

Peace in Sri Lanka: Negotiating with the Northern 'Separatists'?

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About this poll

Peace was achieved in Northern Ireland, after many years of bitter conflict, failed negotiations and broken ceasefires only when all the parties to the conflict and the people of Ireland and Northern Ireland were brought together in the same peace process. As part of that process a series of 'peace polls' were run to find out what the people wanted in terms of a just and lasting settlement.

The first such peace poll run in Sri Lanka was completed between March and May 2008 in collaboration with the staff of Social Indicator of Colombo and Dr. Colin Irwin from the Institute of Irish Studies at the University of Liverpool who developed the peace polls method. That poll included a random sample of 1,700 people from all parts of Sri Lanka with the exception of the Northern Province.

As Social Indicator are presently not able to operate in this region of Sri Lanka arrangements were made for a separate poll to be undertaken by the academic community in Jaffna. This new poll was run in June and repeated all the questions asked in the previous poll with 200 interviews completed in 5 Divisional Secretariats (DS). The results are presented below but it should be noted that the 'don't knows' have been excluded from these calculations in order to improve the clarity of presentation. However the full results of both polls are available at the project website <http://www.peacepolls.org> along with a more detailed explanation of the methodology used.

Introduction

Can the Government of Sri Lanka negotiate a peace agreement with the people of the Northern Province? This question depends of course on a desire and willingness of both the Government in Colombo and the political representatives of the people in the North wanting to negotiate such a peace. But if we assume they do then is there a basis upon which such an agreement could be made between the Sinhala people of Sri Lanka on the one hand and the Tamils of the Northern Province on the other? Both the previous peace poll in this series and political developments in the rest of Sri Lanka suggest that a new dispensation between the Provinces and the Central Government could lead to such a peace. But what of the North, could a similar dispensation lead to peace there? With this point in mind all the questions asked in the first Sri Lanka peace poll were asked again in and around Jaffna. The results suggest, as in the rest of the country, that fully implemented constitutional reform coupled with effective measures to deal with problems of discrimination and good governance would enjoy wide popular support. It therefore follows that bringing the people of the North into the peace process, as full partners for peace could both strengthen the legitimacy of any agreements reached and hopefully make an end to hostilities that much closer.

The Problems

From a list of 51 problems given to the research team the top three items on the Northern Tamil 'Problems' list (Table 1) are 'Escalating violence in the last 2 years' and 'Violence over the past 30 years' 1st and 2nd, both at 72% 'very significant', followed by 'The ongoing war' 3rd at 71% 'very significant'. These items are 4th, 5th and 6th on the Sinhala list (Table 2) so both communities share the same concerns on this point. However, beyond this common appreciation of the violence of war the 'problems' of the two communities diverge. First and 2nd on the Sinhala list is 'The continued violence of the LTTE' and 'Abuse of human rights by the LTTE' at 60% and 59% 'very significant' respectively while 3rd on the Northern Tamil list (after the issues of war) is the 'Failure to implement language rights' at 63% 'very significant'. However, after this there is a degree of convergence again between the two lists. 'Failure to bring human rights violators to justice' is 5th on the Northern Tamil list and 11th on the Sinhala list while 'The failure of successive governments to find a political solution' and 'Failure to provide Sri Lanka Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems' is 6th and 7th on the Northern Tamils list and 16th and 19th on the Sinhala list (out of a total list of 51 such problems). But 'The continued violence of the LTTE' and their human rights abuses are down at 38th and 30th on the Northern Tamil list while the 'Failure to implement language rights' is 33rd on the Sinhala list. Clearly not much meeting of minds on these critical issues that must necessarily be addressed by both communities if peace is to be achieved. So what of the 'solutions' to these various 'problems' is there a basis for negotiations there?

Table 1. The ‘problems’ faced by the people of Sri Lanka from the Northern Tamil perspective

Jaffna Sample	Very Significant
1st Escalating violence in the last 2 years	72%
2nd Violence over the past 30 years	72%
3rd The ongoing war	71%
4th Failure to implement language rights	63%
5th Failure to bring perpetrators of human rights violations to justice	59%
6th The failure of successive governments to find a political solution	55%
7th Failure to provide Sri Lankan Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	55%
8th All Tamils being treated like terrorists by the security forces	54%
9th Non-productive Peace Secretariat	54%
10th State control over media	52%
11th Dominance of Sinhalese in public sector employment	48%
12th Abuse of Human Rights by Paramilitary groups associated with government forces	46%
13th Discrimination after independence	45%
14th The Armed forces are predominately Sinhalese	45%
15th Lack of free and fair elections including manipulation	44%
16th Increasing number of IDPs	42%
17th Failure to implement 13 th Amendment	42%
18th The Police are predominately Sinhalese	41%
19th Inflation	40%
20th Unemployment	39%
21st Abuse of Human Rights by the Armed forces	39%
22nd Fragmentation of the island into ‘cleared’ and ‘un-cleared’ areas	38%
23rd Government leadership dependent on JVP and JHU	36%
24th Corrupt politicians	35%
25th Disproportionate power exercised by JVP and JHU	34%
26th Heightened ethnic polarisation in politics and life	33%
27th Increasing number of refugees leaving Sri Lanka	33%
28th Politicisation of the public service	32%
29th Failure to implement 17 th Amendment	31%
30th Abuse of Human Rights by the LTTE	31%
31st The decline of the economy	31%
32nd Proliferation of armed paramilitary forces	30%
33rd Politicians frequently changing party	29%
34th Abuse of Human Rights by the Police	29%
35th State aided colonization and change of demographics	27%
36th Failure to provide Upcountry Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	27%
37th Polarisation of civil society	24%
38th The continued violence of the LTTE	23%
39th Vested interests in ongoing conflict	23%
40th The British Colonialism	23%
41st A defeated LTTE will give rise to new armed groups	22%
42nd The Police do not provide a police service for the public	21%
43rd Public Institutions corrupted for political purposes	20%
44th Failure to protect historic Hindu sites	20%
45th The LTTE can only be weakened by war	19%
46th International NGOs operating in Sri Lanka	19%
47th Devolution of power to North and East will lead to the break up of Sri Lanka	17%
48th Lack of basic health care	15%
49th Failure to provide Muslims with a constitutional solution to their problems	14%
50th Upcountry Tamils do not own their own homes	12%
51st Failure to protect historic Buddhist sites in the North and East	10%

Table 2. The ‘problems’ faced by the people of Sri Lanka from the Sinhala perspective

	Sinhala	Very Significant
1st	The continued violence of the LTTE	60%
2nd	Abuse of Human Rights by the LTTE	59%
3rd	Fragmentation of the island into ‘cleared’ and ‘un-cleared’ areas	43%
4th	Violence over the past 30 years	41%
5th	Corrupt politicians	40%
6th	The ongoing war	37%
7th	Escalating violence in the last 2 years	31%
8th	The LTTE can only be weakened by war	30%
9th	Vested interests in ongoing conflict	30%
10th	Politicisation of the public service	29%
11th	Failure to bring perpetrators of human rights violations to justice	28%
12th	Proliferation of armed paramilitary forces	24%
13th	Public Institutions corrupted for political purposes	23%
14th	International NGOs operating in Sri Lanka	23%
15th	Increasing number of IDPs	22%
16th	The failure of successive governments to find a political solution	21%
17th	Inflation	21%
18th	Failure to implement 13 th Amendment	20%
19th	Failure to provide Sri Lankan Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	20%
20th	The British Colonialism	19%
21st	Politicians frequently changing party	18%
22nd	The decline of the economy	17%
23rd	Lack of free and fair elections including manipulation	17%
24th	Polarisation of civil society	17%
25th	Non-productive Peace Secretariat	16%
26th	Devolution of power to North and East will lead to the break up of Sri Lanka	16%
27th	Unemployment	15%
28th	A defeated LTTE will give rise to new armed groups	15%
29th	Failure to protect historic Buddhist sites in the North and East	14%
30th	Failure to implement 17 th Amendment	13%
31st	Failure to provide Muslims with a constitutional solution to their problems	13%
32nd	Abuse of Human Rights by Paramilitary groups associated with government forces	12%
33rd	Failure to implement language rights	12%
34th	Discrimination after independence	12%
35th	Abuse of Human Rights by the Armed forces	11%
36th	Abuse of Human Rights by the Police	11%
37th	Upcountry Tamils do not own their own homes	10%
38th	Heightened ethnic polarisation in politics and life	9%
39th	Increasing number of refugees leaving Sri Lanka	9%
40th	Disproportionate power exercised by JVP and JHU	9%
41st	Failure to protect historic Hindu sites	8%
42nd	The Police do not provide a police service for the public	8%
43rd	Government leadership dependent on JVP and JHU	7%
44th	State control over media	7%
45th	Lack of basic health care	6%
46th	Failure to provide Upcountry Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	5%
47th	State aided colonization and change of demographics	4%
48th	The Police are predominately Sinhalese	4%
49th	Dominance of Sinhalese in public sector employment	4%
50th	All Tamils being treated like terrorists by the security forces	3%
51st	The Armed forces are predominately Sinhalese	2%

The Solutions

Security

In the second part of the questionnaire everyone interviewed was asked to indicate which ‘solutions’ they considered to be ‘essential’, ‘desirable’, ‘acceptable’, ‘tolerable’ or ‘unacceptable’ for lasting peace and stability in Sri Lanka. The options for security were then listed in order of priority calculated as the average ‘essential or desirable’ for both the Northern Tamils and Sinhala community (Table 3).

