

An Opinion Poll On Peace

Peace Confidence Index (PCI)

TOP-LINE RESULTS

Social Indicator

September 2003

While many studies have been conducted on various aspects of this conflict, none have attempted to capture the changes in public perception over a period of time. The lack of such a study was identified as a significant void by Social Indicator (SI), the social research unit of the Centre for Policy Alternatives (CPA). The Peace Confidence Index study (PCI) seeks to fill this lacuna. The study will be conducted bi-monthly to gauge the impact of local and international political developments on public attitudes towards the peace process.

This report was prepared with funds provided by:

The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) under the Governance and Institutional Strengthening Project, (GISP) Sri Lanka.

The U.S. Agency for International Development under the Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI), Sri Lanka.



CONTENTS

• INTRODUCTION	01
• KEY NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS	02
• FINDINGS AT A GLANCE	05
• PEACE CONFIDENCE INDEX (PCI)	11
TOP-LINE RESULTS	
PERCEPTIONS OF WAR AND PEACE	11
SOLUTIONS TO THE CONFLICT	15
CONFIDENCE	17
THE PEACE PROCESS	21
INTERNATIONAL THIRD PARTY FACILITATION	22
NORWEGIAN FACILITATION	23
INDIA'S INVOLVEMENT	25
• RECENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS	26
SRI LANKA MONITORING MISSION	26
FEDERAL SOLUTION	29
THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY	38
INTERIM ADMINISTRATION	41
SITUATION IN TRINCOMALEE	48
DEMONSTRATION	50
• ANNEX	



INTRODUCTION

OBJECTIVE

The purpose of this study is two-fold. One is to develop a numerical indicator of the level of public confidence in the peace process using a set of standardised questions which remain unchanged with each wave. The other is to use a set of questions related to recent social, economic and political developments in order to gauge public opinion of the peace process, which by definition will change from one wave to another.

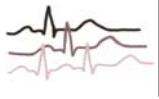
Such information, collected over a period of time, will provide civil society and policy makers a useful barometer of the opinions of the Sri Lankan polity, and ensure that the collective opinions of the public are given due importance and incorporated into the policy debate.

SCOPE & METHODOLOGY

The study is carried out using a structured questionnaire administered through face-to-face interviews amongst a 1,425 respondent sample. The 17 administrative districts of the seven provinces, excluding the Northern and the Eastern provinces, and areas under Government control of the Amparai, Batticaloa, Trincomalee and Vavuniya were surveyed. Data is weighted to reflect the actual ethnographic composition of the districts in which the sample was surveyed.

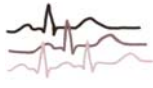
Fourteen waves of the PCI study were conducted in May, June, September and November 2001 and January, March, May, July, September, November 2002 and January, March, May and July 2003. The latest wave was conducted in September 2003. This publication presents only the top-line results of the September 2003 survey.

The results of these fifteen waves offer us data for a comparative study on changing public opinion regarding key issues, ranging from perceptions of war and peace to the proscription of the LTTE. The results are subject to a 3% margin of error.



KEY NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS AUGUST 2003-SEPTEMBER 2003

- President Chandrika Kumaratunga, who accuses Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe of misleading the nation on a controversial peace deal with the LTTE, has asked for clarifications on the latest deal. (1 August 2003)-(Daily Mirror (Gulf News on Aug 5))
- In a bid to get the stalled peace process back on track, Japan's senior vice minister for foreign affairs, Tetsuro Yano, who is in Sri Lanka on a two-day visit said he was concerned that peace talks had not been resumed even after two months since the Tokyo conference and today urged the LTTE to return to the negotiating table ending its boycott. (3 August 2003)-(Daily Mirror)
- While Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) political wing leader S.P. Thamilselvan categorically declared that the camp the LTTE had set up at Kurangupanjani in Kinniya is situated in a LTTE-controlled area, SLMM deputy chief Hargrup Haukland says he cannot accept Thamilselvan's statement as official. (5 August 2003)-(www.lankapage.com)
- The LTTE is insisting on its right to fly its flag at special events in government-controlled Vavuniya. The LTTE's Vavuniya leader Elilalan reportedly said at a meeting with SLMM and military officers that the JVP and other parties had the right to fly their flags at party meetings and he saw no reason why the LTTE could not do the same. (5 August 2003)-(Daily Mirror)
- Interior Minister John Amaratunga who visited Jaffna today on a goodwill tour had reportedly been obstructed from seeking entry to the Jaffna kachcheri by a pro-LTTE group. (10 August 2003)-(Daily Mirror)
- The LTTE has announced it is willing to resume talks with the government provided the people in the South accepted its Interim Administration proposal and follow the path of peace. (11 August 2003)-(Daily Mirror)
- The LTTE today made clear their refusal to vacate the controversial Kinniya camp in Manirasakulam. (13 August 2003)-(Daily Mirror)
- As security forces and special police teams were on alert to avert major incidents in the Trincomalee area, police yesterday re-imposed a night curfew in Trincomalee, Muttur, Toppur and Serunuwara areas following the killing of two SLMC supporters. (15 August 2003)-(Daily Mirror)
- Security was stepped up in Muttur today following new inter-communal clashes between minority Tamils and Muslims, officials said. (17 August 2003)-(AFP/www.theacademic.org)
- The ground situation in Eastern Trincomalee is 'deceptively grave' which could affect Indian interests, according to former Foreign Minister Lakshman Kadirgamar. (18 August 2003)-(http://sify.com/news/international/fullstory.php?id=13226954)
- Following a crisis meeting of top security officials and after Defence Minister Tilak Marapana held talks with Minister and SLMC leader Rauff Hakeem in Colombo, the army today was called in to provide additional security and defuse tension in Amparai and Samanthurai, according to Eastern Province Deputy Inspector General Neville Wijesinghe. (19 August 2003)-(Daily Mirror)
- An angry Minister and SLMC leader Rauff Hakeem today hit out at the LTTE, the SLMM and NUA leader Ferial Ashraff over the current tension in the East at a news conference in the Parliamentary complex. (19 August 2003)-(Daily Mirror)
- As the tension grew in the Trincomalee district over the killing of two more Muslim youths, National Unity Alliance Leader Ferial Ashraff warned today that Muslim youth might be forced to take to arms if the government remained silent on the attacks and intimidation of Muslims in the East. (19 August 2003)-(Daily Mirror)
- Following requests by people and religious leaders President Chandrika Kumaratunga will de-merge the Northern and Eastern provinces if the government continued to fail in providing security to the Muslim community in the Eastern province according to Presidential Spokesman Harim Peiris. (20 August 2003)-(Daily Mirror)
- LTTE chief peace negotiator Anton Balasingham will not attend the Paris meeting of its legal experts. An LTTE spokesman said Balasingham's poor health had prevented him from travelling to Paris. (20 August 2003)-(Daily News)
- A twelve-member LTTE team led by political wing leader S.P. Thamilselvan left for Paris in the early hours this morning via the Bandaranaike International Airport to finalize the proposals for an Interim Administration in the North and East. Government officials said the LTTE team arrived in Colombo in two helicopters from Killinochchi and Batticaloa. (20 August 2003)-(AP/www.theacademic.org/www.lankapage.com)



- Militant Muslim youth are receiving weapons training and some are even believed to have been despatched abroad for the same purpose, informed sources said today. This is part of the strategy for the community to defend itself against onslaught by the LTTE, the sources said. (20 August 2003)-(The Island on August 21)
- A Police curfew was imposed today evening in Kalmunai and Samanthurai to defuse tension that had arisen after two Muslim youths were abducted allegedly by the LTTE at Saindamarudhu on August 19 night. (21 August 2002)-(Daily Mirror on July 22)
- Intelligence sources in the Eastern Province confirmed the emergence of organised armed Muslim cadres. They added that their units have already reported information about the existence and movements of these groups which are undergoing training in the use of Chinese-made T-56 assault rifles. According to residents of the area, these groups are identifying themselves as Mujahadeen, Al-Queda, Osama and Jihad groups. (23 August 2003)-(Sunday Times on Aug 24)
- The Army has ordered that farmers who are allowed to do cultivation in the released paddy fields in the high security zone in Thenamarachchi division should obtain fresh military identity cards to enter their lands, and that the military identity cards already issued and national identity cards would not be accepted. (22 August 2003)-(Daily Mirror on Aug 23/www.tamilnet.org)
- An LTTE front organisation in Trincomalee has called upon all 'Tamil-speaking people' to observe a hartal today. The organisation, calling itself the Trincomalee Resurgence Tamil Community (TRTC) said it was the duty of every 'Tamil-speaking person' including Muslims who have been undergoing severe hardship, to thwart all attempts by anti-peace elements to sabotage the peace process. (24 August 2003)-(Daily Mirror on Aug 25)
- The SLFP today expressed its grave concern over the spate of killings, abductions and intimidation of Muslims by the LTTE in the East, while blaming the SLMM, the government and Minister Rauff Hakeem for failing to take effective action. (25 August 2003)-(Daily Mirror on Aug 26)
- Thousands of Muslims and Sinhalese staged a hartal yesterday morning against the government and the LTTE and called for the resignation of Sri Lanka Muslim Congress Leader Rauff Hakeem, Ampara police said. (27 August 2003)-(Daily Mirror on Aug 28)
- Assuring President Chandrika Kumaratunga that the government is pursuing with every effort to get the LTTE camp in Manirasakulam removed, Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe has told her that acting on the basis of political expediency at a time like this, is in his view, not the correct approach. (1 September 2003)-(Daily Mirror on Sept 3)
- Despite the breakdown in talks over the proposed alliance between the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna and the People's Alliance on Friday September 5, the JVP today expressed confidence in the possibility of talks recommencing between the two parties again in the due course. (7 September 2003)-(http://www.theacademic.org/stories/10629286140/story.shtml)
- Thamilselvan, the political leader of the LTTE met with the Deputy leader of the opposition in British Parliament and Shadow Foreign Secretary, Mr. Michael Ancram, M.P., and Lord Ashcroft, the former treasurer of the British Conservative party, in Colombo on September 4, had been on the initiative of the British High Commission in Colombo and not of the LTTE, according to sources today. (8 September 2003)-(www.theacademic.org)
- The Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission (SLMM) today began conducting inquiries into informal complaints received from people regarding taxes imposed and goods confiscated by the LTTE. On September 10, the SLMM liaison office in Killinochchi received informal complaints from several people who had crossed the Omanthai checkpoint, regarding taxes imposed and goods confiscated, SLMM spokesperson Agnes Bragadottir said today. (10 September 2003)-(Daily Mirror on Sep 11)
- Cabinet spokesman and government chief negotiator G.L. Peiris told a news conference today there was no threat to the Eastern province or the port of Trincomalee as claimed in some reports and accused the opposition of trying to create fear or panic among the people. (11 September 2003)-(Daily Mirror on Sep 12)
- Chief government negotiator G.L Peiris expressed confidence today that peace talks would be revived shortly while expecting a response from the LTTE this month to its proposals for an Interim Administrative Structure in the Northeast and added that it is likely that a final solution to the ethnic issue might arise out of a Federal structure. (11 September 2003)-(Daily Mirror on Sep 12)
- Japan's special peace envoy Yasushi Akashi today admitted that the international community was "frustrated" over the delay in resuming stalled peace talks and said it was up to the LTTE to get back to negotiations. (11 September 2003)-(Daily Mirror on Sep 12)
- A high-powered United States military team has declared that land areas south of Trincomalee must be secured by the security forces from the LTTE if this strategic port is to be protected. Warning that the "vulnerable position that currently exists could essentially level the majority of the Sri Lanka Navy fleet," the team has said, "without control of this area the defence of Trincomalee harbour will always be a losing battle." (13 September 2003)-(Daily Mirror on Sep 14)



- Japanese special envoy Yasushi Akashi today urged the government and the LTTE to resume peace talks soon in a bid to create a "speedy and substantial" progress in the assistance provided by the international community. (14 September 2003)-(Daily Mirror on Sep 15)
- President Chandrika Kumaratunga in a letter to Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe today charged that the truth about Trincomalee was being "concealed and distorted" by the government. She called upon the Premier to allow the security forces commanders to carry out their duties "without any harassment". (14 September 2003)-(Daily Mirror on Sep 15)
- Norwegian Deputy Foreign Minister Vidar Helgessen and Norway's special envoy Erik Solheim arrived last morning on a three-day visit to discuss plans for reviving face-to-face talks between the government and the LTTE and are due to travel today to its headquarters in northern Killinochchi. (18 September 2003)-(Daily Mirror on Sep 19)
- Nine Thai police officers face investigations over allegedly supplying arms to LTTE contacts arrested in the kingdom in May, Thai Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra said today. (18 September 2003)-(AFP/Daily Mirror on Sep 19)
- The Norwegian facilitators today met Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe at Temple Trees to officially inform him that the LTTE would submit its counter proposals on the Interim Administration by the middle of October 2003, a Norwegian Embassy official said. (19 September 2003)-(Daily Mirror on Sep 20)
- The LTTE has banned the government-sponsored National Peace Sports Festival scheduled for September 30 in Jaffna. The LTTE has conveyed its position to the organisers of the festival and wanted all the coaches sent by the Sports Ministry for training to leave the peninsula. (20 September 2003)-(Daily Mirror on Sep 21)
- While hospitals in other parts of the country are crippled by a strike, the LTTE has ordered striking workers in the Jaffna, Batticaloa and Vavuniya General Hospitals to return to work immediately. Police said LTTE regional leader Illanpirai had ordered Jaffna Teaching Hospital employees to get back to work immediately and warned that if they failed LTTE cadres would be brought in to maintain hospital services. (23 September 2003)-(Daily Mirror on Sep 24)
- During a top level meeting between SLMM and LTTE in Killinochchi to discuss problems faced by them, The LTTE today pledged to cooperate with the SLMM by setting up liaison officers in each political office in dealing with reported violations, the SLMM said. (28 September 2003)-(Daily Mirror on Sep 29)
- New US envoy Jeffrey J. Lunstead has presented his credentials to President, Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga at President's House. (28 September 2003)-(Daily Mirror on Sep 29)
- Addressing a seminar in Trincomalee today, President All Ceylon Tamil Congress - one of the constituent parties in the Tamil National Alliance - A. Vinayagamoorthy today said the people of Jaffna were a disappointed a lot today even after the signing of the ceasefire agreement and added thousands of internally displaced families were now languishing in refugee camps and welfare centres as the security forces refused to allow them to resettle in their own lands and homes. (29 September 2003)-(Daily Mirror on Sep 30)



FINDINGS AT A GLANCE OF THE POLL CONDUCTED FROM 30TH SEPTEMBER TO 11TH OCTOBER 2003

- ◆ There is an increase in the uncertainty as to when there will be peace in Sri Lanka (60.4% in July 2003 to 64.5% in September 2003). This increase in opinion stems mainly from the Sinhala (65.8% in July 2003 to 66.5% in September 2003), **Tamil (24.7% in July 2003 to 68.6% in September 2003)** and Muslim (45% in July 2003 to 50.1% in September 2003) communities. There is a steady decline in the opinion that peace will come soon, from 19.3% in May 2003 to 11.9% in September 2003. **This decline stems mainly from the Tamil (62.1% in July 2003 to 25.3% in September 2003) and Muslim (32.7% in July 2003 to 19.9% in September 2003) communities.** (Ref. [Page 13](#))
- ◆ A majority (84.6%) continue to believe that Peace Talks is the way to end the war and have peace in Sri Lanka. (Ref. [Page 15](#))
- ◆ Sri Lankans believe that the lack of political will (44.2%) and Corrupt Military and Political Leaders (32.5%) are the top two reasons why there hasn't been a solution to the war for the last 15 years. **56.4% of the Tamil community believe that Corrupt Military and Political Leaders is the reason there hasn't been a solution, which is an increase from 41.2% in July 2003.** 55.5% of the Tamil community believe that the Lack of political will is the reason there hasn't been a solution. (Ref. [Page 16](#))
- ◆ There is a steady decline in the opinion that the Government is committed to find peace through talks from 53.9% in May 2003 to 44% in September 2003. **51.6% of the Tamil community believe that the Government is committed to find peace through talks, a decline from 73.6% in July 2003.** (Ref. [Page 17](#))
- ◆ 50.3% of Sri Lankans believe that the LTTE is not committed to find peace through talks, which is an increase from 44.9% in May 2003. The Muslim community seems to have a divided opinion when it comes to the LTTE's commitment to find peace through talks. 29.9% of the Muslim community believe that the LTTE is committed while 30.6% feel that the LTTE is not committed. 75.9% of the Tamil community believe that the LTTE is committed which is a decline from July 2003 (79.5%). (Ref. [Page 18](#))
- ◆ There is a decline in the belief that the Government goes in for talks due to its commitment to peace from 40.2% in July 2003 to 34.6% in September 2003. The belief that the Government goes in for talks due to the realisation that this war cannot be won has increased from 20.7% in July 2003 to 29.2% in September 2003. **This increase in opinion stems mainly from the Sinhala community (18.3% in July 2003 to 28.3% in September 2003). 50.9% of the Tamil community believes that the Government goes in for talks due to Economic Hardship, which is an increase from 31.1% in July 2003.** (Ref. [Page 19](#))
- ◆ 35.3% of Sri Lankans believe that the LTTE goes in for talks to fool the people. There is an increase in the belief that the LTTE goes in for talks due to the realisation that this



war cannot be won (21.9% in July 2003 to 26.6% in September 2003). 17.9% believe that International Pressure is the reason why the LTTE goes in for talks, which is a decline from 22.1% in July 2003. This decline in opinion stems mainly from the Sinhala (19.9% in July 2003 to 17.5% in September 2003), **Tamil (36% in July 2003 to 10.9% in September 2003)** and Muslim (39.6% in July 2003 to 25.5% in September 2003) communities. ([Ref. Page 20](#))

- ◆ 22% believe in the widest range of involvement in negotiations. However, 13.9% believe that only the Government and the LTTE should be involved in negotiations. Compared to the other communities, 55.5% of the Muslim community believe in the widest range of involvement. This is a decline from 60% in July 2003. **Within the Tamil community 35.8% believe that only the Government, LTTE and International third party should be involved, which is a significant increase since July 2003 (17.2%).** ([Ref. Page 21](#))
- ◆ 56.9% of Sri Lankans believe that an international third party's involvement will have a positive impact or is essential for the peace process. In contrast 19.2% believe that an international third party's involvement is not essential. While a majority of the minority communities (Tamil – 73.6%, Muslim – 55.6%, Up-country Tamil - 62.5%) believe that a third party's involvement is essential, 24% of the Sinhala community believe the same. ([Ref. Page 22](#))
- ◆ While 36% of Sri Lankans approve of Norway assisting in the Sri Lankan Peace Process, 33% disapprove. While a majority (37.7%) of the Sinhala community disapprove of Norway assisting in the Sri Lankan Peace Process, a majority of the Tamil (84.9%), Muslim (53.6%) and Up-country Tamil (85.8%) communities approve of this. ([Ref. Page 23](#))
- ◆ Sri Lankans seem to have a divided opinion with regard to Norway continuing to facilitate talks (Approve – 33.8%, Disapprove – 31.9%). A majority of the Tamil (77.7%) and Up-country Tamil (80.8%) communities approve of Norway continuing to facilitate talks. The Muslim community seem to have a divided opinion with regard to this, where 39.7% approve of Norway continuing to facilitate talks and 31.5% disapprove of this. 35.4% of the Sinhala community, however, disapprove of this. ([Ref. Page 24](#))
- ◆ 55.3% of Sri Lankans believe that India's involvement in the peace process will have a positive impact or is essential. On the contrary, 17.9% believe that India's involvement is not essential. While a majority (30.5%) of the Sinhala community believe that India's involvement will have a positive impact on the Sri Lankan peace process, a majority of the Tamil (47.2%), Muslim (57.3%) and Up-country Tamil (72.4%) communities believe that India's involvement is essential. ([Ref. Page 25](#))
- ◆ Of those aware of the involvement of foreign monitors in monitoring the ceasefire, 32% believe such a monitoring mission will have a positive impact on the success of the Ceasefire Agreement (CFA), which is an increase since July 2003 (27.2%). This increase stems mainly the Sinhala community (30.9% in July 2003 to 36% in September 2003). The



Tamil (86.7%), Muslim (54.5%) and Up-country Tamil (80.9%) communities believe that such a monitoring mission is essential. (Ref. Page 26)

- ◆ 43.6% believe that the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission (SLMM) is not impartial in its monitoring of the CFA. This is a significant increase from 31.3% in July 2003. **This increase stems mainly from the Sinhala (35.1% in July 2003 to 48.3% in September 2003) and Muslim (20.1% in July 2003 to 37.8% in September 2003) communities.** A majority of the Tamil (56.6%) and Up-country Tamil (66.9%) communities, however, believe that the SLMM is impartial in its monitoring of the CFA. (Ref. Page 27)
- ◆ There is a steady increase in the belief that the SLMM is not effective in its monitoring of the CFA from 29.4% in May 2003 to 40.7% in September 2003. **This increase stems mainly from the Sinhala (37.3% in July 2003 to 45% in September 2003) and Muslim (16.8% in July 2003 to 36.6% in September 2003) communities.** However, a majority of the Tamil (54.8%) and Up-country Tamil (71.8%) communities believe the contrary, i.e. the SLMM is effective in its monitoring of the CFA. (Ref. Page 28)
- ◆ Of those aware that the Government and the LTTE have announced that they are committed to finding a solution based on federalism within a united Sri Lanka, 45% disapprove of this agreement, while 28.8% approve of it. **There is a significant decline in the Tamil community's approval of this agreement from 94.1% in July 2003 to 79.5% in September 2003. However, there is a significant increase in the Muslim community's approval of this agreement from 39.1% in July 2003 to 53.2% in September 2003.** (Ref. Page 29)
- ◆ 21.9% believe that a federal system is the best way of governing this country. This opinion is held mainly by the Tamil (73.6%), Muslim (68.1%) and Up-country Tamil (63.9%) communities. 54.9% of the Sinhala community express their disagreement while 26.1% express their uncertainty. (Ref. Page 30)
- ◆ In September 2003, 41.8% believe that a federal state will lead to secession. This opinion stems mainly from the Sinhala community (47.1%). However, 68.4% of the Tamil, 52.7% of the Muslim and 49.2% of the Up-country Tamil communities do not believe that a federal state will lead to secession. (Ref. Page 31)
- ◆ 43.2% of Sri Lankans believe that Tamils will have more benefits within a federal structure. However, 52.6% do not believe that Sinhalese will have more benefits within a federal structure and 45.8% do not believe that Muslims will have more benefits. (Ref. Page 32 to Page 34)
- ◆ A majority of the Tamil (66.6%), Muslim (40.2%) and Up-country Tamil (43%) communities believe that within a federal structure everyone will equally benefit, while 52.9% of the Sinhala community do not believe that everyone will benefit equally. (Ref. Page 35)



- ◆ 30.7% say they will agree with a federal solution if it is approved by a majority of Sri Lankans in comparison to 37.6% who say they will disagree. 18.2% don't know or are not sure. A majority of the **Tamil (80.9%), Muslim (46.2%)** and **Up-country Tamil (58.9%)** communities say they will agree with a federal solution if it is approved by a majority of Sri Lankans, while a majority of the Sinhala community (41.9%) say they will disagree. (Ref. Page 36)
- ◆ A majority (65.2%) do not think that people are being adequately informed about federalism. This opinion stems mainly from 70.9% of the Sinhala community and 38.1% of the Tamil community. The Muslim and Up-country Tamil communities have a divided opinion when it comes to people being adequately informed about federalism. (Muslim: Agree – 39.3%, Disagree – 37.2%; Up-country Tamil: Agree – 30.6%, Neither agree nor disagree – 33.4%, Disagree – 30.8%). (Ref. Page 37)
- ◆ There is a steady increase in the belief that the interests and concerns of the Eastern Muslims are not being adequately represented in the peace talks from 26.5% in May 2003 to 32.7% in September 2003. This opinion stems mainly from the **Muslim community (73.1%)**. However, the **Tamil (54.5%)** and **Up-country Tamil (44.1%)** communities believe that the interest and concerns of the Eastern Muslims are being adequately represented in the peace talks. The Sinhala community have a divided opinion in this regard (Yes - 25.4%, No – 31.6%, Don't know/Not sure – 34.2%). (Ref. Page 38)
- ◆ 66.6% of the Muslim community believe the current inadequate representation of the interest and concerns of the Eastern Muslims in the peace talks will have a negative impact on the peace process. 41.9% of the Sinhala community and 41.8% of the Up-country Tamil community who responded to this question are unable to comment on the impact on the peace process with regard to the degree of representation of the Eastern Muslims. 24.7% of the Sinhala community and 20.6% of the Up-country Tamil community believe that the current representation will have a negative impact on the peace process. Looking at the Tamil community, their opinion seems to be divided, where 28% believe that the current representation will have no impact, while 29.8% are uncertain about its impact on the peace process. (Ref. Page 39)
- ◆ 47% believe that there should be a separate Muslim delegation to the peace talks, which is an increase from 38.1% in July 2003. **A majority of the Sinhala (42.7%), Tamil (48.3%), Muslim (94.6%)** and **Up-country Tamil (57.5%)** communities believe that there should be a separate Muslim delegation to the peace talks. (Ref. Page 40)
- ◆ A majority (67.3%) is aware that the Government and the LTTE are contemplating an interim administration for the North East province. 54.1% of the Muslim and 57.7% of the Up-country Tamil communities are unaware that the Government and the LTTE are contemplating an interim administration for the North East province. (Ref. Page 41)
- ◆ Of those who are aware that the Government and the LTTE are contemplating an interim administration for the North East province, 52.2% are somewhat informed about the issue of interim administration, while 41.5% are not informed. Looking at the ethnic



perspective, a majority of the Tamil (71.1%), Muslim (69.6%) and Up-country Tamil (78.7%) communities are somewhat informed about the issue of interim administration. The Sinhala community have a divided opinion in this regard (Somewhat informed – 48.8%, Not informed – 46.7%). (Ref. Page 42)

- ◆ When asked through which medium they received their information about the interim administration, 47.3% stated that it was through television, while 28.6% stated that it was through newspapers. 10.7% stated that they received their information through the radio. A majority of the Sinhala community (51%) received information about the interim administration through television, while 26.4% received information through newspapers. The Tamil community, however, received information mainly through newspapers (45.2%) as well as through television (41.5%). The Muslim community received information through television (31.5%), newspapers (28.4%) and radio (17.7%). The main medium through which the Up-country Tamil community received their information, about the interim administration, was through the radio (36.9%), while others stated television (20.7%) and newspapers (18.7%). (Ref. Page 43)
- ◆ 57.3% disagree with the setting up of an interim administration for the North and East, while 28.4% agree with it. A majority of the Sinhala community (70.6%) disagree with the setting up of an interim administration for the North and East, while 50.1% of the Muslim community express their uncertainty in this regard. However, **a majority of the Tamil (89.5%) and Up-country Tamil (71.3%) communities** and 34.2% of the Muslim community agree with the setting up of an interim administration for the North and East. (Ref. Page 44)
- ◆ 30.1% believe in the largest range of involvement when it comes to the interim administration. This opinion stems mainly from the Sinhala (46.5%) and Muslim (66.5%) communities. 23.2% of Sri Lankans believe that only the LTTE should be involved and this opinion stems mainly from the Tamil community (52.8%). (Ref. Page 45)
- ◆ While 45.9% agree with the LTTE playing a dominant role in the interim administration, 40.3% disagree. Looking at the ethnic perspective the Sinhala (67.1%) and Muslim (75.5%) communities disagree with the LTTE playing a dominant role in the interim administration, while the **Tamil (71.2%) and Up-country Tamil (78.8%)** communities agree. (Ref. Page 46)
- ◆ Of those who are aware that the President wrote to the Prime Minister expressing her concern over the LTTE threat to the Trincomalee Naval Base and Harbour, 82.7% share the President's concern. This opinion stems mainly from the Sinhala (88.4%) and Muslim (86.6%) communities. 17.3% do not share the President's concern and this opinion stems mainly from the **Tamil (87.6%) and Up-country Tamil (69.3%)** communities. (Ref. Page 49)
- ◆ Of those who are aware (67.8%) that the National Bhikku Front (NBF) held a Satyagraha campaign protesting against the establishment of an interim administrative structure for the North East province, on the 17th of September 2003, 52.7% approve of the campaign. This opinion stems mainly from the Sinhala community (59.4%). However,



30.6% disapprove of the campaign and this stems mainly from the **Tamil (84%), Muslim (80.4%)** and **Up-country Tamil (82%)** communities. ([Ref. Page 51](#))

- ◆ Of those who are aware (52.8%) that a new organisation called the Patriotic National Movement (PNM) was formed comprising of several political parties including the JVP, MEP and some religious organisations, 31% don't know or are unsure about the impact of this on the peace process. 28.8% believe that this will have a negative impact, while 21.2% believe that this will have a positive impact. 19% believe that this will have no impact on the peace process. Looking at the Sinhala community perceptions, there seems to be a divided opinion with regard to the impact on the peace process (Will have a positive impact – 23.6%, Will have no impact – 19.2%, Will have a negative impact – 23.9%, Don't know/Not sure – 31%). ([Ref. Page 53](#))
- ◆ Of those who are aware that the PNM has held a march, from Kandy to Colombo, against the establishment of an interim administrative structure for the North and East, 31.6% believe that this will have a negative impact on the peace process. While 24.3% believe that this will have no impact on the peace process, 23.3% believe this will have a positive impact. 20.8% don't know or are unsure. While a majority of the minority communities (Tamil – 63.1%, Muslim – 59.6%, Up-country Tamil – 74.1%) believe that this march will have a negative impact on the peace process, the Sinhala community have a divided opinion in this regard (Will have a positive impact – 25.9%, Will have no impact – 23.8%, Will have a negative impact – 27.4%, Don't know/Not sure – 21.9%). ([Ref. Page 55](#))

For further information please contact:

Reshma Harjani or Pradeep Peiris
Social Indicator
Centre for Policy Alternatives
105, 5th Lane,
Colombo 3,
Sri Lanka.

