



- SOLUTIONS
- EASTERN ELECTIONS
- INTERNATIONAL INVOLVEMENT
- THE APRC
- THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEBATE
- POPULARITY OF THE PRESIDENT
- PERCEPTION OF NGOs

# PEACE CONFIDENCE INDEX

MARCH 2008

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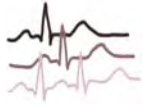
## CONTENTS

• <b>INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>01</b>
• <b>FINDINGS AT A GLANCE</b>	<b>02</b>
• <b>PEACE CONFIDENCE INDEX (PCI)</b>	<b>09</b>

### CHANGING PERCEPTIONS

NATIONAL ISSUES	09
SOLUTIONS	10
MILITARY CAPACITY	16
CURRENT SECURITY CONDITION	18
THE ABROGATION OF THE CFA	20
COST OF LIVING	22
INTERNATIONAL INVOLVEMENT	25
MEDIA FREEDOM	31
THE APRC & THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEBATE	34
THE CONSTITUTIONAL COUNCIL	40
LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTIONS	43
THE PRESIDENT	46
KOSOVO	52
TRANSFER OF CIABAC DIRECTOR GENERAL	53
THE A9	54
NGOs	55
TORTURE	60
THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEBATE & THE SINHALA COMMUNITY	64
CONCLUSIONS DRAWN	65
KEY NATIONAL & INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS	69

### ANNEX



## INTRODUCTION

### OBJECTIVE

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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 peace and conflict, 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 Sri Lankan polity's opinions, and enable their incorporation into policy making.

### SCOPE & METHODOLOGY

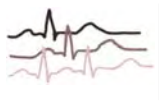
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The survey is carried out using a structured questionnaire administered through face-to-face interviews amongst a randomly selected sample of 1600. This survey was conducted in 20 administrative districts, excluding the North due to the security situation prevailing in that region. Data is weighted to reflect the actual ethnographic composition of the districts in which the sample was surveyed.

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

The results of these twenty seven waves offer us data for a comparative study on changing public opinion on key issues, ranging from perceptions on war and peace to current political developments. The results, with the exception of those that refer the Tamil community, are subject to a 3% margin of error.

*\*\* This particular wave of the PCI only covers the Sinhala, Tamil, Muslim and Up Country Tamils in the areas outside the 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.*



FINDINGS AT A GLANCE OF THE POLL CONDUCTED FROM 19<sup>TH</sup> MARCH TO 5<sup>TH</sup> APRIL 2008

The following are the significant trends observed in the PCI March 2008 survey. This particular wave of the PCI only covers the Sinhala, Tamil, Muslim and Up Country Tamils in the areas outside the 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. (See Annex)*

**National Issues ( Page 9)**

- When asked to rate five national issues by virtue of their importance, majorities in the Sinhala (28.11%), Up Country Tamil (27.36%) and Muslim (33.51%) communities choose the economy. The peace process, however, is the most important issue for 28.16 % of the Tamil community. The latter is also considered as the number one issue by 25.22% of the Up Country Tamil community, 19.82% of the Sinhalese and 29.2% of the Muslim community. The conflict in the North and East also ranks highly for 22.7% of the Sinhalese and 21.25% of the Tamil community. The results show that, in general, while there has been a slight decrease in the ranking of the economy as an important issue, this weight has been transferred to the issue of law and order.

**Solutions to the conflict ( Pages 10-15)**

- **Ending the conflict:** For a clear majority of the Tamil (83%), and Up Country Tamil (77.3%) communities, the way to end the conflict and attain peace in Sri Lanka is to stop the war and have political negotiations. As for the Muslim community, 83.8% prefer for an end to the war and the commencement of political negotiations. The Sinhala community demonstrate a majority support of 48.1% for the government's defeat of the LTTE while only 16.6% support the idea of stopping the war and holding peace talks. The results show a decrease in the Sinhala support for peace talks from 25.7% to 16.6% since November 2007, while support for the government's defeat of the LTTE remains constant.
- **Importance of a political solution:** Majorities in the Tamil (69.8%) and Muslim (71.2%) communities state that a political solution is essential to the resolution of the conflict, a view shared by 31.6% of the Sinhala community and 30.1% of the Up Country Tamil community. A further 30% of the Sinhalese indicate that they feel that a political solution would be useful, with 18.1% of the same say that a political solution is not required. 43.7% of the Up Country Tamil community do not know or are not sure of the necessity of a political solution. In comparison with results from November '07, there is no great change in opinion, although the percentage of Up Country Tamils who feel that a solution is 'essential' has reduced by 10 percentage points.
- **Ideal time to hold talks:** The ideal time for the holding of talks is while the war is being waged according to 49.5% of the Tamils and 52.3% of the

Muslim community. The Sinhala community is essentially divided here with 26% choosing the former option while 33.2% prefer if peace talks were to be held after the war. 18.4% of this community feel that peace talks are not required while 22.4% state that they do not know or are not sure. This last sentiment is shared by 22.1% of the Tamils, 32.9% of the Muslims and 65.4% of the Up Country Tamil community.

- **Proximity to a permanent solution:** While 60.7% of the Sinhalese feel that the country is close to reaching a permanent settlement to the conflict, majorities in the other communities believe otherwise. The breakdown is as follows: Muslim- 62.7%, Up Country Tamil- 62.5% and Tamil 74.2%. Sinhala opinion that the country is 'close' to reaching a permanent solution to the conflict



has risen by 12 percentage points. The opinion of the Muslim community on the proximity to a permanent solution has dropped from 23.6% to 19.7%.

- **Commitment to talks:** 52.3% of the Sinhala community and 40.4% of the Muslim community feel that the government is committed to finding peace through talks. At the same time, 72.9% of the Tamils, 44.5% of the Up Country Tamils and 39.6% of the Muslim community disagree. When the same question is asked regarding the LTTE, majorities in three communities (Sinhala – 70.3%, Tamil – 42.3% and Muslim – 41.8%) state that the LTTE is not committed to finding peace through talks. Agreement regarding the LTTE's commitment is expressed by 29.9% of the Tamils, 26.5% of the Up Country Tamils and 25.8% of the Muslim community.

#### Capacity and Security (Pages 16-19)

- **Military Capacity:** While 70.1% of the Sinhalese and 32.8% of the Muslims feel that the LTTE is weak militarily, 54.2% of the Tamil community and 34.4% of the Muslim community disagree, stating that they feel that the LTTE's capacity is strong. While 26.4% of the Up Country Tamil community agree with this, a majority of 45.6% state that they do not know or are not sure. When rating the military capacity of the government, majorities in three communities (Sinhala – 92.2%, Tamil- 54.2% and Muslim – 70.2%) feel that the government is strong. While 26.1% of the Up Country Tamil community agrees, the majority of 45.1% state that they do not know or are not sure. In comparison with the November '07 results, the Muslim community continues to feel that the LTTE are strong militarily, Sinhala and Up Country Tamil perception of the strength of the LTTE has decreased. In the case of the government, while Muslim agreement that the government is militarily strong has reduced slightly by six points, the Sinhala community's impression of the government's strength has increased by 4 percentage points.
- **Improvement in security situation:** A majority of 62.9% of the Sinhala community feel that the security situation in the country has improved as do 33.2% of the Muslim community. This sentiment is shared by only 13.4% of the Tamil community where a significant proportion (36.1%) feel that the situation has worsened. 24.1% of the Up Country Tamil community agree that the situation has worsened while 53% of the same community and 41% of the Muslim community do not know or are not sure. These results do not show any variance from those reported in November '07 with the exception of the Muslim community where the opinion that the security situation has improved has reduced by 11 percentage points.
- **Describing the conflict:** While majorities in the Tamil (56.7%) and Up Country Tamil (43.2%) communities describe the current situation as an ethnic conflict, the majority of Sinhalese (71.2%) and Muslim (40.2%) state that it is a war against terrorism. 40.4% of the Up Country Tamil community state that they do not know or are not sure how to describe the situation. Sinhala opinion that this is a 'war against terrorism' has risen from 62.8% in Nov '07 to 71.2%, while Muslim opinion that the situation is an ethnic conflict has reduced by ten percentage points since the November report.

#### The CFA (Pages 20-21)

- **Abrogation of CFA:** Questioned on the abrogation of the 2002 Ceasefire Agreement, 38.9% of the Sinhalese stated that they approve of the abrogation, while 88.5% of the Tamils, 52.5% of the Up Country Tamils and 41.8% of the Muslims disapprove. 21.3% of the Sinhalese stated that the CFA should have been abrogated earlier.
- **Increase in attacks on civilians:** Asked if attacks on civilians have increased since the abrogation, 92.7% of the Tamils, 63.5% of the Up Country Tamils and 65.6% of the Muslim community state that these attacks have increased. The same questions elicits a mixed response from the Sinhalese where 31.6% agree with their minority counterparts, 38.8% disagree and 29.5% do not know or are not sure.



**Cost of Living (Pages 22-24)**

- **Reasons for increase:** When asked, from a given list of options to choose reasons for the increase in the cost of living the increase in the price of oil and other essential commodities in the world market, the war, and economic mismanagement by the present government are popular choices in all four communities. In the Sinhala community for example, 72.7% choose the increase in world prices while a further 76% choose the war. This trend is reflected amongst the Tamil, Muslim and Up Country Tamil community as well. 30% of the Sinhala population sample also cites the existence of a large cabinet as the reason for a high cost of living.
- **Willingness to bear high cost of living for war:** While 61.3% of the Sinhala community are willing to bear a high cost of living for the sake of the government's war with the LTTE, the other ethnic groups refuse to do so. 79.4% of the Tamils, 72.7% of the Muslims and 69.4% of the Up Country Tamils state that they will not shoulder the economic burden of the war. They are joined in this opinion by 31.3% of the Sinhala community.
- **Willingness to bear cost of living for world prices:** When asked if they were willing to bear a heavy economic burden due to an increase in world market prices, most individuals indicated disagreement (Sinhala – 51.2%, Tamil-76.3%, Up Country Tamil- 62.8% and Muslim – 70.2%). 36% of the Sinhalese and 21% of the Muslims agreed, however.

**International Involvement (Pages 25-30)**

- **Approval for international assistance:** For the Sinhala community, international involvement receives approval when it comes to the war against the LTTE (61.5%) and for assistance in government development projects (70.6%). With regards to any future peace negotiations, the Sinhala community stands

divided on their acceptance of international involvement. While 43.9% approve, 32.4% disapprove. As for the Muslim community, majorities approve of International involvement in the war (64.2%), peace talks (73%) and development work (82.3%). While the Tamil and Up Country Tamil communities disapprove of international involvement in the war, they are approving of such assistance with peace talks (Tamil- 80.2%, UCT- 49.2%) and development projects (Tamil- 70.8%, UCT- 54.9%).

- **Indian Involvement:** The numbers shift somewhat when it comes to Indian involvement in Sri Lanka. Fair majorities amongst the Sinhalese welcome Indians involvement in the war (58.5%), peace talks (47.8%) and development projects (68.7%). While the Tamil (74.2%) and Up Country Tamil (43.7%) communities disapprove of Indian Involvement in the war they are in favour of Indian mediation in peace negotiations. In fact, this approval of Indian mediation also meets the approval of the Muslim community (70.6%). Indian involvement for development projects is also favored by the Muslim, Up Country Tamil and Tamil communities.

**The Media (Pages 31-33)**

- **Is there censorship?** : While a majority of the Tamil community ( 58.3%) state that the government has strict censorship on media reportage, both the Muslim community and the Sinhala community express a mixed opinion on the matter. 24.7% of the Sinhalese state that the government allows free and fair reporting as do 26.2% of the Muslims. At the same time 31.5% of the Sinhalese and 30.7% of the Muslims agree that the government has certain restrictions on media reportage. The majority (68.3%) of the Up Country Tamil community state that they do not know or are not sure.
- **Reasons for censorship:** A majority of the Sinhalese (41.7%) feel that the government exercises media censorship in order to safeguard national security while most members of the Up Country Tamil (36.7%) and Muslim community (36.4%) state that it is in order to hide wastage and other failures of the government. The majority of the Tamil community (37.8%) cites a number of reasons, inclusive of the two described above as well as upholding soldier morale and preventing reporting on corruption in arms procurements.



- **An expression of democracy:** 31.2% of the Sinhalese, 43.8% of the Tamils and 46.3% of the Muslims feel that media reports critical of the government are an expression of democracy, while 69% of the Up Country Tamil community state that they do not know or are not sure. The latter is also expressed by 35.3% of the Sinhalese, 34.4% of the Tamils and 31% of the Muslims.

#### **The APRC and the Constitutional debate (Pages 34-39)**

- **Confidence in the APRC:** Majorities across the board state that they are not aware of the All Party Representative Committee (APRC). The breakdown is as follows: Sinhala – 45.6%, Muslim- 62.4%, Tamil- 42.3% and UCT- 43.2%. Of those who do express awareness of the APRC, only 2.9% of the Sinhala community, 2.7% of the Up Country Tamil community and 7.0% of the Muslim community feel very confident in the ability of the APRC to bring about a southern consensus. Most individuals in all four groups state that they do not know or are not sure.
- **Level of inclusion:** With regards to the level of inclusion in the APRC, 43.7% of the Sinhalese, 91.2% of the Tamils, 74.1% of the Up Country Tamils and 71.1% of the Muslims express dissatisfaction.
- **JVP demands:** When asked if they agree with the JVP demands to dissolve the APRC and give up the idea of peace talks until such time as the LTTE is defeated, majorities in the Tamil (85.3%), Up Country Tamil (48.1%) and Muslim communities (82.6%) state that they disagree. The Sinhala community stands essentially divided (Agree- 25%, Disagree- 25.1%) with a further 49.9% stating that they do not know or are not sure.
- **Inclusion of the TMVP:** While 82.4% of the Tamil community disapproves of the inclusion of the TMVP in the APRC, the other three communities do not take as decisive a stand. Amongst the Up Country Tamils, for example, 20.7% approve while 24.1% disapprove while a further 31% state that they are not aware that the TMVP has been included. The Muslim community (Approve -39.5%, Disapprove- 32.6%) and the Sinhalese (Approve- 26.5%, Disapprove – 22.1%) also reflect a mixed opinion.
- **The 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment:** Approval for the implementation of the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment is low, except for the Muslim community where 31.1% indicate approval. Disapproval is highest amongst the Tamil community (41.2%) while most sections of the Sinhala (39.3%) and Up Country Tamil (33.3%) state that they do not know or are not sure. In these two communities as well, both approval and disapproval levels are low.
- **Interim council for the North:** With regards to the establishing of an interim provincial council for the North, a majority of 55.6% of the Sinhalese state that they do not know or are not sure. At the same time, 55.6% of the Muslim community approve while 59.4% of the Tamil community disapproves. 40% of the Up Country Tamil community neither approve nor disapprove.

#### **The Constitutional Council (Pages 40-42)**

- **Appointment of the Constitutional Council:** When asked about the need for the appointment of the Constitutional Council, majorities across the board state that they do not know or are not sure.
- **Appointments to independent commissions:** 29% of the Muslim community state that they were not aware that the President had been making appointments to independent commissions and 38.5% of the Tamils state that they disapprove of such moves by the President. Generally, however, most persons neither approve nor disapprove of the President making such appointments.





- **The delay in the appointment:** When asked who they feel is responsible for the delay in the appointment of the Constitutional Council, most say that they do not know or are not sure. The breakdown is as follows: Sinhala- 80.6%, Tamil – 71.2%, UCT- 96.3%, Muslim- 85.6%.

#### Local government elections (Pages 43-45)

- **Free and fair elections:** When asked if the polls in the East were free and fair, 46.8% of the Sinhalese and 32.2% of the Muslims answer in the affirmative while 63.5% of the Tamil community disagree. As for the Up Country Tamil community 68.1% state that they do not know or are not sure. They are joined in this by 44.6% of the Muslims and 40.3% of the Sinhalese.
- **PC elections:** On the question of whether provincial council elections in the east should be held, 55.8% of the Sinhalese, 37.9% of the Tamils and 50.4% of the Muslims answer in the affirmative. 47.4% of the Tamil community say that these elections should not be held while 74.2% of the Up Country Tamil community state that they do not know or are not sure.
- **TMVP:** With regards to the disarmament of the TMVP, majorities of 57.6% of the Sinhalese, 67.1% of the Tamils agree that this should have taken place prior to the elections in the east. The Muslims stand divided with 43.8% agreeing with the above and 43.8% stating that they do not know or are not sure. As for the Up Country Tamil community, 68% say that they do not know or are not sure.

#### The President (Pages 46-51)

- **Satisfaction on the President's performance:** The Sinhala community express a high level of satisfaction with the president's handling social values (81%), management of own party (68.8%), international relations (77.1%), the war (91.4%) and solving the conflict (73.5%). Where the President meets with dissatisfaction is on his management of the cost of living, with 63.6% of the Sinhalese expressing dissatisfaction. They are joined in this by their counterparts in the other three communities (Tamil -88.7%, UCT- 72% and Muslim- 78.3%). With regards to the other aspects of the President's administration, the Up Country Tamil and Tamil communities express a steady sense of dissatisfaction, while the Muslim community's opinions are split between satisfaction and dissatisfaction.

#### Kosovo (Page 52)

- **Kosovo:** When asked their opinion on Kosovo's unilateral declaration of independence, majorities in the Sinhala (54%), Up Country Tamil (54.6%) and Muslim (54.7%) communities state that they do not know or are not sure. At the same time, fair numbers in all four communities -Sinhala (22.9%), Tamil (24.7%), Up Country Tamil (32.2%) and Muslim (29%) state that they were not aware of the Unilateral Declaration of Independence. 43% of the Tamil community are supportive of Kosovo's declaration.

#### Transfer of CIABAC Director General (Page 53)

- With regards to the transfer of the Director of the Commission for Investigating Allegations of Bribery and Corruption, opinion generally is split between ignorance and doubt. 23% of the Sinhalese, 32% of the Tamils, 30.8% of the Up Country Tamils and 38.3% of the Muslims state that they were not aware, while 53.4% of the Sinhalese, 56.6% of the Up Country Tamils and 32.9% of the Muslims say that they do not know or are not sure. At the same time 36.1% of the Tamils say that they disapprove of this move.

#### The A9 (Page 54)

- **A9 opening:** 89.5% of the Tamil community and 43% of the Muslim community approve of the opening of the A9, while 41.3% of the Sinhalese disapprove. 52% of the Up Country Tamil community state that they do not know or are not sure.



**NGOs (Pages 55-59)**

- **Satisfaction on NGO performance:** Majorities in the Sinhala (46.4%), Tamil (85.3%) and Muslim (52.3%) communities are satisfied with the work done by NGOs toward national development. In the case of the Tamil and Muslim communities, this sense of satisfaction extends also toward NGO preservation of social values (71.6% and 43.9% respectively.) 43.6% of the Sinhala community express dissatisfaction. In the case of NGO work with regards to human rights, a majority of the Sinhala community (39%) express dissatisfaction while 83.2% of the Tamils, 33.9% of the Up Country Tamils and 49.4% of the Muslims express satisfaction. With regards to conflict resolution, 66.7% of the Tamils and 45.7% of the Muslims are satisfied with NGO work in this regard. 44.6% of the Sinhalese express dissatisfaction. In most of these aspects, the majority of Up Country Tamils are unable to answer.
- **Perceptions on NGOs:** The responses elicited from the sample surveyed regarding perceptions of an NGO worker engaged in Human Rights and Conflict Resolution projects were spread quite fairly. For a majority of the Tamils (67%) and Muslims, the label chosen was someone who works for the betterment of society. Amongst the Up Country Tamils, this was also a popular choice. 57.4% of the Tamil community also state that such a person is someone who's good intentions have been misinterpreted. The Sinhala community's choices varied greatly, 27.2% agreed that this was someone who works for the betterment of society while an identical percentage averred that an NGO worker is someone who is looking for personal advancement and monetary gain. A further 18.9% labeled NGO workers as LTTE sympathisers while an identical percentage chose the option of "an agent of international conspiracy".

**Torture (Page 60)**

- **Manfred Novak:** When asked for their opinion on Manfred Novak's statement regarding torture in Sri Lanka, 80.2% of the Tamils agreed that torture is widespread throughout the country. In the case of the other three communities, most said that they do not know or are not sure (Sinhala- 37.3%, UCT- 45% and Muslim -53.5%)

**Special Section: Opinion on Constitutional Changes\*(Pages 61-63)**

- **North East Merger:** The Tamil community are most supportive of a merger of the Northern and Eastern provinces (69.5%), as are the Muslims (50.4%). The Sinhalese at (30%) and the Up Country Tamils (36.5%) are less supportive.
- **Constitutional change within a unitary system:** As for change that is made under a unitary system, the Sinhalese at 40.2% and the Muslims at 60.2% are most supportive. The Tamil community, with a disagreement level of 41.5%, are not in favour of change under a unitary system.
- **Constitutional change under a federal system:** Constitutional change under a federal system however, is favoured more by the Tamil community (61.1%) as well as the Muslim community (49.6%).
- **Constitutional change that ensures religious equality:** Change that ensures religious equality is favoured more by the members of the Muslim community

(90.2%) and the Tamil community (84.2%), while the Sinhalese (61.5%) and the Up Country Tamils (61.3%) are less willing.

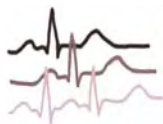
- **Devolution of power:** When it comes to the devolution of power to the provinces, the Muslim community (64.6%) and the Tamil community (72.9%) are most willing to give police powers to the provinces. These two communities are also the most willing to devolve powers of land to the provinces (Tamil- 74%, Muslim – 65.6%), as well as matters of health and education (Tamil- 76%, Muslim- 66.1%). In both these matters, the Up Country Tamil community shows is the



least favourable. With regards to matters of culture and heritage, the Muslims (61.9%) and the Tamils (80%) show the highest levels of agreement.

- **Procedural changes:** This trend continues when the respondents are asked if they would agree to high courts for provinces, with the lowest level of agreement amongst the Sinhala community (39.6%) and the highest from the Tamil community (62.7%). The Tamil community (75%) and the Muslim community (73.8%) are most agreeable to the idea of provincial council elections every five years while the Up Country Tamil community are the least willing (47.5%).
- **Language:** As for the establishment of Sinhala and Tamil as official languages and English as a link language, all communities are agreeable to the idea, with the most consent coming from the Muslim community (81.5%) and the least from the Up Country Tamil community (58.3%).

**\*\* For detailed analysis of Sinhala opinion on the Constitutional debate please see page 64.**



## Peace Confidence Index (PCI)

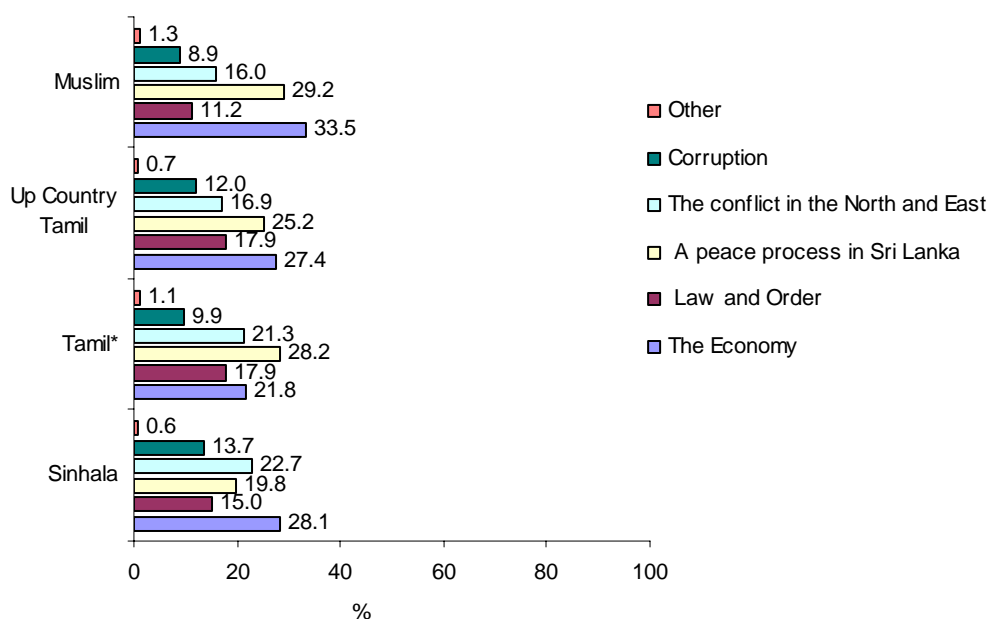
May 2001 – March 2008

*\*The Tamil community was surveyed using a non-random sampling technique. Therefore findings regarding the Tamil community cannot be generalized to the entire community. (See Annex)*

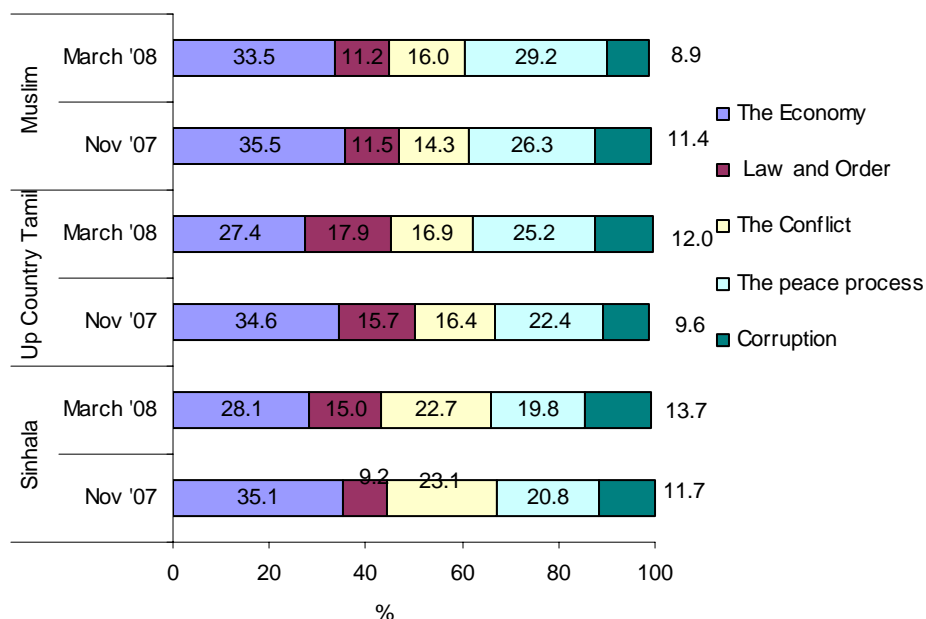
### National Issues

#### Rating the Importance of Five National Issues

##### Ethnic Breakdown

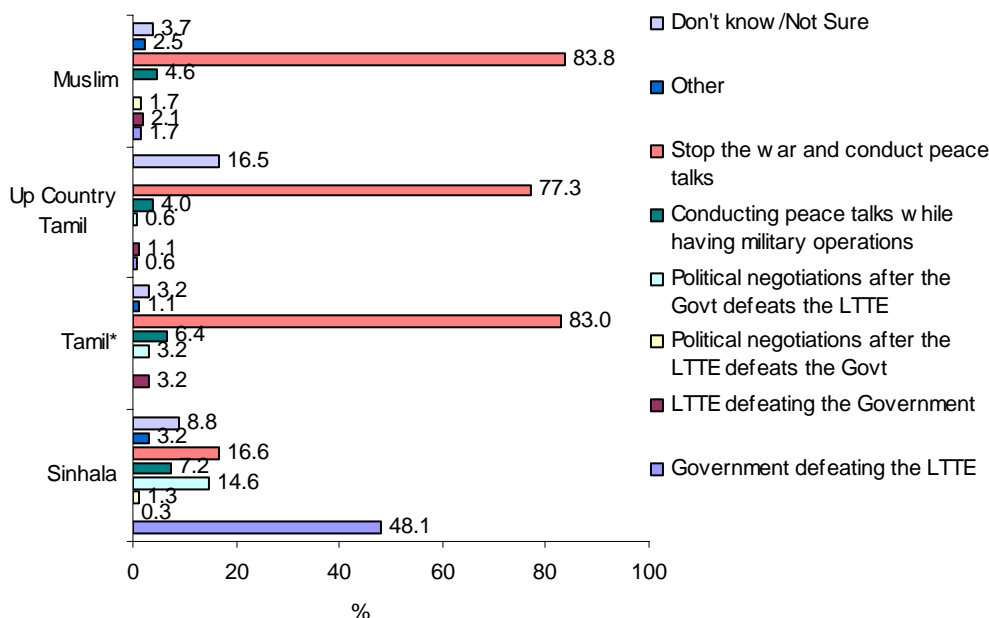


##### Changes of opinion from Nov '07 to March '08

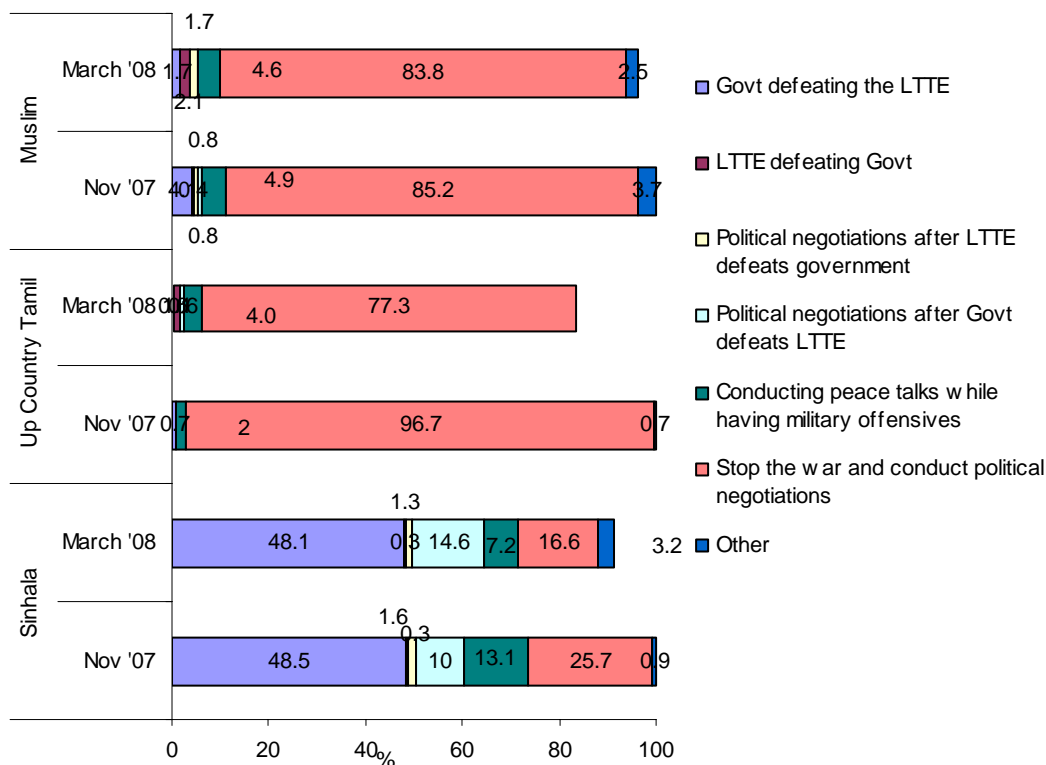


How do you think we can end the war and arrive at peace in Sri Lanka?