Table 3. Security solutions

Priorities for negotiations	Average Essential or Desirable	Jaffna Sample Essential or Desirable	Sinhala Essential or Desirable	Jaffna Sample Unacceptable	Sinhala Unacceptable
1 All the people of Sri Lanka must come together through their representatives to solve the problem	80%	74%	85%	5%	3%
2 The political leadership representing all stakeholders must come together to solve the problem	77%	72%	82%	5%	3%
3 Bring <u>all</u> IDPs under total civilian control	69%	67%	71%	5%	10%
4 More inclusive and effective Peace Secretariat	69%	87%	51%	3%	22%
5 Reform the Police and eliminate corruption	68%	55%	80%	4%	3%
6 The government should also negotiate with the LTTE	67%	94%	40%	1%	37%
7 Restart the peace process	66%	95%	36%	1%	38%
8 Stop the war	65%	95%	34%	1%	45%
9 Adequate safeguards to protect Hindu sites	62%	64%	59%	3%	6%
10 Ethnic balance in the police and armed services	59%	81%	37%	5%	22%
11 Take effective steps to gradually reduce and eliminate all High Security Zones	55%	95%	14%	1%	65%
12 Adequate safeguards to protect Buddhist Monuments in North and East	46%	27%	65%	19%	5%
13 Defeat the LTTE by military means alone	46%	17%	75%	76%	7%
14 Stop state colonization	45%	67%	23%	0%	46%
15 Weaken the LTTE and then put forward a political solution	39%	11%	66%	84%	10%
16 International body to oversee security and welfare of Northern Muslims	36%	52%	20%	13%	56%
17 The government should negotiate with elected Tamil representatives	31%	35%	26%	35%	52%
18 The government should negotiate with ex-Tamil militants	30%	41%	19%	18%	58%
19 Have military and political solutions run in parallel	29%	22%	35%	48%	36%
20 Muslim and Tamil regiments for selected tasks in Northern and Eastern Provinces	26%	31%	20%	25%	56%
21 Place a political solution on the table and if no LTTE response then use military means	21%	15%	27%	57%	32%
22 Use political and economic incentives to transform the LTTE and find a settlement	17%	17%	17%	55%	64%
23 Place a political solution on the table and if no LTTE response isolate them politically	14%	13%	15%	48%	47%

The first two items on this list are ‘All the people of Sri Lanka must come together through their representatives to solve the problem’ and ‘The political leadership representing all stakeholders must come together to solve the problem’ at between 72% and 85% ‘essential or desirable’ for both the Northern Tamil and Sinhala community. Rates of ‘unacceptable’ do not rise above 5% for these options. Next comes ‘Bring all IDPs under total civilian control’ between 67% and 71% ‘essential or desirable’ for both communities followed by ‘More inclusive and effective Peace Secretariat’ at 87% ‘essential or desirable’ for Northern Tamils and 51% for the Sinhala of which a 22% minority consider this option to be ‘unacceptable’. A consensus is restored again for ‘Reform the Police and eliminate corruption’ 5th on this list of 23 items with rates of ‘unacceptable’ at only 3% or 4%. Although the Northern Tamils strongly support the suggestion that ‘The government should also negotiate with the LTTE’ at 94% ‘essential or desirable’ the Sinhala are split on this proposal at 40% ‘essential or desirable’ and 37% ‘unacceptable’ with similar results for ‘Restart the peace process’ and ‘Stop the war’ at 8th and 9th on this list. Other options in this list then continue to look at these issues in some more detail but the basic conclusion to be drawn is that the Northern Tamils want an end to the war now while the Sinhala community are divided on this strategy. At the time of running this poll 75% still considered defeating the LTTE by military means alone to be ‘essential or desirable’ compared to only 17% of Northern Tamils who took this view which perhaps underlines the point that no community should be seen in simple ‘black and white’ terms. What both communities can agree to however is the necessity for their political leaderships to work together for a political solution to the conflict and for the institutions with responsibilities for establishing peace to be more effective and inclusive.

Human Rights

The question on human rights listed a variety of abuses ranging from ‘Attack civilians’ to ‘Deny freedom of movement’ and everyone interviewed for this question was asked if these actions should be allowed so that the LTTE or ‘government forces, police and associated paramilitaries’ could achieve their respective objectives. Generally speaking the results to this question are very reassuring with the Sinhala recording an average of 96% ‘unacceptable’ and Northern Tamils 94% ‘unacceptable’ over all (Table 4). But some results are possibly matters for concern. In the Jaffna sample of Northern Tamils 7% considered LTTE attacks on civilians to be ‘tolerable’ and extra-judicial killings by the LTTE ‘acceptable or tolerable’ while 5% considered ‘Recruit Child Soldiers’ ‘acceptable’ and 9% thought ‘Launch suicide attacks’ was ‘tolerable’. In fairness it should be pointed out that our previous poll showed very little support for these particular kinds of human rights abuses when the various communities were looked at for the rest of Sri Lanka as a whole and it may be the case that a small minority of Sinhala living in the war zones are also willing to accept lower standards with regards to the observation of these human rights. However 5% of Sinhala do consider it ‘acceptable or tolerable’ for the ‘government forces, police and associated paramilitaries’ to ‘Abuse emergency powers’ and this rises to 7% ‘acceptable or tolerable’ for ‘Arbitrary arrest and detention’ and 14% for ‘Deny freedom of movement’.

Table 4. Sinhala and Northern Tamil views of human rights abuses.

To achieve its objectives the LTTE should be allowed to:

Sinhala*	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Attack civilians	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Use torture	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Undertake extra-judicial killings	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Launch suicide attacks	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Recruit Child Soldiers	0%	0%	0%	1%	99%
Arbitrarily arrest and detention	0%	0%	0%	1%	99%
Deny rights to a fair public trial	0%	0%	1%	1%	98%
Deny freedom of speech, press, assembly	0%	0%	0%	1%	99%
Deny freedom of movement	0%	0%	0%	1%	99%

Jaffna Sample	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Attack civilians	0%	1%	0%	7%	92%
Use torture	0%	5%	1%	0%	94%
Undertake extra-judicial killings	0%	0%	5%	2%	93%
Launch suicide attacks	1%	0%	1%	9%	88%
Recruit Child Soldiers	2%	0%	5%	1%	92%
Arbitrarily arrest and detention	2%	2%	1%	2%	93%
Deny rights to a fair public trial	2%	5%	1%	2%	90%
Deny freedom of speech, press, assembly	4%	0%	1%	4%	91%
Deny freedom of movement	1%	2%	2%	6%	89%

To achieve its objectives the government's forces, police and associated paramilitaries should be allowed to:

Sinhala	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Attack civilians	0%	0%	0%	2%	98%
Use torture	0%	0%	0%	1%	99%
Undertake extra-judicial killings	0%	0%	0%	1%	99%
Abuse emergency powers	0%	0%	2%	3%	95%
Recruit Child Soldiers	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Arbitrarily arrest and detention	0%	0%	1%	6%	93%
Deny rights to a fair public trial	0%	0%	0%	2%	97%
Deny freedom of speech, press, assembly	0%	0%	0%	4%	95%
Deny freedom of movement	0%	0%	7%	7%	86%

Jaffna Sample	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Attack civilians	1%	1%	0%	1%	97%
Use torture	2%	0%	0%	1%	97%
Undertake extra-judicial killings	2%	0%	1%	2%	95%
Abuse emergency powers	1%	0%	0%	2%	97%
Recruit Child Soldiers	1%	0%	2%	2%	95%
Arbitrarily arrest and detention	2%	0%	0%	1%	97%
Deny rights to a fair public trial	3%	0%	0%	0%	97%
Deny freedom of speech, press, assembly	2%	0%	0%	2%	96%
Deny freedom of movement	1%	0%	2%	3%	94%

* As the recorded values for 'essential' and 'desirable' for this question were so low in the first poll (that included the Sinhala) they were not included in these results because they were thought to be mostly coding errors. Thus these values appear as '0'.

Discrimination

There is strong agreement between the two communities on measures needed to address problems of discrimination with 'Effective steps to ensure balanced access to university education' 1st at 97% and 76% 'essential or desirable' for Northern Tamils and Sinhala respectively (Table 5). This is followed by 'Effective steps to ensure balanced recruitment in the civil service at all levels' at 84% and 69% 2nd then 'Distribute the resources of the state on a per capita basis' at 78% and 65% 3rd and 'Affirmative action for rehabilitation and reconstruction' 4th at 85% and 57% 'essential or desirable'. Levels of 'unacceptable' range between 5% and 13% in the Sinhala community for these policies so they would meet with little resistance but they are split on 'Ensure full implementation of Tamil as an official language' at 32% 'essential or desirable' and 34% 'unacceptable'. But as this reform is 'essential or desirable' for 94% of Northern Tamils this particular policy will need to be implemented all be it with some political care (it was also 4th on the Northern Tamil 'problems' list: see Table 1).

Table 5. Discrimination solutions

Priorities for negotiations	Average Essential or Desirable	Jaffna Sample Essential or Desirable	Sinhala Essential or Desirable	Jaffna Sample Unacceptable	Sinhala Unacceptable
1 Effective steps to ensure balanced access to university education	87%	97%	76%	1%	5%
2 Effective steps to ensure balanced recruitment in the civil service at all levels	77%	84%	69%	4%	12%
3 Distribute the resources of the state on a per capita basis	72%	78%	65%	10%	13%
4 Affirmative action for rehabilitation and reconstruction	71%	85%	57%	4%	7%
5 Ensure full implementation of Tamil as an official language	63%	94%	32%	0%	34%
6 Equality Commission to monitor all Government policies and distribution of resources	60%	76%	43%	0%	11%
7 Redistribute state lands in proportion to the population	57%	70%	44%	7%	27%
8 Affirmative action to redress all aspects of discrimination against Upcountry Tamils	56%	60%	52%	2%	9%
9 Affirmative action to provide Upcountry Tamils with ownership of their own homes	52%	47%	55%	10%	12%

Good Governance

When it comes to measures needed to improve good governance there is very little difference between the two communities (Table 6). Both Northern Tamils and Sinhala want to 'Depoliticise the public service' (81% and 87% 'essential or desirable'); an 'Independent media' (92% and 72%); 'Effective institutions to combat corruption' (79% and 74%); 'Right to information except for matters of national security' (88% and 64%); Reform of the criminal justice system' (78% and 75%) and 'Right to information at all times' at 92% and 48% 'essential or desirable' for Northern Tamils and Sinhala respectively (of whom 16% are opposed to this policy as 'unacceptable'). Also both Northern Tamils (73% 'essential or desirable') and Sinhala (64%) prefer that 'Appointments of Supreme Court Judges and other high posts should be made on the recommendation of the Constitutional Council established by Parliament' rather than at the discretion of the President (61% and 31% 'essential or desirable' respectively with 31% of Sinhala also opposed to this policy as 'unacceptable').

Table 6. Good governance solutions

Priorities for negotiations		Average Essential or Desirable	Jaffna Sample Essential or Desirable	Sinhala Essential or Desirable	Jaffna Sample Unacceptable	Sinhala Unacceptable
1	Depoliticise the public service	84%	81%	87%	0%	2%
2	Independent media	82%	92%	72%	1%	3%
3	Effective institutions to combat corruption	78%	79%	75%	2%	1%
4	Right to information except for matters of national security	76%	88%	64%	1%	10%
5	Reform of the criminal justice system	75%	78%	72%	0%	4%
6	Right to information at all times	70%	92%	48%	2%	16%
7	Policy to protect natural resources of the country	70%	71%	69%	3%	15%
8	Appointments of Supreme Court Judges and other high posts should be made on the recommendation of the Constitutional Council established by Parliament	69%	73%	64%	4%	11%
9	Strict budgetary control of state institutions	59%	49%	69%	2%	5%
10	Oversight committees for all Ministries with meetings open to the media	58%	60%	55%	4%	8%
11	Restrictions on MPs crossing over	48%	39%	58%	6%	16%
12	Appointments of Supreme Court Judges and other high posts should be made by the President at his own discretion	46%	61%	31%	13%	31%

Constitutional Reform

A consensus is reached on the first four items on the constitutional reform priorities for negotiations list (Table 7). 'Give equal status to all religious groups' is at the top of this list of 27 items with 87% 'essential or desirable' for Northern Tamils and 73% for Sinhala. 'Fully implement the 13th Amendment' is 2nd at 64% and 68% respectively; 'Clearly define the powers of the Centre and the Provinces' 3rd at 83% and 46% (15% 'unacceptable' for Sinhala) and then 'Fully implement the 17th Amendment' 4th at 47% and 70% 'essential or desirable' for Northern Tamils and Sinhala respectively (17% and 13% 'unacceptable'). Clearly all these reforms can be done with the consent of the people.

However the top priority for Northern Tamils is that 'The North and East should be one province' with 92% stating that it is 'essential or desirable'. However, it comes in 5th on the joint list as only 21% of Sinhala share this view and 53% of them are opposed to this reform as 'unacceptable'. But this item is probably something that will have to be negotiated with Eastern Tamils as well and early indications from their data suggest that they would also support a single province although not as strongly (64% 'essential or desirable' and 10% 'unacceptable' in an un-weighted sample from the first poll). The top priority for the Sinhala community is that 'Sri Lanka should be a unitary state' at 91% 'essential or desirable' with Northern Tamils opposed to this proposal at 75% 'unacceptable'. But this leaves about 25% of Northern Tamils with mixed views on this point and this 'split' is reflected in a series of related questions: 'Two completely separate independent states' is considered 'essential or desirable' by 53% and 'unacceptable' by 28% of Northern Tamils; 'Two states in a loose union like Europe' is 'essential or desirable' for 39% but 'unacceptable' for 24% and finally in the constitutional package question (Table 8) 'Two states' is 'essential or desirable' for 47% of Northern Tamils and 'unacceptable' for 27%. This degree of consistency should be taken seriously and when combined with other results such as the full implementation of the 13th Amendment at 64% 'essential or desirable' and, for example, 'Devolution with the same powers for all Provinces' at 60% 'essential or desirable' and 'No devolution' at 69% 'unacceptable' then the prospects for a negotiated peace look very good indeed providing the extremists in both communities can be marginalised.

A Constitutional Package

Finding common ground and marginalising the extremists in any negotiation is never easy but hopefully an objective look at the positions of the two communities on the key constitutional issues will help each side understand better where agreement can be reached. With this point in mind an additional constitutional question was asked that presented the various options put forward by both communities as 'constitutional packages' (Table 8 and 9).

Table 7. Constitutional solutions

Priorities for negotiations		Average Essential or Desirable	Jaffna Sample Essential or Desirable	Sinhala Essential or Desirable	Jaffna Sample Unacceptable	Sinhala Unacceptable
1	Give equal status to all religious groups	80%	87%	73%	2%	7%
2	Fully implement the 13 th Amendment	66%	64%	68%	3%	11%
3	Clearly define the powers of the Centre and the Provinces	65%	83%	46%	0%	15%
4	Fully implement the 17 th Amendment	59%	47%	70%	17%	13%
5	The North and East should be one province	57%	92%	21%	2%	53%
6	Right to return for Northern Muslims	56%	64%	48%	3%	11%
7	Sri Lanka should be a Unitary state	55%	19%	91%	75%	2%
8	Devolution with the same powers for all Provinces	54%	60%	48%	12%	16%
9	Archaeological sites and monuments of National importance should be placed under the control of the Central Government	54%	39%	69%	6%	8%
10	Fully implement Interim Report of APRC	44%	35%	53%	18%	16%
11	Power sharing at Centre, Provincial and local levels	40%	46%	33%	5%	21%
12	Give a special status to Buddhism	38%	8%	68%	74%	13%
13	A federation but with the right to leave	36%	63%	9%	15%	79%
14	Sri Lanka should be a Federal state	36%	66%	5%	11%	77%
15	Allow the Centre to control the powers of the Provinces (the Centre can take them back)	33%	25%	41%	42%	13%
16	Protection of the powers of the Provinces from the Centre (the Centre can not take them back)	33%	48%	16%	22%	38%
17	Return to pre 87 status of the Constitution	29%	20%	38%	45%	27%
18	Two completely separate independent states	28%	53%	2%	28%	90%
19	Devolution with different powers for different Provinces	28%	33%	22%	40%	43%
20	Reintroduce Section 29 of the Soulbury/Independence Constitution to protect citizens against all forms of ethnic and religious discrimination	24%	33%	14%	15%	42%
21	Establish enclaves for all major ethnic minorities in a Province	21%	30%	12%	20%	64%
22	Two states in a loose union like Europe	21%	39%	2%	24%	69%
23	No devolution	20%	20%	19%	69%	49%
24	Create an Autonomous Unit for Upcountry Tamils in the Central Province	18%	27%	8%	31%	86%
25	Create an Autonomous Unit for Muslims in the East	15%	22%	8%	41%	84%
26	Redraw the borders to reduce the number of Provinces	15%	12%	18%	54%	61%
27	A federation without the right to leave	14%	19%	8%	67%	75%

Table 8. Northern Tamil views of various constitutional packages for Sri Lanka

Jaffna Sample	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Two States – Two completely separate independent states of Tamil Eelam and Sri Lanka.	37%	10%	16%	11%	27%
Confederal State – Two autonomous units comprising the North-East and the rest of Sri Lanka with a minimum of functions for the joint central government.	18%	23%	15%	7%	38%
Federal State – A number of autonomous units comprising the North-East and existing provinces in the rest of Sri Lanka with a joint central government sharing power with the autonomous units.	13%	30%	16%	17%	25%
Enhanced Devolution – Full implementation of the 13 th and 17 th Amendments plus the devolution of significant powers to autonomous provinces negotiated at a peace conference.	30%	23%	22%	19%	7%
13th Amendment Devolution – Present Constitution with full implementation of the 13 th and 17 th Amendments.	19%	20%	27%	22%	12%
Unitary State – Pre 87 Constitution.	1%	5%	3%	8%	83%

Table 9. Sinhala views of various constitutional packages for Sri Lanka

Sinhala	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Two States – Two completely separate independent states of Tamil Eelam and Sri Lanka.	0%	1%	1%	3%	95%
Confederal State – Two autonomous units comprising the North-East and the rest of Sri Lanka with a minimum of functions for the joint central government.	3%	1%	3%	4%	91%
Federal State – A number of autonomous units comprising the North-East and existing provinces in the rest of Sri Lanka with a joint central government sharing power with the autonomous units.	2%	3%	7%	20%	68%
Enhanced Devolution – Full implementation of the 13 th and 17 th Amendments plus the devolution of significant powers to autonomous provinces negotiated at a peace conference.	8%	12%	46%	3%	31%
13th Amendment Devolution – Present Constitution with full implementation of the 13 th and 17 th Amendments.	37%	21%	14%	4%	24%
Unitary State – Pre 87 Constitution.	54%	18%	9%	4%	16%

As would be expected 95% of Sinhala reject the ‘Two State’ solution as ‘unacceptable’ and 83% of Northern Tamils (from the Jaffna sample) reject the ‘Unitary State’ option as ‘unacceptable’. But 58% of Sinhala consider ‘13th Amendment Devolution’ ‘essential or desirable’ with only 24% opposed to it as

‘unacceptable’ while 53% of Northern Tamils consider ‘Enhanced Devolution’ ‘essential or desirable’ with only 7% opposed to it as ‘unacceptable’. ‘Enhanced Devolution’ (paraphrased here as ‘Full implementation of the 13th and 17th Amendments plus the devolution of significant powers to autonomous provinces negotiated at a peace conference’) is arguably the expressed policy of the All Party Representative Committee (APRC) and it is only opposed by 31% of the Sinhala community according to our polls. This may sound like a lot but it isn’t. For example the successful Belfast Agreement was opposed by 52% of Protestants in a comparable public opinion poll completed just before it was successfully negotiated and subsequently passed in a referendum. Given the political will of the elected representatives of the people of Sri Lanka and the support of the international community a peace agreement should be achievable in Sri Lanka also.

Implementation

Perhaps the problem in Sri Lanka is as much one of implementation as it is a matter of negotiation and with this point in mind two options were tested against public opinion on this issue. Both a Constitutional Council and a Constitutional Court were acceptable (Table 10) and with regard to the International Community India came out on top as the most acceptable partner to help facilitate peace with Norway second for Northern Tamils and SAARC second for the Sinhala (Table 11). So perhaps the question Sri Lanka and her neighbours need to ask is not can Sri Lanka achieve peace but when?

Table 10. Domestic solutions for implementation

Priorities for negotiations		Average Essential or Desirable	Jaffna Sample Essential or Desirable	Sinhala Essential or Desirable	Jaffna Sample Unacceptable	Sinhala Unacceptable
1	Establish a Constitutional Court	66%	75%	57%	1%	16%
2	The Constitutional Council should monitor the implementation of the Constitution and all its Amendments	65%	63%	66%	1%	6%

Table 11. International solutions for implementation

The following states and international organisations should help to facilitate peace negotiations:

Jaffna Sample Essential or Desirable		Sinhala Essential or Desirable	
India	94%	India	54%
Norway	85%	SAARC	53%
EU	85%	China	50%
UN	83%	Japan	45%
Britain	72%	UN	38%
SAARC	58%	EU	36%
USA	57%	USA	35%
Japan	53%	Britain	32%
China	34%	Norway	19%

APPENDIX

Questions, Results, Methods and Demographics

The preamble to the questionnaire is copied below. After that all the questions are reproduced in the following tables with the results for each question. Three observations are to be made here:

1. The questionnaire for this peace poll was longer, more complex and also dealing with a number of very sensitive issues not normally dealt with in other kinds of public opinion research. Therefore, following the pre-test it was split into two parts with half the questions in the 'A' version and half the questions in the 'B' version. The A and the B versions have been recombined in the questionnaire and tables below.
2. Because 'Don't Know' was provided as an option on the 'show card' when the questionnaire was being administered the rates of 'Don't Know' are unusually high for all questions asked. However the rates of 'Don't Know' are genuinely high for some constitutional questions. Given these difficulties two sets of tables are provided for each question. One with the 'Don't Knows' excluded and one with the 'Don't Knows' included.
3. Finally, it should also be pointed out that the comparisons made in this report are between the 'un-weighted' sample collected in Jaffna (all Tamil) and the 'weighted' sample collected for the Sinhala community of Sri Lanka in the previous peace poll and although the sampling methods were very different the differences in responses to the various questions asked are predominantly due to the differences in the opinions of these two distinct communities. Systematic comparisons could also have been made between the Northern, Eastern and Colombo Tamils but this has not been done, as it is not always possible to say to what extent these more subtle differences are due to differences in opinions or differences in the way the samples were collected and treated. It is hoped that future research can overcome this difficulty.

Sri Lanka

Good morning/afternoon/evening my name is _____ from _____ and we are conducting a survey of public opinion to find out what the people of Sri Lanka believe needs to be done to bring lasting peace and stability to the island.

The Research is being carried out by [the staff of Social Indicator in Colombo,]¹ the Academic Community in Jaffna and Dr. Colin Irwin from the Institute of Irish Studies at the University of Liverpool.

The Questions were collected during a month of interviews undertaken by the research team in all parts of the island and now we would like to find out what you think about these topics.

The Results will be made available for public access on the Internet, in the local newspapers and in reports that will be given to all the political parties and stakeholders in Sri Lanka.

The Survey involves interviewing two thousand people from all parts of Sri Lanka to complete a representative sample in terms of age, gender, social class, political and ethnic affiliation and geographical area.

Topics covered include the range of problems faced by the people, their politicians and the international community, a range of solutions to deal with these problems and finally some questions that tell us where you fit into our sample.

All your answers will be kept completely confidential.

¹ This reference to Social Indicator was omitted in the Jaffna interviews.

1. The Problems

People from different communities often hold very different views about the problems at the centre of a conflict. Here is a list of some of the problems given to our research team from the different regions of Sri Lanka. Which problems do you consider to be ‘Very significant’, ‘Significant’, ‘Of some significance’, ‘Of little significance’ or ‘Of no significance at all’.

