



- SOLUTIONS
- EASTERN ELECTIONS
- INDIA
- THE APRC
- LOSING THE UNHRC SEAT
- POPULARITY OF THE PRESIDENT
- HUMAN RIGHTS

# PEACE CONFIDENCE INDEX

AUGUST 2008



### For further Info Please Contact

Pradeep Peiris or Rangani Ranasinghe

Social Indicator  
Centre for Policy Alternatives  
105, 5<sup>th</sup> Lane  
Colombo 3  
Sri Lanka  
Tel: +94112370472/4  
Fax: +94112370475

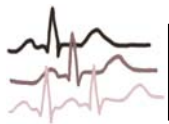
Email: [rangani@cpasocialindicator.org](mailto:rangani@cpasocialindicator.org)  
Web: [www.cpalanka.org/polling.html](http://www.cpalanka.org/polling.html)



## CONTENTS

---

• <b>INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>01</b>
• <b>FINDINGS AT A GLANCE</b>	<b>02</b>
• <b>PEACE CONFIDENCE INDEX (PCI)</b>	<b>11</b>
TOP-LINE RESULTS	
IMPORTANT ISSUES	11
SOLUTIONS	12
COMMITMENT AND CAPACITY	16
CURRENT SECURITY CONDITION	20
• <b>POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS</b>	
COST OF LIVING	23
JVP SPLIT	35
INDIA & OTHER COUNTRIES	37
EASTERN PROVINCE ELECTIONS	42
LOSING THE UNHRC SEAT	47
ALL PARTY REPRESENTATIVE COMMITTEE (APRC)	49
THE PRESIDENT	52
HUMAN RIGHTS	54
• <b>KEY NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS</b>	<b>55</b>
• <b>ANNEX</b>	



## 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.

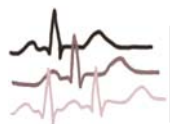
### SCOPE & METHODOLOGY

The survey is carried out using a structured questionnaire administered through face-to-face interviews amongst a 1300 randomly selected sample. This survey was conducted in 17 administrative districts, excluding the North and East 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 twenty ninth wave of the PCI study, which was first conducted in May 2001. This publication presents only the top-line results of the July 2008 survey.

The results of these twenty nine 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.

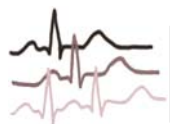
**\*\* This particular wave of the PCI only covers the Sinhala, Tamil, Muslim and the Up-Country Tamil communities in the areas outside the Northern Province. The entire Tamil community and the entire sample in the Eastern Province were sampled using a non-random sampling technique. Therefore, all findings that refer to the Eastern Province and the Tamil community cannot be generalized to the entire community.**



## FINDINGS AT A GLANCE OF THE POLL CONDUCTED FROM 31<sup>ST</sup> JUNE TO 7<sup>TH</sup> AUGUST 2008

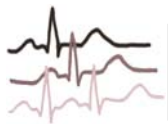
The following are the significant trends observed in the PCI August 2008 survey. This particular wave of the PCI only covers the Sinhala, Tamil, Muslim and the Up-Country Tamil communities in the areas outside the Northern Province. The entire Tamil community and the entire sample in the Eastern Province were sampled using a non-random sampling technique. Therefore, all findings that refer to the Eastern Province and the Tamil community cannot be generalized to the entire community.

- ◆ **War and Peace:** When asked to rate five national issues depending on the importance placed on each issue, all the communities prioritise the economy and a peace process in Sri Lanka. The Sinhala community places importance on the country's economy (27.8%) and the conflict in the north east (27.0%). However, 19.9% of the Sinhala community also places importance on a future peace process in Sri Lanka. The Tamil community places importance on the economy (25.5%) and a future peace process in Sri Lanka (26.5%). The Up-Country Tamil community places importance on a future peace process in Sri Lanka (25.9%) and the economy (23.4%). The Muslim community places importance on the economy (33.7%) and a peace process in Sri Lanka (24.2%). ([Ref. Page 11](#))
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala community (50.9%), think that the government defeating the LTTE is the way to end the war and arrive at peace in Sri Lanka. However, 23.8% of the Sinhala community think that political negotiations after the government's defeat of the LTTE is the way to find peace in Sri Lanka. A majority of the Tamil community (78.7%), the Up-Country Tamil (76.4%) and the Muslim (77.5%) communities think that we should stop the war and conduct political negotiations if peace is to be found. However, 13.1% of the Tamil community also thinks that conducting peace talks while having military operations could be a way to peace. When compared to the PCI findings of March 2008, amongst the Sinhala community, those who think that there should be political negotiations after the government defeats the LTTE has increased (March '08: 14.6%, August '08: 23.6%). Interestingly, amongst the Tamil (March '08: 6.4%, August '08: 13.1%) and the Muslim (March '08: 4.6%, August '08: 8.8%) communities, those who think that peace talks should be conducted while having military operations has also increased. ([Ref. Page 12](#))
- ◆ When asked about the necessity of a political solution to resolve the present ethnic conflict, a majority of the minority communities (Tamil: 72.4%, UP-Country Tamil: 40.9%, Muslim: 59.3%) think that irrespective of how the war ends, a political solution is essential. However, the Sinhala community has a mixed opinion. While 31.4% think a political solution is essential, 35.7% think that it is useful. When compared to the PCI findings in March 2008, those who think that a political solution is essential have slightly increased amongst the Tamil community (March '08: 69.8%, August '08: 72.4%) while amongst the Up-Country Tamil community those who think that a political solution is essential (March '08: 30.1%, August '08: 40.9%) and useful (March '08: 11.5%, August '08: 25.3%) have significantly increased. Amongst the Muslim community, those who think that a political solution is essential have considerably decreased (March '08: 71.2%, August '08: 59.3%) while those who think it is useful have increased (March '08: 11.1%, August '08: 21.7%).([Ref. Page 13](#))
- ◆ A majority of the minority communities believe that a political solution should be designed while the war continues (Tamil: 56.6%, Up-Country Tamil: 68.2%, Muslim: 48.4%). However,



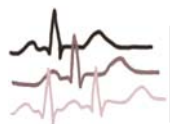
amongst the Sinhala community, 39.5% believe that a political solution should be designed after the war. Nevertheless, another 23% of the Sinhala community think that a political solution should be designed while the war continues. When compared to the PCI findings of March '08, those who think that a political solution should be designed while the war continues have increased amongst the Tamil community (March '08: 49.5 %, August '08: 56.6%) while it has significantly increased amongst the Up-Country Tamil community (March '08: 24.7%, August '08: 68.2%). Amongst the Sinhala community, those who think a political solution should be designed after the war has slightly increased (March '08: 33.2%, August '08: 39.5%). ([Ref. Page 14](#))

- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala community (69.6%) think that compared to a year ago, the country is close to approaching a permanent settlement to the ethnic conflict. A majority of the Tamil (64.8%) and the Up-Country Tamil (62.6%) communities think the country is not close at all to a permanent settlement to the ethnic conflict. Amongst the Muslim community, 38.8% think that the country is not close at all for a permanent settlement while 32% think it is close. When compared to the PCI findings of March 2008, amongst the Sinhala community, those who think the country is close to a permanent settlement have increased (March '08: 60.7%, August '08: 69.6%). Amongst the Tamil community those who think that it remains the same has increased (March '08: 16.5%, August '08: 23.8%) while those who think that it is not close at all have decreased (March '08: 74.2%, August '08: 64.8%). Amongst the Muslim community, those who think it is close (March '08: 19.7%, August '08: 32%) have increased while those who think it is not close at all (March '08: 62.7%, August '08: 38.8%) have decreased. ([Ref. Page 15](#))
- ◆ **Commitment:** A majority of the Sinhala community (58.1%) and the Muslim community (47.1%) agree that the government is committed to find peace through talks. A majority of the Tamil community (61.7%) disagree in this regard while a majority of the Up-Country Tamil community (50.5%) don't know or are not sure. When compared to the PCI findings of March '08, the agreement amongst the Sinhala community has increased (March '08: 52.3%, August '08: 58.1%) while the disagreement amongst the Tamil (March '08: 72.9%, August '08: 61.7%), Up-Country Tamil (March '08: 44.5%, August '08: 31.3%) and the Muslim communities (March '08: 39.6%, August '08: 26.7%) has significantly decreased. ([Ref. Page 16](#))
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala community (74.9%) and the Muslim community (45.1%) disagree that the LTTE is committed to find peace through talks. The Tamil community has a mixed opinion on this. While 26.1% agree that the LTTE is committed to find peace through talks, 37.8% disagree with the statement. Amongst the Up-Country Tamil community, 20.9% agree while 22.5% disagree with the statement. When compared to the PCI findings of March '08, the agreement amongst the Tamil (March '08: 29.9%, August '08: 26.1%), the Up-Country Tamil (March '08: 26.5%, August '08: 20.9%) and the Muslim (March '08: 25.8%, August '08: 20.7%) communities has slightly decreased. ([Ref. Page 17](#))
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala community (75.6%) think that currently the LTTE is weak in terms of their military capacity. Amongst the Tamil community, 21.6% think that the LTTE is currently weak militarily and 16.8% think it's the same as last year. Amongst the Up-Country Tamil community, 11.8% think that the LTTE is currently strong militarily. 7.2% of the Up-Country Tamil community think the LTTE is weak. However, interestingly, those who don't know or are not sure is significantly high amongst the Tamil (36%) and the Up-Country Tamil Community (67.2%). Amongst the Muslim community, 34.7% think the LTTE is militarily strong currently while 23.9% think the LTTE is weak. ([Ref. Page 18](#))
- ◆ A significant majority of the Sinhala community (91%) and a majority of the Muslim community (69.6%) think the Government's security forces are currently strong in terms of



their military capacity. Amongst the Tamil community, 28.8% think the security forces are currently strong militarily, 14.4% think its same as last year. 7.2% think the security forces are currently weak militarily. Amongst the Up-Country Tamil community, 11.3% think the security forces are currently strong militarily while 6.7% think they are weak. ([Ref. Page 19](#))

- ◆ **Current Security Condition:** Compared to the situation a year ago, 44.2% of the Sinhala community think the national security has somewhat improved while 17.9% think it has greatly improved. The Tamil community has a divided opinion in this regard. 34.1% of the Tamil community think it has got worse while another 34.1% think it has got much worse. Amongst the Up-Country Tamil community, 38.5% think that national security has got worse compared to the situation a year ago while 35.4% think it has got much worse. Amongst the Muslim community, 32.8% think the national security has somewhat improved, while 17.8% think it has greatly improved. ([Ref. Page 20](#))
- ◆ Compared to the situation a year ago, 28.5% of the Sinhala community think that their level of personal security remains the same. However, another 27.8% think their personal security has greatly improved while 24.4% think it has got worse. Interestingly, those who believe that their personal security has worsened over the past one year is highest amongst the minority communities. A majority of the Tamil community (44.4%) think their personal security has got much worse while 42.1% think it has got worse. Amongst the Up-Country Tamil community, 42.3% think their personal security has got worse, 34.5% think it has got much worse. Amongst the Muslim community, 27.4% think their personal security has got much worse while 24.6% think it has got worse. However, 23.4% think it has somewhat improved. ([Ref. Page 21](#))
- ◆ Of those who think that their personal security has got worse, a majority of all the communities think their personal security is being threatened now as a result of the terrorist attacks such as bomb blasts and shooting (Sinhala: 73.9%, Tamil: 68.2%, Up-Country Tamil: 54.2%, Muslim: 81.7%). Interestingly amongst the Sinhala community, 14.7% say their personal security is being threatened as a result of theft. However, amongst the minority communities (Tamil: 20%, Up-Country Tamil: 14.8%, Muslim: 15.3%) think their personal security is being threatened as a result of abductions. ([Ref. Page 22](#))
- ◆ **Cost of Living:** When asked to describe the affect of the present cost of living on their lives, 47.8% of the Sinhala community, say it has affected their financial situation and therefore they live with some difficulties while another 45.8% say that the cost of living has badly affected their financial situation and therefore they live with great difficulties. Amongst the minority communities, a majority of them (Tamil: 52.2%, Up-Country Tamil: 83.6%, Muslim: 66.8%) say that the present cost of living has badly affected their financial situation and therefore they live with great difficulties. However, amongst the Tamil (41.9%) and the Muslim (27.7%) communities there is also a section who says that they live with only some difficulties. ([Ref. Page 23](#))
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala community (53.6%) and the Tamil community (46.9%) think that the increased oil prices in the world market have contributed to a great extent in increasing the cost of living. A majority of the Up-Country Tamil community (49.8%) and the Muslim community (50.6%) think the increased oil prices in the world market have contributed to some extent in increasing the cost of living. ([Ref. Page 24](#))
- ◆ Overwhelming majority of the Tamil (85.1%) and the Up-Country Tamil (61.8%) communities and a majority of the Sinhala (59.7%) and the Muslim (48.6%) communities think that the on going war has contributed to the increase cost of living. However, another 31.6% of the



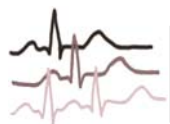
Sinhala community and 40.1% of the Muslim communities believe that the on going war has contributed to the increase cost of living only to some extent. (Ref. Page 24)

- ◆ Amongst the Sinhala community, 42.3% think that the cost of maintaining a large cabinet has contributed to some extent in increasing the cost of living while 41.6% think it has contributed a great extent. Amongst the Tamil community, 43.3% think a large cabinet has contributed to the cost of living to a great extent while another 37.1% say it has contributed to some extent. A majority of the Up-Country Tamil (41%) and the Muslim (44.3%) communities think a large cabinet has contributed to some extent in increasing the cost of living while another 36.1% of the Up-Country Tamil and 36.7% of the Muslim communities think it has contributed to a great extent. (Ref. Page 25)
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala community (46.7%) and the Muslim (41.1%) communities think that the poor economic policies of the previous regime have contributed to some extent in increasing the cost of living. Amongst the Tamil community 29% think it has contributed to some extent while 28.1% think it has contributed a great extent. Amongst the Up-Country Tamil community, 33.4% think it has contributed to some extent while 25.6% think it has contributed to a great extent. (Ref. Page 25)
- ◆ In order to find out the extent to which the present cost of living has affected the ordinary citizen, people were asked to indicate the compromises that they are making using the following four statements:
  - 1) I have limited the extra activities/leisure activities (parties/trips) in order to meet the present cost of living.
  - 2) I have cut down the spending on non essential items like jewellery, furniture in order to meet the present cost of living.
  - 3) I have limited the spending on education & health as well as the spending on food in order to meet the present cost of living.
  - 4) I have sold or pawn some of my belongings or have taken loans from others to meet the present cost of living.

According to the survey findings, only 6.1% say that they have not compromised anything as a result of the increase cost of living. However, a majority of the respondents (45.8%) say that they have not only compromised on extra activities, essential items, and spending on education, health & food, but have also started selling or pawning their belongings or taking loans. 24.9% say that they have limited their spending on extra activities, on essential items, and spending on education, health & food. When looking at the ethnic breakdown, a majority of the Tamil (52.5%) and the Muslim (61.4%) communities and an overwhelming majority of the Up-Country Tamil (90.4%) community have not only compromised on extra activities, essential items, and spending on education, health & food but have also started selling or pawning their belongings or taking loans in order meet the increased cost of living. Of the Sinhala community, a majority seems to have compromised on certain things but like in the case of the minority communities they have not gone to the extent of selling or pawning their belongs or taking loans. (Ref. Page 26 – 27)

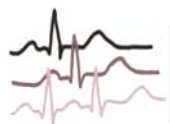
- ◆ A majority of the minority communities (Tamil: 72.2%, Up-Country Tamil: 60%, Muslim: 64.4%) completely disagree with the statement that the ministers and the government MPs are doing their best to reduce the cost of living in the country. The Sinhala community has a mixed opinion in this regard. While 36.5% agree with the statement, 52.9% disagree with it. It is noteworthy, that a majority of them completely rejects the statement. (Ref. Page 28)
- ◆ All the communities (Sinhala: 65.9%, Tamil: 57.2%, Up-Country Tamil: 50.9%, Muslim: 53.1%) disagree with the statement that the opposition MPs are doing their best to reduce the cost





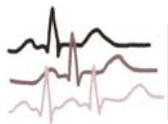
of living. It is noteworthy, that a majority of them completely rejects the statement. (Ref. Page 29)

- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala community agree (61.6%) with the statement that people should not complain about the rising cost of living as the government is in a war with the LTTE. Amongst the Tamil (84.3%), Up-Country Tamil (65.4%) and Muslim (53.3%) communities, a majority disagrees with the statement. (Ref. Page 30)
- ◆ 43.5% of the Sinhala community, agree with the statement that people should not complain about the rising cost of living as the oil prices in the world market are increasing. However, 39.3% of the Sinhala community disagree with the statement. Amongst the Tamil (54.1%) and the Up-Country Tamil (61.8%) communities, a majority disagrees with the statement although majority completely disagrees. Amongst the Muslim community, 51.6% disagrees with the statement. (Ref. Page 31)
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala community agree (51.3%) with the statement that the Trade Unions should not demand increase of salaries as the government is in a war with the LTTE. On the contrary, a majority of the Tamil (65.1%) and the Up-Country Tamil (54.9%) communities express their disagreement with the statement. In fact a majority of these two communities reject this statement completely. The majority of the Muslim community (48%) also disagrees while little over one third of the Muslim community is unable to express their opinion. (Ref. Page 32)
- ◆ About half of the Sinhala community (57.8%), express their disagreement with the statement that “I will vote against the government in the next election due to the present cost of living”. The agreement with the statement amongst the Sinhala community is only 14.3%. On the contrary, a majority of the Tamil (58%) and the Up-Country Tamil (61.5%) communities express their agreement with the statement saying that they will vote against this government due to present cost of living. In fact, 49.9% of the Up-Country Tamil are in a full agreement with the statement. A majority of the Muslim community (37.3%) are not decided whether to agree or disagree with the statement. (Ref. Page 33)
- ◆ When people were asked whether they will join with anyone to protest against the present regime as they were unable to control the present cost of living, 65.4% of the Sinhalese say ‘No’ by disagreeing to the statement. However on the contrary Tamil (48.7%) and Up-Country Tamil (64.2%) communities express their agreement with the statement that they will join with anyone to protest against the present regime as they were unable to control the present cost of living. A majority of the Muslim (27.2%) community express their inability to agree or disagree with the statement. (Ref. Page 34)
- ◆ **JVP Split:** With regard to the split within the JVP, some say that this is an indication of a strong government and a weak opposition while some others say it is a sign of a weakened democracy in the country. When asked whether this an indication of a strong government and weak opposition, 34.7% of the respondents agree while 19% disagrees. When asked if it is a sign of a weakened democracy in the country, 23.9% agree while 19.8% disagree. (Ref. Page 35 - 36)
- ◆ **India & Other Countries:** When asked which would be the best country to mediate peace discussions with the warring parties, an overwhelming majority of the Up-Country Tamil community (82.1%) and 50% of the Muslim communities prefer India or other countries such as USA, EU, Japan and Norway. Opinion in the Tamil community is divided between Norway and India (Norway: 38.3%, India: 32.5%). However, 35.2% of the Sinhala



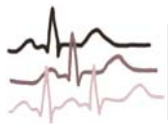
community say they are not sure about which would be the best country to mediate the peace discussion if they are going to be a foreign mediated peace initiatives in the near future. In the mean time 21.9% prefer India and 12.8% prefer USA while 20.9% state that none of the given countries are suitable to mediate peace discussions. It should be noted that there are contradictory preferences expressed by the Sinhalese and Tamil communities over the Norwegians as their choice for mediator. 38.3% of Tamil community prefer Norway while less than 1% of the Sinhalese prefer the same as the best country to mediate the peace discussion. (Ref. Page 37)

- ◆ In order to understand the public attitude towards India, Norway, EU, Japan, USA, China and Pakistan, people were asked to express their preference by stating whether they believe these countries are favorable or friendly to Sri Lanka using a three point scale. When looking at the preferences the survey data shows that their choices differ depending on their ethnic group. Sinhalese consider India (83.8%), China (71.2%), Japan (71%), Pakistan (68.9%) and USA (57.2%) as favorable countries. 47% & 32% of Sinhalese consider Norway and the EU respectively, as not very favorable countries to Sri Lanka. For the Tamil community, India, Norway, and EU countries are the three friendliest countries to Sri Lanka while all the other countries in general are considered as friendly nations. It is noteworthy, that a majority of the Up-Country Tamil community express their inability to form an opinion whether these countries are friendly or not friendly to Sri Lanka. However, they put India (84%) and Norway (80%) at the top of the list. The Muslim community also does not consider any of the given countries as unfriendly nations to Sri Lanka. The overwhelming majority of the Muslim community place India (88%) and Pakistan (80%) as the first and second friendliest nation to Sri Lanka while listing USA as the last. (Ref. Page 38 - 39)
- ◆ When asked about India specifically in terms of initiating peace with the LTTE, in the government's war effort, in facing the countries energy crisis and in development, Sinhalese see Indian involvement as very important in the arena of development (70.5%) and the war against the LTTE (58.9%). However, it is interesting to note that a majority of the Sinhalese consider India as an important partner in all given four areas. The Tamil community sees India's involvement as very important in initiating peace with the Tigers (71.8%), in development (76.4%) and even in facing the energy crisis (65%) However, the majority of Tamil community do not think India's involvement is important in the government war effort (33%). The Up - Country Tamil community share the same opinion while a majority of them sees India's involvement as important in the case of initiating peace with the Tigers (72%), in development (71.6%) and in facing the energy crisis (69.6%). Opinion of the Muslim community shows that they consider India's engagement as important in all the aspects. However, they place more emphasis on the energy crisis (73.8%) and development (72.5%). (Ref. Page 40 - 41)
- ◆ **Eastern Province Elections:** A majority of the Sinhala community (44%) agree with the statement that the Eastern Provincial Council election was free & fair. Nevertheless, 19.1% of the Sinhala community expresses their disagreement. Amongst the Tamil community, 31.6% agree while 33.3% disagree with the statement. A majority of the Up-Country Tamil community (73.9%) don't know or are not sure whether to agree or disagree with the statement. A majority of the Muslim community (43.3%) disagree that the Eastern Provincial Council election was free & fair. In fact a majority of the Muslim community completely disagree with the statement. (Ref. Page 42)
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala community (56.8%) agree that the Eastern Provincial Council election is an important turning point in improving democracy in the east. Amongst the Tamil community 36.6% agree while 28.8% disagree with the statement. A majority of the Up-

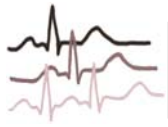


Country Tamil (77.9%) and the Muslim community (53.6%) don't know or are not sure whether to agree or disagree with the statement. However, amongst the Muslim community, 20.6% agree while 25.7% disagree. ([Ref. Page 42](#))

- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala community (47%) agree that the new political leadership in the Eastern Province will be able to develop the region. Amongst the Tamil community, 31.7% agree while 25.5% of them disagree. A majority of the Up-Country Tamil community (78%) don't know or are not sure whether to agree or disagree. Amongst the Muslim community, 20.4% agree while 21.9% disagree. ([Ref. Page 43](#))
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala community (51.8%) agree that the people in the east are now much safer than before the Provincial Council elections. Amongst the Tamil community, 33.6% agree while 21.9% disagree. Amongst the Up-Country Tamil community, 13.7% agree with the statement while the majority (77.1%) don't know or are not sure. Amongst the Muslim community, 22.2% agree while 17.8% disagree. ([Ref. Page 43](#))
- ◆ A majority of all the communities (Sinhala: 52.7%, Tamil: 56%, Up-Country Tamil: 80.4%, Muslim: 65.4%) don't know or are not sure whether the new leadership in the Eastern Provincial Council will be able to get full Provincial Council powers to the province. However, 24% of the Sinhala, 25.8% of the Tamil, 10.8% of the Up-Country Tamil, and 16% of the Muslim communities agree. ([Ref. Page 44](#))
- ◆ A majority of all the communities (Sinhala: 61.6%, Tamil: 60%, Up-Country Tamil: 77.2%, Muslim: 66.8%) don't know or are not sure whether the present political situation in the East is helpful to persuade the people in the north for a solution under the Provincial Council system. However, 26.5% of the Sinhala community and 17.8% of the Muslim community agree that the present political situation is helpful in persuading the people in the north for a solution under the Provincial Council. ([Ref. Page 44](#))
- ◆ A majority of all the communities (Sinhala: 53.6%, Tamil: 56.4%, Up-Country Tamil: 80.3%, Muslim: 67.8%) don't know or are not sure whether the TMVP is genuinely committed to democratic politics. However, amongst the Sinhala community 20.7% agree while 25.8% disagree. Amongst the Muslim community, 22.1% disagree with the statement. ([Ref. Page 45](#))
- ◆ A majority of all the communities (Sinhala: 51.8%, Tamil: 53.2%, Up-Country Tamil: 74.1%, Muslim: 64.2%) don't know or are not sure whether the Provincial Council system is the best solution for the country's ethnic conflict. However, 27.2% of the Sinhala community, 26.1% of the Tamil community, 16.3% of the Up-Country Tamil community, and 20.2% of the Muslim community think the Provincial Council system is the best solution for the country's ethnic conflict. ([Ref. Page 45](#))
- ◆ Analyst and officials have pointed out the weaknesses within the Provincial Councils. A majority of all the communities don't know or are not sure what is the reason for these weaknesses. However, a considerable section of the Tamil (25.1%) and the Up-Country Tamil (27.3%) think that these weaknesses are due to the central governments unwillingness to devolve power. ([Ref. Page 46](#))
- ◆ **Losing the UNHRC Seat:** A majority of the Sinhala (52.5%), Up-Country Tamil (67.3%) and the Muslim (62.8%) communities don't know or are not sure of the reason Sri Lanka recently lost its seat at the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC). A majority of the Tamil community (46%) think it's because of the widespread human rights violations. ([Ref. Page 47](#))