**Ethnic Breakdown**



**Changes of opinion from Nov '07 to March '08**



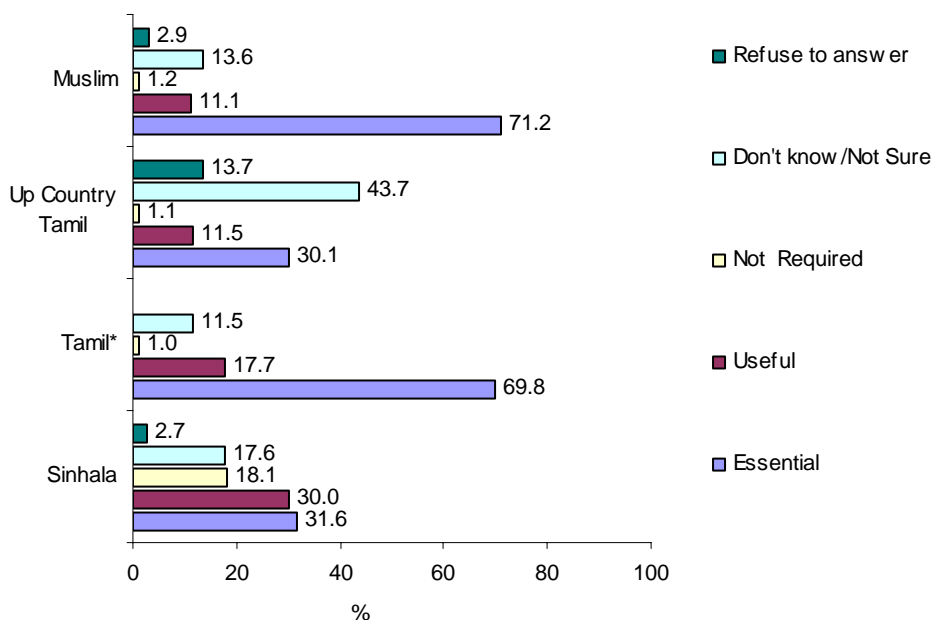


## Peace Confidence Index Top-line Results

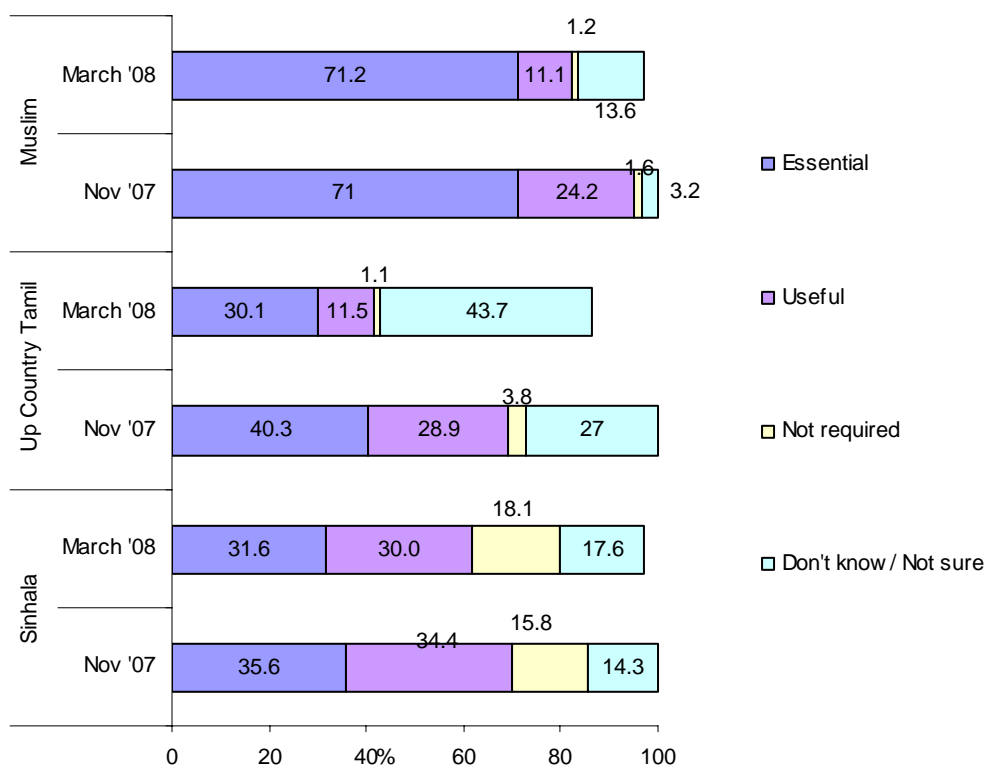
Some say that, irrespective of how the war ends, a political solution is still necessary to resolve the present conflict. There are also some who disagree with this idea. What do you think?

I think that a political settlement is:

### Ethnic Breakdown



### Changes of opinion from Nov '07 to March '08

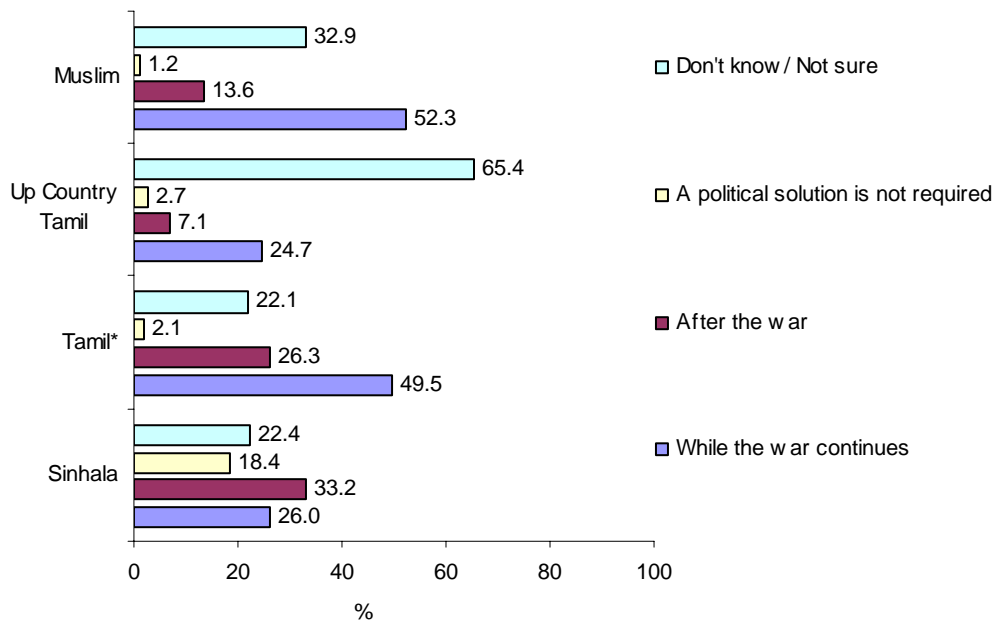




## Peace Confidence Index Top-line Results

When should a political settlement be designed?

### Ethnic Breakdown

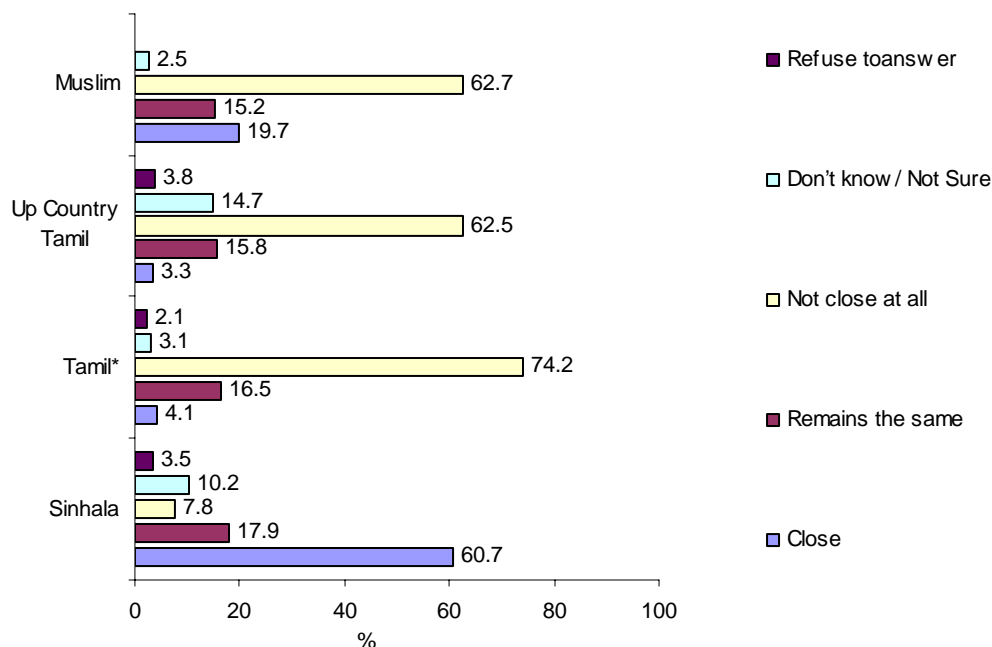




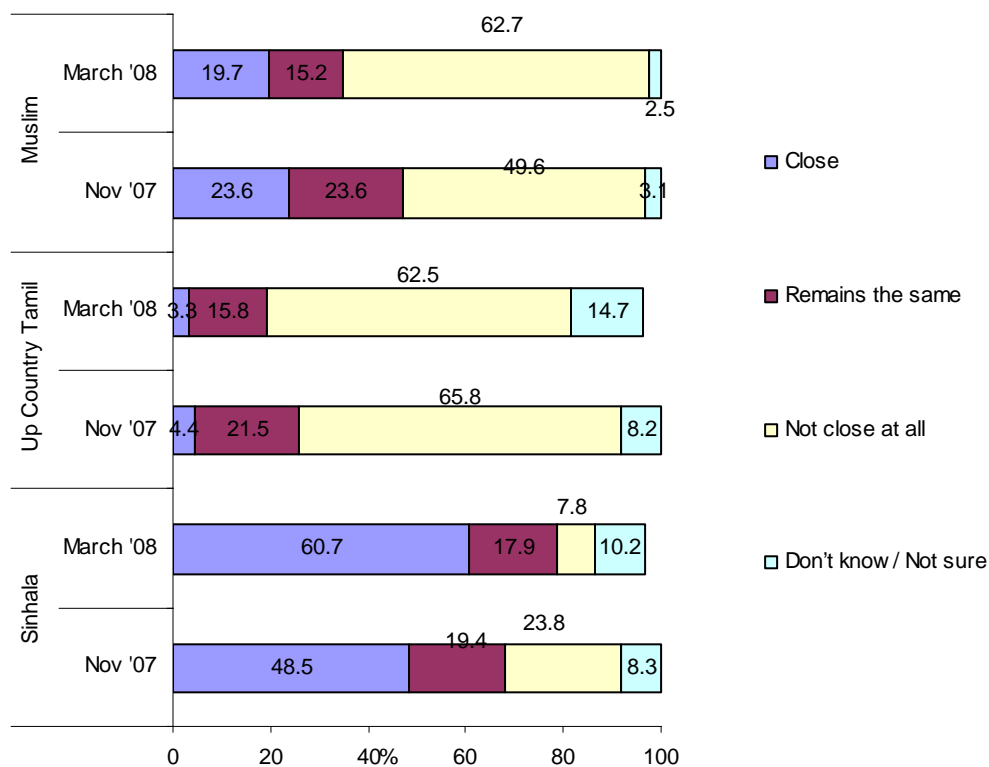
# Peace Confidence Index Top-line Results

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?

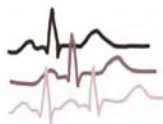
## Ethnic Breakdown



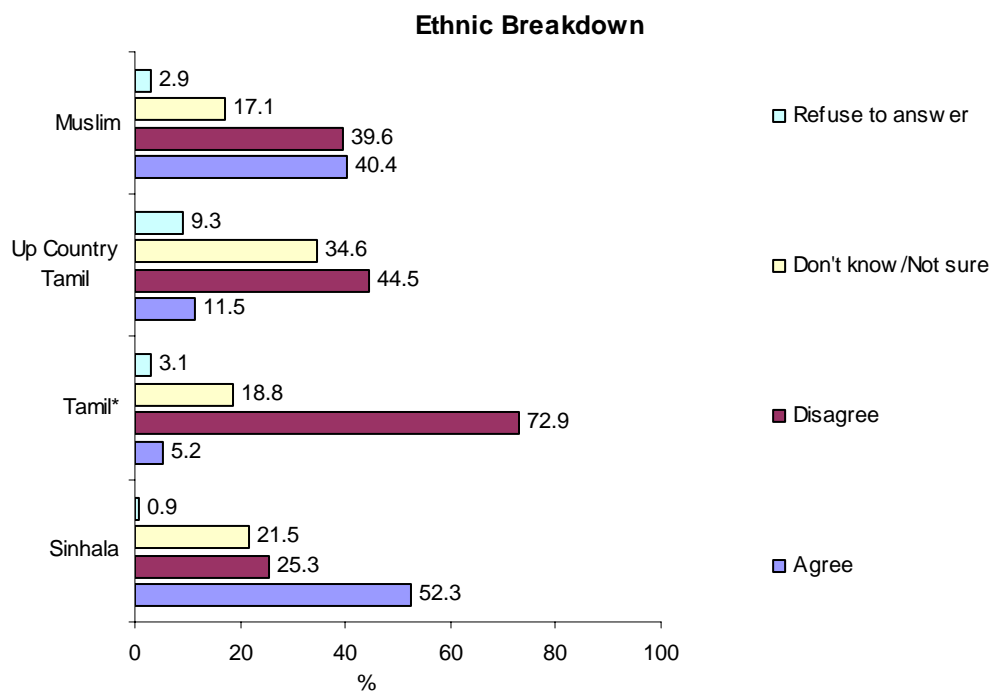
## Changes of opinion from Nov '07 to March '08







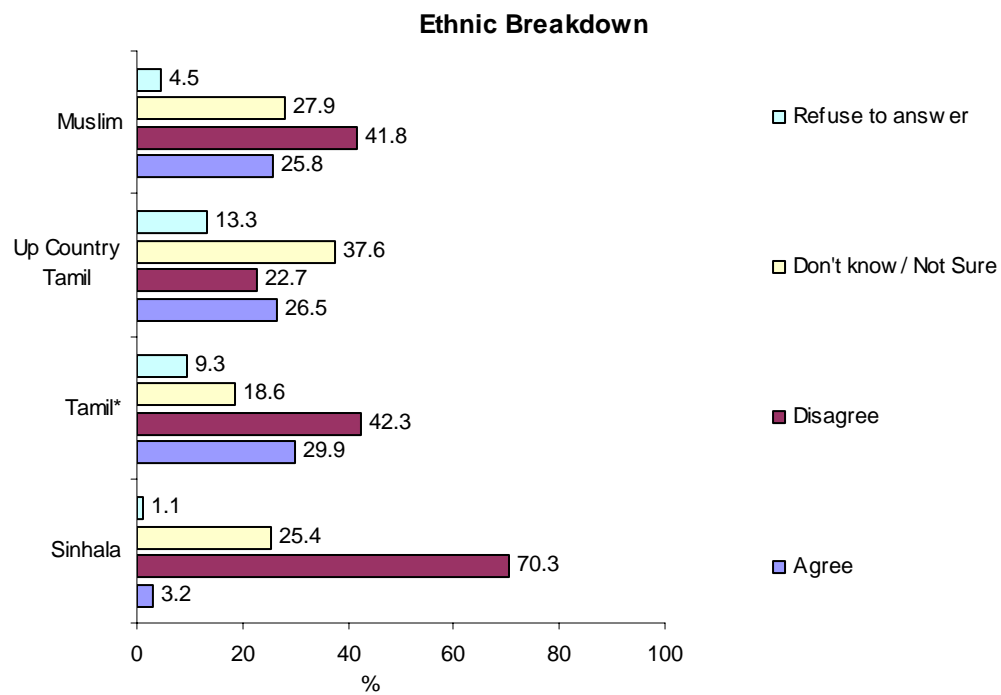
Do you feel that the government is committed to find peace through talks?

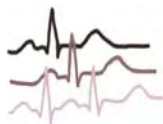




## Peace Confidence Index Top-line Results

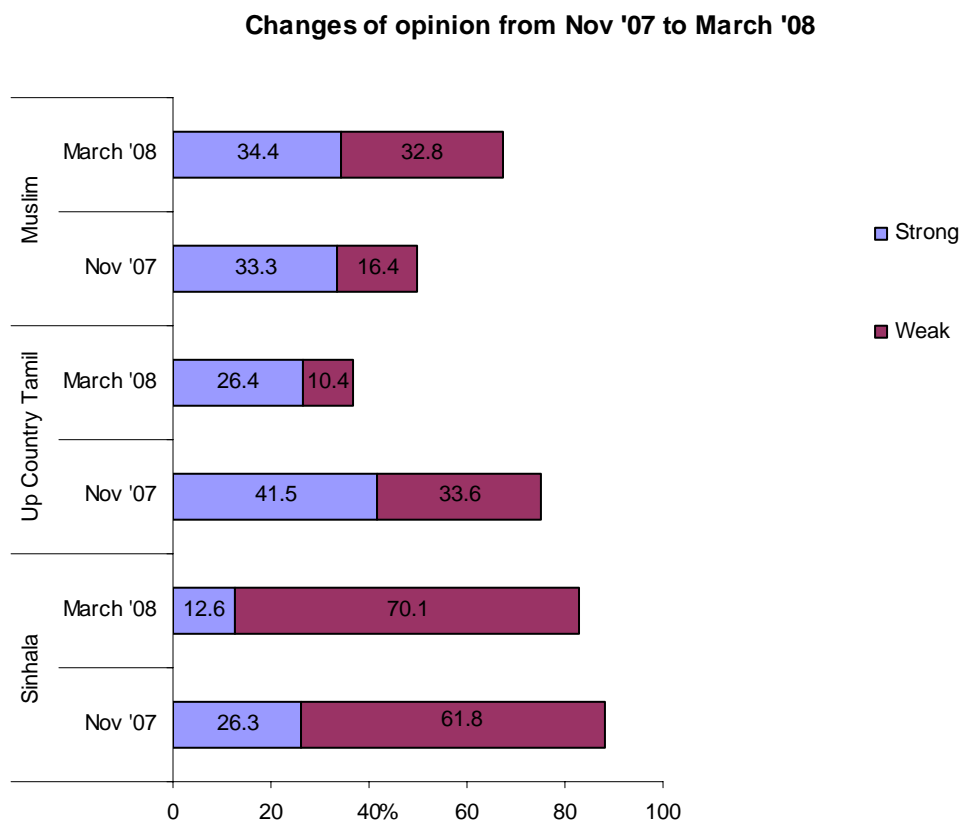
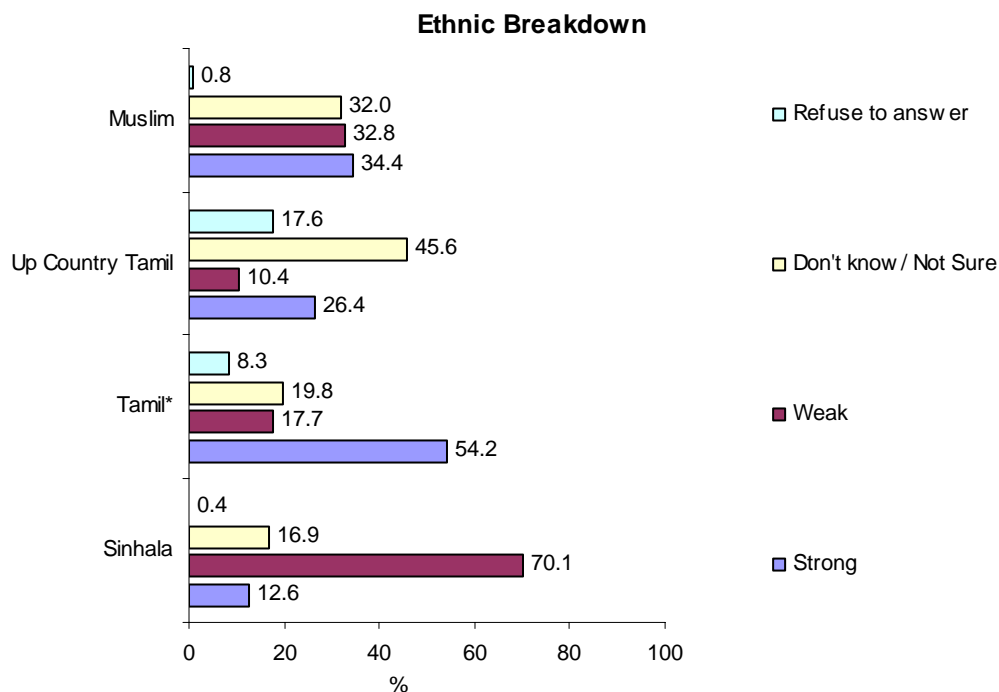
Do you feel that the LTTE is committed to find peace through talks?

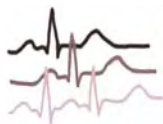




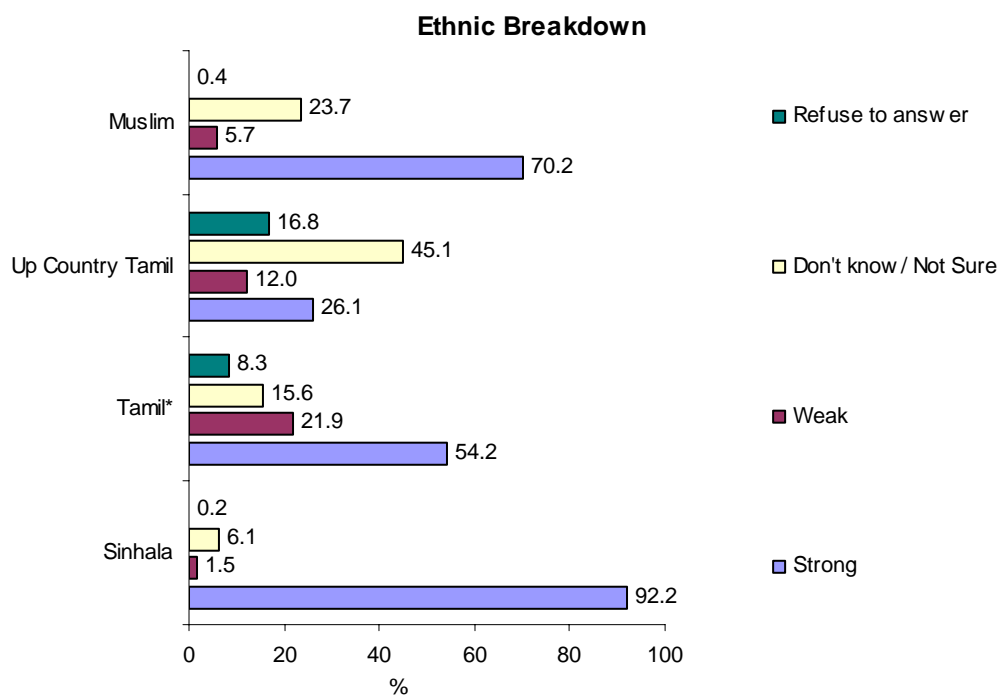
## Military Capacity

What is your assessment of the LTTE's current military capacity?

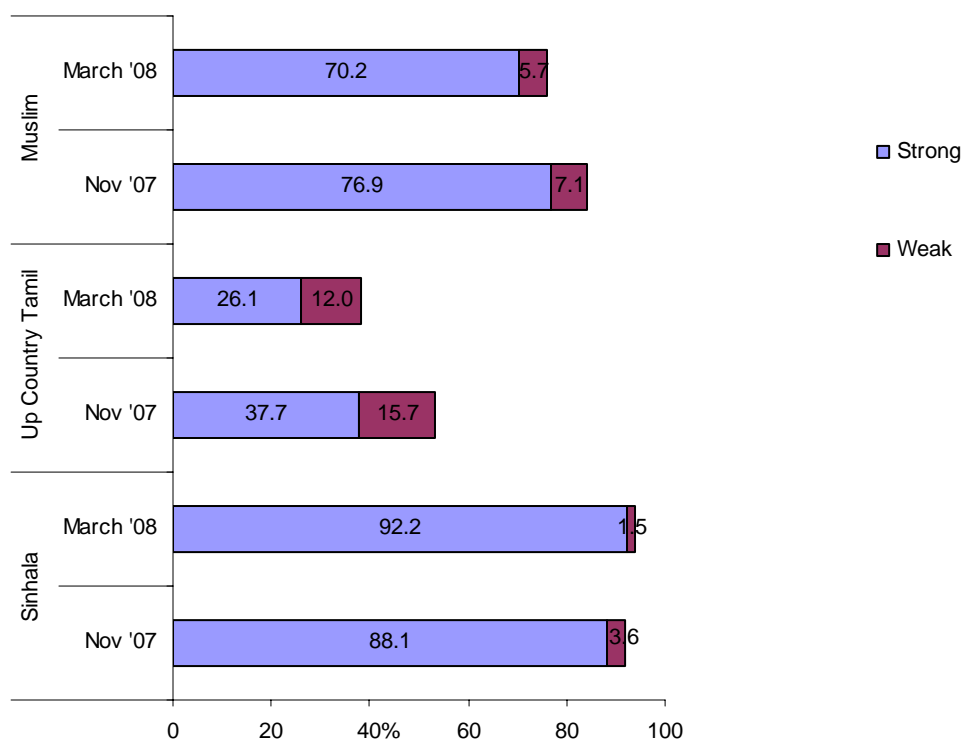




What is your assessment of the government's current military capacity?



