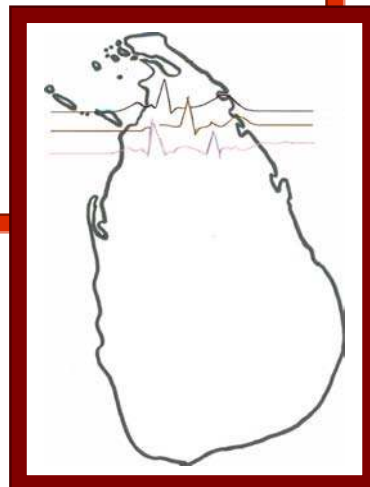
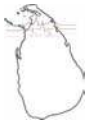


PEACE CONFIDENCE INDEX – JAFNA



**SOCIAL INDICATOR
DECEMBER 2003**

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INTRODUCTION

The Peace Confidence Index (PCI) is a bi-monthly survey conducted in order to capture the changing trends in public opinion on the peace process and related issues. While the survey has been conducted in 22 administrative districts of Sri Lanka from its inception, it was not possible to extend the survey to the Jaffna peninsula till July 2002 due to the situation that prevailed at the time. Since July 2002, SI has been conducting the PCI bi-monthly in Jaffna except for three waves (February, April and June 2003).

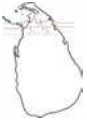
Social Indicator (SI), the polling unit of the Centre for Policy Alternatives (CPA)

conducted the third consecutive wave of the Peace Confidence Index (PCI) – Jaffna in December 2003 in Jaffna.

The PCI – Jaffna questionnaire comprises of most of the questions contained in the Peace Confidence Index (PCI), and some of which are specific to the Jaffna situation. The fieldwork for this survey was conducted from the 21st December to 3rd January 2004 in the Nallur, Thenmarachchi, Valikammam and Vadamarahchi areas. A structured questionnaire was administered through face-to-face interviews amongst a randomly selected sample of 299 respondents.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

- There is a notable increase in the number of people who believe that there will be a permanent settlement to the war in Sri Lanka soon, from 20.5% in October 2003 to 30.8% in December 2003
- The belief that total victory can be achieved by either parties in the war has declined from 21.1% in October 2003 to 13.7% in December 2003
- 73.2% of the people are of the opinion that an international third party's involvement is essential to solve the North East war in Sri Lanka. This trend in opinion has shown a decrease since October 2003 (81.5%)
- The view that the SLMM is impartial in its monitoring of the ceasefire agreement has increased from 47% in October 2003 to 64.8% in December 2003
- 54.8% are unsure or don't know whether the interests and concerns of the Muslims of the East are being adequately represented at the peace talks
- Out of over half the people (56.5%) who are aware of the LTTE's Interim Self Governing Authority (ISGA) proposal that was made public on 1st November 2003, 47.7% are of the opinion that the Sri Lankan Government's response to it should be to negotiate with the LTTE and arrive at a compromise

