

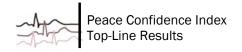
An Opinion Poll on Peace

# Peace Confidence Index (PCI)

TOP-LINE RESULTS

FEBRUARY 2006

**Social Indicator** 



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#### INTRODUCTION

#### **OBJECTIVE**

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

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

#### SCOPE & METHODOLOGY

The survey is carried out using a structured questionnaire administered through face-to-face interviews amongst a 1362 randomly selected sample. This survey was conducted in 17 administrative districts, excluding the North and East due to the violence prevalent in the months prior. Data is weighted to reflect the actual ethnographic composition of the districts in which the sample was surveyed.

This is the twenty first wave of the PCI study, which was first conducted in May 2001. This publication presents only the top-line results of the February 2006 survey.

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

\*\* This report does not provide a comparative analysis with previous waves as the present wave has completely excluded the North & East provinces from the sample. As the present survey does not reflect the opinion of the entire Tamil community, the reported opinions of the Tamil community is not as precise as the opinions of the other three communities.

#### KEY NATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS SEPTEMBER 2005 – FEBRUARY 2006\*

- LTTE leader Velupillai Prabhakaran has written to Norway's new Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg
  urging his country to continue its role as facilitator in Sri Lanka's peace process, diplomatic sources
  said September 19. (19 September 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 20 September 2005)
- The Co-Chairs of the Tokyo Donor Conference on September 20 called on the LTTE to take immediate public steps to demonstrate its commitment to the peace process and its willingness to change — while urging that both parties to work out a federal solution within a united Sri Lanka. (20 September 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 21 September 2005)
- The main Tamil party warned on September 22 that the recent agreements signed by the SLFP Presidential candidate Mahinda Rajapakse with the JVP and the JHU had shut the door on the possibility of finding a negotiated solution to the national question. (Daily Mirror on 23 September 2005)
- Former Service Chiefs on September 26 demanded that JVP leader Somawansa Amarasinghe apologise for the insulting remarks where he said the military should be disbanded if it could not protect Sri Lanka's territorial integrity. Addressing a news conference at Renuka Hotel, a former Army Commander Lt. Gen. Dennis Perera, former General Officer Commanding Joint Operations Command General Cyril Ranatunga, former Air Force Chief Air Vice Marshal Harry Gunatilleke, and former Army Commander and Secretary, Ministry of Defence General Hamilton Wanasinghe said Mr. Amarasinghe in his remarks made at the Town Hall rally on September 20 had damaged the morale of the security forces. (26 September 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 27 September 2005)
- The Norwegian Government has granted Rs. 23.9 million in support to the Peace Secretariat for Muslims (PSM). The PSM will facilitate dialogue and build consensus among Muslim political parties and interest groups to develop a co-ordinated position for Muslims as input to the implementation of the ceasefire agreement and in future peace negotiations, the Norwegian Embassy said in a release. (Daily News on 27 September 2005)
- UNP leader and presidential candidate Ranil Wickremesinghe presenting his election manifesto to the
  country on September 27 promised immediate measures to bring down the cost of milk foods and
  other essential items, launch a new poverty alleviation scheme and provide 200,000 jobs within his
  first year in office. (27 September 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 28 September 2005)
- On September 26 the European Union, despite tremendous opposition from the Norwegians, imposed an immediate travel ban on the LTTE and declared that delegations from the LTTE will no longer be received in any of the member states until further notice. It is also actively considering the formal listing of the LTTE as a terrorist organization. (26 September 2005)-(The Island on 28 September 2005)
- The LTTE on September 28 warned the EU decision to impose a travel ban on the rebels from visiting member states would have a serious impact on the peace process in Sri Lanka. (28 September 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 29 September 2005)
- Leader of the Eelam Peoples Democratic Party (EPDP) and minister Douglas Devananda says his party
  would, after the nomination day, intensify the election campaign in the north and the east on behalf of
  the SLFP's Presidential hopeful, Prime Minister Mahinda Rajapakse. (The Island on 03 October 2005)
- The much awaited SLFP manifesto for the presidential election would insist on a negotiated settlement to the ethnic conflict under a unitary structure, a senior party leader told the Daily Mirror on October 4 as senior members finalized the document. (Daily Mirror on 05 October 2005)
- A tense situation has arisen in Kalmunai after two businessmen were shot by suspected LTTE cadres near the Udaya Bridge on October 5.
   A person identified as Abdul Wahid (31) a father of one child died on the spot while the other Yasim Bawa Janus (29) was seriously injured and hospitalised. (05 October 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 06 October 2005)
- The government on October 11 provided a helicopter to transport a seriously injured LTTE cadre
  after at least four LTTE cadres, including a senior intelligence member, were killed and seven injured
  when their convoy came under attack at Vavunathivu in Battoicaloa on Monday night.lt is believed
  that LTTE's Batticaloa district intelligence chief Keerthi was killed and Ampara-Batticaloa districts
  military leader Bhanu critically injured, military sources said. (11 October 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 12
  October 2005)
- Despite international pressure to end assassinations, two Jaffna school principals were killed on October 12 allegedly by the LTTE. (12 October 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 13 October 2005)

- JVP Propaganda Secretary Wimal Weerawansa charged on October 13 that the LTTE's alleged killing spree was setting the stage for an unfair presidential election in the north and east. (Daily Mirror on 14 October 2005)
- The TNA on October 19 criticised the Mahinda Chintana manifesto for not having mentioned anything positive regarding the peace process, stating this clearly showed that Prime Minister Mahinda Rajapakse cannot resolve the country's national question. (19 October 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 20 October 2005)
- The TNA has called for more security for its members participating in today's *Pongu Thamil* festival in Trincomalee, following reports of an LTTE plot to assassinate party leader R. Sampanthan and parliamentarian K. Thurairetnasingam. (*Daily Mirror on 22 October 2005*)
- Tamil leaders, who had entered the democratic system, say all politicians, including the Tamil National Alliance leaders, are taking the Tamil people for a ride. One leader said TNA parliamentarian R. Sampanthan's comments, that LTTE's arms strength was the strength of the Tamil people, were appalling and an insult to democratic Tamils. (The Island on 24 October 2005)
- The UNP said on October 26 said that the JVP's call on September 20 for the dissolution of the army, was not something new since its founder leader Rohana Wijeweera himself said the same thing in his first public speech. Matara District UNP parliamenatarian Sagala Ratnayake told a media briefing in Colombo that Wijeweera launched his armed struggle in April 1971 with an attack on the armed forces, labelling them as an impediment to his revolutionary objectives. (The Island on 26 October 2005)
- President Mahinda Rajapakse on November 25 declared that his Government would give highest priority to launch a "new peace process" to usher in lasting peace through a political solution to the country's national question. President Rajapakse was making the policy statement (Throne Speech) in Parliament after ceremonially opening the second session of the sixth Parliament... He said the current Ceasefire Agreement will be revised to ensure the protection of human rights, prevent recruitment of children for war, safeguard national security, prevent terrorist acts, pave way to rebuild lives shattered by war and the tsunami in the North-East and also to introduce an open and transparent ceasefire monitoring machinery. (25 November 2005)-(Daily News on 26 November 2005)
- UNP Presidential candidate Ranil Wickremesinghe on November 7 assured about 1,000 Muslim representatives that as President he would setup a separate Muslim affairs ministry if he is elected President to safeguard the rights of the country's Muslim community. (07 November 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 08 November 2005)
- The main Opposition on November 8 staged a walk out of the House in protest no sooner Finance Minister Dr. Sarath Amunugama commenced presenting the budget in Parliament. The government ignored the Opposition protest and Finance Minister Amunugama continued reading his budget speech for the fiscal year starting January 1. (08 November 2005)-(The Island on 09 November 2005)
- Eight days ahead of a crucial presidential poll, the Government on November 8 presented what many described as a "highly populist" and a "give away" Budget but Finance Minister Sarath Amunugama said though it was prepared under difficult conditions it would herald a decade of development. (08 November 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 09 November 2005)
- The LTTE and the TNA on November 11 reiterated their stance not to support either of the two main presidential candidates at next Thursday's election but assured that the Tamil people would be given the freedom of choice. (11 November 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 11 November 2005)
- The LTTE on November 10 accused the military of harassment ahead of next week's presidential election, when the minority community is expected to play a decisive role. (11 November 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 12 November 2005)
- While assuring a free and fair poll today, President Chandrika Kumaratunga last night said she had
  directed the three Armed Forces and the Police not to succumb to any political pressure from any
  quarter and vowed tough action against polls violators. (Daily Mirror on 17 November 2005)
- Prime Minister Mahinda Rajapakse, from the nuclear political family of Giruwapattuwa, on November 18 reached the highest elected office in the country, that of Executive President. (The Island on 19 November 2005)

