

Peace in Sri Lanka:

From Symbols to Substance

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About this poll

The research for this poll was carried out by the staff of Social Indicator of Colombo in collaboration with Dr. Colin Irwin from the Institute of Irish Studies at the University of Liverpool who developed the peace polls method as part of the successful Northern Ireland peace process. The Questions were collected during a month of interviews undertaken by the research team in February and March 2008. The Survey work was completed between March and May 2008 and included a random sample of 1,700 people from all parts of Sri Lanka with the exception of the Northern Province. It should be noted that the analysis below is based on results in which the 'don't knows' have been statistically removed to improve the clarity of presentation. However the full results (including 'don't knows') are available at the project website <http://www.peacepolls.org> along with a more detailed explanation of the methodology.

Introduction

Hopefully the conflict in Sri Lanka is reaching its end game. Like so many other conflicts that end might not come cleanly, without more painful, tragic twists. Perhaps because previous public opinion polls on this topic have not always addressed the more complex constitutional issues or most sensitive human concerns they have not always been able to say where the most critical failures of the Sri Lanka peace process might lie. Hopefully this peace poll makes some real progress on tackling these decisive issues and thus points the way to some workable solutions. The solutions however are clouded in much public rhetoric and ignorance. Those who understand them, in all communities, embrace them while those who do not understand them, who cling onto the symbols of constitutionality in the absence of substance, continue to find refuge in the on going war. We are told that the truth sets us free and this poll clearly demonstrates that in the case of Sri Lanka truth and understanding can both hasten and strengthen the prospects for a durable peace. Banishing ignorance and making an informed electorate active partners for peace would seem to be the best way forward. Perhaps it always was. The substance of constitutional reform is overwhelmingly acceptable to the vast majority of the people of Sri Lanka. It is only the symbols that are rejected across the community divide.

The Problems

One of the reasons why peace polls so actively seek to ask difficult questions on sometimes complex and sensitive topics is because the questions are not written by the research team as such but by representatives from the different communities involved in the ongoing conflict. It is their perspective of the ‘problems’ and ‘solutions’ that lay at the heart of the conflict that is challenged. But if someone does not know the answer to a question or do not want to answer their position is respected. On the other hand all those who wish to express their views on the wide range of issues tested are equally free to do so. Thus no one is disenfranchised and everyone can see what everyone else thinks on each and every matter raised. We will start with the ‘problems’.

A random sample of the people of Sri Lanka (excluding the Northern Province) were asked which of 51 different problems given to our research team they considered to be ‘Very significant’, ‘Significant’, ‘Of some significance’, ‘Of little significance’ or ‘Of no significance at all’. Table 1 lists the results for the Sinhala community, Table 2 Tamil, Table 3 Up-Country Tamil and Table 4 Muslim. ‘The ongoing war’ comes in first at 73% significant on the Tamil problem list followed by ‘escalating violence in the last 2 years’ second at 72% and ‘violence over the past 30 years’ third at 59% ‘very significant’. This item is fourth on the Sinhala list at 41% ‘very significant’, fifth on the Up-Country Tamil list at 74% and first on the Muslim list at 69% ‘very significant’.

So everyone can agree that the top problem for Sri Lanka, in one form or another, is the violence of war. But when it comes to causes and blame there is much disagreement. First and second for the Sinhala are ‘the continued violence of the LTTE’ at 60% ‘very significant’ and ‘abuse of human rights by the LTTE’ at 59% (down at 29th and 24th on the Tamil list) while the Tamil place ‘discrimination after independence’ fourth on their list at 56% ‘very significant’ and ‘the failure of successive governments to find a political solution’ fifth at 53% (down to 34th and 16th on the Sinhala list). So there is not much agreement here and this creates yet another problem. Without recognition of the harm one community has or is doing to the other the prospects for reconciliation remain a distant hope. Problems at the very top of each community’s list have to be addressed by the ‘other’ community if peace is to be achieved. How can this be done, what are the ‘solutions’ and what are the political risks for those wishing to move forward on a peace building agenda?

Table 1. The ‘problems’ faced by the people of Sri Lanka from the Sinhala perspective

	Sinhala	Very Significant
1st	The continued violence of the LTTE	60%
2nd	Abuse of Human Rights by the LTTE	59%
3rd	Fragmentation of the island into ‘cleared’ and ‘un-cleared’ areas	43%
4th	Violence over the past 30 years	41%
5th	Corrupt politicians	40%
6th	The ongoing war	37%
7th	Escalating violence in the last 2 years	31%
8th	The LTTE can only be weakened by war	30%
9th	Vested interests in ongoing conflict	30%
10th	Politicisation of the public service	29%
11th	Failure to bring perpetrators of human rights violations to justice	28%
12th	Proliferation of armed paramilitary forces	24%
13th	Public Institutions corrupted for political purposes	23%
14th	International NGOs operating in Sri Lanka	23%
15th	Increasing number of IDPs	22%
16th	The failure of successive governments to find a political solution	21%
17th	Inflation	21%
18th	Failure to implement 13 th Amendment	20%
19th	Failure to provide Sri Lankan Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	20%
20th	The British Colonialism	19%
21st	Politicians frequently changing party	18%
22nd	The decline of the economy	17%
23rd	Lack of free and fair elections including manipulation	17%
24th	Polarisation of civil society	17%
25th	Non-productive Peace Secretariat	16%
26th	Devolution of power to North and East will lead to the break up of Sri Lanka	16%
27th	Unemployment	15%
28th	A defeated LTTE will give rise to new armed groups	15%
29th	Failure to protect historic Buddhist sites in the North and East	14%
30th	Failure to implement 17 th Amendment	13%
31st	Failure to provide Muslims with a constitutional solution to their problems	13%
32nd	Abuse of Human Rights by Paramilitary groups associated with government forces	12%
33rd	Failure to implement language rights	12%
34th	Discrimination after independence	12%
35th	Abuse of Human Rights by the Armed forces	11%
36th	Abuse of Human Rights by the Police	11%
37th	Upcountry Tamils do not own their own homes	10%
38th	Heightened ethnic polarisation in politics and life	9%
39th	Increasing number of refugees leaving Sri Lanka	9%
40th	Disproportionate power exercised by JVP and JHU	9%
41st	Failure to protect historic Hindu sites	8%
42nd	The Police do not provide a police service for the public	8%
43rd	Government leadership dependent on JVP and JHU	7%
44th	State control over media	7%
45th	Lack of basic health care	6%
46th	Failure to provide Upcountry Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	5%
47th	State aided colonization and change of demographics	4%
48th	The Police are predominately Sinhalese	4%
49th	Dominance of Sinhalese in public sector employment	4%
50th	All Tamils being treated like terrorists by the security forces	3%
51st	The Armed forces are predominately Sinhalese	2%

Table 2. The ‘problems’ faced by the people of Sri Lanka from the Tamil perspective

	Tamil	Very Significant
1st	The ongoing war	73%
2nd	Escalating violence in the last 2 years	72%
3rd	Violence over the past 30 years	59%
4th	Discrimination after independence	56%
5th	The failure of successive governments to find a political solution	53%
6th	Abuse of Human Rights by the Police	52%
7th	Abuse of Human Rights by Paramilitary groups associated with government forces	52%
8th	Failure to bring perpetrators of human rights violations to justice	52%
9th	Abuse of Human Rights by the Armed forces	51%
10th	Government leadership dependent on JVP and JHU	51%
11th	Non-productive Peace Secretariat	50%
12th	Vested interests in ongoing conflict	48%
13th	All Tamils being treated like terrorists by the security forces	48%
14th	Lack of free and fair elections including manipulation	47%
15th	State control over media	47%
16th	Dominance of Sinhalese in public sector employment	46%
17th	Heightened ethnic polarisation in politics and life	45%
18th	Failure to implement language rights	44%
19th	Politicisation of the public service	43%
20th	Disproportionate power exercised by JVP and JHU	43%
21st	Unemployment	41%
22nd	Public Institutions corrupted for political purposes	40%
23rd	Failure to provide Sri Lankan Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	40%
24th	Abuse of Human Rights by the LTTE	39%
25th	The Armed forces are predominately Sinhalese	38%
26th	Corrupt politicians	38%
27th	The Police are predominately Sinhalese	37%
28th	The decline of the economy	36%
29th	The continued violence of the LTTE	36%
30th	Polarisation of civil society	35%
31st	State aided colonization and change of demographics	31%
32nd	Increasing number of IDPs	31%
33rd	The Police do not provide a police service for the public	31%
34th	Inflation	30%
35th	Upcountry Tamils do not own their own homes	29%
36th	Failure to protect historic Hindu sites	29%
37th	Proliferation of armed paramilitary forces	28%
38th	Fragmentation of the island into ‘cleared’ and ‘un-cleared’ areas	28%
39th	Politicians frequently changing party	27%
40th	Devolution of power to North and East will lead to the break up of Sri Lanka	25%
41st	Failure to implement 13 th Amendment	24%
42nd	Increasing number of refugees leaving Sri Lanka	24%
43rd	The LTTE can only be weakened by war	23%
44th	Lack of basic health care	19%
45th	A defeated LTTE will give rise to new armed groups	17%
46th	Failure to implement 17 th Amendment	15%
47th	Failure to provide Upcountry Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	15%
48th	The British Colonialism	13%
49th	Failure to protect historic Buddhist sites in the North and East	12%
50th	International NGOs operating in Sri Lanka	9%
51st	Failure to provide Muslims with a constitutional solution to their problems	8%

Table 3. The ‘problems’ faced by the people of Sri Lanka from the Up-Country Tamil perspective

	Up-Country Tamil	Very Significant
1st	Escalating violence in the last 2 years	79%
2nd	Failure to implement language rights	78%
3rd	Abuse of Human Rights by the Police	75%
4th	Abuse of Human Rights by the Armed forces	74%
5th	Violence over the past 30 years	74%
6th	Corrupt politicians	73%
7th	All Tamils being treated like terrorists by the security forces	71%
8th	The ongoing war	68%
9th	Failure to bring perpetrators of human rights violations to justice	67%
10th	Failure to provide Sri Lankan Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	66%
11th	Non-productive Peace Secretariat	66%
12th	Dominance of Sinhalese in public sector employment	65%
13th	Vested interests in ongoing conflict	63%
14th	Heightened ethnic polarisation in politics and life	62%
15th	The Armed forces are predominately Sinhalese	60%
16th	Abuse of Human Rights by Paramilitary groups associated with government forces	59%
17th	The failure of successive governments to find a political solution	59%
18th	Polarisation of civil society	58%
19th	The Police are predominately Sinhalese	57%
20th	Abuse of Human Rights by the LTTE	57%
21st	Public Institutions corrupted for political purposes	57%
22nd	Politicians frequently changing party	57%
23rd	Discrimination after independence	56%
24th	Upcountry Tamils do not own their own homes	55%
25th	The Police do not provide a police service for the public	54%
26th	Politicisation of the public service	53%
27th	Government leadership dependent on JVP and JHU	53%
28th	The decline of the economy	52%
29th	Disproportionate power exercised by JVP and JHU	52%
30th	State control over media	51%
31st	Failure to provide Upcountry Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	49%
32nd	The continued violence of the LTTE	45%
33rd	Lack of free and fair elections including manipulation	45%
34th	Failure to implement 13 th Amendment	44%
35th	Increasing number of IDPs	43%
36th	Fragmentation of the island into ‘cleared’ and ‘un-cleared’ areas	43%
37th	Increasing number of refugees leaving Sri Lanka	42%
38th	Lack of basic health care	40%
39th	Devolution of power to North and East will lead to the break up of Sri Lanka	40%
40th	Unemployment	39%
41st	State aided colonization and change of demographics	38%
42nd	Inflation	38%
43rd	Failure to implement 17 th Amendment	36%
44th	Proliferation of armed paramilitary forces	34%
45th	International NGOs operating in Sri Lanka	30%
46th	The LTTE can only be weakened by war	29%
47th	Failure to protect historic Hindu sites	28%
48th	A defeated LTTE will give rise to new armed groups	26%
49th	The British Colonialism	23%
50th	Failure to provide Muslims with a constitutional solution to their problems	22%
51st	Failure to protect historic Buddhist sites in the North and East	10%

Table 4. The ‘problems’ faced by the people of Sri Lanka from the Muslim perspective

	Muslim	Very Significant
1st	Violence over the past 30 years	69%
2nd	Escalating violence in the last 2 years	66%
3rd	The ongoing war	64%
4th	The continued violence of the LTTE	54%
5th	Failure to implement language rights	51%
6th	Abuse of Human Rights by Paramilitary groups associated with government forces	47%
7th	Disproportionate power exercised by JVP and JHU	47%
8th	Abuse of Human Rights by the LTTE	45%
9th	Government leadership dependent on JVP and JHU	45%
10th	Abuse of Human Rights by the Armed forces	44%
11th	Abuse of Human Rights by the Police	44%
12th	Failure to bring perpetrators of human rights violations to justice	44%
13th	Inflation	43%
14th	All Tamils being treated like terrorists by the security forces	43%
15th	Failure to provide Muslims with a constitutional solution to their problems	42%
16th	Corrupt politicians	42%
17th	Discrimination after independence	40%
18th	The Police are predominately Sinhalese	39%
19th	The decline of the economy	38%
20th	Proliferation of armed paramilitary forces	38%
21st	Dominance of Sinhalese in public sector employment	38%
22nd	Fragmentation of the island into ‘cleared’ and ‘un-cleared’ areas	38%
23rd	State aided colonization and change of demographics	36%
24th	Politicisation of the public service	35%
25th	Non-productive Peace Secretariat	35%
26th	Failure to provide Sri Lankan Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	34%
27th	Unemployment	33%
28th	Heightened ethnic polarisation in politics and life	32%
29th	The failure of successive governments to find a political solution	32%
30th	Lack of basic health care	32%
31st	Increasing number of IDPs	31%
32nd	Public Institutions corrupted for political purposes	31%
33rd	Lack of free and fair elections including manipulation	31%
34th	Failure to implement 13 th Amendment	31%
35th	The Police do not provide a police service for the public	31%
36th	State control over media	31%
37th	The Armed forces are predominately Sinhalese	30%
38th	Polarisation of civil society	30%
39th	Failure to implement 17 th Amendment	29%
40th	The LTTE can only be weakened by war	28%
41st	Vested interests in ongoing conflict	28%
42nd	Politicians frequently changing party	28%
43rd	Increasing number of refugees leaving Sri Lanka	27%
44th	A defeated LTTE will give rise to new armed groups	23%
45th	Upcountry Tamils do not own their own homes	21%
46th	The British Colonialism	20%
47th	Devolution of power to North and East will lead to the break up of Sri Lanka	20%
48th	Failure to protect historic Buddhist sites in the North and East	18%
49th	Failure to protect historic Hindu sites	16%
50th	Failure to provide Upcountry Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	16%
51st	International NGOs operating in Sri Lanka	12%

The Solutions

Security

Fortunately when it comes to peace making there is a great deal of agreement between the different communities. With regards to security everyone interviewed was asked to indicate which of 23 different options they considered to be 'essential', 'desirable', 'acceptable', 'tolerable' or 'unacceptable' for the future peace and stability of Sri Lanka. Table 5 lists these options in order of priority. For all the people of Sri Lanka (excluding the Northern Province) the top three solutions are 'all the people of Sri Lanka must come together through their representatives to solve the problem' at 87% 'essential or desirable' followed by 'the political leadership representing all stakeholders must come together to solve the problem' at 85% and 'reform the police and eliminate corruption' third at 79% 'essential or desirable'. Significantly the level of 'unacceptable' never rises above 3% in any community (Sinhala, Tamil, Up-Country Tamil, Muslim) for these options so the need for action to be taken on these issues is strong, unanimous and almost totally unopposed.

'Bring all IDPs under total civilian control' is fourth at 71% 'essential or desirable' followed by 'more inclusive and effective Peace Secretariat' at 65% 'essential or desirable' although a minority of the Sinhala community oppose this suggestion at 22% 'unacceptable'. The next priority is the protection of Buddhist and Hindu sites sixth and seventh at 62% and 61% (no significant difference). Eventually at eight on this list comes 'defeat the LTTE by military means alone' (58% essential or desirable but 65% of the Tamil community consider this option 'unacceptable') followed by 'restart the peace process' ninth at 56% and 'the government should also negotiate with the LTTE' also at 56% 'essential or desirable' although a minority of the Sinhala community (37%) consider this option 'unacceptable'. 'Stop the war' is eleventh at 55%.

The consensus seems to be this. Everyone wants their respective politicians to work harder to find a solution to the problem. There is little significant resistance to all efforts in this regard from any community but a majority of the Sinhala community still want a military solution pursued at this time although they also want this done in parallel with a more inclusive peace process.

Table 5. Security solutions

National (Excl. N. Province)		Essential or Desirable	National Un- acceptable	Sinhala Un- acceptable	Tamil Un- acceptable	Up-Country Tamil Un- acceptable	Muslim Unacceptable
1	All the people of Sri Lanka must come together through their representatives to solve the problem	87%	3%	3%	3%	1%	1%
2	The political leadership representing all stakeholders must come together to solve the problem	85%	3%	3%	0%	0%	3%
3	Reform the Police and eliminate corruption	79%	3%	3%	3%	1%	3%
4	Bring <u>all</u> IDPs under total civilian control	71%	7%	10%	2%	0%	4%
5	More inclusive and effective Peace Secretariat	65%	14%	22%	2%	0%	3%
6	Adequate safeguards to protect Buddhist Monuments in North and East	62%	7%	5%	12%	7%	16%
7	Adequate safeguards to protect Hindu sites	61%	8%	6%	12%	6%	18%
8	Defeat the LTTE by military means alone	58%	23%	7%	65%	79%	48%
9	Restart the peace process	56%	24%	38%	0%	0%	2%
10	The government should also negotiate with the LTTE	56%	25%	37%	2%	1%	5%
11	Stop the war	55%	29%	45%	0%	0%	1%
12	Weaken the LTTE and then put forward a political solution	54%	22%	10%	57%	77%	31%
13	Ethnic balance in the police and armed services	52%	14%	22%	3%	0%	4%
14	The government should negotiate with elected Tamil representatives	45%	34%	52%	3%	10%	7%
15	International body to oversee security and welfare of Northern Muslims	43%	35%	56%	14%	12%	3%
16	Stop state colonization	42%	29%	46%	5%	5%	10%
17	Muslim and Tamil regiments for selected tasks in Northern and Eastern Provinces	39%	36%	56%	7%	12%	9%
18	The government should negotiate with ex-Tamil militants	38%	38%	58%	12%	17%	11%
19	Take effective steps to gradually reduce and eliminate all High Security Zones	35%	43%	65%	2%	2%	9%
20	Have military and political solutions run in parallel	34%	38%	36%	46%	69%	27%
21	Use political and economic incentives to transform the LTTE and find a settlement	32%	45%	64%	11%	20%	22%
22	Place a political solution on the table and if no LTTE response then use military means	28%	36%	32%	40%	74%	28%
23	Place a political solution on the table and if no LTTE response isolate them politically	20%	45%	47%	41%	76%	25%

Human Rights

The results for the human rights question are very reassuring and should be welcomed in all sections of Sri Lankan society. There would be little point in asking people if they do or do not support international standards for human rights. Most people do. So a more difficult and perhaps sensitive question was asked. 'To achieve its objectives the LTTE should be allowed to: attack civilians; use torture; undertake extra-judicial killings; launch suicide attacks; recruit child soldiers; arbitrarily arrest and detain; deny rights to a fair public trial; deny freedom of speech, press, assembly; deny freedom of movement.' Similarly everyone was also asked: 'To achieve its objectives the government's forces, police and associated paramilitaries should be allowed to etc. etc. but substituting 'abuse emergency powers' for 'launch suicide attacks'.

The results for these questions are given in Table 6 for the Sinhala and Tamil communities. The average opposition to such human rights abuses across both communities is about 99% 'unacceptable'. Only 4% of Tamils consider 'launch suicide attacks' 'tolerable' (0% 'essential', 0% 'desirable' and 0% 'acceptable'). Similarly only 3% of Sinhalese consider the 'abuse of emergency powers' 'tolerable' (0% 'essential', 0% 'desirable' and 2% 'acceptable'). Human rights abuses of these kind inevitably lead to great bitterness and even a desire for revenge. The people of Sri Lanka clearly understand this reality and therefore strongly oppose all aspects of what is sometimes referred to as 'dirty war'.

Table 6. Sinhala and Tamil views of human rights abuses.

To achieve its objectives the LTTE should be allowed to:

Sinhala	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Attack civilians	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Use torture	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Undertake extra-judicial killings	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Launch suicide attacks	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Recruit Child Soldiers	0%	0%	0%	1%	99%
Arbitrarily arrest and detention	0%	0%	0%	1%	99%
Deny rights to a fair public trial	0%	0%	1%	1%	98%
Deny freedom of speech, press, assembly	0%	0%	0%	1%	99%
Deny freedom of movement	0%	0%	0%	1%	99%

To achieve its objectives the government's forces, police and associated paramilitaries should be allowed to:

Sinhala	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Attack civilians	0%	0%	0%	2%	98%
Use torture	0%	0%	0%	1%	99%
Undertake extra-judicial killings	0%	0%	0%	1%	99%
Abuse emergency powers	0%	0%	2%	3%	95%
Recruit Child Soldiers	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Arbitrarily arrest and detention	0%	0%	1%	6%	93%
Deny rights to a fair public trial	0%	0%	0%	2%	97%
Deny freedom of speech, press, assembly	0%	0%	0%	4%	95%
Deny freedom of movement	0%	0%	7%	7%	86%

To achieve its objectives the LTTE should be allowed to:

Tamil	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Attack civilians	0%	0%	0%	3%	97%
Use torture	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Undertake extra-judicial killings	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Launch suicide attacks	0%	0%	0%	4%	96%
Recruit Child Soldiers	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Arbitrarily arrest and detention	0%	0%	2%	0%	98%
Deny rights to a fair public trial	0%	0%	0%	4%	96%
Deny freedom of speech, press, assembly	0%	0%	0%	5%	95%
Deny freedom of movement	0%	0%	0%	6%	94%

To achieve its objectives the government's forces, police and associated paramilitaries should be allowed to:

Tamil	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Attack civilians	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Use torture	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Undertake extra-judicial killings	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Abuse emergency powers	0%	0%	0%	2%	98%
Recruit Child Soldiers	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Arbitrarily arrest and detention	0%	0%	2%	2%	97%
Deny rights to a fair public trial	0%	0%	0%	2%	98%
Deny freedom of speech, press, assembly	0%	0%	0%	3%	97%
Deny freedom of movement	0%	0%	0%	2%	98%

Discrimination

Problems of discrimination all too frequently lay at the heart of many ethnic conflicts. Fortunately people, with very few exceptions, have a natural understanding of the need for social justice as clearly demonstrated by the people of Sri Lanka. 'Effective steps to ensure balanced access to university education' comes in at the top of the discrimination solutions list at 77% 'essential' or 'desirable'. On average only 5% consider this proposal 'unacceptable' (Table 7). 'Effective steps to ensure balanced recruitment in the civil service at all levels' is second at 75% and 'distribute the resources of the state on a per capita basis' is third at 72% 'essential' or 'desirable'. There is a little resistance to these proposals from the Sinhala community at 12% and 13% 'unacceptable' respectively but this resistance rises to 27% 'unacceptable' for 'redistribute state lands in proportion to the population' and 34% 'unacceptable' for 'ensure full implementation of Tamil as an official language'. However this particular policy is first at the very top of the Tamil list at 83% 'essential' or 'desirable' so it needs to be implemented but the Tamil community should do whatever they can to both understand and allow for Sinhala concerns in this regard.

