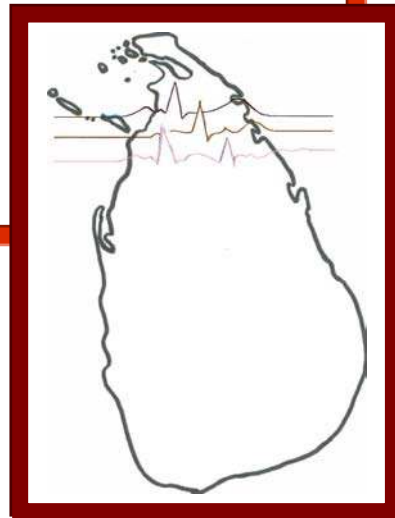


PEACE CONFIDENCE INDEX – JAFFNA



SOCIAL INDICATOR
AUGUST 2003

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The U.S. Agency for International Development under the Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI) Sri Lanka.

INTRODUCTION

Social Indicator (SI), the polling unit of the Centre for Policy Alternatives has been conducting the Peace Confidence Index (PCI) since May 2001. This study is carried out in order to capture the changes in public confidence in the peace process. While SI recognised the importance of an island-wide survey, the ground situation restricted the PCI to 17 administrative districts of Sri Lanka, excluding the Jaffna peninsula and LTTE controlled areas.

Therefore, with financial assistance from the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), SI initiated a survey in the Jaffna peninsula in July 2002 to ascertain people's perspectives on the peace process and other related issues of concern. This initial survey was followed by two consecutive waves in October and December 2002. However, following these three surveys, SI had to abandon its 'Perspectives on Peace from Jaffna' due to financial constraints.

In August 2003, following a lapse of seven months, SI re-commenced this study – 'Peace Confidence Index – Jaffna'. Assistance for the survey was given through the provision of a grant to Social Indicator (SI)/the Centre for Policy Alternative (CPA) by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

The questionnaire for the Peace Confidence Index – Jaffna comprises of most of the questions contained in the PCI, and some which are specific to the Jaffna situation. In addition to measuring public confidence in the peace process, provision is made in the questionnaire to examine socio-cultural issues as well.

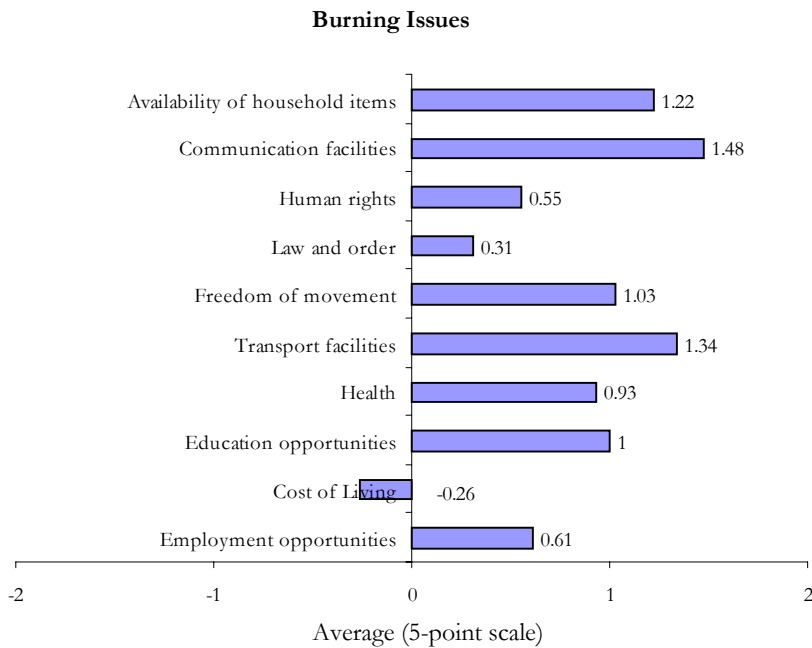
The fieldwork for this survey was conducted from the 9th to the 13th of August in the Jaffna, Nallur, Valikammam and Vadamarachchi areas. A structured questionnaire was administered through face-to-face interviews amongst a randomly selected sample of 307 respondents.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- ▶▶ When compared with other facilities, Communication facilities have improved the most in the Jaffna peninsular from the period before the Ceasefire Agreement
- ▶▶ The opinion that 'peace' means freedom has declined to 23.5% in August 2003, when compared to 43.1% in December 20002
- ▶▶ Though an overwhelming majority (85%) state that peace can be achieved through negotiations, 48.5% are unsure as to when there will be peace in Sri Lanka.
- ▶▶ Over half the people believe that all ethnic communities can live together
- ▶▶ 65.8% are of the opinion that international third party involvement is essential to solve the North-East conflict
- ▶▶ While 40.1% are of the opinion that the Ceasefire Agreement will last for another year or more, an almost equal number (45.3%) are unsure
- ▶▶ A majority of the people of Jaffna state that they have not heard of Federalism (60.9%)
- ▶▶ Of those who have heard of Federalism, 76.3% agree that it is the best way of governing this country

