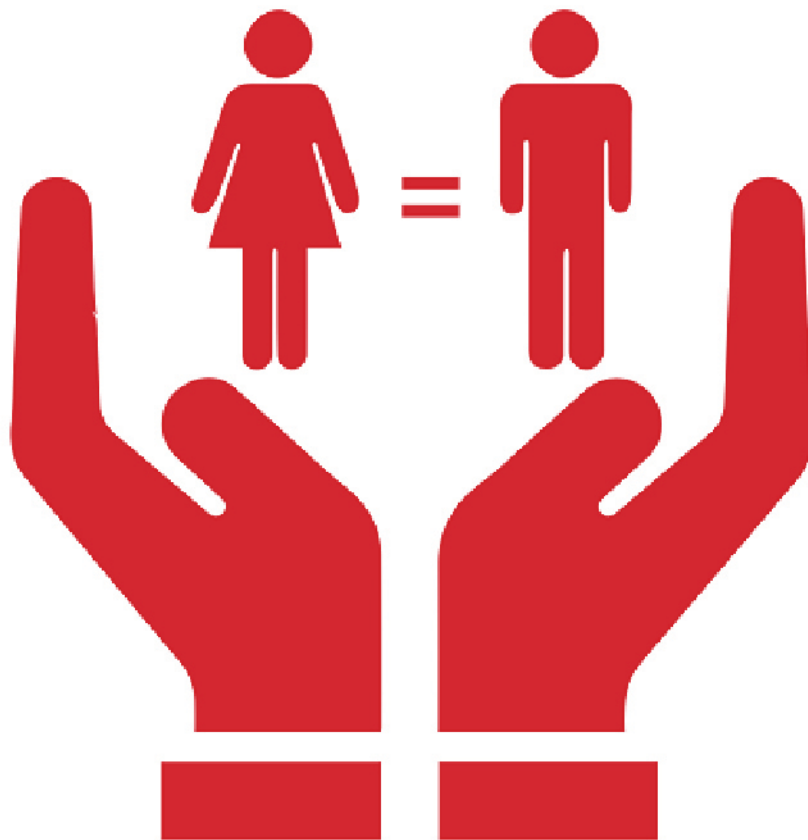


# **Achieving Gender Equality in the Sri Lanka Police: An Analysis of Women Officers**



**AN INITIATIVE OF THE NATIONAL POLICE COMMISSION,  
THE UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME AND  
CENTRE FOR WOMEN'S RESEARCH**

# **Achieving Gender Equality in the Sri Lanka Police: An Analysis of Women Officers**

Centre for Women's Research (CENWOR)

# **Achieving Gender Equality in the Sri Lanka Police: An Analysis of Women Officers**

© United Nations Development Programme, Sri Lanka  
Published by the UNDP Sri Lanka, 2019

ISBN: 978-955-1031-62-6

## **Study Team Members**

Ramanie Jayatilaka

Asha Abeyasekera

Leelangi Wanasundera

Sujatha Wijetilleke

## **Centre for Women's Research (CENWOR)**

225/4, Bernard Soysa Road (Kirula Road), Colombo 5.

Tel: 94-11-2369530 / 94-11-2502153

Email: cenworsrilanka@gmail.com

Website: www.cenwor.lk

## **DISCLAIMER**

The content of this publication does not necessarily reflect the views or policies of UNDP or contributory organizations, nor does it imply any endorsement. The designations employed and the presentation of material in this publication do not imply the expression of any opinion whatsoever on the part of UNDP concerning the legal status of any country, territory or city or its authorities, or concerning the delimitation of its frontiers or boundaries.

# Acknowledgement

This report would not have been possible without the cooperation, insight, and coordinating support provided by many individuals and agencies. We express our appreciation to the National Police Commission of Sri Lanka for commissioning us this study and providing their inputs and support and the UNDP for funding the process. Our special thanks are due to Ms. Shihara Rajakaruna and Ms. Himaya Fernando of UNDP for their support and guidance throughout the research process. The guidance, advice, and coordination support received from the Advisory Committee since the inception of this study was invaluable and we thank the members. The support of the Inspector General of Police is acknowledged with thanks.

We sincerely thank the Senior Assistant Secretary at the National Police Commission, DIG Crimes and Intelligence, and Director, Headquarters of the Bureau for the Prevention of Abuse of Children and Women for their unstinted support as focal points for the field work. A special thank you goes to all the Senior Police Officers who shared their valuable insights and experiences as well as for the support extended throughout the research process. We sincerely thank the Director and her staff at the Headquarters of the Bureau for the Prevention of Abuse of Children and Women for coordinating with Divisional Bureaus for us to conduct the field research and workshops at different locations and providing necessary information for the research. A special word of appreciation is due to the Officers in Charge of the Divisional Bureaus for their support.

It was due to the support of the Provincial Directors of the National Police Commission that we were able to make arrangements and conduct Focus Group Discussions with service providers and communities at the Divisional levels. We thank them all. We would also like to thank all those who participated in the research and shared their valuable insights and experiences with us: officers at the Divisional Bureaus, female police officers from the Sri Lanka Police, officers from State agencies, communities, non-governmental and civil society organisations. We extend our sincere appreciation to the children and women victim-survivors throughout the country who confided with us their difficult experiences.

We are extremely thankful to Ms. Girty Gamage and her Assistants for the data entry, coding and analysis. We sincerely thank our Project Coordinator, Ms. Vathany Narendran for her commitment in managing and coordinating all project related work, our Research Assistant, Ms. Rajima Senanayake for all the hard work and support given to complete the study, and CENWOR staff for their contribution to the completion of the research.

Fieldwork was made possible through the efforts and commitments of the Research Field Supervisors Mr. Namal Weerasena and Mr. G. Vickneshwaran and Field Research Assistants. We thank them all.

**Centre for Women's Research**

CENWOR

October 2018

# Contents

<b>Executive Summary</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>List of Abbreviations</b>	<b>xvi</b>
<b>List of Tables</b>	<b>xix</b>
<b>List of Figures</b>	<b>xx</b>
<b>1. Introduction: Women in Sri Lanka's Police Service</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Rationale for Women's Presence in Police Services	1
1.2 Overview of Sri Lanka Police	6
1.3 Objectives of Study	7
1.4 Methodology	8
1.5 Structure of the Report	10
<b>2. Review of the Literature</b>	<b>11</b>
2.1 Introduction	11
2.2 Women in Police Services	13
2.3 Why there Should be More Women in Police Forces	15
2.4 Affirmative Action	16
<b>3. The Sri Lanka Police: A Gendered Analysis of Its Structure, Functions, and Mechanisms</b>	<b>20</b>
3.1 Introduction	20
3.2 Historical Overview of Women in Sri Lanka Police	20
3.3 Status of Women in the Organizational Structure and Hierarchy	25
3.4 Policies and Processes – a Gendered Analysis	32
3.5 Employee Benefits and Gender-Specific Measures	36
<b>4. Gender Inequality in Sri Lanka's Police Service</b>	<b>44</b>
4.1 Structural and Institutional Discrimination	44
4.2 Promotions and the 'Women's Cadre'	48
4.3 Access to Training and Overseas Exposure	55
4.4 Gender Relations in Police Stations – Harassment and Sexual Harassment	55
<b>5. Conclusion. Achieving Gender Equality in Sri Lanka's Police Service</b>	<b>57</b>
5.1 Recommendations	59
References	66
Annex 1 - Key Informants Interviewed	71

# Executive Summary

## Achieving Gender Equality in the Sri Lanka Police: An Analysis of Women Officers

### Rationale for the Study

This research study was undertaken with the overall objective of analysing the gender responsiveness of Sri Lanka's Police service. The discourse on gender equality has long-established that women and men have distinct needs in society. Women's needs often remain unmet because what may seem like gender-blind or gender-neutral mechanisms and processes, in fact can be either insensitive to women's specific needs or even discriminate against women. The gender responsiveness of a country's police service can be evaluated using three inter-related measures: (1) the availability of services and mechanisms specifically designed and put in place to respond to the issues and concerns of women in the community and, in the case of this study, children; (2) the number of women in the police service; and (3) the commitment to the principles and values of gender equality within the institution's internal structures, processes, and mechanisms. These measures have been developed with the understanding that there is a need for more women in all ranks of the police service because women tend to be more sensitive to women's issues and concerns, and can respond more effectively to the gendered aspect of these needs, especially gender-based violence. More women in the police service is meaningless, however, without a commitment to building an institution that is non-discriminatory, reflective of the diversity of citizens, and accountable to the population at large. Overall, the nature of policing has changed over the past decades. In the past maintaining law and order was understood to be about exerting authority and providing services. The shift towards a more proactive style of policing—'community policing'—has reconceptualised the nature of policing. In addition to physical strength, what is considered more important and prioritised is good ethical character, and excellent interpersonal, problem-solving and conflict-resolution skills. These traits cannot be thought of as 'male' or 'female'. However, existing research shows that women tend to demonstrate these qualities when working with law and order more than their male counterparts.

## Methodology

In evaluating the gender responsiveness of the Sri Lanka Police, this research study asked the following questions:

- What is the rationale for including more women in all ranks of the Sri Lanka Police?
- How should gender equality be promoted in the Sri Lanka Police?
- What measures should be taken to address the historical discrimination of women in the Sri Lanka Police?

A mixed-method methodology was used to gather the required information. A quantitative approach was used to ascertain the prevalence and distribution of issues and concerns with regard to gender parity of the Sri Lanka Police. A qualitative approach was used to gain an in-depth understanding of the barriers to achieving gender equality in the Sri Lanka Police.

The methodology had the following components: (1) a policy analysis of internal documents; (2) a desk review of external literature; (3) collection and analysis of quantitative data through a survey of women officers occupying the junior ranks of the Sri Lanka Police (Constables, Sergeants, Sub-Inspectors); and (4) collection and analysis of in-depth qualitative information through interviews with men and women in senior ranks of the police (Inspector of Police up to Superintendents of Police and DIGs), and key informants from organisations linked to the Sri Lanka Police.

## Key Findings

There are 8,878 women officers in the police. Of these, 8,099 or 91.2% of officers are non-gazetted officers in the ranks of Constables and Sergeants (10.7% of the total cadre). Of the 779 gazetted officers, 769 are junior gazetted officers in the ranks of Chief Inspector (CI), Inspector of Police (IP), and Sub Inspector of Police (SI) (1% of the total cadre), while only 10 women are senior gazetted officers (0.01% of the total cadre) in the ranks of Assistant Superintendent of Police (ASP) and Superintendent of Police (SP). No woman has been promoted beyond the rank of Senior

Superintendent of Police (SSP). Although a minimum quota of 15 % has been recommended, the actual number of women police officers amounts to only 11.7 % of the total cadre. As an institution the police hold a false belief that women are incapable of succeeding to the higher ranks of the police due to their lack of experience in the frontlines, inability to conduct dangerous criminal investigations, their caregiving responsibilities, and their lack of commitment to the police service. Women officers, on the other hand, reiterated that contrary to these misconceptions, women work long hours and night-shifts, have engaged and are willing to be involved in frontline work, and are interested in all aspects of police work, including criminal investigations. However, women are discouraged from what is perceived to be 'male' work and often assigned to desk-related jobs and to functional divisions.

When women are recruited to the police service, they undergo the same entrance tests as men including the endurance test. However, the height specification when recruiting officers at the rank of Constable and SI are different for women and men, but become the same when recruiting to the rank of ASP i.e., 5'6". Given the average height of women in Sri Lanka, these height specifications are discriminatory and systematically block qualified women from applying for the position and from being promoted.

There is a perception that women who join the police service do not have any other employment options and join the police service as a last resort. There is also a perception that women who have educational qualifications do not want to join the police service as they would aspire to more prestigious and less demanding jobs considered more suitable for women. The survey conducted challenged both these assumptions as more than 70% of women joined the police because of personal preference.

Men and women officers have to undergo the basic mandatory training sessions when joining the police as constables, which includes endurance, physical, as well as weapons training. However, women's performance in the initial endurance examination has been cited as a reason for holding them back from being promoted beyond the rank of SSP.



The concentration of women in functional divisions is a result of structural and institutional discrimination that stereotype women as being more capable of desk-based administrative work. Ten Police Divisions do not have Inspectors of Police (IPs) who are women. Out of the 234 women inspectors of police (IPs), 84 are in functional divisions located in the Division of Colombo. There are 15 women Chief Inspectors of whom 11 are in the Colombo Division. All 10 women ASPs and SPs are also stationed in Colombo.

Institutional discrimination in Sri Lanka Police is apparent in the way women officers get talked about by senior male police officers. There were two kinds of attitudes that senior male officers of the police had towards women police officers. On the one hand they were paternalistic. On the other hand, they were contemptuous. Women officers are generally regarded as weak and unambitious because they are unwilling to take on frontline work and often prioritise their familial obligations over their professional responsibilities. Hence, women are seen as arriving late and leaving early, and reluctant to work night shifts or take on work in police stations. Women are seen as opting to do administrative desk-based work in functional divisions. Structural discrimination also led to women feeling compelled to take on desk jobs as a way of managing their multiple roles, both as an officer of the police service and their role as primary caregivers and household managers for the family. Gender stereotyping and gender-role allocations in the police led to further discrimination of women as women's work informed the perceptions of senior officers. Senior officers perceived women as not only liking desk jobs and taking on functional administrative roles, but also as incapable of doing front-line police work.

On the other hand, the Sri Lanka Police have made special provisions, both official and informal, for women officers based on their caregiving roles and children's educational needs. This includes married women with children under 18 being exempted from Sunday work, less frequent transfers whereby married women with

children are allowed to be in one division or district for longer than their male counterparts, and early retirement. These special provisions are a double-edged sword as they work to the detriment of women who seek promotion to higher ranks are seen as forgoing the opportunity to gain the breadth of experience seen as mandatory for serving in the higher ranks.

There is ambivalence about whether women are allocated night-duty/night-time shifts. There is an understanding that in general women are unofficially exempt from working in the nights in some stations and divisions. However, many women constables talked about being assigned night duty and fulfilling the responsibility as demanded of them. According to some female officers, women cannot do the night shift partly due to the lack of facilities in the current police stations, namely changing rooms and proper washrooms. Moreover, many of the Police Barracks that are often located in proximity to the station do not provide quarters to women officers as they are deemed unsuitable for women.

Although women were perceived to be doing less work than men, and also less important work than men, women described how they were burdened with all the paper work and database management work of the police. Moreover, although some women may be working shorter hours, a majority of women worked long hours that went beyond the hours of their particular shift. Very often women police officers gave their phone numbers to civilians, which meant fielding calls and following up on people's concerns after hours.

Most women police officers, non-gazetted, and gazetted juniors and seniors, were extremely concerned about the lack of promotions. The issue with promotions must be discussed as two separate issues: (1) promotions due to junior and senior gazetted officers; (2) promotions due to non-gazetted officers.

Gazetted officers' access to timely promotions was undermined by two inter-weaving processes. One was the unofficial formation of a 'women's cadre', which was differentiated from the 'male cadre'. When circulars announcing promotions were

published, women officers were told these were relevant to the male cadre. This separation has led to the allocation of maximum quotas for women officers at each rank. Hence, women, even if they are qualified, are not evaluated on the basis of merit alongside their male colleagues. Very often this has meant their male counterparts receive promotions before them. These 'sanctioned' cadre positions has led to much anxiety and frustration amongst senior women police officers. With only one position open in the rank of SSP, only one of the ten SPs is eligible for promotion. Promotions were one of the main issues of contention that senior women officers talked about because they felt they were being deliberately held back without legitimate reason. In addition to promotions, women were not given the role of 'Director' of functional divisions even though they were eligible and capable of holding such a position. Very often, they were given the Assistant Director role and compelled to work under less qualified or equally qualified men. The fundamental rights case filed is a response to this overt discrimination of women in the higher ranks. The second way in which women are not promoted is because they do not meet the criteria for promotion, which has been discussed before.

A significant number of women Constables and Sergeants are entitled to their next promotion, but have not received them. However, what is striking is that these delays and frustrations were not seen as unique to women in the lower ranks of the police service as many men in these ranks too had not received their promotions. This is evidenced by women stating that although they were unhappy with the current promotions policy, they did not feel they were particularly disadvantaged compared to their male counterparts. This is because the police in general are not promoting non-gazetted officers in the lower ranks regardless of gender.

Women officers complained that they were often overlooked when opportunities for overseas training or special training was offered. Very often women were verbally discouraged from applying for training programmes by their Divisional heads on the grounds that women were not eligible for this particular training.

Women officers were reluctant to discuss sexual harassment explicitly. The main reason was that they felt the study would highlight harassment over discrimination, which they felt was the more salient and urgent issue facing women in the police service. Senior women officers talked about older male officers verbally harassing them when they first joined the police service. However, they felt the men of their generation and younger men did not engage in these practices any more.

Women officers who were perceived to be lesbian were also harassed by male officers. Because they were regarded as de facto 'men', male officers tended to use harsher language and crack more sexualized jokes in their presence. Sometimes they were forced to describe their sexual acts for the amusement of male officers. Strong women with ambition were often labelled as 'lesbian'. Women who were identified as 'lesbian' were prevented from being alone with women victim-survivors and condemned for being harsh. It is noteworthy that men's harsh behaviour was seen as necessary for succeeding in the police service, whereas for women it was considered a negative trait.

## **Affirmative Action**

Measures to promote gender equality are built on the premise that deep structural factors have systematically disadvantaged women. Gender transformative policy and practice is regarded as most effective at transforming harmful gendered norms and restructuring the determinants of gender inequality. Gender sensitive policy and practice can also challenge gender inequality and improve women's status in institutional structures. Policy and practice can perpetuate, increase or challenge existing inequalities between women and men. At one end, policy and practice can be harmful to gender equality, and at the other end, gender roles and relations can be positively changed and gender equality improved.

The recommendations for Study A- Divisional Bureaus for the Prevention of Abuse of Children and Women: An Assessment (given in a separate report) are intended to improve the quality of services of the Divisional Bureaus for the Prevention of Abuse of Children and Women. As such, the recommendations focus on staff availability

including recruitment and deployment, resources allocated, and administrative and logistical mechanisms that can improve the gender sensitivity and responsiveness of the services provided. More specifically, the recommendations take into consideration the findings to the following questions:

- How should women's caregiving role and their contribution to society as primary caregivers and household managers be acknowledged and valued when evaluating women officers? Specifically, should women's career advancement suffer because they take maternity leave and need time to fulfil their caregiving roles?
- How should historical discrimination based on gender stereotypes be addressed through affirmative action? Specifically, how can a fair and equitable mechanism be designed to recognise the contribution women officers have made to the police service, despite their being excluded or discouraged from frontline work and leadership roles?
- To what degree should special provisions be modified to ensure women officers get the breadth of experience needed to serve in the highest ranks of the Sri Lanka Police? Specifically, how can women be assigned to work in all parts of the country, fulfil night-work requirements while taking into consideration structural issues that extend beyond the police service into society such as threats to women's safety, and the lack of good educational facilities for children?

## Recommendations

### Overall Recommendations

#### *Short to Mid-term*

- Abolish the separation of the cadre into a 'woman's cadre'. Men and women should belong to the same cadre and not be differentiated on the basis of their sex.
- Abolish the practice of differentiating a 'women's cadre' and assigning 'W' when ranking women (e.g., WPC, WSP).
- Address the reasons that have prevented the recruitment of the approved / sanctioned cadre.
- Evaluate special provisions for women and amend all stipulations and conditions that in the long-term may undermine women's chances of recognition and promotion in the Police (e.g., Sunday work; night-duty etc.). However, maternity and childcare benefits must be left as is and should not contravene GOSL regulations and laws.

