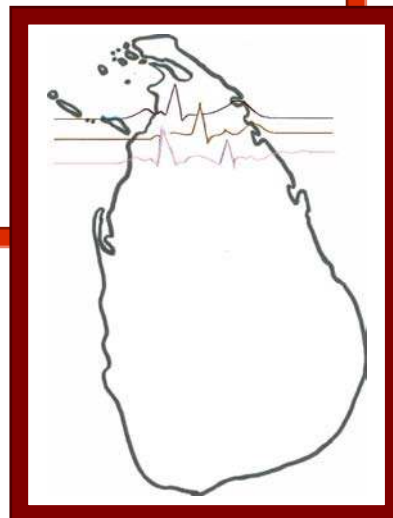
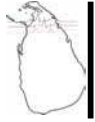


PERSPECTIVES ON PEACE FROM JAFFNA



**SOCIAL INDICATOR
DECEMBER 2002**

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PERSPECTIVES FROM JAFFNA ON THE PEACE PROCESS AND ISSUES OF CONCERN

INTRODUCTION

Social Indicator (SI) carried out its Study of Public Perceptions in the Jaffna peninsular for the third time in 2002. SI is an independent research organization, operating under the Board of Directors of the Centre for Policy Alternatives (CPA).

While capturing the views and beliefs of people on the peace process, this study also reaches out to cover issues such as the cost of living, education and health.

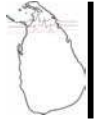
The survey carried out between 10 – 14 December 2002 in the Jaffna, Nallur,

Valikamam, Vadamarachchi and Thenmarachchi areas, used a structured questionnaire, administered through face-to-face interviews amongst a sample of 320 respondents.

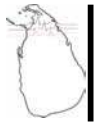
Financial assistance for the survey was provided by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) through the Governance and Institutional Strengthening Project (GISP) of the University of Ottawa.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- ▶▶ During the last two months people's dissatisfaction has changed to satisfaction over employment opportunities. However, people are still dissatisfied with humanitarian assistance and Government loan schemes.
- ▶▶ For over 60% of the people peace means "ethnic harmony". However, when compared to October 2002 there is an increase in opinion that peace means "freedom" for the people.
- ▶▶ The opinion that war means "death and destruction" continues to increase in December 2002, while there is a decrease in opinion that war means "fighting for rights" from October 2002 to December 2002.
- ▶▶ An overwhelming majority believes in peace talks as a means to end war in Sri Lanka, though there is a decline from October 2002. (91% October 2002, 82.2% December 2002).
- ▶▶ The opinion that neither party can achieve total victory through war shows a sharp increase to 62.2% in December 2002 from 47.4% in October 2002.
- ▶▶ Over 61% feel that all the ethnic communities can live together - an increase since October 2002.



- ▶▶ The opinion that an international third party's involvement is essential to solve the North East war in Sri Lanka continues to increase (78.8% December 2002).
- ▶▶ Reversing the declining trend of October 2002, people hail Norwegian assistance in the Sri Lankan peace process. Over 84% express their support for Norway's continued assistance in the Sri Lankan peace process.
- ▶▶ There is an increase in opinion that Indian involvement in the Sri Lankan peace process is essential (23.8% in October 2002 to 30.3% in December 2002).
- ▶▶ There is a gradual increase from July 2002 to December 2002 in opinion that the ceasefire will last long. However 50.9% express their uncertainty.
- ▶▶ The declining satisfaction with Norway's role in the ceasefire agreement in October 2002 has reversed dramatically in December 2002 (47.8% July 2002, 39% October 2002, 83.1% December 2002).
- ▶▶ People who are aware of the SLMM's involvement in the monitoring of the ceasefire overwhelmingly agree that such a monitoring mission is essential for the CFA to succeed.
- ▶▶ Belief in SLMM's impartiality and effectiveness has significantly increased, turning around the declining trend in October 2002.
- ▶▶ Over 88% of the people are aware of the 200 year sentence passed on Mr. Velupillai Prabhakaran; 70.9% believe that it will have a negative impact on the on going peace process.
- ▶▶ An overwhelming majority (80.3%) is of the belief that the Heroes' Day speech made by the LTTE leader will have a positive impact on the peace process.
- ▶▶ Of the 60% who are aware of the 2nd round of peace talks in Thailand, 51.1% believes that the sub-committee on the Immediate Humanitarian and Rehabilitation Needs in the North and East should be given priority.
- ▶▶ Over 73% express their satisfaction with the outcome of the 2nd round of peace talks.
- ▶▶ While 62.5% of the people believe that the Government is not committed to treating the return of IDP's as priority in the peace process, 60.6% believe that the LTTE is committed.
- ▶▶ Over 67.8% say that HSZ are an impediment to the return of IDP's.
- ▶▶ Of the people who are aware of the meeting in Oslo on 25th November 02, 70.5% believe that it will have a positive impact on the people of the North.



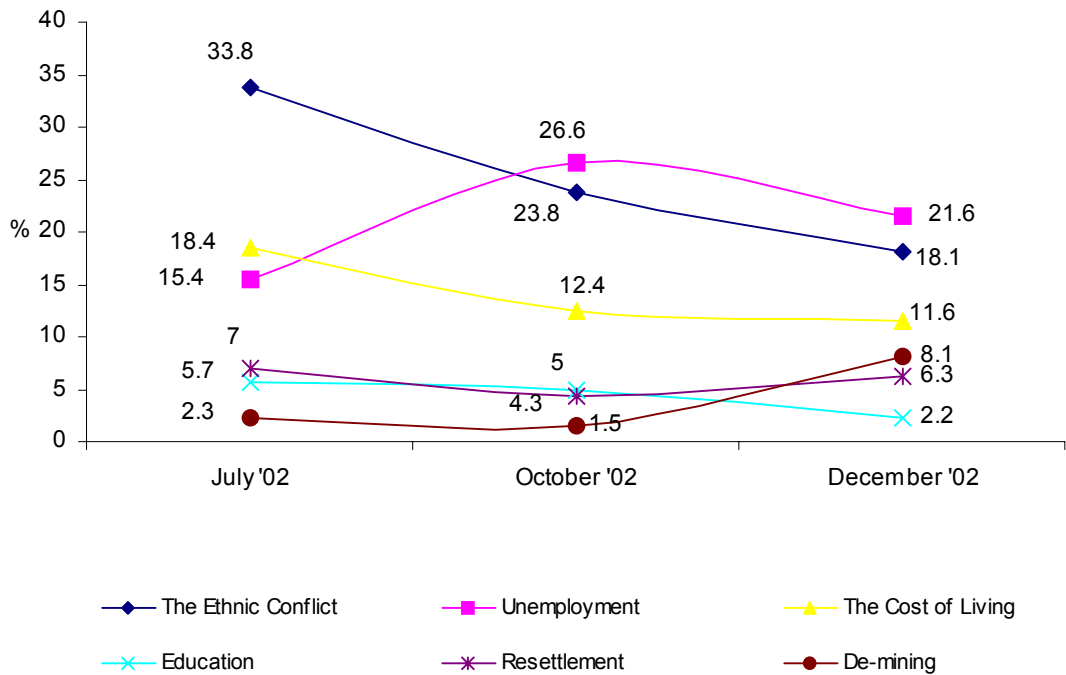
BURNING ISSUES AND SATISFACTION LEVELS REGARDING AVAILABLE FACILITIES AND SERVICES

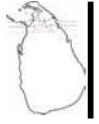
Unemployment continues to be ranked as the issue of most concern to a majority (21.6%) of the people of Jaffna in December 2002. The **ethnic conflict** as an issue of concern continues its downward trend since the first wave in July 2002 (33.8%) and now stands at 18.1%.