BURNING ISSUES

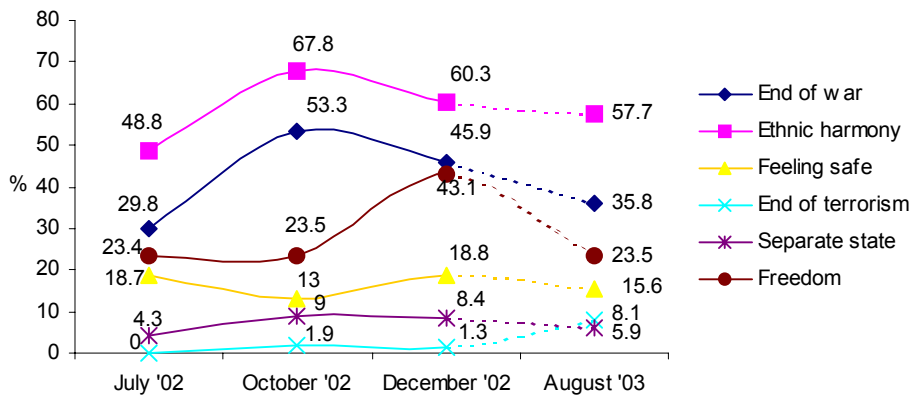
People were asked whether, in their opinion, the overall situation of certain facilities and issues of concern had improved or got worse in August 2003 when compared to the period before the Ceasefire Agreement. As seen in the graph below, Communication Facilities (1.48) have improved the most in the Jaffna peninsular. While all other facilities and issues of concern have improved, people express that the Cost of Living has deteriorated (-0.26).



MEANING OF WAR AND PEACE

In August 2003, following a break in opinion polling of seven months in the Jaffna peninsula, a majority (57.7%) of the people perceive 'peace' as Ethnic Harmony and 35.8% believe that it means the End of War. A further 23.5% understand peace as Freedom. This view has shown a considerable decline from 43.1%, when Jaffna was last surveyed in December 2002.

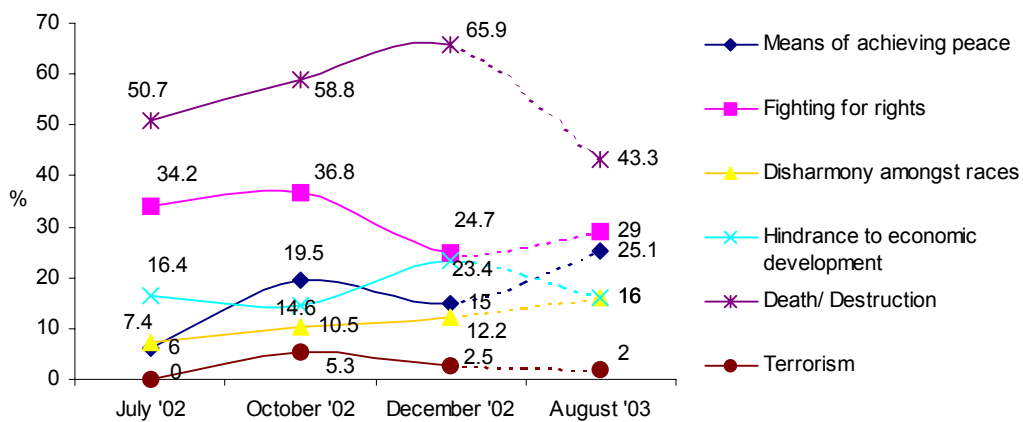
What does 'peace' mean to you? [Multiple Answers]



When asked what 'war' means to them, 43.3% of the people of Jaffna equate it with Death and Destruction, a view significantly lower when compared to December 2002 (65.9%). While this is the majority opinion in August 2003, an interesting trend in this belief can be observed from the inception of this survey – opinion increases from 50.7% in July 2002, to 58.8% in October of the same year and 65.9% in December 2003.

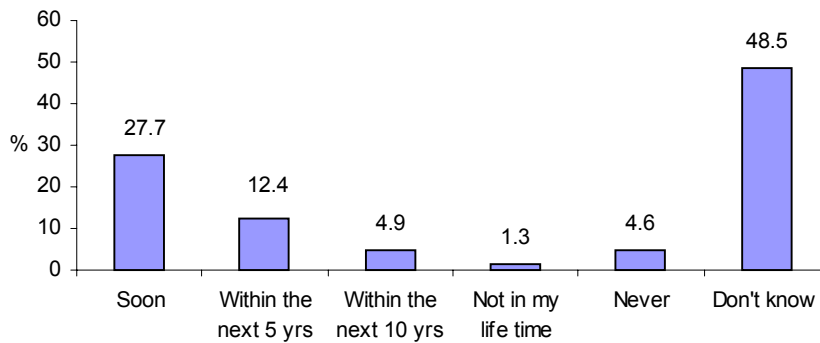
War also means Fighting for Rights and a Means of Achieving Peace for 29% and 25.1% of the people respectively. This perception that 'war' is a means of achieving peace has increased from 15% in December 2002.

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



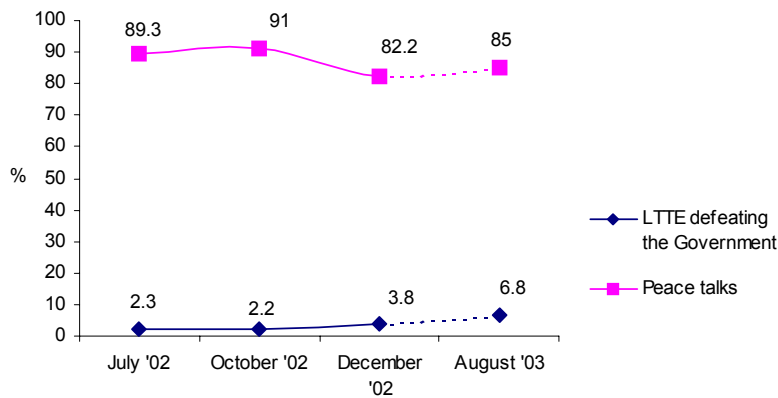
48.5% of the people declare that they do not know when there will be a permanent settlement to the war in Sri Lanka, while 27.7% are of the opinion that it will be soon.