- Make certain special provisions optional rather than mandatory to ensure that women officers interested in career advancement are able to gain the breadth of experience necessary for occupying the senior ranks.
- Introduce in the short to mid-term a promotion scheme that takes into account historical and institutional discrimination, as well as special provisions, that has prevented women from meeting the criteria for promotion.
- Introduce criteria whereby senior ranks in the police service can be filled by women (and men) whose expertise is in the special and functional aspects of the police as is the case in the armed forces (e.g., Intelligence, CID, Prevention of abuse against women and children, Cybercrime etc.).
- Recruit and fill the existing vacancies (sanctioned cadre) in all ranks.
- Remove maximum quotas (i.e., sanctioned cadre / approved cadre) for women that are currently in operation in the senior ranks.
- Introduce a Gender Equality Policy to create an ethos of gender equality and non-discrimination in the Sri Lanka Police.
- Introduce a Sexual Harassment Policy.

#### ***Long-term***

- Remove all barriers that preclude women from moving to the highest ranks of the Sri Lanka Police (SP, SSP, DIG, SDIG, IGP).
- Introduce a merit-based system for promotions of men and women.
- Introduce minimum quotas at all ranks to ensure at least 15% of women in the Police;
- But abolish maximum quotas in order to ensure both a gender equal and merit-based system for recruitment and promotions is operationalised, and monitored and evaluated.
- Introduce annual performance evaluations for all ranks.
- Service awards and special achievement awards introduced to address frustrations with slow or lack of promotions throughout the force for both men and women.

## **Specific Recommendations**

### ***Recruitment***

- Review existing criteria and benefits that may prevent women from joining the police.
- Actively recruit Tamil and Muslim women to the Sri Lanka Police.

### ***Promotions***

- Implement the 15% women's quota for all ranks of the police service as a short to mid-term solution to address the gender imbalance.
- Ensure timely promotions.
- Review promotion criteria of SI and SP to ensure it is fair to the existing police officers.
- Call for applications for promotions to be made available to men and women at the same time. This is to avoid frustration of qualified women that may undermine their performance and motivation.

### ***Deployment, Allocation of Duties, and Transfers***

- Recognise the social contribution women make in their care-giving role and take these into consideration when reviewing promotion criteria.
- Provide facilities such as day-care centres to support women officers.
- Consider care-work when applying the Sunday leave provision.
- Introduce a roster system to ensure women get the opportunity to work night shifts and weekends.
- Allocate duties equally between men and women.
- Provide women officers of all ranks the opportunity to serve in all departments and districts.

### *Training*

- Establish minimum quota for women for all residential training both in Sri Lanka and overseas.
- Introduce a fair and just process to select trainees for local and international training programmes.
- Remove constraints that discourage women from taking part in residential training programmes, i.e., lack of residential facilities.

### *Mentoring*

- Publicise women's mentoring programme focusing on addressing harassment and sexual harassment in the police.



## List of Abbreviations

AG	-	Attorney General
ASP	-	Assistant Superintendent of Police
CBOs	-	Community Based Organisations
CEDAW	-	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women
CENWOR	-	Centre for Women's Research
CI	-	Chief Inspector
CID	-	Criminal Investigation Department
CRC	-	UN Convention on the Rights of the Child
CRPO	-	Child Rights Promotion Officer
CSOs	-	Civil Society Organisations
C&W Units	-	Children and Women's Units
CYPO	-	Child and Young Persons Ordinance
DCDC	-	District Child Development Committee
DIG	-	Deputy Inspector General
DO	-	Department Orders
DO/CDO	-	Development Officer /Community Development Officer
DPCCS	-	Department of Probation and Child Care Services
DS	-	Divisional Secretariat
FGDs	-	Focus Group Discussions
GCE A.L.	-	General Certificate of Education Advanced Level
GCE O.L.	-	General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level
GCR	-	Grave Crime Report
GOSL	-	Government of Sri Lanka
GN	-	Grama Niladhari
HQ	-	Headquarters
HQI	-	Headquarter Inspector
HRC	-	Human Rights Commission

IGP	-	Inspector General of Police
INGO	-	International Non-Governmental Organisations
IP	-	Inspector of Police
JMO	-	Judicial Medical Officer
KII	-	Key Informant Interviews
LAC	-	Legal Aid Commission
MoJ	-	Ministry of Justice
MoLO	-	Ministry of Law and Order
MOR	-	Minor Offence Report
NAP	-	National Action Plan
NCPA	-	National Child Protection Authority
NCW	-	National Committee on Women
NGOs	-	Non Governmental Organisations
NHSL	-	National Hospital of Sri Lanka
NPC	-	National Police Commission
OIC	-	Officer in Charge
PC	-	Police Constable
PDVA	-	Prevention of Domestic Violence Act
PS	-	Police Sergeant
SDGs	-	Sustainable Development Goals
SDIG	-	Senior Deputy Inspector General
SDO	-	Station Duty Officer
SGBV	-	Sexual and Gender Based Violence
SI	-	Sub Inspector
SLCERT	-	Sri Lanka Computer Emergency Response Team
SLP	-	Sri Lanka Police
SOCO	-	Scene of Crime Officers
SP	-	Superintendent of Police
SPSS	-	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
SSO	-	Social Service Officer

SSP	-	Senior Superintendent of Police
SWOT	-	Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats
TO	-	Telephone Operator
TOR	-	Terms of Reference
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme
UNHRC	-	United Nations Human Rights Council
USA	-	United States of America
VAW&C	-	Violence against Women and Children
VPN	-	Virtual Private Network
VAW	-	Violence against Women
WASP	-	Woman Assistant Superintendent of Police
WCI	-	Woman Chief Inspector
WDO	-	Women Development Officer
WIN	-	Women in Need
WIP	-	Woman Inspector of Police
WPC	-	Woman Police Constable
WPS	-	Woman Police Sergeant
WPS	-	Women's Police Stations
WSI	-	Woman Sub-Inspector

## List of Tables

Table 1.1 -	Selected Police Divisions	9
Table 3.1 -	Actual Female Cadre from 2013-2018 (Cadre in Duty)	26
Table 3.2 -	SLP Women Officers by Ethnicity, 2018	27
Table 3.3 -	SLP Women Cadre, 2018	28
Table 3.4 -	SLP Women - Sanctioned and Actual Cadre by percentages, 2018	28
Table 3.5 -	The Number of Positions Available in the Senior Ranks of the Sri Lanka Police, 2018	29

## List of Figures

Figure 3.1 - Organisational Chart of the Sri Lanka Police	25
Figure 3.2 - Organisational Chart of the Headquarters of the Bureau for Prevention of Abuse of Children and Women	31
Figure 3.3 - Percentage Distribution of Women Sub Inspectors by Age Group and Educational Level	33
Figure 3.4 - Percentage Distribution of Women Police Sergeants by Reasons for joining the Sri Lanka Police (Multiple Responses)	33
Figure 3.5 - Distribution of Women Sub Inspectors by Age and the Reason for joining the Sri Lanka Police	34
Figure 4.1 - Percentage Distribution of Women Police Constables by Satisfaction with the Existing Promotion Policy	51
Figure 4.2 - Percentage Distribution of Women Police Sergeants by Satisfaction with the Existing Promotion Policy	51
Figure 4.3 - Distribution of Women Police Constables by Age and Entitlement to the next Promotion	52
Figure 4.4 - Distribution of Women Police Sergeants by Age and Entitlement to the next Promotion	52
Figure 4.5 - Distribution of Women Inspectors of Police and Time taken to get Promotion	53
Figure 4.6 - Distribution of Women Police Constables by Perception of Gender Disadvantage at the time Promotion	54
Figure 4.7 - Distribution of Women Police Sergeants by Perception of Gender Disadvantage at the time Promotion	54

# 1. Introduction: Women in Sri Lanka's Police Service

---

## 1.1 Rationale for Women's Presence in Police Services

Violence against women and children in Sri Lanka is pervasive and exists in the family, the workplace, and the community. It includes physical, sexual, and psychological acts of violence both in physical and cyber-space. The physical safety and security of women, and also children, is fundamental to their wellbeing, and an essential prerequisite to their participation in public life. The challenge of making public and private life safe for women and children falls on many public institutions, amongst which police services are central. In fact a country's police service is a duty bearer with responsibility to guarantee women's physical safety and security—both a right in itself, and an essential pre-condition for women's enjoyment of all other rights. Hence, the police can play a central role in promoting women's, and also children's wellbeing and upholding their rights.<sup>1</sup>

This research study was undertaken with the overall objective of analysing the gender responsiveness of Sri Lanka's Police service. A gender-responsive police service "is one that both meets the distinct and different security and justice needs of men, women, boys and girls and promotes the full and equal participation of men and women"<sup>2</sup>. The discourse on gender equality has long-established that women and men have distinct needs in society. Women's needs often remain unmet because what may seem like gender-blind or gender-neutral mechanisms and processes, in fact can be either insensitive to women's specific needs or even discriminate against women. The gender responsiveness of a country's police service can be evaluated using three inter-related measures:

---

<sup>1</sup> UNDP and UNIFEM 2007. Gender Sensitive Police Reform in Post Conflict Societies. Policy briefing paper. New York: United Nations Development Programme and United Nations Development Fund for Women.

<sup>2</sup> Bastick, Megan. 2011. Gender Self-Assessment Guide for the Police, Armed Forces and Justice Sector. Geneva: DCAF. p. 1

- the availability and sensitivity of services and mechanisms specifically designed and put in place to respond to the issues and concerns of women in the community, and also children,
- the number of women in the police service, and
- the commitment to the principles and values of gender equality within the institution's internal structures, processes, and mechanisms.

The three broad measures for assessing are inter-connected because a police service cannot effectively respond to the gendered needs of civilians if:

- Specific services and mechanisms have not been established to meet women's and children's needs, such as a special Women's Desk at police stations, or police officers are insensitive and unresponsive when women make complaints about difficult and often what is perceived as a private and 'shameful' issues such as domestic violence.
- The principle of gender equality is not promoted, upheld, or valued within the police institution. This means explicitly counteracting stereotypes such as women are better at desk jobs or are incapable of doing frontline work and negative attitudes about women, and also actively promoting gender equality through policies.
- The principle of gender equality cannot be upheld unless women are also present in sufficient numbers in the police service.

At a practical operational level this makes logical sense: if there are no, or very few, women police officers serving in all ranks of the police, the police as an institution cannot effectively meet the needs and concerns of women in society. The premise is that women police officers, due to their own experiences of injustice, inequality, discrimination, harassment, and violence, are more sensitive to the security needs of women and girls, and, therefore, can respond more effectively to the gendered aspect of these needs, especially gender-based violence.

However, increasing the number of women in a police service is inadequate unless there is a commitment to the principles of gender equality within the institution.

Women's access to power and social position are shaped by socially constructed gender norms and gender roles. Gender-relations between men and women are, in turn, influenced by unequal power dynamics that often render women vulnerable to injustice and violence. Gender-sensitive and gender - responsive policies are "an organizational strategy which employs mechanisms to enhance the feeling of safety, satisfaction and confidence among women by providing them with better access to justice and security and by ensuring effective, transparent and reliable policing services." <sup>3</sup> Such policies "contribute towards building police institutions which are non-discriminatory, reflective of the diversity of citizens and accountable to the population at large. [In doing so], police services will better fulfil the police's essential mandate of upholding the rule of law."<sup>4</sup>

In addition, according to Security Council Resolution 1325 (October 2000), women's participation in peace processes should be recognised and promoted, especially in conflict and post-conflict contexts. This is to promote "women's engagement in democratic governance, conflict resolution, and economic activity, which are key components of the sustainability of peace in post-conflict contexts." <sup>5</sup>

Overall, the nature of policing has changed over the past decades. In the past maintaining law and order was understood to be about exerting authority and using service. Hence, policing as a profession prioritised physical attributes such as brute strength, height, and weight. The shift towards a more proactive style of policing 'community policing' has reconceptualised the nature of policing. The profession still requires a great level of physical fitness; however, what is considered more important and prioritised is good ethical character, and excellent interpersonal, problem-solving and conflict-resolution skills. These traits cannot be thought of as 'male' or 'female'. However, research shows that women tend to demonstrate these qualities when working with law and order more than their male counterparts.

---

<sup>3</sup> DFID 2015 quoted in N. Sreekumaran Nair, Shrinivas Darak, Bhumika T.V, Trupti Darak, Maria Mathews, L. Dayashwori Devi, Ratheebhai, V. and Anjali Dave. 2017. Gender-responsive policing initiatives designed to enhance confidence, satisfaction in policing services and reduce risk of violence against women in low and middle income countries - A systematic review. London: EPPI-Centre, Social Science Research Unit, UCL Institute of Education, University College London.

<sup>4</sup> UNDP. 2007. Gender Sensitive Police Reform in Post Conflict Societies. Policy Briefing Paper.

<sup>5</sup> UNDP. 2007. Gender Sensitive Police Reform in Post Conflict Societies. Policy Briefing Paper.



In evaluating the gender responsiveness of the Sri Lanka Police, this research study asked the following questions:

- What is the rationale for including more women in all ranks of the Sri Lanka Police?
- How should gender equality be promoted in the Sri Lanka Police?
- What measures should be taken to address the historical discrimination of women in the Sri Lanka Police?

### **Are Women Basically the same or are They Different to Men?**

The above is the central question informing this report. It is also a central debate in feminist jurisprudence, but for the purpose of this report it will be discussed specifically in relation to the research study on 'achieving gender equality in Sri Lanka's police service'. The question informs how interventions—specifically policies and processes—that promote gender equality should be conceptualised and implemented. Biologically men and women are not the same. When it comes to policing work, men's physical strength is compared to women's and used as a measure to regard men as more superior to women and better able to do policing work. As this report will illustrate, physical strength has been used as the basis to assume that women are incapable of working in the frontlines and less capable of handling the more stressful and rigorous aspects of police work such as dangerous criminal investigations and night work. As discussed in the previous section, police work does not only require physical strength, but many other skills and abilities that are not necessarily 'male' or 'female' traits. At the same time, it is important to understand that 'equality' does not mean 'sameness'. Women and men are certainly different, but not just biologically. There are various historical and socio-cultural dimensions to how 'differences' between men and women have come to be, which is beyond the purview of this report. What is important to this particular discussion is how men and women are different because of the gendered roles they play.

This report demonstrates that there are both informal and formal measures the Sri Lanka Police have taken to meet the needs and circumstances of women officers specifically the responsibilities they have as the primary caregivers of children. Some of the unofficial measures include excluding women from the night-duty roster, and assigning them desk-jobs that guarantees more regular working hours. There are also official special provisions that have been introduced, for example less frequent transfers, Sunday leave etc. to ensure that women have time to attend to their caregiving responsibilities and minimum disruptions are made to children's schooling.

These formal and informal mechanisms and measures have resulted in undermining women's career advancement in the Sri Lanka Police. This research study recommends that these mechanisms and measures be re-evaluated on the basis of the following:

- How should women's caregiving role and their contribution to society as primary caregivers and household managers be acknowledged and valued when evaluating women officers? Specifically, should women's career advancement suffer because they take maternity leave and need time to fulfil their caregiving roles?
- How should historical discrimination based on gender stereotypes be addressed through affirmative action? Specifically, how can a fair and equitable mechanism be designed to recognise the contribution women officers have made to the service, despite their being excluded or discouraged from frontline work and leadership roles?
- To what degree should special provisions be modified to ensure women officers get the breadth of experiences needed to serve in the highest ranks of the Sri Lanka Police? Specifically, how can women be assigned to work in all parts of the country, fulfil night-work while taking into consideration structural issues that extend beyond the police service into society such as threats to women's safety, and the lack of good educational facilities for children?

## 1.2 Overview of Sri Lanka Police

The Sri Lanka Police functions as a central government department and is under the Ministry of Law and Order. It is regulated by the Police Ordinance of 1865. Although the 13th Amendment to the Constitution devolved police powers to the provinces this provision has not yet been implemented. The Police Department is organised to include 42 territorial police divisions and 67 functional police divisions.

The National Police Commission (NPC) was constituted in 2002 under the 17th Amendment to the Constitution as an independent body to ensure that the Police Department provides a professional and responsive service to the public and upholds the rule of law and human rights of citizens as set out in the Sri Lankan Constitution.<sup>6</sup> The NPC decides the overall policy pertaining to all aspects of appointments, transfer, promotions, discipline and dismissal of officers below the ranks of Chief Inspectors of Police and monitors how the functions that have been delegated to the IGP, SDIG and DIG are being carried out.

Although a government department, the organizational structure and operations of the police department differ from that of a government ministry or department. The head, the Inspector General of Police, is appointed by the President with the approval of the Constitutional Council. The SLP is departmentalized by territory and function representing vertical and horizontal lines of authority, the efficacy of which is a subject that is before the Police Reforms Commission.<sup>7</sup> The SLP operates under a central command and covers five ranges (1-V), districts and divisions. Colombo is a separate range.

The IGP had command over a total cadre of 75, 478 (as at 31st December 2017).<sup>8</sup> At present there are 482 police stations with plans to extend the number to 600.<sup>9</sup> Though a civilian service, Sri Lanka Police has a number of specialized units including a paramilitary Special Task Force created in 1983 to counter terrorist threats.<sup>10</sup> The history of women in Sri Lanka's Police service will be discussed in chapter 3 of this report.

---

<sup>6</sup>National Police Commission. <http://npc.gov.lk/about/commission-and-the-sri-lanka-police/>

<sup>7</sup> Reviewing Policing Practices 2017. Daily News August 31 2017.

<sup>8</sup> Police Hierarchy in Sri Lanka. Hierarchy Structure <https://www.hierarchystructure.com/police-hierarchy-in-sri-lanka/>

<sup>9</sup> Ministry of Law and Order and Southern Development 2016. Annual Report

<sup>10</sup> [https://ipfs.io/ipfs/QmXoyvizjW3WknFiJnKLwHCnL72vedxjQkDDP1mXWo6uco/wiki/Sri\\_Lanka\\_Police\\_Service.html](https://ipfs.io/ipfs/QmXoyvizjW3WknFiJnKLwHCnL72vedxjQkDDP1mXWo6uco/wiki/Sri_Lanka_Police_Service.html)

### 1.3 Objectives of Study

This research study is an analysis of the female cadre of the Police, and was designed to assess the status of women police officers in the organizational hierarchy, their deployment and the challenges faced by them in discharging their duties with a special focus on gender biases in the institution. The overall objective of the study is to identify the extent to which the Sri Lankan Police has ensured gender equality in the deployment of women in the Sri Lanka Police Department, the existing barriers to ensuring gender equality, and how such barriers are to be overcome.

The specific objectives of this research study are to:

- Identify gaps in existing policies and mechanisms to ensure gender equality
  - develop an organizational chart of the Sri Lanka Police detailing management structure and levels of authority
  - ascertain the Gender and ethnic composition within the organizational hierarchy
  - review policies and processes relating to recruitment, appointments, deployment, mobility, career advancement, training, and access to benefits and privileges to assess if there is gender discrimination
  - determine the measures adopted to ensure gender equality e, g, gender policy, grievance handling policies
  - determine policies and mechanisms in place to address issues of sexual harassment.
- Evaluate practices that are discriminatory and undermine gender equality
  - identify the challenges and discriminations faced by women police officers at an institutional level
  - ascertain the day-to-day experiences of discrimination women face in their workplace

- determine if women cadres are subject to sexual harassment
- identify the barriers to gender equality, and
- determine affirmative action to be taken to address the existing barriers, eliminate gender discrimination and ensure gender equality.