While 11.6% of the people rank the **cost of living** as the most burning issue, for 8.1%, it is **de-mining**.

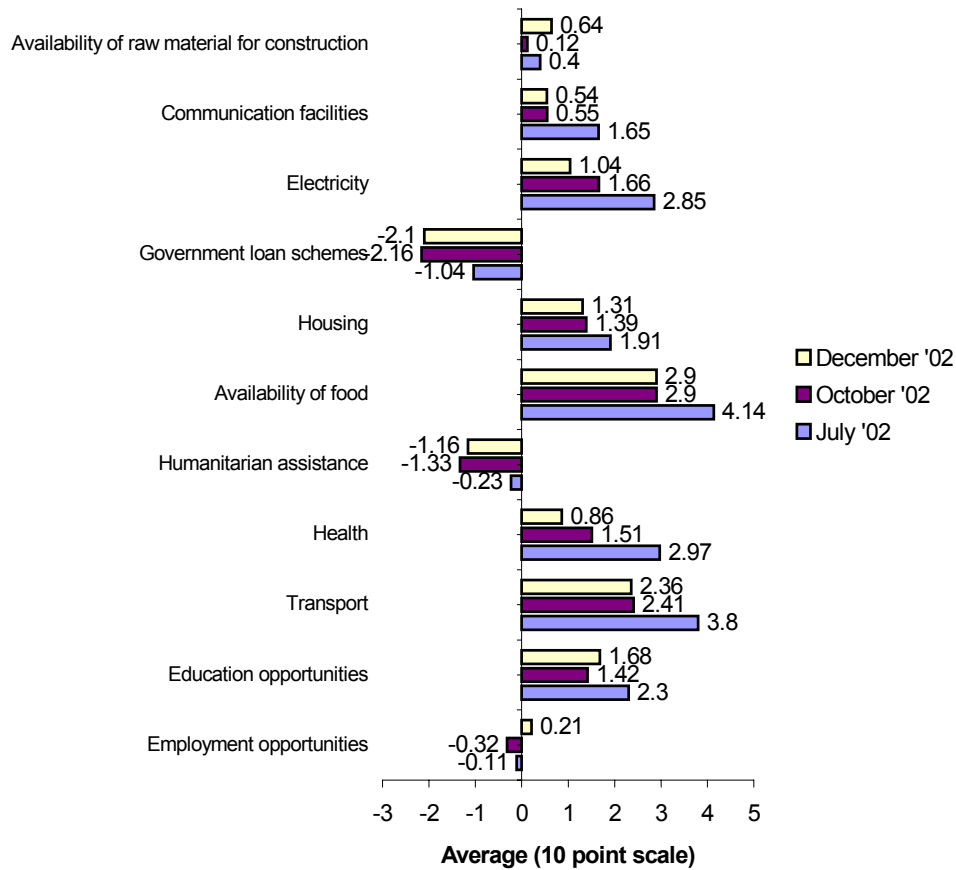
As the graph depicts, in December 2002, 6.3% rank resettlement as the issue of most concern to them, while 2.2% of the people ranks **education**.

The most important issues

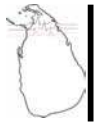




Level of satisfaction with facilities/services



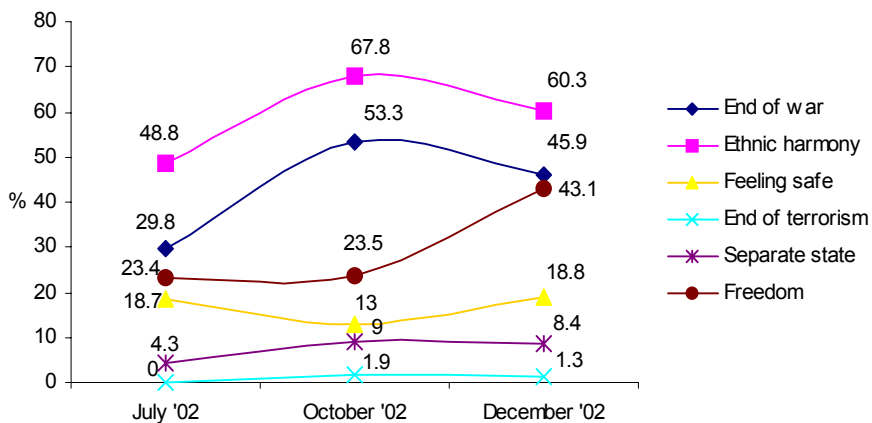
In December 2002, the level of satisfaction with the availability of food remains stationary from October 2002 at 2.9, though it is a considerable decline from 4.14 in July 2002. The services for which the levels of satisfaction have shown a notable increase in December 2002 from October 2002, are employment opportunities (-0.32 to 0.21) and the availability of raw material for construction (0.12 to 0.64). While other facilities and services like education opportunities (1.68) and humanitarian assistance (-1.16) have notched up slight increases, the level of satisfaction with health has dropped from 1.51 in October 2002 to 0.86 in December 2002.



MEANING OF WAR AND PEACE

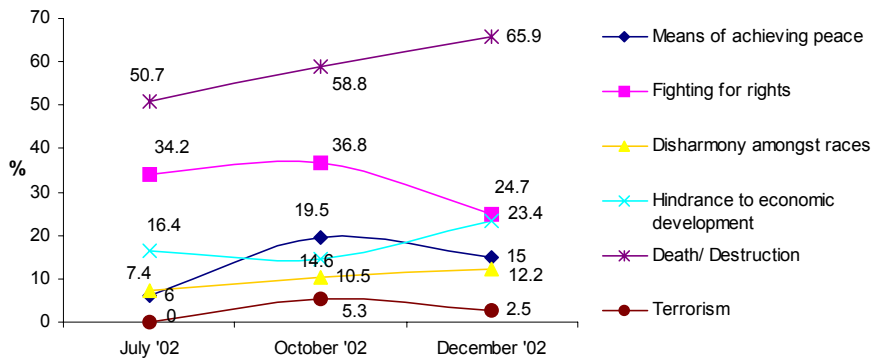
Peace means freedom for 43.1% of the people of Jaffna in December 2002. This perception has risen considerably from 23.5% in October 2002. For a majority (60.3%) of the people of Jaffna, the perception that peace means ethnic harmony continues in December 2002, though it is a decline from October 2002 (67.8%). The belief that peace means feeling safe has also increased (13% in October 2002 to 18.8% in December 2002), while the perception that peace means the end of war has declined from 53.3% in October 2002 to 45.9% in December 2002.

