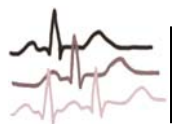




- POLITICAL SOLUTIONS
- MILITARY SOLUTIONS
- KARUNA FACTOR
- INDIA & SRI LANKA
- THE BUDGET
- TAMILNADU
- 13<sup>TH</sup> AMENDMENT
- EASTERN PROVINCE

# PEACE CONFIDENCE INDEX

NOVEMBER 2008



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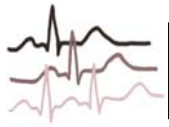
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## INTRODUCTION

### 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 standardized 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 on 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 Sri Lankan polity's opinions, and ensure that such collective opinions are given due importance and incorporated into the policy debate.

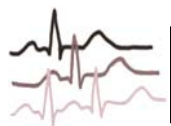
### SCOPE & METHODOLOGY

The survey is carried out using a structured questionnaire administered through face-to-face interviews amongst a 1642 randomly selected sample. This survey was conducted in 20 administrative districts, excluding the North due to the escalation of violence. Data is weighted to reflect the actual ethnographic composition of the districts in which the sample was surveyed.

This is the thirtieth wave of the PCI study, which was first conducted in May 2001. This publication presents only the top-line results of the November 2008 survey.

The results of these thirty waves offer us data for a comparative study on changing public opinion regarding key issues, ranging from perceptions of war and peace to current political developments. The results are subjected to a 3% margin of error.

**\*\* This particular wave of the PCI only covers the Sinhala, Tamil, Muslim and the Up-Country Tamil communities in the areas outside Northern Province. The Tamil sample, drawn from the cities of Ampara, Trincomalee, Batticaloa and Colombo were surveyed using a non-random sampling technique. Therefore, all findings that reference the Tamils cannot be generalized to the entire community.**



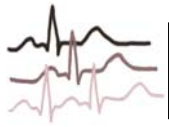
## Key national and international developments July 2008 – November 2008

### JULY 2008

- The 15th SAARC Summit which got off the ground in Colombo yesterday is set to adopt a series of measures with the main focus on a joint approach to combating terrorism, maximising energy and water resources, food security, poverty alleviation in addition to several other key issues concerning the region. *-Daily News, July 28*

### AUGUST 2008

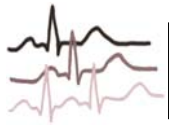
- With the Vanni area under its control rapidly shrinking, the LTTE Friday fiercely resisted a multi-pronged ground assault on Mallavi, west of A9 road, situated along the Mankulam-Vellankulam road leading to the north-western coast. *-The Island, August, 03*
- US Assistant Secretary of State Richard Boucher yesterday reiterated his government's support for the Sri Lankan Government to bring about a solution to the North-East crisis. The solution, he said, should be acceptable to both Sinhalese and Tamils. "We support counter terrorism since we need to see the benefits of democracy extended to all people, and this must be done fairly," said Boucher at a press conference in Colombo yesterday. *-The Island, August, 04*
- President Mahinda Rajapaksa yesterday thanked all who contributed to the successful conclusion of the 15th SAARC Summit in Colombo. The President in a message said: "I am aware that arrangements for the SAARC Summit involved the participation of many Government agencies and of the private sector institutions and individuals, who shared their skills and expertise in the organising of events and activities directly related to the Summit and the co-events of SAARC. *-The Island, August, 06*
- Prime Minister Rathnasiri Wickramanayaka urged the people of the North Central Province to ensure a landslide victory for the UPFA Government and express their solidarity with the gallant 'War Heroes' who have confined the terrorists to Killinochchi and Mullaitivu only. *-Daily News, August, 08*
- UNP chief ministerial candidate for the North-Central provincial council elections Major-General (rtd) Janaka Perera has refused to accept the eight government appointed security personnel for his personal safety. He insists that he be allowed to pick the eight personnel as he could not trust those appointed by the government, the North-Central province UNP Election Campaign Unit said. *-The Island, August, 07*
- The United Nations has turned down the LTTE request for the declaration of an immediate ceasefire, Government Defence spokesman Keheliya Rambukwella said yesterday. The LTTE had made the request to the UN on Thursday (7) and the UN had informed the Government of Sri Lanka about the request. *-The Island, August, 09*
- The LTTE is in the process of expanding a second runway capable of accommodating heavy aircraft in Mullaitivu as government troops backed by air, artillery and armour battle through fortified enemy defences on the western and eastern flanks. The military has irrefutable evidence that the LTTE is engaged in the construction of the air strip in spite of the unprecedented army build-up on the multiple Vanni fronts where ground forces have inflicted massive losses on the Tigers. *-The Island, August, 15*



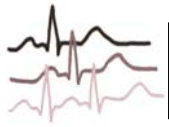
- The Janatha Vimukhi Peramuna and the National Bhikkhu Front yesterday condemned the Government for using police force to chase away of thousands of University students who gathered in Colombo on Thursday evening to hand over a petition to the President. A JVP statement said "We believe that Thursday's demonstration was the maximum that was left for the student population to express their grievances through democratic means. -*The Island, August, 16*
- The army on the Welioya front has brought another LTTE facility under its control. The 59 Division has secured the underground facility situated about 1.5 kilometres southwest of the western edge of the Nayaru lagoon on Saturday (16) evening as the Task Force I, 57 Division and Task Force II deployed on the other side of the A9 road continued to consolidate their recent territorial gains. -*The Island, August, 18*
- International Non-Governmental Organisations carrying out humanitarian assistance in the Mullaitivu and Kilinochchi Districts, where the Military is on the offensive, have agreed to secure all equipment in their possession to prevent it falling into the hands of the LTTE, government sources said yesterday. "If not they agreed to bring all these equipment into government controlled areas after the government warned that stern action would be taken against INGOs which allowed such equipment to be utilized by the LTTE for military purposes against the security forces," the sources said. -*The Island, August, 19*
- The SLFP-led ruling coalition swept Saturday's elections to North Central and Sabaragamuwa Provinces bagging all 27 electorates in Anuradhapura, Polonnaruwa, Ratnapura and Kegalle districts. The UNP and the Opposition vowed to bring down the government to its knees in the run up to the election against the backdrop of the US Ambassador calling on the Elections Commissioner Dayananda Dissanayake to ensure a free and fair poll. -*The Island, August, 25*
- Though certain opposition politicians were challenging the government to hold general elections immediately, elections are due only in 2010 and will be held only then, President Mahinda Rajapaksa said yesterday. -*The Island, August, 27*
- In a public interest fundamental rights violation application, Jeevan Thiagarajah has complained to the Supreme Court that the loss to the Ceylon Electricity Board due to financing the thermal power sector was Rs. 35 billion in 2006 and Rs. 51.7 billion in 2007. In ten years from 2007, the accumulated loss will be Rs. 619 billion, he has said. -*The Island, August, 28*
- Police probing yesterday's explosion in Colombo suspect that a bomb with a timing device had been used to trigger the blast, which injured 44 civilians. At least two of the wounded were in a critical condition and had undergone emergency surgery, hospital officials said. -*The Island, August, 31*
- UNP parliamentarian Dr. Jayalath Jayawardena has complained to the Human Rights Commission of Sri Lanka that while he was praying at the Shrine of Our Lady of Madhu, he was asked to leave the sacred precincts by the army. In a petition submitted to the Commission through attorney-at-law Priyalal Sirisena instructed by Desmond Fernando, P.C., Dr. Jayawardena says that Major General Lalith Daulagalla had asked him to leave immediately as the Defence Secretary had not granted permission for him to stay in the Shrine. -*The Island, August, 31*

#### SEPTEMBER 2008

- The army has released a small section of the High Security Zone (HSZ) situated in Ariyalai east between railway tracks and the Kandy-Jaffna A9 road. Army headquarters has authorised the release of 103 acres of cultivable paddy fields on the recommendation of Jaffna Commander Major General G. A. Chandrasiri. Inter-Agency Standing Committee which represents all INGOs including UN agencies has confirmed the release of land in its latest bulletin. -*The Island, September, 01*
- LTTE handbills are advising civilians in the Kilinochchi and Mullaitivu districts to construct bunkers for protection from advancing Government troops. Following the capture of Thunukkai and Mallawi civilians have been attempting to flee to the Government controlled areas. -*The Island, September, 03*
- In the absence of a directive from Parliament, the Commission to Investigate Allegations of Bribery or Corruption has not even commenced investigations into the second COPE report on waste, corruption and irregularities in public and private sectors. The report presented to Parliament by Wijeyadasa Rajapakshe, former Chairman of the Parliamentary watch dog committee in August last year, is gathering dust. -*The Island, September, 04*



- The Consortium of Humanitarian Agencies yesterday said the Government which had announced the opening of corridors civilians fleeing the Vanni must provide essential goods and services to the refugees in accordance with national laws and international conventions. Humanitarian assistance rendered to the people of Vanni through the district secretariats of Vavuniya, Kilinochchi, Mullaitivu and Mannar should be augmented and complemented by humanitarian and relief agencies and must be maintained, the Consortium said in a statement yesterday. -*The Island, September, 05*
- The Supreme Court yesterday rejected the motion seeking bail for Venerable Pannala Pragnaloka Thera of the Welikadawatte Temple Rajagiriya who had been remanded on a Supreme Court order for failing to answer notice to appear before the Court. A group of over fifty Buddhist monks were in Court yesterday to see the bail application being supported. -*The Island, September, 06*
- Despite battlefield losses last week with the LTTE delivering bodies of 30 soldiers killed in action through the ICRC, Defence Secretary Gotabhaya Rajapaksa while agreeing that the road forward is hard remains convinced that victory is certain. Rajapaksa expressed these thoughts in an interview with today's issue of the *Irida Divaina* where he said that the progress made had been a little faster than originally planned. -*The Island, September, 07*
- The Supreme Court yesterday discharged from remand custody, the Ven. Pannala Pragnaloka Thera, the Chief Priest of Welikadawatte Temple, Rajagiriya, who was remanded by the Supreme Court on September 1, for failing to answer its summons. Counsel Prassanthala de Alwis submitted to the Supreme Court a motion filed on behalf of Ven. Pannala Pragnaloka by a brother thero of the same temple, the Ven. Hikkala Udayadhamma Thera asking for the release of the thera. -*The Island, September, 09*
- The armed forces early yesterday thwarted an LTTE attempt to destroy a critical section of the SLAF's fledging air defence system located in the sprawling Vavuniya air base. The chance detection of a group of LTTE cadres in SLA type fatigues in the SLA complex adjacent to the SLAF base prevented an assault on the radar station installed by India, while the SLAF shot down one of the two LTTE light aircraft which were getting away after dropping several bombs on the joint SLA, SLAF and Police complex in Vavuniya. -*The Island, September, 10*
- The Centre for Policy Alternatives and Dr. Rohan Edirisinghe moved the Supreme Court against a government gazette notification published on August 11, 2008, which seeks to vest powers in the President to extend the age of compulsory retirement of any public officer appointed by the President. The petition said that the purported notification would enable extensions, based on considerations other than those provided for by the Constitution and would politicise the public service. It would violate the Public Trust Doctrine, the Rule of Law, good governance and democracy. -*The Island, September, 11*
- Premier Manmohan Singh's government is unlikely to give up its role in Sri Lanka despite the recent media revelation of the presence of Indian personnel at the Vavuniya SLAF base which was targeted by the LTTE on September 9. A section of the Tamilnadu political groups has urged the coalition to immediately recall personnel after the Colombo press reported the hospitalization of two Indians wounded in the LTTE's suicide assault on the base by 11 Black Tigers, half of them women. -*The Island, September, 14*
- The United States of America on Monday adopted legislation that would enable it to prosecute foreign military leaders who recruit child soldiers. This would be direct blow to the LTTE which had been recruiting child soldiers in its war against the Sri Lankan Government, Human Rights Watch said yesterday. The Child Soldiers Accountability Act was unanimously passed in the House of Representatives on September 8 and was adopted by the Senate on Monday. -*The Island, September, 17*
- The Special Presidential Commission Investigating Serious Violations of Human Rights is unable to proceed with the probe into the much publicized killing of 17 aid workers of the French NGO 'Action Against Hunger' due to the delay in passing the Witness Protection Act in Parliament, Chairman of the Commission retired Supreme Court Judge Nissanka Udalgama said. -*Daily Mirror, September, 18*
- The government has ordered a police census in the Western Province in a bid to neutralize an LTTE build-up targeting a range of political, economic and military targets. It will not apply to people from outside the Northern Province. -*The Island, September, 19*

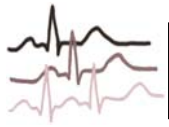


- Defending the decision to conduct a census of Tamils from the North living in the Western province, Defence Secretary Gothabaya Rajapaksa said yesterday the primary objective of this move is to prevent the LTTE from pressuring civilians to carry out attacks." The Government has no intention to harass innocent civilians and we have taken all precautions not to inconvenience anybody unnecessarily", he said. "All what we need is to obtain data on these persons".-*The Island, September, 21*
- Food convoys to conflict areas in the North will be diverted via Mankulam from today (Wednesday) by-passing fierce fighting in the Killinochchi sector, Presidential Secretariat sources said yesterday. Advisor to the President, Commissioner General of Essential Services S. B. Divaratne told *The Island* that donor countries wanted the Government to send the convoys of food to the Internally Displaced Persons in the Wanni accompanied by representatives of the UN Agencies. "-*The Island, September, 24*
- The breakaway LTTE faction, headed by 'Colonel' Karuna, has been accommodated in an ongoing ICRC programme to enhance respect for International Humanitarian Law (IHL) among combatants in Sri Lanka. Before Karuna broke away from the Tigers in March 2004, the ICRC had conducted IHL classes for the LTTE. -*The Island, September, 25*
- The Sri Lanka peace process Co-chairs the United States, the European Union, Japan and Norway met in New York on Wednesday to discuss the latest fighting in Sri Lanka, including the need for both sides to protect civilians, a US diplomat said. -*Daily Mirror, September, 26*
- The LTTE has thwarted an attempt by UN agencies and INGOs to evacuate several hundred Tamil employees from the area under its control. Well informed sources said that although some local INGO workers had been allowed to leave with the expatriate staff, the vast majority were denied the opportunity. The UN and all other expatriates except the Project Manager of ZOA had quit the LTTE-held area by September 16. -*The Island, September, 29*
- Human rights lawyer and Transparency International (Sri Lanka) Director, J. C. Weliamuna's Kohuwela house came under a bomb attack on Saturday night causing damage to the premises. - *Daily Mirror, September, 29*

#### OCTOBER 2008

- The government has decided to deport with immediate effect ZOA Project Manager in Kilinochchi who had refused to accede to the request by the government to leave Kilinochchi, Minister of Disaster Management and Human Rights Mahinda Samarasinghe said yesterday (3). At a press conference at his ministry, he said the Italian INGO official had refused to leave Kilinochchi for Vavuniya when all other foreign NGO personnel obliged. -*The Island, October, 04*
- An LTTE suicide bomber yesterday blew himself up killing North Central Province Opposition leader Major General Janaka Perera (retd.), his wife and 27 others at the opening ceremony of the new UNP office in Anuradhapura, police said. -*The Island, October, 07*
- The Supreme Court yesterday declared that the retired President, Mrs. Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga had failed in responsibility and abused her powers in directing the alienation of acquired State land at Battaramulla to Asia Pacific Gulf Course Private Limited for the construction of a golf course for the elite. The land had been acquired by the Urban Development Authority for public utility purposes mainly as a water retention wetland. The judgement stated that the entire land transaction, involving around 224 acres, had been done in violation of the public trust vested in the former President. The Court nullified the transaction which was declared arbitrary, and illegal. - *The Island, October, 09*
- President Mahinda Rajapakse had a meeting with India's High Commissioner in Colombo, Mr. Alok Prasad, last Tuesday when he clarified some of India's concerns about the on-going military offensive in the Vanni, Mr. Basil Rajapakse revealed. -*The Island, October, 12*
- The Supreme Court yesterday refused leave to proceed with the fundamental rights violation application filed by the JVP against the appointment of Karuna Amman to Parliament to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of the JVP national List MP, Vasantha Samarasinghe, in June this year. -*The Island, October, 14*



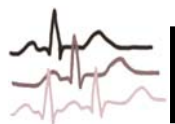


- CHENNAI (IANS): An all-party meeting convened by Tamil Nadu Chief Minister M. Karunanidhi Tuesday asked the central government to immediately halt all military aid to Sri Lanka and ensure an immediate ceasefire in the civil war on the island, warning that all MPs from the state would resign in two weeks if this didn't happen. -*The Island, October, 16*
- ...the army said the 57 Division had pierced the last major LTTE defence line ahead of its Kilinochchi stronghold. After a bloody battle in which the LTTE used poisonous gas, the fighting elements of the 57 Division brought about a three-kilometre stretch of the earth bund along with 19 heavily fortified LTTE bunkers under its control. -*The Island, October, 20*
- An attempt by Sea Tigers to sink two vessels, one carrying food, at Myliddy, near the Kankesanthurai harbour, was foiled by Navy escort vessels. Mercs Ruhuna and Mercs Nimalawa, the cargo ships, were targeted by three LTTE suicide boats. -*The Island, October, 23*
- Sriharikota (PTI): Chandrayaan-1, India's maiden moon spacecraft, was on Wednesday put into Transfer Orbit around the earth by the Polar Launch Vehicle PSLV-C11 about 19 minutes after it blasted off from the Satish Dhawan Space Centre here. -*Daily Mirror, October, 23*
- Former President Chandrika Kumaratunga has discussed the possibility of seeking public assistance to pay the fines imposed on her by the Supreme Court in relation to the recent landmark judgment in the alienation of acquired State land at Battaramulla to Asia Pacific Golf Course Private Limited. -*The Island, October, 24*
- Two LTTE aircraft yesterday bombed the Mannar army camp and the Kelanitissa Power Station in Colombo. However, the damage was minimal, the military said. No details were immediately available from Mannar but a senior defence official confirmed one soldier had been injured there and that bombing had damaged a cooling system connected to a gas turbine at Kelanitissa. -*The Island, October, 29*

## NOVEMBER 2008

- Sri Lankan President Mahinda Rajapaksa yesterday commended former Maldivian President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom for the manner in which he acted following the recently held presidential election, a Maldivian news agency reported. On Wednesday Opposition candidate Mohamed 'Ani' Nasheed was declared winner of the first multi-party democratic elections in the Maldives, defeating his longtime rival Mr. Gayoom. -*Daily Mirror, November, 01*
- AP-Across the globe, in concert halls and ballrooms, in plazas and beach parties and busy streets, the citizens of the world hailed the election of Barack Obama as a stroke for racial equality and voiced hopes his presidency would herald a more balanced, less confrontational America. -*The Island, November 6*
- President Mahinda Rajapaksa yesterday presented the fourth budget of his Government introducing a wide range of people's friendly proposals aiming to bring down the cost of living burden and achieving long term economic benefits to the country including the development of local industries. -*Daily News, November 7*
- The Government will not enter into a CFA or talks with the LTTE at this juncture unless it was prepared to lay down arms, Agriculture Development and Agrarian Services Minister Maithripala Sirisena told Parliament yesterday. -*Daily News, November 7*
- A special tribunal headed by a Delhi High Court judge yesterday upheld the Centre's notification for extending the ban on LTTE for another two years. -*Daily News, November 7*
- Eastern Province Chief Minister Sivasanthurai Chandrakanthan's (Pillaiyan) Private Secretary, Kumarasamy Nandagopan alias Ragu and the driver of the Volvo in which he was travelling were shot dead at Oruwala in Athurugiriya yesterday. -*Daily News, November 15*
- The government said yesterday that LTTE Leader Velupillai Prabhakaran could contest elections in the country if he gave up arms and entered the democratic mainstream. Speaking at a media briefing, Foreign Minister Rohitha Bogollagama said that, just as President Mahinda Rajapaksa had welcomed Pillayan and Karuna -- both former Tiger leaders --, into Sri Lankan politics, a path would be paved for Prabhakaran to hold a key position in the North if the people elected him. -*Daily Mirror, November 20*

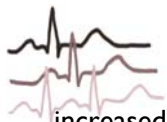




## FINDINGS AT A GLANCE OF THE POLL CONDUCTED FROM 21<sup>ST</sup> NOVEMBER - 1<sup>ST</sup> DECEMBER 2008

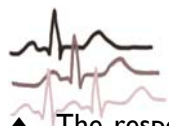
The following are the significant trends observed in the PCI November 2008 survey. This particular wave of the PCI only covers the Sinhala, Tamil, Muslim and the Up-Country Tamil communities in the areas outside Northern province. The Tamil sample, drawn from the cities of Ampara, Trincomalee, Batticaloa and Colombo were surveyed using a non-random sampling technique. Therefore, all findings that reference the Tamils cannot be generalized to the entire community.

