

An Opinion Poll on Peace



# Peace Confidence Index (PCI)

TOP-LINE RESULTS

June 2005

Social Indicator

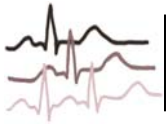
## ALSO IN THIS WAVE ...

- Solutions
- Confidence
- Ceasefire Agreement ( CFA )
- SLMM
- Foreign Involvement
- Joint Mechanism
- Sri Lanka Development Forum
- Tensions in Trincomalee

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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 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 an 1800 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 also excluded from the main sample due to ethical and logistical concerns. However, a special sample was allocated for the tsunami affected areas in order to assess the public opinion on issues concerning Tsunami affected people. Data is weighted to reflect the actual ethnographic composition of the districts in which the sample was surveyed.

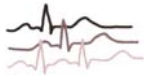
This is the nineteen wave of the PCI study, which was first conducted in May 2001. This publication presents only the top-line results of the June 2005 survey. The first part of the report presents the top-line results of the PCI while the second part presents the top-line results of the survey conducted exclusively in tsunami affected areas.

The results of these nineteen 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.

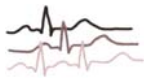


## KEY NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS MARCH 2005 – JUNE 2005

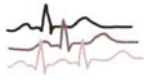
- SLMC Leader Rauff Hakeem informed Parliament today that the Sri Lanka Muslim Congress (SLMC) would oppose any move to establish a joint tsunami aid distribution mechanism in the north-east without consulting the Muslim community. (09 March 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 10 March 2005)
- President Chandrika Kumaratunga's Women's Day speech where she cited federalism as the only solution to the North-East problem drew a mixed reaction from political parties today. (09 March 2005)- (Daily Mirror on 10 March 2005)
- "I deeply regret any offense or misunderstanding caused by the published version of the interview I gave to the Sunday Times which appeared on March 6, 2005. The Sunday Times reported that I used the phrase "a kind of unofficial state." Regarding World Bank policy toward the LTTE, I stand by my previous statement that I never used the phrase "unofficial state." Rather, what I said was "an official statement" while discussing the Government's LTTE policy, said Peter Harrold. (11 March 2005)-(Daily News on 12 March 2005)
- A group of suspected Karuna fraction cadres attacked an LTTE camp near Vakara, off Batticaloa in the uncleared area, unconfirmed reports said last night. They said the clash that started late in the evening had continued till night. (11 March 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 12 March 2005)
- The LTTE had accepted a draft proposal, forwarded by peace broker Norway, to cooperate with the government on distributing tsunami relief, AFP reported officials and Tigers as saying yesterday. The LTTE in talks with the Norwegians in Oslo during the weekend agreed to a "joint mechanism" to handle millions of dollars in tsunami relief, according to comments from the group's political chief S. P. Thamilselvan posted on the pro-rebel Tamilnet.com website. (13 March 2005)-(The Island on 14 March 2005)
- Police yesterday used tear gas to disperse a crowd of around 1500 people who surrounded the Ariyampathi Divisional Secretariat office in Kattankudy demanding tsunami relief and protesting against the disposal of some expired food items, which were reportedly not expired. (13 March 2005)- (Daily Mirror on 14 March 2005)
- Eighty per cent of the funds earmarked by the Government have been channelled for the reconstruction and rehabilitation of infrastructure in tsunami affected areas. The Task Force for Rebuilding the Nation (TAFREN) said on Sunday that the Government needed more international assistance to build townships. This area is open for funding by the international community. (14 March 2005)- (Daily News on 15 March 2005)
- The Australian High Commissioner, Dr. Greg French, visited the eastern districts of Trincomalee, Batticaloa and Ampara on March 1-3 to inspect the tsunami assistance projects being funded by the Australian Government. (14 March 2005)- (Daily News on 15 March 2005)
- British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Jack Straw has expressed serious concern at the acquisition of an unauthorised aircraft by the LTTE. (15 March 2005)- (Daily News on 16 March 2005)
- JVP leader Somawansa Amerasinghe said yesterday the UPFA government did not have a mandate to devolve power since the UPFA did not put it before the people at the last general election. (16 March 2005)- (Daily Mirror on 17 March 2005)
- With joint mechanism talks between the government and the LTTE reaching the final stages, UNP and Opposition Leader Ranil Wickremesinghe emphasized the need for Sinhala and Muslim representation in the joint mechanism. (16 March 2005)- (Daily Mirror on 17 March 2005)
- THE Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) who are in Europe seeking a bigger share of tsunami aid were asked by donor nation Sweden on Tuesday to get back to the negotiating table and take action to avoid recruiting child soldiers. (17 March 2005)- (Daily News on 18 March 2005)
- A Sri Lankan professor has said that Canada should ban the LTTE. Professor of Law at the Colombo University Rohan Edrisinha, who is also a director of the Centre of Policy Alternatives said he thought the only way to go forward was for the government and the LTTE to continue to talk to each other, and work out a political solution, the Toronto Star reported today. (18 March 2005)- (The Island on 19 March 2005)
- A two-hour battle between LTTE cadres and the Karuna faction in the Nelichivil jungles in Welikande left at least two dead and several injured while the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission moved in to defuse the crisis. (21 March 2005)- (Daily Mirror on 22 March 2005)
- The eleven-day satyagraha launched by the North-East Sinhala Organization, and the hunger strike, were called off yesterday after the government assured its demands would be met and the proposed LTTE-Government aid mechanism scrapped if the people opposed it. (24 March 2005)- (Daily Mirror on 25 March 2005)



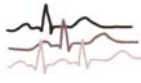
- The Army yesterday categorically denied the existence of any LTTE camp in Government-controlled areas in remote Thivichchenai village in the Polonnaruwa district. It refuted allegations that this village was ringed by Army camps and detachments. (24 March 2005)- (Daily News on 25 March 2005)
- The Government could sign a deal brokered by Norway with the LTTE to provide a formula for distributing tsunami relief as long as it was not seen as giving the LTTE de facto recognition as a Government, Foreign Minister Lakshman Kadirgamar said. (25 March 2005)- (Daily News on 26 March 2005)
- Five LTTE Wannai cadres were killed in two separate incidents on Saturday as clashes for supremacy in the east between the Wannai cadres and the Karuna faction continued. (27 March 2005)- (Daily Mirror on 28 March 2005)
- Karuna loyalists struck deep inside LTTE-held territory Saturday night, killing three Vanni faction cadres and two civilians in two separate incidents at Iralakkulam and Perimbaweli. (26 March 2005)- (The Island on 28 March 2005)
- The government said today that it does not intend holding a referendum on the abolition of the executive presidency. Cabinet spokesman and Media Minister Mangala Samaraweera, told The Island that there was a misconception that the government is to hold a referendum on the abolition of the executive presidency at enormous cost. (01 April 2005)- (The Island on 02 April 2005)
- An EPDP cadre, Kokiladasan Gowindan, (21) of Chenkaladi was shot dead with a 3.8 pistol by gunmen who arrived on a motorcycle. The victim had been cycling to the Kovil at the time of the incident. (03 April 2005)- (Daily Mirror on 04 April 2005)
- A Norwegian member of the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission today received gunshot injuries when the LTTE opened fire on a Navy patrol boat, military spokesman Brigadier Daya Ratnayake said. The Norwegian was on board the Navy vessel when the Tigers breached the CFA by firing on it. He was admitted to Navy hospital in Trincomalee. (05 April 2005)- (The Island on 06 April 2005 & Daily News on 06 April 2005)
- The Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission yesterday repeated its concern over continuing lawlessness in LTTE and government controlled areas in the East. Spokeswoman Helen Olafsdottir said the killings of Vocational Training Ministry director Thiyagarajah Kailanandan in Batticaloa on Monday was a serious matter and the monitors were probing it. (05 April 2005)- (Daily Mirror on 06 April 2005)
- A senior army officer based in Batticaloa had told the Presidential Commission, investigating the ongoing wave of attacks on the LTTE (Vanni faction), that the attack on Ampara-Batticaloa political leader Kaushalyan could have been thwarted if the slain cadre listened to their advice. (06 April 2005)- (The Island on 07 April 2005)
- Finance Minister Sarath Amunugama -- obviously seething at three months of media criticism over post-tsunami reconstruction efforts -- declared at a press briefing last week that the government's biggest challenge was "uninformed media". (09 April 2005)- (The Island on 10 April 2005)
- LTTE cadres continued firing over the roadblock of the Security Forces at Mahindapura in Trincomalee for the fourth day, military spokesman Daya Ratnayake said. (18 April 2005)- (Daily Mirror on 19 April 2005)
- The Commissioner of Elections has postponed for the 5th time the local government polls for 53 bodies in some areas of the North and East. (15 April 2005)- (The Island on 16 April 2005)
- Visiting US Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia Christina B. Rocca yesterday urged the government "to speak with one voice on the peace process" and together with the LTTE speedily agree to a joint mechanism for tsunami relief. (19 April 2005)- (Daily Mirror on 20 April 2005)
- The government yesterday warned the LTTE not to provoke it into starting another war, which no one wants, saying there is a limit to the government's patience. (21 April 2005)- (Daily Mirror on 22 April 2005)
- Local environmentalists reiterating their strong opposition to the controversial Sethusamudram project in the Palk Straits, which received the Indian environment ministry's approval, said they would not permit the project to go ahead, while the government was entangled in a bureaucratic mess. (22 April 2005)- (The Island on 23 April 2005)
- The Government's main Muslim ally, National Unity Alliance dropped a bombshell when it too objected to the establishment of a joint mechanism. NUA Leader Ferial Ashraff emphasized to the Norwegian facilitators that she saw no reason for her community to sit together with the LTTE. (24 April 2005)- (Daily Mirror on 25 April 2005)
- Missing Police Inspector T. Jeyaratnam's wife, Sarala Jeyaratnam says that she has no doubts that the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) had abducted her husband. She told The Island "I have no doubts about it. I am sure the LTTE did it. (24 April 2005)- (The Island on 25 April 2005)



- The proposed joint mechanism between the government and the LTTE, to handle tsunami relief and reconstruction, is running into stiff resistance from the Muslim political parties and the Sinhala organisations in the Eastern Province. (25 April 2005)- (*The Island on 26 April 2005*)
- The JVP yesterday urged the international community to, instead of bringing pressure to bear on the government and its constituent parties to agree to a joint mechanism with the LTTE for the distribution of tsunami aid, produce a road map for peace in the country. (26 April 2005)- (*The Island on 27 April 2005*)
- World Bank Chief James Wolfensohn has commended the Sri Lankan tsunami aid distribution mechanism and the use of State banks' network to disperse tsunami grants as an example to others, at the 2005 WB/IMF's spring meeting which concluded in Washington recently. (26 April 2005)- (*Daily News on 27 April 2005*)
- The Central Bank revealed yesterday that for the first time in the country's history, per capita income had topped the US\$ 1,000 mark though prosperity is largely confined to the Western Province. (29 April 2005)- (*Daily Mirror on 30 April 2005*)
- Police investigating journalist Dharmalingam Sivaram's killing are baffled as to why he was shot dead on the banks of the Diyawanna Oya near parliament. Sivaram, also known by his journalistic pseudonym, Taraki had been shot once through his head killing him instantaneously. Police have recovered two 9mm empties near the body. (29 April 2005)- (*The Island on 01 May 2005*)
- President Chandrika Kumaratunga yesterday agreed to a request by the LTTE to allow its members to participate in the funeral of slain journalist Dharmaretnam Sivaram in a government-controlled area in Batticaloa today, state television Rupavahini reported. (01 May 2005)- (*Daily Mirror on 02 May 2005*)
- In one of her toughest statements, President Chandrika Kumaratunga yesterday vowed to go ahead with the joint mechanism with the LTTE even if that meant losing her presidency or the downfall of the UPFA government. (03 May 2005)- (*Daily Mirror on 04 May 2005*)
- Within five days of President Chandrika Kumartunga's public statement at Piliyandala that she did not think the JVP would oppose the proposed joint mechanism with the LTTE to handle tsunami aid and rebuilding, JVP leader Somawansa Amarasinghe has said his party does not speak with two tongues and their answer to such a mechanism is a definite NO. (03 May 2005)- (*The Island on 04 May 2005*)
- President Chandrika Kumaratunga yesterday held one to one talks with Prime Minister Mahinda Rajapakse to brief him on the progress of talks on the Joint Mechanism for tsunami rehabilitation in the northeast and also on the government's proposed restructuring programme on state institutions incurring losses, political sources said. (04 May 2005)- (*Daily Mirror on 05 May 2005*)
- Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) leader Veerasingham Anandasangaree challenges the Tamil National Alliance (TNA) Parliamentarians to condemn the killings of all journalists, academics and others, when they debate the killing of the TamilNet editor D. Sivaram, in Parliament today. (04 May 2005)- (*The Island on 05 May 2005*)
- President Chandrika Kumaratunga has briefed the Cabinet on the details of the joint mechanism with the LTTE -- a subject hardly discussed in the Cabinet previously -- and undertook to give the Ministers a draft copy of the agreement soon. (05 May 2005)- (*Daily Mirror on 06 May 2005*)
- The main opposition UNP today said it was not ready to discuss the joint mechanism with the government saying it was premature to talk about it at this stage. In a letter to President Chandrika Kumaratunga the UNP was responding to an invitation sent to Opposition leader Ranil Wickremesinghe by her to discuss the joint mechanism on May 9. (06 May 2005)- (*Daily Mirror on 07 May 2005*)
- TONY Blair won a historic straight third term as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom on his 52nd birthday today, but with a lower majority. Congratulatory messages poured in from world leaders as his victory was confirmed. (06 May 2005)- (*Daily Mirror on 07 May 2005*)
- While President Chandrika Kumaratunga was making preparations for a meeting with foreign diplomats to brief them on the proposed Joint Mechanism (JM) between the government and the LTTE, the UPFA coalition ally JVP fired an anti-JM propaganda salvo yesterday, vowing to defeat the government plans. (07 May 2005)- (*The Island on 08 May 2005*)
- With just days to go for the crucial international donor conference in Kandy the donor nations are reported to be still not unanimous in their decision to sign a joint statement insisting on the need for a joint mechanism between the government and the LTTE, diplomatic sources told the Daily Mirror today. (10 May 2005)- (*Daily Mirror on 11 May 2005*)
- Life in several areas of the North and the East came to a standstill yesterday when an LTTE-backed hartal was staged to protest the killing of a demonstrator during clashes at a checkpoint near Sandivell in Batticaloa on Monday. (10 May 2005)- (*Daily Mirror on 11 May 2005*)

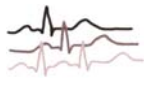


- The JVP today called on President Chandrika Kumaratunga to hold provincial elections separately for the North and East as provided for in the Constitution. JVP Leader Somawansa Amarasinghe addressing a rally at the Town Hall grounds in Colombo to protest over the proposed joint mechanism between the government and the LTTE said the failure to hold PC elections in the North and East had denied the Tamil-speaking people there of their basic rights. (10 May 2005)- (Daily Mirror on 11 May 2005)
- Opposition Leader Ranil Wickremesinghe yesterday expressed surprise at the President's statement that the establishment of a post-tsunami operational management structure or a joint mechanism was not part of the peace process. (11 May 2005)- (Daily Mirror on 12 May 2005)
- The donor community will not make any demands on the government to sign an agreement with the LTTE on the Joint Mechanism, prior to the Sri Lanka Development Forum Donor Conference in Kandy next week, World Bank Country Director Peter Harrold said today. (12 May 2005)- (Daily Mirror on 13 May 2005)
- A mysterious sword and spear group calling itself the 'Therapuththabhaya Balakaya' yesterday claimed responsibility for the killing of senior journalist Dharmaretnam Sivaram and warned that others who did harm to the motherland would face the same fate. (12 May 2005)- (Daily Mirror on 13 May 2005)
- The Indian High Commission last night dismissed reports attributed to a discussion between its foreign Secretary Shyam Saran and Norwegian Special Envoy Erik Solheim in Delhi where it was stated that India was opposed to any dictatorship by the Tamil Tigers in the proposed northeast joint mechanism. (13 May 2005)- (Daily Mirror on 14 May 2005)
- The Sri Lanka Army said yesterday it was ironic for the LTTE to call itself the sole representative and guardian of the Tamils as it obstructed the Army's humanitarian mine clearance team from clearing a patch of mined land on the side of the A9 road to prepare a civilian crossing point. (15 May 2005)- (Daily Mirror on 16 May 2005)
- JHU parliamentary group leader Ven. Athuraliye Rathana Thera created a stir at yesterday's inaugural session of the Sri Lanka Development Forum -- making an unscheduled statement slamming the LTTE and the proposed joint mechanism. (16 May 2005)- (Daily Mirror on 17 May 2005)
- President Chandrika Kumaratunga today said her life was in "extreme danger" as she moved to enter into a joint mechanism on aid-sharing with the LTTE. (06 May 2005)- (The Island on 17 May 2005)
- The Government recorded an unprecedented response from the donor community yesterday for its post tsunami reconstruction plan, on the first date of the Sri Lanka Development Forum held in Kandy with donors making commitments worth US\$ 2.2 billion yesterday itself, Finance Minister Dr. Sarath Amunugama announced last evening here in Kandy. (16 May 2005)- (Daily News on 17 May 2005)
- Trincomalee town is under police curfew after clashes between Sinhalese and organised Tamil groups. Clashes which erupted early yesterday morning have already claimed the life of one Sinhalese while injuring three others. Military spokesman Brigadier Daya Ratnayake told The Island that the organised Tamil groups were instigated by the LTTE and they had hurled grenades at Sinhalese shops. (17 May 2005)- (The Island on 18 May 2005)
- Trincomalee which was affected by an LTTE inspired hartal on Tuesday remained a ghost town yesterday as well with shops closed and streets deserted with hardly a sign of life visible. (18 May 2005)- (Daily Mirror on 19 May 2005)
- The UNP is furious over a CWC claim that the main opposition party was trying to jeopardise the ongoing efforts to establish a Joint Mechanism (JM), which would give the LTTE a hand in tsunami rehabilitation and reconstruction work, in the northern and eastern provinces. The UNP was impeding the efforts being made to strengthen the peace process, the CWC charged. (18 May 2005)- (The Island on 19 May 2005)
- India has voiced concern over the LTTE acquiring air power, which no other organized terrorist group in the world has been able to acquire themselves, a report in The Times of India said quoting an analyst saying, "It puts a serious question on the LTTE's commitment to any negotiated settlement." (20 May 2005)- (The Island on 21 May 2005)
- The TNA said yesterday courage had been displayed by the government in its effort to take the peace process forward and said the party hoped that words would now be translated into action. (20 May 2005)- (Daily Mirror on 21 May 2005)
- Human Rights Watch yesterday (24) called for an end to the killings of civilians and asked the government and the LTTE to support the appointment of an independent commission to probe the killings, as these have created fear among the Sri Lankan Tamils. The New York based HRW said, "The ceasefire between the government and the LTTE is welcome, but some are using it as an opportunity to kill their opponents." (24 May 2005)- (The Island on 25 May 2005)



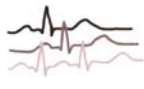
- Aid money given to rebuild Sri Lanka after December's devastating tsunami is getting held up on the ground, to the frustration of governments and donors, World Bank Vice President Praful Patel said in an interview. (25 May 2005)- (Daily Mirror on 26 May 2005)
- The JVP leaders now in Tokyo had asked Japanese peace envoy Yashushi Akashi how a government freely elected by the people could work with a terrorist organisation in a joint mechanism. (25 May 2005)- (Daily Mirror on 26 May 2005)
- While the JVP's latest proposals for a national council for tsunami aid distribution have some positive aspects, President Chandrika Kumaratunga cannot accept them because they are not connected to ground realities in the North-East, Presidential sources said today. (26 May 2005)- (Daily Mirror on 27 May 2005)
- The Supreme Court yesterday acquitted, of all the charges, the accused appellants, who had appealed to the Court against the judgement of the High Court trial-at-Bar, whereby they were convicted of the murder of 27 detainees at the Bindunuwewe Rehabilitation Camp, and also of being members of an unlawful assembly, with the object of causing hurt to the detainees, and having caused hurt to fourteen of the detainees. (27 May 2005)- (The Island on 28 May 2005)
- The remaining four accused in the Bindunuwewa rehabilitation camp massacre case were yesterday acquitted by a five-judge Bench of the Supreme Court on the basis that the evidence against them lacked merit. (27 May 2005)- (Daily Mirror on 28 May 2005)
- EUROPEAN truce monitors in Sri Lanka have warned that the "air assets" of the LTTE could reignite war on the island and destabilise security in South Asia. The Norwegian-led Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission said the LTTE possess an airstrip in the island's north, but warned that any move by government forces to bomb it could lead to the resumption of war. (27 May 2005)- (Daily News on 28 May 2005)
- Former US President and United Nations Special Envoy on Tsunami Recovery, Bill Clinton met with LTTE front organisation, TRO (Tamil Rehabilitation Organisation) on Saturday at the Trans-Asia hotel along with other non governmental organisations. The meeting was facilitated by the United Nations office in Colombo. (29 May 2005)- (The Island on 30 May 2005)
- President Chandrika Kumaratunga today said the proposed joint mechanism with the LTTE was a solid stepping stone to a permanent peace and therefore urged opposing elements not to sabotage the move by sticking to philosophies which are not practical. (29 May 2005)- (Daily Mirror on 30 May 2005)
- Head of the Military Intelligence Corps Major Nizam Muthaliph was gunned down by men believed to be from the LTTE at Polhengoda today morning. (31 May 2005)- (Daily News on 01 June 2005)
- The LTTE has invited the four major donor agencies to Kilinochchi to discuss the outcome of the development forum held in Kandy and how the future tsunami reconstruction and rehabilitation work could be carried out. (01 June 2005)- (Daily Mirror on 02 June 2005)
- A UNCHR research has revealed that 65 per cent of the tsunami affected Sri Lankans have refused to live within the buffer zone. (01 June 2005)- (Daily News on 02 June 2005)
- India today gave visiting Sri Lankan President Chandrika Kumaratunga the nod to go ahead with the joint mechanism amidst certain conditions, top diplomatic sources revealed last night. (03 June 2005)- (Daily Mirror on 04 June 2005)
- India is willing to help Sri Lanka redesign its air defence network and provide it with radars to improve its airspace coverage, the 'Indian Express' newspaper reported today. (03 June 2005)- (The Island on 04 June 2005)
- The United States last week joined India is expressing concern over the LTTE's acquisition of air capability. During a discussion with Foreign Minister Lakshman Kadirgamar in Washington, US Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice on Friday said her government "took serious note" of the LTTE's acquisition of air capability. (04 June 2005)- (The Island on 05 June 2005)
- Two LTTE cadres believed to be members of its intelligence unit were gunned down by an unidentified gunman yesterday morning near the Kochchikade church in Colombo. (05 June 2005)- (Daily Mirror on 06 June 2005)
- Another man described by police as an LTTE intelligence cadre was shot dead at Nelson Place in Wellawatte on Sunday night. (05 June 2005)- (Daily Mirror on 07 June 2005)
- JHU parliamentarian Ven Dr.Omalpe Sobhitha Thera today commenced a fast unto death, at the Dalada Maligawa, in protest against the proposed Joint Mechanism with the LTTE.This is the first time that a fast to death is being held at the Dalada Maligawa, one of the holiest Buddhist shrines in the country. (06 June 2005)- (The Island on 07 June 2005)





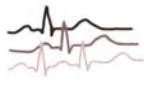
## FINDINGS AT A GLANCE OF THE POLL CONDUCTED FROM 09<sup>TH</sup> JUNE 2005 TO 22<sup>ND</sup> JUNE 2005

- ◆ When asked to rate five national issues according to the degree of importance, using 10 point scale, the economy was rated the highest (8.13) followed by the peace process (7.2) and the Tsunami recovery (5.85). From an ethnic perspective a majority of the Sinhala (8.56) and Muslim (7.45) communities rate the economy as the most important issue that needs the attention of the Government. A majority of the Tamil (7.61) and Up-Country Tamil (7.94) communities rate the peace process of Sri Lanka as the most important issue that needs Government's attention. *(Ref. Page 12)*
- ◆ Regarding the 'no war, no peace' situation that is currently prevailing in Sri Lanka, a majority (76.7%) states that the continuation of this situation is bad and that the Government and the LTTE should go for a permanent solution through negotiations, which is a slight increase since March 2005 (72.4%). From an ethnic perspective, a majority of all the ethnic groups support this opinion (Sinhala-77.2%, Tamil-88%, Muslim-46.8%, and Up-Country Tamil-93.5%). However, the Muslim opinion seems to have changed dramatically during the last three months. Their support for a solution through negotiations has decreased from 85.8% in March '05 to 46.8% in June '05. Their support for the continuation of the present situation without a final solution has increased from 8.7% in March '05 to 20.4% in June '05. Moreover, Muslim support for a solution through war has increased since March 2005 (March '05-2.4%, June '05-30.4%). *(Ref. Page 13-14)*
- ◆ 42.7% agree that the Government is committed to find peace through talks, which is a decrease since March 2005 (53.4%). Although a majority of the Muslim (48.4%) and Sinhala (43.6%) communities agree that the Government is committed to find peace through talks, it seems that their faith in the Government's commitment to peace has decreased compared to three months ago (March '05 Sinhala-57.7%, March '05 Muslim-54.8%). The percentage who disagree amongst the Tamil and Up-Country Tamil communities has decreased compared to March 2005 (March '05 Tamil-54.4%, March '05-Up-Country Tamil-41.4%). *(Ref. Page 15-16)*
- ◆ 48% agree with the statement that the Government is capable of finding peace through talks, which is a decrease since March 2005 (56.6%). This opinion is seen across a majority of the Sinhala (45.6%), Tamil (55.4%), and Muslim (69.9%) communities. A majority of the Up-Country Tamil (42.6%) community don't know or are unsure. *(Ref. Page 17)*
- ◆ 46.2% disagree with the statement that the LTTE is committed to find peace through talks. From an ethnic perspective, a majority of the Sinhala (55.4%) community disagree that the LTTE is committed to find peace through talks. Although a majority of the Tamil (76.2%), Muslim (38%) and Up-Country Tamil (53.7%) communities agree that the LTTE is committed to find peace through talks, their faith has decreased since March 2005. Muslim (By 12.4%) and Up-Country Tamil (By 11.5%) support has significantly decreased, while the Tamil (By 6.3%) support has slightly decreased. *(Ref. Page 18-19)*
- ◆ There seems to be mixed opinions with regard to the LTTE's capability of finding peace through talks. While 33.6% agree that the LTTE is capable of finding peace through talks, 29% disagree with this opinion. Another 37.4% don't know or are unsure. The ethnic perspective shows that a majority of the Tamil (68%), Muslim (52.3%) and Up-Country

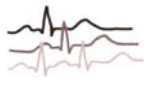


Tamil (47.7%) communities agree that the LTTE is capable of finding peace through talks. Nevertheless there is a decrease of Tamil (By 11.8%) support since March 2005. The Sinhala community however, has a divided opinion. (Agree – 26.4%, Disagree – 33.8%, Don't know/Not sure- 39.8%). *(Ref. Page 20-21)*