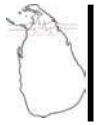
What does 'peace' mean to you? [Multiple Answers]



The perception that war means death and destruction continues its steady increase in December 2002 (65.9%) from July 2002 (50.7%), while the belief that it is a hindrance to economic development shows a notable increase (14.6% in October 2002 to 23.4% in December 2002). The perception that war means fighting for rights has decreased from 36.8% in October to 24.7% in December 2002.

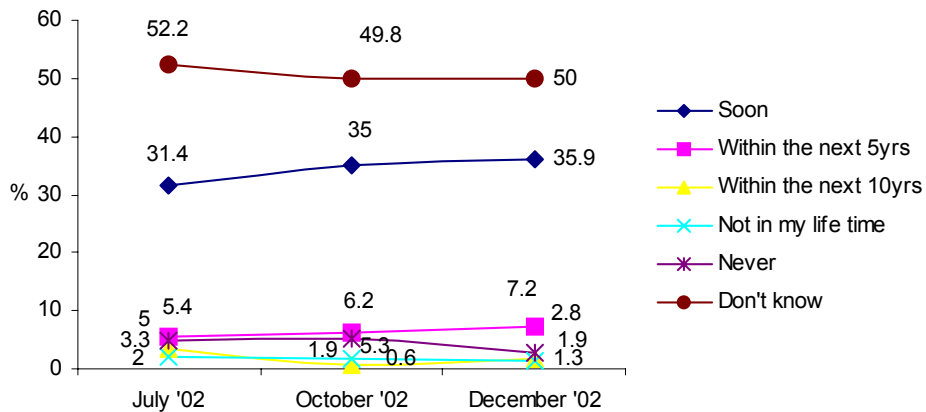
What does 'war' mean to you? [Multiple Answers]





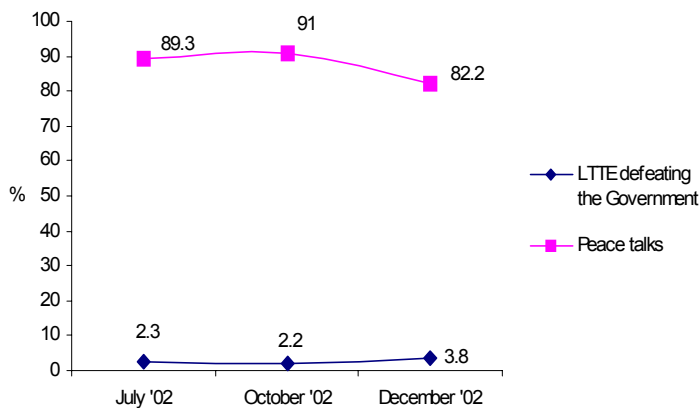
SOLUTIONS TO THE CONFLICT

When will there be peace in Sri Lanka?

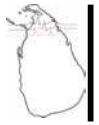


In December 2002, as in the previous two waves, a majority (50%) is unable to say when there will be peace in Sri Lanka. However, those that say there will never be peace in Sri Lanka has declined from 5.3% in October 2002 to 2.8% in December 2002. The perception that peace will be achieved soon remains almost constant (35.6%).

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

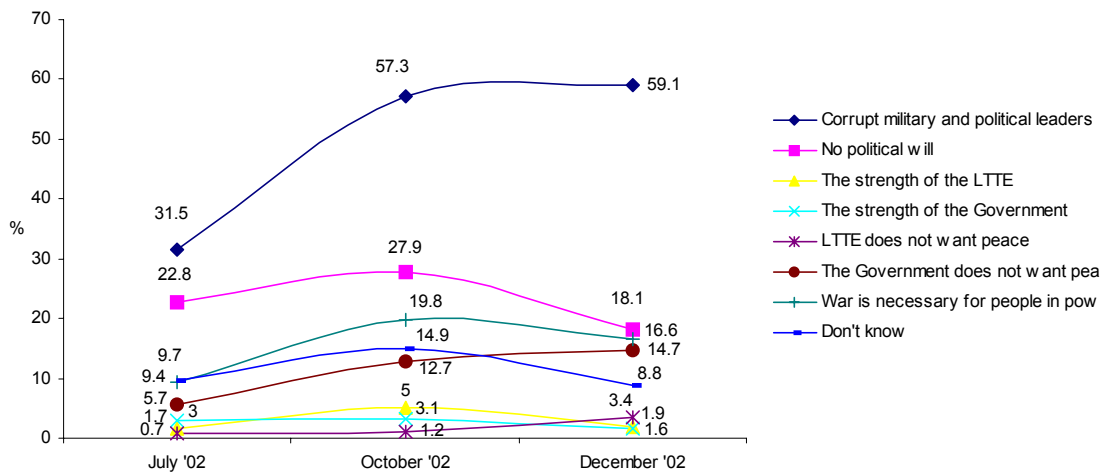


A majority (82.2%) of the people continue to believe in that peace talks is necessary to end the war and have peace in Sri Lanka, though it is a decline from October 2002 (91%).

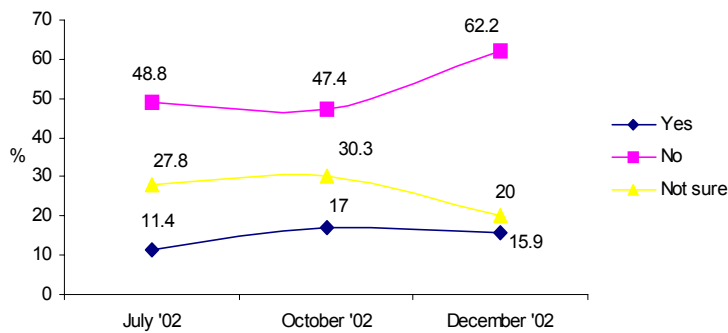


In December 2002, a majority (59.1%) of the people believes there hasn't been a solution to the war for the past 15 odd years as a result of corrupt military and political leadership. The lack of a solution to the war attributed to the absence of political will shows a notable decrease (27.9% in October 2002 to 18.1% in December 2002).

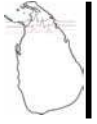
Why do you think there hasn't been a solution to the war for the last 15 odd years ?
[Multiple Answers]



Can total victory be achieved by one of the parties in this war ?

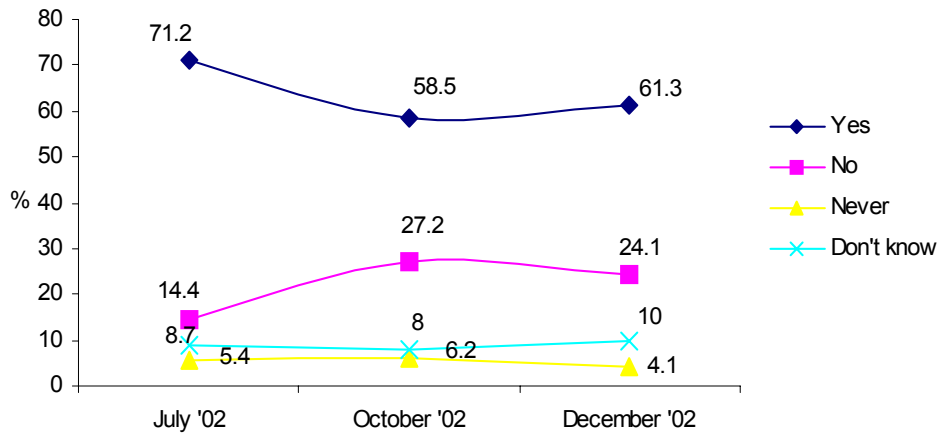


In December 2002, a majority (62.2%) continues to feel that neither party can achieve total victory in this war.