Table 7. Discrimination solutions

National (Excl. N. Province)		Essential or Desirable	National Un-acceptable	Sinhala Un-acceptable	Tamil Un-acceptable	Up-Country Tamil Un-acceptable	Muslim Unacceptable
1	Effective steps to ensure balanced access to university education	77%	5%	5%	8%	3%	6%
2	Effective steps to ensure balanced recruitment in the civil service at all levels	75%	8%	12%	2%	1%	2%
3	Distribute the resources of the state on a per capita basis	72%	10%	13%	6%	6%	2%
4	Affirmative action for rehabilitation and reconstruction	66%	5%	7%	2%	3%	3%
5	Affirmative action to redress all aspects of discrimination against Upcountry Tamils	63%	6%	9%	0%	0%	2%
6	Redistribute state lands in proportion to the population	61%	16%	27%	0%	1%	2%
7	Affirmative action to provide Upcountry Tamils with ownership of their own homes	61%	9%	12%	2%	1%	8%
8	Equality Commission to monitor all Government policies and distribution of resources	58%	8%	11%	0%	3%	2%
9	Ensure full implementation of Tamil as an official language	55%	21%	34%	0%	0%	2%

Good Governance

When it comes to good governance the desire for reform is even stronger and more universally acceptable than it is for policies to deal with discrimination (Table 8). ‘Depoliticise the public service’ comes in at the top of this list at 82% ‘essential’ or ‘desirable’ followed by ‘effective institutions to combat corruption’ at 78%, then ‘independent media’ at 76% and ‘reform of the criminal justice system’ at 74% ‘essential’ or ‘desirable’. Levels of resistance to these policies average at an insignificant 3% ‘unacceptable’ across the different communities. However a ‘policy to protect natural resources of the country’ at 70% ‘essential’ or ‘desirable’ is met with 15% ‘unacceptable’ in the Sinhala community, 8% for Muslims and 7% for Tamils. Clearly, a small cross section of Sri Lankan society are very strong ‘free marketers’.

The one policy that does meet with a genuine lack of support is the suggestion that the ‘appointment of Supreme Court Judges and other high posts should be made by the President at his own discretion’. It comes in last on this list at only 38% ‘essential’ or ‘desirable’ (28% ‘unacceptable’) while the alternative policy of ‘appointments of Supreme Court Judges and other high posts should be made on the recommendation of the Constitutional Council established by Parliament’ enjoys wide support of 68% ‘essential’ or ‘desirable’ and just 12% ‘unacceptable’.

Table 8. Good governance solutions

National (Excl. N. Province)		Essential or Desirable	National Un-acceptable	Sinhala Un-acceptable	Tamil Un-acceptable	Up-Country Tamil Un-acceptable	Muslim Unacceptable
1	Depoliticise the public service	82%	3%	2%	3%	5%	5%
2	Effective institutions to combat corruption	78%	2%	1%	6%	1%	5%
3	Independent media	76%	3%	3%	6%	1%	4%
4	Reform of the criminal justice system	74%	3%	4%	5%	1%	0%
5	Policy to protect natural resources of the country	70%	13%	15%	7%	6%	8%
6	Strict budgetary control of state institutions	68%	5%	5%	2%	2%	7%
7	Right to information except for matters of national security	68%	8%	10%	2%	9%	4%
8	Appointments of Supreme Court Judges and other high posts should be made on the recommendation of the Constitutional Council established by Parliament	63%	12%	11%	14%	14%	13%
9	Restrictions on MPs crossing over	59%	15%	16%	13%	14%	14%
10	Oversight committees for all Ministries with meetings open to the media	59%	7%	8%	4%	2%	11%
11	Right to information at all times	59%	12%	16%	3%	2%	8%
12	Appointments of Supreme Court Judges and other high posts should be made by the President at his own discretion	38%	28%	31%	21%	26%	28%

Constitutional Reform

A solution to the problem of Sri Lanka's constitution has been tackled in two very different ways in an effort to find an answer to this most difficult of questions. Firstly all those interviewed were asked to express their views on the various elements of a possible constitution and then secondly as a combined series of constitutional 'packages'. Table 9 lists the 27 constitutional elements tested against public opinion and at first sight the result looks to be a bit of a constitutional surprise with the popularly thought of Sinhala option of 'Sri Lanka should be a Unitary state' first at 82% 'essential' or 'desirable' (8% 'unacceptable' overall and 37% 'unacceptable' for Tamils) and the popularly thought of Tamil option of 'two completely separate independent states' last (that is 27th.) at only 9% 'essential' or 'desirable' and 80% 'unacceptable' overall rising to 90% for the Sinhala and falling to 31% 'unacceptable' for the Tamils. Clearly a significant percentage of Tamils (31% of this sample) reject the two state solution and want a unitary state. So what is the war about, why is it on going, why haven't the politicians been able to find a solution to the constitutional problem? We must dig a little deeper to find the answer.

Second on the list of priorities is 'give equal status to all religious groups' at 80% 'essential' or 'desirable' and only 5% 'unacceptable' overall followed by 'archaeological sites and monuments of National importance should be placed under the control of the Central Government' at 66% 'essential' or 'desirable' and only 9% 'unacceptable' overall. After this comes full implementation of the 13th. and 17th. Amendments at 60% and 59% 'essential' or 'desirable' respectively with resistance to these proposals highest in the Tamil sample at 32% 'unacceptable'. But this is not a 'deal breaker'. Levels of 'unacceptable' have to rise above 50% to do that. Additionally, when the specifics of these Amendments are examined more closely such as 'clearly define the powers of the Centre and the Provinces' the level of resistance drops to 10% overall and 0% for Tamils. Similarly 'devolution with the same powers for all Provinces' is only 11% 'unacceptable' overall and just 2% for Tamils. And so on and so on and when the very simple option of 'no devolution' at all is tested as a possible solution for Sri Lanka then 50% of those sampled consider this suggestion 'unacceptable'. So when people say they want a unitary state (and most people do) they are not rejecting devolution they are only rejecting 'two completely separate independent states' and even a significant percentage of Tamils do not want that.

Some finer points of devolution were also tested. For example the suggestion that the Centre could control the powers of the Provinces (the Centre could take them back) was 'unacceptable' to 36% of Tamils while the suggestion that the powers of the Provinces should be protected (the Centre could not take them back) was 'unacceptable' to 38% of the Sinhala. Clearly something can be negotiated here. However when the option of a 'federation without the right to leave' gets tested then the level of 'unacceptable' for the Sinhala jumps to 75%. Arguably, however, a federation without a right to leave can also be a unitary state and devolved Provinces can be part of a federation! What is being accepted here is the substance of devolution and the only thing that is being rejected are the symbols of federalism.

Table 9. Solutions for Constitutional reform

National (Excl. N. Province)		Essential or Desirable	National Un- acceptable	Sinhala Un- acceptable	Tamil Un- acceptable	Up-Country Tamil Un- acceptable	Muslim Unacceptable
1	Sri Lanka should be a Unitary state	82%	8%	2%	37%	25%	11%
2	Give equal status to all religious groups	80%	5%	7%	0%	1%	0%
3	Archaeological sites and monuments of National importance should be placed under the control of the Central Government	66%	9%	8%	8%	5%	16%
4	Fully implement the 13 th Amendment	60%	14%	11%	32%	23%	8%
5	Fully implement the 17 th Amendment	59%	16%	13%	32%	25%	12%
6	Clearly define the powers of the Centre and the Provinces	58%	10%	15%	0%	4%	4%
7	Devolution with the same powers for all Provinces	58%	11%	16%	2%	5%	4%
8	Right to return for Northern Muslims	58%	10%	11%	14%	14%	1%
9	Give a special status to Buddhism	52%	26%	13%	50%	64%	50%
10	Fully implement Interim Report of APRC	50%	18%	16%	27%	26%	14%
11	Power sharing at Centre, Provincial and local levels	41%	18%	21%	12%	11%	9%
12	Reintroduce Section 29 of the Soulbury/Independence Constitution to protect citizens against all forms of ethnic and religious discrimination	40%	28%	42%	6%	13%	32%
13	Allow the Centre to control the powers of the Provinces (the Centre can take them back)	39%	19%	13%	36%	29%	28%
14	Devolution with different powers for different Provinces	35%	34%	43%	11%	18%	24%
15	Return to pre 87 status of the Constitution	34%	32%	27%	32%	64%	45%
16	Protection of the powers of the Provinces from the Centre (the Centre can not take them back)	31%	28%	38%	7%	22%	11%
17	The North and East should be one province	30%	43%	53%	13%	9%	42%
18	Establish enclaves for all major ethnic minorities in a Province	30%	47%	64%	12%	22%	21%
19	Create an Autonomous Unit for Upcountry Tamils in the Central Province	30%	55%	86%	10%	11%	20%
20	Create an Autonomous Unit for Muslims in the East	29%	57%	84%	18%	24%	11%
21	Sri Lanka should be a Federal state	24%	53%	77%	13%	24%	17%
22	No devolution	22%	50%	49%	60%	73%	39%
23	A federation but with the right to leave	20%	61%	79%	21%	31%	58%
24	Redraw the borders to reduce the number of Provinces	19%	54%	61%	25%	25%	60%
25	A federation without the right to leave	18%	59%	75%	32%	24%	53%
26	Two states in a loose union like Europe	15%	56%	69%	6%	14%	57%
27	Two completely separate independent states	9%	80%	90%	31%	40%	80%

A Constitutional Package

Testing constitutional packages produces a similar result with 95% of the Sinhala community rejecting ‘Two States’ as ‘unacceptable’ while only 31% reject ‘Enhanced Devolution’ as ‘unacceptable’ (Table 10). This option, the professed agenda of the All Party Representative Committee (APRC) is acceptable to a majority of the Sinhala (8% ‘essential’, 12% ‘desirable’, 46% ‘acceptable’ and 3% ‘tolerable’).

Table 10. Sinhala views of various constitutional packages for Sri Lanka

Sinhala	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Two States – Two completely separate independent states of Tamil Eelam and Sri Lanka.	0%	1%	1%	3%	95%
Confederal State – Two autonomous units comprising the North-East and the rest of Sri Lanka with a minimum of functions for the joint central government.	3%	1%	3%	4%	91%
Federal State – A number of autonomous units comprising the North-East and existing provinces in the rest of Sri Lanka with a joint central government sharing power with the autonomous units.	2%	3%	7%	20%	68%
Enhanced Devolution – Full implementation of the 13 th and 17 th Amendments plus the devolution of significant powers to autonomous provinces negotiated at a peace conference.	8%	12%	46%	3%	31%
13th Amendment Devolution – Present Constitution with full implementation of the 13 th and 17 th Amendments.	37%	21%	14%	4%	24%
Unitary State – Pre 87 Constitution.	54%	18%	9%	4%	16%

The Tamil preferred option is a ‘Federal State’ at only 12% ‘unacceptable’, but this level of rejection only reaches 33% ‘unacceptable’ for the APRC ‘Enhanced Devolution’ option at 9% ‘essential’, 18% ‘desirable’, 21% ‘acceptable’ and 18% ‘tolerable’ (Table 11). Interestingly the Tamil population sampled in this poll are clearly split on the ‘Two States’ solution with 27% considering this option ‘essential’ and 40% considering it to be ‘unacceptable’. So perhaps the answer to this particular constitutional problem is for the unitary state of Sri Lanka to be a state for all of its citizens to enjoy equal rights and freedoms but, on the other hand, to be a state in which political power is shared equitably between its various Provinces and the Centre. Hopefully, in this way, the people of Sri Lanka can have the best of both worlds.

Table 11. Tamil views of various constitutional packages for Sri Lanka

Tamil	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Two States – Two completely separate independent states of Tamil Eelam and Sri Lanka.	27%	6%	13%	15%	40%
Confederal State – Two autonomous units comprising the North-East and the rest of Sri Lanka with a minimum of functions for the joint central government.	22%	30%	16%	20%	12%
Federal State – A number of autonomous units comprising the North-East and existing provinces in the rest of Sri Lanka with a joint central government sharing power with the autonomous units.	33%	21%	19%	16%	12%
Enhanced Devolution – Full implementation of the 13 th and 17 th Amendments plus the devolution of significant powers to autonomous provinces negotiated at a peace conference.	9%	18%	21%	18%	33%
13th Amendment Devolution – Present Constitution with full implementation of the 13 th and 17 th Amendments.	9%	19%	13%	22%	38%
Unitary State – Pre 87 Constitution.	3%	11%	8%	24%	54%

Implementation

This poll has already established the desire of the people for a peace process running in parallel with any ongoing war. But what more can be done in terms of implementation both domestically and internationally? Two options were tested for improving implementation of new proposals for reform in Sri Lanka. Firstly ‘the Constitutional Council should monitor the implementation of the Constitution and all its Amendments’ at 65% ‘essential’ or ‘desirable’ and only 5% ‘unacceptable’ across all communities. And secondly ‘establish a Constitutional Court’ at 59% ‘essential’ or ‘desirable’ with resistance running at only 12% ‘unacceptable’ across all communities. Clearly the people of Sri Lanka have more confidence in the Constitutional Council.

Table 12. Domestic solutions for implementation

National (Excl. N. Province)		Essential or Desirable	National Un-acceptable	Sinhala Un-acceptable	Tamil Un-acceptable	Up-Country Tamil Un-acceptable	Muslim Unacceptable
1	The Constitutional Council should monitor the implementation of the Constitution and all its Amendments	65%	5%	6%	7%	4%	3%
2	Establish a Constitutional Court	59%	12%	16%	12%	5%	3%

With regards to the international community people were asked which state and organisations should help to facilitate peace negotiations (Table 13). India came out on top over all as the most trusted international partner for such interventions at 63% ‘essential’ or ‘desirable’. Given the misgivings the Sinhala community have for Norway they came in at the bottom of this list at 41% ‘essential’ or ‘desirable’ but they came in at the top of the Tamil list at 85% ‘essential’ or ‘desirable’. It takes two to make peace and hopefully, when the time comes, both India and Norway will be able to use their good offices to assist in that process and it is also to be hoped that India and Norway will be able to cooperate in this regard.

Table 13. International solutions for implementation

The following states and international organisations should help to facilitate peace negotiations:

National Essential or Desirable	Sinhala Essential or Desirable	Tamil Essential or Desirable	Up-Country Tamil Essential or Desirable	Muslim Essential or Desirable
India 63%	India 54%	Norway 85%	India 96%	SAARC 78%
SAARC 60%	SAARC 53%	UN 66%	Norway 88%	India 77%
China 56%	China 50%	India 64%	Britain 84%	UN 77%
Japan 54%	Japan 45%	SAARC 58%	USA 81%	EU 72%
UN 52%	UN 38%	EU 57%	China 80%	Japan 70%
EU 48%	EU 36%	Japan 54%	Japan 80%	China 68%
Britain 45%	USA 35%	Britain 54%	UN 78%	Norway 67%
USA 45%	Britain 32%	USA 52%	SAARC 74%	Britain 56%
Norway 41%	Norway 19%	China 48%	EU 74%	USA 54%

Appendix: Questions and Full Results

The preamble to the questionnaire is copied below. After that all the questions are reproduced in the following tables with the results for each question. Two observations are to be made here:

1. The questionnaire for this peace poll was longer, more complex and also dealing with a number of very sensitive issues not normally dealt with in other kinds of public opinion research. Therefore, following the pre-test it was split into two parts with half the questions in the 'A' version and half the questions in the 'B' version. The A and the B versions have been recombined in the questionnaire and tables below.
2. Because 'Don't Know' was provided as an option on the 'show card' when the questionnaire was being administered the rates of 'Don't Know' are unusually high for all questions asked. However the rates of 'Don't Know' are genuinely high for some constitutional questions. Given these difficulties two sets of tables are provided for each question. One with the 'Don't Knows' statistically removed and one with the 'Don't Knows' included.

Sri Lanka

Good morning/afternoon/evening my name is _____ from _____ and we are conducting a survey of public opinion to find out what the people of Sri Lanka believe needs to be done to bring lasting peace and stability to the island.

The Research is being carried out by the staff of Social Indicator in Colombo, the Academic Community in Jaffna and Dr. Colin Irwin from the Institute of Irish Studies at the University of Liverpool.

The Questions were collected during a month of interviews undertaken by the research team in all parts of the island and now we would like to find out what you think about these topics.

The Results will be made available for public access on the Internet, in the local newspapers and in reports that will be given to all the political parties and stakeholders in Sri Lanka.

The Survey involves interviewing two thousand people from all parts of Sri Lanka to complete a representative sample in terms of age, gender, social class, political and ethnic affiliation and geographical area.

Topics covered include the range of problems faced by the people, their politicians and the international community, a range of solutions to deal with these problems and finally some questions that tell us where you fit into our sample.

All your answers will be kept completely confidential.

1. The Problems

People from different communities often hold very different views about the problems at the centre of a conflict. Here is a list of some of the problems given to our research team from the different regions of Sri Lanka. Which problems do you consider to be ‘Very significant’, ‘Significant’, ‘Of some significance’, ‘Of little significance’ or ‘Of no significance at all’.

National (Excl. N. Province)		Very Significant	Significant	Some Significance	Little Significance	No Significance
1	The continued violence of the LTTE	55%	29%	7%	3%	5%
2	Abuse of Human Rights by the LTTE	55%	27%	8%	5%	5%
3	Violence over the past 30 years	50%	27%	14%	4%	5%
4	The ongoing war	47%	32%	13%	3%	5%
5	Escalating violence in the last 2 years	46%	28%	15%	4%	7%
6	Corrupt politicians	44%	33%	10%	5%	8%
7	Fragmentation of the island into ‘cleared’ and ‘un-cleared’ areas	41%	28%	14%	5%	12%
8	Failure to bring perpetrators of human rights violations to justice	38%	30%	17%	7%	9%
9	Vested interests in ongoing conflict	36%	29%	18%	7%	11%
10	Politicisation of the public service	34%	24%	20%	9%	13%
11	Failure to implement language rights	31%	28%	14%	8%	18%
12	Failure to provide Sri Lankan Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	31%	25%	15%	10%	19%
13	Public Institutions corrupted for political purposes	30%	29%	18%	15%	9%
14	The failure of successive governments to find a political solution	30%	29%	18%	11%	12%
15	Non-productive Peace Secretariat	30%	30%	17%	9%	14%
16	The LTTE can only be weakened by war	29%	16%	14%	21%	20%
17	Proliferation of armed paramilitary forces	28%	26%	22%	15%	10%
18	Abuse of Human Rights by the Armed forces	28%	16%	13%	12%	31%
19	Abuse of Human Rights by the Police	28%	16%	12%	15%	29%
20	Abuse of Human Rights by Paramilitary groups associated with government forces	28%	18%	21%	13%	20%
21	Increasing number of IDPs	27%	23%	20%	14%	16%
22	Inflation	27%	23%	23%	12%	15%
23	The decline of the economy	26%	25%	21%	14%	14%
24	Polarisation of civil society	26%	29%	24%	11%	11%
25	Discrimination after independence	26%	25%	18%	17%	14%
26	Lack of free and fair elections including manipulation	25%	28%	22%	13%	12%
27	Disproportionate power exercised by JVP and JHU	25%	19%	11%	14%	32%
28	Politicians frequently changing party	25%	23%	19%	11%	22%
29	Government leadership dependent on JVP and JHU	24%	18%	13%	9%	35%
30	Failure to implement 13 th Amendment	24%	25%	17%	14%	20%
31	Unemployment	23%	23%	22%	13%	19%
32	All Tamils being treated like terrorists by the security forces	23%	17%	7%	8%	44%

33	Heightened ethnic polarisation in politics and life	22%	20%	21%	20%	17%
34	Dominance of Sinhalese in public sector employment	22%	18%	23%	13%	25%
35	International NGOs operating in Sri Lanka	21%	30%	24%	13%	12%
36	Upcountry Tamils do not own their own homes	20%	15%	24%	17%	25%
37	Failure to provide Muslims with a constitutional solution to their problems	20%	23%	17%	13%	27%
38	State control over media	20%	18%	19%	17%	27%
39	Devolution of power to North and East will lead to the break up of Sri Lanka	20%	26%	30%	10%	15%
40	The British Colonialism	19%	19%	15%	20%	27%
41	The Police do not provide a police service for the public	19%	21%	18%	11%	31%
42	The Police are predominately Sinhalese	18%	15%	15%	19%	33%
43	Increasing number of refugees leaving Sri Lanka	18%	22%	18%	17%	25%
44	Failure to implement 17 th Amendment	17%	30%	16%	18%	19%
45	A defeated LTTE will give rise to new armed groups	17%	25%	33%	12%	13%
46	The Armed forces are predominately Sinhalese	17%	18%	13%	16%	38%
47	State aided colonization and change of demographics	16%	20%	16%	15%	33%
48	Failure to provide Upcountry Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	16%	25%	20%	15%	25%
49	Lack of basic health care	15%	17%	27%	19%	21%
50	Failure to protect historic Buddhist sites in the North and East	14%	34%	24%	12%	15%
51	Failure to protect historic Hindu sites	13%	22%	34%	15%	15%

National (Excl. N. Province) +DK		Very Significant	Significant	Some Significance	Little Significance	No Significance	Don't Know No Answer
1	The continued violence of the LTTE	49%	26%	6%	3%	4%	12%
2	Abuse of Human Rights by the LTTE	44%	22%	6%	4%	4%	20%
3	Violence over the past 30 years	44%	23%	12%	3%	4%	13%
4	The ongoing war	42%	28%	12%	3%	4%	11%
5	Escalating violence in the last 2 years	40%	25%	13%	3%	6%	13%
6	Corrupt politicians	34%	26%	8%	4%	7%	21%
7	Fragmentation of the island into 'cleared' and 'un-cleared' areas	32%	22%	11%	4%	9%	22%
8	Failure to bring perpetrators of human rights violations to justice	27%	21%	12%	5%	6%	28%
9	Politicisation of the public service	25%	18%	15%	7%	9%	26%
10	Vested interests in ongoing conflict	24%	20%	12%	5%	7%	32%
11	The LTTE can only be weakened by war	23%	13%	11%	17%	16%	21%
12	Public Institutions corrupted for political purposes	23%	22%	14%	11%	7%	24%
13	Inflation	23%	19%	19%	10%	12%	17%
14	The decline of the economy	22%	20%	18%	12%	12%	17%
15	The failure of successive governments to find a political solution	22%	21%	13%	8%	9%	28%
16	Failure to implement language rights	22%	20%	10%	6%	13%	30%
17	Proliferation of armed paramilitary forces	21%	20%	17%	11%	8%	24%
18	Failure to provide Sri Lankan Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	21%	17%	10%	6%	13%	34%
19	Unemployment	20%	20%	18%	11%	16%	16%
20	Abuse of Human Rights by the Armed forces	20%	11%	9%	9%	22%	28%
21	Abuse of Human Rights by the Police	20%	12%	9%	11%	21%	27%
22	Non-productive Peace Secretariat	20%	21%	11%	6%	10%	32%
23	Increasing number of IDPs	19%	17%	15%	10%	12%	27%
24	Abuse of Human Rights by Paramilitary groups associated with government forces	19%	12%	14%	9%	14%	31%
25	Lack of free and fair elections including manipulation	18%	20%	16%	10%	9%	27%
26	Polarisation of civil society	18%	19%	16%	8%	7%	32%
27	Politicians frequently changing party	18%	17%	14%	8%	16%	27%
28	Discrimination after independence	18%	18%	13%	12%	10%	30%
29	Dominance of Sinhalese in public sector employment	17%	14%	18%	10%	20%	21%
30	All Tamils being treated like terrorists by the security forces	17%	12%	5%	6%	32%	28%
31	Heightened ethnic polarisation in politics and life	16%	15%	16%	15%	13%	24%
32	Disproportionate power exercised by JVP and JHU	16%	12%	7%	9%	20%	36%
33	Government leadership dependent on JVP and JHU	15%	11%	8%	5%	22%	38%
34	The Police do not provide a police service for the public	15%	16%	14%	8%	24%	23%
35	The Police are predominately Sinhalese	14%	12%	12%	16%	26%	20%
36	Upcountry Tamils do not own their own	14%	11%	18%	12%	18%	28%

	homes						
37	The Armed forces are predominately Sinhalese	13%	14%	10%	12%	30%	21%
38	State control over media	13%	12%	12%	11%	18%	33%
39	International NGOs operating in Sri Lanka	13%	19%	15%	8%	8%	37%
40	Lack of basic health care	12%	14%	22%	16%	18%	18%
41	Increasing number of refugees leaving Sri Lanka	12%	15%	12%	12%	17%	32%
42	Failure to provide Muslims with a constitutional solution to their problems	12%	14%	10%	8%	16%	39%
43	Devolution of power to North and East will lead to the break up of Sri Lanka	12%	16%	18%	6%	9%	39%
44	State aided colonization and change of demographics	11%	14%	11%	10%	22%	31%
45	Failure to protect historic Buddhist sites in the North and East	11%	26%	19%	10%	12%	22%
46	A defeated LTTE will give rise to new armed groups	11%	16%	22%	8%	8%	35%
47	The British Colonialism	10%	10%	8%	11%	15%	45%
48	Failure to protect historic Hindu sites	10%	17%	25%	11%	12%	25%
49	Failure to implement 13 th Amendment	9%	9%	7%	5%	7%	62%
50	Failure to provide Upcountry Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	9%	15%	12%	9%	14%	41%
51	Failure to implement 17 th Amendment	6%	11%	6%	6%	7%	64%

	Sinhala	Very Significant	Significant	Some Significance	Little Significance	No Significance
1	The continued violence of the LTTE	60%	30%	6%	3%	2%
2	Abuse of Human Rights by the LTTE	59%	28%	7%	3%	3%
3	Fragmentation of the island into 'cleared' and 'un-cleared' areas	43%	25%	16%	4%	11%
4	Violence over the past 30 years	41%	30%	17%	5%	7%
5	Corrupt politicians	40%	35%	9%	5%	11%
6	The ongoing war	37%	37%	17%	4%	6%
7	Escalating violence in the last 2 years	31%	33%	20%	5%	10%
8	The LTTE can only be weakened by war	30%	15%	15%	28%	12%
9	Vested interests in ongoing conflict	30%	27%	18%	9%	15%
10	Politicisation of the public service	29%	20%	23%	12%	17%
11	Failure to bring perpetrators of human rights violations to justice	28%	29%	22%	9%	13%
12	Proliferation of armed paramilitary forces	24%	25%	23%	18%	10%
13	Public Institutions corrupted for political purposes	23%	27%	20%	18%	11%
14	International NGOs operating in Sri Lanka	23%	35%	23%	11%	7%
15	Increasing number of IDPs	22%	21%	21%	15%	21%
16	The failure of successive governments to find a political solution	21%	26%	23%	15%	16%
17	Inflation	21%	21%	27%	13%	18%
18	Failure to implement 13 th Amendment	20%	22%	18%	17%	23%
19	Failure to provide Sri Lankan Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	20%	17%	18%	12%	33%
20	The British Colonialism	19%	17%	16%	22%	26%
21	Politicians frequently changing party	18%	21%	21%	12%	28%
22	The decline of the economy	17%	22%	27%	17%	17%
23	Lack of free and fair elections including manipulation	17%	27%	28%	15%	13%
24	Polarisation of civil society	17%	27%	27%	13%	15%
25	Non-productive Peace Secretariat	16%	30%	17%	14%	23%
26	Devolution of power to North and East will lead to the break up of Sri Lanka	16%	23%	34%	10%	17%
27	Unemployment	15%	21%	27%	14%	23%
28	A defeated LTTE will give rise to new armed groups	15%	23%	35%	14%	14%
29	Failure to protect historic Buddhist sites in the North and East	14%	37%	25%	13%	11%
30	Failure to implement 17 th Amendment	13%	28%	16%	22%	21%
31	Failure to provide Muslims with a constitutional solution to their problems	13%	10%	17%	18%	41%
32	Abuse of Human Rights by Paramilitary groups associated with government forces	12%	12%	25%	20%	31%
33	Failure to implement language rights	12%	29%	18%	12%	29%
34	Discrimination after independence	12%	21%	22%	25%	20%
35	Abuse of Human Rights by the Armed forces	11%	9%	11%	18%	51%
36	Abuse of Human Rights by the Police	11%	11%	11%	21%	46%
37	Upcountry Tamils do not own their own	10%	10%	27%	21%	32%

	homes					
38	Heightened ethnic polarisation in politics and life	9%	14%	25%	28%	24%
39	Increasing number of refugees leaving Sri Lanka	9%	19%	16%	23%	33%
40	Disproportionate power exercised by JVP and JHU	9%	11%	10%	19%	51%
41	Failure to protect historic Hindu sites	8%	18%	40%	17%	16%
42	The Police do not provide a police service for the public	8%	13%	18%	14%	47%
43	Government leadership dependent on JVP and JHU	7%	10%	13%	12%	58%
44	State control over media	7%	11%	18%	25%	40%
45	Lack of basic health care	6%	15%	32%	23%	25%
46	Failure to provide Upcountry Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	5%	19%	18%	21%	37%
47	State aided colonization and change of demographics	4%	14%	17%	19%	46%
48	The Police are predominately Sinhalese	4%	9%	15%	25%	47%
49	Dominance of Sinhalese in public sector employment	4%	11%	29%	18%	38%
50	All Tamils being treated like terrorists by the security forces	3%	11%	5%	11%	71%
51	The Armed forces are predominately Sinhalese	2%	9%	12%	21%	56%

Sinhala +DK		Very Significant	Significant	Some Significance	Little Significance	No Significance	Don't Know No Answer
1	The continued violence of the LTTE	53%	27%	6%	2%	1%	11%
2	Abuse of Human Rights by the LTTE	47%	22%	5%	3%	2%	21%
3	Violence over the past 30 years	34%	25%	15%	4%	6%	16%
4	Fragmentation of the island into 'cleared' and 'un-cleared' areas	34%	20%	12%	3%	9%	21%
5	The ongoing war	32%	32%	15%	3%	5%	14%
6	Corrupt politicians	30%	26%	7%	4%	9%	24%
7	Escalating violence in the last 2 years	27%	28%	17%	4%	9%	15%
8	The LTTE can only be weakened by war	24%	12%	12%	23%	10%	19%
9	Politicisation of the public service	20%	14%	16%	8%	12%	31%
10	Vested interests in ongoing conflict	19%	17%	12%	6%	10%	37%
11	Proliferation of armed paramilitary forces	18%	19%	18%	14%	7%	23%
12	Public Institutions corrupted for political purposes	18%	20%	15%	13%	8%	25%
13	Inflation	18%	17%	22%	11%	15%	18%
14	Failure to bring perpetrators of human rights violations to justice	18%	19%	14%	6%	8%	34%
15	Increasing number of IDPs	15%	15%	15%	10%	14%	31%
16	The failure of successive governments to find a political solution	15%	18%	16%	10%	11%	30%
17	The decline of the economy	14%	17%	21%	14%	14%	20%
18	International NGOs operating in Sri Lanka	14%	21%	14%	7%	4%	40%
19	Unemployment	13%	17%	22%	12%	18%	18%
20	Lack of free and fair elections including manipulation	12%	19%	20%	11%	9%	29%
21	Politicians frequently changing party	12%	14%	14%	8%	20%	31%
22	The British Colonialism	11%	10%	9%	13%	15%	41%
23	Failure to protect historic Buddhist sites in the North and East	11%	29%	20%	11%	9%	20%
24	Polarisation of civil society	11%	17%	18%	8%	10%	36%
25	Failure to provide Sri Lankan Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	11%	10%	10%	7%	19%	44%
26	Non-productive Peace Secretariat	10%	18%	10%	8%	14%	41%
27	A defeated LTTE will give rise to new armed groups	9%	14%	22%	9%	8%	38%
28	Devolution of power to North and East will lead to the break up of Sri Lanka	9%	13%	20%	6%	10%	42%
29	Abuse of Human Rights by Paramilitary groups associated with government forces	8%	8%	15%	12%	19%	38%
30	Discrimination after independence	8%	14%	14%	17%	13%	34%
31	Heightened ethnic polarisation in politics and life	7%	11%	18%	21%	18%	25%
32	Abuse of Human Rights by the Armed forces	7%	6%	7%	12%	34%	34%
33	Abuse of Human Rights by the Police	7%	7%	8%	14%	31%	33%
34	Upcountry Tamils do not own their own homes	7%	7%	18%	14%	22%	33%
35	Failure to implement 13 th Amendment	7%	8%	7%	6%	9%	63%
36	Failure to implement language rights	7%	18%	11%	7%	17%	39%

37	Failure to protect historic Hindu sites	6%	14%	31%	13%	12%	24%
38	The Police do not provide a police service for the public	6%	9%	13%	10%	34%	27%
39	Increasing number of refugees leaving Sri Lanka	6%	12%	10%	14%	21%	38%
40	Failure to provide Muslims with a constitutional solution to their problems	6%	5%	8%	9%	20%	51%
41	Failure to implement 17 th Amendment	5%	10%	6%	8%	8%	64%
42	Disproportionate power exercised by JVP and JHU	5%	6%	6%	11%	29%	44%
43	State control over media	5%	7%	11%	16%	25%	37%
44	Government leadership dependent on JVP and JHU	4%	5%	7%	7%	32%	45%
45	Lack of basic health care	4%	12%	25%	18%	19%	22%
46	State aided colonization and change of demographics	3%	9%	11%	13%	30%	35%
47	The Police are predominately Sinhalese	3%	7%	12%	19%	37%	22%
48	Dominance of Sinhalese in public sector employment	3%	8%	21%	13%	28%	27%
49	The Armed forces are predominately Sinhalese	2%	7%	9%	15%	42%	25%
50	All Tamils being treated like terrorists by the security forces	2%	7%	3%	7%	46%	35%
51	Failure to provide Upcountry Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	2%	9%	8%	10%	18%	53%

Tamil		Very Significant	Significant	Some Significance	Little Significance	No Significance
1	The ongoing war	73%	21%	6%	0%	0%
2	Escalating violence in the last 2 years	72%	18%	10%	0%	0%
3	Violence over the past 30 years	59%	29%	11%	2%	0%
4	Discrimination after independence	56%	28%	9%	3%	3%
5	The failure of successive governments to find a political solution	53%	35%	8%	3%	0%
6	Abuse of Human Rights by the Police	52%	32%	12%	3%	2%
7	Abuse of Human Rights by Paramilitary groups associated with government forces	52%	26%	18%	3%	0%
8	Failure to bring perpetrators of human rights violations to justice	52%	33%	13%	2%	0%
9	Abuse of Human Rights by the Armed forces	51%	32%	15%	0%	2%
10	Government leadership dependent on JVP and JHU	51%	24%	20%	3%	2%
11	Non-productive Peace Secretariat	50%	27%	16%	6%	0%
12	Vested interests in ongoing conflict	48%	28%	20%	2%	2%
13	All Tamils being treated like terrorists by the security forces	48%	26%	18%	6%	2%
14	Lack of free and fair elections including manipulation	47%	32%	15%	3%	3%
15	State control over media	47%	19%	21%	7%	7%
16	Dominance of Sinhalese in public sector employment	46%	32%	16%	6%	0%
17	Heightened ethnic polarisation in politics and life	45%	28%	15%	8%	3%
18	Failure to implement language rights	44%	33%	16%	5%	2%
19	Politicisation of the public service	43%	26%	30%	2%	0%
20	Disproportionate power exercised by JVP and JHU	43%	26%	20%	10%	2%
21	Unemployment	41%	32%	13%	8%	6%
22	Public Institutions corrupted for political purposes	40%	24%	24%	10%	2%
23	Failure to provide Sri Lankan Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	40%	37%	13%	11%	0%
24	Abuse of Human Rights by the LTTE	39%	23%	11%	9%	19%
25	The Armed forces are predominately Sinhalese	38%	32%	19%	8%	3%
26	Corrupt politicians	38%	32%	17%	10%	3%
27	The Police are predominately Sinhalese	37%	20%	18%	20%	5%
28	The decline of the economy	36%	34%	17%	9%	3%
29	The continued violence of the LTTE	36%	25%	11%	7%	21%
30	Polarisation of civil society	35%	32%	23%	8%	2%
31	State aided colonization and change of demographics	31%	24%	17%	9%	19%
32	Increasing number of IDPs	31%	31%	19%	18%	2%
33	The Police do not provide a police service for the public	31%	31%	28%	7%	3%
34	Inflation	30%	27%	27%	14%	3%
35	Upcountry Tamils do not own their own homes	29%	19%	30%	8%	14%

36	Failure to protect historic Hindu sites	29%	37%	19%	5%	10%
37	Proliferation of armed paramilitary forces	28%	33%	23%	3%	12%
38	Fragmentation of the island into 'cleared' and 'un-cleared' areas	28%	31%	21%	3%	17%
39	Politicians frequently changing party	27%	30%	22%	15%	7%
40	Devolution of power to North and East will lead to the break up of Sri Lanka	25%	31%	18%	15%	11%
41	Failure to implement 13 th Amendment	24%	32%	17%	7%	20%
42	Increasing number of refugees leaving Sri Lanka	24%	31%	25%	10%	10%
43	The LTTE can only be weakened by war	23%	19%	11%	5%	42%
44	Lack of basic health care	19%	28%	25%	17%	11%
45	A defeated LTTE will give rise to new armed groups	17%	27%	34%	8%	14%
46	Failure to implement 17 th Amendment	15%	36%	15%	10%	23%
47	Failure to provide Upcountry Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	15%	32%	29%	15%	8%
48	The British Colonialism	13%	23%	19%	15%	30%
49	Failure to protect historic Buddhist sites in the North and East	12%	32%	20%	7%	29%
50	International NGOs operating in Sri Lanka	9%	24%	24%	15%	29%
51	Failure to provide Muslims with a constitutional solution to their problems	8%	37%	30%	13%	12%

Tamil +DK		Very Significant	Significant	Some Significance	Little Significance	No Significance	Don't Know No Answer
1	The ongoing war	73%	21%	6%	0%	0%	0%
2	Escalating violence in the last 2 years	69%	18%	10%	0%	0%	3%
3	Violence over the past 30 years	58%	28%	11%	2%	0%	16%
4	Discrimination after independence	55%	28%	9%	3%	3%	2%
5	The failure of successive governments to find a political solution	52%	34%	8%	3%	0%	3%
6	Failure to bring perpetrators of human rights violations to justice	51%	32%	12%	2%		3%
7	Abuse of Human Rights by Paramilitary groups associated with government forces	49%	25%	17%	3%	0%	6%
8	Abuse of Human Rights by the Armed forces	48%	30%	14%	0%	2%	6%
9	Abuse of Human Rights by the Police	48%	30%	11%	3%	2%	6%
10	Non-productive Peace Secretariat	48%	26%	15%	6%	0%	5%
11	Government leadership dependent on JVP and JHU	46%	22%	18%	3%	2%	9%
12	All Tamils being treated like terrorists by the security forces	46%	25%	17%	6%	2%	5%
13	Dominance of Sinhalese in public sector employment	45%	31%	15%	6%	0%	3%
14	Vested interests in ongoing conflict	45%	27%	19%	2%	2%	6%
15	Lack of free and fair elections including manipulation	44%	30%	14%	3%	3%	5%
16	Failure to implement language rights	43%	32%	15%	5%	2%	3%
17	Heightened ethnic polarisation in politics and life	42%	26%	14%	8%	3%	8%
18	The decline of the economy	41%	31%	13%	8%	6%	2%
19	Politicisation of the public service	41%	25%	28%	2%	0%	5%
20	State control over media	40%	16%	18%	6%	6%	13%
21	Disproportionate power exercised by JVP and JHU	39%	24%	18%	9%	2%	8%
22	Public Institutions corrupted for political purposes	38%	23%	23%	9%	2%	5%
23	Failure to provide Sri Lankan Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	38%	35%	12%	11%	0%	5%
24	The Armed forces are predominately Sinhalese	36%	30%	18%	7%	3%	6%
25	Corrupt politicians	36%	30%	17%	9%	3%	5%
26	The Police are predominately Sinhalese	34%	18%	17%	18%	5%	8%
27	Abuse of Human Rights by the LTTE	34%	20%	9%	8%	17%	12%
28	The continued violence of the LTTE	32%	22%	10%	6%	19%	11%
29	Polarisation of civil society	32%	29%	22%	8%	2%	8%
30	Increasing number of IDPs	29%	29%	18%	17%	2%	6%
31	Inflation	29%	26%	26%	14%	3%	2%
32	The Police do not provide a police service for the public	29%	29%	26%	6%	3%	6%
33	State aided colonization and change of demographics	28%	22%	15%	8%	17%	11%
34	Upcountry Tamils do not own their own homes	27%	18%	29%	8%	14%	5%
35	Proliferation of armed paramilitary	26%	31%	22%	3%	11%	8%

	forces						
36	Failure to protect historic Hindu sites	25%	33%	16%	4%	9%	12%
37	Fragmentation of the island into 'cleared' and 'un-cleared' areas	24%	27%	18%	3%	15%	13%
38	Politicians frequently changing party	24%	27%	20%	14%	6%	9%
39	Increasing number of refugees leaving Sri Lanka	21%	27%	22%	9%	9%	12%
40	Devolution of power to North and East will lead to the break up of Sri Lanka	21%	26%	15%	12%	9%	17%
41	The LTTE can only be weakened by war	20%	17%	9%	5%	38%	11%
42	Lack of basic health care	18%	28%	25%	17%	11%	2%
43	A defeated LTTE will give rise to new armed groups	16%	25%	31%	8%	13%	8%
44	Failure to implement 13 th Amendment	15%	20%	11%	5%	12%	37%
45	Unemployment	14%	21%	14%	7%	4%	40%
46	Failure to provide Upcountry Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	13%	28%	25%	13%	7%	12%
47	The British Colonialism	11%	18%	15%	12%	25%	18%
48	Failure to protect historic Buddhist sites in the North and East	11%	29%	18%	6%	26%	11%
49	Failure to implement 17 th Amendment	9%	22%	9%	6%	14%	40%
50	Failure to provide Muslims with a constitutional solution to their problems	8%	33%	27%	12%	11%	9%
51	International NGOs operating in Sri Lanka	8%	20%	20%	12%	25%	15%

Up-Country Tamils		Very Significant	Significant	Some Significance	Little Significance	No Significance
1	Escalating violence in the last 2 years	79%	15%	4%	1%	1%
2	Failure to implement language rights	78%	17%	3%	1%	1%
3	Abuse of Human Rights by the Police	75%	13%	6%	4%	1%
4	Abuse of Human Rights by the Armed forces	74%	15%	8%	2%	2%
5	Violence over the past 30 years	74%	20%	4%	3%	
6	Corrupt politicians	73%	19%	7%	1%	0%
7	All Tamils being treated like terrorists by the security forces	71%	22%	4%	3%	1%
8	The ongoing war	68%	25%	5%	1%	1%
9	Failure to bring perpetrators of human rights violations to justice	67%	23%	7%	1%	1%
10	Failure to provide Sri Lankan Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	66%	26%	4%	1%	3%
11	Non-productive Peace Secretariat	66%	23%	8%	1%	1%
12	Dominance of Sinhalese in public sector employment	65%	28%	4%	1%	3%
13	Vested interests in ongoing conflict	63%	24%	7%	0%	6%
14	Heightened ethnic polarisation in politics and life	62%	26%	8%	3%	2%
15	The Armed forces are predominately Sinhalese	60%	29%	7%	3%	1%
16	Abuse of Human Rights by Paramilitary groups associated with government forces	59%	17%	15%	2%	8%
17	The failure of successive governments to find a political solution	59%	27%	8%	2%	5%
18	Polarisation of civil society	58%	31%	8%	2%	2%
19	The Police are predominately Sinhalese	57%	21%	11%	6%	4%
20	Abuse of Human Rights by the LTTE	57%	13%	6%	6%	17%
21	Public Institutions corrupted for political purposes	57%	28%	7%	4%	3%
22	Politicians frequently changing party	57%	20%	5%	7%	11%
23	Discrimination after independence	56%	30%	10%	3%	2%
24	Upcountry Tamils do not own their own homes	55%	17%	11%	8%	10%
25	The Police do not provide a police service for the public	54%	28%	11%	1%	6%
26	Politicisation of the public service	53%	34%	7%	1%	4%
27	Government leadership dependent on JVP and JHU	53%	32%	10%	5%	0%
28	The decline of the economy	52%	26%	9%	6%	6%
29	Disproportionate power exercised by JVP and JHU	52%	34%	5%	5%	5%
30	State control over media	51%	28%	16%	5%	0%
31	Failure to provide Upcountry Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	49%	33%	10%	1%	6%
32	The continued violence of the LTTE	45%	25%	7%	6%	16%
33	Lack of free and fair elections including manipulation	45%	33%	15%	3%	3%
34	Failure to implement 13 th Amendment	44%	13%	19%	13%	13%

35	Increasing number of IDPs	43%	23%	18%	5%	11%
36	Fragmentation of the island into 'cleared' and 'un-cleared' areas	43%	25%	7%	12%	13%
37	Increasing number of refugees leaving Sri Lanka	42%	22%	20%	10%	6%
38	Lack of basic health care	40%	22%	15%	12%	11%
39	Devolution of power to North and East will lead to the break up of Sri Lanka	40%	29%	18%	2%	11%
40	Unemployment	39%	26%	10%	14%	10%
41	State aided colonization and change of demographics	38%	23%	15%	12%	12%
42	Inflation	38%	27%	15%	14%	6%
43	Failure to implement 17 th Amendment	36%	9%	18%	9%	27%
44	Proliferation of armed paramilitary forces	34%	26%	14%	10%	16%
45	International NGOs operating in Sri Lanka	30%	10%	20%	18%	22%
46	The LTTE can only be weakened by war	29%	18%	7%	9%	38%
47	Failure to protect historic Hindu sites	28%	32%	12%	12%	15%
48	A defeated LTTE will give rise to new armed groups	26%	26%	20%	12%	16%
49	The British Colonialism	23%	17%	11%	26%	23%
50	Failure to provide Muslims with a constitutional solution to their problems	22%	43%	17%	4%	13%
51	Failure to protect historic Buddhist sites in the North and East	10%	25%	22%	15%	27%

Up-Country Tamil +DK		Very Significant	Significant	Some Significance	Little Significance	No Significance	Don't Know No Answer
1	Escalating violence in the last 2 years	69%	14%	3%	1%	1%	12%
2	Failure to implement language rights	65%	14%	2%	1%	1%	16%
3	Violence over the past 30 years	62%	16%	3%	2%	0%	16%
4	The ongoing war	59%	22%	4%	1%	1%	12%
5	All Tamils being treated like terrorists by the security forces	59%	18%	3%	2%	1%	16%
6	Corrupt politicians	59%	15%	5%	1%	0%	20%
7	Dominance of Sinhalese in public sector employment	54%	23%	3%	1%	2%	17%
8	Abuse of Human Rights by the Police	53%	10%	4%	3%	1%	29%
9	Failure to provide Sri Lankan Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	53%	21%	3%	1%	2%	20%
10	Abuse of Human Rights by the Armed forces	52%	11%	5%	1%	1%	30%
11	Failure to bring perpetrators of human rights violations to justice	51%	17%	5%	1%	1%	24%
12	Non-productive Peace Secretariat	51%	17%	7%	1%	1%	23%
13	The Armed forces are predominately Sinhalese	49%	24%	5%	2%	1%	18%
14	Upcountry Tamils do not own their own homes	48%	15%	9%	7%	8%	13%
15	Vested interests in ongoing conflict	44%	17%	5%	0%	4%	29%
16	Failure to provide Upcountry Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	44%	30%	9%	1%	5%	11%
17	Heightened ethnic polarisation in politics and life	43%	18%	5%	2%	1%	31%
18	The decline of the economy	42%	21%	7%	5%	5%	20%
19	The Police are predominately Sinhalese	42%	16%	8%	4%	3%	26%
20	Abuse of Human Rights by Paramilitary groups associated with government forces	41%	12%	11%	1%	5%	30%
21	Politicisation of the public service	41%	26%	5%	1%	3%	23%
22	Public Institutions corrupted for political purposes	41%	20%	5%	3%	2%	29%
23	The Police do not provide a police service for the public	41%	22%	9%	1%	4%	23%
24	Polarisation of civil society	41%	22%	5%	1%	1%	29%
25	The failure of successive governments to find a political solution	40%	18%	5%	1%	3%	33%
26	Abuse of Human Rights by the LTTE	39%	9%	4%	4%	12%	32%
27	Politicians frequently changing party	38%	13%	3%	4%	8%	34%
28	Discrimination after independence	38%	20%	6%	2%	1%	32%
29	Disproportionate power exercised by JVP and JHU	37%	24%	3%	3%	3%	29%
30	Lack of basic health care	35%	20%	13%	11%	10%	12%
31	Government leadership dependent on JVP and JHU	33%	20%	6%	0%	3%	38%
32	The continued violence of the LTTE	32%	18%	5%	4%	12%	29%
33	State control over media	32%	18%	10%	0%	3%	37%
34	Unemployment	31%	21%	8%	11%	8%	20%
35	Increasing number of refugees leaving	31%	16%	15%	7%	4%	27%

	Sri Lanka						
36	Increasing number of IDPs	29%	16%	13%	3%	7%	32%
37	Lack of free and fair elections including manipulation	29%	21%	10%	2%	2%	36%
38	Fragmentation of the island into 'cleared' and 'un-cleared' areas	28%	16%	4%	8%	9%	35%
39	State aided colonization and change of demographics	27%	16%	11%	9%	9%	30%
40	Inflation	27%	20%	11%	10%	4%	27%
41	Proliferation of armed paramilitary forces	21%	16%	8%	6%	9%	39%
42	Failure to protect historic Hindu sites	20%	23%	9%	9%	11%	29%
43	Devolution of power to North and East will lead to the break up of Sri Lanka	20%	14%	9%	1%	5%	51%
44	The LTTE can only be weakened by war	17%	11%	4%	5%	22%	41%
45	Failure to provide Muslims with a constitutional solution to their problems	16%	32%	13%	3%	10%	26%
46	International NGOs operating in Sri Lanka	16%	5%	11%	10%	12%	46%
47	A defeated LTTE will give rise to new armed groups	14%	14%	11%	7%	9%	45%
48	The British Colonialism	8%	6%	4%	9%	8%	63%
49	Failure to implement 13 th Amendment	7%	2%	3%	2%	2%	83%
50	Failure to protect historic Buddhist sites in the North and East	7%	16%	14%	10%	18%	35%
51	Failure to implement 17 th Amendment	4%	1%	2%	1%	3%	88%

Muslim		Very Significant	Significant	Some Significance	Little Significance	No Significance
1	Violence over the past 30 years	69%	18%	9%	3%	2%
2	Escalating violence in the last 2 years	66%	24%	6%	1%	3%
3	The ongoing war	64%	22%	8%	2%	4%
4	The continued violence of the LTTE	54%	31%	7%	4%	4%
5	Failure to implement language rights	51%	30%	10%	2%	6%
6	Abuse of Human Rights by Paramilitary groups associated with government forces	47%	32%	15%	4%	2%
7	Disproportionate power exercised by JVP and JHU	47%	34%	9%	4%	5%
8	Abuse of Human Rights by the LTTE	45%	34%	13%	7%	1%
9	Government leadership dependent on JVP and JHU	45%	34%	9%	6%	6%
10	Abuse of Human Rights by the Armed forces	44%	29%	20%	6%	1%
11	Abuse of Human Rights by the Police	44%	27%	18%	9%	3%
12	Failure to bring perpetrators of human rights violations to justice	44%	33%	10%	7%	7%
13	Inflation	43%	27%	11%	5%	13%
14	All Tamils being treated like terrorists by the security forces	43%	33%	11%	6%	7%
15	Failure to provide Muslims with a constitutional solution to their problems	42%	35%	8%	5%	10%
16	Corrupt politicians	42%	36%	12%	6%	5%
17	Discrimination after independence	40%	36%	15%	5%	3%
18	The Police are predominately Sinhalese	39%	28%	14%	8%	11%
19	The decline of the economy	38%	29%	11%	9%	13%
20	Proliferation of armed paramilitary forces	38%	24%	22%	8%	8%
21	Dominance of Sinhalese in public sector employment	38%	28%	18%	4%	11%
22	Fragmentation of the island into 'cleared' and 'un-cleared' areas	38%	39%	7%	6%	9%
23	State aided colonization and change of demographics	36%	40%	13%	5%	6%
24	Politicisation of the public service	35%	30%	14%	11%	11%
25	Non-productive Peace Secretariat	35%	39%	22%	1%	3%
26	Failure to provide Sri Lankan Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	34%	43%	15%	6%	2%
27	Unemployment	33%	28%	13%	8%	18%
28	Heightened ethnic polarisation in politics and life	32%	34%	19%	8%	7%
29	The failure of successive governments to find a political solution	32%	38%	13%	7%	10%
30	Lack of basic health care	32%	16%	20%	10%	22%
31	Increasing number of IDPs	31%	24%	19%	16%	10%
32	Public Institutions corrupted for political purposes	31%	37%	13%	11%	8%
33	Lack of free and fair elections including manipulation	31%	27%	11%	15%	15%
34	Failure to implement 13 th Amendment	31%	36%	15%	9%	9%
35	The Police do not provide a police	31%	40%	15%	9%	6%

	service for the public					
36	State control over media	31%	37%	21%	3%	8%
37	The Armed forces are predominately Sinhalese	30%	33%	15%	10%	12%
38	Polarisation of civil society	30%	30%	22%	12%	4%
39	Failure to implement 17 th Amendment	29%	40%	15%	9%	7%
40	The LTTE can only be weakened by war	28%	19%	15%	6%	33%
41	Vested interests in ongoing conflict	28%	39%	21%	10%	2%
42	Politicians frequently changing party	28%	30%	19%	10%	13%
43	Increasing number of refugees leaving Sri Lanka	27%	30%	17%	6%	20%
44	A defeated LTTE will give rise to new armed groups	23%	30%	35%	5%	8%
45	Upcountry Tamils do not own their own homes	21%	27%	23%	12%	18%
46	The British Colonialism	20%	27%	10%	12%	31%
47	Devolution of power to North and East will lead to the break up of Sri Lanka	20%	35%	28%	9%	8%
48	Failure to protect historic Buddhist sites in the North and East	18%	27%	24%	9%	22%
49	Failure to protect historic Hindu sites	16%	25%	31%	10%	18%
50	Failure to provide Upcountry Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	16%	29%	29%	11%	15%
51	International NGOs operating in Sri Lanka	12%	27%	31%	16%	14%

Muslim +DK		Very Significant	Significant	Some Significance	Little Significance	No Significance	Don't Know No Answer
1	Violence over the past 30 years	65%	17%	8%	2%	2%	6%
2	Escalating violence in the last 2 years	62%	22%	5%	1%	3%	7%
3	The ongoing war	61%	21%	8%	2%	4%	5%
4	The continued violence of the LTTE	50%	29%	6%	4%	4%	8%
5	Failure to implement language rights	44%	26%	9%	2%	6%	14%
6	Abuse of Human Rights by Paramilitary groups associated with government forces	39%	27%	12%	3%	2%	18%
7	Inflation	39%	25%	10%	5%	12%	10%
8	Abuse of Human Rights by the LTTE	38%	29%	11%	6%	1%	15%
9	Abuse of Human Rights by the Armed forces	38%	25%	17%	5%	1%	14%
10	Abuse of Human Rights by the Police	38%	24%	15%	8%	2%	13%
11	Failure to provide Muslims with a constitutional solution to their problems	37%	30%	7%	5%	9%	12%
12	Failure to bring perpetrators of human rights violations to justice	36%	27%	8%	6%	6%	18%
13	The Police are predominately Sinhalese	35%	25%	12%	7%	10%	11%
14	Dominance of Sinhalese in public sector employment	35%	26%	17%	4%	10%	8%
15	Government leadership dependent on JVP and JHU	35%	27%	7%	5%	5%	23%
16	Disproportionate power exercised by JVP and JHU	35%	25%	7%	3%	4%	25%
17	Corrupt politicians	35%	30%	10%	5%	4%	17%
18	The decline of the economy	34%	27%	10%	8%	12%	8%
19	All Tamils being treated like terrorists by the security forces	34%	26%	9%	5%	6%	21%
20	Unemployment	31%	26%	11%	8%	16%	8%
21	Proliferation of armed paramilitary forces	30%	19%	18%	6%	6%	21%
22	Fragmentation of the island into 'cleared' and 'un-cleared' areas	30%	31%	6%	5%	7%	22%
23	Politicisation of the public service	29%	26%	12%	9%	9%	15%
24	Failure to provide Sri Lankan Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	29%	37%	13%	5%	2%	16%
25	Non-productive Peace Secretariat	29%	33%	18%	1%	2%	17%
26	Discrimination after independence	29%	26%	11%	4%	2%	28%
27	Lack of basic health care	28%	14%	18%	9%	20%	11%
28	State aided colonization and change of demographics	26%	29%	9%	4%	5%	27%
29	The Police do not provide a police service for the public	26%	34%	13%	8%	5%	15%
30	Heightened ethnic polarisation in politics and life	25%	27%	15%	6%	5%	21%
31	Increasing number of IDPs	25%	19%	15%	13%	8%	20%
32	Lack of free and fair elections including manipulation	25%	22%	9%	12%	12%	19%
33	The Armed forces are predominately Sinhalese	25%	28%	13%	9%	10%	15%
34	Public Institutions corrupted for political purposes	24%	28%	10%	8%	6%	24%

35	The failure of successive governments to find a political solution	24%	29%	10%	5%	8%	24%
36	Politicians frequently changing party	24%	25%	16%	9%	11%	16%
37	State control over media	24%	29%	16%	2%	6%	22%
38	The LTTE can only be weakened by war	23%	15%	12%	5%	28%	17%
39	Polarisation of civil society	21%	21%	16%	9%	3%	30%
40	Increasing number of refugees leaving Sri Lanka	21%	24%	13%	5%	16%	21%
41	Vested interests in ongoing conflict	20%	28%	15%	8%	2%	27%
42	A defeated LTTE will give rise to new armed groups	16%	21%	25%	3%	6%	30%
43	Upcountry Tamils do not own their own homes	15%	20%	17%	9%	13%	25%
44	Failure to implement 13 th Amendment	13%	15%	6%	4%	4%	58%
45	Failure to protect historic Buddhist sites in the North and East	13%	19%	17%	6%	16%	29%
46	Devolution of power to North and East will lead to the break up of Sri Lanka	13%	23%	19%	6%	5%	33%
47	Failure to implement 17 th Amendment	12%	17%	6%	4%	3%	58%
48	Failure to provide Upcountry Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	12%	21%	21%	8%	11%	27%
49	Failure to protect historic Hindu sites	10%	16%	20%	6%	11%	37%
50	International NGOs operating in Sri Lanka	9%	19%	22%	11%	10%	29%
51	The British Colonialism	8%	10%	4%	5%	12%	62%

Choosing your options for peace and stability on the island

Most of the remainder of this questionnaire will present you with various options on what could be done to improve the prospects for peace and stability on the island. For each option you will be asked to indicate which ones you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable' and for the purposes of this poll 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' and 'Unacceptable' mean:

'Essential' – You believe this option is a necessary part of a secure, stable and better future for the island and should be fully implemented.

'Desirable' – This option is not what you would consider to be 'Essential', but you think this option, or something very similar to it, is a good idea and should be put into practice.

'Acceptable' – This option is not what you would consider to be 'Desirable', if you were given a choice, but you could certainly 'live with it'.

'Tolerable' – This option is not what you want. But, as part of a secure, stable and better future, you would be willing to put up with it.

'Unacceptable' – This option is totally unacceptable under any circumstances. You would not accept it, even as part of a secure, stable and better future for the island.

You may use each of the terms 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' and 'Unacceptable' as many times as you wish in each question.

2. Security

With regards to the future peace and stability of Sri Lanka please indicate which of the following security options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

National (Excl. N. Province)		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	All the people of Sri Lanka must come together through their representatives to solve the problem	63%	24%	9%	2%	3%
2	The political leadership representing all stakeholders must come together to solve the problem	61%	24%	10%	2%	3%
3	Reform the Police and eliminate corruption	47%	32%	14%	4%	3%
4	Stop the war	42%	13%	12%	5%	29%
5	Defeat the LTTE by military means alone	41%	18%	11%	7%	23%
6	More inclusive and effective Peace Secretariat	40%	25%	16%	6%	14%
7	Bring <u>all</u> IDPs under total civilian control	38%	34%	17%	5%	7%
8	Restart the peace process	37%	19%	14%	6%	24%
9	The government should also negotiate with the LTTE	37%	19%	13%	6%	25%
10	Adequate safeguards to protect Buddhist Monuments in North and East	35%	27%	17%	14%	7%
11	Adequate safeguards to protect Hindu sites	32%	29%	17%	14%	8%
12	Ethnic balance in the police and armed services	28%	25%	26%	8%	14%
13	Weaken the LTTE and then put forward a political solution	24%	31%	17%	7%	22%
14	The government should negotiate with elected Tamil representatives	23%	22%	15%	6%	34%
15	The government should negotiate with ex-Tamil militants	20%	17%	18%	7%	38%
16	Stop state colonization	20%	22%	19%	10%	29%
17	International body to oversee security and welfare of Northern Muslims	20%	23%	15%	8%	35%
18	Muslim and Tamil regiments for selected tasks in Northern and Eastern Provinces	18%	20%	18%	7%	36%
19	Take effective steps to gradually reduce and eliminate all High Security Zones	17%	18%	13%	10%	43%
20	Have military and political solutions run in parallel	16%	18%	18%	10%	38%
21	Use political and economic incentives to transform the LTTE and find a settlement	13%	19%	14%	8%	45%
22	Place a political solution on the table and if no LTTE response then use military means	10%	18%	16%	20%	36%
23	Place a political solution on the table and if no LTTE response isolate them politically	7%	13%	14%	21%	45%

National (Excl. N. Province) +DK		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	All the people of Sri Lanka must come together through their representatives to solve the problem	57%	22%	8%	2%	2%	9%
2	The political leadership representing all stakeholders must come together to solve the problem	55%	21%	9%	2%	2%	10%
3	Reform the Police and eliminate corruption	38%	26%	11%	3%	2%	19%
4	Stop the war	37%	12%	10%	4%	26%	11%
5	Defeat the LTTE by military means alone	34%	15%	9%	6%	19%	17%
6	Restart the peace process	33%	16%	12%	5%	21%	13%
7	The government should also negotiate with the LTTE	32%	17%	11%	5%	22%	13%
8	More inclusive and effective Peace Secretariat	29%	18%	12%	4%	10%	27%
9	Bring <u>all</u> IDPs under total civilian control	26%	23%	12%	3%	5%	32%
10	Adequate safeguards to protect Buddhist Monuments in North and East	26%	21%	13%	11%	5%	23%
11	Adequate safeguards to protect Hindu sites	24%	22%	13%	11%	6%	24%
12	Ethnic balance in the police and armed services	22%	19%	20%	6%	11%	22%
13	Weaken the LTTE and then put forward a political solution	18%	24%	13%	5%	17%	22%
14	The government should negotiate with elected Tamil representatives	16%	16%	11%	4%	24%	28%
15	The government should negotiate with ex-Tamil militants	13%	11%	11%	4%	23%	38%
16	Have military and political solutions run in parallel	12%	13%	13%	7%	28%	27%
17	Muslim and Tamil regiments for selected tasks in Northern and Eastern Provinces	12%	13%	11%	4%	23%	37%
18	Take effective steps to gradually reduce and eliminate all High Security Zones	12%	12%	9%	7%	29%	32%
19	Stop state colonization	12%	13%	11%	6%	17%	41%
20	International body to oversee security and welfare of Northern Muslims	12%	14%	9%	5%	22%	38%
21	Use political and economic incentives to transform the LTTE and find a settlement	8%	11%	8%	5%	26%	43%
22	Place a political solution on the table and if no LTTE response then use military means	7%	13%	11%	14%	25%	30%
23	Place a political solution on the table and if no LTTE response isolate them politically	4%	8%	9%	13%	29%	36%

Sinhala		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	All the people of Sri Lanka must come together through their representatives to solve the problem	57%	27%	10%	2%	3%
2	The political leadership representing all stakeholders must come together to solve the problem	57%	25%	13%	2%	3%
3	Defeat the LTTE by military means alone	53%	21%	11%	7%	7%
4	Reform the Police and eliminate corruption	45%	35%	14%	3%	3%
5	Adequate safeguards to protect Buddhist Monuments in North and East	40%	25%	15%	15%	5%
6	Bring <u>all</u> IDPs under total civilian control	36%	36%	16%	3%	10%
7	Adequate safeguards to protect Hindu sites	31%	28%	16%	19%	6%
8	More inclusive and effective Peace Secretariat	29%	22%	19%	8%	22%
9	Weaken the LTTE and then put forward a political solution	28%	38%	18%	6%	10%
10	The government should also negotiate with the LTTE	20%	19%	16%	8%	37%
11	Stop the war	18%	16%	14%	7%	45%
12	Have military and political solutions run in parallel	18%	17%	20%	10%	36%
13	Ethnic balance in the police and armed services	14%	22%	31%	10%	22%
14	Restart the peace process	12%	24%	19%	7%	38%
15	Place a political solution on the table and if no LTTE response then use military means	9%	17%	16%	25%	32%
16	The government should negotiate with elected Tamil representatives	9%	18%	16%	6%	52%
17	The government should negotiate with ex-Tamil militants	9%	10%	18%	5%	58%
18	Use political and economic incentives to transform the LTTE and find a settlement	6%	12%	11%	7%	64%
19	Stop state colonization	6%	18%	22%	9%	46%
20	International body to oversee security and welfare of Northern Muslims	6%	14%	16%	7%	56%
21	Place a political solution on the table and if no LTTE response isolate them politically	5%	10%	12%	27%	47%
22	Muslim and Tamil regiments for selected tasks in Northern and Eastern Provinces	4%	15%	18%	6%	56%
23	Take effective steps to gradually reduce and eliminate all High Security Zones	3%	11%	10%	12%	65%

Sinhala +DK		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	All the people of Sri Lanka must come together through their representatives to solve the problem	51%	24%	9%	2%	3%	11%
2	The political leadership representing all stakeholders must come together to solve the problem	51%	22%	12%	2%	3%	11%
3	Defeat the LTTE by military means alone	46%	18%	10%	6%	6%	13%
4	Reform the Police and eliminate corruption	35%	27%	11%	2%	2%	23%
5	Adequate safeguards to protect Buddhist Monuments in North and East	33%	20%	12%	12%	4%	19%
6	Adequate safeguards to protect Hindu sites	25%	23%	13%	15%	5%	21%
7	Weaken the LTTE and then put forward a political solution	23%	30%	14%	5%	8%	20%
8	Bring <u>all</u> IDPs under total civilian control	23%	23%	10%	2%	6%	35%
9	More inclusive and effective Peace Secretariat	19%	15%	12%	5%	14%	35%
10	The government should also negotiate with the LTTE	18%	17%	13%	7%	32%	13%
11	Stop the war	16%	14%	12%	6%	39%	14%
12	Have military and political solutions run in parallel	13%	12%	14%	7%	26%	27%
13	Restart the peace process	10%	20%	16%	6%	31%	17%
14	Ethnic balance in the police and armed services	10%	16%	23%	7%	16%	27%
15	Place a political solution on the table and if no LTTE response then use military means	6%	12%	11%	18%	23%	30%
16	The government should negotiate with elected Tamil representatives	6%	12%	10%	4%	34%	35%
17	The government should negotiate with ex-Tamil militants	5%	5%	10%	3%	30%	48%
18	Place a political solution on the table and if no LTTE response isolate them politically	3%	6%	7%	17%	29%	37%
19	Use political and economic incentives to transform the LTTE and find a settlement	3%	6%	6%	4%	33%	49%
20	Stop state colonization	3%	9%	11%	4%	24%	49%
21	International body to oversee security and welfare of Northern Muslims	3%	8%	9%	4%	30%	47%
22	Muslim and Tamil regiments for selected tasks in Northern and Eastern Provinces	2%	9%	10%	3%	31%	45%
23	Take effective steps to gradually reduce and eliminate all High Security Zones	2%	7%	6%	8%	42%	35%

Tamil		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	Stop the war	75%	9%	14%	2%	0%
2	Restart the peace process	68%	14%	13%	5%	0%
3	The government should also negotiate with the LTTE	65%	14%	16%	3%	2%
4	More inclusive and effective Peace Secretariat	61%	16%	19%	2%	2%
5	All the people of Sri Lanka must come together through their representatives to solve the problem	59%	27%	8%	3%	3%
6	The political leadership representing all stakeholders must come together to solve the problem	59%	28%	6%	6%	0%
7	Reform the Police and eliminate corruption	48%	19%	24%	6%	3%
8	Take effective steps to gradually reduce and eliminate all High Security Zones	41%	27%	22%	8%	2%
9	Bring <u>all</u> IDPs under total civilian control	39%	27%	24%	8%	2%
10	Stop state colonization	39%	20%	24%	12%	5%
11	Ethnic balance in the police and armed services	35%	25%	32%	5%	3%
12	Adequate safeguards to protect Hindu sites	32%	34%	19%	3%	12%
13	The government should negotiate with elected Tamil representatives	31%	36%	20%	10%	3%
14	Muslim and Tamil regiments for selected tasks in Northern and Eastern Provinces	26%	26%	32%	9%	7%
15	Use political and economic incentives to transform the LTTE and find a settlement	22%	35%	22%	11%	11%
16	The government should negotiate with ex-Tamil militants	17%	29%	28%	14%	12%
17	International body to oversee security and welfare of Northern Muslims	14%	39%	23%	11%	14%
18	Adequate safeguards to protect Buddhist Monuments in North and East	12%	37%	23%	16%	12%
19	Place a political solution on the table and if no LTTE response isolate them politically	8%	18%	22%	12%	41%
20	Have military and political solutions run in parallel	7%	23%	14%	11%	46%
21	Defeat the LTTE by military means alone	6%	11%	11%	7%	65%
22	Weaken the LTTE and then put forward a political solution	6%	15%	11%	11%	57%
23	Place a political solution on the table and if no LTTE response then use military means	6%	17%	23%	13%	40%

Tamil +DK		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	Stop the war	73%	9%	14%	2%	0%	3%
2	Restart the peace process	66%	14%	12%	5%	0%	3%
3	The government should also negotiate with the LTTE	63%	14%	15%	3%	2%	3%
4	More inclusive and effective Peace Secretariat	59%	16%	19%	2%	2%	3%
5	All the people of Sri Lanka must come together through their representatives to solve the problem	58%	27%	8%	3%	3%	2%
6	The political leadership representing all stakeholders must come together to solve the problem	58%	28%	6%	6%	0%	2%
7	Reform the Police and eliminate corruption	46%	18%	23%	6%	3%	3%
8	Take effective steps to gradually reduce and eliminate all High Security Zones	40%	26%	22%	8%	2%	3%
9	Bring <u>all</u> IDPs under total civilian control	37%	25%	22%	8%	2%	6%
10	Stop state colonization	35%	18%	22%	11%	5%	9%
11	Ethnic balance in the police and armed services	33%	24%	30%	5%	3%	5%
12	The government should negotiate with elected Tamil representatives	30%	34%	19%	9%	3%	5%
13	Adequate safeguards to protect Hindu sites	30%	31%	17%	3%	11%	8%
14	Muslim and Tamil regiments for selected tasks in Northern and Eastern Provinces	23%	23%	28%	8%	6%	12%
15	Use political and economic incentives to transform the LTTE and find a settlement	19%	30%	19%	10%	10%	13%
16	The government should negotiate with ex-Tamil militants	16%	27%	25%	13%	11%	9%
17	International body to oversee security and welfare of Northern Muslims	12%	34%	20%	9%	12%	12%
18	Adequate safeguards to protect Buddhist Monuments in North and East	11%	33%	20%	14%	11%	11%
19	Have military and political solutions run in parallel	6%	20%	12%	9%	40%	12%
20	Place a political solution on the table and if no LTTE response isolate them politically	6%	14%	17%	9%	33%	20%
21	Defeat the LTTE by military means alone	5%	9%	9%	6%	55%	16%
22	Weaken the LTTE and then put forward a political solution	5%	12%	9%	9%	47%	18%
23	Place a political solution on the table and if no LTTE response then use military means	5%	14%	19%	11%	33%	19%

Up-Country Tamil		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	Restart the peace process	89%	7%	4%	0%	0%
2	Stop the war	87%	8%	5%	0%	0%
3	The government should also negotiate with the LTTE	79%	14%	4%	1%	1%
4	More inclusive and effective Peace Secretariat	74%	20%	3%	3%	0%
5	Reform the Police and eliminate corruption	71%	23%	3%	3%	1%
6	Ethnic balance in the police and armed services	69%	21%	9%	1%	0%
7	All the people of Sri Lanka must come together through their representatives to solve the problem	66%	24%	7%	1%	1%
8	The political leadership representing all stakeholders must come together to solve the problem	64%	29%	8%	0%	0%
9	Bring <u>all</u> IDPs under total civilian control	61%	25%	14%	0%	0%
10	Take effective steps to gradually reduce and eliminate all High Security Zones	61%	26%	10%	2%	2%
11	Stop state colonization	56%	24%	8%	6%	5%
12	The government should negotiate with elected Tamil representatives	54%	28%	6%	3%	10%
13	Adequate safeguards to protect Hindu sites	49%	28%	13%	3%	6%
14	Use political and economic incentives to transform the LTTE and find a settlement	40%	25%	11%	4%	20%
15	The government should negotiate with ex-Tamil militants	36%	19%	17%	11%	17%
16	Muslim and Tamil regiments for selected tasks in Northern and Eastern Provinces	33%	32%	10%	13%	12%
17	Adequate safeguards to protect Buddhist Monuments in North and East	25%	23%	30%	14%	7%
18	International body to oversee security and welfare of Northern Muslims	23%	25%	23%	17%	12%
19	Defeat the LTTE by military means alone	5%	5%	5%	5%	79%
20	Weaken the LTTE and then put forward a political solution	2%	8%	9%	4%	77%
21	Have military and political solutions run in parallel	2%	9%	9%	11%	69%
22	Place a political solution on the table and if no LTTE response then use military means	0%	9%	8%	9%	74%
23	Place a political solution on the table and if no LTTE response isolate them politically	0%	8%	8%	8%	76%

Up-Country Tamil +DK		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	Restart the peace process	78%	6%	3%	0%	0%	13%
2	Stop the war	77%	7%	4%	0%	0%	11%
3	The government should also negotiate with the LTTE	59%	11%	3%	1%	1%	25%
4	Ethnic balance in the police and armed services	57%	17%	7%	1%	0%	18%
5	All the people of Sri Lanka must come together through their representatives to solve the problem	56%	21%	6%	1%	1%	15%
6	Reform the Police and eliminate corruption	56%	18%	2%	2%	1%	21%
7	More inclusive and effective Peace Secretariat	55%	15%	2%	2%	0%	26%
8	The political leadership representing all stakeholders must come together to solve the problem	52%	23%	6%	0%	0%	19%
9	The government should negotiate with elected Tamil representatives	39%	20%	4%	2%	7%	27%
10	Take effective steps to gradually reduce and eliminate all High Security Zones	39%	17%	6%	1%	1%	36%
11	Bring <u>all</u> IDPs under total civilian control	38%	16%	8%	0%	0%	38%
12	Stop state colonization	36%	16%	5%	4%	3%	35%
13	Adequate safeguards to protect Hindu sites	35%	20%	10%	2%	4%	28%
14	The government should negotiate with ex-Tamil militants	24%	13%	12%	7%	12%	33%
15	Use political and economic incentives to transform the LTTE and find a settlement	23%	15%	6%	2%	12%	42%
16	Muslim and Tamil regiments for selected tasks in Northern and Eastern Provinces	22%	20%	6%	9%	8%	35%
17	Adequate safeguards to protect Buddhist Monuments in North and East	15%	14%	18%	8%	4%	41%
18	International body to oversee security and welfare of Northern Muslims	13%	14%	13%	9%	6%	45%
19	Defeat the LTTE by military means alone	3%	3%	3%	3%	45%	42%
20	Weaken the LTTE and then put forward a political solution	1%	4%	5%	2%	43%	45%
21	Have military and political solutions run in parallel	1%	5%	5%	6%	41%	41%
22	Place a political solution on the table and if no LTTE response then use military means	0%	5%	4%	5%	41%	44%
23	Place a political solution on the table and if no LTTE response isolate them politically	0%	4%	4%	4%	41%	47%

Muslim		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	Stop the war	84%	8%	5%	2%	1%
2	All the people of Sri Lanka must come together through their representatives to solve the problem	82%	10%	5%	2%	1%
3	Restart the peace process	79%	11%	3%	5%	2%
4	The political leadership representing all stakeholders must come together to solve the problem	77%	15%	4%	1%	3%
5	The government should also negotiate with the LTTE	62%	24%	6%	3%	5%
6	International body to oversee security and welfare of Northern Muslims	54%	35%	6%	2%	3%
7	The government should negotiate with elected Tamil representatives	46%	25%	15%	7%	7%
8	Muslim and Tamil regiments for selected tasks in Northern and Eastern Provinces	46%	25%	14%	5%	9%
9	More inclusive and effective Peace Secretariat	44%	38%	13%	3%	3%
10	Ethnic balance in the police and armed services	44%	34%	13%	4%	4%
11	The government should negotiate with ex-Tamil militants	42%	30%	11%	6%	11%
12	Reform the Police and eliminate corruption	38%	34%	17%	8%	3%
13	Bring <u>all</u> IDPs under total civilian control	31%	34%	19%	12%	4%
14	Stop state colonization	31%	33%	13%	14%	10%
15	Take effective steps to gradually reduce and eliminate all High Security Zones	28%	33%	22%	8%	9%
16	Adequate safeguards to protect Buddhist Monuments in North and East	26%	34%	16%	9%	16%
17	Weaken the LTTE and then put forward a political solution	24%	19%	18%	8%	31%
18	Have military and political solutions run in parallel	22%	25%	17%	9%	27%
19	Place a political solution on the table and if no LTTE response then use military means	22%	26%	15%	10%	28%
20	Defeat the LTTE by military means alone	20%	11%	14%	7%	48%
21	Adequate safeguards to protect Hindu sites	18%	32%	25%	7%	18%
22	Place a political solution on the table and if no LTTE response isolate them politically	16%	27%	21%	11%	25%
23	Use political and economic incentives to transform the LTTE and find a settlement	16%	30%	19%	13%	22%

Muslim +DK		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	Stop the war	82%	8%	5%	2%	1%	2%
2	All the people of Sri Lanka must come together through their representatives to solve the problem	80%	10%	5%	2%	1%	2%
3	Restart the peace process	79%	11%	3%	5%	2%	0%
4	The political leadership representing all stakeholders must come together to solve the problem	75%	15%	4%	1%	3%	3%
5	The government should also negotiate with the LTTE	58%	22%	5%	3%	5%	7%
6	International body to oversee security and welfare of Northern Muslims	52%	34%	5%	2%	3%	4%
7	The government should negotiate with elected Tamil representatives	40%	22%	13%	6%	6%	12%
8	More inclusive and effective Peace Secretariat	40%	34%	11%	2%	2%	10%
9	Ethnic balance in the police and armed services	39%	31%	12%	4%	4%	11%
10	Muslim and Tamil regiments for selected tasks in Northern and Eastern Provinces	39%	22%	12%	5%	8%	15%
11	The government should negotiate with ex-Tamil militants	36%	25%	9%	5%	9%	15%
12	Reform the Police and eliminate corruption	34%	31%	15%	7%	3%	10%
13	Bring <u>all</u> IDPs under total civilian control	22%	24%	14%	8%	3%	28%
14	Stop state colonization	22%	24%	9%	10%	7%	28%
15	Weaken the LTTE and then put forward a political solution	20%	15%	14%	7%	25%	19%
16	Take effective steps to gradually reduce and eliminate all High Security Zones	19%	22%	15%	5%	6%	32%
17	Defeat the LTTE by military means alone	17%	9%	12%	6%	40%	16%
18	Have military and political solutions run in parallel	17%	19%	13%	7%	20%	24%
19	Place a political solution on the table and if no LTTE response then use military means	16%	18%	11%	7%	20%	28%
20	Adequate safeguards to protect Buddhist Monuments in North and East	16%	22%	10%	5%	10%	37%
21	Place a political solution on the table and if no LTTE response isolate them politically	11%	19%	14%	8%	17%	30%
22	Use political and economic incentives to transform the LTTE and find a settlement	11%	21%	13%	9%	15%	31%
23	Adequate safeguards to protect Hindu sites	10%	18%	14%	4%	10%	45%

3. Human Rights

With regards to human rights please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

To achieve its objectives the LTTE should be allowed to:

National (Excl. N. Province)	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Attack civilians	0%	0%	0%	1%	99%
Use torture	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Undertake extra-judicial killings	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Launch suicide attacks	0%	0%	0%	1%	98%
Recruit Child Soldiers	0%	0%	0%	1%	99%
Arbitrarily arrest and detention	0%	0%	1%	0%	99%
Deny rights to a fair public trial	0%	0%	2%	1%	97%
Deny freedom of speech, press, assembly	0%	0%	1%	2%	98%
Deny freedom of movement	0%	0%	1%	1%	98%

To achieve its objectives the government's forces, police and associated paramilitaries should be allowed to:

National (Excl. N. Province)	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Attack civilians	0%	0%	1%	1%	98%
Use torture	0%	0%	0%	1%	99%
Undertake extra-judicial killings	0%	0%	1%	1%	99%
Abuse emergency powers	0%	0%	2%	2%	95%
Recruit Child Soldiers	0%	0%	0%	2%	98%
Arbitrarily arrest and detention	0%	0%	2%	5%	94%
Deny rights to a fair public trial	0%	0%	2%	3%	96%
Deny freedom of speech, press, assembly	0%	0%	1%	4%	95%
Deny freedom of movement	0%	0%	5%	6%	89%

To achieve its objectives the LTTE should be allowed to:

National (Excl. N. Province) +DK	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
Attack civilians	0%	0%	0%	0%	91%	9%
Use torture	0%	0%	0%	0%	90%	10%
Undertake extra-judicial killings	0%	0%	0%	0%	90%	10%
Launch suicide attacks	0%	0%	0%	1%	86%	13%
Recruit Child Soldiers	0%	0%	0%	0%	89%	10%
Arbitrarily arrest and detention	0%	0%	1%	0%	85%	14%
Deny rights to a fair public trial	0%	0%	1%	1%	79%	19%
Deny freedom of speech, press, assembly	0%	0%	1%	1%	79%	19%
Deny freedom of movement	0%	0%	1%	1%	82%	17%

To achieve its objectives the government's forces, police and associated paramilitaries should be allowed to:

National (Excl. N. Province) +DK	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
Attack civilians	0%	0%	1%	1%	85%	13%
Use torture	0%	0%	0%	1%	86%	13%
Undertake extra-judicial killings	0%	0%	0%	1%	85%	14%
Abuse emergency powers	0%	0%	2%	2%	75%	22%
Recruit Child Soldiers	0%	0%	0%	1%	80%	19%
Arbitrarily arrest and detention	0%	0%	1%	4%	75%	20%
Deny rights to a fair public trial	0%	0%	1%	2%	73%	24%
Deny freedom of speech, press, assembly	0%	0%	1%	3%	72%	24%
Deny freedom of movement	0%	0%	4%	5%	70%	21%

To achieve its objectives the LTTE should be allowed to:

Sinhala	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Attack civilians	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Use torture	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Undertake extra-judicial killings	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Launch suicide attacks	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Recruit Child Soldiers	0%	0%	0%	1%	99%
Arbitrarily arrest and detention	0%	0%	0%	1%	99%
Deny rights to a fair public trial	0%	0%	1%	1%	98%
Deny freedom of speech, press, assembly	0%	0%	0%	1%	99%
Deny freedom of movement	0%	0%	0%	1%	99%

To achieve its objectives the government's forces, police and associated paramilitaries should be allowed to:

Sinhala	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Attack civilians	0%	0%	0%	2%	98%
Use torture	0%	0%	0%	1%	99%
Undertake extra-judicial killings	0%	0%	0%	1%	99%
Abuse emergency powers	0%	0%	2%	3%	95%
Recruit Child Soldiers	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Arbitrarily arrest and detention	0%	0%	1%	6%	93%
Deny rights to a fair public trial	0%	0%	0%	2%	97%
Deny freedom of speech, press, assembly	0%	0%	0%	4%	95%
Deny freedom of movement	0%	0%	7%	7%	86%

To achieve its objectives the LTTE should be allowed to:

Sinhala +DK	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
Attack civilians	0%	0%	0%	0%	92%	8%
Use torture	0%	0%	0%	91%	6%	2%
Undertake extra-judicial killings	0%	0%	0%	0%	91%	9%
Launch suicide attacks	0%	0%	0%	0%	92%	8%
Recruit Child Soldiers	0%	0%	0%	1%	92%	8%
Arbitrarily arrest and detention	0%	0%	0%	1%	87%	12%
Deny rights to a fair public trial	0%	0%	1%	1%	82%	17%
Deny freedom of speech, press, assembly	0%	0%	0%	1%	81%	18%
Deny freedom of movement	0%	0%	0%	1%	85%	15%

To achieve its objectives the government's forces, police and associated paramilitaries should be allowed to:

Sinhala +DK	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
Attack civilians	0%	0%	0%	1%	82%	16%
Use torture	0%	0%	0%	1%	84%	16%
Undertake extra-judicial killings	0%	0%	0%	1%	83%	17%
Abuse emergency powers	0%	0%	1%	2%	73%	24%
Recruit Child Soldiers	0%	0%	0%	0%	78%	22%
Arbitrarily arrest and detention	0%	0%	1%	5%	72%	23%
Deny rights to a fair public trial	0%	0%	0%	2%	72%	26%
Deny freedom of speech, press, assembly	0%	0%	0%	3%	69%	27%
Deny freedom of movement	0%	0%	5%	5%	65%	24%

To achieve its objectives the LTTE should be allowed to:

Tamil	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Attack civilians	0%	0%	0%	3%	97%
Use torture	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Undertake extra-judicial killings	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Launch suicide attacks	0%	0%	0%	4%	96%
Recruit Child Soldiers	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Arbitrarily arrest and detention	0%	0%	2%	0%	98%
Deny rights to a fair public trial	0%	0%	0%	4%	96%
Deny freedom of speech, press, assembly	0%	0%	0%	5%	95%
Deny freedom of movement	0%	0%	0%	6%	94%

To achieve its objectives the government's forces, police and associated paramilitaries should be allowed to:

Tamil	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Attack civilians	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Use torture	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Undertake extra-judicial killings	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Abuse emergency powers	0%	0%	0%	2%	98%
Recruit Child Soldiers	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Arbitrarily arrest and detention	0%	0%	2%	2%	97%
Deny rights to a fair public trial	0%	0%	0%	2%	98%
Deny freedom of speech, press, assembly	0%	0%	0%	3%	97%
Deny freedom of movement	0%	0%	0%	2%	98%

To achieve its objectives the LTTE should be allowed to:

Tamil +DK	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
Attack civilians	0%	0%	0%	3%	89%	8%
Use torture	0%	0%	0%	0%	91%	9%
Undertake extra-judicial killings	0%	0%	0%	0%	88%	13%
Launch suicide attacks	0%	0%	0%	3%	73%	24%
Recruit Child Soldiers	0%	0%	0%	0%	88%	12%
Arbitrarily arrest and detention	0%	0%	2%	0%	84%	14%
Deny rights to a fair public trial	0%	0%	0%	3%	81%	16%
Deny freedom of speech, press, assembly	0%	0%	0%	5%	81%	14%
Deny freedom of movement	0%	0%	0%	5%	79%	16%

To achieve its objectives the government's forces, police and associated paramilitaries should be allowed to:

Tamil +DK	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
Attack civilians	0%	0%	0%	0%	98%	2%
Use torture	0%	0%	0%	0%	97%	3%
Undertake extra-judicial killings	0%	0%	0%	0%	94%	6%
Abuse emergency powers	0%	0%	0%	2%	95%	3%
Recruit Child Soldiers	0%	0%	0%	0%	95%	5%
Arbitrarily arrest and detention	0%	0%	2%	2%	91%	6%
Deny rights to a fair public trial	0%	0%	0%	2%	88%	11%
Deny freedom of speech, press, assembly	0%	0%	0%	3%	86%	11%
Deny freedom of movement	0%	0%	0%	2%	88%	11%

To achieve its objectives the LTTE should be allowed to:

Up-Country Tamil	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Attack civilians	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Use torture	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Undertake extra-judicial killings	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Launch suicide attacks	0%	0%	3%	7%	90%
Recruit Child Soldiers	0%	0%	1%	0%	99%
Arbitrarily arrest and detention	0%	0%	1%	0%	99%
Deny rights to a fair public trial	0%	0%	2%	4%	95%
Deny freedom of speech, press, assembly	0%	0%	2%	5%	93%
Deny freedom of movement	0%	0%	3%	2%	95%

To achieve its objectives the government's forces, police and associated paramilitaries should be allowed to:

Up-Country Tamil	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Attack civilians	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Use torture	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Undertake extra-judicial killings	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Abuse emergency powers	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Recruit Child Soldiers	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Arbitrarily arrest and detention	0%	0%	0%	3%	97%
Deny rights to a fair public trial	0%	0%	3%	3%	94%
Deny freedom of speech, press, assembly	0%	0%	1%	7%	91%
Deny freedom of movement	0%	0%	0%	4%	96%

To achieve its objectives the LTTE should be allowed to:

