An Opinion Poll On Peace

Peace Confidence Index (PCI)

TOP-LINE RESULTS

Social Indicator

MAY 2002
While many studies have been conducted on various aspects of this conflict, none have attempted to capture the changes in public perception over a period of time. The lack of such a study was identified as a significant void by Social Indicator (SI), the social research unit of the Centre for Policy Alternatives (CPA). The Peace Confidence Index study (PCI) seeks to fill this lacuna. The study, funded by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) under the Governance and Institutional Strengthening Project, (GISP) Sri Lanka, will be conducted bi-monthly to gauge the impact of local and international political developments on public attitudes towards the peace process.
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Introduction

**Objective**

The purpose of this study is two-fold. One is to develop a numerical indicator of the level of public confidence in the peace process using a set of standardised questions which will remain unchanged with each wave. The other is to use a set of questions related to recent social, economic and political developments in order to gauge public opinion in the peace process, which by definition will change from one wave to another.

Such information, collected over a period of time, will provide civil society and policy makers a useful barometer of the opinions of the Sri Lankan polity, and ensure that the collective opinions of the masses are given due importance and incorporated into the policy debate.

**Scope & Methodology**

The study is carried out using a structured questionnaire administered through face-to-face interviews amongst a 1,725 respondent sample. The 17 administrative districts of the seven provinces, excluding the Northern and the Eastern provinces, and areas under Government control of the Amparai, Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Vavuniya and Mannar were surveyed. Data is weighted to reflect the actual ethnographic composition of the districts in which the sample was surveyed (Refer Annex).

Seven waves of the PCI study were conducted in May, June, September and November 2001 and January and March 2002. The latest wave, the results of which are in this publication, was conducted in May 2002. The results of these seven waves offer us data for a comparative study on changing public opinion regarding key issues, ranging from perceptions of war and peace to the proscription of the LTTE. The results are subject to a 3% margin of error.
Executive Summary Of Poll Conducted from 11th to 20th May 2002

Whilst there is general consolidation of support in favour of peace through negotiations;

- there is also widespread ignorance of the terms of the cease-fire agreement.
- Increased scepticism amongst Tamils regarding the modalities of the peace process.
- Overall lack of convergence of opinion along ethnic lines on the conditions and agenda for talks, e.g. deproscription, composition and control of interim administration.
- Decline in the approval rating of Norway’s role in the peace process.

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KEY NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS INFORMING THE OPINION POLL

- First ceasefire monitoring committee under the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission (SLMM) opens in Vavuniya.
- Eight LTTE members go to Vavuniya to engage in political activities.
- Prabhakaran quizzes Karikalan on alleged ceasefire violations in the north-east province.
- Prabhakaran holds a Press Conference and meets the 300 local and foreign journalists in Kilinochchi.
- LTTE commences political activity in government-held areas in Batticaloa.
- Sihala Urumaya calls for resettlement of all Sinhalese displaced from the North and East.
- A protest rally of more than 5,000 people by the JVP led National Movement for Respectable Peace and Against the Division of the Country is attended by prominent PA politicians.
- Prabhakaran invites the Sinhala families displaced from the north and east to return.
- The seaplane carrying LTTE Chief Negotiator Anton Balasingham makes an unscheduled change in its flight-plan. Flying over a LTTE - Navy standoff in Trincomalee, it risks fire from the Sri Lankan Air-Force.
- A boat alleged to be that of the LTTE blows up off the eastern coast in the first clash with government forces since the two sides signed the Norwegian-brokered truce in February.
- 137 Tamil suspects taken into custody under the PTA released.
- India expresses its full support for the peace process. Indian Foreign Minister Jaswant Singh says that India is prepared to lend technical support and help in legal and constitutional matters that may arise during the peace talks.
- Government decides to pay compensation to Sinhala families resettling in the North and East.
- The UTHR releases report documenting Human Rights violations by the LTTE, including child abductions, since the ceasefire agreement.
- India extends ban on LTTE for another 2 years. Indian Home Ministry says that the ban on the LTTE will be extended beyond 14 May 2002 for a further two years under the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act 1967. Home Minister L. K. Advani says the unlawful activities of LTTE militants on Indian soil, as well as their contacts and liaison with other extremist groups, have been a matter of grave concern for India.
- PA supporters march in Nugegoda protesting against the cost of living, political victimisation and peace process leading to the separation of country.
- Local government elections throughout the country excluding the north-east.
• LTTE meets group of government representatives. The Prime Minister’s office says the meeting between the head of the Peace Secretariat, Bernard Gunetilleke, and the leader of the LTTE Political Wing, Tamilchelvan, was held in a cordial manner. Among the issues discussed at the meeting were the opening of the A-9 highway, repairs to the road and the vacation of schools and places of worship occupied by the armed forces.
Why do you think the Government goes in for talks? [Multiple Answers]

Commitment to peace

Why do you think that the LTTE goes in for talks? [Multiple Answers]

Commitment to Peace

I think the Government is committed to find peace through talks [Those who agree]
I think the LTTE is committed to find peace through talks -
Agree

Tamil opinion on when there will be peace in Sri Lanka

National opinion on whether the Government should
de-proscribe the LTTE to start peace talks?
The Sinhala opinion on whether the Government should deproscribe the LTTE to start peace talks

Those who think an international third party’s involvement is essential

Those who approve Norway’s assistance in the Sri Lankan peace process [January 2002 to May 2002]
What is your approval rating for Norway assisting in the Sri Lankan peace process? [May 2002]

- Up-country Tamil: 25.1% (Approve), 65.8% (Neither approve nor disapprove), 5.3% (Disapprove), 3.5% (Do not know)
- Muslim: 14.6% (Approve), 73.4% (Neither approve nor disapprove), 9% (Disapprove), 2.7% (Do not know)
- Tamil: 18.9% (Approve), 84.8% (Neither approve nor disapprove), 21.9% (Disapprove), 3.5% (Do not know)
- Sinhala: 21.9% (Approve), 34.5% (Neither approve nor disapprove), 22.8% (Disapprove), 6.6% (Do not know)

Those who think the ceasefire agreement will not last

- Sinhala: 36.6% (March '02), 43.6% (May '02)
- Tamil: 7.7% (March '02), 13.2% (May '02)
- Muslim: 22.2% (March '02), 11.1% (May '02)
- Up-country Tamil: 23.2% (March '02), 9.1% (May '02)

What is your understanding/awareness of the contents in the ceasefire agreement?

- Fully understand/Aware: 3.8% (March '02), 53% (May '02)
- Understand/Aware to some extent: 2.2% (March '02), 56.1% (May '02)
- Not at all: 11.1% (March '02), 43.1% (May '02)
Do you approve or disapprove of the setting up of an interim administration under LTTE control in the north and east?

- National: 64.7% approve, 21.3% disapprove
- Tamil: 93.5% approve, 4.5% disapprove
- Muslim: 73.6% approve, 11.4% disapprove
- Up-country Tamil: 83.5% approve, 6.3% disapprove
- Sinhala: 52.3% approve, 33% disapprove

Disapprove
Approve
Peace Confidence Index: Changing Perceptions from May 2001 to May 2002

The Meaning of War and Peace

In May 2002, peace continues to mean ethnic harmony for a majority of Sri Lankans (53.9%). But for a significant proportion of the population, peace also means freedom (34.7%) and an end to the war (25.4%). Also, the perception that peace means feeling safe has increased from (9.8%) in March 2002 to (14.9%) in May 2002.

May 2002 sees a majority amongst all ethnic groups considering peace to be ethnic harmony - Muslims (68.2%), Up-country Tamils (63.6%), Tamils (62.5%) and Sinhalese (51.1%). Similarly, 70.6% in urban areas, as opposed to 52.3% in rural areas, perceive peace as ethnic harmony.

What does 'peace' mean to you? [Multiple Answers]
War means death and destruction for 54.4% of Sri Lankans in May 2002, which is a slight increase from 50.8% in March 2002. 26.4% of the population continue to perceive war as disharmony amongst the races and a fight for rights (21.2%). The latter has shown an increase from 16.4% in March 2002.