When will there be a permanent settlement to the war in Sri Lanka ?



SOLUTIONS TO THE CONFLICT

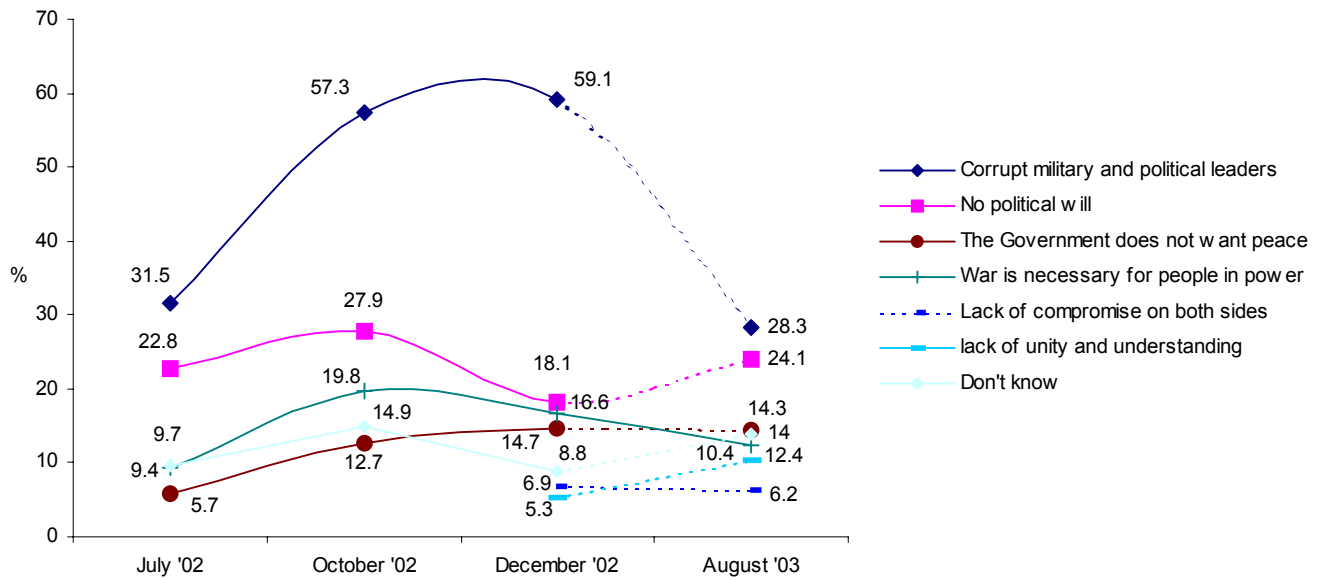
How do you think we can end the war and have peace in Sri Lanka ? [Multiple Answers]



The conviction that the war can be ended and peace brought to Sri Lanka through Peace Talks remains the majority opinion (85%) in Jaffna in August 2003.

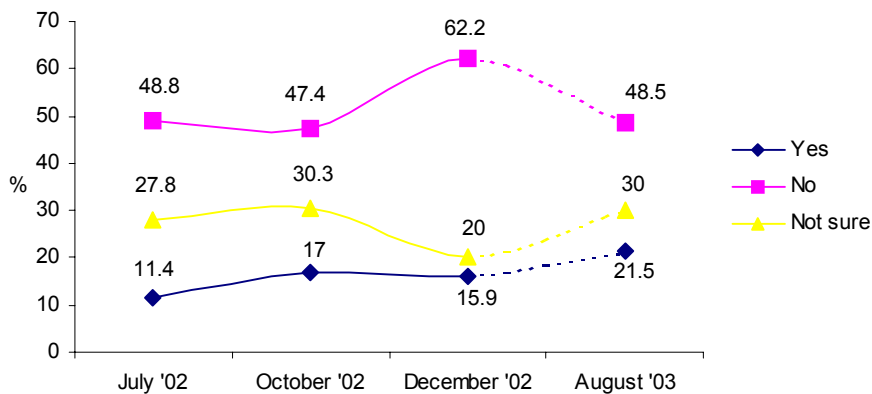
The study reveals that in August 2003, 28.3% of the people feel that there has not been a solution to the war for the last 15 odd years because of corrupt military and political leaders. This opinion is significantly lower when compared to December 2002 (59.1%). Also, as the graph indicates, 24.1% attribute the lack of a solution to the absence of political will, an increase from 18.1% in December 2002. While 14.3% believes that the Government does not want peace, 12.4% are of the opinion that war is necessary for people in power. Hence the lack of a solution.

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



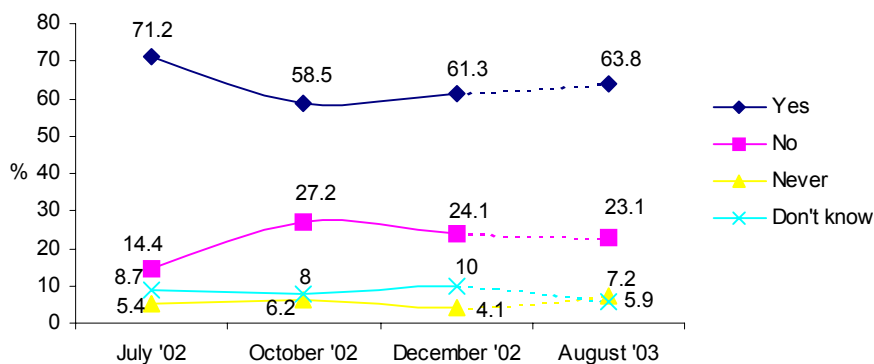
When asked whether total victory can be achieved by one of the parties in this war, 48.5% feel that it is not possible. This is a decline from 62.2% in December 2002. Further, the opinion that total victory can be achieved by one of the parties has increased from 15.9% in December 2002 to 21.5% in August 2003.