Up-Country Tamil +DK	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
Attack civilians	0%	0%	0%	0%	86%	14%
Use torture	0%	0%	0%	0%	82%	18%
Undertake extra-judicial killings	0%	0%	0%	0%	85%	15%
Launch suicide attacks	0%	0%	2%	4%	58%	35%
Recruit Child Soldiers	0%	0%	1%	0%	78%	21%
Arbitrarily arrest and detention	0%	0%	1%	0%	73%	26%
Deny rights to a fair public trial	0%	0%	1%	2%	60%	36%
Deny freedom of speech, press, assembly	0%	0%	1%	3%	62%	34%
Deny freedom of movement	0%	0%	2%	1%	67%	30%

To achieve its objectives the government's forces, police and associated paramilitaries should be allowed to:

Up-Country Tamil +DK	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
Attack civilians	0%	0%	0%	0%	90%	10%
Use torture	0%	0%	0%	0%	89%	11%
Undertake extra-judicial killings	0%	0%	0%	0%	89%	11%
Abuse emergency powers	0%	0%	0%	0%	74%	26%
Recruit Child Soldiers	0%	0%	0%	0%	83%	17%
Arbitrarily arrest and detention	0%	0%	0%	2%	76%	22%
Deny rights to a fair public trial	0%	0%	2%	2%	68%	27%
Deny freedom of speech, press, assembly	0%	0%	1%	6%	71%	22%
Deny freedom of movement	0%	0%	0%	3%	75%	22%

To achieve its objectives the LTTE should be allowed to:

Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Attack civilians	0%	0%	1%	2%	97%
Use torture	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Undertake extra-judicial killings	0%	0%	0%	1%	99%
Launch suicide attacks	0%	0%	1%	0%	99%
Recruit Child Soldiers	0%	0%	0%	1%	99%
Arbitrarily arrest and detention	0%	0%	4%	0%	96%
Deny rights to a fair public trial	0%	0%	5%	0%	95%
Deny freedom of speech, press, assembly	0%	0%	4%	1%	95%
Deny freedom of movement	0%	0%	3%	1%	96%

To achieve its objectives the government's forces, police and associated paramilitaries should be allowed to:

Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Attack civilians	0%	0%	5%	2%	93%
Use torture	0%	0%	2%	2%	96%
Undertake extra-judicial killings	0%	0%	4%	3%	93%
Abuse emergency powers	0%	0%	6%	4%	90%
Recruit Child Soldiers	0%	0%	1%	9%	90%
Arbitrarily arrest and detention	0%	0%	5%	4%	91%
Deny rights to a fair public trial	0%	0%	7%	3%	90%
Deny freedom of speech, press, assembly	0%	0%	2%	4%	94%
Deny freedom of movement	0%	0%	3%	7%	90%

To achieve its objectives the LTTE should be allowed to:

Muslim +DK	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
Attack civilians	0%	0%	1%	2%	88%	9%
Use torture	0%	0%	0%	0%	88%	12%
Undertake extra-judicial killings	0%	0%	0%	1%	87%	12%
Launch suicide attacks	0%	0%	1%	0%	86%	13%
Recruit Child Soldiers	0%	0%	0%	1%	88%	12%
Arbitrarily arrest and detention	0%	0%	3%	0%	82%	14%
Deny rights to a fair public trial	0%	0%	4%	0%	79%	17%
Deny freedom of speech, press, assembly	0%	0%	3%	1%	78%	18%
Deny freedom of movement	0%	0%	3%	1%	79%	17%

To achieve its objectives the government's forces, police and associated paramilitaries should be allowed to:

Muslim +DK	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
Attack civilians	0%	0%	4%	2%	86%	8%
Use torture	0%	0%	2%	2%	87%	10%
Undertake extra-judicial killings	0%	0%	3%	3%	85%	9%
Abuse emergency powers	0%	0%	5%	3%	72%	20%
Recruit Child Soldiers	0%	0%	1%	8%	79%	13%
Arbitrarily arrest and detention	0%	0%	4%	3%	79%	13%
Deny rights to a fair public trial	0%	0%	6%	3%	73%	18%
Deny freedom of speech, press, assembly	0%	0%	2%	4%	78%	17%
Deny freedom of movement	0%	0%	3%	6%	79%	13%

4. Discrimination

With regards to discrimination please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

National (Excl. N. Province)		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	Effective steps to ensure balanced recruitment in the civil service at all levels	47%	28%	14%	3%	8%
2	Effective steps to ensure balanced access to university education	44%	33%	13%	4%	5%
3	Redistribute state lands in proportion to the population	37%	23%	16%	8%	16%
4	Ensure full implementation of Tamil as an official language	35%	20%	15%	9%	21%
5	Distribute the resources of the state on a per capita basis	35%	37%	14%	4%	10%
6	Affirmative action to redress all aspects of discrimination against Upcountry Tamils	34%	29%	26%	6%	6%
7	Affirmative action for rehabilitation and reconstruction	34%	32%	25%	4%	5%
8	Affirmative action to provide Upcountry Tamils with ownership of their own homes	33%	28%	25%	6%	9%
9	Equality Commission to monitor all Government policies and distribution of resources	29%	29%	30%	5%	8%

National (Excl. N. Province) +DK		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	Effective steps to ensure balanced recruitment in the civil service at all levels	41%	25%	12%	3%	7%	13%
2	Effective steps to ensure balanced access to university education	36%	27%	11%	4%	4%	19%
3	Distribute the resources of the state on a per capita basis	32%	34%	13%	4%	9%	9%
4	Affirmative action for rehabilitation and reconstruction	30%	28%	22%	4%	4%	13%
5	Redistribute state lands in proportion to the population	28%	17%	12%	6%	12%	26%
6	Ensure full implementation of Tamil as an official language	28%	16%	12%	7%	16%	21%
7	Affirmative action to redress all aspects of discrimination against Upcountry Tamils	25%	21%	19%	4%	4%	28%
8	Affirmative action to provide Upcountry Tamils with ownership of their own homes	25%	21%	19%	4%	7%	24%
9	Equality Commission to monitor all Government policies and distribution of resources	19%	19%	20%	3%	5%	33%

Sinhala		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	Effective steps to ensure balanced access to university education	41%	35%	14%	4%	5%
2	Effective steps to ensure balanced recruitment in the civil service at all levels	38%	31%	16%	2%	12%
3	Affirmative action for rehabilitation and reconstruction	28%	29%	33%	4%	7%
4	Distribute the resources of the state on a per capita basis	25%	41%	17%	5%	13%
5	Affirmative action to provide Upcountry Tamils with ownership of their own homes	25%	30%	27%	6%	12%
6	Redistribute state lands in proportion to the population	22%	22%	18%	11%	27%
7	Affirmative action to redress all aspects of discrimination against Upcountry Tamils	20%	33%	32%	7%	9%
8	Equality Commission to monitor all Government policies and distribution of resources	18%	26%	40%	5%	11%
9	Ensure full implementation of Tamil as an official language	14%	18%	20%	14%	34%

Sinhala +DK		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	Effective steps to ensure balanced access to university education	33%	27%	11%	3%	4%	20%
2	Effective steps to ensure balanced recruitment in the civil service at all levels	32%	26%	14%	2%	10%	16%
3	Affirmative action for rehabilitation and reconstruction	23%	25%	28%	3%	6%	15%
4	Distribute the resources of the state on a per capita basis	22%	36%	15%	4%	11%	11%
5	Affirmative action to provide Upcountry Tamils with ownership of their own homes	17%	21%	19%	4%	8%	31%
6	Redistribute state lands in proportion to the population	14%	14%	11%	7%	17%	35%
7	Affirmative action to redress all aspects of discrimination against Upcountry Tamils	13%	21%	21%	4%	6%	35%
8	Equality Commission to monitor all Government policies and distribution of resources	11%	16%	24%	3%	7%	39%
9	Ensure full implementation of Tamil as an official language	10%	13%	15%	10%	24%	28%

Tamil		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	Ensure full implementation of Tamil as an official language	56%	27%	14%	3%	0%
2	Affirmative action to redress all aspects of discrimination against Upcountry Tamils	51%	25%	19%	5%	0%
3	Effective steps to ensure balanced access to university education	47%	28%	14%	3%	8%
4	Affirmative action for rehabilitation and reconstruction	44%	27%	17%	11%	2%
5	Equality Commission to monitor all Government policies and distribution of resources	42%	34%	19%	5%	0%
6	Redistribute state lands in proportion to the population	40%	29%	27%	5%	0%
7	Effective steps to ensure balanced recruitment in the civil service at all levels	38%	30%	24%	6%	2%
8	Distribute the resources of the state on a per capita basis	34%	32%	21%	6%	6%
9	Affirmative action to provide Upcountry Tamils with ownership of their own homes	29%	25%	38%	6%	2%

Tamil +DK		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	Ensure full implementation of Tamil as an official language	55%	27%	14%	3%	0%	2%
2	Affirmative action to redress all aspects of discrimination against Upcountry Tamils	50%	25%	19%	5%	0%	2%
3	Effective steps to ensure balanced access to university education	45%	27%	14%	3%	8%	3%
4	Affirmative action for rehabilitation and reconstruction	42%	26%	17%	11%	2%	3%
5	Redistribute state lands in proportion to the population	39%	28%	27%	5%	0%	2%
6	Equality Commission to monitor all Government policies and distribution of resources	39%	31%	17%	5%	0%	8%
7	Effective steps to ensure balanced recruitment in the civil service at all levels	38%	30%	23%	6%	2%	2%
8	Distribute the resources of the state on a per capita basis	32%	31%	20%	6%	6%	5%
9	Affirmative action to provide Upcountry Tamils with ownership of their own homes	27%	24%	36%	6%	2%	5%

Up-Country Tamil		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	Ensure full implementation of Tamil as an official language	86%	14%	0%	0%	0%
2	Affirmative action to redress all aspects of discrimination against Upcountry Tamils	81%	18%	1%	0%	0%
3	Affirmative action to provide Upcountry Tamils with ownership of their own homes	81%	13%	2%	2%	1%
4	Redistribute state lands in proportion to the population	67%	21%	11%	0%	1%
5	Effective steps to ensure balanced recruitment in the civil service at all levels	65%	26%	7%	0%	1%
6	Effective steps to ensure balanced access to university education	62%	26%	5%	5%	3%
7	Distribute the resources of the state on a per capita basis	59%	31%	4%	0%	6%
8	Affirmative action for rehabilitation and reconstruction	54%	32%	11%	1%	3%
9	Equality Commission to monitor all Government policies and distribution of resources	46%	38%	11%	2%	3%

Up-Country Tamil +DK		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	Ensure full implementation of Tamil as an official language	77%	13%	0%	0%	0%	11%
2	Affirmative action to provide Upcountry Tamils with ownership of their own homes	75%	12%	2%	2%	1%	8%
3	Affirmative action to redress all aspects of discrimination against Upcountry Tamils	74%	16%	1%	0%	0%	9%
4	Redistribute state lands in proportion to the population	59%	19%	9%	0%	1%	12%
5	Effective steps to ensure balanced recruitment in the civil service at all levels	56%	22%	6%	0%	1%	14%
6	Distribute the resources of the state on a per capita basis	53%	28%	3%	0%	5%	10%
7	Affirmative action for rehabilitation and reconstruction	45%	26%	9%	1%	2%	17%
8	Effective steps to ensure balanced access to university education	45%	18%	3%	3%	2%	28%
9	Equality Commission to monitor all Government policies and distribution of resources	32%	26%	7%	1%	2%	32%

Muslim		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	Effective steps to ensure balanced recruitment in the civil service at all levels	73%	17%	2%	5%	2%
2	Redistribute state lands in proportion to the population	62%	24%	8%	3%	2%
3	Distribute the resources of the state on a per capita basis	61%	29%	6%	2%	2%
4	Ensure full implementation of Tamil as an official language	59%	28%	10%	1%	2%
5	Equality Commission to monitor all Government policies and distribution of resources	50%	30%	15%	4%	2%
6	Affirmative action for rehabilitation and reconstruction	44%	43%	6%	4%	3%
7	Effective steps to ensure balanced access to university education	44%	33%	12%	6%	6%
8	Affirmative action to redress all aspects of discrimination against Upcountry Tamils	37%	27%	27%	7%	2%
9	Affirmative action to provide Upcountry Tamils with ownership of their own homes	25%	33%	25%	9%	8%

Muslim +DK		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	Effective steps to ensure balanced recruitment in the civil service at all levels	71%	17%	2%	5%	2%	3%
2	Redistribute state lands in proportion to the population	59%	23%	8%	3%	2%	5%
3	Distribute the resources of the state on a per capita basis	58%	28%	6%	2%	2%	4%
4	Ensure full implementation of Tamil as an official language	55%	26%	9%	1%	2%	7%
5	Affirmative action for rehabilitation and reconstruction	41%	40%	5%	4%	3%	6%
6	Equality Commission to monitor all Government policies and distribution of resources	38%	23%	11%	3%	2%	23%
7	Effective steps to ensure balanced access to university education	37%	29%	10%	5%	5%	14%
8	Affirmative action to redress all aspects of discrimination against Upcountry Tamils	28%	21%	21%	5%	2%	24%
9	Affirmative action to provide Upcountry Tamils with ownership of their own homes	20%	27%	20%	7%	6%	20%

5. Good Governance

With regards to good governance please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

National (Excl. N. Province)		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	Depoliticise the public service	53%	29%	12%	3%	3%
2	Effective institutions to combat corruption	47%	31%	17%	3%	2%
3	Independent media	43%	33%	17%	4%	3%
4	Reform of the criminal justice system	42%	32%	20%	3%	3%
5	Policy to protect natural resources of the country	42%	28%	13%	4%	13%
6	Strict budgetary control of state institutions	40%	28%	17%	10%	5%
7	Appointments of Supreme Court Judges and other high posts should be made on the recommendation of the Constitutional Council established by Parliament	33%	30%	18%	7%	12%
8	Restrictions on MPs crossing over	32%	26%	21%	5%	15%
9	Right to information at all times	30%	29%	14%	15%	12%
10	Right to information except for matters of national security	28%	41%	19%	4%	8%
11	Oversight committees for all Ministries with meetings open to the media	25%	35%	20%	13%	7%
12	Appointments of Supreme Court Judges and other high posts should be made by the President at his own discretion	12%	25%	19%	15%	28%

National (Excl. N. Province) +DK		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	Depoliticise the public service	41%	23%	10%	2%	2%	22%
2	Effective institutions to combat corruption	40%	26%	14%	3%	1%	16%
3	Independent media	33%	26%	14%	3%	3%	22%
4	Policy to protect natural resources of the country	33%	22%	10%	3%	10%	20%
5	Reform of the criminal justice system	29%	22%	14%	2%	2%	31%
6	Strict budgetary control of state institutions	29%	21%	12%	7%	4%	27%
7	Restrictions on MPs crossing over	23%	19%	15%	4%	11%	28%
8	Right to information at all times	22%	21%	10%	11%	9%	28%
9	Right to information except for matters of national security	20%	29%	14%	3%	6%	29%
10	Appointments of Supreme Court Judges and other high posts should be made on the recommendation of the Constitutional Council established by Parliament	19%	18%	10%	4%	7%	41%
11	Oversight committees for all Ministries with meetings open to the media	16%	22%	13%	8%	5%	37%
12	Appointments of Supreme Court Judges and other high posts should be made by the President at his own discretion	6%	13%	10%	8%	14%	49%

Sinhala		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	Depoliticise the public service	59%	28%	9%	2%	2%
2	Effective institutions to combat corruption	46%	29%	21%	3%	1%
3	Strict budgetary control of state institutions	44%	25%	14%	12%	5%
4	Policy to protect natural resources of the country	43%	26%	12%	4%	15%
5	Reform of the criminal justice system	40%	32%	23%	1%	4%
6	Appointments of Supreme Court Judges and other high posts should be made on the recommendation of the Constitutional Council established by Parliament	38%	26%	19%	6%	11%
7	Independent media	37%	36%	21%	4%	3%
8	Restrictions on MPs crossing over	31%	27%	22%	4%	16%
9	Oversight committees for all Ministries with meetings open to the media	24%	30%	19%	18%	8%
10	Right to information at all times	24%	24%	15%	20%	16%
11	Right to information except for matters of national security	23%	42%	21%	4%	10%
12	Appointments of Supreme Court Judges and other high posts should be made by the President at his own discretion	9%	22%	23%	15%	31%

Sinhala +DK		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	Depoliticise the public service	46%	22%	7%	1%	1%	21%
2	Effective institutions to combat corruption	38%	24%	17%	3%	1%	17%
3	Policy to protect natural resources of the country	35%	21%	10%	3%	12%	19%
4	Strict budgetary control of state institutions	33%	19%	10%	9%	4%	25%
5	Independent media	27%	27%	16%	3%	2%	25%
6	Reform of the criminal justice system	26%	21%	15%	1%	2%	36%
7	Restrictions on MPs crossing over	22%	19%	15%	3%	12%	30%
8	Appointments of Supreme Court Judges and other high posts should be made on the recommendation of the Constitutional Council established by Parliament	21%	14%	11%	3%	6%	45%
9	Right to information except for matters of national security	16%	29%	15%	3%	7%	30%
10	Right to information at all times	16%	17%	10%	14%	11%	32%
11	Oversight committees for all Ministries with meetings open to the media	15%	19%	12%	11%	5%	39%
12	Appointments of Supreme Court Judges and other high posts should be made by the President at his own discretion	4%	9%	10%	6%	13%	58%

Tamil		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	Independent media	52%	25%	16%	0%	6%
2	Reform of the criminal justice system	43%	30%	20%	3%	5%
3	Right to information except for matters of national security	42%	32%	16%	9%	2%
4	Effective institutions to combat corruption	40%	40%	14%	0%	6%
5	Right to information at all times	37%	33%	18%	8%	3%
6	Depoliticise the public service	35%	30%	28%	3%	3%
7	Policy to protect natural resources of the country	30%	33%	23%	8%	7%
8	Restrictions on MPs crossing over	29%	24%	31%	4%	13%
9	Strict budgetary control of state institutions	26%	37%	30%	5%	2%
10	Oversight committees for all Ministries with meetings open to the media	22%	45%	25%	4%	4%
11	Appointments of Supreme Court Judges and other high posts should be made on the recommendation of the Constitutional Council established by Parliament	14%	39%	18%	14%	14%
12	Appointments of Supreme Court Judges and other high posts should be made by the President at his own discretion	11%	26%	19%	23%	21%

Tamil +DK		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	Independent media	52%	25%	16%	0%	6%	2%
2	Reform of the criminal justice system	42%	29%	19%	3%	5%	2%
3	Effective institutions to combat corruption	38%	38%	14%	6%	0%	5%
4	Right to information except for matters of national security	36%	27%	14%	8%	2%	14%
5	Right to information at all times	34%	31%	17%	8%	3%	8%
6	Depoliticise the public service	33%	28%	27%	3%	3%	6%
7	Policy to protect natural resources of the country	28%	31%	22%	8%	6%	6%
8	Restrictions on MPs crossing over	25%	21%	27%	3%	11%	13%
9	Strict budgetary control of state institutions	23%	32%	26%	5%	2%	12%
10	Oversight committees for all Ministries with meetings open to the media	18%	38%	22%	3%	3%	15%
11	Appointments of Supreme Court Judges and other high posts should be made on the recommendation of the Constitutional Council established by Parliament	11%	29%	14%	11%	11%	25%
12	Appointments of Supreme Court Judges and other high posts should be made by the President at his own discretion	9%	21%	15%	18%	17%	20%

Up-Country Tamil		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	Reform of the criminal justice system	59%	28%	10%	1%	1%
2	Independent media	59%	28%	6%	6%	1%
3	Effective institutions to combat corruption	59%	33%	4%	3%	1%
4	Depoliticise the public service	52%	31%	10%	3%	5%
5	Right to information at all times	50%	36%	7%	5%	2%
6	Policy to protect natural resources of the country	50%	29%	8%	6%	6%
7	Restrictions on MPs crossing over	44%	25%	11%	5%	14%
8	Right to information except for matters of national security	44%	35%	6%	6%	9%
9	Strict budgetary control of state institutions	34%	34%	27%	4%	2%
10	Oversight committees for all Ministries with meetings open to the media	33%	42%	21%	2%	2%
11	Appointments of Supreme Court Judges and other high posts should be made on the recommendation of the Constitutional Council established by Parliament	30%	32%	9%	16%	14%
12	Appointments of Supreme Court Judges and other high posts should be made by the President at his own discretion	18%	18%	16%	21%	26%

Up-Country Tamil +DK		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	Effective institutions to combat corruption	47%	26%	3%	2%	1%	20%
2	Reform of the criminal justice system	44%	21%	7%	1%	1%	25%
3	Independent media	42%	20%	4%	4%	1%	28%
4	Depoliticise the public service	34%	20%	6%	2%	3%	34%
5	Policy to protect natural resources of the country	34%	20%	5%	4%	4%	33%
6	Right to information at all times	30%	22%	4%	3%	1%	39%
7	Restrictions on MPs crossing over	29%	17%	7%	3%	9%	34%
8	Right to information except for matters of national security	26%	21%	3%	3%	5%	41%
9	Strict budgetary control of state institutions	20%	20%	16%	2%	1%	40%
10	Oversight committees for all Ministries with meetings open to the media	15%	19%	10%	1%	1%	54%
11	Appointments of Supreme Court Judges and other high posts should be made on the recommendation of the Constitutional Council established by Parliament	14%	15%	4%	8%	6%	53%
12	Appointments of Supreme Court Judges and other high posts should be made by the President at his own discretion	8%	8%	7%	9%	11%	58%

Muslim		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	Independent media	50%	31%	11%	4%	4%
2	Effective institutions to combat corruption	48%	35%	9%	3%	5%
3	Policy to protect natural resources of the country	40%	36%	12%	3%	8%
4	Right to information at all times	38%	38%	10%	7%	8%
5	Depoliticise the public service	36%	33%	18%	8%	5%
6	Reform of the criminal justice system	36%	36%	15%	13%	0%
7	Strict budgetary control of state institutions	33%	35%	15%	10%	7%
8	Restrictions on MPs crossing over	32%	26%	20%	8%	14%
9	Right to information except for matters of national security	29%	45%	22%	0%	4%
10	Appointments of Supreme Court Judges and other high posts should be made on the recommendation of the Constitutional Council established by Parliament	27%	39%	17%	5%	13%
11	Oversight committees for all Ministries with meetings open to the media	24%	41%	18%	5%	11%
12	Appointments of Supreme Court Judges and other high posts should be made by the President at his own discretion	18%	35%	10%	8%	28%

Muslim +DK		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	Independent media	44%	27%	10%	4%	3%	13%
2	Effective institutions to combat corruption	42%	30%	8%	2%	5%	13%
3	Right to information at all times	31%	31%	9%	6%	6%	17%
4	Policy to protect natural resources of the country	30%	27%	9%	2%	6%	24%
5	Depoliticise the public service	28%	26%	14%	6%	4%	22%
6	Reform of the criminal justice system	27%	27%	11%	9%	0%	26%
7	Restrictions on MPs crossing over	24%	19%	15%	6%	11%	25%
8	Strict budgetary control of state institutions	22%	23%	10%	7%	5%	33%
9	Right to information except for matters of national security	22%	35%	17%	0%	3%	23%
10	Appointments of Supreme Court Judges and other high posts should be made on the recommendation of the Constitutional Council established by Parliament	20%	29%	13%	4%	9%	24%
11	Oversight committees for all Ministries with meetings open to the media	17%	29%	13%	4%	8%	29%
12	Appointments of Supreme Court Judges and other high posts should be made by the President at his own discretion	14%	28%	8%	6%	22%	22%

6. Constitutional Reform

With regards to constitutional reform please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

National (Excl. N. Province)		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	Sri Lanka should be a Unitary state	64%	18%	8%	3%	8%
2	Give equal status to all religious groups	56%	24%	9%	6%	5%
3	Devolution with the same powers for all Provinces	35%	23%	20%	11%	11%
4	Fully implement the 17 th Amendment	35%	24%	19%	6%	16%
5	Fully implement the 13 th Amendment	34%	26%	17%	10%	14%
6	Right to return for Northern Muslims	29%	28%	19%	14%	10%
7	Give a special status to Buddhism	29%	23%	15%	7%	26%
8	Clearly define the powers of the Centre and the Provinces	23%	35%	23%	8%	10%
9	Reintroduce Section 29 of the Soulbury/Independence Constitution to protect citizens against all forms of ethnic and religious discrimination	23%	17%	19%	13%	28%
10	Archaeological sites and monuments of National importance should be placed under the control of the Central Government	22%	44%	21%	5%	9%
11	Fully implement Interim Report of APRC	20%	29%	25%	7%	18%
12	Power sharing at Centre, Provincial and local levels	18%	23%	28%	14%	18%
13	Allow the Centre to control the powers of the Provinces (the Centre can take them back)	17%	22%	32%	10%	19%
14	Devolution with different powers for different Provinces	16%	19%	15%	17%	34%
15	Return to pre 87 status of the Constitution	16%	18%	14%	20%	32%
16	The North and East should be one province	15%	15%	17%	9%	43%
17	Create an Autonomous Unit for Muslims in the East	14%	15%	8%	6%	57%
18	Protection of the powers of the Provinces from the Centre (the Centre can not take them back)	13%	18%	32%	9%	28%
19	Create an Autonomous Unit for Upcountry Tamils in the Central Province	13%	17%	8%	7%	55%
20	Establish enclaves for all major ethnic minorities in a Province	12%	18%	13%	11%	47%
21	Sri Lanka should be a Federal state	10%	14%	12%	11%	53%
22	A federation but with the right to leave	8%	12%	11%	8%	61%
23	A federation without the right to leave	8%	10%	9%	14%	59%
24	Redraw the borders to reduce the number of Provinces	7%	12%	16%	10%	54%
25	No devolution	7%	15%	7%	20%	50%
26	Two states in a loose union like Europe	5%	10%	9%	20%	56%
27	Two completely separate independent states	4%	5%	4%	7%	80%

National (Excl. N. Province) +DK		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	Sri Lanka should be a Unitary state	49%	13%	6%	2%	6%	24%
2	Give equal status to all religious groups	48%	21%	8%	5%	4%	15%
3	Give a special status to Buddhism	24%	19%	12%	6%	22%	18%
4	Devolution with the same powers for all Provinces	20%	14%	12%	7%	7%	41%
5	Right to return for Northern Muslims	20%	19%	13%	10%	7%	31%
6	Clearly define the powers of the Centre and the Provinces	15%	21%	15%	5%	6%	38%
7	Archaeological sites and monuments of National importance should be placed under the control of the Central Government	14%	28%	13%	3%	6%	37%
8	Fully implement the 13 th Amendment	11%	8%	6%	3%	5%	67%
9	The North and East should be one province	10%	9%	11%	6%	27%	37%
10	Fully implement the 17 th Amendment	10%	7%	6%	2%	5%	71%
11	Create an Autonomous Unit for Muslims in the East	10%	10%	5%	4%	39%	31%
12	Devolution with different powers for different Provinces	9%	11%	9%	10%	19%	42%
13	Power sharing at Centre, Provincial and local levels	9%	12%	14%	7%	9%	49%
14	Allow the Centre to control the powers of the Provinces (the Centre can take them back)	8%	11%	15%	5%	9%	52%
15	Establish enclaves for all major ethnic minorities in a Province	8%	12%	9%	8%	32%	31%
16	Create an Autonomous Unit for Upcountry Tamils in the Central Province	8%	10%	5%	4%	33%	40%
17	Fully implement Interim Report of APRC	7%	10%	8%	2%	6%	66%
18	Protection of the powers of the Provinces from the Centre (the Centre can not take them back)	6%	8%	14%	4%	12%	55%
19	Return to pre 87 status of the Constitution	6%	6%	5%	7%	11%	65%
20	Reintroduce Section 29 of the Soulbury/Independence Constitution to protect citizens against all forms of ethnic and religious discrimination	5%	4%	4%	3%	6%	77%
21	Redraw the borders to reduce the number of Provinces	4%	7%	9%	6%	29%	46%
22	No devolution	4%	8%	4%	11%	26%	48%
23	Sri Lanka should be a Federal state	4%	6%	5%	5%	24%	55%
24	Two completely separate independent states	3%	4%	3%	6%	61%	23%
25	A federation but with the right to leave	3%	5%	4%	3%	24%	61%
26	A federation without the right to leave	3%	3%	3%	5%	20%	66%
27	Two states in a loose union like Europe	2%	5%	5%	11%	30%	47%

	Sinhala	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	Sri Lanka should be a Unitary state	72%	19%	7%	1%	2%
2	Fully implement the 17 th Amendment	46%	24%	12%	5%	13%
3	Fully implement the 13 th Amendment	43%	25%	11%	10%	11%
4	Give equal status to all religious groups	43%	29%	12%	8%	7%
5	Give a special status to Buddhism	41%	27%	14%	5%	13%
6	Devolution with the same powers for all Provinces	29%	19%	24%	12%	16%
7	Fully implement Interim Report of APRC	23%	31%	23%	8%	16%
8	Archaeological sites and monuments of National importance should be placed under the control of the Central Government	22%	48%	19%	4%	8%
9	Allow the Centre to control the powers of the Provinces (the Centre can take them back)	19%	22%	38%	8%	13%
10	Return to pre 87 status of the Constitution	18%	20%	12%	23%	27%
11	Right to return for Northern Muslims	18%	29%	21%	20%	11%
12	Power sharing at Centre, Provincial and local levels	15%	18%	30%	15%	21%
13	Reintroduce Section 29 of the Soulbury/Independence Constitution to protect citizens against all forms of ethnic and religious discrimination	12%	2%	23%	21%	42%
14	Clearly define the powers of the Centre and the Provinces	10%	36%	31%	8%	15%
15	The North and East should be one province	8%	13%	16%	10%	53%
16	Redraw the borders to reduce the number of Provinces	6%	11%	14%	7%	61%
17	Devolution with different powers for different Provinces	6%	16%	14%	21%	43%
18	Protection of the powers of the Provinces from the Centre (the Centre can not take them back)	6%	10%	38%	7%	38%
19	No devolution	6%	13%	7%	25%	49%
20	A federation without the right to leave	5%	3%	6%	11%	75%
21	A federation but with the right to leave	4%	5%	4%	8%	79%
22	Create an Autonomous Unit for Muslims in the East	3%	5%	4%	4%	84%
23	Establish enclaves for all major ethnic minorities in a Province	2%	10%	12%	12%	64%
24	Create an Autonomous Unit for Upcountry Tamils in the Central Province	2%	6%	2%	4%	86%
25	Two completely separate independent states	1%	0%	1%	7%	90%
26	Two states in a loose union like Europe	1%	1%	4%	24%	69%
27	Sri Lanka should be a Federal state	1%	4%	7%	11%	77%

Sinhala +DK		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	Sri Lanka should be a Unitary state	58%	15%	6%	1%	1%	20%
2	Give equal status to all religious groups	36%	24%	10%	6%	6%	18%
3	Give a special status to Buddhism	34%	22%	12%	5%	11%	16%
4	Devolution with the same powers for all Provinces	16%	10%	13%	7%	9%	45%
5	Fully implement the 13 th Amendment	14%	8%	3%	3%	4%	68%
6	Archaeological sites and monuments of National importance should be placed under the control of the Central Government	14%	32%	12%	3%	5%	33%
7	Fully implement the 17 th Amendment	13%	7%	3%	1%	4%	73%
8	Right to return for Northern Muslims	12%	19%	14%	13%	7%	35%
9	Allow the Centre to control the powers of the Provinces (the Centre can take them back)	9%	10%	18%	4%	6%	53%
10	Power sharing at Centre, Provincial and local levels	8%	9%	15%	8%	11%	50%
11	Clearly define the powers of the Centre and the Provinces	6%	21%	18%	5%	8%	42%
12	Fully implement Interim Report of APRC	6%	9%	7%	2%	5%	71%
13	Return to pre 87 status of the Constitution	6%	7%	4%	8%	10%	64%
14	The North and East should be one province	5%	8%	10%	6%	34%	37%
15	Redraw the boarders to reduce the number of Provinces	4%	6%	8%	4%	34%	44%
16	Devolution with different powers for different Provinces	3%	9%	8%	11%	23%	46%
17	Protection of the powers of the Provinces from the Centre (the Centre can not take them back)	3%	4%	16%	3%	15%	59%
18	No devolution	3%	7%	3%	13%	25%	49%
19	Reintroduce Section 29 of the Soulbury/Independence Constitution to protect citizens against all forms of ethnic and religious discrimination	2%	0%	4%	3%	6%	85%
20	Create an Autonomous Unit for Muslims in the East	2%	3%	2%	3%	53%	37%
21	Two completely separate independent states	1%	0%	1%	6%	72%	20%
22	Two states in a loose union like Europe	1%	1%	2%	13%	37%	47%
23	A federation but with the right to leave	1%	2%	1%	3%	26%	66%
24	A federation without the right to leave	1%	1%	2%	3%	22%	71%
25	Establish enclaves for all major ethnic minorities in a Province	1%	7%	7%	8%	41%	36%
26	Create an Autonomous Unit for Upcountry Tamils in the Central Province	1%	3%	1%	2%	44%	49%
27	Sri Lanka should be a Federal state	1%	1%	3%	5%	31%	59%

	Tamil	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	Give equal status to all religious groups	59%	23%	11%	6%	0%
2	Clearly define the powers of the Centre and the Provinces	38%	34%	12%	16%	0%
3	Devolution with the same powers for all Provinces	34%	34%	21%	9%	2%
4	Devolution with different powers for different Provinces	30%	20%	21%	18%	11%
5	Protection of the powers of the Provinces from the Centre (the Centre can not take them back)	24%	22%	33%	13%	7%
6	Create an Autonomous Unit for Upcountry Tamils in the Central Province	24%	29%	26%	10%	10%
7	Reintroduce Section 29 of the Soulbury/Independence Constitution to protect citizens against all forms of ethnic and religious discrimination	23%	33%	27%	10%	6%
8	Establish enclaves for all major ethnic minorities in a Province	22%	32%	22%	13%	12%
9	Sri Lanka should be a Unitary state	21%	12%	25%	6%	37%
10	The North and East should be one province	20%	29%	27%	13%	13%
11	A federation but with the right to leave	19%	38%	21%	2%	21%
12	Fully implement Interim Report of APRC	18%	16%	31%	9%	27%
13	Power sharing at Centre, Provincial and local levels	18%	39%	22%	10%	12%
14	Sri Lanka should be a Federal state	17%	35%	25%	10%	13%
15	Archaeological sites and monuments of National importance should be placed under the control of the Central Government	15%	38%	31%	8%	8%
16	Two completely separate independent states	13%	26%	19%	11%	31%
17	Two states in a loose union like Europe	12%	41%	25%	16%	6%
18	Right to return for Northern Muslims	12%	30%	33%	11%	14%
19	A federation without the right to leave	9%	26%	17%	17%	32%
20	Create an Autonomous Unit for Muslims in the East	9%	36%	27%	11%	18%
21	Redraw the boarders to reduce the number of Provinces	8%	20%	33%	14%	25%
22	Return to pre 87 status of the Constitution	5%	16%	32%	16%	32%
23	Allow the Centre to control the powers of the Provinces (the Centre can take them back)	4%	18%	29%	13%	36%
24	Fully implement the 17 th Amendment	3%	32%	29%	3%	32%
25	No devolution	2%	15%	13%	11%	60%
26	Give a special status to Buddhism	2%	20%	13%	15%	50%
27	Fully implement the 13 th Amendment	0%	29%	32%	6%	32%

Tamil +DK		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	Give equal status to all religious groups	58%	23%	11%	6%	0%	2%
2	Clearly define the powers of the Centre and the Provinces	33%	30%	11%	14%	0%	12%
3	Devolution with the same powers for all Provinces	28%	28%	18%	7%	1%	16%
4	Devolution with different powers for different Provinces	27%	17%	19%	16%	9%	13%
5	Create an Autonomous Unit for Upcountry Tamils in the Central Province	21%	25%	22%	9%	9%	13%
6	Establish enclaves for all major ethnic minorities in a Province	20%	29%	20%	12%	11%	9%
7	Reintroduce Section 29 of the Soulbury/Independence Constitution to protect citizens against all forms of ethnic and religious discrimination	18%	26%	21%	8%	5%	23%
8	The North and East should be one province	17%	25%	23%	11%	11%	14%
9	Protection of the powers of the Provinces from the Centre (the Centre can not take them back)	17%	16%	23%	9%	5%	30%
10	Sri Lanka should be a Unitary state	16%	9%	19%	4%	28%	22%
11	A federation but with the right to leave	14%	28%	16%	2%	16%	25%
12	Power sharing at Centre, Provincial and local levels	14%	31%	17%	8%	9%	20%
13	Sri Lanka should be a Federal state	14%	28%	20%	8%	11%	19%
14	Fully implement Interim Report of APRC	12%	11%	22%	6%	18%	31%
15	Archaeological sites and monuments of National importance should be placed under the control of the Central Government	12%	31%	25%	6%	6%	20%
16	Two completely separate independent states	11%	22%	15%	9%	26%	17%
17	Right to return for Northern Muslims	11%	26%	29%	9%	12%	12%
18	Two states in a loose union like Europe	9%	32%	20%	12%	5%	23%
19	Create an Autonomous Unit for Muslims in the East	8%	31%	23%	9%	15%	14%
20	A federation without the right to leave	6%	18%	12%	12%	23%	28%
21	Redraw the boarders to reduce the number of Provinces	6%	16%	27%	11%	20%	20%
22	Allow the Centre to control the powers of the Provinces (the Centre can take them back)	3%	13%	21%	10%	25%	29%
23	Return to pre 87 status of the Constitution	3%	10%	19%	10%	19%	40%
24	Fully implement the 17 th Amendment	2%	17%	16%	2%	17%	47%
25	No devolution	2%	11%	10%	8%	45%	24%
26	Give a special status to Buddhism	2%	18%	12%	14%	46%	8%
27	Fully implement the 13 th Amendment	0%	16%	18%	3%	18%	45%

Up-Country Tamil		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	Give equal status to all religious groups	81%	17%	1%	0%	1%
2	Reintroduce Section 29 of the Soulbury/Independence Constitution to protect citizens against all forms of ethnic and religious discrimination	57%	22%	4%	4%	13%
3	The North and East should be one province	56%	16%	11%	9%	9%
4	Sri Lanka should be a Unitary state	49%	13%	8%	6%	25%
5	Create an Autonomous Unit for Upcountry Tamils in the Central Province	39%	27%	13%	10%	11%
6	Clearly define the powers of the Centre and the Provinces	36%	36%	13%	11%	4%
7	Devolution with different powers for different Provinces	35%	18%	18%	13%	18%
8	Devolution with the same powers for all Provinces	35%	26%	14%	21%	5%
9	Establish enclaves for all major ethnic minorities in a Province	33%	36%	5%	3%	22%
10	Sri Lanka should be a Federal state	29%	32%	8%	8%	24%
11	Right to return for Northern Muslims	27%	34%	16%	9%	14%
12	Archaeological sites and monuments of National importance should be placed under the control of the Central Government	25%	36%	32%	2%	5%
13	Protection of the powers of the Provinces from the Centre (the Centre can not take them back)	22%	25%	9%	22%	22%
14	Fully implement Interim Report of APRC	22%	26%	22%	4%	26%
15	A federation without the right to leave	21%	15%	12%	27%	24%
16	Power sharing at Centre, Provincial and local levels	19%	33%	19%	19%	11%
17	Two states in a loose union like Europe	17%	40%	14%	14%	14%
18	A federation but with the right to leave	15%	15%	26%	13%	31%
19	Redraw the borders to reduce the number of Provinces	11%	14%	25%	25%	25%
20	Create an Autonomous Unit for Muslims in the East	10%	31%	20%	14%	24%
21	Fully implement the 17 th Amendment	8%	17%	8%	42%	25%
22	Fully implement the 13 th Amendment	8%	15%	23%	31%	23%
23	Allow the Centre to control the powers of the Provinces (the Centre can take them back)	7%	18%	21%	25%	29%
24	No devolution	7%	10%	3%	7%	73%
25	Return to pre 87 status of the Constitution	7%	7%	7%	14%	64%
26	Two completely separate independent states	4%	26%	18%	12%	40%
27	Give a special status to Buddhism	3%	8%	15%	11%	64%

Up-Country Tamil +DK		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	Give equal status to all religious groups	62%	13%	1%		1%	23%
2	Create an Autonomous Unit for Upcountry Tamils in the Central Province	29%	20%	10%	8%	9%	25%
3	Sri Lanka should be a Unitary state	28%	8%	4%	3%	14%	42%
4	The North and East should be one province	27%	8%	5%	4%	4%	52%
5	Establish enclaves for all major ethnic minorities in a Province	21%	23%	3%	2%	14%	36%
6	Clearly define the powers of the Centre and the Provinces	18%	18%	7%	5%	2%	49%
7	Devolution with the same powers for all Provinces	16%	12%	7%	10%	2%	53%
8	Devolution with different powers for different Provinces	15%	8%	8%	5%	8%	57%
9	Reintroduce Section 29 of the Soulbury/Independence Constitution to protect citizens against all forms of ethnic and religious discrimination	14%	5%	1%	1%	3%	75%
10	Right to return for Northern Muslims	13%	16%	8%	4%	6%	53%
11	Sri Lanka should be a Federal state	12%	13%	3%	3%	10%	58%
12	Archaeological sites and monuments of National importance should be placed under the control of the Central Government	12%	17%	15%	1%	2%	52%
13	A federation without the right to leave	8%	5%	4%	10%	9%	64%
14	Protection of the powers of the Provinces from the Centre (the Centre can not take them back)	8%	9%	3%	8%	8%	65%
15	Two states in a loose union like Europe	7%	15%	5%	5%	5%	62%
16	A federation but with the right to leave	7%	7%	11%	5%	13%	58%
17	Fully implement Interim Report of APRC	7%	8%	7%	1%	8%	71%
18	Power sharing at Centre, Provincial and local levels	6%	10%	6%	6%	3%	70%
19	Create an Autonomous Unit for Muslims in the East	5%	16%	11%	8%	13%	46%
20	Redraw the boarders to reduce the number of Provinces	4%	5%	10%	10%	10%	61%
21	Two completely separate independent states	2%	14%	10%	7%	22%	44%
22	Allow the Centre to control the powers of the Provinces (the Centre can take them back)	2%	5%	7%	8%	9%	70%
23	No devolution	2%	3%	1%	2%	24%	68%
24	Give a special status to Buddhism	2%	5%	11%	8%	46%	27%
25	Fully implement the 17 th Amendment	1%	2%	1%	5%	3%	87%
26	Fully implement the 13 th Amendment	1%	2%	3%	4%	3%	86%
27	Return to pre 87 status of the Constitution	1%	1%	1%	2%	10%	85%

Muslim		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	Give equal status to all religious groups	86%	11%	1%	2%	0%
2	Right to return for Northern Muslims	73%	22%	4%	0%	1%
3	Sri Lanka should be a Unitary state	56%	20%	6%	7%	11%
4	Clearly define the powers of the Centre and the Provinces	54%	28%	11%	3%	4%
5	Devolution with the same powers for all Provinces	52%	30%	10%	4%	4%
6	Create an Autonomous Unit for Muslims in the East	51%	25%	6%	7%	11%
7	Devolution with different powers for different Provinces	33%	26%	11%	5%	24%
8	Fully implement the 13 th Amendment	31%	29%	27%	6%	8%
9	Establish enclaves for all major ethnic minorities in a Province	30%	26%	15%	8%	21%
10	Fully implement the 17 th Amendment	29%	20%	37%	2%	12%
11	Power sharing at Centre, Provincial and local levels	26%	29%	28%	9%	9%
12	Reintroduce Section 29 of the Soulbury/Independence Constitution to protect citizens against all forms of ethnic and religious discrimination	26%	29%	9%	3%	32%
13	Archaeological sites and monuments of National importance should be placed under the control of the Central Government	25%	33%	19%	6%	16%
14	Sri Lanka should be a Federal state	23%	22%	22%	17%	17%
15	Create an Autonomous Unit for Upcountry Tamils in the Central Province	22%	35%	13%	10%	20%
16	The North and East should be one province	21%	14%	18%	5%	42%
17	Protection of the powers of the Provinces from the Centre (the Centre can not take them back)	21%	37%	21%	9%	11%
18	Allow the Centre to control the powers of the Provinces (the Centre can take them back)	21%	25%	16%	10%	28%
19	Return to pre 87 status of the Constitution	20%	15%	13%	8%	45%
20	Fully implement Interim Report of APRC	16%	38%	25%	7%	14%
21	No devolution	14%	24%	8%	14%	39%
22	A federation without the right to leave	11%	13%	9%	13%	53%
23	Two states in a loose union like Europe	10%	11%	14%	8%	57%
24	Two completely separate independent states	9%	5%	2%	3%	80%
25	A federation but with the right to leave	7%	9%	14%	12%	58%
26	Redraw the borders to reduce the number of Provinces	7%	11%	9%	13%	60%
27	Give a special status to Buddhism	4%	16%	22%	7%	50%

Muslim +DK		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	Give equal status to all religious groups	83%	10%	1%	2%	0%	3%
2	Right to return for Northern Muslims	67%	20%	4%	0%	1%	8%
3	Create an Autonomous Unit for Muslims in the East	49%	24%	6%	7%	10%	5%
4	Clearly define the powers of the Centre and the Provinces	40%	21%	8%	2%	3%	25%
5	Devolution with the same powers for all Provinces	39%	23%	8%	3%	3%	24%
6	Sri Lanka should be a Unitary state	39%	13%	4%	5%	8%	31%
7	Establish enclaves for all major ethnic minorities in a Province	25%	22%	13%	7%	18%	16%
8	Devolution with different powers for different Provinces	23%	18%	8%	3%	17%	31%
9	Create an Autonomous Unit for Upcountry Tamils in the Central Province	15%	24%	9%	7%	14%	31%
10	Power sharing at Centre, Provincial and local levels	14%	16%	15%	5%	5%	46%
11	The North and East should be one province	13%	9%	11%	3%	25%	39%
12	Fully implement the 13 th Amendment	13%	12%	11%	2%	3%	59%
13	Archaeological sites and monuments of National importance should be placed under the control of the Central Government	13%	17%	10%	3%	9%	48%
14	Protection of the powers of the Provinces from the Centre (the Centre can not take them back)	12%	21%	12%	5%	6%	44%
15	Allow the Centre to control the powers of the Provinces (the Centre can take them back)	11%	13%	9%	6%	15%	46%
16	Fully implement the 17 th Amendment	11%	8%	14%	1%	5%	62%
17	Sri Lanka should be a Federal state	11%	10%	10%	8%	8%	53%
18	No devolution	9%	14%	5%	9%	24%	40%
19	Two completely separate independent states	7%	4%	2%	2%	61%	24%
20	Fully implement Interim Report of APRC	7%	17%	11%	3%	6%	56%
21	Reintroduce Section 29 of the Soulbury/Independence Constitution to protect citizens against all forms of ethnic and religious discrimination	7%	8%	2%	1%	9%	73%
22	Return to pre 87 status of the Constitution	6%	5%	4%	2%	14%	69%
23	Two states in a loose union like Europe	5%	6%	7%	4%	28%	50%
24	A federation without the right to leave	4%	5%	3%	5%	19%	64%
25	A federation but with the right to leave	3%	4%	6%	6%	26%	55%
26	Redraw the boarders to reduce the number of Provinces	3%	5%	4%	6%	26%	57%
27	Give a special status to Buddhism	3%	13%	17%	6%	39%	22%

7. A Constitutional Package

And now, having asked you questions about the different parts of a possible peace process can we finally ask you to consider the different constitutional packages that have been proposed for Sri Lanka. Please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

National (Excl. N. Province)	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Two States – Two completely separate independent states of Tamil Eelam and Sri Lanka.	3%	2%	3%	5%	87%
Confederal State – Two autonomous units comprising the North-East and the rest of Sri Lanka with a minimum of functions for the joint central government.	6%	7%	9%	8%	70%
Federal State – A number of autonomous units comprising the North-East and existing provinces in the rest of Sri Lanka with a joint central government sharing power with the autonomous units.	9%	7%	11%	18%	55%
Enhanced Devolution – Full implementation of the 13 th and 17 th Amendments plus the devolution of significant powers to autonomous provinces negotiated at a peace conference.	9%	13%	38%	6%	34%
13th Amendment Devolution – Present Constitution with full implementation of the 13 th and 17 th Amendments.	30%	19%	15%	7%	29%
Unitary State – Pre 87 Constitution.	43%	16%	8%	7%	26%

National (Excl. N. Province) +DK	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
Two States – Two completely separate independent states of Tamil Eelam and Sri Lanka.	2%	1%	2%	4%	67%	24%
Confederal State – Two autonomous units comprising the North-East and the rest of Sri Lanka with a minimum of functions for the joint central government.	3%	4%	4%	4%	35%	49%
Federal State – A number of autonomous units comprising the North-East and existing provinces in the rest of Sri Lanka with a joint central government sharing power with the autonomous units.	5%	4%	6%	9%	29%	47%
Enhanced Devolution – Full implementation of the 13 th and 17 th Amendments plus the devolution of significant powers to autonomous provinces negotiated at a peace conference.	3%	5%	14%	2%	12%	64%
13th Amendment Devolution – Present Constitution with full implementation of the 13 th and 17 th Amendments.	10%	7%	5%	2%	10%	66%
Unitary State – Pre 87 Constitution.	21%	8%	4%	3%	13%	51%

Sinhala	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Two States – Two completely separate independent states of Tamil Eelam and Sri Lanka.	0%	1%	1%	3%	95%
Confederal State – Two autonomous units comprising the North-East and the rest of Sri Lanka with a minimum of functions for the joint central government.	3%	1%	3%	4%	91%
Federal State – A number of autonomous units comprising the North-East and existing provinces in the rest of Sri Lanka with a joint central government sharing power with the autonomous units.	2%	3%	7%	20%	68%
Enhanced Devolution – Full implementation of the 13 th and 17 th Amendments plus the devolution of significant powers to autonomous provinces negotiated at a peace conference.	8%	12%	46%	3%	31%
13th Amendment Devolution – Present Constitution with full implementation of the 13 th and 17 th Amendments.	37%	21%	14%	4%	24%
Unitary State – Pre 87 Constitution.	54%	18%	9%	4%	16%

Sinhala +DK	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
Two States – Two completely separate independent states of Tamil Eelam and Sri Lanka.	0%	1%	1%	3%	79%	16%
Confederal State – Two autonomous units comprising the North-East and the rest of Sri Lanka with a minimum of functions for the joint central government.	1%	0%	1%	2%	45%	51%
Federal State – A number of autonomous units comprising the North-East and existing provinces in the rest of Sri Lanka with a joint central government sharing power with the autonomous units.	1%	2%	4%	11%	37%	45%
Enhanced Devolution – Full implementation of the 13 th and 17 th Amendments plus the devolution of significant powers to autonomous provinces negotiated at a peace conference.	3%	5%	17%	1%	12%	62%
13th Amendment Devolution – Present Constitution with full implementation of the 13 th and 17 th Amendments.	13%	7%	5%	2%	8%	64%
Unitary State – Pre 87 Constitution.	29%	10%	5%	2%	8%	46%

Tamil	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Two States – Two completely separate independent states of Tamil Eelam and Sri Lanka.	27%	6%	13%	15%	40%
Confederal State – Two autonomous units comprising the North-East and the rest of Sri Lanka with a minimum of functions for the joint central government.	22%	30%	16%	20%	12%
Federal State – A number of autonomous units comprising the North-East and existing provinces in the rest of Sri Lanka with a joint central government sharing power with the autonomous units.	33%	21%	19%	16%	12%
Enhanced Devolution – Full implementation of the 13 th and 17 th Amendments plus the devolution of significant powers to autonomous provinces negotiated at a peace conference.	9%	18%	21%	18%	33%
13th Amendment Devolution – Present Constitution with full implementation of the 13 th and 17 th Amendments.	9%	19%	13%	22%	38%
Unitary State – Pre 87 Constitution.	3%	11%	8%	24%	54%

Tamil +DK	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
Two States – Two completely separate independent states of Tamil Eelam and Sri Lanka.	20%	5%	9%	11%	29%	26%
Confederal State – Two autonomous units comprising the North-East and the rest of Sri Lanka with a minimum of functions for the joint central government.	17%	23%	12%	15%	9%	23%
Federal State – A number of autonomous units comprising the North-East and existing provinces in the rest of Sri Lanka with a joint central government sharing power with the autonomous units.	22%	14%	13%	11%	8%	33%
Enhanced Devolution – Full implementation of the 13 th and 17 th Amendments plus the devolution of significant powers to autonomous provinces negotiated at a peace conference.	5%	10%	11%	10%	17%	48%
13th Amendment Devolution – Present Constitution with full implementation of the 13 th and 17 th Amendments.	5%	9%	6%	11%	18%	51%
Unitary State – Pre 87 Constitution.	2%	6%	5%	14%	31%	42%

Up-Country Tamil	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Two States – Two completely separate independent states of Tamil Eelam and Sri Lanka.	10%	6%	12%	18%	53%
Confederal State – Two autonomous units comprising the North-East and the rest of Sri Lanka with a minimum of functions for the joint central government.	19%	24%	21%	17%	19%
Federal State – A number of autonomous units comprising the North-East and existing provinces in the rest of Sri Lanka with a joint central government sharing power with the autonomous units.	26%	15%	21%	18%	21%
Enhanced Devolution – Full implementation of the 13 th and 17 th Amendments plus the devolution of significant powers to autonomous provinces negotiated at a peace conference.	8%	16%	12%	16%	48%
13th Amendment Devolution – Present Constitution with full implementation of the 13 th and 17 th Amendments.	5%	11%	21%	16%	47%
Unitary State – Pre 87 Constitution.	26%	19%	7%	11%	37%

Up-Country Tamil +DK	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
Two States – Two completely separate independent states of Tamil Eelam and Sri Lanka.	5%	3%	6%	9%	27%	48%
Confederal State – Two autonomous units comprising the North-East and the rest of Sri Lanka with a minimum of functions for the joint central government.	8%	11%	9%	7%	8%	56%
Federal State – A number of autonomous units comprising the North-East and existing provinces in the rest of Sri Lanka with a joint central government sharing power with the autonomous units.	11%	6%	9%	7%	9%	59%
Enhanced Devolution – Full implementation of the 13 th and 17 th Amendments plus the devolution of significant powers to autonomous provinces negotiated at a peace conference.	2%	4%	3%	4%	13%	74%
13th Amendment Devolution – Present Constitution with full implementation of the 13 th and 17 th Amendments.	1%	2%	4%	3%	9%	80%
Unitary State – Pre 87 Constitution.	7%	5%	2%	3%	11%	71%

Muslim	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Two States – Two completely separate independent states of Tamil Eelam and Sri Lanka.	3%	1%	3%	2%	90%
Confederal State – Two autonomous units comprising the North-East and the rest of Sri Lanka with a minimum of functions for the joint central government.	2%	8%	21%	11%	58%
Federal State – A number of autonomous units comprising the North-East and existing provinces in the rest of Sri Lanka with a joint central government sharing power with the autonomous units.	16%	14%	19%	10%	41%
Enhanced Devolution – Full implementation of the 13 th and 17 th Amendments plus the devolution of significant powers to autonomous provinces negotiated at a peace conference.	21%	13%	21%	3%	42%
13th Amendment Devolution – Present Constitution with full implementation of the 13 th and 17 th Amendments.	28%	15%	18%	3%	38%
Unitary State – Pre 87 Constitution.	13%	8%	6%	10%	63%

Muslim +DK	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
Two States – Two completely separate independent states of Tamil Eelam and Sri Lanka.	2%	1%	2%	2%	59%	34%
Confederal State – Two autonomous units comprising the North-East and the rest of Sri Lanka with a minimum of functions for the joint central government.	1%	4%	10%	5%	27%	53%
Federal State – A number of autonomous units comprising the North-East and existing provinces in the rest of Sri Lanka with a joint central government sharing power with the autonomous units.	8%	7%	9%	5%	20%	52%
Enhanced Devolution – Full implementation of the 13 th and 17 th Amendments plus the devolution of significant powers to autonomous provinces negotiated at a peace conference.	6%	4%	6%	1%	12%	71%
13th Amendment Devolution – Present Constitution with full implementation of the 13 th and 17 th Amendments.	8%	5%	5%	1%	11%	69%
Unitary State – Pre 87 Constitution.	5%	3%	2%	4%	23%	63%

8. Implementation

With regards to implementation please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

National (Excl. N. Province)		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	The Constitutional Council should monitor the implementation of the Constitution and all its Amendments	33%	32%	23%	7%	5%
2	Establish a Constitutional Court	24%	35%	22%	7%	12%

The following states and international organisations should help to facilitate peace negotiations:		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	India	37%	26%	14%	2%	21%
2	SAARC	30%	30%	13%	4%	23%
3	UN	28%	24%	13%	9%	26%
4	China	25%	32%	14%	4%	26%
5	EU	24%	24%	16%	7%	29%
6	Japan	23%	31%	17%	3%	26%
7	Norway	23%	18%	8%	5%	47%
8	USA	21%	23%	13%	7%	35%
9	Britain	19%	25%	17%	5%	33%

National (Excl. N. Province) +DK		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	The Constitutional Council should monitor the implementation of the Constitution and all its Amendments	16%	15%	11%	3%	3%	52%
2	Establish a Constitutional Court	10%	15%	10%	3%	5%	56%

The following states and international organisations should help to facilitate peace negotiations:		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	India	30%	21%	11%	2%	17%	19%
2	SAARC	22%	21%	9%	3%	17%	29%
3	UN	20%	17%	9%	7%	18%	29%
4	China	17%	22%	10%	3%	18%	30%
5	Japan	17%	23%	13%	2%	19%	25%
6	Norway	17%	13%	6%	4%	35%	24%
7	EU	17%	16%	11%	5%	20%	31%
8	USA	16%	17%	10%	5%	26%	26%
9	Britain	14%	18%	12%	4%	24%	29%

Sinhala		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	The Constitutional Council should monitor the implementation of the Constitution and all its Amendments	33%	33%	24%	4%	6%
2	Establish a Constitutional Court	21%	36%	22%	4%	16%

The following states and international organisations should help to facilitate peace negotiations:		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	India	25%	29%	18%	2%	26%
2	SAARC	23%	30%	13%	4%	29%
3	China	19%	31%	16%	5%	30%
4	UN	17%	22%	14%	13%	35%
5	Japan	16%	29%	23%	2%	30%
6	EU	16%	20%	19%	8%	37%
7	USA	15%	20%	13%	10%	42%
8	Britain	8%	24%	21%	6%	41%
9	Norway	4%	15%	8%	6%	67%

Sinhala +DK		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	The Constitutional Council should monitor the implementation of the Constitution and all its Amendments	15%	15%	11%	2%	3%	54%
2	Establish a Constitutional Court	8%	15%	9%	2%	6%	60%

The following states and international organisations should help to facilitate peace negotiations:		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	India	20%	22%	14%	2%	20%	22%
2	SAARC	16%	21%	9%	3%	20%	31%
3	China	12%	19%	10%	3%	19%	37%
4	Japan	11%	20%	16%	2%	21%	30%
5	USA	11%	14%	9%	7%	30%	30%
6	EU	11%	13%	12%	5%	25%	34%
7	UN	11%	15%	9%	9%	23%	33%
8	Britain	5%	15%	14%	4%	26%	35%
9	Norway	3%	11%	6%	4%	48%	28%

Tamil		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	The Constitutional Council should monitor the implementation of the Constitution and all its Amendments	16%	33%	30%	14%	7%
2	Establish a Constitutional Court	10%	29%	39%	10%	12%

The following states and international organisations should help to facilitate peace negotiations:		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	Norway	68%	17%	3%	0%	12%
2	India	49%	15%	11%	5%	20%
3	UN	42%	25%	13%	2%	19%
4	Britain	34%	20%	16%	7%	23%
5	EU	32%	25%	15%	4%	25%
6	USA	31%	20%	20%	2%	26%
7	SAARC	29%	29%	17%	2%	23%
8	Japan	23%	30%	14%	4%	29%
9	China	21%	27%	18%	5%	29%

Tamil +DK		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	The Constitutional Council should monitor the implementation of the Constitution and all its Amendments	11%	22%	20%	9%	5%	33%
2	Establish a Constitutional Court	6%	19%	25%	6%	8%	36%

The following states and international organisations should help to facilitate peace negotiations:		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	Norway	63%	16%	3%	0%	11%	6%
2	India	43%	13%	10%	5%	17%	13%
3	UN	34%	20%	11%	2%	16%	17%
4	Britain	30%	17%	14%	6%	20%	13%
5	USA	27%	18%	18%	2%	23%	13%
6	EU	27%	20%	13%	3%	20%	17%
7	SAARC	24%	24%	14%	2%	19%	17%
8	Japan	20%	27%	13%	3%	25%	13%
9	China	18%	23%	15%	5%	25%	14%

Up-Country Tamil		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	Establish a Constitutional Court	35%	30%	12%	19%	5%
2	The Constitutional Council should monitor the implementation of the Constitution and all its Amendments	31%	33%	16%	16%	4%

The following states and international organisations should help to facilitate peace negotiations:		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	India	85%	11%	4%	0%	0%
2	Norway	70%	19%	6%	1%	4%
3	Britain	54%	30%	7%	1%	7%
4	USA	51%	30%	10%	3%	6%
5	UN	48%	29%	12%	5%	5%
6	Japan	38%	42%	9%	3%	8%
7	China	37%	43%	9%	2%	9%
8	SAARC	37%	37%	11%	7%	7%
9	EU	36%	38%	13%	6%	8%

Up-Country Tamil +DK		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	The Constitutional Council should monitor the implementation of the Constitution and all its Amendments	15%	16%	7%	7%	2%	53%
2	Establish a Constitutional Court	16%	14%	5%	9%	2%	54%

The following states and international organisations should help to facilitate peace negotiations:		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	India	67%	8%	3%	0%	0%	21%
2	Norway	51%	14%	4%	1%	3%	27%
3	Britain	39%	22%	5%	1%	5%	28%
4	USA	34%	20%	6%	2%	4%	34%
5	UN	30%	18%	8%	3%	3%	38%
6	Japan	27%	30%	6%	2%	5%	29%
7	China	26%	30%	6%	1%	6%	31%
8	SAARC	21%	21%	6%	4%	4%	43%
9	EU	20%	22%	8%	3%	4%	43%

Muslim		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	The Constitutional Council should monitor the implementation of the Constitution and all its Amendments	45%	28%	18%	5%	3%
2	Establish a Constitutional Court	34%	38%	20%	5%	3%

The following states and international organisations should help to facilitate peace negotiations:		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	SAARC	52%	26%	8%	4%	10%
2	UN	50%	27%	9%	3%	11%
3	India	44%	34%	7%	2%	14%
4	EU	43%	30%	9%	4%	15%
5	Norway	40%	27%	9%	5%	19%
6	Japan	38%	32%	6%	4%	20%
7	China	37%	31%	8%	3%	21%
8	Britain	26%	30%	11%	4%	28%
9	USA	23%	32%	11%	3%	32%

Muslim +DK		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	The Constitutional Council should monitor the implementation of the Constitution and all its Amendments	21%	13%	9%	2%	2%	53%
2	Establish a Constitutional Court	16%	18%	9%	2%	2%	53%

The following states and international organisations should help to facilitate peace negotiations:		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	SAARC	45%	22%	7%	4%	8%	14%
2	UN	44%	24%	8%	2%	10%	12%
3	India	40%	31%	6%	2%	13%	8%
4	Japan	35%	29%	5%	4%	18%	8%
5	Norway	35%	24%	8%	5%	17%	12%
6	EU	35%	25%	8%	3%	12%	17%
7	China	34%	27%	8%	2%	19%	10%
8	Britain	24%	27%	10%	4%	25%	10%
9	USA	20%	28%	10%	2%	28%	12%

Sampling Methodology

The study is conducted using a structured questionnaire that is administered to a sample of approximately 1700 respondents. This sample is adequate to capture the minimum ethnic diversity within the span of ten days of fieldwork. Although it is undeniable that an individual's opinion on the peace process is influenced by a number of factors, the ethnic factor, which is the most important and influential, is the sole factor that has been accommodated in this model.

The total sample is distributed amongst 20 administrative districts (strata) of Sri Lanka, Excluding the Northern Province due to 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 sample. The national level estimates are subject to a 3% error margin with a .95 confidence level.

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 "Non-Random Sampling" technique. This method of sampling was used due to the security situation prevailing in the country. Accordingly, the enumerators were instructed to select the particular household by virtue of the ease with which it was accessible. Thereby, the results presented in this report that reference the Tamil community cannot be generalised as they are not representative of the entire Tamil population in Sri Lanka.

Demographics

1. Gender
 1. Male 49.6% (842)
 2. Female 50.4% (855)

2. Religion
 1. Buddhism 63.3% (1,067)
 2. Hinduism 15.9% (269)
 3. Islam 15.2% (256)
 4. Roman Catholic 3.4% (57)
 5. Christian (Non RC) 2.2% (37)
 6. Other _____

3. Age

	Frequency	Percent
1 18-25	308	18.2
2 26-35	414	24.4
3 36-45	440	25.9
4 46-55	312	18.4
5 56-65	220	13.0
6 Above 66	2	0.1
Total	1,696	100.0

4. Ethnicity
 1. Sinhalese (1121) 66.09%
 2. Tamil (130) 7.67%
 3. Up Country Tamil (187) 11.05%
 4. Muslim (258) 15.20%
 5. Burgher---
 6. Other _____

5. First Language
 1. Sinhala (1121) 66.09%
 2. Tamil (130) 7.67%
 3. English (2) 0.1%
 4. Other _____

6. Respondent's Employment (Single Answer)

	Frequency	Percent
1 Executives, Managerial and Professionals	24	1.4
2 Professionals	74	4.4
3 Technicians and Associate Professionals	58	3.5
4 Clerk	16	0.9
5 Travel, Restaurant, Protective Service Workers and Sales	81	4.8
6 Agricultural and fisheries workers	208	12.3
7 Students	78	4.6
8 Housewife	486	28.8
9 Retired	72	4.3
10 Business	66	3.9
11 Self employed	101	6.0
12 Elementary Occupations	90	5.3
13 Unemployed	254	15.0
14 Other	81	4.8
Total	1,689	100.0

7. Level of education (Single Answer)

Education

	Frequency	Percent
1 Cannot read and write	47	2.8
2 Literate but no formal education	73	4.3
3 Up to grade 5	160	9.5
4 Grade 6-9	344	20.4
5 Up to O Level	320	19.0
6 O Level	292	17.3
7 Up to Advanced Level	140	8.3
8 Advanced Level	217	12.9
9 Vocationally trained	11	0.7
10 Technically trained	9	0.6
11 Professional	7	0.4
12 Undergraduate	25	1.5
13 Graduate and above	39	2.3
14 Other	2	0.1
Total	1,688	100.0

8. Monthly household income

Income

	Frequency	Percent
1 Below Rs 5000	353	21.7
2 Rs 5001-Rs 10,000	669	41.1
3 Rs 10,001-Rs 15,000	319	19.6
4 Rs 15,001-Rs 20,000	169	10.4
5 Rs 20,001-Rs 25,000	49	3.0
6 Rs 25,001 & above	70	4.3
Total	1,629	100.0

1. Name of Respondent: -----		
2. Address:-----	3. Phone: -----	
4. Province:-----	Colombo, Gampaha, Kalutara, Kandy Matale, Nuwara Eliya, Galle, Matara, Hambant Batticaloa, Ampara, Trincomalee Kurunegala, Puttalam, Anuradhapura, Polonnaru Badulla, Moneragala, Ratnapura, Kegalle	
5. Divisional Secretariat's div:-----		
7. Grama Niladari Div:-----		
8. 1. Rural 76.7% 2. Urban 17.1%	9. LGB No:	
10. Date:	11. Start Time	12. End Time: