

DEMOCRACY IN POST WAR SRI LANKA

TOP LINE REPORT



CENTRE FOR POLICY ALTERNATIVES
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மாற்றுக் கொள்கைகளுக்கான நிலையம்



The Centre for Policy Alternatives (CPA) is an independent, non-partisan organisation that focuses primarily on issues of governance and conflict resolution. Formed in 1996 in the firm belief that the vital contribution of civil society to the public policy debate is in need of strengthening, CPA is committed to programmes of research and advocacy through which public policy is critiqued, alternatives identified and disseminated.

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Making Social Research Count

Social Indicator (SI) is the survey research unit of the Centre for Policy Alternatives (CPA) and was established in September 1999, filling a longstanding vacuum for a permanent, professional and independent polling facility in Sri Lanka on social and political issues. Driven by the strong belief that polling is an instrument that empowers democracy, SI has been conducting polls on a large range of socio-economic and political issues since its inception.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- Almost 30% of Sri Lankans believe that the current economic situation in the country is good, whilst nearly 45% are of the opinion that it is bad. 21.7% of Sri Lankans believe that it has remained the same.
- The three main results the respondents would like to see from the country's current development process are the issues of unemployment being addressed, an increase in improved infrastructure and better education facilities.
- Almost 30% of Sri Lankans indicate that they are satisfied with the Government's performance in addressing the cost of living in the country, while 51.2% indicate that they are dissatisfied.
- 44.2% of Sri Lankans believe that it is more appropriate for the Local Government Authorities to carry out small and medium scale development activities within a given constituency/ district.
- While 72.6% of Sri Lankans agree that female representation in Parliament, Provincial Councils, and Local Government Authorities is insufficient, 10.1% disagree with the same.
- On the allocation of a fixed quota for female representation, 70.5% of Sri Lankans believe that there should be quotas for female representation in Parliament, Provincial Councils, and Local Government Authorities, while 9.6% of Sri Lankans do not think that there should be a quota.
- 52% of Sri Lankans are of the opinion that men are both qualified and capable of winning an election in comparison to women, while 23.7% disagree with the same.
- While 51.4% of Sri Lankans are of the opinion that once elected, women have less decision making power than their male counterparts, 21.8% disagree with the same.
- Nearly 50% of Sri Lankans state that the Constitution should determine the number of Ministers and that there should be no room to increase the number of Ministers in Parliament.

- A majority (74.4%) of Sri Lankans agree that the Clergy (religious priests/ monks) if found guilty of unethical/ illegal behaviour or misconduct, must be taken into custody and dealt with under the rule of law.
- While 48.8% of Sri Lankans agree that the National Anthem should be sung in both Sinhala and Tamil languages, 41.3% of Sri Lankans disagree with the same.
- 42.2% of Sri Lankans are of the opinion that there should be a mechanism to look into what happened during the final stages of the war, while 44.2% are of the opinion that there shouldn't be such a mechanism.
- Among those who indicate that there should be a credible mechanism to look into accountability of what happened during the final stages of the war, 47.3% of Sri Lankans are of the opinion that it should be an exclusively domestic one, whilst 9.2% of Sri Lankans are of the opinion that it should be an exclusively international one.
- From an ethnic perspective, it is mostly the Sinhala community who favour an exclusively domestic mechanism with 69.3% indicating the same.
- From those who favour an exclusively international mechanism, it is the Tamil community with 26.2% indicating the same.
- From those who believe that there should be an international mechanism to investigate into what happened during the final stages of the war, it is evident that respondents from the Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim communities mostly prefer the judges, prosecutors, lawyers and investigators to be from the USA while the Up Country Tamil community prefer the judges, prosecutors, lawyers and investigators to be from India.
- On the question of the transitional justice process in Sri Lanka, 28.8% of Sri Lankans are of the opinion that issues in relation to reparations, which includes the victims' entitlement for redress and a proper policy framework need to be addressed.
- The top three institutions that citizens trust are the Army (46.7%), Courts (40.1%) and the Civil Service (22.9%)

INTRODUCTION

This is the Sixth Wave of the survey 'Democracy in Post War Sri Lanka' conducted by Social Indicator, the survey research unit of the Centre for Policy Alternatives. This survey seeks to record public perceptions with regard to the general economic situation in the country, the level of trust the public has on various institutions, the level of confidence in the new framework of governance, and various reconciliation measures initiated by the Government of Sri Lanka towards ensuring durable peace, protection of human rights, administration of justice and strengthening of the rule of law.

This wave was conducted at a time when the Sirisena Government pledges to bring about various changes and reforms to bridge the governance deficit that had arisen in the recent past. Various measures towards meaningful reconciliation with accountability for alleged human rights violations that occurred during the final stages of the war, along with electoral and Constitutional reforms are a few among the many propositions made and in the process of being implemented in post war Sri Lanka.

Data was collected from all 25 districts across the four main ethnicities, thereby making the survey comprehensive and insightful. The research team comprised of Iromi Perera, Sakina Moinudeen and M. Krishnamoorthy. Data processing was done by Shashik Dhanushka.

We would like to thank Dr. Paikiasothy Saravanamuttu for his valuable input in the survey design process.

METHODOLOGY

The Sixth Wave of the survey on Democracy in Post War Sri Lanka was carried out using a semi structured questionnaire administered through face to face interviews with 2102 respondents in both Sinhala and Tamil languages across all 25 districts. The sample respondents were selected with the use of a multi-stage stratified random sampling technique that represents the four main ethnic communities in the country (Sinhala, Tamil, Up Country Tamil and Muslim communities).

Questionnaire

Discussions, debates and various initiatives that have been proposed/ taken by the Government in relation to the strengthening of democracy, establishing good governance, ensuring the protection of human rights and promoting reconciliation in post war Sri Lanka, were taken into consideration when designing the questionnaire for the Sixth Wave of the survey on Democracy in Post War Sri Lanka.

The questionnaire was finalised with a group that comprised of Researchers and the Executive Director of the Centre for Policy Alternatives (CPA).

The questionnaire was translated into Sinhala and Tamil and a pilot survey was conducted by selected senior field staff. Findings from the pilot survey were taken into account in the finalisation of the questionnaire.

Sampling and fieldwork

In this survey, Social Indicator (SI) used a multi-stage stratified random sampling technique and a sample of 2102 respondents spread across all districts were polled. The Population Proportionate Sampling (PPS) method was used and ethnic proportions were accounted for. The sample size was determined in order to produce results within a 2% error margin at a 95% confidence level. Electorates were chosen as the strata to distribute the sample, and Polling Centre's within each electorate were chosen randomly. From each selected polling centre the starting point (first household selected for the survey) of the survey was selected randomly from the 2008 voter registry. Following the completion of an interview at the first household, 19 other households that come under the same polling Centre were selected

using the right hand rule.– At each selected household, a respondent was determined using the last birthday method.

Field Work

Fieldwork for the entire study was conducted from February 18th to March 03rd 2016.

Training of Field Researchers

A total of 60 Field Researchers participated in this study. The Field Researchers consisted of both male and female enumerators from three ethnic communities – Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim. Prior to starting fieldwork, they were given comprehensive training on the study, the survey instrument and field techniques. In order to guarantee the quality of field research, SI deployed a group of Supervisors to conduct quality control processes during and after fieldwork, such as accompany visits, spot-checks and back-check were carried out to ensure the quality of the data collected.

Data Processing and analysis

All the completed questionnaires were scrutinised, checked and entered into a database designed for the survey. The dataset was further cleaned prior to the analysis. Before starting the analysis process, the dataset was weighted in order to reflect actual geographical and ethnic proportion. The data set was analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS).

How to read this report

- This report presents the top line results of the survey. The graphs presented set out a descriptive explanation on the basis of National data, and have been divided according to ethnicity.
- Where there was a significant shift or change in opinion over the years, data was compared with the surveys that were conducted in 2011, 2013, 2014 and 2015.
- For questions that require more than one answer (multiple answer questions) from the respondents, figures do not add up to a 100%.

KEY EVENTS PRIOR TO & DURING FIELDWORK

Singing of the National Anthem in both Sinhala and Tamil, at the 68th Independence Day celebrations.

The Sri Lankan National Anthem was sung in Tamil for the first time since 1949 at the official Independence Day celebrations held on the 4th of February 2016. The unofficial ban on singing the National Anthem in Tamil was lifted in March 2015.

Visit of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights Prince Zeid Ra'ad Al Hussein arrived in Sri Lanka for a four day official visit on the 6th of February 2016. The main purpose of his visit was to review the implementation of the recommendations made in his report to the United Nations Human Rights Council, and the subsequent resolution that was submitted to the UNHRC on Promoting reconciliation, accountability and human rights in Sri Lanka. Discussions were held with high level Government officials as well as officials from the Human Rights Commission of Sri Lanka, representatives of the civil society, victims of human rights violations and religious leaders.

Launch of a Task Force for designing a suitable reconciliation mechanism for post war Sri Lanka.

In keeping with the mandate presented to the public at the Presidential and Parliamentary Elections in January and August 2015, the launch of a Task Force comprising of 10 civil society representatives was initiated by the Foreign Minister of Sri Lanka, to assist in designing a suitable reconciliation mechanism to ensure transitional justice in post war Sri Lanka. The purpose of the task force is to ascertain the opinion of stakeholders including the victims, war widows, security personnel, families of missing, the disabled, political personalities and religious leaders, which hopes to guide and design the process for transitional justice in the country.

ECONOMY AND DEVELOPMENT

Summary

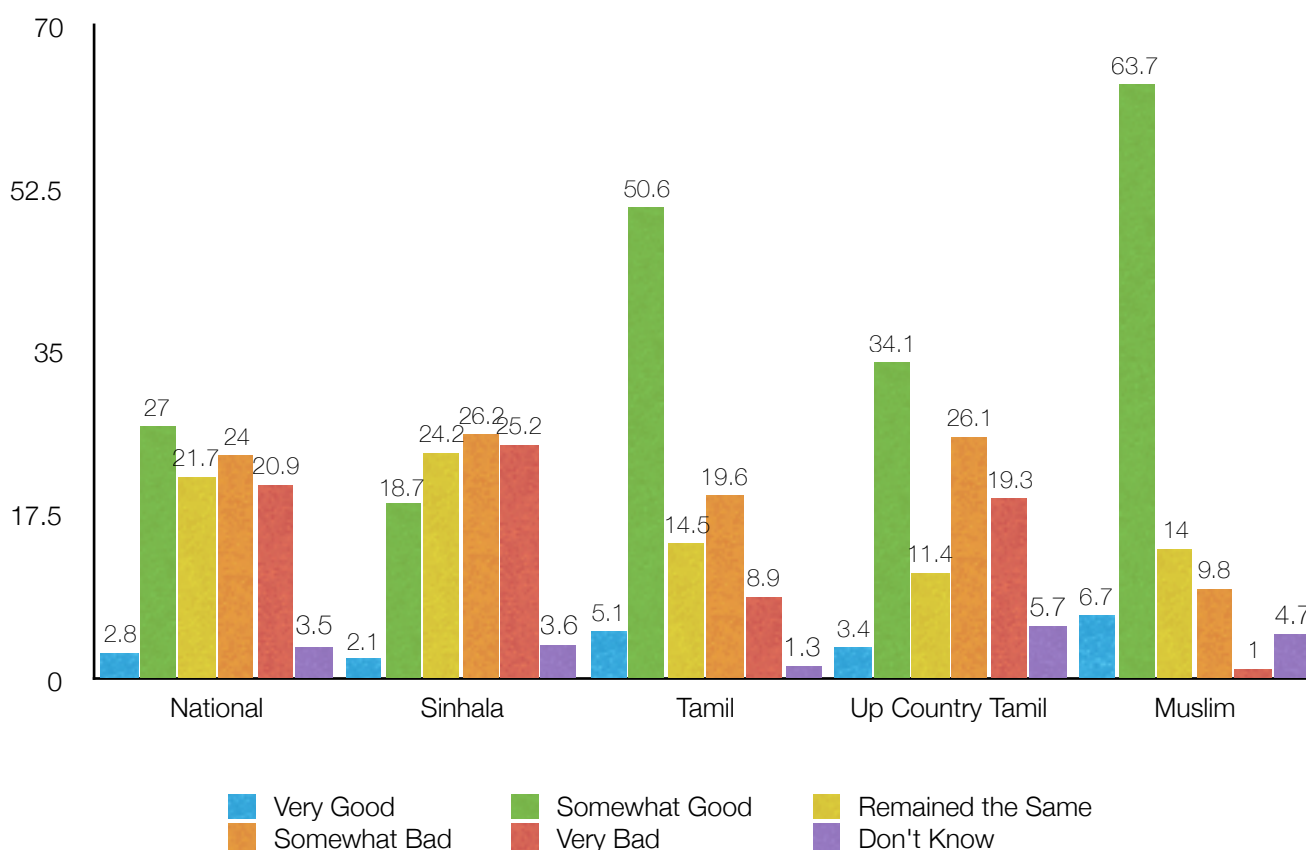
- Almost 30% of Sri Lankans believe that the current economic situation in the country is good, whilst nearly 45% are of the opinion that it is bad. 21.7% of Sri Lankans believe that it has remained the same.
- Amongst those who believe that the current economic situation in the country is bad, 62.4% believe that the policies introduced by the Government should be held accountable for the situation.
- While 75.6% of Sri Lankans are of the opinion that the Government is doing a good job in managing the healthcare service, 21.6% of Sri Lankans do not think they are doing a good job.
- While 72.8% of Sri Lankans agree that the Government is doing a good job in managing the education system, 20.3% state the contrary.
- The three main results the respondents would like to see from the country's current development process are the issues of unemployment being addressed, an increase in improved infrastructure and better education facilities.
- Almost 30% of Sri Lankans indicate that they are satisfied with the Government's performance in addressing the cost of living in the country, while 51.2% indicate that they are dissatisfied.
- 44.2% of Sri Lankans believe that it is more appropriate for the Local Government Authorities to carry out small and medium scale development activities within a given constituency/ district.

On the current economic situation in the country, almost 30% of Sri Lankans believe that it is good, while nearly 45% believe that it is bad. 21.7% of Sri Lankans are of the opinion that the current economic situation in the country has remained the same.

From an ethnic perspective, it is noteworthy that a significant proportion from the Muslim community is satisfied with the current economic situation, with almost 70.5% stating that it is good. The Sinhala community are the least satisfied, with 51.4% indicating that that the current economic situation is bad. (*Refer Graph 1.1*)

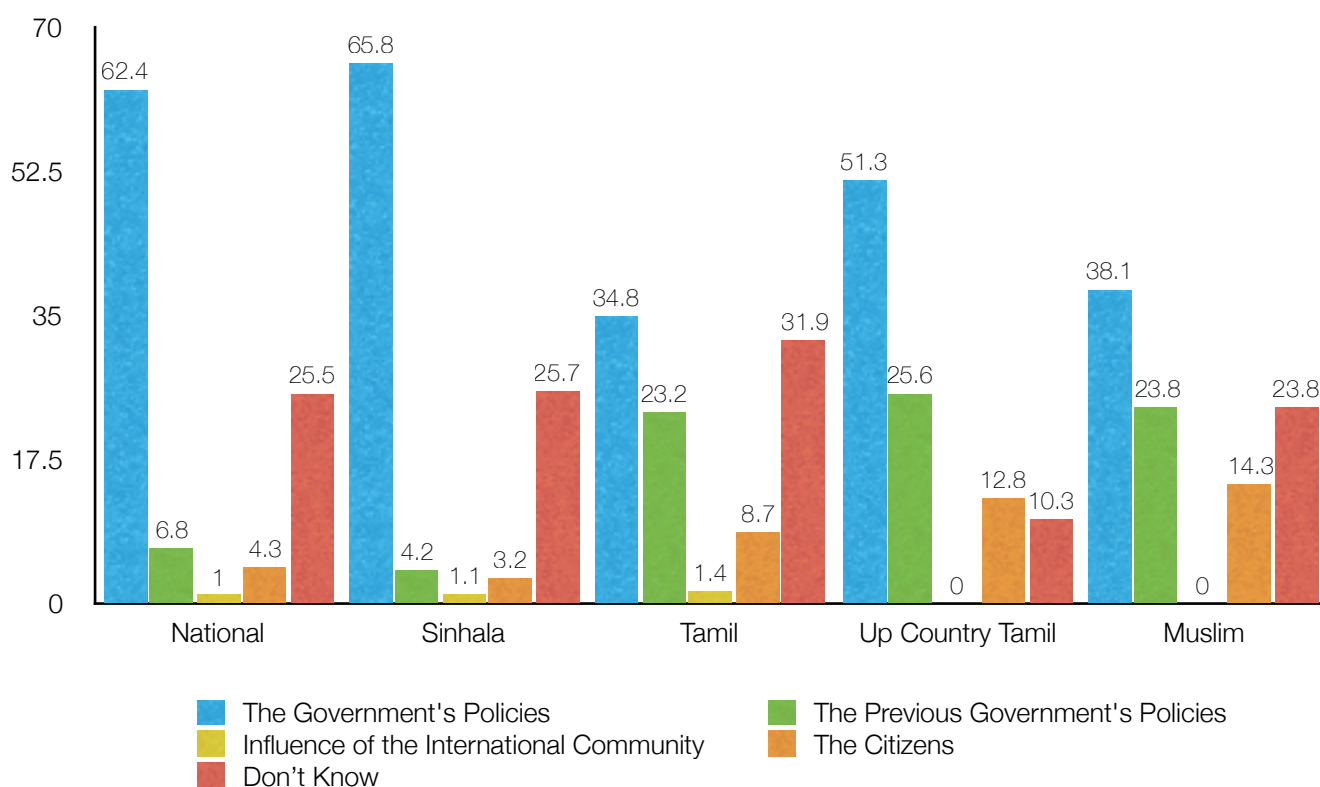
Sri Lankans appear to be slightly more satisfied with the current economic situation in the country, than when compared with the surveys conducted in 2013 and 2014. 50.5% in 2013 and 50.1% in 2014 indicated that the current economic situation was bad. This figure declined to 45% in February 2016.

Graph 1.1: Thinking about the current economic situation in the country, how would you describe it?



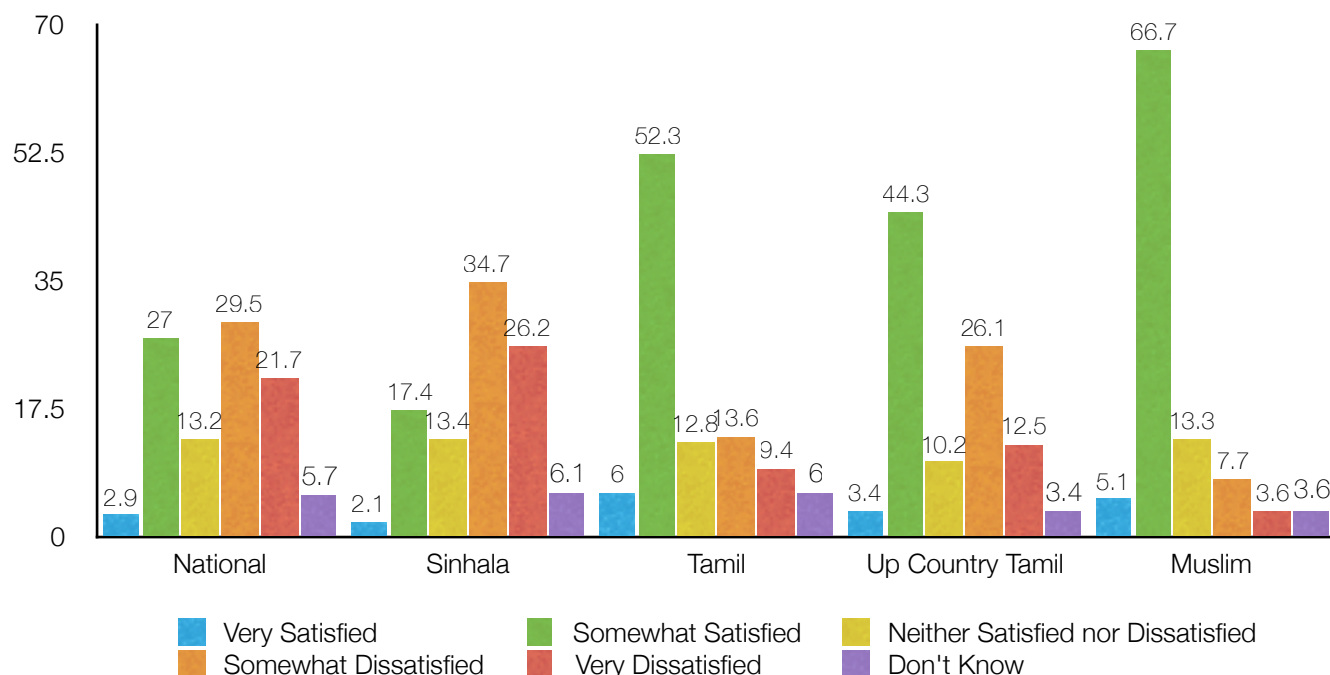
Amongst those who believe that the current economic situation in the country is bad, 62.4% indicate that the reason for the country's economic deterioration is due to the policies introduced by the Government. (Refer Graph 1.2)

Graph 1.2: If you think the current economic situation in the country is somewhat bad, or very bad, who do you think is responsible for its deterioration?



Almost 30% of Sri Lankans indicate that they are satisfied with the Government's performance in addressing the cost of living in the country, while 51.2% indicate that they are dissatisfied. It is mostly the Muslim community with 71.8% who are satisfied, whilst the Sinhala community appear to be the most dissatisfied with 60.9% indicating the same. (Refer Graph 1.3)

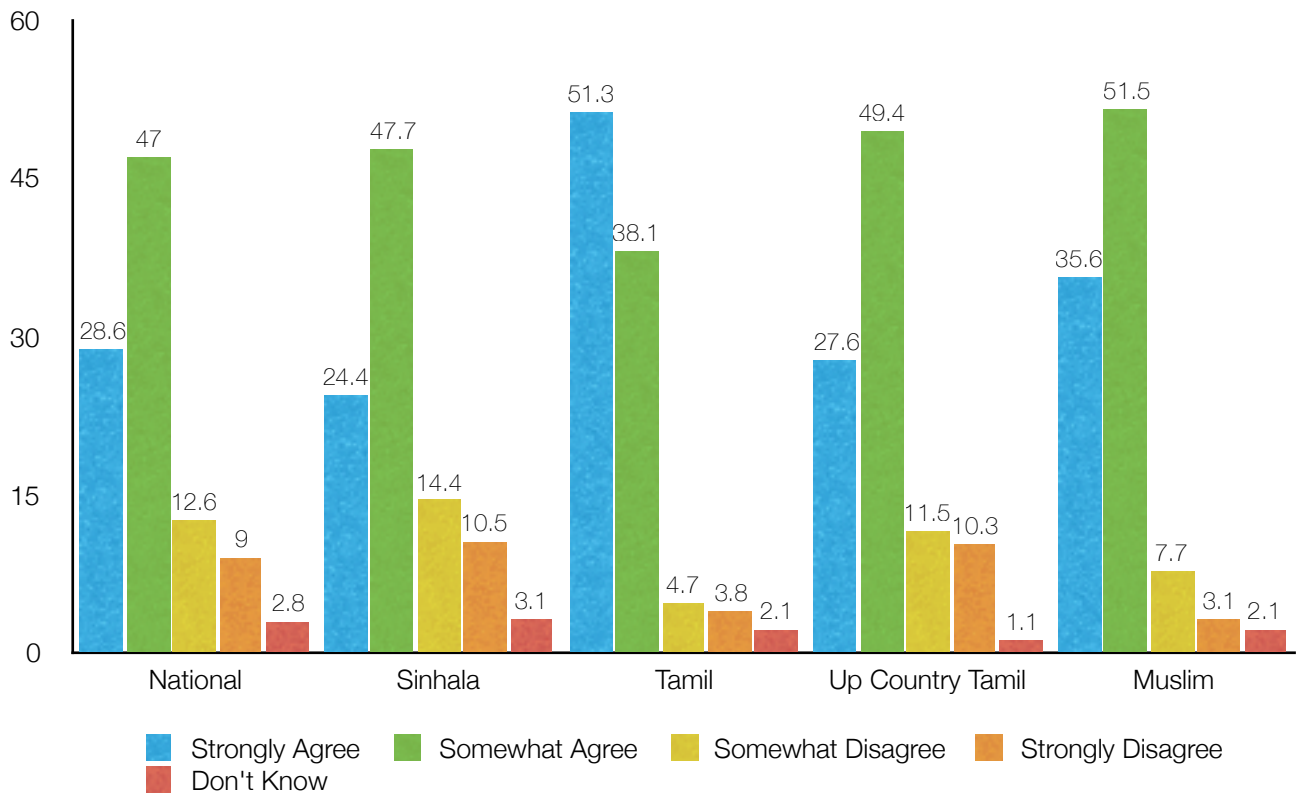
Graph 1.3: How satisfied are you with the Government's performance in addressing the cost of living in the country?



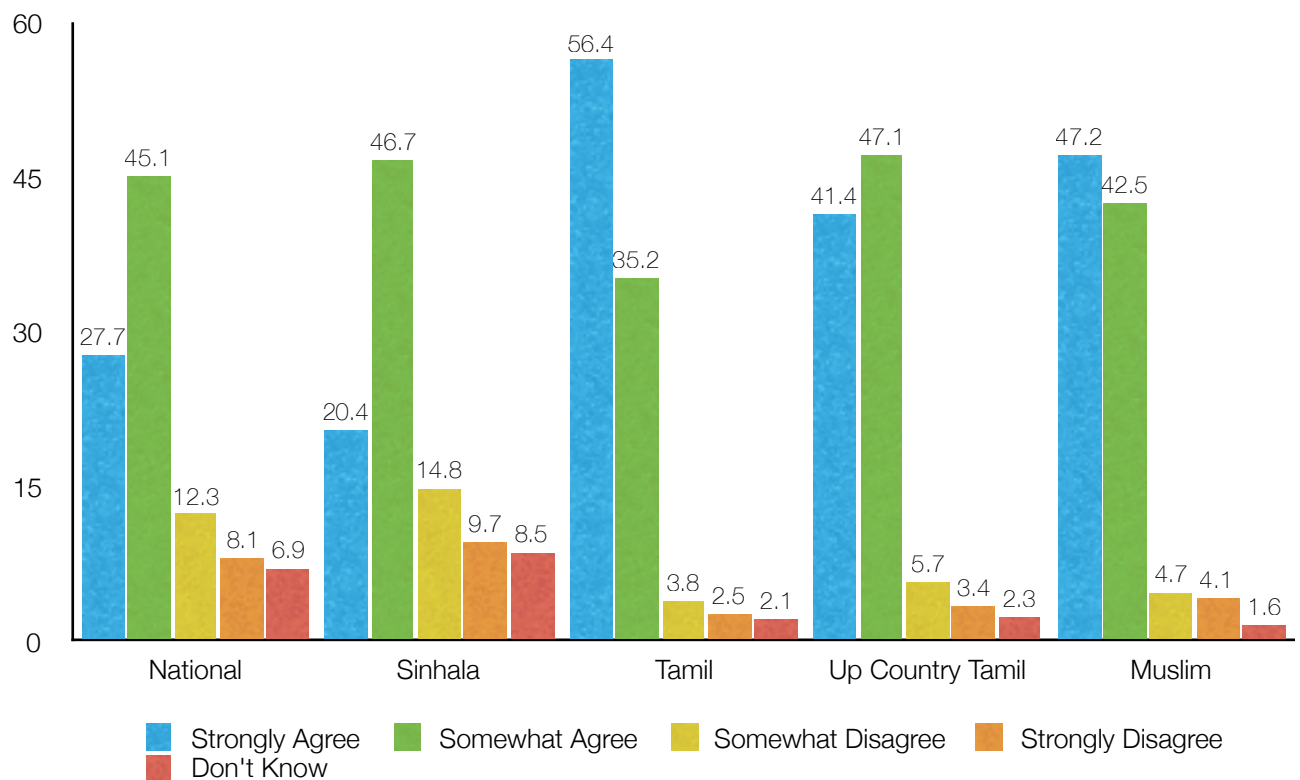
The respondents were asked to indicate their views on the Government's performance in managing public services like health care and education. While 75.6% of Sri Lankans are of the opinion that the Government is doing a good job in managing the country's healthcare service, 21.6% state the contrary. From an ethnic perspective, it is the Tamil community (89.4% indicating satisfaction) who appear to be the most satisfied and the Sinhala community least satisfied with only 24.9% stating their satisfaction with the Government's performance in managing the health care service in the country. (Refer Graph 1.4)

On education, 72.8% of Sri Lankans agree that the Government is doing a good job in managing the country's education system, while 20.3% disagree with the same. From an ethnic perspective, the Tamil community seem to be the most satisfied with 91.5% agreeing that the Government is doing a good job in managing the education system, while the least optimistic is the Sinhala community with 24.5% who disagree with the same. (Refer Graph 1.5)

Graph 1.4: The Government is doing a good job in managing health care services



Graph 1.5: The Government is doing a good job in managing the education system



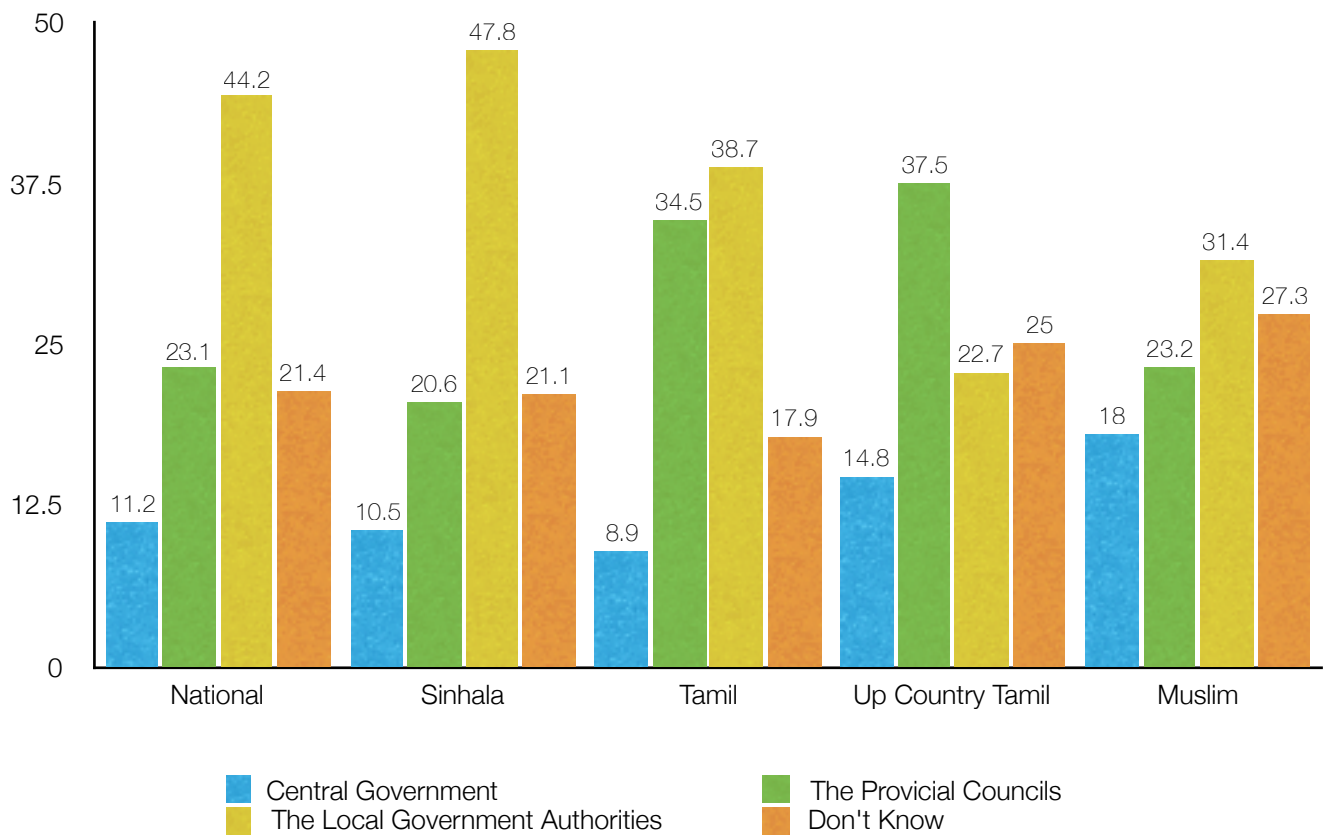
The respondents were asked to state three main results that they would like to see from the current development process in the country. 65% of Sri Lankans believe that issues pertaining to unemployment should be addressed while 61.3% of Sri Lankans indicate that they would like to see an increase in improved infrastructure in the country. The third main result indicated by the respondents was the creation of better education facilities in country with 21.1% indicating the same.

When analysing the findings of the survey, with the surveys conducted in 2011 and 2013, there appears to be a shift in what Sri Lankans believe should be given a priority in the country's development process.

In 2013, reduction in the cost of living was given the first priority followed by a need to address the issue of unemployment and creating better education facilities in the country. In 2011, while reduction in the cost of living was the first priority indicated by the respondents, there appeared to be slight changes in the second and third preferences chosen by all four communities. Agriculture was the second preference selected by the Sinhala community and unemployment was identified by the Muslim community. Reducing poverty, was the second preference of the Tamil and Up Country Tamil communities. As for the third preference, improved infrastructure was selected by the Sinhala community while reducing poverty was selected by the Muslim community. Addressing unemployment issues was selected by both the Tamil and Up Country Tamil communities as their third preference.

The respondents were given a list of various institutions and were asked to select as to which institution they think is most appropriate to carry out small and medium scale development activities within the constituency/ district. The list consisted of the Central Government, Provincial Councils and Local Government Authorities. While 11.2% of Sri Lankans indicated the Central Government, 23.1% said that Provincial Councils should carry out small and medium scale development activities within a given constituency/ district. However, a larger proportion of Sri Lankans - 44.2% - indicate that it is more appropriate for the Local Government Authorities to carry out small and medium scale development activities within a given constituency/ district. (*Refer Graph 1.6*)

Graph 1.6: In your opinion, which institution do you think is more appropriate to carry out small and medium scale development activities within the constituency/ district?



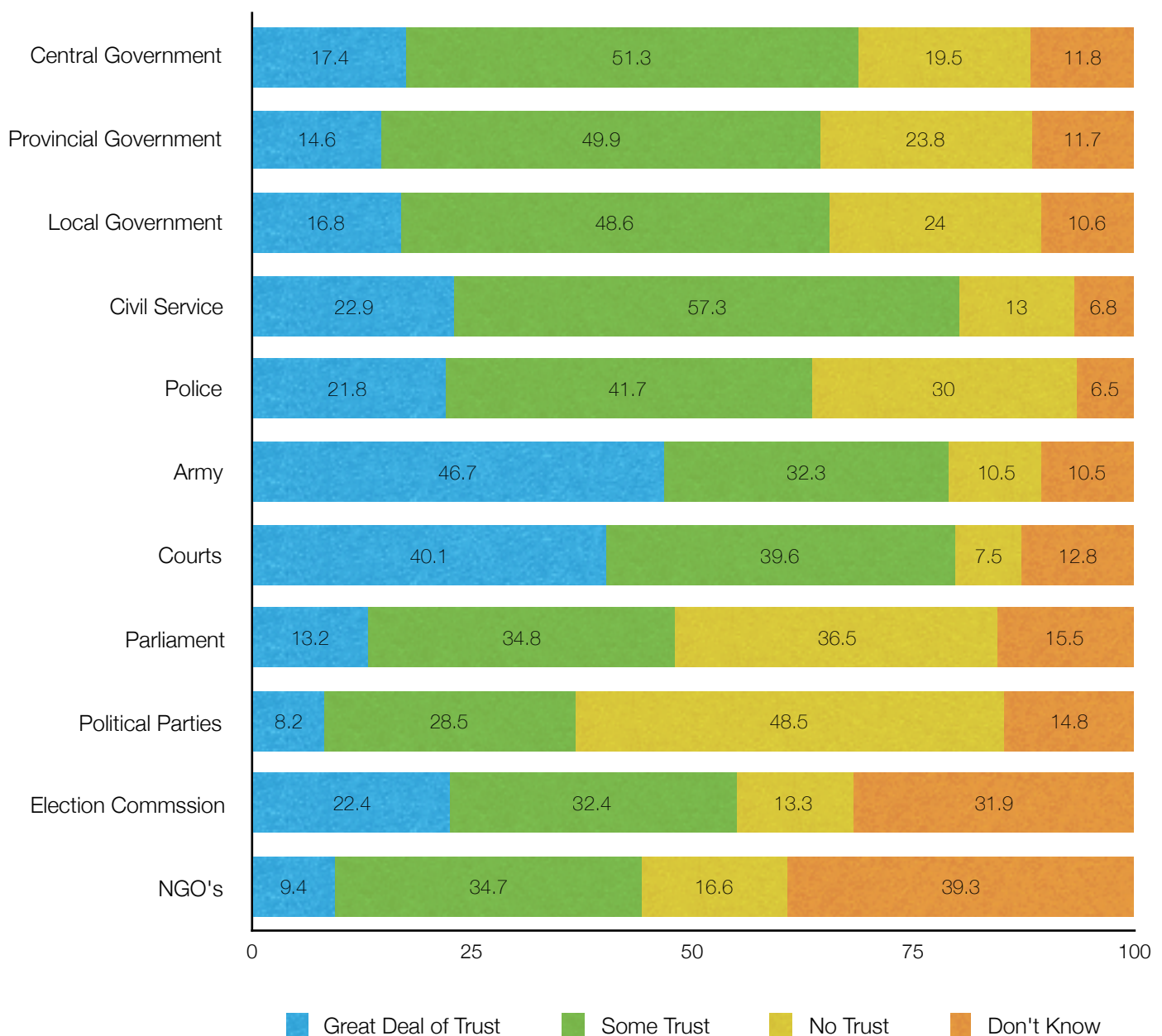
TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS

Summary

- The top three institutions that citizens trust are the Army (46.7%), Courts (40.1%) and the Civil Service (22.9%)
- Almost 70% of Sri Lankans trust the Central Government, although the figure highlights a decline from the previous surveys conducted in 2013 (84.2%) and March 2015 (74.5%).
- The survey conducted in February 2016 shows a decline in the percentage of respondents who indicate that they trust the Police. While 73.5% in 2013 and 71.6% in March 2015 indicated that they trusted the Police, this figure dropped to 63.5% in February 2016.
- Nearly 80% of Sri Lankans indicate that they trust the Army, with only 10.5% having no trust in them. From an ethnic perspective, the Tamil community seem to have the least amount of trust in the Army with 35.7% indicating the same.
- Overall only 13.2% of Sri Lankans have a great deal of trust in the Parliament, while 34.8% have some trust in the same. 36.5% of Sri Lankans have no trust in the Parliament.
- Sri Lankans trust the political parties the least with almost 50% indicating that they have no trust, while 36.7% of Sri Lankans indicate that they trust the political parties of the country.
- In 2013, 41.7% and in March 2015, 62.3% indicated that they trusted the Election Commission. A drop in this figure is seen in February 2015 with 54.8% indicating the same.

When assessing the level of democracy in a country, it is important to evaluate how much trust the public has in various institutions of the country, ranging from the Central Government to Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO's). The survey sought to evaluate respondents' level of trust on the Central Government, Provincial Government, Local Government, Civil Service, Police, Army, Courts, Parliament, Political Parties, Election Commission and NGO's. The top three institutions that citizens place a great deal of trust on are the Army (46.7%), Courts (40.1%) and the Civil Service (22.9%). (Refer Graph 2.1)

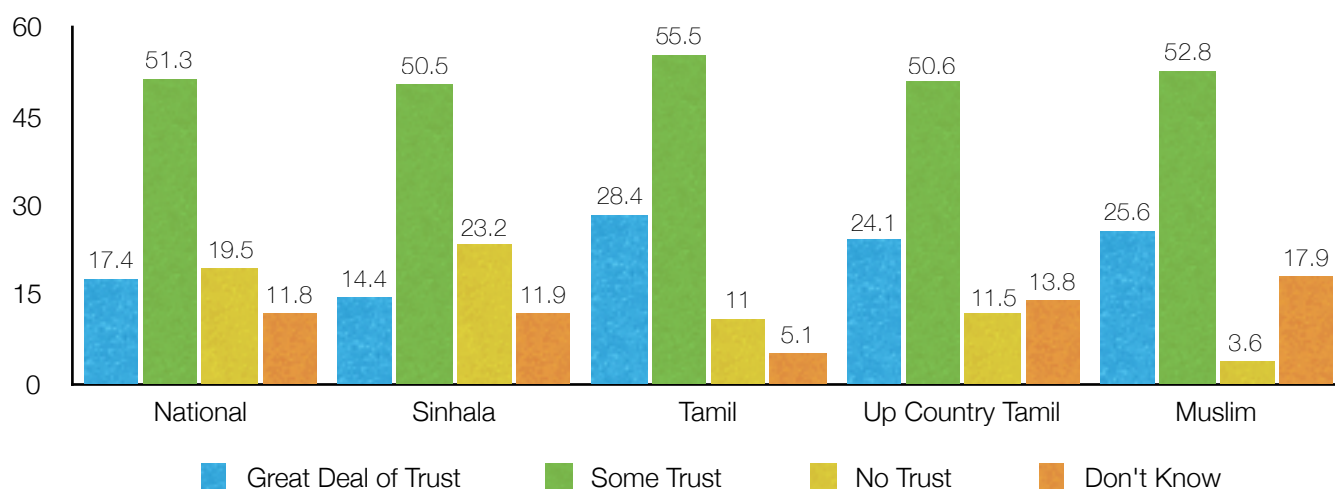
Graph 2.1 How much trust do you have in the following institutions? (National)



Central Government

When comparing the findings of the survey with the surveys conducted in the past, it is evident that there appears to be a decline in the level of trust Sri Lankans have in the Central Government. In 2013, 84.2% and in March 2015, 74.5% of Sri Lankans said that they trusted the Central Government. A drop in this figure to 68.7% is evident in February 2016. (Refer Graph 2.2)

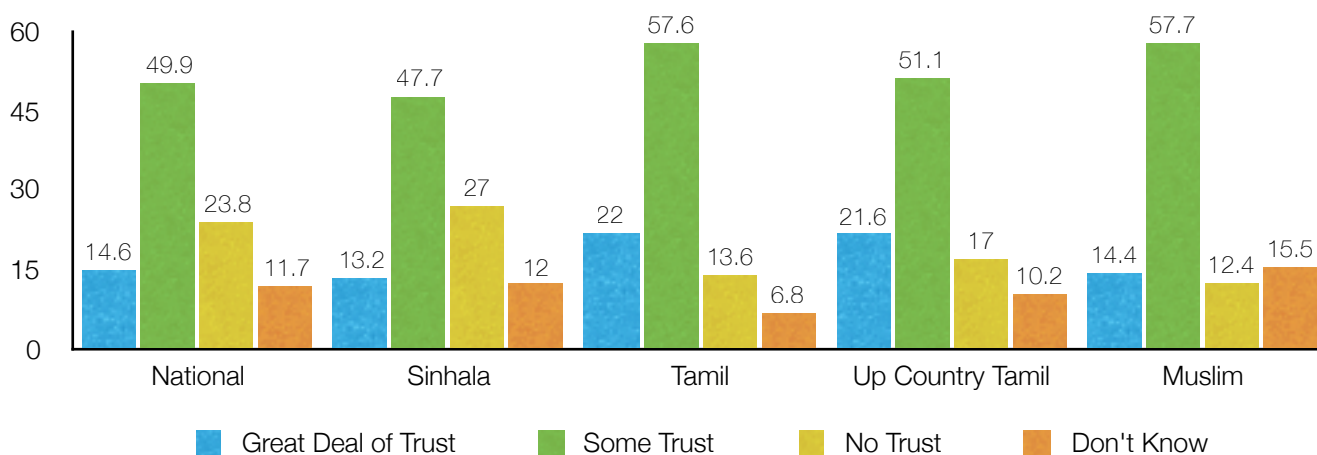
Graph 2.2: How much trust do you have in the Central Government?



Provincial Government

While 72.7% in 2013 and 67.4% in March 2015 indicated that they trusted the Provincial Government, there appears to be a decrease in this percentage in February 2016 with 64.6% indicating the same. (Refer Graph 2.3)

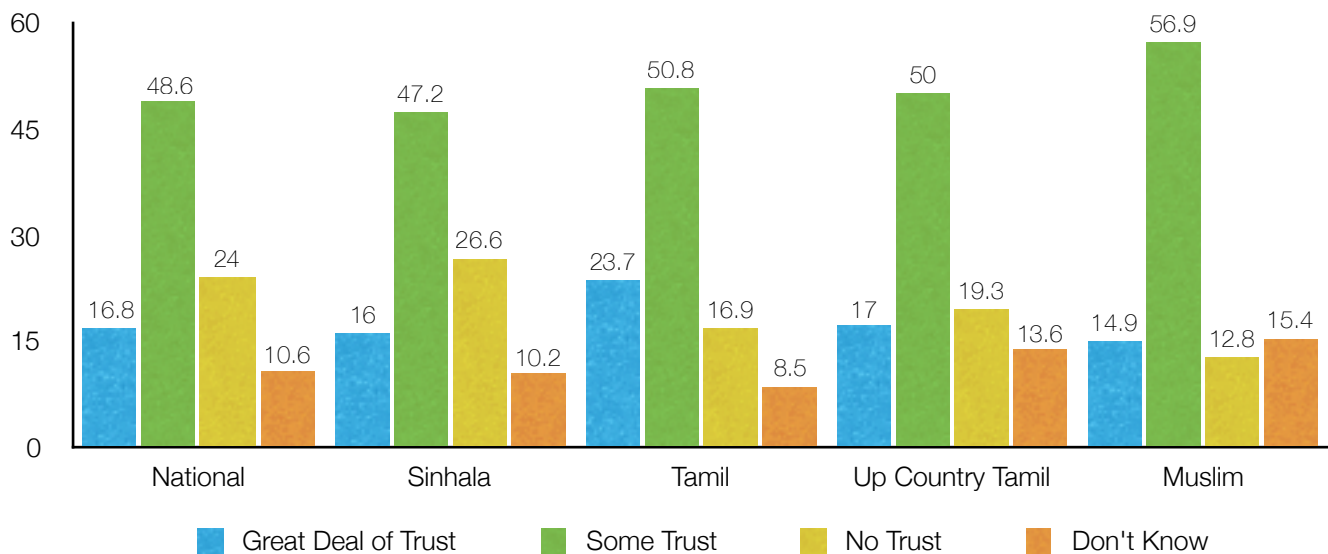
Graph 2.3: How much trust do you have in the Provincial Government?



Local Government

In February 2016, 65.5% of Sri Lankans indicated that they trusted Local Government, a decline from the previous surveys conducted in 2013 (73%) and in March 2015 (68%). The Tamil community with 74.6% has the most trust in Local Government. The Sinhala community has the least trust with 26.6% indicating that they have no trust in the same. (Refer Graph 2.4)

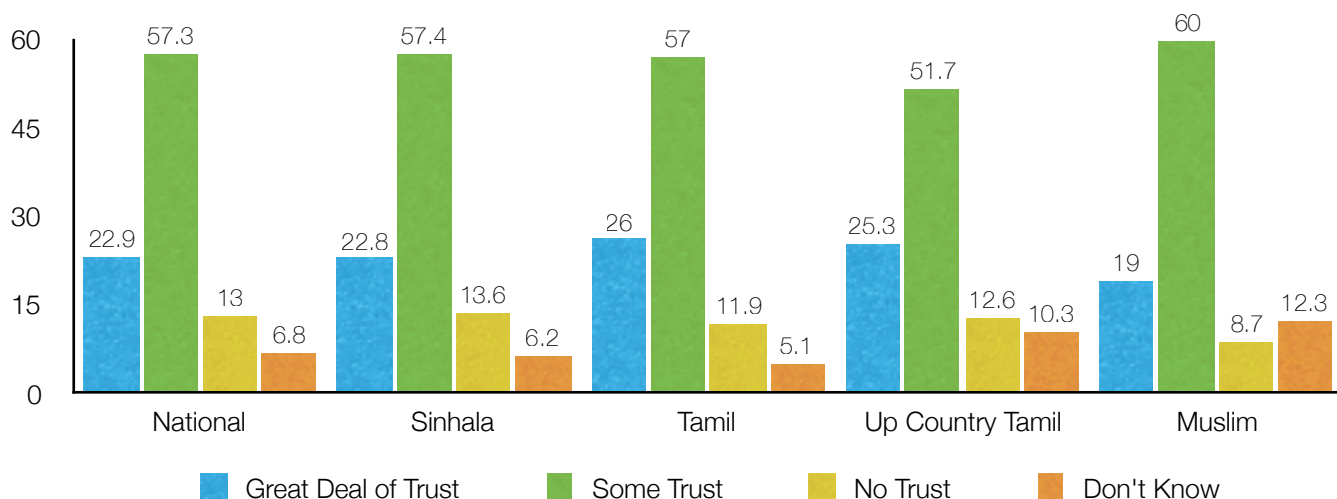
Graph 2.4: How much trust do you have in the Local Government?



Civil Service

From the list of institutions provided to the respondents, 80.2% of Sri Lankans said that they trust the Civil Service of the country, with 22.9% placing a great deal of trust. 13% of Sri Lankans indicate that they have no trust in the same. However, when compared with the survey conducted in March 2015 where 84.9% indicated that they trusted the Civil Service, there appears to be a slight decline in the percentage of Sri Lankans who hold this view in February 2016. (Refer Graph 2.5)

Graph 2.5: How much trust do you have in the Civil Service?

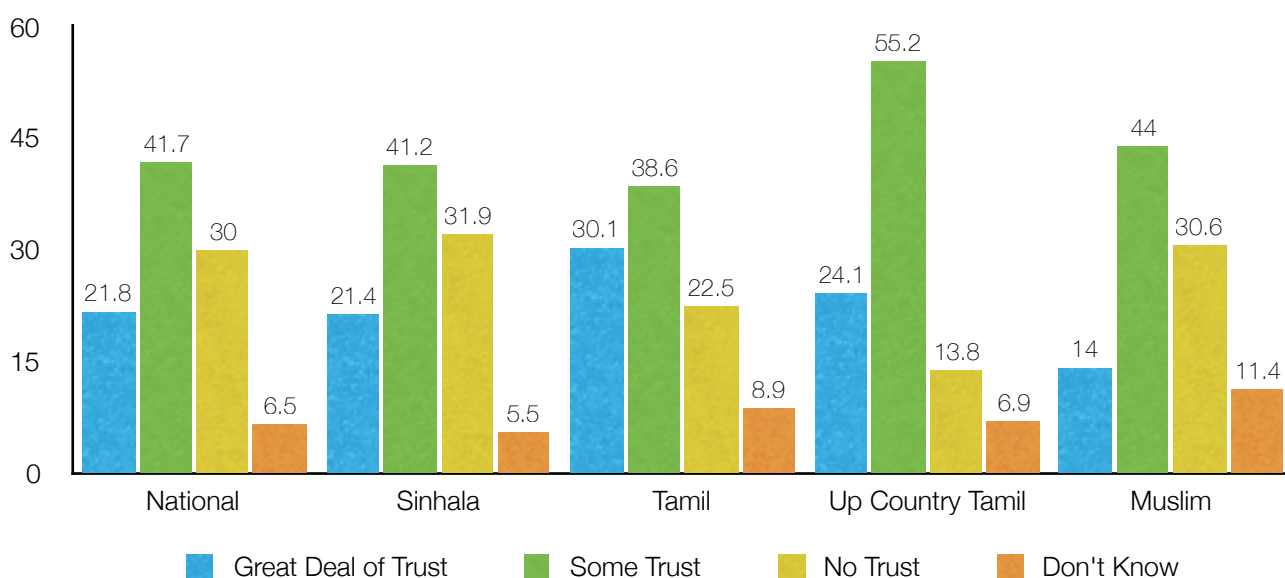


Police

In 2013, 73.5% and in March 2015, 71.6% of Sri Lankans indicated that they trusted the Police, while this figure has declined in February 2016 to 63.5%. Meanwhile, 30% of Sri Lankans indicate that they have no trust in the Police. (Refer Graph 2.6)

In March 2015, 18.2% from the Sinhala community and 20% from the Muslim community indicated that they have no trust in the Police. A marked rise in these figures is seen in February 2016 with 31.9% from the Sinhala community and 30.6% from the Muslim community indicating the same.

Graph 2.6: How much trust do you have in the Police?

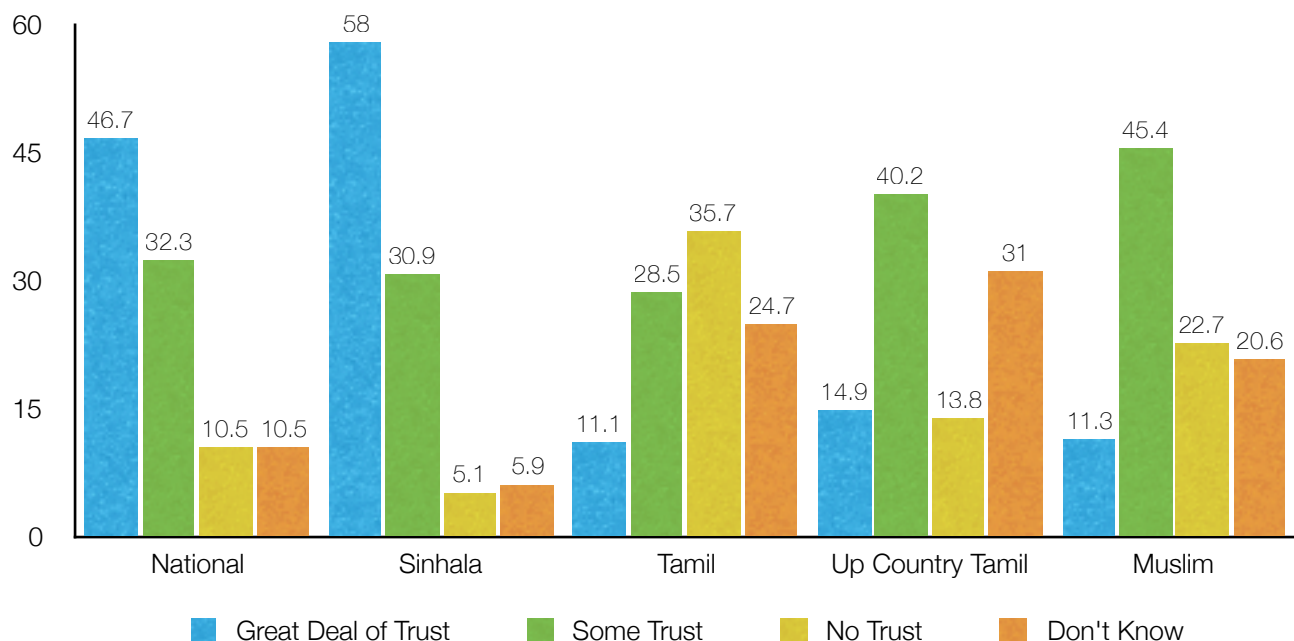


Army

On the level of trust in the Army, nearly 80% of Sri Lankans indicate that they trust the Army with only 10.5% indicating that they have no trust in them. From an ethnic perspective, the Tamil community the Army the least with 35.7% stating that they have no trust. (Refer Graph 2.7)

There has been a some change in the percentage of respondents from the Tamil and Up Country Tamil communities with regard to the level of trust they have in the Army. In 2011, 32.8% from the Tamil community and 27.3 % from the Up Country Tamil community indicated that they had no trust in the Army. This figure increased to 52% among the Tamil and 47% among the Up Country Tamil communities in March 2015. When comparing these figures with the survey conducted in February 2016, we see a notable drop in the percentages, with 35.7% from the Tamil community and 13.8% from the Up Country Tamil community who indicate that that they have no trust in the Army.

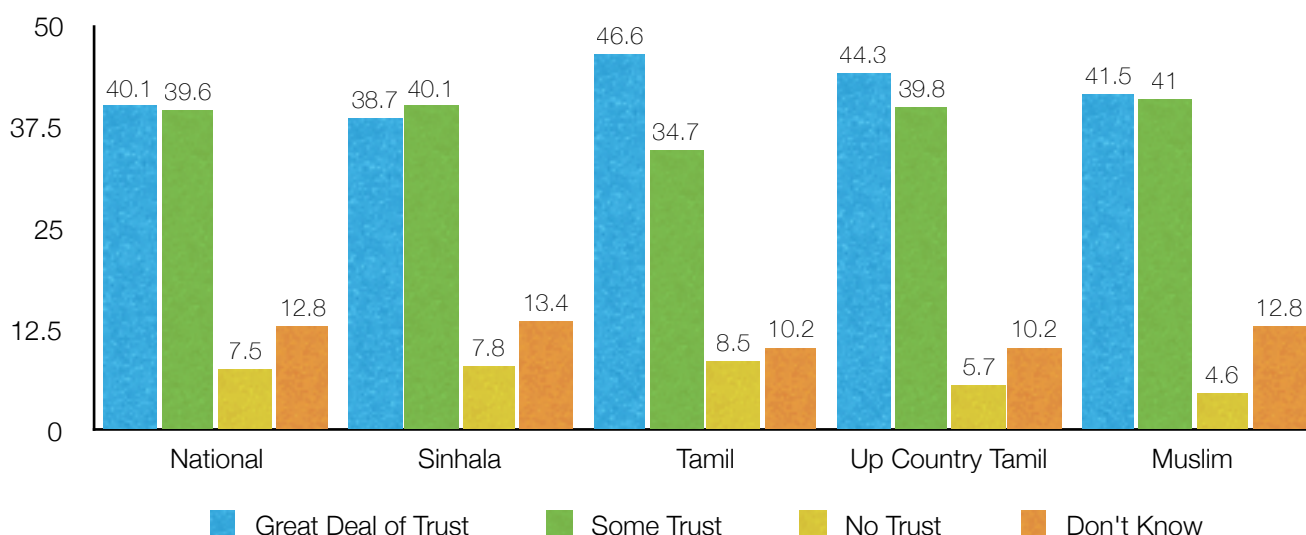
Graph 2.7: How much trust do you have in the Army?



Courts

While nearly 80% of Sri Lankans trust the courts, only 7.5% indicate that they have no trust in the same. (Refer Graph 2.8)

Graph 2.8: How much trust do you have in the Courts?

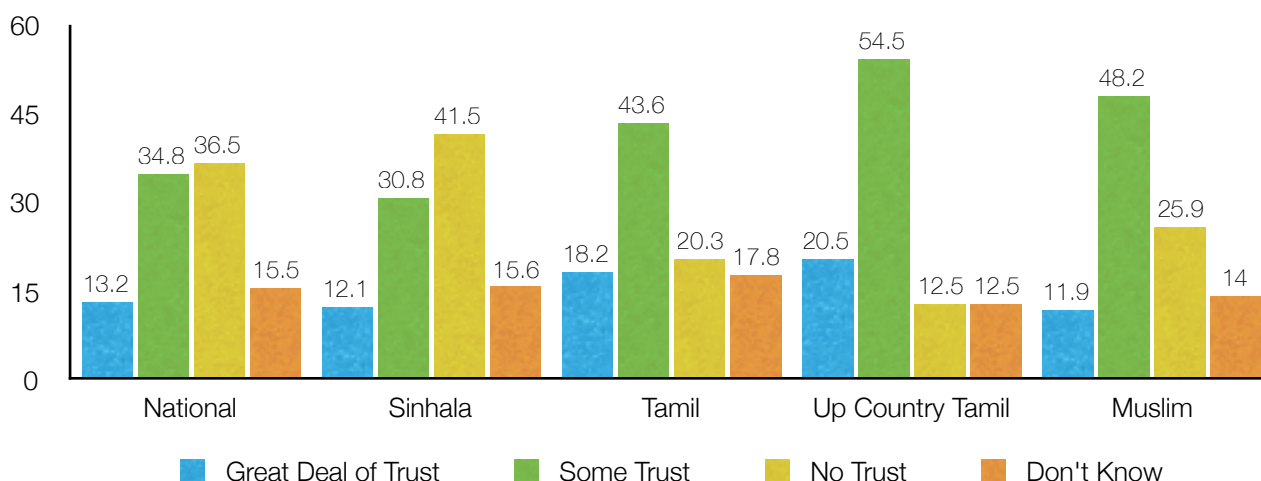


Parliament

Overall only 13.2% of Sri Lankans have a great deal of trust in Parliament while 34.8% have some trust in the same. 36.5% of Sri Lankans have no trust in Parliament. From an ethnic perspective, it is the Sinhala community with 41.5% who has the least trust in Parliament in comparison to 20.3% from the Tamil, 12.5% from the Up Country Tamil and 25.95% from the Muslim communities. Among those who trust Parliament, it is mostly the Up Country Tamil community with 75%, followed by 61.9% of the Tamil community, 60.1% of the Muslim community, and 42.9% of the Sinhala community. (Refer Graph 2.9)

When analysing the findings of the survey, it is evident that the level of mistrust amongst the Sinhala and Muslim communities has increased in February 2016, when compared with the surveys conducted in the past. Previously 13.2% in 2011 and 28.7% in March 2015 from the Sinhala community indicated that they had no trust in the Parliament, and a rise in these figures to 41.5% is seen in February 2016. As for the Muslim community, 23.3% in 2011 and 14.2% in March 2015 were of the opinion that they had no trust in the Parliament. These figures increased to 25.9% in February 2016.

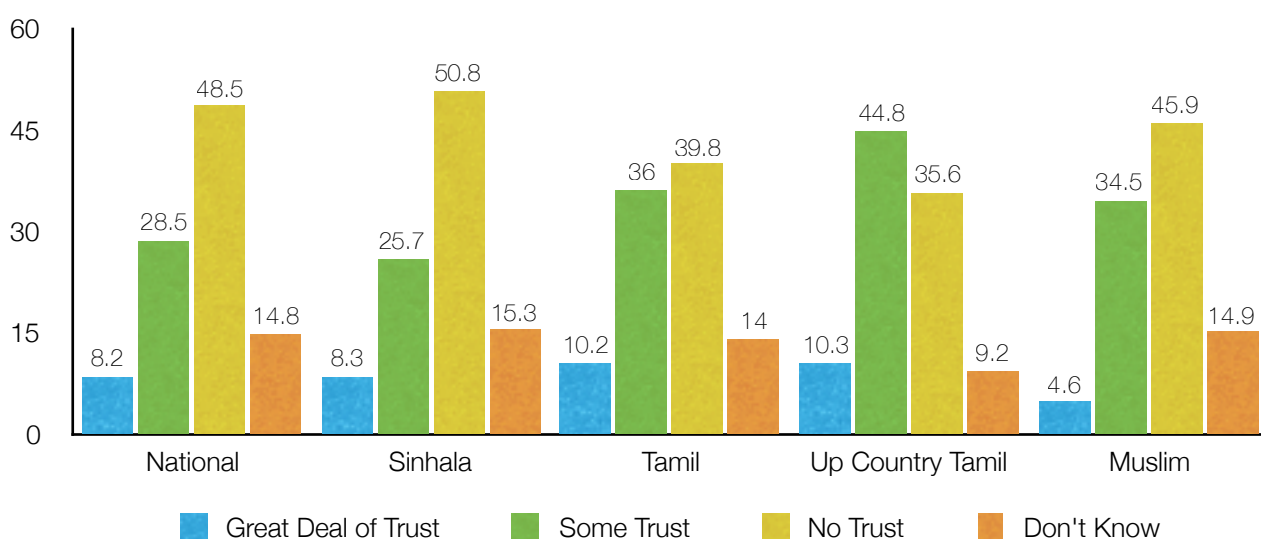
Graph 2.9: How much trust do you have in the Parliament?



Political Parties

Overall, the trust Sri Lankans have in political parties is at a low level, with nearly 50% indicating that they have no trust in the political parties of the country. Only 8.2% of Sri Lankans have a great deal of trust while 28.5% have some trust in the political parties of the country. From an ethnic perspective, the Up Country Tamil community has the most trust in the political parties of the country with 55.2% indicating the same. From those who have the least trust, it is the Sinhala community with 50.8% indicating the same.

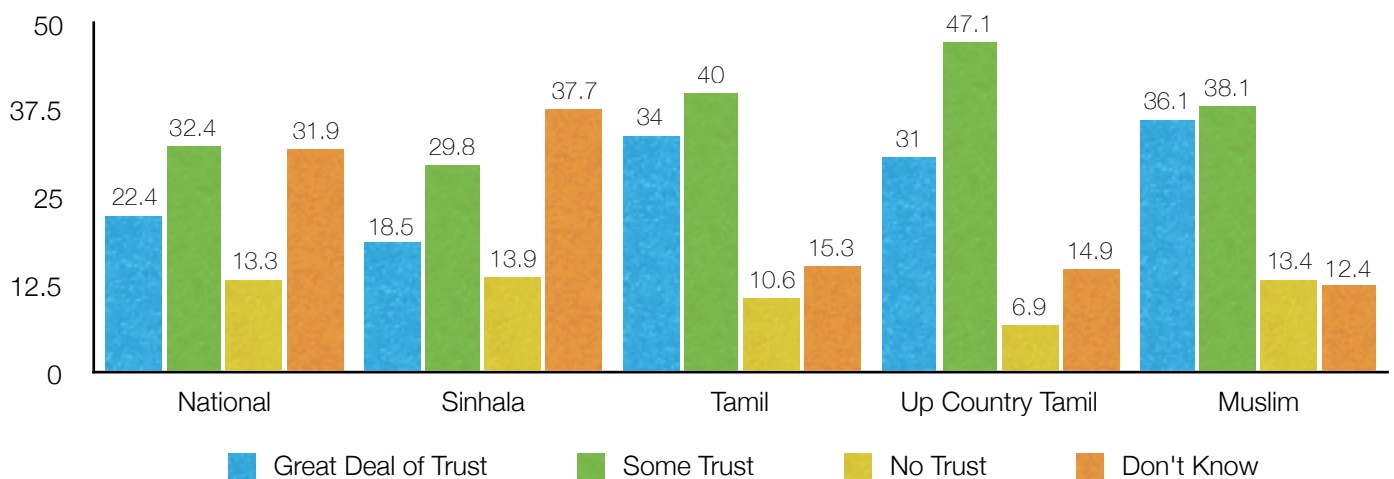
Graph 2.10: How much trust do you have in the Political Parties?



Election Commission

In 2013, 41.7% stated that they trusted the Election Commission with an increase in this percentage in March 2015 to 62.3%. However, a drop in the level of trust is seen in February 2016, with 54.8% indicating the same. While the Up Country Tamil community (78.2%) has the most trust, the Muslim community (13.4%) has the least trust in the Election Commission. (Refer Graph 2.11)

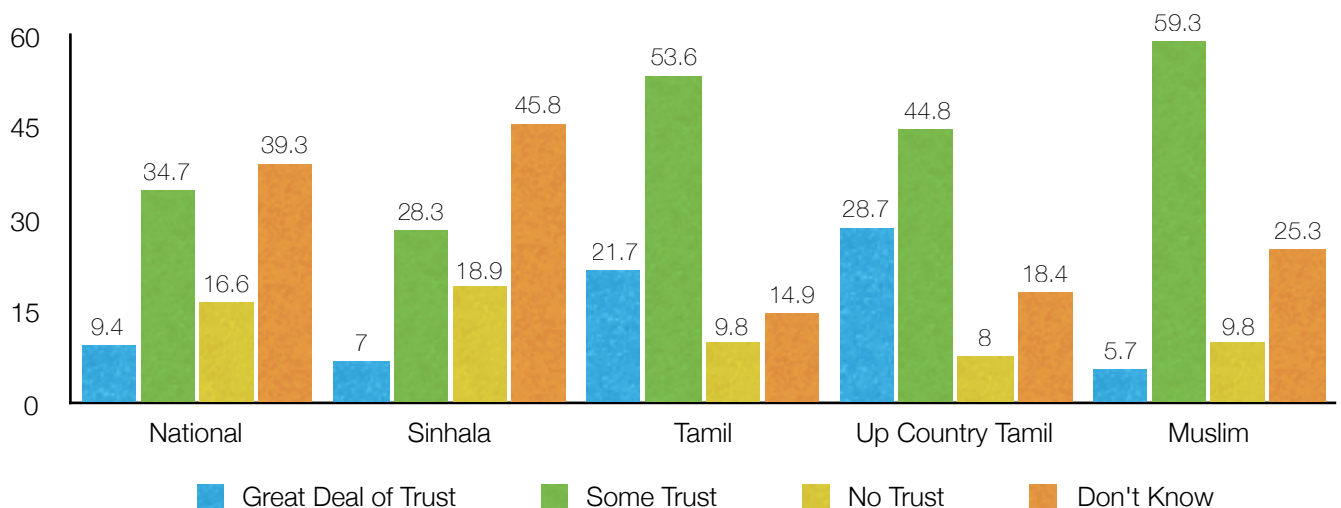
Graph 2.11: How much trust do you have in the Election Commission?



Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO's)

On trust in NGO's, only 9.4% of Sri Lankans have a great deal of trust in NGO's while 34.7% indicate that they have some trust. 16.6% indicate that they have no trust in NGO's. The Tamil community with 75.3% has the most trust in NGO's, as opposed to the Sinhala community with 18.9% who has the least amount of trust in them. (Refer Graph 2.12)

Graph 2.12: How much trust do you have in NGO's?



PERCEPTIONS ON POLITICS

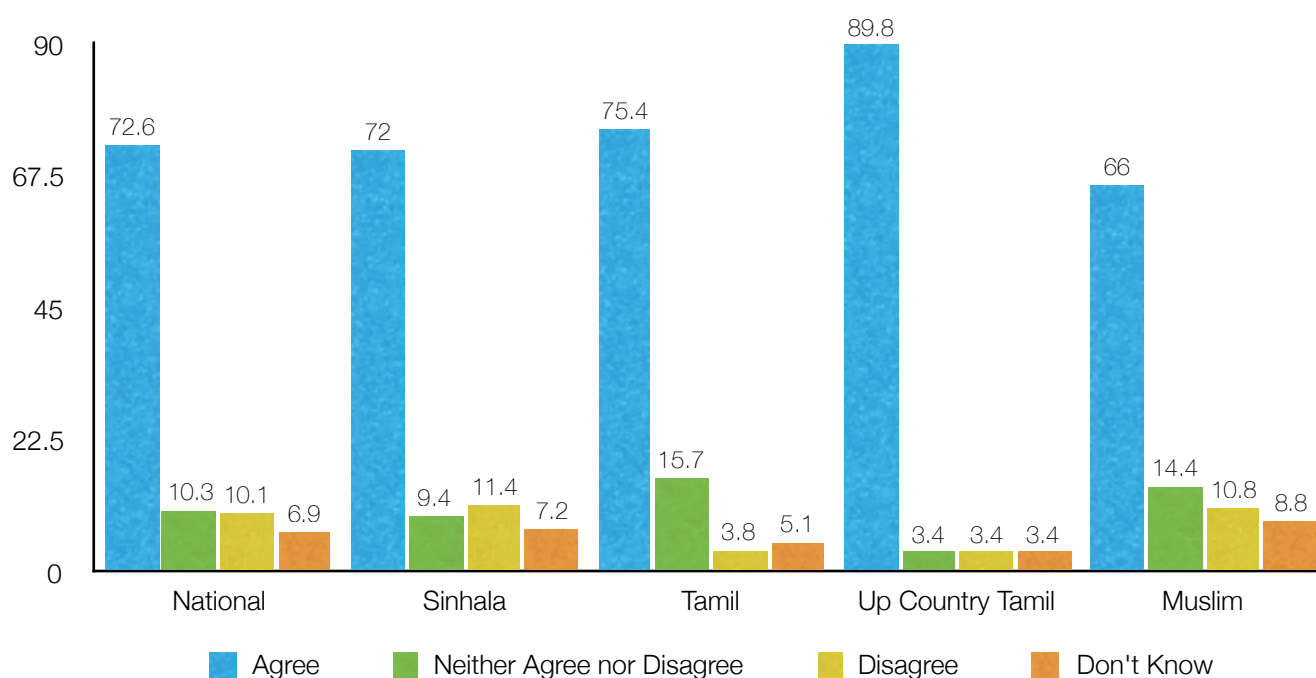
Summary

- While 72.6% of Sri Lankans agree that female representation in Parliament, Provincial Councils, and Local Government Authorities is insufficient, 10.1% disagree with the same.
- On the allocation of a fixed quota for female representation, 70.5% of Sri Lankans believe that there should be quotas for female representation in Parliament, Provincial Councils, and Local Government Authorities, while 9.6% of Sri Lankans do not think that there should be a quota.
- 52% of Sri Lankans are of the opinion that men are both qualified and capable of winning an election in comparison to women, while 23.7% disagree with the same.
- While 51.4% of Sri Lankans are of the opinion that once elected, women have less decision making power than their male counterparts, 21.8% disagree with the same.
- Almost 60% of Sri Lankans are of the opinion that they are completely free to express their feelings about politics, irrespective of where they are and who they are with, while 9.1% indicate that they are not free to do so.
- Nearly 50% of Sri Lankans state that the Constitution should determine the number of Ministers and that there should be no room to increase the number of Ministers in Parliament.
- A large proportion of Sri Lankans (81.4%) indicate that being involved in national level issues by participating in debates in Parliament and formulating legislation is an important function of a Parliamentarian.
- There appears to be a low level of satisfaction among Sri Lankans with regard to the Government's commitment in eradicating corruption in the country, when compared with the survey conducted in October 2015. In October 2015, 49.6% in felt that the Government is committed to eradicating corruption in the country, while only 34.5% of Sri Lankans in February 2016 indicate the same.

Women in Parliament

On female representation in Parliament, Provincial Councils and Local Government Authorities, 72.6% of Sri Lankans agree that female representation is insufficient, while 10.1% disagree with the same. From an ethnic perspective, it is the Up Country Tamil community with 89.8% who believe that female representation is insufficient, followed by 75.4% from the Tamil community, 72% from the Sinhala community and 66% from the Muslim community. Of those who are of the opinion that there is sufficient female representation, opinion in the Sinhala community is highest at 11.4%, followed by 10.8% from the Muslim, 3.8% from the Tamil and 3.4% from the Up Country Tamil communities. (Refer Graph 3.1)

Graph 3.1: The number of female representation in Parliament, Provincial Councils, and Local Government Authorities is insufficient

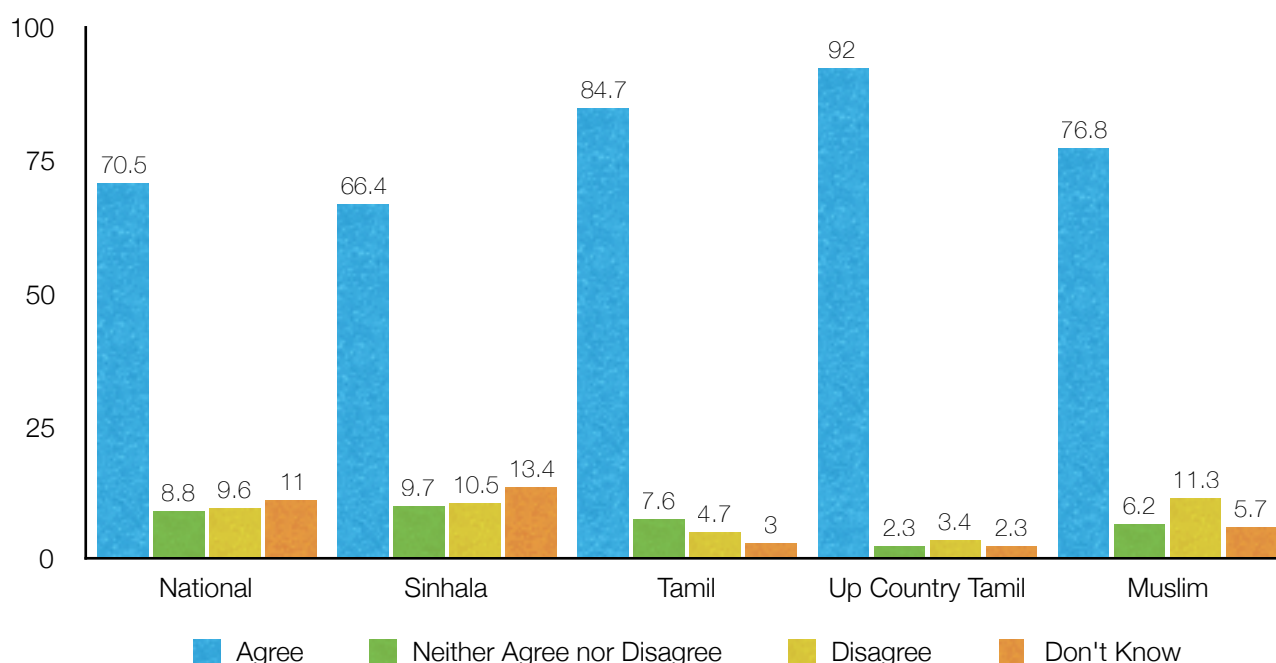


Majority of Sri Lankans (70.5%) believe that there should be quotas for female representation in Parliament, Provincial Councils, and Local Government Authorities, while only 9.6% of Sri Lankans disagree. From an ethnic perspective, it is the Up Country Tamil community who mostly agree on quotas for women with 92% indicating the same. From those who mostly

disagree on a quota for female representation, it is the Muslim community with 11.3% indicating the same. (Refer Graph 3.2)

When comparing the data with the surveys conducted in the past, 78.6% of Sri Lankans in 2013, 79% in 2014 and 79.4% in March 2015 indicated that there should be a fixed quota for women, this figure dropped in October 2015 to 64.8% with a slight increase to 70.5% in February 2016.

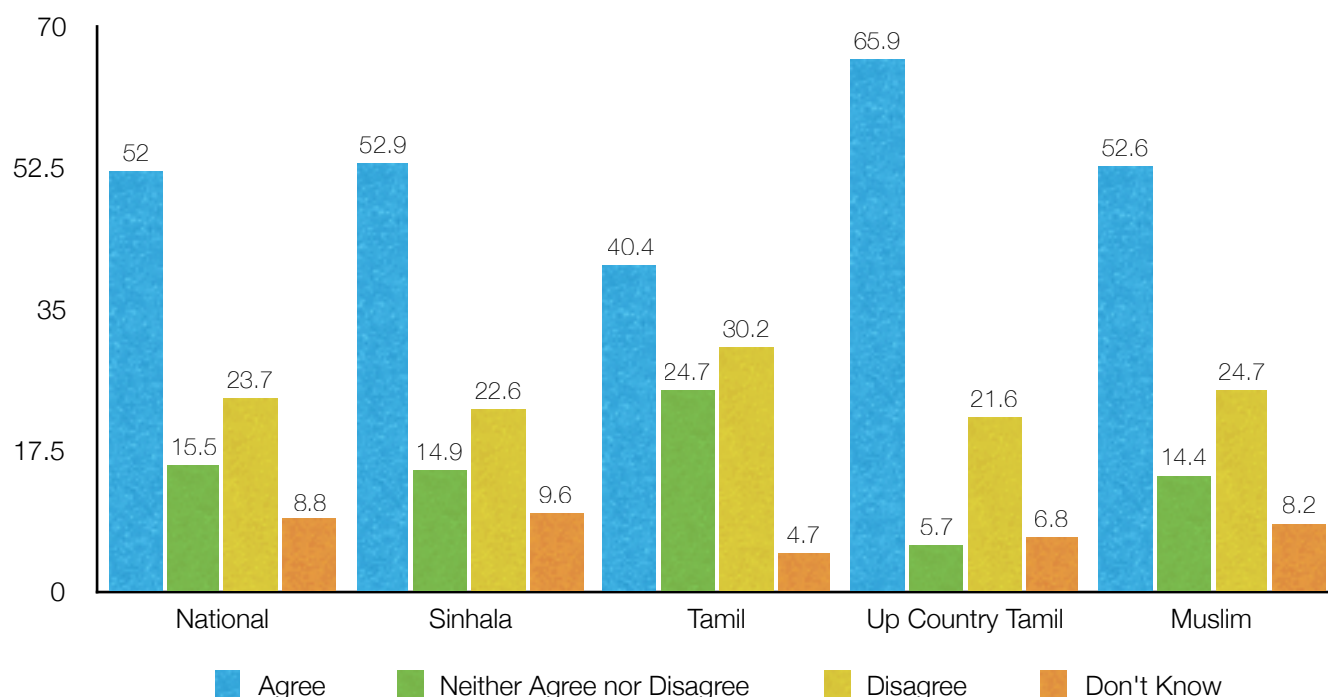
Graph 3.2: There should be quotas for female representation in the Parliament, Provincial Councils, and Local Government Authorities



The survey sought to evaluate the impact a candidate's gender and related attributes have on winning an electoral contest. 54% of Sri Lankans are of the opinion that men are both more qualified and capable of winning an election than women, while 23.7% disagree with the same.

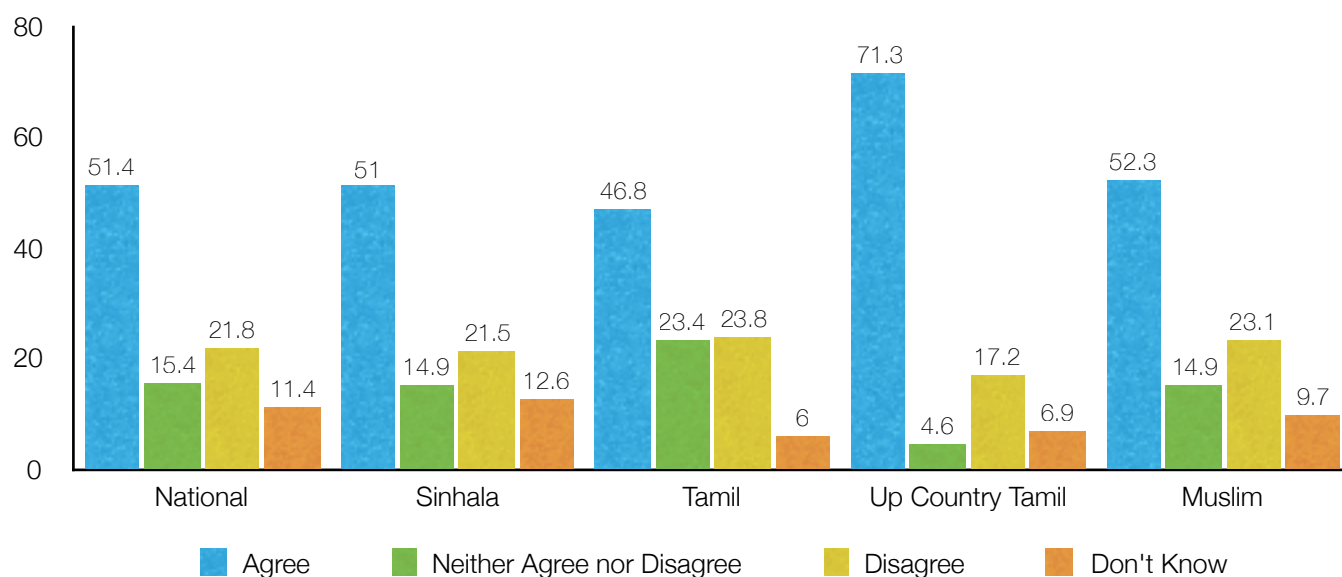
From an ethnic perspective, it is the Up Country Tamil community with 65.9% who mostly agree that in comparison to women, men are both more qualified and capable of winning an election, while it is the Tamil community with 30.2% who mostly disagree with the same. (Refer Graph 3.3)

Graph 3.3: Men, are both qualified and capable of winning an election than women



Around 50% of Sri Lankans are of the opinion that once elected, women have less decision making power than their male counterparts, while 21.8% of Sri Lankans disagree with the same. From an ethnic perspective, it is the Up Country Tamil community with 71.3% who mostly believe that women have less decision making power than their male counterparts whilst 23.8% from the Tamil community disagree with the same. (Refer Graph 3.4)

Graph 3.4: Once elected, women have less decision making power than their male counterparts



Freedom of Expression

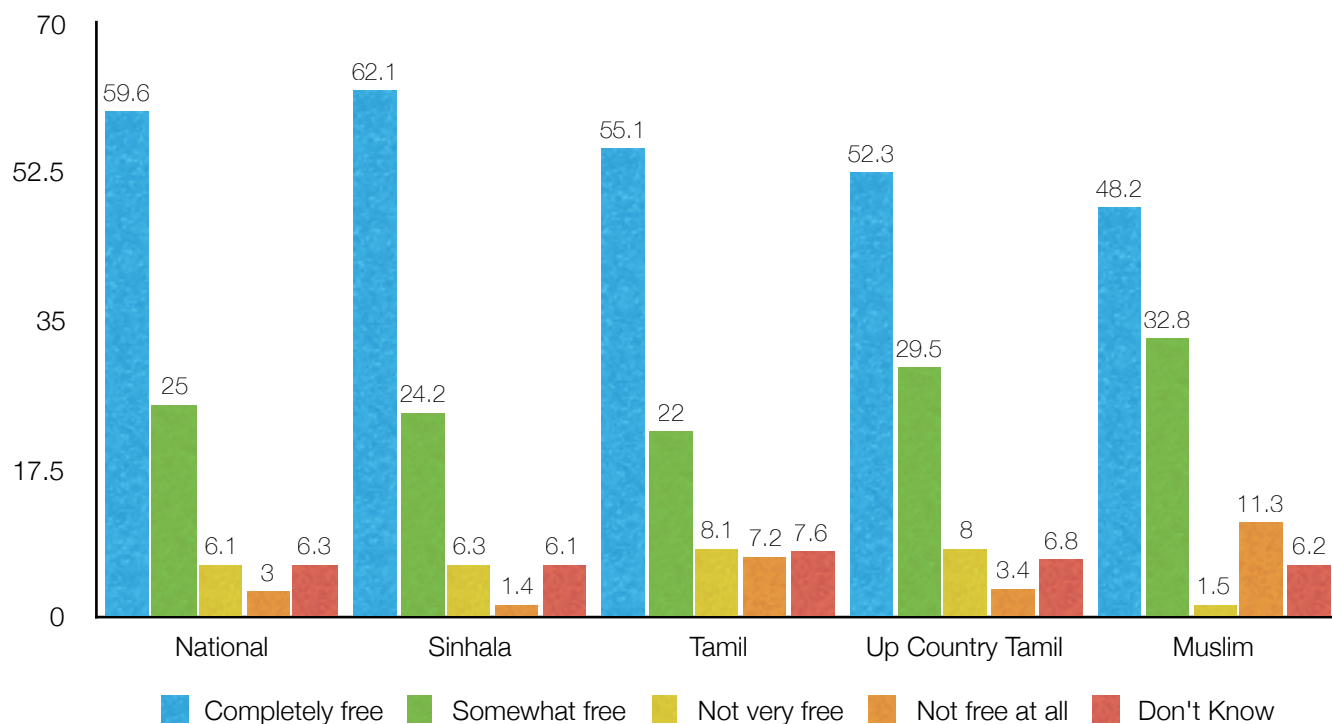
The survey sought to capture the level of freedom the public believed it has in expressing political opinion, to join a political organisation of choice, voting and protesting/ attending a demonstration against social and political injustice.

The respondents were asked as to how free they felt to express political opinion, irrespective of where they are and who they are with. 59.6% of Sri Lankans said that they are completely free while 25% indicate that they are somewhat free to express their feelings about politics, irrespective of where they are and who they are with. 9.1% of Sri Lankans indicate that they are not free.

From an ethnic perspective, it is the Sinhala community with 86.2% who mostly feel free to express their views about politics, irrespective of where they are and whom they are with. This figure is followed by 81.8% from the Up Country Tamil community, 81% from the Muslim community and 77.1% from the Tamil community. Of those who indicate that they are not free, it is mostly the Tamil community with 15.3%, followed by 12.8% from the Muslim community, 11.4% from the Up Country Tamil community and 7.7% from the Sinhala community. (*Refer Graph 3.5*)

When comparing the data with the surveys conducted the past, there appears to be an increase in the level of freedom the respondents feel they have to express their views on politics irrespective of where they are and who they are with. It is important to note that in February 2016 the Tamil community seems to be more confident, with only 15.3% indicating that they do not feel free to express their views on politics, when compared to the 32.2% in 2011.

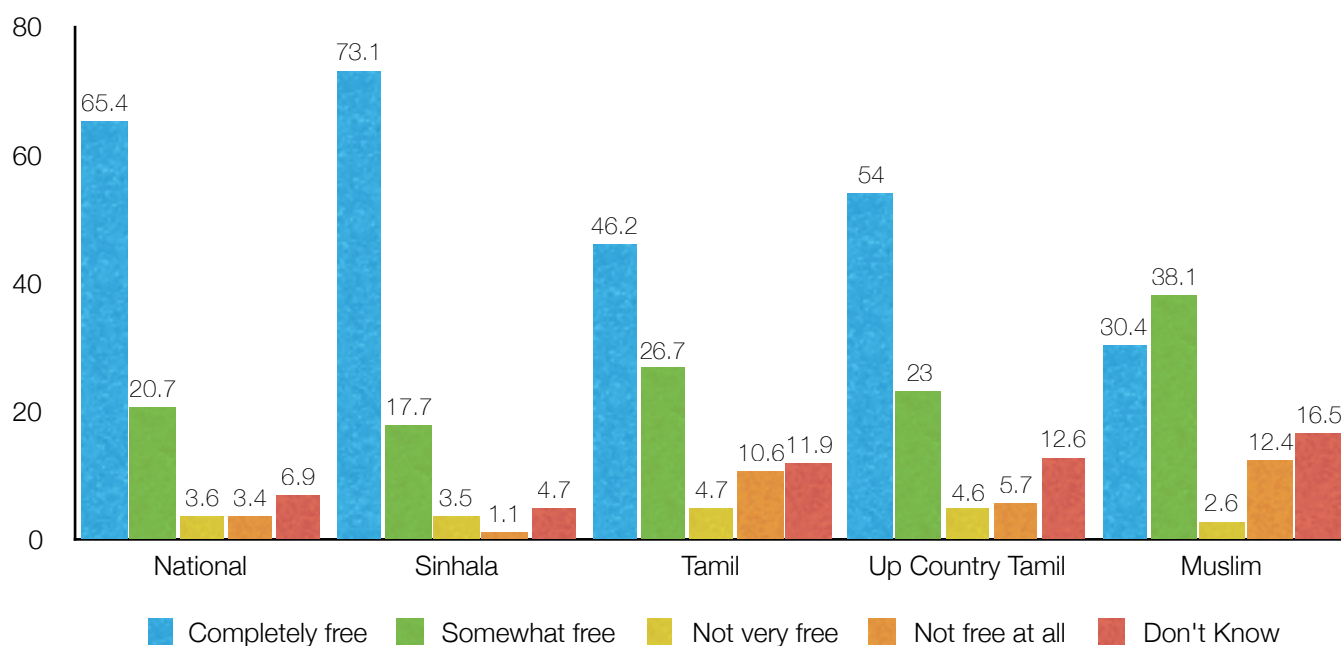
Graph 3.5: How free are you to express your feelings about politics, irrespective of where you are and who you're with?



When asked to indicate as to how free they are to join any political organisation of choice, 86.1% of Sri Lankans indicate that they are free (with 65.4% stating that they are completely free). When comparing the data of the 2013 survey, it is evident that Sri Lankans feel more free at present to join any political organisation they desired. While 71.9% in 2013, indicated that they were free to join any political organisation they desired, it increased to 86.1% in February 2016.

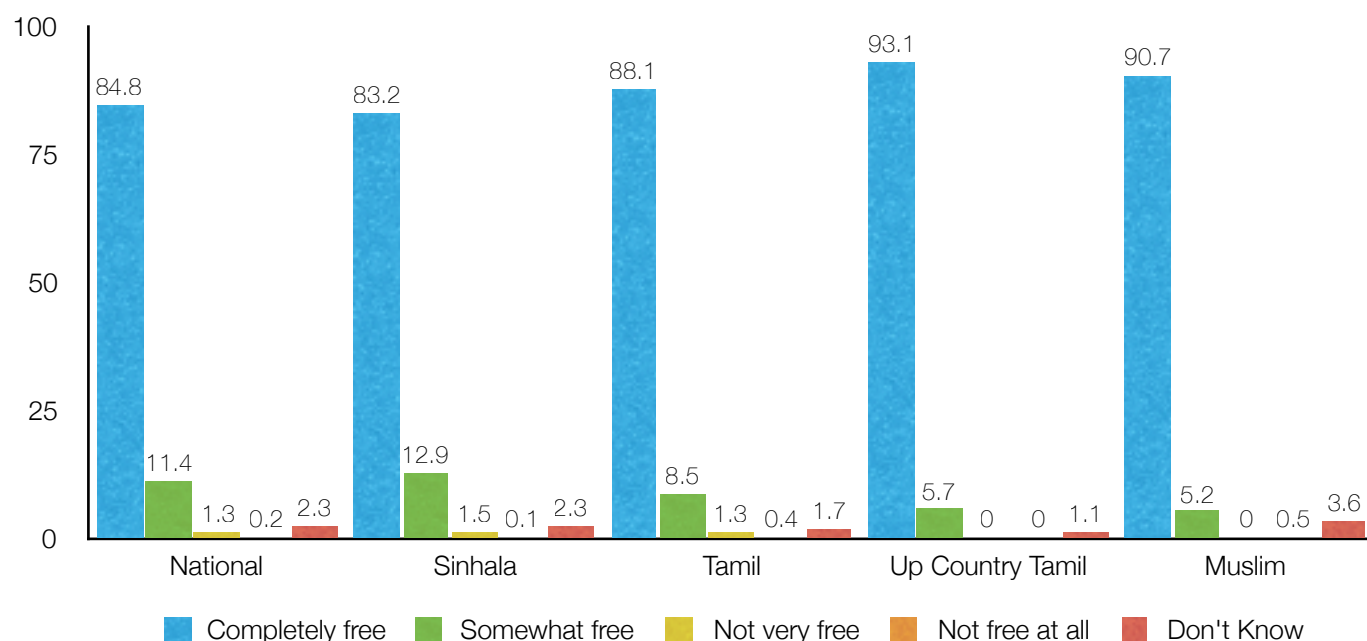
From an ethnic perspective, it is the Sinhala community (90.7%) who mostly feel free to join any political organisation they want to, while 12.6% from the Muslim community and 10.6% from the Tamil community say that they are not free at all. (Refer Graph 3.6)

Graph 3.5: How free are you to join any political organisation you want?



Almost 85% of Sri Lankans believe that they are completely free and 11.4% feel somewhat free to choose whom to vote for without feeling pressured. From an ethnic perspective, 96.1% from the Sinhala community, 96.6% from the Tamil community, 98.9% from the Up Country Tamil community and 95.9% from the Muslim community feel free to vote for without feeling pressured. (Refer Graph 3.7)

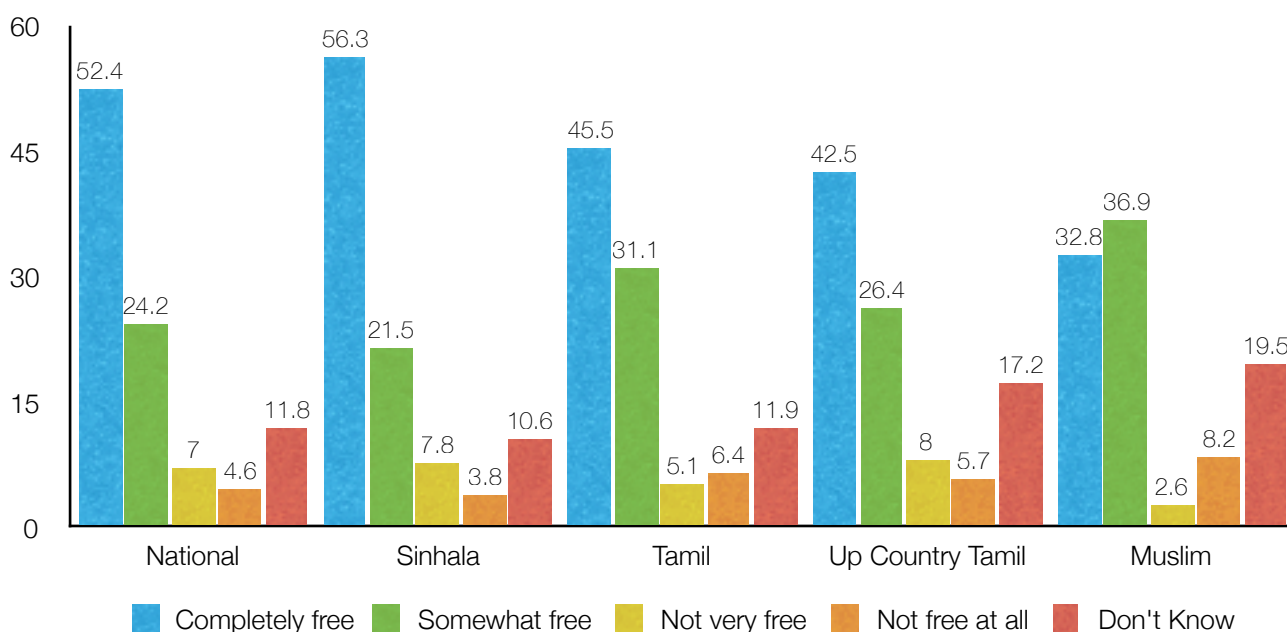
Graph 3.7: To choose who to vote for without feeling pressured



When asked to indicate how free the respondents felt to protest/ attend a demonstration against social injustice, 52.4% of Sri Lankans indicate that they are completely free, while 24.2% indicate that they are somewhat free. 11.6% of Sri Lankans indicate that they are not free do so. (Refer Graph 3.8)

When comparing the data from the surveys conducted in the past, it is evident that there is a decrease in the percentage of Sri Lankans who feel free to protest / attend a demonstration against social injustice. While 56% in 2013 and 69.4% in March 2015 expressed that they were free, this figure has dropped to 52.4% in February 2016.

Graph 3.8: How free are you to protest/ attend a demonstration against social injustice (rising I the cost of living, increase in bus fares etc)

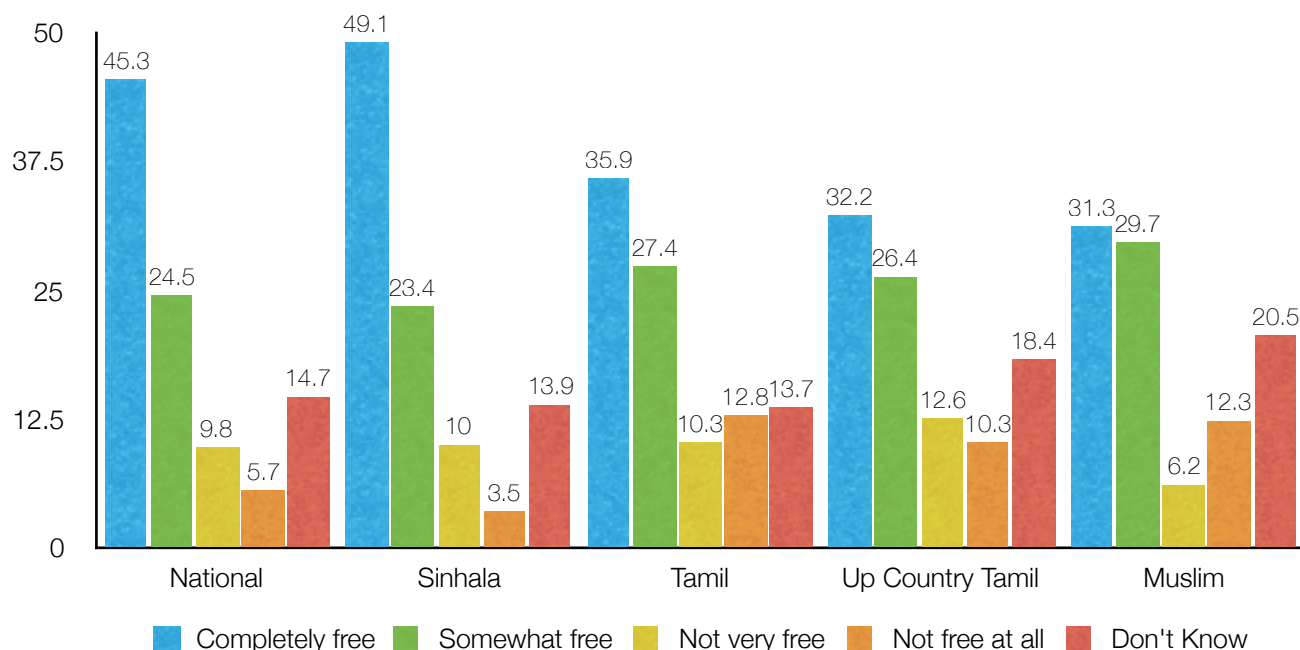


While 69.8% of Sri Lankans indicate that they feel free to protest/ attend a demonstration against political injustice, 15.5% indicate that they do not feel free to do so. From an ethnic perspective, a larger proportion from the Sinhala community (72.5%) feel free to protest/ attend a demonstration against political injustice as opposed to the 23.1% from the Tamil community who feel the least free to do so. (Refer Graph 3.9)

When comparing the data with the survey conducted in 2014, there appears to be an overall rise in the percentage of Sri Lankans who feel free to protest/ attend a demonstration against

political injustice. As such 47.8% in 2014 indicated that they were free, while this figure rose to nearly 70% in February 2016.

Graph 3.9: How free are you to protest/ attend a demonstration against political injustice?



Media Freedom

The survey sought to evaluate public perceptions on negative reporting and as to whether the media should constantly report issues like corruption and mistakes made by the Government. While 82.3% of Sri Lankans state that news media should constantly investigate and report on corruption and the mistakes made by the Government, 6.8% state that too much reporting on negative events, like corruption will harm the country. (Refer Graph 3.10)

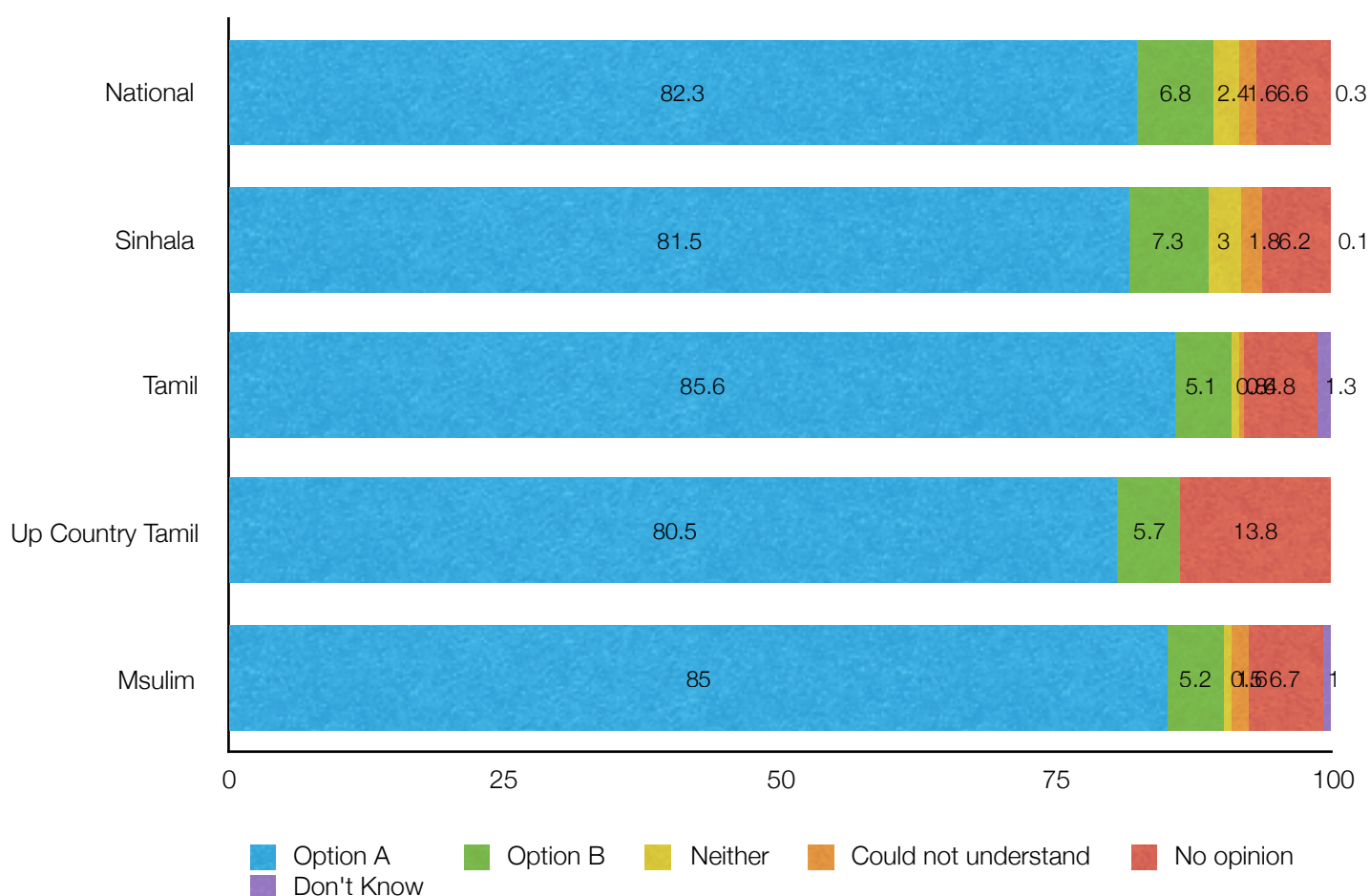
When analysing the results of the surveys conducted in the past, it is evident that there has been an increase in the percentage of respondents who believe that news media should constantly investigate and report on corruption and the mistakes made by the Government. While 72.6% in 2011, 73% in 2013 and 78.6% in March 2015 indicated that news media should investigate and report on corruption and mistakes made by the Government, this figure rose to 82.3% in February 2016.

From an ethnic perspective, 81.5% from the Sinhala community, 85.6% from the Tamil community, 80.5% from the Up Country Tamil community and 85% from the Muslim community are of the opinion that news media should constantly investigate and report on corruption and the mistakes by the Government.

Graph 3.10: Which statement is most agreeable to you?

Option A: The news media should constantly investigate and report on corruption and the mistakes made by the Government

Option B: Too much reporting on negative events, like corruption only harms the country

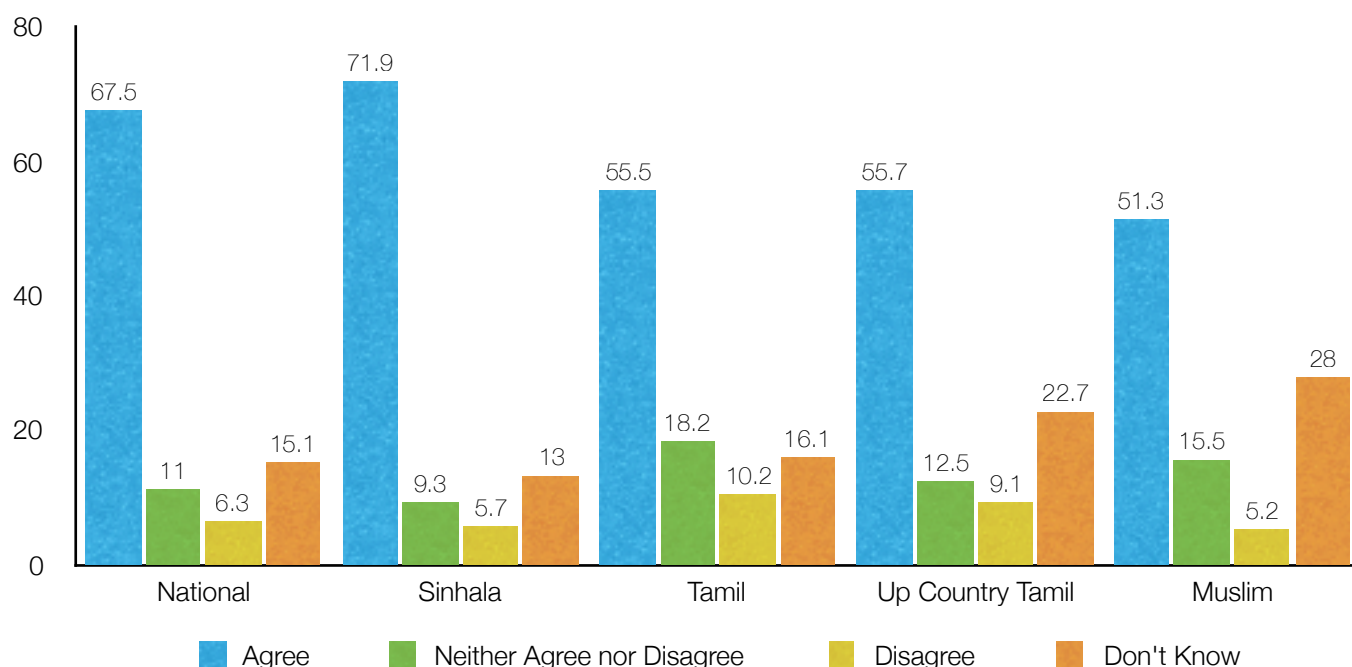


Political Efficacy

While 67.5% of Sri Lankans agree that if a person is dissatisfied with the policies of the Government, he/ she has a duty to do something about it, 6.3% of Sri Lankans disagree with the same. From an ethnic perspective, this view is held by 71.9% from the Sinhala community, 55.5% from the Tamil community, 55.7% from the Up Country Tamil community and 51.3% from the Muslim community. From those who disagree, it is mostly the Tamil community with 10.2% indicating the same. (Refer Graph 3.11)

When comparing the data with the surveys conducted in the past, there appears to be a slight increase in the percentage of Sri Lankans who agree - while 60% in 2011 and 64.9% in 2014 agreed that if a person is dissatisfied with the policies of the Government, he/she has a duty to do something about it, this figure rose to 67.5% in February 2016.

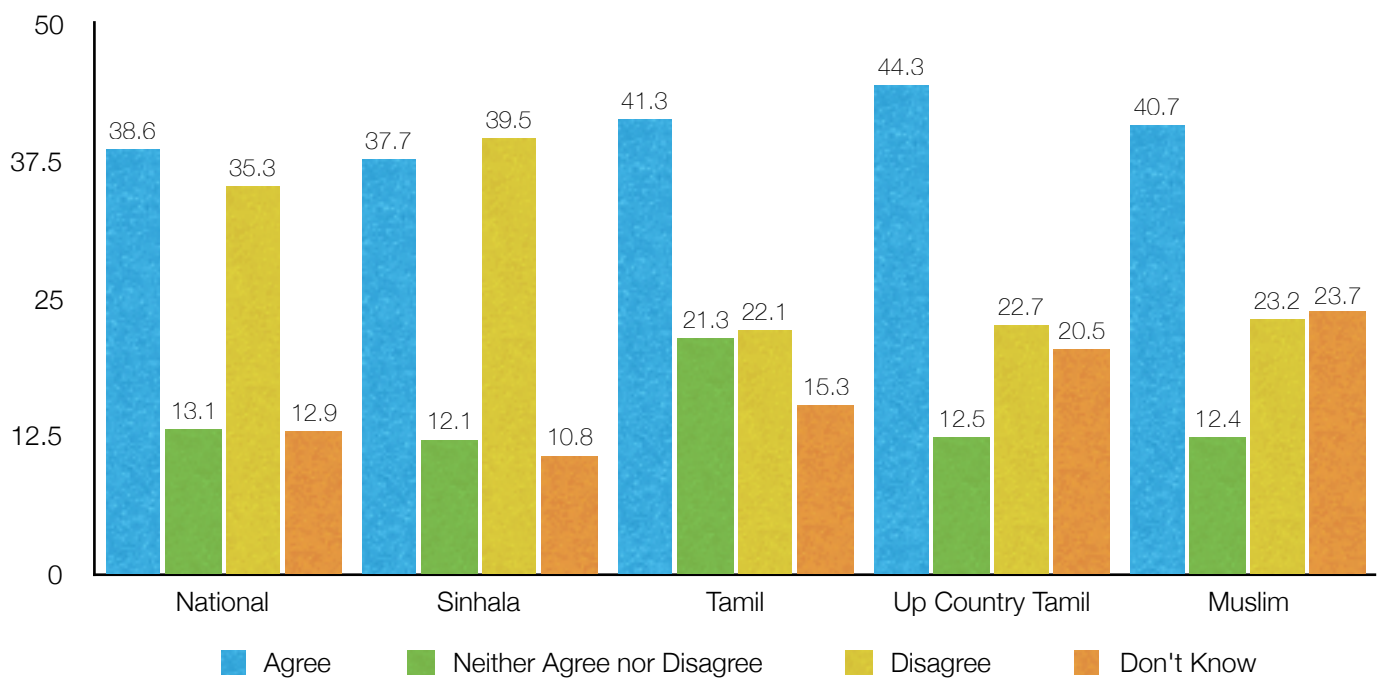
Graph 3.11: If a person is dissatisfied with the policies of the government he/ she has a duty to something about it



While 38.6% of Sri Lankans agree that they have no say in what the Government does, 35.3% believe that they do have a say. From an ethnic perspective, 37.7% from the Sinhala community, 41.3% from the Tamil community, 44.3% from the Up Country Tamil community and 40.7% from the Muslim community agree that they have no say in what the Government does. From those who disagree, the respondents consist of 39.5% from the Sinhala, 22.1% from the Tamil, 22.7% from the Up Country Tamil and 23.2% from the Muslim communities. (Refer Graph 3.12)

When analysing the data with the surveys conducted in the past, it is evident that there was a clear decline in the percentage of Sri Lankans (30.1% in 2013, 28.1% in 2014 and 19.7% in March 2015) who agree that they have no say in what the Government does, with a notable rise in the percentage of respondents in February 2016 to 38.6%.

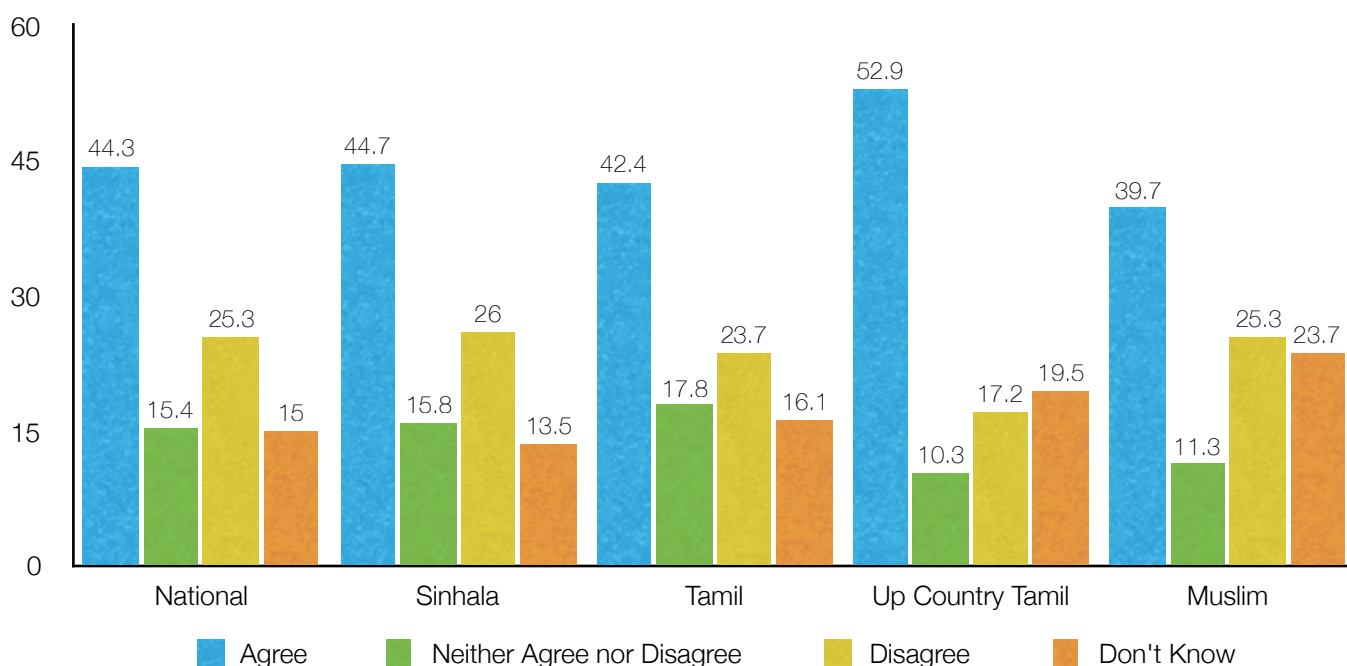
Graph 3.12: People like me have no say in what the government does



If an unjust law was passed in Sri Lanka, 44.3% of Sri Lankans believe that there is nothing they can do about it, while 25.3% disagree with the same. From an ethnic perspective, 44.7% from the Sinhala, 42.4% from the Tamil, 52.9% from the Up Country Tamil and 39.7% from the Muslim communities believe that there is nothing they can do if an unjust law is passed by the Government. (Refer Graph 3.13)

When comparing the data with the surveys conducted in the past, it is evident that there has been an increase in the percentage of Sri Lankans who believe that there is nothing they can do if an unjust law is passed in Sri Lanka. While this view was held by 30% in 2013 and 29% in 2014, this figure rose to 44.3% in February 2016.

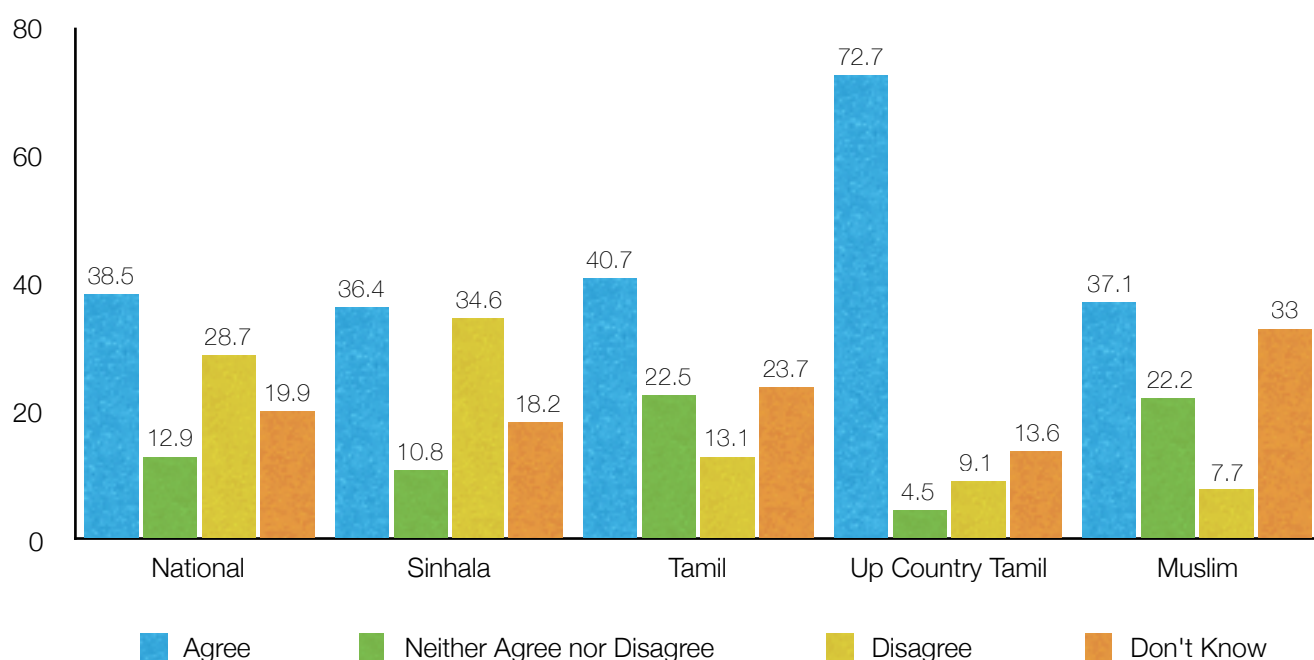
Graph 3.13: If an unjust law was passed by the Government I could do nothing about it



While 38.5% of Sri Lankans agree that it does not really matter which political party is in power as it will not affect their lives, 28.7% disagree. From an ethnic perspective, 36.4% from the Sinhala community, 40.7% from the Tamil community, 72.7% from the Up Country Tamil community, 37.1% from the Muslim community agree that it does not matter which political party is in power, 34.6% from the Sinhala, 13.1% from the Tamil, 9.1% from the Up country Tamil and 7.7% from the Muslim communities disagree with the same. (Refer Graph 3.14)

In 2011, 7.2% from the Sinhala, 25.9% from the Tamil, 35.1% from the Up Country Tamil and 25.3% from the Muslim communities agreed that it doesn't matter as to which political party is in power, as it has no impact on their lives, and when compared to the data from February 2016 it is a noteworthy increase in those who agree that it does not matter.

Graph 3.14: It doesn't really matter which party is in power, because it will not affect our lives



Number of Ministers in Parliament

Nearly 50% of Sri Lankans say that the Constitution should determine the number of Ministers in Parliament and that there should be no room to increase the number, while 17.6% indicate that the Government should have some control over determining the number of Ministers in Parliament. However, 8.3% of Sri Lankans are of the opinion that the Government should have complete freedom in deciding the number of Cabinet Ministers, Deputy Ministers and other Ministers in Parliament.

From an ethnic perspective, 56.3% from the Sinhala community, 31.4% from the Tamil community, 25.3% from the Up Country Tamil community and 21.1% from the Muslim community are of the opinion that the Constitution should determine the number of Ministers

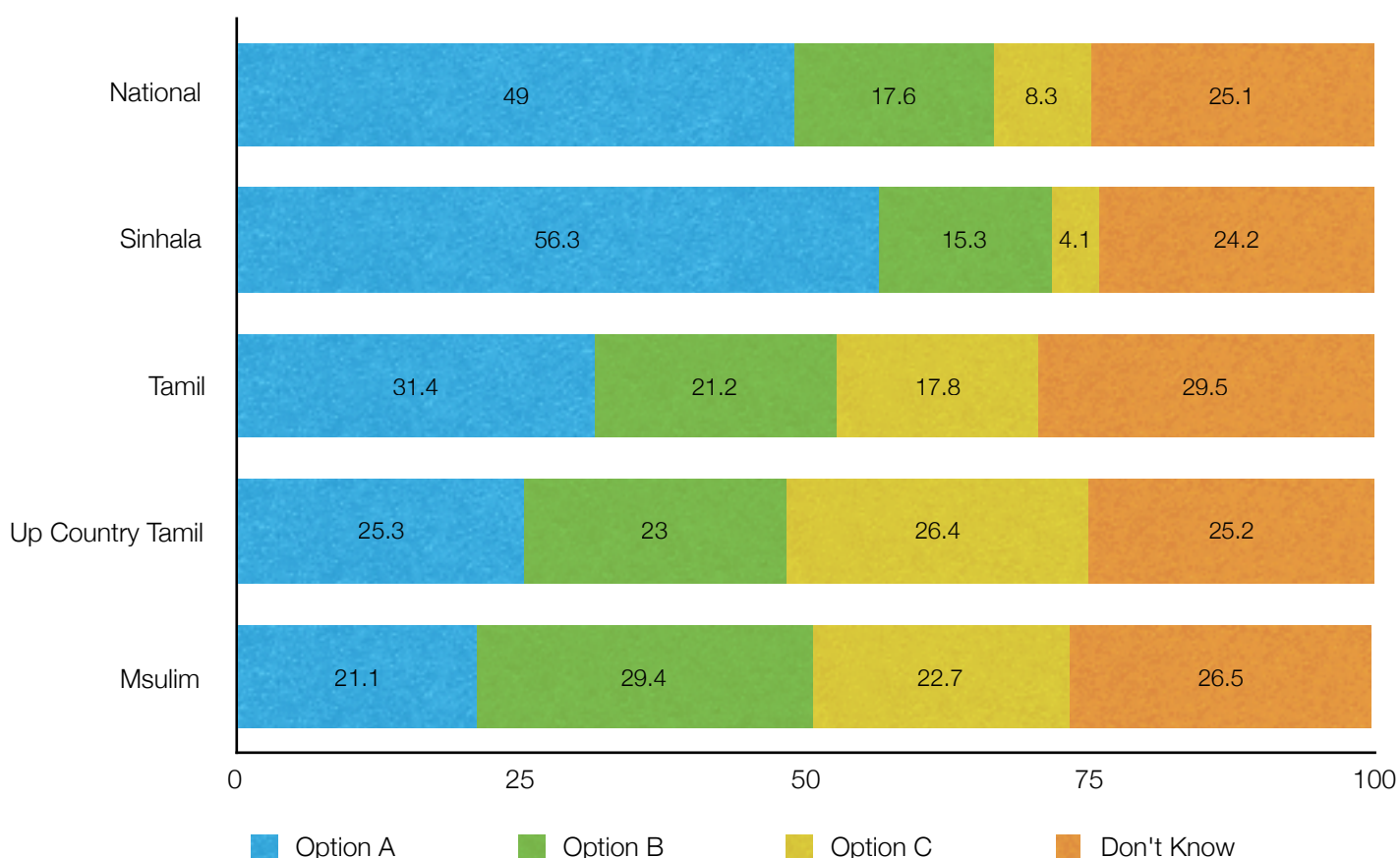
and that there should be no room to increase the number. As for the Government having control over determining the number of Ministers, 15.3% from the Sinhala community, 21.2% from the Tamil community, 23% from the Up Country Tamil community and 29.4% from the Muslim community indicate the same. 4.1% from the Sinhala, 17.8% from the Tamil, 26.4% from the Up Country Tamil and 22.7% from the Muslim communities are of the opinion that the Government should have complete freedom in deciding the number of Ministers in Parliament. (Refer Graph 3.15)

Graph 3.15: Please select the statement that you agree with the most.

Option A: The Constitution should determine the number of ministers and there should be no room to increase the number

Option B: The Government should have some control over determining the number of Ministers

Option C: The Government should have complete freedom in deciding the number of Ministers



Choosing a Parliamentary Representative

When choosing a Parliamentary representative, 28% of Sri Lankans prefer their representative to be from the same geographical area as themselves. This figure consists of 18.4% from the Sinhala, 60.9% from the Tamil, 60.2% from the Up Country Tamil and 52.1% from the Muslim communities.

38.2% of Sri Lankans indicate that their representative to the Parliament should represent their political ideologies. This includes 44.3% from the Sinhala, 17.4% from the Tamil, 25% from the Up Country Tamil and 20.1% from the Muslim communities.

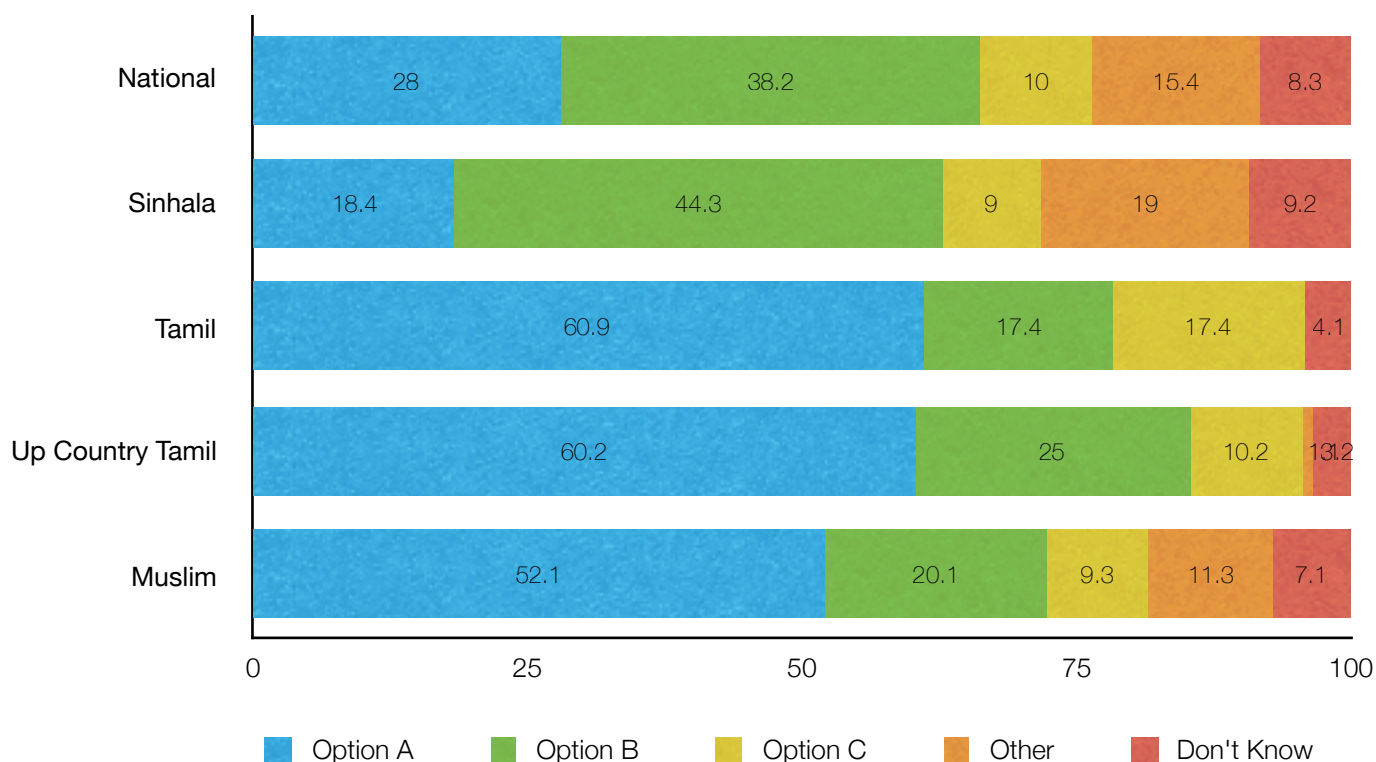
10% of Sri Lankans indicate that their representatives to the Parliament should represent their identity such as their ethnicity, caste or class. This figure consists of 9% from the Sinhala, 17.4% from the Tamil, 10.2% from the Up Country Tamil and 9.3% from the Muslim communities. (Refer Graph 3.16)

Graph 3.16: From the following, please select one of the factors that you find in common with yourself when choosing your representative to the Parliament.

Option A: The Geographical Area

Option B: Political Ideologies

Option C: Identity (Class, Ethnicity, Religion)



Functions performed by Members of Parliament

The respondents were given a list of functions performed by Parliamentarians, and were asked to rate the level of importance of each of those functions.

A majority of Sri Lankans (83.3%) believe it is important that Members of Parliament ensure that development activities within the districts are carried out by state agencies. From an ethnic perspective, it is mostly the Up Country Tamil community with 86.2% who believe that it is important that that ensure that it is carried out.

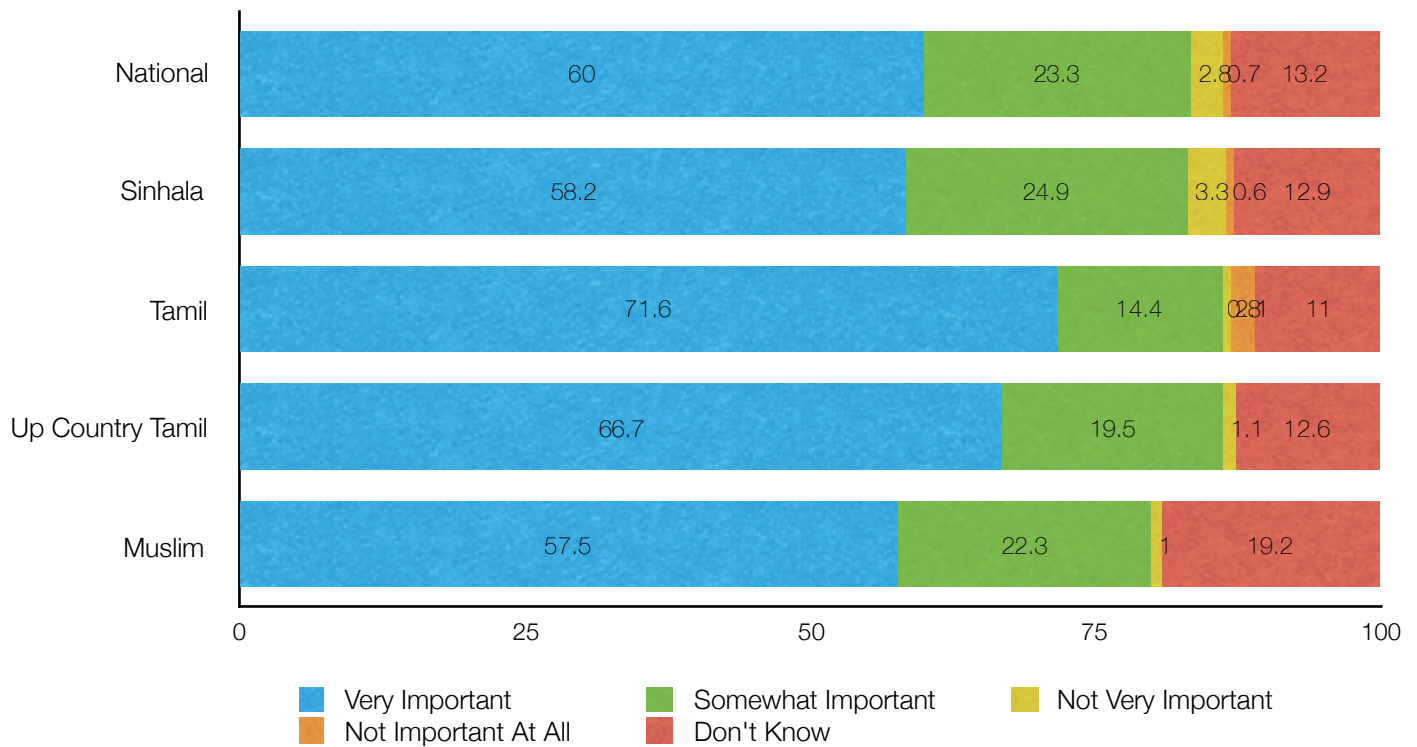
85.5% of Sri Lankans believe that it is important for Members of Parliament to use their decentralised budgets to carry out development activities within the district. From an ethnic perspective, 85.6% from the Sinhala community, 86.4% from the Tamil community, 89.7% from the Up Country Tamil community and 81.3% from the Muslim community hold this view.

A large proportion of Sri Lankans (81.4%) indicate that being involved in national level issues by participating in debates in Parliament and formulating legislation is an important function of a Parliamentarian. From an ethnic perspective, 80.6% from the Sinhala community, 86.4% from the Tamil community, 85.1% from the Up Country Tamil community and 79.9% from the Muslim community indicate that it is important for Parliamentarians to be involved in national level issues by participating in debates in Parliament and formulating legislation.

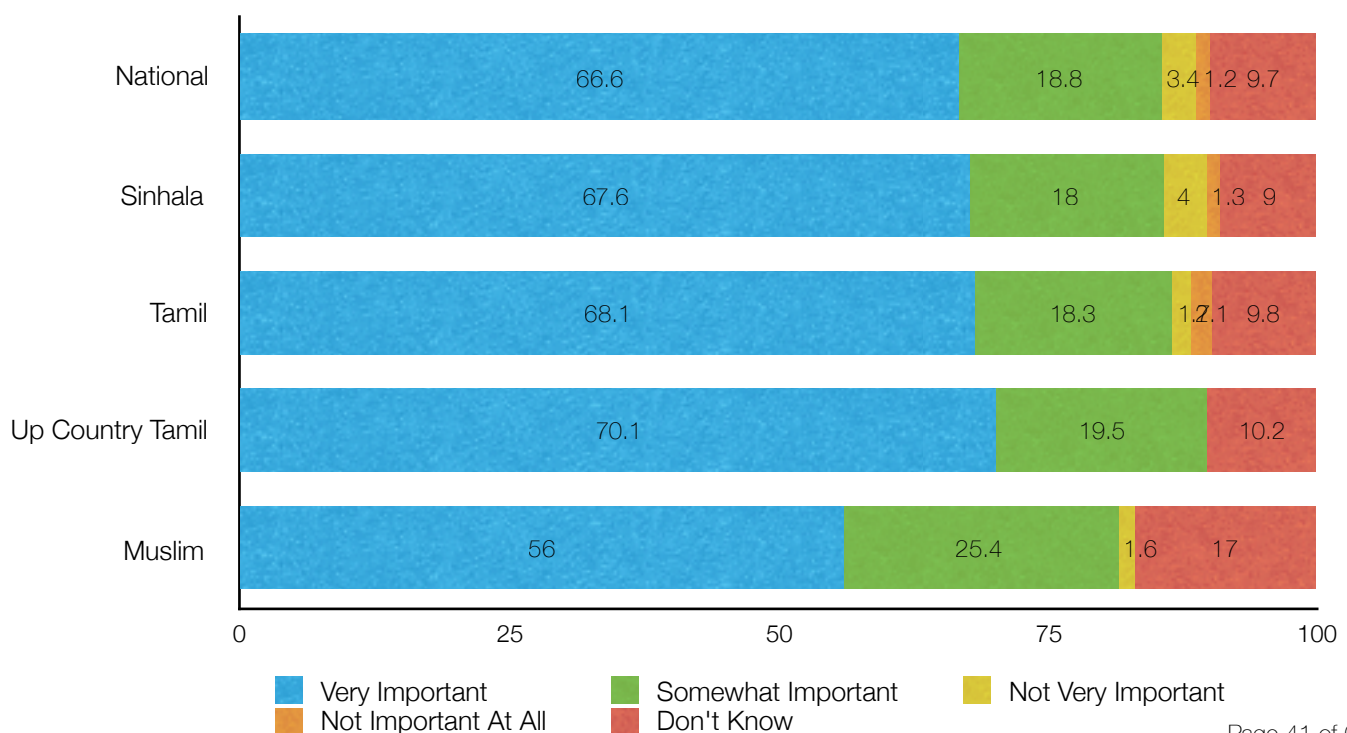
While 61.3% of Sri Lankans consider it to be very important, 19.4% indicate that it is somewhat important for Parliamentarians to ensure that the executive arm of the Government (including Ministries/ Government Authorities and Departments) provides the public with the relevant services required. From an ethnic perspective, 90.8% from the Up Country Tamil community, 87.3% from the Tamil community, 79.9% from the Muslim community and 79.2% from the Sinhala community indicate that it is important for Parliamentarians to ensure that the executive arm of the Government provides relevant services to the citizens of the country.
(Refer Graph 3.17)

Graph 3.17: Please indicate the importance of the different functions performed by Members of Parliament -

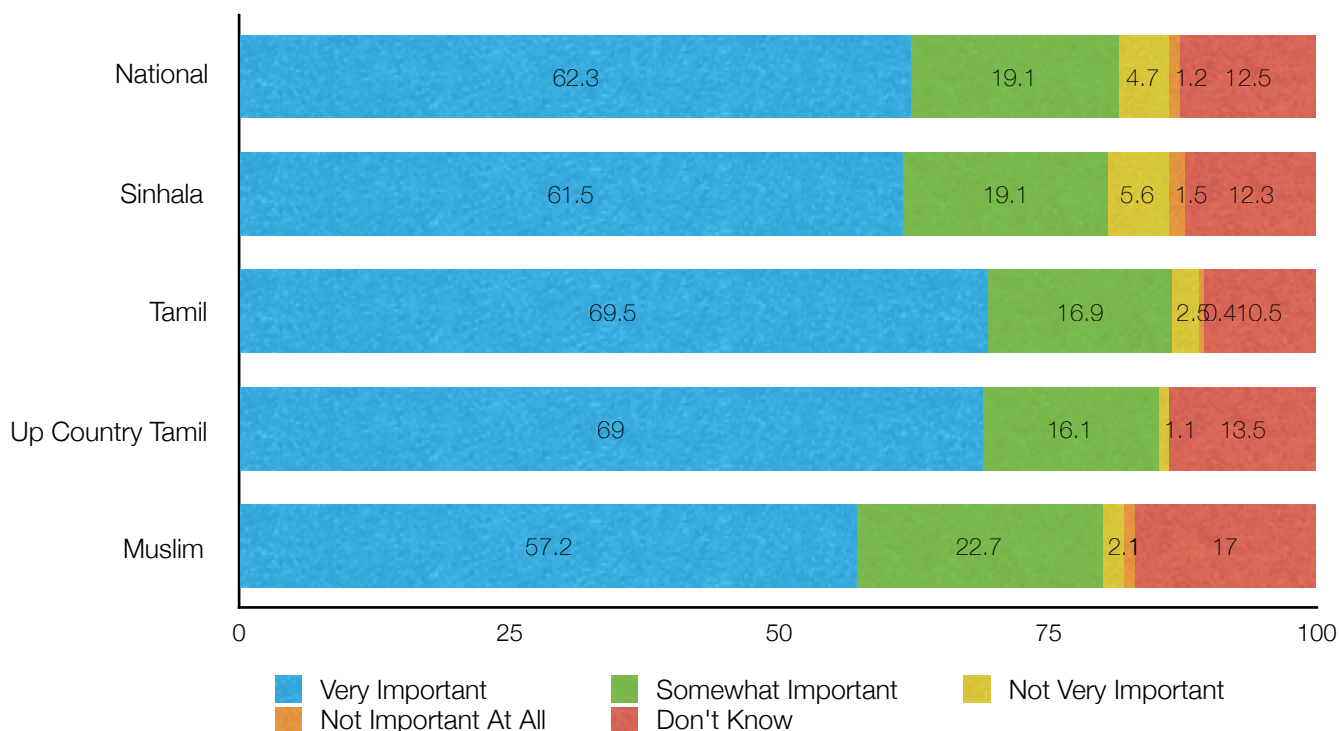
Option A: Ensure the development activities within the districts are being carried out by state agencies



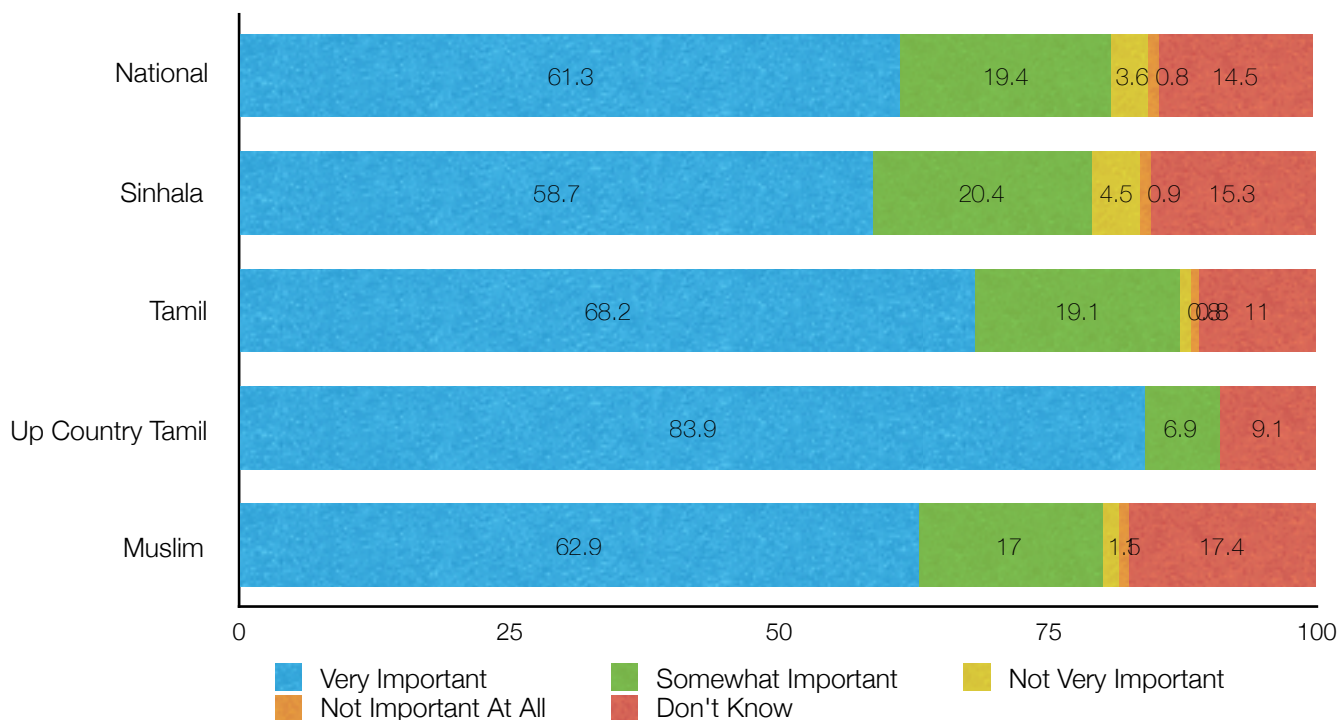
Option B : Use his/ her decentralised budget to carry out development activities within the district



Option C: Be involved with national level issues including through participating in debates in Parliament and formulating legislation



Option D: Ensure that the executive arm of the Government (including Ministries/ government authorities and departments) deliver relevant services to citizens



Corruption

The survey sought to evaluate the level of confidence Sri Lankans have in the Government's performance and commitment towards eradicating corruption in the country.

On the Government's performance in eliminating corruption in the country, 41% of Sri Lankans are of the opinion that the Government has done enough to combat corruption, while 42.8% do not think they have done enough.

From an ethnic perspective, the Up Country Tamil community appear to be the most satisfied with 64.4% indicating that the Government has done enough to combat corruption, while the least satisfied is the Sinhala community with 49.8% stating the contrary. *(Refer Graph 3.18)*

When comparing the findings with the survey conducted in March 2015, there is no big change in the public's opinion with regard to the Government's performance in combating corruption in the country. In March 2015, 43.9% of Sri Lankans indicate that the Government has done enough to combat corruption, while 41.2% disagreed with this view.

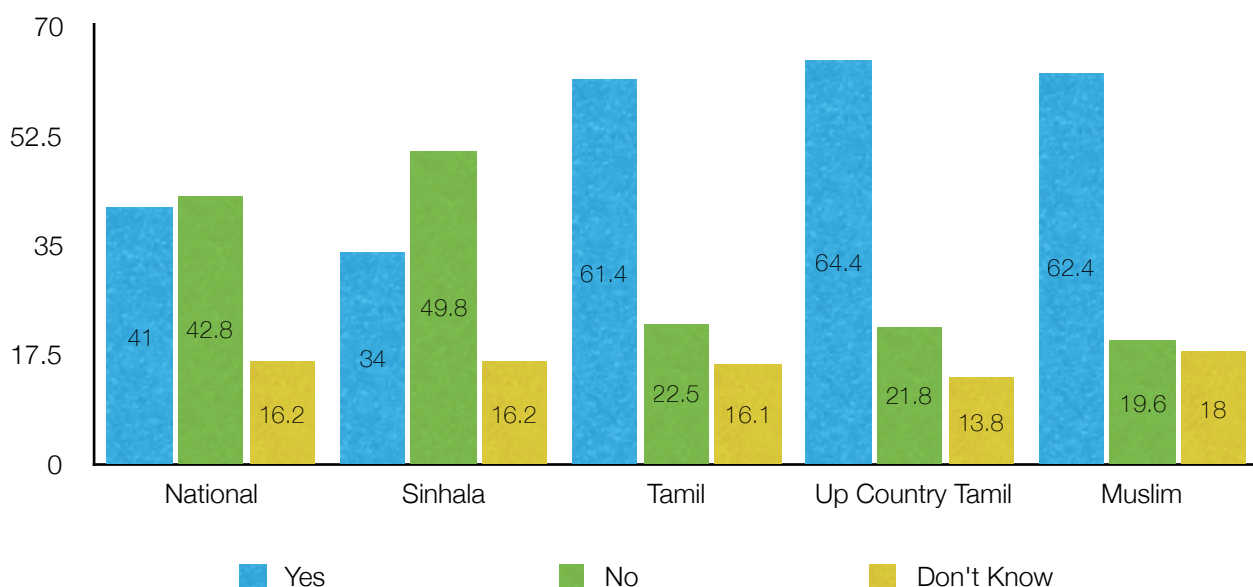
From an ethnic perspective, when analysing the data with the survey conducted in March 2015, there appears to be a drop in the percentage of respondents from the Sinhala and Up Country Tamil communities who believe that the Government has done enough to combat corruption in the country. In March 2015, 39.9% from the Sinhala community and 72% from the Up Country Tamil community were of the opinion that the Government has done enough to combat corruption in the Country. In February 2016 a decline in these figures is evident with 34% from the Sinhala community and 64.4% from the Up Country Tamil community. However, there has been an increase in the percentage of respondents from the Tamil and Muslim communities who believe that the Government has done enough to combat corruption in the country. In March 2015, 48.4% from the Tamil and 57.9% from the Muslim communities indicated that the Government has done enough to combat corruption in the country and a rise in these figures is seen in February 2016 to 61.4% and 62.4% respectively.

Overall, Sri Lankans have a low level of confidence on the Government's commitment towards eradicating corruption in the country. While 40.8% are of the opinion that the Government is not committed towards eradicating corruption in the country, 34.5% say that the Government is committed.

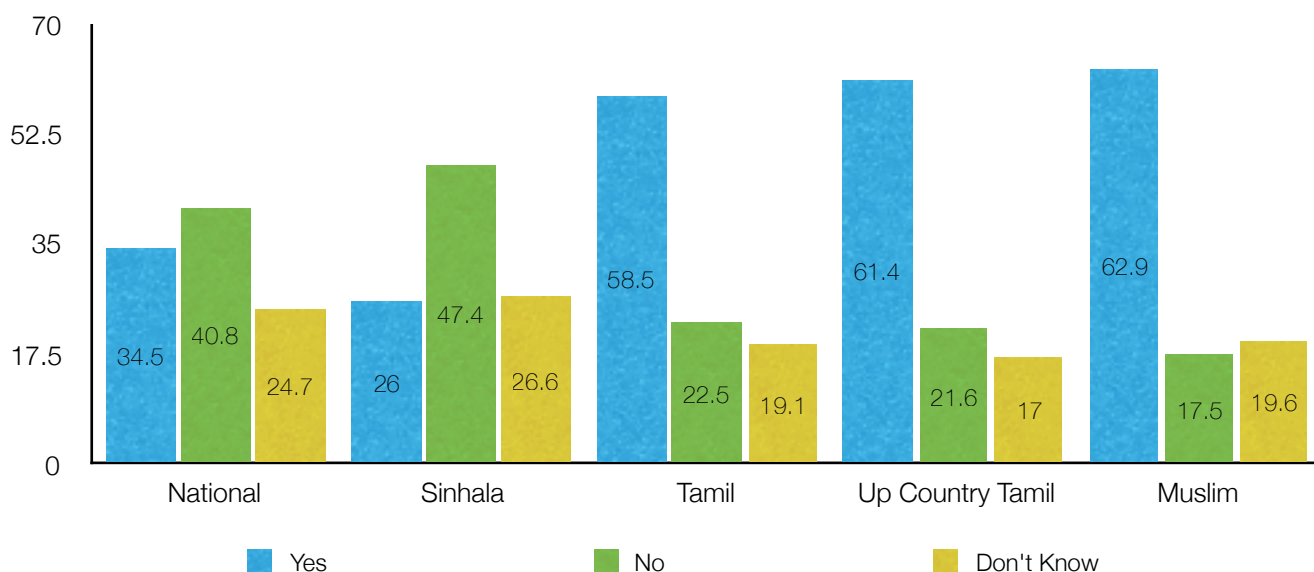
From an ethnic perspective, the Sinhala community seem to be the most skeptical with 47.4% indicating that the Government is not committed towards eradicating corruption in the country, while the Muslim community is the most optimistic, with 62.9% stating that the Government is committed. (Refer Graph 3.19)

In October 2015, 49.6% of Sri Lankans were of the opinion that the Government is committed towards eradicating corruption in the country, whilst 28.1% stated the contrary.

Graph 3.18: In your opinion, has the Government done enough to combat corruption?



Graph 3.19: Do you think the government is committed towards eradicating corruption in the country?



4

TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE

Summary

- On devolution of power, 25.3% of Sri Lankans agree that power needs to be devolved to the Provincial Councils, while reducing the power of the Central Government.
- Almost 50% Sri Lankans are of the opinion that certain powers could be decentralised but the powers of the Central Government should not be reduced.
- On the allocation of resources, 38.5% of Sri Lankans say that there are many other problems that the country faces and which the Government should focus on, and rebuilding the conflict affected areas should not be given priority over the needs of the rest of the country.
- A majority (74.4%) of Sri Lankans agree that the Clergy (religious priests/ monks) if found guilty of unethical/ illegal behaviour or misconduct, must be taken into custody and dealt with under the rule of law.
- While 48.8% of Sri Lankans agree that the National Anthem should be sung in both Sinhala and Tamil languages, 41.3% of Sri Lankans disagree with the same.
- There appears to be a drop in the percentage of Sri Lankans who believe that the Constitution should recognise ethnicity. While 64.6% in 2013 indicated that the Constitution recognise ethnicity, this figure dropped to 41.2% in February 2016.
- While 74.1% of Sri Lankans are of the opinion that the Government should find a solution to address the root causes of the ethnic conflict, 12.7% oppose the same.
- 42.2% of Sri Lankans are of the opinion that there should be a mechanism to look into what happened during the final stages of the war, while 44.2% are of the opinion that there shouldn't be such a mechanism.
- Among those who indicate that there should be a credible mechanism to look into accountability of what happened during the final stages of the war, 47.3% of Sri

Lankans are of the opinion that it should be an exclusively domestic one, whilst 9.2% of Sri Lankans are of the opinion that it should be an exclusively international one.

- From an ethnic perspective, it is mostly the Sinhala community who favour an exclusively domestic mechanism with 69.3% indicating the same.
- From those who favour an exclusively international mechanism, it is the Tamil community with 26.2% indicating the same.
- From those who believe that there should be an international mechanism to investigate into what happened during the final stages of the war, it is evident that respondents from the Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim communities mostly prefer the judges, prosecutors, lawyers and investigators to be from the USA while the Up Country Tamil community prefer the judges, prosecutors, lawyers and investigators to be from India.
- Respondents who believe that there should be an exclusively domestic mechanism, were asked as to what ethnicity they would prefer the judges, prosecutors, lawyers and investigators to be from. In response to this question, 62.7% of Sri Lankans stated that individuals from a combination of ethnicities should act as judges, prosecutors, lawyers and investigators.
- On the topic relating to transitional justice measures proposed by the Government, 50.8% of Sri Lankans are not aware of the Government's promise to establish a special court with a Truth Commission, an Office of Reparations and an Office of Missing Persons, while only 20.6% of Sri Lankans are aware of the same.
- On the question of the transitional justice process in Sri Lanka, 28.8% of Sri Lankans are of the opinion that issues in relation to reparations, which includes the victims' entitlement for redress and a proper policy framework need to be addressed.

Devolution of power

On the topic of devolution of power, 25.3% of Sri Lankans agree that power needs to be devolved to the Provincial Councils while reducing the power of the Central Government. 46.5% of Sri Lankans however believe that certain powers could be decentralised, but the powers of the Central Government should not be reduced.

From an ethnic perspective, 22.5% from the Sinhala, 40.9% from the Tamil, 26.1% from the Up Country Tamil and 28.4% from the Muslim communities agree that power needs to be devolved to the Provincial Councils while reducing the power of the Central Government. 48.6% from the Sinhala, 34.5% from the Tamil, 39.8% from the Up Country Tamil and 47.9% from the Muslim communities agree that powers could be decentralised, but the powers of the Central Government should not be reduced. (*Refer Graph 4.1*)

When comparing the surveys conducted in the past, there is a rise in the percentage of Sri Lankans who believe that power needs to be devolved to the Provincial Councils, while reducing the power of the Central Government. In 2011, 15.3% from the Sinhala, 40.9% from the Tamil, 32.5% from the Up Country Tamil, 42.9% from the Muslim communities agreed that power needs to be devolved to the Provincial Councils, while reducing the power of the Central Government. In 2015 - 17.8% from the Sinhala, 47.9% from the Tamil, 47.1% from the Up Country Tamil and 51.5% from the Muslim communities indicated the same. However in February 2016, there is a drop in the percentage of respondents from the Sinhala (22.5%) and Muslim (28.4%) communities who hold this view.

In October 2015, nearly 26% of Sri Lankans agreed that power needs to be devolved to the Provincial Councils while the powers of the Central Government should be reduced, followed by 41.3% of Sri Lankans who were of the opinion that certain powers of the Central Government could be decentralised, but the powers of the Central Government should not be reduced.

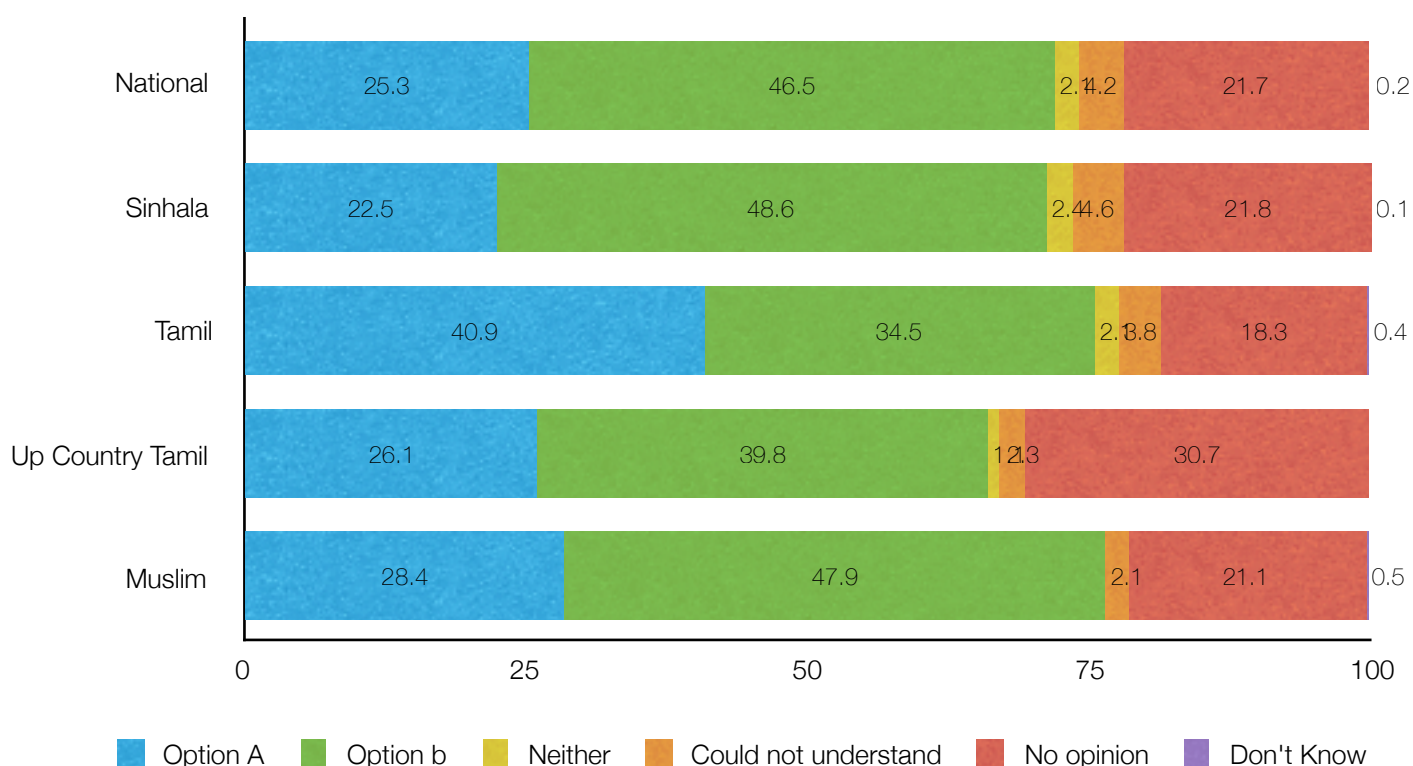
Comparing the survey findings with the survey conducted in October 2015, there appears to be a significant increase in the percentage across the Tamil, Up Country Tamil and Muslim communities, who agree that certain powers could be decentralised, but powers of the Central Government should not be reduced. In October 2015 while 18.6% from the Tamil, 25.3% from the Up Country Tamil and 21.6% from the Muslim communities held this view, in

February 2016, 34.5% from the Tamil, 39.8% from the Up Country Tamil and 47.9% from the Muslim community indicated the same.

Graph 4.1: Tell me which statement is the most agreeable to you.

Option A: Power needs to be devolved to the Provincial Councils, while reducing the power of the Central Government

Option B: It is ok to decentralise certain powers, but powers of the Central Government should not be reduced



On the question of allocation of resources, 41.5% of Sri Lankans say that the Government should give priority to allocating resources to rebuild the conflict affected areas, even if it means that less money is spent towards the rest of the country. 38.5% of Sri Lankans say that there are many other problems that the country faces for which the Government should focus on, and rebuilding the conflict affected areas should not be given priority over the needs of the rest of the country.

From an ethnic perspective, 37.1% from the Sinhala, 61.4% from the Tamil, 46% from the Up Country Tamil and 51.5% from the Muslim communities say that the Government should give priority to allocating resources to rebuild the conflict affected areas, even if it means that less

money is spent towards the rest of the country. However, 39.8% from the Sinhala, 30.1% from the Tamil, 48.3% from the Up Country Tamil and 33.5% from the Muslim communities say that there are many other problems that the country faces for which the Government should focus on, and rebuilding the conflict affected areas should not be given priority over the needs of the rest of the country. (Refer Graph 4.2)

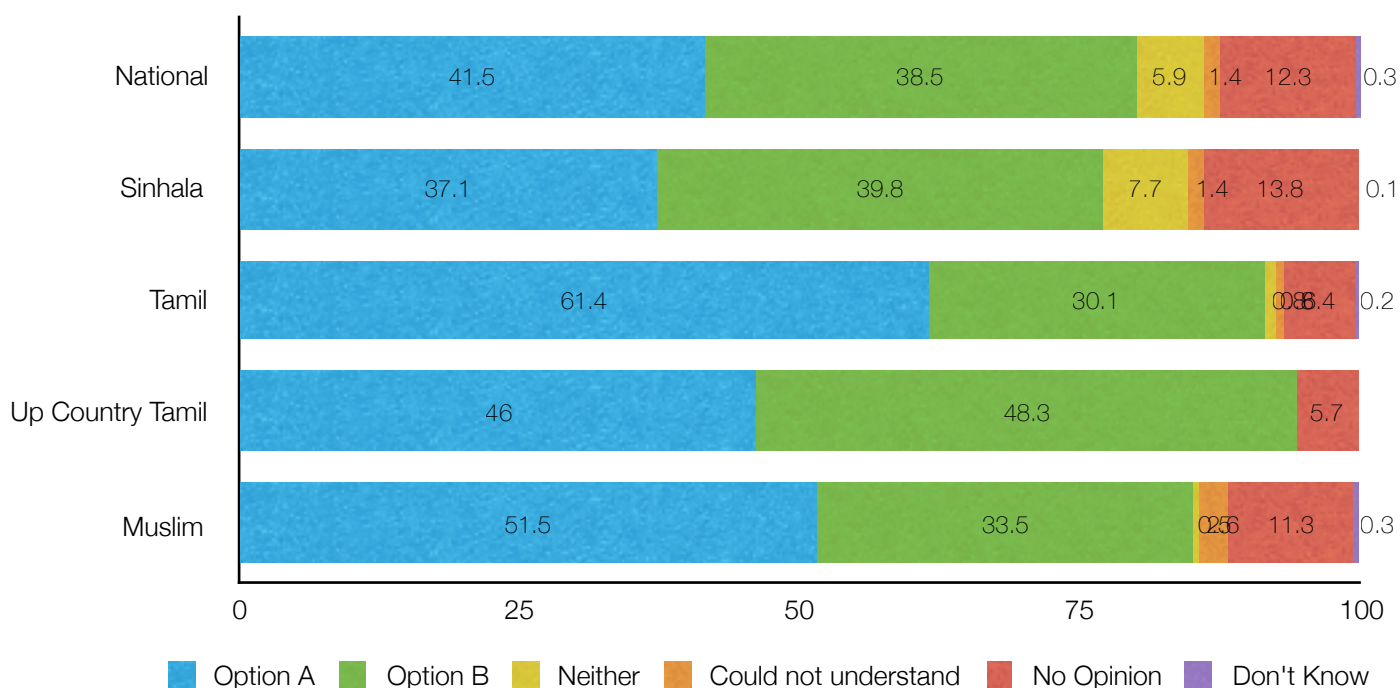
When analysing the data from previous surveys, in 2013 while 61.1% of Sri Lankans were of the opinion that the Government should give priority to allocating resources to rebuilding the conflict affected areas, this figure declined to 46.3% in 2014 and 37.5% in October 2015. However a slight increase to 41.5% is seen in February 2016.

Looking at the increase in the percentage of respondents who say that there are many other problems in the country for which the Government should direct its focus, as opposed to prioritising the rebuilding of the conflict affected areas - in 2014 it was 20.5%, in October 2015 it was 37.7% and in February 2016 it increased slightly to 38.5%.

Graph 4.2: Tell me which statement is most agreeable to you.

Option A: The Government should give priority in allocating resources to rebuilding the conflict affected areas, even if this means that less money is spent in the rest of the country

Option B: There are many other problems facing the country that Government should focus on, rebuilding the conflict affected areas should not be given priority over the needs of the rest of the country

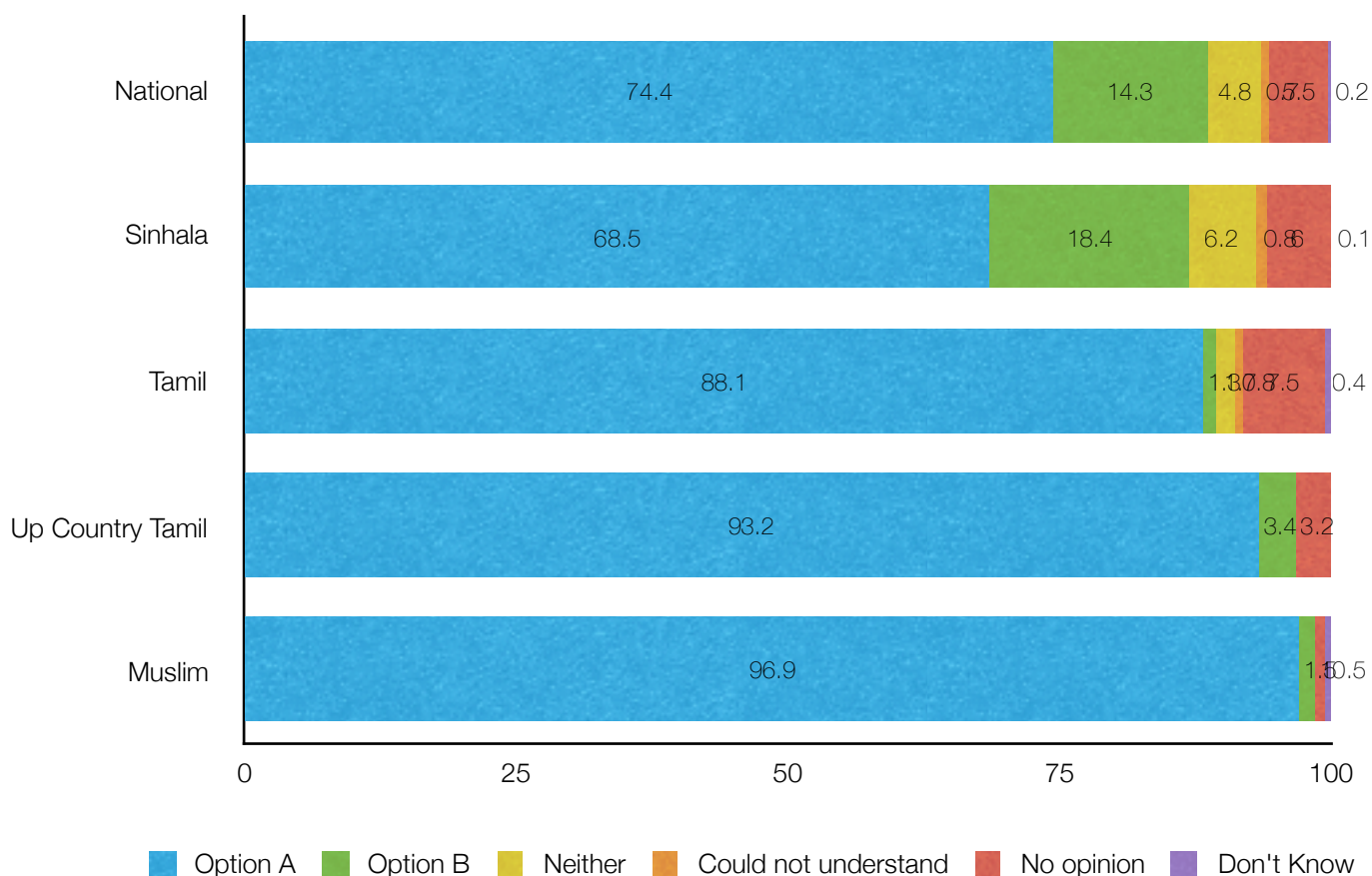


74.4% of Sri Lankans agree that clergy (religious priests/ monks) if found guilty of unethical/ illegal behaviour or misconduct, must be taken into custody and dealt with under the rule of law. From an ethnic perspective, it is 68.5% from the Sinhala community, 88.1% from the Tamil community, 93.2% from the Up Country Tamil community and 96.9% from the Muslim community who hold this view. On the contrary, 14.3% of Sri Lankans are of the opinion that the clergy (religious priests/ monks) are ordained to be formal leaders who are distinguished from the laity, and therefore taking them into custody despite their unethical behaviour should not be allowed. From an ethnic perspective, it is the Sinhala community with 18.4% who mostly agree with the same. (Refer Graph 4.3)

Graph 4.3: Tell me which statement is most agreeable to you -

Option A: The Clergy, (religious priests/ monks) who are found committing unethical/ illegal behaviour or misconduct, must be taken into custody and dealt with under the rule of law

Option B: The Clergy, (religious priests/ monks) are ordained to be formal leaders who are distinguished from the laity. Hence, taking them into custody, despite their unethical behaviour should not be allowed

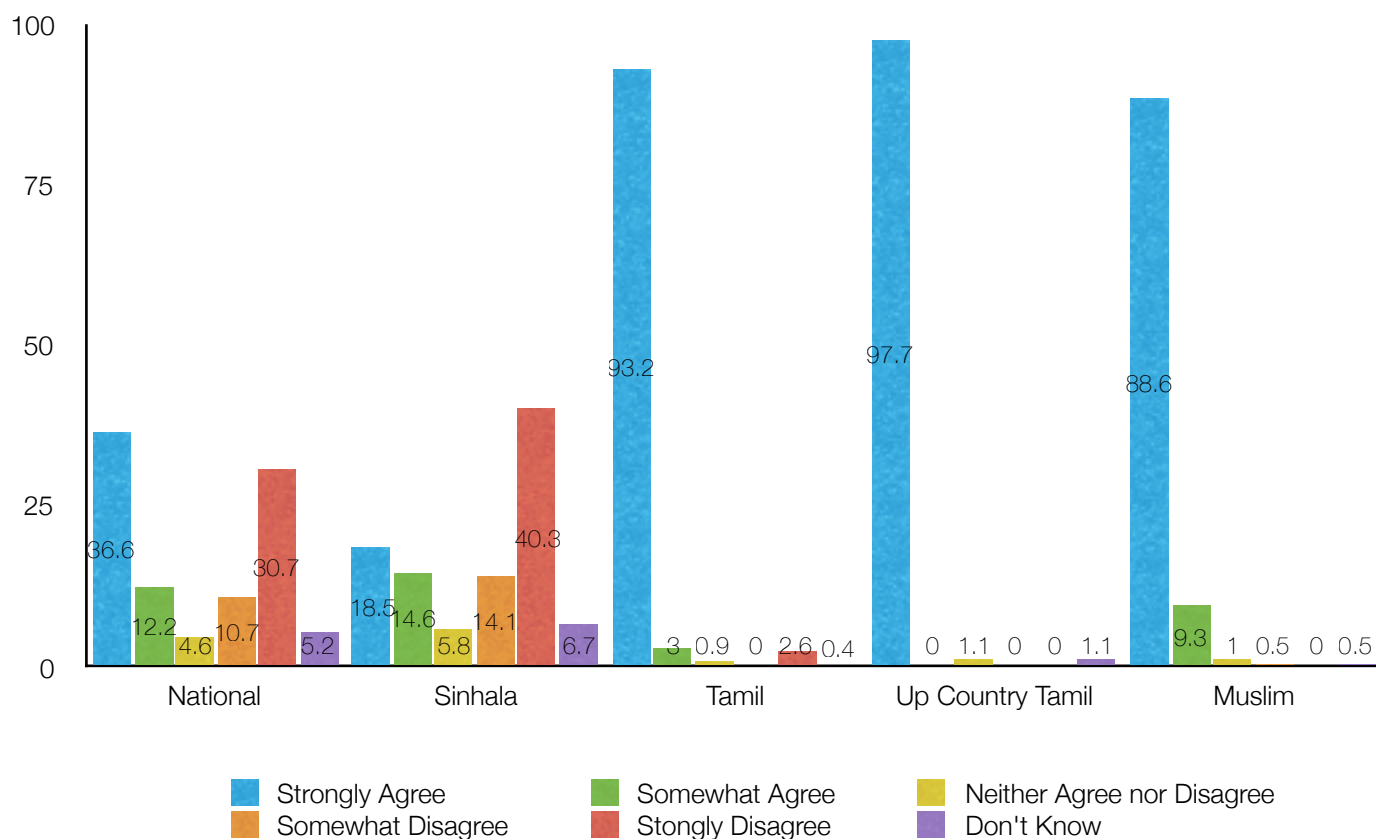


In March 2015 the Sirisena Government lifted the unofficial ban on singing the National Anthem in Tamil. This was followed by the National Anthem being sung in Tamil at the closing ceremony of Sri Lanka's 68th Independence Day celebrations on 04th February 2016.

While 48.8% of Sri Lankans agree that the National Anthem should be sung in both Sinhala and Tamil languages, 41.3% of Sri Lankans disagree. Among those who agree that the National Anthem should be sung in both Sinhala and Tamil languages, 33.2% from the Sinhala, 96.2% from the Tamil, 97.7% from the Up Country Tamil and 97.9% from the Muslim communities indicate the same. From those who disagree, it is mostly the Sinhala community with 54.3% indicating the same. (Refer Graph 4.4)

When analysing the data with the survey conducted in March 2015, there does not appear to be any significant changes to the percentage of respondents who both agree as well as disagree with singing the national anthem in both languages. In March 2015 while 49.8% of Sri Lankans agreed, 41.3% disagreed with singing the National Anthem in Sinhala and Tamil.

Graph 4.4: The “National Anthem should be sung in both Sinhala and Tamil languages.” Please indicate as to how far you agree/ disagree with this statement.

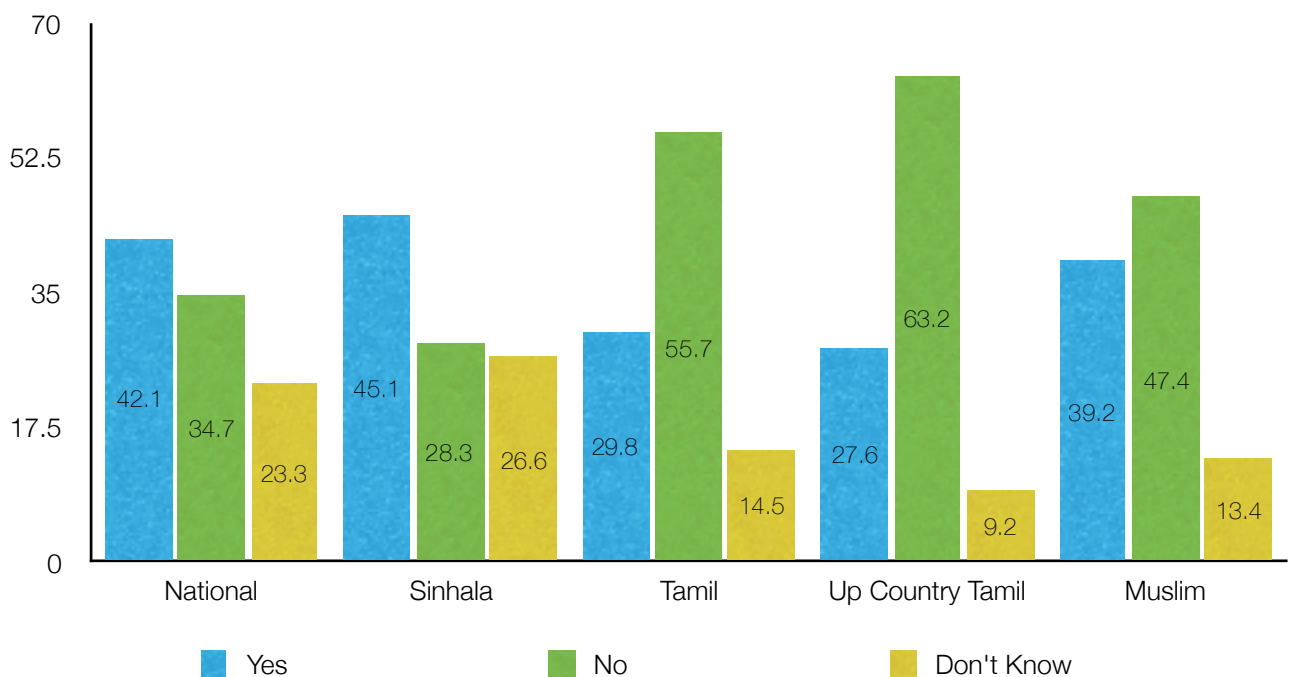


Role of Ethnicity in Politics

On the question of ethnicity and the Constitution of the country, 42.1% of Sri Lankans believe that the Constitution should recognise ethnicity, while 34.7% state that the Constitution should have no reference to ethnicity. From an ethnic perspective, 45.1% from the Sinhala, 29.8% from the Tamil, 27.6% from the Up Country Tamil and 39.2% from the Muslim communities say that the Constitution should recognise ethnicity. From an ethnic perspective, the respondents who stated that the Constitution should have no reference to ethnicity consists of 28.3% from the Sinhala, 55.7% from the Tamil, 63.2% from the Up Country Tamil and 47.4% from the Muslim communities. (Refer Graph 4.5)

When comparing the results of the surveys conducted in the past, it is interesting to note that in 2013, while 64.6% of Sri Lankans indicated that the Constitution should recognise ethnicity, 12.1% of Sri Lankans indicated that the Constitution should have no reference to ethnicity.

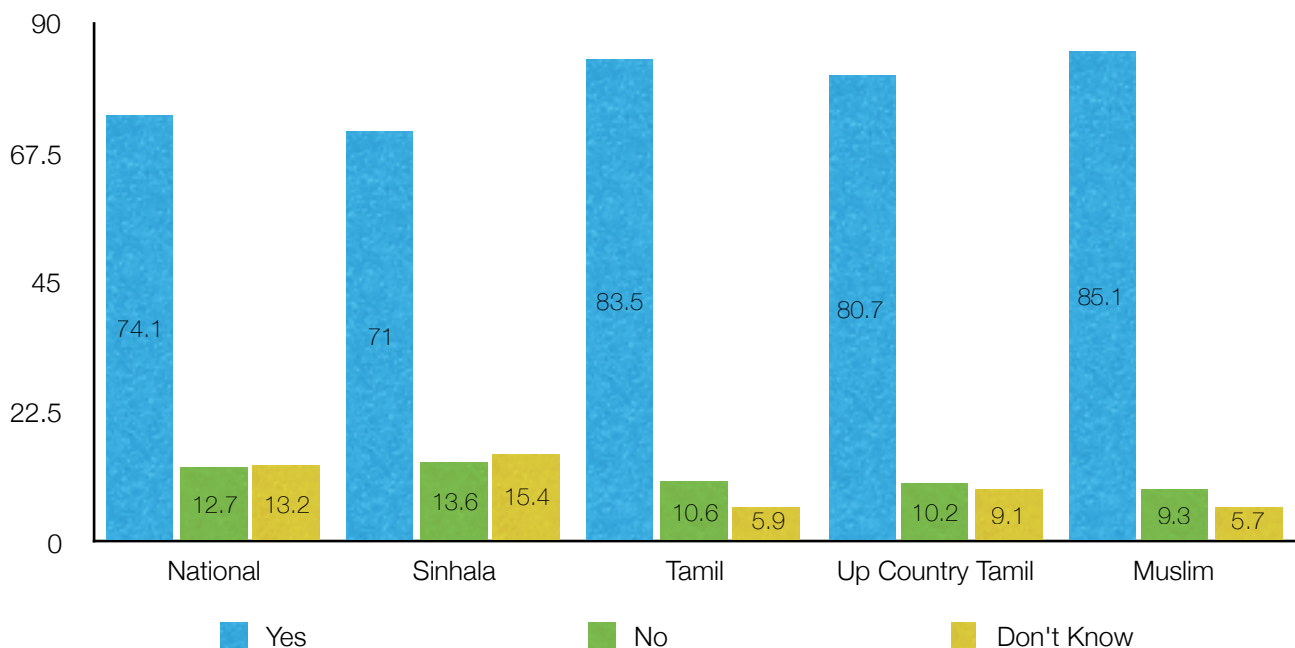
Graph 4.5: Do you think that Sri Lanka's Constitution should recognise ethnicity or should our constitution have no reference to ethnicity?



While 74.1% of Sri Lankans are of the opinion that the Government should find a solution to address the root causes of the ethnic conflict, 12.7% oppose the same. From an ethnic perspective, 71% from the Sinhala, 83.5% from the Tamil, 80.7% from the Up Country Tamil and 85.1% from the Muslim community are of the opinion that the Government should find a solution to address the root causes of the conflict. 13.6% from the Sinhala, 10.6% from the Tamil, 10.2% from the Up Country Tamil and 9.3% from the Muslim communities are of the opinion that the Government should not find a solution to address the root causes of the conflict. (Refer Graph 4.6)

When analysing the survey conducted in March 2015, 80.6% of Sri Lankans indicated that the Government should, whilst only 6.5% indicated that the Government should not find a solution to address the root causes of the conflict.

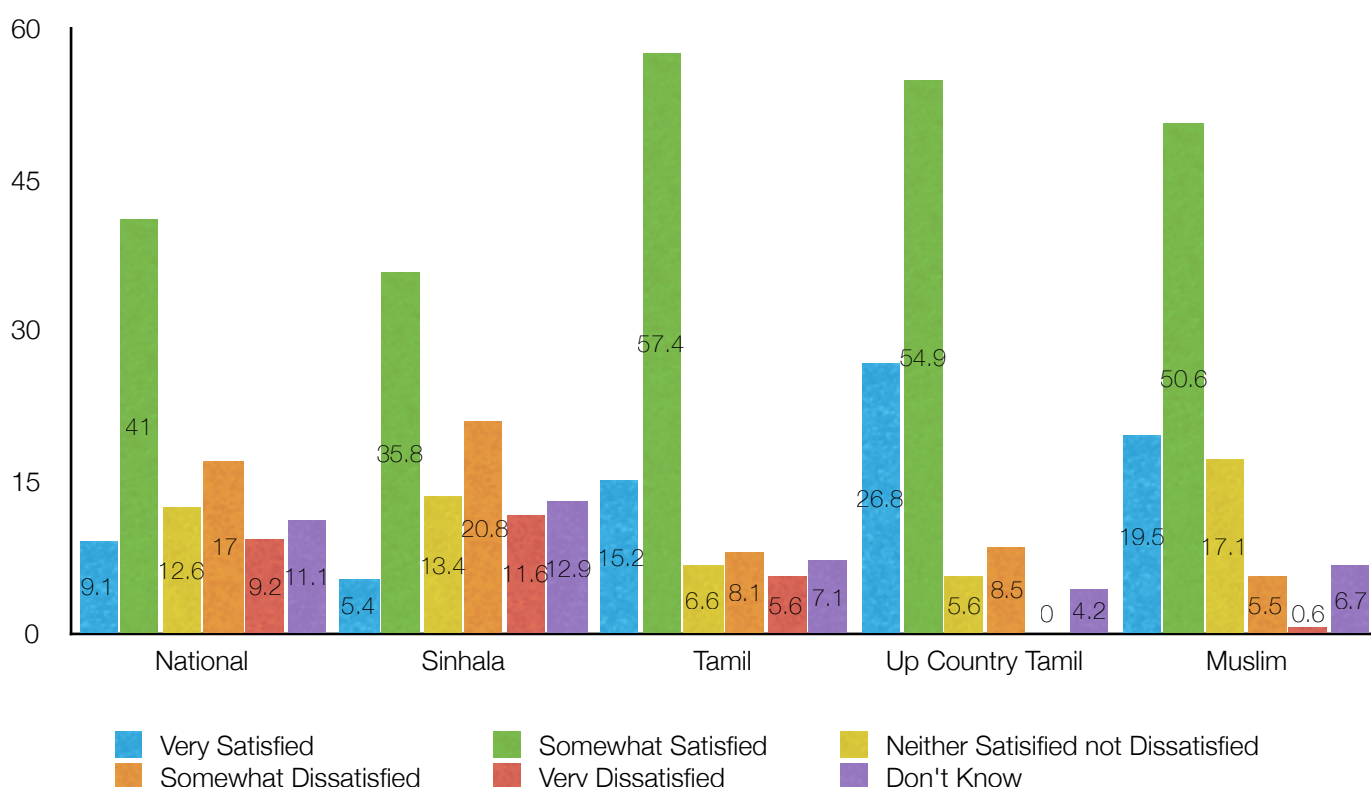
Graph 4.6: In your opinion, do you believe that the Government should find a solution to address the root causes of the ethnic conflict?



From those who indicate that the Government should find a solution to address the root causes of the conflict, 50.1% of Sri Lankans indicate that they are satisfied with the Government's efforts so far, while 26.2% indicate that they are not satisfied. Among those who are satisfied, it is mostly the Up Country Tamil community with 81.7% indicating the same. The least satisfied is the Sinhala community with 32.4%. (Refer Graph 4.7)

When analysing the data with the survey conducted in March 2015, there appears to be a drop in the percentage of respondents who are satisfied with the Government's efforts, and an increase in the percentage of respondents who are dissatisfied with the Government efforts in addressing the root causes of the conflict. As such, in March 2015, nearly 57% of Sri Lankans were satisfied while nearly 19% were not.

Graph 4.7: If yes, how satisfied are you with the Government's efforts in addressing the root causes of the ethnic conflict?



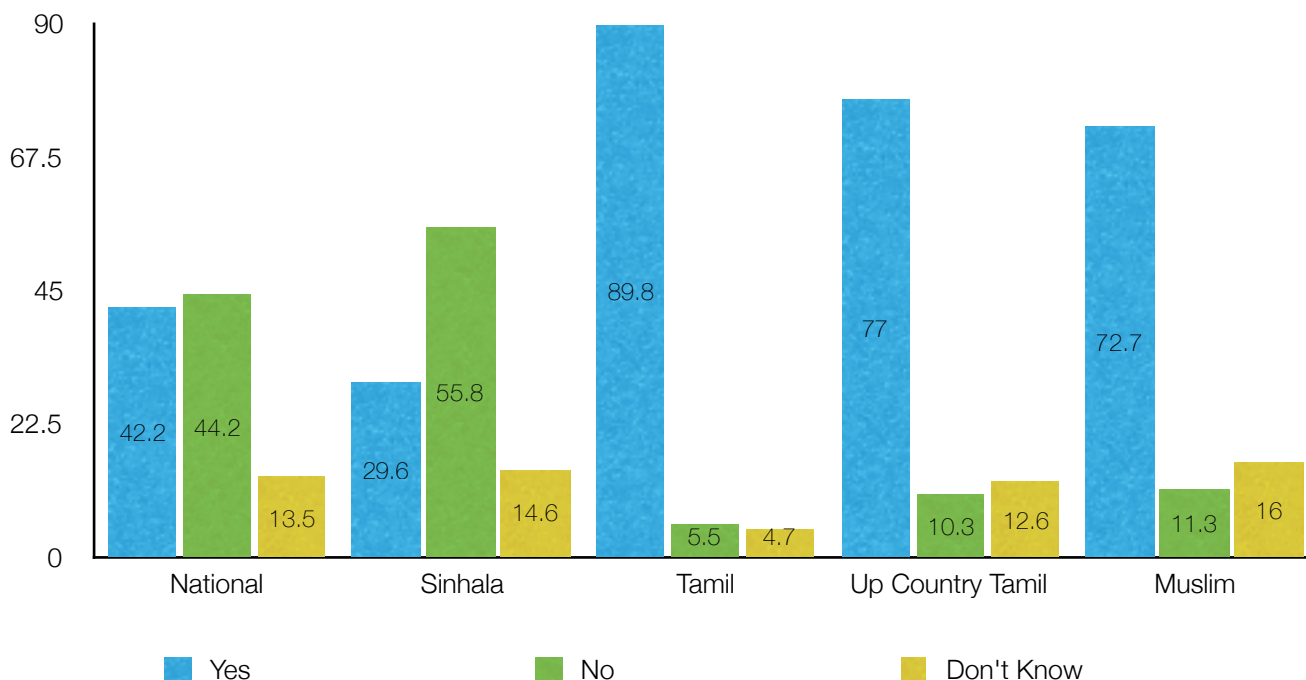
When asked whether a credible mechanism is required to look into accountability of what happened during the final stages of the war, 42.2% of Sri Lankans are of the opinion that there should be such a mechanism, whilst 44.2% are of the opinion that there should not be one. From an ethnic perspective, it is the Tamil community with 89.8% who mostly feel that there should be a credible mechanism to look into accountability of what happened during the final stages of the war, followed by 77% from the Up Country Tamil, 72.7% from the Muslim and 29.6% from the Sinhala communities. From those who are of the opinion that a credible mechanism is not required to look into accountability of what happened during the

final stages of the war, it is mostly the Sinhala community with 55.8% who indicate the same.
(Refer Graph 4.8)

When analysing the data from previous surveys, there is an increase in the percentage of respondents who believe that there should not be a credible mechanism to look into what happened in the final stages of the war. While 36.3% in March 2015 and 37.7% in October 2015 were not in favour of a credible mechanism, this figure has risen to 42.2% in February 2016.

There appears to be a noteworthy increase in the Sinhala community of those who are not in favour of a credible mechanism - 44.4% in March 2015 and 47.1% in October 2015 from the Sinhala community indicated that they were not in favour of a credible mechanism, while this figure rose to 55.8% in February 2016.

Graph 4.8: Do you think there should be a credible mechanism to look into accountability of what happened during the final stages of the war?



From those who indicate that there should be a credible mechanism to look into accountability of what happened during the final stages of the war, 47.3% of Sri Lankans are of the opinion that it should be an exclusively domestic one, whilst 9.2% of Sri Lankans are of

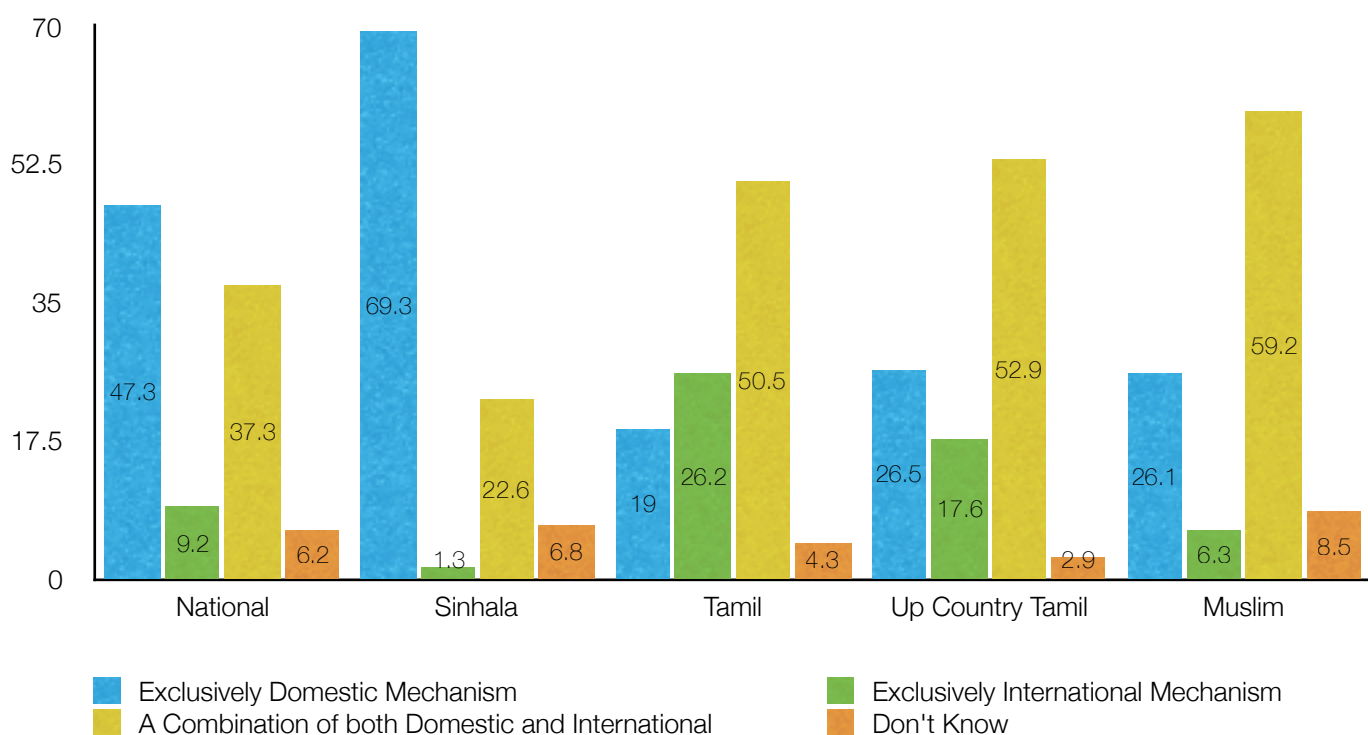
the opinion that it should be an exclusively international one. 37.3% of Sri Lankans are of the opinion that the mechanism should be a combination of both a domestic and international one.

From an ethnic perspective, it is mostly the Sinhala community who favour an exclusively domestic mechanism with 69.3% indicating the same. This figure is followed by 19% from the Tamil, 26.5% from the Up Country Tamil and 26.1% from the Muslim communities.

From those who favour an exclusively international mechanism, it is the Tamil community with 26.2% indicating the same. This figure is followed by, 17.6% from the Up Country Tamil community, 6.3% from the Muslim community and only 1.3% from the Sinhala community.

From those who favour a combination of both a domestic and international mechanism, it is mostly the Muslim community with 59.2% indicating the same. This figure is followed by 52.9% from the Up Country Tamil, 50.5% from the Tamil and 37.3% from the National communities. (Refer Graph 4.9)

Graph 4.9: If yes, in your opinion please select the statement which accurately reflects your views on the assessment of alleged war crimes/ crimes against humanity, that occurred during the final stages of the war?



The respondents who believe that there should be an exclusively international or a hybrid court system to investigate into what happened during the final stages of the war were asked to indicate as to what nationality they would prefer the judges, prosecutors, lawyers and investigators to be from. Most respondents were of the opinion that they would prefer judges, prosecutors, lawyers and investigators to be from the USA (27.4%), followed by India (19%) and Norway (4.2%).

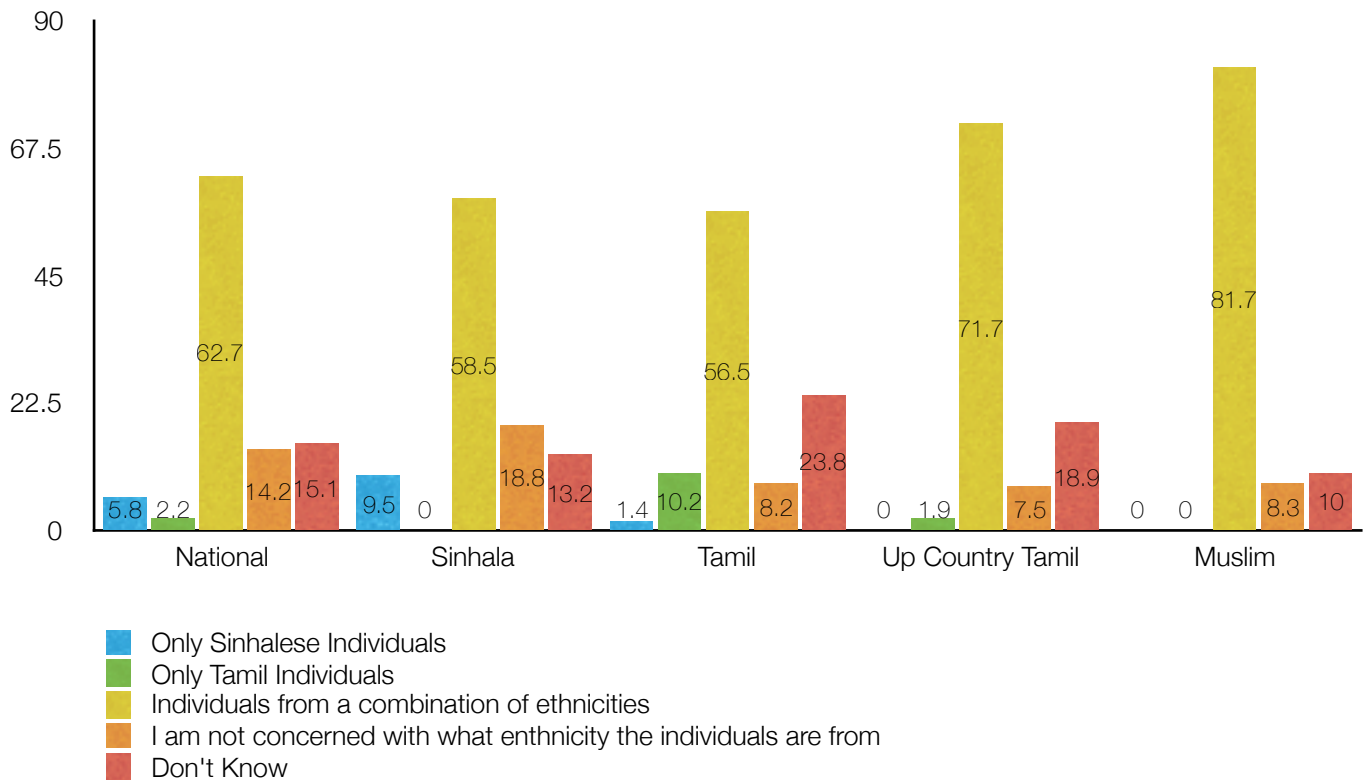
From an ethnic perspective, it is evident that respondents from the Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim communities mostly prefer judges, prosecutors, lawyers and investigators to be from the USA while the Up Country Tamil community prefer judges, prosecutors, lawyers and investigators to be from India.

The respondents who believe that there should be an exclusively domestic mechanism were asked as to what ethnicity they would prefer the judges, prosecutors, lawyers and investigators to be from. 5.8% of the respondents prefer only Sinhalese individuals, 2.2% of respondents prefer only Tamil individuals while 62.7% of Sri Lankans indicate that individuals from a combination of ethnicities should act as judges, prosecutors, lawyers and investigators. 14.2% of the respondents indicate that they are not concerned with the ethnicity of the judges, prosecutors, lawyers and investigators. *(Refer Graph 4.10)*

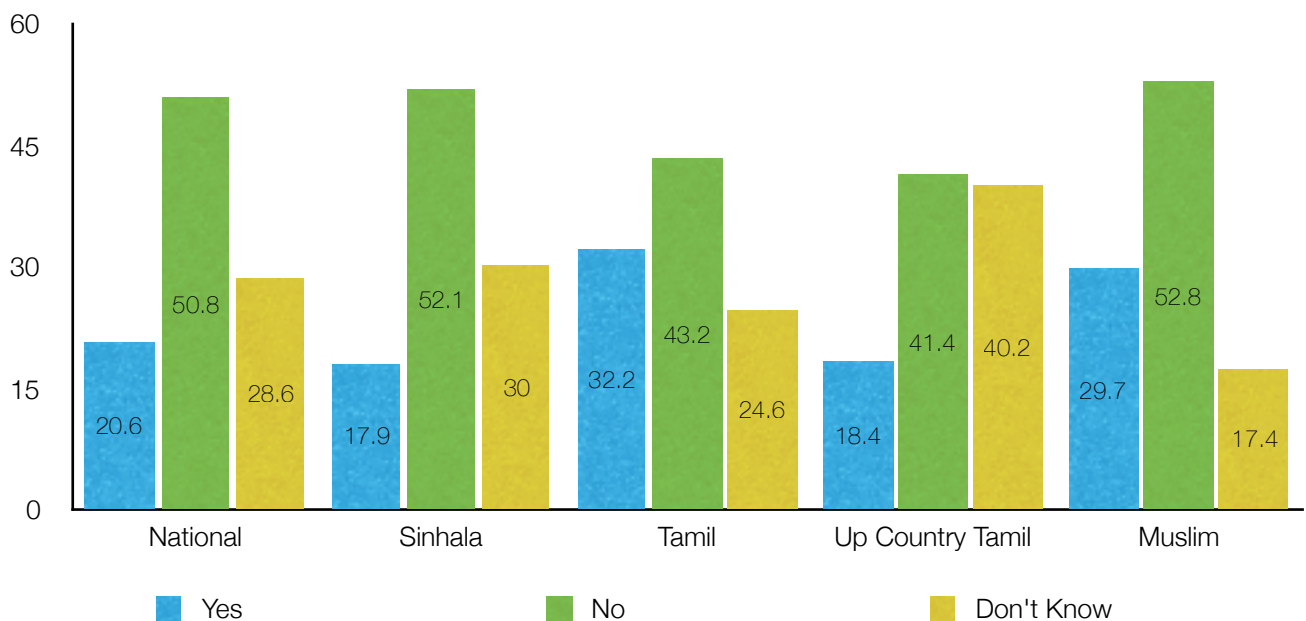
On the topic relating to transitional justice measures proposed by the Government, 50.8% of Sri Lankans are not aware of the Government's promise to establish a special court with a Truth Commission, an Office of Reparations and an Office of Missing Persons, while only 20.6% of Sri Lankans are aware of the same.

Along those who indicate that they are aware, it is mostly the Tamil community with 32.2% followed by 29.7% from the Muslim community, 18.4% from the Up Country Tamil community and 17.9% from the Sinhala community who indicate the same. From those who indicate that they are not aware, it is mostly the Muslim community with 52.8% followed by 52.1% from the Sinhala community, 43.2% from the Tamil community and 41.4% from the Up Country Tamil community who indicate the same. *(Refer Graph 4.11)*

Graph 4.10: If you are of the opinion that there should be an exclusively domestic mechanism, what ethnicity would you prefer the judges, prosecutors, lawyers and investigators to be from?



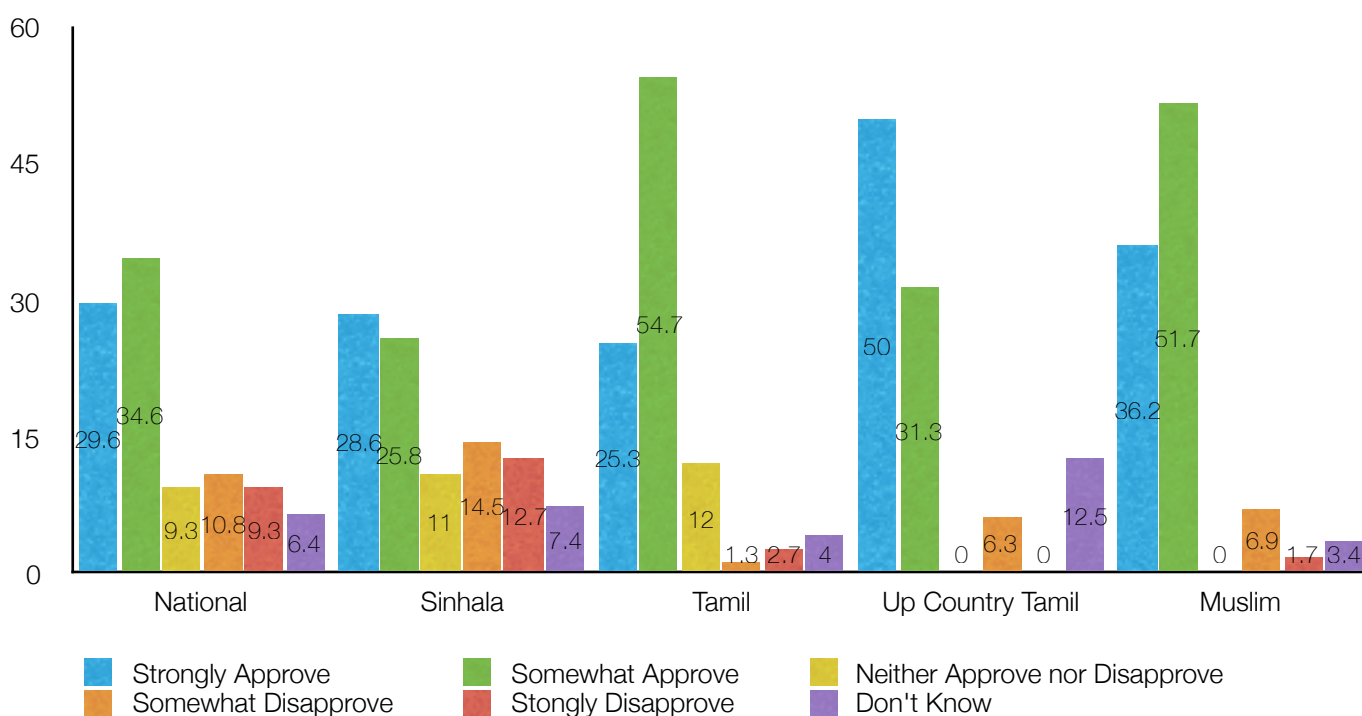
Graph 4.11: As a means of addressing transitional justice in the country, the Government has promised to establish a special court with a Truth Commission, an Office of Reparations and an Office of Missing Persons. Are you aware of this?



From those who are aware of the Government's promise to establish a special court with a Truth Commission, an Office of Reparations and an Office of Missing Persons, 64.2% of Sri Lankans approve (with 29.6% strongly approving) while 20.1% disapprove.

The Muslim community expressed the highest level of approval with 87.9%, followed by 81.3% from the Up Country Tamil, 80% from the Tamil and 54.4% from the Sinhala communities. From those who disapprove, it is mostly the Sinhala community with 27.2% followed by 8.6% from the Muslim community, 6.3% from the Up Country Tamil community and 4% from the Tamil community. (Refer Graph 4.12)

Graph 4.12: If yes, please indicate as to how much you approve/ disapprove the same?



The resolution titled 'Promoting Reconciliation, Accountability and Human Rights in Sri Lanka' was submitted to the UNHRC in October 2015, and was co-sponsored by Sri Lanka and 25 additional co-sponsors. Many initiatives have been proposed in line with the UNHRC resolution which hopes to achieve a long term goal of attaining truth and justice in post war Sri Lanka. Taking this into consideration, the respondents were asked to indicate key issues that they would highlight, if they were to appear before or be present at public sitting on the transitional justice process of the country. 28.8% of Sri Lankans are of the opinion that issues in relation to reparations, which includes the victims' entitlement for redress and a proper

policy framework need to be addressed followed by 11.4% who indicate that issues pertaining to non-recurrence must be addressed.

5.6% of Sri Lankans are of the opinion that issues in relation to the right to know the truth should be addressed, followed by 9.2% who indicated that issues with regard to the right to justice and an unbiased judicial process should be addressed. From an ethnic perspective it is mostly the Up Country Tamil community with 11.9% who indicate that issues with regard to the right to know the truth should be addressed. This figure is followed by 8% from the Muslim, 6.5% from the Tamil and 4.9% from the Sinhala communities.

From the respondents who are of the opinion that issues pertaining to the right to justice must be addressed, it is mostly the Tamil community who supports this with 36.4% indicating the same. This figure is followed by 20.1% from the Muslim, 11.9% from the Up Country Tamil and 3.6% from the Sinhala communities.

From the respondents who are of the opinion that issues pertaining to reparations must be addressed, it is mostly the Sinhala community with 31.8%. This figure is followed by 28.8% from the Up Country Tamil, 20.1% from the Tamil and 14.8% from the Muslim communities.

That issues pertaining to the guarantee of non-recurrence must be addressed, it is mostly the Sinhala community with 13.2% who hold this view, followed by 9.8% from the Muslim, 3.8% from the Tamil and 1.9% from the Up Country Tamil communities.

However, it is important to note that a majority of Sri Lankans (60.4%) remain unaware as to the issues that they would highlight, if they were to appear before a public sitting on transitional justice.

The respondents were asked to indicate as to what they would like to see from the current and future initiatives taken by the Government on ensuring transitional justice in the country. While most are unaware as to what should come out of the process with 65.3% indicating that they didn't know, 21.7% of Sri Lankans indicate that the Government's initiatives in ensuring transitional justice in the country should strengthen the rule of law, promote human rights and ensure unity amongst the different ethnic groups that would secure peace, and a guarantee of non-recurrence of violence in the future.