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



LEVEL OF TOLERANCE AND PLURALISM

Do you think all the ethnic communities can live together?

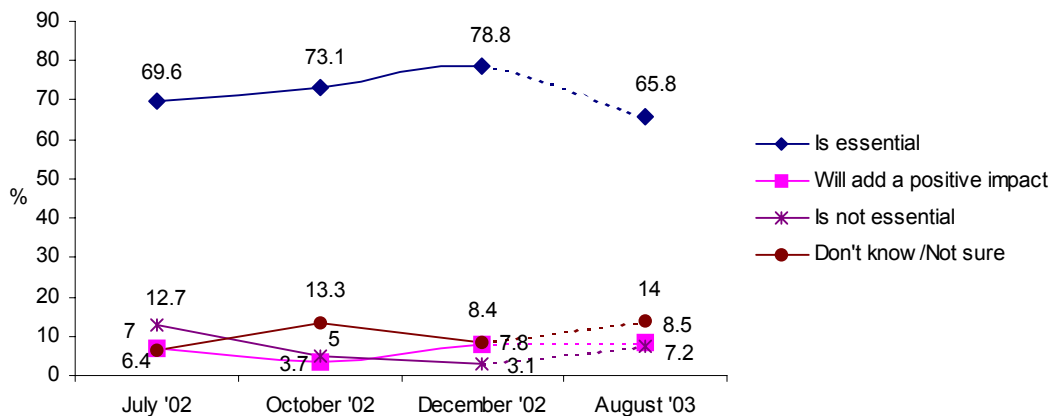


In August 2003, 63.8% of the people of Jaffna are of the belief that all ethnic communities can live together, while 23.1% hold a contrary view. This is similar to the opinion held on this issue in December 2002, where, 61.3% thought that all ethnic communities could live together and 24.1% believed otherwise.

THE PEACE PROCESS AND INTERNATIONAL THIRD PARTY INVOLVEMENT

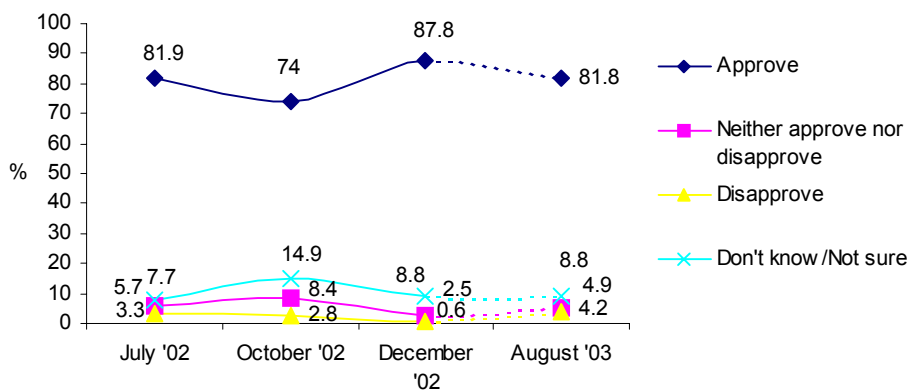
A majority (65.8%) of those surveyed are of the belief that the need for an international third party's involvement to solve the North East war in Sri Lanka is essential. However, this is a decrease from 78.8% in December 2002. In August 2003, 8.5% say that it will add a positive impact, while 14% are uncertain about this issue.

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



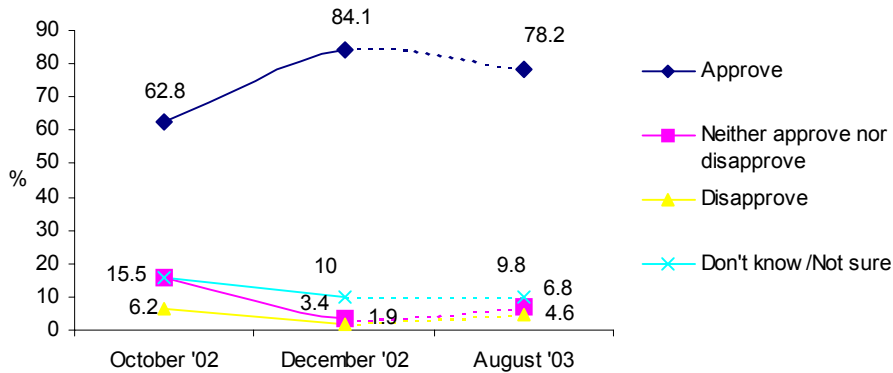
A notable majority (81.8%), in August 2003, approve of Norway assisting in the Sri Lankan peace process. This indicates a decrease when compared to December 2002 (87.8%).

