

An Opinion Poll on Peace



# Peace Confidence Index (PCI)

TOP-LINE RESULTS

March 2005

Social Indicator

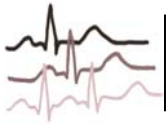
## ALSO IN THIS WAVE . . .

- Ceasefire Agreement
- Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission
- Foreign Involvement
- Interim Administration
- Tension in the Eastern Province
- Tsunami and the Peace Process

## CONTENTS

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• INTRODUCTION	01
• KEY NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS	02
• FINDINGS AT A GLANCE	07
• PEACE CONFIDENCE INDEX (PCI)	12
TOP-LINE RESULTS	
SOLUTIONS	12
CONFIDENCE	13
CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT (CFA)	21
SRI LANKA MONITORING MISSION (SLMM)	23
FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT	26
INTERIM ADMINISTRATION	31
TENSIONS IN THE EASTERN PROVINCE	34
TSUNAMI AND THE PEACE PROCESS	36
• ANNEX	



## INTRODUCTION

### OBJECTIVE

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The purpose of this study is two-fold. One is to develop a numerical indicator of the level of public confidence in the peace process using a set of standardized questions, which remain unchanged with each wave. The other is to use a set of questions related to recent social, economic and political developments in order to gauge public opinion 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 Sri Lankan polity, and ensure that the collective opinions of the public are given due importance and incorporated into the policy debate.

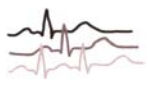
### SCOPE & METHODOLOGY

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The survey is carried out using a structured questionnaire administered through face-to-face interviews amongst a 1803 randomly selected sample. This survey was conducted among 22 administrative districts, however, in the districts of Jaffna, Vavuniya, Trincomalee, Batticaloa and Ampara, only the Government controlled areas were surveyed. In addition the areas affected by the Tsunami (26<sup>th</sup> December 2004) were excluded from the sample due to ethical and logistical concerns. Data is weighted to reflect the actual ethnographic composition of the districts in which the sample was surveyed.

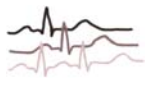
This is the eighteenth wave of the PCI study, which was first conducted in May 2001. This publication presents only the top-line results of the March 2005 survey.

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

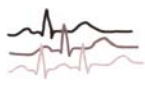


## KEY NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS JANUARY 2005 – MARCH 2005

- A Centre for National Operations was set up by President Chandrika Kumaratunga today, to coordinate relief and rehabilitation work in Tsunami devastated areas and monitor seismic activity in the Indian Ocean region in consultation with the US Geological Survey unit and other agencies. (02 January 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 03 January 2005)
- A UN special envoy for tsunami relief operations flew to Sri Lanka yesterday saying all UN agencies were throwing their full weight behind the biggest relief operation history though the world body like many others had been a little slow to react because it did not understand the horrifying magnitude of the catastrophe. (02 January 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 03 January 2005)
- The head of the United Nations Children's Fund flew to Sri Lanka yesterday and disclosed that one-third if not more of the tsunami catastrophe victims were children. (03 January 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 04 January 2005)
- President Chandrika Kumaratunga today appointed three apex Task Forces to rebuild the nation from the ashes of the tsunami disaster. They are the Task Force for rescue and relief chaired by Tara De Mel, task force to rebuild the nation chaired by Mano Tittawella and the Task Force for logistics, law and order chaired by Tilak Ranaviraja. (03 January 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 04 January 2005)
- The armed forces today was put in charge of the whole Tsunami distribution network. (04 January 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 05 January 2005)
- Opposition leader Ranil Wickremesinghe visited Jaffna today and inspected areas devastated by the tsunami disaster in Valvetitturai and Point Pedro. (05 January 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 06 January 2005)
- Sri Lanka today protested to Italy against the distribution of aid directly to the LTTE, Foreign Ministry sources said. The protest was made to Italian Ambassador Salvatore Zotta who told journalists on Tuesday that the Civil Protection Department of Italy had sent relief to tsunami hit areas including those controlled by the LTTE, the sources said. (05 January 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 06 January 2005)
- The Group of Seven industrialized nations has agreed to a moratorium on the debt repayments of Sri Lanka and other countries worst affected by the tsunamis in Asia, sources at the British Treasury said today. (08 January 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 09 January 2005)
- President Chandrika Kumaratunga today took direct control of the biggest relief operation in Sri Lanka's history and directed that all aid for tsunami victims should be channeled through the National Operation Centre set up by her, government sources said. (08 January 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 09 January 2005)
- At least 300 people protested today outside an office of the United Nations against its chief Kofi Annan's inability to visit rebel held areas in the northeast, a UN official said. (09 January 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 10 January 2005)
- Denying reports that the government had blocked UN Secretary General Kofi Annan's visit to the LTTE controlled areas, the Foreign Ministry said the programme had been worked out with UN officials, who had been offered stopovers in the north. (09 January 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 10 January 2005)
- The LTTE is to forward a separate project report to donor countries to obtain funds for rehabilitation and reconstruction in tsunami devastated areas under its control, its peace secretariat chief S. Pulidevan said. (10 January 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 11 January 2005)
- The newly appointed North-East governor Tyrone Fernando ran into serious trouble when he went to the North today to visit refugee camps for tsunami victims. Reports said that when Mr. Fernando and officials visited the refugee camp at a girls school in Point Pedro, protests erupted against the government's failure to provide equal or adequate relief to victims in the North and Army interference in the relief operation. (11 January 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 12 January 2005)
- The tsunami that initially sparked hopes of a renewal of the Sri Lankan peace process has caused "irreparable damage" in relations between the government and the rebels, LTTE political wing leader S. P. Thamilselvan said yesterday. He said the rift between the two sides had been widened by the government's barring of UN Secretary General Kofi Annan from rebel-held areas in the northeast and the unfair distribution of international relief at the expense of the Tamil people. (11 January 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 12 January 2005)
- The country directors of the Asian Development Bank, the World Bank and senior officers of the Japan Bank for International Cooperation, are due to visit the North East today as part of the ongoing coordinated needs assessment for rebuilding the tsunami affected parts of Sri Lanka, the JBIC said. (11 January 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 12 January 2005)
- President Chandrika Kumaratunga and UNP leader Ranil Wickremesinghe at a meeting on Wednesday agreed to work together for the relief and rehabilitation of tsunami victims and rebuilding of the country, a spokesman said. (11 January 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 12 January 2005)

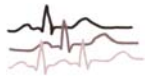


- Making his first public appearance after the tsunami disaster and amidst continuing rumours of his death, LTTE leader Velupillai Prabhakaran said on Monday that the December 26 catastrophe was tsunami 2 -- tsunami 1 being the destruction inflicted on the Tamil homeland by the Sri Lanka Army, Tamilnet reported. (18 January 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 19 January 2005)
- UPFA government partner the JVP today came out strongly against a government decision to appoint business tycoons and others, whom it sees as lethargic bureaucrats, to handle rehabilitation and reconstruction in the tsunami-devastated areas. (18 January 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 19 January 2005)
- As the country prepared for an important visit by a top-level Norwegian delegation, the President's office announced yesterday that at the request of the LTTE a fleet of pick-up trucks, tractors, generators, water pumps and other equipment, had been sent to tsunami-devastated areas in the North- East. (18 January 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 19 January 2005)
- President Chandrika Kumaratunga today said there would be no elections for the next five years, as the recovery plan from the tsunami disaster would take precedence over everything else. (19 January 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 20 January 2005)
- Vowing that the UNP would not allow anyone to use the tsunami tidal waves to sweep away democracy in Sri Lanka, the party yesterday demanded an immediate clarification from President Chandrika Kumaratunga on her statement that no elections would be held for the next five years. (20 January 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 21 January 2005)
- Ruling out any direct LTTE involvement in the use and disbursement of donor funding, the government said yesterday it had no formal agreement with the LTTE in handling post tsunami rehabilitation and reconstruction funds. (26 January 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 27 January 2005)
- The Human Rights Commission of Sri Lanka has highlighted a number of possible violations of human rights due to the Emergency (Miscellaneous Provisions and Powers) Regulations No. 1 of 2005. (01 February 2005)-([http://www.southasianmedia.net/index\\_story.cfm?id=179899&category=Frontend&Country=SRI%20LANKA](http://www.southasianmedia.net/index_story.cfm?id=179899&category=Frontend&Country=SRI%20LANKA))
- The Tamil Nadu police arrested a TELO cadre with explosives, who was waiting for a boat at Thangachchimadam shore, in Rameswaram, India. (02 February 2005)- (<http://www.epdpnews.com/>)
- The Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna (JVP) has urged President Chandrika Kumaratunga in a letter on February 1 to probe "into the activities of foreign NGOs, their staff and foreign volunteers" working in Sri Lanka's tsunami-hit areas, [www.Tamilnet.com](http://www.Tamilnet.com) reported today. (02 February 2005)-(<http://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=14135>)
- Delegations of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) and Sri Lanka Army (SLA) Wednesday morning met at the Jaffna office of the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission (SLMM) and discussed several issues including restoring normalcy in the lives of tsunami affected people and the fishing industry, sources said. (02 February 2005)-(<http://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=14140>)
- Large number of people Tuesday morning held a demonstration in front of Vadamaradchi office of the Eelam Peoples Democratic Party (EPDP) located in Manthikai against distributing relief materials to Tsunami victims for political gain. (02 February 2005)- (<http://www.tamilnet.com/>)
- Tamil National Alliance (TNA) on February 2 boycotted a meeting with Governor of the North East Province, Mr. Tyrone Fernando, at the Vavuniya district secretariat in protest against what the TNA described as "gross discrimination by the Sri Lankan state in delivering Tsunami aid to Tamil and Muslim areas affected by the disaster". (02 February 2005)-(<http://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=14136>)
- A delegation of the Tamil National Alliance (TNA) told the Foreign Minister of the Netherlands, Mr. Bernard Bot, when they met him February 3 that Colombo's attempt to centralize the rehabilitation work has not worked as experience from the last six weeks clearly shows that hardly any progress has been made in the restoration of the lives of the affected people. (03 February 2005)-(<http://www.tamilnet.com>)
- "The Government of Sri Lanka (GOSL) is still dragging its feet over the establishment of a joint mechanism to take forward the reconstruction and rehabilitation of tsunami destroyed Tamil coastal areas in the North East province," said Mr. S. P. Thamilselvan, Political head of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) addressing a press conference following his two hour - talks with Mr. Hans Brattskar, Norwegian Ambassador to Sri Lanka held Saturday morning in LTTE Peace Secretariat in Killinochchi, sources said. (05 February 2005)-(<http://www.tamilnet.com/>)
- The LTTE on Saturday rejected the Government's proposal for a joint mechanism to receive aid and conduct post-tsunami rehabilitation work in the Tamil-speaking North Eastern Province (NEP). "The Government's proposals are impractical and not worthy of our consideration. (06 February 2005)-(<http://www.hindustantimes.com>)

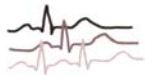


- Norway's ambassador to Sri Lanka met LTTE officials on February 5 to find common ground between the rebels and the Government about distribution of post-tsunami aid over which the two sides have been bickering. Hans Bratskar, ambassador of Norway met LTTE officials in Kilinochchi town for talks "on formulating a common structure between the Government and the LTTE in reconstruction activities". (06 February 2005)- ([http://story.news.yahoo.com/news?tmpl=story&cid=1965&ncid=731&e=9&u=/nm/20050205/india\\_nm/india\\_190426](http://story.news.yahoo.com/news?tmpl=story&cid=1965&ncid=731&e=9&u=/nm/20050205/india_nm/india_190426))
- The LTTE have acquired at least one Swiss-built turbo aircraft to strengthen the outfit with aerial warfare capability that may give them the advantage of a "first strike capability" in the event the ongoing peace talks fail and in the breaking out of hostilities, a media report said. (07 February 2005)- (<http://www.deepikaglobal.com/>)
- A consignment of seventy-six metal pots, earmarked for Tamil Rehabilitation Organization (TRO), said to have been engaged in relief work in un-cleared areas of the north & east, has contained a stock of stainless steel balls (bicycle balls) hidden inside. (07 February 2005)- (<http://www.army.lk/>)
- The Sri Lankan Government on Monday sent machinery to the LTTE rebels to facilitate post-tsunami rebuilding in the war-torn north and east provinces, officials said. (07 February 2005)- ([www.theacademic.org](http://www.theacademic.org))
- The country's pre-dominant Muslim party today warned of an uprising if the respective authorities continue the present lethargic attitude towards the severely tsunami affected Eastern province population. (07 February 2005)- ([www.theacademic.org](http://www.theacademic.org))
- Sri Lanka's Country Representatives of the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, the Japan Bank for International Co-operation (JBIC) and the United Nations (UN) are visiting to Kilinochchi on Tuesday to meet LTTE's Head of Political Wing, Mr. S.P. Thamilselvan to discuss the post-tsunami rebuilding process. This was revealed at a joint press briefing held at the Trans Asia Hotel in Colombo on February 7. (08 February 2005)- (<http://www.tamilnet.com>)
- E. Koushalyan, head of the LTTE's political division for Batticaloa-Amparai district was killed in an ambush on the highway to Batticaloa February 7 night around 7.45, Sri Lanka military sources said. (08 February 2005)- (<http://www.tamilnet.com/>)
- Signaling concern by the world community, United Nations Secretary-General Kofi Annan yesterday condemned the killing of LTTE Eastern Province political leader E. Koushalyan, urging the parties in Sri Lanka not to do anything that might upset the country's peace process. (Daily Mirror on 10 February 2005)
- The LTTE has been reported to the UN Security Council for recruiting thousands of child soldiers and could face sanctions including a travel ban, a report said. UN Secretary General Kofi Annan in his latest report on "Children and Armed Conflict," a copy of which was seen by AFP here, said Sri Lanka's Tamil Tigers had recruited more than 4,700 children, some as young as 11, since 2001. (10 February 2005)- (News.yahoo.com)
- The Tamil National Force, a breakaway faction of LTTE has claimed responsibility for the ambush of Koushalyan who was overseeing relief to tsunami victims. (11 February 2005)- ([www.theacademic.org](http://www.theacademic.org))
- UNP MP Professor G.L.Peris says that ceasefire agreement is at stake. He said so at a press briefing held in Colombo on Feb 10. He cited the killing of political wing leader of the Tigers Organization for the East, E. Koushalyan and the former MP of the Tamil State Party, Chandra Nehru as evidence to this state of affairs. (11 February 2005)- (<http://www.lankatruth.com/news/>)
- Six Parliamentarians of TNA avoided participating at Wannigatille's Eastern leader Kaushalyan's funeral due to telephone threats from Karuna Amman's faction of tiger organization. (12 February 2005)- ([http://www.lankatruth.com/news/11\\_20\\_Feb\\_05/Full\\_story-0212\\_6.htm](http://www.lankatruth.com/news/11_20_Feb_05/Full_story-0212_6.htm))
- The killing of Koushalyan and his colleagues has "poisoned the ceasefire atmosphere" in Sri Lanka, said Mr. Yasushi Akashi, Japan's Special Peace Envoy, speaking to the press after meeting the Liberation Tigers in Solaiyaham, near Kakkadicholai Saturday. (12 February 2005)- (<http://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=14237>)
- The entire districts of Jaffna and Vavuniya on February 12 came to a standstill following a general shut down, condemning the killings of Mr.Koushalyan, LTTE political head for Batticaloa Amparai district, his colleagues and Mr.Chandra Nehru, former Tamil National Alliance (TNA) parliamentarian for Amparai district. (12 February 2005)- (<http://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=14238>)
- Government of Sri Lanka has imposed taxes at current commercial rates on donated relief supplies including water purification tablets arriving in Colombo addressed to Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) including Tamil Rehabilitation Organization (TRO), civil sources in Colombo said. (12 February 2005)- (<http://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=14235>)
- Canada's senior minister responsible for homeland security Minister Anne McLellan, who is also Minister of Public Safety and Emergency Preparedness hinted strongly that she was not excluding adding Sri Lanka's Tamil Tigers rebel group to a list of outlawed terrorist organizations. (14 February 2005)- (AFP/CANADA—news.yahoo.com)