In May 2002, the perception of war to mean death and destruction persists amongst the majority of the Up-country Tamil (58.3%) and Sinhala (56.7%) populations. A notable drop in this perception can be observed amongst the Muslim population – from 54.4% in March 2002 to 38.2% in May 2002. While 43.8% of the Tamils feel that war means death and destruction, 29.3% of them see the war as fighting for rights. The belief that war is a means of achieving peace is the highest amongst the Muslim community (12.4%).
In May 2002, when asked to stipulate a time-frame for the onset of peace in Sri Lanka 60% are unable to do so. This level of uncertainty has risen slightly from 57.2% in March 2002 and exists mainly amongst the Sinhalese (65.7%) and Tamils (41.5%). Furthermore, this uncertainty prevails largely amongst the Sinhalese throughout the study (64.3% in September 2001 to 65.7% in May 2002).

Tamil opinion in May 2002 shows an increase in the percentage of Tamils who say they do not know when there will be peace in Sri Lanka, from 23.5% in March 2002 to 41.8% in May 2002. On the other hand, Tamils who believe that peace is imminent has decreased sharply from 67.8% in March 2002 to 50.8% in May 2002. This skepticism is also reflected in Up-country Tamil opinion, which shows a decrease from 53.8% in March 2002 to 46.5% in May 2002 of those who believe peace is imminent.

The belief that communal politics is the root cause of war increased from 33.4% in March 2002 to 40.3% in May 2002. Discrimination against Tamils (28%), Sinhala chauvinism (8.1%) and Tamil chauvinism (8.7%), identified as causes of the war, also show an increase from March 2002.

In May 2002, while a majority of Tamils (64.5%) and 44.4% of Up-country Tamils believe the root cause of war to be discrimination against Tamils, 39.4% of the Sinhalese and 56.7% of Muslims believe the root cause of war to lie in communal politics. The study reveals a
substantial increase in Muslim opinion believing communal politics to be the cause of the war - from 30.3% in March 2002 to 56.7% in May 2002.

**Solutions to the Conflict**

In May 2002, 87.2% of Sri Lankans continue to feel that the war can be ended and peace brought about in Sri Lanka though peace talks. The belief in a war effort, 7% in May 2002, remains virtually unchanged from March 2002.

Opinion by ethnic group brings out the increase amongst the Sinhalese community.
relating to belief in negotiations (61.5% in September 2001 to 85% in May 2002).

Amongst the Tamils and Muslims, the confidence that peace can be attained through talks remains constant throughout the study - Tamils (90.5% in September 2001 to 94.5% in May 2002), Muslims (87.2% in September 2001 to 96.6% in May 2002) and Up-country Tamils (94.7% in September 2001 to 96.8% in May 2002).

In May 2002, many Sri Lankans feel that there has not been a solution to the war for the past 15 years as a result of a lack of political will (39.4% up from 37.1% in March 2002) and corrupt political and military leadership (35% up from 31.8% in March 2002). While there has been an increase in Sinhala and Up-country Tamil opinion who believe that there has been no solution to the war for the last 15 years due to a lack of political will (38% in January 2002 to 43.3% in May 2002 in the case of the Sinhalese and 11.7% in January 2002 to 36.9% in May 2002, for Up-country Tamils), Tamil opinion has decreased sharply from 30.1% in January 2002 to 16% in May 2002.

How do you think we can end the war and have peace in Sri Lanka? [Multiple Answers]
In May 2002, 42.5% of Muslims and 52.7% of Tamils attribute the lack of a solution to corrupt military and political leadership. In both communities, opinion has moved up from March 2001, when 27.5% of Tamils and 32.1% of Muslims perceived a lack of a solution to corrupt military and political leaders. 32.7% of Sinhalese also hold the same to be true.

57% of Sinhalese and 48.8% of Tamils believe that neither party can achieve total victory in this war. In May 2002, amongst Sri Lankans who feel that total victory can be achieved by one party, a majority (78.1%) are of the view that victory will be the Government’s rather than the LTTE’s. This figure has decreased from 85.8% in March 2002 and largely exists amongst the Sinhalese (89.5%).

**ON CREDIBILITY**

Overall, the opinion that the Government is committed to find peace through negotiations shows a rise in May 2002 - from 61.8% in March 2002 to 69.8% in May 2002.

Whilst Sinhala (46.4% in September 2001 to 68.4% in May 2002) and Muslim (30.6% in September 2001 to 86.7% in May 2002) opinion indicate belief in the
Government’s commitment, both Tamil (79.9% in March 2002 to 55.1% in May 2002) and Up-country Tamil opinion (92.3% in March 2002 to 80.7% in May 2002) show a notable decrease.

In contrast, 39.5% of Sri Lankans in May 2002 do not believe that the LTTE is committed to peace through negotiations, an increase from 32.9% in March 2002. On the other hand, there is also an increase in the belief that the LTTE is committed to peace through negotiations - up from 15% in May 2001 to 25.7% in May 2002. The belief is mainly held by Up-country Tamils (75.9%) and the Muslim community, whose opinion has fluctuated (26.8% in September, 19.6% in November 2001, 67.4% in January, 45.7% in March and 75.1% in May).

I think the LTTE is committed to find peace through talks

Those who believe that the LTTE is committed to peace through negotiations shows an increase amongst the Sinhalese, from 2.9% in September 2001 to 15% in May 2002. Up-country Tamil opinion on the same also shows an increase, from 59.6% in September 2001 to 75.9% in May 2002, as does Tamil opinion from 47.1% in September 2001 to 52.3% in May 2002.

Why do you think the Government goes in for talks? [Multiple Answers]
In May 2002, 48.8% of Sri Lankans believe that the Government goes in for talks on account of a commitment to peace. This is a view held predominantly by the Sinhalese (50.3%), Tamils (49.6%) and Up-country Tamils (49.1%).

For 37.8% of Muslims though, it is economic hardship that prompts the government to go in for peace talks. Nationally, going in for talks as a result of economic hardship also shows an increase from 28.9% in March 2002 to 33.2% in May 2002. The perception that the government goes in for talks to fool the people has declined from 12.2% in March 2002 to 8% in May 2002.

The belief that the Government goes in for talks on account of a commitment to peace continues to show a sharp increase amongst the Tamils (5.8% in September 2001 to 49.6% in May 2002) and Sinhalese (39.2% in March 2002 to 50.3% in May 2002). However, it has declined slightly amongst the Up-country Tamils, from 55.6% in March 2002 to 49.2% in May 2002 and Muslims, from 39.3% in March 2002 to 33.4% in May 2002.

In May 2002, 31.5% feel that the LTTE would go in for negotiations to deceive the people, an increase from 25.1% in March 2002 and a view held predominantly amongst the Sinhalese (38.7%). On the other hand, 23.4% in May 2002 believe it would be on account of international pressure while 19% believe it would be because of economic hardships. The perception that the LTTE goes in for peace talks as a result of their commitment to peace is a view held mostly amongst the Tamils (73%) and sees a significant increase from 39.6% in March 2002. On the other hand, this opinion has decreased amongst the Up-country Tamils, from 51.1% in September 2001 to 44.9% in May 2002.
An increase in opinion, from 43.6% in May 2001 to 78.4% in May 2002, can be observed in the perception that the Government should declare a ceasefire for peace talks. A high rate of approval for a Government ceasefire exists amongst all ethnic groups – Sinhala (73.7%), Tamil (98.8%), Muslim (94.8%) and Up-country Tamil (97.9%). 8.9% in May 2002 disagree with the Government declaring a ceasefire for peace talks, down from 17.7% in March 2002.

80.8% of the Sri Lankan population hold the view that the LTTE should declare a ceasefire for peace talks, a view that has increased from 71.5% in March 2002. From November 2001 to May 2002, there has been an increase in opinion amongst all communities that the LTTE should declare a ceasefire for peace talks - Sinhalese (48.1% to 76.8%), Tamils (91.9% to 98.4%), Muslims (87.7% to 94.8%) and Up-country Tamils (84.5% to 97.3%).

Why do you think that the LTTE goes in for talks? [Multiple Answers]

- Commitment to peace
- Economic hardship
- International pressure
- Realisation that this war cannot be won
- To fool the people
- Lack of manpower

On Conditions for Peace Talks

Do you think both parties should declare a ceasefire through a mutual agreement?
In May 2002, 87% of Sri Lankans feel that both parties should declare a ceasefire through a mutual agreement, indicating a continued support for a bilateral ceasefire. Overall support for the declaration of a ceasefire through a mutual agreement peaked in May 2002 amongst the Sinhalese (64.8% in November 2001 to 85.1% in May 2002), Tamils (81.1% in November 2001 to 98.4% in May 2002) and Muslims (88.3% in November 2001 to 94.4% in May 2002). On the other hand, opinion amongst the Up-country Tamils remains relatively the same - 89.7% in November 2001 and 88.8% in May 2002.

DEPROSCRIPTION

May 2002 finds 50.4% of Sri Lankans against the deproscription of the LTTE. Nationally, opinion in support of the Government deproscribing the LTTE has increased in May 2002 (29.3%) from 23.7% in March 2002. Furthermore, 88.3% of Tamils, 76.4% of Muslims, and 51.9% of Up-country Tamils show their agreement towards the deproscription of the LTTE in May 2002.
From a peak of 73.3% in November 2001 to 61.1% in May 2002, there is a clear decline amongst Sinhalese who oppose the deproscription of the LTTE.

In May 2002, 63.8% of all Sri Lankans approve of the Government’s decision to lift restrictions on certain essential items including food and medicine to the Vanni as a prelude to peace talks. This is an increase from 56.5% in March 2002. Approval for this decision is high amongst the minorities - Tamils (98.4%), Up-country Tamils (81.8%) and Muslims (74.7%).  58.6% of the Sinhalese also concur.

**LEVEL OF TOLERANCE AND PLURALISM**

The belief that all communities can live together remains relatively unchanged from May 2001 (80.1%) to May 2002 (87.9%). The positive belief in ethnic harmony can be seen amongst all ethnic groups – Sinhala (87.7%), Tamil (70.3%), Muslim (97.4%) and Up-country Tamil (96.3%).

In May 2002, 74.5% of the Sri Lankan population do not identify the Tamil community and the LTTE as one. However, a majority of the Tamil community (47.7%) identify themselves with the LTTE, whereas only 15.5% of the Up-country Tamils do so.

Nationally, 53.2% of Sri Lankans in May 2002, up from 46.5% in March 2002, do not identify the Government as a Sinhala Government. This view is held largely by the Tamils (43%), Muslims (34.8%) and Sinhalese (34%).

The findings reveal an increase in the opinion that a LTTE cadre is an enemy - from 57.3% in March 2002 to 62.7% in May 2002. This increase is amongst the Sinhala community (67.7% in March 2002 to 74.8% in May 2002) and the Muslim community (32.1% in March 2002 to 33.5% in May 2002).
52.5% of all Sri Lankans identify a soldier as a patriot, while 58.1% of them perceive a soldier as "a human being". This is a notion held by 60.7% of Sinhalese (up from 33.6% in September 2001), 53.2% of Muslims and 56.1% of the Up-country Tamils. However, the percentage of Tamils who perceive a soldier as "a human being" has decreased steadily from 72% in September 2001 to 34.4% in May 2002.

**The Peace Process**

89.6% of Sri Lankans continue to express their approval of the Government and the LTTE going in for peace talks. From September 2001 to May 2002 this approval has steadily increased amongst the Sinhalese (74.4% to 79.6%) and Up-country Tamils (94.7% to 96.6%) but has fluctuated amongst the Tamils (83.1% in September 2001, 91.5% in November 2001, 84.4% in January 2002 and 94.1% in May 2002) and the Muslims (83.9% in September 2001, 83.4% in November 2001, 99.1% in January 2002 and 86.7% in May 2002).

In May 2002, 88.4% approve of the Government and the LTTE going in for talks after a ceasefire - up from 46.7% May 2001. The Sinhalese show an increasing approval of the Government and the LTTE negotiating after a ceasefire (36.1% in September 2001 to 73.7% in January 2002 and 82.3% in May 2002).

On the other hand, the high rate of disapproval amongst Sri Lankans of the Government and the LTTE engaging in peace talks whilst fighting is reflected in May 2002 (73.3%), with a considerable increase in opinion from January 2002 (65.9%) and November 2001 (45.7%).

In May 2002, 95.6% of the Up-country Tamils disapprove of the Government and LTTE talking whilst fighting, as do 80.8% of the Tamils, 78.1% of the Muslims and 70.6% of the Sinhalese.
Tamil opinion fluctuates – 77.2% in September 2001, 66% in November, 79% in January 2002, 64.4% in March 2002 and 77.3% in May 2002.

When asked in May 2002 as to who should be involved in negotiations, only 21.7% feel that it should be exclusively between the Government and the LTTE, a figure which has fallen considerably since January 2002 (33.9%). There is a noticeable increase in those who feel that the widest involvement in the peace talks is necessary from 14% in January 2002 to 25.8% in May 2002.
From March 2002 to May 2002, the Sinhalese (11.3% to 21.4%), Muslims (38.5% to 55.8%) and Up-country Tamils (23.9% to 33.7%) believe in the widest involvement in negotiations. The Tamil community however, shows an increasing belief in the involvement of only the Government and LTTE in talks - 4% in March 2002 to 18.8% in May 2002.

INTERNATIONAL THIRD PARTY FACILITATION

In May 2002, 32.5% of Sri Lankans feel that an international third party’s involvement is necessary to bring about a solution to the north east war. Broken down into ethnic groups, 85.2% of Tamils, 57.7% of Muslims, 55.6% of Up-country Tamils and 24% of Sinhalese concur.

At the same time 29% of Sri Lankans believe an international third party’s involvement will add a positive impact in solving the north east war in Sri Lanka, a view that has increased since March 2002 (20.9%).

NORWEGIAN FACILITATION

42.7% of Sri Lankans approve of Norway assisting in the peace process in May 2002, a decrease from 50.7% in March 2002. Approval is highest amongst the other communities - Tamils (84.8%), Muslims (73.4%) and Up-country Tamils (65.8%).
May 2002 shows a decrease in approval amongst Sinhalese (46% in January 2002 to 34.5% in May 2002) and Up-country Tamil (85.7% in March 2002 to 65.8% in May 2002) of Norway’s assistance in the Sri Lankan peace process.

**INDIAN INVOLVEMENT**

When asked about India’s involvement in the Sri Lankan peace process, 26.1% in May 2002 believe that it is essential, while 31.7% think that it will have a positive impact. 3.5% feel that it will have a negative impact on the peace process. The highest approval for Indian involvement came from the Up-country Tamils, of whom 61.5% think it is essential. 60.9% of the Muslims, 42.2% of the Tamils but only 18.7% of the Sinhala population view Indian involvement as essential. 38.2% of Sinhalese believe Indian involvement will have a positive impact on the peace process.

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In your opinion, India’s involvement in the Sri Lankan peace process ... (chart)

**COMMITMENT**

In May 2002, most people are of the opinion that the motivation for people to join the armed forces continues to be economic hardship (75.3%) and the need to defend the motherland (59.5%). The latter figure, however, shows a decrease from 64.5% in March 2002.

75.6% of Sinhalese believe economic hardship to be the primary motivation for people to join the forces. From January 2002 to May 2002, the perception that economic hardship motivates people to join the forces has increased amongst a majority of the Muslims (58.6% to 67.4%), Up-country Tamils (44.7% to 73.8%) and Tamils (70.5% to 83.6%).

In May 2002, 46.2% nationally feel that people are forced to join the LTTE. This increase is featured chiefly amongst the Sinhala community (44.7% in January 2002 to 52% in May 2002). However, 48% of Tamils, 48.5% of Muslims and 53.5% of Up-country Tamils believe people join the LTTE to defend their motherland. The findings in May 2002 also indicate an overall increase amongst all communities in opinion that revenge is another motivation - 18.8% in January 2002 to 28.1% in May 2002.
What motivates the people who join the forces? [Multiple Answers]

- Economic hardship
- Defending the motherland
- Revenge
- Do not know

What motivates the people who join the LTTE? [Multiple Answers]

- Economic hardship
- Defending the motherland
- Revenge
- By force
- Do not know
Recent Developments: An Opinion Poll Conducted from 11th to 20th May 2002

**CEASEFIRE AGREEMENT**

82.5% of the Sri Lankans are aware that the Government and the LTTE have signed a ceasefire agreement. The highest rate of awareness is amongst the Tamils (94.1%) while the lowest is amongst the Up-country Tamils (59.9%).

56.1% amongst those who are aware of the signing of the ceasefire agreement understand the contents of the agreement to some extent - a view held predominantly amongst Sinhalese (56.8%), Tamils (56.4%) and Muslims (53.6%).

Yet, 41.3% amongst those who are aware of the signing of the ceasefire agreement admit they have no understanding of the contents of the agreement, expressed by 40.8% of the Sinhalese, 42% of the Muslims and 53.1% of the Up-country Tamils. On the other hand, only 2% of Sinhalese, 2.1% of Tamils, 18.8% of Up-country Tamils and 4.4% of Muslims who are aware of the signing understand the contents of the agreement completely.

34.8% in May 2002, who are aware of the signing of the ceasefire agreement approve of it because they feel that the prevailing situation is a peaceful one as a consequence of the ceasefire agreement.
Nationally, complete approval of the agreement is also attributed to the perception that people like to and need to live in peace. This approval is highest among the Up-country Tamils (70.8%). 16.1% of Sri Lankans approve of the ceasefire agreement but with reservations and state difficulties in trusting the LTTE, previous experiences and the fact that political analyses shows flaws in the agreement, as reasons for their reservations.

21.2% of the population who are aware of the signing of the ceasefire agreement disapprove of it with reservations. Difficulties in trusting the LTTE, feelings that the agreement was signed secretly, the public not being sufficiently informed through the media, and the agreement enabling the creation of a separate state, are given as reasons for their reservations.

Though many amongst those who wholeheartedly disapprove of the ceasefire agreement are unable to provide reasons for their disapproval, some disapprove due to the difficulties in trusting the LTTE, the belief that agreement will enable the establishment of a separate state and that political analysis shows the agreement to be flawed.

Furthermore 37.3% of the Sri Lankans who are aware of the signing of the ceasefire agreement are uncertain if the ceasefire agreement will last - a view persisting mainly amongst the Sinhalese (43.6%).

Do you think the ceasefire agreement will last?

Nationally, a large majority (80.3%) amongst those who think the ceasefire agreement will not last, believe the LTTE is most like to break the ceasefire agreement, a view held mainly by the Sinhalese (85.3%) and the Muslims (38.5%). Moreover 16.6% of those in the rural areas are of the view that the ceasefire agreement will last while, 31% in the urban areas concur.

When those aware of the signing of the ceasefire agreement were asked whether they think the Government is abiding by the terms of the ceasefire genuinely, 64.8%
of Sri Lankans believe they are. This view is held by a majority of the Sinhalese (66.6%), Tamils (50.8%), Muslims (69.1%) and Up-country Tamils (46%).

On the flip side, only 16.5% of Sri Lankans who are aware of the Government and LTTE having signed a ceasefire agreement believe that the LTTE is abiding by the terms of the ceasefire genuinely. An equal proportion (61.9%) of Muslims and Up-country Tamils hold this view and 58.8% of the Tamil community. Only 6% of the Sinhala community agree that the LTTE is genuine in keeping to the terms of the ceasefire agreement.

31.2% of the Sri Lankans, who are aware of the signing of the ceasefire agreement, say that they are somewhat satisfied with Norway’s role in the ceasefire agreement. 31.1% of Sinhalese and 48.7% of Up-country Tamils concur.

**SRI LANKAN MONITORING MISSION**

The overall (82.3%) awareness of the involvement of foreign monitors in monitoring the ceasefire agreement is amongst a majority of the Tamils (93.8%), Muslims (93.8%) and Up-country Tamils (85%). The Sinhalese (79.9%) show the least awareness in comparison to other ethnic groups.

Of those aware of the involvement of foreign monitors, 39.4% and 31.2% believe that such a foreign monitoring mission will have a positive impact and is essential in order for the ceasefire agreement to succeed. 82.5% of Tamils, 78.6% of Muslims and 77.1% of Up-country Tamils concur.

33.1% of those who are aware of the Sri Lanka Monitoring Mission are of the opinion that it is impartial in its monitoring of the ceasefire agreement - 63.2% of Muslims, 59.2% of Tamils, 49% of Up-country Tamils and 26% of Sinhalese concur.
**LTTE’s Invitation to Muslims to Resettle**

64% of the population are aware of the LTTE leader’s invitation to the displaced Muslim families from the North and East to return and resettle. This awareness is shown amongst 86.5% of Muslims, 79.2% of Tamils, 70.6% of Up-country Tamils and 59.9% of the Sinhalese.

Nationally, while 25.7% of those who are aware of this invitation perceive it to be genuine, 36% believe the contrary - a view held by 45.4% of the Sinhalese. However, 50.5% of the Muslims think that the invitation is genuine.

**INTERIM ADMINISTRATION**

60.2% of Sri Lankans are aware of the proposal to set up an interim administration under LTTE control in the north and east. Awareness is highest amongst Muslims (66.1%) while it is lowest amongst the Up-country Tamil community (41.7%).

Of those who are aware, 64.7% disapprove of it. This disapproval is expressed mainly amongst the Sinhalese (73%) and Muslims (52.3%). In contrast, 93.5% of Tamils and 83.5% of Up-country Tamils who are aware approve of the setting up of such an interim administration.

Of those who approve of the setting up of such an interim administration, 47% disapprove of the LTTE having complete control of it - a view expressed mainly by 72.2% of Sinhalese and 62.1% of Muslims.

Moreover, amongst those who approved of an interim administration in the north and east under LTTE control, 47.3%
do not believe other Tamil political parties should be included in such an interim administration. On the other hand, 26.9% approve the inclusion of other Tamil political parties, a view expressed largely amongst the minorities (Tamils 44.3%, Muslims 31.8% and Up-country Tamils 23.6%).

66.2% amongst those who approve of an interim administration under LTTE control approve of Muslim and Sinhala representation in the proposed interim administration. While 84.8% of the Muslims and 81.6% of the Sinhalese approved of such an administration, only 47.7% of the Tamils and 33.3% of the Up-country Tamils approve of the same.

54.8% of Sri Lankans do not believe the LTTE is the sole representative of the Tamil community, a view expressed largely by the Sinhalese (66.8%). However, the minorities believe the contrary (71.7% Tamils, 44.4% Up-country Tamils and 33.2% Muslims).

![Diagram showing support for Muslim and Sinhala representation in the proposed North-East Interim Administration](chart.png)
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Fax: 370475  Web: http://www.cpalanka.org
Annex

District sample (weighted) distribution in May 2002

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DISTRICT</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Colombo</td>
<td>218</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gampaha</td>
<td>66</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kalutara</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kandy</td>
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<td>Matale</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nuwara Eliya</td>
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<tr>
<td>Galle</td>
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<td>Hambantota</td>
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<tr>
<td>Matara</td>
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<td>Polonnaruwa</td>
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<td>Vavuniya</td>
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<td>Mannar</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>NATIONAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>1725</strong></td>
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Ethnic sample (weighted) distribution in May 2002

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ETHNICITY</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sinhala</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
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<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up-country Tamil</td>
<td>88</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>NATIONAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>1725</strong></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Normalised weights for each ethnic community in May 2002

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ETHNICITY</th>
<th>WEIGHTS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sinhala</td>
<td>1.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamil</td>
<td>0.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>0.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Up-country Tamil</td>
<td>0.47</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
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 their lives. 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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