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



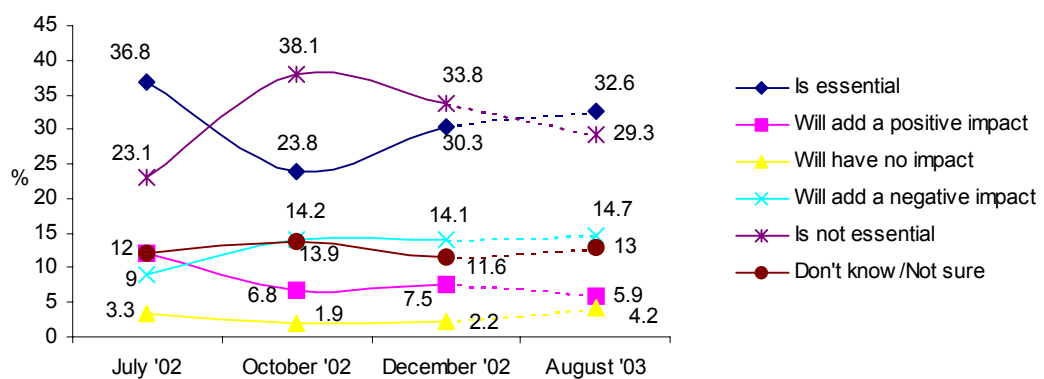
While approval for Norwegian assistance in the Sri Lankan peace process is high, a majority (78.2%) of the people of Jaffna also approve of Norway continuing to assist in the country's peace process. However, this is a decline in the opinion from 84.1% in December 2002.

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



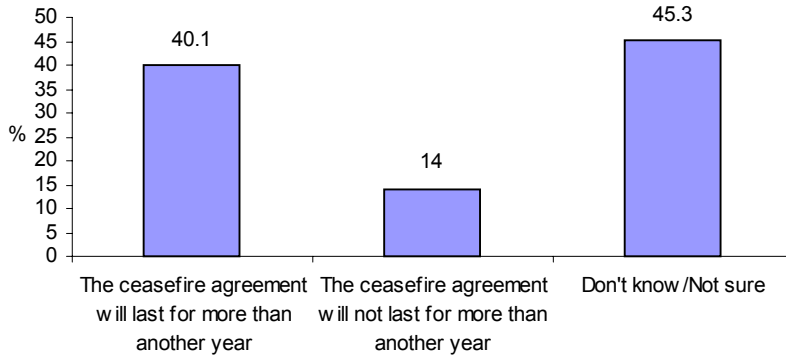
On the other hand, the need for Indian involvement is met with divided opinion amongst the people of the north, with 32.6% believing that it is essential and 29.3% expressing that Indian involvement is not essential. But when compared to December 2002, 30.3% believe it is essential, while 33.8% are of the view that it is not essential. Furthermore, 14.7% are of the view that it will add a negative impact.

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



CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT

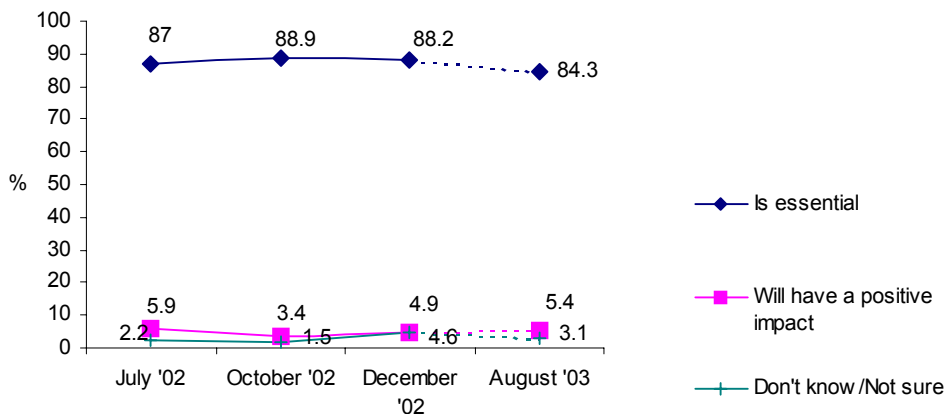
What do you think of the longevity of the ceasefire agreement ?



The perception that the Ceasefire Agreement will last more than another year is held amongst a significant proportion (40.1%) of the people. However, a majority (45.3%) of the people are unsure or don't know about the longevity of the Ceasefire Agreement.

In August 2003, the study reveals that awareness of the involvement of foreign monitors in monitoring the Ceasefire Agreement (CFA) stands at 85%. Moreover, out of those aware of such an involvement, 84.3% feel it is essential in order for the CFA to succeed.

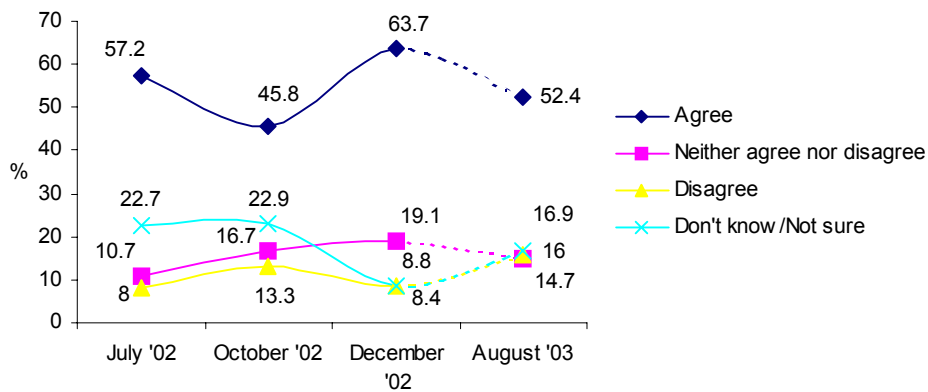
If "Yes", what is your opinion of the need for such a monitoring mission for the CFA to succeed ?