Jaffna Sample		Very Significant	Significant	Some Significance	Little Significance	No Significance
1	Escalating violence in the last 2 years	72%	25%	3%	0%	0%
2	Violence over the past 30 years	72%	26%	2%	0%	0%
3	The ongoing war	71%	28%	1%	0%	0%
4	Failure to implement language rights	63%	21%	12%	3%	1%
5	Failure to bring perpetrators of human rights violations to justice	59%	33%	5%	2%	1%
6	The failure of successive governments to find a political solution	55%	35%	8%	1%	1%
7	Failure to provide Sri Lankan Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	55%	32%	10%	0%	3%
8	All Tamils being treated like terrorists by the security forces	54%	39%	6%	0%	1%
9	Non-productive Peace Secretariat	54%	34%	7%	4%	1%
10	State control over media	52%	35%	9%	2%	2%
11	Dominance of Sinhalese in public sector employment	48%	40%	10%	2%	0%
12	Abuse of Human Rights by Paramilitary groups associated with government forces	46%	42%	8%	4%	0%
13	Discrimination after independence	45%	28%	14%	10%	2%
14	The Armed forces are predominately Sinhalese	45%	38%	10%	4%	3%
15	Lack of free and fair elections including manipulation	44%	39%	14%	1%	2%
16	Increasing number of IDPs	42%	30%	17%	9%	1%
17	Failure to implement 13 th Amendment	42%	36%	14%	5%	3%
18	The Police are predominately Sinhalese	41%	35%	14%	8%	1%
19	Inflation	40%	25%	22%	3%	10%
20	Unemployment	39%	35%	19%	5%	2%
21	Abuse of Human Rights by the Armed forces	39%	33%	16%	13%	0%
22	Fragmentation of the island into ‘cleared’ and ‘un-cleared’ areas	38%	26%	22%	6%	7%
23	Government leadership dependent on JVP and JHU	36%	41%	11%	4%	7%
24	Corrupt politicians	35%	36%	19%	3%	7%
25	Disproportionate power exercised by JVP and JHU	34%	39%	13%	4%	10%
26	Heightened ethnic polarisation in politics and life	33%	43%	19%	2%	3%
27	Increasing number of refugees leaving Sri Lanka	33%	28%	27%	8%	5%
28	Politicisation of the public service	32%	46%	18%	4%	0%
29	Failure to implement 17 th Amendment	31%	39%	17%	7%	7%
30	Abuse of Human Rights by the LTTE	31%	14%	23%	24%	9%

31	The decline of the economy	31%	33%	23%	7%	5%
32	Proliferation of armed paramilitary forces	30%	42%	17%	6%	5%
33	Politicians frequently changing party	29%	16%	30%	14%	10%
34	Abuse of Human Rights by the Police	29%	33%	18%	17%	4%
35	State aided colonization and change of demographics	27%	37%	27%	7%	2%
36	Failure to provide Upcountry Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	27%	22%	25%	18%	9%
37	Polarisation of civil society	24%	38%	30%	6%	3%
38	The continued violence of the LTTE	23%	26%	18%	22%	11%
39	Vested interests in ongoing conflict	23%	41%	18%	15%	2%
40	The British Colonialism	23%	7%	19%	23%	28%
41	A defeated LTTE will give rise to new armed groups	22%	22%	24%	15%	17%
42	The Police do not provide a police service for the public	21%	30%	37%	5%	6%
43	Public Institutions corrupted for political purposes	20%	28%	34%	15%	3%
44	Failure to protect historic Hindu sites	20%	30%	30%	11%	9%
45	The LTTE can only be weakened by war	19%	19%	10%	10%	42%
46	International NGOs operating in Sri Lanka	19%	20%	11%	20%	31%
47	Devolution of power to North and East will lead to the break up of Sri Lanka	17%	26%	19%	2%	36%
48	Lack of basic health care	15%	27%	16%	17%	25%
49	Failure to provide Muslims with a constitutional solution to their problems	14%	35%	31%	15%	5%
50	Upcountry Tamils do not own their own homes	12%	15%	32%	24%	16%
51	Failure to protect historic Buddhist sites in the North and East	10%	17%	14%	19%	40%

Jaffna Sample +DK		Very Significant	Significant	Some Significance	Little Significance	No Significance	Don't Know No Answer
1	Escalating violence in the last 2 years	72%	25%	3%	0%	0%	0%
2	The ongoing war	71%	28%	1%	0%	0%	0%
3	Violence over the past 30 years	71%	26%	2%	0%	0%	1%
4	Failure to implement language rights	63%	21%	12%	3%	1%	0%
5	Failure to bring perpetrators of human rights violations to justice	58%	33%	5%	2%	1%	1%
6	The failure of successive governments to find a political solution	54%	34%	8%	1%	1%	2%
7	Failure to provide Sri Lankan Tamils with a constitutional solution to their problems	54%	31%	10%	3%	0%	2%
8	All Tamils being treated like terrorists by the security forces	52%	37%	6%	1%	1%	3%
9	Non-productive Peace Secretariat	52%	33%	7%	4%	1%	3%
10	State control over media	51%	34%	9%	2%	2%	2%
11	Dominance of Sinhalese in public sector employment	48%	40%	10%	2%	0%	0%
12	The Armed forces are predominately Sinhalese	44%	37%	10%	4%	3%	2%
13	Discrimination after independence	44%	27%	14%	10%	2%	3%
14	Lack of free and fair elections including manipulation	43%	38%	14%	1%	1%	3%
15	Increasing number of IDPs	42%	30%	17%	9%	1%	1%
16	The Police are predominately Sinhalese	41%	35%	14%	8%	1%	1%
17	Abuse of Human Rights by Paramilitary groups associated with government forces	39%	35%	7%	3%	6%	10%
18	Failure to implement 13 th Amendment	39%	34%	13%	5%	3%	6%
19	Inflation	39%	24%	22%	3%	10%	2%
20	Unemployment	38%	34%	18%	5%	2%	3%
21	Government leadership dependent on JVP and JHU	36%	41%	11%	4%	7%	1%
22	Fragmentation of the island into 'cleared' and 'un-cleared' areas	36%	25%	21%	6%	7%	5%
23	Corrupt politicians	34%	35%	18%	3%	7%	3%
24	Heightened ethnic polarisation in politics and life	33%	43%	19%	2%	3%	0%
25	Disproportionate power exercised by JVP and JHU	33%	38%	13%	4%	10%	2%
26	Politicisation of the public service	32%	45%	18%	4%	1%	0%
27	Increasing number of refugees leaving Sri Lanka	32%	27%	26%	8%	5%	2%
28	Abuse of Human Rights by the Armed forces	30%	25%	12%	10%	10%	13%
29	The decline of the economy	29%	31%	22%	7%	5%	6%
30	Politicians frequently changing party	29%	16%	30%	14%	10%	1%
31	Failure to implement 17 th Amendment	28%	35%	15%	6%	6%	10%
32	State aided colonization and change of demographics	27%	37%	27%	7%	2%	0%
33	Proliferation of armed paramilitary forces	26%	36%	15%	5%	4%	14%
34	Failure to provide Upcountry Tamils with a constitutional solution to their	26%	21%	24%	17%	9%	3%

	problems						
35	Abuse of Human Rights by the Police	23%	26%	14%	13%	3%	21%
36	Vested interests in ongoing conflict	23%	41%	18%	15%	2%	1%
37	Polarisation of civil society	23%	37%	29%	6%	3%	2%
38	Abuse of Human Rights by the LTTE	22%	10%	16%	17%	6%	29%
39	The British Colonialism	22%	7%	18%	22%	27%	4%
40	The Police do not provide a police service for the public	21%	30%	37%	5%	6%	1%
41	Public Institutions corrupted for political purposes	20%	27%	33%	15%	3%	2%
42	The continued violence of the LTTE	19%	21%	15%	18%	95	18%
43	Failure to protect historic Hindu sites	19%	29%	29%	11%	9%	3%
44	International NGOs operating in Sri Lanka	18%	19%	11%	19%	30%	3%
45	A defeated LTTE will give rise to new armed groups	17%	17%	18%	11%	13%	24%
46	Devolution of power to North and East will lead to the break up of Sri Lanka	16%	24%	18%	2%	33%	7%
47	Lack of basic health care	15%	26%	16%	17%	24%	2%
48	Failure to provide Muslims with a constitutional solution to their problems	14%	34%	30%	15%	5%	2%
49	The LTTE can only be weakened by war	12%	12%	6%	6%	26%	38%
50	Upcountry Tamils do not own their own homes	12%	15%	32%	24%	16%	1%
51	Failure to protect historic Buddhist sites in the North and East	9%	16%	13%	17%	37%	8%

Choosing your options for peace and stability on the island

Most of the remainder of this questionnaire will present you with various options on what could be done to improve the prospects for peace and stability on the island. For each option you will be asked to indicate which ones you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable' and for the purposes of this poll 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' and 'Unacceptable' mean:

***'Essential'** – You believe this option is a necessary part of a secure, stable and better future for the island and should be fully implemented.*

***'Desirable'** – This option is not what you would consider to be 'Essential', but you think this option, or something very similar to it, is a good idea and should be put into practice.*

***'Acceptable'** – This option is not what you would consider to be 'Desirable', if you were given a choice, but you could certainly 'live with it'.*

***'Tolerable'** – This option is not what you want. But, as part of a secure, stable and better future, you would be willing to put up with it.*

***'Unacceptable'** – This option is totally unacceptable under any circumstances. You would not accept it, even as part of a secure, stable and better future for the island.*

You may use each of the terms 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' and 'Unacceptable' as many times as you wish in each question.