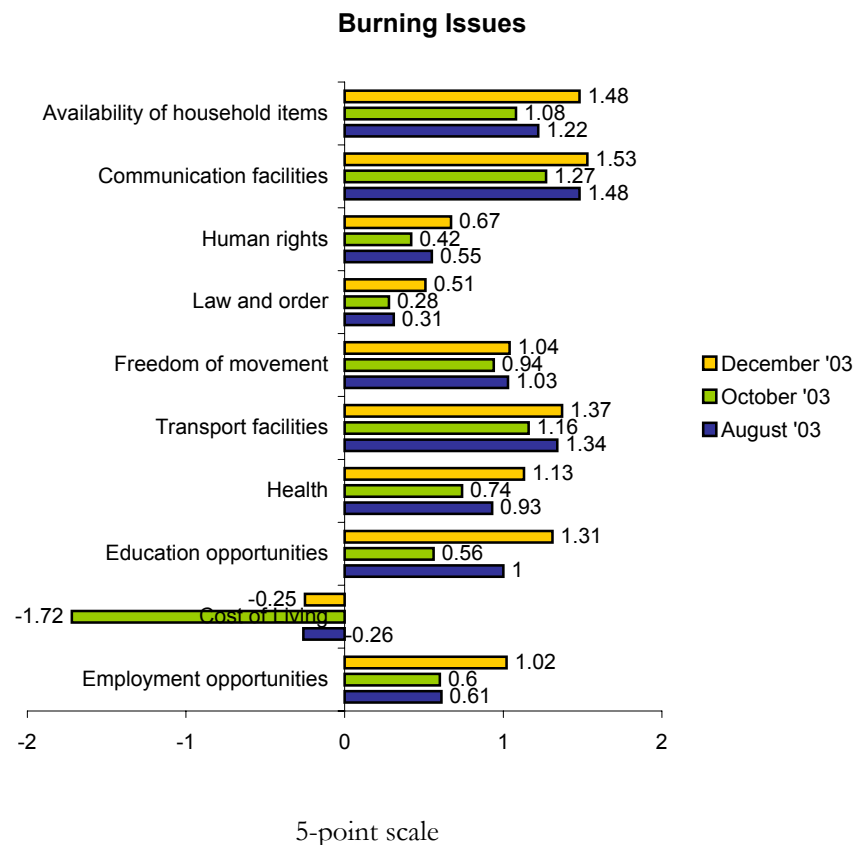


- 77% of the people who are aware of the Heroes' Day speech made by the LTTE leader are convinced by his statement that the allegations leveled against the LTTE's draft proposal that they aim to create an independent Tamil state or that they contain stepping stones for separation are not true
- 85% of those who aware of the President's decisions to take over the ministries and prorogue parliament believe that it will have a negative impact on the peace process
- In December 2003, 62.9% of the people of Jaffna believe that the Prime Minister is the most suited to lead the peace process on behalf of the Sri Lankan Government
- 26.6% of the people perceive that cohabitation between the current President and Prime Minister will be advantageous to good governance, while a majority (41.8%) are unsure.
- 70.6% believe that constructive cohabitation between the President and Prime Minister is not possible
- 28.8% of the people of Jaffna have heard of Federalism in December 2003. Out of those who have heard of Federalism, an overwhelming majority (90.7%) are of the opinion that it is the best way of governing the country
- The Cost of Living continues to be the most burning issue in Jaffna (-0.25) when compared to the period before the signing of the Ceasefire Agreement



BURNING ISSUES

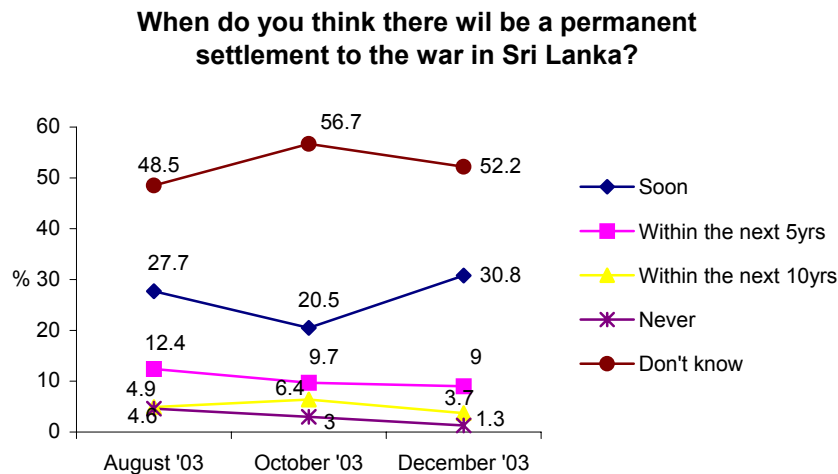
When compared to the period before the signing of the Ceasefire Agreement, the situation of the Cost of Living (-0.25) has got worse according to the people of Jaffna in December 2003. However, when compared with October 2003 (-1.72), things have improved in this regard. The Availability of Household Items (1.48) and Communication Facilities (1.53) have been ranked higher on a five-point scale than law and Order (0.51) and Human Rights (0.67). Furthermore, when comparing the present time with the period before the signing of the Ceasefire Agreement, Education Opportunities (1.31), Transport Facilities (1.37) and Health (1.13) have also improved state the respondents in December 2003.



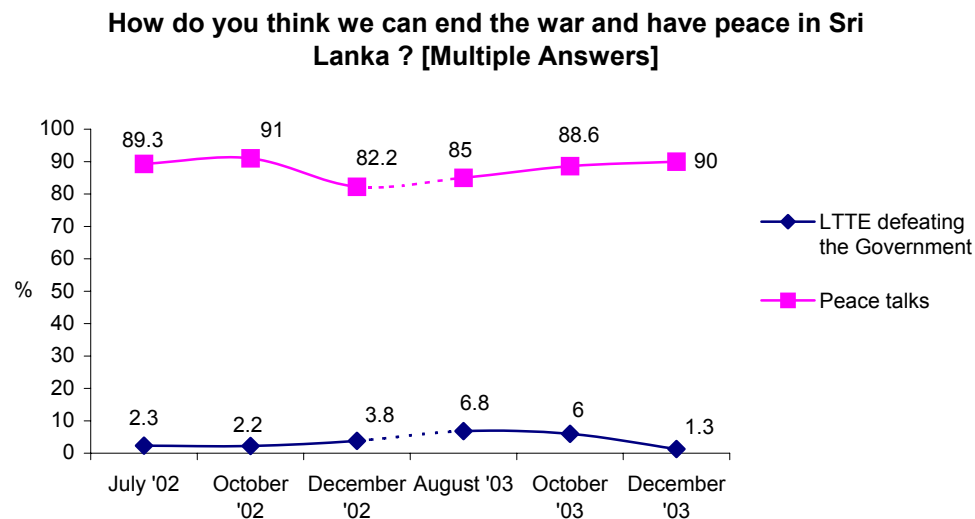


SOLUTIONS TO THE CONFLICT

In December 2003, though a majority (52.2%) of the people express that they do not know when there will be a permanent settlement to the war in Sri Lanka, 30.8% declare that it will be soon. This is an increase when compared with 20.5% in October 2003.



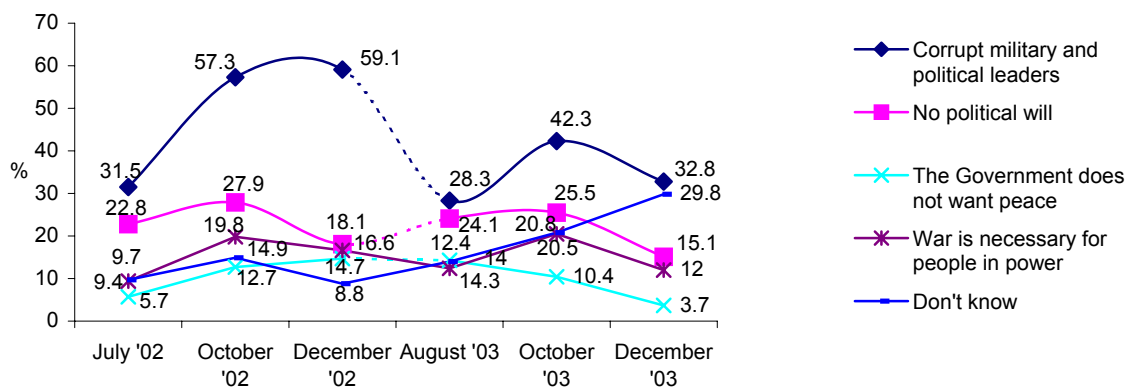
Continuing with the high trend in opinion, an overwhelming majority (90%) of the people of Jaffna perceive Peace Talks as a means of ending the war and having peace in Sri Lanka in December 2003.





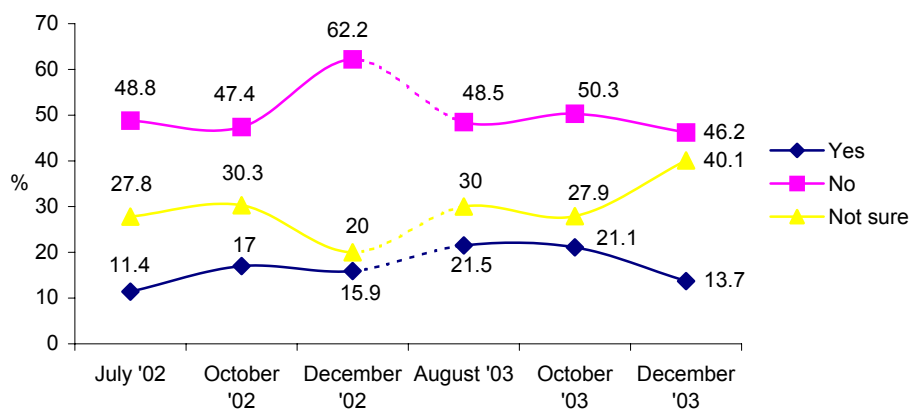
There is a decrease in the view that there hasn't been a solution to the war for the last 15 odd years because of Corrupt military and political leaders from 42.3% in October 2003 to 32.8% in December 2003. The belief that the absence of political will as a reason for a lack of a solution to the war has also decreased from 25.5% October 2003 to 15.1% in December 2003. However, those who say that they do not know, has increased from 20.8% in October 2003 to 29.8% in December 2003.

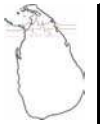
Why do you think there hasn't been a solution to the war for the last 15 odd years ? [Multiple Answers]



In December 2003, there is a slight decrease in those who believe that total victory cannot be achieved by one of the parties in this war, from 50.3% in October 2003 to 46.2% in December 2003. Similarly, the number of those who are of the opinion that total victory by one of the parties in this war is possible has decreased from 21.1% in October 2003 to 13.7% in December 2003. The most notable change in trend however, is in those who are not sure – from 27.9% in October 2003 to 40.1% in December 2003.

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

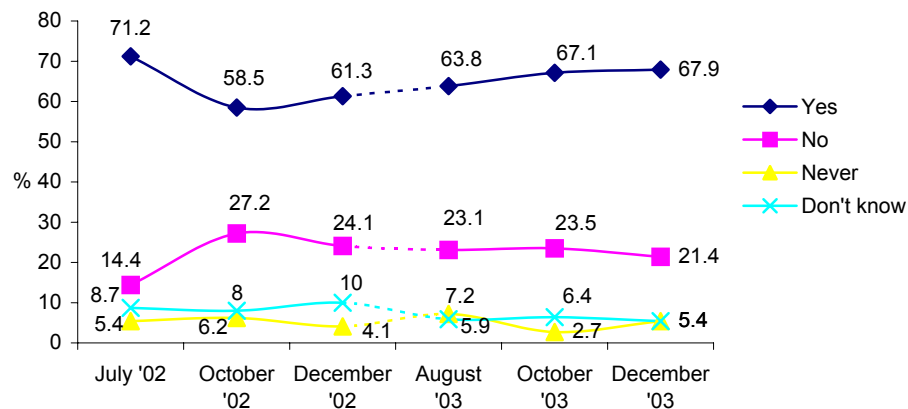




LEVEL OF TOLERANCE AND PLURALISM

A steady trend in opinion can be observed with regard to the question of whether all ethnic communities can live together. In December 2003 67.9% believe that all ethnic communities can live together – a view similar to October 2003 (67.1%) and August 2003 (63.8%). This number can also be compared with one year previously where 61.3% of the people of Jaffna held the same perception.