- ◆ Of those who are aware of the loss of the UNHRC seat, 24.7% of the Sinhala community thinks that it will have a bad effect on the country's international relations while 19.1% think it will have a negative impact on the country in general. Amongst the Tamil community, 38.8% think it will have a bad effect on the country's international relations while 35.1% think it will have a negative impact on the country's economy. Amongst the Up-Country Tamil community, 46.5% think it will have a negative impact on the country's economy while 37.4% think it will have a bad effect on the country's international relations. Amongst the Muslim community, 46.7% think it will have a bad effect on the country's international relations while 28.9% think it will have a negative impact on the country's economy. ([Ref. Page 48](#))
- ◆ **APRC:** People were questioned about the usefulness of the APRC. However, irrespective of their ethnic group a majority say they are not aware of the APRC (Sinhala: 52.7%, Tamil: 54.7%, Up-Country Tamil: 74.3%, Muslim: 61.7%). Compared to Sinhala and Tamil community, unawareness is higher amongst Up-Country Tamil and Muslim communities. Almost one quarter of Sinhalese, 1/5 of the Tamils and Muslims, 17.6% of the Up-Country Tamil, say that they don't know to make an opinion on the APRC. Amongst those who express an opinion on the APRC more Sinhalese and Muslims believe it has failed either to build a consensus in the south or to deliver a political package. The Tamils think it is a useful tool for consensus building though it will not be able to deliver a political package. ([Ref. Page 49](#))
- ◆ The government has recently announced that the TMVP had been invited to join the APRC. 34.7% of the Sinhala community approve of it while 16.6% of them disapprove of it. Amongst the Tamil community, 20.3% approve while 19.9% disapprove. Amongst the Up-Country Tamil community, 27% approve while 6.3% disapprove. Amongst the Muslim community, 37.1% approve while 5.7% disapprove. ([Ref. Page 50](#))
- ◆ The interim report of the APRC calls for, amongst the other things, the full implementation of the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment. 22% of the Sinhala community, 19.8% of the Up-Country Tamil community, and 28.7% of the Muslim community approve the full implementation of the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment. However, the Tamil community are either not aware of the content of the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment (23.8%) or not aware of the APRC report (13.1%).([Ref. Page 51](#))
- ◆ **The President:** With regard to President Mahinda Rajapakse's performance in maintaining law and order, a majority of the Sinhala (79.9%) and the Muslim (51.7%) communities express their satisfaction. A majority of Tamil (86.6%) and the Up-Country Tamil (49.6%) communities express their dissatisfaction. ([Ref. Page 52](#))
- ◆ With regard to President Mahinda Rajapakse's performance in controlling the cost of living, 37.2% of the Sinhala community express satisfaction while a majority of them (57.3%) express dissatisfaction. A majority of Tamil (94.3%) and the Up-Country Tamil (69.2%) communities express their dissatisfaction. Amongst the Muslim community, 71.8% express dissatisfaction while 20.3% express satisfaction. ([Ref. Page 52](#))
- ◆ With regard to President Mahinda Rajapakse's performance in maintaining international relations, a majority of the Sinhala (79.4%) and the Muslim (53.5%) communities express satisfaction. A majority of Tamil (63.1%) and the Up-Country Tamil (28.2%) communities express their dissatisfaction. ([Ref. Page 53](#))
- ◆ With regard to President Mahinda Rajapakse's performance in conducting the war, a majority of the Sinhala (93.1%) and the Muslim (57.2%) communities express satisfaction. A majority of



Tamil (87.3%) community express their dissatisfaction. A majority of the Up-Country Tamil (58.1%) community have no opinion in this regard. ([Ref. Page 53](#))

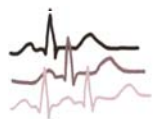
- ◆ **Human Rights:** There have been recent attacks against the journalist including attempted abductions and killings. In this context, people were asked as to what extent they believe that the government, other armed groups and the journalists are responsible for these attacks. A majority of the Up-Country Tamil (49%) and the Muslim (45.6%) communities show their ignorance on the issue. A majority of the Tamil (49.2%) community say that the government and the armed groups are responsible for the abductions and killings of the journalists. Amongst the Sinhala community, 33.5% express their ignorance on the issue while 30.9% say that the government, armed groups and the journalists themselves are responsible for the abductions and killings of the journalist. ([Ref. Page 54](#))

**For further information please contact:**

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

**Tel:** +9411 2370472/4 **Email:** [info@cpasocialindicator.org](mailto:info@cpasocialindicator.org)

**Fax:** +9411 2370475 **Web:** <http://www.cpalanka.org>

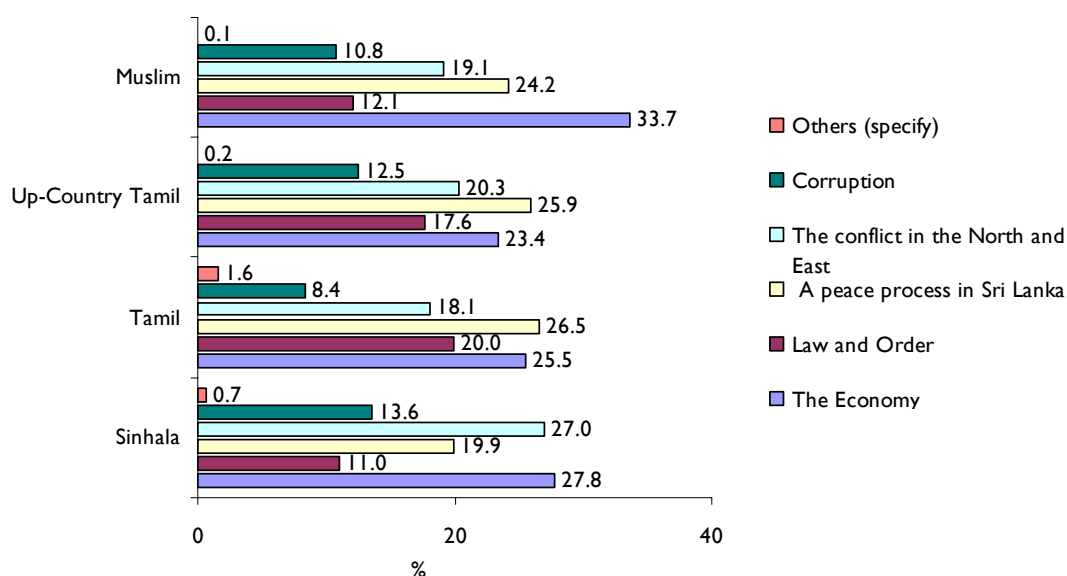


## Peace Confidence Index (PCI) May 2001 – August 2008

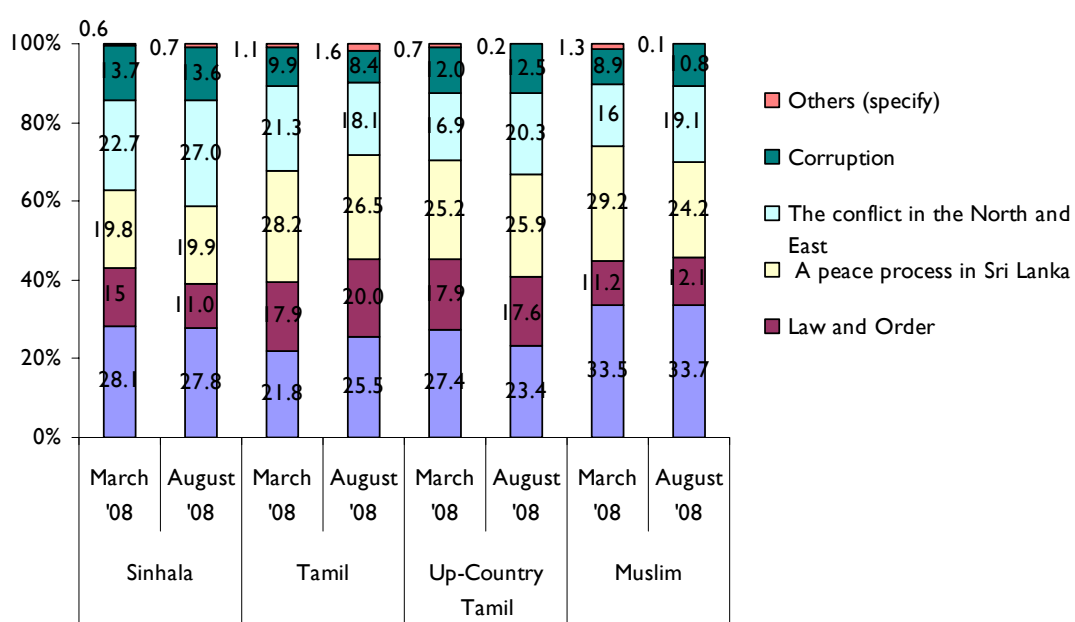
### Important Issues

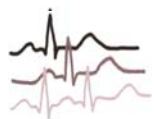
Rating the degree of importance of five national issues

#### Ethnic Breakdown



#### Changes of opinion from March '08 to August '08

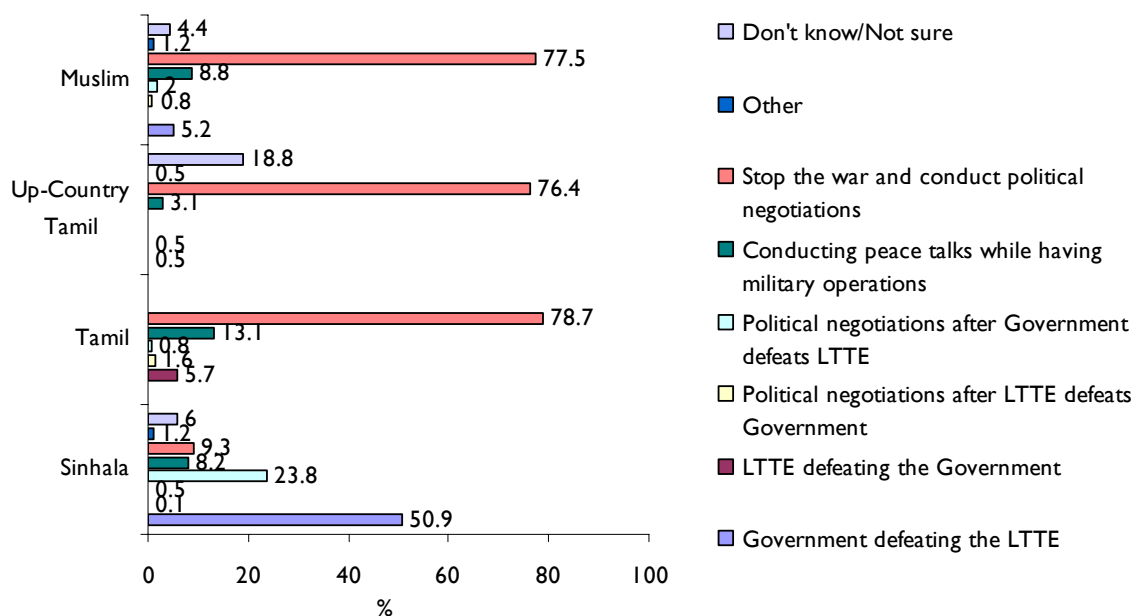




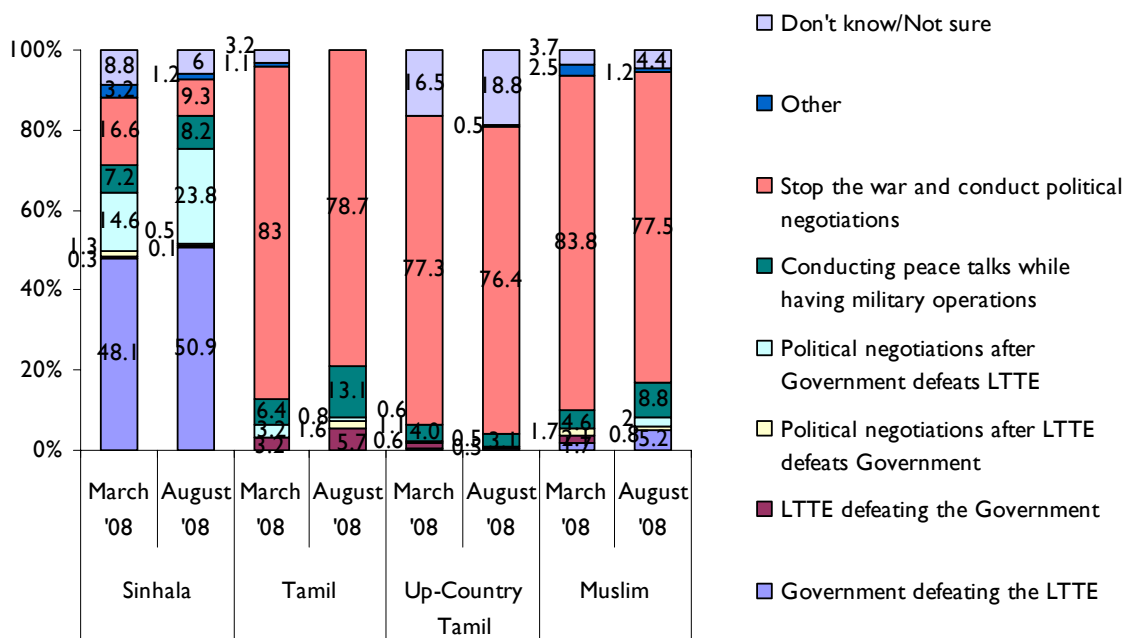
## Solution

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

### Ethnic Breakdown



### Changes of opinion from March '08 to August '08



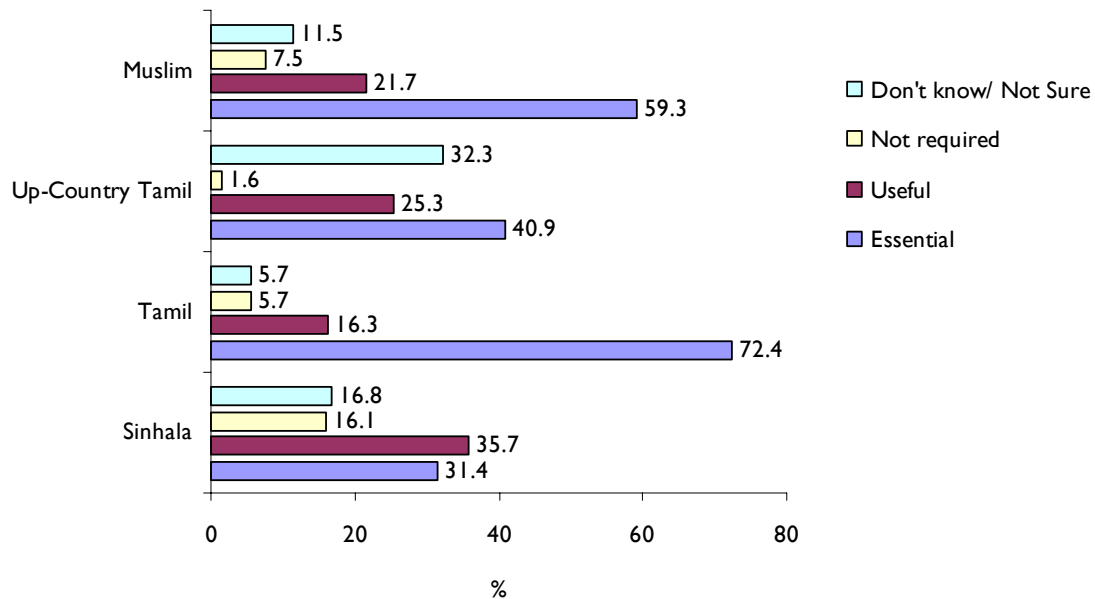




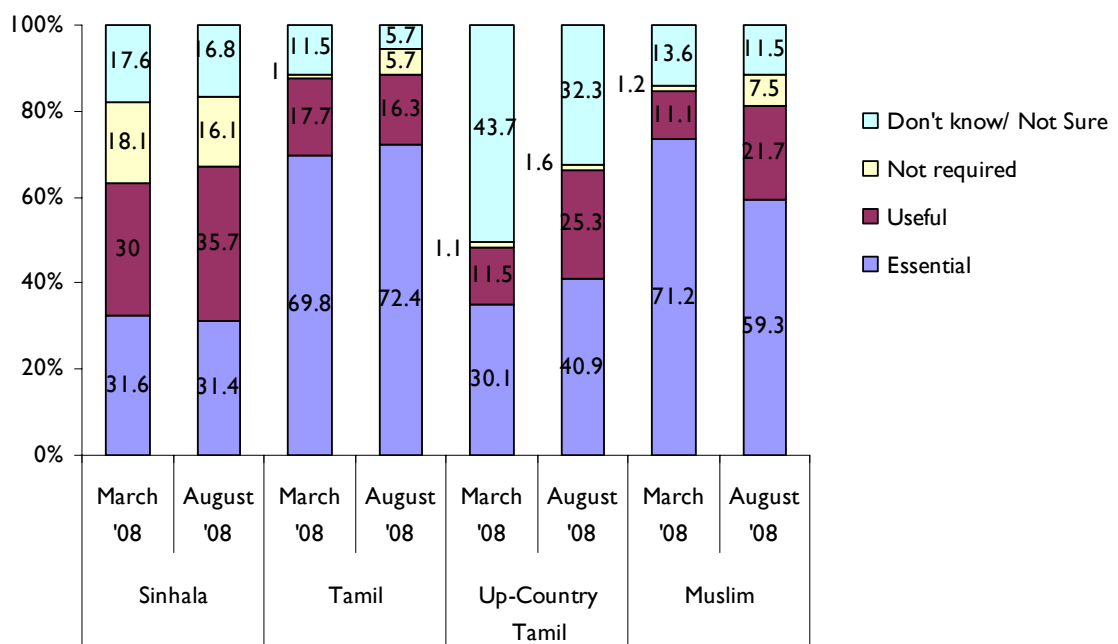
Some say that irrespective of how the war ends; a political solution is still necessary to resolve the present conflict. There are also some who disagree with this idea. What do you think?

I think that a political settlement is:

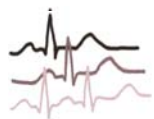
#### Ethnic Breakdown



#### Changes of Opinion from March '08 to August '08

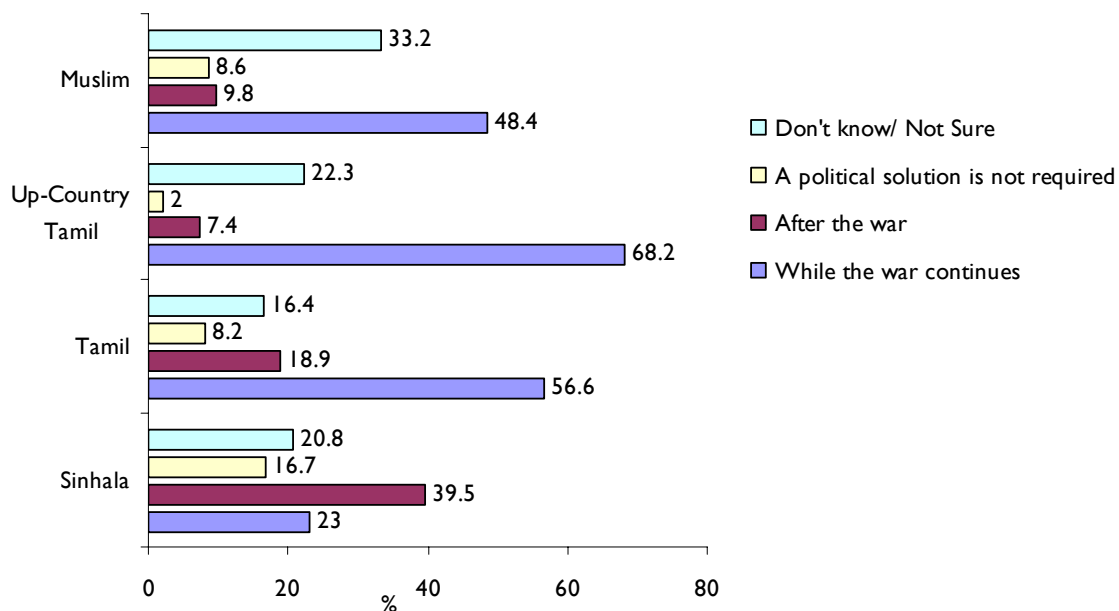




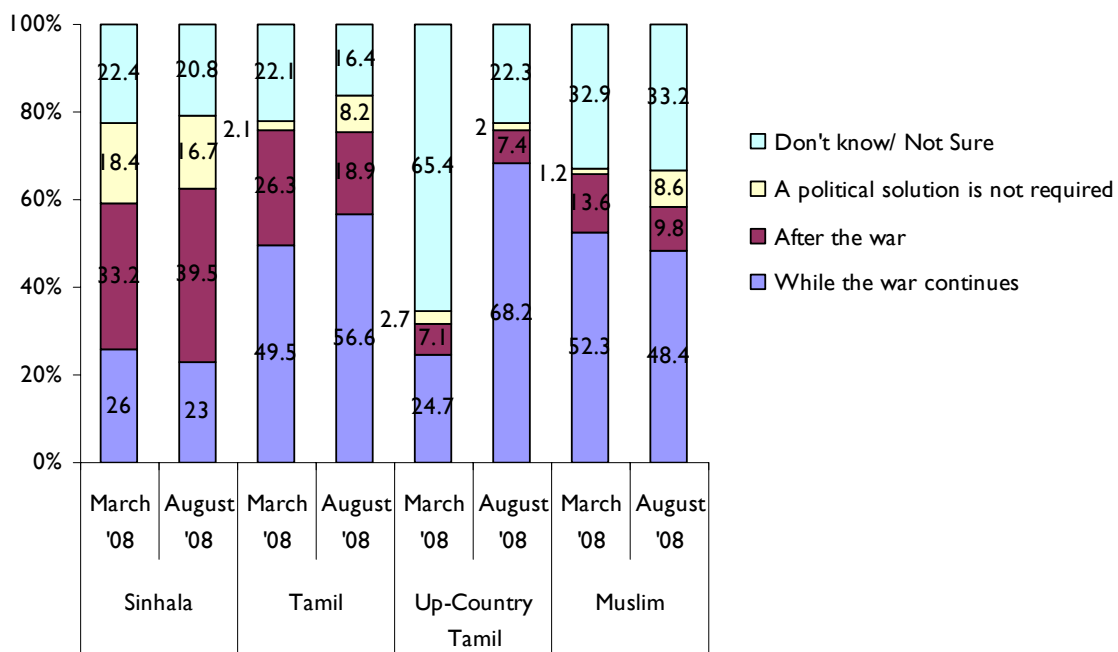


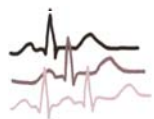
When do you think should a political solution be designed?

### Ethnic Breakdown



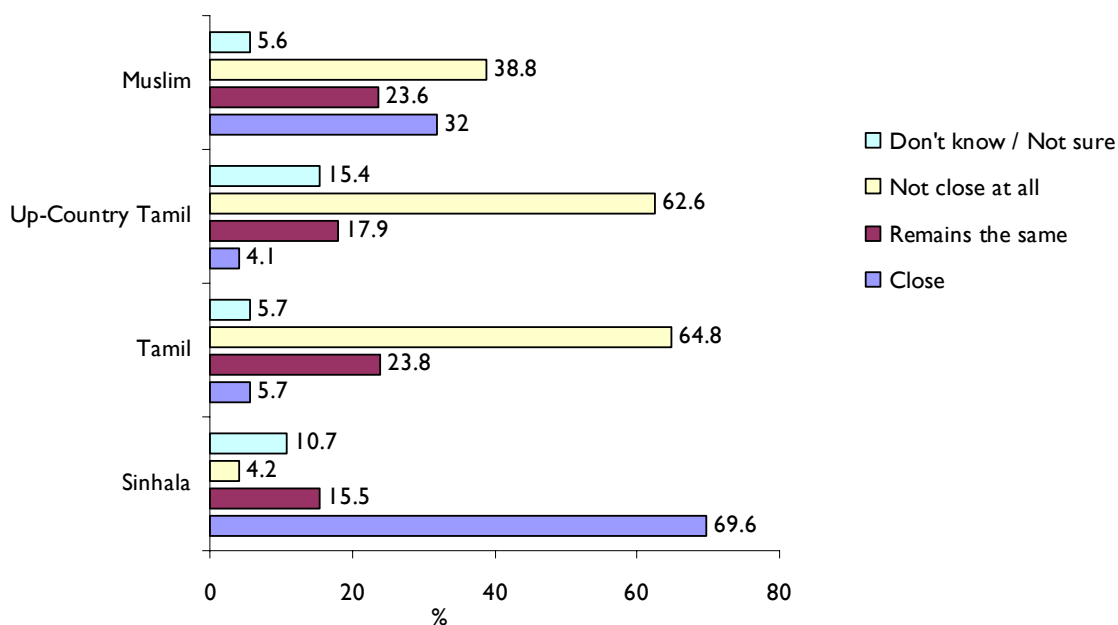
### Changes of Opinion from March '08 to August '08



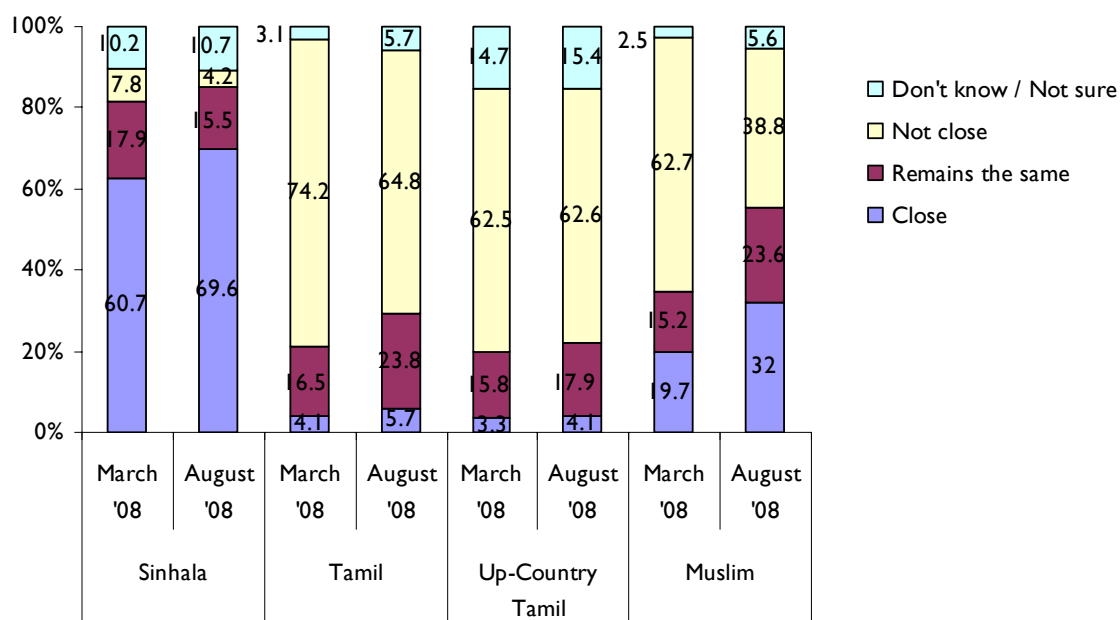


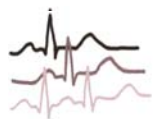
Compared to the situation a year ago, how close do you think the country is, at present, in approaching a permanent settlement to the ethnic conflict?

### Ethnic Breakdown



### Changes of Opinion from March '08 to August '08

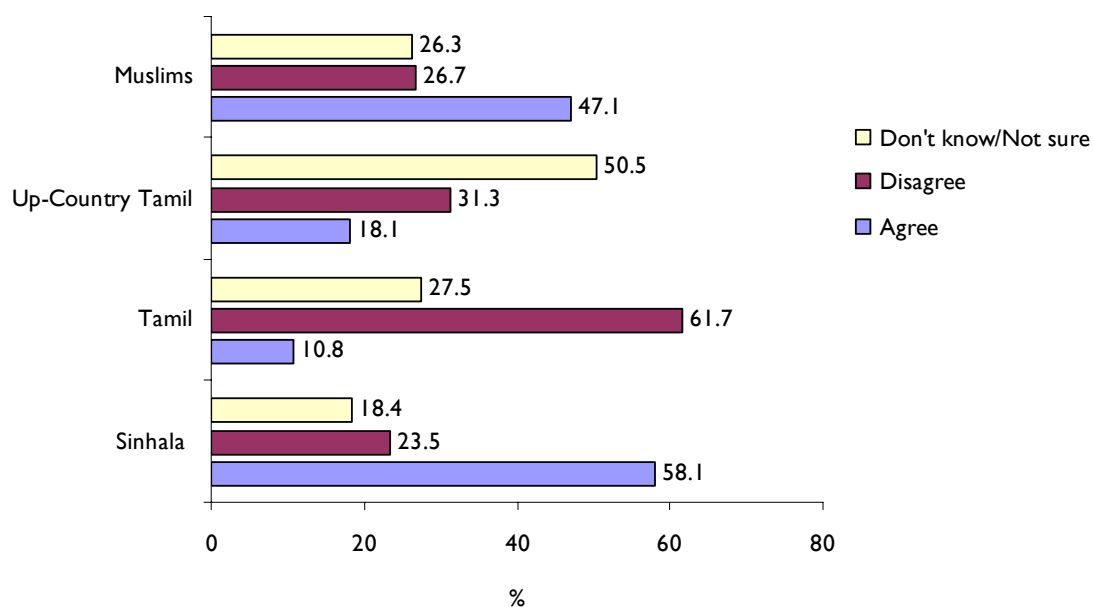




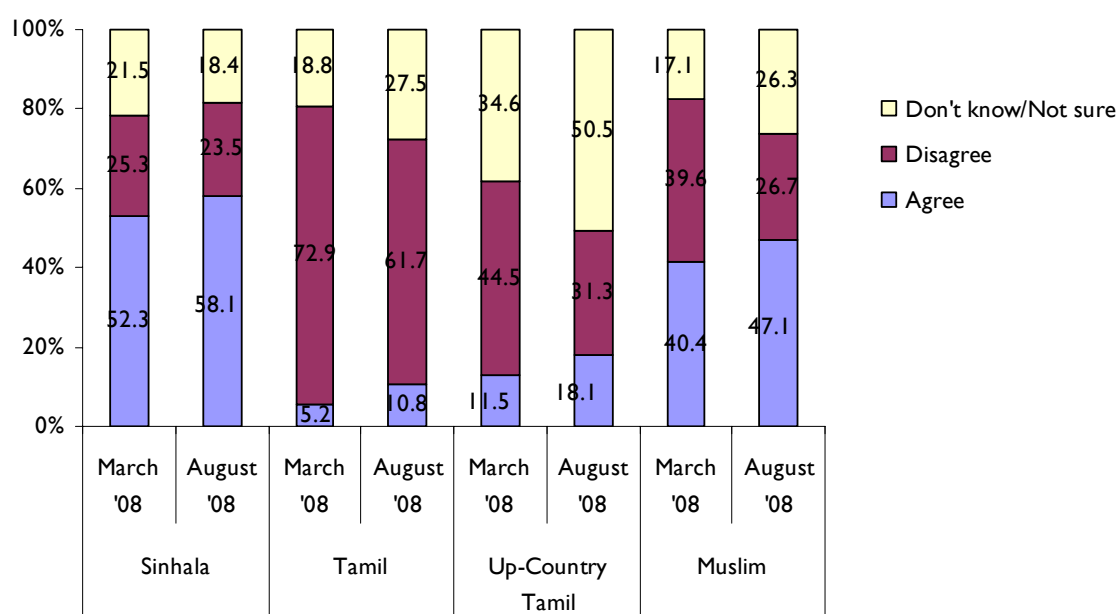
## Commitment

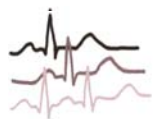
I think the Government is committed to find peace through talks.

**Ethnic Breakdown**



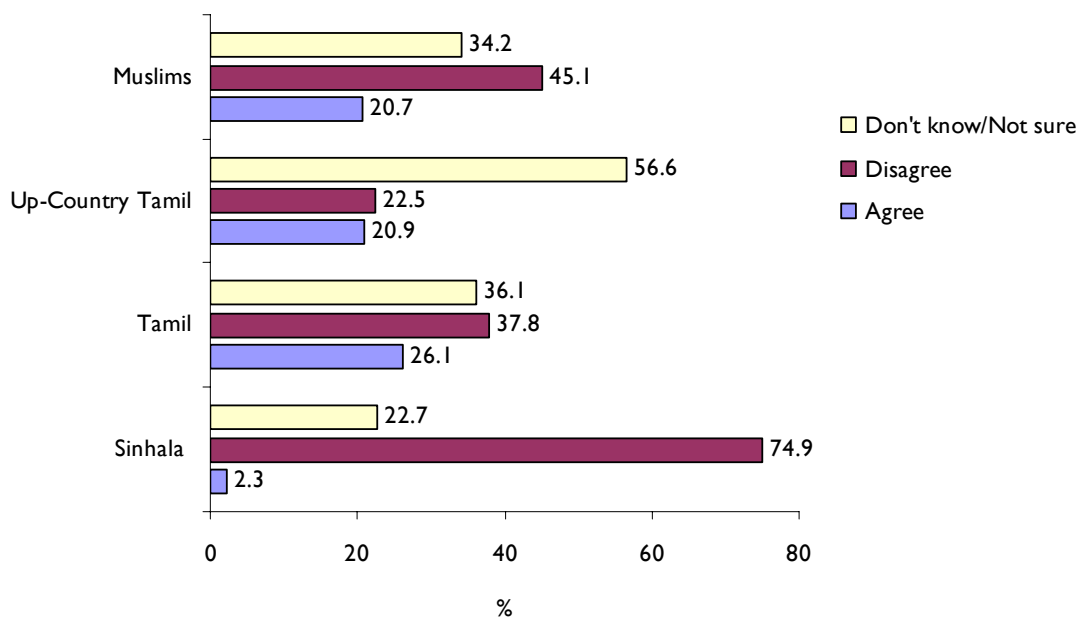
**Changes of opinion from March '08 to August '08**



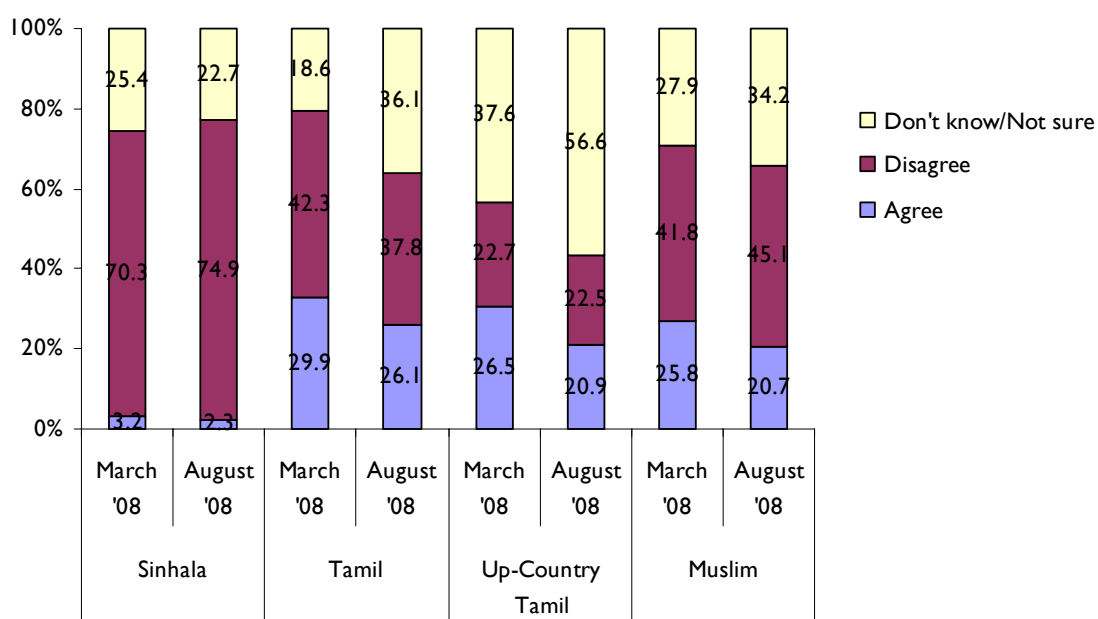


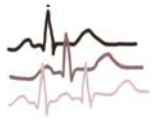
I think the LTTE is committed to find peace through talks.

### Ethnic Breakdown

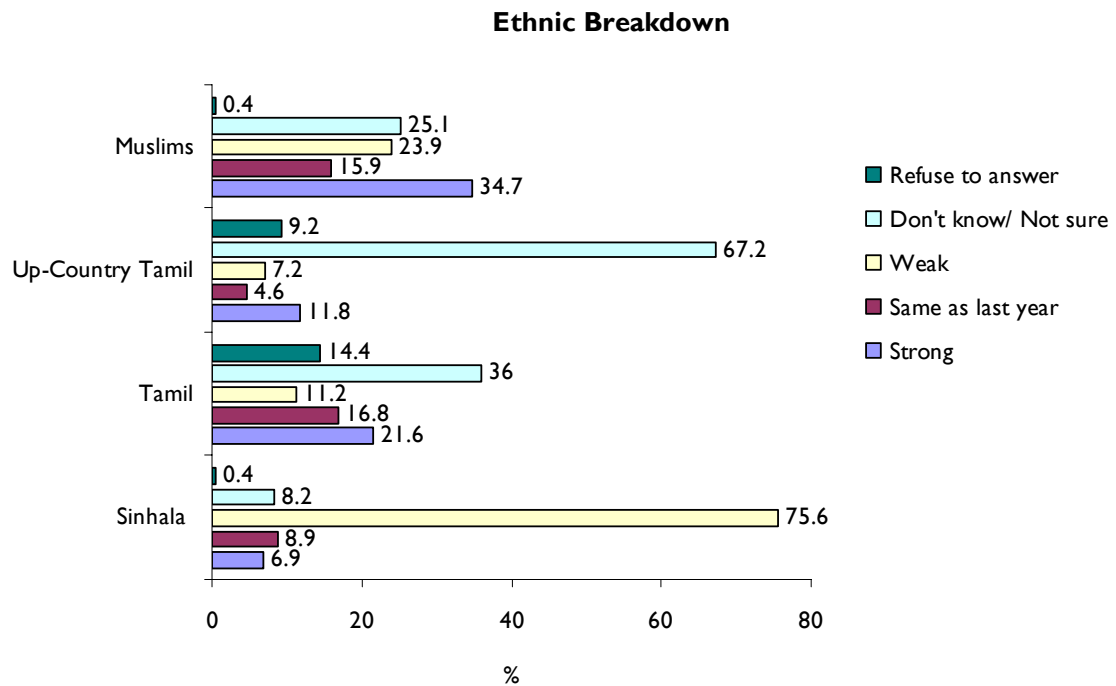


### Changes of opinion from March '08 to August '08





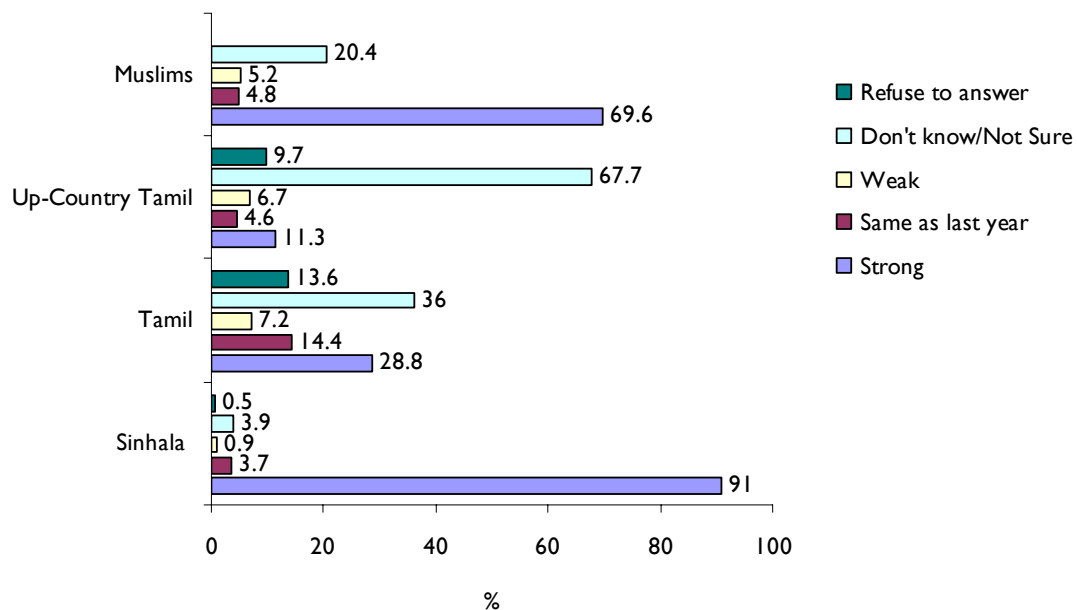
Some people say that compared to a year ago the LTTE is stronger today in terms of their military capacity. However, some others say the LTTE is weaker today in terms of their military capacity. What is your opinion on LTTE's current military capacity?

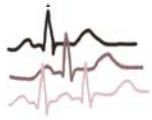




Some people say that compared to a year ago the security forces are stronger today in terms of their military capacity. However, some others say the security forces are weaker today in terms of their military capacity. What is your assessment of the government's current military capacity?

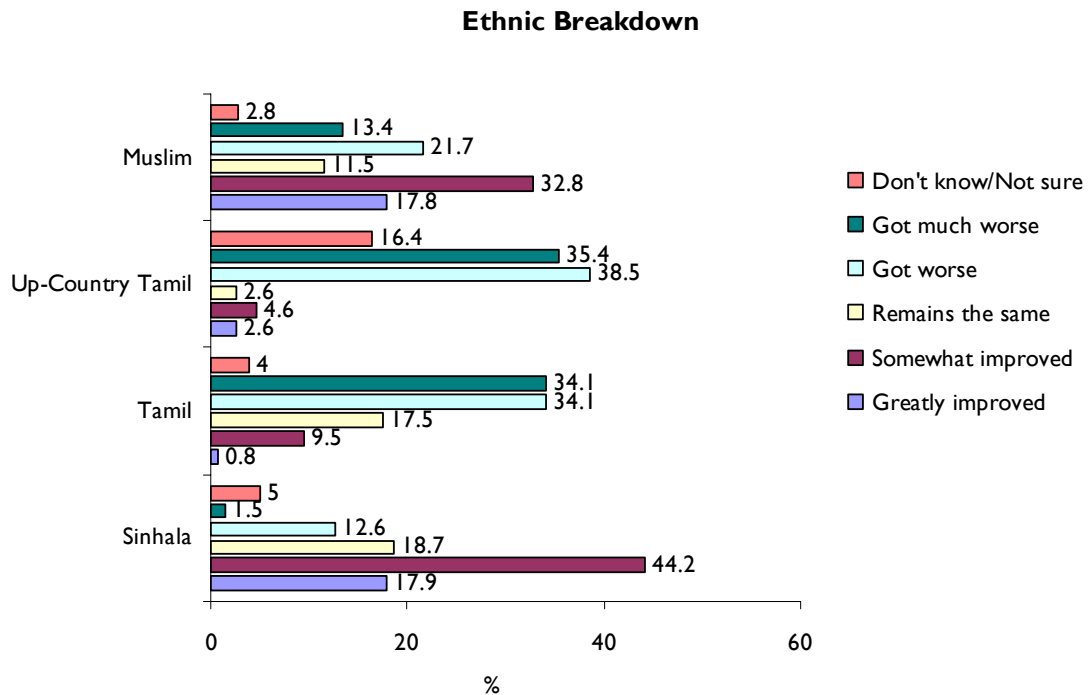
#### Ethnic Breakdown





## Current Security Condition

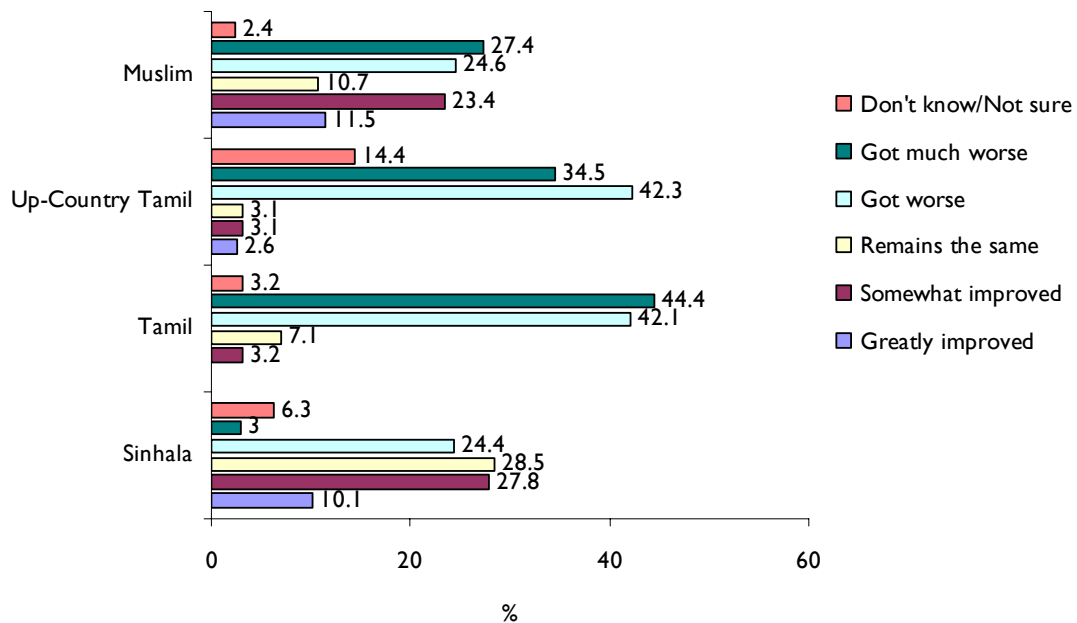
"Some people perceive that the national security has improved in the last year while others think it has got worse." Compared to the situation a year ago, do you think the national security (country's security) has improved or worsened?





"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

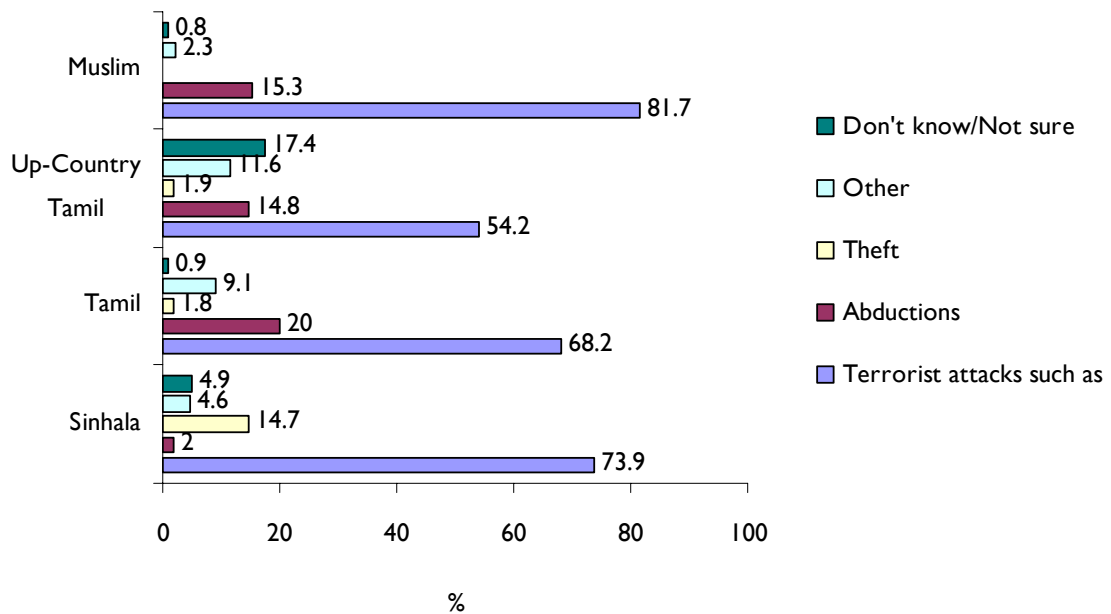


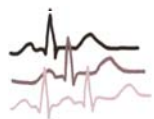




If you think that your personal security got worse, in which way you think your personal security is being threatened now?