2. Security

With regards to the future peace and stability of Sri Lanka please indicate which of the following security options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

Jaffna Sample	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1 Stop the war	90%	5%	3%	1%	1%
2 Restart the peace process	82%	13%	3%	1%	1%
3 The government should also negotiate with the LTTE	77%	17%	5%	0%	1%
4 Take effective steps to gradually reduce and eliminate all High Security Zones	68%	27%	2%	2%	1%
5 All the people of Sri Lanka must come together through their representatives to solve the problem	62%	12%	19%	2%	5%
6 More inclusive and effective Peace Secretariat	59%	28%	9%	1%	3%
7 The political leadership representing all stakeholders must come together to solve the problem	50%	22%	21%	2%	5%
8 Ethnic balance in the police and armed services	46%	35%	12%	2%	5%
9 Stop state colonization	43%	25%	20%	12%	0%
10 Reform the Police and eliminate corruption	30%	24%	27%	14%	4%
11 Bring <u>all</u> IDPs under total civilian control	28%	38%	23%	5%	5%
12 Adequate safeguards to protect Hindu sites	27%	37%	27%	6%	3%
13 The government should negotiate with elected Tamil representatives	23%	13%	21%	8%	35%
14 International body to oversee security and welfare of Northern Muslims	15%	37%	26%	9%	13%
15 Defeat the LTTE by military means alone	14%	3%	3%	5%	76%
16 Have military and political solutions run in parallel	13%	9%	9%	21%	48%
17 The government should negotiate with ex-Tamil militants	12%	29%	20%	20%	18%
18 Muslim and Tamil regiments for selected tasks in Northern and Eastern Provinces	12%	20%	34%	9%	25%
19 Adequate safeguards to protect Buddhist Monuments in North and East	10%	17%	22%	31%	19%
20 Place a political solution on the table and if no LTTE response isolate them politically	8%	5%	23%	17%	48%
21 Weaken the LTTE and then put forward a political solution	5%	5%	1%	4%	84%
22 Place a political solution on the table and if no LTTE response then use military means	5%	10%	19%	10%	57%
23 Use political and economic incentives to transform the LTTE and find a settlement	5%	12%	12%	16%	55%

Jaffna Sample +DK		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	Stop the war	89%	5%	3%	1%	1%	1%
2	Restart the peace process	82%	13%	3%	1%	1%	0%
3	The government should also negotiate with the LTTE	75%	16%	5%	1%	3%	0%
4	Take effective steps to gradually reduce and eliminate all High Security Zones	68%	27%	2%	2%	1%	0%
5	All the people of Sri Lanka must come together through their representatives to solve the problem	62%	12%	19%	2%	5%	0%
6	More inclusive and effective Peace Secretariat	59%	28%	9%	1%	3%	0%
7	The political leadership representing all stakeholders must come together to solve the problem	50%	22%	21%	2%	5%	0%
8	Ethnic balance in the police and armed services	44%	34%	11%	2%	5%	4%
9	Stop state colonization	42%	24%	20%	12%	2%	0%
10	Reform the Police and eliminate corruption	30%	24%	27%	14%	4%	1%
11	Bring <u>all</u> IDPs under total civilian control	28%	38%	23%	5%	5%	1%
12	Adequate safeguards to protect Hindu sites	27%	37%	27%	6%	3%	0%
13	The government should negotiate with elected Tamil representatives	22%	12%	20%	8%	34%	4%
14	International body to oversee security and welfare of Northern Muslims	15%	37%	26%	9%	13%	0%
15	Defeat the LTTE by military means alone	11%	2%	2%	4%	59%	22%
16	Have military and political solutions run in parallel	11%	8%	8%	18%	41%	14%
17	The government should negotiate with ex-Tamil militants	11%	27%	19%	19%	17%	7%
18	Muslim and Tamil regiments for selected tasks in Northern and Eastern Provinces	11%	19%	33%	9%	24%	4%
19	Adequate safeguards to protect Buddhist Monuments in North and East	10%	17%	22%	31%	19%	1%
20	Place a political solution on the table and if no LTTE response isolate them politically	7%	4%	19%	14%	40%	16%
21	Weaken the LTTE and then put forward a political solution	4%	4%	1%	3%	62%	26%
22	Place a political solution on the table and if no LTTE response then use military means	4%	8%	15%	8%	46%	19%
23	Use political and economic incentives to transform the LTTE and find a settlement	4%	10%	10%	13%	45%	18%

3. Human Rights

With regards to human rights please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

To achieve its objectives the LTTE should be allowed to:

Jaffna Sample	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Attack civilians	0%	1%	0%	7%	92%
Use torture	0%	5%	1%	0%	94%
Undertake extra-judicial killings	0%	0%	5%	2%	93%
Launch suicide attacks	1%	0%	1%	9%	88%
Recruit Child Soldiers	2%	0%	5%	1%	92%
Arbitrarily arrest and detention	2%	2%	1%	2%	93%
Deny rights to a fair public trial	2%	5%	1%	2%	90%
Deny freedom of speech, press, assembly	4%	0%	1%	4%	91%
Deny freedom of movement	1%	2%	2%	6%	89%

To achieve its objectives the government's forces, police and associated paramilitaries should be allowed to:

Jaffna Sample	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Attack civilians	1%	1%	0%	1%	97%
Use torture	2%	0%	0%	1%	97%
Undertake extra-judicial killings	2%	0%	1%	2%	95%
Abuse emergency powers	1%	0%	0%	2%	97%
Recruit Child Soldiers	1%	0%	2%	2%	95%
Arbitrarily arrest and detention	2%	0%	0%	1%	97%
Deny rights to a fair public trial	3%	0%	0%	0%	97%
Deny freedom of speech, press, assembly	2%	0%	0%	2%	96%
Deny freedom of movement	1%	0%	2%	3%	94%

To achieve its objectives the LTTE should be allowed to:

Jaffna Sample +DK	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
Attack civilians	0	1	0	6	81	12
Use torture	0	4	1	0	82	13
Undertake extra-judicial killings	0	0	4	2	79	15
Launch suicide attacks	1	0	1	7	69	22
Recruit Child Soldiers	2	0	4	1	75	18
Arbitrarily arrest and detention	2	2	1	2	80	13
Deny rights to a fair public trial	2	4	1	2	78	13
Deny freedom of speech, press, assembly	4	0	1	3	77	15
Deny freedom of movement	1	2	2	5	74	16

To achieve its objectives the government's forces, police and associated paramilitaries should be allowed to:

Jaffna Sample +DK	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
Attack civilians	1	1	0	1	90	7
Use torture	2	0	0	1	93	4
Undertake extra-judicial killings	2	0	1	2	89	6
Abuse emergency powers	1	0	0	2	86	11
Recruit Child Soldiers	1	0	2	2	90	5
Arbitrarily arrest and detention	2	0	0	1	92	5
Deny rights to a fair public trial	3	0	0	0	92	5
Deny freedom of speech, press, assembly	2	0	0	2	92	4
Deny freedom of movement	1	0	2	3	90	4

4. Discrimination

With regards to discrimination please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

Jaffna Sample		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	Ensure full implementation of Tamil as an official language	74%	20%	4%	2%	0%
2	Effective steps to ensure balanced access to university education	71%	26%	2%	0%	1%
3	Effective steps to ensure balanced recruitment in the civil service at all levels	52%	32%	10%	2%	4%
4	Distribute the resources of the state on a per capita basis	52%	26%	8%	4%	10%
5	Affirmative action for rehabilitation and reconstruction	44%	41%	8%	3%	4%
6	Equality Commission to monitor all Government policies and distribution of resources	33%	43%	20%	4%	0%
7	Redistribute state lands in proportion to the population	30%	40%	19%	4%	7%
8	Affirmative action to redress all aspects of discrimination against Upcountry Tamils	29%	30%	19%	19%	2%
9	Affirmative action to provide Upcountry Tamils with ownership of their own homes	17%	31%	25%	18%	10%

Jaffna Sample +DK		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	Ensure full implementation of Tamil as an official language	74%	20%	4%	2%	0%	0%
2	Effective steps to ensure balanced access to university education	70%	26%	2%	1%	1%	0%
3	Effective steps to ensure balanced recruitment in the civil service at all levels	52%	32%	10%	2%	4%	0%
4	Distribute the resources of the state on a per capita basis	51%	25%	8%	4%	10%	2%
5	Affirmative action for rehabilitation and reconstruction	43%	40%	8%	3%	4%	2%
6	Equality Commission to monitor all Government policies and distribution of resources	33%	43%	20%	4%	0%	0%
7	Redistribute state lands in proportion to the population	30%	40%	19%	4%	7%	0%
8	Affirmative action to redress all aspects of discrimination against Upcountry Tamils	29%	30%	19%	19%	2%	1%
9	Affirmative action to provide Upcountry Tamils with ownership of their own homes	16%	30%	24%	17%	10%	3%

5. Good Governance

With regards to good governance please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

Jaffna Sample		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	Independent media	72%	20%	5%	2%	1%
2	Right to information at all times	54%	38%	6%	0%	2%
3	Right to information except for matters of national security	51%	37%	9%	2%	1%
4	Effective institutions to combat corruption	46%	33%	12%	6%	2%
5	Reform of the criminal justice system	43%	34%	17%	5%	0%
6	Depoliticise the public service	43%	38%	14%	5%	0%
7	Policy to protect natural resources of the country	35%	35%	18%	8%	3%
8	Appointments of Supreme Court Judges and other high posts should be made on the recommendation of the Constitutional Council established by Parliament	32%	41%	13%	9%	4%
9	Appointments of Supreme Court Judges and other high posts should be made by the President at his own discretion	31%	31%	18%	8%	13%
10	Oversight committees for all Ministries with meetings open to the media	27%	33%	27%	8%	4%
11	Restrictions on MPs crossing over	22%	17%	39%	17%	6%
12	Strict budgetary control of state institutions	16%	34%	43%	5%	2%

Jaffna Sample +DK		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	Independent media	72%	20%	5%	2%	0%	1%
2	Right to information at all times	53%	38%	6%	2%	1%	0%
3	Right to information except for matters of national security	50%	36%	9%	2%	1%	2%
4	Effective institutions to combat corruption	45%	32%	12%	6%	2%	3%
5	Depoliticise the public service	43%	38%	14%	5%	0%	0%
6	Reform of the criminal justice system	43%	34%	17%	5%	0%	1%
7	Policy to protect natural resources of the country	35%	35%	18%	8%	3%	1%
8	Appointments of Supreme Court Judges and other high posts should be made on the recommendation of the Constitutional Council established by Parliament	31%	40%	13%	9%	4%	3%
9	Appointments of Supreme Court Judges and other high posts should be made by the President at his own discretion	29%	29%	17%	8%	12%	5%
10	Oversight committees for all Ministries with meetings open to the media	26%	32%	26%	8%	4%	4%
11	Restrictions on MPs crossing over	21%	16%	37%	16%	6%	4%
12	Strict budgetary control of state institutions	15%	33%	42%	5%	2%	3%

6. Constitutional Reform

With regards to constitutional reform please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

Jaffna Sample		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	The North and East should be one province	76%	16%	3%	3%	2%
2	Clearly define the powers of the Centre and the Provinces	57%	26%	15%	2%	0%
3	Give equal status to all religious groups	55%	32%	8%	3%	2%
4	Sri Lanka should be a Federal state	43%	22%	18%	5%	11%
5	A federation but with the right to leave	43%	20%	15%	7%	15%
6	Right to return for Northern Muslims	41%	24%	19%	13%	3%
7	Two completely separate independent states	39%	14%	14%	5%	28%
8	Devolution with the same powers for all Provinces	38%	22%	16%	11%	12%
9	Fully implement the 13 th Amendment	38%	26%	19%	15%	3%
10	Protection of the powers of the Provinces from the Centre (the Centre can not take them back)	29%	20%	18%	12%	22%
11	Fully implement the 17 th Amendment	26%	21%	19%	18%	17%
12	Reintroduce Section 29 of the Soulbury/Independence Constitution to protect citizens against all forms of ethnic and religious discrimination	26%	7%	24%	28%	15%
13	Power sharing at Centre, Provincial and local levels	25%	21%	41%	8%	5%
14	Two states in a loose union like Europe	23%	17%	23%	14%	24%
15	Fully implement Interim Report of APRC	21%	14%	24%	24%	18%
16	Archaeological sites and monuments of National importance should be placed under the control of the Central Government	20%	19%	38%	18%	6%
17	Devolution with different powers for different Provinces	18%	15%	15%	11%	40%
18	No devolution	13%	7%	5%	6%	69%
19	Establish enclaves for all major ethnic minorities in a Province	13%	17%	31%	20%	20%
20	Allow the Centre to control the powers of the Provinces (the Centre can take them back)	12%	13%	14%	19%	42%
21	Return to pre 87 status of the Constitution	12%	8%	15%	21%	45%
22	Create an Autonomous Unit for Upcountry Tamils in the Central Province	11%	15%	22%	20%	31%
23	A federation without the right to leave	10%	8%	6%	8%	67%
24	Sri Lanka should be a Unitary state	9%	9%	4%	2%	75%
25	Give a special status to Buddhism	5%	3%	2%	16%	74%
26	Create an Autonomous Unit for Muslims in the East	4%	18%	17%	21%	41%
27	Redraw the borders to reduce the number of Provinces	2%	9%	17%	18%	54%

Jaffna Sample +DK		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	The North and East should be one province	74%	16%	3%	3%	2%	2%
2	Clearly define the powers of the Centre and the Provinces	56%	26%	15%	2%	1%	0%
3	Give equal status to all religious groups	53%	31%	8%	3%	2%	3%
4	Sri Lanka should be a Federal state	43%	22%	18%	5%	11%	1%
5	A federation but with the right to leave	41%	19%	14%	7%	14%	5%
6	Right to return for Northern Muslims	40%	23%	19%	13%	3%	2%
7	Devolution with the same powers for all Provinces	37%	22%	16%	11%	12%	2%
8	Fully implement the 13th Amendment	36%	25%	18%	14%	3%	4%
9	Two completely separate independent states	31%	11%	11%	4%	22%	21%
10	Protection of the powers of the Provinces from the Centre (the Centre can not take them back)	28%	19%	17%	12%	21%	3%
11	Power sharing at Centre, Provincial and local levels	24%	21%	40%	8%	5%	2%
12	Fully implement the 17th Amendment	23%	19%	17%	16%	15%	10%
13	Two states in a loose union like Europe	22%	16%	22%	14%	23%	3%
14	Reintroduce Section 29 of the Soulbury/Independence Constitution to protect citizens against all forms of ethnic and religious discrimination	22%	6%	21%	24%	13%	14%
15	Fully implement Interim Report of APRC	20%	14%	23%	23%	17%	3%
16	Devolution with different powers for different Provinces	18%	15%	15%	11%	40%	1%
17	Archaeological sites and monuments of National importance should be placed under the control of the Central Government	18%	17%	34%	16%	5%	10%
18	No devolution	13%	7%	5%	6%	68%	1%
19	Allow the Centre to control the powers of the Provinces (the Centre can take them back)	11%	12%	13%	17%	39%	8%
20	Return to pre 87 status of the Constitution	11%	8%	14%	20%	43%	4%
21	Establish enclaves for all major ethnic minorities in a Province	11%	15%	27%	17%	17%	13%
22	Create an Autonomous Unit for Upcountry Tamils in the Central Province	11%	15%	22%	20%	30%	2%
23	A federation without the right to leave	10%	8%	6%	8%	64%	4%
24	Sri Lanka should be a Unitary state	9%	9%	4%	2%	72%	4%
25	Give a special status to Buddhism	5%	3%	2%	15%	72%	3%
26	Create an Autonomous Unit for Muslims in the East	4%	17%	16%	20%	40%	3%
27	Redraw the borders to reduce the number of Provinces	2%	8%	14%	15%	46%	15%

7. A Constitutional Package

And now, having asked you questions about the different parts of a possible peace process can we finally ask you to consider the different constitutional packages that have been proposed for Sri Lanka. Please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

Jaffna Sample	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Two States – Two completely separate independent states of Tamil Eelam and Sri Lanka.	37%	10%	16%	11%	27%
Confederal State – Two autonomous units comprising the North-East and the rest of Sri Lanka with a minimum of functions for the joint central government.	18%	23%	15%	7%	38%
Federal State – A number of autonomous units comprising the North-East and existing provinces in the rest of Sri Lanka with a joint central government sharing power with the autonomous units.	13%	30%	16%	17%	25%
Enhanced Devolution – Full implementation of the 13 th and 17 th Amendments plus the devolution of significant powers to autonomous provinces negotiated at a peace conference.	30%	23%	22%	19%	7%
13th Amendment Devolution – Present Constitution with full implementation of the 13 th and 17 th Amendments.	19%	20%	27%	22%	12%
Unitary State – Pre 87 Constitution.	1%	5%	3%	8%	83%