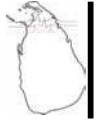


LEVEL OF TOLERANCE AND PLURALISM

Do you think all the ethnic communities can live together?

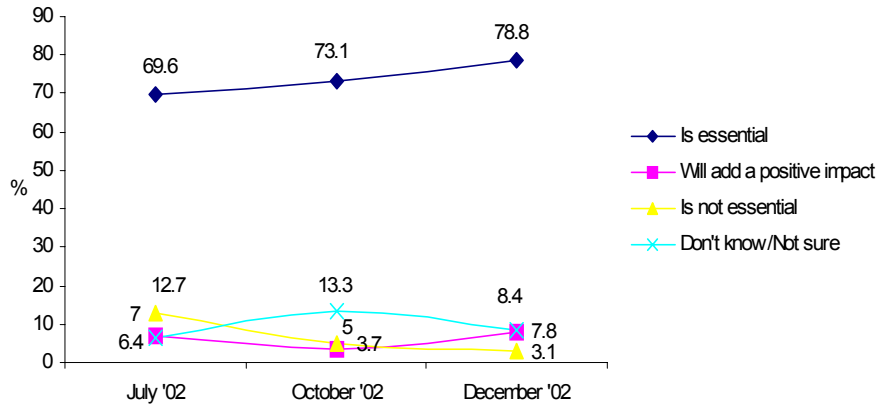


A majority (61.3%) of the public is of the view that that all ethnic communities can live together. This is an increase from October 2002 (58.5%).



THE PEACE PROCESS AND INTERNATIONAL THIRD PARTY INVOLVEMENT

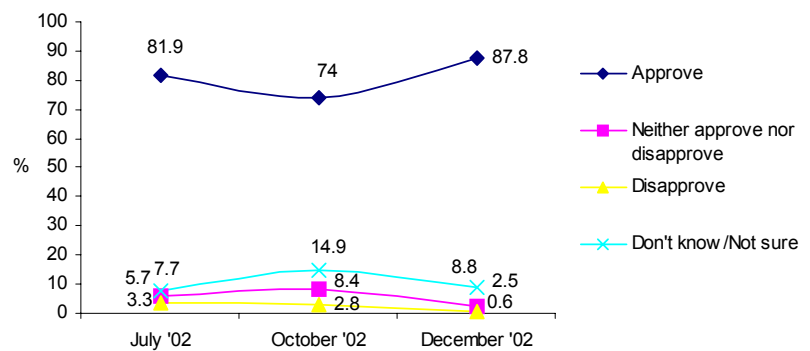
What is your opinion of the need for an international third party's involvement to solve the North East war in Sri Lanka ?

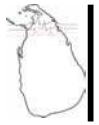


The perception that third party involvement to solve the North East war in Sri Lanka is essential continues to increase in December 2002 (78.8%) from July 2002 (69.6%) and October 2002 (73.1%).

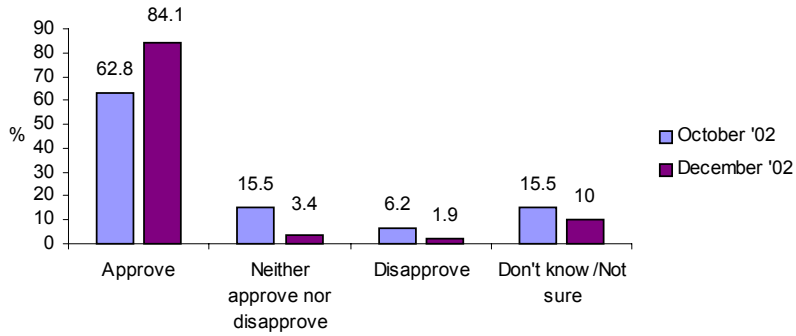
Please tell me if you approve or disapprove of Norway assisting in the Sri Lankan peace process ?

Approval for Norwegian assistance in the Sri Lankan peace process while continuing to be high, shows a notable increase from October 2002 (74%) to December 2002 (87.8%).



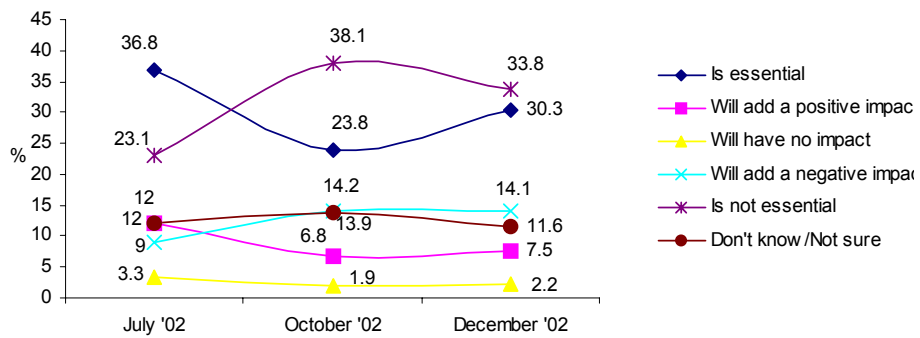


Please tell me if you approve or disapprove of Norway continuing to assist in the Sri Lankan peace process ?

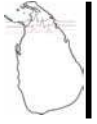


Norway's continual assistance in the peace process is endorsed by a majority of the public (84.1%) in December 2002 and is an increase from 62.8% in October 2002.

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

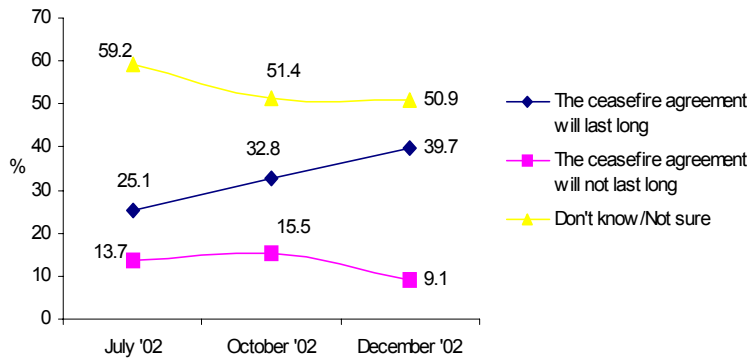


As depicted in the graph above, while a majority (33.8%) of the public continues to believe that Indian involvement in the Sri Lanka peace process is not essential, it is a decrease from 38.1% in October 2002. On the other hand, the perception that Indian involvement is essential has increased from 23.8% in October 2002 to 30.3% in December 2002.



CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT

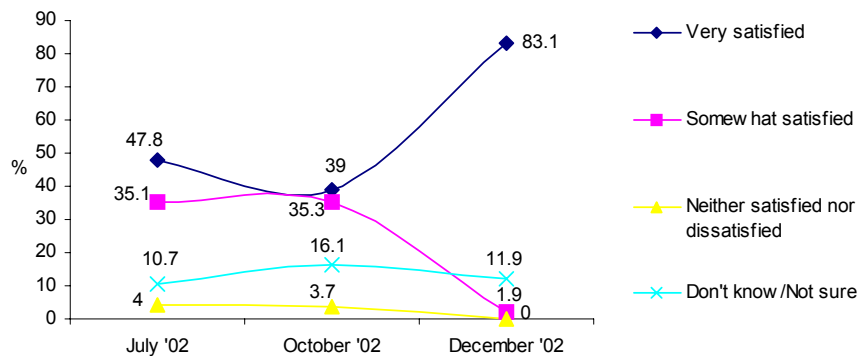
What do you think of the longevity of the ceasefire agreement ?

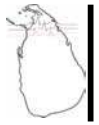


In December 2002 while a majority (50.9%) are unable to state if the ceasefire agreement will last, there is a steady increase in the opinion that it will (39.7%). This is an increase from 32.8% in October 2002.

The findings for December 2002 show a sharp increase in those very satisfied with Norway's role in the ceasefire agreement from 39% in October 2002 to 83.1% in December 2002. The graph further indicates a significant decline in those who are somewhat satisfied from 35.3% in October 2002 to 0% in December 2002.

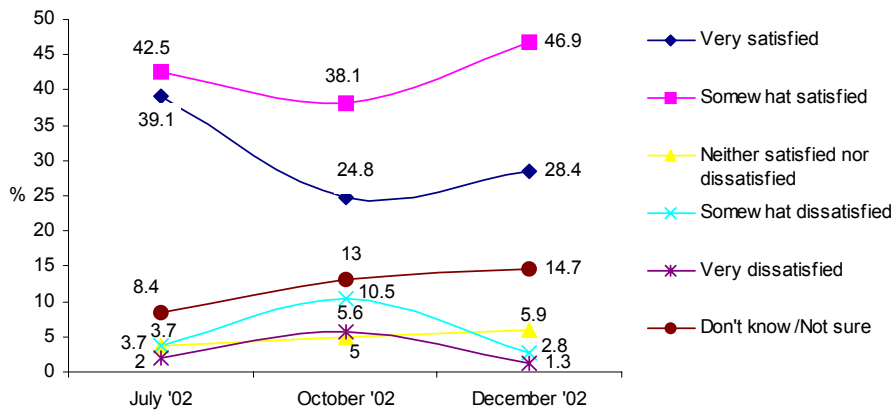
Please state your level of satisfaction with Norway's role in the ceasefire agreement.





When asked to state their level of satisfaction with the implementation of the ceasefire agreement, a majority (46.9%) in December 2002 says they are somewhat satisfied. This is an increase from October 2002 (38.1%). At the same time, the number of those who say they are somewhat dissatisfied and very dissatisfied has declined from 10.5% and 5.6% in October 2002 to 2.8% and 1.3% in December 2002 respectively.

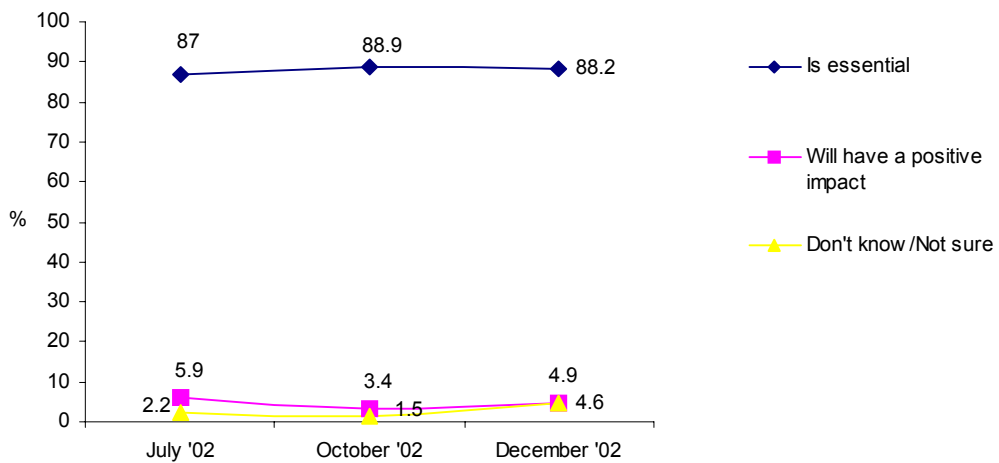
What is your level of satisfaction of the implementation of the ceasefire agreement ?

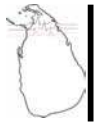


SRI LANKA MONITORING MISSION (SLMM)

In December 2002, a majority (81.9%) is aware of the involvement of foreign monitors in monitoring the ceasefire. 88.2% of those who are aware of the involvement of foreign monitors, believe that such a monitoring mission is essential for the CFA to succeed.

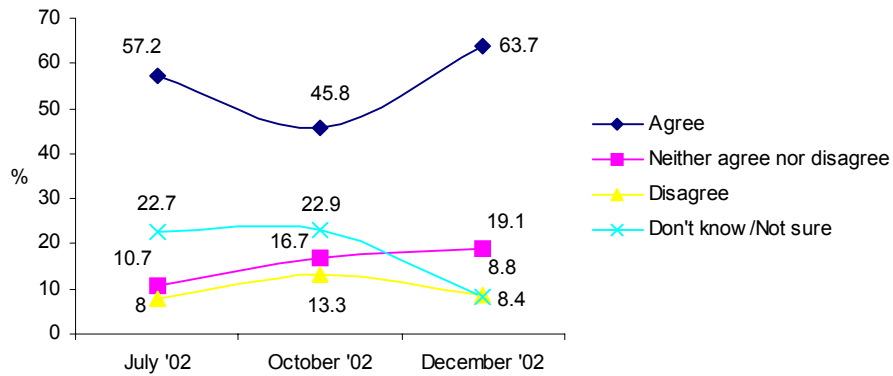
If "Yes", what is your opinion of the need for such a monitoring mission for the CFA to succeed ?





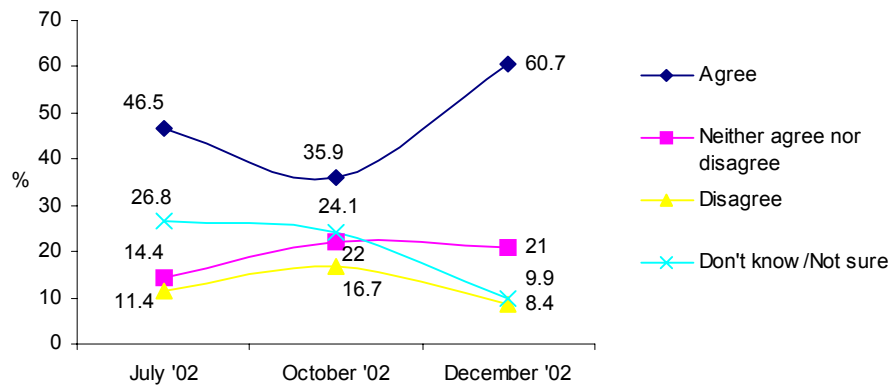
A majority (63.7%) in December 2002, of those aware of the SLMM believes it is impartial in its monitoring of the ceasefire agreement. This is a notable increase from October 2002 (45.8%).