## 1.4 Methodology

A mixed-method methodology was used to gather the required information. A quantitative approach was used to ascertain the prevalence and distribution of issues and concerns with regard to gender parity of the Sri Lanka Police. A qualitative approach was used to gain an in-depth understanding of the barriers to achieving gender equality in the Police Department. The methodology had the following components:

- a policy analysis of internal documents,
- a desk review of external literature,
- collection and analysis of quantitative data, and
- collection and analysis of in-depth qualitative information.

### Policy Analysis of Internal Documents

- A review of the legal provisions, rules, regulations, as specified in internal circulars, manuals of operations and other relevant internal documents to obtain information on:
- current procedures and practices of recruitment, promotions transfers, hours of work, leave of absence,
- in-service training –types, curriculum, language,
- staff complaints, documented irregularities, and redressal mechanisms, and
- gender-related policies.

### Review of Literature

The review of the literature includes academic studies, research reports, newspaper articles, statistical data, relevant laws and court cases pertaining to the police service in general.

## Data Collection: Sri Lanka Police

In-depth interviews with one woman ASP and five SPs were conducted. Structured interviews with five (5) Women Sub-Inspectors (WSIs) from various police divisions totalling 75 were conducted. In addition, structured Interviews with 75 WPS and 75 WPCs were conducted from 15 selected Police Divisions. These were:

**Table 1.1- Selected Police Divisions**

Province	Police Division
Central	Kandy
	Nuwara Eliya
Eastern	Ampara
	Batticaloa
North Central	Anuradhapura
North Western	Kurunegala
	Nikaweratiya
Northern	Vavuniya
	Jaffna
Sabaragamuwa	Ratnapura
Southern	Mathara
	Thangalle
Uva	Moneragala
Western	Maradana
	Gampaha
Total	15

Key informant interviews with relevant officers/senior officers of Sri Lanka Police and other agencies were also conducted.

## 1.5 Structure of the Report

The structure of the report is as follows. Chapter Two reviews the local and international literature on gender sensitivity and gender responsiveness of police services. Chapter Three is a gendered analysis of the structure, functions, and mechanisms of the Sri Lanka Police. It highlights practices that are detrimental to women's wellbeing and career advancement in the police, as well as good practices

that support the equal recruitment, retention and advancement of women in the police. Chapter Four analyses gender inequality in the Sri Lanka Police to uncover the structural and institutional discrimination. The report concludes with Chapter Five, which provides recommendations based on the principles of affirmative action.

## 2. Review of the Literature

---

### 2.1 Introduction

The literature review aimed to develop a knowledge base on the gender sensitivity of the Sri Lanka Police to support the research that CENWOR was undertaking for the National Police Commission through the UNDP. The research study focused, *inter alia*, on the extent of gender equity and equality in the police service. The study is being undertaken at a time when the police service is being reoriented from its primary function of maintaining law and order to one of engagement with the community and in the context of Sri Lanka's commitment to gender equality including in the police service.

Two aspects of gender sensitivity of the police are vital for an effective police service. First, the police officers are required to function with gender sensitivity in dealing with the wider community of women, girls, men, boys and transgender communities in complex environments, that is, how the police respond to rights violations that have differential impacts on females and males. The lack of sensitivity of the police in addressing sexual and gender based violence was one of the reasons for the establishment of special police units in many countries. Second, gender sensitivity within the police service, that is, the structures, systems, policies and practices, attitudes and how they impact on female and male officers. Included are also individual as well as collective attitudes and behaviour. Gender sensitivity also impacts on diversity – sexual orientation, ethnic and religious minorities among others.<sup>11</sup>

### Methodology

The desk review consisted of two components - an analysis of internal documents and a literature review on women in the police service and special police units for children and women. The internal documents reviewed included administrative circulars, manuals of operations of the Sri Lanka Police, other official documents in general and

---

<sup>11</sup> Bastick, Megan 2014. Integrating Gender into Internal Police Oversight. OSCE <https://www.osce.org/odihr/118326?download=true>



those related to Divisional Bureaus. Information for the literature review was obtained from a scan of published and unpublished literature that included journal articles, conference proceedings, and statistical data, and thesis. Extensive use was made of Internet resources and databases. Google Scholar was used with appropriate keywords. Reference lists were also followed up. For Sri Lankan material newspaper articles were also included.

While literature pertaining to Bureaus and gender equality in the police service in Sri Lanka is sparse, the literature spanning the continents is extensive and detailed. The latter focuses on the entry of women into the police service and their retention, career prospects, sexual harassment, problems faced by women police officers and resistance to them within the police service, the 'brass' ceiling, gender integration, internal factors including police culture, to female police officers, and affirmative action. Research also probes into work related stresses that female officers undergo.

Over 250 documents were accessed. Of these, 46 documents related to Sri Lanka. Of this number primary research relating to the Bureaus included two evaluations conducted in 1997 and 2014, a 2009 report on the Bureaus, a 2012 policy brief, and a 2004 research report on child protection institutes. Empirical studies on gender based violence included references to Bureaus. Except for a paper that explored the promotion of gender equality and mainstreaming gender in the police service and in policing in undertaking a police reform process in the transition to peace time, material on gender dimensions of the police service was limited to a few journal articles and newspaper articles reporting gender discrimination in promotions and career advancement.

### **Structure of the Document and Literature Review**

The review will first look at the international literature relating to the entry of women into the police service, their current status and the reasons for lack of equality, police culture and measures taken for the integration of women, and identify the reasons as to why women should have a greater presence in the police service. The subsequent section will review the special women's units that have been established across the world, services provided to women and girls, their usefulness in eliminating or even containing violence against women and girls. The third section will review the gender

responsiveness of the Sri Lanka Police and the establishment and growth of Children and Women's Bureaus and their operations through a review of official documents, published and unpublished literature, and newspaper reports.

## 2.2 Women in Police Services

For women across the world, entry into, and career progress in a male dominated police service with an entrenched patriarchal culture was, and continues to be a

struggle. The struggle to be accepted in law enforcement parallels and, at the same time, represents an exacerbation of the difficulties experienced by women as they made their way into the labour force in general.<sup>12</sup> The initial roles of police women were restricted, matching the stereotypical roles assigned to women and men. In many countries they were looked upon as typists and clerks.<sup>13</sup> The need for women in the police was first recognized in the United States in 1845 when women were taken in as Matrons to assist with cases involving women and children, to provide custodial care for women and children who came into contact with the police, and protect women. In India, the need for women in the police arose when activists who lobbied for expanded roles also believed that women were the most suitable for dealing with children and women.<sup>14</sup> The perception that women had no real ability for police work<sup>15</sup> resulted in women being deployed in administrative and community service roles<sup>16</sup> with less likelihood of being a part of special investigative units, prisoner management etc.<sup>17</sup>

Recruitment and entry of women into the police service had been influenced by several developments such as anti-discriminatory laws in the US, Canada, UK, Australia, the suffragette movement and later on the feminist movement and the

---

<sup>12</sup> Berg, B.L. & Budnick, K.J. 1986. Defeminization of Women in Law Enforcement - A New Twist in the Traditional Police Personality. *Journal of Police Science and Administration*:14 (1) December

<sup>13</sup> Schulz, Dorothy Moses 2004. Breaking the brass ceiling: women police chiefs and their paths to the top.

[https://books.google.lk/books?hl=en&lr=&id=gkIYfzErQXQC&oi=fnd&pg=PR9&dq=women+and+children+special+police+units&ots=Mbre0TCrNr&sig=PORhYRQBOYgm38KR2AoA7PwVfPY&redir\\_esc=y#v=one-page&q=women%20and%20children%20special%20police%20units&f=false](https://books.google.lk/books?hl=en&lr=&id=gkIYfzErQXQC&oi=fnd&pg=PR9&dq=women+and+children+special+police+units&ots=Mbre0TCrNr&sig=PORhYRQBOYgm38KR2AoA7PwVfPY&redir_esc=y#v=one-page&q=women%20and%20children%20special%20police%20units&f=false)

<sup>14</sup> Schulz, Dorothy 1993 From Policewoman to Police Officer: An Unfinished Revolution *International Rev. Police Dev.* 90

<sup>15</sup> Sabat, S.N. & Mishra, N. 2010. Role of Women in the Management of Police Organisation : A Paradigm Shift. *International Journal of learning and Change* 4(4): 365-377. [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/236178486\\_Role\\_of\\_women\\_in\\_the\\_management\\_of\\_police\\_organisation\\_a\\_paradigm\\_shift](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/236178486_Role_of_women_in_the_management_of_police_organisation_a_paradigm_shift)

<sup>16</sup> Martin, S.E. 1990. *On the Move: The Status of Women in Policing*. Washington DC: Police Foundation.

<sup>17</sup> Brown, Jennifer & Campbell, E.A. 1994. *Stress and Policing: Sources and Strategies*. Research Gate.

adoption of international conventions on the elimination of discrimination against women. More recently, the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 called for an expanded role for women in civilian police services, citing the disproportionate amount of women and children who are impacted by armed conflict and violence.

Despite these developments and decades of activism, the average representation of women in the police globally is only 15.4%. The three Baltic States of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia had over 30% of women in the police service followed by the Netherlands and Sweden at 30%.<sup>18</sup> In South Asia, the highest percentage of women was in the Maldives (9.30%): India had 6.11%<sup>19</sup> and Pakistan just 0.64%.<sup>20</sup> In South- East Asia the average is higher with women cadres accounting for 17% in Singapore,<sup>21</sup> Timor-Leste having 17% but in Japan the percentage of women officers was only 7.7%.<sup>22</sup> However, only a very small minority was at higher decision making levels and remains heavily concentrated at lower levels in 'sticky floor' positions'.<sup>23</sup>

The slow progress in full integration of women in the police service is attributed to the general discrimination women face in societies and attendant vulnerabilities. Historical antecedents of the police service, the perception of the nature of policing being coercive, and the crime 'fighting' image eventually leading to the assumption that policing is naturally a man's job,<sup>24</sup> male attitudes and power, sexist jokes and harassment, gender role stereotyping and the perception that women are weak and incapable of performing all the functions of policing leads to discrimination and marginalization,<sup>25</sup> as well as resistance to women because of fear of exposure of corruption and violence.<sup>26</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> The Women in Public Service Project 2017. Data Brief. Toward Gender Parity in Police Forces June 2017 Data Brief. <http://www.50x50movement.org/article/data-brief-toward-gender-parity-police-forces>

<sup>19</sup> Factly 2015. Women in the Police Force-Numbers and Beyond <https://www.newslandry.com/2015/08/20/women-in-the-police-force-numbers-and-beyond>

<sup>20</sup> Darak, Chrinivas et al. 2017. Gender Responsive Policing Initiatives Designed to Enhance Confidence, Satisfaction in Policing Services and Reduced Risk of violence against Women in Low and Middle Income Countries – A Systematic Review. Implications of Evidence for South Asia. London: EPPI-Centre, Social Science Research Unit, UCL Institute of Education, University College London).

<sup>21</sup> Khew, Caroline 2014. Wanted: More women officers in police force. Straight Times March 9 2014. <https://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/wanted-more-women-officers-in-police-force>

<sup>22</sup> Japan has around 20, 000 female Police Officers. NDTV May 20, 2014. <https://www.ndtv.com/world-news/japan-has-around-20-000-female-police-officers-563276>

<sup>23</sup> Osibanjo, Adewale 2013. Glass Ceiling and Female Career Advancement: A Study of the Nigerian Police [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/256194458\\_Glass-Ceiling\\_and\\_Female\\_Career\\_Advancement\\_A\\_Study\\_of\\_the\\_Nigeria\\_Police](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/256194458_Glass-Ceiling_and_Female_Career_Advancement_A_Study_of_the_Nigeria_Police)

<sup>24</sup> Humaira, Parvin 2017. Gender Mainstreaming in Police Organisations: The Bangladesh Perspective. Australian Journal of Law Ethics and Governance 3(1) 2017:32-41/

<sup>25</sup> Sabat & Mishra 2010

<sup>26</sup> Hunt, J.C. 1990. The Logic of Sexism among Police Women and Criminal Justice Vol. 1: 3-30.

Overt, officially sanctioned, discrimination also can be seen in barring women from entering certain ranks at the recruitment stage,<sup>27</sup> policy decisions banning women from acquiring required qualifications prior to the applying to the police service,<sup>28</sup> separate cadres for men and women with lower cadre provisions for women that restrict opportunities for career advancement,<sup>29</sup> and separate rules and specific tasks for women. Discriminatory practices are also seen in recruitment that disqualifies married women from applying for vacancies in the police service, and an unmarried woman having to wait for a specified number of years to apply for permission to get married,<sup>30</sup> the provision of maternity leave, lack of basic facilities for women such as toilets and restrooms, and the distribution of some such facilities by rank.<sup>31</sup>

While socio-cultural and religion act as barriers to women's participation in policing<sup>32,33</sup> women's perceptions of themselves, the need to overcome perceptions that women were considered an impediment to police work<sup>34</sup> and reluctance to join the service were other factors for these low numbers.

### 2.3 Why there should be More Women in Police Services

Apart from the fact that women have the right to access employment of any type, there are several reasons as to why there should be more women in the police service. The police service will not be treated as a masculine organization, the presence of

---

<sup>27</sup> Women in the Police force-Numbers and Beyond <https://factly.in/women-in-the-police-force-numbers-beyond/>

<sup>28</sup> Thai Police ban Women from Enrolling <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/sep/05/thai-police-academy-bans-women-from-enrolling>

<sup>29</sup> News Laundry 2015. Women in the Police Force. Numbers and Beyond. <https://www.newslandry.com/2015/08/20/women-in-the-police-force-numbers-and-beyond>

<sup>30</sup> A Gender Policy for the Nigeria Police Force 2010. [http://www.endvawnow.org/uploads/browser/files/security\\_nigeria\\_gender\\_policy\\_police\\_unwomen\\_2010.pdf](http://www.endvawnow.org/uploads/browser/files/security_nigeria_gender_policy_police_unwomen_2010.pdf)

<sup>31</sup> *ibid*

<sup>32</sup> Humaira, Parvin 2017. *ibid*

<sup>33</sup> Maldives Policed force 2017. Maldives Police Service has the Highest Percentage of Female Officers in south East Asia CISION NewsWire. October 16. <https://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/maldives-police-service-has-highest-percentage-of-female-officers-in-south-east-asia-region-651103813.html>

<sup>34</sup> LeBeuf, Marcel-Eugene 1996. Three decades of women in Policing. A literature review, Canadian Police College <http://publications.gc.ca/collections/Collection/JS66-25-1996E.pdf>

women will give it a more human face, and women victims especially will be able to relate to women police officers more easily (Sabat & Mishra 2010). More women police officers also improve police response to violence against women.<sup>35</sup> They are essential in tackling issues such as domestic human trafficking, and other persistent issues that largely affect women and children. In addition, police brutality would decrease substantially as women are less likely to use excessive force than their male counterparts<sup>36,37</sup> one of the most serious problems facing many law enforcement systems today, and thus can substantially reduce law suits brought against them.<sup>38</sup>

They have superior communication skills, field tactics, initiative and self-confidence, and are more adept at public relations.<sup>39</sup>

The persistently low numbers of women in police service is becoming problematic to law enforcement agencies<sup>40</sup> whose policing role is changing especially in post conflict societies. If an effective service is to be provided to all citizens, the number of women has to be increased, the police service has to be made responsive to gender differences within the organization that will also attract new recruits, and to the needs of women and men in the wider community including a greater focus on gender based crimes and violence<sup>41</sup>.

## 2.4 Affirmative Action

Affirmative action is intended to overcome historical discrimination and exclusion of women (and other excluded populations such as minorities, persons with disability, sexual orientation) in the policing so that the police service reflects the demographic characteristics of a country's population. Affirmative action has its detractors, one common misconception being that it privileges the under qualified because of their

---

<sup>35</sup> Spiller, Katherine. Women in the Police Force/ [http://en.copian.ca/library/research/cclow/women\\_police/women\\_police.pdf](http://en.copian.ca/library/research/cclow/women_police/women_police.pdf)

<sup>36</sup> Longsway, Kim et al. 2002. Men, Women and Excessive Police Force: A Tale of Two Genders. A Content Analysis of Civil Liability Cases, sustained Allegations and citizen complaints. National Center for Women and Policing [http://womenandpolicing.com/PDF/2002\\_Excessive\\_Force.pdf](http://womenandpolicing.com/PDF/2002_Excessive_Force.pdf)

<sup>37</sup> Sabat, S. N. & Mishra, N. 2010. *ibid*

<sup>38</sup> *ibid*

<sup>39</sup> Spiller, Katherine. *ibid*

<sup>40</sup> Davis, Tracee Alexandria 2005 *ibid* 41 *ibid*

demographic. Because of the controversy of Thornton<sup>42</sup> identifies two types of affirmative action, weak forms of affirmative action and stronger and more obvious forms. Included in the former category are the use of gender sensitive language, inclusion of images of women in advertising and recruitment material, and encouraging women to apply for positions that are not controversial changing human resource management practices and removing blatantly discriminatory practices such as restrictions on marriage. The latter category of affirmative action includes strong legislative and policy frameworks. These could include the introduction of quotas, and flexible conditions of work to accommodate family responsibilities that are now beginning to be accepted as a responsibility of the employer.

Several countries have included affirmative action in their gender policies. For instance, the Nepalese police developed the "Nepal Police Gender Policy, 2069" that came into effect in 2012 to "ensure gender sensitivity within Nepal Police by creating a gender friendly environment and developing gender friendly physical infrastructure as well as to enable the organization to address the law and order issues in a gender sensitive manner".<sup>43</sup>

The Nigerian Gender Policy of 2010 aimed at eliminating social exclusion and gender based violence within and outside the Nigerian police force.<sup>44</sup> The Policy aims to "institutionalize gender mainstreaming as a core value in the Nigeria Police Force; infuse in to the Police Act/ Regulations the principle of CEDAW and other global, regional, and national frameworks that support gender equality and women empowerment; reduce the current gender gap in the Nigeria Police Force, and make the Nigeria Police Force an equal opportunity employer; and build the capacity of the Nigerian Police Force to effectively handle cases of gender-based violence/violence against women".