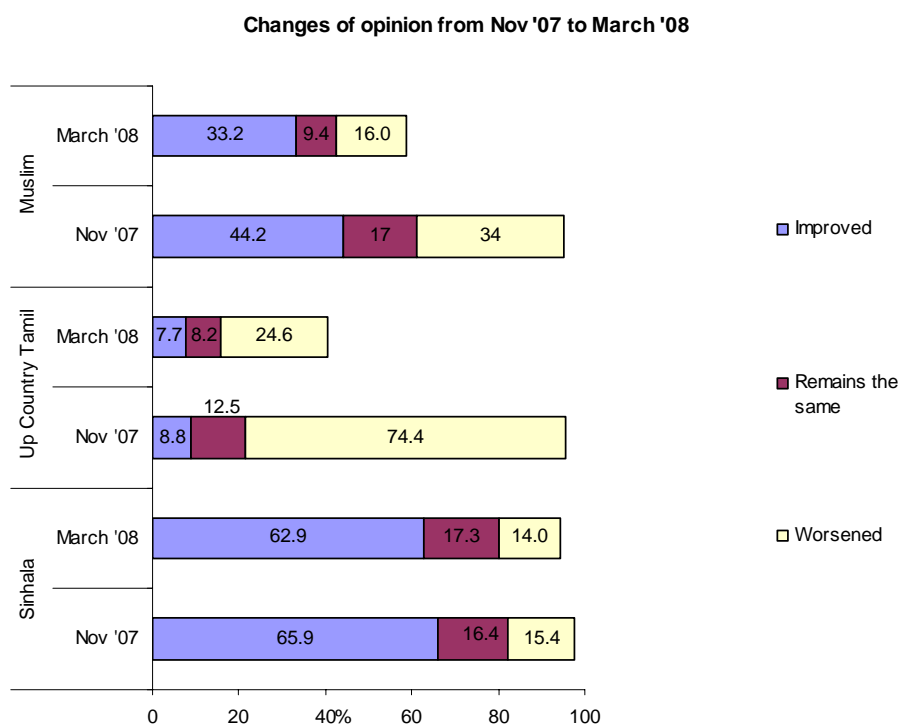
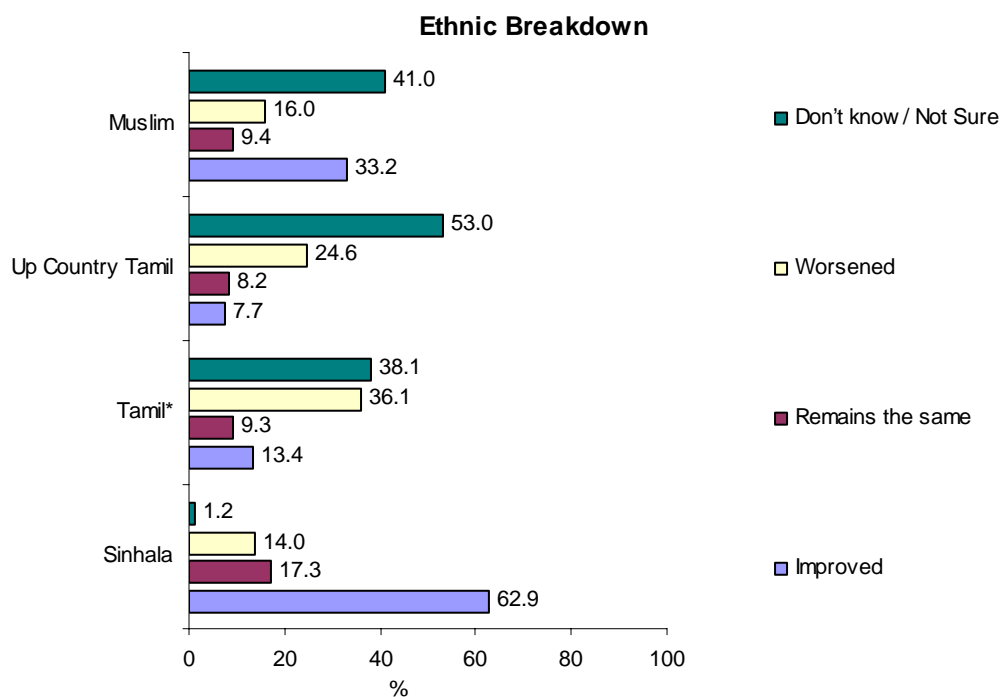
**Changes of opinion from Nov '07 to March '08**





## Current Security Condition

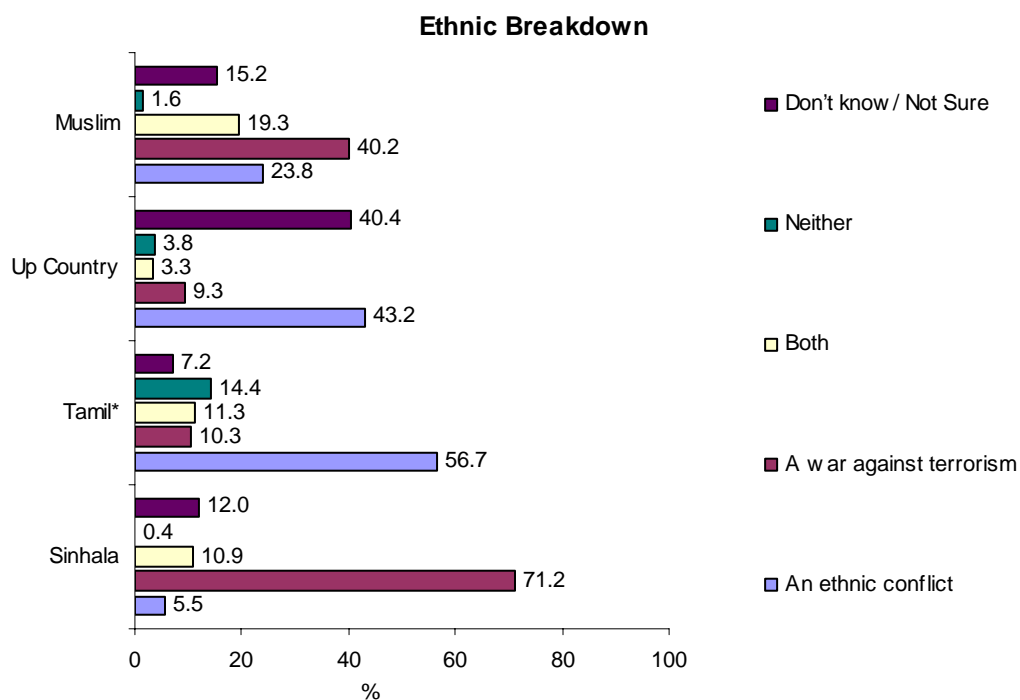
Compared to the situation a year ago, do you think the security situation in the country has improved or worsened?



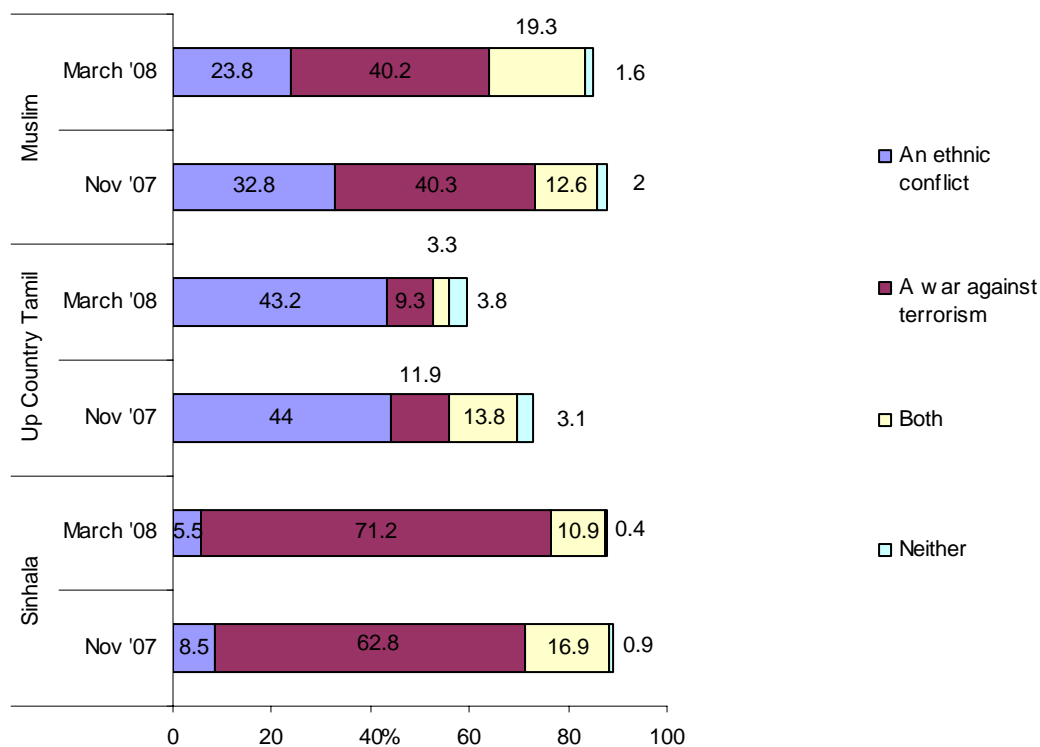


## Peace Confidence Index Top-line Results

Some say that the country is currently involved in an ethnic conflict while others describe the situation as a war against terrorism. How would you describe the situation?



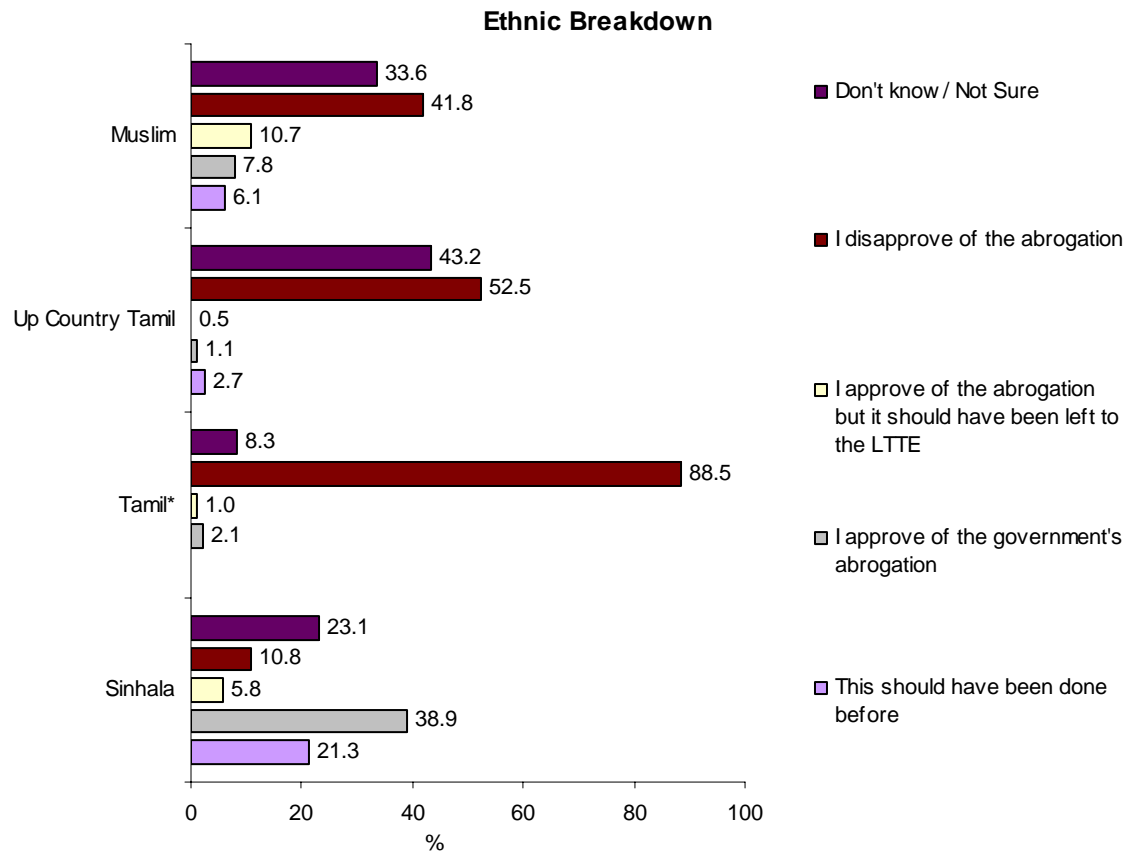
### Changes of opinion from Nov '07 to March '08

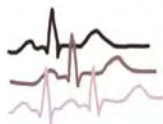




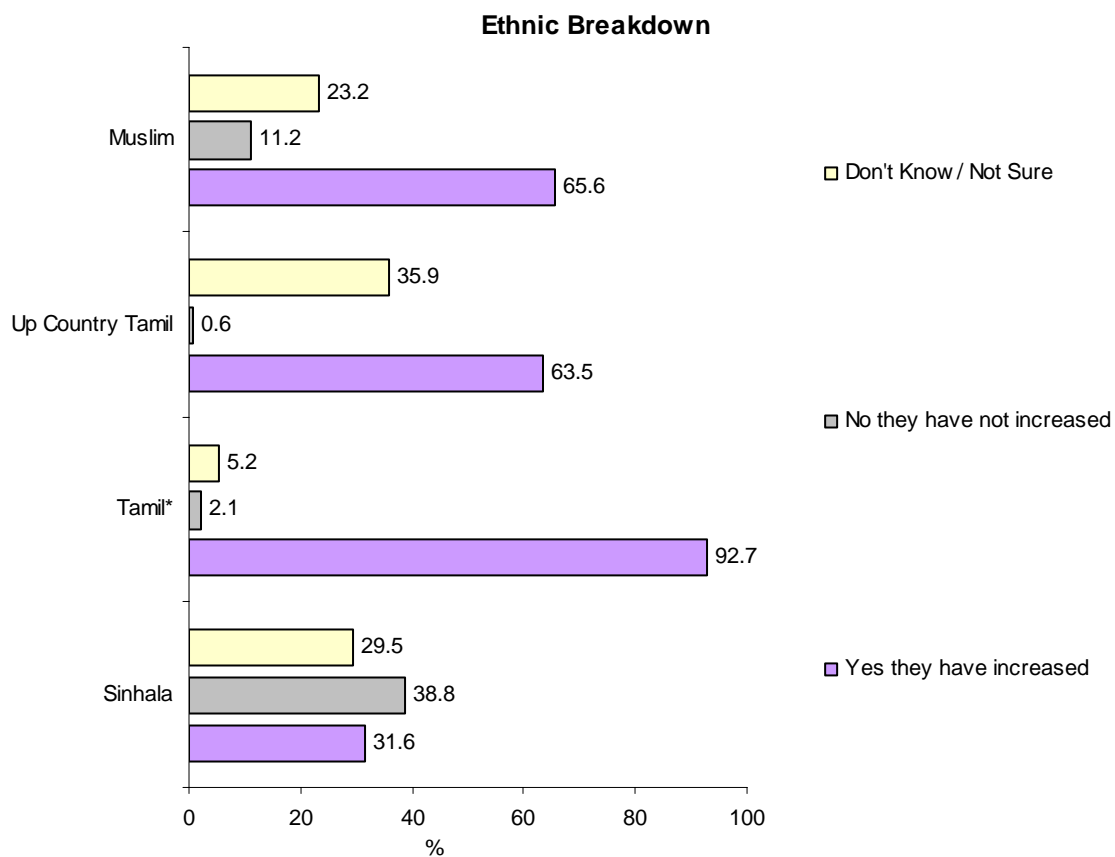
### The Abrogation of the CFA

Which of the following best describes your attitude toward the abrogation of the Ceasefire Agreement?

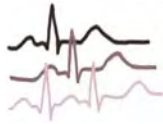




Do you feel that the abrogation of the CFA has led to an increase in the number of attacks on civilians?

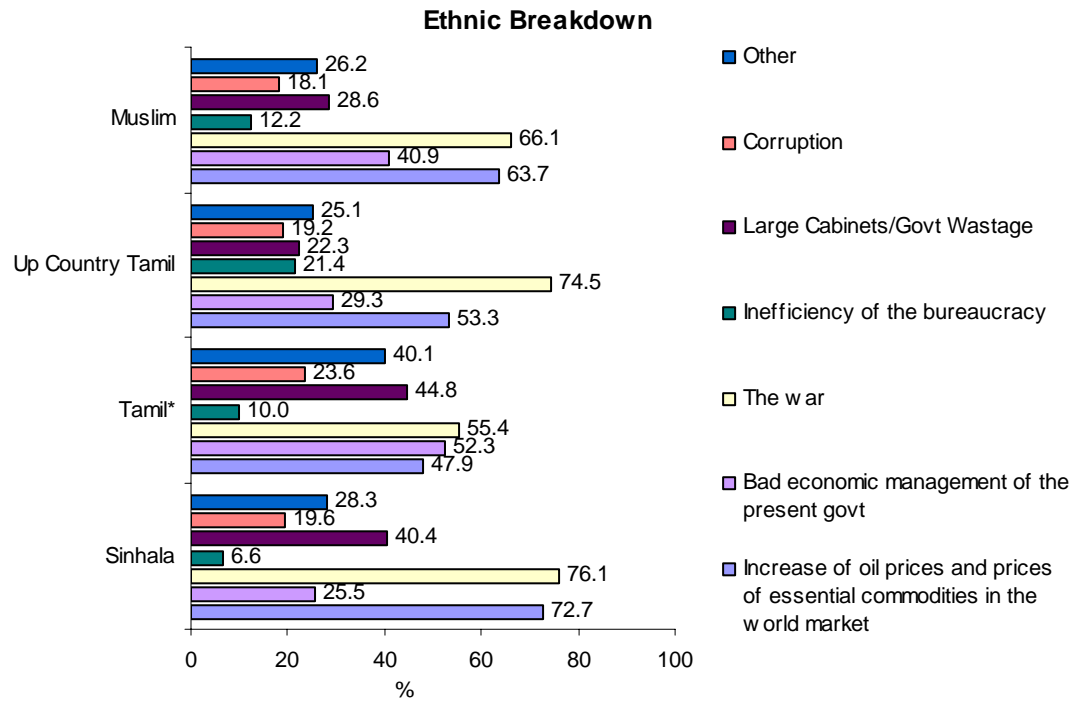






## Cost of Living

What would you say are the main reasons for the increase in the cost of living?

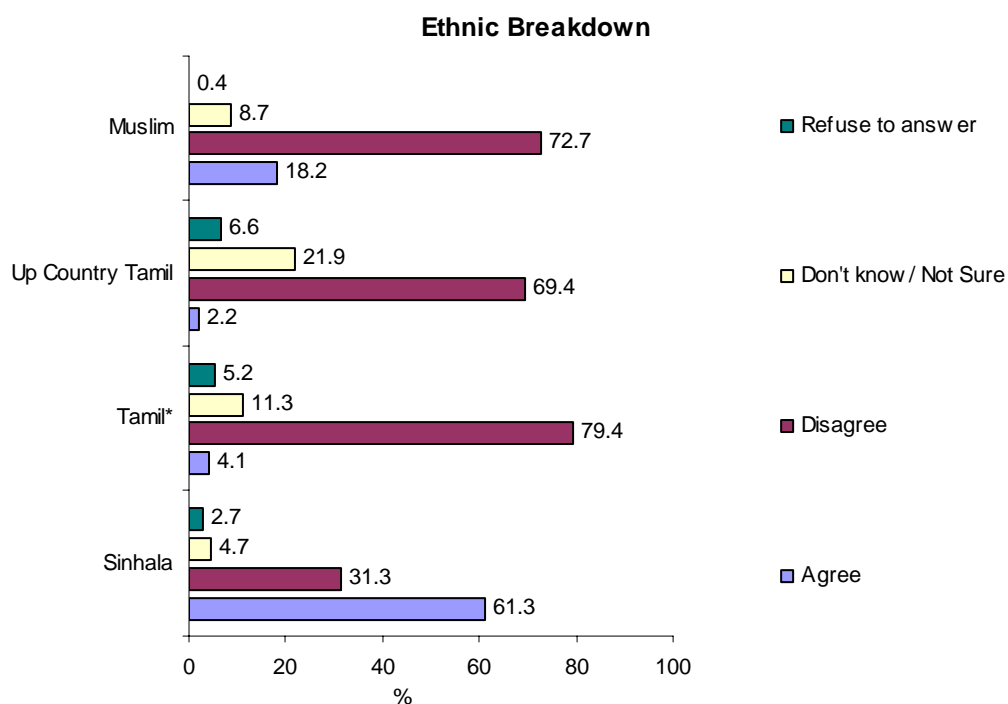




## Peace Confidence Index Top-line Results

Page 23

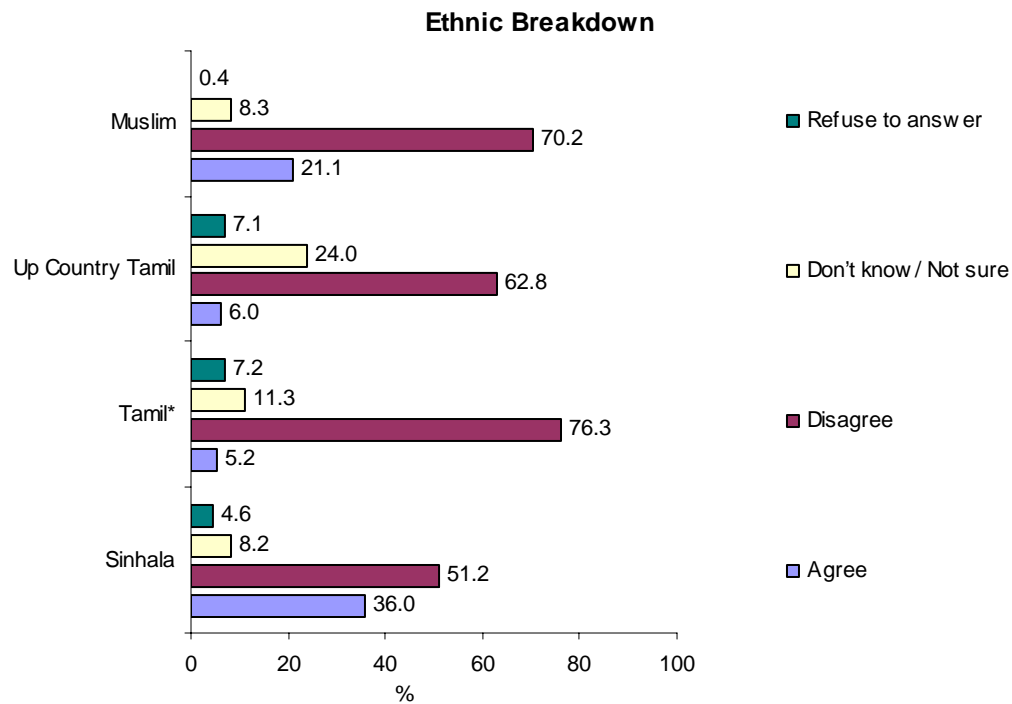
Would you bear the present cost of living for the sake of the government's effort in fighting against the LTTE?





## Peace Confidence Index Top-line Results

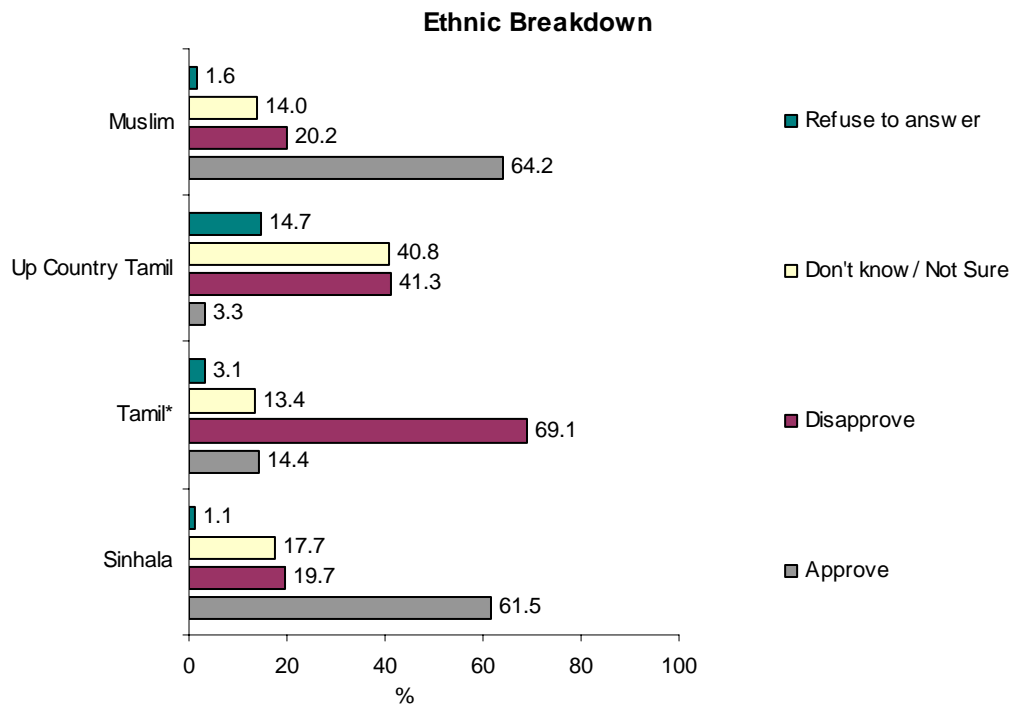
Would you bear the present cost of living because the government says prices in the world market have increased ?





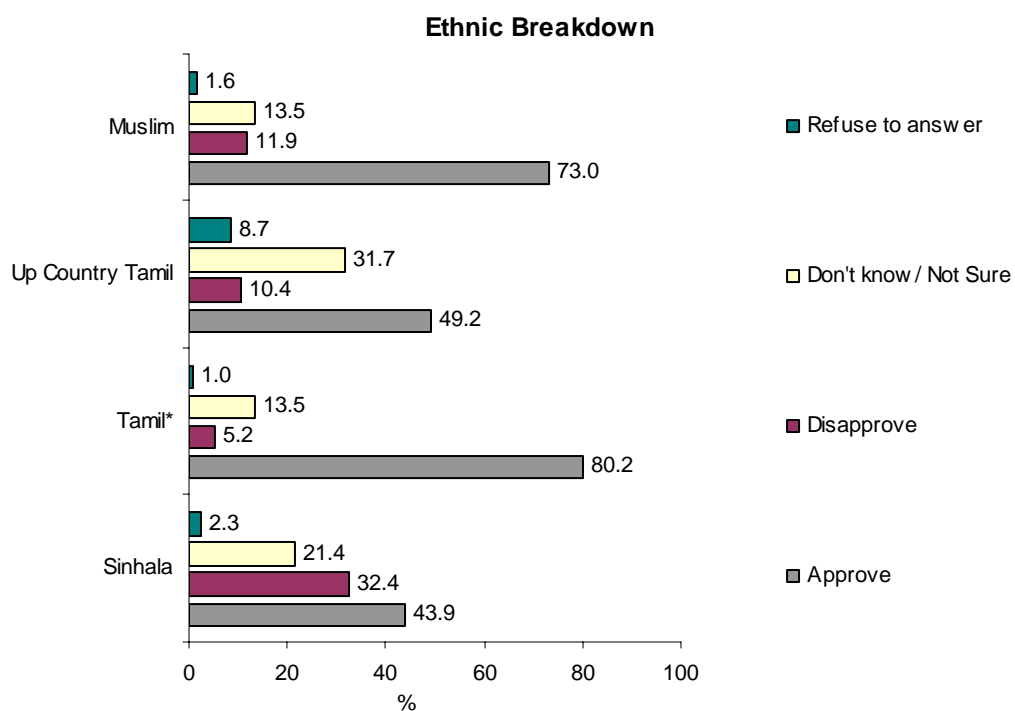
International Involvement

Do you approve of International assistance, to the government in its war against the LTTE?





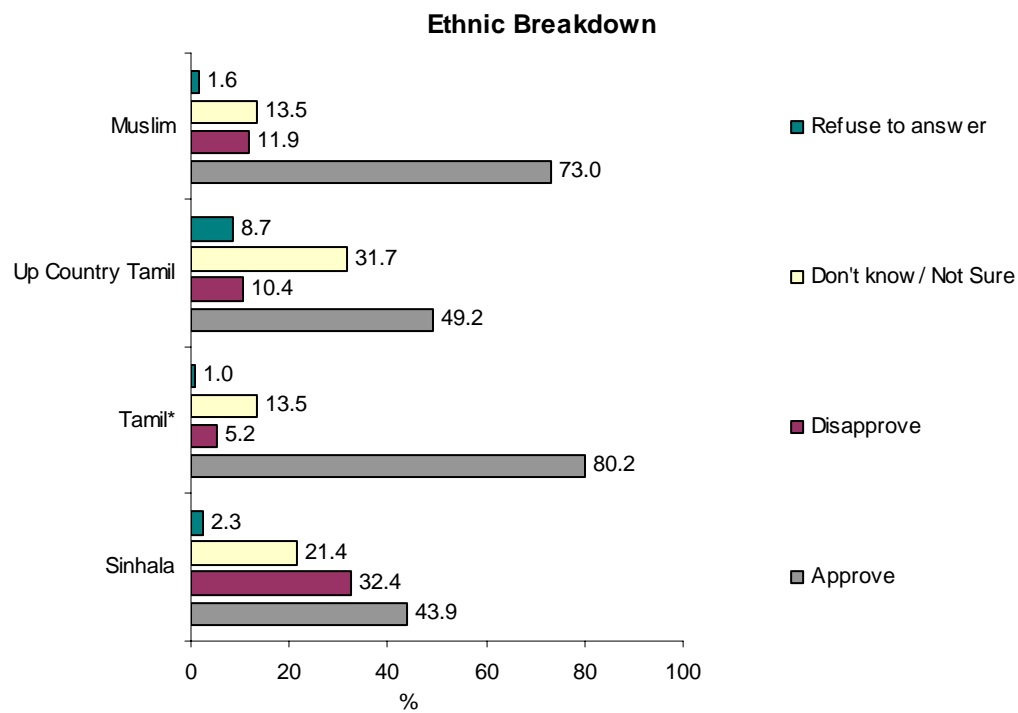
Do you approve of International Involvement for the facilitation of future peace negotiations?

