

Final Evaluation Report

Women in Learning and Leadership Project

Submitted to Search for Common Ground, Sri Lanka



Nucleus Services | Nucleus Foundation



PROJECTS



TRAINING



RESEARCH

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List of Abbreviations

ACLG	Assistant Commissioner of Local Government
ACMC	All Ceylon Makkal Catchchi
CLG	Commissioner of Local Government
CMVE	Centre for Monitoring Election Violence
DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FPTP	First Past the Post
GBV	Gender Based Violence
ICES	International Centre for Ethnic Studies
ITAK	Illankai Tamil Arusa Katchchi
JVP	Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna
KII	Key Informant's Interview
LGA	Local Government Authority
M&E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MC	Municipal Council
MEP	Mahajana Eksath Peramuna
MP	Member of Parliament
PR	Proportional Representation
PS	Pradeshiya Sabha
RA	Research Assistant
SAPSRI	South Asia Partnership Sri Lanka
SFCG/Search	Search for Common Ground
SLCDF	Sri Lanka Centre for Development Facilitation
SLFP	Sri Lanka Freedom Party
SLILG	Sri Lanka Institute of Local Governance
SLMC	Sri Lanka Muslim Congress
SLPP	Sri Lanka Podujana Peramuna
TI	Transparency International
TNA	Tamil National Alliance
TOR	Terms of Reference
TULF	Tamil United Liberation Front
UC	Urban Council
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNP	United National Party
UPFA	United Peoples Liberation Front
WILL	Women in Learning and Leadership
WPC/PWC	Women's Parliamentary Caucus /Parliamentary Women's Caucus

Executive Summary

Background:

The Women in Learning and Leadership (WILL) project implemented by SFCG (hereinafter referred to as Search) Sri Lanka, is an initiative to promote an inclusive Sri Lanka through empowerment of women political leaders. WILL was funded by the Australian High Commission, in partnership with the Ministry of Women's Affairs and Child Development, and the Ministry of Provincial Councils and Local Government. The overall objective of the project was *to promote a gender-positive electoral environment by engaging diverse stakeholders to empower women as political leaders on all levels of government.*

The final evaluation intended to review progress towards the project's objectives. A mixed method approach of qualitative and quantitative tools was used, including KIIs with 27 main stakeholders of the project and a survey of 145 women leaders supported by the project. Survey of a control group (143 non-beneficiaries) was carried out to compare and contrast findings.

Findings

Relevance:

With the election of close to 2000 women leaders to local government in February 2018, there was a clear need to build the capacity of women in local leadership. The project was aspirational and opportune. Most women elected to local government were new to politics. For many, this was their very first foray into governance. For those with some experience, their experience was often limited to helping organise and run campaigns for male counterparts and/or colleagues. They did not know how to function independently in politics, on stage, or in the arena of local government. Hence the modalities of the project were very relevant to the current context in Sri Lanka.

Effectiveness:

Personal change: Pre and post tests were administered to training participants at all training programmes. In most Districts the knowledge of participating women leaders had improved. Results from the pre-test showed that no trainees received a perfect score (answering all ten questions correctly). However, 109 participants received a perfect score during the post-test. A significant improvement. 91% of women leaders trained by the WILL project were members of committees within their LGAs, compared to 75.5% of those in the control group. This indicates that women leaders trained by the WILL project had a higher tendency to become involved in the activities of their LGA. Among the members of the Women's Parliamentary Caucus (WPC), even though their party rank and overall rank remained low, participation in parliamentary activities had improved.

Relational change: Training programmes conducted for women leaders in local government were a good start. They created a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic setting at workshops, leading to greater ethnic and religious integration among women leaders. Above 70% of WILL trained women leaders in all five Districts were currently working with their male counterparts. Among the control group, the number of women leaders working with male counterparts was less than 50% in all Districts except Anuradhapura (80%). 60% to 90% of trained women leaders said they felt included and respected. From the control group, a smaller percentage of women felt included and respected?

Cultural shift: There was a discrepancy in responses when women leaders were asked if they are portrayed as role models in local media. Public perception and status in politics may not

have shifted considerably, as some parties didn't pick suitable candidates or prominent figures to participate in the elections. Members of the WPC indicated that there were fewer positive exposure opportunities for women politicians in the media. They pointed out that issues important to women were not highlighted in the media. Even though there has been more exposure created and awareness raised on the need for engaging more women in politics (due to the 25% quota), there remains room for improvement regarding how women are portrayed in mainstream Sinhala and Tamil media, and social media.

Achievement of outcomes

Outcome 1: Women political leaders have improved knowledge of local and national government processes: Increase in participation and contribution of women in local government committees indicates that trained women leaders have increased knowledge and confidence as a result of WILL training programmes. The project has enabled them to better contribute to the proceedings at their LGAs.

Outcome 2.1: To promote relationships and networking among female political leaders across the dividing lines (political parties, ethnic, religious, linguistics and regional): WPC members participated in several project events. This brought them closer together as a group, fostering common interest rather than being divisive across party, political, ethnic, or religious lines. International Women's Day celebrations were held in Kilinochchi (Northern Province) in March 2018. The event brought women leaders from across the country (including members of the WPC) onto a shared platform. Six WPC members participated in a study tour to Australia. The WPC also launched a campaign to prevent sexual harassment in public transport. These events and activities helped develop a strong bond between members of the WPC across party and political affiliations.

Outcome 3: Perception of the general public towards women political leaders improved: Media campaigns were carried out including 'Vote Women Sri Lanka'. Facebook pages and Twitter Accounts of Search Sri Lanka and 'Vote Women SL' were heavily involved in promotion of the campaign. A series of cartoons were also published in both local languages. As a perception survey of the public was not part of the final evaluation, it is difficult to ascertain change in perception of the general public towards women political leaders. An analysis of the *Vote Women Sri Lanka* Facebook page indicates that although the page has 3,958 followers, posts generate comparatively fewer reactions.

Sustainability:

The project did not include a formal exit-strategy. SLILG stakeholders who participated in the project believed more work needed to be done to maintain momentum generated. Further capacity building of newly elected women leaders is essential. Overall, training provided appears to have been useful. For most participants, it was the first time they were exposed to such capacity building activities. Participating journalists also indicated that they would continue to use skills developed through the project. Even without the WILL project, women leaders were introduced to SLILG and will continue to use their services and make use of relationships established.

Lessons Learnt and Good Practices:

Lessons learnt include: 1) Women contesting political office face many challenges brought about by a patriarchal system. Male political leaders and decision makers within political parties must be made aware of the need to include women as leaders. 2) WPC as an organisation needs to be more visible and known, members of the public interviewed during the campaign to stop sexual harassment in public transport indicated they did not know of the existence of the WPC. 3) Women leaders must be empowered to overcome mitigating factors

and raise issues within national, provincial, and local authorities. Comments from women attending the WILL training indicate they appreciated the opportunity to develop confidence and capacity to engage. 4) Networks created between national and local level women leaders must be fostered and developed further. WPC members who were able to get to know other women leaders from their regions appreciated the opportunity and mentioned they now found it easier to approach women leaders in their constituencies as they already know them through the networking sessions. 5) More work needs to be done to improve the portrayal of women leaders in mainstream media. Most women leaders were critical of the current portrayal of women leaders in the media.

Several organizations including Law and Society Trust (LST), Transparency International (TI), UNDP (United Nations Development Program), SAPSRI (South Asia Partnership Sri Lanka), SLCDF (Sri Lanka Centre for Development Facilitation), Women and Media Collective, and Asia Foundation have expressed interest in pursuing some of the project's key activities. SLILG is now planning 2 to 3 day programmes and is in the process of identifying modules, via content that was developed in collaboration with wider stakeholder groups. These programmes are based on training conducted by the WILL project for women leaders of LGAs.

Recommendations:

1. Capacity building for diverse stakeholders

1.1. Regularly engage and continue the relationship initiated with the newly elected women members of LGAs. Continue capacity development on local governance and running of local government authorities.

2. Networking (within the province and between province and national levels)

2.1. Continue to support the WPC to identify issues affecting women and bring those issues to the notice of policymakers.

2.2. Further develop and consolidate relationships between women leaders of LGAs and the WPC. Design and implement activities to create awareness about the WPC amongst the public.

2.3. Promote networking among elected women leaders across ethnic, religious, political, and gender divides by organising more networking and joint events and activities (exposure visits, forums to discuss common issues).

2.4. Establish women's caucuses in each District / Province and conduct regular forums (inter-district and inter-province) so they have a platform to share issues and experiences.

2.5. Include men in events and activities so male champions of women's causes are identified and engaged.

3. Public Awareness and Attitude

3.1. Promote the exposure of women as positive role models in mainstream media; especially in the local languages.

3.2. Promote programmes advocating for better portrayal of women in media. Showcase the stories of successful women.

3.3. Lobby to develop a code of conduct for media regarding the implementation and publication of material promoting inclusion and positive portrayal of women.

3.4. Conduct behaviour change communication campaigns to raise issues amongst the public. E.g. participation of women in politics (similar to the campaign against sexual harassment in public transport).

4. Other conclusions and recommendations

4.1. Further develop the network of government authorities including SLILG, ACLG offices in the Districts, and others. Use them to disseminate best practices and learning from the project, which will also ensure sustainability of some activities.

1. Introduction

1.1. Context

Sri Lanka became the first South Asian country that allowed women to vote in 1931. However, women remain underrepresented in parliament and other bodies including Provincial Councils (PCs), *Pradeshiya Sabhas* (PS), and other local government authorities. Provincial Councils constitute the intermediate level of government established within the existing governmental system. The system is comprised of two levels, national and local¹. In 1987, *Pradeshiya Sabhas* were introduced to Sri Lanka as a means of devolving and decentralising power through the 13th amendment of the constitution. Local government consists of municipal councils, urban councils and *Pradeshiya Sabhas* (PSs). PSs are governed by the 1987 PS Act no.15.².

Despite Sri Lanka being the first country to elect a female prime minister and two female heads of state in the modern world, representation of women in Sri Lankan politics remains low. The number and proportion of women elected to parliament has only increased from 3% (3 members) in 1947 to 5.8% in 2013 (13 members). (Source: Baseline assessment report, Search WILL project).

There are nine Provincial Councils in Sri Lanka; each Province has two to three Districts. Each Province has a governor, chief minister, and a cabinet of five ministers. Women's representation in the nine Provincial Councils is 4.1%, lower than representation at parliamentary level³. As at March 2018, there were 335 local authorities (23 municipal councils, 41 urban councils, and 271 divisional councils). All local authorities are elected for a 4-year term using a proportional representation system.

In May 2015, most *Pradeshiya Sabhas* (PSs) were dissolved. The government declared that local government elections will be held under a mixed electoral system⁴. A recent amendment to the electoral process announced that there would be a 25% quota allocated for women. The decision to implement this quota is seen as an important milestone for Sri Lanka's women's movement. New amendments are based on the Act No. 22 of 2012, which introduced a mixed system combining First Past the Post (FPTP) and Proportional Representation (PR). Thus, a local authority is divided into electoral units and each unit elects one member. As per the amendment, 70% of representatives will be elected through the FPTP system and the remaining 30% will be elected through the PR system.

Local government elections were held on 10 February 2018 under the new system. 1919 grassroots women political leaders were elected and nominated to be a part of local government decision making at this election. (Source: Final report, Search WILL, August 2018).

1.2. Background

Search implemented the Women in Learning and Leadership (WILL) project as an initiative to promote an inclusive Sri Lanka through empowerment of women political leaders. The project was implemented from December 2016 to August 2018, with two extensions as local

¹ Source: <http://www.paffrel.com/posters/131202101231Sri%20Lankawe%20Palathsabha%20-%20English.pdf>

² Source: <http://www.sundayobserver.lk/2018/02/25/features/'just-implement-law-fulfill-25-quota'-rights-activists>

³ Source: <http://www.ft.lk/article/522486/Improving-female-representation>

⁴ Source: Final evaluation, SFCG Citizens In Governance Project, April 2016

government elections in Sri Lanka were delayed and many activities could not be carried out until women leaders were elected to the local government authorities. The project is funded by the Australian High Commission, in partnership with the Ministry of Women's Affairs and Child Development, and the Ministry of Provincial Councils and Local Government.

The project worked with female political leaders at all three levels of government (national, provincial, and local) to increase women's political participation. The overall objective of the project was *to promote a gender-positive electoral environment by engaging diverse stakeholders to empower women as political leaders on all levels of government*⁵.

Nucleus Services has been providing monitoring and evaluation support to the WILL project, including the final evaluation of the project. This report documents the proceedings and outcomes of the final evaluation as per the Terms of Reference (TOR) published by SCFG.

1.3. Objective

The objective of the evaluation is to review progress towards the project's objectives and outcomes, identify strengths and weaknesses in project design and implementation, and provide recommendations for the future.

Specific objectives of the final evaluation were to:

1. Assess the project contribution in bringing change defined by the goal, objectives, and the project log-frame.
2. Document lessons learned, good practices, success stories, and challenges to inform the future work of SEARCH and its partners.
3. Furnish specific recommendations for similar future interventions.