---

<sup>42</sup> Thornton, Margaret. 2003. Affirmative Action, merit AND Police Recruitment. <https://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/alterlj28&div=60&id=&page=%20use%20of%20quotas>

<sup>43</sup> Nepal Police. Nepal Police Gender Policy, 2069

<sup>44</sup> A Gender Policy for the Nigeria Police Force. [http://www.endvavnow.org/uploads/browser/files/security\\_nigeria\\_gender\\_policy\\_police\\_unwomen\\_2010.pdf](http://www.endvavnow.org/uploads/browser/files/security_nigeria_gender_policy_police_unwomen_2010.pdf)-[http://www.endvavnow.org/uploads/browser/files/security\\_nigeria\\_gender\\_policy\\_police\\_unwomen\\_2010.pdf](http://www.endvavnow.org/uploads/browser/files/security_nigeria_gender_policy_police_unwomen_2010.pdf)

Pakistan, after initial resistance, approved a gender policy for the police in 2012 because it was not only a constitutional right but also an operational necessity.<sup>45</sup> To implement the strategy a comprehensive training programme was launched, a Women Police Network was established and trained women police officers were made heads of male police stations. One was made a head of a police district.<sup>46</sup>

In India, the Model Police Act 2006 requires adequate gender representation in the composition of the police service; 2012 and 2013 Parliamentary Select Committees on the Empowerment of Women looked at women in policing. The Ministry of Home Affairs has advised state governments repeatedly to recruit at least 33% women to the police service. Many states have a reservation policy for women ranging from 15% (Uttarakhand) to 35% (Telangana).<sup>47</sup>

The 2006 Magna Carta for Women in the Philippines established through the Republic Act 7192 or the Women in Development and Nation Building Act of the Philippines provides for non-discrimination in employment in the field of military, police and other similar services and accords the same opportunities for appointment, admission, training, graduation and commissioning in all military, police or similar schools of the Armed Forces of the Philippines. As required by the Act, the Philippines National Police Commission (NPC) requires the appointment of GAD Focal Points in all police offices. Going further, it details the provisions for those who violate the established rules and regulations regarding gender sensitivity and gender equality, one of which is suspension without pay for not less than thirty (30) days, mandatory gender sensitivity training, and recommendation for demotion if these rules are violated more than twice.<sup>48</sup>

---

<sup>45</sup> Imran, Kholi 2015. Pakistan: Gender Responsive Policing In Schirched al. (editors). Local Ownership in Security: Case Studies of Peacebuilding Approaches. The Hague: Alliance for Peacebuilding, GPPAC, Kroc Institute, 2015. [https://www.humansecuritycoordination.org/documents/130617663/0/Pakistan\\_Gender-Responsive+Policing.pdf/6c76e2fb-a232-4d17-a8f8-5ef200643ae0](https://www.humansecuritycoordination.org/documents/130617663/0/Pakistan_Gender-Responsive+Policing.pdf/6c76e2fb-a232-4d17-a8f8-5ef200643ae0)

<sup>46</sup> *ibid*

<sup>47</sup> Rao, Banupriya 2015. Women in Police – Numbers and Beyond. *Factly* August 19. <https://factly.in/women-in-the-police-force-numbers-beyond/>

<sup>48</sup> Dulin, Alvin T. GADliness in the Philippines *Police Journal of Advanced Research in Management and Social Science* 6(5) May. <http://www.garph.co.uk/IJARMSS/May2017/17.pdf>

Some of the other measures that were adopted include targeted recruitment campaigns, pre-application classes, career development courses and mentoring programs.<sup>49</sup> The inclusion of women on all selection and promotion panels, the adoption of a sexual harassment policy and monitoring its implementation, and the inclusion of anti-harassment information in training, part-time or 'flexible' employment, along with childcare services. However, Valenius<sup>50</sup> cautions against 'gender essentialism' stressing that it is necessary to stay focused on equal opportunity in promoting careers in policing for women.

Since the number of women in the police service around the world is still nowhere near parity, ensuring equality for women and making women an integral part of the service, requires on-going reforms to remove structural barriers, implementation and monitoring of policies, and regular gender audits.<sup>51</sup> Of equal importance are the establishment of an accountability framework and the appointment of supportive police leaders<sup>52</sup> for achieving gender equality.

---

<sup>49</sup> Prenzler, Tim & Sinclair, Georgina 2013. The Status of Women Police Officers: An International Review. *International Journal of Crime, Justice and Law* <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/7074/2bea3789e2fae84614a8f6841f9fadd9bba03.pdf>

<sup>50</sup> Valenius 2007.

<sup>51</sup> Prenzler, Tim & Sinclair, Georgina 2013. *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> Jones, Jenni 2017. How can Mentoring Support Women in a Male-dominated Workplace. A Case Study of the UK Police Force. *Palgrave Communications*, 3, Article No. 16103. <https://www.nature.com/articles/palcomms2016103#ref8>



## 3. Sri Lanka Police: A Gendered Analysis of its Structure, Functions, and Mechanisms

---

### 3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to apply a gendered analysis to the structures, functions, and mechanisms of the Sri Lanka Police. Discrimination against women can exist explicitly through institutions, norms and values. It can also have invisible impacts where values and ideas affect the self-perceptions of excluded people and their ability to claim their rights, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four. Sociologists point to institutionalized discrimination as one of the primary mechanisms through which gender inequality and sexism continue to flourish. Rather than individual actions against another, what is more common is finding examples of discrimination in the fabric of social institutions—in the processes, procedures, and practices of these organizations. In other words, to the way in which in our institutional arrangements are characterised by norms, practices, and processes that explicitly and implicitly are discriminatory to women.

This chapter highlights practices that are detrimental to women's wellbeing and career advancement in the police, as well as good practices that support the equal recruitment, retention and advancement of women in the police.

### 3.2 Historical Overview of Women in Sri Lanka Police

The gender sensitivity of the Sri Lanka Police has to be situated within its history and within the gender architecture of the country. The policing system under the Dutch and the British played a major role in maintaining control and protecting the interests of the colonial administration. The Dutch had a "somewhat community" based system, but it blurred under the British'.<sup>53</sup> Links to the indigenous community were minimal and the reforms that were undertaken were to bring it closer to the colonial government whose interests were the Plantation Raj.<sup>54</sup>

---

<sup>53</sup> Fernando, Laksiri 2005. Police-Civil Relations for Good Governance. Colombo: Social Scientists Association

<sup>54</sup> Fernando, Laksiri 2005. *ibid*

The Police Ordinance enacted in 1865 that brought policing functions under one command in 1866 signalled the beginning of the current police service. From its inception the Sri Lanka Police, as in countries around the world, has evolved in a quasi-military environment and a masculinist police culture.

The Police Ordinance is regarded as an archaic law that is rooted in British Victorian ideology and influenced by the male-oriented culture and practices of the period. Its language is male centric as also the subsequent regulations and circulars issued by the Police Department. Further, gender neutral language of the vision and mission statements of the Sri Lanka Police and its motto have different implications for women.<sup>55</sup> The terminology used "should show commitment to gender equality by using explicit phrases such as equality and equity for all men and women."<sup>56</sup>

Despite the commitment to preventing violence against women by setting up Women and Children's Police Units to address violence against women in the wider community, the web site of the Sri Lanka Police does not provide any information of these units other than the telephone number of the Headquarters of the Bureau for the Prevention of Abuse of Children and Women. This is an indication of the marginalisation of the Children and Women's Desks and their officers within the police hierarchy.

Women gained universal suffrage and were active in the labour movement and the nationalist struggle in the last decade of colonial rule but it was not until the appointment of a Sri Lankan Inspector General of Police who viewed the police as a service, and not as a force, that the first batch of women was recruited in 1952, unlike

---

<sup>55</sup> Jayasundera, Ramani 2016. Police Reform and Gender-The Long Road from Policy to Practice in Sri Lanka. Paper presented at the Conference on Future Policing: Prospects and Challenges for south Asia. [https://www.academia.edu/29951064/Police\\_Reform\\_and\\_Gender\\_The\\_long\\_road\\_from\\_Policy\\_to\\_Practice\\_in\\_Sri\\_Lanka?auto=download](https://www.academia.edu/29951064/Police_Reform_and_Gender_The_long_road_from_Policy_to_Practice_in_Sri_Lanka?auto=download)

<sup>56</sup> Ibid

in India when women were recruited to its police force in 1933 while under colonial rule. Two other landmarks were the introduction of the rank of Woman Police Sub Inspector and the promotion of two women police officers to that rank 24 years later, in 1976, and the promotion of a Woman Police Officer to the rank of Assistant Superintendent of Police in 1988. In 2016, a fundamental rights petition was filed in the Supreme Court by a group of police women against gender discrimination.<sup>57</sup>

International developments coupled with research conducted in Sri Lanka raised the issue of gender discrimination that was invisible mainly due to favourable indicators for Sri Lankan women as compared, especially with countries in the South Asian region. Following the International Women's Year, an institutional framework was established for 'women's affairs' including the National Committee on Women (NCW) and a Women's Charter and a Women's Rights Bill was formulated in 1983. However, the NCW has not become an independent commission, the Women's Rights Bill is in abeyance and the women's ministry remains marginalised. Although the constitution prohibits discrimination on the grounds of sex, Sri Lanka does not have a gender equality law as in the Philippines or an equal opportunity law as in the USA or laws that have brought in quotas for recruitment to the police service as in India or other affirmative action.

Since 1952,<sup>58</sup> the number of women in the Sri Lanka Police had increased to 8,640 as at 31st December 2017 representing 11.4% of the actual cadre of gazetted and non-gazetted officers.<sup>59</sup> However, the approved cadre for women is 13.4% of the total but the 13.4% does not apply across ranks. In 2015, the Cabinet approved a 15% quota for women. While an increasing number of women have been recruited to the police service there has been no corresponding expansion in the cadre position available to women<sup>60</sup> especially in the number of senior positions compared with the adjustments made for the men giving a skewed ratio and clearly discriminating against women.

---

<sup>57</sup> Sunday Times 2016. Alleged gender discrimination in Police: A Fourth Woman ASP goes to Court. Sunday Times, May 15.

<sup>58</sup> *ibid*

<sup>59</sup> Sri Lanka Police. Performance Report 2017. Colombo.

<sup>60</sup> Sri Lanka Police. Performance Report. Various years.

Gender discrimination in the police is evident with the categorisation of the cadre into men and women. First, women cadres are categorised by the prefix W before the rank but there is no such categorisation for male police officers. Second, there is discrimination at the recruitment stage. While the approved cadre has not been filled for all ranks except at the IGP and SDIG levels, the percent of male officers recruited has exceeded that of female officers.<sup>61</sup> There are no cadre provisions for women beyond that of a SP "a sign of a persistent structural discrimination in the police service."<sup>62</sup>

Sri Lanka lacks a common cadre in the police service and no records could be located as to how the discriminatory practice of allocating cadre positions between men and women in the police had been determined. Literature on the deployment of women officers, their working conditions was not available. Except for anecdotal evidence, literature on sexual harassment in the police also could not be located. However, the Police Reform Commission in recommending areas for reform has identified some of the issues facing women officers. These included, among others, respect for human rights, treatment of women and children and sexual harassment, and attitudes towards women, strengthening prevention and response to gender based violence, introduction of a sexual harassment policy, conducting a gender audit to create an enabling environment for women police officers, optimising the deployment of female police officers based on prioritised policing needs and functions. It also refers to achieving a gender balance in community policing.

Although gender sensitivity within the police service is not evident, a significant, proactive initiative was taken when Bureaus for the Prevention of Abuse against Children and Women was established. The Circular<sup>63</sup> issued in 1993 stressed a victim-centred approach, ensuring and protecting women's rights, looking at the issue of violence against women in a broader perspective with measures being taken to raise

---

<sup>61</sup> Sri Lanka Police. Performance Report. Various years.

<sup>62</sup> Wijedasa, Namini 2018. There can Never Be A Woman IGP in Sri Lanka. The Sunday Times August 12. <http://www.sundaytimes.lk/180812/news/there-can-never-be-a-woman-igp-in-sri-lanka-306659.html>

<sup>63</sup> Sri Lanka Police. 1993. Police Desks for Child Abuse and Violence against Women. IG Circular NO. 1105/93; Crime Branch Circular no. 28/93

awareness to prevent such violence. However, research shows the marginalisation of these Divisional Bureaus and C&W Units within the police structure and lack of recognition for the work of Divisional Bureaus and female officers who manage them. The on-going reform process "promises a strong opportunity<sup>64</sup> to achieve gender sensitivity in the police service.

## Police Reforms

Despite constitutional provisions of non-discrimination and accession to international conventions to eliminate all forms of discrimination against women, the several commissions established to look into police reforms did not make recommendations to recruit more women into the service. It was only in 2001, after the first batch was recruited in 1952, that the situation of women in the Sri Lanka police service was focused on.<sup>65</sup> Jayasundera referring to the draft Cabinet Memorandum on Establishing a Commission for Police Reform in Post Conflict and Contemporary Policing comments that despite the opportunity to mainstream gender it had not been done.<sup>66</sup> However, "these are largely individual institution issue based or programme or project based interventions and there is no gender mainstreaming road map or strategic plan encompassing all police services and activities and to ensure gender sensitive policing that commits to an overall goal of promoting gender equality."<sup>67</sup>

---

<sup>64</sup> Jayasundera, Ramani 2018. *ibid*

<sup>65</sup> Anandaraja, T. E. 2001 quoted in Ramani Jayasundera. *Police Reform and Gender-The Long Road from Policy to Practice in Sri Lanka*. Paper presented at the Conference on Future Policing: Prospects and Challenges for south Asia. [https://www.academia.edu/29951064/Police\\_Reform\\_and\\_Gender\\_The\\_long\\_road\\_from\\_Policy\\_to\\_Practice\\_in\\_Sri\\_Lanka?auto=download](https://www.academia.edu/29951064/Police_Reform_and_Gender_The_long_road_from_Policy_to_Practice_in_Sri_Lanka?auto=download)

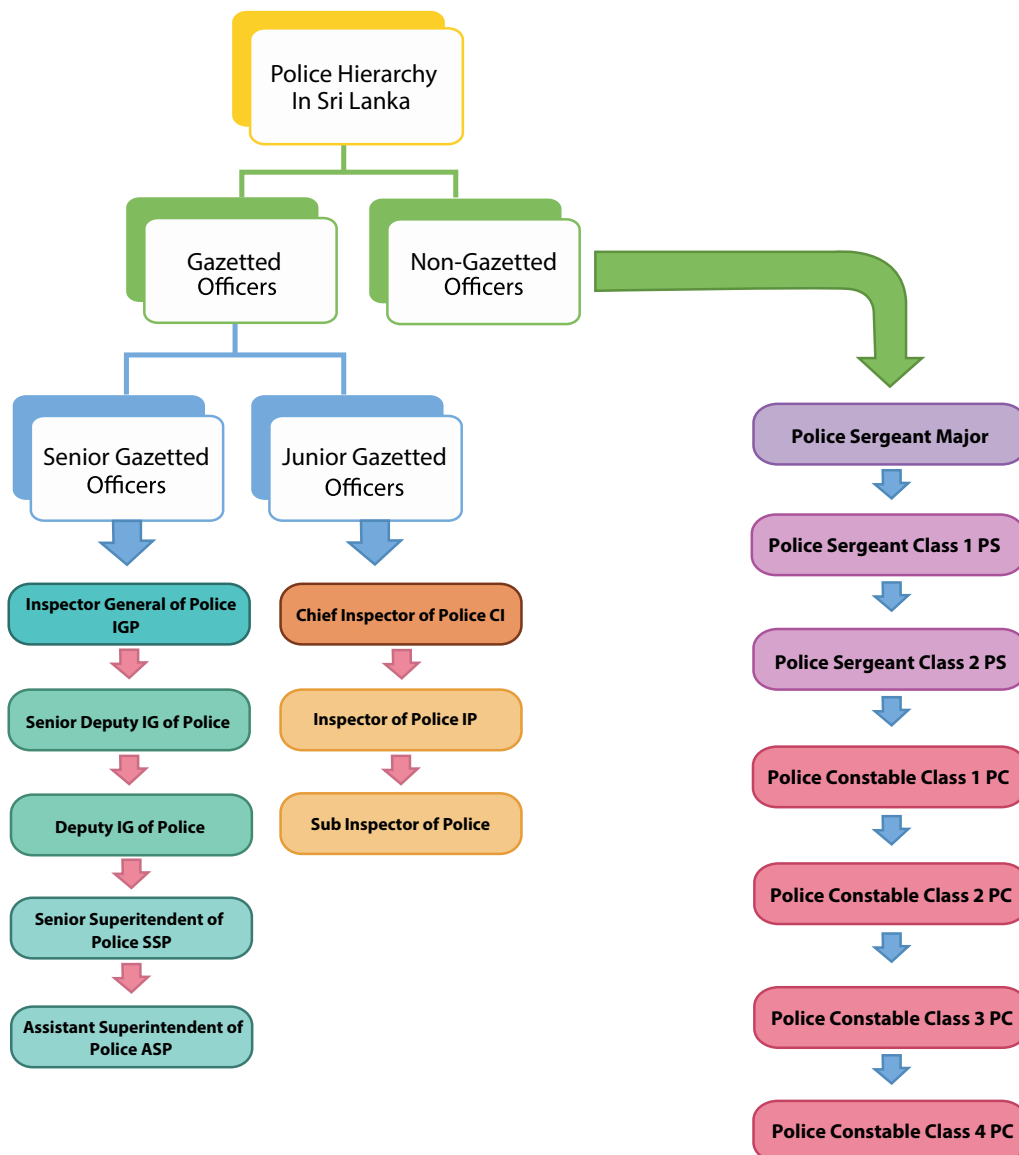
<sup>66</sup> Jayasundera, Ramani 2016. *Police Reform and Gender-The Long Road from Policy to Practice in Sri Lanka*. Paper presented at the Conference on Future Policing: Prospects and Challenges for south Asia. [https://www.academia.edu/29951064/Police\\_Reform\\_and\\_Gender\\_The\\_long\\_road\\_from\\_Policy\\_to\\_Practice\\_in\\_Sri\\_Lanka?auto=download](https://www.academia.edu/29951064/Police_Reform_and_Gender_The_long_road_from_Policy_to_Practice_in_Sri_Lanka?auto=download)

<sup>67</sup> Jayasundera, Ramani 2016. *Ibid*.

### 3.3 Status of Women in the Organisational Structure and Hierarchy

The organisational structure of the Sri Lanka Police (SLP) is illustrated in Figure 3.1:

Figure 3.1: Organisational Chart of the Sri Lanka Police



Source: <https://www.hierarchystructure.com/police-hierarchy-in-sri-lanka/>

There are currently (as of September 2018) 8,878 women officers in the police service. As shown in Figure 3.1, there are three sub-categories in the SLP: non-gazetted officers; junior gazetted officers; and senior gazetted officers. Of the 8,878 women officers, 8,099 or 91.2 % of officers are non-gazetted officers in the ranks of Constables and Sergeants. Of the 779 gazetted officers, 769 are junior gazetted officers in the ranks of CI, IP, and SI, while only 10 are senior gazetted officers in the ranks of ASP and SP. The distribution of women officers in the junior ranks are detailed in Table 3.1.

**Table 3.1: Actual Female Cadre from 2013-2018 (Cadre in Duty)**

Rank	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
WSSP	0	0	0	0	0	0
WSP	1	0	0	2	10	9
WASP	10	10	10	9	1	1
WCI	3	3	15	15	15	15
WIP	256	256	214	208	183	234
WSI	507	507	589	569	583	520
WPS	1,378	1,378	1,233	1,181	1,509	1,472
WPC	5,369	5,369	6,106	6,054	6,063	6,627
TOTAL	7,524	7,523	8,167	8,038	8,364	8,878

*Sources: Sri Lanka Police Performance Report, 2013- 2017 National Police Commission Bulletin Board, 27 September 2018*

As of July 2018, there were nine (9) Superintendents of Police and one (1) Assistant Superintendent of Police. A Senior Superintendent of Police who joined the Police Department as a Constable in 1958 had retired as a SSP in 2002. In 1988 Premila Divakara became the first woman to be promoted to the rank of ASP. After six years, she was promoted to the rank of SP in 1994 and to the rank of SSP in 1999. She served as the SSP for three years before retiring in 2002 at the age of 63 after serving an extension period of three years<sup>68</sup>. She was the first Director of the Divisional Bureau for the Prevention of Abuse of Children and Women.

<sup>68</sup> Sunday Observer, 22 June 2003

## Ethnic Composition

Overall statistics that delineate the ethnic composition of the Sri Lanka Police was difficult to obtain. However, the following table detailing the ethnic composition of the women officers was obtained.

