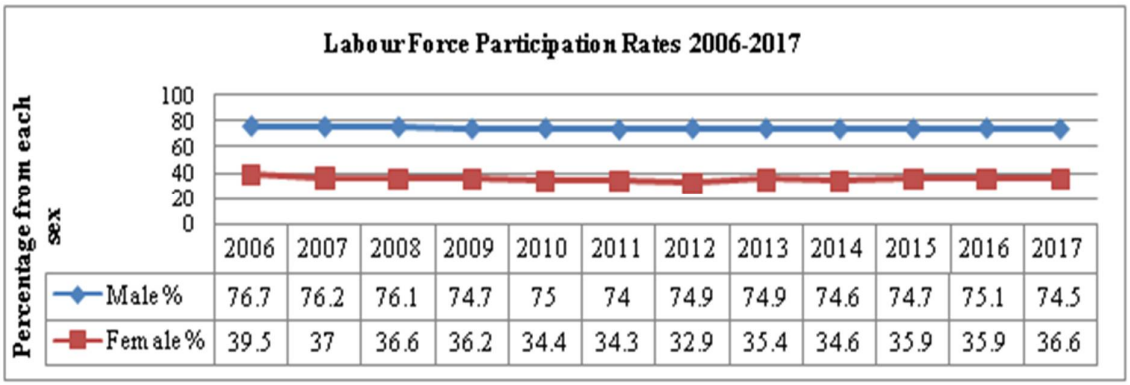
[13] 25% quota for women has been allocated for women in the Local Government bodies under the provisions of Local authority Elections (Amendment) Act No. 16 of 2017

[14] Election Commission of Sri Lanka - https://elections.gov.lk/web/en/all-inclusive-election/women-in-elections/

Women's Participation in the Labour Force

Sri Lanka is the only South Asian country that has achieved the Millennium Development Goal of universal primary education, as well as gender parity in secondary education. However, Sri Lanka's female labour force participation is lower than that of many Asian nations, estimated at around 36.6 per cent compared to 74.5 per cent for males.[15] Women's advancement in education and their high literacy rates have therefore not translated into a utilization of available human resources contributing to higher GDP for the country. Sri Lanka has the world's 14th largest gender gap in labour force participation.[16] Figure 1, which indicates the labour force participation trends of males (shown in blue) and females (red) in Sri Lanka from 2006 to 2017 emphasises the fact that female participation in the labour force has never gone up beyond 40 percent.

FIGURE 1.FEMALE LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES IN SRI LANKA[17]



	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Male %	76.7	76.2	76.1	74.7	75	74	74.9	74.9	74.6	74.7	75.1	74.5
Female %	39.5	37	36.6	36.2	34.4	34.3	32.9	35.4	34.6	35.9	35.9	36.6

Low rates of female labour force participation have remained largely unchanged in Sri Lanka over several decades. Numbers have stagnated around 30-40 percent, while the unemployment rates of women are more than double that of men at all age levels. The labour force participation overall has declined since 2006. According to the annual labour force survey conducted by the Department of Census and Statistics, the main reason reported for the majority among women (60.5 percent) to be economically inactive is their involvement in housework activities.[18]

Estate sector women are largely absent from the current political agenda, remaining underpaid and unheard, with extremely limited opportunities to pursue positions of power in their communities, let alone national politics. Both estate companies and trade unions have considerable powers over plantation communities, however, female representation in decision-making positions of these organisations is almost non-existent. However, recently, the first ever women's trade union, the Red Flag Women's Movement, was initiated as an independent wing of the Ceylon Plantation Workers Union.

[15] Department of Census and Statistics, 2017

[16] *Global Gender Gap Report of 2018*
http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_GGGR_2018.pdf

[17] Sri Lanka Labour Force Survey (Annual Report 2017)
http://www.statistics.gov.lk/samplesurvey/LFS_Annual%20Report_2017_version2.pdf

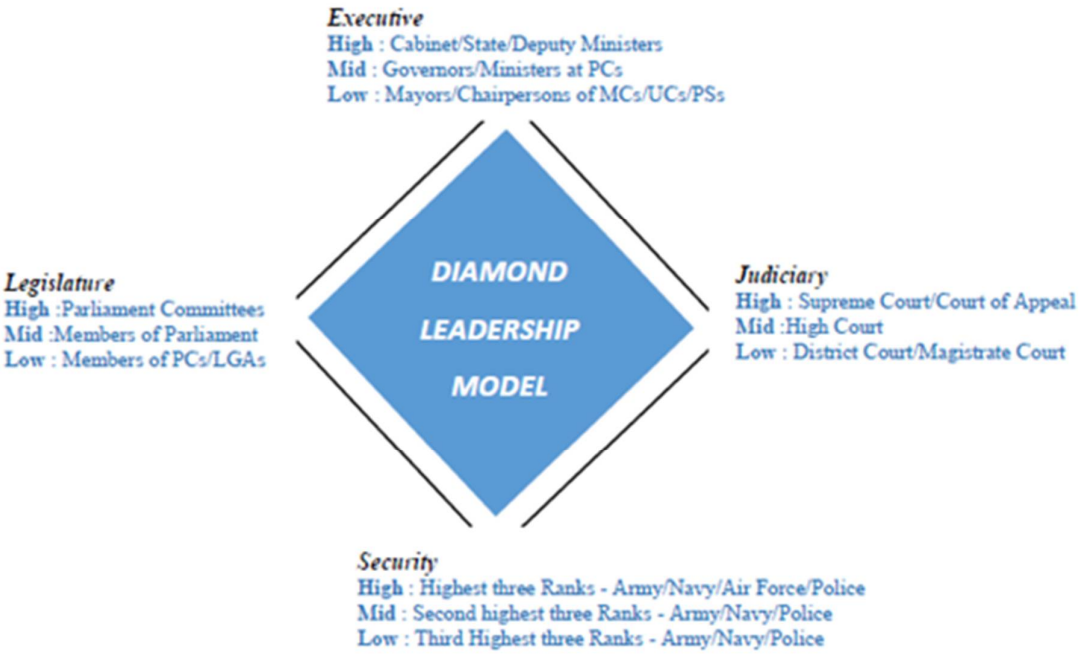
[18] http://www.statistics.gov.lk/samplesurvey/LFS_Annual%20Report_2017_version2.pdf

CHAPTER 3

THE DIAMOND LEADERSHIP MODEL

The Diamond Leadership Model (DLM) is a specific model designed to capture women's political leadership in an in-depth manner broader than existing human development indices. This measures the prevalence of women leadership positions in three tiers of the executive, legislative, judicial, and security sectors, assigning weights for the level of their positions as reflected in Figure 2.

FIGURE 2. THE DIAMOND LEADERSHIP MODEL



METHODOLOGY

The Diamond Leadership Model Study covers three leadership tiers; high, mid and low in four Government sectors; legislative, executive, judicial and security. The study consists of two components, calculation of the women's power score (quantitative) and in-depth interviews (qualitative).

Quantitative Data Gathering for WPS

The first component of this study was to generate the Women's Power Score (WPS) for Sri Lanka by using a calculation formula of the DLM. The CPA research team collected quantitative data needed for the WPS from the four sectors, by direct queries, accessing official websites, accessing data published by the Department of Census and Statistics, and through applications made through the RTI Act. After verification, collected data was fed into a database for the purpose of calculating sector-wise and country WPS.

Table 2 illustrates how the composition of three tiers, high, mid, and low was defined considering the country context of Sri Lanka.

TABLE 2. DEFINITION FOR TIERS (HIGH, MID AND LOW)

Sector	Tier	Definition
Executive Sector	High	Cabinet of Ministers State Ministers Deputy Ministers
	Mid	Governors Chief Ministers and other Ministers in all provincial councils
	Low	Mayors, Presidents and Chairpersons of all local Government authorities (MC/UC/PS)
Legislature Sector	High	SOC - Committee on Economic Development SOC - Committee on Women and Gender SOC - Committee on Agriculture and Land SOC - Committee on Energy CSP - Committee on Public Accounts CSP -Committee on Public Petition SC – Sustainable Development and Natural Resources
	Mid	Parliament Members
	Low	Members of Provincial Councils and Local Governments (MCs/UCs/PSs)
Judicial Sector	High	The Supreme Court and the Court of Appeal
	Mid	High Courts
	Low	District and Magistrate Courts
Security Sector	High	Army – General, Lieutenant General, Major General Navy – Admiral, Vice Admiral, Rear Admiral Air Force – Air Chief Marshal, Air Marshal and Air Vice Marshal Police – IGP, SDIGP, DIGP
	Mid	Army – Brigadier, Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel Navy – Commodore, Captain and Commander Air Force – Air Commodore, Group Captain and Wing Commander Police – Senior Superintendent of Police
	Low	Army – Major, Captain, Lieutenant Navy – Lieutenant Commander, Lieutenant and Sub Lieutenant Air Force – Squadron Leader, Flight Lieutenant and Flying Officer Police – Superintendent of Police

Calculation of Women's Power Score

The DLM study involves collecting available data of women holding leadership positions in the legislative, executive, judicial and security sectors across high, mid and low leadership tiers to generate the Women's Power Score (WPS). The 12 indicators of the Diamond Leadership Model are combined to generate the Women's Power Score (WPS) of Sri Lanka. Weighted scores for each sector are calculated to account for women's representation at different tiers of all four sectors of governance. Women's share of positions in the high tier is weighted three times as much as women's share of positions in the low tier, and women's share of positions in the mid-tier are weighted twice as much. The total score is divided by 6 to find the country level WPS.

The formula adopted for the purpose of calculating WPS is presented below.

$$\text{executive} = \frac{(\text{cabinet, state and deputy ministers} \times 3) + (\text{governors and provincial ministers} \times 2) + (\text{mayors, Presidents and chairpersons of LGAs})}{6}$$

The sum of the weighted values for each sector then yields a single score for the country which is termed the Women's Power Score.

Women's Power Score = legislative + executive + judicial + security

The DLM indicators which measure the percentage of women represented in each of the 12 leadership positions are weighted and combined to create the Women's Power Score. The weighted score for each sector ranges from 0 to 100. The sum of the weighted values for each sector yields a single country score: the WPS. A country with women in all positions (100 percent) would score 400.[19]

Qualitative Information Gathering

The second component consisted of a series of one-to-one in-depth interviews with a diverse range of key personnel working in or affiliated to the above four sectors. Questionnaire guides for in-depth interviews were drafted in English language and translated into Tamil and Sinhala languages in consultation with research experts. Draft questionnaires were tested by conducting practice interviews.[20] The finalized questionnaires were used to conduct 49 in-depth interviews ensuring a minimum of four respondents in each tier and thus a minimum of 12 interviews of each sector. Interviews were transcribed, translated into the English language and all translated information entered into an analytical grid for analysis.

CPA interviewed a wide range of individuals including ministers and secretaries, Parliamentarians, Parliament committee heads and members, governors at provincial levels, chairpersons and elected members of local Government authorities, legal experts and academics, judges, lawyers, court registrars, security personnel, and civil society actors.

[19] The Diamond Model does not capture the extent to which women are concentrated into the different categories of ministries, committees, courts, or ranks. Therefore, it is necessary to emphasize that the Women's Power Score considers women's representation in leadership overall and does not unpack the ways that different groups of women may have different levels of access to or representation in political leadership.

[20] This was during an orientation workshop facilitated by the Charney Research Institution in collaboration with SDGAP for the CPA research team held from April 2nd to 5th, 2019

Table 3 indicates the breakdown of the respondents to in-depth interviews conducted during this study.

TABLE 3. BREAKDOWN OF THE RESPONDENTS TO IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

Sector	High		Mid		Low		Total	
	Female	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**
Executive	4	0	1	3	3	1	8	4
Legislative	3	1	1	3	3	1	7	5
Judicial	2	2	2	2	3	1	7	5
Security	1	3	2	3	4	0	7	6
Percentage of male and female respondents							**59.2**	**40.8**
Total = 49							**29**	**20**

In the absence of a common definition for the three tier levels, the research team defined the scope of leadership tiers as high, mid and low based on several interrelated factors including the level of influence, existing natural hierarchical structures and other logical sequencing based on contextual setting. Table 3 illustrates the categorization tiers and the content for each tier of respective sectors.

CPA employed a dedicated research team, consultant gender advisors, and a research expert panel for the purpose of overall guidance and supervision of the study, and conducted field work for the study from April to June 2019. Consultants representing the Charney Research Institution conducted a training program for the research team during the first week of April 2019 in Colombo, Sri Lanka. The SDGAP-Task Three Team extended constant coordination and follow-up support.

A number of agency reports and subject-related studies were reviewed and text and statistics quoted in the report where necessary to validate the qualitative findings and substantiate the recommendations and reporting.

Limitations of the study

- The scope of the DLM study was limited to only four sectors of the Government; executive, legislative, judicial and security. Therefore, the calculation of WPS reflects a limited scope.
- The total number of interviews in one sector was 12 and thus there was limited space to include a more diverse range of opinions of various representatives from civil service, administrative sector, civil society and corporate sectors.
- There is an absence of standardized criteria for determining the scope of the high, mid, and low leadership levels making it difficult to compare the WPS with that of the other countries.
- All information/data needed for the DLM study was not available for one set date and therefore base date/year varies per category.
- Due to internal rules and regulatory limitations, judges currently in service could not be interviewed.

- The security sector consists of four institutions (Army, Navy, Air Force and Police) and the total number of in-depth interviews conducted was 13 across the three tiers in all four sectors. This is insufficient to analyse each sector.

- Security forces were not open to providing information regarding cadres and internal regulations given this backdrop.