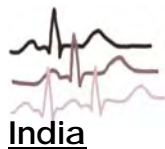




## Peace Confidence Index Top-line Results

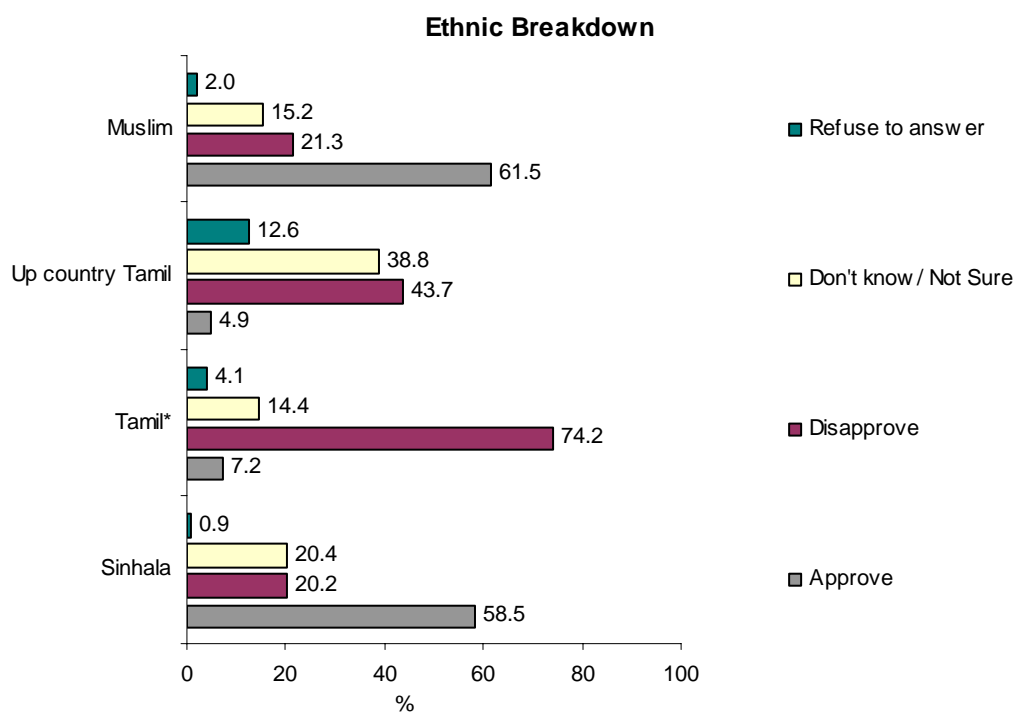
Do you approve of International Involvement in the government's development projects?





India

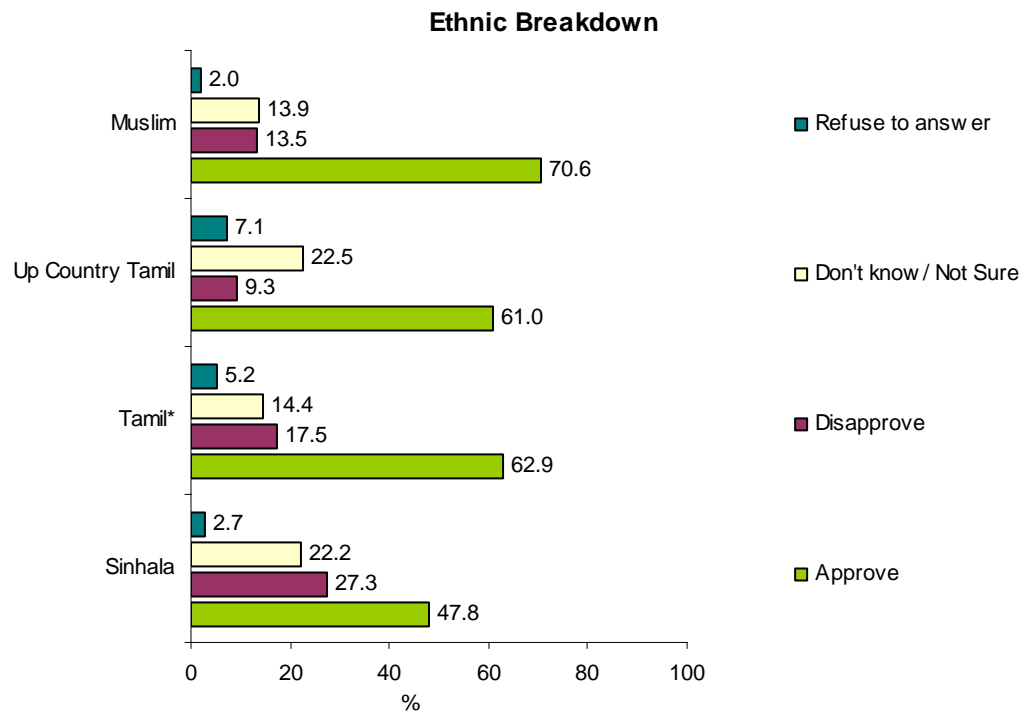
Do you approve of Indian assistance to the government in its war against the LTTE?





Peace Confidence Index  
Top-line Results

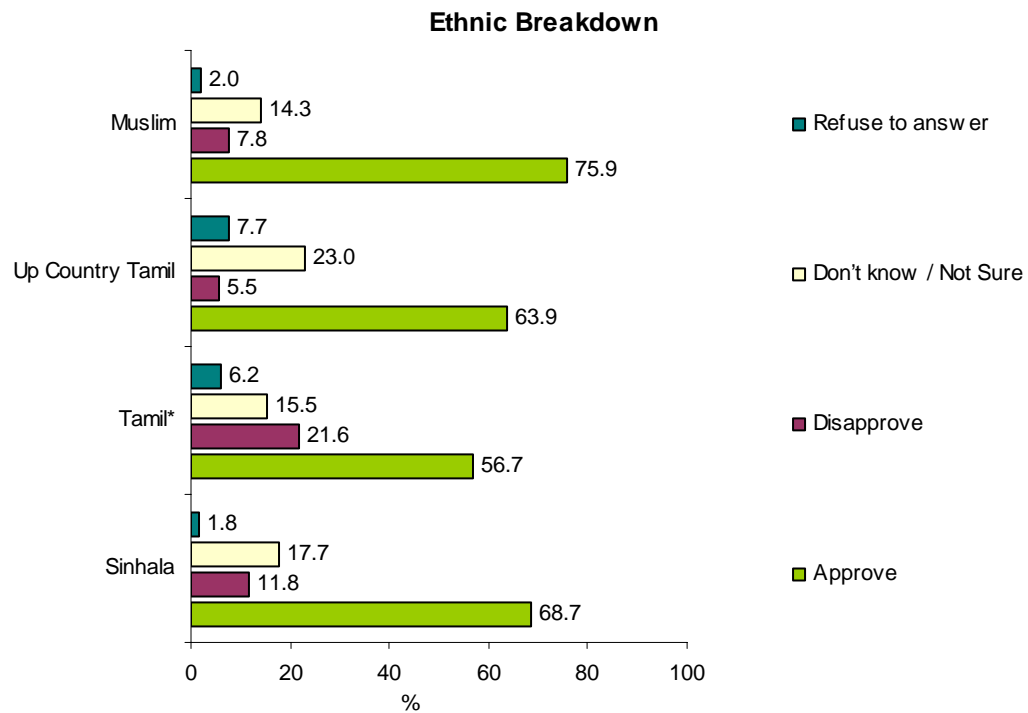
Do you approve of Indian Involvement in future peace negotiations?







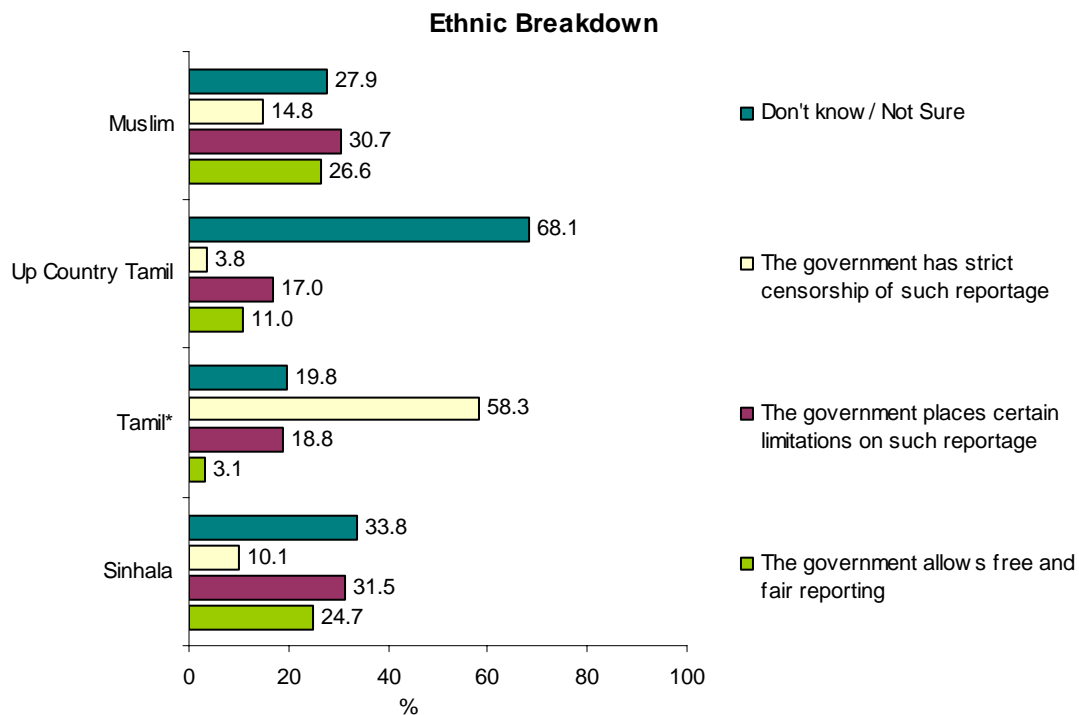
Do you approve of Indian Involvement in the government's development projects?

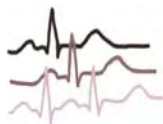




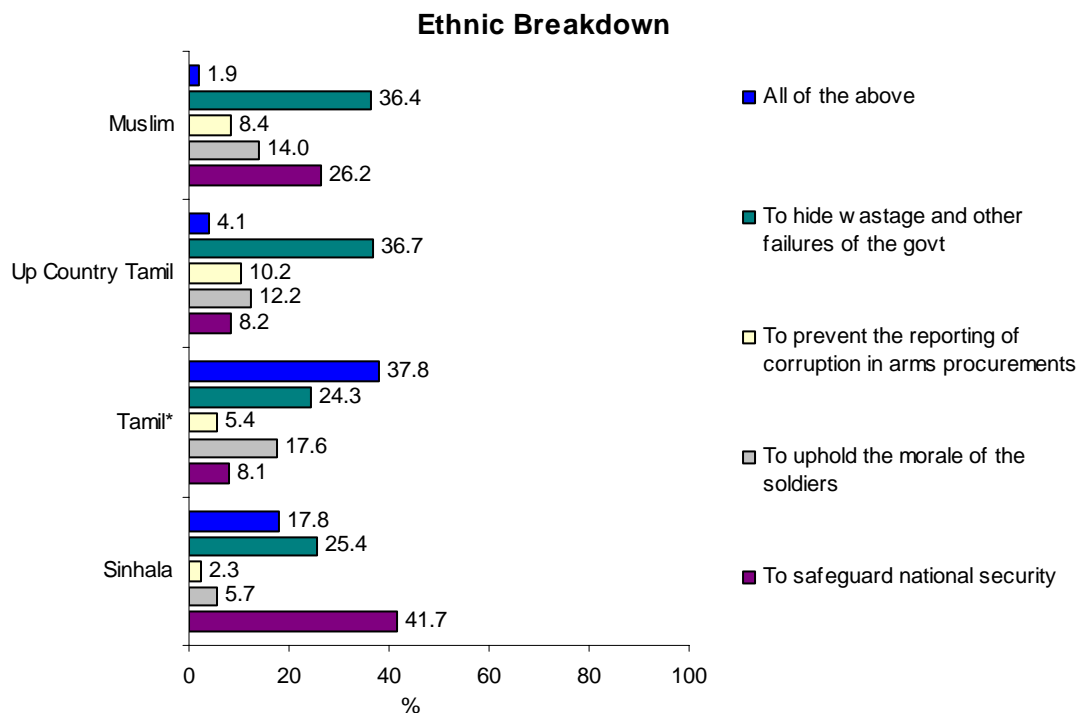
### Media Freedom

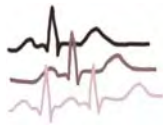
It has been said that the government 'places pressure' on media outlets that present critical news and views. Which of the following statements best reflects your opinion on this?



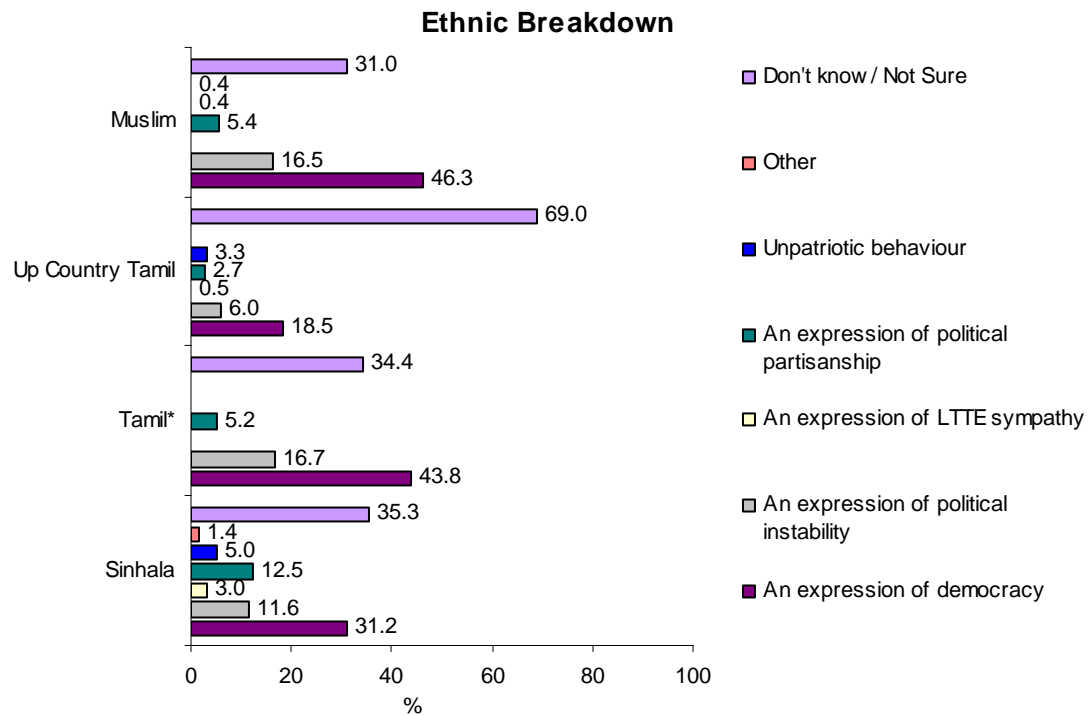


Why do you feel that the government places such restrictions on the media?





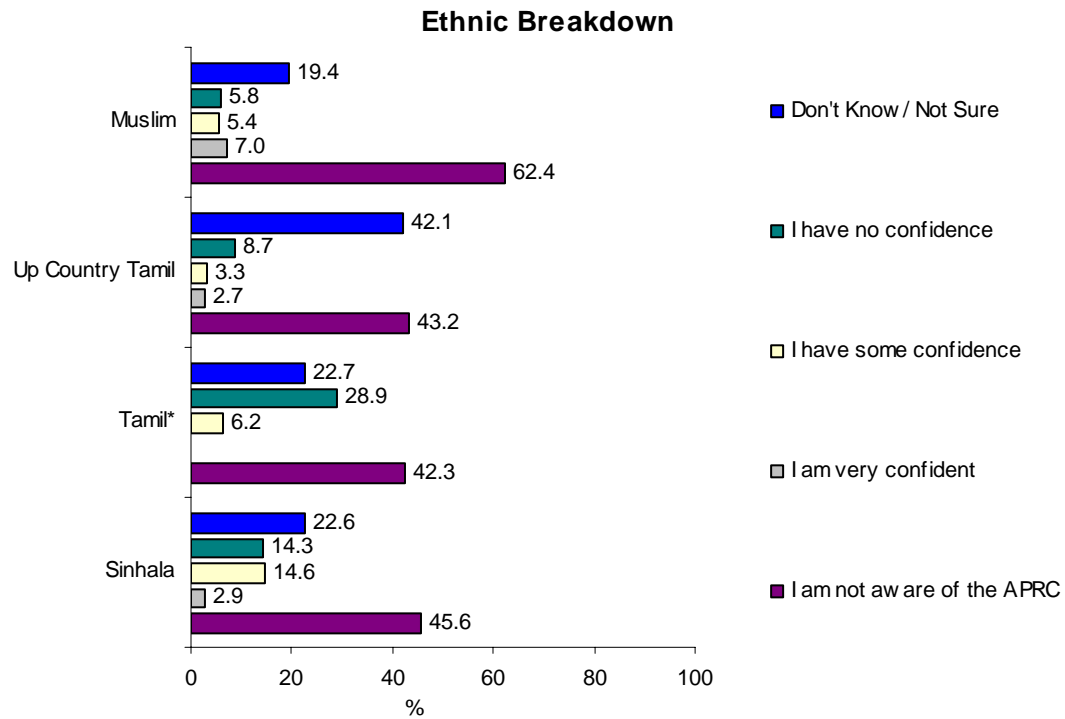
Do you feel that media reports critical of the government reflect:

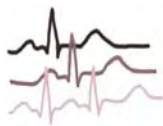




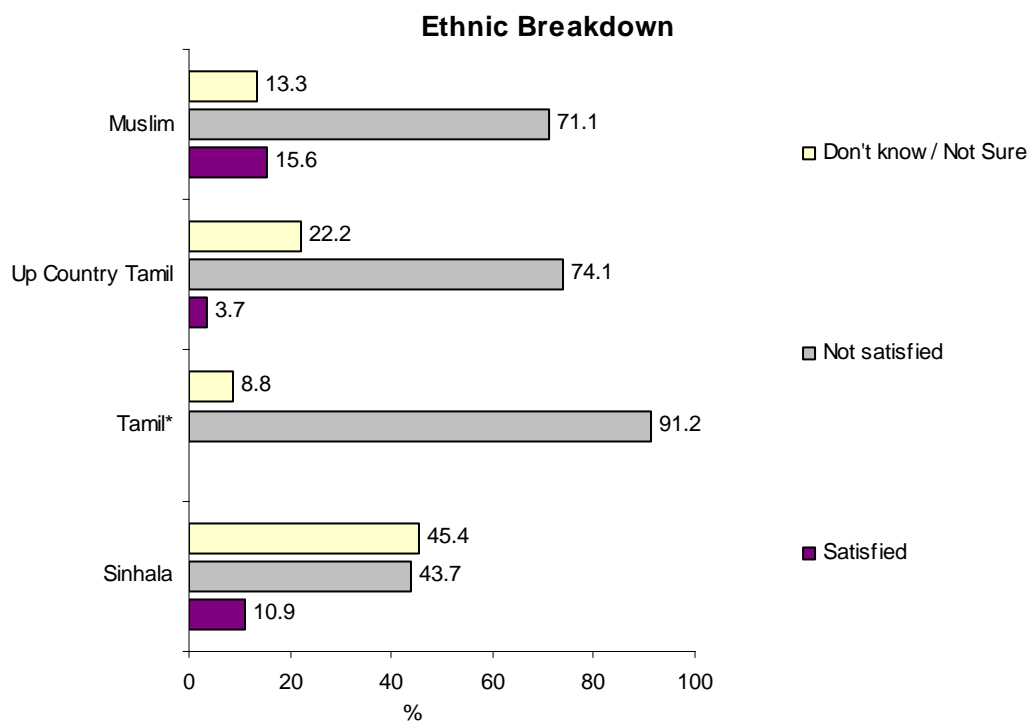
The APRC and the Constitutional Debate

How confident are you in the ability of the APRC to bring about a southern consensus ?





Are you satisfied with the level of inclusion in the All Party Representative Committee ?

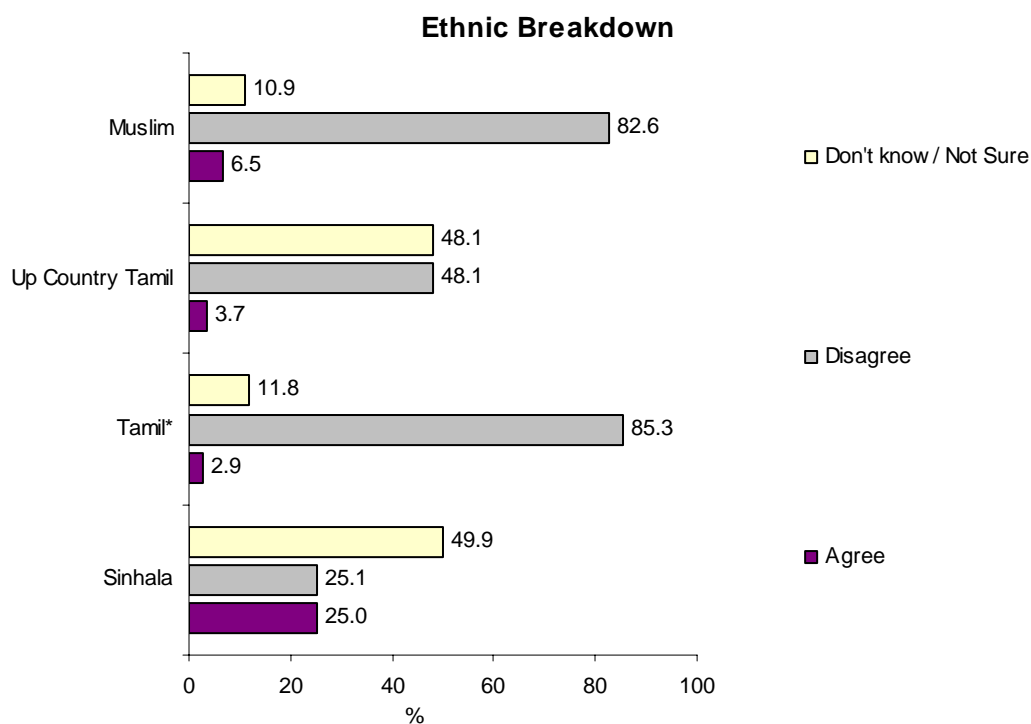




## Peace Confidence Index Top-line Results

Page 36

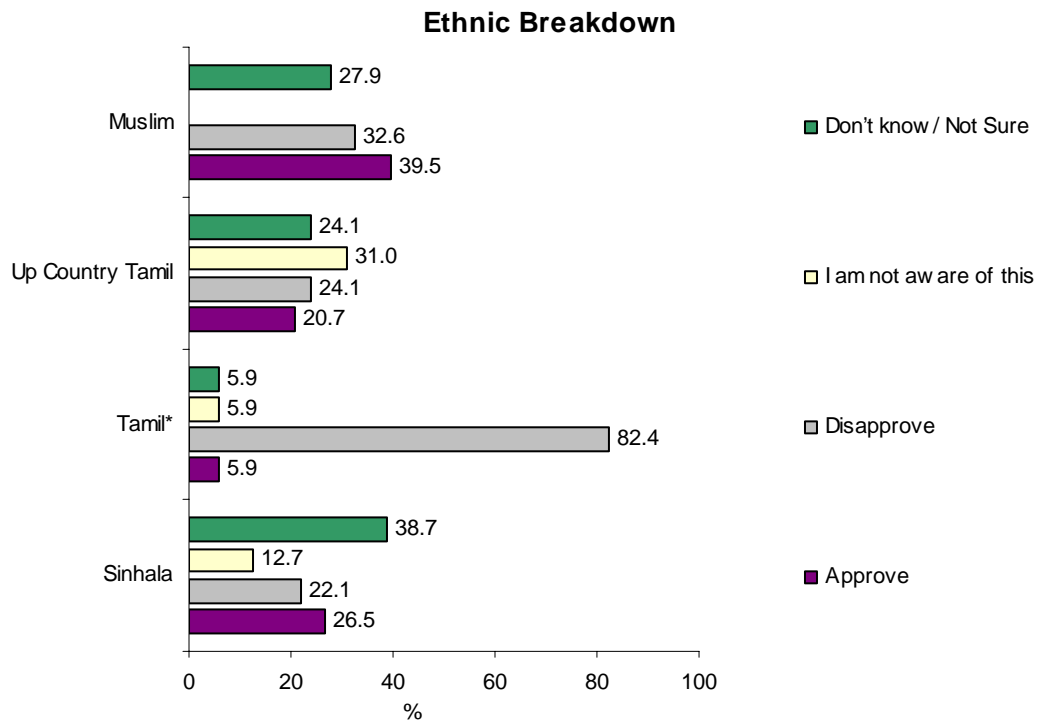
Do you agree with the JVP demand to dissolve the APRC and give up peace talks until such time as the LTTE is defeated?





## Peace Confidence Index Top-line Results

Do you approve of the inclusion of the TMVP in the APRC?





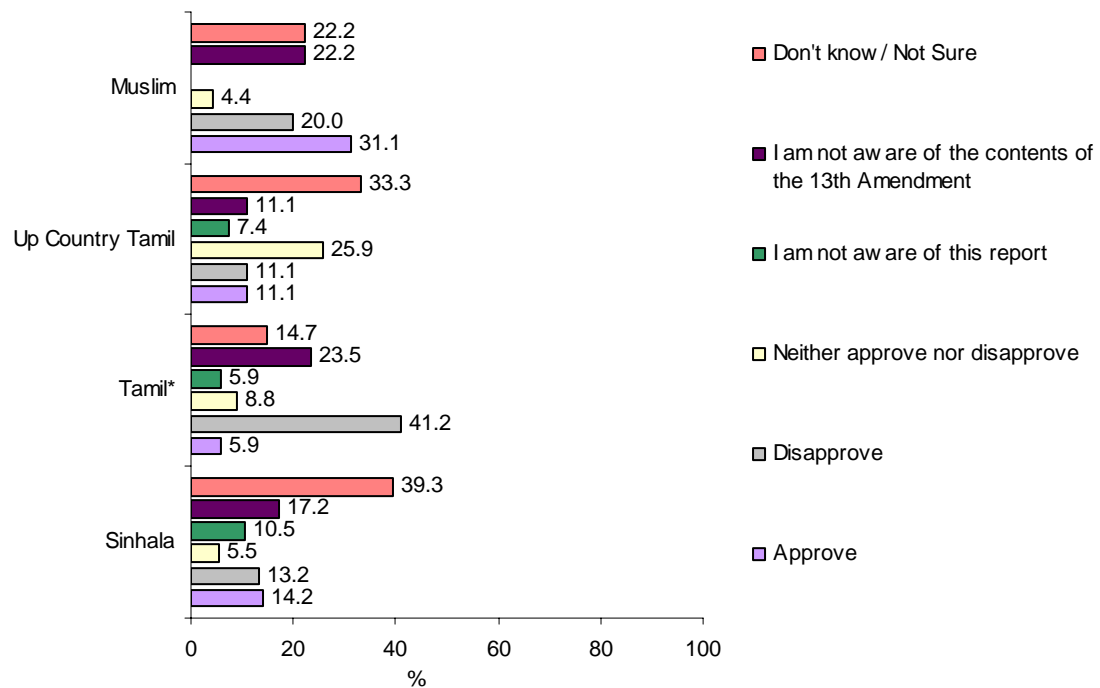


## Peace Confidence Index Top-line Results

Page 38

Do you approve of the APRC interim report's recommendation of the full implementation of the 13th Amendment?