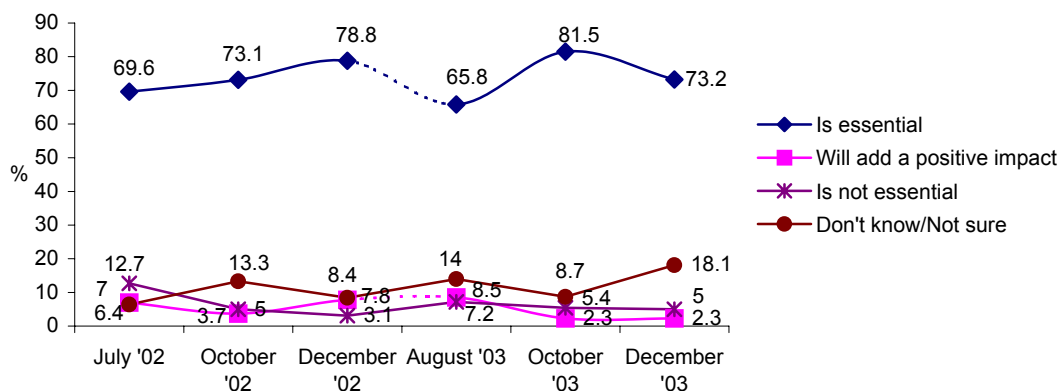
Do you think all the ethnic communities can live together?



THE PEACE PROCESS AND INTERNATIONAL THIRD PARTY INVOLVEMENT

In December 2003, though a majority (73.2%) of the people of Jaffna are of the opinion that international third party involvement to solve the North East war in Sri Lanka is essential, it is a decrease when compared to October 2003 (81.5%). The number of people who say that they don't know or are not sure, has risen from 8.7% in October 2003 to 18.1% in December 2003.

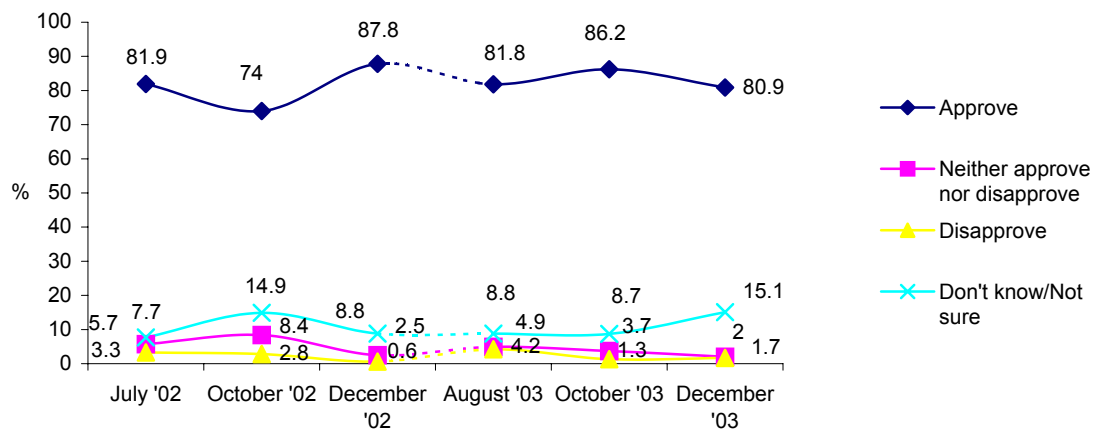
What is your opinion of the need for an international third party's involvement to solve the North East war in Sri Lanka ?





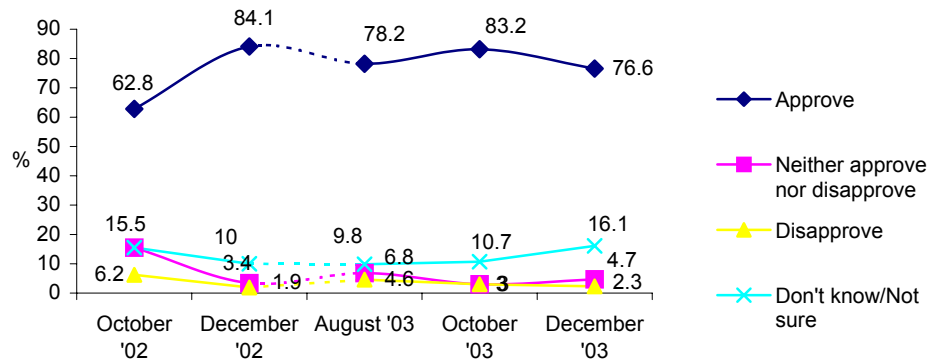
80.9% of the people approve of Norway assisting in the Sri Lankan peace process in December 2003. This is however, a decrease when compared with 86.2% in October 2003. On the other hand, uncertainty has increased amongst the people from 8.7% in October 2003 to 15.1% in December 2003.

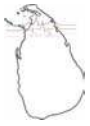
Please tell me if you approve or disapprove of Norway assisting in the Sri Lankan peace process ?



Approval for Norway continuing to assist in the Sri Lankan peace process has declined from 83.2% in October 2003 to 76.6% in December 2003.

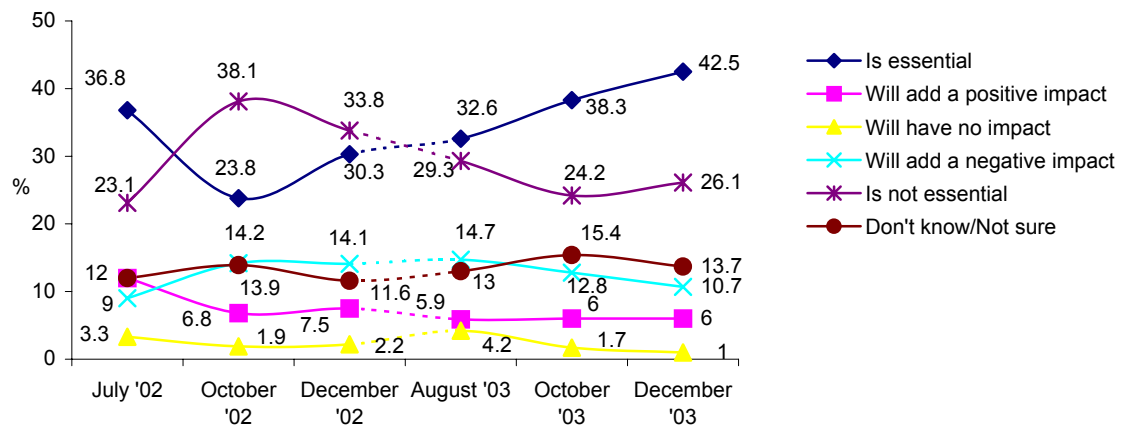
Please tell me if you approve or disapprove of Norway continuing to assist in the Sri Lankan peace process ?





