

An Opinion Poll On Peace



# Peace Confidence Index (PCI)

## TOP-LINE RESULTS

Social Indicator

November 2003

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



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## INTRODUCTION

### OBJECTIVE

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

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

### SCOPE & METHODOLOGY

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The study is carried out using a structured questionnaire administered through face-to-face interviews amongst a 1,279 respondent sample. The 17 administrative districts of the seven provinces, excluding the Northern and the Eastern provinces, and areas under Government control of the Amparai, Batticaloa and Vavuniya were surveyed. Data is weighted to reflect the actual ethnographic composition of the districts in which the sample was surveyed.

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

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



## KEY NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS OCTOBER 2003-NOVEMBER 2003

- Sri Lanka is likely to become the third strongest economy in the South Asia region with a projected GDP growth rate of 5.5 percent next year, the Asian Development Bank predicted today. In its latest report on the Asian outlook for 2003, the ADB said its optimism was based on continued progress in the talks with the LTTE and continued adherence to macroeconomic and structural policies. (30 September 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 01 October 2003)
- Thousands of nationalists led by Sri Lanka's main opposition were marching to the capital Colombo to protest the government's Norwegian-backed peace bid, organizers said. (01 October 2003)-(AFP/www.lankapage.com)
- The Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission (SLMM) in a Press Release issued on 30th September 2003 reiterates that hoisting of the LTTE flag on public buildings and in public places in Government controlled areas amounts to a violation of the Ceasefire Agreement. (01 October 2003)-(Sri Lanka Army (<http://www.army.lk/>))
- Public Administration Minister Vajira Abeywardena today announced plans to restructure the Public Service under World Bank recommendations and said the World Bank had expressed willingness to release Rs. 300 million for the restructuring programme expected to begin in January next year. (02 October 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 03 October 2003)
- The LTTE today freed 50 soldiers under age 18, the first batch of children demobilised under a UNICEF programme, UNICEF said. The children will be moved to the first "transit home" for former under aged fighters to be opened today in the rebel-held Kilinochchi, said a spokeswoman for the UNICEF. (02 October 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 03 October 2003)
- The US Deputy Secretary of State Richard Armitage has said it would consider revoking the designation of the LTTE as a Foreign Terrorist Organization (FTO) at any time, provided the LTTE renounced terrorism in Sri Lanka. (03 October 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 04 October 2003)
- The LTTE had agreed to allow Muslim farmers to engage in paddy cultivation up to 50 metres from the controversial Kinniya camp, the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission spokesperson Ms. Agnes Bragadottir said today. (05 October 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 06 October 2003)
- The Army today said the LTTE defied the ruling given by the SLMM and continued to hoist the LTTE flag at Shivananda school grounds, Navatkudah, Batticaloa on October 7. (09 October 2003)-(Daily Mirror)
- Minister and SLMC leader Rauff Hakeem flew to Kinniya, Trincomalee today to defuse the latest crisis where some 1,000 people reportedly blocked the entrance to the China Bay police station. Reports said the crowd was protesting against the arrest of a Muslim youth allegedly involved in an attack on some Tamil families over a plot of disputed land. (09 October 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 10 October 2003)
- The People's Alliance spokesman Sarath Amunugama said today it would move urgently in parliament for a no-confidence motion against Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe for his alleged statements supporting the US invasion of Iraq. (10 October 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 11 October 2003)
- Interim Administration system is one of the steps needed to be taken to achieve a final resolution in the peace process said Minister of Enterprise Development, Industrial Policy and Investment Promotion, Minister of Constitutional Affairs Prof. G. L. Peiris at a forum organised in Kurunegala by the Wayamba UNF Organization to create awareness on the government's peace efforts. (12 October 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 13 October 2003)
- LTTE will hold talks in Norway with Foreign Minister Jan Petersen and other peace brokers before unveiling their power-sharing plan for Sri Lanka's stalled peace process, the Norwegian embassy said today. (13 October 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 14 October 2003)
- Two businessmen who had taken goods from Colombo to Jaffna to sell had been taken into custody by LTTE. The LTTE Customs division together with the vehicle had fined them Rs. 550,000. (14 October 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 15 October 2003)
- India today strongly backed Sri Lanka's peace bid, broadly endorsing power-sharing to end ethnic bloodshed, and dismissed concerns that its economic interests in the country were vulnerable to attack. India's Foreign Minister Yashwant Sinha, who is on a two-day visit here, said New Delhi is supporting the Norwegian-backed peace effort. (15 October 2003)-(The Island on 17 October 2003)
- The South African parliamentary delegation who was in Sri Lanka recently, before leaving the country, said that they would recommend to the African National Congress (ANC) leader and president Nelson Mandela to take all possible measures to end the ongoing bloody strife here and express their willingness to even urge Mandela to be the facilitator to bring the parties involved to the negotiation table. (16 October 2003)-(<http://www.tamilcanadian.com/cgi-bin/php/pageview.php?ID=69&SID=39>)



- Visiting Canadian Foreign Minister Bill Graham has warned that Ottawa would have to ban the LTTE if it fails to show full commitment to the peace process and added that Canada has imposed restrictions on LTTE functions on its soil but has temporarily suspended proscribing it due to the peace process. (16 October 2003)-(www.lankapage.com)
- Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe has ordered Defence Minister Tilak Marapana to conduct an immediate inquiry into the alleged presence of a Tiger arms ship off Mullaitivu. A Defence Ministry spokesman yesterday said the Premier has asked for information whether the ship belonged to the LTTE, whether the Navy's information about the ship had leaked to the LTTE and if so, how it happened. (19 October 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 20 October 2003)
- The LTTE has released a second group of abducted children its critics say it possibly intended to use as soldiers, the U.N. children's agency said yesterday. The release of the seven children over the weekend came days after a group of 13 youngsters were released by the rebels, who deny that they recruit child soldiers. "They were all between 14 and 16 years of age and have been in the LTTE for no more than six weeks," said UNICEF spokesman Sarah Epstein. (21 October 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 22 October 2003)
- India and Sri Lanka today decided to conclude a defence cooperation agreement at the earliest and called for the early conclusion of additional Protocol to the SAARC Convention on Suppression of Terrorism. (21 October 2003)-(http://www.deepikaglobal.com/ENG4\_sub.asp?ccode=ENG4&newscode=27336)
- The Police today said that the reason for today's protests in Trincomalee was the presence of international truce monitors and the government's (proposed) plans to share power with the LTTE. (22 October 2003)-(AP/Xinhua/http://www.theacademic.org/stories/10668515480/story.shtml)
- President Chandrika Kumaratunge has requested the Norwegian Prime Minister to remove the head of the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission, Major General (retd.) Triggve Tellefsen, immediately from his post, saying his actions have caused serious doubts in the implementation of the ceasefire agreement, the Presidential Secretariat said October 23. (23 October 2003)-(The Island on 24 October 2003)-(www.theacademic.org/www.tamilnet.com)
- Police imposed an overnight curfew Thursday in an eastern Sri Lankan town after Muslim residents pelted stones at police and soldiers during a protest against the Tamil Tiger rebels, a military official said. Sri Lanka - 's 1.3 million Muslims live mostly in the island's east, where many Tamils also live, and have long accused the rebels of harassment, abduction and extortion. (23 October 2003)-(Associated Press)
- The government yesterday said it was confident that direct peace talks with the LTTE would be resumed in January next year after a positive response was received on the proposal for an Interim North East administration. Cabinet spokesman G.L. Peiris told a news conference yesterday the LTTE was expected to hand over its counter proposals on October 31, following which the government was hopeful of meeting for a preliminary round of talks to set the agenda for the resumption of peace talks. (23 October 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 24 October 2003)
- The overnight curfew in Kinniya was re-imposed from 1 pm today after it was lifted at 10 am, police said. The police curfew was imposed on Thursday to bring the tense situation under control after suspected LTTE cadres allegedly seized two bullock carts belonging to Muslims in the Kinniya area. (24 October 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 25 October 2003)
- Norwegian Prime Minister, Kjell Magne Bondevik in response to President Chandrika Kumaratunga's letter demanding the removal of the SLMM Chief Trygve Tellefsen said in a letter yesterday that he has taken her decision seriously into consideration and told Foreign Minister Jan Peterson to address the matter, an official said. (27 October 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 28 October 2003)
- Upcountry People's Front Leader P. Chandrasekaran today said he received the nod from the LTTE political wing leader S.P. Thamilselvan for his community to be represented at the talks. (28 October 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 29 October 2003)
- At a meeting in London between Minister and SLMC leader Rauff Hakeem and Oslo's special envoy Erik Solheim, Norway today reiterated its views that Muslims should be included in the peace process aimed at finding a lasting solution to the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. (28 October 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 29 October 2003)
- The biggest ever Sinhala-Tamil Cultural festival for peace held at Colombo's New Town Hall today was violently attacked and disrupted by a group allegedly linked to the Sinhala Urumaya. Following the incident, the Sinhala-Tamil cultural festival organising committee chairman Rohitha Bashana Abeywardene said that for the first time Sinhala blood was shed today to protect Tamil people and it was a historic moment for the country. (29 October 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 30 October 2003)
- TULF leader V. Anandasangari today in a letter appealed to President Chandrika Kumaratunga to agree to the interim administration proposal for the North-East. "This is the first time in 20 years the LTTE also had agreed for a ceasefire and to negotiate with the government for a settlement" he said. (31 October 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 01 November 2003)



- LTTE today demanded an Interim Self Governing Authority (ISGA) with autonomous powers and outside the constitution to rule the North-East for five years. With "absolute majority" of guerrilla appointees, the ISGA will comprise members appointed by the Government and Muslim representatives. The eight-page proposals of the LTTE for the first time since the "armed conflict" were made public at a news conference by its Political Wing leader S.P. Thamilselvan. (01 November 2003)-(Sunday Times on 02 November 2003)
- The Mahanayake Theras of the Malwatte and Asgiriya Chapters today cautioned President Chandrika Kumaratunga against a take-over of the Defence Ministry at this crucial stage when the country is on the verge of gaining peace. (02 November 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 03 November 2003)
- TULF leader V. Anandasangari today expressed doubts about his future as the leader of the party since apparent pressure from the LTTE has driven a section of the moderate party to act against its leader. (03 November 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 04 November 2003)
- President Chandrika Kumaratunga on Nov 4, 2003 prorogued parliament and took over vital portfolios of defence, interior and mass communications after sacking these ministers in what is seen by government sources as a "sort of mini coup." "I did it in the national interest" the President maintained. Interior Minister John Amaratunga, Defence Minister Tilak Marapana and Mass Communication Minister Imthiaz Bakeer Markar were the dismissed ministers. Responding to the president's moves, Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe in a message to the nation accused President Chandrika Kumaratunga of acting in a desperately irresponsible manner to subvert the peace process and the economic prosperity of the people. Meanwhile, the UNF cabinet and Parliamentary group went into marathon emergency meeting today and decided on a counter strategy, including a motion to impeach President Chandrika Kumaratunga. (04 November 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 05 November 2003)
- In an unprecedented move Finance Minister K.N. Choksy yesterday announced some of the Budget proposals including a big pay hike for public servants and the reduction in the prices of wheat flour, pharmaceuticals and petroleum products and revisions of VAT. (05 November 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 06 November 2003)
- A total of 129 MPs have signed a letter expressing their confidence in Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe, his Cabinet of Ministers and the government, Chief government whip Mahinda Samarasinghe said. (05 November 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 06 November 2003)
- The LTTE has decided not to express any opinion about the political dispute arisen between the UNP government and the President. Velupillai Prabhakaran, the leader of the LTTE had called all provincial leaders of the organization including Thamilselvan, the leader of the political wing to Kilinochchi today afternoon to discuss the latest political situation in the South. According to sources it had been discussed to close down certain front line camps of the LTTE including Omanathe and Moohemale and withdraw cadres of the tiger organization engaged in various activities in government controlled areas. It is reported that provincial leaders of the LTTE attempted to contact higher officers of security forces to get information about the security situation in the country. Political analysts say that this silence of the LTTE on this matter is a political strategy. (05 November 2003)-([http://www.lankatruth.com/full\\_story\\_page/full\\_story\\_06112003\\_3.htm](http://www.lankatruth.com/full_story_page/full_story_06112003_3.htm) on 06 November 2003)
- Chief Justice Sarath N. Silva who is to be impeached by the ruling United National Front has upheld the President's reference to the Supreme Court on the question of the powers of the Defence Minister. (05 November 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 06 November 2003)
- President Chandrika Kumaratunga today compromised on her strong position and pledged to support the United National Front government in the peace process. (06 November 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 07 November 2003)
- President Chandrika Kumaratunga today In a 30-minute message to the nation carried live on television and radio, invited the Ranil Wickremesinghe government and other parties to form a grand alliance for national reconciliation and reconstruction. The President pledged she would respect the ceasefire and the peace process while supporting and guiding the government in conducting talks with the LTTE. (07 November 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 08 November 2003)
- Moves are afoot by the UNF Government to have Parliament summoned within days and the Budget presented as originally scheduled on Wednesday (Nov. 12), senior Government sources told. (08 November 2003)-(Sunday Times on 09 November 2003)
- Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe yesterday informed the Ambassadors of Norway and the US who are co-chairs of the Tokyo donor conference to convey to President Chandrika Kumaratunga that she take charge of the Peace process since he cannot proceed with the negotiations without being in control of all aspects of the process. (09 November 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 10 November 2003)
- In what is seen as a conciliatory move President Chandrika Kumaratunga yesterday invited Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe and senior UNP members for a discussion today on her proposal to form a government of reconstruction and reconciliation. (10 November 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 11 November 2003)





- Peace talks between the government and the LTTE have been postponed until the country's political crisis is resolved, the government's chief peace negotiator G.L. Peiris said today. "Given everything that has happened in the past few days, it is logical to assume that we have to resolve the threshold issue before anything else," Prof. Peiris said. (11 November 2003)-(Daily Mirror (<http://www.dailymirror.lk/2003/11/11/front/4.asp>) on 12 November 2003)
- Sri Lanka's constitutional crisis deepened further on November 11 as MPs of the ruling United National Front (UNF) and the Tamil National Alliance (TNA) wrote to the Speaker of Parliament asking him to convene the national legislature before 19 November, the date on which President Kumaratunga's prorogation of Parliament is due to expire. (11 November 2003)-(www.tamilnet.com)
- Norwegian deputy foreign minister, Mr. Vidar Helgesen, and special peace envoy to Sri Lanka, Mr. Erik Solheim, arrived in Colombo Nov 10 night in an attempt to revive the stalled peace talks between the United National Front government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), and on Nov 11 morning conferred with the members of the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission, sources said. (11 November 2003)-(www.tamilnet.com)
- President Chandrika Kumaratunga and Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe met yesterday in an attempt to defuse the current political crisis, but failed to make a breakthrough, sources said. (12 November 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 13 November 2003)
- Sri Lanka Muslim Congress (SLMC) leader and Minister Rauf Hakeem says his party would support the peace process only if they are allowed to take part as a single, independent party at future talks. (12 November 2003)-(www.lankapage.com)
- Leader of the LTTE Velupillai Prabhakaran, today told the Norwegian Deputy Foreign Minister Mr. Vidar Helgesen that the LTTE will remain committed to the peace process and to the Cease-fire Agreement (CFA) with Colombo. (12 November 2003)-(www.tamilnet.com and [www.theacademic.org](http://www.theacademic.org) on 13 November 2003)
- Norway said it would suspend its efforts to end Sri Lanka's three decades of ethnic bloodshed until the president and prime minister resolved their power struggle. Norwegian Deputy Prime Minister Vidar Helgesen, who stayed an extra day here for talks with the key players, said Oslo needed "clarity" on which the Sri Lankan leader was in charge. (14 November 2003)-(AFP/<http://uk.news.yahoo.com/031114/323/ee03w.html>)
- President Chandrika Kumaratunga has given Norwegian facilitators firm assurances on her commitment to the ceasefire agreement and the peace process, the Presidential Secretariat said today. (14 November 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 15 November 2003)
- The LTTE has "changed quite a bit" for the better since a Norwegian-arranged truce went into effect last year, the group's arch critic President Chandrika Kumaratunga said in remarks published today. (15 November 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 16 November 2003)
- A compromise formula for the current political crisis is emerging through the discussions between UNP Chairman Malik Samarawickreme and Presidential advisor Mano Tittawela. Political sources indicated that President Chandrika Kumaratunga would return the Interior and the Mass Communication portfolios back to the government while a special committee headed by the President is expected to be appointed to handle defence. This committee would include government members as well. Meanwhile, President Kumaratunga is scheduled to meet Premier Wickremesinghe for another round of talks tomorrow. (16 November 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 17 November 2003)
- Arumugan Thondaman, who heads the biggest party of Indian Origin Tamils (IOT), the Ceylon Workers' Congress (CWC), has threatened to align with the LTTE, if an all-party National Government is formed as proposed by President Chandrika Kumaratunga. The Thinakaran Tamil daily quotes him as telling his party men in Nawalapitiya in Central Sri Lanka on Sunday, that if Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe joined a National Government, the CWC will hive off from the ruling United National Front (UNF) and "work along with the LTTE." (17 November 2003)-(Hindustan Times)
- In a dramatic political decision, PA MP and President's advisor Anura Bandaranayake has said he would resign from the PA if the main opposition party fails to sign a MOU with the Marxist JVP. He added that he and his fellow MPs in the PA took this decision at an internal party meeting held at his residence at Rosmead Place in Colombo. (17 November 2003)-(www.lankapage.com on 16 November 2003)
- President Chandrika Kumaratunga and Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe today decided to appoint a committee of officials to work out a national consensus on key issues and take the peace process forward. Government sources said this committee would also look into how to solve the current crisis, which arose with the President sacking the Ministers of Defence, Interior and Mass Communication on November 4. (18 November 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 19 November 2003)
- With the resumption of Parliamentary sessions this morning after the prorogation, Speaker Joseph Michael Perera today said that when Parliament is prorogued in an arbitrary manner without consulting the Cabinet or the Prime Minister the majority of members should have the right to ask for Parliament to reconvene. (19 November 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 20 November 2003)





- Concessions to the people through the third budget of the UNF government today granted a minimum salary increase of Rs.1250 for public servants, a 10 percent increase in pensions, a 15 percent flat rate for VAT and an increase in the fertilizer subsidy. (19 November 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 20 November 2003)
- The Committee on Defence matters chaired by UNP Chairman Malik Samarawickreme and President's Senior Advisor Mano Tittawella met yesterday at Temple Trees for another round of talks on the peace process and the economy. The committee is expected to finalize their plans by December 15- a deadline set by President Chandrika Kumaratunga. (21 November 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 22 November 2003)
- President Chandrika Kumaratunga has issued instructions for the state media to refrain from criticizing the LTTE as it started commemorating the 'Mahaveera' week. The week in which the guerrillas commemorate the death of their 'heroes' began on November 20 and will end on Thursday with their leader Velupillai Prabhakaran's 50th birthday. (21 November 2003)-(Sunday Times on 22 November 2003)
- The PA today emphasized that President Chandrika Kumaratunga was ready to put the past behind her and make a fresh start with the UNF government. PA spokesman Sarath Amunugama told a news conference in Colombo the new deal was being worked out by a committee appointed by President Chandrika Kumaratunga and Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe with its report expected by December 15. (21 November 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 22 November 2003)
- Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe said that to achieve long-lasting peace and stability in the country, a resolution of the differences of the two major parties was required. The Premier made this observation on Saturday in Padaviya, after unveiling the pinnacle of the newly constructed dagoba of the Sripura Raja Maha Viharaya. (23 November 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 24 November 2003)
- The Tamil National Alliance today urged the President and the Prime Minister to resolve the political impasse without delay because the peace process runs the risk of being impaired due to the lack of clarity and uncertainty. (24 November 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 25 November 2003)
- A reconsideration of the design of the Ceasefire agreement will be discussed at the next round of peace talks between the government and the LTTE, the government spokesman said today. "There ought to be a reconsideration of the design of the agreement," government spokesman G.L. Peiris said. (25 November 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 26 November 2003)
- European Union External Affairs Commissioner Chris Patten said yesterday that LTTE leader Velupillai Prabhakaran during talks with him in Kilinochchi had pledged six times that the Tigers would not resort again to war. Mr. Patten whose birthday meeting with Mr. Prabhakaran was sharply criticised by some groups said the Tiger chief during their one-hour meeting had also reiterated his commitment to a satisfactory political solution to the ethnic conflict. (26 November 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 27 November 2003)
- LTTE leader Velupillai Prabhakaran in his annual message commemorating the Heroes' Day today rejected accusations made by President Chandrika Kumaratunga that his organization was strengthening its military power and preparing for war. The LTTE leader also firmly denied allegations that the recent proposals submitted by his organization to establish an interim administrative council in the Northeast constitute the foundation for the creation of a separate state. (27 November 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 28 November 2003)
- European Union External Affairs Commissioner Chris Patten has called for involving the Muslim community in the Sri Lankan peace talks to resolve the ethnic conflict in the country. (28 November 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 29 November 2003)
- Amidst a tense and chaotic situation at the TULF office today, the seven hour long crucial meeting of the central committee was indefinitely postponed, party President V. Anandasangaree said. (30 November 2003)-(Daily Mirror on 01 December 2003)



## FINDINGS AT A GLANCE OF THE POLL CONDUCTED FROM 4<sup>TH</sup> DECEMBER 2003 TO 16<sup>TH</sup> JANUARY 2004

- ◆ A majority (66.8%) continue to express their uncertainty as to when there will be peace in Sri Lanka. This opinion stems mainly from the Sinhala community (72.3% in November 2003). **There is an increase in the Muslim community's opinion that peace will come soon to Sri Lanka, from 19.9% in September 2003 to 39.7% in November 2003.** (Ref. Page 15)
- ◆ A majority (88.4%) continues to believe that Peace Talks is the way to end the war and have peace in Sri Lanka, which is an increase since July 2003 (81.9%). (Ref. Page 16)
- ◆ Sri Lankans continue to believe that the lack of political will (41.4%) and corrupt military and political leaders (37.9%) are top two reasons why there hasn't been a solution to the war for the last 15 years. **Within the Muslim community there is an increase in the belief that corrupt military and political leaders are the reason why there hasn't been a solution from 29.6% in September 2003 to 48.5% in November 2003.** (Ref. Page 17)
- ◆ 48.4% of Sri Lankans believe that the Government is committed to find peace through talks. The ethnic perspective shows that a majority of the Sinhala (47%), Tamil (45.2%), Muslim (62.3%) and Up-country Tamil (60.9%) communities believe the same. (Ref. Page 18)
- ◆ 37.8% of Sri Lankans disagree with the statement that the LTTE is committed to find peace through talks, which is a decline from 50.3% in September 2003. **This decrease in opinion stems mainly from the Sinhala community (57.8% in September 2003 to 43.5% in November 2003).** (Ref. Page 19)
- ◆ There is an increase in the belief that the Government goes in for talks due to its Commitment to peace, from 34.6% in September 2003 to 40.8% in November 2003. This increase in opinion stems mainly from the Sinhala community (35.3% in September 2003 to 43% in November 2003). Looking at the other ethnic communities, **30.2% of the Tamil community believe that the Government goes in for talks due to its commitment to peace, which is a decline from 40.6% in September 2003.** There is also a decrease of 11.2% from September 2003 (33%) to November 2003 (21.8%), in the belief that the government goes in for talks due to its realisation that this war cannot be won. **There is a significant decline in the Muslim community's belief that the Government goes in for talks due to Economic Hardship (September 2003 – 59.7%, November 2003 – 32.7%). However, the Muslim community's belief that International pressure is the reason that the Government goes in for talks has heightened by 15.3%, from September 2003 (26.6%) to November 2003 (41.9%). 28.7% of the Muslim community believe that the Government goes in for talks due to the realisation that this war cannot be won, a decrease from 41% in September 2003.** (Ref. Page 20)



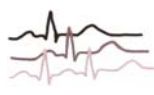
- ◆ 34% of Sri Lankans believe that the LTTE goes in for talks to fool the people. There is a 5.9% increase in the belief that the LTTE goes in for talks due to the realisation that this war cannot be won (September 2003 – 26.6%, November 2003 – 32.5%). In November 2003, 20.1% believe that the LTTE goes in for talks due to International Pressure. This opinion stems mainly from the Sinhala (18.6%), Tamil (18.1%) and Muslim (38%) communities. ([Ref. Page 21](#))
- ◆ 23% believe in the widest range of involvement in negotiations. However, 11.6% believe that only the Government and the LTTE should be involved in negotiations, while 10.2% believe that only the Government, LTTE and International third party should be involved. Compared to the other communities, 49.5% of the Muslim community believe in the widest range of involvement, which is a decline since September 2003 (55.5%). A further 35.7% of the Muslim community believe that only the Government, Opposition, LTTE, Tamil and Muslim parties should be involved in negotiations, which is an increase since September 2003 (30.3%). Regarding the **Tamil community, 52.4% believe that only the Government, LTTE and International third party should be involved, which is a significant increase since September 2003 (35.8%).** ([Ref. Page 22](#))
- ◆ 59.5% of Sri Lankans believe that an International third party's involvement will have a positive impact or is essential in the peace process. In contrast, 19.8% believe that an International third party's involvement is not essential. Furthermore, a majority of the Tamil (88.1%), Muslim (56.4%) and Up-country Tamil (54.6%) communities believe that a third party's involvement is essential. 22.2% of the Sinhala community believe the same. ([Ref. Page 23](#))
- ◆ While 32.8% approve of Norway assisting in the Sri Lankan peace process, 31.1% disapprove. While a majority (35.7%) of the Sinhala community disapprove of Norway assisting in the Sri Lankan peace process, a majority of the Tamil (89.9%), Muslim (67.6%) and Up-country Tamils (77.9%) communities approve of this. ([Ref. Page 24](#))
- ◆ It is revealed in the results that Sri Lankans have a divided opinion with regard to Norway continuing to facilitate talks (Approve – 28.9%, Disapprove – 32%). A majority of Tamil (86.8%) and Up-country Tamil (71%) communities approve of Norway continuing to facilitate talks. Contrary, the Muslim community seems to have a divided opinion with regard to Norway continuing to facilitate talks (Approve – 35%, Neither approve nor disapprove – 30.2%, Disapprove – 22.7%, Don't know/Not sure – 12.1%). 36% of the Sinhala community disapproves of Norway continuing to facilitate talks. ([Ref. Page 25](#))
- ◆ 55.8% of Sri Lankans believe that India's involvement in the peace process will have a positive impact or is essential. On the contrary, 19.1% believe that India's involvement is not essential. While a majority of the Tamil (46.6%), Muslim (59.6%) and Up-country Tamil (62.6%) communities believe that India's involvement is essential, a majority of the Sinhala community (35%) believe that India's involvement will have a positive impact on the Sri Lankan peace process. ([Ref. Page 26](#))



- ◆ Of those aware of the involvement of foreign monitors in monitoring the ceasefire, 33.2% believe such a monitoring mission will have a positive impact on the success of the Ceasefire Agreement (CFA). From the ethnic perspective, a majority of the Sinhala community (37.1%) believe that such a mission will have a positive impact on the success of the CFA while, a majority of the Tamil (90.1%), Muslim (59.5%) and Up-country Tamil (52.4%) communities believe that such a monitoring mission is essential. (Ref. Page 27)
- ◆ There is a 6.6% decline in the belief that the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission (SLMM) is not impartial in its monitoring of the CFA (September 2003 – 43.6%, November 2003 – 37%). This decline in opinion stems primarily from the Sinhala community (September 2003 – 48.3%, November 41.2%). A majority of the Tamil (75.6%) and Up-country Tamil (74.4%) communities believe that the SLMM is impartial in its monitoring of the CFA, an increase since September 2003 (Tamil – 56.6%, Up-country Tamil – 66.9%). (Ref. Page 28)
- ◆ 34.8% believe that the SLMM is not effective in its monitoring of the CFA, which is a decline from 40.7% in September 2003. This decline stems mainly from the Sinhala community (September 2003 – 45%, November 2003 – 38%). However, a majority of the Tamil (55.5%) and Up-country Tamil (68.5%) communities believe the contrary, i.e. the SLMM is effective in its monitoring of the CFA. (Ref. Page 29)
- ◆ Of those aware that the Government and the LTTE have announced that they are committed to finding a solution based on federalism within a united Sri Lanka, 40.8% disapprove of this agreement, while 35.4% approve of it. The approval stems from a majority of the Tamil (79.9%) and Up-country Tamil (84.7%) communities, while a majority (46.2%) of the Sinhala community disapprove of this agreement. The Muslim community, however, have a divided opinion in this regard, where 45.5% approve of this agreement, while 49.1% disapprove. (Ref. Page 30)
- ◆ 29.1% believe that a federal system is the best way of governing this country, which is an increase from 21.9% in September 2003. **This increase in opinion stems mainly from the Sinhala (September 2003 – 12.1%, November 2003 – 20.2%) and Tamil (September 2003 – 73.6%, November 2003 - 77.9%) communities.** In contrast, 36.3% express their disagreement, a decline from 47% in September 2003. (Ref. Page 31)
- ◆ There is a divided opinion with regard to whether or not a federal state will lead to secession. 32.3% believe a federal state will lead to secession, while 31.2% believe it won't. While 77.5% of the Tamil community disagrees, 38.1% of the Sinhala community agrees that a federal state will lead to secession. (Ref. Page 32)
- ◆ The results show a divided opinion with regard to whether Tamils will have more benefits within a federal state, i.e. 34.1% believe that within a federal state, Tamils will have more benefits, while 28.6% don't know or are unsure. However, 45.5% do not believe that Sinhalese will have more benefits within a federal state, and 43.6% do not believe that Muslims will have more benefits. (Ref. Page 33 to Page 35)



- ◆ A majority of the Tamil community (73.3%) believes that within a federal state, everyone will equally benefit, while 47.8% of the Sinhala community does not believe that within a federal state everyone will equally benefit. The Muslim (Agree – 28.1%, Neither agree nor disagree – 33.9%, Disagree – 27.6%) and Up-country Tamil (Agree – 29%, Neither agree nor disagree – 23.7%, Disagree – 24.4%, Don't know/Not sure – 22.9%) communities have a divided opinion with regard to this. ([Ref. Page 36](#))
- ◆ 37.7% say they will agree with a federal solution if it is approved by a majority of Sri Lankans in comparison to 33.8% who say they will disagree. 20% are uncertain. A majority of the Tamil (54.1%), Muslim (66.7%) and Up-country Tamil (74.9%) communities say they will agree with a federal solution if it is approved by a majority of Sri Lankans. The Sinhala community, however, seem to have a divided opinion in this regard, where 36.4% says they will disagree with a federal solution even if it is approved by a majority of Sri Lankans, while 32.3% say they will agree. ([Ref. Page 37](#))
- ◆ A majority of 64.9% believe that the people are not being adequately informed about federalism. This opinion stems mainly from 70.2% of the Sinhala community, while 39.5% of the Tamil community and 59% of the Up-country Tamil community express the same opinion. 49.7% of the Muslim community however, believe that people are being adequately informed about federalism. ([Ref. Page 38](#))
- ◆ While 34.5% are uncertain as to whether the interests and concerns of the Muslims of the East are being adequately represented in the peace talks, 30.8% do not believe that they are being adequately represented. 74.2% of the Muslim community express the same opinion. ([Ref. Page 39](#))
- ◆ 69.6% of the Muslim community believes the current inadequate representation of the interest and concerns of the Eastern Muslims in the peace talks will have a negative impact on the peace process. 49.3% of the Sinhala community, 41.5% of the Tamil community and 68.8% of the Up-country Tamil community who responded to this question are unable to comment on the impact on the peace process with regard to the degree of representation of the Eastern Muslims. ([Ref. Page 40](#))
- ◆ 45.7% believe that there should be a separate Muslim delegation to the peace talks. A majority of the Sinhala (41.9%), Muslim (94%) and Up-country Tamil (58%) communities believe the same. The Tamil community however, have a divided opinion in this regard, where 43.7% believe that there should be a separate Muslim delegation to the peace talks, while 40.3% do not believe so. ([Ref. Page 41](#))
- ◆ Of those aware of the talks between the PA and JVP to form an alliance, 43.4% approve of this alliance, while 28.6% disapprove. 28% don't know or are unsure. A majority of the Tamil (70.7%), Muslim (63.8%) and Up-country Tamil (86.4%) communities disapprove of this alliance, while a majority of the Sinhala community (47.6%) approve of this alliance. ([Ref. Page 43](#))
- ◆ There is a divided opinion with regard to the impact of this alliance on the peace process. While 34.3% believe the alliance will have a positive impact on the peace



process, 34.2% believe it will have a negative impact. 16.8% believe that the alliance will have no impact on the peace process, while 14.7% don't know or are unsure. A majority (39.4%) of the Sinhala community believe that this alliance will have a positive impact on the peace process, while a majority of the Tamil (82.1%), Muslim (66.4%) and Up-country Tamil (88.5%) communities believe that this alliance will have a negative impact. (Ref. Page 44)