Jaffna Sample +DK	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
Two States – Two completely separate independent states of Tamil Eelam and Sri Lanka.	37%	10%	16%	11%	27%	0%
Confederal State – Two autonomous units comprising the North-East and the rest of Sri Lanka with a minimum of functions for the joint central government.	17%	22%	14%	7%	36%	3%
Federal State – A number of autonomous units comprising the North-East and existing provinces in the rest of Sri Lanka with a joint central government sharing power with the autonomous units.	12%	30%	15%	16%	24%	3%
Enhanced Devolution – Full implementation of the 13 th and 17 th Amendments plus the devolution of significant powers to autonomous provinces negotiated at a peace conference.	28%	21%	20%	18%	6%	6%
13th Amendment Devolution – Present Constitution with full implementation of the 13 th and 17 th Amendments.	18%	19%	26%	20%	11%	5%
Unitary State – Pre 87 Constitution.	1%	5%	3%	8%	82%	1%

8. Implementation

With regards to implementation please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

Jaffna Sample		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	Establish a Constitutional Court	28%	47%	20%	4%	1%
2	The Constitutional Council should monitor the implementation of the Constitution and all its Amendments	23%	40%	32%	3%	1%

The following states and international organisations should help to facilitate peace negotiations:		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
1	India	86%	8%	3%	2%	1%
2	Norway	67%	18%	8%	4%	3%
3	UN	66%	17%	12%	3%	2%
4	EU	63%	22%	6%	8%	1%
5	Britain	46%	26%	14%	6%	8%
6	SAARC	34%	24%	29%	10%	4%
7	USA	33%	24%	21%	6%	15%
8	Japan	13%	40%	27%	15%	5%
9	China	10%	24%	21%	21%	23%

Jaffna Sample +DK		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	Establish a Constitutional Court	28%	46%	20%	4%	1%	1%
2	The Constitutional Council should monitor the implementation of the Constitution and all its Amendments	23%	40%	32%	3%	1%	1%

The following states and international organisations should help to facilitate peace negotiations:		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Don't Know No Answer
1	India	86%	8%	3%	2%	1%	0%
2	Norway	67%	18%	8%	4%	3%	0%
3	UN	66%	17%	12%	3%	2%	0%
4	EU	63%	22%	6%	8%	1%	0%
5	Britain	46%	26%	14%	6%	8%	0%
6	USA	33%	24%	21%	6%	15%	1%
7	SAARC	33%	23%	28%	10%	4%	2%
8	Japan	13%	40%	27%	15%	5%	0%
9	China	10%	24%	21%	21%	23%	1%

Sampling Methodology

In Sri Lanka excluding the Northern Province:

This part of the study was conducted using a structured questionnaire that is administered to a sample of approximately 1700 respondents. This sample is adequate to capture the minimum ethnic diversity within the span of ten days of fieldwork. Although it is undeniable that an individual's opinion on the peace process is influenced by a number of factors, the ethnic factor, which is the most important and influential, is the sole factor that has been accommodated in this model.

The total sample is distributed amongst 20 administrative districts (strata) of Sri Lanka, Excluding the Northern Province due to the escalation of violence in the months prior to the survey. The sample size assigned to each stratum is approximately equal to the population proportions. However, some districts are over sampled due to the ethnic heterogeneity but the over sampling biases are eliminated by weighting the sample. A sample is allocated to a particular ethnicity within a district only if the population proportion of that particular ethnicity exceeds 9%. A Divisional Secretariat (DS) is selected as the primary sampling unit using the Simple Random Sampling technique while the Grama Niladhari Divisions (GND) in a DS are selected randomly as the secondary sampling unit using the '*Grama Niladhari Divisions of Sri Lanka 1996*' published by the Department of Census and Statistics as the sample frame.

To maintain the quality of the fieldwork and ensure a maximum dispersion of the sample within a DS, enumerators are allowed to conduct a maximum of ten interviews a day in a GND. Within a given GND, the enumerator is advised to select a starting point randomly and proceed with interviews using the random walk (right hand rule) technique in order to assure the random selection of households. In the case of urban areas, the interviewer is instructed to skip a house while selecting the households, thus resulting in the interview-taking place at every alternative household. As the final sampling unit, the respondent is chosen from the household using the 'KISH' grid thus ensuring that each member of the household has an equal chance of being selected to the sample. The national level estimates are subject to a 3% error margin with a .95 confidence level.

Special Methodological Note:

The Tamil Community from the district of Colombo and the Sinhala, Tamil, Muslim and Up Country Tamil communities from the Eastern province were sampled using a "Non-Random Sampling" technique. This method of sampling was used due to the security situation prevailing in the country. Accordingly, the enumerators were instructed to select the particular household by virtue of the ease with which it was accessible. Thereby, the results presented in this report that reference the Tamil community cannot be generalised as they are not representative of the entire Tamil population in Sri Lanka.

The Northern Province Sample:

The Northern sample was created by the academic community in Jaffna. Two hundred interviews were completed in the Jaffna region altogether, in 5 DS with 40 interviews in each using the same Simple Random Sampling method described above.

Demographics (For Sri Lanka excluding the Northern Province)

1. Gender
 1. Male 49.6% (842) 2. Female 50.4% (855)

2. Religion
 1. Buddhism 63.3% (1,067)
 2. Hinduism 15.9% (269)
 3. Islam 15.2% (256)
 4. Roman Catholic 3.4% (57)
 5. Christian (Non RC) 2.2% (37)
 6. Other _____

3. Age

	Frequency	Percent
1 18-25	308	18.2
2 26-35	414	24.4
3 36-45	440	25.9
4 46-55	312	18.4
5 56-65	220	13.0
6 Above 66	2	0.1
Total	1,696	100.0

4. Ethnicity
 1. Sinhalese (1121) 66.09%
 2. Tamil (130) 7.67%
 3. Up Country Tamil (187) 11.05%
 4. Muslim (258) 15.20%
 5. Burgher---
 6. Other _____

5. First Language
 1. Sinhala (1121) 66.09%
 2. Tamil (130) 7.67%
 3. English (2) 0.1%
 4. Other _____

6. Respondent's Employment (Single Answer)

	Frequency	Percent
1 Executives, Managerial and Professionals	24	1.4
2 Professionals	74	4.4
3 Technicians and Associate Professionals	58	3.5
4 Clerk	16	0.9
5 Travel, Restaurant, Protective Service Workers and Sales	81	4.8
6 Agricultural and fisheries workers	208	12.3
7 Students	78	4.6
8 Housewife	486	28.8
9 Retired	72	4.3
10 Business	66	3.9
11 Self employed	101	6.0
12 Elementary Occupations	90	5.3
13 Unemployed	254	15.0
14 Other	81	4.8
Total	1,689	100.0

7. Level of education (Single Answer)

Education

	Frequency	Percent
1 Cannot read and write	47	2.8
2 Literate but no formal education	73	4.3
3 Up to grade 5	160	9.5
4 Grade 6-9	344	20.4
5 Up to O Level	320	19.0
6 O Level	292	17.3
7 Up to Advanced Level	140	8.3
8 Advanced Level	217	12.9
9 Vocationally trained	11	0.7
10 Technically trained	9	0.6
11 Professional	7	0.4
12 Undergraduate	25	1.5
13 Graduate and above	39	2.3
14 Other	2	0.1
Total	1,688	100.0

8. Monthly household income

Income

	Frequency	Percent
1 Below Rs 5000	353	21.7
2 Rs 5001-Rs 10,000	669	41.1
3 Rs 10,001-Rs 15,000	319	19.6
4 Rs 15,001-Rs 20,000	169	10.4
5 Rs 20,001-Rs 25,000	49	3.0
6 Rs 25,001 & above	70	4.3
Total	1,629	100.0

1. Name of Respondent: -----		
2. Address:-----		3. Phone: -----
4. Province:-----		Colombo, Gampaha, Kalutara, Kandy Matale, Nuwara Eliya, Galle, Matara, Hambant Batticaloa, Ampara, Trincomalee Kurunegala, Puttalam, Anuradhapura, Polonnaruw Badulla, Moneragala, Ratnapura, Kegalle
5. Divisional Secretariat's div:-----		
7. Grama Niladari Div:-----		
8. 1. Rural 76.7% 2. Urban 17.1%		9. LGB No:
10. Date:	11. Start Time	12. End Time: