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Gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka, 1978-2015

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ABSTRACT

Gender mainstreaming has been the most “modern” policy approach to gender equality, over the globe. It is also served as a policy strategy to ensure equality for women in society. Sri Lanka is seriously pondering into uplifting gender mainstreaming strategies in the 21st century. This study investigates the extent of development in gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka during the period of 1978-2015. The main aim of the research was to examine nature and the adapting levels of gender mainstreaming during the period under investigation to explore related initiatives and their implementation in the country over three specific-periods of time. To explore Sri Lanka’s progress, data were gathered through the documents focused on economic policy developed by government of Sri Lanka through documentary analysis with qualitative content and thematic analysis.

The study found that there are two types of key findings have emerged. The outcomes of the literature review and the findings of the analysis of policy documents could be classified into two categories; Although Sri Lanka has attempted to develop mainstream a gender perspective to a certain extent in its policy process, it seems to be that is not a genuine attempt toward gender mainstreaming as a new policy strategy and it has often focused substantially on gender mainstreaming in donor-funded projects and that Sri Lanka lacks a consistent, well-developed national policy on gender mainstreaming. The study reveals that Sri Lanka often mainstreams gender symbolically and as a result, most of the economic policies are gender blind. Moreover, none of the policy documents focus on women, who are engaged in the informal sector employment or cater women’s needs. Further, it is apparent that many of the documents are largely concerned with the ‘practical needs of women’ or ‘practical gender needs’ or ‘welfare programmes’ for women.

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ABBREVIATION

ABD- Asian Development Bank

PFA- Beijing Platform for Action

BS- Budget Speech

CEDAW- Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women

CENWOR- Centre for Women's Research

CIDA- Canadian International Development Agency

DHR Council- Directorate of Human Rights council

ECOSOC- Economic and Social Council of UN

EPZ- Export Processing Zone

FTZ- Free Trade zones

GAD- Gender and Development

GCEC- Greater Colombo Economic Commission

GM- Gender Mainstreaming

IDB- Inter-American Development Bank

ILO- International Labour Organization

IPZ- Investment Promotion Zones

JICA- Japan International Cooperation Agency

JVP- Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna

LTTE- Liberation Tiger of Tamil Elam

MCDW- Ministry of Child Development and Women's Affairs

MDGs- Millennium Development Goals

NHREP- *National Human Resources and Employment Policy.*

NORDA- North American Aerospace Defense Command

PGN- Practical Gender Needs

PIP- Public Investment Programm

BS-Budget Speech

PS- Purposive Sampling

PSS- Purposive Sampling Strategy

PST- Purposive Sampling Techniques

SGN- Strategic Gender Needs

SIDA- Swedish International Cooperation Agency

SLBFE- Sri Lanka Bureau of Foreign employment

SME- Small Medium Entrepreneurs

UN- United Nations

UNDP- United Nation Development Programme

UNP- United Nation Party

UPFA- United Peoples Freedom Alliances

WB- World Bank

WHO-World Health Organization

WID- Women in Development

WAD	Women And Development
NECCDEP	North-East Coastal Community Development Project
NECORD	North East Community Restoration and Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OSAGI	Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues
PIP	Public Investment Programme
SDC	Swiss-Agency for Development and Cooperation
SLAS	Sri Lanka Administrative Service
SSR	Security Sector Reform
STRCBWSS	Secondary Towns and Rural Community-Based Water Supply and Sanitation Project
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund
UNP	United National Party
UNSCR	United Nations Security Council Resolution
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
BPFA	Beijing Platform for Action

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

Gender mainstreaming can be simply defined as an approach to policy-making that takes into account both women's and men's interests and concerns about equality and attempts to address gender inequality issues faced by women and men in society. Gender mainstreaming is also defined by policymakers and practitioners, policy advocates, and organisations in various fields. Each of these tends to use different definitions, appropriate to their own purpose. Gender mainstreaming is a concept that emerged because of the idea that not only one group of people (women) are still marginalised and dominated and also controlled by the other group of people (men) despite almost all nations have accepted the concept of gender equality as a policy. In such a condition, hundreds of definitions have been presented in different fields the world over by institutions and policy practitioners etc. However, for the purpose of this study, the following definition has been adopted:

Gender mainstreaming is a policy strategy that focuses on the inclusion and integration of women and gender issues into the mainstream of any planned action and every aspect of an organisation's or institution's priorities and procedures. This entails taking a gender perspective in agenda-setting and transforming and re-orientating the existing policy paradigms. These transformations and reorientations should be made by making changes to the decision-making structures and processes of the organization or institution, and by rearticulating the policy goals and methods to include a gender perspective and gender-focused or gender-aware measures and programmes in all policies at all levels and stages.

This definition has been developed on the basis of the explanations and definitions of gender mainstreaming put forward by institutions such as the UN's Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and the Council of Europe, and by those presented by scholars like Jahan (1995,

1996), Booth and Bennett (2002), Rees (1998, 2000), Squires (2005), Lambardo and Meier (2006), Rao and Kelleher (2005), and Kabeer (2010).

The definition presented above will thus be used to examine and analyse the case of gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka. Discussion of its foundations is offered in Chapter 2, where the existing literature on gender mainstreaming will be reviewed in depth. The definition will then be unpacked in Chapter 3 where the analytical framework used in this study will be presented and explained. Nevertheless, the most widely used definition is the one put forward by the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) in 1997 as stated below:

“mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women’s as well as men’s concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluations of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality”. (ECOSOC, 1997: 24)

This remains the standard, formal definition that is still used worldwide and is yet commonly accepted (Mehra and Gupta 2006:2). Nevertheless, the above, ECOSOC definition has both advantages and disadvantages. In particular, the ECOSOC definition has the advantage of trying to cover every sphere within an organisation or institution and also within our daily lives. It has also become the standard definition of gender mainstreaming. According to the Council of Europe, “gender mainstreaming is the (re)organisation, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels and at all stages, by the actors normally involved in policy-making” (Verloo 2001: 2; Verloo 2005: 350). However, as discussed in Chapter 2, both definitions has its own weaknesses, with the ECOSOC one seeming to forget that women and men are

currently not equal, and the Council of Europe focusing only on policy while overlooking the importance that institutional and cultural structures have on the ability to make changes. Likewise, later in Chapter 2, the different definitions put forward by the various scholars bring some advantages, including helping examine what kind of policy strategy gender mainstreaming is, and what its various aspects are; all of which will be drawn upon to formulate a more comprehensive definition of the concept of gender mainstreaming.

Moreover, various scholars in different fields have also presented many definitions for the term “gender mainstreaming”. Some of them are discussed below. The definitions and arguments presented by the scholars will be discussed in a broader sense in chapter 2. Gender mainstreaming is a process to promote gender equality as a political and policy practice (Walby, 2005b: 453) as well as it is a “process that seeks to advance gender equality by revising all mainstream policy arenas. It is simultaneously intended as a way of improving the effectiveness of mainline policies by making visible the gendered nature of assumptions, processes, and outcomes” (Walby, 2005a: 454). It can also be defined as a strategy and an approach that ensures gender issues in every aspect of human communities and to integrate gender concerns and experiences into all areas and at every level of organisational or institutional priorities, procedures, and practices. It is also a strategy which claims to put together the needs, concerns and experiences of women as well as men into an integral dimension in the policy process in all spheres, political, economic, and societal, in order for women and men to benefit equally and to ensure that inequality is not perpetuated (Morley, 2007:16; Gunawardena, 2014:4; True, 2003:369-370; Moser, 2005:580).

The idea of gender mainstreaming has evolved through different United Nations (UN) international conferences on women and some international agreements over the decades (Alston 2006:125; Charlesworth 2005:2). It officially emerged as an important element, in gender and development policy circles at the UN’s Fourth World Conference on Women held

in Beijing in 1995. However, prior to 1975, several critiques were made by numerous international development agencies in relation to women and development issues. Especially, in the context where equality of women has not been adequately addressed in the policy agenda. Subsequently, these concerns further caused to the evolution of the conceptual framework of 'gender mainstreaming' in the international development agenda (Baden and Goetz 1997: 5; Menon-Sen 2010:3) through the development of diverse international agreements, measures, and actions introduced by world nations in different international conferences.

The useful starting point of capturing the concept of gender mainstreaming commenced in 1975 at a global level with the First World Conference on Women which coincided with the International Women's Year held in Mexico (Alston 2006:125). This event was a stimulant that paid attention to women's issues (Alston 2006: 125) as well as a landmark for the concept of gender mainstreaming. Hence, the significant contribution made towards gender mainstreaming in relation to its development through equality for women in terms of "dignity and worth as human beings as well as equality in their rights, opportunities and responsibilities" (Alston 2006: 125) which were emphasised at the First World Conference. Also, the nations endorsed the idea of participation of both women and men in the development process at the national and international levels was the key to progress (Alston 2006: 126) of the concept of gender mainstreaming.

With the establishment of the UN International Women's Year in 1975, most of the western nations began to accept 'gender inequality' which was then known as 'women's discrimination' as a public issue that was appropriated or suitable for public intervention (Bustelo 2003: 383). "Gender inequality can be defined as allowing people different opportunities due to perceived differences based solely on issues of gender. Gender discrimination is the prejudicial treatment of an individual or group due to gender" (Kolb

2007: 978). Then the focus has been made on sex discrimination, the discrimination which is based on biological differences and especially women's discrimination further emphasised on gender (Bustelo 2003: 383). Therefore, the public policies and strategies aiming to promote gender equality have been gradually developed and progressed. Subsequently, the strategies and political instruments of those policies were changed.

Afterwards in 1980, in the mid-UN Decade for Women, the second World Conference on Women which was held in Copenhagen adopted the 'Program for Action' by stressing the theme of 'equality, development and peace' (Alston 2006: 126). Employment, health, and education of women and women's rights of ownership to property and inheritance (UN Women, 2022) were focused therein and by which mainstreaming the idea of assessing the concerns of women was further strengthened. Similarly, in parallel to Second World Conference, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) was also adopted by the UN General Assembly on 18 December 1979 and it also resulted in the development of the concept of gender mainstreaming as a policy strategy to ensure gender equality worldwide. The CEDAW came out with the provisions to challenge the said discrimination focused on critical areas such as education, health, employment, political participation etc., which must be addressed by the national governments around the world in order to achieve equality for women. Therefore, CEDAW has also paved the way to mainstream gender into the policy process globally.

Thereafter, the Third World Conference on Women which was held in Nairobi in 1985 brought additional concerns of women by incorporating the process of transition towards advancement of women into the work of UN by adopting 'Forward-Looking Strategies' (Charlesworth 2005:3; Baden and Goetz 1997:5; True 2002:112). Therefore, this conference made the transition of the idea of mainstreaming concerns of women into the work of UN at first (Charlesworth 2005: 3). This transition led to achieve substantial results or impact on the

governments' policies in the 1980s (Baden and Goetz 1997:5) around the world such as European Union. However, the concept of gender mainstreaming was broadly given attention in the development arena at the UN's Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing in 1995 as a means to combat gender inequality and assure gender equality across populations (Baden and Goetz 1997:4.; Bustelo 2003:383). The Beijing Conference marked the onset of integrating gendered perspectives in all global policies and programmes (Alston 2006:124,125; Baden and Goetz 1997: 4, 7) and a significant turning point for the global agenda for gender equality. Therefore, since the Beijing Conference, gender mainstreaming has been a mantra among the world nations including UN and its agencies.

In such a background, the 'Beijing Platform for Action' (BPFA) was officially launched at this conference as a global strategy and mechanism for practising gender mainstreaming to achieve gender equality (True 2012: 112; Alston 2006:125-126; Baden and Goetz 1997:3,5) among the nations globally. The Platform for Action is an agenda for women's empowerment that covers the most significant twelve critical areas such as women and the economy; poverty, education and training; women's health; violence against women; women and armed conflict etc. (United Nations 1995:16). Through this conference and the BPFA, a large number of different strategies such as implementing sound and stable macroeconomic and sectoral policies designed to have equal participation of women; encouraging to develop and implement education training policies for women; providing recognition to non-formal educational opportunities for girls and women in the educational system etc., (United Nations 1995: 33,44,45) were introduced to nations to implement gender mainstreaming in their countries.

After that, as a consequence, Beijing outcome, not only the UN and its agencies recognised and adopted gender mainstreaming as a crucial and key global policy strategy for ensuring gender equality and national states were also asked to follow the actions in their policy process to ensure gender equality (Moser and Moser 2005:11; True 2003: 369.) by

implementing the Beijing Platform for Action through different formal and informal provisions such as legal, legislations, policy, and programmes. The UN also hoped that national states need to change the structures of the institutions and organisations in the administration of their national governments in order to implement gender mainstreaming policies. Subsequently, both governmental (GOs) and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), national and international organisations and transnational networks adopted gender mainstreaming as a policy strategy while integrating it into their policies and programmes in the areas of education, health, economy, poverty, violence against women, human rights and political participation etc. (Mehra and Gupta 2006:1; Woodward 2001:65-66).

In such a background, a large number of nationalities, including those of Asia and Africa and many conflicts and post-conflict countries consented to comply with this international agreement owing to the influence made by the UN and related agencies and of the binding policies of the UN framework. However, such consent may not intend that the implementation of all principles in agreements at the national level completely. The development of these international backgrounds such as agreements or events largely made an influence on the social, economic, political and cultural spheres in a particular nation around the globe. Similarly, Sri Lanka is also a country influenced by such conditions in its journey towards gender equality. Thus, as the global changes often impact on national governance, they have also made influenced to some extent on Sri Lanka to make changes in the policy process to mainstream a gender perspective. These will be further discussed in chapter 2.

Sri Lanka is an example of a post-conflict country which is being attempted to include gender mainstreaming into its post-conflict reconstruction, development and peace process. But as explained in greater detail below, Sri Lanka is a specific case of a post-conflict country because, unlike other countries that have experienced conflict, here, the state was able to function throughout the conflict. This meant that the government was able to engage with

gender mainstreaming despite the conflict that continued inside the country as it has bounded with several international agreements and implemented some measures while the conflict was continuing. During the period that the current study was conducted, apart from CEDAW, Sri Lanka was bounded by some other agreements such as Millennium Development Goals (MDGs-2000), and UN Resolution 1325(2000), Women, Peace and Security.

When considering the Sri Lankan context, mainly the Ministry of Child Development and Women's Affairs focused on policies and programmes with the aim of enabling gender mainstreaming to be developed and it also seeks to acquaint other ministries of the significance towards this cause. The success of gender mainstreaming efforts has been limited due to the fact that the implementation of gender mainstreaming has not been integrated into the policy process in all areas and at every stage as it should even though it has become a slogan among the officers of the government, policy advocates, political leaders and others.

Before the case of Sri Lanka is discussed in detail, with a specific focus being its methodology, the importance to devote more time to consider what gender mainstreaming is, and to explore in-depth how and its significant in conflict and post-conflict societies. The next two sections are dedicated to this area of the study.

1.2 Sri Lanka: A specific case of gender mainstreaming and conflict

Sri Lanka is a post-conflict country. The civil war between the government of Sri Lanka and the separatist Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) began in 1978. It turned into a full-fledged civil war in 1983 and it lasted over 26 years (Ganguly 2018: 8; Anandakugan, 2020). It ended in the military defeat of the separatists in May 2009 (Destradi 2010: 5; Ganguly 2018:79; Bajoria 2009). Since then, the country has moved towards reconstruction and development.

Like other post-conflict countries, Sri Lanka also faced difficulties such as distractions in

continuing proper civil administration throughout the country, economic difficulties, collapsing peace and tension between ethnic groups; especially between Sinhalese and Tamils. The two provinces of Northern and Southern where the war was conducted had been totally affected by war and civil administration was seriously disturbed only in the eight districts within these two provinces similar to other countries. Apart from that, similar to other post-conflict countries, especially; women in war-affected two provinces severely suffered because of number of various reasons such as financial difficulties and livelihood management, gender-based violence post-traumatic conditions and health issues due to distraction of civil administration there that are generally faced by women during and after the war.

However, the differences between Sri Lanka and most other post-conflict countries make it an interesting case for investigation. In many African, and some Asian, Middle Eastern and even European countries, the state collapsed during periods of conflict, whereas in Sri Lanka the state was able to function throughout the conflict despite bomb blasts in some of the main cities (in different districts) including the capital city. Moreover, throughout the period of the civil war, the government of Sri Lanka continued even to ratify and implement key international agreements such as CEDAW, Beijing Platform for Action and Millennium Development goals. It also continued to introduce domestic constitutional and legal provisions and initiate a range of policies and programmes.

With reference to the rights and protection of women, and measures against discrimination of women, the Sri Lankan government has taken actions focusing on national and international measures towards women becoming is one of the first countries that ratified (in 1981) the International Bill of Rights for Women: the CEDAW Convention. Sri Lanka was also able to implement the UN Declaration on Millennium Development Goals (MGDs) and implemented measures in the UN Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 (2000) on women, peace

and security. Furthermore, Sri Lanka has also exhibited its dedication and commitment to civil administration by implementing several national policies and legal provisions to ensure the rights of its citizens apart from a number of women and gender-friendly national policies and legal provisions.

Moreover, Sri Lanka was able to adopt some significant policy documents and legal legislation such as the Women's Charter in 1993 and Prevention of Domestic Violence Act 2005 and the Plan of Action supporting the Prevention of Domestic Violence Act, National Action Plan for the Protection and Promotion of Human Rights and policy on anti-trafficking in order to guarantee equality, rights of women and equal protection of law and to specify the prohibition of sex-based discrimination and also to enforce the obligation on the state to address violence against women (these areas are detailed in chapter 2).

In addition, Sri Lanka also differs from other post-conflict countries where ex-combatants were rehabilitated, men as well as women. Rehabilitation included re-socialising and re-integrating the ex-combatants into society and commitment was not often seen in other post-conflict countries (Report of the PTFRR, 2012:20-22). Moreover, with regards to the child combatants, they were sent back to schools and handed over to their parents after rehabilitation and the task of educating the orphaned child soldiers were undertaken by the government. Sri Lanka also further followed a policy of resettlement for internally displaced persons (IDPs) and conducted a successful two resettlement programmes in Northern and Eastern provinces named '*Unthuru Wasanthaya*' (Northern Spring) and '*Negenahira Navodaya*' (Eastern revival) (Report of the PTFRR, 2012:23-27).

Similar to other post-conflict countries, women in Sri Lanka did not largely want to take over the positions which were held by male ex-combatants previously except some women who were members in LTTE families in rural areas, who had to engage in some employments such

as fishery industry and agriculture etc. They (both Sinhalese and Tamil women and also Muslim) held some administrative and decision-making positions even before the war. Some others were employed in different sectors in free trade zones such as the garment industry. Sri Lankan women in all three ethnic groups held political leaderships, even before warfare and like in other post-conflict countries; war did not merely open and allow them to be in those positions. They entered into politics during the 1930s (Kodikara, 2009:11; Kiribamune 1999: 8; Women's Bureau Sri Lanka 1985:2) even before some European women received women's franchise. As a consequence of equal access to education, Sri Lankan women were brought to the public arena (Jayaweera, 1985:48-50) and they have been held at higher administrative positions in Sri Lanka Administrative Service (SLAS) during the period of 1970s.

Similarly, unlike in other countries, the LTTE ex-combatants also did not largely want to return to their jobs where except for a few members. Although in other post-conflict countries women are allowed to function in roles traditionally occupied by men and occupy non-traditional roles both within their communities and in the conflict situation (Cahn, 2006:337) in Sri Lanka this was mostly not the case except in some particular fields and some ethnic groups. Some women in Muslim and Tamil communities came out into the public sphere such as the market system and engaged in non-traditional jobs like fishery industry.

1.3 Focus of the research

The focus of this research was to explore the development of gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka in three specific time periods. It investigates whether Sri Lanka's development in gender mainstreaming and if so, to what extent and how it has focused this issue over the three different specific periods namely, pre-conflict, conflict and post-conflict. The study also explored the kind of gender mainstreaming related initiatives that have been introduced in Sri Lanka over the period under investigation, and the extent of these gender mainstreaming initiatives. The focus of the study further strives to understand and demonstrate how and in what ways the institutional cultures and ways of thinking, as well as their concerns, are

represented in policy documents relating to Sri Lanka during the period of 1978-2015. It also hoped to understand how much attention has been given to gender mainstreaming in the goals, structures, and resource allocation as well as design policies and programmes by the governments.

1.3.1 Research question

As explained earlier, this thesis proposes to examine the development of gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka since the late 1970s. The specific research question that it asks is: *How and to what extent has gender mainstreaming developed in Sri Lanka in the period 1978-2015?* This question allows the thesis to examine whether any changes regarding the development of gender mainstreaming have taken place in Sri Lanka over this time period, to explore the nature or type of changes that may have occurred, and to consider the extent of any changes.

1.3.2 Economic policy

This thesis focuses on the development of gender mainstreaming in government economic policy in Sri Lanka. The economic sphere covers areas that are directly related to women's position in accessing economic resources, decision making and economic participation. It, therefore, includes women's labour force participation, access to economic resources including national industries, self-employment, opportunities for women in the marketplace, earning potential, capacity in the workplace, economic ownership, participation in national economic programmes and decision-making opportunities.

Economic policy has been chosen as the focus of the investigation in this thesis for four main reasons. Firstly, economic policy is arguably the most important policy area in which gender mainstreaming can be developed. Economic policy impacts on the livelihood of people and therefore it influences their lives in all sorts of areas including their wellbeing

and education. It also affects how they may be empowered to participate in social and political life and to take part in decision making.

Secondly, gender mainstreaming in the economic sphere, in a local or global context, is a key driver to empowering women and to ultimately achieving gender equity and equality in the long run. Indicators show that at present women in Sri Lanka face particular disadvantages and discrimination in economic matters. For example, the participation of women in the labour force in Sri Lanka remains at a low of 33.6% compared to 73% for men (Department of Census Statistics, 2018:V). Similarly, even though women's level of education in Sri Lanka is considerably higher than that of men, female unemployment remains high and many women engage in informal sector employment.

The third reason for focusing on economic policy is that economic policy is particularly important in the context of post-conflict reconstruction and development. Policies aimed at rebuilding and strengthening the economy, and giving economic opportunities to people, especially those who have faced hardship during the period of conflict, are vital for creating stability and for rebuilding and promoting peace and security.

Finally, this thesis focuses on economic policy for reasons of manageability. For a thesis of this length, covering this time span, it would just not be possible to consider all policy domains, and to examine and analyse documents covering policy from all different spheres. Having said that, many of the economic policy documents analysed by the thesis also discuss some issues that are not directly related to economic matters but which nonetheless indirectly affect women's empowerment and economic status, including for example women's healthcare, family planning, legal provisions, women's rights, women's security, and violence towards women in the workplace. In view of this, therefore, the thesis will explore, to a

limited degree, the extent and nature of gender mainstreaming in these other policy areas, although any conclusions here will remain only indicative.

1.3.3 Documentary analysis

The thesis investigates the development of gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka through the analysis of documents that are concerned with economic policy at the national level. The documents include records on economic policy from the governments in power during the period since 1978. These include political manifestoes of parties which outlined principal economic policy, and which were later converted into national policy after the party came to power, as well as policy documents from government ministries and departments (including the Ministry of Labour and Human Resources; the Ministry of Economic Development; the Ministry of Child Development and Women's Affairs; the Ministry of Finance and Planning; and the Department of Policy Planning and Development). Also included are Public Investment programmes and Budget Speeches which explain key government economic policy practices.

Finally, other forms of supplementary documents from different governmental, non-governmental and international agencies are also used. These include the reports from UN Development Programmes; Asian Development Bank country reports; projects reports funded by different agencies such as World Bank (WB), International Monetary Fund (IMF) and different agencies of United Nations; Annual progress reports by related ministries such as Ministry of Economic Development, Ministry of Women Affairs and Child Development, Ministry of Labour and Human Resources etc.; Projects and programme reports by NGOs and INGOs. Full details of which documents are analysed in the thesis, and how they are analysed are discussed in Chapter 3.

1.3.4 Exploring gender mainstreaming in three time periods

As explained at the beginning of this chapter, the 1970s was when the concept of gender mainstreaming was first debated and discussed within the context of the UN International Women's Year of 1975. It, therefore, makes sense to begin the investigation of gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka from this time period onwards. More specifically, however, the thesis begins its investigation in the year 1978. This year was chosen because it was a cornerstone in the history of Sri Lanka due to certain significant reasons. Out of them, mainly, Sri Lanka introduced the second republican constitution in 1978 with a hybrid system of the new government: executive presidency and a parliament. This new constitution in 1978, also reflects quite clearly the influence of international values with regard to women's rights and at the first time, it assures gender equality in the constitution. And it affirmed that no citizen shall be discriminated against on the ground of sex and specifically in regard to access to facilities (CENWOR 1985:23). Then, a year later (18 December, 1979), Sri Lanka adopted the CEDAW convention which largely focuses on gender equality and started to implement it under the new government. Further, around two months before 1978, Sri Lanka opened the economy and it was properly put into practice at the start of 1978 and in the same year, LTTE primarily started clashes against the government.

The development of gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka is then investigated in three separate time periods, namely 1978-83, 1983-2009, and 2009-2015. This approach is followed because each of these time periods represents a distinct time frame in the country's recent history. The first period saw a fundamentally new political and economic system introduced in Sri Lanka, which included guaranteed fundamental rights, an independent judiciary and the opening of the economy to market forces. It, therefore, represents the first period in which any gender mainstreaming might have started to develop in the country, and it acts as a baseline for the

investigation in this thesis. This period ended in July 1983, however, with the outbreak of civil war in the North and East of the country.

The conflict between the government and the LTTE persisted until May 2009, when the separatists were finally defeated. This period of conflict thus represents a second distinct phase in the country's contemporary history. Because the war lasted for so long, it can be expected that gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka during this period would stall or decline because, even though the state was still functioning, the government and civil administration were focusing on other issues. The post-conflict period, beginning in 2009, represents the most recent period in Sri Lanka's history, and it is a period characterised by the process of reconstruction and development. The return to peace as well as the initiatives, policies and programmes aimed at reconstruction and development, therefore, presented possible opportunities for the development of gender mainstreaming in this period.

The separation of the investigation into three periods – mentioned previously – thus allows for the specific context of each period to be understood, and for the impact of each context on the development of gender mainstreaming to be explored. In addition, the relatively long period of time under investigation (1978-2015) means that the thesis can examine the ways in which and the extent to which gender mainstreaming evolved or fundamentally changed under different governments, made up of different political parties. Since 1978 there have been seven different governments, which were mainly led by the two major political parties. Each political party had different leaders, who had diverse personal qualities and policy practices regarding the issues of women and gender. As explored in more depth in the chapters to follow, these qualities and views are likely to have influenced the development of gender mainstreaming in the specific time periods.

Therefore, an in-depth analysis was conducted critically and comparatively in specific time periods through the qualitative ‘content’ and ‘thematic’ analysis techniques.

1.4 Contribution of the study

This thesis makes a contribution to the study of gender mainstreaming in four ways. Firstly, this research sheds light on the development of gender mainstreaming in a post-conflict country that is quite different to many other post-conflict countries across the world. As mentioned above, Sri Lanka differs from countries in Africa and Asia, and even some in Europe, that have experienced conflict because the Sri Lankan state and its civil administration were able to continue to function throughout the period of the war, whereas elsewhere the state simply collapsed. In addition, the treatment and management of ex-combatants (both male and female) in Sri Lanka have been quite different compared to other post-conflict nations. These unique characteristics of the Sri Lankan context make this case an interesting one to explore.

Secondly, this thesis makes a contribution to academic research on gender mainstreaming for the simple reason that there is very little existing literature on gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka. While existing research have been conducted by scholars such as Thiruchandran (1997); Jayawardene and Alwis (2001); Mather & Malhotra (1997); Gunawardena et al, (2006); Jayaweera and Gunawardena (2007) and Kottegoda et al (2008) etc., has focused on gender equality, gender-based violence, and issues surrounding women and education and women and health in Sri Lanka, there is a lack of literature on gender mainstreaming in the post-conflict reconstruction process, including peace building, security, reconciliation, and the process of sustainable development.

Thirdly, by providing empirical evidence on how the economic programmes of successive Sri Lankan governments have, or have not, shaped the development of gender mainstreaming, the

research has the potential to make leaders, policymakers and officials more aware of gender mainstreaming and of its importance, beyond mere gender equality, and of how policies can be designed to encourage its development. It is clear from this research that governments in Sri Lanka have not focused on gender mainstreaming very much at all in their policies up until now. By showing this through evidence, it is hoped that this research might inform the nature of future policy. Therefore, as well as making an academic contribution, it is hoped that this research also makes a practical one.

Finally, the study has developed an analytical framework to evaluate and analyse the levels of gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka. The study has also developed a definition for the term gender mainstreaming in order to use it in this study and it covers most of the areas of the concept of gender mainstreaming. This study built and made use of a framework consisting of three dimensions of gender mainstreaming, namely 1) women-focused activities and measures, 2) gender-focused or gender-aware programmes, and 3) the transformation of gender roles, and changes in social, institutional and organisational structures, values, norms, and cultures. The study developed this because it considers that mainstreaming gender is both a technical and a political process. Three dimensions are identified as the foundation of this analytical framework. All three dimensions have six indicators each in order to evaluate the levels of gender mainstreaming developed by a particular country. To measure the extent of gender mainstreaming the framework recognised three levels, namely 1) whether gender mainstreaming can be seen to be *genuine*, or 2) whether it is merely *symbolic*, or 3) whether it is *absent*. This measure was developed specifically for this study and is therefore it is novel. This framework with three levels and dimensions allows us to do a nuance evaluate the extent of gender mainstreaming in a particular country. Thus, this framework is a contribution to academia and the definition developed for this study is also contributes to the academic literature as it provides a clear definition for the term gender mainstreaming covering all areas. The analytical framework will be explained in detail in chapter 3.

1.5 Outline of the thesis

Gender Mainstreaming in Sri Lanka from 1978-2015 is research with a comprehensive outlook with many challenges to come in the process of unveiling the prevailing conditions. This study hence is organized in a sequential manner with seven chapters. The next chapter (Chapter 2) resumes the discussion of the concept of gender mainstreaming and engages in a review of the academic literature on the topic. It outlines the origin and the evolution of the concept of gender mainstreaming, and it also offers further discussion of gender mainstreaming in conflict and post-conflict countries. Chapter 3 discloses the research design, methodology and analytical framework of this study. It discusses the three-time periods under observation and examination with a discussion on as to how the documents were selected and studied. Further, it sets out the framework used to analyse these documents, which centres on the distinction between ‘genuine’ and ‘symbolic’ gender mainstreaming. Chapter 4 concentrates on the analysis of gender mainstreaming in economic policies during the pre-conflict period, and covers the duration from 1978 to 1983 while Chapter 5 explores the development of gender mainstreaming in the conflict period (1983-2009). Chapter 6 covers the Gender mainstreaming policy developments and implementations during post-conflict period and assesses the development of gender mainstreaming of reconstruction and development, which followed by the civil war. Chapter 7 mainly explores how and to what extent Sri Lanka has developed mainstreaming gender during 1978-2015 and investigate the same in three specific time periods. This chapter mainly focuses on the analysis, results and discussion of the outcomes of the empirical research. The outcomes of the research are two types namely; findings relevant to the reviewed literature of the study and the findings of the analysis of documental data. The chapter divides outcomes of the literature into two categories as findings from the global literature and findings relevant to Sri Lankan literature. The findings or outcomes of the research were also categorised into two: the key general findings in the analysis of the research and outcomes relevant to three different time periods.

The final chapter discusses the conclusions and recommendations of this research. The recommendations are divided into three key time frames - short term, middle term and long term strategies and measures, which could be adopted in implementing Gender mainstreaming strategies for a harmonious society without differences.

CHAPTER TWO:

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The following literature review aims to furnish an extensive overview of the theoretical expansions, debates, and views developed in this sphere since the 1970s. It also aims to support building up a frame for the research question of this research in terms of women, gender, gender and development, and gender mainstreaming which are the main key points of discussion in this research. The starting point will be the historical overview of the origin and development of the concept: gender mainstreaming.

2.2 Development of the discourse

A glimpse into the development of the Gender mainstreaming sheds a light on the parallel developments and emergence of the same in the Sri Lankan context of the present study. It is known that the discourse of development mainly started during the period of 1950s -1960s as largely a male-centered and gender-blind concept (McIlwaine and Datta, 2003: 369). Beetham and Demetriades (2010) has pointed out that Danish Economist Esther Boserup pioneered the idea of women in development into the agenda in the 1970s through her work where she had signified Women's Role in Economic Development the development and that it affects both women and men precisely the same way (Beetham and Demetriades, 2007: 202, 210). As an impact of Boserup's work on women's contribution to the economy in Third World countries, a large body of literature has been developed in the discourse of development focusing on women, gender, and development, as well as a variety of approaches, were also included towards women into development (Roggeband, 2014: 333-334). Thenceforth, gender mainstreaming and gender equality have become significant concepts of the processes of economic development, post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation, peace, and security in both Southern and Northern countries of the world. Large amount of literature on gender mainstreaming, coming from feminist movements, development practitioners and

policymakers, conflict specialists and peace activists working for international organizations including the United Nations, Asian Development Bank (ADB), World Bank (WB) and other organisations (Walby 2005b: 454). The focus of this literature tended towards the development approaches such as Women in Development (WID), Gender and Development (GAD), Empowerment, and gender mainstreaming. In the later part of the 1990s, this literature also added and focused towards gender and conflict, peacebuilding, and post-conflict reconstruction of the rest of the world. Esther Boserup's ideas became inspirational and instrumental in considering women's contribution to economy, and consequently many approaches were developed to incorporate women into economic development and ensure gender equality in all aspects of the development process. As many of the early approaches were often gender blind, in the 1980s and 1990s approaches such as GAD and gender mainstreaming were also introduced to integrate and focus on gender equality into the post-conflict reconstruction and development process. With the Fourth World Conference on Women at Beijing in 1995, gender mainstreaming was introduced to world nations as a strategy to safeguard gender equality in every sphere and also a policy instrument to transform the unequal structures, the appropriate mechanism for achieving the goals of gender equality and empowerment of women and as the approach to be used in all policies and programs in UN system (Moser 2005: 577; Bendl and Schmidt 2013: 365; Menon-Sen 2010: 1). Thence, the UN Security Council realized the significance of this instrument to guarantee gender equality even in conflict and post-conflict contexts and ensure the security of women and girls in conflict and post-conflict environments. Therefore, UN Security Council Resolution 1325 advised all UN followers to adopt gender mainstreaming to assure women's and girls' security and peace during and after conflicts and wars (Cohn 2004: 338 ; Carey 2001 : 50 ;Cohn et al 2004: 130). In Resolution 1325, gender mainstreaming has been proposed as a means to readdress women's marginalisation in negotiating and implementing peace and security in local, national as well as international contexts (Krook and True 2012:103,104.). Incorporating women's experience into the peace and post-conflict

reconstruction process was significant because the world nations realized that women and girls experience war and conflict differently from men and boys both in the conflict and in the post-conflict context (Cahn 2008: 35, 336; Bastick 2008:1,2). Thus, mainstreaming gender has become one of the key significant approaches for assuring gender equality in post-conflict reconstruction and development discourse. Hence, a significant subset of this literature was also developed on gender mainstreaming about the areas such as gender and conflict, conflict transition, post-conflict reconstruction and development, rehabilitation, reconciliation, peace and security, peacekeeping, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR), and security sector reform (SSR) as the female has a participation in every crucial event.

2.3. Gender Mainstreaming

As discussed above, Gender mainstreaming has had various approaches commencing from 1970 / mid 1985 with its branches of areas related to it developing rapidly with intellectual discussions. It is a common fact that the approaches to women and development have emerged with the influence of modernization. Charlesworth (2005) and Menon-Sen (2010) opine that prior to gender mainstreaming, there had been a number of women-focused policy approaches paying attention to women's disadvantaged positions (Charlesworth 2005: 2,3; Menon-Sen 2010:3,4). However, Alston depicts the failure of those women-focused policy approaches to change the gender disadvantage which seem to have a significant impact on the emergence of 'gender mainstreaming' as a key gender equality strategy that represents a policy shift to a more strategic attention to mainstreaming gender across organizations as a means of achieving gender equality and women's empowerment (Alston 2006). However, it is clear that those approaches on Women and Development do not show a clear-cut separation in its conceptual development stages. One particular approach seems to have emerged while another is continuing and reaching its goals.

2.3. 1 Women in Development Approach (WID)

The term ‘women in development’ (WID) has originated in the early 1970s. The WID have been in discussion during the period of early 1970s after Esther Boserup published “*women’s Role in Economic Development*’ in 1970 (Rathgeber 1989:4, 5). It has been coined by a Washington-based network of female development professionals (Razavi and Miller 1995: 2 ; Beetham and Demetriades, 2007: 201), which seem to have originated and initially used by the Women’s Committee of the Washington, DC, a part of the *Society for International Development*, a network which was influenced by Boserup as well as other new anthropologists’ works on Third World development (Rathgeber 1989: 3-5 ; Moser 2003:55,144 ; Van Santen 2014; Hyndman 2008:104 ; Ferguson 2011: 240; Beetham and Demetriades 2007:201, 204). This was rapidly adopted by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) with their underlying rationale that women are untapped resources that can provide an economic contribution to development (Moser 2003: 2). This Washington-based network of female development professionals have brought up the argument that modernization theory was impacting differently on women and men and they state that instead of improving women’s rights and status, the process of development seems to be contributing to a deterioration of their status. Consequently, while the WID movement that has emerged during this period claims social justice and equity for women (Razavi and Miller 1995) a WID approach has begun to be articulated by American liberal feminists who advocated legal and administrative changes to ensure that women would be better integrated into economic systems (Rathgeber 1989: 4). According to above works, the origin of WID was received formative influence by some significant factors. Out of them, the major influential factor was the revival of the women’s movement in northern countries in the 1970s. This network of women (liberal feminists) focused on to get equal rights, employment, equity and citizenship for women in the United States. This network of women further concerned on women’s productive roles and integration them into the economy as a means of

enhancing their status. The other significant influence was the emerging body of research on women in developing countries including the most influential work of Danish Economist Ester Boserup in 1970 (Razavi and Miller, 1995: 3). The WID approach is one of the first reactions to address the question of the absence of women in development that has attempted to 'integrate' or incorporate women into development (De Wall 2006: 210; Reeves and Baden 2000: 8, 26).

2.1.1 Integration of liberal Feminism

WID approach has its sequential connections to the feminist movement which emerged as a reaction to inequalities and marginalization of women in the development process. They stressed the exclusion of women from the economy and also considered that women are more disadvantaged in the context of development. The key theoretical base of the WID has derived from the Modernization theory and the Western Liberal Feminist theory (Hyndman and Alwis, 2003; McIlwaine and Datta 2003: 370; Kabeer 1994, Pittman 2014:4-5). Liberal feminism thus became influential in forming the framework that is used to conceptualize women's rights in Third World development. The liberal feminist agenda was translated into the WID review or assessment of development practices (Nyamu, 2000: 5-8).

WID has thus developed its key rationale and arguments towards women. The key focus of the WID is the exclusion of the women from the development process. WID is mainly concerned not only with the general failure to recognize the contribution of women to development but also with refusing to accept the benefits to women in the development process. The key decisive influence on WID was the revival of the women's movement in northern countries in the 1970s. Apart from the WID program there was also a simultaneous effort by liberal feminists to gain equal rights, employment, equity as well as citizenship for

women in the United States (Razavi and Miller 1995: 3). The WID practice engages with two main strategies to challenge this exclusion of women: it challenges the official invisibility of women and the social status of women in Third World societies and the role that cultural perceptions and practices play in the lives of women (Nyamu, 2000:384). In the first argument, women's contribution to economy has been overlooked as the established system does not identify or make aware of women's work outside the formal marketplace, including time spent on child care and home management (in short, their participation in reproduction). Thus, the invisibility of women in this way in the economic sphere demonstrates the reflection of invisibility of women in the political and policy-making spheres also and the negative stereotypes cultivated through the socialization process are responsible for keeping women back. The WID practice engages with two main strategies to challenge this exclusion of women: it challenges the official invisibility of women and the social status of women in Third World societies and the role that cultural perceptions and practices play in the lives of women (Nyamu 2000:384). In the second, the invisibility of women in this way in the economic sphere demonstrates the reflection of the invisibility of women in the political and policy-making spheres also and the negative stereotypes cultivated through the socialization process are responsible for keeping women back. In this manner, WID assumes that the effective participation of Third World women in development is unsatisfied by backward and oppressive traditions that constraint women's freedom. Thus, women's disadvantages arise from stereotyped customary expectations which are held by men and internalized by women (Nyamu 2000 ; Razavi and Miller 1995).

The key objective of this development discourse and the policy approach was to pressure international donor agencies' agenda and increase the amount of development aid that was allocated towards women as they had drawbacks. The WID supporters adopted and promoted the argument of equity and economic efficiency having wished to show the importance and advantages of investing greater resources in women (Pittman 2014). This emphasizes the

women's productive roles and it meant that women's subordination can be seen within an economic framework and the origin of women's subordination was linked to their exclusion from the market-place (Razavi and Miller, 1995). WID advocate demanded to recognize the failures and utilize women's productive roles within and beyond the households. The WID model searched for and wanted to move women from the margins to the mainstream of policy by creating a project with a special focus on women (True, 2003).

Thus, the WID was, however, not a uniform approach and it consisted of five sub approaches, such as welfare, equity, anti-poverty, efficiency, and empowerment (Moser, 1993; Momsen, 1991; Razavi and Miller, 2000) that were developed from time to time. However, the study does not focus on them because mainly it is concerned on the development of theoretical background of gender mainstreaming and those theoretical aspects rather focused on women and development and integrate them into development than to mainstream gender.

The WID approach, however, has been criticized by some scholars, activists, and policymakers due to some pitfalls of the approach. WID was an approach to integrate women into economic development, and it did not focus on the gender division of labor in societies across the world. It was also not concerned about the link between women's productive work in the public sphere and their reproductive work in the domestic sphere or the family. The WID also paid no concern to 'women's strategic needs' which emphasizes the institutional and structural changes and changes in patriarchal norms and values that arise out of the subordination in society (Østergaard, 1992). Thus, this approach also aimed to include women fundamentally without changing fields such as the existing social and organizational structures, social norms and values (Moser 2003: 3-4; Jahan 1995; 828). It also did not challenge and inquire about the existing socio-cultural organizational structures and their stereotypes customary practices as well as social norms and values. Moreover, WID did not challenge the structures of development at the national and international levels and it sought

only to integrate women into existing structures instead of restructuring the institutional system. Without challenging, inquiring and changing them attempted to integrate women into economic development or productive work. It further failed to talk and to make the link to the exploitation of women within the global capitalist system. And it also did not inquire about the inherent gender imbalance in the structure of the international economic order (Nyamu 2000).

2.1.2 Women and Development Approach (WAD)

Women and Development (WAD) is an approach that emerged during the second half of the 1970s and was introduced as a neo-Marxist feminist approach. It grew out of a concern with the explanatory limitations of modernization theory (Rathgeber 1989: 8; Rathgeber 1990: 492). The theoretical base of WAD has come from dependency theory and however, for the most part, has given remarkably little specific attention to issues of gender subordination. Whereas the WAD approach begins from the position that women always have been part of development processes and that they did not suddenly appear in the early 1970s as a consequence of the insights and intervention strategies of a few scholars and agency personnel (Rathgeber 1990: 492). The viewpoint of WAD has mainly focused on the relationship between women and development processes rather than purely on strategies for the incorporation of women into development. The point of departure of the WAD approach is that women always have been important economic actors in their societies and that the work they do both inside and outside the household is very central to the maintenance of those particular societies and however, that this integration serves mainly to sustain existing international structures of inequality (Rathgeber 1990: 492,492).

The WAD has realised that Third World men who do not have elite status also have been badly affected by the structure of the inequalities within the international system. However, it paid little analytical attention to the social relations of gender within classes. Therefore, the

question of gender and cross-gender associations and divisions within classes has not been systematically addressed. Moreover, at the theoretical level, whereas WAD viewpoint strongly recognizes and focuses on the impact of classes, however in terms of practical project design and implementation it inclines like WID approach (Rathgeber 1989: 9; Rathgeber 1990: 493).

Furthermore, the WAD approach indirectly assumed that women's position would be advanced if and when the international structures become more equitable and it also believed that the under-representation of women in socio-economic, and political structures are identified yet largely as a problem that can be solved by carefully designed and intervention strategies rather than by more fundamental shifts in the social relations of gender (Rathgeber 1989: 10). In addition, WAD had tended to provide a strong critical view about the position of rather than WID has done, however, it fails to undertake a full-scale analysis of the relationship between patriarchy, differing modes of production, and women's subordination and oppression (Rathgeber 1990: 493). Moreover, in considering WID, it considered that the best way to address the problem of women and development is from the perspective of poor women, with a focus on gender exploitation through unequal division of household labour. It also considered the labour of women in development is absolutely necessary because of the representation of proletariat or peasant in the capitalist system (Nyamu 2000:386).

However, similar to other approaches WAD also had criticism because of the weaknesses that perspective had. One of the key critiques that WAD had is, that there is a tension within the WAD perspective and that discourages a strict analytical focus on the problem of women. A strict analytical focus on the problems of women cannot be independent of those of men, since both sexes are seen to be disadvantaged within oppressive global structures based on class and capital. As WAD viewpoint does not do thorough focus on the overriding influence of the ideology of patriarchy, women's condition is seen primarily within the structure of

international and class inequalities (Rathgeber 1990: 493). The next criticism for the WAD was, of its singular concern with the productive sector at the expense of the reproductive side of women's work and lives and WAD intervention strategies, therefore, have tended to concentrate on the development of income-generating activities without taking into account the time burdens that such strategies place on women. The tasks performed by women in the household, including those of social reproduction, has not been given an economic value is another critique that this approach had. The labour invested in family maintenance, including childbearing and-rearing, housework, care of the ill and elderly has been considered as 'private' domain and they have not been given a value (Rathgeber 1990: 493).

2.1.3 Gender and Development Approach (GAD)

In comparison to WID and WAD, the GAD approach integrated more awareness of political-economic power relations replacing the word 'gender' instead of 'women'. The Gender and Development approach was developed during the 1980s as an alternative to the WID and WAD approaches, and as a consequence of the criticisms levelled at these earlier WID and WAD concepts. The WID approach was criticised by development practitioners, scholars, and activists in the global South because in practice, it prioritised what development could get from women, rather than how development might serve women's needs (Krook and True 2010).

GAD emerged after the UN Third World Conference on Women in Nairobi in Kenya 1985. The Conference was took place to review and appraise the achievements of the UN Decade for Women and its mandate was to establish concrete measures to overcome hindrances in order to achieve the Decade's goals. The GAD was one of the results of the measures to establish gender equality in societies of the national governments. After emerging GAD it was advocated by many Third World Feminists and also many national and international organisations such as UN, World Bank and IMF etc. Its theoretical roots come from socialist

feminism and it bridged the gap that was left by modernisation theorists. The gap which was connecting the relations of production to the relations of reproduction and take into consideration to all aspects of women lives (Rathgeber 1989:11).

The key or central concern of GAD approach was the social construction of gender and the assignment of specific roles, responsibilities and expectations to women and men. It also focused on examining the power relations between women and men, shifting the focus away from 'women' alone (Hyndman 2008: 104). This approach focused on 'gender' rather than 'women' and this was influenced by writers such as Oakley (1972), Rubin (1975), and (Moser (1993). The focus of 'gender' instead of 'women' was a conscious political reframing (Ferguson 2011) of the GAD. GAD was developed by more radical feminist agendas enlightened by socialist and postcolonial politics. The core of GAD analysis is the interrelated nature of gender inequality and the processes of capitalist restructuring. The approach also concerned the social relationship between men and women that has been constructed by society, and that impacts on women themselves by systematically subordinating to them (Moser, 1993).

The GAD approach endeavoured to link relations from production to reproduction. It also paid attention to emphasise all facets of women's lives in social, economic and political and also it examines social, economic and political institutions and its key proposals are to change both gender roles and the system that they are defined (Rathgeber 1989: 11, 1990: 494; Nyamu 2000: 388). Socialist feminists identified the social construction of production and reproduction as the basis of women's oppression and focused attention on the social relations of gender. Hence, the GAD viewpoint paid attention to gender rather than women, mainly the social construction of gender roles and gender relations (Parpart 1993). 'Gender is seen as the process by which individuals who are born into biological categories of male or female

become the social categories of men and women through the acquisition of locally defined attributes of masculinity and femininity (Kabeer 1991 cited by Parpart 1993,450).

From the 1980s onwards, at the international level, GAD became a key approach to development discourse and it was a key approach that emphasises the social relations between the genders (Rathgeber 1989; Nyamu 2000) and other forms of social differentiation such as race, ethnicity, class, and age. Therefore, GAD approach focused on these relations by questioning the validity of roles assigned to both women and men in different societies (Nyamu 2000; Rathgeber 1989). The GAD also paid major attention on the social structure that assigns different gender roles for women and men whereas the WID approach ignored unequal relationships between women and men in the society that shapes women's identity and attempted to address only the issue on isolation of women. GAD dedicated to structural changes and relational change where necessary and also this approach concerned that the change should be made in relation to gender (Hyndman, 2008). It also challenged male power and privilege and raised issues of power and resources generally, by looking at not only women but also at the social relations between women and men in the workplace and other settings. The GAD approach as a policy and practice for development concentrated on socially constructed differences and relationships between women and men and it stressed the requirement of challenging the prevailing gender roles and relations (De Waal 2006; Reeves and Baden 2000; Moser 1993). Hence, this approach became a concern in making development cooperation more gender-aware and created or set up a possible challenge to the process of development itself and this view is also emphasised by Beall (1998: 515). The key focus of GAD is relations between women and men whereas it saw the unequal relations of power between women and men and rich and poor that prevents equitable development and participation as the main problem in the society.

Thus, the main objective of the GAD was to remove all social, political, and economic inequalities that could obstruct the benefit to both women and men. The GAD did not focus only on a change or shift to integrate women into development, but also looked for the potential in development initiatives to transform and modify unequal social and gender relations and to empower women (Abdur 2015; 101). Moreover, it aims to establish not only women as agents of change instead of the passive recipients of development but it also stresses the need for women to organise themselves for a more effective political voice (Rathgeber 1989: 12, 13). Further, another significant aim of this approach was to address the power and patriarchy that underlie the origin of discrimination and inequality between women and men.

Furthermore, this approach sees empowering women and the disadvantaged, and transforming unequal relations were concerned as the solution for the existing problem of inequality between women and men. The GAD approach was also concerned with strategies to overcome the issues and enhance the conditions of women and men. For this purpose, GAD is concerned on to address the 'practical gender needs (interests)' which were determined by women and men to increase and develop their conditions. Practical needs are usually seen as a response to an immediate perceived necessity, identified within a specific context and they do not entail a strategic goal such as women's emancipation or gender equality (Moser 2003: 40 ; Molyneux 1985: 233). In the meantime, it focused on the strategic gender needs or interests in order to overcome the inequalities and it also addressed the strategic interest of the poor through a people-centred development to overcome these unequal relations and inequitable power relations (Sekhar and Kumar 2007:101).

The GAD also paid attention to gender relations in society and the legitimacy or reliability of differentiated gender roles and the social and political institutions which may shape these roles. Moreover, it demanded changes to power relations and the structure of social relations.

It also further focused on the elimination of gender discrimination demands rather than considering reallocation of resources. Sekhar and Kumar and Kumar point out, the GAD is also focused on both women and men in searching to address the issue of discrimination against and marginalisation of women in a gender context. It also sees unequal relations of power between women and men, and rich and poor as the basis of the problem that prevents fair and reasonable development and participation (2007: 5, 6). Moreover, it also recognised that seeking a solution without men is impossible for unequal gender relations.

GAD used gender relations rather than 'women' as a category of analysis and views men as the potential supporters of women (Visvanathan 1997). The GAD approach further sought to explain women's subordination in relation to political, economic, and ideological forces, illustrating the issue of the gender division of labour and global inequality (Visvanathan 1997). Moreover, it advocated a fundamental re-examination and rethinking of social structures and institutions and focused on both the practical and strategic needs of women (Rathgeber 1989:). Furthermore, it not only emphasised the need for challenging existing gender roles and relations but demands the elimination of gender discrimination in order to achieve gender equality. It also emphasised altering power relations existing in society and calls for a fundamental change to the structure of social relations (Nyamu 2000).

GAD paid attention on women are as active thinking persons who have a political voice and have ability to organise and to play a major role in development. GAD became an approach that seeks to deal with women's subordination through a clear emphasis on socially and historically constructed relations between women and men (Cornwall 2000: 18; Razavi and Miller 1995). Therefore, in seeking solutions for women's issues of marginalisation and exclusion from the development, GAD focus on both women and men and with more specifically focusing on the relations between them.

Thus, however the key goal and the ultimate aim or objective of the GAD was to establish equitable and sustainable development with both women and men seen as decision-makers (Sekkar and Kumar 2007) and this discourse opened a new focus beyond the narrow concern of women alone as in the WID approach. However, although GAD has had more progressive focus on both women and men and the structure of social system rather than WID and WAD, the GAD approach had also been criticised. Critics argues that in seeking changes to its central proposal of both gender roles and the system through which they are defined GAD calls for wide-ranging or more comprehensive reforms and restructuring in gender relations; especially at the family level (Nyamu 2000). This has become critique because it will be difficult to put in to practice them as they need extensive restructuring to the existing systems. The critics also state that there is a difficulty with this approach to implement it at the policy level. The GAD was also drawn the attention of the Critics who wish to need the protection of privacy and tradition (Nyamu, 2000). Further, GAD also denies the perception of culture as a fixed entity and it continues to reveal women as victims of culture. It considers culture as merely the dynamic production of social construction and that is controlled by men and women have been presented as having no role in society and in shaping culture, and are seen as only experiencing the oppressive effects of culture (Nyamu, 2000).

However, because of the failures that it had, the GAD approach has also been criticised. Critics say that this approach searches for changes in both gender roles and the system and also demands a wide-ranging and more comprehensive restructuring in gender relations mainly at the family level which is not easy to do changes in practically in the society. The critics also state that there is a difficulty with this approach to implement it at the policy level. Further, GAD also denies the perception of culture as a fixed entity and it continues to reveal women as victims of culture. GAD also considers culture as merely the production of a dynamic process of social construction that controlled by men and, women have been

presented as a party having no role in society and in shaping the culture, and are seen as they only experiencing the oppressive effects of culture (Nyamu, 2000).