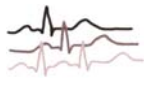


- Convoy of vehicles joined the Jaffna district transport sector protest march Monday condemning the discrimination shown by the Government in providing relief to tsunami victims in coastal areas and the recent killings of LTTE Batticaloa Amparai district political head Mr.Kousalyan and former TNA parliamentarians Mr. A. Chandra Nehru, sources in Jaffna said. (14 February 2005)-(<http://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=14250>)
- "The violence unleashed against senior LTTE cadres and others on Monday the 7th in government controlled territory situated between two Army Camps, and in an area which has a strong armed forces presence, has raised grave questions in regard to the continued stability of the ceasefire," the Tamil National Alliance delegation led by its parliamentary group leader Mr Sampanthan told Mr Yasushi Akashi, the special envoy of the Japanese Government, when they met him Friday, a press release issued by the TNA in Colombo said.(14 February 2005)-(<http://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=14232>)
- The LTTE has told peace broker Norway the government should immediately disarm paramilitary groups allegedly behind the assassination of a senior Tamil leader, Tamilnet.com said and added that renegades working with the military were responsible for the February 7 assassination of E. Koushalyan and five others in the government-controlled area of Batticaloa. (15 February 2005)-(AFP/news.yahoo.com)-(news.bbc.co.uk)
- In a significant attempt to reach out to the Muslims, who are an important segment in the eastern districts of Sri Lanka, the LTTE's political commissar, S.P. Thamilselvan, met top leaders of Muslim civil society in Kokkadicholai on Feb 15, and assured them that the LTTE stood for their rights too. (15 February 2005)-(<http://www.hindustantimes.com/news/>)
- The fragile cease-fire under strain after weekend grenade attack on guerrilla office; unidentified assailants lobbed grenade at Tamil Tiger office late Saturday, killing 1, and wounding 2. Came barley 4 days after top insurgent leader gunned down with 5 others. (16 February 2005)-([www.theacademic.org](http://www.theacademic.org))
- A member of the Peoples Liberation Organization of Tamil Eelam (PLOTE) escaped death when an unidentified group of pistol men, believed to be from the LTTE, shot and injured him in the general area of IRATPERIYAKULAM, BOO-OYA, about 8 k.m. South of Vavuniya on Thursday (17) around 8.45 p.m. while he was traveling in a canter truck. (17 February 2005)-([www.army.lk](http://www.army.lk))
- LTTE said a United Nations report saying that the guerrilla movement had recruited more than 4,700 children since 2001 was false. (18 February 2005)-(AFP through news.yahoo.com)
- UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, in his report to the Security Council, lambasted the LTTE over child abuse, which includes, recruiting children as soldiers, abducting, maiming, or killing them, subjecting them to rape and other sexual violence, the Asian Tribune reported. (18 February 2005)- ([www.bbc.co.uk](http://www.bbc.co.uk))
- The political office of the LTTE was attacked by group of persons Friday around 11 a.m. (18 February 2005)-([www.tamilnet.com](http://www.tamilnet.com))
- Sri Lanka's Foreign Minister Lakshman Kadirgamar has officially registered his government's strong objections with the United Nations over Secretary General Kofi Annan's condemnation of the assassinations on February 7 of E. Kousalyan, head of LTTE's Political Wing in Batticaloa-Amparai district, and his team in a Sri Lanka government-controlled area of the Eastern province, political sources said. (18 February 2005)- (<http://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=14284>)
- The Sri Lankan government has decided to provide loans of Rs. 250,000 to all those who lost their houses in the December 26 tsunamis. (20 February 2005)-(<http://www.colombopage.com/archive/February20145219UN.html>)
- Minister of Buddha Sasana, Law and Order and Deputy Minister of Defense Ratnasiri Wickremanayake today admitted that there have been lapses in the distribution of relief to displaced tsunami victims. (20 February 2005)-(<http://www.colombopage.com/archive/February21130507JV.html>)
- Ex-US Presidents Bill Clinton and George H.W. Bush have warned Sri Lanka that international aid will not flow into the country if it fails to manage the funds properly. (21 February 2005)-(<http://www.colombopage.com/archive/February21130507JV.html>)
- Former United States President Bill Clinton says he believes the Sri Lankan government and the LTTE are working together and their efforts will help to resolve the ethnic conflict. (21 February 2005)-(<http://www.colombopage.com/archive/February21121925JV.html>)
- The LTTE today accused the Sri Lankan Government of carrying out a "covert war" and warned that the ceasefire and peace would fall apart if this covert war against the LTTE continues. LTTE political leader S.P. Thamilselvan made this statement to the media soon after concluding talks with visiting Norwegian peace envoy Erik Solheim in Kilinochchi. (22 February 2005)-(<http://www.colombopage.com/archive/February23121350JV.html>)
- Government, issuing a special statement to mark the third anniversary of the ceasefire agreement, said it is ready for negotiations with the LTTE on the establishment of an interim authority in order to bring lasting peace to the country. (23 February 2005)-(<http://www.colombopage.com/archive/February23121914JV.html>)



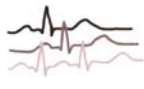
- The United Nations Security Council yesterday said it has started to monitor the use of child soldiers as per a proposal by UN Secretary General Kofi Annan. (23 February 2005)-(<http://www.colombopage.com/archive/February24115347JV.html>)
- Sri Lanka Muslim Congress (SLMC) leader Rauff Hakeem insists that Muslim families who were evicted from the North by the ethnic conflict should be given respect and compensation should be paid to all victims that remain in refugee camps. (27 February 2005)-(<http://www.colombopage.com/archive/February27131343UN.html>)
- The LTTE continues to commit serious human rights abuses, such as politically motivated killings, arbitrary arrests, torture, harassment, abduction, disappearances, extortion and detention, the latest human rights report said. (01 March 2005)- (<http://www.colombopage.com/archive/March1123849JV.html>)
- Three female officials of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) including Batticaloa-Amparai District Women Political Wing Head, Ms. Kuveni, have been seriously wounded when persons belonging to a paramilitary group opened fire at them on 28.02.2005. (02 March 2005)-(<http://www.ltteps.org/?view=643&folder=2>)
- President Chandrika Kumaratunga yesterday appointed a special commission to inquire into and report on the recent attacks on LTTE cadres in the Batticaloa and Ampara districts. (02 March 2005)-(<http://www.colombopage.com/archive/March292144JV.html>)
- The LTTE says the continued shooting of senior LTTE political leaders is casting a dark shadow over the Sri Lankan peace process. (02 March 2005)-(<http://www.colombopage.com/archive/March2120414JV.html>)
- The World Bank is to send six billion rupees for the rebuilding of houses in LTTE-held territory, saying the region is "an officially recognized LTTE-controlled area, a kind of unofficial state." (06 March 2005)-(<http://www.colombopage.com/archive/March7120414JV.html>)
- JVP demanded that the World Bank remove its Country Representative, Peter Harrold, from Sri Lanka as he "overstepped his duties." Issuing a hard-hitting statement, the party said the World Bank representative "overstepped his duties" by making a statement to a newspaper indicating that Rs. 6 billion of post-tsunami aid for LTTE-held areas would be disbursed through state agencies in consultation with the LTTE. (07 March 2005)-([http://www.jvpsrilanka.com/pb\\_release/pb\\_release\\_06032005.htm](http://www.jvpsrilanka.com/pb_release/pb_release_06032005.htm))
- LTTE cadres stormed a village in Welikanda and killed six civilians including a Sinhalese, four Muslims and one Tamil on Saturday night. (07 March 2005)-(<http://www.colombopage.com/archive/March7115827JV.html>)
- The feud between the LTTE supremo, Velupillai Prabhakaran, and the breakaway group led by Col Karuna, seems to be intensifying in eastern Sri Lanka. On Saturday alone, eight people were gunned down and four wounded in separate incidents. (08 March 2005)-(<http://www.hindustantimes.com>)
- The World Bank says that it has no intention of giving funds directly to Tamil Tigers. In a statement issued on Monday the WB said that it does not "and have not disbursed any funding directly to the LTTE, and there is no intention to change this policy". (08 March 2005)-(<http://www.bbc.co.uk/sinhala/news/>)
- Mr. Peter Harold, representative of the World Bank in a statement says he never used the words "unofficial state" in his statement to Sunday Times. (08 March 2005)-(<http://www.lankatruth.com>)
- The government has announced a plan to rebuild tsunami-affected houses, proposing a 100m buffer zone in the south and a 200m buffer zone in the north and east. (08 March 2005)-(<http://www.reliefweb.int/rwl>)
- "SLMM perceives the recent killings in the eastern parts of the country as a direct threat to the CFA and the Peace Process" said the Nordic truce monitors in a statement issued Tuesday. "SLMM monitors are currently making inquiries into all the incidents. (09 March 2005)-(<http://www.tamilnet.com/art.html?catid=13&artid=14418>)
- Norwegian Peace Envoy, Mr. Erik Solheim, told the Liberation Tigers' Political Strategist and Chief Negotiator, Mr. Anton Balasingham, whom he met today that Oslo was optimistic that a joint mechanism for aid distribution could be agreed "soon" between the LTTE and the Sri Lankan government. (09 March 2005)-([http://www.tamileelamnews.com/news/publish/tns\\_4046.shtml](http://www.tamileelamnews.com/news/publish/tns_4046.shtml))
- A high level delegation of Liberation Tigers will begin an official visit to several European capitals from Friday. (09 March 2005)-([www.tamilnet.com](http://www.tamilnet.com))
- The Sri Lankan Government has strongly protested to Norwegian Prime Minister K. Bondevik as well as to the United States Government about an airstrip and aircraft in LTTE-held Iranamadu, which are violations of the Ceasefire Agreement. (09 March 2005)-(<http://www.colombopage.com/archive/March9120336JV.html>)





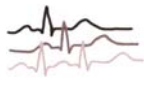
## FINDINGS AT A GLANCE OF THE POLL CONDUCTED FROM 16<sup>TH</sup> MARCH 2005 TO 2<sup>ND</sup> APRIL 2005

- ◆ Regarding the 'no war, no peace' situation that is currently prevailing in Sri Lanka, a majority (72.4%) states that the continuation of this situation is bad and that the Government and the LTTE should go for a permanent solution through negotiations. This opinion is seen across all the ethnic groups (Sinhala - 69.3%, Tamil - 81.6%, Muslim - 85.8%, and Up-Country Tamil - 87.1%). Only 12.6% believe continuation of this situation is better than pursuing a final solution. A marginal 5.6% believe continuation of this situation is bad and that the Government and the LTTE should go for a permanent solution through war. ([Ref. Page 12](#))
- ◆ A majority (53.4%) believes that the Government is committed to find peace through talks, which is an increase since February 2004 (43.5%). A majority of Sinhala (57.7%) and Muslim (54.8%) communities believe that the Government is committed to find peace through talks. However, a majority of the Tamil (54.4%) community does not believe that the Government is committed to find peace through talks. ([Ref. Page 13](#))
- ◆ When asked whether they think the Government is fully capable of finding peace through talks, a majority (56.6%) agrees with this statement. This opinion stems mainly from a majority of the Sinhala (57.2%), Tamil (55.6%), and Muslim (61.1%) communities. ([Ref. Page 14](#))
- ◆ A majority (50.1%) disagrees with the statement that the LTTE is committed to find peace through talks. This is a significant increase since November 2003 (37.8%). From an ethnic perspective, a majority of the Sinhala (59.8%) community does not believe that the LTTE is committed to find peace through talks. However, a majority of the Tamil (82.5%), Muslim (50.4%) and Up-country Tamil (65.2%) communities believe that the LTTE is committed to find peace through talks. ([Ref. Page 15](#))
- ◆ There seem to be mixed opinions with regard to the LTTE's capability of finding peace through talks. While 37.1% agree that the LTTE is capable of finding peace through talks, 31.3% disagree. 31.6% don't know or are unsure. The ethnic perspective shows that a majority of Tamil (79.8%), Muslim (52%) and Up-country Tamil (66.2%) communities believe that the LTTE is fully capable of finding peace through talks. The Sinhala community however, has a divided opinion. (Agree - 28.6%, Disagree - 35.9%, Don't know/Not sure - 35.4%) ([Ref. Page 16](#))
- ◆ A majority of 49% continues to believe that the Government goes in for talks due to its Commitment to Peace, a significant increase since February 2004 (38.2%). 31.9% of Sri Lankans also believe that the Government goes in for talks due to Economic Hardship. There is a significant increase since February 2004 in the belief that International Pressure is the reason that the Government goes in for talks (February 2004 - 9%, March 2005 - 26.4%). A majority of the Sinhala (49.7%) and Up-country Tamil (68.6%) communities believe that the Government goes in for talks due to its Commitment to Peace. However, a majority of the Tamil (64.9%) community believes it is International

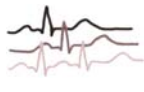


Pressure, while a majority of the Muslim (62.4%) community believes it is Economic Hardship. ([Ref. Page 17](#))

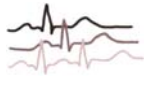
- ◆ 35.8% believe that the LTTE goes in for talks due to the Realization that this War Cannot be Won, while 31.3% believe it is to Fool the People. 28.3% believe that International Pressure is the reason LTTE goes in for talks, which is a significant increase from 15.4% in February 2004. ([Ref. Page 18](#))
- ◆ There seem to be mixed opinions with regard to how close the country is, at present, to approaching a final settlement to the ethnic conflict. While 33.6% believe that the situation remains the same, 32.5% believe that it is very close. From an ethnic perspective, a majority of the Muslim community (52.4%) believes that it is very close. The Sinhala (Very close - 30.1%, Remains the same - 34.4%), Tamil (Very close - 33.3%, Remains the same - 32.2%) and Up-country Tamil (Very close - 42.3%, Remains the same - 38%) communities however, have a divided opinion. ([Ref. Page 19](#))
- ◆ With regard to participation in negotiations, a majority (30.5%) believes in the widest range of involvement in negotiations, while 19.5% believe that only the Government and the LTTE should be involved. From an ethnic perspective, the Sinhala community has a divided opinion (Support widest political participation – 28%, The Govt & the LTTE only - 21%). A majority of the Tamil (35.5%) community supports the Government, the LTTE and the International third party involvement, while a majority of Muslim (59.1%) and Up-country Tamil (51.4%) communities believe the Govt, Opposition, LTTE, Tamil, Muslim parties and a International third party should be involved in negotiations. It is significant that the Muslim community emphasises the importance of involving the Muslim political parties in the negotiations with or without an international third party. ([Ref. Page 20](#))
- ◆ Of those who are aware about the Ceasefire Agreement (CFA) that was signed between the Government and the LTTE to end violence, 65% believe that Sri Lankans have benefited from the CFA. This opinion is seen across all the ethnic groups (Sinhala - 61.9%, Tamil - 73.8%, Muslim - 84.4% and Up-country Tamil -73.6%). However, 20.4% believe that they have not benefited. ([Ref. Page 21](#))
- ◆ A majority (61.2%) doesn't know or are unsure whether the CFA should be amended in order to strengthen and expand its scope, while 25.5% believe that the CFA needs to be amended. From an ethnic perspective there is a divided opinion in the Tamil (Agree - 44.2%, Don't know/Not sure - 45.7%), Muslim (Agree - 38%, Don't know/Not sure - 45.4%), and Up-country Tamil (Agree - 43.4%, Don't know/Not sure - 45.3%) communities. ([Ref. Page 22](#))
- ◆ Of those who are aware of the involvement of foreign monitors in monitoring the ceasefire, 36.4% believe such a monitoring mission is essential for the CFA to succeed. This opinion stems mainly from a majority of the Tamil (86.5%), Muslim (69.1%) and Up-country Tamil (75.6%) communities. A majority of Sinhala (34.9%) community believes that it will have a positive impact. ([Ref. Page 23](#))



- ◆ 43.3% of Sri Lankans believe Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission (SLMM) is partial in its monitoring of the CFA. This opinion stems mainly from the Sinhala community (50.6%). Looking at the other ethnic communities, a majority of Tamil (74.4%), Muslim (49.5%), and Up-country Tamil (82.6%) communities believe the SLMM is impartial in its monitoring of the CFA. (Ref. Page 24)
- ◆ 40.5% believe that the SLMM is ineffective in its monitoring of the CFA. This opinion stems mainly from the Sinhala (46.6%) community. However, a majority of Tamil (69.2%), Muslim (49.1%), and Up-country Tamil (83%) communities believe that the SLMM is effective in monitoring the CFA. (Ref. Page 25)
- ◆ 65.3% believe having an International third party, as facilitator is essential or will have a positive impact in solving the ethnic conflict. From an ethnic perspective, a majority of Tamil (79.3%), Muslim (61.9%) and Up-country Tamil (70%) communities believe that it is essential, while a majority of Sinhala (40%) community believe that an International third party will have a positive impact in solving the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka. (Ref. Page 26)
- ◆ 38.7% believe that India is the most suitable country that should play the role of facilitator in the peace process. 28% prefer Norway, while 25.8% favor USA as facilitator. From an ethnic perspective, a majority of Tamil (72.6%) and Muslim (52.5%) communities prefer Norway. 43.8% of Sinhala community prefers India in facilitating the peace process. The Up-country Tamil community has a divided opinion in this regard (India - 49%, Norway - 45.1%). (Ref. Page 27)
- ◆ With regard to the level of satisfaction on the Norwegian role as facilitator, 46.7% state that they are satisfied. 28.3% state that they are not satisfied at all. A noteworthy 25% don't know or are unsure. From an ethnic perspective, a majority of the Tamil (86.6%) and Muslim (77.2%) communities are satisfied with the Norwegian role as facilitator. The Sinhala community has a divided opinion in this regard (Satisfied - 36.9%, Not satisfied at all - 34.7%, Don't know/Not sure -28.5%). (Ref. Page 28)
- ◆ When asked if they approve or disapprove of Norway continuing to facilitate the peace process, Sri Lankans have mixed opinions in this regard. While 36.4% approve, another 35.3% disapprove. However, on the ethnic grounds a majority of the Tamil (90.3%), Muslim (71.1%) and Up-country Tamil (83.6%) communities approve of Norway continuing to facilitate the peace process. 43.2% of the Sinhala community disapproves of Norway's role as facilitator. (Ref. Page 29)
- ◆ 63% of Sri Lankans believe that India's involvement in the Sri Lankan Peace Process is essential or will have a positive impact. On the contrary, 13.9% believe that India's involvement is not essential. Perspectives of the ethnic communities reveal that a majority of the Tamil (49.7%), Muslim (69.6%) and Up-country Tamil (65.3%) communities believe that India's involvement is essential, while a majority of the Sinhala community (37.5%) believes that India's involvement will have a positive impact on the peace process. (Ref. Page 30)