1.4. Methodology

A mixed method approach of qualitative and quantitative methods was used. The following process was followed in carrying out the evaluation:

1. Collating and reviewing secondary data: Project documents including project proposal, log-frame, research and policy analysis report, periodic reports and monitoring data, media products, training pre/post assessment results, mid-term evaluation report, and relevant literature were reviewed. The websites www.manthri.lk and www.parliament.lk were used to assess the status of indicator 1.1.2: Members of the Women's caucus have improved their participation in parliamentary proceedings and legislative processes. The current status of women MPs were compared to their levels of participation which have been reviewed in the baseline assessment.
2. Identification of key stakeholders as respondents for evaluation: A list of key stakeholders for Key Informant Interviews (KIIs) was developed in consultation with the Search team.
3. Preparation of KII checklist and survey questionnaires: Questionnaires and checklists were developed based on indicators and intended impact of the project design. They were drafted in English and Sinhala/Tamil. Questionnaires and guidelines were submitted to Search and revised based on their feedback.
4. Field survey was conducted by local researchers. The survey team was oriented and commissioned to collect necessary data based on questionnaires and guidelines provided.

⁵ Source: Search WILL project proposal

Field interviews were conducted in Sinhala, Tamil, and English depending on the language competency of respondents.

5. Kick-off meeting with Search team: A kick-off meeting was planned with the Search team engaged in implementing the project. However, due to difficulties faced in getting the team together, it was decided (in consultation with Search), to conduct individual interviews instead. The Country Director, Head of Programmes, Project Manager, and Project Coordinator were interviewed.
6. Key Informant Interviews with stakeholders: A list of key informants were identified in consultation with Search. KIIs were conducted with two members from DFAT, Mr Michael Newman, First Secretary Development Cooperation and Mr Dilhara Goonawardana Senior Program Officer⁶. KIIs were also conducted with five members of the Sri Lanka Institute of Local Governance including the Director, staff, trainers and consultants involved in implementing the training programme for women leaders. Two members of Verité Research were interviewed as they had implemented several activities of the project including capacity building programmes for staff of women parliamentarians. Three journalists trained by the project were interviewed, as was the Secretary of the Ministry of Local Government. From the regions, five women activists were interviewed as key informants. It was agreed that the evaluation would focus on KIIs that would be best positioned to provide feedback about the project, regardless of their location. Hence, many identified key informants were from the national level.
7. Key Information Interviews with WPC members: Interview with six (50%) of the women parliamentarians was planned. However only five members of the WPC could be interviewed despite repeated efforts from the evaluation team and Search. Some women parliamentarians were out of the country. The State Minister for Child Affairs could not be interviewed even though a senior member of the evaluation team made repeated phone call reminders.
8. Sample selection: The purposive sample frame comprised of 234 trained women leaders across five Districts: Ampara 25, Anuradhapura 80, Colombo 31, Matale 59 and Rathnapura 39. A sample of 25 for Ampara and 30 per District from the other three Districts were selected for the survey resulting in a total 145 (36% of total trained women from all Districts and 62% of trained women leaders from the five Districts covered by the survey). A control group of women leaders (not trained by WILL project) was also selected to compare and contrast findings. The control group comprised of 30 women from Ampara, Anuradhapura, and Colombo, 27 from Matale and 26 from Rathnapura (total 143) who had not received training. Since most elected women leaders in Anuradhapura and Matale had been trained by the WILL project, untrained women leaders from the adjacent Districts of Polonnaruwa and Kandy were interviewed as part of the control group⁷.
9. Data analysis: Data collected from the field survey was translated into English, entered, and analysed using SPSS. Data was cleaned and quality checked to ensure standards were maintained. The data collecting and entering processes were done simultaneously to ensure speed.

⁶ The former was interviewed via Skype since he was out of Sri Lanka.

⁷ The control group from Anuradhapura also includes women leaders from Polonnaruwa and the control group from Matale also includes women leaders from Kandy.

1.5. Profiles of respondents of the survey

The profile of the respondent of the survey is provided by the table below:

Table 1: Profile of respondents of the survey

District	Beneficiaries		Control group	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Ampara	25	17.2	30	21.0
Anuradhapura	30	20.7	30	21.0
Colombo	30	20.7	30	21.0
Matale	30	20.7	27	18.9
Rathnapura	30	20.7	26	18.2
Total	145	100.0	143	100.0
Average age	45.6		44.4	
Ethnicity				
Sinhala	143	98.6	116	81.1
Tamil	1	0.7	12	8.4
Muslim	0	0	14	9.8
Other	1	0.7	1	0.7
Level of education				
Grade 8 and Below	4	2.8	0	0
O/L	58	40.0	60	42.0
A/L	71	49.0	69	48.3
Graduate	11	7.6	13	9.1
Post-graduate & above	1	0.7	1	0.7
Elected for the first times in 2018	140	96.6	139	97.2

145 women leaders recently elected to local government authorities and trained by WILL were interviewed. The average age of respondents was 45.7. The youngest being 20 and the oldest 74 years of age. Most respondents, 98.6% (143) were Sinhala. There was 1 Tamil respondent. 1 respondent's ethnicity was unspecified. 49% (71) respondents had attained an education level of GCE Advanced Level (A/L). 40% (58) had attained an education level of GCE Ordinary Level (O/L). Only 7.6% (11) of the trained women leaders were University graduates (undergraduates). One respondent (0.7%) had achieved post-graduate qualifications. 2.8% (4 persons) had attained an education level below grade 8. 96.6% (140) of women leaders had been elected for the first time in 2018. 3 people (2.1%) said they had been elected in 2017, while one person each (0.7%) said they had been elected in 1991 and 2011.

51% (74) of trained women leaders belonged to the United National Party (UNP) and 29.7% (43) belonged to the Sri Lanka Podujana Peramuna (SLPP)⁸. 11.1% (16) belonged to the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP), 5.5% belonged to the United People's Freedom Alliance (UPFA), and 2.1% (3) belonged to the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP). One independent leader not affiliated to any of those parties was also interviewed.

The control group comprised of 143 women leaders. The average age of control group members was 44.4 with the youngest being 20 and the oldest being 70 years old. 81.1% (116) were Sinhala, 9.8% (14) were Muslim and 8.4% (11) were Tamil. 48.3% (69) had attained an education level of GCE advance level (A/L) while 42% (60) had attained an education level of GCE ordinary level (O/L). 9.1% (13) were university graduates(undergraduate). One control

⁸ Sri Lanka Podujana Peramuna means Sri Lanka People's Front /party and comprises of those loyal to former president Mahinda Rajapaksa.

respondent had post-graduate level education. None of the control group women leaders had an education level less than grade 8.

97.2% (139) of the women leaders in the control group had been elected for the first time in 2018. 2.1% (3 people) had been elected in 2011 while 0.7% (1 person) had been elected in 2002. In the control group 45.5% (65) belonged to the UNP, 21.7% (31) belonged to the SLPP, 13.3% (19) belonged to the SLFP, 2.8% (4) belonged to the All Ceylon Makkal Congress (ACMC) and 2.1% (3) to the JVP. The rest were either independent or elected under other parties such as the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress (SLMC), Mahajana Eksath Peremuna (MEP), Tamil National Alliance (TNA), or the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF).

1.6. Scope and Limitations

Several challenges were faced in conducting the evaluation. The primary challenge faced was difficulties in getting appointments with respondents, especially women leaders and members of the WPC. Attempts were made to conduct telephone interviews when face-to-face interviews were not possible, especially for respondents in distant places such as the Northern Province.

Many potential respondents lived in distant localities, hence enumerators had to face difficulties in traveling long distances to conduct interviews, time spent on travel caused further delays. In some Districts (Anuradhapura and Matale) most elected women had been trained by the WILL project. In such cases women leaders from the adjacent Districts (Polonnaruwa and Kandy) were interviewed, which resulted in further time and travel.

The political climate prevalent in the country also impacted the evaluation. There were large protests planned by the joint opposition during the time of conducting the field work, some women leaders from political parties in the joint opposition did not have time for interviews.

2. Findings: Relevance

2.1. Challenges surrounding women in politics in Sri Lanka

To what extent the project implementation modalities and the specific interventions are relevant to the current status and challenges surrounding the socio political leadership of women and impediments to their participation in electoral politics in Sri Lanka?

A baseline study carried out by Search in 2015 found that participation of women in politics was very low⁹. It also found that the political parties were not supportive of women's representation, nor interested in providing financial support to female candidates, and had not shown progress in increasing representation of women through the quota system.

Consultative meetings held at the beginning of the project identified insufficient experience and exposure, lack of access to financing, inadequate fundraising, limited knowledge of electoral processes, and conflicting responsibilities between family and political aspirations as the main challenges that hindered women's entry into politics. Other challenges identified included patriarchal systems preventing women from entering politics, female voters preferring to vote for more experienced male candidates, lack of family support, misogynistic attitudes and attacks via social media, structural problems within political parties and favouring of male candidates, and nepotism and sexual harassment within the party¹⁰. Regional consultations conducted at the beginning of the project were an eye-opener for government officials who

⁹ Source: Report of the baseline survey of the Women in Local Governance Project, ICES, August 2015

¹⁰ Source: Search WILL Baseline survey report, June 2017

attended as they had not carried such consultations before. They provided an opportunity to increase awareness about the level of knowledge of women leaders, gather feedback, and produce a practical syllabus for training of women political leaders. (Source: KII with SLILG staff).

Project activities were aimed at mitigating some of these challenges. This included training and developing the capacity of newly elected female leaders, supporting and strengthening the Parliamentary Women's Caucus (PWC) and developing and implementing a media campaign that promoted a more positive view of women leaders. The project allowed SLILG to work toward giving women leaders a voice, a platform, and legal representation. It allowed them to articulate what they wanted and provided a conduit for them to reach the level they needed. (Source: KII with SLILG staff).

With the election of close to 2000 women leaders at local government elections in February 2018, there was a clear need to build capacity of women in local leadership. The project was aspirational and opportune as most women leaders elected in 2018 were first-timers to local government. The legislation which provided a 25% quota for representation of women in leadership of LGAs was an entry point. Hence, the project was opportune, responsive, and adapted well to contextual changes. (Source: KII with Michael Newman, DFAT). 96.5% of trained women leaders and 97.2% of control group members indicated they had been elected to local government in 2018 for the first time.

Women who were elected were often untrained, and very new to politics and government. They had no idea of procedures and how LGAs worked. Some were women who campaigned for others, but lacked any council experience, having never been to gallery viewings or meetings. Provincial trainings also covered the history and evolution of government in Sri Lanka, and equipped new leaders with almost every aspects required for them to perform as a leader. Many could raise questions and discuss practical answers from ex-commissioners and key council members. (Source: KIIs with trainers that conducted the program). For many women in the Pradeshiya Sabha, this was their first ever training. Hence the modalities of the project were very relevant to the current context of Sri Lanka. (Source: KIIs with Search Team).

2.2. Project approach and activities

Were the project activities logically set to meet the needs of the target beneficiaries? What was their perception about the project approach and the activities?

Project activities were conceptualised to address the needs of target groups, namely members of the WPC, newly elected women leaders, representatives of the media and the public, through 3 main work areas: 1) Capacity building for stakeholders, 2) Networking among women leaders and 3) Public awareness and attitudes. Activities included orientation programmes for newly elected women leaders, consultation meetings with activists (women and men) to identify issues affecting the participation of women in politics, support to the WPC to implement their strategic plan, networking events like the International Women's Day celebrations which brought together women leaders from the national and regional levels in one forum, campaign against sexual harassment in public transport, campaigns calling for increased representation of women in politics, training of legislative assistants working with women parliamentarians, and training media personnel on the need to bring more women into politics.

Findings of the evaluation indicate that activities organised for the WPC and the women leaders were effective in meeting the needs of the target groups. Representatives of the media also shared feedback indicating they had used what they learnt to expand their reach to audiences. However, with regard to creating public awareness, findings from activities related

to media indicate that although the project managed to create awareness about the importance of providing women an opportunity to enter politics, there is still much to be done in making sure that the mainstream (Sinhala and Tamil) media takes up this issue.

3. Findings: Effectiveness

3.1. Capacity development of women leaders

How has the project contributed in building capacity among women leaders - especially the new entrants to politics – around leadership, communications, media relationships and mass mobilization/running election campaign?

Training programmes for elected women leaders were conducted earlier in the year. Topics discussed included: history, structure and powers of local government authorities (LGAs) in Sri Lanka, the procedures, roles and responsibilities of a LG member, principles of inclusivity, and specifically, on gender-focused perspectives in decision-making, roles and mandates of LG Committees and their procedures, legal framework with particular focus on the Public Property Act and the Bribery Act, networking, effective use of IT to provide better services, and services and resources available within local government structures.