- The Easter suicide bomb attack in the Island in April virtually brought the country to a standstill resulting in the strict enforcement of security measures all over the Island. The entire security force was working overdrive to apprehend the suspects, disband the movement, and to eliminate future attacks. The country was vulnerable and community relationships very extremely fragile. Given this backdrop it was difficult to obtain space for interviews from the sector as planned.

The research team adopted different approaches in collecting security sector data including accessing official data of the Department of Census and Statistics, official websites, official media statements and the applications made through the RTI Act. At the beginning of the DLM study, during the first quarter of 2019, there was a considerable degree of certainty in being able to access the data of the security sector. However, given the changed security and political situation from later part of April 2019 with the Easter Sunday terrorist attack, accessing data of the security sector naturally became a challenge. Further, with the imposing of emergency regulations, accessing data connected to the security sector became close to impossible leaving the research team with only the option of approaching through the RTI Act. Some data could be gathered through RTI applications but information on the total number in cadre of Army and the Air Force was withheld. The main reason cited was that it would have an adverse impact on the national security of the country. CPA continued challenging this reasoning and made efforts to access this data through a petition at the RTI Commission and has attended the first hearing of the case in September 2019. In order to calculate the security sector weighted WPS, gender segregated data of all considered positions is essential. Due to the lack of the data of the Army and the Air Force, the weighted score of the security sector could not be calculated. However, gender segregated data was available for the Police and the Navy and thus, data of only those two sections have been considered in calculating the security sector WPS.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS OF THE DLM STUDY

FACTORS INFLUENCING WOMEN'S POSITION

ENABLING FACTORS

The findings of this study emphasize that there are several key enabling factors contributing to women's advancement in legislative, executive, judicial, and security sectors. Factors which helped women's advancement include: education, professional qualifications, contribution of civil society mainly through advocacy, and family solidarity. Additionally, integrity, courage, firm decision-making ability, solution-oriented attitudes, and respect for dissent and diversity were also recognized as contributory factors for women's advancement in the context of their representation in leadership positions.

Education: Women's empowerment, which encompasses a wide range of factors, has been positively influenced by the level of women's educational achievement in Sri Lanka. In this context, education in its widest sense has been a potent instrument that helps women (even in limited numbers) to be recognized, become politically empowered, and to be present in the decision-making positions of legislative, executive, judicial, and security sectors of the Government.

Equal access to free education in the state sector up to university levels and the importance attached to education at the household level have made a notable impact on women's advancement in education in Sri Lanka. The provision of free state education supported by additional incentives such as free textbooks, free uniforms, scholarships, subsidized transport and school meals for the children of the economically disadvantaged have resulted in a rapid rise in participation rates at school. As depicted in the Table 4 (excluding private degree programs), females have easily outnumbered their male counterparts at all levels of educational qualifications.

TABLE 4. WOMEN AND EDUCATION[21]

Qualification Level	Female		Male	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Passed GCE O/L	124 471	56.08	97,485	43.92
Passed GCE A/L	105,674	64.79	57,430	35.21
Under graduate Admission	72,807	62.30	44,123	37.70
Post graduate Admission	6,785	54.90	8,184	45.10

[21] http://www.statistics.gov.lk/

Empowering women through education has important implications for women's political representation, engagement with democratic governance, economic stability, access to information, knowledge, and employment. The study reflects that academic achievements have translated to access to employment both in the public and private sectors, to the ability to penetrate the entry level of many male-dominated fields, and even at times to reach a career pinnacle, as noted with the appointment of Shirani Bandaranayake as the first female Chief Justice of Sri Lanka, and others in the Army, Police and various fields. As a representative from the executive sector stated, *"Women have more opportunities in civil service. In civil service, a person is appointed based on the results of civil service exams; not by elections. Therefore women have a better chance."*

Most of the interviewees stated that the shift in the selection criteria from a recommendation-based model to an exam-based model has helped women at entry level. Similarly, exam-based promotion criteria have been a key influencing factor for advancement especially in the judicial and security sectors. Therefore, as cited by the respondents in these two sectors, opening up of spaces through competitive academic examinations has been a key difference in their lives.

A female representative of the executive sector stated that *"I think education, professional qualifications and experience have been key influencing factors for politicians like us to compete with this male dominated political culture and become successful"*

It should be noted that despite education being a key influencing factor, opportunities have not seen an equitable distribution. The limited opportunities women have received in the different sectors have primarily been as a result of education, while all those who have been educated have not been able to enter the job market with 64.4 percent women with a degree not being employed. Despite being considered a traditionally female profession, for example, only a fifth of all heads of school are women. Within the civil service, women only occupy 16 percent of district secretary positions and 31.7 percent of divisional secretary positions.

In the private sector, from more than 1,500 directors of boards in Colombo Stock Exchange-listed companies only 8.2 percent were women.[22]The gender ratio for leadership positions in the workplace in 2016 was very low at 0.33 percent. An International Finance Corporation (IFC) study on gender diversity among Sri Lanka business leadership, *Realizing Sustainability Through Diversity: The Case For Gender Diversity Among Sri Lanka's Business Leadership, 2019,* suggests that the lack of female representation among Sri Lanka's business leadership is not due to the lack of qualified women, but is rather because qualified women can face multiple barriers to advancing to higher-skilled positions.

Civil society: Women's political empowerment has been a consistent theme amongst women's rights workers, activists, civil society and academics for many years. This has resulted in the adoption of a plethora of strategies that included direct advocacy and lobbying efforts at the national, regional and global levels. Further, there have been academic work, research publications and formulation of shadow reports covering a diverse range of issues connected to women's empowerment. Both national-level and community based organizations have conducted trainings at grassroots level, hosting wider discourse on political empowerment, building capacities CSOs and strengthened networks working on women's political empowerment, violence against women, discrimination and many other issues affecting women.

[22]*Realizing Sustainability Through Diversity: The Case For Gender Diversity Among Sri Lanka's Business Leadership*.International Finance Corporation 2019

The adoption of the local Government quota system for women has been one of the key results of women's empowerment advocacy efforts at the policy-making level. The quota was proposed over a decade before its final adoption in 2016. Respondents noted that this affirmative action mechanism has been a critical milestone in the political empowerment landscape for women in this country. The continued role of civil society beyond the quota system in working towards greater equitable political participation, working with wider communities to address voter bias and restrictive social norms, developing female leadership potential, awareness and research study have also been cited as positive influencing factors.

Family solidarity: Respondents cited several key areas of support received from family as key influencing factors in their journey.

Influence of fathers as role models in the field of political ideology, their convictions, their leadership, the passion, the open discourse at home, the encouragement and exposure to leadership and management were reiterated as key influencing factors for women to advance in their respective fields. This study indicated that the support from family, including parents, spouses, siblings and close relatives was another crucial aspect for women to decide on their advancement in either of the political life or of other career pathways. A female representative from the executive sector stated; *"I did not have any intention to come to politics. However, when there was a space for me to enter into politics, people wanted me to contest but still I did not take a decision until I discussed it with all my family members. When I was convinced about the support of my family members and relatives, I took the challenge, won the election and led a ministerial portfolio too*".

Further, the study revealed that the moral support, encouragement, understanding of their dynamic schedules, shared responsibility are all significant factors for women's advancement. A female representative of the security sector stated *"I should thank my mother-in-law for her support. She came to our place every week day to take care of my children. Since I lost my own mother during childhood, she was a second mother to me and I could only manage my professional career advancement and the role of a mother entirely because of the support from my family."*

IMPEDING FACTORS

The study findings reiterate that socio-cultural factors such as traditional attitudes, patriarchal thinking and practices, as well as social, religious and cultural norms restrict women from participating in the workforce and in democratic processes, precluding female leadership and hindering their advancement. These social norms led by a male-dominated society compel women to occupy a subordinate status. Therefore, patriarchy, social norms and practices are among the core impeding factors that hinder the progress of women's political empowerment and representation in decision-making positions. The female respondents included in this study highlighted that women should be strong enough to challenge male-dominated political culture as well as patriarchal attitudes that make women subordinate, and make optimum use of available opportunities to access leadership roles and prove results.

Patriarchy: Patriarchal values are entrenched into all levels of thinking and practises of Sri Lankan society for centuries and continue to remain dominant to a large extent in all four Government sectors covered under this study. Despite democratization in Sri Lanka, the patriarchal governance culture, practiced over decades, has not allowed the majority to recognize the importance of women's potential contribution to development, socio-economic and political processes in Sri Lanka. The DLM study showed that these deeply entrenched gendered norms minimize the opportunities for women and girls from effectively participating and advancing in

the formal economic, social and political system. A female representative from the legislative sector stated, *"The majority of this society, including some women strongly think that women are not supposed to enter politics and men only have the capacity to hold and deliver in leadership roles in the political sphere and believe that women's main role is only to facilitate men to become successful"*.

On the one hand, the firm entrenchment of patriarchal values both at household and societal levels has been fundamentally ingrained in the minds of both males and females. On the other hand, the education system of the country has also not sufficiently addressed this attitudinal issue through its curriculum changes and thus, the perception of patriarchy as a model for success, leadership and productivity continues to remain in place. This study reiterates the need for fundamental attitudinal transformation to address such patriarchal dominance which is an obvious barrier hindering women's advancement.

Caregiver's role: Society promotes the goal of motherhood as supreme for women. The study confirms that many, including household members, workplace peers, superiors in institutions, and leaders and decision-makers in political parties still perceive women to be essentially caregivers at home, thus limiting their ability to obtain, hold and perform well in leadership positions. Not only are women less likely than men to enter or remain in the labour force after marriage and childbirth, they are also less likely to work for pay since women typically bear a disproportionate burden of household responsibilities and therefore spend much of their time in unpaid work. The time-consuming work at home severely restricts the ability for women to provide time to political activity or to pursue advancement. When they do take it on, they have to invariably make sacrifices in their personal lives. As one female interviewee representing the legislative sector shared *"I have lost a lot in life in coming to this position"*. A female respondent from the executive sector said that *"In spite of household work being assigned to domestic helpers, it is still the role of the women to ensure that everything runs smoothly. Therefore she needs to be at home physically at least for some part of the day to troubleshoot and supervise"*.

Character and reputation: Study findings show that late night travel, overnight stays away from home unless with immediate family, travelling alone, manner of speech, dress code, living alone (without children) even if one is divorced, to be seen in the company of men, and close physical proximity with males are some of the points used to tarnish a woman's character and reputation. A female representative from the executive sector stated, *"When a woman happens to work late nights, travel alone or with men, she faces imminent threat of exclusion from community, family functions, and community events and could even lead to ridicule, attack and vilification"*. Therefore women holding office in the executive, legislature or the judiciary in particular have to walk a tightrope as they compete in a man's world, according to his rules, while being severely restricted by social norms.

Misconceptions: TheDLM study reflects that common misconceptions which hold that women are weak and unable to withstand the physical demands of certain roles, leadership is not for women, women are not good leaders, politics is not for women, women cannot make much of a difference in politics, women cannot compete with males, males are strong and females are weak, among others have all adversely contributed to exclusion of women in guaranteeing the provision of equal opportunities. This study revealed that such misconceptions have eventually created distrust and negatively impact citizens' motivation to vote for female politicians. A female representative from the legislature stated *"The majority of men do not like and are scared to acknowledge the capacity of women in many fields, especially in politics and thus they create an argument of 'women cannot or are not capable of delivering leadership responsibilities.'"*

Mobility: Interviewees from all sectors of this study identified "mobility" as a critical constraint for female advancement. This was a serious impediment to furthering their careers and the initial

decision of taking over an employment opportunity. While this is a direct result of patriarchy, social norms, and violence, this is an outcome that severely restricts females.

This finding has also been reiterated by other studies. According to a study conducted by UNFPA, 90 percent of women in Sri Lanka have endured sexual harassment while taking public transport. The UNFPA study also reveals the far-reaching effects this harassment and the treat that is limiting women's mobility, participation in public life and overall well-being.[23]

The DLM study shows that mobility of women is also restricted because of social norms and violence. A representative from the legislative sector stated *"In most cultures and communities, the night is considered evil and immoral. Therefore, a female found to be breaking this time barrier, which is loosely interpreted as 'when it is dark', is considered a woman of loose character, low morals, and a stain on family and community. This can result in varying degrees of pressure from family, friends and community. This is a major restrictive factor in seeking career and professional advancement for us as females".* Female respondents considered this as a challenge for their advancement, particularly in the legislative sector and strongly suggested that it is only possible to manage with strong family support.

Political parties as gatekeepers: The DLM study confirms that progress in terms of women's political empowerment and their share of leadership positions over the last few decades have shown slow and uneven gains over the last few decades in Sri Lanka. Progress of presence in leadership tiers, particularly at the top levels, has not been substantial or consistent in the decision-making bodies of legislatures, executive and judicial sectors at national and local levels. Unlike in other sectors, women in the security sector face structural barriers that hinder their advancement as well. Lack of representation of women in policy-making and implementing institutions, the legislature and executive respectively makes it difficult to formulate and enforce policies and decisions on advancement of women's empowerment, including their leadership at national, provincial, and local levels.

Around 70 political parties in Sri Lanka are engaged in democratic processes including elections, but despite the fact that women play a crucial role in election campaigns they remain largely under-represented at higher levels. Political parties act as gatekeepers and thus male-dominated governing structures and political leaderships decide women's entry to politics. Of the 70 political parties registered in the Department of Elections in 2018, only four women (or 5.7 percent in total) act as party general secretaries.[24] Despite women clearly possessing leadership qualities and being willing to engage in politics, their access to contest elections or reach decision-making positions are mostly decided by the political parties. One of the representatives of a legislature stated that *"...All political party leaders and ones holding decision-making powers of political parties should be responsible for slow progress of women's political empowerment and lack of female representation in leadership positions in Sri Lankan political sphere."*

The opinions of the majority of female respondents representing executive and legislative sectors reflected that leaders and decision-makers of political parties do not sufficiently consider inclusion of women in the party nomination boards, nomination lists, and in leadership roles in party governance structures. Further, the study reveals that political parties do not show required commitment to formulate party policies or establish mechanisms that support women currently in power to further advance. This is particularly evident with the main political parties in Sri Lanka.