A majority (42.5%) of the people of Jaffna are of the opinion that the need for Indian involvement in the Sri Lankan peace process is essential. This is an increase from 38.3% in October 2003. However, 26.1% believe otherwise, while 10.7% say that it will add a negative impact.

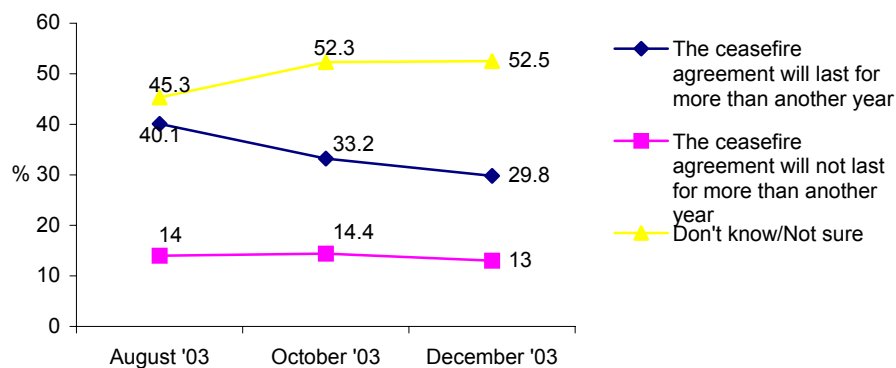
What is your opinion of the need for India's involvement in the Sri Lanka peace process ?



CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT

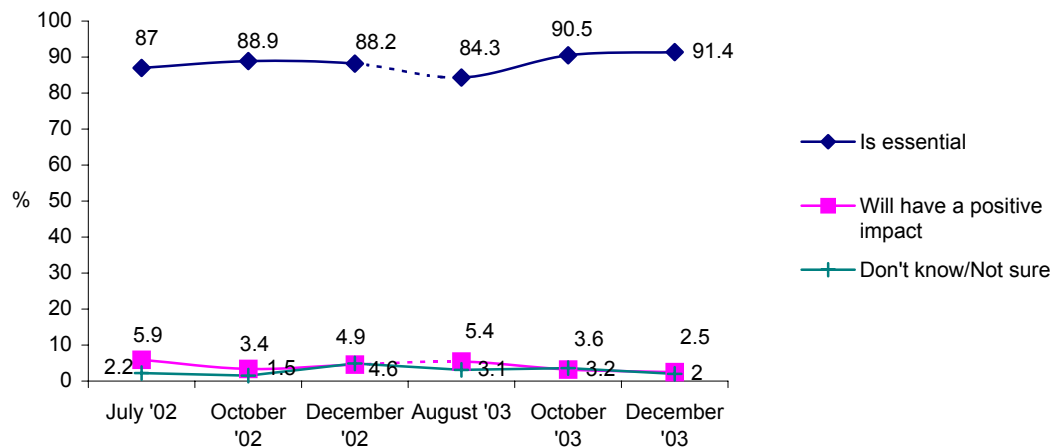
While a majority (52.5%) express uncertainty about the longevity of the ceasefire agreement, 29.8% are of the opinion that it will last for more than another year. 13% are of the view that the ceasefire agreement will not last for more than another year.

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

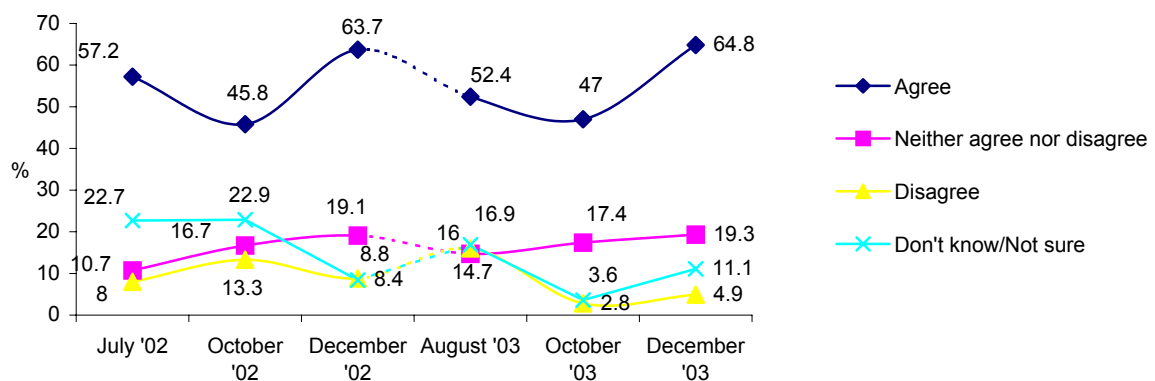


**SRI LANKA MONITORING MISSION**

In December 2003, 81.6% of the people are aware of the involvement of foreign monitors in monitoring the ceasefire. Out of this number, 91.4% believe that such a monitoring mission is essential for the Ceasefire Agreement to succeed.

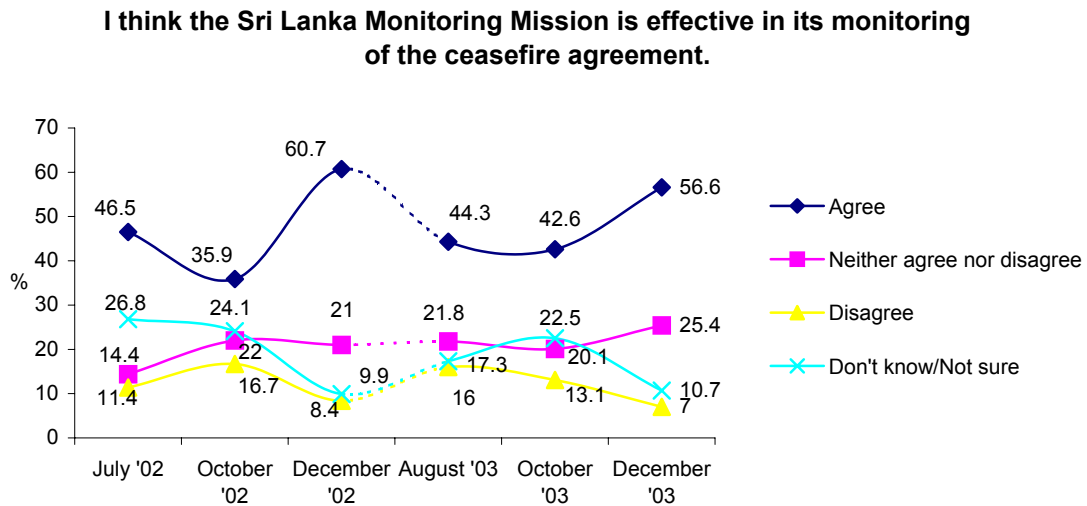
If "Yes", what is your opinion of the need for such a monitoring mission for the CFA to succeed ?

The perception that the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission (SLMM) is impartial in its monitoring of the ceasefire agreement has increased notably from 47% in October 2003 to 64.8% in December 2003. The number of people who say that they don't know or are unsure, has increased from 3.6% in October 2003 to 11.1% in December 2003.

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

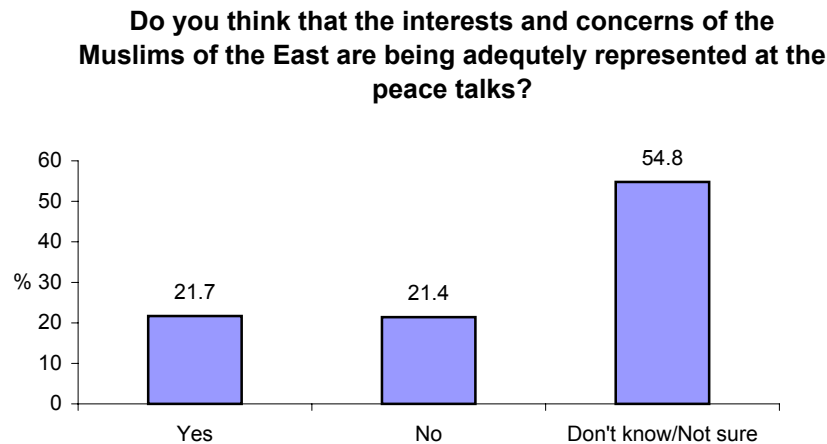


A majority (56.6%) of the people of Jaffna are of the opinion that the SLMM is effective in its monitoring of the ceasefire agreement in December 2003. The opposite view shows a decline from 13.1% in October 2003 to 7% in December 2003.



THE MUSLIM COMMUNITY

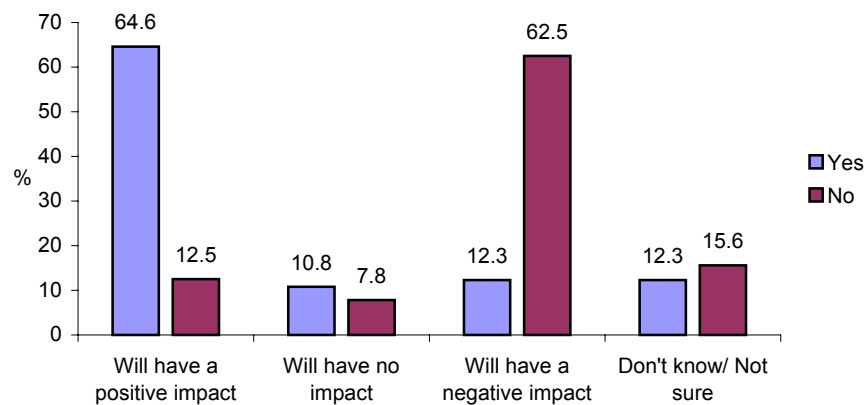
When asked whether they think the interests and concerns of the Muslims of the East are being adequately represented at the peace talks, an almost equal number agree (21.7%) and disagree (21.4%). However, as seen in the graph below, a majority (54.8%) are unsure.





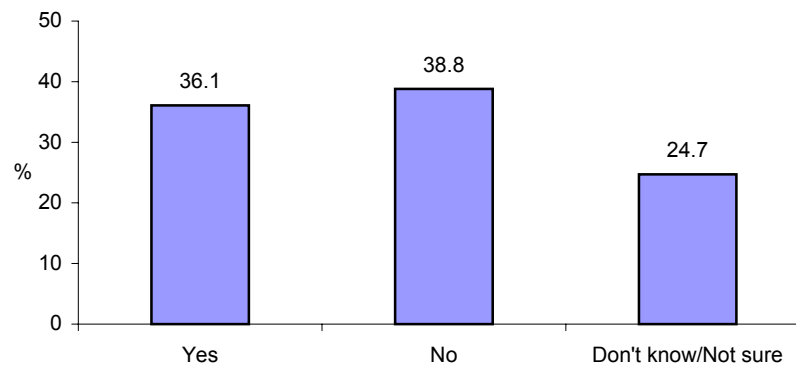
Out of those who answered that the interests and concerns of the Muslims of the East are being adequately represented at the peace talks, 64.6% believe that it will have a positive impact on the peace process. On the other hand, out of those who are of the view that the interest and concerns of the Muslims are not being adequately represented at the peace talks, a majority (62.5%) perceive that it will have a negative impact on the peace process.

What in your opinion will be the impact of this on the peace process?



38.8% of the respondents say that there should not be a separate Muslim delegation at the peace talks in December 2003. However, an almost similar number (36.1%) believe that there should be a separate Muslim delegation at the peace talks.

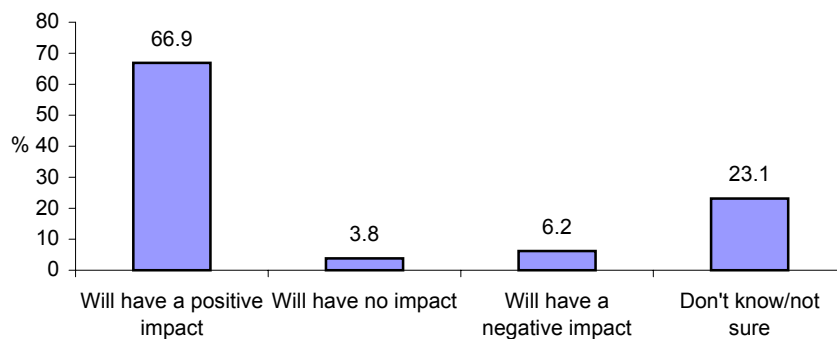
Do you think there should be a separate Muslim delegation at the peace talks?



**LTTE's ISGA PROPOSAL**

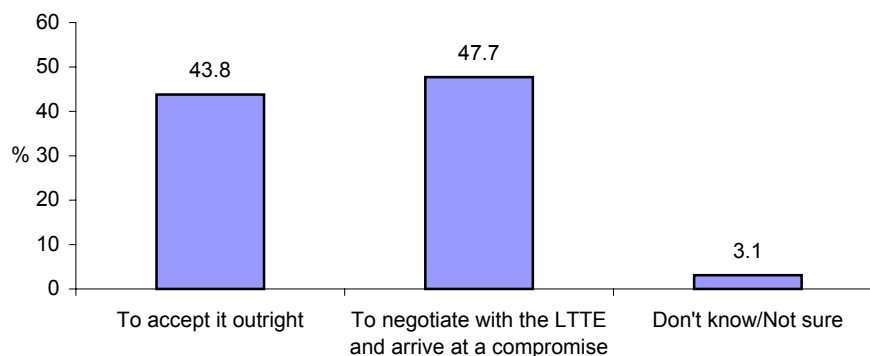
In December 2003, a majority (56.5%) of the people of Jaffna are not aware of the LTTE's Interim Self Governing Authority (ISGA) proposal. Out of those who are aware of the proposal, 66.9% believe that it will have a positive impact on the peace process.

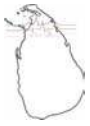
If you are aware of the LTTE's ISGA proposal, what in your opinion will be the impact of this on the peace process?



Further, out of those who are aware of the LTTE's ISGA proposal, 47.7% are of the opinion that the Sri Lankan Government's response to it should be to negotiate with the LTTE and arrive at a compromise.

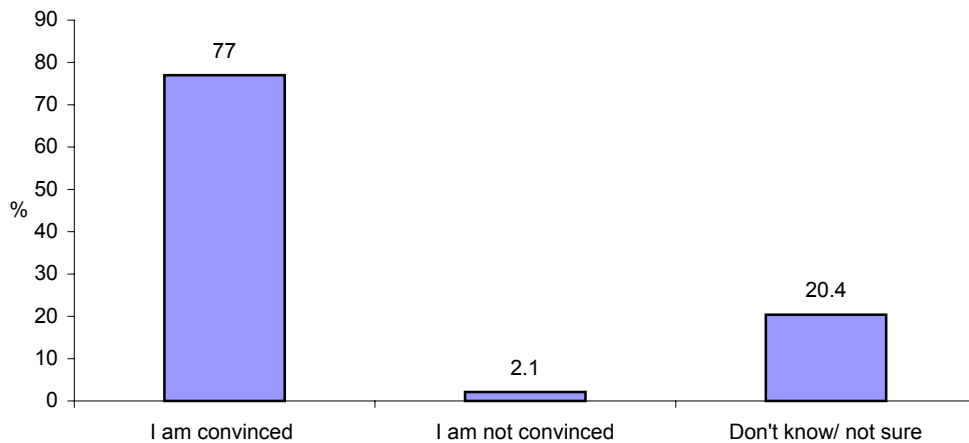
In your opinion, the Sri Lankan Government's response to the above proposal should be...





78.6% of the people are aware of the Heroes' Day speech made by the LTTE leader Mr. Velupillai Prabhakaran on 27th November 2003. In his speech, Mr. Prabhakaran stated that the allegation levelled at their draft proposals that they aim to create an independent Tamil state or that they contain stepping stones for separation are not true. When asked whether they are convinced by his statement, 77% of the people say that they are. However, 20.4% express uncertainty.

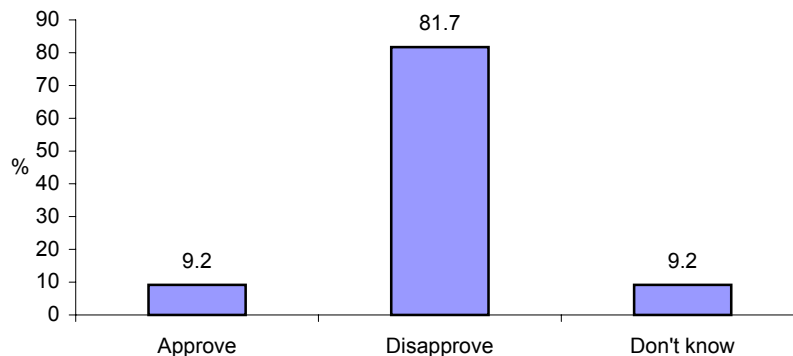
Please tell me are you convinced by his statement?



TAKE OVER OF MINISTRIES

47.5% of the respondents are aware that on the 4th of November 2003, President Chandrika Kumaratunga took over the Defense, Interior and Media and Mass Communications Ministries. Out of those who are aware of this move by the President, an overwhelming majority (81.7%) express disapproval of it.

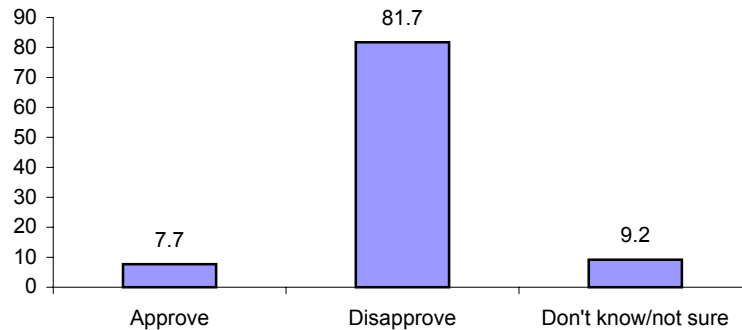
Please tell me do you approve or disapprove of her decision to take over the Defence Ministry?





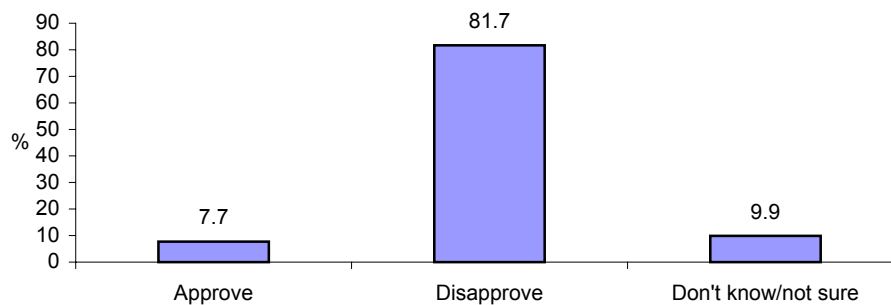
Out of those who are aware of the President's take over of the ministries, 81.7% disapprove of her take over of the Defense Ministry.

Please tell me do you approve or disapprove of her decision to take over the Interior Ministry?



When asked whether they approve or disapprove of the President's decision to take over the Media and Mass Communication Ministry, the same majority (81.7%) of people state their disapproval in December 2003.

Please tell me whether you approve or disapprove of her decision to take over the Media and Mass Communication Ministry?





ANNEX

METHODOLOGY

The study is carried out using a structured questionnaire, administered through face-to-face interviews amongst a sample of 299 respondents. It covered the 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.

Seven 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 two women and five 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.)	30
Nallur	30
Maruthankerny (Vadamarachchi E)	20
Karaveddi (Vadamarachchi S.W.)	30
Point Pedro (Vadamarachchi N)	40
Chavakachcheri (Thenmarachchi)	29
	299

DEMOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION

SEX	(%)
Male	40.5
Female	59.5
	299

AGE	(%)
15 – 25 yrs	15.7
26 – 35 yrs	19.4
36 – 45 yrs	19.7
46 – 55 yrs	25.1
56 – 65 yrs	19.1
	299

For further information please contact:

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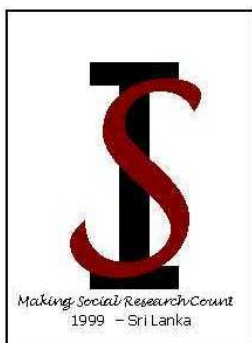
Tel: +94 11 2370472 **Email:** cpapoll@diamond.lanka.net

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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