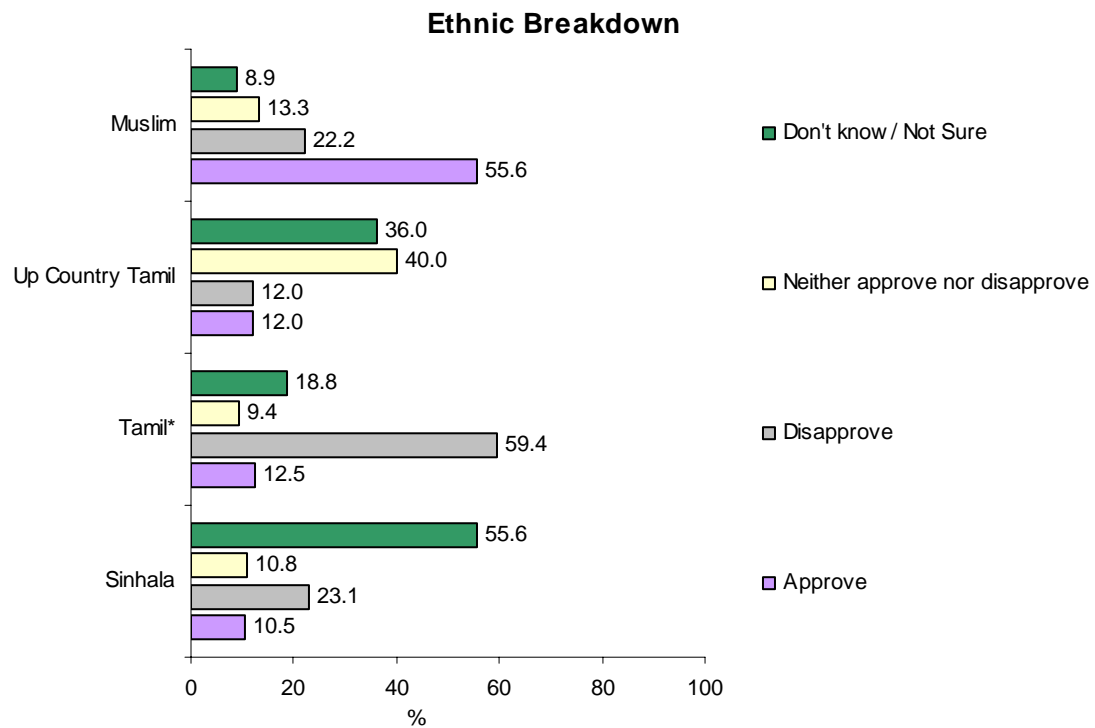
### Ethnic Breakdown





## Peace Confidence Index Top-line Results

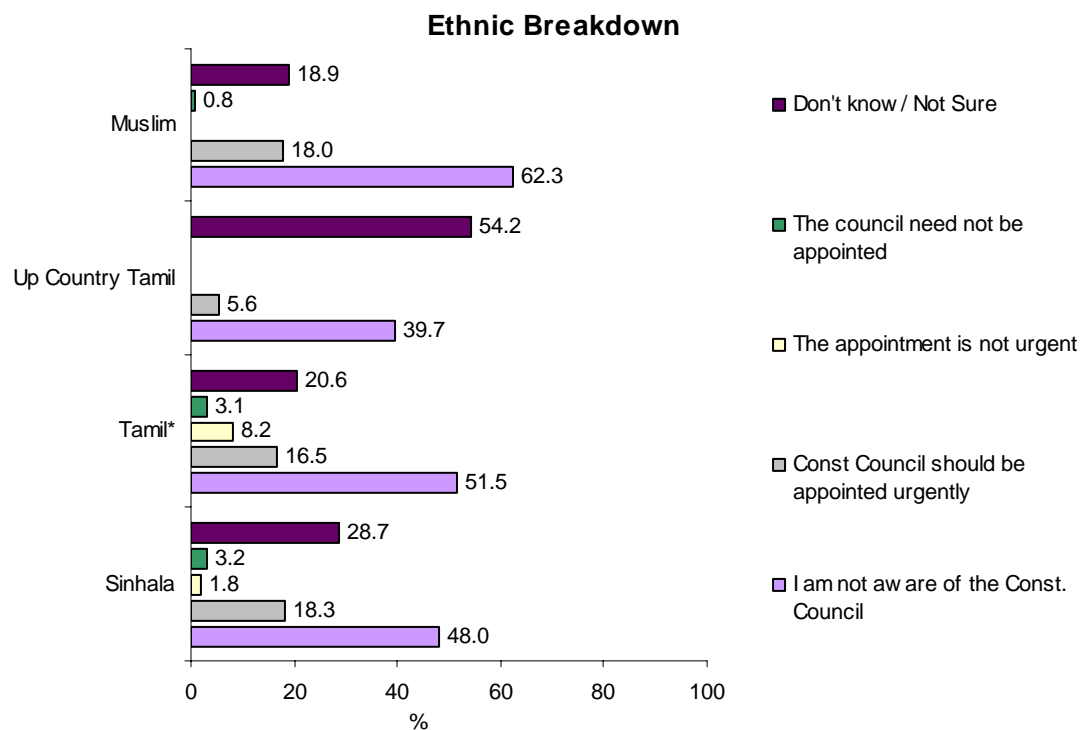
Do you approve of the establishment of an interim provincial council for the North?





## The Constitutional Council

In your opinion, is the appointment of the Constitutional Council an urgent matter?

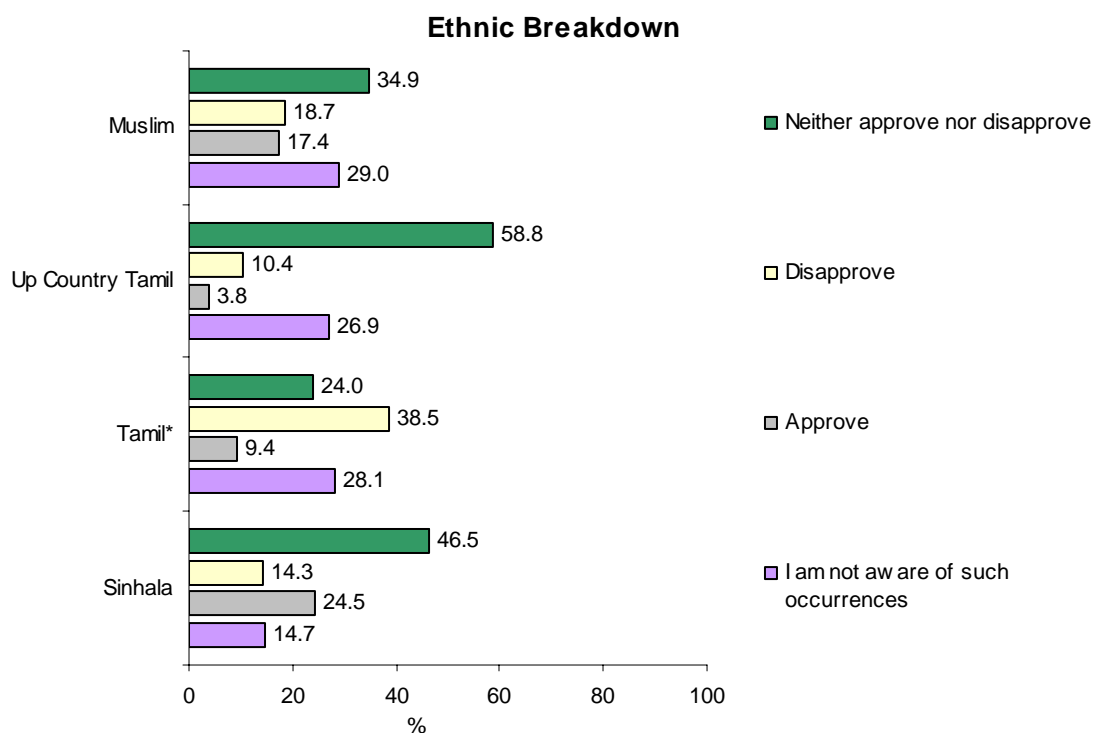




## Peace Confidence Index Top-line Results

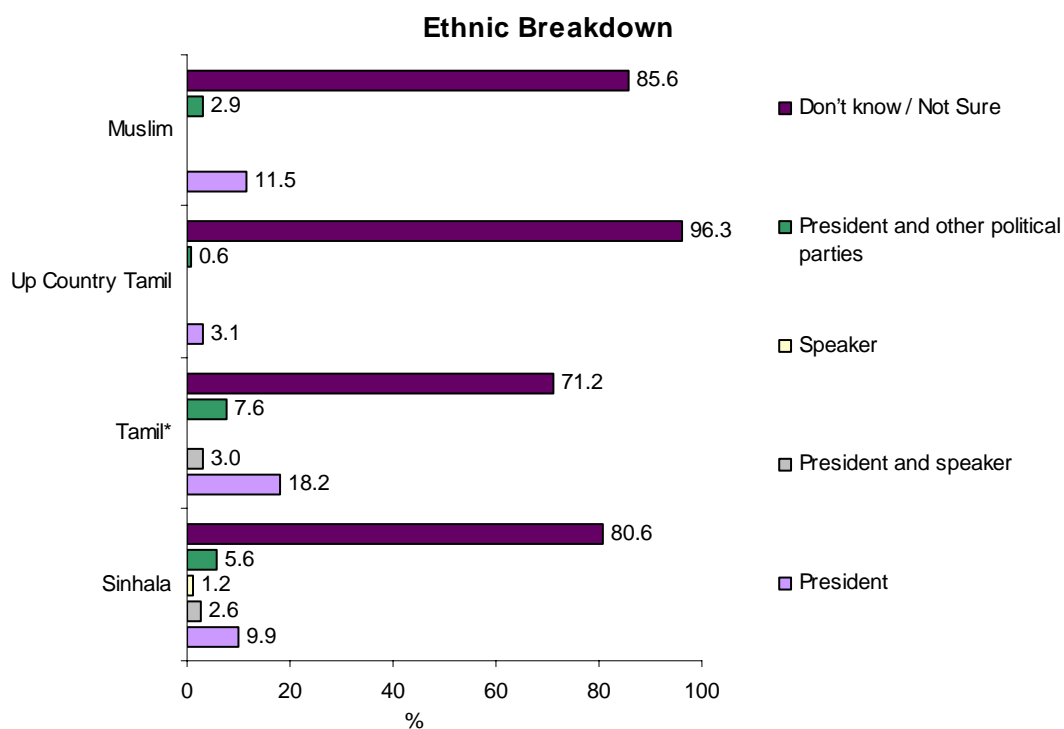
Page 41

The president has been making appointments to independent commissions. Do you approve?





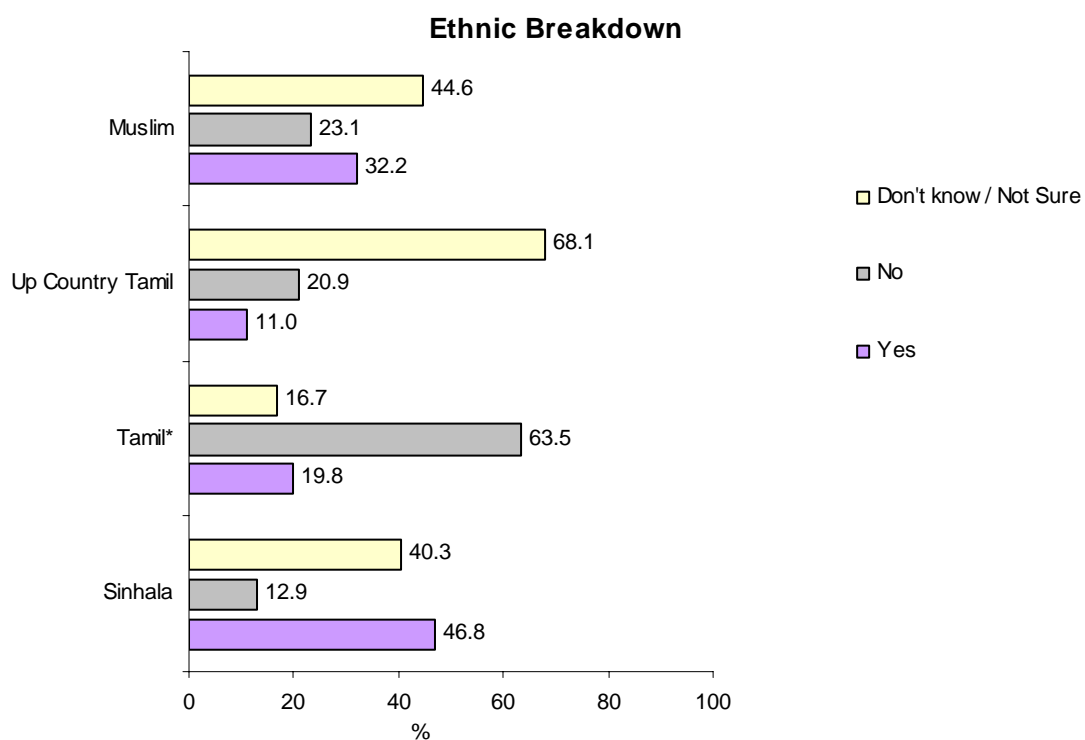
Who do you think is responsible for the delay in the appointment of the Constitutional Council?





**Local Government Elections**

In your opinion, were the polls in the East conducted in a free and fair manner?

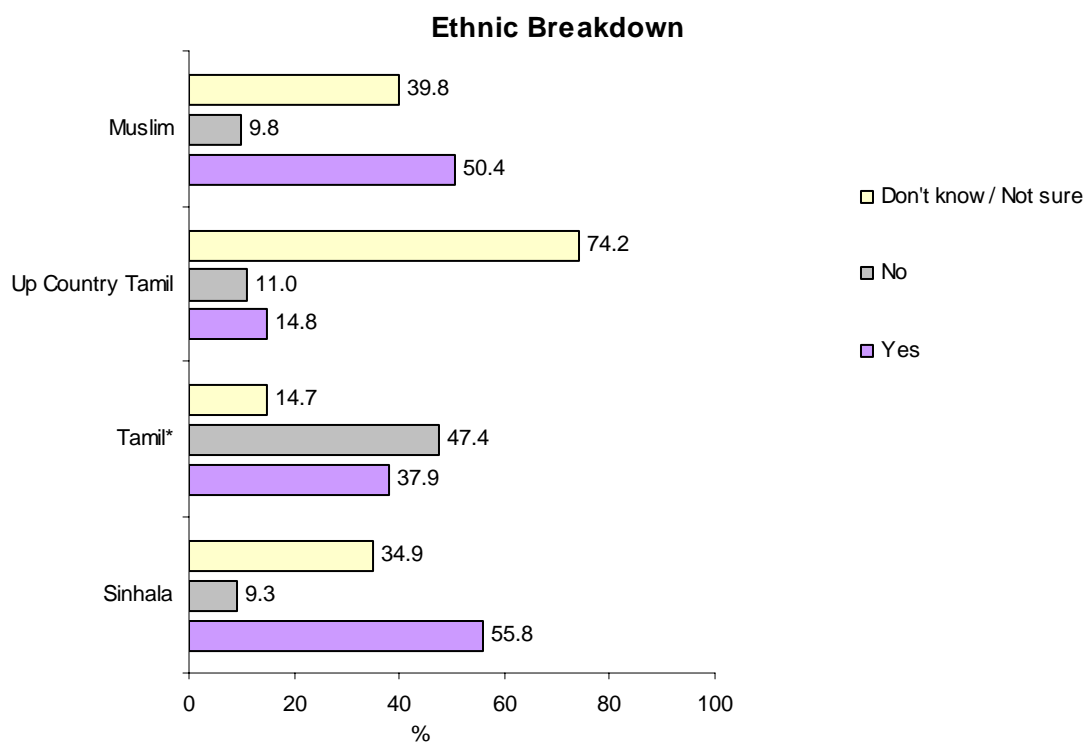




## Peace Confidence Index Top-line Results

Page 44

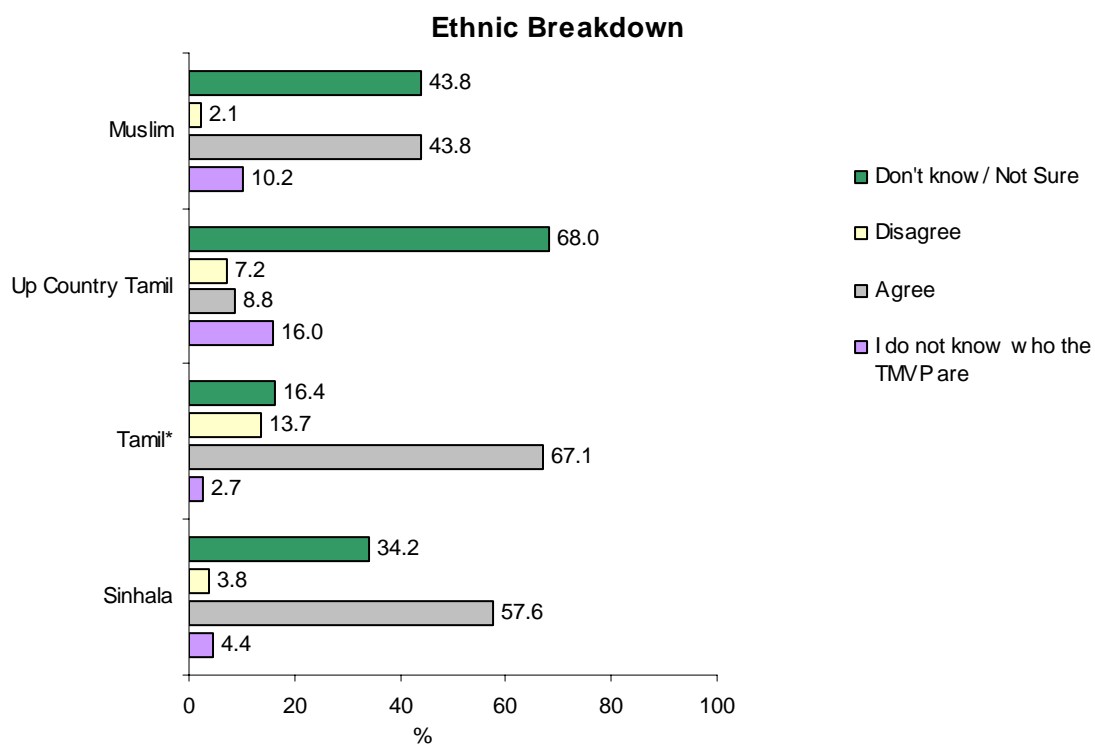
Should provincial council polls in the East be held after the local government elections?





## Peace Confidence Index Top-line Results

There were calls for the TMVP to be disarmed before the conducting of the polls. Do you agree?

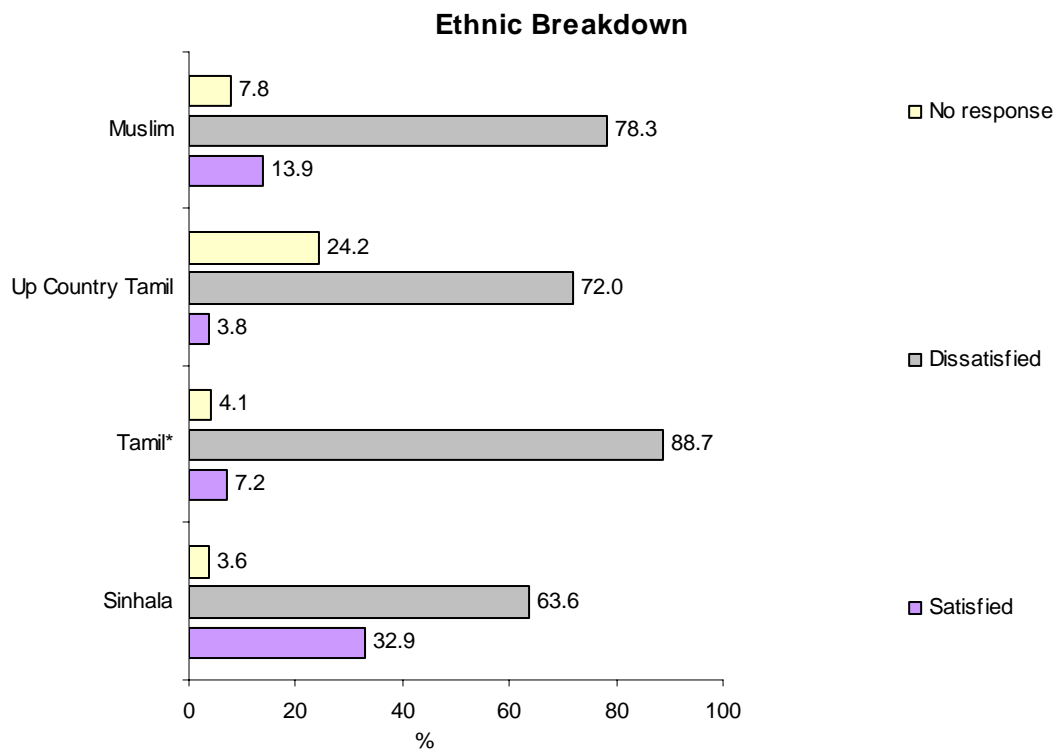






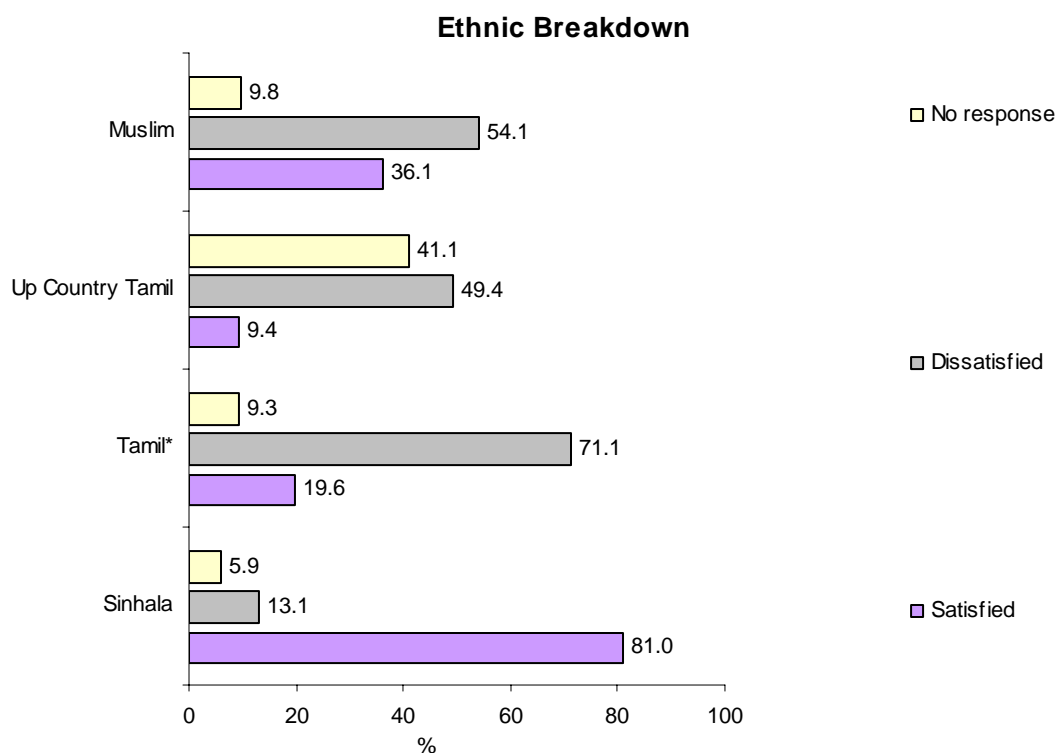
The President

Are you satisfied with Mahinda Rajapakse's performance with regards to managing the cost of living?



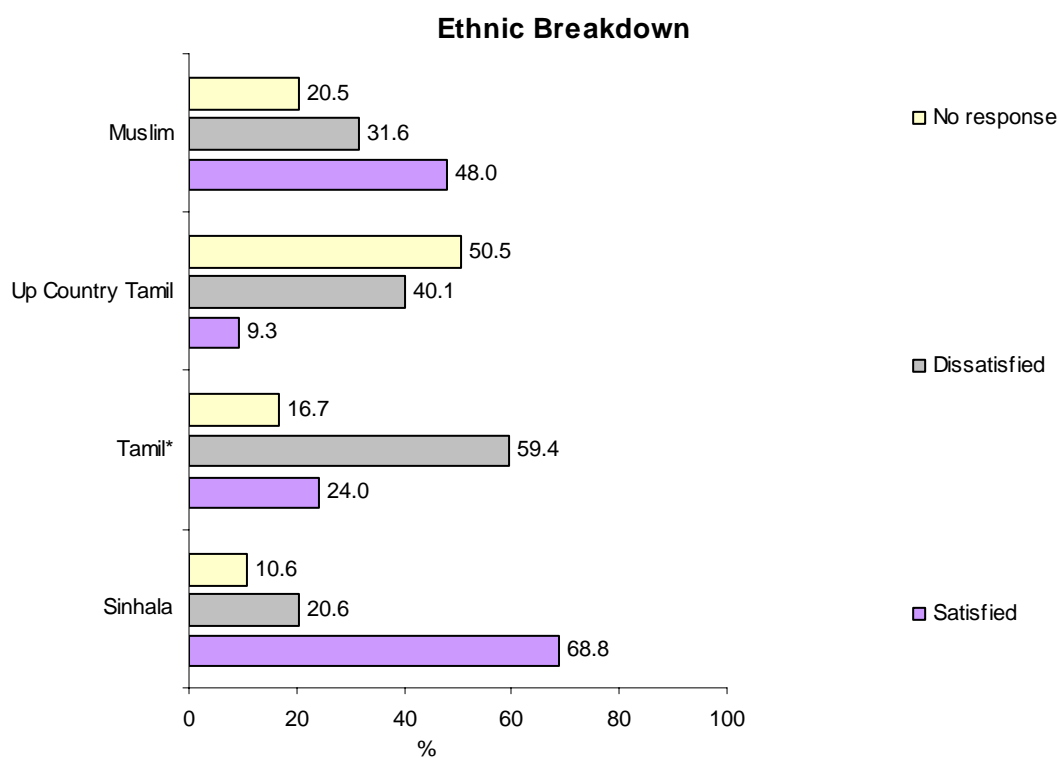


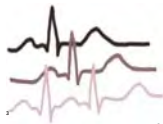
Are you satisfied with Mahinda Rajapakse's performance with regards to preserving social values?





Are you satisfied with Mahinda Rajapakse's performance with regards to managing his own party?

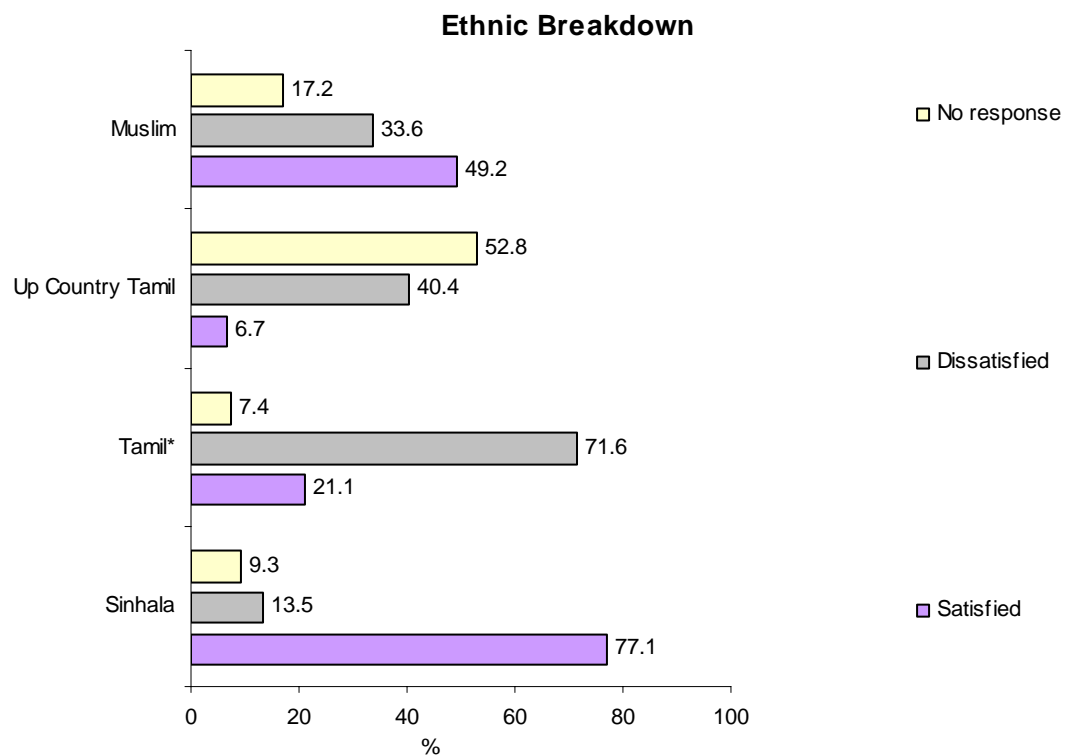




## Peace Confidence Index Top-line Results

Page 49

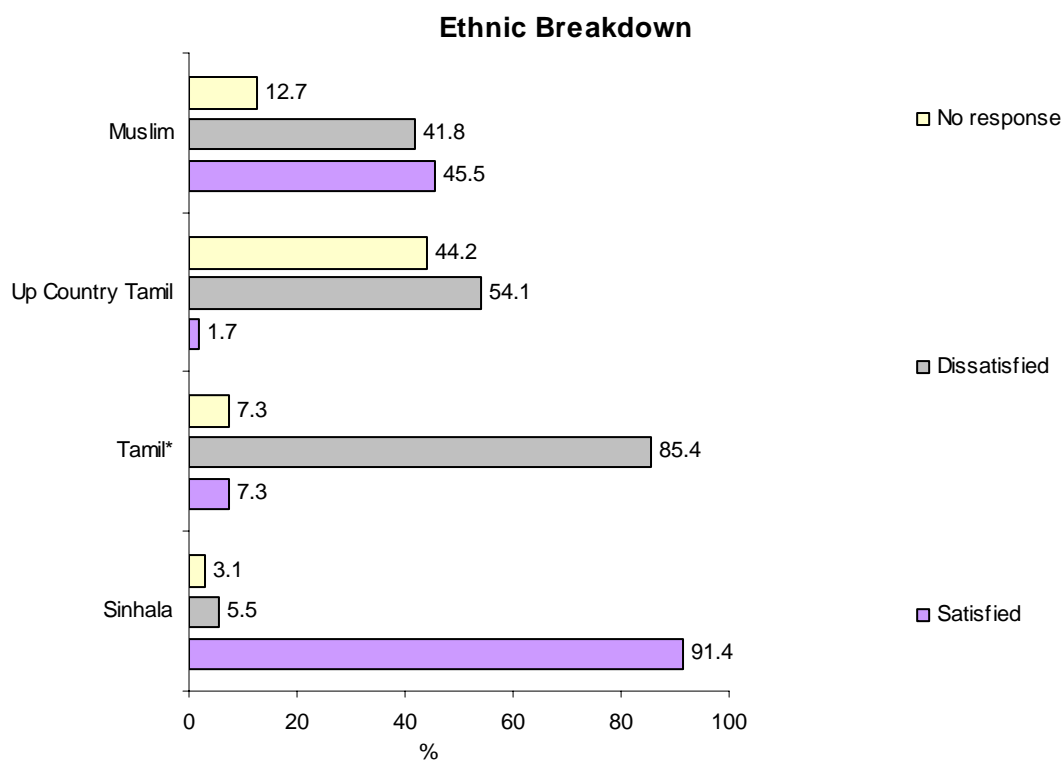
Are you satisfied with Mahinda Rajapakse's performance with regards to maintaining international relations?





**Peace Confidence Index  
Top-line Results**

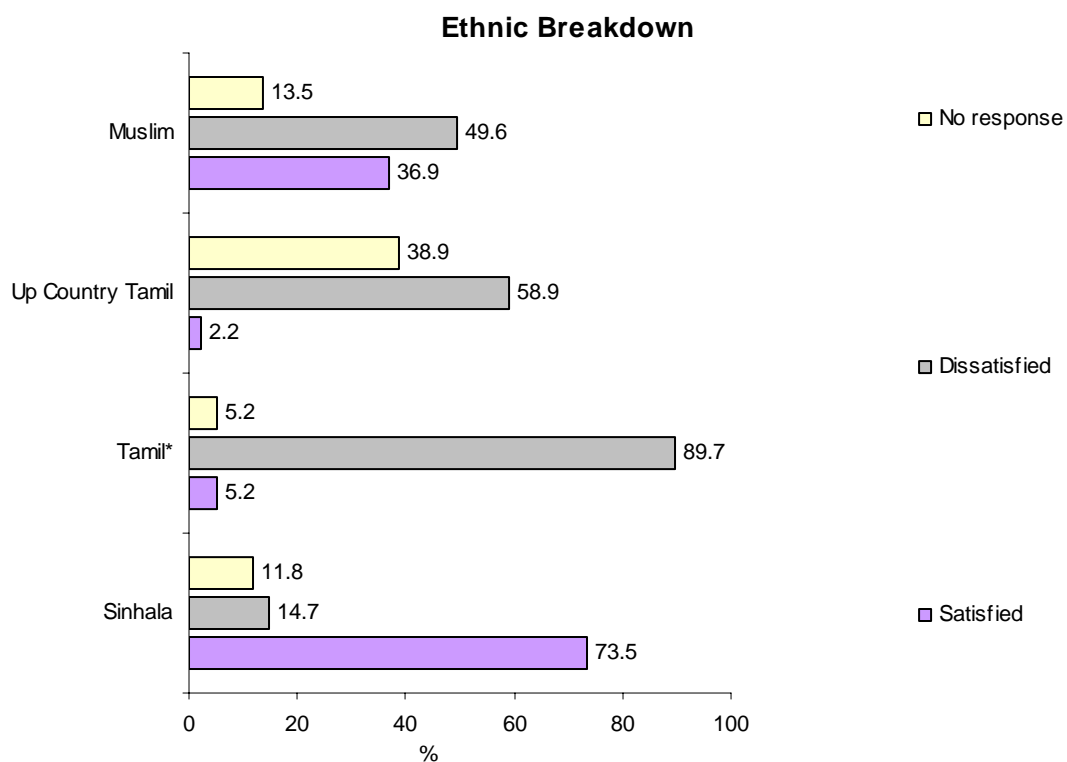
**Are you satisfied with Mahinda Rajapakse's performance with regards to conducting the war?**





**Peace Confidence Index  
Top-line Results**

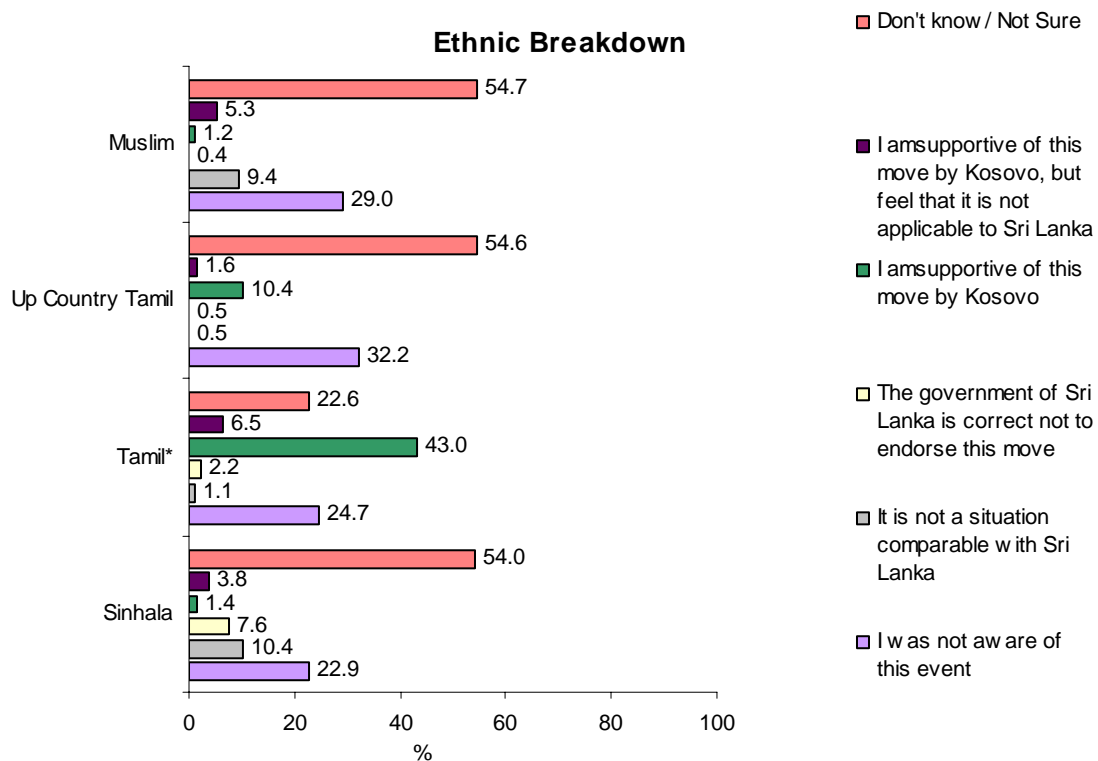
Are you satisfied with Mahinda Rajapakse's performance with regards to solving the ethnic conflict?

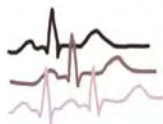




### Kosovo

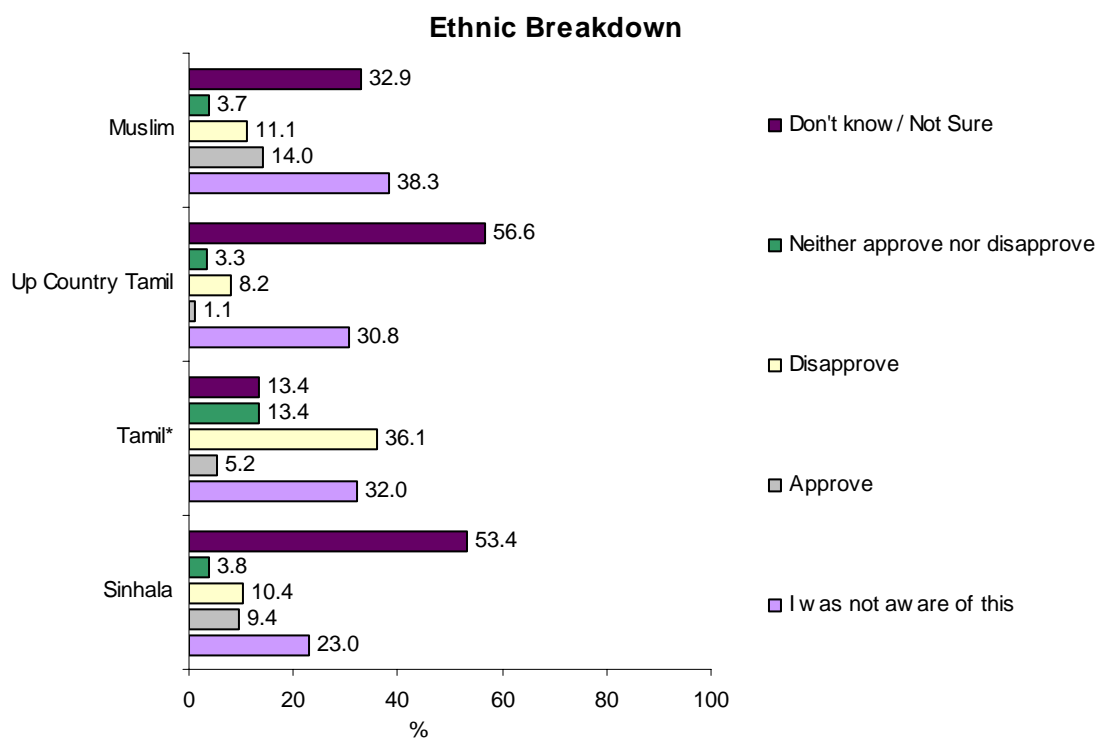
Kosovo recently made a unilateral declaration of independence. Please indicate which of the following best reflects your opinion on this:





### Transfer of CIABAC Director General

Do you approve of the transfer of the Director General of the Commission to Investigate Allegations of Bribery and Corruption?

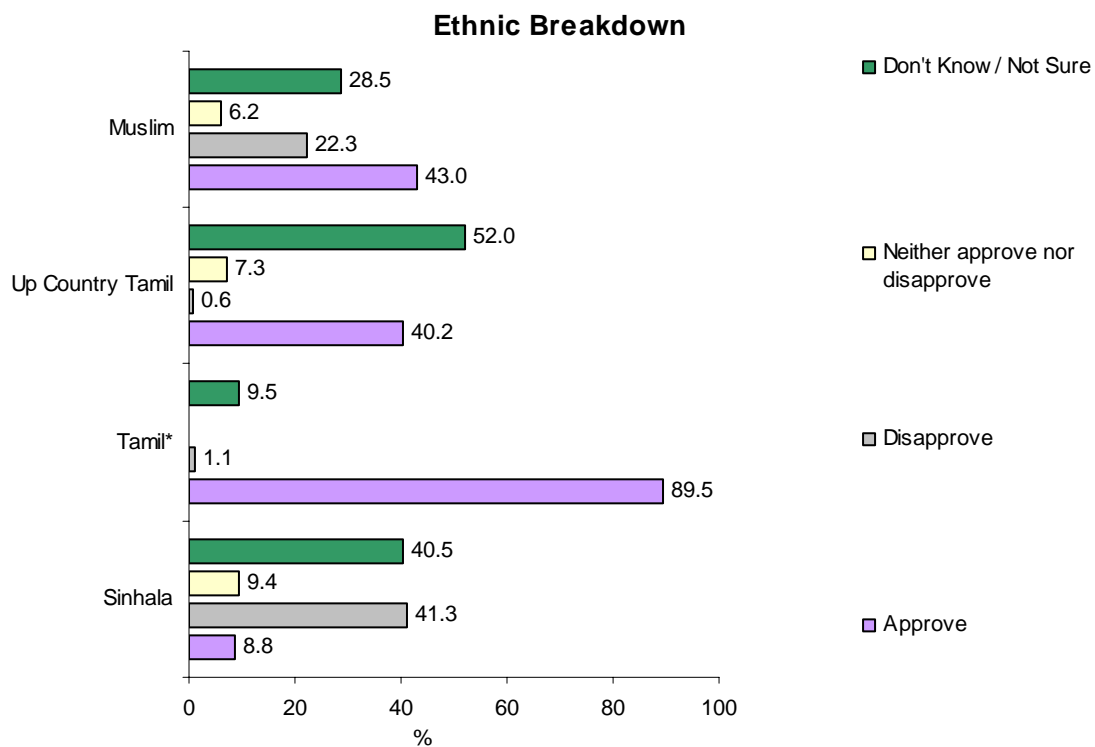






### The A9

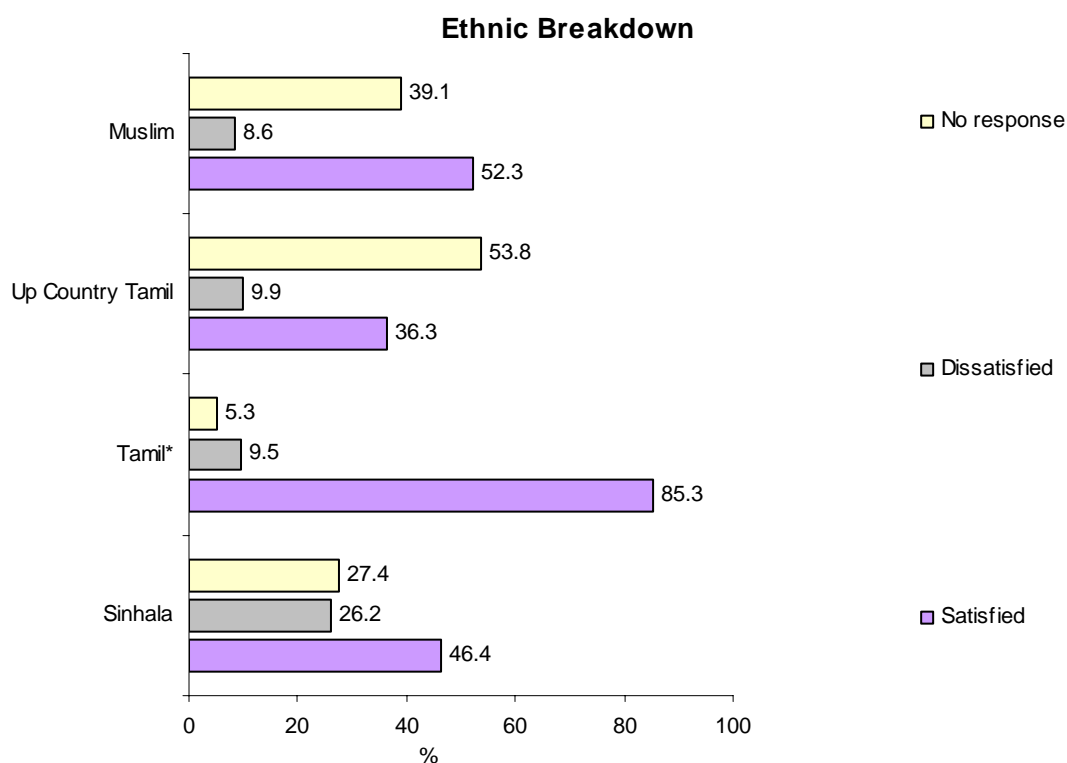
Do you approve the TNA's suggestion that the government open up the A9 as a gesture of goodwill?

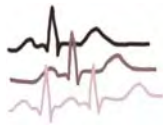




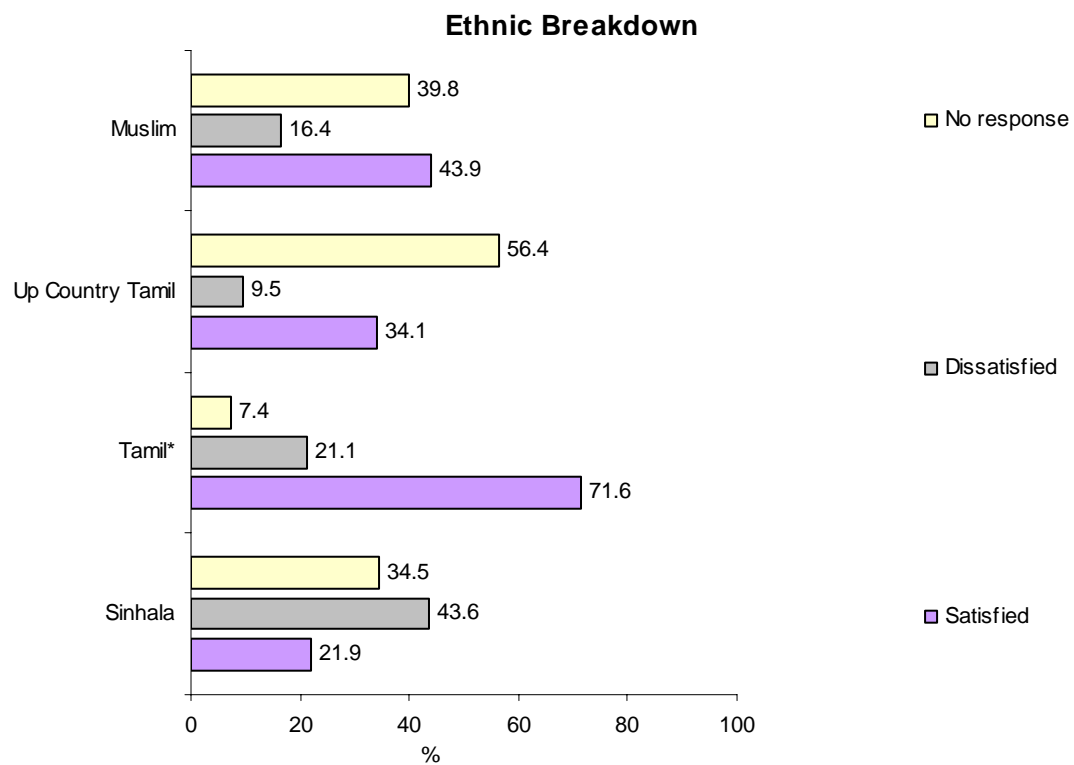
**NGOs**

Are you satisfied with NGO performance in developing the country?



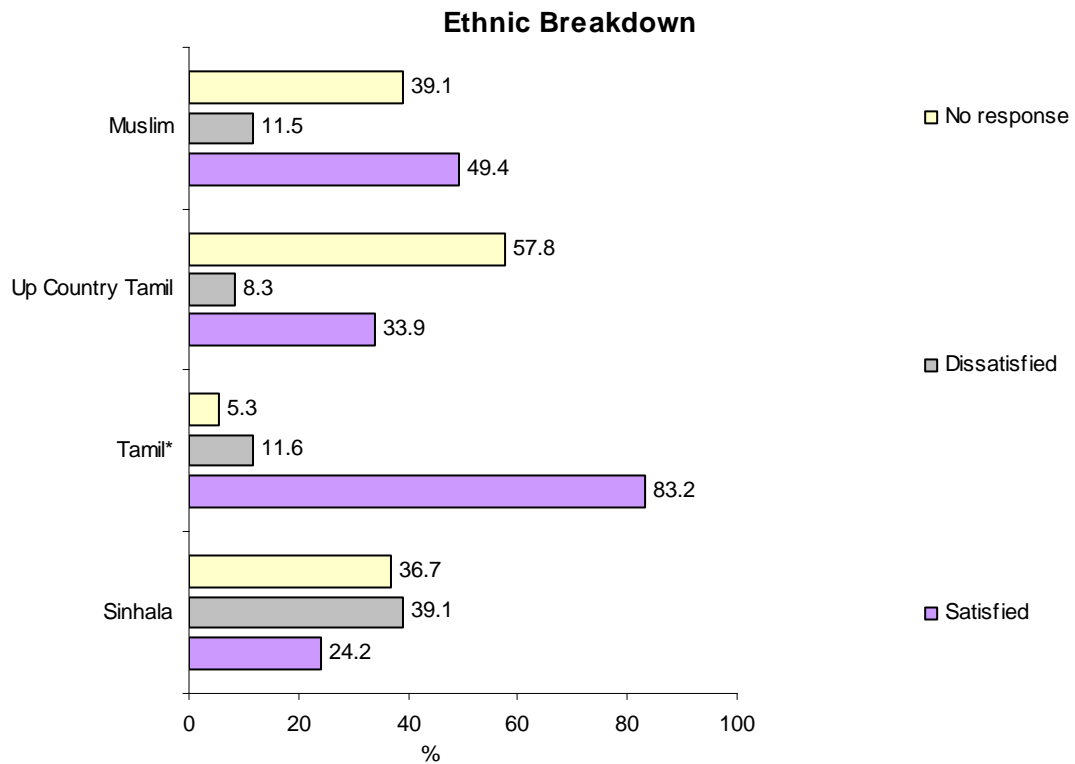


Are you satisfied with NGO performance in preserving social values?



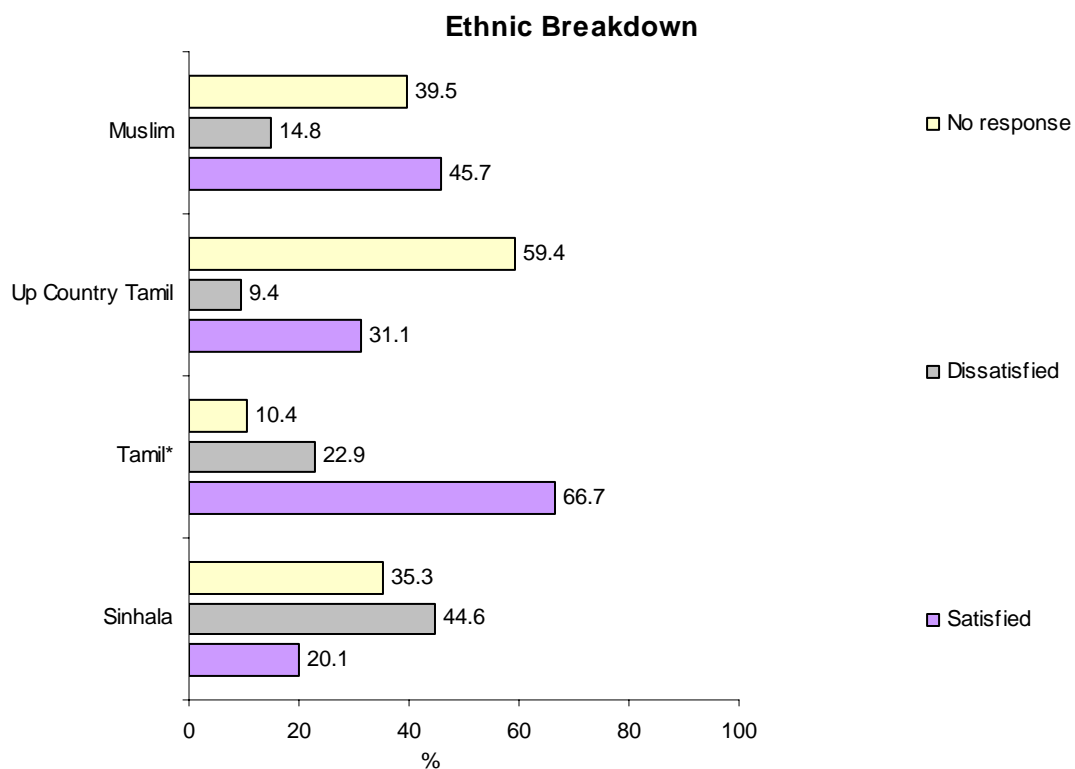


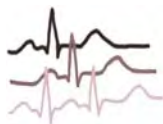
Are you satisfied with NGO performance in safeguarding human rights?



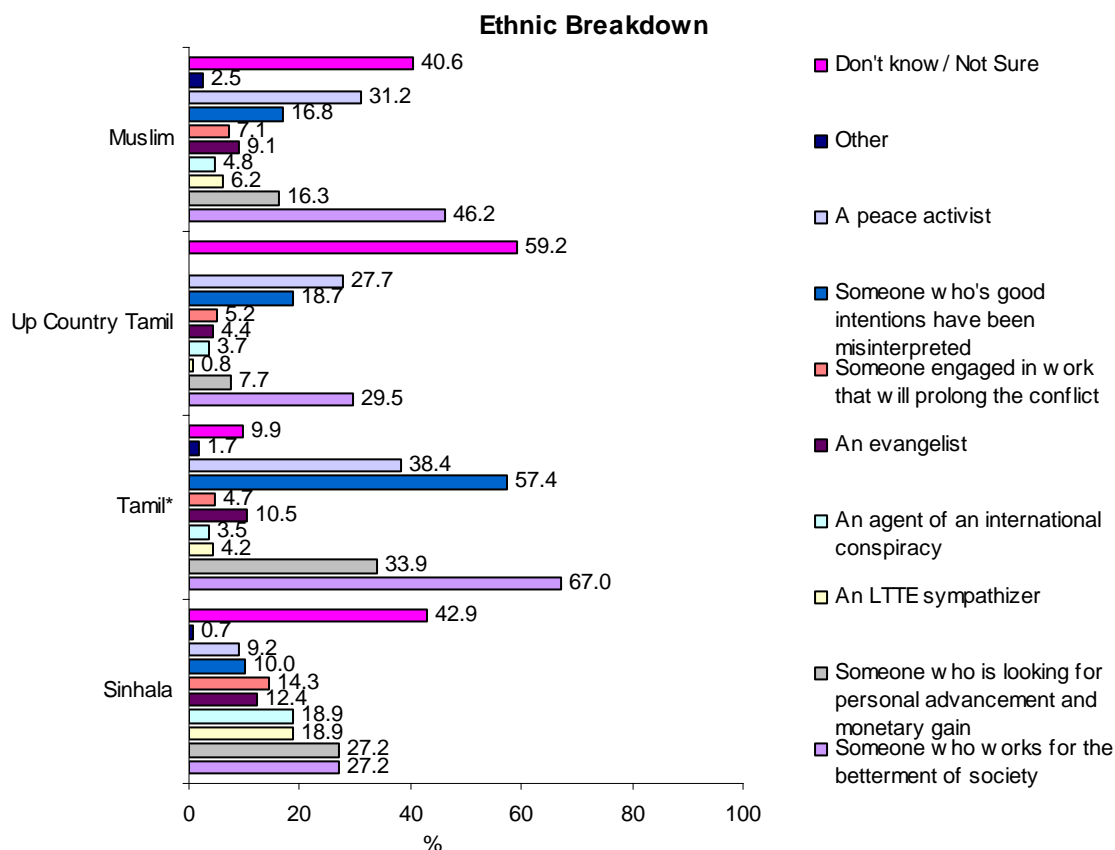


Are you satisfied with NGO performance in solving the ethnic conflict?





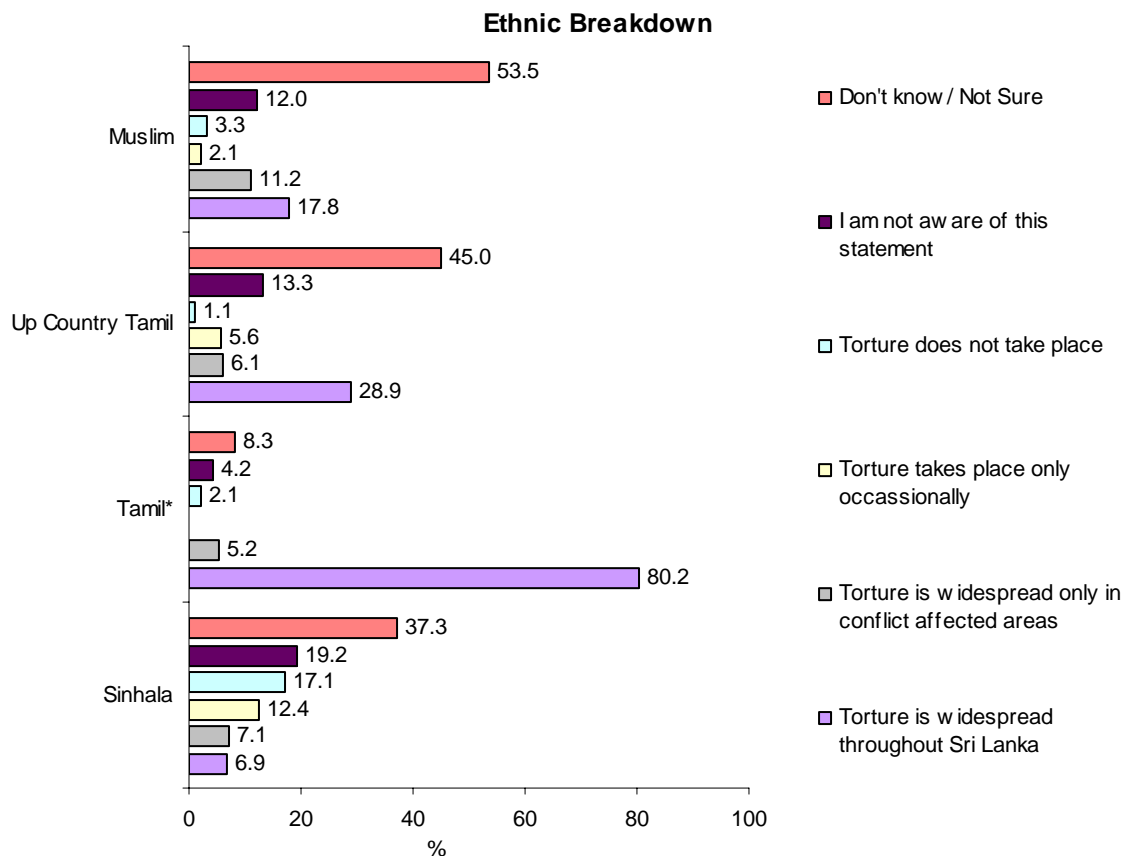
Which of the following best describes a person working for an NGO engaged in Human Rights/ Peace and Conflict Resolution?

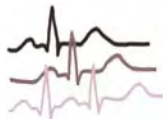




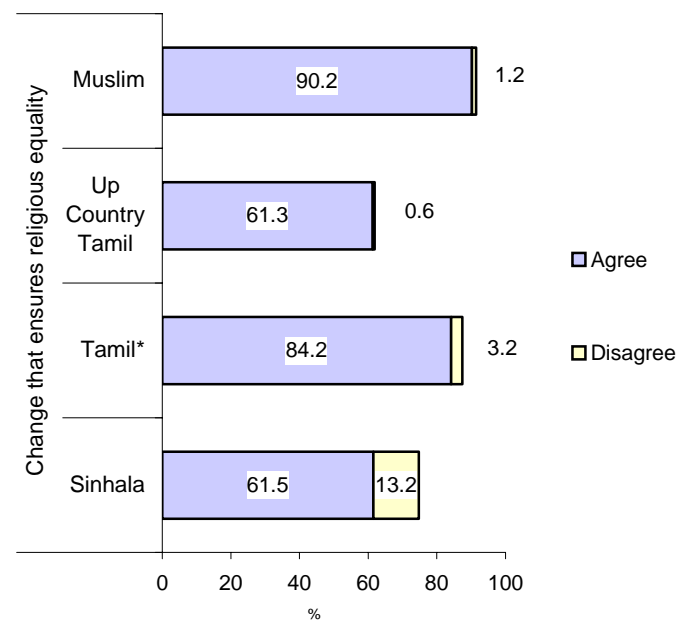
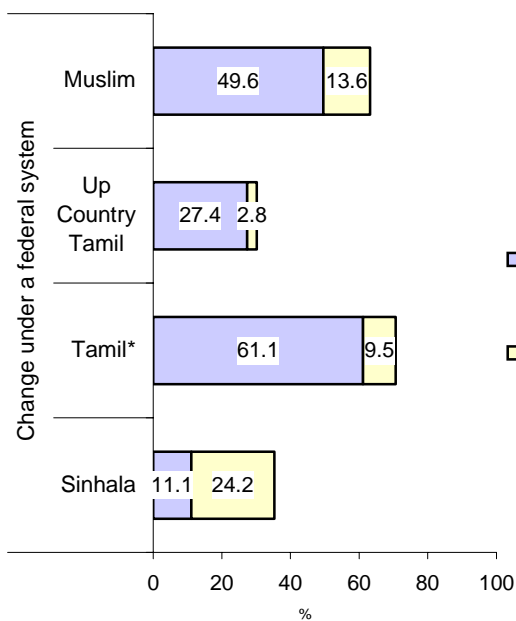
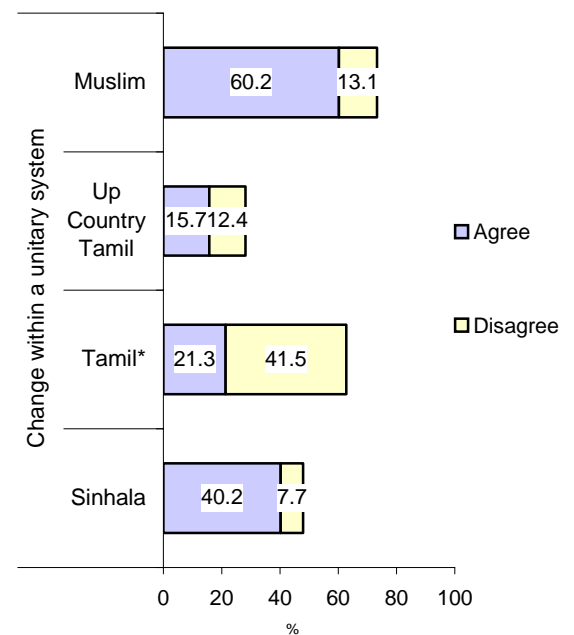
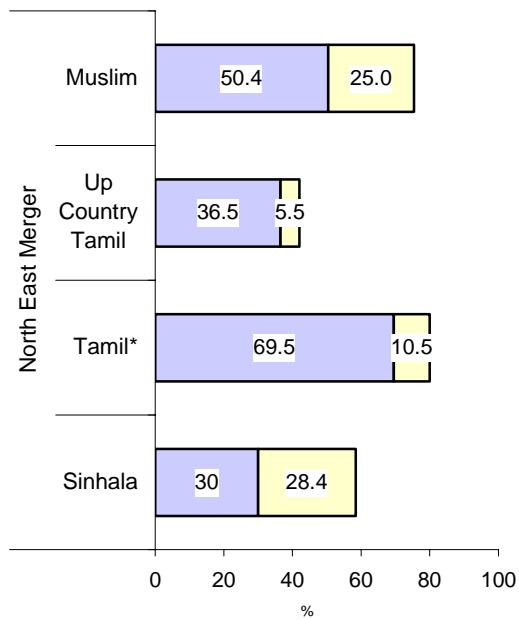
### Torture

Manfred Novak, UN Special Rapporteur on Torture has stated recently that torture in Sri Lanka is widespread. The government has refuted this statement. What do you think?

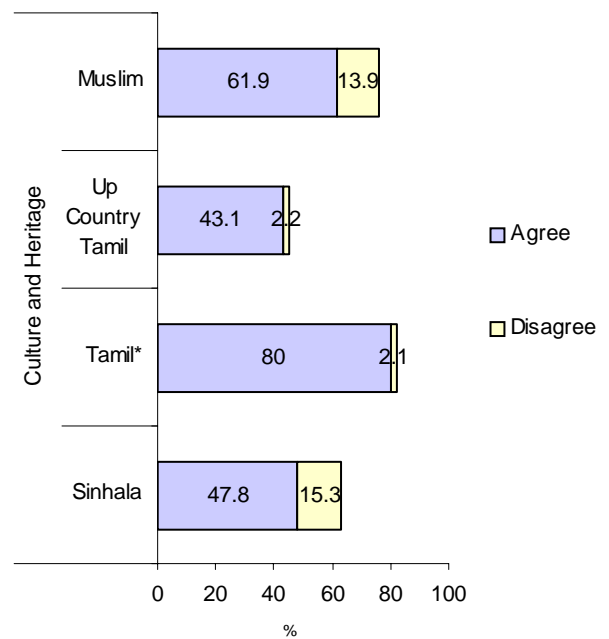
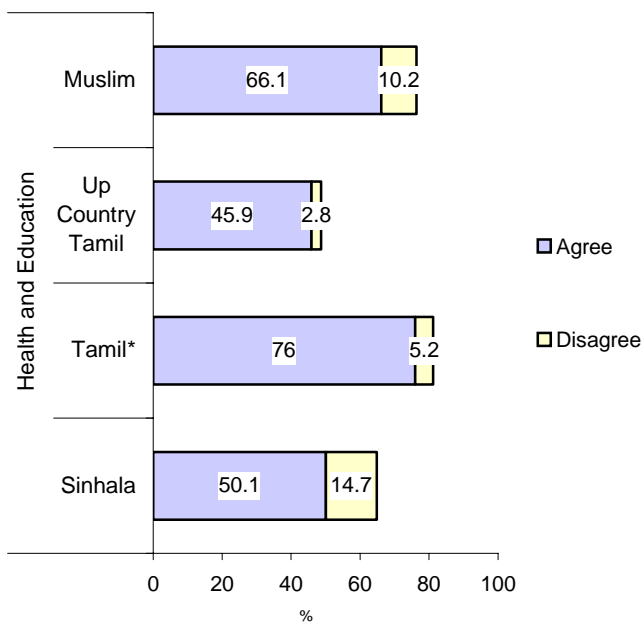
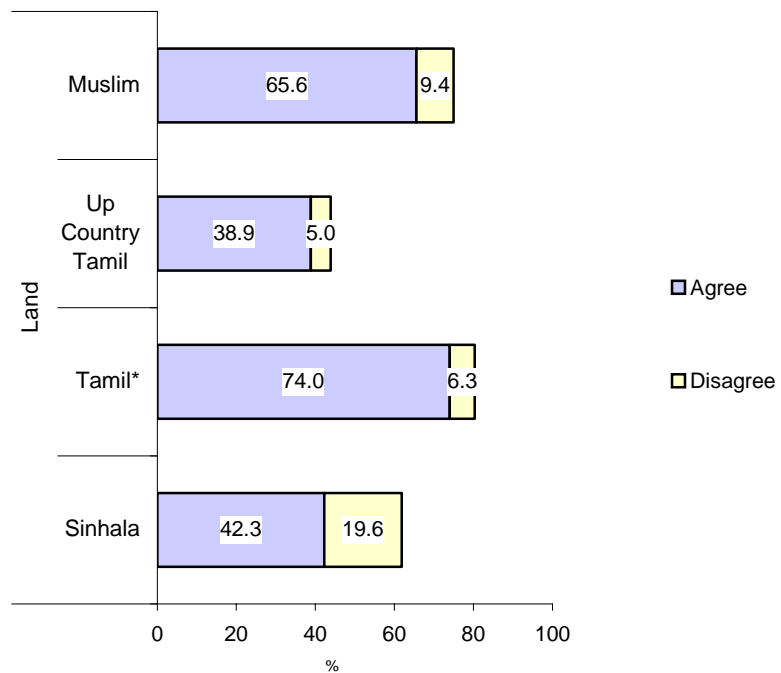
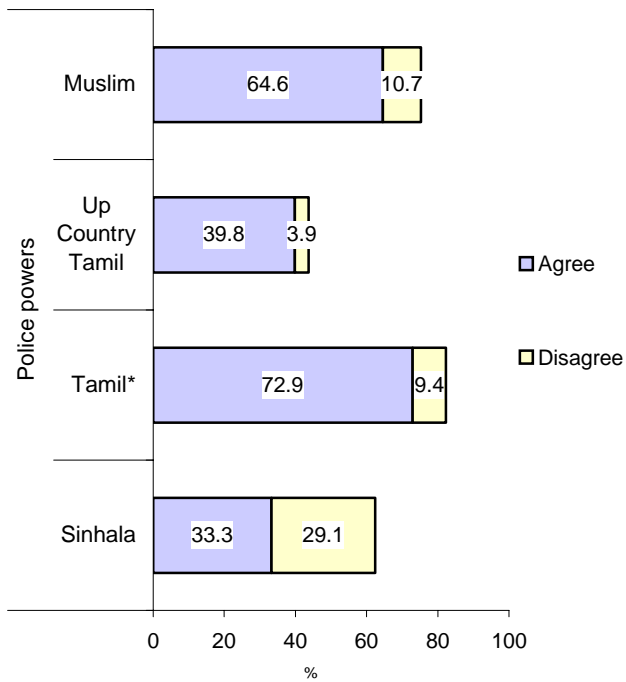
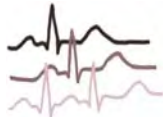


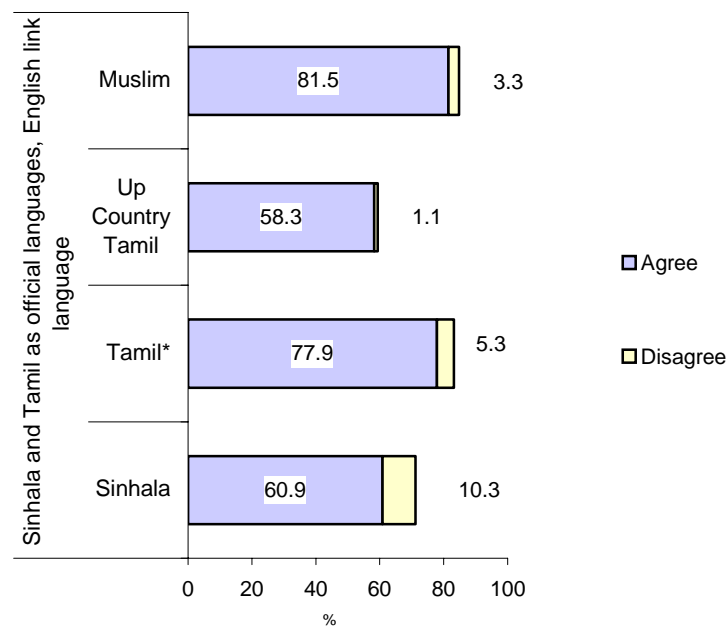
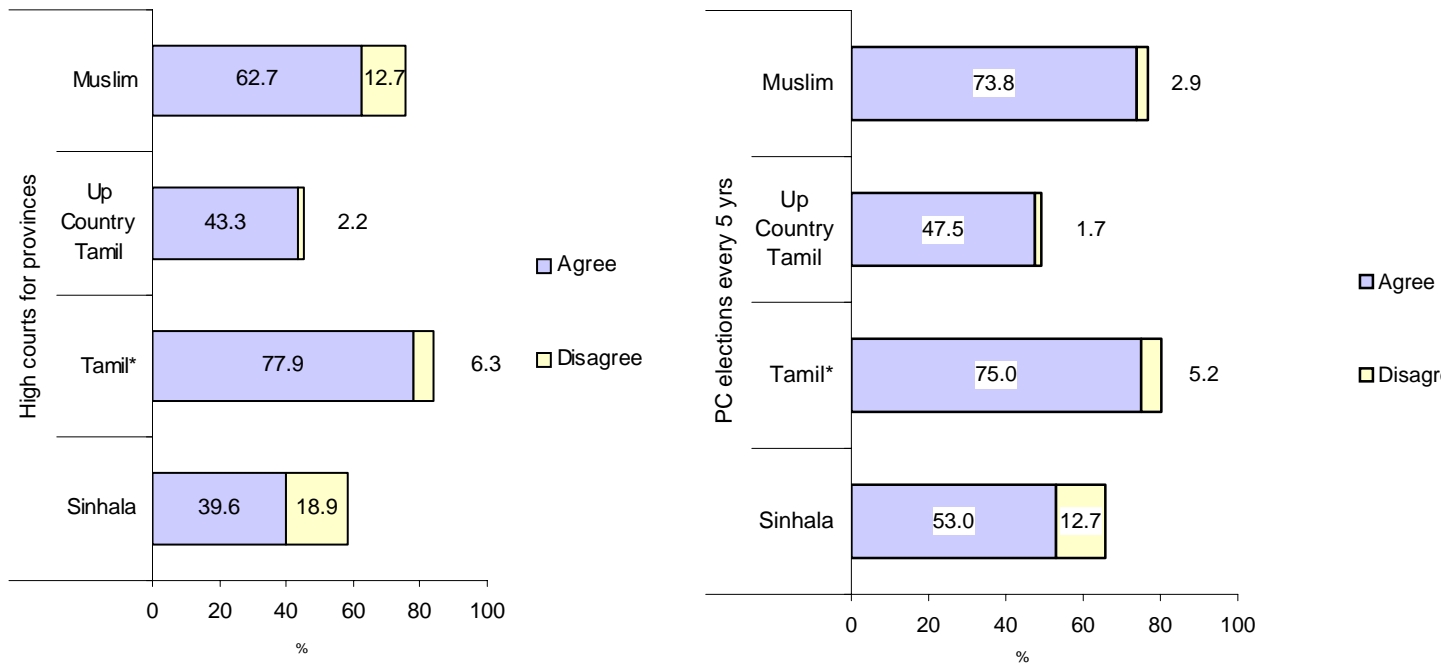
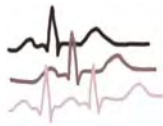


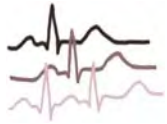
Special Section: Opinion on Constitutional Changes











## THE CONSTITUTIONAL DEBATE AND THE SINHALA COMMUNITY

In this wave, the PCI attempted to ascertain a detailed view of public opinion on various aspects of the constitutional debate. Thereby, various proposals were presented on the structure of the constitution, on the aspects of power sharing and also certain procedural changes in order to gauge the extent of popular support. Further, attempts were made to understand the factors that would influence the support for each proposal. To do this, each proposal was presented to four independent samples. For the first independent sample, a list of proposals were presented without any frame, while for the other three groups the same list was presented under three different frames. The frames were as follows:

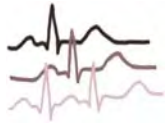
No Specific Advocate - **V1**

Advocated by the President- **V2**

Advocated by a Religious Leader- **V3**

Advocated by the International Community- **V4**

These particular frames were chosen based on previous survey experience that confirmed that political leaders and religious leaders are instrumental in promoting policies which are less popular. The fourth frame was chosen due to the high level of international involvement in the peace process. It should be noted here that due to the limitations of sampling this factorial design technique was applied only to the Sinhala respondents. Since previous survey results show that it is largely among the Sinhalese that such disagreement on constitutional issues prevails, the research team feels that limiting the analysis in this manner does not harm the integrity of the data or detract from the policy debate surrounding the southern consensus.



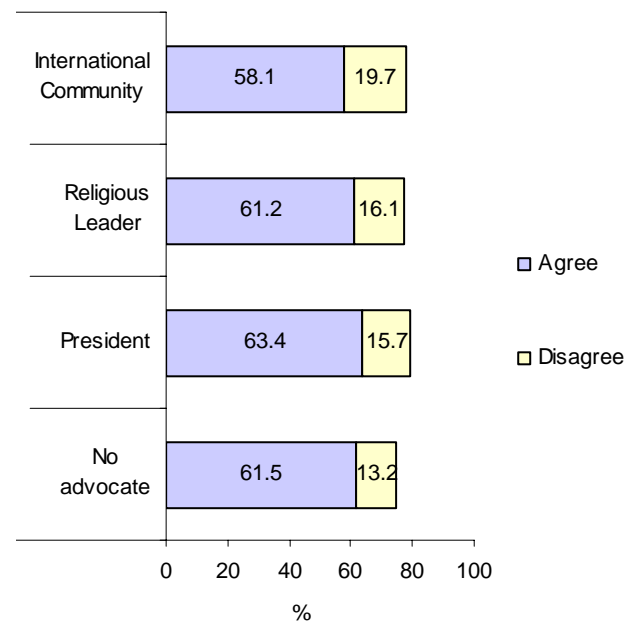
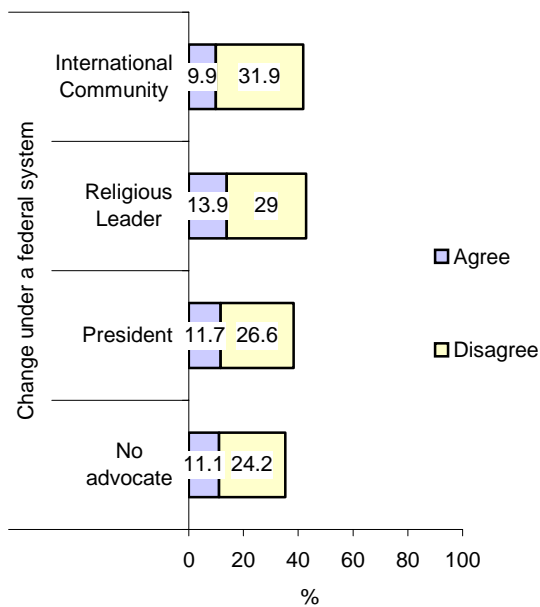
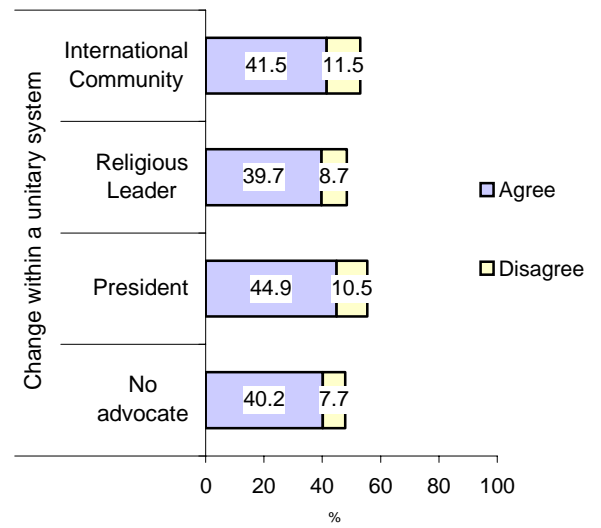
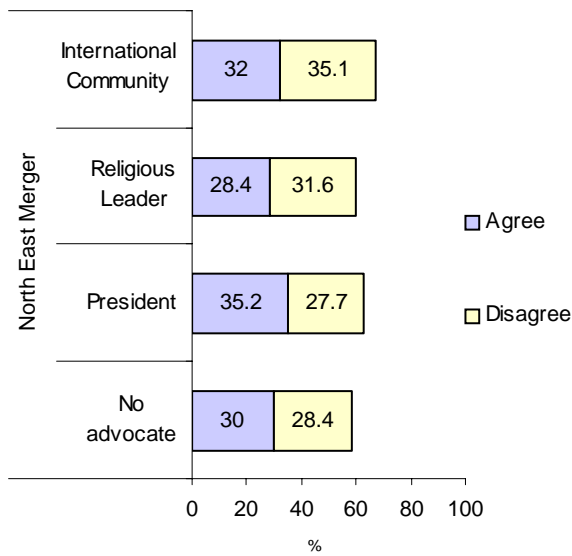
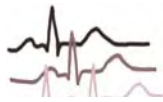
**Conclusions drawn:**

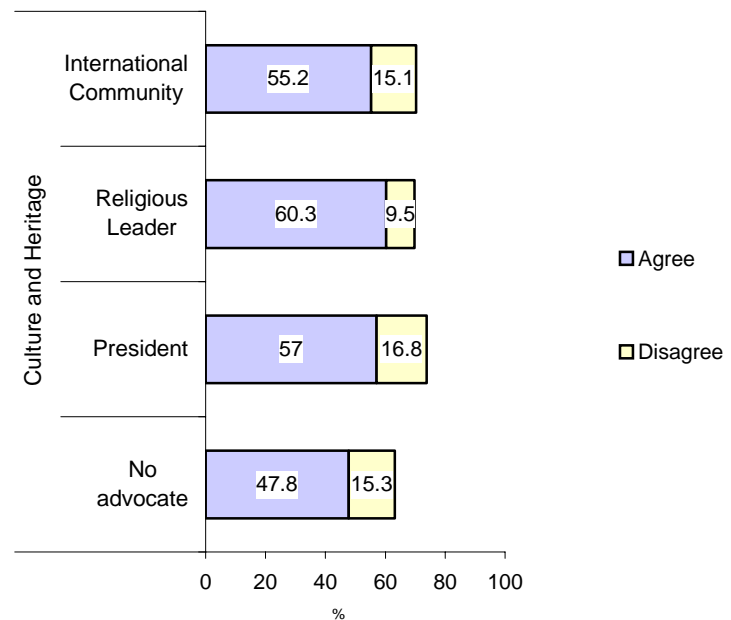
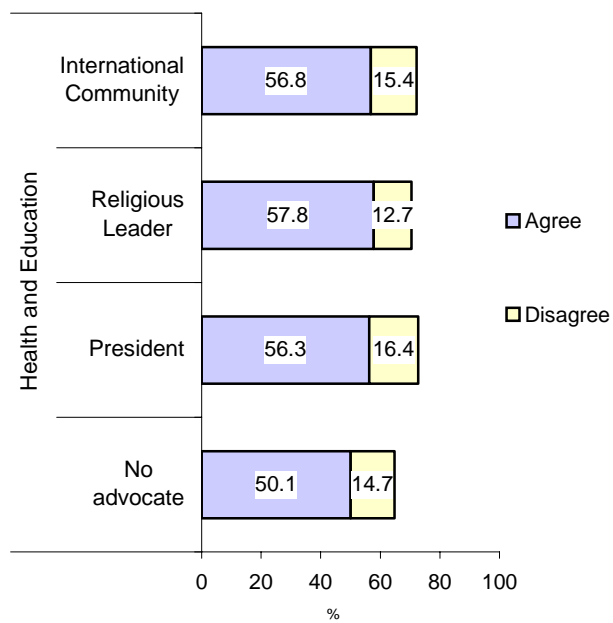
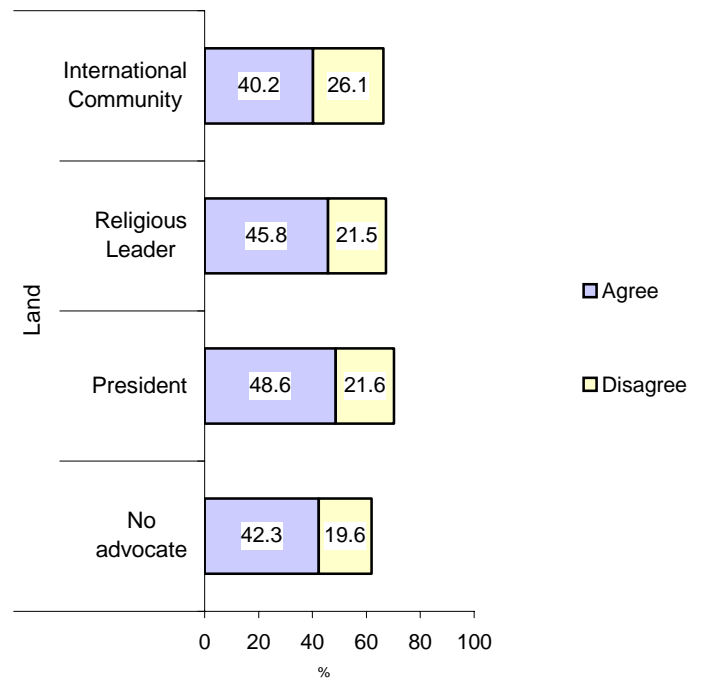
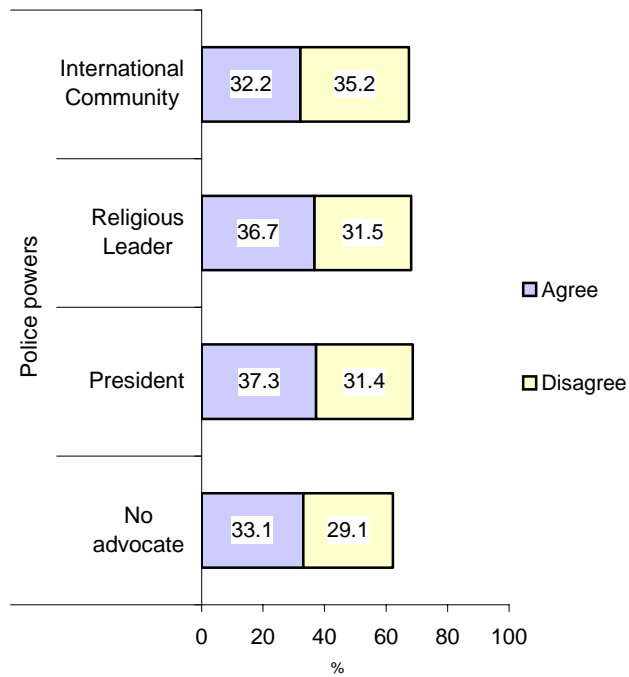
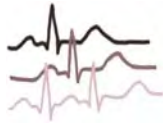
As described above, the Sinhala community was asked to indicate its level of agreement on certain constitutional changes, dependant on the person or body that advocated that change. The responses elicited show certain trends and patterns with regards to the influences of each specific promoter but the degree of variance— *where the percentage points only reduce or increase by five or less percentage points, and thereby fall within the margin of error-* are not statistically strong enough for one to claim the overriding influence of one frame over another. The patterns of opinion observed suggest that:

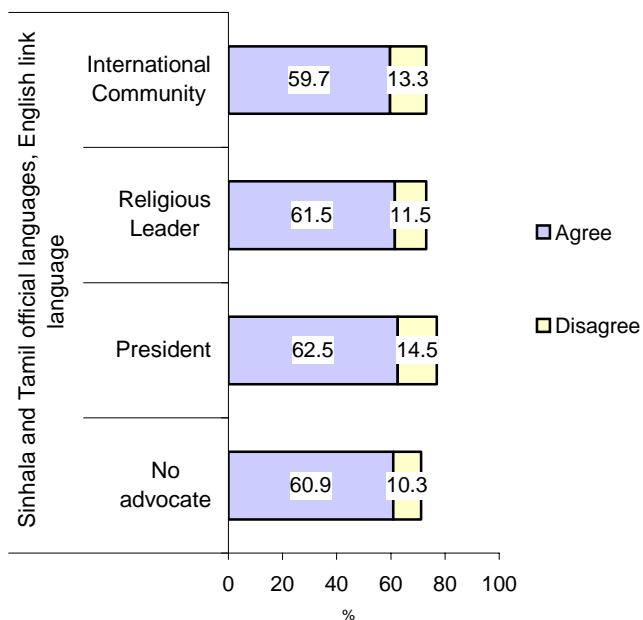
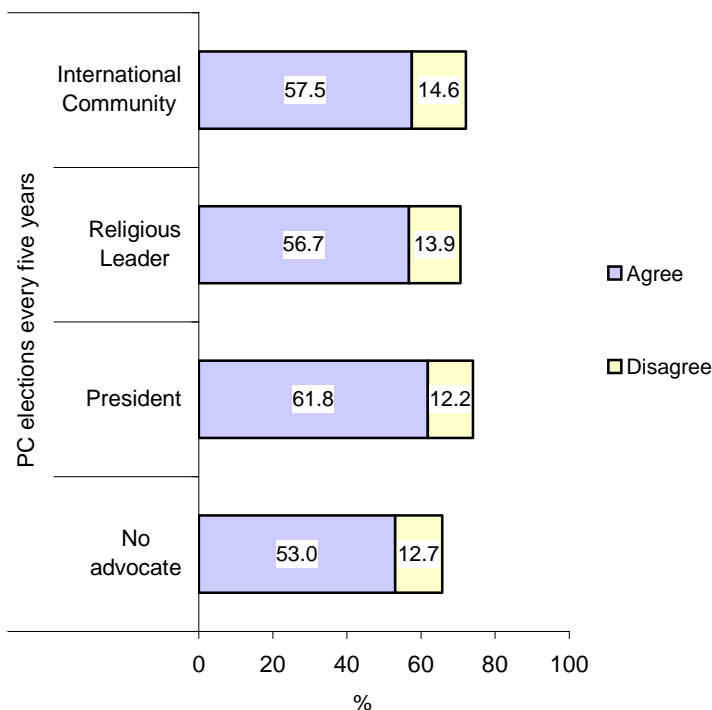
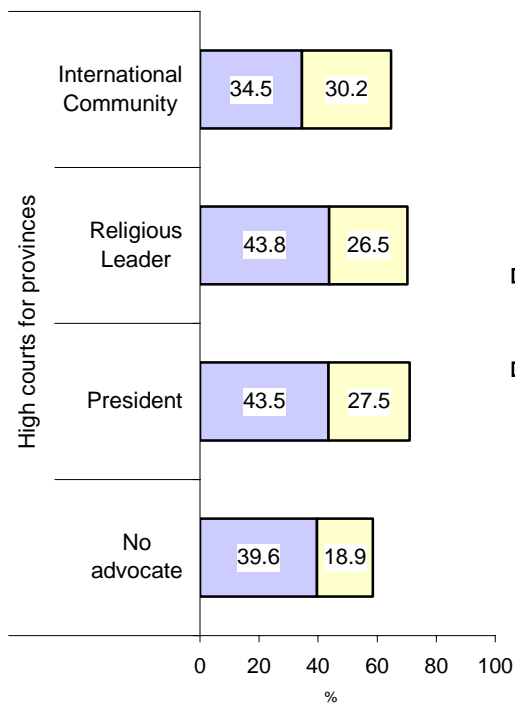
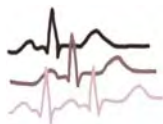
- Advocacy by the President or a religious leader does serve to boost agreement while promotion by the international community has a tendency to lower consent.
- The promotion of a particular proposal without any specific advocate behind it is generally more successful than if the same were to be championed by the international community.

Generally, however, levels of agreement are more influenced by the proposal itself rather than the particular advocate.

- Structural changes such as a merger of the North and East, constitutional change under a unitary system and change that ensures religious equality all receive fairly high levels of agreement from the Sinhalese, not falling below 25% for all three cases. With regards to change under a federal system, a sense of resistance is shown, with the highest level of agreement being at 13.9% (when advocated by religious leaders).
- With the exception of the granting police powers to the provinces, the Sinhalese show a high degree of receptivity to certain aspects of power sharing (land, health, education, culture and heritage). With regards to police powers, agreement does not rise above 37.3% (advocated by President).
- When asked about procedural changes such as establishing Sinhala and Tamil as official languages and English as a link language, the Sinhalese show high levels of consent (No Advocate- 60.9%). The same is true when asked if they agree to hold provincial council elections every 5 years where levels of agreement hit over the 50% mark. Establishing a high court for provinces, however, is not received as well, with the highest level of agreement being 43.5% (Advocated by President).









## KEY NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS NOVEMBER 2007 - APRIL 2008\*

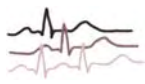
### NOVEMBER

- The United States on November 15 froze the US-held assets of the Tamils Rehabilitation Organization (TRO), a charitable organization that acts as a front to facilitate fundraising and procurement for the LTTE. -**Daily Mirror of November 16, 2007**
- The Batticaloa district remains tensed even as Muslims demand the disarming of illegal armed groups operating in the area, the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission (SLMM) said in its latest weekly security assessment report. -**Daily Mirror of November 17, 2007**
- Indian Foreign Secretary, Shivshankar Menon said in a communication to Janata Party president Subramanian Swamy[that]: "There has been no change in the government's policy towards the LTTE which is a banned terrorist organisation. The government has made formal requests for the extradition of V. Prabhakaran, the leader of the LTTE, to the government of Sri Lanka from time to time. The government of Sri Lanka has informed us that our request is receiving their consideration".-**Daily Mirror of November 19, 2007**
- After weeks of speculation, tension and crossovers the much awaited vote on the second reading of the 2008 Budget was won by the government November 19 with a fairly comfortable majority of 16 votes. Eventually 118 MPs voted for the budget and 102 against. -**Daily Mirror of November 20, 2007**
- The TMVP (Pillayan faction) on November 19 indirectly admitted to the abduction of a relative of a TNA parliamentarian on Sunday afternoon. -**Daily Mirror of November 20, 2007**
- An armed gang set fire to the printing press of the pro-Opposition Leader Publications, in Ratmalana, in the wee hours of on November 21.- **The Island of November 22, 2007**
- India has asked Sri Lanka to expedite the implementation of the package for devolution of power for Tamils to help solve the ethnic conflict.- **Daily Mirror of November 22, 2007**
- Sri Lanka has sought the expulsion of some UNICEF foreign and local staff owing to their conduct which has contravened the mandate of the organization in Sri Lanka, the Foreign Ministry said.- **Daily Mirror of November 24, 2007**
- Suspected LTTE cadres on November 26 shot dead four civilians at Mahawilachchiya in the Anuradhapura District- **Daily Mirror of November 27, 2007**
- In his annual 'Heroes' Day' speech delivered from an undisclosed location in the Wanni and aired over Tiger radio and television the rebel leader also hit out at the Norwegian facilitators and the SLMM - **Daily Mirror of November 28, 2007**
- The government has vowed to kill LTTE leader Velupillai Prabhakaran in the same way its political head S.P. Thamilselvan was eliminated. - **Daily Mirror of November 28, 2007**
- The SLAF blew up the clandestine Voice of Tiger radio station at Thiruviyar, Kilinochchi. – **The Island of November 28, 2007**
- At least 17 people were killed and another 33 seriously injured when a suspected LTTE parcel bomb went off in a leading clothes shop in Nugegoda town on evening of November 28. - **Daily Mirror of November 29, 2007**
- An attempt, the ninth, on the life of EPDP leader and Social Welfare Minister Douglas Devananda, by a handicapped LTTE woman suicide bomber failed on November 28. – **The Island of November 29, 2007**
- Prime Minister Ratnasiri Wickramanayake in Parliament on November 29 vowed to continue with air strikes on identified LTTE targets in the Wanni region- **Daily Mirror of November 30, 2007**

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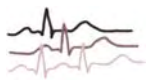
\* For the purpose of accuracy, un-dated indicators (in the reproduced news items) such as "yesterday/today/tomorrow" are edited to indicate their exact date.





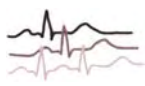
DECEMBER

- There can be no military solution to the dragging conflict in Sri Lanka, and all countries need to encourage "a negotiated, political settlement", India and the European Union have said. - **Daily Mirror of December 03, 2007**
- Government's defence spokesman and minister, Keheliya Rambukwella, said in Parliament yesterday that Kilinochchi was within sight, and therefore the Government would pursue the target of eradicating terrorism to create a democratic environment. - **The Island of December 05, 2007**
- The Sri Lanka government has ruled out any chances of another ceasefire with the LTTE further isolating the peace agreement signed in 2001. - **Daily Mirror of December 10, 2007**
- The army is on the offensive in the general area west of Omanthai, with the current focus being the area south of Adampan, an LTTE stronghold now under intense pressure. - **The Island of December 10, 2007**
- Twelve suspects of over 2000 Tamils arrested in Colombo and its suburbs on December 1 and 2, are confirmed hardcore LTTE terrorists, Deputy Inspector General of Police D. W. Prathapasinghe said on December 11. - **The Island of December 12, 2007**
- Pakistan will raise its defence credit limit to Sri Lanka for the purchase of military hardware by US\$ 31 million, bringing the annual defence credit limit from Pakistan to Sri Lanka to US\$80 million - **Daily Mirror of December 12, 2007**
- Four SLMC members including Leader Rauff Hakeem broke ranks with the Government and joined the Opposition in Parliament yesterday after quitting their ministerial portfolios. - **Daily Mirror of December 13, 2007**
- The crucial third reading of the 2008 Budget was comfortably won by the government with a majority of 47 votes after a tense parliament session last evening. **Daily Mirror of December 15, 2007**
- The decapitated body of a Red Cross worker who was abducted from his home by unidentified gunmen was found in Kaithady on December 16, - **Daily Mirror of December 18, 2007**
- The International Independent Group of Eminent Persons (IIGEP) on December 18 warned its role was being made "irrelevant" owing to the persistent disregard for its observations and recommendations by the Government and the Commission of Inquiry. - **Daily Mirror of December 19, 2007**
- Sri Lanka is to take part in a series of joint air exercises with neighbouring nuclear armed India to meet the growing threat from the LTTE's air wing, informed sources said. - **Daily Mirror of December 20, 2007**
- Opposition UNP Leader Ranil Wickremesinghe on December 20 said he would start a series of meetings with all political parties and civil society groups within two weeks, to discuss the party's proposals to amend the Constitution. - **Daily Mirror of December 21, 2007**
- The All Party Representative Committee (APRC), which was assigned the task of working out a political package for the resolution of the ethnic conflict, has rejected the proposal put forward by EPDP leader and Minister Douglas Devananda for an interim council for the northern and eastern provinces. - **Daily Mirror of December 22, 2007**
- The Tamil National Alliance on December 25 vowed to take legal action against moves to hold local government elections in the East on the ground that there is no conducive atmosphere in the province for people to exercise their franchise freely and fairly. - **Daily Mirror of December 26, 2007**
- At least 40 Sea Tigers were killed and eleven of their boats destroyed, while the Navy lost one Fast Attack Craft, in a fierce sea battle which lasted for over six hours near Delft Island, in Jaffna, on December 26. - **The Island of December 27, 2007**
- Shell Gas Lanka on December 30 said it had got the approval of the Consumer Authority to increase the price of a 12.5 kg cylinder by Rs 175 with effect from January 2. The new price of a cylinder would be Rs 1488 from January 2. - **Daily Mirror of December 31, 2007**



## JANUARY

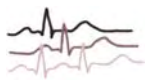
- UNP MP T. Maheswaran was shot on the morning of January 1 while participating at New Year religious observances at the Ponnambala Waneswarar Temple at Kochchikade, Colombo -**Daily Mirror of January 2, 2008**
- Cabinet decided on January 2 evening to withdraw from the Norwegian- brokered Ceasefire Agreement -- two months before the completion of its sixth year -- citing the continuing LTTE atrocities targeting innocent civilians. -**Daily Mirror of January 3, 2008**
- The Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission said on January 3 it would be terminating its monitoring activities in the country on January 16- **Daily Mirror of January 4, 2008**
- The LTTE's 'military' intelligence wing head, Shanmuganathan Ravishankar, alias Charles was killed along with three others following an ambush by military elite forces in Mannar - **Daily Mirror of January 7, 2008**
- President Mahinda Rajapaksa's top advisor on the peace process quit today, after the government scrapped an Oslo-brokered truce with Tamil Tiger rebels.-**Daily Mirror of January 7, 2008**
- The Supreme Court on January 7 ordered that night searches of houses should not be done, unless they were extremely essential and had reasonable basis. -**Daily Mirror of January 8, 2008**
- A bomb claims the life of Nation Building, Non-Cabinet Minister, D. M. Dassanayake and his security officer. -**Daily Mirror of January 9, 2008**
- The All Party Representative Committee is to recommend the full implementation of the 13th Amendment to the Constitution as a solution to the national crisis, the Committee has recommended the prompt setting up of the North and East Provincial Councils. -**Daily Mirror of January 10, 2008**
- Sri Lanka has been demoted at the UN Human Rights Council from the 'A' category to the 'B', thus losing its powers to vote at the council. -**Daily Mirror of January 10, 2008**
- LTTE Batticaloa district military leader Shankar, was killed by Special Task Force personnel following a clash at Saukade in Batticaloa on January 9-**Daily Mirror of January 10, 2008**
- A minor explosion took place inside the Fort railway station around 7.35 pm on January 11 injuring at least one person and damaging a staircase, police said. -**Daily Mirror of January 12, 2008**
- Japanese special peace envoy, Yasushi Akashi, who arrived in Sri Lanka on January 13 morning on a three-day official visit to assess the current state of the Peace Process, has hinted that foreign aid received by the country might get stopped due to the prevailing situation-**Daily Mirror of January 14, 2008**
- -Community Development Minister P Chandrasekaran on January 13 urged India to intervene in improving the social, economic and educational conditions of the ethnic Indian community in Sri Lanka. -**Daily Mirror of January 14, 2008**
- Rice importers and traders warned on January 13 that rice prices were set to escalate till March unless the government gave approval to import stocks to arrest the trend. During the last few days, the prices increased by Rs. 10-15 per kilo with some varieties being priced at more than Rs. 100 per kilo. -**Daily Mirror of January 14, 2008**
- The JVP on January 15 demanded that the government dissolve the All Party Representative Committee (APRC) while giving up the idea of discussing power devolution proposals. -**Daily Mirror of January 16, 2008**
- Suspected LTTE cadres exploded a powerful claymore mine targeting a crowded bus at Buttala, Moneragala January 16 morning killing at least 27 civilians and injuring 63 others while another five civilians were shot dead by the LTTE a few kilometres away from the blast. Two hours later another Claymore mine exploded at Galge along the Buttala-Kataragama road targeting an Army truck, injuring four soldiers.- **Daily Mirror of January 17, 2008**
- A massive joint search operation has been launched by the army, police and Special Task Force in the Thanamalwila, Hambegamuwa, Kiriabbanara and Udawala areas in the Moneragala district to search for LTTE pockets involved in the attack on civilians last week. **Daily Mirror of January 20, 2008**
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- The price of a 400g pack of Highland milk powder has been increased by Rs. 35 bringing the new price to Rs. 230. - **Daily Mirror of January 22, 2008**
- The Supreme Court on January 21 ruled that the Local Government elections in the Eastern Province should be held. - **The Island of January 22, 2008**
- The Thamil Makkal Viduthalai Pulikal (TMVP) has been accepted and registered as a political party by the Elections Commissioner and will contest the upcoming polls in the East under the 'boat' symbol, sources told the Daily Mirror on January 21. - **Daily Mirror of January 22, 2008**
- Minority parties, including the SLMC and the EPDP, who are represented in the All Party Representative Committee (APRC), on January 22 endorsed the move by President Rajapaksa, to introduce an 'interim arrangement' for the resolution of the ethnic conflict through the Committee, including the proposal to hold Provincial Council elections for the Eastern Province that was de-merged from the North in 2006. - **Daily Mirror of January 23, 2008**
- The government will establish the proposed interim council for the Northern Province as soon as possible, with members being appointed in proportion to the ethnic composition of the province. A governor will also be appointed to the Northern Province shortly. - **Daily Mirror of January 24, 2008**
- One political party and 10 independent groups had filed nominations for the local government polls in Batticaloa by noon January 23. - **Daily Mirror of January 24, 2008**
- Vinayagamoorthi Muralitharan, alias Karuna Amman who headed the LTTE breakaway faction TMVP, was on January 25 sentenced to nine months jail by the Isleworth Crown Court in West London,. - **Daily Mirror of January 26, 2008**
- The SLTB and private buses will increase the basic bus fare of Rs. 5 to Rs. 6 from February 1, the National Transport Commission (NTC) announced on January 25. - **Daily Mirror of January 26, 2008**
- The elections to nine local councils in the Batticaloa district will be held on March 10 with six political parties and 22 independent groups in the fray. The Batticaloa Returning Officer had received 61 nomination papers filed by the political parties and independent groups, out of which nine were rejected. - **Daily Mirror of January 26, 2008**
- An aircraft flying Defence Secretary Gotabhaya Rajapaksa and Army Commander Sarath Fonseka to Jaffna came under intense LTTE artillery attack when it was about to land at the Palaly Air base around 9.30 a.m. on January 28 and had to return to Colombo, highly placed Defence sources said. - **The Island of January 29, 2008**
- The government decided last evening to appoint a cabinet sub-committee, headed by the Prime Minister, to seek out 'ways and means' of implementing the 13th Amendment to the Constitution in full **Daily Mirror of January 31, 2008**

## FEBRUARY

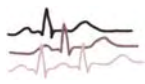
- -Japan, Sri Lanka's top donor, warned it could cut off aid if violence continued to escalate, but said it hoped to provide long-term support to bring peace. . - **Daily Mirror of February 1, 2008**
- Independence Day celebrations were marred by another claymore attack on a civilian bus in Welioya on February 4 killing 15 people and injuring 17 - **Daily Mirror of February 5, 2008**
- The UNP charged on February 6 in Parliament that 28 persons including 12 candidates have been abducted in the Eastern Province after nominations were called for the local council elections. - **Daily Mirror of February 7, 2008**
- Sri Lanka has been ranked as the third deadliest place for journalists in 2007 by the World Association of Newspapers (WAN), a Paris based global organisation which defends and promotes media freedom world-wide. - **Daily Mirror of February 9, 2008**
- Gampaha district parliamentarian and SLFP (Mahajana) wing National coordinator Sripathi Sooriyaarachchi and three others were killed and two critically injured when his official vehicle, crashed into a tree on February 9 afternoon at Medagama in the Anuradhapura district. - **The Sunday Times of February 10, 2008**



- Sri Lanka last night joined Russia and Serbia in rejecting the unilateral declaration of Independence by the former Serbian state of Kosovo. —**Daily Mirror of February 18, 2008**
- The Civil Society Organisations led by the Congress of Religions have prepared a draft paper with proposals for the government to implement the 17th Amendment with immediate effect,— **Daily Mirror of February 18, 2008**
- The government is to establish a 'gateway' for an expected mass exodus of civilians from the Wanni and facilitate the process by creating a 'no war zone', while challenging the LTTE to leave civilians out of the ongoing conflict. - **Daily Mirror of February 19, 2008**
- The main opposition UNP and the JVP slammed the government yesterday for what they called the arbitrary removal of Bribery Commission's Director General Piyasena Ranasinghe. - **Daily Mirror of February 22, 2008**
- The United Nations on Thursday refused to comment on the LTTE seeking statehood as it had not made any announcement of a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) despite the LTTE political head publicly seeking international recognition for a state of Eelam. - **Daily Mirror of February 23, 2008**
- As the campaign for the Batticaloa Local Council elections gathered momentum, at least two TMVP activists involved in political work were killed and a civilian was wounded when an LTTE suicide cadre blew himself up at Kaluwanchikudi in Batticaloa yesterday morning, -**Daily Mirror of February 25, 2008**
- A crucial meeting between President Mahinda Rajapaksa and opposition leader Ranil Wickremesinghe ended on a positive note yesterday, with the UNP leader giving an assurance that his party would not jeopardize the government's move to fully implement the 13th Amendment to the Constitution, as an interim measure, while seeking a lasting solution to the ethnic issue.. - **Daily Mirror of February 27, 2008**
- The Congress of Religions, representing various religious sectors, professional, business, legal and civil society, which met at the Abhayaramaya in Narahenpita, has addressed a memorandum to President Mahinda Rajapaksa urging him to reactivate the Constitutional Council without further delay. - **Daily Mirror of February 28, 2008**
- The Tamil National Alliance (TNA) said on February 27 said it could prevail upon the LTTE to return to the negotiation table in the event of a positive announcement by the Government to resume the peace process. TNA Jaffna district MP N. Srikantha told the Daily Mirror yesterday that it was all the more welcome if the announcement is accompanied by the re-opening on the A9 road as a gesture of goodwill. - **Daily Mirror of February 28, 2008**

#### MARCH

- A major LTTE operation in the city may have been foiled following February 29 recovery of a cache of high-powered explosives including two suicide jackets during a search operation in Modera just minutes after a suicide cadre blew himself up inside a house in the area, police said. The blast killed the bomber and injured seven people including a woman Sub Inspector and two constables. - **Daily Mirror of March 1, 2008**
- Seven persons, including three Police personnel, were injured when a suicide bomber blew himself up in a three-storey building at Mutwal as a joint Army and Police search team closed in on him yesterday morning. A Police sergeant, and a Woman Police Constable injured in the blast were said to be in critical condition, at the National Hospital. — **The Island of March 1, 2008**
- The International Independent Group of Eminent Persons (IIGEP) has decided to terminate its operation in Sri Lanka saying it no longer saw how it could contribute further to the protection and enhancement of human rights in Sri Lanka. - **Daily Mirror of March 7, 2008**
- The government yesterday said it would introduce a national media policy to create a "responsible media culture" in the country - but media groups rejected it while the main opposition party charged it was a move to restrict media freedom. - **Daily Mirror of March 8, 2008**



- The historic Batticaloa local government election which ended peacefully yesterday with a 56 percent voter turnout was marred by allegations of vote rigging in some areas and dissatisfaction over the rejection of some 200 voters who were turned back due to identification issues. Overall some 56 percent of eligible voters had exercised their franchise to elect representatives to nine local bodies after 14 years. -- **Daily Mirror of March 11, 2008**
- A bomb exploded near the Roxy Cinema in Wellawatta yesterday morning killing one and injuring six, including four school children. The injured were admitted to the Colombo South Hospital, Kalubowila. – **The Island of March 11, 2008**
- Six accused, including LTTE leader Velupillai Prabhakaran, were indicted for the assassination of former Foreign Minister Lakshman Kadirgamar in the Colombo High Court on March 11.. - **Daily Mirror of March 12, 2008**
- The government will hold the provincial council elections in the Eastern Province on May 10; nominations will be called from March 27 to April 3, an official of the Elections Department said on March 13. - **Daily Mirror of March 14, 2008**
- The Parliamentary Select Committee (PSC) on the 17th Amendment is to suggest several revisions to the legislation shortly, including provisions for the existing independent commissions to function even after expiration of their term, until new members are appointed. Chairman of the PSC, - **Daily Mirror of March 14, 2008**
- The public inquiry into the killing of five youth in Trincomalee in 2006 took a new twist on March 14 with a key witness claiming that a cabinet Minister had contacted him and offered him a house in Colombo after accepting the security forces may have made a mistake. - **Daily Mirror of March 15, 2008**
- Former Speaker, Foreign Minister, Opposition Leader and the son of two Prime Ministers, Anura Priyadarshi Solomon Dias Bandaranaike passed away on March 16 evening at the age of 59, closing the curtain on one of the most colourful political lives in post-independence history of Sri Lanka. - **Daily Mirror of March 17, 2008**
- The violence unleashed against media persons continues unabated, with Lakbima journalist Sunethra Athugalpura and her husband Sirasa News Producer Sashi Kumara becoming the latest victims, when their house was ransacked by an unidentified gang on March 16. - **Daily Mirror of March 17, 2008**
- A key eyewitness on March 17 implicated the Special Task Force (STF) in the killing of five youth in Trincomalee and claimed that the doctors who treated him and the only other survivor had identified the STF as the perpetrators of the crime in January 2006. - **Daily Mirror of March 18, 2008**
- The United States is to donate some US\$ 220,000 worth of anti-terrorism equipment to the Sri Lanka Police to enhance the “critical capabilities of the security forces in their efforts to fight terrorism”. - **Daily Mirror of March 18, 2008**
- The UNP and the JVP will contest the forthcoming Provincial Council elections in the East, which are to be held on May 10 to elect 37 members to the Council created following its de-merger from the North. - **Daily Mirror of March 19, 2008**
- With heightened military activities in the North, the Defence Ministry has decided to withdraw the Special Task Force from more than ten camps in the East and Mannar, in order to deploy them in LTTE threatened areas in Welioya, police sources said. - **Daily Mirror of March 21, 2008**
- The Indian Defence Ministry in its annual report to the Indian parliament has reiterated there could be no military solution to the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. - **Daily Mirror of March 22, 2008**
- Civil Monitoring Committee Convener and WPF leader Mano Ganesan has requested Canada to play a leading role in dealing with the ethnic conflict and the human rights situation in Sri Lanka. - **Daily Mirror of March 22, 2008**
- More than 50 LTTE cadres are believed to have been killed along with five soldiers in fresh clashes between the LTTE and the army in the areas of Mannar, Weli Oya and Vavuniya over the weekend after a lull of few days in the North-East battlefield due to the continuing torrential rains. - **Daily Mirror of March 23, 2008**



- The inquiry into the killing of 17 aid workers in Mutur in August 2006 took an unexpected turn yesterday when President's Counsel Desmond Fernando allegedly claimed a Cabinet Minister in a confidential discussion with him said the Minister was aware who the perpetrators were. Mr. Fernando said he no longer wished to participate in the Presidential Commission of Inquiry into the killing of Action Contra La Faim (ACF) workers because he was privy to such information. - **Daily Mirror of March 25, 2008**
- British Parliamentarian Dr. Liam Fox, who is also the Shadow Secretary of State for Defence, is in the country to seek a political consensus between the government and opposition parties, following an invitation extended by the Foreign Ministry. - **Daily Mirror of March 26, 2008**
- Against the backdrop of Sri Lanka procuring arms from Pakistan, India's National Security Adviser M K Narayanan has voiced displeasure over it saying it would "compromise" India's pre-eminent position in the region. - **Daily Mirror of March 28, 2008**
- The main opposition UNP yesterday vowed to launch a series of daily protests in Parliament if a government 'henchman' is appointed to the Parliamentary Secretary General's post after Secretary General Priyani Wijesekera retires on Monday. **Daily Mirror of March 28, 2008**
- The government will soon enact a Bill providing Assistance and Protection to Victims of Crime and Witnesses, the Cabinet spokesman said on March 28. Minister Anura Priyadarsana Yapa told a media conference the Cabinet had given its approval to present the Bill in parliament as an urgent Bill in the national interest. - **Daily Mirror of March 29, 2008**
- Sri Lanka faces the risk of getting poorer both in the short and long term, according to the Economic and Social Survey of Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) 2008 in its 60th report. - **Daily Mirror of March 31, 2008**
- The SLMC would contest the first ever election to the Eastern Provincial Council on the UNP ticket, well informed sources said. They had reached an understanding on an agreement, the sources said. - **The Island of March 31, 2008**
- Several constructive proposals mooted by the Central Committee of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party were unanimously approved at the 18th convention of the SLFP, at Temple Trees under the patronage of President Mahinda Rajapaksa yesterday. - **The Daily News of March 31, 2008**

#### APRIL

- The International Independent Group of Eminent Persons (IIGEP) yesterday relinquished its mandate to help Sri Lanka improve its deteriorating human rights record. - **Daily Mirror of April 1, 2008**
- Even as the Commission of Inquiry hearings into the killing of 17 aid workers of Action Contre la Faim (ACF) continued this week a highly controversial report due to be released today draws its own conclusion into the incident and goes to the extent of naming the perpetrators of the crime. - **Daily Mirror of April 1, 2008**
- JVP politburo has suspended Propaganda Secretary Wimal Weerawansa's party membership with immediate effect. - **Daily Mirror of April 5, 2008**



Annex

**District sample (weighted) distribution in March 2008**

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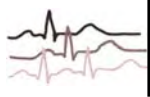
DISTRICT	TOTAL
Colombo	207
Gampaha	197
Kalutara	98
Kandy	120
Matale	40
Nuwara Eliya	66
Galle	92
Matara	71
Hambantota	49
Batticaloa	47
Ampara	56
Trincomalee	32
Kurunegala	132
Puttalam	64
Anuradhapura	68
Polonnaruwa	33
Badulla	73
Monaragala	37
Ratnapura	94
Kegalle	72
<b>NATIONAL</b>	<b>1644</b>

**Ethnic sample (weighted) distribution in March 2008**

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ETHNICITY	TOTAL
Sinhala	1120
Tamil	97
Muslim	183
Up-Country Tamil	244
<b>NATIONAL</b>	<b>1644</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 on war, peace and governance 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 1800 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. Data can also be disaggregated according to age group, gender, party loyalty and district.

The total sample is distributed amongst 20 administrative districts (strata) of Sri Lanka, excluding the North and East provinces due to the escalation of violence in the months prior to the survey. 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 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 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 reference the Tamil community cannot be generalised as they are not representative of the entire Tamil 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.

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



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