Tel: +9411 2370472 **Email:** cpapoll@diamond.lanka.net
Fax: +9411 2370475 **Web:** <http://www.cpalanka.org>

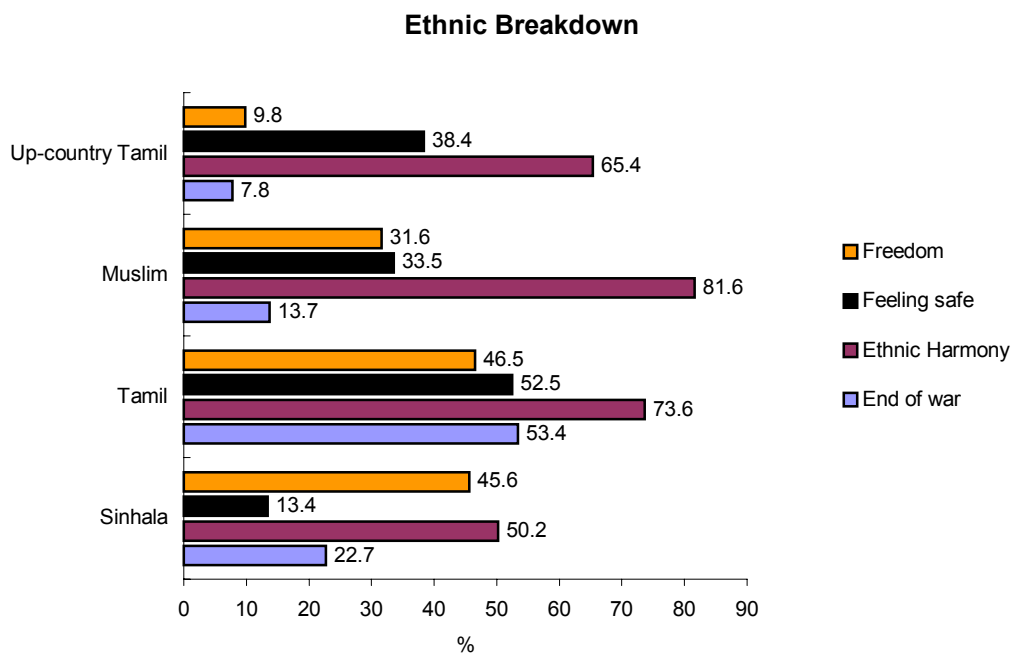
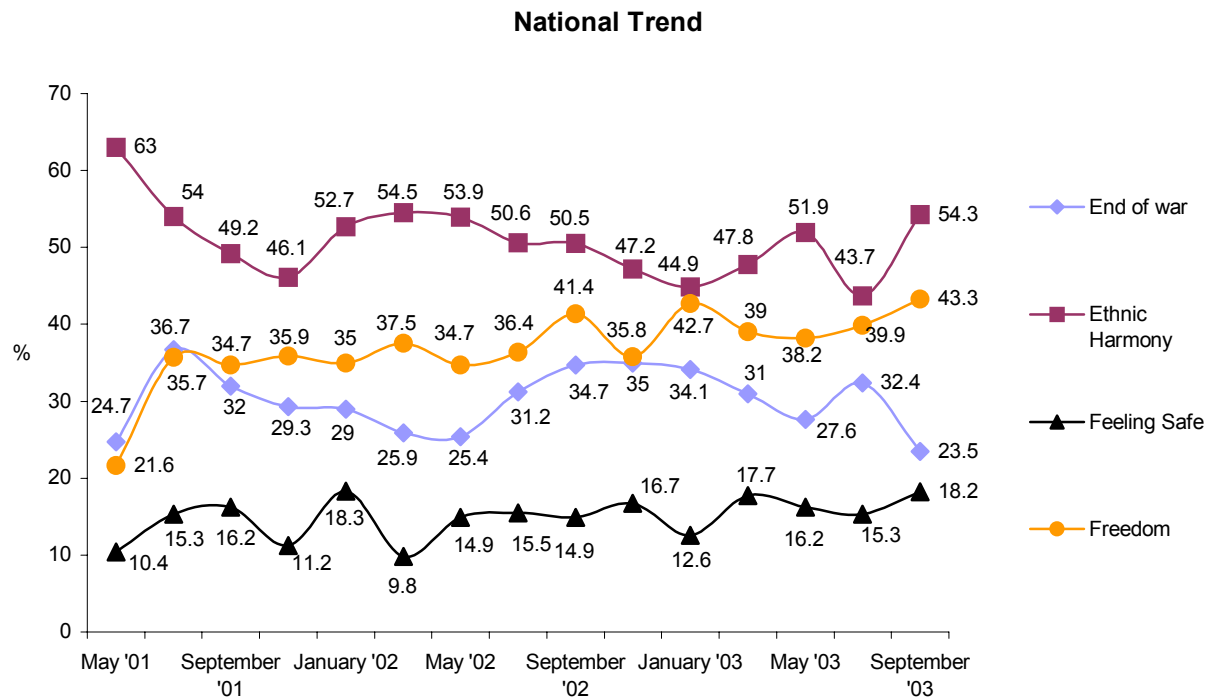


PEACE CONFIDENCE INDEX (PCI)

MAY 2001 – SEPTEMBER 2003

THE PERCEPTION OF WAR AND PEACE

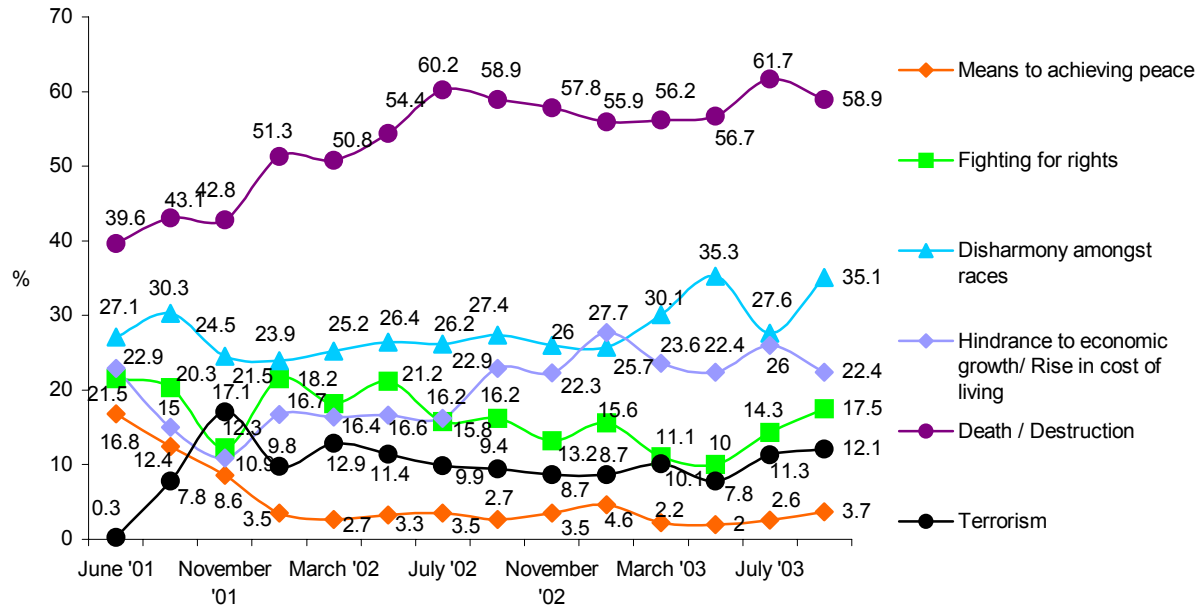
What does 'peace' mean to you? [Multiple Answers]



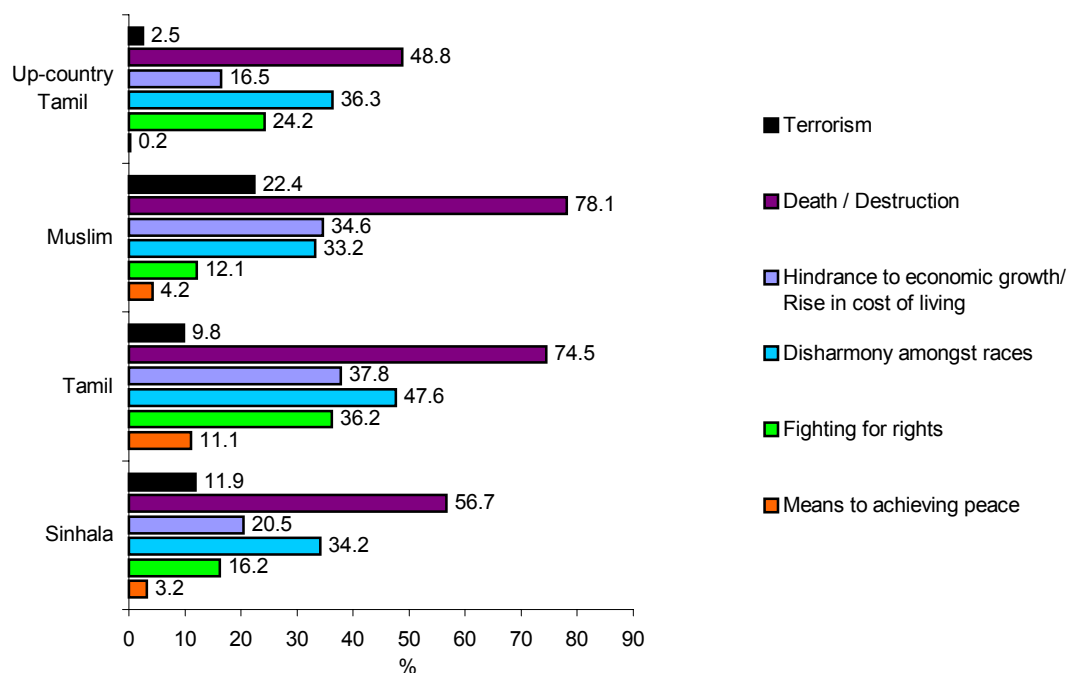


What does 'war' mean to you? [Multiple Answers]

National Breakdown

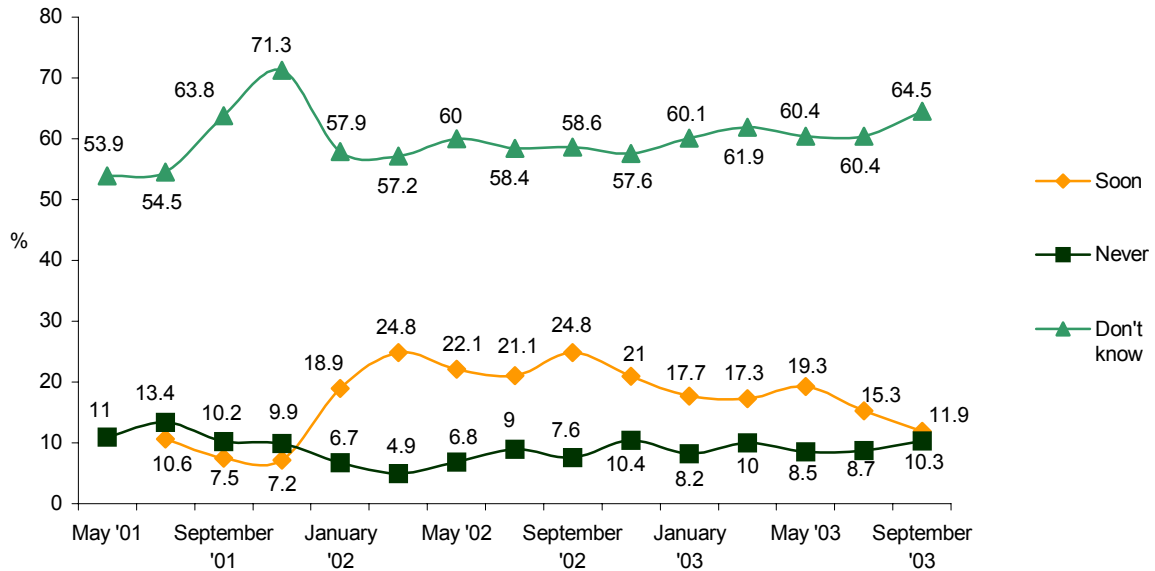


Ethnic Breakdown

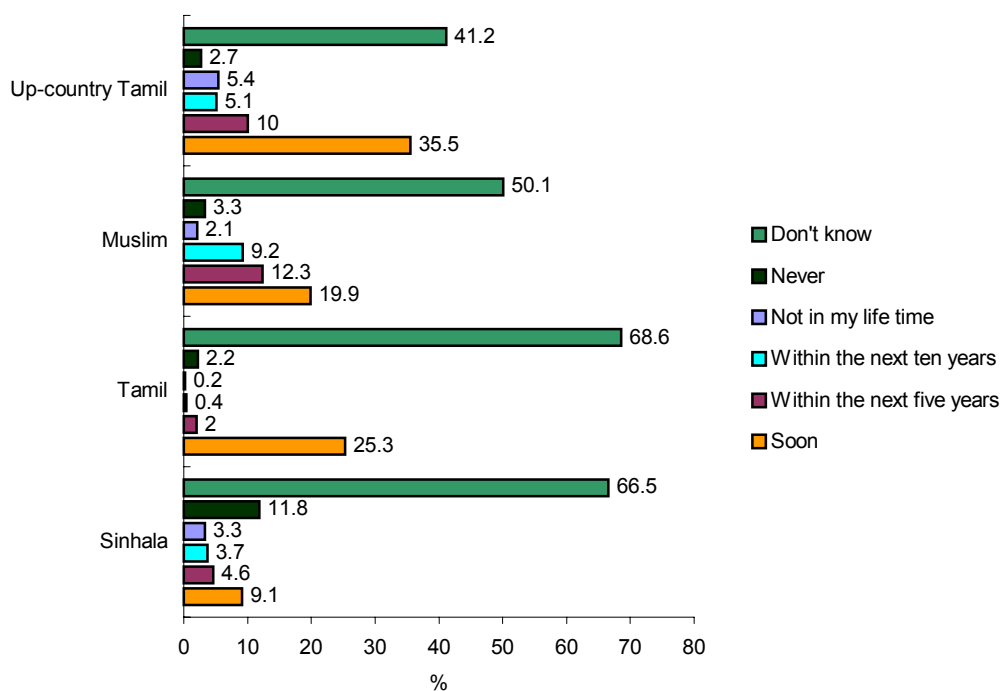


When will there be peace in Sri Lanka?

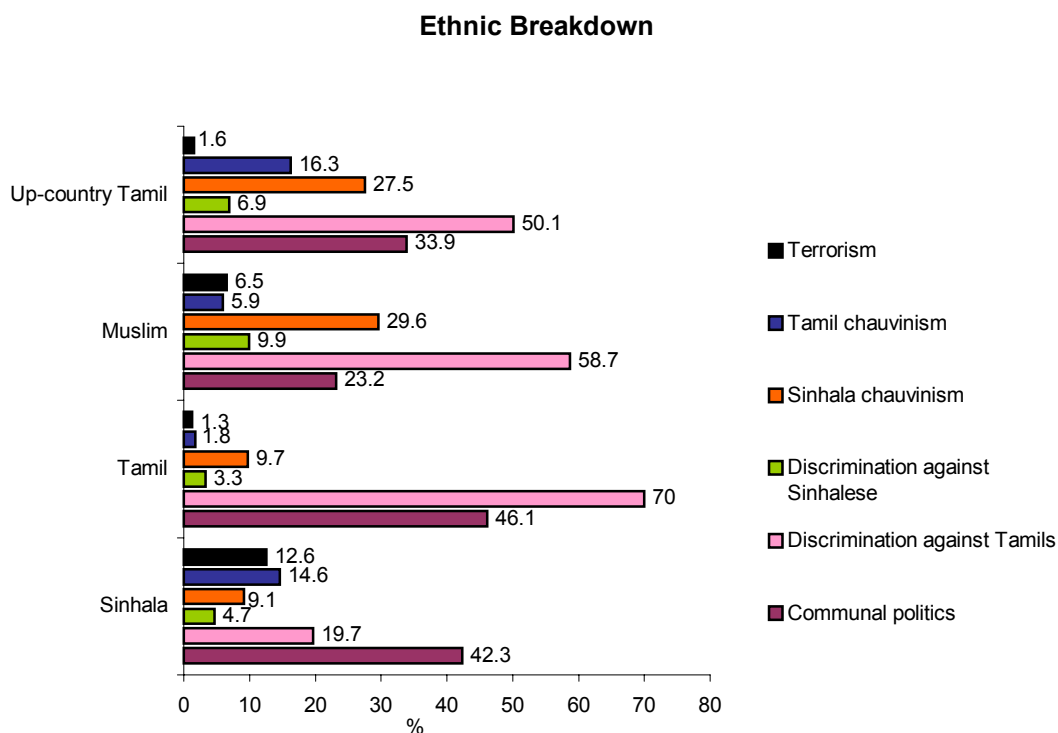
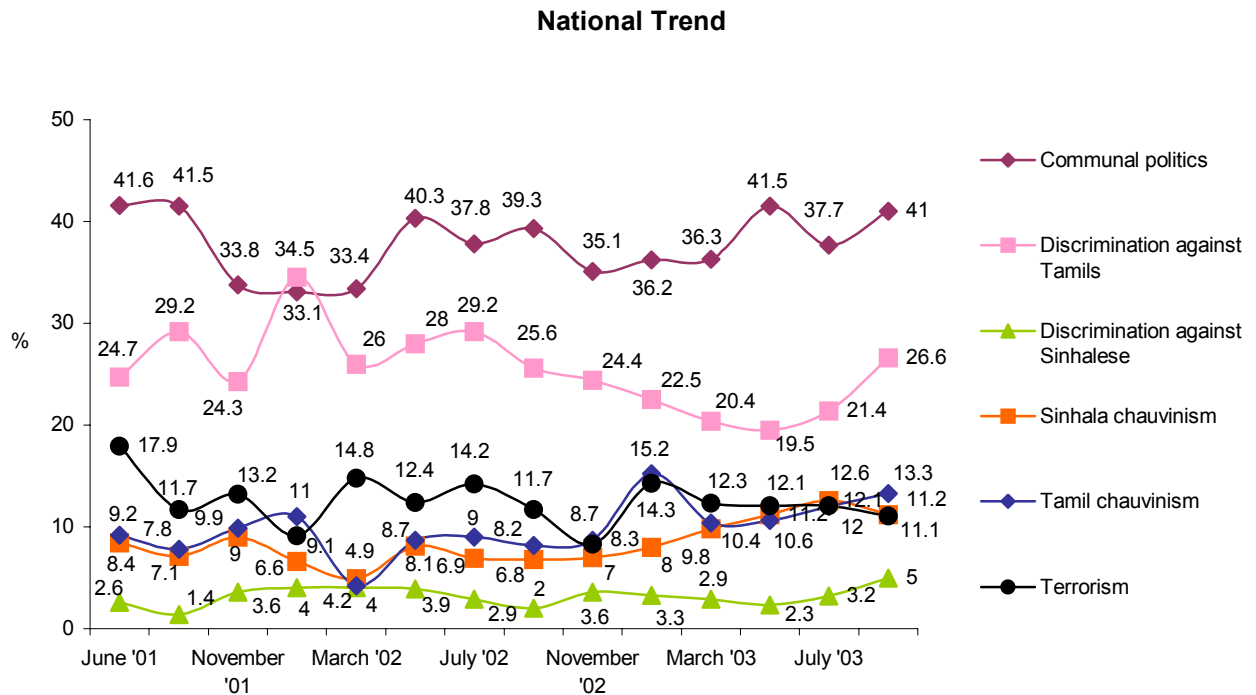
National Trend



Ethnic Breakdown

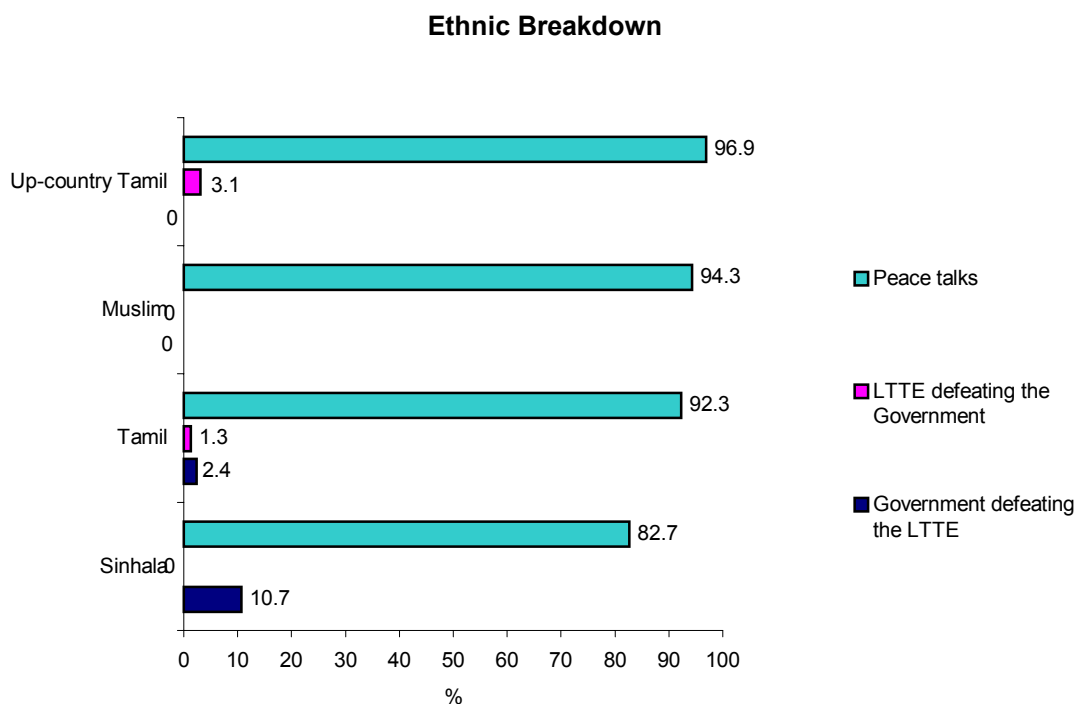
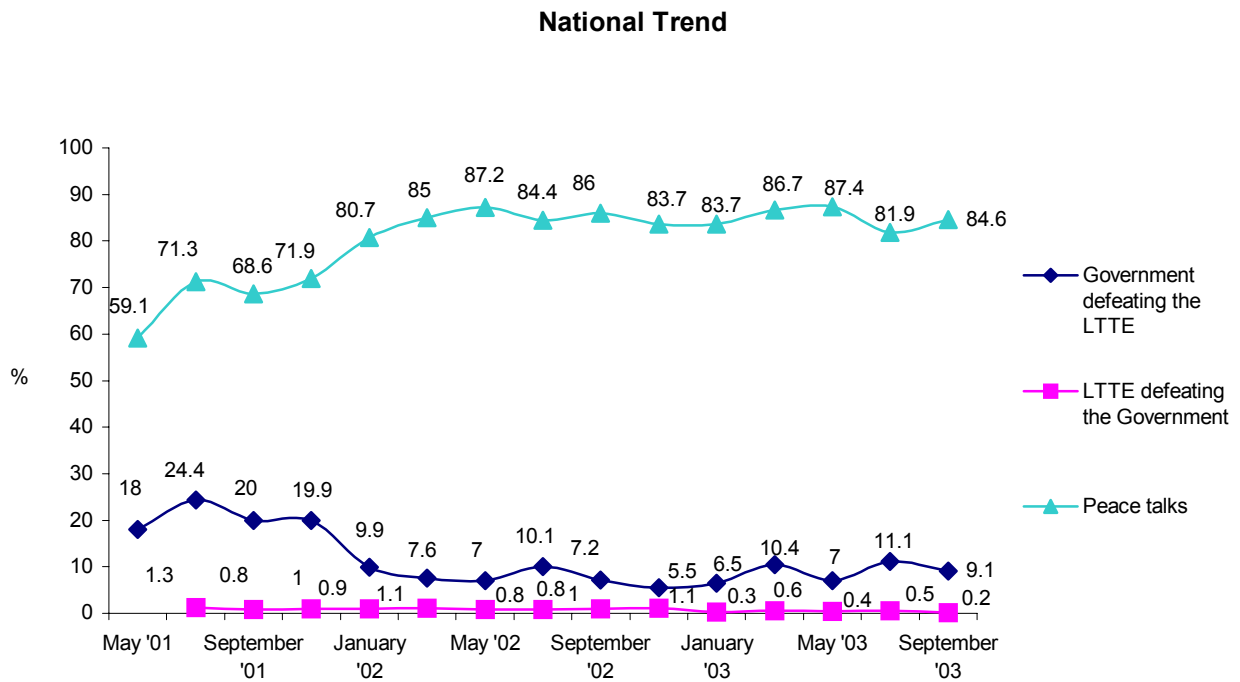


In your opinion what was the origin/cause(s) of the war in Sri Lanka? [Multiple Answers]



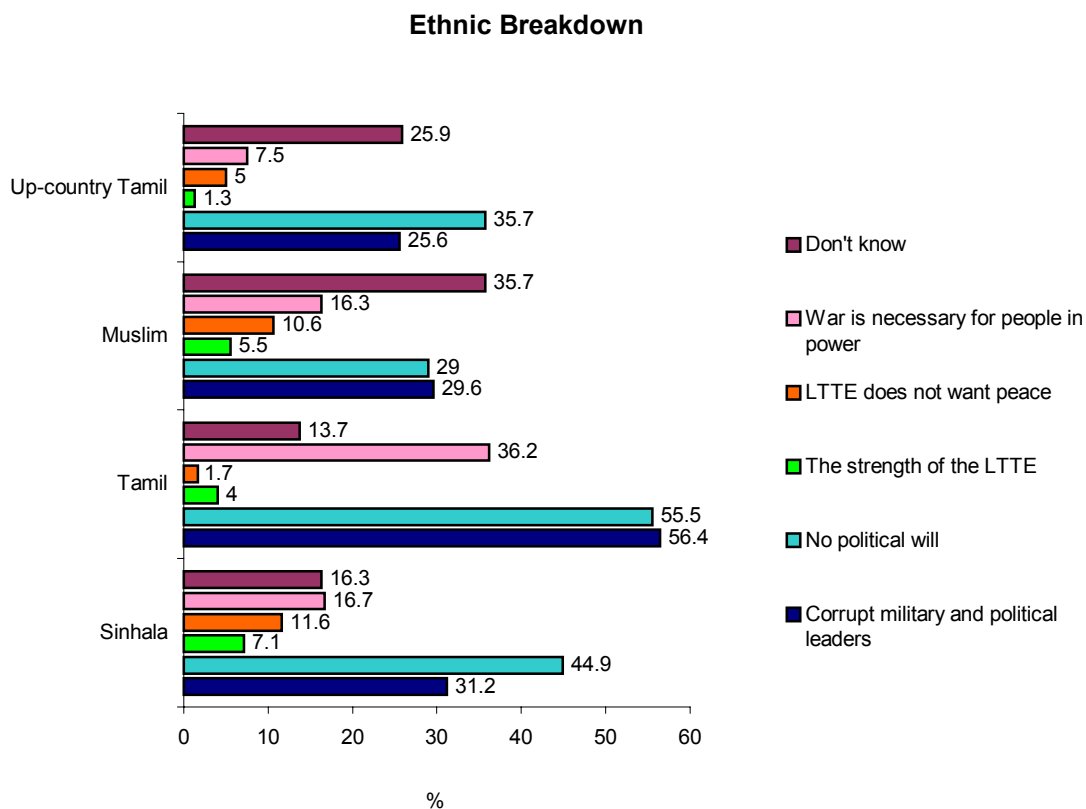
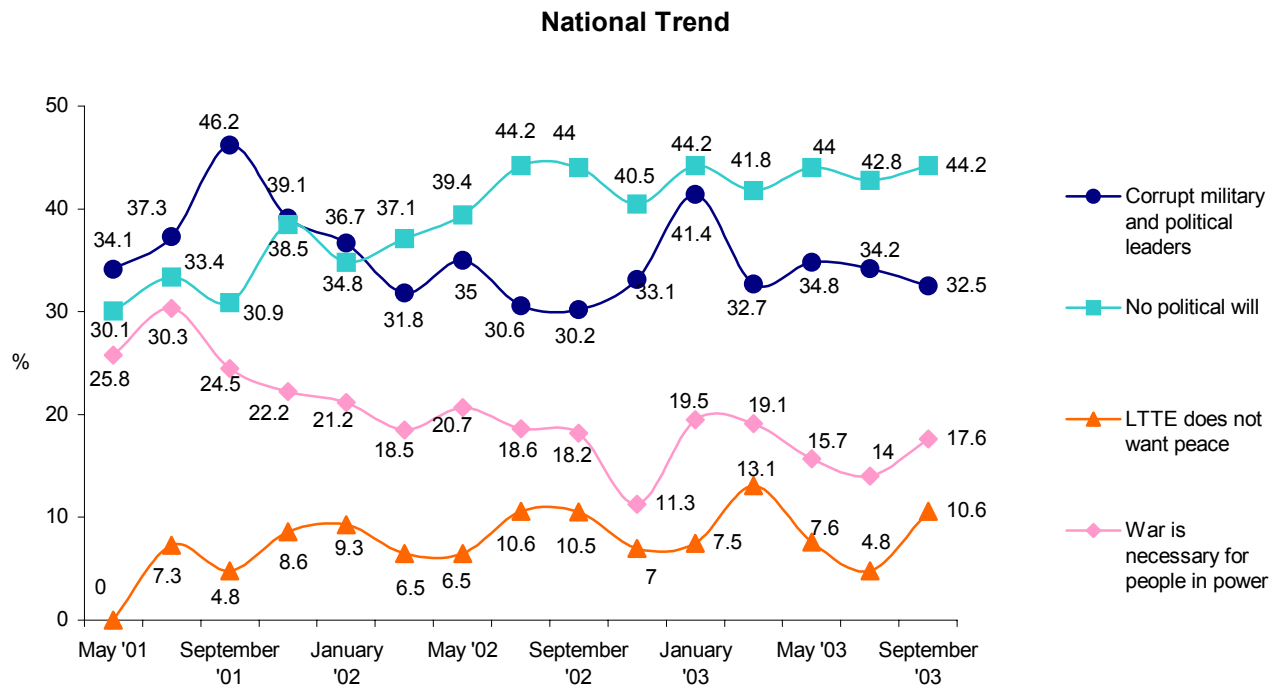
SOLUTIONS TO THE CONFLICT

How do you think we can end the war and have peace in Sri Lanka? [Multiple Answers]





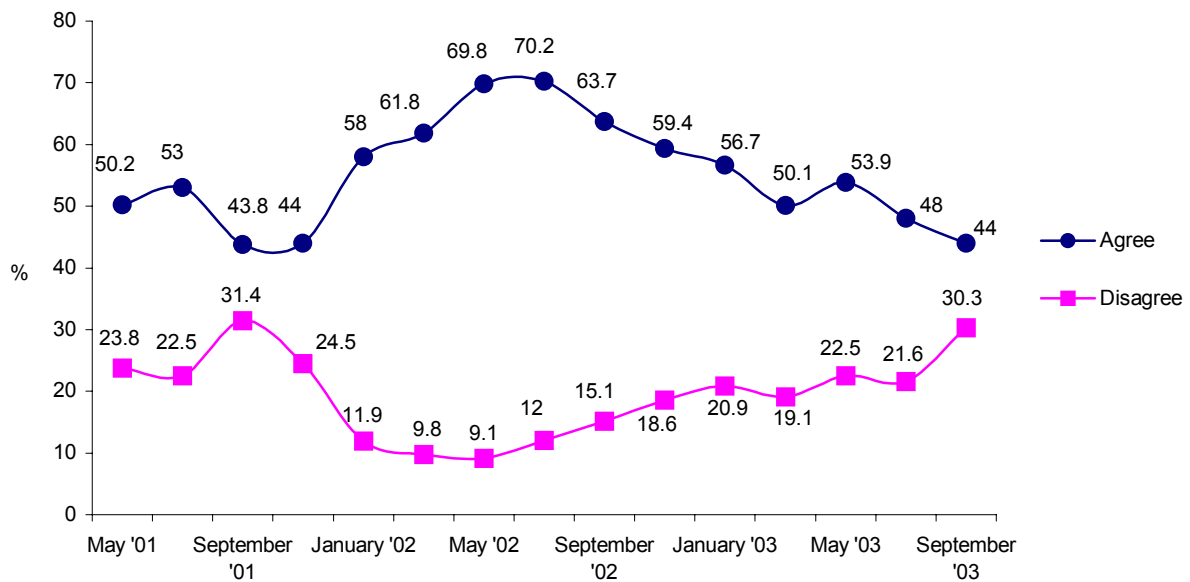
Why do you think there hasn't been a solution to the war for the last 15 odd years? [Multiple Answers]



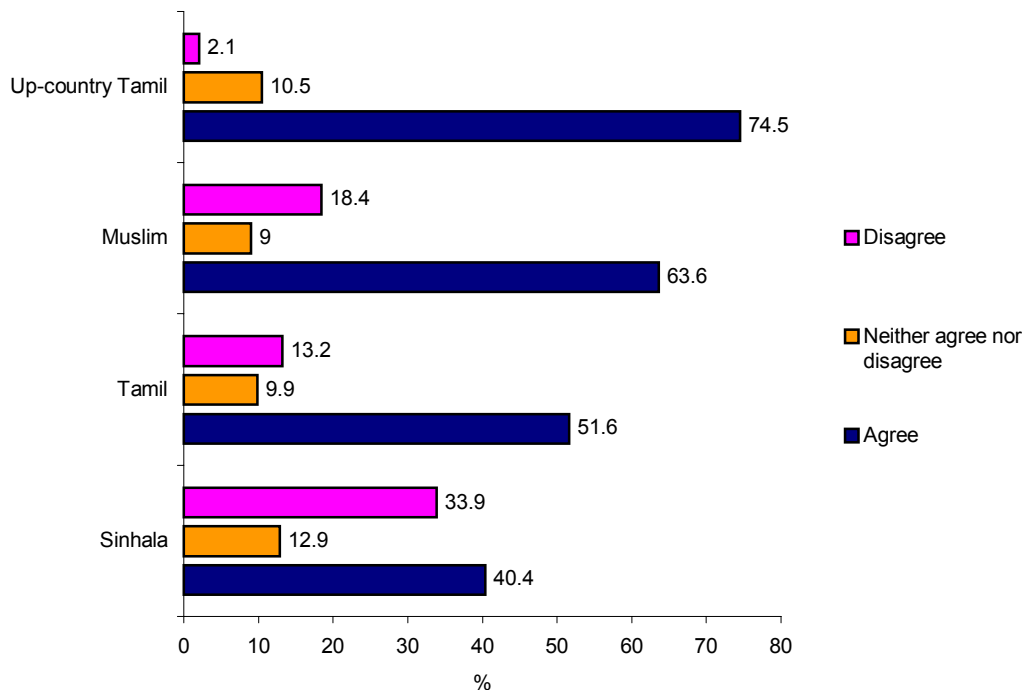
CONFIDENCE

I think the Government is committed to find peace through talks.

National Trend

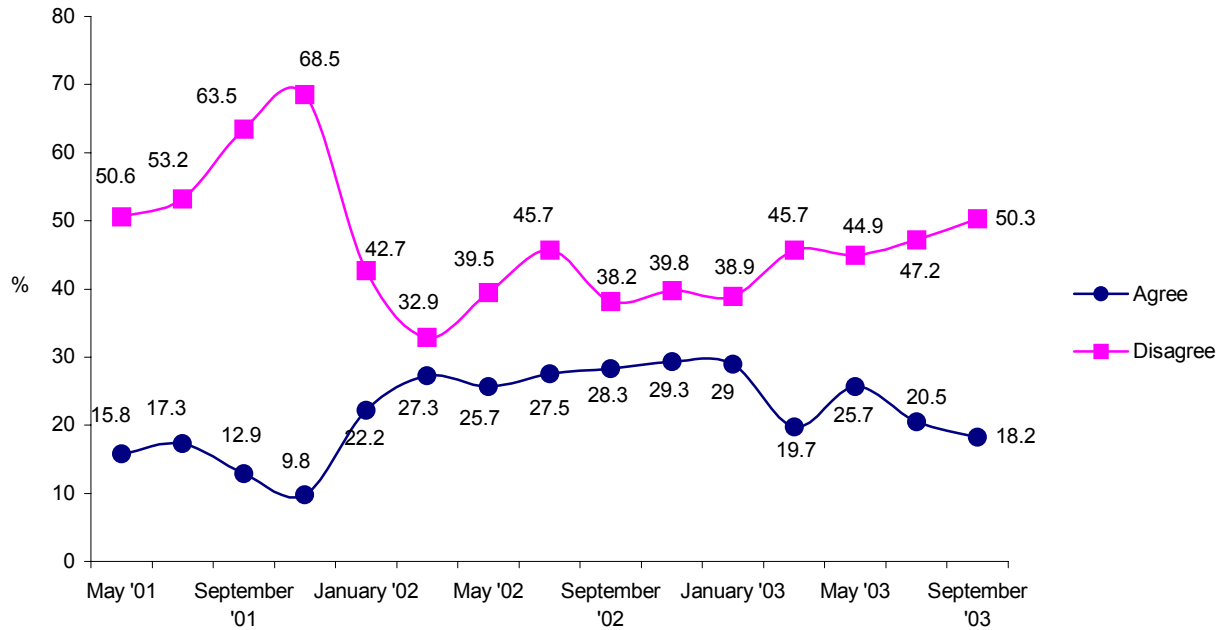


Ethnic Breakdown

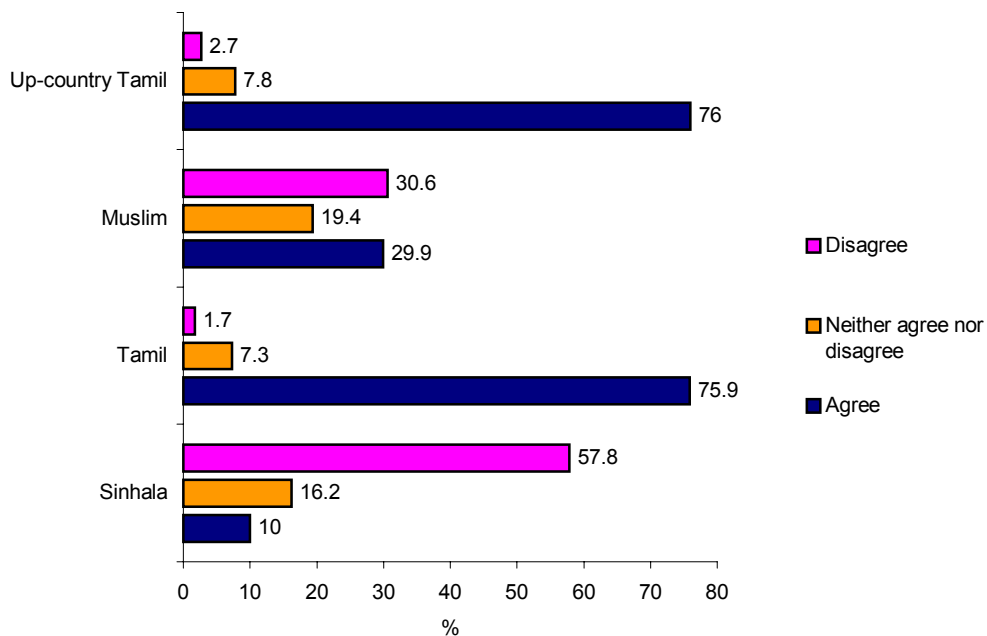


I think the LTTE is committed to find peace through talks.

National Trend



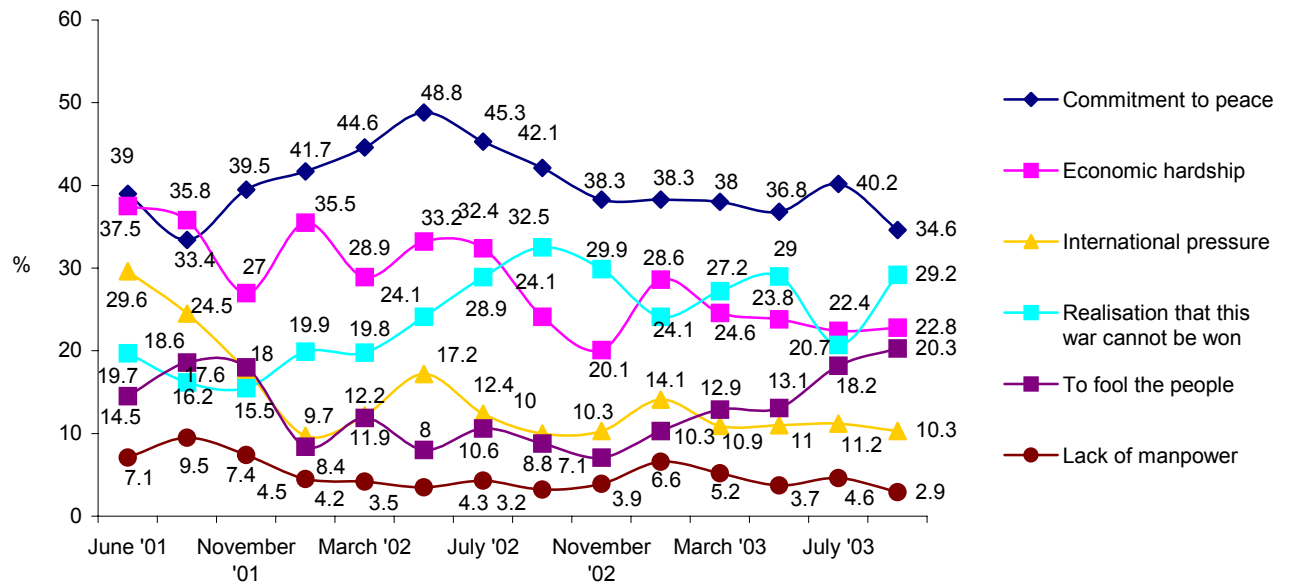
Ethnic Breakdown



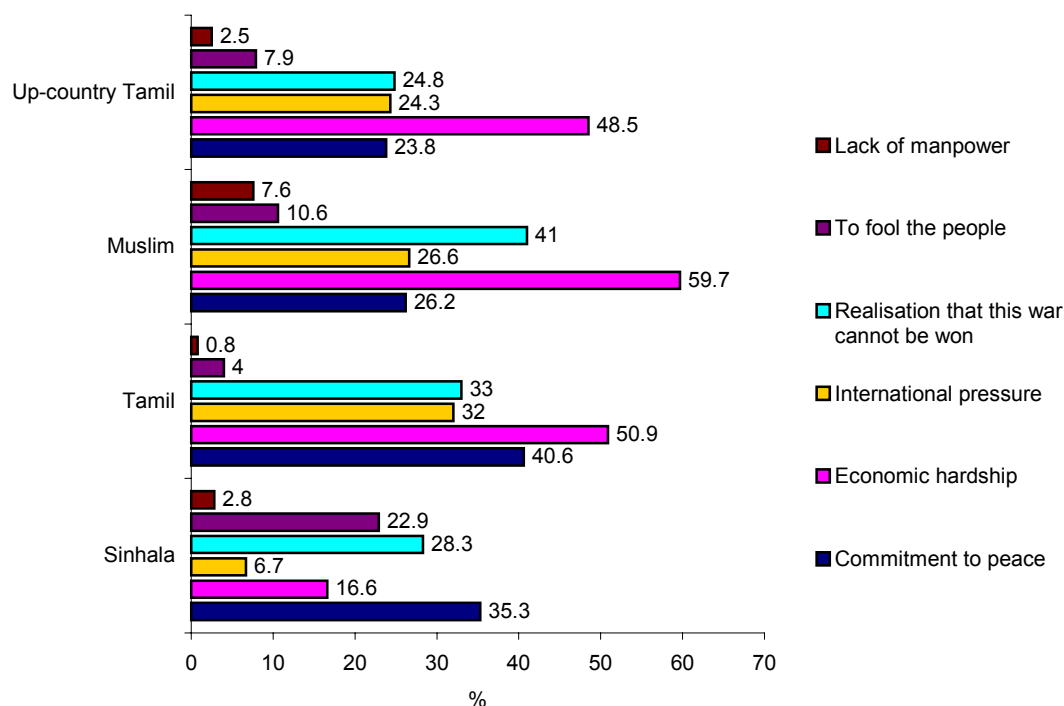


Why do you think that the Government goes in for talks? [Multiple Answers]

National Trend

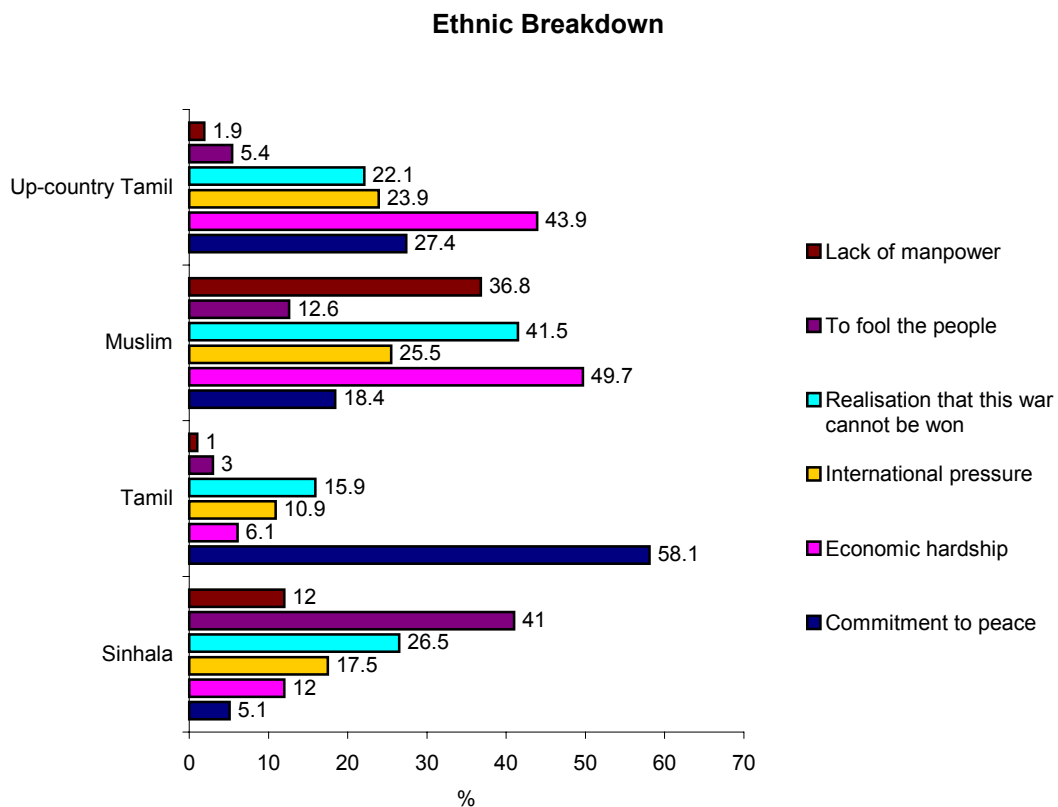
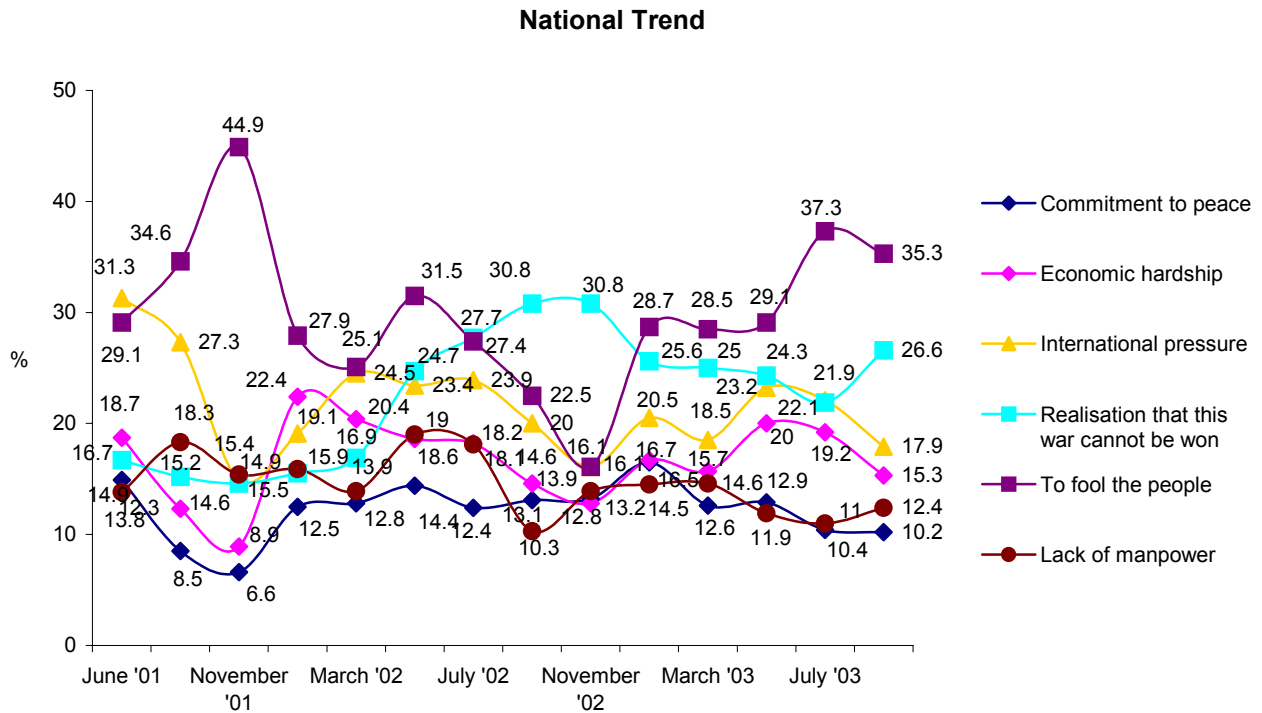


Ethnic Breakdown



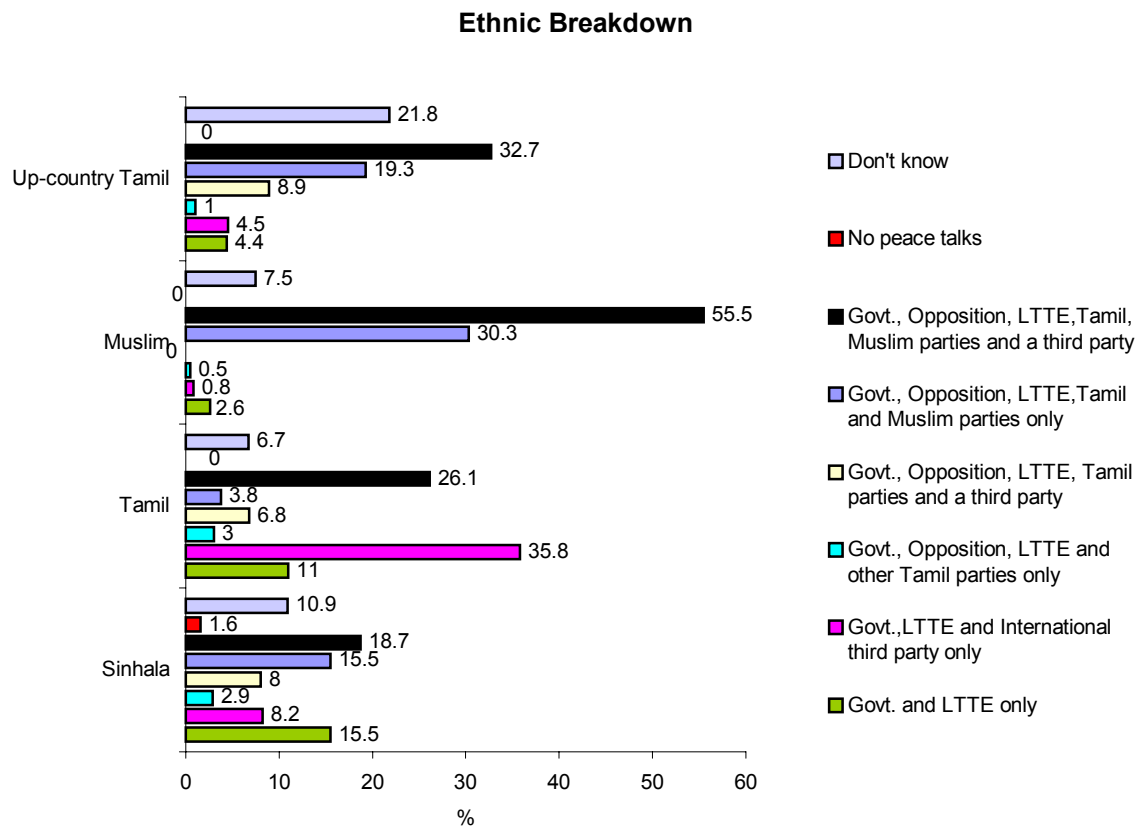
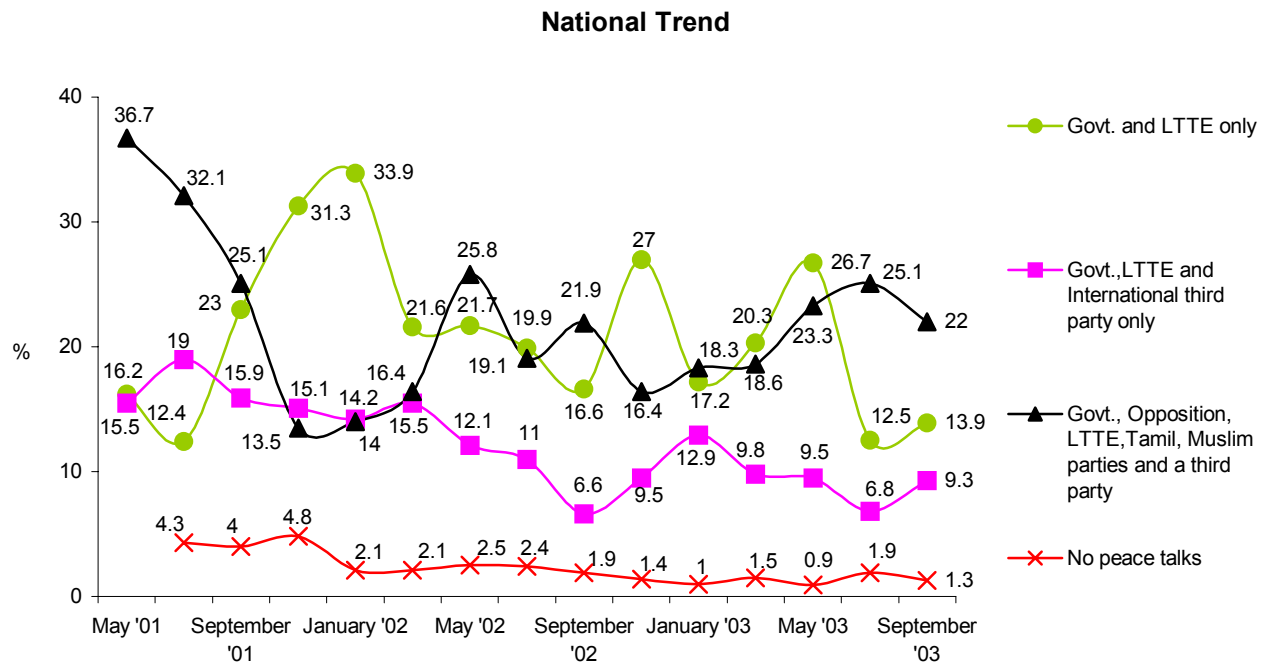


Why do you think that the LTTE goes in for talks? [Multiple Answers]



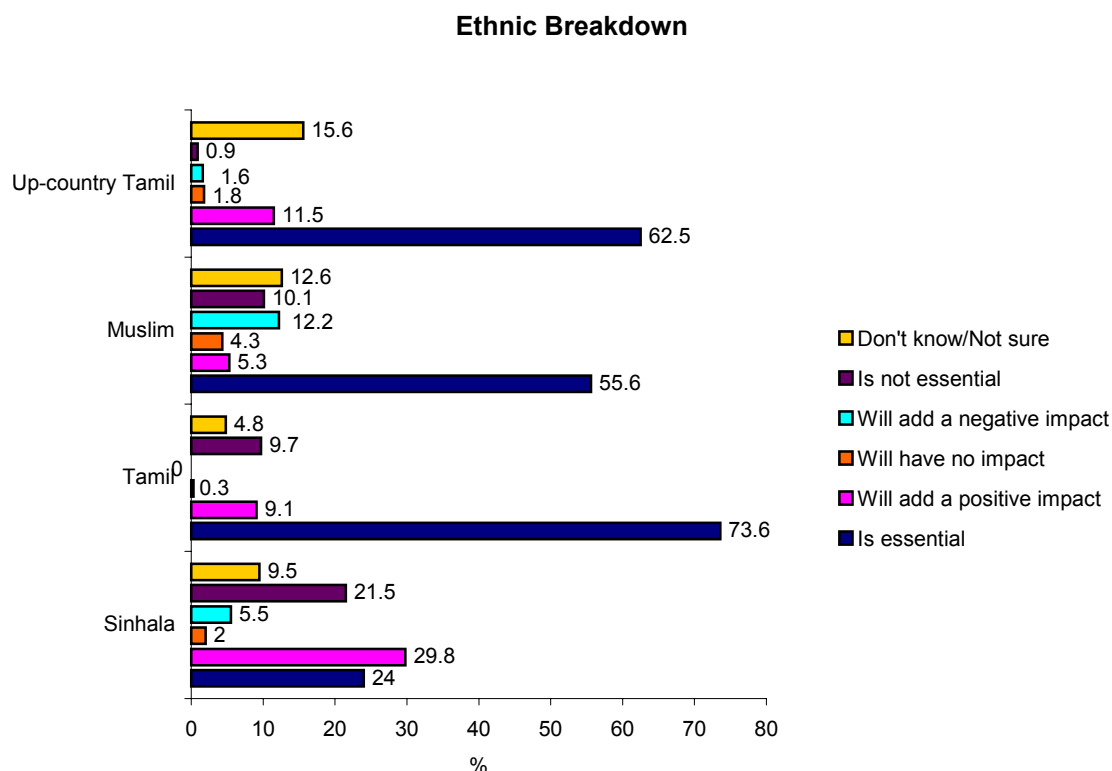
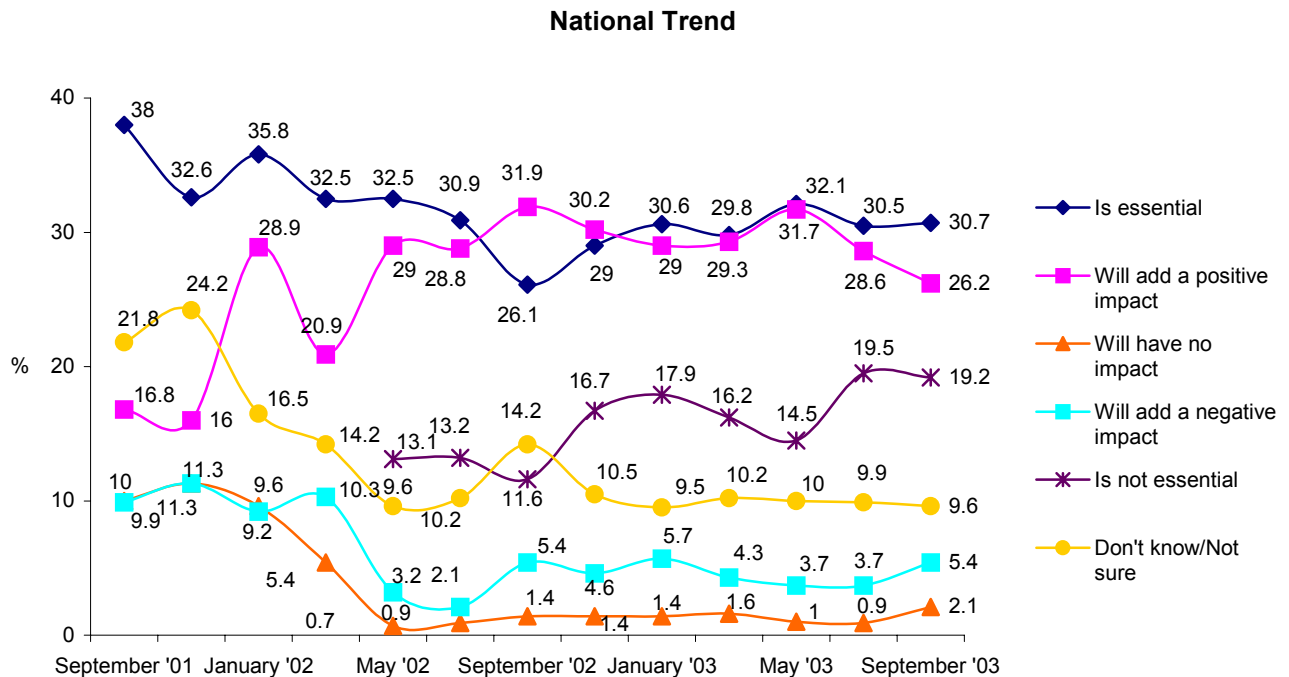
THE PEACE PROCESS

Who should be involved in negotiations?



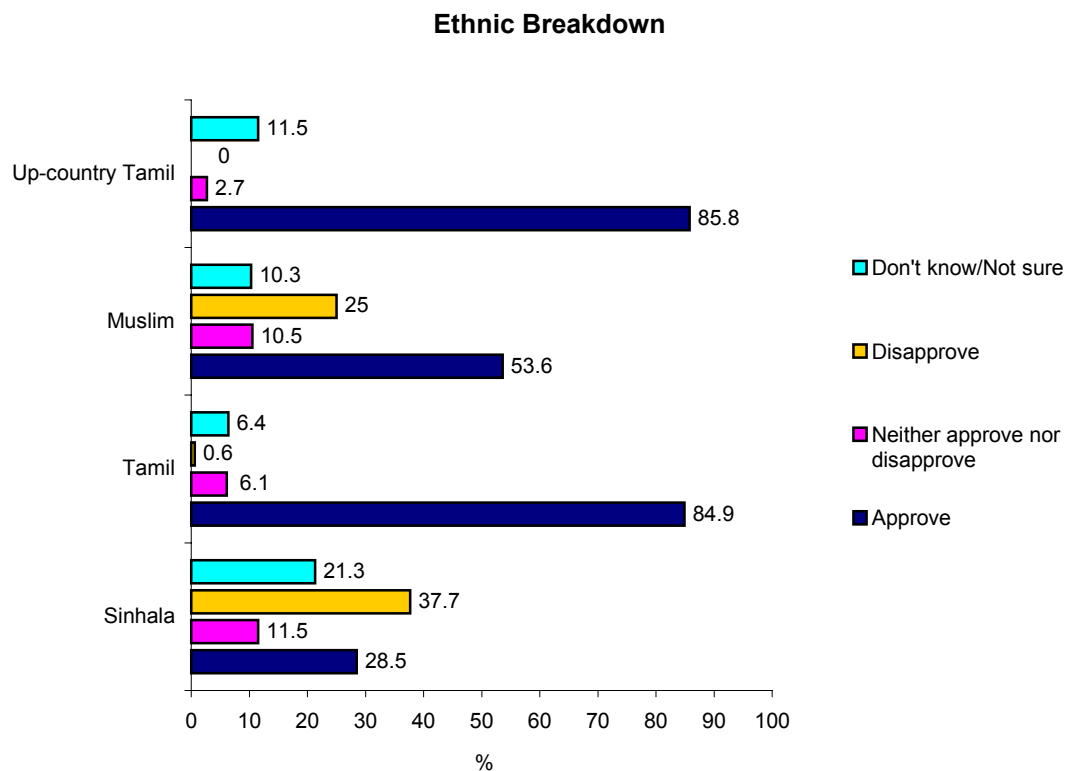
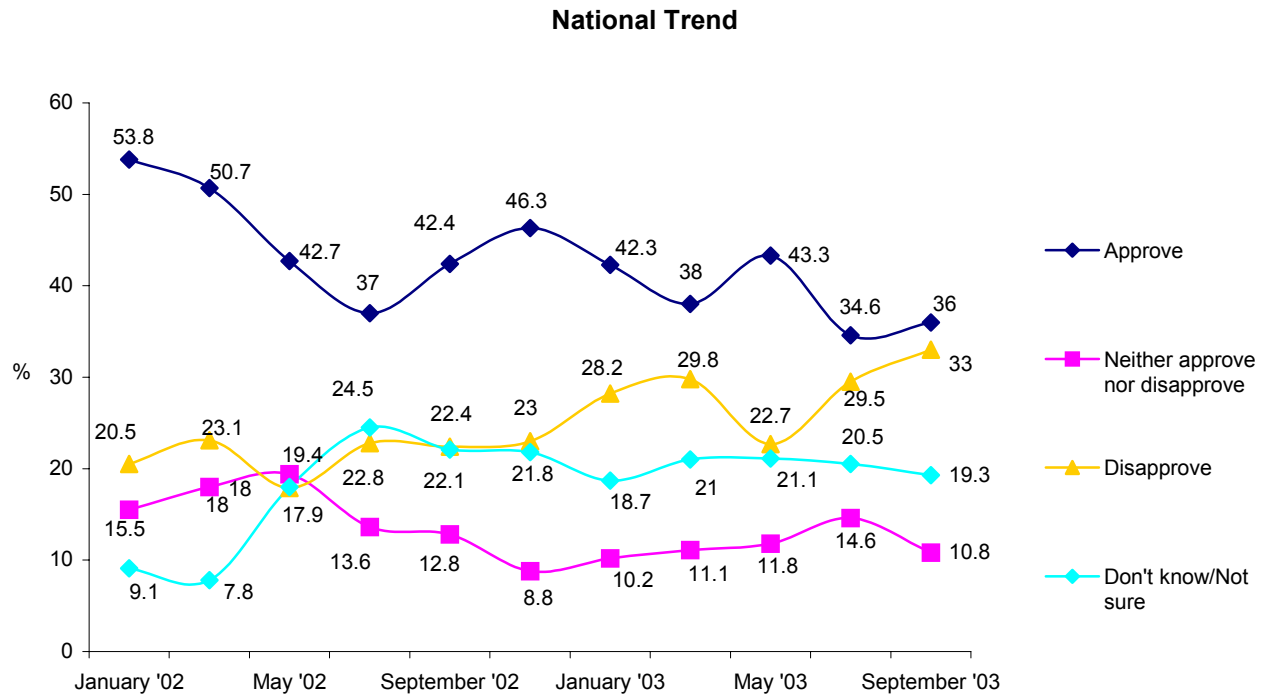
INTERNATIONAL THIRD PARTY FACILITATION

What is your opinion of the need for an international third party's involvement to solve the North East war in Sri Lanka?

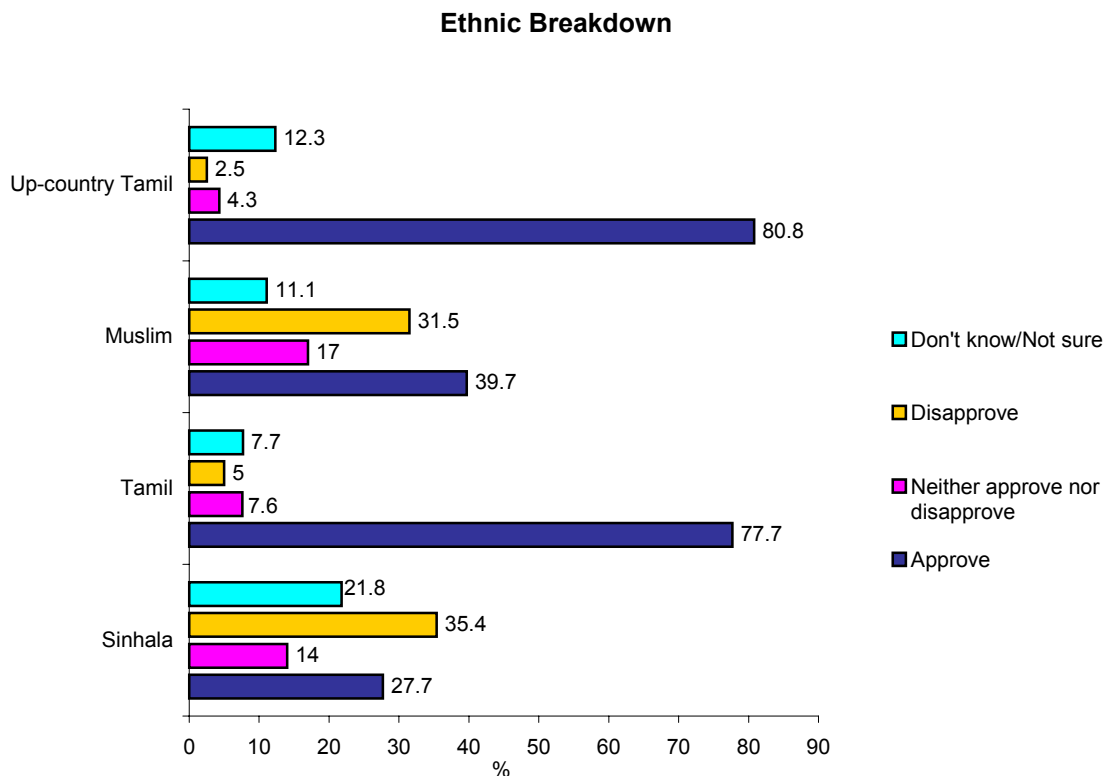
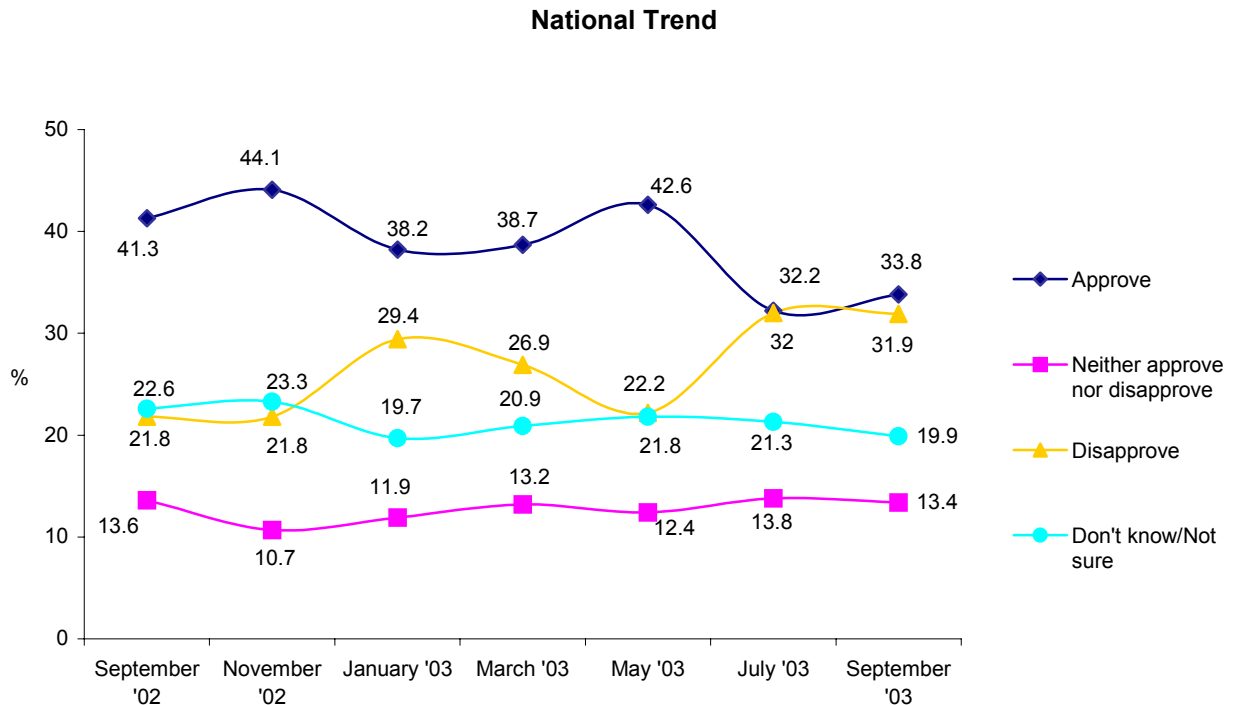


NORWEGIAN FACILITATION

Norway assisting in the Sri Lankan peace process

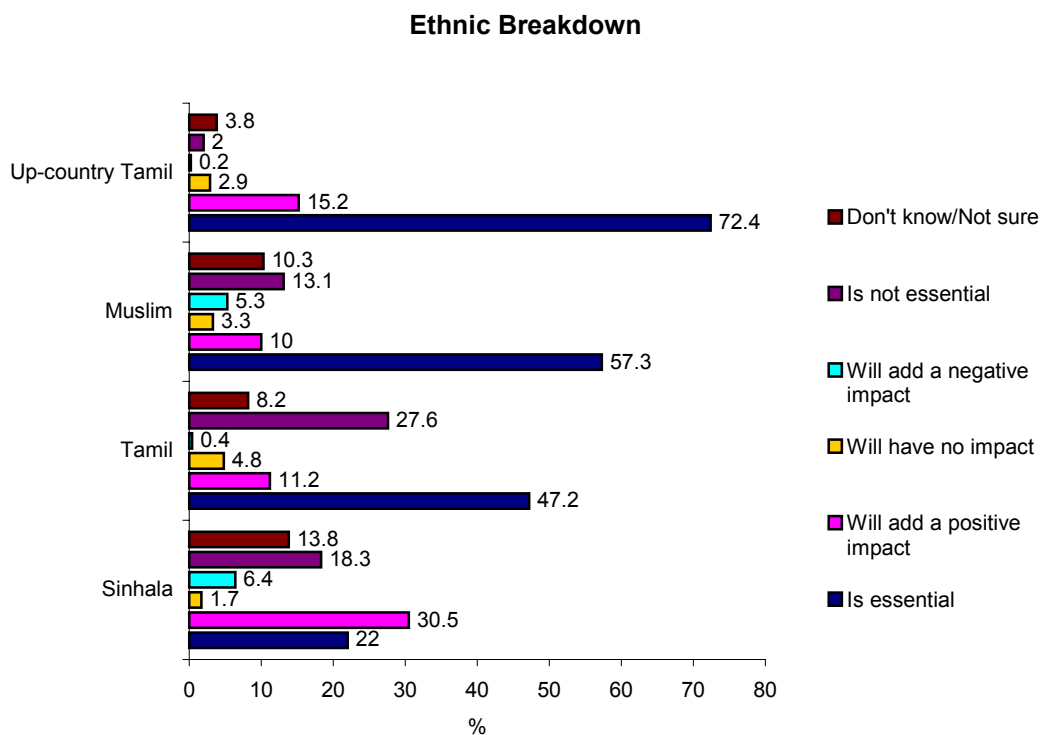
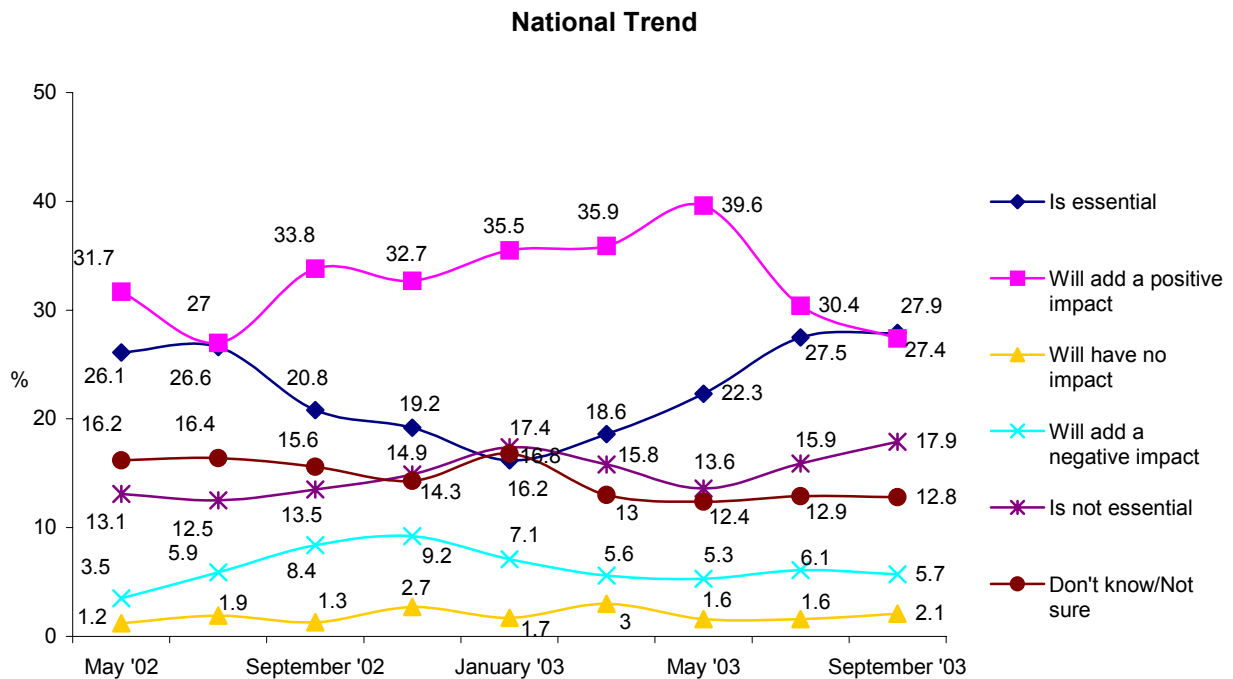


Norway continuing to facilitate talks.



INDIA'S INVOLVEMENT

What is your opinion of the need for India's involvement in the Sri Lankan peace process?

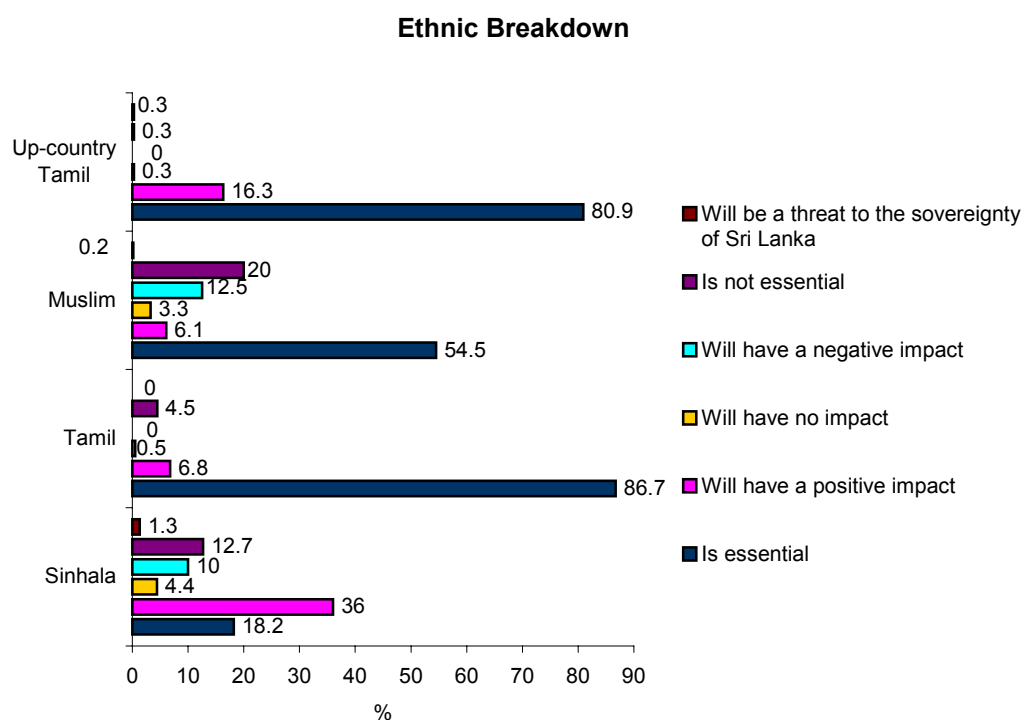
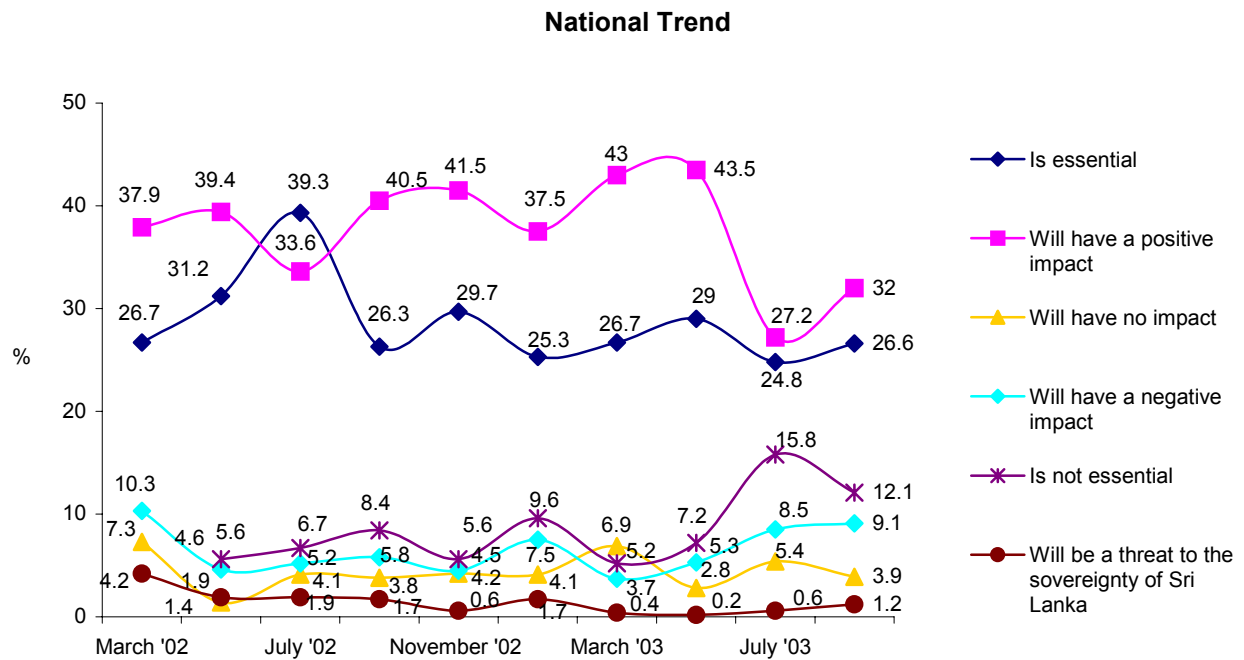




RECENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

SRI LANKA MONITORING MISSION

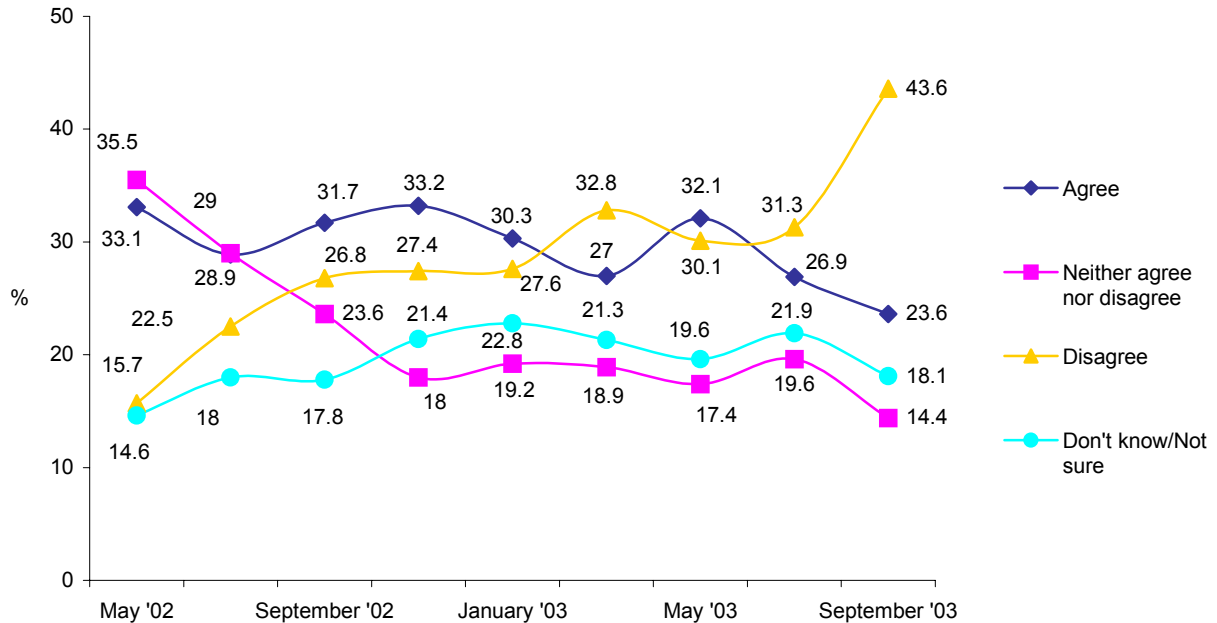
If you are aware of the involvement of foreign monitors in monitoring the ceasefire, what is your opinion of the need for such a monitoring mission for the ceasefire agreement to succeed?



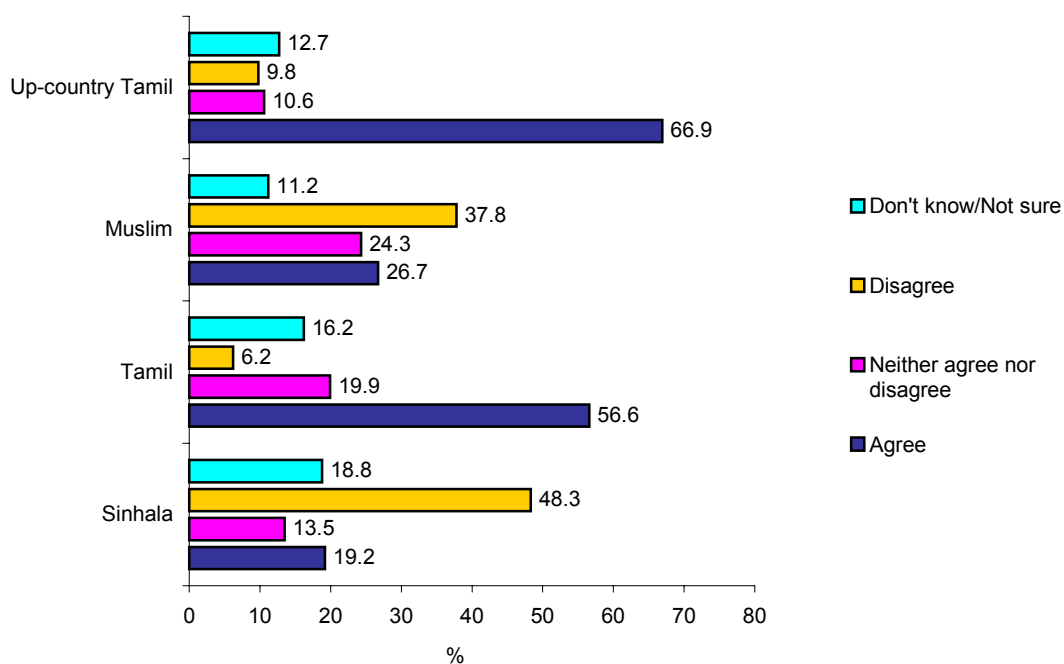


I think the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission is impartial in its monitoring of the ceasefire agreement.

National Trend

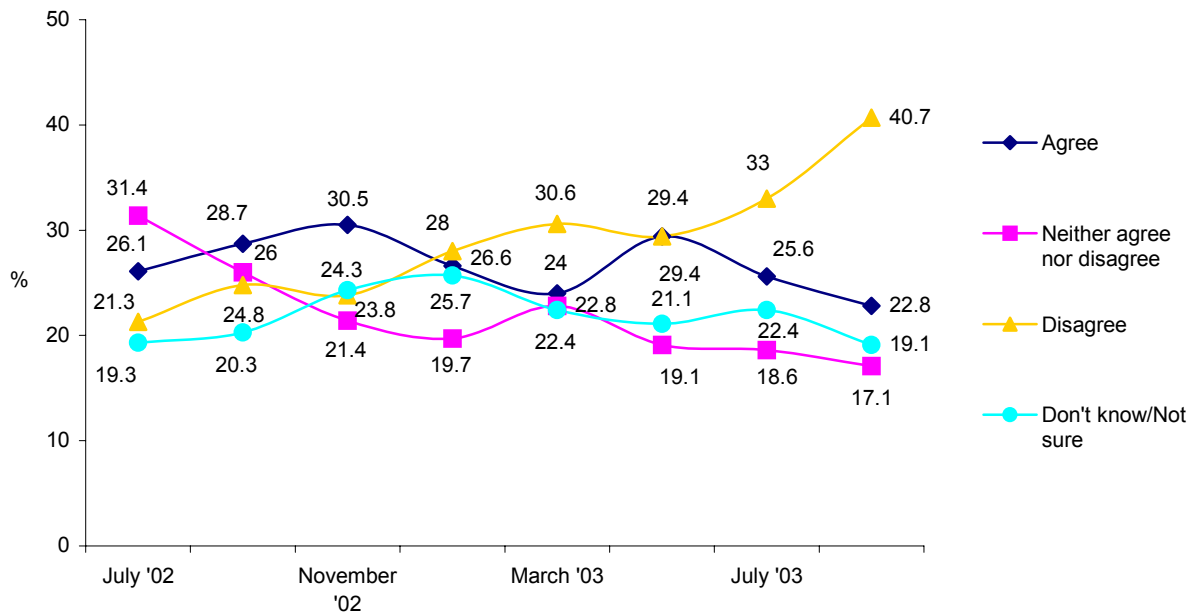


Ethnic Breakdown

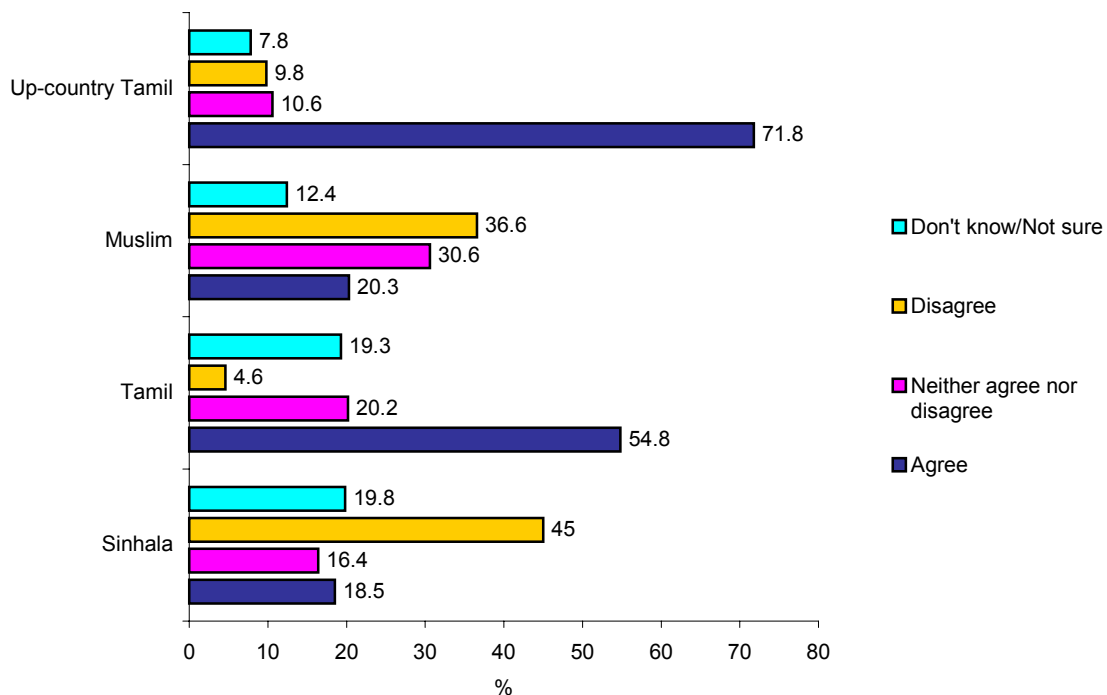


I think the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission is effective in its monitoring of the ceasefire agreement.

National Trend



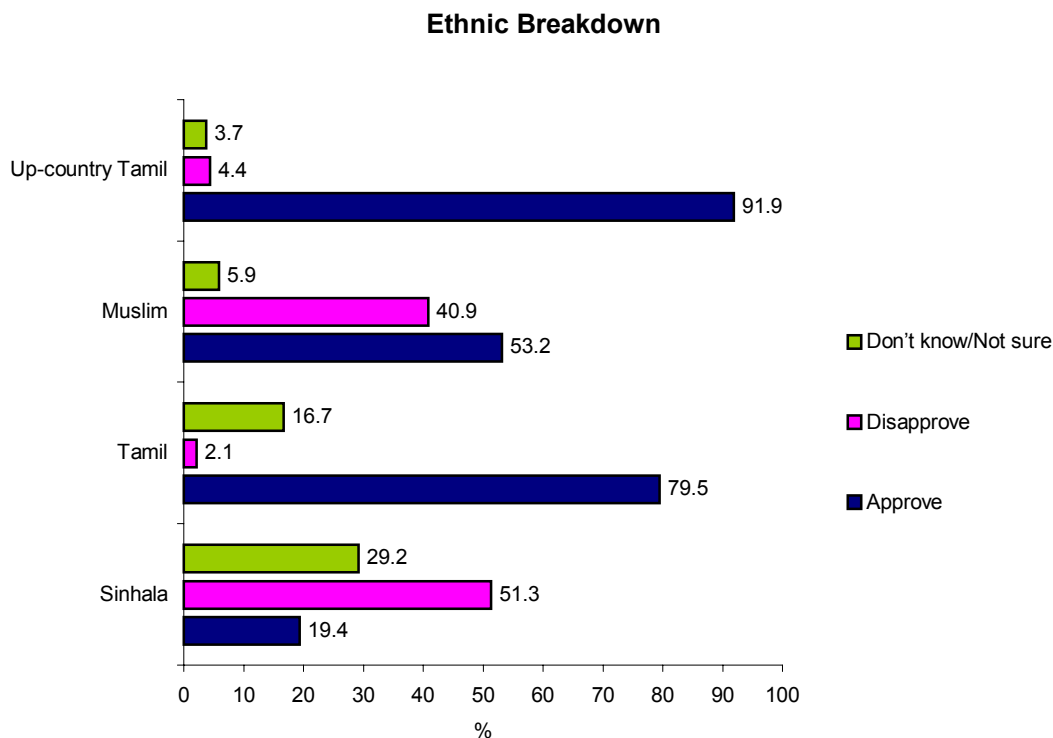
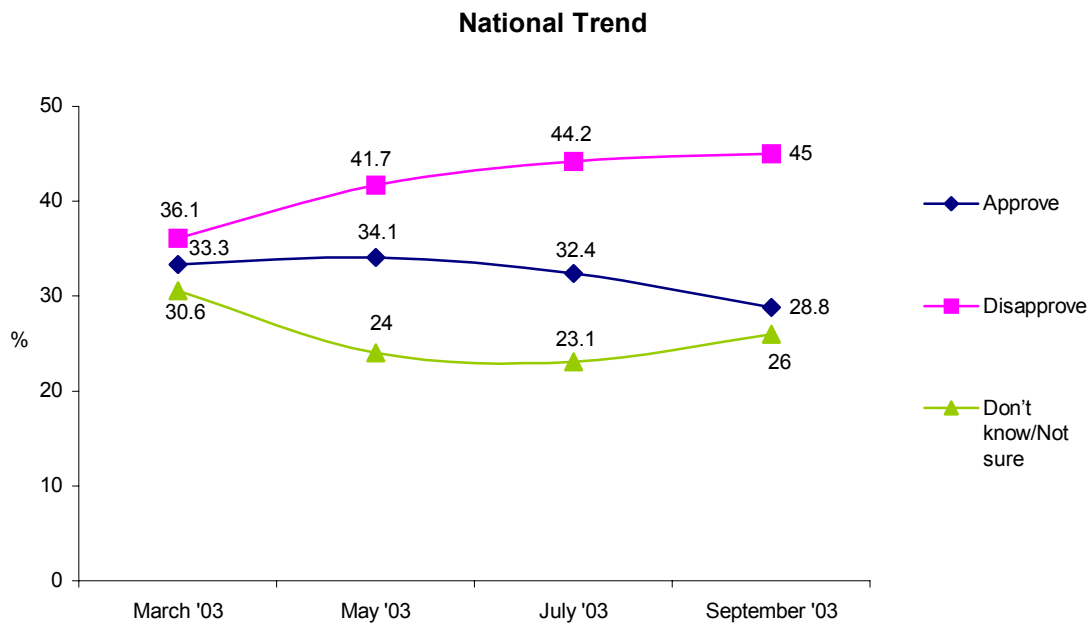
Ethnic Breakdown





FEDERAL SOLUTION

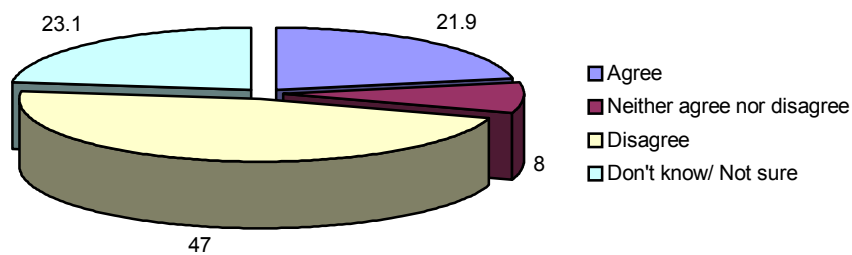
If you are aware that the Government and the LTTE have announced that they are committed to finding a solution based on federalism within a united Sri Lanka, please tell me if you approve or disapprove of this agreement?



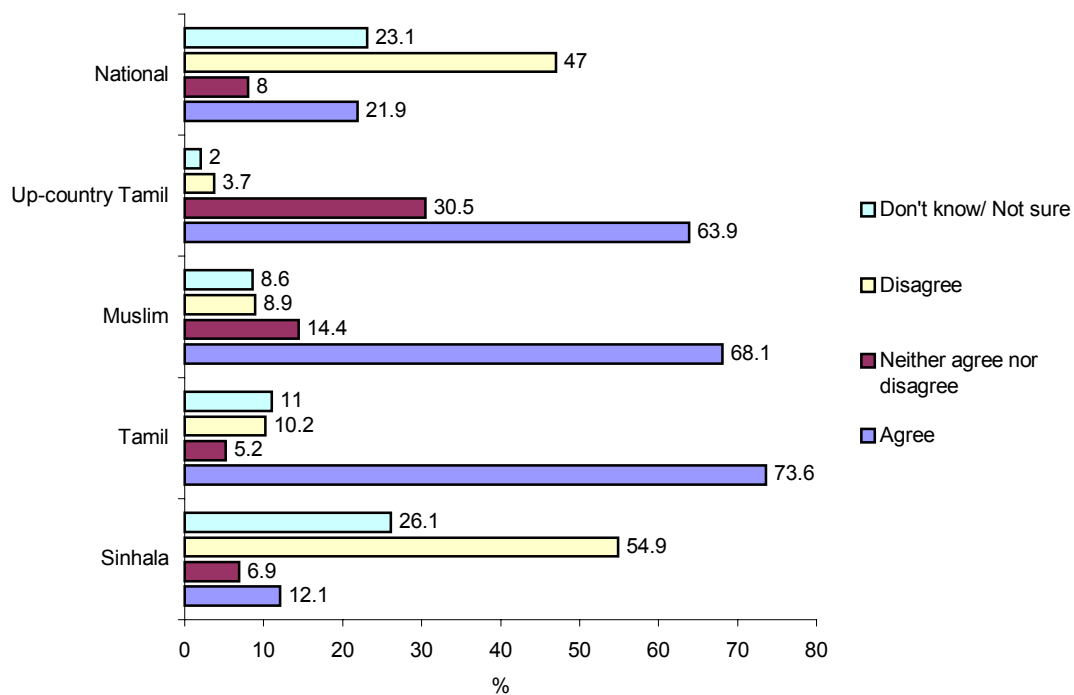


I believe a federal system is the best way of governing this country.

National Breakdown



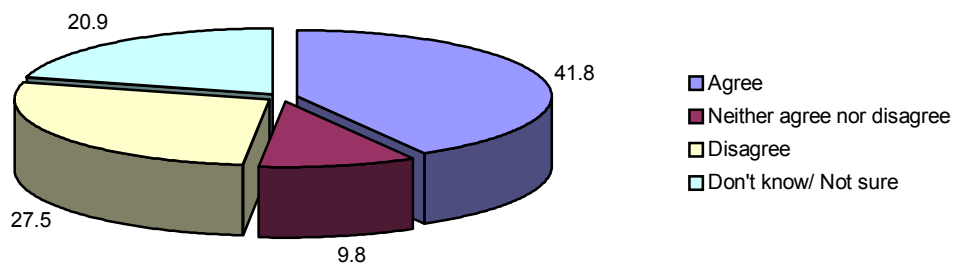
Ethnic Breakdown



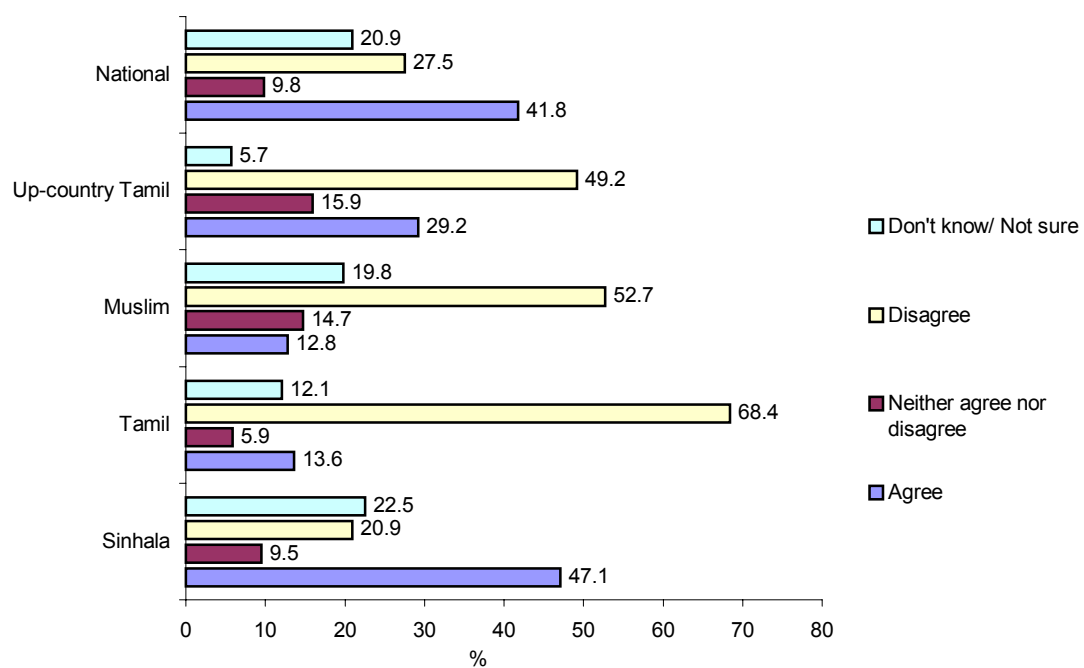


I think a federal state will lead to secession.

National Breakdown



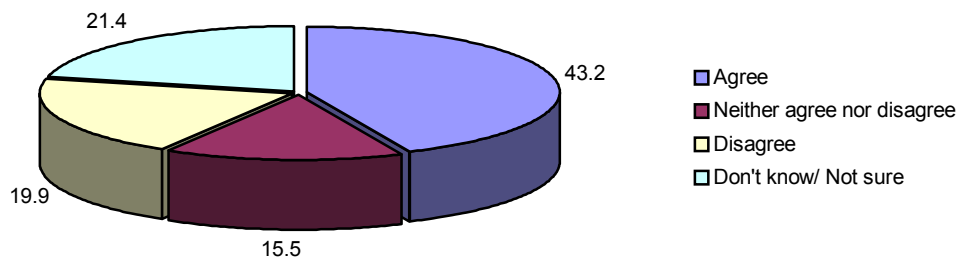
Ethnic Breakdown



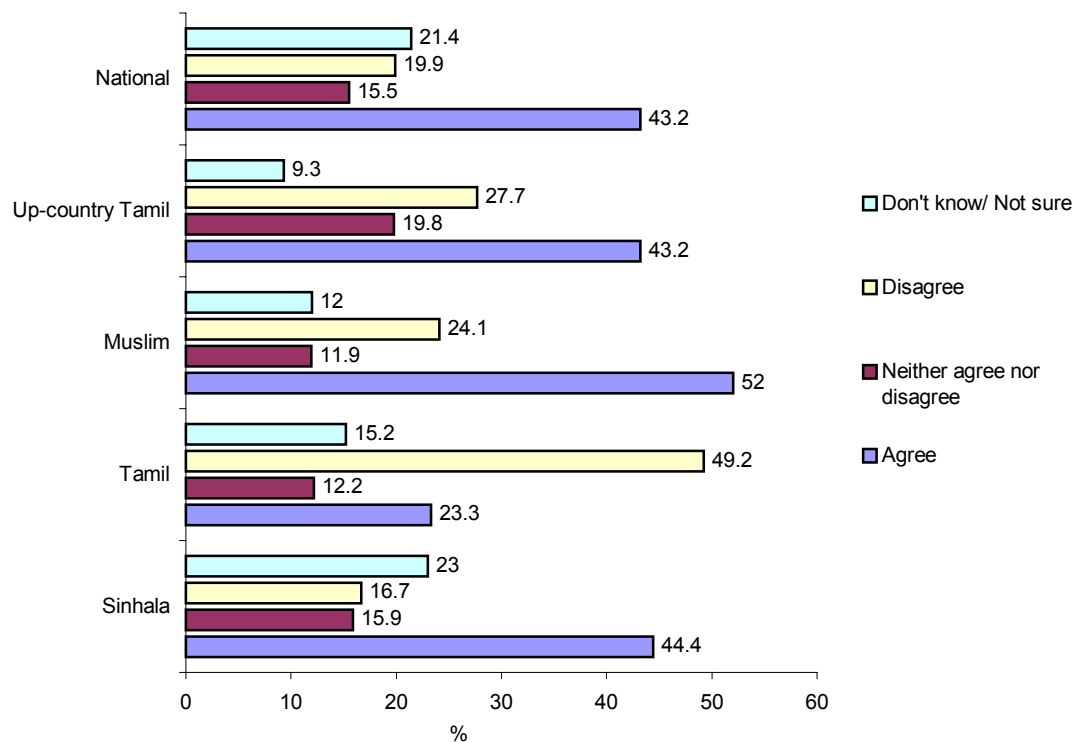


Within a federal structure Tamils will have more benefits.

National Breakdown



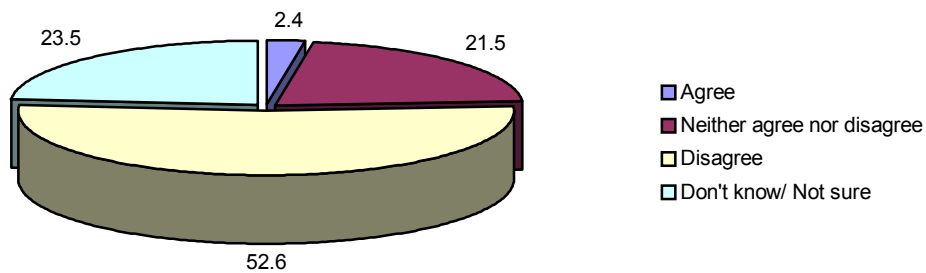
Ethnic Breakdown



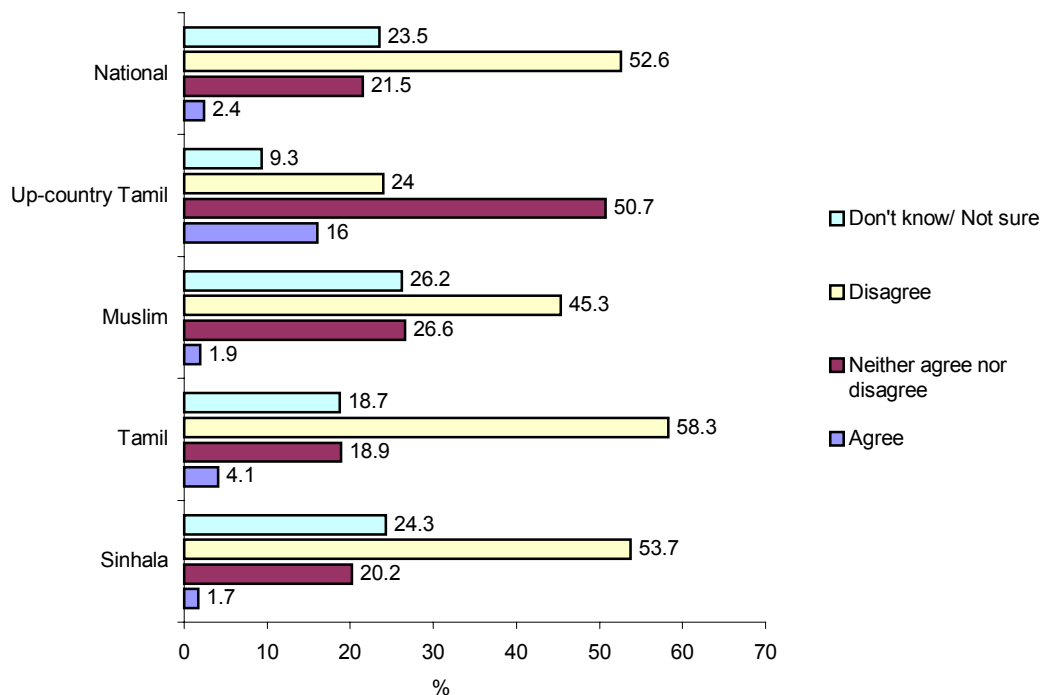


Within a federal structure Sinhalese will have more benefits.

National Breakdown



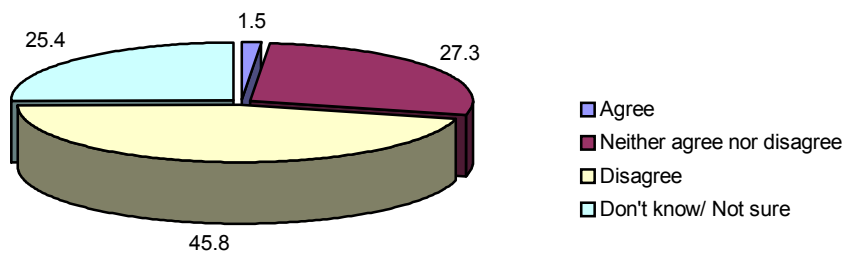
Ethnic Breakdown



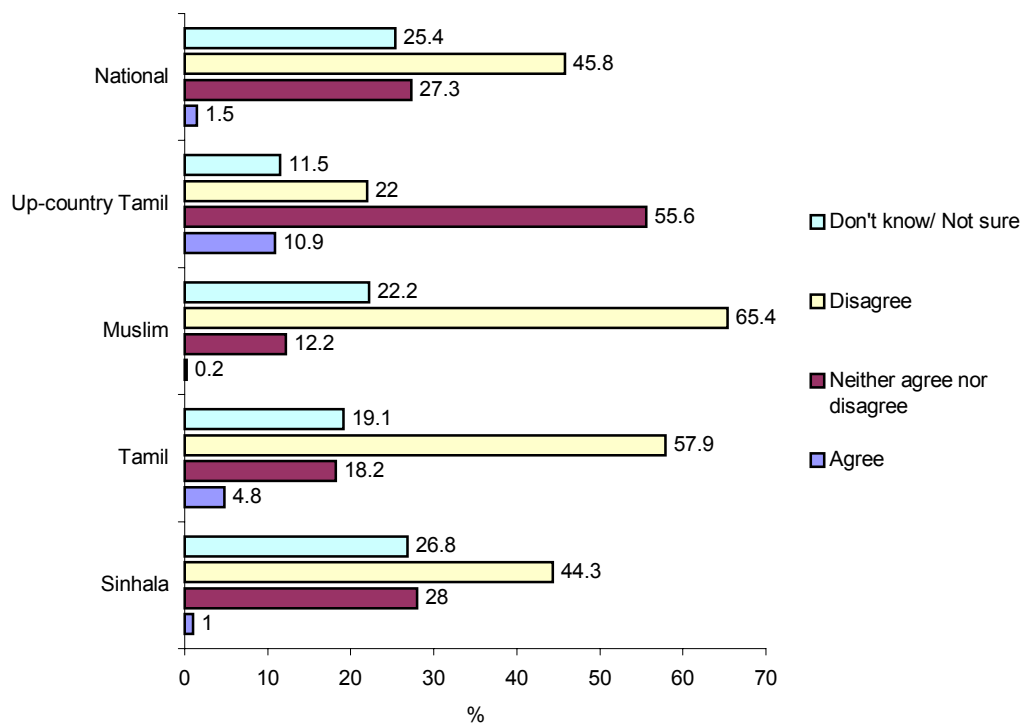


Within a federal structure Muslims will have more benefits.

National Breakdown



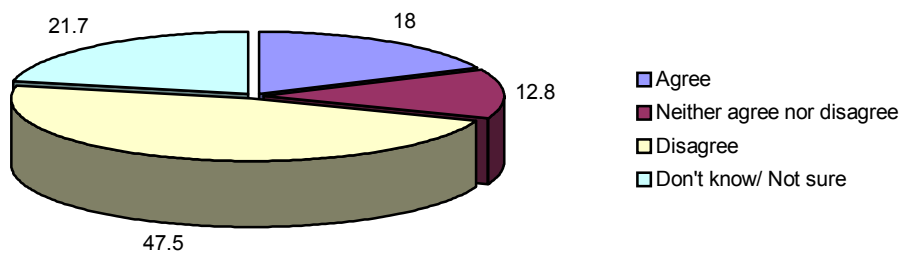
Ethnic Breakdown



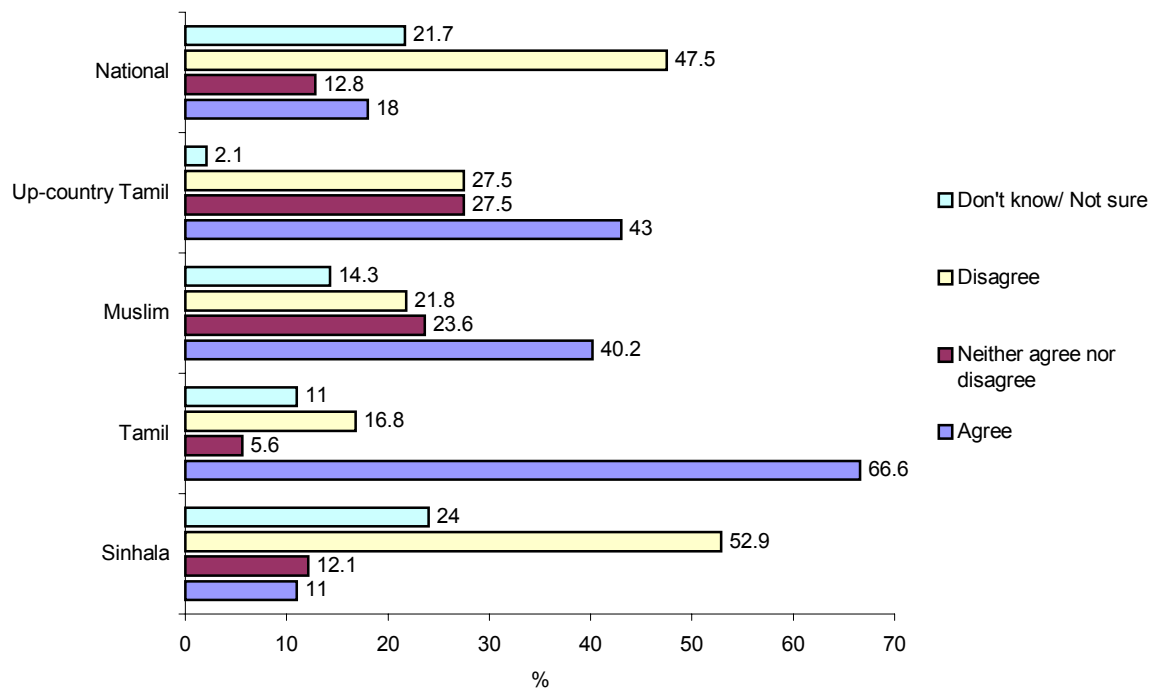


Within a federal structure everyone will equally benefit.

National Breakdown



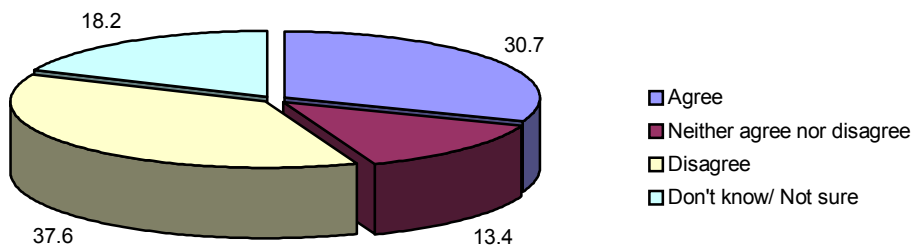
Ethnic Breakdown



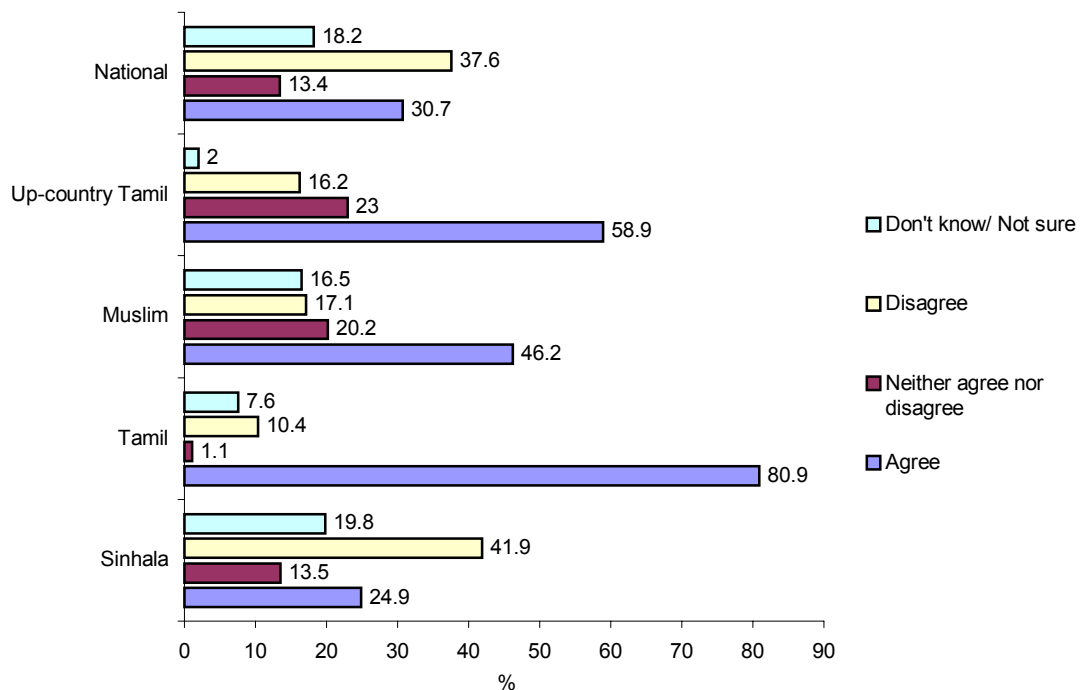


I will agree with a federal solution if it is approved by a majority of Sri Lankans.

National Breakdown



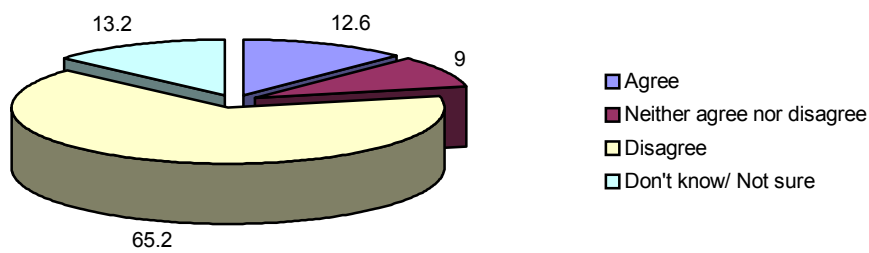
Ethnic Breakdown



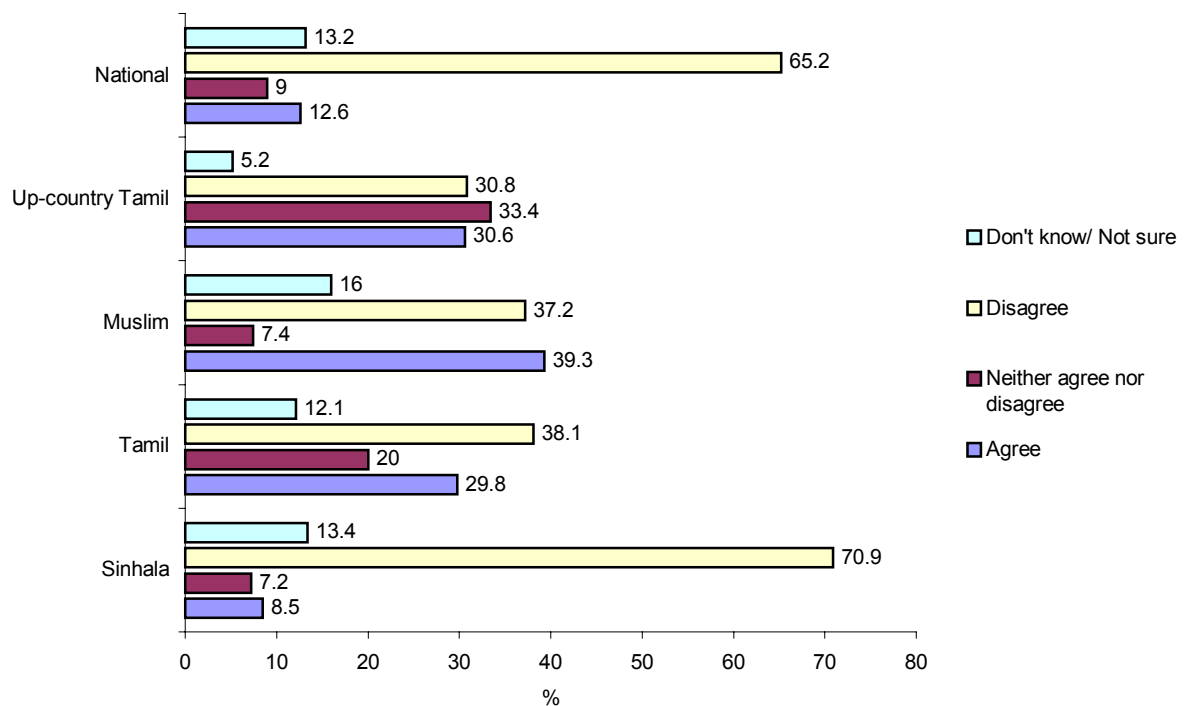


I think people are being adequately informed about federalism.

National Breakdown



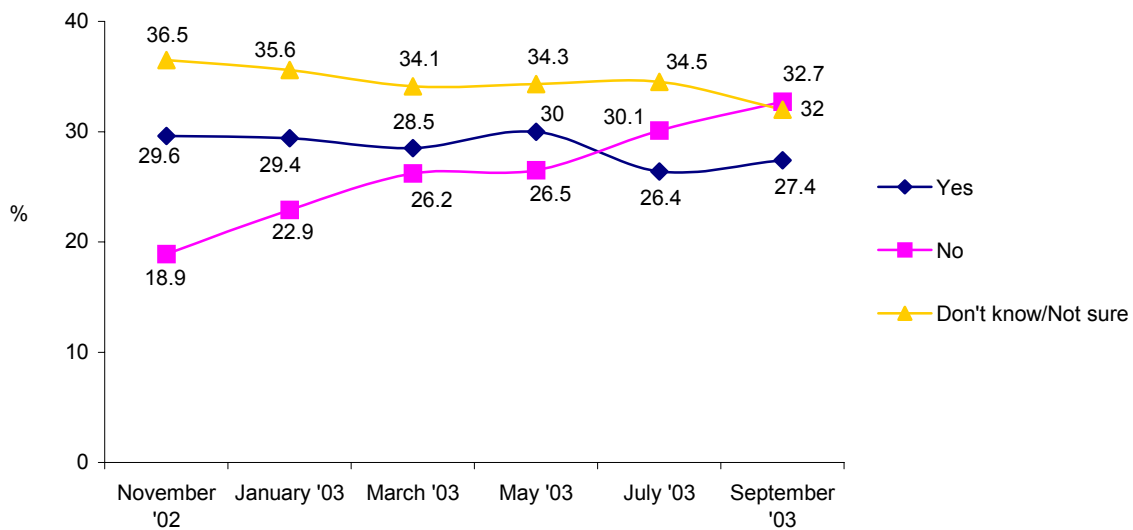
Ethnic Breakdown



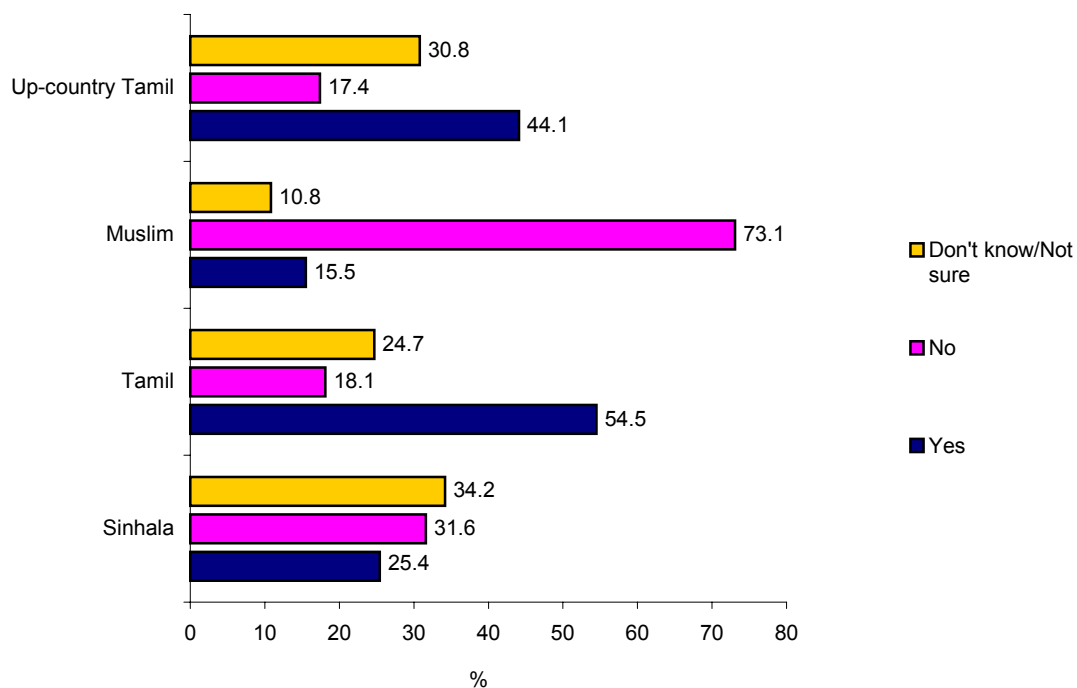
THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY

Do you think that the interests and concerns of the Muslims of the East are being adequately represented in the peace talks?

National Trend

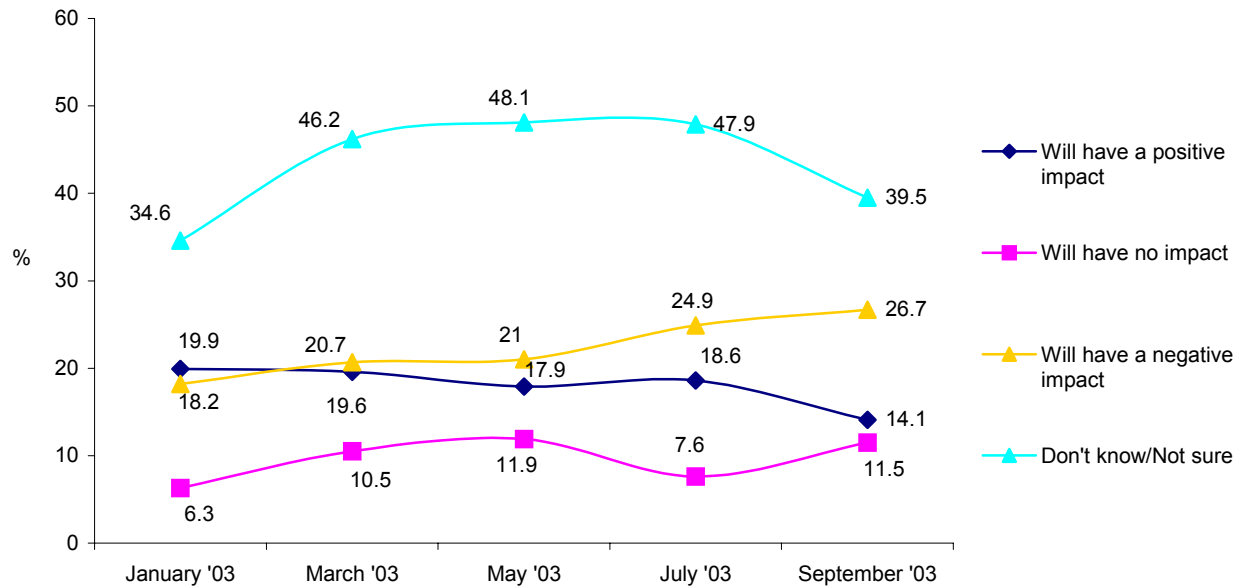


Ethnic Breakdown

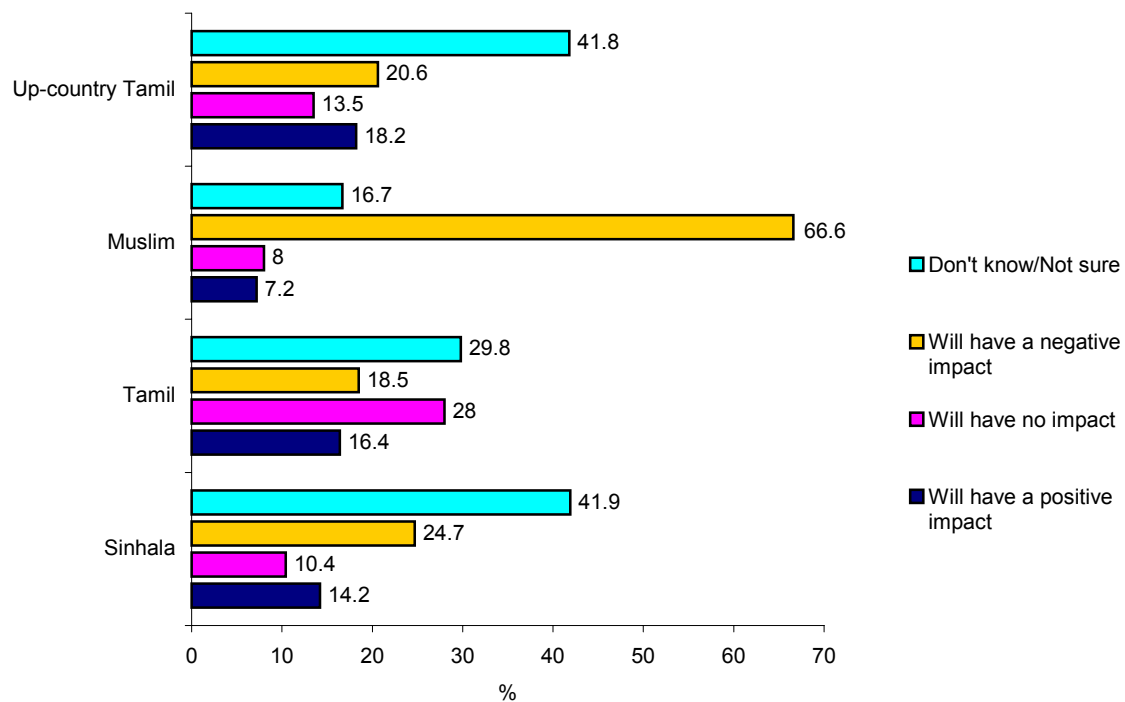


What in your opinion will be the impact of this on the peace process?

National Trend



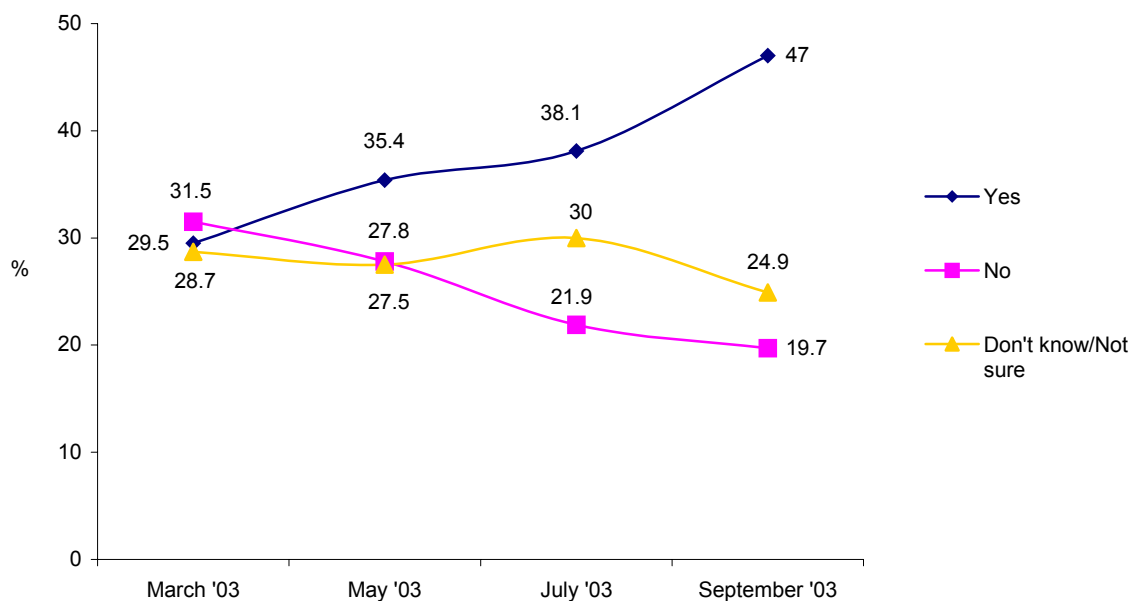
Ethnic Breakdown



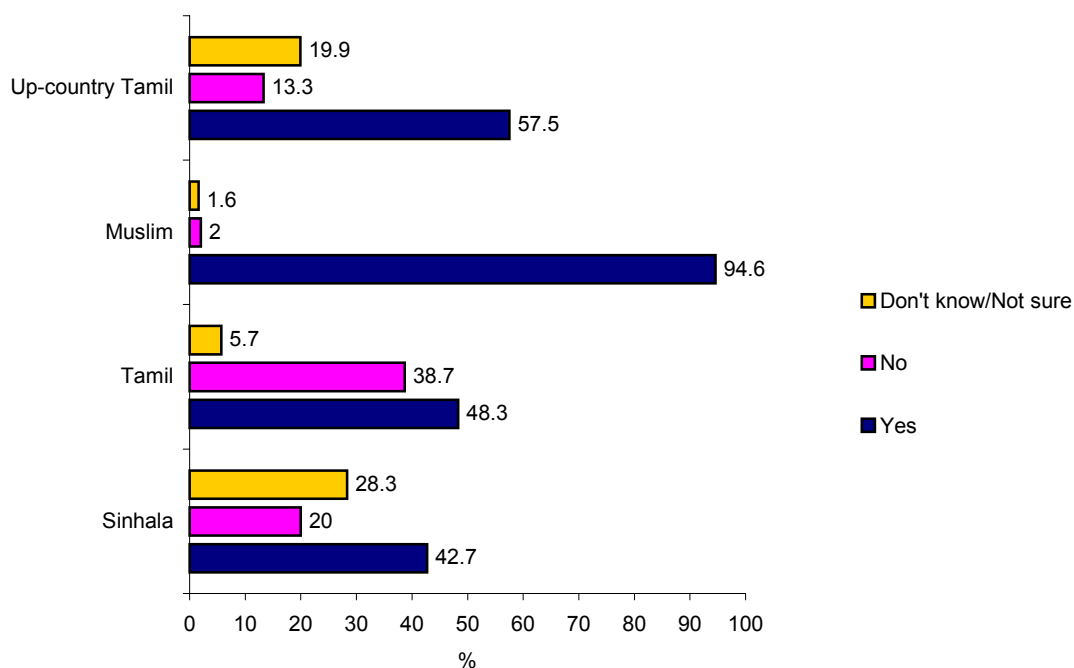


Do you think there should be a separate Muslim delegation to the peace talks?

National Trend



Ethnic Breakdown

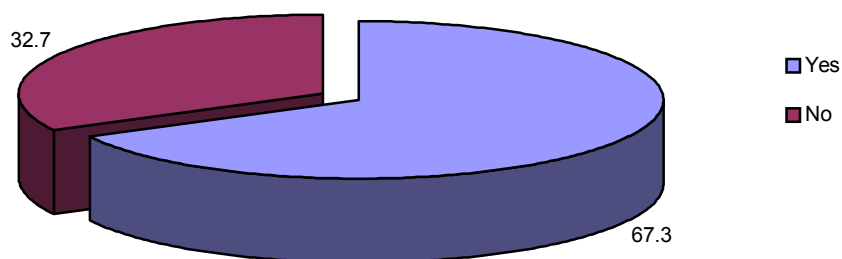




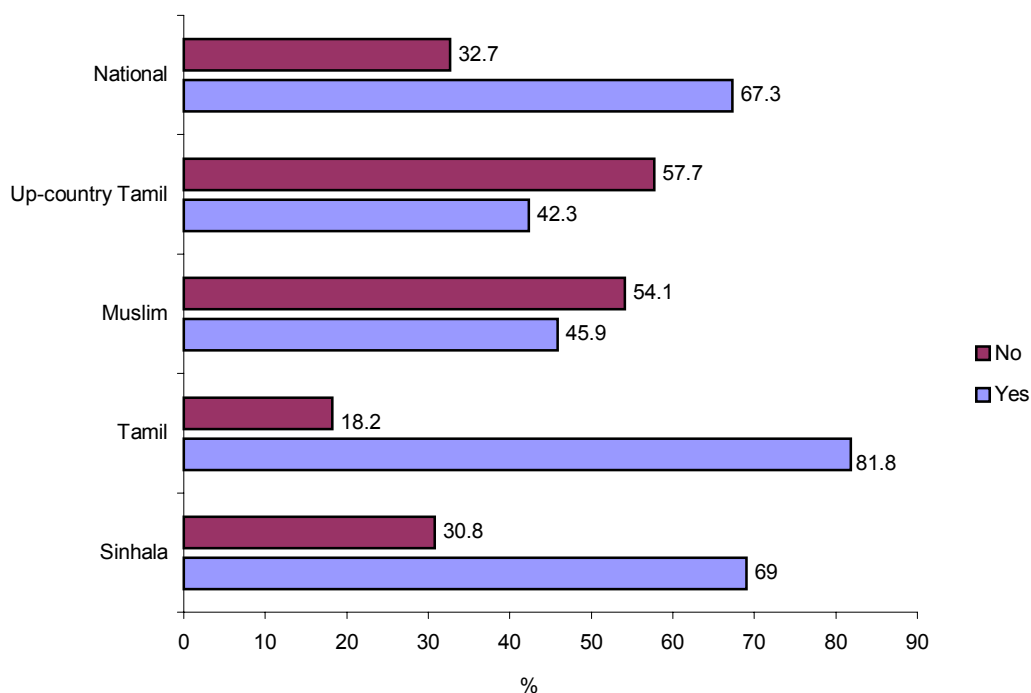
INTERIM ADMINISTRATION

The Government and the LTTE are contemplating an interim administration for the North East province. Please tell me are you aware of this?

National Breakdown



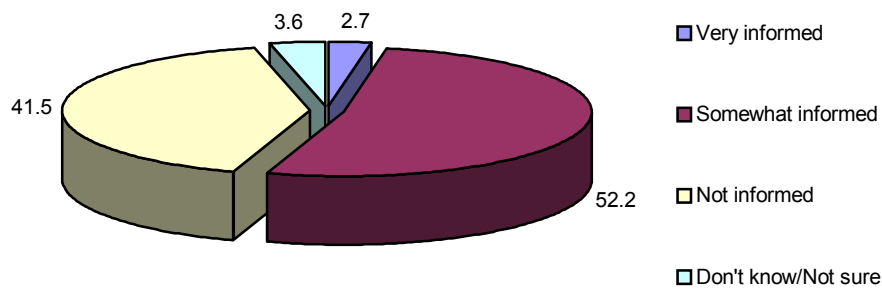
Ethnic Breakdown



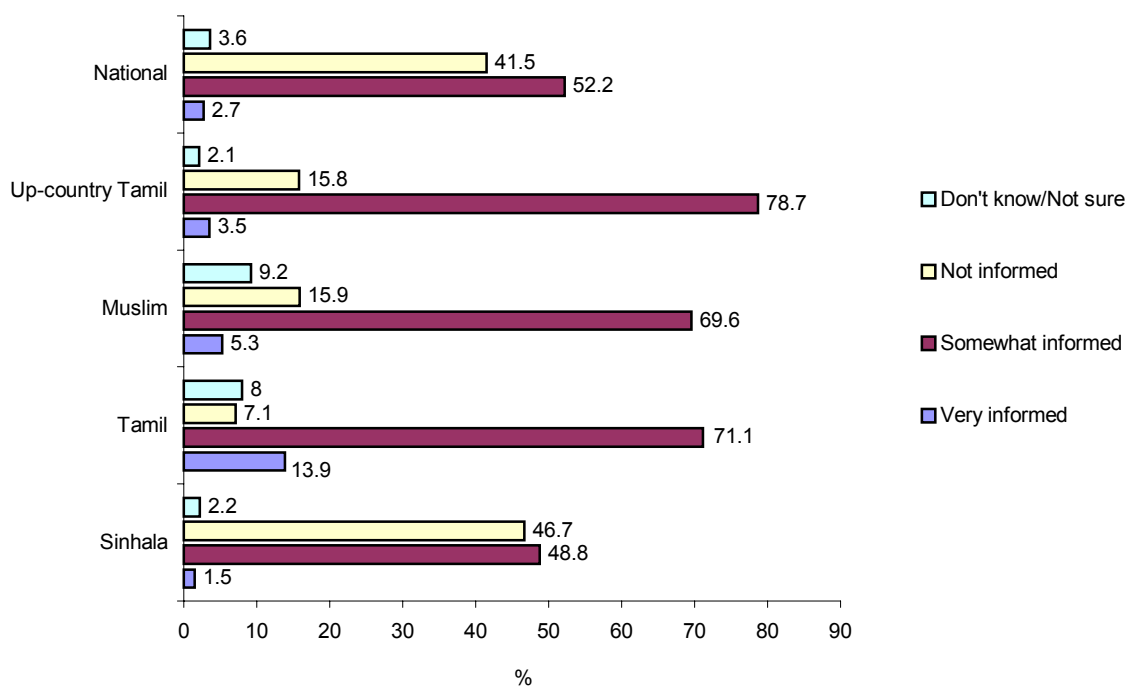


If you are aware that the Government and the LTTE are contemplating an interim administration for the North East province, please tell me to what extent are you informed about the issue of interim administration?

National Breakdown

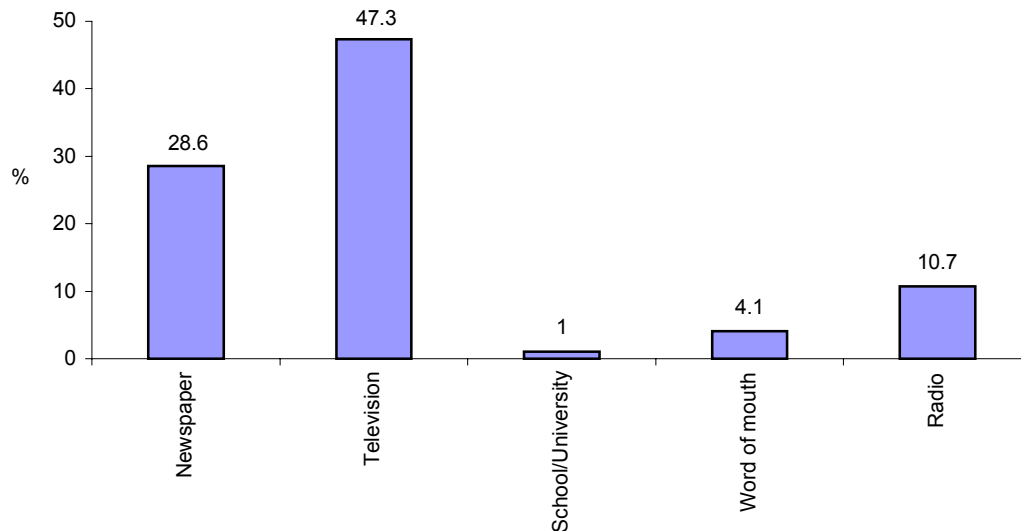


Ethnic Breakdown

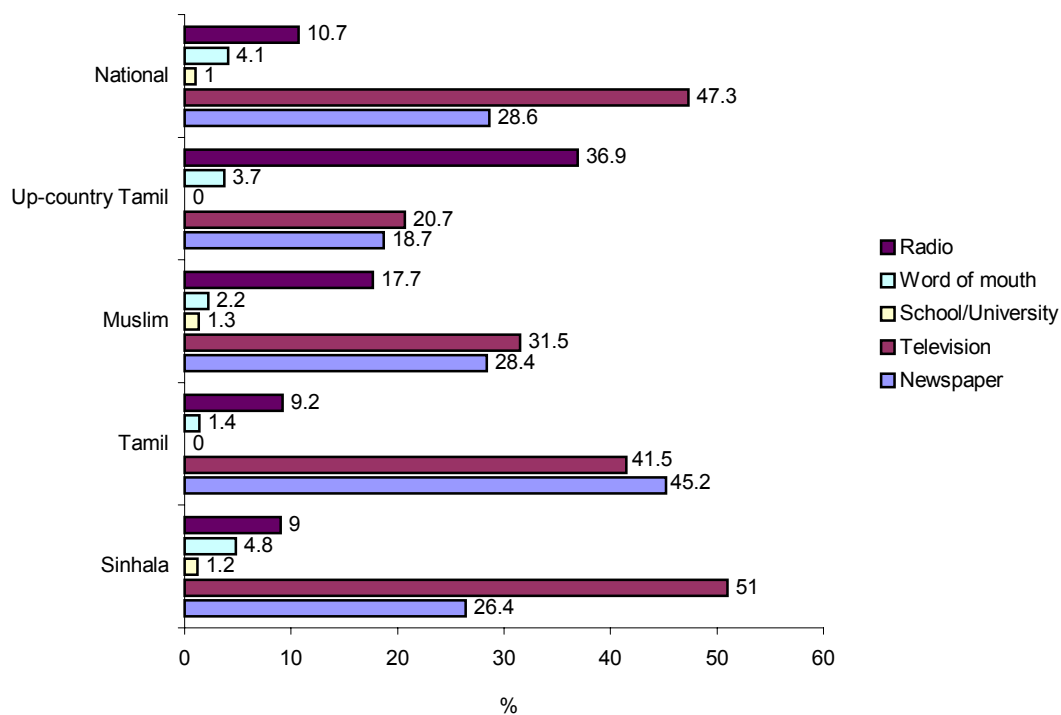


Through which medium did you get your information about the interim administration?

National Breakdown



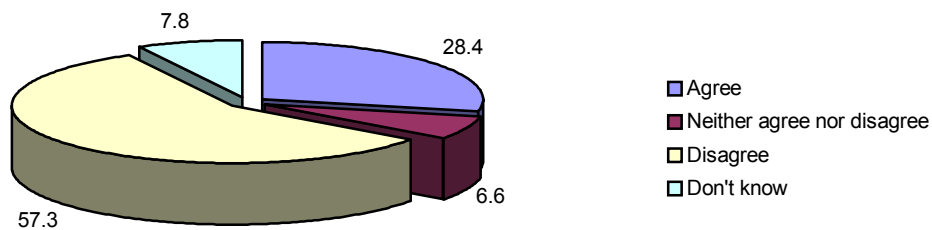
Ethnic Breakdown



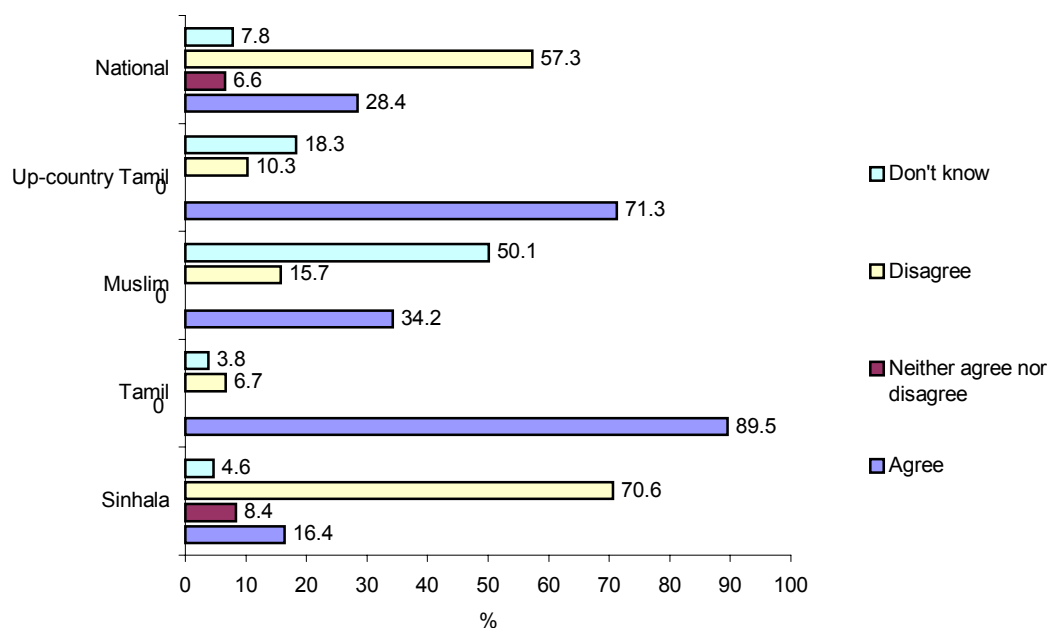


Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the setting up of an interim administration for the North and East?

National Breakdown



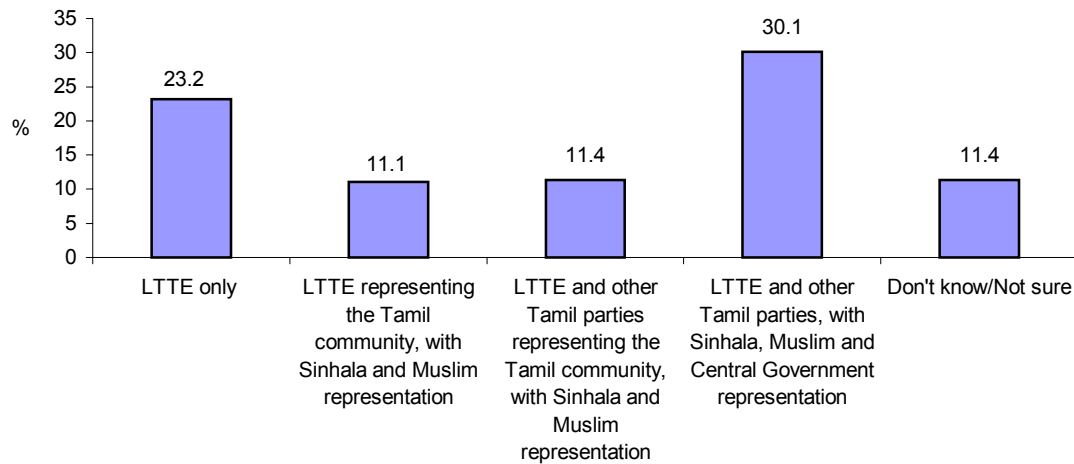
Ethnic Breakdown





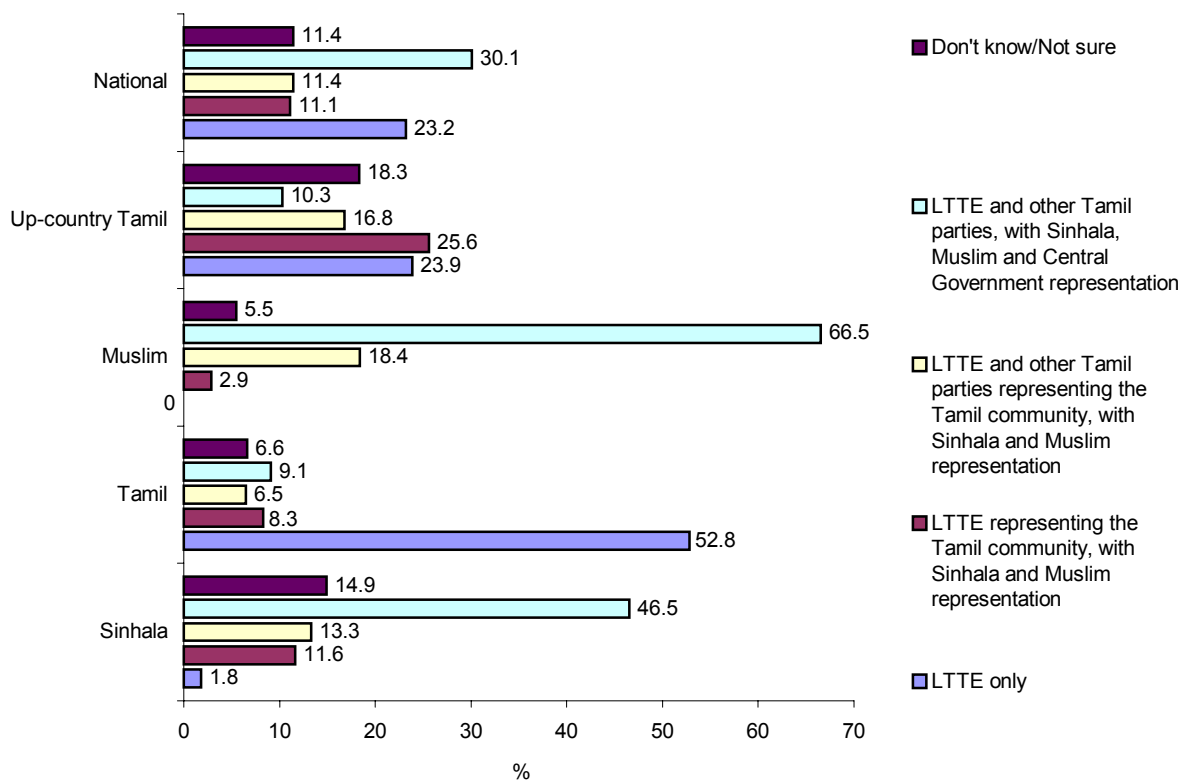
Please tell me who you think should be involved?

National Breakdown*



*The remaining 12.8% of Sri Lankans proposed a variety of other options

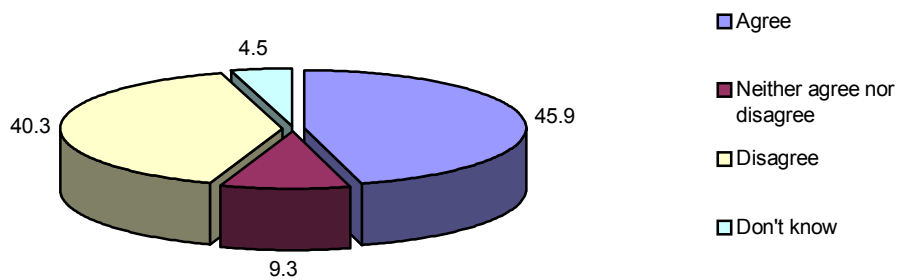
Ethnic Breakdown



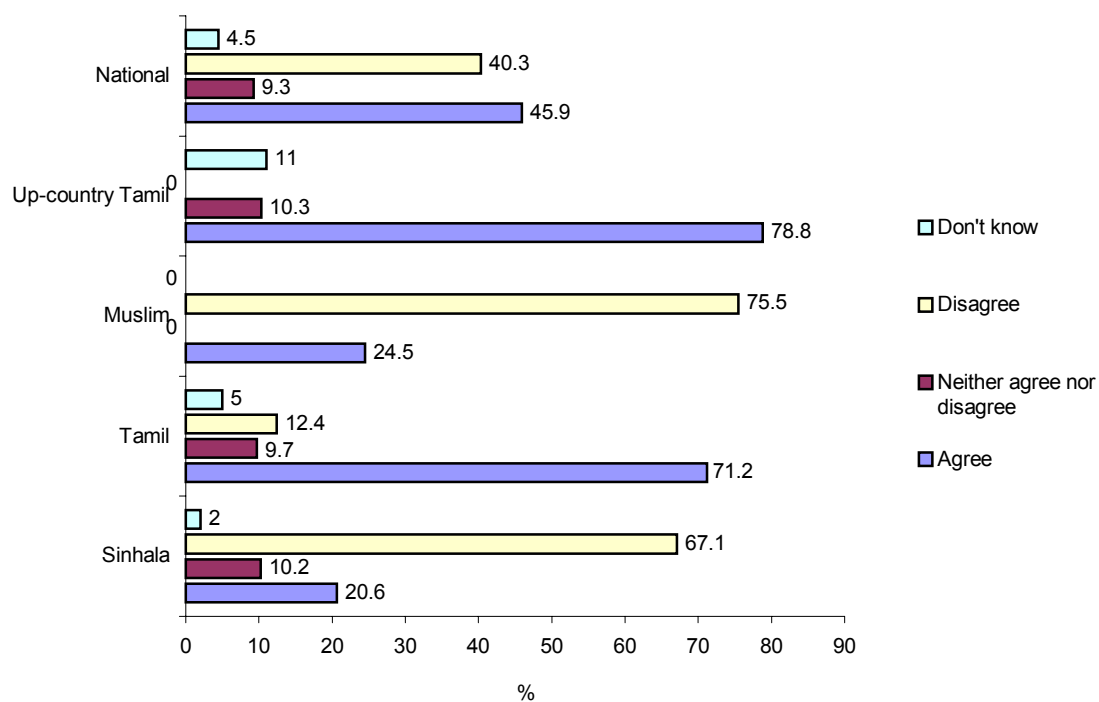


Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the LTTE playing a dominant role in the interim administration?

National Breakdown



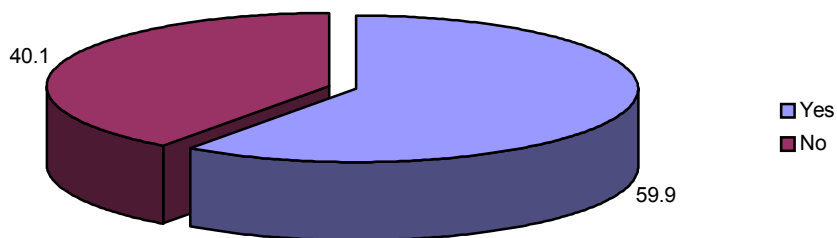
Ethnic Breakdown



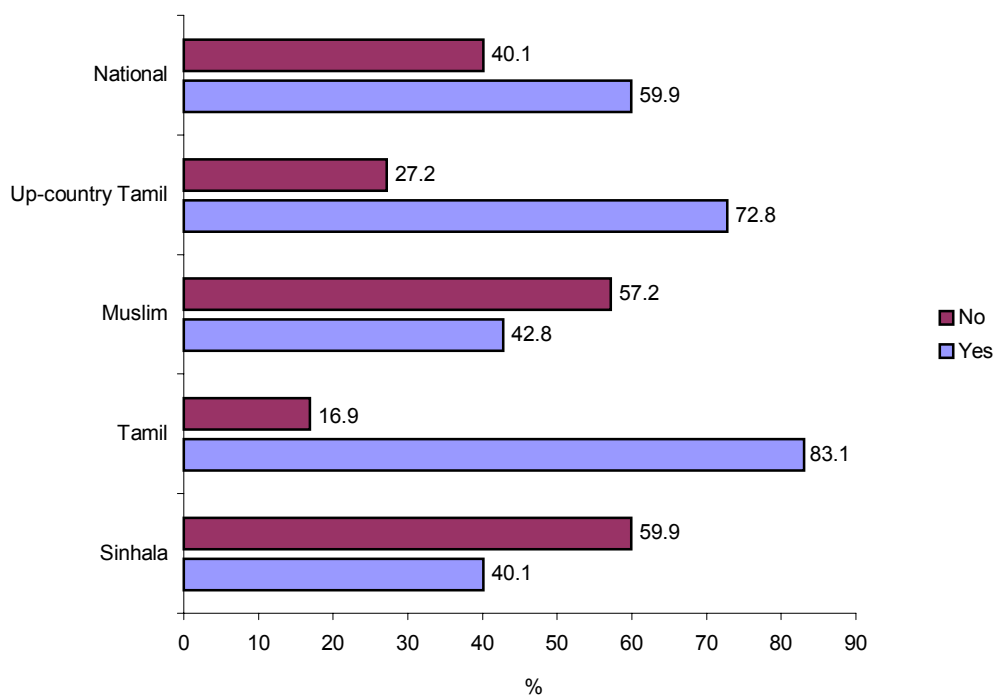


Are you aware that a team of LTTE and its legal and constitutional experts met in Paris, from the 21st to the 27th of August 2003, to discuss their response to Colombo's latest proposal for an interim administration?

National Breakdown



Ethnic Breakdown

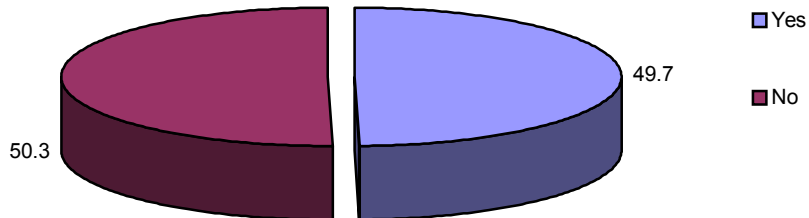




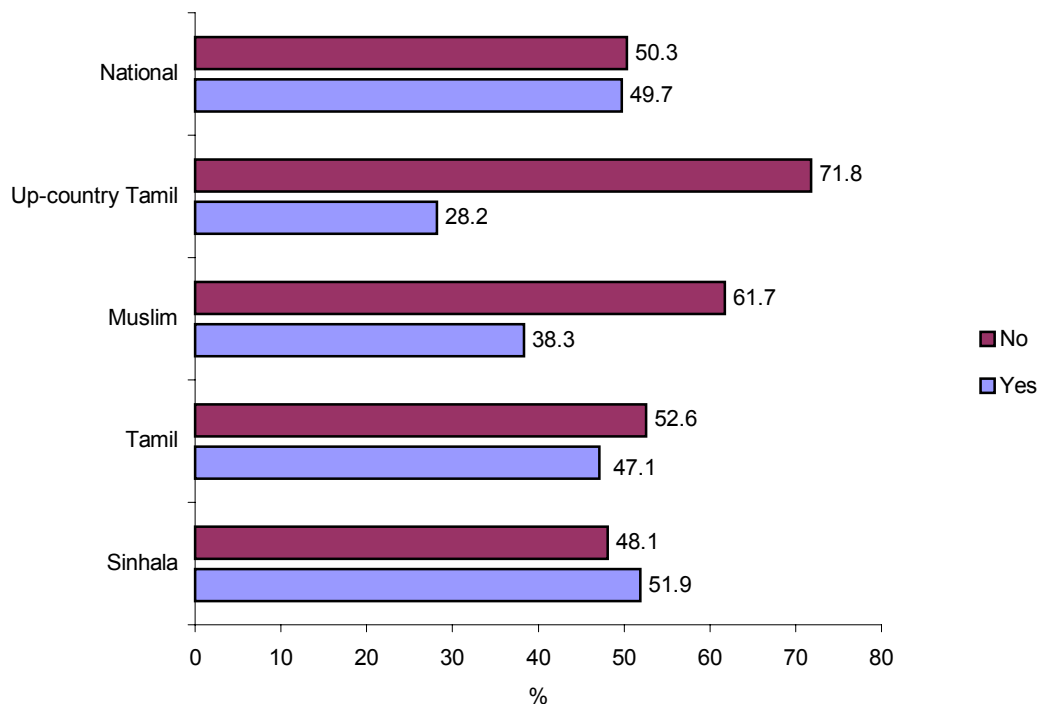
SITUATION IN TRINCOMALEE

Are you aware that the President wrote to the Prime Minister expressing her concern over the LTTE threat to the Trincomalee Naval Base and Harbour?

National Breakdown



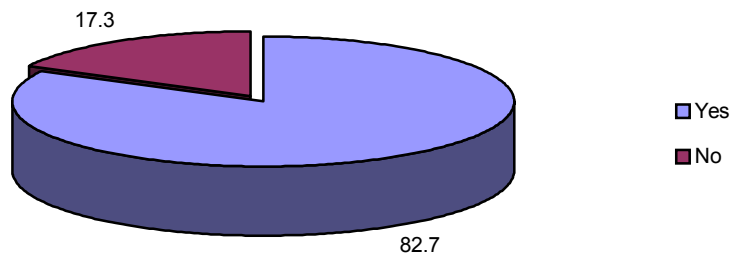
Ethnic Breakdown



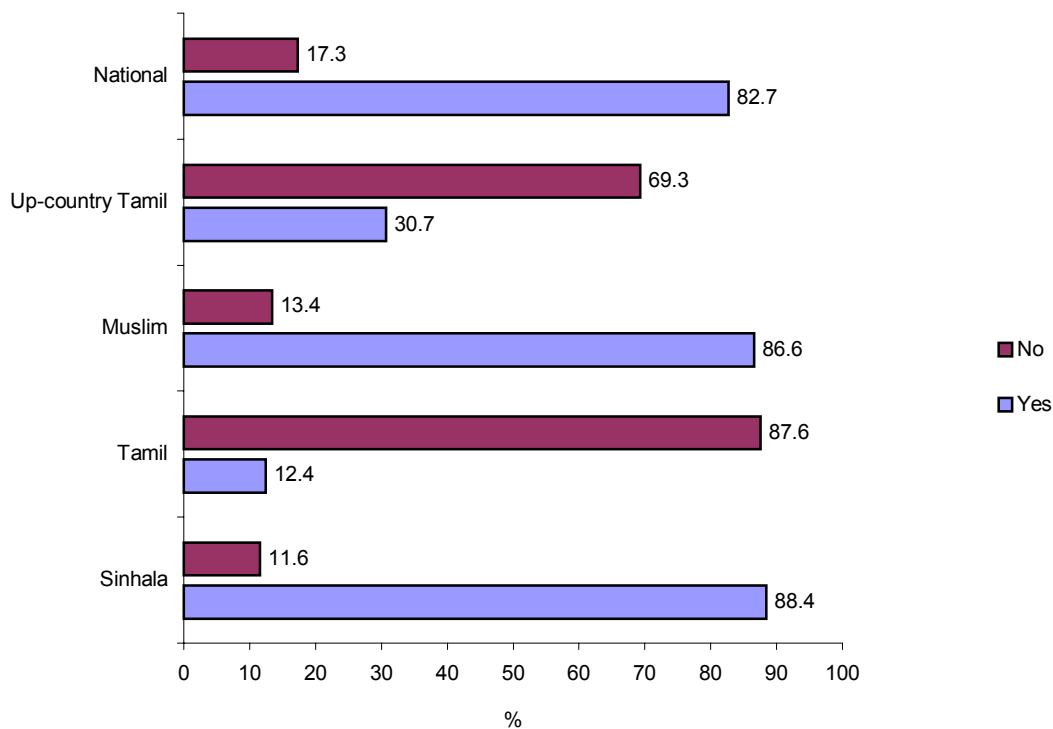


If you are aware that the President wrote to the Prime Minister expressing her concern over the LTTE threat to the Trincomalee Naval Base and Harbour, please tell me do you share the President's concern?

National Breakdown



Ethnic Breakdown

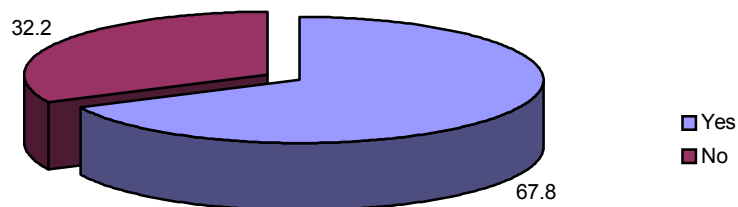




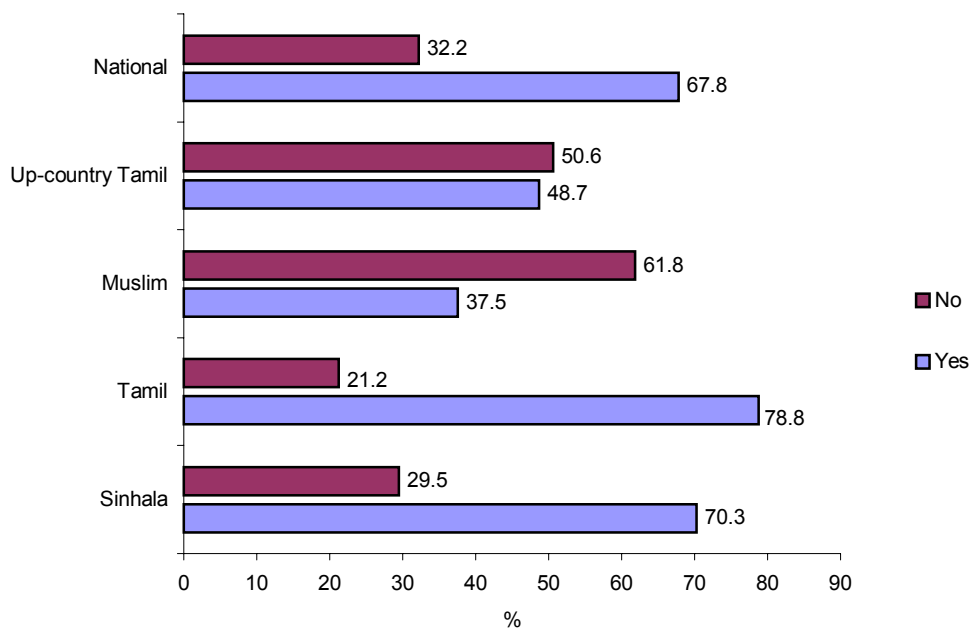
DEMONSTRATION

Are you aware that the National Bhikku Front (NBF) held a Satyagraha campaign protesting against the establishment of an interim administrative structure for the North East province, on the 17th of September 2003?

National Breakdown



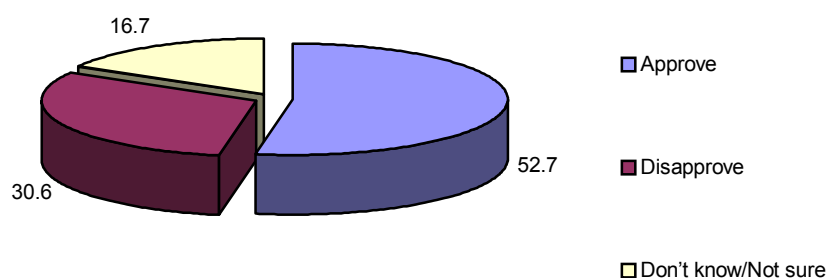
Ethnic Breakdown



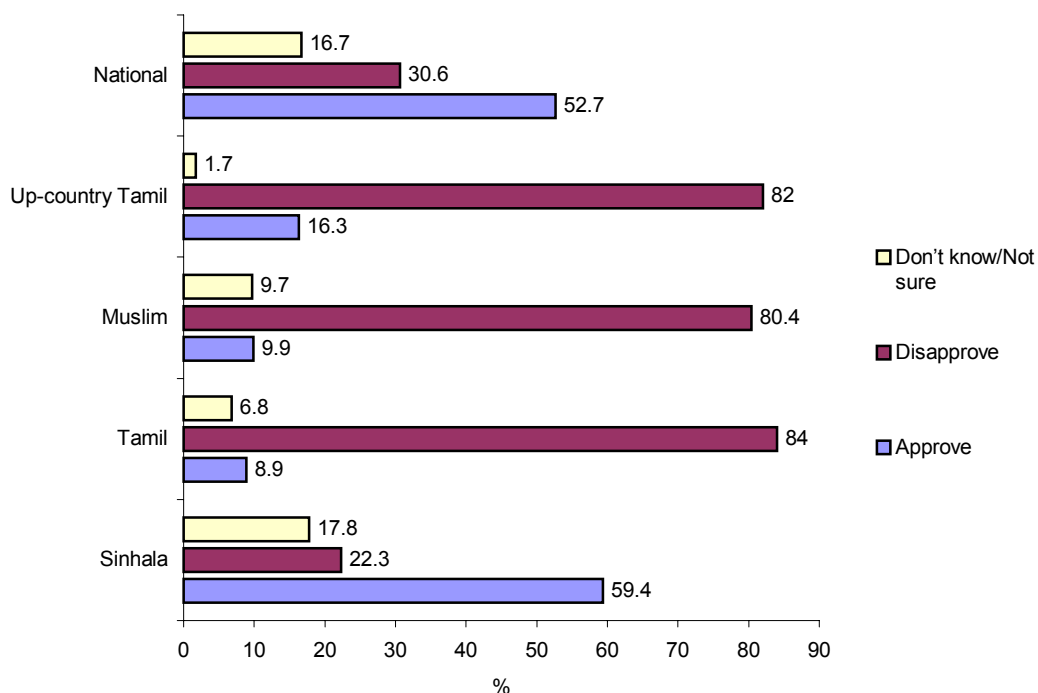


If you are aware that the National Bhikku Front (NBF) held a Satyagraha campaign protesting against the establishment of an interim administrative structure for the North East province, on the 17th of September 2003, please tell me if you approve or disapprove of this?

National Breakdown



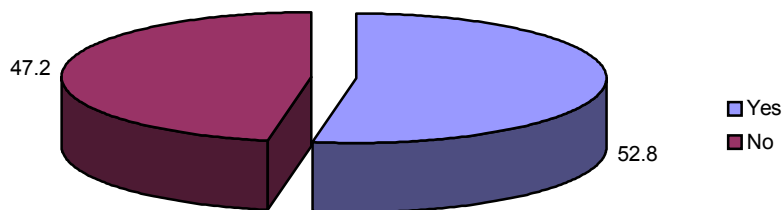
Ethnic Breakdown



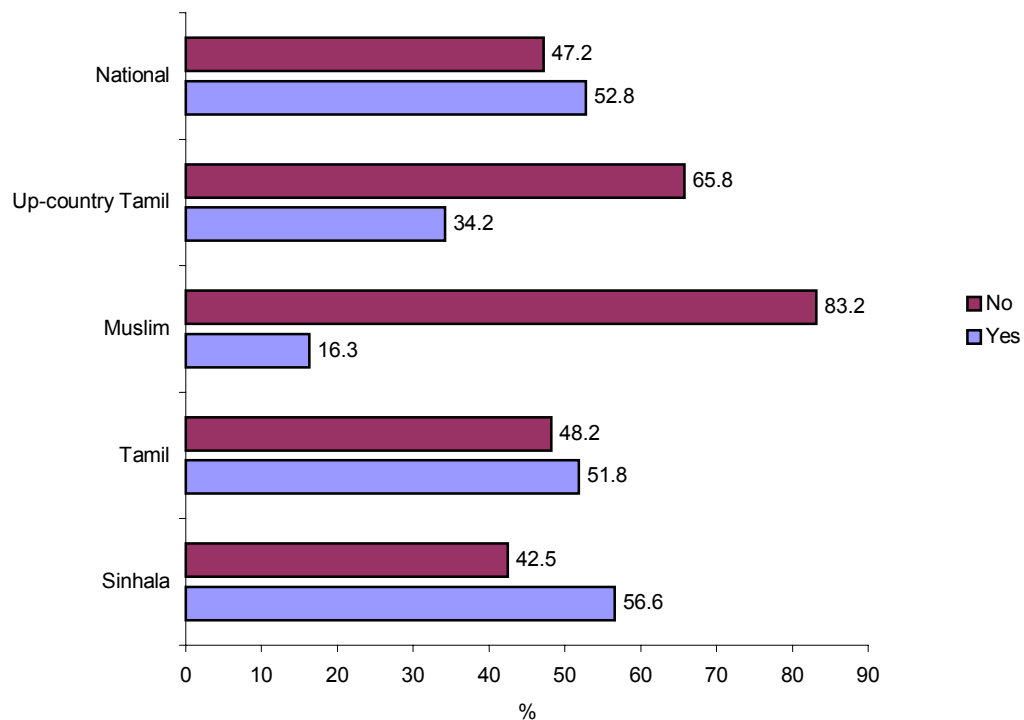


Are you aware that a new organisation called the Patriotic National Movement (PNM) was formed comprising of several political parties including the JVP, MEP and some religious organisations?

National Breakdown



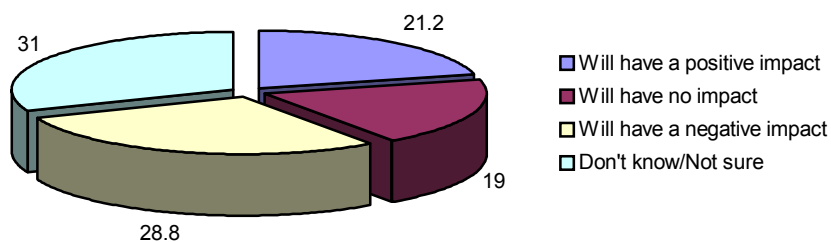
Ethnic Breakdown



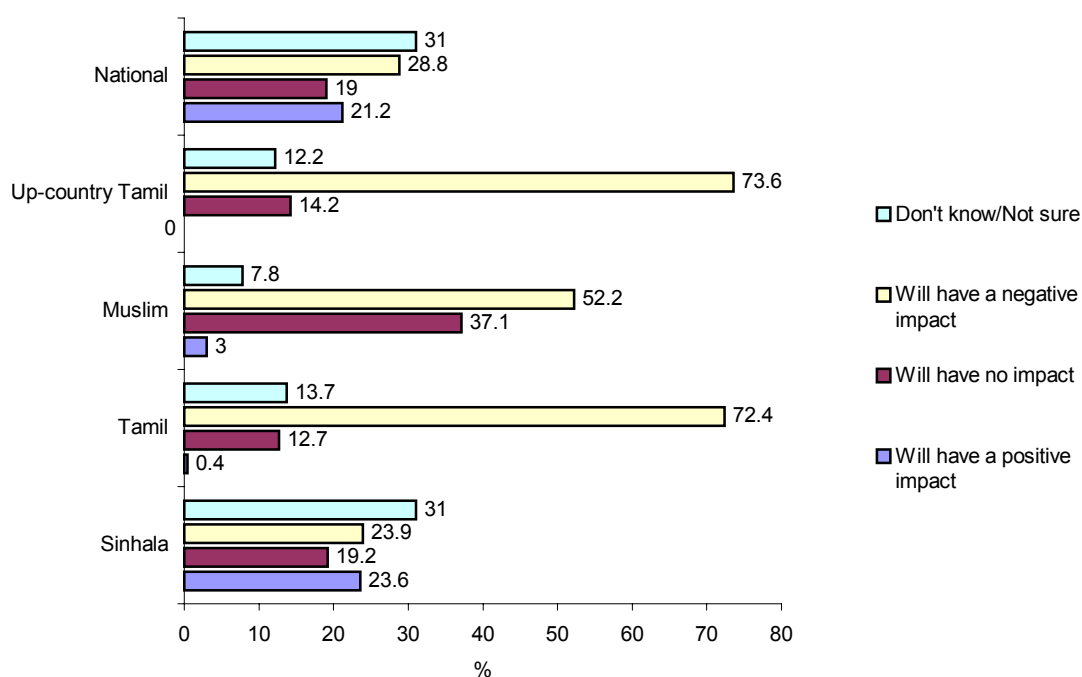


If you are aware that a new organisation called the Patriotic National Movement (PNM) was formed comprising of several political parties including the JVP, MEP and some religious organisations, what in your opinion will be the impact of this on the peace process?

National Breakdown



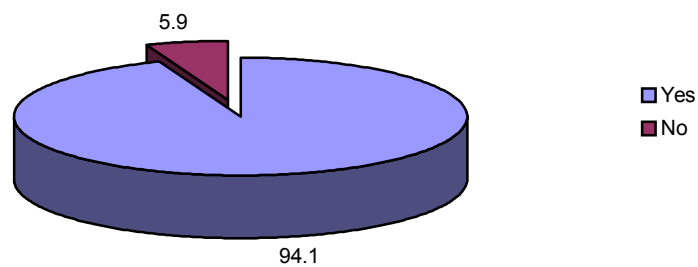
Ethnic Breakdown



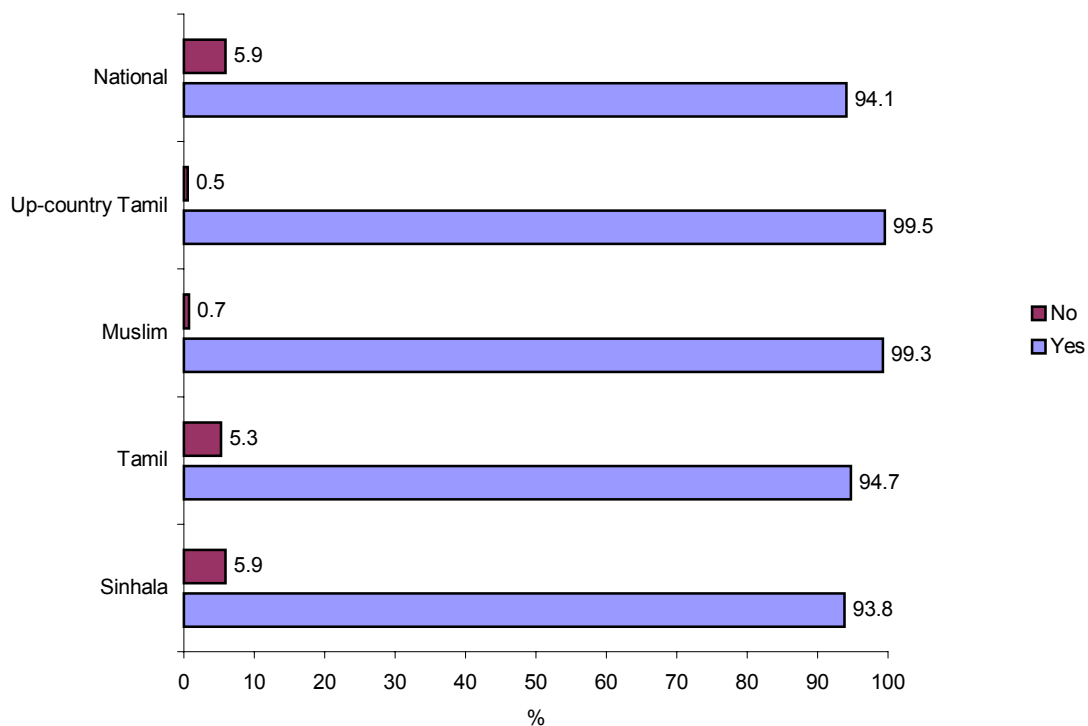


Are you aware that the Patriotic National Movement (PNM) has held a march, from Kandy to Colombo, against the establishment of an interim administrative structure for the North and East?

National Breakdown



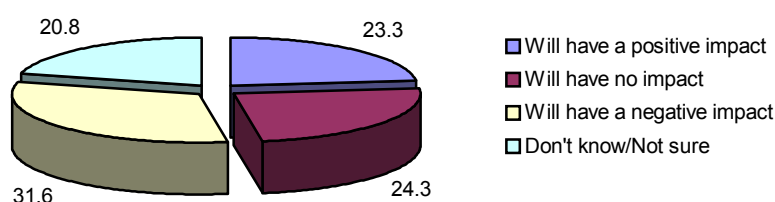
Ethnic Breakdown



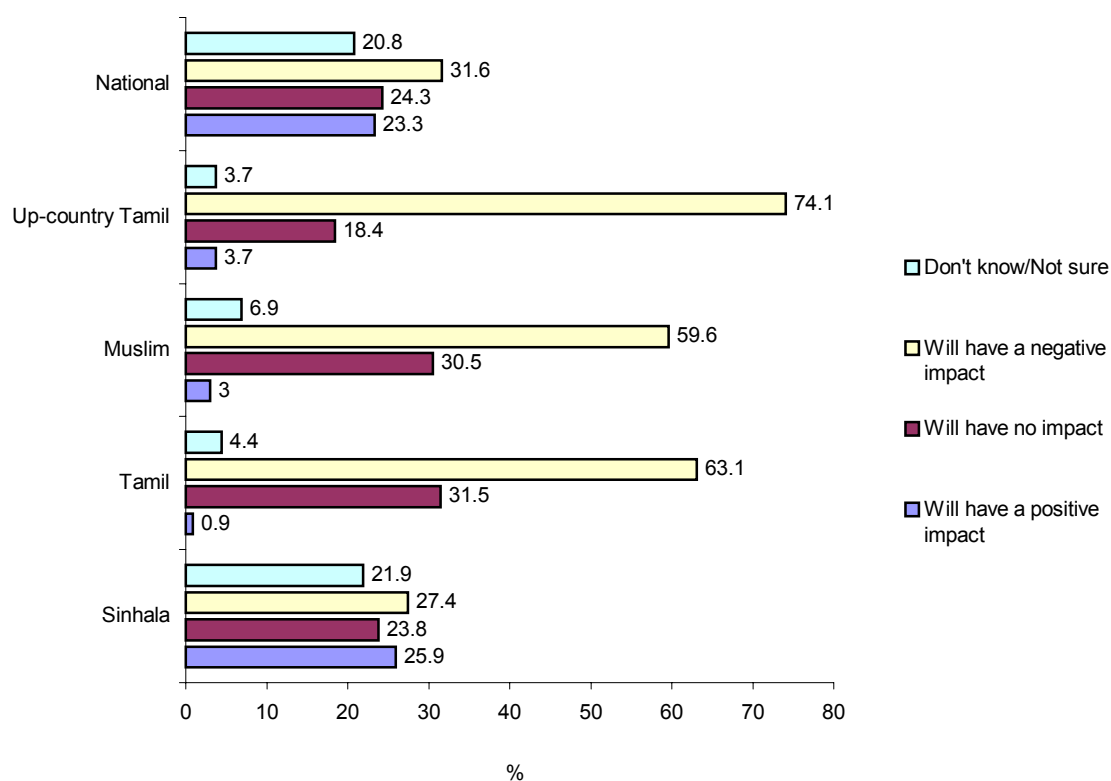


If you are aware that the Patriotic National Movement (PNM) has held a march, from Kandy to Colombo, against the establishment of an interim administrative structure for the North and East, what in your opinion will be the impact of this on the peace process?

National Breakdown



Ethnic Breakdown





Annex

District sample (weighted) distribution in September 2003

DISTRICT	TOTAL
Colombo	205
Gampaha	172
Kalutara	88
Kandy	100
Matale	34
Nuwar Eliya	51
Galle	78
Hambantota	40
Matara	59
Anuradhapura	57
Polonnaruwa	28
Kurunegala	115
Puttlam	51
Badulla	56
Monaragala	27
Ratnapura	79
Kegalle	62
Amparai	42
Batticaloa	38
Trincomalee	31
Vavuniya	12
NATIONAL	1425

Ethnic sample (weighted) distribution in September 2003

ETHNICITY	TOTAL
Sinhala	1186
Tamil	90
Muslim	90
Up-country Tamil	59
NATIONAL	1425

Sampling Methodology

Given that the goal of the Peace Confidence Index (PCI) study is to measure the fluctuations in public confidence levels towards the peace process over time it is essential that the study be conducted repetitively with equal pauses during the study. Thus conducting the study bi-monthly with the use of a clearly defined and constant sample frame during each phase of the study ensures this fact.

The study is conducted using a structured questionnaire that is administered to a sample of approximately 1600 respondents during each phase of the study. This sample is adequate to capture the minimum ethnic diversity within the span of ten days of fieldwork. Although it is undeniable that an individual's opinion on the peace process is influenced by a number of factors, however the ethnic factor, which is the most important and influential, is the sole factor that has been accommodated in this model.

The total sample is distributed among 22 administrative districts (strata) of Sri Lanka, but in the Amparai, Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Vavuniya and Mannar districts the entire area is not covered as a result of the prevailing conflict situation and logistical difficulties. The sample size is assigned to each stratum is approximately equal to the population proportions. However, some districts are over sampled due to the ethnic heterogeneity but the over sampling biases are eliminated by weighting the sample.

A sample is allocated to a particular ethnicity within a district only if the population proportion of that particular ethnicity exceeds 9%. A Divisional Secretariat (DS) is selected as the primary sampling unit using the Simple Random Sampling technique while the Grama Niladhari Divisions (GND) in a DS are selected randomly as the secondary sampling unit using the **'Grama Niladhari Divisions of Sri Lanka 1996'** published by the Department of Census and Statistics as the sample frame.

To maintain the quality of the fieldwork and ensuring a maximum dispersion of the sample within a DS, enumerators are allowed to conduct a maximum of ten interviews a day in a GND. Within a given GND the enumerator is advised to select a starting point randomly and proceed with interviews using the random walk (right hand rule) technique in order to assure the random selection of households.

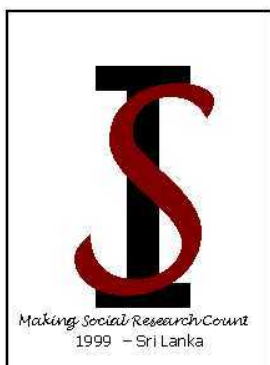
In the case of urban areas the interviewer is instructed to skip a house while selecting the households, thus resulting in the interview taking place at every alternative household. As the final sampling unit, the respondent is chosen from the household using the 'KISH' grid thus ensuring that each member of the household has an equal chance of being selected to the PCI sample.

The PCI national level estimates are subject to a 3% error margin with a .95 confidence level. It is noteworthy to mention here that the PCI model does not support the regional level analysis at the same level of precision.

Social Indicator (SI) is an independent social research organisation, which conducts polls on socio-economic and political issues.

Operating under the Board of Directors of the Centre for Policy Alternatives (CPA), SI was established in September 1999, and filled a longstanding vacuum for a permanent, professional and independent polling facility in Sri Lanka on social and political issues.

Polling is an instrument of empowerment, a means by which the silent majority of the public can express their opinions on issues affecting them. Our mission is to conduct surveys on key social issues, thereby providing a means through which public opinion can influence the public policy debate.



Published by:

Social Indicator
Centre for Policy Alternatives
105, 5th Lane,
Colombo 3,
Sri Lanka.

Tel: +9411 2370472

Fax: +9411 2370475

Email: cpapoll@diamond.lanka.net

Web: <http://www.cpalanka.org>