- ◆ Of those who are aware of the LTTE's Interim Self-Governing Authority (ISGA) proposal that was made public on the 1<sup>st</sup> November 2003, a majority (52%) believes that this will have a negative impact on the peace process. However, 27.4% are uncertain about the impact of this on the peace process, while 15.1% believe that this will have a positive impact on the peace process. The ethnic perspective displays that 58.7% of the Sinhala community and 81.3% of the Muslim community believe that this will have a negative impact on the peace process. 38.4% of the Tamil community and 58.3% of the Up-country Tamil community believe that the ISGA proposal will have a positive impact. (Ref. Page 46)
- ◆ 61% of those who are aware of the LTTE's ISGA proposal believe that the Sri Lankan Government's response to the proposal should be to negotiate with the LTTE and arrive at a compromise. Looking at the ethnic perspective, a majority of the Sinhala (61.5%), Tamil (63.6%), Muslim (59.3%) and Up-country Tamil (47.3%) communities also believe the same. 21.1% believe that the Sri Lankan Government's response should be to reject the proposal out right. (Ref. Page 47)
- ◆ Of those who are aware that the LTTE leader, Mr.Velupillai Prabhakaran, stated in his speech that the allegations levelled against their draft proposals, that they aim to create an independent Tamil state or that they contain stepping stones for separation, are not true, 52.1% are not convinced by this statement, while 28.9% don't know or are unsure. 19% are convinced by this statement. A majority of the Sinhala (58.6%) and Muslim (81.4%) communities are not convinced by this statement, while 91.4% of the Up-country Tamil community are convinced by this statement. The Tamil community however has a divided opinion with regard to this, where 31.4% are convinced by this statement, 34% are not convinced and 34.7% don't know or are unsure. (Ref. Page 49)
- ◆ Of those who are aware that on the 4<sup>th</sup> of November 2003, President Chandrika Kumaratunga took over the Defence, Interior and Media & Mass Communication Ministries, **51.8% approve of her decision to take over the Defence Ministry, while 25% disapprove. 23.2% don't know or are unsure.** Looking at the ethnic perspective, a majority of the Sinhala (56.8%) and Muslim (56.8%) communities approve of her decision, while a majority of Tamil (84.8%) and Up-country Tamil (92.1%) communities disapprove. (Ref. Page 50)
- ◆ Of those who are aware that on the 4<sup>th</sup> of November 2003, President Chandrika Kumaratunga took over the Defence, Interior and Media & Mass Communication Ministries, **48.1% approve of her decision to take over the Interior Ministry, while 26.3% disapprove. 25.6% don't know or are unsure.** Looking at the ethnic perspective, 52.4% of the Sinhala community and 54.3% of the Muslim community





approve of her decision to take over the Interior Ministry. 83.5% of the Tamil community and 89.3% of the Up-country Tamil community disapprove. ([Ref. Page 51](#))

- ◆ Of those who are aware that on the 4<sup>th</sup> of November 2003, President Chandrika Kumaratunga took over the Defence, Interior and Media & Mass Communication Ministries, **47.2% approve of her decision to take over the Media & Mass Communication Ministry. However 27% disapprove of her decision, while 25.8% don't know or are unsure.** Looking at the ethnic perspective, 51.5% of the Sinhala community and 52.5% of the Muslim community approve of her decision to take over the Media & Mass Communications Ministry. 83.9% of the Tamil community and 89% of the Up-country Tamil community disapprove. ([Ref. Page 52](#))
- ◆ Of those Sri Lankans who are aware that on the 4<sup>th</sup> of November 2003, President Chandrika Kumaratunga prorogued parliament, **43.4% disapprove of her decision, while 32.8% don't know or are unsure. 23.8% approve of her decision.** The ethnic perspective exhibits that a majority of the Tamil (84.2%) and Up-country Tamil (92.3%) communities disapprove of her decision to prorogue parliament, while a majority of the Muslim community (56.7%) approves of her decision. The Sinhala community has a divided opinion with regard to this, where 38.7% disapprove of her decision, while 37.5% don't know or are unsure. ([Ref. Page 53](#))
- ◆ Of those who are aware of the President's decision to take over the ministries and to prorogue parliament, **40.5% believe that her decisions will have a negative impact on the peace process. 26.8% don't know or are unsure, while 24.1% believe that it will have no impact on the peace process.** Looking at the ethnic perspective, a majority of the Sinhala (35.1%), Tamil (80.1%), Muslim (38.2%) and Up-country Tamil (95.6%) communities believe that her decision will have a negative impact on the peace process. ([Ref. Page 54](#))
- ◆ The Prime Minister said that he cannot take responsibility for the peace process unless the ministries are returned, and if they are not returned, then the President is now responsible for the peace process. **35.8% of Sri Lankans disapprove of this statement, while 34.4% are unsure or don't know. 29.8% approve of this statement.** From the ethnic perspective, a majority of the Tamil (72.4%) and Up-country Tamil (63.5%) communities approve of this statement. The Sinhala (Approve – 24.9%, Disapprove – 38.6%, Don't know/Not sure – 35.3%) and Muslim (Approve – 35.4%, Disapprove – 31.5%, Don't know/Not sure – 24.2%) communities, however, have a divided opinion. ([Ref. Page 55](#))
- ◆ When asked whom they believe is best suited to lead the peace process, the President or the Prime Minister, a majority of 50% believe that both the President and Prime Minister are suited to lead the peace process. This opinion stems mainly from 52.9% of the Sinhala community and 62.6% of the Muslim community. 19.2% of Sri Lankans believe that only the Prime Minister is suited to lead the peace process, while 17.7% believe that only the President is suited. A majority of the Tamil (49.7%) and Up-country Tamil (83.9%) communities believe that only the Prime Minister is suited to lead the peace process. ([Ref. Page 56](#))





- ◆ Of those who are aware that the Norwegians temporarily suspended their role as facilitators of the Sri Lankan peace process, 48.1% disapprove of their decision, while 31.5% approve of their decision, 20.4% don't know or are unsure. A majority of the Sinhala (46.1%), Tamil (63.3%) and Up-country Tamil (61.5%) communities disapprove of their decision while 52.7% of the Muslim community approve. ([Ref. Page 57](#))
- ◆ 56.7% believe that the Norwegians' decision to suspend their role as facilitators will have a negative impact on the peace process. Looking at the ethnic perspective a majority of the Sinhala (54.1%), Tamil (56.9%), Muslim (49.9%) and Up-country Tamil (98.7%) communities believe that same. 19.2 % don't know or are unsure, while 15.5% believe that their decision will have no impact. ([Ref. Page 58](#))
- ◆ Of those who are aware that the UNF Government presented its 3<sup>rd</sup> budget on the 19<sup>th</sup> November 2003, 61.5% are dissatisfied with the new budget, while 19.1% don't know or are unsure. 19.4% are satisfied. While a majority of the Sinhala (62.9%), Muslim (59.1%) and Up-country Tamil (72%) communities are dissatisfied, the Tamil community have a divided opinion in this regard (Satisfied – 39.7%, Dissatisfied – 37.8%). ([Ref. Page 59](#))
- ◆ 40.1% believe that this 3<sup>rd</sup> Budget, presented by the UNF Government, will have no impact on the current peace process. However, 36.1% are uncertain about the impact of this budget on the current peace process. 19.1% believe that this budget will have a negative impact on the peace process. Looking at the ethnic perspective a majority of the Tamil (66.3%) and Up-country Tamil (53.2%) believe that the budget will have no impact on the current peace process. 38.7% of the Muslim community believe that it will have a negative impact. The Sinhala community however has a divided opinion in this regard where 38.7% believe that it will have no impact on the current peace process, and 37.5% are uncertain about the impact. ([Ref. Page 60](#))
- ◆ 32.5% of Sri Lankans state that they are aware of the UNF Government's decision to impeach the Chief Justice Sarath N. Silva. Of those who are aware of the UNF Government's decision, 56.9% disapprove of this decision while 24.2% don't know or are unsure. 18.9%, however, approve of this decision. Looking at the ethnic perspective, a majority (61.2%) of the Sinhala community disapprove of this decision. A majority (45%) of the Tamil community don't know or are unsure, while a majority (50.7%) of the Muslim community approve of this decision. The Up-country Tamil community however have a divided opinion in this regard, where 49% approve of this decision, while 46.5% disapprove. ([Ref. Page 61](#) and [Page 62](#))
- ◆ Of those who are aware that the European Union (EU) External Relation Commissioner, Mr. Chris Patten met with LTTE leader, Mr. Velupillai Prabhakaran, on the 26<sup>th</sup> November 2003, 37.8% approve of this meeting while 33.3% disapprove. 28.9% don't know or are unsure. A majority of the Tamil (92.1%) and Up-country Tamil (77.1%) communities approve of this meeting. The Sinhala (Disapprove – 38.7%, Don't know/Not sure – 35.5%) and Muslim (Approve – 50.3%, Disapprove – 44.8%) communities both have divided opinions in this regard. ([Ref. Page 64](#))



- ◆ 33.8% of those who are aware of Chris Patten's visit to Sri Lanka believe that this visit will have a positive impact on the peace process. 29.3% are uncertain about its impact, while 22.5% believe that this will have a negative impact on the peace process. The Sinhala (Will have a positive impact – 30.7%, Don't know/Not sure – 35.1%) and Tamil (Will have no impact – 46.5%, Will have a positive impact – 43.2%) communities have a divided opinion in this regard. However a majority of the Muslim community (45.6%) believe that this visit will have a negative impact, while a majority of the Up-country Tamil community (64.7%) believe that this visit will have a positive impact. ([Ref. Page 65](#))
- ◆ 41.9% believe that cohabitation between the current President and Prime Minister will be advantageous for good governance. 27.4% are uncertain about the result of the cohabitation. From the ethnic perspective, a majority of the Sinhala (43.9%), Tamil (39.1%) and Up-country Tamil (36.2%) communities believe that cohabitation will be advantageous for good governance. A majority of the Muslim community (39.7%), however, are uncertain about its results. ([Ref. Page 66](#))
- ◆ While 51.9% do not believe that constructive cohabitation between the President and Prime Minister is possible. 48.1% believe it is possible. A majority of the Tamil (88.1%), Muslim (67.1%) and Up-country Tamil (80.9%) communities do not believe that constructive cohabitation is possible, while the Sinhala community have a divided opinion (Yes – 53.2%, No – 46.8%). ([Ref. Page 67](#))

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



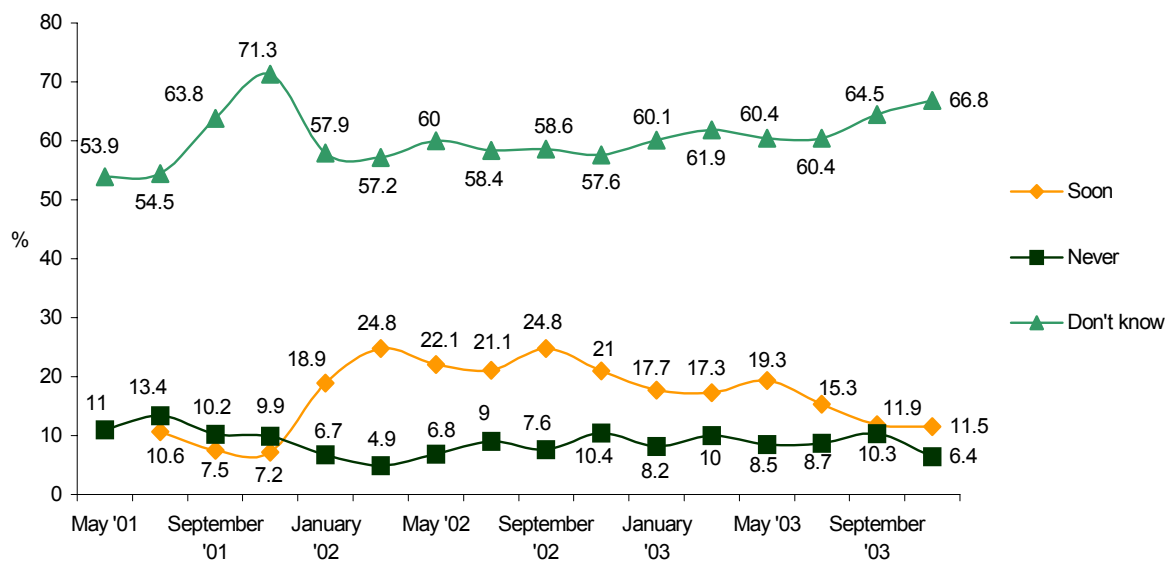
## PEACE CONFIDENCE INDEX (PCI)