SRI LANKA MONITORING MISSION

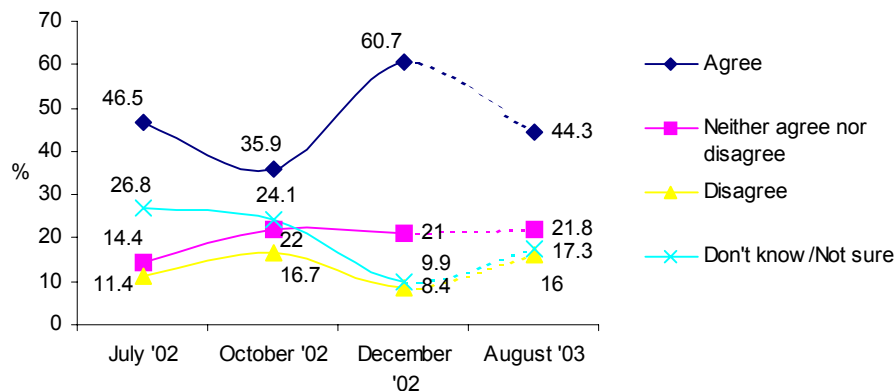
Between July and December 2002, the view that the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission (SLMM) is impartial in its monitoring of the CFA has been erratic - declining from 57.2% in July 2002 to 45.8% in October of the same year, and increasing again to 63.7% in December 2002. However, there is a decline in this perception in August 2003 (52.4%), when compared to December 2002.

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



A majority (44.3%) are of the view that the SLMM is effective in its monitoring of the CFA, a decline when compared to 60.7% in December 2002. 21.8% remain neutral with regard to the effectiveness of the SLMM.

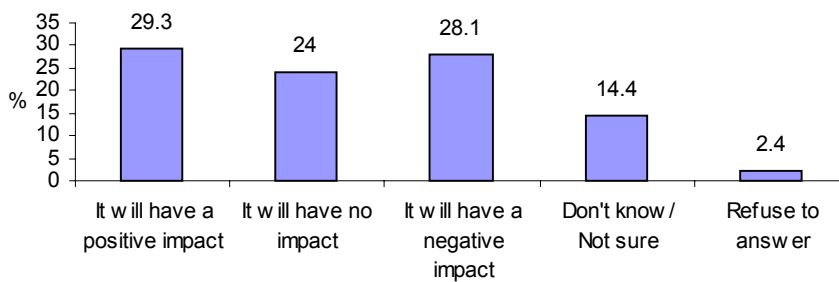
I think the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission is effective in its monitoring of the ceasefire agreement.



LTTE

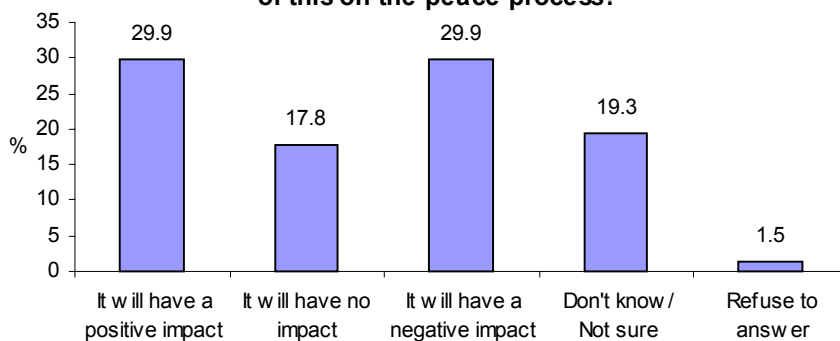
Over half (54.4%) the people of Jaffna state that they are aware that the LTTE did not participate in the aid conference held in Tokyo in June this year. Opinion is split amongst those aware of this move by the LTTE, when asked what the impact of this would be on the peace process. 29.3% feel that it would have a positive impact, while 28.1% say that it will have a negative impact on the peace process.

If you are aware that the LTTE did not participate in the aid conference in Tokyo, what in your opinion would be the impact of this on the peace process?



The study reveals that 63.8% of the people of Jaffna are aware that the LTTE announced that it was suspending its participation in direct talks with the Government. However, the impact of this decision, amongst those aware of the LTTE's withdrawal, once again reveals divided opinion amongst the people of Jaffna - 29.9% believing that it would have a positive impact and an equal number stating that it would have a negative impact.

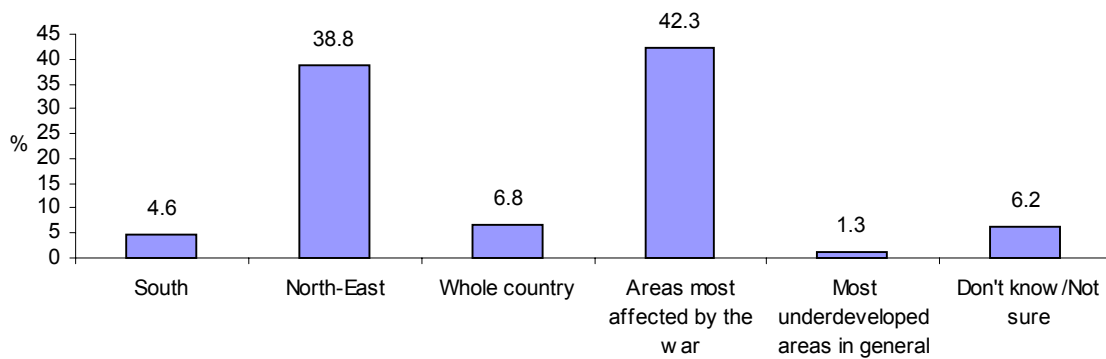
If you are aware that the LTTE announced that it was suspending its participation in direct talks with the Government, what in your opinion would be the impact of this on the peace process?



FOREIGN AID

According to 42.3% of the people, donations and foreign aid to rebuild Sri Lanka should be directed to those areas most affected by the war. Further, 38.8% feel that funds should be given to the North-East.