**Table 3.2: SLP Women Officers by Ethnicity, 2018**

Rank	Total	SP	ASP	CI	IP	SI	PS	PC
Total women officers	9	1	15	234	520	1,472	6,627	8878
Tamil women officers					4	19	96	119
Muslim women officers				1		2	3	6

*Source: Sri Lanka Police 2018*

## Sanctioned Cadre

According to the NPC Bulletin displayed at the NPC headquarters (September 2018), the total approved cadre was 83, 872; however, the actual cadre numbered 75,371. There is an approved cadre of 11,263 women officers of which only 8,878 women officers currently are in the service. According to these numbers, the total number of approved women police cadre as a percentage of the total service is 13.4%. The actual number of women police officers amounts to only 11.7% of the total service. Neither reflects the NPC recommendation to increase strength to 15%.



**Table 3.3: SLP Women Cadre, 2018**

Rank	Current Cadre	Sanctioned/ Approved Cadre
WSSP	0	1
WSP	9	10
WASP	1	10
WCI	15	66
WIP	234	266
WSI	520	642
WPS	1,472	1,800
WPC	6,627	8,468

*Source: National Police Commission Bulletin Board, 27 September 2018*

The following table 3.4 details how women police officers are represented in each rank. Women officers do not amount to even one percent (1%) of any of the ranks above Police Sergeant, which is also barely two percent (2%). Police Constables account for 8.79% of the total number of Police Constables.

**Table 3.4: SLP Women Sanctioned and Actual Cadre by Percentage, 2018**

Rank	Sanctioned Cadre	Actual Cadre	Percent of the actual women cadre	Percent of the total actual cadre
WSSP	1	0	0	0
WSP	20	9	0.10	0.01
WASP		1	0.01	0.001
WCI	66	15	0.16	0.02
WIP	266	234	2.63	0.31
WSI	642	520	5.85	0.68
WPS	1,800	1,472	16.58	1.95
WPC	8,468	6,627	74.64	8.79
Total	11,263	8,878	100	11.77

*Source: National Police Commission Bulletin Board, 27 September 2018*

Senior male police officers interviewed constantly reiterated that a country's police service is and has to be a pyramid structure where not everyone can reach the higher ranks during the period of their service. Even if there are qualified officers, the pyramid structure cannot allow for a large number of officers to be promoted to higher ranks even though a promotion scheme exists whereby automatic promotions are given once officers serve a minimum number of years. This argument cannot, however, be applied to women officers if the principle of gender equality is to be upheld and promoted in the Sri Lanka police. With the exception of the IGP, all other senior ranks have provision to include at least 15% of women if women are given the opportunity achieve and meet the criteria for promotion. The following table details the number of positions available in the senior ranks of the police.

**Table 3.5: The Number of Positions Available in the Senior Ranks of the Police,2018**

Rank	Actual Cadre
IGP	1
SDIG	12
DIG	33
SSP	38
SP	124
ASP	178
CI	648
IP	2,496
SI	4,417

*Source: National Police Commission Bulletin Board, 27 September 2018*

In fact, all the women SPs interviewed asserted that they felt they were capable of holding higher ranks in the police, and have the commitment, dedication, and vision to carry out the duties and responsibilities required of them. Many of the SPs are in their early to mid-forties in age, and told us that their children are no longer young and in need of constant care and attention. They agreed that when children were below the age of 12, it is difficult to manage the demands of an officer holding a

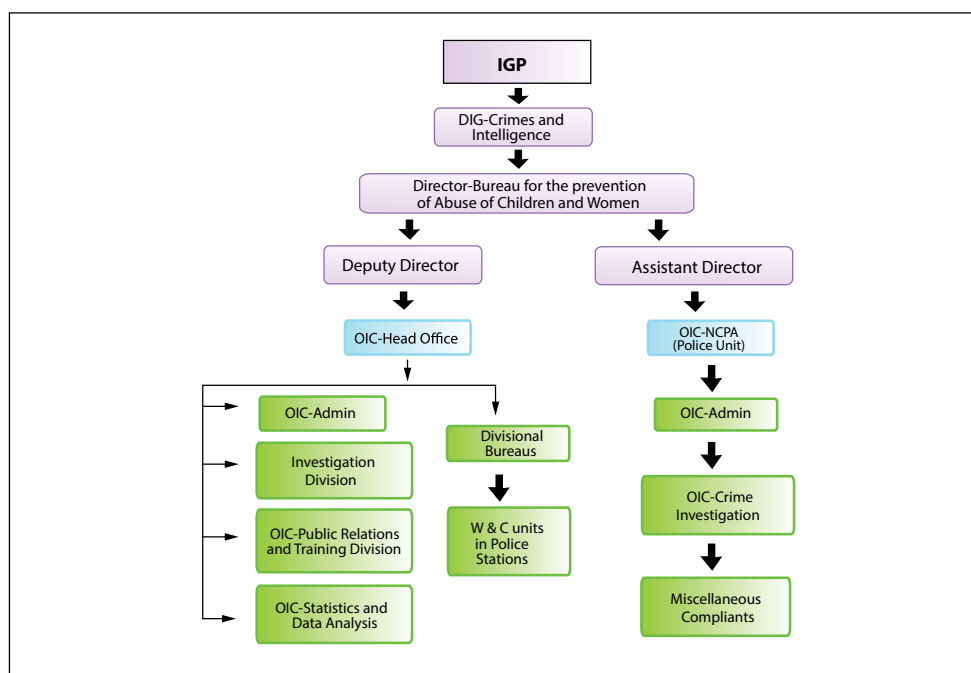
senior rank. Nevertheless, a number of SPs talked about their experiences of working late hours and being on-call 24 hours of the day even when they had infants and young children to care for. The SPs were also anxious that their 'best years' will be wasted if the police continued to discriminate against them. They had joined the police with a commitment to do their best and reach the top ranks through hard work and commitment.

### **Women's Authority – Issues and Concerns**

Currently a female Superintendent of Police (SP) is the Director of the 'Bureau for the Prevention of Abuse against Children and Women', which is located in Colombo. As indicated in 'Figure 3.2' the Director is assisted by a Deputy Director and an Assistant Director. An OIC, is directly responsible to the Deputy Director, who is in charge of administration, investigation, public relations and training, and statistics and data analysis within the Headquarters.

The Assistant Director is located at the National Child Protection Authority and oversees the duties of the OIC at the Police Unit at the NCPA. Currently, the OIC at the Headquarters of the Bureau is a male officer. The Public Relations Officer is a male in the rank of Inspector of Police (IP). The Assistant Director of the Divisional Bureaus is also male officer.

Figure 3.2: Organisational Chart of the Headquarters of the Bureau for the Prevention of Abuse of Children and Women



Source: Headquarters of Bureau for the Prevention of Abuse of Children and Women

One of the main issues is that the authority of the Director is diffused due to the role of the OICs. The Directors are in charge of the programmatic function of the Divisional Bureaus, i.e., how the Divisional Bureaus respond to the abuse of women and children. They have a say in how complaints are handled, how cases are managed through the legal system, and in designing and implementing preventative measures such as awareness-raising campaigns. The Directors also have a say in the collection and dissemination of statistics, and also training programmes. However, the Director does not have the authority over the administrative, specifically human resource functions of the Divisional Bureaus. This means the Director does not have direct administrative authority over the staff that works for the Divisional Bureaus. Human resource allocations, appointments, and transfers do not come under the Director's purview. One of the main issues arising from this is that the Director is not consulted or sometimes is unaware when members of her staff are transferred. Retaining staff members who have experience and training in working on children's and women's issues are sometimes transferred without consulting the Director.

### 3.4 Policies and Processes - a Gendered Analysis

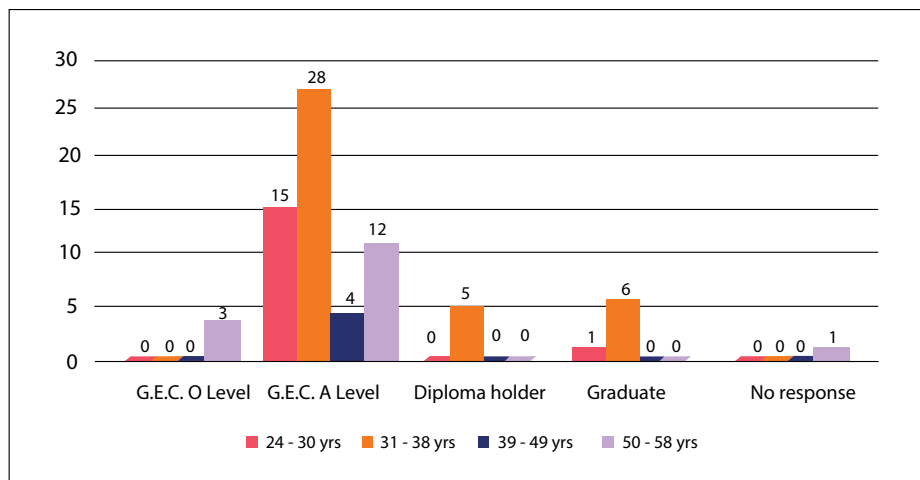
#### Recruitment

When women are recruited to the police service, they undergo the same entrance tests as men including the endurance test. However, the height specification when recruiting officers at the rank of Constable is 5'4' for men and 5'2' for women. However, when recruiting directly to the rank of SI it is 5'4' for women and 5'6' for men. According to the gazette released for recruiting to the position of ASP, it was stipulated that both men and women officers should be at least 5'6'. Given the average height of women in Sri Lanka, these height specifications are discriminatory and systematically block qualified women from applying for the position and from being promoted. This change in height specification for higher ranks is overtly discriminatory for women who join the service at the junior level. As many of the senior women police officers remarked, "How are we to grow 2-4 inches for this promotion!"

There is a perception that women who join the police service do not have any other employment options and join the service as a last resort. There was also a perception that women who have educational qualifications do not want to join the police as they would aspire to more prestigious and less demanding jobs considered more suitable for women. The survey conducted challenged both these assumptions.

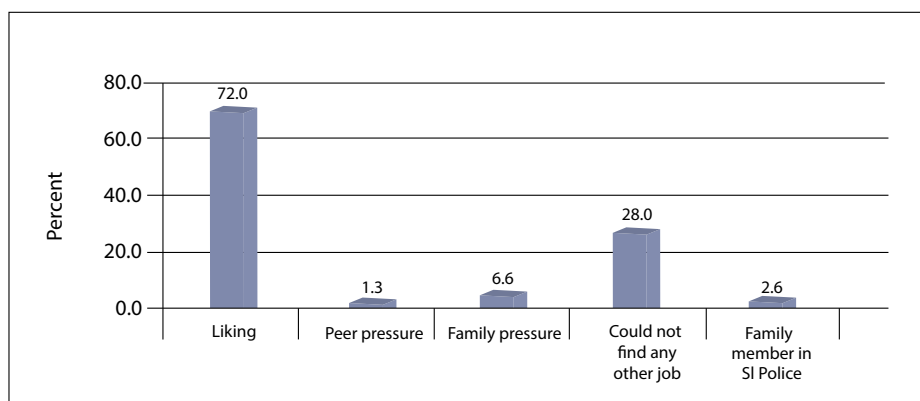
The chart below shows that a majority of women sub-inspectors have at least passed their Advanced level examination, and that this is true of older and younger officers. Include % in the x axis.

**Figure 3.3: Percentage Distribution of Women Sub Inspectors by Age Group and Educational Level**

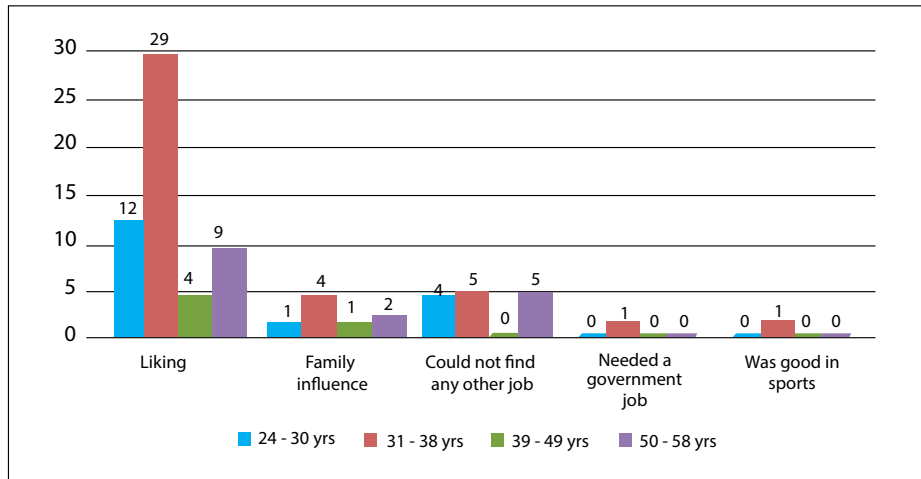


The charts below illustrate that contrary to popular perception, a majority of women constables (72%) joined the police because of personal preference rather than because they did not have any other choice (28%). With regard to Sub Inspectors, 69.2% had joined the police because they liked to, whereas only 17.9% had joined because they could not find any other job. Ten percent (10.3%) had joined due to the influence of their family.

**Figure 3.4: Percentage Distribution of Women Police Sergeants by Reasons for joining the Sri Lanka Police (Multiple responses)**



**Figure 3.5: Distribution of Women Sub Inspectors by Age and the Reason for joining the Sri Lanka Police**



These charts show that if the police conduct an effective campaign, they will be able to recruit women to the Sri Lanka Police. Given the positive perceptions many of the communities had of the Divisional Bureaus and the service given to them by women officers, attracting committed officers to the police may not be as difficult as imagined.

In addition, as with many state bureaucratic processes, a number of women in the junior ranks complained about the recruitment process being long and onerous. Some complained that the process was inefficient; there was a lot of 'waiting around'. Others complained that the physical and medical exams took a considerable amount of time and some of them had to stay overnight an extra day or two in the towns they had travelled to complete the medical examinations.

### Training

Men and women officers have to undergo the basic mandatory training sessions when joining the police as constables. Training included physical training as well as weapons training. None of the women reported any special provisions or

discrimination with regard to basic training. However, women and men have different scales on which their physical strength, stamina and prowess are evaluated. For example, women have to complete 1000m in less than 5.14 minutes, while for men it is 3.14 minutes. Certain junior officers commented that men's sporting achievements were given priority over women's accolades, and male athletes enjoyed a privileged position in the police service once recruited. Overall, priority was given to male sports teams than to women's sports teams.

What must be highlighted is how this institutionalised discrimination finally impacts women's career advancement. An SP we interviewed reported that the physical examination has been cited as one reason for holding back promotions for women, especially to the higher ranks. She reported that because women on average run slower than men, this has used as a reason for blocking promotions beyond the rank of SSP.

Once basic training is complete, specific training sessions are organised at the in-service training centres located in various parts of the country. The Katana training centre has been established for senior police personnel. Up to now there have been no residential facilities made available for senior women officers. Women are asked to find accommodation outside and they have to spend their own money on accommodation costs. This discourages women from following courses, although many of them spend their own money on accommodation or travel daily from home to attend the training programmes. The Police are making provisions to improve the residential facilities for women at Katana and plans are underway to build rooms where women could stay overnight.

## **Deployment**

Ten Police Divisions do not have women Inspectors of Police (IPs). Out of the 234 women IPs, 84 are in functional divisions located in the Division of Colombo. There are 15 women Chief Inspectors (CIs) of whom 11 are in the Colombo Division. All 10 ASPs and SPs are also stationed in Colombo.



The concentration of women in functional divisions is a result of structural and institutional discrimination. Many senior women police officers talked about how certain women officers are ear-marked by senior male officers to work in their divisions in a secretarial or supportive administrative role. Several senior women officers mentioned how there was a tendency for attractive women to be chosen as administrative support staff by senior male officers. They said that there is a general belief that women are there to play a supportive role to men, and "men don't care about the women's promotions, only their own". This was partly because women were seen as meticulous in doing paperwork and also conscientious in fulfilling their roles. Hence, from the inception, many of the women were pigeon-holed into doing desk-focused jobs. Men were seen to be better at the more 'muscular' tasks and deployed to work in the field. On the other hand, structural discrimination led to women feeling compelled to take on desk jobs as a way of managing their multiple roles, both as an officer of the police service and their role as primary caregivers and household managers for the family. Gender stereotyping and gender-role allocations in the police led to further discrimination of women as women's work informed the perceptions of senior officers. Senior officers perceived women as not only liking desk jobs and taking on functional administrative roles, but as incapable of doing front-line police work.

### 3.5 Employee Benefits and Gender-specific Measures

Employee benefits are optional, non-wage compensation provided to employees in addition to their normal wages or salaries. These types of benefits may include group insurance schemes (e.g., health, life), disability income protection, retirement benefits, day-care, tuition reimbursement for training programmes and higher education, funding of education, sick leave, vacation leave (paid and non-paid), as well as flexible and alternative work arrangements.

According to the LKAS 19 (Sri Lanka Accounting Standards), employee benefits are —all forms of consideration given by an entity in exchange for services rendered by employees or for the termination of employment'.<sup>69</sup> Employee benefits in Sri Lanka are categorised into short-term, post-employment, other long-term benefits, and termination benefits. Short-term benefits include: wages, salaries, and social security contributions; paid annual leave and paid sick leave; and non-monetary benefits such as medical care, housing, cars, and free or subsidised goods and services.

---

<sup>69</sup> [https://www.casrilanka.com/casl/images/pdf/faculties/lkas19\\_employee\\_benefits.pdf](https://www.casrilanka.com/casl/images/pdf/faculties/lkas19_employee_benefits.pdf)

## Working Hours and Sunday Leave

According to the Public Administration Circular No. 17/96 issued on 26.06.1996, office hours were amended to be from 9.00 a.m. to 4.45 pm with 30 minutes allocated for lunch.<sup>70</sup> Previously, the Public Administration Circular No. 153/1980 issued on 01.04.1980, office hours for Ministries and all government departments were from 8.30am to 4.15pm with 30 minutes allocated for lunch.<sup>71</sup> The circular also states that –a head of department, divisional, or unit head will not be restricted to employing his/her subordinates only within these hours when there is a necessity for their services outside these hours'. The circular also stipulates that the departments must remain open at least till 3.00pm for transactions with the public. The 'Employment of Women, Young Persons, and Children Act' restricts night work for women and persons below 18 years of age.<sup>72</sup>

The Police, as an essential service responsible for maintaining law and order must be operational for 24 hours 7 days a week. Given these special circumstances a circular specifying working hours and leave allocation for police officers would have been issued, but could not be obtained. The following information is based on interviews conducted with police officers during the duration of the research study.

All police officers, both men and women, are entitled to the leave allocations of state- sector employees, that is, 21 days of paid vacation leave and 28 days of paid casual leave. In the case of an illness or an injury, officers are given paid leave based on the nature and condition of the illness or injury. All police officers, both men and women, have to work at least 24 days a month according to government financial regulations.

---

<sup>70</sup> Public Administration Circular No: 17/96 Duty Hours of Public Servants. 20th June, 1996

<sup>71</sup> Public Administration Circular No: 162/1980. Hours of work & Leave of Public Officers. 1st April 1980

<sup>72</sup> Employment of Women, Young Persons, and Children Act. Law No, 29 of 1973. Act No: 47 of 1956; 43 of 1964; 32 of 1984; 8 of 2003; 24 of 2006

It was not clear whether police officers work five or six days where weekend work is allocated on a roster system, and lieu days are allocated for working on Saturdays, Sundays, and public holidays. Officers reported that all police officers are allowed six days of leave per month. They are allowed to take one day off if they have worked continuously for nine days, and three days off if they have worked continuously for 24 days.