Pre and post tests were administered to training participants at all training programmes. The questionnaire included 10 questions, the number of correct responses to the questions are provided in the table below:

Table 2: Number of correct responses at pre and post test

Number of participants	During pre-test	During post test
No that got 0 - 5 correct answers	176	17
No that got 6 - 10 correct answers	6	68
No that got 10/10	0	109
	182	194*

*12 participants only answered the post test.

The table above shows that most leaders scored less than five correct responses at the pre-test. The number of leaders who scored between 6 to 10 correct answers increased and the number who scored 0 out of 10 answers at the post-test reduced significantly - indicating their knowledge had improved considerably. The number of leaders who scored 10 out of 10 correct answers increased from zero during pre-test, to 109 during post-test. The pre and post test scores of participating women leaders are further analysed by District and have been forwarded as a separate report to Search Sri Lanka.

3.2. The role of women in local government units

To what extent the women leaders have started to actively engage in different committees operating under local government units (LGUs)?

Pradeshiya Sabhas (PSs) have several committees, they are: 1) Finance and policy planning, 2) Housing and community development, 3) Technical services and 4) Environment and services. During the survey of trained women leaders, respondents were asked if they were members of any of the committees at their Local Government Authorities (LGAs). The table below provides their responses.

Table 3: Participation in committees in LG

Group		Frequency	Percentage
Beneficiaries	Yes	132	91.0
	No	13	9.0
	Total	145	100.0
Control	Yes	108	75.5
	No	35	24.5
	Total	143	100.0

91% of the women leaders trained under the WILL project were members of committees within their LGA, while 75.5% of the control groups were members of the same, 15.5% less than experimental group. The different committees and membership of women leaders within those committees is provided in the table below:

Table 4: Committees in which women leaders are members

	Beneficiaries		Control group	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Environment & services	57	39.3	36	25.2
Technical services	37	25.5	18	12.6
Finance & policy planning	26	17.9	24	16.8
Housing & community development	17	11.7	15	10.5

NB: Some of the women leaders had mentioned other committees in which they are members such as health, education, sports, legal, welfare etc. Only the main committees are included in the above table.

Among trained women leaders, the highest number (39.3%) were members of the environment and services committee, followed by the technical services committee (25.5%), finance and policy planning committee (17.9%), and the housing and community development committee (11.7%).

To determine how actively they were engaged in those committees, women leaders were asked if they had presented any issues at their LGA since becoming a member in 2018. 93.1% (135) of trained women leaders said they had presented issues at their LGAs since becoming a member. The number was lower among the control group at 88.8% (127). Results indicates that women leaders trained under the WILL project have started to actively engage in different committees operating under local government units (LGUs), at a slightly higher rate than women leaders not trained by WILL.

Issues presented at the committees by the women leaders included: 1) Common problems faced by their communities, 2) Lack of water, 3) Lack of street lighting, 4) Infrastructure development needs, 5) Development activities of their areas, 6) Need for proper roads, 7) Creating self-employment opportunities for women, 8) Dengue prevention campaigns, 9) Proper waste management systems; and 10) Prevention of elephant attacks.

There was no significant difference in the issues brought up by the control group. Issues brought up by the control group included: 1) Common issues affecting the community, 2) Creating self-employment opportunities for women, 3) Infrastructure development activities, 3) Issues related to road lighting, 4) Issues related to water, 5) Problems faced by women in the community, and 6) Development proposals submitted by the community.

3.3. Participation of women MPs in parliamentary affairs

To what extent member of Women Caucus have increased their participation in parliamentary affairs?

During the baseline assessment, participation of the women Members of Parliament (MPs) was analysed based on their participation in the committees in parliament and analysis done via the www.manthri.lk website. MPs in parliament are ranked by their participation in and contribution to different topics. The website www.manthri.lk provides a ranking based on the performance of each MP in parliament.

The ranking is assigned based on the Hansard report¹¹ which documents parliamentary proceedings. Each statement is classified by Method of Contribution (e.g Written Question, Point of Order etc), Topic (e.g Economic Development, Agriculture, Resettlement etc), Type of debate (e.g Bill debate, Adjournment Motion etc) and the language that the contribution was given in. Additionally, depending on the method of contribution, they also record the number of lines of the Hansard that such a contribution took. (Source: www.manthri.lk)

An analysis of women MPs was carried out, comparing their overall rank and party rank in 2017 with their ranks now (in 2018). Three of 13 women MPs had improved their overall rank since 2017, they were Ms Thalaka Athukorale, Ms Rohini Kumari Wijerathne and Ms Shanthi Sriskandarasa. Two of 13 (Ms Thalaka Athukorale, Ms Rohini Kumari Wijerathne) improved their party rank. Assuming that the 'number of times participated in parliament' is cumulative between 2017 and 2018, the difference indicates improvement in participation. This difference is less than 10 among half the women MPs. Ms Thalatha Athukorale has the highest rate of improvement in the number of times participated (54). Nine of thirteen MPs also increased the number of topics they participated in, while four MPs saw the number of topics remain unchanged. Therefore, it can be concluded that even though the overall rank and party rank of women MPs has not improved, their participation in parliamentary activities has improved to a certain extent.

The www.manthri.lk website ranks MPs by topic based on their contribution to topics discussed in parliament. The analysis is carried out based on a review of the Hansard. A review of this ranking by topic for each members of the WPC indicates that only five out of the 13 women MPs ranked below 20 in some of the topics. Ms Thalatha Athukorale ranked 4th in relation to the topic of labour and employment which deals with the subject matter of her ministry. Dr Sudarshini Fernandopulle ranked 5th in topics related to health. No other MPs were ranked in the top 10 for any subjects discussed in parliament.

The number of topics to which the women MPs had contributed to, compared to the previous year is provided in the table below:

Table 5: Participation of WPC members in parliament

Member of Parliament	Number of topics contributed to		Increase
	2017	2018	%
Ms. Chandrani Bandara – UNP (Anuradhapura)	6	9	50.00
Ms. Thalatha Athukorale – UNP, (Rathnapura)	4	8	100.00
Ms. Vijayakala Maheswaran – UNP (Jaffna)	6	9	50.00
Dr. (Ms.) Anoma Gamage – UNP (National List)	6	8	33.33

¹¹ Every audible word uttered during Parliamentary Debates is reported and transcribed by **Hansard Reporters**

(source: <http://www.parliament.lk/component/organisation/dept/departments?depart=4&id=4&Itemid=107>)

Member of Parliament	Number of topics contributed to		Increase
	2017	2018	%
Ms. Hirunika Premachandra – UNP (Colombo)	6	7	16.67
Dr. (Ms.) Thusitha Wijemanna – UNP (Kegalle)	6	11	83.33
Ms. Rohini Kumari Wijerathna – UNP (Matale)	6	10	66.67
Dr. (Ms.) Sudarshini Fernandopulle – UPFA, (Gampaha)	6	10	66.67
Ms. Sumedha G. Jayasena – UPFA (Monaragala)	6	7	16.67
Ms. Pavithradevi Wanniarachchi – UPFA (Ratnapura)	6	8	33.33
Ms. Geetha Samanmalee Kumarasingha – UPFA (Galle)	6	7	16.67
Ms. Sriyani Wijewickrama – MEP in coalition with UPFA (Digamadulla)	6	10	66.67
Ms. Shanthi Sriskandarasa – ITAK (National List)	6	12	100.00

The number of topics that women MPs contributed to had increased for all MPs from 2017 to 2018. For Ms Athukorale and Ms Sriskandarasa this improvement was 100%. For 8 of the 13 MPs, the increase in number of topics was above 50%. Thus, we can surmise that participation of the women MPs in parliament has improved.

3.4. Networking of women leaders across political, ethnic and religious divides

How has the project contributed in facilitating networking opportunity for women leaders/members of women caucus across political, ethnic and religious divides to address issues affecting women?

Women leaders surveyed (beneficiaries and control group) were asked if they were part of any networks dealing with women's issues across dividing lines.

In Ampara, Colombo and Matale there is a high level of participation of women in networks. In Anuradhapura and Rathnapura the participation is lower. In all Districts the participation of women trained by the WILL project was higher than that of the control group. Overall 62.2% of women trained by the WILL project were part of at least one network dealing with women's issues. The percentage amongst the control group was 52.9%. This indicates that trained women leaders were relatively more receptive to joining networks and undertaking collective activities that contribute to the development of their communities and for the benefit for the people they serve. Women leaders who participated in training programmes said they were happy to meet and build networks with their peers. Many developed relationships with others from different political parties, ethnic groups, and religions.

Table 6: Percentage of women leaders working with those from other ethnic groups and religions

	Women from other ethnic groups				Women from other religions			
	Beneficiaries		Control group		Beneficiaries		Control group	
	2017	2018	2017	2018	2017	2018	2017	2018
Ampara	20	44	3.3	36.7	20	28	0	13.3
Anuradhapura	10	36.7	16.7	33.3	26.7	50	10	23.3
Colombo	6.7	16.7	0	13.3	6.7	20	0	13.3
Matale	40	73.3	25.9	37	43.3	60	14.8	37
Rathnapura	30	53.3	23.1	19.2	26.7	36.7	19.2	19.2

Responses indicate that the trained and control group members have expanded their networks with both groups. However, networks of women leaders trained by the WILL project across both categories (ethnic and religious) in the year 2018 is higher than those from the control group.

Training programmes on local government conducted for women leaders was a good initial opportunity for women participating in local government to take part in a multi-cultural/multi-ethnic setting within one workshop, leading to ethnic and religious integration among women leaders. The programme was a success because members from different political parties brought different ideas and discussed matters that affect the community, and agreed on activities for common community good. During the training, new members learnt their responsibility to serve people and contribute to the development of their communities. (Source: KIIs with SLILG staff).

Women leaders that participated in the training programmes mentioned they could develop and upgrade their knowledge about functioning of LGAs, they became more confident to present ideas at their LGA, understood duties and responsibilities of PS members, gained knowledge and know-how on proceedings of the PS, and learnt to express their ideas without fear. They had developed their professionalism and improved their knowledge and skills to be able to function better within the LGA. (Source: Interviews with women leaders).

3.5. Gender dynamics and relationships in politics

How has this project impacted gender dynamics and relationships within political circle and structures?

Women leaders were asked if they had worked (2017) and were currently working (2018) with male counterparts in any groups, committees, forums and/or networks.

Table 7: Women leaders working with male political leaders

	Percentage of women leaders working with male political leaders					
	Beneficiaries			Control group		
	2017	2018	Difference	2017	2018	Difference
Ampara	36	84	48	6.7	50	43.3
Anuradhapura	26.7	80	53.3	40	80	40
Colombo	70	73.3	3.3	36.7	36.7	0
Matale	63.3	96.7	33.4	35.9	44.4	8.5
Rathnapura	40	73.3	33.3	23.1	26.9	3.8

Above 70% of WILL trained women leaders in all five Districts were currently working with their male counterparts. The number is highest in Matale (96.7%) followed by Ampara (74%) and Anuradhapura (80%). There was a significant increase in the number of trained women who were working with men since 2017 (see column 3 in red above). Among the control group, the number of women leaders who worked with men was less than 50% in 2017 and 2018, in all Districts except Anuradhapura. Results indicate that among women leaders trained by the WILL project, there is a significant increase in collaboration with male counterparts compared to the control group of untrained women.

During baseline assessment and consultations carried out at the beginning of the project, several challenges were identified by women with regard to participation of women in politics. These challenges included insufficient access to campaign financing compared to male candidates, voters' tendency to vote for more experienced male candidates, lack of family

support, misogynistic attitudes, attacks on social media, structural problems within political parties that lead to favouring of male candidates, nepotism, and sexual harassment. All these factors were identified as hindering women’s participation¹². This explains the lower levels of collaboration with male political leaders during 2017.

The increase in the number of women leaders trained by WILL collaborating with men, corresponds to increased confidence and knowledge among these women, which they attribute to the training. As discussed in the preceding chapter 3.4, women leaders who participated in the training programmes said they could develop and upgrade their knowledge about the functioning of LGAs, became more confident, understood the duties and responsibilities of the PS member, gained knowledge and know-how on the proceedings of the PS and learnt to express their ideas without fear. (Source: Survey of women leaders).

Women leaders were also asked about how they are treated by their male colleagues:

Table 8: Perception of women on how their male counterparts perceive them (percentage)

	They perceive us positively and are supportive		They are neutral towards us		They perceive us as a threat and treat us negatively	
	Beneficiaries	Control Group	Beneficiaries	Control Group	Beneficiaries	Control Group
Ampara	76	76.7	20	20	4	3.3
Anuradhapura	63.3	83.3	30	13.3	6.7	3.3
Colombo	56.7	26.7	43.3	73.3	0	0
Matale	66.7	22.2	26.7	77.8	6.7	0
Rathnapura	73.3	46.2	26.7	46.2	0	7.7

In all Districts, most trained women leaders said their male colleagues perceived them in a positive light and were supportive. The number was lower in Colombo at only 56.7%, with 43.3% saying male colleagues were neutral towards them. It is interesting to note that in Anuradhapura a majority of the control group (83.3%) said their male colleagues perceived them positively and were supportive. This was 20% higher than project beneficiaries. It appears that more control group members than trained women leaders from Anuradhapura believed male counterparts had a better perception of them. . As this metric deals with perception it is difficult to ascertain a reason for this, trained women in Anuradhapura may be more critical in gauging perceptions of their male colleagues.