- ◆ **War and Peace:** When asked to rate five national issues depending on the importance they place on each issue, the Sinhala community gives importance to the country's economy (25.8%) and the conflict in the north and east (26.1%). The Tamil community gives priority to a peace process in Sri Lanka (26%) followed by the conflict in the north and east (24.8%). The Up-Country Tamil community gives importance to the economy (29%) followed by a peace process in Sri Lanka (25.3%). The Muslim community also has a similar response to the Up-Country Tamil community where they too prioritize the economy (33.5%) and a peace process in Sri Lanka (30.1%). When compared to the PCI findings of August 2008, amongst the Sinhala (Aug -19.9%, Nov- 22.7%) and the Muslim (Aug - 24.2%, Nov - 30.1%) community, those who give importance to a peace process in Sri Lanka has slightly increased. Amongst the Tamil community, those who give priority to the economy has decreased (Aug -25.5%, Nov- 16.9%) while those who give importance to the conflict in the north and east have decreased (Aug - 18.1%, Nov- 24.8%). Amongst the Up-Country Tamil community, those who give importance to the economy has increased (Aug -24.2%, Nov- 30.1%). ([Ref. Page 16](#))
- ◆ **Solution:** A majority of the Sinhala community (60.7%) think the only way to end the war and arrive at peace in Sri Lanka is by government defeating the LTTE. However, 19.6% of the Sinhala communities say that political negotiations after government defeats LTTE is the way to end the war and arrive at peace. A majority of the Tamil (77%), Up-Country Tamil (82.9%) and the Muslim (60%) communities say stopping the war and conducting political negotiations is the way to arrive at peace in Sri Lanka. When compared to the PCI findings of August 2008, amongst the Sinhala community, those who believe in government defeating the LTTE is the way to arrive at peace in Sri Lanka, has increased (Aug -50.9%, Nov- 60.7%) while those who believe in political negotiations after government defeats LTTE, has decreased (Aug -23.8%, Nov- 19.6%). Amongst the Up-Country Tamil community, those who say that peace can be found by stopping the war and conducting political negotiations have increased (Aug -76.4%, Nov- 82.9%). Amongst the Muslim community, those who say stopping the war and conducting political negotiations have decreased (Aug -77.5%, Nov- 60%) while those who say conducting peace talks while having military operations have increased (Aug -8.8%, Nov- 28%).([Ref. Page 17](#))
- ◆ When asked about the necessity of a political solution to resolve the present ethnic conflict, a majority of the minority communities (Tamil: 57%, UP-Country Tamil: 55.3%, Muslim: 76.8%) think that irrespective of how the war ends, a political solution is essential. Amongst the Sinhala community, 35.4% say a political settlement is essential while 28.7% say a political settlement is useful. Another 22.4% of the Sinhala community say its not required. When compared to the PCI findings of August 2008, amongst the Sinhala community those who think a political settlement is essential have slightly increased (Aug -31.4%, Nov- 35.4%) while those think it's useful (Aug -35.7%, Nov- 28.7%) and not required (Aug -16.1%, Nov- 22.4%) have decreased. Amongst the Tamil community, those who think its essential (Aug -72.4%, Nov- 57%) have decreased while those who think it's useful (Aug -16.3%, Nov- 23.3%) have



increased. Amongst the Up-Country Tamil community and the Muslim community, those who think it's essential (UCT: Aug- 40.9%, Nov-55.3% / Muslim: Aug- 59.3%, Nov-76.8%) have increased while those who useful (UCT: Aug- 25.3%, Nov-15.4% / Muslim: Aug- 21.7%, Nov-14.5%) have decreased. (Ref. Page 18)

- ◆ A majority of the minority communities believe that a political solution should be designed while the war continues (Tamil: 55.2%, Up-Country Tamil: 46.8%, Muslim: 68.1%). However, amongst the Sinhala community, 41.7% believe that a political solution should be designed after the war. Nevertheless, another 23% of the Sinhala community think that a political solution is not required while 19.2% say a political solution should be designed while the war continues. When compared to the PCI findings of August 2008, amongst the Sinhala community, those who say that a solution should be designed after the war has increased (Aug -39.5%, Nov-41.7%) while those who say that it should be designed while the war continues has decreased (Aug -23%, Nov- 19.2%). Amongst the Tamil community, those who think a political solution is not required has increased (Aug -8.2%, Nov- 17.3%). Amongst the Up-Country Tamil community, those who think a political solution should be designed while the war continues have significantly decreased (Aug -68.2%, Nov- 46.8%) while those who think that a solution should be designed after the war have increased (Aug -7.4%, Nov- 14.7%). Amongst the Muslim community, those who think that a solution should be designed while the war continues have increased (Aug - 48.4%, Nov- 68.1%). (Ref. Page 19)
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala community (81.7%) think that compared to a year ago, the country is close in approaching a permanent settlement to the ethnic conflict. A majority of the Tamil (53.6%) and the Up-Country Tamil (51.4%) communities think the country is not close at all in approaching a permanent settlement to the ethnic conflict. Amongst the Muslim community, 37% think that the country is close for a permanent settlement while 25.2% think it is not close at all. When compared to the PCI findings of August 2008, amongst the Sinhala community, those who think that the country is close to a permanent settlement have increased (Aug – 69.6%, Nov- 81.7%). Amongst the minority communities, those who think the country is not close at all to a permanent settlement have decreased (Tamil: Aug- 64.8%, Nov-53.6% / UCT: Aug- 62.6%, Nov-51.4% / Muslim: Aug- 38.8%, Nov- 25.2%) while those who think it's close (Tamil: Aug- 5.7%, Nov-14.4% / UCT: Aug- 4.1%, Nov-9.7% / Muslim: Aug- 32%, Nov- 37%) and remain the same (Tamil: Aug- 23.8%, Nov-30.9% / UCT: Aug- 17.9%, Nov-21.1% / Muslim: Aug- 23.6%, Nov- 17.3%) have increased. (Ref. Page 20)
- ◆ **Commitment & Capacity:** A majority of the Sinhala community (63.7%) and the Muslim community (59.7%) agree that the government is committed to find peace through talks. A majority of the Tamil community (61.5%) and the Up-Country Tamil community (56.5%) disagree that the government is committed to find peace through talks. When compared to the PCI findings of August 2008, amongst the Sinhala community, the agreement has increased (Aug -58.1%, Nov- 63.7%) while the disagreement has decreased (Aug -23.5%, Nov- 19.2%). Amongst the Tamil (Aug -10.8%, Nov- 22.9%) and the Muslim (Aug -47.1%, Nov- 59.7%) communities the agreement has increased. Amongst the Up-Country Tamil community, the disagreement has increased (Aug -31.3%, Nov- 56.5%).(Ref. Page 21)
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala community (78.7%) and the Muslim community (45.1%) disagree that the LTTE is committed to find peace through talks. Amongst the Tamil community, 38.9% agree while 35.6% disagree with the statement. Amongst the Up-Country Tamil community, 30.3% agree while 29.7% disagree with the statement. When compared to the PCI findings of August 2008, amongst the Tamil and the Up-Country Tamil community agreement have increased (Tamil: Aug- 26.1%, Nov- 38.9% / UCT: Aug- 20.5%, Nov- 30.3%) while amongst the Muslim community agreement have decreased (Aug- 20.7%, Nov- 18.3%).(Ref. Page 22)



- ◆ The respondents were asked how soon they think the present ongoing war will come to an end. Amongst the Sinhala community, 22.1% say the ongoing war will come to an end within the next year while 18.4% say they can't specify time frame but war will end eventually. 16.8% say it will end within the next six months while 11.8% say it will take longer than a year. Amongst the minority communities (Tamil- 34.4%, Up-Country Tamil- 45.7%, Muslim- 34.9%), most of them say they can't specify a time frame but the war will end eventually. (Ref. Page 23)
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala community (81.2%) think that currently the LTTE is weak in terms of their military capacity. Amongst the Tamil community, 28.6% think that the LTTE is currently weak militarily and 18.4% think it's the same as last year. Amongst the Up-County Tamil community, 24.9% think that the LTTE is currently strong militarily. Amongst the Muslim community, 28.3% think the LTTE is currently weak in terms of their military capacity while 16.9% think it's strong. Another 15% think it's same as last year. When compared to the PCI findings of August 2008, those who believe that the LTTE is weak militarily have increased amongst all the four communities (Sinhala: Aug- 75.6%, Nov- 81.2% / Tamil: Aug- 11.2%, Nov- 28.6% / UCT: Aug- 7.2%, Nov- 9.4% / Muslim: Aug- 23.9%, Nov- 28.3%). (Ref. Page 24)
- ◆ A significant majority of the Sinhala community (94.8%) and a majority of the Muslim community (44%) think the Government's security forces are currently strong in terms of their military capacity. Amongst the Tamil community, 36.2% think the security forces are currently strong militarily and 18.2% think its same as last year. 5.1% think the security forces are currently weak militarily. Amongst the Up-Country Tamil community, 18.3% think the security forces are currently strong militarily while 8.3% think its same as last year. When compared to the PCI findings of August 2008, those who say that the security forces are currently strong militarily have increased amongst the Sinhala (Aug -91%, Nov- 94.8%), Tamil (Aug -28.8%, Nov- 36.2%) and the Up- Country Tamil (Aug -11.3%, Nov- 18.3%) communities. Amongst the Muslim community, those who say that security forces are strong in terms of their current military capacity have decreased (Aug -69.6%, Nov- 44%). (Ref. Page 25)
- ◆ **Current Security Condition:** Compared to the situation a year ago, 52.1% of the Sinhala community think the national security has somewhat improved while 26.2% think it has greatly improved. A majority of the Tamil community (50.5%) think the national security has got worse, 23.2% think it remain the same while 19.2% think it has got much worse. Amongst the Up-Country Tamil community, 29.1% think that national security has got worse compared to the situation a year ago while 24.7% think it remains the same. Amongst the Muslim community, 46.1% think the national security has somewhat improved, while 20.5% think it has got worse. When compared to the PCI findings of August 2008, the opinion across the communities don't seem to have changed. (Ref. Page 26)
- ◆ Compared to the situation a year ago, 46.2% of the Sinhala community thinks that their level of personal security has somewhat improved while 17.7% think it has greatly improved. Another 27.3% think it remains the same. Amongst the Tamil community, 32.7% think their personal security got much worse while 30.6% think it remains the same. Amongst the Up-Country Tamil community, 27.6% think their personal security remains the same. Another 20.4% think it got worse and 22.1% think it got much worse. Amongst the Muslim community, 40.7% think it has somewhat improved while 19.8% think it got worse. When compared to the PCI findings of August 2008, amongst the Sinhala and the Muslim community, those who feel that their personal security has improved has increased (Sinhala: Aug- 37.9%, Nov- 63.9% / Muslim: Aug- 34.9%, Nov- 55.3%). Amongst the Tamil (Aug -7.1%, Nov- 30.6%) and the Up-Country Tamil (Aug -3.1%, Nov- 27.6%) community, those who think that it remains the same has increased. (Ref. Page 27)



- ◆ Respondents were given a few statements about to whom Sri Lanka belongs and were asked to choose the statement with which they agree the most. When looking at the ethnic breakdown, the majorities of all the communities (Sinhala: 83.4%, Tamil: 98%, UCT: 87.9%, Muslim: 96.1%) agree that Sri Lanka belongs to all citizens equally. 9.8% of the Sinhala community however agrees that Sri Lanka belongs to Sinhala Buddhists. (Ref. Page 28)
- ◆ Respondents were asked about their level of awareness, as well as their opinion on Vinayagmoorthi Muralidaran, generally known as Karuna Amman, being sworn in as a Member of Parliament on October 7. When looking at the ethnic breakdown, it is the Sinhala and the Tamil communities that showed the highest level of awareness (82% and 87.8% respectively). 42.3% of the Upcountry Tamil community and 54.5% of Muslim community were aware of Karuna Amman being sworn in a Member of Parliament, although 17% of the Upcountry Tamil community and 26.4% of the Muslim community said that they were unaware. Among the Upcountry Tamil community, 40% did not know about Karuna Amman being sworn in as Member of Parliament. (Ref. Page 29)
- ◆ The respondents who were aware of Karuna Amman being appointed as an MP in the Parliament were asked if they approve or disapprove of this appointment. A majority of the Sinhala (47.1%) and Tamil (41.8%) communities said that they approve, whereas 45.6% of the Muslim community stated their disapproval of Karuna Amman's appointment. A majority of the Upcountry Tamil community (46.8%) said that they did not know whether they approve or disapprove, although 41.6% of the respondents of the same community said that they approve. (Ref. Page 30)
- The respondents who were aware of Karuna Amman's appointment as an MP to the Parliament were given a series of statements on various opinions expressed about the appointment and were asked for their level of agreement on each statement. When stated Karuna Amman's appointment as "A true sign of accommodating minorities", 42.9% of Sinhala community somewhat agreed while Tamil 21.7% agreed (27.7% totally agreeing). Highest disagreement stems from the Muslim community (Do not agree at all-26.3%). When stated that the appointment is "A sign of democracy", the highest total agreement comes from Sinhala (22%) followed by Tamil 27.2% communities while Upcountry Tamils showing the highest disagreement (Do not agree at all 9.3%). (Ref. Page 31)
- When asked if Karuna Amman's appointment is "Travesity of justice", minority communities tended to show high levels of unawareness (Don't Know : Muslim 38.7%, Up Country Tamil 55.4% and Tamil 27.5%) rather than agree/disagree. Lower levels of agreement is shown clearly by the Sinhala respondents who disagreed at 37.4%. (Ref. Page 32)
- ◆ The respondents were given a series of statements that describes the effects of the cost of living (COL) and were asked to choose the statement which best describes their situation. 50.8% of the Sinhala community and 53% of the Tamil community say that the present COL has affected their financial situation and that they live with some difficulties. A majority of the Upcountry Tamil (77.9%) and Muslim (59.9%) communities say that the present COL has affected badly on the financial situation and that they live with great difficulties. When compared to the PCI findings of August 2008, amongst all the communities those who think that present COL has affected their financial situation and that they live with some difficulties have increased (Sinhala: Aug- 47.8%, Nov- 50.8% / Tamil: Aug- 41.9%, Nov- 53% / UCT: Aug- 15.2%, Nov- 20.4% / Muslim: Aug- 27.7%, Nov- 38.5%). (Ref. Page 33)
- ◆ Respondents were asked if they had heard about the US Presidential Elections that was held on the 4<sup>th</sup> of November, where Barack Obama was elected as the new US President. Majority of the respondents of the Sinhala (75.2%), Tamil (97.9%) and Muslim (66.1%) communities said



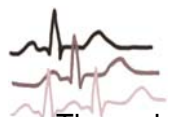
that they had heard of Barack Obama being elected as President. However, a majority of the Upcountry Tamil respondents (63.5%) said that they had not heard of it. ([Ref. Page 34](#))

- ◆ Respondents who had heard of Barack Obama being elected as the new US President were asked whether they think this election would affect Sri Lanka when it comes to assisting in the development of Sri Lanka. Majority of the Muslim respondents (45.2%) say that it would affect positively and 41% of the Sinhala respondents, 30.8% of the Tamil respondents and 27.2% of the Upcountry Tamil respondents also say that it will affect positively. However, 43.8% of Sinhala respondents, 35.1% of Tamil respondents, 28.7% of Upcountry Tamil respondents and 39.8% of Muslim respondents all say that they do not know if the election will affect positively or negatively in assisting in the development of Sri Lanka. Furthermore, a majority of the Upcountry Tamil community (43.9%) say that the election will have no impact. ([Ref. Page 35](#))
- ◆ When asked if the election will affect positively or negatively in finding peace in Sri Lanka, 39.7% of the Sinhala respondents, 26.8% of the Tamil respondents, 27.2% of the Up-Country Tamil respondents and 44.3% of the Muslim respondents say that it will affect them positively. However, a majority of the Sinhala (44.4%) and Tamil (38.7%) communities do not know if the election would affect positively or negatively. ([Ref. Page 35](#))
- ◆ The respondents were asked about what sort of an impact the global credit crunch would have on the Sri Lankan economy. A majority of the Sinhala respondents (63.1%) and Muslim respondents (46.2%) say that there will be somewhat of a negative impact, although the Tamil respondents (46.8%) and Up-Country Tamil respondents (33.6%) say that there will be a strong negative impact. However, a majority of the Up-Country Tamil respondents say that 39.4% say that there will be no impact. ([Ref. Page 36](#))
- ◆ Respondents were asked if they were aware that the government presented its third budget in Parliament recently. Majority of all four communities were aware – Sinhala (95.3%), Tamil (94.8%), Upcountry Tamil (57.1%) and Muslim (67.8%). ([Ref. Page 37](#))
- ◆ Those respondents who said that they were aware that the government presented its third budget in parliament recently were asked about how closely they followed the budget/budget speech. A majority of the Sinhala (50.5%), Tamil (41.9%) and Upcountry Tamil (42.7%) respondents say that they read/listened but did not pursue it intentionally. A majority of the Muslim respondents (43.9%) said that they followed it somewhat closely (Did not pursue intentionally but paid full attention when they came across news/media reports and articles). ([Ref. Page 37](#))
- ◆ The same respondents were asked about their main source of information on the budget. A majority of the Sinhala (51.5%), Tamil (58.4%) and the Up-Country Tamil (58.9%) communities say its from the analysis and articles that appear in the mass media. Amongst the Muslim community 39.9% say its from the from the analysis and articles that appear in the mass media while another 39.9% say its by reading the budget document or listening /watching the budget reading on media. ([Ref. Page 38](#))
- ◆ The respondents were then asked about the impact the recent budget had on their cost of living. A majority of the Sinhala respondents (58.8%) and Muslim respondents (64.4%) said that their cost of living has been kept at the same levels whereas majority of the Tamil respondents (52.6%) and Up-Country Tamil respondents (57.3%) said that their cost of living has increased due to the recent budget. ([Ref. Page 38](#))



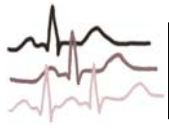


- ◆ When asked if they agree that there is a severe shortage of food, medicine and essential items in Vanni, a majority of the Tamil respondents (83.7%) and Up-Country Tamil respondents (49.7%) agree. However, a majority of the Sinhala respondents (44.2%) and Muslim respondents (47%) said that they did not know. (Ref. Page 39)
- ◆ With regard to recent news reports about agitations in Tamil Nadu against the Indian central government on the situation in Sri Lanka saying that India should intervene in Sri Lanka to resolve the conflict, respondents were asked if they had heard of these reports. Majority of the Sinhala respondents (67.7%), Tamil respondents (96%) and Up-Country Tamil respondents (71.3%) said that they had heard of these reports. However, a majority of the Muslim respondents (51.5%) said that they had not heard of these reports. (Ref. Page 40)
- ◆ Respondents who had heard of the reports were asked if they will approve or disapprove if India intervenes in Sri Lanka to solve the ethnic problem. A majority of the Tamil (83.2%), Upcountry Tamil (92.3%) and Muslim (51.6%) communities said that they approve of India's intervention whereas a majority of the Sinhala community (74%) says that they disapprove of India intervening to solve the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka. (Ref. Page 41)
- ◆ Respondents were given a few statements and were asked to state how important they think it is. When asked about India's involvement in initiating peace with the tigers, a majority of the Tamil respondents (64.1%) and Upcountry Tamil respondents (63.9%) said that it is very important. However, a majority of the Sinhala respondents (65.7%) say that it is not important whereas a majority of the Muslim respondents (51.5%) say that it is somewhat important. (Ref. Page 42)
- ◆ When asked about the importance of India's involvement in the government war effort, a majority of the Sinhala (58.3%), Tamil (62.9%) and Muslim (44%) communities say that it is not important, whereas a majority of the Upcountry Tamil community (43.4%) believe that it is very important. (Ref. Page 42)
- ◆ On the topic of India's involvement in government presenting a political solution, a majority of the Tamil respondents (50%) and Upcountry Tamil respondents (65.8%) think it is very important. However, a majority of the Sinhala respondents (63.7%) say that it is not important, whereas a majority of the Muslim respondents (54.9%) think that it is somewhat important. (Ref. Page 43)
- ◆ On October 8, 2008 the Supreme Court upheld that former President Chandrika Kumarathunga has misused her powers while in her Presidency. A majority of the Sinhala respondents (52.6%) and Tamil respondents (61%) were aware of this verdict, whereas a majority of the Up-Country Tamil respondents (84%) and Muslim respondents (77.1%) were unaware of the verdict. (Ref. Page 44)
- ◆ Respondents who were aware of the verdict were asked if they think this measure will prevent future abuses of power in the Presidency of Sri Lanka. A majority of the Sinhala (45.6%), Tamil (40%) and Muslim (42.3%) communities think that this measure will prevent future abuses of power. A majority of the Upcountry Tamil community (58.6%) were not sure if this measure will prevent future abuses of power. (Ref. Page 45)
- ◆ Respondents were asked if they were aware of the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the Constitution that introduced Provincial Councils. A majority of all four communities (Sinhala – 70.8%, Tamil – 54.5%, Upcountry Tamil – 71.8%, Muslim – 83.4%) were unaware of the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the Constitution. (Ref. Page 46)



- ◆ Those that were aware of the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the Constitution were asked for their opinion about how far a political solution to the ethnic conflict should include the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment. A majority of the Sinhala (42.9%), Tamil (27.3%) and Muslim (28.6%) communities say that the political solution should implement some provisions of the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment. However, a majority of the Up-Country Tamil respondents (58%) believe that the political solution should go beyond the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment. ([Ref. Page 47](#))
- ◆ Respondents were asked to indicate their level of satisfaction with President Rajapakse's performance. In maintaining law and order, a majority of the Sinhala community (50.5%) are very satisfied with President Rajapakse's performance. A majority of the Muslim community (42.2%) and the Up-Country Tamil community (33.5%) are somewhat satisfied. However, a majority of the Tamil community (47.9%) are very dissatisfied with the President's maintenance of law and order. ([Ref. Page 48](#))
- ◆ In controlling cost of living, a majority of the Sinhala respondents (41%) are somewhat satisfied with President Rajapakse's performance. However, a majority of the Tamil (54%), Up-Country Tamil (45.9%) and Muslim (39.29%) communities say that they are very dissatisfied. ([Ref. Page 48](#))
- ◆ Satisfaction regarding President Rajapakse maintaining international relations, the Sinhala community (56.8%) says they are very satisfied, and the Tamil community (42.8%) and Muslim community (42.2%) say that they are somewhat satisfied. However, 41.8% of the Tamil respondents and 24.3% of the Upcountry Tamil respondents say that they are very dissatisfied with the President in maintaining international relations. ([Ref. Page 49](#))
- ◆ Satisfaction with President Rajapakse in conducting the war, a majority of the Sinhala community (78.9%) say that they are very satisfied, while 64% of the Tamil community and 30.2% of the Upcountry Tamil community say that they are very dissatisfied. The Muslim community (32.6%) says that they are somewhat satisfied. ([Ref. Page 49](#))
- ◆ Satisfaction with the President handling pressure/influence from India, 46.6% of the Sinhala community say that they are very satisfied. However, 52% of the Tamil community, 24.3% of the Up-Country Tamil community and 21.6% of the Muslim community say that they are very dissatisfied. ([Ref. Page 50](#))
- ◆ Respondents were asked if they agree or disagree about whether the East has improved considerably since the Eastern Provincial elections were over. While a majority of the Sinhala community (49%) and Tamil community (40.2%) say that they agree that the East has improved considerably, 80.1% of the Up-Country Tamil respondents and 57.5% of the Muslim community do not know if they agree or disagree. ([Ref. Page 51](#))
- ◆ The respondents who agreed that the East has improved considerably were asked about the level of improvement in certain aspects. In obtaining resources for development of the region, 68.4% of the Sinhala, 34.5% of the Tamil, 40% of the Up-Country Tamil and 46.1% of the Muslim communities say that the East has somewhat improved. Furthermore, 39.7% of Tamil community says that the East has improved considerably. ([Ref. Page 52](#))
- ◆ On the safety and security of the civilians, 67.1% of the Sinhala respondents and 40.2% of the Muslim respondents say that it has somewhat improved while 31.7% of Tamil respondents say that it has improved considerably. However, 40% of the Upcountry Tamils say that there is no change. ([Ref. Page 52](#))



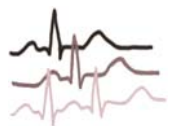


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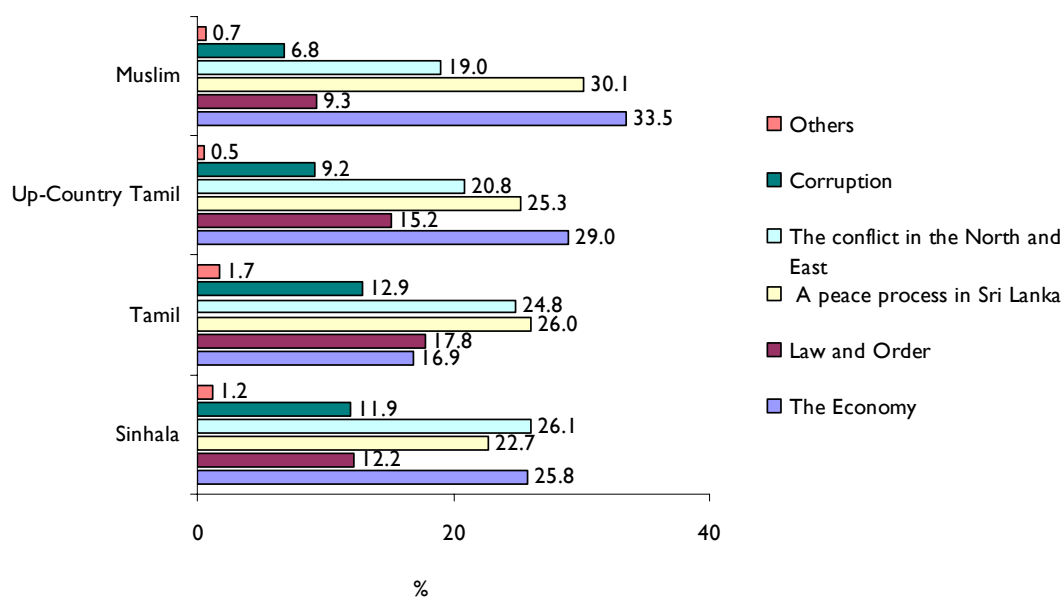


## Peace Confidence Index (PCI) May 2001 – November 2008

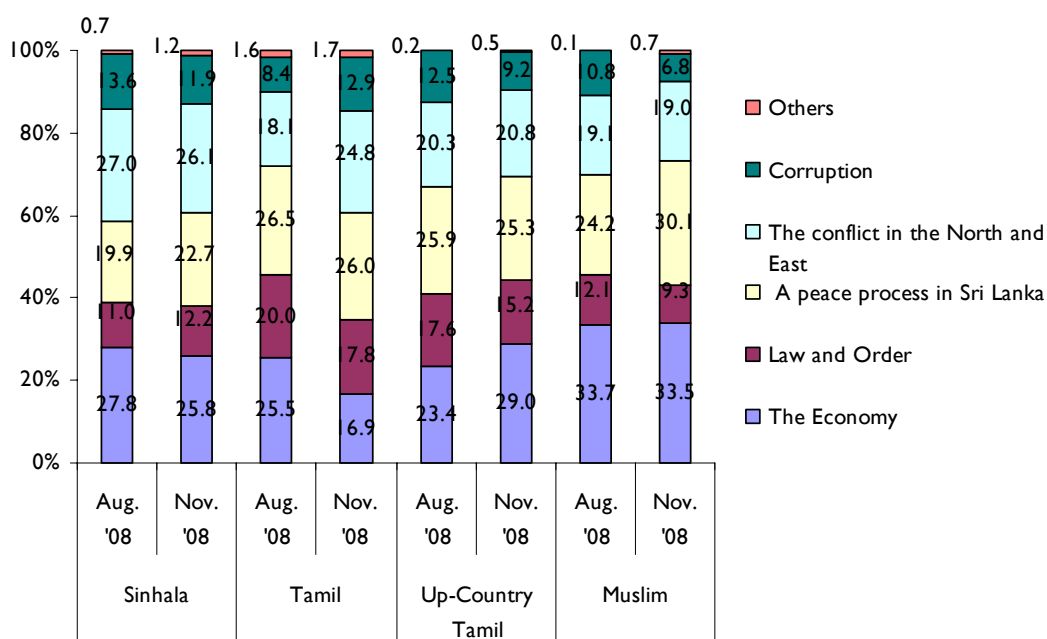
### Important Issues

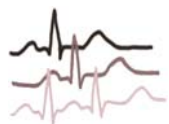
Rating the degree of importance of five national issues

**Ethnic Breakdown**



**Changes of opinion from August '08 to November '08**

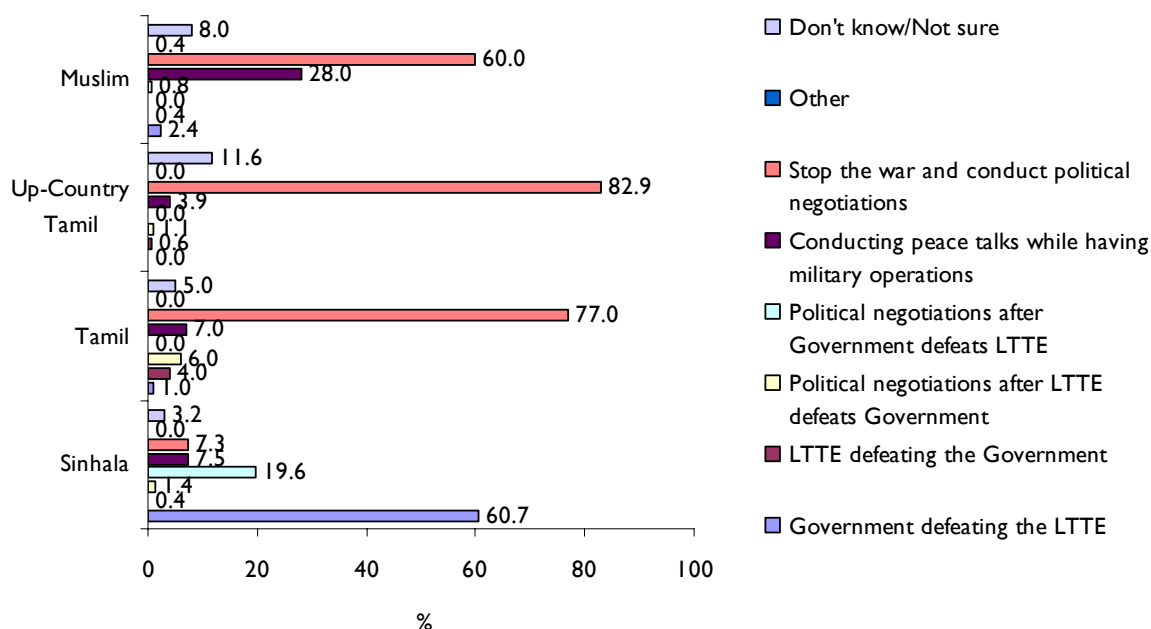




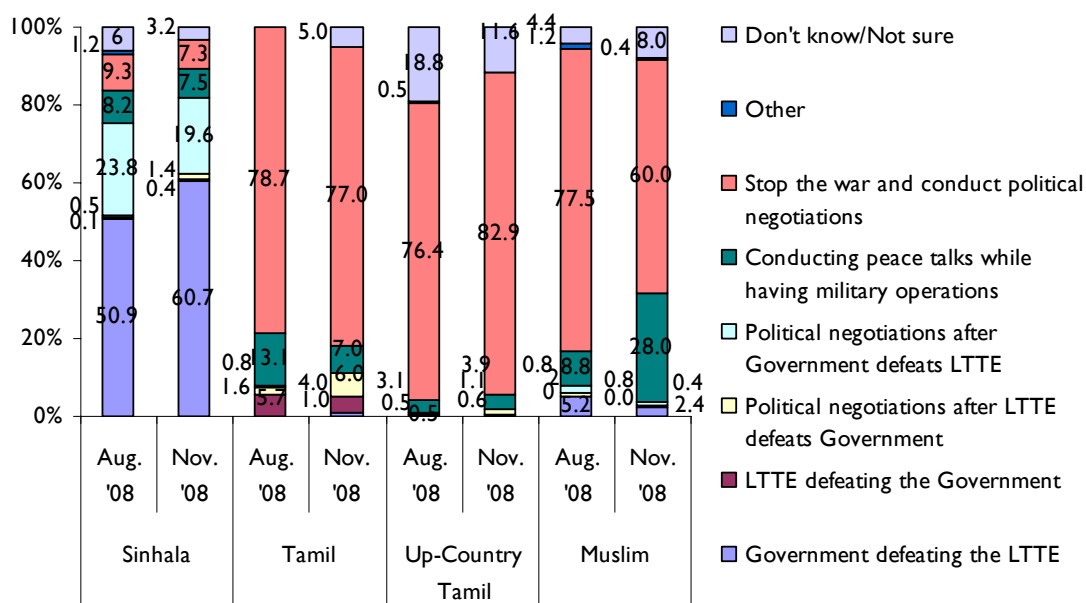
## Solutions

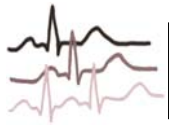
How do you think we can end the war and arrive at peace in Sri Lanka?

### National Breakdown



### Change of Opinion from August '08 to November '08'

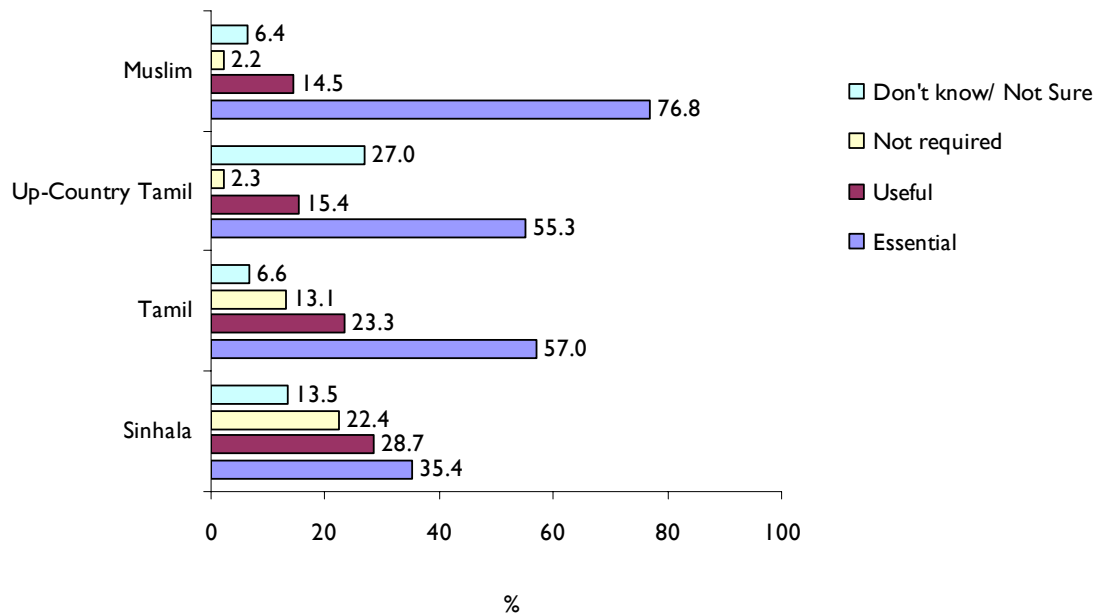




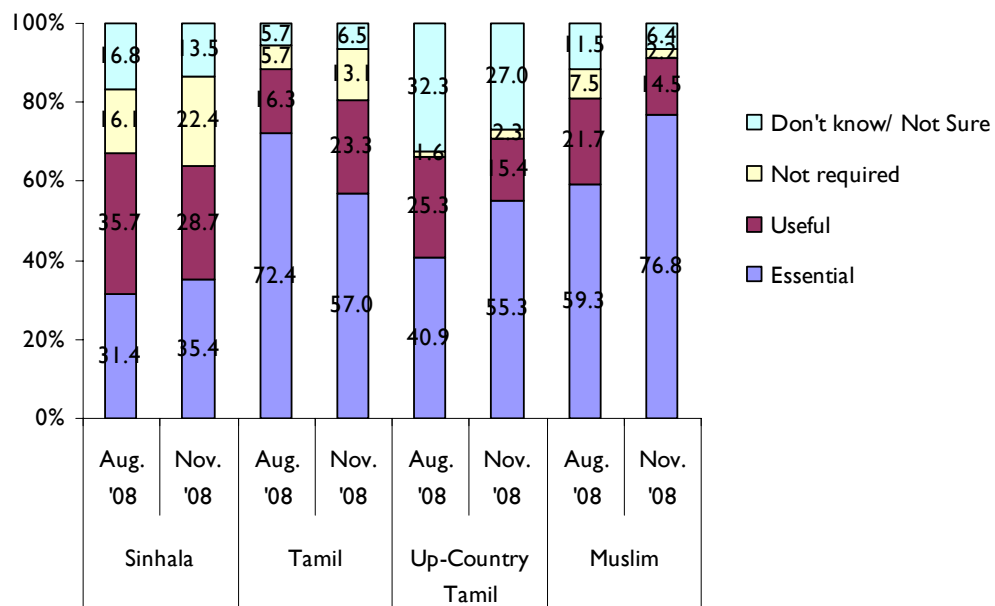
Some say that irrespective of how the war ends; a political solution is still necessary to resolve the present conflict. There are also some who disagree with this idea. What do you think?

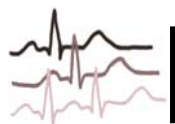
I think that a political settlement is:

### Ethnic Breakdown



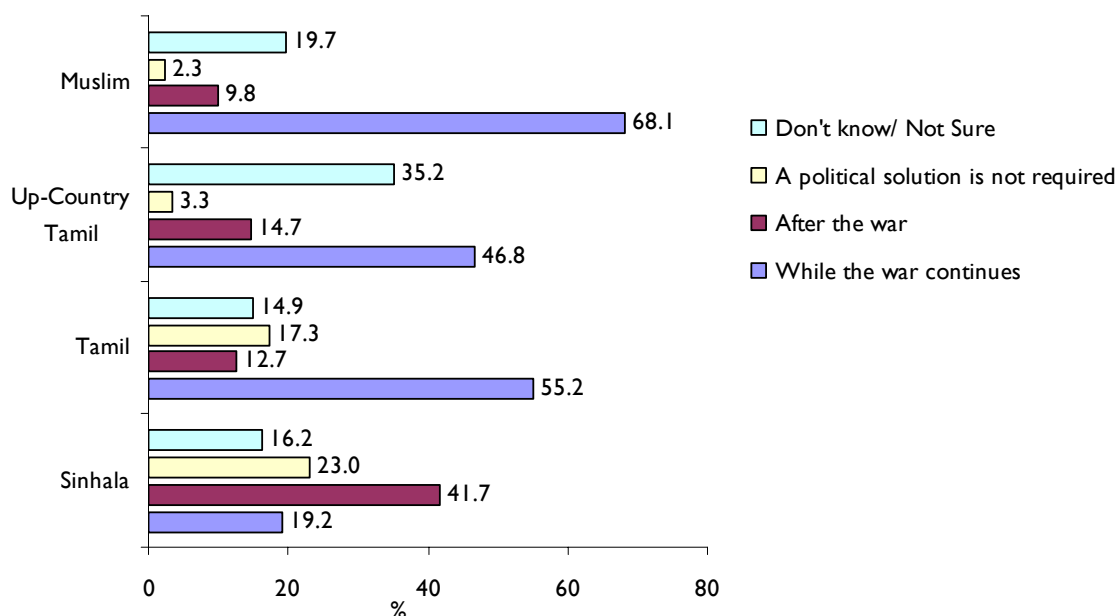
### Change of Opinion from August '08 to November '08'



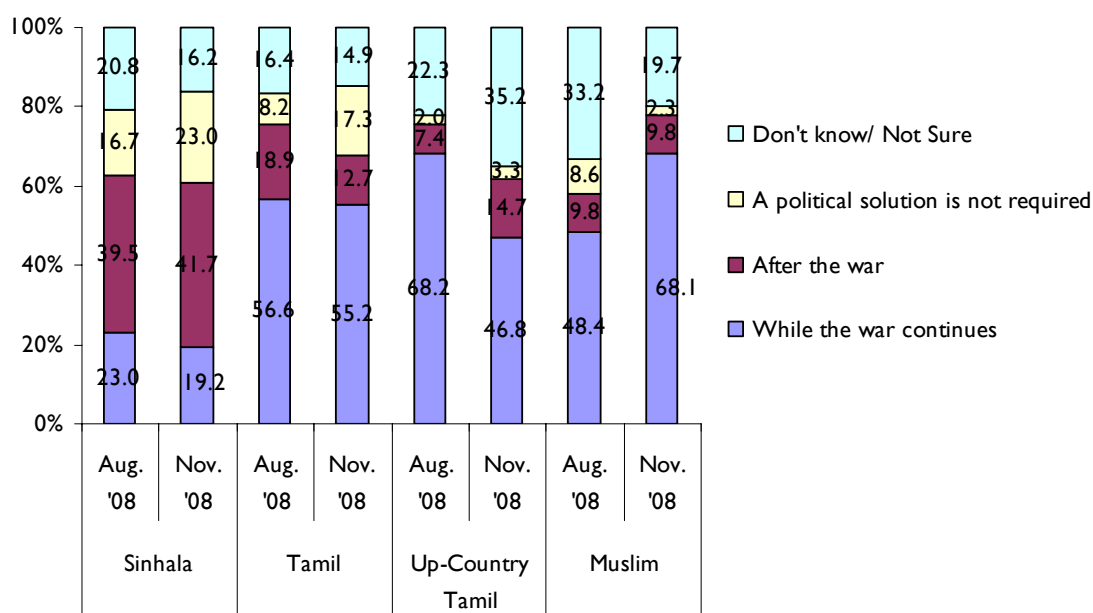


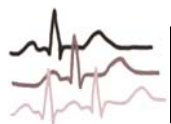
When do you think should a political solution be designed?

### Ethnic Breakdown



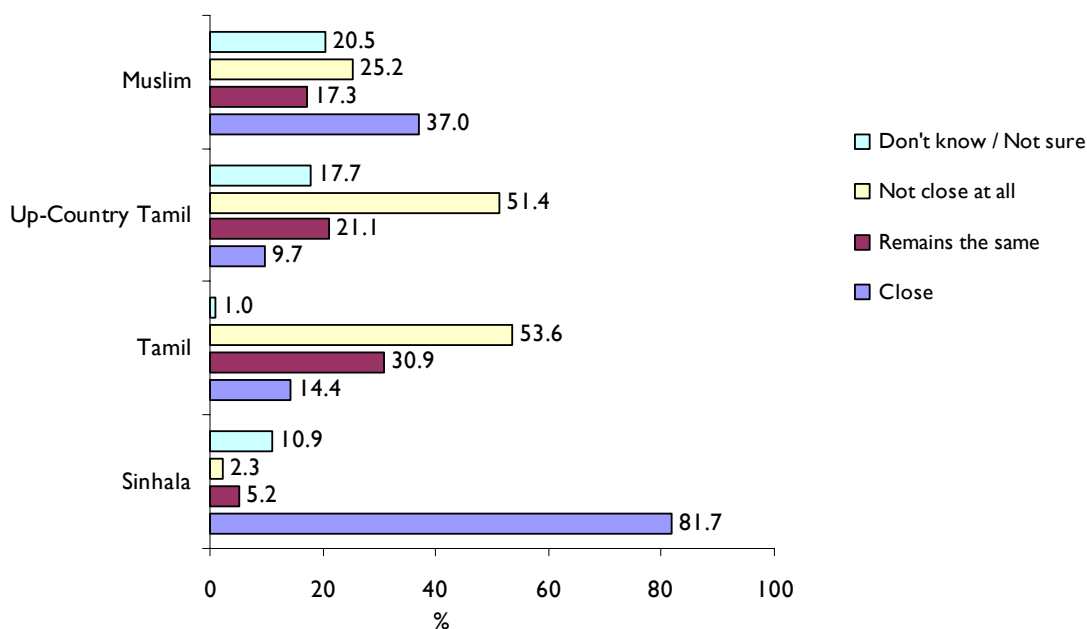
### Change of Opinion from August '08 to November '08'



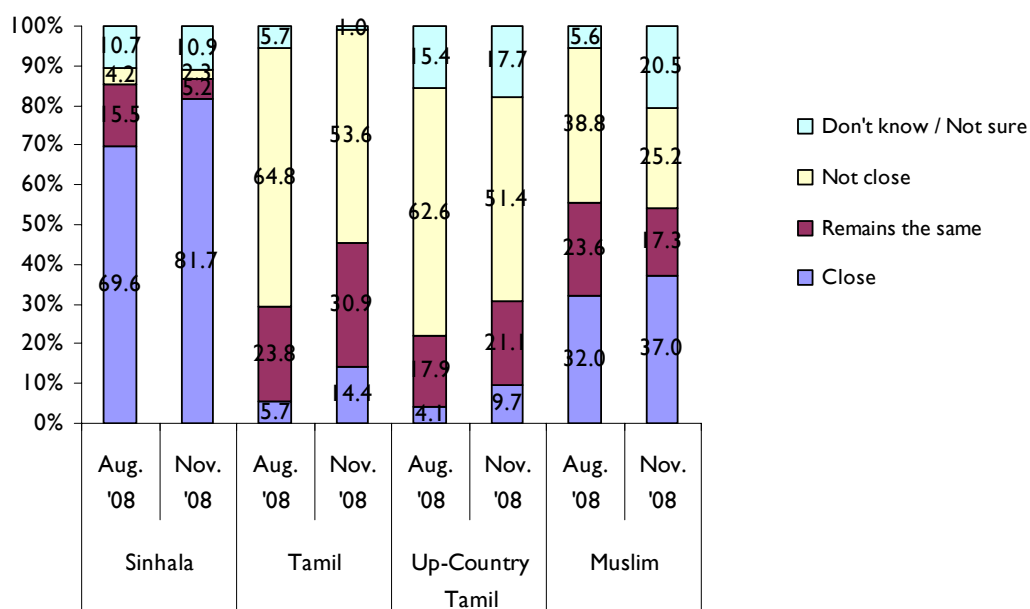


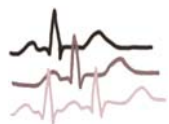
Compared to the situation a year ago, how close do you think the country is, at present, in approaching a permanent settlement to the ethnic conflict?

### Ethnic Breakdown



### Change of Opinion from August '08 to November '08

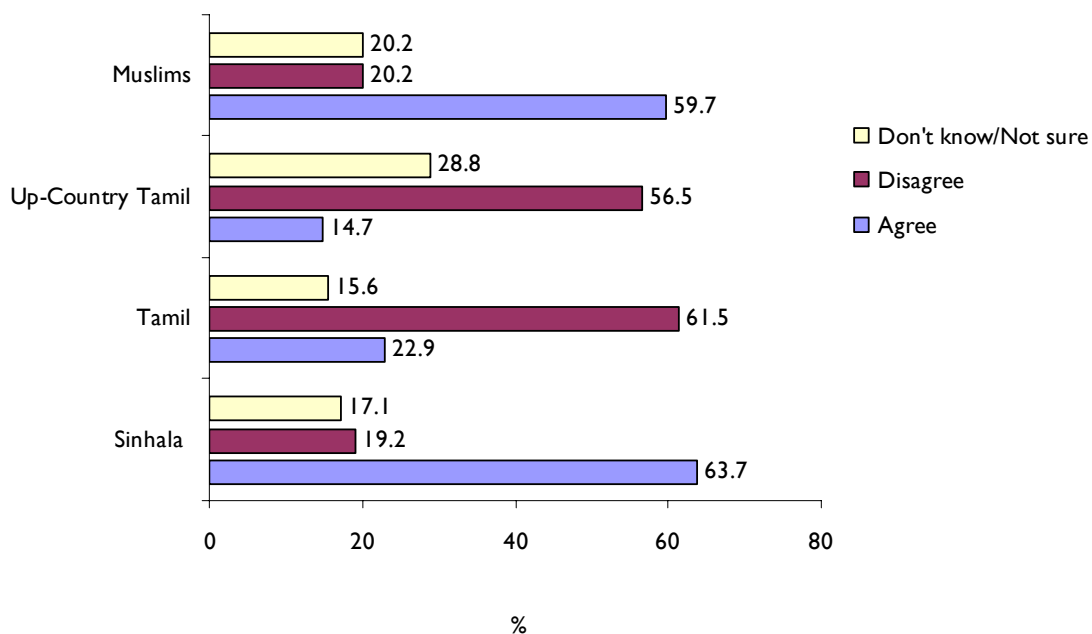




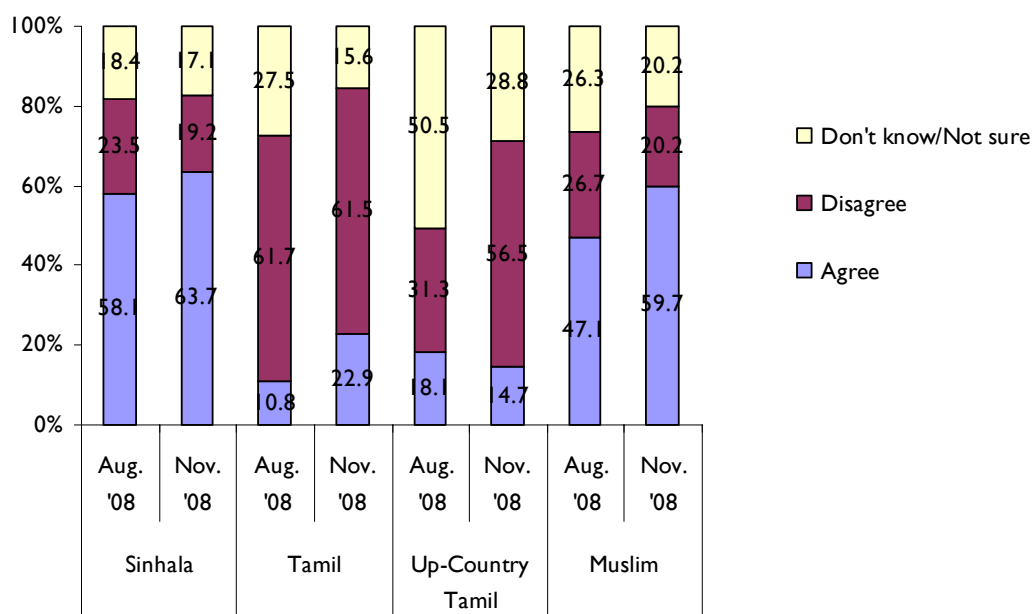
## Commitment

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

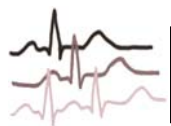
### Ethnic Breakdown



### Change of Opinion from August '08 to November '08'

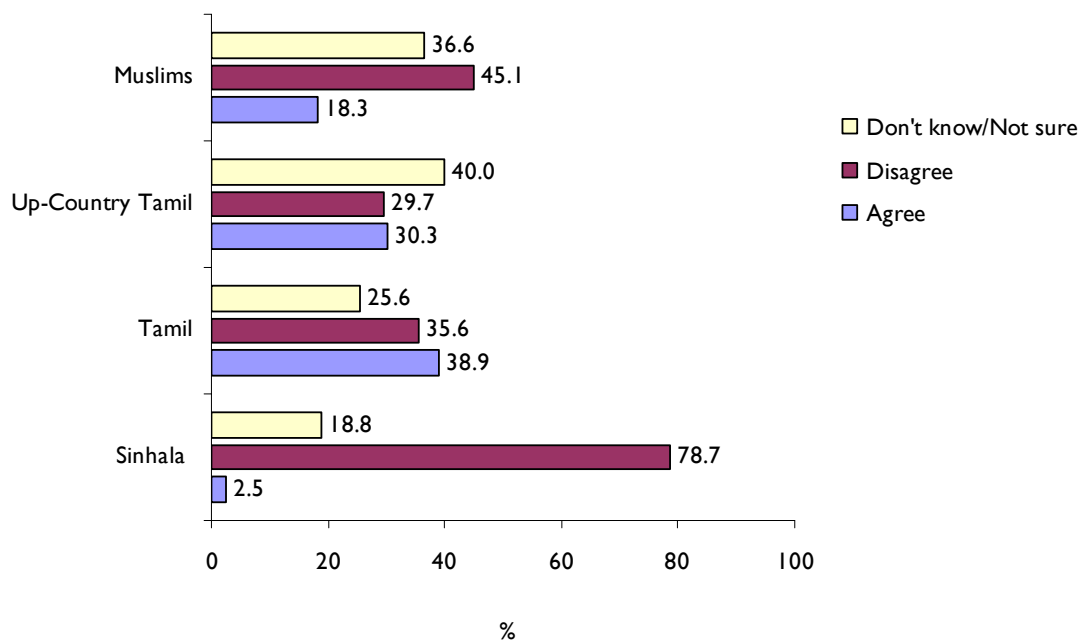




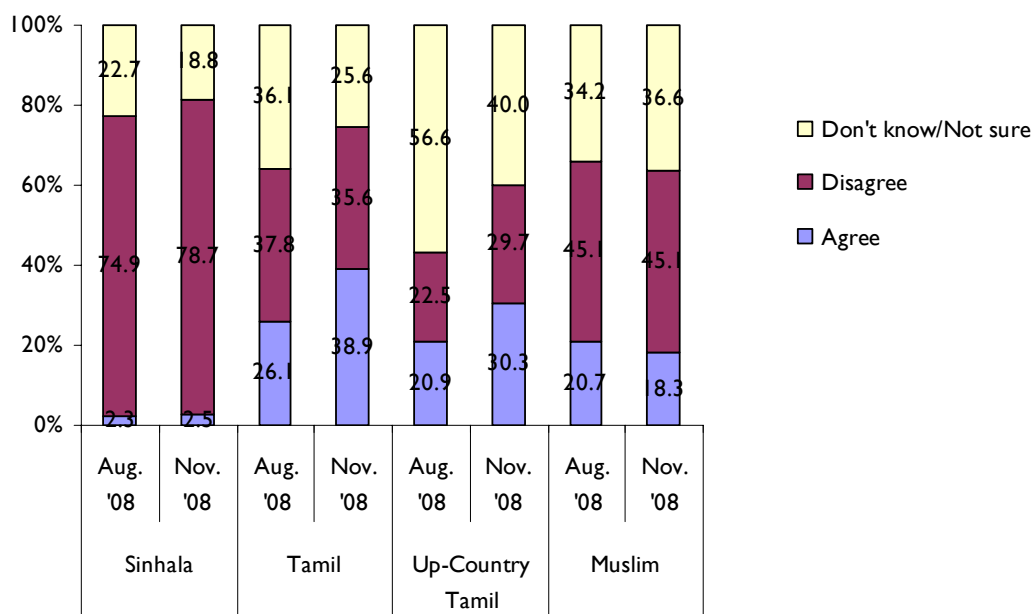


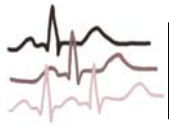
I think the LTTE is committed to find peace through talks.

### Ethnic Breakdown

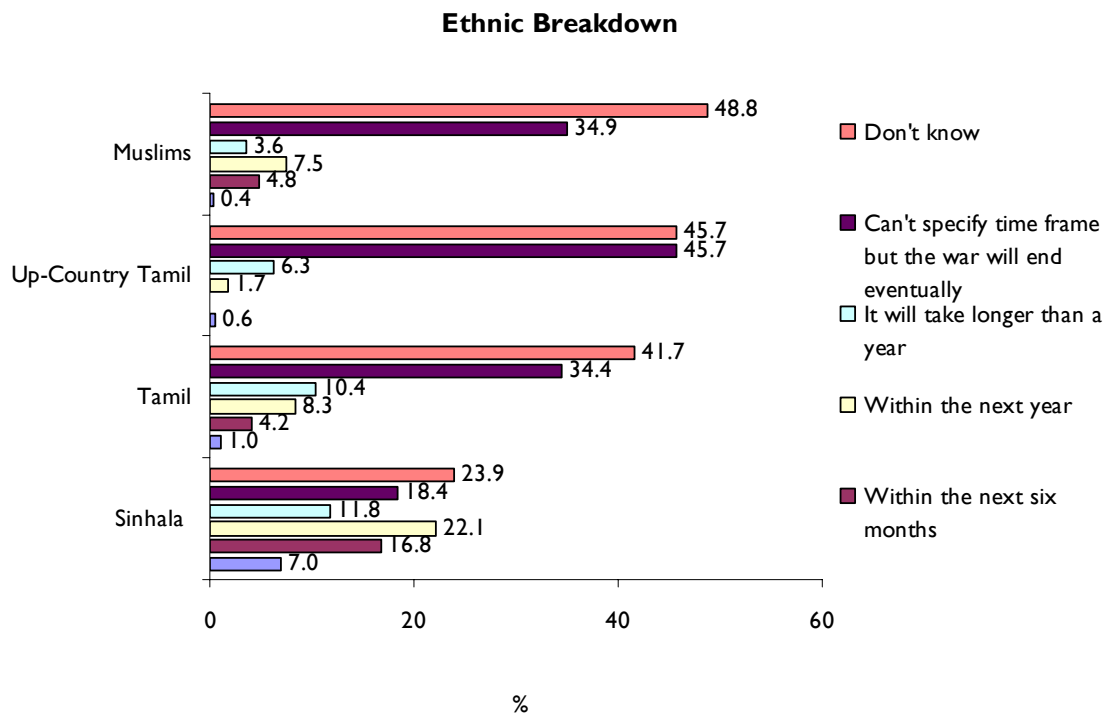


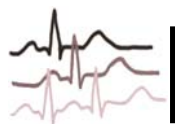
### Change of Opinion from August '08 to November '08'





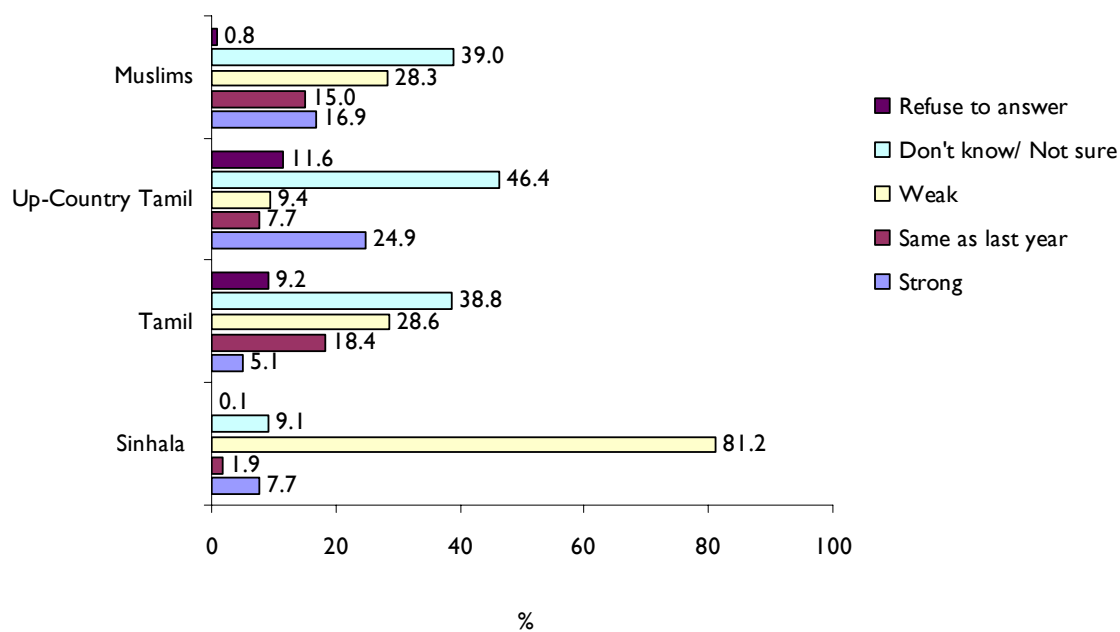
How soon do you think the present ongoing war will come to an end?



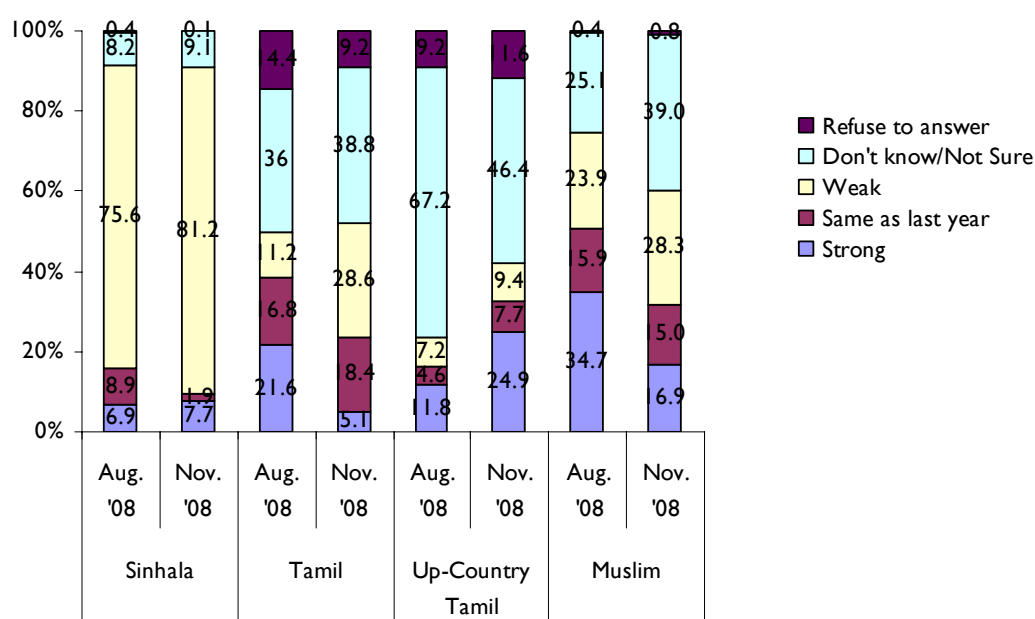


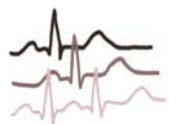
Some people say that compared to a year ago the LTTE is stronger today in terms of their military capacity. However, some others say the LTTE is weaker today in terms of their military capacity. What is your opinion on LTTE's current military capacity?

### Ethnic Breakdown



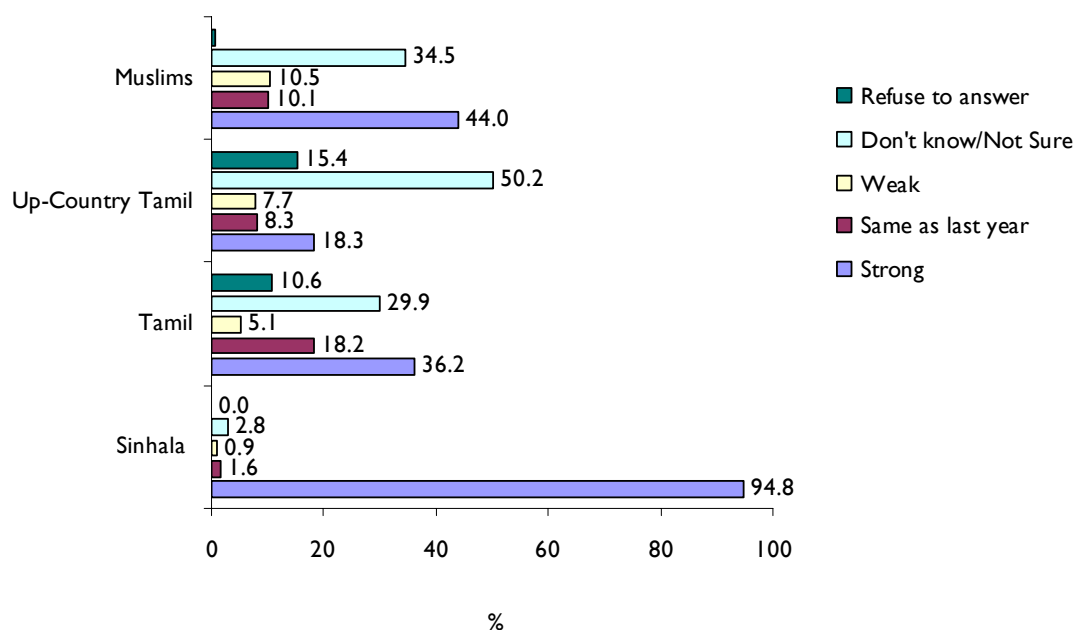
### Change of Opinion from August '08 to November '08'



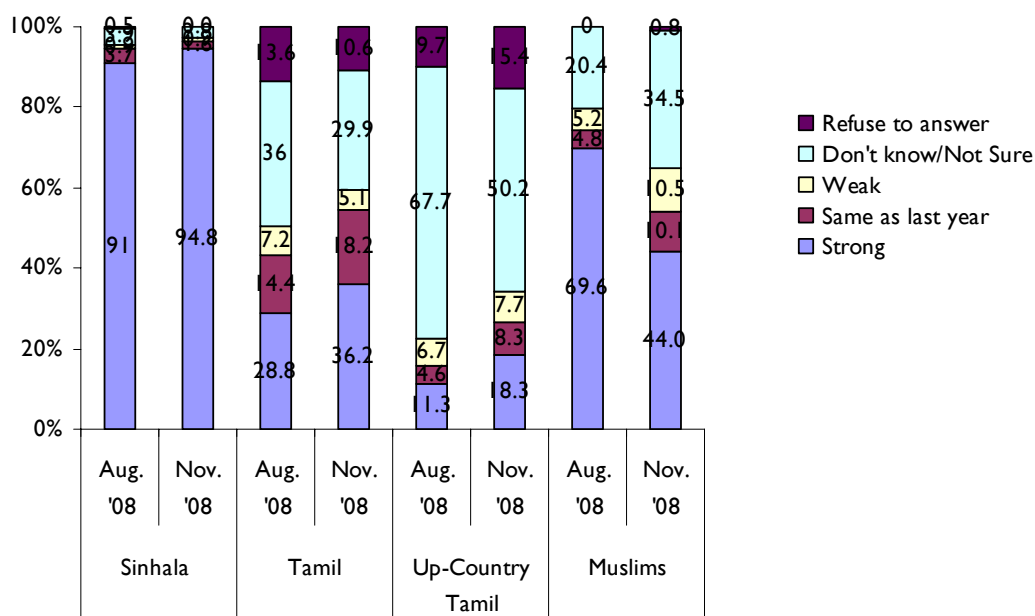


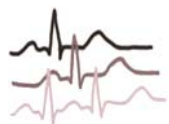
Some people say that compared to a year ago the security forces are stronger today in terms of their military capacity. However, some others say the security forces are weaker today in terms of their military capacity. What is your assessment of the government's current military capacity?

### Ethnic Breakdown



### Change of Opinion from August '08 to November '08'

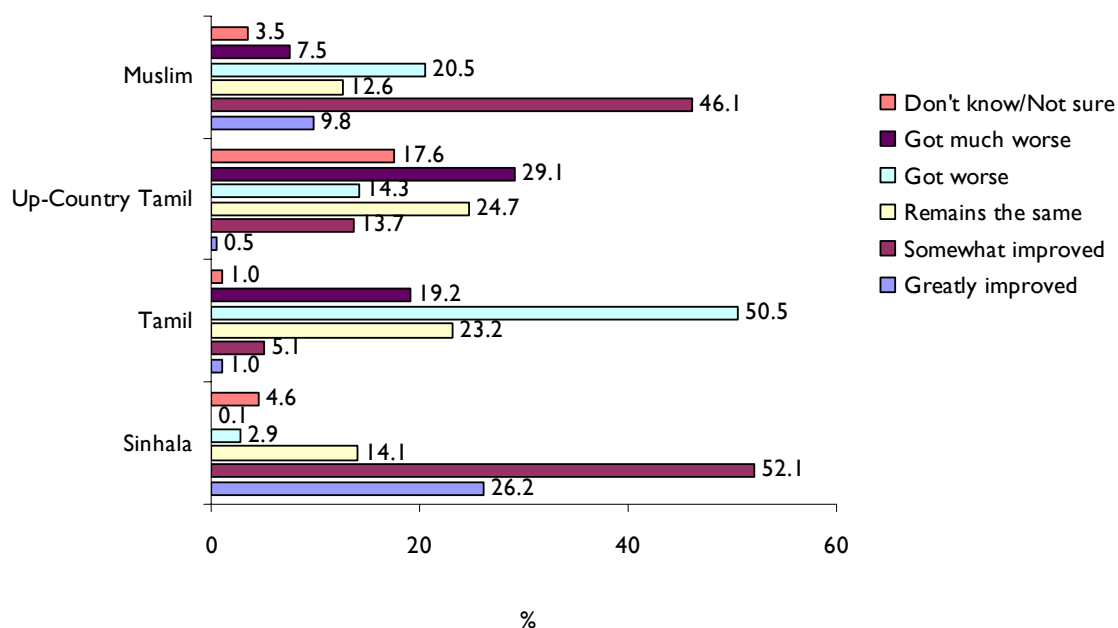




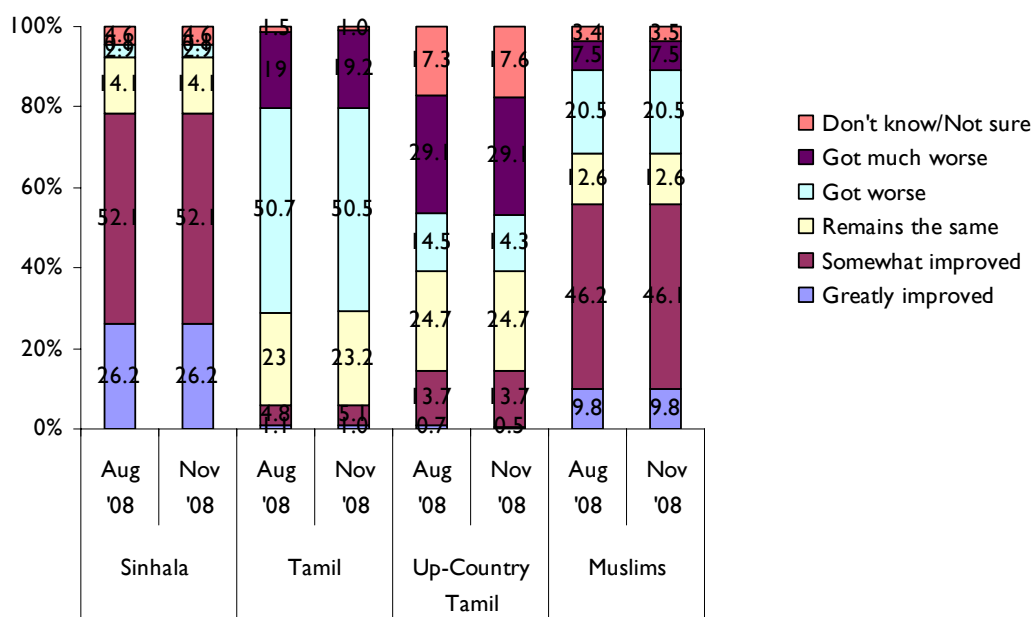
## Current Security Condition

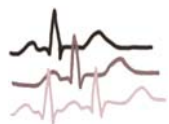
"Some people perceive that the national security has improved in the last year while others think it has got worse." Compared to the situation a year ago, do you think the national security (country's security) has improved or worsened?

### Ethnic Breakdown



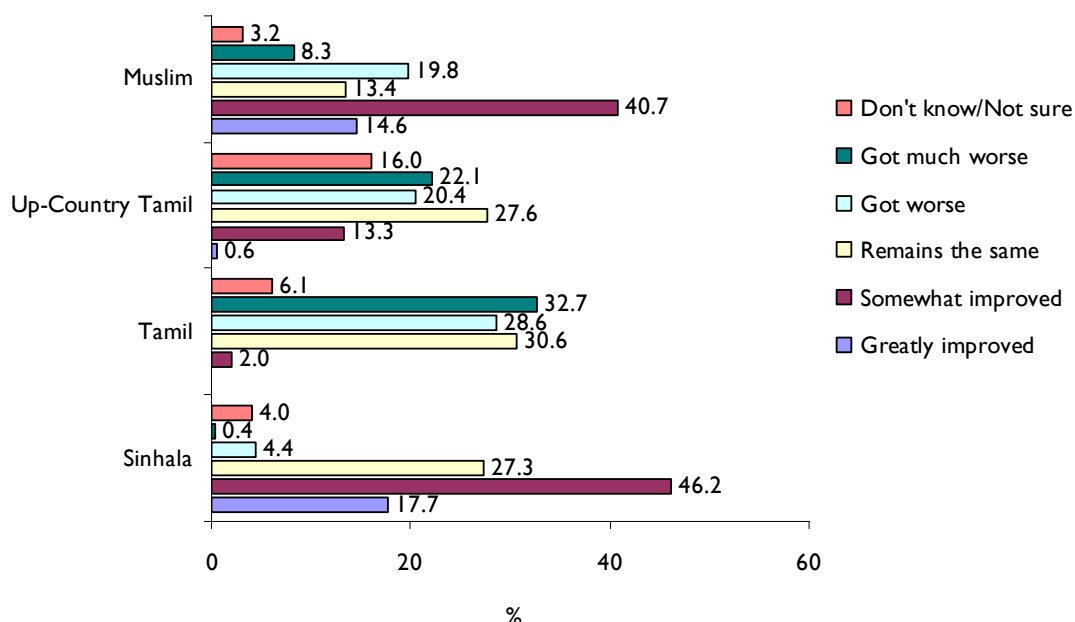
### Change of Opinion from August '08 to November '08'



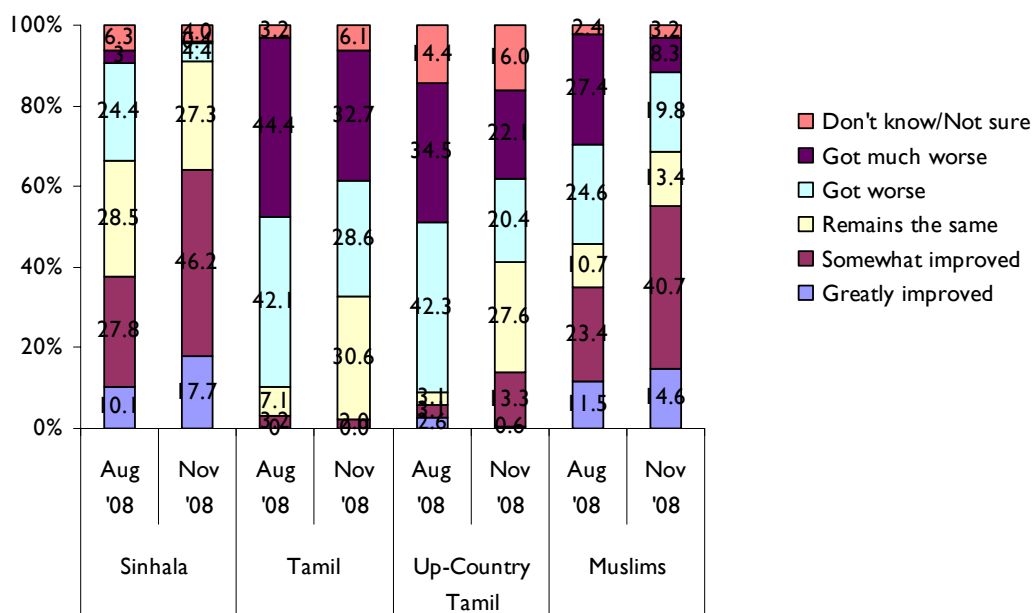


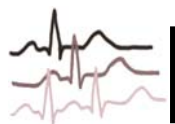
"Some people perceive that their personal security has improved in the last year while others think it has got worse." Compared to the situation a year ago, do you think your personal security has improved or worsened?

### Ethnic Breakdown



### Change of Opinion from August '08 to November '08'

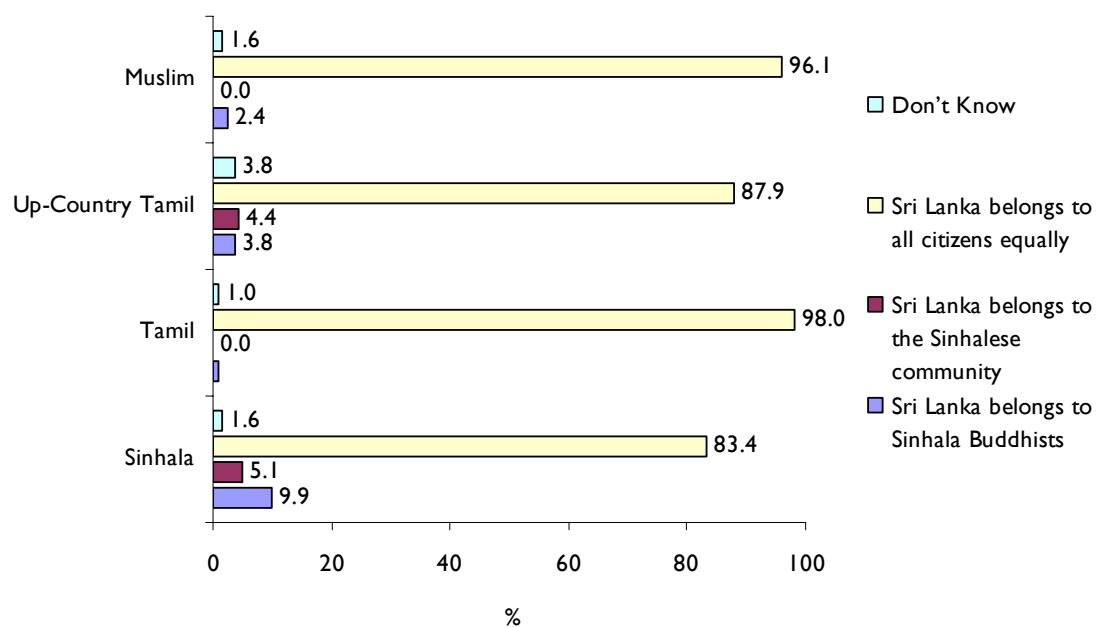




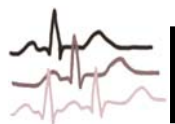
## Sri Lanka

In your opinion, Sri Lanka belongs to...

### Ethnic Breakdown



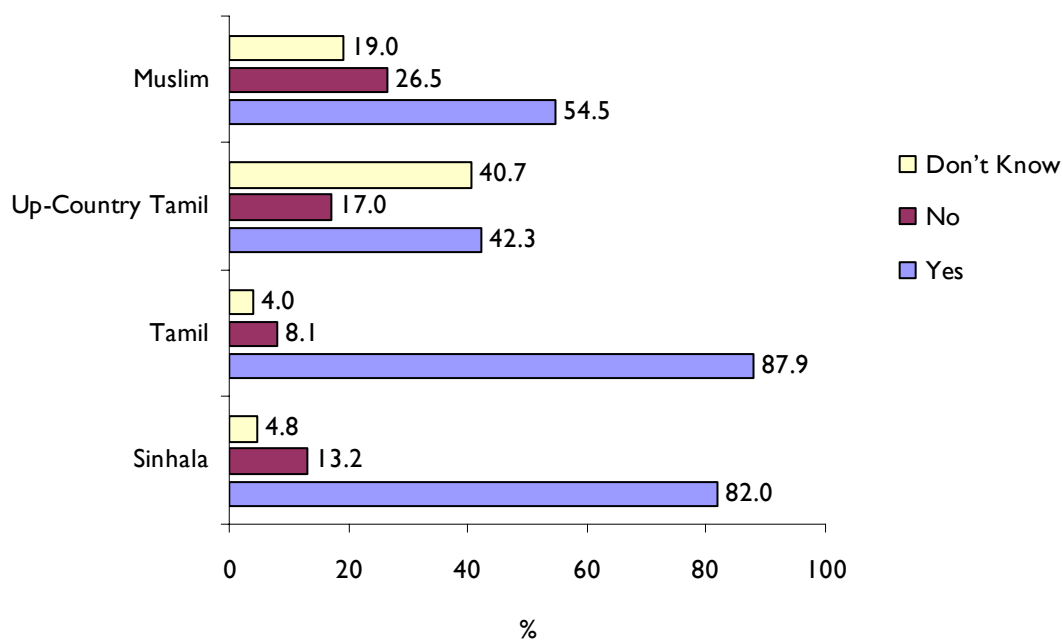


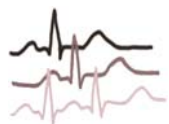


## Karuna Amman

Are you aware / have you heard that Karuna was sworn in as a Member of Parliament?

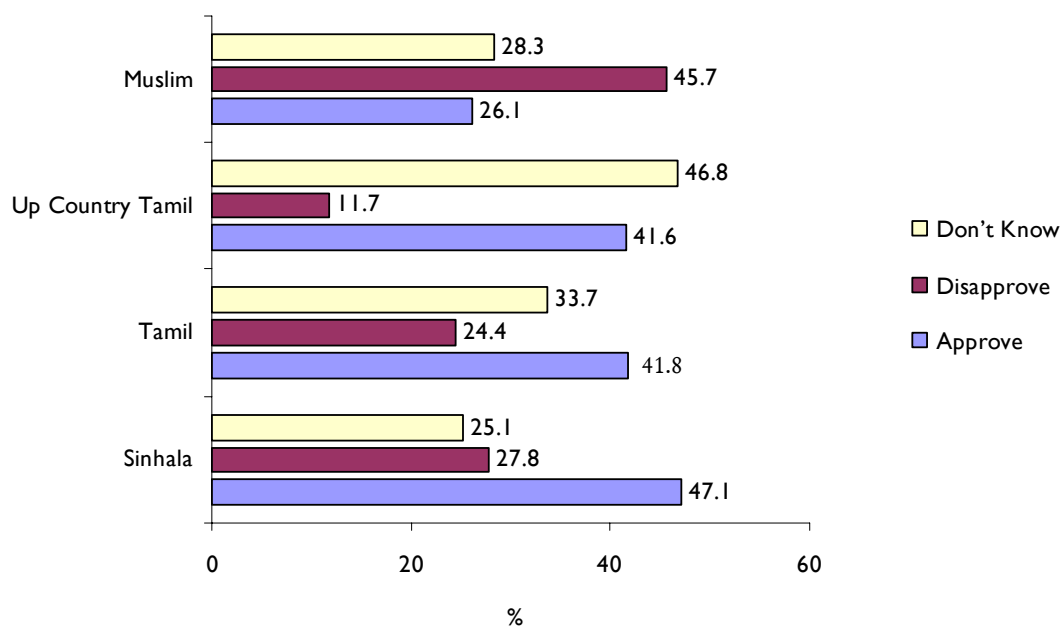
### Ethnic Breakdown

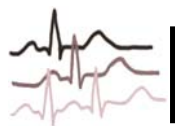




If you are / have you heard that Karuna was sworn in as a Member of Parliament, some approve appointing Karuna Amman as an MP in the Parliament while others do not. In your opinion, do you approve or disapprove of Karuna's appointment to the Parliament?

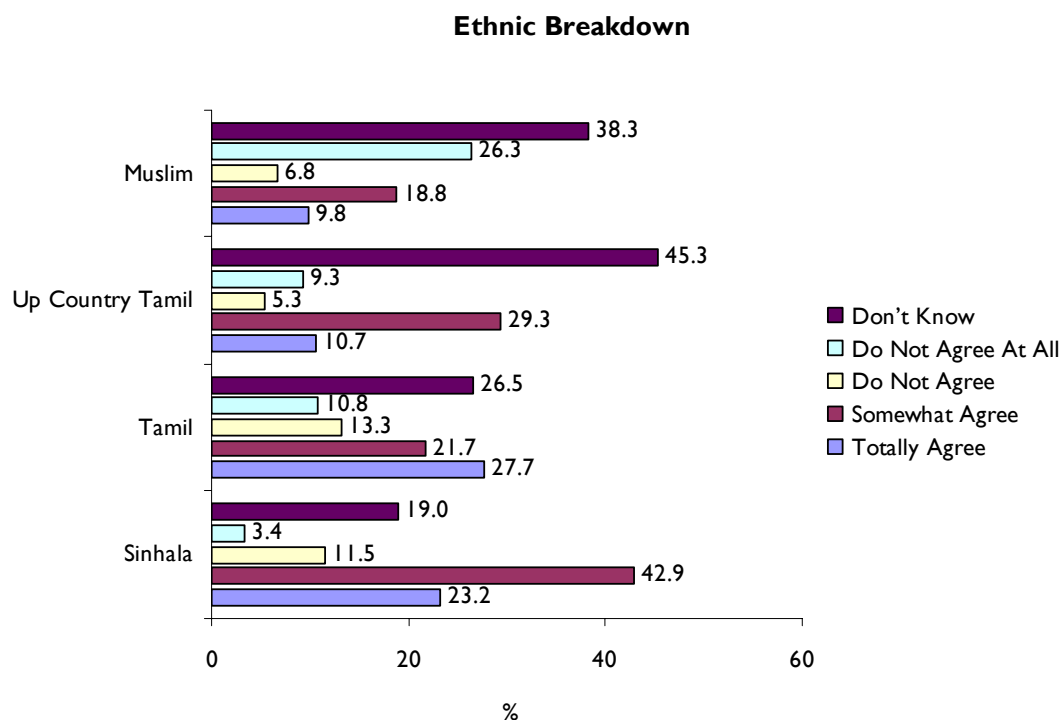
#### Ethnic Breakdown



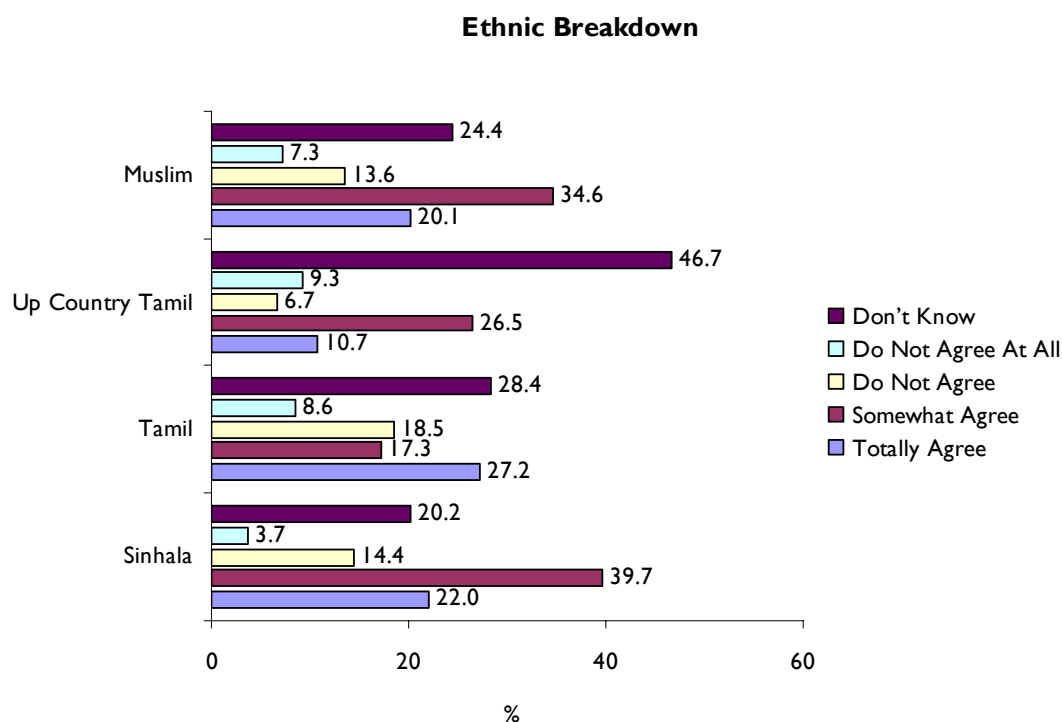


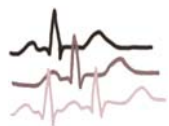
Various opinions have been expressed about the appointment of Karuna Amman as an MP in the Parliament. To what extent do you agree/disagree to the following statements?

A true sign of accommodating minorities



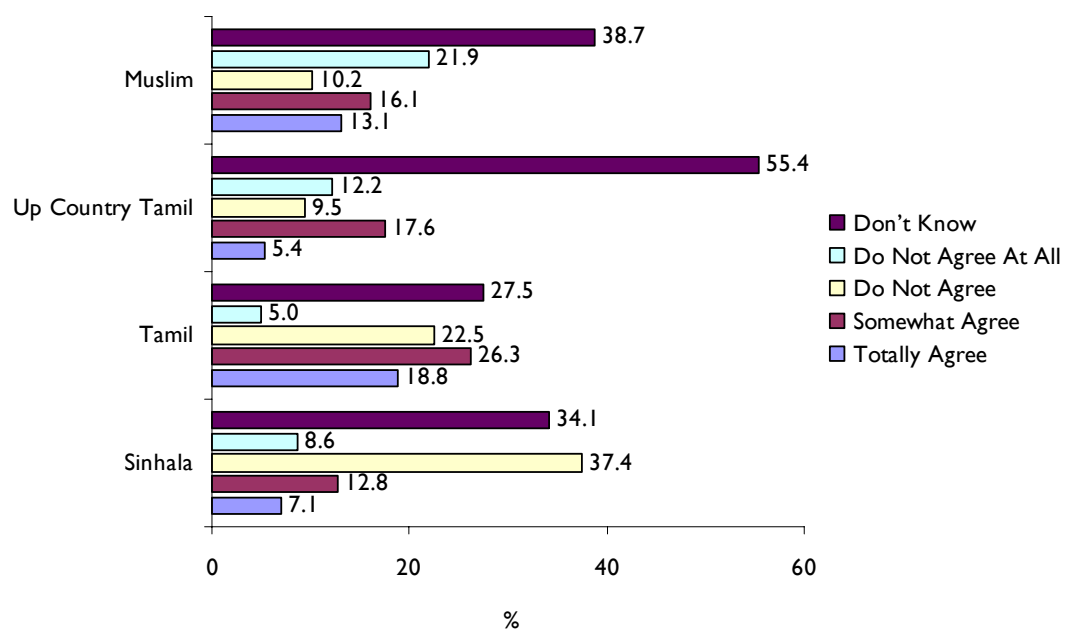
A sign of democracy

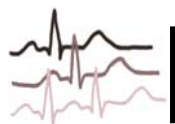




## Traversity of justice

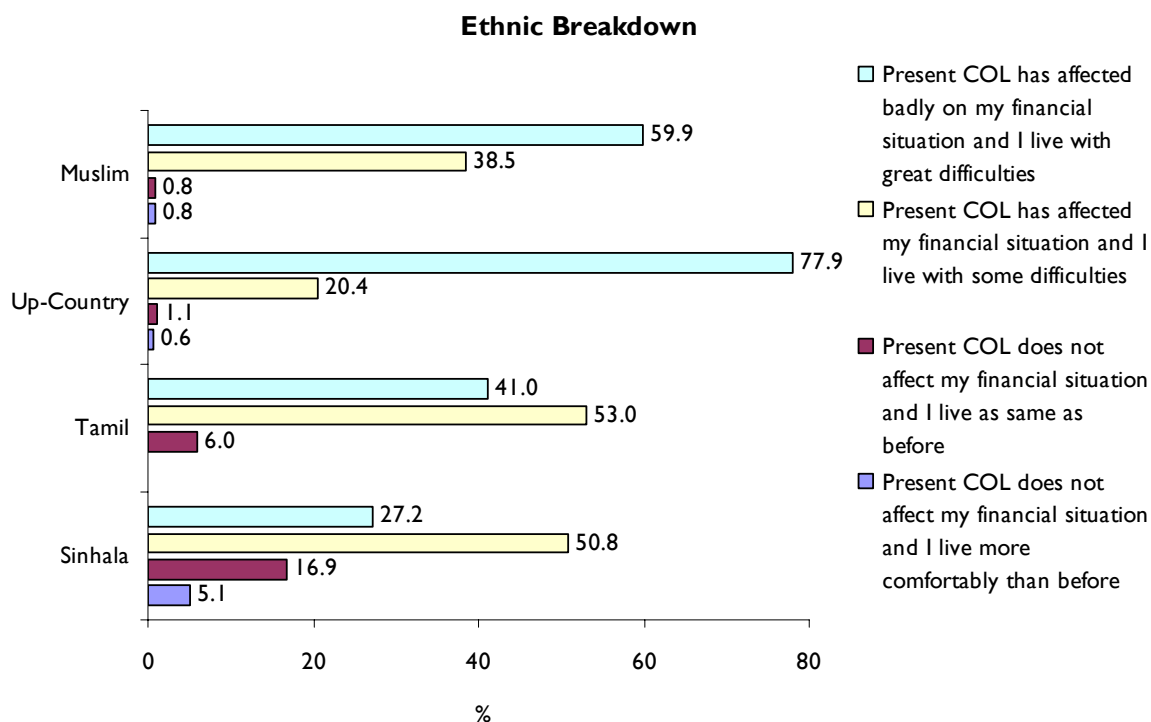
### Ethnic Breakdown



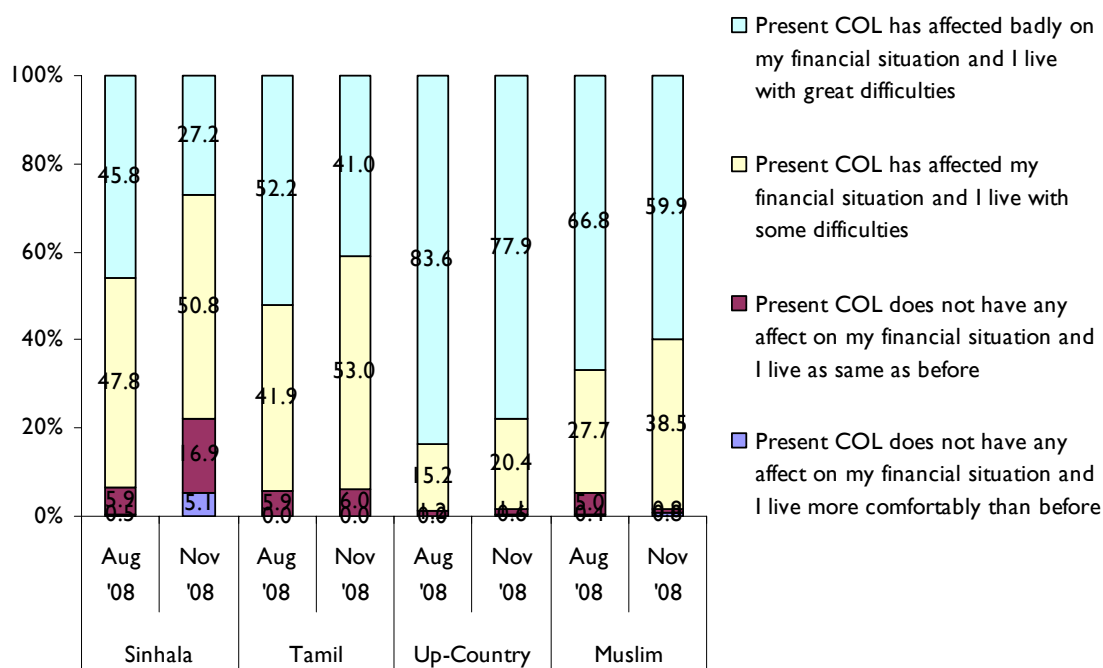


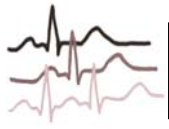
## Cost of Living

Now I am going to read out some statements where people describe the effect of the present cost of living (COL) on their lives. Please choose the statement that best describes your situation.



## Change of Opinion from August '08 to November '08'

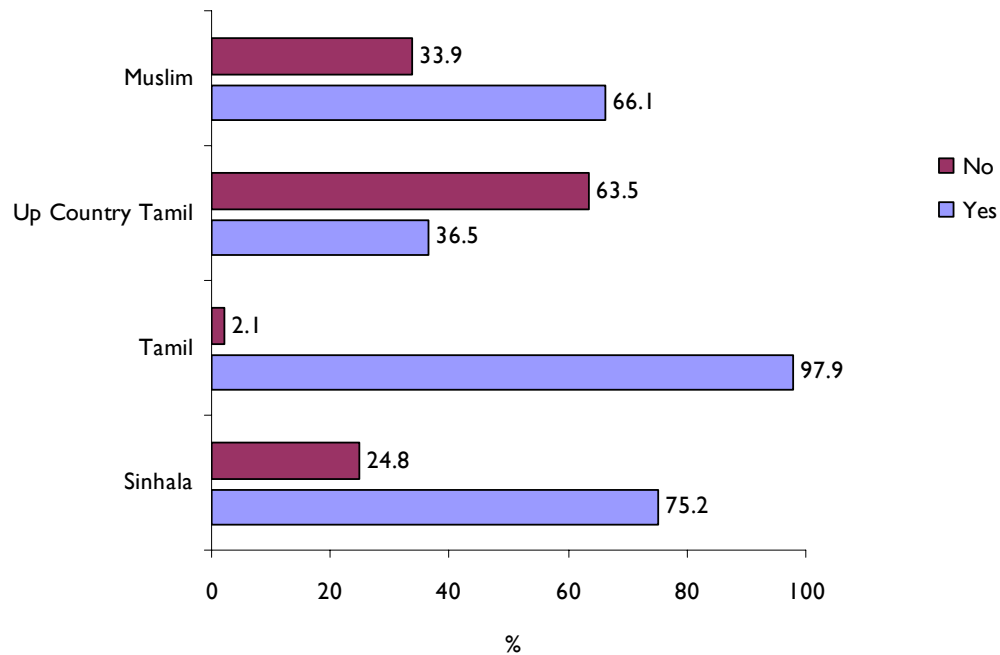


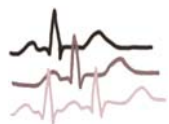


## Barack Obama

The US presidential election was held on November 4. Barack Obama has been elected as the new US President. Have you heard about this?

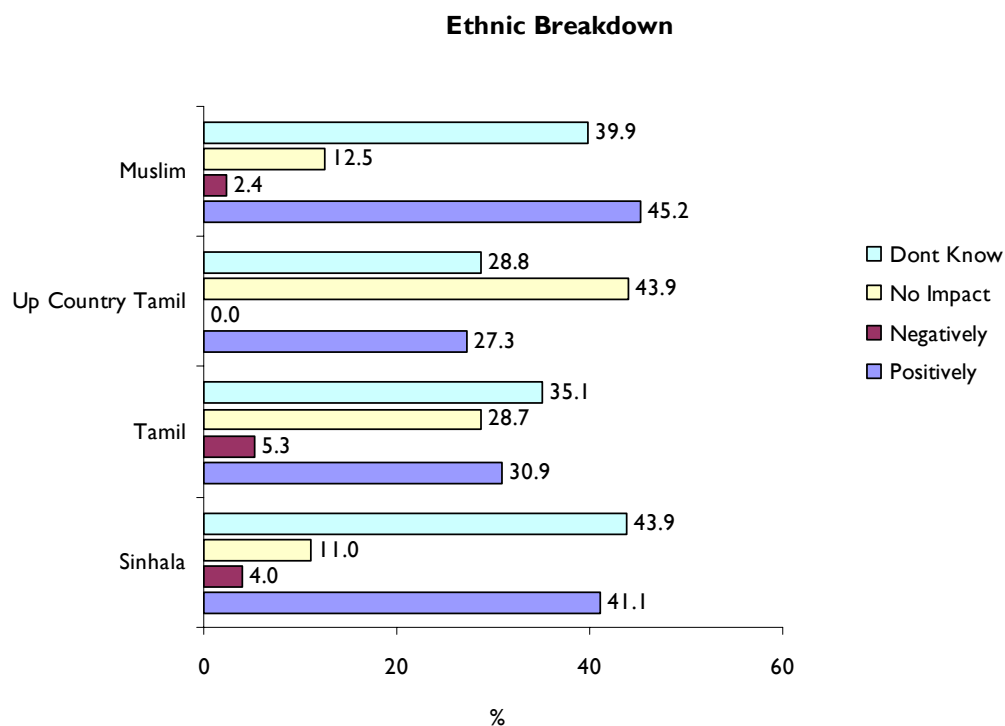
### Ethnic Breakdown



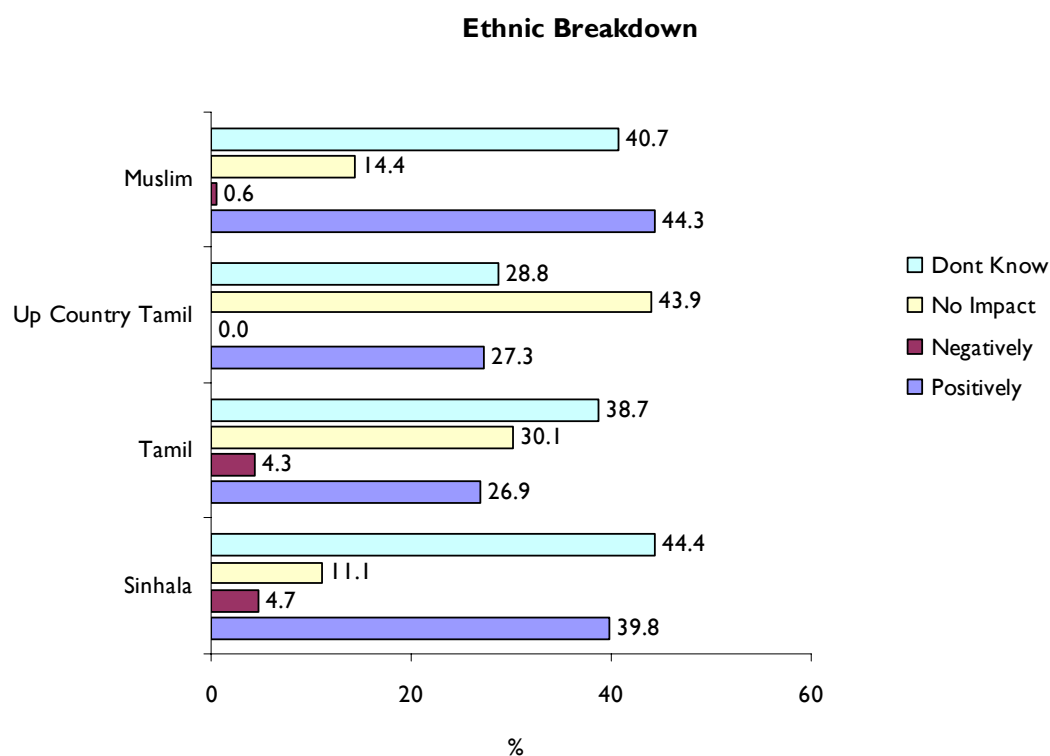


IF yes, how do you think that the election of Barack Obama will affect Sri Lanka and the ethnic conflict? Positively or negatively?

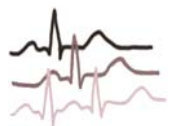
Assisting in development of Sri Lanka



Assisting in finding peace



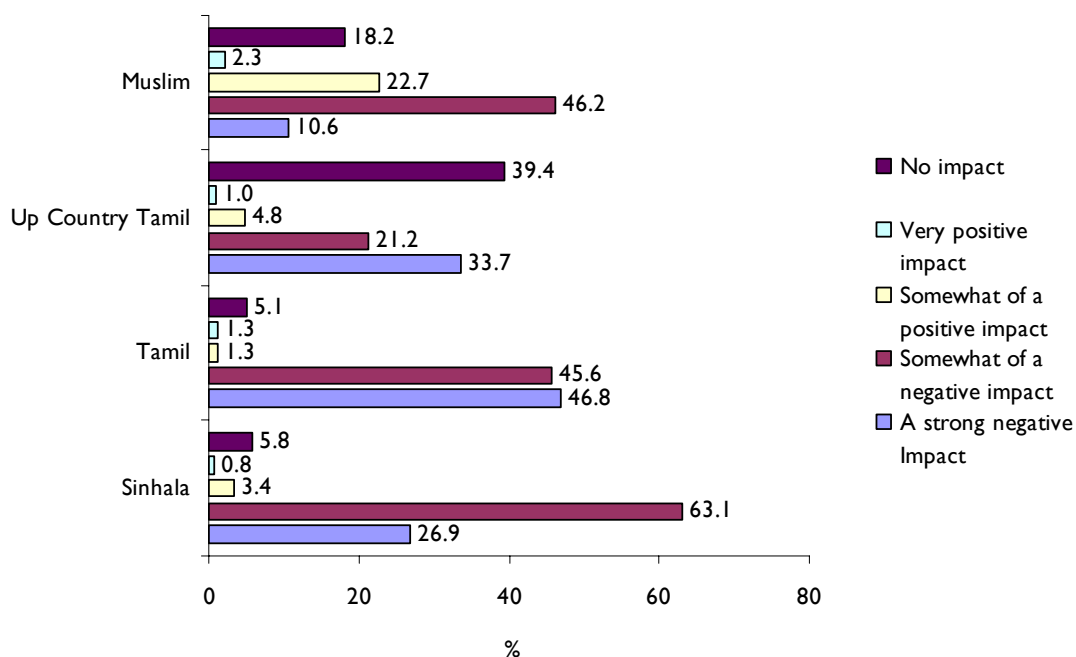


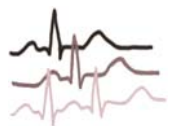


## Global Credit Crunch

How do you think that the global credit crunch will impact the Sri Lankan economy?

### Ethnic Breakdown

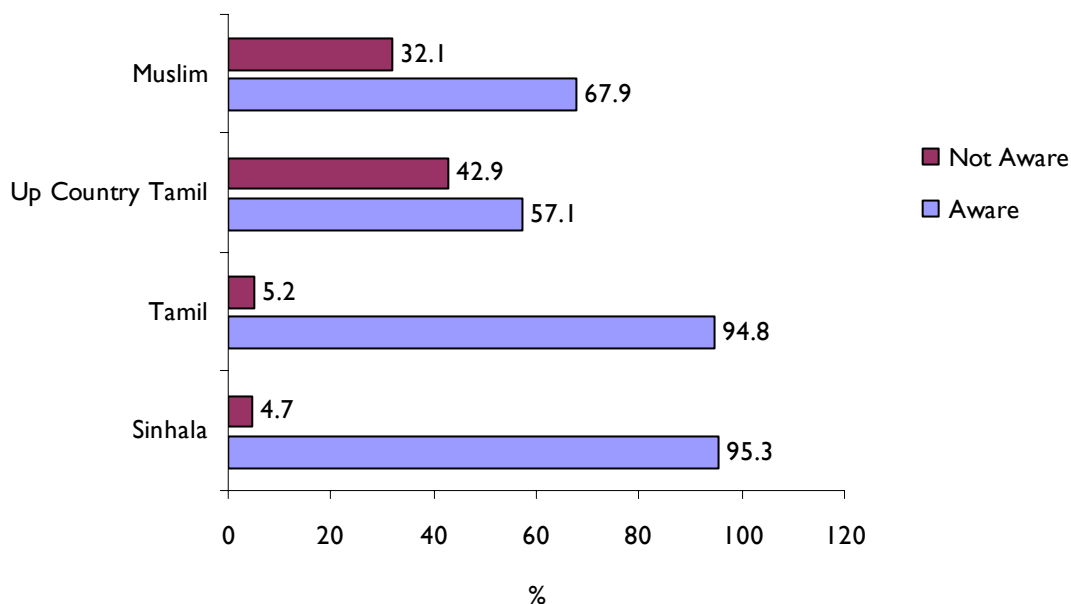




## The Budget

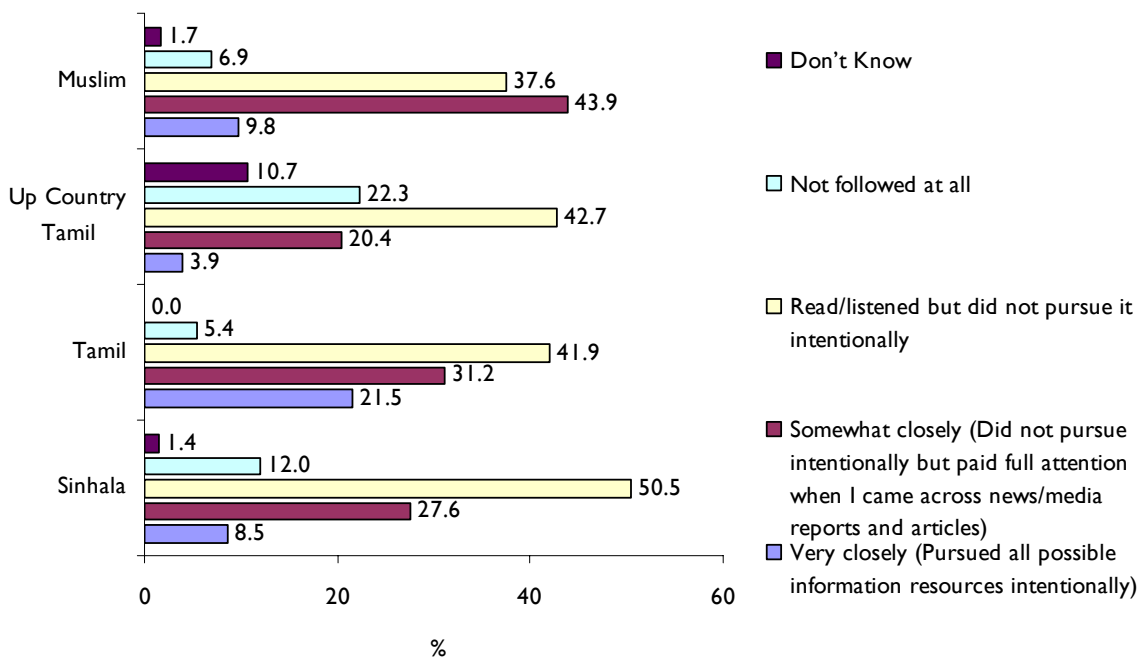
Are you aware that the government presented its third budget in Parliament recently?

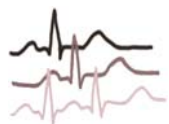
### Ethnic Breakdown



IF aware, how closely have you followed the budget/budget speech?

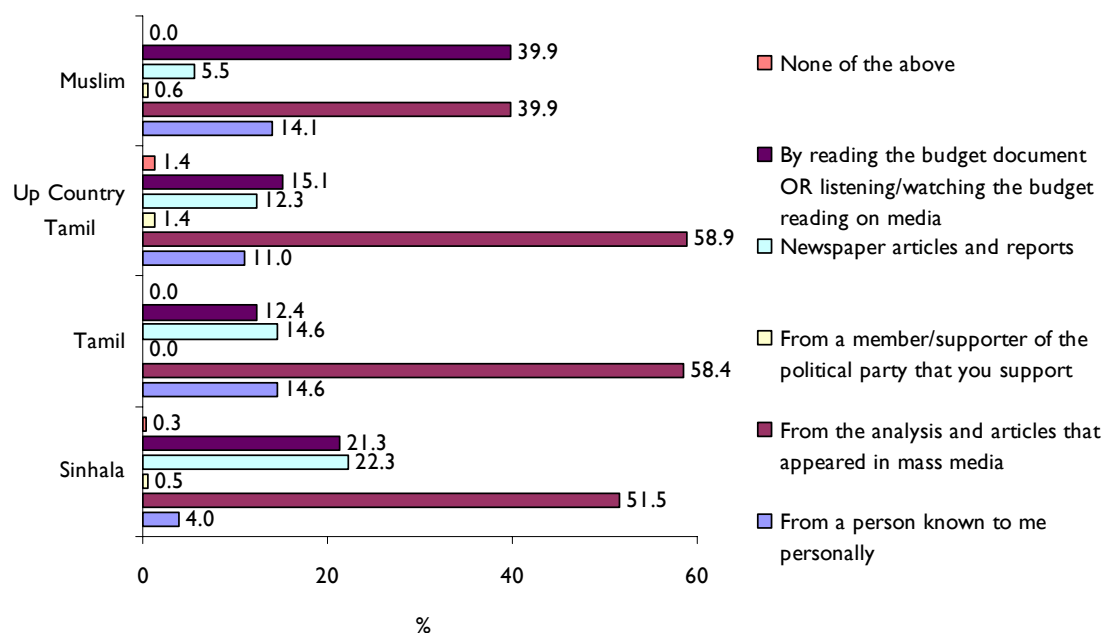
### Ethnic Breakdown





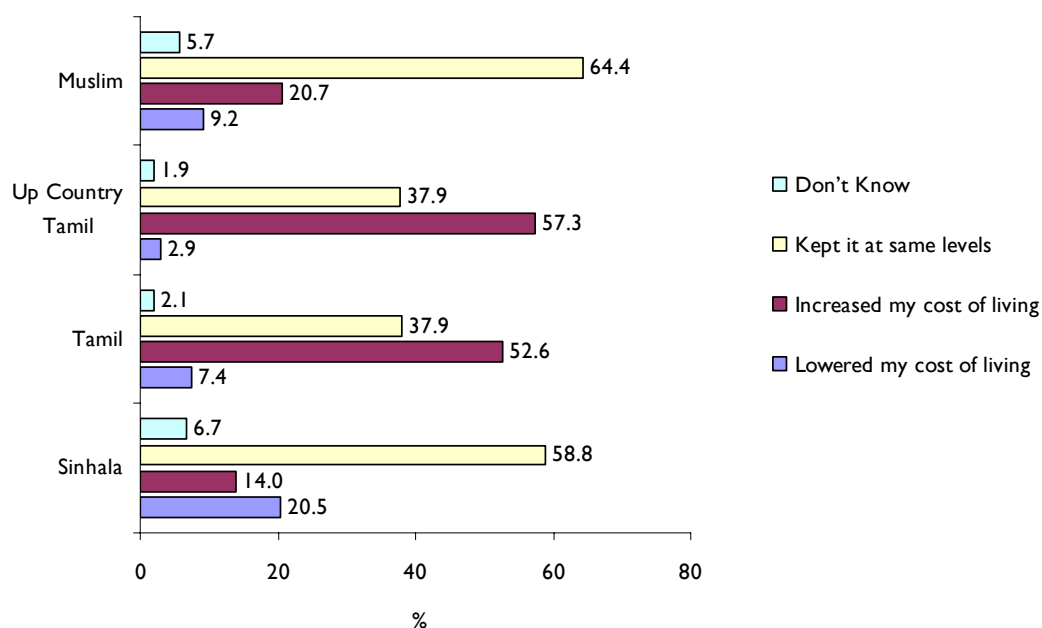
What was your main source of information on the budget from the information sources below?

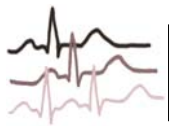
### Ethnic Breakdown



In your opinion, did the recent budget lower your cost of living, increased your cost of living or kept it at same levels?

### Ethnic Breakdown

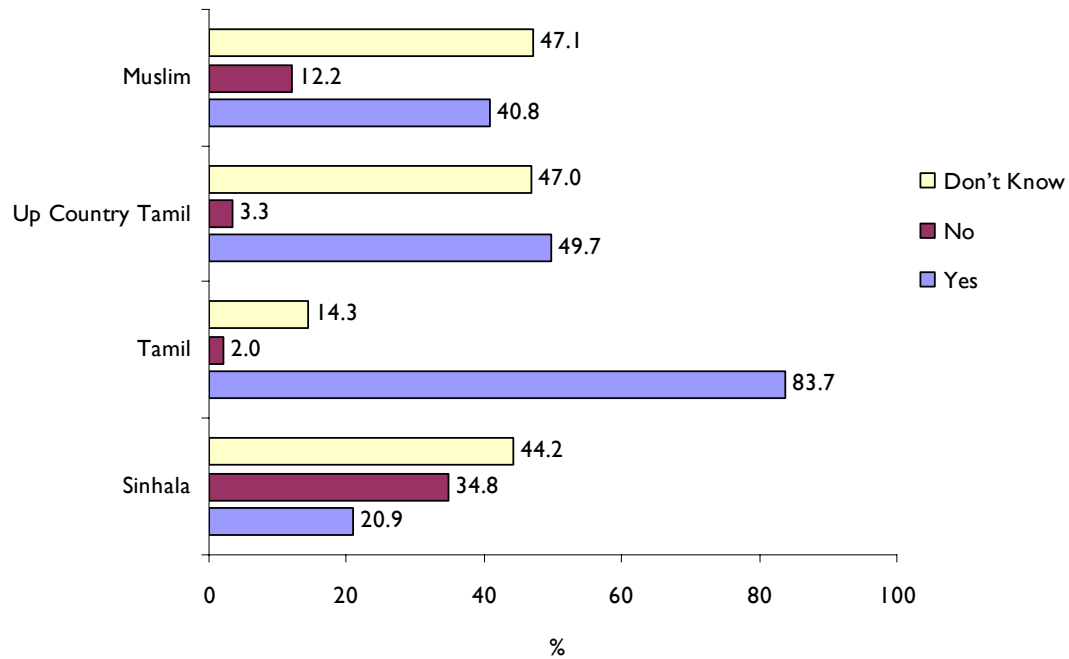


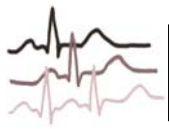


## Vanni

Certain people say that there is a severe shortage of food, medicine and essential items in Vanni. Do you agree with this or not?

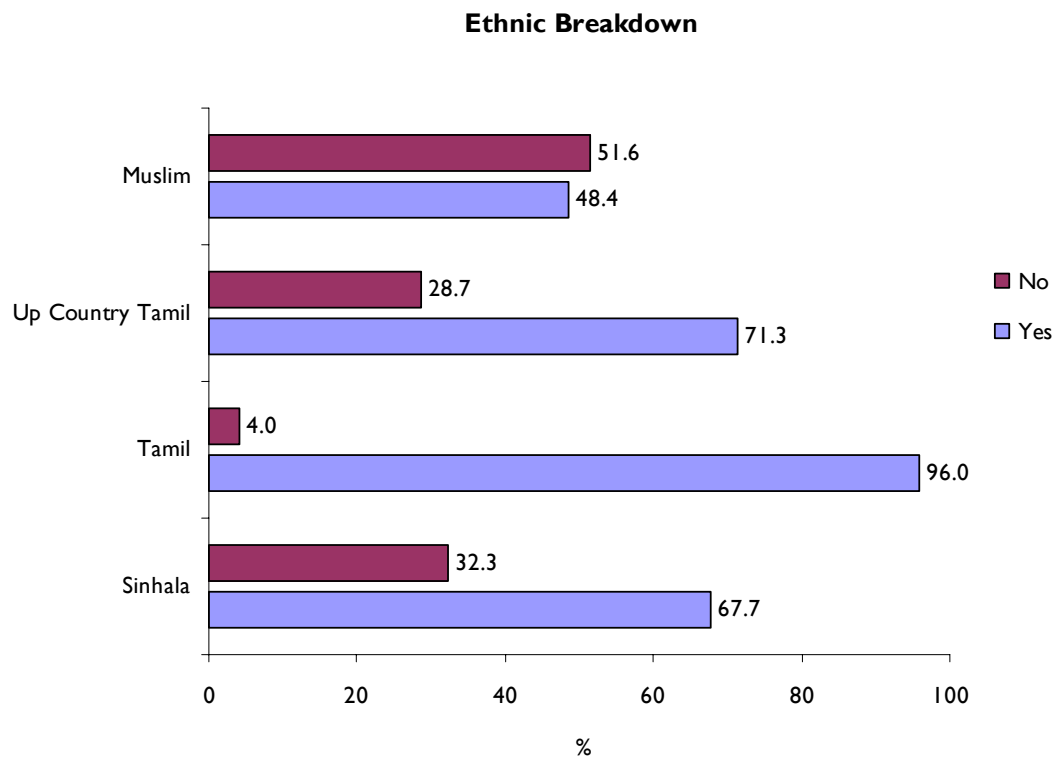
### Ethnic Breakdown

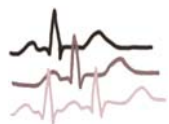




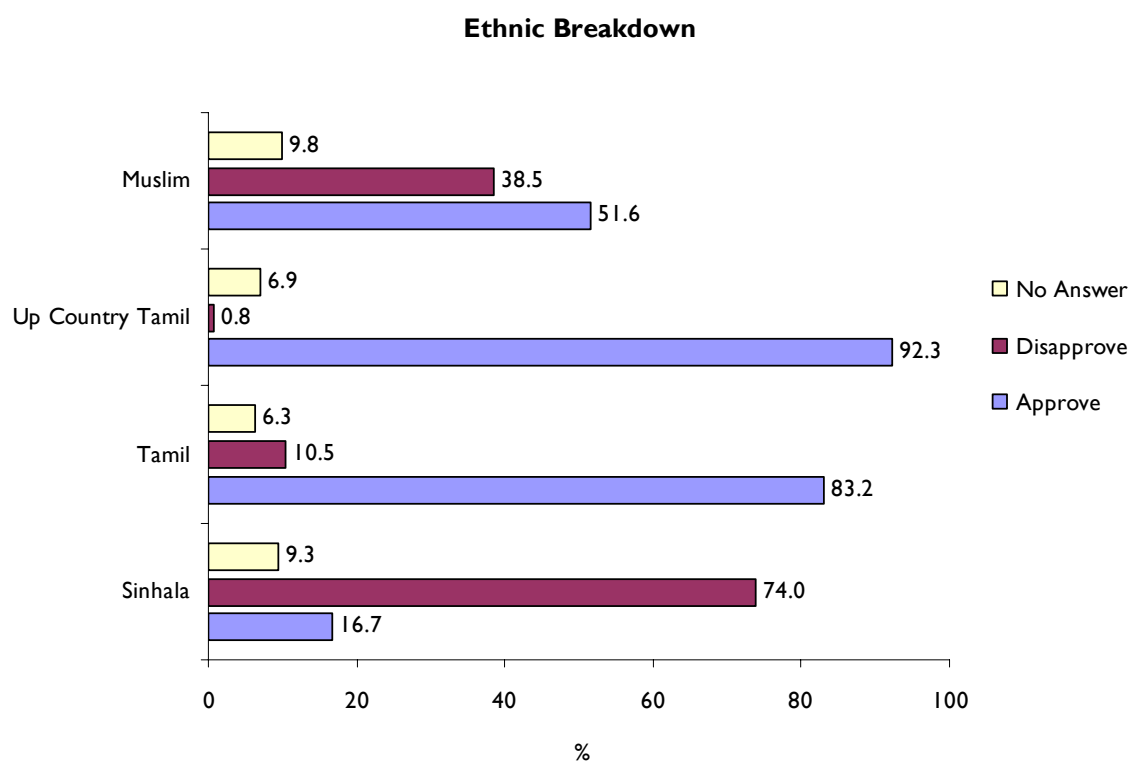
## Tamil Nadu & India

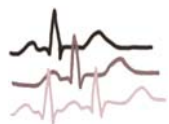
Recent news reports said that there have been agitations in Tamil Nadu against the Indian central government on the situation in Sri Lanka saying that India should intervene in Sri Lanka to resolve the conflict. Have you heard of this?





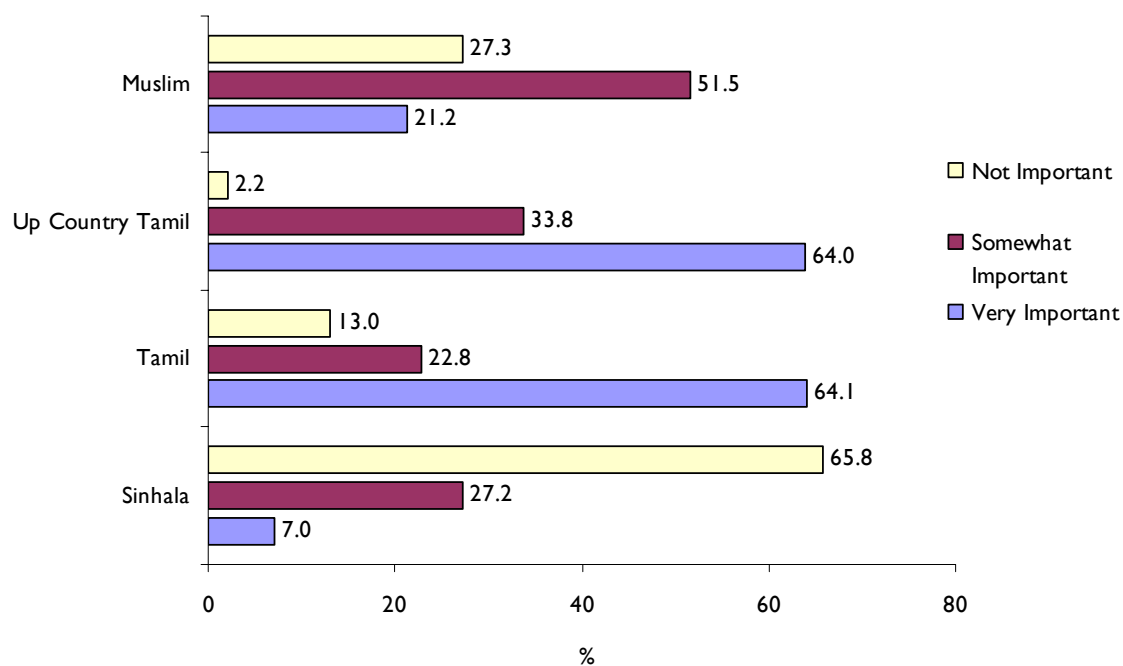
If yes, will you approve or disapprove if India intervenes in Sri Lanka to solve the ethnic problem?





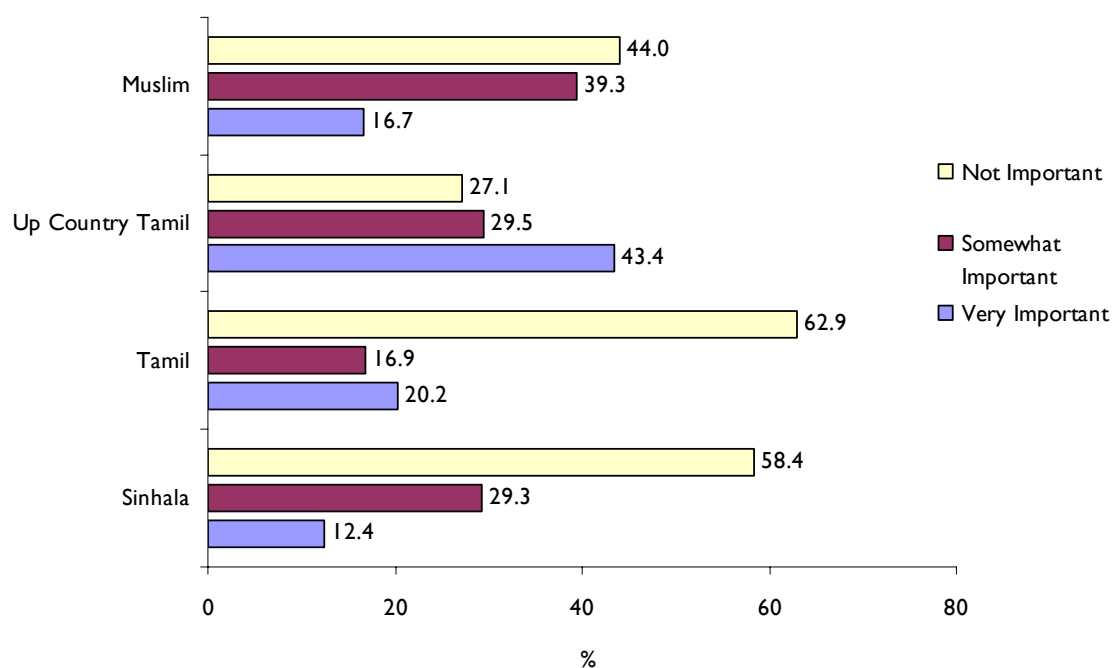
How important is India's involvement in the followings?  
In initiating peace with the tigers

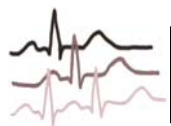
**Ethnic Breakdown**



In the government's war effort

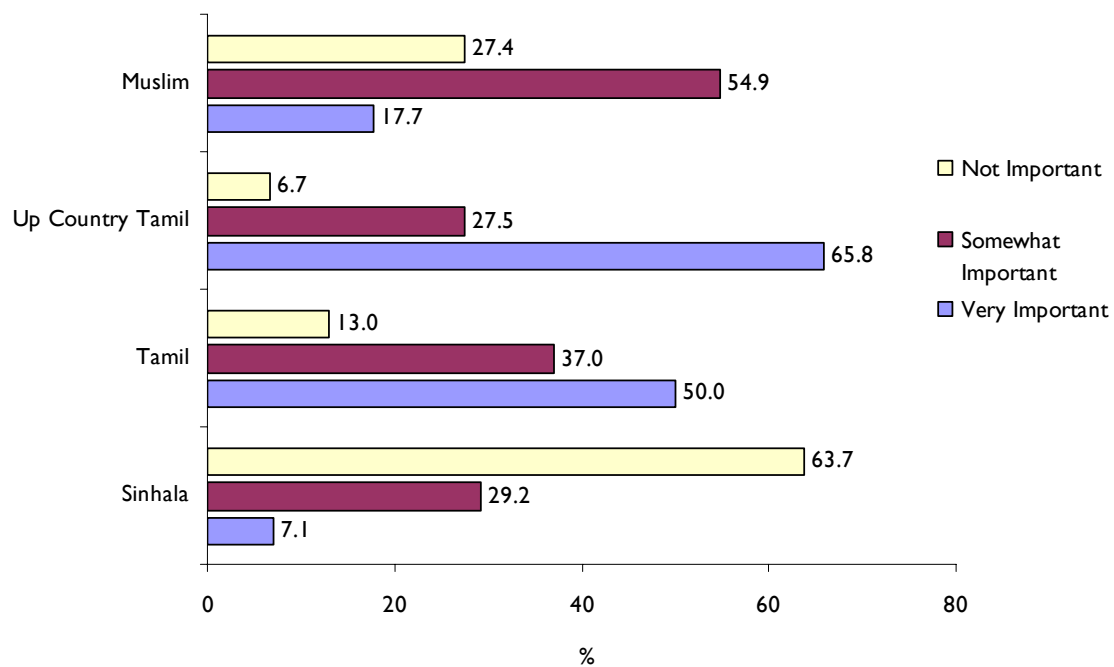
**Ethnic Breakdown**



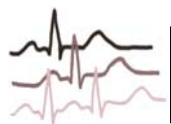


In government presenting a political solution

**Ethnic Breakdown**

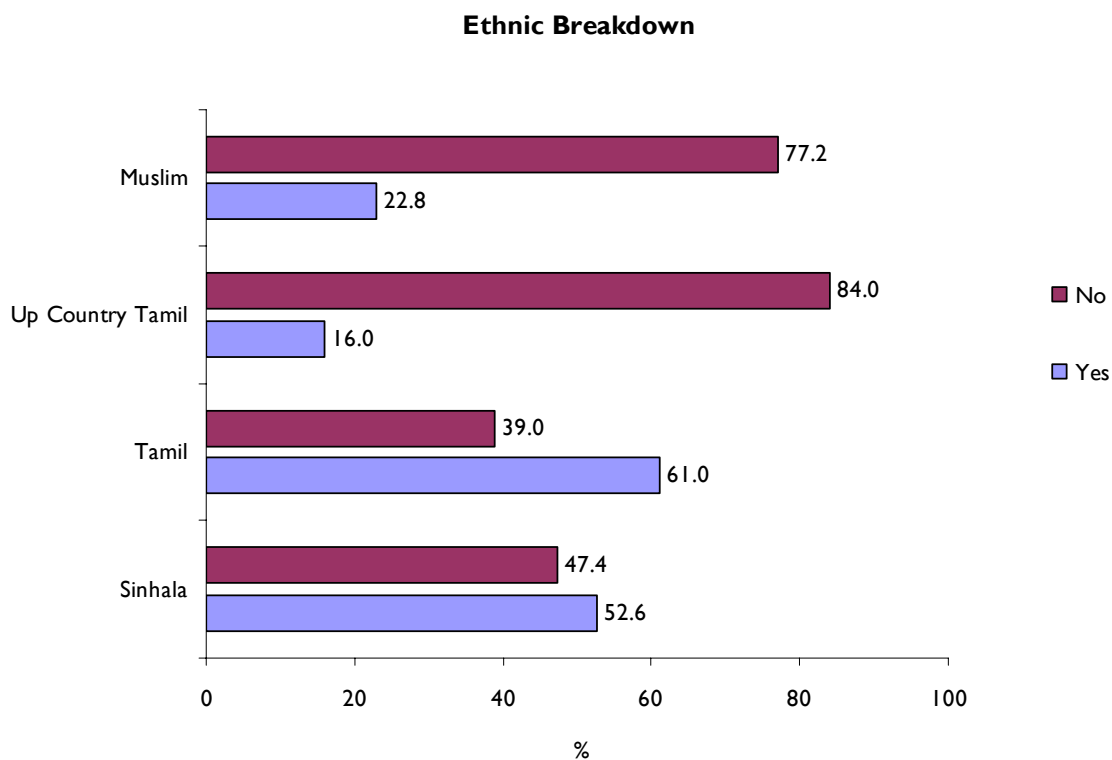


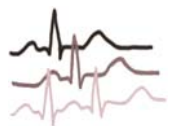




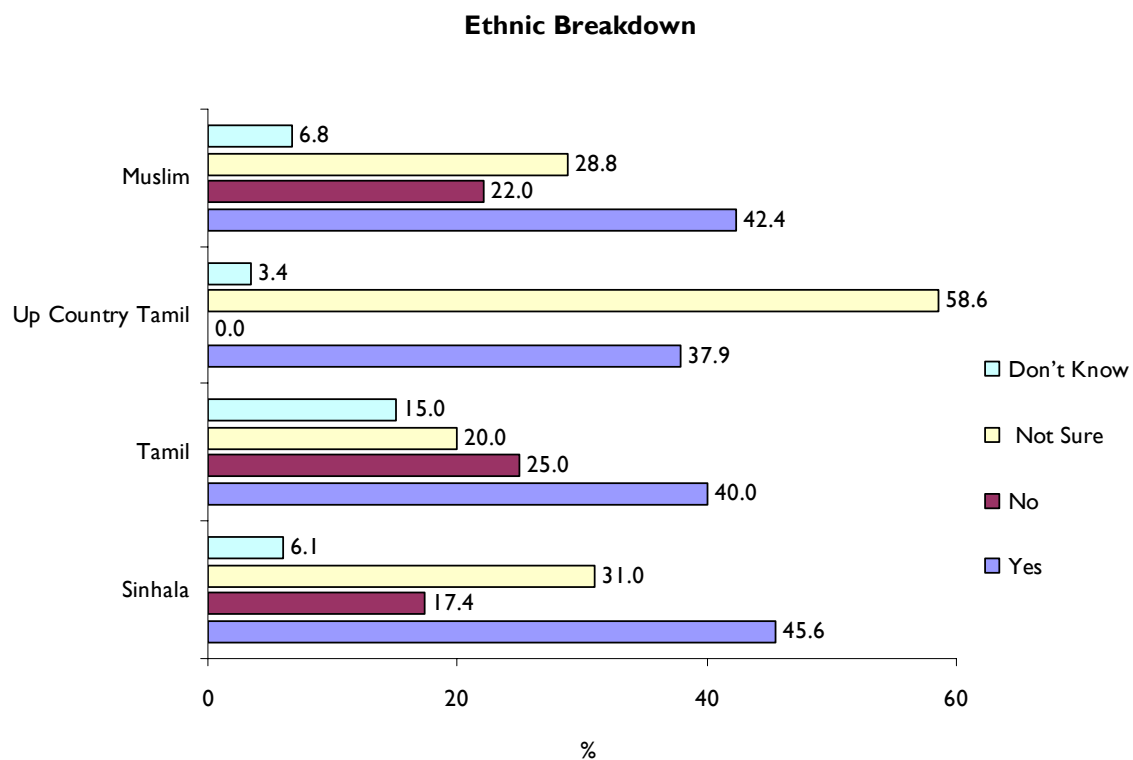
## The Verdict

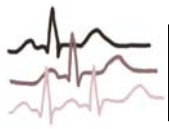
The Supreme Court on October 8, 2008 upheld that former President Chandrika Kumarathunga has misused her powers while in her Presidency. Are you aware of this verdict?





In your opinion, will this measure prevent future abuses of power in the Presidency of Sri Lanka?

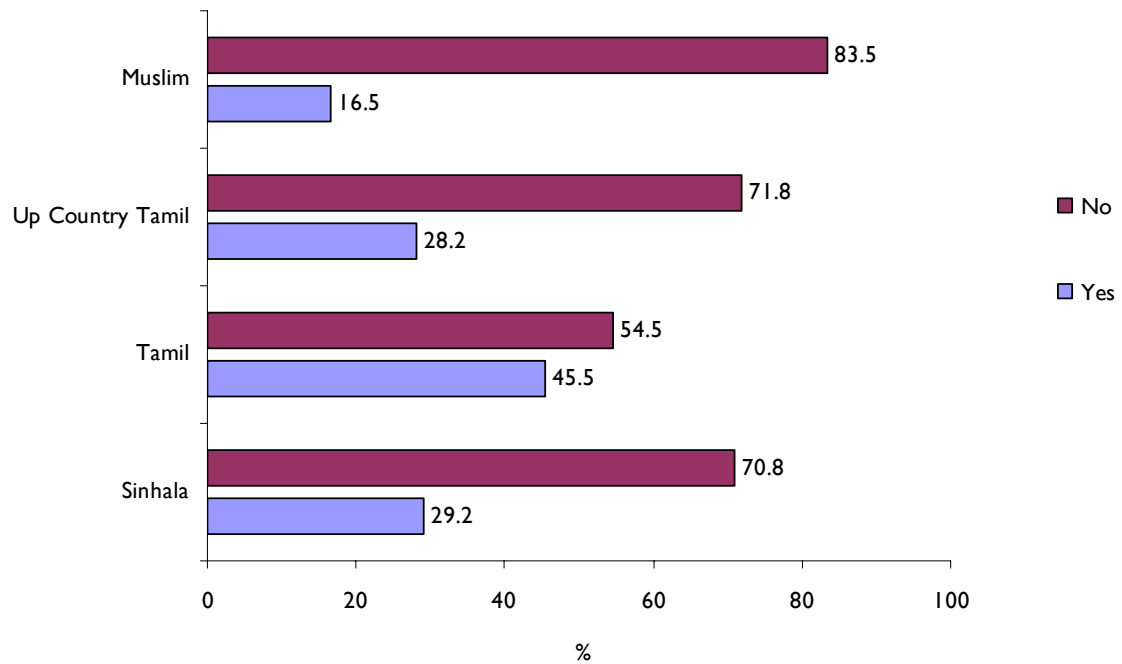


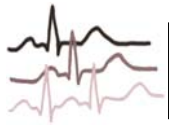


### 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment

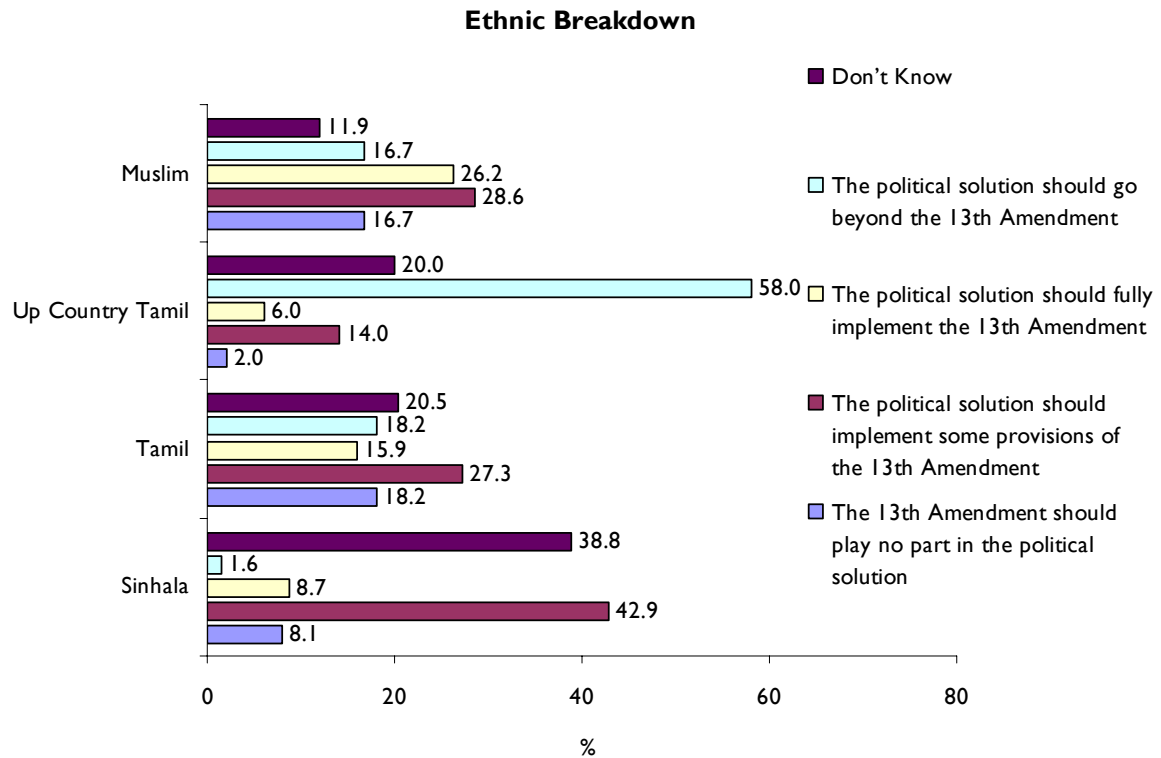
Are you aware of the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the Constitution that introduced Provincial Councils?

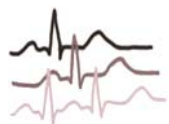
**Ethnic Breakdown**





In your opinion, how far should a political solution to the ethnic conflict include the 13th Amendment?



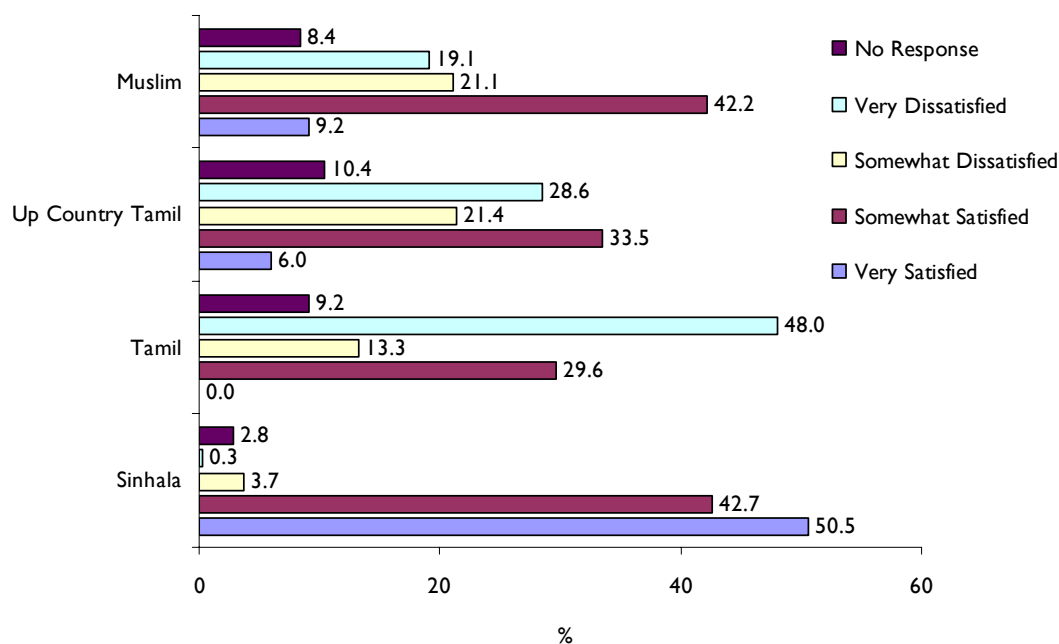


## The President

Please indicate your level of satisfaction with President Rajapakse's performance in the following aspects:

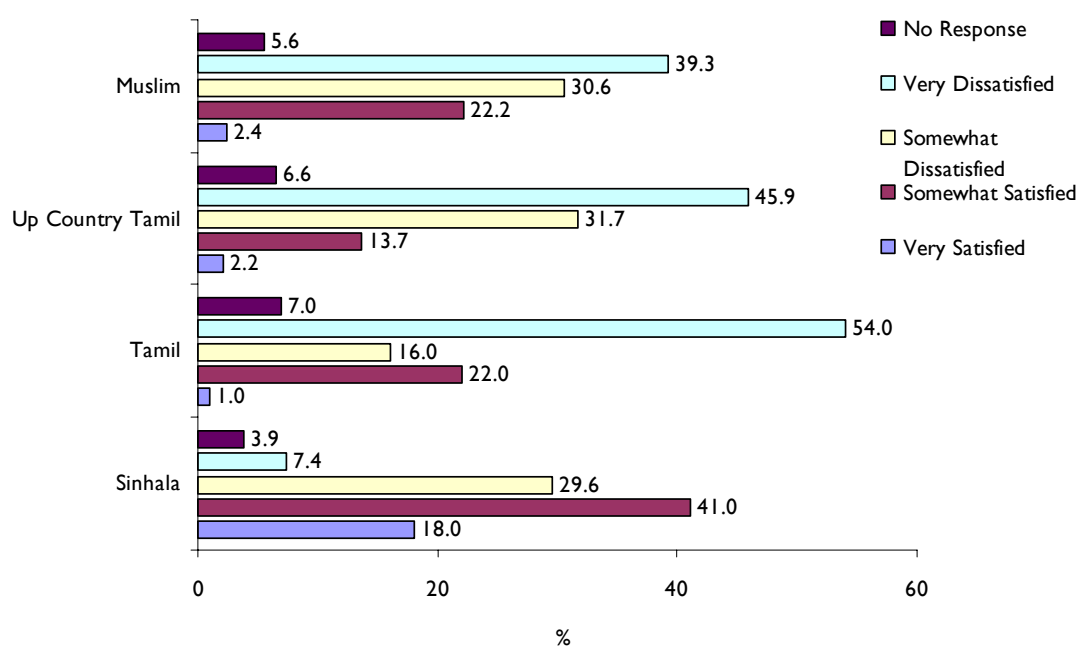
The maintenance of law and order

### Ethnic Breakdown



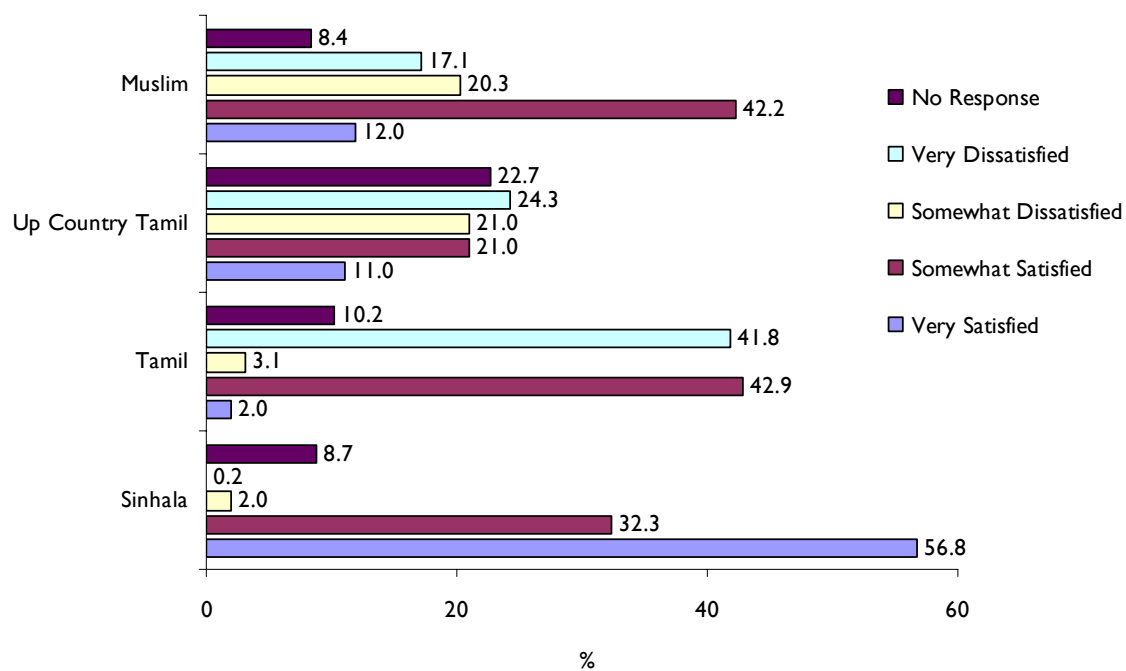
## Controlling the cost of living

### Ethnic Breakdown



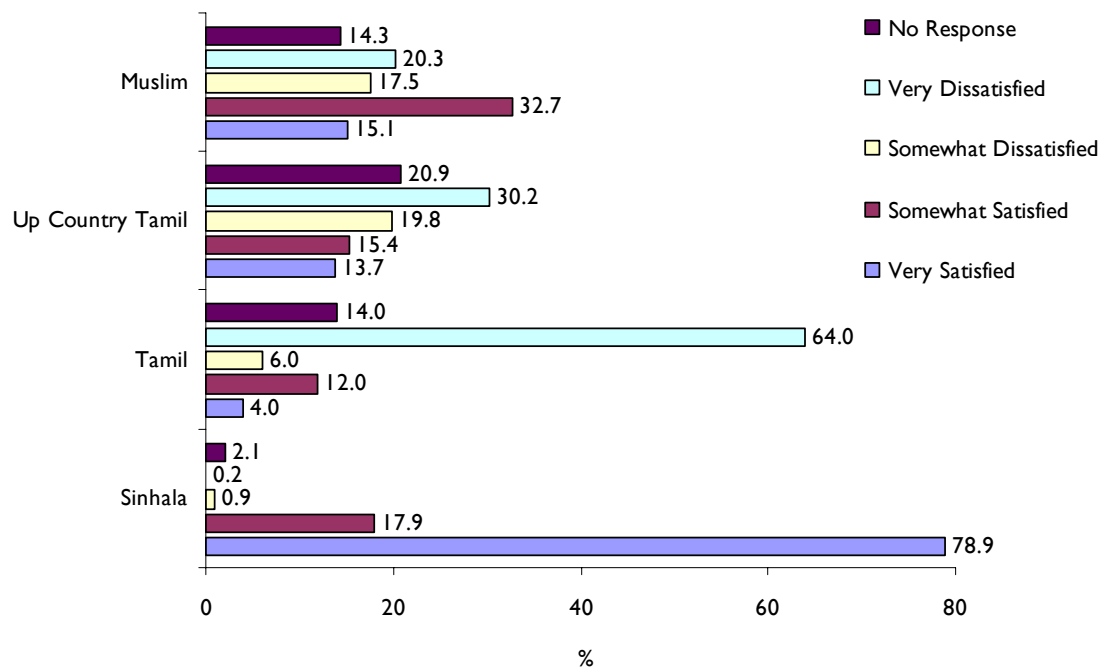


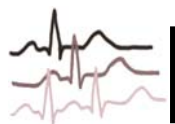
### Ethnic Breakdown



### Conducting the war

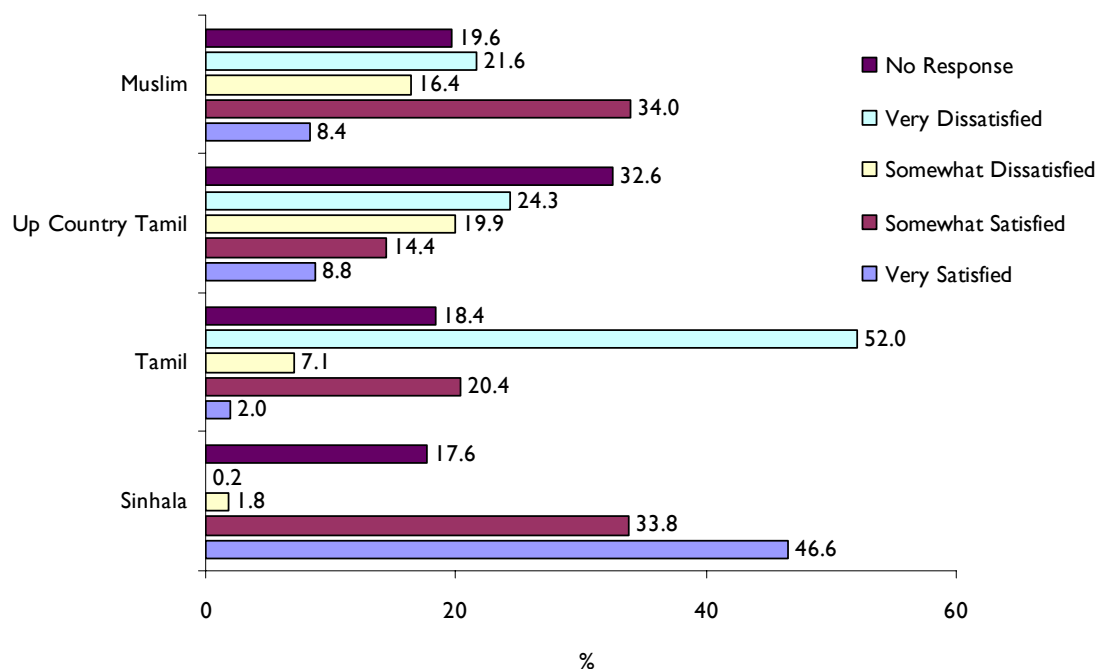
#### Ethnic Breakdown

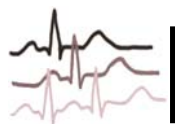




## Handling pressure/influence from India

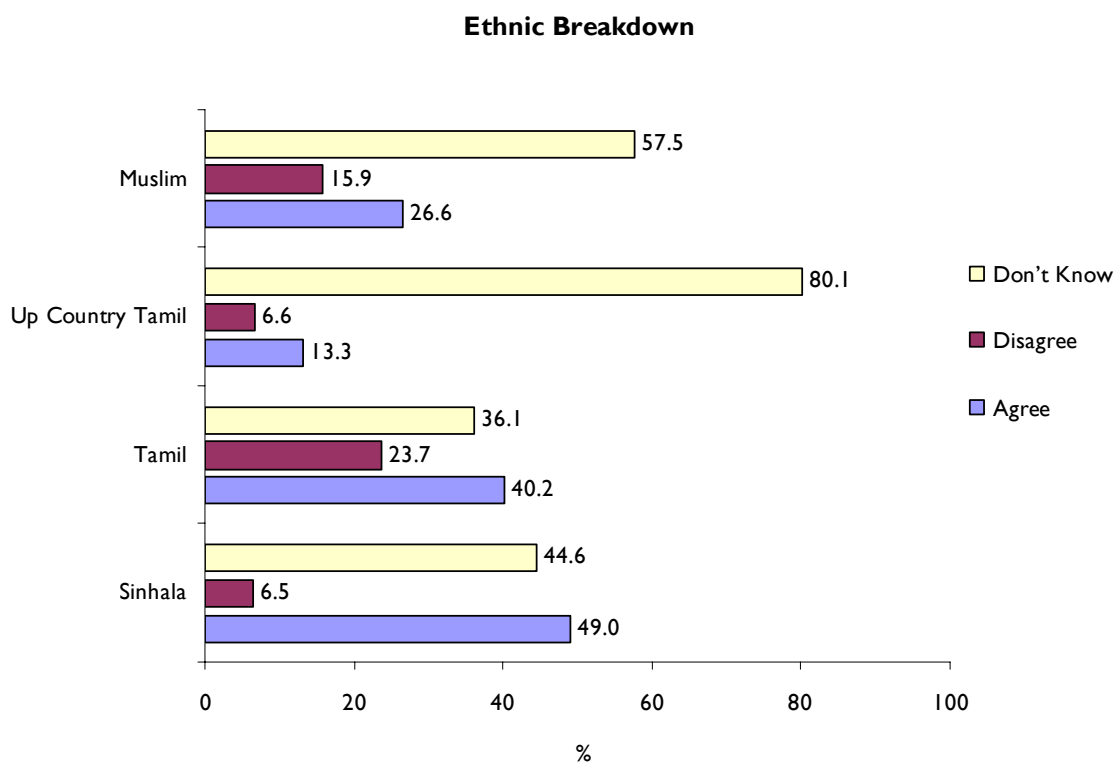
### Ethnic Breakdown



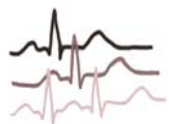


## The East

According to various news and reports, except for some incidents of violence the situation in the East has improved considerably once the Eastern provincial elections were over. Do you agree or disagree with this opinion?

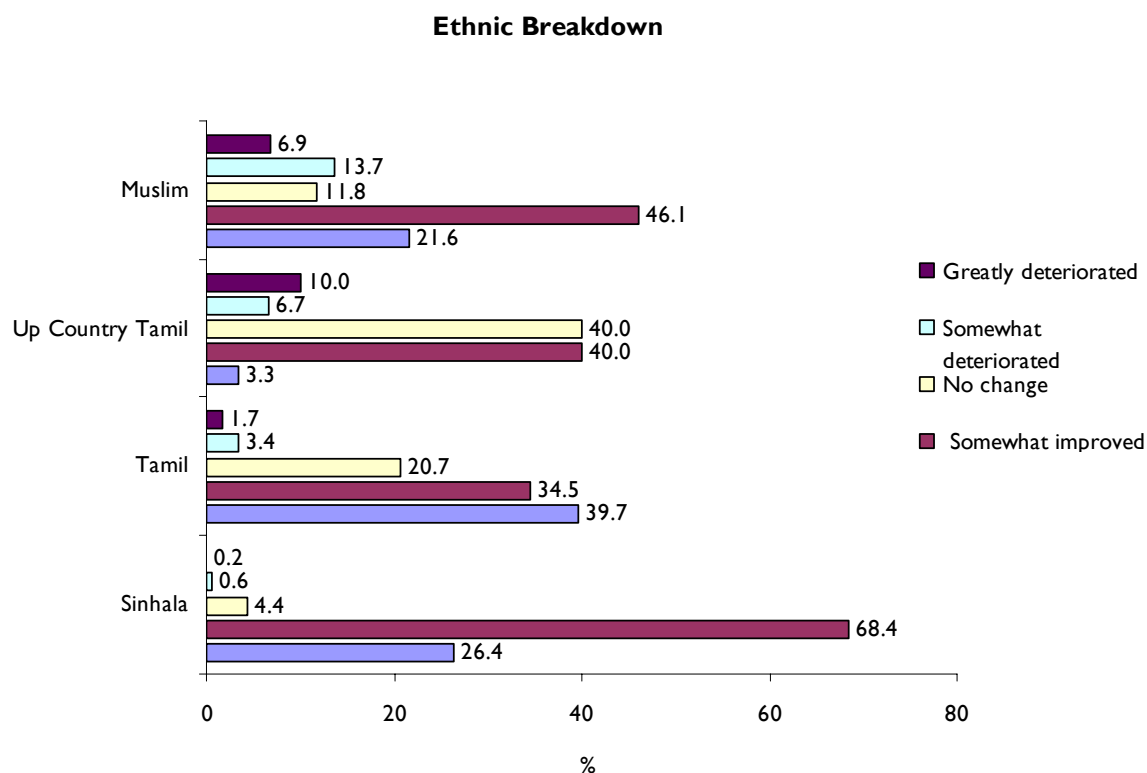




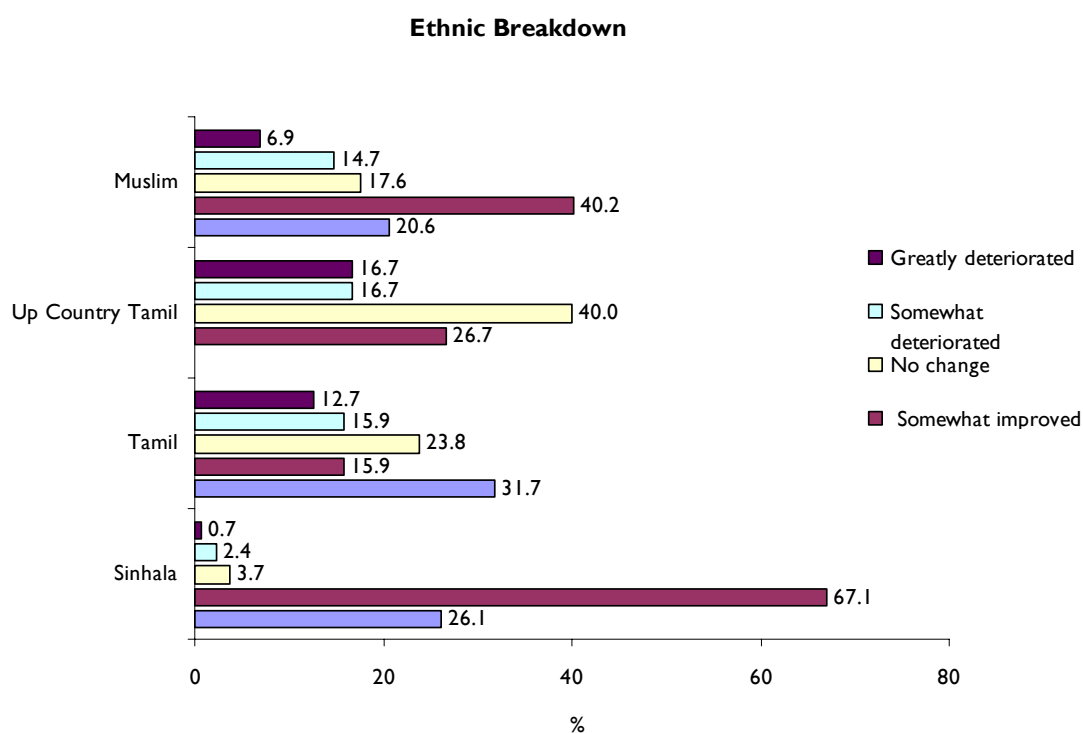


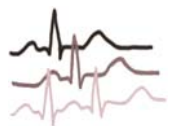
If agree, then how much it improved or not in the following aspects? That is, in obtaining resources for development of the region and Safety and security of the civilians?

In obtaining resources for development of the region



Safety and security of the civilians





## Annex

### ***District Sample (weighted) Distribution in November 2008***

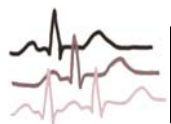
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<b>DISTRICT</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Colombo	205
Gampaha	189
Kalutara	95
Kandy	116
Matale	40
Nuwara Eliya	65
Galle	92
Matara	68
Hambantota	50
Batticaloa	47
Ampara	56
Trincomalee	33
Kurunegala	141
Puttlam	67
Anuradhapura	69
Polonnaruwa	33
Badulla	73
Moneragala	37
Ratnapura	93
Kegalle	71
<b>NATIONAL</b>	<b>1642</b>

### ***Ethnic sample (weighted) distribution in November 2008 (Convenient Sample in the Districts of Trincomalee, Ampara and Batticaloa)***

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<b>ETHNICITY</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
Sinhala	1107
Tamil	99
Up-Country Tamil	182
Muslim	254
<b>NATIONAL</b>	<b>1642</b>



## Sampling Methodology

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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. Hence, from May 2001 to February 2004, PCI was conducted bi-monthly, however, from March 2005 onwards, SI decided to conduct the study quarterly to make the PCI more efficient.

The study is conducted using a structured questionnaire that is administered to a sample of approximately 1642 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, 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 amongst 20 administrative districts (strata) of Sri Lanka, excluding the Northern province due to access and logistic issues. The sample size 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 6%. 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 ensure 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.

### Special Methodological Note

The Tamil Community from the district of Colombo and the Sinhala, Tamil, Muslim and Up Country Tamil communities from the Eastern province were sampled using a "convenient" sampling technique. This method of sampling was used due to the security situation prevailing in the country. Accordingly, the enumerators were instructed to select the particular household by virtue of the ease with which it was accessible. Thereby, the results presented in this report that refers to the Eastern Province and the Tamil community cannot be generalised as they are not representative of the entire population in Sri Lanka.

**S**ocial 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.

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