According to a special circular (number and date unknown), women officers who are married with or without children are entitled to a special Sunday leave, that is, they are not assigned to the duty roster on a Sunday. In practice, Sunday leave is implemented at the discretion of the Officer-in-Charge (OIC). If more than one female officer is employed at a station, then the OIC does not allow all the women officers to take the allocated Sunday leave. This discretion is understandable when considering that women are needed to work at the Children and Women's Units at the Police Stations throughout the week. Given the sensitive nature of the services that must be rendered to a woman or child who comes to make a complaint about abuse or violence, not having a single woman working on a Sunday is problematic. On the other hand, unmarried police officers complained that even though they may be the primary carers of their elderly parents, this special provision is not applicable to them. Single women officers, especially older single women officers, feel their needs and duties to their families are not taken into consideration. Rather, they are overworked as 'singleness' is seen as a status without any responsibilities to family.

Police officers in police stations (rather than in administrative divisions), work on the basis of three eight-hour shifts: 6am – 2pm, 2pm – 10pm, and 10pm – 6am. This can change from an eight hour shift to four six-hour shifts. Male officers work these day/night shifts on rotation. Most women officers working in police stations are expected to work from 8am – 4.30pm. However, in case of emergencies unmarried women officers staying in the police barracks or even married officers can be called in

to report for service at any time. This is especially relevant to women officers working in the Divisional Bureaus and Children and Women's Units. Some women police officers complained that they tend to work longer hours as they are often required to report to work by 6:30am and are not allowed to clock-out by 4.30pm. This happens on a regular basis when police officers are out in the field conducting investigations or performing raids.

### **Maternity Benefits**

Maternity benefits for women officers of the Sri Lanka Police are the same as for other state officials. The full allocation is 252 working days for the first and second child. Of this, 84 days is fully-paid, 84 days is on half-pay, and the remaining 84 days of maternity leave can be taken on the basis of no-pay. Only 42 days maternity leave is allowed for the third child and any other subsequent children a woman chooses to have (Maternity Benefits Ordinance I).<sup>73</sup>

Maternity leave is granted to all officers without discrimination. However, maternity leave is often cited as the main reason for women not being promoted to higher ranks. Maternity leave is considered time away from service and, therefore, cited as a reason for not gaining as much experience as their male counterparts during the same period. When women are pregnant or return from maternity leave, there is a perception that they do not engage in frontline work.

Under the Maternity Benefits Ordinance two 30-minute paid breaks are allocated for breast feeding during a nine-hour working day until the child is one year old. Many women reported that they were unable to take these breaks as police work often required them to work longer hours and often report to duty by 6.30am for traffic duty.

A Sub-Inspector reported that in order to receive her maternity benefits, women are expected to submit a certificate from the hospital confirming that she has had a live birth.

---

<sup>73</sup> Maternity Benefits Ordinance. Acts Nos. 26 of 1952, 6 of 1958, 24 of 1962, 1 of 1966, 13 of 1978, 52 of 1981, 43 of 1985. 28th July 1941.

## **Grievance Handling**

The office of the Ombudsman was established in 1999 to address grievances of both male and female officers. Only male officers have served as the Ombudsperson. Women officers reported that the Ombudsperson was insensitive to women's issues and concerns. Even when these grievances were general in nature, women officers did not feel comfortable discussing the issues with the person. Women officers felt the office did not maintain impartiality.

Very recently, the nine women Superintendents of Police (SPs) have been put in charge of each of the nine provinces of Sri Lanka with the explicit objective of being the main contact person for women officers of all ranks to discuss their issues and concerns, especially with regard to harassment, bullying, and sexual harassment. This is a progressive measure that has great potential not only to address individual complaints, but to promote gender equality in the police through various initiatives such as awareness raising, education, and so forth. Since this is a new initiative, a formal mechanism or guidelines have not been put in place to operationalise how women will access the SP and what procedures are in place to respond to complaints made. Since the nine SPs are deployed in Colombo, a mechanism should be introduced whereby the SP travels to her designated province and allocates a number of days on which grievances can be heard. Moreover, women officers should be made aware that the police have introduced a special mechanism.

## **Sexual Harassment**

The Sri Lanka Police does not have a policy addressing sexual harassment in the workplace. However, a sexual harassment policy has been recommended by the Sri Lanka Policing Reforms Draft Action Plan (dated 25 May 2017). The Action Plan has been drafted by the Research and Development Division of the Sri Lanka Police, and is awaiting comments from the senior DIGs. Under recommendation "3.3.1 Strengthen prevention and response to GBV", the first action point is to "introduce a prevention of sexual harassment policy in the Sri Lanka Police". The National Police Commission, the DIG Legal, and DIG Crime are cited as the parties responsible for executing this recommendation.

## Retirement after 20 Years of Service

According to the Pensions Circular (17/2009) of the Department of Pensions a woman police officer of any rank are is allowed to retire after completing 20 years of service or if she is older than 50 years. The Circular does not explain the reasons for this special provision for women. Women officers we interviewed reported that if they retire after 20 years they do not receive the full salary at the time of retirement as is the practice. They are only paid 85% of their final salary.

## Transfers

The Police Ordinance states that "An officer of the police shall be required to serve in any part of the Republic and within its territorial waters" (p.3). According to circular No. NPC/EDNG/TR/GEN/05/06/2016 pertaining to transfers of OICs and gazetted officers, in effecting a transfer, the following are taken into account:<sup>74</sup>

- Number of years at current station and age of officer Permanent residence
- Wife's occupation / job
- Children's details
- Service records
- Medical issues
- Personal reasons
- Needs of the service and special knowledge and skills.

According to the amended circular No. 2576/2016 pertaining to transfers and functional divisions of the police the following provisions were made for married women with children under 18 years of age or who have children with special needs and widows (with or without children under 18):

- Women can serve up to four years at the same police station.
- Women can serve up to 12 years in the same police division.
- Women can serve up to 20 years in the same police range (දිස්ත්‍රික්ක).
- Women can serve for 20 years until their retirement in the same Province.

In addition, men and women who are widowed or have disabilities can make an appeal to the IGP to reconsider a transfer, or ask for a transfer to another place.

The amended circular also states that if an officer, a man or woman has received special training, then their transfers should take place within those special divisions for which they have been trained. The Divisional Bureaus for the Prevention for Abuse of Children and Women are not included in the list of special divisions. The CID and Fraud Bureau are included in the list.

If a husband and wife are both serving in the police, the circular states that according to the need of their family only one officer will be transferred at a time; both officers will not be transferred at the same time.

If women are unmarried, not widowed, or if they are married without children under the age of 18 years or do not have children with special needs, the transfer circular pertaining to male officers will apply. According to the circular no. 2576/2016 the following principles apply with regards to transfers:

- To fill existing vacancies.
- To fill administrative needs.
- To promote efficiency and productivity.
- To adhere to the guidelines pertaining to the Police code of conduct.
- Punishment transfers following disciplinary action.
- For the purpose of providing the opportunity for wider experience within the police service.
- To promote and develop an officer's career development and skills.
- To address personal issues and concerns.

In addition, the following principles are applicable according to the various ranks of the officers:

- Gazetted officers can be transferred only to fulfil the service needs of the police, or on disciplinary grounds. If a Gazetted officer is promoted, then he/she should be transferred immediately to another police division.
- If an OIC is promoted as an ASP, then he/she she should be transferred immediately to another police division. The officer can return to the same division only after serving three years in a different division.
- When an officer is promoted as a SP, then he cannot serve as the SP for the district he has already served in. The officer can return to the same division only after serving three years in a different division.
- The same condition applies to other promotions whereby an officer cannot serve in the same division or range he has been serving in.
- Officers must serve at least two years in the Northern and Eastern Provinces if they are transferred there.
- Until they serve 10 years, a police officer cannot return to the division where their place (village) of birth is located.
- When an officer reaches the age of 57, he is allowed to serve in the Division where his permanent residence is located.

According to the above principles pertaining to transfers, a police officer in charge of a Division or District can only serve in the same place for a maximum of three years. They can remain in a specific Province only for a maximum period of six years.

The special provisions for women remove many of these guidelines allowing them to serve in one division or area for longer. This works to the detriment of women who seek promotion to higher ranks, as women forgo the opportunity to gain the breadth of experience which is seen as mandatory for serving in the higher ranks.



## 4. Gender Inequality in Sri Lanka's Police Service

---

### 4.1 Structural and Institutional Discrimination

The previous chapter illustrated how the structure, functions, and mechanisms of the Sri Lanka Police both explicitly and implicitly discriminate against women in the service. Discrimination is a multifaceted phenomenon. It can also have invisible impacts. On the one hand, values and ideas can affect the attitudes and behaviour of how one group of people act in relation to another; in this case how male officers regard and treat their female colleagues. On the other hand, it can affect the self-perceptions of excluded people and their ability to claim their rights, in this case women who may believe that they are better off doing less physically strenuous work or do not challenge discriminatory practices that are clearly undermining them.

#### Assumptions about Women and Women's Status

Institutional discrimination in the Sri Lanka Police service is apparent in the way women officers get talked about by senior male police officers. Women officers are generally regarded as weak and unambitious because they are unwilling to take on frontline work and often prioritise their familial obligations over their professional responsibilities. Hence, women are seen as arriving late and leaving early, and reluctant to work night shifts or take on work in police stations. Women are seen as opting to do administrative desk-based work in functional divisions.

There were two kinds of attitudes that senior male officers of the police had towards women police officers. On the one hand they were paternalistic. On the other hand, they were contemptuous. Senior male officers kept asking how he could, as a senior officer, who has a wife and daughters, deploy to the frontlines, for example in the event of a riot or when breaking into a suspect's home during a dangerous criminal investigation. One officer said "I can't do that in good faith. How can I send a woman to the frontlines? I will stand in front and ask them to get behind me. My instinct is to protect them. Not to expose them to violence. But with my men

there is an expectation that they cannot be cowardly. I will shout at them and insist they face whatever danger [...]. You can't change how I think. I am not wrong am I?" In a later discussion about promoting women to senior ranks, the same senior Police Officer was contemptuous: "Can a woman do what I have done for the Police? Has she wielded a gun? Is she willing to kill? Can she be a DIG or IGP without experiencing the darker side of what it means to maintain law and order?" There was also a mix of paternalism and contempt for women's obligations to the family. In one interview, a senior officer called a junior female officer and asked "you have to do night duty today as I need your assistance with something." The Constable was hesitant and smiled cautiously. The senior Police Officer then asked "can you stay?" To which she replied that she had promised her sister, who had just had a baby a month ago, that she would accompany her to visit the doctor. The male officer then turned to me and declared, "See what I mean? These are the issues. If I ask a man, he has no choice but to say 'yes, sir'. But with the women, I can't ignore they have other obligations."

The senior male officer used the interview as an opportunity to reflect on whether it was nature or nurture that made women incapable of becoming senior police officers.

All people are born equal, but it is society that makes women different. It is society that makes women fearful about walking through a rubber estate in the night on their own. If a man says he's scared, I would be contemptuous and he would be harshly disciplined. But with women . . . I can't challenge their fear because it is real no? Some women police officers are willing to work late or take on difficult tasks because they know they are under my protection. But I would never ask a woman police officer to be in the front lines even during a protest. The need to protect women is part of social expectations. If we don't treat women as women, then what's the point of our culture?

According to the Police Ordinance of Sri Lanka "any police officer who shall be guilty of cowardice shall be liable to a fine not exceeding twelve months' pay, or to imprisonment, with or without hard labour, not exceeding twelve months, or both" (p.16). Women themselves had ambivalent feelings about taking the full gamut of police responsibilities. Young constables talked about how they felt scared and anxious about going on patrol at night in rural areas and on lonely roads. They pointed out that as women, their police uniform could not protect them from the possible danger of being sexually assaulted. Women officers who had taken maternity leave complained that the Police service was insensitive to their needs as new mothers. Several talked about how they were assigned to Traffic Duty early in the morning disregarding their tiredness of interrupted sleep on account of having a baby, and also breastfeeding. One officer talked about how she used to leak from her breasts after returning to work, which was extremely embarrassing as she was put on Traffic Duty.

Other women were upset that they were not assigned work in the frontlines or specialised work with the Criminal Investigation Department where they felt they could flourish. These were women who considered themselves strong women with ambitions to reach the higher ranks of the police. Such women were labelled as 'lesbians' by male officers. Women who were identified as 'lesbian' were prevented from being alone with women victims because as one senior officer remarked "it is the same as leaving a woman with a man no!?" Women who were thought to be lesbian were also described as being unduly harsh with offenders and male officers were sent to temper their harsh behaviour. It is interesting that men's harsh behaviour was seen as necessary for succeeding in the police service, whereas for women it was considered a negative trait.

Women were never given the opportunity to even take on the role of acting OIC and the role was often given to a junior officer thereby undermining the woman officer.

## Day-to-day Experiences of Discrimination

There is ambivalence about whether women are allocated night-duty/night-time shifts. There is a general understanding that in general women are unofficially exempt from working in the nights in some stations and divisions. However, many women constables talked about being assigned night duty and fulfilling the responsibility as demanded of them. One woman talked about being assigned the midnight shift when she first joined. Another woman talked about doing patrol work at night in a rural village where there were no street lights. According to some female officers, women cannot do the night shift partly due to the lack of facilities in the current police stations, namely changing rooms and proper washrooms. Moreover, many of the Police Barracks that are often located in proximity to the station do not provide quarters to women officers as they are deemed unsuitable to women. One woman officer said that rooms allocated to women are on the same floor as men, and cause unnecessary awkwardness between male and female officers when they are off duty. This is especially the case if bathrooms and toilets have to be shared. The woman officer also mentioned how the size and layout of the quarters are not designed for women as they are small and poorly furnished.

One of the repercussions of the lack of a woman police officer at night is the inability to respond to cases related to the abuse of women and children. Currently, women officers are 'on-call' and are expected to report to duty if her services are needed. Some women officers and senior male officers observed that this 'on-call' system is ineffective because junior women officers may not have access to transport at night. As none of them are housed in the Police Barracks, women officers have to walk or ride a greater distance to the police station, or be compelled to take a three-wheeler. As a young woman officer observed, "we may be police officers, but as women we still face the same dangers when travelling alone at night [...] Men look at us in a funny way and we sometimes feel scared about walking alone".

The Sri Lanka Policing Reforms Action Plan (dated 25 May 2017) recommends that women officers should be rostered to be on duty at stations at night. On the one hand, women police officers should not be exempt from night work. However, some

of the difficulties of implementing such a gender equality policy point to institutional challenges. The Sri Lanka Police should take into consideration how women's night work can be enabled by improving facilities in the police stations and renovating Police Barracks to accommodate women officers.

### **Work-load and Resource Allocations**

Although women were perceived to be doing less work than men, and also less important work than men, women described how they were burdened with all the paper work and database management work of the police. This included writing statements, making sure paperwork is properly filed and followed-up, and communicating with headquarters. Moreover, although some women may be working shorter hours, a majority of women worked long hours that went beyond the hours of their particular shift. Very often women police officers gave their phone numbers to civilians, which meant fielding calls and following up on people's concerns after hours.

However, women had very little access to the resources allocated to police stations, including vehicles, computers, and money for contingencies. Oftentimes women officers were expected to take public transport whereas male officers used the vehicles allocated to the stations. Men also had privileged access to computers unless a woman was given the onerous task of doing database work, paper for photocopying and other stationary items. Facilities such as washrooms and pantries were also dominated by men, and many women complained that they did not have the privacy to change their clothes or use the toilet.

### **4.2 Promotions and the "Women's Cadre"**

Most women police officers, non-gazetted, and gazetted juniors and seniors, were extremely concerned about the lack of promotions. The issue with promotions must be discussed as two separate issues: (1) promotions due to junior and senior gazetted officers; (2) promotions due to non-gazetted officers.

## Gazetted Officers

Gazetted officers' access to timely promotions was undermined by two inter-weaving processes. One was the unofficial formation of a women's cadre, which was differentiated from the 'male cadre'. When circulars announcing promotions were published, women officers complained that they were verbally discouraged from applying. They were told that this circular was for male officers, and the circular for promoting women would come later. This separation has led to the allocation of maximum quotas for women officers at each rank. Hence, women, even if they are qualified, are not evaluated on the basis of merit alongside their male colleagues. Very often this has meant their male counterparts receive promotions before them.

The second way in which women are not promoted is because they do not meet the criteria for promotion. Oftentimes, these criteria have to do with their lack of experience in working in the frontlines, serving as an OIC of a police station, and doing night-duty. These criteria, as discussed before, are a double-edged sword. Women are discouraged from such work on account of the protectionist paternalistic attitudes of male officers. Women also avoid such work because of the caregiving and household management roles they play in the domains of kinship, marriage, and family. Women who are willing to do more 'male' oriented work are labelled as masculine and marginalised.

These 'sanctioned' cadre positions has led to much anxiety amongst senior women police officers. With only one position open in the rank of SSP, only one of the ten SPs is eligible for promotion. Promotions were one of the main issues of contention that senior women officers talked about because they felt they were being deliberately held back without legitimate reason. One senior woman officer observed that "women are not appreciated for their contribution to the police service. They are usually condemned for the maternity leave they take. However, women write all the reports the men present at important meetings. Everyone knows women do all the work. Men don't like to acknowledge the work women do."

Several senior officers talked about how promotions are important because women, just like men, work for job satisfaction. They said while the increase in salary is minimal, it is not the only reason women want promotions. Two senior SPs specifically talked about the dedication with which some women fulfil their role in the police and the frustration they feel, just like men, when they don't receive their promotions. They said that "women want to improve their status and standing with their families and communities by receiving promotions, just like men."

In addition to promotions, women were not given the role of 'Director' of functional divisions even though they were eligible and capable of holding such a position. Very often, they were given the Assistant Director role and compelled to work under less qualified or equally qualified men. The fundamental rights case filed is a response to this overt discrimination of women in the higher ranks.

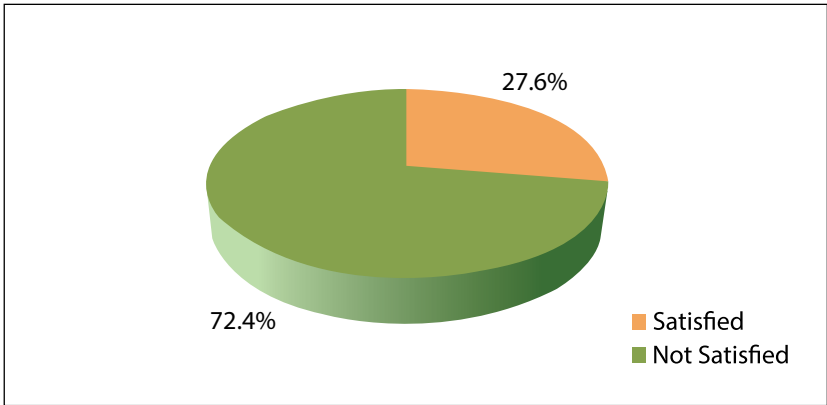
Senior women officers cited several reasons for why they felt they were being denied promotions. Some of these were not official, but were unofficially circulated as reasons for not being eligible for promotion. One SP talked about how they were being told that they did not perform as well as men in the entrance endurance test when they first joined. On average men perform better than women because of sheer physical strength. This is not to say, however, that all women performed behind all men. But men were in the top positions and exceeded women by a few seconds. The women SP pointed out that passing the endurance test was an entrance criteria, after which men and women undergo the same physical training. To cite women's performance at the selection test as a reason for not being eligible is the same as telling a child who entered Montessori that she cannot sit the GCE O Level examination because her performance at the Montessori entrance exam was below those of her male students.