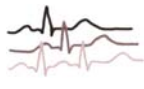
- ◆ When asked how close they think is to a final settlement to the ethnic conflict, compared with the situation a year ago, people have mixed opinions (Very close - 31.1%, Remains the same- 27.7%, Not close at all - 24.6%, Don't know/Not sure- 16.6%). The ethnic perspective shows that a majority of the Tamil (51.7%) and Muslim (55.4%) communities believe that the country is very close in approaching a final settlement to the ethnic conflict. The Sinhala (Very close-25.8%, Remains the same-29.5%, Not close at all-26%, Don't know/Not sure-18.7%) and the Up-Country Tamil (Very close-38.1%, Remains the same-29.9%, Not close at all- 24.9%, Don't know/Not sure-7%) communities have a divided opinion in this regard. *(Ref. Page 22)*
- ◆ Of those who are aware of the Ceasefire Agreement (CFA), a majority of Sri Lankans (68.8%) stated that they have benefited from the CFA. This opinion is seen across all the ethnic groups (Sinhala-65.8%, Tamil-76.4%, Muslim- 77%, Up- Country Tamil- 92%). 23.3% of Sri Lankans stated that they have not benefited from the CFA. *(Ref. Page 23-24)*
- ◆ When asked to name the most important benefits of the CFA, a majority (67.7%) named freedom of movement as the most important benefit of the CFA. This opinion stems from a majority of the Sinhala (63%), Tamil (84.1%), Muslim (81.8%) and Up-Country Tamil (76.1%) communities. 56.9% named peaceful environment in the country, 48% ending of killing, 37.6% ending of destruction, and 38.5% feeling of security as the other most important benefits of the CFA. *(Ref. Page 25)*
- ◆ 59.9% of Sri Lankans express satisfaction with the Government's commitment to the Ceasefire Agreement. This opinion is seen across all the ethnic groups (Sinhala-58.7%, Tamil-57.6%, Muslim- 83.5%, and Up-Country Tamil- 62.7%). *(Ref. Page 26)*
- ◆ 64.3% of Sri Lankans express dissatisfaction with regard to the LTTE's commitment to the Ceasefire Agreement. The ethnic perspective reveals that a majority of the Sinhala (76.7%) community express dissatisfaction with the LTTE's commitment to Ceasefire Agreement. However, a significantly higher percentage of the Tamil (80.5%) and Up-Country Tamil (78.9%) community express satisfaction with regard to LTTE's commitment to Ceasefire Agreement. 47.1% of the Muslim community express satisfaction while 34.4% express dissatisfaction. *(Ref. Page 27)*
- ◆ Of those who are aware of the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission, 46.6% of Sri Lankans believe that a monitoring mission is essential and will have a positive impact for the CFA to succeed. The ethnic perspective reveals that a majority of the Tamil (88.1%), Muslim (80.9%) and Up-Country Tamil (85.9%) communities support this opinion. However, the Sinhala community has a divided opinion in this regard. (Is essential and will have a positive impact- 35.7%, Not Essential and will have a positive impact- 23.8%). *(Ref. Page 28)*
- ◆ 44.4% of Sri Lankans disagree with the statement that Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission is impartial in its monitoring the Ceasefire Agreement. From an ethnic perspective, a majority of the Sinhala (53%) community disagree with the statement. Nevertheless a majority of the Tamil (72.5%), Muslim (50.3%) and Up-Country Tamil (59.2%) communities agree with the statement. *(Ref. Page 29)*



- ◆ 43.9% disagree with the statement that Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission is effective in its monitoring of the Ceasefire Agreement. From an ethnic perspective, a majority of the Sinhala (51.9%) community disagree with the statement. Nevertheless a majority of the Tamil (69.1%), Muslim (46.6%) and Up-Country Tamil (53.2%) communities agree with the statement. *(Ref. Page 30)*
- ◆ 42.9% believe having an International third party as facilitator is essential and will have a positive impact in solving the ethnic conflict. From an ethnic perspective, a majority of the Tamil (72.6%), Muslim (73.2%) and Up-Country Tamil (77.2%) communities are of this opinion while the Sinhala community has a divided opinion in this regard. (Is essential and will have a positive impact- 34.1%, Not Essential and will have a positive impact- 19.9%).*(Ref. Page 31)*
- ◆ 41.8% believe that India is the most suitable country that should play the role of facilitator in the peace process. This opinion is seen across the Sinhala (47.5%) and Muslim (40%) communities. In fact the Muslim support for India has increased since March 2005 (March'05-27.5%, June'05-40%). Nevertheless their support for Norway has decreased since March 2005 (March '05-52.5%, June '05-33.4%). A majority of the Tamil (66.5%) and Up-Country Tamil (62.2%) communities believe Norway as the most suitable country that should play the role of facilitator. *(Ref. Page 32-33)*
- ◆ With regard to the level of satisfaction on the Norwegian role as facilitator, Sri Lankans have a divided opinion. (Very satisfied- 8.5% Some what satisfied- 30.1% Not satisfied at all- 30.1%, Don't know/Not sure- 31.2%). From an ethnic perspective, a majority of the Tamil (Very satisfied-38.8%, Somewhat satisfied- 49.7%) and Up-Country Tamil (Very satisfied-30%, Somewhat satisfied- 39.8%) communities express satisfaction with the Norwegian role as facilitator. A majority of Muslim (42.7%) community are somewhat satisfied although the percentage of very satisfied Muslims has decreased since March 2005 (March '05-27.6%, June '05-18.2%). The Sinhala community has a divided opinion ((Very satisfied- 2.3% Some what satisfied- 25.7% Not satisfied at all- 36.4%, Don't know/Not sure- 35.5%).*(Ref. Page 34-35)*
- ◆ When asked if they approve or disapprove of Norway continuing to facilitate the peace process, Sri Lankans have divided opinions in this regard. While 28.6% approve, another 37.3% disapprove. However, on the ethnic grounds a majority of the Tamil (91%), Muslim (53.4%) and Up-Country Tamil (71.7%) communities approve of Norway continuing to facilitate the peace process. However, the percentage of Muslims who approve Norway continuing to facilitate has decreased since March 2005 (March'05-71.1%, June'05-53.4%). 45.4% of the Sinhala community disapprove of Norway's role as facilitator. *(Ref. Page 36-37)*
- ◆ 39.8% of Sri Lankans believe that India's involvement in the Sri Lankan Peace Process is essential and will have a positive impact. Another 19.6% believe that India's involvement is not essential but will have a positive impact. The ethnic perspective reveals that a majority of the Tamil (53.2%), Muslim (78.2%) and Up-Country Tamil (64.5%) communities believe that India's involvement is essential and will have a positive impact, while a majority of the Sinhala community has a divided opinion (Is essential and will have a positive impact- 33%, Not Essential and will have a positive impact- 21.7%). *(Ref. Page 38)*



- ◆ When asked if they approve or disapprove of the Joint Mechanism/P-TOMS, 38.2% of Sri Lankans disapprove the Joint Mechanism while 33.2% of Sri Lankans approve. From an ethnic perspective, a majority of the Tamil (92.6%), Muslim (75.4%) and Up-Country Tamil (94.1%) communities approve the Joint Mechanism whereas the Sinhala (46.3%) community disapproves. 28.6% of Sri Lankans have no opinion with regard to the Joint Mechanism. *(Ref. Page 39)*
- ◆ When asked if they agree or disagree with the statement that the Joint Mechanism would be a stepping stone for permanent peace, 38.4% of Sri Lankans disagree with the statement. From an ethnic perspective, a majority of the Sinhala (45.2%) community disagree with the statement. A majority of the Tamil (82%), Muslim (59.3%) and Up-Country Tamil (87.4%) communities agree that the Joint Mechanism would be a stepping stone for permanent peace. *(Ref. Page 40)*
- ◆ There seems to be mixed opinion with regard to the Government's commitment to a Joint Mechanism to distribute tsunami relief in the Northeast (Genuine desire for effective tsunami relief- 22.9%, International pressure-33.2%, Because the Government would receive more financial benefits- 28%, To build goodwill to restart the peace talks- 10.9%, Other- 4.7%). A majority of the Muslim (47%) and Up- Country Tamil (37.1%) communities believe that the Government is committed to distribute tsunami relief because of its genuine desire for effective tsunami relief. However, a majority of the Tamil (32.1%) and Sinhala (35.7%) communities believe that it is the international pressure. *(Ref. Page 41)*
- ◆ 57.4% of Sri Lankans believe that that the LTTE is committed to a Joint Mechanism because it would receive more financial benefits. This opinion is seen across the Sinhala (66.8%) and Muslim (56.5%) communities. A majority of the Tamil (59.4%) and Up-Country Tamil (59.8%) communities believe that the LTTE is committed to a Joint Mechanism because of its genuine desire for effective tsunami relief. *(Ref. Page 42)*
- ◆ Of those who are aware of the Sri Lanka Development Forum, a majority of Sri Lankans (57.3%) believe that it will have positive impact on the Sri Lankan economy. This opinion is seen across a majority of all the ethnic groups (Sinhala- 54.5%, Tamil- 52.8%, Muslim- 73.9%, Up-Country Tamil-79.1%). *(Ref. Page 43)*
- ◆ 41.3% believe that the Sri Lanka Development Forum will have a positive impact on the peace process. This opinion is seen across the Tamil (66%), Muslim (69%) and the Up-Country Tamil (70.5%) communities. However, the Sinhala community has a mixed opinion (Positive impact- 34.6%, Negative impact- 10.1%, No impact- 20.4%, No opinion- 35%). *(Ref. Page 44)*
- ◆ 36.9% of Sri Lankans believe that the provocation by some Tamil extremists backed by the LTTE is the main cause of the recent tensions in Trincomalee. From an ethnic perspective, a majority of the Sinhala (48.2%) community support this opinion. A majority of the Tamil (56%), Muslim (54.5%) and Up-Country Tamil (35.4%) communities believe erecting a Buddha statue in an unauthorized place in the Trincomalee town is the main cause of these tensions. *(Ref. Page 45)*
- ◆ When asked if Tsunami has increased or decreased the likelihood of war, 49.1% state that it has decreased the likelihood of war, while 19.1% state that it has increased the likelihood of war. 18.9% 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 – 44.2%, Tamil – 75.2%, and Muslim – 55.3% and Up-country Tamil -67.1%). *(Ref. Page 46)*

- ◆ When asked why the likelihood of war has decreased, 46.3% state that it is because both the Government and the LTTE are affected badly by the tsunami disaster. Another 35% state that it is because the tsunami affected the people so badly. 14.5% state that it is because the LTTE is heavily affected by the tsunami. From an ethnic perspective, a majority of the Tamil (82.7%), Muslim (58.3%) and Up-Country Tamil (86.1%) communities believe that the likelihood of war has decreased because the tsunami affected the people so badly. A majority of the Sinhala (59.6%) community believe that the likelihood of war has decreased because both the Government and the LTTE are affected badly by the tsunami disaster. *(Ref. Page 47)*

**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

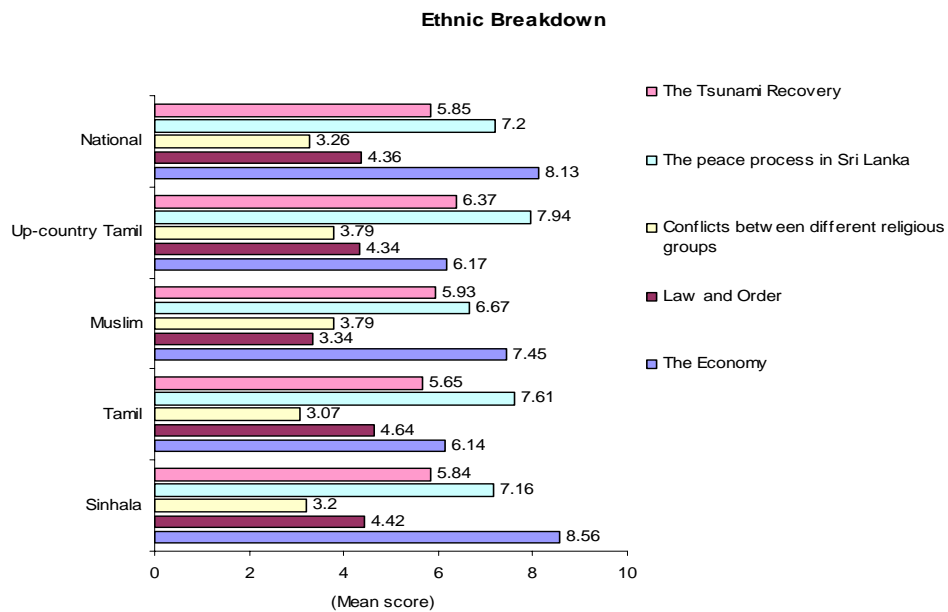
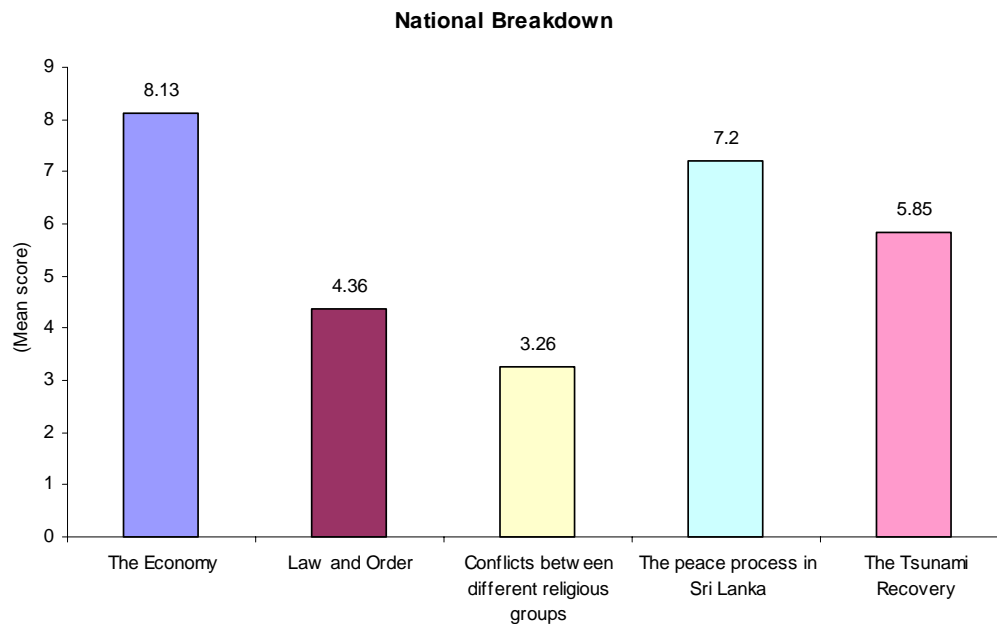
**Fax:** +9411 2370475 **Web:** <http://www.cpalanka.org>

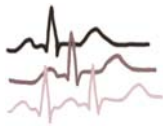


## Peace Confidence Index (PCI) May 2001 – June 2005

### Important Issues

Rating the degree of importance of five national issues out of 10 point scale.

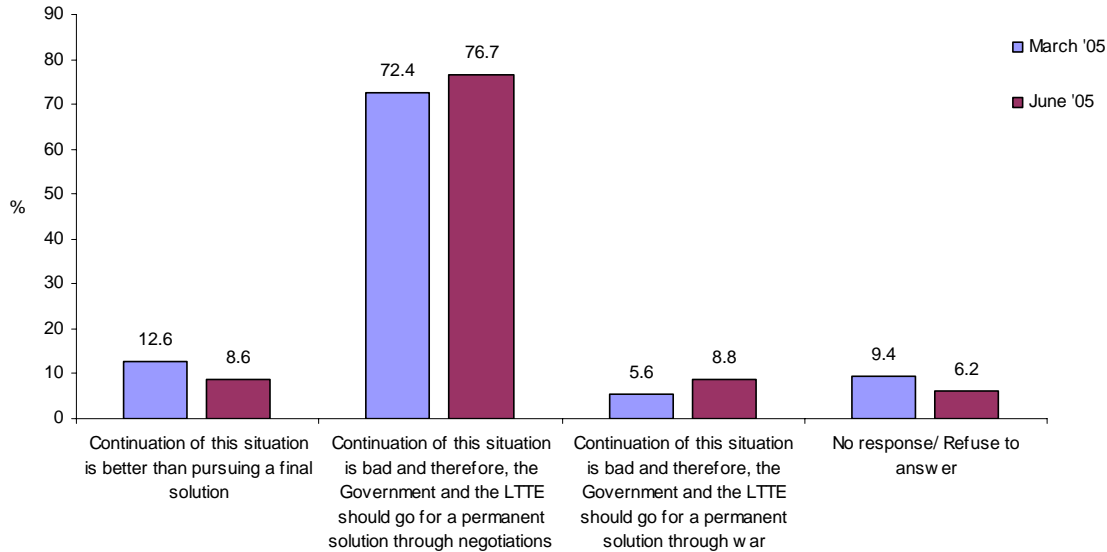




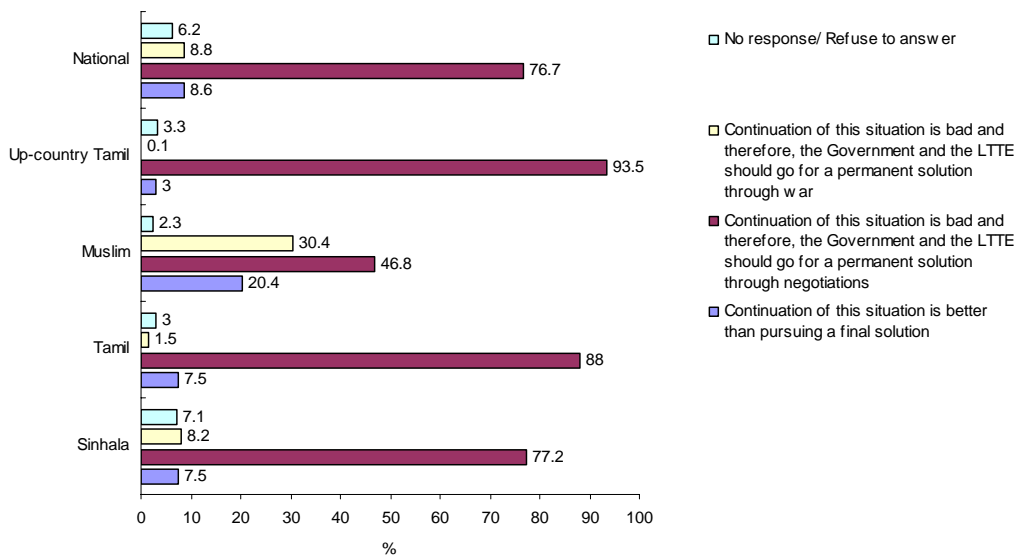
## Solutions

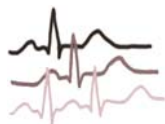
At the moment Sri Lanka is experiencing a 'no war, no peace' situation. Some people say that the continuation of this situation is better than pursuing a final solution. Others argue that continuation of this situation is bad and, therefore the Government and the LTTE should go for a permanent solution,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

National Breakdown

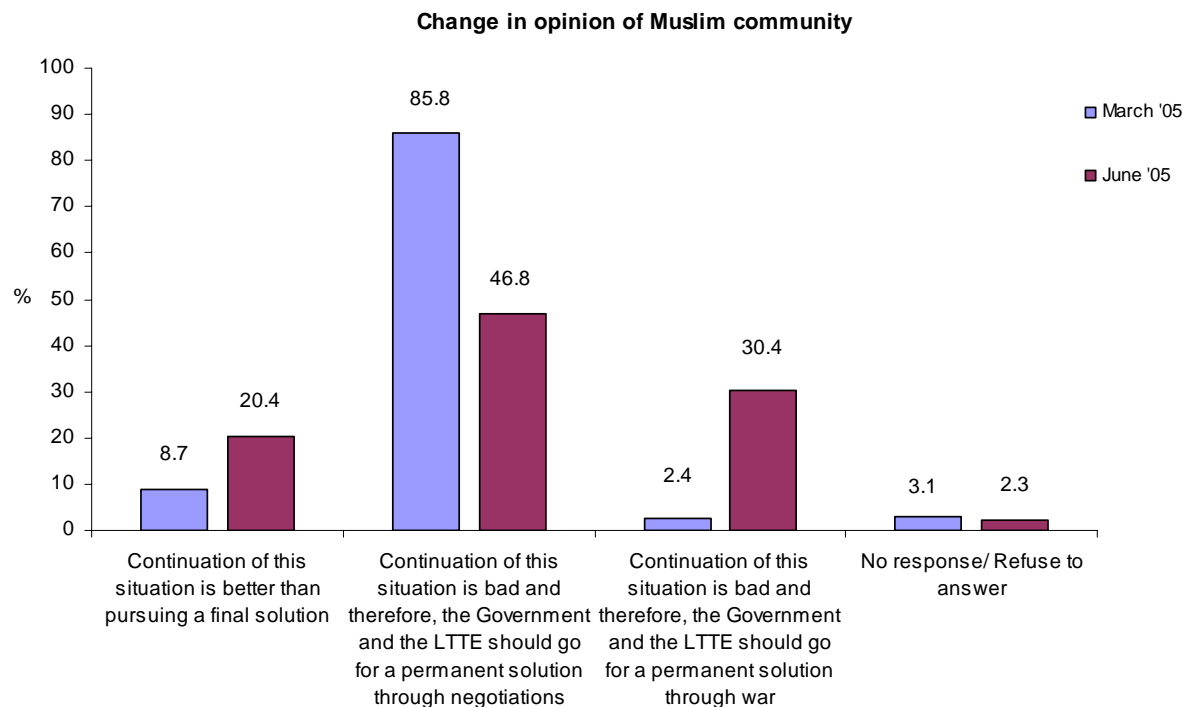


Ethnic Breakdown

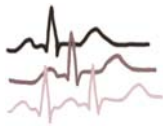




At the moment Sri Lanka is experiencing a 'no war, no peace' situation. Some people say that the continuation of this situation is better than pursuing a final solution. Others argue that continuation of this situation is bad and, therefore the Government and the LTTE should go for a permanent solution,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



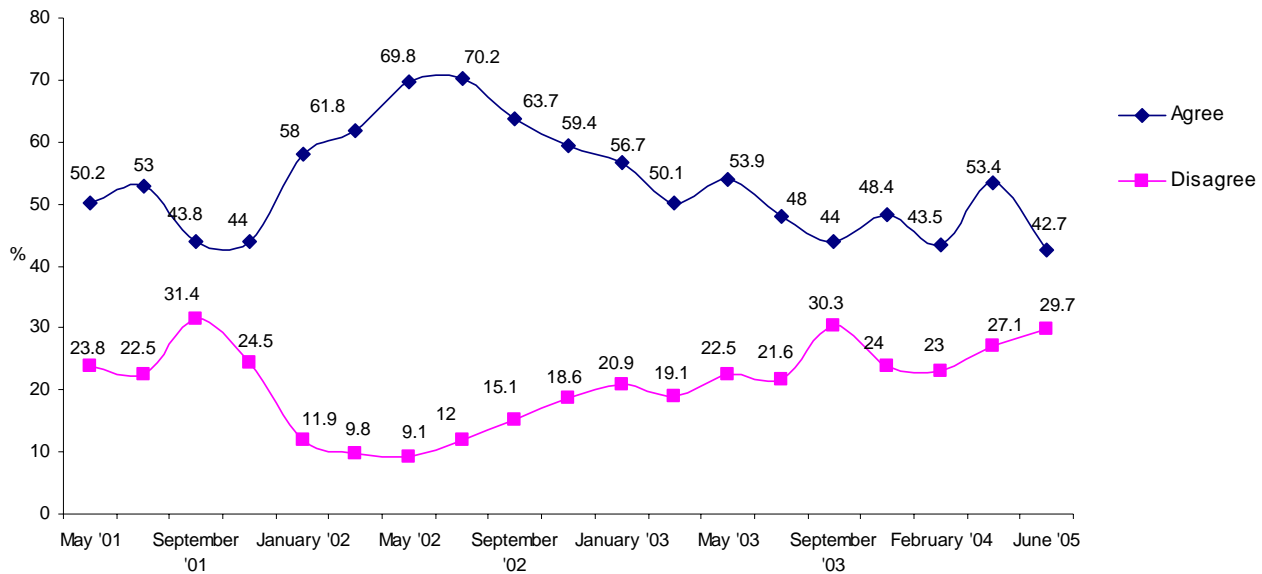




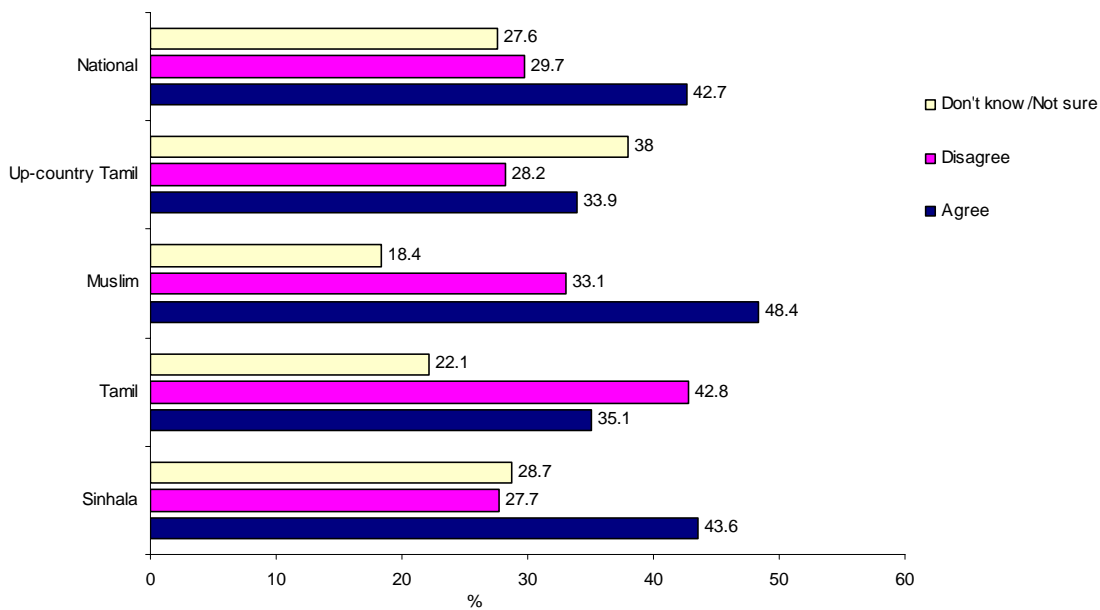
## Confidence

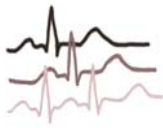
I think the Government is committed to find peace through talks.