[23] https://www.unfpa.org/news/ninety-cent-sri-lankan-women-endure-sexual-harassment-public-transport-unfpa-study-shows

[24] *Election Commission, Sri Lanka - https://elections.gov.lk/web/wp-content/uploads/pdf/pol_party_list/partylist_E.pdf*

Table 5 reflects nominations given for women in provincial council elections held in 2008/2009 by political party.

TABLE 5. SELECTED PARTY WISE NOMINATIONS FOR WOMEN IN PROVINCIAL COUNCIL ELECTIONS 2008/2009[25]

	Total Number of Nominations Given*	Nominations for women	Percent of Nominations for women
National Development Front	275	109	39.6
Nawa Sihala Urumaya	46	17	36.9
United Socialist Party	380	85	22.4
Left Front	189	24	12.7
Patriotic National Front	249	27	10.8
United National Alliance	271	15	5.5
Ruhunu Janatha Pakshaya	248	14	5.6
UPFA	417	18	4.3
JVP	417	16	3.8
UNP	417	14	3.3

*the difference in nomination statistics between parties is because all these parties did not contest in every district.

[25] *The Struggle for Equal Political Participation of Women in Sri Lanka, ChulaniKodikara, October 2009* http://www.lk.undp.org/content/dam/srilanka/docs/governance/WPE%20FINAL%20PDF.pdf

WOMEN'S POLITICAL BENCHMARKS

The findings of the DLM study are presented in detail below. The structure of the findings includes an overall reflection of the WPS of Sri Lanka followed by sector-wise analysis on the leadership of executive, legislative, judicial, and security sectors. The write-ups for each sector consists of four sub-topics; analysis of sector-wise WPS inclusive of women's representation at present, contributory factors for women's advancement, and impeding factors hindering women's advancement.

WOMEN'S POWER SCORE IN SRI LANKA

Table 6 shows the sector-wise and overall country Women's Power Score (WPS).

TABLE 6. WOMEN'S POWER SCORE (WEIGHTED) – SRI LANKA

Sectors	Executive	Legislative	Judicial	Security
Weighted Sector Score	5	12	13	1
Weighted Country Score	**31**			

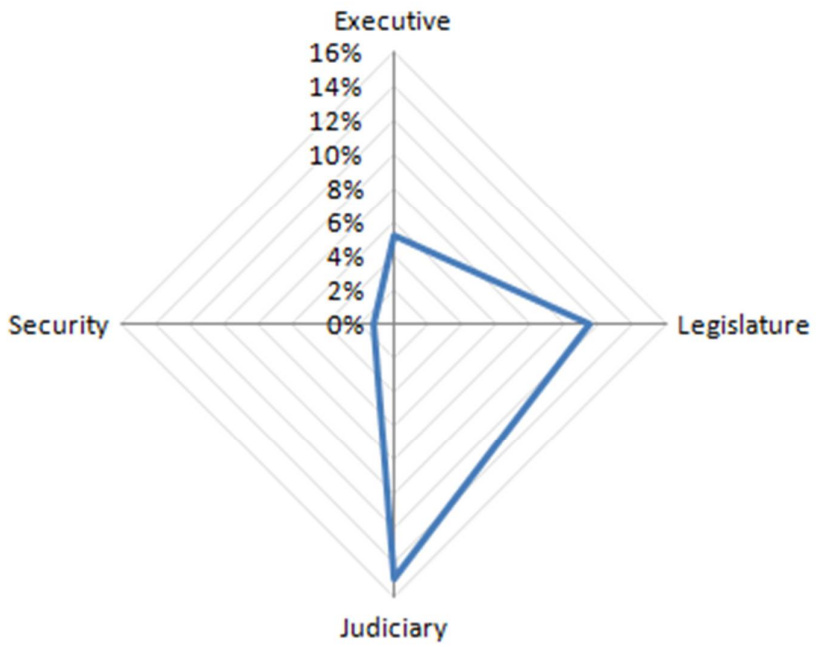
Table 7 indicates the percentages of women's representation by indicators (high, mid, low) in Sri Lanka.

TABLE 7. PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN EACH TIER OF FOUR SECTORS

Sector	Women's Representation as a Percentage		
	High (Percentage)	Mid (Percentage)	Low (Percentage)
Executive	7	4	2
Legislative	12	5	22
Judicial	9	13	36
Security	0	2	4

The study shows that Sri Lanka's country WPS (weighted) is 33. As per the data, the study suggests that women's political leadership is uneven by leadership positions as well as across Government sectors in Sri Lanka. The WPS reflects the slow progress of women's advancement, and the overall country WPS in Sri Lanka and Bangladesh stands as the second lowest (the lowest being Thailand with 17 percent) level triangle score with 32 percent among countries in Asia and the Pacific region where the DLM study has been conducted. Philippines has the highest WPS in the region which stands at 72, while India, Cambodia, Indonesia, Nepal, and Mongolia record over 32 percent of WPS. Due to the difficulties in accessing security sector data in all the countries of this region, the WPS is shown as a triangle (executive, legislative, and judicial sectors only). However, while facing the same difficulty in Sri Lanka, the WPS is inclusive of only the data of the Department of Police and the Navy which are sections under the definition of security sector according to the research methodology. Figure 3 illustrates the representation of women in three different tiers of high, mid, and low in four Government sectors in Sri Lanka.

FIGURE 3.WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION ACCORDING TO THE DIAMOND MODEL-SRI LANKA 2019



In Sri Lanka, findings of the DLM study reflect that among all four sectors, women are better represented in the judiciary sector with a score of 13. Further, the legislative sector shows the second highest women's representation with weighted score of 12 percent while the figure is 5 percent for the executive sector. In the security sector, data is available only for the Department of Police and the Navy, and the security WPS is 1 percent which is the lowest.

The WPS of the legislative sector in Sri Lanka has mainly been influenced by the sudden increase of the members of local Government authorities as an effect of 25 percent women's mandatory quota system introduced and implemented during the last local Government authority election held in February 2018. Before the introduction of 25 percent women's quota, the total number of women represented in local Government authorities was 90 (2.01 percent) while the numbers went up to 1,986 (23.24 percent) after the local Government authority election held in 2018 with the implementation of mandatory 25 percent of women in each of the local Government authorities.

EXECUTIVE LEADERSHIP

WPS IN THE EXECUTIVE SECTOR

The executive sector bears the responsibility of the Government in executing and enforcing laws, policies and regulations. For the purpose of calculating WPS, this study has considered the leadership tiers of the executive as follows:

High: Cabinet, state and deputy ministers of the Government
Mid: Governors, chief ministers and the ministers of the provincial Government
Low: Mayors, Presidents and chairpersons of the local Government authorities

Table 8 indicates the weighted WPS and the average percentages of the executive sector.

TABLE 8.WOMEN'S POWER SCORE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECTOR - March 2019

Executive Sector Weighted WPS = 5			
Leadership Tier	High	Mid	Low
DLM Indicators (percentages)	7	4	2

The overall weighted score of the executive sector stands at 5 percent. This study suggests that women in the executive sector appear to have less share of holding leadership positions than the legislative branch. In terms of the DLM indicators (high, mid, and low), women are better represented in the high tier of the executive (7 percent) compared to the mid and low tiers. Women are poorly represented at the mid-tier (4 percent).Women's representation in the lower tier stands at 2 percent, the least, which shows unsatisfactory overall representation of all three tiers. The study shows that impact of the 25 percent mandatory women's quota system has also not sufficiently translated into leadership positions of women even at the local level of the governance structure. Women's poor representation at the lower tier of the executive reiterates the barriers women face in getting appointed to decision-making positions even at the local levels despite their increased presence. The pattern of the DLM indicators does not provide an encouraging trend of women's advancement in the executive sector. Lower percentage of the lower tier and higher percentage of the high tier suggests that there is no bottom-up leadership development approach in Sri Lanka.

Other than the executive presidency, to which incumbents are elected directly by citizens' vote, all other positions of the executive sector are by appointment. The study highlights political party leadership as playing a key role in creating opportunities for women to advance, though it has not happened in the male-dominated political culture of Sri Lanka. However, two of the five female members of Parliament representing the ruling party have been appointed to cabinet ministerial positions, a proportionately positive trend. The most prominent and largest local Government body, the Municipal Council of Colombo, is also headed by a woman from the ruling party.

Table 9 illustrates women's representation in the executive sector at national, provincial and local Government levels in Sri Lanka.

TABLE 9. WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN THE EXECUTIVE SECTOR IN SRI LANKA[26]

Positions of the Executive	Leadership Tier	Women	Men	Total	Percentage of women
Ministers (Cabinet, State and Deputy) – National Government*	High	4	50	54	7.4
Governors and Ministers (including Chief Ministers)– Provincial Government**	Mid	2	52	54	3.8
Mayors and Chairpersons of MCs, UCs and PSs***	Low	7	333	340	2.1

* Data as of March 2019

** Data based on the last Provincial Council Elections - March 2019

***Data based on the Local Authority Election held in February 10, 2018

However, DLM indicators of the executive sector suggest that women in Sri Lanka do not hold adequate leadership positions in any of the tiers. Further, the findings do not indicate an upward trend of women's advancement as there is no significant women's representation at the low and the mid-tiers. Opinions gathered during the in-depth interviews with representatives of the executive sector strongly suggested that there is little space or opportunity for women to be appointed to executive positions. However, this study showed that women have more space and better opportunities to advance in to decision-making positions in the civil administrative service of the country. Among Asia and the Pacific region, Sri Lanka is one of the lowest placed countries in terms of representation of women in the executive branch of the Government.

The study shows that women in the civil administration have fewer barriers for representation in comparison to the executive of the Government, but still find it challenging to reach leadership positions. Secondary data from a few key civil administrative institutions substantiate the above opinion of interviewees of this study. For example, considering women's representation as ministerial secretaries in 54 ministries of the national Government, there are 16 female secretaries (29.6 percent).[27]Similarly, while women's presence in universities as students and/or lecturers is higher than that of their male counterparts, the University Grants Commission,[28](the apex body mandated to take all decisions connected to universities) has only males as Commission members.[29]

[26] Compiled by CPA, 2019

[27]Office of the Cabinet of Ministers- Sri Lankahttp://www.cabinetoffice.gov.lk/cab/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=25&Item

[28] The University Grants Commission (UGC) is the apex body of the University System in Sri Lanka which was established on December 22nd,1978 under the Universities Act No. 16 of 1978.

[29]https://ugc.ac.lk/en/about-us/commissionmembers.html

Similarly, this trend can be observed even in female dominant sectors such as schools where the majority of teachers are females, but when it comes to principals, the female representation is low as reflected in Table 10.

TABLE 10. FEMALE REPRESENTATION AS PRINCIPALS IN GOVERNMENT SCHOOLS[30]

Institution/ position	Total number	Males	Male (Percentage)	Female	Female (Percentage)
Principals of Government schools	National 333	238	71.5	95	28.5
	Provincial 9,698	7,572	78.1	2,126	21.9

Similarly, as shown in Table 11, in the district and divisional secretariats, despite a majority of females in the secretariats at all positions, the number of female divisional secretaries and district secretaries remain low. In conclusion, Sri Lanka's performance has been disappointing with regard to women's representation in decision-making institutions at all levels.

TABLE 11. WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION AS DISTRICT AND DIVISIONAL SECRETARIES[31]

Institution/ position	Year/ Date	Total number	Males	Male Percentage	Female	Female Percentage
District Secretaries	2017	25	20	80%	5	20.0%
Divisional Secretaries	2018	312	197	63.1%	115	36.9%

Given that females constitute more than 52 percent of the population, ensuring equitable representations is important to deepen democratic governance and facilitate more equitable development outcomes. It is also important given that women may have views, experiences, innovations and perspectives that are different from males. One representative from the executive sector stated, *"The solution to the ethnic conflict has ignored the participation of females and may have robbed the country of seeking a meaningful solution, and that politicians have not understood the benefits of female leadership."*

The study highlighted the issues of lack of gender sensitivity in deciding the composition of various institutions mainly including commissions for which members and chairpersons are appointed. Table 12 illustrates that out of nine selected important commissions in Sri Lanka, women's representation stands between 14 to 33 percent (with three Commissions having no female representation at all) while only one Commission is headed by a woman.

[30] Department of Census and Statistics 2017/2018 http://www.statistics.gov.lk/

[31] Department of Census and Statistics

TABLE 12. WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN SELECTED COMMISSIONS OF SRI LANKA[32]

Name of the commission	Female	Male	Chairperson Gender	Total	Female Percentage
Public Service Commission	2	7	Male	9	22.2
National Police Commission	1	6	Male	7	14.2
National Procurement Commission	1	4	Male	5	20.0
Delimitation Commission of Sri Lanka	1	2	Male	3	33.3
Finance Commission	0	5	Male	5	0.0
Audit Service Commission	0	5	Male	5	0.0
Human Rights Commission of Sri Lanka	2	3	Female	5	40.0
Commission to Investigate Allegations of Bribery or Corruption	1	3	Male	4	25.0
Election Commission	0	3	Male	3	0.0

ADVANCEMENT

Strong decision-making ability, and professional qualifications, 10 to 15 years of Parliamentary presence and party loyalty have been considered enabling factors for advancement. Roots to a strong political background and a strong financial base have also proved to be enabling factors. Therefore experienced female politicians with a strong voter base and females from coalition partners have received various executive posts during the last two decades.

Experience – executive appointments at national level have generally been allocated for partly stalwarts who are experienced politicians with around 10- 15 years of Parliamentary presence.

Coalition partners – executive positions are generally used as bargaining chips with coalition partners.

IMPEDING FACTORS

Patriarchal attitudes are entrenched in party politics and the male decision-makers and this is cited mainly by the female respondents as one of the most significant constraining factors for women to advance in the executive. One of the respondents quoted an example of a female candidate who had a consistent strong voter base, was professionally and academically qualified, and with experience, had proved to be a loyal party member. She was not selected for executive positions in spite of ticking every possible box.

The political leadership of the country, responsible for executive appointments at all three levels of governance, has not taken sufficient affirmative action towards increasing female representation and ensuring gender equality and equity. Further, the study reveals that women in political parties which represent minority communities have even less space and fewer opportunities to reach decision-making levels.

Most of the executive positions are given to party stalwarts at the different levels - national, provincial and local - and political leadership and the key committees have limited female presence. Political gatekeepers, therefore, become an impediment.

[32] Presidential Secretariat Sri Lanka 2018
http://www.Presidentsoffice.gov.lk/

Often female interviewees commented that informal male oriented subcultures used for bonding amongst the inner circle were not a conducive culture to women. Violence, corruption, ribaldry, connections with the underworld, and solving disputes through violence, all the hallmarks of a "boy's game," make politics a setting where Sri Lankan women are intensely uncomfortable to operate in, and if they do, they are labelled derisively.

Financial constraints – once successfully elected into the legislature there is serious financial pressure and women are less likely to attract sponsors. This becomes a major deciding factor at re-election time. The system is such that the person who makes their presence most felt to the public either by providing benefits to people, investing in newspaper, television and social media campaigns, and paying for the most support staff to canvas, is the more likely to win. There is also a need to provide for various needs of one's constituency during one's period of office. It is through successful re-election that one could advance to executive positions. The abysmally low numbers of women that get elected to the legislature would result in correspondingly low numbers who can advance to executive positions.

Silencing of the female voice – unpaid media coverage afforded to females is limited, as media rarely gets involved in conceptual discourse, but seeks sensationalism, serving predefined agendas and even (as one respondent said) requesting women to increase the aggressiveness of their voice for voice cuts to be aired, because violence and controversy sell better. Women of average non-celebrity backgrounds cannot win in this environment because, either they are vilified in public or they are starved of publicity.

Professional jealousy – as a percentage, most of the females in the legislature at different levels are more qualified than the males, *e.g.* ten out of twelve female Parliamentarians are professionals in their field of work including two medical doctors. A representative of the executive stated that *"males feel threatened by inclusion of women in leadership positions of the executive and therefore, male-dominant decision-making processes do not provide space or opportunities for women."* In some instances at local Government, the female committee members and councilors are more qualified than the chairman appointed.

LEGISLATIVE LEADERSHIP

WPS in the Legislative Sector

The legislature is the branch of the Government responsible for enacting laws and statues needed for the country. This study has considered the leadership tiers of the legislature as follows:

High: Representatives of Parliamentary committees at national level
Mid: Members of Parliament at national level
Low: Councilors of provincial councils and local authorities

Table 13 shows the weighted WPS and the average percentages of the legislative sector.

TABLE13. WOMEN'S POWER SCORE OF THE LEGISLATIVE SECTOR - MARCH 2019

Legislative Sector Weighted WPS = 12			
Leadership Tier	High	Mid	Low
DLM Indicators (percentages)	12	5	22

The overall score of the legislative sector stands at 12 which is relatively better than the representation of women in the executive sector. Sri Lanka stands at the second lowest in Asia and the Pacific region with regard to women's representation of the legislative sector. In line with the study methodology, women's representation in seven selected Parliamentary committees was studied under the high tier in which women are less represented (12 percent) compared to the low tier of which 22 percent women's representation is recorded.[33] However, this study found that there is no set criteria for the selection of Committee members and also most importantly, no system to ensure women's representation in making appointments of headships of committees. For example, 16 Sectoral Oversight Committees in Parliament feature only 6.3 percent of female MPs representing memberships.[34] Further, of those 16 Sectoral Oversight Committees, an overwhelming majority of male MPs hold chairperson positions (87.5 percent) while only two chairperson positions (12.5 percent) are held by female MPs. This re-emphasizes the opinions of many respondents who contributed to the qualitative component of this study- that the male-dominated socio-political system does not provide sufficient space and/or opportunity to either women's representation or their share of leadership positions in appointed committees of the legislature. One of the female representatives of the national legislature stated, *"(There is) no gender sensitivity when appointing leadership positions in Parliamentary committees. However we have a women Parliamentarians caucus that gives an opportunity for women MPs to discuss various issues but since it is not a powerful advocacy forum, discussions are not sufficiently translated intoaction".*

Women's representation at the lower tier, namely among the councilors of the provincial and local Governments, reflects relatively better representation at 22 percent. Women in the low tier

[33] Sectoral oversight committees: Committee on Economic Development, Committee on Women and Gender, Committee on Agriculture and Lands, Committee on Energy, Committee on Sustainable Development and Environment and Natural Resources, Committees for special purposes, Committee for Public Accounts and Committee for Public Petition.

[34] One MP can have a membership of more than one committee

of the legislative sector have increased their share of representation in local Government authorities, post 2018. Local Government is considered to be the most accessible entry point for women to come into politics in Sri Lanka. However, increased women's representation in the lower tier is mainly due to the 25 percent women's quota system introduced in 2018.

Women's representation at the mid-tier (5 percent), the national legislature (Parliament), shows poor progress over decades and is the *lowest among all the countries of Asia and the Pacific region*. The WPS by indicator reflects a similarity between the executive mid-tier (4 percent) and the legislative mid-tier (5 percent). It suggests that women's representation in mid level decision-making positions in both executive and legislative sectors appear to have equally stagnated.

Since the independence of Sri Lanka, women's representation in Parliament has varied between 3 to 5 percent but has never gone beyond 6 percent. The DLM study suggests that it is too early to assess the impact of the increased representation of women at the low tier upon the women's representation at the mid-tier. Women in Sri Lanka, though constituting more than half of the population are severely underrepresented at national and provincial levels of the legislative sector in Sri Lanka. Until the Local Government Election2018, the above situation of lack of women's representation was equally applicable there too.

The 13th Amendment to the Constitution was mainly expected to devolve centralized political power to provinces as a solution to the ethnic angle of the power-sharing issue which had expanded to a war in Sri Lanka. However, the study suggests that the consideration of women's perspective in politics and their place in the democratic processes and the country's development agenda has had much less attention.

It may be anticipated in the coming years ahead, that the relatively high women's representation (22 percent) in the low tier, the fourth highest of Asia and the Pacific region at the local Government level, may create a positive impact on the mid-tier, the provincial levels, which is the next layer of the Government structure in Sri Lanka. A representative of the legislative sector stated that *"we need to have a good strategy to build the capacities of female councilors and ensure that the increased numbers of women in LGAs deliver their roles and responsibilities well, prove their competencies, be stronger to contest for the next layer, and become role models so that the quota system will not be perceived as a failure"*

Despite the increased representation at the local Government level, opinions of the study shows that it is not clear whether the women who secured representation have been provided the space and opportunity to effectively influence the policy and development agenda of their respective constituents. Therefore, it is debatable whether the generally established benchmark measure, the proportion of women in the legislative sector, is the sole or best measure of women's political empowerment and their actual share of leadership. However, it should be noted the effectiveness or the impact of increased women's representation at local Government levels is not measured within the scope of this study as well as it is too early to make any assessment thereof.

The advancement of women in the legislature at the national level shows a very marginal increase over the decades. The majority of opinions gathered in this study suggest that the current situation of women's representation is not satisfactory. The study highlights that the inadequate representation of women particularly at the national and provincial levels of the legislative sector is due to a wide range of reasons, including lack of investment of party in building women's leadership qualities, lack of faith of party leaders in the leadership capacity of women, lack of gender consideration and sensitivity in the male-dominated decision-making processes, lack of

women's knowledge of policy formulation, and the lack of commitment from women in power to create a second level political leadership with the capacity to influence decision-making.

The study suggests that those responsible, mainly the political leadership of the country, have in most cases, not taken sufficient affirmative action towards increasing female representation and gender equality; women are underrepresented in political decision-making, placing Sri Lanka lowest among South Asian countries in terms of women's representation in politics. However, the majority of the respondents recognized the space and opportunity created by the present Government enabling women to have a higher representation in politics and the democratic processes. A female representative of the national legislature stated *"Even though we as women still face challenges in this culture of politics, this Government has done a lot more to enhance women's advancement in the political sphere during the last four years and the commitment of the Prime Minister has been appreciable."*

Table 14 shows women's representation in selected committees of Parliament, in Parliament in general and in PCs and LGAs.

TABLE 14. WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN LEGISLATIVE BODIES IN SRI LANKA, 2019[35]

Positions of the Legislature	Leadership Tier	Women	Men	Total	Percentage of women
Committee Members of Parliament – National Government (seven selected committees)*	High	16	118	134	11.9
Parliament Members – National Government	Mid	12	213	225	5.3
Councilors of PCs and Local Government Authorities	Low	2,002	6,999	9,001	22.2

*One person can represent more than one committee

ADVANCEMENT

25 percent quota allocation for females in the local Government elections in 2018 – the quota system has been a definitive factor responsible for increasing female representation at local Government levels. Despite the drive for gender equality promoted at the Beijing UN World Conference on Women in 1995, and the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)[36]signed in 1981, successive Sri Lankan Governments took very little responsibility for narrowing the gender gap in political representation at all levels except for the quota that was written up into the manifesto of the two political parties.

Voter base – a proven or a potential voter base has been key to convincing political party leadership to provide nominations (It was noted that the most difficult process in the system is to obtain nominations from one of the prominent parties). A potential voter base could be due to popularity as a celebrity or financial strength to run a highly successful campaign, whilst the

[35] Source: Compiled by CPA, 2019

[36] An international treaty adopted in 1979 by the United Nations General Assembly

existing voter base would predominantly be from a family member retiring from politics or a deceased family member who was in power, or a family member in Parliament which would result in a voter base at a provincial or local level.

Political background – there is a trend to provide nominations for family members due to the bargaining power of the other existing members. Family support was cited as a key enabler for females to enter politics. Several female members shared that the influence of their fathers as role models, encouragement of family and spouses, shared responsibilities, family values and exposure to the political arena were contributory factors to their decision to contest.

IMPEDING FACTORS

Interviews highlighted patriarchal political parties, electoral processes, media, family commitments and stereotyped roles as core impediments that prevent women's entry into the legislature and factors that also exist within the system and have to be faced, once elected.

Patriarchal Political Parties

Sri Lankan political parties are predominantly male-dominated with deep-seated misogynistic attitudes and traditions. Patriarchy is entrenched in party politics and females face discrimination in the nomination process, in using their freedom of independent decision-making, in representing at various committees within the party, and in being consulted for decision-making, time allocated to speak, and subjects assigned.

The difficulty in obtaining nominations from their political parties and the restriction of political space for women in the legislature has been identified as two key areas among many that impede women's entry into and subsequent progress in politics.

Nominations – the main political parties are reluctant to give nominations to women, with a rate of less than 5 percent of general nominations being of women. Similar to the powers of leaders, secretaries and other duty bearers of political parties, members of nomination boards and working committees also operate within powerful patriarchal political structures having decision-making authority. The study highlights women's low representation in nomination boards and working committees. Unless a woman enters through the death of a father or husband, there are significant barriers to confront in the nomination process. Even established female candidates who have been elected previously have been denied nominations. The study shows that despite women having leadership skills, knowledge on policy-making, sensitivity, commitment to serve the public, integrity and educational qualifications, all such criteria become secondary when nominations are given to candidates.

During the interviews the females in the legislature recounted their own ordeal in trying to secure nomination, where even previously winning candidates have been refused nominations. Two of the interviewees that were initially refused nominations comfortably secured their seat in the legislature. According to most female interviewees, nominations are given to women to ensure that there is a female in the list. The female candidate therefore is not expected to win *"...they fielded me with four males with past experience and good voter base, that they were sure would win a seat and did not expect me to win…I beat two of them."*

In spite of election manifestos of the two leading parties that speak about political empowerment of women as well as a quota as an affirmative action, parties hardly took steps during the 2015 General Election to increase female nomination or to nominate females through the national list. This is in spite of the fact that there are large numbers of female academics specialized in various

subject areas, and professional women who have considerable grassroots level experience in terms of community and economic development.

National – there were 36 recognized political parties, 301 Independent groups and 7,620 candidates for the General Election in 2010. However, there were only around a hundred female contestants from all parties, the majority fielded from various independent parties, while the need to increase female representation in Parliament by increasing the percentage of nominations for women, was a central issue raised during the elections.[37]

Provincial – as depicted in Table 15, female nominations for Provincial Councils remained less than 5 percent amongst the main political parties.

TABLE 15. NOMINATIONS FOR WOMEN IN PROVINCIAL COUNCIL ELECTIONS 2008/2009 BY THE 3 PROMINENT PARTIES[38]

	Total Number of Nominations Given*	Nominations for women	% of Nominations for women
UPFA	417	18	4.3
JVP	417	16	3.8
UNP	417	14	3.4

Local Government – Local Government elections were held in Sri Lanka on March 17, 2011, July 23, 2011, and October 8, 2011 to elect 4,327 members for 322 of the 335 local authorities in the country. Only 72 women were successful in receiving nominations for the local Government election. Out of these candidates, 11 women were voted into the local authorities of their respective districts.[39]

Limited space for women within the parties – the study revealed that the space for female leadership within the party hierarchy is extremely limited. Distribution of resources during an election campaign is not equitable for women in terms of financial resources and time allocated for speaking on stages and promotional events. One female interviewer described affirmative action taken by her leader requesting all other male colleagues to support her during the campaign and this was noted as an exception to the norm rather than the norm in itself. However the support she subsequently received from colleagues while much improved was not completely substantial.

[37] http://www.ou.ac.lk/ours/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/HSS-11-Formated.pdf

[38] *The Struggle for Equal Political Participation of Women in Sri Lanka, ChulaniKodikara, October 2009* http://www.lk.undp.org/content/dam/srilanka/docs/governance/WPE%20FINAL%20PDF.pdf

[39] http://www.ou.ac.lk/ours/wp-content/uploads/2017/05/HSS-11-Formated.pdf

Political parties have shown a lack of commitment in recognizing women as worthy candidates or in strengthening women's roles as political leaders by providing them with resources to develop a constituency. Once elected to the legislature, women shared difficulty in decision-making. According to respondents even simpler decisions within local Government are taken by the party hierarchy and women have been threatened with party discipline if they do not fall in line. Limitation of resources and time allocation are extended even after election. This renders women powerless to work, develop their credibility and seek re-election within their constituencies. Access to meet the political party leadership is limited and there is no grievance mechanism is available. Intra-party female meetings are frowned upon and this limits the opportunity for solidarity and partnership amongst the few female representatives split into different parties.

Some positive measures were shared at the national legislature while the mid and the lower levels had extremely limited space for interaction. There were instances of women being denied the opportunity to utilize their financial allocation for development since the males have a monopoly over the development projects that would be implemented. Women from the local Government and provincial Governments indicated that their space for expression, scope of work, opportunity to exercise leadership skills and access to party resources are limited. Women from the national legislature were of the view that limited time is allocated for females to address national issues; entry into committees with their proven expertise was difficult; and that there is a reluctance to accept, value or give due consideration to ideas, suggestions and recommendations from women with the same ideas coming from the males being highly appreciated and valued. Academics were critical of the role of women citing that they could present a better voice especially in Parliament and, in response, the women in the legislature found that most of their legislative revisions, amendments and other policies are often obstructed by their party, cabinet or other male-dominated leadership structures.

Electoral Process – Given the electoral system, all the political parties design their election campaigns to win more votes and thus, the priority is given to the candidates having more popularity, ones who can finance more campaign work and cover a larger geographical area as well as face more challenges including potential election violence.

The current electoral process does not elect from a single ward or constituency but from wider multi-member districts where voters express preferences for multiple candidates from the same party they wish to vote for. This results in strong and often violent competition within the party for preference from the same area/constituency. Women interviewed in this study recalled personal experiences of violence, kidnapping, assault, threats, thuggery, baseless allegations, personal attacks on character, smear campaigns, violent social media attacks and invasion of personal space. At the face of such discrimination, and the blatant violation of privacy, most competent women prefer to remain within their comfort zones. One of the interviewees representing the legislative sector stated, she *"believes that she will be a good leader using her vast experience in public office and development issues and that she has the network to be elected and she has also been approached by various people to contest but she stoutly takes the position that she will never contest elections due to the prevailing condition"*.

To cover a wider geographical area whilst considering the population density, candidates require substantial financial commitment for promotions. Therefore, existing household names, whether by means of achievement in sports, cinema or television, as well as family political background or any such celebrity status find it much easier to access voters and media coverage. This holds true for both genders according to the respondents of this study. In the absence of any such celebrity status, women find it extremely difficult to compete with the colossal finance budgets thrown by the male counterparts to secure votes, including various tangible and tacit incentives for voting.

The restrictive environment even once elected makes it extremely difficult for female politicians to influence and be involved in matters that are relevant to the constituency and to meet the reasonable expectations of voters. Therefore, it is extremely difficult to seek re-election and convince voters. Absence of a constituency to nurture and develop using their leadership skills and the powers vested in the office elected robs females of creating positive role models. This situation is used widely by most of the male respondents to state that female politicians have been and are unsuccessful, unproductive, inefficient and ineffective due to circumstances and expectations, which ends up creating a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Excessive corruption witnessed at all levels of Sri Lankan political structures, parties, and individuals including public officials at all levels, have been cited by female interviewees as a key point of frustration by the male politicians regarding females, since it has been difficult for them to convince and include females in various such schemes. Convicted female criminals in prison number below 5 percent[40]and females have overall, a greater reputation for being honest, trustworthy and averse to corruption.

In an Asian culture where a woman's reputation and honor is highly valued, the slander and vilification of females by political opponents targets women at their most vulnerable. Most interviewees, both male and female, unequivocally identified this as a challenge and the ability to withstand such was cited as a factor to advance in the political field. This was identified by a majority of female interviewees of this study as a deliberate strategy used to easily thwart a female opponents' political advancement.

Media – the sexist depiction of women and the use of sexualized images of women candidates undermines the role of women in politics and negatively contributes to the socio-cultural recognition of women and discourages female political participation. Many interviewees commented that there is no wider discourse and public understanding of *why* women should be involved in politics, beyond mere numerical representation. The benefit to society and the country overall with the inclusion of women is not discussed. A senior female from the legislature lamented the fact that greater female representation could have resulted in a broader dialogue on the ethnic issue and perhaps a solution could have been collectively formulated. One of the respondents recalled the incident where her voice cut was refused by a mainstream media outlet since she was aggressively and angrily communicating her point of view.

Family Commitments – There is a deep-rooted prejudice among the general public pertaining to the role of women. Women have greater time and mobility constraints than men, as gender norms and expectations place primary responsibility for childcare and domestic duties on women. These responsibilities directly influence the amount of time that a woman can invest in her profession or politics. A female respondent stated, *"Irrespective of our position, women are responsible for the work at home; I start my day around 3.00am in the morning and I know my colleague has to attend to her family, her parents and the ailing parents of her husband too."*

In most families, the time and support given by males in carrying out day-to-day household chores is limited, and women are expected to sort household duties and care work by themselves. Even in affluent families a respondent stated that she still has a supervisory role over the housekeepers and is responsible to ensure smooth operation especially for the children's welfare. The narrative, behaviour and expectations have remained the same over decades.

[40] Department of Census and Statistics, 2017

Stereotyped roles – the study further shows that in Sri Lanka, given the impact of male dominant socio-political culture in existence for decades, women themselves have created a benchmark by assuming and accepting that politics is not the role of women. A representative of the national legislature stated *"this society is still highly influenced by patriarchal attitudes and cultural limitations resulting in women limiting their thinking and continuing to perceive that – politics is beyond their mandate..."*

Restrictions are imposed by family and society. A common social norm for example suggests that it is unsafe for a female to travel at night. Politicians are expected to be available around the clock. One of the female representatives of legislature stated *"My husband could leave the home and attend any matter regardless of whether it is day or night time...but for me as a woman, I cannot leave home like that due to family responsibilities."*

Dirty Politics – there is a belief that this field is for males because of its aggressive, argumentative nature, violence and corruption in politics, the perception that women do not have the skill or expertise to handle such situations, and the underlying fear that the institution of family will be negatively affected due to a female engaging in politics. This leads to a subconscious voter bias against women even among women themselves.

JUDICIAL LEADERSHIP

WPS in the Judicial Sector

The judiciary is the branch of the Government responsible for interpreting the Constitution and other laws of the land and determining any dispute connected thereto. This study has considered leadership tiers of the judiciary as follows:

High: Judges of the Supreme Court and the Court of Appeal
Mid: High court judges
Low: Judges of the District and Magistrate Courts

Table 16 shows the weighted WPS and the average percentages of the judicial sector.

TABLE 16. WOMEN'S POWER SCORE OF THE JUDICIAL SECTOR – MARCH 2019

Judicial Sector Weighted WPS = 15			
Leadership Tier	High	Mid	Low
DLM Indicators (percentages)	9	13	36

The WPS in the judicial sector in Sri Lanka is 15 percent. This sector shows the highest women's representation of all four sectors and also stands as the third highest sector score of the Asia and the Pacific region while Philippines has WPS of 27 for the same sector. Due to the inclusion of indicators of the judicial sector, the Diamond Model for Sri Lanka takes on a more pyramidal shape. Women are better represented at the lower tier which stands at 36 percent, the highest women's representation in Asia and the Pacific followed by the Philippines with 35 percent while all other countries stand at 15 percent or less.

Sri Lankan DLM indicators reflect that women are reasonably well represented at the mid-tier of the judicial sector with a score of 13 but are still not well represented compared to the higher number of women in the lower tier of the judiciary. High courts were considered as the mid-tier also bringing the argument that higher women's representation at the lower tier does not sufficiently indicate an upward advancement. The situation raises serious concerns as it shows that women, at 5 percent, are poorly represented at the high tier of the judicial sector. Sri Lanka is among a few countries of the region showing the least percentage of women's representation at the high tier. Despite a Sri Lankan female judge having held the position of Chief Justice, the highest position of the judiciary at one time, such leadership opportunities do not seem to have been institutionalized with affirmative action that ensures consistency of women's representation at the high tier. The opinions gathered in this study strongly suggest that a quota system for the judicial sector is not an appropriate solution for gender equality. One of the representatives from the judicial sector stated that *"Decisions related to representation, leadership, promotions, opportunities e.t.c. in the judicial sector, particularly of judges, should essentially be based on qualifications, skills, performance (quantity and quality), professionalism and integrity but not on gender. However, systems and procedures designed for that purpose should be clear, transparent, accountable and impartial in order to respect the right to equality and there should not be discrimination for women due to their gender."*

Progress

The judiciary consists of the Supreme Court, the Court of Appeal, the High Court, the District Court, the Magistrate's Court and Primary Court. Although provisions exist for trials for serious offences to be held before a jury, at present all cases are heard before professional judges.

The judiciary in Sri Lanka, unlike the other three sectors of the study, has seen a systematic progression with females successfully breaking the glass ceiling in reaching high tiers of the judiciary including the post of Chief Justice. Women have held key academic positions in the law faculties as deans, asAttorneys General, Supreme Court judges, and Chief Justice. Female Sri Lankan judges who have been widely respected both nationally and internationally have issued landmark decisions. Women continue to dominate in legal studies excelling in academic performance year after year. The advent of exam-oriented recruitment for court registrars, attorney general's department, magistrate court judges, district court judges, and high court judges has paved the way for greater female representation in these areas. Table 17shows that a higher percentage of females are seen in District and Magistrate Courts, which is the entry level of the judiciary.

TABLE 17. REPRESENTATION OF JUDGES IN THE JUDICIAL SECTOR OF SRI LANKA - 2019[41]

Leadership Tier	Type of Court	Female	Male	Total	Female Percentage
High	Supreme Court and Court of Appeal	2	20	22	9.18
Mid	Highy Courts	10	67	77	12.99
Low	District and Magistrate Courts	70	123	193	36.27

ADVANCEMENT

The study shows that there are no gender-based barriers that prevent women's advancement in the judicial sector. However, the prevalence of female judges in the lower courts (District and Magistrate Courts) is not at all matched in High Courts, the Court of Appeal and the Supreme Court. A retired judicial sector representative stated that *"Although a seniority based promotion system is in place, it does not happen consistently based on the merits and the impact of the patriarchal value system in promoting judges from lower courts to higher courts cannot be ignored."*

The three common advancement criteria identified were as follows:

- Qualifications and examination as a criterion for selection have been critical enablers for entry into the sector.
- The exam-based promotions has been a similar enabler for advancement in their career.
- Willingness to travel and be relocated anywhere has been cited as a key criterion for advancement.

[41]Department of Census and Statistics - http://www.statistics.gov.lk/Gender%20Statistics/Tables/Empowerment/T08.pdf

Unlike the legislature there is more female representation at the entry level; however the percentage drops drastically when moving to the higher courts. There are no reported barriers at entry levels and the drop witnessed leading up to high courts has been attributed to reluctance to relocate, challenges in meeting work-life balance, the closer public and media scrutiny and satisfaction levels in the current positions. Interviewees commented on the large number of women in legal academic studies and their success rates. Table 18 shows that intakes to legal studies programs consisted of over 60 percent females.

TABLE 18. ENROLMENT OF UNIVERSITY UNDERGRADUATES FOR LEGAL STUDIES IN SRI LANKA[42]

Academic programme - 2016/2017	Male Percentage	Female Percentage
Law – Enrolment of University Undergraduates	36.8	63.2

Source: Department of Census and Statistics

As Table 19 indicates, secondary data too shows that women's representation in the Bar Association of Sri Lanka (BASL) as lawyers and in other Government institutions affiliated with the overall judicial sector, is higher than that of the judges in the highest two courts and the High Courts of Sri Lanka.

TABLE 19. WOMEN AS LAWYERS AND GOVERNMENT LAW OFFICERS IN 2017[43]

Institution/ position	Year/ Date	Total number	Males	Male Percentage	Female	Female Percentage
Lawyers registrations at the Bar Association of Sri Lanka	2017	1,096	383	34.9	713	65.1
Government Law Officers – AG's Department	2017	203	96	47.3	107	52.7
Legal Draftsman's Department	2017	28	3	10.7	25	89.7
Commission to Investigate Allegations of Bribery Or Corruption	2017	29	5	17.2	24	82.8

However, advancement - for those who represent the judicial sector, judges in the Supreme Court and Court of Appeal, officials of the Judicial Service Commission (except its Chairperson) and the Attorney General - is based on appointment by the President and ratification by the Constitutional Council. Interviewees expressed concern regarding the use of seniority as the primary basis in the promotional procedure instead of using performance criteria leading up to the high courts. The study revealed that even if they meet criteria with generally accepted qualifications such as education, professional skills, legal knowledge, experience and integrity; only a handful of women have been represented in the highest courts in Sri Lanka. A former

[42] *Department of Census and Statistics, Gender Statistics 2017* http://www.statistics.gov.lk/

[43] *Department of Census and Statistics, Gender Statistics 2017* http://www.statistics.gov.lk/

member representing the highest courts stated, *"Women are not adequately represented at the top of the court hierarchy though some exceptional females represent the Attorney General's Department. However, what matters is whether gender sensitive women are represented in the courts rather than mere women's representation. Because, women judges can equally be patriarchal as men unless they are gender sensitive..."*

IMPEDING FACTORS

Family commitments – the study showed that family responsibilities, mainly the commitment needed for childcare and elderly care responsibilities, children's education and marriage are some of the decisive barriers which impede the advancement of female judges in the judicial sector. This negative correlation was highlighted by both male and female interviewees of the judicial sector in the study. One of the female representatives of the judicial sector stated *"Women's family commitments and caregiving responsibilities matter a lot in preventing many female judges from advancing in their career in the judicial sector. Therefore, the issue of work-life balance too has to be addressed in order to see more women in leadership positions in higher courts..."*

Appointments and promotions – respondents from the judicial sector emphasized that direct intakes from the Attorney General's Department and the Private Bar to higher courts have prevented advancement opportunities for both male and female judges. The practice continues of appointing the judges to the highest court directly from the AG's department. The majority of respondents perceived this practice as one of the impediments for judges who are in the seniority list in advancing to higher leadership positions in the sector. Female respondents in particular highlighted the absence of formal and acceptable criteria for appointments to the highest court and reiterated the need for reasoning for decisions taken by the Constitutional Council. One of the female representatives of the high tier of judicial sector stated *"Promotions/ appointments are not always based on merits and thus the process should be further developed to ensure there is a proper, transparent and accountable mechanism to evaluate performance and other qualifications when appointments are made to top level positions."*

Societal Pressure and Public perception of legal profession – Media harassment, manipulation and falsification, social media misinformation and hate campaigns, personal threats, public vilification and a politicised environment have restricted some women from seeking further advancement.

While commenting that graduation rates were not reflected by the number of females in legal practice as counsels, interviewees stated that the majority in the private legal practise were male lawyers.

The requirement to defend perpetrators of extremely violent and disturbing crime such as child abuse, rape and incest may explain the low participation of female attorneys in the High Courts where this type of case would be heard. Defence would involve detailed questioning of the victims and explicit details which was construed as culturally uncomfortable for females and also defending such accused would be viewed as going against the flow of justice. The thought of handling serious criminal cases and dealing with extremely violent criminals too is daunting for some female lawyers. A representative from the judicial sector stated *"Female lawyers tend to prefer to operate as instructing attorneys as opposed to lead counsel while some others give up their legal practice upon their marriages and are inclined to full time corporate sector jobs".*

SECURITY LEADERSHIP

WPS in the Security Sector

The three armed forces, the Army, Navy and Air Force, are responsible for protecting the country and its people from security threats, and the duty of the Police is to enforce the law and order of the country. This study has considered the leadership tiers of the security sector as follows:

High: The top three Commissioned Ranks
Mid: The next three Commissioned Ranks (For Police: Senior Superintendent of Police)
Low: The next three Commissioned Ranks (For Police: Superintendent of Police)

Table 20 shows the weighted WPS and the average percentages of the security sector.

TABLE 20. WOMEN'S POWER SCORE OF THE SECURITY SECTOR - JULY 2019

Security Sector Weighted WPS = 1[44]			
Leadership Tier	High	Mid	Low
DLM Indicators (percentages)	0	2	4

Accessing credible data, in particular of the three armed forces, was extremely challenging. There was a high possibility of accessing the data of the three armed forces at the beginning of the study, but the changes in the political and security context of the country in October 2018 and April 2019 respectively resulted in a serious negative impact on accessing data needed for the calculation and weighting of security sector WPS by indicators.

Data was available only for the Police and the Navy and thus the security sector weighted WPS is one percent. Representation of women by indicators reflect that the lower tier of the security sector has four percent while the mid-tier has only two percent. Women's representation is zero in the high tier. Women's recruitment into the Police Department has definite structural limitations due to the predetermined cadre system affecting available vacancies. Of the total Police cadre, as of 2019, women's representation is 10 percent and only very few women are able to advance in their career due to issues with promotions and the limited vacancies available for women. The cadre system hinders women's advancement and violates the fundamental right to equality. Only one female has been able to reach the position of Senior Superintendent of Police (SSP)once in the 150 year history of the Police Department.

Based on the available secondary data, when considering actual figures pertaining to women's representation in the security sector in general, it shows that women are better represented in the Police with 10.2 percent compared to the three armed forces. Among the three armed forces, women are better represented in the Air Force, with 6.3 percent and they record lowest representation in the Navy with 2.3 percent.

[44] Data covers only the Department of Police and the Navy

Table 21 reflects the representation of women in the security sector.

TABLE 21. WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN THE THREE ARMED FORCES AND Police IN SRI LANKA 2017[45]

Institution/ position	Year	Total number	Males	Male Percentage	Female	Female Percentage
Army	2017	-	-	96.6	-	3.4
Navy	2017	-	-	97.7	-	2.3
Air Force	2017	-	-	93.7	-	6.3
Police	2017	85,665	76,893	89.8	8872	10.2

As head of state, the President of Sri Lanka, is nominally the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. The National Security Council, chaired by the President, is the authority charged with formulating and executing defence policy for the nation. The highest level of military authority is the Ministry of Defence.

Recruitment, promotions, operation, role and scope of military operations are defined by the nature of the conflict. This also determines the nature of recruitment drives at different times. The daily battles on ground, air and sea and the constant threats, direct attacks on bases and stations and the potential loss of lives meant that the operation had to be dynamic and effective to meet these challenges.

Women's representation and the space available for them to hold decision-making leadership positions vary throughout the three security forces and the Police department. In the three security forces, a female officer can reach up to one of the highest three ranks of the high tier-the position of Major General. The proportion of higher rank officers is pyramidal in the Army, and it is the same for both men and women. Appointments are made based on the vacancies and there are separate vacancies for men and women.

The Sri Lankan Police was entirely male-dominated until 1952, the year women were enrolled to the Police for the first time. The rank of Woman Police Sub Inspector was introduced in 1976 and after 12 years, in 1988, a woman Police inspector was promoted to the rank of ASP.[46]

The Department of Police maintains categorisations of cadre according to male and female and limits positions available for women. This structural limitation is a barrier for women's participation and advancement within the Police.[47]Only one female post of senior superintendent of Police has been listed in the Police cadre list approved for 2018. As per the 19th Amendment to the Constitution, Article 155G(1)(a) provides powers for the National Police Commission for appointments, promotions, transfers, disciplinary control and dismissal of Police officers, in consultation with the Inspector-General of Police. Further, Article 155G(3) provides, inter alia, for formulating schemes of recruitment, promotions and transfers. This study revealed that the

[45]Department of Census and Statistics
http://www.statistics.gov.lk/
[46]www.Police.lk
[47]http://www.sundaytimes.lk/180812/news/there-can-never-be-a-woman-igp-in-sri-lanka-306659.html

structural barrier of limited leadership positions available for women is known to the National Police Commission which is the decision-making authority, although no solution has yet been provided to resolve the same. A representative from the security sector stated, *"Given the significance of the role of women Police officers, there is a need for expanding women cadre and increasing available vacancies for women at higher ranks in the Police service. The Department of Police cannot do that and there should be a political will to allocate sufficient resources to facilitate women to further advance in their careers."*

In the three security forces, members of regular cadre have limited opportunity compared to officers appointed in legal and medical sections. The latter can advance in their job while the former face a limitation of being allowed to serve only a particular number of years. This criterion limits the service of a regular member either to 15 years of service or till the age of 45 years whichever comes first. The study revealed that due to this situation a majority of women, having both leadership qualities and necessary qualifications, are nevertheless compelled to give up expectations of advancing in their careers.

ADVANCEMENT

Advancement has been primarily due to the system of promotion based on examinations and the recruitment of females for professional and technical fields such as doctors and lawyers with the decision to recruit to higher ranks directly based on education. For example, direct appointments are given for graduates as Assistant Superintendent of Police. The installation of a cadre for women have initially been the reason that women were able to move into the Police, however the cadre numbers that have not increased is presently featuring as an impediment. The escalation of the conflict created openings for more female recruitment, for routine operations such as supporting with security checks. Interviewees described the sudden recruitment of large batches of women to meet the various needs.

Women in the Police force have limited working hours in comparison to their male counterparts. This has enabled the female Police officers to balance their family commitments but also restricts their involvement in the Police work.

Sports achievements have been cited as a key factor in advancement along with the ability to serve in any part of the country.

IMPEDING FACTORS

Women's representation and the space available for them to hold decision-making leadership positions vary among the three security forces and the Police department. In the three security forces, a female officer can reach up to one of the highest three ranks of the high tier-for the position of Major General. The proportion of higher rank officers is pyramidal in the Army, and it is the same for both men and women. Appointments are made based on the vacancies and there are separate vacancies for men and women.

The Sri Lankan Police maintains categorisations of cadre according to male and female and has limited positions available for women. Female cadre is around 10 percent of the total Police force. This structural limitation is a barrier for women's participation and advancement within the Police.[48]Only one female post of senior superintendent of Police has been listed in the Police cadre.

[48] http://www.sundaytimes.lk/180812/news/there-can-never-be-a-woman-igp-in-sri-lanka-306659.html

Limited period of service - in the Army, two limits are imposed on service periods of female members of the women's corps. According to the provisions of Sri Lanka Army Women's Corps Regulations, all female members of the women's corps are eligible for pensions after serving for 15 years. However, they may get extensions and work beyond 15 years of service upon their choice and depending on the need but such extended service period can maximum be only until they reach 45 years of age. This age limit imposed on the members of the women's corps is in variance to the males who are eligible to work until 55. Similar retirement procedures are adopted in the Navy and the Air Force as well. The study revealed that due to this situation a number of women, having both leadership qualities and necessary qualifications, are nevertheless compelled to give up any expectations of advancing in their career.

This rule does not apply to professional/technical recruitments such as posts of medical doctors, dentists, lawyers, officers of the information technology section, and officers in agriculture division. Since the recruitments during the war were based on particular ground requirements, there was no succession plan or a career development plan derived for female cadres. The observations of the male interviewees in all four sectors of the security is that there is a specific purpose of the security forces and that females do not match up to the physical endurance, physical strength, extremely harsh and remote terrains and conditions and one-on-one physical combat. Therefore, in the Police, female officers are hardly taken on raids, operational activities or stationed in road blocks. In the Army there have been a small number that have gone through the commando training and have served in combat zones.[49]

The security sector does not provide females with equal opportunity and the female presence is limited. Roles are clearly demarcated as male and female for strategic reasons.

The work time restriction facility afforded to the female Police force has also become a restrictive factor since it limits required exposure and experience and thus obstructs their career advancement. The Police force having a consistent mandate to protect society naturally extends this approach internally to its own female Police staff and therefore also restricts their exposure and experience thus limiting opportunities.

Perception of female capacity and physical endurance by the male decision-makers has restricted opportunities for females. Cadre is limited and the pyramid is even smaller at the top for females so there is stagnation in the same role for decades. A respondent stated that even if a woman wishes to perform certain tasks she remains limited in her role until such time that society is willing to accept her capabilities.

Male interviewees commented that if they were to deploy females into the battlefield and operational matters including duties through the night, there would be social outcry against this. Female interviewees commented that remoteness and physical endurance was not actually challenging to them and that during demanding situations they felt that the women were working with greater cohesion.

[49]"Sri Lanka Women's Corps."
https://www.google.com/url?q=https://alt.Army.lk/slawc/history-slawc&sa=D&ust=1568462282986000&usg=AFQjCNETXMD41pehfjjKfRPAjV1r7Ckgfw

WOMEN'S PROMOTIONS AND GLASS CEILINGS

Findings of the DLM study confirm that in Sri Lanka too, glass ceilings prevent capable and qualified women from advancing in their careers beyond an invisible barrier point. Such limitations may have been created by deeply entrenched patriarchal attitudes, social norms, structural discrimination, cultural and traditional practices, and long standing perceptions of women as exclusively mothers and home-makers. This phenomenon is more subtle and often cannot really be addressed through legislation or regulation since it is not contained within written policy or practices that deliberately hinder women's advancement. However, the study suggests that the glass ceiling impact restricts women's mobility and advancement in many fields including executive, legislative, judicial and security sectors.

The WPS data of this study consistently shows strong female representation in the lower tiers of the legislative (22 percent) and judicial sectors (36 percent), while there is a much lower representation in mid and high tiers across all the sectors.

The findings reveal that equality of opportunity (a more tangible factor which can be regulated to some extent by law) is insufficient to ensure equality of representation. Culture has an important role to play in all this and society needs to emphasise the importance of equality without which the glass ceiling phenomenon will continue to force female leaders to stagnate at a certain position. Thus the glass ceiling makes it hard for women to obtain and secure their places in the same way men acquire power-related positions in the actual context. For example, women in the security forces of Sri Lanka are required to retire when they reach the age of 45 years or after serving for maximum 15 years, whichever comes first. This regulation does not affect women in medical and legal sections in security forces.

According to retired high ranking security personnel interviewed, *"...there are a number of women in the forces, performing exceptionally well in their duties, education, training, and many other areas. When they reach the best level of their service, they are compelled to retire due to the age limit while men in the same level are able to freely move up in their positions. This discriminatory structural barrier needs to be reviewed and changed. Women should have the right to decide whether they want to advance... but it should not be decided by the system or procedure."*

Women in the 150 year old Police Department render a remarkably significant service in Sri Lanka where more than half of the population are women. The study shows that there is are serious obstacles against women getting promoted to advance in their career ladder in the Police service, mainly due to structural discrimination they face. The cadre system of the Police department is fixed and promotions for women Police officers do not essentially depend on qualifications, performance, skills and promotion criteria. It is entirely based on the available positions in the cadre. Since there has not been affirmative action to address this gender-based discrimination, in the history of the Police service, only one woman has ever become a SSP.

Where graduates are appointed directly to ASP positions, while men have the opportunity to advance in their career, women who are recruited and trained on the same basis and perform similar duties face the structural barriers caused by cadre limits and the compulsory retirement age. Thus, the impact of the glass ceiling effect here is that it violates women's fundamental right to equality guaranteed under section 12(2) of the Constitution in Sri Lanka, unfairly obstructing women who want to advance in their chosen career paths.

A retired high ranking official of the Police department stated that, *"Women's role in the Police service is very important. There are discussions to increase women cadre from 10 percent to 15 percent. The bottlenecks of*

the cadre system are not something carved in stone - decision-makers can bring necessary changes to discriminatory regulations".

Society, particularly in less developed nations, imposes upon women the basic responsibility for the management of the household including care-giving at home, from child-care to aged-care. These demands on their time and energy severely impact potential advancement in careers and lead to a struggle to balance demands from work and home. Significant barriers which obstruct women in terms of career advancement include the lack of a proper social support framework to share responsibilities in the home, and the lack of systems that facilitate flexible work arrangements.

A female representative of the judicial sector stated,*"Female judges, particularly in District and Magistrate courts in the judicial sector perform well but when they want to take maternity leave, it affects quality and timely service delivery. Also women face challenges when they are transferred to remote areas. In such situations, their mental status is severely affected due to the dilemma of managing work-life balance… So, at times, women themselves create a limit beyond which they keep no career ambition and are satisfied with a level comfortable to manage work-life balance…"*[50]

Women also find difficulty in advancing in the mainstream, male-dominant political system in Sri Lanka. While men can freely advance forward and upward from local to provincial and national level politics, women often cannot progress even if the way ahead is clearly visible. The study shows a trend by decision-makers in political parties to judge women's leadership skills and competencies differently from those of men. For example in evaluating for leadership positions they judge women's leadership qualities more harshly than men, holding women to a higher standard of education, management skills, experience, character, and integrity more critically than for their male counterparts. One of the representatives of the legislative sector stated *"When a female is to be appointed for a leadership position, males in the decision-making bodies of political parties look into voter base, experience, education, integrity and many other criteria whereas no such comprehensive assessment is made when offering positions to males. At times, even after complying with all such criteria, women may not get the due position… because there is no commitment to their inclusion."*

A former member of the executive branch of the Government stated that *"The underlying issue of women's empowerment or their leadership is not simply the women's representation… it is gender sensitivity that is lacking in our society. Implementation of policies and programs will not be successful as long as gender sensitivity is missing in the discourse on overall women's empowerment".*

The study shows that factors such as ethnicity, religion, language, cast, sexual orientation and age have a bearing upon leadership opportunities in the legislative, executive, judicial and security sectors. These variables have had different degrees of impact over decades and some of those still having adverse impact particularly on women's leadership, discouraging women from realizing their leadership potential.

Respondents of this study highlighted that several decades ago, cast and social status have been decisive factors for eligibility in appointments in the judicial and security sectors in particular. The hold of caste ideology has certainly become weaker at present, caste discrimination has certainly not been eliminated from Sri Lankan society as a whole.
However, introducing formal examination systems, in the government sector in particular , have enabled women to climb up in the leadership roles just as selection criteria focuses on the respective educational and professional qualifications, skills and experience, not gender. .

[50] Referring to delays in progress of cases if a judge takes leave, as no one else can handle same

The study showed that in some communities, cultural and religious practices and beliefs impose limitations on female leadership. This can be observed mostly in the Muslim communities and among the estate communities in which restrictions on women's mobility are more pronounced than in other communities. A representative from the legislative sector stated, *"Women in the estate sector are the most excluded in democratic processes in this country for several decades as a result of their ethnicity and not only opportunities for women representing up-country Tamil to effectively engage in politics are very low but also they are deprived of enjoying basic human rights. That is why we have happened to think of initiating new political journey which facilitate women in the estate sector to voice for their rights*"

Consideration of people with disabilities can be seen as one of the major barriers in the context of representation and leadership of the security sector while the situation of other sectors is also not so different. The security sector mainly bases recruitment/promotions on physical fitness and endurance whereas any disability becomes a predetermined factor that excludes women and men from having equal opportunities of representation. Though disability is not visibly treated as a factor for exclusion, the lack of a national level policy framework to formally recognize the significance of the inclusivity aspect in women's leadership can be highlighted as an area to be addressed for affirmative policy and program actions.

Religion in almost all the ethnic groups of Sri Lanka has predominantly been led by males; social and cultural practices embedded in society have historically given second level position to women in holding religious leadership roles. The social, cultural and religious practices of all communities have prevented women from accessing, worshiping, taking part in events and contributing to decision-making of their respective religious institutions to different degrees. Therefore, such religious orientation creates a social norm that strongly legitimizes the discouraging of women's representation in leadership positions in society.

The majority of respondents of this study reiterated the clear need for inclusivity of women leaders in all sectors of the government. A representative of the executive sector stated, *"Women should essentially be inclusive in key decision-making positions mainly because the importance of utilising women's leadership qualities such as innovation, integrity, flexibility and gender sensitivity is so vital to make inclusive development benefited for women and men equally in Sri Lanka".*

SRI LANKA WPS - CROSS COUNTRY COMPARISON

This report compares the data of women's power score findings of Sri Lanka with data of Asia and the Pacific region and may refer to any other country as relevant. As with the WPS of Asia and the Pacific that of Sri Lanka too takes the form of a triangle due to the unavailability of data of the security sector. However, with the data available for the Police and the Navy, Sri Lanka WPS reflects diamond form of score to a limited extent.

As shown in Table 22, **Sri Lanka records the third lowest overall WPS which stands at 33 percent. Sri Lanka's overall WPS is only higher than Thailand (17 percent) and Bangladesh (32 percent) and lower than all other countries in Asia and the Pacific region**.

Women in the Philippines are better represented in all three sectors (legislative, executive and judicial) in comparison to other countries while India and Cambodia stand at second and third highest countries in this region, in terms of WPS respectively. All other countries in this region have WPS over 33 percent while only Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Thailand have recorded WPS at 33 percent or less.

Women in Sri Lanka are well ahead among all the countries in the region in terms of educational achievements but the study shows that it has not translated into leadership of women.

TABLE 22. WEIGHTED SCORES AND WOMEN'S POWER SCORE BY COUNTRY: ASIA AND THE PACIFIC[51]

Country	Sector Wise Weighted Scores					WPS	
	Legislative	Executive	Judiciary	Security		Triangle	Diamond
Bangladesh	15	7	10			32	
Cambodia	11	9	17			37	
India	24	9	5			39	
Indonesia	15	12	8			35	
Mongolia	15	-	-			-	
Nepal	20	8	7			35	
Philippines	20	25	27			72	
Sri Lanka	12	5	15	1*		32	33
Thailand	11	4	2			17	
Timor-Leste	16	12	-			-	

* Only the data of the Department of Police and the Navy

When considering the WPSs of other countries across the world, South Africa shows the highest women's power score which is 108, among all the countries where the DLM was applied. The five countries having WPS less than Sri Lanka include Bangladesh (32 percent), Thailand (17 percent), Lebanon (14 percent), Iraq (12 percent) and Yemen (9 percent). [52]

Among the 10 countries of Asia and the Pacific region in which the DLM study has now been carried out, Sri Lanka's legislative sector WPS shows the second lowest representation of women across all the countries whereas India shows show the highest women's representation in this sector (24 percent). Philippines and Nepal show 20 percent each of their respective legislative sectors. However, one of the main reasons for Sri Lanka to have even a score as high as 12 in the legislative sector, is the recent expansion of women's representation in local Government bodies due to the Local Authority Election (Amendment) Act No. 16 of 2017 which required a 25 percent quota for women. Before the introduction of this quota system, women's representation in local Government authorities was as low as 1.9 percent.

[51] Women's Leadership as a Route to Greater Empowerment : Agency Map and Report / https://msiworldwide.com/sites/default/files/additional-resources/2018-12/Women%20in%20Power%20Diamond%20Leadership%20Measurement%20Model.pdf

[52] Women's Leadership as a Route to Greater Empowerment : Agency Map and Report / https://msiworldwide.com/sites/default/files/additional-resources/2018-12/Women%20in%20Power%20Diamond%20Leadership%20Measurement%20Model.pdf

The executive sector WPS stands at five percent for Sri Lanka the second lowest of Asia and the Pacific region only ahead of Thailand (4 percent) with regard to women's representation at the executive tier of Government. Women in the Philippines have recorded the highest, 25 percent, followed by Indonesia and Timor-Leste, both at 12 percent. Progress of women's advancement in the executive sector in Sri Lanka shows a poor record over decades while the WPS indicators too do not show any promise towards an upward trend in women's leadership.

Table 22 illustrates the status of DLM by indicators in all four sectors. Findings on Sri Lanka suggest that women in this country have not been able to adequately establish themselves in decision-making positions across all sectors. Sri Lanka shows the least representation of women (5 percent) in the mid-tier of the legislative sector while the score of the same tier is 40 in Nepal, 29 in both the Philippines and Timor-Leste and 22 in Cambodia, indicating better representation of women in mid-tiers in those countries.

The progress of women's advancement in the judicial sector in Philippines shows better status with a score of 27 percent followed by Cambodia, with 17 percent. Women in the lower tier of the judicial sector in Sri Lanka account for a larger portion of representation (36 percent) with the mid-tier at (13 percent) and the high tier (9 percent).

However, there is a positive trend of better representation of women in the lower tiers of judicial and legislative sectors. However, the findings of this study do not provide promising and logical evidence to conclude that women in lower tiers of leadership positions essentially have appropriate social, cultural, economic, and political support to ensure their future upward progress in political empowerment in the executive, legislative, judicial, and security sectors of the Government in Sri Lanka.

TABLE 23. DIAMOND LEADERSHIP MODEL BY COUNTRY: ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

	Legislative			Executive			Judiciary			Security		
	High	*Mid*	*Low*	*High*	*Mid*	*Low*	*High*	*Mid*	*Low*	*High*	*Mid*	*Low*
Bangladesh	20	12	6	7	11	0	13	7	11			
Cambodia	0	22	20	5	19	0	22	13	11			
India	33	18	11	9	5	20	4	4	7			
Indonesia	11	18	19	12	9	20	11	0	15	2	13	
Mongolia	20	6	15	17	0	0	22	48	0			
Nepal	3	40	30	15	0	0	8	8	4			
Philippines	13	29	27	16	41	20	25	25	35			
Sri Lanka	12	5	22	7	4	2	9	13	36	0	2*	4*
Thailand	9	18	0	8	0	0	0	0	11			
Timor-Leste	0	29	38	12	18	0	20	20	0			

* Only the data of the Department of Police and the Navy

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

CONCLUSION

Women in Sri Lanka were the first in Asia to enjoy the right to vote in 1931 and since then have been participating in democratic governance in varying degrees. The socio-political culture of the country has throughout been a male-dominated, patriarchal one. In spite of this, women have shown a considerable achievement in their roles as leaders in many areas including education, the corporate sector, civil society, security, legislative, executive, civil service, diplomatic missions among others. However, this study reveals that women in Sri Lanka have faced and continue to face a diverse range of challenges in establishing their role as decision-makers/leaders particularly in the executive, legislative, judicial and security sectors. Factors such as structural limitations, patriarchal thinking, discouraging social attitudes, lack of gender-sensitivity, male-dominant governance across all tiers, the lack of trust in women's capacity, and exclusion have been among the key obstacles hindering women's advancement.

The women's power score results suggest that women's representation in leadership positions in all four sectors of Sri Lanka reflect an uneven picture. However, the strength of women's representation shows more in the judicial sector (13 percent) followed by the legislative (12 percent) and executive (5 percent) sectors respectively. The Police service of the security sector shows the lowest women's representation (1 percent). Women in the judicial and legislative sectors, having high presence at the lower tiers, 36 percent and 22 percent respectively provides an indication of a good opportunity to make reasonable progress. The findings of this study suggest that women's progress in the high tier of the executive sector mainly will depend on two factors; how strong women in the legislature are, in being able to continue holding their current position, and how best political party leaders and senior members of party governing bodies can be convinced about the need for and impact of stronger women's representation in the country's development agenda.

The opinions gathered in this study indicate that there is still a lot to be done to remove impediments hindering the advancement of Sri Lankan women in these sectors.

The security sector in general shows more structural limitations that either impede the progression of women or make it completely stagnant compared to the other three sectors. Despite the fact that there are certain categories like medical and legal having no structural impediment that completely restricts women's advancement; the age limit, limited vacancies in the cadre system particularly for mid and high rank positions, lack of gender sensitivity of the decision-makers who are predominantly males, and lack of resource allocation to enhance infrastructural necessities have contributed to hindering women's advancement in other sections in the armed forces and also the Police. The existing level of women's representation is also more concentrated to lower tier of the security sector. Secondary information suggests that there are a number of on-going fundamental rights petitions filed mainly by women Police officers who are unable to get their promotions for years. Therefore, the study highlights the importance of addressing the structural impediments of the security sector that leads to violation of fundamental rights of women.

The study reiterates the sheer need for addressing both minor and major impediments identified as part of the DLM research through short, medium, and long term program and policy reforms in order to ensure that gender equality, equity and justice for women in Sri Lanka.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Overall Recommendations

- The Government and CSOs should maintain synergy with enabling strategies, plans, and long term goals to increase female leadership at decision-making levels and working towards broader consensus with policymakers.

- Designing and implementation of training and capacity building programs should incorporate local values to address repressive social norms towards women and to inculcate gender sensitivity.

- The Government should maintain duly updated databases of gender statistics, including disaggregation of data to better understand inter-sectional issues related to gender inequality, women leadership and women empowerment.

- The Government should introduce gender discourse and power dimensions to the school syllabus and integrate into the existing curriculum.

- CSOs, activists, researchers, and academia should work together and identify change agents and mobilize them to lead people's movements from different dimensions towards a collective advocacy strategy to promote women's leadership in Sri Lanka.

- Government should ensure a mechanism for the effective implementation of laws and policies guaranteeing equal opportunities for women at all levels.

- Researchers should conduct a more detailed study to uncover local dynamics that exclude females from higher decision-making roles and impedes their upward mobility through the "glass ceiling" effect (unacknowledged barriers) to the highest decision-making positions.

- Training should be conducted for media personnel on gender sensitivity and irresponsible media should be held accountable for gender discrimination, gender inequality and gender insensitive reporting.

- Civil society should initiate a broad societal discourse to articulate the definition of success of women and women's empowerment with the country context while considering the experiences of the international community.

- Civil society should support females to enhance their networks, personal development and advocacy skills. This could involve networking for resources, skills development to be more active in decision-making, promotional guidance, psychological and emotional support, campaign assistance, mentoring, solidarity with female political colleagues and policy advisors.

- Female leadership should be developed through active involvement of women in development discourse, transitional justice mechanisms, exploring solutions to the ethnic conflict, current and future governance reforms, disaster responses, resolving religious tensions and other socio economic factors.

- Transformation of discriminatory social norms should be done through innovative programs, arts and culture and public discourse and raising awareness among the public, political parties and women themselves about the value and contribution of women's participation.

Executive Sector

- Female representation should be ensured at all levels of executive bodies such as among the Cabinet of Ministers, Provincial Governors, mayors and chairpersons of local authorities.

- The Government should introduce a policy framework and guiding principles to ensure women's representation in a diverse range of Government committees, commissions, boards of directors and other decision-making governing bodies.

- The Government should conduct regular Gender Audits to assess women representation at various leadership levels including boards of state institutions and take necessary actions to minimize the gender gap in Sri Lanka.

- The Government should implement appropriate programs and policy reforms to ensure meaningful leadership empowerment under SDG Target: 5.5 *"Ensure women's full and effective participation and equal opportunities for leadership at all levels of decision-making in political, economic and public life*".

- Affirmative action should be taken in all executive appointments to ensure inclusion of women in leadership positions at national, provincial and local levels.

Legislative Sector

- Policymakers should initiate necessary legislative reform to implement women's quota systems at the Provincial Council and national Parliament levels. This should be implemented until electoral reforms are established that facilitate an equal playing field for women.

- All political parties should review their respective party constitutions and bring appropriate reforms enabling women to have due representation in central executive committees, working committees, nomination boards, and other governing structures.

- Political parties should adopt criteria within their governing rules and regulations to ensure inclusion of women in nomination lists.

- Well-coordinated programmes should be implemented to empower existing female representatives at national, provincial and local Government levels.

- Establishing an independent political academy which facilitates equal access to all politicians at local, provincial, and national levels, and build knowledge and understanding on the role of public representatives.

- The Government should reform the electoral system, facilitating women's greater access and conducive environment to compete and contest elections.

- A study should be conducted to assess the positive impact, lessons learned, gaps and challenges of the 25 percent women's quota system at local Government level, in order to draw recommendations to further strengthen the quota system.

Judicial Sector

- The Judicial Service Commission should adopt a gender sensitive process for transferring judges, especially ones who have infants or young schooling children under their care

- Promotions of judges should be carried out in an impartial, independent, and transparent manner based on performance review criteria which addresses both quantitative and qualitative aspects of their decisions.

- An independent Review Board/Appeal Committee inclusive of female representatives should be established to inquire into appeals regarding promotions of the judicial sector and the gender sensitivity of the members of such board/committee should be enhanced.

- Mandated authorities in the judicial sector should commission and conduct research studies to find reasons for lower women's representation at High and Superior Courts in Sri Lanka and request the Ministry of Justice to provide solutions.

Security Sector

- The Government should review and address the structural constraints and discrimination caused by implementing the cadre system in the police service and security forces

- The Government should address the issue of limited cadre vacancies for higher ranks (WASP, WSP, and WSSP) that discriminate against female police personnel and violate their right to equality.

- The Government should review the existing female cadre strength of the Police department in line with the emerging needs of society and should take actions to increase the female Police cadre.

- The Government should review the retirement age and the maximum term of service for female officers in armed forces and, as in the case of the medical and legal sectors, female officers should be allowed to decide whether to advance in or leave their jobs.

- Mandated authorities should conduct a study to assess the contribution of female cadre of the Police service and armed forces.

- Programs should be designed and implemented to demystify negative attitudes and perceptions about female security personnel in forces.

- Authorities should design and implement programs to monitor and address likely adverse impacts on the physical, mental and social health of females in the security sector.

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ANNEXURE

Diamond Leadership Model Study – Sri Lanka 2019
In-depth Interview Guides

Introduction:

Good morning /afternoon/ evening. My name is _____ and I represent the Centre for Policy Alternatives (CPA), a non-partisan civil society working on good governance, conflict transformation and conducting independent research on social issues.

We are currently conducting a study into women's political empowerment. This study is called the Diamond Leadership Model study and carried out in four sectors: Executive, Legislature, Judiciary, and Security. As part of this study, we are conducting several one-on-one in-depth interviews with stakeholders and experts in each of the four sectors to determine:

- how far women have advanced
- what is promoting women's advancement
- what is impeding it, and
- how to help them advance further.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRES

Sector 01 – Executive

Current Context

1. To start with, could you tell me a little about your background, current role and what you are engaged in these days?
2. Could you explain the current status of women's representation in the executive branch and civil service in Sri Lanka?

Factors that Support Women's Leadership

3. What leadership qualities/skills/competencies *e.t.c.* are needed for women to hold portfolios of the executive of the country at national, provincial and local Government levels?
4. What are the opportunities available for women to become mayors and/or chairpersons/senior administrators of local Government authorities like MCs, UCs and PSs?
5. How committed are political party leaders in ensuring more women in the executive branch at all levels of the governing structure of Sri Lanka?
6. What do you think about the women quota system applied in LG elections in 2018 and what impact that has made on women's political leadership?

Bottlenecks

7. What is your perspective regarding gender equality in politics in Sri Lanka?
8. What do you think about the role of the political leadership/party leaders over the last two decades in ensuring a level playing field for women in democratic processes?
9. What do you think about the role of the civil servant/administrative officials over the last two decades in ensuring a level playing field for women in democratic processes?
10. Who are responsible for ensuring equal opportunities for women to represent at decision-making positions at the executive level of governing bodies?
11. What about the contribution from civil society organizations to promote women's political empowerment?
12. There are several women politicians in the Parliament, provincial councils and LG authorities. What is your opinion about the available opportunities for them to represent and move up to ministerial portfolios, mayor positions and/or chairpersons of PSs, staff officer positions of the civil service?
13. What do you think impedes seeing them from holding more decision-making positions in the executive of the country at national, provincial and local Government levels?
14. Are there any policy/legal barriers for women to achieve political empowerment ...if yes, please elaborate?

Suggestions/Recommendations

15. **Can Sri Lankans** be satisfied about women's advancement in the executive tiers of the governance structure – National, Provincial and LG levels?
16. What are your suggestions to overcome the challenges to women's representation at the Executive portfolios in Sri Lanka's governance structure?

Sector 02 – Legislature

Current Context

1. To start with, could you tell me a little about your background and experience in being part or a staff member of the xxxxxx* Parliament committee? *(*Note: use the name of the committee only for interview with the selected committee member)*
   1.1 To start with, could you tell me about your work as a Member of Parliament/ Member of Provincial Council/Member of LG Authority, Staff member in Parliament?
2. Could you explain the current status of women in legislative elections/politics, staff of legislature in Sri Lanka and how far women have advanced?
3. What factors do you feel have helped women to come to politics in our country?

Factors that Support Women's Leadership

4. What leadership qualities/skills/competencies *e.t.c.* do you feel are needed for women to hold decision-making positions of different types of Parliamentary committees*in the Parliament? *(*Note: use the name of the committee only for interview with the selected committee member/ senior staff of such committees)*
   Do you think there is sufficient gender consideration when forming such committees and/or when appointing chairpersons and /or when appointing or employing staff members?
   4.1 What is your opinion about the electoral system of the country and its impact on women's political representation at legislature – in the Parliament/provincial councils and LG authorities?
5. Could you explain the space for women to become elected public representatives in the Parliament, provincial councils and local Government authorities like MCs, UCs and PSs, and staff of those institutions?
6. How committed are political party leaders in ensuring more women in the legislative branch at all levels (national, provincial and local levels) of the governing structure of Sri Lanka?
7. Could you share your views about the women contesting elections, women quota system applied in LG elections in 2018 and what impact that has made on women's political leadership? What do you think about women contesting elections?

Bottlenecks

8. What is your perspective regarding gender equality in politics in Sri Lanka?
9. What do you think about the role of the political leadership/party leaders over the last two decades in ensuring an equal playing field for women in democratic processes?
10. Who are responsible for ensuring equal opportunities for women to represent at legislative tiers of governing bodies?
11. What about the contribution from civil society organization to promote women's political empowerment and empowering women to contest in elections?
12. There are several women politicians in the Parliament, provincial councils and relatively higher number of women in LG authorities. What is your opinion about their role in ensuring a second level leadership?
13. Could you explain as to what impedes women legislators holding more decision-making positions in Parliamentary committees at national legislature, provincial and local Government levels and staff of MPs and staff of other elected public representatives?

14. Are there any policy/legal barriers for women to achieve political empowerment ...if yes, please elaborate?

Suggestions/Recommendations

15. Can Sri Lankans be happy or not about women's advancement in the legislative tiers of the governance structure – National, Provincial and LG levels?
16. How **should women** overcome the challenges which obstruct them to have a reasonable/meaningful representation within the legislative framework at all levels in Sri Lanka's governance structure?

<u>Sector 03 – Judicial Sector</u>

Current Context

1. To start with, could you tell me a little about your background and work/experience in the judicial sector?
2. Your opinion of women's contribution to the judicial sector in Sri Lanka?
3. What factors have helped women to come to the judicial sector in our country? (such as Judges in Courts or Registrar positions in judicial administration)

Factors that Support Women's Leadership

4. What leadership qualities/skills/competencies/experiences e.t.c. do you feel are needed for women to step up to positions in the Supreme Court and the Court of Appeals as judges and senior staff of courts?
5. What is your analysis on the promotion procedures of the judicial system in Sri Lanka?
6. When talking about women's political empowerment, could you share your views about a women quota system for the judicial sector – in appointing judges or appointments of senior staff of Courts?

Bottlenecks

7. What is your perspective regarding gender equality within the judicial sector in Sri Lanka?
8. What do you think about the role of the political leadership over the last two decades in ensuring a free and fair environment for women to engage in and be benefited by the democratic processes?
9. Who are responsible for ensuring equal opportunities for women to represent at decision-making positions?
10. What about the contribution from civil society organizations to promote women's political empowerment?
11. What do you think impedes women becoming judges of the judicial system of Sri Lanka?
12. Are there any policy/legal barriers for women to achieve political empowerment ...if yes, please elaborate?

Suggestions/Recommendations

13. Can Sri Lankans be happy or not about women's advancement in the judicial sector - judges, lawyers, staff of Courts in Sri Lanka?
    (Note: you may apply the same question regarding the High Courts and DCs / MCs depending on to whom at what tier you talk to)
14. How **should women** overcome the challenges faced by them in the judicial sector in Sri Lanka?

<u>Sector 04 – Security</u>

Current Context

1. To start with, could you tell me a little about your background and experience with what you do/did in the security sector?
   (Note: refer the relevant security sector depending on the specific category the interviewee/respondent belongs to – Eg: Army, Navy, Air Force or the Police)
2. Could you explain the current situation of women's representation in the security sector in Sri Lanka?
3. What factors have helped women to move upward in their professional career …I mean to become commissioned rank officers?

Factors that Support Women's Leadership

4. What leadership qualities/skills/competencies *e.t.c.* are needed for women to become commissioned rank officers in the security sector of the country?
5. What do you think of the promotion procedures of the security sector in Sri Lanka?
6. In light of women's political empowerment, could you share your views about having a women quota system for the security sector, particularly when appointing senior positions?

Bottlenecks

7. Is there gender equality in the security sector in Sri Lanka?
8. Who are responsible effective in ensuring equal opportunities for women to represent more as commissioned rank officers in the security sector of the country?
9. What impedes women becoming commissioned rank officers in the security sector of the country?

Suggestions/Recommendations

10. Can Sri Lankans be satisfied about women's advancement in the security sector of the country?
11. What are your suggestions to overcome the challenges which obstruct women to have a reasonable representation at the higher ranks in the security sector of the country?