- Polling in the north of the country registered record lows, as fears of an impending LTTE boycott
  of the poll became a reality and armed forces personnel and election monitors said civilians eager
  to come out to vote were prevented from doing so at Tiger checkpoints in the north and east by
  noon on November 17. (17 November 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 18 November 2005)
- The main opposition UNP which was defeated at presidential poll said on November 17 the Elections Commissioner had rejected the party's request for a re-poll in the north and east, though election monitors and public officers confirmed there had been intimidation, violence and obstruction of voters in the areas. (17 November 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 19 November 2005)
- Outgoing UNP Chairman Malik Samarawickrema said that their candidate could have easily won if
  the Tamils were allowed to exercise their franchise at last Thursday's presidential poll. "We
  expected approximately 450,000 votes from the northern and eastern provinces," he told *The*Island on November 20 expressing disbelief the LTTE interfered with the election process. (20
  November 2005)-(The Island on 21 November 2005)
- President Mahinda Rajapakse opted for experience and absolute loyalty with the choice of Ratnasiri Wickramanayake as the new Prime Minister of the country. (The Island on 22 November 2005)
- The Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission (SLMM) on November 22 ruled that the LTTE had violated the ceasefire agreement when it set up road blocks at crossing points within uncleared areas in the Batticalao district to prevent civilians from crossing over and voting at the presidential election last Thursday. (22 November 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 23 November 2005)
- Top diplomat Jayantha Dhanapala, who recently resigned from the post of Secretary General of the government's Peace Secretariat, has agreed to continue as the adviser to the peace process. (Daily Mirror on 25 November 2005)
- LTTE leader Velupillai Prabhakaran on November 27 announced his movement would continue to maintain the current ceasefire with the government and adopt a "wait and observe" period for a short time to see how the new President, Mahinda Rajapakse, dealt with the ethnic issue. In a widely awaited Heroes Day speech, Mr. Prabhakaran did not give exact time frame and warned the LTTE would be forced to resume the struggle for self-determination sometime next year if the government failed to resolve the conflict soon. (27 November 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 28 November 2005)
- President Mahinda Rajapakse on November 28 responded to Sunday's statement made by the LTTE leader Prabhakaran by saying that to him the peace process was not about posturing to win favour with anyone, nationally or internationally. (28 November 2005)-(The Island on 29 November 2005)
- The LTTE on December I announced it was ready to discuss the immediate resumption of the peace talks with the government and the implementation of the Ceasefire Agreement and declared it had no intention of resuming the war. (Daily Mirror on 02 December 2005)
- The newly elected President Mahinda Rajapakse has come under pressure from the main Opposition party, the UNP to take immediate steps to make appointments to a number of important government instruments like the Constitutional Council, The Election Commission, The Police Commission, and the Public Service Commission, which have become inoperative, having come to the end of their legal term of office. (The Island 03 December 2005)
- In a major violation of the Ceasefire Agreement, six soldiers were killed and one injured allegedly by the LTTE which used two powerful claymore mines on December 4 evening at Kondavil on the Jaffna-Palaly main road. Three civilians were also injured in the blasts. (04 December 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 05 December 2005)
- The Government condemns in the strongest possible terms the killing of six Army personnel in a claymore mine attack at Kondavil, in Jaffna at around I p.m. on December 4. At the time of the attack, the Army personnel were distributing food rations and mail to Army detachments and sentry points in Jaffna. (04 December 2005)-(Daily News on 05 December 2005)
- The LTTE has said there is no need to revise or review the current Cease Fire Agreement (CFA) as proposed by the new government and instead has called for its effective implementation. (Daily Mirror on 05 December 2005)
- In the aftermath of the killing of seven soldiers in Jaffna and the resultant tense situation more troops were rushed to the peninsula on December 5 to maintain law and order. (05 December 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 06 December 2005)

- New Army Commander Lt. Gen Sarath Fonseka on December 6 asserted that the LTTE does not
  have the capability to launch a full scale conventional war as they had been weakend considerably.
  He said the strength of the LTTE hardcore members was around 4,000 to 5,000 while the rest
  were child soldiers and inexperienced cadres. (06 December 2005)-(The Island on 07 December
  2005)
- As the new Army Commander Sarath Fonseka assumed duties on December 6 morning in Colombo, the LTTE carried out yet another claymore mine attack on the military, killing seven army personnel including an officer, at Irupalai, north of Jaffna. (06 December 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 07 December 2005)
- Ending weeks of specualtion whether President Mahinda Rajapakse would replace Norway with another country as a key facilitator or not, the President yesterday invited Norway to continue its role as the main facilitator in Sri Lanka's peace process. (Daily Mirror on 08 December 2005)
- Norway said on December 8 it would only resume its facilitator role in Sri Lanka subject to certain conditions which would be discussed with both the Government and the LTTE. In an interview with the BBC Norway's Minister for International Development and special peace envoy Erik Solheim, without elaborating, said the resumption of facilitation would be based on certain conditions. While saying he was glad and honoured that President Rajapakse had placed his trust in Oslo Mr. Solheim said both parties to the conflict were in the driving seat and Oslo would assist if the parties want to move towards peace. (08 December 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 09 December 2005)
- Presenting the maiden Budget 2006 in Parliament on December 8, President and Finance Minister Mahinda Rajapakse broke the tradition of the august Budget Box being carried into the Chamber of Parliament and took his budget speech out of a flat file before reading it to a full Chamber. The main Opposition party the UNP was in full attendance, with all other political parties represented in their numbers, unlike the last Budget of Dr. Sarath Amunugama, boycotted by the UNP. (08 December 2005)-(The Island on 09 December 2005)
- In the first attack on an aircraft since the signing of the ceasefire agreement, an Air Force helicopter, on its way to pick up Italian Deputy Foreign Minister and his officials from Arugam Bay came under small arms fire from suspected LTTE cadres yesterday evening, military sources said. (Daily Mirror on 15 December 2005)
- The Government on December 16 formally expressed its readiness to start talks with the LTTE immediately at any venue. Government spokesman and senior Minister Nimal Siripala de Silva told a news conference after the Cabinet meeting the government was also ready to discuss any thing be it the cease fire agreement or a final solution to the ethnic conflict. (16 December 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 17 December 2005)
- TULF leader V. Anandasangaree on December 18 warned CWC leader Arumugam Thondaman of the danger in inviting the LTTE to Upcountry areas. (18 December 2005)-(The Island on 19 December 2005)
- More than 100 suspicious people were taken into custody following a massive cordon and search operation code-named 'Strangers Night' in Wellawatta, Narahenpita, Kirulapone and Bambalapitiya police areas, police said on December 18. (18 December 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 19 December 2005)
- Amidst moves by the CWC to form an alliance with Tamil parties outside the North east to offer support to the cause of the LTTE, estate party leader Arumugam Thondaman also held extensive talks with President Mahinda Rajapakse on December 18 evening. (18 December 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 20 December 2005)
- President Mahinda Rajapakse remains firm on his stand that peace talks can only be held in an Asian country and nowhere else. He informed the JVP that he will not agree to the LTTE's demand for talks to be held in Norway on December 20. (20 December 2005)-(The Island on 21 December 2005)
- In what was described as the eight in a series of attacks during the past 24 hours, suspected LTTE cadres on December 20 attacked a military vehicle at Kodikamam in Jaffna killing one soldier and injuring four including two officers. (Daily Mirror on 22 December 2005)
- Apparently defying calls by the international community to immediately end violence, suspected LTTE Sea Tigers on December 22 launched an attack on two Navy patrol boats off the Mannar sea and abducted three sailors, in one of the sea incidents since the 2002 ceasefire. (22 December 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 23 December 2005)

- In the worst ceasefire violation by the LTTE todate, 15 Navy men were killed and 16 wounded in two Claymore mine explosions at Mannar around 2.30 p.m. on December 23. A Navy bus was heading towards Nadukudah in Pesalai when the two mines were set off hitting the bus which caught fire after the explosion, police sources in Mannar said. (23 December 2005)-(The Island on 24 December 2005)
- Unidentified gunmen, in the early hours on December 24, assassinated TULF veteran and TNA National List MP Joseph Pararajasingham at St. Mary's Cathedral church, situated on Central Road, Batticaloa while attending Christmas Mass. (24 December 2005)-(The Island on 26 December 2005)
- A senior PLOTE member identified as V. Thripupathy, alias Thiruppathy Master, was shot dead by suspected LTTE cadres on December 26 evening at Rambakulam in Eravur while another member was injured. (26 December 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 27 December 2005)
- The violence and tension in the north continued on December 27 with at least eleven soldiers, including two military intelligence men, being killed and five injured in yet another LTTE claymore mine attack at Puloly West on the Jaffna-Point Pedro road in Jaffna around 12.50 p.m. (27 December 2005)-(Daily Mirror on 28 December 2005)
- As tension mounted in the north and east after the recent spate of killings, around 80 Sinhala and Muslim students vacated the University of Jaffna and left for their hometowns on December 28 morning. The students left in the middle of examinations being held at the campus. (The Island on 29 December 2005)
- The recent series of massive cordon and search operations in Colombo were carried out following intelligence reports that the LTTE was targeting the assassination of several political leaders including President Mahinda Rajapakse, a senior police officer said on January 2. (02 January 2006)-(Daily Mirror on 03 January 2006)
- Thirteen sailors are presumed dead after the LTTE rammed an explosives-laden boat into a Dvora Fast Attack Craft (FAC) near the Trincomalee harbour during the early hours of on January 7. (07 January 2006)-(The Island on 08 January 2006)
- President Mahinda Rajapakse on January 9 assured the Co-Chairs of the peace process that the government would act with restraint despite a spate of truce-breaking attacks by the LTTE but warned it would be obliged to take all necessary measures to prevent further attacks. (09 January 2006)-(Daily Mirror on 10 January 2006)
- US ambassador to Sri Lanka, Jeffrey Lunstead, told a meeting of businessmen here that Washington wanted the LTTE to stop its "violent activities" and return to peace talks with Colombo. "If the LTTE chooses to abandon peace, however, we want it to be clear, they will face a stronger, more capable and more determined Sri Lankan military," Lunstead said. "We want the cost of a return to war to be high." (The Island on 11 January 2006)
- Five vehicles were damaged on January 14 when a suspected pressure bomb exploded inside the parking lot of the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission (SLMM) in Batticaloa, said a senior police officer from the area. This was the first direct attack on the SLMM since the monitors arrived in Sri Lanka, several weeks after the cease-fire agreement was signed in February 2003. (14 January 2006)-(The Island on 15 January 2006)
- Two civilians and one soldier was killed and 13 troops, including 12 Navy personnel, were injured in two claymore mine blasts allegedly carried out by the LTTE in Trincomalee and Jaffna yesterday, a military official said on January 17. (17 January 2006)-(Daily Mirror on 18 January 2006)
- Ahead of the fourth anniversary of the cease-fire agreement, the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission on January 18 queried whether there was a cease-fire in place in reality. (18 January 2006)-(Daily Mirror on 19 January 2006)
- Representatives of 15 political parties met on January 19 at the Presidential Secretariat on the
  invitation of President Mahinda Rajapakse for an All Party Conference on the peace
  process. Explaining the objectives of the meeting the President emphasized the importance of
  developing a consensus among political parties represented in Parliament with a view to starting
  peace talks. (19 January 2006)-(Daily Mirror on 20 January 2006)
- At least three soldiers were killed and two soldiers injured when suspected LTTE cadres exploded a claymore mine on a route clearing patrol in Batticaloa on January 23 morning, military sources said. (23 January 2006)-(Daily Mirror on 24 January 2006)

- In what is seen as a softening of the government's stand, President Mahinda Rajapakse on January 24 told Norwegian special envoy Eric Solheim he was ready to compromise on the venue for peace talks with the LTTE, the *Daily Mirror* learns. Highly placed sources said the government expressed readiness to have talks in a European venue like Geneva and would even consider the Norwegian capital of Oslo as a second option. (24 January 2006)-(Daily Mirror on 25 January 2006)
- The UNP on January 25 decided to rethink its unconditional support pledged to the Government to get peace negotiations back on track because some of its MPs were being enticed by the Government with Cabinet portfolios and other perks. (25 January 2006)-(Daily Mirror on 26 January 2006)
- UNP stalwarts Mahinda Samarasinghe and Keheliya Rambukwella joined the UPFA government and were sworn in before President Mahinda Rajapakse as Cabinet Ministers on January 25 at the Presidential Secretariat. (25 January 2006)-(The Island on 26 January 2006)
- Switzerland, the US and the UN on January 26 welcomed moves to resume direct negotiations between the Government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE). Switzerland, whose city of Geneva has been mutually chosen as the venue for the ceasefire talks by both parties, welcomed the breakthrough in the peace process. (26 January 2006)-(Daily Mirror on 27 January 2006)
- The LTTE has warned the Muslims over the presence of an armed Muslim group in the Muttur *The Island* learns. This comes in the backdrop of two killings in the government controlled Muttur on January 24 night and the following morning. The LTTE has accused the armed Muslim group of carrying out the killings and intimidating the Tamil civilian population. *(The Island on 30 January 2006)*
- Rebel LTTE Commander and leader of the Tamil Eala Makkal Vduthalai Pulikal (TMVP)Vinayagamoorthy Muralitharan alias Karuna yesterday declared a 'Unilateral Ceasefire and a temporary halt to all its self defence campaigns'. (The Island on 31 January 2006)
- An LTTE front which had earlier claimed responsibility for the series of claymore mine attacks on the military in the North, on February 2 warned that it would be forced to resume its violent acts against the army if the harassment of Tamils did not cease immediately. (02 February 2006)-(Daily Mirror on 03 February 2006)
- The future of the upcoming talks in Geneva was thrown into more turmoil after the government on February 3 gave in to pressure from the JVP and urged the heads of international donor agencies to postpone a scheduled visit to the rebel stronghold of Kilinochchi. (Daily Mirror on 04 February 2006)
- The LTTE's efforts to put the onus of disarming Karuna entirely on the government is a convenient way of shifting responsibility, says Jayantha Dhanapala, who dealt closely with the Tigers during his 18 months as head of the Secretariat for Coordinating the Peace Process (SCOPP). (The Island on 12 February 2006)
- The SLMC on February 12 reiterated its demand for a separate Muslim delegation at the Geneva talks despite the government's decision to accommodate only one Muslim delegate. (12 February 2006)-(Daily Mirror on 13 February 2006)
- President Mahinda Rajapaksa said on February 13 ruled out LTTE demands for a separate homeland in the north and east, but said he would rein in armed groups a central rebel demand ahead of crunch talks. (13 February 2006)-(Daily Mirror on 14 February 2006)

<sup>\*</sup> For the purpose of accuracy, un-dated indicators (in the reproduced news items) such as "yesterday/today/tomorrow" are edited to indicate their exact date.



## FINDINGS AT A GLANCE OF THE POLL CONDUCTED FROM 17<sup>TH</sup> FEBRUARY 2006 TO 03<sup>RD</sup> MARCH 2006<sup>1</sup>

The following are the significant trends observed in the PCI February 2006 survey. It is important to note that this particular wave of PCI have excluded the North and East from its sample due to the level of violence in the months before. Therefore, as the survey does not cover the entire Tamil community, reported opinion of the Tamil community may not be as precise as the opinion of the other three communities. Further, due to the low representation of the sample, this report does not intend to present national estimations.

- ♦ When asked to rate four national issues according to their degree of importance, the Sinhala community gives the highest priority to the peace process (34.3%) followed by the economy (32.2%) and law and order (18.9%). The Muslim community gives almost equal importance to the economy (33.6%) and the peace process (33.8%) followed by law and order (17.3%) and tsunami recovery (15.2%). The Up-Country Tamil community gives high priority to the peace process (34.7%) followed by the economy (26.9%) and law and order (19.4%). When compared to the September 2005 PCI findings, the degree of importance given to the peace process has increased amongst the Sinhala (Sep-27.3%,Feb- 34.3%) , Muslim (Sep-27.5%,Feb- 33.8%) and Up-Country Tamil (Sep-31.9%,Feb- 34.7%) communities (*Ref. Page 13*)
- ♦ A majority of Sinhala (95%), Muslim (84.7%) and Up-Country Tamil (90.6%) communities believe that the Government and the LTTE should go for a permanent solution through negotiations. When compared to the September 2005 PCI findings, the percentage of those who agree among the Sinhala community (September '05- 84.9%, February- 95%) has increased, while amongst the Muslim community (September '05- 96.1%%, February '06-84.7%) the percentage of those who agree to a permanent settlement through negotiations has significantly decreased. (*Ref. Page 14*)
- When asked about the likelihood of a resumption of war, a majority of Sinhala (34.3%) and Muslim (38.8%) communities state that it is somewhat likely. A majority of the Up-Country Tamil (30.8%) community state they don't know or are not sure about the situation. (Ref. Page 15)
- ♦ Asked about the political leadership of the Mahinda Rajapakse government in successfully taking forward the peace process, a majority of the Sinhala (63.5%) and Muslim (59.4%) communities belive that Mahinda Rajapakse's government has a strong political leadership. The Up-Country Tamil community has a mixed opinion in this regard. (Strong Political Leadership- 8.1%, Sufficient Political Leadership- 29%, No Leadership at all- 38.7%, Don't know/ not sure- 24.2%). (Ref. Page 16)
- ♦ Asked about the political leadership of the Mahinda Rajapakse government, if there is a resumption of war, a majority of the Sinhala (59.1%) and Muslim (54.8%) communities believe that Mahinda Rajapakse's government has a strong political leadership. The Up-Country Tamil community has a mixed opinion in this regard. ( Strong Political Leadership- 5%, Sufficient Political Leadership- 18.3%, No Leadership at all- 50%, Don't know/ not sure- 26.7%). (Ref. Page 17)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For the purpose of accuracy, un-dated indicators (in the reproduced news items) such as "yesterday/today/tomorrow" are edited to indicate their exact date.

- When asked about the Government's commitment to the peace process, a majority of the Sinhala (80%), Muslim (62.1%) and Up-Country Tamil (49.2%) communities agree that the Government is committed to find peace through talks. In comparison to the September 2005 PCI findings, the percentage of those who agree has significantly increased amongst the Sinhala, Muslim and Up-Country Tamil communities (September-Sinhala: 52.8%, Muslim: 49%, Up-Country Tamil: 38.2%). (Ref. Page 18)
- ♦ When asked about the government's capability in finding peace through talks, a majority of the Sinhala (65%), Muslim (64.2%) and Up-Country Tamil (46.8%) communities agree that the Government is capable of finding peace through talks. In comparison to the September 2005 PCI findings, those who agree amongst the Sinhala (Sep- 62.4%, Feb-65%), Muslim (Sep- 60.6%, Feb-64.2%) and Up-Country Tamil (Sep- 38.2%, Feb-46.8%) communities have significantly increased. (*Ref. Page 19*)
- ♦ When asked about the LTTE's commitment to find peace through talks, a majority of the Sinhala community (56.1%) disagree on the LTTE's commitment to find peace through talks. This is a significant decrease in opinion since September 2005 (72.8%). Interestingly the percentage of the Sinhala community who agree that the LTTE is committed to find peace through talks has increased by 4.2% since September 2005. A majority of the Muslim (40.9%) and Up-Country Tamil communities (63.5%) agree that the LTTE is committed to find peace through talks. When compared to the September 2005 PCI findings, the percentage of those who agree amongst the Up-Country Tamil community (September -48%, February- 63.5 %) has significantly increased. It is noteworthy that a higher percentage amongst the Sinhala (36.6%), Muslim (34.8%) and Up-Country Tamil (28.6%) communities do not know or are not sure of an answer. (*Ref. Page 20*)
- ♦ When asked about the LTTE's capability of finding peace through talks, a majority of the Muslim (41.8%) and Up-Country Tamil (59.3%) communities agree that the LTTE is capable of finding peace through talks. A majority of the Sinhala community (40.1%) do not know or are not sure whereas in the September 2005 PCI, a majority of the Sinhala community disagreed (37.7%) with the statement that the LTTE is capable of finding peace through talks. Amongst the Muslim community, those who agree (Sep-38.4%, Feb-41.8%) and those who state don't know/not sure (Sep-26.3%, Feb-32.8%) has increased while those who disagree (Sep-35.4%, Feb-25.4%) has decreased. Amongst the Up-Country Tamil community those who agree (Sep-43.2%, Feb-59.3%) and disagree (Sep-5.4%, Feb-8.5%) has increased while those who don't know or not sure (Sep-51.4%, Feb-32.2%) has decreased. (*Ref. Page 21*)
- Of those who are aware of the CFA, a majority of the Sinhala (85.2%), Muslim (98.2%) and Up-Country Tamil (97.6%) communities believe that the government and the LTTE should continue to adhere to the CFA in its current form. (Ref. Page 22)
- ♦ A majority of the Sinhala (67.3%), Muslim (75.9%) and Up-Country Tamil (94.7%) communities believe that the CFA has brought many benefits to the ordinary citizen. In comparison with the September 2005 PCI findings, those who support this argument has significantly increased amongst the Sinhala (Sep-57.2%, Feb-67.3%), and Muslim (Sep-67.9%, Feb-75.9%) communities. However, those who support amongst the Up-Country Tamil (Sep-95.2%, Feb-94.7%) community has marginally dropped since September 2005. (Ref. Page 23)
- Of the people who believe the CFA has benefited the ordinary citizen, 38.7% believe that the ending of killings is the most significant benefit of the CFA. While 20.7% believe



that freedom of movement is the most important benefit, another 16% believe that the ending of destruction is the most important benefit of the CFA. (Ref. Page 24)

- When asked how satisfied they are with the Government's commitment to the CFA, a majority of the Muslim (66.4%) and Up-country Tamil (47.6%) communities are somewhat satisfied with the Government's commitment to the CFA. The Sinhala community has a divided opinion. (Very Satisfied-45.3%, Somewhat Satisfied-44.8%, Not Satisfied-6.4%, Not Satisfied at all-3.5%). (Ref. Page 25)
- ♦ When asked how satisfied they are with the LTTE's commitment to the CFA, a majority of the Sinhala (45.7%) community state that they are not satisfied. A majority of Muslim (53.8%) and Up-Country Tamil (48.4%) communities state that they are somewhat satisfied with the LTTE commitment to the CFA. (*Ref. Page 26*)
- ♦ Of those who are aware of the involvement of foreign monitors, a majority of the Sinhala (69.3%), Muslim (74.4%) and Up-Country Tamil (86.7%) communities believe that it is essential to have a monitoring mission for the CFA to succeed. However when compared to the September 2005 PCI findings, the percentage of Sinhala community (September-58.8%, February-69.3%) who agree has significantly increased. The percentages of the Muslim (September- 77.5%, February-74.4%) and Up-Country Tamil (September-93.5%, February-86.7%) communities has decreased. (*Ref. Page 27*)
- With regard to the country that should chair the SLMM, a majority of the Muslim (55.3%) and Up-Country Tamil (54.1%) communities believe that Norway should continue to chair the SLMM. However the Sinhala community has a mixed opinion in this regard (Norway- 24.9%, some other country- 38%, don't know/ not sure- 37.1%). (Ref. Page 28)
- ♦ A majority of the Sinhala community (56.7%) disagree that the SLMM is impartial in its monitoring of the CFA. However, according to the September 2005 PCI findings, the percentage of Sinhala community who disagree has decreased in February 2006 (September- 60.2%, February- 56.7%). A majority of the Muslim (45.5%) and Up-Country Tamil (90%) communities agree that the SLMM is impartial in its monitoring of the CFA. This is a significant increase in opinion since September 2005 (Sep: Muslim-31.9%, and Up-Country Tamil -54.3%). (*Ref. Page 29*)
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala community (45.7%) disagree that the SLMM is effective in its monitoring of the ceasefire agreement. However, this is a decrease in opinion in comparison to the September 2005 PCI findings (Sep: Sinhala Disagree 57%). A majority of Muslim (48.5%) and Up-Country Tamil (89.5%) communities agree that the SLMM is effective in its monitoring of the ceasefire agreement. This is a significant increase of opinion when compared to the September '05 PCI findings (Muslim- 32.4%, Up-Country Tamil- 39.1%). (Ref. Page 30)
- ◆ A majority of the Sinhala (52.8%), Muslim (64.2%) and Up-Country Tamil (56.7%) communities believe that an international third party as a facilitator to the negotiations is essential and will have a positive impact on the peace process. (*Ref. Page 31*)
- When asked about their level of satisfaction with the Norwegian Government facilitating the peace negotiations, a majority of the Sinhala (44%), Muslim (65.1%) and Up-Country Tamil (61%) communities state that they are satisfied. (Ref. Page 32)



- Asked as to whether they approve or disapprove of Norway continuing to facilitate the peace process, a majority of Muslim (60.7%) and Up-Country Tamil (49.3%) communities approve. A majority of the Sinhala (41.5%) community disapprove of Norway continuing to facilitate the peace process. (*Ref. Page 33*)
- ♦ Of the 64.4% who are aware of Erik Solheim's involvement in the Sri Lankan peace process as the Norwegian special envoy, a majority of the Muslim (63.8%) and Up-Country Tamil (73.7%) communities state that they are satisfied with his role as special envoy. A majority of the Sinhala (45%) community state that they are dissatisfied. (Ref. Page 34-35)
- When asked about their opinion on the need for India's involvement in the Sri Lankan peace process, a majority of the Sinhala (41.7%), Muslim (70.1%) and Up-Country Tamil (50%) communities believe that it is essential and will have a positive impact. (Ref. Page 36)
- ♦ After the November 2005 presidential elections, violence has escalated significantly in the North and East. Therefore respondents were asked who they think is responsible for the escalation of violence. In response, a majority of the Sinhala community (47.4%) believe that the LTTE is responsible for the escalation of violence. However, a majority of the Muslim (53.8%) and Up-Country Tamil (54.1%) communities don't know or are not sure. (*Ref. Page 37*)
- Only 45.3% of the respondents are aware that the United States has warned the LTTE that a return to war would be at a very high cost and also that were such an eventuality to arise, the US would strengthen its military assistance programs to Sri Lanka. (Ref. Page 38)
- When asked about the impact of such warnings and potential assistance from the United States on the Sri Lankan peace process, a majority of the Sinhala (74.3%) community believe that it will have a positive impact. A majority of the Muslim (70.4%) and Up-Country Tamil (85.7%) communities believe that it will have a negative impact on the peace process. (Ref. Page 39)
- Of the 40.7% who are aware of the All Party Conference held on the 19<sup>th</sup> of January, 2006, a majority of the Sinhala (91.4%), Muslim (93.3%) and Up-Country Tamil (62.5%) communities believe that the all party conference had a positive impact on the peace process. (Ref. Page 40-41)
- Various people express various opinions with regard to the southern political consensus on holding talks with the LTTE. Some prefer a consensus between the UNP and PA while others prefer a multi party consensus. According to the ethnic breakdown, a majority of the Sinhala (70.8%), Muslim (77.3%) and Up-Country Tamil (51.5%) communities state that they prefer a multiparty consensus. (Ref. Page 42)
- ◆ Asked about the impact of February 2006 talks in Geneva on the peace process, a majority of the Sinhala (72%), Muslim (65.2%) and Up-Country Tamil (62.1%) communities believe that it will have a positive impact. (*Ref. Page 43*)
- ♦ When asked about the importance of the Geneva talks to the respondents at a personal level, a majority of the Sinhala (60.8%), Muslim (80.9%) and Up-Country Tamil (67.9%) communities believe that it is very important. (*Ref. Page 44*)



- When asked about the main reason for the Sri Lankan Government to agree to participate in the Geneva talks, a majority of the Sinhala (68.4%) and Up-Country Tamil (55.2%) communities state that it is because of their commitment to the peace process. A majority of the Muslim (53.2%) community state that it is due to international pressure. (Ref. Page 45)
- ♦ When asked about the main reason for the LTTE to agree to participate in the Geneva talks, a majority of the Sinhala (43.4%) and Muslim (48.9%) communities state that it is due to international pressure. A majority of the Up-Country Tamil (64.3%) community state that it is because of their commitment to the peace process. (*Ref. Page 46*)
- ♦ When asked how essential the participation of a Muslim representative in the Geneva talks is, a majority of the Sinhala (56.2%) and Muslim (91.5%) communities state that it is essential. A majority of the Up-Country Tamil community seems to have a mixed opinion in this regard. (Is Essential-32.1%, Is not essential- but a 'good thing'- 17.9%, Not needed at all- 21.4%, Don't know/ Not sure- 28.6%). (*Ref. Page 47*)
- ♦ According to various news reports, there has been an increase in the cordon and search operations of civilians by police and armed forces in the south during the last two months. When asked whether they consider this to be an anti-terrorism measure or an anti-crime measure, a majority of the Sinhala (57.4%) community consider this as an anti-crime measure. A majority of the Muslim (42.4%) community consider this to be an anti-terrorism measure. A majority of the Up-Country Tamil (60%) community don't know or not sure. (*Ref. Page 48*)

#### For further information please contact:

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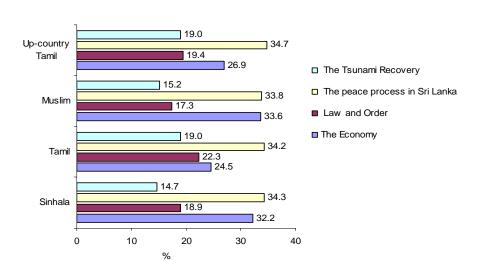


## Peace Confidence Index (PCI) May 2001 – February 2006

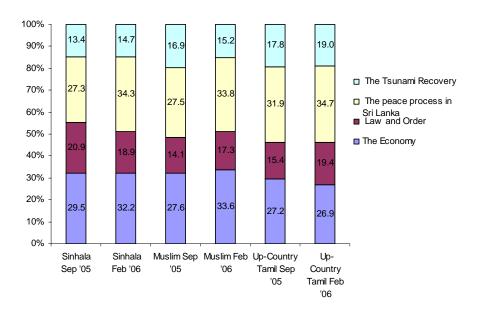
## Important Issues

Rating the degree of importance of four national issues.

#### **Ethnic Breakdown**



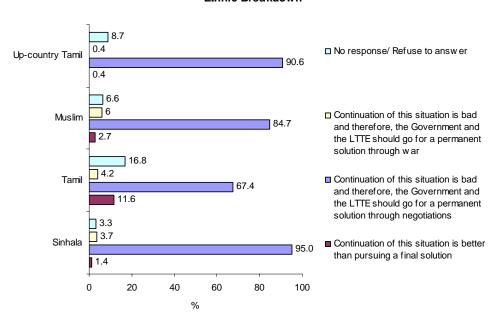
#### Changes of opinion in Sinhala, Muslim and Up-Country Tamil communities



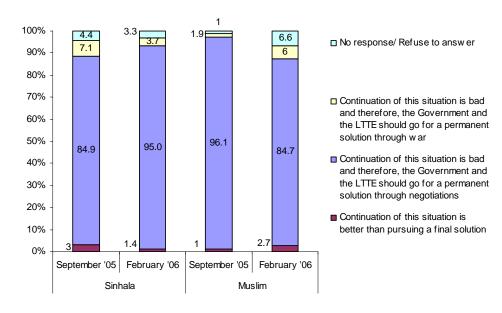
#### Solutions

With the recent escalation of violence, various opinions have been expressed about the Ceasefire Agreement (CFA). In this context, some people say that the continuation of this situation is better than pursuing a permanent settlement. 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.

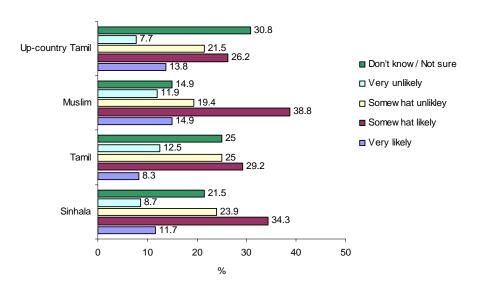
#### Ethnic Breakdown



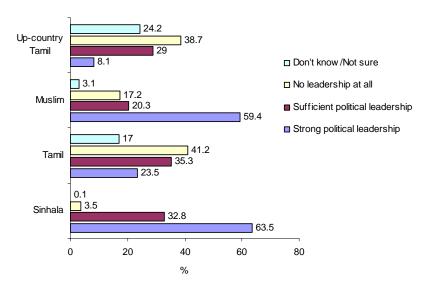
#### Changes of Opinion amongst the Sinhala and muslim communities



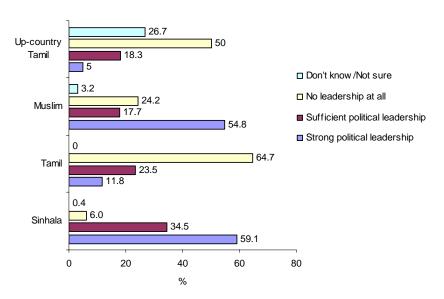
## Given the current situation in the country, how likely is it that war will resume?



How would you rate the political leadership of the Mahinda Rajapakse government in successfully taking forward the peace process? Do you think his government has a strong political leadership, sufficient political leadership or no political leadership at all?



How would you rate the political leadership of the Mahinda Rajapakse government if there is a resumption of war? Do you think his government has a strong political leadership, sufficient political leadership or no political leadership at all?

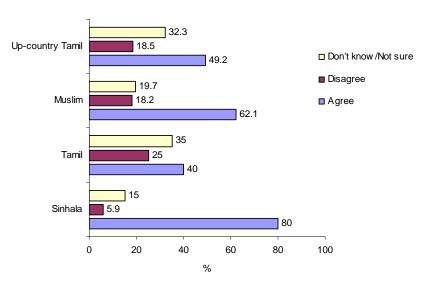




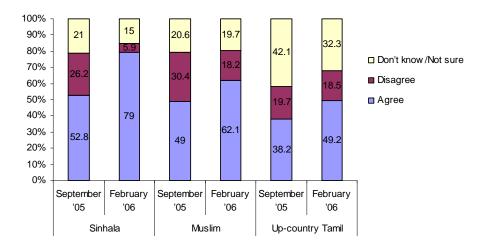
### Confidence

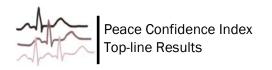
## I think the Government is committed to find peace through talks.

#### **Ethnic Breakdown**

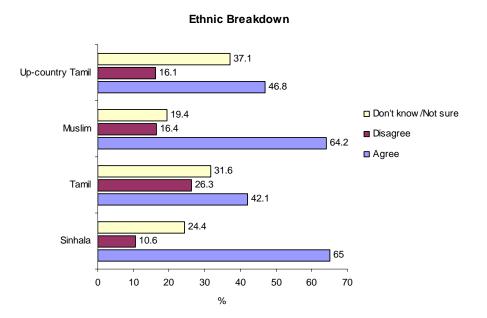


#### Changes of Opinion amongst the Sinhala, Muslim and Up-Country Tamil communities

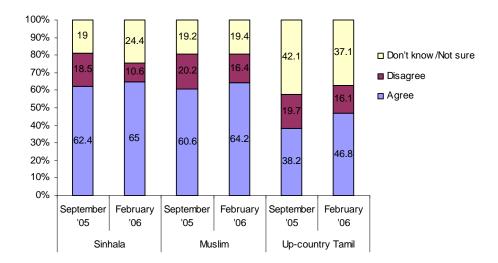




### I think the Government is fully capable of finding peace through talks.



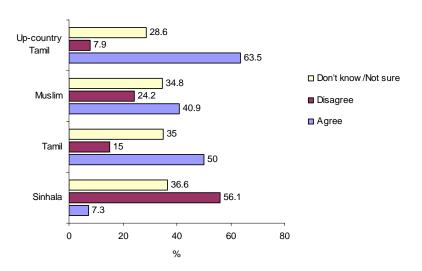
## Changes of Opinion amongst the Sinhala, Muslim and Up-Country Tamil communities



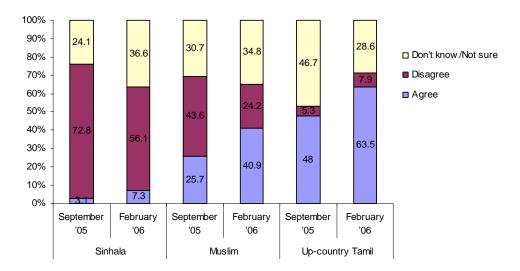


## I think the LTTE is committed to find peace through talks.

#### **Ethnic Breakdown**



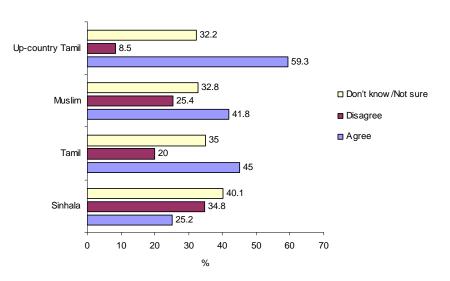
## Changes of Opinion amongst the Sinhala, Muslim and Up-Country Tamil communities



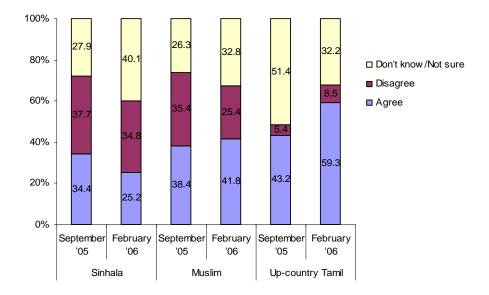


## I think the LTTE is fully capable of finding peace through talks.



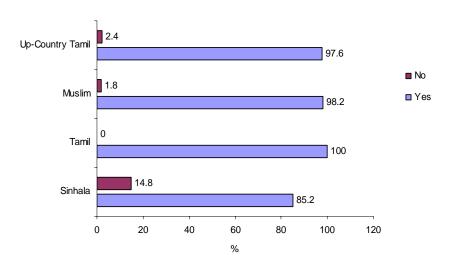


#### Changes of Opinion amongst the Sinhala, Muslim and Up-Country Tamil communities



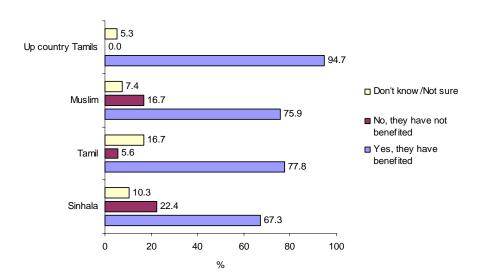
Ceasefire Agreement (CFA)

Do you think that the government and the LTTE should continue to adhere to the CFA in its current form?





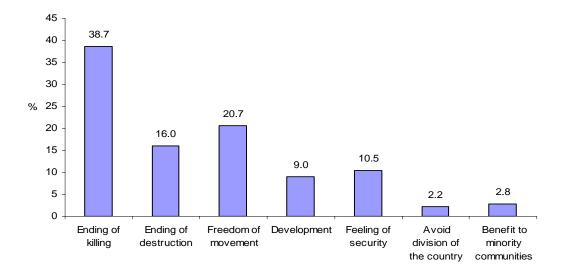
Some people say that the CFA has brought many benefits to ordinary citizens while others say that the CFA has not yielded any benefits to them. In your opinion have Sri Lankans benefited from the CFA or not?





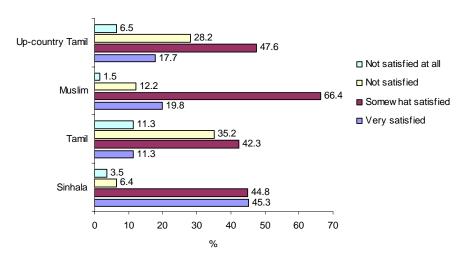
If the answer is "Yes", please tell me three most important benefits of the CFA.

#### Three most important benefits of the CFA

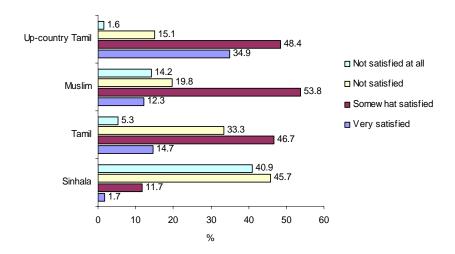


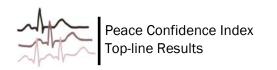


## How satisfied are you with the Government's commitment to the Ceasefire Agreement?



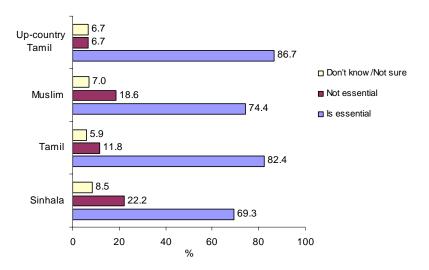
## How satisfied are you with the LTTE commitment to the Ceasefire Agreement?

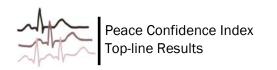




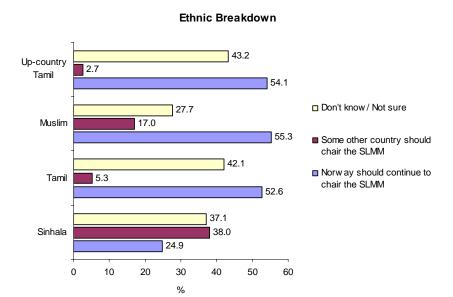
## Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission

## What is your opinion on the need of a monitoring mission?



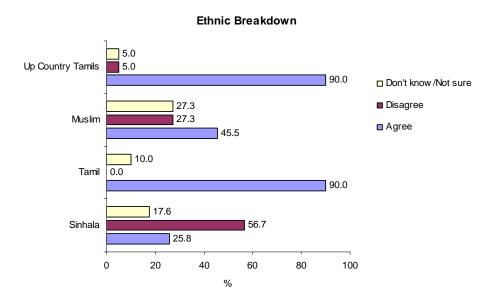


## Norway chairs the SLMM. Should Norway continue to chair the SLMM or should some other country chair the SLMM?



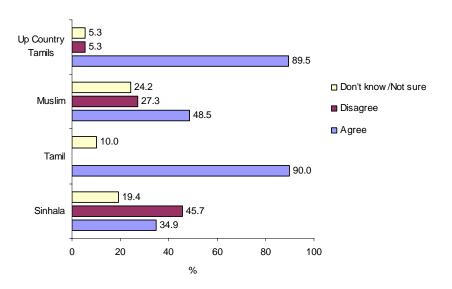


## I think the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission is impartial in its monitoring of the ceasefire agreement.





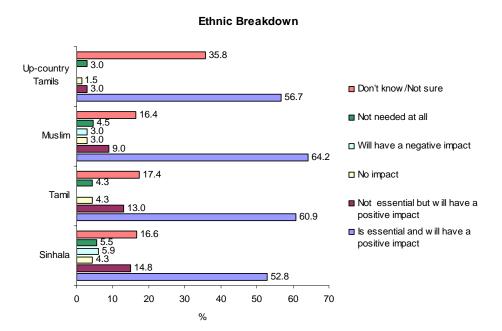
## I think the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission is effective in its monitoring of the ceasefire agreement





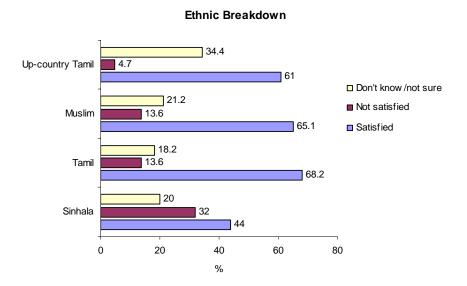
## Foreign Involvement

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



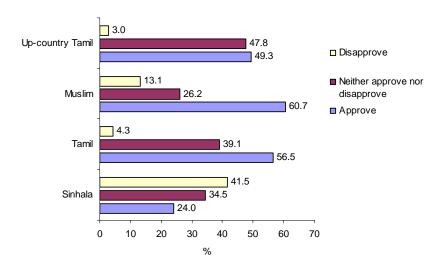


The Norwegian government has been officially facilitating peace negotiations since November 2001. Please tell me your level of satisfaction with the Norwegian role as facilitator.





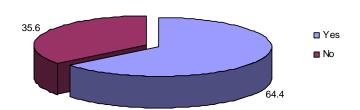
Please state if you approve or disapprove of Norway continuing to facilitate the peace process.





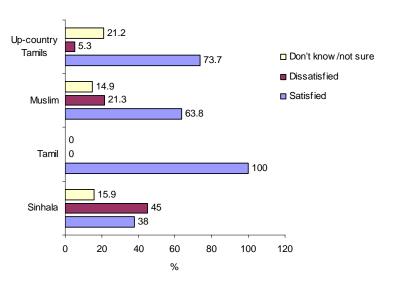
Are you aware that Erik Solheim has been involved in the Sri Lankan peace process as the Norwegian Special Envoy since 2002?

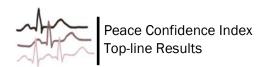
#### National Breakdown



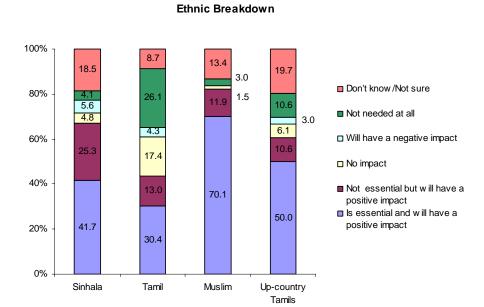


If the answer is "Yes", please tell me how satisfied are you with the role of Erik Solheim as Norway special envoy?





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





# **Political Developments**

Sinhala

0

13.9

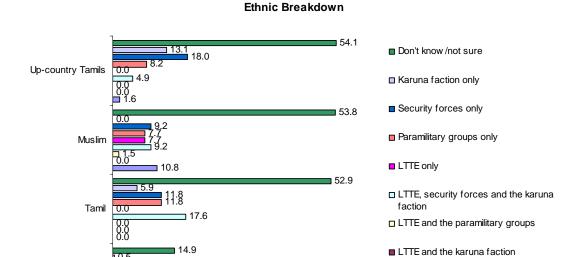
20

30

%

10

After the November 2005 presidential elections, violence has escalated significantly in the North and East. Who do you think is responsible for the escalation of violence?



40

47.4

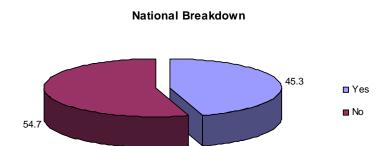
50

60

■ LTTE and the security forces



Are you aware that the United States has warned the LTTE that a return to war would be at a very high cost and also were such an eventuality to arise, the US would strengthen its military assistance programs to Sri Lanka?





What impact do such warnings and potential assistance from the United states have on the Sri Lankan peace process?

#### **Ethnic Breakdown** Up-country Tamils 14.8 70.4 □ Don't know / Not sure Muslim 14.8 ■ A negative impact ■ No impact 71.4 Tamil 14.3 14.3 ■ A positive impact 10.0 18.4 Sinhala 7.3 74.3

60

80

100

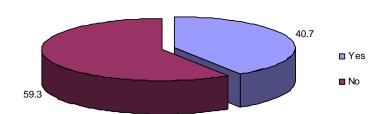
20

40

%

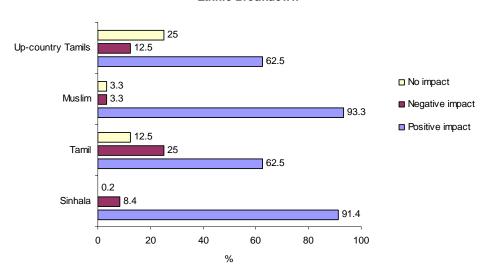
According to various news reports, are you aware that representatives of 15 political parties met on the 19th January 2006 at the Presidential Secretariat for an All Party Conference on the peace process?

## National Breakdown

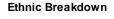


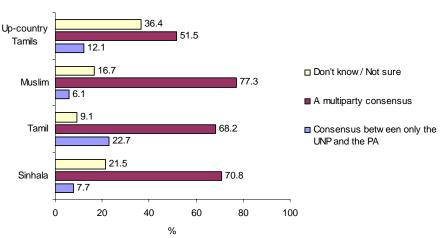


## What is the impact of All Party Conference on the peace process?



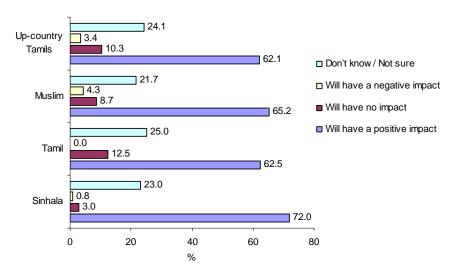
Various people express various opinions with regard to the southern political consensus on holding talks with the LTTE. Some say consensus between only the UNP and PA is sufficient while others say a multi- party consensus that involves other political parties is preferable. Which would you prefer?





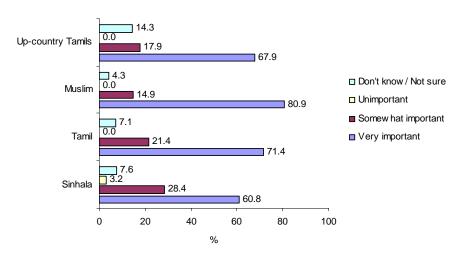


What, in your opinion, is the impact of the forthcoming February 2006 talks in Geneva on the peace process? Will it have a positive impact, a negative impact or will have no impact?



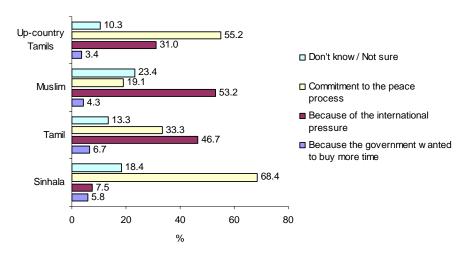


# How important is the forthcoming February 2006 talks in Geneva to you at a personal level?

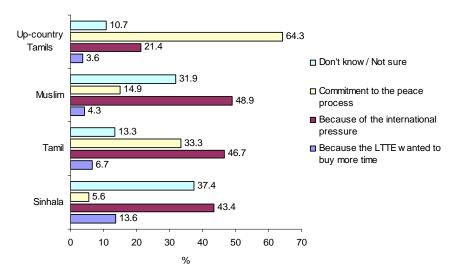




What do you think is the main reason, the Sri Lankan government agreed to participate in the Geneva talks?

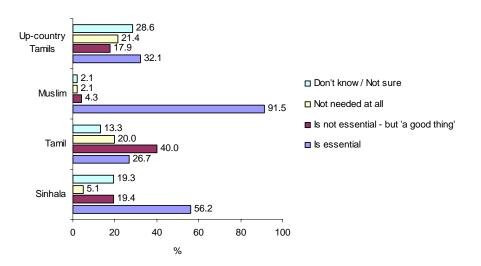


# What do you think is the main reason, the LTTE agreed to participate in the Geneva talks?

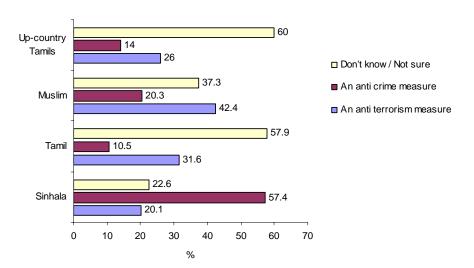




# In your opinion how essential is the participation of a Muslim representative in the forthcoming Geneva talks?



According to various news reports in the media, there has been an increase in the cordon and search operations of civilians by police and armed forces in the south during the last two months. In your opinion, is it an anti terrorism measure or an anti crime measure?



## **Annex**

# District sample (weighted) distribution in February 2006

DISTRICT	TOTAL
Colombo	188
Gampaha	172
Kalutara	90
Kandy	106
Matale	38
Nuwara Eliya	58
Galle	82
Matara	63
Hambantota	44
Kurunegala	121
Putalam	59
Anuradhapura	62
Polonnaruwa	30
Badulla	65
Monaragala	33
Ratnapura	84
Kegalle	65
NATIONAL	1357

# Ethnic sample (weighted) distribution in February 2006

ETHNICITY	TOTAL
Sinhala	1201
Tamil	23
Muslim	67
Up-country Tamil	67
NATIONAL	1357

## Sampling Methodology

Given that the goal of the Peace Confidence Index (PCI) study is to measure the fluctuations in public confidence levels towards the peace process over time it is essential that the study be conducted repetitively with equal pauses during the study. Hence, from May 2001 to February 2004, PCI was conducted bi-monthly, however, from March 2005 onwards, SI decided to conduct the study guarterly 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, the ethnic factor, which is the most important and influential, is the sole factor that has been accommodated in this model.

The total sample is distributed amongst 17 administrative districts (strata) of Sri Lanka, excluding the North and East provinces due to the escalation of violence in the months prior to the survey. The sample size assigned to each stratum is approximately equal to the population proportions. However, some districts are over sampled due to the ethnic heterogeneity but the over sampling biases are eliminated by weighting the sample.

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

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

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

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

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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