Women's caregiving and maternity roles were also discussed as undermining women's ability to be promoted beyond the rank of SP. A woman SP said that while taking maternity leave is true for younger women, when it came to senior officers like her, their childcare responsibilities had mostly ended; hence the administration should not be holding them back. She also talked about being in her mid-40s and wanting to contribute more meaningfully to society by doing the best she can by the police service without feeling stuck. We also discussed how child rearing is an important contribution women make to society. She then asked "aren't children a provenance to society? Why should we be penalised for contributing to society?"

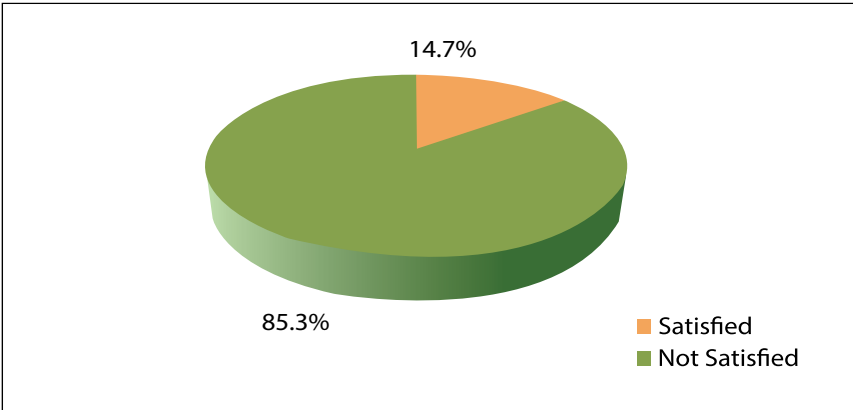
**Non-gazetted Officers**

As illustrated below, a majority of women in the lower ranks are dissatisfied with the promotion policies and processes, i.e., 72.4 % of women Constables and 85.3 % of women Sergeants were dissatisfied with the existing policy.

**Figure 4.1: Percentage Distribution of Women Police Constables by Satisfaction with the Existing Promotion Policy**



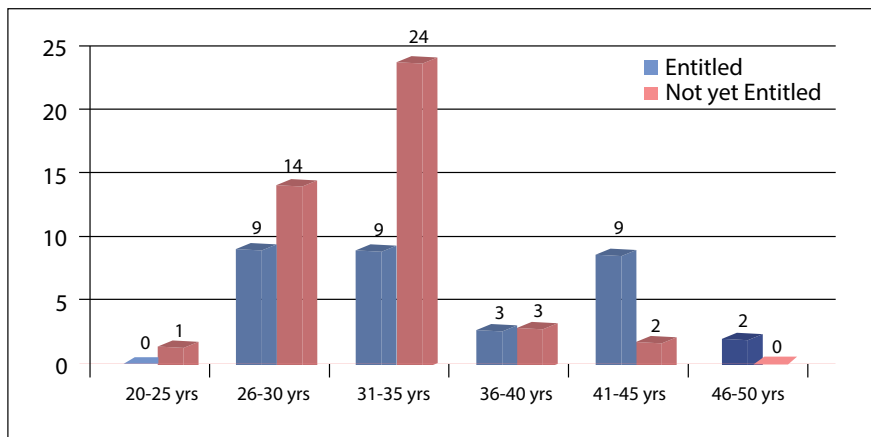
**Figure 4.2: Percentage Distribution of Women Police Sergeants by Satisfaction with the Existing Promotion Policy**





The charts below illustrate that these are not mere perceptions, but that women are actually stuck in the lower ranks without the ability to advance in their careers.

**Figure 4.3: Distribution of Women Police Constables by Age and Entitlement for the Next Promotion**



The above graph illustrates how a significant number of women constables are entitled to their next promotion, but have not received them. Given the age distribution, it is clear that these women have served at least 10 years or more in the rank of Constable, and many will retire having not received any promotion for the years of service they have given the police service.

**Figure 4.4: Distribution of Women Police Sergeants by Age and Entitlement for the next Promotion**

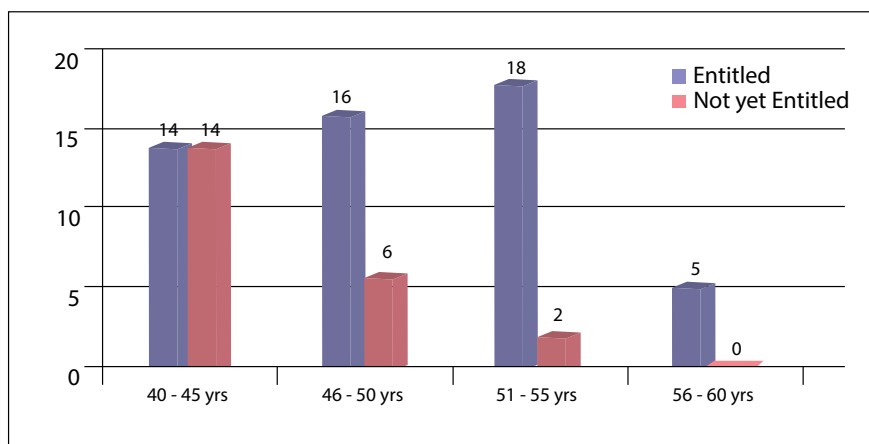
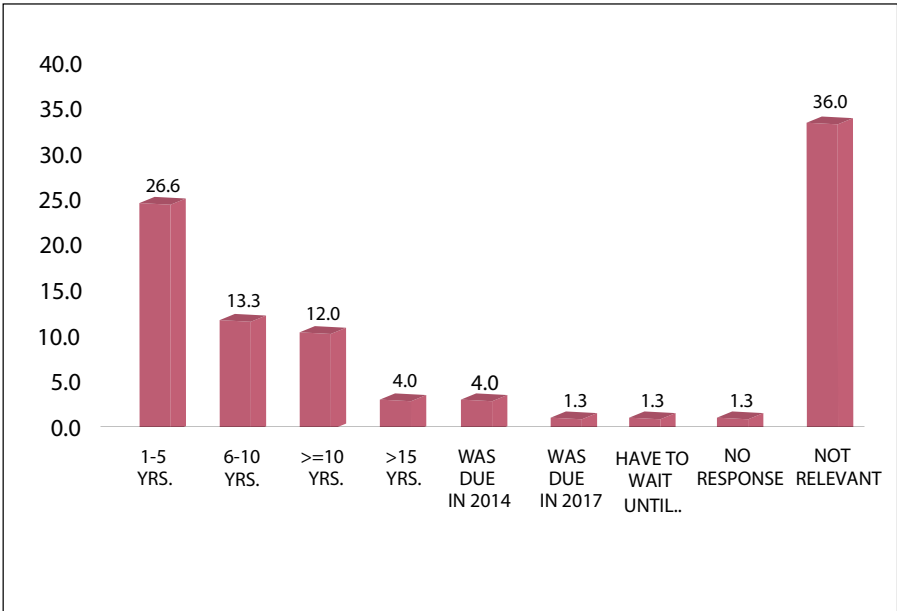


Figure 4.4 illustrates how a majority of women Sergeants have spent more than 10 years in the rank of Sergeant without receiving the promotion due to them. Given that many of the Sergeants are above 40 years of age, many believed that they would not go beyond this rank before retirement. A number of women talked about how they felt unappreciated for the service they had rendered. The lack of promotions also affected their pensions and other retirement benefits.

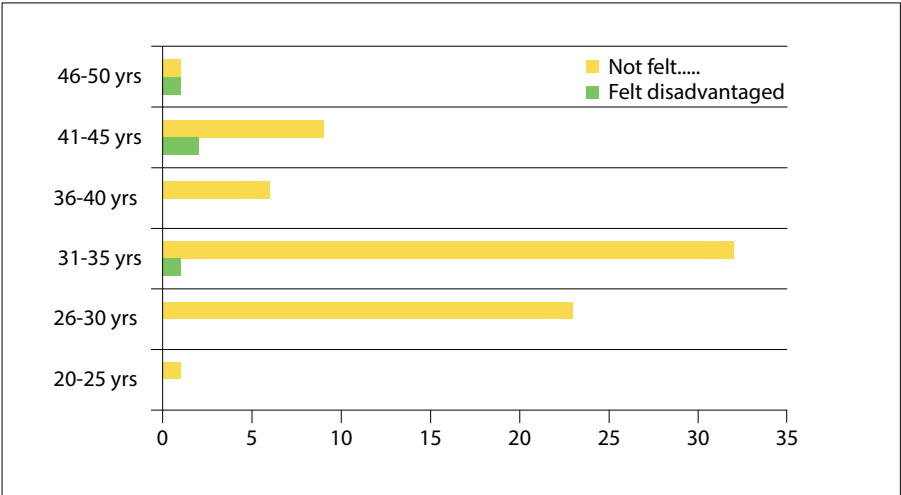
Figure 4.5: Distribution of Women Inspectors of Police and Time taken to get Promotion



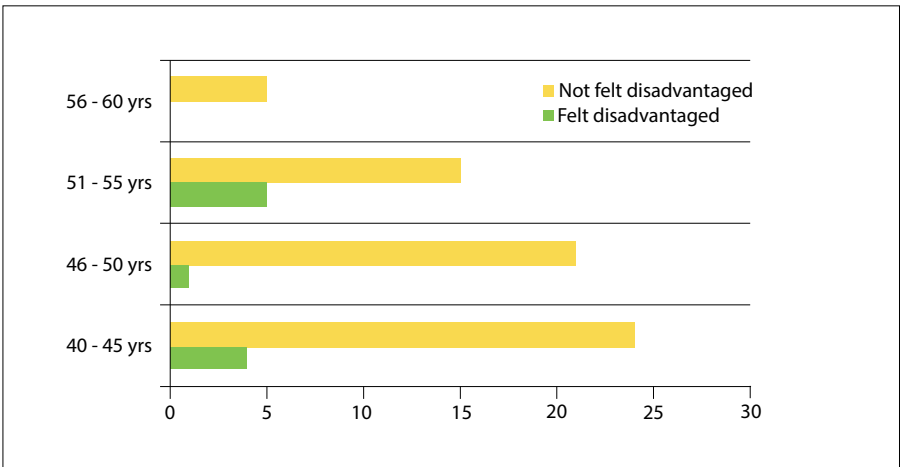
Many of the women in the rank of Sub Inspectors were also waiting for promotions. However, what is striking is that these delays and frustrations were not seen as unique to women in the lower ranks of the police service as many men in these ranks also had not received their promotions. This is evidenced by women stating that although they were unhappy with the current promotions policy, they did not feel they were particularly disadvantaged compared to their male counterparts.

This is because the police in general are not promoting non-gazetted officers in the lower ranks regardless of gender. Hence, during discussions women talked about feeling sorry for their male colleagues for enduring the same plight as them in being 'stuck' in a rank for many years. Nevertheless, the lack of promotions has led to frustration and lack of motivation amongst the women surveyed, which is a serious issue senior officers in the police must address immediately.

**Figure 4.6: Distribution of Women Police Constables by Perception of Gender Disadvantage at the time of Promotion**



**Figure 4.7: Distribution of Women Police Sergeants by Perception of Gender Disadvantage at the time of Promotion**



### **4.3 Access to training and overseas exposure**

Women officers complained that they were often overlooked when opportunities for overseas training or special trainings was offered. Very often women were verbally discouraged from applying for training programmes by their Divisional heads on the grounds that women were not eligible for this particular training. However, no written confirmation of such unwritten rules and guidelines were shared. Women did not dare challenge these verbal instructions as they would be penalised at a later date. Senior Police officers talked about being overlooked when trainings specific to their areas of expertise came up. Male officers who were less than a year away from retiring or un-deserving male officers were given the opportunity to travel overseas. Women officers saw these as 'special favours' the police did for their male colleagues.

### **4.4 Gender relations in Police Stations – Harassment and Sexual Harassment**

Women officers were reluctant to discuss sexual harassment explicitly. The main reason was that they felt the study would highlight harassment over discrimination, which they felt was the more salient and urgent issue facing women in the police service. Senior women officers talked about older male officers verbally harassing them when they first joined the police service. However, they felt the men of their generation and younger men did not engage in these practices any more. A senior woman police officer said that the only sexual harassment she remembers is during training held at the Head Quarters on Saturdays. Male colleagues and lecturers would sometimes humiliate women by singling them out and tease them or make them the subject of sexual jokes. She recalled there being a lot of bad language which was difficult to bear. Women, she said, were ridiculed to make others laugh. However, she, and other women in the office who joined in on the conversation, felt that this sort of behaviour was part of the older generation's way of relating to women. Their contemporaries, on the other hand, were different; they did not subject women to sexual jokes and ridicule. Perhaps this had to do with more women being in the police service.

However, when confronted with strong women, male officers tended to bully or try to intimidate women officers. In doing so, they talked about women in disparaging terms, and threatened to 'destroy' them if they challenged their authority. Many of the senior women talked about such incidents where they had to face the ire of a senior male officer, but they nevertheless stood their ground.

Women in the younger ranks talked about police stations being male spaces where women were made to feel uncomfortable by male ways of joking and use of bad language. Although not necessarily aimed at women, such jokes, language, and ways of socialising made women feel uncomfortable and not part of the same group. Hence, camaraderie between men and women officers was undermined by this masculine culture. Some lower ranking officers talked about how male officers approached them for sexual favours, but when refused would resort to harassing and bullying them. One junior officer talked about how after her husband passed away, several officers approached her hoping for a physical relationship.

Women officers who were perceived to be lesbian were also harassed by male officers. Because they were regarded as de facto 'men', male officers tended to use harsher language and crack more sexualized jokes in their presence. Sometimes they were forced to describe their sexual acts for the amusement of male officers.

## 5. Conclusion: Achieving Gender Equality in Sri Lanka Police Service

---

The conclusion of this research report reiterates the questions posed in the 'Introduction':

- What is the rationale for including more women in all ranks of the Sri Lanka Police?
- How should gender equality be promoted in the Sri Lanka Police?
- What measures should be taken to address the historical discrimination of women in the Sri Lanka Police?

### Rationale for Women's Presence in Police Services

The evidence from this study as well as the existing international literature on women's presence in police services presents compelling evidence and supports the assertion that women are just as capable at core policing competencies as men are, including the traditionally what is considered 'male' competencies and expertise such as weapons handling and meeting physical demands.<sup>75</sup> This research study corroborates with existing evidence that shows that women tend to adopt a style of policing that is more conducive to maintaining public trust and confidence—evidence this study established as well. Women are seen as more understanding and responsive to community needs than the 'gruff' manner often adopted by male officers. Women's approach to dealing with the public is also less confrontational, meaning female officers are less prone to being perceived as abusing their authority and less likely to be corrupt. These are crucial elements in promoting community policing and building partnerships and engaging with the wider community. The reason for highlighting this is not to perpetuate gender stereotypes but to highlight that there is a public acceptance of women officers that is not necessarily reflected within the police service.

---

<sup>75</sup>Government of New Zealand. Literature Review: Affirmative Action Programmes to Address Gender Discrimination in the Workplace. DRAFT (n.d.)

## Affirmative Action

Measures to promote gender equality are built on the premise that deep structural factors have systematically disadvantaged women. Gender transformative policy and practice is regarded as most effective at transforming harmful gendered norms and restructuring the determinants of gender inequality. Gender sensitive policy and practice can also challenge gender inequality and improve women's status in institutional structures. Policy and practice can perpetuate, increase or challenge existing inequalities between women and men. At one end, policy and practice can be harmful to gender equality, and at the other end, gender roles and relations can be positively changed and gender equality improved.

Affirmative action programmes are workplace policies and practices that are designed to redress or reduce historical forms of discrimination based on demographic distinctions among employees. Affirmative action programmes are workplace policies and practices that are purposed to help create an equitable and diverse workforce. They do this by offering assistance to historically disadvantaged groups, not to create an advantage but to eliminate or reduce the factors that maintain disadvantage. Despite the controversy, empirical evidence suggests these programmes may be highly effective when properly constructed and implemented.<sup>76</sup> According to the existing literature on introducing affirmative action to state institutions, most programmes and policies fall into one or more of the following categories:<sup>77</sup>

- **Opportunity enhancement** : Beneficiaries are offered some assistance prior to undergoing a selection process, typically through targeted recruiting or training. No weight is given to demographic characteristics of the target group in assessment and selection decisions.
- **Equal opportunity** : (also known as elimination of discrimination). Assessment and selection decision-makers are forbidden from assigning a negative weight to the demographic characteristics of those in the target group.

---

<sup>76</sup> Government of New Zealand. Literature Review: Affirmative Action Programmes to Address Gender Discrimination in the Workplace. DRAFT (n.d.)

<sup>77</sup> Government of New Zealand. Literature Review: Affirmative Action Programmes to Address Gender Discrimination in the Workplace. DRAFT (n.d.)

- **Tie break:** (also known as "weak preferential treatment"). Beneficiaries are given preference over other candidates if all hold the same level of qualification. Thus, a small positive weight is assigned to demographic characteristics of the target group.
- **Strong preferential treatment:** A large weight is assigned to the demographic characteristics of the target group, who are given preference over non-target group members even when their qualifications are inferior. This approach includes the "politically charged" method of filling quotas.

## 5.1 Recommendations

The recommendations of this study in promoting affirmative action have taken into consideration the following questions:

- How should women's caregiving role and their contribution to society as primary caregivers and household managers be acknowledged and valued when evaluating women officers? Specifically, should women's career advancement suffer because they take maternity leave and need time to fulfil their caregiving roles?
- How should historical discrimination based on gender stereotypes be addressed through affirmative action? Specifically, how can a fair and equitable mechanism be designed to recognise the contribution women officers have made to the service, despite their being excluded or discouraged from frontline work and leadership roles?
- To what degree should special provisions be modified to ensure women officers get the breadth of experiences needed to serve in the highest ranks of the Sri Lanka Police? Specifically, how can women be assigned work in all parts of the country, fulfil night-work while taking into consideration structural issues that extend beyond the police service into society such as threats to women's safety, and the lack of good educational facilities for children?



Overall Recommendations	
Short to Mid-term Recommendations	Suggested Activities
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Abolish the separation of the cadre into a 'woman's cadre'. Men and women should belong to the same cadre and not be differentiated on the basis of their sex.</li> <li>Abolish the practice of differentiating a 'women's cadre' and assigning 'W' when ranking women (e.g., WPC, WSP).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Remove the 'W' from all official references to female officers in the police including badges through an immediate circular.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Address the reasons that have prevented the recruitment of the approved / sanctioned cadre.</li> <li>Evaluate special provisions for women and amend all stipulations and conditions that in the long-term may undermine women's chances of recognition and promotion in the Police (e.g., Sunday work; night-duty etc.). However, maternity and childcare benefits must be left as is and should not contravene GOSL regulations and laws.</li> <li>Make certain special provisions optional rather than mandatory to ensure that women officers interested in career advancement are able to gain the breadth of experience necessary for occupying the senior ranks.</li> <li>Introduce in the short to mid-term a promotion scheme that takes into account historical and institutional discrimination, as well as special provisions, that has prevented women from meeting the criteria for promotion.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>A committee to evaluate all promotions criteria and amend criterion and clauses directly or indirectly discriminatory to women in the short to mid-term.</li> <li>A committee to develop a comparative evaluation scheme in the short to mid-term to assess the differential roles, duties, and responsibilities that women and men have been assigned so far based on gender-role stereotypes and assumptions about women. As these roles are not considered 'like for like' at present, the evaluation scheme should take into consideration comparable roles, duties, and responsibilities.</li> <li>Design a fair evaluation scheme with specific criterion for promotions of women officers currently working in the Police. Points required for promotions are sometimes hard to achieve for various reasons, for e.g., women not being deployed for frontline or field-based work; women being assigned to desk jobs; OIC rank not being given to a woman in the</li> </ul>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Introduce criteria whereby senior ranks in the police service can be filled by women (and men) whose expertise is in the special and functional aspects of the police as is the case in the armed forces (e.g., Intelligence, CID, Prevention of abuse against women, and children, Cybercrime etc.).</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• history of the police; OIC of the Divisional Bureaus not being recognised as the Bureaus have not been ranked.</li> <li>• Factor into evaluation scheme women's contribution to society through childbirth and childcare in order to prevent women being discriminated for time taken off from work, especially when work is assigned and promotions considered.</li> <li>• A committee to evaluate special provisions for women and amend all stipulations and conditions that in the long-term may undermine women's chances of recognition and promotion in the Police.</li> <li>• A committee to consider developing promotion criteria for officers working in the special and functional divisions of the police service whereby those officers can be promoted to higher ranks in the police.</li> <li>• A committee to be set up (to look into all of the above) comprising members of the National Police Commission, representatives of senior women officers of the Police (SP and ASP), as well as representatives from junior gazetted officers (CI, IP, SI), and representatives of senior male officers (DIG and SDIG).</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Recruit and fill the existing vacancies (sanctioned cadre) in all ranks.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Introduce the newly developed promotion criteria as the scheme for evaluation.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Remove maximum quotas (i.e., sanctioned cadre / approved cadre) for women that are currently in operation in the senior ranks.</li> </ul>	

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Introduce a Gender Equality Policy to create an ethos of gender equality and non-discrimination in the Sri Lanka Police.</li> <li>• Introduce a Sexual Harassment Policy.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A committee comprising senior police officers (both men and women), academics, and expert members of the public to draft a policy on Gender Equality in the Police. Include sections on harassment, bullying, and sexual harassment.</li> <li>• Design an internal campaign to promote gender equality in the Police based on policy.</li> </ul>
<b>Longer-term Recommendations</b>	<b>Suggested Activities</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Remove all barriers that preclude women from moving to the highest ranks of the Sri Lanka Police (SP, SSP, DIG, SDIG, IGP).</li> <li>• Introduce merit-based system for promotions of men and women in the long-term Introduce minimum quotas at all ranks to ensure at least 15% of women in the Police;</li> <li>• But abolish maximum quotas in order to ensure both a gender equal and merit-based system for recruitment and promotions is operationalized, and monitored and evaluated.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Develop a long-term Strategic Plan whereby the Sri Lanka Police transition from minimum quotas for women to establishing a merit-based system for recruitment, transfers, and promotions. This system should be developed based on the recommendations of the Committee discussed in the previous section.</li> <li>• Implement, monitor, and evaluate the promotion criteria based on gender equality described above.</li> <li>• Specific officials and divisions to be identified for the effective implementation of the Strategic Plan.</li> <li>• Benchmarks and goals (short, mid, and long-term) to be established for the effective implementation of the Strategic Plan.</li> <li>• The National Police Commission to monitor the implementation of the strategic plan.</li> </ul>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Introduce annual performance evaluations for all ranks.</li> <li>• Introduce service awards and special achievement awards introduced to address frustrations with slow or lack of promotions throughout the police service for both men and women.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Develop a mechanism to implement the annual performance review and service awards.</li> </ul>

Specific Recommendations	
<b>Recruitment</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Review existing criteria and benefits that may prevent women from joining the police.</li> <li>Actively recruit Tamil and Muslim women to the Sri Lanka Police.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Design a promotional campaign aimed at attracting women to the Police, including women from the ethno- religious minorities.</li> <li>Design a promotional campaign to be carried out in the media, as well as schools and community, especially in areas where public opinion about the police are positive. The campaign should highlight the following: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Service provided by the Police to the community, especially women and children.</li> <li>The need for women to serve the nation in apost-conflict context, and the unique contribution they can make to maintaining law and order.</li> <li>The Police as a place where women are groomed to be strong and confident leaders.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<b>Promotions</b>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Implement the 15% women's quota for all ranks of the police service as a short to mid-term solution to address the gender imbalance.</li> <li>Ensure timely promotions.</li> <li>Review promotion criteria of SI and SP to ensure it is fair to the existing police officers.</li> <li>The call for applications for promotions to be made available to</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Encourage women's applications for promotions by making the process transparent and fair.</li> <li>Take steps to prevent unofficial 'blocking', i.e., discouraging women from applying for promotions.</li> <li>Rate Children and Women's Bureaus so that it counts as OIC experience for women officers.</li> <li>Develop a comparative ranking system</li> </ul>

<p>men and women at the same time. This is to avoid frustration of qualified women which may undermine their performance and motivation.</p>	<p>for Divisional Bureaus and Children and Women Units that compare with 'traditional' police work to ensure women officers working at the Bureaus and Desks are not discriminated against.</p>
<p><b>Deployment, Allocation of Duties, and Transfers</b></p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Recognise the social contribution women make in their care-giving role and take these into consideration when reviewing promotion criteria.</li> <li>• Provide facilities such as day-care centres to support women officers.</li> <li>• Consider care-work when applying the Sunday leave provision.</li> <li>• Introduce a roster system to ensure women get the opportunity to work night shifts and weekends.</li> <li>• Allocate duties equally between men and women.</li> <li>• Women officers of all ranks to be given the opportunity to serve in all departments and districts.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Pair men and women as teams for work traditionally considered more suitable for men. i.e., night work, riots and demonstrations, criminal investigations, drug busts and raids.</li> <li>• Challenge stereotypes in 'Police Gender Policy' whereby women's safety and societal attitudes usually preclude women or a women-only team from fulfilling police duties.</li> <li>• Ensure women in senior ranks (Chief Inspector upwards) are distributed fairly across all departments, districts, and divisions.</li> <li>• Include amenability for transfer as a criterion for recruitment and promotions.</li> </ul>
<p><b>Training</b></p>	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Establish a minimum quota for women for all residential training both in Sri Lanka and overseas.</li> <li>• Introduce a fair and just process to select trainees for local and international training programmes.</li> <li>• Remove constraints that discourage women from taking part in residential training programmes, i.e., lack of residential facilities.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Encourage women to apply for overseas training by making the process transparent and fair.</li> <li>• Improve residential facilities of residential training centres.</li> </ul>

## Mentoring

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Publicise women's mentoring programme focusing on addressing harassment and sexual harassment in the police.</li></ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>Ensure women SPs visit their divisions at least once a month.</li><li>Design a mechanism and set of activities that will encourage junior women officers to discuss their concerns with their seniors.</li></ul> |
|--|--|

## References

---

- Anandaraja, T. E. 2001. The Police. Colombo: International Centre for Ethnic Studies. <http://noolaham.net/project/62/6182/6182.pdf>
- Bastick, Megan. 2011. Gender Self-Assessment Guide for the Police, Armed Forces and Justice Sector. Geneva: DCAF.
- Berg, B.L. & Budnick, K.J. 1986. Defeminization of Women in Law Enforcement - A New Twist in the Traditional Police Personality. *Journal of Police Science and Administration*:14 (1) (December)
- BhanupriyaRao2015 .Women in the Police Force-Numbers and Beyond Factly 2015. <https://factly.in/women-in-the-police-force-numbers-beyond/>
- Brown, Jennifer & Campbell, E.A. 1994. Stress and Policing: Sources and Strategies. Research Gate.
- Daily News 2017. Reviewing Policing Practices 2017. Daily News August 31. <http://www.dailynews.lk/2017/09/01/features/126919/reviewing-policing-practices>
- Darak, Shrinivas et al. 2017. Gender Responsive Policing Initiatives Designed to Enhance Confidence, Satisfaction in Policing Services and Reduced Risk of violence against Women in Low and Middle Income Countries – A Systematic Review. Implications of Evidence for South Asia. London: EPPI-Centre, Social Science Research Unit, UCL Institute of Education, University College London.
- Davis, Tracee Alexandria 2005. Gender Inequality in Law Enforcement and Males' Attitudes and Perceptions Toward Women Working in Law Enforcement USA
- Dulin, Alvin T. 2017.GADliness in the Philippines Police. *International Journal of Advanced Research in Management and Social Science* 6(5) May. <http://www.garph.co.uk/IJARMSS/May2017/17.pdf>
- Fernando, Laksiri 2005. Police-Civil Relations for Good Governance. Colombo: Social Scientists Association.
- Government of New Zealand. Literature Review: Affirmative Action Programmes to Address Gender Discrimination in the Workplace. DRAFT [women.govt.nz/sites/public\\_files/Lit%20Review%20FV.pdf](http://women.govt.nz/sites/public_files/Lit%20Review%20FV.pdf)
- Humaira, Parvin 2017. Gender Mainstreaming in Police Organisations: The Bangladesh Perspective. *Australian Journal of Law Ethics and Governance* 3(1) 2017:32-41.

Hunt, J.C. 1990. The Logic of Sexism among Police Women and Criminal Justice Vol. 1: 3-30.

Iram, Khola 2015. Pakistan: Gender Responsive Policing In Schirched, Lisa & Mancini- Grifolli, Deborah (eds). Local Ownership in Security: Case Studies of Peacebuilding Approaches. The Hague: Alliance for Peacebuilding, GPPAC, Kroc [https://www.humansecuritycoordination.org/documents/130617663/0/Pakistan\\_Gender-Responsive+Policing.pdf/6c76e2fb-a232-4d17-a8f8-5ef200643ae0](https://www.humansecuritycoordination.org/documents/130617663/0/Pakistan_Gender-Responsive+Policing.pdf/6c76e2fb-a232-4d17-a8f8-5ef200643ae0)

Jayasundera, Ramani. 2016. Police Reform and Gender-The Long Road from Policy to Practice in Sri Lanka. Paper presented at the Conference on Future Policing: Prospects and Challenges for south Asia. [https://www.academia.edu/29951064/Police\\_Reform\\_and\\_Gender\\_The\\_long\\_road\\_from\\_Policy\\_to\\_Practice\\_in\\_Sri\\_Lanka?auto=download](https://www.academia.edu/29951064/Police_Reform_and_Gender_The_long_road_from_Policy_to_Practice_in_Sri_Lanka?auto=download)

Jones, Jenni 2017. How can Mentoring Support Women in a Male-dominated Workplace. A Case Study of the UK Police Force. Palgrave Communications, 3, Article No. 16103. <https://www.nature.com/articles/palcomms2016103#ref8><https://www.nature.com/articles/palcomms2016103#ref8>

Khew, Caroline 2014. Wanted: More Women Officers in Police Force. Straight Times March 9. <https://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/wanted-more-women-officers-in-police-force>

LeBeuf, Marcel-Eugene 1996. Three Decades of Women in Policing. A Literature Review, Canadian Police College <http://publications.gc.ca/collections/Collection/JS66-25-1996E.pdf>

Lonsway, Kim et al. 2002. Men, Women and Excessive Police Force: A Tale of Two Genders. A Content Analysis of Civil Liability Cases, Sustained Allegations and Citizen Complaints. National Center for Women and Policing. [http://womenandpolicing.com/PDF/2002\\_Excessive\\_Force.pdf](http://womenandpolicing.com/PDF/2002_Excessive_Force.pdf)

Maldives Police Force 2017. Maldives Police Service has the Highest Percentage of Female Officer in south East Asia CISION News Wire. 2017 October 16. <https://www.prnewswire.com/news-releases/maldives-police-service-has-highest-percentage-of-female-officers-in-south-east-asia-region-651103813.html>

Martin, S.E. 1990. On the Move: The Status of Women in Policing. Washington DC: Police Foundation. Ministry of Law and Order and Southern Development 2015. Annual Report. <http://www.parliament.lk/uploads/documents/paperspresented/performance-report-ministry-of-law-order-southern-development-2015.pdf>



Ministry of Law and Order and Southern Development 2015. Annual Report. <http://www.parliament.lk/uploads/documents/paperspresented/performance-report-ministry-of-law-order-southern-development-2015.pdf>

National Police Commission. <http://npc.gov.lk/about/commission-and-the-sri-lanka-police/>

National Police Force (NPF), UN Women, UNFPA, A Gender Policy for the Nigeria Police Force, 2010 .[http://www.endvawnow.org/uploads/browser/files/security\\_nigeria\\_gender\\_policy\\_unwomen\\_2010.pdf](http://www.endvawnow.org/uploads/browser/files/security_nigeria_gender_policy_unwomen_2010.pdf)

Nepal Police. Nepal Police Gender Policy, 2069 .[https://www.nepalpolice.gov.np/images/documents/general\\_documents/en\\_gender\\_policy\\_2069.pdf](https://www.nepalpolice.gov.np/images/documents/general_documents/en_gender_policy_2069.pdf)

NDTV 2014. Japan has around 20, 000 female Police Officers. NDTV May 20. <https://www.ndtv.com/world-news/japan-has-around-20-000-female-police-officers-563276>

Osibanjo, Adewale 2013. Glass Ceiling and Female Career Advancement: A Study of the Nigerian Police [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/256194458\\_Glass-](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/256194458_Glass-)

Prenzler, Tim & Sinclair, Georgina 2013. The Status of Women Police Officers: An International Review. International Journal of Crime, Justice and Law <https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/7074/bea3789e2fae84614a8f6841f9fadd9bba03.pdf>

Police Hierarchy in Sri Lanka. Hierarchy Structure <https://www.hierarchystructure.com/police-hierarchy-in-sri-lanka/>

Sabat, Satya Narayan 2010. Role of Women in the Management of Police Organisation: A Paradigm Shift. International Journal of Learning and Change 4(4) 20.[https://www.researchgate.net/publication/236178486\\_Role\\_of\\_women\\_in\\_the\\_management\\_of\\_police\\_organisation\\_a\\_paradigm\\_shift](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/236178486_Role_of_women_in_the_management_of_police_organisation_a_paradigm_shift)

Schulz, Dorothy Moses 2004. Breaking the brass ceiling: women police chiefs and their paths to the top. [https://books.google.lk/books?hl=en&lr=&id=gkIYfzErQXQC&oi=fnd&pg=PR9&dq=women+and+children+special+police+units&ots=Mbre0TCrNr&sig=PORhYRQBOYgm38KR2AoA7PwVfPY&redir\\_esc=y#v=onepage&q=women%20and%20children%20special%20police%20units&f=false](https://books.google.lk/books?hl=en&lr=&id=gkIYfzErQXQC&oi=fnd&pg=PR9&dq=women+and+children+special+police+units&ots=Mbre0TCrNr&sig=PORhYRQBOYgm38KR2AoA7PwVfPY&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=women%20and%20children%20special%20police%20units&f=false)

Schulz, Dorothy 1993. From Policewoman to Police Officer: An Unfinished Revolution International Rev. Police Dev. 90

Spillar, Katherine. Women in the Police Force. [http://en.copian.ca/library/research/cclow/women\\_police/women\\_police.pdf](http://en.copian.ca/library/research/cclow/women_police/women_police.pdf)

Sri Lanka Police. Performance Report. Various years. Colombo.

Sri Lanka Police. 1993. Police Desks for Child Abuse and Violence against Women. IG Circular NO. 1105/93; Crime Branch Circular no. 28/93

N. Sreekumaran Nair, Shrinivas Darak, Bhumika T.V, Trupti Darak, Maria Mathews, L. Dayashwori Devi, Ratheebhai V, and Anjali Dave. 2017. Gender-responsive policing initiatives designed to enhance confidence, satisfaction in policing services and reduce risk of violence against women in low and middle income countries - A systematic review. London: EPPI-Centre, Social Science Research Unit, UCL Institute of Education, University College London.

Sunday Times 2016. Alleged gender discrimination in Police: A Fourth Woman ASP goes to Court. Sri Lanka Brief, May 16. <http://srilankabrief.org/2016/05/gender-discrimination-in-sri-lanka-police-a-fourth-woman-asp-goes-to-court/>

The Guardian 2018. Thai Police Ban Women from Enrolling <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/sep/05/thai-police-academy-bans-women-from-enrolling>

The Women in Public Service Project 2017. Data Brief. Toward Gender Parity in Police Forces June 2017 Data Brief. <http://www.50x50movement.org/article/data-brief-toward-gender-parity-police-forces>

Thorton, Margaret. 2003. Affirmative Action, Merit AND Police Recruitment. <https://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/alterlj28&div=60&id=&page=%20use%20of%20quotas>

UNDP. 2007. Gender Sensitive Police Reform in Post Conflict Societies. Policy Briefing Paper.

Valenius, J. 2007. A Few Kind Women: Gender Essentialism and Nordic Peacekeeping Operations. *International Peacekeeping* 14, 510-523.

Wijedasa, Namini 2018. There can Never Be a Woman IGP in Sri Lanka. The Sunday Times August 12. <http://www.sundaytimes.lk/180812/news/there-can-never-be-a-woman-igp-in-sri-lanka-306659.html>

## Circulars

Department of Pensions. Circular No: 17/2009 - Retirement of Female Police Officers completing 20 years of Service. 8 October 2009

Employment of Women, Young Persons, and Children Act. Law No, 29 of 1973. Act No: 47 of 1956; 43 of 1964; 32 of 1984; 8 of 2003; 24 of 2006

Maternity Benefits Ordinance. Act No. 26 of 1952, 6 of 1958, 24 of 1962, 1 of 1966, 13 of 1978, 52 of 1981, 43 of 1985. 28th July 1941.

Sri Lanka Accounting Standards LKAS 19. Employee benefits [https://www.casrilanka.com/casl/images/pdf/faculties/lkas19\\_employee\\_benefits.pdf](https://www.casrilanka.com/casl/images/pdf/faculties/lkas19_employee_benefits.pdf)

Sri Lanka Police. 1993. Police Desks for Child Abuse and Violence against Women. IG Circular No. 1105/93; Crime Branch Circular No. 28/93

Sri Lanka Police. The Police Ordinance Circular No. NPC/EDNG/TR/GEN/05/06/2016 pertaining to transfers of OICs and gazetted officers / amended Circular No. 2576/2016

Public Administration Circular No: 17/96 Duty Hours of Public Servants. 20th June, 1996.

Public Administration Circular No: 162/1980. Hours of work & Leave of Public Officers. 1st April 1980

The Gazette of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka 2018/08/03. Recruitment

### Key Informants Interviewed

#### Sri Lanka Police

- DIG Crimes and Intelligence
- DIG, Recruitment, Training and International Relations Range
- Director, Personnel Division
- Director, Research and Planning Division
- Director - Victims of Crime and Witnesses Assistance & Protection Division
- Director - Bureau for the Prevention of Abuse of Children and Women
- Deputy Director - Bureau for the Prevention of Abuse of Children and Women
- OIC and Officer In-Service Training, National Police Academy, Katana
- WSP- Kelaniya Police Division
- WSP - Fraud Bureau
- WSP - CID
- OIC Police Unit, National Child Protection Authority
- OIC Statistical Analysis Division, Bureau Headquarter for the Prevention of Abuse of Children and Women
- WIP of Colombo South Division

#### Other

- Commissioner of the Department of Probation and Child Care Services
- Chairperson of the National Committee on Women
- Woman Activist
- CSO – Women in Need
- CSO – Sooriya Development Foundation

**In Patnership With:**



Government of Sri Lanka



European Union



Norwegian Embassy

**Implemented by:**



Empowered lives.  
Resilient nations.

**Supported by:**