Women leaders were asked about their level of confidence in working with their male colleagues in advocating for women’s issues:

¹² Source: Search WILL, Consultation Report of Colombo, January 2017

Table 9: Confidence level of women leaders in advocating for women's issues(percentage)

	very confident		confident		not sure/neutral		less confident		don't have such confidence	
	Beneficiaries	Control Group	Beneficiaries	Control Group	Beneficiaries	Control Group	Beneficiaries	Control Group	Beneficiaries	Control Group
Ampara	72	80	28	16.7	0	0	0	3.3	0	0
Anuradhapura	93.3	73.3	6.7	13.3	0	13.3	0	0	0	0
Colombo	60	50	36.7	46.7	3.3	3.3	0	0	0	0
Matale	93.3	40.7	3.3	48.8	3.3	11.1	0	0	0	0
Rathnapura	66.7	61.5	33.3	38.5	0	0	0	0	0	0

Trained women in Matale and Anuradhapura expressed a high level of confidence in working with their male colleagues in advocating for women's issues.

The level of confidence was lower in Colombo compared to other Districts. Lower levels of confidence among the women leaders in Colombo may arise from their having to contend with more challenges than women leaders in the other regions. For example, during consultation meetings in Colombo challenges identified included: 1) Show of power (wealth, coercive power, family, male power, popularity) for political gain, 2) Violence against women and violence in general as a result of the preferential system and women becoming victims of such an order, 3) Patriarchy (hegemony of men) and women becoming victims of sexual advances/favors etc. 4) Denial of media coverage for women representatives and deceiving women, 5) Harsh judgments on female politicians and 6) Female candidates cheated at counting stations and polling booths.¹³

In addition challenges women faced from within their political parties were also identified: 1) Less assistance in getting grants, finance and vehicles, publicity and assistance in finding employment opportunities for constituency, 2) Rejection of talented women, 3) Lack of democracy in the party system, 4) Blocking women climbing the ladder to decision making and influential positions, 5) Absence of standards, 6) Abuse of power by party organisers, 7) Culture of switching parties by politicians and 8) Lack of understanding of the importance of women in politics, was cited¹⁴. Even though participants in consultations in other regions expressed similar concerns, those raised by leaders in Colombo were more serious.

Please see table below for concerns raised in the various Districts during the initial consultation meetings:

Table 10: Concerns raised by women during consultation meetings

	Kandy	Trinco.	A'pura	Jaffna	R'pura	Matara	Kurue.	Col.
Nomination process	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Discrimination by male leadership	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Nepotism and cronyism	X	X	X	X		X	X	X

¹³ Source: Entrenching Women's Representation in Sri Lanka: An analysis of barriers to women's political participation in Sri Lanka, Search WILL, Consultation Report of Colombo, January 2017

¹⁴ Source: ibid

Centralised decision-making	X		X		X	X		X
No institutional support from parties	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Media coverage bias			X	X	X			X
Election violence	X		X		X	X	X	X
Safety concerns				X	X			X
Sexual harassment	X				X	X	X	X
TOTAL No.	7	4	7	6	8	7	6	9

Source: Entrenching women's representation in Sri Lanka, an analysis of nine regional consultations carried out across Sri Lanka's nine provinces, Search WILL May 2017,

Overall, there was a significant increase in the number of trained women who were working with male colleagues since 2017. This can be attributed to increased confidence, knowledge, and capacity of trained women leaders. Trained women in all five Districts expressed confidence (high or moderate) in working with their male colleagues in advocating for women's issues. Even though the training was concluded recently (May to July 2018), results indicate that it has provided women leaders with the skills and capacity to better work with their male counterparts.

3.6. Promotion of inclusive and pluralistic political culture in Sri Lanka

How has the project contributed in promoting inclusive and pluralistic political culture in SL?

All regional consultations and training programmes were planned consciously including and ensuring participation across gender/ethnic/party lines. Trainings brought together mixed groups, which created the opportunity for working together. Celebration of Women's Day by the WPC in Kilinochchi was a first for the Caucus. It invited women leaders from different ethnic groups, religions, parties and political affiliations. Members of the WPC appreciated this opportunity for coming together and fostering common interests. Caucus members worked with ministries and the private sector to enable the provision of services during the event. The event also created a platform for open discussion with women from all Districts, ethnic groups, religions and political parties. (Source: KIIs with WPC members).

Women leaders were asked if they felt included in the activities of their LGAs:

Table 11: Perceptions of women leaders on inclusion within LGAs – percentage

	Yes, we are included and treated with respect		We are neither included nor excluded		We are excluded and have to fight to be heard	
	Beneficiaries	Control Group	Beneficiaries	Control Group	Beneficiaries	Control Group
Ampara	88	86.7	4	6.7	8	6.7
Anuradhapura	90	86.7	10	10	0	3.3
Colombo	60	43.3	40	56.7	0	0
Matale	90	66.7	10	33.3	0	0
Rathnapura	96.7	92.3	3.3	7.7	0	0

Over 90% of trained women leaders in Anuradhapura, Matale and Rathnapura said they felt included and respected. 88% in Ampara also said the same. It was significant that the percentage of beneficiaries that felt included and respected was comparatively lower (60%) in Colombo. This could be due to the same factors discussed under chapter 3.5 above, where women leaders in Colombo faced more

adverse challenges than women leaders in other regions. When comparing results from all five Districts, a smaller percentage of women from the control group felt included and respected?

Women leaders were asked how many women leaders from other ethnic groups they had known in 2017 and how many they know now (in 2018) to determine if their circle had expanded as a result of project activities. The table below provides the percentage of women leaders who knew more than 10 women leaders from other ethnic groups.

Table 12: Women leaders knowing women leaders from other ethnic groups – percentages

	Beneficiaries %			Control group %		
	2017	2018	Difference	2017	2018	Difference
Ampara	16	24	8	16	3.3	-12.7
Anuradhapura	20	23.3	3.3	20	23.3	3.3
Colombo	0	3.3	3.3	0	3.3	3.3
Matale	6.7	33.3	26.6	6.7	11.1	4.4
Rathnapura	3.3	16.7	13.4	3.3	3.8	0.5

Among trained women leaders in all five Districts, the number of women leaders who knew more than 10 women leaders of other ethnic groups increased by varying degrees. The highest increase was in Matale (26.6%) while the lowest increase was in Anuradhapura and Colombo (3.3% each). Among the control group, the number of women that knew over 10 women leaders of other ethnic groups had increased in four of the Districts, but not as much as it had increased among women who participated in the training. Among the control group the number of women who knew those from other ethnic groups had decreased in the Ampara District.

3.7. Positive shift in reporting culture of local media

To what extent is the local media shifting its reporting culture and portraying women leaders as role model?

Women leaders covered by the survey were asked if women are portrayed as role models in the local media:

Table 13: Perceptions of women leaders about the portrayal of women as role models- percentage

	Percentage that responded with “yes”	
	Beneficiaries	Control group
Ampara	40	50
Anuradhapura	63.3	66.7
Colombo	70	33.3
Matale	26.7	29.6
Rathnapura	100	69.2

There is a wide variation in responses across the five districts. All trained women leaders in Rathnapura believed women are portrayed as role models in the media. In Colombo the

percentage was 70%, and in Anuradhapura it was 63.3%. In Ampara it was significantly lower at 40%, and even lower in Matale where only 26.7% of trained women thought women were portrayed as role models in the media. A similar pattern could be observed among the control group. It was observed in Ratnapura that women leaders maintained a good relationship with members of the media, and this relationship contributed to positive reporting about women in politics. Among the control group in Ampara, Anuradhapura, and Matale responses were more positive about the portrayal of women in the media. Some control group members may have access to members of the media and had positive experience with them. On the other hand, they could be less critical than the trained and sensitised groups of women leaders. Further study and analysis needs to be carried out to determine how women leaders perceive the portrayal of women in media. According to the findings of the survey, women leaders believed there is room for improvement for the manner in which women are portrayed in the media.

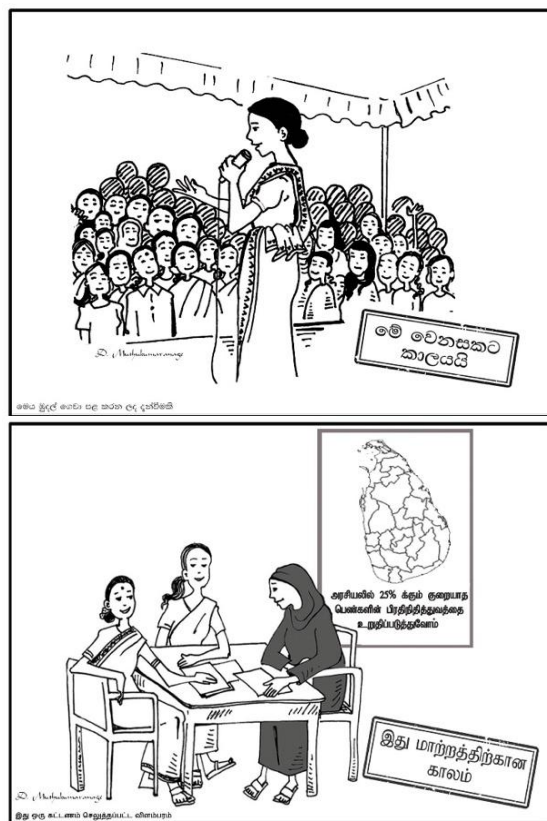


Figure 1: Positive portrayal of women in the media

During consultation meetings at the beginning of the project, one of the major challenges highlighted was media coverage towards women candidates functioning as a major obstacle, as women were not given significant coverage in comparison to their male counterparts. It was also noted that women candidates face misogynistic attacks and character assassination, increasingly via social media¹⁵. The varying responses provided by women leaders as indicated in table 14 above shows that there is still no agreement as to the portrayal of women leaders in the media.

Three journalists were interviewed during the evaluation. One journalist contributing to a Tamil language newspaper ‘*Sudor Oli*’, one editor of a Sinhala language newspaper for women ‘*Tharuni*’, and one web journalist: They mentioned that there were many activities and opportunities provided by the WILL project where journalists could improve their capacity to understand the local political arena. The opportunity provided to those from the Northern and Eastern regions was especially appreciated.

These journalists had published articles on political experiences of women LGA member and written about the quota system for women. The editor of the ‘*Tharuni*’ newspaper had contributed articles on the entry of women into politics. She believed that women need further awareness on the role of women in LGAs.

It was pointed out that training alone was insufficient for newly elected LGA members, but it was a good starting point. These women needed regular support in the form of training and provision of information, to develop themselves further and function effectively in LGAs. They mentioned that more opportunities are needed to publish articles that would result in changing attitudes of people to be more positive towards women entering politics. All three journalists

¹⁵ Source: entrenching women’s representation in Sri Lanka, An analysis of women’s political participation, Search WILL, January 2017

agreed that the project had positively contributed to how women were portrayed in the media. (Source: Kills with journalists).

The following items published during the project provide some examples of how women are portrayed negatively in the media: Female candidates who put forward their nominations under the JVP for the recent election became the brunt of a public joke as this tweet that went viral on 26 December 2017 (see figure 2). There were many sexist, derogatory jokes and sexual innuendos made to this tweet that was also shared via WhatsApp¹⁶. Similar derogatory comments are common on the Facebook pages of women MPs.

The following excerpt from a newspaper article highlights the plight of women entering politics:



Figure 2: Negative portrayal of women in media

Government Midwifery Service Association (GMSA) President Devika Kodithuwakku, who had led several successful trade union actions to safeguard the profession of midwives, had attempted to enter politics at local government level contesting from Kundasale 13 years ago. She feels that her defeat in that election was tantamount to victory judging by what she faced during her campaign. Among her ordeals had been facing daily death threats to herself as well as her supporters, by none other than males in her own political party. (Daily Financial Times, 12 August 2017).¹⁷

The same article explains how male politicians complain that the entry of women will reduce their votes and that women should stick to the traditional roles assigned to them as home-makers.

Women activists were somewhat critical of the media’s reporting culture. They believed that sometimes the media acted irresponsibly and that they reported mostly “unnecessary news items”. Most did not see positive reporting by the media. Some said that the provincial media was more responsible than the national media in reporting about women. This would explain why women leaders in Colombo had provided lower ratings than their colleagues in the regions when it came to perception of male colleagues toward them. It was mentioned that the media likes to sensationalise negative incidents and that there were less articles about women leaders in print media and on TV, where women were rarely seen sharing their experiences. Some said they could see that media has started to report in a manner that could influence and change the ideas of people (Source: Kills with women activists).