- ◆ 58.3% do not agree with the setting up of an Interim Authority in the North East. This opinion stems mainly from the Sinhala community (68%). A majority of Tamil (80.8%) and Up-country Tamil (50.7%) communities agree with the setting up of an Interim Authority in the North East. The Muslim (Yes -40.2%, No - 44.9%) community has a divided opinion in this regard. ([Ref. Page 31](#))
- ◆ Of those who agree with the setting up of an Interim Authority, 45.5% believe that an Interim Authority should be set up as part of a final settlement. This opinion stems from a majority of the Sinhala (59.9%) and Muslim (68.6%) communities support this argument. 37.7% believe that an Interim Authority should be set up before a final settlement. This opinion stems mainly from the Tamil (60.3%) and Up-country Tamil (60%) communities. ([Ref. Page 32](#))
- ◆ 44.7% believe that the LTTE, other political parties and representatives of the Sinhala and Muslim communities should be included in the North East Administration. This opinion stems mainly from the Sinhala (54.3%) and Muslim (100%) communities. 21.6% of Sri Lankans believe that only the LTTE should be included in the North East Administration. This opinion stems from the Tamil (42.2%) and Up- country Tamil (51.5%) communities. ([Ref. Page 33](#))
- ◆ Of those who are aware of the killings in the Eastern Province, 22.6% believe the perpetrators are the LTTE and Karuna faction. From an ethnic perspective, a majority of Tamil (48%), Muslim (40%) and Up-country Tamil (59.1%) communities don't know or are not sure. The Sinhala community has a divided opinion in this regard (LTTE only - 8%, LTTE and Karuna faction - 27.3%, and Don't know/Not sure - 28.1%). The Tamil (17.8%) community believes that Security Forces are the perpetrators. However, the Muslim community has a divided opinion in this regard (LTTE only - 16.7%, the LTTE and Karuna faction - 14.9%). ([Ref. Page 34](#))
- ◆ A majority of 73.4% states that these recent killings will have a negative impact on the peace process. This opinion is seen across all the ethnic groups (Sinhala - 69.6%, Tamil - 83.8%, Muslim - 88.5%, and Up-country Tamil - 86.2%). Only 5.8% state that it will have a positive impact on the peace process. ([Ref. Page 35](#))
- ◆ When asked if Tsunami has increased or decreased the likelihood of war, 54.2% state that it has decreased the likelihood of war, while 4.8% state that it has increased the likelihood of war. 23.8% state that the Tsunami has no impact on the likelihood of war. The opinion that the likelihood of war has decreased as a result of Tsunami is seen across all the ethnic groups (Sinhala - 50.4%, Tamil - 72.2%, and Muslim - 59.2% and Up-country Tamil -73.2%). ([Ref. Page 36](#))
- ◆ 35.7% believe that the likelihood of war has decreased because the Tsunami affected the people so badly. This stems mainly from a majority of the Tamil (86.5%), Muslim (61.6%) and Up-country Tamil (78.8%) communities. However the Sinhala community has a divided opinion in this regard. (Both the Govt & LTTE are affected badly by the Tsunami - 38.2%, Because the LTTE is heavily affected by the Tsunami disaster - 36.9%). ([Ref. Page 37](#))



- ◆ Overall 65.6% approve of Norway's facilitation of an agreement between the Government and the LTTE on a joint mechanism to effectively distribute and utilize Tsunami relief. This opinion is seen across all the ethnic groups (Sinhala - 50.9%, Tamil - 93.3%, Muslim - 72.9%, and Up-country Tamil - 100%) communities.) Only 25.9% of Sri Lankans disapprove of this. ([Ref. Page 38](#))

**For further information please contact:**

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

**Tel:** +9411 2370472 **Email:** [cpapoll@diamond.lanka.net](mailto:cpapoll@diamond.lanka.net)

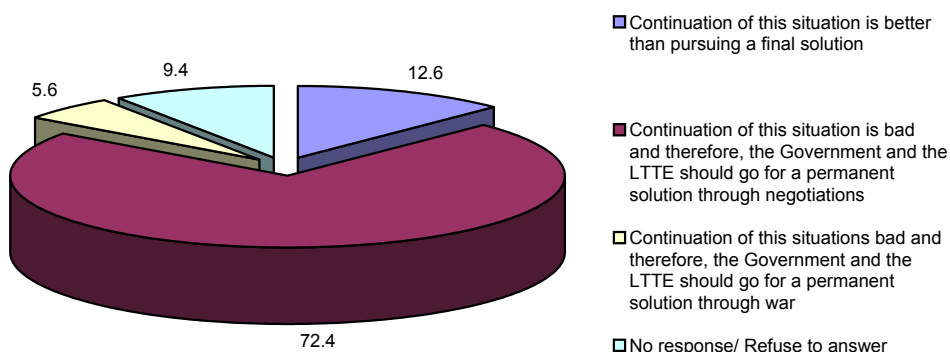
**Fax:** +9411 2370475 **Web:** <http://www.cpalanka.org>

## Peace Confidence Index (PCI) May 2001 – March 2005

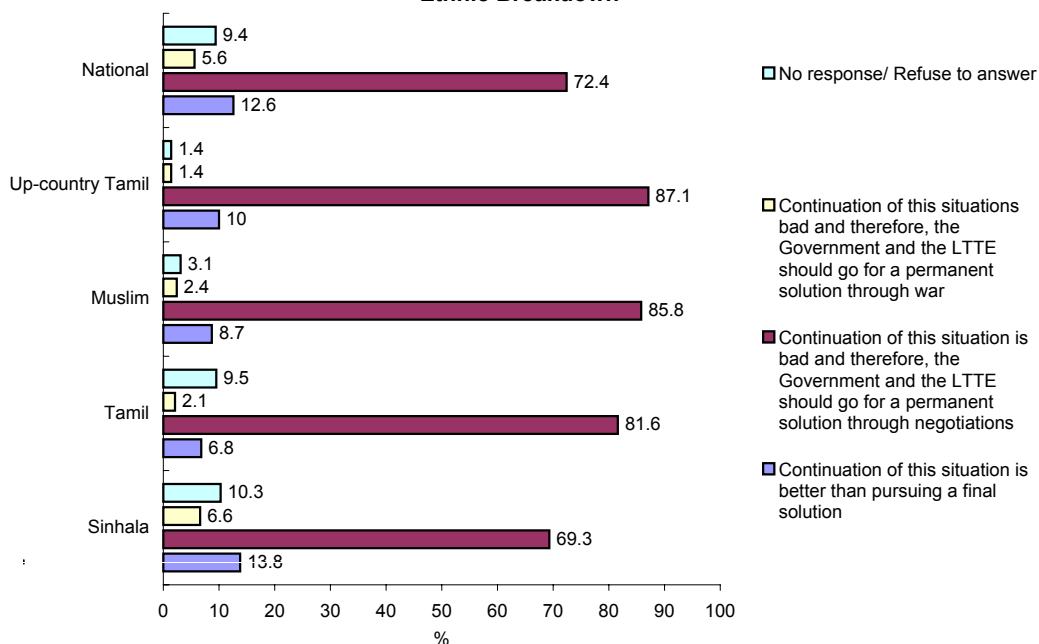
### Solutions

At the moment Sri Lanka is experiencing a ‘no war, no peace’ situation. Some people say that the continuation of this situation is better than pursuing a final solution. Others argue that a continuation of this situation is bad and, therefore the Government and the LTTE should go for a permanent solution, either through negotiations or war. Please tell me which of the arguments best describes your opinion.

**National Breakdown**



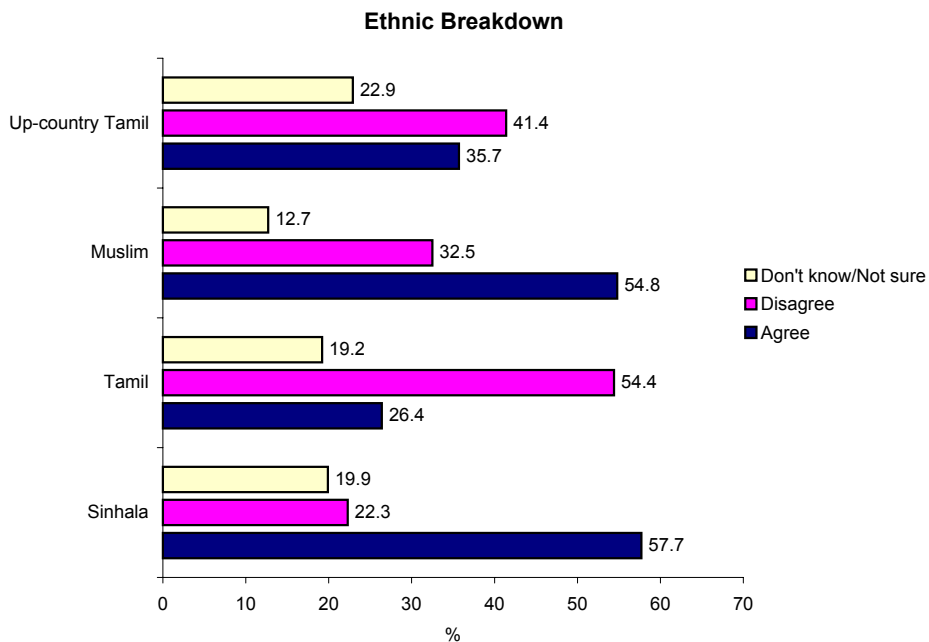
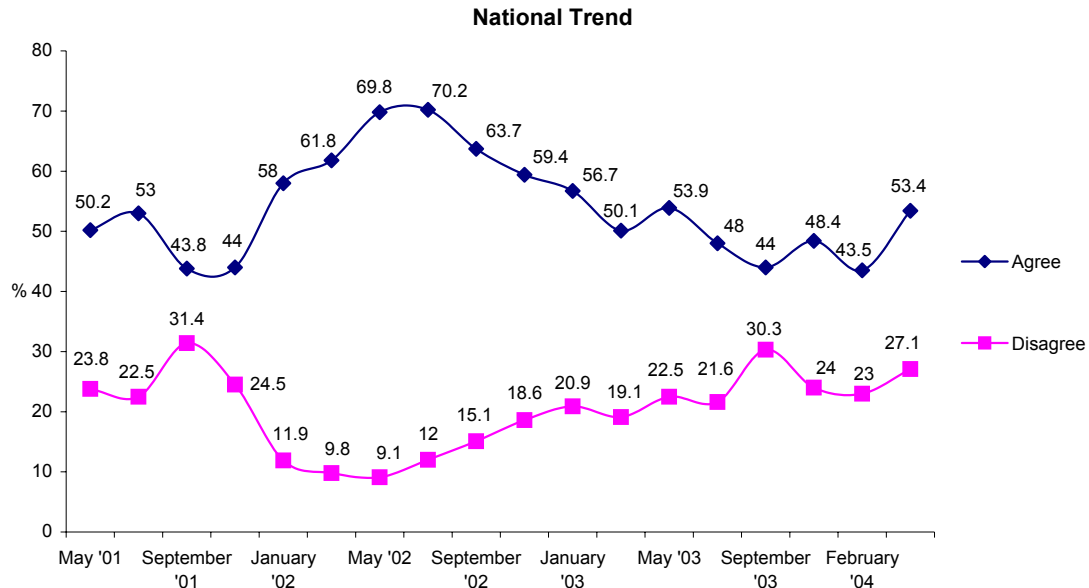
**Ethnic Breakdown**





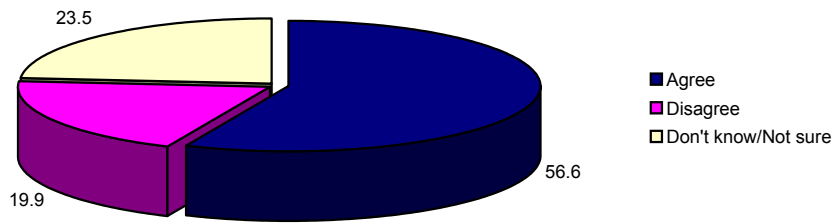
## Confidence

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

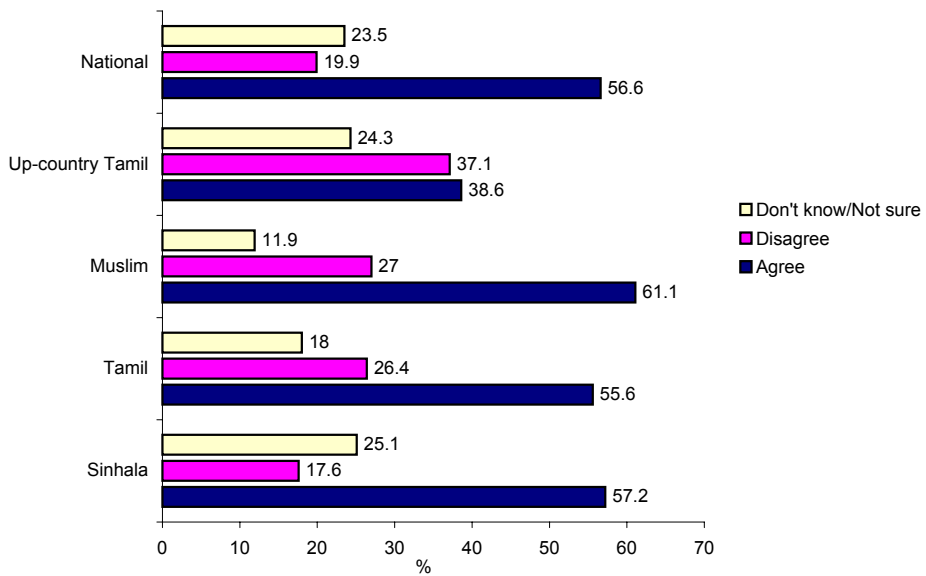


**I think the Government is fully capable of finding peace through talks.**

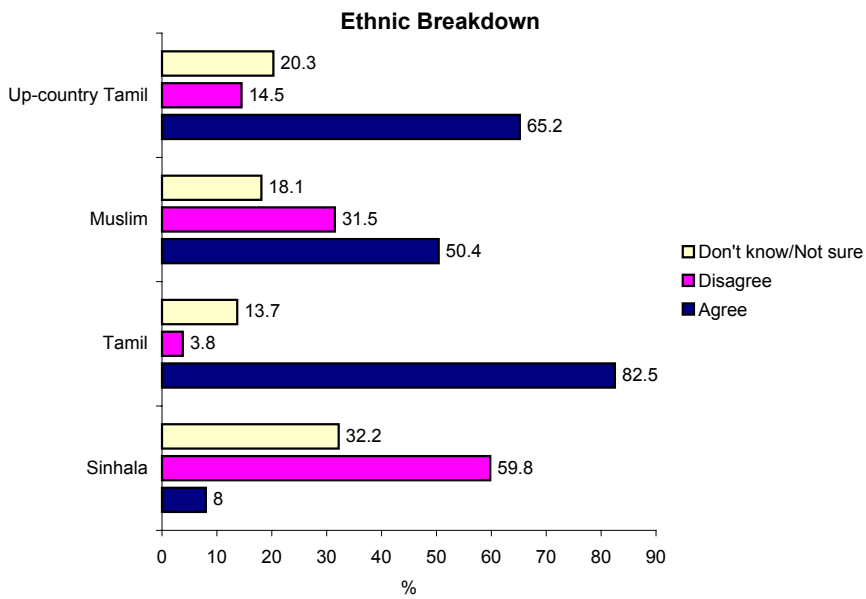
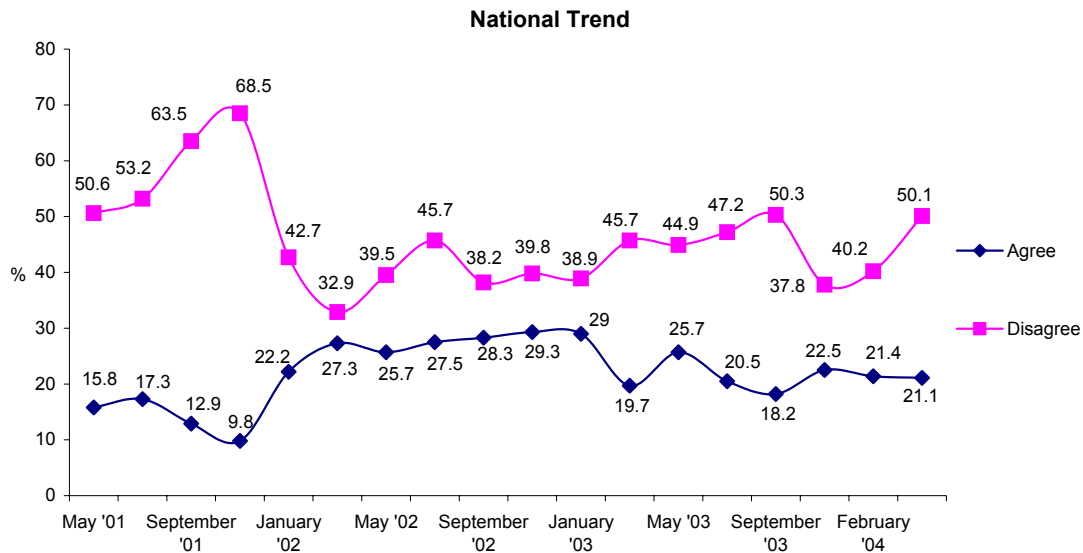
**National Breakdown**



**Ethnic Breakdown**

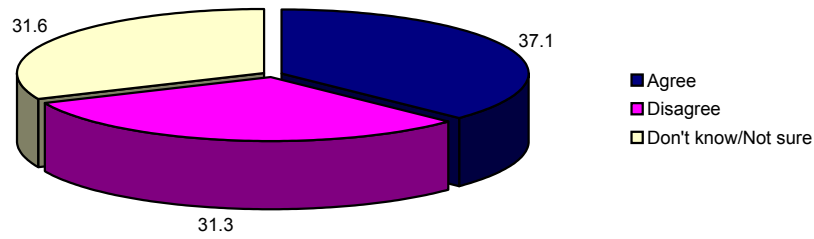


**I think the LTTE is committed to find peace through talks.**

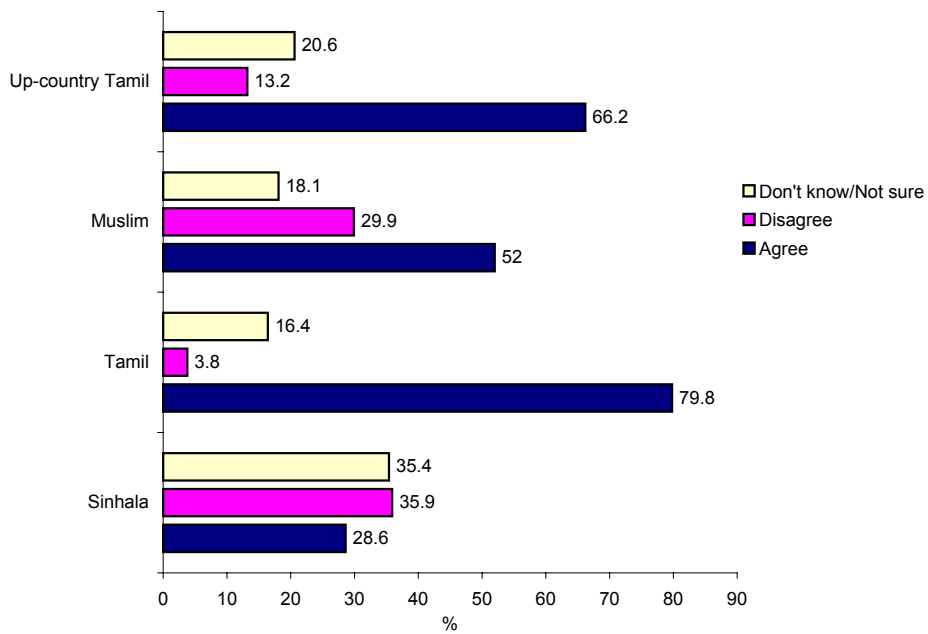


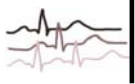
**I think the LTTE is fully capable of finding peace through talks.**

**National Breakdown**

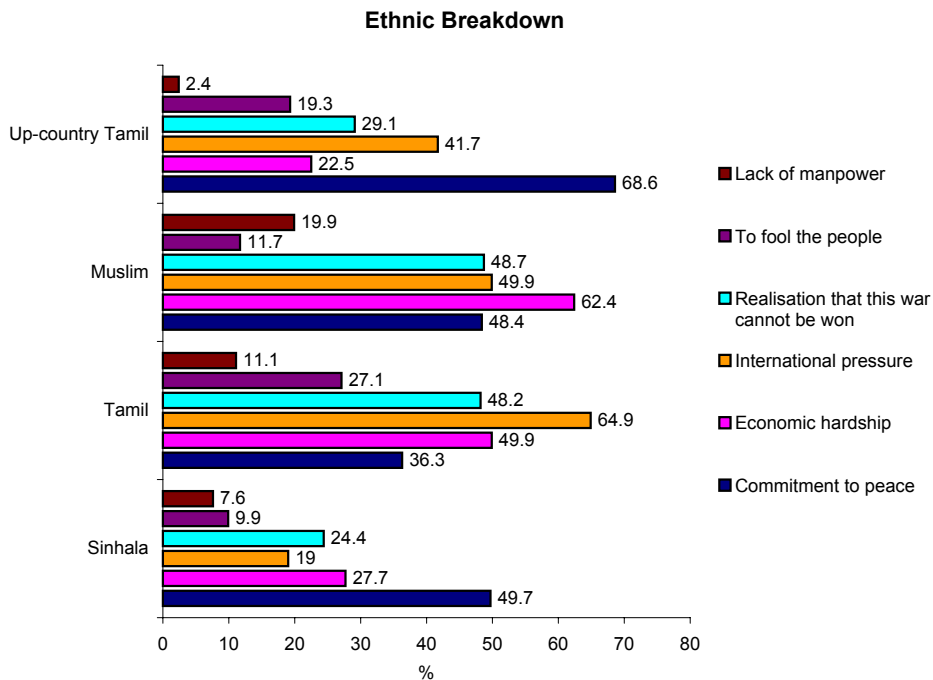
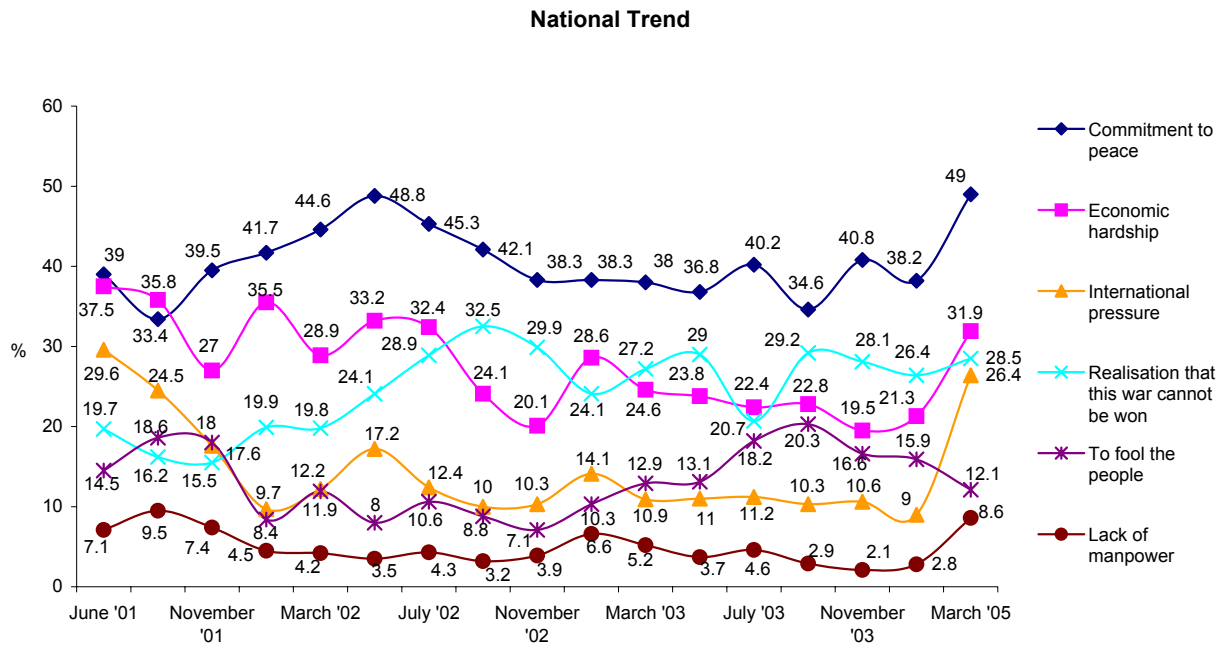


**Ethnic Breakdown**

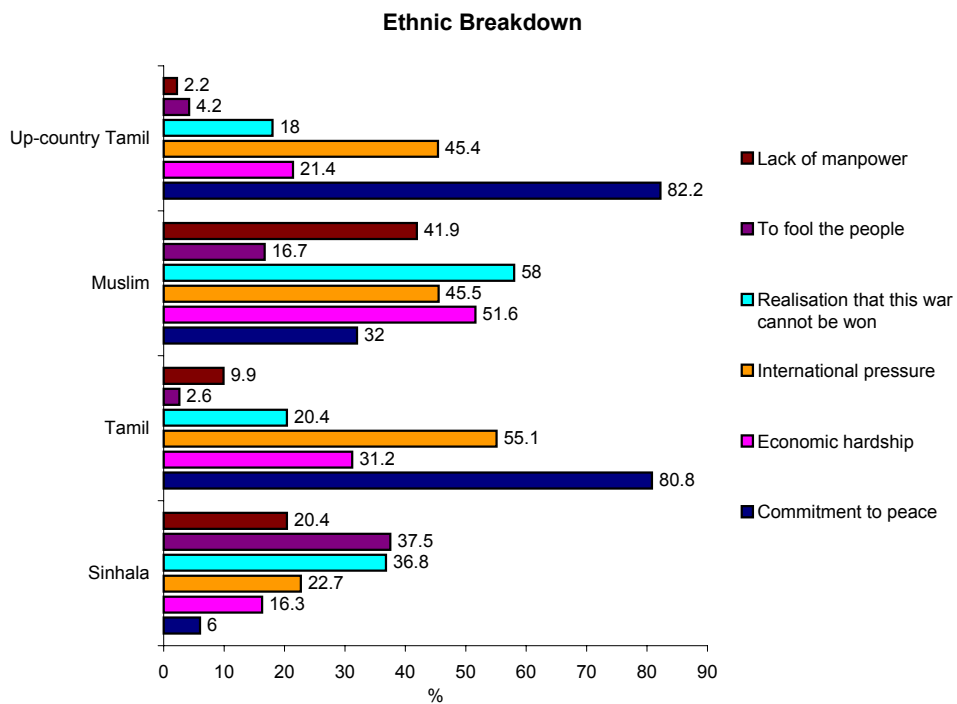
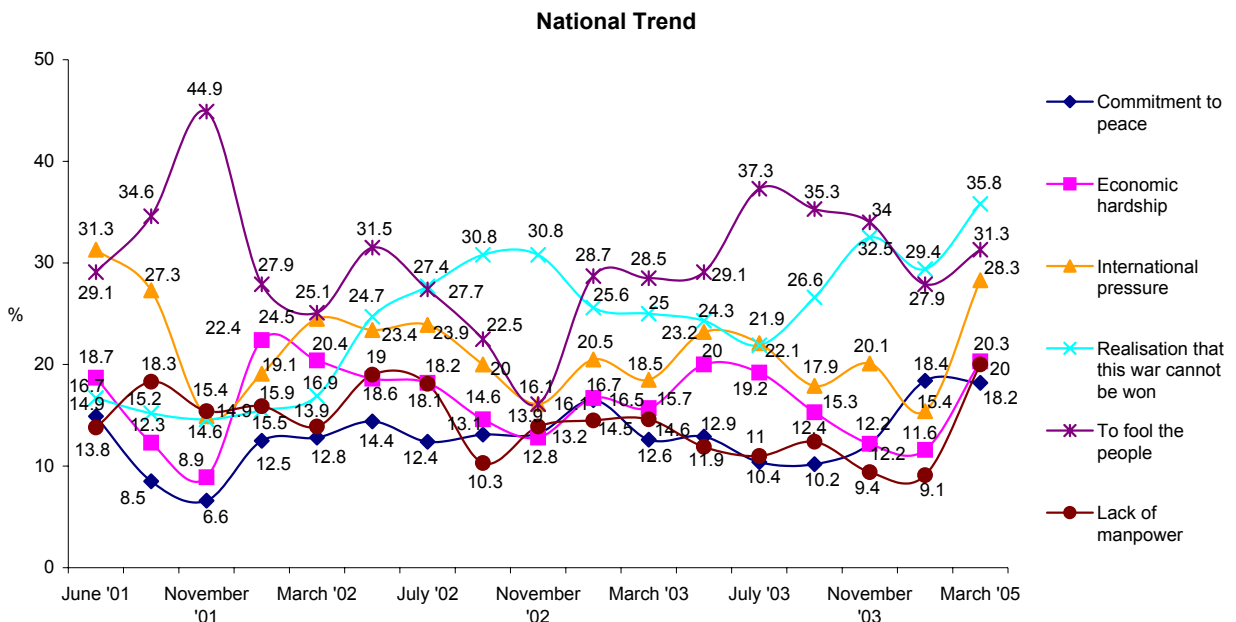




### Why do you think the Government goes in for talks ? [Multiple Answers]



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

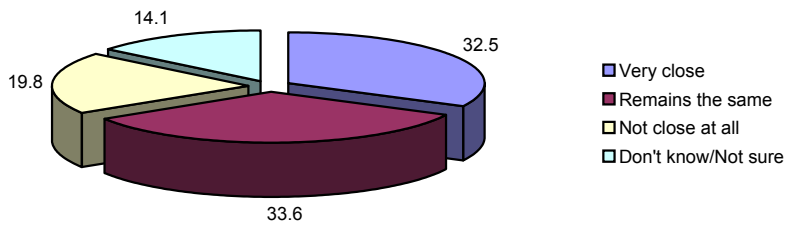




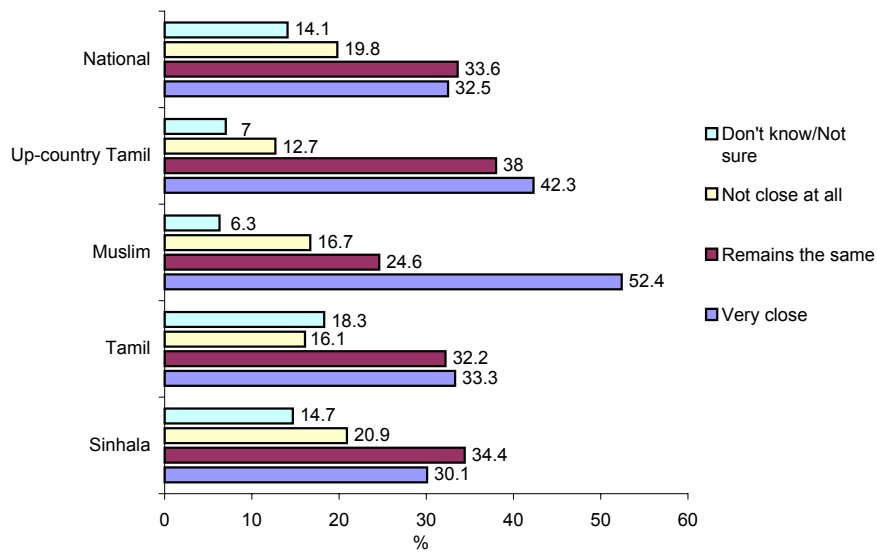


**Compared to the situation of the peace process a year ago, how close do you think the country is, at present, in approaching a final settlement to the ethnic conflict ?**

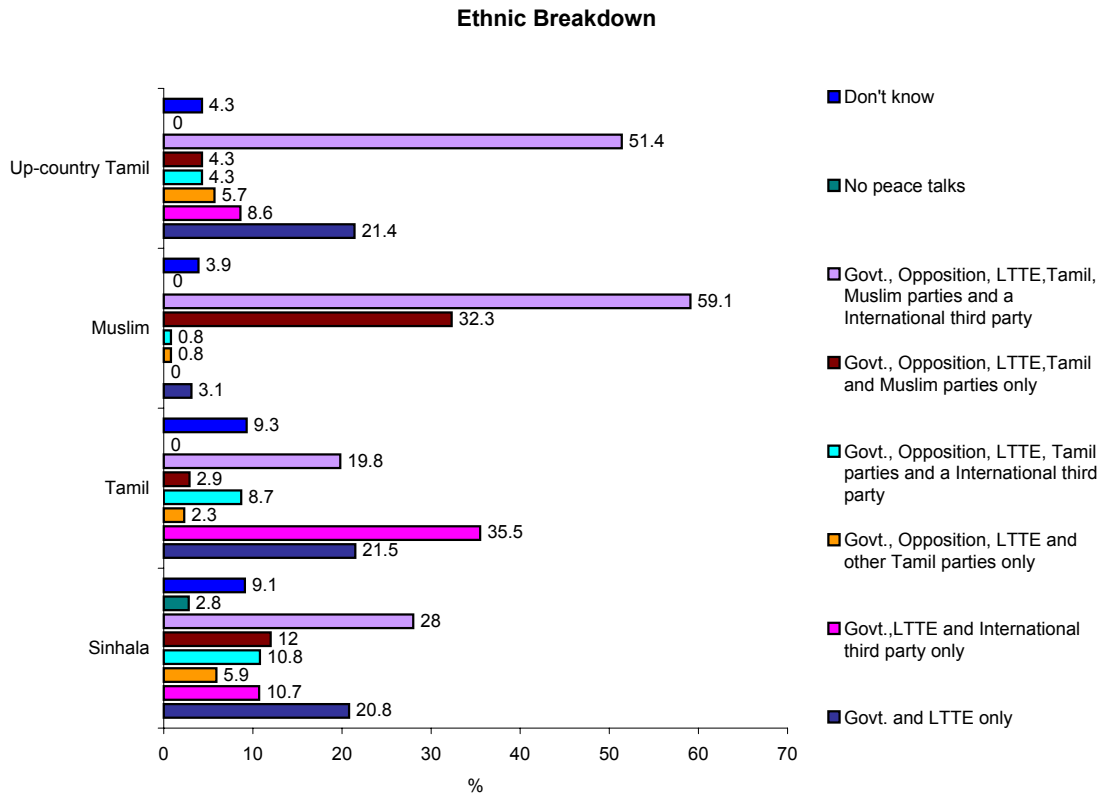
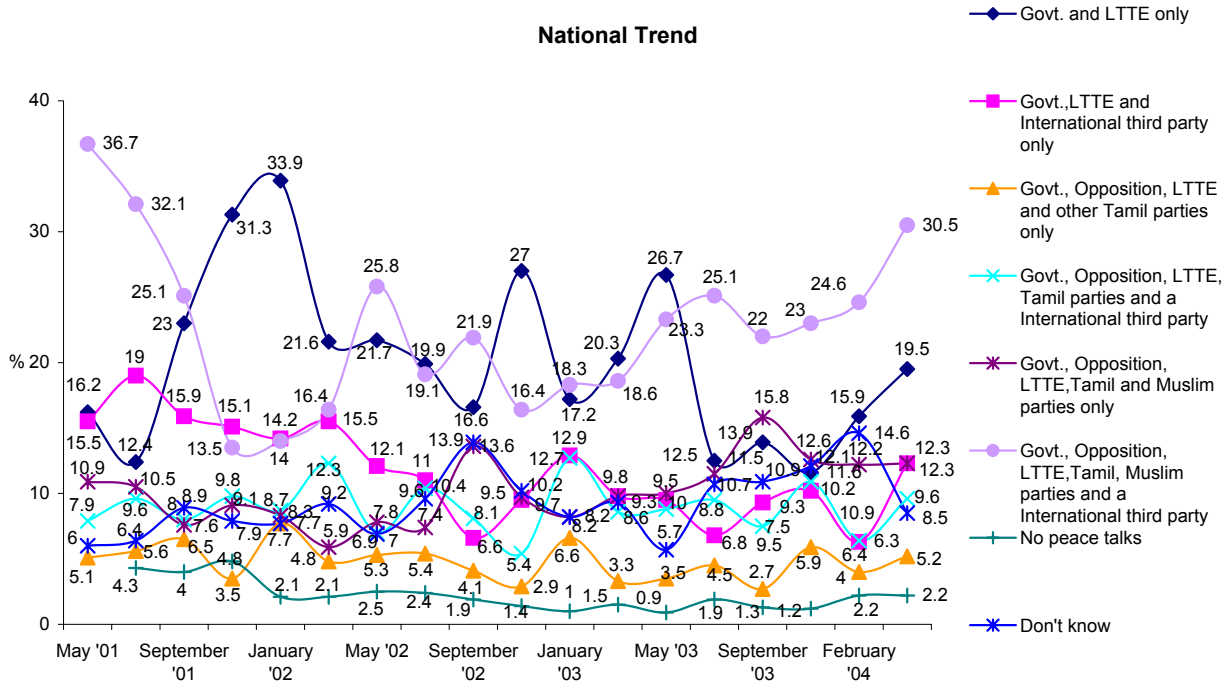
**National Breakdown**



**Ethnic Breakdown**



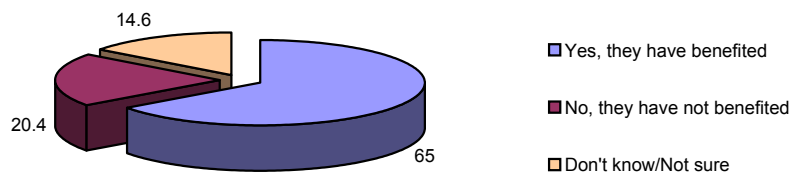
**If peace is to be found through negotiations, according to your opinion, who should be involved in the negotiations ?**



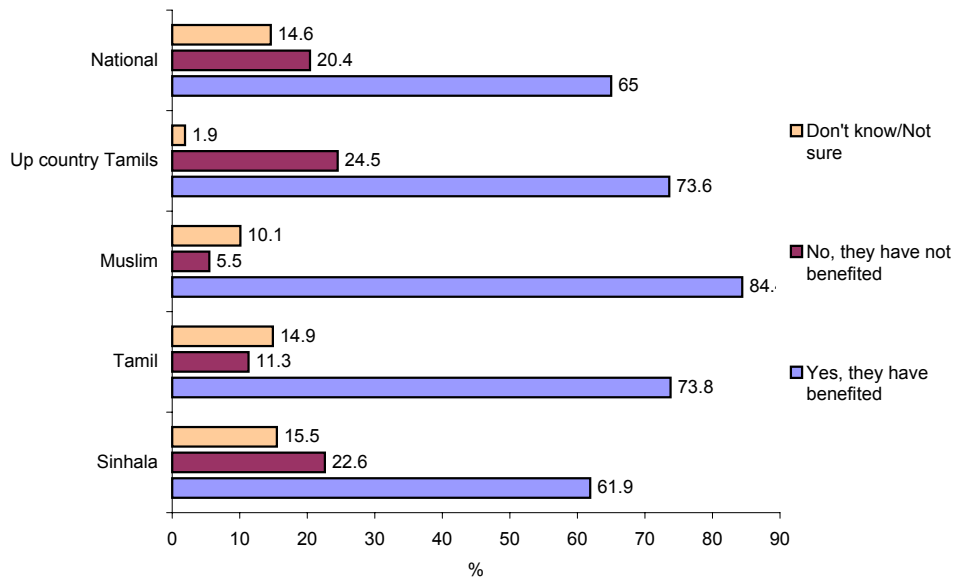
## Ceasefire Agreement (CFA)

"Some people say that the CFA has brought many benefits to the Sri Lankans while others say that the CFA has not yielded any benefits to the Sri Lankans". In your opinion please tell me whether Sri Lankans have benefited or not by the CFA ?

National Breakdown



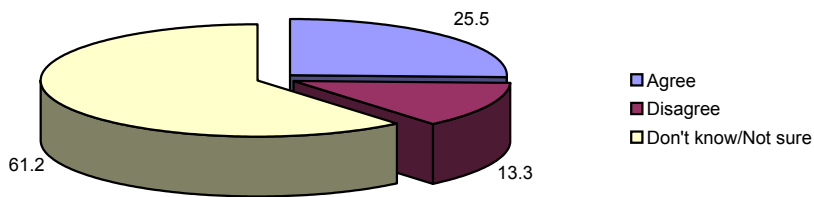
Ethnic Breakdown



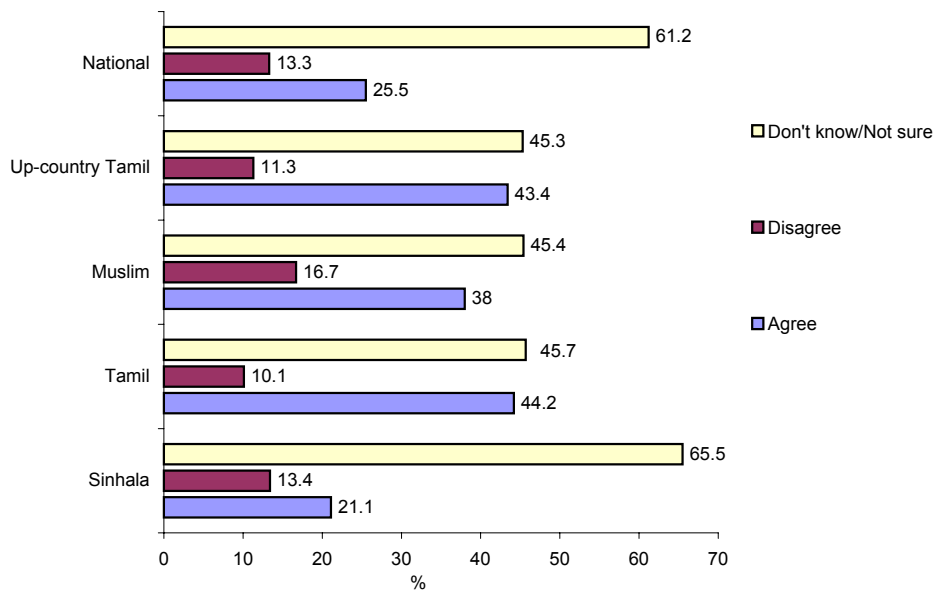


**Some people say that the CFA needs to be amended in order to strengthen and expand its scope. Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with this opinion ?**

**National Breakdown**

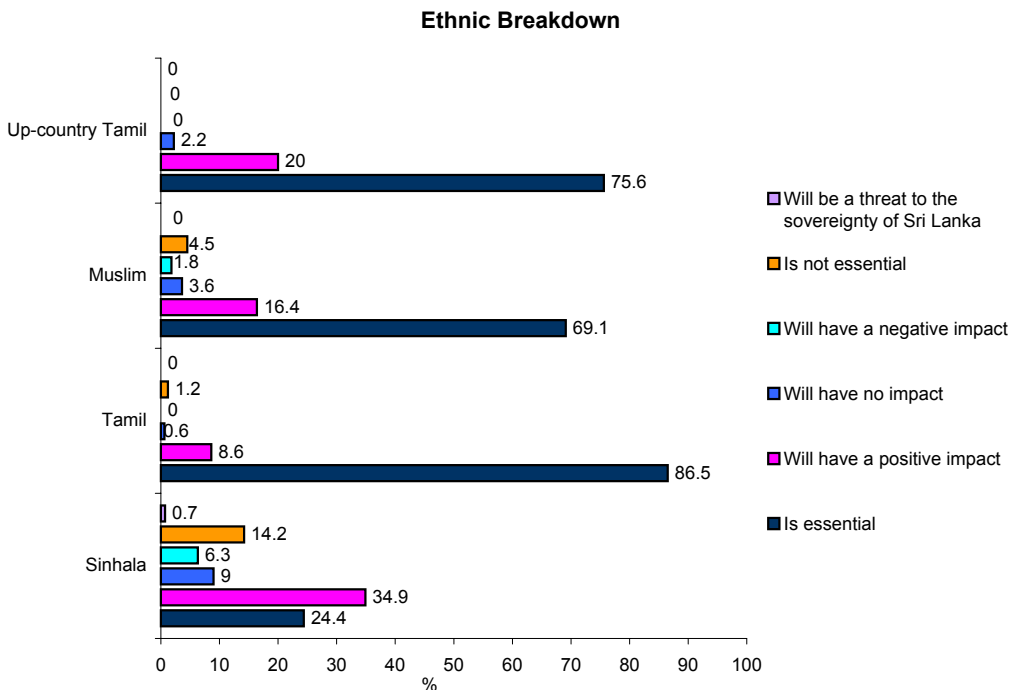
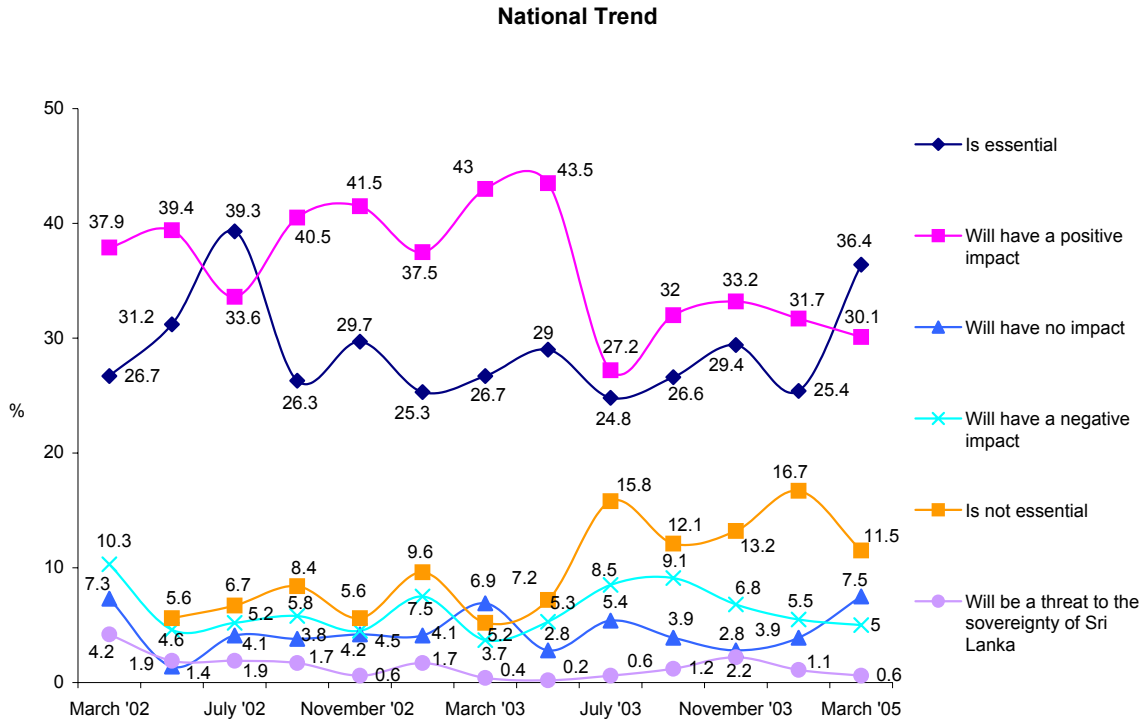


**Ethnic Breakdown**



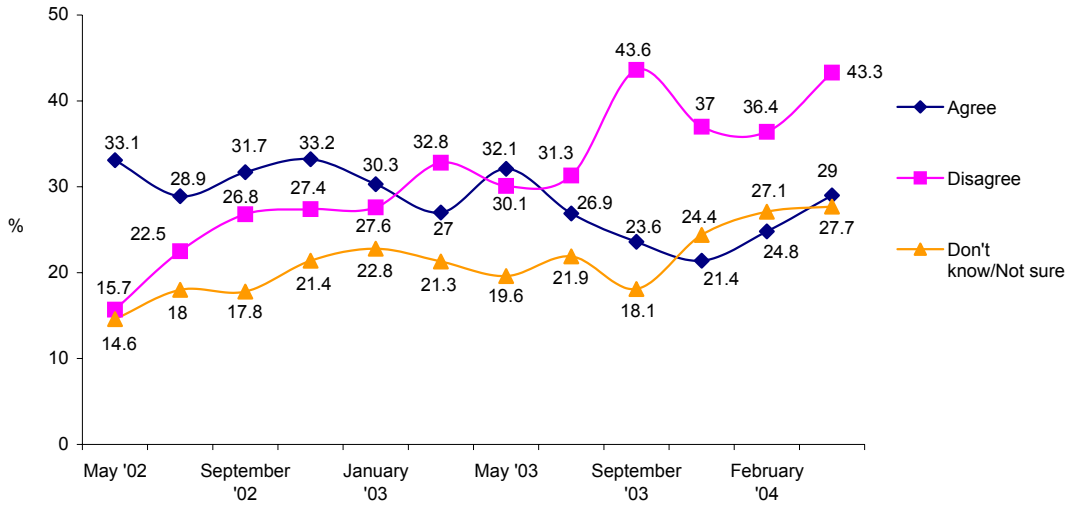
## Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission (SLMM)

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

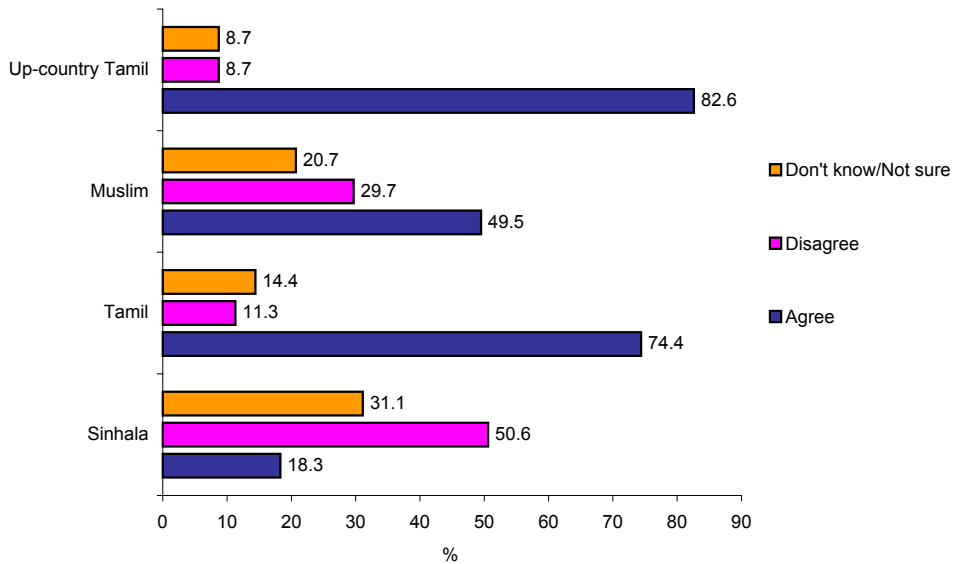


**I think the SLMM is impartial in its monitoring of the CFA.**

**National Trend**

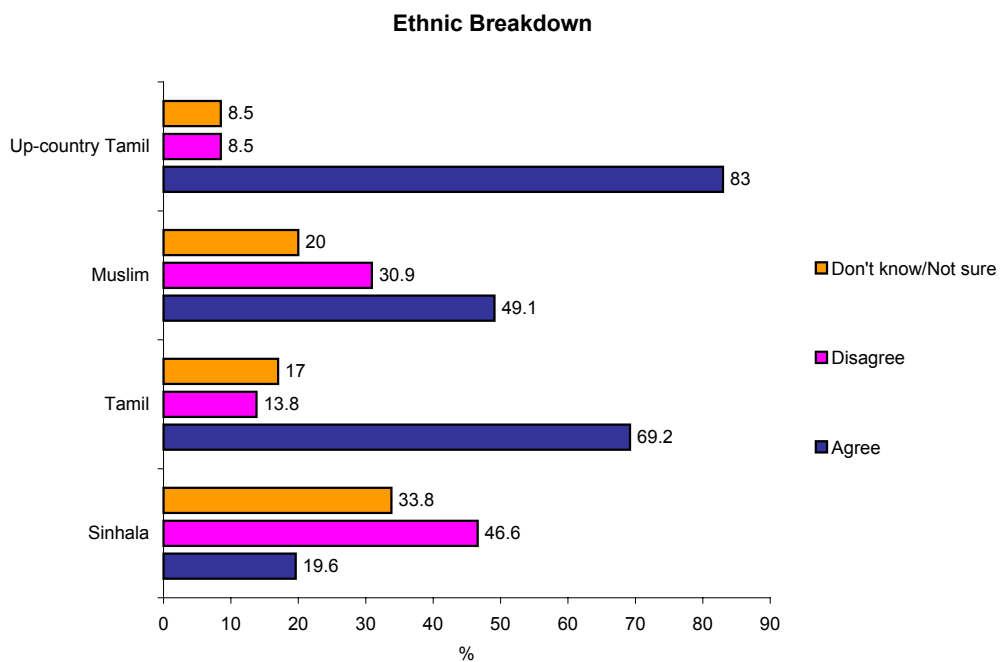
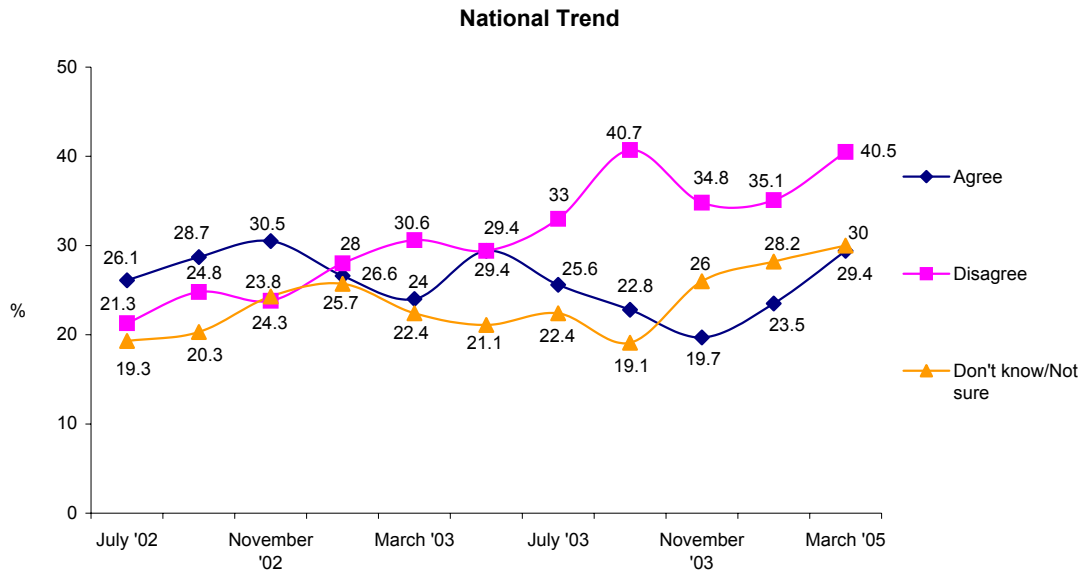


**Ethnic Breakdown**





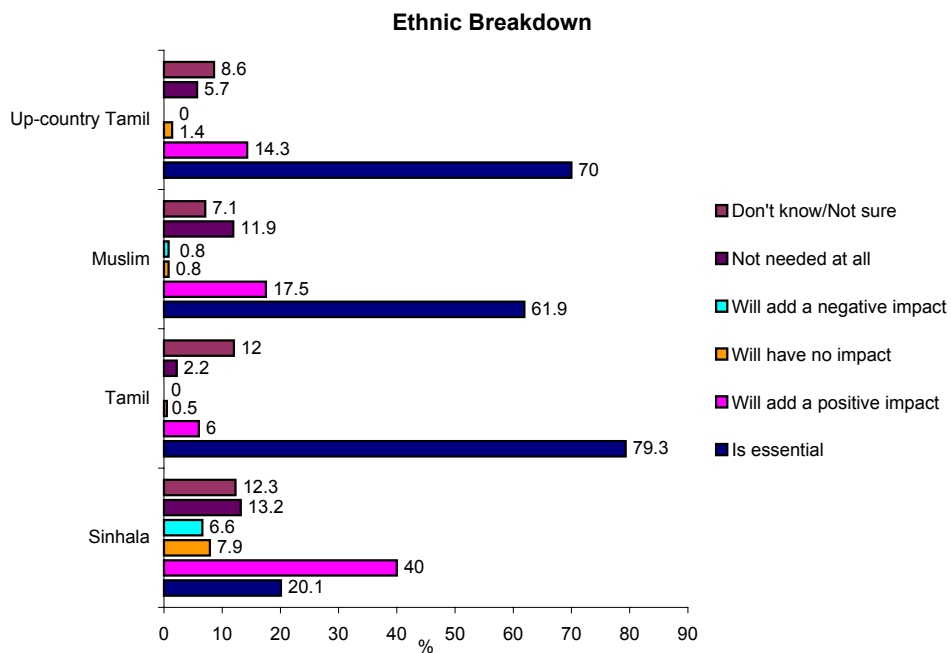
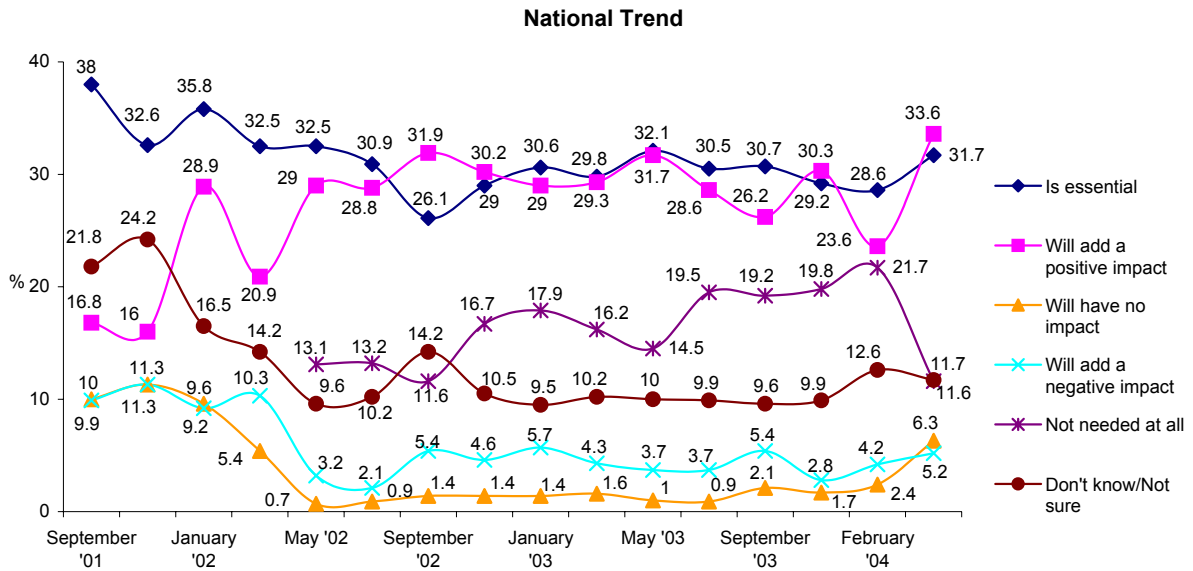
**I think the SLMM is effective in its monitoring of the CFA.**





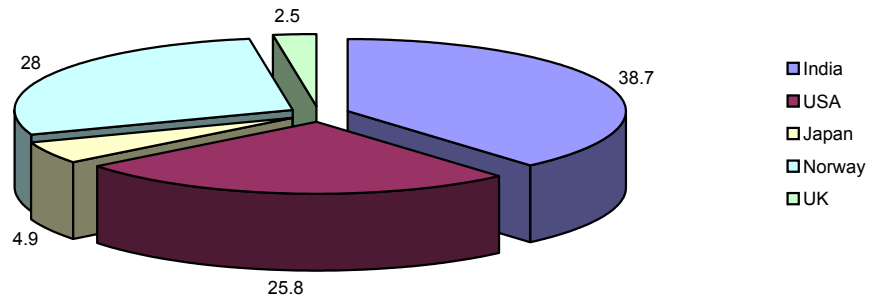
## Foreign Involvement

**What is your opinion of the need for an international third party as facilitator to solve the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka ?**

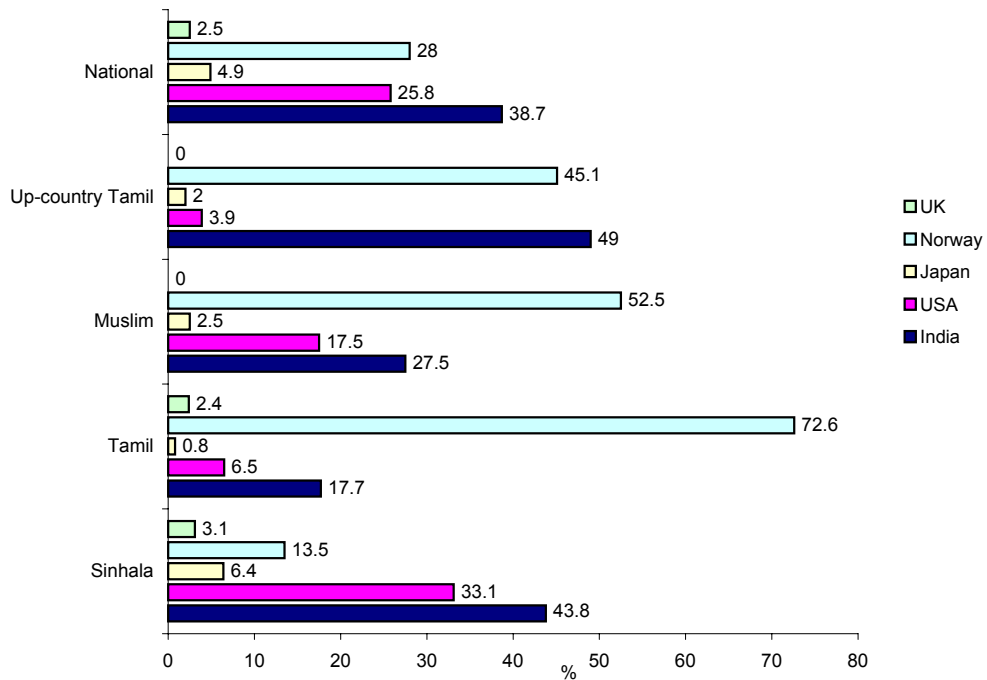


Please state the most suitable country that should play the role of facilitator in the peace process.

National Breakdown

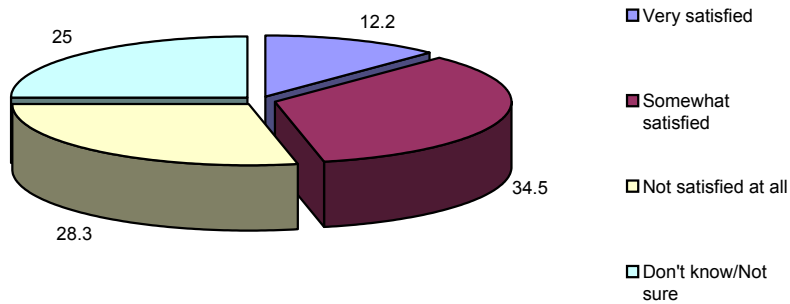


Ethnic Breakdown

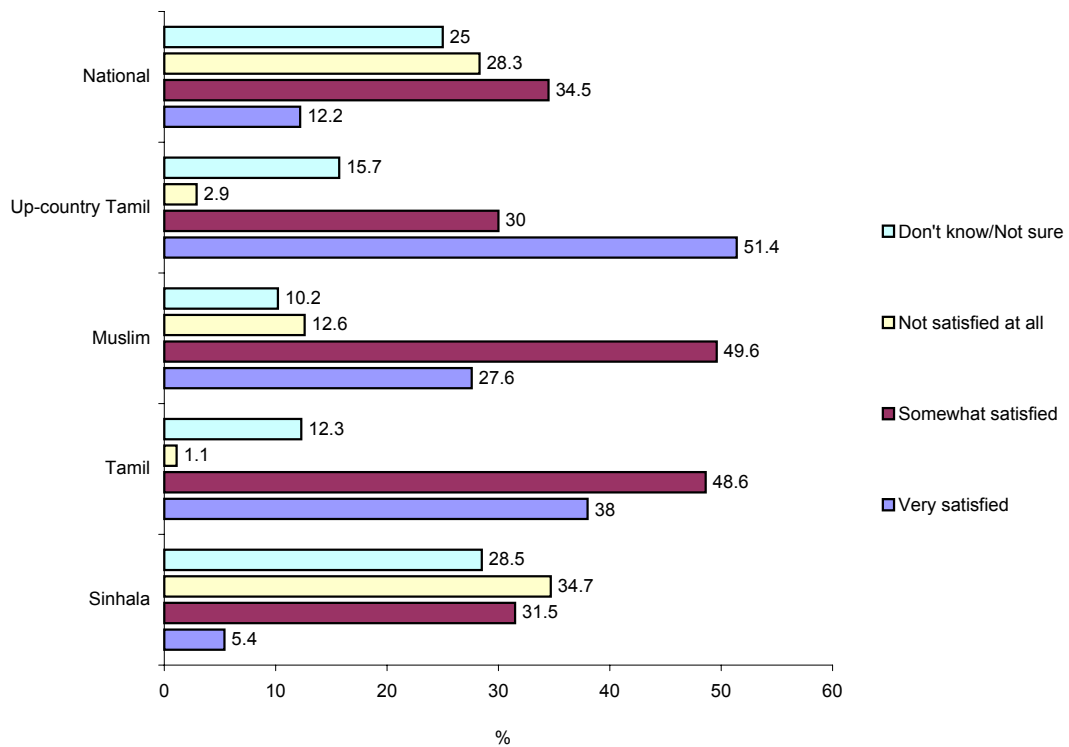


**The Norwegian government was facilitating peace negotiations since November 2001. Please tell me your level of satisfaction with the Norwegian role as facilitator ?**

**National Breakdown**

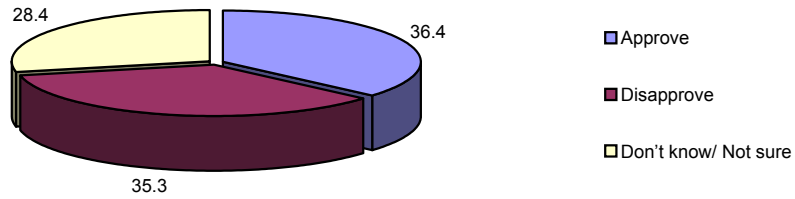


**Ethnic Breakdown**

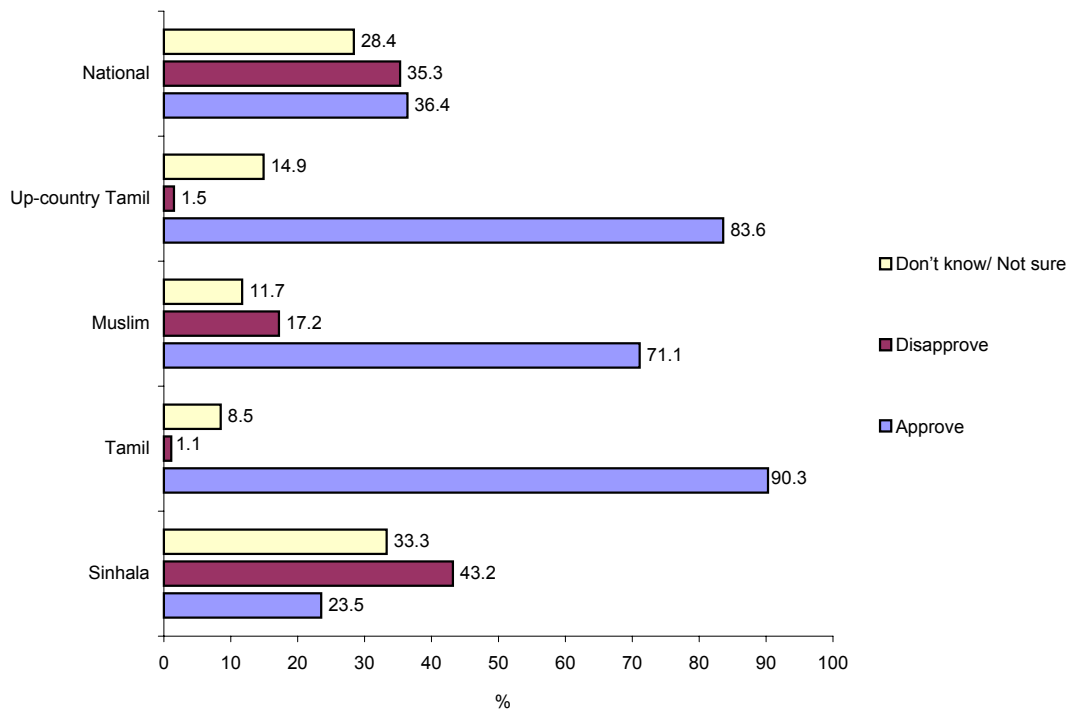


Please state if you approve or disapprove of Norway continuing to facilitate the peace process.

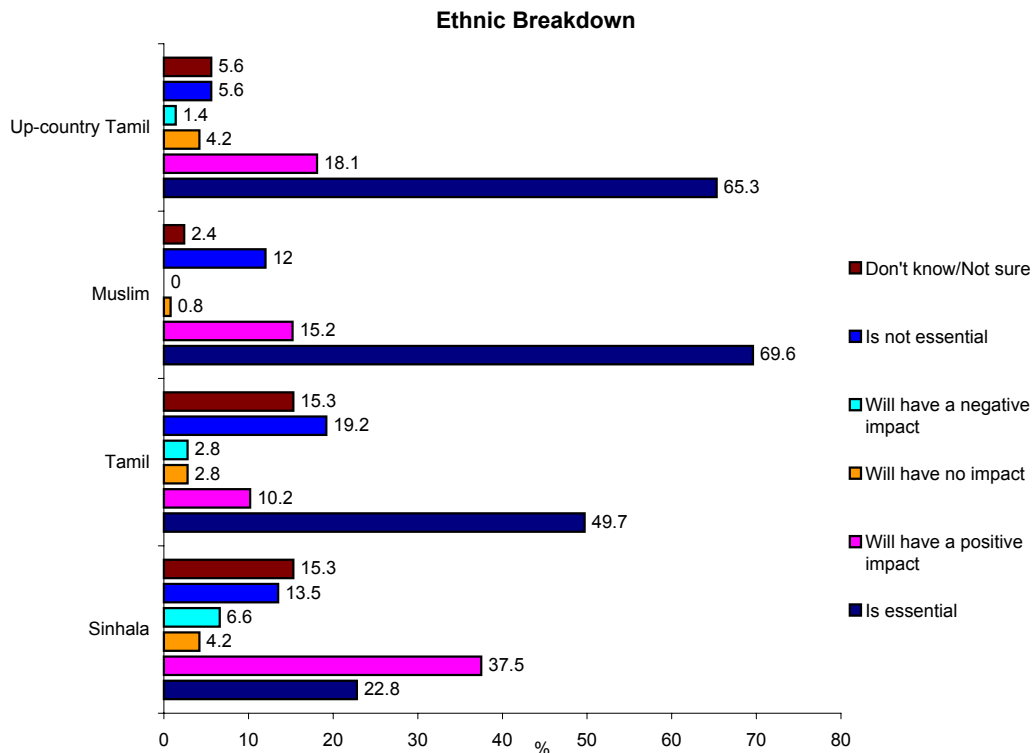
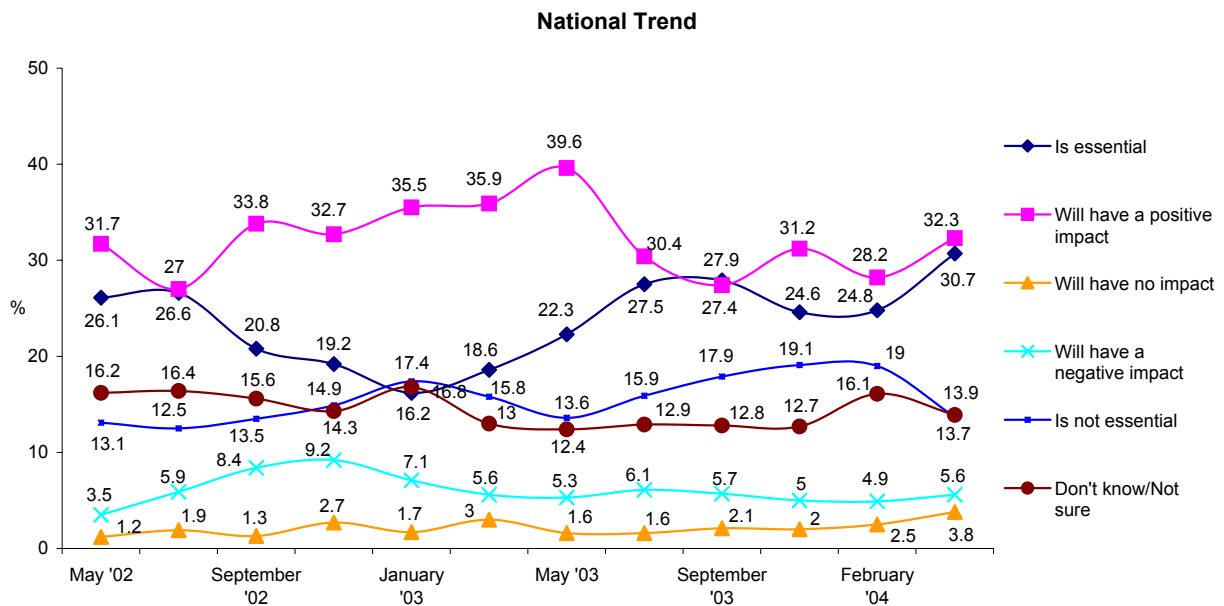
**National Breakdown**



**Ethnic Breakdown**



### What is your opinion of the need for India's involvement in the Sri Lankan Peace Process ?

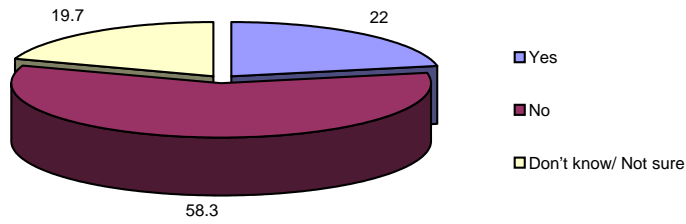




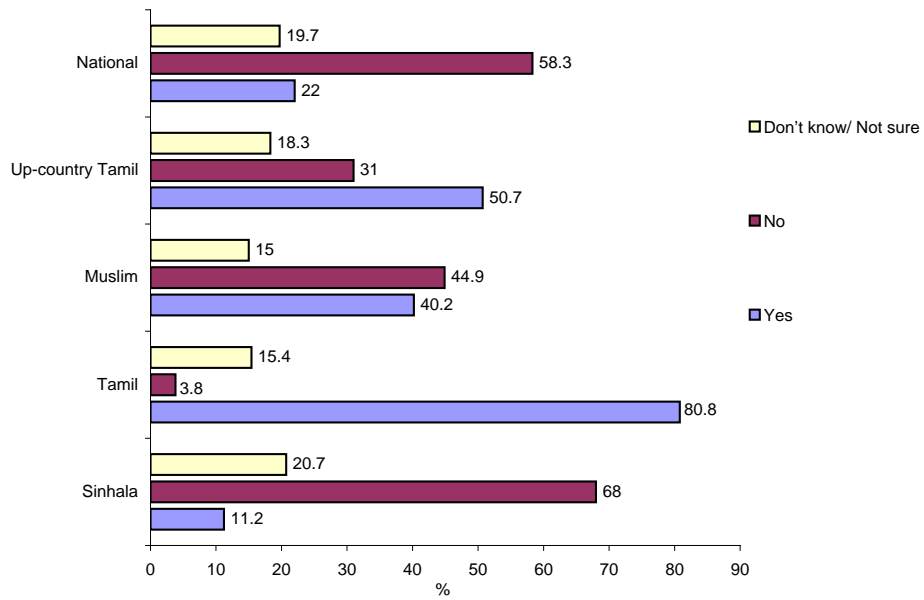
## Interim Administration

Do you agree with setting up an Interim Authority in the North East ?

National Breakdown

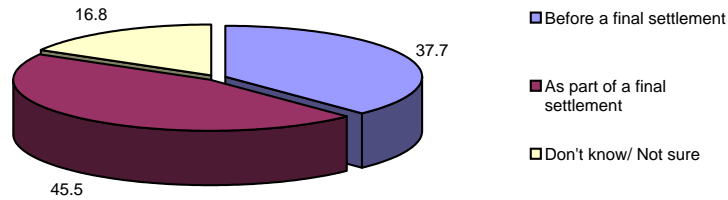


Ethnic Breakdown

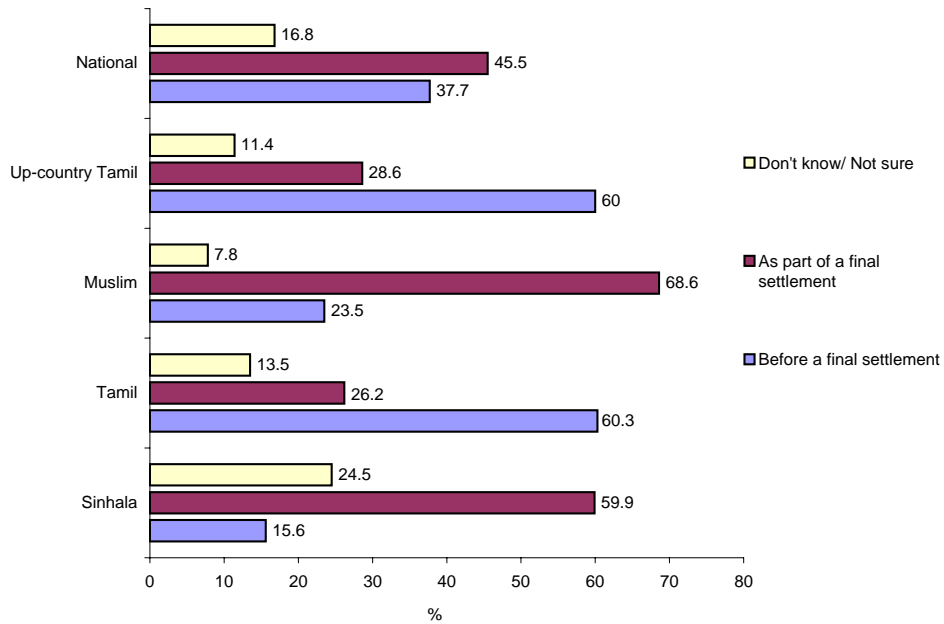


**If you agree with setting up an Interim Authority in the North East, do you think that it should be set up before a final settlement or as part of the final settlement ?**

**National Breakdown**



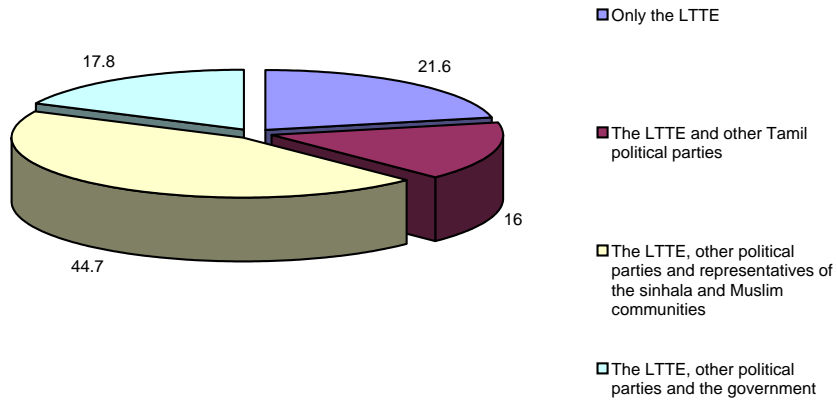
**Ethnic Breakdown**



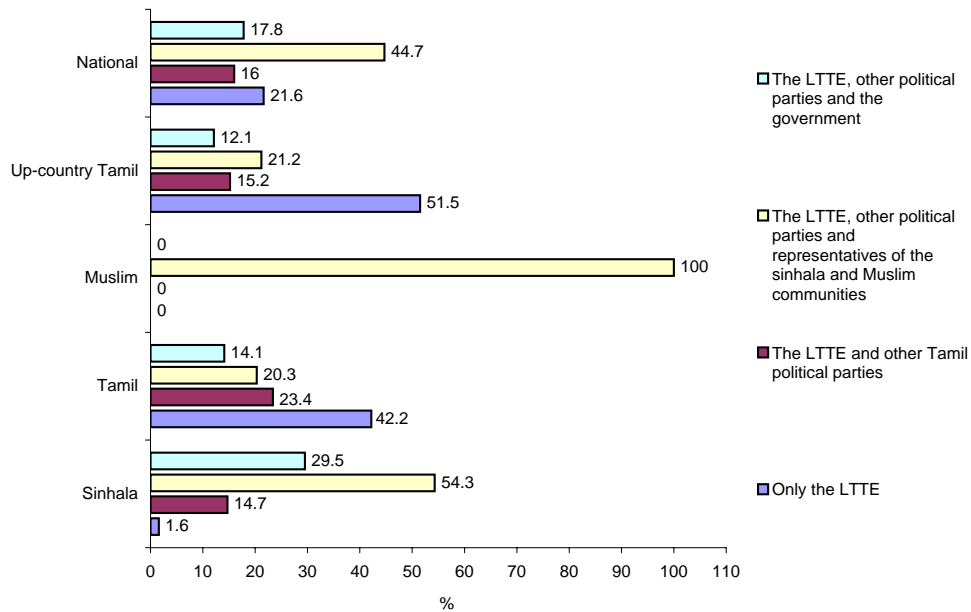


**Who should be included in the North East administration ?**

**National Breakdown**

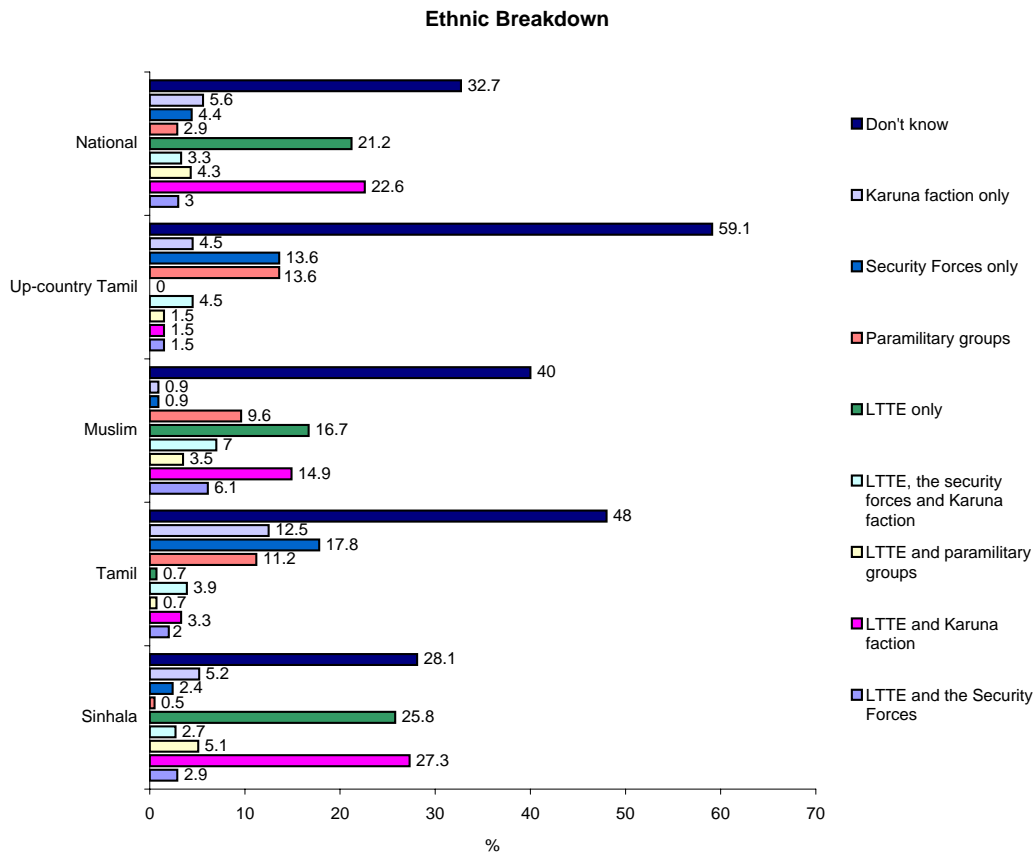
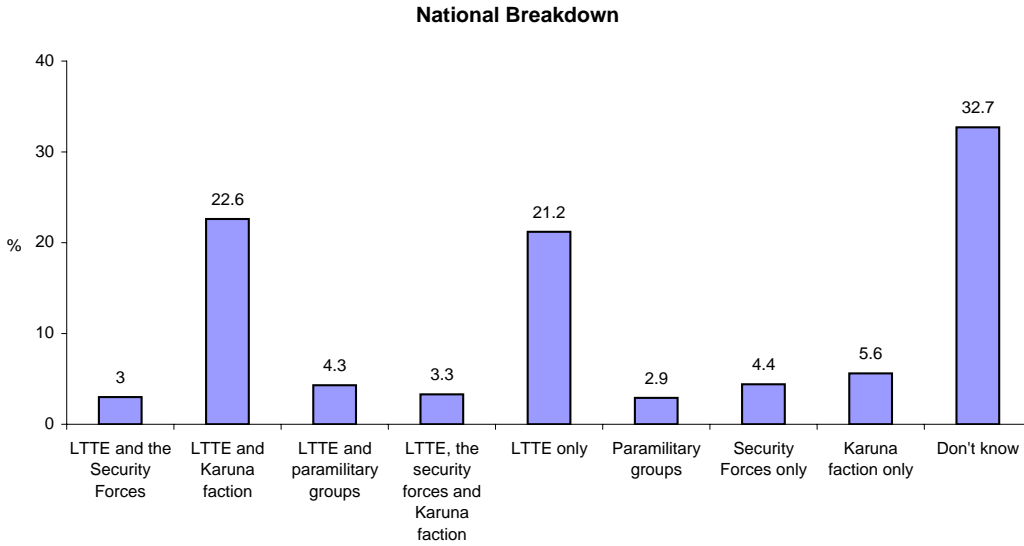


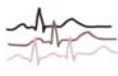
**Ethnic Breakdown**



## Tensions in the Eastern Province

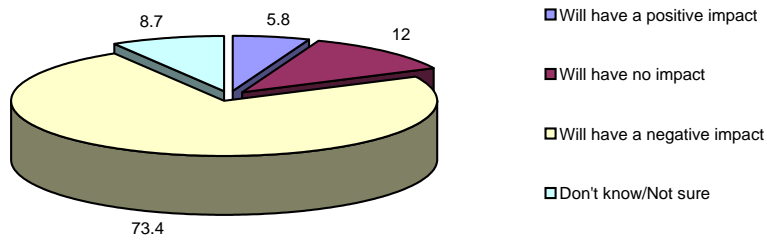
If you are aware of the increased killings in the Eastern Province, in your opinion who do you think is/are the perpetrator(s) ?



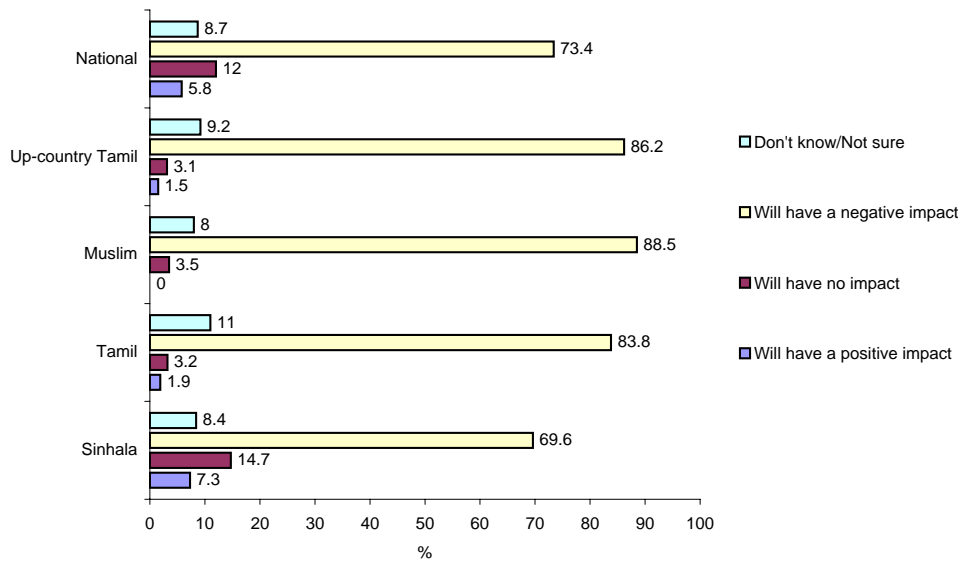


### In your opinion what will be the impact of these recent killings on the peace process ?

**National Breakdown**



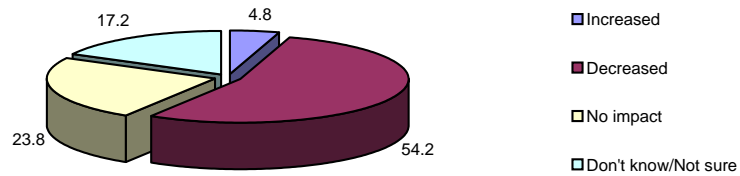
**Ethnic Breakdown**



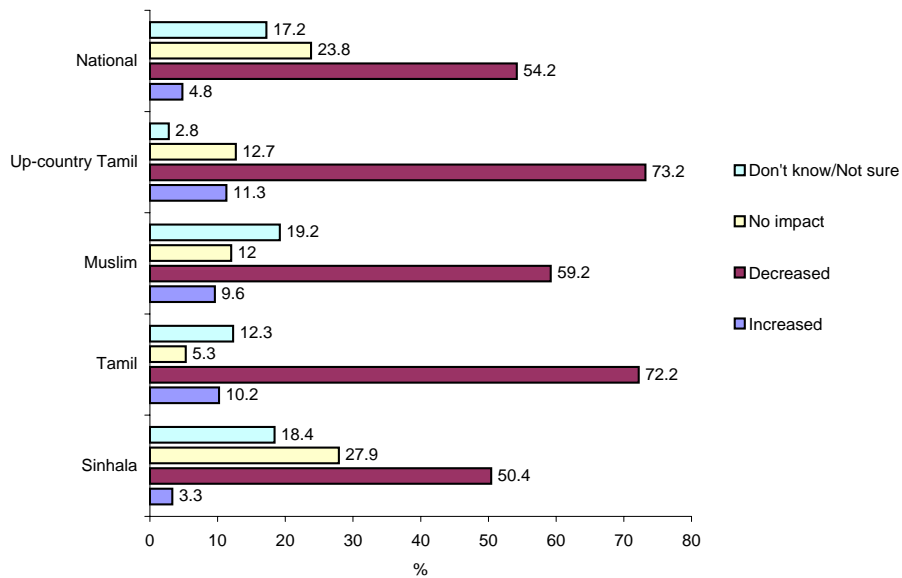
## Tsunami and the Peace Process

Has the Tsunami increased or decreased the likelihood of war ?

National Breakdown

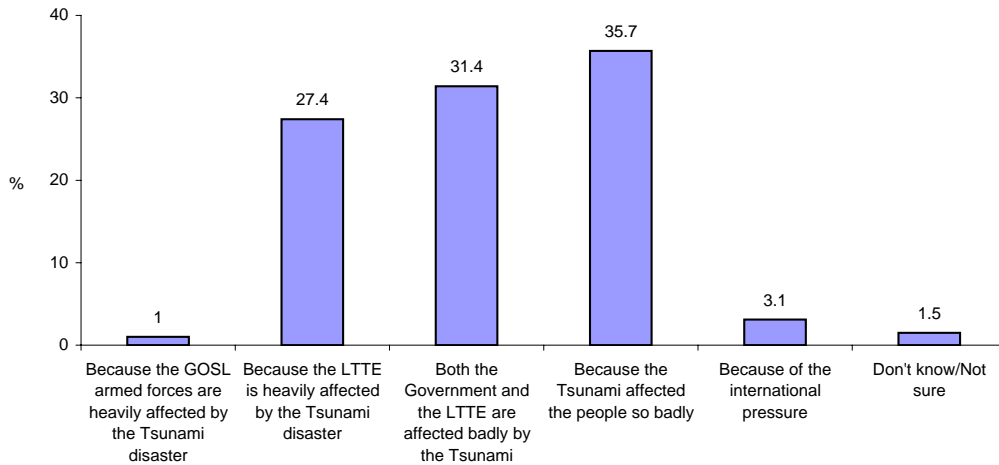


Ethnic Breakdown

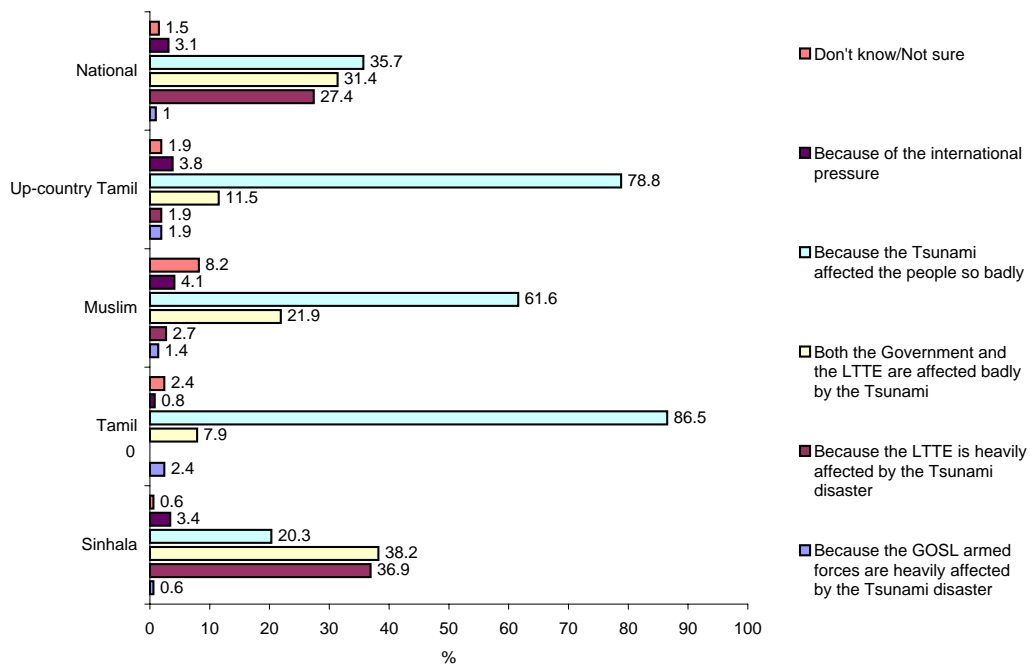


**If you agree that the likelihood of war has decreased, please state why ?**

**National Breakdown**

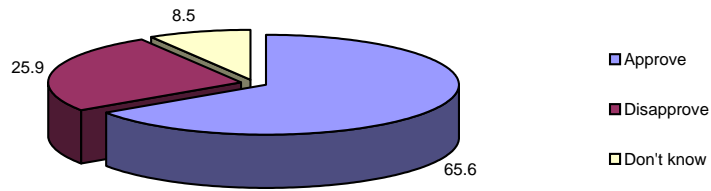


**Ethnic Breakdown**

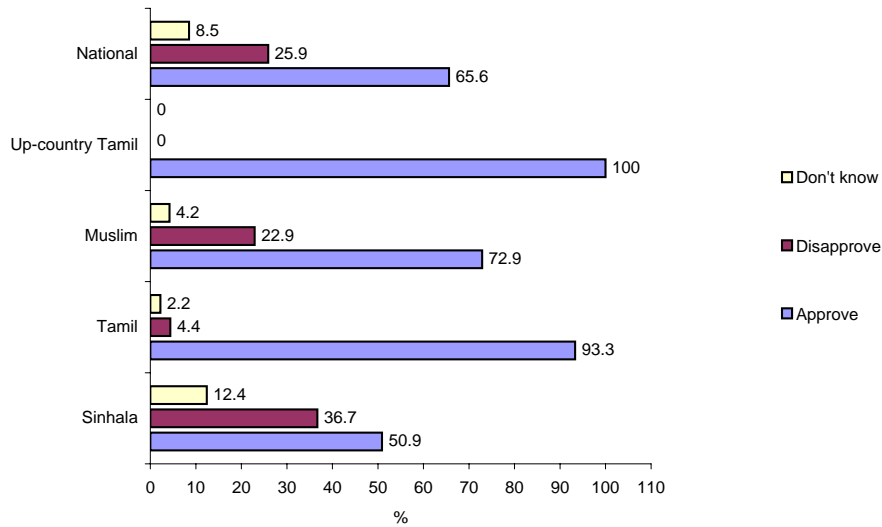


**Do you approve or disapprove of Norway's facilitations of an agreement between the Government of Sri Lanka and the LTTE on a joint mechanism to effectively distribute and utilize Tsunami relief?**

**National Breakdown**



**Ethnic Breakdown**





## Annex

### District sample (weighted) distribution in March 2005

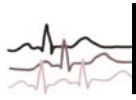
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DISTRICT	TOTAL
Colombo	244
Gampaha	214
Kalutara	107
Kandy	121
Matale	40
Nuwar Eliya	62
Galle	94
Hambantota	49
Matara	72
Anuradhapura	68
Polonnaruwa	34
Kurunegala	139
Puttlam	64
Badulla	68
Monaragala	34
Ratnapura	94
Kegalle	76
Ampara	51
Batticaloa	46
Trincomalee	37
Vavuniya	14
Jaffna	82
<b>NATIONAL</b>	<b>1808</b>

### Ethnic sample (weighted) distribution in March 2005

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ETHNICITY	TOTAL
Sinhala	1419
Tamil	189
Muslim	128
Up-country Tamil	71
<b>NATIONAL</b>	<b>1808</b>



## Sampling Methodology

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Given that the goal of the Peace Confidence Index (PCI) study is to measure the fluctuations in public confidence levels towards the peace process over time it is essential that the study be conducted repetitively with equal pauses during the study. Hence, from May 2001 to February 2004, PCI was conducted bi-monthly, however, from March 2005 onwards, SI decided to conduct the study quarterly to make the PCI more efficient.

The study is conducted using a structured questionnaire that is administered to a sample of approximately 1800 respondents during each phase of the study. This sample is adequate to capture the minimum ethnic diversity within the span of ten days of fieldwork. Although it is undeniable that an individual's opinion on the peace process is influenced by a number of factors, 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 amongst 22 administrative districts (strata) of Sri Lanka, but in the Amparai, Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Vavuniya and Jaffna districts the LTTE controlled areas were not covered due logistical difficulties and methodological concerns. In addition, the areas affected by the December 26, 2004 Tsunami, were excluded from this wave's sample due to ethical and logistical concerns. 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.



**S**ocial Indicator (SI) is an independent social research organisation, which conducts polls on socio-economic and political issues. Operating under the Board of Directors of the Centre for Policy Alternatives (CPA), SI was established in September 1999, and filled a longstanding vacuum for a permanent, professional and independent polling facility in Sri Lanka on social and political issues.

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



Published by:  
Social Indicator  
Centre for Policy Alternatives  
105, 5th Lane,  
Colombo 3,  
Sri Lanka.

Tel: +9411 2370472    Email: [cpapoll@diamond.lanka.net](mailto:cpapoll@diamond.lanka.net)  
Fax: +9411 2370475    Web: <http://www.cpalanka.org>