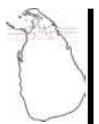
I think the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission is impartial in its monitoring of the ceasefire agreement.



Coinciding with the increase in the above graph, is those who believe that the SLMM is effective in its monitoring of the ceasefire agreement (35.9% in October 2002 to 60.7% in December 2002).

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

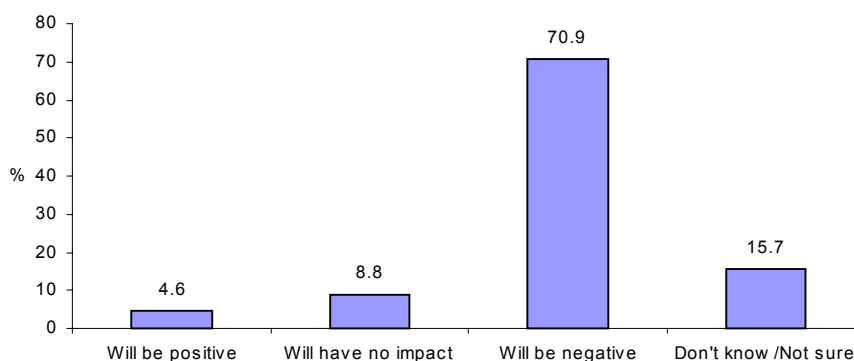




LTTE

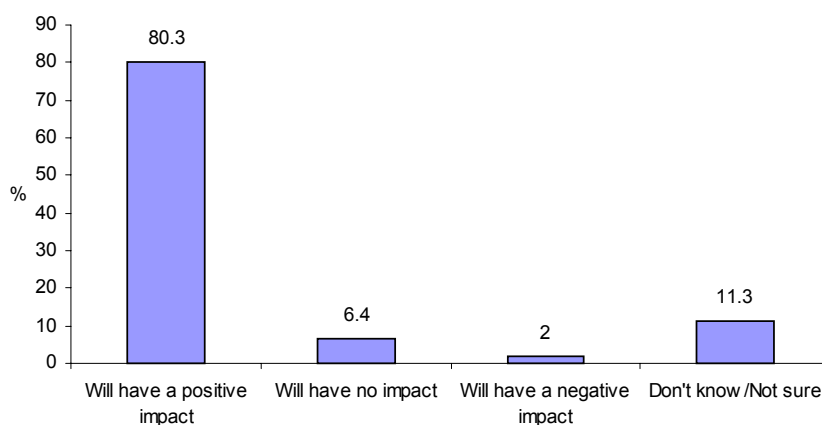
In December 2002, a majority of the Jaffna public (88.8%) is aware of the 200 year sentence passed on the LTTE leader Velupillai Prabhakaran for his role in the Central Bank bombing of 1996. Of those aware of this sentence, 70.9% believe that it will have a negative impact on the peace process.

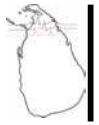
If yes, what in your opinion will be the impact of this verdict on the peace process?



63.7% of the people are aware of the Heroes' Day speech made by the LTTE leader Velupillai Prabhakaran. Of those aware of this speech, 80.3% are of the opinion that it will have a positive impact on the peace process while 6.4% of the people believe that it will have no impact.

If 'Yes', what in your opinion, will be the impact of this speech on the peace process?

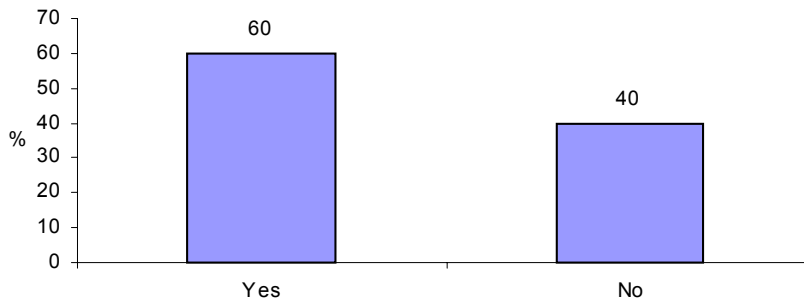




THAILAND TALKS

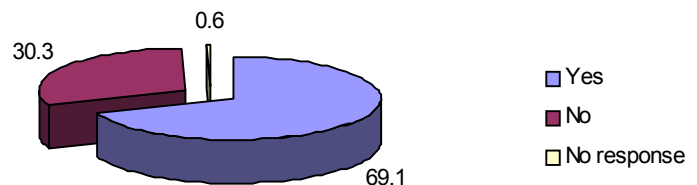
In December 2002, 60% of the people said they are aware of the 2nd round of peace talks held between the Government of Sri Lanka and the LTTE.

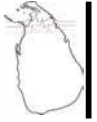
Are you aware of the 2nd round of talks that took place in Thailand between the Government of Sri Lanka and the LTTE ?



Of those who said they were aware of the peace talks, a majority (69.1%) are aware of the decision to form three sub-committees on the immediate humanitarian and rehabilitation needs in the North and East, de-escalation and normalization and political matters.

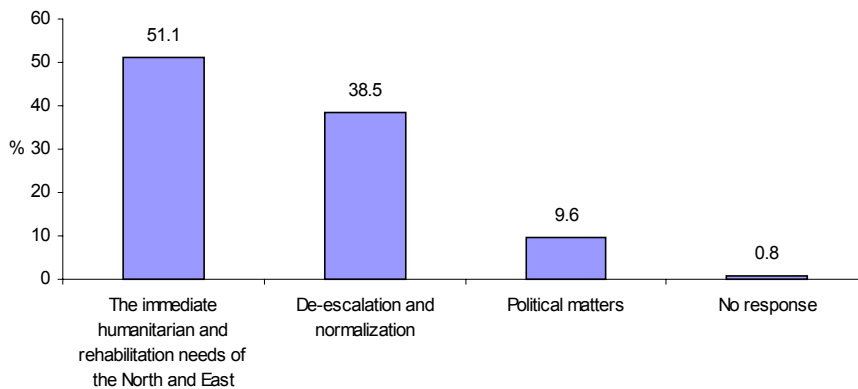
If "Yes", are you aware of the decision to form three sub-committees on the immediate humanitarian and rehabilitation needs in the North and East, de-escalation and normalization and political matters ?