2.1.4 Empowerment Approach

The theme of ‘empowerment’ has become central to the work of many development organisations since the 1980s (Luttrell et al 2009:1). Whereas it was produced for the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC), it conceptualises empowerment “as an emancipation process in which the disadvantaged are empowered to exercise their rights, obtain access to resources and participate actively in the process of shaping society and making decisions” (Luttrell et al 2009: 2). The ‘empowerment of women’ became a central part of the debate on gender and development in the mid-1980s (Momsen, 1991: 102; Luttrell et al, 2009: 2); especially in 1985 around the Third World Conference on Women in Nairobi.

Although, ‘empowerment’ was originally developed in the field of education by Paolo Freire (1960s) and in the feminist movement, in the 1980s, it was seen, for the most part, as a radical project of social transformation for the sake of enabling the excluded social groups to define and claim their rights collectively (Luttrell et al, 2009). And the actual term ‘empowerment’ which was first commonly used in association with the women’s movement, within a discourse of feminism and also “empowerment was very much connected to the emerging GAD approach, with its associated actor-orientated and bottom-up methods” (Luttrell et al, 2009:03). By owing it to a heavy association with gender, many organisations used the term ‘empowerment’ only within the remit of gender issues, others, however, are clear that empowerment is not only a gender issue but also concerns a whole host of marginalised groups, encompassing a range of social differentiations such as caste, disability, and ethnicity (Luttrell et al, 2009: 03).

Empowerment has been defined as “the processes by which those who have been denied the ability to make strategic life choices acquire such an ability” (Kabeer 1999: 437). “Women’s empowerment is a process of personal and social change through which they gain power, meaningful choices and control over their lives” (O’Neil et al, 2014: 01). Empowerment can be broadly defined as “a progression that helps people gain control over their own lives and increases the capacity of people to act on issues that they themselves define as important” (Luttrell et al, 2009:16). “Empowerment is a ‘bottom-up’ process of transforming gender power relations through individuals or groups developing awareness of women’s subordination and building their capacity to challenge it. The term ‘empowerment’ is now widely used in development agency policy and programme documents, in general, but also specifically in relation to women” (Reeves and Baden 2000: 35).

Thus, empowerment has become a term which is used by development practitioners ranging from the World Bank to the smallest NGO. In considering the origins of the empowerment approach, they were mostly derived from the growing feminist writings and grassroots organisational experience of the Third World women and less from the research conducted by the First World women. It also accepted that feminism is not simply a Western urban middle-class import (Moser, 2003). In contrast to other debates in feminism, which were dominated by Northern thinking, the writings on empowerment and gender emerged from the South (Luttrell et al 2009). In particular, the empowerment approach attempted to focus on the matter from the standpoint of women in the Third World (Moser 1993; Luttrell et al 2009). The Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) –a network of activists, researchers, and policymakers from the Third World – made an especially important contribution to the emergence and development of this approach (Moser 2003; DAWN 1998).

Empowerment was greatly influenced by wider development thinking and the concept was further pushed forward by feminist critiques of development (Luttrell et al 2009). In the mid-

1980s women's human rights agenda became an important factor, and a number of international commitments were introduced for women's rights. Feminist activists were also key players in the promotion of these arguments. In 1979, the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women was presented to address violence against women, and it highlighted the violation of human rights. Then, the International Conference on Population and Development in 1984 contributed further to the women's rights agenda and focused deeply on 'women's equality and empowerment'. It considered this as critical to eradicating poverty and it argued that it was also a restraint to population growth. Therefore, women's reproductive rights and their health were seen as a central component of women's empowerment (Sekhar and Kumar 2007:6,7).

The empowerment approach concerned not only inequalities between women and men but the origins of women's subordination in the family also. It also on further concerned the interrelationship between power and development that lie behind the previous approaches and it accepted the importance for women to enhance their power. It IS seen women subordination as not only the problem of men but also of colonial and neo-colonial oppression. The empowerment approach recognises that the existing structures in our societies are sources or root causes for women's subordination. Therefore, the approach emphasises the requirement of challenging them in all areas and at all levels. The empowerment was also laid emphasis on women experience oppression differently according to their race, class, colonial history and current position in the international economic order (Moser 2003).

Therefore, it accepts that women need to challenge not only oppressive structures but situations also simultaneously at different levels. It also focused on the women's triple role and looked for to meet strategic gender needs indirectly through bottom-up mobilisation around practical gender needs (Moser, 2003). The triple role of women are 'productive work', 'reproductive work', and 'community managing work' and the 'strategic gender needs' are

the needs women identify because of their subordinate position to men in their society and they relate to gender division of labour, power and etc.

The key purpose of the empowerment approach was to empower women through greater self-reliance and to increase their internal strength (Moser, 2003). Another goal of this approach was to identify women's triple roles named reproductive work, productive work and community managing works (Moser, 2003) and take into consideration of their triple roles. Empowerment is also searched for to meet strategic gender needs indirectly, through bottom-up mobilisation around practical gender needs (Moser, 1993; Sekhar and Kumar, 2007). Women's subordination was seen not only as a result of men but because of colonial and neo-colonial oppression (Moser, 2003). The concept of 'empowerment' intends that women should be empowered to participate in the economic and political structures of society. Many discussions on empowerment are frequently limited to activities associated with 'economic', 'social', and 'political' empowerment.

However, achieving empowerment is closely linked to addressing the causes of disempowerment and tackling disadvantage caused by the way in which power relations shape choices, opportunities, and wellbeing of the disadvantaged groups. Therefore, empowerment requires the transformation of power relations and intervention in different dimensions such as socio-economic, political, and structural changes in institutions and organisations and at different levels such as local, national and international. There is a range of debates about the concept of empowerment and the operation of power, which results in a variety of interpretations of empowerment (Luttrell et al 2009). That power means the capacity or possibility of occupying positions in terms of both political and economic decision-making for women (Sharp et al, 2003).

Finally, Women's empowerment can be introduced as a multi-dimensional process that involves transforming ideas, norms, relationships and structures of resource and power allocation. Processes of empowerment is occurring in concrete political, economic, and social settings in which women face violence, domination and the exercise of other forms of discriminatory power (O'Neil et al, 2014:12-13). These structures are subjected to change through individual and collective action by women and men, however, gender hierarchies are extraordinarily resilient, and resistance takes many forms-including inside donor organisations. On one hand, progress is never linear and assured or free from setbacks on the other, progress on women's empowerment can be and has been made in most countries around the world (O'Neil et al, 2014).

Similar to previous approaches, empowerment also had some criticisms. Both Southern and Northern feminists had no single argument on empowerment and they held different points of view on the empowerment approach. The Southern feminists argued that, in addition to the patriarchal structural values, the socio-economic and political changes of colonial and neo-colonial conditions were also influenced on women's oppression in third world countries and therefore as fundamental requisites for this process need to be included national liberation from colonial and neo-colonial domination (Moser, 2003). However, Northern feminists argued that women empowerment can and should be addressed in the same manner in considering women in both southern and northern as a whole category who oppressed in a system of structural patriarchal values. They further argued that rather than "the lack of integration of women in development processes, or even women's integration on unequal terms to men, the fundamental and broader issue to be addressed was the subordination and exclusion of women on the basis of sex and other characteristics in society" (O'Neil et al, 2014: 04).

They, moreover, confronted that structural transformation of unjust power relations would happen only through the formation of women's grassroots organisations and their public education and mobilisation activities (O'Neil et al, 2014: 04). A further criticism for this is, in the world of development aid, gender advocates have often paid attention on a strategic choice to concern on for the positive contribution of empowerment to economic growth and poverty reduction, having a view to engaging non-gender specialists who otherwise would pay little attention to addressing gender-based inequalities. Therefore, the feminist commentators who recognise the reasons for this approach have made strong critique of such efforts to sneak empowerment into mainstream development as a 'Trojan horse' that has attired in efficiency and growth, claiming that it by devaluing or disadvantaging of its political and emancipatory potential (O'Neil et al, 2014: 04).

Feminist commentators, further make two arguments on this. According to them, empowerment has been hijacked by a neo-liberal economic agenda, and therefore, any form of women empowerment would be privileged individualism as well as women's access to material and financial assets and their participation in the labour market would be women working for development rather than development working for women. Further, a narrow focus on individualism and economic empowerment can undermine women's collective empowerment and their ability to reflect critically on the nature of unjust social and economic relations and institutions and act to change them, whereas negative and disadvantaged incorporation of women into markets will lead to constrain women's power and choices (O'Neil et al, 2014: 04).

2.1.5 Gender mainstreaming approach

Gender mainstreaming is the most recent approach in the development of the integration approaches. Hence, gender mainstreaming has also become the approach to the inclusion of

gender equality into the process of post-conflict reconstruction, peace, and conflict transition. It has also been seen “as a means of promoting the role of women in the field of development and of integrating women’s values into development work” (Council of Europe- 1998: 13). Various definitions of gender mainstreaming have already been discussed in this chapter. Here then the focus is on how gender mainstreaming developed from previous approaches. Indeed, like the previous approaches, gender mainstreaming developed in the context of the limitations and failures of the previous approaches to women and development. This policy shift: of gender mainstreaming appeared as a strategic solution to the failure of women-focused policies to significantly change the existing gender disadvantage in society (Alston 2006: 123).

With regard to the integration and inclusion of women into the development process, providing them with opportunities to access resources, and enabling them to enjoy equal status to men, the WID and GAD approaches were not very successful as they were not much effective approaches at the policy level. They were failed because some of them did not focused on the patriarchal structural values, their changes and focusing on strategic gender needs. One group of people and half of the population in society (especially, women) over the world are still marginalised and gender equality has not been achieved up to the standard. WID was generally failed to address and focus on changes of institutional and organisational structure at the policy level except for integration and inclusion of women into the development process within the same institutional and organisational structure.

GAD approach has had some failures too. Whereas it denies the perception of culture as a fixed entity and it continues to reveal women as victims of culture and considers culture as merely the dynamic production of social construction that is controlled by men and, women have been presented as a party having no role in society in shaping the culture. And GAD approach had also difficulty implementing it at the policy level due to the essentials of more

structural changes even within the family level. The empowerment approach had also failures in implementing it at the policy levels. Both Southern and Northern feminists did not have a single argument about it. Northern feminists argued that the fundamental and broader issue to be addressed is related to the subordination and exclusion of women on the basis of sex and other characteristics in society. As abovementioned, another failure that the empowerment approach had was; empowerment has been hijacked by neo-liberal economic agenda and any form of women empowerment would be privileged individualism and it would be a narrow focus that restricts women's collective empowerment. The gender mainstreaming strategy, therefore, arose to fill these gaps.

As chapter one mentions, gender mainstreaming was introduced at the Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing in 1995. In this conference, global governments took a crucial step to promote an agenda for women's empowerment by signing the Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA). Therefore, in such a background, a vast body of literature has been developed in relation to this concept since its commencement. However, scholars have no consistent argument about what gender mainstreaming should actually be.

Therefore, gender mainstreaming was presented as a mechanism to broaden the concept of development so that it may respond to the lives of women (Charlesworth 2005). This new approach or the principle of gender mainstreaming emphasises the "empowerment of women and equality between women and men are prerequisites for achieving political, social, economic, cultural and environmental security among all people" (Pittman 2014: 05). Gender mainstreaming is a process. It is the process that assessing the implications of any planned policies, legislation, programmes, and projects on women and men, with having a view to making adjustments so that to ensure the rights and equal opportunities for both (Gunawardena 2014).

Gender mainstreaming was attracted the attention as a new approach to achieve gender equality and women's empowerment in development in the post-Beijing era (Porter and Sweetman 2005). Gender mainstreaming has been officially identified as the strategy to achieve gender equality since the Beijing platform for Action officially identified it in such a perspective in 1995. Governments and other activists in different fields were asked to adopt a precise visible commitment to gender mainstreaming in their all policies, programmes, activities, and also the decisions that they made should include gender analysis in order to account for the impact of such policies on women and men.

Gender mainstreaming explains the efforts which examine and reinvent the processes of policy formulation and implementation across all issue areas and at all levels from a gender-differentiated perspective in order to address and repair or resolve persistent and emerging disparities between women and men. Thus, moreover, gender mainstreaming as an anti-discrimination policy and a law which searches for to take away the institutional barriers that impact on women's equality with men; gender mainstreaming identifies that gender differences cause to shape policy processes and also policy outcomes. (True 2003).

2.1.6 The Definition of gender mainstreaming

In considering this concept: gender mainstreaming, there is no consistency and uniformity among scholars and practitioners about its definitions, nature of the concept and its dimensions, as well as its practice. Since 1995 whereas numerous discussions were on gender mainstreaming all of them highlighted different aspects (Council of Europe 1998). Hundreds of definitions have been given by many scholars, feminist activists, policymakers, and also different organisations such as the European Union, World Bank, etc. All of them highlight different aspects gender mainstreaming (Council of Europe 1998). Scholars have no

consistent and clear cut standard definition about the term gender mainstreaming except the UN ECOSOC definition. Furthermore, there is also no uniformity among them on the definitions for the term 'gender mainstreaming'. However, there is little consensus about the meaning of definitions of gender mainstreaming and most definitions speak on integrating a gender equality perspective (Council of Europe 1998).

However, in considering the various definitions which are presented by various scholars in different fields and organisations, they can be divided into a few categories such as gender mainstreaming is a strategy, a policy strategy or equality policy strategy, a policy practice and approach, a process, a mechanism and method for equality as well as a process to seek for advance and enhance gender equality and empowerment of women. Thus, scholars like Morley (2007), Alston (2006), Verloo (2005), and Walby (2005) make known gender mainstreaming as a 'strategy' to safeguard gender equality in every sphere, whereas others recognised it as a 'policy instrument' (Woodward, 2001) to transform the unequal structures and institutions in favour of ensuring gender equality. Moreover, some scholars have (True, 2003) recognised it as a global strategy for achieving gender equality whereas others have realised that gender mainstreaming is an 'equality policy strategy' (Stratigaki 2005). However, gender mainstreaming has been officially identified as the strategy to achieve gender equality since the Beijing Platform for Action in 1995. In short, they do not have a consistent argument on the gender mainstreaming approach that whether it is a policy instrument or a strategy to achieve the goal of gender equality.

Gender mainstreaming has also been defined as a strategy; especially as a gendered political and a policy strategy for ensuring gender equality. In short, "gender mainstreaming refers to a strategy for promoting gender equality, involving the integration of gender perspective and the promotion of gender equality in all activities, i.e moving into the mainstream of activities" (Haataja et al 2011:13). Gender mainstreaming is also an equality strategy that represents a

policy shift having focused from attention to women's disadvantage towards more strategic attention to mainstreaming gender across organisations as a means of achieving gender equality and women's empowerment (Alston 2006: 123). It is a kind of strategy that claims to make women's as well as men's concerns and experience into an integral dimension in designing, implementing, monitoring, and evaluating of policies and programmes in all political, economic, and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated (Morley 2007; Gunawardena 2014; True 2003; Moser 2005b; Moser and Moser 2005a).

Moreover, Morley (2007) has also defined the term gender mainstreaming as a strategy that was originally informed by feminist theory and it demands to make women's and men's experiences into an integral dimension in design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of policies and programmes. Morley (2007) further explained gender mainstreaming as a long-term strategy, which has different stages of development and the first step of that is to identify how the status quo in effect is designed with men in mind. Bendl and Schmidt (2013), also defined gender mainstreaming as a strategy and according to them, gender mainstreaming is "a gender equality strategy that focuses on transforming structures and processes by questioning the status quo (mainstream) and assumes that a transformation of institutions or organisations may be necessary to establish gender equality" (2013: 364). Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues (OSAGI) of the United Nations has also introduced gender mainstreaming as "a globally accepted strategy for promoting gender equality" (OSAGI 2017.5.15).

Sylvia Walby has defined gender mainstreaming, "as a new form of gendered political and policy practice and a new gendered strategy for theory development" (2005a: 453; 2005b: 321). According to Walby (2005b), "as a practice, gender mainstreaming is a process to promote gender equality" (2005b:321). It is simultaneously intended as a way of improving

the effectiveness of masculine policies by making visible the gendered nature of assumptions, processes, and outcomes” (Walby 2005a:454). However, by examining extensively the different broad definitions and theoretical arguments and also weaknesses and potentials of the concept, finally, she further develops her idea on gender mainstreaming as follows; “gender mainstreaming remains a potentially transformative strategy that can challenge gender relations by promoting gender equality through policy and practice” (Rees 2005:69).

Moreover, gender mainstreaming has been defined as ‘a policy initiative’ which was adopted internationally following the Beijing Women’s Conference in 1995 to address gender inequality (Phillips 2005; Kelkar 2005; Menon-Sen 2010; Alston 2006). While Alston (2006) accepting it as a policy initiative she also has further elaborated it as a particular policy shift appeared as a strategic solution to the failure of women-focused policies to substantially change gender disadvantages. Gender mainstreaming has also been introduced as a policy approach (Eveline et al 2009:198). It is recognised as the most modern policy approach to gender equality policy (Daly, 2005; Eveline et al 2009). Daly confirms it through the statement of “gender mainstreaming is better developed as a policy approach than a concept” (2005: 434). In addition, some scholars introduced gender mainstreaming as a mode of a policy shift or policy practice (Alston 2006; Walby 2005a) whereas some others argue for it as an equality policy (Bendl and Schmidt 2013; Rees 2002; Squires 2005; Booth and Bennett 2002; Rees 2005). Daly (2005) also further introduced gender mainstreaming as a “model of policy-making” (Daly 2005: 434). As a policy approach, it seeks to institutionalise equality by embedding gender-sensitive practices and norms in the structures, processes, and environment of public policy (Daly 2005: 433-435).

Some writers such as Verloo (2005), Walby (2005), Rees (1998), and Woodward (2008) argues that gender mainstreaming is a transformative approach and it has transformative potentials (Eveline et al 2009) whereas Squires (2005) argues that it can be understood as a

transformative strategy when it is conceptualised as a means of pursuing complex equality via inclusive deliberation. Gender mainstreaming can also be named as a ‘policy process’ that evaluates the implications on both women and men of any planned actions, including legislations, policies, programmes, and activities in all areas and at all levels. Gunawardena (2014) affirms that gender mainstreaming as a process which assessing the implications of any planned policies, legislation, programmes, and projects on women and men, with having a view to making adjustments so that to ensure the rights and equal opportunities for both women and men (2014: 4).

Further, gender mainstreaming is *a strategic approach* that pays attention towards gender inequality and aims to safeguard that considerations of gender are included in all decision-making processes. Bendl and Schmidt defines gender mainstreaming as: it is policy about policy; it is a strategic approach that directs attention to gender inequality... gender are included in all decision making processes” (2013: 469). In this way, the conceptual goal of this approach is achieving gender equality, with some gender equality policies that no longer focused on women themselves but rather on gendered structures. Thus, as a strategic approach to ensure gender equality, there are two different strategic approaches to gender mainstreaming for that purpose. They are named as ‘integrationist’ and ‘agenda-setting’ and they will be discussed later in the section of 2.3.6, dimensions of gender mainstreaming.

Moreover, gender mainstreaming can also be defined as *a way of ensuring the different interests and needs* of women and men by taking into account of them in designing policy and making decisions (Ministry of Foreign Affairs-Netherland, 2002). The Council of Europe has also further defined the concept gender mainstreaming as “the (re) organisation, improvement, development, and evaluation of policy processes, so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels and all stages, by the actors normally involved in policy-making” (Verloo 2001:02). Out of the several definitions, the definitions of the group

of specialists on gender mainstreaming at the Council of Europe has been widely accepted because it emphasises gender equality as an objective, and not women as a target group and also it highlights that gender mainstreaming as a strategy.

In examining above mentioned definition of the Council of Europe for gender mainstreaming, Verloo (2001), has explained that “gender mainstreaming means (re)organising procedures and routines and about (re) organising responsibilities and capacities for the incorporation of a gender equality perspective” (Verloo 2001: 2). Verloo (2001) has further elaborated this definition by focusing on the essential elements of the term such as what needs to be changed and its targets policy processes as the main object of the change. Rees (2005) defines it as “gender mainstreaming is the promotion of gender equality through its systematic integration into all systems and structures, into all policies, processes, and procedures, into the organisation and its culture, into ways of seeing and doing” (2005:560).

Moreover, in her two works, Sylvia Walby has also (2005a; 2005b) defined the term and explained her arguments on the concept of gender mainstreaming focusing on the characteristics of the concept. According to Walby, “Gender mainstreaming is a process that seeks to advance gender equality by revising all mainstream policy arenas” (2005b: 453-454). As a practice, it is a process to promote gender equality and it also intends to improve the effectiveness of key policies and it involves the reinvention, restructuring, and rebranding of a key part of feminism in the contemporary era (Walby 2005b). Further, gender mainstreaming can be announced as an approach to gender equality that implies an equal assessment of different characteristics among and between women and men. It emerged as a result of the acknowledgment of the inadequacies of the strategies for promoting women’s equality (Bretherton 2001).

By quoting Walby (1990), Lombardo and Meier (2006) have further extended that “Gender mainstreaming implies a shift towards a broader concept of gender equality that explicitly targets patriarchy by tackling the multiple interconnected causes that create an unequal relationship between the sexes in the area of family, work, politics, sexuality, culture, and male violence” (Lombardo and Meier 2006: 153). Lombardo and Meier (2006) have further given a new face to the definition of the concept by adding some significant features with having a feminist perspective. According to Lombardo and Meier, in order to complete a feminist reading for gender mainstreaming we need to fulfill at least five shifts such as a shift in concepts underlying the policy-making process, incorporation of a gender perspective into the mainstream political agenda, an equal political representation of women and men as a way to ensure that women will at least numerically be part of the mainstream, the institutional and organisational cultures of political decision-making and require changes in the policy process as well as in mechanisms and actors, and the last one is a feminist model of gender mainstreaming requires both ‘displacement’ and ‘empowerment’(Lombardo and Meier, 2006).

As mentioned in Chapter 1, although the ECOSOC definition is the widely used, internationally accepted macro-level definition for the term gender mainstreaming, some organisations have adopted and modified it so that they may reflect their operational concerns. For instance, the WHO defines gender mainstreaming as “the integration of gender concerns into the analyses, formulation and monitoring policies, programmes and projects with the objective of ensuring that these reduce inequalities”(Menon-Sen 2010:09). According to the Directorate of Human Rights-Council of Europe, it can be seen as “a means of promoting the role of women in the field of development and of integrating women’s value into development work”. (1998:13). It can also be introduced as a revolutionary approach that seeks to both transform existing gender relations towards more equality and transform biased policy-making processes.

Gender mainstreaming explains the efforts which examine and reinvent the processes of policy formulation and implementation across all issue areas and at all levels from a gender-differentiated perspective in order to address and repair or resolve persistent and emerging disparities between women and men. Thus, moreover, gender mainstreaming as an anti-discrimination policy and a law which searches for to take away the institutional barriers that impact on women's equality with men; gender mainstreaming identifies that gender differences cause to shape policy processes and also policy outcomes (True 2003).

Gender mainstreaming therefore can be seen as a tool for delivering policy on an altogether different agenda, such as economic development or combating poverty (Rees 2005). "Mainstreaming is not an end itself but a strategy, an approach, a means to achieve the goal of gender equality. Mainstreaming involves ensuring that gender perspectives and attention to the goal of gender equality are central to all activities-policy development, research, advocacy, legislation, resource allocation..." (UN OSAGI, 2017). Gender mainstreaming was attracted the attention as a new approach to achieve gender equality and women's empowerment in development in the post-Beijing era (Porter and Sweetman 2005). This new approach or the principle of gender mainstreaming emphasises the "empowerment of women and equality between women and men are prerequisites for achieving political, social, economic, cultural and environmental security among all people" (Pittman 2014:05).

Finally, it can be concluded that 'gender mainstreaming' is a political and policy strategy that seeks to provide equal opportunities to both women and men in order to they may equally access resources, employment, knowledge, education, labour market, laws and legal legislation human rights and they equally enjoy the benefits of the process of development. It is also a strategy looking for a requirement of focusing not only on women but also on gender which suggests changes are required in men's lifestyles too. It is a policy instrument that

seeks a shift towards a broader concept of gender equality. According to the above scholarly definitions, arguments and explanations by different scholars, it can be concluded that there is no single definition and view among the scholars on the concept of gender mainstreaming.

World nations have already passed twenty-two years after introducing the gender mainstreaming approach, and diverse measurements and practices have been implemented and put into practice in order to achieve the goal by various nations, organisations, and agencies. However, there is an uneven development of the measurements taken, mechanisms and techniques, and tools adopted so far. Therefore, there is criticism and disapproval on the realisation and achievement of the goal of the concept. According to some critiques, although we have passed twenty-two years after United Nations introduced gender mainstreaming as an equality instrument, there is no proof yet to seem that the goal has been achieved up to the standard level even in the Western and European countries in the world. Eveline et al (2009) argue that there are weaknesses of the processes and techniques (to them which means methodology) of translating declared policy goals into action.

The common criticism for the term gender mainstreaming is the lack of standardisation in goals, procedures, and methods emphasised by the lack of an unambiguous definition of just what it is (Eveline et al 2009:200). It also has a lack of standard procedures and inconsistent or contradictory understandings are due in part to increasing interest in the strategy, with versions multiplying in international programmes and across both national administrations and public sector organisations (Eveline et al 2009: 200). Walby has also said that gender mainstreaming is a global initiative; however, it has not evenly developed globally and also the implementation of gender mainstreaming has also been unequal even when led by a common transnational political entity, such as the EU (2005b: 454). Further, according to Walby, the understanding of gender mainstreaming raises complex questions as to the relationship between global, regional and national levels of governance (2005b). Rees

(1998); Eveline, Bacchi and Binns (2009) noted that the transformation of institutions becomes the agenda, rather than perpetuation and maintenance of the attempt to improve women's access and performance within organisations and their hierarchies (Eveline et al 2009: 200). In addition, True (2001) also has realised that there has been uneven development in the adoption of gender mainstreaming tools too.

Finally, in considering the above all explanations and arguments that have been developed by different scholars in diverse fields, we can be concluded that gender mainstreaming is a policy and a political or equality policy strategy to establish gender equality and a mechanism for equality as well as a process to seek for advance gender equality and empowerment of women.

2.1.7 Dimensions of gender mainstreaming

This section focuses on key theoretical arguments that were presented by different scholars from a diverse of angles in relation to the concept: of gender mainstreaming. In scholars' discussions, they attempt to explain what theoretically gender mainstreaming is and how it involves in practice. They have focused on different dimensions of gender mainstreaming. In reviewing the body of literature that has been developed by scholars on the concept, they have presented several theoretical base arguments and discussions on gender mainstreaming. Most of these arguments or debates are related to the theoretical background of the term as a concept and its application and practice.

Among the arguments, whereas some of them have located or uncovered that gender mainstreaming as a concept theoretically has not developed adequately, others are based on the status of gender mainstreaming as a transformative approach and a revolutionary strategy. In addition, there is a debate on whether this strategy is mainly integrationist in its impact or potential or whether there are reasons to label the strategy or some elements of its as

transformative. This debate seems that it concentrates on the practice of gender mainstreaming by focusing on whether gender mainstreaming can or cannot fulfil its revolutionary potential (Verloo 2005). Most of the arguments are based on gender mainstreaming as a concept or transformative instrument that is not adequate and matured enough to address the expected goal by addressing the existing organisational system through it as a policy approach to change system.

However, most authors seem to agree that gender mainstreaming is potentially a 'transformative strategy' (Verlo 2005; Hafner-Burton and Pollack 2000; Woodward 2003). Therefore, this section mainly focuses the arguments on the different dimensions or strategies of gender mainstreaming which have been developed by different scholars such as Jahan (1995), Rees (1998) Booth and Bennett (2002), Squires (2005), Walby (2005), Alston (2006) and Verloo 2001). All these authors have discussed gender mainstreaming by focusing on its dimensions.

Even though a large body of literature has developed on gender mainstreaming so far, there is little literature that has focused on its base and background of the theoretical conceptualisation. In reviewing the literature, it revealed that around four key and important theoretical arguments have been developed on theorising gender mainstreaming. Each of these theoretical arguments is based on three sets of strategies for gender mainstreaming. They are mainly on a threefold typology or three strategies for gender mainstreaming. Out of the three theoretical arguments, the first argument which is consisted of three sets of typologies was presented by Rounaq Jahan (1996). These three typologies are '*integrationist*', '*agenda-setting*', and '*transformative*'.

The third three-set of categories were formed by Christine Booth and Cinnamon Bennett (2002) and those three sets of typologies were *three-legged equality stool*, which proposes an

'*equal treatment perspective*', and addresses '*women's perspectives*' as well as a '*gender perspective*'. The third three categories of theorisation on gender mainstreaming were presented by Theresa Rees (2005). Those three sets of typologies are *equal treatment*, *positive action*, and *gender mainstreaming*. The fourth set of typologies was presented by Judith Squires (2005) and those three were; transformation typologies such as '*inclusion*', '*reversal*', and '*displacement*' of gender mainstreaming. These three are analytically different feminist political strategies and are named as threefold typology (Verloo 2005; Squires 2005).

Out of them, one of the significant theoretical explanations on gender mainstreaming has been formed by Jahan (1996). The main three typologies of her arguments are the '*integrationist*', '*agenda-setting*' and '*transformative*' approaches. The '*integrationist*' approach seeks to introduce a gender perspective into prevailing policy, whereas an '*agenda-setting*' seeks to challenge and transform policy paradigms in to the process of generating policy. '*Integrationist*' approach to gender mainstreaming aims to introduce a gender perspective into existing or prevailing policy models (of the government departments and agencies) without questioning them (Jahan 1995). The simple idea of integrationist approach is incorporating or integrating the gender mainstreaming policy perspectives into the existing policy models without attempting to change them and desires to establish equality between women and men.

However, the '*integrationist*' approach can be questioned based on its theoretical concept itself and also the practice. "The integrationist approaches are those that introduce a gender perspective without challenging the existing policy paradigm, instead '*selling*' gender mainstreaming as a way of more effectively achieving existing policy goals" (Walby 2005a:323). '*Agenda-setting*' approach intends to have a transformation and reorientation of existing policy methods, by changing decision-making structures and processes and also reorienting the mainstream political agenda by rethinking and re-expressing and reshaping or the rearticulating policy ends means from a gender perspective.

In agenda-setting basically “women not only become part of the mainstream, but they also reorient the nature of the mainstream” (Jahan, 1995: 13). “Agenda-setting implies transformation and reorientation of existing policy paradigms, changing decision-making processes, prioritising gender equality objectives, and rethinking policy ends” (Walby 2005a: 323). This has been associated with more participatory and intentional forms of mainstreaming which improve participation and access to the policy-making of a range of individuals and organisations (Roggeband 2014: 335; Beveridge et al 2000). According to Verloo, Jahan calls “the agenda-setting approach to gender mainstreaming is based solely on the participation of women as decision-makers. Women participate in all development decisions and through this process bring about a fundamental change in the existing development paradigm” (2005: 347). By further elaborating it, Verloo says that according to Jahan, agenda-setting is the recognition of women’s agenda and according to this interpretation of ‘agenda-setting’ means rethinking of policymaking from the start/beginning and also changing policy paradigms in order to policies work toward gender equality (Verloo 2005: 347-348).

Therefore, this approach allows civil society organisations to set the agenda and develop the criteria also for desired gender equality outcomes (Roggeband 2014). However, many parts of the world also ‘agenda-setting’ approach hopes to address gender issues within existing policy models. But the important thing is male-stream and androcentricity (male-biased) of the policy need to be challenged for a meaningful transformation (Rees 1998). Jahan’s ‘transformative’ approach is not much radical and tends to reveal the characteristics of the WID approach. It does not aim to change the prevailing system to achieve the goal of gender equality: equality between women and men.

In addition, Judith Squires (2005) also contributes and enlarges Jahan's explanation on transformative approaches of mainstreaming. Judith Squires (2005) sees these three are useful analytically to understand approaches to mainstreaming and those approaches labeled as 'threefold typology'. This first approach has broadly accepted the focusing of experts and bureaucratic evidence-based knowledge in policymaking whereas the second approach is focused on the participation, presence, and empowerment of disadvantaged groups; especially women are in this category through the support of civil society organisations (Squires 2005). Whereas the 'integrationist' approach seeks to introduce a gender perspective into prevailing policy, an 'agenda-setting' seeks to challenge and transform policy paradigms in the process of generating policy (Roggeband 2014; Beveridge et al, 2000).

The third typology of the threefold typology of Jahan is the 'transformative' approach. The differentiating or separating the features of the 'transformative' model of mainstreaming is difficult in both theory and practice and not easy to understand clearly (Squires, 2005). However, in theorising (gender) mainstreaming most of the scholars have often used the term 'transformative' approach or model in theory, generally, in practice; they focused their attention towards 'integrationist' and 'agenda-setting' approaches. In this sense, only the 'transformative' conceptualisation is standing for a displacement of equality /difference dichotomy (Squires, 2005). Thus, according to Squires (2005), of the three analytically different conceptualisations of mainstreaming, only the transformative conceptualisation represents a displacement of the equality/difference dichotomy.

The next category of theoretical explanations to mainstreaming is the 'three-legged equality stool' which was presented by Christine Booth and Cinnamon Bennett (2002). This category of explanation is also significant. This 'three-legged equality stool' identifies the interconnectedness of three perspectives - 'an equal treatment perspective', 'a women's perspective', and a 'gender perspective'. This is also called the 'metaphor of three-legged

equality stool' (Booth and Bennett, 2002). This identifies that a mainstreaming strategy is dependent on three important provisions such as the equal treatment perspective, the women's perspective, and gender perspective. In this approach, the equal treatment perspective defines actions that guarantee women the same rights and the same opportunities as men in the public domain whereas women's perspective encourages initiatives that recognise women as a disadvantaged group in society who deserve and require particular treatment and specialist provision in order to rectify their past experience of discrimination, which has become institutionalised.

From the equal treatment perspective, the key method of delivering the same rights and opportunities to women is through the statutory and mandatory legal instruments (Booth and Bennett, 2002: 434). The third leg of the stool: the gender perspective encourages or stimulates actions that wish to change the organisation of society to a reasonable distribution of human responsibilities. It acknowledges the difference between women and men. The transformation of human lives is assumed or supposed on understanding that men are not the deliberate oppressors of women but can also be disempowered by current social arrangements. The gender perspective is delivered through new tools for gender-sensitive policy-making (Booth and Bennett 2002: 434).

In continuing with the metaphor of three-legged stool, it is not only possible to demonstrate that those three strategies are mutually supportive but each leg of stool represents one of the three perspectives also and if any of the chains of the stool are weak the possibility for the achievement of equality is challenged and weakened (Booth and Bennett, 2002). Many women's initiatives depend on legal precedents. For instance, the use of quotas to give preference to women in elections in the unrepresentative government structures in order to allow them to represent. Similarly, a gender perspective may rely on the ability to use both legal and positive action techniques to act as activators or factors for embedding gender

awareness in organisational structures and procedures (Booth and Bennett, 2002). Therefore, after examining all aspects of the ‘equality stool’ of Booth and Bennett, Squires has declared that they have focused on ‘mainstreaming equal opportunities’ (2005:371).

Theresa Rees (2000) has presented the next theoretical strategies to gender mainstreaming. Rees (2000) presents three ideal-typical approaches of equal opportunities policy namely; *equal treatment*, *positive action*, and *(gender) mainstreaming* (Rees 2005). Rees (2005) labels these three approaches as ‘*tinkering*’ (equal treatment), ‘*tailoring*’ (positive action), and ‘*transforming*’ (mainstreaming). Here equal treatment is a legal amendment or redress to treat women and men the same. Positive action realises that there are differences between women and men and also it sees specific measures are required to address disadvantages experienced by women as a result of those differences. Mainstreaming ideally deals with recognising that how prevailing systems and structures cause discrimination and how do we altering and redesigning them in order to counteract gender biases and discriminations (Squires 2005). According to Rees, ‘equal treatment’ (which Rees called ‘tinkering’) was ‘an individualised rights-based approach to gender equality’, and also IT IIS ‘approach brings women’s rights into line with those of men’ (2005: 557).

According to Rees (2000), *equal treatment* means no individual should have fewer human rights or opportunities than any other. The adoption of equal pay and equal treatment at the workplace are some measures towards this approach. The second approach is *positive action* in which it emphasises the shifts from equality of access to creating environments and settings more likely to result in the equality of outcome. More precisely positive action consists of the adoption of specific actions on behalf of women, in order to overcome their unequal starting positions in a patriarchal society (Pollack and Hafner-Burton 2000). The *positive action* also takes the form of positive discrimination which looks for to increase the participation of women through the use of affirmative-action preferences or quotas. The third and most

hopeful and favourable approach is *gender mainstreaming*. The concept of gender mainstreaming calls for the systematic incorporation of gender issues throughout all governmental institutions and policies. Thus, gender mainstreaming is a potentially revolutionary concept which promises to bring a gender dimension into all policies (Pollack and Hafner-Burton, 2000). Gender mainstreaming is also an extraordinarily demanding concept, which requires the adoption of a gender perspective by all the central actors in the policy process.

The next theoretical base argument related to gender mainstreaming is a threefold feminist analytical political strategy and this threefold category was originally presented by Judith Squires (2005). Squires (2005) located mainstreaming within three typologies. According to her analysis, the three categories of strategies were, '*inclusion*', '*reversal*', and '*displacement*'. These three strategies are three distinct theoretical frameworks. Those threefold approaches focus on the possibility or probability of the transformative approach. The strategy of '*inclusion*' is based on the principle of 'equality' whereas the strategy of '*reversal*' is based on the principle of 'difference' and the strategy of '*displacement*' is based on the principle of 'diversity' (Squires 2005; Verloo 2005). The strategy of 'inclusion' usually aims for fairness and impartiality, conceives people as autonomous, and promotes equality politics which is often labelled as a radical feminist. The strategy of 'reversal' usually accepts an interpretative methodology and talk of 'woman' or 'women' and embrace different politics which are often labelled as radical feminist. Further, the third theoretical framework or the "strategy of 'displacement' adopt a genealogical methodology, speak of subject positions and of gendering as a verb rather than gender as a noun and espouse a diversity politics and also often labelled as postmodern" (Squires 2005: 368). According to Squires (2005), the strategy of 'inclusion' looks for gender- neutrality whereas the strategy of 'reversal' seeks recognition for a specifically female gendered identity and the strategy of 'displacement' searches for to deconstruct those discursive systems that engender the subject (Squires 2005: 368).

Verloo (2005) has also further elaborated about Squires' typology of three approaches named 'inclusion', 'reversal' and 'displacement'. According to Verloo, the strategy of 'inclusion' is generally defended by liberal feminists and it focuses on the inclusion of women in the world as it is. It aims an inclusion of women in a political system from which they are presently excluded (2005:345-346). This exclusion of women is regarded as problem and complicated and liberal feminists generally seek fairness and impartiality. The strategy of 'reversal' aims not only to seeking acceptance for a specific female gendered identity but also it argues here that politics should to be reconstructed in order to manifest the distinctive perspective of non-hegemonic gender identities and cultures: especially females (Verloo 2005: 346). It means gender mainstreaming policy should be specially focused on women. It is often adopted from a radical feminist or cultural feminist perspective to seek a reconfiguration of current politics in order to it becomes more open to gendered distinctions or specificities (Verloo 2005). According to Verloo (2005), the strategy of displacement aims to move 'beyond gender' whereas it accepts a diversity politics as well as is rooted in postmodern or post-structuralist feminism (2005: 346). It also desires at destabilising the obvious opposition between equality and difference and also between the strategies of inclusion and reversal and looks for to dislocate and shift patriarchal gender hierarchies.

It also analyses and criticises discursive organizations or informal systems that create the question and accept the deconstruction of them (Verloo, 2005). This means, recognising the diverse issues behind the inequality between women and men in different communities across the globe is important. The displacement strategy focuses rather than on gender and accepts diversity politics which is often regarded as a postmodern concept. In this way, each strategy to mainstreaming such as *inclusion*, *reversal*, and *displacement* presented by Squires (2005) generates a unique conception of mainstreaming. They are equal opportunities, women's perspectives, or complex equality that recognises diversity. Moreover, these three concepts or

ideas of mainstreaming involve three different understandings as to how mainstreaming should be continued through bureaucratic policy tools, through consultation with women's organisations, and through inclusive deliberation (Squires 2005). By further elaborating the Squires' arguments, Verloo (2005) says that whereas the three approaches are not mutually exclusive, but can be combined in practice and the strategy of 'inclusion' is fundamentally an 'integrationist approach'. And both strategies of reversal and displacement might be transformative (2005: 346). Moreover, these three strategies defined by Squire (2005) are also not resembled (paralleled) the often-quoted distinction between gender mainstreaming as integrationist or agenda-setting which was presented by Jahan.

Apart from the above-mentioned threefold typologies of theoretical base arguments on gender mainstreaming, there are another few theoretical base discussions related to gender mainstreaming which were mainly presented by some scholars such as Rao and Kelleher (2005) and Sylvia Walby (2005a), Woodward (2008), Alston (2006). Rao and Kelleher (2005) developed the discussions on the practice of gender mainstreaming within organisational and institutional settings. This significant approach consists of two main approaches such as '*organisational*' and '*institutional*' approaches (Rao and Kelleher 2005). Although people have used and realized both institutional and organizational approaches are the same, they differ from each other. 'Institutional approach' involves addressing the root causes of gender inequality (Rao and Kelleher, 2005: 59). It means "changing the rules of the game" (Rao and Kelleher 2005: 59). While these rules are stated and unstated, they may determine who gets what, who does what, and who decides (Rao and Kelleher 2005). These rules can be both formal and informal such as constitutions, laws, policies and cultural values and norms, traditions, etc. As a whole, these rules are basically for the target groups in the society to achieve the social or economic end for their betterment (Rao and Kelleher, 2005).

As both these rules in the institutional setting, often help to continue the division of labour, this situation affects the positions of women in society. These institutional rules support not only exclude women from the setting but also restrict getting ownerships to lands and women's mobility. As these institutions are changed as a consequence of the actions of organisations, the changes in such a particular setting are very important. The organisational approach seeks to change the nature and rules and regulations of the existing organisations such as state, government, family, market, etc., where institutional rules are practised (Rao and Kelleher, 2005). These organisational changes are dealt with reformations and transformation. That's why strategies such as gender mainstreaming need to change the organisational settings.

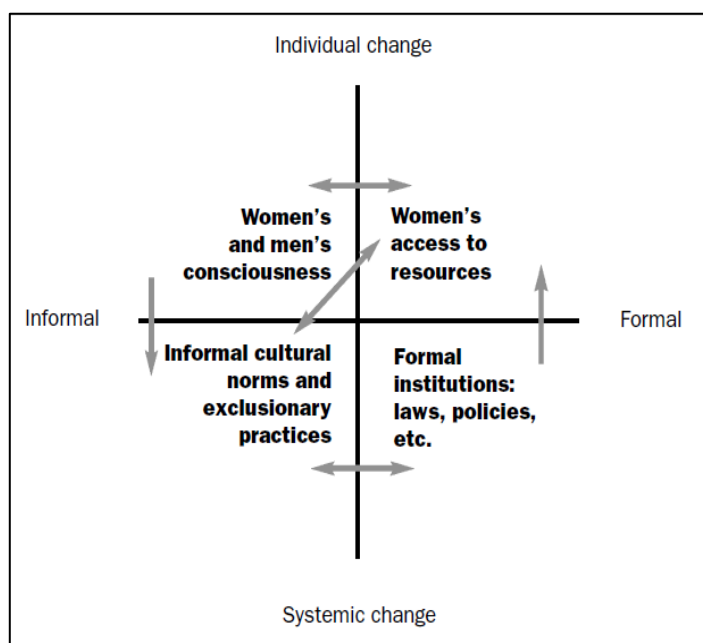


Figure 2.1 : Institutional change what we are trying to change

Source: Rao and Kelleher, 2005

However, changing this organisational setting is not an easy task as it has a deep-rooted structure. This deep structure has become complex as it has been linked to different factors (Rao and Kelleher, 2005). Therefore, the task of gender mainstreaming as a theoretical concept is, to realise this background thoroughly and critically analyse it creating innovative organisational arrangements and settings with new values and norms to abolish gender inequalities in the systems and establish gender equality. As organisational values and rules

may change the institutional background, these new creations of organisational values are so significant. New policy models and new priorities should be introduced through gender mainstreaming as it is a policy strategy that adopts across the world. However, most of the organisations do seem to have neither desire nor the capacity to challenge institutional norms (Rao and Kelleher, 2005). However, through these theoretical explanations, it seems to be that gender mainstreaming has also not adequately expanded as a strong theory to challenge the existing system of inequalities and values.

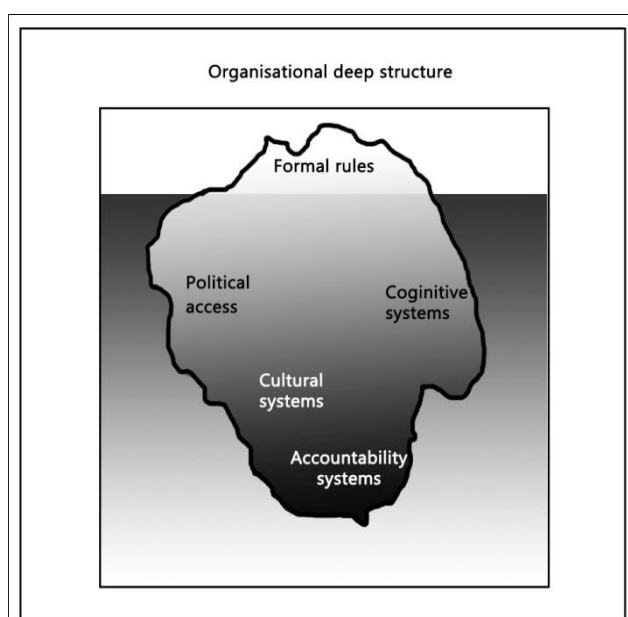


Figure 2.2 : The Iceberg of organisational deep structure

Source: Rao and Kelleher, 2005

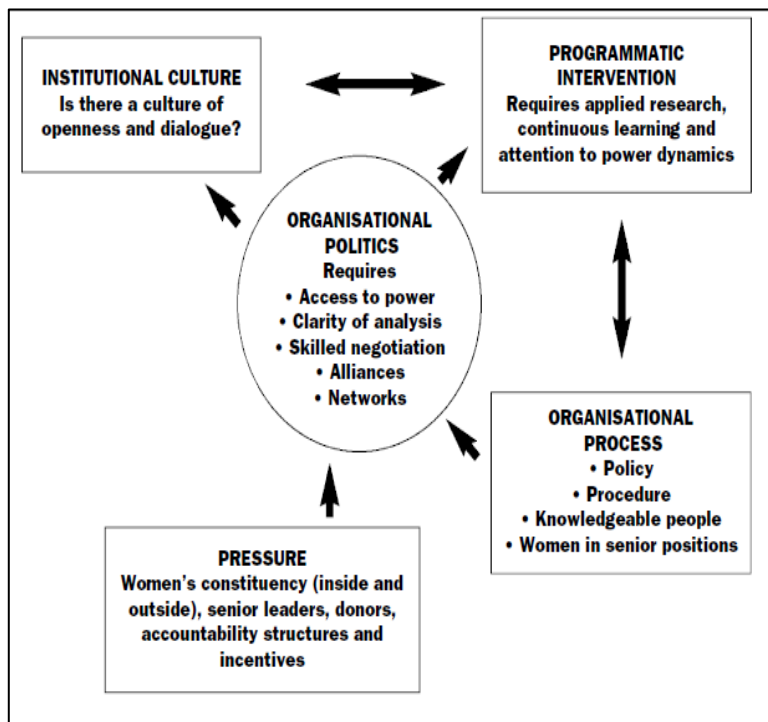


Figure 2.3 : The organisational likelihood of promoting gender equality

Source: Rao and Kelleher, 2005

The other dimension of theoretical argument related to gender mainstreaming has been presented by Sylvia Walby (2005a). This argument is based on regarding its nature as a ‘theoretical concept’ and the ‘practice’ and it is also significant. According to Walby, gender mainstreaming involves three essential elements such as “*Reinvention*, ‘*Restructuring*’ and ‘*Rebranding*’ (2005a). These three are key parts of feminism in the current era. These concepts help to explore the nature of gender mainstreaming as a theoretical concept. As gender mainstreaming is a powerful development in feminist theory and practice, it has taken the influence of feminist theoretical concepts. ‘Reinvention’ involves changing the norms and values: perhaps maybe the rules in the existing system which related to gender inequalities and it brings new appearance to the values and relationships that prevails in the system.

“Restructure” may be involved with a reformation of the values and relations in the existing system and “Rebranding” may involve the “transformation”. It could be revolutionary. Therefore, I can say that these three concepts of gender mainstreaming are dealt with three “R”s and it can be explained through the following figure.

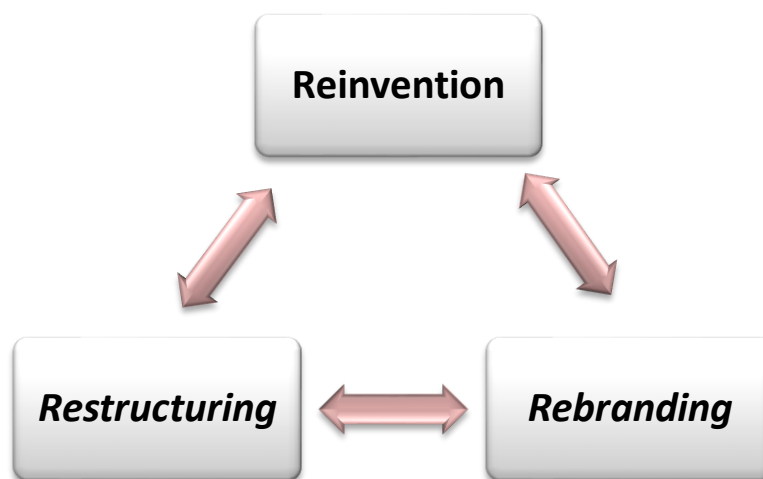


Figure 2.4 : The Figure of three “R”

However, according to the arguments developed on gender mainstreaming by different scholars, finally, it can be seen that some of them have located or uncovered that gender mainstreaming as a concept which has not been adequately developed theoretically, others are based on the status of gender mainstreaming as a transformative approach and a revolutionary strategy.

2.2 Significance of gender mainstreaming in a post-conflict context

“Armed conflicts affect both men and women, but women face additional issues during wars that men do not” (Cahn 2006: 335). Armed conflict and its aftermath affect women’s lives in different ways and vary it from that the impact on men (Strickland and Duvvury 2003). “Women are also differentially affected by wars because of their role as the primary caretaker of the household and family as well as their second-class status in most conflict zones” (Cahn

2006: 336). Moreover, in most conflicts, the traditional division of civilian space which was named private sphere as women's space and the public as men's space was broken down or collapsed as a consequence of men in conflict communities under attack tend to abandon public spaces to avoid being conscripted, attacked, taken hostage or mobilize to armed forces (Strickland and Duvvury 2003: 7). And therefore, in this vacuum, women increasingly become the ones to manage those existing institutions and took over those responsibilities held by men. They also started to operate family welfare and security, including taking on roles traditionally assigned to men (Strickland and Duvvury 2003: 7). Moreover, conflicts bring women gains and opportunities same as the losses.

Therefore, in discussing conflict and gender equality in the post-conflict context, Cahn (2006) emphasises the importance of integrating women's wartime experiences into the post-conflict reconstruction process. Cahn has pointed out that scholars, human rights organisations, and other local, national and international actors have been concerned about the importance of integrating women's wartime experiences in the post-conflict context (2006: 336). Therefore, these scholars and organisations have formed some significant programmes for this purpose. Out of those, valuable programmes related to gender mainstreaming was significant. According to Cahn (2006), although gender mainstreaming is a vital programme, in the post-conflict context, reforms should be implemented in order to neglect needs become central rather merely mainstreamed because women and girls than men and boys gain plenty of diverse experiences during and after conflicts (2006: 336, 337).

Therefore, governments, institutions and societies need to take steps in order to incorporate these valuable experiences of women into the aforesaid post-conflict and peacebuilding process and allow women to raise their voice in these processes. In this process, they need to include important factors such as gender equity which requires sustainable development, recognition of women's rights to participate in all aspects of the peace and post-conflict

reconstruction process, and development of laws that respect and foster gender equity in society. Considering further, the relationship between conflict and gender equality in post-conflict reconstructions, according to Melander (2005) and Caprioli (2000), gender equality generally contributes to more peaceful societies because women are mostly more averse or unfavourable to war or conflict due to their certain unique female qualities related to the reproductive role. The mothering skills of them tend to express more negative use of hostile force against others have a tendency to prevent conflicts (2005b: 696, 697; 2000: 53). Some of the African countries such as Liberia, Sierra Leone, Rwanda, and others like Kosovo and Afghanistan, provide the best examples for this.

As abovementioned, conflicts make opportunities for women. Fuest (2008) in her research, 'this is the time to get in front: changing roles and opportunities for women in Liberia' discusses both the pros and cons of the war in relation to women. According to Fuest (2008), war not only brings disadvantages or losses to women and unequal gender opportunities and more vulnerable spaces such as victims of violence and extreme exploitation and physical and psychological hardships but also brings some gains to women (2008: 203). Sometimes, in some cases, war brings gender equality and more opportunities to women such as in Liberia, Rwanda, Uganda and Chad.

For instance, the Liberian women gained opportunities or spaces in political and economic spheres. Many women had a chance to receive leadership roles in civil, political and religious sectors in Liberian society and political representation of women in some African parliaments was increased (Fuest 2008: 202, 203). The opportunity or the space for political and economic roles that Liberian women have accomplished today seems to be larger than they held before the war. Certain women in Liberia, both individually and collectively have advantageously used the primary opportunities such as political representation and holding political leadership and increasing of labour force provided to them by war. Although in most post-conflict

countries women have difficulty to achieve their ambitions and are restrained by various institutional and economic barriers such as the patriarchal nature of the politics of the institutions and lack of money and means of income, Liberia as a case of post-conflict provides a unique possible space for sustainable shifts in gender roles and a home for where ensuring gender equality (Fuest 2008: 203). Since the war, Liberian, women became more self-reliant and have a greater capacity to live autonomously.

In short, the gender roles of Liberian culture were shifted as a consequence of the devastating civil conflict, which ran from 1989 to 2003. People often speak about the ‘female losses’ and women’s victimisation during wars and in post-war situations, although Liberia has achieved significant change in gender equality in its society and culture as a consequence of war. This situation offers women to hold political leadership and positions in decision-making levels. A similar situation has been seen in other post-conflict countries, such as Kosovo, Rwanda, Peru, South Africa, Pakistan, and India. According to Fuest (2008), women’s political representation in some African parliaments has also increased, and Liberia elected a woman president in 2006-President Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf. She, in turn, appointed several women to various positions including the chief of the police force, and to the cabinet. Indeed, 22 per cent of cabinet positions went to women, including the very crucial ministries of Finance, Justice, and Commerce (Fuest 2008; Zuckerman and Greenberg 2010).

In such a significant background of gender mainstreaming in a post-conflict context, scholars around the world, human rights organisations, international organisations, and national and international actors have concerned on the importance of integrating women’s wartime experiences in the post-conflict context. Some useful programmes such as gender mainstreaming were developed by these scholars and organisations in order to ensure the inclusion of women’s experiences and voices (Cahn 2006). Thus, in such a background the United Nations focused more on gender mainstreaming in conflict and post-conflict

reconstruction process in post-conflict countries all over the world since the late 1990s as (Female participation and civil war Relapse, 2014)gender mainstreaming has been launched as a global strategy for achieving gender equality (True 2010; Alston 2006; Baden and Goetz 1997: 12) even in every process of the post-conflict reconstruction.

Furthermore, as United Nations has recognised the importance of gender mainstreaming and the significance of women, peace and security as well as the association of conflict, women, peace and security, and gender equality it also introduced UNSCR 1325 October 2000, by highlighting the interdependence of post-conflict gender equality, peacebuilding and security (Olsson and Gizelis 2013: 426; Bastick 2008: 1).

Hence, in such an environment, the United Nations introduced Resolution 1325 in October 2000 focusing on women, peace, and security, and after then gender mainstreaming became a significant concern and a matter in war, conflict, peace and conflict transition, security, and post-conflict reconstruction. This Resolution 1325 represents the first time that gender has been mainstreamed in the armed conflict and security side of the United Nations and it is also the first time that UN addressed the area of women and armed conflict (Cohn 2003; Cohn et al 2010). It also recognised that women have been active in peace-building, conflict transition, and conflict prevention and women's rights to participate as decision-makers at all levels in conflict prevention, conflict resolution, and peace building processes (Cohn 2003: 2). Therefore, women's participation in the peace process and post-conflict context became vital.

Resolution 1325 searched for and wanted to address both lack of participation of women in peace processes and in peace operations and the lack of awareness of the different needs of protection that men and women have during an armed conflict and its resolution (Olsson and Gizelis, 2013). Resolution 1325 emphasised three themes. The first two were participation and protection. The third was gender mainstreaming because Resolution 1325 acknowledged

that how peace is implemented can have different effects on men's and women's relevant access to resources and power. That is, according to Olsson and Gizelis, "peace" does not automatically have the same "quality" for women as it does for men" (2013: 426). This makes gender mainstreaming crucial in the post-conflict context, so both men and women can benefit equally in the peace, reconstruction and development process. Thus, this recognition regarding gender mainstreaming in conflict and post-conflict reconstruction process by the UN was also emphasised by other actors such as donor agencies and human rights organisations over the world. Furthermore, the academic literature also began to focus on it to a greater extent.

UN donor agencies have also put emphasis on women's participation and efforts to achieve gender equality as essential elements of post-conflict reconstruction. The human rights organisations and other local, national and international actors have paid attention to the significance of incorporating and integrating women's wartime and post-conflict experiences into the post-conflict context (Cahn 2006) because their experiences are not only different from that of men, but women also suffer excessively during the conflict as a direct result of the disruption of civil life and because of the violence and abuse carried out against them during and after the war (Fonseka 2005; Cahn 2006; O'Reilly et al 2015:1). Therefore, these particular organisations and scholars have developed some useful programmes to incorporate a gender perspective into the peace process in order to make sure the inclusion of women's experiences and their voices in the post-conflict reconstruction process and of them the gender mainstreaming become significant (Cahn 2008; Olsson and Gizelis 2013).

Apart from those organisations and agencies, academic literature has also more focused on gender mainstreaming in a post-conflict context. Many scholars; especially feminist scholars in diverse fields over the world and in post-conflict countries have focused more on gender mainstreaming because it was recognised as a means of reducing conflicts and wars as women

are inherently averse to violence than men (Melander 2005a: 697). Women also dislike or are against conflicts in compared to men and scholars have identified that “women in relation to men less likely to support the use of force and the International relations literature on the impact and potential impact of women on foreign policy suggest that women are more peaceful in that they are less likely than men to support the usage of international violence” (Caprioli 2000: 53; Melander 2005a: 696).

These Scholars have also been concerned to and emphasised that gender equality can be ensured and established through realising gender mainstreaming in all work of the conflict and post-conflict processes; especially in the peace process such as peacebuilding, peacekeeping and disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) (Bastick 2008:2-3; Cahn 2006:336-337 ; Krause et al 2018:985-986 ; Gizellis and Joseph 2016: 539-541,). Melander (2005b: and Caprioli (2000) have attempted to explain and point out the relationship between gender equality and peaceful relations with other states and also within the states. Melander has pointed out that “a positive relationship between gender equality in a state and peaceful relations with other states and a study finds that gender is associated with less state-sponsored personal integrity rights abuse domestically” (2005b: 695). Moreover, by pointing out Caprioli’s (2000) study, Melander has shed light to Caprioli’s point that gender equality contributes to peace within the states and assured her argument (2005b) as Caprioli has found out in her first study on the ‘relationship between gender equality and intrastate armed conflicts’. Caprioli (2000) has found out that gender equality also contributes to peace within the states (Melander 2005b: 696). Gender equality, moreover ought to be associated with less collective violence (Melander 2005b). Thus, gender equality become a significant factor in the peace process in the post-conflict context. Hence, gender mainstreaming become significant in the post-conflict context as a means to ensure gender equality in the post-conflict peace and development process.

The relationship between gender equality, conflict, and how gender equality impacts long-term peace became significant in this background. Therefore, by emphasising the issues related to their reconstruction processes such as peacebuilding, security sector reforms, and post-conflict economic and social development, most of the post-conflict countries have focused on and emphasised the association of conflict, gender mainstreaming, and gender equality. Whereas diverse forms of research were conducted by different scholars in different perspectives on conflict, gender equality, and gender mainstreaming in post-conflict countries all over the world, they are fallen in the different areas related to women, gender, gender mainstreaming and gender equality, the relationship between women, gender equality and conflicts and wars (Cahn 2006).

Thus, most of the research is generally concentrated to illustrate the relationship of conflict and gender equality and the importance of incorporating women into the peace process and what sorts of benefits that women gain in the context of the post-conflict reconstruction as well as what benefits that society gains through the integration of women into the process (Hudson et al 2008: 8,9; Caprioli 2000; Gizelis and Joseph 2016: 541-545; Krause et al 2018; Melander 2005a, 2005b; Olsson and Gizelis, 2013:432). Therefore, in considering this significant relationship between gender equality and conflict many post-conflict countries have taken considerable measures to mainstream gender in the post-conflict process. Those measures will be discussed below.

2.2.1 Gender mainstreaming - measures, failures and obstacles (in post-conflict countries)

This section focuses on the gender mainstreaming measures that were taken by post-conflict countries and the failures as well as obstacles faced by them in the process. As above-mentioned, by recognising about integrating women's war time and post-war experience into

the peace and post-conflict process, there was an emphasis on trying to incorporate women into the peace process and post-conflict reconstruction (Cahn 2006: 336). Thus, the international organisations and their donor agencies and many post-conflict countries have taken some useful measures including gender mainstreaming to incorporate women into the peace process and post-conflict reconstruction. Those measures mainly included ensuring political rights and increasing participation of women and a woman become the highest leader of a state, educating girls and women (eg:-Afghan women in Peshawar), developing laws that respect and foster gender equality and introducing new laws on land ownership and property rights, implementing justice component and ensures accountability for crimes committed against women, employment without discrimination, enhancing economic and livelihood condition, reproductive rights, positive discrimination policies such as women quotas in candidates lists and appointing women to higher managerial levels, integrating gender (especially; women) into the process of disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) and the necessity of domestic responses to the crime of sexual violence and policy actions for the right to freedom from violence (Cahn 2006: 338-340; Melander 2005: 696-697; Zuckerman and Greenburg 200: 1-2).

Despite the most post-conflict countries around the world have taken many measures as recognising the significance of the relationship between gender, peace process conflict transition, and post-conflict reconstruction, failures of the measures can also be seen. In such a background, despite scholars such as Olsson and Gizelis (2013; 427-428), Caprioli (2000: 55-56), Melander (2005a, 2005b:) have pointed out, that gender mainstreaming and gender equality have a close relationship to conflict in this post-conflict context, in examining the implementation of measures in practice in the post-conflict countries for ensuring gender mainstreaming and gender equality cannot be satisfied (Gizelis and Josep 2016; Krause et al 2018). Demirit et al (2014) also accept that civil wars recurrent and increases violent when it reoccurred. Therefore when women's participation in economic, social, and political life in

post-conflict reconstruction situation, re-occurrence of wars will be decreased (2014:346,347).

There are some reasons for the failures and lack of satisfaction of those measures and criticism for them in this conflict and post-conflict process. As most of the post-conflict programmes have not been designed properly in order to they may include both women and men into these particular post-conflict programmes such as peace process although some programmes encompass them. The challenges of implementing policies such as gap between the international norms and local norms and the capacity to implement those particular gender friendly policies, unwillingness of locals to accept the new rules and norms or as they lack capacity to implement policies, the failures of the top-down imposition of policies and values on local populations in implementing gender equality measures in post-conflict reconstruction, the difficulty of formulating bottom-up policies when local actors have low capacity, post-conflict countries often seek to establish reconstruction practices consistent with specific values and organisational structures and approaches which are considered as appropriate by external actors (Gizelis and Joseph 2016: 541-543) are some of the failures in peacebuilding and reconstruction processes.

Gizelis and Joseph (2016) further explain some gaps in these post-conflict reconstruction processes which they named as decoupling. The lack of willingness to respect or obey with externally imposed values and norms is another gap that exists in post-conflict reconstruction processes of post-conflict countries which are introduced by normative decoupling by Gizelis and Joseph (2016). In this issue, the public compliance to global values and practices are disconnected by local practices and values and behavioural expectations such as human rights violation, lack of implementation of gender mainstreaming policies, implementations of institutional reforms. According to Gizelis and Joseph (2016), the other gap is resource

decoupling which is the gap between embracing new policies and the local capacity to implement and monitor the adopted policies.

The exclusion and marginalisation of women yet in the DDR process other failures that can be generally seen is and the experiences of female war participants perpetuate gender stereotypes (Demeritt et al 2014: 347). Guaranteeing rights is one of the significant failures in this process although it is an important focus of this process. Rights-based approaches present various problems for women groups upon in the ability of government to provide for the rights for women and the ability of women to exercise them (Cahn 2006: 344) in practice is a significant issue. Having traditions of highly corrupt governments, low participatory rights in government and no experience with strong civil society are the problems that have with many countries emerging from conflict. Having a lack of a reliable legal system of these conflict nations and governmental transparency or a legislature capable of enacting legal guarantees is another failure of the emphasis of trying to incorporate women into the peace process and post-conflict reconstructions (Cahn 2006). In many of these conflict countries, the written law and the law as enforced may differ greatly.

Another visible failure is, although, if a post-conflict government has the ability to provide for rights, women are often unable to exercise those rights as a consequence of they lack legal literacy or cannot access them because of longstanding cultural barriers that reinforce women's subordinate status. Even though the Rwandan government provides rights for women, they are often unable to exercise the particular rights because they lack legal literacy or cannot access them because of cultural barriers. Even in Sri Lanka such long-lasting cultural, structural, and institutional barriers are still existent at grassroots levels, sometimes even in urban areas that prevent women's access to their rights, resources as well as opportunities. Thus, they restrict gender mainstreaming in these post-conflict processes not only in a few Asian and African post-conflict countries but also in many of them. The post-

conflict reconstruction programmes in many African, European and Asian countries including Sri Lanka have also not often mainstreamed gender.

Hence, guaranteeing legal rights need to be addressed the underlying structural barriers that prevent women's participation as citizens (Cahn, 2006). However, guaranteeing these rights of women does not address the underlying structural obstacles or impediments to women's participation as citizens in these processes. Therefore, deeper and broaden measures need to be taken. Moreover, the legal rights do not address many needs of women in a post-conflict society. The legal rights cannot be guaranteed the basic economic needs of women that are generally not guaranteed by legal rights such as income, a market in which to sell the products that they produce and a road to access the market (Cahn 2006: 345).

Another failure that restricts the inclusion of women into the peace and post-conflict process is the lack of addressing the violence against women by domestic reforms that have been made in the post-conflict context. These reforms often do not succeed to address issues of violence against women due to their inherent pitfalls of them and practical institutional challenges that they have such as male bias norms and values, the male bias nature of their designs of them. The failure to include a meaningful gender perspective into the domestic peace agreements in the post-conflict reconstruction is another weakness of this peace process. These domestic peace accords need to seek the establishment of procedures for DDR, security, justice and the transitional government in negotiating and implementing peace agreements need to include a considerable gender perspective into them in order to the sustainability of them (Cahn 2006: 346, 347). In the post-conflict process, as a result of a lack of civil society, in many post-conflict countries, donors are often forced to make their own determinations rather than considering the needs of post-conflicts will also cause them to fail the processes.

However, there are not only some failures and weaknesses of the measures taken by the world populations but also are obstacles for women to take part in the peace and post-conflict process and to mainstream gender also in this process. Therefore, these factors will be discussed below. In examining these failures and barriers, among them, including the fact that civil society organisations and social networks in post-conflict environments do not meet international expectations, and are weak or have loose structures. These women's organisations are often weakened as they are not able to meet the demands of external actors or international institutions. These women's organisations often, do not consider the issues that are external actors deem as crucial in reconstructions and peacebuilding in post-conflict countries and in mainstreaming gender and ensuring gender equality (Gizelis and Joseph 2016: 542). This means that external actors often mistrust and ignore these organisations even in policy areas in which these groups might be able to be active and might be able to implement policies.

All this means that these grassroots organisations tend to have low capacity, and are incapable of implementing the policies of post-conflict reconstruction which are relevant to women and gender mainstreaming in these countries (Gizelis and Joseph 2016). Further, in some cases, external actors often do not recognise existing civil society organisations as legitimate partners in attracting donor funding and coordinating the available resources to implement projects and policy formulation. In such situations, normative decoupling happens because of a lack of willingness by the locals to follow structures imposed by external actors and because of a lack of capacity from the locals' side (Gizelis and Joseph 2016: 543).

The disarmament, demobilisation, and reintegration (DDR) and security sector reform (SSR) have a close relationship in the post-conflict peacebuilding, however, greater awareness of the degree and various forms of participation of women and girls in armed conflicts has demonstrated that DDR plans have often unsuccessful in incorporating them. In Sierra Leone,

eighty-eight percent of girl soldiers were denied access to DDR programmes between 1998 and 2002 (Bastick, 2008). However, the need for greater gender-sensitive DDR programmes was confirmed in UNSCR 1325 that encouraged all those particular forms of involvement in planning for DDR and SSR in order to consider the diverse needs of female and male ex-combatants and also to take consider the needs of their dependents (Bastick, 2008). For instance, DDR programmes in Liberia and Sierra Leone though they include women and girls in such schemes on paper may be unsuccessful for various gender-related reasons.

However, in 2003, women's organisations in Liberia were successful in designing and an awareness campaign to encourage women and girls to participate in DDR process. Even in East Timor as a post-conflict country, in maintaining the new roles and priorities for the specific group after the conflict, has become a key challenge in developing post-conflict reconstruction policies. The scopes of peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction initiatives have given little attention to the impacts of these efforts on specific groups: for instance women.

Research has discussed possible explanations for the failures of integrating gender mainstreaming and gender equality into the peacebuilding and post-conflict reconstruction processes in post-conflict countries. These include the gap between international expectations and norms and local norms, what is practically possible on the ground, and local capacities. Indeed, most external actors and international organisations are not aware of what local capacities might actually be, and of the low capacity of the local actors in post-conflict countries to implement policies, and the unwillingness of the locals to accept new rules and norms or they lack the capacity to implement policies, top-down imposition of policies and values on local populations and difficulty of formulating bottom-up policies when local actors have low capacities (Gizelis and Joseph, 2016: 540) are some of the important possible explanations for the failures. Other factors include patriarchal values, gender hierarchies,

cultural norms and the image of women in these societies, as well as long-lasting structural and institutional barriers and economic factors (Gizelis and Joseph 2016; Caprioli 2000; Cahn 2008; Bastick 2008).

The research conducted by Gizelis and Joseph (2016) reveals that there is a gap or separation between the right of participation of Liberian local women and the civil society organisations; which are often organised and conducted by women at grassroots levels in their peacebuilding and reconstruction process due to the requirements of the norms of international organisations and the norms or customs from practical actions and capabilities of the local populations in post-conflict countries (2016: 540). Though Gizelis and Joseph (2016) researched the Liberian context, the situation is quite similar in most of other post-conflict countries too. Women have lost their local ownership to integrate into peacebuilding and reconstruction processes in Liberia, Sierra Leone, El-Salvador and Ghana. The situation is also quite similar in Sri Lanka.

Women have lost their opportunities to be involved in the peace process, including in peacebuilding, peacekeeping, security, and post-conflict reconstruction, as they expected. According to Gizelis and Joseph (2016), there is a gap between international expectations of policy implementation and their norms and the locals do not have capacities in meeting effectively the standard of international norms in implementing them (2016: 542, 543). Furthermore, civil society organisations and grassroots groups are not able to play an active role in post-conflict reconstruction, peacebuilding and development processes. Gizelis and Joseph explain that this gap, or ‘decoupling’, occurs in different ways (2016: 543). Either locals are unwilling to accept the new rules and norms, or they have a lack of capacity to implement policies and values for reconstruction that are imposed from the top down on local populations. There is no room to formulate policies from the bottom up because local actors

have low capacity (Gizelis and Joseph 2016: 540). This affects gender equality and mainstreaming gender too.

However, Gizelis and Joseph's empirical research also demonstrates that women in Liberia have relatively high education levels compared to men, and a culture of traditional social organization. Out of the twenty-eight local organisations in their study, twenty-five were organised and led by women, and most of them were also represented by women (2016: 545). However, the purpose of the organisations has also varied in engaging with the peacebuilding as a process as well as in initiating policies on specific issue areas such as sexual violence and agricultural projects and monitoring the implementation of the principles and goals of the Liberian National Action plan (LNAP). Although there are obstacles and challenges for establishing grassroots organisations and networking local populations in this type of post-conflict environment, many of these groups are organised and led by women in war-affected rural areas. But in rural parts of the country, there is an extensive network of activities and other grassroots organisations also involved in peacebuilding (Gizelis and Joseph 2016: 544). This environment is similarly practised in Sri Lanka.

Thus, as abovementioned, though all citizens are impacted from war, as both women and men experienced war differently and women face additional issues during and after wars that men do not (Cahn 2006: 335) inclusion of women's wartime and post-war experience into peace and post-conflict reconstruction process is so vital. Therefore, mainstreaming gender perspective and ensuring gender equality in all aspects and levels of peace and post-conflict reconstruction process in post-conflict context is very significant. Thus, as above mentioned, gender mainstreaming in post-conflict societies have many challenges. There are many difficulties and failures in gender mainstreaming processes in most conflict and post-conflict countries all over the world. According to the above discussion, however, there are also many

more opportunities and spaces for gender mainstreaming and gender equality in post-conflict reconstruction process.

2.2.2 Gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka as a post-conflict country

This section focuses on the literature on gender mainstreaming and gender equality in Sri Lanka; especially as a post-conflict country. It generally concentrates on the historical background and the present situation on gender mainstreaming and gender equality in Sri Lanka. The section also examines the measures that have been taken by the government to ensure gender equality and implement gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka. There is little literature on gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka although there is considerable literature on gender issues in Sri Lanka and even less on gender mainstreaming in the post-conflict reconstruction context. The literature explores Sri Lanka's dedication to and responsibility to the Convention on the Elimination of All forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in its march to achieve gender mainstreaming.

Similar to other countries in the North and South, Sri Lanka has accepted gender mainstreaming as a strategy and a tool of gender equality, especially so after the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action and World's Fourth Conference on Women. Sri Lanka also has endorsed the international standards for gender equality by ratifying international conventions such as CEDAW (1980), ICCPR, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and MDGs.

Literature reveals that the focus on gender equality in Sri Lanka was mainly commenced during the period of the United Nations Decade (UN Decade) for Women (1975-1985) as it was the key goal of that time and then gender mainstreaming officially sprung up at Beijing Conference, 1995 as a strategy to achieve the goal of gender equality. The UN Decade paved

the path for women in Sri Lanka to have gender equality in every aspect of social life such as education, employment, socio-economic status, health condition and legal provisions. Sri Lankan women have often been affected by interactive macro-economic, social, and political forces clarified through socio-economic and gender differentiation. Prior to 1970, women in Sri Lanka were actually a non-issue and were not mentioned specifically as a target group in a large number of plans and programmes prepared from the forties to sixties (Jayaweera 1985:1).

Before the UN Decade for Women, when examining the situation of women in Sri Lanka, they had some constraints and challenges in the society and lack of gender equality in diverse fields except education and health, however, after the Decade changes were occurred in the position of women and also in their perceptions. The development that was occurred during the Decade inseparably linked with a long historical process and a socio-economic environment in which concepts, policies and programmes were formulated (CENWOR 1985). Parallel to the provisions of UN Decade, some other measures were also taken by Sri Lankan government for ensuring gender equality which was the key concept at that time among the nation as a result of gender equality practices of UN Decade.

Significant numbers of women had been brought to the public arena by equal access to education in Sri Lanka by 1970. Participation in the Mexico Conference in International Women's Year in 1975 and expedited activity by women's non-government organisations provided an encouragement to interest in women's issues (Jayaweera 1985: 1). UN Decade and the international conventions and standards ratified aftermath brought significant changes in the status of women or their lives in Sri Lanka. They brought the integration of gender concerns into the planning process at national level. The Coalition government came to power in 1970 had to formulate 'alternate model' for development which was named; The five Year Plan (1972-1976) and the youth crisis in 1971 brought to the surface the employment needs

of young women who became the products of the expanding educational system. Therefore, at the first time, a national plan took awareness of the role of women in development (Jayaweera 1985:2).

Later, the U.N.P regime which came into power 1977 election, introduced a severe change into development policies and a series of five-year projections on the rolling plan was introduced. It was named as Annual Public Investment Plan (PIP) and this was an impact of the International Women's Year and the UN Decade because the increasing of official awareness was reflected in the annual programme documents since 1981. These documents focused on women's participation in the labour force (1981-1982) and women as a target group of economic and social development policies (1983) and in education (1984) (Jayaweera 1985: 3).

In Sri Lanka, the establishment of the National Machinery to promote the integration of women in development was very significant during the UN Decade. The pressure from local non-governmental organisations and the international trends compelled the government to implement one of the recommendations of the Mexico Conference for the establishment of separate machinery at the national level as a focal point for policies in the sake of the advancement of women. That was the gender focal point. The establishment of the Women's Bureau in 1978 as special national machinery for the purpose of enhancing the position of women increased official consciousness and women in the public arena. Most of the development programmes within the decade (1975-1985) focused on women such as Accelerated Mahaweli Development Scheme, export-oriented industries (Jayaweera 1985: 3.4, 5).

Integration of women-focused perspectives into the national plan was broadened as a consequence of the UN Decade concerns. This expansion has spread the areas such as

changes in the legal status of women, women and education, health and nutritional status of women, women and employment, women participation in decision-making, women participation in community action and women's movement (CENWOR 1985). The influence of the Decade's concerns and other international conventions and standards have become driven forces to commence the historical development of gender equality and mainstreaming in Sri Lanka. However, compared to other developing countries Sri Lanka has offered equal rights to women even before constitutional provision (1978) of equal rights without discrimination on the grounds of sex and the ratification of the UN CEDAW convention in 1981 and the UN Decade provisions. The universal franchise, equal rights to contest election in 1931, and equal access to free education and health services in the 1940s had already contributed to gender equality in some spheres of life (Executive Summary of ADB Report 2008).

Although gender mainstreaming and gender equality in Sri Lanka has had an advancement there are some issues in this process. They mostly fall in areas such as employment and labour force, gender-based violence, gender discrimination in domestic laws, land and property ownership. Women still suffer from inequality and gender discrimination in employment. The unemployment rate of women has been double that of men since the 1970s and also the quality of employment available to women has worsened, consisting mainly of low-paying jobs, that require few skills in both formal and informal sectors, women are concentrated in unpaid labour in the agriculture sector and plantations, in labour intensive industries such as assembly work within and outside export processing zones, in home-based work as subcontractors, in small-scale and often unviable informal self-employment and in overseas domestic service, where they are vulnerable to economic exploitation and sexual abuse. Therefore, many women have limited income and occupational mobility whereas the relatively few women in professional or administrative jobs continue to face a 'glass ceiling' (ADB Report 2008: ii; Jayaweera 2015: 255-256).

Gender-based violence is a vital issue in the country despite several legal provisions that have been provided against the issue such as the amendments to the Penal Code in 1995 and 1988, the introduction of the Domestic Violence Act in 2005 and Article 12 of the Constitution. Sexual harassment is generally undervalued and domestic violence and incest are often hidden under a veil of privacy (Executive Summary of ADB Report 2008). Although the introduction of legislations to prevent domestic violence were expected to reduce the incidence of gender-based violence, the cases of rape, child sexual abuse, and domestic violence are increasingly reported (Executive Summary of ADB Report 2008).

Even though the general law of the country in family relations offer equal rights to both women and men in their property, family law which is based on ethnicity, locality and religion is deeply entrenched in discrimination against women in the community. The Kandyan Sinhala law is based on and applicable in the Central Province, Tamil *Thesavamai law* applicable in Northern Province and the Muslim law contain family provisions often exist discrimination against women (ADB Report 2008). This mismatch of the general law and communal laws is significantly considerable because of the discrimination create against women in the society. This situation greatly confer unequal status for women though government attempts to mainstream gender and ensure gender equality. Land rights laws are also often create disadvantaged condition to women. Land Reforms laws introduced in 1972, on immovable property of husband and wife disadvantage women who own property and in the allocation of state land, low income women are discriminated because the statutory law prefers male over female heirs (ADB Report 2008).

2.3 Stand of the research

With regard to present situation of gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka; which means the post-conflict context few amounts of literature has been published. Some literature reveals that there is considerable level of gender mainstreaming others are not satisfied on this process. In considering the post-conflict reconstruction and development process in war affected areas some projects have achieved positive results in integrating women into the project that contributed to gender equality. These were ranged from practical benefits to results associated with women's empowerment and changes in gender relations (Thomas and Hunt 2010: viii).

Three projects were carried out in war-affected areas in the post-conflict reconstruction process and they were taken a community-driven approach to living conditions. Those projects were the North-East Coastal Community Development Project (NECCDEP), Secondary Towns and Rural Community-Based Water Supply and Sanitation Project (STRCBWSS) and North East Community Restoration and Development Project-II (NECORD). As these projects were mainly conducted by community-based organisations, the inclusion of greater participation of women and gender equality have been there. Therefore, women's participation was high in all projects and involving women in decision-making also considerably increased. As a whole, all three projects could have achieved significant participation of women in project activities and gender equality (Thomas and Hunt 2010: ADB Report 2015:3). However, the significant issue is, gender mainstreaming and gender equality can be visible in post-conflict reconstruction projects when gender mainstreaming has become a necessary component of Donors, but in government funded projects and programmes have not much concern on gender mainstreaming. This would be much clear when examining the scholars' research in the post-conflict process in Sri Lanka.

Simon Harris says that although mainstreaming gender issues in all aspects of peace and reconstruction processes, women are often absent from peace processes and most post-conflict planning continues to ignore, or inadequately account for gender issues (2004:60).

Therefore, gender inequalities in this post-conflict process are unchallenged. Although Donors expect gender issues and women's participation to be taken seriously in Sri Lanka, however, in making progress to include women into the peace and post-conflict reconstruction process does not seem successful. Gender exclusion in Truth Commissions is one of the crucial issues in this process. Women do not represent these commissions (Baker 2011a: 8; 2011b).

Recent developments in the fields of gender and development and post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation have led to an interest in gender mainstreaming (GM) among national governments, NGOs and UN agencies. GM has become a significant part of post-conflict reconstruction processes in countries such as South Africa, Rwanda, Namibia, Indonesia, Mozambique, Serbia, Bosnia, Angola, Eritrea, Yugoslavia and El Salvador.

Similar to other countries in North and South, Sri Lanka has accepted gender mainstreaming as a strategy and a tool of gender equality. It has endorsed the international standards by ratification of international conventions such as 'Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women' (CEDAW), 'International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights' (ICCPR). It has also obligations to Universal Declaration of Human Rights. However, Sri Lanka has largely abandoned gender mainstreaming in its post-conflict period. There appears to be a growing gap between the ideology and practice of GM in Sri Lankan government policy. Consequently, this study will address the question of where has gender mainstreaming gone in the reconstruction process in Sri Lanka?

There is a considerable amount of literature on gender in Sri Lankan academia, which has focused on issues such as gender equality, gender and violence, women's rights and political participation (Leitan 2000; Kiribamune 1999; Liyanage 1998; Madahapola 2004; Leitan & Gunesekara 200; Leitan 2001; Kiribamune & Samarasinghe 1990; Herath 1999; Gomez & Gomez 2000), women and health (Attanapola 2004; Kottegoda et al 2008; Gill & Stewart

2010), gender and economy (Jayaweera 1990; Ajwad & Kurukelasuriya 2002), gender, humanitarianism and development (Hyndman & De Alwis 2003), women in armed conflicts and post-conflicts psychological trauma and PTSD (Galappatti 2003), post victimisation of women and war displacement (Rajasingham–Senannayake 1999), gender and education (Jayaweera & Gunawardena 2007; Guenewardena et al 2006). However, there is an apparent lack of literature on gender mainstreaming in national government planning, policy and implementation. More specifically, the literature has not focused on the national policy on gender mainstreaming in the post-conflict reconstruction process.

Present research has not yet been studied on Sri Lankan government policies on gender mainstreaming in the post-conflict reconstruction process. The purpose of this research is to gather evidence to show that a shift away from GM has occurred and to try to understand the reasons for this change. An in-depth case study is done to examine and compare government policy making and implementation regarding gender mainstreaming in the pre-conflict and post-conflict reconstruction periods. The primary objective of this research is to document and explain the process by which the Sri Lankan government appears to have abandoned its commitment to improving the lives of women. By doing so, this aims to make a contribution to knowledge on the government's gender-related policy making processes in Sri Lanka, to fill the gap in the existing research on gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka and to make recommendations for how the current lack of attention to gender might be resolved.

CHAPTER THREE:

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK, DATA AND METHODS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the thesis' analytical framework and explains what data is used in the analysis and how the analysis is carried out. The first section (3.2) of this analysis explains the dimensions of gender mainstreaming used in this study and identifies the relevant indicators of gender mainstreaming. It also sets out how the extent of gender mainstreaming is examined. Section 3.3 then discusses the documents used for the analysis – where they come from, and what type of documents they are. It then outlines how these documents are analysed, focusing on the coding used and on the themes identified.

3.2 Analytical framework

An analytical framework is crucial for a research study to explore its research questions and achieve its objectives. The framework provides a form of structuring, summarising and analysing data in a meaningful way (Gale et al 2013: 2). Considered that mainstreaming gender is both a technical and a political process, this study builds up its and uses and makes use of a framework based on three dimensions of gender mainstreaming, namely 1) women-focused activities and measures, 2) gender-focused or gender-aware programmes, and 3) the transformation of gender roles, and changes in social, institutional and organisational structures, values, norms, and cultures.

Structural changes, as well as allocation of resources by government and NGOs, are important for implementing women and gender focus policies and programmes (Kardam 1998 cited in March et al 2010:10). As Squires argues, “mainstreaming ideally should involve identifying how existing systems and structures, cause indirect discrimination and altering or redesigning

them as appropriate” (2005: 370). On the other hand, mainstreaming requires shifts in organisational cultures and ways of thinking to translate such aspects into policies.

These three dimensions were identified and chosen as the foundation of this study’s analytical framework after a detailed review of the existing literature. More specifically, a number of existing studies and conceptualisations of gender mainstreaming were explored and compared, and on the basis of this investigation, three overall dimensions of gender mainstreaming were identified. Then, indicators of each of the three dimensions were identified. For each dimension, six indicators were identified, and again, these were selected based on the review of the existing academic literature. Finally, having set out the dimensions and indicators of gender mainstreaming, the framework then specifies how the extent of gender mainstreaming can be examined. It suggests this can be done three levels;

- 1) whether gender mainstreaming can be seen to be *genuine*,
- 2) Whether it is merely *symbolic*,
- 3) whether it is *absent*. This measure was developed specifically for this study and is therefore novel.

Table 3.1 : The study’s analytical framework

Dimensions and indicators	Level 1: Genuine gender mainstreaming	Level 2: Symbolic gender mainstreaming	Level 3: No gender mainstreaming
1. Women-focused activities and measures- Dimension 1			
a) The policy focuses on the basic needs of women such as education, employment, accessing resources, physical security and power as well as social capacity building for women. b) The policy recognises gender disparities of needs or opportunities that affect women and their disadvantages and includes women empowerment activities. c) The policy pays attention to women’s rights including new legal reforms such as land rights and property ownership etc. d) The policy has a women’s perspective-	The policy document concentrates on all these six indicators of the women-focused dimension.	The policy document focuses on the all six indicators of the first dimension:	The policy document does not focus any of these six indicators in the first dimension

<p>positive action. It values women's differences and promotes equality between women and men.</p> <p>e) The policy focuses on capacity building for women - provides technical training for women in non-traditional areas and provides self-esteem and self-confidence-building programmes for women and concentrates on women's empowerment.</p> <p>f) The policy focuses on 'practical' gender needs or women's needs because they are often concerned with the inadequacies of living conditions.</p>		<p>women-focused activities and measures;</p> <p>OR</p> <p>At least two-thirds of indicators out (2/3) out of these six indicators in the Dimension 1</p>	
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2. Gender-focused/Gender-aware measures and programmes- Dimension 2

<p>a) The policy institutionalises gender equality into the day-to-day routine of the State and demonstrates the government's accountability to mainstream gender and ensures gender equality.</p> <p>b) The policy addresses discrimination brought by macro-economic policies such as in employment and wages, and it offers clarity for the implementation of gender mainstreaming strategies.</p> <p>c) The policy declares gender sensitivity and equality or gender perspective at all levels and at all stages and it gives value to differences equally.</p> <p>d) The policy focuses on capacity building for men – to change men's gender attitudes, eliminate gender-based violence and enhance men's capacity to share unpaid domestic and caring work equally with women.</p> <p>e) The policy consists of gender equality in equal access, control, opportunities, rewards, and benefits for women and men and gender parity such as equal representation and participation of women and men.</p> <p>f) The policy institutionalises gender mainstreaming issues to ensure the use of gender tools for planning and programming. It take actions to appoint gender focal points, and specialists to support gender mainstreaming.</p>	<p>The policy document focuses on or presents all six gender-aware programmes or gender-focused measures.</p>	<p>If the policy focuses on all these six indicators in the second dimension of gender-focused or aware programmes.</p> <p>OR</p> <p>At least two-thirds of indicators (2/3) out of these six indicators in the Dimension 2</p>	<p>The policy document focuses on none of these six indicators in this second dimension.</p>
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3. Transformation of gender roles, and changes in social institutional and organisational structures, values, norms and cultures. – Dimension 3			
a) The policy takes action to change inequitable social systems and institutions to address the root causes of gender inequality. b) The policy results in attitudinal and behavioural changes at the individual and institutional levels. c) The policy results in changes in deep-seated values and relationships for the transformation of gender roles. d) The policy transforms and challenges the existing policy paradigms or models and sets new priorities. e) The policy changes and transforms the gender order and the existing distribution of resources and responsibilities to create balanced gender relations. f) The policy presents measures to remove institutional, organisational and structural barriers.	The policy demonstrates all these six indicators or indices in this third dimension of transformative features.	While the policy document pays attention to the above two Dimensions (1&2), the document does not concern or pay attention to any of these significant measures in this Dimension 3	The policy document does not focus on any of these six indicators as very significant measures or indicators in mainstreaming gender in any particular context.
The total consideration of the indicators in 3 dimensions	Each and every indicator in all 3 Dimensions	Indicators in dimension 1 and Dimension 2 OR Or all indicators in either Dimension 1 or Dimension 2	None of the indicators in all 3 Dimensions

Table 3.1 sets out this thesis’ analytical framework. Then, the next two sections of this chapter explain it in more detail. Section 3.1.1 discusses the development of the framework’s dimensions and its indicators, while Section 3.1.2 focuses on the levels of gender mainstreaming and on how these are operationalised. Ultimately, when used to analyse a range of policy documents, this analytical framework allows this thesis to explore both the kind of gender mainstreaming related initiatives that have been introduced in Sri Lanka over the period under investigation, and the extent of these gender mainstreaming initiatives.

3.2.1 Dimensions and indicators of gender mainstreaming

As mentioned above, the three dimensions of this study's framework, as well as the indicators, were identified and developed on the basis of a review of the existing literature in the field of gender mainstreaming and gender equality. The study by Zuckerman and Greenberg (2004) and Greenberg and Zuckerman (2006, 2009) was particularly influential in this regard, and the framework developed here borrows heavily for these works, as will be explained shortly. In addition, the works by Jahan (1996), Booth and Bennett (2002), Rees (2005), Squires (2005), Rao and Kelleher (2005), and Kabeer (2010) were also important in constructing the framework. All of these studies identify different dimensions, approaches, perspectives, or principles of gender mainstreaming, and so they too inform the analytical framework that this thesis has developed.

The study by Zuckerman and Greenberg (2004) proposes an analytical framework for policymakers in process of post-conflict reconstruction and development with three dimensions named; women-focused activities, gender-aware programming and transforming gender roles. This framework is rights-based and those are three interrelated kinds of rights that needed to be guaranteed to women in the post-conflict context. Through their first dimension, they try to explain that there is a requirement of considering women as a specific group and some activities to address the gender disparities in all spheres and levels. For that, a WID approach is essential as it provides basic needs of women as a specific group. Further, in the second dimension, they explain that we need to identify and address gender issues that cause to restrain or enhance the development programmes. It means mainstreaming a gender perspective into policies, programmes, and activities stressing the importance of understanding gender based-roles and relations. Through this third dimension, they explain the need/necessity of gender roles transformation as well as a permanent transformation of

social norms relating to violence, gender and power in order to establish gender equality between women and men.

The structure of three dimensions was used as the frame in this study much similar to Zuckerman and Greenberg's (2004) work because of some reasons mentioned below; these three dimensions explain the nature of the exact meaning of the term gender mainstreaming and its basic characteristics that exact or genuine gender mainstreaming need to have. This three-dimensional structure provides three interrelated indicators to measure the levels of gender mainstreaming. Their work further provides a good structure to the framework as it has a rights-based normative foundation. Gender mainstreaming means, on one hand, a method or a tool that provides and assures the rights of women as they are still in a disadvantaged position. Moreover, in the journey of mainstreaming gender, it needs to be passed different stages and should be addressed different needs in these stages. For instance, in women-focused activities; women's basic needs are essential for women to come forward and if not they would be backward, women-focused activities are essential to include in the framework because some significant reasons. In Sri Lankan society, women have been yet forgotten in formulating many of the policies. They are still substantially excluded and marginalised in significant fields such as economy, employment and labour force and decision-making etc., because of the cultural barriers still exist such as patriarchal values and norms. In addition, their approach is strategic and transformative.

Moreover, through dimension 1 Zuckerman and Greenberg provide the facility to remove the available psychological barriers that prevent the empowerment of women. Similarly, dimension 2; the gender-focused or gender-aware programmes that provide the things to be equal such as policy, legal legislation, and programmes. Thus, gender-focused or gender-aware programmes are crucial because they realise that there are differences between women

and men and accepting those diversities, the government or policymakers take actions to provide equal status to women. Further, dimension 3 offers, the changing of all structural barriers that prevent women to be equal, coming forward and holding power and being decision-makers and leaders. In short, this Zuckerman and Greenberg’s framework offers an environment which may stabilise gender equality.

In addition, after examining policy documents focused on economics, the study realised that there are levels of gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka. Therefore, to measure the levels of gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka three dimensions framework of Zuckerman and Greenberg’s (2004), offers a suitable structure and better indicators to evaluate them. Further, rather than the three typologies of gender mainstreaming presented by Jahan (1996), Booth and Bennett (2002), etc., Zuckerman and Greenberg (2004) and Greenberg and Zuckerman (2006, 2009) put forward a significant structure for the indicators of the framework to evaluate the level of gender mainstreaming and to build up their capabilities. Thus, the above-mentioned reasons provide the rationale to choose the structure of three dimensions presented by Zuckerman and Greenberg (2004), and it is the best structure for the current study’s analytical framework.

Table 3.2 : Contributions of existing studies to the thesis’ analytical framework

Study	Dimensions, perspectives or approaches of the studies	Contribution to this thesis’ analytical framework
Zuckerman and Greenberg (2004) Greenberg and Zuckerman (2006) Greenberg and Zuckerman (2009)	1. Women-focused activities 2. Gender-aware programming 3. Gender role transformation	Maps directly on to this thesis’ analytical framework.
Jahan (1996)	1. Gender integration 2. Agenda-setting 3. Transformation	1. Gender integration → Dimension 1 of this thesis’ framework 2. Agenda setting → Dimension 2 of this thesis’ framework 3. Transformation → Dimension 3: of this thesis’ framework
Booth and Bennett (2002)	1. Equal treatment perspective 2. Women’s perspective	1. Equal treatment perspective → Dimension 1 of the thesis’ framework

	3. Gender perspective	2. Women's perspective → Dimension 1 of the thesis' framework 3. Gender perspective → Dimensions 2&3 of this thesis' framework
Rees (2005)	1. Equal treatment (Tinkering). 2. Positive action (Tailoring) 3. Mainstreaming (Transforming)	1&2. Equal treatment and Positive action → Dimensions 1&2 of this thesis' framework 4. Mainstreaming → Dimension 3 of this thesis' framework 5.
Squires (2005)	1. Inclusion 2. Reversal 3. Displacement	1.Inclusion → Dimension 1 of the thesis' framework 2.Reversal → Dimension 1& 2 of the thesis' framework 3.Displacement → Dimension 3 of the thesis' framework
Kabeer (2010)	1. Development as increasing human well-being. 2. Social relations 3. Institutional analysis 4. Institutional gender policies i. Gender-blind policies ii. Gender-aware policies iii. Gender-neutral policies iv. Gender-specific policies v. Gender- redistributive policies 5. Immediate, underlying and structural causes	1.Gender-specific policies Dimension 1 → except the fifth indicator '1-e' of the dimension 1 all other five indicators of the thesis in the framework 2.Gender- redistributive policies Dimension → 3 all six indicators of the thesis framework
Rao and Kelleher (2005)	1. Changing inequitable social, institutions and organisational systems –formal and informal rules (policies, programmes, structures, ways of working. 2. Changes to access to and control over, material and symbolic resources. 3. Requires transformation at the institutional level and changing the deep structure of the organisations- and also changes to deep-seated values and relationships. 4. Transforming the role of development agencies.	Dimension 3 → Except '3-e' indicator all five other indicators of the thesis' framework Dimension 2 → except '2-d' and '2-e' for all other indicators of the thesis' framework
Menon-Sen (2010)	1. Conceptual and theoretical clarifications of the term gender- definitions and interpretations and multiple-meaning. 2. Significant features and characteristics of gender mainstreaming as a policy strategy, approach, and equality policy principle.	1. Conceptual and theoretical clarifications and significant features and characteristics of gender mainstreaming as a policy strategy, approach, and equality policy principle → Dimension 2 the three indicators of 1-c, 1-e and 1-f of this thesis' framework

	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Practical experience of gender mainstreaming 4. The typology of gender mainstreaming in Asia-Pacific Region- Mainstreaming gender versus mainstreaming women 5. Claiming for social transformation and institutional and structural changes from deep-seated cultural values and norms to rights and equality-based gender-equal institutions and structures. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Practical experience of gender mainstreaming and the typology of gender mainstreaming in Asia-Pacific Region- Mainstreaming gender versus mainstreaming women →Dimension 2 the four indicators of 2-a, 2-b, 2-c and 2-f 3. Claiming for social transformation and institutional and structural changes structures→Dimension 3 indicators of 3-a, 3-b, 3-c, 3-d and 3-f ‘ of this thesis’ framework.
Verloo (2001, 2005)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Gender mainstreaming is a strategy that targets change and provides theoretical approaches to evaluate the quality and gender mainstreaming values of the difference between women and men. 2. Whether gender mainstreaming is integrationist and transformative as a strategy? However, it has transformative potential as a strategy 3. What should be the essential elements of gender mainstreaming as a strategy and what needs to be changed? It sees the policy processes as the main change object. 4. Assess the theoretical and political worthiness or standard of gender mainstreaming and the practice of gender mainstreaming. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Gender mainstreaming is a strategy that targets change and provides theoretical approaches to evaluate the quality and gender mainstreaming values of the difference between women and men. It has transformative potential as a strategy to mainstream gender. For transformation, policy process needs to be changed. →Dimension 3 the indicators of ‘3-d’, ‘3-e’ and ‘3-f’ ‘of this thesis’ framework.
Mahapatro (2014)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Gender mainstreaming is a holistic strategy that proposes to introduce the gender sensitivity and equality perspective to all policies. 2. Changing the norms and practices that stand at the roots of gender inequality. 3. Gender mainstreaming should consider women’s issues and gender equality to include into all policy development, research, and advocacy. 4. Value differences equally, and the policy has gender equality in equal access, control, opportunities, rewards, and benefits for women and men. 5. The implementation of a 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Gender mainstreaming is a holistic strategy and changing the norms and practices that stand at the roots of gender inequality. → Dimension 1 except indicators ‘1-e and 1-f’ all other indicators of this thesis’ framework. 2. Changing the norms and practices that stand at the roots of gender inequality and gender mainstreaming should consider women’s issues and gender equality and also value differences equally → Dimension 2 except the indicator ‘2-d’ all other indicators of the thesis’ framework. 3. gender mainstreaming strategy is a challenging process due to the

	gender mainstreaming strategy is a challenging process due to the different social and economic circumstances, policy cultures, and the different gender equality approaches of the countries.	different social and economic circumstances etc. → Dimension 2 4. all six indicators in Dimension 3 were borrowed from the study
De Waal	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Gender equality is, it refers to women having the same opportunities in their lives as men including the ability also to participate in the public sphere and when removing the barriers that affect participation in there will be a level playing field. 2. Focusing on WID approach and also recent approaches to mainstreaming such as integration and agenda-setting. 3. Discussion on the combination of agenda-setting and integration approach and its powerfulness in mainstreaming gender. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Equal opportunities for both women and men including in the public sphere. The combination of integration and agenda-setting approaches to mainstream gender. And also removing the barriers affecting participation in the public sphere. → Dimension 2 the indicators; ‘2-c’; ‘2-e’ and ‘2-f’ of this thesis’s framework.

As noted, in addition to being informed by the study by Zuckerman and Greenberg (2004) and Greenberg and Zuckerman (2006, 2009), the analytical framework of this thesis also draws on the work of other scholars. The main features of these other studies are summarised in Table 3.2, which also explains how each of these informs the thesis’ framework. The first of these is the study by Jahan (1996), which examines gender mainstreaming with reference to three approaches: integration, agenda-setting, and transformation. The integration approach presented by Jahan mainly intends that there should be an introduction of a gender perspective into the prevailing policy process. Integration approach of Jahan deals with the inclusion of women into the existing structure or development programmes or projects and ensuring the basic rights and needs of women. This therefore mainly reflects the need to introduce women-focused activities and the integration approach was fed into dimension 1 into the framework. By contrast, the agenda-setting aspect of Jahan’s study focuses on the participation of women as decision-makers, including in leadership. Agenda-setting challenge and transform the

existing policy paradigms in the process of making policy. This thus involves gender-focused or gender-aware measures and programmes. Agenda-setting approach concerns on gender equality status and also women-focused programmes and activities. Finally, the agenda-setting in Jahan's work involves the need to challenge and transform existing policy paradigms in the process of generating policy. Therefore, Jahan's agenda-setting approach has been fed into dimension 1 as well as dimension 2 of the analytical framework of the study due to the features that have with it. The third approach of Jahan transformative approach seeks to transform the structures and systems that prevent women's enhancement and disadvantage for women into a fair and just system. Therefore, her third category entails 'the transformation of gender roles, values, and norms, and of social, institutional and organisational structures and it was fed into the third dimension of the framework. In this way then, the three approaches discussed in Jahan's study inform the dimensions and indicators of this thesis' analytical framework.

Booth and Bennett (2002) also put forward a conceptualisation of gender mainstreaming based on three perspectives. The first of these is an 'equal treatment perspective' that advocates measures through which women should have the same equal rights and the same opportunities as men in the public domain. The key method of its delivery occurred through statutory and mandatory legal instruments (Booth and Bennett 2002:434). The second is the 'women's perspectives'. This recognises women as a disadvantaged group in society who are suitable or appropriate and needs particular treatment and specialist provision in order to rectify their past experiences of discrimination which has become institutionalised (Booth and Bennett 2002: 434). Both of these aspects therefore mainly involve women-focused activities and measures. By contrast, the third category of Booth and Bennett's study, the 'gender perspective', focuses on the actions necessary to change the organisation of society for a reasonable distribution of human responsibilities, and it agrees and accepts the difference between women and men (2002: 434). Therefore, given its focus on actions necessary for change, this aspect informs the second dimension of this thesis' framework, namely the

development of gender-focused and gender-aware programmes. In addition, however, because of its concern with changes to the organisation of society, Booth and Bennett's third aspect also involves transformative features, and in this way, it also feeds into the third dimension of this thesis' framework – the transformation of roles, values and structures.

In her study, Rees (2005) focuses on three principles underlying gender mainstreaming, which are 'equal treatment', 'positive action', and 'mainstreaming' or gender mainstreaming. The first of these, which Rees also calls 'tinkering', argues that an individual should not have fewer human rights or opportunities than another, and in this sense, it reflects an individualised rights-based approach to gender equality. An equal treatment approach is a necessary element in any equal opportunities policy (Rees 2005: 557-558; Pollack and Hanfer-Burton 2000: 433), and since this will include both women-focused activities and gender-focused measures, this aspect is reflected in both of the first two dimensions of this thesis' framework and it was fed into the Dimension 1 and Dimension 2 of the framework. The second aspect of Rees's study, 'positive action', which Rees also calls 'tailoring', focuses on group disadvantage and on positive action projects and measures, such as those providing education, training and business support services that are geared to meet women's specific needs (Rees 2005: 558), and the emphasis of positive action shifts from equality of access to creating conditions that result in equality of outcome (Pollack and Hanfer-Burton 2000: 433). This aspect therefore mainly includes women-based activities, but it also recognises both sameness and differences between women and men (Rees 2005:558), and so it reveals gender-focused features also. Therefore, this second aspect of Rees' study feeds into both the first and second dimensions of this thesis' framework. The third category of Rees' study, mainstreaming, is the most significant one. Rees also refers to this as 'transforming', and explains that it focuses on systems and structures that give rise to group disadvantage, and on measures to integrate gender equality into mainstream systems and structures. It calls for the systematic incorporation of gender issues into all governmental institutions and policies

(Pollack and Hanfer-Burton 2000:434). Hence, this third category of Rees contributes to the third Dimension of this thesis' the framework – the transformation of the systems and structures.

Squires (2005) similarly developed a three typology of gender mainstreaming with three categories and did so capture some elements missing from previous works, such as 'inclusion', 'reversal', and 'displacement'. As mentioned in chapter two, the strategy of '*inclusion*' is based on the principle of 'equality' whereas the strategy of '*reversal*' is based on the principle of 'difference' and the strategy of '*displacement*' is based on the principle of 'diversity' (Squires, 2005: 367-368; Verloo, 2005:345-346). The strategy of 'inclusion' usually aims for fairness and impartiality, conceives people as autonomous, and promotes equality politics which is often labelled as a radical feminist view. Further, according to Verloo, the strategy of 'inclusion' is generally defended by liberal feminists and it focuses on the inclusion of women in the world as it is. It aims an inclusion of women in a political system from which they are presently excluded (2005:345-346). Therefore, whereas 'inclusion' is in an equality basis, it reveals the women-focused category. Therefore, Squires' 'inclusion' strategy was fed into Dimension 1 of the framework.

The strategy of 'reversal' usually accepts an interpretative methodology and talk of 'woman' or 'women' and embrace different politics which are often labelled as radical feminist. By contrast, reversal is based on the principle of difference, and recognises specifically female gendered identity. Therefore, it was also supported in designing the first dimension 1 of the framework as well Squires' third category of displacement is based on the principle of diversity. It supports diversity politics, and adopts a postmodern approach by which it seeks to deconstruct existing discursive regimes and displace patriarchal gender hierarchies to promote mainstreaming gender (Squires 2005: 368). Moreover, according to Verloo (2005), the strategy of displacement aims to move 'beyond gender' and it accepts diversity politics. And it is also rooted in postmodern or post-structuralist feminism (2005: 346). 'Displacement' also

desires at destabilising the obvious opposition between equality and difference and also between the strategies of inclusion and reversal and looks for to dislocate and shift patriarchal gender hierarchies. Therefore, this strategy or approach challenges the prevailing systems and aims to change those systems and structures in order to achieve equality. Hence, the third category of Squires was included into the third Dimension of the framework.

A number of other studies present frameworks based on dimensions or approaches that cannot be directly mapped in full on to the analytical framework developed and used by this thesis. However, they are nonetheless important and useful because various elements of them can be used in specific places, including to inform one or more of the dimensions of this thesis's framework, and/or to identify specific indicators of individual dimensions.

The study by Kabeer (2010) is one such study. In this, Kabeer develops a social relations approach to gender analysis that is based on five concepts: i) development, considered as a process of increasing human well-being; ii) social relations, which relate to structural relationships that create and reproduce systemic differences in the positions of different groups of people; iii) institutional analysis, including institutional rules, which argues that institutions produce, reinforce and reproduce social difference and inequalities; iv) gender policies and whether these are gender-blind, gender-aware, gender-neutral, gender-specific (gender-sensitive or gender-positive, and v) gender-redistributive.

This framework is not a framework with which to analyse gender mainstreaming, but is instead a method of analysing existing gender inequalities in the distribution of resources, responsibilities, and power, and of designing policies and programmes which enable women to be agents of their own development (Kabeer 2010: 102). However, it is nonetheless very useful to this thesis and to the thesis' framework because it proposes a number of indicators that can be used to assess the extent of gender mainstreaming in some key areas. More

specifically, the Concept 4: 'Institutional gender Policies' of the Social Relations Approach (Kabber 2010:108) directly deals with gender policies of particular institutions, it greatly influenced in developing the indicators of the framework. It explains the policy types that are closely connected with the three key indicators in the framework of this study. Kabeer's concept 4: gender policies has two main concepts; named 'gender blind policies' and 'gender-aware policies' and 'gender aware policies' is again divided into three categories such as 'gender-specific policies', 'gender-neutral policies' and 'gender redistributive policies' and it sees whether policies are gender-blind, gender-aware, or gender-neutral etc.

Whereas in gender-neutral policies are expected-intended to leave the existing distribution of resources and responsibilities unchanged and the 'gender specific policies hope to do intervention, having intended to meet targeted needs of women/men, within the existing distribution of resources and responsibilities. In 'gender-redistributive policies', the interventions are intended to transform the existing distribution of resources and responsibilities to create a balanced gender relationship (Kabeer 2010: 109). The sub-concepts in the fourth concept of Kabeer's framework 'gender-specific policies' are majorly related to meeting the 'practical needs' of women because it focuses on making interventions to meet the targeted needs of women or men. Therefore, in designing the six indicators of Dimension 1: 'women-focused activities' the current study was impacted by the said concept. However, in designing all indicators in Dimension 1 except the fifth indicator 1-e, the said concept of gender-specific policies was fed into Dimension 1. Moreover, the crucial sub-concept 'gender-redistributive policies' primarily deals with transforming the existing distribution of resources and responsibilities to create a balanced gender relationship (Kabeer 2010: 109) and it mainly deals with the concept of 'strategic gender needs' as it aims to transform existing resource allocation and responsibilities in order to create balanced (equal) gender relationship. Therefore, the said concept is directly linked with Dimension 3 of the framework and this concept is mainly fed into the framework in designing all six indicators in Dimension 3.

Hence, both ‘gender-specific policies’ and ‘gender-redistributive policies’ of Kabeer’s concept 4: gender policies were fed into the framework of the study and also its gender-neutral and gender-blind policies will show what non-gender mainstreaming policies are.

The work of Rao and Kelleher (2005) differs somewhat from that of other scholars in as much as it focuses on existing systems and structures on how these lead to gender inequalities in societies. Rao and Kelleher argue that in order to work towards gender equality, inequitable social systems and institutions must be changed (2005: 59), and they, therefore, see institutional change as the requirement for addressing the root causes of gender inequality. These changes involve changes to both formal and informal rules that determine who gets what (i.e. access to resources), who does what, and who decides (Rao and Kelleher 2005: 59).

Rao and Kelleher’s (2005) study is therefore useful in informing this thesis’ analytical framework, and it is especially helpful to the development of the third dimension of the framework, namely the one relating to the transformation of gender roles, and social and institutional structures and values, norms and cultures. They argue that material resources would not achieve sustainable change in gender inequality in societies. It needs to change formal institutions and informal norms and change agents need to be used strategies to change and need to have strategic choices also to decide how to and where to intervene etc. They also see the challenges when you go to do institutional changes. They further argue that transformation is required to be at the institutional level (Roa and Kelleher 2005: 61-62). The explanations of Roa and Kelleher’s (2005) work reveal, that it has features of second and third dimensions: gender-focused, and transformation of gender roles and structures of institutions therefore, their work contributes to all dimensions of the framework. More specifically, this work provides a contribution to developing the indicators in Dimension 3 except the indicator ‘3-e’. In Dimension 2, except ‘2-d’ and ‘2-e’ for all other indicators were fed by the work of Roa and Kelleher (2005).

Among them, the work of Menon-Sen (2010) was significant in that she also views gender mainstreaming as the primary strategy to translate the GAD framework into action and it advances right-focused strategies for gender equality and she says that the women-focused programmes presented since the 1970s were not successful as they put into practice at the root of women's marginalisation from the development and mainstreaming gender was not in practical grounds (Menon-Sen 2010: 3). Further, her work sees gender mainstreaming as a social transformation and therefore gender mainstreaming should be included in public finance and public policy in order to transform the existing inequitable systems. Her study also reviews the definitions of the term and presents their weaknesses and strengths of them and it discusses what should be the special features of the term and the practice of the concept in real diverse backgrounds (Menon-Sen 2010:9). Moreover, Menon-Sen also sees the need for institutional and structural changes in mainstreaming a gender perspective to occur in order to achieve gender equality. Therefore, her work seems to be that it presents factors related to all three dimensions of the framework more or less. In regards to Dimension 1, mostly in developing the indicators of '1-c, 1-e and 1-f her study fed into that. Further, she has also contributed to Dimension 2, in designing its '2-a, 2-b, 2-c and 2-f' indicators and in developing the indicators of 3-a, 3-b, 3-c, 3-d and 3-f in Dimension 3.

In addition to the above studies, a number of subsequent studies presented by some other feminist scholars were also could be used in the framework based on developing the indicators or criteria in dimensions of the framework. The two studies by Verloo (2005) are other such studies.

Whereas Verloo has two studies (2001, 2005), in her (2001) study, she examines gender mainstreaming as a strategy, the meaning of the concept, a framework for analysis of gender mainstreaming and theoretical approaches to evaluating the emergence and quality of gender

mainstreaming etc. In this examination she discusses on the area such as whether gender mainstreaming is transformative, and what should be the essential elements of gender mainstreaming as a strategy and what needs to be changed. It sees the policy processes as the main change object (Verloo 2001:1-2). In Verloo's (2005) second study she attempts to assess the theoretical and political worthiness or standard of gender mainstreaming and see whether it is integrationist and transformative as a strategy. She argues that it has transformative potential as a strategy (2005 345) and also Verloo pays attention to the practice of gender mainstreaming. Verloo also notices the three-fold classification of gender mainstreaming presented by Squires (2005) mentioned above and argues that although the three approaches are not mutually exclusive, can be combined in practice. Whereas inclusion is fundamentally an integrationist approach, the strategies of reversal and displacement can be transformative (Verloo 2005:346). And it is transformative because it tries to address and redress the genderedness of systems and processes (Verloo 2005:347). The explanations of Verloo's (2001, 2005) work reveal, that it also has features of all three dimensions: women-focused activities, gender-focused, and transformation of gender roles and structures of institutions therefore, her work contributes to all dimensions of the framework in constructing the indicators of them. Both her studies have similar explanations and factors, therefore, in developing indicators both were taken together. More specifically, her works contributed to the last three indicators of '3-d', '3-e' and '3-f' of dimension 3.

The work of Mahapatro (2014) is also such work. She sees gender mainstreaming as a holistic strategy that proposes to introduce the gender sensitivity and equality perspective to all policies at all levels and at all stages. Gender sensitivity can be introduced by changing the norms and practices that stand at the roots of gender inequality. Gender mainstreaming should consider women's issues and gender equality to include into all policy development, research, advocacy, legislation, resource allocation, etc. of programmes and projects ((Mahapatro 2014: 309). Further, she sees that the implementation of a gender mainstreaming strategy is a

challenging process due to the different social and economic circumstances, policy cultures, and the different gender equality approaches of the countries. The change in philosophy needs the conceptualisation of gender within the culturally defined roles, constraints and potentialities (Mahapatro 2014: 309).

Further, the study also values the differences equally, and the policy has gender equality in equal access, control, opportunities, rewards, and benefits for women and men and it consists of gender parity such as equal representation and participation of women and men etc. Thus this thesis borrows. This study was also made a contribution in the construction the indicators of this current thesis. In constructing of the indicators in Dimension 1 except indicators '1-e and 1-f' indicators the study fed into all other indicators whereas except the indicator '2-d' in Dimension 2 all other indicators were contributed. All six indicators in Dimension 3 were borrowed from the study.

De Waal's (2006) study is also another such contribution in constructing the indicators of the thesis' framework. De Waal (2006) also shed light in developing indicators or the criteria in all three dimensions. Whereas Conceptualising the concept De Waal explains what gender equality is, it refers to women having the same opportunities in their lives as men including the ability also to participate in the public sphere and when removing the barriers that affect to participating in there will be a level playing field (De Waal 2006: 209). Moreover, she pays attention to approaches to gender mainstreaming whereas she focuses on from WID approach to recent approaches to mainstreaming such as integration and agenda-setting. De Wall also discusses the combination of agenda-setting and integration approach and its powerfulness in mainstreaming gender. Thus, in constructing the indicators of dimensions in the framework, she has contributed to the second dimension whereas it mainly contributed to the indicators; '2-c'; '2-e' and '2-f' of the Dimension 2 in the framework.

3.2.2 The extent of gender mainstreaming

As mentioned above, in this framework, the extent of gender mainstreaming is conceptualised as either genuine, symbolic, or absent. This three-fold classification allows for a more nuanced and detailed examination of the extent of gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka than a simple yes/no approach.

‘Genuine’ gender mainstreaming is understood as if the policy document has completed or achieved each and every indicator of each three dimensions named; Dimension 1, Dimension 2 and Dimension 3 of the framework. Otherwise, the document has completed at least two-thirds ($2/3$) of the indicators in each dimension which means at least four indicators in one dimension of the analytical framework must be fulfilled. Genuine gender mainstreaming means, it is the highest and standard level or the expected level of a particular initiative: the policy, programme or measures by a nation or society. If a particular nation hopes to achieve genuine or exact gender mainstreaming, it has to be fulfilled the three dimensions of women-focused activities, gender-focused or gender-aware programmes and transformation of gender roles and structures.

The ‘symbolic’ gender mainstreaming is the next level. When the policy (document) fulfilled each and every indicator in dimensions 1 and 2 of the framework means women-focused activities, and gender-focused or gender-aware programmes, the policy is symbolic. In contrast, if the policy either achieved all indicators in only dimension 1 or dimension 2, then it is again symbolic. If the policy just mentioned the indicators related only to ‘women-focused activities, then it demonstrates a merely symbolic level of features of gender mainstreaming. Otherwise, if the policy exhibits only certain indicators in gender-focused programmes (dimension 2) again the policy/document reveals a symbolic level of gender mainstreaming.

In addition, if it is just discussing about a few indicators of dimension 3, it again reveals the symbolic features. Apart from those, the policy exhibits a mixture of certain indicators in dimensions 1, 2 or 3 occasionally, then the policy is also symbolic. Therefore, symbolic gender mainstreaming thus differs from genuine gender mainstreaming.

‘None’ or absent level of gender mainstreaming reveals that it does fulfil none of the indicators in all three dimensions. The policy or the document would be gender blind or gender-neutral. This is the third category of conceptualisation of the levels of gender mainstreaming. Therefore, these levels demonstrate the extent of gender mainstreaming. Hence, these different features between genuine, symbolic and none gender mainstreaming, allow for a more nuanced and detailed examination of the extent that the development of gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka.

With this analytical framework, having a three-fold classification of dimensions and the indicators of them and also three levels of gender mainstreaming: genuine, symbolic and absent the thesis is able to explore the kind of gender mainstreaming policies that have been introduced in Sri Lanka over the period under investigation. And also it allows to explore the extent of these gender mainstreaming initiatives have been developed. The analysis of investigating the extent of the development of gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka with this framework as genuine, symbolic, or absent is novel and original.

3.3 Data and methods

This thesis explores how and to what extent gender mainstreaming has developed in Sri Lanka in the period between 1978 and 2015 by examining and analysing documents related to national economic policy. Reflecting UNESCO’s definition of the term policy, these documents contain “broad statement[s] that set out the government’s main goals and priorities” They are “in line with the country’s constitution and can be sector-wide (e.g.

education sector policy) or specific to a sub-sector (e.g. primary education) or to a certain issue (e.g. low enrolment rates). A policy defines a particular stance, aiming to explore solutions to an issue.” (UNESCO Handbook 2013: 7). The next sections of the chapter explain what policy documents were drawn upon and where they came from, and outlines how these documents were analysed.

3.3.1 Policy documents

The documents that this thesis makes use of are all documents that focus on economic policy at the national level. As was explained in Chapter 1, economic policy includes areas that are directly relevant to women's position in accessing economic resources, decision making and economic participation. Arguably these are the most important policy spheres in which gender mainstreaming can be developed, and therefore they relate to one of the most important means through which women can be empowered and gender equality can be achieved. In addition, economic policy is particularly important in a context of post-conflict reconstruction because it is vital for creating stability and rebuilding and promoting peace and security.

The vast majority of the documents used in this thesis are national government ones (some supplementary ones from international organisations, some government institutions and NGOs are also used, as explained below). As shown in Figure 3.1, in Sri Lanka, in 2010-2015, there were 53 separate government ministries (Gazette government of Sri Lanka 205: 1A-3A), all headed by a minister, but all also under the oversight of both the president and the prime minister whereas the president is the head of the Cabinet as per the Sri Lankan Constitution. Within each ministry, there are then a number of different departments. The policy documents that this thesis has drawn on come from 9 government ministries. These are: the Ministry of Labour and Human Resources; the Ministry of Labour Relations and Foreign Employment (2006); the Ministry for Foreign Employment Promotion and Welfare

(2008); the Ministry of Finance and Planning; the Ministry of Youth and Skill Development (previously it was Ministry of Youth Affairs); the Ministry of Policy Planning and Implementation; the Ministry of Child Development and Women’s Affairs (previously it was Ministry of Women Affairs 1993); the Ministry of Employment and Labour; and the Ministry of Industry and Commerce. The Department of National Planning was previously named as National Planning Division from 1977 to 1990s and it was under the Ministry of Finance and Planning and later in 1990s onward it has introduced as the Department of National Planning and under the same ministry, it still is same continuing, the Secretariat for Senior Ministers, the Prime Minister Secretariat (2002) and Mahinda Rajapaksha Presidential Secretariat (2005, 2010).

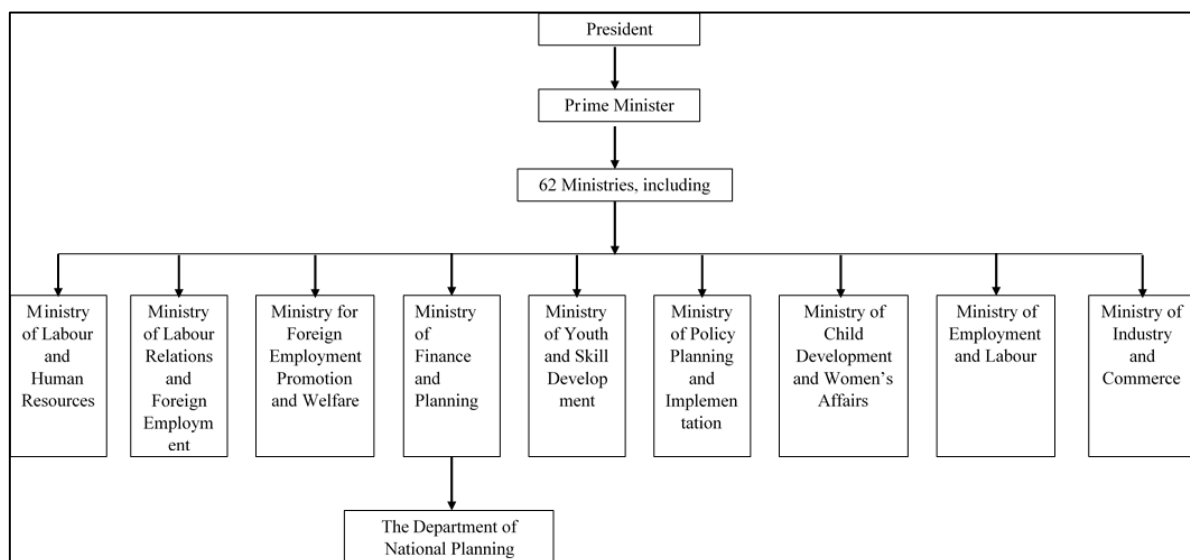


Figure 3.1 : The Government structure of Sri Lanka (2010-2015)

Source: https://web.archive.org/web/20140222024545/http://www.documents.gov.lk/Extgzt/2010/PDF/Nov/1681_02/1681_02%20%28E%29.pdf

While other ministries (such as the Ministry of Agriculture, or the Ministry of Plantation Industries and the Ministry of Livestock and Rural Community Development) are responsible for spheres related to the economy, their work is focused on specific sectors rather than being concerned with broad national economic policy. Documents from these ministries are therefore not chosen for analysis in this thesis.

The name of some ministries have been changed in the time period that the thesis explores. Although the structure of the government in Sri Lanka has not been changed in the time period, the structure of the Cabinet was changed with the advent of each new government. The name of some ministries has been changed because some of them were merged together and some others were divided into different ministries as a result of political reasons.

These changes occurred influenced data collection of policy documents for the study to a certain extent after clearing the confusions within the newly appointed ministries as no properly published collection policies were available at the ministries, national archives or at the national library. Lengthy discussions and investigations had to be done for the purpose of finding correct data.

The government documents used are of four main types:

1. they include political party manifestoes,
2. Public Investment Programmes (PIPs)
3. Budget Speeches, and
4. The policy documents directly related to the economy which are produced by the different ministries.

They are the documents produced by different ministries and those documents themselves are directly presented as a policy for specific purposes such as decent work, labour migration, human resource and employment, and small-medium enterprise etc. They were from the different chosen ministries related to economic activities. Political party manifestoes come mainly from the two largest political parties in Sri Lanka. The two political parties are, ‘*United People's Freedom Alliance*’ (UPFA) and the ‘*United National Party*’ (UNP). Both parties presented manifestoes. These political manifestoes are ‘*Mahinda Chintana: Towards a New Sri Lanka: Victory for Sri Lanka*’ (2005) and *Regaining Sri Lanka* and were from the above parties.

‘*Mahinda Chinthana: Towards a New Sri Lanka: Victory for Sri Lanka*’ (2005) and ‘A Brighter Future: *Mahinda Chintana-Vision for the Future*’ (2010) are the two presidential election (political) manifestoes presented by Mahinda Rajapaksha’s Presidential Secretariat in 2005 and 2010 when Rajapaksha competed for the presidential elections for two times in 2005 and 2010 (these information about those documents are in even chapter five and six). Mahinda Rajapaksha competed as the presidential candidate for the election from the political party; the ‘*United People’s Freedom Alliance*’ (UPFA) at both times (these political background explain in chapter 4, 5, and 6 in detail). He named his manifestoes by his name as ‘*Mahinda Chintana*’ which means ‘Mahinda’s vision’/ ‘Mahinda’s philosophy (of governance). *Mahinda Chintana* has another three versions of documents (policy) including the presidential manifesto in 2010 when The other three versions of policy documents related to *Mahinda Chintana* are;

- 1) Mahinda Chintana: Vision for new Sri Lanka- A 10 Year Horizon Development Framework 2006-2016 (2006);
- 2) Sri Lanka: The Emerging Wonder of Asia: *Mahinda Chintana: Vision for the Future-the Development policy Framework* (2010);
- 3) Sri Lanka: The Emerging Wonder of Asia: Unstoppable Sri Lanka 2020- *Mahinda Chintana: Vision for the Future- Public Investment Strategy 2014-2016* (2013).

Mahinda Chintana: Vision for new Sri Lanka - A 10 Year Horizon Development Framework 2006-2016 was a policy presented by government under Mahinda Rakapakse in 2006 as a Ten-Year Development Plan whereas the second policy document presented in 2010 was a future development policy of UPFA government. The third document presented in 2013, presented as two year public investment strategy. These three documents were from the Department of National Planning of the Ministry of Finance and Planning and they focused

on the economic and social development of the country by 2020 as government's national policies.

'Regaining Sri Lanka' is the policy which was presented by 'United National Party' (UNP) when it competed to election in 2001. By defeating the UPFA government UNP came into power. UPFA was the political party of Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga represented. While she was the president of the country the UNP came into power in 2001 election. These political backgrounds are discussed chapter 4, 5 and 6 in detail. Similar to '*Mahinda Chintana*', the UNP government presented 'Regaining Sri Lanka' as its policy of the government. 'Regaining Sri Lanka' was presented as Part I and Part II, however, UNP government later merged them and prepared as one volume and this study used it. Part I was the documents that the party presented when it competed the election and Part II brought after came into power.

Thus, these election manifestoes presented by political parties, were later converted as the national policy of the particular regimes that came into power in the past periods and they explain the specific economic policy of the regime in power among the included plans in fields such as education, health and social welfare.

Public Investment Programmes (PIP) and budget speeches are documents prepared by the National Policy Planning Department, which is a department in the Ministry of Finance and Planning. These two types of documents set out government economic policy. PIPs replaced fixed five-year plans and are a series of five-year projections (Jayaweera 1985: 3) that outline programmes and projects that the government will pursue and invest in within the next five years. By contrast, budget speeches are annual outlines of the government's economic plans. The thesis draws on PIPs from 1979 to 1990, and on annual budget speeches from 1978 to 2015.

As mentioned above, the next category of documents is the policy documents produced by government agencies for the specific purposes as the government's national policy on that particular specific matter such as national labour migration and foreign employment. These policy documents included National Policy for Decent work in Sri Lanka (2006), National Labour Migration Policy for Sri Lanka (2008), The National Human Resources and Employment Policy for Sri Lanka (2012), and National Youth Policy Sri Lanka (2014).

In addition to making use of Sri Lankan political party manifestos and policy documents from the chosen national ministries, the thesis also draws on reports from international organisations, including the United Nations Development Programme, the Asian Development Bank, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund and Annual Progress Reports of the Ministries of the government of Sri Lanka. The documents from Asian Development Bank (ADB) such as Country Briefing Reports, Country Gender assessment and from UN Human Development Reports, Gender equality and equity reports, UN Women Annual Reports, Gender Assessment for USAID Sri Lanka and some World Bank reports were also used. These supplementary documents were mostly used to support for triangulation of the data presented in policy documents or to check whether gender-related initiatives or measures have been put into practice or implemented because the study used only one method: the documentary data analysis.

On the one hand, government documents are very valuable and are very useful in a study of this kind because they are genuine, authentic, and authoritative. That is, we know they are produced by the government (or the individual ministries), and they have not been altered, and they reflect the government's viewpoint on the subject being discussed and also responsible. However, on the other hand, there are also some drawbacks to using government documents.

Firstly, some documents are not produced with the aim of laying out detailed policy. This is particularly the case for political manifestos, for example. Instead, these documents are created for elections – to win votes and to secure or retain power. In this way, they often make large promises of what a political party will achieve, and they lack the detail of how specific policies will be planned and implemented.

Secondly, there is a challenge to using government documents in as much as the policies set out in these documents will only be achieved if the government stays in power. If there is a change of government, then it could well be that the policy will be abandoned or changed. Also, even if the government stays in power, policies can be cancelled or altered if there is a change to the structure of government – for example if ministries are merged or split.

Thirdly, with regard to gender mainstreaming, it is important to acknowledge that governments often propose specific policies because of the requirements of donor agencies. For instance, the International Labour Office or the Asian Development Bank often attach requirements to their funding support to national governments, such as gender mainstreaming and gender equality measures. National governments may therefore only include policy promises to satisfy these international donor agencies.

The thesis attempts to mitigate these challenges, and hence the quality of individual documents, by making use of a wide variety of documents. In addition, as mentioned above, as well as making use of national policy documents, it also draws on documents from international organisations. Furthermore, in the case of Sri Lanka, the second challenge mentioned above is relatively small because there has been little governmental change in Sri Lanka in the period under investigation. Also if there has been relatively little change in the structure of government (e.g. most of the ministries have stayed the same, or at least the ministry of Finance and Planning, Ministry of Women's Affairs etc.).

3.3.2 Analysis of themes and coding

The framework developed above, and presented in Table 3.1, was applied to each document in the process of data analysis. In the first instance, each document was skimmed to be familiarised with the documents and text data of them. Then, for the second time read them thoroughly and examined what themes, main issues discussed in the text. Later on, each document was re-read, line by line, extensively and chunks or segments of text data were colour coded with different colours and linked to the appropriate indicator in the framework and they coded in the name of the indicator which is in a particular dimension. For instance, if a segment of text discussed women's education then it was linked to the relevant indicator namely; '1-a' (the first indicator in dimension one: women-focused activities and measures). Or if a segment or chunk of data in a document mentioned equal access to opportunities or benefits for women then, it was linked to the indicator '2-e' and, then this was matched with indicator '2-e'. In this process of analysis, the study mainly used the 'deductive coding' method. Thus, text data in all documents were categorised into 18 codes because there are 18 indicators in the framework. Thereafter, these text data in 18 categories were entered into an excel worksheet and then examined thoroughly the set of 18 categories of text data to seek out the key themes for thematic analysis. Out of the lots of coded data, some themes were taken out and scrutinised those themes again and reduced them up to 2-3 key themes. After that, 2-3 sub-themes were also chosen out from them which may come under the key themes and then the discussion of the analysis was conducted under these themes.

This chapter has presented the analytical framework developed for this study, explained what data will be used to explore gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka, and outlined how the policy documents will be analysed. The next chapter now turns to exploring gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka in the pre-conflict period, in the years 1978-1983.

CHAPTER FOUR:

GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN SRI LANKA IN THE PRE- CONFLICT PERIOD (1978-1983)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates how and to what extent Sri Lanka has developed gender mainstreaming in its institutional culture and ways of thinking, and their concerns represented in policy documents focused on economics during the pre-conflict period (1978-1983). It explores both the kind of gender mainstreaming related initiatives that have been introduced in Sri Lanka over the period under investigation and the extent of these gender mainstreaming initiatives. Before engaging in the analysis of policy documents to explore this theme, this chapter presents a summary of the political and economic context of Sri Lanka during this period to discover the socio-economic and political background that affects any social issue.

It also investigates the position of women in Sri Lanka in these years as it reveals the actual outcomes of policy practices and their empirical nature. Having set out this background, the chapter then proceeds to examine the extent to which women have been integrated and mainstreamed a gender perspective into economic and development policies in this period, concentrating on a selected set of documents that focus on economic policy produced by different ministries and departments of the government of Sri Lanka.

4.2 The political and economic context and women's status from 1978 to 1983

The social, economic, political and historical context as well as the global conditions often influence a government's policy process in a particular society. Therefore, it is important to identify whether such contexts influence gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka and whether in this context gender mainstreaming was developed or not in this period. Further, the social

status of women in this period is also significant in this analysis as it discloses the relationship between the introduction of the new policy, implementation of designed policies and their outcomes in a practical background. Therefore, the political and economic context of Sri Lanka and the status of women during this period will be briefly examined.

Before discussing the political and economic background of the country, it is better to understand the geographical nature of the country as it is important when the present study discusses about conflict and post-conflict periods of the country. The below map of Sri Lanka provides the geographical nature of the island and to understand the administrative constituencies and also the war-affected area of the country. The gold coloured area of the map is the war-affected area of the country and there are 8 districts within these two provinces where war was conducted.

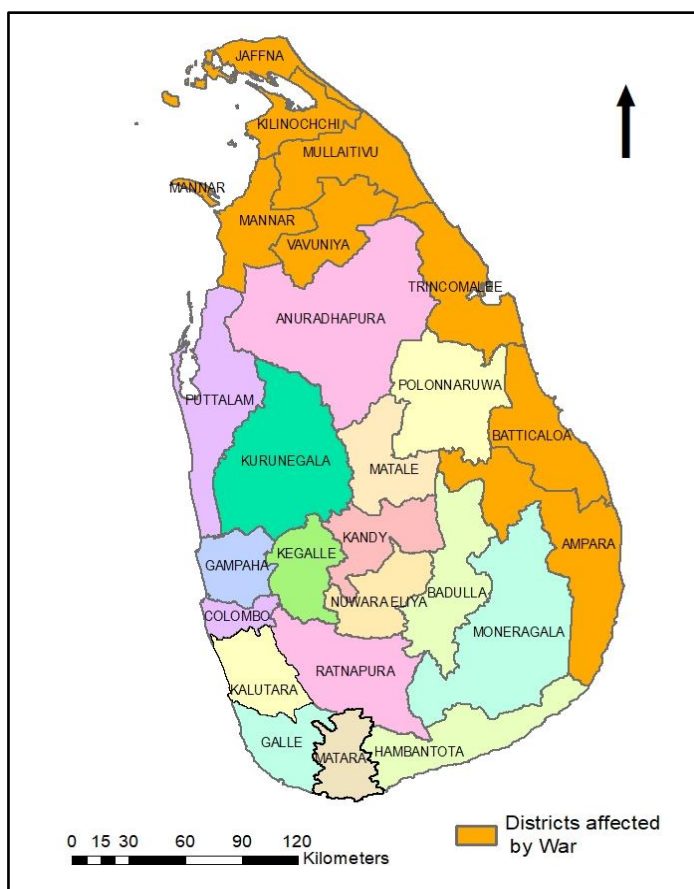


Figure 4.1 : Districts affected by Civil War in Sri Lanka

Source: Based on Digital Data in Department of Survey, Sri Lanka, 2020

4.2.1 The political context of the country in the pre-conflict period

During the pre-conflict period of 1978-1983, the United National Party (UNP) was in power, and it was the only party in power for the duration of this period. The UNP conducted the government duties for a total period of seventeen year, from 1977 to 1994. In 1977, the UNP won a large majority whose elected members made up two-thirds of the parliament (Lakshman 1997: 8; Budget Speech, 1978:1). It was a parliament securing a majority of 140 seats out of 168 seats (Budget Speech 1978:1). When they were in power, the UNP was “a government ideologically fully committed to capitalism” (Lakshman 1997: 8).

The party manifesto of this government declared that it was committed to establishing a ‘Free and Just Society’ across the land to create a free and just economy (Budget Speech 1978: 02) and this became the slogan of the new government. Sri Lanka entered into the ongoing process of globalisation after the UNP government was elected to power in 1977 as it was fully dedicated to capitalism (Lakshman 1997:8) and the open-economic system. There was a shift from import substitution to export-led growth and an efficient market was promoted during this pre-conflict period as the UNP changed its economic system.

The seventeen-year period of UNP rule from 1977 to 1994 can be broken down into two phases: from 1977 to 1988 and from 1989 to 1994 (Central Bank of Sri Lanka 1998:23; Lakshman 1997:8). Of the two phases of the UNP regime, the first phase includes twelve years, of which the first half comes under the pre-conflict period and the balance six years falls into the conflict period. The second phase of the UNP regime under R. Premadasa falls fully under the conflict period of the country. The political and economic condition of the UNP regime under J.R. Jayawardene will be discussed in the political and economic conditions of the conflict period which covers the period from 1983 to 2009. During the seventeen-year period of the UNP regime, the country’s presidency was mainly occupied by

two personalities (Lakshman, 1997:8), J. R. Jayewardene and R.Premadasa. After the assassination of R. Premadasa, D. B. Wijetunge was appointed president for a short period of around one and half years from 1st May 1993 to 12 November 1994. These three leaderships of the party were different personalities.

The third leader of the party, D.B.Wijetunga, was democratic and ideologically had a moderate personality. The presidency and the leadership of the first phase of the UNP regime were held by J.R. Jayewardene who was known as ‘Yankee Dicky’ because of his pro-western political viewpoint. Jayewardene idealised pro-westernism and followed Western capitalism adopting an open-economic system as his political and economic philosophy, demonstrating his partial democratic beliefs. He carried out revolutionary changes in various fields including not only the economy but also politics and the legal provisions in the country. During his period of leadership, he opened up the economy of the country replacing the ‘closed-economy’ and established an Industrial Zone or ‘Free Trade Zone’, facilitating export-oriented enterprises as well as administering Export Processing Zones. The Greater Colombo Economic Commission was established in June 1978 to promote investment in export-oriented industries (PIP 1979-1983 1983:12; Central Bank of Sri Lanka 1998: 22).

Moreover, Jayewardene changed economic policies to create an environment favourable to foreign and local investment, with the objective of promoting export-led growth that shifted from the previous policies of import substitution. He also launched large-scale infrastructure development projects such as the accelerated Mahaweli Development Programme and a housing and urban development programme etc. During his tenure, Jayewardene also built several Trans Basin Canals to deliver water to the Dry Zone to provide water to facilitate agriculture and improve the people’s quality of life (Central Bank of Sri Lanka 1998:22; Budget Speeches 1981: 2; 1983:11, 12, 13, 14). His rural credit scheme for small farmers and the self-employed was also an important programme that helped to improve the economy,

even for women. These self-employed programmes and projects helped rural women to enhance their economic condition and social status.

Jayewardene also introduced new political institutions into the political system of the country. A 'Hybrid System' of government with 'Executive Presidency' and the Parliamentary Westminster System with a Prime-Minister role was put in place. This political-institutional change paved the way for women to be elected as the Executive President of the country. As a consequence, Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga, a strong and powerful female leader, became the fourth Executive President of the country. Jayewardene also made some significant changes to the country's constitution which helped women to gain equality without gender discrimination as the constitution states that no citizen shall be discriminated against on the grounds of race, religion, sex etc. (Constitution of Sri Lanka 2021: 4). Article 12 of the constitution introduced and ensured equal status for women. For the first time in history, equality for women was incorporated into the Constitution or the basic law of the country whether or not Jayewardene had a genuine wish to offer equal status to women.

He also introduced the Second Republican Constitution of Sri Lanka during his first tenure. President Jayewardene won his second term in the 1982 presidential election, and the government extended the life of the existing parliament for another six years by holding a referendum interpreting the presidential vote as a mandate for the UNP to rule the country for another parliamentary term (Central Bank of Sri Lanka 1998:21; Lakshman 1997:10). According to Lakshman, this situation created a rich space for extra-parliamentary opposition activities (1997: 10). In July 1983, civil riots broke out in the country triggered by an attack on armed forces by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Elam (LTTE) in the North. Violence continued in the North and East by this separatist movement while extreme extra-parliamentary opposition activities were carried out by another violent political movement in the rest of the country. This political movement was directed by the *Janatha Vimukthi*

Peramuna (JVP), a political party that was mainly run by a group of youth with Marxist and Socialist political views and who totally disordered the country's state affairs from 1988-1989 (Lakshman 1997:10). This situation impacted on the politics and economy of the country and on other areas of social development of the nation.

During this period, new welfare schemes were introduced, such as the *Janasaviya* food subsidies programme that targeted the poor through a food stamp scheme, in an effort to alleviate poverty (Lakshman, 1997:10). These social, political, and economic changes had a significant impact on the nation and also on women to a certain extent. As a result of the welfare schemes, the education facilities assisted rural women to improve their social status and the quality of their lives. Furthermore, when Jayewardene came to power in 1977, the UN Decade for Women had been declared by the world nations and during his tenure, a programme for women such as the Convention for Elimination of all Forms of Discriminations against Women (CEDAW) - the bill of rights for women was introduced by the United Nations. These programmes for women were incorporated into the policy process during his time in office and measures were taken to implement them as Sri Lanka was bound by these agreements. As a leader, Jayewardene encouraged the practice of equality for women in every sphere and did not exhibit a patriarchal dominant male personality who tried to obstruct mainstreaming gender in the governmental policy process. This liberal and democratic political philosophy of Jayewardene and his regime might be the reason for offering equal status to women such as in legal and political fields and to ratify an agreement like CEDAW.

4.2.2 The economic context of the country in the pre-conflict period

In considering the economic field during the leadership of the UNP government a change in the system of economy was evident. The UNP government was a 'liberal, market-oriented free trade regime' (Lakshman 1997:8) that promoted the belief that the private sector was the

prime driving force of economic activity in the country. During the seventeen-year period of the UNP regime, the government followed a 'market-oriented open economic' policy and a programme of liberalization and deregulation. Therefore, the UNP government changed the 'closed economic' policy which was practised in the country before 1977 and opened the economy to the world market system in 1977. This meant that during the pre-conflict period of 1978-1983, the government focused its attention fully towards the economic development of the country in each and every sphere. The government made several policy changes to create an environment conducive to foreign and local investment and its activity was largely limited to economic and social infrastructure development and maintaining social welfare (Central Bank of Sri Lanka, 1998:22).

After introducing the 'market-oriented open economic' system the period of 1977-82 saw the best results of the liberalization and the economy had an average rate of growth as high as six percent (Lakshman 1997: 9). The unemployment rate also declined significantly during 1977-82. As a consequence of the liberalisation policy in economy implemented during 1977-82, a substantial proportion of income and wealth was concentrated in the hands of a few and a high degree of inequality in their distribution existed (Lakshman 1997:9). On the other hand, as a result of guaranteeing individual rights and freedom in a liberal economic and political system, social justice concepts such as 'gender equality' was promoted. Furthermore, according to Lakshman, the period of 1982/83 was a turning point in the transformation of the policy process that started in 1977 (1997: 9-10). The Greater Colombo Economic Commission (GCEC) was established to facilitate export-oriented enterprises and administer Export Processing Zones (EPZ) (Central Bank of Sri Lanka, 1998:22). Moreover, during this period, new welfare schemes such as free school books and the Mahapola Scholarship programme were introduced. Such welfare measures may have caused the enhancement of women's education as demonstrated in the statistics given by Jayaweera in her work 'Women and Education' in the UN Decade for Women: Progress and Achievements of Women in Sri

Lanka (1985b: 48-49). The enhancement of the education of women caused to help improve the status of women and promote gender equality. Thus, changes in economic and political policies during this period influenced in improving the status of women.

A major enhancement of the employment generation occurred in the late 1970s and early 1980s mainly because of the government's huge public investment programmes and the expansion of certain private sector activities that were motivated by liberalised economic policies (Central Bank of Sri Lanka, 1998: 36). The unemployment rate declined sharply because of the liberalization of the economy after 1977 and the commitment of the public sector investment programmes such as the Accelerated Mahaweli Development Programme, Export Processing Zones and the Urban and Housing Development Projects. While there was an election in 1982 and a new government was established which was an extension of the previous existing parliament, this change did not have a significant impact on social systems, policy processes or practices in society. Neither did it cause a major change in gender mainstreaming, women empowerment, equal rights, equal treatment and opportunities for women and ensuring gender equality. However, on examining broadly the political and economic conditions of the country during the period of the seventeen-year UNP regime, it seems that whereas certain policy initiatives had been taken to enhance the condition of women, the government had not made an attempt to mainstream gender at policy level nor endeavoured to enhance women's social condition, empower women, nor improve women's lives nor establish gender equality in the society.

4.2.3 The position of women during the pre-conflict period

In a society, the status of women demonstrates the institutional culture and their ways of thinking and the nature of allocation of resources and the practice of policies introduced by

the particular government. Thus, during the pre-conflict period, the position of women in Sri Lanka also reveals the social and economic policies of its government.

In considering the number of women in key positions in this period, the access of women to managerial and administrative posts at the decision-making level was limited due to the creation of structural limitations by gender stereotyped roles. Nevertheless, a few women have occupied highly visible positions at the peak of the pyramid during the UN Decade for Women (Jayaweera 1985c:94). A slight shift could be seen at the upper levels in the hierarchy in prestigious organizations and in Universities. There has been an increase in proportion of women in administrative and managerial posts, as illustrated in table 4.1 below.

Table 4.1 : Women in key positions during 1978-1983

No	Employment sector	Year	
		1979	1984
1	Sri Lanka Administrative Service (SLAS) Class I	3%	3.7%
3	Academic Staff of the Universities		
	Professors	2.5%	8.2%
	Associate professors	8.9%	10.8%
	Senior Lecturers	16.8%	19.6%
	Lecturers	20.1%	25.0%
		1971	1981
4	Administrative and managerial	5.9%	9.5%

Source: Jayaweera 1985, p, 94, 102

Table 4.2 : Women in key political positions during 1978-1983

No	Political positions	1977	1983
1	Women parliamentarians	8	-
2	Cabinet ministers	1	-
3	District ministers	-	2

Source: Liyanage 1998, 1999 p142

However, it can be seen that there is no evidence for holding the positions such as ambassadors, judges, vice-chancellors in universities and secretaries in ministries by women in this period.

Nevertheless, the unemployment rates of both women and men declined to a certain level in the periods 1978-79 and 1981-82 as a result of the substantial prosperity of the economy of the country in this pre-conflict period while the employment rate of both women and men increased parallel to that progress. According to Jayaweera, the economic policies during 1978-83 had been directed at reducing the unemployment rate of women and a significant reduction was made in unemployment among urban women workers from 37.7% in 1978/79 to 25.1% in 1981/82 (1985c:89). Despite the overall decline the unemployment rates of women have continued to be more than double that of men between 1981 and 1982 (being 9.2% for males and 24.9% for females in 1978/79 and 7.8% for males and 21.3% for females in 1981/82) (1985c:102). The reason for increasing the labour force participation of both women and men is the development policy for major development programmes such as the accelerated Mahaweli Development Scheme, the establishment of Investment Promotion Zone or Free Trade Zones near Colombo, the Urban and Housing Development Project and the Integrated Rural Development Programme (Public Investment Programme-1980-1984, 1980). The trends in the level of education and health conditions of women had also increased during this period as a consequence of policy practices in the fields of education and health (Jayaweera, 1985b: 48-50; Soysa, 1985:69-71).

However, these economic and development policies were not directly focused on mainstreaming gender or empowerment of women, but rather on the goal of rapid economic development of the country. Nevertheless, as this pre-conflict period was in the middle of the UN Decade on Women and just after introducing CEDAW agreement, they may have influenced the policy process. Thus, when considering the policy development in the period 1978-83, the empirical evidence mentioned above on the status of women such as holding key positions and the unemployment rates demonstrate the level of development of gender mainstreaming in policies and their practices and also through their outcomes.

As mentioned above, the pre-conflict period began in the middle of the UN Decade for Women and also the year CEDAW was introduced, influencing the government of Sri Lanka to focus more on women's issues through developing and implementing programmes and projects for women. The government particularly focused on women's employment and their education and training opportunities, women's health, creating income-generating projects and collecting information on women's matters (CENWOR, 1985: 2-3).

In further considering the position of women in society during the pre-conflict period (1978-1983), a number of positive achievements occurred in fields such as education, legal provisions, health, employment and in the labour force as a consequence of the abovementioned influences (CENWOR 1985). The introduction of various policy implementations and policy reforms during this period led to a change in the position of women in society. "By 1970 equal access to education had brought women in significant numbers to the public arena" (Jayaweera, 1985b: 1) and "the visibility of women in the public scene and in the official consciousness increased with the establishment of the Women's Bureau as a special national machinery to enhance the position of women" (Jayaweera, 1985: 2). The visibility of women in the public sphere was discussed in regular national seminars

and workshops and in successive International Women's Day activities (Jayaweera, 1985a: 32). According to Jayaweera, the visibility of women in the public eye was reflected to some extent in official documents and in public announcements (1985a: 1-2). The Women's Bureau was transferred to form a new ministry named the 'Ministry of Women's Affairs and Teaching Hospitals' in 1983 to enhance the position of women and ensure equality for them in diverse fields. The establishment of the Ministry was a result of the ratification of CEDAW and bound by its provisions and it led to the development of projects and programmes to empower women and bring them into the public arena as well as improve the status of women in society.

There is little evidence of purposeful integration at the planning level of the UN Decade for Women and "as in many other countries, development plans and programmes are seen to have had a differential impact on men and women" (Jayaweera, 1985a:2). Furthermore, any gender role assumptions underlying the plans and implementation of programmes does not appear to have changed considerably or meaningfully during those years of the UN decade (Jayaweera, 1985a:2). In the legal field, a major change was made with the introduction of the new Second Republican Constitution in 1978. This clearly had an impact on the "international values in regard to women's rights and the commitments associated with the UN Decade for women" (Goonesekere 1985: 23). According to Goonesekere, "for the first time, Articles 12(1) and 12(2) of the 1978 Constitution contained a definite reference to gender equality in the section on fundamental rights" (1985: 23) of the Constitution. This fundamental right of equality before the law and equal protection is articulated in terms of a general guarantee against discrimination on the ground of sex, and specifically with regard to access to facilities (Goonesekere, 1985: 23). After its establishment in 1978, the Women's Bureau began to conduct research and collect and disseminate information on all matters relating to women (Goonatilake, 1985: 32). One of the most important measures taken by the Bureau was to

explore the ways and means of including women's studies in the University curriculum (Goonatilake, 1985: 32).

Moreover, in focusing on women's positions in this period, progress can be seen in the field of education as per the reforms that were made in the policies and the implementation of educational programmes (Jayaweera, 1985b: 47). The implementation of education policies supported in narrowing the gender gap in society. Both female and male students from rural, as well as urban environments, were given equal access to education (Jayaweera, 1985b: 47, 48). Furthermore, in focusing on the position of women in the field of health, the government took steps to improve maternal and child health, including the implementation of maternal and child health clinics and the introduction of other nutritional and immunization programmes. Maternal clinics were helpful in caring for women's reproductive rights and needs. These clinics cover a spectrum of services offered to women in the reproductive years of their life cycle (Soysa, 1985:74). This maternal care system improved the health conditions of women as well as their life expectancies.

The policy measures discussed above and introduced in this period are viewed as being 'women's interests' or 'prioritised concerns' of women, according to the explanation of Moser (2003:37) and Molyneux (1985: 232) as they mainly target the key concerns of women based on biological similarities. They are also considered 'practical gender interests' by Molyneux (1985:233) and (Moser 2003: 40), which means they are essential for human survival. These measures work to improve the position of women and integrate them into development programmes and the economy. However, these measures do not bring about changes in social and institutional structures, and they also did not bring changes to cultural norms. As such, they do not meet the requirements of gender mainstreaming.

Apart from the above, another important aspect of women's status is women at decision-making levels in society. Decision-making in both the public and private spheres are important in this context because taking part in decision-making provides opportunities for women to enhance their capacity and social status. As a South Asian country similar to other countries in the region, Sri Lanka is recognized as being a male-dominated and patriarchal society where men are traditionally the primary decision-makers in the public sphere, including voting in the government. They also have significant authority in the decision-making processes in the private or domestic sphere, where women hold traditional responsibilities and duties. Although the General Law of the country gives full decision-making powers to women, the traditional norms and personal laws relating to the family did not change during the pre-conflict period (De Silva, 1985:112) especially relating to matters such as marriage, family matters and reproductive issues.

Thus, the pre-conflict period (1978-1983) in Sri Lanka was an important time even globally as it coincided with the early period of the United Nations Decade for Women, which was launched from 1975-1985. Although world nations were not yet explicitly concerned with the concept of gender mainstreaming, it became a focus in 1995 at the Fourth World Conference held in Beijing (Menon-Sen, 2010: 1). During the UN Decade for Women, the key objectives of the world nations were to achieve equality and development for women. Therefore, when we consider gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka during the pre-conflict period, we see the government of Sri Lanka focusing mainly on these goals in planning economic policies. Hence, during this five-year period, the Sri Lankan government attempted to achieve the goals of integrating women into the economy, increasing their employment opportunities to improve their status, and fully integrate them into the development process.

4.3 The analysis of the documentary data: discussion of the analysis

This section focuses on the analysis of the documents focusing on economic policy during the pre-conflict period to ascertain at what levels Sri Lanka has developed gender mainstreaming and to what extent gender mainstreaming related initiatives have taken place. The analysis of this chapter focuses on only one theme whereas chapters five and six have several themes as the coded data of the policy documents in those two chapters related to conflict and post-conflict reflected more themes. In this pre-conflict period, as there was a limited number of policy documents which focused on a few areas the theme of the discussion is ‘integrating women into development and economic programmes’ with three sub-themes: ‘labour force participation of women and employment’, ‘the economic development of the country’ and ‘health care of women and their health condition’.

4.3.1 Documents for analysis

In the analysis of the levels of development of gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka, a documentary analysis (as mentioned above in chapters 1 and 3) was adopted to examine gender mainstreaming by focusing on initiatives related to it in the form of policy documents. Eleven documents that focused on economic policy were used in this study in order to examine and realise how much attention has been given to gender mainstreaming by the government in designing policies during the pre-conflict period. They included the government Budget Speeches (BS) and Public Investment Programmes (PIPs). As mentioned in chapter 3, these documents were selected as they reveal the government’s national economic policy; the UNP government had not developed separate overall national policy documents related to the economy during this period. Rather, the government presented its national economic and development policy through documents such as BS, PIPs, crown speeches of the government leader, speeches delivered by cabinet ministers, parliamentary acts, and parliamentary debates and reports, while some ministers also presented their own

policy initiatives. A number of these Budget Speeches and Public Investment Programmes have been used to carry out this study on the analysis of gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka in the pre-conflict period.

The eleven documents analysed for this chapter were selected through the method mentioned in chapter 3. The documents used were: six Annual Budget Speeches and five Public Investment Programmes of the government during the pre-conflict period (1978-1983). The annual “Public Investment Programmes which are a series of five-year projections on a rolling plan replaced the pattern of fixed term plans” (Jayaweera, 1985:03). These were issued by the National Planning Division of the Ministry of Finance and Planning and are named as follows: The Public Investment programme (1979-1983) issued in 1979; The Public Investment programme (1980-1984) issued in 1980; The Public Investment programme (1981-1985) published in 1981; and The Public Investment programme (1982-1986) which was presented by the government in 1982 and The Public Investment Programme 1983-1987 in 1983. Although, three of these were also active after the pre-conflict period (1978-1983), they were nonetheless selected as they were published before 1983. Other documents selected were six annual consecutive government Budget Speeches dating from 1978-1983.

Table 4.3 : The list of documents adopted for the analysis of this chapter

No	Name of the Policy Document	Year	The organization that produced the document
1.	Budget Speech 1978	1978	Ministry of Finance and Planning
2.	Budget Speech 1979	1978	Ministry of Finance and Planning
3.	Budget Speech 1980	1979	Ministry of Finance and Planning
4.	Budget Speech 1981	1980	Ministry of Finance and Planning
5.	Budget Speech 1982	1981	Ministry of Finance and Planning
6.	Budget Speech 1983	1982	Ministry of Finance and Planning
7.	Public Investment 1979-1983	1979	Ministry of Finance and Planning

8.	Public Investment 1980-1984	1980	Ministry of Finance and Planning
9.	Public Investments 1981-1985	1981	Ministry of Finance and Planning
10.	Public Investments 1982-1986	1982	Ministry of Finance and Planning
11.	Public Investments 1983-1987	1983	Ministry of Finance and Planning

4.3.2 Theme one: Integrating women into development and economic programmes

After coding data and examining themes for analysis, the key theme integrating women into development and economic programmes could be seen in the analysis of this pre-conflict period. Furthermore, three sub-themes were found under this key theme namely, Labour force participation of women and employment, women's health care and the economic development of the country.

4.3.2.a Introduction

This section focuses on three sub-themes - labour force participation of women and employment, women's health care and the economic development of the country under the key theme Integrating women into development and economic programmes. The pre-conflict period in Sri Lanka is characterized by measures that attempted to integrate women into development and economic programmes as a consequence of the UN Decade for Women, the CEDAW Convention and the WID approach. It is important to see these initiatives not only in the national context but also the global context. Indeed, the 1970s was a period that saw the emergence of the WID approach. As mentioned in the literature review, WID was an approach which originated in the Northern countries that challenged the 'trickle down' theories of development that were practised in Third World countries arguing that modernisation impacted differently on women and men instead of improving women's rights and status, and the development process appeared to be contributing to a worsening of their position and also restricting women's roles to wives and mothers (Razavi and Miller 1995:3). It was also concerned with the policies for women as they were restricted to social welfare

concerns such as health, nutrition, education, or social welfare often referred to as the ‘welfare approach’ (Razavi and Miller 1995:3).

Therefore, in such a global background, the influence of the WID approach caused Sri Lanka to foster the integration of women into development and economic programmes. Thus, recognising the special features of WID such as giving primacy to women’s productive roles and integration into the economy as a means of improving their status; considering women as ‘productive’ members of society; realising the contribution of women to development and denial of benefits to women from the development process (Nyamu 2000: 384); and the realisation that women are not only excluded from development but also the economy and they are an untapped resource which can provide an economic contribution to development programmes (Moser 2003:2) has also influenced Sri Lanka to integrate women into development and economic programmes. Apart from that, the World Plan of Action formulated in Mexico in 1975 and the Programme of action at the Mid-Decade Conference in Copenhagen in 1980 that highlighted the need for integrating women into development was also crucial in the integration of women in national development plans and programmes (Jayaweera 1985a:1). The United Nations (UN) Decade concentrated on ‘women and the development’.

However, it is important to note that although the seed of the idea was there, the key focus of the WID and the UN Decade for Women was not on ‘gender mainstreaming’ because as mentioned above the concept of gender mainstreaming was launched later in 1995 at the Beijing Conference (Mahapatro 2014:309; Menon-Sen 2010:1). Rather, the focus was on bringing greater attention to women in development practice and policy, calling for treatment of women’s issues in development projects, and assisting women by improving their status. Therefore, as will be explored below, like in other countries, policies in Sri Lanka have also

not yet focused on gender mainstreaming during this period but instead concentrated on how women could be integrated into development and economic programmes.

4.3.2.b Labour force participation of women and employment

In scrutinising these documents, it is evident that the government was influenced by the International Women's Year and by the UN Decade for Women. Whereas these documents focus on women's labour force participation and employment, and their integration into the economy, they do not focus attention on the policy practices of gender and gender mainstreaming in the labour force, employment and the economy. However, the influence of International Women's Year and the UN Decade for Women has increased the official awareness of the government on women in development, and this awareness is also reflected in some annual programme documents, especially, Public Investment Programmes. Jayaweera acknowledges this point and argues that the influence of International Women's Year and the Decade is seen in the increase in official awareness reflected in the annual programme documents since 1981 (1985a: 3). This reflection can be seen in policy documents which have mainly referred to the labour force participation and women's employment. Indeed, women's employment and labour force participation are mentioned in documents in 1981 and in 1982 such as Public Investment Programmes for 1981-1985 and 1982-1986. The levels of unemployment and labour force participation were also concentrated in the PIP 1979-1983 and PIP 1980-1984.

Although labour force participation and the levels of unemployment of women were the key goals of the documents in the conflict period of the Budget Speeches and Public Investment programmes mentioned above, it was concentrated and discussed only in two Public investment programmes (PIP, 1981-1985 and PIP, 1982-1986). Both these documents accept that the expansion of educational opportunities and higher levels of education for women increased the participation of women in the labour force and increased the share of female

employment in non-agricultural sectors, but not the integration of women into development and economic programmes. Moreover, they accept that urbanisation also increased and encouraged more women to join the labour force. However, almost all BS and some PIPs examined for this study, have not concentrated on women's labour force participation and their employment. Women are also identified as a target group of economic and social development policies in 1983 (PIP, 1983-1987:143; Jayaweera 1985a:3). Jayaweera draws attention to these documents and states that they focus on different policy fields (1985a: 3). However, in examining the documents, including PIPs and Budget Speeches, it was discovered that most of the Budget Speeches are not focused on the integration of women into the development programmes or economy nor have they taken any women-focused initiatives as a government policy.

The policy document, *The Public Investment Programme* of 1982-1986 (1982:53) has also brought women into the focus of policy objectives to increase women's participation in the labour force and employment as Jayaweera has mentioned in her work (1985a:53). The document highlights particular advanced policy targets as follows: "The Provision of more and better employment for women in order to improve the status of women and integrate them more meaningfully into the development process has been a major objective of the government" (The PIP-1982-1986 1982:53).

The documents mentioned above, especially the PIP 1981-1985 (1981) and the PIP 1982-1986 (1982) show evidence of awareness and sensitivity about the status of women in labour force and their employment levels and recognise the status of women. According to Jayaweera, the Public Investment Programme presented by the Ministry of Finance made frequent references to economic policies that were directed at reducing unemployment rates and such policies had an influence on the position/status of female workers (1985c:89). The reduction of unemployment among urban female workers is significant because this has been

a key problem for both young women and men in urban society. However, the Public Investment Programmes did not focus on the status of rural women.

On comparing the two Public Investment Programmes which focus on labour force participation of women and the levels of their employment – the PIP 1981-1985 (issued in 1981) and the PIP 1982-1986 (issued in 1982) it is apparent that the former focuses more on women's labour force participation and the status of women as well as their levels of employment of policy objectives. It declares that the major aim of the government is to provide more and better employment opportunities for women to enhance their status as well as to integrate them further into the development process (Public Investment Programme 1982-1986 1982: 32). The second Investment Programme (1982-1986) also discusses economic growth and development in creating employment opportunities as well as increasing the level of employability (1982: 52, 53).

In relation to this, the PIP 1982-1986 (1982) specifically addresses areas such as industry, agriculture, export development, population, manpower and employment. During the 1980s, an open economy was the major economic driver of the country, with a focus on creating employment opportunities being a main objective of the government within the liberalised economic framework. These measures and practices reveal that this policy was aware of the status of women in society and underlined the deliberate commitment of the government towards the integration of women into development programmes, providing equal opportunities for women in the economic field. According to the PIP 1982-1986 (1982), the total labour force participation of the country was 37.2% of the total population in 1980 which consisted of 3.9 million males as against 1.6 million females (1982: 48). Hence, the rate of male participation is double that of females.

The sensitivity of the policies on women's status in the labour force and employment is revealed through the statistical information in the documents. According to these statistics, by 1982, the PIP 1982-1986 (1982) realises that about 74% of females are in the fields of agriculture, forestry and fishing and only 0.2% in administrative, executive and managerial posts. Furthermore, 12% are in the categories of professional and technical related work. Further, 18% of women are in the unpaid family worker category, as against 7% of males in this group (PIP, 1982-1986: 53). Moreover, the PIP 1982-1986 in 1982 also realises that a considerable undertaking is required to improve the employment and occupational status of women. This situation explains the awareness of the national policies regarding the trends of the status of women. They reveal the sensitivity of the issues related to women and the exclusion of women in economic development and the process of development.

The PIP, 1981-1985 issued in 1981 focuses on more statistical details of the labour force and explores women in the society. According to this PIP, of the total labour force, whereas women account for only 36%, male labour force participation was 64% and the percentage of males was double that of women. The labour force was predominantly young, male, relatively well educated and rural-based. More than 55% have completed secondary and post-secondary education and 51% obtain their livelihood from the land (PIP, 1981-1985: 32). Jayaweera (1985c: 93, 94) concurs with the ideas highlighted in the document that the increasing participation of labour force was linked with the higher levels of education and the share of female participation in non-agricultural wage sectors has risen and this led to lower fertility (PIP, 1981-1985: 32). Moreover, according to the statistics presented in these documents, most of the jobs that were carried out by women are at the lowest grades of skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled work (Public Investment Programme, 1983-1987, 1983). Therefore, it is evident that women are often in the lowest-paid or in the unpaid labour force.

The statistical explanations in the documents, especially the PIP 1981-1985; 1982-1986; 1983-1987, concerning the status and level of the labour force as well as the composition of the work force, level of employment, labour force participation of women in the country, highlight the sensitivity of the documents on women's issues which can be termed 'gender sensitivity' which reveal a conscious concern about these matters. However, the explanation on the status of women and men in the work force only focus on the status and nature of the work force and do not reveal the gender policy of the government. The documents do not indicate that the government was addressing women's issues and engaging in mainstreaming these matters into the policy process. They concentrate merely on the integration of women in WID approach and the equality for women and development in the UN Decade for Women and not on gender mainstreaming. The documents also did not include an assessment of the impact of these policies on women (as well as men).

Therefore, recalling the definition of exact gender mainstreaming outlined in the analytical framework, we can conclude that these documents are symbolic gender mainstreaming and they do not have the features of genuine gender mainstreaming. They do not include women's or men's concerns or experiences into an integral dimension in its policy process and neither do they assure that women have equal opportunities and equal treatment. However, PIP1979-1983 in 1979 and PIP 1980-1984 in 1980 exhibit non-gender mainstreaming though they focus on women's health care and some statistics on labour force due to the definition in the framework. In addition, most Budget Speeches are also non-gender mainstreaming because they do not concern women's issues adequately. In considering the indicators of the framework, they are not gender-sensitive.

4.3.2.c Women's health care

Health care of women is another significant women-focused area in the policy field. Health care of women and children was a sub-theme of focus in the PIP documents on the field of

economy. Health care and education are welfare approaches which means it is a pre-WID approach to women in developing countries (Moser 2003:58-59). Early colonial authorities and post-war development agencies and NGOs restricted the policies for women to social welfare concerns such as health, nutrition, education, and home economics which was often referred to as the 'welfare approach' (Razavi and Miller 1995: 3). Therefore, in that sense, whereas these health care activities and programmes for women were mainly under 'welfare approach' which did not focus on gender mainstreaming, neither were they in the focus of the WID approach. In examining the documents reviewed for this analysis, of the five Public Investment Programmes, four programmes have focused on women's health care and health condition of women (PIP 1980-1984, 1980; PIP 1981-1985, 1981; PIP 1982-1986, 1982; PIP 1983-1987, 1983). They have focused on the nutritional standards of women and health care facilities and the improvement of the health condition of children and reducing the mortality rates among mothers and children.

These documents accept that the improvement of maternal nutrition for pregnant mothers, maternal care and better health service facilities policy throughout the country were the reason for the decline in maternal mortality rate or the death rate (PIP 1980-1984, 1980; PIP 1981-1985, 1981; PIP 1983-1987, 1983). Therefore, implementing policy measures towards decreasing child and infants' mortality rates and maternal mortality rates, were significant areas that were focused on in these documents. By 1979 and 1981, maternal mortality rate had declined from 1.5 percent to 0.8 percent per 1000 live births (PIP 1982-1986, 1982: 146; PIP 1983-1987, 1983:145). Crude death rates had fallen from 7.8 to 6.0 per 1000 population in 1981 (PIP 1983-1987, 1983:145). Further, the PIP 1983-1987 accepts that the changes in the health status of Sri Lanka demonstrates the changes in life expectancy (1983:145). The life expectancy rose to seventy (70) years for females and sixty six (66) years for males in 1978/79 (PIP 1983-1987 (1983)).

The policies further recognised that while the situation of women had improved steadily, there were still regional disparities in maternal mortality rates due to women's lower literacy levels compared to men, worse condition of malnutrition among women and girls than among men and also women suffering from other health conditions such as anaemia (PIP 1983-1987 1983). Thus, these policy documents (four PIPs; the mentioned above were 'gender sensitive' to a certain extent, one PIP (were gender blind and were not concerned in the spheres on women. However, the Budget Speeches were not sensitive to women's issues and were not gender-sensitive policies. Nevertheless, in considering all policy documents reviewed for the analysis, some public investment programmes (The PIP 1981-1985; PIP 1983-1987; PIP 1982-1986) only focused symbolically on particular areas such as women's health care and the status of health condition of women whereas documents such as the reviewed all Budget Speeches and the PIP 1979-1983 were not concerned about these matters.

4.3.2.d The economic development of the country

In examining the national economic policy documents, the key concern expressed was the country's economic development, especially in the era of the 'open-economic' system pursued by the UNP government. The major goal of these policy documents was a rapid expansion of the economy of the country and almost all the economic programmes and projects concentrated on how to expand the economy in the country. Many economic policy documents, reviewed in this pre-conflict period including the five main Public Investment Programmes sequentially issued in 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982 and 1983 by National Planning Division and the Budget Speeches in 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982 and 1983 that were issued by the Ministry of Finance and Planning reveal a primary concern for the development of the country's 'economy' across several diverse fields. These documents focus less on other social issues such as women's contribution to the economy and integration of women into development programmes and the improvement of the economy in the country and labour force participation and employment of women as well as men.

Many of the documents (PIPs and the Budget Speeches) reviewed for the analysis of this chapter mainly concentrated on the rapid economic development of the country in diverse fields such as agriculture, fisheries, plantation industry etc., and in generating national income as well as stabilising the open economy. They also focused on reducing the levels of unemployment and increasing the rate of employment. Generally, all the Budget Speeches from 1978 to 1983 focused on economic development of the country and income and expenditures of the government etc. In investigating these documents, it was discovered that after 1978, they often targeted rapid economic development rather than other social issues. The government was keen to ensure coordination between the long term and short-term management of the economy to ensure reducing unnecessary expenditure and to improve the economy. It also focused on export promotion and Investment Promotion Zones (IPZs) to develop the economy. Furthermore, these documents reveal that to build up a rapid economic development the government concentrated on three major programmes. These programmes, however, did not discuss the economic progress of women and men, or gender equality in economy, nor did they address the ways that women could be integrated into development programmes.

Furthermore, these documents did not focus on the contribution or integration of women in economic development programmes or development processes, neither did they discuss the impact of these programmes on women nor men and their economic conditions. During this pre-conflict period, Sri Lanka, similar to other countries, was facing contemporary changes but the country did not seem concerned about social justice concepts such as gender mainstreaming or women empowerment. During this period of the 1980s, whereas an open economy was the major economic drive of the country, employment creation and rapid economic development was a major objective of the government within the liberalised

economic framework rather than considering social justice concepts such as gender mainstreaming.

Thus, except for a few documents in the pre-conflict period, the majority demonstrate that the economic policy was aware to a certain extent of the status of women in society but did not have a deliberate commitment of the government towards integration of women into development programmes or to provide equal opportunities for women in the economic field. Further, on comparing the two Public Investment Programmes: the PIP 1981-1985 and the PIP 1982-1986, it was discovered that the Public Investment Programme 1981-1985 (issued in 1981) focused on women's labour force participation and the status of women as well as their levels of employment. The Public Investment Programme for 1982-1986 also brings women into the field of policy objectives. It declares that the major aim of the government is to provide more and better employment for women to enhance the status of women as well as to integrate them more importantly into the development process (PIP 1982: 52-53).

Moreover, budget speeches in 1978, 1979 and 1983 were concerned about the 'decentralisation' of the planning processes and the power of the government in its development programmes and activities for the rapid increase of the economy. The aims of decentralisation were to take active participation of people in the development projects and to formulate plans at the grass-root levels (Budget Speech (1978) 1977:19). However, this programme focused on all people and used the common term '*people*' to emphasise this, instead of presenting the categories of women and men. This may be because the economic policy was a Budget Speech, focused on the economic policy of the nation. It did not concentrate on mainstreaming gender into programmes or projects nor did it include any assessment of the implications of the policies on women.

As mentioned above, the concept of gender mainstreaming was not widespread globally at this time, except in WID approaches. Thus, during this period, Sri Lanka was aware of the importance of women's participation in the labour force and various economic activities, as well as women's contribution to the development process, and it was also aware of gender equality and development through the focus of the UN Decade for Women. The 1983 Budget Speech also focused on only the 'economic growth' across a period of five years (1978-1983), highlighting a reduction of unemployment during the past five years.

Thus, in examining and analysing the documents, it was evident that they did not focus on the status of women, their positions and equality in diverse fields related to the economy and other social fields. On the other hand, most of the factors related to women mentioned in the documents were mainly focused on 'women's interests' or prioritised concerns of women which Moser (1989:1803) explains in her work; 'Gender Planning in the Third World: Meeting the practical and strategic gender needs'. It means, they are mostly women-focused than gender-focused and the transformation of gender roles and structures. The PIP 1981-1985 and PIP 1982-1986 were more gender-sensitive in comparison to other documents as they concentrated more on women and their status of labour force and the levels of employment of women. They also aimed to improve the status of women through providing better employment and by integrating women into the development process.

Whereas these two documents are not the standard of gender mainstreaming, they demonstrate symbolic gender mainstreaming. However, these documents have not considered full gender mainstreaming because they have not included an assessment of the impact of the economic policies on women (as well as men) and have not explicitly thought about women. Nevertheless, when examining the Budget Speeches, many of the Speeches during the pre-conflict period focused on expansion and rapid economic development and stabilization of the

open economy, expenditures and means of national incomes rather than social development, social justice and progress of human beings.

In addition, the documents have not ensured that women have equal opportunity and equal treatment or access to resources. However, of the five Public Investment Programmes, whereas two (PIP1980-1984 and PIP1983-1987) focused on a few women in the field of health care of women, the PIP 1979-1983 did not concentrated on women and their economic status. Although the two documents focused briefly on women and their health conditions, according to the criteria of the framework, the three Public investment programmes are non-gender mainstreaming. Therefore, in this sense, none of the Public Investment programmes show the features of genuine gender mainstreaming.

4.4 Conclusion

In addressing the key findings of the chapter many of the policy documents including Public Investment Programmes and Budget Speeches, which were reviewed and examined for this analysis, were mainly non-gender mainstreaming. However, the three public investment programmes (PIP 1981-1985 in 1981; the PIP 1982-1986 in 1982; and PIP 1983-1987 in 1983) explore symbolic gender-mainstreaming characteristics as they focus on women-centered programmes. Of the three Investments Programmes, the first two have focused more on women's participation in labour force and the levels of unemployment of women, the employment rates of women in particular years. Further, they focused on integration of women into development and the economy as well as health care facilities of women and the health condition of women and the women's issues. However, the PIP 1983-1987 reveals that it focused on them less than the previous two PIPs (1981-1985 in 1981 and the PIP 1982-1986 in 1982). Thus, they explore more symbolic-gender mainstreaming characteristics than the PIP 1983-1987 in 1983. However, the budget Speeches which examined this period were largely non-gender mainstreaming and they did not focus on women's issues and the

integration of women into development and economic programmes. Instead of focusing on women in development programmes, they are largely dedicated towards rapid economic development of the country and national income and expenditures.

These documents did not explicitly consider or assess the implications of the policies on women, or men. They also did not focus on inclusion and integration of women and gender issues into the mainstream having a gender perspective. The policies also did not develop agenda-setting but made transformations and reorientations to the existing policy paradigms. Moreover, they did not consider making changes to decision-making structures and processes or rearticulating and rearranging the policy goals and methods to have a gender perspective. The policies have not concentrated on either women or men's concerns and experiences to put them into an integral dimension in the policy process. Furthermore, they did not focus on the features of categories such as integrationist, agenda-setting and transformative. Instead of the features of gender mainstreaming, the policies mainly paid attention to the continuation of the freshly introduced 'open-economic system' and the rapid economic development of the country, and focused on decreasing the unemployment rate and increasing the labour force participation of both women and men. However, among the economic development policies, there was some focus on equality for women as well as their participation in the labour force and employment.

The policies demonstrate awareness towards gender sensitivity to a certain extent, as they recognised the status of women in society in different spheres such as labour force participation, employment rates, and the health condition of women. The awareness of gender in these documents is shown by the presentation of statistics on the roles of women in different fields and in the discussion of the social status of women. In addition, the findings of documents analysis in this chapter revealed that as a consequence of the liberalization policy implemented during 1977-82, the unemployment rate of the country declined significantly

and led to a substantial concentration of income and wealth in the hands of a few and a high degree of inequality in their distribution. Furthermore, as a result of investment programmes and economic development programmes, the employment rate of women increased to a certain extent and led to a decrease in the levels of unemployment among women and contributed to the inclusion of women into the labour force. A major enhancement of the employment generation occurred in the late 1970s and early 1980s, mainly as a consequence of the government's huge public investment programmes and the expansion of certain private sector activities that were motivated by liberalised economic policies.

During the pre-conflict period, from 1978 to 1983, several positive achievements occurred in fields such as education, legal provisions, health, and employment and in the labour force. The introduction of various policy implementations and policy reforms during this period led to the change in the position of women in society. By 1970, equal access to education had brought women in significant numbers to the public arena and increased the status of women. As a consequence of new social systems, policy processes or the practices that were introduced by the UNP government in society, a real change did not occur in gender mainstreaming, gender equality, women empowerment, equal rights or the equal treatment and equal opportunities for women.

Further, as a result of introducing new welfare schemes such as free schoolbooks, Mahapola Scholarship programme and educational policies during this pre-conflict period women's education was improved and thereby their social status was enhanced. As women received education, they could enter a higher level of employment at a higher social strata. Therefore, women's condition and social status of women improved in society. Moreover, the visibility of women in the public scene and in official consciousness increased with the establishment of institutions such as Women's Bureau as a special national machinery to enhance the position of women and the Ministry of Women's Affairs and Teaching Hospitals.

The fact that the government of Sri Lanka did not focus explicitly on gender mainstreaming in this pre-conflict period is not surprising. Globally, the concept of gender mainstreaming as a strategy for gender equality was not embraced until 1995. Rather, at this time, when gender was addressed, the focus was on equality for women in the development process, and on integrating women in the process of development through economic means. Thus, the Sri Lankan government followed the international trend and showed no real awareness of the concept of gender mainstreaming or of the need to focus on it. Moreover, most of these measures were 'practical gender needs' that Moser (2003: 40) explains in her work, but they do not demonstrate the 'strategic gender needs' which are required for full gender mainstreaming.

CHAPTER FIVE

GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN SRI LANKA IN THE CONFLICT PERIOD 1983-2009

5.1 Introduction

This chapter also investigates how and to what extent gender mainstreaming related initiatives have been developed in Sri Lanka during the conflict period. Before engaging in the analysis of policy documents to explore this theme, the chapter presents a summary of the socio-political and economic context and the position of women in Sri Lanka during this period. It pays attention to the socio-political and economic background as the national environment and global condition largely affect social phenomena. It also concentrates on the themes observed in this chapter, such as socio-economic development and women empowerment; women, labour force participation and employment and human rights, legal provisions and women's security. It also scrutinizes the sub-themes women's health care and labour force and women's employment and migrant workers etc. It also pays attention to the documents used in this study to analyse data.

During the conflict period, several documents have been presented by the government focusing on the overall economic policy of the government. They included economic-related policy documents directly developed by the government at the national level with the exact sense of a policy as mentioned in chapter 3, Budget Speeches (BSs), Public Investment Programmes (PIPs) and political manifestoes of two political parties which later converted into national policies. During this period four PIPs, twenty-six Budget Speeches (BSs) and nine other economic-related direct national policy documents were issued by the government for specific purposes. The list of these documents will follow. The PIPs and Budget Speeches were used as they are the government's key economic policies for particular years. Altogether, thirty-nine policy documents were adopted for the analysis in this chapter. These

documents were also selected according to the methods mentioned in chapter 3. The list of documents adopted for the analysis in this chapter is given below:

Table 5.1 : The list of documents adopted for the analysis in this chapter

NO	Name of the Policy Document	Year	The organization that produced the document
1)	Budget Speech 1984	1983	Ministry of Finance and Planning
2)	Budget Speech 1985	1984	Ministry of Finance and Planning
3)	Budget Speech 1986	1985	Ministry of Finance and Planning
4)	Budget Speech 1987	1986	Ministry of Finance and Planning
5)	Budget Speech 1988	1987	Ministry of Finance and Planning
6)	Budget Speech 1989	1988	Ministry of Finance and Planning
7)	Budget Speech 1990	1989	Ministry of Finance and Planning
8)	Budget Speech 1991	1990	Ministry of Finance and Planning
9)	Budget Speech 1992	1991	Ministry of Finance and Planning
10)	Budget Speech 1993	1992	Ministry of Finance and Planning
11)	Budget Speech 1994	1993	Ministry of Finance and Planning
12)	Budget Speech 1995	1994	Ministry of Finance and Planning
13)	Budget Speech 1996	1995	Ministry of Finance and Planning
14)	Budget Speech 1997	1996	Ministry of Finance and Planning
15)	Budget Speech 1998	1997	Ministry of Finance and Planning
16)	Budget Speech 1999	1998	Ministry of Finance and Planning
17)	Budget Speech 2000	1999	Ministry of Finance and Planning
18)	Budget Speech 2001	2000	Ministry of Finance and Planning
19)	Budget Speech 2002	2001	Ministry of Finance and Planning
20)	Budget Speech 2003	2002	Ministry of Finance and Planning

21)	Budget Speech 2004	2003	Ministry of Finance and Planning
22)	Budget Speech 2005	2004	Ministry of Finance and Planning
23)	Budget Speech 2006	2005	Ministry of Finance and Planning
24)	Budget Speech 2007	2006	Ministry of Finance and Planning
25)	Budget Speech 2008	2007	Ministry of Finance and Planning
26)	Budget Speech 2009	2008	Ministry of Finance and Planning
27)	Public Investment Programme 1984-1988	1984	Ministry of Finance and Planning National Planning Division
28)	Public Investment Programme 1988-1992	1988	Ministry of Finance and Planning National Planning Division
29)	Public Investment Programme 1985-1989	1985	Ministry of Finance and Planning National Planning Division
30)	Public Investment Programme 1990-1994	1990	Ministry of Policy Planning and Implementation Department of National Planning
31)	Women's Charter Sri Lanka	1993	Ministry of Women Affairs
32)	National Productivity Policy for Sri Lanka-Public Sector Component-2001	2001	Ministry of Employment and Labour
33)	Regaining Sri Lanka Policy (Part I & II together)- Vision and Strategy for Accelerated Development	2002	Prime Minister Secretariat
34)	National Productivity Policy for Sri Lanka-Private Sector Component 2002	2002	Ministry of Employment and Labour
35)	Mahinda Chintana Towards a New Sri Lanka; Victory of Sri Lanka	2005	Mahinda Rajapaksa –Presidential Candidate
36)	Mahinda Chintana: Vision for new Sri Lanka- A 10 Year Horizon Development Framework 2006-2016	2006	Department of National Planning Ministry of Finance and Planning
37)	National Policy for Decent work in Sri Lanka	2006	Ministry of Labour Relations and Foreign Employment
38)	National Action Plan for Youth Employment Sri Lanka	2007	Ministry of Youth Affairs
39)	National Labour Migration Policy	2008	Ministry of foreign employee promotion and welfare

All the key themes and sub-themes that have been discussed in this chapter were from the analysis of the coded text data of the documents. Three key themes arose from the analysis: 1) Socio-economic development and women empowerment, 2) Labour force participation and employment and 3) human rights, legal provisions and women’s security. Each key theme consisted of sub-themes which are women’s health care, human rights and legal provisions, labour force and women employment and migrant workers etc. The themes are different to those in the other chapters, although some similarities exist. Themes have been changed according to the documents analysed in a particular period. The key and sub-themes are tabled in the following Table 5.2

Table 5.2 : Key themes and sub-themes under each key themes

No.	Key themes and sub-themes
1	Key theme one - Socio -economic development and women empowerment
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Sub-theme one - The socio-economic development of women ii. Sub-theme two - Women’s health care
2	Key theme two: Women, labour force participation and employment
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Sub-theme one - Labour force and women’s employment ii. Sub-theme two - Migrant workers
3	Key theme three: Human rights, legal Provisions/measures and women’s security
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. Sub-theme one women's rights and legal measures/provisions ii. Sub-theme-two - Women’s political participation and decision-making

In analysing the text data and examining the themes of the economic policy documents in order to use the name of documents conveniently in the analysis later in this chapter, the study used short names for these policy documents. The short name used for these policy documents are as follows:

Table 5.3 : The name of the policy documents and short names used for analysis

No.	Name of the policy document	Short name used for documents
1	Regaining Sri Lanka Policy Part I & II - A Vision and Strategy for Accelerated Development	Regaining Sri Lanka - 2002
2	National Productivity Policy for Sri Lanka - Public Sector Component-2001	National Productivity - Public 2001
3	National Productivity Policy for Sri Lanka - Private Sector Component 2002	National Productivity - Private 2002
4	Plan of action supporting the prevention of domestic violence act No 43-2005	Plan of Action to Domestic Violence - 2005
5	Mahinda Chintana: Towards a new Sri Lanka - 2005 (Victory for Sri Lanka – Presidential Election 2005)	Mahinda Chintana - 2005
6	Mahinda Chintana: Vision for a New Sri Lanka - A 10-year horizon Development Framework 2006 - 2016 2005	Mahinda Chintana- Development Framework 2006-2016 - 2005
7	The National Policy for Decent Work in Sri Lanka -2006	Decent Work Policy - 2006
8	National Employment Policy 2007	Employment Policy-2007
9	National Action Plan for Youth Employment Sri Lanka 2007	Youth Employment Sri Lanka - 2007
10	National Labour Migration Policy for Sri Lanka - 2008	Labour Migration - 2008
11	Public Investment Programmes	PIP and the relevant year- For instance, there were Public Investment Programme in 1983-1987; 1984-1988; 1985-1989 etc.
12	Budget Speeches	BS and the relevant year or Budget Speech and the relevant year–eg: Budget Speech 1984, 1985, 1986 etc. OR BS 1984, 1985, 1986 etc.

5.2 The Socio-political and economic context and the status of women in Sri Lanka from 1983 to 2009

Socio, economic, political, and historical context and world background are crucial in examining and investigating a particular phenomenon in society. These conditions and environments not only influence its government’s programmes but also the policy process. Therefore, it is important to recognise these conditions in analysing the development of gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka in its policy process. Furthermore, the social status and

position of women in the conflict period of the country is also important in this analysis because it discloses the relationship between the introduction and implementation of new policies and their outcomes in practical background. Moreover, such backgrounds affect in the assessment of how government has focused on gender mainstreaming related initiatives in the form of policy measures in documents to be successful in serving the purpose. Hence, such conditions were also discussed briefly in this chapter.

5.2.1 Political and economic background in the conflict period

The conflict period passed with a number of personalities of political leaders including J.R Jayewardene, R.Premadasa, D.B.Wijetunga, Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga and Mahinda Rajapaska. Jayewardene's regime lasted from 1977 to 1988 (Lakshman 1997:8) therefore, his tenure falls in both pre-conflict and conflict periods. He passed his tenure during the full pre-conflict period from 1978 to 1983 and the balance of his time passed in the conflict period as he won the second term in 1982 (Central Bank of Sri Lanka 1998: 21). As mentioned above in chapter four, he had pro-western and liberal political and economic policies and did not practice patriarchal values and had taken significant measures that consider gender equality. As mentioned above in chapter four, Jayewardene followed open and liberalised economic policies and focused on private sector-led development. In order to develop the environment to increase foreign and local investment, the policies were changed and efficient markets were promoted (Central Bank of Sri Lanka 1998: 22).

From 1989 to 1993, R.Premadasa governed the country as the second executive president during the conflict period. He also took initiatives to ensure gender equality such as establishing the Women's Bureau in 1978 for training women and for conferences and creating a separate ministry for women, namely Ministry of Women's Affairs and Teaching Hospitals in 1983 (Jayaweera 1985 a: 3, 4) during Jayewardene's regime. The Second Phase

(1989 to 1994) of the UNP government was headed by Premadasa who followed the same political and economic philosophy as Jayewardena. Whereas Jayewardene followed pro-Capitalist open-economic system, Premadasa had pro-poor humanistic political and social programmes such as '*Gam Udawa*' (a free housing programme for poor people donated by the government), and '*Janasaviya*' (a free of charge food subsidy stamp for the poor) (Central Bank of Sri Lanka 1998: 23; Lakshman 1997:11). When he came to power in 1989, there was a youth insurgency in the South, and a civil war was being conducted by the LTTE in the Northern and Eastern parts of the country. This insurgency was known among the people as the 'JVP' which was conducted by the political party; 'Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna' (JVP) which was run by mainly a group of Youth who followed a Marxist Socialist political view.

While focusing on these issues in the country, Premadasa had to run the government in the South of the country paying attention to democracy and social justice concepts such as gender equality, women's rights, human rights etc. he had to control the insurgency using State terrorism which resulted in his dignity being degraded among the citizens in South. However, as the civil war was going on in the Northern and Eastern parts of the country at that time, he had lost the goodwill among some of the Tamil citizens in those areas. In such a background, President Premadasa was assassinated by the LTTE on 1st May 1993 in the May Day Rally. Consequently, D.B Wijetunga was officially appointed as the president of the country according to the constitution since he was then the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka. He was a moderate and democratic person and did not influence social change and the practice of social justice concepts during his short period of time. Premadasa did not seem to be against concepts such as gender equality and gender mainstreaming.

A major enhancement of the employment generation occurred in the late 1970s and early 1980s, as a consequence of mainly the government's huge public investment programmes and

the expansion of private sector activities motivated by the liberalised economic policies (Central Bank of Sri Lanka 1998: 36). The unemployment rate declined sharply because of the liberalization of the economy after 1977 and the commitment of the public sector investment programmes such as the Accelerated Mahaweli Development Programme, Export Processing Zones, and Urban and Housing Development Projects. During the period 1977-1982, the economy of the country registered an average rate of growth as high as 6 percent and the rate of unemployment declined significantly (Lakshman 1997: 9) after the introduction of the 'market-oriented open economic' system. In 1982, through the election process, a new government was established as an extension of the life of the existing parliament for another term. This change did not have much impact on the social system, policy process, practices in society and the social justice concepts such as gender equality, women empowerment, equal rights and opportunities for women and implementing policy strategy such as gender mainstreaming into all forms of policy processes etc.

Thereafter, through the presidential election which was held in August 1994, Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga became the fourth and the first woman executive president of the country from 1994 to 2005. The left-of-centre oriented coalition government of Kumaratunga, People's Alliance (PA) consisted of political parties with a left-oriented political and economic view. Its slogan was 'market-oriented policy with a human face' (Lakshman 1997:11). However, although meaning of this election slogan was not clearly defined, the "*human face*" could be taken as a commitment to peace, respect for human rights, democratisation of governance and social justice and poverty alleviation (Lakshman 1997: 11). Kumaratunga continued her tenure during the conflict period when the country was in a difficult condition economically and politically as a result of the conflict. At the end of two years of PA rule, however, the economic policy of the coalition government was guided to continue within a Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) - type framework, with a renewed emphasis on several matters of social concern - employment, social justice and poverty

alleviation (Lakshman 1997: 11). During her tenure, some important policy measures such as human rights, women's rights programmes, peacebuilding and nation-building attempts named "Sama Thawalama" (a peace programme among nations) were put into practice.

Whereas Kumaratunga held the position from 1994-2005, in 2001, some of her Cabinet ministers crossed over to the opposition party and she was compelled to dissolve parliament and called an election several years early. Kumaratunga's party (PA) was defeated by the United National Party (UNP) at the election held in 2001. However, she continued her office as the executive president of the country. While Kumaratunga was holding the executive presidency from the Political Party People's Alliance, the government was formed by the opposition party UNP with Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe; it was a hybrid system of two political parties. The government was run by the opposition party (UNP) until 2004 and the economy of the country did not prosper under this system. Furthermore, this hybrid system of government did not support the introduction and implementation of new policies and programmes nor were new structural changes to the system of government made. During this period the UNP government introduced its economic policy named, 'Regaining Sri Lanka' and attention was paid to a certain extent to women and gender issues under the section 'combatting gender discrimination. It focuses on the economic condition of women in society. This political change had an influence on the political and social system and the existing economic policy: 'market-oriented policy with a human face' and became the "market-oriented open-economic system that favoured capitalism usually followed by the UNP.

Nevertheless, during Kumaratunga's period, Sri Lanka was at a considerable high level in certain gender equality related aspects. During her tenure, the gender index of the country also became high, and its Gender Development Index (GDI) was 0.660 in 1992 and Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) index was 0.288 (Human Development Report 1995: 72, 85).

During her term, she not only took action to implement the provisions in the Beijing Platform for Actions in 1995 and MGDs in 2000 but also other gender equality measures such as amendments to the Penal Code in 1995 and the introduction of legislation to prevent domestic violence etc., to mainstream gender and fulfil gender equality.

Subsequently, Mahinda Rajapaksa was elected as the fifth executive president and during his tenure, defeated the LTTE terrorists and achieved military victory in 2009 and then began to continue post-conflict reconstruction in the country. In the first part of Rajapaksa's regime, a tendency to have state bias in economic policies (Athukorala and Jayasuriya 2012: 5) was demonstrated and privatisation programmes were abandoned and it also failed to maintain the initial pace of liberalisation and diverted resources into a huge foreign aid supported public investment programme. Although there was an ongoing war in the country, according to the Census and Statistics the economic growth was 6% (www.statistics.gov.lk). However, the second wave of reforms during his tenure marked an important watershed in the economic policy arena and it involved an ambitious privatisation programme (Athukorala and Jayasuriya 2012: 7, 10). Rajapaksa's political philosophy was mainly left-of-centre though it demonstrated liberal right-wing policy features and if required, to have private sector involvement while keeping government ownership of at least 51% (Athukorala and Jayasuriya 2012: 17). Thus, he conducted a mixture of left-of-centre and right-left political-economic ideology. It also did not seem that he was concerned about social justice concepts such as gender equality, women's rights and human rights etc. nor that he was dedicated to mainstream gender in the policy process or to ensure gender equality.

5.2.2 The status of women in the conflict period

The women's status in a society of a particular nation often reveals the nature of its government policy practice and its dedication to put them into practice. There is a close relationship between women's positions in the practical background which means the key

positions held by them and the policies practised by the government because the practical situation is the actual outcome of the policies. In considering women's status in Sri Lanka during the conflict period, it demonstrates the social, economic and political policies of the government that existed in a particular period. The key positions of women in this conflict period can be separated into categories such as Executive President (EP), Prime Minister (PM), Cabinet ministers, managerial and administrative, women in foreign missions, Judges in courts, Chief Justices, and District Secretaries (in early 1980s they were introduced as Government Agents) etc. During the conflict period (1983-2009) there was one women executive President in the country whereas there have been two women PMs and among them one is the first world Prime Minister, Sirimavo Bandaranaike and her daughter was the Prime minister in 1994 and she became the first woman Executive President in the country. Executive President is the head of the state and PM is the head of government whereas the others are some of the highest positions in the country that a person can hold. However, within the 26 year of period, there have been only eleven Cabinet ministers and two Supreme Court Judges and only seven District Secretaries or Government Agents. This situation clearly reveals the gender equality policies and their outcome in a practical background of the levels of gender mainstreaming related initiatives of the government. Women in key positions are depicted in the figure 5.1 below:

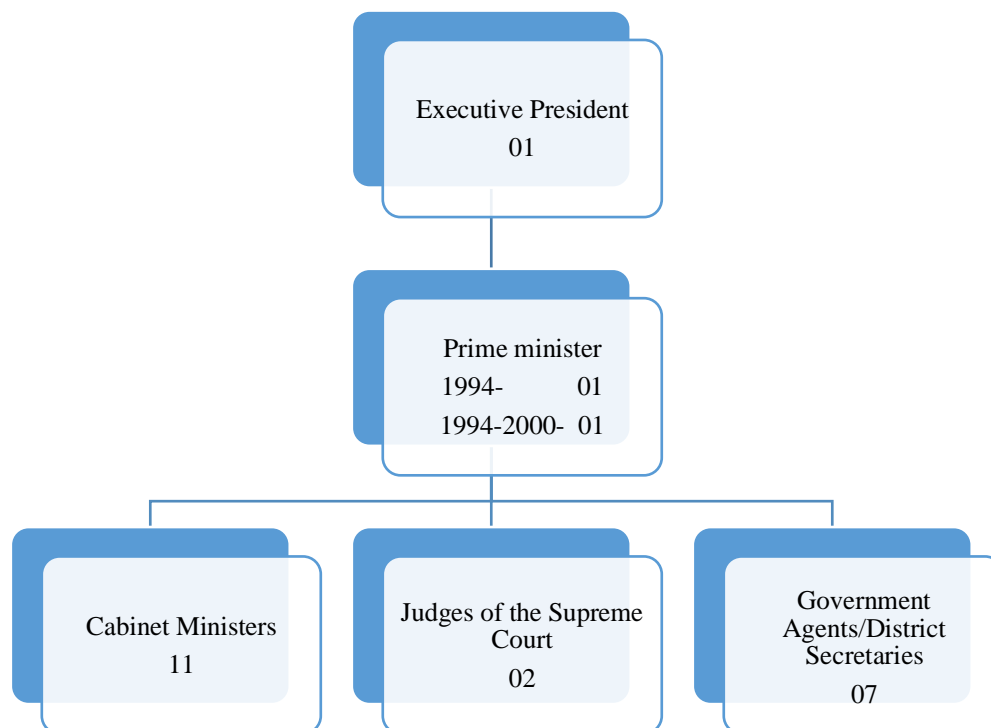


Figure 5.1 : Key positions held by women in the conflict period (1983-2009)

Source: http://www.judgesinstitute.lk/images/journal/Journal_2014.pdf

<http://www.attorneygeneral.gov.lk/elevation-to-the-higher-judiciary/>

<https://archive.fohss.lk/images/Sociology/EBook/prathimana/index.html#p=2>

Table 5.4 : Women in SLAS in the conflict period (1983-2009)

No.	The employment sector	Year	Number
1	Women in Sri Lanka Administrative Service (SLAS)	1984	
	i. Senior Assistant Secretary		04
	ii. Director, Commissioner, Controller		06
	iii. Additional Director, Commissioner, Controller		04
	iv. Deputy Director, Commissioner, Controller		93
	v. District Land Commissioner		03
	vi. District Land Officer		02
2	Sri Lanka Administrative Service (SLAS)	1993	
	i. Class I		56 (12.6%)
	ii. Class II Grade I		63 (13.2%)
	iii. Class II Grade 2		171 (22.0%)
3	Women at managerial levels	1990	
	i. Administrative and managerial		116 (7%)
4	Officers in the Sri Lanka Planning Service	1995	

i.	Class I	03 (11.5%)
ii.	Class II Grade I	30 (21.7%)
iii.	Class II Grade 2	273 (31.5%)

Source: Endagama 1985: 101; United Nations 1997: 82, 83, 85

Considering women in SLAS, which is the higher administrative and managerial level positions in Sri Lanka that paves the path towards decision-making levels, it can be seen that at almost each and every category women represent a lower number. Among the 29 Class I: the highest category of SLAS officers, there were only 3 females whereas there were only 3 women officers of the 26 total officers in the Sri Lanka Planning Service in 1995. Women in administrative and managerial levels in 1990 were 116 and its percentage was 7. Table 5.4 demonstrates this situation clearly. In considering foreign missions, Sri Lanka was not able to produce more than fifteen women Ambassadors or High Commissioners since independence (however, currently Sri Lanka has several women in these positions). By 23 April 2021, when the web page was updated of Wikipedia, they were eight members (<https://en.wikipedia.org>). In almost all categories in foreign missions, women are not adequately represented. Table 5.6 further explains the situation.

Table 5.5 : Women in foreign missions during the conflict period

1	Women in foreign missions	Years		
		1985	1990	1993
	i. Ambassadors/High Commissioners	-	1 (3.0%)	-
	ii. Permanent Representatives	-	-	-
	iii. Deputy High Commissioners	-	-	-
	iv. Lower-Level Diplomatic Positions	-	-	-
		11 (15.7%)	11 (15.1%)	13 (16.5%)
2	Judges in the Lower Courts	17 (1.5%)	31 (19.1%)	38 (23.2%)
3	Women Police Personnel	510 (2.5%)	1048 (3.4%)	1050 (3.5%)

Source: United Nations 1997: 83, 86

Table 5.6 : Women in Politics: Parliamentarians

Election Year	Number of the Parliament	Number of women Parliamentarians	
		Number	Percentage
1989 - 1994	Second Parliament of the D.S.R. of Sri Lanka	13	4.9%
1994 - 2000	Third Parliament of the D.S.R. of Sri Lanka	12	5.8%
2000 - 2001	Fourth Parliament of the D.S.R. of Sri Lanka	9	5.8%
2001 - 2004	Fifth Parliament of the D.S.R. of Sri Lanka	10	4.0%
2004 - 2010	Sixth Parliament of the D.S.R. of Sri Lanka	13	4.4%
2010 - 2015	Seventh Parliament of the D.S.R. of Sri Lanka	13	5.8%
2015 - 2020	Eighth Parliament of the D.S.R. of Sri Lanka	13	5.8%

Source: <https://www.parliament.lk/en/lady-members>

5.3 Theme one: Socio-economic development and women empowerment

Empowerment of women means empowering them in all three spheres such as social, economic, and political. Empowerment was seen as a tool for the liberation of the poor and marginalised, particularly women (Parpart 2010: 2). Enhancing or improving economic status of women is one of the most significant ways of empowering women because without having economically independent and self-sufficiency empowering women is useless. Therefore, strengthening the economy of women and developing the economic status of women is vital in mainstreaming gender because conversely, empowerment of women is part of the process of gender mainstreaming and ensuring gender equality. As part of the social arena, the field of culture is also significant for the empowerment of women in society because very often cultural norms and values hinder the advancement and empowerment of women. Therefore, this chapter has paid attention to the issue of socio-economic development of women and

their empowerment. The sub-themes such as socio-economic development of women and women's health care improvement have been discussed under this key theme.

5.3.1 Sub theme one: The socio-economic development of women

The socio-economic development of women is an essential condition for the empowerment and the enhancement of women in all spheres such as political participation and representation, decision-making, and holding power etc. When considering gender equality, the social and economic status of women has a large impact on their enjoyment of equality rights and affects the degree of freedom that they enjoy in their lives. In Sri Lankan society, women are still underprivileged, disadvantaged and excluded in some fields to a certain extent as priority is still given to males and their interests. The importance of the male heir over female prevails due to the patriarchal values as well as the notion of a social construction of gender and its praxis in society (JICA 2010: 8). The empowerment of women is significant in gender mainstreaming. At the Beijing Conference on Women in 1995, world nations as well as the UN supported a commitment to the advancement of women empowerment. Moreover, the Beijing Declaration and Beijing Platform for Action (BPfA) were unanimously adopted as an agenda for women's empowerment (CENWOR, 2015:283). The concept of 'empowerment' encompasses a number of factors such as economic, social, political, and psychological well-being of a person and enhancing the economic status of women and their social condition will lead to the empowerment of women.

In considering the position of women in Sri Lanka, a considerable amount of documents focused on economic policy that were analysed in this study for the conflict period have concentrated on the socio-economic development and empowerment of women. Several issues have been raised in the documents including access to opportunities and finance and other resources, land ownership and property rights, anti-poverty, and credit facilities (micro

financing and loans), etc., for women. The document that highlighted women's rights to access financial support and other resources to encourage entrepreneurship ensure that women are not marginalised in accessing benefits that will help to relieve them of any economic struggle. Accessing finance and developing schemes that promote female entrepreneurs mean that women may have an opportunity to improve their economic condition as well as their social networking, which will ultimately lead to their empowerment and self-reliance.

Empowering women to be self-reliant means that the whole family will also be empowered, as well as the wider community, hopefully creating a ripple effect across society and eventually the country. The policy documents that were reviewed and analysed in this chapter that have broadly focused on this matter include the *Decent Work Policy* (2006), *Mahinda Chintana* (2005), *Labour Migration* (2008), and *Regaining Sri Lanka* - (2002). These documents have focused on women's economic development and their empowerment to be self-reliant. The Decent Work Policy (2006) has focused on women's economic improvement and their empowerment by drawing attention to employment opportunities for women, ensuring rights and freedom at work, encouraging social dialogue on women's rights to employment, and providing social protection for all. It works to facilitate and ensure that women know they can have access to financial support and other resources to increase entrepreneurship opportunities, such as credits and loan facilities so that women do not feel they are marginalised in accessing economic benefits.

It also explains that the policy focuses on the person's capacity and abilities to compete in areas such as the labour market and develop technological skills and entrepreneurial skills. The policy also encourages each person in his or her workplace to have a voice in order to have a safe job environment, security and economic enhancement. The Decent Work (2006) raises awareness on the challenges that prevent the creation of employment opportunities for women and young people. According to the Decent Work Policy, the reason is the tendency

of a large portion of economic activity to shift towards the informal sector where decent work which means productive work that have conditions of freedom, equity, security and human dignity was fundamentally more difficult to secure (2006:18). Furthermore, there were gaps and inadequacies within the labour laws such as equal pay for equal work, working at nights which hinder women's engagement in productive work. Therefore, the policy focuses on reviewing and reforming labour laws, which will be explained further under 'theme two: labour force, participation and employment'. This explanation reveals that the policy focuses on an assessment of the implications of the policy for women and men. This type of policy initiative falls into a form of 'strategic gender needs or interests' that Molynux (1985: 232) and Moser (1989: 1803, 2003:39) explain and also the 'agenda-setting approach' which (Jahan 1996: 828-829) explains in her work.

Moreover, among the proposed measures to help advance women's socio and economic conditions are the following: providing social protection for all workers including women through arrangements of social welfare activities and measures, pension and provident fund schemes to safeguard occupational health and safety, providing flexible working hours, and part time working facilities (Decent Work Policy 2006:39). The policy further realises inequality of income, especially the unequal status of women in the economy due to their unskilled labour. Most women are engaged in migrant jobs because of lack of skills and being offered low level employment opportunities, such as house maid work for which they receive less income. In analysing the content of this policy extensively, it seems that it is concerned more with 'women-focused activities' which (Zuckerman and Greenberg 2004:71; Greenberg and Zuckerman 2006: 2, 2009: 6-4) discuss in their writings, as well as women's interests, as recognised by Molynux (1985:232).

The policy further discusses the existing real nature of female employment and their income status. It is concerned with ensuring rights and freedom at work for both women and men and

focuses on establishing a harassment free working environment for women. The Decent Work Policy (2006) focuses on implementing some advanced and innovative policy measures and initiatives to improve women's socio-economic status. Thus, the policy has assessed the implications of the employment opportunities open to women in different sections of the document. The policy has also considered integrating women into the mainstream as a planned programme. Therefore, the policy demonstrates a deliberate purpose to mainstream women and gender focused features. It is also concerned about the implications for both women and men, and to establish the fact that they benefit women and men equally and establish gender equality.

However, there is a gap in the policy document as it does not include a measure or strategy to evaluate whether women have received maximum benefits of financial income or credit loans. There is no evidence or supplement that details whether women have used the money (from loans) for the sake of her betterment, enhancing economic empowerment or if they have invested the money in another's requirements or needs such as that of a father or husband. As there is no measurement to evaluate such invisible factors in this policy, revealing its gap, it is essential to use other documents to triangulate such situations.

In comparison to the Decent Work policy (2006), the Mahinda Chintana (2005) is also concerned with women's socio-economic status and their empowerment to a certain extent. For this purpose, therefore, this policy focuses on some 'women-focused activities' to enhance women's economic conditions and to increase female empowerment. In this process, in order to ensure the institutional background for the empowerment of women the '*Diriya Kantha*' (encouraged women) programme for women has been introduced (Mahinda Chintana, 2005:13). As a means of empowering women in the economic field, Mahinda Chintana proposes some initiatives including introducing self-employment schemes for women and providing assistance to women in conducting self-employment programmes

through bank loans via '*Lanka Putra*' bank scheme. These loans are significant for women who engage in small scale enterprises, but are not in a position to obtain bank loans for the expansion of their businesses due to the non-availability of acceptable surety or guarantee. (Mahinda Chintana 2005: 13). In the later years, the 'Ministry of Child Development and Women Affairs' introduced *Diriya Kantha* programme for women to empower them in different fields such as self-employment schemes, agriculture and food production programmes.

However, according to the indicators and indexes of the framework, such programmes are women-focused activities rather than genuine gender mainstreaming. This policy appreciates that the empowerment of woman has the domino effect of leading to empowerment across an entire society as the woman devotes her life to raise children, manage the family budget, and provide a solid foundation for the entire family as well as contributing to society (Mahinda Chintana, 2005: 13). Therefore, the government needs a solid foundation to empower women, providing an institutional framework to achieve such a foundation. This acknowledgement reveals the understanding and consciousness of the government towards the role of women and their capacity to contribute to the wider society. Mahinda Chintana-2005, has however, focused on women and appreciates her status based-on 'motherhood' rather than appreciate women's equality and equal rights. However, on comparing the proposed measures in the Decent Work policy with Mahinda Chintana, it can be seen that the Decent Work Policy focuses more on women's equality rights in employment and labour force participation and gender equality in wages and offers more advanced policy measures such as to safeguard occupational health and safety, provision of flexible working hours and part time working facilities, as well as introducing non-traditional vocational employment opportunities which may help to change the restrictive structures that existed.

Moreover, Mahinda Chintana (2005) introduces further programmes and policy measures to empower women. The policy draws attention to the launch of self-employment schemes for women with the support of private institutions which are either leaders in the export field, looking to expand small-scale businesses or small medium entrepreneurs (SMEs) (Mahinda Chintana, 2005:13). Through such schemes Mahinda Chintana (2005) hopes to arrange new income earning opportunities for ten selected women in each village annually in fields such as the hand loom industry, textiles, toys and handicraft items for overseas markets so that women may have the flexibility to produce these exports at home (Mahinda Chintana, 2005:13). The expansion of small-scale businesses by supplying bank loans through the '*Lanka Puthra* Bank Scheme' is a proposed initiative. Through such activities, this policy hopes to help thousands of women become economically independent. The policy also aims to expand several small businesses so that women may be employed and thus further enhance their economic condition (Mahinda Chintana, 2005:13). These types of industries will be assisted through the loans provided by the '*Lanka Putra*' bank loans scheme. It is this kind of important policy measure that the government desires to put in place to empower women as most of the women who engage in such businesses are the sole managers in those families from women-headed households. Therefore, they are often helpless and unsupported with a lack of guaranteed facilities, especially following the consequences of natural disasters (the Tsunami - in 2004) and war (man-made disaster), and as a result of external impacts, such women headed-households have increased.

Therefore, when mainstreaming a gender perspective in the field of economic policy as Greenberg and Zuckerman explain mainstreaming women's involvement and empowerment into macroeconomic programmes may be able to enhance gender equality (2006: 8). And women in a situation like household managers and breadwinners of the family, they should be strongly empowered economically, socially and psychologically as well as decision-makers hold power. All these policy measures are therefore for the betterment of women's socio-

economic enhancement. If the policy measures are actually implemented in practice, they may help to advance the status of women in social and economic fields.

However, this advancement alone is insufficient to lead towards gender equality. Most probably, these measures sit under the headings of 'women's interests' or 'women's needs' or women-focused measures. These measures do not seem to present the type of 'strategic gender needs' that Molyneux (1985) and Moser (1989, 2003) explain. They are not policy measures that represent 'strategic gender needs' such as the abolition of the sexual division of labour, the removal of institutionalised forms of discrimination, and freedom of choice over childbearing which support women to achieve greater equality. 'Strategic gender needs' changes the existing gender roles and challenges women's subordinate position (Moser, 2003: 39) in the society. However, they fall into the category of 'practical gender needs' that provide immediate perceived necessities identified within a specific context (Moser, 2003: 40). They include income earning activities, employment, health care and community level requirements of housing and basic services. On the other hand, these measures are recognised as types of the 'integrationist approach' that Jahan (1995, 1996: 828,829) explains in her works. The 'Integrationist approach' mainly attempts to integrate or include women into the existing systems and the process of development by which it is hoped to increase women's economy and decrease poverty so that women can be empowered. It does not challenge the existing institutional and organizational structure (Crusmac, 2015: 108; Jahan, 1996:826,828). According to Jahan, Women in Development (WID) and Gender and Development (GAD) approaches mainly deliver a duty to integrate women into existing systems by improving their economic capacity or economic empowerment (1996:828).

Despite the policy introducing considerable and fair measures in general as mentioned above, it pays attention to women from the position of 'motherhood'. Based on 'motherhood' Mahinda Chintana (2005) focuses on women's status and develops a picture of women in the

policy. However, these policy measures will help women to enhance their economic status by achieving social empowerment, as highlighted in the examples above. On the other hand, it will not be these policy measures alone that will succeed in empowering women, but rather, women should be empowered socially, economically, politically and psychologically as well to enable them to be self-reliant. Moreover, women in our society are disadvantaged and are still underprivileged in areas such as property ownership as priority is given to male heirs in regards to property and land ownership. Furthermore, in the inheritance of land following the demise of their husbands, women face problems due to the 'Land Development Ordinance' law of the country. (Women's Bureau of Sri Lanka 1985:3; Fokus Women 2015:54; Gomez 2008: 50).

During the last period in the country due to a natural disaster caused by a tsunami, along with the consideration of the ongoing war in the Northern and Eastern provinces, women have faced many issues related to the distribution of state land. Women are often faced by a number of issues and become helpless and destitute with their children, as the land law is not supportive of females (Jayawardena and Guneratne, 2010:10; Mahanama and Naufel, 2016: 2). Gomez (2008) in her study 'A Socio-legal study on the head of the household concept in Sri Lanka: Women and housing rights programme' says that although the provisions of Married Women's Property Ordinance No. 18 of 1956 guaranteed the rights of property ownership of married women, in reality this was a privilege only available to elite women (Gomez 2008:8). According to Mahanama and Mohamed Naufel 2016: 2), in comparison to other South Asian countries, while Sri Lanka's legal system (common law) ensures fair treatment of women, the personal laws of the country in practice since the 18th century reveal partial treatment to men in succession through the regulations of 'Land Development Ordinance'. Thus, women in the country are treated unjustly due to the features of partiality to men (2016: 9, 10).

The Decent Work Policy (2006) introduces some important initiatives, such as ensuring equal gender access to the inheritance of land and property, challenging the existing disadvantaged position of women and 'low level of women empowerment due to disownership of property to enhance their social and economic status' (Decent Work, 2006: 22). By broadly examining all policy measures in the Decent Work Policy, it is revealed that some of the measures including property ownership discloses the features of deliberate purpose of gender mainstreaming. This policy focuses on different areas such as labour force participation, facilitating an environment in the work place for women to engage in trade union hierarchy, ensuring work rights that have recognised and introduced policy measures and attempts to address these areas in order to ensure rights. This action could potentially change the social and institutional structure and help to re-structure existing legal provisions. Thus, most of the policy measures include policy implications for women explicitly throughout the document. However, when the criteria in the framework of the policy document are taken into consideration although many reflect women-focused features they need to fulfil more than such characteristics to be genuine.

Anti-poverty is another area that has been focused on throughout many of the economic policy documents. It is also an area that Sri Lanka has paid attention to because it ratified the CEDAW convention. Anti-poverty policy practices and implementation mean, women are supported to be empowered both economically and socially. Although Mahinda Chintana (2005) discusses an anti-poverty programme 'Samurdhi Programme', it does not assess the implications of the programme on women but explains that the programme is generally for all poor citizens and how it will be implemented. Regaining Sri Lanka (2002) also concentrates on anti-poverty or poverty-alleviation policy measures for poor citizens. In contrast to Mahinda Chintana (2005), Regaining Sri Lanka-2002 concentrates on poor women. In

Regaining Sri Lanka-2002 only Section V: 'Combating Gender Discrimination' of chapter seven of the document focuses on gender, gender issues and gender mainstreaming.

According to Regaining Sri Lanka-2002, as poor women are most vulnerable to violence and substance abuse, recognising those constraints and vulnerability faced by women in low-income households, a number of initiatives have been introduced including promoting employment and income opportunities, entrepreneurship development programme for women, providing support for female-headed households, the protection of women's rights, and support for victims of violence against women. These are women-focused activities that have included women and gender issues into the mainstream through the designed policy. This policy also sees women as a vulnerable group who face many constraints and vulnerabilities (Regaining Sri Lanka 2002: 92) which may not be the correct interpretation according to Hanifa and Thiruchandran (2003:2). According to these scholars, categorising poor women and female-headed households as vulnerable groups is a conceptual error and not all of them are 'vulnerable'. Both widows and female heads of households need to be classified as a separate category needing special attention and as groups for whom affirmative action needs to be taken (Hanifa and Thiruchandran 2003:2). However, in comparison to other policies Regaining Sri Lanka-2002 does present some important policy measures.

The government's dedication to gender mainstreaming is explored through several measures under the policy of Regaining Sri Lanka-2002. According to this policy, the government of Sri Lanka wishes to take actions to train staff in gender analysis, greater monitoring, and evaluation. They strive to make a conscious effort to include gender consideration in the programme and project design. Moreover, the government has undertaken a detailed analysis of gender bias in public services with a view to reducing the existing biases by presenting a better representation of women in public services (Regaining Sri Lanka 2002: 92). The government has conducted a further number of sensitisation programmes and training

sessions for managers in the public services to encourage them to integrate gender considerations in their budgeting, personnel policies and program design. By analysing these measures and explanations, we may conclude that the policy has focused on many 'practical gender needs' for women and women's interests in comparison to the Decent Work policy-2006 and Mahinda Chintana-2005. Thus, although Regaining Sri Lanka-2002 demonstrates that some characteristics of women-focused activities and gender-focused features exist, it does not contain genuine gender mainstreaming as it has not focused on transformation features of gender roles and structures of institutions and cultural norms and values.

Micro financing is another area that has been concentrated on by the policies reviewed in this analysis. Regaining Sri Lanka -2002 emphasises micro-finance schemes linked through micro-credit institutions focusing on women to support them in improving financial market (Regaining Sri Lanka 2002: viii). *Mahinda Chintana* (2005) also focuses on such programmes, namely the *Diriya Kanntha* programme.

5.3.2 Sub-theme two: women's health care improvement

Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (BPFA), identified health care as an issue that needs to be addressed within the critical area of concern (Gunawardena and Rajapaksa 2015:128). In considering the socio-economic development and women's empowerment, women's health care and reproductive rights of women are significant areas in gender mainstreaming as BPFA aims to overcome the obstacles to women's active participation in all spheres (Gunawardena and Rajapaksa 2015:128). The issue of women, health and reproductive rights has also been considered at the CEDAW convention, the BPFA (Wijemanne 2007: 441) as well as in the Millennium Development Goals (Gunawardena and Rajapaksa 2015: 128) since it is an important factor in the mainstreaming process as well as gender equality (Wijemanne, 2007: 411). The BPFA accepts that both physical and

psychological health of women is necessary for their wellbeing, empowerment and advancement. By introducing health policy measures, the areas most focused on by the government are promoting maternal and child health, reducing fertility, addressing the nutritional conditions of children, and pregnant and lactating mothers and considering the psychological health conditions of women and trauma management. Furthermore, two of the most important areas for 'women and their health care' are counselling women and educating them on their legal rights regarding health issues. Considering mainstreaming gender in the policy field, most of the government policies including the general and sector policies mainly focus on women and child health care, especially child and maternal mortality care and their nutritional conditions. Of the overall general economic policies reviewed for this analysis, some documents have emphasised on women and health care, listing these areas as major concerns.

Mahinda Chintana (2005), Labour Migration (2008), Public Investment Programme 1988-1992 (PIP1988-1992) and Regaining Sri Lanka (2002) have also paid attention to women and health care activities. While Mahinda Chintana (2005) discussed several key areas such as health and nutrition, migrant labour, economic development and micro financing programmes etc., its main concerns are nutrition and the care of pregnant and lactating mothers. Regaining Sri Lanka- 2002 also wishes to improve the nutrition levels of pregnant women and children (2002: 76) and nutrition supply programmes aimed at anaemic women. As an economic policy, the Public Investment Programme 1988-1992 (PIP) also focuses on maternal and child health. However, compared to Mahinda Chintana-2005, Regaining Sri Lanka-2002 does not seem to focus on women and reproductive health. The Labour Migration (2008) policy also pays attention to health care services for migrant workers, but they are not specially only for women and are available for all migrant workers including men which signifies gender equality in health care policies. All these health measures support migrant workers in pre-departure guidelines (Labour Migration, 2008:25). This policy is concerned with the

reproductive health of women and it is especially concerned with pregnant and lactating mothers and their nutritional condition. It wishes to provide a basket of nutritional food items free of charge for pregnant mothers who are unable to afford a nutritional meal (Mahinda Chintana 2005: 06). In that sense, the policy considers about women health care.

However, according to Moser's explanation, all these measures and activities are included in to 'welfare approach' and 'prioritised concerns of women' or 'women's interests/needs' (2003: 36, 37, 58, 60, 61). According to Moser's (1993) clarification, a welfare approach mainly recognises: food aid, the reproductive role of women, especially the pregnant and lactating mothers, and population control (family planning) and policy requirements to meet 'practical gender needs' through top-down offerings or contribution of food aid, measures against malnutrition, and family planning (Moser 1993:58,60). According to Moser (1993) this 'welfare approach sees itself as 'family-centred' in orientation, it focuses on women entirely in terms of their reproductive role' (Moser 1993: 60). When examining the Mahinda Chintana (2005) policy this can be described as true as most of the measures are 'family-centred'. Throughout the policy, very often in the places where it focuses on women it often discusses women and their rights, and also needs in relation to family. For instance, the *Diriya Kantha* (encouraged women) programme for women, the policy says that "the woman provides a solid foundation to the family as well as to the society. She devotes her life to raise children, manage the family budget..." (Mahinda Chintana 2005: 13). It also extends its policy proposals by highlighting the need for maternity clinics, medical advice and related services for women.

The provision of maternity clinics and medical advice are not new policy measures for Sri Lankan women because these clinics existed in village areas for a long time. However, this policy hopes to regulate them and maintain a standard. While most of these policy measures are welfare activities they are also 'Practical Gender Needs' (PGN) that may not help to

change the gender role of women, structure of the social institutions or the organisations to mainstream gender in order to achieve gender equality. Conversely, welfare programme policy measures often tend to create dependency of women rather than assisting them to become more independent (Moser, 2003: 61). Furthermore, this policy also focuses on the mental health of women who are subjected to violence, mental torture or depression and encourages the psychological empowerment of women (Mahinda Chintana, 2005: 14) which is considered as one of the most significant aspects of women's health care.

For this purpose, the Mahinda Chintana-2005 policy establishes an assistance scheme called *Kantha Pilisarana* (assistance to women). The important factor is that this policy addresses the mental torture and trauma of women addressing their psychological wellbeing. In this regard the policy hopes to pay special attention to the female victims who suffered from the effects of the tsunami and the ethnic conflict (Mahinda Chintana, 2005: 14). Its aims are to provide the necessary guidance, support and counselling for women who have been subjected to violence and to provide information to prevent others from falling into similar situations. In this way, it creates an effective institutional framework. This advanced policy by the government is significant for the women who became victims of external circumstances, the tsunami and the conflict, because this was a period of continuing conflict.

In gender mainstreaming, the psychological wellbeing and the empowerment of women are very significant. 'Women and health' and 'violence against women' are two significant factors out of twelve critical areas brought to attention in the BPFA and the Beijing Declaration, which unanimously adopted an agenda for women's empowerment as a part of gender mainstreaming. The policy measures presented by the government, related 'women's health care' and mediation in family crisis and counselling services are important policy actions. During the 1980s the Women's Bureau was organised 'women's counselling centres' with the support of NORAD funds (PIP 1988-1992:99). Thus, almost all policy measures and

practices outlined above in all policy documents focused on for the analysis fall into WID approach and practical gender needs and women's interests and prioritised concerns of women and welfare programmes. If they are further elaborated, they mostly come under women-focused activities which are in the analytical framework.

Furthermore, apart from women's social and economic empowerment, the documents analysed in this period including Regaining Sri Lanka-2002 and Mahinda Chintana-2005, Decent Work Policy-2006, Labour Migration-2008, Employment Policy -2007, and Youth Employment Policy 2007 have focused on women's health care and 'reproductive health' rights of women and the measures discussed in most of the documents are largely focused on women-focused activities and to a certain extent gender-focused or gender aware programming. However, they have not paid much attention to transformation of gender roles and the structures of social, institutional, and organisational structures and values and norms, and the culture. However, all these measures mentioned in documents can be described as women's needs or women's interests that come under WID approach, and do not provide a genuine consideration of gender mainstreaming, as mentioned in chapters 2 and 3 presented by Rees (2005), Jahan (1995) and other scholars.

5.4 Theme Two: Women, labour force participation and employment

Women, employment, and labour force participation are crucial in mainstreaming a gender perspective and ensuring gender equality. The BPFSA considered it necessary to integrate a gender perspective in employment policies and programmes and to draw attention towards a broad range of opportunities and also to address any negative implications of existing forms of work and employment (Jayaweera 2015: 254). Therefore, this theme emphasises the status of women in the labour force in Sri Lanka and the rate of employment status.

5.4.1 Sub-theme one: Labour force participation and women employment

Apart from the Beijing Platform for Action, the Beijing Declaration, CEDAW Convention and Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) also have paid attention to labour force participation and employment as a criteria for the advancement of women. The labour force of a country means the strength of the economy. Therefore, by strengthening its labour force, the economy of a country should be increased. As one of the MDGs, it is essential to create opportunities for women to contribute to the economic development of the country on an equal basis in order to reduce poverty (UNADF-Sri Lanka, 2007:12). If the labour force is equally represented by both women and men, and if women constitute an equal percentage of employment compared to men, then it is a positive outcome to exhibit the existence of gender equality in society. In such a situation, when considering the overall general economic policies during the conflict periods in Sri Lanka, most of the policies concentrated on the gender division of labour force participation and employment and women's engagement in the economic process in the country. Among the overall economic policies, the Decent Work Policy-2006, Mahinda Chintana-2005, Regaining Sri Lanka-2002 and Labour Migration policy-2008 pay attention to women, labour force participation and employment.

The Decent Work Policy-2006 promotes 'opportunities for women and men to obtain productive work with conditions of freedom, equity, security and human dignity' (Decent Work policy, 2006: v). The policy not only highlights how the workplace itself should be free from discrimination, but also focuses on equal rights for all and therefore it is an advanced policy. Women are discriminated against and undergo harassment, become victims and disadvantaged in the workplace due to their female sexuality. The Decent Work policy (2006) analyses gender-wise labour force participation rate of the country and assesses the status of women in the labour force. It observes that the level of male participation is double that of females. Therefore, the policy states that strategies for creating employment opportunities

must pay particular attention to creating job opportunities for women in the country (Decent Work policy, 2006:09).

The policy also introduces some strategies to increase female participation in the labour force and to create more employment opportunities for women as a remedy to the problem of the disadvantaged position of women and gender inequality in the labour force of the country. However, in comparison to Decent Work Policy, Mahinda Chintana, Regaining Sri Lanka, and the Labour Migration policy (2008) do not pay attention to the labour force participation of women to the extent that Decent Work Policy-2006 policy does. Similarly, Youth Employment Sri Lanka- 2007 has also focused on labour force participation and mentioned that women are considered as the worst affected by poverty, the most vulnerable in the community and they find rigidity in accessing opportunities due to obstacles such as social, policy, legislative, and economic. In addition, the unemployment rate of women is higher than for men (Ministry of Youth Affairs 2007: 6). Mahinda Chintana- 2005 also pays attention to and suggests policy strategies to increase the labour force participation of women such as encouraging micro finance credit loans and self-employment. However, Regaining Sri Lanka and the Labour Migration policy do not consider female participation in the labour force, nor encourage self-employment to decrease the rate of unemployment. Similarly, the Labour Migration (2008) policy has paid attention to this matter. However, the policy's content, which discusses factors of the labour force, migrant workers and unskilled labour (Labour Migration), is not deliberately concerned with or dedicated to discussing women or the enhancement of their status, nor their labour force participation and the level of employment they undertake. This policy document does not explicitly consider the implications on women as members of the labour force. Though other policy documents identify that more attention is needed on women's status in the labour force, their participation rate and their unemployment rate, it does not consider these aspects. In addition, the Decent Work policy-2006 recognises

that female participation in labour force reveals an extensive disparity between women and men in employment.

Among the barriers faced by women, the Decent Work-2006 states that as a consequence of the role of women as caregivers in a family, as well as there being less traditional social support for this duty, women are restricted in their entry into the labour force (Decent Work Policy 2006:12). The policy accepts that the restrictions faced by female workers need special consideration in order to increase the labour force of women and their employment (Decent Work Policy 2006: 18). Moreover, focusing on the challenges of creating employment opportunities, quoting a global survey, the Decent Work points out that whereas Sri Lanka has a high level of employment rigidity it has less employment opportunities for women and young people (2006: 18). It suggests that these gaps in the field of employment and the challenges need to be addressed. However, the other policies, as mentioned above do not concentrate on these concerns.

The Decent Work (2006) also tries to address the gap in employment region-wise and hopes to implement regional development programmes in order to develop regions so that the government may create employment opportunities to improve the lives of people. It also realises that sexual harassments in the workplace has an impact on women resulting in them not engaging in employment. According to Karunarathne (2014/2015:40) sexual harassment is the major reason women leave employment. She acknowledges that 'a large number of working women face sexual harassment in the workplace regardless of their economic, social or educational status '. However, in the section on policy responses that draws attention to challenges in creating employment opportunities in the field of economic development, the Decent Work Policy-2006 does not specifically focuses on either women or men. Instead, the policy is more concerned with means to enhance the national economy and the creation of employment opportunities without considering the needs of women or men. Thus, the Policy

includes a discussion about the labour force participation of women and employment, thoughtfully assessing the implications on women as well as men. Furthermore, it recognises and comprehends the root causes for decreasing employment opportunities for women and their lack of participation in the labour force. It asserts the existence of a clear gender segregation in recruiting to the labour force in both the public and private sectors and a division of labour based on gender. *Women in Sri Lanka* (1999:8) presented by the Asian Development Bank explains that gender segregation and gender stereotyping in textbooks and other material as well as differential behavioural expectations of assertiveness among boys and passivity among girls tend to determine vocational aspirations and limit options for women (*Women in Sri Lanka*, 1999:8). Gender stereotyping is recognised in vocational occupations especially as women are not compelled to engage in work in non-traditional fields such as tour guides, outdoor engineering jobs, carpentry etc. In line with other national policies, the Public Investment Programme-1988-1992 (PIP1988-1992) also focuses on this matter.

According to PIP1988-1992, non-traditional training includes masonry, carpentry, printing, and motor mechanism, and women are not encouraged to engage in these jobs due to social stigma or the non-recognition of these jobs for women by society and culture (1988:99). Training in a non-traditional job field is a policy measure that attempts to endorse structural and institutional changes in society and therefore, it seems to recommend an ‘agenda-setting approach’ that Jahan (1996) has presented. According to Jahan, an ‘agenda-setting approach’ needs changes on many fronts such as changes in gender roles and relations, and structural changes (1996: 830). These types of attitudinal barriers and restrictions hinder job opportunities available for women and intensify the mismatch of skills in the labour market. Therefore, this policy suggests fruitful policy proposals to enhance women’s employment opportunities and the status of women. Therefore, the policy document PIP1988-1992 (1988) demonstrates the features of genuine gender mainstreaming according to the indicators in the

analytical framework. The government encourages a policy of recruiting women into non-traditional fields where possible and to provide facilities for women that can be combined with family responsibilities while continuing their employment (Decent Work policy, 2008:20).

In comparing the other policies with the Decent Work policy-2006, the Regaining Sri Lanka policy-2002 has also acknowledged a pattern of gender stereotyping in vocational occupations for women. It also realises that a gender division of labour exists in Sri Lankan society in both occupational engagement and wider employment opportunities. Regaining Sri Lanka has conceded that despite the evidence that Sri Lankan women have recently become the backbone of the country's economic performance, especially with the country's three largest foreign exchange earners: foreign labour, garments, and tea plantation being highly dependent on female labour, women are still trapped in low-skilled, under paid jobs which may cluster into domestic work, garment making and agriculture (Regaining Sri Lanka, 2002: 92). This policy demonstrates an understanding of the existing nature of traditional gender stereotyping in female occupations. Furthermore, it recognises that there is continuing gender discrimination and specifically links this to gender stereotyping in the labour force and to discrepancies in wages. However, policy documents such as Mahinda Chintana, Labour Migration, Public Investment programme (PIPs) and the Budget Speeches (BSs) over a number of years have not paid attention to this factor.

Furthermore, Decent Work policy-2006 focuses on change to the institutional structure to provide more opportunities for women. The measures detailed in this policy help to create job opportunities for women and endeavours to increase women's labour force participation. It presents 'gender-aware programming' and 'gender-role transformation' which Greenberg and Zuckerman (2006: 7-15, 17-19, 2009: 6-11- 6-22, 6-24; Zuckerman and Greenberg, 2004: 73-80) present in their work. It is also a 'strategic gender needs' which Moser (2003:39)

discusses. In gender mainstreaming, especially, gender division of labour based on socially constructed gender and gender stereotyping in vocational jobs should be changed. Women need to be supported in accessing non-traditional jobs if the government desires to increase the low level of labour force participation and reduce the high level of unemployment among females. Attitudinal changes in society and among females themselves, as well as in educational institutions etc., are also essential components of gender mainstreaming.

In addition to this policy recognising that several factors prevent women from engaging in employment and their underemployment, important measures that reveal governmental concerns have also been suggested (Decent Work policy, 2006: 22, 23, 24). These include, offering flexible working hours and work arrangements for women who have limited time due to family responsibilities or for women undertaking the role of caregiver. Developing these arrangements and encouraging women to engage in employment will grant them respite from their family responsibilities and facilitate their labour force potential. Improving the legal background and enforcement of laws for workers in the informal sector is a significant policy suggestion to improve and protect the rights of workers in these sectors, especially for women as they are not protected by the labour laws of the country. For example, women in the agriculture sector face much suffering and destitution due to the lack of enforcement of benefits (Decent Work, 2006:29) such as ETF, EPF payments, maternity benefits and paid leave etc. This means the policy tries to ensure the rights and freedom of workers in the workplace, especially for women. This policy recognises the real situation of the rights of the workers in the informal sector, especially the women workers.

Thus, this policy has assessed the implications of its content for women and taken women's employment into consideration. This policy discusses how social protection may assure the employment life of women and for that purpose, assesses the existing situation of women and the type of actions needed to protect employment rights of female workers. Thus, although,

Mahinda Chintana-2005 policy focuses on employment and labour force participation, it only provides a general discussion about policy measures that they hope to implement to ensure skilled labour and employment opportunities.

5.4.2 Sub-theme two: Migrant workers

Migrant workers and foreign employment are two significant areas that policies focus on and which are related to labour force and employment. Foreign employment provides an income earning vocational opportunity for Sri Lankans. Women are the largest category who migrate to engage in overseas employment, and they are the largest foreign income earners for the country. Many of the Sri Lankans (both female and male workers) leave the country for overseas employment as unskilled labourers. Considering this background of more than three decades of overseas employment experience (Decent Work, 2008), as a policy practice, Sri Lanka has introduced an advanced foreign employment administration system and legal provisions. This began with the establishment of the institution of the ‘Sri Lanka Bureau of Foreign Employment’ (SLBFE) in 1985. The establishment of government institutions for managing foreign employment activities reveals the dedication and contribution of the government towards these activities.

According to the Labour Migration policy, the SLBFE has introduced a regulatory framework for migrant workers (Labour Migration 2008: iv). Furthermore, Sri Lanka has ratified the creation of the ‘International Convention on the Protection of Rights of All Migrant Workers and their Families’ in 1996, as well as introducing ‘The Basic Legislative Framework of 1985’ which cemented the commitment of the government to protect migrant workers, especially female workers. Key economic policies such as the Decent Work policy, Mahinda Chintana, Labour Migration, Regaining Sri Lanka, and the PIP 1988-1992 have also concentrated on migrant workers. Policies such as the Decent Work and Labour Migration

concur that more women seek foreign employment as a consequence of a lack of job opportunities in the country as well as draws attention to the fact that a large number of women migrant workers leave the country for overseas employment under risky, unsafe, vulnerable conditions for low-remittance and low-skilled jobs.

The Decent Work policy (2006) notes that women seek foreign employment or migrant jobs, especially as housemaids in the Middle Eastern countries. The Labour Migration Policy-2008 also recognises this situation as a trend occurring due to the lack of employment at home. Overseas work provides the hope of accumulating savings to improve the quality of life of the migrant workers' families. In 2005, despite government initiatives encouraging skilled migration, 59% of the migrant workers from Sri Lanka were female, with more than half of them being employed as housemaids. The Decent Work policy-2006 further states that the availability of low quality of work is high for Sri Lankans. Among the Sri Lankan nationals employed overseas, many are women and these migrant workers often have a poor quality of work and therefore, are classified as unskilled labourers. As a consequence of their unskilled labour, they receive low skilled jobs such as domestic workers or housemaids.

The policy also highlights the fact that most of the foreign employments are disadvantageous for women and draws attention to the poor quality of work conditions. Therefore, the policy recommends that the government seeks specific remedies for poor working conditions as this situation creates a number of disadvantages for women (Decent Work,2006: vi). However, in the section titled 'policy response' in the Decent Work document, in seeking solutions for low-skilled, low paid jobs for migrant women, this policy does not specifically pay attention to women, but focuses more generally on all migrant workers. The Labour Migration policy also addresses the quality of working condition for migrant workers, recognising the low quality of labour often undertaken by women. In comparing Decent Work-2006 and Labour Migration-2008, policies, it is apparent that both documents focus on the quality of working

conditions for migrant workers, and highlight how vulnerability, exploitation and discrimination occur at work as a result of low skilled labour.

However, in comparison to Decent Work (2006), the Labour Migration (2008) policy aims at decreasing the overflow of low-skilled workers, especially women workers who are employed as housemaids (Labour Migration 2008: 1) and acknowledges that the government emphasises on increasing the migration of skilled workers. Thus, as a policy, Labour Migration-2008 rather than the Decent Work-2006 has concentrated on remedies for reducing the low-skilled labour migration, especially of women and aims to safeguard migrant workers' rights. On the other hand, the key concern of Decent Work is to produce and promote decent work for all citizens. Thus, both the Decent Work policy and Labour Migration-2008 focus on the unskilled and low skilled labour conditions of migrant workers, and more specifically on the conditions for women. In comparison, Mahinda Chintana (2005) and Regaining Sri Lanka (2002), and most of the BSs and PIPs do not focus on this matter. Thus, the Labour Migration-2008 recognises the low quality of foreign work and the vulnerability of migrant women in workplaces as being the result of obtaining poor quality work opportunities due to unskilled labour. The policy aims to promote decent and productive work opportunities for all women and men in migration employment (Labour Migration 2008: 7) as well as the migration of skilled women and men in order to secure standard work environments.

While both Decent Work Policy (2006) as well as the Labour Migration (2008) policy have accepted that women are the largest category of migrant workers, the Labour Migration Policy-2008 recognises the contribution of Sri Lankan women migrant workers and their vulnerabilities and asserts that the state needs to apply gender criteria in the formulation and implementation of policies and programmes to protect individuals. Labour Migration, 2008 further declares that the 'State needs to promote foreign employment opportunities while

safeguarding the rights of migrant workers' (Labour Migration, 2008: 16). However, the Decent Work policy-2006, Mahinda Chintana-2005, Regaining Sri Lanka-2002 and other PIPs have not been concerned with these important policy measures to safeguard migrant workers. While facilitating foreign employment, safeguarding the rights of the migrant workers is essential. It is evident that this important fact is recognised by the Labour Migration Policy as, compared to others, it is a policy for Labour migration, migrant workers and relevant provisions and therefore is more concerned with such matters.

Thus, the above explanations reveal that Labour Migration-2008 has assessed the policy measures and the impact on women as well as men. It also assesses women's employment opportunities in the stage of planning and designing the policy. It is also concerned with the condition of unskilled nature of migrant workers, especially women and the low quality of their working conditions and other issues. As mentioned above, the Labour Migration Policy has focused on several significant areas to protect the rights of migrant workers and their status. However, it does not focus on structural changes of institutional weaknesses and barriers or re-organisation of systems to assure and protect the migrant workers and ensure decent work, good working environment or smart remunerations etc. The Labour migration policy does not consider that the problems faced by women and men are different. It also does not discuss separately the significant issues faced by unskilled, less educated, domestic women workers, but offers a common explanation of their status as unskilled migrant workers together with men. However, it does focus on special legal provisions made against host countries when rape, sexual harassment, abuse, human trafficking and body organ trafficking occurs. It also discusses some features of women-focused activities rather than gender-awareness and transformation features. Further, it does not intend focusing on agenda-setting programmes. Therefore, these features reveal that the Labour Migration policy-2008 is also symbolic rather than an example of genuine gender mainstreaming.

In considering other policies further Mahinda Chintana makes ‘special arrangements’ to protect migrant women (Mahinda Chintana 2005: 12). However, Mahinda Chintana (2005) does not clearly explain what special policy arrangements or measures will be introduced by the government for the safety of migrant women. This policy aims to introduce some women-focused welfare programmes, such as special housing loan schemes, bank loan covers for initial expenses, increasing the available duty free allowance, and a pension scheme for migrant workers (Mahinda Chintana 2005: 12). These policy measures offer welfare and aid programmes and provides practical needs and material needs of women according to the explanations of WID approaches as explained by De Waal, (2006:210) and Moser, (2003:58). This could be because it is a political promise to people rather than an exact national policy document which is developed for the nation for a particular purpose.

Mahinda Chintana-2005, was a policy developed as a political manifesto for the presidential election campaign in 2005. In a country like Sri Lanka in the southern hemisphere in a political manifesto, welfare activities and programmes are highly attractive and significant. On the other hand, both Labour Migration Policy and Decent Work policy, are direct national policies developed by the government with the support of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) for specific purposes. Furthermore, the policy Regaining Sri Lanka-2002 also considers migrant workers and their safety as well as the disadvantages faced by them (Regaining Sri Lanka 2002: 71). This policy declares that the majority of overseas workers who are women are from low-income families and have become one of the three largest foreign exchange earners. Therefore, the government has focused on improvement of migrant worker insurance schemes, housing credits, as well as self-employment credit schemes for overseas workers. However, these are welfare measures and do not cover standard gender mainstreaming features.

5.5 Theme three: Human Rights, legal legislations, and women's security

In analysing the text data in documents, among the themes demonstrated by the coded data, human rights, legal legislations and women's security was a significant theme. Human rights, legal provisions provided by the government, and ensuring women's rights and assuring their security in all spheres such as social, economic, and political are crucial in mainstreaming gender. In many policies analysed for this study, the focus was on matters of women's rights in different fields for the advancement of their empowerment and enhancement of the women's status.

5.5.1 Sub-theme one: women's rights and legal provisions

In focusing on gender equality, which means equal access to opportunities and resources and equality of outcomes, ensuring women's rights as human rights and equal rights for women and men is crucial. In considering the protection of human rights, legal provisions, and ensuring women's rights as human rights, the government of Sri Lanka focuses on three spheres: social, economic, and political. Apart from the constitutional framework, after the ratification of the CEDAW Convention and other international agreements such as International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) Sri Lanka introduced some legal provisions and national policies and programmes. In examining the overall economic policy documents reviewed in this chapter on 'gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka during the conflict period', some of these policies have concentrated on legal provisions for women and ensuring the rights of women for their advancement and the betterment. According to Theresa Rees, taking legal approaches to gender equality was known as equal treatment and it is an individualised rights-based approach for gender equality (2005: 557). Some of the policies note that there are still inequalities and gaps in women's rights across a number of different fields such as decision-making, employment and labour force participation, economy, salaries, accessing resources, and property rights etc.

Therefore, removing inequalities among women and men in areas such as salaries, land ownership, property rights, and treatment in public institutions and in public services is significant. Mahinda Chintana-2005 focuses on the aforementioned areas in its policy process as suggestions to remove such inequalities. The policy further hopes to introduce new laws as legal policy measures to remove existing inequalities. The target of this policy is to assure women that they have an equal status in society. It further hopes to enact the rights of the Women's Charter in order to protect and provide equality for women. In this policy process of assuring equal rights for women the Mahinda Chintana-2005 hopes to gain the fullest cooperation of the organisations set up for women's rights and the relevant NGOs.

Mahinda Chintana-2005 policy hopes to receive support from NGOs and other organisation at grass root levels and has included important measures which assures women's rights. Although Mahinda Chintana-2005 exhibits some significant features towards gender mainstreaming, the question is whether it has included an assessment of the implications of the policy on women. In the process of implementing, monitoring, and evaluating the policy these measures are symbolic because in this policy such processes are not focused on and neither are they in the Mahinda Chintana-Development Framework (2006-2016)- 2006 policy subsequently linked with Mahinda Chintana 2005. Furthermore, policies such as Decent Work, Labour Migration and Regaining Sri Lanka, and other policy documents such as Public Investment Programmes and Budget Speeches have also not focused on this area of human rights, women rights nor the legal provisions although they are important policy measures that need to be implemented.

Moreover, assuring property rights and equal treatment for all in public institutions are very significant because the problem of property rights is a big issue in the discussions of gender equality. In addition, mainstreaming gender in planned action including policies and

programmes and assuring equal rights for women is crucial. As referenced under theme one: ‘socio-economic development and women empowerment’, women are not given equal rights through the Land Ordinance Law of the country. This issue has become important during this conflict period and after the natural disaster Tsunami. Women do not have equal rights, especially concerning political rights, security of life, and in salaries in areas like plantation etc. The proposed policy measures introduce new legal provisions to remove some of the inequalities among women and men, including a ‘gender-aware programming’ which Greenberg and Zuckerman (2006: 7 and 2009:6-11) discuss as a significant part of gender mainstreaming.

Assuring the rights to ‘economic activity and benefits’ for all women and men in the formal and informal sectors of the economy is another important policy measure. Reviewing economic rights, ensuring that both women and men have the same right to engage in activities for financial benefits, as well as having the same opportunities in employment and vocational training, job security, equal access to ownership to land and other properties, and the right to receive equal remuneration are significant approaches to gender equality or ‘equal treatment’ explained by Theresa Rees (2005: 557). The Government, moreover, wishes to redefine the expression. ‘Head of Household’ to recognise that ensuring women’s contribution to the household is not ignored and that women have equal access with men.

In considering women’s rights and legal provisions further in policy practices in Sri Lanka, the PIP 1988-1992 also declares that although the constitution of Sri Lanka incorporates provisions to ensure that there is no discrimination between people by virtue of ethnic, religious or sex difference, it should be recognised that ‘in certain areas, equality of rights exists in theory only’ (Public Investment 1988-1992: 99). This reveals that the policy is clearly aware of the situation for women and their status in the country. The policy also admits that cultural, social, economic and religious prejudices exist preventing the

participation of women on equal terms with men (Public Investment 1988-1992: 99). These explanations reveal the gender sensitive nature of the policy and acknowledge the existing practical background of women's rights in Sri Lanka during the conflict period. According to this policy, the equal pay for equal work is generally accepted except in the tea and rubber manufacturing industries. It also concedes to the training for women in non-traditional vocational areas such as masonry, carpentry, printing, and motor mechanism. Furthermore, this policy (PIP 1988-1992) highlights the steps that have been taken to abolish the restriction on the proportion of women who enter the Sri Lanka Administrative Service and accepts the expansion of female enrolment at all levels of the education system and equal educational opportunities for both sexes.

In a critical examination of this policy, it is revealed that there are some attempts to change the existing system in mainstreaming gender. According to Jahan (1996: 829) and Walby (2011-cited in Crusmac 2015:108) agenda setting needs a transformation of the existing political patterns and a change in the decision-making process and also reconfiguration of goals of policies (Crusmac 2015: 108). However, it does not seem that this policy exhibits the features of an 'agenda-setting' or transformation approach. Furthermore, most of the rights ensured by this policy (PIP 1988-1992) can be described as mainly women's needs. Thus, according to the characteristics and nature of this policy (PIP 1988-1992), although it seems to have genuine purpose to mainstream gender, the policy does not include a gender perspective for agenda-setting, transforming or reorienting the existing policy patterns nor evaluating the policy measures to assess their implications for both women and men. Further, it does not fulfil the criteria or indicators for genuine gender mainstreaming in the analytical framework, hence, it does not reveal genuine gender mainstreaming features, but is symbolic.

5.5.2 Sub-theme two: Political participation and decision-making

Women's political participation and decision-making was a key focus of the documents analysed for this study. Women's engagement in public administration, political participation, and decision-making is one of the significant areas in the CEDAW and Beijing Declaration and BPFA (Jayasundere and Amarasuriya, 2015: 283) along with other internal treaties. Women's participation in politics and decision-making is a part of gender mainstreaming. Beijing BPFA and CEDAW also focused on as an important factor in the process of mainstreaming gender and in the final goal of gender equality. Participation of women at a decision-making level is very important as women offer different views and ideas and at the same time it assures women's right to access and maintain equal power with men.

Some policy documents reviewed in this study have focused on women's representation in politics and the decision-making process. The Decent Work-2008 policy raises awareness of the low level of women's representation in decision-making positions in both the public and private sectors and the need for the government to take specific actions to remedy these concerns for women. However, the policy does not mention what actions are needed to broaden their representation in decision-making. This policy states that women are also in a disadvantaged position in trade unions. It identifies that women make up the majority of members in trade unions and yet are underrepresented in trade union hierarchy (Decent Work-2008: vii) and highlights the need for adequate representation for women in decision-making bodies in trade unions. Nevertheless, the policy fails to suggest how to improve women's representation in trade union hierarchy and what measures need to be implemented to challenge this authority. Therefore, in examining these factors it is apparent that the policy does not expose the genuine nature of gender mainstreaming. Similar to Decent Work, the Mahinda Chintana (2005) also pays attention to women's political participation and representation at decision-making levels. Mahinda Chintana-2005 demands for a quota

system for women in politics. It hopes to increase the nomination of women to a minimum of 25% of the total number of candidates in the Provincial Council and in Local Government authorities (Mahinda Chintana, 2005: 14). However, this quota is only relevant for both provincial Councils and Local Government Authorities which are local bodies, rather than representations at national level parliament. It means that although the policy allows women to be represented in politics it does not want to allow women to access the broader public domain and limits their representation only in the area of local politics which means having limited access to the domestic arena, and not in the vast public domain. Similar to Mahinda Chintana (2005), *Regaining Sri Lanka-2002* also submits a legislation for reserving a quota system for women in national and local government systems with a minimum of 50% in all seats for female candidates in both national and local politics to provide a greater political voice for women. This is an advanced and gender sensitive policy measure that needs to be taken by the government for women to improve their lives. However, these are only suggestions, and nothing has been put into practice. Thus, on evaluating them with indicators in the analytical framework, it is revealed that these policies are not explicitly genuine gender mainstreaming policies. In addition, the practical nature of the policies reveal that they were unable to challenge the existing patriarchal nature and male domination in the society.

5.6 Conclusion

Of the forty four documents investigated for this analysis, the study found that a majority of the policy documents were non-gender mainstreaming whereas many other documents were symbolic and a few policy documents were genuine gender mainstreaming. Although some documents focused on women and gender issues in society on the whole policy processes such as planning and designing the policy, implementing, and evaluating the policy did not demonstrate deliberate examples of mainstreaming gender. A considerable number of documents of the sample were symbolic gender mainstreaming according the indicators or

indices explain in the analytical framework. Some policies demonstrated either features of women-focused activities or gender-focused or gender aware programming whereas others exhibited both features of women-focused and gender-aware programming. Many of the documents were concerned with only some women-focused activities which is one of the essential parts of the process of gender mainstreaming.

Genuine and exact gender mainstreaming needs to have characteristics of women-focused activities such as recognising the basic needs of women, women empowerment activities, ensuring women's rights, and introducing new legal reforms and reducing gender disparities. Of the documents analysed, some have focused on gender-aware programming such as identifying and addressing gender issues that may restrain or improve development programmes and projects (Zuckerman and Greenberg 2005: 4). In particular, several documents of the sample have focused on both indicators: the first and the second in the framework. Therefore, they have demonstrated the features of symbolic gender mainstreaming.

In the analysis, of thirty-nine documents, only three documents - Decent Work Policy-2006 and Public Investment Programme 1988-1992 and National Women Action Plan 2014-2018 (2014) were found to be genuine gender mainstreaming when evaluated according to the indicators in the framework. Thirty-two documents come under the category of non-gender mainstreaming; twenty-six Budget Speeches, three PIPs and three direct national policy documents in different fields directly related to economic policy. These twenty-six Budget Speeches were included the BSs from 1984 to 2009. Of the sample, five policy documents were symbolic including five direct national policies such as Decent Work Policy, Labour Migration and Mahinda Chintana. The twenty-six Budget Speeches, from 1984 to 2009, come under the category of non-gender mainstreaming whereas PIPs in the same category were from Public Investment Programmes from 1984-1988 to 1990-1994.

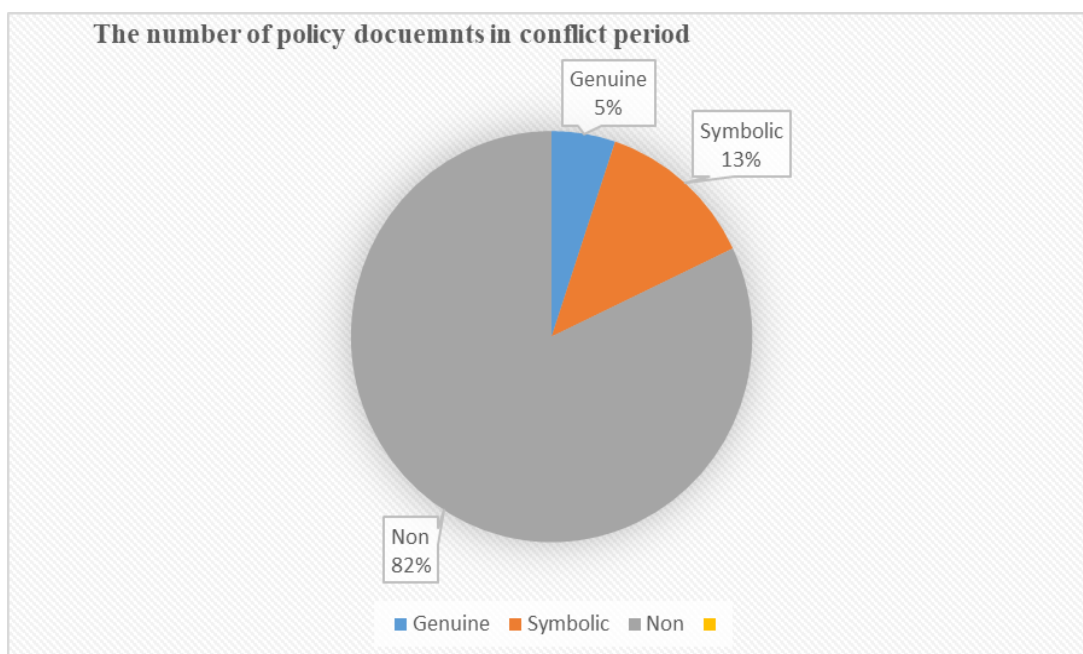


Figure 5.2 : The levels of gender mainstreaming of policy documents in conflict

Apart from the above, in analysing the economic policies, the findings were interesting because they revealed the real nature of society including cultural norms and values. While the Decent Work policy was funded by the ILO, many of the policies concerned with gender mainstreaming are funded by international donor agencies such as the UN, IMF, WB and ILO, because gender mainstreaming is one of the components of these donor agencies. In such situations, some policies appear to offer genuine gender mainstreaming. Gender mainstreaming in the Decent Work policy is also one of the components of ILO. Therefore, this background exposes development of gender mainstreaming during the conflict period. In examining and considering all these economic policies in this period, they appear to disclose recognition that they do not provide a standard gender perspective and exhibit a ‘WID approach’ and ‘Welfare approach’ (Pre-WID approach).

As explained above, in the discussion of labour force participation, employment and other economic activities, as well as women and health care facilities, most of the policy documents such as the Mahinda Chintana (2005), Regaining Sri Lanka (2002), Labour Migration and some PIPs incorporate 'practical gender needs' or 'women's interest measures or practices which Moser (1989: 1803, 2003:40) and Moleynux (1985: 231, 232, 233) explain rather than gender mainstreaming measures. For instance, removing gender stereotyping from vocational training, and removing institutionalised forms of discrimination, as well as taking steps to abolish sexual division of labour may lead to institutional and structural changes that the practices support for genuine gender mainstreaming. In examining these general economic policies broadly, many of the policy measures fall into the categories that mainly come under WID approaches and Welfare, also known as a Pre-WID approach and they often also fall under the categories of women-focused activities as well as gender-aware programming.

Furthermore, in WID approaches these are often made up of practical needs (prioritised concerns, or women's interests or needs) and social welfare measures in a Welfare (Pre-WID) approach, including maternity and childcare, nutritional programmes for pregnant and lactating mothers and maternity clinics etc. Almost all policy measures in Mahinda Chintana (with the exception of a few) are welfare policy measures such as '*Pōshana Malla*' (free food package for pregnant mothers), *Diriya Kantha* (courage women), *Kāntha Saviya* (support to women), and *Kāntha Pilisarana* (assistance to women) programmes. Self-employment support is also offered through micro-credit loan schemes, and micro financing support, to name a couple of initiatives.

Moreover, the economic policy in Sri Lanka shows that it has a male bias and gender blindness. Although the constitution of Sri Lanka while providing the basic law of the country, also provides equality for all without any discrimination on the basis of sex, ethnicity etc. through article 12 (2) of chapter seven (Constitution of Sri Lanka 1978:4; CENWOR

2008), empirical studies show that equality is not often practiced in all spheres. The different empirical studies carried out by several scholars such as Karunaratne (2014/2015), Gunawardane and Rajasingham-Senanayake (1999), and Mahanama and Naufel (2016:...) highlight this matter.

CHAPTER SIX:

GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN SRI LANKA IN POST- CONFLICT PERIOD 2009-2015

6.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates how Sri Lanka has developed gender mainstreaming in its policy process in the post-conflict scenario. It examines to what extent its institutional culture and its concerns, are represented in economics-focused policy documents during the post-conflict period (2009-2015). Before engaging in the analysis of documents to explore the status of gender mainstreaming in post-conflict period, the chapter offers a summary of the political and economic context of Sri Lanka in this period in order to discover the socio-economic and political background that affects any social issue. It also examines the position of women in Sri Lanka in this period as it reveals the actual outcomes of policy practices and the real background of the issue. Having set out this background, the chapter then examines the extent to which women were integrated into the post-conflict reconstruction process and mainstream gender into economic and development policies in this period.

6.2 Socio-economic, political background and women's status in the post-conflict period

As mentioned in the above chapters, a government's policy process is not influenced only by social, economic, political, and cultural contexts but also by global conditions. Therefore, it is important to understand whether such contexts influence gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka and whether gender mainstreaming was developed or not in this period. Further, the social status of women in this period is also significant in this analysis as it discloses the relationship between the introduction of the new policy, implementation of designed policies and their outcomes in a practical background. Therefore, the political and economic context of Sri

Lanka and also the status of women during the post-conflict period (2009-2015) will be briefly examined.

6.2.1 Political and economic background in post-conflict Sri Lanka

In 2009, the civil war ended in Sri Lanka and the country entered into a post-conflict period. This post-conflict process involved peace-building and post-conflict reconstruction and development of the country and also the process of rebuilding the nation. From 2009-2015, Mahinda Rajapaksa held the fifth executive presidency and during this period Sri Lanka overcame the most visible challenge that it faced to its statehood since independence (Institute of Policy Studies 2015: 1). By defeating the LTTE, Rajapaksa marked the peak of popularity and won the second term with a two-thirds majority. Mahinda Rajapaksa regime was lasted from 2009 to 2015. Since Rajapaksha defeated the LTTE in 2009, up to 2015 he continued his government in the post-conflict period until he was defeated by Maithreepala Sirisena in the Presidential election which was held on 8 January 2015. As a result of Rajapaksha seemed to be driven towards undemocratic conditions and also he was charged with the corruption, Rajapaksha was defeated by people in 2015 (Institute of Policy Studies 2015: 1).

As mentioned above in chapter five, in the first half of his tenure, Rajapaksa's economic policy was a state bias policy whereas in the second half he favoured privatisation programmes and increased the growth of the economy of the country as a result of which, at the end of 2014 GDP growth was averaging in excess of 7%. The unemployment rate was low at 4% and headcount poverty was also less than 7%. Furthermore, there was a visible sign of infrastructure development such as roads, expressways, ports and airports (Institute of Policy Studies 2015: 2).

Apart from the above, after defeating the civil war, from 2009 onwards, the Rajapaksa government focused on post-conflict reconstruction and development. During the last phase of the ethnic civil war, the government launched two significant state-led development programmes in war-affected provinces named; ‘*Uthru Vasanthaya*’ (Northern Spring) (RPTFR 2009:27) and ‘*Negenahira Navodaya*’ (Eastern Revival) (<http://ices.lk> 2020). Under these programmes, the government launched rapid development efforts in war-affected areas. In the North, a 180 Day Accelerated programme was launched to implement a rapid resettlement programme (RPTFR 2009: xxiii).

6.2.2 The position of women in the post-conflict period

In a society, the government policy practices and the institutional cultures and their thinking patterns reveal the status of women. It also demonstrates the gender policy of the country and how it has taken gender mainstreaming-related initiatives in its policy planning process successfully in serving the purpose of mainstreaming gender. Therefore, the position of women in Sri Lanka during the post-conflict period reveals the social and economic policies of its government. In considering the number of women holding key positions in this period, there have been five female District Secretaries in the country and three cabinet ministers. One female Chief Justice was appointed in 2011 for the first time in history and one female attorney General in 2011 while there have been only five District Secretaries (Government Agents).

Table 6.1 : Women in key positions during the post-conflict period

No.	The position held by women	Year	Number
1	Chief Justice	2011	01
2	Attorney General	2011	01

3	Judges of the Supreme Court	2013-2015	02
4	District Secretary/Government Agent	2009-2015	05
5	Vice-Chancellors in Universities	1999-2002	01
		2008-2013	01
6	Chairman of the University Grants Commission	2013	01

Source: http://www.judgesinstitute.lk/images/journal/Journal_2014.pdf

<http://www.attorneygeneral.gov.lk/elevation-to-the-higher-judiciary/>

<https://archive.fohss.lk/images/Sociology/EBook/prathimana/index.html#p=2>

<https://cmb.ac.lk/past-vice-chancellors/>

Table 6.2 : Women in key political positions during 2009-2015

No	Political positions	Year	Number
1	Women parliamentarians	2010-2015	13 (5.8%)
2	Cabinet ministers	2010	01
		2015	02

Source: <https://www.parliament.lk/en>

<https://archive.fohss.lk/images/Sociology/EBook/prathimana/index.html#p=2>

6.3 Documentary data analysis: Analysis and discussion

This section focuses on the analysis of the documents focused on economic policy during the post-conflict period in order to explore how the government of Sri Lanka mainstreamed gender in its policy process and also to what extent it has developed mainstreaming a gender perspective in the economic related policy documents.

6.3.1 Background to the documents analysed in this period

During the post-conflict period (2009-2015), thirteen general economic policy documents were presented by ministries related to the economic field. By carrying out a review of the government national policy documents in the area of economics, the study found five specific themes: i). Socio-economic development and women empowerment, ii). labour force participation and employment, iii). Women and healthcare, iv). violence against women and human rights, law, and legal provisions, v). political participation and decision-making.

Of the thirteen policy documents selected for this analysis, Mahinda Chintana: Vision for the Future-2010, has a platform for the election campaign for Rajapaksa's second term. The following two documents are extended versions of 'Mahinda Chintana' when he came into power after the election. These two documents have developed as government key policies to develop the country in focusing in diverse fields, especially in the field of economics. Though the documents produced by the political party the 'United People's Freedom Alliance' (UPFA), have a political platform they are mainly national policy frameworks of the government. They are; Sri Lanka: The Emerging Wonder of Asia: Mahinda Chintana: Vision for the Future-the Development Policy Framework (2010) and Sri Lanka: The Emerging Wonder of Asia: Unstoppable Sri Lanka 2020 (2013). The 'Mahinda Chintana: Towards a new Sri Lanka' was the main political manifesto of Mr. Mahinda Rajapaksa when he competed in the presidential election for the first time in 2005 as a member of the UPFA. In the 2010 presidential election, he presented the document as Mahinda Chintana: Vision for the Future and later it became the government's key policy. Other documents included national policies developed by different ministries and departments, and Budget Speeches, which dictated the government's key economic policy for particular years.

Table 6.3 : The list of policy documents analysed in post-conflict period

No	Name of the Policy Document	Year	The organization that produced the document
1.	Budget speech 2010	2009	Ministry of Finance and Planning

2.	Budget speech 2011	2010	Ministry of Finance and Planning
3.	Budget speech 2012	2011	Ministry of Finance and Planning
4.	Budget speech 2013	2012	Ministry of Finance and Planning
5.	Budget speech 2014	2013	Ministry of Finance and Planning
6.	Budget speech 2015	2014	Ministry of Finance and Planning
7.	Mahinda Chintana: Vision for the Future	2010	Mahinda Rajapaksa- presidential Candidate
8.	Sri Lanka: The Emerging Wonder of Asia: Mahinda Chintana: Vision for the Future-the Development Policy Framework	2010	Department of National Planning, Ministry of Finance and Planning
9.	Sri Lanka: The Emerging Wonder of Asia: Unstoppable Sri Lanka 2020 Mahinda Chintana: Vision for the Future - Public Investment Strategy 2014-2016	2010	Department of National Planning, Ministry of Finance and Planning
10.	National Policy Framework for Small Medium Enterprise (SME) Development Policy	2015	Ministry of Industry and Commerce
11.	National Women's Action Plan 2014-2018	2014	Ministry of Child Development and Women's Affairs
12.	The National Human Resources and Employment policy for Sri Lanka	2012	Secretariat for Senior Ministers
13.	National Youth Policy Sri Lanka	2014	Ministry of Youth and Skills Development

The names of policy documents were shortened, as done in chapter 5, in order to conveniently use the name of the document in analysing and examining the text data for exploring the levels of gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka during the post-conflict period. The names were shortened as given below.

Table 6.4 : The names and the short names of the policy documents

No	Name of the Policy Document	Year	The short name of the policy document
1.	Budget Speech 2010	2009	

2.	Budget Speech 2011	2010	
3.	Budget Speech 2012	2011	BS/ Budget Speech and the year
4.	Budget Speech 2013	2012	
5.	Budget Speech 2014	2013	
6.	Budget Speech 2015	2014	
7.	Mahinda Chintana: Vision for the Future	2010	Mahinda Chintana-2010
8.	Sri Lanka: The Emerging Wonder of Asia: Mahinda Chintana: Vision for the Future-the Development policy Framework	2010	MC: The Emerging Wonder of Asia - 2010
9.	Sri Lanka: The Emerging Wonder of Asia: Unstoppable Sri Lanka 2020 Mahinda Chintana: Vision for the Future-Public Investment Strategy 2014-2016	2010	MC: Unstoppable Sri Lanka 2020-PI Strategy 2014-2016 - 2013
10.	National Policy Framework for Small Medium Enterprise (SME) Development Policy	2015	SME Development Policy-2015
11.	National Women's Action Plan 2014-2018	2014	Women Action Plan 2014-2018-2014
12.	The National Human Resources and Employment Policy for Sri Lanka	2012	Human Resources Policy - 2012
13.	National Youth Policy Sri Lanka	2014	Youth Policy -2014

6.3.2 Theme one: Socio-economic development and women empowerment

Empowerment is one of the crucial and key concepts of women and development, gender and development and gender mainstreaming. It is a concept articulated by the Third World Feminists during the 1980s; its broader aim is to empower women through greater self-reliance (Momsen, 1991:102). Empowerment can be defined as the developing capacity of women to enhance their independence and self-sufficiency. 'Empowering women and gender equality' is one of the goals United Nations (2014: 3) goals (goal 3) of the Millennium Development Goals. Enhancing economic strength and the power of women is an important task in the policy planning process, as empowerment aims to encourage women to increase their own self-reliance and internal strength. It is also necessary in order to challenge planning stereotypes that link to the structure of families and the division of labour within low-income households (Momsen 1991: 102; Moser 1989:1815, 2003:74). Therefore, the government

needs to introduce policy strategies and practices to increase the self-reliance capacity of women. 'Strategic needs' (Molyneux 1985: 232; Moser 1989:1803; 2003:39) may empower women and challenge the existing gender division of labour, as well as promote greater equality (Momsen 1991 :102,104.). In the process of gender mainstreaming, whereas empowering has several aspects such as social, economic, political and psychological, empowering women through socio-economic development is significant. Therefore, this theme will be focused on in carrying out an analysis on the policy documents in this chapter.

Of the fourteen policy documents reviewed under the post-conflict period, some have concentrated on the area of 'socio-economic development and female empowerment. On examining the economic development policies, it is clear that a few documents directly focused on female empowerment, some policies unintentionally did so, symbolically, while other documents are non-gender mainstreaming. Many of the policy documents analysed in this period have a political background or affiliation with party politics and appear to have political goals and promises. National policies are often developed in relation to the political party that is in power and these policies change when the government changes; policy mechanisms do not run continuously. However, of the total documents, Mahinda Chintana-2010; Women Action Plan 2014-2018- 2014; Human Resources Policy - 2012; MC: The Emerging Wonder of Asia-2010; MC: Unstoppable Sri Lanka 2020-PI Strategy 2014-2016-2010; Some Budget Speeches and the SME Development Policy-2015 have focused on women's empowerment. These documents discuss both the policy measures implemented and planned implementations in the future supporting the economic development of the country and female empowerment. They also discuss a number of projects and programmes that they hope to implement to enhance women's income generating activities for the enhancement of their economic empowerment.

The policy document, Mahinda Chintana: Vision for the Future - Towards a New Sri Lanka (2010) focuses on the economic and social development of the country and attention is paid towards the empowerment of people in society. Focusing on economic development, Mahinda Chintana-2010 is concerned about areas such as agriculture, livestock, fisheries and plantations. Although Mahinda Chintana - 2010 focuses on the economic and social development of society, most of the chapters in the policy and subheadings of these chapters do not pay attention to women and gender mainstreaming in these areas. They do not specifically refer to women or men in any discussion of gender or other gender related issues, and instead focus on the development policy strategies of the government in other fields, as highlighted above.

Gama Neguma (meaning village upliftment or development) is a village development programme that is featured in all three of the above-mentioned versions of Mahinada Chintana, discussing the programme in relation to policy matters through different approaches. However, the three versions of the Mahinada Chintana do not discuss the role of women in this programme. In Mahinda Chintana - 2010, discussion on the '*Gama Neguma*' (Mahinda Chintana 2010:18) covers topics such as land for farmers (2010: 82) and small and medium scale entrepreneurs (2010: 97) both areas closely related to women. However, in the sections that cover these topics there is no particular focus on women. The other two versions of Mahinda Chintana also concentrate on the '*Gama Neguma*' (Village upliftment or development) programme, and also address areas such as agriculture, fisheries, aquaculture and livestock production etc. Chapter 3 which examines the policy 'Empowering Villages', mainly concentrates on the '*Gama Neguma*' programme which is not a mainstream gender perspective. This policy mainly considers the 'strength of the country is the strength of the village' (Mahinda Chintana, 2010: 18). Therefore, the '*Gama Neguma*' programme, consists of many targeted steps such as agro-economic zones, housing for rural communities, micro-

financing and small-scale rural entrepreneurs, rural infrastructure and water supply etc., but does not focus on gender for the success of the programme.

Although the village is presented as the core of the county's development and women are the core of village development, in the *Gama Neguma* programme women are not directly focused on. Women take an initiation to support village development and, similar to men, they work very closely with the village resources and the needs of the village. Moreover, although '*Gama Neguma*' is a policy-oriented programme for empowering the rural economy, it does not focus on women or gender mainstreaming. Women are a key part of village development work as they are familiar with the resources of the village and they have experience and traditional knowledge in agriculture, farming, and livestock production, etc. As such, developing the village and the rural economy without taking the role of the rural women into account, is meaningless as they are an important part of the economy. Therefore, women should be given equal priority with the men in the village development process and their economic position should be enhanced to empower them.

'*Gama Neguma*' or other village development programmes are ineffective, without focusing on women, when half of the population are women who contribute to the economic development of in many ways, especially as Boserup notes in 1970 in the area of agriculture. Women are not recognised as being at the core of a village and its development, nor as one of the groups who are aware of the resources available, and their experience of what resources should be used and how in this particular village development projects have been ignored. Without women, the village development or *Gama Neguma* is unsuccessful and reveals itself as an incomplete task that is difficult to achieve. Therefore, as Von Dach, (2002: 2) has mentioned correctly, development without women is 'like a bird trying to take off with only one wing'.

Furthermore, although the subheadings in the policy of 'MC: The Emerging Wonder of Asia - 2010 focuses on areas such as 'agriculture: feeding the nation' it does not consider female farmers. This is also the case in the fields of fisheries and aquatic resources. Although women may engage and have already been engaged in this income generating area, this policy talks about general agriculture economic development rather than considering women's roles and gender representation in this field. In addition, livestock is another field of livelihood and income generation that women and men may engage in. However, even in this field, the chapter considers the general economic development programmes of the government rather than considering the role of women in economic development and their empowerment. Therefore, in examining these policy measures, it is apparent the government has a symbolic gender mainstreaming agenda. Thus, it can be concluded that the three Mahinda Chintana related policies seem to show no genuine concern about women and have a deliberate purpose to their gender mainstreaming. Furthermore, the subheading the 'Land for the farmer' in chapter twelve: 'Entrepreneurs with Strength to Conquer the World' in Mahinda Chintana does not mention female or male farmers, and its discussion is generally around farming (Mahinda Chintana 2010: 82). Therefore, in that sense, the common term 'farmers' is a patriarchal.

Of the 16 chapters of Mahinda Chintana - 2010, chapter 3 'Disciplined and Law-Abiding Society' is the only chapter that pays attention to women and recognises that they make a major contribution to the country's economy. In particular, it recognises that a woman's contribution is significant in the areas such as the plantation sector, foreign employment, and in the apparel sector (Mahinda Chintana 2010: 22). It also recognises that over years these areas have expanded remarkably. Therefore, this policy believes that 'women in the country should not be afforded 'equal status' but should be given 'higher priority'. Moreover, as one of its policy measures, this policy seeks to establish the 'Women's Entrepreneurship Development Fund'. This fund offers financial assistance to women to improve their self-

employment and to create additional income generating opportunities. While this is a progressive policy measure, in mainstreaming gender it is important to facilitate women with income generation and their livelihood development; especially in the post-conflict economic process, as there are many issues related to women-led families. Women in such families should be empowered both economically and socially.

Furthermore, there are important policy measures in this document such as equal wages for equal employment, ensuring the formulation of a legal framework that recognises women as the heads of households where they bear the responsibility of the family, providing land for cultivation and for residential purposes for landless families (page 23). In addition, establishing programmes for women's economy and the development of livelihood, as well as ensuring their security, in women-led households in war affected areas in Northern and Eastern provinces and also establishing a special loan scheme to enable them to engage in income generating activities are some of the significant policy measures mentioned in the Mahinda Chintana document. However, many of these are women-focused activities in gender evaluating the levels of gender mainstreaming. Women-led households are one of the key issues in post-conflict reconstruction and the development process in the country. Women often play the leading role in the family but their significant roles have not been counted or validated as women have not been considered as the heads of households in Sri Lanka in the past. Therefore, women face many administrative and legal barriers as the head of their family after disasters, either manmade or natural in the country. It was a major issue during the period when the government was distributing land to women-headed families after the natural disasters (Tsunami) and manmade (the war).

However, in examining policy measures, they appear to be more 'practical gender needs' than 'strategic gender needs. When examining *Mahinda Chintana* (2010) in depth, it was revealed that it concentrates on women and issues related to women only in chapter 3 of the document.

Therefore, in examining the policy in-depth it does not seem it totally focuses on genuine gender mainstreaming, but rather mentions gender mainstreaming features often in the form of practical gender needs or welfare forms. In that sense, this policy reveals it is more symbolic than genuine gender mainstreaming approach.

Apart from, MC: Emerging Wonder of Asia - 2010 the chapter eight: 'Towards a Caring Society' (2010:186-187), focuses on some vital areas of gender mainstreaming that also can be categorised as forms of practical gender needs. This chapter concentrates on future programmes to empower women. The key areas that are mentioned include the 'quality and productive employment for women', 'expanding the rates of skills of women', 'ensuring sufficient representation of women in community consultation' and 'ensuring the nutritional standards of the pregnant mothers'. According to Molyneux (1985:233), the 'guaranteeing equal gender division in the labour market and working conditions and services for women' is a form of strategic gender need. Therefore, it is a progressive strategic measure referenced in this policy. Similar to Mahinda Chintana-2010, this document has not focused on women or gender concerns but concentrate mainly on general economic development of the country in diverse fields. According to Razavi and Miller (1995:3), they are a form of Women in Development (WID) measures rather than gender mainstreaming measures. In the stage of gender mainstreaming, if a government needs to mainstream gender it should make progressive policy measures and implement both strategic and practical gender needs, especially more strategic gender needs.

Similar to other Third World countries, the Sri Lankan government has also introduced more practical gender needs and WID policy measures for women rather than addressing strategic gender needs. Examining these policy measures in the government policy documents during this post-conflict period, these policy strategies and measures reveal that the government seems to have a backward and lethargic approach instead of demonstrating a progressive

nature in designing and implementing the policy measures in the process of gender mainstreaming. It has a trend of reinforcing traditional women needs, interests and practical gender needs but does not demonstrate any radical institutional or structural changes nor long-term provisions in the process of gender mainstreaming.

By expanding the range of skills, the policy wishes to develop systems and mechanisms in order to attract women to technical and vocational education fields and to introduce non-traditional courses in the technical education field to cater for future labour market demands (page 187). This is a significant and progressive policy attempt that may support a change to the structural and institutional barriers and gender stereotypes, as it is a form of strategic gender need that can be put into practice. This section also hopes to assure women that they can earn the same wages as men when undertaking similar employment, which according to Molyneux (1985:233), is a form of a strategic gender need (SGN). Of the eleven policy initiatives, two initiatives are strategic gender needs. This suggests that the government does not make a genuine effort to enforce gender mainstreaming in society; but it is symbolic.

Similar to other versions of Mahinda Chintana, MC: Unstoppable Sri Lanka 2020-PI Strategy 2014-2016 (2013) is also concerned with the field of socio-economic development and female empowerment. The government believes that a healthy and rich economy depends on a healthy nation. Therefore, declining maternal and infant mortality rates and the rise in an ageing population have become significant targets for the government. The Mahinda Chintana series, recognises that the woman is an important key figure in the family and recognizes 'women as the strength of economic development and they make a major contribution to the economy of the country (MC: Unstoppable Sri Lanka 2020 2013:51) and utilise their knowledge and skills as agents of economic development. It means that this policy has recognized the exact and real nature of Sri Lankan women and their contribution to society in every field. The three versions of documents of Mahinda Chintana have focused on

empowering women, providing micro-financing support to enhance self-employment programmes through bank loans such as *Kantha Shakthi*, *Diriya Kantha* and *Vanitha Shakthi* programmes that can be introduced as women-focused activities and welfare programmes.

In considering socio-economic development and women empowerment measures, as well as mainstreaming a gender perspective in these policy documents Human Resources Policy - 2012 has a separate chapter on gender mainstreaming (pages 38-39) and places importance on women's economic empowerment. It is mostly concerned with labour force participation and the employment of women. In enhancing socio-economic development and female empowerment, the Women's Action Plan 2014-2018 (2014) has made a positive contribution. By introducing several significant measures and initiatives, as well as implementing different strategies, the government aims to highlight significant outputs in relation to women's economic empowerment. When examining these policy measures in depth, (most of these measures are in place or will be implemented) they appear to be either short or middle term strategies rather than providing a long-term focus. In further investigating these policy approaches and programmes it is evident that the government proposes systematic plan for women empowerment and gender mainstreaming. It is a process which has a close relationship and network with relevant ministries and departments beyond the Ministry of Women Affairs. The Ministry of Child Development and Women's Affairs has built up this network in developing the Women Action Plan.

These measures taken by the government suggest a deliberate effort to mainstream gender. By mainstreaming gender in the economic policy, the government needs to design and implement more strategies for the long term or ensure a clear strategy is laid out in their consideration of gender needs (Moser 2003) Strengthening the economic security of women requires a revision of women's rights. This includes re-examining a number of policies, such as: The ownership of land, ensuring social protection and livelihood opportunities are available to

skilled/unskilled and semi-skilled female workers: ensuring migrant workers' rights through legal commitment and ensuring that the rights of workers in informal sectors are similar to those in formal employment. It also focuses on vocational training for girls in non-traditional vocational areas for women. Taking action to introduce new laws to ensure the security of women in employment and other sources of income generation is also another important policy measure that may help to empower women economically as well socially.

Similar to other policy documents, the Budget Speech delivered by the government in 2014 also concentrated on some economic enhancement programmes for women. By accepting that a large number of women are engaged in micro enterprises, the government hopes to support these women especially where they encounter constraints in the business environment because of their gender. For example, women face difficulties in applying for small-scale bank loans and gaining financial support when they apply for micro-credit loans. The government hopes to implement a 'Women Micro Enterprise Credit Guarantee Scheme' for women from Regional Development Banks and SME Banking Units of Commercial Banks (Budget Speech 2014: 11-12). Such financial support through diverse loan schemes programmes for women to enhance their economic conditions seem to be like welfare programmes rather than ensuring structural changes of institutions and social systems to provide a better environment to women to be empowered and self-reliant. Therefore, in examining these measures extensively, although they reveal the government's concern about women's issues, creating an environment of gender equality, and steps taken to improve the status of women, nevertheless, they are at the level of women-focused activities of gender mainstreaming rather than gender-focused and transformation levels. Therefore, except for the document: Women Action Plan 2014-2018 (2014), most of the other documents are only symbolic rather than genuine gender mainstreaming ones.

6.3.3 Theme Two: Labour Force Participation and Employment

Women's participation in labour force of Sri Lanka has been a crucial issue because according to the Department of Census and Statistics it is revealed that male participation in labour force is double that of women. For instance, it was 35.3% of female representation whereas male participation was 75.9% in the labour force survey in mid-2014 (ADB 2014:19). In analysing the text data in the documents, labour force participation emerged as one of sub-themes raised from the coded data. Many of the policy documents, with the exception of those categorised as non-gender mainstreaming, have focused on labour force participation and employment of women in Sri Lanka. Human Resource Policy - 2012, Women Action Plan 2014-2018 (2014), and two versions of Mahinda Chintana have also paid attention to labour force participation. Most of the recognised documents including Census and Statistics reports, documents in UN-related institutions, ADB reports and other documents such as reports from government departments and department of Census and Statistics and its labour force surveys have identified that Sri Lanka has a low level of labour force participation for women and a high female unemployment rate: statistics from the Department of Census and Statistics and ADB report for 2015 (2015:vi,19). The labour force surveys of (2013:v) indicates 74.9% males and 35.6% female participation while statistics in 2014 declares a labour force participation of 34.7% females and 76.4% male (Census and Statistics 2014:v).

In examining the theme labour force participation and women employment, the policy document, Human Resource Policy-2012 highlights that there are low rates of labour force participation and a high level of unemployment among women, as well as gender disparities in wages in some areas (Human Resource Policy, 2012: 1). As mentioned above, statistics presented by the Department of Census and Statistics and the ADB reports such as ADB (2015:19) prove, as mentioned in the Human Resource Policy-2012, that women have a low rate of labour force participation. Therefore, this Human Resource policy aims to provide full, productive, and freely chosen employment for all women and men in Sri Lanka. The policy

explores the low rates of labour force participation and the high level of unemployment among women as well as the high level of gender disparity in wages which keep women at a distinct disadvantage in the labour market (Human Resource Policy, 2012: 1). While the policy is aware of the situation of women, it does not focus on the need to address it nor on the measures that need to be implemented to help overcome this situation except in the section Mainstreaming gender. With the exception of chapter 18 the other chapters in this document do not discuss women and gender mainstreaming issues.

Chapter fifteen on 'Employment Opportunities for Vulnerable Groups, Disabled Persons and those in Underdeveloped Regions' discusses a large number of case studies on widows in the Northern and Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka. However, it categorises the widows as being part of a 'vulnerable' group similar to the wording used in other policy documents such as Emerging Wonder of Asia, and the Budget Speeches of 2011, 2012. As Hanifa and Thiruchandran (2003: 2) observe this labelling of war widows, women affected by Tsunami, and female heads of households as being in 'vulnerable groups' is an incorrect categorisation. In many of the documents, widows and female heads of households are often classified as being part of a 'vulnerable group'. This is a conceptual error. 'Women-widowed and as heads of households are brought under the same group along with children who are minors or orphans, who are dependent and the disabled whose physical capacity is impaired' (Hanifa and Thiruchandran, 2003: 2). This is an unfair description as widowed 'women are neither like children nor mentally retarded nor physically handicapped.' (Hanifa and Thiruchandran, 2003: 2). Widows and female heads of households are not a vulnerable group such as those who may be disabled, physically handicapped, or mentally handicapped who need special care. Widows and female heads of households are a group of women who draw attention to the need for affirmative action to be undertaken to support and empower them in order to be included in the labour force. This means special policy measures and practices are needed to enable them to empower their own economic and social status.

While this policy pays attention to women in chapters 1, 2 and 18, others do not focus on women's participation in labour force or employment etc. Although education, vocational skills and employability, career guidance and counselling do not specifically use the labels of women and men, they commonly talk about the policies that the government wishes to implement for its people. However, chapters 13 and 14 on informal employment and small and medium enterprises (SME) are areas that are related to women rather than males as they constitute the majority of the population that engage in such economic activities. Therefore, these chapters in the policy should consider women more broadly in relation to the other chapters and the matter of gender equality and reducing gender disparity in the labour force participation and unemployment rate of women.

The chapter related to 'Foreign Employment' in this policy emphasises that most women migrant workers are engaged as domestic workers. However, it does not discuss this matter, unlike the 'Women's Action Plan'. This policy has a separate chapter on mainstreaming gender. Whereas the foreign employment policy focuses on the unemployment rate of women being high in the country, it recognises the obstacles and restrictions that have barred women from engaging in other vocational fields such as construction, engineering, and other professional fields. It also declares that steps are needed to create sustainable employment for women. However, this policy states that 'whether there is gender-based wage discrimination in Sri Lanka is often debated' (Human Resources Policy 2012: 38) because there is no legal discrimination in the gender pay gap.

Considering socio-cultural background and other areas may create gaps in this field of labour force participation. This chapter considers the sexual harassment of women in the workplace and Youth Policy- 2014 also accepts this factor. It considers such instances that may discourage women from seeking jobs, which highlights the low participation of females in the

labour force. Sexual harassment is a criminal offence in Sri Lanka, though it still occurs in some workplaces. Moreover, this chapter on 'Mainstreaming Gender' in the policy pays attention to many significant policy measures that improve women's participation in the labour force and reduce the unemployment rate for women. The policy measures suggested through the Human Resource Policy-2012 should be commendable and among them are flexible work arrangements such as part-time jobs, online work, training women for higher-skilled occupations, the promotion of female entrepreneurship development, the establishment of daycare centres for older generations and daycare centres for children in the workplace. These are a few examples of the very significant policy measures that have been put in place, but promoting attitudinal changes is another vital step. Sexism and gender stereotyping in the workplace are discouraged and encouraging a more equitable sharing of care roles and household chores between women and men are important measures in discouraging gender stereotypes in the home. This chapter covers a vast number of policy measures that highlight the opportunities for female employment and enhance women's economic conditions. Thus, in this policy, the chapter on 'Mainstreaming Gender' largely focuses on features of genuine gender mainstreaming, especially in comparison to the policy documents discussed so far. However, chapters in the policy including 1, 3, 10, 15, and 16 have not focused on mainstreaming gender and gender equality indicators mentioned in the analytical framework and demonstrate symbolic features. Most of the other chapters present policies that are not concerned with gender mainstreaming. Thus, while the policy does not genuinely relate to mainstreaming gender specific section mention gender mainstreaming nature of the policy.

Similar to Human Resource Policy (2012), *Women Action Plan 2014-2018*(2014) also pays close attention to the labour force participation of women. This document not only identifies the low level of labour force participation of women and the unemployment rate of women is double that of men (6.3%) (Women Action Plan Page:1), but it also recognises that a greater percentage of women represent the population who live below the poverty line (page 1). This

action plan hopes to identify more economic opportunities for women and establish a gender-specific data system for the economic empowerment of women, as well as empowering target groups such as widow and female led households. It also focuses on women in urban slum populations, women migrant workers' families and families of victims of violence. Some policy areas of this document have been implemented through programmes led by ministries, including the Ministry of Women's Affairs and Child Development. It explores the genuine and deliberate dedication of the government towards gender mainstreaming.

6.3.4 Theme Three: Women and Healthcare

Promoting health care and enhancing the reproductive health of women is a crucial part of gender mainstreaming and its significance is proved through the acceptance and consideration of the issue in conventions and agreements such as the CEDAW (1979) and the Beijing Platform for Action (1995) and Millennium Development Goals. Some policy documents in the post-conflict era pay attention to the healthcare of the nation in the country and also to women. Some of the budget speeches have focused on women's health and health care facilities provided by the government, as well as government policy in this area. Budget Speeches are the government's main economic policy which are used to declare the annual economic policy plans of a number of fields. The areas of most concern in these policy documents are: women and maternal care, nutritional issues and ensuring that nutritional standards of pregnant mothers are met, as well as maternal and child care and wellbeing clinics, the protection of women's reproductive rights, anemia in pregnant mothers, minimising malnutrition and anemia of woman and children, unwanted pregnancies and abortions.

The Emerging Wonder of Asia (2010) focuses on women's health. In section 8.1 (Emerging Wonder of Asia 2010:186-187), the policy refers to the existing low level of maternal nutrition and highlights the need to reinforce the care of pregnant women by providing

nutritional supplements and good hygiene practices. The government has taken the initiative and implemented the provision of a National Food Package (*Poshana Malla*) and *Thripasha* Programme for Expectant Mothers. However, the Emerging Wonder of Asia offers a form of welfare practice in its policy measures, which is assured in the WID approach in the form of welfare facilities as well as towards a more 'practical gender needs' approach as pointed out by scholars Moser (1987: 1803, 2003:40) and Molynux (1985:233) rather than mainstreaming a gender perspective measures.

In the 2011 Budget Speech under the heading a 'caring society', the government allocated money for programmes that offer support for women and children in low-income families. The government believes that women and children, and especially those in this category, require greater attention. This policy acknowledges the importance of keeping records of maternal and infant mortality while accepting that Sri Lanka also needs to continue its efforts to resolve problems that cause nutritional deficiencies for mothers and children (Budget Speech 2011:24). Therefore, the government wishes to expand the *Thripasha* programme for pregnant mothers in Sri Lanka. In the 2011 Budget Speech, this is the only section that pays attention towards women and gender whereas other areas in the speech do not consider women nor gender issues at all. This is a very noticeable factor in the government's national economic policies, as they recognise that women's health and maternal care are a major issue that needs to be focused on in addressing gender mainstreaming. This recognition can be seen throughout most of the government's policy measures in the fields of health in general and women's health in particular. Despite it being a Budget Speech, it lacks a focus on women in the other fields discussed, such as 'a productive economy', 'human resources', 'social security' etc., as the budget Speeches are the documents that declare the government economic policies. Therefore, this too exhibits only a symbolic gender mainstreaming approach.

The 2012 Budget Speech also allocated a separate section titled 'child and women protection' which declares that the welfare of children and women requires special attention (Budget Speech 2012:7). It discusses lactating mothers and infants in low-income families and their welfare and nutrition under the section 'Support for the low-income families'. This highlights how the government is focusing on establishing maternity care centres and clinics at village level as well as looking at ways to improve women's and expectant mothers' nutrition, targetting *Thripasha* and other nutritional programmes. The 2013 Budget Speech also focuses on maternal care and childcare centers, and examines maternal and child mortality rates. It reveals the government's concern on the welfare facilities of women rather than considering wider gender mainstreaming factors.

The '*Gama Neguma*' (village upliftment or development) and the '*Pura Neguma*' (city development) programmes in Mahinda Chintana versions have focused on the enhancement of 'child and maternity clinics'. The Women Action Plan 2014-2018 is the most significant policy document, which pays attention to health issues. This policy observes that although Sri Lanka has dedicated facilities supporting women during pregnancy, general maternal care and women's wellbeing, as well as taking measures to reduce maternal and infant mortality rates, and helping to increase the life expectancy of women, there are several unresolved areas related to women's health issues. Among them are anemia in pregnancy, unwanted pregnancies and abortions, nutrition issues and complications due to poor food habits, health problems faced by widows, and a lack of guidance for female-led families and elderly women.

Further, the policy, Women Action Plan 2014-2018 (2014), declares that government wishes to introduce several policy measures focused on women and their health care. This policy reveals that government has already taken several measures to address the lack of information on women's health care. The following are some of the important policy measures: An elderly

clinic service for women, ‘*Suwanari* clinics’ (clinics for women only), and providing nutritious food packages to pregnant women called ‘*Poshana Malla*’ (nutrition pack) (Mahinda Chintana 2010: 22). Further measures include maternal and child care and wellbeing clinics at village level and in estate areas, door to door midwifery service which includes caring for pregnant mothers and women's birth control and contraception in order to enhance women's health. The government also wishes to implement further new strategies which include bringing awareness to the sensitivity of reproductive health which is a very important measure as rural and village women and girls would be made aware of contraception to help prevent unnecessary pregnancies. Another planned strategy involves introducing minimum health standards for women in the workplace, implementing facilities to support women’s mental health, and minimising physical and mental violence against women, which includes providing temporary shelter for female victims of violence. Taking steps to prevent sexual harassment of girls and migrant women (pages 29-31) are also noteworthy areas that other policy documents have not focused on. On examining these policy measures, we realise that some offer very progressive actions that may help support women’s well-being. These measures reveal that the government has a deliberate and genuine purpose to mainstream gender. Therefore, the Women Action Plan is a genuine gender mainstreaming policy as the government has suggested several strategies that are important as well as significant to enhance women's health care and wellbeing, which in comparison to the other post-conflict policy documents indicates genuine dedication towards gender mainstreaming.

6.3.5 Theme Four: Violence against women, human rights, law, and legal legislations

Violence against women and human rights are two important issues in the world. The United Nations and other UN-related institutions, as well as international organisations recognise these as significant issues. Violence against women is an important factor in gender mainstreaming as it negatively impacts the empowerment of women. The Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women at the UN Human Rights Conference in Vienna in

1993, emphasised this issue (Asian Development Bank 2008:31) and the UN has taken a rights-based approach to gender-based violence (Asian Development Bank, 2008:31). In the case of Sri Lanka, apart from the global background, the country introduced the 'Women's Charter in 1993 which included a special component on the right to protection from gender-based violence (Women Charter, 1993:09). Whereas the Constitution of Sri Lanka guarantees the rights of women against gender-based violence, Sri Lanka introduced the Prevention of Domestic Violence Act in 2005.

The sub-heading: 'A society with high values, free from corruption and fraud' in chapter three of the *Mahinda Chintana* (2010) declares that the government has taken action to prevent child abuse, rape and violence against women. However, the issue of violence against women or gender-based violence and women's human rights are not considered broadly in *Mahinda Chintana* (2010) policy and does not offer a genuine approach to gender mainstreaming; it is only symbolic. On the other hand, it does appear that *Mahinda Chintana* (2010) has a deliberate purpose to mainstream gender. Violence against women, girls and child abuse was a major social issue in the country and women and girls have fallen victim to critical gender-based violence during the past period: both girls and women have faced murder and rape. Therefore, as violence against women is a crucial issue in the country the government needs to deliver a key economic policy addressing this issue. The 2014 budget speech has also paid attention to this issue and taken it into account with funds being allocated for activities to prevent gender-based violence. As this situation is critical, the government hopes to implement some measures, including introducing field level officers at Divisional Secretariats to facilitate the public and help to prevent these incidents. Moreover, it hopes to set up safe houses for victims and expand units, set up in police stations in order to deal with these issues.

The Women Action Plan 2014-2018 (2014) also concentrates on this matter and hopes to minimise violence against women and the violation of their rights, working to create a safer and caring society for women in the country. To achieve these goals and aims the *National Women Action Plan* introduces some strategies and activities. The strategies include the prevention of all forms of violence against women, rape, incest, domestic violence and sexual violence, and work to eliminate personal discrimination, recognizing ethnic conflict and violence against women as violations of human rights. The strategies also provide opportunities for equal access to education and professions for all citizens, irrespective of gender, and ensuring the protection of women affected by armed conflict and those in resettled areas. (Women Action Plan 2014-2018 2014:71-74).

The *National Women Action Plan* suggests several activities to implement the above strategies. In examining the activities introduced in this policy, it was discovered that they explore a genuine purpose led by the government to help mainstream gender. This policy presents effective legal measures to abolish violence against women, such as the provision of law to give people a choice of personal laws in relation to Kandyan or ordinary laws. The policy also reviews personal laws in the sectors of marriage, divorce, custody, adoption and inheritance for the elimination of discrimination and the amendment of laws. It also suggests that an amendment be made to the Criminal Procedure Code to provide expediting or accelerating court action on violence against women (Women Action Plan- (2014-2018) 2014:72). These legal measures will offer a strong legal background and help to a certain extent, in reducing violence. The reason that this will only work at least to a certain extent if the legal measures that will take will active in practice only women may get the maximum benefit. There are a considerable number of laws and legal provisions in the country for related gender-based violence such as Domestic Violence Act No.35 2005 Amendments to the Penal Code in 1995, 1998 and 2006 etc., however, these are not effectively implemented for the maximum benefit and fairest solution for women in a case of violence or

discrimination. The provision of laws paving ways for solving of cases is in the public's interest as well as setting up mechanisms to provide free legal aid in cases of human rights violation and for women who have no capacity to get legal aid. These are legal measures that help to secure fair treatment of women. This policy also desires to introduce values and the concept of women's rights as human rights and to develop national unity and creating awareness among the general public about the need for women's rights and human rights in education institutions. These are important gender measures in the gender mainstreaming policy of the government. Raising awareness about using international documents approved by the legal professionals, judicial officials and government in order to domesticate laws could be interpreted as being in compliance with international standards. This is an important step that the government aspires to make as internationally recognised standards in the case of violence against women have to be agreed on and enforced. This will lead to the strengthening of domestic laws in the country in relation to gender-based violence against women and women issues.

Furthermore, the Women Action Plan-2014-2018 (2014) also seeks to implement policy measures to mainstream gender in society. These measures include establishing a national task force at the provincial level to support women in preventing violence against women; establishing support groups consisting of NGOs, public, and private sectors; using public agencies and the community to obtain data on violence against women; and reviewing legalising abortion in the case of rape, incest, and deformities of the fetus. The plan also seeks to appoint an Ombudsman to the National Committee on Women to monitor newspaper reports on violence against women and involve institutions that are responsible for coordinating the prevention of violence against women, and to take action in terms of the Vienna Declaration on Human rights of 1993 considering violence against women as a violation of human rights. Moreover, the policy document, 'Women Action Plan' has perceived the true nature of practicing violence against women in Sri Lankan society and how

it affects the empowerment and self-reliance of women and their personalities. Therefore, by examining all these policy strategies and measures recognised by the ‘Women Action Plan’, we may conclude that this policy has a genuine purpose to mainstream gender and also through the policy of Ministry of Child Development and Women Affairs (MCDWA) which leads to genuine gender mainstreaming. As the main authority of this policy, the MCDWA has developed a network with relevant ministries to implement these measures. However, the government has not allocated funds and as the Cabinet has approved the ‘Women Action Plan’ without a requested budget, it will not be successful in implementing its goals, as expected in designing the policy strategy.

6.3.6 Theme Five: Political participation and decision-making

Women’s participation in politics and decision-making is very significant in the approaches of gender and development and gender mainstreaming. It is one of the areas which focuses on gender issues in the Beijing Platform for Action in 1995 (CENWOR 2015:283.) and one of the rights mentioned in the Women’s Charter (1993) in Sri Lanka. It is also an important section included in the CEDAW convention as it discusses ‘political decision-making’ (United Nations, 2014).

However, of the policy documents considered during the post-conflict period, only about three such as Mahinda Chintana (2010), The Emerging Wonder of Asia (2010) and the Women Action Plan (2014) have focused on women’s participation in politics and decision-making. Mahinda Chintana (2010) pays attention to women’s participation in decision-making in the section of ‘Disciplined and Law Abiding society’. The policy states the need to implement these measures to increase the representation of women within the political and administrative framework and make women’s participation mandatory in decision-making and policy matters, through their representation in *Jana Sabhas* (village level decision-making body) where decisions are made in relation to community development (Mahinda Chintana

2010:23). However, this policy does not wish to encourage women's representation in the decision-making process nor works to ensure their participation in decision-making processes in the highest representative bodies such as parliament and other higher administrative positions. It encourages women to participate only at the local level, such as local political elections and community services. This does not reveal a genuine gender mainstreaming effort but rather symbolically allows women to participate in decision-making processes and hold power. As Walby (1990) points out, it limits women's lives to 'private life' and does not allow women to move from the private sphere and to enter into 'public life' having free movement in the outside world, beyond the home and village. Therefore, it does not prove that the government has a clear purpose of mainstreaming a gender perspective in order to establish gender equality as it still limits women's lives and only addresses their needs in limited areas. The Emerging Wonder of Asia (2010) is also not concerned about this matter. This policy attempts to ensure sufficient representation of women in community consultation at grass roots level and allow them to organise and act in the areas of nutrition, self-employment, counseling and domestic violence, and promotes their participation in decision-making processes (page 187). This also highlights the fact that none of the policy documents related to Mahinda Chintana focus on women's participation in politics and decision-making beyond the village level and community-based organizations. Both these policies frame women by their 'private life' rather than the public life by limiting their participation at village level decision-making bodies. According to Walby (1990), this is patriarchal, and it is 'private patriarchy'. It is possible that the personality of the existing leader influenced the patriarchal nature of the policy measures.

The Women Action Plan (2014) has also suggested some policy measures and activities. It has suggested reasons for the scarcity of women in high positions at decision-making levels (page 42). This policy seeks to increase women's representation in this field by increasing women's contribution through representation in the political process, and through legal and

policy intervention to minimise gender disparities. Furthermore, it hopes to implement the management of human resources in both the private and public sector to minimise gender disparities and provide publicity to model characters. Amending the unequal practices of existing laws that discriminate against women, encouraging attitudinal changes related to a woman's 'public life' along with eliminating gender stereotyping is important. Implementing a quota for women in politics which is a significant measure which has been accepted and implemented recently by the Cabinet.

6.3.7 Conclusion

In examining these sets of policy documents in the post-conflict period that were selected for the analysis, a few documents (only one) out of thirteen documents, have focused on genuine gender mainstreaming features. Many of the documents demonstrate the features of symbolic gender mainstreaming whereas a large number of documents have not demonstrate a dedication towards gender mainstreaming and they are non-gender mainstreaming. At a glance although some documents exhibit the government's deliberate purpose to mainstream gender in its policy process on examining and analysing according to the indicators of the framework the policies reveal that they do not have genuine purpose to mainstream gender in the policy but have only symbolic dedication towards gender mainstreaming. The most noticeable factor was that all of the policy documents related to Mahinda Chintana (2010), the other two versions of Mahinda Chintana, Sri Lanka: The Emerging Wonder of Asia: Vision for the Future-the Development Policy Framework (2010) and Sri Lanka: The Emerging Wonder of Asia: Unstoppable Sri Lanka 2020 the Future-public Investment Strategy 2014-2016 do not focus on 'women'. These documents symbolically mention women and their needs such as their participation in decision-making, economic enhancement, employment, health care of pregnant women etc. They have also not implemented or planned to implement significant strategic gender needs in policy measures. Many of the measures introduced in the

policy documents for implementation are either welfare measures or priority needs of women or 'practical gender interests, as mentioned by Molyneux (1989: 233), and 'practical gender needs' as explained by Moser (1989:1803), that are as responses to an immediate perceived necessity related to women's lives rather than to strategic gender needs or transformative actions. Whereas this policy provides welfare policy measures such as maternal and nutritional care of pregnant mothers, small scale female entrepreneurship (SMEs) and credit facilities, issuing food packages for pregnant mothers, protection of children and women, and violence against women, are mainly women-focused welfare activities as well as to some extent they are 'practical gender needs'.

Furthermore, all of these women's needs are provided through policy documents such as Mahinda Chintana, the Emerging Wonder of Asia, and budget speeches. These are a response to an immediate perceived necessity identified within a specific context and are inadequacies in living conditions (Moser, 1993: 40). Therefore, they cannot be considered as genuine and deliberate efforts to mainstream gender but are mostly symbolic examples of gender mainstreaming. In mainstreaming gender, the government needs to take steps for strategic gender purposes to abolish gender inequalities and establish gender equality in society. However, in designing and implementing policies, the government has followed a trend of addressing and providing day-to-day needs such as welfare rather than addressing strategic long term needs. In that sense, many of the documents related to Mahinda Chintana (2010) among other documents attempt to address more practical gender needs. However, Section 8.1 of the Emerging Wonder of Asia (2010) aims to address a few strategic gender needs such as skill development programme and gender-based based violence programme. The Human Resources and Employment Policy (2012) endeavors to address strategic gender needs to a certain extent in comparison to the other Mahinda Chintana versions, but when examining the background of the Human Resources and Employment Policy it can be seen that it has been developed with the funds support of International Labour Organisation (ILO). Therefore,

gender mainstreaming is one of the donor components of the ILO, hence, the government may have sought to add such features in order to fulfil the requirement of the institution and include a gender perspective or mainstreaming gender into the policy. In that sense, it seems that we are still not at the stage of gender mainstreaming, but are at the stage of addressing women's interests along with their prioritised concerns and putting together a policy that endeavours to address them. Furthermore, the reviewed policy documents, including all Mahinda Chintana versions, do not especially consider gender needs and strategic gender needs in the sense that Molynux (1989), and Moser (1989, 2003) recognise in their works. Among the documents, the Women Action Plan (2014) is more significant as it focuses only on women's needs and their interests. This also tries to implement progressive strategic needs in different areas. In comparison to other documents, the Women Action Plan is more concerned with genuine gender mainstreaming because it has been developed mainly targeting women themselves and their needs and to mainstream a gender perspective in their policy process by the Ministry of Women's Affairs and Child Development. However, some areas are not concerned with a more genuine approach to gender needs, such as encouraging women to take on power positions and decision-making roles and in discouraging violence against women and human rights.

Many of the documents concentrate on similar factors whereas the most common factor is welfare facilities for women such as women's maternity care, nutrition of pregnant mothers, mothers' mortality rates, etc. On investigating the documents, it was discovered that as a whole, the focus has been on major key themes such as women's health, women's empowerment, labour force participation and employment, political participation and decision-making, violence against women, women and the peace process, and resettlement and rehabilitation. In addition, many versions of the Mahinda Chintana policies are examples of symbolic gender mainstreaming.

CHAPTER SEVEN:

ANALYSIS, RESULTS AND DISCUSSION AND RESEARCH FINDINGS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter mainly focuses on the analysis, result and discussion and the findings of the study. The objective of the analysis of this current study, was to investigate and examine how and to what extent Sri Lanka has developed mainstreaming a gender perspective in its policy process during the period the period 1978-2015'. It also aimed at exploring the nature of gender mainstreaming related initiatives introduced in Sri Lanka over the period under investigation, and the extent of these gender mainstreaming initiatives. It also focused on exploring the changes and levels of the changes in gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka over three specific time periods. The current study assumed that Sri Lanka has not mainstreamed gender over the period of study investigated and the specific three time periods.

The chapter focuses on the findings of the research and they are two types namely; Findings relevant to the reviewed literature of the study and the findings of the analysis of the research data. The outcomes of the information of the referred literature are also divided into two categories namely; findings from global literature and findings relevant to Sri Lankan literature. The findings or outcomes of the research were also categorised into two groups: the key general findings in the analysis of the research and outcomes relevant to three different time periods.

7.2 The analysis, results and discussion

In this analysis, the following outcomes and findings were crucial. It could be noticed that the overwhelming majority of the policy documents in the field of economics selected for the study were at the level of non-gender mainstreaming or absent, whereas the second largest group of documents were at the level of symbolic, while only a few documents were at the extent of genuine gender mainstreaming. It is also understood that there are gaps in the policy process as Sri Lanka does not have a clearly accepted ongoing national gender policy although it has gender awareness and concerns in the forms of CEDAW and Women's Charter (1993), and National Women's Action Plan 2014-2018 providing a framework to develop national programs for gender equality. This fact has also been accepted by JICA (2010:29) in its report 'Sri Lanka: Country Gender Profile'. However, the country does not have a holistic approach to gender mainstreaming, and therefore, it needs to have such approach as a nation for mainstreaming gender to ensure gender equality. Moreover, it seems to be that the policy-makers and officers are unintentional and unaware of mainstreaming gender in the policy process.

Apart from the above, another noticeable factor is that in designing most of the policies, in Sri Lanka declares that particular policy is for both '*women and men*'. For instance, the 'National Labour Migration Policy for Sri Lanka' (2008) declares that the aim of the Labour Migration policy is to "promote opportunities for all men and women to engage in migration..." (2008: 09) whereas the 'National Policy for Decent Work in Sri Lanka' (2006) states that "the goal of decent work is to promote opportunities for women and men to obtain productive work..." (2006: v). However, on further study of the document, the categories of gender (women and men) are not mentioned in the contents of the texts and instead, it uses a 'common' word to represent both groups. For example, the National Labour Migration policy (2008) uses the common word, 'migrant worker'. Thus, it could be observed that some policy documents

appear to be gender-neutral while others gender-blind. Similarly, certain policy documents appear to demonstrate gender sensitivity and they are mostly symbolic. The danger of such 'gender-neutrality' and 'gender-blindness' of the policies is that not only are 'women' not considered in making 'Action Plans' to implement them, but they are also not taken into consideration in important places specific only to women such as pregnancy and lactating periods and reproductive health and psychological issues of women which makes such policies symbolic.

It is probable, that in planning and designing policies in Sri Lanka, the policymakers have used the term '*gender*' in the documents as they need to treat the term rather than mainstream a gender perspective into the policy (mainstreaming gender). Therefore, in analysing the policy documents it is evident, that the term 'gender' has not been brought into the mainstream. The reason for this could be that either the policymakers have not realised the need for women's agency or they are not willing to mainstream women's agency. Furthermore, they have not felt compelled to examine the implications of the policies of both women and men and also have not paid attention to integrating the experiences and concerns of both women and men into one dimension in the policy process. In addition, they have not taken the capability of women in the field of economy into account. The documents show that the policymakers' adoption of gender mainstreaming into policy documents is without an explicit understanding of gender and the importance of gender mainstreaming in the policies and programmes as a strategy for gender equality. Moreover, in investigating these documents, it is evident that the traditional patriarchal values which are inculcated in Policymakers explicit automatically As the majority of policy makers are male and spring out from conservative, patriarchal systems where women are consciously accepted as dwellers of 'private sphere' and male as in 'public sphere'.

The in-depth analysis of documents further reveals that policy documents have not always considered equality and gender balance in society. Although theoretically and rationally the fundamental law of the country and other legal provisions ensure equality for both women and men. Even if it is philosophically accepted by people, empirically there is a gap in terms of putting that into practice. The constitution of Sri Lanka ensures the basic law of the country and offers equality for all without any discrimination on the basis of sex, ethnicity and so on throughout article 12 (2) of chapter seven (Constitution of Sri Lanka 1978:4; CENWOR 2008:5). Even though the constitution guarantees equality, empirical studies show that equality is not often practised in all public spheres. This is highlighted by various empirical studies carried out by scholars such as Karunaratne (2014/2015), Gunawardane (2016) Rajasingham-Senanayake (1999), and Mahanama and Naufel (2016). Whereas Karunaratne (2014/2015:40), explains that women are subjected to sexual harassment and discrimination in the workplace regardless of any conditions or the women's positions in the business. Mahanama and Naufel (2016:2) assert that there are restrictions and barriers for women who want land and property ownership due to the legislations in the 'Land Development Ordinance Act' in the country. Rajasingham-Senanayake (1999:138-140) explain how cultural barriers and traditional norms restrict women's empowerment in every way.

Further, in examination of these documents, most of the policy measures or actions taken by the government exhibit the characteristics of the 'Welfare Approach' and features of the WID approach. They mostly reveal the features of integrating women into the existing system and do not challenge the values and practices of the system so that exact gender mainstreaming can be introduced. Thus, an analysis of these policy documents reveals that the standard of 'gender mainstreaming' has not been reached but rather than mainstream gender, the focus has been on WID activities. Such a background explores that the country's lack of a mature culture accept '*gender mainstreaming* beyond WID approaches and practical gender needs. An in-depth analysis of the documents further demonstrates that women are still rarely

considered as ‘shareholder’ of the economy who has ownership of the economy of the country and the process of development but are considered as a beneficiary in the gender policy (as well as economic development) in Sri Lanka and are hence seen as a ‘target group’.

These documents further explore, that special attention has been paid to ‘*women’s interests*’ or ‘*prioritised concerns*’ of women as explained by Molyneux (1985: 230-232) and Moser (1989:1803, 2003:38) and these concerns are such measures rather than gender mainstreaming initiatives. Moreover, addressing women’s interests is a policy strategy of the WID approach. However, it is difficult to generalise ‘women’s interests’ as ‘Women’s interests’ are “compatibility of interest based on biological similarities” according to the explanation of Moser (1989:1803), because the position of women in society depends on a variety of criteria such as class, ethnicity and gender.

Furthermore, as True (2003), points out in the process of gender mainstreaming, although some traditional norms and values are provisionally accepted by society, at the same time, they are challenged by society in that process. However, in examining this process in Sri Lanka, such norms and values (especially patriarchal values) seems not to be challenged and a male bias can be seen, such as for instance, in child marriage in Muslim society (children less than 16 years), circumcision, and virginity tests in all three cultures, Sinhalese, Muslims and Tamils. This confirms that gender mainstreaming is vague in Sri Lankan society. The documents examined reveal that the government has paid attention to ‘Practical gender needs’ (PGN) rather than ‘Strategic gender needs’ (SGN). However, if gender mainstreaming needs to be a reality, when a particular government focuses on gender mainstreaming, their policies should be more focused on ‘strategic gender needs’ as they facilitate and provide the background to change or transform the existing structures or organisational change.

Further, according to the UN and its agencies and international organisations, although policies should not be gender-neutral, most of the Sri Lankan economic policies such as the 'National Productivity Policy for Sri Lanka' (both public sector and private sector), Public 'Investment Programmes 1984-1988 and 1985-1989' and many 'Budget Speeches' in several years are often not only gender-blind but also gender-neutral. On the other hand, both women and men are commonly addressed in Sri Lankan economic policy documents. They do not consider the unequal division between women and men in society. As there is an unequal division between two groups in the society, the group, which is disadvantaged and unequally treated should be separately addressed. Moreover, in gender mainstreaming women should not be passive beneficiaries: they should be defined in policies as active and dynamic partners and their contribution to the economy should also be considered.

Apart from this, the majority of national policy documents including 'Budget Speeches' focus on welfare measures as Moser (2003:58) points out in her explanation about the 'welfare approach' such as food aid, malnutrition and family planning, health care facilities rather than gender mainstreaming measures. For example, *Mahinda Chintana* (2005 and 2010), and most of the *Mahinda Chintana* Versions of the policy documents, *Regaining Sri Lanka* (2002), and many Budget Speeches and Public Investment Programmes, have concentrated on welfare approaches or pre-WID approaches. They are mostly 'practical gender needs' which attempt to fulfil family-centred orientations or needs rather than 'strategic gender needs' which need progressive changes in institutional and organisational structures and norms and values in the culture.

Further, although most of the documents paid attention to 'lower labour force participation' and the high rate of unemployment of women in the country, those documents have not adequately concentrated on the exact reasons underlying these factors and the barriers that

restrict women. They have also not focused on what policy measures need to be taken to abolish such structural barriers and to increase levels of women's participation in these areas.

In examining the total documents investigated in this study, only 4.8% were at the level of genuine gender mainstreaming. This means that only 3 documents were at the level of 'genuine gender mainstreaming'. They are; 'The national policy for Decent Work in Sri Lanka' (2006) and the 'National Women's Action Plan 2014-2018' and the National Human Resources and Employment Policy for Sri Lanka. Among them, 24% of the documents were symbolic whereas 71% of the documents were non-gender mainstreaming or absent of gender mainstreaming. Close examination of all policy documents, it reveals that the economic policy in Sri Lanka is male-biased and gender-blind. Although the constitution of Sri Lanka ensures economic equality for women without discrimination on the basis of sex. Research done by CENWOR in 2008 confirms this finding that the economic policy is male-biased. Another interesting outcome of the analysis is that, in the pre-conflict period, many documents that were reviewed and analysed, except three, were non-gender mainstreaming because most of the documents were focused only on economic development. Two Public Investment Programmes were (PIPs) symbolic gender mainstreaming. Therefore, in investigating the levels of gender mainstreaming in the pre-conflict period 80% of the documents, an overwhelming majority, were in the category of absent or in the level of non-gender mainstreaming. Documents investigated in the pre-conflict period, 20% were symbolic and none of the documents were at the level of genuine gender mainstreaming. The reason for this interesting situation may be that there was no ideology regarding the concept of gender mainstreaming prior to 1995 as mentioned below, when this concept surfaced.

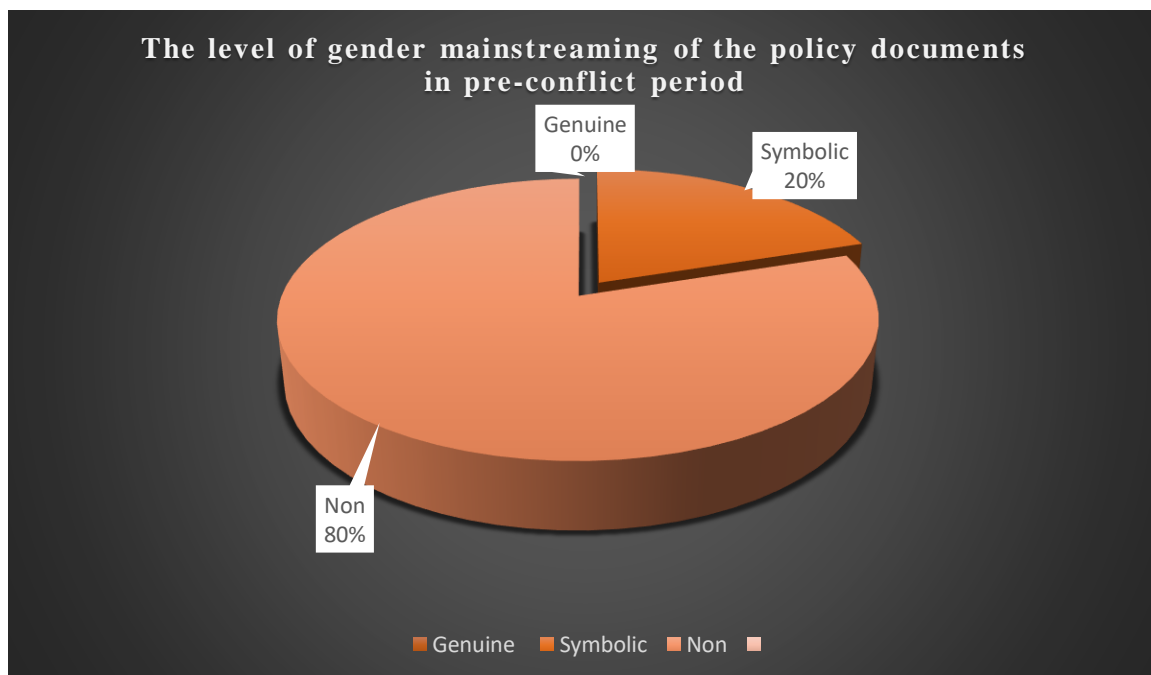


Figure 7.1 : The level of gender mainstreaming of the policy documents in pre-conflict period

In considering the documents in the conflict period, an overwhelming majority of the documents were non-gender mainstreaming whereas a few documents were genuine gender mainstreaming and a small number of documents were symbolic. Out of thirty-nine documents examined in this study which belong to the conflict period, 82% of the documents were in the category of non-gender mainstreaming or the absence of gender mainstreaming, whereas 13% of the documents were symbolic. Only 5% was at the level of genuine gender mainstreaming. Therefore, it is interesting to note that a reason behind this could probably be the civil war that occurred in the country. As a result of conflict and focusing its whole effort on war, the government would not have focused much on concepts of social justice. In the post-conflict period, 7.6%, which is one document, was genuine gender mainstreaming whereas most documents were at the level of symbolic at 61.5 % of the total documents investigated for this period and a few documents were non-gender mainstreaming at 30.7%.

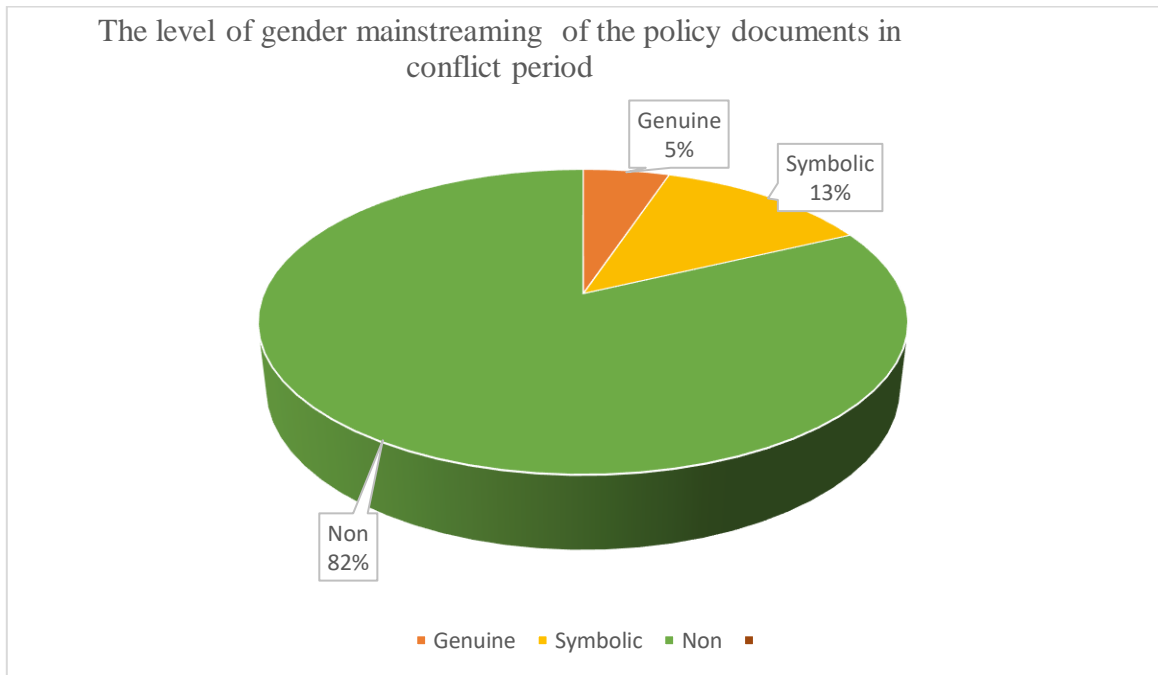


Figure 7.2 : The level of gender mainstreaming of the policy documents in conflict period

In the post-conflict period, 7.6%, which is one document, was genuine gender mainstreaming whereas most documents were at the level of symbolic at 61.5 % of the total documents investigated for this period and a few documents were non-gender mainstreaming at 30.7%.

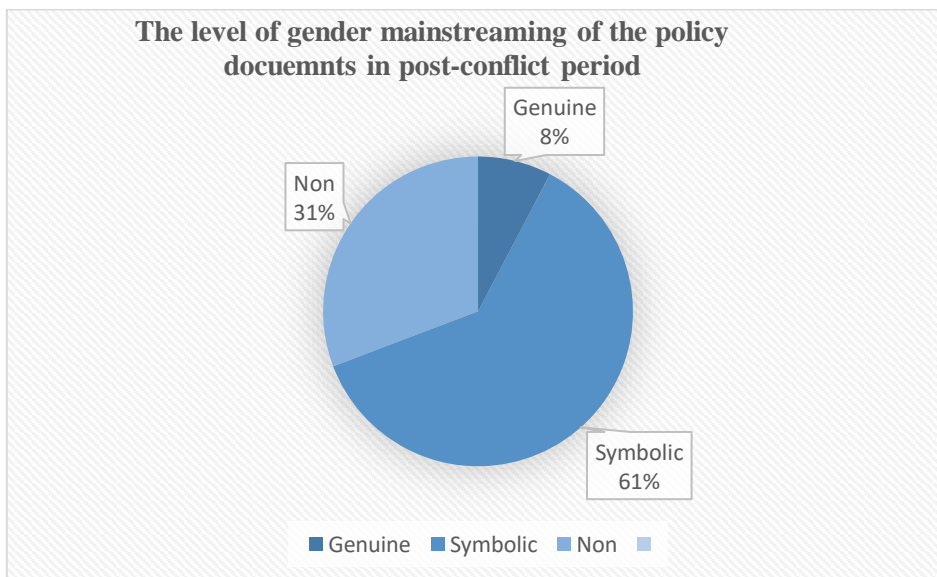


Figure 7.3 : Findings of the research

In the analysis, two types of key findings have emerged. They were; the outcomes of the literature review and the findings of the analysis of policy documents.

Findings of the analysis were divided into two categories;

1. Key general findings of the analysis of data of the research
2. Findings related to three different specific time periods

The **outcome** of the literature was also divided into two categories;

1. Findings relevant to global literature
2. Findings relevant to Sri Lankan literature

Therefore, this chapter mainly focuses on the aforesaid two categories of findings and the sub-categories mentioned above.

7.2.1 Findings of the literature

Two types of outcomes relevant to the reviewed literature came out in this research. They were; the findings relevant to the global literature which has been developed over two decades of the concept of ‘gender mainstreaming’ by the scholars and the UN and other agencies and findings of the literature relevant to Sri Lanka on this concept.

7.2.1.a Findings relevant to global literature

Literature on gender mainstreaming by development practitioners and policymakers working for international organisations as United Nations encompasses a vast area such as definitions of the term, origin and development of the concept, key theoretical arguments on the concept. Significant subsets of this literature look at gender mainstreaming in post-conflict reconstruction and development processes and gender mainstreaming in the European Union as well as the United Nations and international organisations. This literature incorporates scholarly debates on the theoretical background of the concept as well as practice of the concept and debates and explanations by different organisations. There is also a growing body

of feminist theoretical literature on gender and development as well as gender mainstreaming. This body of literature explores established arguments and discourses on the theoretical background of the concept of gender mainstreaming such as three typology or three-fold typology of gender mainstreaming presented by scholars such as Jahan (1996), Booth and Bennett (2002) Squires (2005), and Rees (2005) and the works of Verloo (2001, 2005), Walby (2005a, 2005b), Menon-Sen (2010) are a very significant category of literature found on gender mainstreaming. Moreover, this body of literature also encompasses the importance of gender mainstreaming and the reason gender mainstreaming has been greatly significant to the policy sphere as a modern tool of the policy process and a policy strategy to ensure gender equality.

The documentary evidence influence a critical understanding of gender mainstreaming as a concept of social justice and reasons why it is necessary to include in to the all spheres and all levels and also into gender analyses. The literature sees women's participation in the post-conflict reconstruction process as being crucial and therefore mainstreaming gender in this field as significant (O'Reilly et al: 9-10; True 2013: 2; Cahn 2006:337-338; Cohn 2004: 2-5). Gender mainstreaming is a new development in feminist practice that seeks to normalise policies for gender equality and it is identified as a specialised tool of the policy world (Walby 2005: 466). "Gender mainstreaming is an international phenomenon, originating in developmen policies" (Morley 2007: 607) and it was adopted by the UN at Beijing Conference in 1995.

Furthermore, it was disclosed in the literature that there is no uniformity and consistency among scholars regarding the definition of the term gender mainstreaming, and the concept has not developed evenly throughout the world up to the expected level even in western and European countries. Similarly, there is uneven development of the implementation of the concept of gender mainstreaming even in the European Union like a common transnational

political entity (Walby 2005 a: 454). Even though approximately three decades have passed since introducing gender mainstreaming as an equality policy strategy among nations, it has not yet developed and achieved the expected goal, especially in the European Union. Therefore, there is doubt whether there are gaps in the policy measures introduced by nations or whether they have addressed it genuinely in their policy process.

7.2.1.b Findings relevant to Sri Lankan literature

Sri Lanka has a considerable level of literature on gender and gender-related issues such as gender-based violence (GBV), gender and economic development, women's political participation and gender equality in the fields of politics, gender equality and human rights and so on. There is a vast body of literature in Sri Lankan academia on gender-based violence and sexual harassment, women, economic development, and labour force participation. A substantial body of literature is available on women's political participation, decision making and gender equality in the field of politics. This extent of literature demonstrates that gender-based violence in the country is a significant factor that needs to be addressed in the policy arena. The reason behind this seems to be the nature of Sri Lankan culture. The visible features in regards to the matter of sexual and sexual relations between males and females is a secret and closed thing that should not be opened to others and sexual relationships should only be with the married couple. With regards to sexual matters, similar to other Asians, the Sri Lankan culture is also hidden and closed one. Therefore, people are compelled to compress their sexual feelings and instincts and not allowed to release them freely.

A considerable amount of literature has also developed in the field of 'women, economic development, and labour force participation'. Although women doing a higher contribution to the national economy and the Gross Domestic Products (GDP) of the country, most of the women in the country are still at the poverty line and their contribution to the economy is still

not valued. Sri Lankan women contribute to national economy in three ways namely; the Apparel industry, plantation industry and foreign exchange (especially through working as housemaids in Middle East countries). However, women are still in poverty and dependent and have less representation in the formal sector employment and labour force participation. The reason behind this factor also mostly falls the cultural factor. According to cultural norms and values, people still think that economy and governance is owned by men as it is in the 'public domain' and is owned by men. Women are pushed into the 'private domain'. Therefore, people still have the inculcated mentality that women do not belong to the economic process even if their contribution is high.

Many published documents were found in the field of women's political participation, decision making and gender equality in politics. Developing such a considerable level of literature behind in this field also creates a cultural factor. Political participation and decision-making has also been recognised commonly as an activity of the male domain. Sri Lankan common culture does not accept women as capable enough for rational tasks like politics and decision-making. Subsequently it has become a male-dominated field.

However, there is a dearth of literature on gender mainstreaming in Sri Lankan academia. Sri Lankan literature on 'gender' reveals that little empirical research has been conducted on gender mainstreaming in the country and the inadequacy of the empirical research relevant to gender mainstreaming as a modern policy strategy and practice for gender equality is highly significant. The Asian Development Bank (ADB) has conducted some empirical research on gender mainstreaming with reference to two projects (North East Coastal Community Development Project and Tsunami-Affected Areas Rebuilding Project) (Asian Development Bank 2015) that was implemented in the post-conflict reconstruction period as well as on gender mainstreaming. The substantial literature on areas such as women in development, gender and development, women, economy and employment, labour force participation and

gender equality in Sri Lanka shows that an established culture for mainstreaming gender in the policy process at all levels and in all areas has still not been developed in Sri Lanka although there is discourse on gender equality and on representation of women in significant areas such as labour force participation, decision-making levels, and political participation. Currently, some research on gender mainstreaming is being carried out on different projects and programmes in the post-conflict scenario.

7.3 Findings of the analysis of the research

The other category of the findings of the research (analysis of policy documents) were divided into two categories. They are general key findings in the analysis of the research and findings relevant to three specific time periods named; pre-conflict, conflict and post-conflict. According to the findings of the research, the kind of gender mainstreaming related initiatives that have been developed in Sri Lanka over the period under investigation and the extent of these gender mainstreaming initiatives have been explored.

7.3.1 The key general findings in the analysis of the research

There are significant findings of this study which explore the real nature of track record on gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka since the practice of Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA). They can be explained as follows;

In examining the policy documents which were introduced in the post-conflict reconstruction and development process, gender equality and gender mainstreaming have focused mostly on programmes and projects funded by donors or funding agencies because gender equality is a requirement of these agencies. Therefore, a substantial genuineness could be seen only in

donor-funded policy plans, projects, and programmes as it is a required component of the funding agencies. This was clearly visible when examining the post-conflict development projects implemented in war-affected areas such as North East Coastal Community Development Project and the Tsunami-affected areas rebuilding project. In these programmes and projects gender mainstreaming and gender equality are substantially high. On the other hand, gender has rarely been mainstreamed in the programmes and projects presented by the government.

When funding agencies concentrate on gender equality and gender mainstreaming in a project, programme or a policy, the government has focused dedicatedly on these concepts, such as in 'The Decent Work in Sri Lanka (2006)'. It was funded by International Labour Organisation and gender mainstreaming was one of its significant components. Therefore, the government is bound to include a gender mainstreaming component in the policy. In considering this situation, the factor behind this is when the government presented policies alone for the nation, it does not willing to concern gender issues and address them honestly because of the patriarchal values of the leaders' inner mind.

Further, it was noted that none of the policy documents has focused on women who are engaged in the informal sector employment or their needs. These women do not have the facility of '*with pay leave*' similar to women in the formal sector, for reasons such as pregnancy and maternity leave. This demonstrates the negligence of the government in policy practice. It considers the rights of women only in the formal sector, but not others. It does not care about other women. It is also discriminatory treatment for women themselves. However, class consciousness might be there and women in the informal sector are often/mostly in the proletariat class.

Further, in analysing the documents, it was apparent that many of the documents are largely concerned with the ‘practical needs of women’ or ‘practical gender needs’ or ‘welfare programmes’ especially for women. Thus, in discussing gender mainstreaming, not only Sri Lanka, but northern countries too have concentrated on women-focused dimension or women-focused activities or measures. However, some policies have also focused on gender-aware programmes or policy initiatives and measures. Therefore, this situation reveals that in the journey towards gender mainstreaming, Sri Lanka has not yet come to a transformative dimension or criteria. As discussed in the literature review in considering Jahan’s (1996) explanation of the three stages of mainstreaming, Sri Lanka is still not in the stage of the ‘transformative’ approach which is essential to practice gender mainstreaming. Instead, we are still in the stage of practising ‘integrationist’ policy strategies so that women can be integrated into the economy and development. Although Sri Lanka has reached some features of the ‘Agenda-Setting’ approach to mainstream gender through policy documents such as ‘The Human Resources and Employment Policy for Sri Lanka (2012) and ‘The National Migration Policy for Sri Lanka’ (2008) we have still not achieved the standard of gender mainstreaming.

The next key finding was although Sri Lanka has national policies, there are fewer mechanisms to keep up with them continuously as in developed countries. When regimes changed policies introduced by those in power previously also changed according to the new political ideology and purpose of the new political party. Similarly, though the policies have included mainstreaming a gender perspective, they are hardly employed in practice. Therefore, Sri Lanka needs to develop a national mechanism to bring the policies into practice.

Moreover, one of the other major findings of this analysis was, that during the two different time periods: conflict and post-conflict, the focus has been on ‘gender mainstreaming’ to a

certain extent as the concept was accepted by the UN in the Fourth World Conference in Beijing in 1995, as a new policy strategy in the middle of this conflict period whereas the pre-conflict period has not focused on gender mainstreaming. Instead, it has focused on the integration of women into development. The fact that the government did not focus explicitly on gender mainstreaming in this pre-conflict period is not surprising as globally, the concept of gender mainstreaming as a strategy for gender equality was not embraced until 1995.

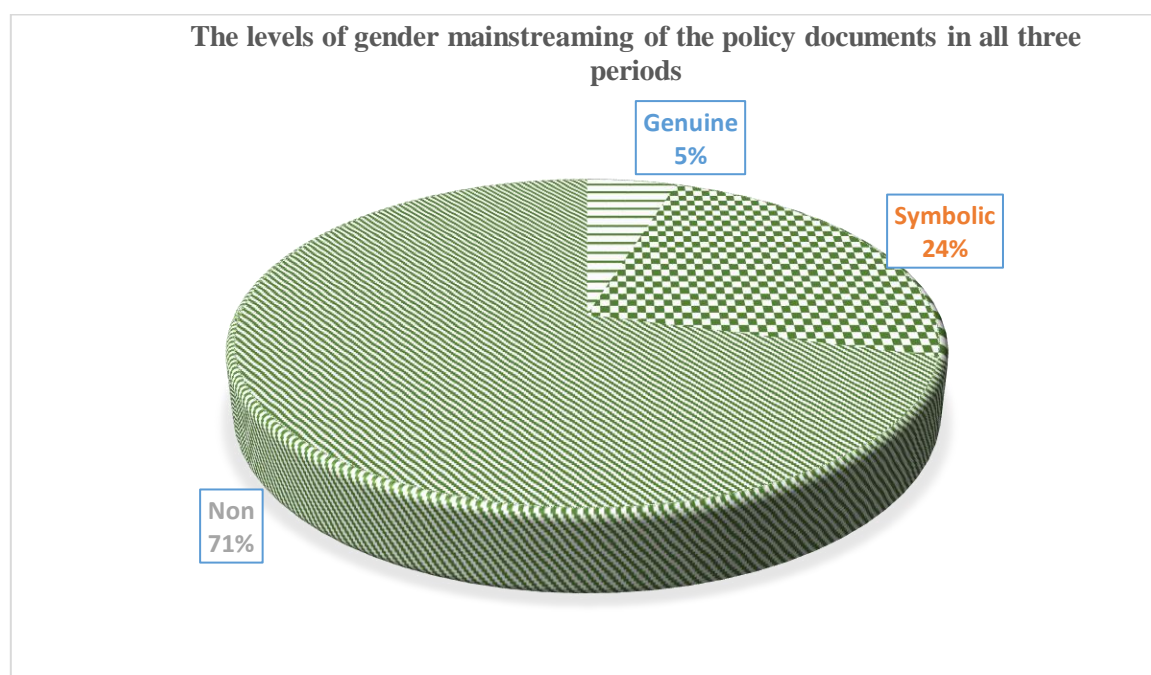


Figure 7.4 : The level of gender mainstreaming of the policy documents in all three periods

7.3.2 The findings relevant to three different time periods

Apart from the key general findings, the three time periods have also significant findings which are mostly related to the policy documents investigated in that particular period and the socio-economic and political background of the relevant period.

7.3.2.a The findings relevant to pre-conflict

In addressing the key findings of this period except for three public investments (PIP 1981-1985 in 1981; the PIP 1982-1986 in 1982; and PIP 1983-1987 in 1983), the majority of the documents including Public Investment Programmes and Budget Speeches, which were examined for this analysis, were mainly non-gender mainstreaming. The three Investment Programmes demonstrate the nature of symbolic gender mainstreaming. Of the three Investments Programmes, the first two focused on women's participation in labour force and the levels of unemployment of women, and the employment rates of women in particular years. They also focused on integration of women into development and the economy as well as health care facilities and the health condition of women and the women's issues. However, PIP 1983-1987 reveals that it focused on them less than the previous two PIPs (1981-1985 in 1981, the PIP 1982-1986 in 1982). Thus, the two PIPs explore more symbolic-gender mainstreaming characteristics than the PIP 1983-1987 in 1983. However, the budget Speeches examined for the period were largely non-gender mainstreaming, and did not pay attention to women's issues and the integration of women into development and economic programmes. Instead of focusing on women in development programmes, they were dedicated towards the rapid economic development of the country and national income and expenditures.

These documents do not explicitly assess the implications of the policies on women, as well as men. The policies mainly paid attention to the continuation of the newly introduced 'open-economic system' and focused on decreasing the unemployment rate and increasing the labour force participation of both women and men. However, among the economic development programmes there was some focus on equality for women as well as their participation in the labour force and employment. As mentioned above, the fact that the government of Sri Lanka did not focus explicitly on gender mainstreaming in this pre-conflict period is not surprising as globally too, the concept of gender mainstreaming as a strategy for

gender equality was not embraced until 1995. Rather, at this time, when gender was addressed, the focus was on equality for women in the development process, and on integrating women into the process of development through economic means. In this way, the Sri Lankan government followed the international trend and showed no real awareness of the concept of gender mainstreaming or the need to focus on it.

However, Sri Lanka has paid attention to the integration of women into the economic and development process during this time period to a certain extent through development programmes and it was an attempt at 'integrationist' approach which Jahan (1995) explains in her three typologies of 'mainstreaming'. WID is an 'integrationist' approach which tries to integrate women into existing systems as well as development programmes and by which increases women's economic condition and decreases poverty. During the period of the UN Decade, policies around the world often used an 'integrationist approach' to integrate women into economy and the development process. Moreover, most of these measures were 'practical gender needs' as Moser (1989, 2003) explains in her work, but they do not demonstrate the 'strategic gender needs' which are required for full gender mainstreaming.

As we have seen in the policy documents examined, a large number of policies put forward in the pre-conflict period were not sensitive to gender and inclined towards a gender blind approach. They did not mention women, or men, and instead they focused only on economic development in diverse fields and on the government's income and expenditures. Moreover, even in the policies sensitive to gender, the focus was only on women's labour force participation and employment and the some health care facilities of women. The awareness of gender in these documents is shown by the presentation of statistics on the roles of women in different fields, and in the discussion of the social status of women.

The recognition of gender is also evident in the policy measures taken by the government during this period to focus on women's interests or to prioritise the concerns of women, measures which attempted to integrate women into development programmes and the economy. Furthermore, the inclusion of gender awareness in policy documents is not surprising as some policy documents were influenced by the International Women's Year and the UN Decade for Women, and this gave rise to an official awareness of the government regarding women in development programmes.

In addition, among the findings in this document analysis, it was revealed that as a consequence of the liberalisation policy which was implemented during 1977-82, the unemployment rate of the country declined due to the initiatives introduced in the field of economics and the results of investment programmes and economic development programmes was the increase of the employment rate of women and the decrease the levels of unemployment among women. Further, they contributed to including women in the labour force than before. From 1978 to 1983, during the pre-conflict period, a number of positive achievements occurred in different fields such as education, legal provisions, health, and employment and in the labour force. As a consequence of the introduction of various policy implementations and policy reforms during this period a change in the position of women in society was seen.

Further, the factors and information in supplementary documents to triangulate the results of policy documents reveal that as a result of introducing new welfare schemes such as free school books, and the *Mahapola* Scholarship programme, and educational policies during this pre-conflict period women's education was enhanced and as a result, the social status of women was increased. As women received an education, they could enter into a higher level of employment at a higher social strata. Therefore, the women's condition and social status of women improved in society and their visibility in the public scene, as well as in the official

consciousness, increased from previous times. However, as a consequence of the new social systems, policy processes, or the practices that were introduced by the UNP government in society, a real change has not occurred in gender mainstreaming, gender equality, women empowerment, equal rights as well as the equal treatment and equal opportunities for women.

As Jayaweera (1985:2) highlighted, in spite of this limited awareness, women have been overlooked as a target group for development programmes in the planning stage and their economic roles have been underestimated. For instance, the economic development programmes such as the Accelerated Mahaweli Development Scheme, the Investment Promotion Zones, the Urban and Housing Development Project and the Integrated Rural Development Programme were all programmes that did not pay attention to women and how they could be integrated into development programmes. Therefore, while there were attempts in the pre-conflict period to address women's issues, such as labour force participation, increasing employment levels and decreasing unemployment levels and integration of women into the development process in order to be the active beneficiaries of development, some issues were overlooked.

7.3.2.b The findings relevant to the conflict period

In the analysis of this research, after examining documents in both periods, and comparing both pre-conflict and conflict periods, it was discovered that there is not much change in gender mainstreaming in the two periods as they focused mostly on WID and welfare (pre-WID) approaches, and mostly 'practical gender needs' measures were implemented. However, in the latter part of the conflict period, it was noted that gender mainstreaming concepts were incorporated into policies, programmes and projects. Most documents analysed for this period were non-gender mainstreaming whereas some others were symbolic. Although some documents focused on women and gender issues in the policy process, they did not demonstrate deliberate examples of mainstreaming gender and they were symbolic. Of

the documents, only the Decent Work policy offered a genuine example of gender mainstreaming. The policy focused on genuine gender mainstreaming and presented other policy measures for women, including an assessment that addressed the implication of the policy on women in its process and throughout the document.

In analysing the economic policies, the findings were interesting as they revealed the real nature of society including cultural norms and values. The Decent Work policy was funded by the ILO, and most of the time policies concerned with gender mainstreaming are funded by international donor agencies such as the UN, International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB) and ILO. In such situations, some policies appear to offer genuine gender mainstreaming. Therefore, this background exposes Sri Lanka's track record of developing gender mainstreaming during the conflict period. In considering all these economic policies in this period and on examining them further they do not appear to provide a standard gender perspective and exhibit a 'WID' and 'Welfare' (Pre-WID) approaches'. As explained above, most of the policy documents such as the Mahinda Chintana (2005), Regaining Sri Lanka (2002), Labour Migration (2008) and some PIPs incorporate 'women's interest and also 'practical gender needs' (PGN) in the discussion of labour force participation, employment and other economic activities, as well as women and health care facilities, and so on. However, the policy documents in the conflict period have not concentrated on measures such as removing gender stereotyping from vocational training, and removing institutionalised forms of discrimination, as well as taking steps to abolish sexual division of labour which may lead to institutional and structural changes. Therefore, there is no visible change in gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka even during the conflict period in comparison to the pre-conflict era.

WID approaches are made up of 'practical gender needs', prioritised concerns, or women's interests and social welfare measures in a Welfare (Pre-WID) approach, including maternity

and childcare, nutritional programmes for pregnant and lactating mothers and maternity clinics etc. Except for a few, many of the policy measures in Mahinda Chintana (2005) are welfare policy measures such as '*Pōshana Malla*' (free food package for pregnant mothers), *Diriya Kāntha*, *Kāntha Saviya*, and *Kāntha Pilisarana* (assistance to women). Self-employment support has also been offered through micro-credit loan schemes, and micro financing support. Most of the policy measures in Regaining Sri Lanka (2002) are also welfare or Pre-WID policy measures such as promoting employment, income opportunities, health programme, and support for female-headed households. Adopting a welfare approach provides a 'better mother concept' (Moser, 1993) and Mahinda Chintana (2005) focuses on the 'better mother concept'. For instance, it states that "The woman provides solid foundation to the family...she devotes her life to raise children..." (Mahinda Chintana 2005: 13). Thus, I found that it seems the general economic policies in Sri Lanka are still in the stage of adopting WID and Welfare policy approaches rather than offering gender mainstreaming.

In designing the economic policy documents in the conflict period, the policies still do not recognise the capability and capacity of women in economic activity. Women's contribution to the national economy has not been valued formerly. However, policy documents such as 'Decent Work (2006)', Mahinda Chintana (2005), and Regaining Sri Lanka (2002) have recognised women's capacity in economic activities and therefore they can be named as gender-sensitive policy documents. In examining the economic policy documents in the conflict period, the documents reveal that in designing economic policies in Sri Lanka, the capability and capacity of women in economic activity has not been recognised. women's contribution to the national economy has also not yet been valued formerly. However, some policy documents such as 'Decent Work (2006)', Mahinda Chintana (2005), and Regaining Sri Lanka (2002) have recognised women's capacity in economic activity and therefore they are gender sensitive policy documents in fields such as economics. Through an in-depth

examination of the documents, we may conclude that policy-makers in Sri Lanka are designing policies with a gender-oriented focus.

In focusing attention on Labour Migration (2008) Policy, and Regaining Sri Lanka: Part II (2002), it can be seen that both documents focus on women's contribution to the economy and society. In the 'introduction' of the Labour Migration policy (2008), and the section on 'national policy statement on labour migration', the policy states about both women and men. However, the remaining policy content does not reference both genders whereas Regaining Sri Lanka (2002), clearly pays attention to the contribution that women make towards the economy, family, community, and society. As mentioned above, Regaining Sri Lanka (2002) policy addresses areas that demonstrate women's contribution and commitment to the country as well as areas that have put them in a disadvantaged position and a lack of representation. However, both documents do not directly include an assessment of the impacts of the two policies on women. A deep investigation of gender in Labour Migration (2008), as explained above, reveals its symbolic nature. Neither policy documents explore the features of a genuine example of gender mainstreaming, but instead demonstrate the symbolic nature of gender mainstreaming.

Sri Lanka has two National Productivity policies for both public and private sectors yet the productivity policies have not paid attention to the concept of gender or gender mainstreaming. These policies do not consider gender mainstreaming as an important task and when the national productivity policy of the country does not offer a 'gender-sensitive' approach in improving productivity in the areas of the economy such as manufacturing, agriculture, plantation, construction, etc., it reveals the weakness in the policy. Mainstreaming gender in the productivity sector in a country is important as both women and men are stakeholders of the economy of the country. Further, as mentioned above, thirteen Public Investment Programmes (PIPs) were scrutinised for the purpose of this analysis. With the

exception of PIP 1988-1992 and PIP 1996-2000, the other PIPs are not concerned with women or any gender-related policy issues, projects or programmes. In that sense, all of these PIPs are non-gender mainstreaming. The PIPs 1983-1987 do not focus on gender related issues or women's needs.

The PIP 1988-1992 addresses key areas of 'women's needs' and shows awareness of women's needs as well as 'equal treatment' for women. It further reveals that the government is aware of gender and women's situation in the country. The Policy states that the "equality of rights is in theory only" (PIP 1988-1992: 99) for all (women) but not in practice. However, this policy concerns more on women's needs than the 'transformation of structures, gender roles and structures of social, institutional values and norms and the culture', when comparing it with other policy documents such as the Decent Work policy and Labour Migration policy. However, in examining all the above-mentioned documents comprehensively, all these policies concern more with 'women's interests' or 'prioritised concerns of women' rather than gender mainstreaming approaches such as 'transformation'.

In addition, in considering the Budget Speeches since 1984-2009 although they concentrated on welfare programmes, they have not focused on any programmes or projects for gender mainstreaming with the exception of the Budget Speech in 1999. The Budget Speech in 1999, has focused on three public investment programmes; food production, dairy development and sports, and cultural development for rural development. Apart from the above, it has also focused on '*Samurdhi*' programme (a welfare programme to enable poor people to become self-reliant). Only the dairy development programme mentions that the particular programme generates both income and employment especially for women. However, it is not in the sense of gender mainstreaming. It is not genuine or symbolic levels of gender mainstreaming, but is no-gender mainstreaming because it does not explicitly assess the implications of that particular policy on women and men and gender mainstreaming related initiatives. Thus, the

budget speech in 1999 is concerned to a certain extent on women and their development in Part I: 'Economic Policy and Vision'. It includes the addition of a section 'women and development' compared to other budget speeches. The important factor is that it has realised the contribution of women into the economy of the country (Budget Speech 1999: 22).

Although Mahinda Chintana (2005) and most of its versions have a tendency to frame women as 'mother figures', Decent Work and Regaining Sri Lanka recognise that women should be freed from traditional gender division of labour and that attention needs to be given to reduce the obstacles that women face in society. Both Decent Work and Regaining Sri Lanka focus on the 'strategic gender needs' (SGN) than the 'practical gender needs' (PGN) which are in the Mahinda Chintana. It is a progressive trend towards the process of gender mainstreaming. However, Regaining Sri Lanka (2002) has some conceptual errors as mentioned above, in defining 'vulnerable women' when considering the definition provided by Hanifa and Thiruchandran (2003:2). The policy considers widows and female heads of households as a '*vulnerable group*' that needs to have special care. According to the scholars, this recognition of groups such as war widows, Tsunami affected women and women heads of households as being 'vulnerable' is not true and is an incorrect categorisation, but they are a group for whom affirmative actions need to be undertaken (Thiruchandran 2003:2). Nevertheless, when compared with the documents such as Mahinda Chintana (2005) and most of its versions, Decent Work policy, Regaining Sri Lanka, and National Migration Policy etc., to Public Investment Programmes and Budget Speeches, these documents have a tendency rather than the PIPs and Budget Speeches in implementing policy measures which facilitate 'gender equality' though they are often welfare measures or practical gender needs measures.

In focusing the policy documents in the conflict period, many of the documents do not consider the different categories of women such as ethnic, religious, cultural, classes, casts, etc. All the policies consider Sri Lankan women as a homogeneous category, and do not

address the diversity among these women. In the explanation of the category of ‘*Displacement*’ in gender mainstreaming, Squires (2005) emphasises the recognition of female diversities and differences. However, all of the above-discussed policies do not focus on Squires’s (2005) theory and instead, consider all categories of women as being in the same group. According to Squires (2005) ‘displacement’ is based on the principle of diversity and it deconstructs a group into various categories and attempts to mainstream all the categories into the policy process. In practice, however, there is a variety of women who fall into different categories or groups who need to be considered in the policy process. Gender mainstreaming is a transformative strategy or approach and if the policies consider gender mainstreaming as a ‘transformative approach’, they need to consider these differences as well.

Finally, it can be concluded that, as a whole the documents focused on economic policy in Sri Lanka developed during the conflict period except for a few, are mostly male biased and gender neutral and also gender blind. Most of the documents are gender blind and focus on welfare and WID approaches rather than gender mainstreaming. Therefore, this background exposes Sri Lanka’s nature and the levels of gender mainstreaming during the conflict period and the changes and the levels of the changes of gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka in this conflict period. Of the total documents analysed for this chapter, very few documents have focused on genuine ‘gender mainstreaming.

7.3.2.c The findings relevant to post-conflict period

In examining all the policy documents, it is clearly demonstrated that whereas a few documents offer a genuine approach to gender mainstreaming the majority of them are symbolic of gender mainstreaming. While around four documents are non-gender mainstreaming, very documents reveal that the Sri Lankan government has a deliberate purpose to mainstream gender in its policy process. After examining and analysing the policy documents, the most noticeable factor was that all the policy documents related to Mahinda

Chintana (2010)- (the Mahinda Chintana and its versions) do not concentrate on ‘women’ or gender broadly and comprehensively. These documents symbolically mention women and their needs, such as their participation in decision-making, economic enhancement, etc. They are not specifically women-focused activities and measures and they have not implemented or planned to implement significant ‘strategic gender needs (SGN) in policy measures. Instead, the policy introduces the implementation of welfare actions or measures in a WID approach. With the exception of a few, many of the policy documents do not pay attention to women and gender issues. The majority of the policy documents are symbolic as they discuss welfare policy measures such as the maternal and nutritional care of pregnant mothers, female entrepreneurship (SMEs), credit facilities for women, children and women protection, and child abuse and violence against women etc. They present ‘practical gender needs’ (PGN) rather than SGN or strategic plans as these measures or gender needs do not help women to achieve greater equality and neither do they help to change the existing roles nor challenge women’s subordinate position in society as mentioned in Moser (2003). Furthermore, as mentioned above, whereas all of these ‘women’ needs’ or ‘women’s interests’ are ‘practical gender needs’, they are provided through policy documents such as Mahinda Chintana, the Emerging Wonder of Asia, and the Budget Speeches. ‘Practical gender needs’ are “a response to an immediate perceived necessity identified within a specific context and are practical in nature and often are concerned with inadequacies in living conditions such as water provision, health care and employment” (Moser, 200: 40). Therefore, they do not seem to be genuine and deliberate efforts to mainstream gender and are mostly symbolic examples of gender mainstreaming. In mainstreaming gender, the government needs to take steps for strategic gender purposes to abolish gender inequalities and establish gender equality in society.

However, in designing and implementing policies, the government has followed a trend of addressing and providing day-to-day needs such as welfare rather than addressing strategic ‘long term’ needs. In that sense, many of the documents such as Mahinda Chintana (2010)

and related versions, the Human Resources and Employment Policy (2012), Regaining Sri Lanka (2002), Women Action Plan 2014-2018 etc., have largely focused on and are concerned with the 'practical gender needs of women and women's needs rather than paying attention to strategic gender needs' and initiatives. However, the Emerging Wonder of Asia (2010) attempts to address a few 'strategic gender needs' initiatives in its section 8.1 to a certain extent in comparison to Mahinda Chintana versions. Although the Human Resources Policy tends towards strategic gender needs it is apparent on examining the background of the document that it has been developed with the support of International Labour Organisation (ILO) funds. Therefore, gender mainstreaming is one of the donor (ILO) components. Hence, the government has attempted to add these features and practice gender mainstreaming. In that sense, it appears that we are still not in a stage of gender mainstreaming but in a stage of addressing women's interests along with their prioritised concerns and adopting a policy that aims to address them. Furthermore, in these reviewed policy documents, including the Mahinda Chintana versions, gender needs are not considered, especially women's needs in planning human settlements, housing, and environmental planning. Further, among all of these documents, the Women Action Plan 2014-2018 (2014) is significant as it focuses only on women's needs and their interests (or prioritised concerns of them) and seeks to implement progressive strategic needs in different areas. In comparison to other documents, the Women Action Plan is more concerned with the level of genuine gender mainstreaming because it mainly developed in targeting women and their needs as it was developed by the Ministry of Women's Affairs and Child Development. Many of the documents concentrate on similar factors. The most common factor is welfare facilities for women such as women's maternity care, nutrition of pregnant mothers, mothers' mortality rates, etc. It is evident on investigating the documents, that the focus was on key themes such as women's health; women's empowerment; labour force participation and employment; political participation and decision-making; violence against women; and women, the peace process; and resettlement and rehabilitation.

The 'Human Resources and Employment Policy' (2012) is also identified as being symbolic except for the chapter titled 'Mainstreaming gender'. Most of the Mahinda Chintana versions are examples of symbolic gender mainstreaming except in some sections of these versions which demonstrate features beyond 'practical gender needs', and they have not actually reached genuine gender mainstreaming standards. However, the document has not achieved the standard of 'genuine' according to the criteria of the framework on the whole, Mahinda Chintana versions of the policy documents, the Budget Speeches, Youth policy, and Small Medium Enterprise (SME) policy are symbolic gender mainstreaming while the rest of the documents are no-gender mainstreaming.

However, on further examination of this analysis, it is evident that during the post-conflict period only one regime was in power and the changes in gender mainstreaming also do not occur in this period as a result of the regime that is in power. It is probable that the personality of the party leader and his political philosophy and ideology as well as his personal views on women and gender concepts could have influenced the policy process of gender mainstreaming. Moreover, it seems that in Sri Lanka, gender mainstreaming has been included into policies when it is a donor component and a condition of funding agencies. Furthermore, the significant factor revealed in this analysis of policy documents is, that we have so far achieved mostly the 'women-focused activities' in Sri Lanka when we discuss gender mainstreaming, which is not fair not only to us but to most of the northern countries in the world as well.

CHAPTER EIGHT:

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 The conclusion of the study

Present study was conducted to investigate and review ‘how Sri Lanka has developed mainstreaming gender during the period of 1978-2015. The main aim of the research was to examine how and at what levels Sri Lanka has established gender mainstreaming during the period covered under this study. It also explored the kind of gender mainstreaming related initiatives that have been introduced in Sri Lanka over the period, and the extent to which these gender mainstreaming initiatives were implemented in the country over three specific periods of time. Thus, through this analysis, the key significant findings that resulted in this current study can be concluded as follows; the majority of policy documents were in the level of absence of gender mainstreaming or non-gender mainstreaming. They are not gender-sensitive and they are gender-blind. The reasons behind this could be policy-makers and advisors might not be aware about these concepts of gender mainstreaming and gender equality and integration of women’s experiences and concerns into the policy process and also the importance of women’s agency in this policy process. Very often policymakers and advisors are male and gender-biased. Sometimes, they might be aware, even though they are aware, they are unintentional to doing so and because of the cultural values inculcated in their minds during their childhood and the patriarchal nature with them. Therefore, in such a background policies are gender blind and non-gender-sensitive.

Moreover, if sometimes policy documents demonstrate that they are gender-sensitive and concerns with gender when doing in-depth analysis they are also often not genuine, but symbolic. The reason behind this might be government and the officers are not exactly gender-sensitive and not in a mentality to practice a genuine gender mainstreaming

perspective in the policy process. Cultural values could be the factor behind this. Sri Lanka still does not seem a well-developed proper national gender policy that runs continuously even though regimes changed and the reason is the government is still not aware and genuine to address gender mainstreaming and leaders are also not genuinely willing to address these gender issues as they seem that they are not politically valued. Considered the condition of gender mainstreaming the study found that most of the policies, programmes and projects have substantial genuine of gender mainstreaming, they have often developed only with the support of donor-funded projects because mainstreaming gender is a requirement of the funding agencies. Further, the initiatives that have been taken by the government are often 'practical gender needs' or 'welfare approaches'. And not focused on 'strategic gender needs' such as challenging the existing social, institutional and cultural structures bring disadvantaged positions and discrimination against women. This situation exhibits the country has still not achieved the highest level of the dimension of gender mainstreaming in the framework: the transformation of gender roles, and changes in social institutional and organisational structures, values, norms and cultures. The reason is this dimension is very challenging because it wishes to change the existing systems and structures practised in society so far. Therefore, the government, the policymakers, policy advisors or the relevant officials are not willing to challenge and touch such culturally sensitive areas as it would affect the existing regimes or the leaders.

In addition to the above, the analysis of the extent that Sri Lanka has developed gender mainstreaming in the country during the study investigated time period a number of other significant findings came out. In the process of analysis, it revealed that Sri Lanka has attempted to develop mainstream gender to a certain extent in its policy process, after the introduction of gender mainstreaming as a new global policy strategy for gender equality at the Beijing conference in 1995. However, Sri Lanka has shown serious concerns and focused on gender equality for decades, since introducing CEDAW as a bill of women's rights the and

world's trends towards women developed after the International Women's Year in 1975. It has also focused on developing gender mainstreaming initiatives and measures to address the twelve critical areas mentioned in the Beijing Platform for Action. Areas such as education and training of women, women and health, women in power and decision-making, and women's human rights were under main considerations. Violence against women has also been a focus by the government of Sri Lanka amidst ongoing issues that occurrences of violence against women and girl-children over the country. Moreover, women and her role in the economic process have also been attempted to address through different policy measures as the Decent Work Policy (2006), the National Women Action Plan 2014-2018 (2014) and the National Human Resources and Employment Policy for Sri Lanka (2012), and also in several versions of *Mahinda Chintana* (2005, 2010) to a considerable level, although they are not at levels of genuine gender mainstreaming.

Nonetheless, it is evident that the achievement of mainstreaming has not been much achieved successful in the areas of all three dimensions in the framework by the initiatives and measures taken by the government. Considered the level or the extent of gender mainstreaming in the country, it shows that achievement has been made at the levels of women-focused activities and gender-focused awareness programs to a substantial level. However, Sri Lanka has still not succeeded in achieving dimension 3. Sri Lanka has mostly implemented or put the 'practical gender needs', women's interests rather than mainstreaming gender into practice. In a sense, Sri Lanka has mostly taken measures to mainstream 'women' rather than mainstreaming 'gender' in all policies, programs, projects, activities and policy plans.

Further, when considering the threefold typologies of Jahan (1996), Booth and Bennett (2002), Rees (2005) and Squires (2005), in mainstreaming gender, the country is still mostly in the stage of 'integrationist' or the level of 'inclusion' and to a quite extent the 'Agenda-

setting' as well. However, Sri Lanka has not yet achieved the stage of transformation as it still has not paid attention to structural changes, changing the existing gender division of labour and gender roles and has not challenged the cultural norms and values, which create discrimination against women.

Furthermore, the initiatives or measures which Sri Lankan government has taken to develop gender mainstreaming for instance, could be considered as the Women's Charter (1993), National Action Women Action Plan 2014-2018 and also a number of legal provisions such as the Prevention of Domestic violence Act No.34 of 2005, the Penal Code Act No. 2 of 1883 as amended by Act No.29 of 1998 and Maternity benefits Act No. 32 of 1939 as amended by Act No. 13 of 1978. Analysis of main and supplementary documents related to this study reveal that the government has taken initiatives to a certain level, however,- those initiatives are not adequate to take a transformative base by doing changes to inequitable social, institutional and organisational structures. Even if some ad hoc programs and activities for strategic gender needs were undertaken time to time, Sri Lanka does not seem to be practicing 'strategic gender mainstreaming' to change the inequitable and discriminative institutional systems and structures. Hence, Sri Lanka has to go another mile to achieve the goal of the level of genuine gender mainstreaming.

Even though Sri Lanka has a gender policy, it does not have a well-developed proper national policy that runs continuously towards the final goal. Therefore, an established national policy is of dire need for Sri Lanka to go ahead to achieve a sustainable and genuine gender mainstreaming perspective in its policy process and to ensure ultimate gender equality. Moreover, with regard to gender mainstreaming, it could be stated that there is a dearth of literature in Sri Lankan academia and there is a significant dearth of empirical studies on the practice of gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka. Further, in the post-conflict reconstruction

process, gender mainstreaming and gender equality have been focused on mostly and to a substantial level in the donor-funded projects as it is a requirement of the funding agencies.

In addition, after comparing the three-time periods of each other, there have been less visible changes in gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka three-time periods. However, there have been slight changes made in the levels of gender mainstreaming in these three time periods to a certain extent. In the pre-conflict period although, focused had been paid on the integration of women into the economy and development, however, not concentrated on 'gender mainstreaming' at all as gender mainstreaming has not emerged in that period as a policy strategy and modern approach to gender equality (a policy strategy for gender equality by United Nations in 1995 at the Fourth World Conference on Women.)

Further, when conflict period, compared to pre-conflict period there are changes visible in gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka in the conflict period. This period has concentrated on gender mainstreaming to a certain level than in the pre-conflict period. On the other hand, when post-conflict period is compared to the conflict and to pre-conflict period, the post-conflict period shows a significant focus on gender mainstreaming rather than the conflict and pre-conflict periods. The reason for this was ought to be, that in the post-conflict period, there seem to be a higher level of symbolic gender mainstreaming documents. While the conflict period had two 'genuine' policy documents, the post-conflict has only one 'genuine' gender mainstreaming policy document. Even though the gender mainstreaming was accepted by the UN during the conflict period, the main focus has been on the civil war of the country and to develop the economy. However, during the post-conflict period, this concept has become popular among the people as gender mainstreaming has become one of the crucial aspects of the post-conflict reconstruction process all over the world. Therefore, during post-conflict the levels of changes in gender mainstreaming could be observed as higher than that of the conflict period.

The observations show three different time periods with similarities and differences with special reference to the political and economic context of the country. During the post-conflict period, especially there was a diffusion of ideology on the concept of gender mainstreaming and therefore, as a result of that awareness of people on gender mainstreaming, people's awareness and inquiry on to it has increased and it could have made an impact on increasing the number of policy documents of symbolic gender mainstreaming. As a whole, it demonstrates that the government of Sri Lanka does not have a genuine and deliberate purpose to mainstream gender as a new policy strategy for gender equality. However, it should be noted that the government has taken several important measures to decrease the gap between women and men in the economy, employment and the social status of women. Moreover, the government has also taken some steps to empower women economically in the three-time periods.

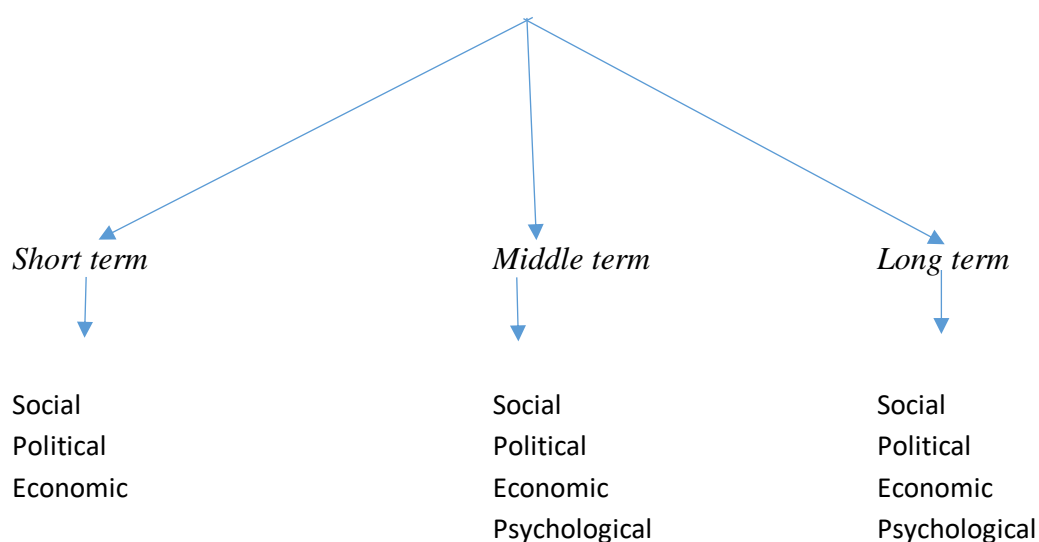
In order to succeed in genuine or exact gender mainstreaming, a nation has to follow three phases namely; women-focused activities, gender-focused or gender-aware activities and transformation of gender roles, and changes in social institutional and organisational structures, values, norms and cultures. The reason is, that gender mainstreaming is a process, which needs to follow several steps and it won't be achieved through sudden programmes over a night. In this process of gender mainstreaming, at first stage, women as a disadvantaged, marginalised, and discriminated group compared to men, need to be taken/drawn forward to empower and bring them into the public arena. Thence, measures should be taken for the setting up of gender –focused programmes or agenda-setting activities to gender equal opportunities and chances and finally, to transform all inequitable social, institutional, organisational and cultural structures and systems that create inequality between women and men in societies. Therefore, Sri Lanka also needs to follow these stages to succeed in genuine gender mainstreaming. It is a process that needs to inculcate a culture in

the inner mind of people to mainstream a gender perspective in all spheres of social, economic and political and also at all levels of the policies, programmes and projects for women and men in order to benefit equally and inequality not to be perpetuated and ultimately achieve goal of gender equality. Therefore, this gets inspired by Zuckerman and Greenberg's (2004) framework is highly significant in developing the analytical framework for this analysis as it provides different stages that we need to follow to achieve the goal of gender mainstreaming.

8.2 Recommendations

As pointed out about a number of crucial outcomes have been come out. Therefore, on the basis of those findings, the following recommendation can be suggested/presented. Society should be genuinely dedicated and have a deliberate purpose to make gender mainstreaming a reality. It should therefore pay attention to implementing that in programmes threefold stages into practice: *short term*, *middle term*, and *long term* and those programs should contain three spheres such as social, political economic and psychological.

Gender mainstreaming strategies



The government huge responsibility in implementing gender mainstreaming as a modern policy strategy for establishing gender equality. Therefore, the recommendation for mainstreaming gender should be in all three spheres of social, political and economic in all three stages mentioned above.

8.2.1 Gender Mainstreaming: strategies and measures (Short term)

In the journey toward gender mainstreaming and establishing gender equality, a nation needs to address some immediate issues that are being faced by women such as financial difficulties, livelihood issues, unemployment and low labour force participation. And those issues often might be measures related to ‘practical gender needs’ or some ‘women’s needs’. Measures or initiatives are necessary to bring women forward and empower them by providing new approaches to welfare services and activities, which assist in making arrangements for opportunities for women in every sphere of modern human life. It also needs to grasp systems accountable to respond and make changes and changing structures of social institutions should also be introduced and implemented in order to change the inherent barriers and resistance to gender equality in the society.

These changes are essential, Sri Lanka, like any Asian country, needs to provide welfare services or measures for well-being and to improve the status of women and to empower women at grassroots levels, who are still at the poverty line. If they won’t receive basic needs or the women’s interests are not met or their concerns are not prioritized through-welfare services, they won’t be able to achieve the required status in the society.

8.2.2 Gender Mainstreaming: strategies and measures (Middle term)

Apart from them, Sri Lanka needs attitudinal changes regarding women, gender and gender equality concepts and gender division of labour and gender roles. Patriarchal values and norms must be changed. Taking measures to do attitudinal and behavioral changes at the individual and institutional levels are needed in order to change the institutional structure and values to establish gender equality. If not, it will be difficult to change the institutions in a sustainable manner in order to practice gender mainstreaming. Adding women-specific

activities at the margin (Reeves and Baden 2000:12) is also an important measure that needs to be taken in the middle term. The programmes, projects and some activities should be launched to change the attitudes of public officials, the general public and women themselves. Responsibility of the implementation of gender policy should be gathered and centralized in a small central unit (Reeves and Baden 2000:12).

Measures should be taken to establish separate women's units or programmes within state and development institutions. Reeves and Baden (2000:12) have also emphasised this point as an important measure. Introduction of training programs, workshops and projects to make the policymakers and relevant government officials aware of the concept of gender mainstreaming and the concerns about women's experiences and interests in the policymaking process so as for them to practice the concept in practical background. Government higher officials (like secretaries to ministries, directors and assistant directors, managers, and other higher-ranking officers) should be given firsthand experience in the field where gender inequality issues are visibly prevalent particularly in grassroots areas and in some urban and semi-urban societies where patriarchal values are practiced and allow them to get involved in the activities and recognise the nature and integrate such issues in policy-making level to change those negatively effecting systems. Introduction of a gender focal point to each and every institution is a need for the journey towards gender mainstreaming. The focal point should not be a low ranking officer who is at the institution and he/she must be a higher ranking officer in the particular institution who may have power and authority to make the decisions. The reason is if not it won't be a success because a low ranking officer is not going to advise and guidance to the higher ranking officer regarding gender-related issues. Especially, in an Asian country like Sri Lanka where practicing an authoritative culture this situation is important.

8.2.3 Gender Mainstreaming: strategies and measures (Long term)

As long term measures are not simple as it seem in implementation they take time to be implemented and make a change in existing social, and institutional structures where disadvantages and discrimination against women are mostly in existence. Some structural changes in the institutions, organizations, gender roles and cultural values and norms are necessary for matters difficult to see any overnight change.

Gender equality and the importance of women's rights and their representation should be included in textbooks in school curricula (government and private), pre-school activities, *Pirivena* education (Buddhist monastic education) and other similar educational institutions. Taking measures to insert the gender-related concepts into textbooks has been discussed and in the process of its development and, it would be addressed in future. A political strategy needs to have at multiple levels and deeper institutional change should be introduced by highlighting the inadequacy of previous strategies.

New approaches should be introduced to address the discrimination that is brought by macro-economic policies in employment, wages and food security is also crucial and Rao and Kelleher (2005:59) have also seen this as an important initiative. As Rao and Kelleher (2005: 59) present in their work, changing the inequitable social systems and institutions is highly essential, which means the 'institutional change'. This type of change is a requirement for addressing the root causes of gender inequality and Rao and Kelleher (2005:59) introduced it as changing the rules of the game. This change should be a broader institutional change to challenge the prevalent male advantage. Further, as Reeves and Baden point out through building gender capacity and accountability an organisational strategy to bring a gender perspective to all aspects of an institution's policy and activities (2000:12). Furthermore, as Reeves and Baden (2005:12) emphasise, an organisational strategy needs to bring a gender

perspective to all aspects of an institution's policy and activities through building gender capacity and accountability.

Moreover, gender mainstreaming have a holistic approach. Taking measures and initiatives on one side is not adequate and not successful and sustainable, and they must be represented in each and every cohort such as age, culture, ethnicity, and gender vice etc. Representing gender should be addressed in all spheres, aspects and at all levels. Every policy and programme gender equality and mainstreaming of a gender perspective must be included such as health, education, economy, industries and environment.

In addition, a policy needs to be taken measures to reduce the gender disparity, gaps and disparities in different spheres such as social, economic, political, environmental, decision-making and so on. Apart from that, the policies need to address not only the women-focused and gender-focused measures and initiatives, but also the transformation of gender roles and social, institutional, and organisational structures and values and norms and the culture as well.

Moreover, measures should be taken to change the deep-rooted mindset of people and the inculcated values, norms and myths relevant to women and men in society and their division of gender roles and responsibilities. If these inculcated myths and deep-rooted values will not be changed it would be difficult to change the cultural barriers to mainstream gender and ensure gender equality in the society to reach UN standards.

In addition, "responsibility for the implementation of gender policy is diffused across the organisational structure, rather than concentrated in a small central unit" (Reeves and Baden 2000: 12). According to Reeves and Baden, in such a process, mainstreaming could be done through agenda-setting approaches, which transform the development agenda itself while

prioritizing gender concerns as well as a more politically accepted integrationist approach brings women's and gender concerns into all of the existing policies and programmes, focusing on adapting institutional procedures to achieve this (2000: 12).

Gender mainstreaming should be adopted as a transformative strategy and a key criterion for the design and implementation of development policies, programmes and projects. The equity approach should be included in all development policies and interventions. This needs a rethinking of policies and programmes so that women's and men's different realities and interests taken into account. New approaches should be introduced and they range from a call for a new social contract to the creation of innovatively managed market approaches and from calls for the transformation of institutions and organizations and re-energized and re-politicised women's movements for mainstreaming gender is also significant. Moreover, all approaches that bring about must also have a political component because gender relations exist within a force field of power relations and power is used to maintain existing privilege (Rao and Kelleher 2005: 59) for men in society. Gender mainstreaming to be a transformative approach, and work towards gender equality inequitable social systems and institutions must be changed as it the root causes of gender equality. This 'institutional change' is introduced by Rao and Kelleher as 'changing the rules of the game' (2005:59). Institutional change is necessary as institutional structure provides inequitable social hierarchy between women and men because those institutional structures have been designed and created in order to provide power and authority to men to maintain patriarchy in the society. Especially, in Sri Lankan culture as still patriarchal values have not been totally abolished and they remain and also come out to the surface when necessary to take advantage of men and discriminate against women such as in politics and decision-making positions.

Hence, institutionalizing gender mainstreaming is also an important measure. Issuing regulations to ensure the usage of gender tools for planning and programming and appointing

gender focal point specialists to support gender mainstreaming are also crucial. Development of gender perspective in planning and programming should be done. Conducting advocacy, gender awareness and sensitivity, and training to generate understanding among planners and programmers is an important policy measure (Menon-Sen 2010:14) that needs to be introduced. Developing technical capacity is a significant measure that needs to be taken. For this purpose, developing manuals and guidelines, preparing trainers and training the planners and program staff in the use of gender analysis gender statistics, gender budgeting and gender auditing are very important. Policy advocacy is a crucial measure that needs to be taken into account as well. Making influence to policymakers at the highest levels to mainstream a gender perspective in macroeconomics, finance trade policy and also in political affairs (Menon-Sen 2010:14) is more important. In addition, any approach to mainstreaming a gender perspective essential to have sufficient resources and also high-level commitment and authority must be there. Government need to have a central gender unit that has the capacity of a cross-sectoral policy oversight and monitoring role and it should be combined with a web of gender specialists across the institution. This should be built linkages and associations both within and outside communities such as women's organisations (Reeves and Baden 2000: 12). Introduction of gender and development policies and programmes that can be challenged and changed gender stereotyping and socially prescribed gender roles for women. Thus, in the journey toward gender mainstreaming in Sri Lanka, in order to succeed the process, the measures that the government need to follow short-term, middle-term and long-term recommendations.

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