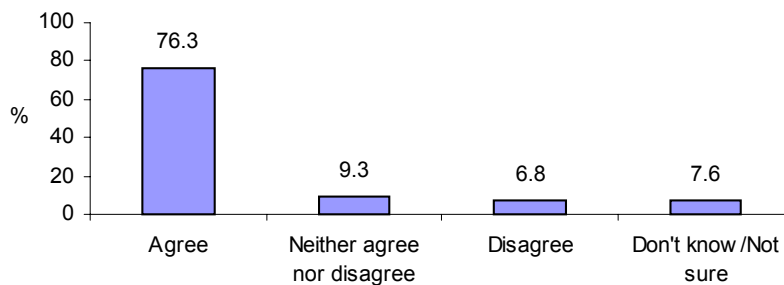
As a result of the peace process Sri Lanka receives donations and foreign aid to rebuild the country. In your opinion which part of the country do you think should receive the funds?



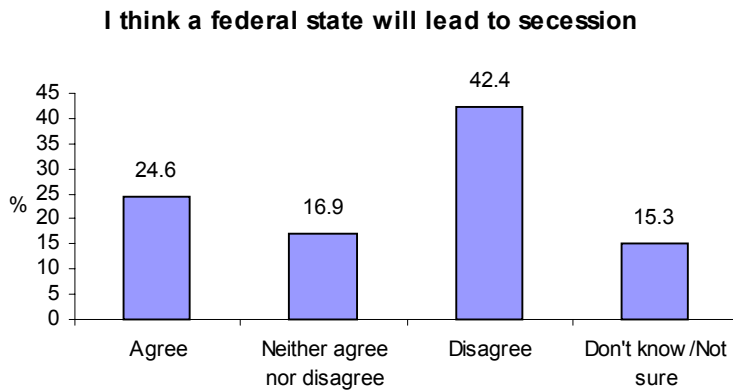
FEDERALISM

Of those who have heard of Federalism, 76.3% believe that it is the best way of governing this country.

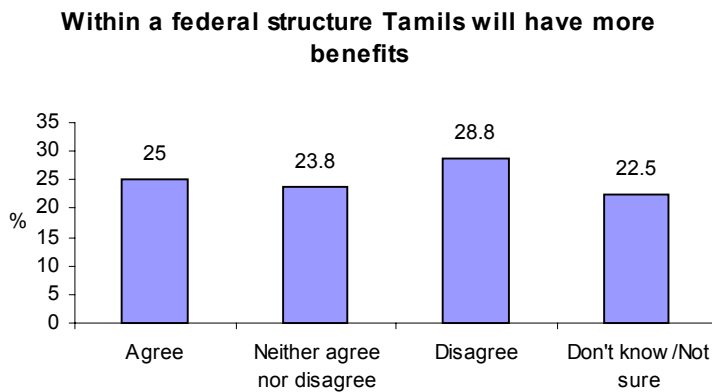
I believe a federal system is the best way of governing this country



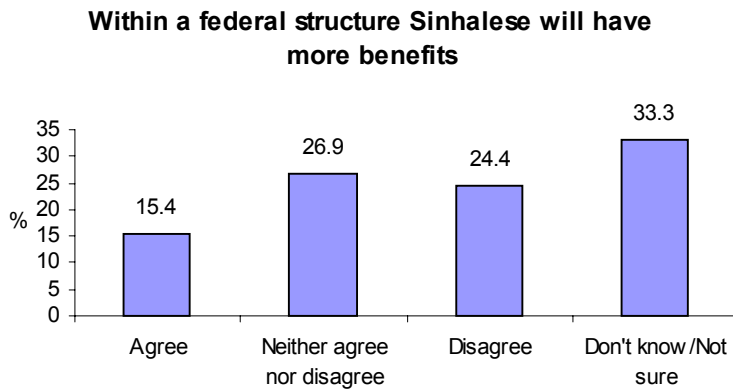
As depicted in the graph below, 42.4% think that Federalism will not lead to secession, while 24.6% think that it will. A further 15.3% are unsure or do not know whether Federalism would lead to secession.



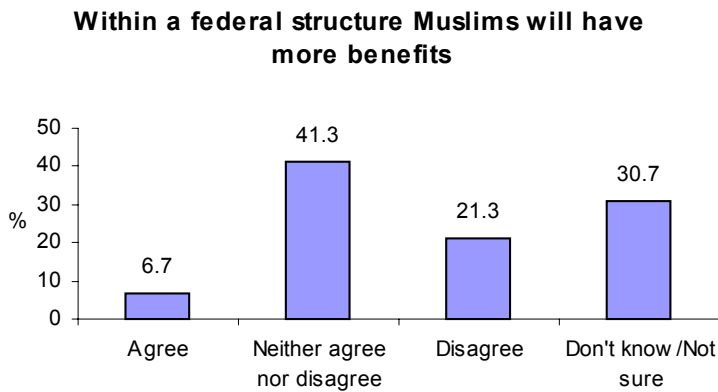
In August 2003, while a quarter of the people of Jaffna perceive that within a Federal structure, Tamils will have more benefits, 28.8% disagree with this view.



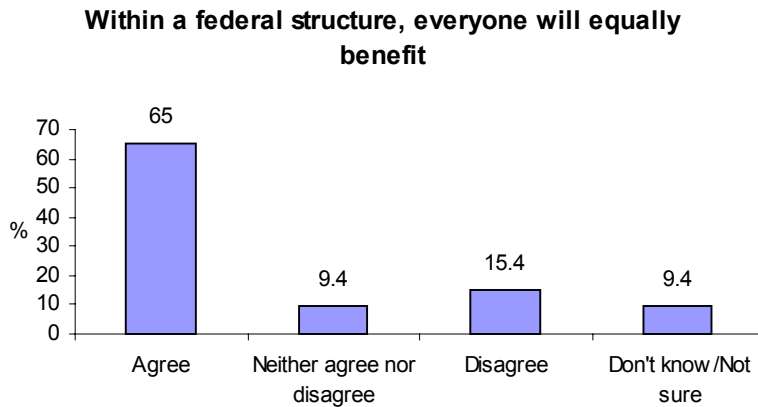
Amongst the same population, 33.3% are not sure as to whether Sinhalese will have more benefits within a Federal structure.



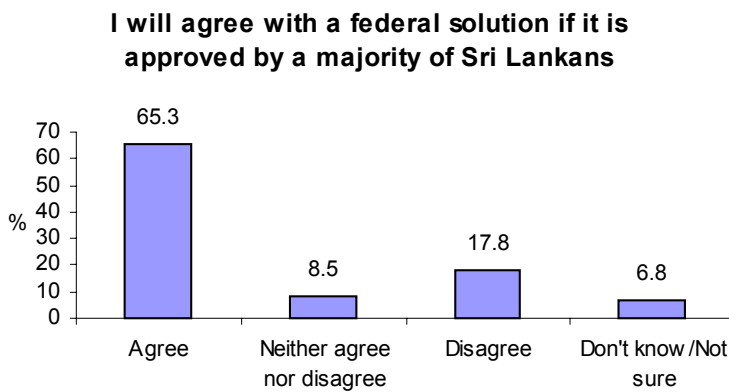
When asked whether Muslims would have more benefits within a Federal structure, 41.3% maintain a neutral stance. However, 21.3% of the people disagree with regard to this issue.



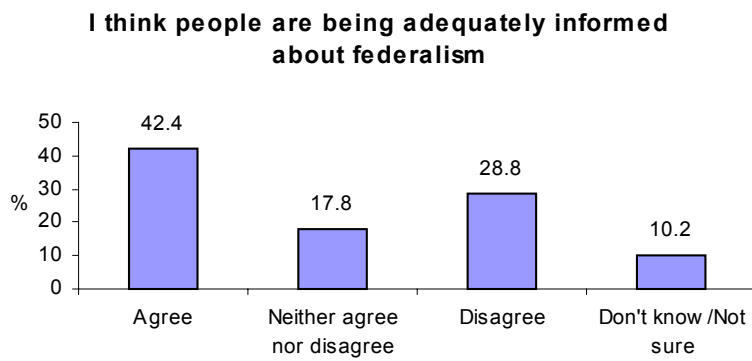
A notable percentage (65%) of the people are of the opinion that within a Federal structure everyone will benefit equally.



The study reveals that a majority (65.3%) of the people say that they will agree with a Federal solution if it is approved by a majority of Sri Lankans. Nevertheless, 17.8% disagree with this statement.



42.4% feel that people are being adequately informed about Federalism, while 28.8% are of the opinion that they are not.



ANNEX

METHODOLOGY

The study is carried out using a structured questionnaire, administered through face-to-face interviews amongst a sample of 307 respondents. It covered the Jaffna, Nallur, and Vadamarachchi 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.

Fourteen field enumerators, with a minimum Advanced Level educational qualification and resident in the Jaffna district, were involved in the collection of data. The field team comprised of four women and ten 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
Kopay (Valikamam E.)	30
Sandilippai (Valikamam S.W.)	37
Nallur	30
Jaffna	30
Karaveddi (Vadamarachchi S.W.)	30
Point Pedro (Vadamarachchi N)	30
Maruthankerny (Vadamarachchi E)	30
	307

DEMOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION

SEX	(%)
Male	43
Female	57
	307

AGE	(%)
15 – 25 yrs	19.5
26 – 35 yrs	22.1
36 – 45 yrs	23.8
46 – 55 yrs	17.9
56 – 65 yrs	16.6
	307

INCOME	(%)
Below Rs 5000	76.9
Rs 5001 – Rs 10 000	17.9
Rs 10 001 – Rs 15 000	3.3
Rs 15 001 – Rs 20 000	0.7
Rs 20 001 – Rs 25 000	0.3
	307

OCCUPATION	(%)
Executives, Managerial and Administrative Professionals	0.7
Professionals	7.5
Technicians & Associate Professionals	1
Clerk	0.7
Travel, Restaurant, Protective Service Workers & Sales Workers	1.6
Agricultural and Fisheries Workers	7.2
Student	10.1
Housewife	37.1
Retired	2.6
Business	3.9
Self employed	11.4
Elementary Occupations	3.9
Driver	0.7
Unemployed	11.1
	307

EDUCATION	(%)
Cannot read & write	0.7
Literate but no formal education	2.3
Up to grade 5	10.4
Grade 6-9	25.4
Up to O' Level	10.7
O' Level	25.1
Up to A' Level	5.9
A' Level	11.7
Undergraduate	3.9
Graduate and above	3.9
	307

For further information please contact:

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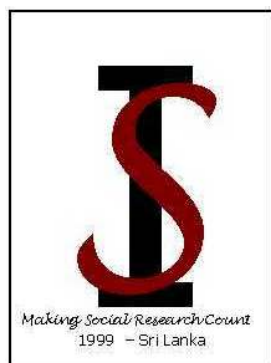
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Social Indicator (SI) is an independent social research organisation, which conducts polls on socio-economic and political issues.

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.



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