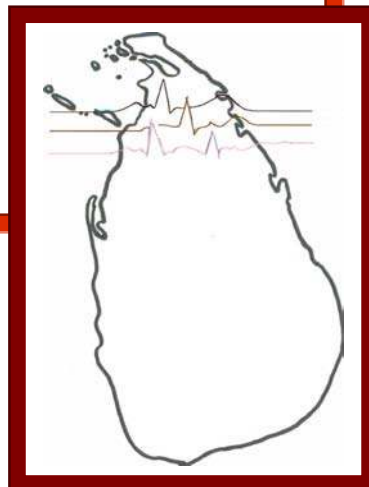


# **PEACE CONFIDENCE INDEX – JAFNA**



**SOCIAL INDICATOR**  
**OCTOBER 2003**

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

## INTRODUCTION

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In October 2003, Social Indicator (SI), the polling unit of the Centre for Policy Alternatives conducted the second wave of the Peace Confidence Index (PCI) – Jaffna, following the resumption of this survey in August 2003.

Assistance for the survey is 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) under the Office of Transition Initiatives (OTI).

The questionnaire for the Peace Confidence Index – Jaffna comprises of most of the questions contained in the Peace Confidence Index (PCI), and some which are specific to the Jaffna situation.

The fieldwork for this survey was conducted from the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> of October in the Jaffna, Nallur, Thenmarachchi, Valikammam and Vadamarachchi areas. A structured questionnaire was administered through face-to-face interviews amongst a randomly selected sample of 298 respondents.

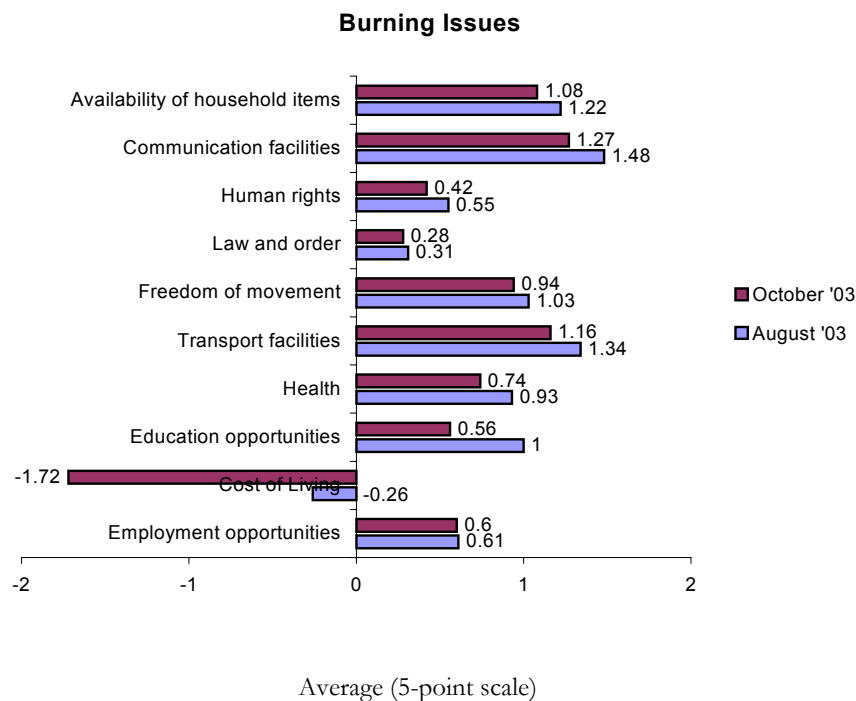
## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- In contrast to the other issues, the people of Jaffna state that the Cost of Living has got worse when compared to the period before the signing of the CFA. This perception has deteriorated significantly since August 2003 (Ref. Page 3)
- The number of people who are unsure of when there will be a permanent solution to the North East war had increased from 48.5% in August 2003 to 56.7% in October 2003 (Ref. Page 5)
- A majority (88.6%) of the people continue to believe in Peace Talks as the means of ending the war and having peace (Ref. Page 5)
- 67.1% of the people of Jaffna believe that all ethnic communities can live together (Ref. Page 7)
- Opinion regarding the need for an international third party's involvement to solve the North East war in Sri Lanka as being essential, has increased to 81.5% in October 2003 when compared to 65.8% in August of the same year (Ref. Page 7)
- In October 2003, whilst 38.3% say that Indian involvement in the Sri Lanka peace process is essential, 37% believe that it will have a negative impact or that it is not essential (Ref. Page 9)

- The belief that the Ceasefire Agreement (CFA) will last for more than another year has declined from 40.1% in August 2003 to 33.2% in October 2003 (Ref. Page 9)
- 90.5% of those who are aware of the involvement of foreign monitors in monitoring the CFA believe that it is essential in order for the CFA to succeed (Ref. Page 10)
- 49.7% of the people are somewhat satisfied with the availability of education facilities in the Jaffna peninsula, while a similar number (46%) feel the same way about the availability of sports facilities (Ref. Page 11)
- 79.5% and 81.9% approve of the bringing of resource personnel from other parts of the country to Jaffna to improve education and sports facilities respectively (Ref. Page 12 and Page 13)
- An overwhelming majority (92.3%) agree with the setting up of an Interim Administration for the North and East (Ref. Page 14)
- 81.8% of the people of Jaffna get their information about the Interim Administration through Newspapers (Ref. Page 14)
- While 47.2% of the people feel that only the LTTE should be involved in this interim administration, 19.4% are of the opinion that the LTTE should represent the Tamil community along with Sinhala and Muslim representation. 10.4% are of the view that this interim administration should comprise of the LTTE and other Tamil parties representing the Tamil community and Sinhala and Muslim representation (Ref. Page 15)
- 91.7% state that they agree with the LTTE playing a dominant role in the Interim Administration (Ref. Page 16)
- Of those who have heard of a federal solution 76.6% believe that a federal system is the best way of governing the country. (Ref. Page 16)
- More than half (54.3%) the people of Jaffna believe that a federal state will not lead to secession. However, while 14.9% agree that it will, 11.7% neither agree nor disagree that a federal state will lead to secession (Ref. Page 17)

## BURNING ISSUES

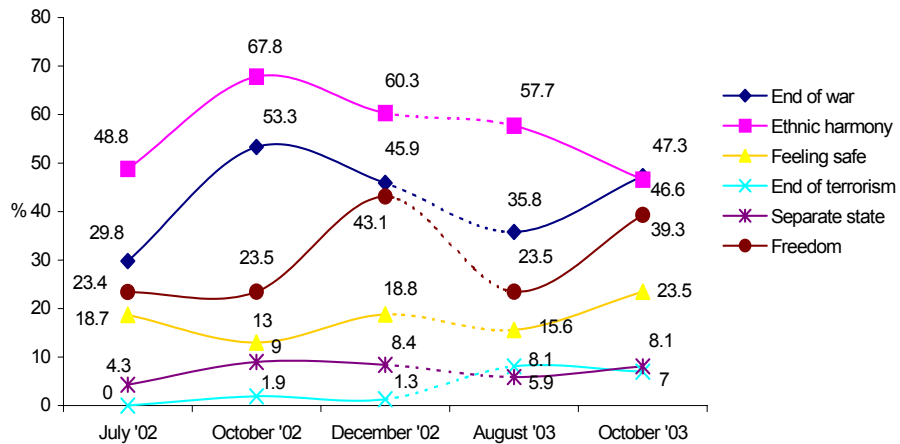
In October 2003, people of Jaffna are of the opinion that the situation of certain issues like Transport (1.16), Communication facilities (1.27), Freedom of Movement (0.94), the Availability of Household Items (1.08) and Education (0.56) have improved when compared to the period before the signing of the Ceasefire Agreement (CFA). However, as depicted in the graph below, these facilities have deteriorated when compared with August 2003. In contrast to the other issues, the people of Jaffna state that the situation of the Cost of Living has got worse when compared to the period before the signing of the CFA and as the graph shows, this perception has deteriorated significantly since August 2003.



## MEANING OF WAR AND PEACE

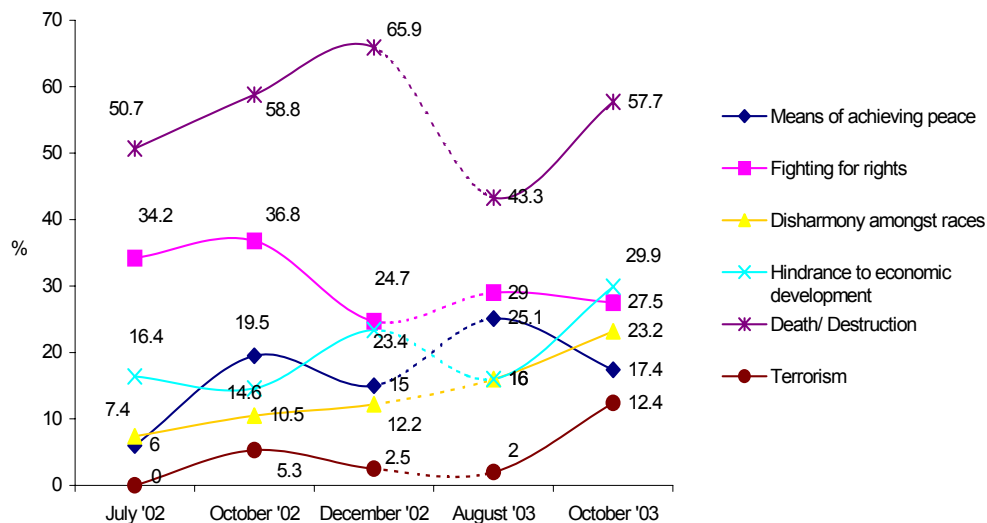
'Peace' means End of War to a majority (47.3%) of people in the Jaffna peninsula in October 2003. A similar number (46.6%) are of the opinion that 'peace' means the Ethnic Harmony. This opinion has decreased since August 2003 (57.7%), and also when compared to December 2002 (60.3%). The view that 'peace' means Feeling Safe has increased from 15.6% in August 2003 to 23.5% in October 2003. The view that 'peace' means Freedom has increased from 23.5% in August 2003 to 39.3% in October 2003.

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

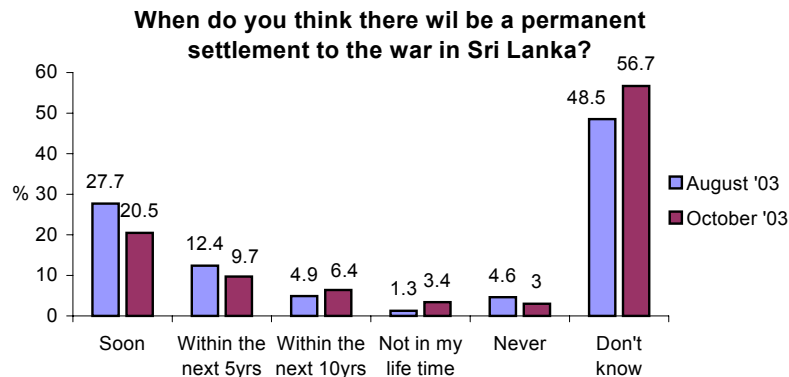


In the same month, a majority (57.7%) of the people are of the view 'war' means Death and Destruction, an increase in opinion since August 2003 (43.3%). While 29.9% of the people of Jaffna perceive 'war' as a Hindrance to Economic Development, 27.5% equate it with Fighting for Rights. 27.5% equate it with Fighting for Rights. 27.5% equate it with Fighting for Rights.

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

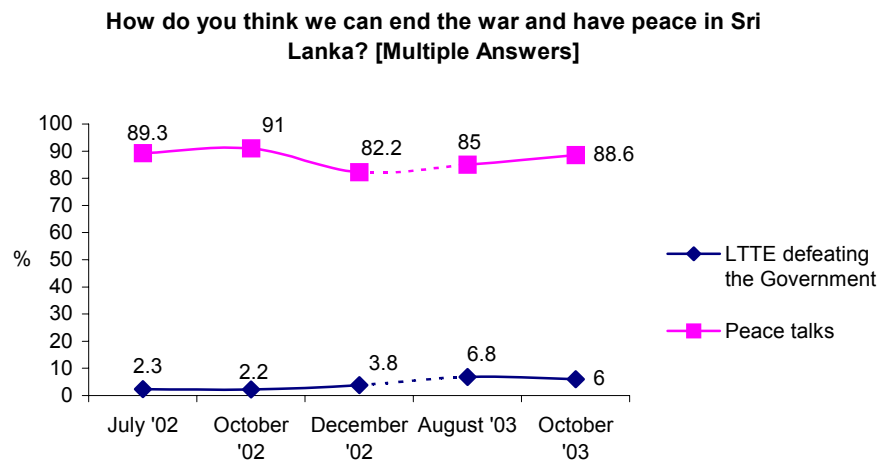


56.7% of the respondents declare that they do not know when there will be a permanent settlement to the war in Sri Lanka. This is an increase from August 2003 (48.5%). The number of people who are of the opinion that there will soon be a permanent settlement to the war in Sri Lanka has decreased from 27.7% in August 2003 to 20.5% in October 2003.



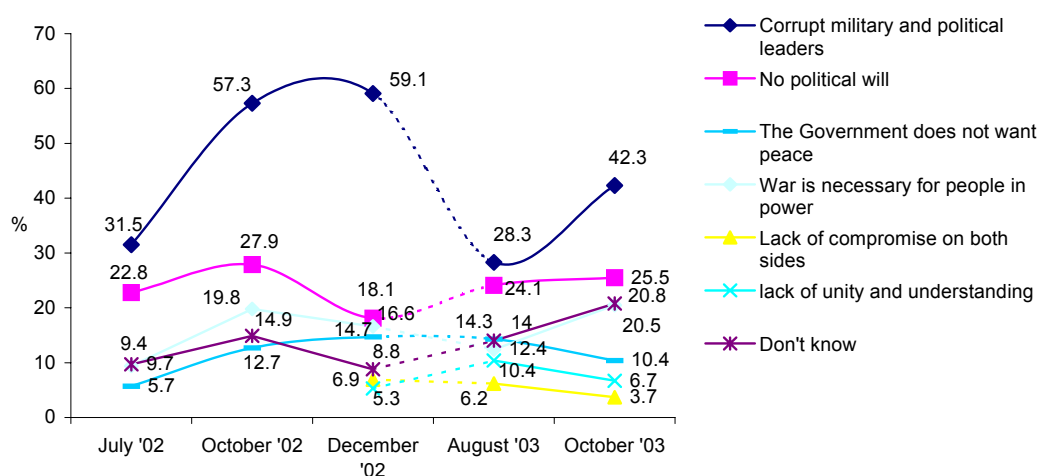
## SOLUTIONS TO THE CONFLICT

In October 2003, a majority (88.6%) of the people continue to believe in Peace Talks as the means of ending the war and having peace in Sri Lanka.



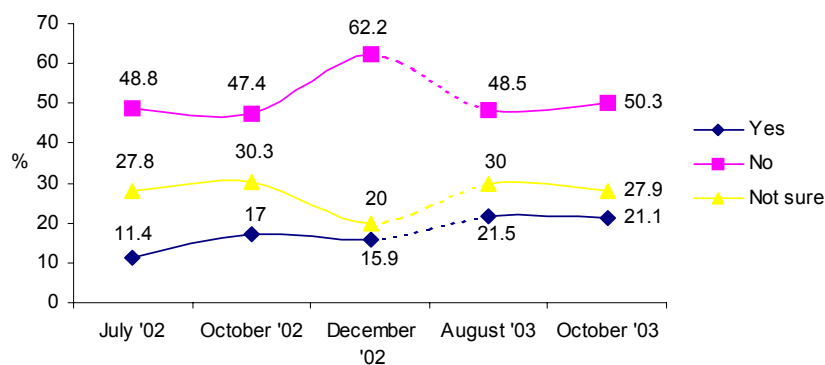
Corrupt military and political leaders is seen as the reason why there has not been solution to the war for the last 15 odd years by 42.3% of the people of the peninsula. This belief, held by a majority of the people, shows a notable increase from 28.3% in August 2003. While 25.5% of the people attribute a lack of a solution to no political will, 20.8% say they don't know. The trend of those who say they don't know has increased since August 2003 (14.3%) and also when compared to December 2002 (8.8%).

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



In October 2003, 50.3% feel that total victory cannot be achieved by one of the parties in the war. In August 2003, 30% were unsure as to whether total victory could be achieved by one of the parties in the war, which was an increase from 20% in December 2003. However, in October 2003, this value continued to be more or less the same.

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

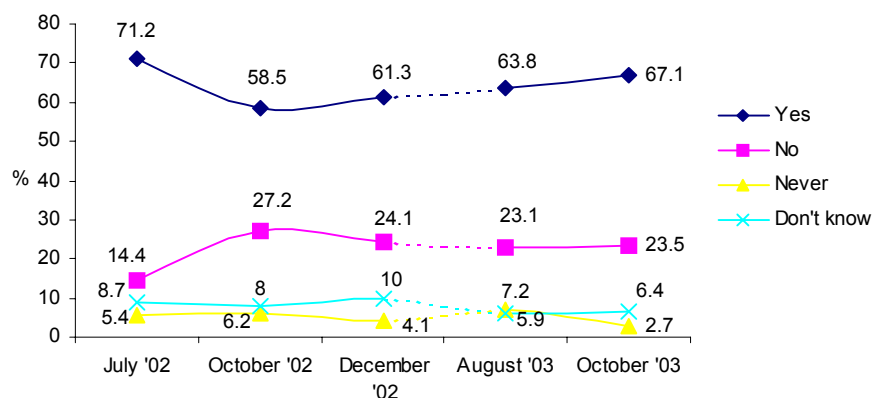




### LEVEL OF TOLERANCE AND PLURALISM

67.1% of the people of Jaffna believe that all ethnic communities can live together and as depicted in the graph below, it continues to be the opinion expressed by a majority since the start of the survey in July 2002 (71.2%). In October 2003, however, 23.5% do not believe that all ethnic communities can live together, a trend that has increased when compared to July 2002 (14.4%).

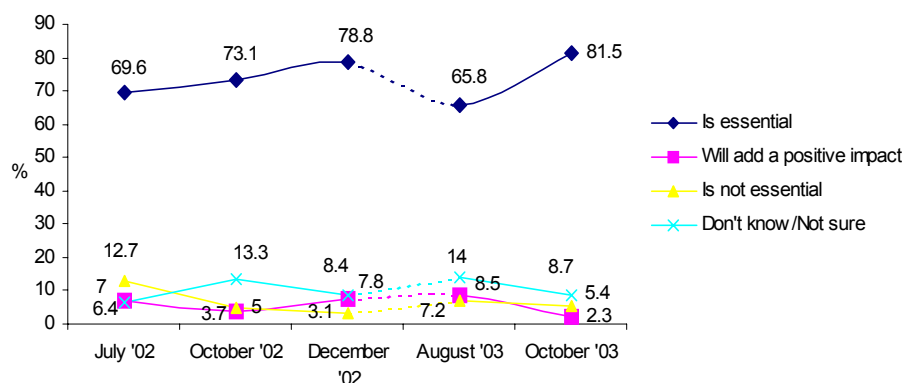
#### Do you think all the ethnic communities can live together?



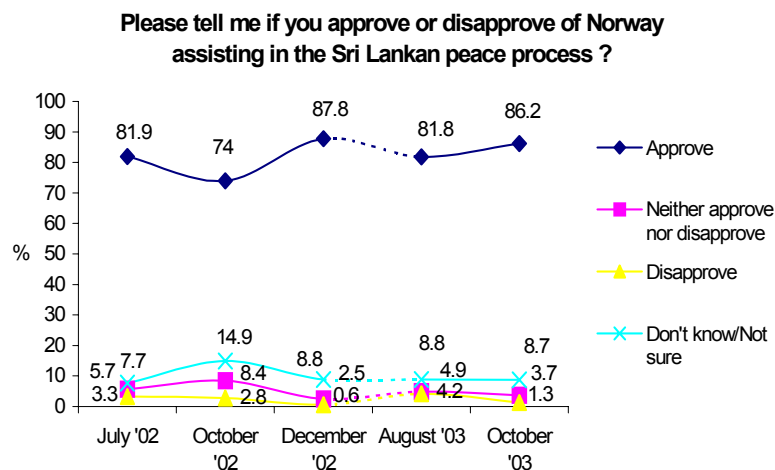
### THE PEACE PROCESS AND INTERNATIONAL THIRD PARTY INVOLVEMENT

A majority of the people of Jaffna (81.5%) believe that an international third party's involvement to solve the North East war in Sri Lanka is essential. While a significant number in the peninsula have always expressed this opinion, there seems to be a notable increase in October 2003 when compared with August 2003 (65.8%).

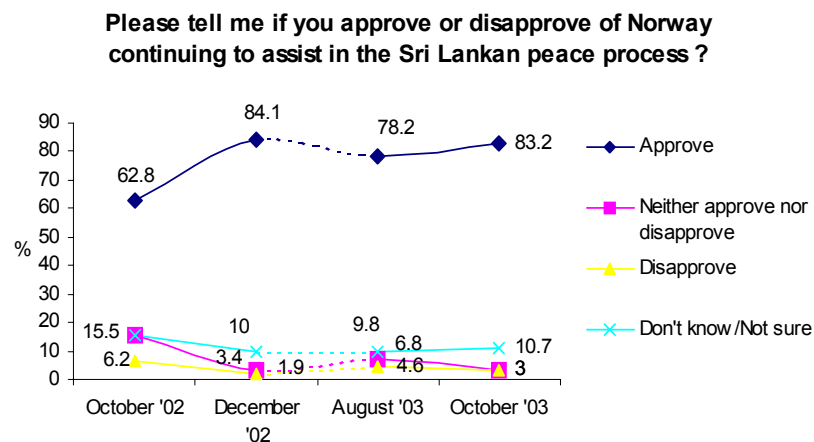
#### What is your opinion of the need for an international third party's involvement to solve the North East war in Sri Lanka ?



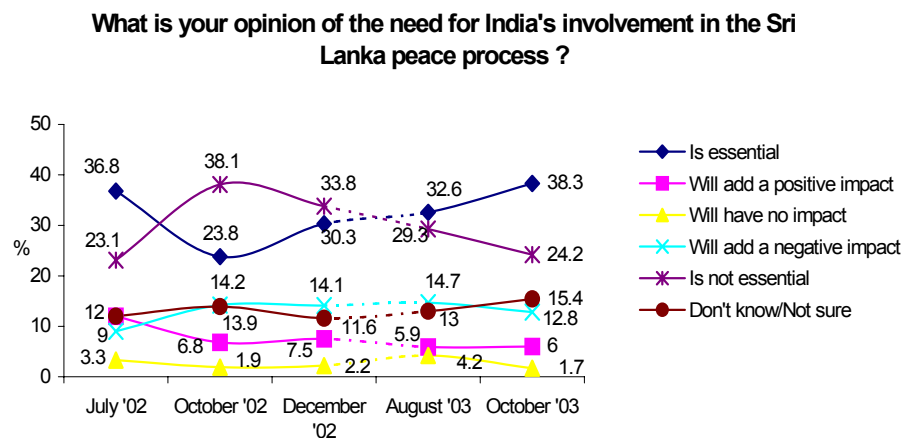
In October 2003, 86.2% approve of Norway assisting in the Sri Lankan peace process, an increase from 81.8% in August 2003.



A similar majority (83.2%) approve of Norway continuing to assist in the Sri Lankan peace process. This too, is an increase from August 2003 (78.2%).

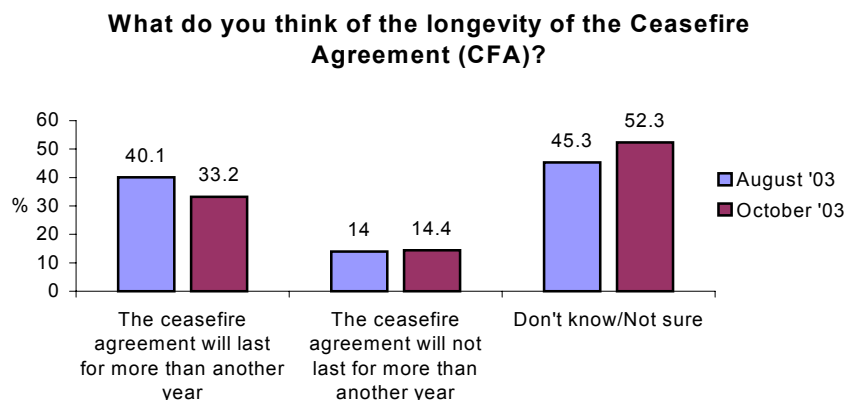


When asked about the need for Indian involvement in Sri Lanka's peace process, there continues to be a divided trend in opinion in October 2003. While 38.3% believe that it is essential, an increase from August 2002 (32.6%), 24.2% believe otherwise. This opinion was reversed a year ago in October 2002, where 38.1% believed that Indian involvement was not essential while 23.8% of the opinion believed that it was.



### CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT

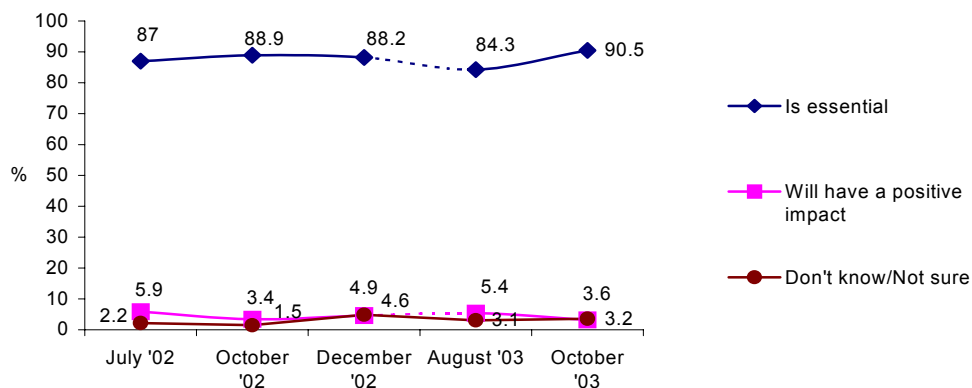
A majority of the people of Jaffna (52.3%) remain uncertain as to the longevity of the Ceasefire Agreement (CFA). There is a decrease in the opinion that the CFA will last for more than a year, from 40.1% in August 2003 to 33.2% in October 2003.



### SRI LANKA MONITORING MISSION

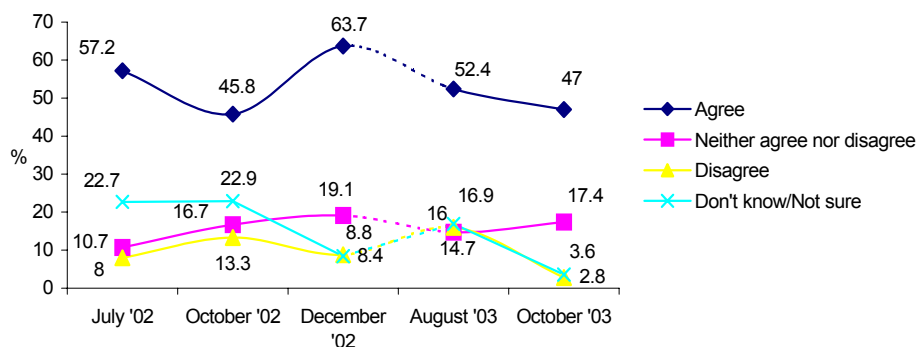
Of those who are aware of the involvement of foreign monitors in monitoring the CFA (84.9%) an overwhelming majority of 90% feel that it is essential in order for the CFA to succeed.

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

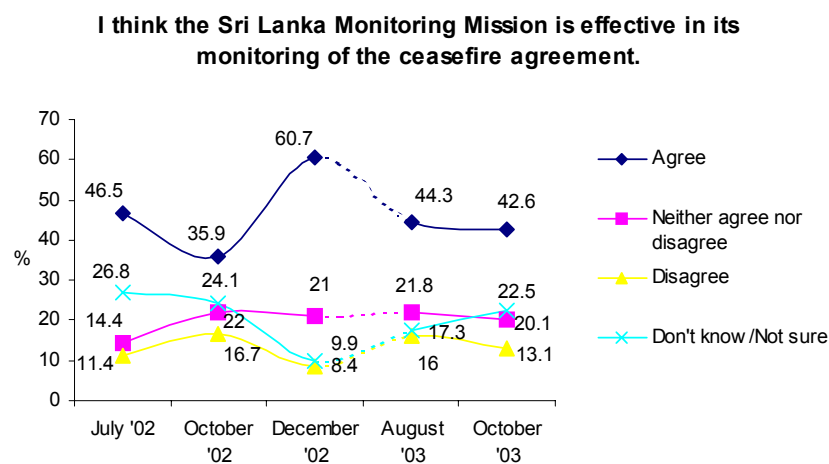


The view that the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission (SLMM) is impartial in its monitoring of the CFA has decreased from 52.4% in August 2003 to 47% in October 2003. This is also a decline in opinion when compared with December 2002 (63.7%).

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

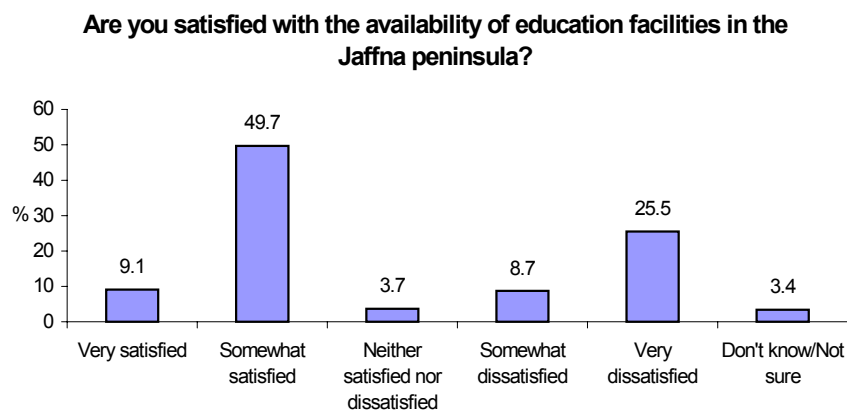


While a majority (42.6%) continues to believe that the SLMM is effective in its monitoring of the CFA, it is a decline when compared to 60.7% in December 2002. 22.5% express uncertainty when asked about the effectiveness of the SLMM in its monitoring of the CFA.

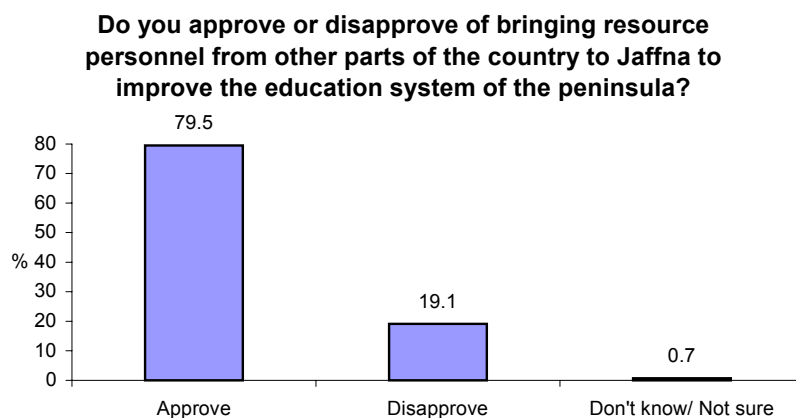


## EDUCATION AND SPORTS

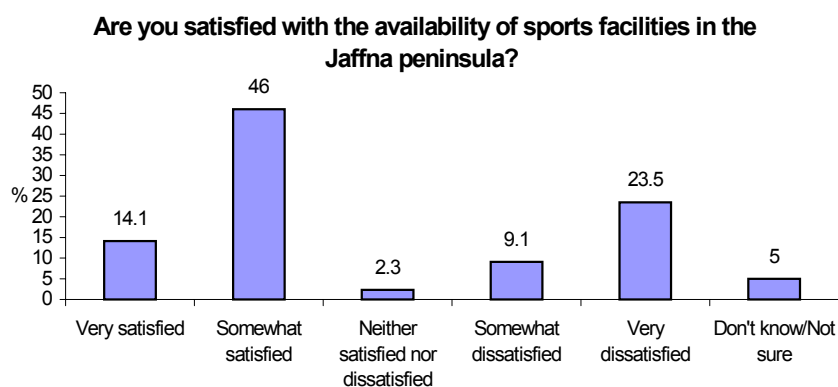
In October 2003, when asked about their satisfaction with the availability of education facilities in the peninsula and 49.7% state that they are somewhat satisfied. However, 25.5% of the people declare that they are very dissatisfied with the availability of education facilities in Jaffna.



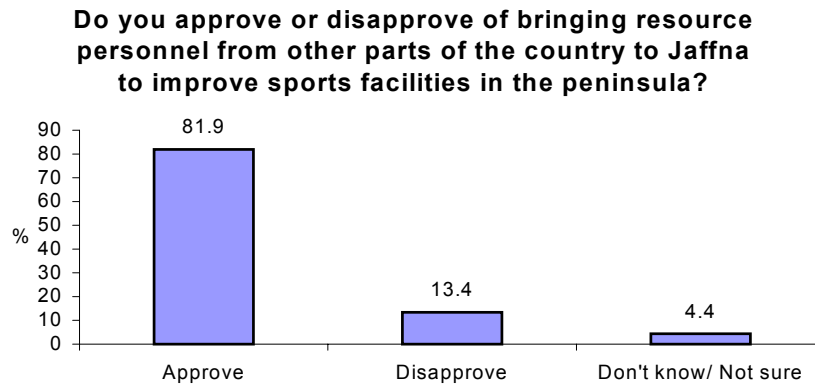
While talking about the availability of such facilities in Jaffna, a majority of the people (79.5%) approve of bringing resource personnel from other parts of the country to improve the education system of the peninsula.



With regard to the availability of sports facilities in the peninsula, a similar proportion of people say that they are somewhat satisfied (46%) and very dissatisfied (23.5%) in October 2003.



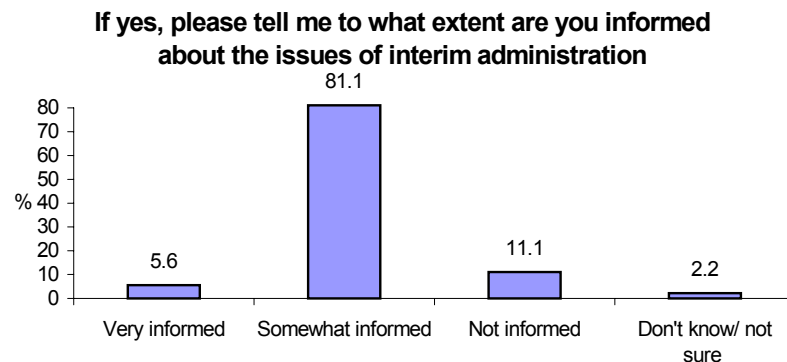
In the case of sports facilities, an overwhelming majority (81.9%) approves of bringing resource personnel from other parts of the country to improve sports facilities in Jaffna.



#### INTERIM ADMINISTRATION

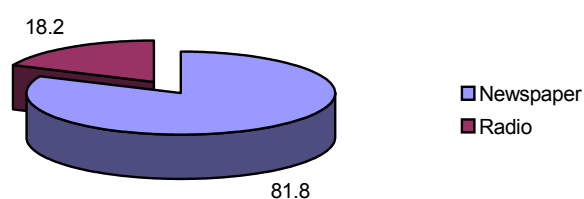
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In October 2003, 61.1% state that they are aware of the interim administration that the Government and the LTTE are contemplating. Of those who are aware of this interim administration, 81.1% declare that they are somewhat informed about the issues of interim administration.

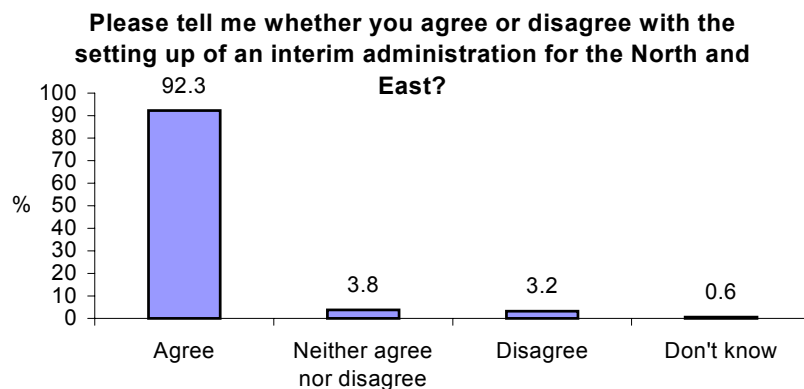


A majority (81.8%) of the people say that they get their information about the Interim Administration through Newspapers, while 18.2% rely on the radio as their medium of information. This study reveals that other mediums of information like television, is negligible for the people of Jaffna.

**Through which medium do you get your information about the Interim Administration?**

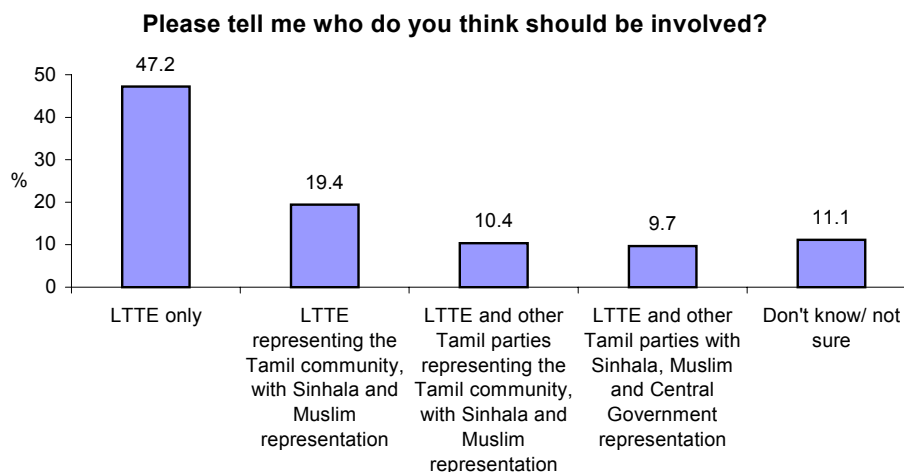


An overwhelming majority of 92.3% agree with the setting up of an interim administration for the North and East.

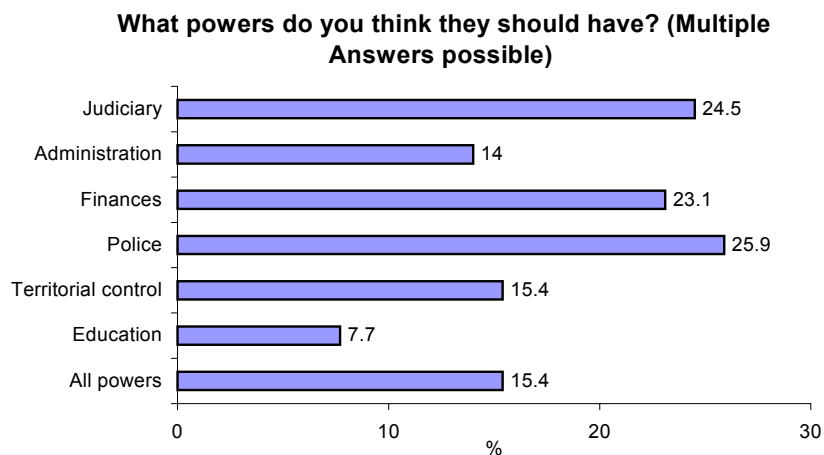




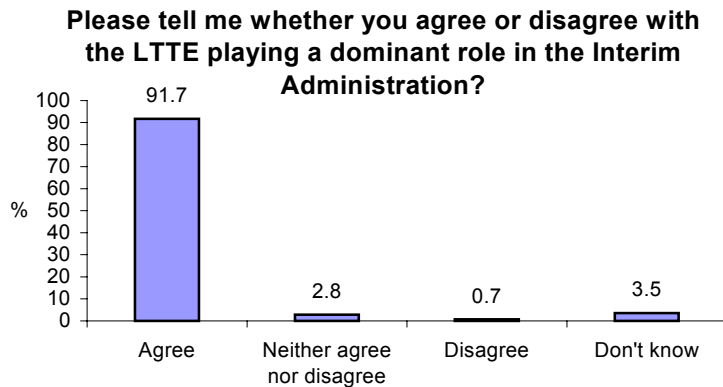
47.2% of the people of Jaffna feel that only the LTTE should be involved in this interim administration. However, 19.4% believe that while the LTTE represents the Tamil community in the interim administration, there should also be Sinhala and Muslim representation.



When the people of Jaffna were asked what powers they think the interim administration should have, 25.9% and 24.5% state that it should have control over the Police and Judiciary respectively. 23.1% are of the opinion that the interim administration should have powers over Finances, while 15.4% advocate for all powers.

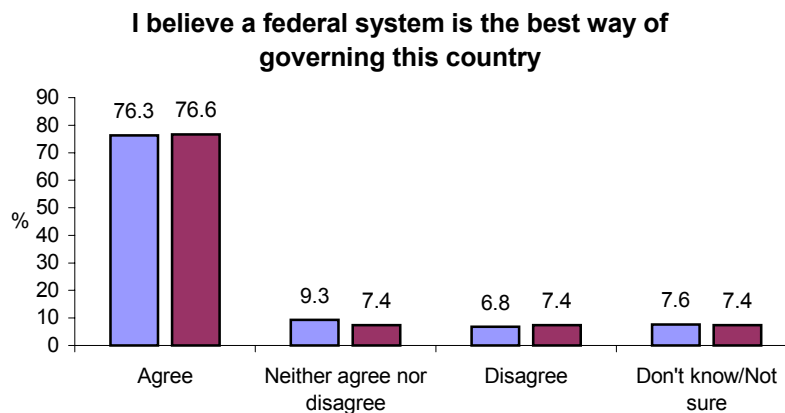


91.7% of the people state that they agree with the LTTE playing a dominant role in the Interim Administration.

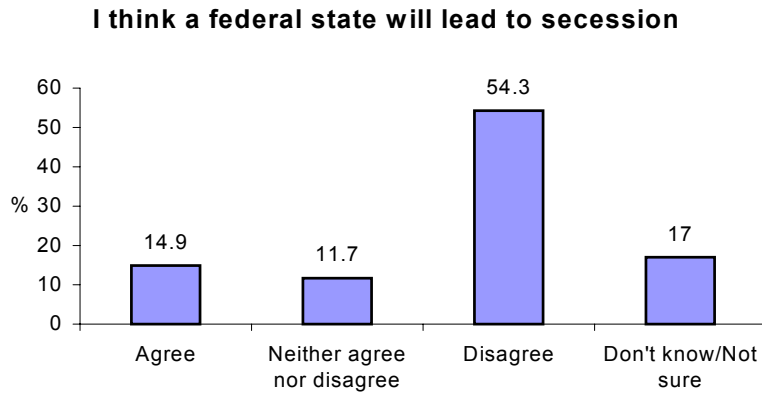


### FEDERALISM

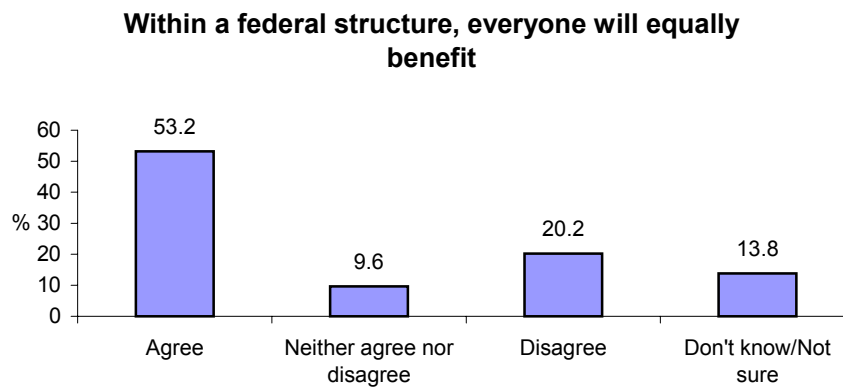
Of those who have heard of a Federal solution, 76.6% believe that a federal system is the best way of governing this country.



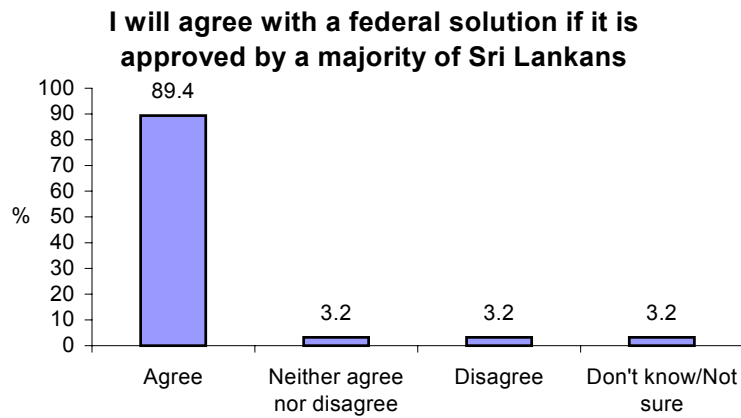
According to more than half (54.3%) the people of Jaffna, a federal state will not lead to secession. This opinion held by a majority in October 2003.



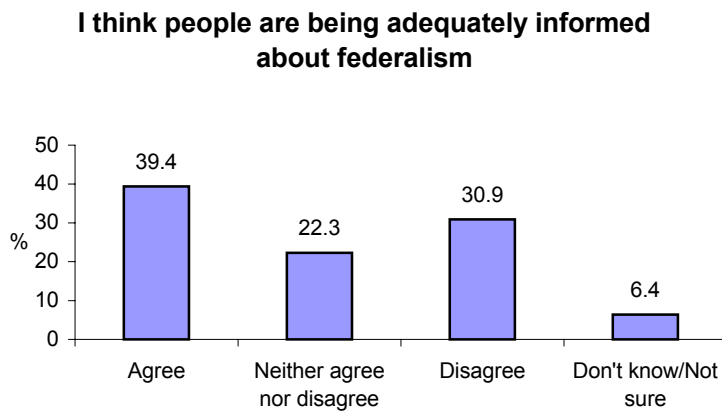
In October 2003, 53.2% of the people of Jaffna belief that within a federal structure, everyone will benefit equally.



A significant majority (89.4%) declare that they will agree with a federal solution if it is approved by a majority of Sri Lankans.



Finally, the survey also reveals that 39.4% of the people of Jaffna believe that people are being adequately informed about federalism.



## ANNEX

### METHODOLOGY

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The study is carried out using a structured questionnaire, administered through face-to-face interviews amongst a sample of 298 respondents. It covered the Jaffna, Nallur, Thenmarachchi 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.

Ten 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 three women and seven 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**


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AREA	TOTAL
Uduvil (Valikamam S.)	29
Chankanai (Valikamam W.)	30
Tellippalai (Valikamam N.)	30
Kopay (Valikamam E.)	30
Sandilippai (Valikamam S.W.)	30
Nallur	30
Jaffna	29
Karaveddi (Vadamarachchi S.W.)	30
Point Pedro (Vadamarachchi N)	30
Chavakachcheri (Thenmarachchi)	30
	<b>298</b>

**DEMOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION**


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SEX	(%)
Male	31.2
Female	68.8
	<b>298</b>

AGE	(%)
15 – 25 yrs	18.1
26 – 35 yrs	17.8
36 – 45 yrs	26.5
46 – 55 yrs	22.5
56 – 65 yrs	15.1
	<b>298</b>

<b>INCOME</b>	<b>(%)</b>
Below Rs 5000	82.6
Rs 5001 – Rs 10 000	13.1
Rs 10 001 – Rs 15 000	1
Rs 15 001 – Rs 20 000	0.3
Rs 20 001 – Rs 25 000	0.3
	<b>298</b>

<b>OCCUPATION</b>	<b>(%)</b>
Executives, Managerial and Administrative Professionals	0.3
Professionals	3.7
Technicians & Associate Professionals	1.0
Clerk	0.3
Travel, Restaurant, Protective Service Workers & Sales Workers	0.7
Agricultural and Fisheries Workers	11.1
Student	7.7
Housewife	48.3
Retired	2.0
Business	2.3
Self employed	9.7
Elementary Occupations	0.7
Driver	0.7
Unemployed	11.1
	<b>298</b>

<b>EDUCATION</b>	<b>(%)</b>
Cannot read & write	1.3
Literate but no formal education	2.3
Up to grade 5	9.4
Grade 6-9	22.5
Up to O' Level	8.7
O' Level	32.9
Up to A' Level	8.4
A' Level	7.0
Vocationally trained	0.3
Technically trained	1.3
Professional	0.7
Undergraduate	3.0
Graduate and above	2.0
	<b>298</b>



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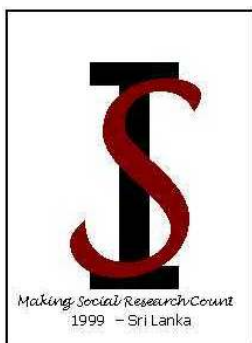
**Tel:** +94 11 2370472 **Email:** [cpapoll@diamond.lanka.net](mailto:cpapoll@diamond.lanka.net)

**Fax:** +94 11 2370475 **Web:** <http://www.cpalanka.org>

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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