National Breakdown



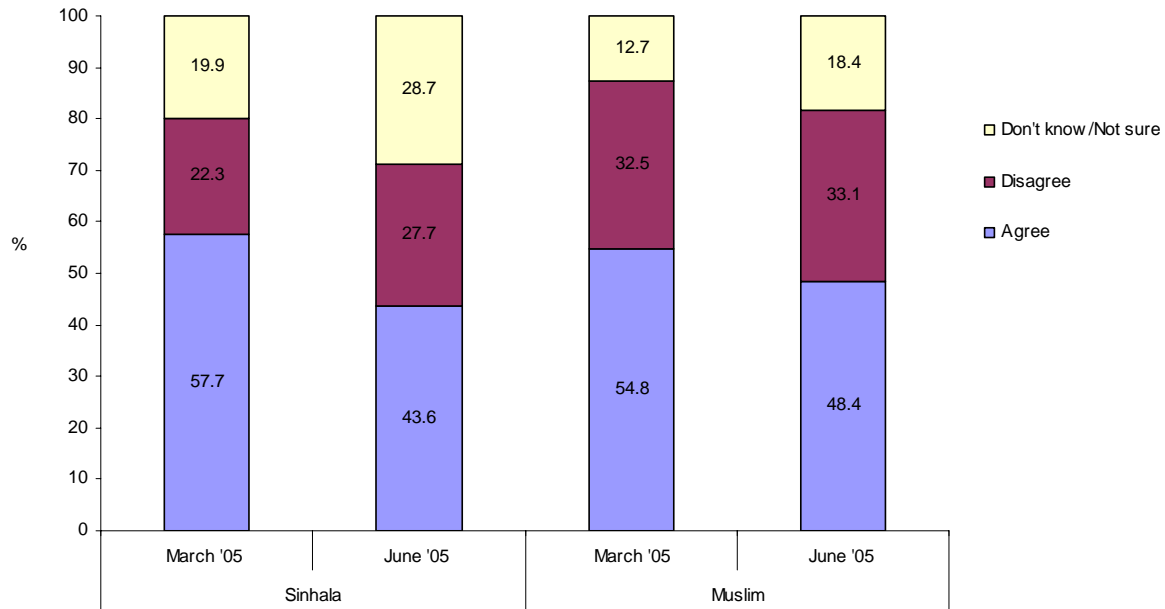
Ethnic Breakdown



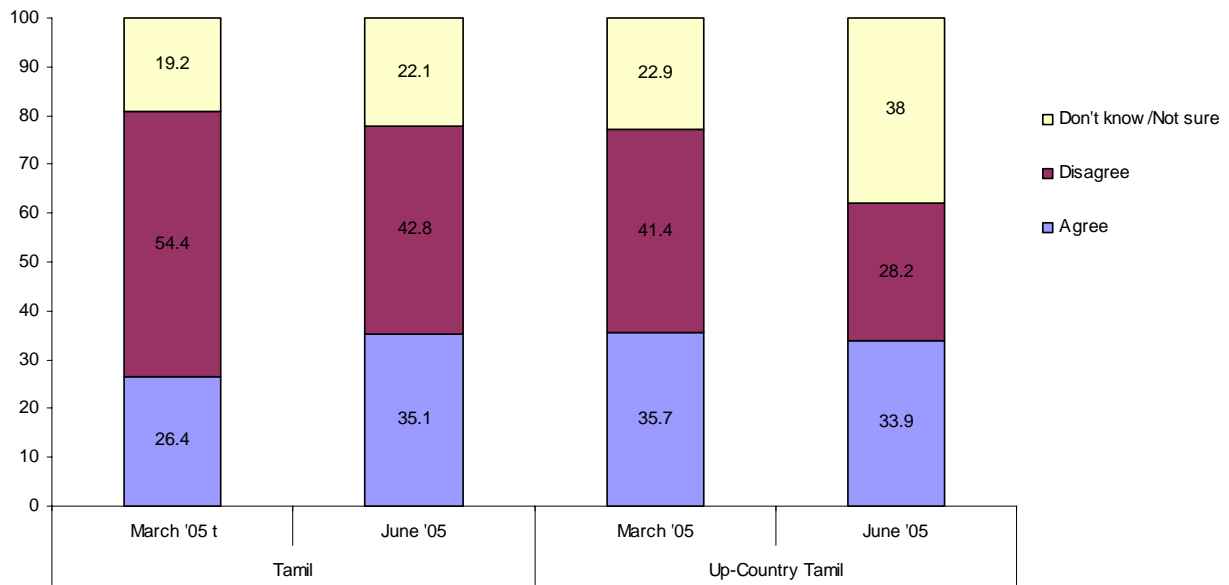


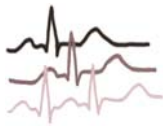
### I think the Government is committed to find peace through talks.

Change in opinion of Sinhala and Muslim community



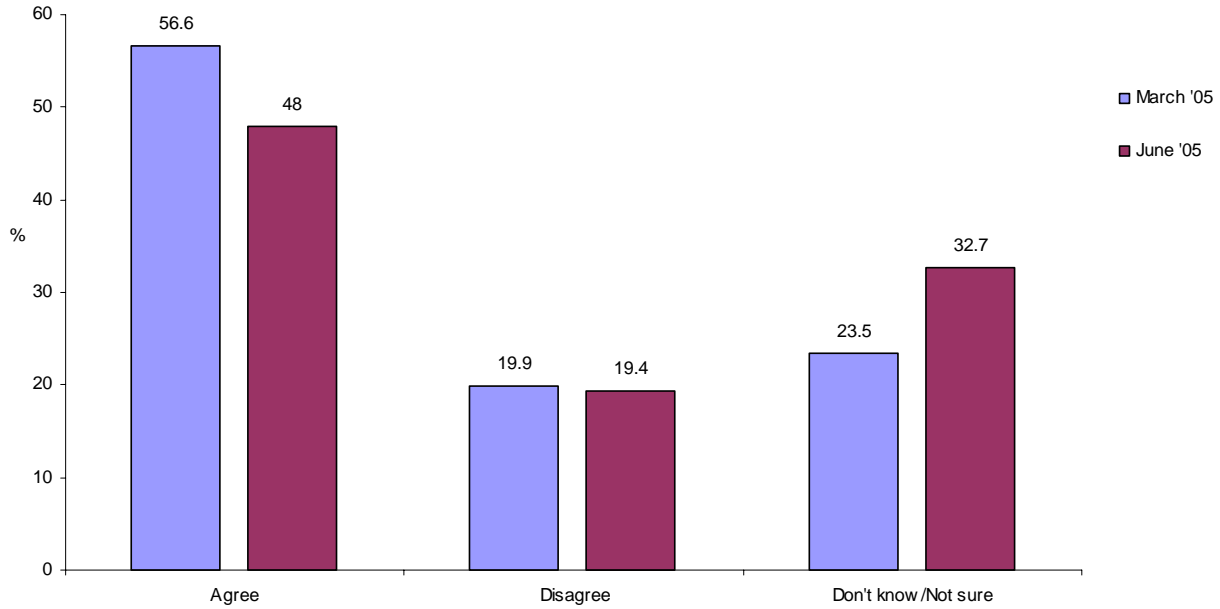
Change in opinion of Tamil and Up-Country Tamil community



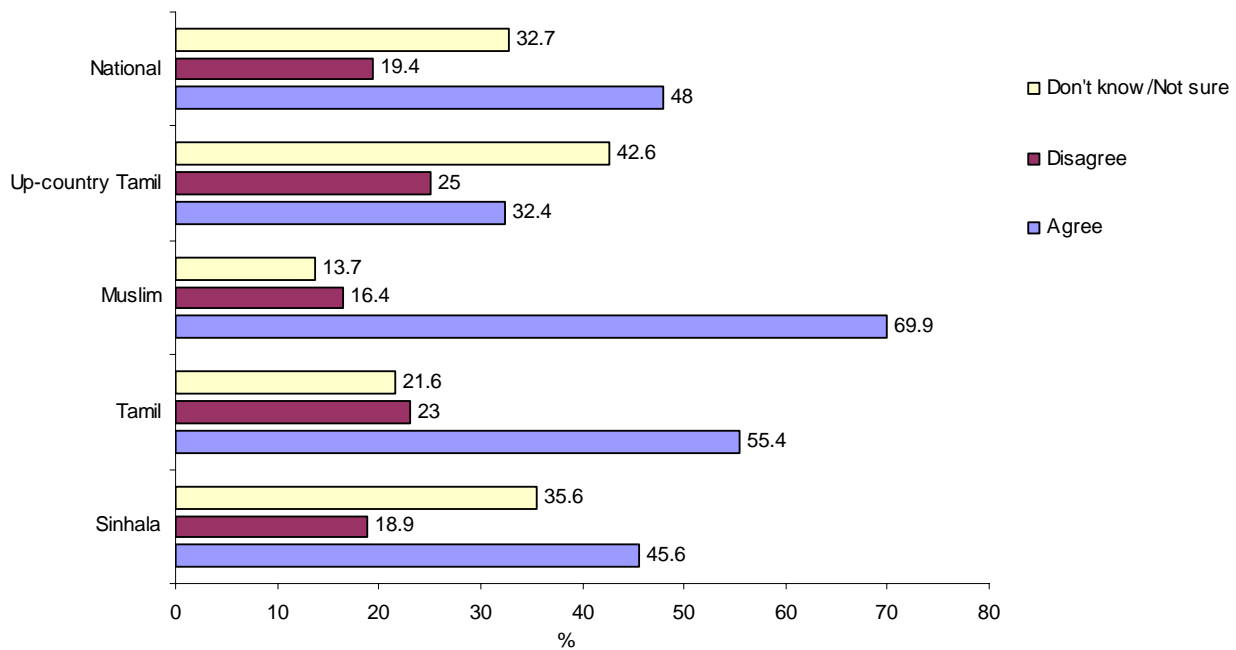


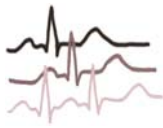
I think the Government is fully capable of finding peace through talks.

National Breakdown



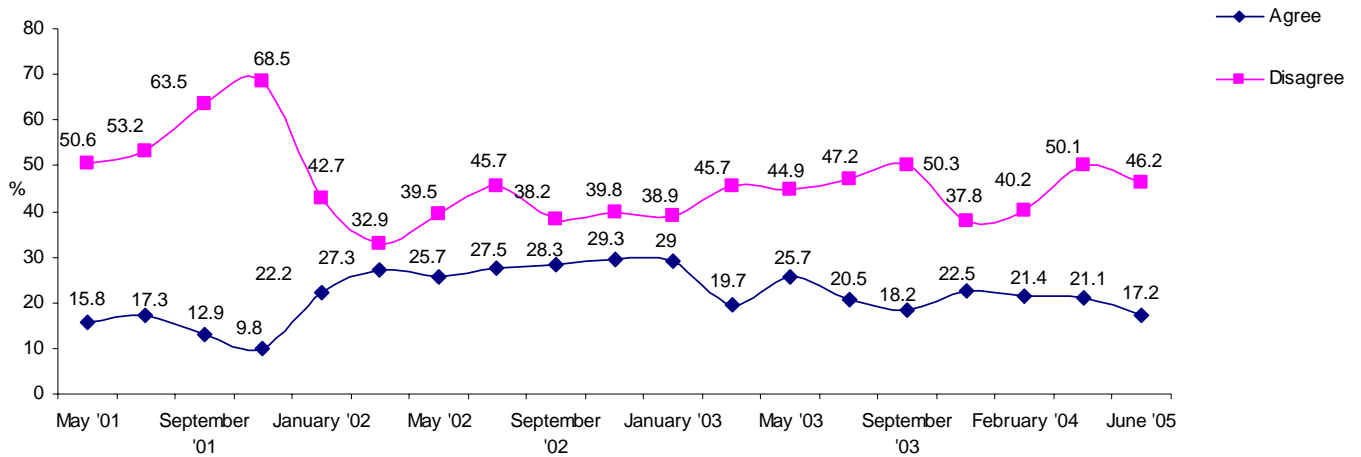
Ethnic Breakdown



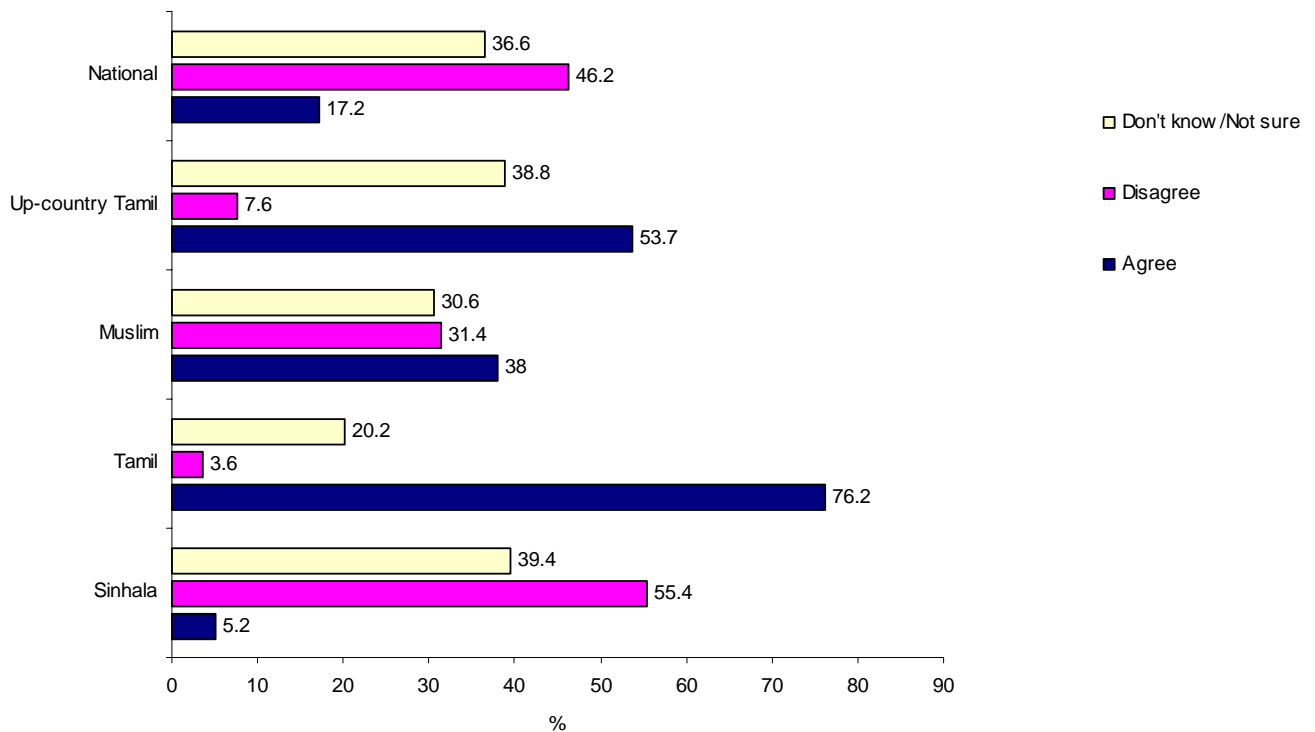


**I think the LTTE is committed to find peace through talks.**

**National Breakdown**



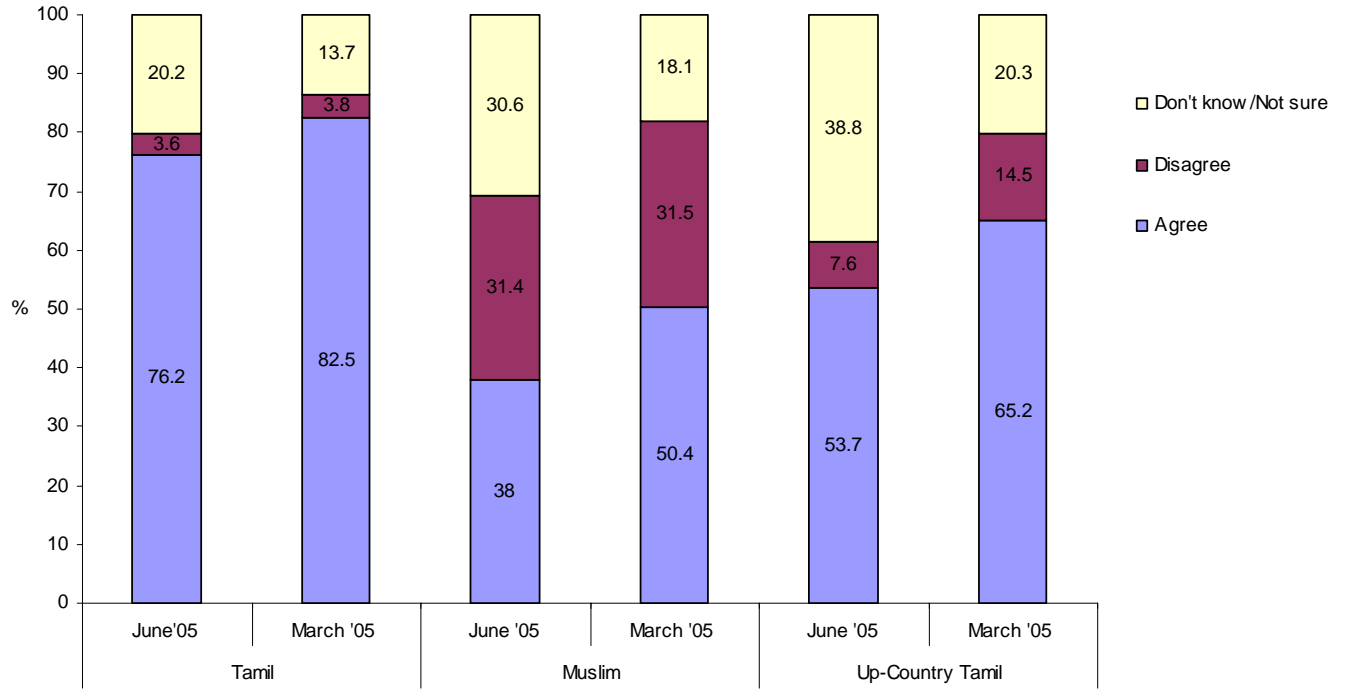
**Ethnic Breakdown**





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

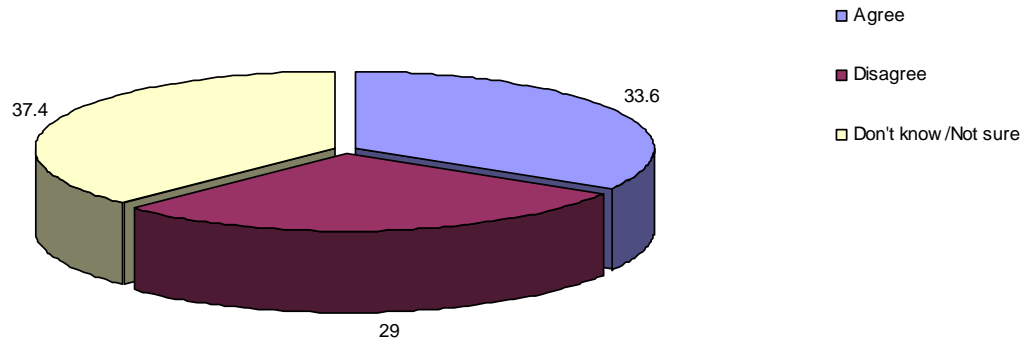
**Change in opinion of Tamil, Muslim and Up-Country Tamil communities**



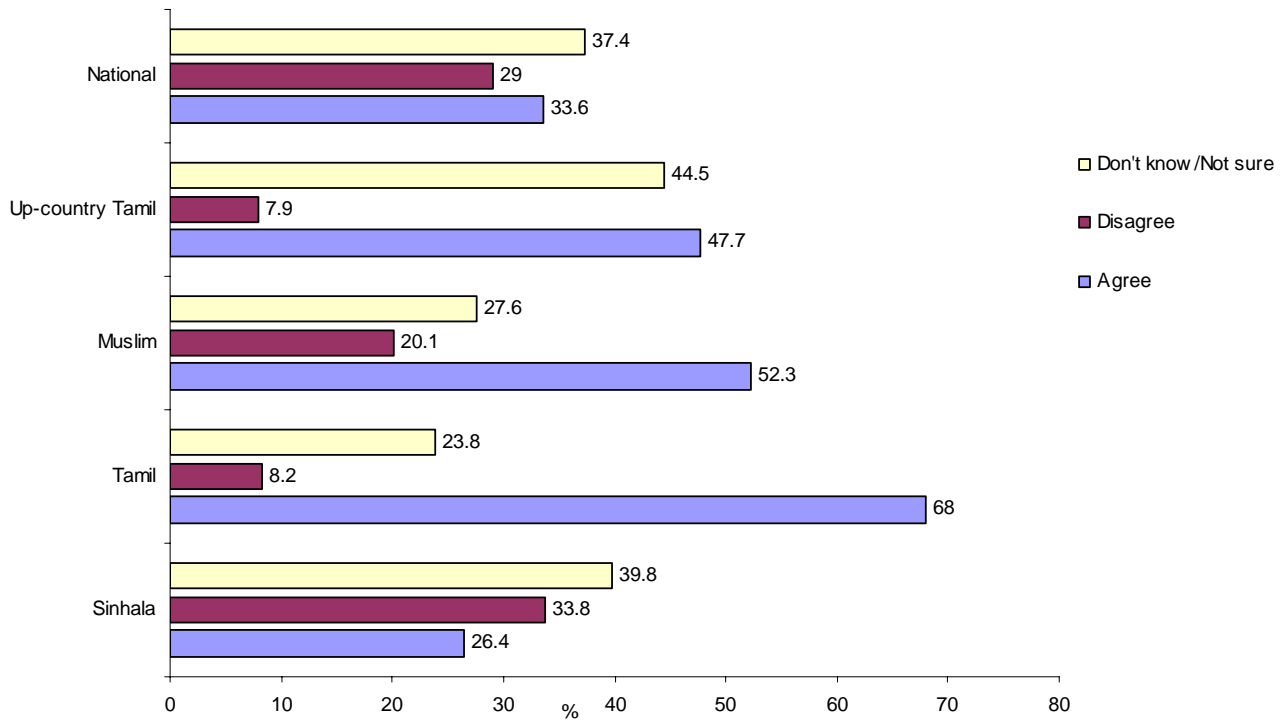


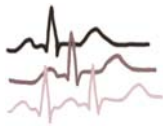
**I think the LTTE is fully capable of finding peace through talks.**

**National Breakdown**



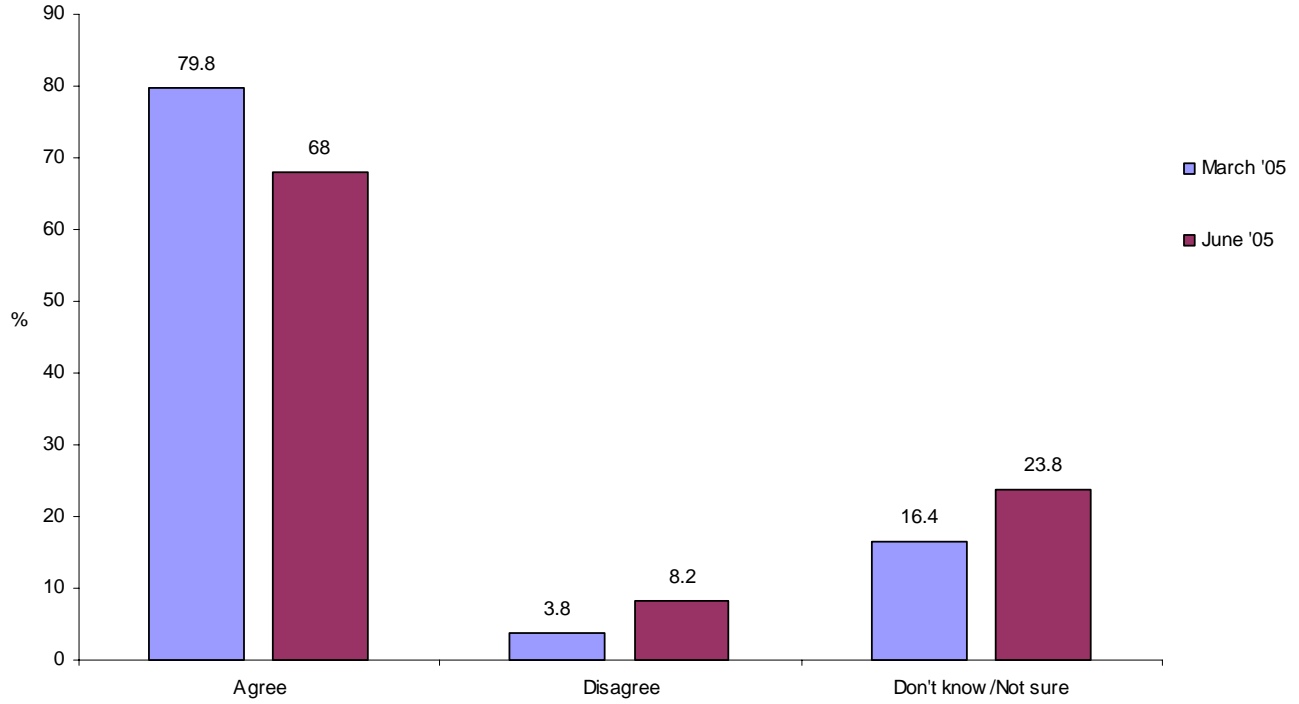
**Ethnic Breakdown**

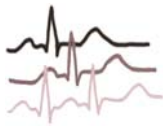




**I think the LTTE is fully capable of finding peace through talks.**

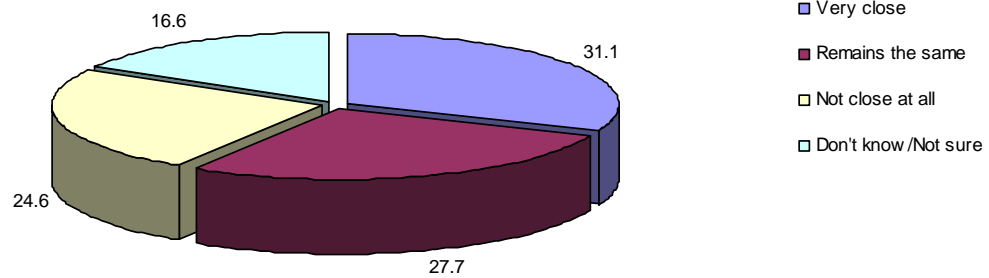
**Change in opinion of Tamil community**



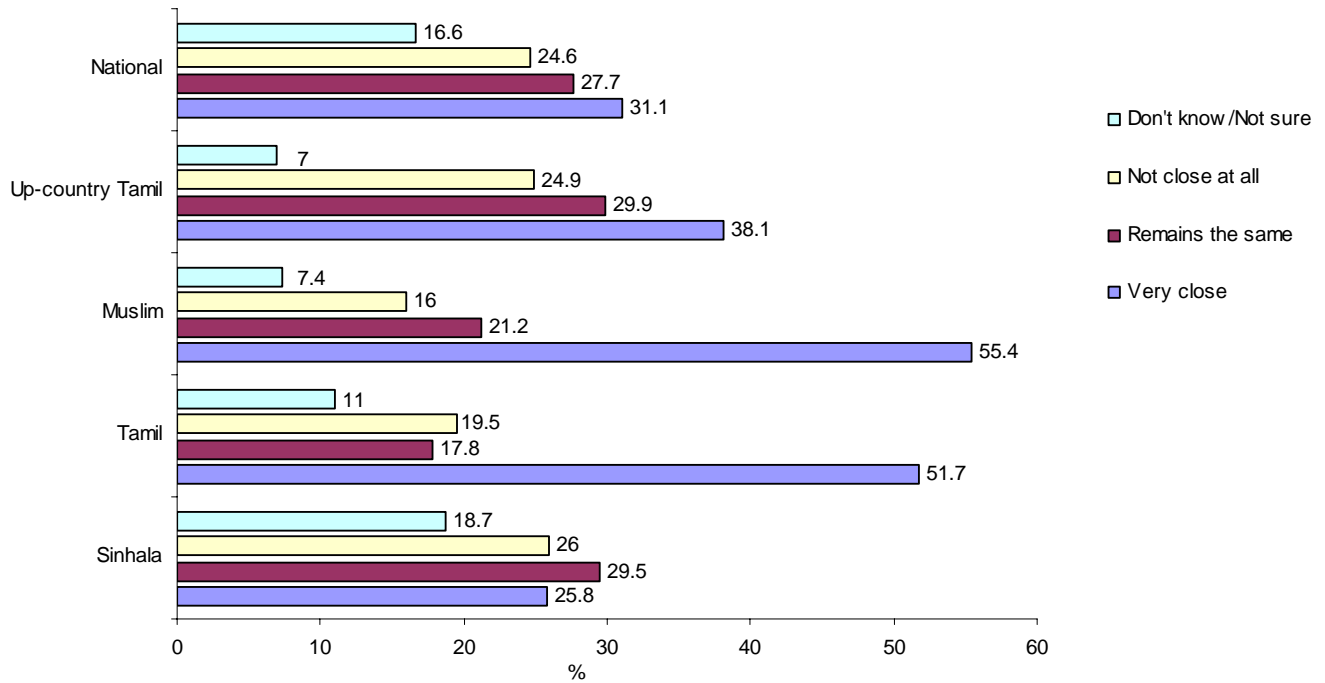


**Compared to the situation of the peace process a year ago, how close do you think the country is, at present, in approaching a final settlement to the ethnic conflict ?**

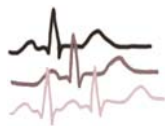
**National Breakdown**



**Ethnic Breakdown**



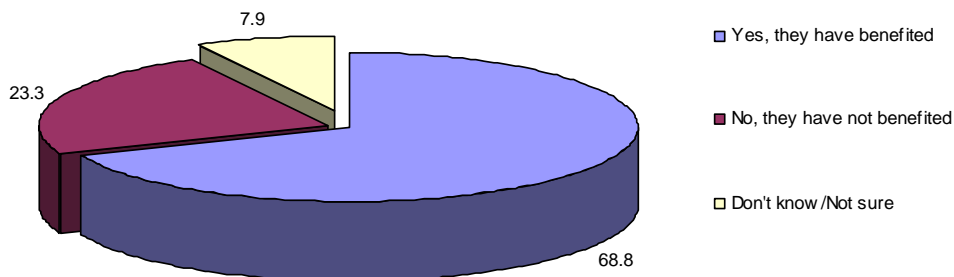




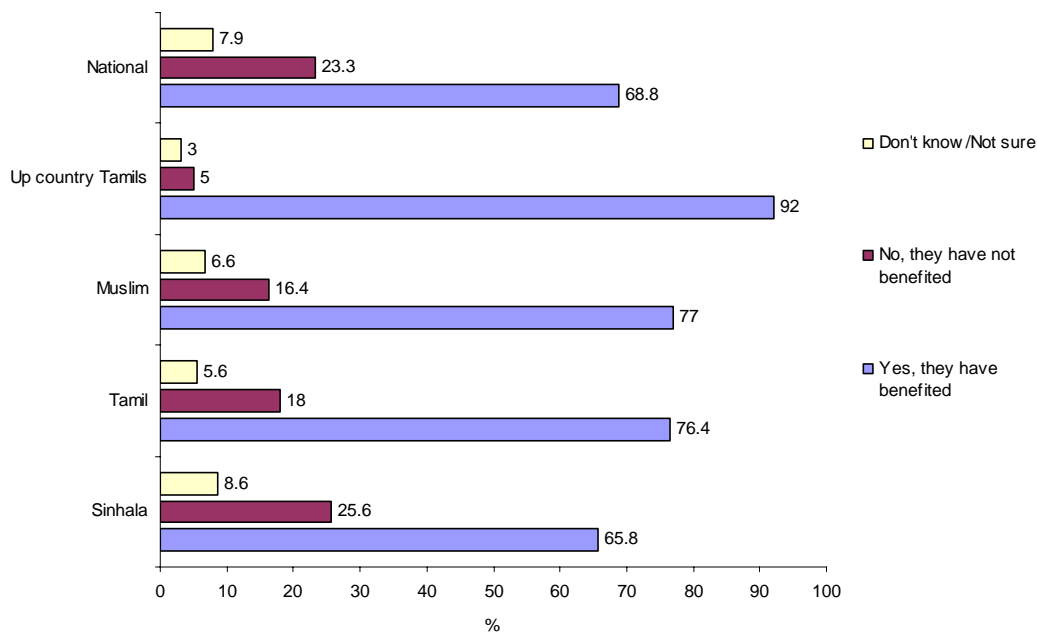
## Ceasefire Agreement (CFA)

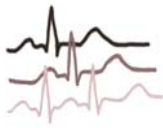
Some people say that the CFA has brought many benefits to ordinary citizens while others say that the CFA has not yielded any benefits to them. In your opinion have Sri Lankans benefited from the CFA or not ?

National Breakdown



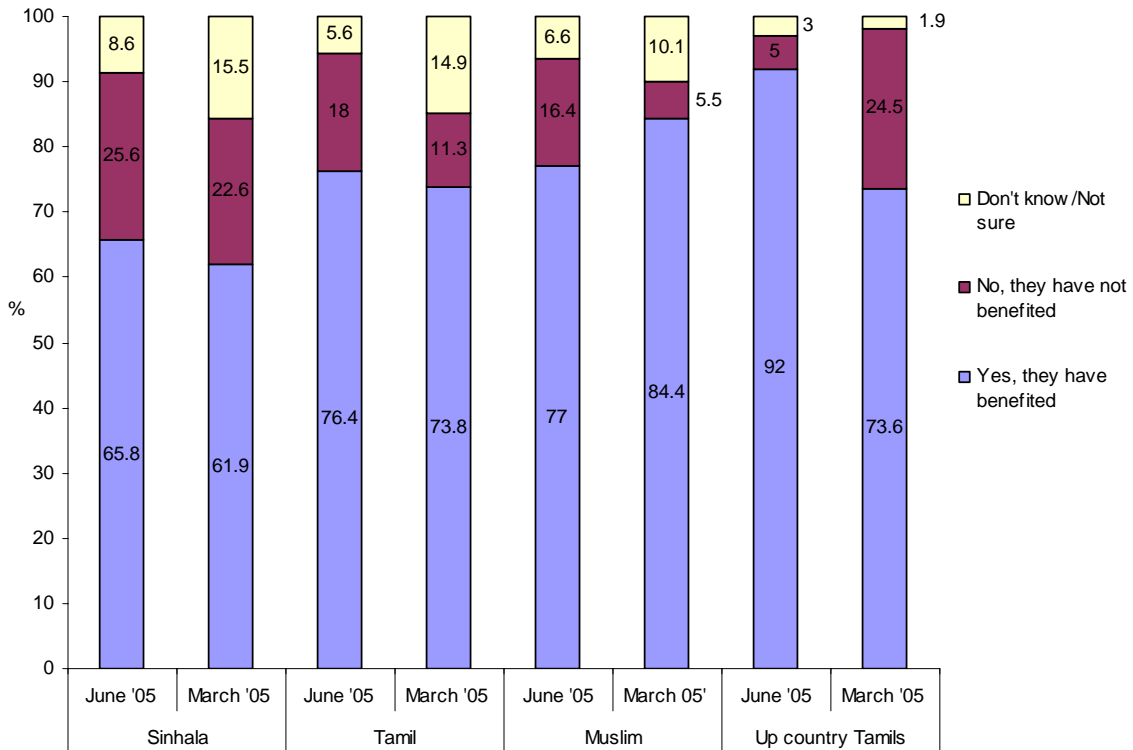
Ethnic Breakdown

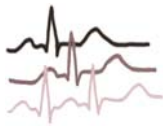




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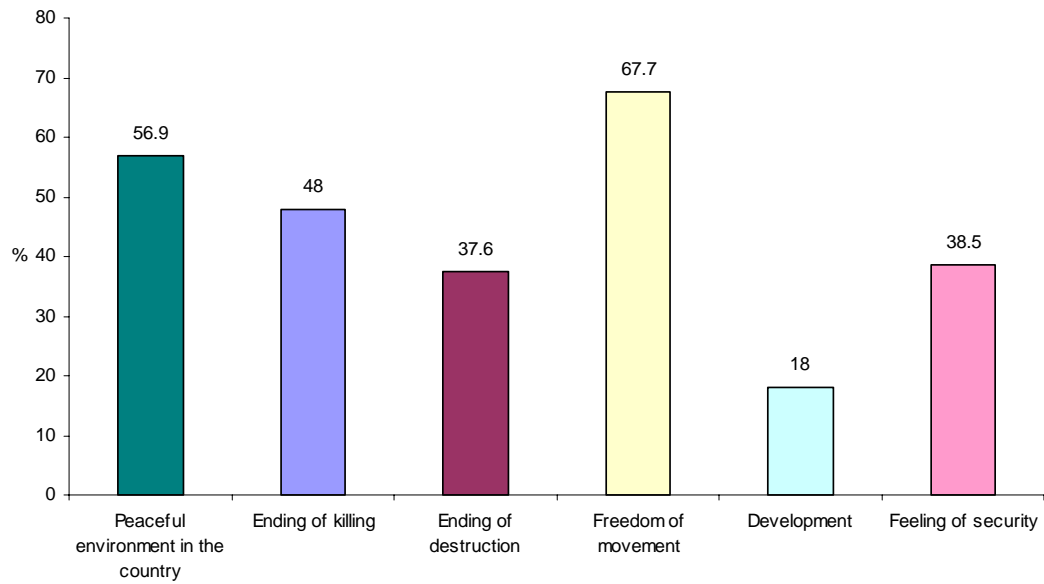
Change in opinion of all ethnic groups



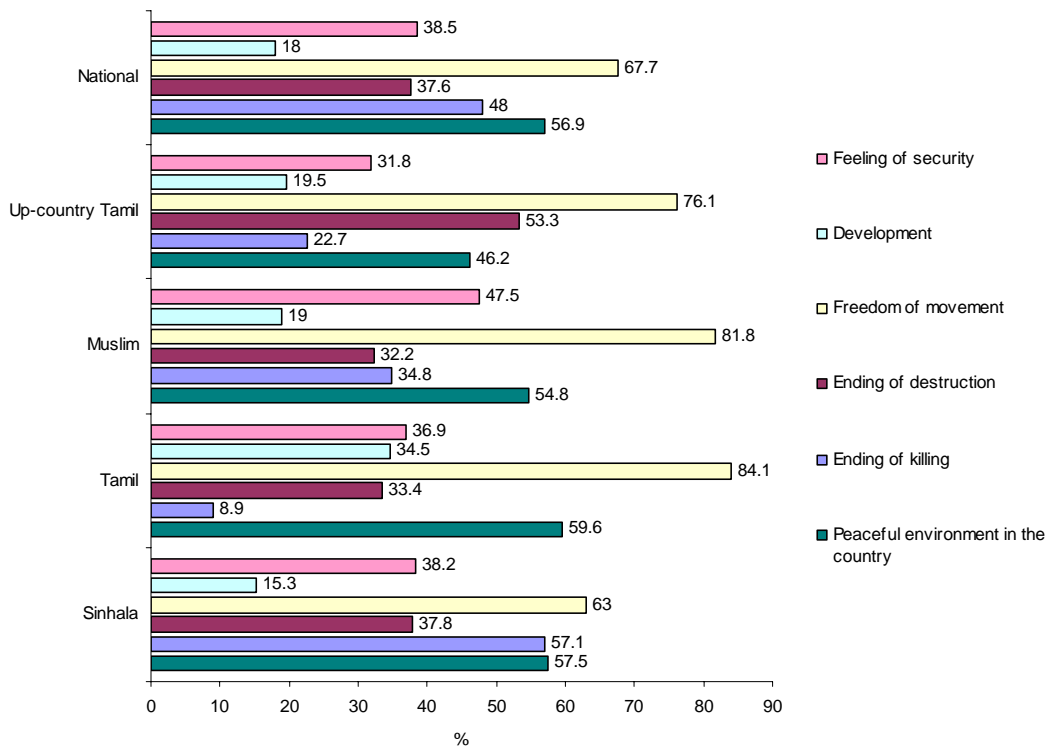


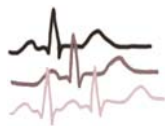
Please tell me the most important benefits of the CFA.

**National Breakdown**



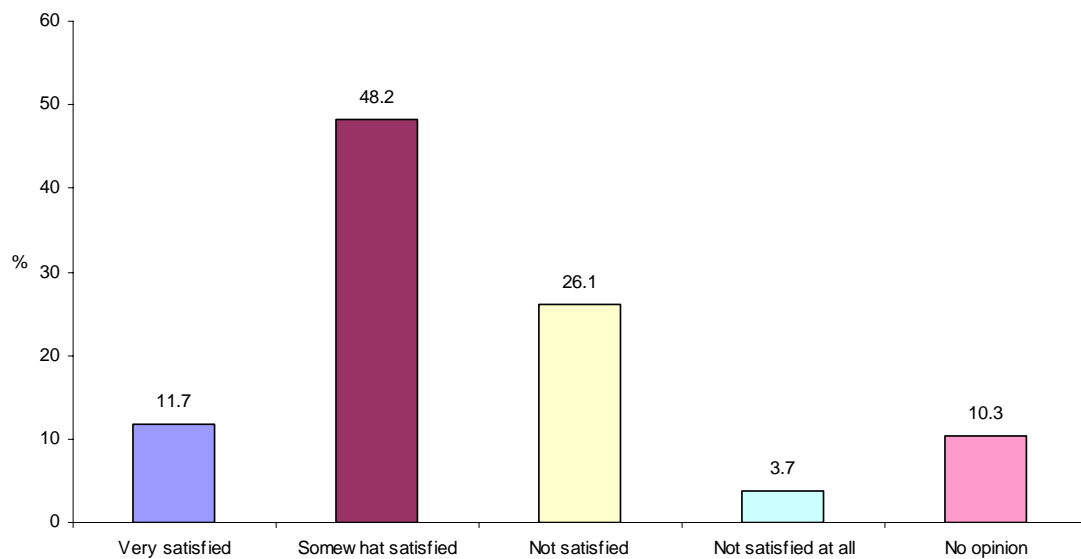
**Ethnic Breakdown**



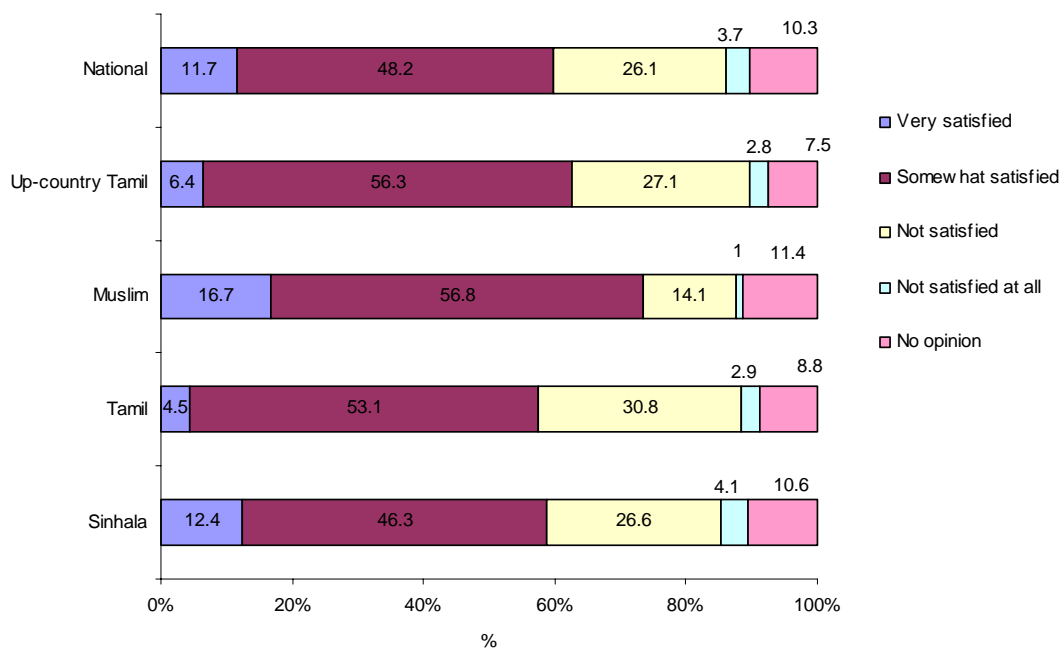


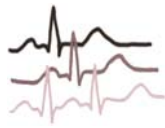
## How satisfied are you with the Government's commitment to the Ceasefire Agreement ?

### National Breakdown



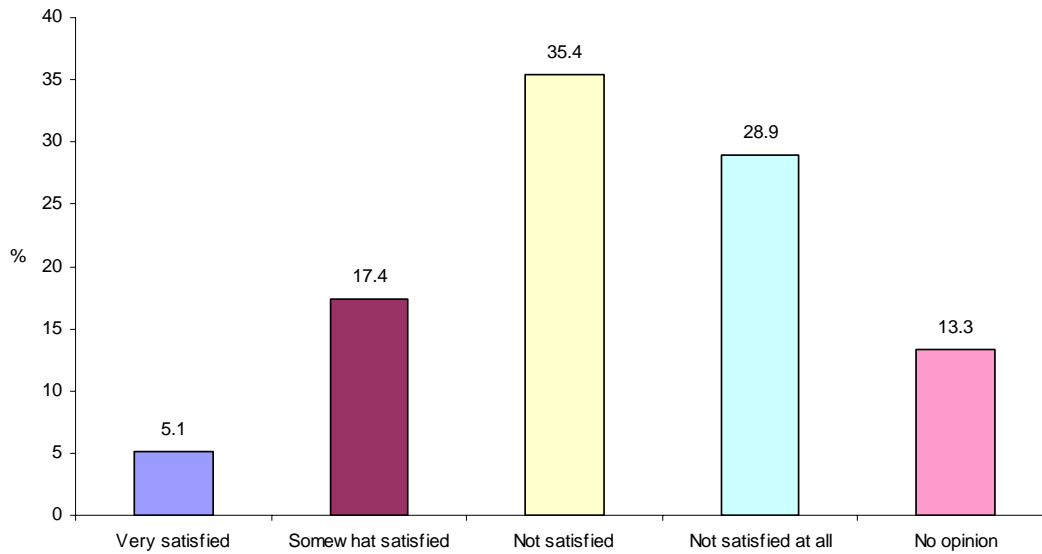
### Ethnic Breakdown



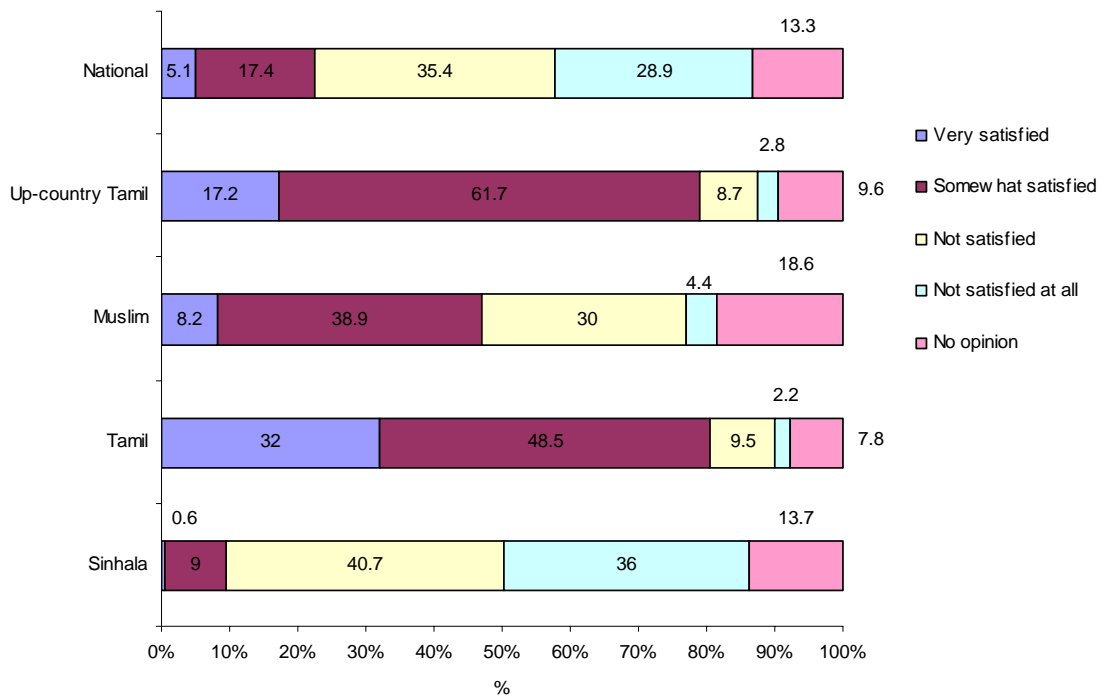


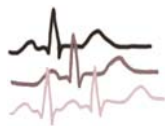
### How satisfied are you with the LTTE commitment to the Ceasefire Agreement ?

National Breakdown



Ethnic Breakdown

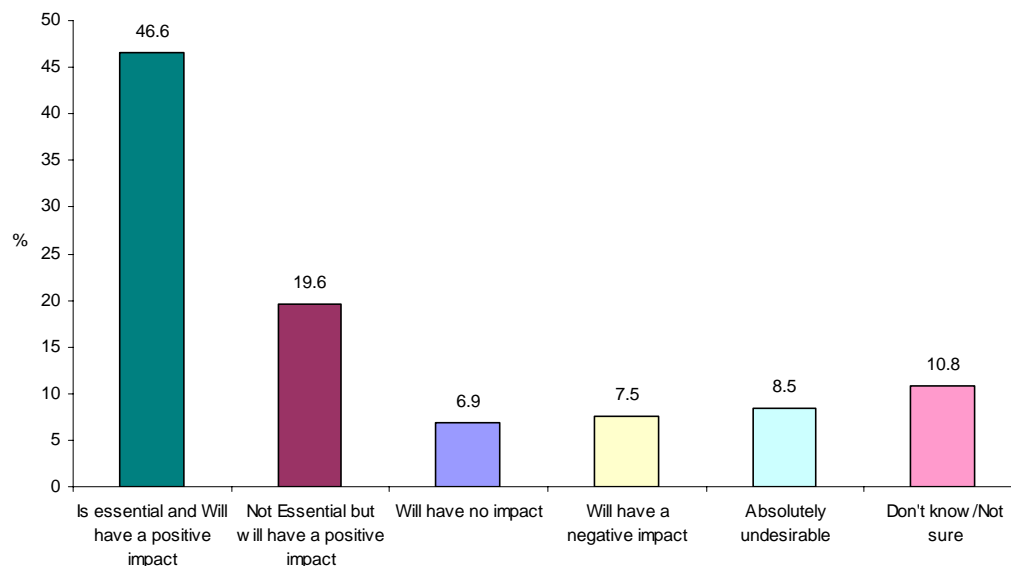




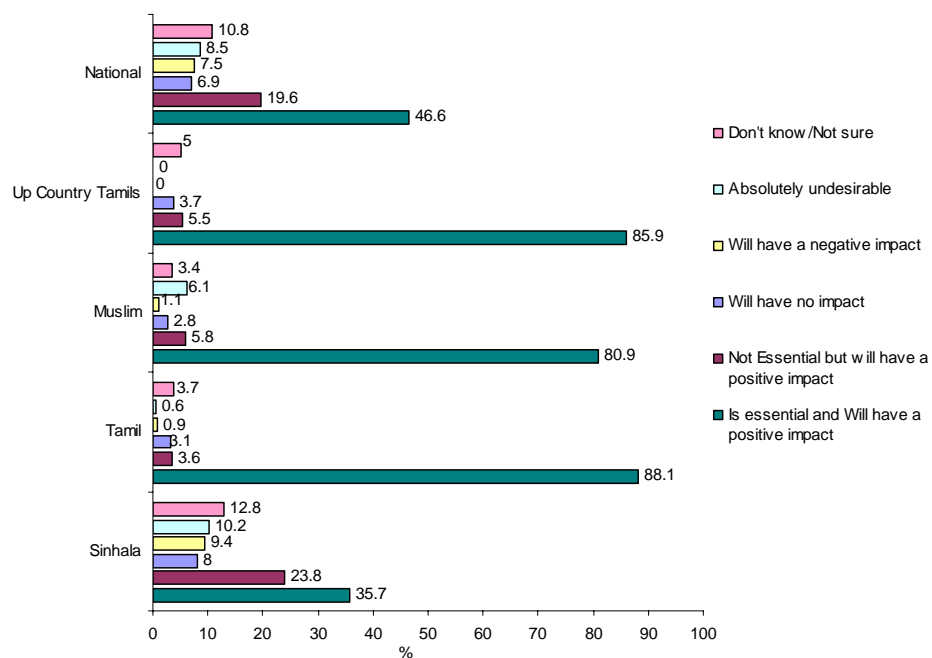
## Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission (SLMM)

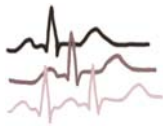
### What is your opinion of the need of a monitoring mission for the CFA to succeed ?

National Breakdown



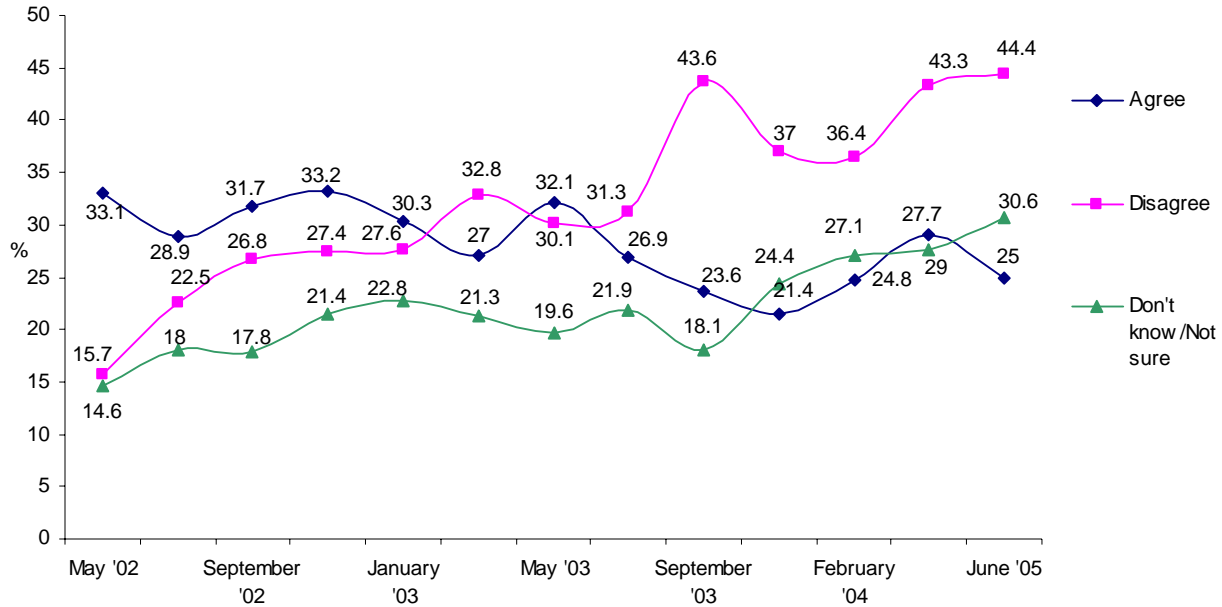
Ethnic Breakdown



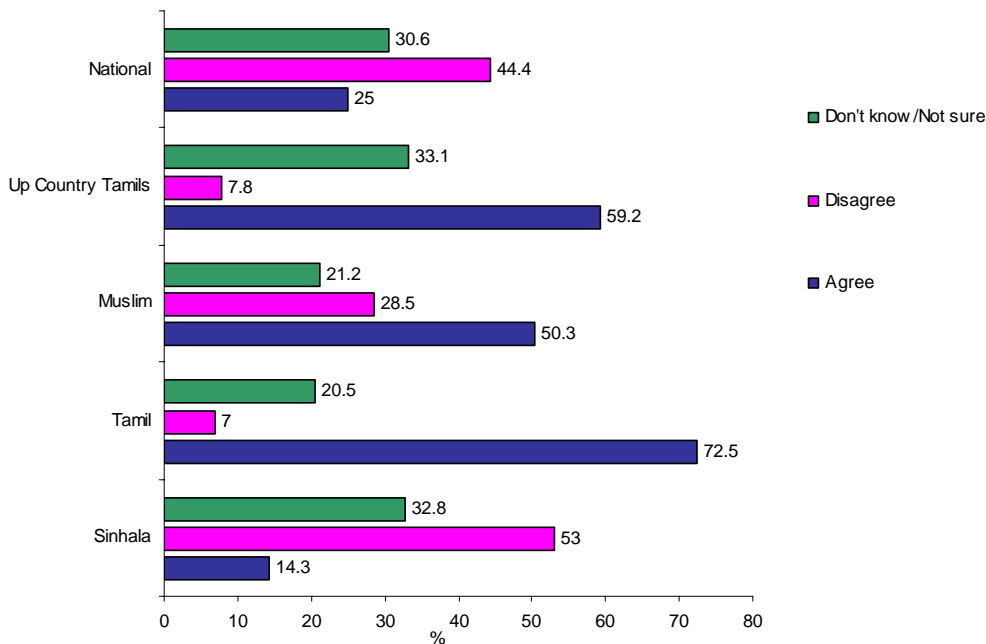


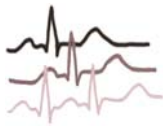
**I think the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission is impartial in its monitoring of the ceasefire agreement.**

**National Breakdown**



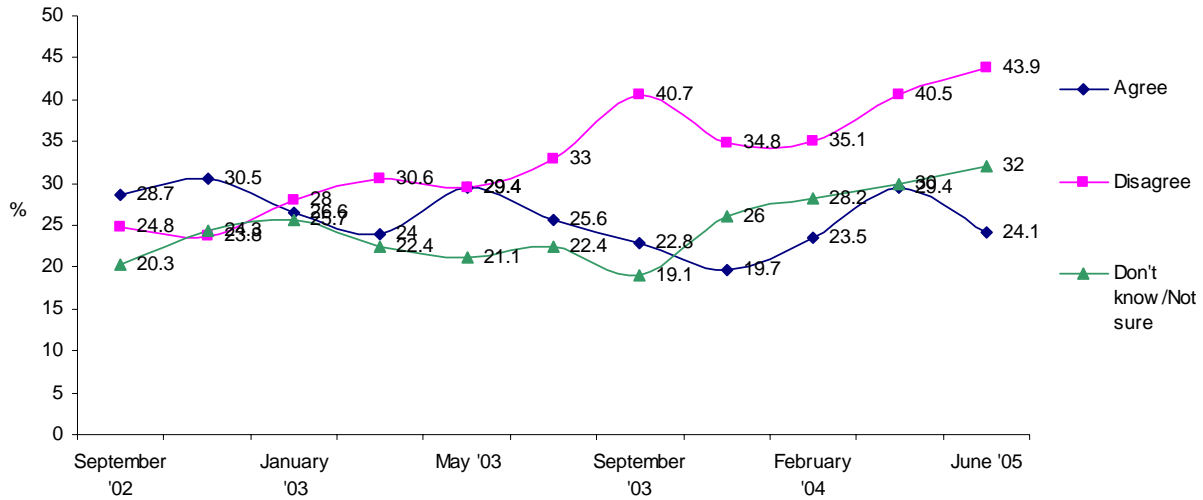
**Ethnic Breakdown**



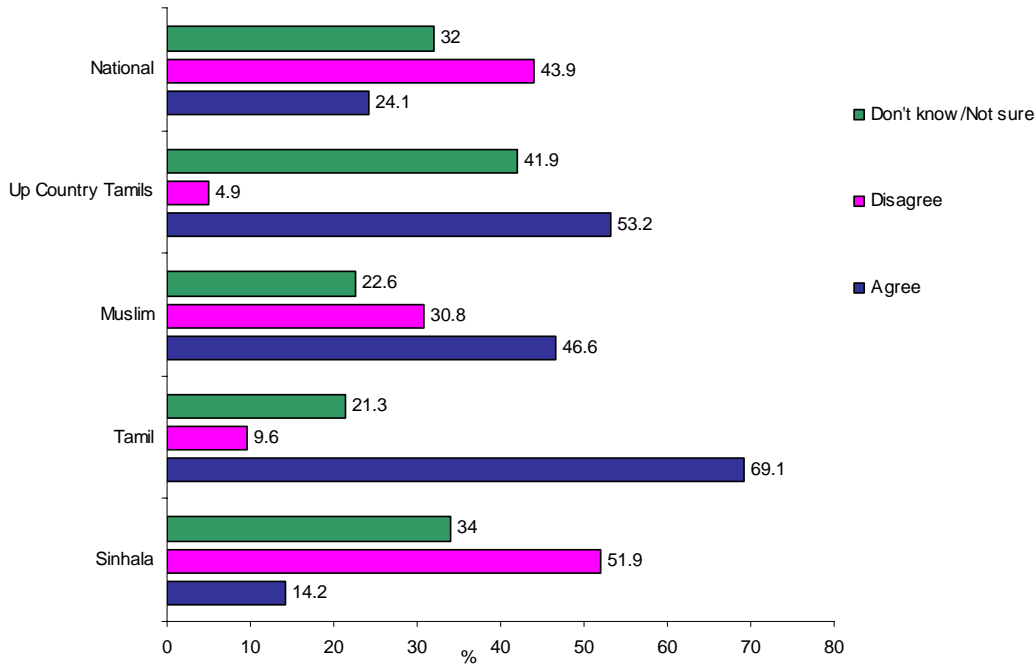


**I think the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission is effective in its monitoring of the ceasefire agreement.**

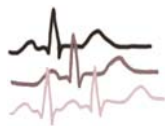
**National Breakdown**



**Ethnic Breakdown**



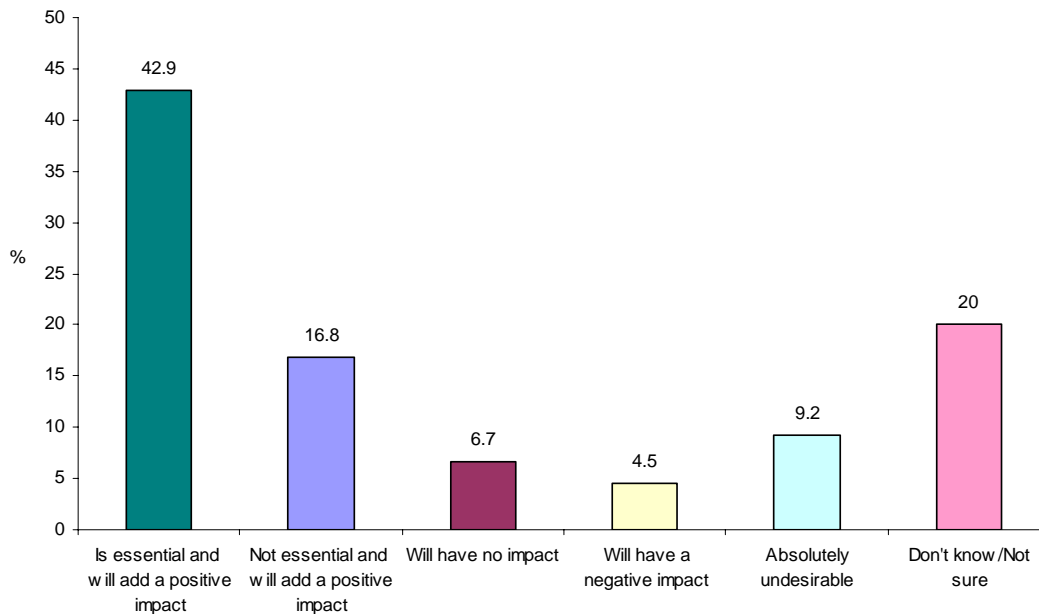




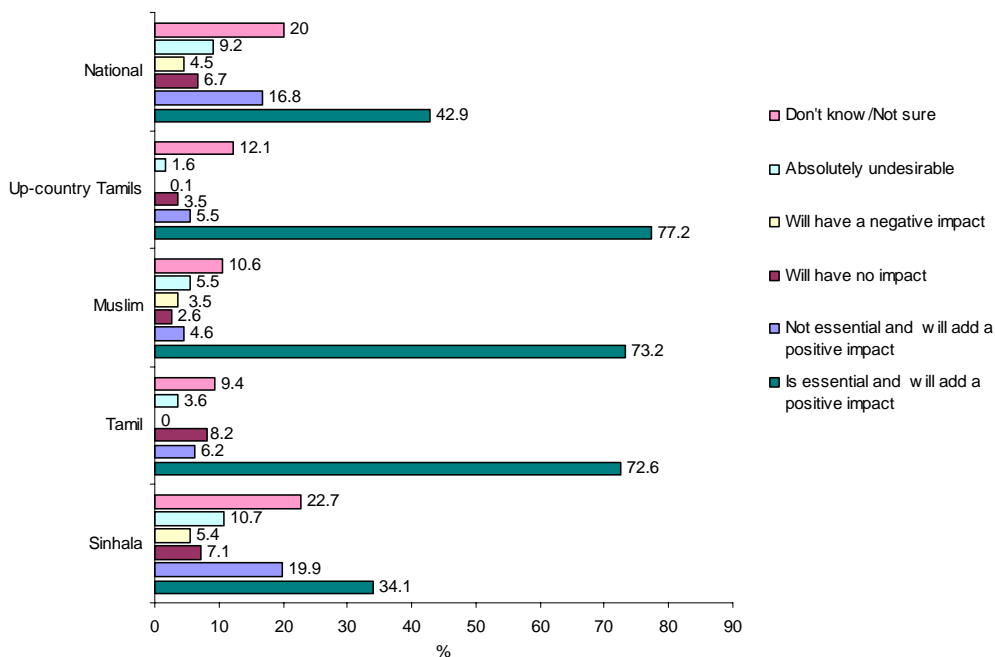
## Foreign Involvement

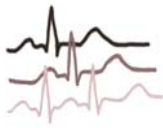
**What is your opinion of the need for an international third party as a facilitator to the negotiations to solve the ethnic conflict in Sri Lanka ?**

**National Breakdown**



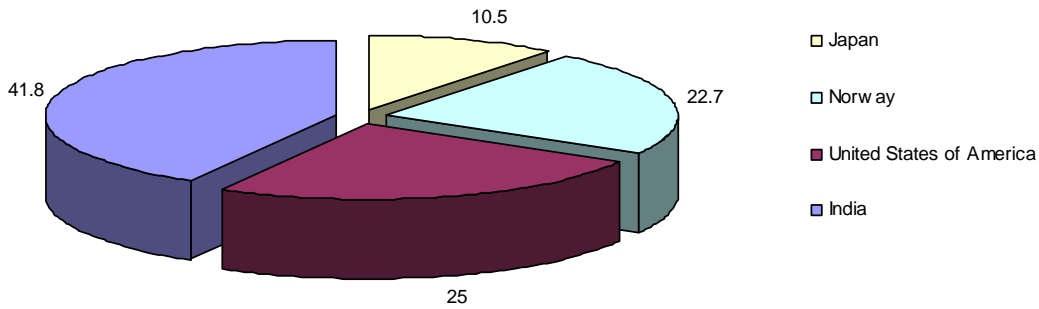
**Ethnic Breakdown**



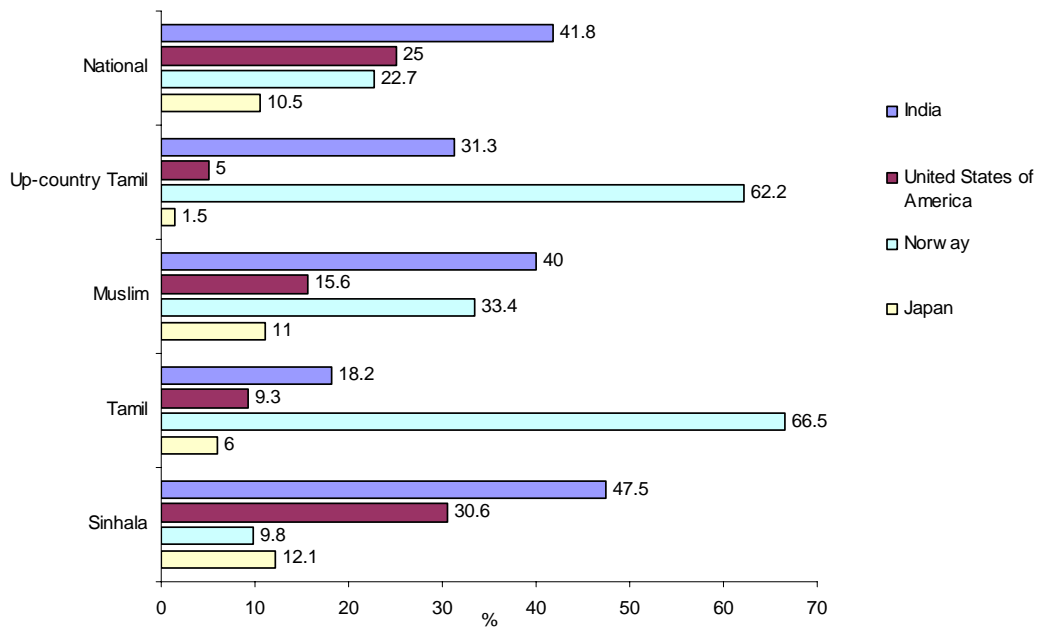


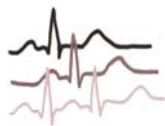
Please state the most suitable country that should play the role of facilitator in the peace process.

National Breakdown



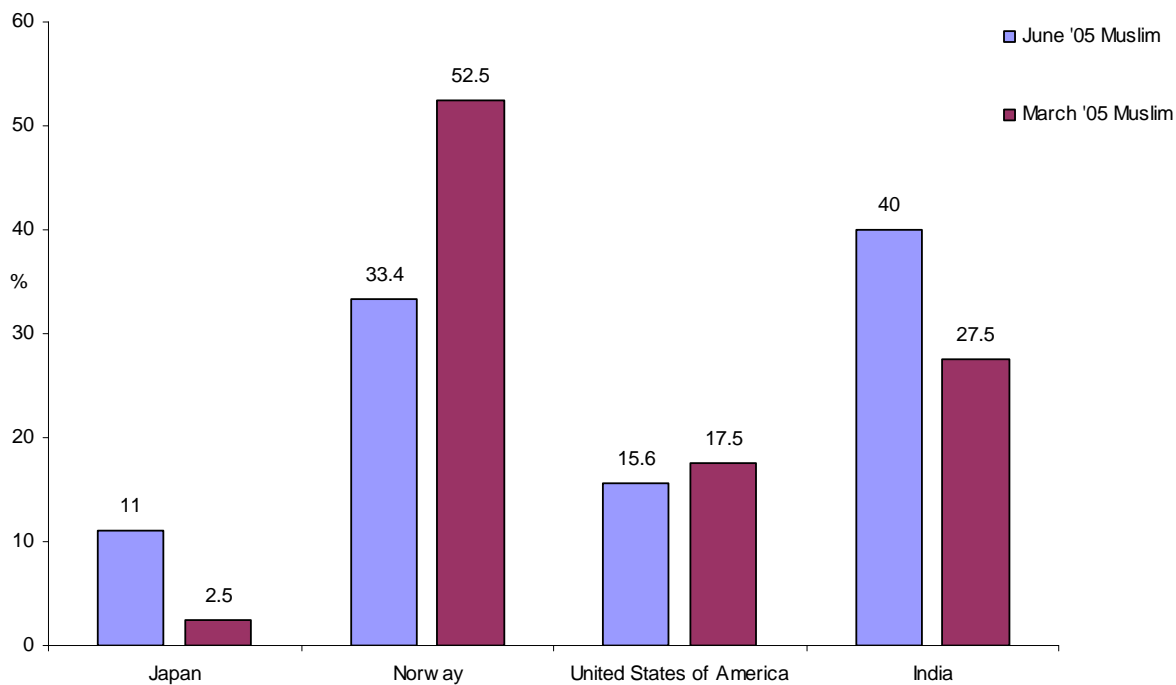
Ethnic Breakdown

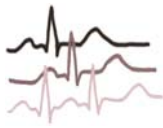




Please state the most suitable country that should play the role of facilitator in the peace process.

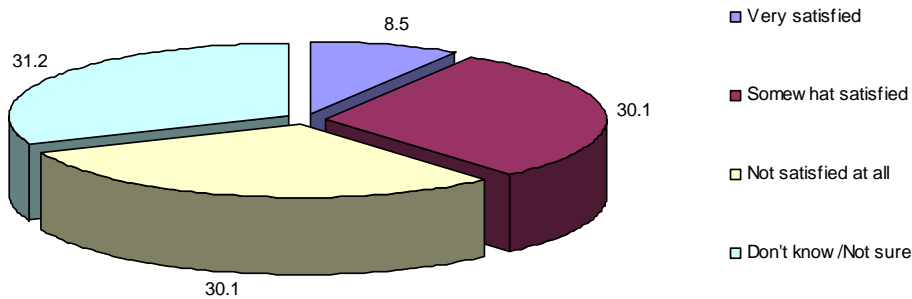
Change in opinion of Muslim community



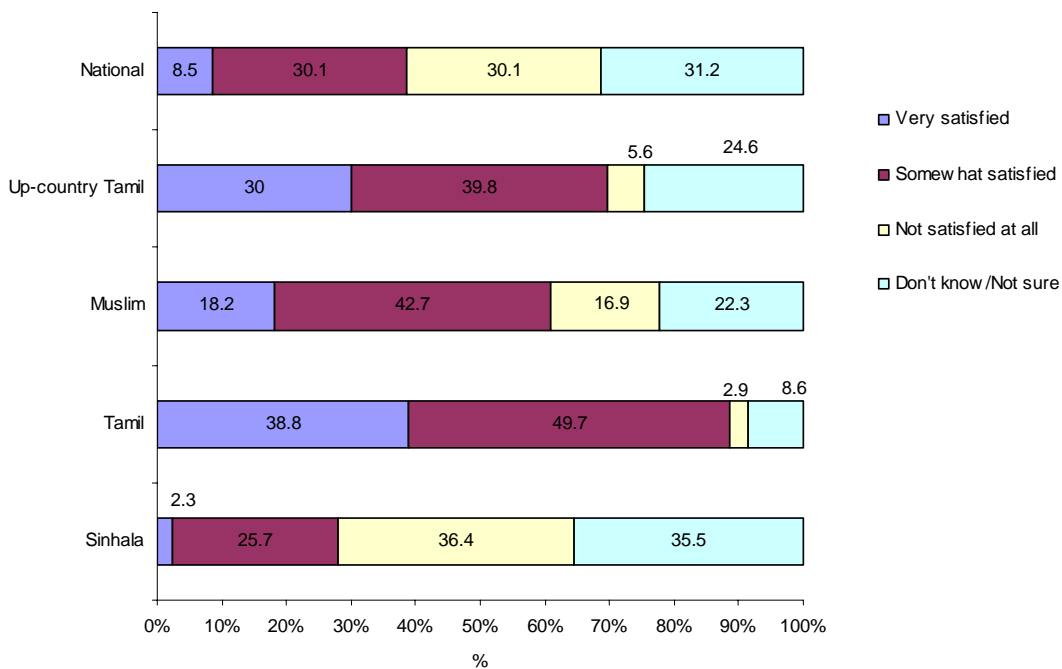


The Norwegian government has been officially facilitating peace negotiations since November 2001. Please tell me your level of satisfaction with the Norwegian role as facilitator. Are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied or not satisfied at all on the Norwegian role as facilitator ?

National Breakdown



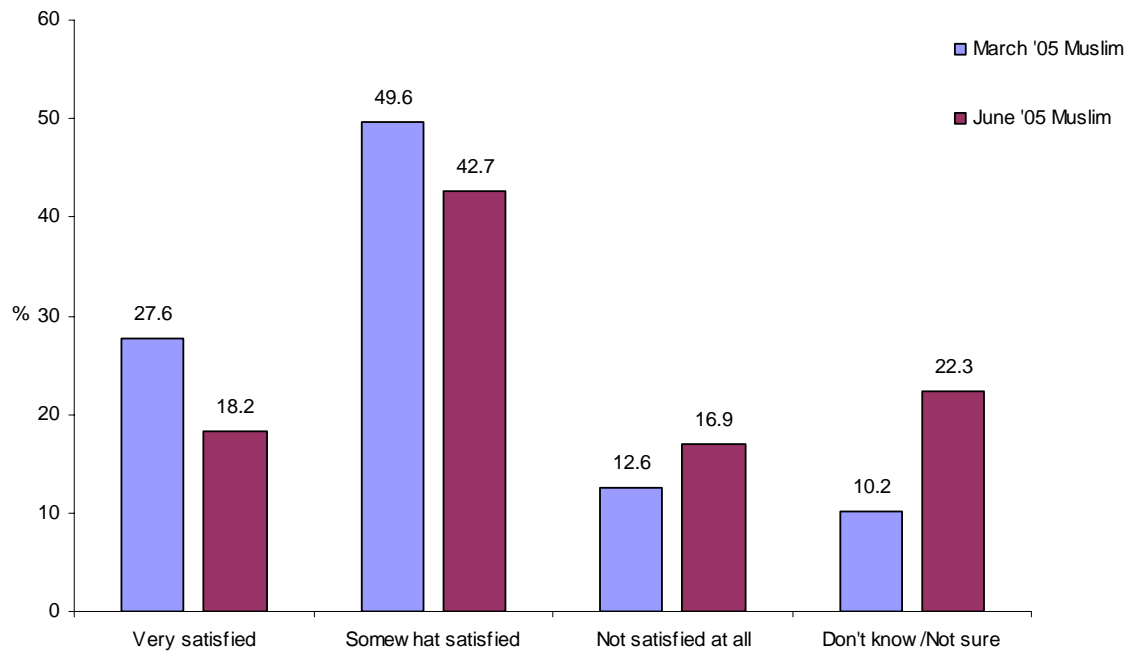
Ethnic Breakdown





The Norwegian government has been officially facilitating peace negotiations since November 2001. Please tell me your level of satisfaction with the Norwegian role as facilitator. Are you very satisfied, somewhat satisfied or not satisfied at all on the Norwegian role as facilitator ?

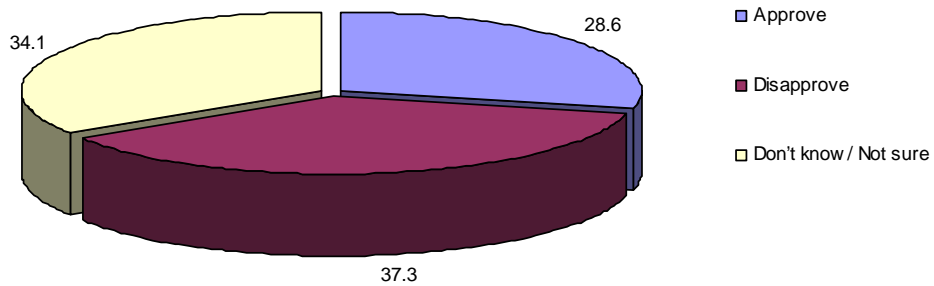
Change in opinion of Muslim community



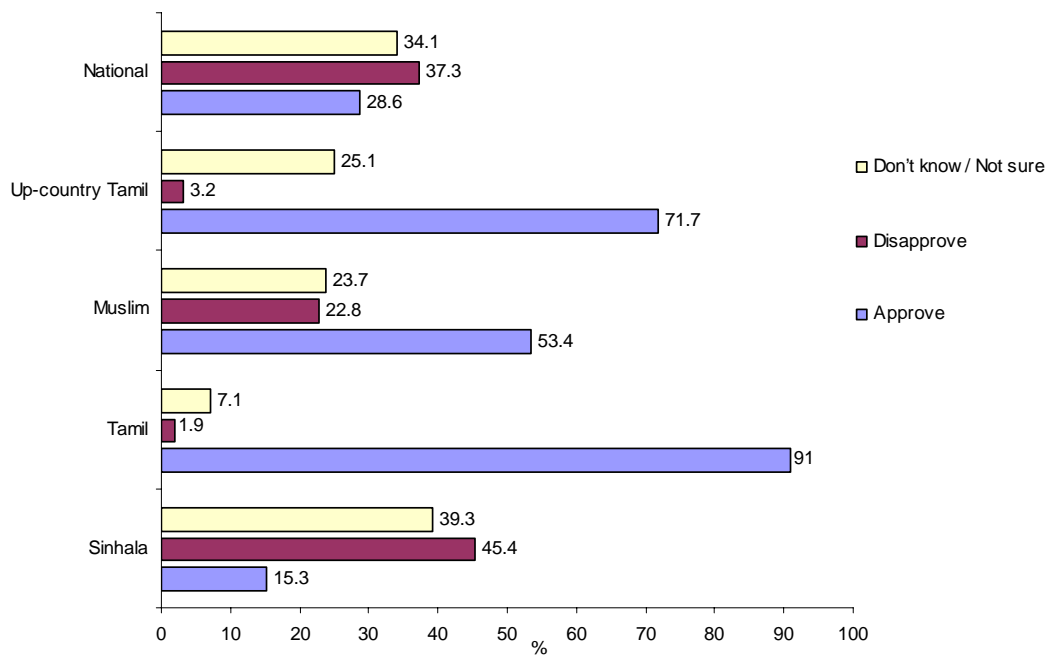


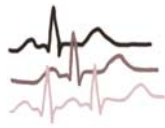
Please state if you approve or disapprove of Norway continuing to facilitate the peace process.

### National Breakdown



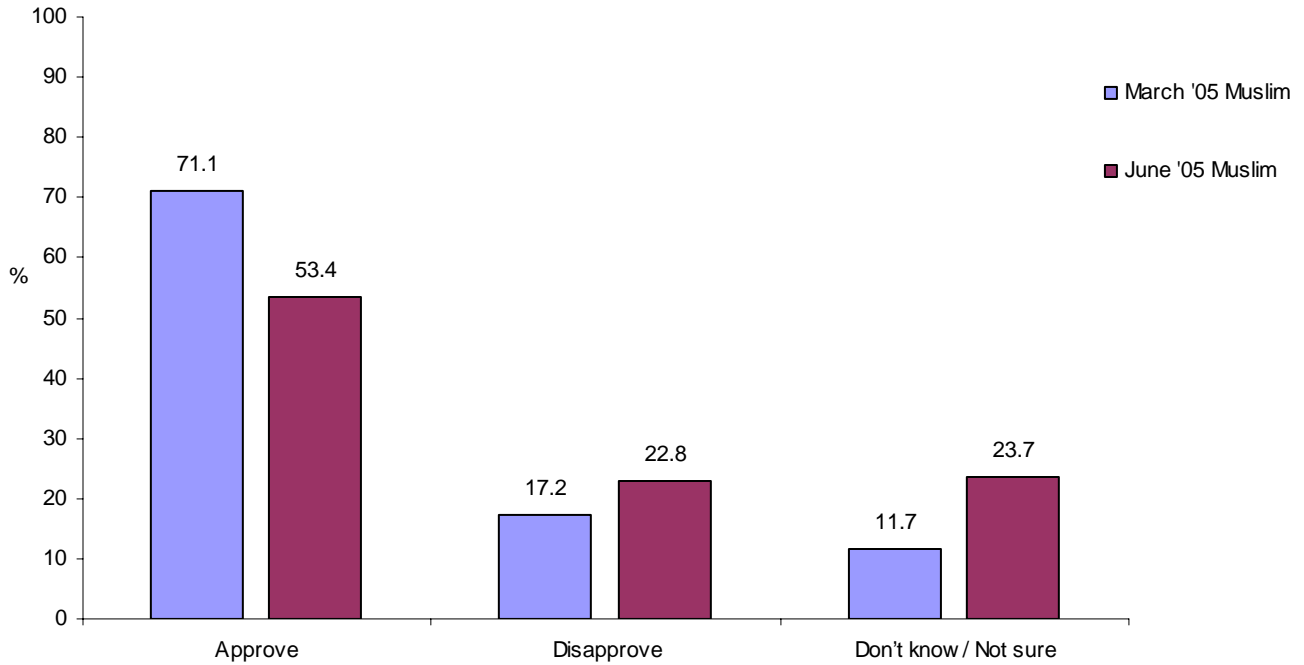
### Ethnic Breakdown

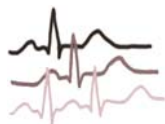




**Please state if you approve or disapprove of Norway continuing to facilitate the peace process.**

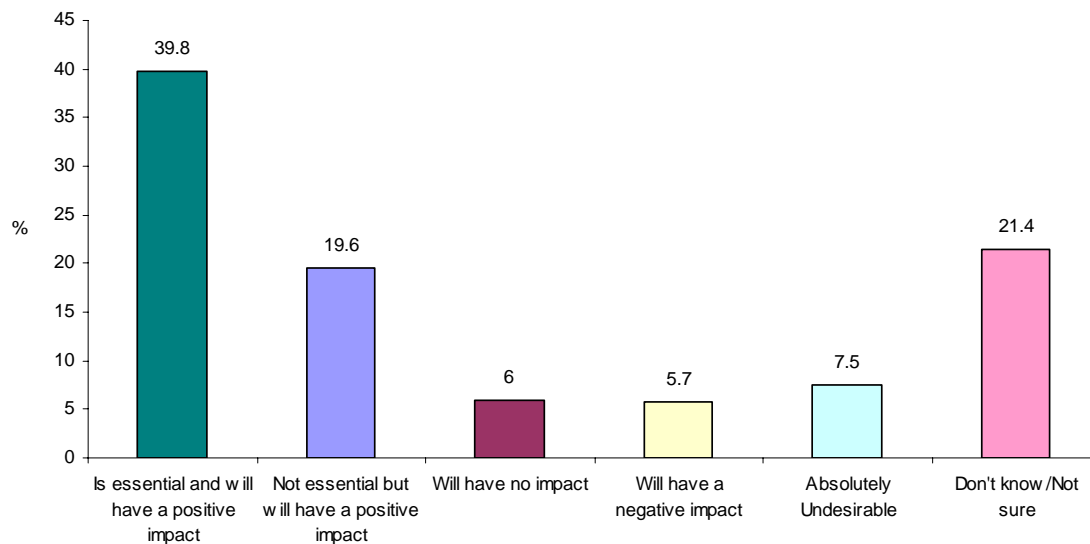
**Change in opinion of Muslim community**



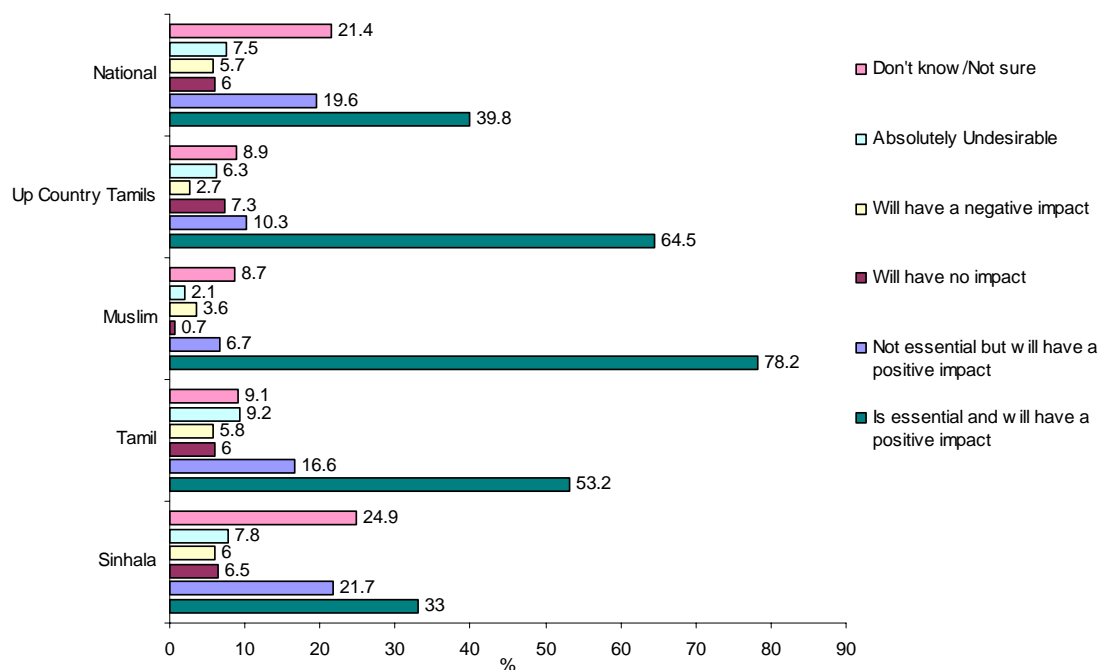


### What is your opinion of the need for India's involvement in the Sri Lankan peace process ?

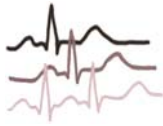
National Breakdown



Ethnic Breakdown



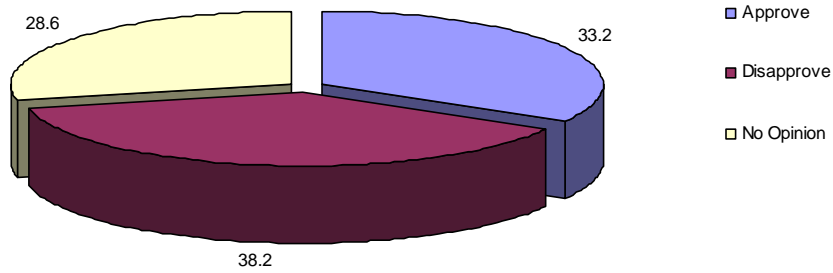




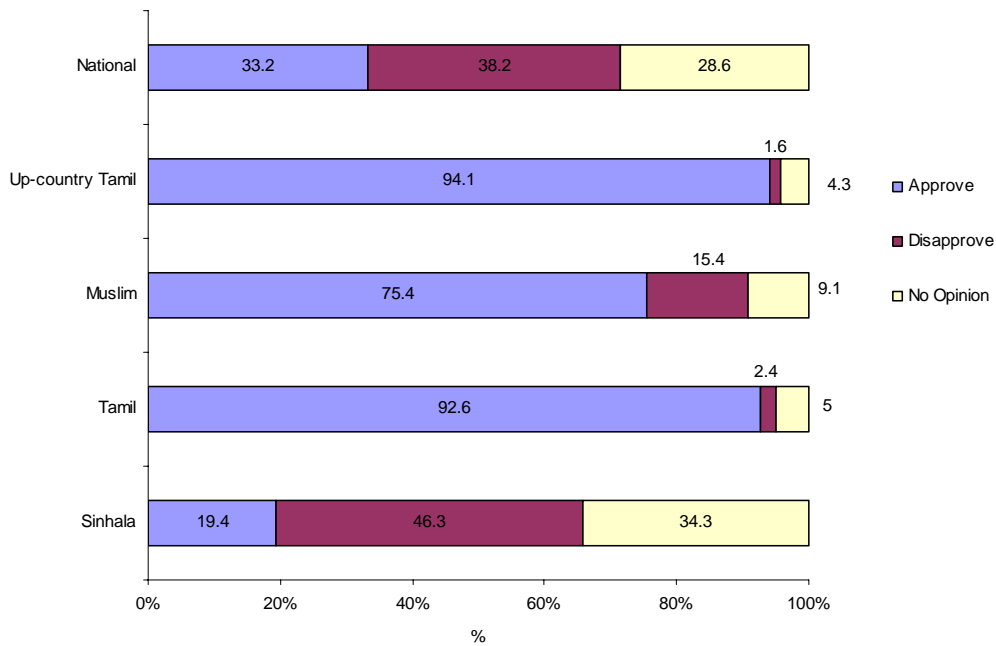
## Joint Mechanism

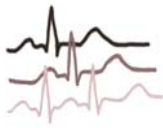
### Do you approve or disapprove of the Joint Mechanism ?

National Breakdown



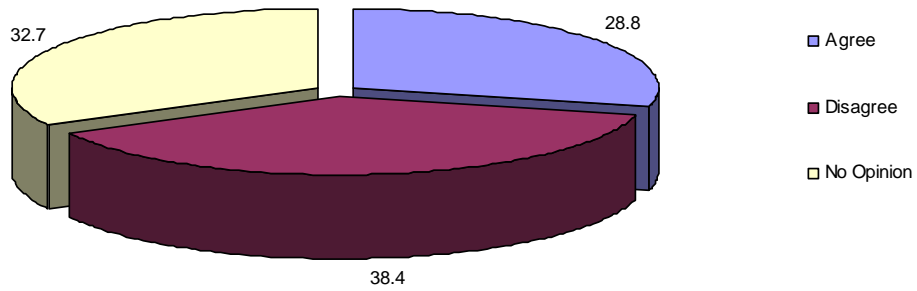
Ethnic Breakdown



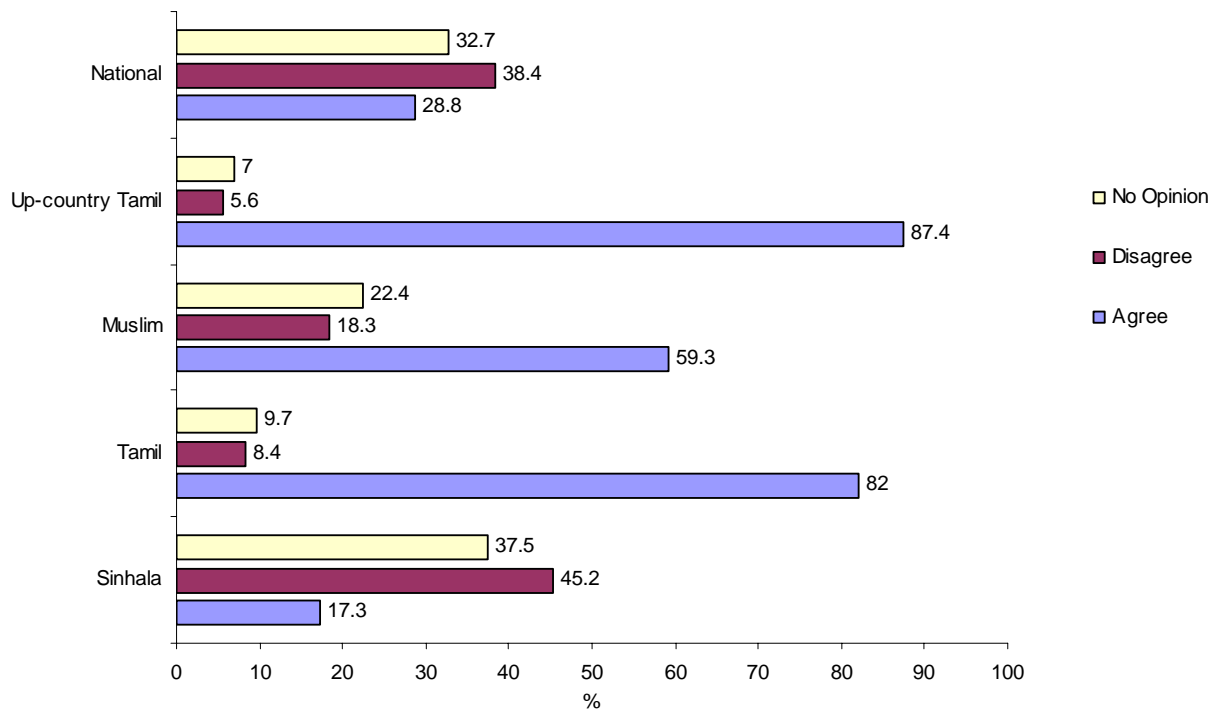


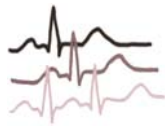
**Some people say that the Joint Mechanism would be a stepping stone for permanent peace. Do you agree or disagree ?**

**National Breakdown**



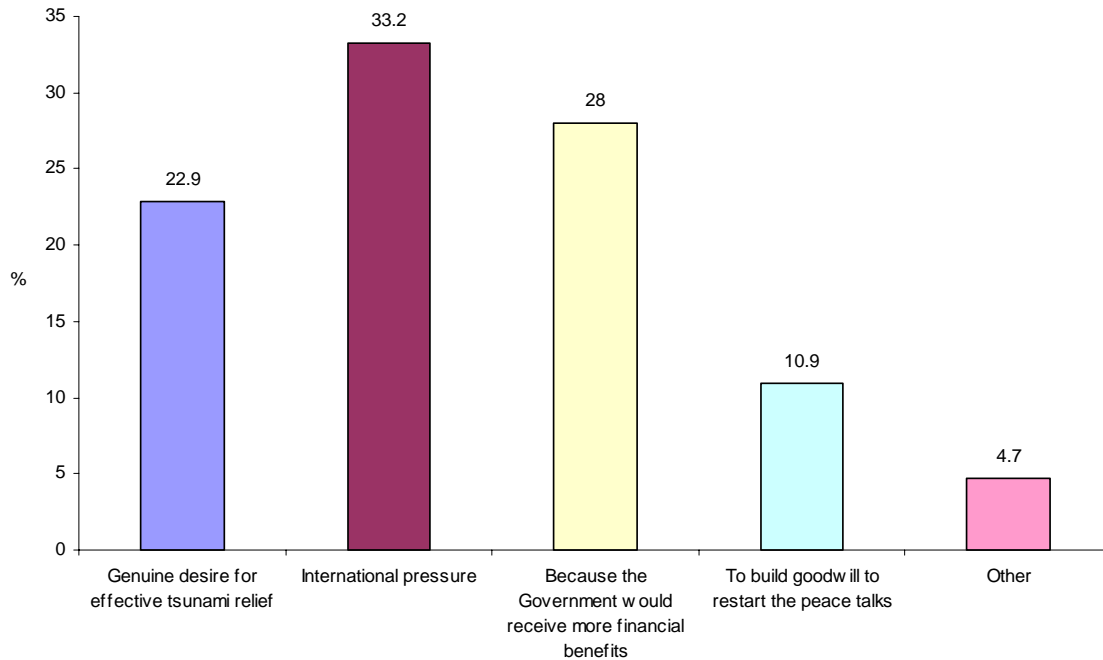
**Ethnic Breakdown**



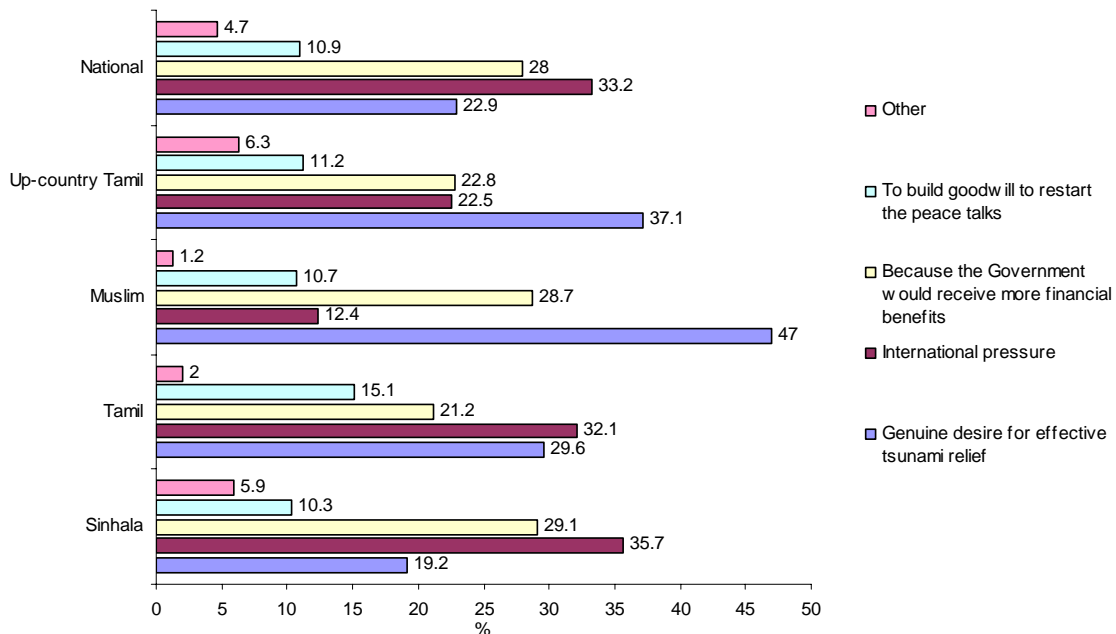


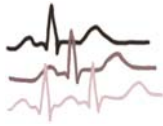
### Why do you think the Government is committed to a joint mechanism to distribute Tsunami Relief in the Northeast ?

**National Breakdown**



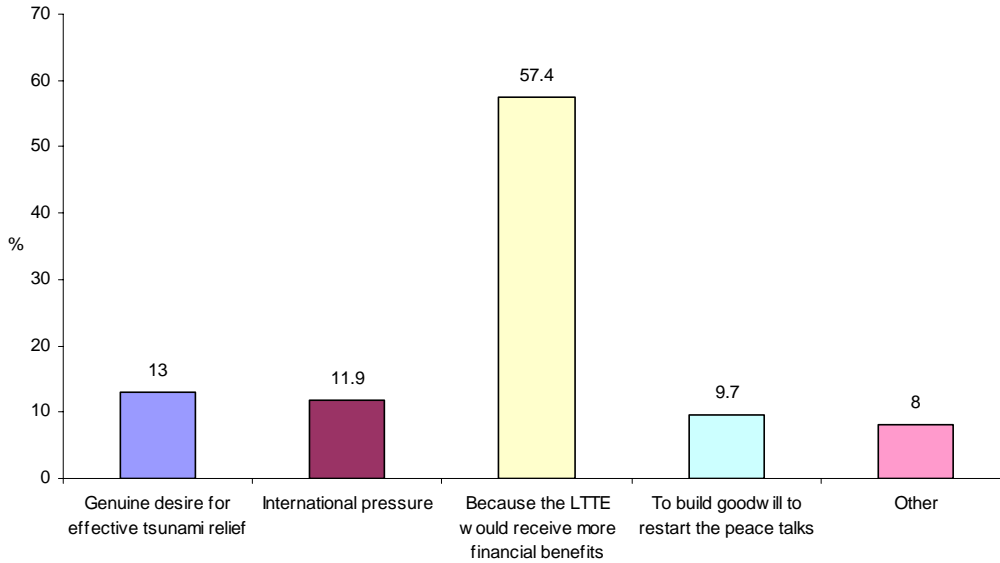
**Ethnic Breakdown**



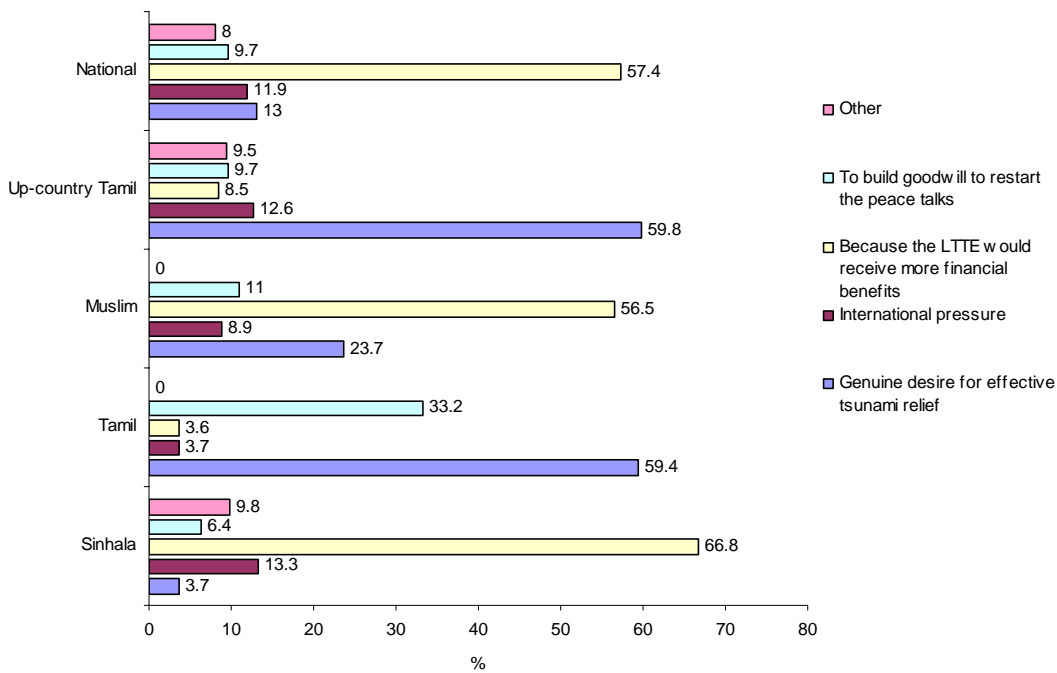


### Why do you think the LTTE is committed to a joint mechanism to distribute Tsunami Relief in the Northeast ?

National Breakdown



Ethnic Breakdown

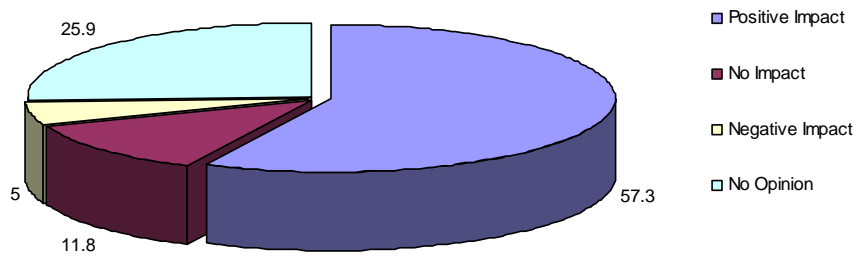




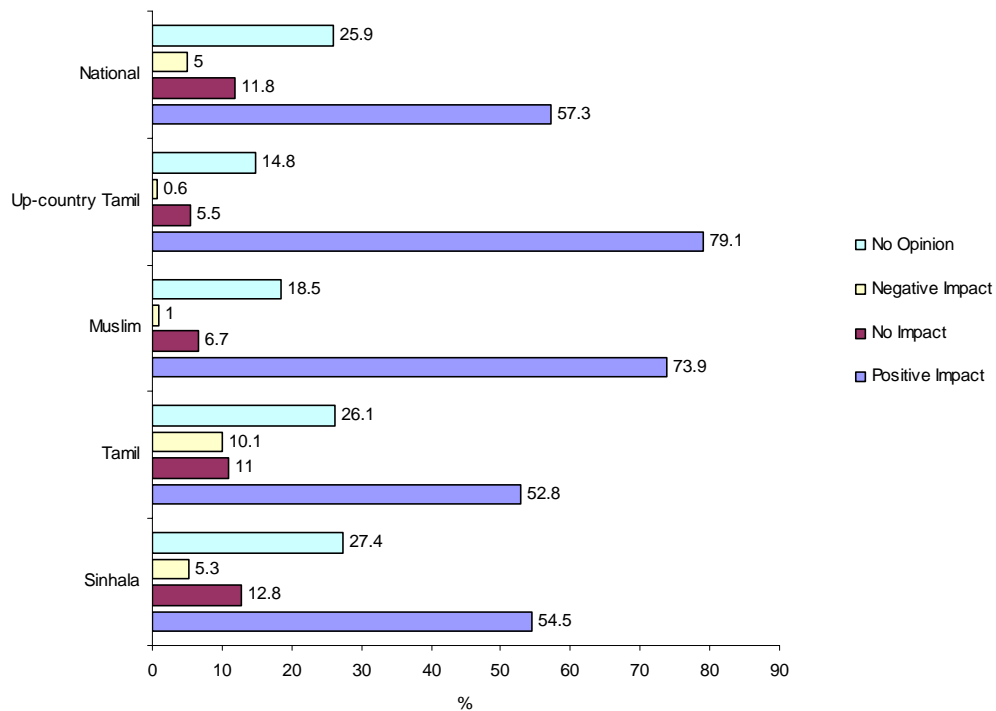
## Sri Lanka Development Forum [16th -17th May 2005]

In your opinion what would be the impact of this development forum on the Sri Lankan economy ?

National Breakdown



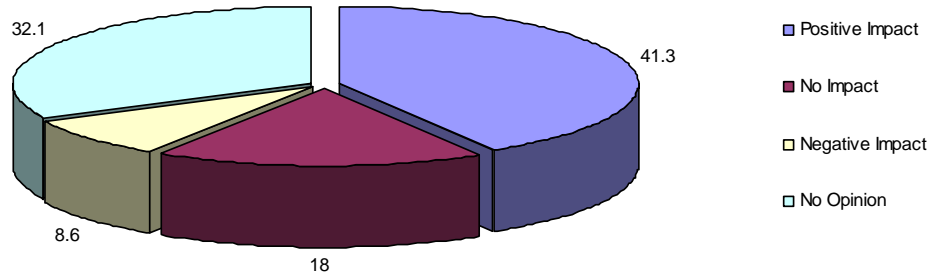
Ethnic Breakdown



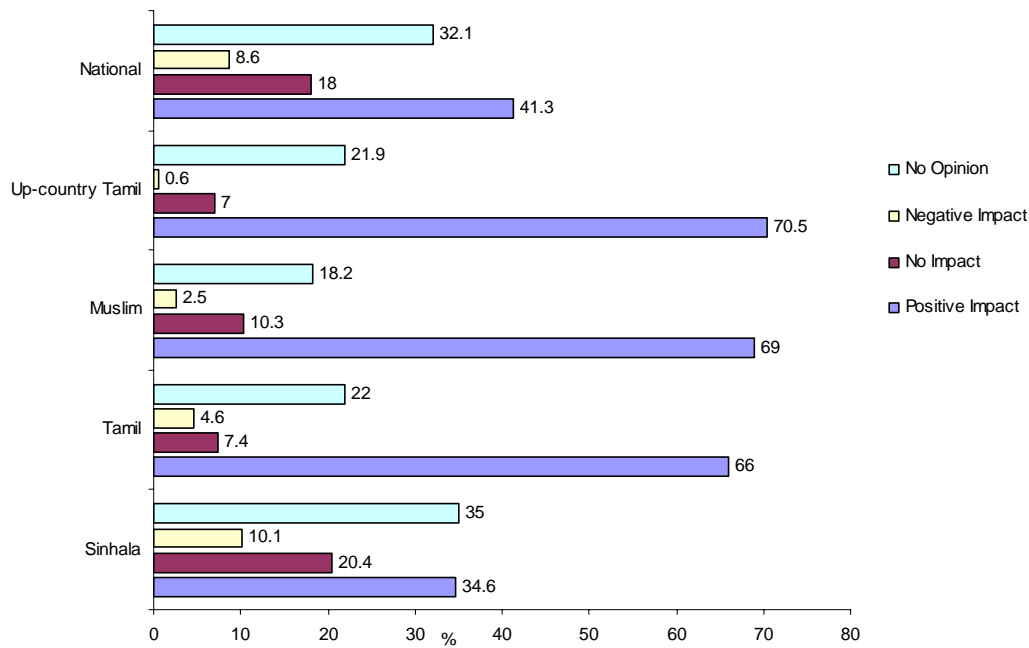


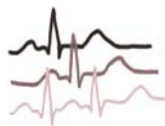
In your opinion what would be the impact of this development forum on the Sri Lankan peace process ?

National Breakdown



Ethnic Breakdown

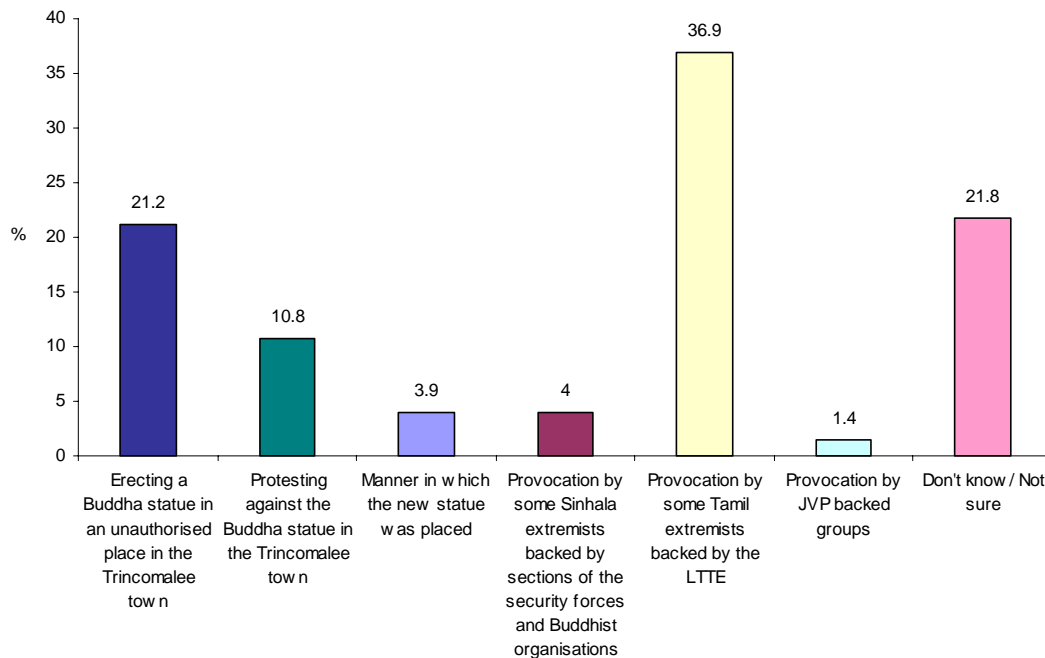




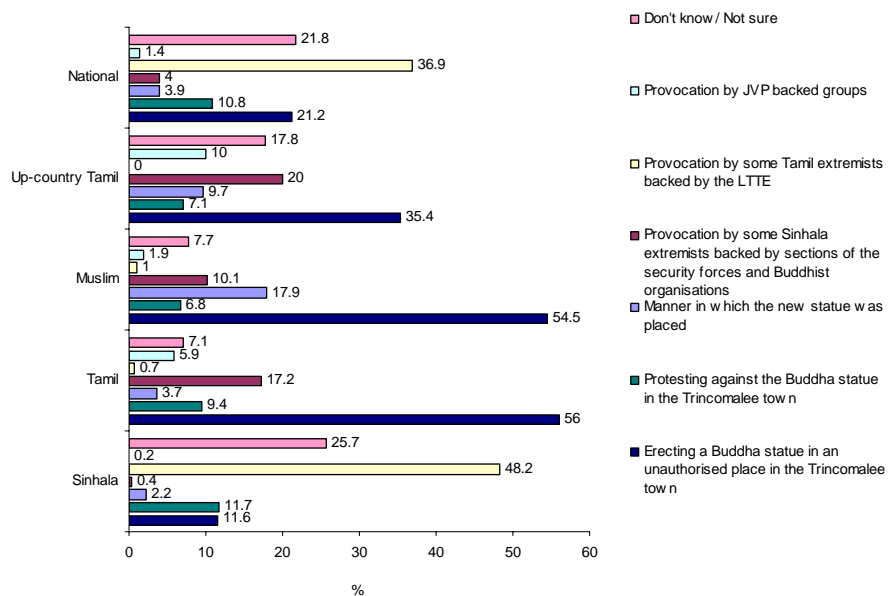
## Tensions in Trincomalee

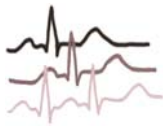
### In your opinion what is the cause of these tensions ?

**National Breakdown**



**Ethnic Breakdown**

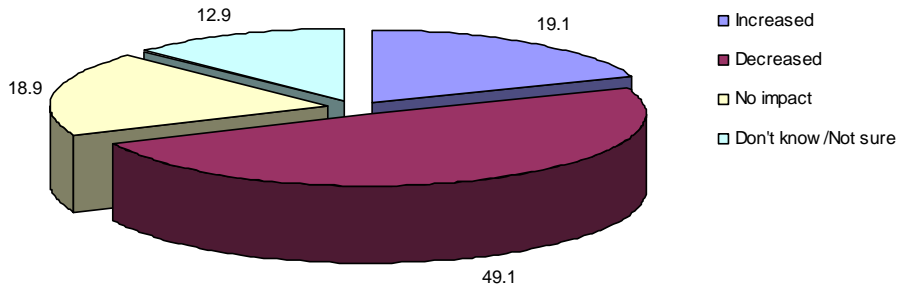




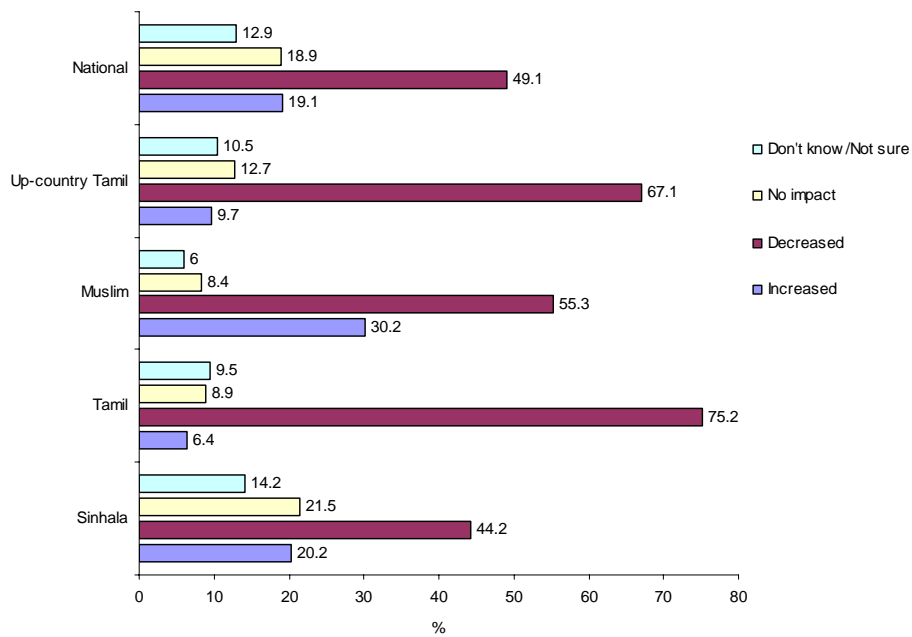
## Tsunami

### Has the Tsunami increased or decreased the likelihood of war ?

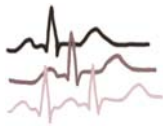
National Breakdown



Ethnic Breakdown

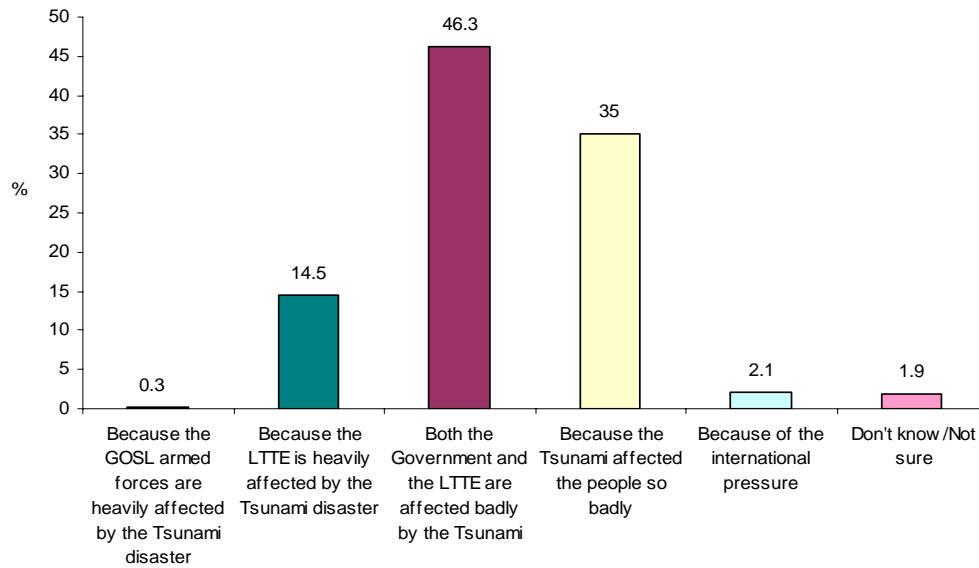




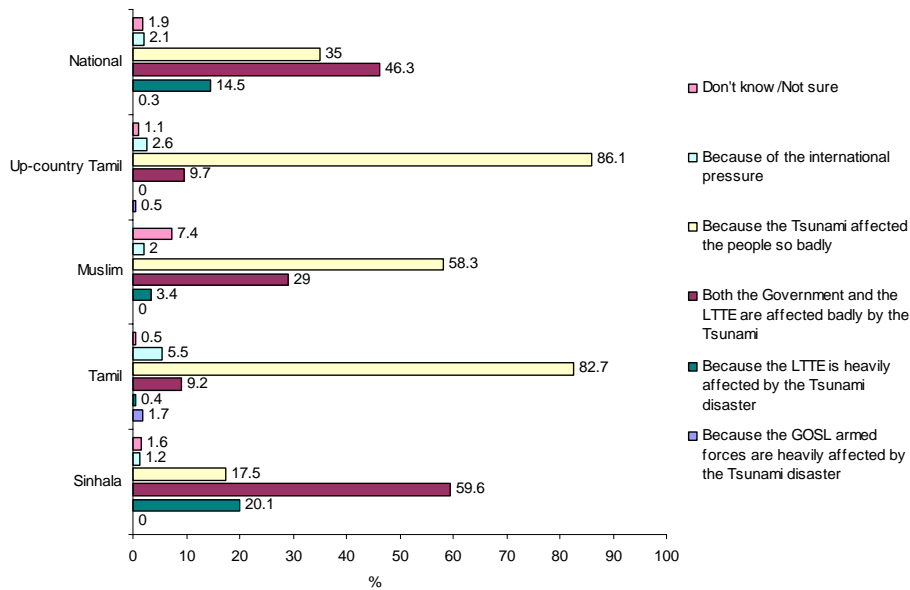


## Why has the likelihood of war decreased ?

National Breakdown



Ethnic Breakdown



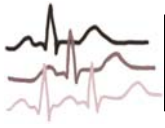


Peace Confidence Index (PCI)

June 2005

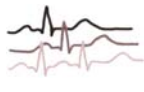
OPINION OF THE  
**Tsunami Victims**

Social Indicator



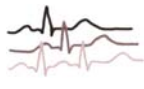
This section of the report presents the top-line results of the Peace Confidence Index (PCI) survey carried out exclusively in the tsunami affected areas. Due to logistical and ethical reasons PCI March 2005 did not cover the Tsunami affected areas. However, after six months of the disaster, in the context of relative normalcy, SI decided to extend its PCI survey to the Tsunami affected areas in order to capture the opinions of the affected people on issues related to Tsunami recovery/reconstruction and the peace process.

The survey was conducted amongst 330 individuals randomly selected from the tsunami affected areas in Galle, Matara, Hambantota, Amparai, Batticaloa and Trincomalee. Interviews were conducted using a structured questionnaire that was administered through face to face interviews. Equality with regard to gender, ethnicity and age (Over 18) was taken into consideration when selecting the sample.



## FINDINGS AT A GLANCE OF THE POLL CONDUCTED FROM 15<sup>TH</sup> JUNE 2005 TO 30<sup>TH</sup> JUNE 2005

- ◆ When asked if they approve or disapprove of the Joint Mechanism, 54.2% of tsunami affected people approve of it. This opinion is seen across a majority of the Tamil (95.1%) and Muslim (71.6%) communities. A majority of the Sinhala community (49.5%) have no opinion in this regard. *(Ref. Page 51)*
- ◆ When asked if the tsunami has increased or decreased the likelihood of war, 48.8% state that it has decreased the likelihood of war. 22.7% state that the tsunami has increased the likelihood of war. From an ethnic perspective, a majority of the Tamil (67.8%) and Muslim (48.7%) communities believe that the tsunami has decreased the likelihood of war. The Sinhala community has a divided opinion in this regard (Increased- 24.8%, Decreased- 34.7%, No impact-15.7%, Don't know/Not sure-24.8%). *(Ref. Page 52)*
- ◆ 55% of tsunami affected people believe the likelihood of war has decreased because the tsunami affected the people so badly. This opinion is seen across a majority of Tamil (83.3%) and Muslim (56.9%) communities. 29.4% believe that the likelihood of war has decreased because both the Government and the LTTE are affected badly by the tsunami. A majority of the Sinhala (66.7%) community support this opinion. *(Ref. Page 53)*
- ◆ 54.4% express satisfaction with the way the Government is handling the tsunami relief. This opinion is seen across a majority of the Tamil (59.6%) and Muslim (57.7%) communities. A majority of the Sinhala (52.5%) community express dissatisfaction with the way the Government is handling the tsunami relief. *(Ref. Page 54)*
- ◆ 75.4% express satisfaction with the way the NGO's are handling the tsunami relief. This opinion is seen across a majority of all the ethnic groups, the Sinhala (65.3%), Tamil (93.3%) and Muslim (72.3%) communities. *(Ref. Page 55)*
- ◆ 45.9% don't know or are not sure of the way the LTTE and the Tamil Rehabilitation Organization (TRO) are handling the tsunami relief. From an ethnic perspective, a majority of the Muslim (61.1%) community do not know or are not sure. A majority of Sinhala (61.3%) community are not satisfied at all while a majority of Tamil (42%) community is very satisfied. *(Ref. Page 56)*
- ◆ When asked to rate five national issues according to the degree of importance, using a 10 point scale, housing was rated the highest (8.94). This opinion seen across all the ethnic groups (Sinhala- 8.3, Tamil- 9.24, and Muslim- 9.34). *(Ref. Page 57)*
- ◆ 69.7% of Sri Lankans state that they have not been ethnically discriminated when distributing tsunami relief. This opinion is seen across a majority of the Sinhala (86.8%) and Muslim (72.3%) communities. The Tamil community has a divided opinion in this regard (Yes, I have been discriminated-42.2%, No, I have not been discriminated-43.3%). *(Ref. Page 58)*
- ◆ 69.1% of Sri Lankans state that they have not been politically discriminated when distributing tsunami relief. This opinion is seen across all the ethnic communities (Sinhala- 84.3%, Tamil- 51.1% and Muslim- 67.2%). *(Ref. Page 59)*



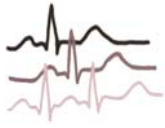
- ◆ 61.5% of Sri Lankans state that they have not been regionally discriminated when distributing tsunami relief. This opinion is seen across a majority of the Sinhala (67.8%) and Muslim (68.9%) communities. The Tamil community has a divided opinion in this regard (Yes, I have been discriminated-42.2%, No, I have not been discriminated-43.3%). *(Ref. Page 60)*
- ◆ 75.5% agree with the Government's decision to implement the buffer zones. This opinion is seen across a majority of the Sinhala (78.1%), Tamil (85.9%) and Muslim (65.2%) communities. *(Ref. Page 61)*
- ◆ 51.1% of tsunami affected people believe that the differences of the two buffer zones are based on scientific reasons. This opinion is seen across a majority of the Sinhala (61.9%), Tamil (57.5%) and Muslim (35.7%) communities. *(Ref. Page 62)*

**For further information please contact:**

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

**Tel:** +94 | | 2370472 **Email:** [cpapoll@diamond.lanka.net](mailto:cpapoll@diamond.lanka.net)

**Fax:** +94 | | 2370475 **Web:** <http://www.cpalanka.org>

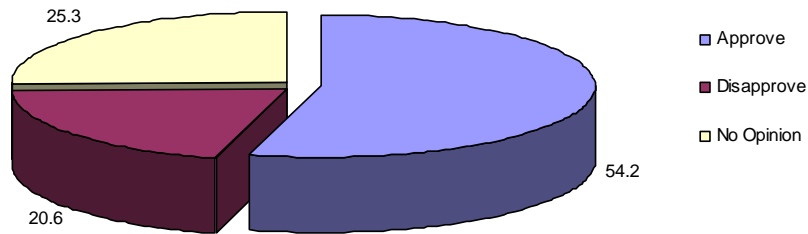


## Peace Confidence Index (PCI) – Tsunami Edition

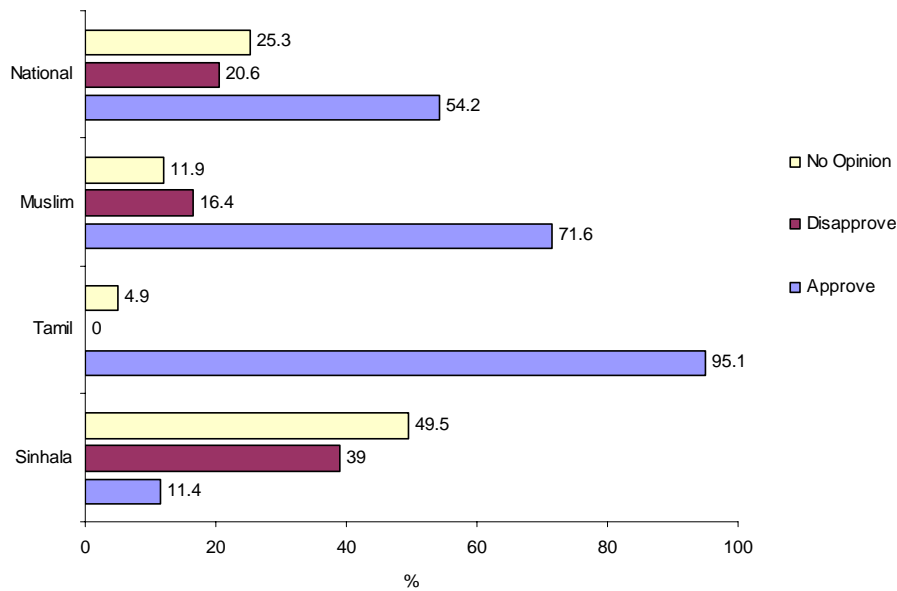
### Tsunami

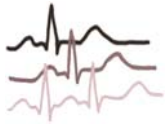
Do you approve or disapprove of the Joint Mechanism ?

National Breakdown



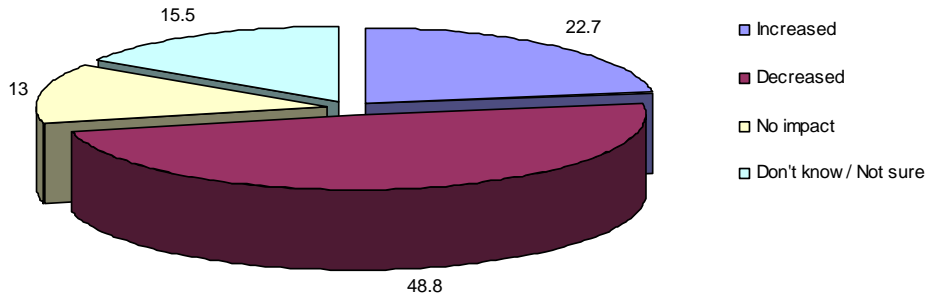
Ethnic Breakdown



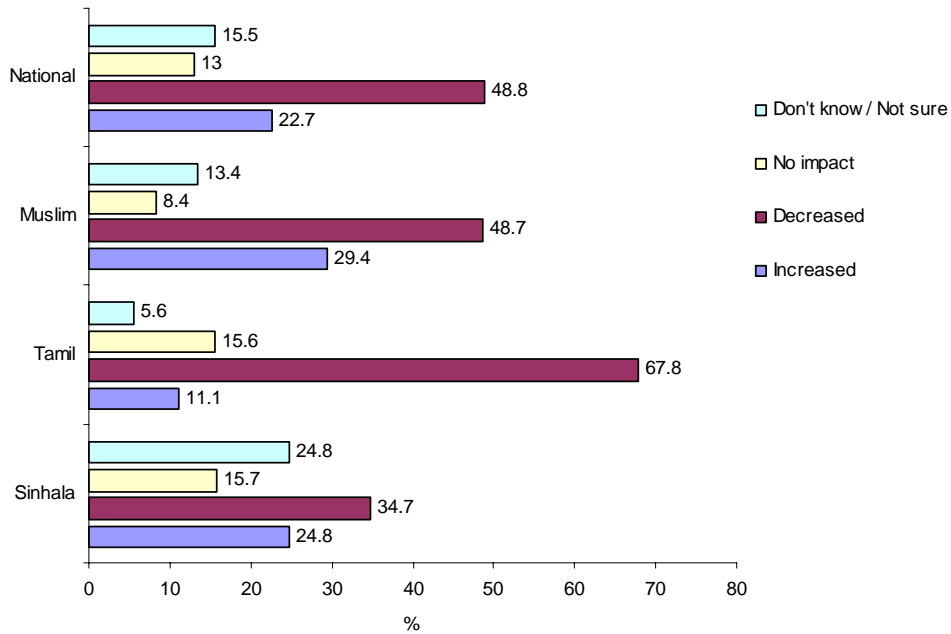


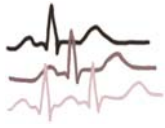
### Has the Tsunami increased or decreased the likelihood of war ?

National Breakdown



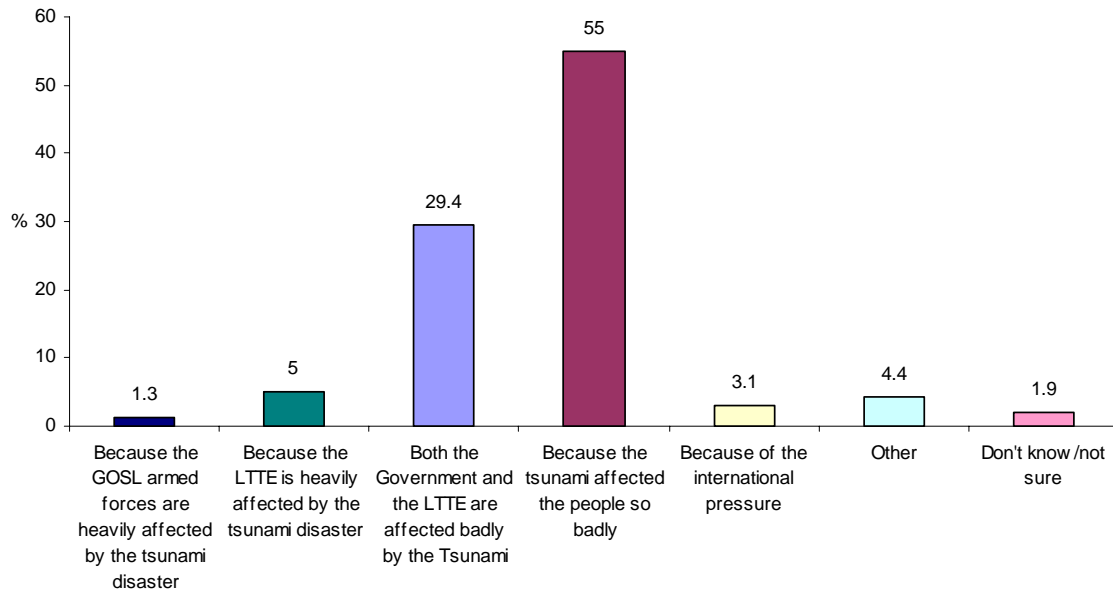
Ethnic Breakdown



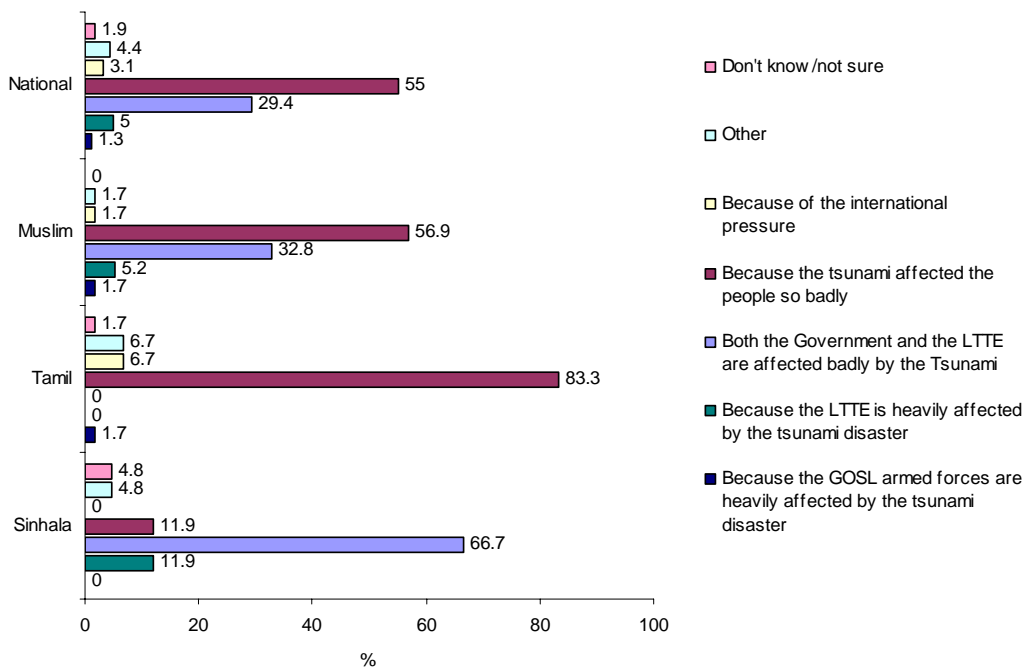


Why has the likelihood of war decreased ?

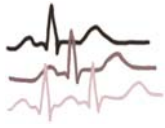
National Breakdown



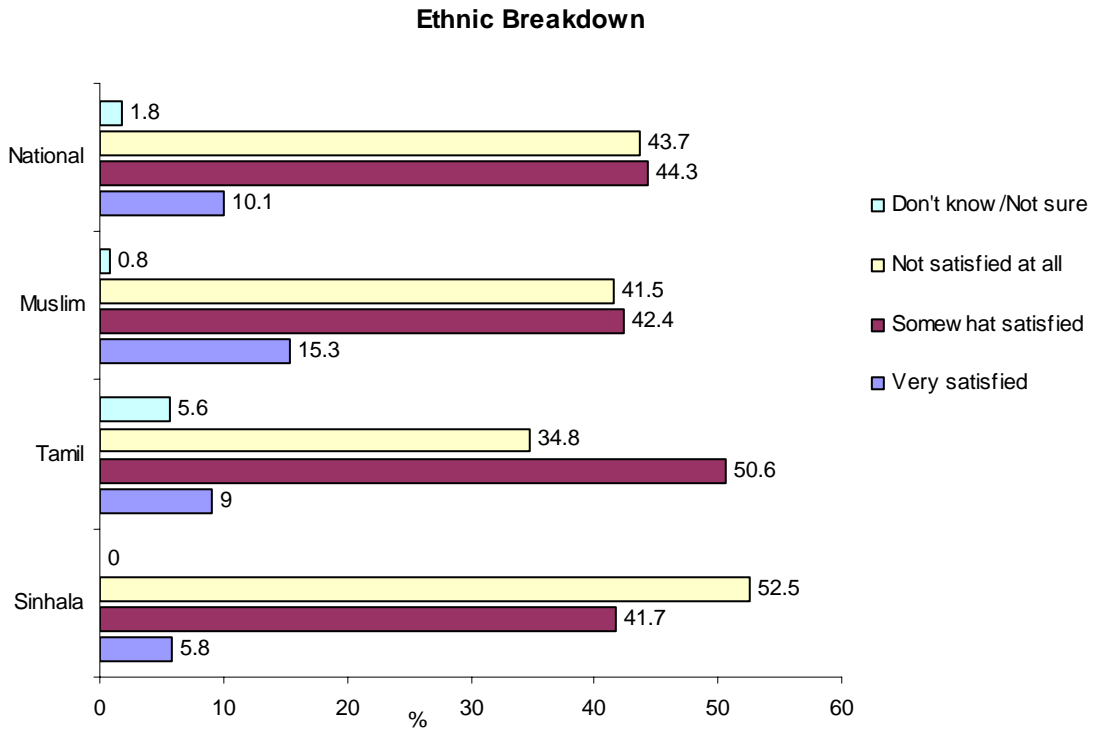
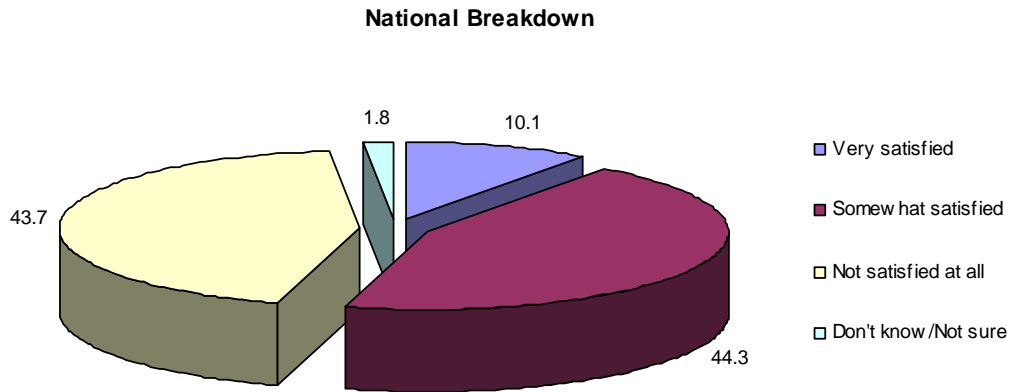
Ethnic Breakdown

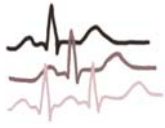






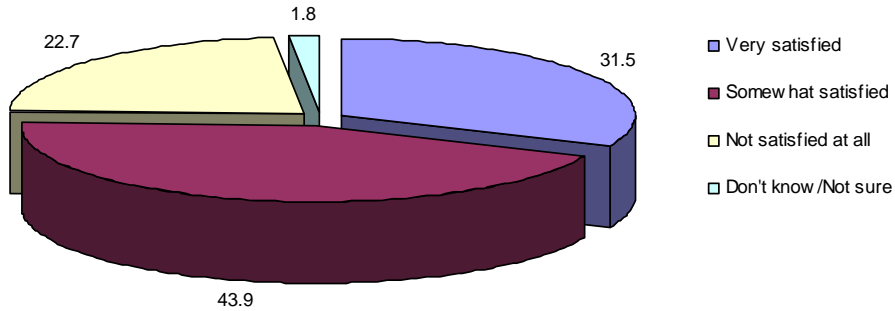
### How satisfied are you with the way the Government is handling the Tsunami relief ?



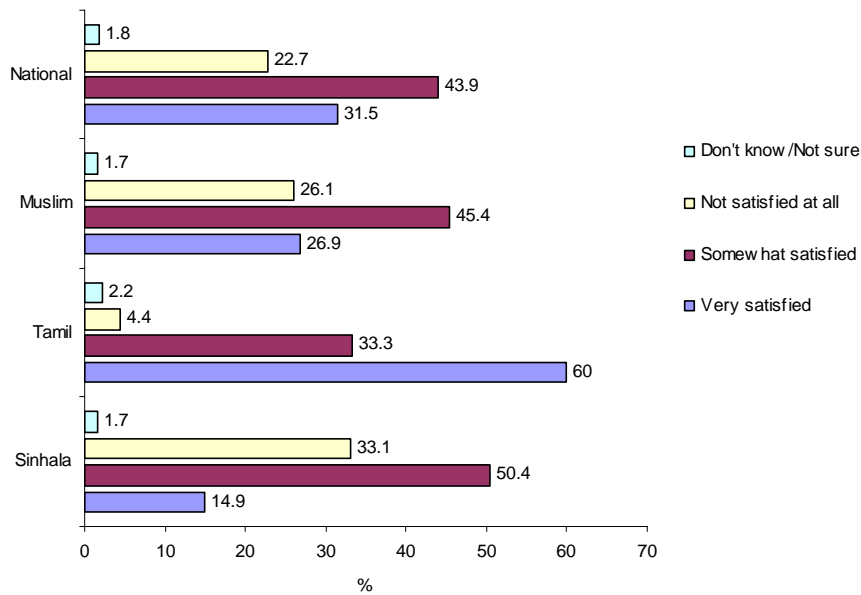


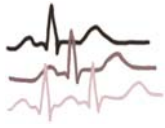
**How satisfied are you with the way the NGOs are handling the Tsunami relief ?**

**National Breakdown**



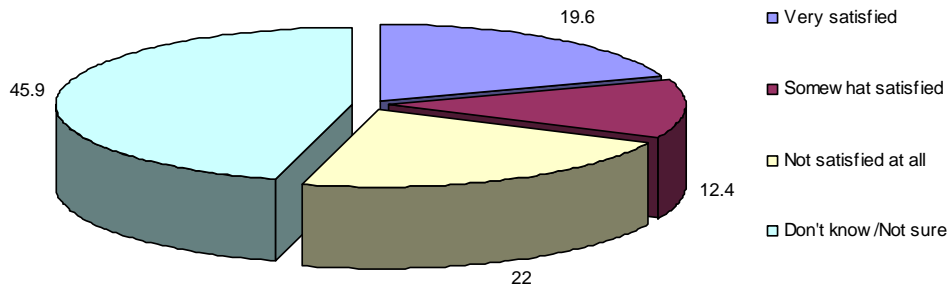
**Ethnic Breakdown**



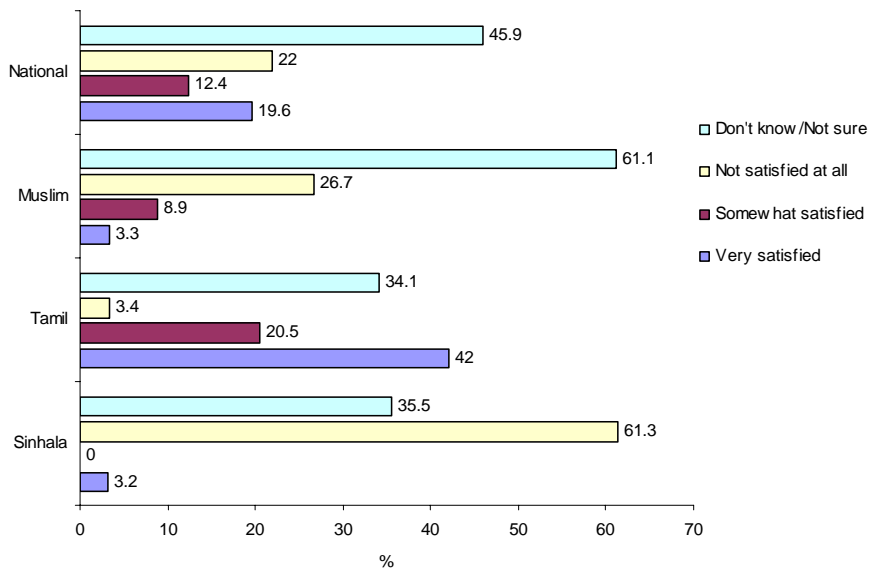


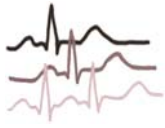
**How satisfied are you with the way the LTTE and the Tamil Rehabilitation Organization (TRO) are handling the Tsunami relief?**

**National Breakdown**



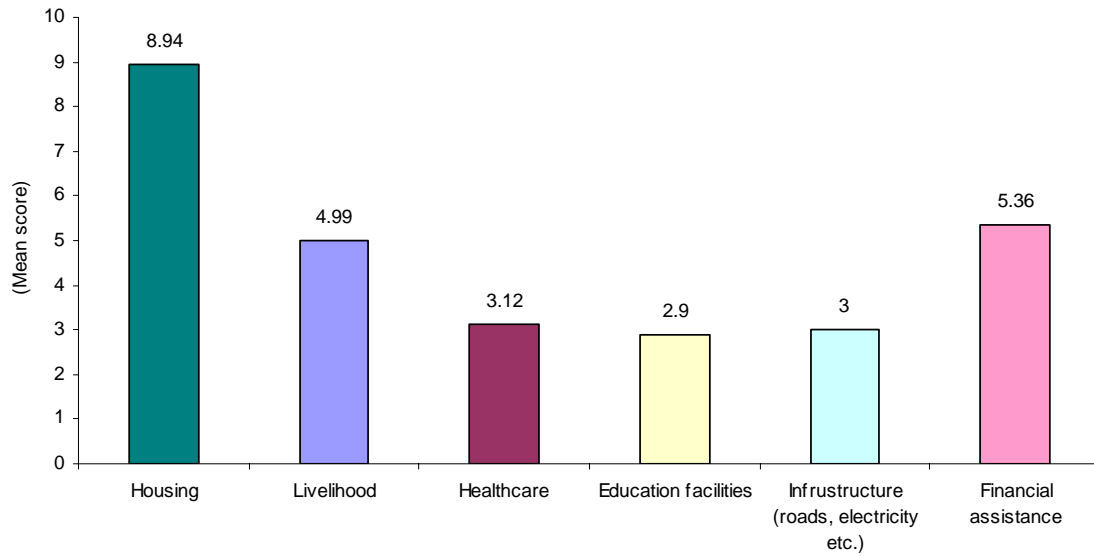
**Ethnic Breakdown**



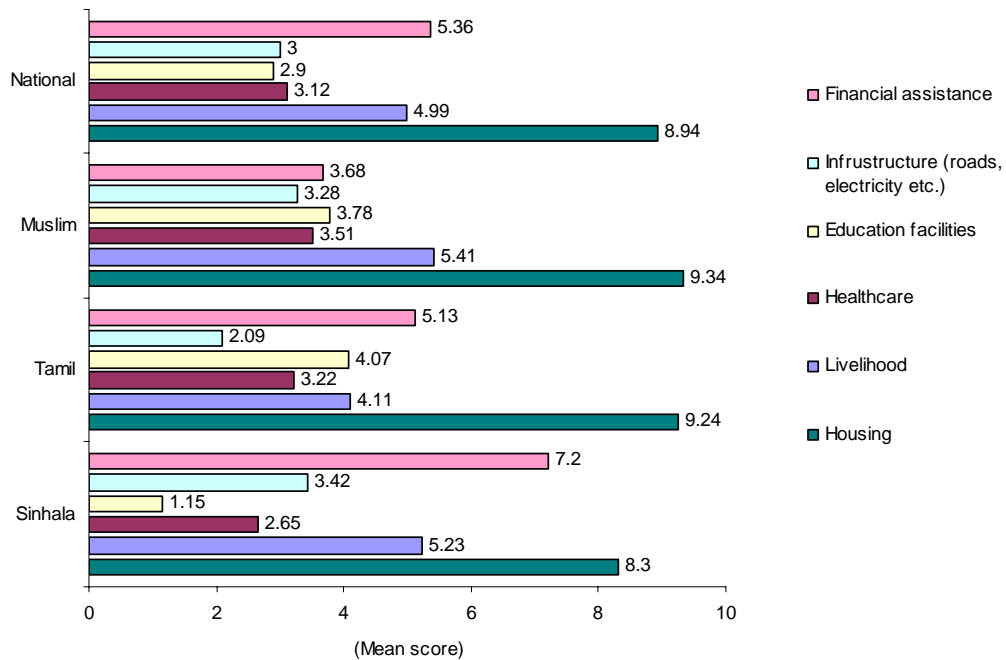


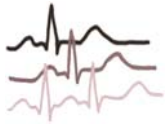
Rating the degree of importance of five national issues out of 10 point scale.

### National Breakdown



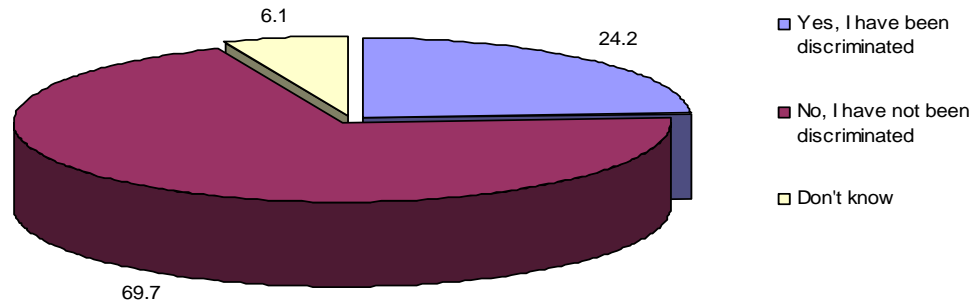
### Ethnic Breakdown



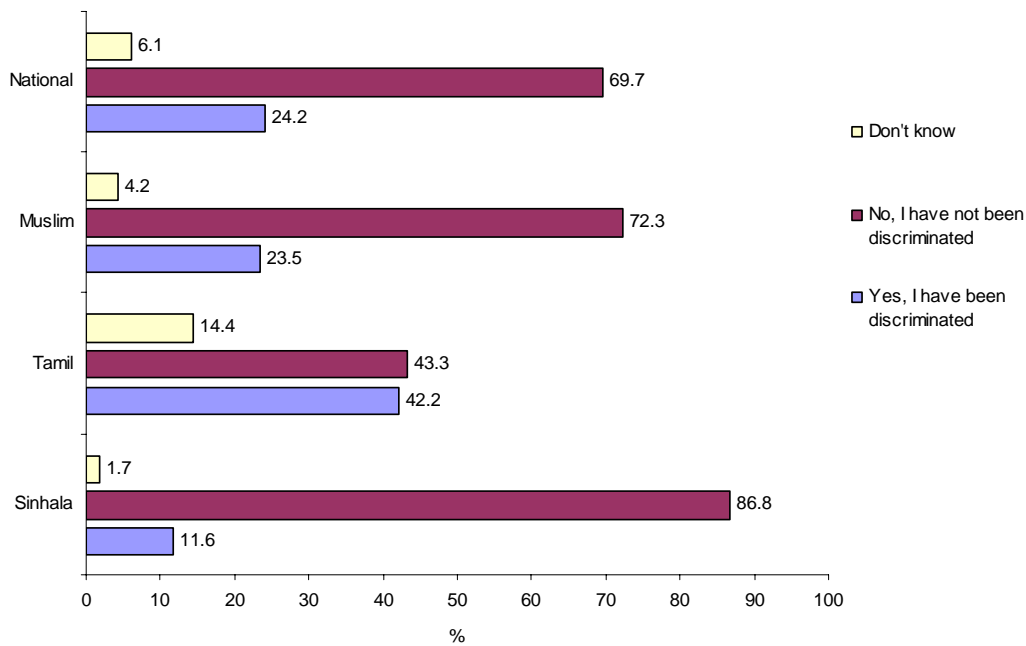


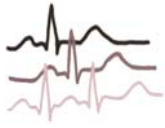
Some people say that the relief has been distributed equally amongst all the victims without any discrimination on ethnic, political or regional grounds, while others say it discriminate against victims ethnically, politically, and regionally. Please tell me how you assess the impartiality of the relief distribution.

Ethnic Discrimination



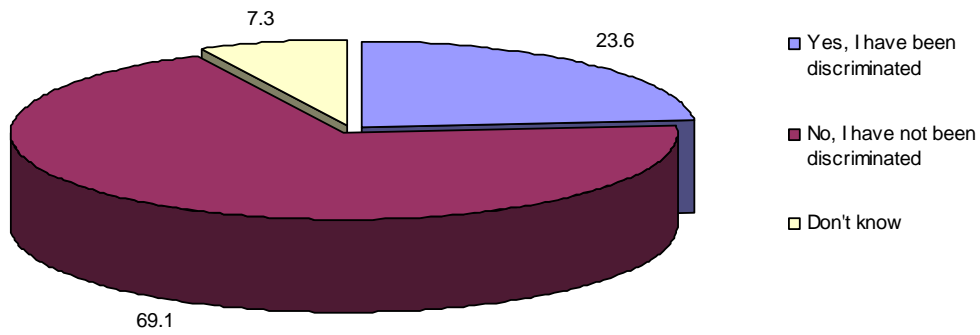
Ethnic Discrimination



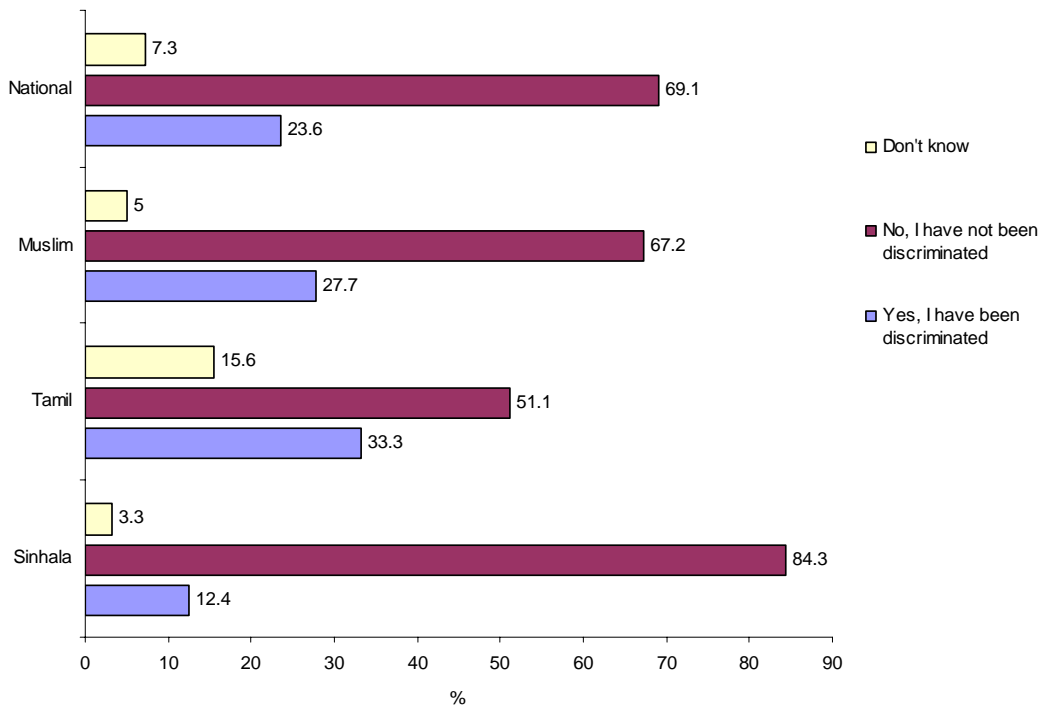


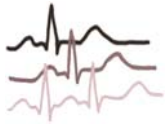
Some people say that the relief has been distributed equally amongst all the victims without any discrimination on ethnic, political or regional grounds, while others say it discriminate against victims ethnically, politically, and regionally. Please tell me how you assess the impartiality of the relief distribution.

Political Discrimination



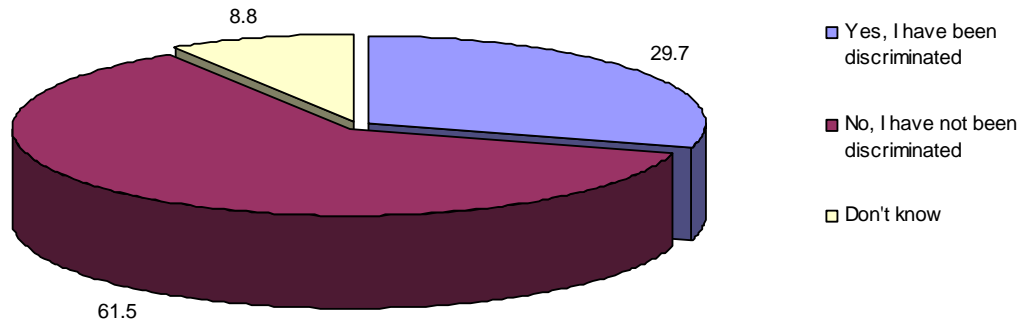
Political Discrimination



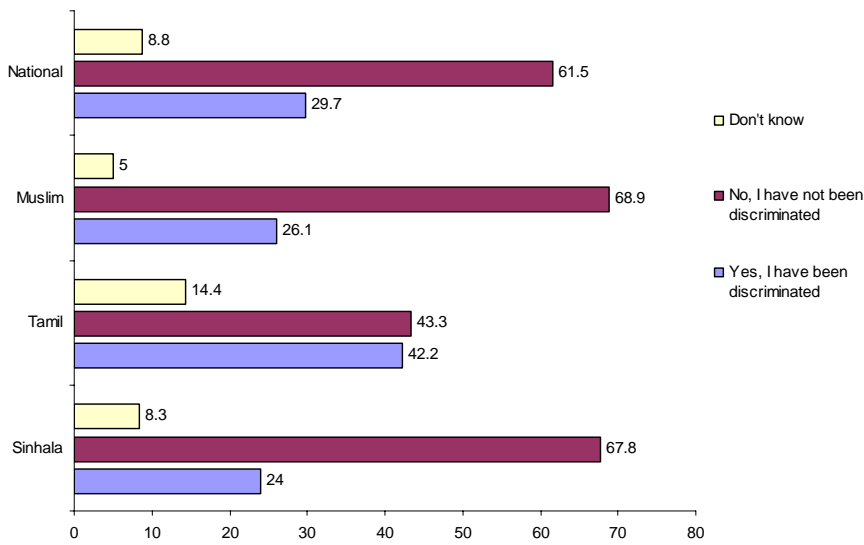


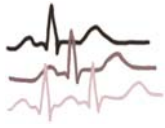
Some people say that the relief has been distributed equally amongst all the victims without any discrimination on ethnic, political or regional grounds, while others say it discriminate against victims ethnically, politically, and regionally. Please tell me how you assess the impartiality of the relief distribution.

Regional Discrimination



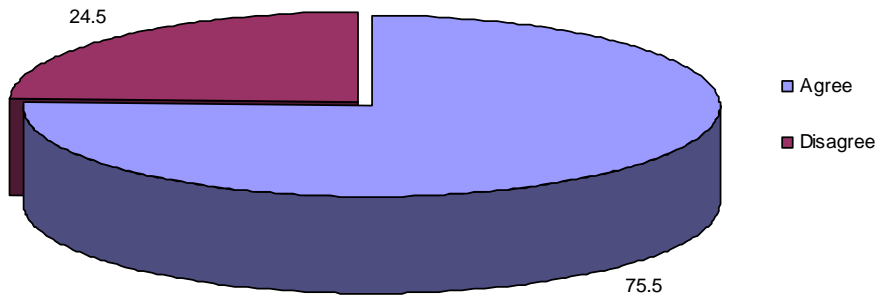
Regional Discrimination



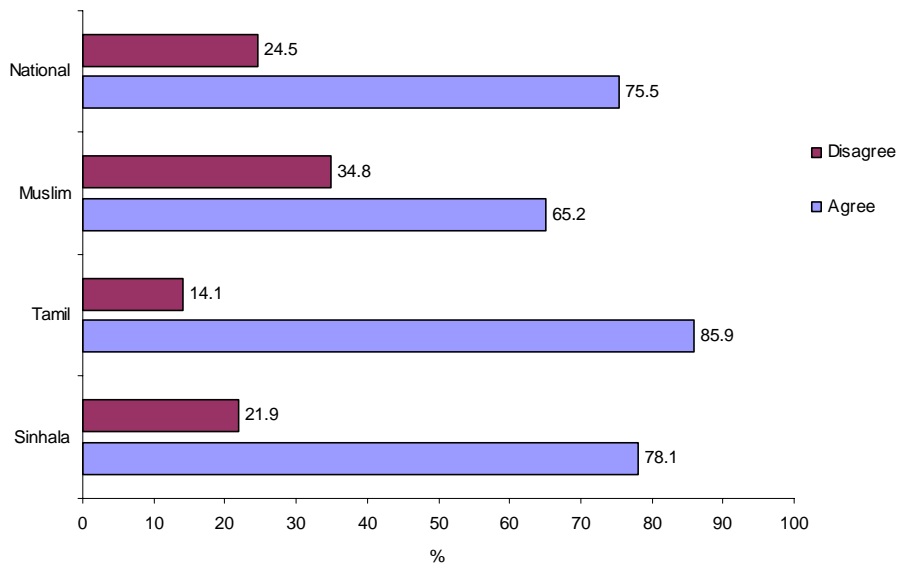


Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the Government's decision to implement the buffer zones ?

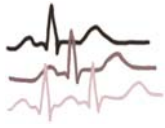
### National Breakdown



### Ethnic Breakdown

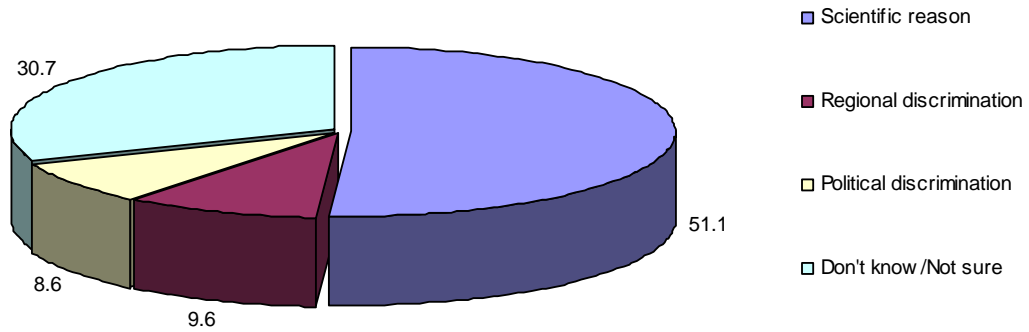




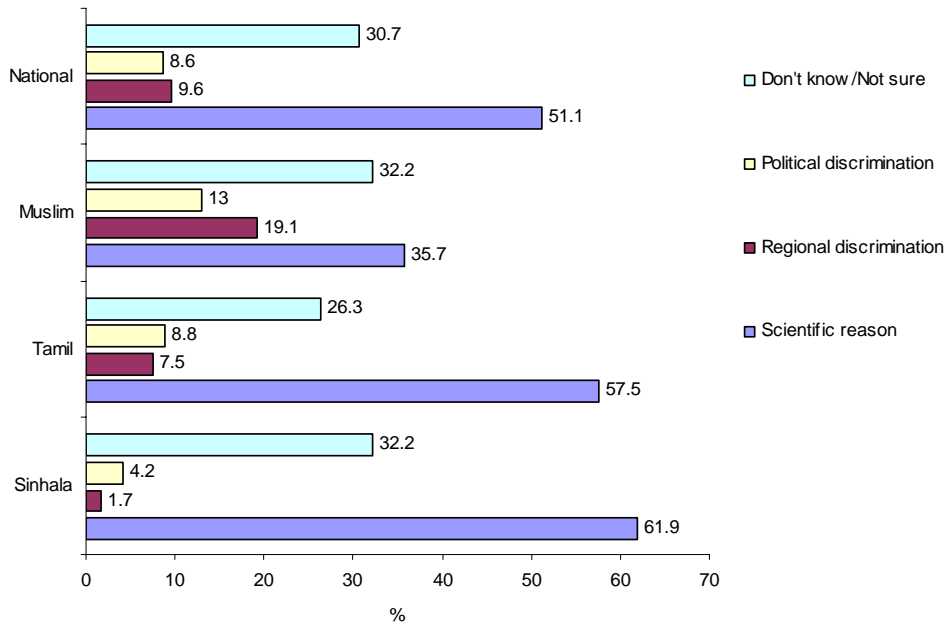


Some people say the differences of the two buffer zones are based on scientific reasons, or on the degree of the risk involved. But another set of people argues that the differences are, to discriminate people on regional and political grounds. In you opinion, why do you think there is a difference in the two buffer zones?

**National Breakdown**



**Ethnic Breakdown**



## Annex

### District sample distribution in June 2005

DISTRICT	PCI SAMPLE (WEIGHTED)	TSUNAMI SAMPLE (UNWEIGHTED)
Colombo	243	-
Gampaha	208	-
Kalutara	104	-
Kandy	120	-
Matale	41	-
Nuwara Eliya	62	-
Galle	92	30
Hambantota	46	60
Matara	70	30
Anuradhapura	68	-
Polonnaruwa	33	-
Kurunegala	138	-
Puttlam	63	-
Badulla	70	-
Monaragala	34	-
Ratnapura	94	-
Kegalle	75	-
Ampara	50	60
Batticaloa	46	60
Trincomalee	47	90
Vavuniya	14	-
Jaffna	82	-
<b>NATIONAL</b>	<b>1800</b>	<b>330</b>

### Ethnic sample distribution in June 2005

ETHNICITY	PCI SAMPLE (WEIGHTED)	TSUNAMI SAMPLE (UNWEIGHTED)
Sinhala	1403	121
Tamil	191	90
Muslim	134	119
Up-country Tamil	71	-
<b>NATIONAL</b>	<b>1800</b>	<b>330</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.

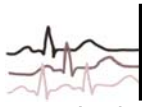
The study is conducted using a structured questionnaire that is administered to a sample of approximately 1800 respondents during each phase of the study. This sample is adequate to capture the minimum ethnic diversity within the span of ten days of fieldwork. Although it is undeniable that an individual's 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 to logistical difficulties and methodological concerns. In addition, the areas affected by the December 26, 2004 Tsunami, were excluded from the main 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.

A special questionnaire was developed to administer in the tsunami affected areas, using the questions related to tsunami issues in the PCI. This questionnaire was administered amongst 330 respondents in the tsunami affected areas of Trincomalee, Batticaloa, Amparai, Humbantota, Matara and Galle. Approximately a 100 sample was allocated for each ethnic group, and respondent were selected randomly from the tsunami affected GNs. These GNs were also selected randomly within the tsunami affected GN list of each of the above six districts.

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.



## Peace Confidence Index Top-line Results

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. 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.



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

**Tel:** +9411 2370472  
**Fax:** +9411 2370475

**Email:** [cpapoll@diamond.lanka.net](mailto:cpapoll@diamond.lanka.net)  
**Web:** <http://www.cpalanka.org>