**Ethnic Breakdown**

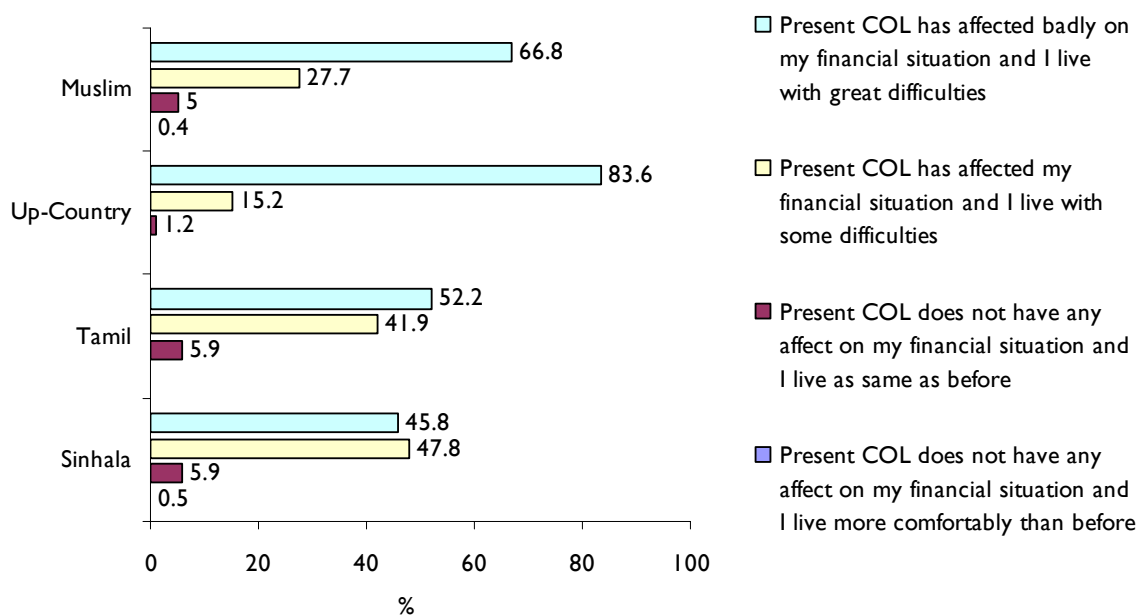




## Cost of Living

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

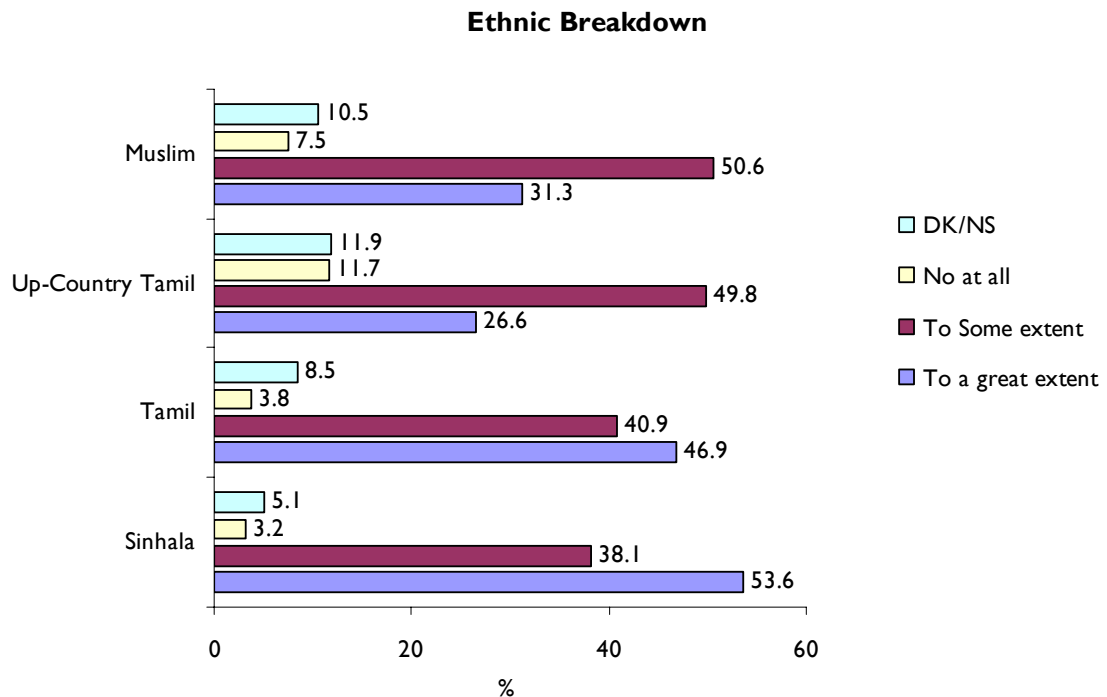
### Ethnic Breakdown



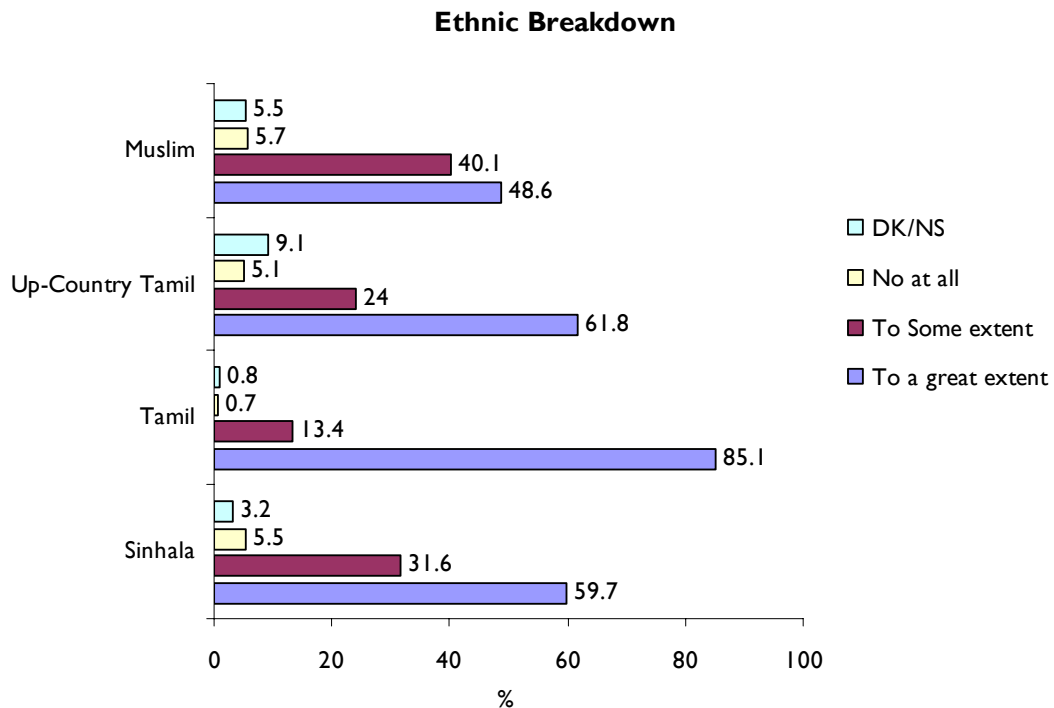


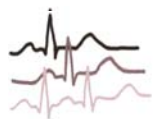
People give various reasons for the present cost of living. In your opinion to what extent has the following contributed to the increase cost of living?

Increase oil prices in the world market



On going war

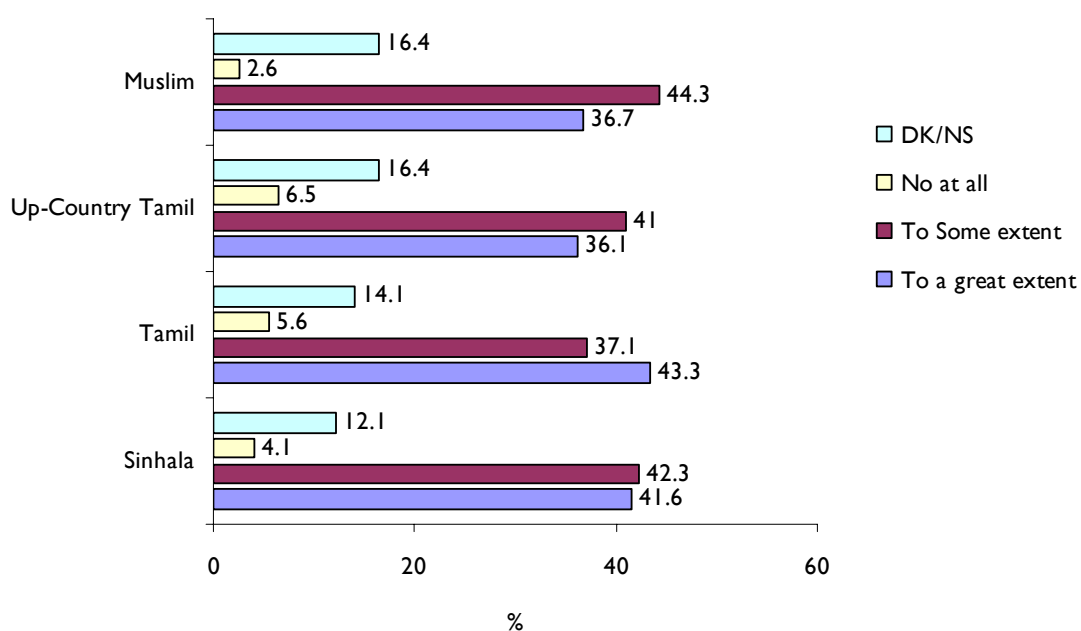




People give various reasons for the present cost of living. In your opinion to what extent has the following contributed to the increase cost of living?

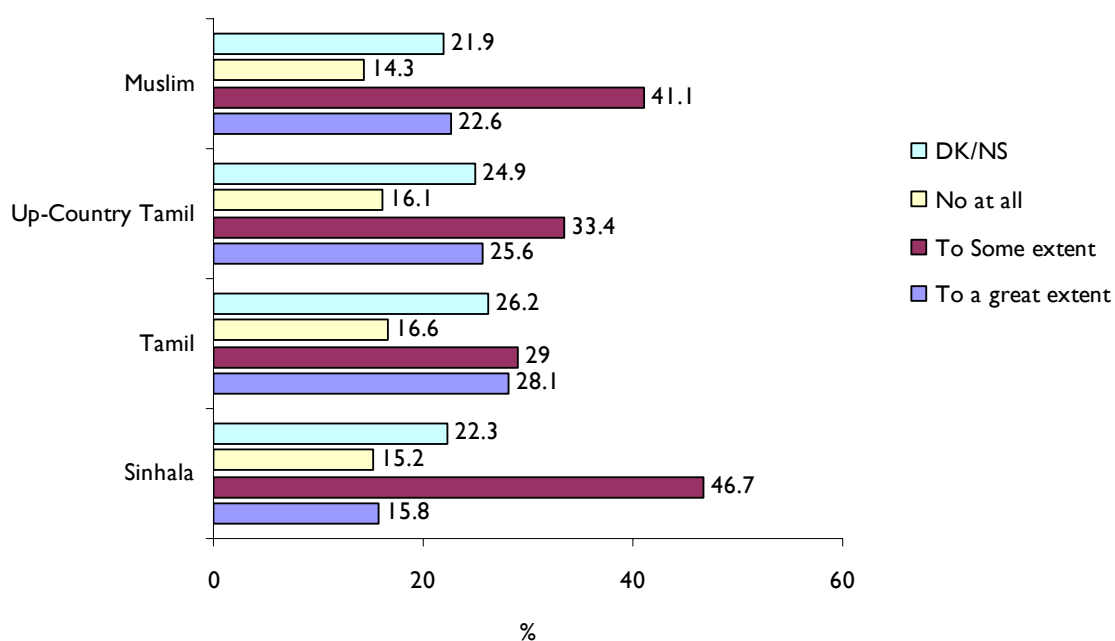
High cost of maintaining a large cabinet

#### Ethnic Breakdown



Bad economic policies of previous regimes

#### Ethnic Breakdown



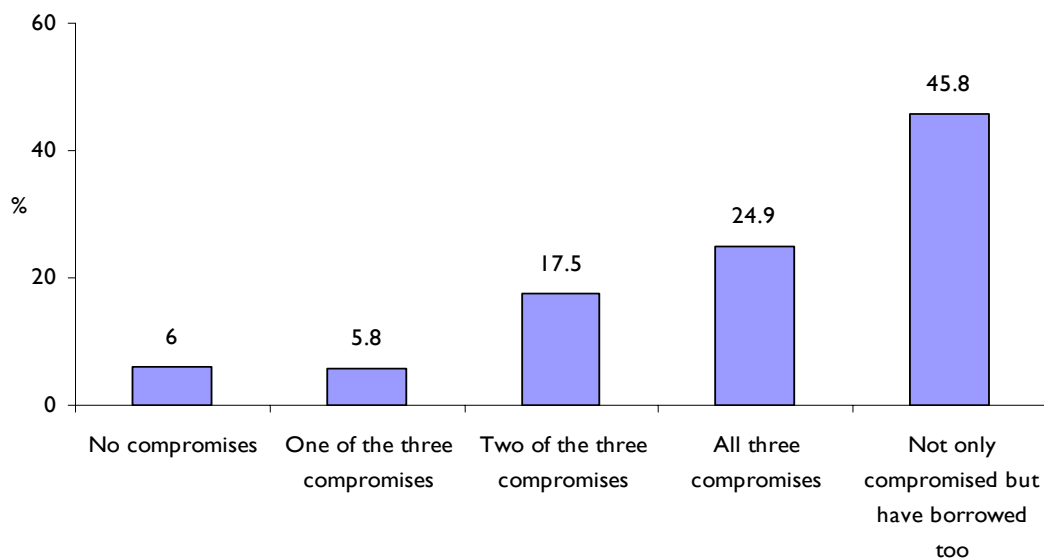


Following Index was made based on the answers given to four statements.

- 1) I have limited the extra activities/leisure activities (parties/trips) in order to meet the present cost of living.
- 2) I have cut down the spending on non essential items like jewellery, furniture in order to meet the present cost of living.
- 3) I have limited the spending on education & health as well as the spending on food in order to meet the present cost of living.
- 4) I have sold or pawn some of my belongings or have taken loans from others to meet the present cost of living.

These statements indicate the compromises that people are making in order to meet the present cost of living.

#### National Breakdown

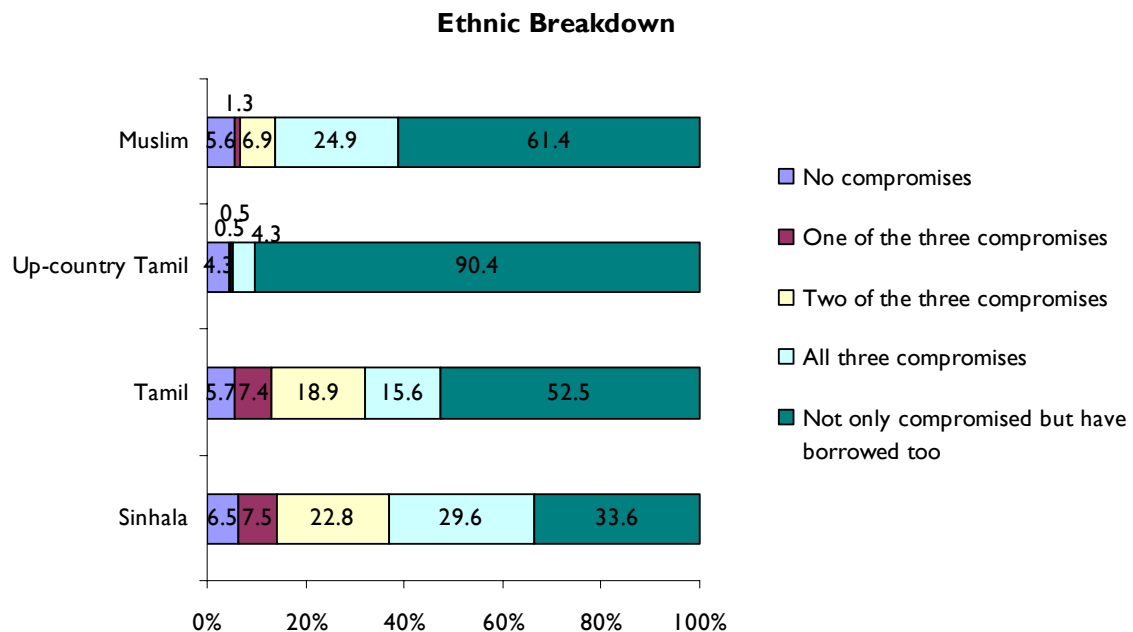




Following Index was made based on the answers given to four statements.

- 1) I have limited the extra activities/leisure activities (parties/trips) in order to meet the present cost of living.
- 2) I have cut down the spending on non essential items like jewellery, furniture in order to meet the present cost of living.
- 3) I have limited the spending on education & health as well as the spending on food in order to meet the present cost of living.
- 4) I have sold or pawn some of my belongings or have taken loans from others to meet the present cost of living.

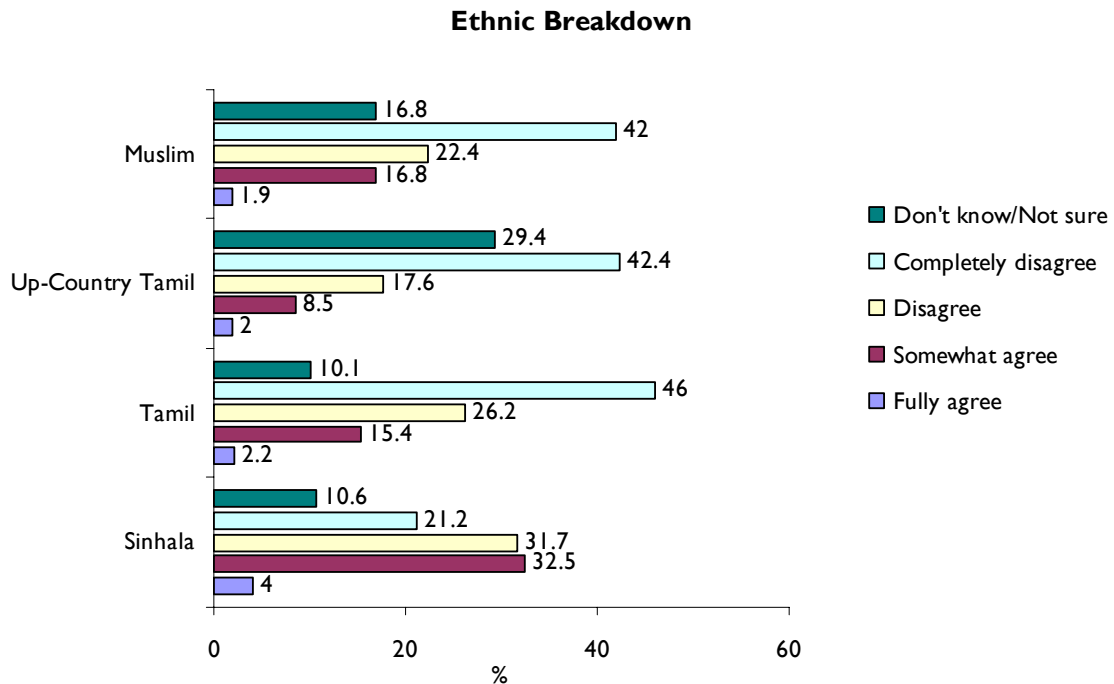
These statements indicate the compromises that people are making in order to meet the present cost of living.





Now I am going read some statements regarding the present cost of living. Please let me know to what extent you agree on each of them.

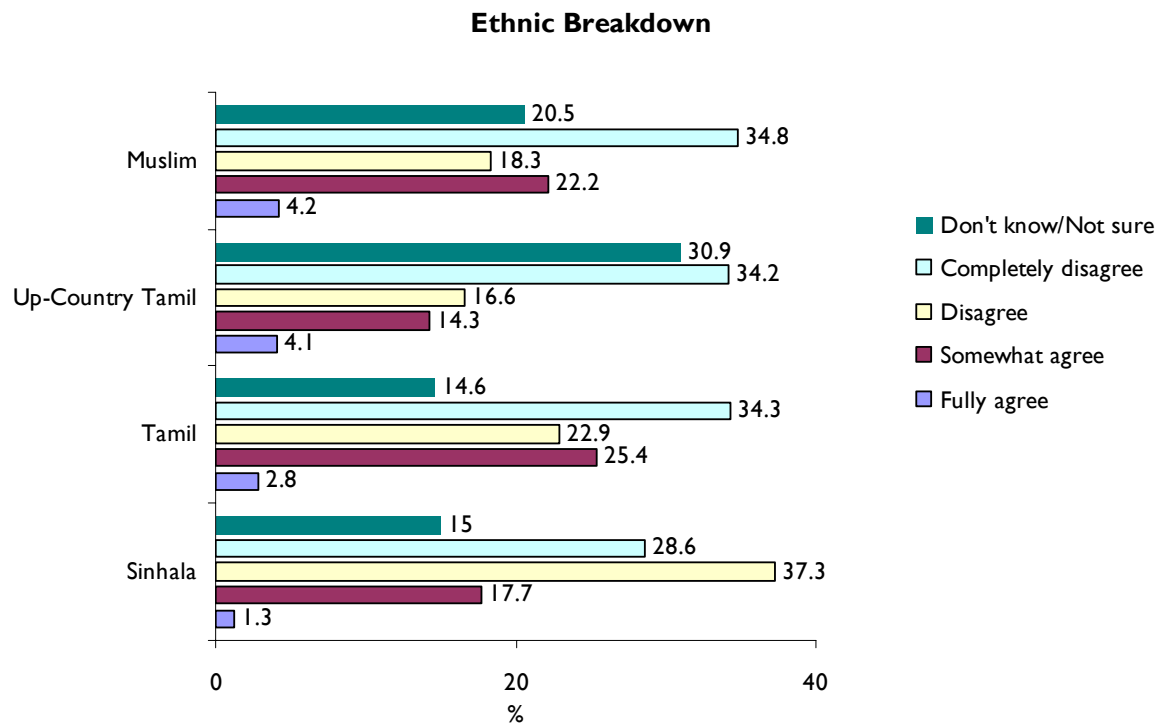
I think ministers and Government MPs are doing their best to reduce the cost of living in the country





Now I am going read some statements regarding the present cost of living. Please let me know to what extent you agree on each of them.

I think opposition MPs are doing their best to reduce the cost of living



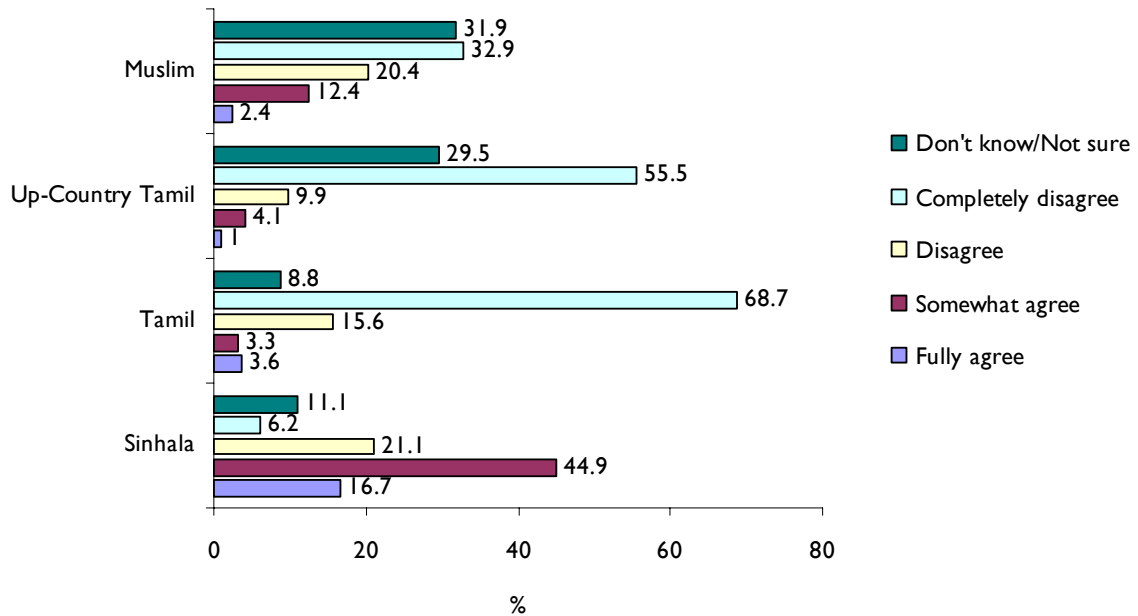




Now I am going read some statements regarding the present cost of living. Please let me know to what extent you agree on each of them.

I think people should not complain about the rising cost of living as the government is in a war with the LTTE

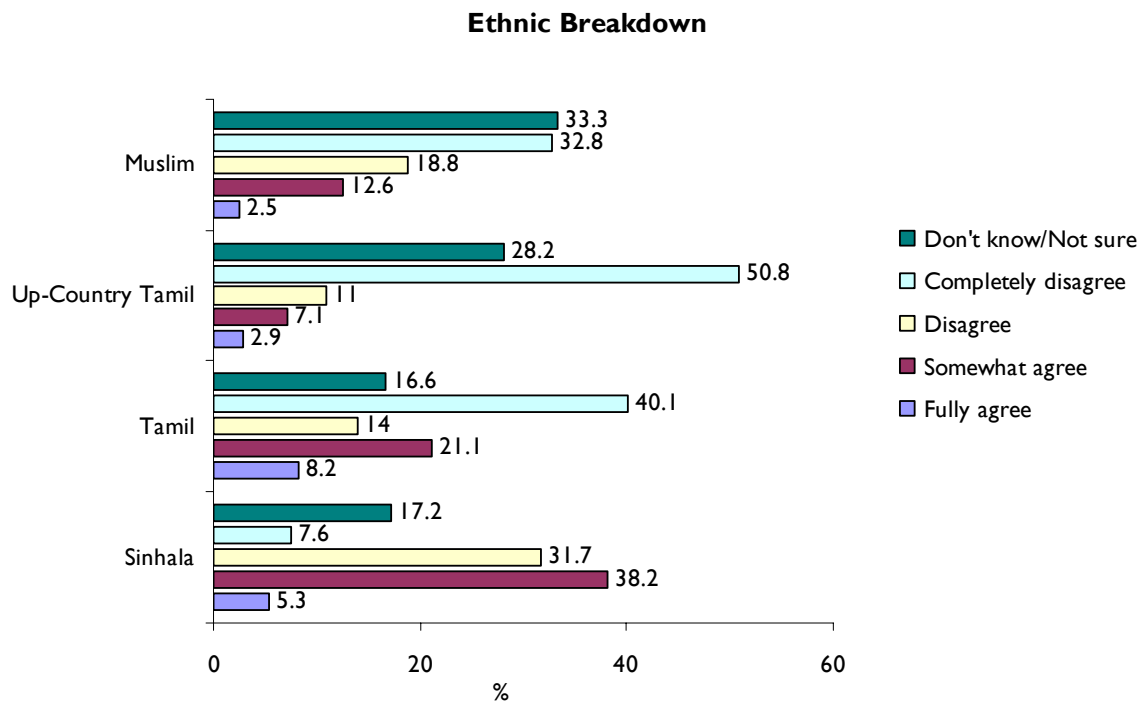
#### Ethnic Breakdown





Now I am going read some statements regarding the present cost of living. Please let me know to what extent you agree on each of them.

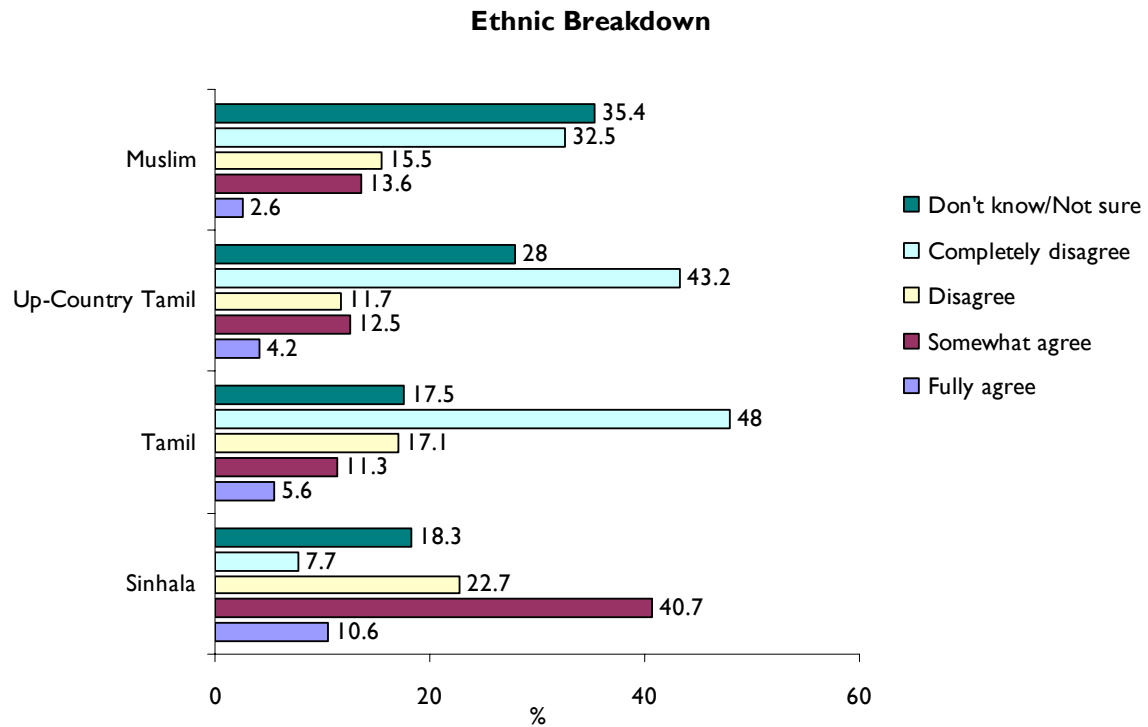
I think people should not complain about the rising cost of living as the oil prices in the world market are increasing





Now I am going read some statements regarding the present cost of living. Please let me know to what extent you agree on each of them.

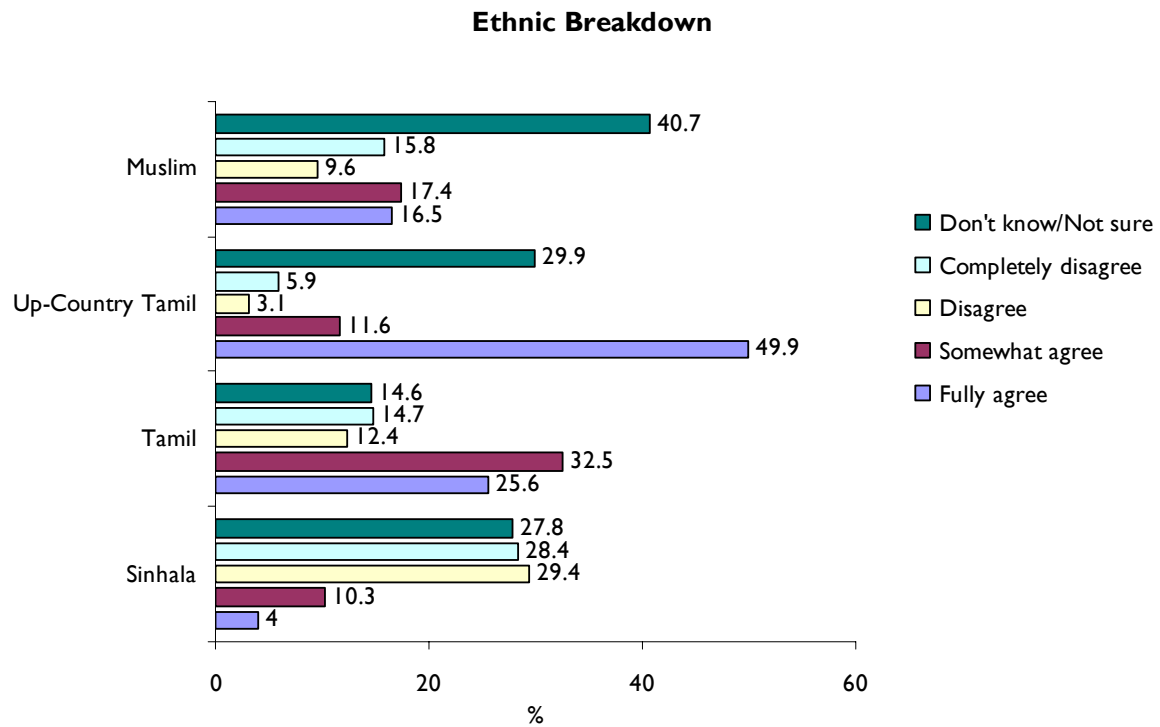
Trade Unions should not demand increase of salaries as the government is in a war with the LTTE





Now I am going read some statements regarding the present cost of living. Please let me know to what extent you agree on each of them.

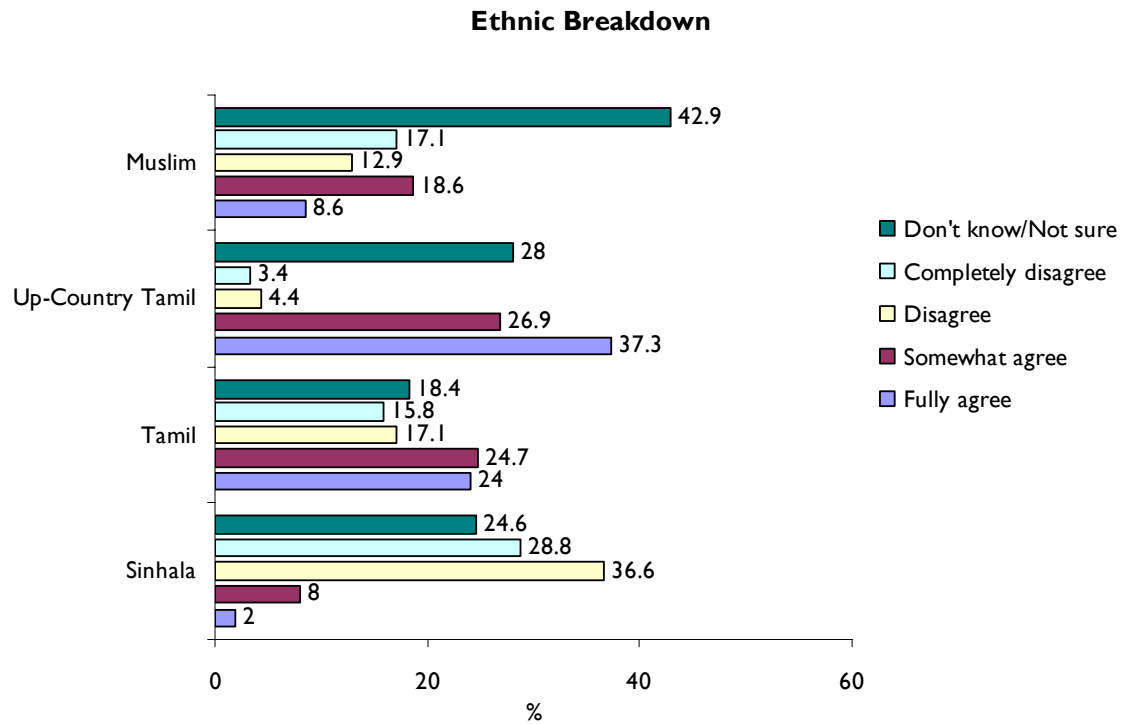
I will vote against this government in the next election due to the present cost of living

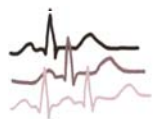




Now I am going read some statements regarding the present cost of living. Please let me know to what extent you agree on each of them.

I will join with anyone to protest against the present regime as they are unable to control the rising cost of living



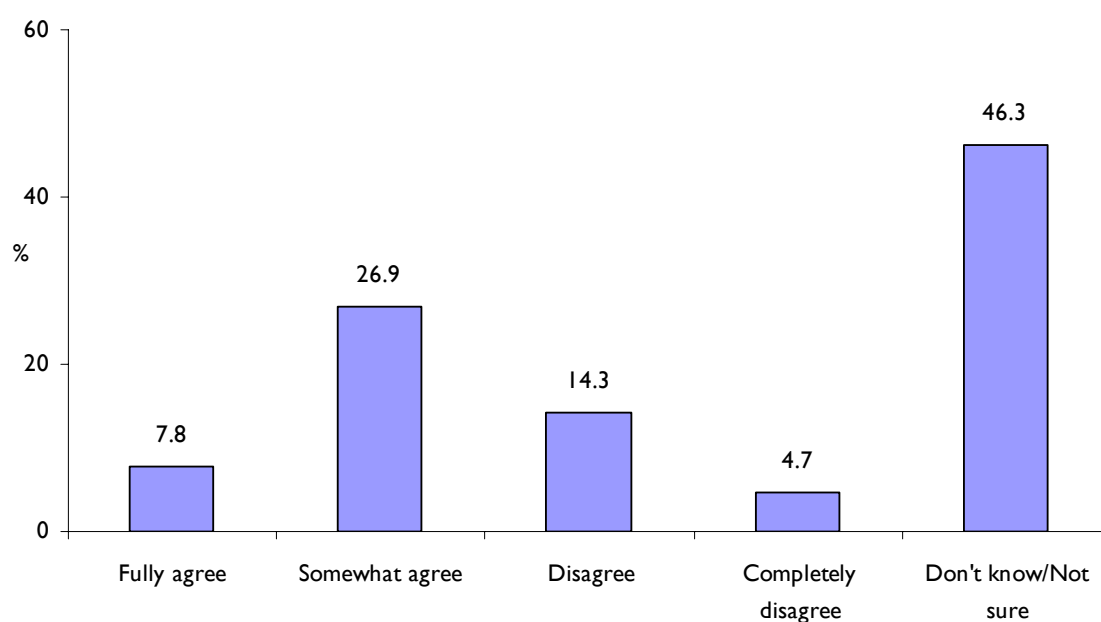


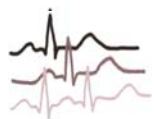
## JVP Split

A section of the JVP broke away from their main party setting the latest case of fictionalization of political parties. Some people believe that this is an indication of a strong government and a weak opposition; others describe this as a sign of a weakened democracy in the country. To what degree you agree or disagree with these sentiments?

This indicates that the Government is much stronger and the opposition is weaker

### National Breakdown

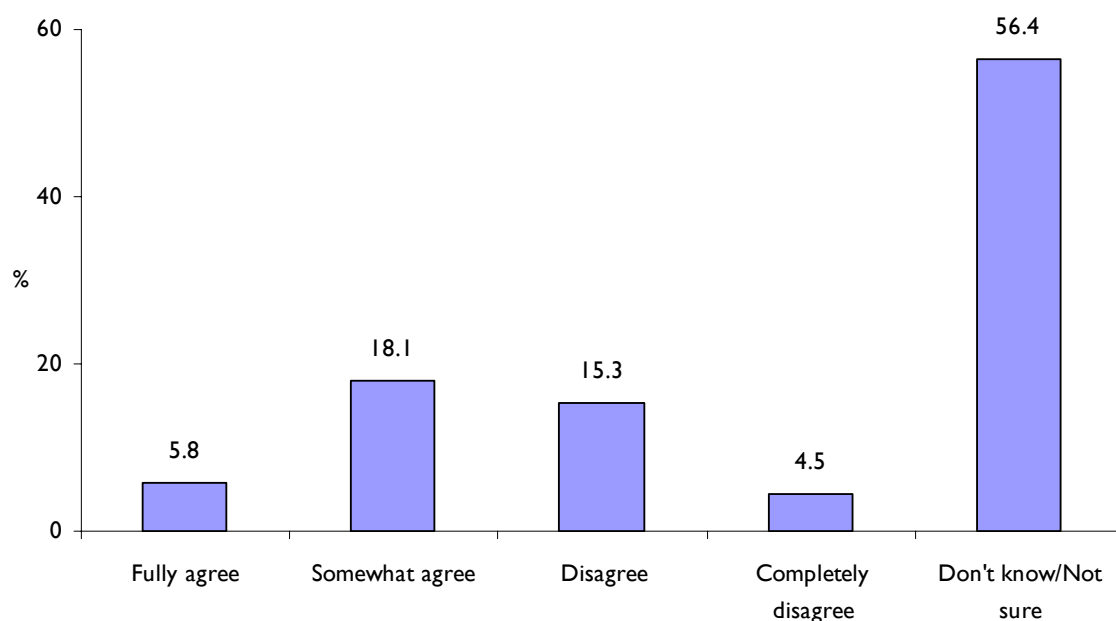


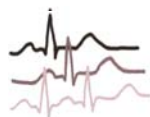


A section of the JVP broke away from their main party setting the latest case of fictionalization of political parties. Some people believe that this is an indication of a strong government and a weak opposition; others describe this as a sign of a weakened democracy in the country. To what degree you agree or disagree with these sentiments?

This indicates the signs of a weakened democracy

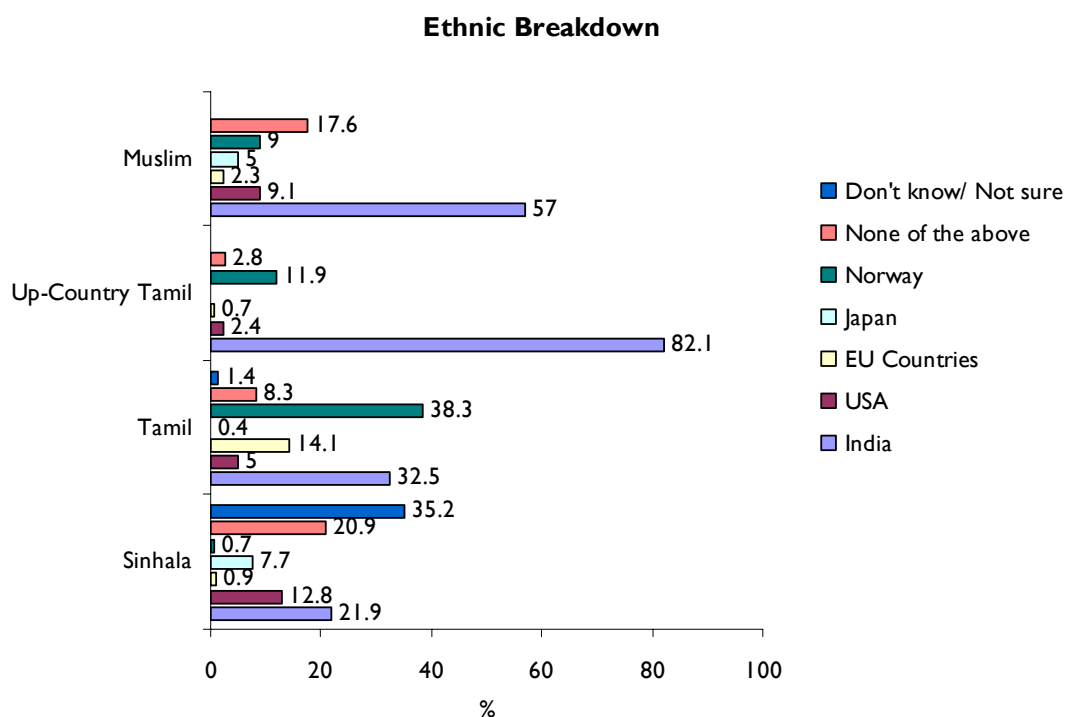
#### National Breakdown





## India and Other Countries

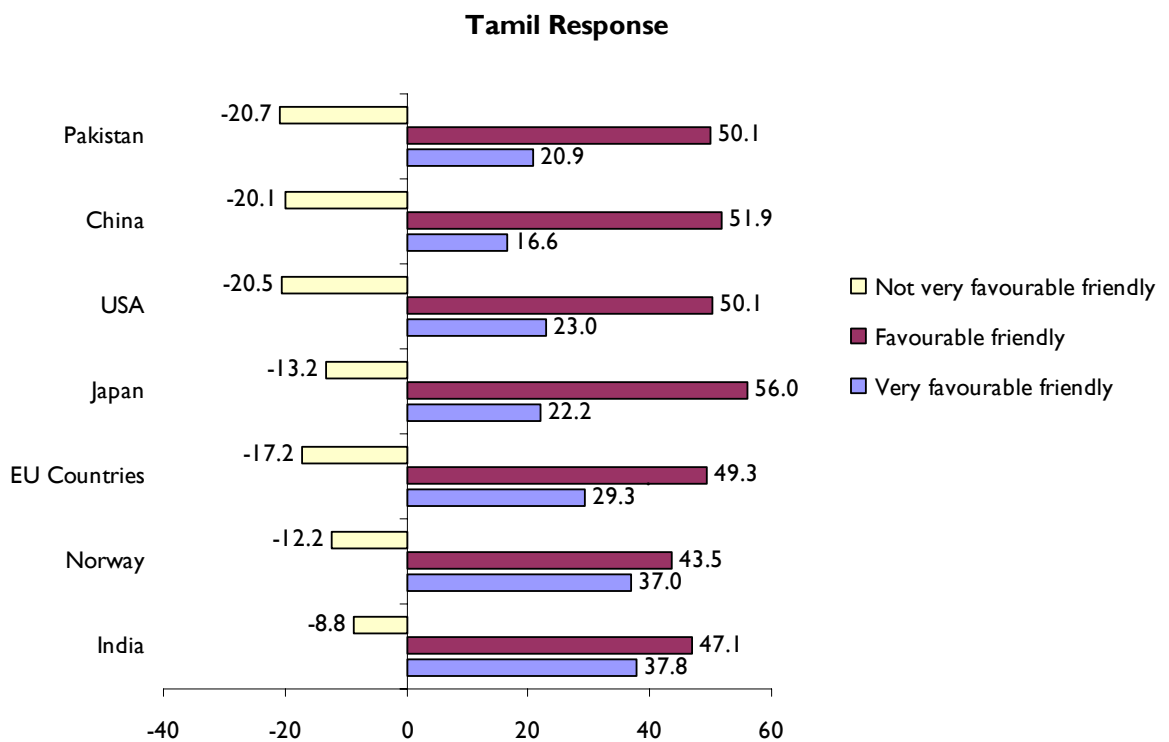
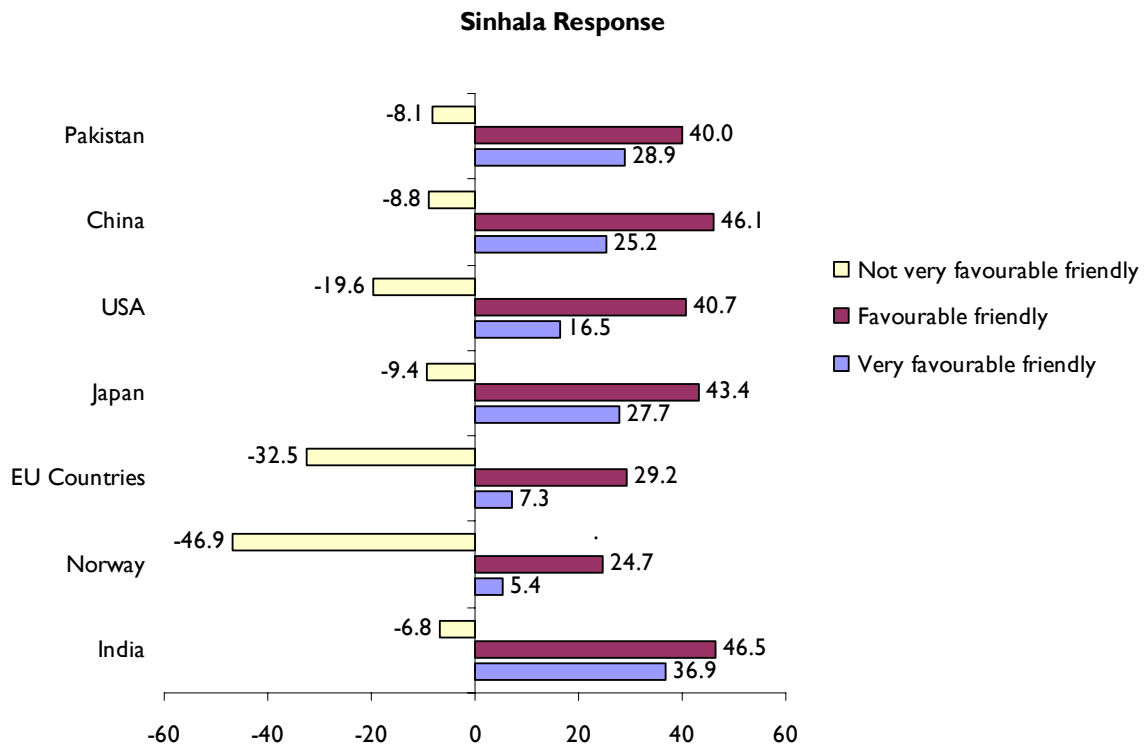
If there going to be a foreign mediated peace initiative in the near future, which would be the best country to mediate the peace discussions with parties to the conflict?







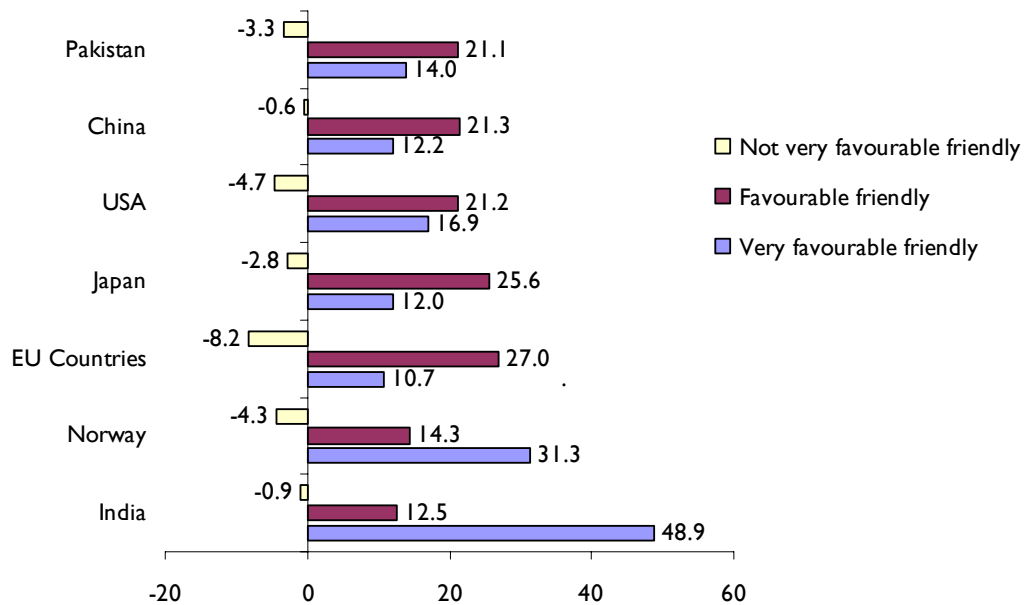
To what extent you think the government of the following countries is favorable/friendly to Sri Lanka.



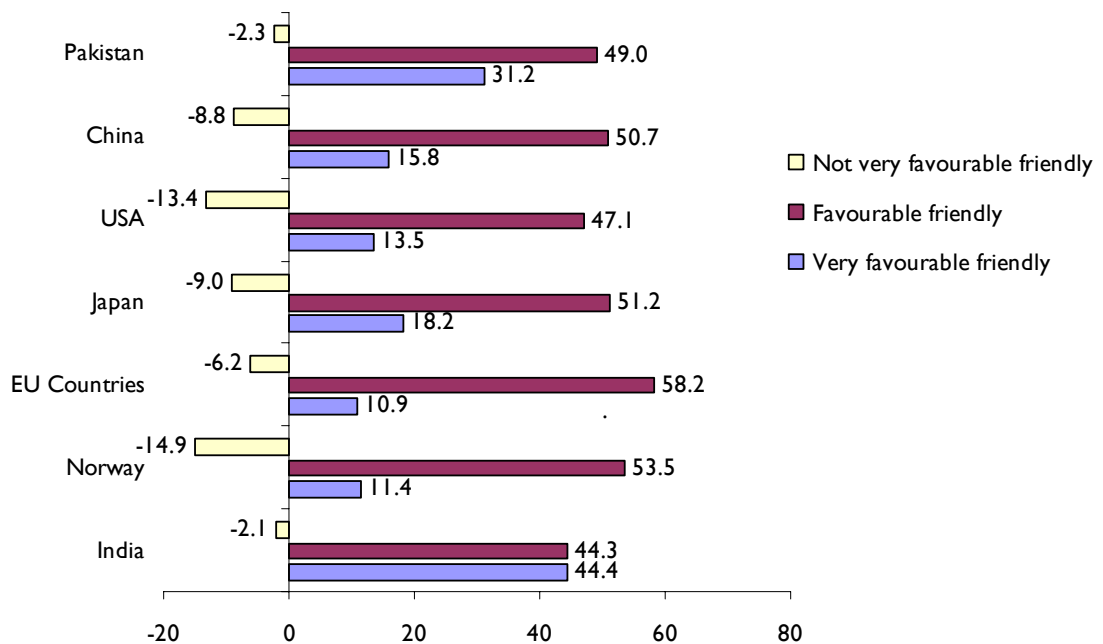


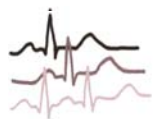
To what extent you think the government of the following countries is favorable/friendly to Sri Lanka.

### Up-Country Tamil Response



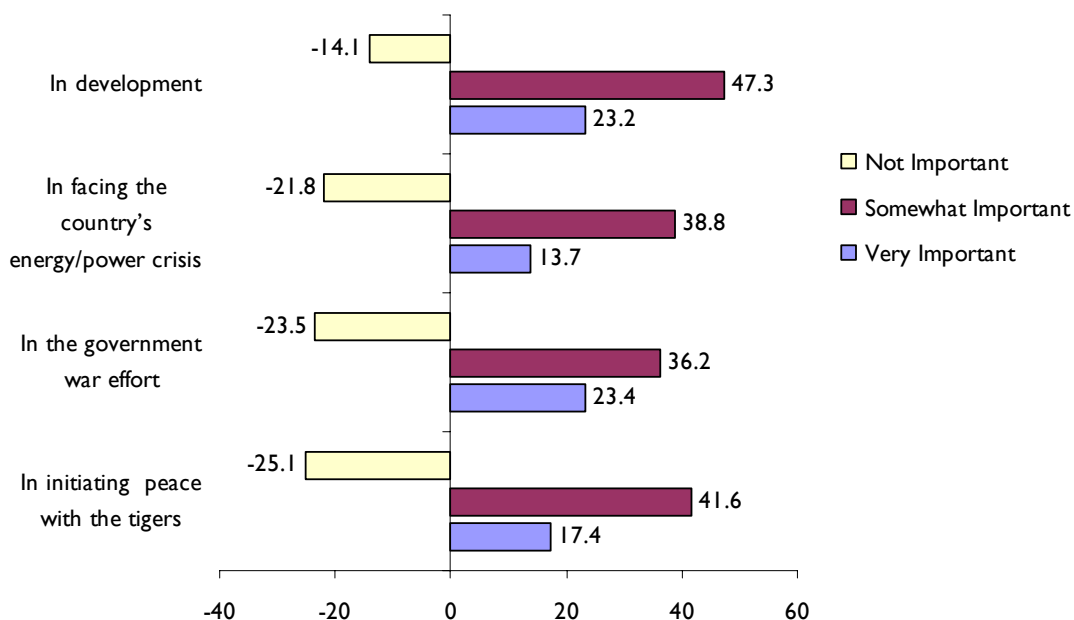
### Muslim Response



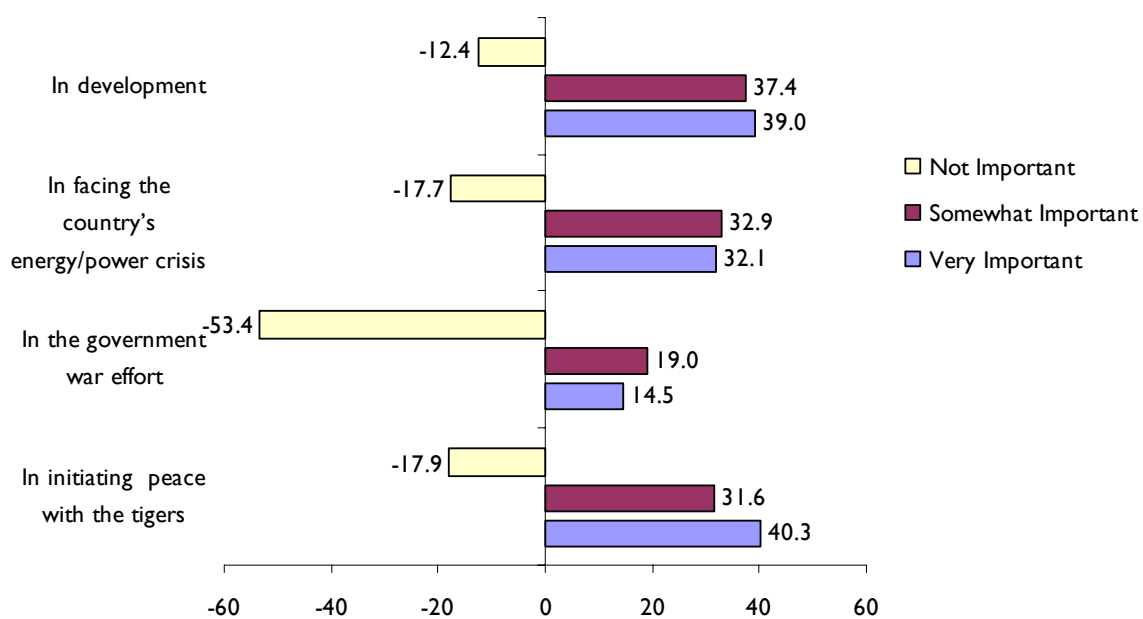


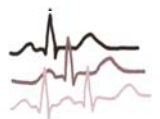
How important is India's involvement in the followings?

**Sinhala Response**



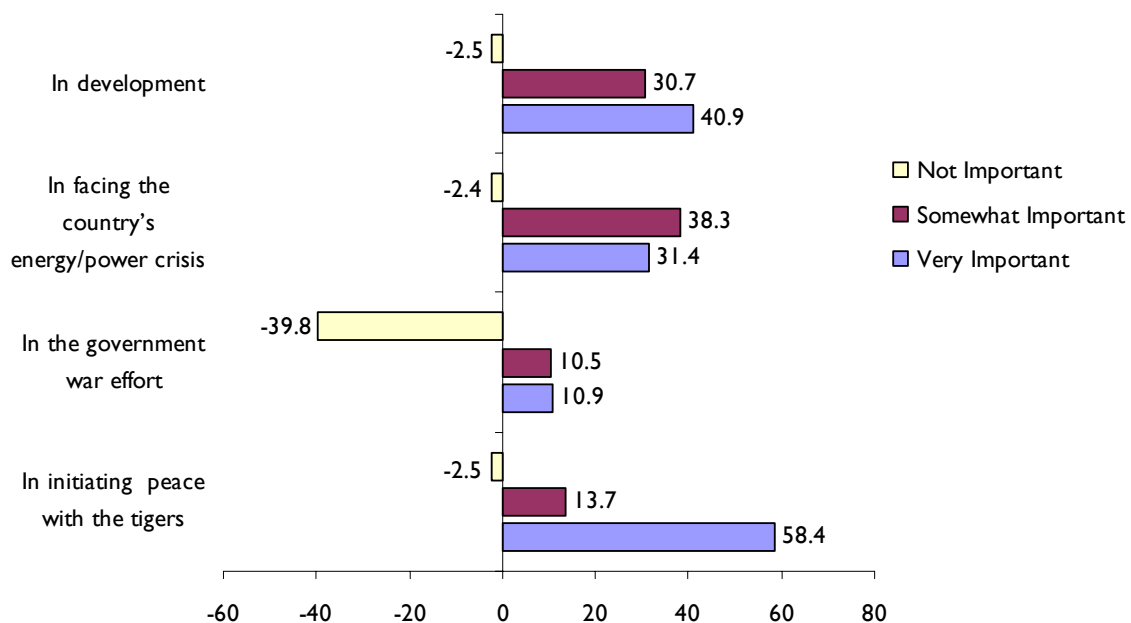
**Tamil Response**



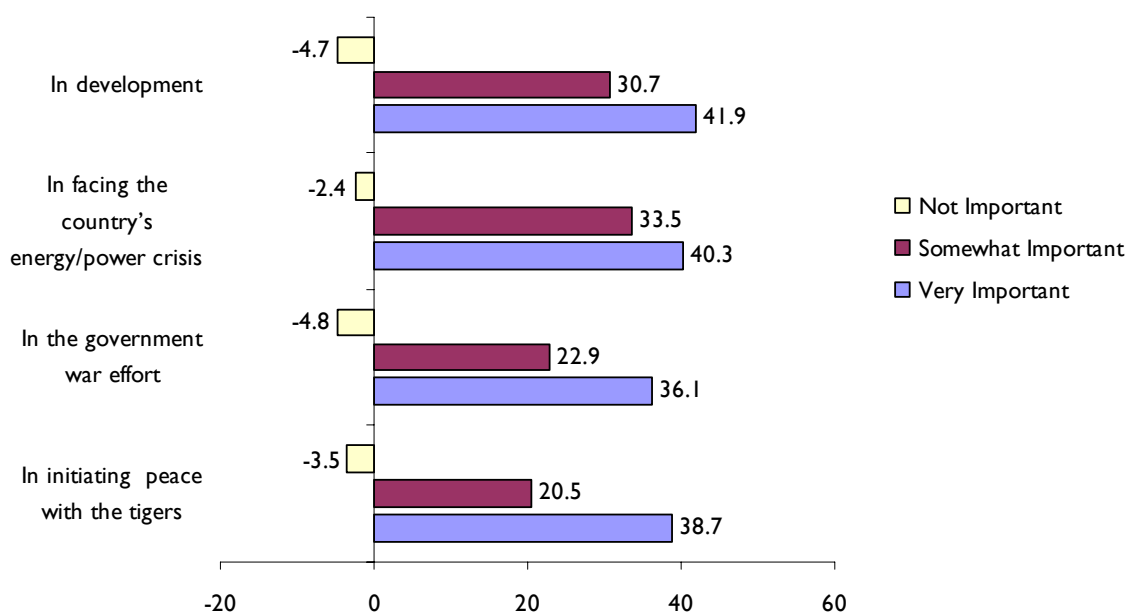


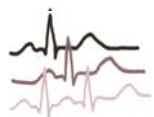
How important is India's involvement in the followings?

### Up-Country Tamil Response



### Muslim Response

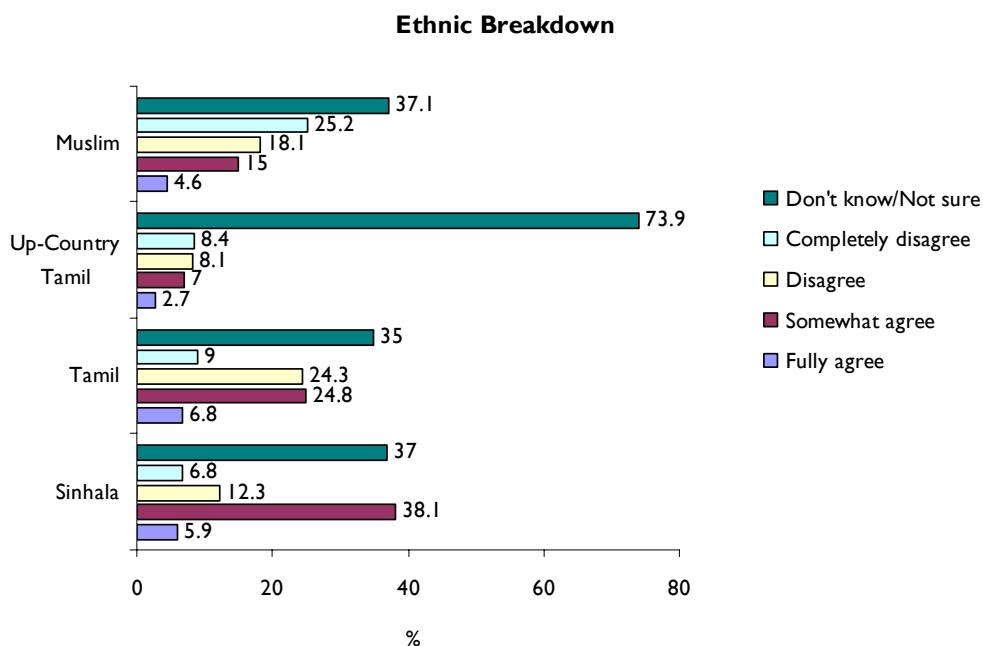




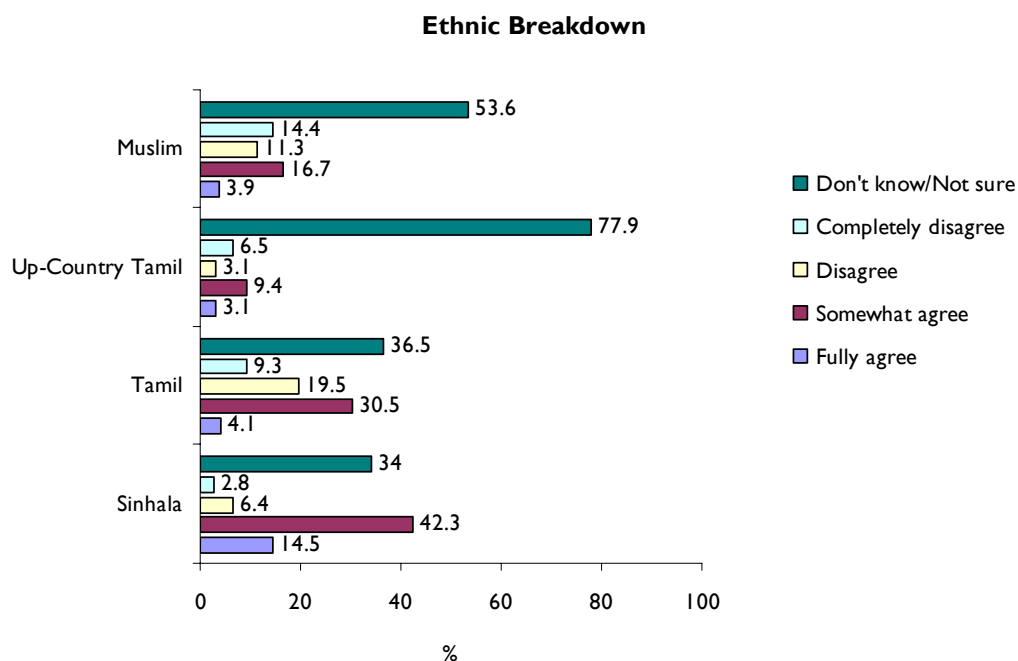
## Eastern Province Elections

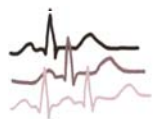
Please state your opinion on the following statement with regard to the recently held provincial council election in the eastern province and the development that took place after the election.

“I think the Eastern province council election was free and fair”



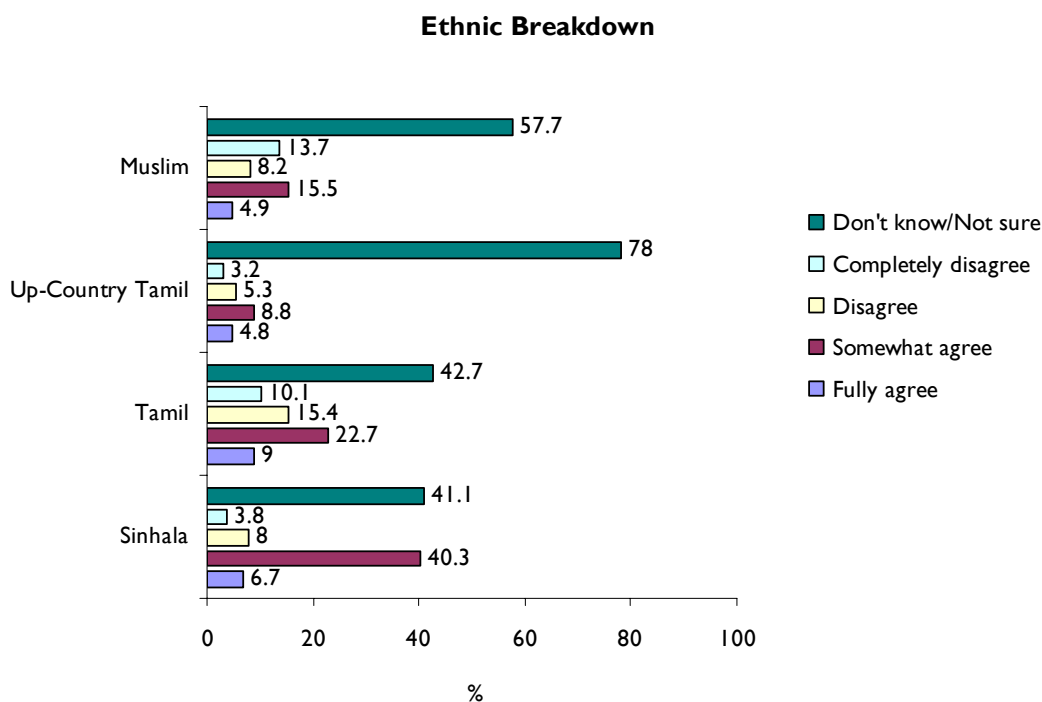
“I think the Eastern province council election is important turning point in improving democracy in the east”



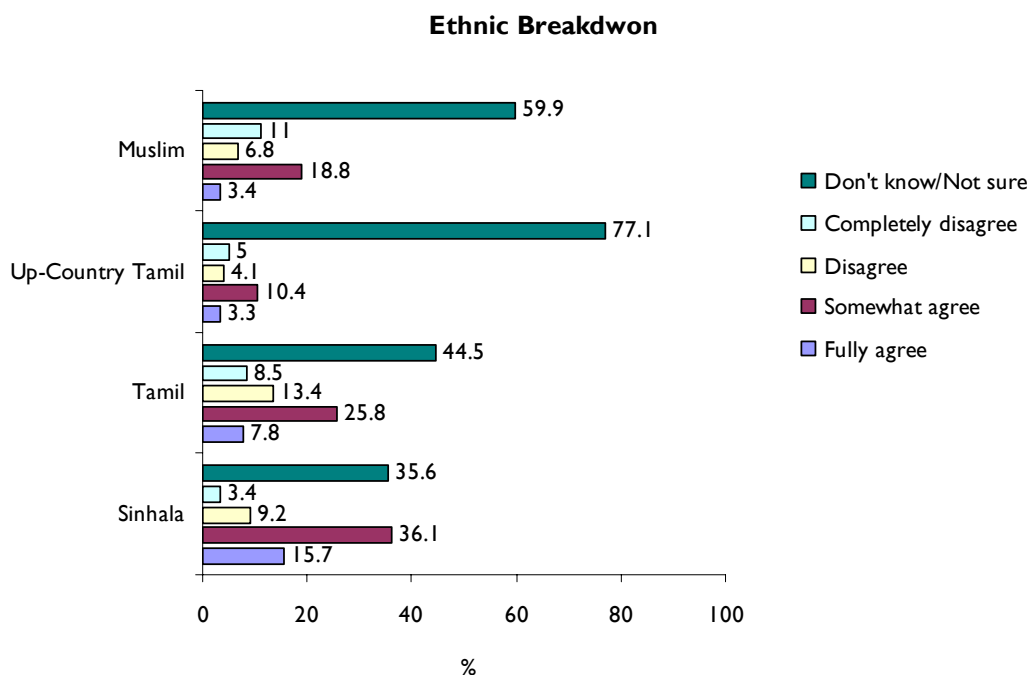


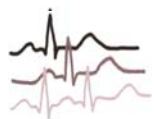
Please state your opinion on the following statement with regard to the recently held provincial council election in the eastern province and the development that took place after the election.

“I think new political leadership in the eastern province will be able to develop the region”



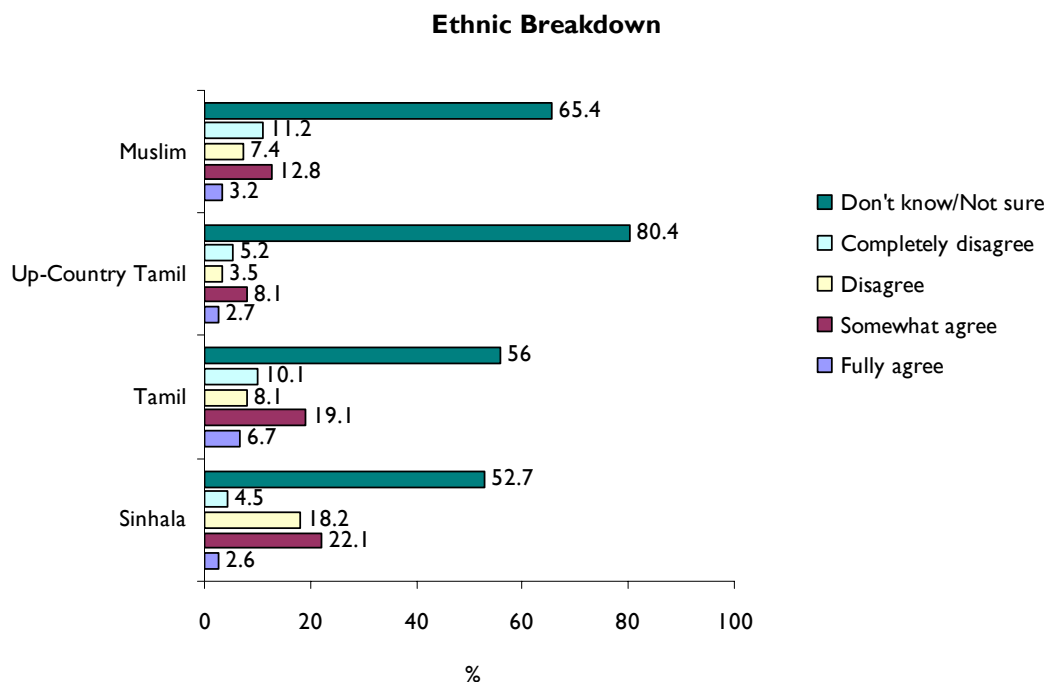
“I think people in the east are now much safer than before the provincial council election”



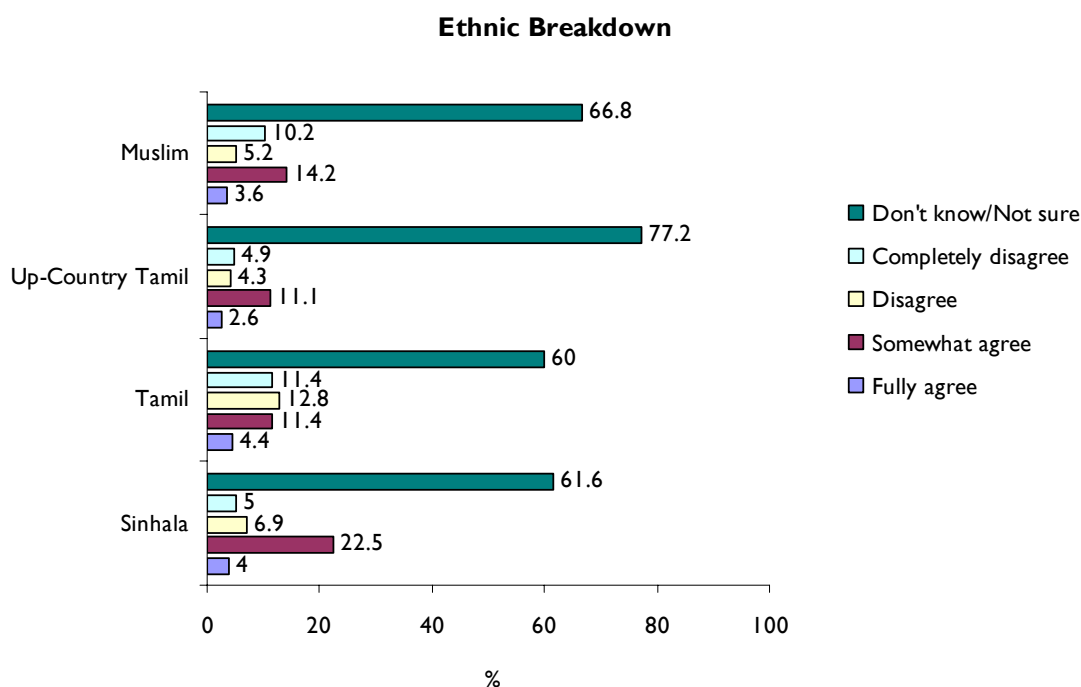


Please state your opinion on the following statement with regard to the recently held provincial council election in the eastern province and the development that took place after the election.

“The new leadership in the Eastern provincial council will be able to get full provincial council powers to the province”



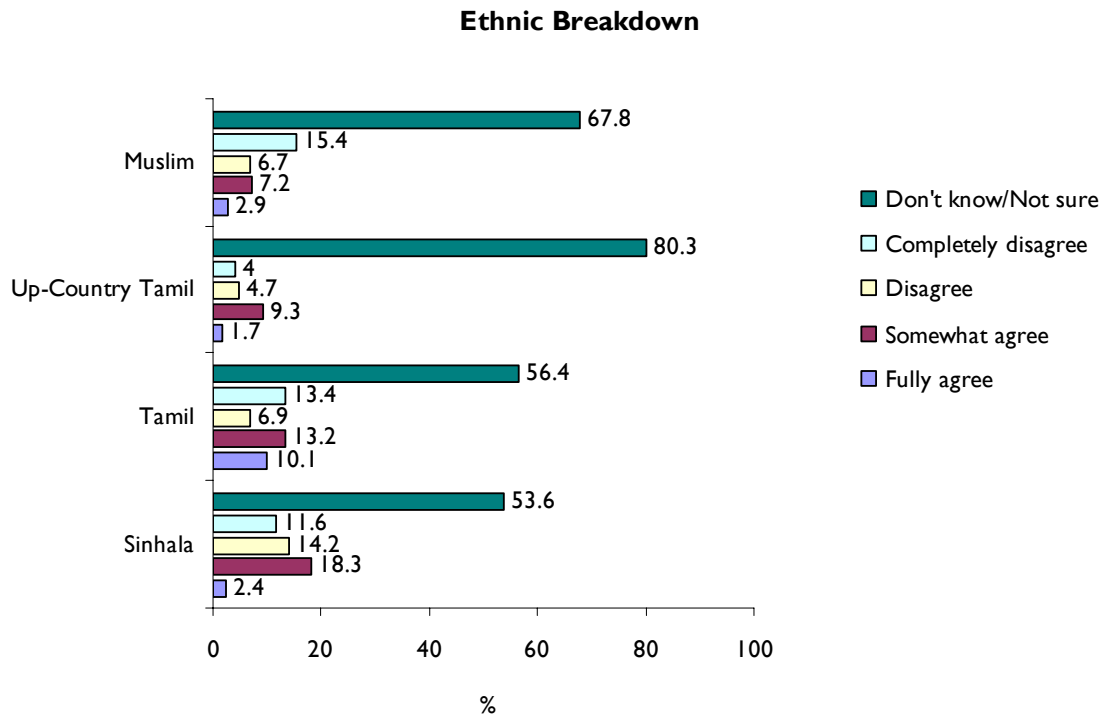
“I think the present political situation is helpful to persuade the people in the North for a solution under the provincial council system”



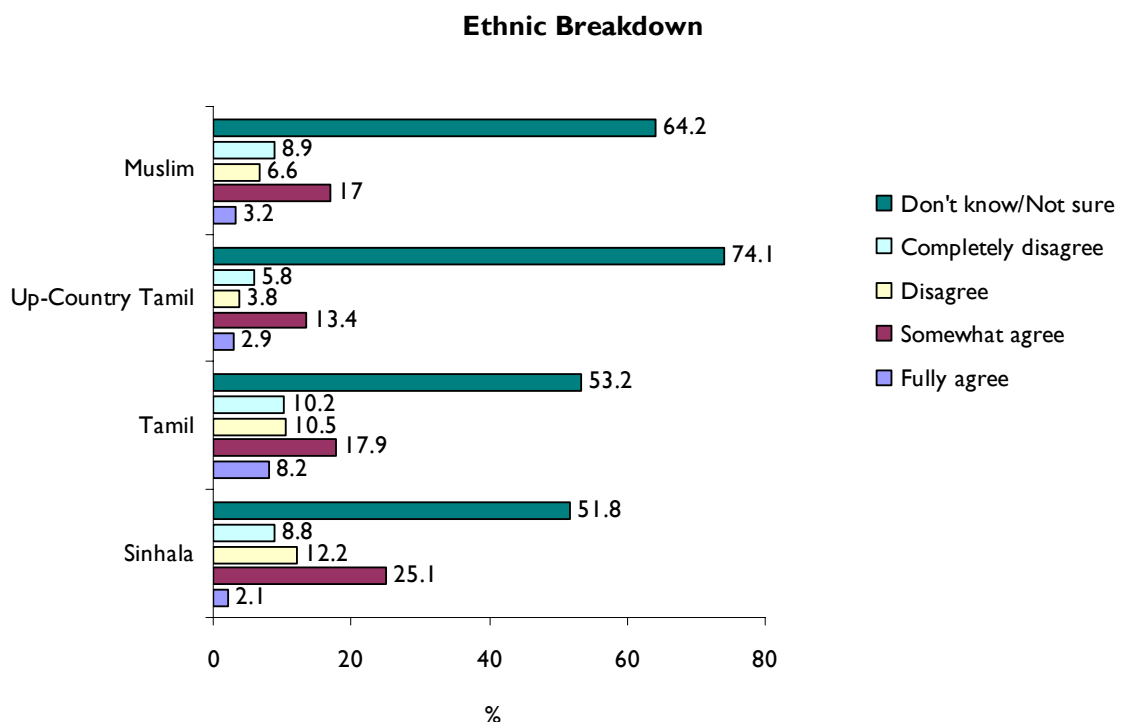


Please state your opinion on the following statement with regard to the recently held provincial council election in the eastern province and the development that took place after the election.

“I think TMVP is genuinely committed to democratic politics”



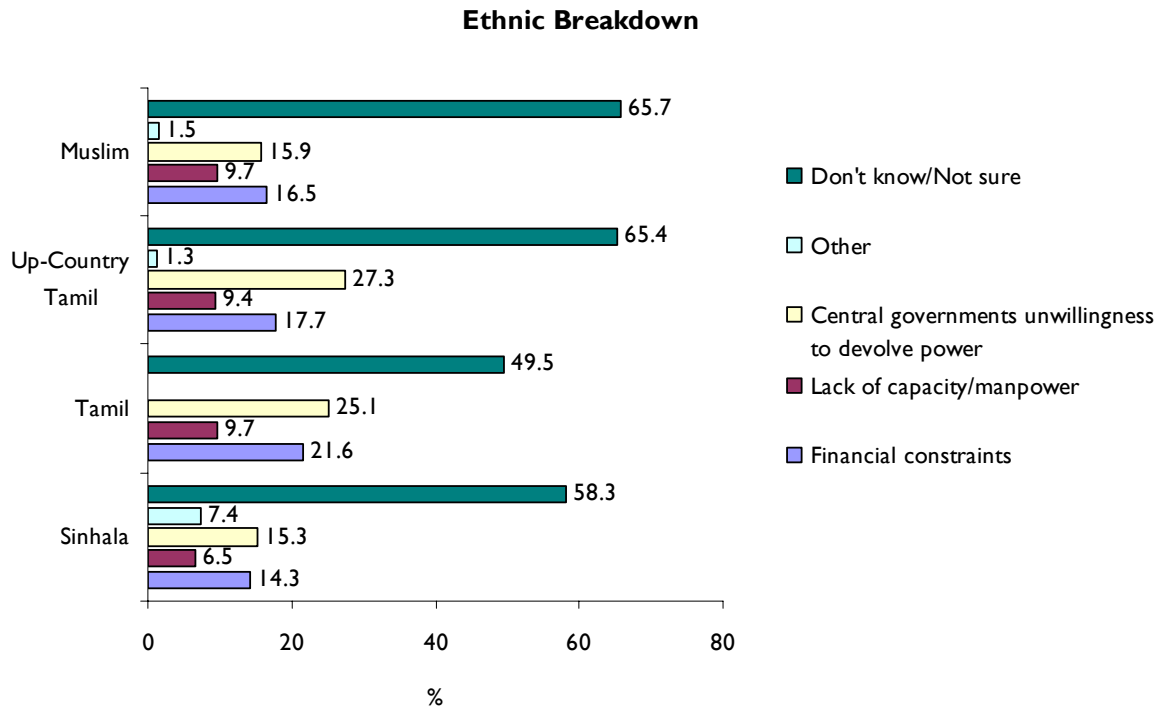
“I think provincial council system is the best solution for the country's ethnic conflict”







Analysts & officials have pointed out the weaknesses within the provincial councils. Do you think these are due to;

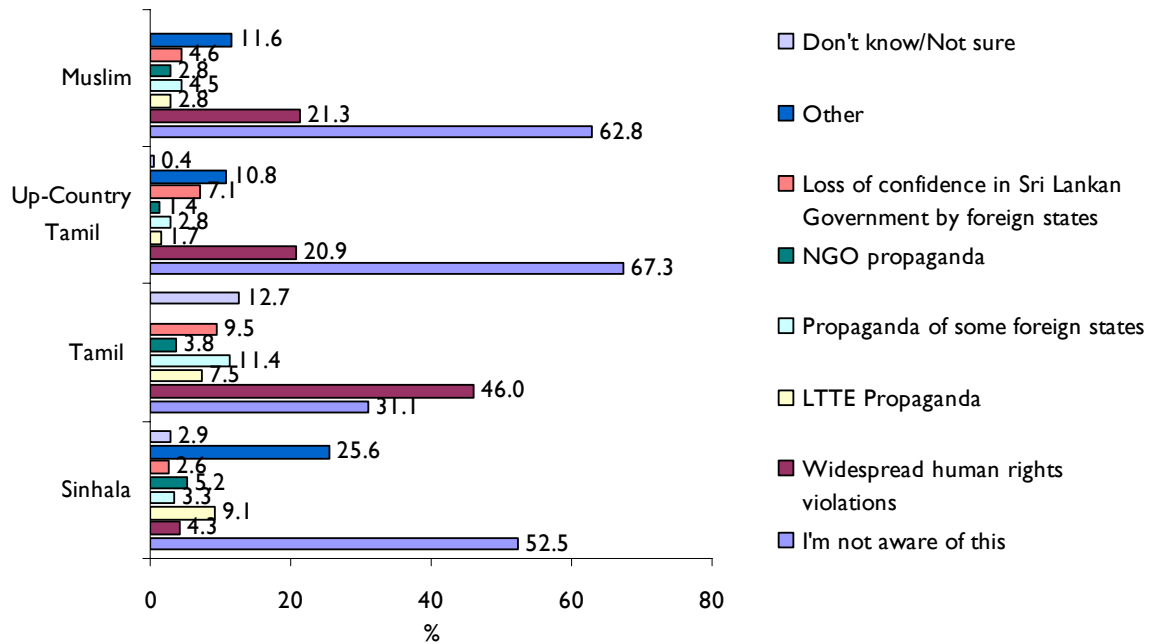


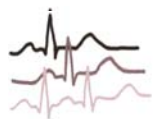


## Losing the UNHRC seat

Sri Lanka recently lost its seat at the United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC). Why do you think as the reason that we lost the seat at the UNHRC?

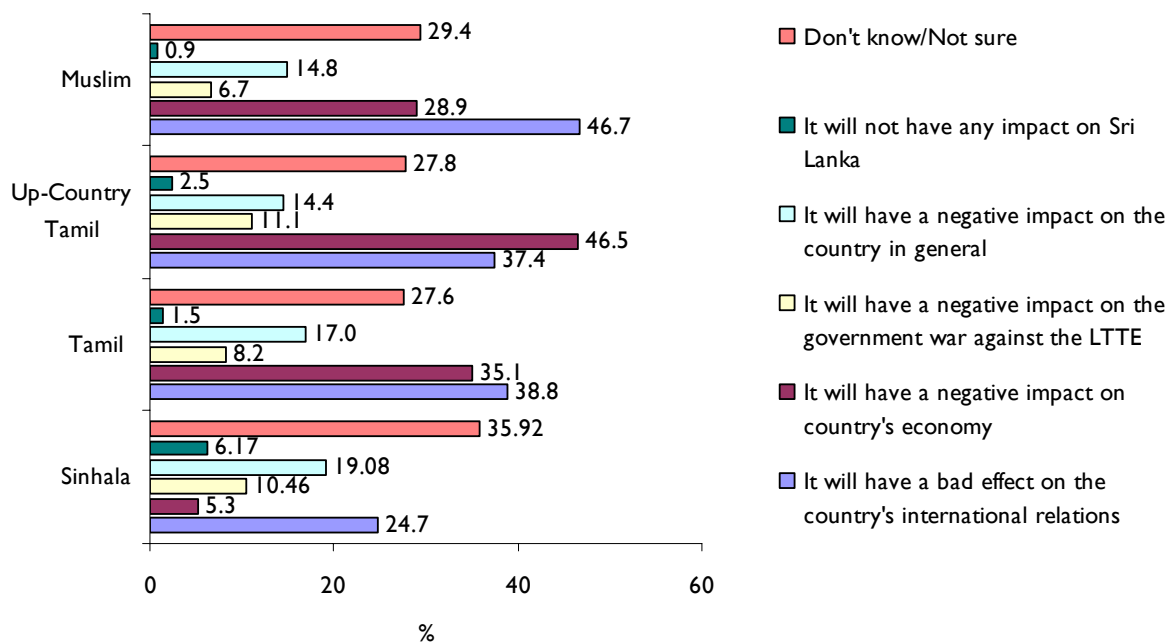
### Ethnic Breakdown





What do you think will be the impact of losing of UNHRC seat to country as whole?

**Ethnic Breakdown**

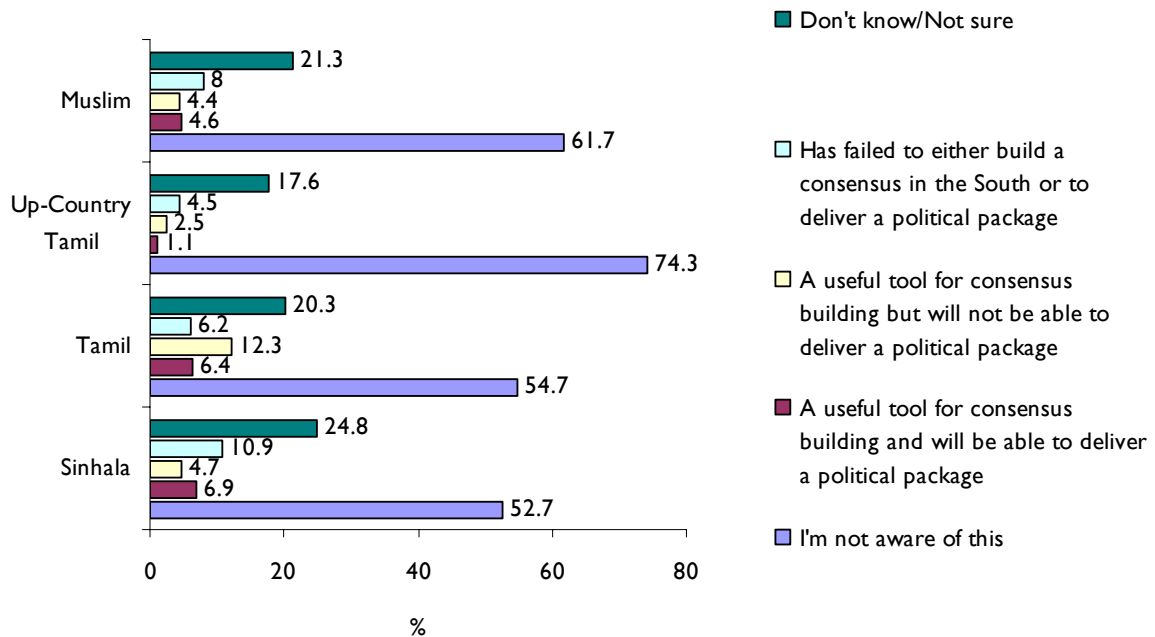


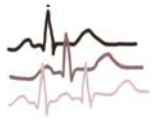


## All Party Representative Committee (APRC)

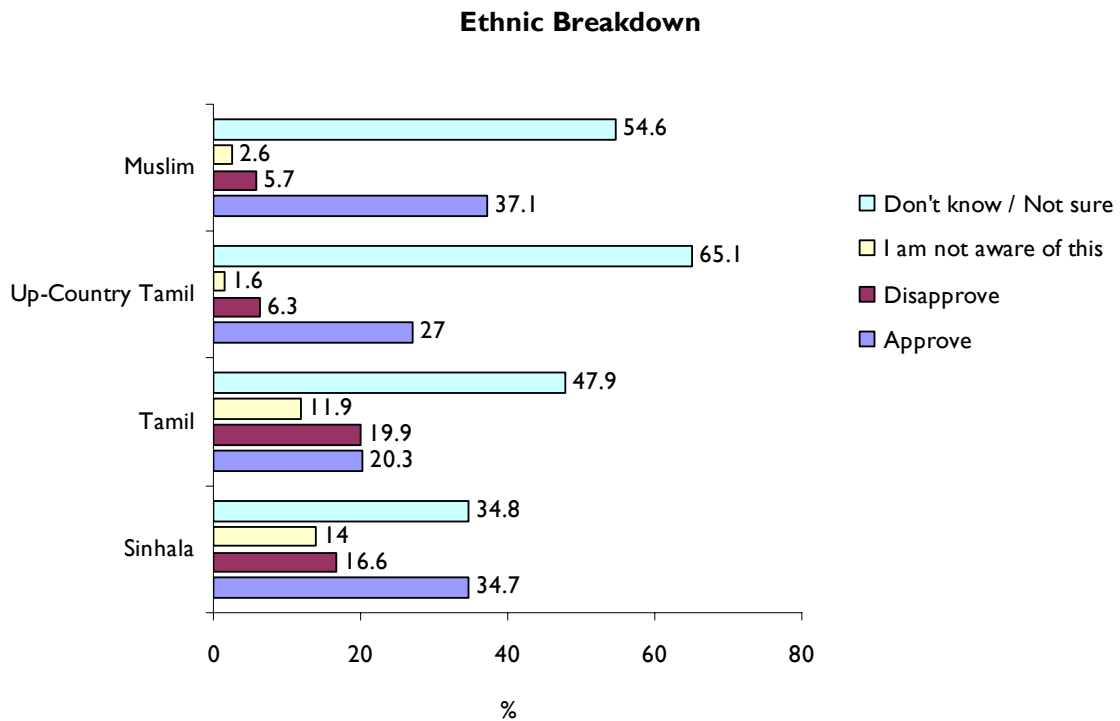
The APRC was created with the purpose of providing a Southern Consensus on a political settlement to the ethnic conflict. Some people say that the APRC is paralysed and therefore it will not be able to deliver a comprehensive solution. Others claim that the APRC is a useful mechanism that can produce a solution.

### Ethnic Breakdown





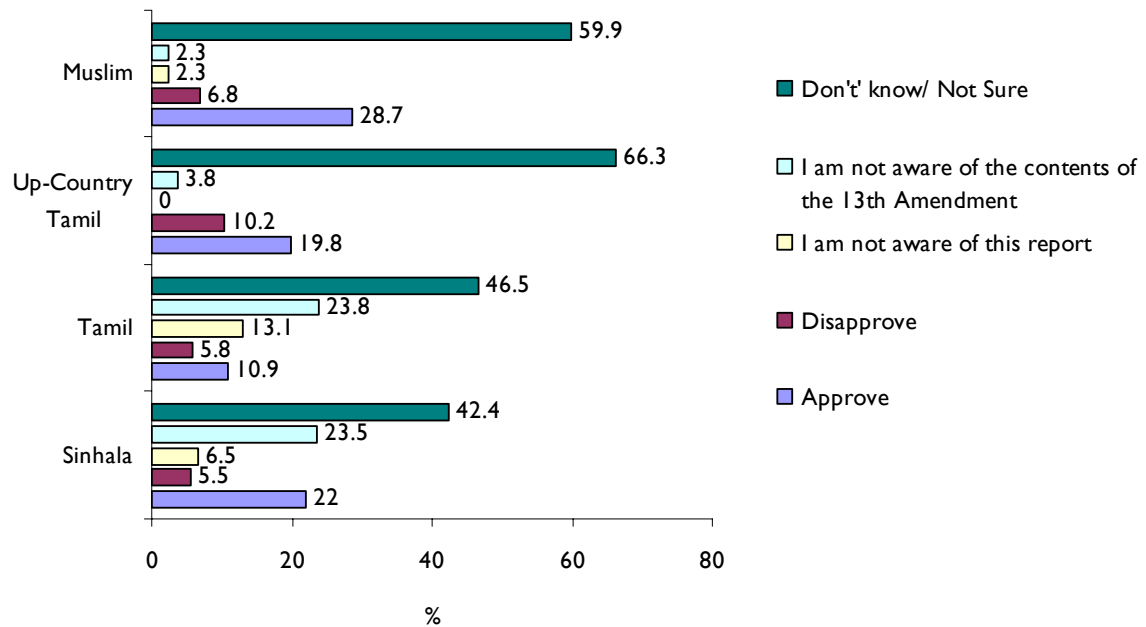
The government has recently announced that the TMVP been invited to join the APRC.  
Do you approve or disapprove of this?

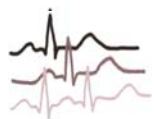




The interim report of the APRC calls for, amongst other things, the full implementation of the 13th Amendment. Do you approve of this recommendation?

#### Ethnic Breakdown



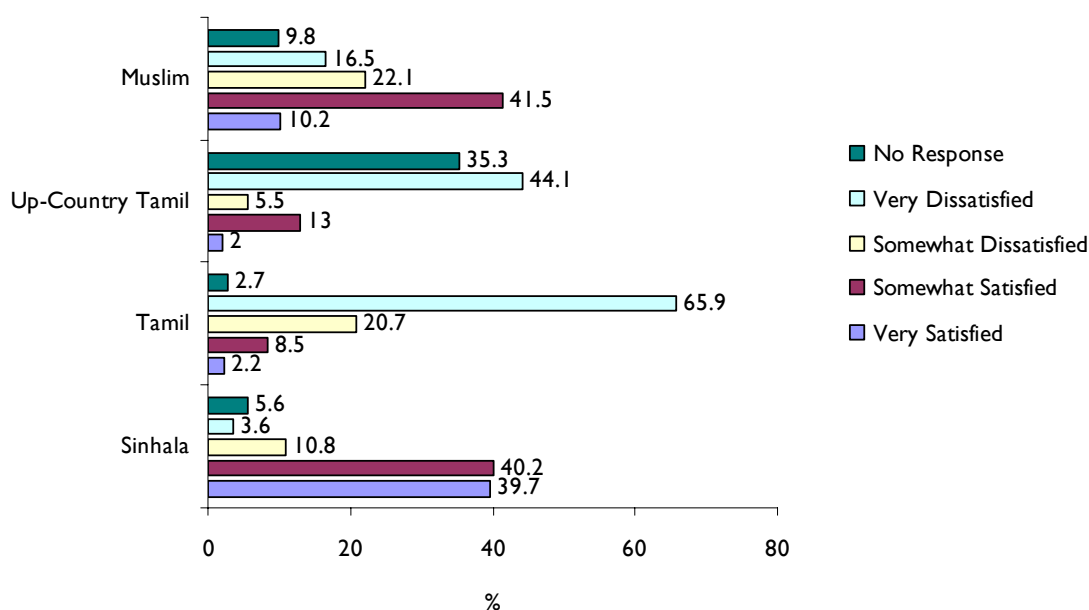


## The President

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

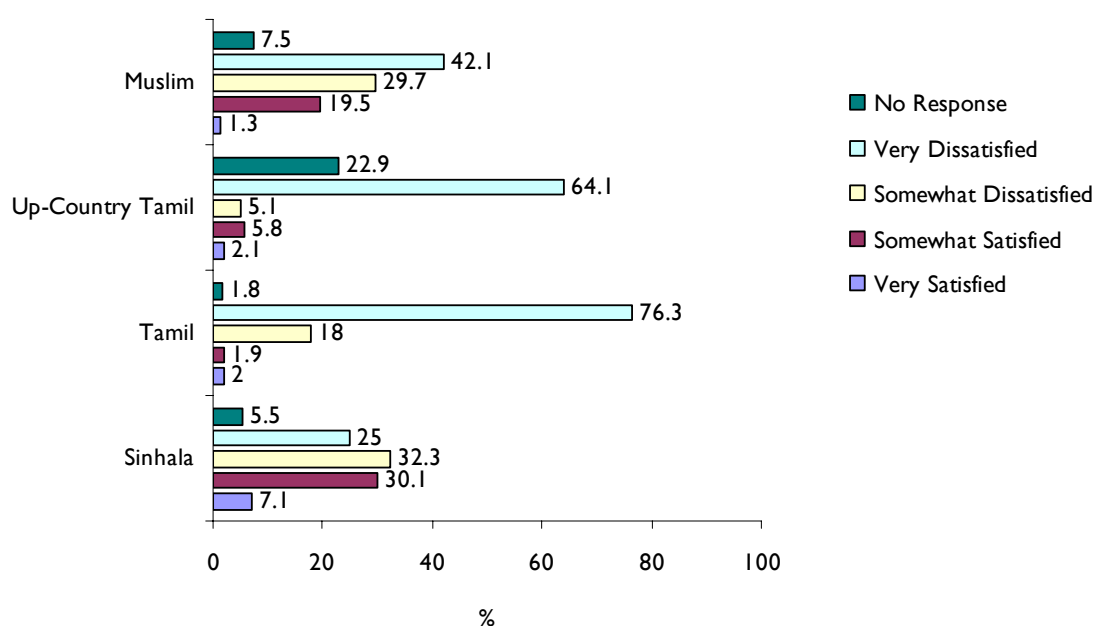
The maintenance of law and order

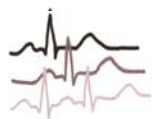
### Ethnic Breakdown



Controlling the cost of living

### Ethnic Breakdown

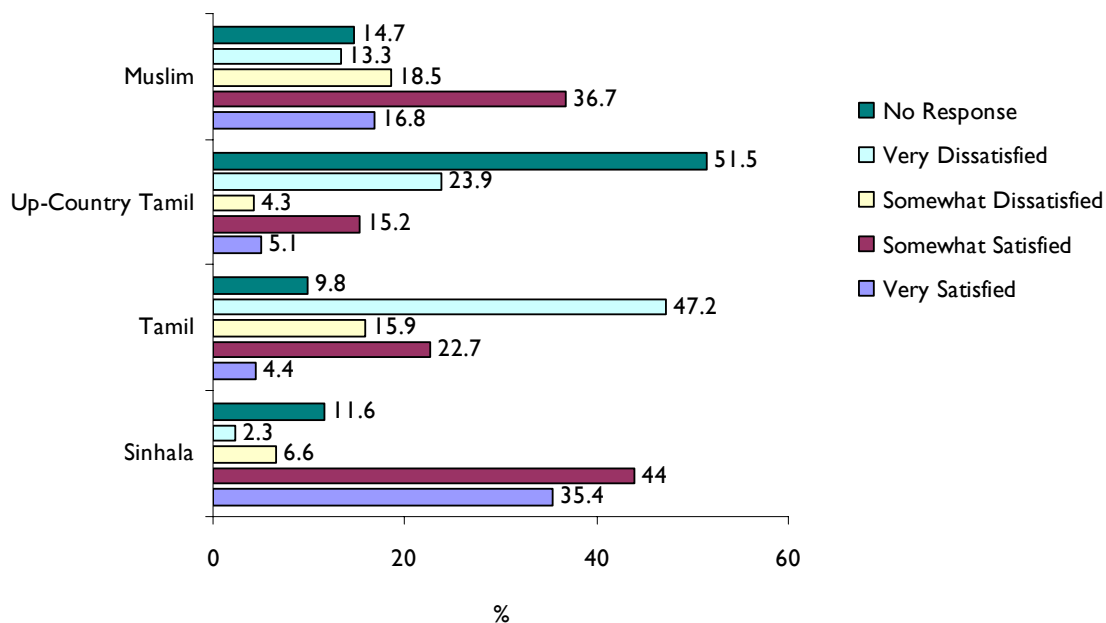




Please indicate your level of satisfaction with President Rajapakse's performance in the following aspects:

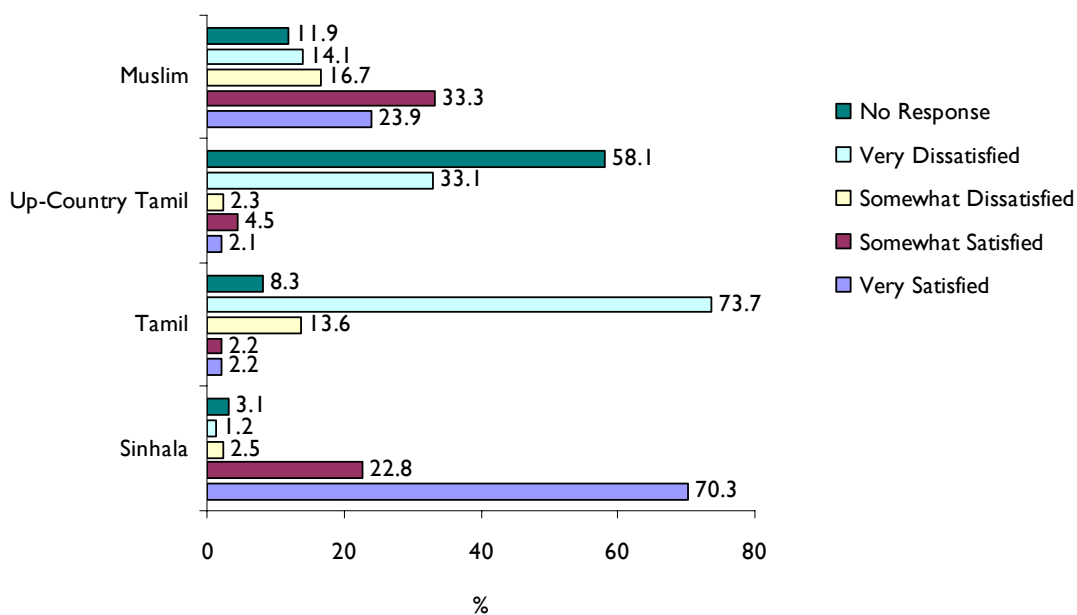
### Maintaining international relations

#### Ethnic Breakdown



### Conducting the war

#### Ethnic Breakdown

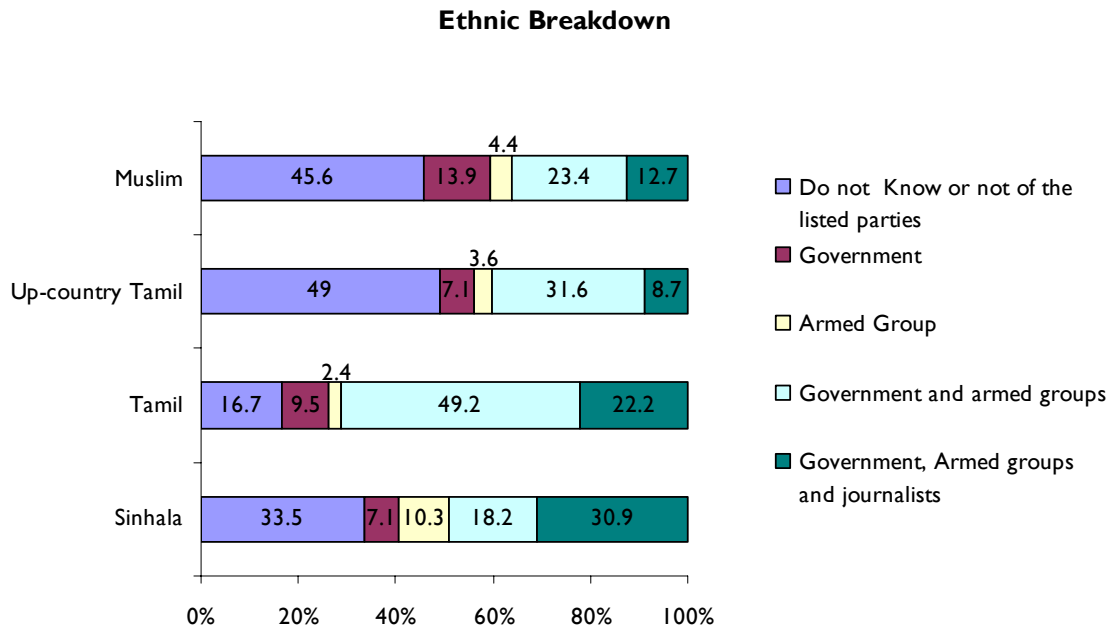






## Human Rights

Following figures indicate the extent to which each ethnic group thinks the government, other armed groups & journalists themselves are responsible for the killings and abductions of the journalists.





## KEY NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS APRIL 2008 – JULY 2008\*

### APRIL

- In the aftermath of April 7 suicide attack which killed top Minister Jeyaraj Fernandopulle and 14 others and injured more than 83, the International Community reiterated the urgent need for a negotiated political solution to end the longstanding ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. The European Union, the United States and Australia in separate statements called for an end to hostilities and the resumption of peace talks as the only way forward if peace was to return to Sri Lanka. - **Daily Mirror April 8, 2008**
- In another dramatic turn of events following the defection of 11 JVP MPs, including JVP Parliamentary Group Leader Wimal Weerawansa, the vehicles of two dissident JVPers were taken away forcibly by an unidentified gang, from the official parliament vehicle park on April 9. The gang had entered the park, assaulted the policemen on duty and removed the vehicles, sources said. - **Daily Mirror April 10, 2008**
- JVP Leader Somawansa Amarasinghe on April 9 charged there were serious allegations, including some relating to financial irregularities, against Parliamentary Group Leader Wimal Weerawansa. "There is a conspiracy against the party. No doubt about it. But the problem here is we do not know where it comes from," he said. - **Daily Mirror April 10, 2008**
- A high level UN panel was in Sri Lanka this week to assess the security and challenges faced by UN staff operating in the North and East of the country, a UN official told the Daily Mirror April 11. The Independent Panel on Safety and Security of UN Personnel and Premises Word wide made an assessment of the security affecting its staff. - **Daily Mirror April 12, 2008**
- Norway is urging India to play a more proactive role in the Sri Lankan conflict by mediating between the Government and the LTTE and it stands ready to fully support such an initiative. Oslo's special peace envoy, Jan Hansson Bauer also insists it is still not the end of the road for the Norwegian's as facilitators to the conflict and says they will resume their mediation if an invitation is extended by the parties in Sri Lanka. - **Daily Mirror April 15, 2008**
- The government in a move to control the escalating prices of locally produced rice imposed maximum wholesale and retail prices from midnight April 16. A gazette notification to this effect was issued last night. - **Daily Mirror April 17, 2008**
- The Bribery Commission on April 16 revealed that inflation had affected even the amounts demanded as bribes by various persons and was likely to become a serious problem in the future. A recent study conducted by the Commission had revealed that the quanta of bribes regularly solicited by individuals in government departments and offices and among the law enforcement authorities had increased by surprising amounts during the past few months. - **Daily Mirror April 17, 2008**
- The damaging battle between the Somawansa and Weerawansa factions is likely to spread to JVP groups in the provinces with both parties vigorously seeking the support of Provincial Councillors. - **The Island, April 19, 2008**
- A major French aid agency said on April 19 it had decided to withdraw from Sri Lanka consequent to the International Independent Group of Eminent Persons (IIGEP) quitting its mandate to oversee the proceedings of the Presidential Commission of Inquiry (Col). The Paris based Action Contre la Faim or Action against Hunger said it considered the presence of the IIGEP as an essential condition for the credibility in the investigations into the killing of 17 of its staff in Mutur in 2006 and now doubted whether the Col would respect international standards. - **Daily Mirror April 20, 2008**
- All Party Representative Committee (APRC) Chairman Tissa Vitarana said on April 21 the committee would propose a mixture of changes to the Constitution including unitary and federal characteristics. Minister Vitarana said parties involved in the talks had reached consensus on 90% of the proposals. He said the final report resolving disagreements would be submitted to President Mahinda Rajapaksa soon. - **Daily Mirror April 21, 2008**

\* 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.



- A leading elections monitoring body alleged April 22 that the government was misusing state property for elections campaigning, as violence related to the upcoming Eastern polls began to see a steady rise. Peoples' Action for Free and Fair Elections (PAFFREL) identified an influential presidential advisor as being involved in the activities, saying he had used a state vehicle to transport Buddhist monks for an election rally. - **Daily Mirror April 23, 2008**
- The government, on April 22, slammed the International Independent Group of Eminent Persons (IIGEP) for its inefficiency and inadequacy in conducting its duties in the country, stating that the IIGEP had merely been a plot against the government. The government also called upon IIGEP Chairman Justice P.N. Bhagwati to give an explanation to President Mahinda Rajapaksa, as to why the group of international experts had misled the public and the government and avoided carrying out its duties, according to its mandate. - **Daily Mirror April 23, 2008**
- The International Independent Group of Eminent Persons on April 22 said if justice was to be ensured then an independent body under the purview of the Presidential Commission of Inquiry should handle investigations without involvement of the Attorney General's department. In its final media briefing, the IIGEP said funding by foreign governments, initially budgeted for little over a year in accordance with the original mandate of the Col would have been extended if the IIGEP chose to continue its operations. - **Daily Mirror April 23, 2008**
- An eighty percent voter turnout had been observed at the postal voting for the Eastern Provincial Council elections that was concluded April 29-- according to People's Action for Free and Fair Elections (PAFFREL), Chairman Kingsley Rodrigo. Speaking to Daily Mirror from Trincomalee, Mr. Rodrigo said that the voting concluded on a peaceful note with no reported cases of violence. - **Daily Mirror April 30, 2008**

## MAY

- The Investigations Unit of the Piliyandala police have taken into custody the main suspect in last April 25 bus bombing at Piliyandala, together with two accomplices. One of the accomplices is a Sinhala youth and the other a Tamil youth from Nuwara Eliya. Piliyandala Police said the main suspect was a resident of Kilinochchi. - **Daily Mirror, May 1, 2008**
- The JVP on May 2 insisted it would strongly oppose any All Party Representative Committee (APRC) proposals for a final solution to the ethnic conflict if the proposals were based on a mixture of Unitary and Federal models. - **Daily Mirror, May 3, 2008**
- Security forces are investigating the possibility of the LTTE using cover of the United Nations and various other international organizations to facilitate its covert operations. - **The Island, May 3, 2008**
- A subtle move by the TMVP to issue special identity card through the Grama Niladaris to Batticaloa and Trincomalee residents came under fire from the UNP-SLMC alliance which said the move would pave the way for election malpractices. UNP General Secretary Tissa Attanayake alleged that the TMVP was distributing the forged identity cards saying they were issued by the Elections Department. - **Daily Mirror, May 5, 2008**
- President Mahinda Rajapaksa ended weeks of speculation by proroguing Parliament with effect from midnight May 6. The new sessions will commence on June 5, 2008, informed sources said. They said that the President, by the powers vested in him under Article 70 (1) of the Constitution, had prorogued Parliament. - **Daily Mirror, May 7, 2008**
- The TNA on May 8 requested the people in the East to defeat the government and its allies at the Provincial Council election to be held tomorrow. TNA General Secretary Mavai Senathirajah said the merger of the northern and eastern provinces was the corner stone for peace, yet the government breached this very foundation by de-merging the two provinces after 18 years. - **Daily Mirror, May 9, 2008**
- Subsequent to the rights violation petition filed by Campaign for Free and Fair Elections (CAFFE), the Supreme Court on May 9 directed the Elections Commissioner to ensure a free and fair Eastern Provincial Council election. Bench comprising Justices Asoka de Silva, N.G. Amaratunga and K. Sripavan said it was the duty of the Elections Commissioner to conduct a free and fair election. CAFFE in its petition asked that a direction be given to the Elections Commissioner, Defence Secretary and the Police Chief to prevent the use of arms by unauthorized groups and prevent alleged acts of intimidation and election violence by Pillaiyan Group. - **Daily Mirror May 10, 2008**



- The government on May 12 said the new Eastern Provincial Council would be vested with wide powers, including those relating to the subjects of Police Powers and Land envisaged under the 13th Amendment as defined by the interim proposals of the APRC. - **Daily Mirror May 13, 2008**
- The JVP dissidents led by MPs Wimal Weerawansa and Nandana Gunatillake produced the documents at the Elections Commissioner's Secretariat to register their new party on May 12. The party named the National Freedom Front (NFF) bearing the colour gold and the emblem, the crown. The crown bears five pods of paddy that have stars at each end in five corners. - **Daily Mirror May 13, 2008**
- Maheshwari Velayudan, Consultant to Social Services and Social Welfare Minister Douglas Devananda, was gunned down by three armed men, believed to be LTTEs, May 13 evening in Jaffna. - **Daily Mirror May 14, 2008**
- Given the prevailing conflict, certain individuals have been abducted, some have disappeared, a number have been subjected to torture and, indeed, deaths have occurred under very peculiar and suspicious circumstances, Attorney General C. R. de Silva told the UN Human Rights Council. - **Daily Mirror May 15, 2008**
- TMVP leader Sivanethurai Chandrakanthan alias Pillayan was sworn-in May 16 as the Chief Minister of the Eastern Province. - **Daily Mirror May 17, 2008**
- All chief ministers of the eight provincial councils including the recently elected chief minister of the Eastern Province Sivanethurai Chandrakanthan have decided to forward a resolution to the Government that they be vested with full powers in accordance with the 13th amendment. - **The Island, May 21, 2008**
- The government on May 22 downplayed the loss of its seat at the United Nations Human Rights Council and said the fact that it garnered 101 votes at May 21 election in New York was in itself a victory. Human Rights Minister Mahinda Samarasinghe said that although Sri Lanka was not elected to serve on the Council, the number of votes obtained indicated a clear vote of confidence by UN member states in Sri Lanka's ability and competence to serve as a Council member. - **Daily Mirror May 23, 2008**
- A large group of media personnel including many senior editors took to the streets on May 23 to protest the inhuman and barbaric attack on *The Nation* newspaper's Associate Editor Keith Noyahr. - **Daily Mirror May 24, 2008**
- The United States has said though Sri Lanka has the necessary institutional framework in place to deal with the human rights violation, the government must do more to stop abductions and 'disappearances' and having laws alone was not enough without ensuring actual protection of human rights. - **Daily Mirror May 26, 2008**
- Eight persons were killed and 62 others injured when a bomb ripped through a compartment of a packed office train at Dehiwela yesterday evening. - **The Island, May 27, 2008**
- International Non-Governmental Organisations (INGOs) operating in Batticaloa have curtailed their operations in the district following the escalation of violence and tension in the area. World Vision (Lanka) said it had issued a travel advisory to its staff and restricted their movements after three of its employees were surrounded and assaulted by a mob in Kathankudy, Batticaloa on May 26. - **Daily Mirror May 28, 2008**
- The government has slapped a new tax on petrol imports as the country struggles to come to terms with the steep rise in fuel prices in the local market. - **The Island, May 29, 2008**
- At least six civilians were killed and 20 injured when the LTTE launched an artillery attack on populated areas near Jaffna town while more than 12 were killed in a Tiger attack on a military camp in the Chiraththivu Island, a Defence Ministry official said. - **Daily Mirror May 30, 2008**

## JUNE

- The Presidential Secretariat has directed the Presidential Commission of Inquiry investigating cases of serious violations of human rights to suspend recording evidence via video conferencing from witnesses living abroad, Col Chairman Nissanka Udalgama said June 2. - **Daily Mirror, June 04, 2008**
- Chief Justice Sarath N Silva on June 9 raised alarm over a conspiracy to oust him but vowed to stay on till the salary anomaly issue of the judiciary was resolved. The Chief Justice made these comments when a fundamental rights violation petition demanding a salary increase for the judges was taken up for hearing. - **Daily Mirror, June 10, 2008**



- The government has reportedly rejected a request made by a delegation from the European Union three member states to travel to the Eastern Province, as the delegation had refused to meet the newly appointed Eastern Chief Minister Sivanesanathurai Chandrakanthan. - **Daily Mirror, June 14, 2008**
- The JVP-controlled National Trade Union Centre (NTUC) comprising some 400 public, private and estate sector trade unions yesterday threatened to launch a countrywide one-day token strike next month demanding a 5,000-rupee salary increase to meet the soaring cost of living. - **Daily Mirror, June 17, 2008**
- The *Jathika Nidahas Peramuna* is planning to contest the forthcoming Sabaragamuwa and North Central Provincial Council elections on its own -- once the Elections Commissioner recognises the party, party leader Wimal Weerawansa MP said June 18. - **Daily Mirror, June 19, 2008**
- President Mahinda Rajapaksa said that he was determined to defeat terrorism and not wage a war against the people of the country. "I do not wish at all to wage a war against the people of the country," the President told a group of leaders who called on him at Temple Trees June 24. He also said that if the LTTE lays down arms he will be ready to work with them to achieve peace, the President's Office said in a statement following the meeting. - **Daily Mirror, June 25, 2008**
- The TMVP is to put forward political proposals to the All Party Representatives' Committee (APRC) demanding police, land, educational and financial powers for the provinces, which it cited as the unit of devolution when evolving a political solution to the ethnic conflict. - **Daily Mirror, June 26, 2008**
- The *Jathika Hela Urumaya* on June 27 announced that it decided not to contest the forthcoming Provincial Council election claiming that PC polls were not significant from the party's point of view. The decision was taken following a JHU Central Committee meeting held under the chairmanship of Ven Ellawala Medhananda Thera, the party said in a statement. - **Daily Mirror, June 28, 2008**
- Chief Justice Sarath N. Silva said on June 27 that the Judiciary could function properly only if it won the confidence of the common man irrespective of racial, religious or language barriers. Addressing a gathering after the ceremonial opening of the new Labour Tribunal Building at the Kaduwela Magistrates Court, Mr. Silva said since taking up office he initiated a series of programmes aimed at achieving these goals. - **Daily Mirror, June 28, 2008**
- The military on June 29 said the strategically important area in the Mannar District, known as 'rice bowl' comprising an area of 120 square kilometers was completely brought under its control. - **Daily Mirror, June 30, 2008**
- India has set up a mechanism with Sri Lanka to establish contact on the security situation and other bilateral issues. India and Sri Lanka have formed an informal mechanism to remain in regular touch on the security situation in the island nation as well as on bilateral issues, an Indian foreign ministry official said. - **Daily Mirror, June 30, 2008**

## JULY

- A local political officer attached to the British High Commission and a journalist attached to the Sri Lanka Press Institute were brutally assaulted by unknown assailants in Colombo on June 30 forcing the British High Commissioner to condemn the incident and demand for justice. - **Daily Mirror, July 01, 2008**
- The Sri Lanka Press Institute (SLPI) together with the Newspaper Publishers on July 2 announced a reward of five million rupees for information leading to the apprehension and prosecution of the assailants of SLPI's Acting Manager, Advocacy and Sri Lanka College of Journalism (SLCJ) Course Coordinator Namal Perera on July 2. - **Daily Mirror, July 03, 2008**
- A massive search operation was conducted in Modera on July 2, with over ten Tamil civilians taken into custody, the police said. Meanwhile Modera Police OIC C. Iriyadeniya denied allegations of shabby treatment and harassment of the civilians during the operation. Civilians in the area had complained that they were dragged out of their beds in the early hours of the morning by Police and Army personnel, lined up on a nearby ground and videoed, all in the name of a search operation. - **Daily Mirror, July 03, 2008**



- The United States has reiterated its concerns over the human rights situation in Sri Lanka, as well as the pressures being put on the media in the country. The South and Central Asian Affairs Deputy Assistant Secretary Evan Feigenbaum, who was in Sri Lanka on June 30 and July 1, as part of the U.S. Government's regular, ongoing consultations with the Sri Lankan Government, had raised these concerns, the US Embassy in Colombo said. - **Daily Mirror, July 04, 2008**
- Both media and political circles were abuzz last evening (July 3) with the news that Karuna Amman, the one-time TMVP leader, had been deported to Sri Lanka and was likely to re-enter the limelight after spending nearly six months in a British jail. Informed sources said that Karuna had boarded a Sri Lankan Airlines flight (UL 504) from London on Wednesday, escorted by four British officials who were believed to be from Scotland Yard. Karuna was handed over to the Sri Lankan police upon his arrival in Sri Lanka. He had arrived using a passport with the name 'Anthony'. - **Daily Mirror, July 04, 2008**
- Elections for the North Central and Sabaragamuwa Provincial Councils will be held on August 23, Elections Commissioner Dayananda Dissanayake announced on July 4. - **Daily Mirror, July 05, 2008**
- The Army's 59 Division engaged in an offensive on the Weli-Oya front gained another victory by capturing the LTTE's strategic 'Michael' base yesterday (July 4) afternoon. - **Daily News, July 05, 2008**
- The main Opposition UNP said on July 4 that according to Finance Ministry reports four major government institutions had incurred massive losses running into billions of rupees last year. Quoting from these reports, UNP front-liner Ravi Karunanayake told journalists that the Sri Lanka Ports Authority had suffered a loss of Rs. 2.7 billion, the Railway Department Rs. 4.2 billion, the Postal Department Rs. 2.2 billion and the Sri Lanka Transport Board Rs. 3.5 billion. - **Daily Mirror, July 05, 2008**
- International human rights groups on July 4 deplored the release and deportation of Vinayagamoorthy Muralitharan alias Karuna Amman from Britain and urged Sri Lanka to prosecute him for human rights abuses committed by him as an LTTE leader and later as the leader of the TMVP. "The British government had an alleged war criminal in its custody for six months but failed to file charges. This was a rare opportunity to bring to justice a Tamil Tiger leader accountable for horrific human rights abuses, but the British government blew it," Human Rights Watch Asia director Brad Adams said. - **Daily Mirror, July 05, 2008**
- Sri Lankan Ambassador designate to the United States Jaliya Wickremasuriya on the eve of his departure on July 6 claimed that one of his priorities as the country's top diplomat in the US would be to map out an effective campaign to counter false LTTE propaganda. - **Daily News, July 07, 2008**
- The government on July 7 insisted that any future peace talks would take place with the participation of all Tamil political parties in the country and not solely with the LTTE. The LTTE however ruled out such a possibility stating that it would enter negotiations with only the government, through the facilitation of the Norwegians and not with the presence of any other political party in the country. - **Daily Mirror, July 08, 2008**
- The Turkish Chief of Staff Gen. Yasar Buyukanit said that the terrorist organisation PKK/Kongra-Gel was running guns to the Tamil Tigers of Sri Lanka. He also said terrorism was the biggest threat to peace and security in the age of globalization. - **Daily Mirror, July 09, 2008**
- The JVP yesterday claimed its token strike today, backed by the UNP's Jathika Sevaka Sangamaya and over 800 trade unions affiliated to the National Trade Union Alliance, would cripple the entire public service including essential services such as power supply, transport, healthcare and water supply. - **Daily Mirror, July 10, 2008**
- Four people including a 9-year-old child and a woman were killed and 25 injured on July 11 when suspected LTTE cadres fired at a CTB bus travelling along the Buttala-Kataragama main road that borders the Yala National Park, police said. - **Daily Mirror, July 12, 2008**
- The government on July 11 scotched rumours about plans to bring Indian Troops to provide security for the upcoming South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation summit scheduled to be held this month. House Leader and senior Minister Nimal Siripala de Silva was replying to a question by JVP MP Bimal Ratnayake in parliament on whether 1,500 Indian troops had landed in Sri Lanka as reported in a document published by the Indian based Observer Research Foundation. - **Daily Mirror, July 12, 2008**
- STRASBOURG, France -Reuters - The European Court of Human Rights ruled on July 17 that an ethnic Tamil man denied asylum in Britain could not be sent back to his native Sri Lanka because he would be at risk of torture there. The ruling could have implications for hundreds of other Tamils trying to avoid expulsion from Britain to Sri Lanka. July 17 ruling centred on a 33-year-old man who sought asylum in Britain in 1999 citing fears of ill-treatment by the Sri Lankan authorities, who had detained him six times in seven years on suspicion of involvement with the rebel Tamil Tigers. - **Daily Mirror, July 18, 2008**





- A full scale battle raged in Kopannaweediya (Slave Island) on July 18 when the residents living in so called unauthorized structures beside the railway line clashed with Urban Development Authority officials and police who came there to demolish their houses. The police tear-gassed and baton charged the residents who were protesting and refusing to move out of their houses in an operation that police described as part of the security process for the upcoming SAARC summit. - **Daily Mirror, July 19, 2008**
- The LTTE has declared a unilateral ceasefire to coincide with the SAARC summit to be attended by several heads of state from South Asia, LTTE military wing spokesman Rassiah Illentheriyan told Daily Mirror. The ceasefire will be in effect from Saturday, July 26 to August 4. - **Daily Mirror, July 21, 2008**
- The government on July 22 snubbed the LTTE's unilateral ceasefire declaration during the SAARC summit and vowed not to give the Tigers any breathing space. It underlined its response to the LTTE's surprise declaration of a ceasefire by carrying out sea and air attacks in which some 22 Tiger cadres were reportedly killed. - **Daily Mirror, July 23, 2008**
- The Sri Lankan Government said on July 23 that the stabilization of the Indian Government would be advantageous to Sri Lanka's ongoing military exercise. Commenting on the Indian Government led by Prime Minister Manmohan Singh winning the trust vote in the Lok Sabha on July 22, SLFP General Secretary and senior Minister Maithripala Sirisena told a media conference that Sri Lanka was happy about the outcome. - **Daily Mirror, July 24, 2008**
- The main opposition UNP said on July 24 that the party had received information that the National Security Council (NSC) which met on Wednesday had decided to suspend military operations including air raids from Sunday. UNP front-liner Lakshman Kiriella asked the government whether this information was correct because it had earlier refused to accept the LTTE's unilateral declaration of a ceasefire during the period of the SAARC summit. - **Daily Mirror, July 25, 2008**
- A visiting European Union delegation on July 25 came down hard on the government over alleged human rights abuses being committed in the country with its chief even going to the extent of expressing doubts that Sri Lanka will qualify for the GSP Plus trade concessions. Speaking to the media after completing a visit to the country, the EU delegation was of the view the APRC was incomplete without the TNA and also expressed disappointment as it could not visit Trincomalee, which was the main purpose of its tour to Sri Lanka, on the grounds of last minute security concerns. - **Daily Mirror, July 26, 2008**
- While claiming the ongoing military activity in the north is only a 'humanitarian mission' to reaffirm the right to life of all people, President Mahinda Rajapaksa on July 27 said security forces have already weakened considerably the striking capabilities of the LTTE. "What is happening in the North is nothing more nothing less than a humanitarian mission to reaffirm the right to life of all people, Sinhalese, Tamils, Muslims and others," the President said addressing a massive election rally in Anuradhapura. - **Daily Mirror, July 28, 2008**
- All Party Representative Committee Chairman and Minister Tissa Vitharana said July 27 he would invite the TNA for the APRC only after reaching consensus with the UNP regarding the political package for the resolution of the North-East problem. Professor Vitharana was commenting on a statement by European Union delegation saying the APRC was incomplete without the TNA. - **Daily Mirror, July 28, 2008**



## Annex

### District sample (weighted) distribution in August 2008

---

DISTRICT	TOTAL
Colombo	210
Gampaha	190
Kalutara	105
Kandy	123
Matale	41
Nuwara Eliya	68
Galle	93
Matara	71
Hambantota	48
Batticaloa	48
Ampara	57
Trincomalee	33
Kurunegala	142
Puttlam	65
Anuradhapura	68
Polonnaruwa	34
Badulla	73
Moneragala	37
Ratnapura	95
Kegalle	71
<b>NATIONAL</b>	<b>1672</b>

### Ethnic sample (weighted) distribution in August 2008

---

ETHNICITY	TOTAL
Sinhala	1099
Tamil	126 (Convenient Sample)
Up-Country Tamil	195
Muslim	252
<b>NATIONAL</b>	<b>1672</b>



## Sampling Methodology

---

Given that the goal of the Peace Confidence Index (PCI) study is to measure the fluctuations in public confidence levels towards the peace process over time it is essential that the study be conducted repetitively with equal pauses during the study. 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 1300 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 17 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 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.

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.



Published by:

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

Tel: +9411 2370472/4      Email: [info@cpasocialindicator.org](mailto:info@cpasocialindicator.org)  
Fax: +9411 2370475      Web: <http://www.cpalanka.org>