MAY 2001 – NOVEMBER 2003

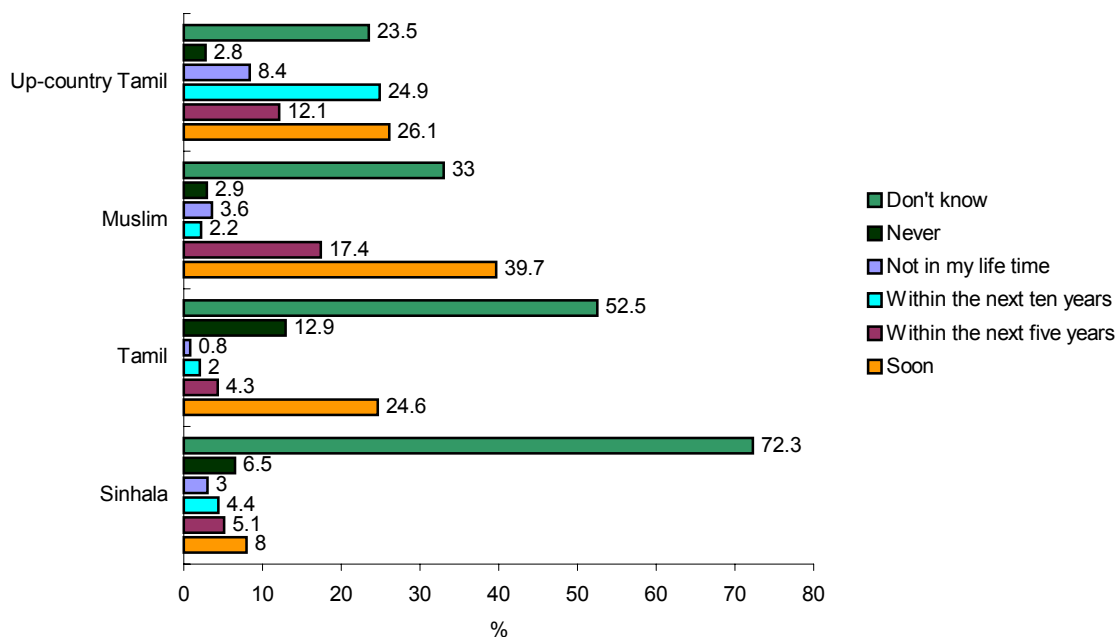
### THE PERCEPTION OF WAR AND PEACE

#### When will there be peace in Sri Lanka?

National Trend



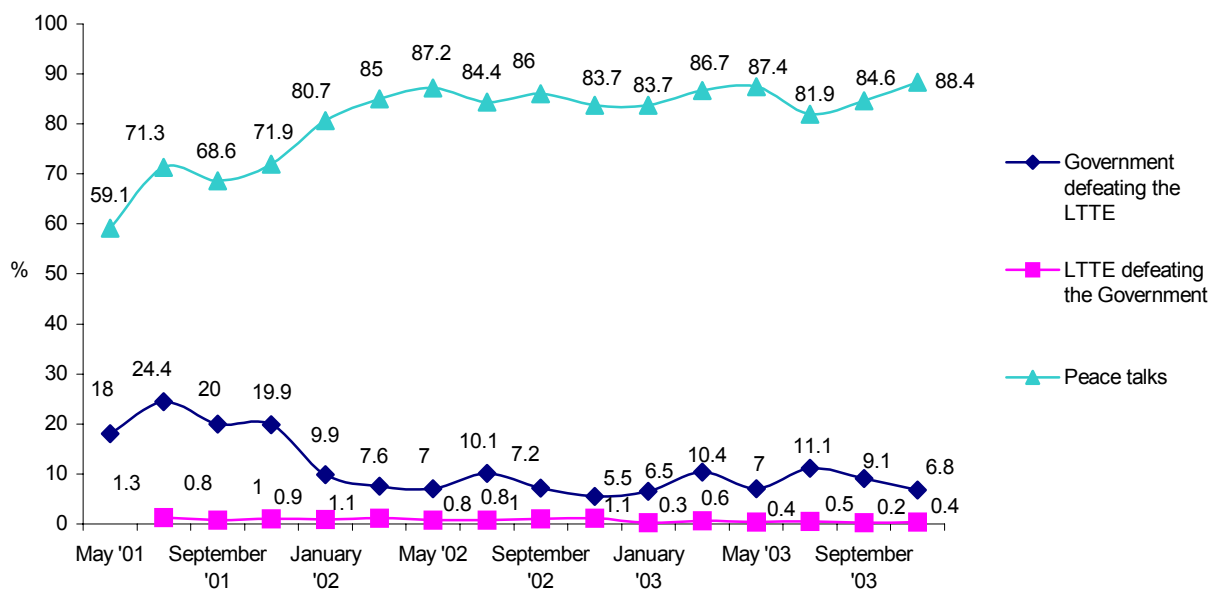
Ethnic Breakdown



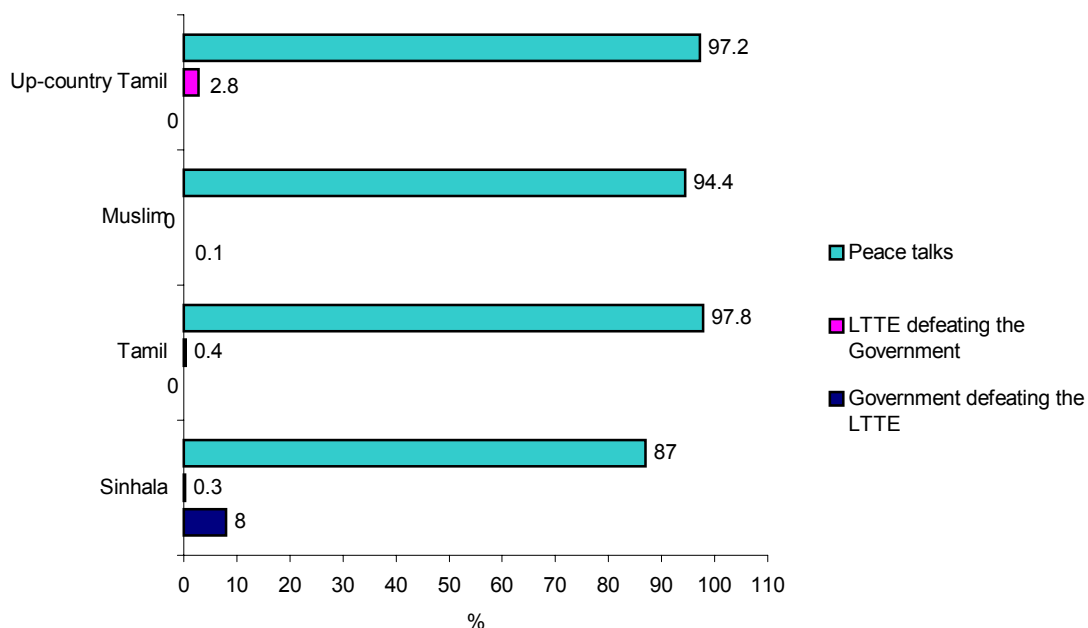
## SOLUTIONS TO THE CONFLICT

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

National Trend

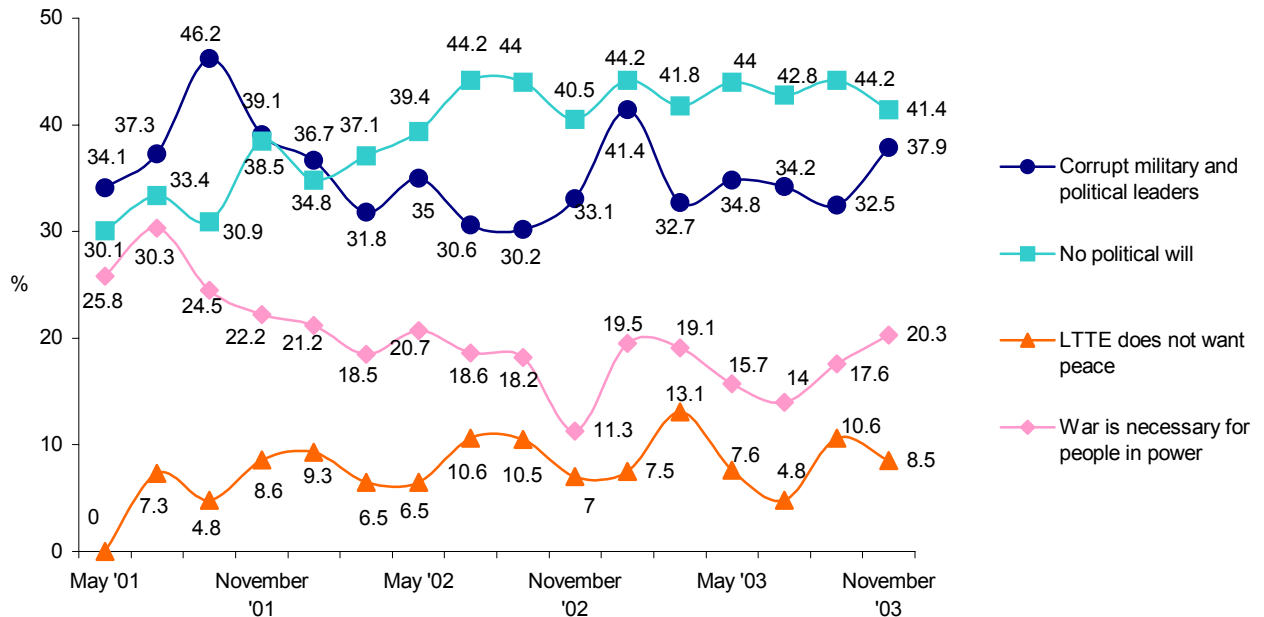


Ethnic Breakdown

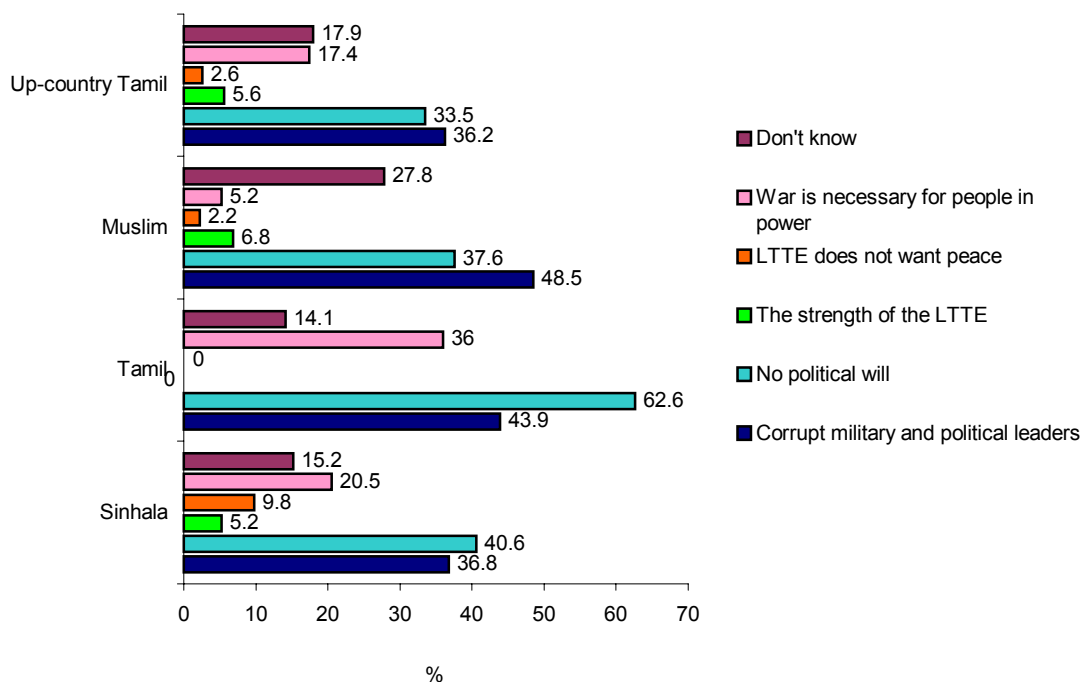


## Why do you think there hasn't been a solution to the war for the last 15 odd years? [Multiple Answers]

National Trend



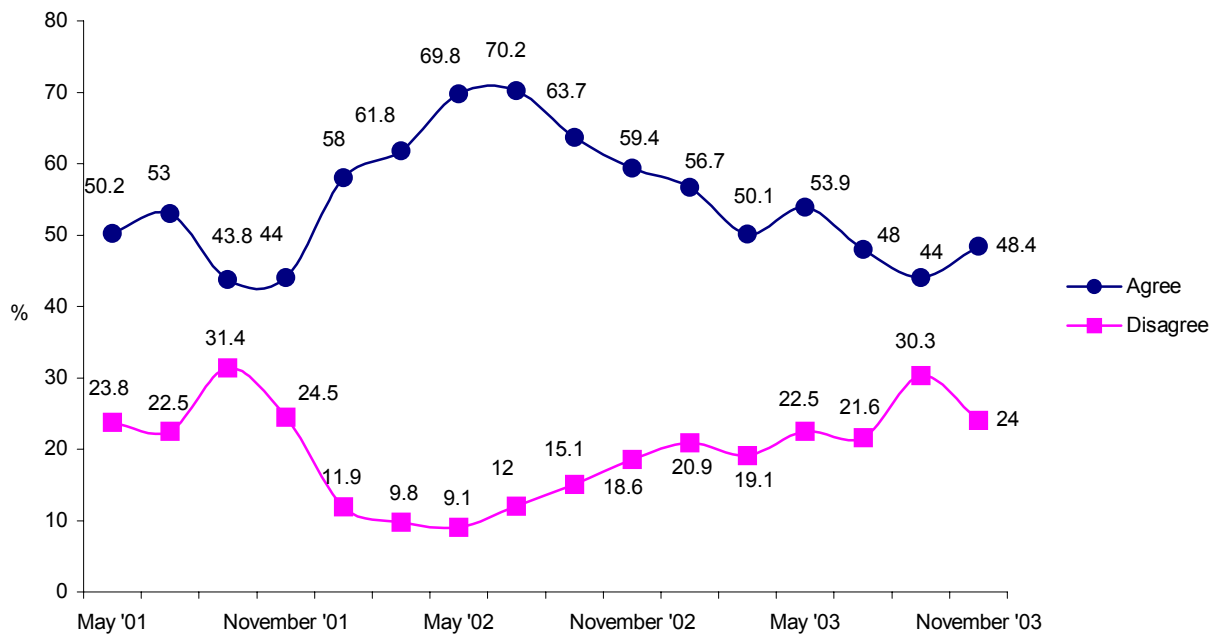
Ethnic Breakdown



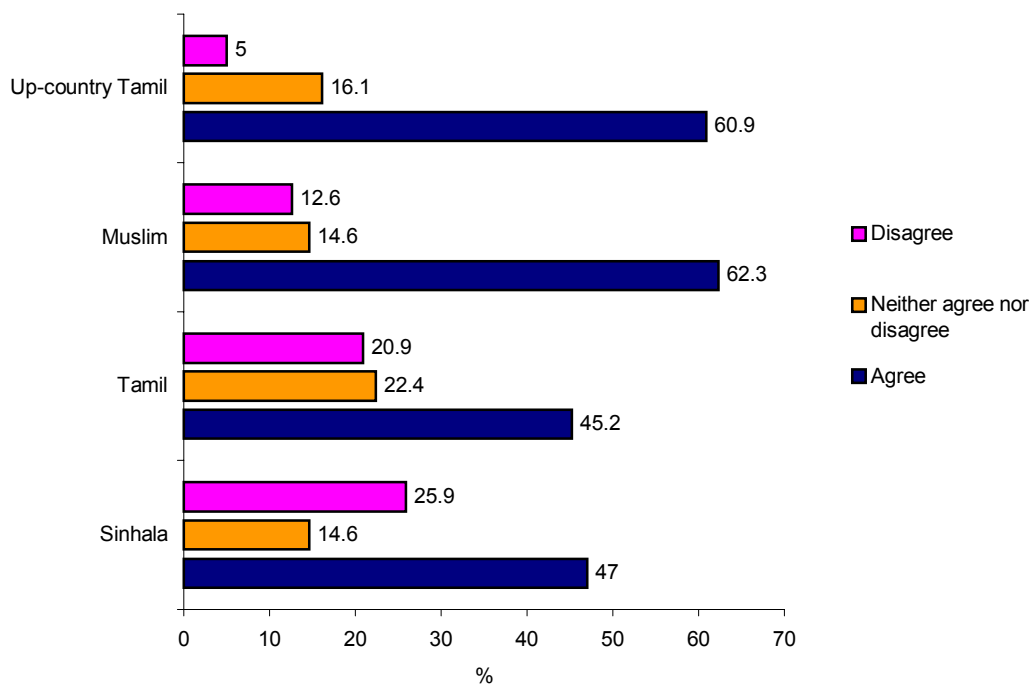
## CONFIDENCE

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

**National Trend**

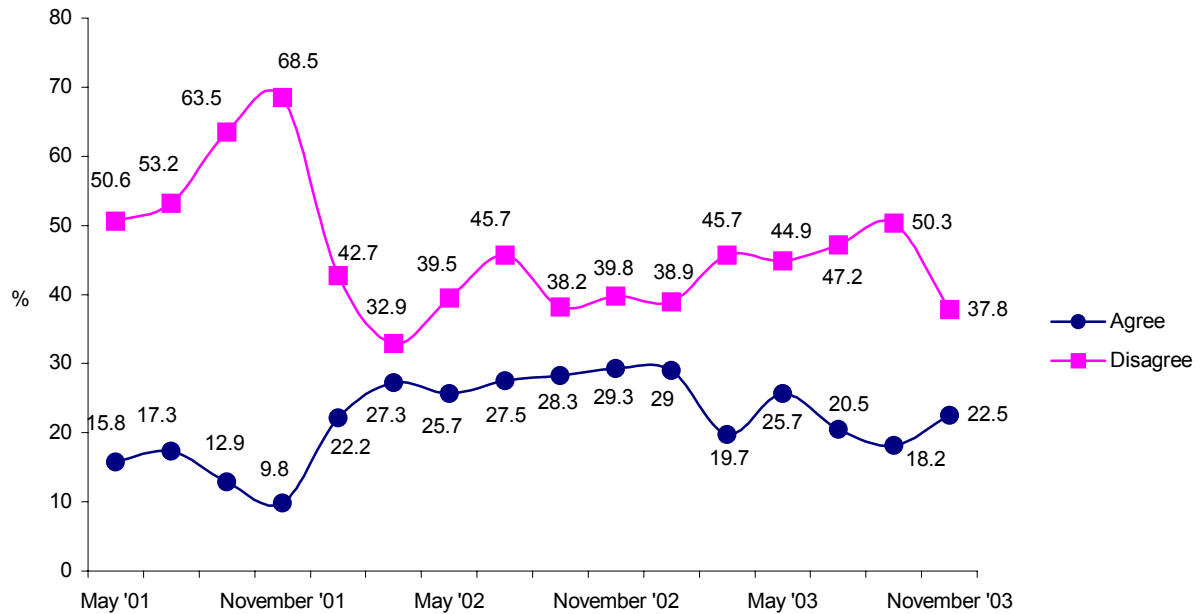


**Ethnic Breakdown**

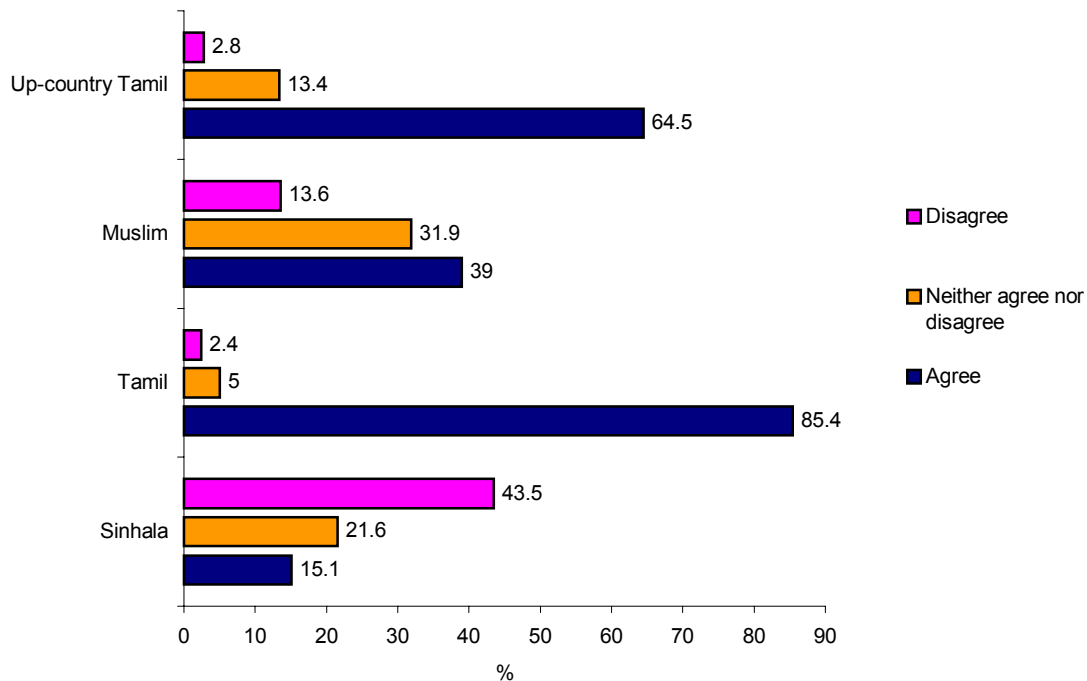


## I think the LTTE is committed to find peace through talks.

National Trend



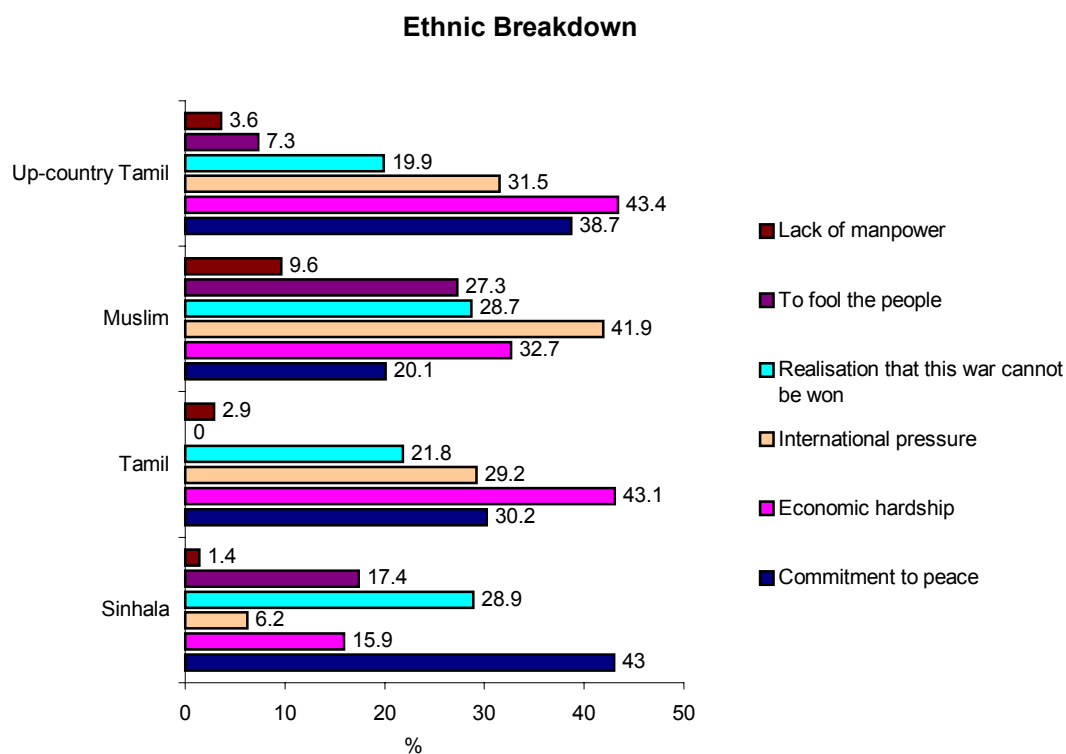
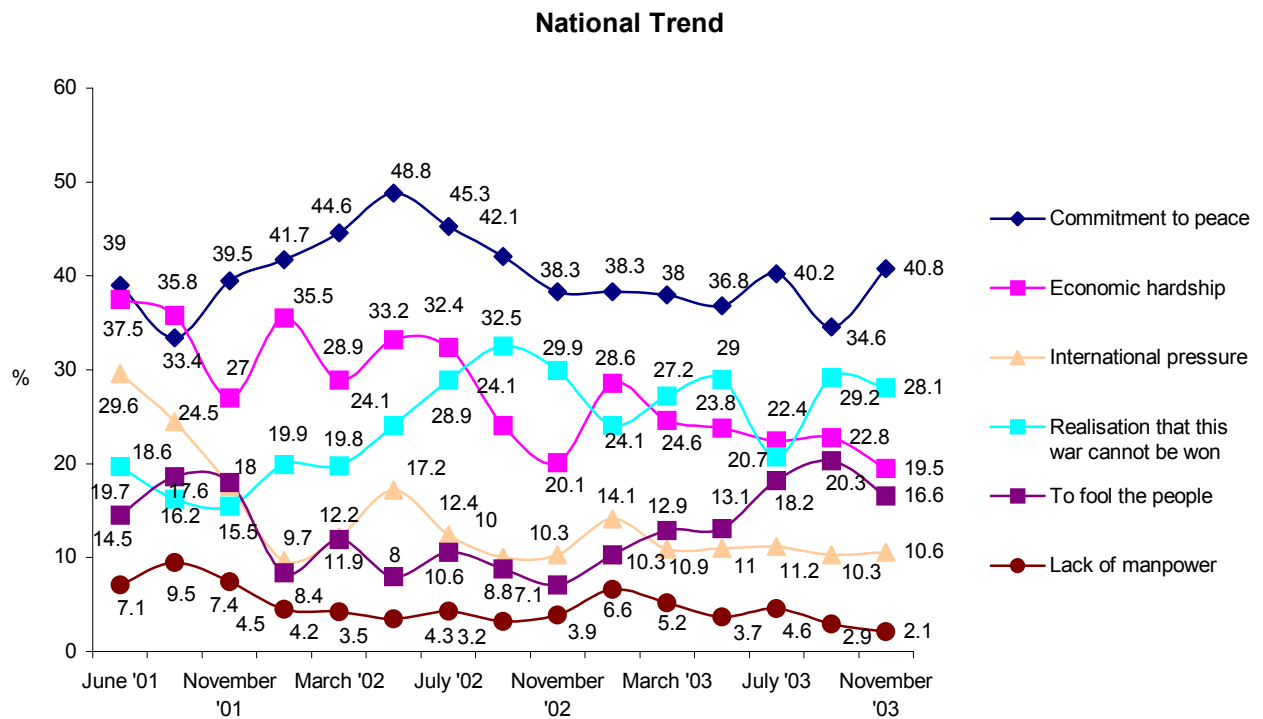
Ethnic Breakdown



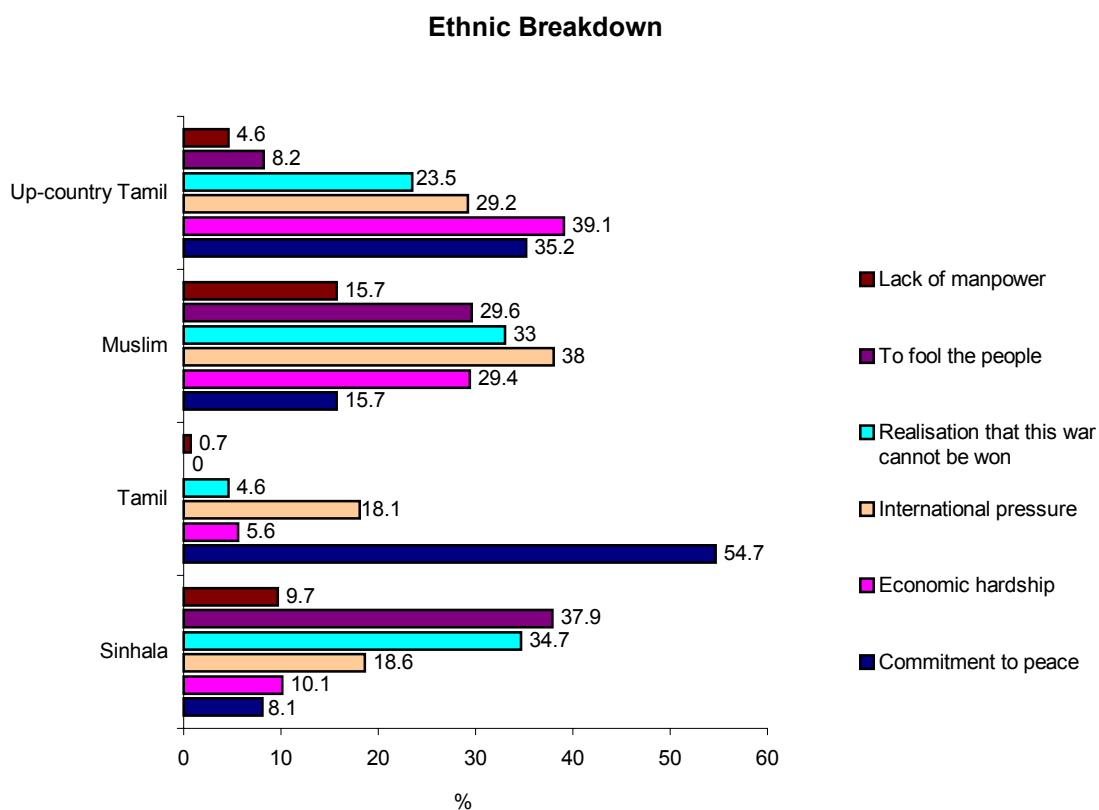
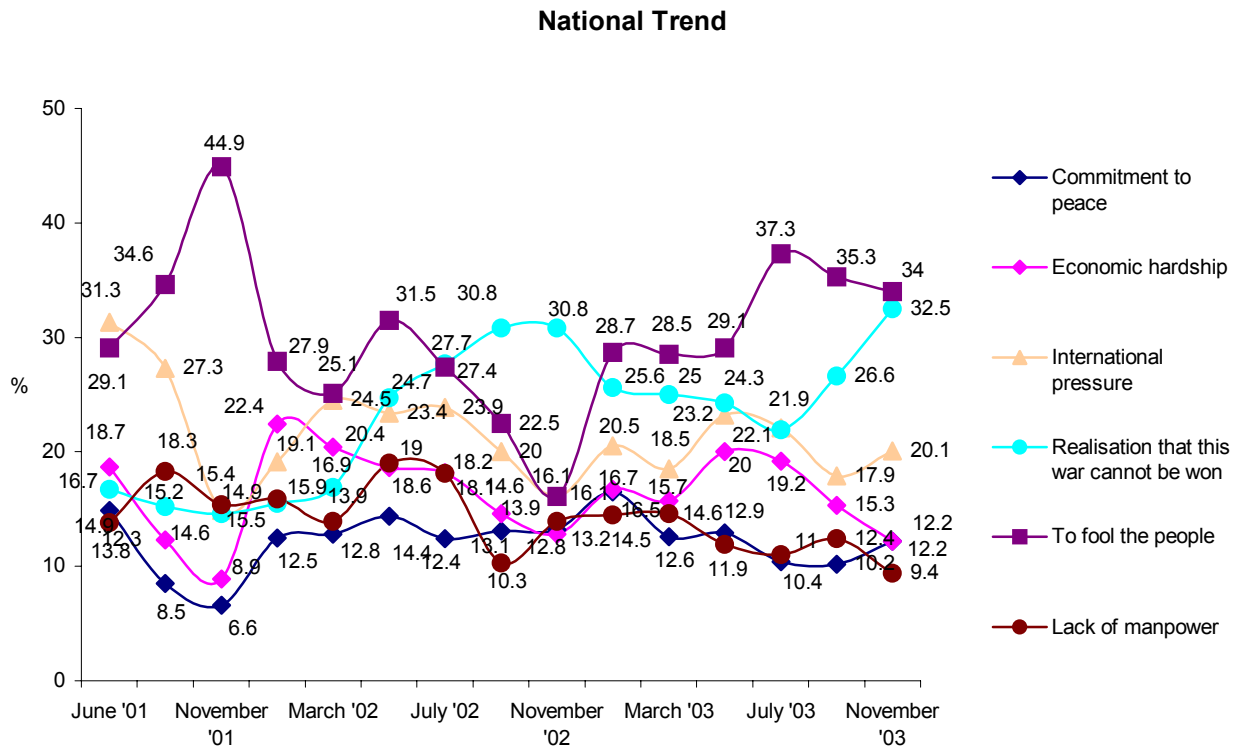




## Why do you think that the Government goes in for talks? [Multiple Answers]

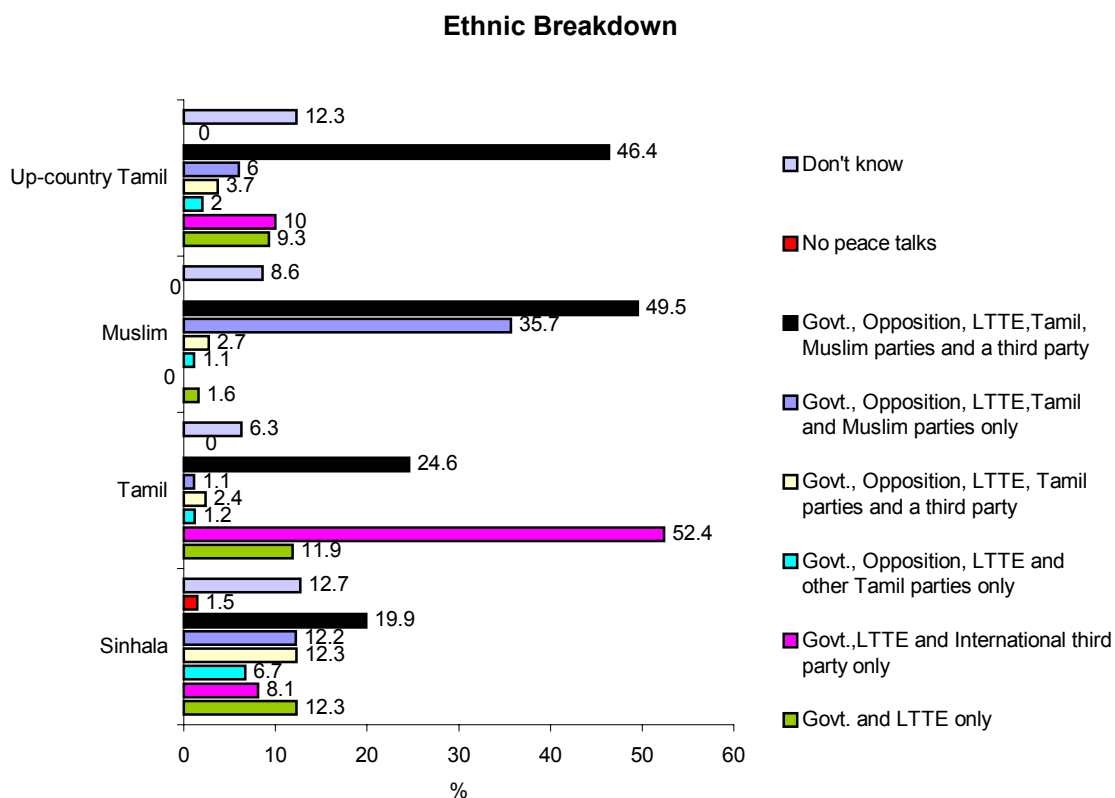
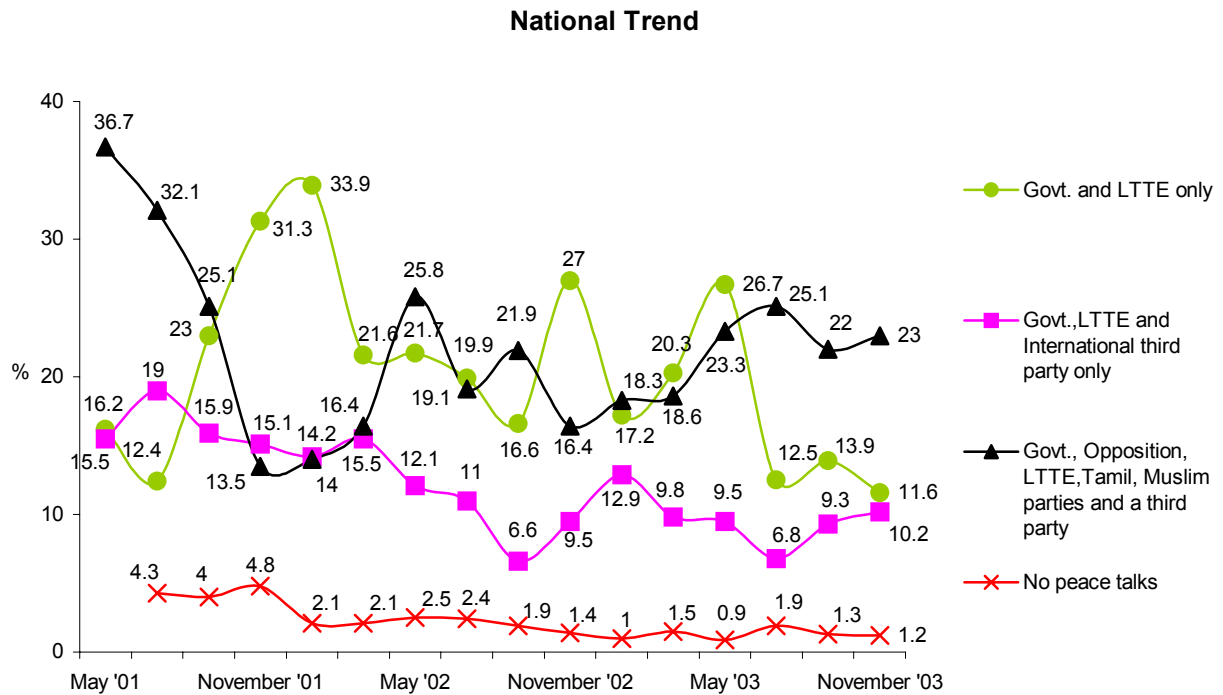


## Why do you think that the LTTE goes in for talks? [Multiple Answers]



## THE PEACE PROCESS

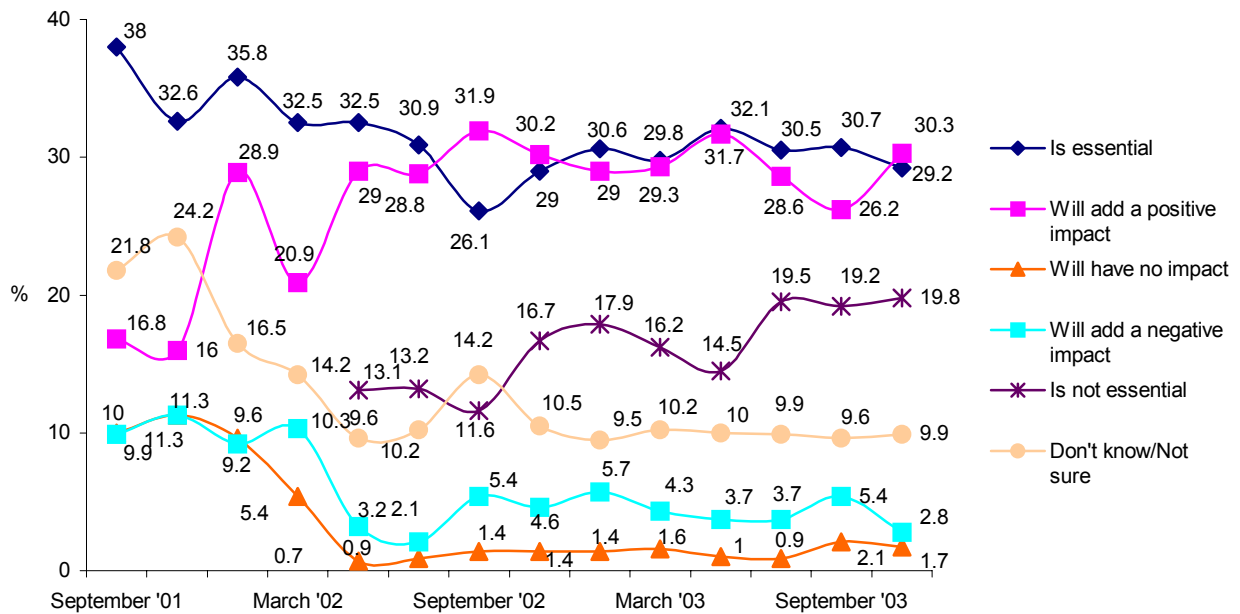
### Who should be involved in negotiations?



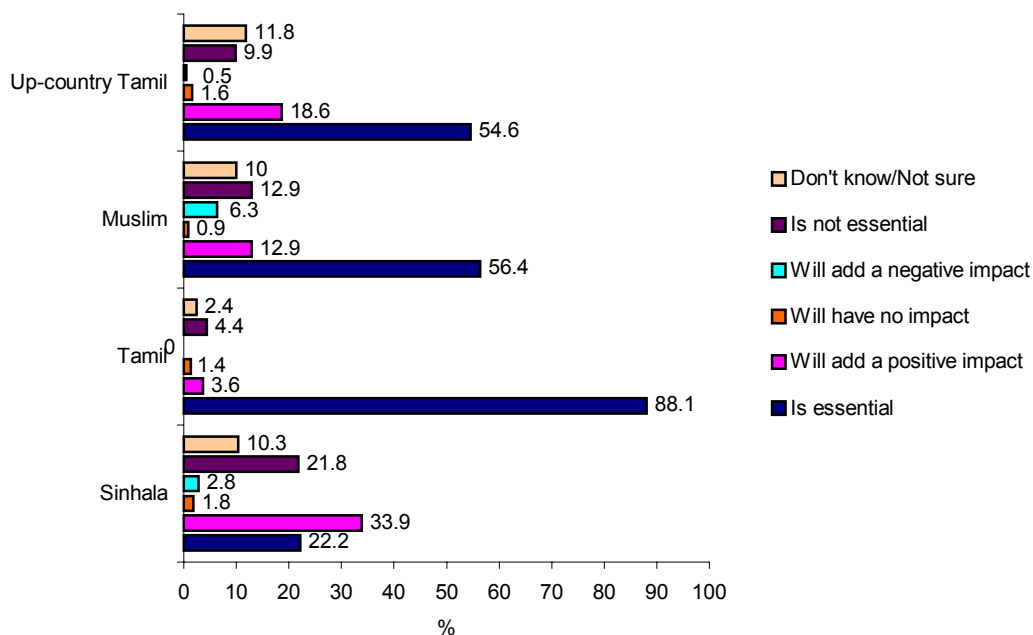
## INTERNATIONAL THIRD PARTY FACILITATION

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

**National Trend**

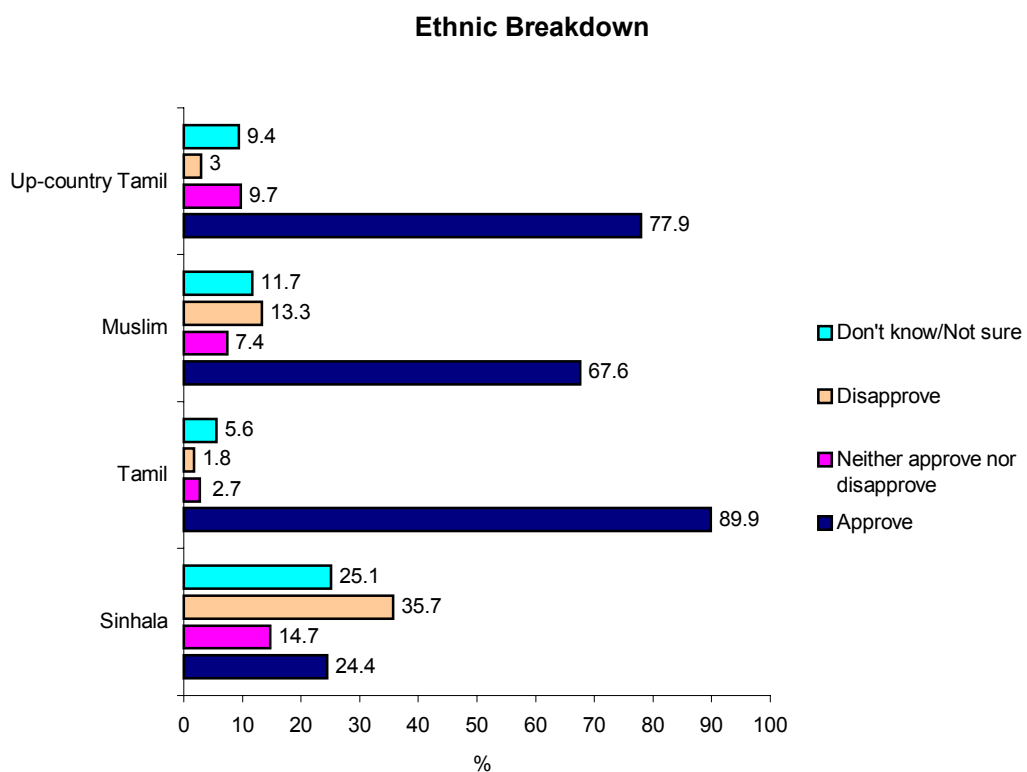
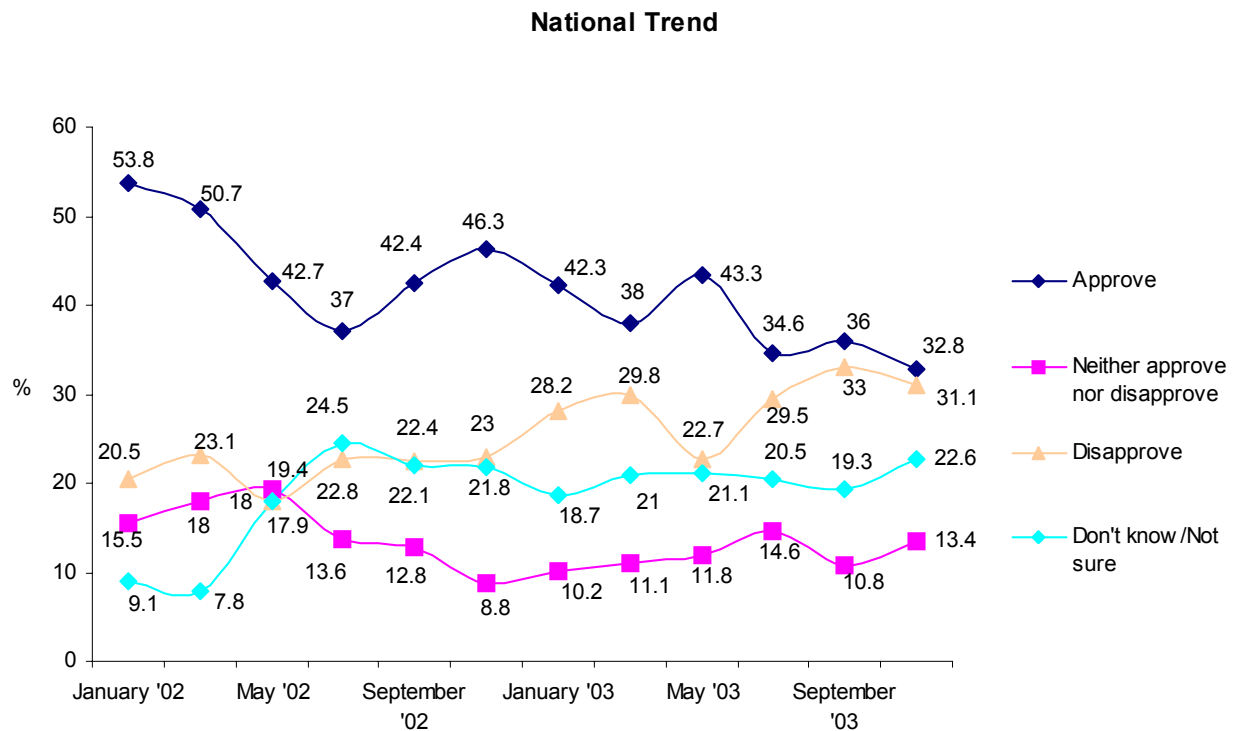


**Ethnic Breakdown**

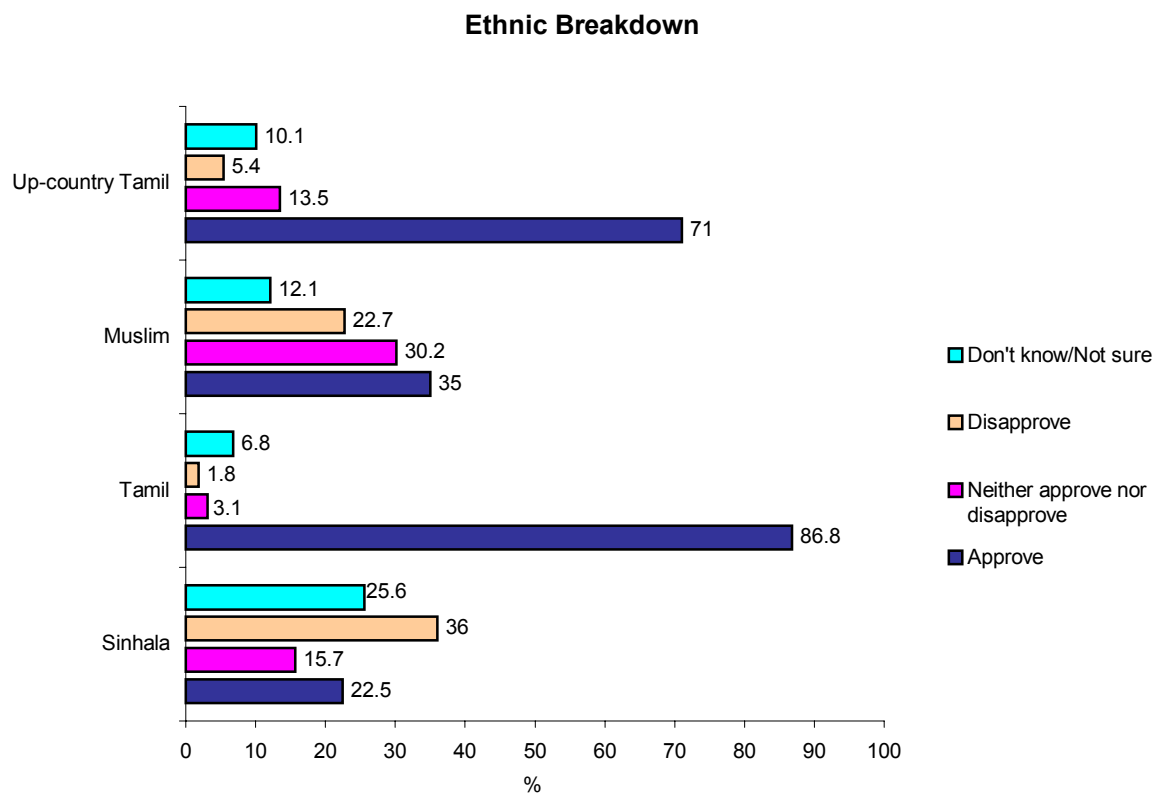
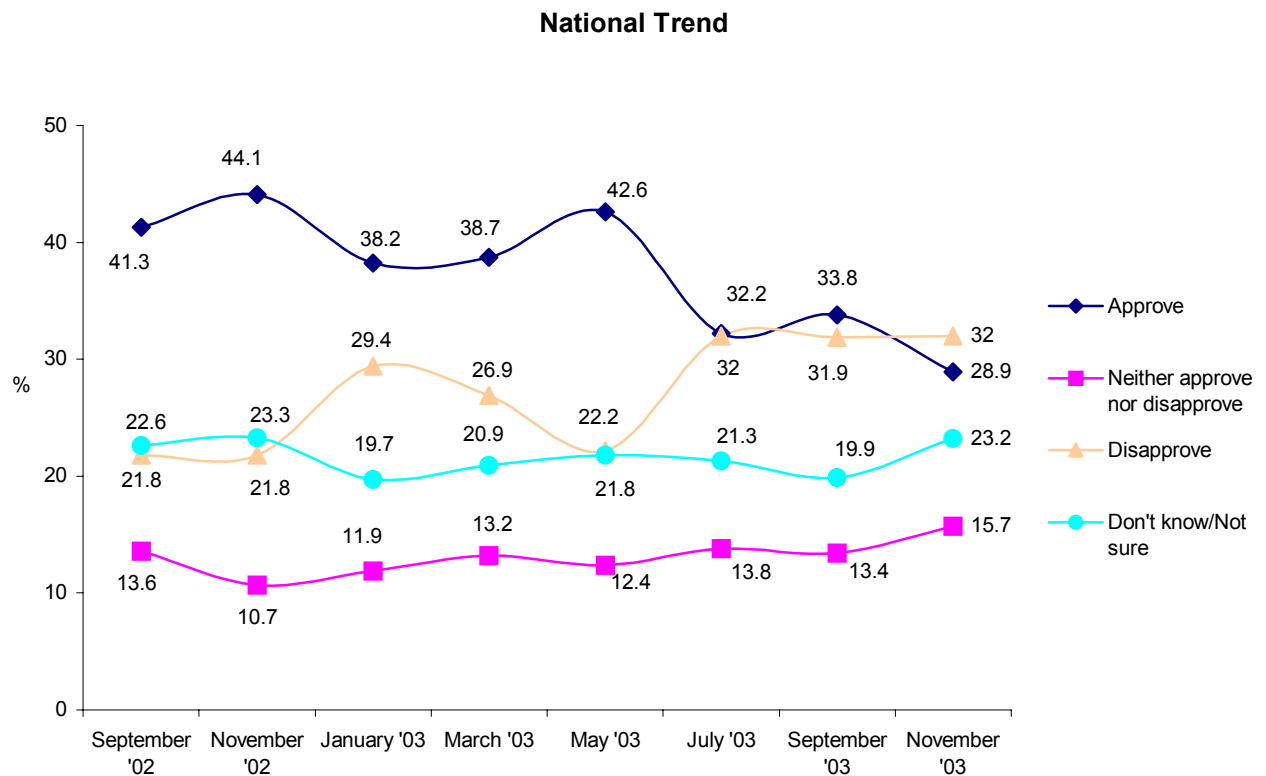


## NORWEGIAN FACILITATION

### Norway assisting in the Sri Lankan peace process



## Norway continuing to facilitate talks.

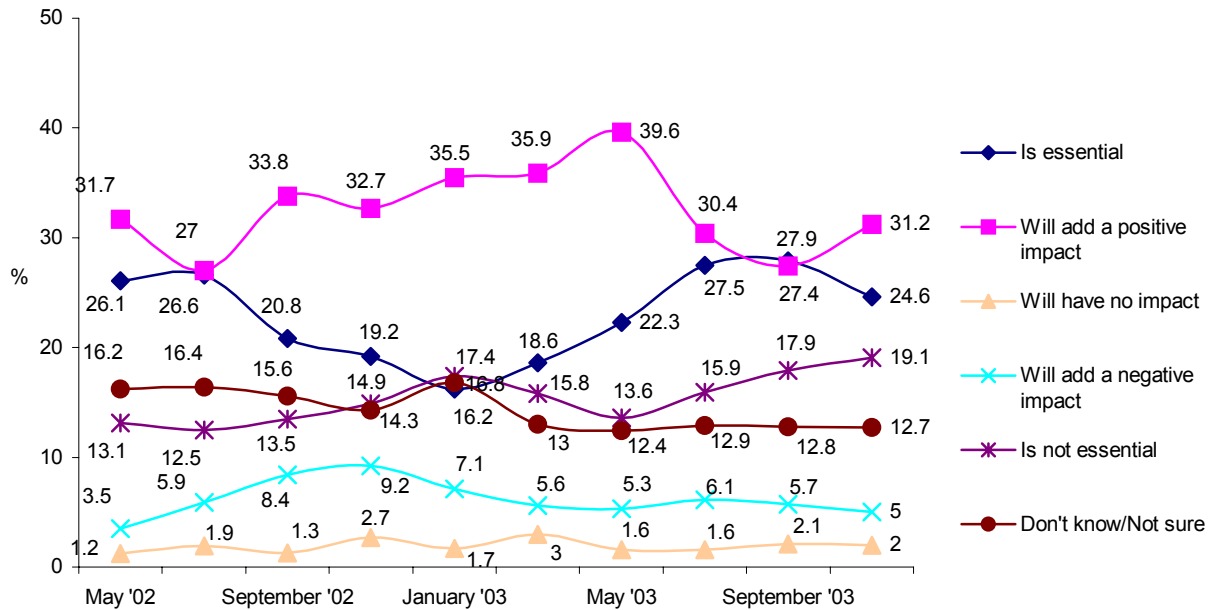




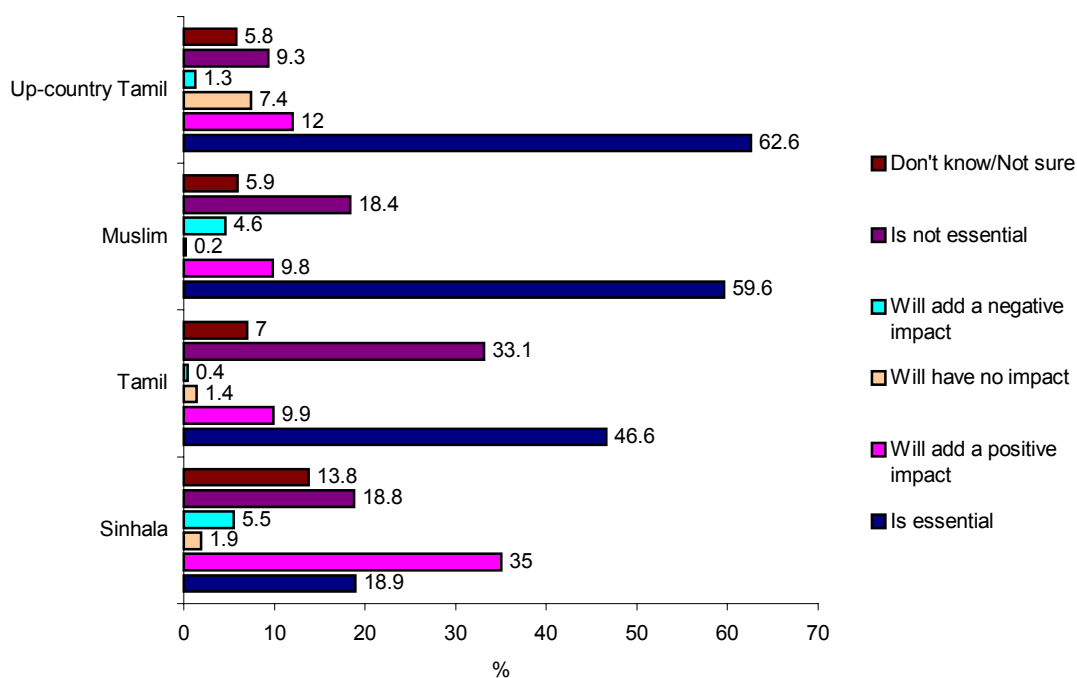
## INDIA'S INVOLVEMENT

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

**National Trend**



**Ethnic Breakdown**

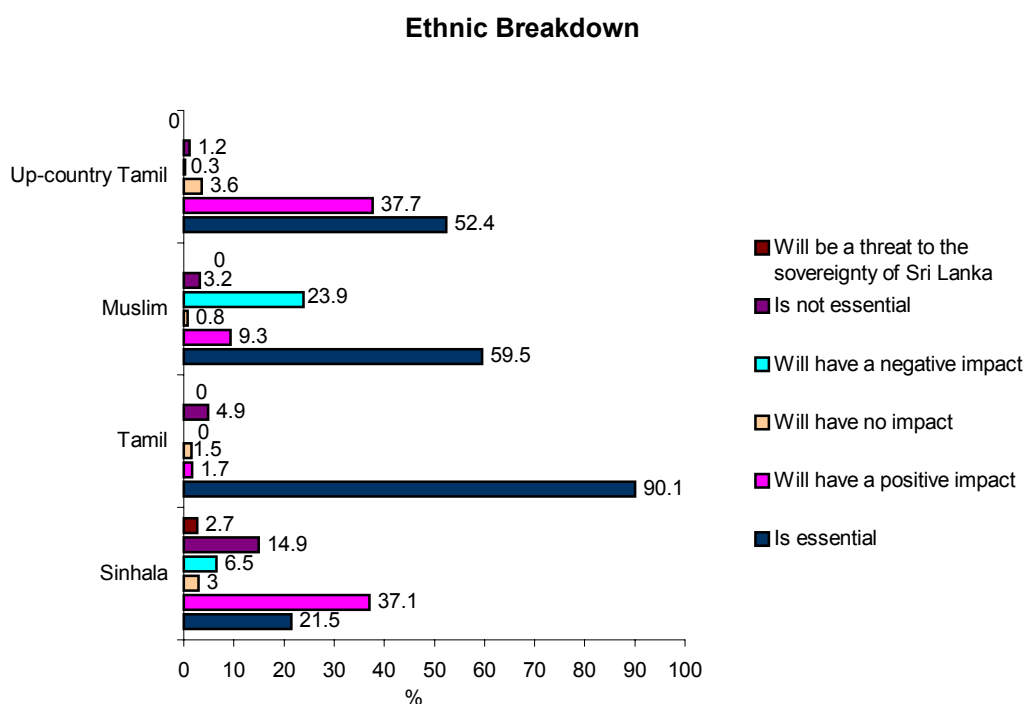
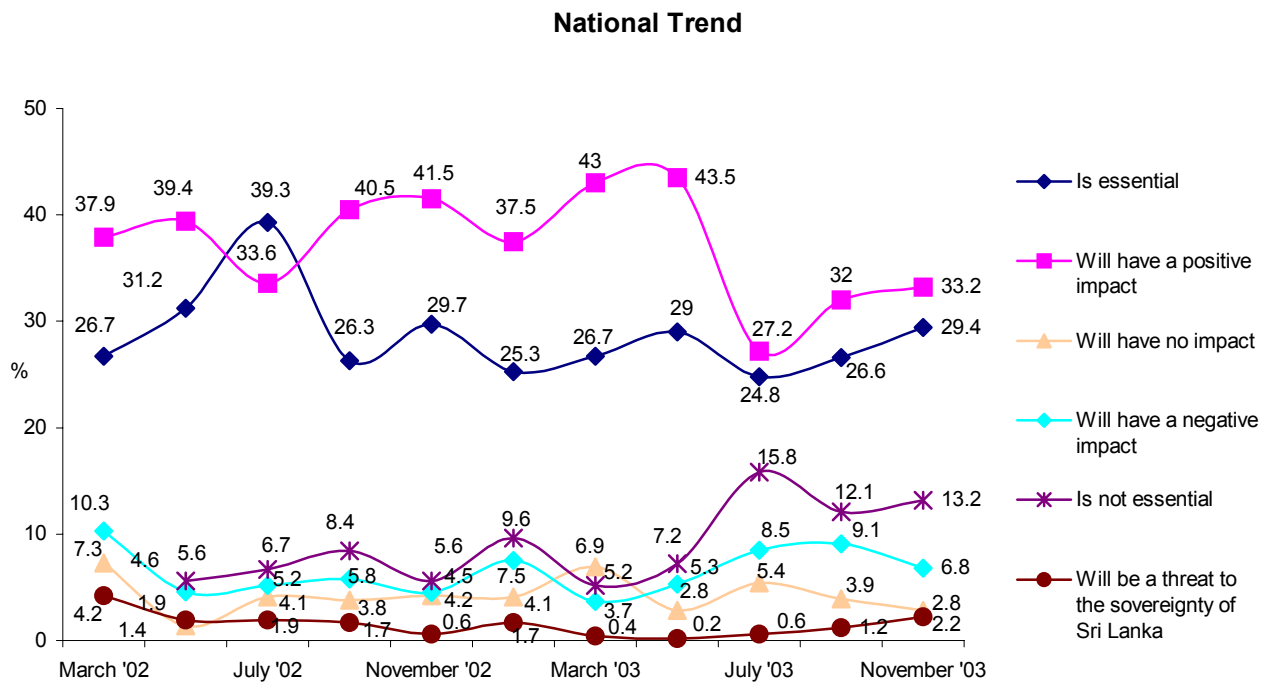




## RECENT POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

### SRI LANKA MONITORING MISSION

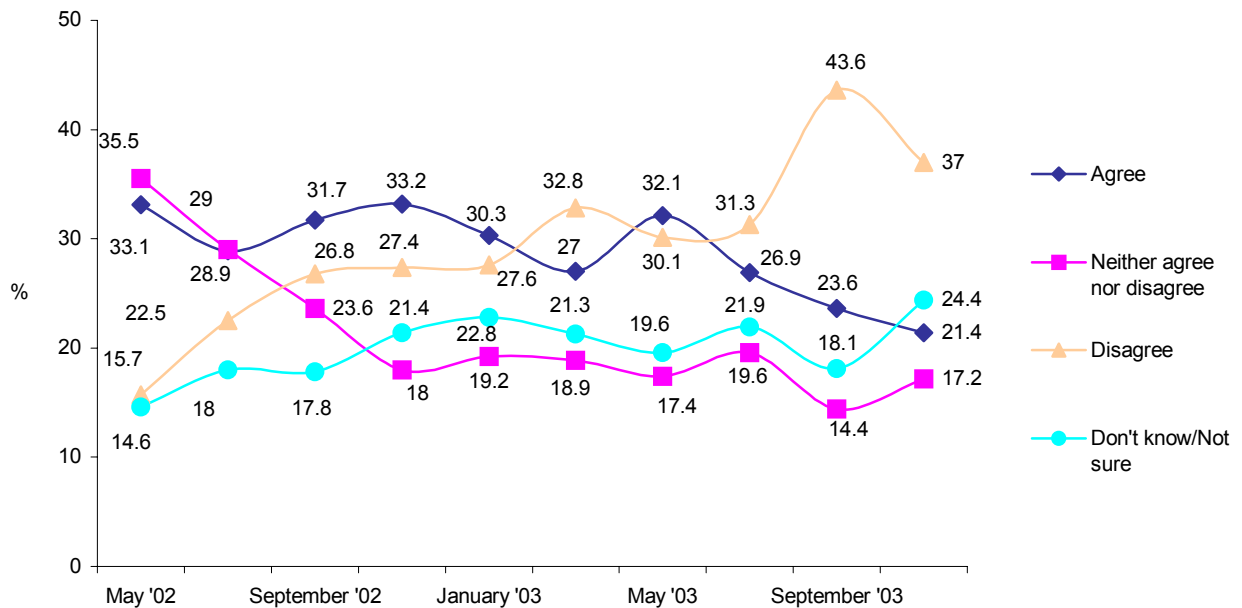
**If you are aware of the involvement of foreign monitors in monitoring the ceasefire, what is your opinion of the need for such a monitoring mission for the ceasefire agreement to succeed?**



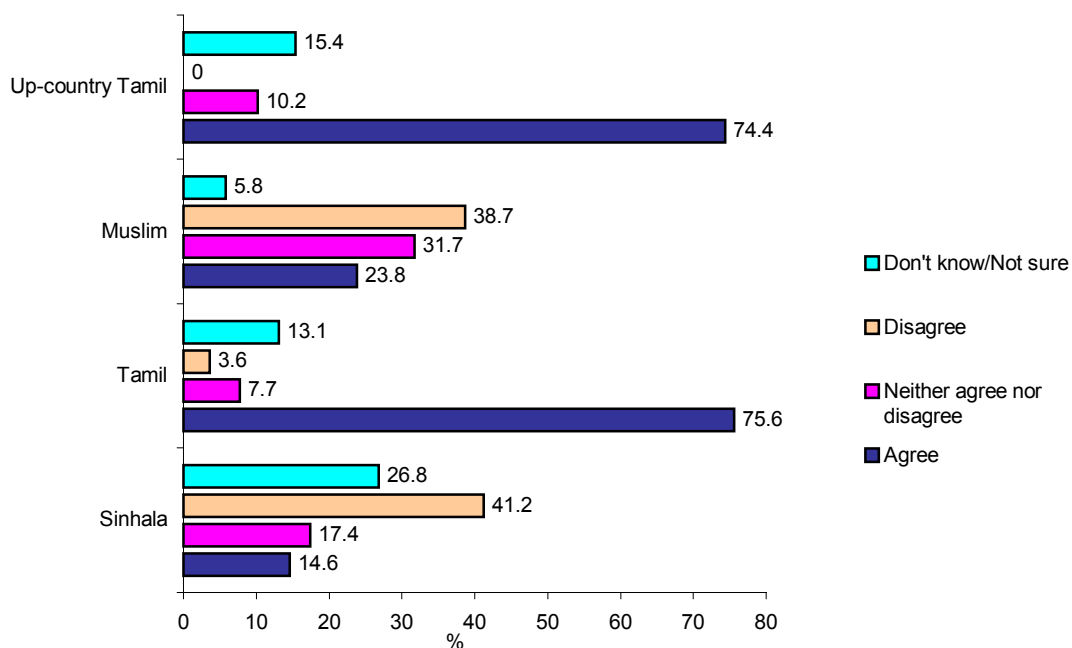


## I think the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission is impartial in its monitoring of the ceasefire agreement.

National Trend



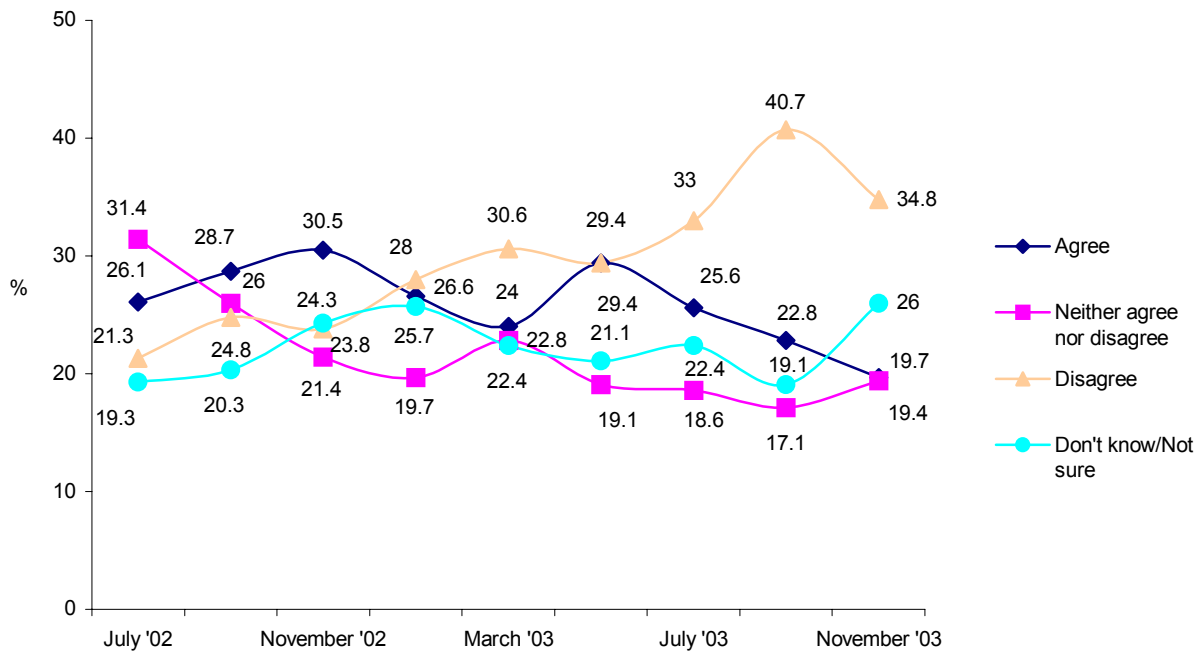
Ethnic Breakdown



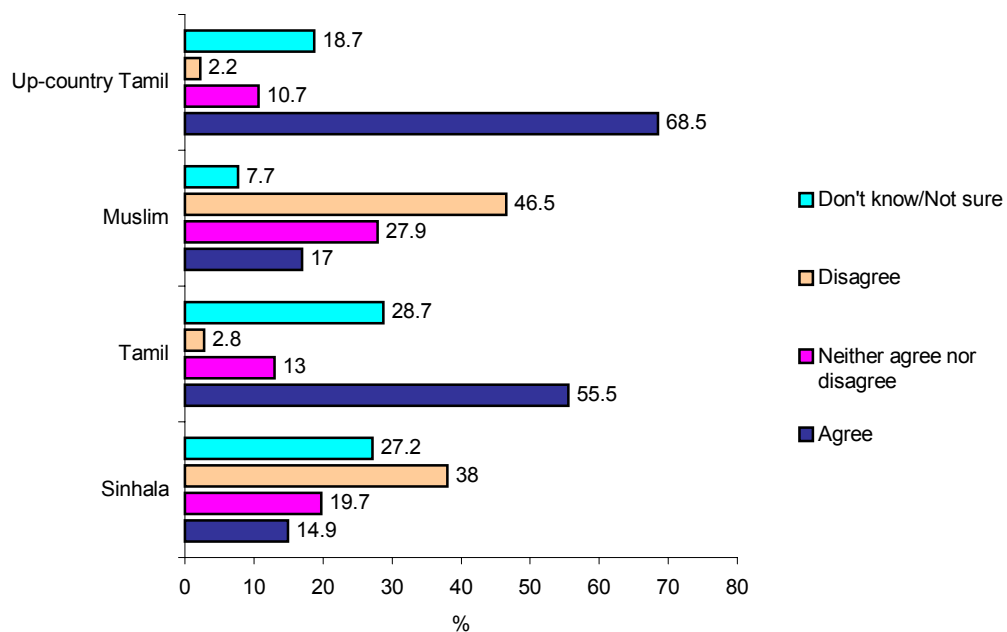


## I think the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission is effective in its monitoring of the ceasefire agreement.

National Trend



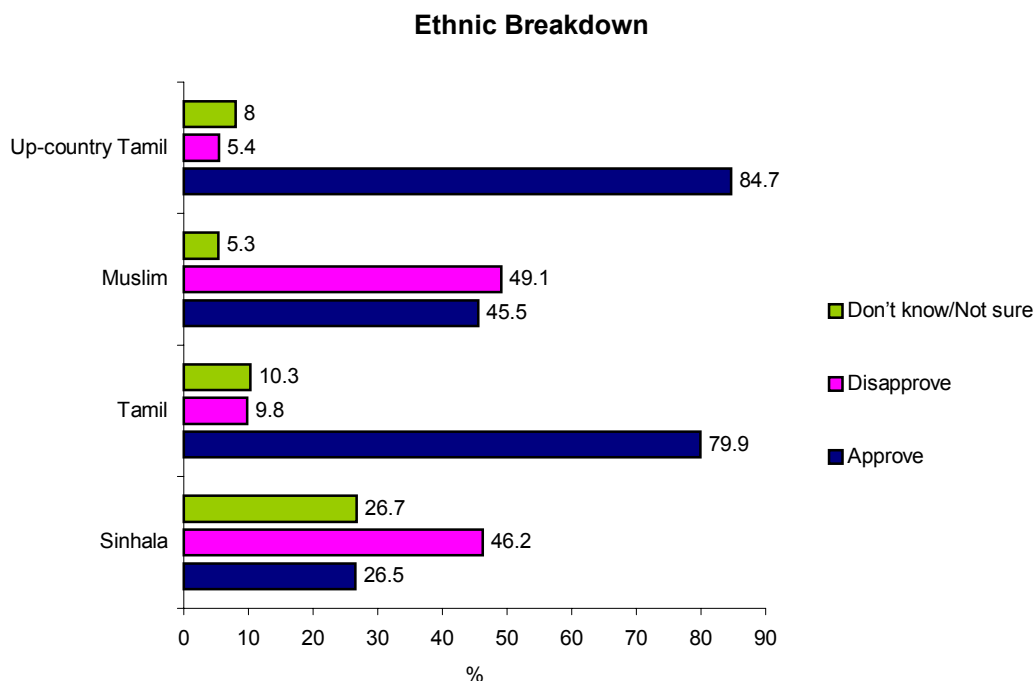
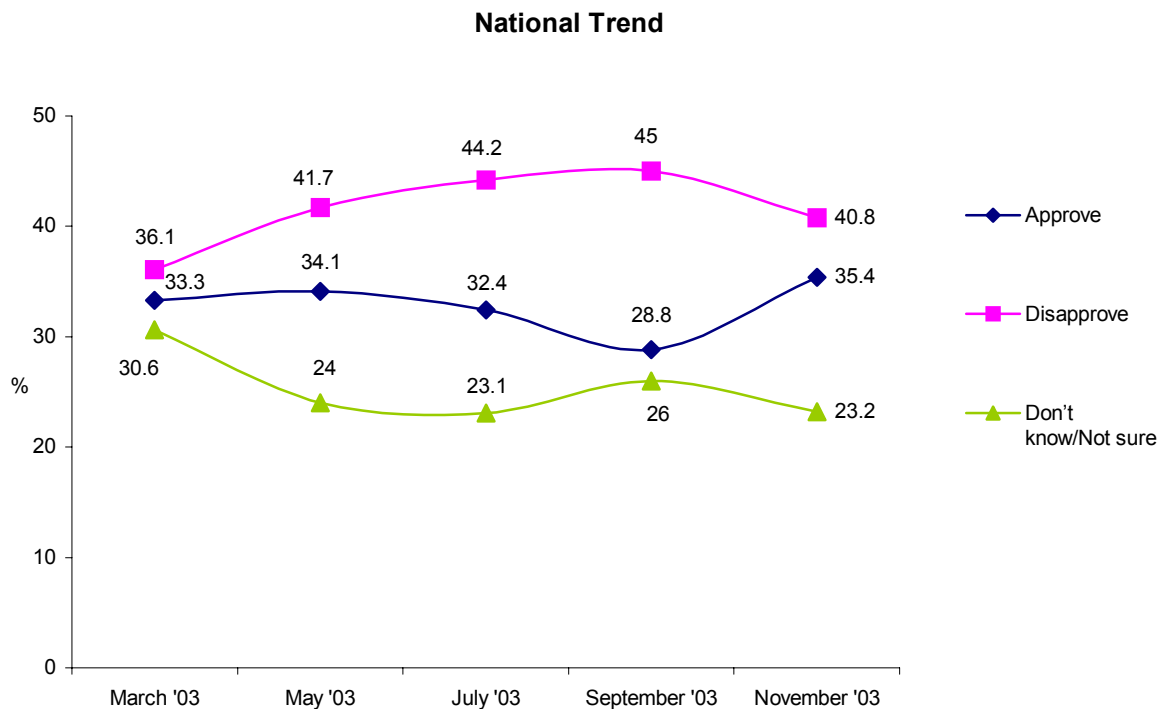
Ethnic Breakdown





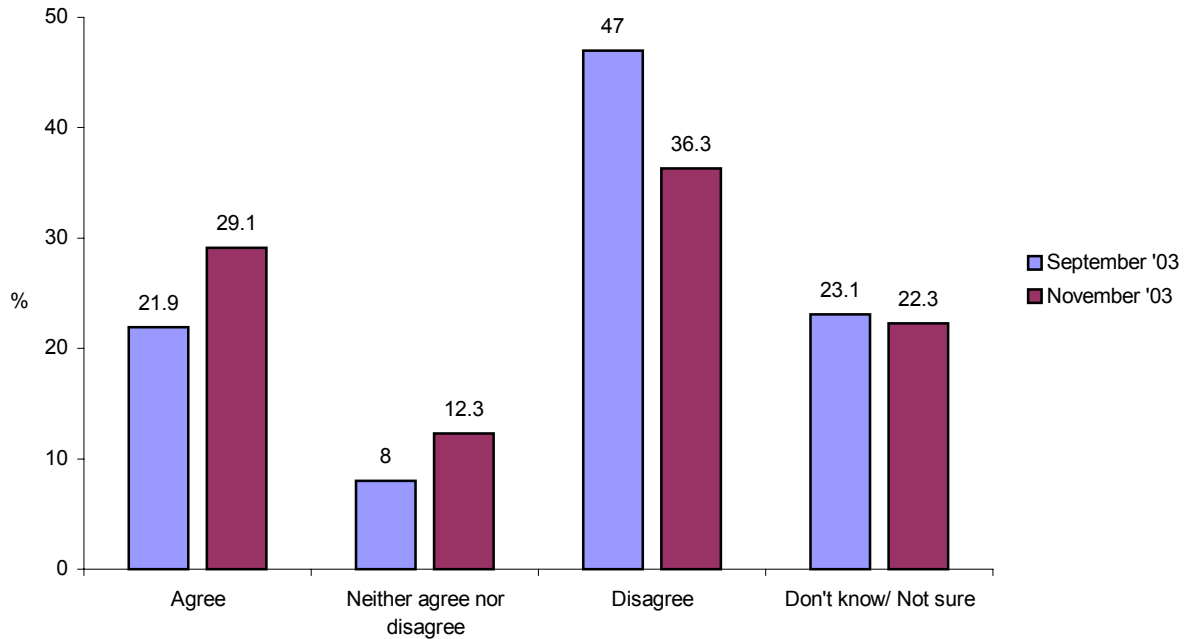
## FEDERAL SOLUTION

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

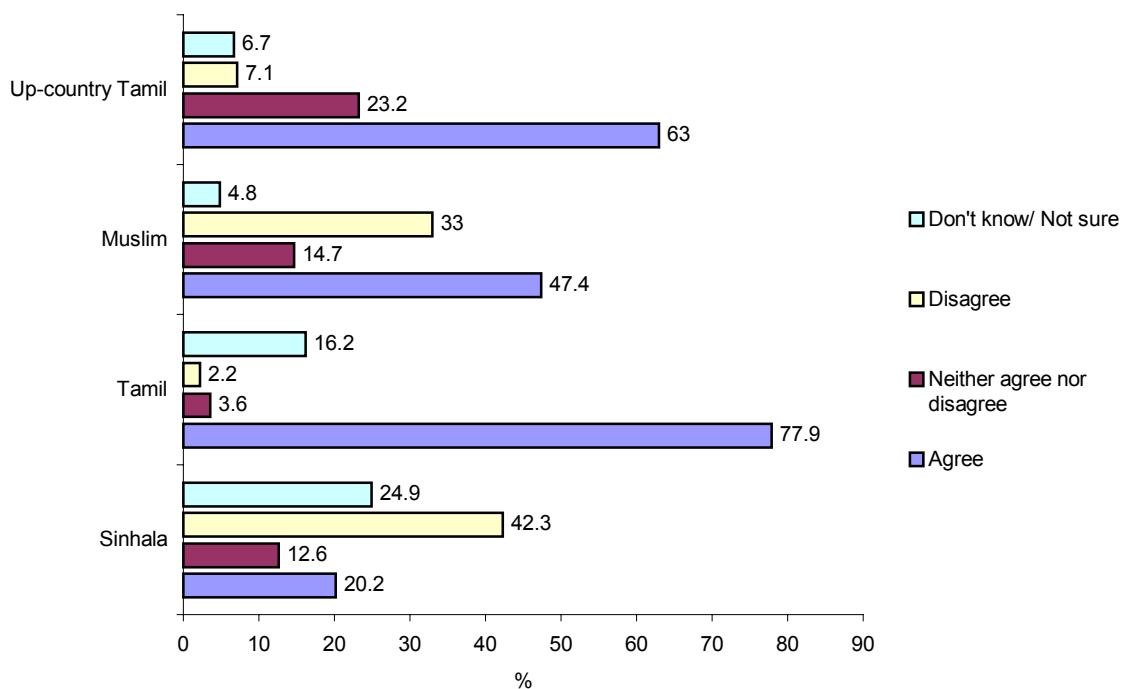


## I believe a federal system is the best way of governing this country.

National Trend



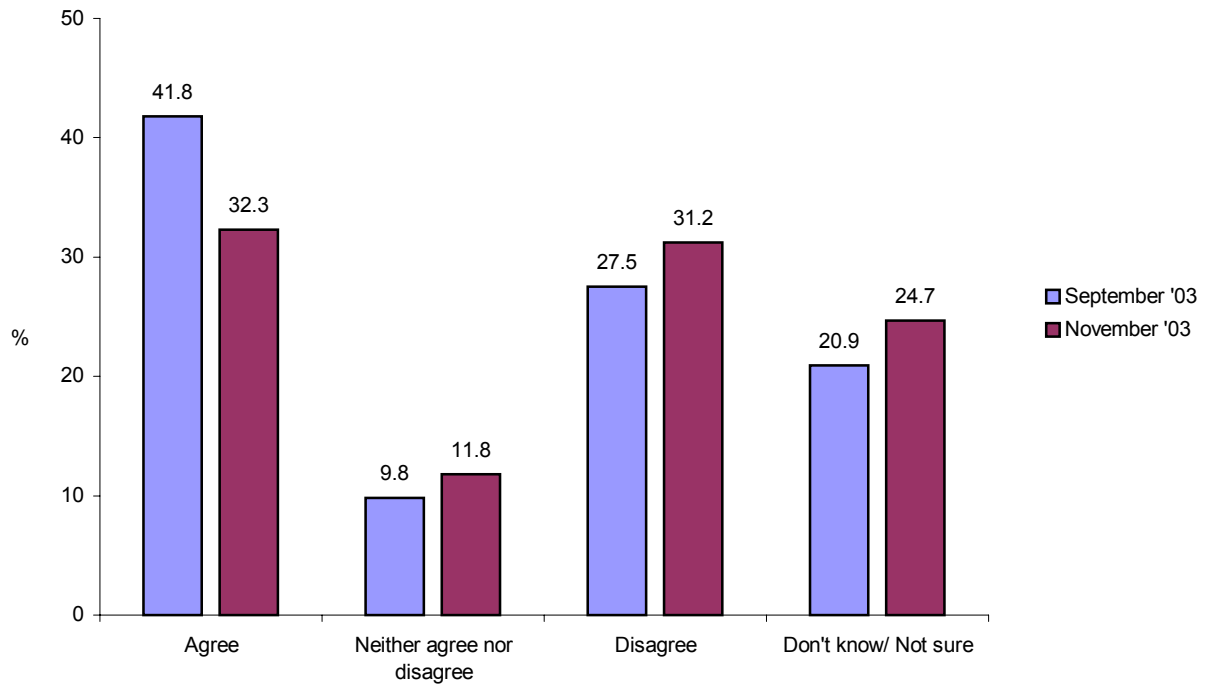
Ethnic Breakdown



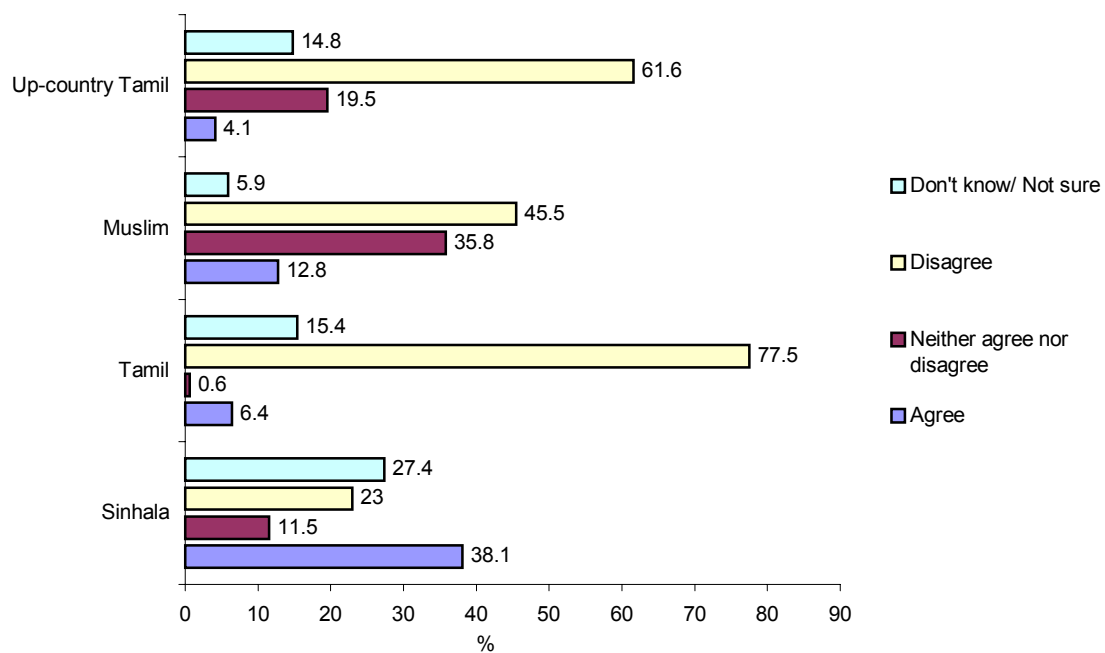


## I think a federal state will lead to secession.

### National Trend



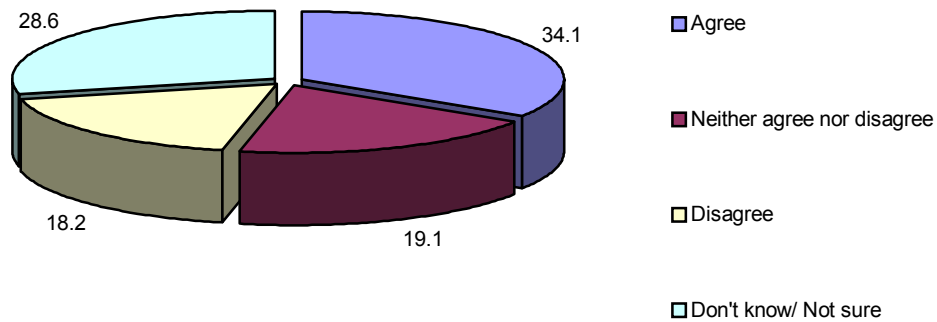
### Ethnic Breakdown



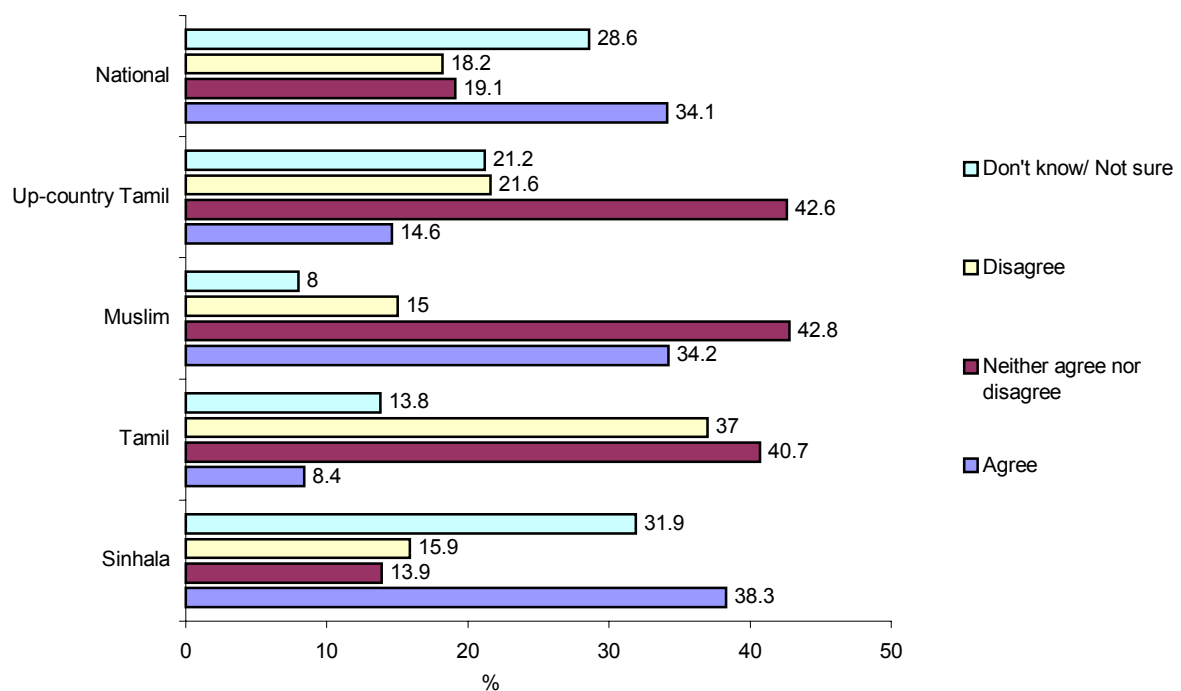


## Within a federal state Tamils will have more benefits.

National Breakdown



Ethnic Breakdown

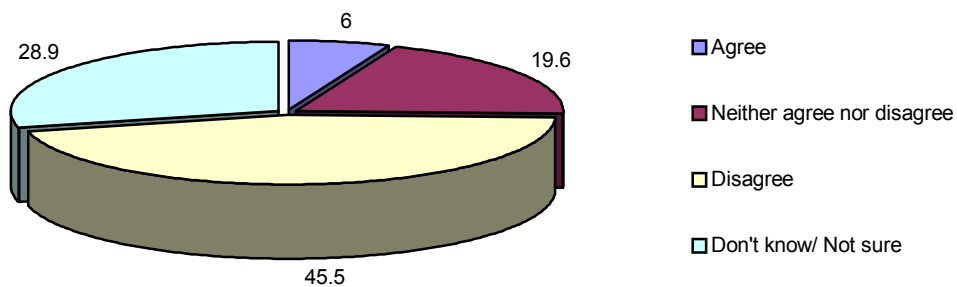




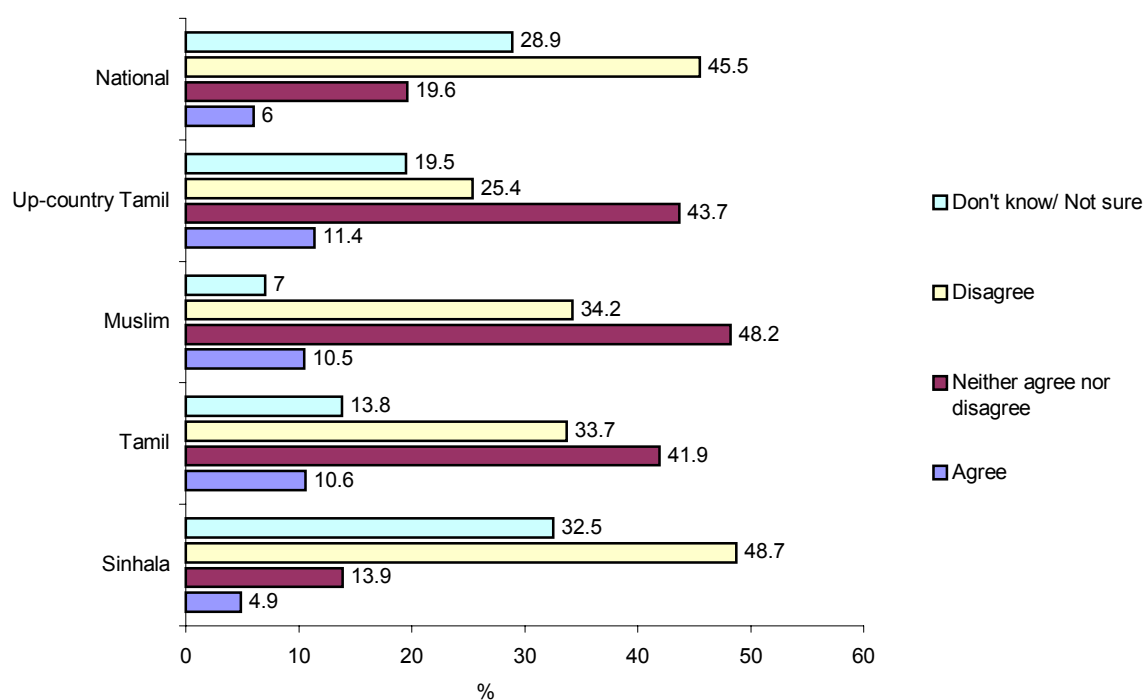


## Within a federal state Sinhalese will have more benefits.

National Breakdown



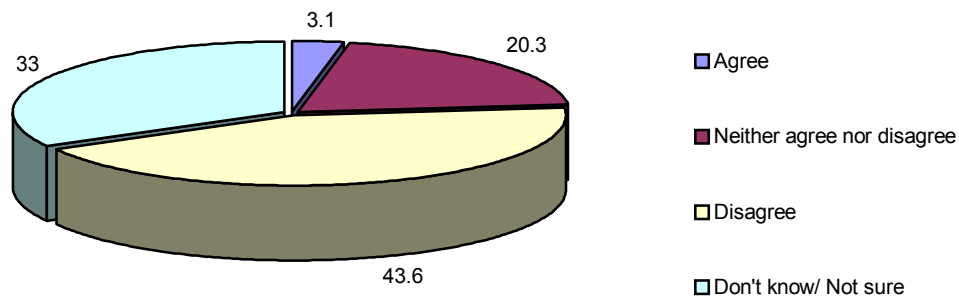
Ethnic Breakdown



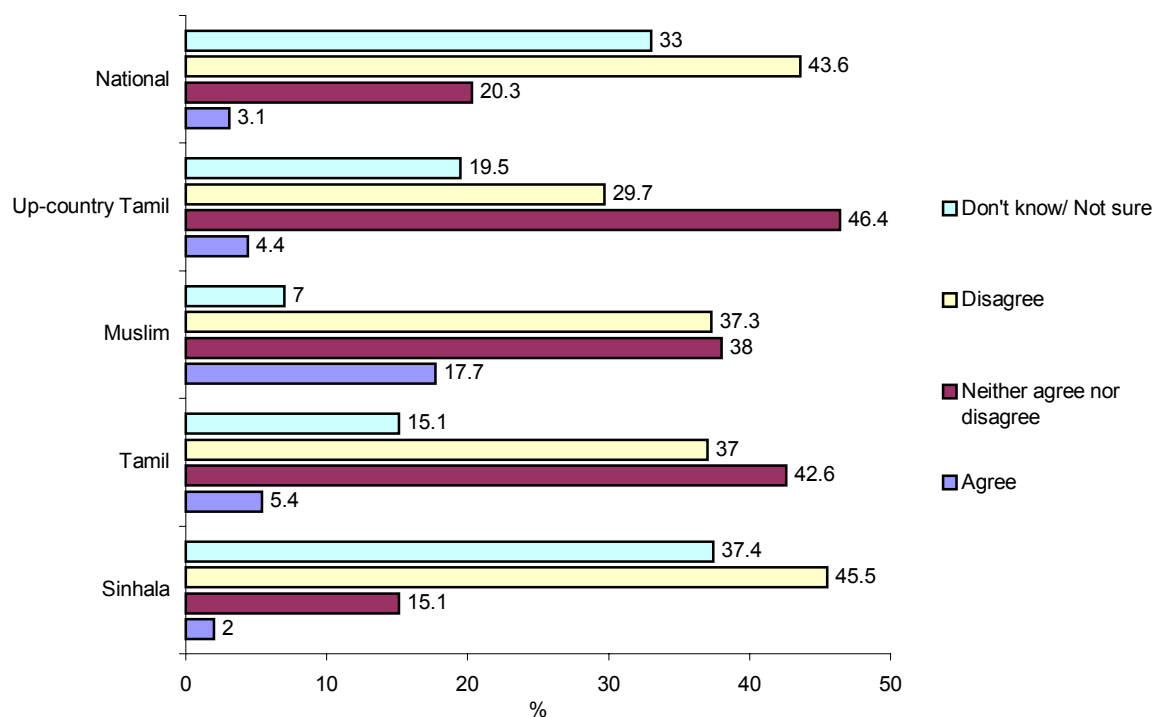


## Within a federal state Muslims will have more benefits.

National Breakdown



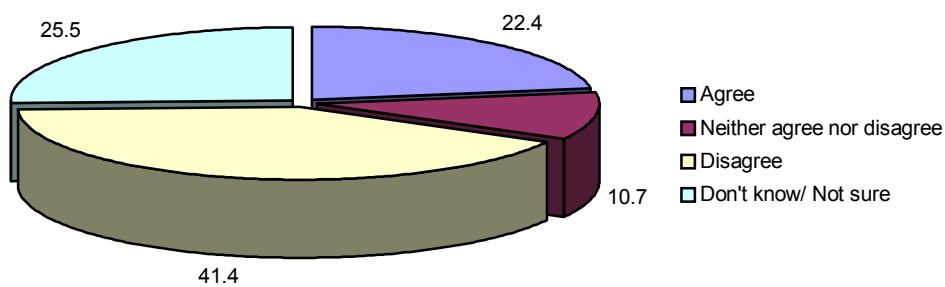
Ethnic Breakdown



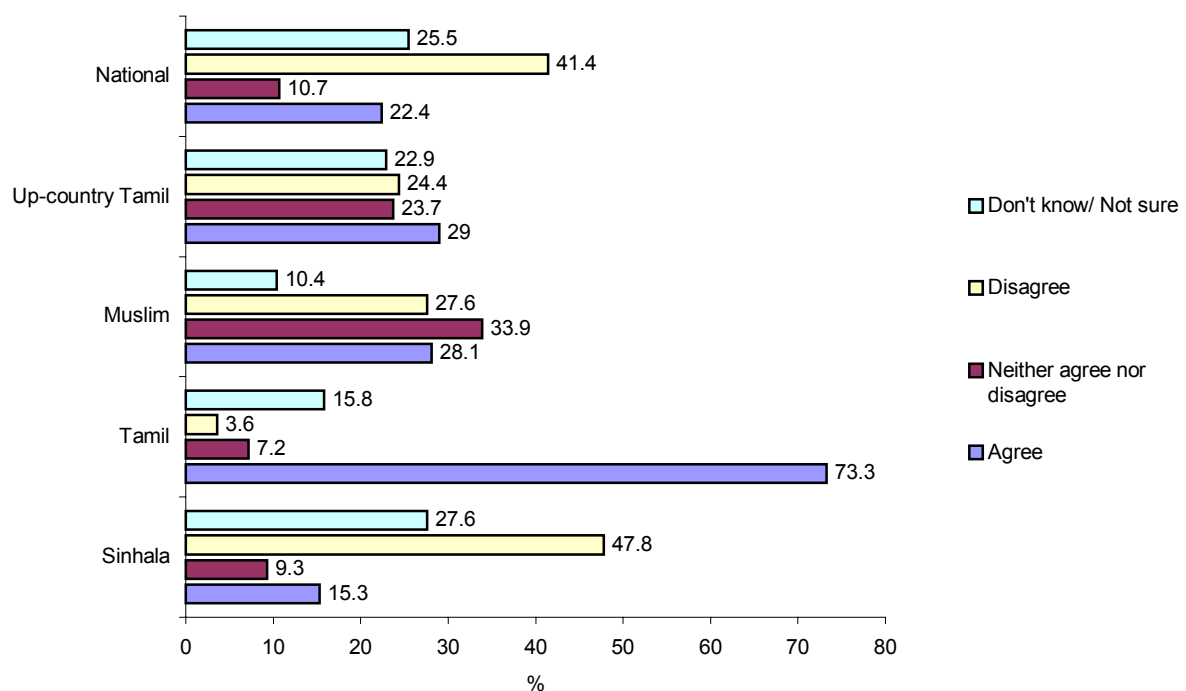


## Within a federal state everyone will equally benefit.

National Breakdown



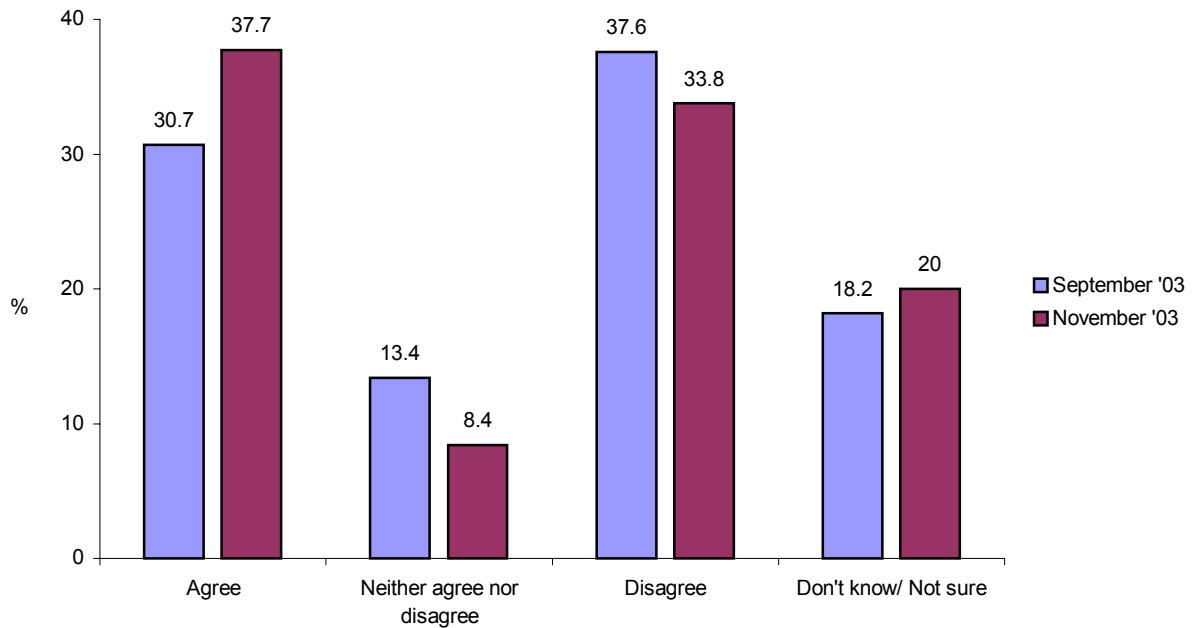
Ethnic Breakdown



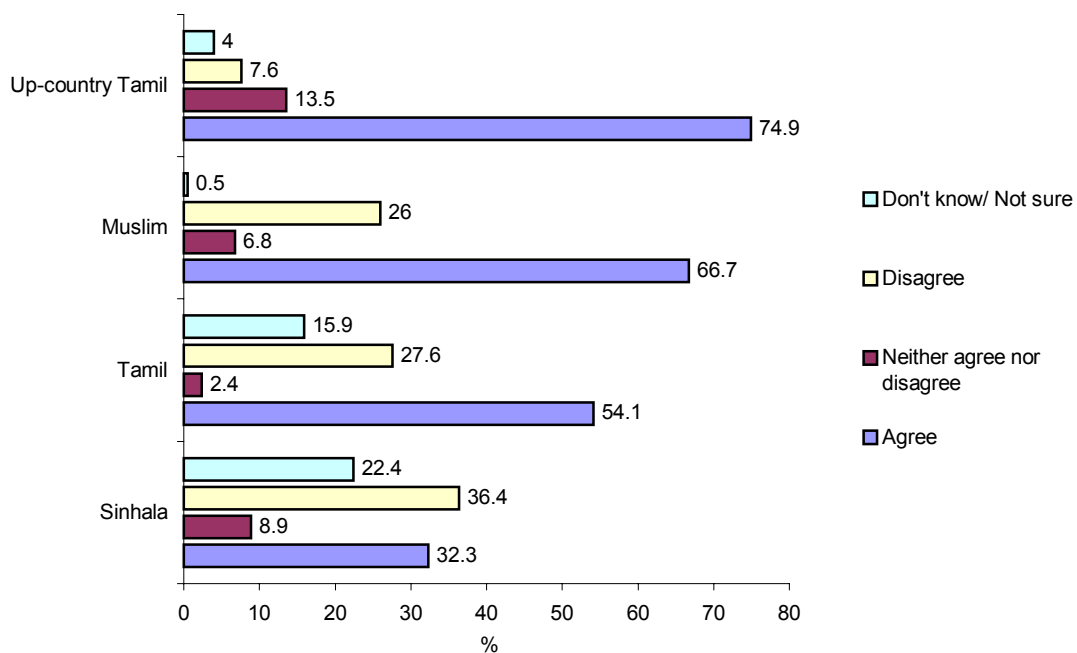


## I will agree with a federal solution if it is approved by a majority of Sri Lankans.

National Trend



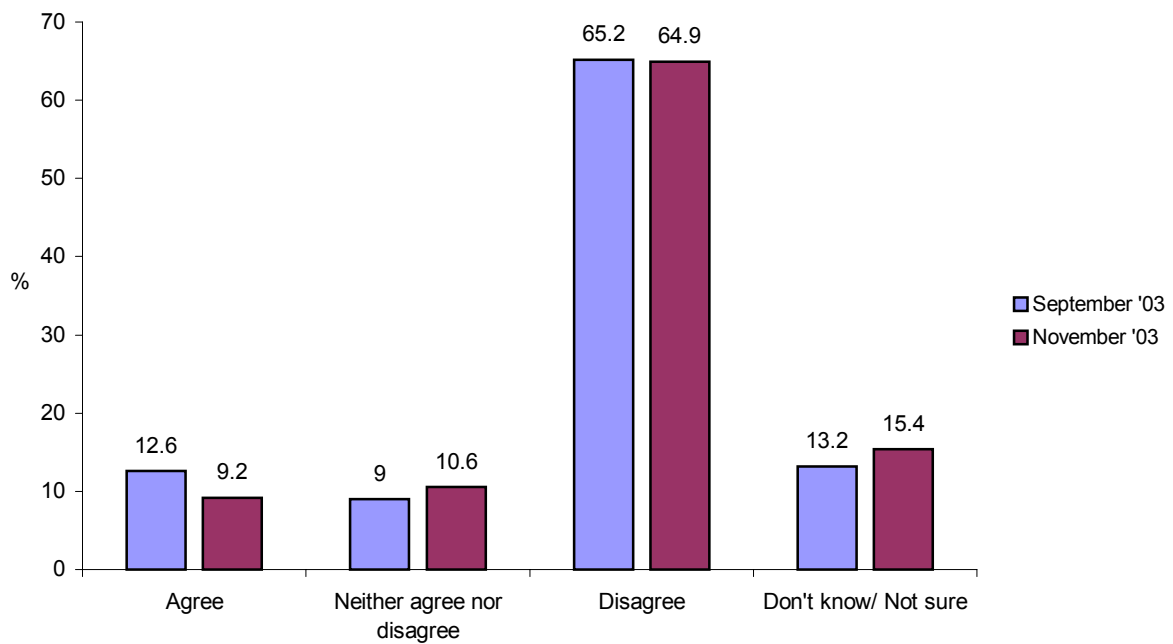
Ethnic Breakdown



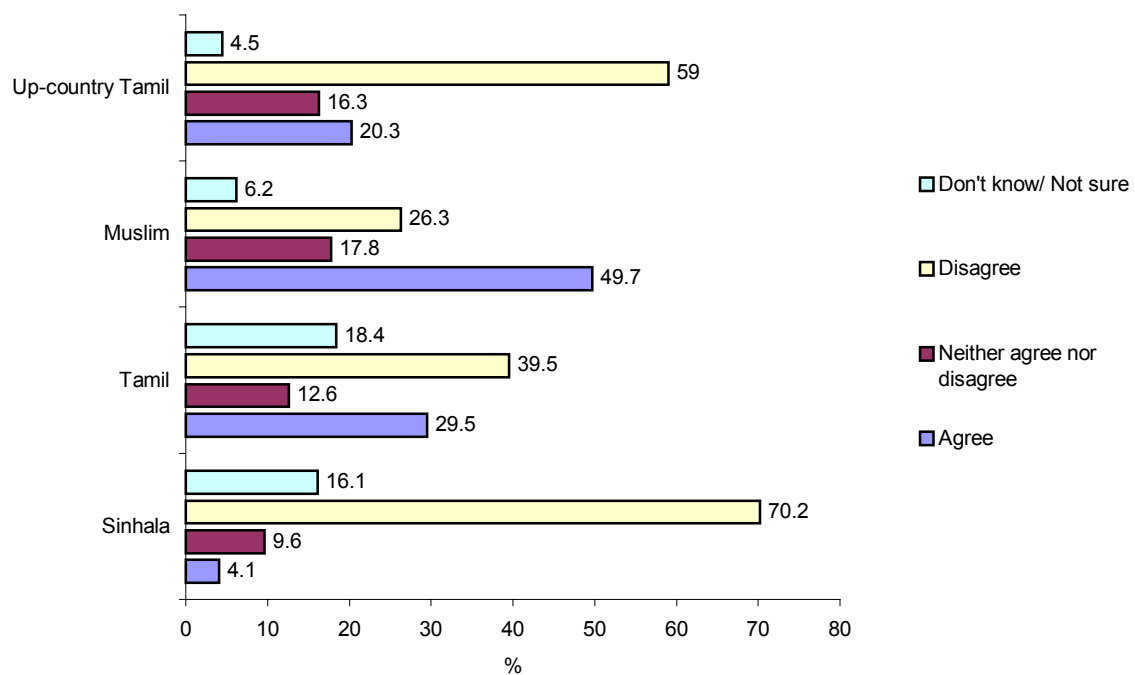


## I think people are being adequately informed about federalism.

National Trend

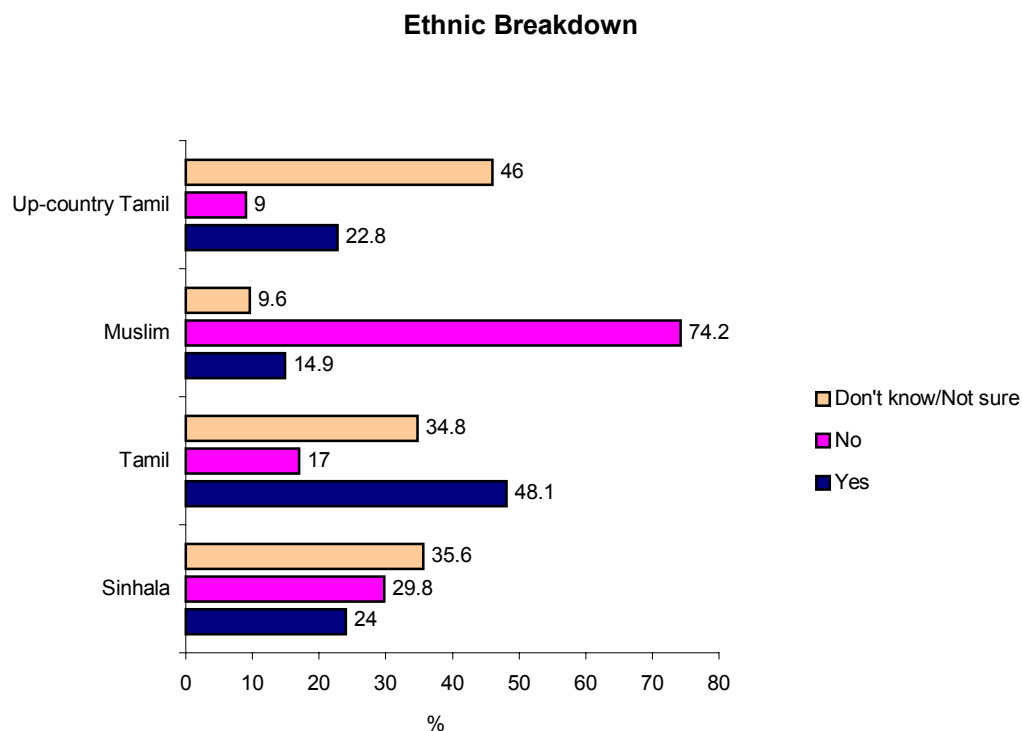
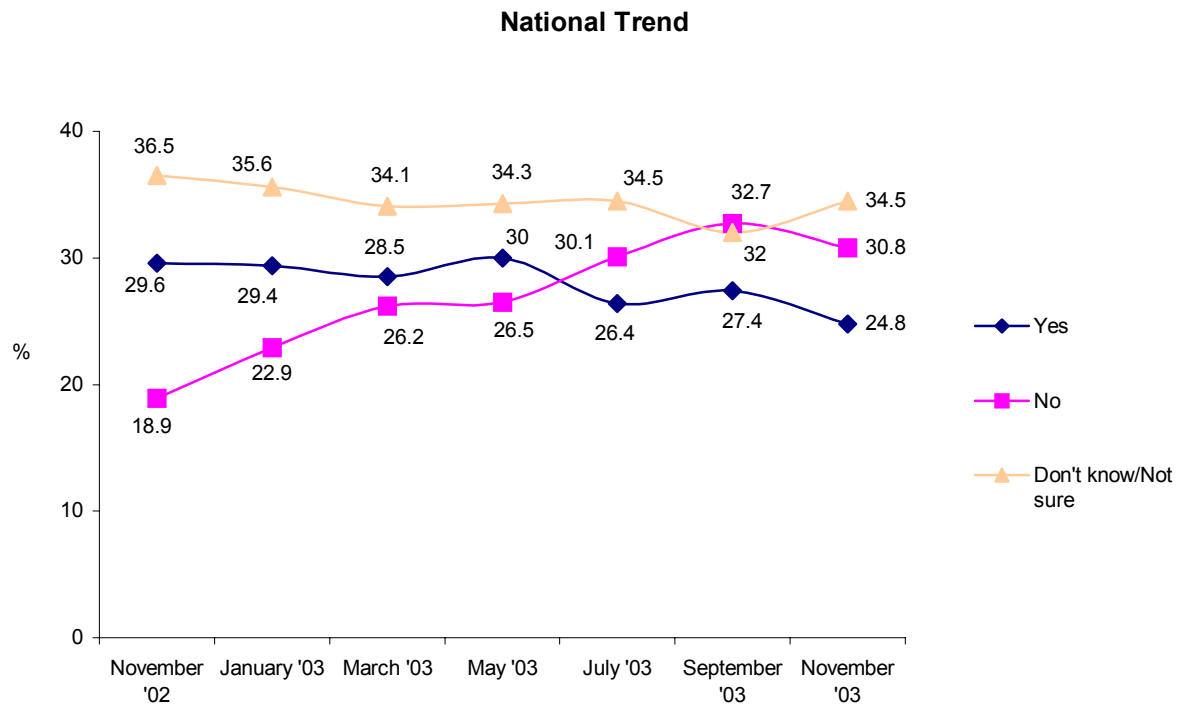


Ethnic Breakdown



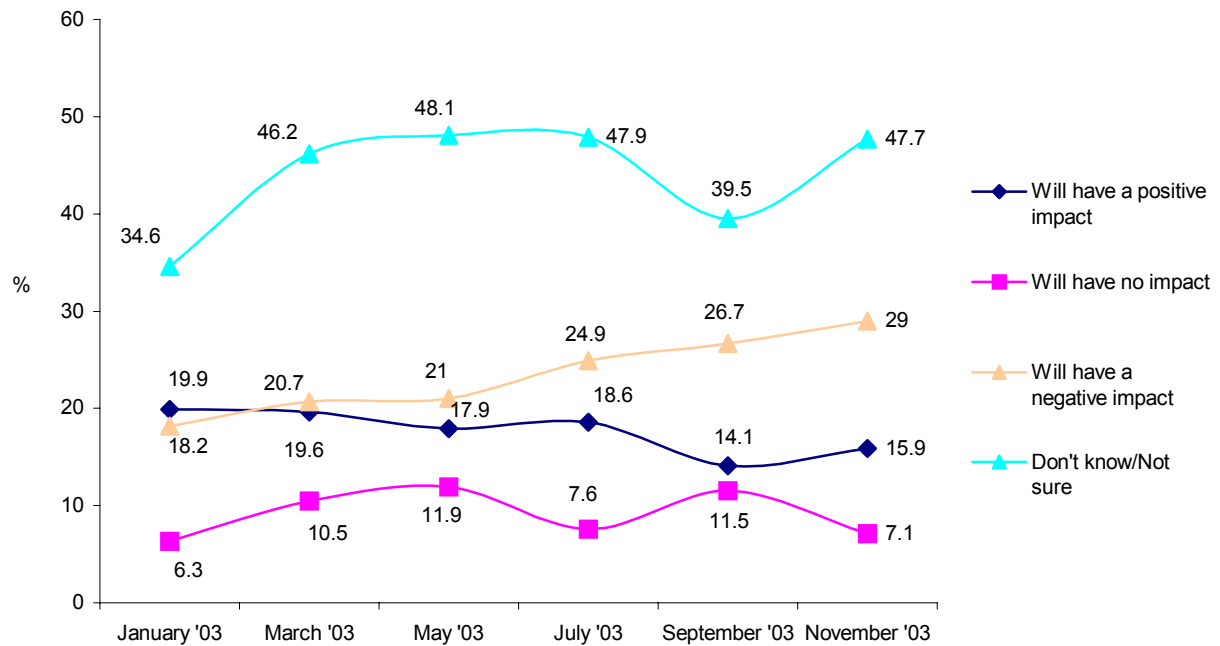
## MUSLIM COMMUNITY

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

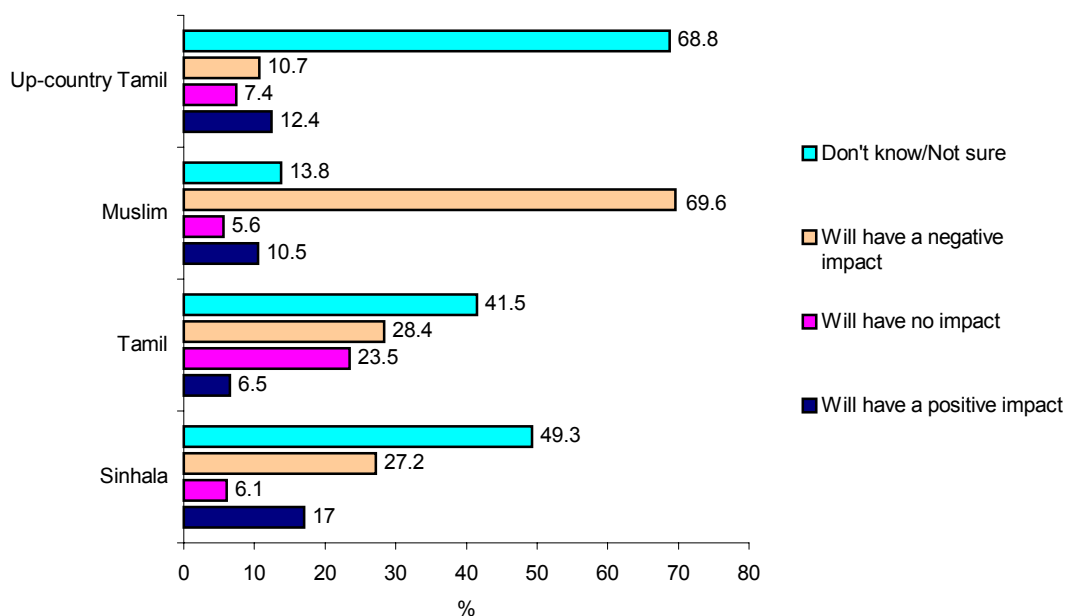


## What in your opinion will be the impact of this on the peace process?

### National Trend



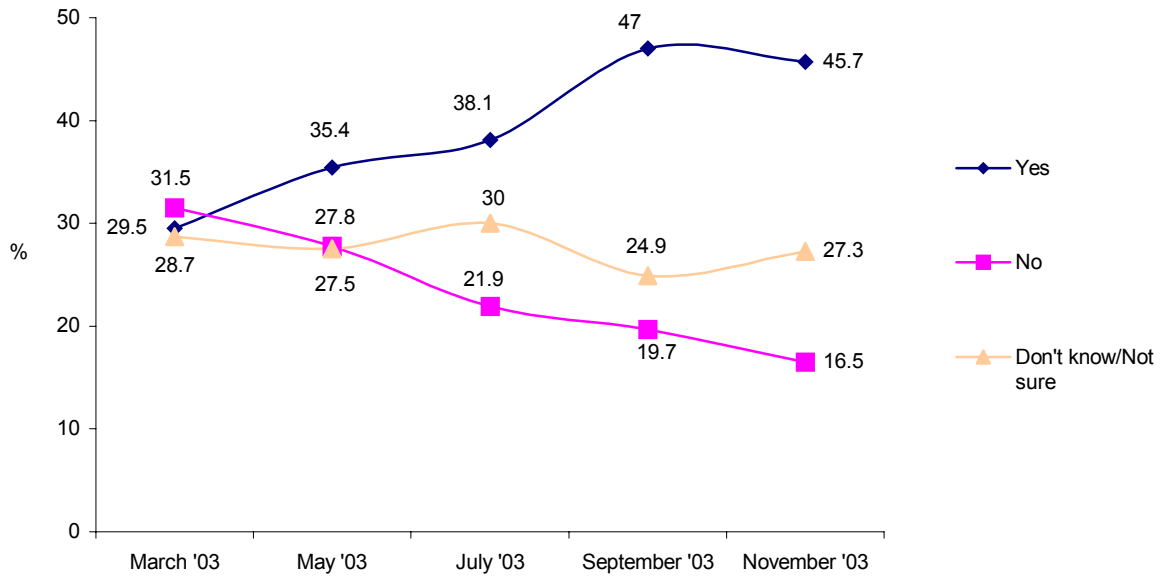
### Ethnic Breakdown



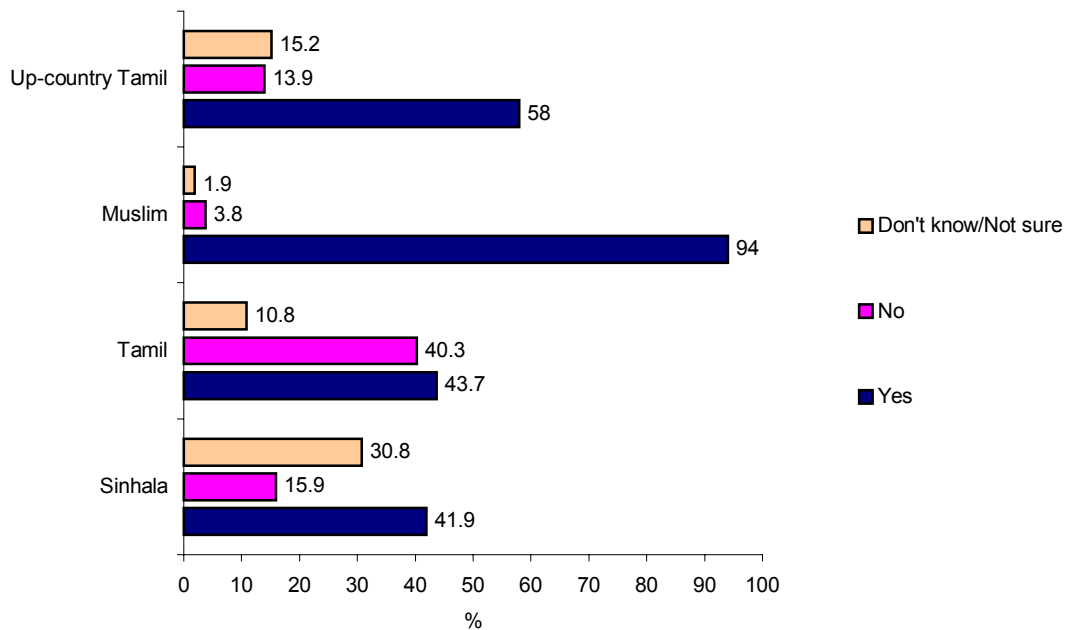


## Do you think there should be a separate Muslim delegation to the peace talks?

National Trend



Ethnic Breakdown



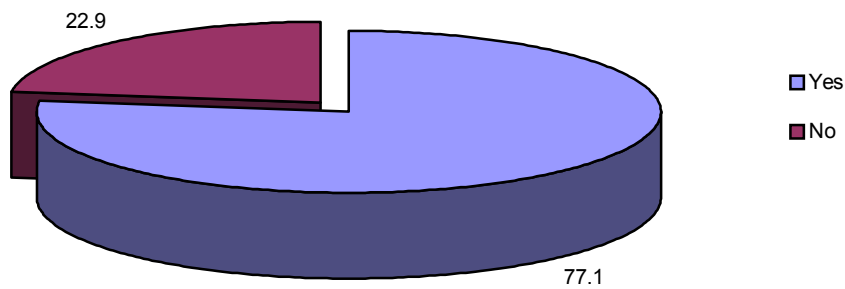




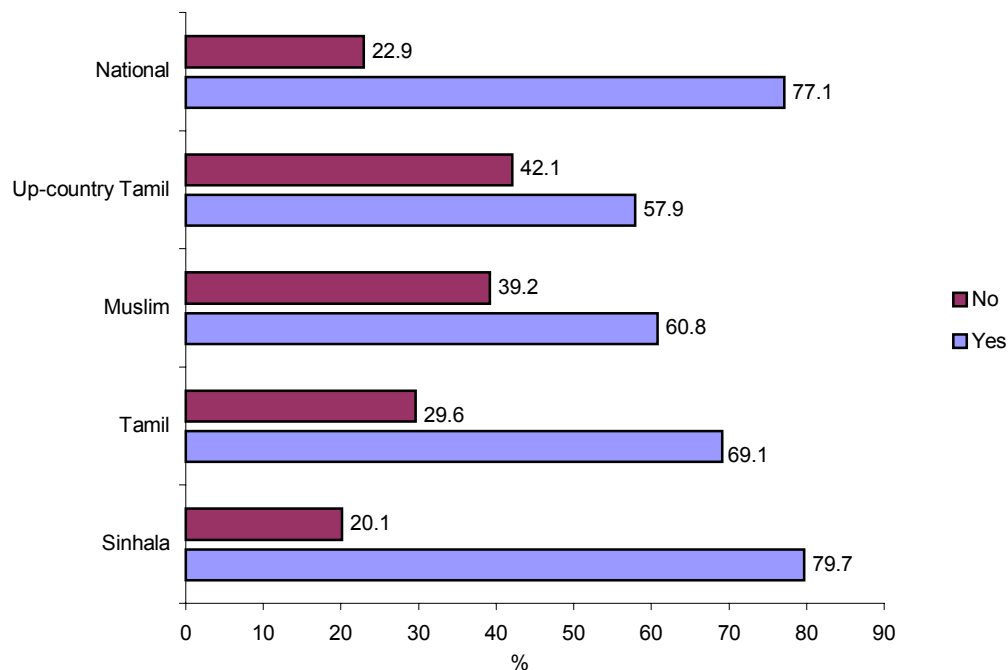
## SLFP – JVP ALLIANCE

**Are you aware of the talks between the PA and JVP to form an alliance?**

**National Breakdown**



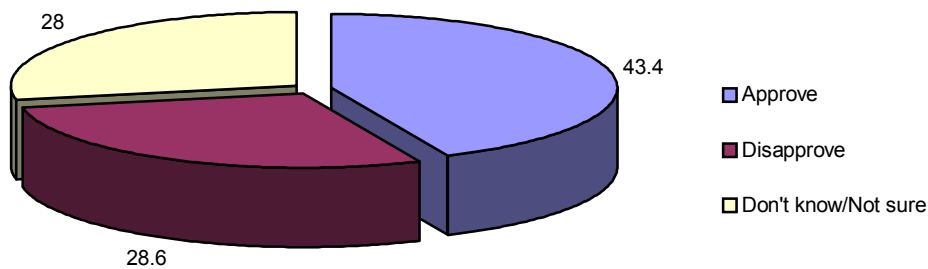
**Ethnic Breakdown**



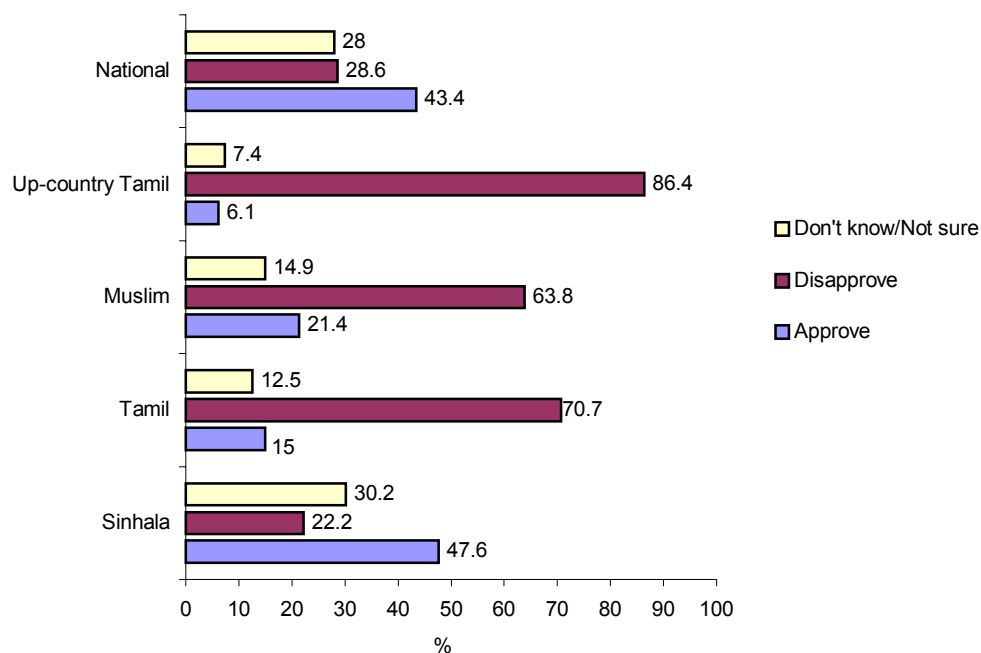


**If you are aware of the talks between the PA and JVP to form an alliance, please tell me do you approve or disapprove of this alliance?**

**National Breakdown**



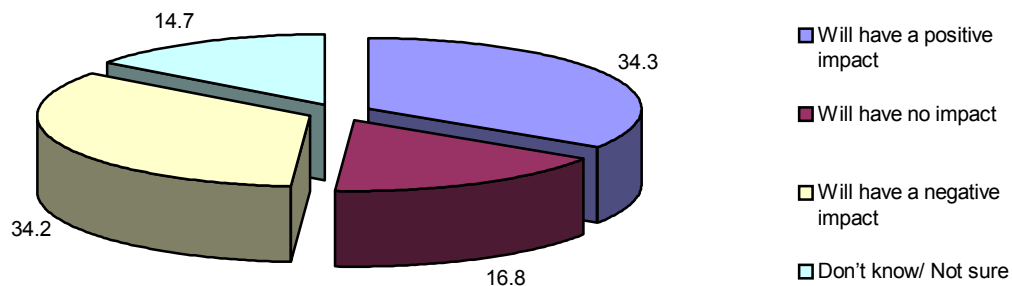
**Ethnic Breakdown**



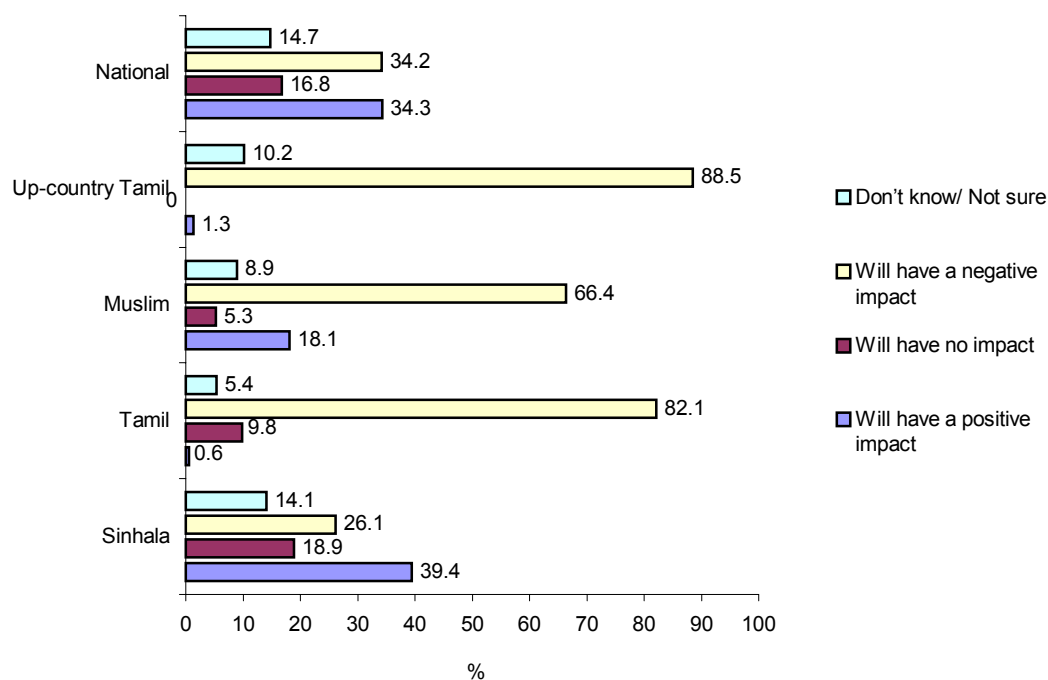


## What in your opinion will be the impact of this on the peace process?

National Breakdown



Ethnic Breakdown

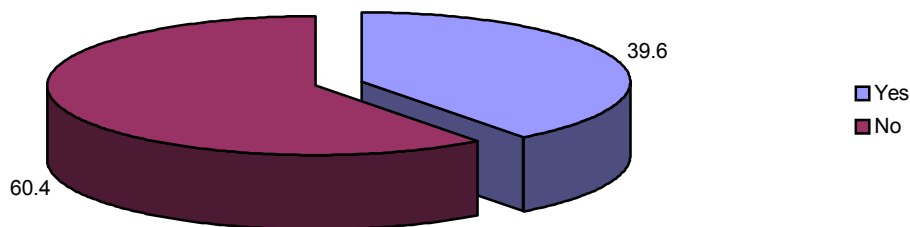




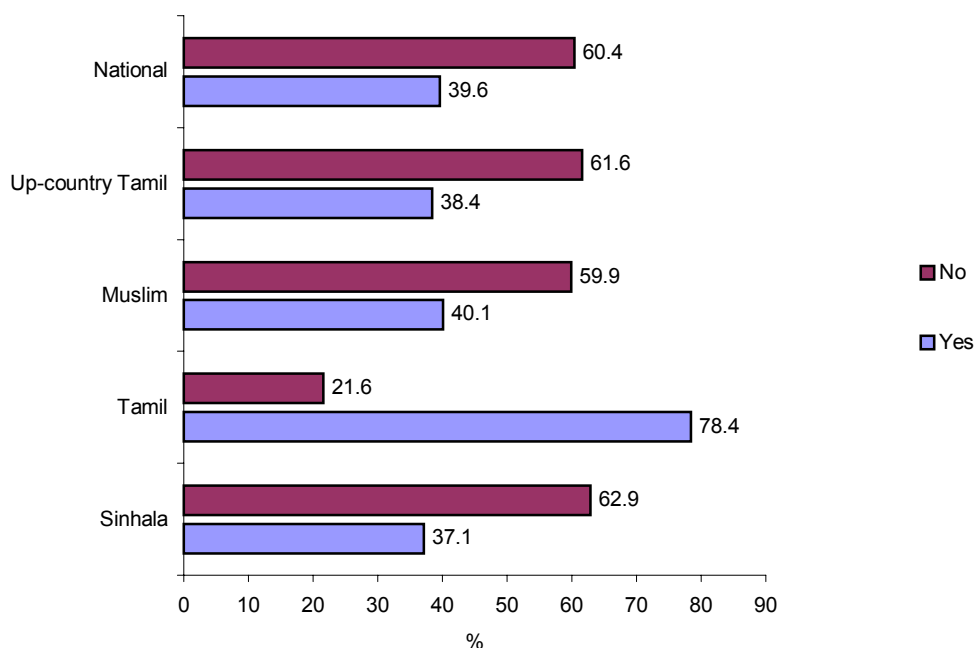
## LTTE's ISGA PROPOSAL

**Are you aware of the LTTE's Interim Self Governing Authority (ISGA) proposal that was made public on the 1<sup>st</sup> of November 2003?**

**National Breakdown**



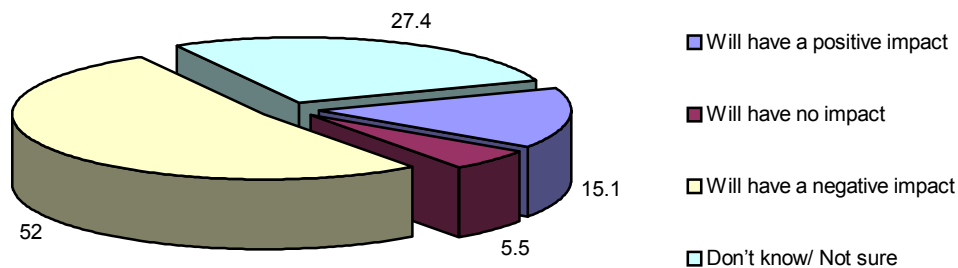
**Ethnic Breakdown**



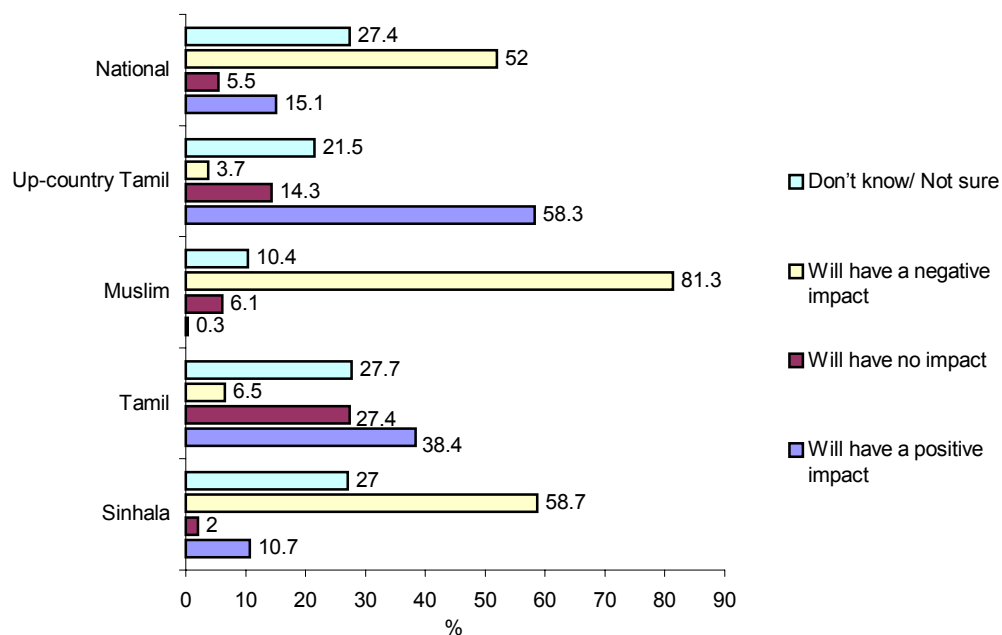


**If you are aware of the LTTE's Interim Self Governing Authority (ISGA) proposal that was made public on the 1<sup>st</sup> of November 2003, what in your opinion will be the impact of this on the peace process?**

**National Breakdown**



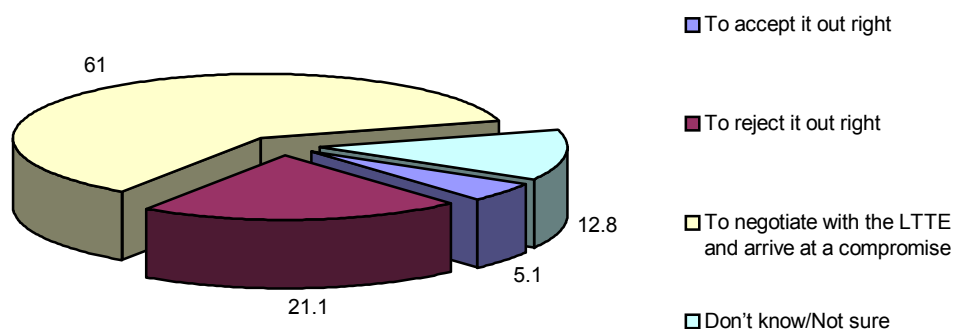
**Ethnic Breakdown**



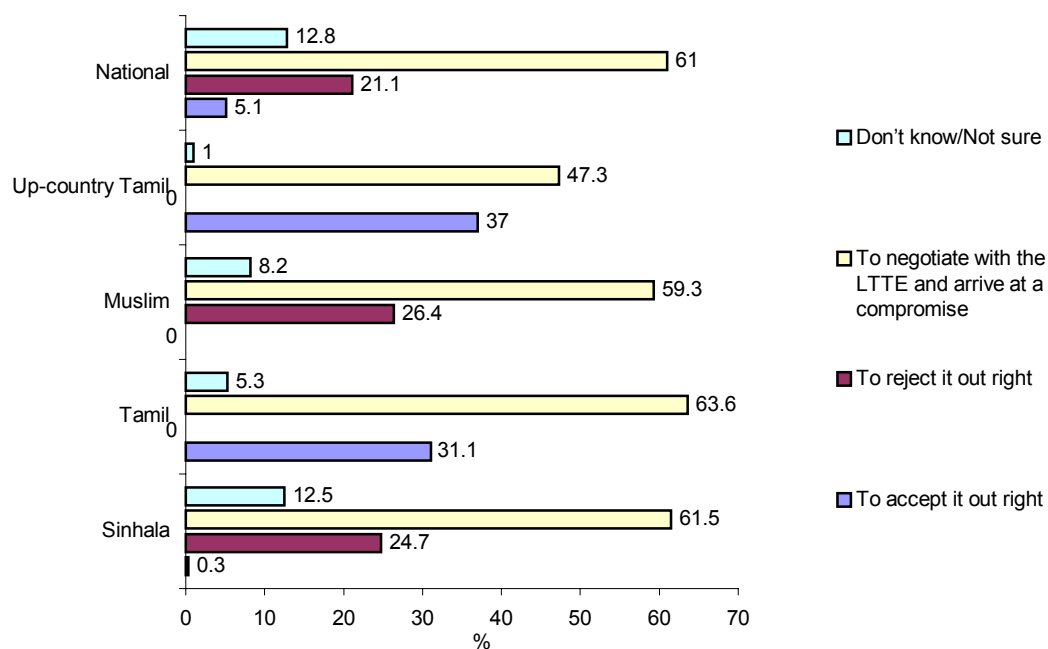


## In your opinion the Sri Lankan Government's response to the above proposal should be ...

National Breakdown



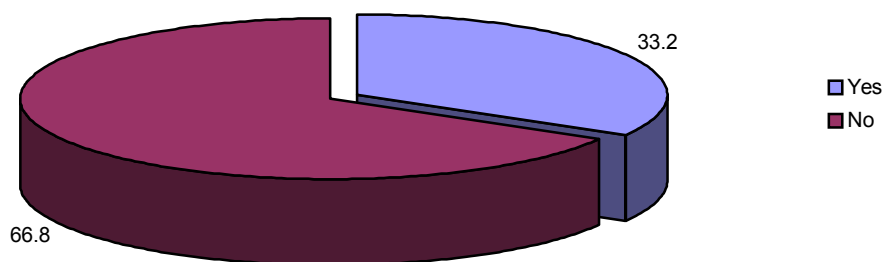
Ethnic Breakdown



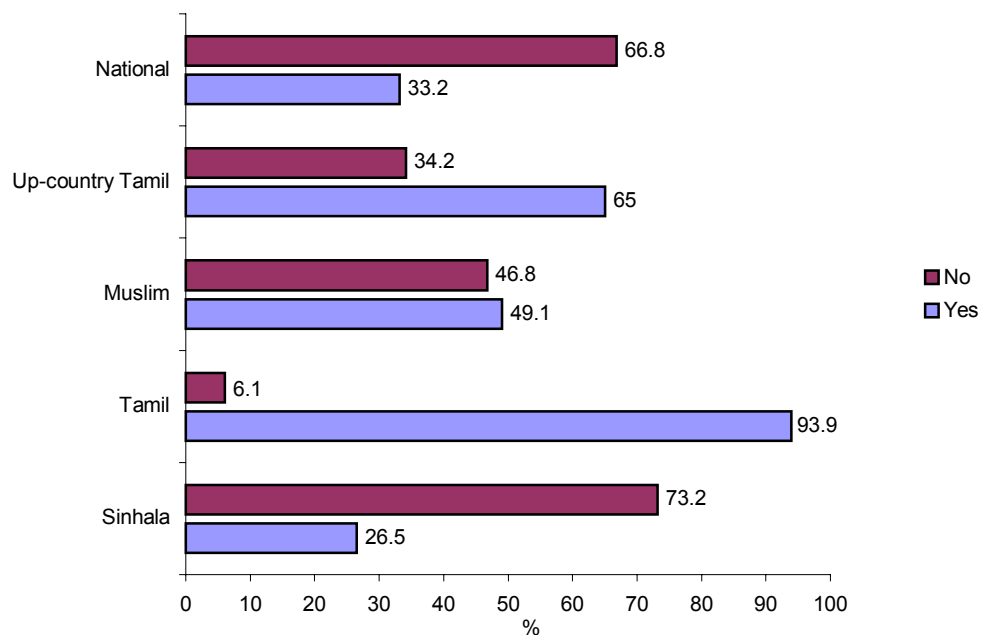


**Are you aware of the Heroes' Day speech made by the LTTE leader Mr. Velupillai Prabhakaran on the 27<sup>th</sup> November 2003?**

**National Breakdown**

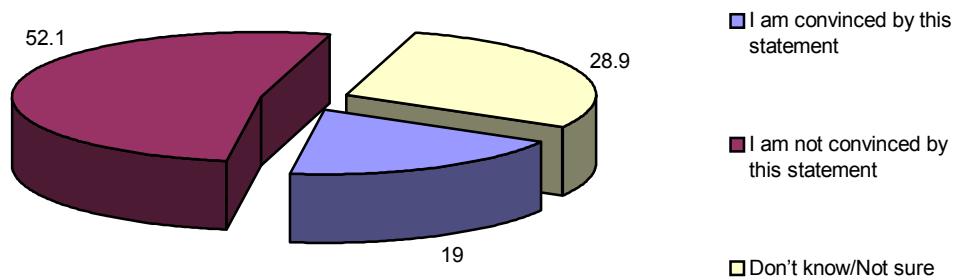


**Ethnic Breakdown**

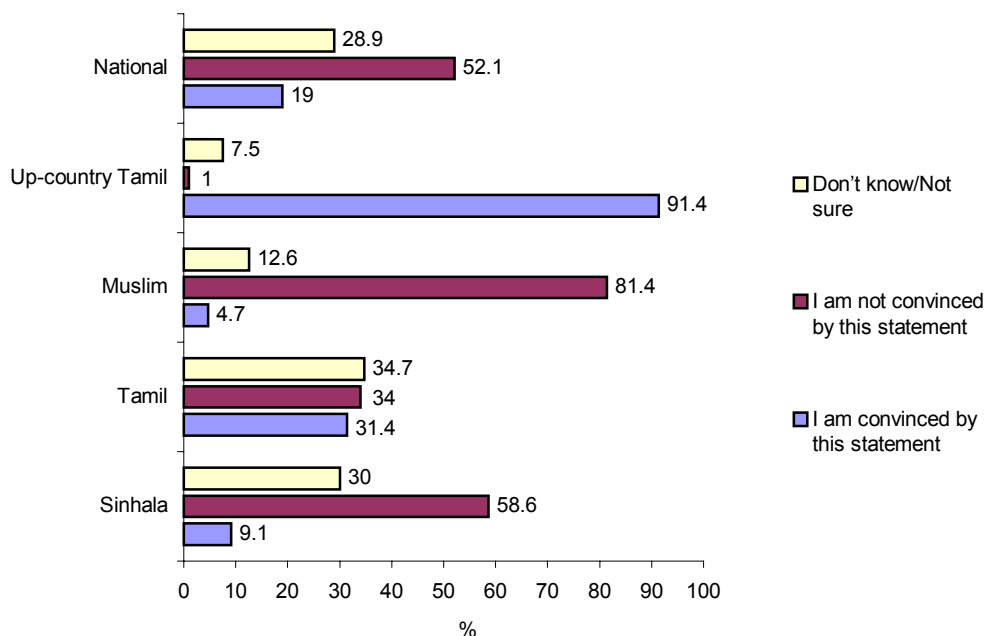


**The LTTE leader, Mr. Velupillai Prabhakaran, stated in his speech that the allegations levelled against their draft proposals, that they aim to create an independent Tamil state or that they contain stepping stones for separation, are not true. Please tell me are you convinced by this statement?**

**National Breakdown**



**Ethnic Breakdown**



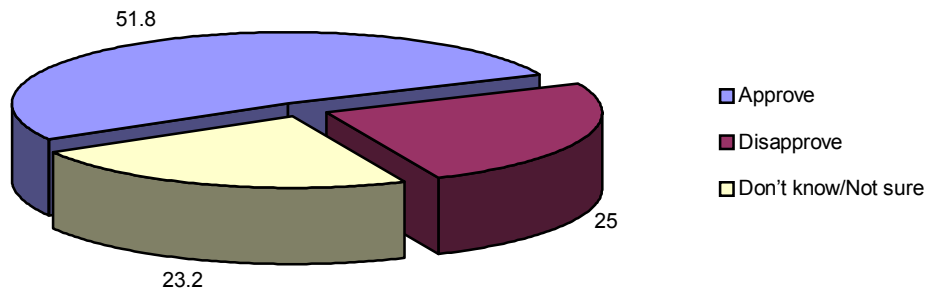




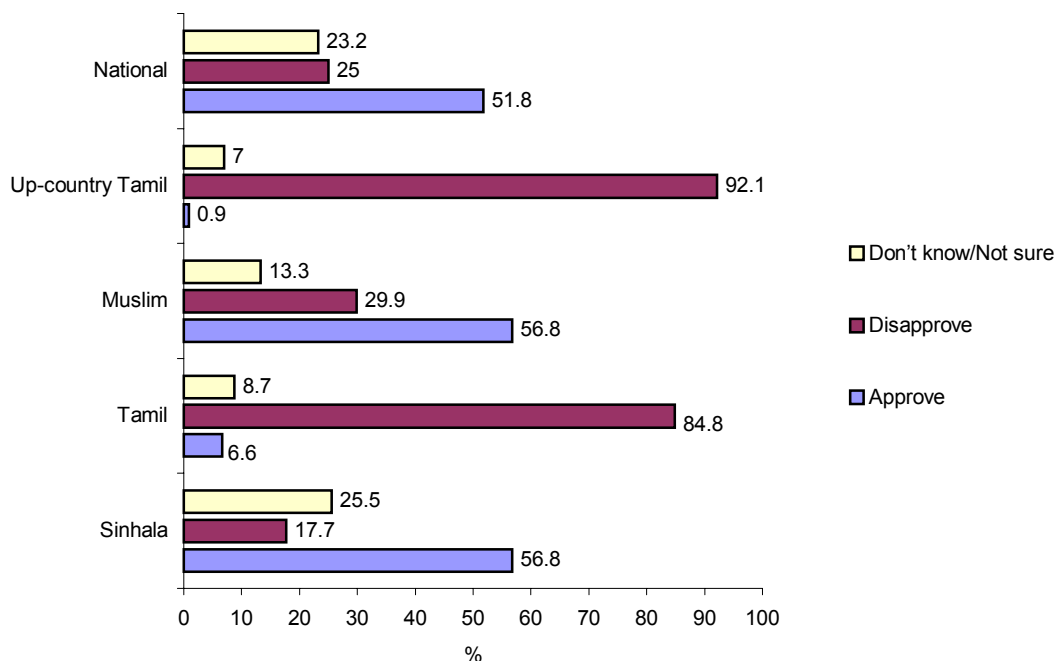
## TAKE OVER OF MINISTRIES

**If you are aware that on the 4<sup>th</sup> of November 2003, President Chandrika Kumaratunga took over the Defence, Interior and Media and Mass Communication Ministries, please tell me do you approve or disapprove of her decision to take over the Defence Ministry?**

National Breakdown



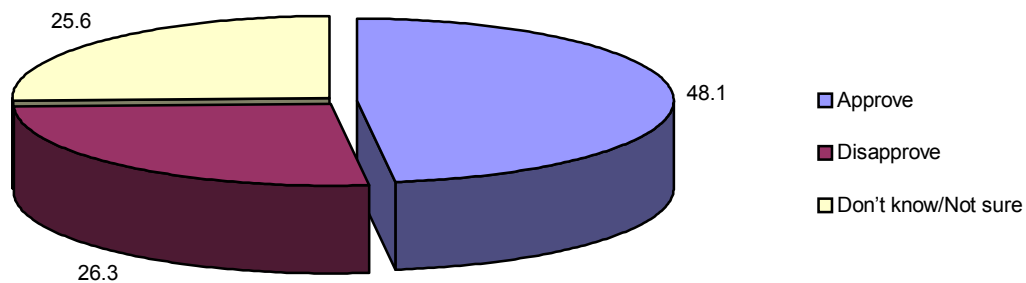
Ethnic Breakdown



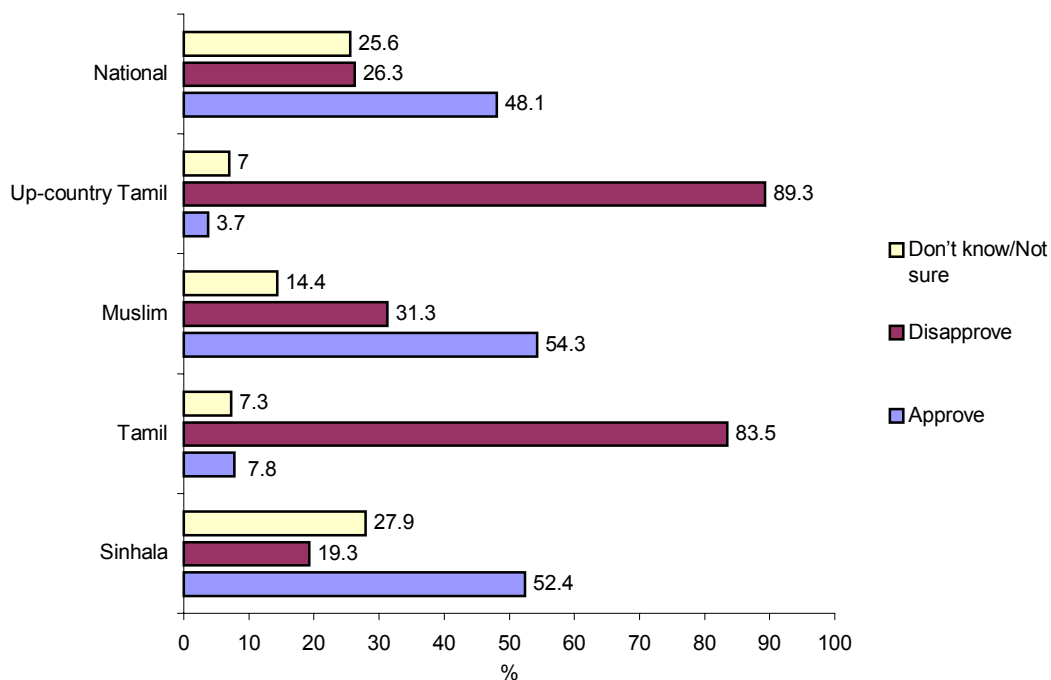


**If you are aware that on the 4<sup>th</sup> of November 2003, President Chandrika Kumaratunga took over the Defence, Interior and Media and Mass Communication Ministries, please tell me do you approve or disapprove of her decision to take over the Interior Ministry?**

**National Breakdown**



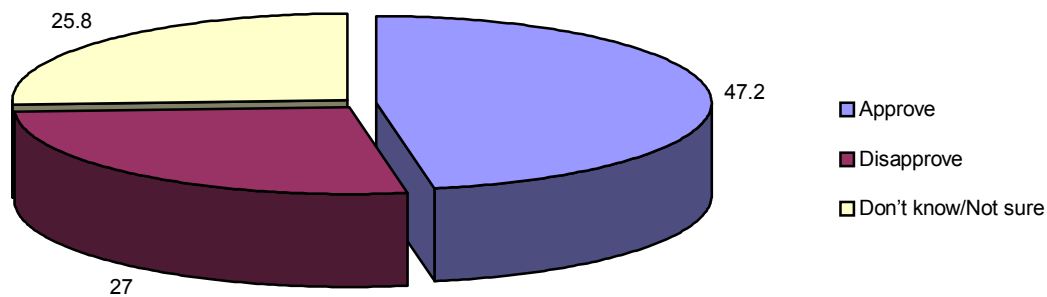
**Ethnic Breakdown**



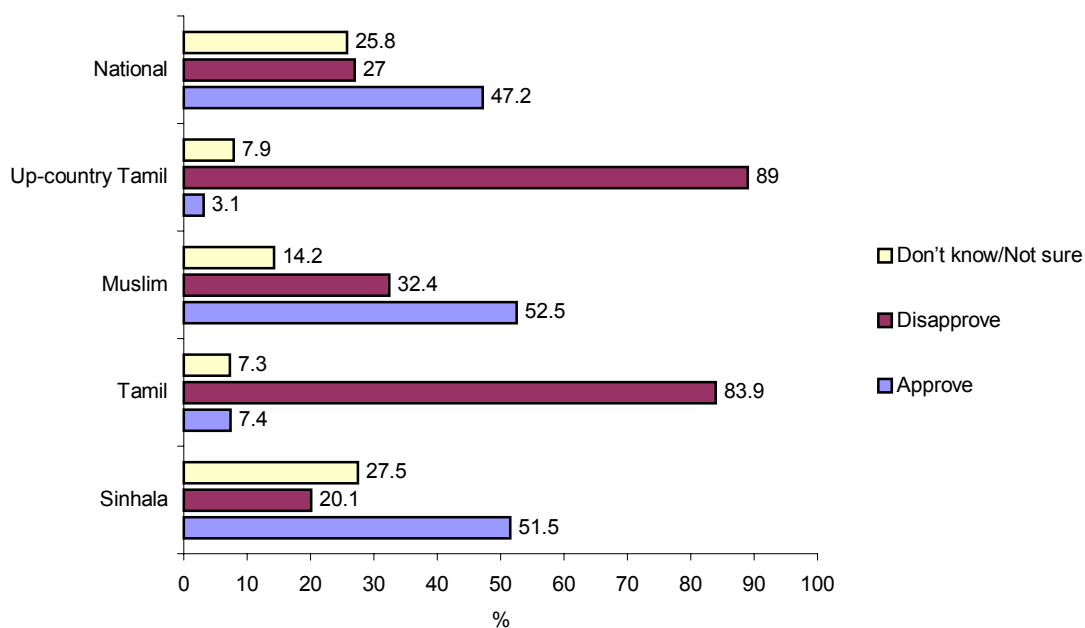


**If you are aware that on the 4<sup>th</sup> of November 2003, President Chandrika Kumaratunga took over the Defence, Interior and Media and Mass Communication Ministries, please tell me do you approve or disapprove of her decision to take over the Media and Mass Communication Ministry?**

**National Breakdown**

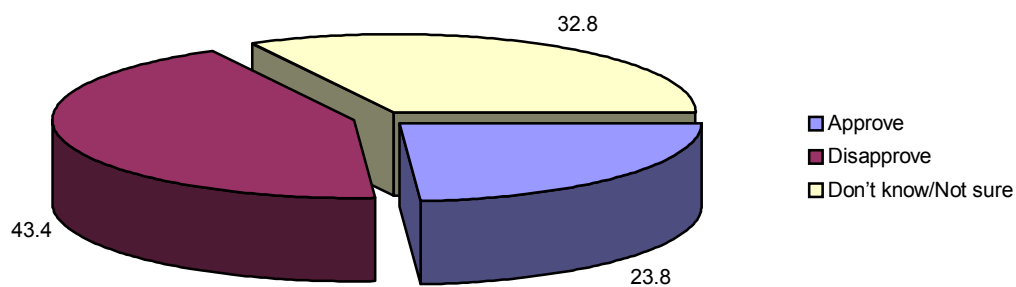


**Ethnic Breakdown**

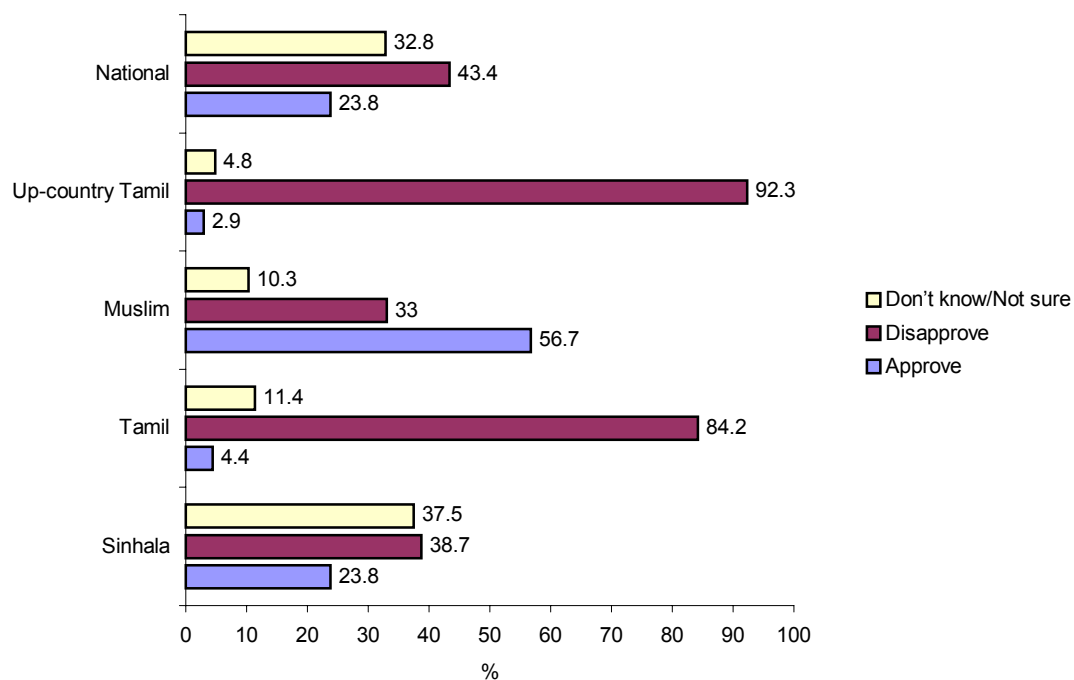


**If you are aware that on the 4<sup>th</sup> of November 2003 President Chandrika Kumaratunga prorogued parliament, please tell me do you approve or disapprove of her decision to prorogue parliament?**

**National Breakdown**



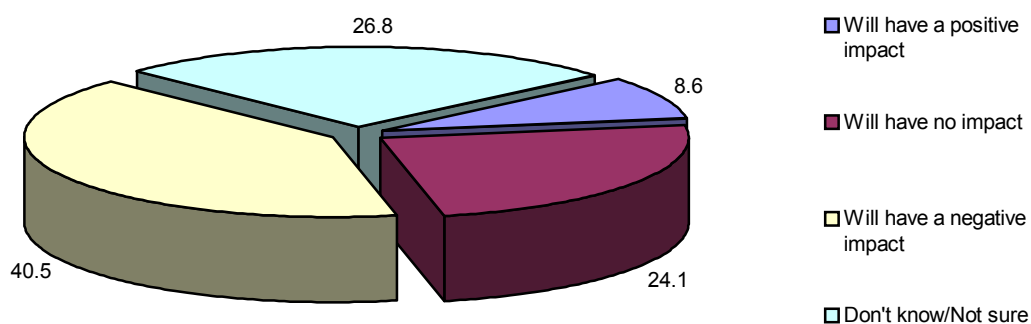
**Ethnic Breakdown**



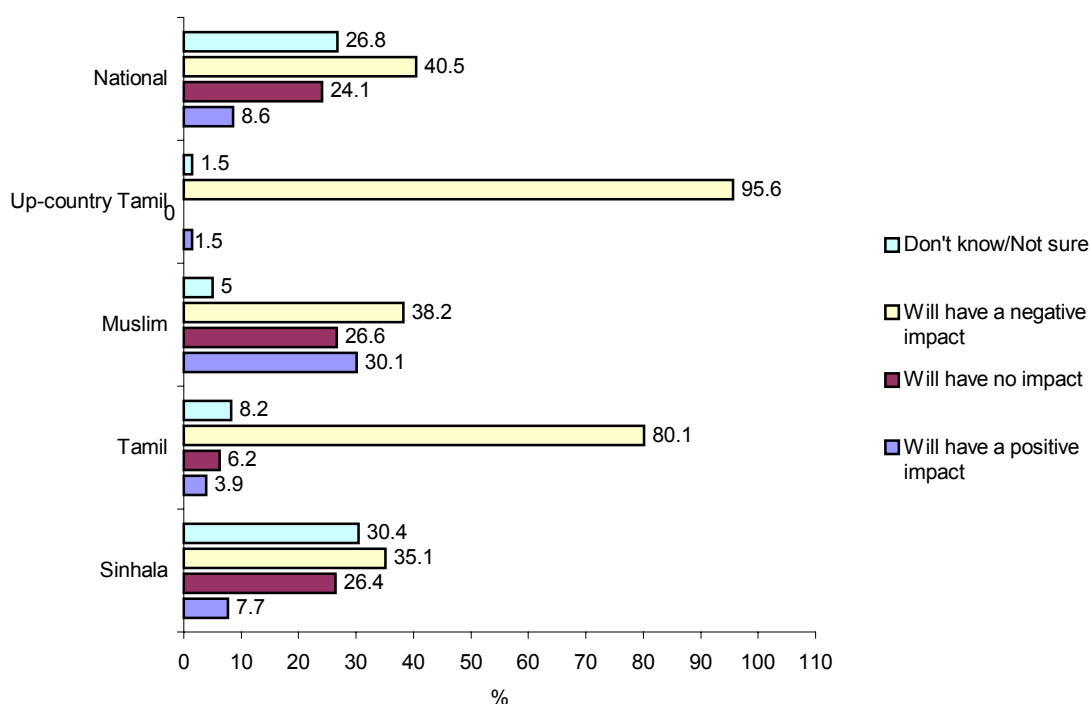


## What in your opinion will be the impact of her decisions, to take over the ministries and prorogue parliament, on the peace process?

National Breakdown



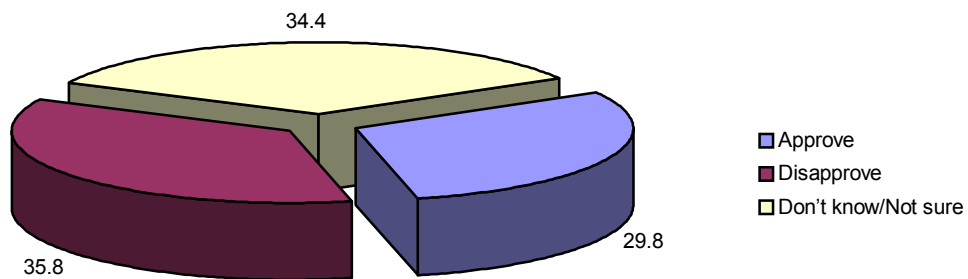
Ethnic Breakdown



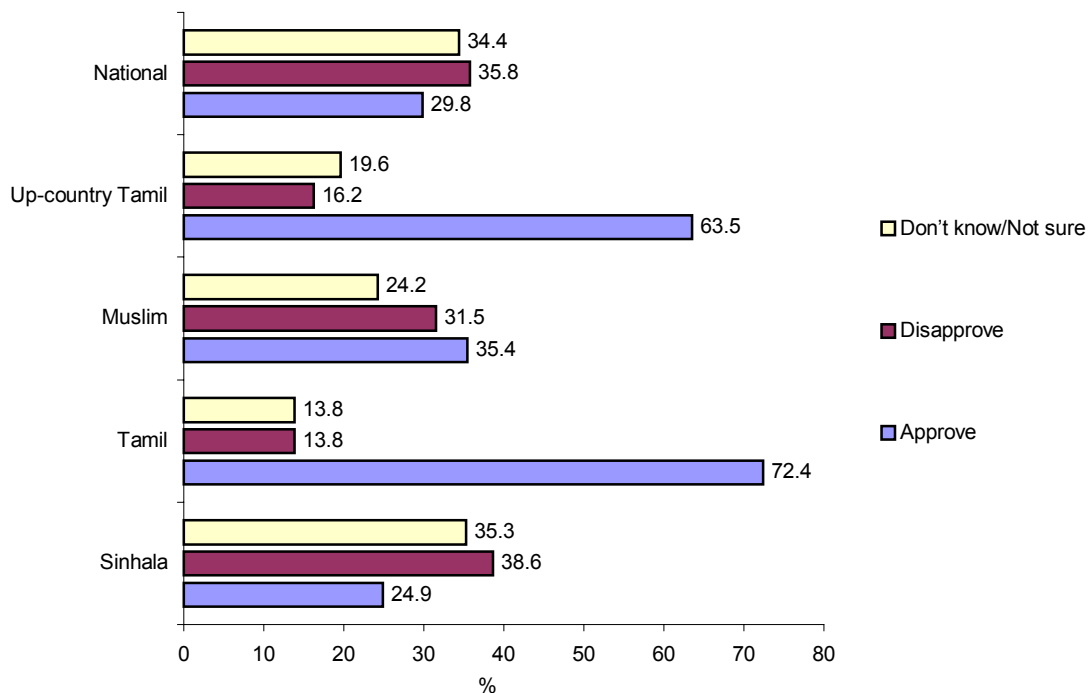


**The Prime Minister said that he cannot take responsibility for the peace process unless the ministries are returned, and if they are not returned then the President takes responsibility for the peace process. Please tell me do you approve or disapprove of this statement?**

**National Breakdown**



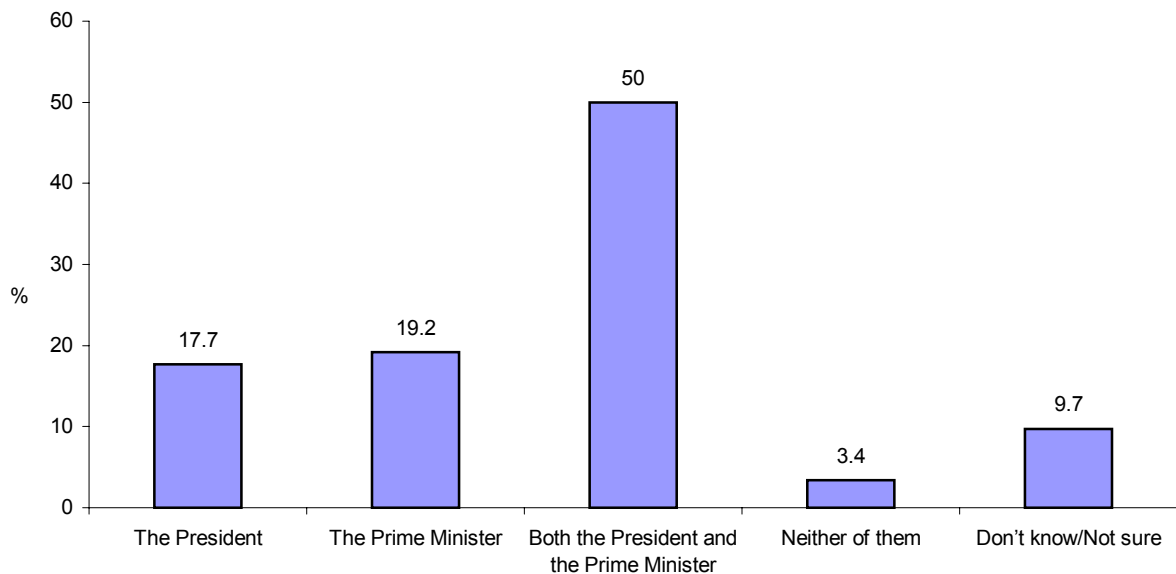
**Ethnic Breakdown**



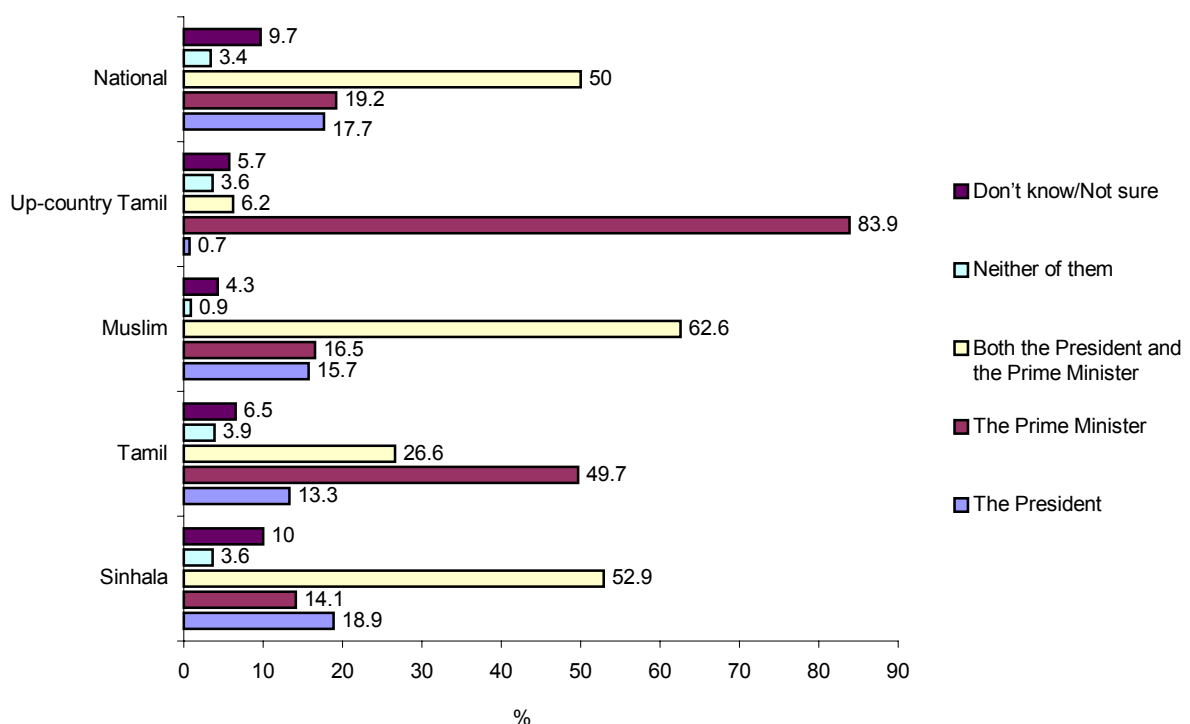
## WHO SHOULD HANDLE THE PEACE PROCESS

**In the present context, in your opinion whom do you think is best suited to lead the peace process, the President or the Prime Minister?**

**National Breakdown**



**Ethnic Breakdown**

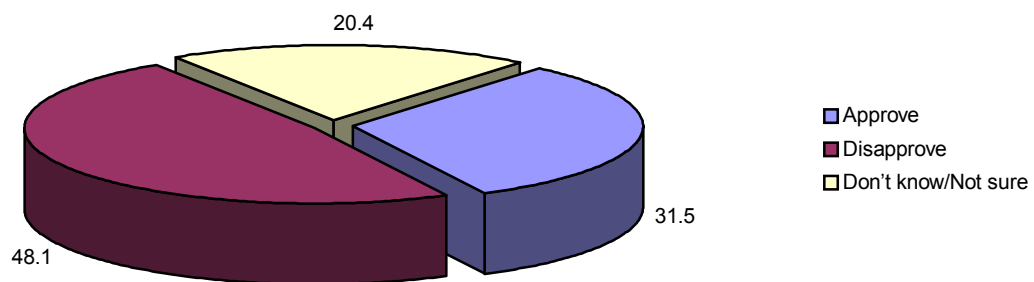




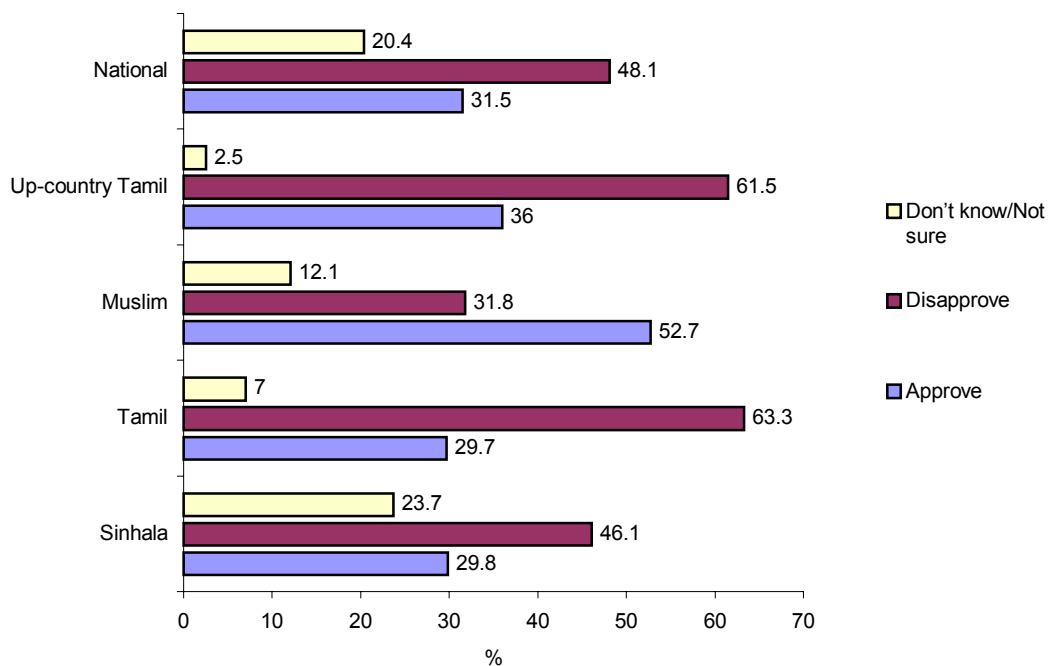
## NORWEGIAN POSITION

**If you are aware that the Norwegians temporarily suspended their role as facilitators of the Sri Lankan peace process, please tell me do you approve or disapprove of their decision?**

**National Breakdown**



**Ethnic Breakdown**

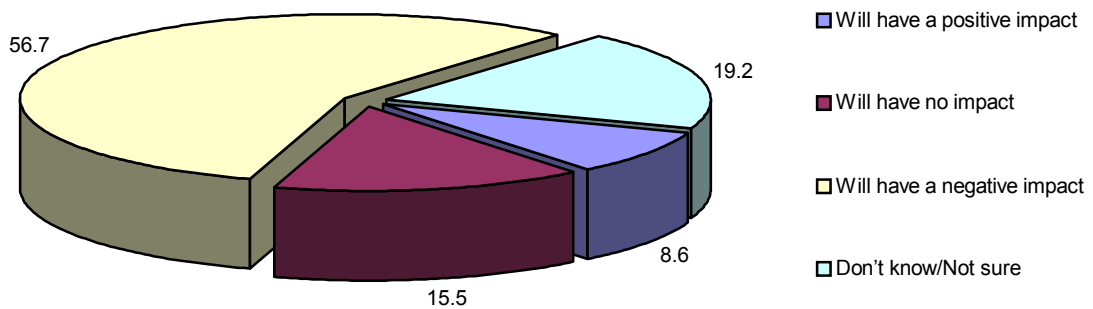




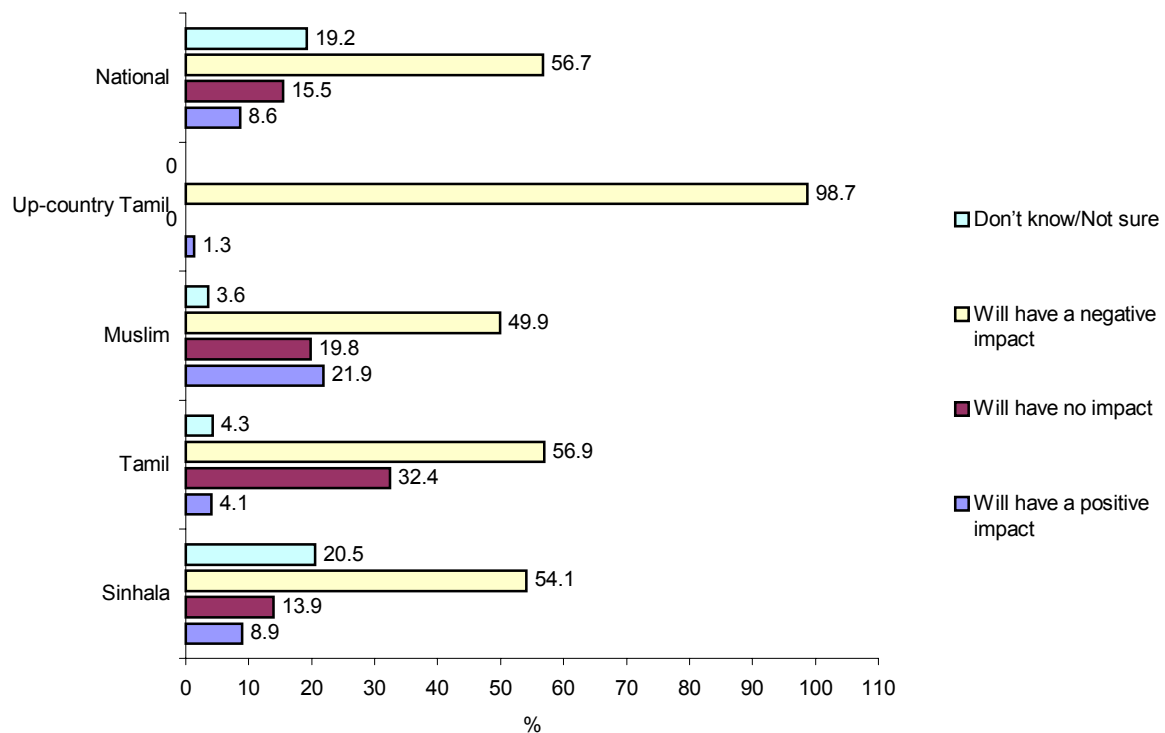


## In your opinion, what will be the impact of this on the peace process?

National Breakdown



Ethnic Breakdown

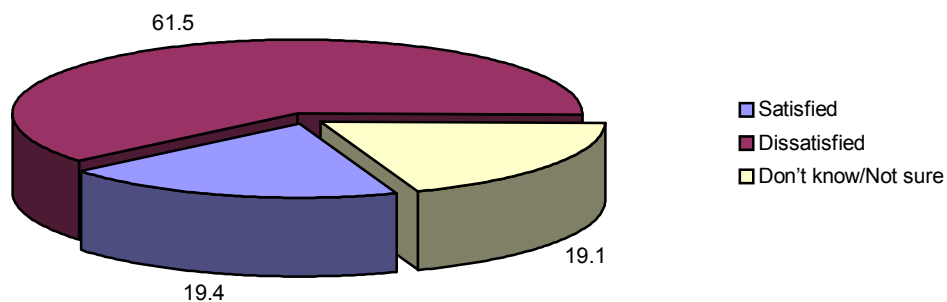




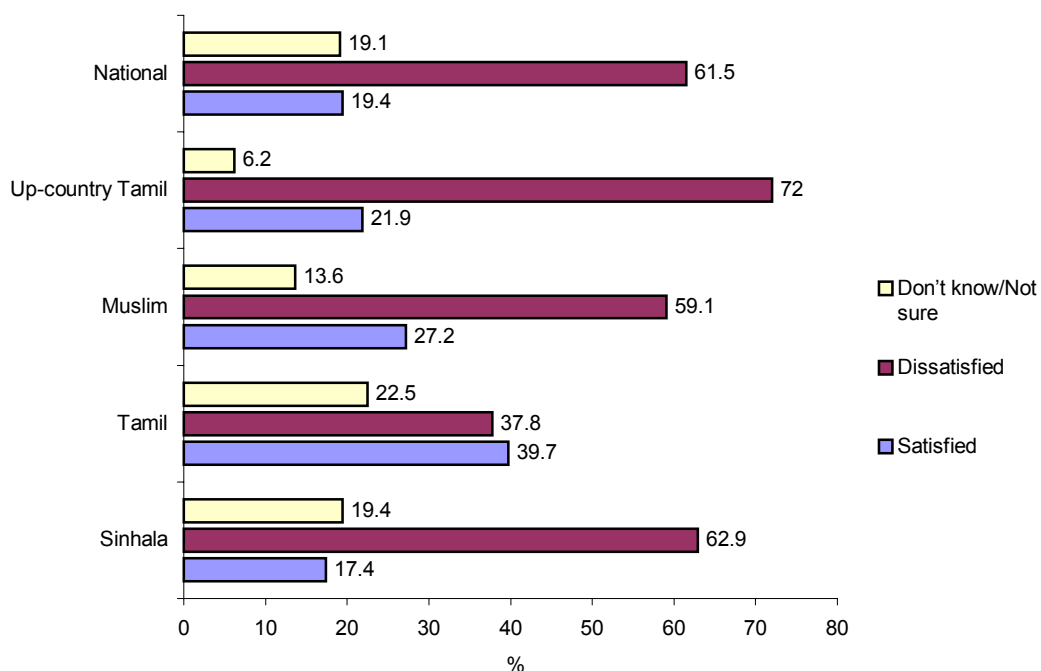
## BUDGET

**If you are aware that the UNF Government presented its 3<sup>rd</sup> budget on the 19<sup>th</sup> of November 2003, please tell me to what extent are you satisfied with the new budget?**

**National Breakdown**



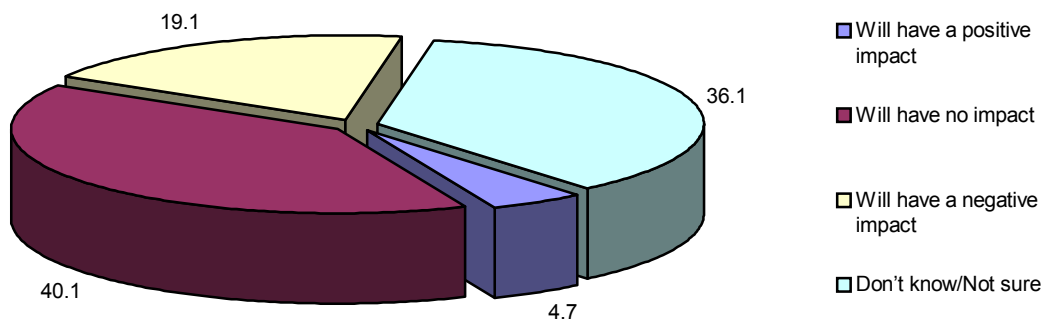
**Ethnic Breakdown**



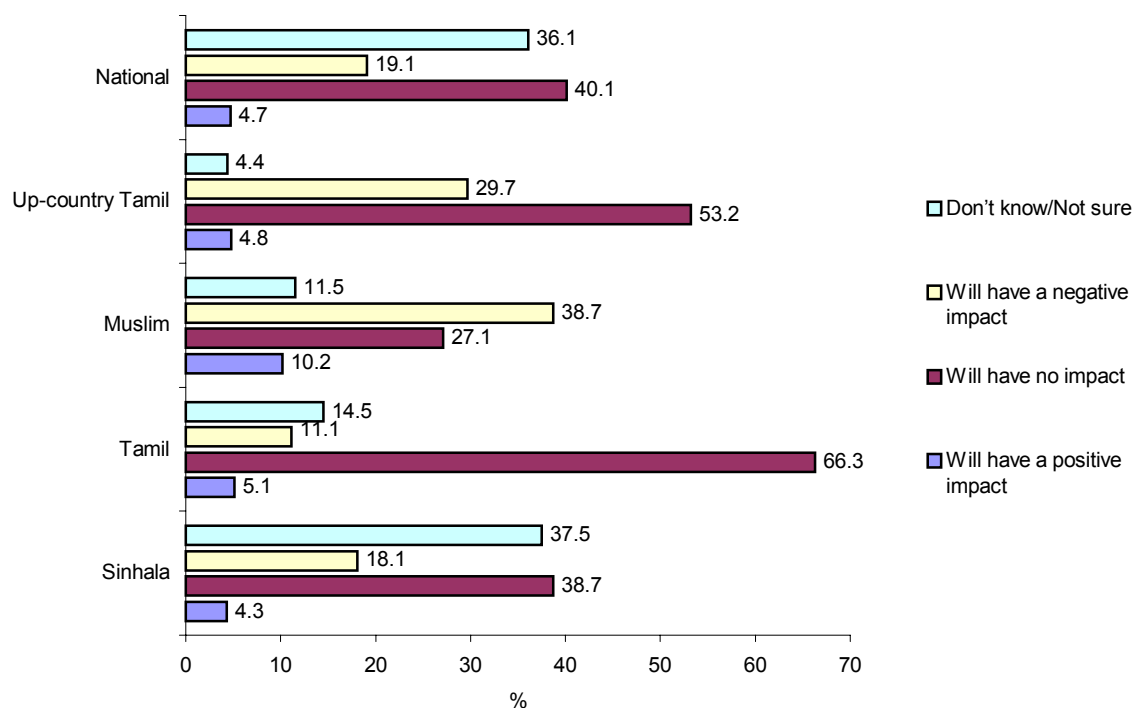


## In your opinion, what will be the impact of this budget on the current peace process?

National Breakdown



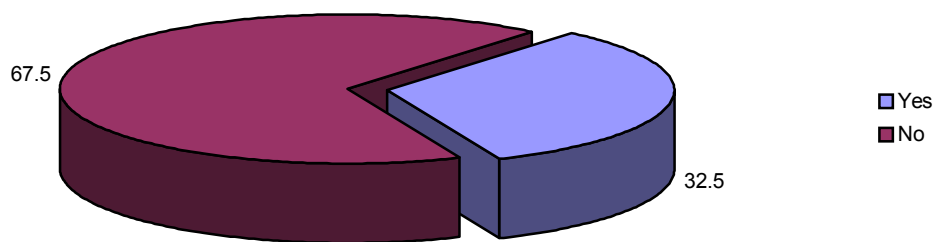
Ethnic Breakdown



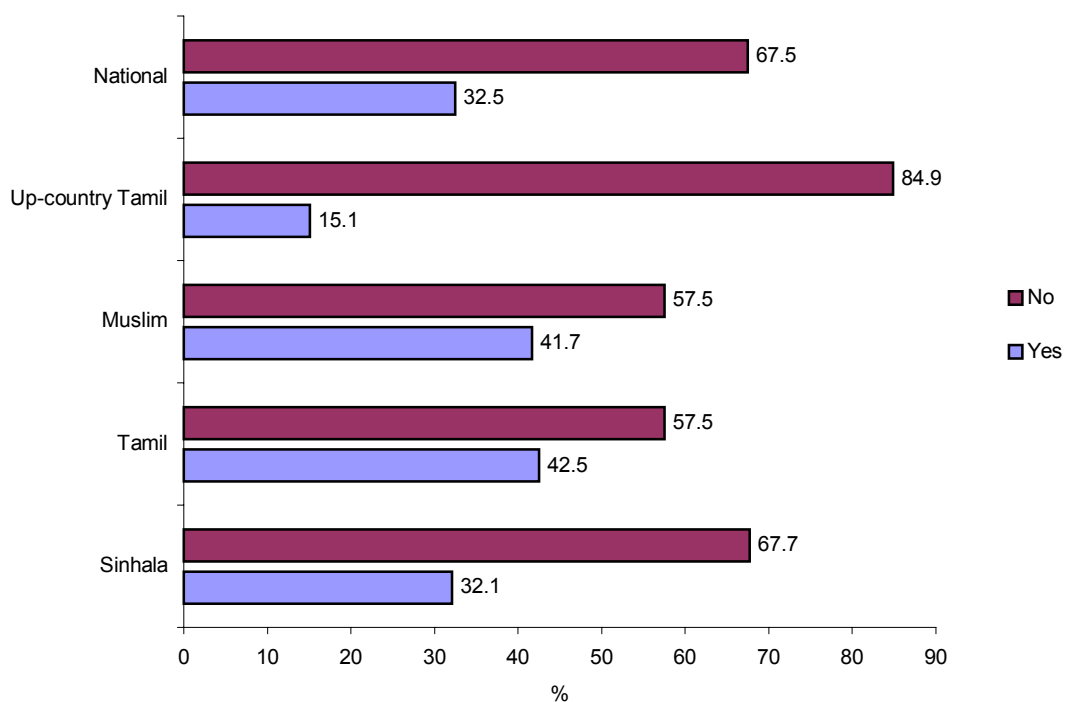
## CHIEF JUSTICE

**Are you aware of the UNF Government's decision to impeach the Chief Justice Sarath N. Silva?**

**National Breakdown**



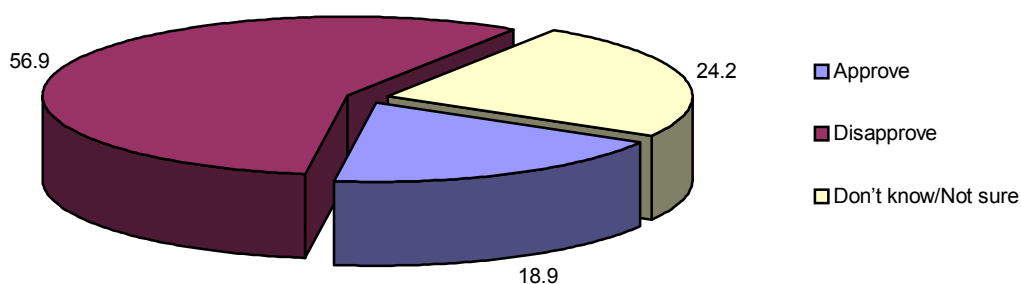
**Ethnic Breakdown**



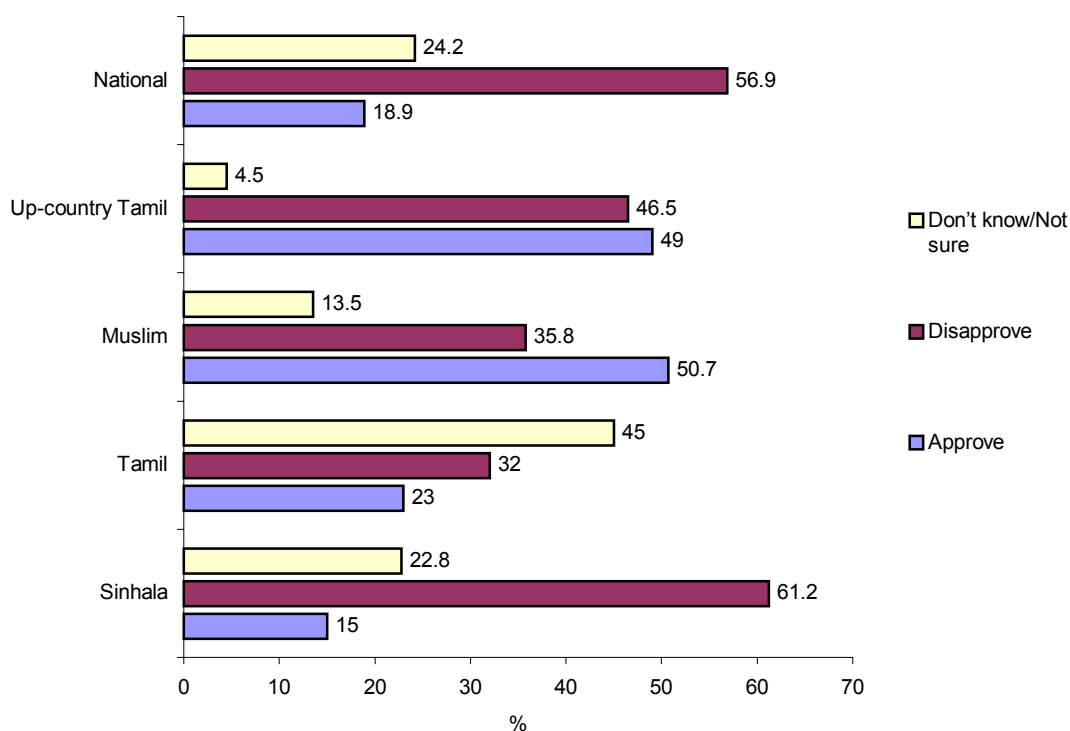


**If you are aware of the UNF Government's decision to impeach the Chief Justice Sarath N. Silva, please tell me do you approve or disapprove of this decision?**

**National Breakdown**



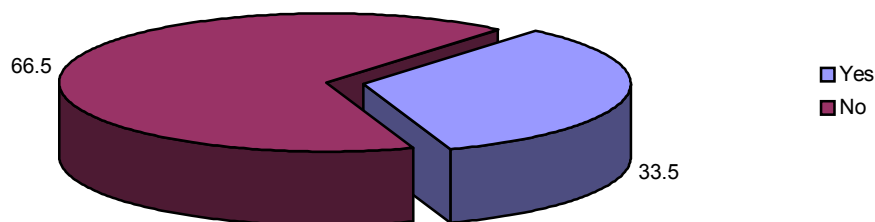
**Ethnic Breakdown**



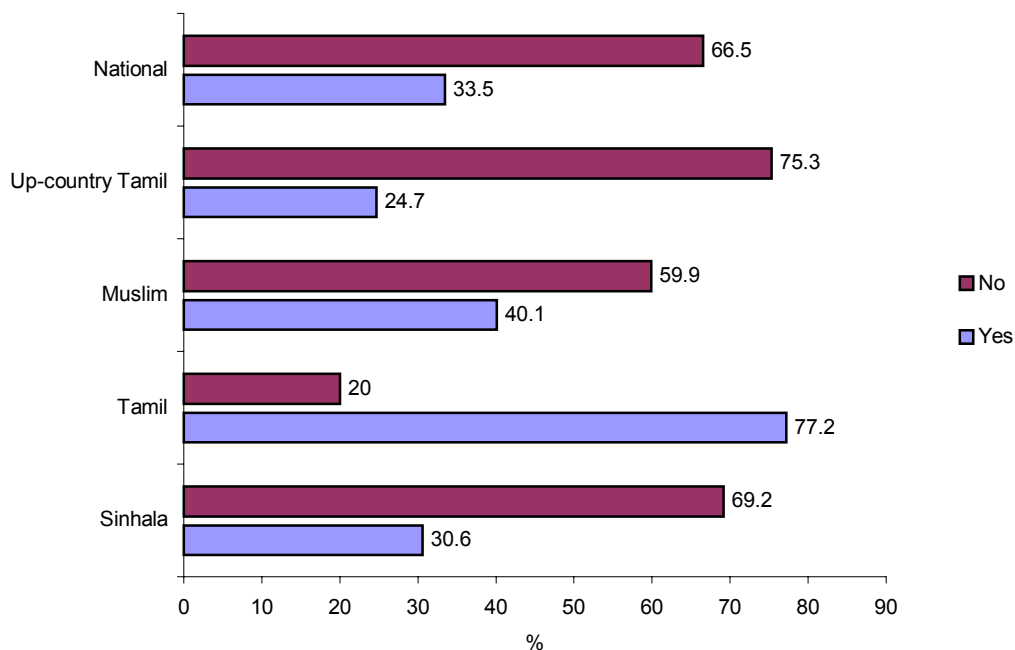
## EUROPEAN UNION (EU)

**Are you aware that the European Union (EU) External Relations Commissioner, Mr. Chris Patten, met with the LTTE leader, Mr. Velupillai Prabhakaran, on the 26<sup>th</sup> of November 2003?**

**National Breakdown**



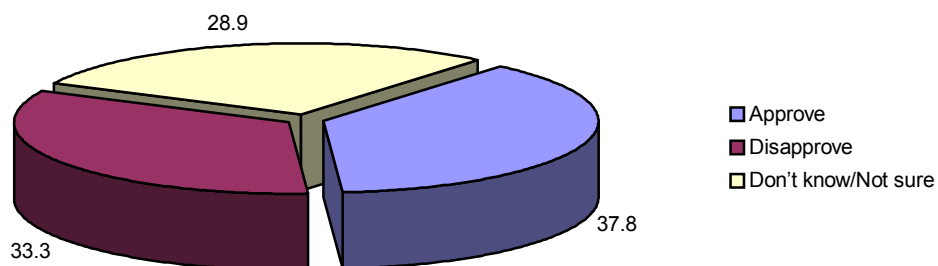
**Ethnic Breakdown**



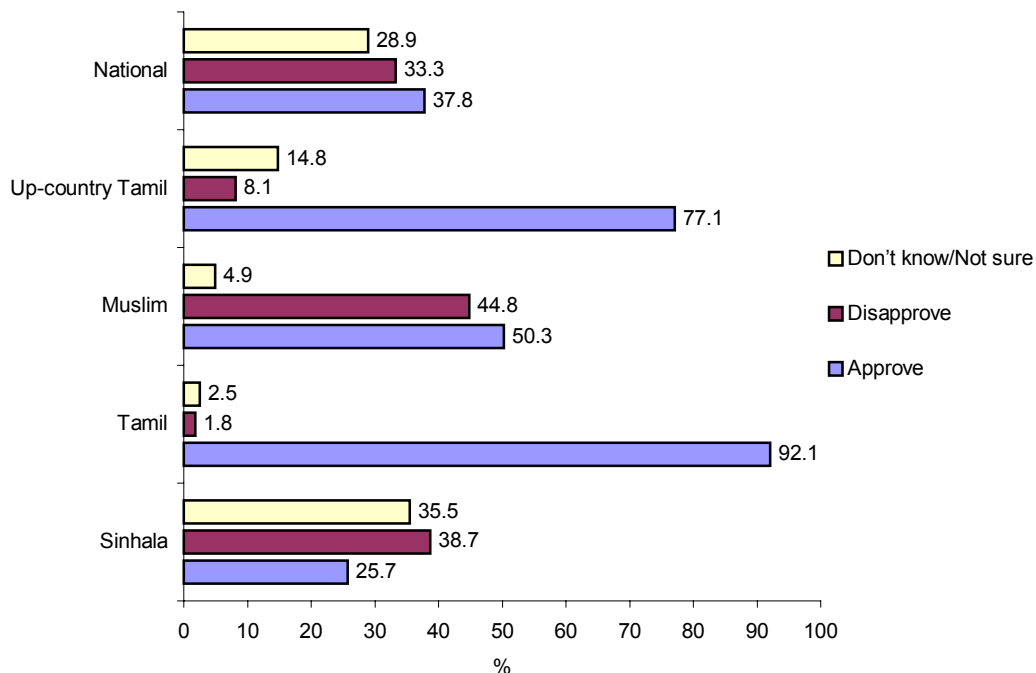


**If you are aware that the European Union (EU) External Relations Commissioner, Mr. Chris Patten, met with the LTTE leader, Mr. Velupillai Prabhakaran, on the 26<sup>th</sup> of November 2003, please tell me do you approve or disapprove of this?**

**National Breakdown**



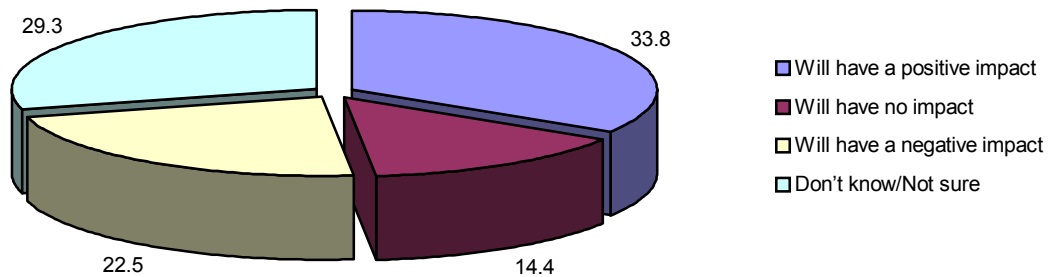
**Ethnic Breakdown**



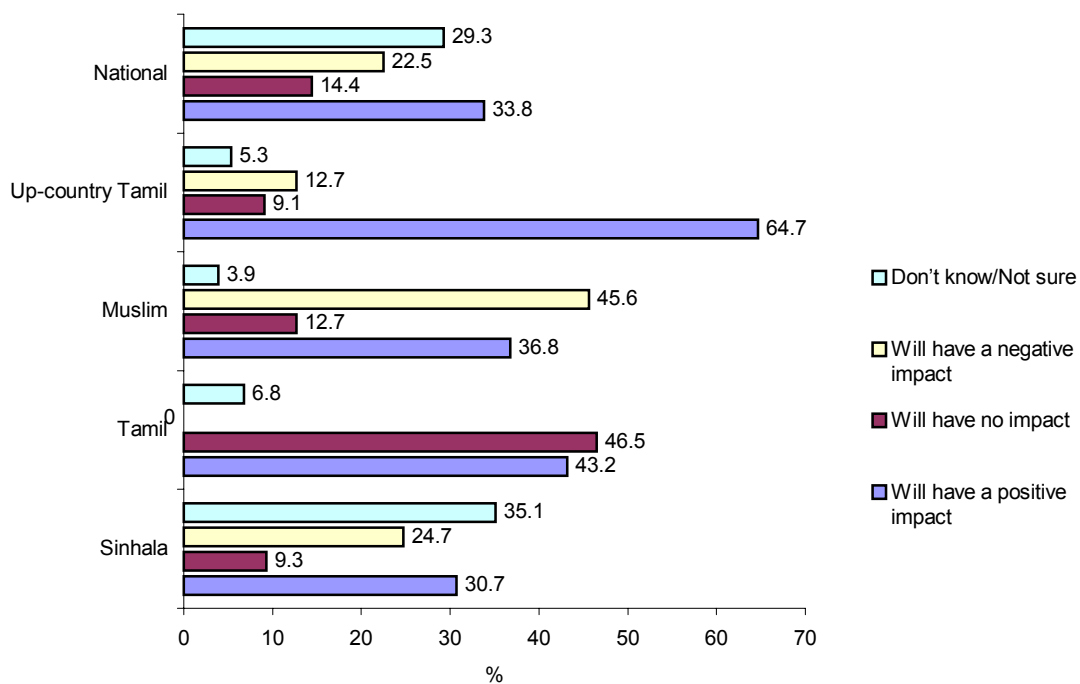


## In your opinion, what will be the impact of Chris Patten's visit to Sri Lanka, on the peace process?

National Breakdown



Ethnic Breakdown

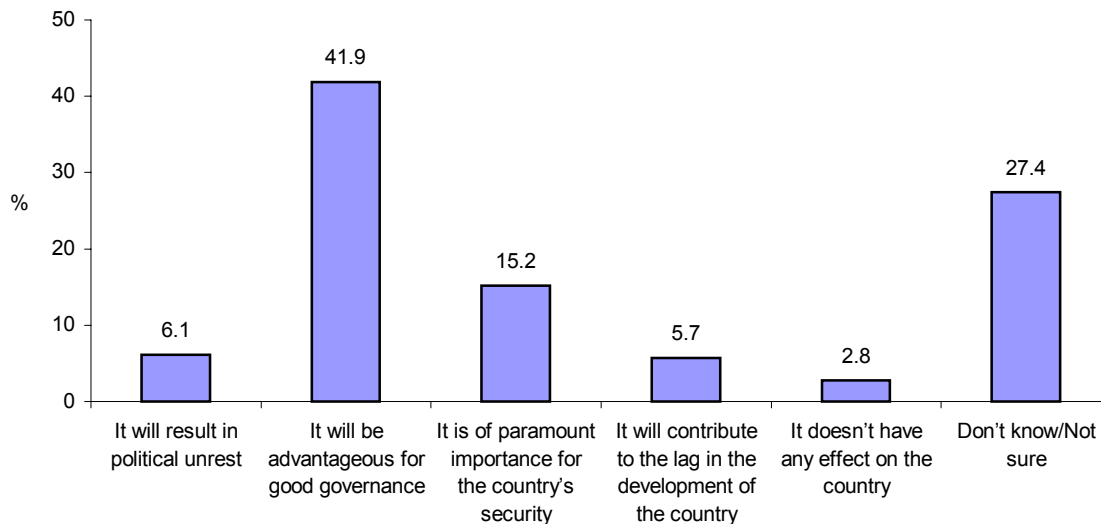




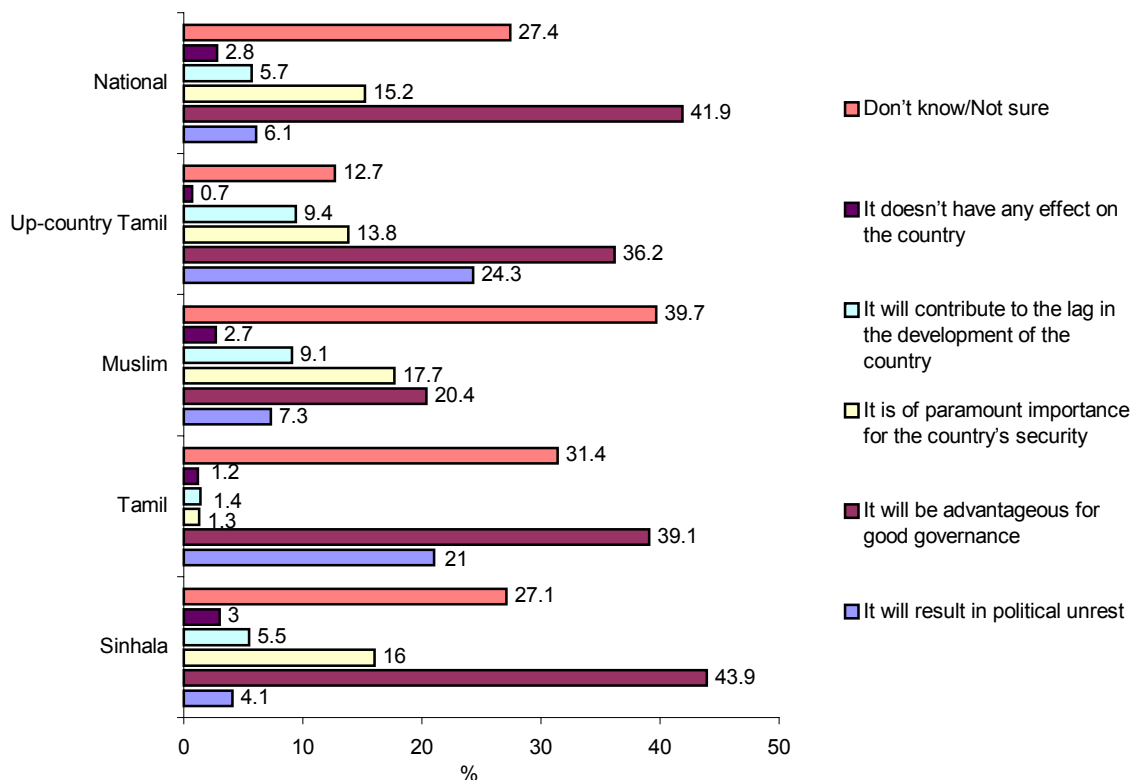


## In your opinion what would result from the cohabitation between the current President and the Prime Minister?

National Breakdown



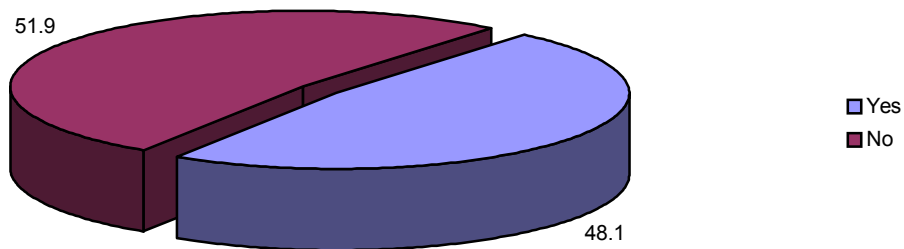
Ethnic Breakdown



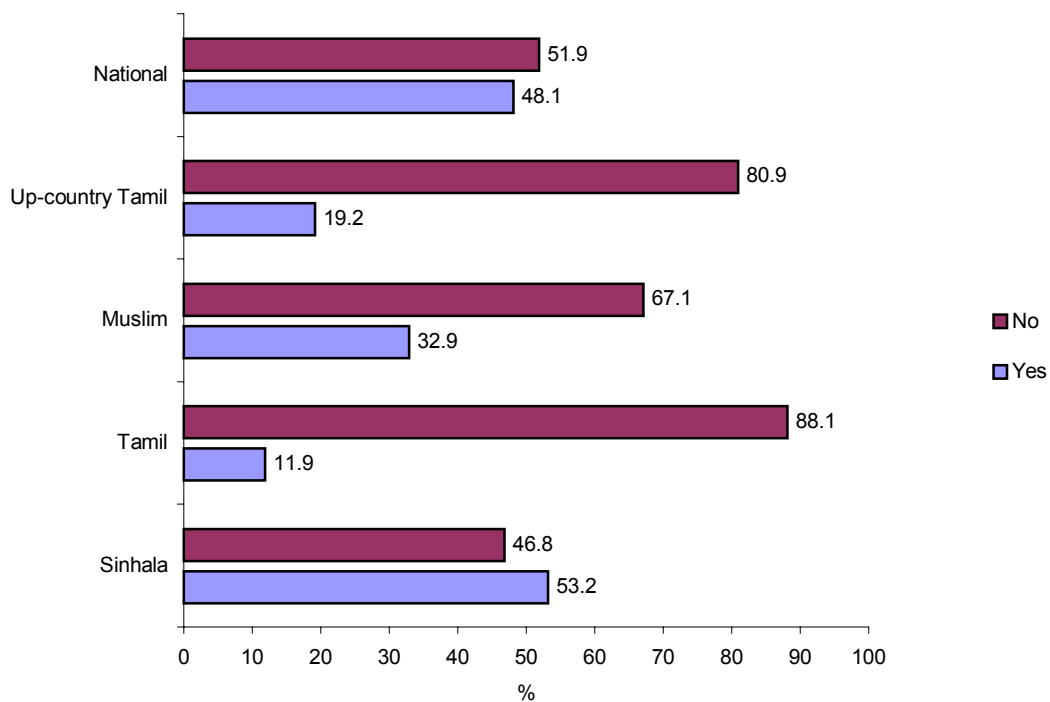


## Do you think that constructive cohabitation between the President and the Prime Minister is possible?

National Breakdown



Ethnic Breakdown





## Annex

### District sample (weighted) distribution in November 2003

DISTRICT	TOTAL
Colombo	185
Gampaha	161
Kalutara	79
Kandy	91
Matale	31
Nuwar Eliya	47
Galle	72
Hambantota	36
Matara	53
Anuradhapura	53
Polonnaruwa	26
Kurunegala	105
Puttlam	48
Badulla	50
Monaragala	25
Ratnapura	73
Kegalle	58
Amparai	39
Batticaloa	35
Vavuniya	11
<b>NATIONAL</b>	<b>1279</b>

### Ethnic sample (weighted) distribution in November 2003

ETHNICITY	TOTAL
Sinhala	1080
Tamil	71
Muslim	74
Up-country Tamil	54
<b>NATIONAL</b>	<b>1279</b>

## Sampling Methodology

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

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

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

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

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

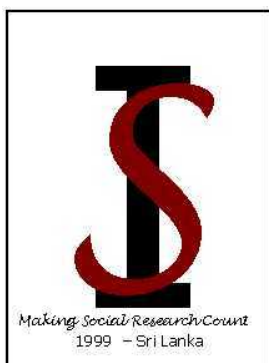
In the case of urban areas the interviewer is instructed to skip a house while selecting the households, thus resulting in the interview taking place at every alternative household. As the final sampling unit, the respondent is chosen from the household using the 'KISH' grid thus ensuring that each member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

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

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

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