There has been increased discussion about the merits and demerits of women in politics, especially due to introduction of the 25% quota. However, portrayal of women as positive role models is not given much exposure. Rather, articles describe the challenges faced by women in politics. Portrayal of women as positive role models was especially low among the local language newspapers.

¹⁶ Source: <https://twitter.com/nam3chang3d/status/945661312687894529>
¹⁷ Source: <http://www.ft.lk/article/634749/Invisibility-of-women-in-politics--the-bane-of-Sri-Lanka>

3.8. Contribution of local media to shifting public attitudes

How has the media contributing in shifting public attitude towards women and their leadership role and ability to lead?

The project worked with journalists who had already shown an interest in women parliamentarians and women’s issues. WPC members participated in a wide spectrum of media events including light-hearted chat shows, and more serious political programmes, effectively targeting a broad spectrum of voters, with specific focus on women-voters (through morning shows, chat shows, and request shows). The media dialogue and editor’s roundtable organised by the project were effective events that brought together women on different panels to garner support of decision-makers in the media.

After the election, an event was organised to help establish and strengthen networks between media and women leaders. Some local leaders also attended the event. The event looked back at existing challenges in media space, and looked forward at prospective challenges to come. It was an effective networking session, which also brought in some provincial-level journalists. Pocket cartoons are the norm in Sinhala newspapers. The project used this method, with the setting changed to a public space in both Sinhala and Tamil media. These cartoons were consciously inclusive across gender / ethnicities / social-strata. A wrap-up cartoon was commissioned after the election which took the message that women can now enter and engage in politics going forward. It put a positive spin on the 22% elected to local government.



Figure 3: Cartoon depicting positive spin on women entering politics

Public perception and status in politics may not have shifted considerably, as some parties didn’t pick suitable candidates or prominent figures to participate in the elections. However, the first step in the process of including more women into the political process has been established through the election and the 25% quota allocated for women.

Table 14: Perceptions of the portrayal of women in media, by district

		Beneficiaries	Control
Ampara	more positive	68.00%	66.70%
	more negative	20.00%	10.00%
	no change	8.00%	20.00%
	cannot say	4.00%	3.30%
Anuradhapura	more positive	56.70%	73.30%
	more negative	6.70%	6.70%
	no change	36.70%	16.70%
	cannot say	0.00%	3.30%
Colombo	more positive	93.30%	90.00%
	more negative	3.30%	10.00%

		Beneficiaries	Control
	no change	3.30%	0.00%
	cannot say	0.00%	0.00%
Matale	more positive	33.30%	74.10%
	more negative	10.00%	11.10%
	no change	20.00%	3.70%
	cannot say	36.70%	11.10%
Ratnapura	more positive	100.00%	88.50%
	more negative	0.00%	7.70%
	no change	0.00%	3.80%
	cannot say	0.00%	0.00%

In Ratnapura, all trained women leaders and 88.50% of the control group said that women politicians had been portrayed more positively in the media during the last election; as did 93.30% and 68% of trained women leaders in Colombo and Ampara respectively. In Anuradhapura only 56.70% believed women politicians had been portrayed positively, while in Matale the number was even lower at 33.30%. A wide disparity existed between trained women and the control group in the Matale District with the latter saying that women political leaders had been portrayed more positively. As discussed previously, more positive perceptions among the control group could be due to better personal experiences with media, or less stringent and critical expectations than trained women.

Varied views have been expressed in the media by male and female political leaders, other activists, and experts in the sector. However, media items extolling the positive aspects of women entering politics, and those that encourage women leaders from other spheres to enter politics have been few. In short, exposure provided to women entering politics has increased, but there has been no change in the way the media reports the participation of women. For example, while women experts are quoted as saying that women should enter politics, only a few encourage the entry of women. On the other hand, challenges preventing the entry of women are discussed and dissected. See examples below:

1. A candidate in Embilipitiya had her house attacked with stones.
(Source: <https://mobile.twitter.com/cmev/status/957974128627240960>)
2. A candidate in Welikanda was admitted to hospital after being sexually harassed.
(Source: <https://twitter.com/Bakamoonolk/status/960007412328513536>)
3. An employer threatened a potential candidate.
(Source: <https://mobile.twitter.com/cmev/status/961797038705905664>)
4. Other means of discrediting women candidates are filing false complaints to tarnish their reputation. The Centre for Monitoring Electoral Violence (CMEV) received a complaint from a female candidate contesting for the Kotte MC in this regard.
5. In the lead up to election day, many attacks against female candidates were recorded, most having been organised by male candidates. Women candidates also faced backlash from some religious clerics. Even though attacks are common to both male and female candidates, the backlash from clerics is something that affects only women.
6. A Cleric was found using profanities and making inflammatory critical remarks against the involvement of women in electoral politics. He tried to tarnish the reputation of female candidates in the Puttalam area, revealing his objective to prevent women from participating in electoral politics as candidates. (excerpt from a letter sent by the Centre for Monitoring Election Violence to Inspector General of Police).

Source for items 4 to 6:

<https://sway.office.com/jMxfljNZkHVRSupH?fbclid=IwAR1FSakmbpfeNCICJdYBdJKOnC1mzJUiuL0MplCn5jexhiaPfXxnyg9C00I>

Due to such incidents, women are discouraged from taking up politics and aspiring for leadership positions by contesting or winning political office.

Search, through its engagement with the WPC in the context of previous projects and the WILL project, highlighted the need to engage more women in the LGAs. They did this by bringing the media together at various forums and drawing their attention to the issues. However, more work needs to be carried out to ensure that media contributes to shifting public attitudes towards women's engagement in politics.

Even WPC members observed that Media has not been very supportive to women parliamentarians and leaders. They are often portrayed negatively. Apart from the exposure provided to the Women's Day event, the media often highlights mistakes by women-leaders instead of achievements. The recent portrayal of some female political leaders are provided below to indicate this:

1. A recent news item said that MP Hirunika Premachandra had misappropriated funds allocated for development activities. (see: <https://www.newsfirst.lk/2018/10/12/an-attempt-to-slander-hirunika-premachandra/>)
2. News appeared in social media alleging that Colombo Mayor Ms Rosy Senanyake was using 5.7 million rupees on the renovation of toilets at the Mayor's official residence. (see: <http://www.dailymirror.lk/article/-No-move-to-spend-Rs-mn-to-renovate-toilets-Rosy-150111.html>)
3. State Minister for Child Affairs Ms Wijayakala Maheswaran was recently arrested for a statement she had made, many items appeared berating her and showing her up in a very negative light, some of which were extremely derogatory and personal. (see: <https://www.newsfirst.lk/2018/10/08/unp-mp-vijeyakala-maheswaran-arrested/>)

All of the above incidents resulted in extremely derogatory posts and comments, especially on social media. The following quotes by women leaders also highlight the negative portrayal of women in the media, and social media in particular¹⁸:

1. "We opened some new shops that day, part of a collective project. This (Facebook) post implies that I was the mistress of one of the other ministers in that picture...I expected nearly a 1000 votes. Because of the slander and harassment in real life, that number fell by more than half. Now, I'm left with my 333 votes, and a file full of printouts of the harassment that I have received online" – a female Candidate who contested from the UNP, Ariyampathy, Batticaloa
2. "We used social media to push out my manifesto and policies, but a lot of the comments and criticisms on social media are not for any constructive purpose. It is a double-edged sword." – Mayor of Colombo
3. "My mother would get phone calls from people threatening to kill her and warning her not to step out of the house, and further threatening her if she lodged official complaints about them... when those sympathetic to these figures and the rhetoric that they promote don't have valid points to refute her arguments that they resort to filth and derogatory comments..." – Member Urban Council, Chilaw
4. "A Moulavi makes speeches at various forums, stating that women who stand for elections are not true Muslim. He accuses them of not having any respect for traditions and

¹⁸ Source:

<https://sway.office.com/jMxfljNZkHVRSupH?fbclid=IwAR1FSakmbpfeNCICJdYBdJKOnC1mzJUiuL0MplCn5jexhiaPfXxnyg9C00I>

addresses the public in saying that they can't even be called candidates, they are 'loose women.' – Women's Rights Activist, Puttalam.

According to members of the WPC, the portrayal of female politicians in media has seen no change. The quota (act) is not sufficient in this regard. A series of closer discussions are needed to improve the situation. The media play a key role in influencing public perception, and therefore long-term interventions are necessary. (Source: KIIs with women MPs).

The above examples indicate that the media's contribution towards shifting public attitude towards women, their leadership role, and ability to lead, needs further enhancement and improvement. Although discussions have been initiated in the media with the introduction of the 25% quota for women, more remains to be done to ensure that public attitudes toward women leaders are not skewed negatively by false accusations, slander, misogyny, inflammatory rhetoric etc.

3.9. Contribution of media towards encouraging women's participation in politics

To what extent this project has motivated women and girls towards participating in electoral politics in Sri Lanka?

Women leaders were asked if more women are motivated to participate in politics than before. Their responses are provided in the table below:

Table 15: Level of motivation among women to join politics

	Beneficiaries			Control group		
	Yes	Neutral	No	Yes	Neutral	No
Ampara	100	0	0	93.3	6.7	0
Anuradhapura	86.7	13.3	0	83.3	6.7	10
Colombo	53.3	46.7	0	40	6.7	53.3
Matale	90	10	0	40.7	37	22.2
Ratnapura	56.7	43.3	0	46.2	42.3	11.5

Among WILL project beneficiaries above, 50% of the women in all Districts said women are now more motivated to participate in politics. This included 100% in Ampara, 90% in Ratnapura, and 86.7% in Anuradhapura. On the other hand, the control group showed lower levels of optimism - women leaders in Ampara (93.3%) and Anuradhapura (83.3%) said they were more motivated. However, in the other three Districts, positive response from the control group was lower than 50%. Although the women leaders who participated in training provided more positive responses than the control group, it is difficult to attribute their participation in politics to WILL media activities, as the training programme was the first engagement with the WILL project for most of the participants.

In the lead-up to the elections (from December 2017 to March 2018), media articles published in relation to women in politics were tracked. Please see table below for summary of this tracking:

Table 16: Number of media items December 2017 to March 2018

	December 2017	January 2018	February 2018	March 2018
TV talk shows	3	3	2	0
Cartoons in newspapers	12	8	13	0
Articles in print /online media	16	24	28	26
Vote Women SL Facebook page updates	21	22	49	2

Local government elections were held on 10 February 2018. During the three months leading up to the election, there was increased exposure especially in print and online newspapers about issues related to women entering politics. During talk shows, women leaders shared their experiences and explained the challenges they face in politics. Women were portrayed in a positive light in the 'Vote Women SL' Facebook page, and the public were encouraged to vote for such women. Factors preventing the entry of women into politics were widely discussed and given publicity through these media articles.

However, the following challenges were identified during the analysis of media articles/events:

1. Many traditional print media organisations did not champion the cause of women leaders entering politics but published articles highlighting the factors that prevented their participation;
2. On social media, while the pages of 'Vote Women SL' and the PR for the #ElectHer campaign performed well, official Facebook pages of female MPs remained vastly inactive and not updated. The majority of female MPs do not use social media to promote themselves, which is a setback in the digital era, given that social media is the best and fastest way to reach audiences.
3. There was a significant amount of controversy attached to the fact that many female candidates who ran for office were subjected to various forms of assault and abuse.
4. Derogatory comments were observed on social media items highlighting the participation of women.
5. Participation of women leaders is severely lacking in television talk shows on politics, unless issues discussed are specifically related to women.
6. It was observed that even though there was low exposure of topics especially in Sinhala and Tamil mainstream print media, coverage given to female politicians on TV increased across December and January.
7. Traditional media seem to be lagging behind while many online newspapers and websites continue to provide (positive) coverage with regard to the engagement of women in politics. (Source: Reports on tracking media coverage, Search WILL, December 2017 to March 2018).

Women leaders covered by the survey were asked about exposure they received in the media. 70% in Anuradhapura and 52% in Ampara had never appeared in the media. Figures among the control group in these two Districts were similar with 60% in Anuradhapura and 53.3% in Ampara. On the other hand, over 80% of trained women leaders in Colombo, Matale and Ratnapura had appeared in the media once or twice. Figures among the control group in these three Districts were similar. Disparity among figures across Districts shows that women leaders in Ampara and Anuradhapura received less exposure than those in Colombo, Matale, and Ratnapura.

Members of the WPC indicated there was less opportunity for positive exposure for women politicians in the media. They complained that issues important to women were not highlighted in the media. Even though there had been a slight positive shift in the way women politicians were portrayed in the media, there was room for improvement in this regard. (Source: KIIs with WPC members).

KIIs with some trained journalists indicate they are more aware of issues pertaining to women's participation in politics and the need for media to promote a better image for women leaders. They are aware about engagement on this issue so the public would be more receptive to accepting women as political leaders. Tracking of media articles in the lead-up to the elections indicate that reporting about the issue had increased to a fair extent with women leaders and activities especially discussing these issues at public forums (including television talk shows) please see links below:

- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7fzgyC3fK-Y>
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pc1BdDH9k1M>

WILL activities such as discussions with editors provided increased exposure to the WPC: *“Several members from the WPC took part in a number of television and radio programmes. On those programmes, we were able to discuss about the 25% quota for women and also challenges women face in the political field. Based on the responses we got from viewers and listeners, we felt that we were able to communicate the important messages relating to the 25% quota for women to the rural populations.”* Hon. Dr. Thusitha Wijemanne, Member of the WPC.

Results indicate that media events leading up to the LG election did increase, especially as this was the first election held after the 25% quota was implemented. Activities of the WILL project contributed to increased exposure in the media. However, positive portrayal of women entering politics in the mainstream media (especially in the local languages) remains low. It can be concluded that WILL activities laid the groundwork to provide exposure and positive portrayal of women, however much remains to be done to create more change in public perception.

3.10. Factors contributing to the achievement of expected outputs and outcomes

What major factors shaped the successful implementation of outputs and contribution to expected outcomes?

3.10.1. Outcome 1.1: Women political leaders have improved knowledge of local and national government processes

The WILL project worked with women leaders at different levels including implementing activities with and for the members of the WPC and providing training for newly elected women leaders of the LGAs. Some delays were caused by the delay in conducting local government elections, as the mandate of WILL was to work with elected women leaders. Since LGAs were dissolved pending election, activities had to be put on hold until women leaders were elected.

Training was implemented during the latter stages of the project, until July 2018. Since the evaluation was carried out soon after, it is still too early to determine the impact of training provided. However, pre and post tests administered to women leaders who were trained indicate they have considerably improved their knowledge as a result of the training (please see chapter 3.1). Results of the survey also bode well for the future as most trained women

leaders (91%) say they are members of committees in their LGA, as opposed to only 75.5% of the control group. 93.3% of the trained women had presented issues at their LGA, slightly higher than the number of control group members who had present issues at their LGA (88.8%). The high level of participation and contribution to the committees indicates that trained women leaders have increased their knowledge and confidence to be able to contribute to proceedings in their LGAs.

3.10.2. Outcome 2.1: To promote relationships and networking among female political leaders across the dividing lines (political parties, ethnic, religious, linguistics and regional)

The WPC comprises of 13 women leaders representing four parties, two ethnic groups, and three religions. They represent 10 of 24 Districts in the country. Currently, there are no Muslim female members of parliament. Discussions at the consultative workshops indicated that there is an urgent need to establish and promote networking among women and other stakeholders that can support them to increase their political representation at national, provincial, and local levels.¹⁹

Through the WILL project, these women MPs participated in several activities that fostered common interest and brought issues to the forefront. For example, 7 women MPs from different political parties and different ethnicities / religions participated in the campaign to prevent sexual harassment in public transport in May 2017. The Parliamentarians took turns speaking to commuters on buses and trains while pasting and distributing stickers at the Bastian Mawatha Bus Terminal, Colombo Central Bus Terminal, and Fort Railway Station. (please see <https://www.bbc.com/sinhala/sri-lanka-40053417>).

A random survey carried out at this event indicated that most members of the public (97% of those surveyed) were not aware of the WPC. Even those who had not previously heard about the WPC said an effort to curb sexual harassment was a timely intervention. They believed the WPC must come forward to support women who have been harassed, and that the WPC must conduct programmes to create awareness about the safety of women in society. Members of the public said the WPC should take up other issues as well - such as violence against women, creating equal opportunities for women, providing counselling services for women who have faced domestic violence, livelihood development programmes and issues related to women's rights.²⁰ This event brought the existence and activities of the WPC to the public eye.

WPC members have also participated in several other events that brought them closer together as a group, fostering common interest rather than retrenching divisions across party, political, ethnic, or religious lines. International Women's Day celebrations in Kilinochchi in March 2018, in the Northern Province brought together women leaders from across the country including members of the WPC. Six members of the WPC participated in a study tour to Australia. These events and activities worked to develop a strong bond between members of the WPC regardless of party or political affiliations.

¹⁹ Source: Baseline assessment, SFG WILL, May 2018

²⁰ Source: Report: Launch of Campaign Against Sexual Harassment Against Women in Public Transport, Search WILL, May 2017

3.10.3. Outcome 3: Perception of the general public towards women political leaders improves

During consultative workshops conducted at the inception phase it was found that:

- Politics is considered 'unsuitable' for women, which makes people hostile and unsupportive of women in politics;
- Female voters are not accustomed to female candidates and tend to vote for male candidates who they view as more experienced and capable;
- Prospective female candidates' families are opposed or unsupportive of their political ambitions;
- Issues within political parties including nominations supporting male candidates, leadership roles given to men, nepotism and cronyism, centralised decision making, and sexual harassment of women candidates hinder the participation of women;
- Election violence and weak rule of law creates an environment not conducive for women's participation²¹.

The WILL project carried out several activities aimed at changing people's negative perceptions towards women in politics. Media campaigns were pushed through the Search Facebook page, 'Vote Women SL' Facebook page, Twitter Accounts of both Search Sri Lanka and 'Vote Women SL', and through a series of cartoons published in both local languages. During the talk show, women leaders shared their experiences and explained the challenges they face in politics. Women were portrayed in a positive light and the public were encouraged to vote for such women.

A perception survey of the public was not part of the final evaluation. Therefore, it is difficult to ascertain change in public perception towards women political leaders. An analysis of the 'Vote Women Sri Lanka' Facebook page indicates that although the page has 3,958 followers, posts generate comparatively fewer reactions. The highest number of likes were generated by cartoons promoting women in politics (136 to 610). Other than a post promoting voting on the day of the LG election which generated 29 likes, most other posts on the page generated only a few reactions (less than 5).

(please see https://www.facebook.com/pg/VoteWomenSL/posts/?ref=page_internal).

A review of the Facebook pages of the members of the WPC indicates their pages focus mostly on participation at election rallies, campaigns, and other events promoting themselves. With regard to the number of followers - the highest number of followers were for the Facebook page of Dr Anoma Gamage (120,677), Ms Hirunika Premachandra (82,557), Ms Thalatha Athukorale (43,484), Dr Thusitha Wijemanne (12,195) and Dr Sudarshini Fernandopulle (12,071). A comparison with male political leaders indicates a huge difference in numbers of followers: President Maithripala Sirisena (1,132,780), Prime Minister Ranil Wickramasinghe (533,554), Former President Mahinda Rajapakse (1,289,129) and JVP leader Anura Dissanayake (267,467).

Negative and adverse portrayal of women politicians in social media was also observed (see chapter 3.7) where women in politics were portrayed in a derogatory and negative manner. Some reports were also observed of male political and religious leaders vilifying women leaders and potential leaders. This was particularly prevalent during lead-up to the elections with the Centre for Monitoring Election Violence (CMEV) reporting several incidents where women contesting the LG elections had faced harassment in various forms. (please see <https://cmev.org/2018/01/29/local-authorities-election-2018-media-communique-2/>).

²¹ Source: Baseline assessment, Search WILL, May 2017

The CMEV highlighted the following based on its field reports:

1. Party secretaries and party organisers had not effectively used this provision (25% quota) to the full.
2. Promises made to potential female candidates regarding nomination had not been fulfilled.
3. Sexual favours had been demanded from potential women candidates in exchange for their confirmation as candidates.
4. Exploiting the lack of information / knowledge of candidates of the new electoral system with regard to nomination.
5. Chief organisers of parties curtailing the freedom of women candidates to organise their election campaigns in collaboration with constituents and local party leaders.
6. Lodging false complaints against women candidates and hindering their election campaigns by deploying supporters to dissuade voters from voting for women candidates.²²

These results indicate that even though WILL activities have promoted the engagement of women leaders through its work with the WPC and training of elected women leaders, much needs to be done in terms of improving the perceptions of the general public toward women political leaders.

3.11. Influence of the WPC strategic plan

What has been the influence of WPC Strategic Plan (2016-2020) so far?

The goal of the WPC is the Empowerment of women and elimination of all sorts of violence and harassment against them²³. The objectives of the plan include: 1) Enhancing capacity of the caucus, 2) Contribute towards preventing discrimination against women, 3) Increasing women's participation at all levels of governance and 4) Endorse conventions protecting women's rights.

Several activities were carried out under the WILL project to enhance the capacity of WPC members. This included a training programme for their legislative assistants to develop their ability to better serve the MPs. The main tasks of legislative assistants as indicated by their responses was coordination, office maintenance, knowledge management, and proposal development. It was significant that a majority of participants (71% = 5 of 7) had not participated in any training programmes prior to that organised by Search. A pre-test administered at the training programme indicated only 43% had visited the website

www.manthri.lk. 43% had used www.documents.lk and 57% had visited the website www.parliament.lk.

The same questionnaire was administered to the legislative assistants 6 months after the training programme to determine if they were using what they had learnt. At the time of the post-test, 83% each had visited the www.manthri.lk website, www.documents.lk website and the www.parliament.lk website, an increase of 26% to 40%.

²² Source: <https://cmev.org/2018/01/29/local-authorities-election-2018-media-communique-2/>

²³ Source: <http://www.parliament.lk/en/component/committees/committee/showCommittee?id=77>

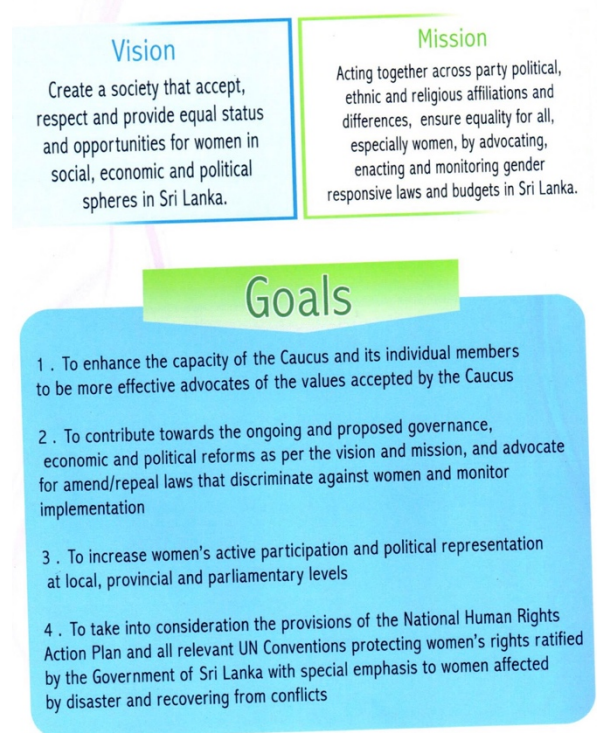


Figure 4: Excerpt from WPC strategic plan

A study tour to Australia was organised for 6 women MPs. Their reflection indicates that they had learnt from many important activities that could be replicated by the WPC:

Exposure to Australia's Gender Based Violence (GBV) programme was very useful. It attempted to quantify the impact of GBV at multiple levels. Issue-based meetings that were organised during the visit were beneficial. Meeting with the DFAT Ambassador for women and girls was also a good experience. We saw the national registry maintained for women in leadership and would like to implement something similar in Sri Lanka. Dr Sudarshini Fernandopulle, State Minister of City Planning and Water Supply. (Source: KII)

The WPC was involved with other ministries and institutions where the main stakeholders were men. They networked with local chapters of the World Parliamentarians Forum (male), and engaged in several discussions with male members of political parties such as the SLMC, TNA, and others regarding gender oversight and other key issues. They engaged with ministers to facilitate the appointment of women to the post of board chairs in four agencies. Consciousness was involved in every aspect of the project. WPC members from different parties were brought together for consultations where possible. (Source: KIIs with Country Manager Search Sri Lanka).

Establishment of a bridge between grassroots and the WPC was seen as a significant achievement. Some WPC members participated in training workshops conducted for newly elected members of LGAs, and shared their ideas and experiences at networking events held to coincide with the training. At these events, LG leaders were able to forge links with WPC which they can build on. Proposals were put forward to establish District women's caucus'. WPC members indicated that the networking opportunity provided to them at the training for LG members enabled them to identify and link up with women leaders from their Districts (Source: KIIs with WPC member).

3.12. Use of findings from policy analysis in project implementation

How has been the findings of the research and policy analysis has been utilized in the course of the project implementation?

The WILL project commissioned VERITE Research to provide necessary inputs and guidance for WPC members to improve and increase their contributions to policy formulation and legislation, develop budget proposals for women-only public transportation services, and lead the preparation of budget debate fact-sheets for the Ministry of Health, Ministry of Foreign Employment, Ministry of National Integration and Reconciliation, and the Ministry of National Policies and Economic Affairs. VERITE also supported the WPC to draft briefing reports on Domestic Workers' Code of Conduct, Muslim Marriage and Divorce Act, and Support Legislative Reforms on Sexual Harassment Law²⁴. Whether the SPC members used the policy analysis that had been developed is unclear as they did not mention the policy briefs during the evaluation.

3.13. Management of project coordination with stakeholders

How well was the programme implementation process managed and coordinated with all stakeholders especially with WPC and other stakeholders?

Key informants interviewed including donor focal points, representatives from SLILG, the main training implementing partner, and government stakeholders agree that the project was coordinated well overall. Other than mentioning that reports could have better captured the outcomes of the project, the donor did not mention any major negative factors. Search's

²⁴ Source: Search WILL Final Report, August 2018

capacity to build and cultivate networks including those with government stakeholders was especially appreciated. (Source: KIIs with DFAT).

The Secretary of the Ministry of Local Government during the interview appreciated the coordination of Search with government stakeholders, he said:

I was kept informed of all programmes implemented by this project from the beginning. There was a good response from the women leaders that were trained. The participation was high. Women leaders who had less knowledge prior to the programme improved their knowledge. The current government is interested in increasing the participation of women in local government and the contribution made by this project to capacitate women leaders is appreciated. There was good coordination among all those involved. In future such training programmes should be organised not only for women but also for men. (Source: KII with Mr Kamal Padmasiri, Secretary of the Ministry of Local Government).

SLILG also appreciated the coordination between Search and SLILG:

Close coordination and a common government platform brought all stakeholders together (the Action Collective for Local Governance - ACLG). Historically, civil society and government agencies have worked on their own with high levels of duplication. M&E and accountability were greatly lacking. In the WILL project however, stakeholders worked in harmony, and Search provided exceptional support towards this end. All actions were carried out in concurrence with SLILG, which allowed for greater coordination. (Source: KII with Mr Sujeewa Samaraweera, Director SLILG).

3.14. Challenges faced and mitigation measures

What were the challenges encountered during program implementation and how were they managed/mitigated?

There were delays in planned activities due to the delay in conducting local government elections. The project was extended to accommodate this delay. The training programmes for elected women leaders could be carried out only after the local government elections had been held in February 2018.

Feedback from the Search team indicates that large numbers (of women leaders to be trained) and logistical constraints led to requirements for greater collaboration and work with others. It was further mentioned that phasing of activities due to time constraints and delays was a challenge. Inherent challenges were also faced in working with WPC members, who were very busy and heavily involved in multiple activities. (Source: KIIs with Search Team)

The most significant challenges were political and institutional dynamics. Questions about who leads, who gets credit, etc. was a point between the stakeholders. Search played an invisible role in the most part, but existing differences in parties and institutions proved to be challenging. Challenges existed with the WPC and were primarily due to practical reasons of their lack of institutional support, not being a formal institution with financial support/backing. (Source: KII with Country Director, Search).

A short time-frame and limited resources was another challenge, whereas the project needed to cover a large area with no cost extension because of the delay in holding local government election. Time and resources were limited while the need / demand was country-wide. Expansion and scale-up was necessary, but not possible. Differences in mandate was another challenge. The SLILG has a broader mandate, not only the training of women leaders. Coordination with multiple government and non-government agencies could also have led to slower decision-making as bureaucracy played a part in project. Project staff attempted to negate this challenge by maintaining a good working relationship with stakeholders, ministers,

and others. Close coordination with SLILG and the WPC helped mitigate some of the challenges. (source: KIIs with DFAT).

The ability to deliver parallel trainings was a challenge. All newly elected women leaders needed training within 2 months of election. There were delays in finalising the list, which compounded the situation. Sudden mushrooming of projects and stakeholders offering similar programmes for elected women leaders also proved to be a challenge when it came to coordinating and building synergies. Support of male counterparts was not ideal, while the project consciously tried to pick male champions, few took on the mantle. Perhaps they viewed newly elected women leaders as a potential threat to their role as leaders. (Source: KII with Country Director Search).

The WPC exists for at least a decade, but no one outside the political sphere (e.g. public) has heard of the WPC. Limited buy-in from MPs themselves was a challenge. Limited demand and irregular interest across the board was a limiting factor. Some MPs were very enthusiastic, others were not. (Source: KII with Verite team).

Working with some of the newly elected women leaders was a challenge. Many didn't understand the process, and there were great variations in the capacity of elected women leaders. The challenge remains how to bring capacity, results, and effective training that can reach this wide spectrum of women. For the regional consultation, support from other government organisations (Police, WDO, ACLG, and others) varied greatly between different regions. Some areas saw great interest and participation; others saw little to none. The Western Province (Colombo) was especially lacking, with very low interest. (Source: KII with Director SLILG).

3.15. Coherence of design, implementation and achievement

How coherent were the design, implementation, and achievements?

The project was designed to engage a range of stakeholders across the board, including WPC members (national), newly elected women leaders (regional), representatives of the media (national and regional), and the public. Although the project managed to engage the WPC, women leaders, and media, direct engagement with the public was limited. For example - a perception survey of the public about attitudes towards women leaders and if these attitudes had changed as a result of the media campaign would have shown if the campaign had achieved desired results.

Implementation of training for elected women leaders had to be rushed due to limited time after the election and before the project came to a close. When participating women leaders were questioned about areas that could be improved, they suggested that all ethnic groups should be included more in the programme. They further mentioned that training should include strategies of how to approach male political leaders and a deeper understanding of the working of the LGAs. These issues could not be addressed as the project concluded shortly after the training was conducted.

4. Findings: Sustainability

4.1. Sustainability strategy of project

Is there a sustainability strategy in place? If yes, what does it include? If not, why not?

There was no formal exit-strategy for the project. due to the delays caused by the postponement of the local government elections activities including training of elected women leaders was delayed. The training had to be conducted during the latter stages of the project,

after having put in place two extensions. Hence a formal exist strategy could not be carried out.

SLILG's role and involvement as an organiser / leading agency will have a significant impact on sustainability. SLILG may want to expand the training to all women members, and other organisations that wish to carry forward some of the trainings / project activities that were developed via the WILL project. Resources, trainers, and key government personnel have been identified and can be utilised in long-term training and awareness programmes to be conducted. (Source: KIIs with trainers).

4.2. Sustainability of interventions

Has the project succeeded in building the capacities of women leaders to sustain to compete and excel in their political career?

Women leaders trained by the project were asked 'to what extent they are using the learnings?'

Table 17: Use of lessons learnt by trained women leaders

	I am using everything I have learnt (%)	I am using some of the things I have learnt (%)	I am using very few of the things I have learnt (%)
Ampara	12.0	80.0	8.0
Anuradhapura	86.7	13.3	0
Colombo	63.3	36.7	0
Matale	96.7	3.3	0
Ratnapura	80.0	20.0	0

Over 80% of the respondents in Anuradhapura, Matale and Ratnapura said they are using everything they learnt. 63.3% of the respondents in the Colombo district said the same. 80% in Ampara said they were using some of the things they learnt. Overall the training appears to have been able to sustain the knowledge gained by women leaders.

When asked if they had already used some of the things they learnt, over 75% of respondents from all Districts, answered in the affirmative including (100% in Ampara and Ratnapura). The positive response provided by respondents in Ampara somewhat contradicts the findings where 8% said they used only a little of what they learnt. This indicates that despite being conservative in their feedback about the programme, many are using what they learnt.

The women said they used the knowledge gained for activities within the PS and used it to solve general issues that arise in the communities, and in planning activities for the community. They had solved problems and observed changed behaviour among politicians in the LGA. Some had constructed wells, submitted proposals to build a playground, identified projects and forwarded to the relevant authorities for financial support, organised cleanliness campaign in the community to prevent dengue, and were working with active societies and associations in the area. Journalists also indicated they would continue to use the skills they had developed through the project.

SLILG officers who conducted the training programmes said they are still receiving phone calls from trained women leaders. Therefore, the training programme has become the first step by which trained women leaders will build on in developing their knowhow and capacity. After the WILL Project completed, women leaders introduced to SLILG are committed to continue to use their services and make use of relationships established.

Commissioners of Local Government (CLGs) are in constant contact with participants after the training. Several women leaders (e.g. from Seethawaka and Ratnapura) have contacted the CLGs for support in developing project proposals, and requested support in creating linkages to seek funding. Several are engaged in new committees. 80-90% of participants expressed they were keen to follow the upcoming certificate course that SLILG will be offering. SLILG staff met some of these participants in other training programmes or events, and they expressed the impact and value of the District-level 2-day training programmes conducted by the WILL project. Enrolment for the certificate course (1st batch) offered by SLILG saw great response. 120 applications were received from men and women, some of which can be attributed to the project. (Source: KIIs with SLILG staff).

The trainers too received almost three to four calls a week from women leaders from various LGAs who participated in the regional training programmes at District-level. One of the calls was from a woman leader who had been subject to violence, who wanted to know how best to deal with the situation. Many of these women had no support or support system (political) until the project. CLGs and trainers have been in touch with women leaders ever since the trainings took place. Mentoring is ongoing, and strong linkages have been created. Many women are demonstrating confidence that comes with knowledge of their role, responsibilities, and other key outcomes of the trainings. The status of women leaders has changed to some extent. A positive image is being built. Some of these newly elected leaders are using social media, and are growing their networks – all of which will contribute to building the image and improving the status of women leaders in Sri Lanka. (Source: KIIs with trainers).

“Modules, syllabi, other products created, and individuals and organisations capacitated would go a long way toward sustaining the efforts initiated by the project. Diplomas offered through SLILG would also continue to build capacity of women leaders who take advantage of such courses. Feedback and learning from the regional consultations will be noted and incorporated by SLILG in fine-tune training modules for the future. The USAID-SDGAP mapping could help advance the project goals of the WILL project. (Source: KIIs with Search staff).

Several organisations including Law and Society Trust (LST), Transparency International (TI), UNDP (United Nations Development Program), SAPSRI (South Asia Partnership Sri Lanka), SLCDF (Sri Lanka Centre for Development Facilitation), Women and Media Collective, Asia Foundation and others have come together and have expressed further interest in pursuing some of the project’s key activities. The following are examples of the above organisations continuing to implement initiatives promoting women’s participation in politics:

1. LST conducted an awareness program for LG members from Badulla District on Local Governance, Duties and Responsibilities of Government Servants (see: <https://www.facebook.com/lstlanka/>).
2. The Women and Media Collective champions the cause of increasing women’s representation in politics (see: <http://womenandmedia.org/ta/press-briefing-civil-society-report-on-provincial-council-election-system/>)
3. UNDP organised a workshop on the critical role of the parliament and the parliamentarians in achieving the SDGs in Sri Lanka from 12-14 October 2018, WPC member Dr Sudarshini fernandopulle also made presentations at this event (see: <https://www.facebook.com/UNDPsriLanka/photos/a.2141763819191462/2141766489191195/?type=3&theater>)

SLILG is now planning 2 to 3 day programmes similar to the training programme conducted for women leaders under the WILL project on local governance, and are in the process of identifying modules via content that was developed in collaboration with the wider stakeholder

group. Ideally these trainings should be completed within a year of elections being conducted. (Source: KIIs with SLILG Staff).

4.3. Institutionalisation of inclusive political culture

What could be done to better increase the effectiveness and to ensure sustainability of project initiatives to promote and institutionalise inclusive political culture and enhance positive public perception towards women leadership in Sri Lanka?

There is little evidence of shifting positive attitudes, or significant improvement in the status of women leaders within the political circle and structure. This is where the focus needs to be for the future. (Source: KII with Country Director Search)

The project has created a point of entry, but much more needs to be done and followed-up on, to retain traction, create scale, and ensure sustainability with regards to changing public attitudes. More advocacy regarding the quota and more targeted advocacy with political parties is necessary for creating change in mindsets. (Source: KII with DFAT).

Women leaders who received training said that building stronger networks would ensure these networks sustain the activities introduced by the project. They observed that continued capacity building for women leaders has to be carried out to ensure professionalism. They highlighted the need for further leadership training for women leaders, including topics such as legal issues, e-governance and proposal writing, strengthening the economic aspects/livelihoods of women participating in politics, providing training for men as well as women, and upgrading the knowledge and capacities of women leaders further on rules, regulation, and functioning of the LGAs.

PS members said that they must lead by example and develop the capacity of young educated women so they are encouraged to enter politics. Creation of equal opportunities for both men and women and providing women the freedom to engage in political activities was also recommended. It was pointed out that participation of women in politics is necessary as men do not take up issues that affect women.

Relationships initiated with the media through the editors round table discussions have to be continued and further developed in order to create real change in the media. Engaging with the mainstream media, especially the Sinhala and Tamil media is essential to ensure that women leaders and women engaging in politics are portrayed positively.

5. Findings: Lessons learnt and good practices

5.1. Lessons learnt and good practices

What are the major lesson learned to effectively contribute in women empowerment and their enhanced political participation in Sri Lanka?

Lesson learnt: It is harder for women to contest and to win political office: Consultation and experiences shared by women leaders and others indicates that women are still grappling with many challenges in entering politics - ranging from not getting nominations from the party hierarchy that is dominated by men, to having to give sexual favours to get such nominations. Findings show how women contesting the local government elections had to face such issues, as reported by the Centre for Monitoring Election Violence.

Good practice: Create more awareness about the opportunities brought about by the introduction of the 25% quota for women: Even though winning the 25% quota for women

was the first step in the direction towards getting more women into leadership positions, many more changes have to be effected to ensure that women are provided the opportunity and resources to be able to make use of this opportunity.

Lesson learnt: WPC must be supported to become more visible and known: Surveys conducted among the public (during the awareness campaign on preventing sexual harassment in public transport) indicate that many do not know of the existence of the WPC. Even individual members of the WPC were less active and had fewer followers on social media than their male peers.

Good practice: WPC must undertake more collective activities that take them to the public. The campaign against sexual harassment in public transport was one issue that everyone could get behind. Similarly, WPC can take up issues such as preventing sexual and gender based violence and domestic violence that will bring them credibility in the eyes of the public.

Lesson learnt: Women leaders must be empowered to be able to overcome mitigating factors and raise issues within the national, provincial and local authorities: Key stakeholders indicated that one of the main lessons learnt from the project is that women leaders are more sensitive to the needs of women and children. If women are empowered adequately to be able to raise their voices they can contribute to bringing these issues to the forefront.

Good practice: Continue activities initiated by the project such as developing the capacities of elected women: It was further mentioned that the activities initiated by this project must be continued, for example newly elected women leaders need further support to develop their personality, capacity and skills. It is necessary therefore to organise regular training programmes through which they can be capacitated to develop necessary skills. (Source: KIIIs with women activists).

Lesson learnt: Networks created between national and local level women leaders must be fostered and further developed: Women leaders including members of the WPC and those from local government authorities appreciated the opportunity to network with other women leaders, learn from each other, and share experiences.

Good practice: There is a suggestion to create District level women's caucus', such interventions would enable these women leaders to engage in inter-regional and inter-cultural exchanges which would provide a platform to discuss common issues and drive common activities.

Lesson learnt: More work needs to be done to improve the portrayal of women leaders in mainstream media: Although the social media and media campaign leading up to the local government elections and interest generated by the 25% quota brought the issue of greater women's engagement in politics to the public eye, there was a decline in the media reports on the issue after the conclusion of the election.

Good practice: The positive portrayal of women leaders in the media must be encouraged more among the mainstream Sinhala and Tamil media.

5.2. Opportunities for scaling up

What potential is there for scaling up similar initiatives? What are the opportunities created by this project for enduring change towards countering radicalism - to shift norms and expectations of youth leadership, and increase opportunities to collaborate with peers and institutions?

Search believes that the subject of women coming into politics has shifted to some extent. Now that these women are in the system, getting nominations and effecting longer lasting change could be closer at hand. The sustainability strategy around WPC and SLILG was built-into the project. It centred on networking aspects, and establishing vertical and horizontal connections that would last beyond the project period. The project prioritised Districts that Caucus members come from. With SLILG, development of a strong syllabus with collaboration and consensus around it, a wide pool of resource-people, and training modules that are due to be rolled out through SLILG were the primary methods of sustainability of project actions. (Source: KII with Country Director).

Stakeholders agreed that the effect of capacity building was very good, and this should be continued/extended/scaled up. Search should continue to work with SLILG, as this enhances delivery of support. SLILG was established under Parliamentary Act No. 31 of 1999 with the objective to enhance the institutional and management capabilities of Provincial Councils and Local Government agencies for the efficient and effective provisions of services to the people. It is mandated to conduct capacity building and supports the aims of the devolutionary process with promoting Good Governance through research, training, consultancies, dissemination of information leading to innovative and effective local governance.²⁵ Most programmes aimed at capacitating the local government authorities work through and with the SLILG.

More advocacy is needed regarding the quota and more targeted advocacy necessary with political parties for change in mind-sets with regards to women's participation in politics. The project team was astute in choosing capacitated partners/ministries to achieve scale. The project succeeded at managing the political economy, a space in which Search excelled. Search's competitive advantage was a good sense of the political economy. Search was good at building skills, networking, and engaging media. The project's convening activities with the women's ministry, female headed households at grassroots level, and various other ministries led to effective events (especially the Women's Day event in Kilinochchi). WPC members, local government leaders, and others listened to concerns voiced by the communities, and helped make them aware of services available. This can be built on and further developed in scaling up activities introduced by WILL. (Source: KIIs with DFAT).

5.3. Conclusions & Recommendations

The conclusions and recommendations are organised under the three main components of the project:

5.3.1. Capacity building of diverse stakeholders

According to DFAT, Search's willingness to work with other partners was appreciated. Search's solution orientated approach was also a strength. Realising the need for collaboration and engaging in such showed good understanding of context and opportunistic adaptation. The project team was astute in choosing capacitated partners/ministries to achieve scale. The project succeeded at managing the political economy, a space in which Search excelled. Search's competitive advantage was a good sense of the political economy. Search was good at building skills, networking, and engaging media. The project's convening

²⁵ Source: <https://www.devex.com/organizations/sri-lanka-institute-of-local-governance-sliig-41179>

activities with the women's ministry, female headed households at grassroots level, and various other ministries led to effective events (especially the women's day event in Kilinochchi). WPC members, local government leaders, and others listened to concerns voiced by the communities, and helped make them aware of services available.

The foundation has been established via trained women leaders recently elected to LGAs for better understanding of the working of the LGA and improvements in service delivery. Survey respondents expressed a high level of appreciation for the training programme and requested further programmes to develop their capacity. It is still too early to analyse the long term impacts of the training programme, but early indications are that training participants are more active within their LGAs, participating more in committees and contributing to proceedings.

Even though the overall rank, party rank and rating of participation of WPC members remains low when compared to male MPs, their participation has improved from the previous year. Some the women MPs were more active than others and took proactive initiatives in highlighting issues and raising awareness among the public.

Recommendations:

1. Continue the relationship initiated with newly elected women members of LGAs with continued capacity development and regular engagement so they have support in bringing issues to the attention of their LGA and offer solutions to those issues, building their credibility among the public;
2. Further develop and consolidate relationships developed with the WPC, implement activities designed to create awareness about the WPC among the public (specifically women) and highlight the role that the WPC can play in bringing issues pertaining to women to the notice of policy makers (sexual harassment, domestic and gender-based violence, reproductive health, nutrition, drug abuse and alcoholism, child abuse etc.).

5.3.2. Networking (among women at the Province and between Province and National levels)

Findings of the evaluation indicate that members of the WPC are currently working across party, ethnic, and religious lines to address issues affecting women. They are working toward highlighting issues affecting women and have somewhat improved their participation in parliamentary proceedings compared to the previous year.

Findings from the survey of trained women leaders indicate they too have expanded networks to include those of other ethnic groups and religions. They also appreciated the opportunity provided by training programmes to network with their peers. Some mentioned that men should also be provided this training programme. It is still early to perceive if these women have addressed issues affecting their constituency. Indications are that they are on the road to doing so, as many have already presented issues in their LGA.

Since the women were elected only in February 2018 and the training conducted from May to July 2018; at the time of conducting the survey there were no examples to be found for women from provincial and national level working together to present issues that affect women to national level stakeholders (including men). However, WPC members had highlighted several issues pertaining to women such as the campaign to prevent sexual harassment in public transport.

Recommendations:

1. Continue to support the WPC to identify issues affecting women and bring those issues to the notice of policymakers so that policy changes can be influenced to the benefit of women.
2. Promote networking among elected women leaders across ethnic, religious, political, and gender divides. Encourage such networks to remain active so they have peer support and the lobby and advocacy capacity through increased numbers and networks to be able to effect changes within their constituency and at national level.
3. Establish women's caucuses in each District /Province and conduct regular forums (inter District and inter Province) so they have a platform to share issues and experiences. This will also provide numbers and organisation required to make changes and undertake lobby and advocacy activities to effect changes in policy benefiting women and their communities at large.
4. Include men in the above activities so that male champions of women's causes are identified and engaged. This will provide added credibility and buy-in among the public (especially men), in matters related to women's issues.

5.3.3. Public Awareness and Attitude

It is difficult to quantify the number of people reached through public awareness campaigns on women's leadership in the electoral processes. However, the WILL project did conduct several media campaigns and activities to create public awareness with a view to changing negative attitudes about the participation of women in politics, which had been identified at the consultative meetings held at the inception of the project as a challenge across the Districts that prevented women from entering into politics.

During the three months leading to the elections there was increased exposure especially in print and online newspapers about the issues related to women entering politics. During talk-shows women leaders shared their experiences and explained the challenges they face in politics. Women were portrayed in a positive light in the 'Vote Women SL' Facebook page and the public were encouraged to vote for such women. Factors preventing the entry of women into politics were widely discussed and given publicity through these media articles.

Monitoring of media articles and events during the project and the time leading up to the elections indicated that traditional media still lagged behind in promoting women as positive role models deserving of playing a role in politics. It was mostly the online newspapers and social media platforms that continued to give coverage to female political candidates. There were also some instances when women were portrayed in a derogatory manner, especially in social media.

The campaign against sexual harassment in public transport carried out by the WPC was well received and brought the WPC to the attention of the public. More such events and behaviour change communication activities, bringing issues faced specifically by women, can be championed by the WPC and implemented even in the regions so that the perception of women leaders is improved among the public.

Recommendations:

1. Promote the exposure of women as positive role models in the mainstream media, especially in local languages. Provide sensitisation training for journalists so that women are portrayed in a manner that is not derogatory.
2. Promote programmes advocating for better portrayal of women in media. Showcase success stories of successful women that have effected change so that other women realise the possibilities and potential.

3. Lobby to develop a code of conduct for media to implement and publish material promoting the inclusion of women and the positive portrayal of women in politics, in the media.
4. Conduct behaviour change communication campaigns to raise issues, including the participation of women in politics, among the public - similar to the campaign against sexual harassment in public transport.

5.3.4. Other conclusions and recommendations

The following observations also emerged through KIIs conducted with stakeholders.

While some improvements were seen, reports submitted did not sufficiently capture the depth and scope of the project, or project activities (e.g. media engagement). Oftentimes verbal briefings brought out more about the project than the written reports. Better coordination between Search and IFES (International Foundation for Electoral System), the other implementing partner of the project, may have led to better outcomes. (Source: KII with DFAT).

Government mandated (and government led) partnership and collaboration has a large positive impact on project outcomes. Much was enabled through key individuals in places of power in government ministries. However, policy-level change was not seen. More time/space needs to be created for innovation with long-term (ongoing) coaching and mentoring programmes. Search needs to pick up issues from local areas (as was highlighted through regional consultations), and address these specific issues through networking, capacity building, and projects.

Mainstreaming policy is vital to build on gains with media, public perception, government institutions, and other stakeholders. Future projects could utilise and leverage the resource of almost 2000 women leaders, together with the networks and products initiated through the WILL project. A longer-term project that looked at solving the institutional aspects of the WPC could prove effective. Training should be consistent and longer-term to ensure more significant gains in the future (for local women leaders).

Partnerships with government and non-government agencies was a key success. The project would not have had the same level of participation without this collaboration. With the support of mandated government institutions, participants took project activities very seriously. A more focused approach by geography or category of elected women would allow teams to focus and build the capacity of 500 leaders or so (rough figure). The focused approach could target younger leaders, or those who are already members of councils.

Change in public perception cannot be achieved without investment of substantial resources and time. Follow-up from other agencies in the collective, and commitment of their resources is essential. Some components fell-off because network partners did not deliver. Utilisation of ACLGs and former government officers was very effective, and their commitment enabled a great degree of formal and informal networking. Retaining flexibility in the project allowed trainings to adapt to ground needs and meet local requirements. (Source: KII with Search team members).

Partners (i.e. Verite) indicated that liaising with the Search team, who knew the objective well, was effective. The team was flexible and allowed for positive outcomes. Direct partnership with the WPC for Verité and other partners would have been good. This would have allowed for greater relationship-building.

Recommendations:

1. Search should further develop the knowledge management and documentation systems so that lessons learnt and best practices are documented and disseminated among stakeholders. They may explore the possibility of using social media to introduce and promote the concepts and tools developed by the project such as the training manual for elected women leaders;
2. Search has developed a good network of government authorities including SLILG, the ACLG offices in the districts and others. Such networks can be further developed and used to disseminate the best practices of the project, which will also ensure sustainability of some of the activities
3. Learning experiences of the project can be documented and disseminated among other stakeholders implementing similar activities. There are many projects and donors supporting programmes for women politicians and leaders, such entities can learn and build on the lessons of the WILL project.

6. Annexes

- 6.1. Terms of Reference
- 6.2. Nucleus Company Profile
- 6.3. Tools and guidelines used
- 6.4. List of persons interviewed
- 6.5. Database of women leaders that participated in training
- 6.6. Additional reports
 - 6.6.1. Media tracking report – December 2017
 - 6.6.2. Media tracking report – January 2018
 - 6.6.3. Media tracking report – February 2017
 - 6.6.4. Media tracking report – March 2018
 - 6.6.5. Evaluation of training program for women leaders