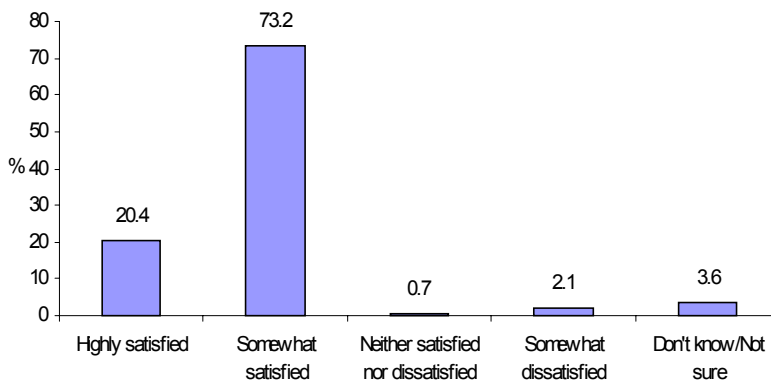


Of those aware of the decision to form the three sub-committees, a majority (51.1%) believes that the sub-committee on the immediate humanitarian and rehabilitation needs in the North and East should be given priority in the peace process. 38.5% believe that the sub-committee on de-escalation and normalization should be given more priority, while 9.6% are of the opinion that more priority should be given to the sub-committee on political matters.

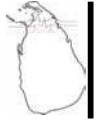
According to your understanding, which sub-committee do you think should be given more priority?



Please state your level of satisfaction with the outcome of the talks.

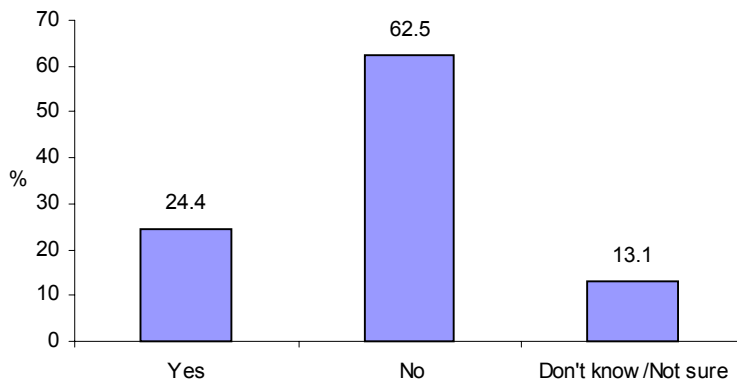


A majority of the public (73.2%) is somewhat satisfied with the outcome of the second round of peace talks, while 20.4% say they are highly satisfied.



INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS (IDP's)

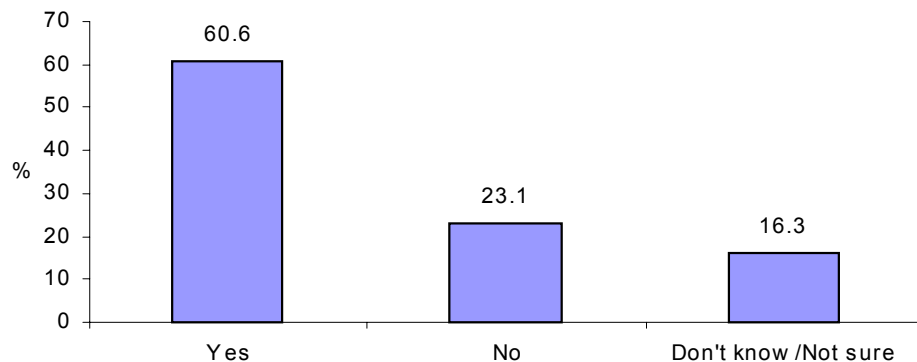
According to your understanding, is the Government committed to treating the return of the IDP's as priority in the peace process?

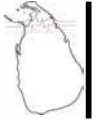


62.5% of the people are of the view that the Government is not committed to treating the return of the IDP's as priority in the peace process

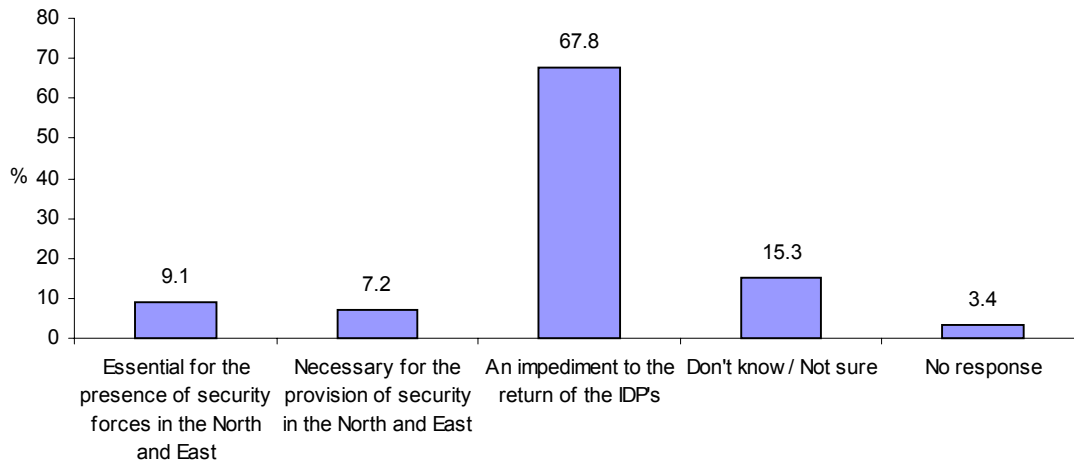
However as depicted in the graph below, a majority of the people (60.6%) believe that the LTTE is committed to treating the return of the IDP's as priority in the peace process.

According to your understanding, is the LTTE committed to treating the return of the IDP's as priority in the peace process?





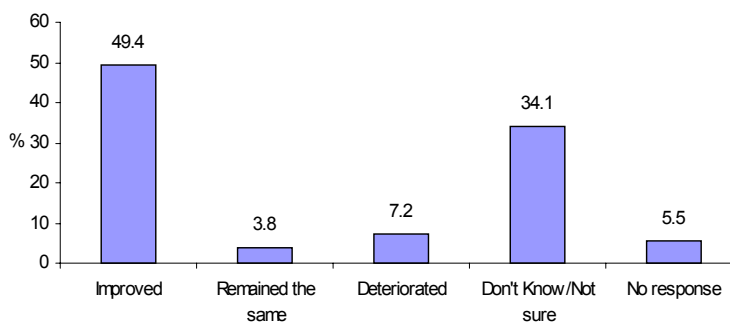
According to your understanding, high security zones are...[Multiple Answers]



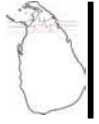
A majority (67.8%) of those surveyed perceive High Security Zones (HSZ) as an impediment to the return of IDP's, while 9.1% are of the opinion that HSZ are essential for the presence of security forces in the North and East. 7.2% believe they are necessary for the provision of security in the North and East. 15.3% are unsure of what a HSZ is.

EASTERN MUSLIMS

Since the Ceasefire Agreement in February 2002, the situation of the Muslims in the North and East has...



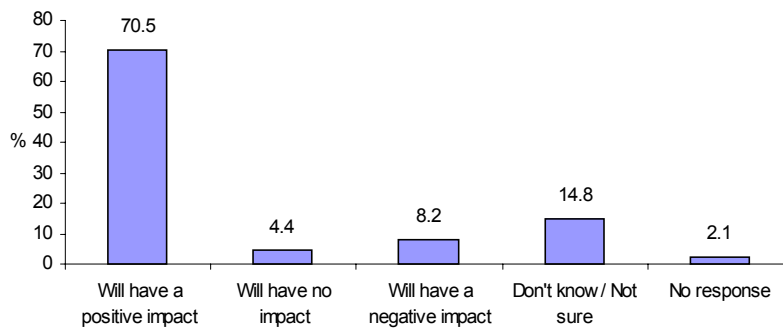
49.4% of the people believe that the situation of the Muslims in the North and East has improved since the CFA, while 7.2% are of the opinion that it has deteriorated. 34.1% of the people are unsure of the situation of the Muslims in the North and East.



OSLO

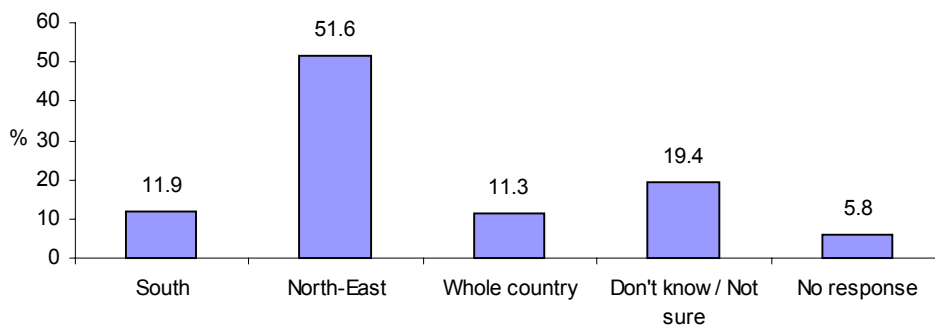
57.2% of the people are aware of the meeting in Oslo on 25th November of key donors in support of the peace process. Of those aware of this meeting, an overwhelming majority (70.5%) are of the opinion that it will have a positive impact on the people of the north. 8.2% believe that it will have a negative impact, while 14.8% say they don't know.

If 'Yes', in your opinion, what impact will it have on the people of the north?

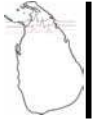


FOREIGN AID

I believe the region that gets the bulk of the economic assistance is the... [Multiple Answers]



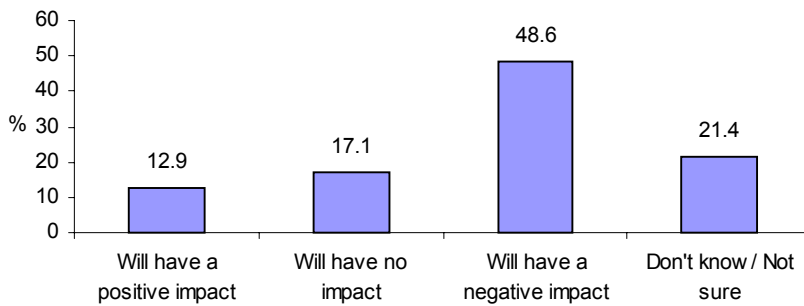
A majority (51.6%) believes that the region that gets the bulk of the economic assistance is the North East, while 11.9% say it is the South. 19.4% are unsure.



PRESIDENT CHANDRIKA KUMARATUNGE'S SPEECH

A majority (77.8%) is aware of President Chandrika Kumaratunge's proposal to set up a 'National Commission for Ethnic Reconciliation and Sustainable Peace' made by her in a speech to mark her eighth anniversary as President on 12th November 2002. Of those aware of the President's speech, 48.6% are of the view that it will have a negative impact, while 12.9% believe it will have a positive impact. 17.1% are of the opinion that the President's proposal will have no impact. 21.4% are unsure.

If yes, what in your opinion will be the impact of this proposal on the peace process?



Annex

METHODOLOGY

The study is carried out using a structured questionnaire, administered through face-to-face interviews amongst a sample of 320 respondents. It covered the Jaffna, Nallur, Vadamarachchi and Thenmarachchi divisional secretariats and all the divisional secretariats of Valikamam. Samples are allotted to these areas according to the proportion of the population in these areas and the Grama Niladari Divisions (GND), the primary sampling unit, are selected randomly. Within the selected GND respondents are chosen randomly, thereby giving all citizens of that particular area an equal opportunity to be selected. In the case of high security areas, the enumerators are instructed to select GNDs from a list of alternative GNDs.

Eleven field enumerators, with a minimum Advanced Level educational qualification and resident in the Jaffna district, were hired to conduct the interviews. The field team comprised of two women and nine men, who were given a one-day intensive field training on administering the questionnaire and field techniques. In addition to accompanied visits, 10% of their work was rechecked by the senior SI staff, in order to maintain the quality of the fieldwork.

The findings of this survey are subject to a 3% margin of error.

SAMPLE DISTRIBUTION

AREA	TOTAL
Uduvil (Valikamam S.)	30
Chankanai (Valikamam W.)	30
Tellippalai (Valikamam N.)	30
Nallur	30
Jaffna	30
Kopai (Valikamam E.)	30
Sandilippai (Valikamam S.W.)	30
Karaveddi (Vadamarachchi S.W.)	30
Point Pedro (Vadamarachchi N)	30
Maruthankerny (Vadamarachchi E)	20
Chavakachcheri (Thenmarachchi)	30
	320

DEMOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION

SEX	(%)
Male	35.6
Female	64.4
	320

AGE	(%)
15 – 25 yrs	19.4
26 – 35 yrs	23.4
36 – 45 yrs	19.1
46 – 55 yrs	22.8
56 – 65 yrs	14.1
66 yrs and above	1.3
	320

INCOME	(%)
Below Rs 5000	78.8
Rs 5001 – Rs 10 000	7.8
Rs 10 001 – Rs 15 000	2.8
Rs 15 001 – Rs 20 000	1.6
Rs 20 001 – Rs 25 000	0.3
Rs 25 001 and above	0.3
No response	8.4
	320

OCCUPATION	(%)
Executives, Managerial and Administrative Professionals	1.9
Professionals	5.6
Technicians & Associate Professionals	1.9
Clerk	3.1
Travel, Restaurant, Protective Service Workers & Sales Workers	5.6
Agricultural and Fisheries Workers	8.8
Student	84
Housewife	38.4
Retired	2.2
Business	0.6
Self employed	1.9
Elementary Occupations	3.1
Unemployed	17.2
Other	1.3
	320

EDUCATION	(%)
Cannot read & write	2.5
Literate but no formal education	4.1
Up to grade 5	12.8
Grade 6-9	19.7
Up to O' Level	10.9
O' Level	21.9
Up to A' Level	3.8
A' Level	14.4
Vocationally trained	0.3
Technically trained	1.3
Professional	2.2
Undergraduate	2.5
Graduate and above	3.4
	320

For further information please contact:

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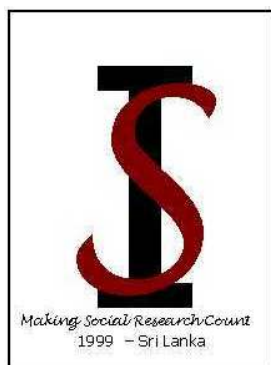
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Social Indicator (SI) is an independent social research organisation, which conducts polls on socio-economic and political issues.

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.



Published by:
Social Indicator
Centre for Policy Alternatives
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Colombo 3,
Sri Lanka.

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