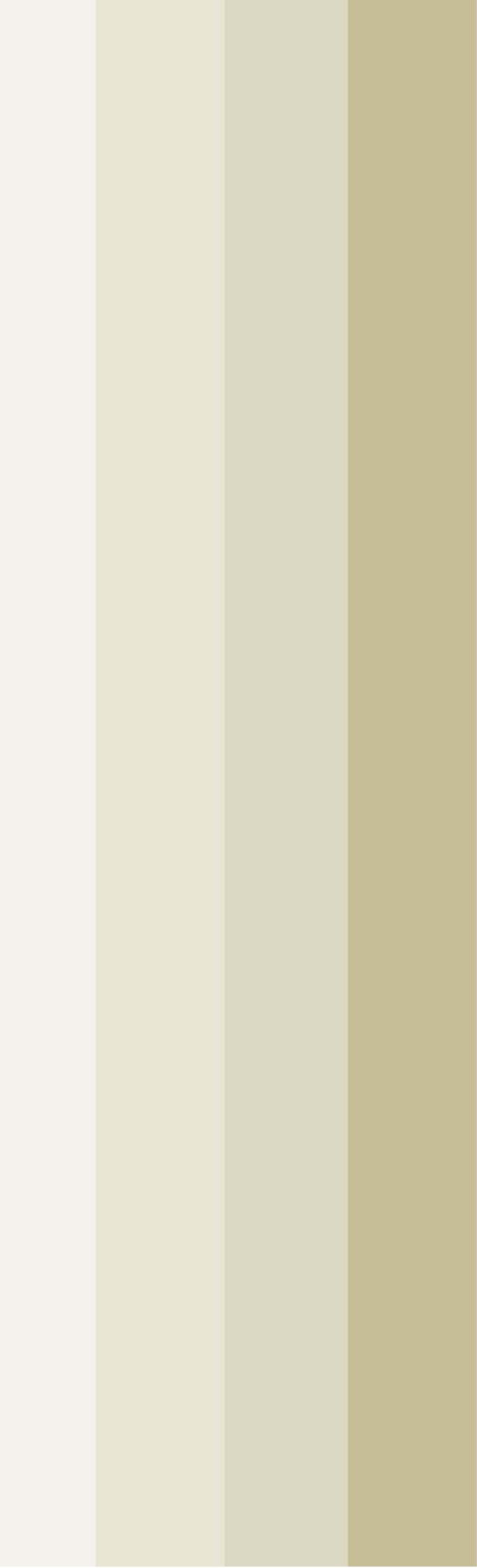




Assessment of Eastern Province Recovery

The Public Perspective

2010

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INTRODUCTION

The Eastern Province, home to a total population of 1.5 million residents, is Sri Lanka's most ethnically complex region with a Tamil speaking majority split between the Tamils and the Muslims and a sizeable Sinhala minority who have mostly moved from the South under the state irrigation and resettlement program.¹ The conditions for change in the Eastern Province was set during the period following 2006, when it was demerged from the Northern Province under a Supreme Court decision. The last two years witnessed further changes taking place in the political sphere, placing Eastern Province at the center of political debate. The most significant development was the success of the government in driving out the LTTE from the East in 2007, ending over 25 years of civil war. As a result, the Eastern Province for the first time in years was opened up for development on social, political and economic terms. The political front was opened up by the local government and provincial council elections that were held in March and May 2008 and by bringing the TMVP into a democratic political process through encouraging them to emerge as a political party and contest the elections. The end of the war in May 2009 has led to new development initiatives, paving the way for further economic development.

In this context, it is important to explore the extent of change in the East. In addition to supporting CPA's current work in the Eastern Province, this study will provide policy makers with a bird's eye view of the situation in the Eastern Province, thereby facilitating broader policy debate. Most importantly, it will fill the gap in information on the Eastern Province by providing various actors from the public sector to civil society, with a valuable source of information on democracy, human rights and development.

Using a combination of quantitative and qualitative research methodologies, Social Indicator (SI) attempted to acquire people's knowledge, attitudes and perceptions on the state of democracy in the Eastern Province. The quantitative intervention (the survey) investigates public opinion on key themes of democracy, human rights and development, while the qualitative component (in-depth discussions) attempts to obtain additional insight into the same thematic areas.

This report presents the quantitative and the qualitative findings of the study.

¹ International Crisis Group. (2008). *Sri Lanka's Eastern Province: Land Development and Conflict* (Asia Report N 159 – 15th October) retrieved on 16 October 2009, from <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/pdfid/48f6ed862.pdf>

METHODOLOGY

The study was conducted in the three districts of the Eastern Province; Ampara, Trincomalee and Batticaloa. SI adopted a combination of both quantitative and qualitative research methodologies to gather the necessary information. SI conducted a survey amongst a randomly selected sample for the quantitative component, while the qualitative component consists of in-depth interviews.

SAMPLING

The survey was conducted amongst a total sample of 2067 individuals using the Multi-Stage Sampling technique. As the primary layer of sampling, all the Divisional Secretariat (DS) divisions in the three districts of the Eastern Province were selected and were clustered on the basis of the majority ethnic proportions in each DS division. [In the Ampara District, Muslims comprise the majority (44%), followed by the Sinhalese (37.5%) and the Tamils (18.3%). In the Batticaloa District, Tamils are the largest section (74%) followed by the Muslims (25%) and the Sinhalese (0.5%). In Trincomalee District, Muslims comprise the majority (45.4%) followed by Tamils (28.6%) and Sinhalese (25.4%)].

Afterwards the sample was allocated for each DS division representative of the majority ethnicity in that DS division. Within each DS division, *Grama Niladari* (GN) divisions were randomly selected allotting one GN division to every 10 respondents. The selection of the respondents within a GN division was done using two separate methodologies depending on the urban/ rural context. In the highly populated urban GNs, the respondents were selected using the random sampling technique, while in the rural GNs, respondents were selected using the quota sampling technique.

The in-depth interviews were conducted amongst 26 individuals who belong to the Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim ethnicities in the three districts; Ampara, Batticaloa and Trincomalee. These individuals were selected from different occupational backgrounds in order to get a balanced understanding of the issues discussed in the survey. Therefore, the field researchers were specifically advised to select the respondents from diverse backgrounds; Government officials/teachers, fishermen, farmers and traders/businessmen, NGO workers.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE AND THE PROTOCOL

Social Indicator developed the survey questionnaire in consultation with the Legal Unit and the Peace and Conflict Analysis Unit of the Centre for Policy Alternatives. The finalized questionnaire included questions on democracy, development, human rights, reconciliation and peace building in addition to questions on provincial councils, land issues and minorities. The final questionnaire was later translated into Sinhala and Tamil languages prior to the commencement of fieldwork.

In-depth interview protocol, the guideline for conducting the in-depth interviews was also developed in consultation with the Legal Unit and the Peace and Conflict Analysis Unit of the Centre for Policy Alternatives. As the intention of the in-depth interviews was to explore the key thematic areas further, the protocol consisted of almost the same key questions asked in the survey questionnaire under the main themes of democracy, human rights and development.

FIELDWORK

SI researchers visited the Eastern Province from the 7th to 10th of November 2009. On the 7th of November, SI conducted a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) using the In-depth interview protocol with 6 field researchers. The objective of the discussion was twofold; firstly to give the field researchers a clear training on how they should conduct the interviews with the aid of the protocol and secondly for the senior researchers of SI to get a general understanding of the current situation in the Eastern Province. During the trip to Batticaloa, SI researchers also visited several areas within the Batticaloa district - Batticaloa town, Aithyamale (Uniche Village), and Thirukkivil.

SI conducted two separate field briefings for the Sinhala and Tamil field researchers. The field briefing for the Tamil field researchers and the supervisors was conducted in Batticaloa on the 8th of November. The content of the questionnaire was thoroughly discussed amongst them while also giving them a comprehensive training on the field techniques to be used when conducting the fieldwork.

The field briefing sessions for the Sinhala field researchers were conducted at SI premises. The briefing for the survey was conducted on the 13th of November 2009 while the field-briefing for the in-depth interviews was conducted on the 7th of December 2009.

The data gathered from the survey was analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS); a specialized statistical tool widely used by social researchers the world over.

IMPORTANT ISSUES FOR THE LOCAL COMMUNITY

The respondents were questioned on their perceptions of the political and economic climate in the Eastern Province. In doing so, they were asked to prioritize the key issues facing their local community and to state the level of improvement in development, personal security and livelihoods in the last two years.

“Except the renovated interior road, all the other roads are in a state of bad repair. The school runs in a temporary building.”

- Tamil Fisherman in Vakarai, Batticaloa

Amid the numerous issues listed, the respondents of all three communities assign significance to improving roads, transport, increasing job opportunities and improving education in the post-war Eastern Province. Moreover, clean water and personal security are also given precedence by all the three communities, in addition to the development of electricity services, health facilities, housing and toilet facilities. [Ref. 1] Human rights protection seems mainly a concern amongst the Tamils (7.3%) and the Muslims (5.1%) in comparison to the Sinhalese (3.8%).² This shows that development needs take significant precedence to security and human rights protection in the popular perception.

The respondents who participated in the in-depth discussions often highlight the importance in their livelihood development. They indicate that they are awaiting improvement in their livelihood activities including agriculture, fisheries, livestock and cottage industries. For instance, the farmers state that they are expecting an improvement in the agricultural sector in terms of providing them with opportunities to easily access seed paddy, fertilizer and to sell paddy for a decent price. They further look forward to improvement in the irrigation systems. The fisheries sector, which according to the fishermen has not benefitted as a result of development, also anticipate an improvement. In addition, they highlight that fishing is not allowed in certain areas without a permit. Those who are involved in livestock and cottage industries look forward to loan schemes for re-starting their livelihood activities.

*
Ref. 1

RANKED	ISSUE	%
1	Improving Roads and Transportation	29.7
2	Job Opportunities	26.3
3	Improving Education	26.0
4	Clean Water	23.3
5	Improving Healthcare	18.0
6	Housing	15.3
7	Personal Security	13.3
8	Better Electricity Service	7.3
9	Land Issues	7.0 ♦
10	Irrigation Water	6.7
11	Human Rights Protection	5.7

“In this area actually the agriculture sector needs to develop because this is people’s main income generating activity. There should be immediate development in the infrastructure needed for agriculture.”

- Sinhala Farmer in Moraweve, Trincomalee

* As the respondents were allowed to give more than one answer to this question, the total of the values given does not add up to 100.

♦ The low importance assigned to land issues could be due to an error in the Tamil translation of the questionnaire where the word ‘land’ is translated as ‘Nilam’

² For ethnic and district analysis refer to annex Pg 1

IMPROVEMENT IN DEVELOPMENT, PERSONAL SECURITY AND LIVELIHOODS

The respondents believe that development, personal security and livelihoods have improved over the last

two years. [Ref. 2] The progress is accepted by all the ethnic groups and at the district level.³

However, in comparison to the overwhelming belief in the improvement of development and personal security, a considerably smaller

percentage of people believe in the improvement of their livelihood activities. Nearly half of the respondents seem discontented with the progress in their livelihood activities; almost one third (34.2%) of them stated that no change has occurred while 12% stated that it has 'deteriorated' over the last two years. This deterioration of livelihoods is mainly voiced by the Tamils (15.2%) and the Muslims (12.3%) in the East.



DEMOCRACY IN THE EASTERN PROVINCE

Provincial Council and Local Government elections and the Karuna Group emerging as a political party (Tamil Makkal Viduthalai Pulikal/TMVP) and subsequently contesting the elections are crucial changes that were witnessed in the Eastern Province in the recent past. Even though, there are questions about the free and fair nature of elections that followed, the Government's restoration of control over the entire province by defeating the LTTE is perceived to be a clear sign of the restoration of democracy. Therefore, as a province that has experienced the effect of LTTE occupation and militarization for a considerable length of time, the changes that have occurred in the recent past certainly stimulate interest in examining how the people in the Eastern Province understand democracy and adopt it in practice in this short span of time.

The respondent's perception of democracy is examined according to the degree to which they support democracy, their interpretation of democracy, their interest and knowledge in politics, their level of political and civic engagement and the extent to which they trust political institutions.

³ For ethnic and district analysis refer to annex Pg 2

SUPPORT FOR DEMOCRACY

The respondents support for democracy was assessed in relation to their preference for democracy as a system of governance. In order to do so, they were asked to select a statement that they mostly agree with out of three statements;

1. Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government
2. In certain situations, a dictatorial government can be preferable to a democratic one
3. It doesn't matter to people like me whether we have democratic or non-democratic governance

“We lived with a sense of fear. Now there is no fear. We engage in fishing. Others are engaged in their livelihood activities. In the past, we could not go to work. We had to tolerate round-up and checking operations. We could not go to the lagoon for fishing activities. Generally speaking, we enjoy a freedom now: the freedom to go to the fields and the freedom to for fishing.”

- **Tamil Fisherman in Alaiyativembu, Ampara**

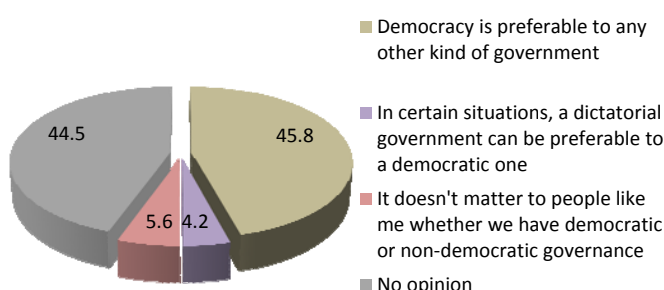
A majority of the Eastern respondents (45.8%) prefer democracy to any other kind of government [Ref. 3] which was also seen across all ethnic communities and at the district level.⁴ This preference for democracy amongst the Eastern respondents is slightly higher in comparison to the South Asian preference for democracy (42%).⁵ Similarly, in comparison to the preference for democracy at the Sri Lankan level (53%), Eastern respondents express a considerably lower preference for democracy.⁶ 44.5% of the people say they have no opinion in this regard, which is higher than those who say the same at the South Asian (32%) and Sri Lankan (25%) levels.

However, for a Province which was partly under LTTE occupation, 4.2% prefer a dictatorial government to a democratic one.

This opinion is shared by nearly 5% of the Sinhalese and the Tamils. On the other hand, 7% of the Muslims say it does not matter to them whether they have

democratic or non-democratic system. Opinion at the district level seems to reflect the opinion of the majority ethnicity in a district. Therefore, in the Tamil predominant Batticaloa district, 5.8% prefer a dictatorial regime while in the mostly Muslim predominant Ampara district, 8.4% are not concerned about the system of governance.

Ref. 3 Attitudes Towards Democracy



⁴ For ethnic and district analysis refer to annex Pg 3

⁵ Centre for Study of Developing Societies (CSDS) (2008). *State of Democracy in South Asia*. Delhi, Oxford University Press

⁶ Ibid

MEANING OF DEMOCRACY

In-depth discussions reveal that respondents understand democracy in a variety of ways. By and large, they associate the meaning of democracy with ‘freedom’, particularly referring to the newly acquired freedom of movement and freedom of speech in the post-war period. The peaceful atmosphere experienced as a result of the absence of violence, the freedom to express their political views, freedom to exercise political power, freedom to do a job they like or follow a religion they want, is interpreted as democracy for many respondents. For some democracy means the right to vote while some others understand democracy as ‘majority rule’.

INTEREST IN POLITICS AT LOCAL, PROVINCIAL AND NATIONAL LEVEL

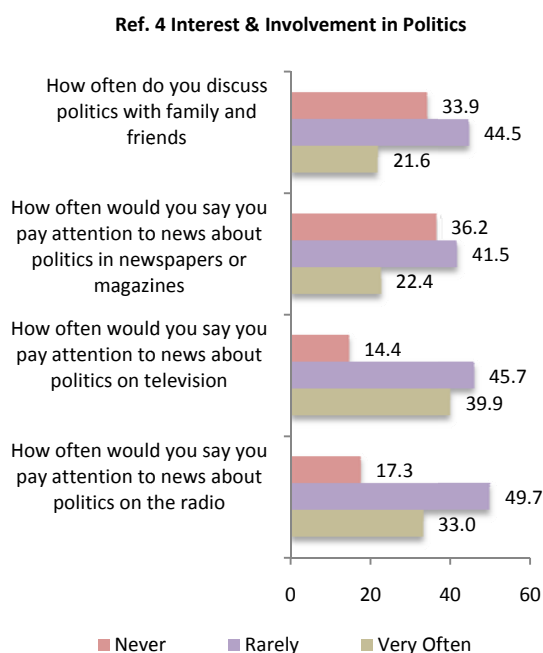
The interest respondents take in politics was examined in relation to their attentiveness to political news in mainstream media such as newspapers/magazines, TV, Radio, the extent to which people engage in political discussions with family and friends, and the degree of interest they express in local, provincial and national politics.

Most of the citizens ‘rarely’ or ‘never’ pay attention to political news in mass media (newspapers/magazines, TV,

Radio) or discuss politics with family and friends. However, there was a preference for listening to news on TV and Radio over reading newspapers or discussing politics with family and friends.

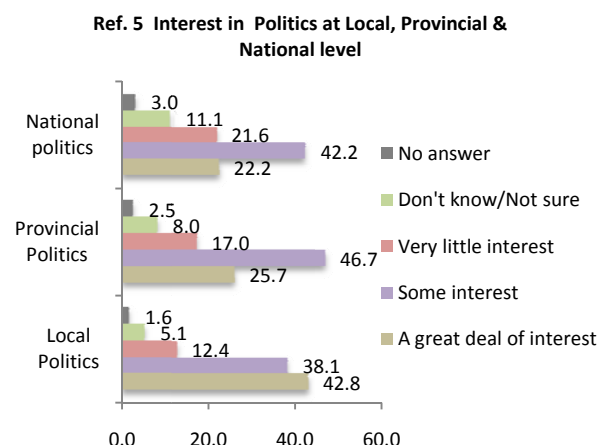
[Ref. 4] Tamils and the Muslims, show a higher interest in listening to political news in comparison to the Sinhalese.⁷ For instance, 37% of the Tamils and 40% of the Muslims state that they ‘very often’ pay attention to political

news as opposed to the 18.6% of the Sinhalese who state the same. Similarly, 44% of the Tamils and 40% of the Muslims state that they pay attention to political news on TV as opposed to the 34% of the Sinhalese who state the same.



⁷ For ethnic and district analysis refer to annex Pg 4

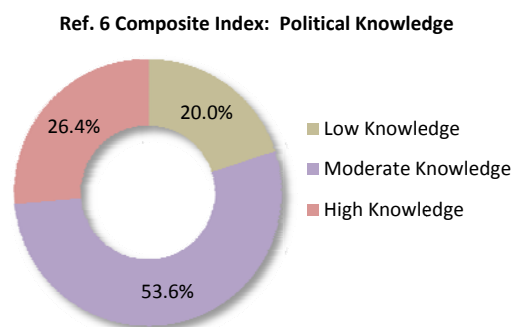
Despite the overall low interest expressed in listening to political news, a greater part of the Eastern respondents show interest in politics at local, provincial and national level. Yet, a large section's interest (80%) lies mainly in their local affairs, with 42.8%, expressing a great deal of interest. People's level of interest in politics drops from local (80%) to provincial (72.4%) to national politics (64.4%). [Ref. 5]



Political interest is high amongst all the three communities, though the Tamil community expresses a great deal of interest in comparison to the Sinhalese and the Muslims.⁸ For instance, 53.4% of the Tamil community expresses a greater interest in local politics compared to the Sinhalese (34.3%) and the Muslims (37.2%). Likewise, 38% of the Tamil community expresses a greater interest in local politics compared to the Sinhalese (13.8%) and the Muslims (21.2%).

POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE

The bulk of the respondents (81%) claim they are fairly informed of politics in Sri Lanka, which is seen across ethnic communities and the districts.⁹ In confirming this further, respondent's objective knowledge of politics is measured using a set of questions related to provincial and national politics. People were questioned on their knowledge about the term of office of the President, name of the current Prime Minister, the official languages, political party in the opposition of the Provincial Council, name of the current Chief Minister and finally, their understanding of the number of members in the parliament from their district.



⁸ For ethnic and district analysis refer annex Pg 5

⁹ For ethnic and district analysis refer annex Pg 6

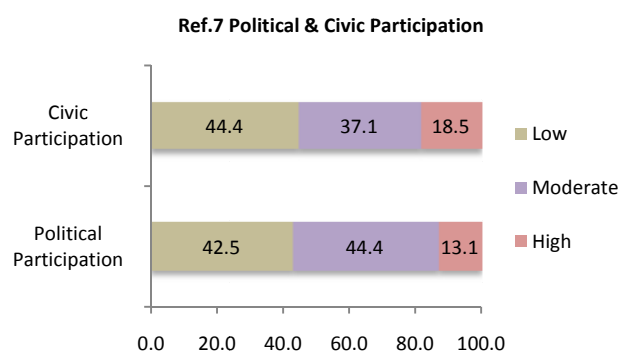
A composite index was formulated using the answers to the above questions.¹⁰ As indicated by the index, for a region that shows signs of change, little over half of the Eastern respondents are politically knowledgeable, even though in ‘moderately’. [Ref. 6] This is mainly seen amongst the Tamils as well as in the Tamil predominant Batticaloa district.¹¹ The 26.4% of the Eastern respondents, who display a ‘higher’ political knowledge, mainly comprise of the Sinhalese. Overall, 20% display a ‘low’ knowledge of Sri Lankan politics. The Muslims are equally divided between ‘high’ (26.1%) and ‘low’ (27%) political knowledge.

POLITICAL AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

The political engagement of people is assessed through their level of involvement in various political activities within the last year. This includes voting in the Provincial Council elections held in May 2008 and their participation in other kinds of political activities, working with a neighborhood or a community group to improve local conditions, taking part in a protest march or a demonstration, disobeying a law that

was personally considered unjust, attending a political party meeting or a rally, contacting a party official to ask for a favor or to raise an issue, expressing views on local governance to government officials or

to a political party, been persuaded by someone from a political party to vote or support that party by attending meetings or demonstrations.



¹⁰ People's political knowledge is measured using a composite index made of answers to 7 questions related to national and provincial politics. Those who answered 4 or more questions correctly were taken as ones having ‘high’ political knowledge while ones who answered 1 or 3 questions correctly were taken as having ‘moderate’ political knowledge. Those who did not correctly answer any of the 7 questions were taken as the ones who have ‘Low’ political knowledge.

¹¹ For ethnic and district analysis refer annex Pg 6

In order to determine the political engagement of the citizens, a composite index was developed using their participation in the above political activities.¹² According to the index, 13.1% have a 'high' engagement in political activities [Ref. 7]. This figure relates to the Sinhala people.¹³ 44.4%, which is the largest section of the respondents, engage in political activities in 'moderation'. This included a considerable number of Sinhalese and Tamils. Those who have a 'low' participation in political activities (42.5%) largely comprise of Tamils and the Muslims.

On the basis of gender, a majority of women (51.5%) have 'low' political participation compared to most of the men who comes under the categories of 'high' (21.2%) or 'moderate' (47.8%) participation.

The civic engagement of people was appraised through their involvement in the local community as an active member of a group/association; religious group, trade union or a farmers association, professional or a business association, women's group, people's forum or any other NGO sponsored local planning group, funeral society or a neighborhood group.

A composite index was developed using the level of involvement in the above mentioned groups.¹⁴ As indicated by the index, nearly 20% of the citizens show 'high' levels of community participation while 37.1% show 'moderate' participation. [Ref.7] Generally the Sinhalese and Tamils fall within this 'high' and 'moderate' group¹⁵. The 44.4% who indicate 'low' civic participation, includes a large number of Muslims.

On the basis of gender, it seems that women's civic participation is higher than their political participation. For instance, 16.4% of the women have 'high' civic

¹² To gauge people's level of Political engagement, a composite index was developed using their involvement in 8 different political activities. Those who have participated in 5 to 8 activities were considered as the ones who have a 'high' political participation. Those who participated in 2 to 4 activities were considered as the ones who are having 'moderate' political participation while those who participated in just one activity or the ones who didn't participate in a single activity were considered as having a 'Low' political participation.

¹³ For ethnic and district analysis refer annex Pg 7

¹⁴ Civic engagement is gauged through people's level of involvement in their local community as an active member of a group/association where a composite index was developed using their involvement in 6 different local groups/associations. Those who are active members of 3 to 6 groups were considered as the ones who have a 'high' civic participation while those who are members of 1 to 2 groups were considered as having 'moderate' civic participation. Those who are inactive members or non-members of a group is considered as having 'low' civic participation.

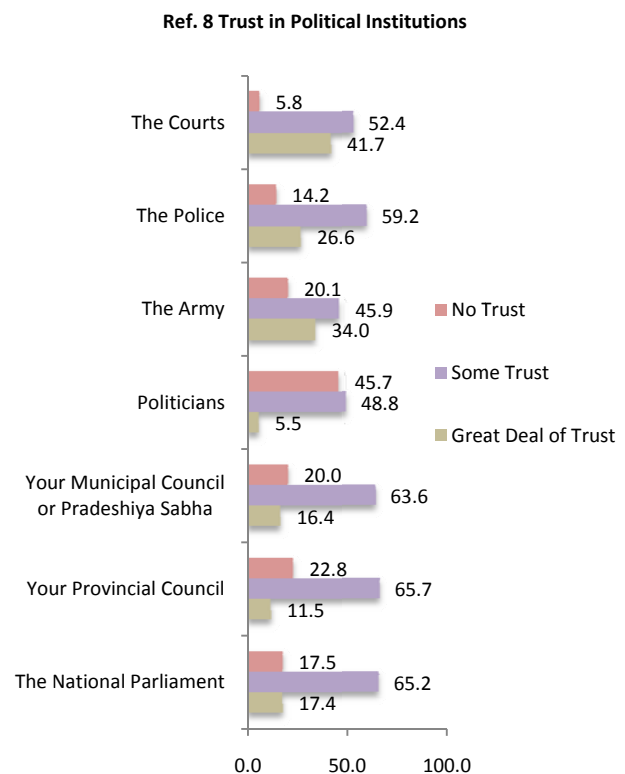
¹⁵ For ethnic and district analysis refer annex Pg 7

participation as opposed to 6.8% who have ‘high’ political participation. With regard to men, their civic participation seems less (Moderate- 38.3%, Low- 40.5%) compared to their political participation (Moderate- 47.8%, Low-31%).

TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS

The Eastern respondents were polled in terms of their trust in six state institutions; National Parliament, Provincial Council, Municipal Council, the Army, the Police, the Courts, in addition to the trust they place in politicians.

A majority of the respondents place trust in all these six institutions, though they place trust only to some extent. [Ref. 8] Even though this is seen across all the three communities, the law enforcement institutions, in particular, the Courts, the Police and the Army, win a ‘great deal of trust’ amongst the Sinhala community (Army - 84.3%, Police- 54.4%, Courts- 69.7%).¹⁶ In contrast to Sinhala and Muslim opinion, the Tamils have higher distrust in the Army (43.7%) and the Police (21.4%).



Interestingly, with regard to politicians, 48.8% state that they trust the politicians to some extent while another 45% state that they do not trust the politicians at all. When compared to the trust people place in the other six state institutions, it is apparent that people highly distrust politicians. In fact this distrust is high amongst most of the Sinhalese (50.4%) and the Tamils (56.9%). In contrast, a majority of the Muslims (58.1%) place ‘some trust’ in politicians.

¹⁶ For ethnic and district analysis refer annex Pg 8

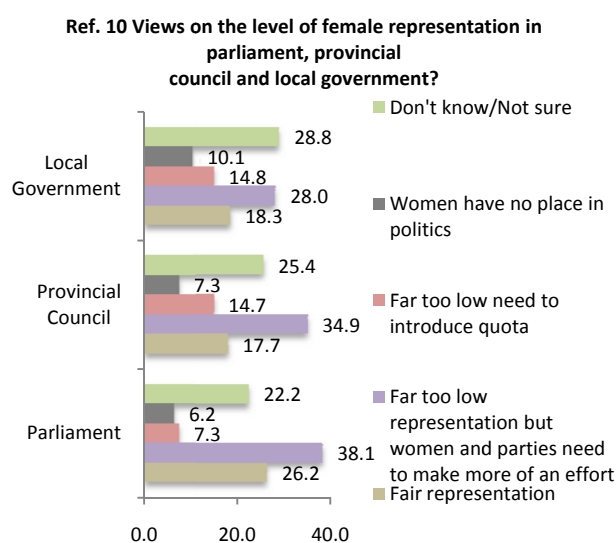
ROLE OF WOMEN IN POLITICS

The role of women in public life was assessed mainly in relation to their position in various organizations and their level of representation in the parliament, provincial council and local authorities.

An overwhelming majority of respondents support women not just being members of organizations but also being office bearers in institutions varying from Community Based Organizations (CBOs), NGOs, savings groups, religious groups, political parties, cultural groups, neighborhood/village groups, to education/school groups. Unsurprisingly, amongst the listed institutions, people are supportive of women having a role in education (65.5%) and less supportive of women being active in NGOs (12%) and political parties (10.8%). [Ref. 9]

Ref. 9:	Should be members %	Should not only be members but also be office bearers %	Should attend but not actively/ occasionally participate %	Women should not have a place in such organisations %	Total %
CBOs	32.5	56.7	5.1	5.8	100.0
NGO	26.2	54.3	7.5	12.0	100.0
Savings group	31.3	59.4	6.1	3.3	100.0
Religious group	30.6	56.4	8.1	4.9	100.0
Political party	27.3	54.9	6.9	10.8	100.0
Cultural group	29.1	58.1	6.7	6.1	100.0
Neighborhood/village group	30.4	59.6	5.8	4.3	100.0
Education /school group	26.4	65.5	5.1	3.0	100.0

On the whole, it is the Muslims who are less supportive of women having a place or being active in the listed organizations, when compared to the Sinhalese and the Tamil opinion.¹⁷ For instance, in terms of being active in a political party, a higher percentage of the Muslims (22.9%) disapproved, compared to the Sinhalese (2.4%) and the Tamils (6.1%) who express the same view point. Similarly, in terms of being active in a NGO, a higher percentage of the Muslims (31.6%) disapproved of the idea compared to the Sinhalese (0.6 %) and the Tamils (4.6%) who express the same view point. At the district level there is a



¹⁷ For ethnic and district analysis refer annex Pg 9 - 10

higher reluctance amongst the Batticaloa respondents towards the active participation of women compared to Ampara and Trincomalee respondents. For instance, 10.2% of the Batticaloa respondents believe women should not have a place in Community Based Organisations (CBOs) as opposed to those who say the same in the Ampara (2.3%) and Trincomalee districts (5.7%). Similarly, 15.6% of the Batticaloa respondents believe women should not have a place in NGOs as opposed to Ampara (11.6%) and Trincomalee (7.8%) respondents.

Respondents in general have a mixed opinion on female representation in the Parliament, Provincial Council and Local Authorities. By and large, people feel that there is far too low representation of women in all three institutions (Parliament- 45.4%, Provincial Council- 49.6%, Local Government- 42.8%). Where the respondents feel the representation is too low, they believe that the situation can be addressed by political parties taking initiatives to increase female representation within the parties or by women themselves making an effort in playing an active role in politics, rather than the introduction of a quota system.

A substantial percentage also believes that there is fair representation (Parliament - 26.2%, Provincial Council - 17.7%, Local Government -18.3%). Over one-fifth of the Eastern respondents say they either do not know or are not sure of the level of representation of women in the above three institutions. [Ref. 10]

Although a substantial number of all three ethnic communities feel that there is fair representation of women in the elected government institutions, this opinion is somewhat higher amongst the Muslims.¹⁸ For instance, 34% of the Muslims believe there is fair representation in Parliament than the Sinhalese (19.2%) and the Tamils (24.4%) who state the same. Similarly, 22.8% of the Muslims believe there is fair representation in the Provincial Council than the Sinhalese (13.4%) and the Tamils (15.9%) who feel the same. On the other hand, the Tamils believe there is far too low representation in the three institutions (Parliament -53.8%, Provincial Council- 62.4%, Local Government- 54.7%).

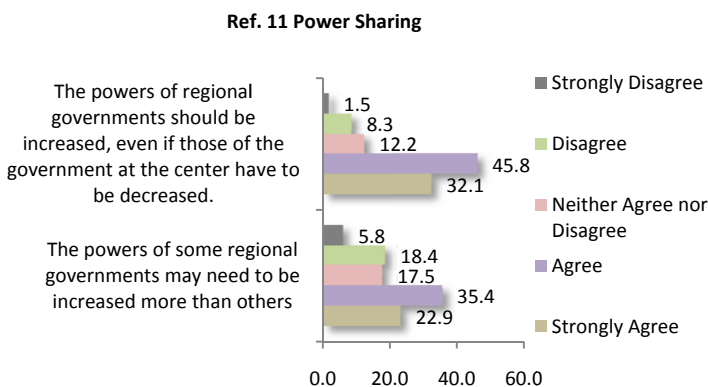
On the basis of gender, more men and women seem to believe that women's representation needs to be increased through quotas at the Provincial and Local Government level compared to those who say the same about representation at the Parliament level. For instance, 14.9% of men and 14.6% of women state that representation needs to be increased through quotas at the Local Government level. However, only 7.3% of men and 7.3% of women state that female representation should be increased at the Parliament level.

¹⁸ For ethnic and district analysis refer annex Pg 11

POWER-SHARING & THE 13TH AMENDMENT

People were asked for their views on power-sharing and on the main content of the 13th Amendment, the constitutional arrangement which devolve powers to the provinces. Views on power-sharing

were looked at in terms of the agreement expressed with regard to two propositions. Firstly, ***'The powers of regional governments should be increased, even if those of the government at the center have to be decreased.'*** Secondly, ***'The powers of some regional governments may need to be increased more than others.'***



Respondents expressed a high level of agreement on both the two power-sharing propositions. While there is an overwhelming majority of support for devolving power to the regional governments (77.9%), the percentage of respondents in favor of increasing powers of some regional governments more than others is lower, at 58.3%. It seems that the citizens are not in favor of increasing powers in some regional governments; 18.4% disagreeing and 17.5% expressing uncertainty. **[Ref. 11]**

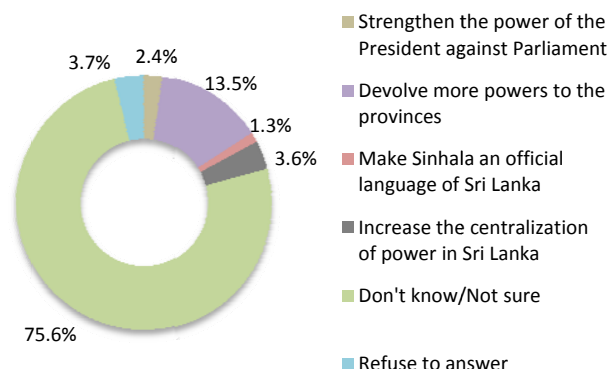
The Tamils and Muslims agree to the two propositions as opposed to the Sinhalese who have a mixed opinion or express disagreement.¹⁹ For instance, an overwhelming majority of Tamils (88.8%) and Muslims (79.3%) support devolving powers to the regions as opposed to the Sinhalese who have a mixed opinion (Agree -50%, Neither Agree nor Disagree – 16.6%, Disagree- 33.2%). Likewise, a higher percentage of Tamils (73.1%) and Muslims (64.2%) support devolving powers to some regional governments more than the others, in comparison to the majority of the Sinhalese who disagree (67.6%).

With regard to the districts, a majority of the respondents in the three districts agree with the two propositions. However, a larger percentage of the Batticaloa respondents express strong agreement as opposed to the significant percentage in the Ampara and Trincomalee districts who express disagreement. It seems that the district level findings largely reflect the ethnic demographics in the district.

¹⁹ For ethnic and district analysis refer annex Pg 12

On the 13th Amendment, only 13.5% of the Eastern population understands that it is devolving power to the provinces. Three quarters of the Eastern respondents (75.6%) state that they are unaware of its main content, implying a low level of understanding of the constitutional amendment which led to the establishment of provincial councils. [Ref.

Ref. 12 What is the basic objective of the 13th Amendment?



12] The figure for those who are not aware of the main content of the 13th Amendment is high across all the three ethnicities and at the district level.²⁰

This clearly shows that even though a vast majority of the Eastern Province is unaware of the 13th Amendment that introduced the provincial council system, they express their agreement or support for devolving powers to the regions.

EASTERN PROVINCIAL COUNCIL

Following the enactment of the 13th Amendment in 1987, the North Eastern Provincial Council (NEPC) was established in 1988. However, it had a brief existence as it was dissolved in June 1990. As elections for the North Eastern Provincial Council have not been held thereafter, it continued to be administered under the direction of the Governor of the North Eastern Province. The North East Province was demerged following a Supreme Court decision in October 2006.²¹ Election to the Eastern Provincial Council (EPC) was held in May 2008. It was the first Provincial Council Election conducted in nearly 20 years in the East and is also the first election after the de-merger of the North East Province. Hence, in this context it is useful to examine the perception of Eastern citizens on the Eastern Provincial Council.

Respondents' perception of the EPC was primarily examined in relation to the elections held in May 2008. They were asked whether they voted in the Provincial Council elections and if so, the party they voted for. Respondents who did not vote were further questioned as to the reasons for not voting. Additionally, as a further

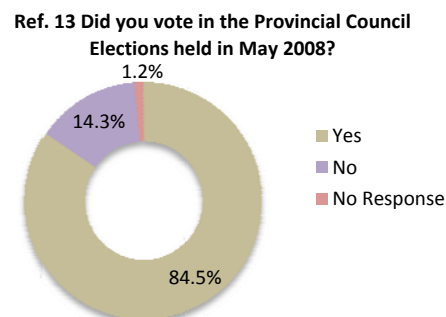
²⁰ For ethnic and district analysis refer annex Pg 13

²¹ A brief history of the Eastern Provincial Council elections downloaded from www.ep.gov.lk

insight into people’s electoral behavior, they were asked about the criteria on which they selected candidates, the legitimacy of the elections and the impact of the Eastern Provincial Council and the Chief Minister on the Eastern Province.

PROVINCIAL COUNCIL ELECTIONS

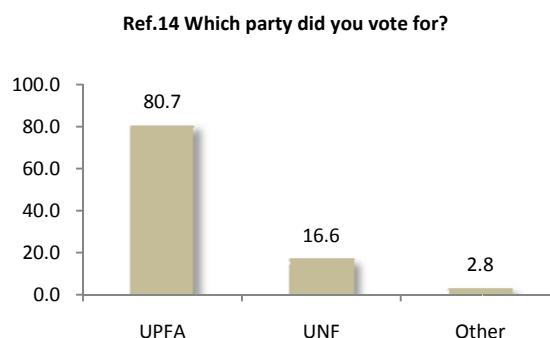
An overwhelming majority (84.5%) claim to have voted in the Provincial Council elections held in May 2008, [Ref. 13] which consists of majorities from all the three ethnicities and the districts.²² According to the Election Department, however, only 65.7% actually cast their vote in the Eastern Provincial Council elections^{23*}.



Of those who claimed to have voted, 80.7% state that they voted for the UPFA followed by the UNF (16.6%). [Ref. 14] Of

those who did not vote, almost one third (29.9%) of them state they were ‘not able to vote’ due to being ill or being away from home. 27.4% state they were ‘too young’ to vote

while another 20.1% stating that they ‘were not registered’ in the electoral register.



²² For ethnic and district analysis refer annex Pg 14

²³ Department of Elections, Sri Lanka

* The overestimation of the voter participation could be because the survey population does not include voters who have lived outside the Eastern Province and have comparatively less probability of participating in voting compared to the voters who permanently reside in the East.

Presented with a variety of factors for selecting candidates, the most popular reason cited by respondents was “the ability to preserve the culture of our society” (46.5%). [Ref. 15] Mostly Tamils and the Muslims consider this aspect when selecting their candidate.²⁴ The

Sinhalese are more inclined to select a candidate that represents his/her party or the party to which his/her family is loyal to. The ability to protect religion was another reason, particularly amongst

the Muslim respondents. Surprisingly, a considerable percentage in all the three communities (Sinhala- 26%, Tamil- 35.7%, Muslim-15.6%) did not have a particular criterion for selecting their candidate.

Ref. 15: Criteria in Selecting a Candidate

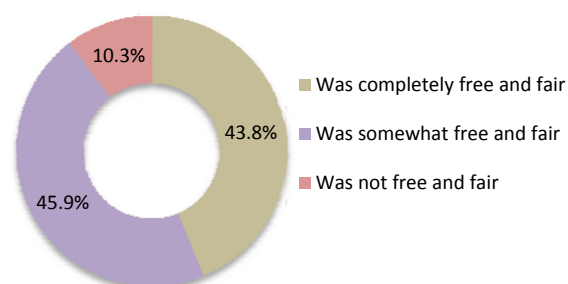
Factors	%
The candidate represents my party	30.5
The candidate represents the party that my family is loyal	24.0
Because my friends support him/her	11.1
His ability to preserve the culture of our society	46.5
His ability to protect my religion	25.6
The candidate represents my caste	9.1
There is no particular reason	25.8
Candidate who serve the public well	15.0
Candidate who develop the country	2.8
Other	7.6

Most of the people in the three districts mainly look for a candidate who could preserve the culture of their society. However, a considerable percentage of respondents in the Ampara district select a candidate who represents their party.

A large percentage of the citizens, 89.7%, believe that the Provincial Council elections were conducted in a legitimate manner.

Yet, their opinion is divided on the extent of its legitimacy; with 45.9% of the respondents stating it is ‘somewhat free and fair’ while 43.8% stating it is ‘completely free and fair’. [Ref. 16] A

Ref. 16 Do you believe that the Eastern Province election was free and fair?



large percentage of the Sinhalese believe the elections were ‘completely free and fair’ as opposed to the Tamils and the Muslims, who feel it is ‘somewhat free and fair’.²⁵ In contrast, 10.3% of the Eastern respondents state that elections were ‘not free and fair’. In terms of the district, a considerable number of Batticaloa respondents thought the election was ‘somewhat free and fair’ while respondents in Trincomalee district thought the election was ‘completely free and fair’. The opinion of those in Ampara district is divided between ‘completely’ and ‘somewhat free and fair’.

²⁴ For ethnic and district analysis refer annex Pg 15

²⁵ For ethnic and district analysis refer annex Pg 16

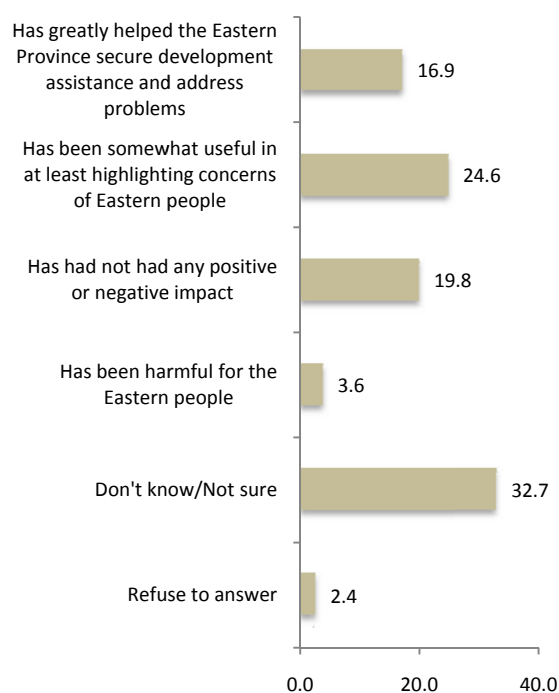
UP-COMING ELECTIONS

Though the general public was aware that an election was going to be held in the coming months, they did not have information on which election - Presidential or General – will be held initially, at the time the survey was conducted. Yet, even without being informed on the type of election that was to be held, 93.9% said they would cast their vote in the upcoming election. This opinion is voiced by all the three ethnicities in the districts.²⁶ Yet, only half of them (50.8%) have decided on the party they will cast their vote for; 36.8% of them state they will vote for the SLFP. This category consists of most of the Sinhalese (62.8%) and the Muslim (45.5%) voters. On the other hand, 41.7% of the Eastern respondents still remain undecided, of which comprises a large percentage of the Tamil community (88.6%). Similarly, the reflection of the majority ethnic viewpoint in a district is apparent, with a large section of the predominantly Tamil Batticaloa district respondents remaining undecided.

IMPACT OF THE PROVINCIAL COUNCIL AND THE CHIEF MINISTER

With regard to the impact of the Provincial Council and the Chief Minister on the Eastern Province, 41.5% of the respondents think the impact has been positive - 24.6% stating it had been useful in at least highlighting concerns of Eastern people while 16.9% stating it has greatly helped the Eastern Province secure development assistance and address problems. However, 19.8% state that it has had neither a positive nor a negative impact, signifying that there has not been any change in Eastern Province as a result of the newly elected Provincial Council and the Chief Minister. Furthermore, one third of the Eastern respondents (32.7%) express their ignorance of the impact. [Ref. 17]

Ref.17 What impact has the Provincial Council and the Chief Minister had on the Eastern Province?



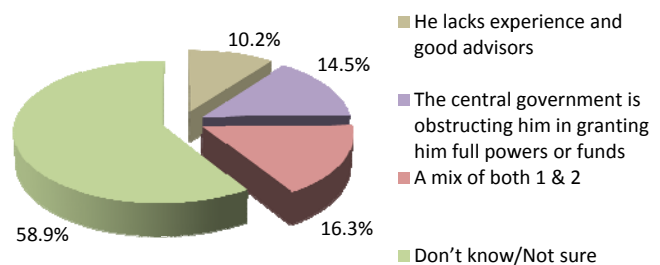
²⁶ For ethnic and district analysis refer annex Pg 16

The ethnic perspective shows that a higher percentage in the Tamil community has a positive opinion as opposed to the Sinhalese and the Muslims who hold a negative perception.²⁷ The district analysis shows that mostly Batticaloa respondents have a positive opinion of the impact of the Provincial Council and its Chief Minister than the Ampara and the Trincomalee respondents.

As to the reasons that make it difficult for the Chief Minister to exercise the full powers of his office, 16.3% state that it is due to his lack of experience and good advisors and the fact that the central government is obstructing him in granting full powers or funds. Yet more than half (58.9%) of the Eastern respondents state they either do not know or not sure of the reason. [Ref. 18]

Looking at the findings on the basis of ethnicity, nearly 70% of the Sinhala and the Muslim community and 40% of the Tamil community don't know or not sure of the reason.²⁸ Similarly, a large percentage from all the three districts say they don't know or not sure.

Ref.18 There have been reports that the Chief Minister is finding it difficult to exercise the full powers of his office. Why do you think this is so?



“Earlier the roads are narrow and cluttered with people. Now they are widening the roads and accidents involving vehicles have become fewer.”

- Tamil Government Officer in Batticaloa

DEVELOPMENT IN THE EASTERN PROVINCE

Development in the Eastern Province is assessed from respondent's opinion on key development issues, and their perception of the improvement of five of these development issues over the last year. In addition, the survey assessed their perception of development taken place as a result of the government initiated program for the Eastern Province, 'Nagenahira Navodaya' (Eastern Revival). Furthermore, in attempting to ascertain the recovery of the war affected community, those who were materially affected by war were asked whether they received compensation/assistance.

Given 16 categories of development issues, roads and transport (83.6%) was highlighted by a majority of respondents. 78.5%, also believe that health care needs to be improved. Besides, having access to more jobs, improving education and having access to clean water are given priority as the main development concerns of the citizens. [Ref. 19]

²⁷ For ethnic and district analysis refer annex Pg 18

²⁸ For ethnic and district analysis refer annex Pg 18

“Regarding medical services, more people can get treatment in the hospital and it consumes less time. Earlier the schools were neglected. Now they have demolished the old schools and put up new buildings.”

- Tamil, Government Officer in Batticaloa

The Tamils and Muslims assign greater importance to many of the development issues, particularly the Tamils considering most of the issues to be very important.²⁹ For instance, to name a few of the listed development issues, an overwhelming majority of the Tamils consider electricity (92.1%), personal security (90.2%), clean water (90.7%) and human rights protection (84.1%) as ‘very important’. The Sinhalese on the contrary express a mixed opinion (eg; electricity: Very important – 46.9%, Somewhat Important – 12.1%, Least important – 41%). Voicing the opinion of the majority ethnicity in the district, the Batticaloa respondents too assign greater importance to most of the development issues like the respondents in the Ampara and Trincomalee districts.

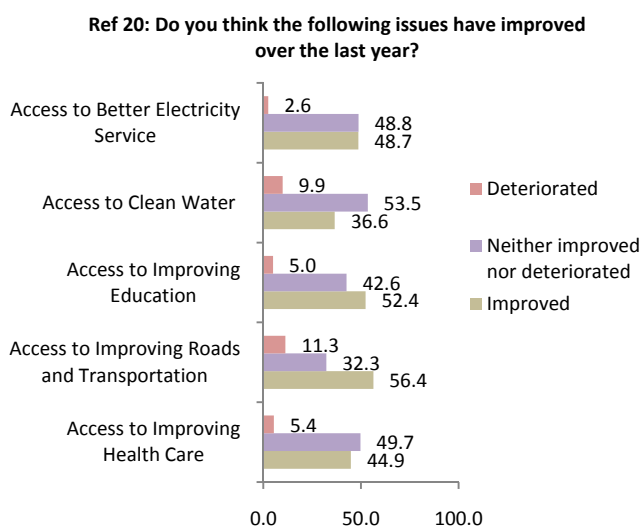
Ref 19: Important development Issues

CATEGORIES	Very Important %	Somewhat Important %	Least Important %
Improving Roads and Transportation	83.6	11.2	5.2
Improving Health Care	78.5	13.3	8.3
More jobs	77.6	14.9	7.5
Clean Water	77.4	11.5	11.1
Improving Education	76.9	14.7	8.4
Better Electricity Service	74.7	11.3	14
Housing	69.2	20.9	9.9
Personal Security / Reduced Crime	67.6	14.1	18.3
Irrigation water	65.6	19.4	14.9
Human Rights Protection	61.6	19.6	18.8
Land issues	61	23.5	15.5
Access to loans	59.9	22.8	17.3
Equipment to carry out livelihood activities e.g. fertilizer, out board motors	59.1	23.3	17.6
Improved access to sell products	58.4	23.8	17.8
Reducing Ethnic tensions	58.1	20.6	21.3
Access to Paddy Land	51.2	24.8	24
Access to fishing water	47.4	23.5	29.1

²⁹ For ethnic and district analysis refer annex Pg 19

When asked about the improvement of roads and transport, health care, education, access to clean water and electricity over the last year, over 50% of the respondents in the East stated that access to roads, transport, and education has improved over the past year. This is further affirmed by the in-depth discussions carried out with the people, where some state that under the ‘Maga Naguma’ program roads have been reconstructed improving overall transport while in the education sector they have witnessed an improvement in terms the provision of new school buildings and conducting of teacher training programs.

In two of the five areas, respondents state that there have been improvements over the past year. With access to clean water, however the majority sees neither an improvement nor deterioration (53.5%). Respectively, the perception on access to better electricity is split between improved (48.7%) and no change (48.8%). [Ref. 20]



On the whole, the Tamil community believes all the above five conditions have improved³⁰. Yet, in contrast a considerable percentage of Sinhalese and Muslims believe the situation of these development issues remains the same. Of those who feel the development situation has deteriorated, slightly over 10% of the Sinhalese believe their access to clean water has deteriorated. 10% of the Tamils and 14% of the Muslims believe their access to roads and transportation has deteriorated.

At the district level, improvement was noted more in the Batticaloa district in contrast to the Ampara and Trincomalee districts. In addition, over 10% of the respondents in the Ampara district believe the situation of accessing clean water has deteriorated. Similarly, over 10% of the respondents in Ampara and Trincomalee districts believe their access to roads and transportation has deteriorated. Once again the district views seem to reflect the opinion of the respective ethnicities in the three districts of the Eastern Province.

³⁰ For ethnic and district analysis refer annex Pg 21

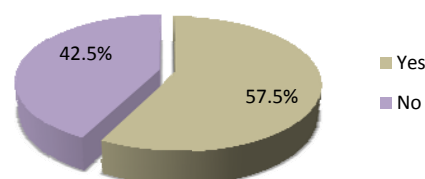
According to the in-depth interviews, Eastern respondents believe that the development initiatives have created new job opportunities for the people. In the agriculture sector, people are given loan facilities and other necessities such as fertilizer storage facilities, rice storage facilities and seeds to make nursery beds. Businesses have experienced some growth as a result of the development. Tanks, drainage systems and canals in certain areas have also been renovated. Further, according to the respondents, NGOs have carried out a considerable number of development projects such as providing micro-credit facilities for the underprivileged, building roads, houses and constructing toilets etc.

Nevertheless, despite having witnessed progress in development activities over the last two years, respondents state they are faced with various problems. Although job opportunities have been created, it was mainly in the category of laborers. Moreover, there is a perception of preference being given to the Sinhalese than the Tamils in terms of job opportunities. Similarly, though many believe there has been an improvement in the agricultural sector, some feel that it can still be improved further by providing water facilities for cultivation. There was slow progress in livelihood activities because of the restriction in freedom of movement, particularly in the HSZs and the inadequate resources. Some argue that nothing much has happened in terms of development while others believe that there is poor planning in development. Political interference is blamed for the poor planning in development.

‘NAGENAHIRA NAVODAYA’ PROGRAM

Over 50% of the Eastern respondents state that they are aware of the ‘Nagenahira Navodaya’ development program [Ref. 21]. This awareness is expressed by a majority of the three ethnicities and in the districts.³¹ The Sinhalese however express a considerably higher awareness of the ‘Negenahira Navodaya’ program. In terms of the districts, the Batticaloa respondents show a lesser awareness of the ‘Negenahira Navodaya’ development program in comparison to the respondents of the Ampara and Trincomalee districts. Of those who are aware of the ‘Negenahira Navodaya’ program, a one fifth (20.3%) claim to have ‘benefitted’ from it [Ref. 22]. In the in-depth discussions respondents list a variety of development initiatives such as the construction of roads in the interior and in the main city, rebuilding bridges, providing loan schemes, fertilizer, water facilities to promote agriculture, providing housing

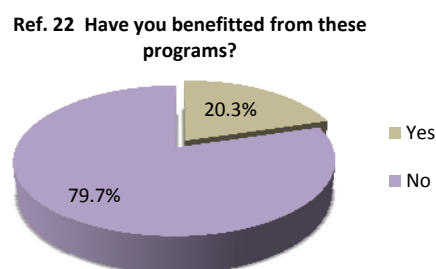
Ref. 21 Awareness of the ‘Negenahira Navodaya’ Development Program



³¹ For ethnic and district analysis refer annex Pg 22

facilities, electricity, improving schools, renovating religious sights and water tanks, providing better medical facilities as benefits received.

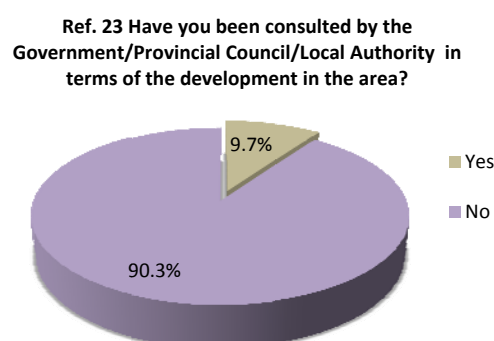
Four out of five respondents (79.7%) state that they have not benefitted from the ‘Nagenahira Navodaya’ program. In the in-depth discussions respondents reveal that benefits have not reached the majority. According to them, the development work under the ‘Negenahira Navodaya’ program is either limited to conflict affected areas or limited to the main city. For instance, some people interviewed in the Ampara district state that the development under the ‘Negenahira Navodaya’ has not reached the Ampara district as it was not totally affected by the conflict, and identified only ‘Maga Naguma’ and ‘Gama Naguma’ initiatives as the development projects that were carried out in the area. In the Trincomalee district, some people in the coastal area also state that they have not benefitted from this development program. Further, businesses have not seen an improvement, according to the interviews conducted. Some even go to the extent of stating that nothing new has taken place under the ‘Negenahira Navodaya’ program while some argue that development work carried out by NGOs were presented as ‘Negenahira Navodaya’ development initiatives.



“We can express our ideas in development activities. We get together as societies (eg: rural development society) and come up with a list of priorities (pramukatha lekanaya). Throguh this we express our views on development. ‘Gama Naguma’ and ‘Maga Naguma’ programs of the government does lots of work.”

- Sinhala Farmer in Morawewa, Trincomalee

An overwhelming majority (90.3%) of the people state that they have not been consulted by the Government/Provincial Councils/Local Authorities in the development of the area [Ref. 23]. The in-depth discussions that were carried out also confirm that most of the respondents were not consulted by the above government authorities in decision making. Some affirm that it is the politician who makes the decisions in development. Nevertheless, a few respondents stated that they were able to express their opinion to the authorities. For instance, some people have formed societies



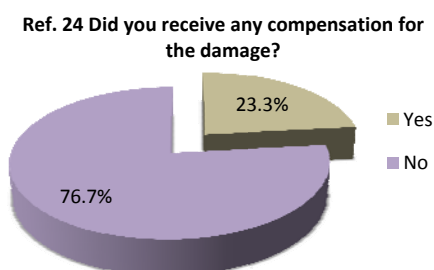
such as rural development society and have come up with a list of priorities called ‘pramukatha lekenaya’ to hand over to the authorities. In some cases, meetings were held with village leaders to discuss development issues. In addition, people’s opinions were obtained for the ‘Mora Wewa’ scheme.

Of those who say that they have been consulted by the government, there are more Tamil respondents than Sinhala or Muslim respondents.³²

COMPENSATION/ASSISTANCE RECEIVED BY THE WAR AFFECTED

Over 50% of the respondents state that they were not materially affected by war. Of the 42.4% who were materially affected by war, 31.9% state that their houses are destroyed or damaged while 10% state they have lost their livelihoods and equipment. On the basis of ethnicity, 50.6% of the Tamil community stated that their house had been destroyed or damaged compared to the Sinhalese (19.6%) and the Muslims (20.3%) who state the same. Those who have lost their livelihoods equipment include a considerable percentage of Tamils (13.1%) and Muslims (14.7%).

Those materially affected were further asked whether they received any compensation / assistance for the damage. 76.7% state that they had not received any compensation while 23.3% state they have received compensation for the damage.



[Ref. 24] Those who received compensation / assistance, a majority state that they received it from the government (42.9%) and the NGOs (44.7%).

“In Vattamadu, they are cultivating the grazing grounds and the cattle owners do not have grazing grounds for the cattle. This leads to confrontation with the Muslims.”

- Tamil Fisherman in Alaiyadivembu, Ampara

LAND ISSUES

Land issues remain a concern for many in the Eastern Province. The scarcity of land, illegal occupation, being inaccessible due to security reasons and the inability to prove ownership remain significant problems concerning land issues. These issues have also led to various disputes amongst the three ethnic communities.³³

In-depth discussions with the respondents make it clear that they are confronting several issues related to land. One of the main problems is the illegal occupation of land by others for various purposes; cultivation, cattle herding or as grazing land. For example, in Morawewa, Trincomalee district, Sinhalese home guards and the police have been forcibly occupying and cultivating the lands belonging to

³² For ethnic and district analysis refer annex Pg 22

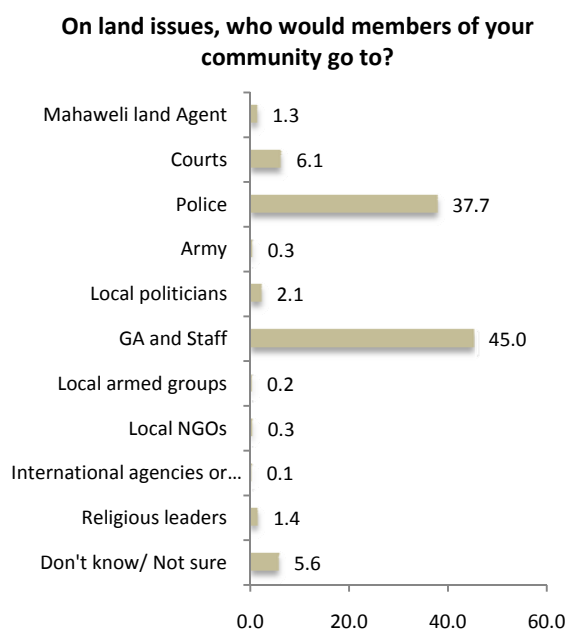
³³ International Crisis Group. (2008). *Sri Lanka's Eastern Province: Land Development and Conflict* (Asia Report N 159 – 15th October) retrieved on 16 October 2009, from <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/pdfid/48f6ed862.pdf>

“When the population increases, we have no space for any expansion. We don’t have opportunities of settling even on government land.”

-Muslim Teacher in Eravur, Batticaloa

the Tamil community. This had led to fear amongst the Tamil community even hindering their resettlement.³⁴ Similarly, respondents highlight another example from Trincomalee district of land belonging to Tamils and Muslims for generations reportedly confiscated by force and being occupied by the majority community. In the Batticaloa district, there had been land issues in the village of Thattumunai where during the LTTE control, Tamils had started to occupy the lands that belonged to the Muslims. However, according to the people it was later handed over to the Muslims who hold the entitlement documents. In Vattamadu, Ampara district, Muslims have started cultivating the grazing grounds belonging to others leading to confrontation with the cattle owners.³⁵ In a similar situation, Muslims have cultivated the land using forged documents.³⁶ There is also a case of private individuals occupying the land set aside by the government for the fishermen in the Ampara district. In another instance the army has put up camps on private land.³⁷

Land issues have also arisen as a result of the scarcity of land. For instance, a person in Eravur, Batticaloa, voicing this concern stated that as a result of the scarcity of land the price of land has increased. Likewise, increasing population in particular areas coupled with urban density has limited the space for settlement. Moreover, there is also a situation where people claim that government land had been distributed amongst those who already have land, leading to confrontations. People in the HSZ are also faced with land issues as they are unable to return to their lands. Despite these issues,



³⁴ The reasons for ‘fear’ were not specified by the respondents in the interview

³⁵ The respondent did not specify the category he mentioned as ‘others’

³⁶ The respondent did not specify the area where the Muslims have cultivated the land using forged documents

³⁷ The respondent did not specify the area where the Army has put up camps

“Human rights situation has turned to better. Earlier people left their land due to the fear of the LTTE. But now the government has given people land and resettling them under the development programs.”

- Sinhala Police Officer in Lahugala, Ampara

“Everything has returned to normal. But check points still pose a problem in travelling.... harassments, assaults, arrests and shootings have completely stopped. No problem in engaging in occupations and travelling to other places.”

- Muslim Farmer in Akkaraipattu, Ampara

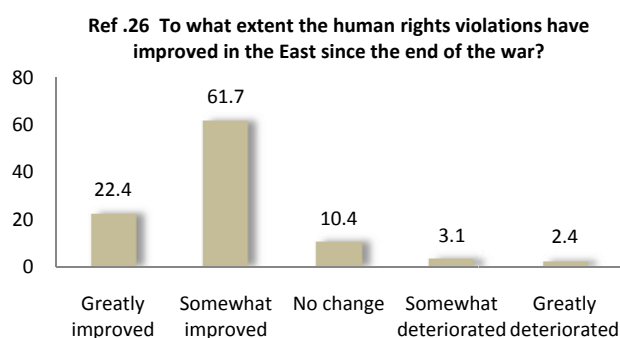
some respondents have indicated that the government has actually taken initiatives to encourage people to obtain land permits.

When asked whom would they go to seek solutions on land issues, most of the respondents state they would refer the problem to the Government Agent and staff while some state they would go to the police. [Ref. 25] On the basis of ethnicity, most of the Sinhala respondents (72.5%) would refer to the GA and his staff. The Tamil and the Muslim community would refer to the GA and his staff or the Police. In-depth interviews also confirm this as respondents state that they would make their complaint to the Police and/ or the Government Agent (GA) and staff (Divisional Secretariat, ‘grama sevaka’, Land Commissioner, Provincial Minister). Two respondents who participated in the in-depth interviews in Ampara district stated they made their complaint to the ‘Janapada Niladhari’*.

HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION IN THE EAST

The human rights situation in the Eastern Province was assessed through respondent’s general perception of the improvement in human rights situation after the end of war in

May 2009 and their perception particularly in terms of the improvement in security, freedom of movement, freedom of speech and ethnic tension. Further respondents were also asked about the institutions their community would go to when faced with human rights abuses and their satisfaction with the level of human rights protection.



Over 80% of the Eastern respondents, belonging to all the three ethnicities believe that the human rights situation in the East has improved since the end of war in May 2009. Yet, 61.7% perceive the improvement is only to ‘some extent’. [Ref. 26] This opinion is shared mainly by the Tamil (78.7%) and the Muslims (51.7%) and the respondents of the Batticaloa (75.3%) and the Trincomalee (67%) districts.³⁸

* According to the information garnered through a DS office in the Eastern Province, the ‘Janapada Niladhari’ works in the Land Department of a DS office and works under the Land Officer. His/her tasks include issuing land permits, collecting land taxes etc.

³⁸ For ethnic and district analysis refer annex Pg 25

Overall, slightly over 20% believe that human rights situation has greatly improved.

In-depth discussions with the respondents also disclosed that the human rights situation has progressed considerably in the post war period. Respondents mainly attribute the progress in the human rights situation to the freedom of movement that has improved access to livelihood activities, travelling from one place to another, and to the absence of killings, abductions and disappearances. The absence of armed militants and promotion of human rights awareness at school level is also seen as signs of positive improvement in the human rights situation.

Those who state that the human rights situation has not witnessed an improvement, put forward reasons such as disappeared people not being found despite complaints made and charged that the police were handling things in a discriminatory manner. There were also individuals who have understood human rights violations as corruption and malpractices; the deficits of democracy. For instance, a person in Gomarankadawala, Trincomalee pointed out that the politicians and the ‘samurdhi’ officials have violated their rights by using their labour to develop roads and later pocketing the money allotted for the project. Similarly, the fact that these officials have failed to distribute the corn (bada irrigu) and fertilizer to the people was seen as a violation of human rights. In another incident, a person recalled an event where the deed of a market had been written in the name of a Buddhist temple ignoring the disapproval of the people, as a violation of people’s human rights.

“There is nothing to worry about security now, unlike those days, we are able to go anywhere we like. We are able to do farming in our own fields. The fields that are not ploughed in 25 years are being cultivated.”

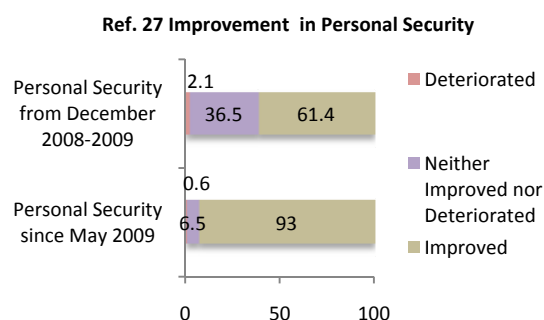
- Muslim Businessman in Eravur, Batticaloa

“After May 2009, the situation is little bit better; it may be because the elections are coming around. Being the minority, we are always in constant fear. There is no MPs or ministers to speak for us.”

- Tamil Private Sector Employee in Alayadivembu, Ampara

THE SECURITY SITUATION

The security situation is examined in two ways. Firstly, respondents were asked about the improvement in their personal security from December 2008 to December 2009, when the survey was carried out. Secondly, they were asked about their perceptions of the overall security situation in the Eastern Province.



Concerning personal security, 61.4% state it has improved over the last year (December 2008 – December 2009). When asked about the improvement in their personal security since the end of war in May 2009, an overwhelming majority of the respondents (93%) believe it has improved, though a majority (60.8%) feels that it had improved only to ‘some extent’. This clearly indicates that there is a striking increase in the proportion who feel their security has improved between December 2008 to December 2009. [Ref. 27]

“Now there is freedom of movement. Earlier people hardly went out. Those who are leaving the eastern province needed to get a permit to leave the East. People who went to the jungle to fetch firewood, some were shot and some never returned.”

- Sinhala Police Officer in Lahugala, Ampara

“Wherever we go, we have to sign and go...that is the reason we are finding difficult to travel. If the bus is going to Batticaloa at 4pm, and if we have to get down at 64th mile, as soon as we get down we have to write down our name and the details of our visit....This is a big problem for our people.”

- Muslim Fisherman in Muttur, Trincomalee

According to the ethnic perspective, all the communities believe their personal security has improved over the last year, and particularly after the end of war.³⁹

However, the minorities perceive that it has improved only to ‘some extent’. This was reflected at the district level.

In-depth discussions with the respondents indicate that their overall security situation has improved, though they place extra emphasis on the fact that it has improved to a greater extent since the end of war. Interestingly, people mainly identify their security in relation to the newly obtained freedom of movement.

Their ability to travel freely and carry out their livelihood activities such as farming and trading without any disturbance was seen as an improvement in the security condition. Reduction in the number of security ‘check points’ was also considered as an advance in security. That harassments, assaults, arrests, and shootings have come to a halt, and home-guards are deployed in the area to ensure security, is also seen as a positive development in the security situation.

Nonetheless, there is also a set of respondents who believe that the security situation is either the same as before or has not improved. Those who voice this opinion are mostly the Tamils and the Muslims who express their insecurity due to various reasons. For instance, a Muslim citizen points out that the Chief Minister being of Tamil origin and therefore having the Provincial Council in the hands of the Tamils, and the Sinhala settlements in Ampara and Trincomalee districts as the reasons for his insecurity. Similarly, a Tamil interviewee voices his concern stating that there is lack of political voice for their community. The continuation of security ‘check points’, the fear of being checked at night by the police and the forces, has created doubt amongst some about the security situation. In two instances people have highlighted their fears of the police and the security forces. For some the absence of an environment conducive to make complaints regarding security and uncertainty about the future, have increased concerns about the current security situation.

FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT

Respondents believe that there is an improvement in their freedom of movement over the last two years. Whether in terms of moving in and out of the Eastern Province (97.6%), day-to-day movements within their community such as visiting relatives, collecting firewood etc (90.2%) or carrying out livelihood activities such as accessing paddy land, fishing, cattle herding etc (81.2%); an overwhelming majority has seen progress in their freedom of movement. [Ref 28] This progress is mostly experienced by the Sinhalese compared to the Tamils and the Muslims who feel the progress is only to ‘some extent’. Yet, concerning the day-to-day movements in particular, higher percentage of the Sinhalese (14.2%) feel that

³⁹ For ethnic and district analysis refer annex Pg 26

there has not been any change compared to the Tamils (8.2%) and the Muslims (6.2%) who feel the same.

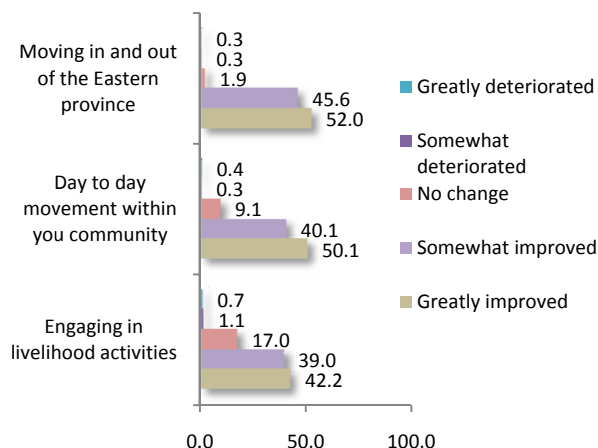
Nonetheless, it is noteworthy that the improvement experienced in engaging in livelihoods is slightly less in comparison to the improvement experienced in moving

in and out of the East as well as in the day to day movements. Further, 17% also state that there is no change in

the freedom of movement when carrying out their livelihood activities. This clearly indicates the dissatisfaction amongst the respondents on the restrictions placed on their movements when carrying out their livelihood activities. With regard to the ethnic groups, a considerable percentage of all ethnic groups feel no change has taken place when carrying out their livelihood activities (Sinhala- 13.5%, Tamil- 11.3%, and Muslims- 26.4%). At the district level, the Ampara respondents have experienced a great improvement in comparison to the Batticaloa and Trincomalee districts.

In-depth discussions also prove that freedom of movement has greatly improved after the end of war in May 2009. The respondents believe they can now engage in their daily occupations while being able to travel without any fear, even in and out of the Eastern Province, at anytime of the day. They also say the number of security check points has reduced and even when having to go through security checks there is less delay. The freedom of movement has also improved in the HSZ, according to them. On the other hand, some still believe that their freedom of movement has not improved. In supporting this view they say that people are being harassed and questioned by the security forces and that there is restriction in the freedom of movement in the HSZ. Moreover, the fact that people still have to undergo security checks when travelling is seen as a hindrance to their freedom of movement.

Ref.28 Freedom of Movement over the last two years



“People have the freedom of speech. Those days due to terrorism, we were scared to open our mouth. At that time we were unable to find out who is good or bad. So we kept our mouth shut. Thanks to the government; it has given us the opportunity to speak freely.”

-Muslim Shop Owner in Muttur, Trincomalee

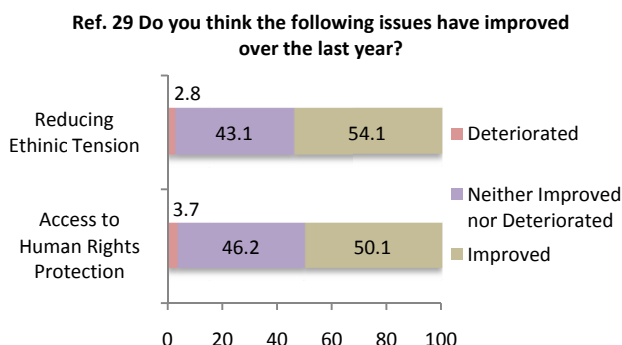
“All three communities live in the Eastern Province. There are number of parliament members, that represent all the communities and some of them work in full co-operation with the government. They will have to get together and establish a consensus. Then only you can bring about peace and harmony amongst the different communities.”

-Muslim Fisherman in Ampara

ETHNIC TENSION

With regard to the state of ethnic tensions, 54.1% state it has reduced while 43.1% state it remains the same. Over 50% of the Sinhalese and the Tamils believe ethnic tension has reduced over the last year as opposed to the 50% of

the Muslims who believe that it has neither improved nor deteriorated. The district responses largely reflect the opinion of the ethnicities. [Ref. 29]



HUMAN RIGHTS PROTECTION

50% of the respondents [Ref.29], this includes mostly the Sinhalese and the Tamils⁴⁰, believe their access to human rights protection has improved over the last year. The 46.2% who believe that the situation remains the same, consists mostly of Muslims. The district responses also indicate the ethnic viewpoint.

On the whole, people express satisfaction with the action taken by the institutions in protecting human rights in the East. They are mostly satisfied with the action taken by the central government (22.1%), media (26.3%), religious leaders (28.4%), and the police (25.2%). [Ref. 30]

	Very Satisfied %	Somewh at Satisfied %	Very Dissatisfi ed %	Total %
Ref 30				
Central Government	22.1	67.5	10.4	100.0
Chief Minister of the Province	10.2	70.7	19.1	100.0
Local Human Rights Organizations	16.7	73.1	10.2	100.0
International Human Rights Organizations	19.8	70.7	9.5	100.0
The International Community	14.2	73.1	12.7	100.0
Political parties	8.6	57.1	34.3	100.0
Media	26.3	68.8	4.8	100.0
Religious Leaders	28.4	61.6	10.0	100.0
Police	25.2	65.5	9.4	100.0

When asked who the members of their community would go to when faced with human rights abuses, most of them state they would go to the police (81%) in

⁴⁰ For ethnic and district analysis refer annex Pg 28

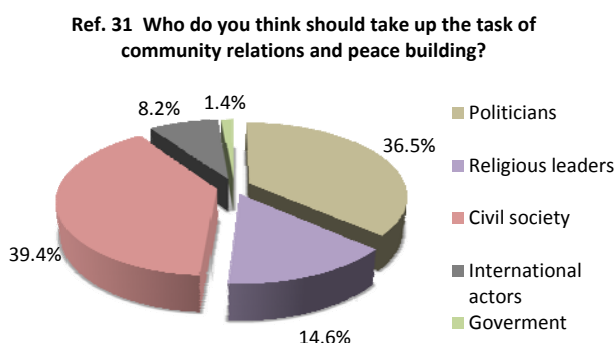
addition to the local politicians (19.6%), International Committee of Red Cross (ICRC) (26.3%) and the Human Rights Commission (10.7%)*.

THE FREEDOM OF SPEECH

In-depth discussions also disclose that the people's freedom of speech has improved in the post war period. Yet there are some who still believe otherwise. In particular, the Tamil and the Muslim respondents believe that they have no outlet to voice their concerns. According to them, people are afraid to come out and express their views or take action for the simple reason that they would lose their lives or get into trouble by speaking out. Hence they seem to be desperately seeking to find a means of voicing their concerns and experiences.

RECONCILIATION AND PEACE BUILDING

In looking at who should take the issue of reconciliation and peace building forward, respondents cited civil society (39.4%), politicians (36.5%) and the religious leaders (14.6%). [Ref. 31] The ethnic perspective shows that Sinhalese and Muslim preference is skewed towards the involvement of politicians while the Tamil preference is skewed towards the involvement of civil society.⁴¹



In identifying the main obstacles to reconciliation, most respondents highlight the distrust between communities, distrust between politicians and the feeling of insecurity amongst the people as the obstacles. [Ref. 32] In-depth discussions with the respondents indicate that political involvement and land issues are also hindrances to peace building and reconciliation.

Ref.32	%
Insecurity	33.8
Distrust between communities	46.9
Distrust between politicians	38.6
Lack of development	21.7

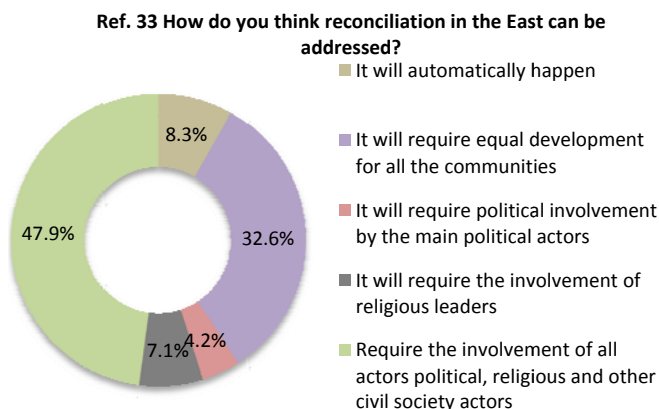
* As the respondents were allowed to give more than one answer to this question, the total of the values given does not add up to 100.

⁴¹ For ethnic and district analysis refer annex Pg 31

In looking at how reconciliation can be taken forward in the East, respondents express varying opinions. Half of the respondents - this includes mostly the Sinhalese (52.6%) and Muslims (50%) believe that it requires the involvement of all the actors from political, religious to the other civil society actors.⁴²

32.6% state it will require the equal development for all the communities, which is a perception held mostly by the Tamil community (50.2%). Another 8.3% feel that it will automatically happen and 7.1% believe it will require the involvement of religious leaders.

[Ref. 33]



In-depth discussions prove that people are of the opinion that since the end of war a good understanding between the communities has developed. Nevertheless, the respondents seem to believe that building peace and reconciliation will require equal treatment of all the ethnicities and building trust and confidence amongst the ethnicities. According to the interviewees, one way this could be achieved is through promoting co-existence through education. For instance, initiatives such as studying in the same schools instead of separate schools and forming committees/associations such as youth groups are expected to contribute to this. Another area highlighted was the importance of unity and harmony that can be established through committees/groups and religious leaders. In addition, some also believe that action should be taken against those who create problems and that at the same time, politicians should stop creating tension. Moreover, some believe that peace building could be achieved through businesses such as traders sharing the same market place when selling goods. As mentioned above, there are some respondents who believe that peace and reconciliation will happen automatically.

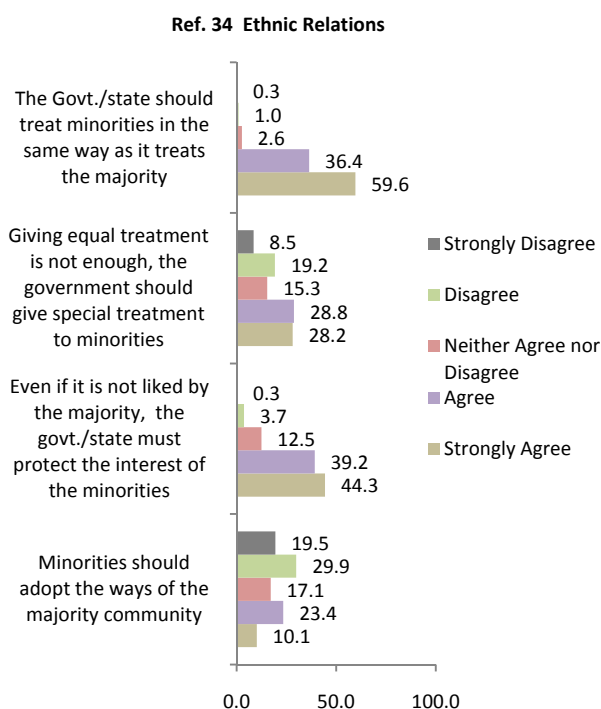
⁴² For ethnic and district analysis refer annex Pg 32

MINORITIES

In order to understand the respondent's opinion on minorities, they were asked to state their level of agreement on four statements related to minorities. These include,

- 'The government should treat minorities in the same way as it treats The majority'
- 'Giving equal treatment is not enough, the government should give special treatment to minorities'
- 'Even if they are not liked by the majority, the government/ state must protect the interest of the minorities'
- 'Minorities should adopt the ways of the majority community.'

An overwhelming majority agree that 'the government should treat minorities in the same way as it treats the majority' and that the government should protect the interests of the minorities even if they are not liked by the government. Over 50% also believe that minorities should be given special treatment, though the agreement is less in comparison to the overwhelming majority agreement to giving equal treatment to the minority and protecting their interests. However, people seem to disagree (49.4%) with minorities adopting the ways of the majority. [Ref. 34]



The ethnic perspective shows that the Sinhalese (71%) seem to disagree with giving special treatment to the minorities⁴³. On the contrary, the Tamils (57.5%) and the Muslims (55.4%) disapprove of minorities adopting the ways of the majority community.

⁴³ For ethnic and district analysis refer annex Pg 33

CONCLUSION

The liberation of the East in 2007 and the provincial council elections held in 2008 marked a significant transition in the contemporary history of the Eastern province. The first ever provincial council election held in the East in 2008 has impacted the lives of the Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim communities in the province. Against this backdrop of an expectation of improvements overall, this survey attempts to assess the nature and extent of change in terms of democracy, development, and human rights.

DEMOCRACY

Eastern respondents have mixed perceptions in terms of their support for democracy, as some claim they prefer democracy while others claim to have no opinion. Yet what is important to highlight here is that nearly half the people prefer democracy to any other kind of government, which is slightly higher than the South Asian preference for democracy and considerably lower than the Sri Lankan preference for democracy. This preference for democracy is seen across a majority of the respondents belonging to all the three ethnicities and in the three districts. However, it needs to be emphasized that respondent's interpretation of the meaning of democracy varies considerably.

The respondent's practice of democracy is measured through other aspects that contribute to democracy; the amount of interest people take in politics, the political knowledge they possess, their political and civic engagement and the trust they place in some of the elected and non-elected institutions. Their interest in politics revolves mainly around their local affairs, though most of them express interest in politics at all three levels; local, provincial and national level. This political interest seems greater amongst the Tamils and the Muslims than the Sinhalese.

The political knowledge that respondents possess is examined using the answers given to 7 questions related to national and provincial politics. The Sinhalese seem to have a 'higher' political knowledge, where they have managed to answer 4 or more questions related to provincial and national politics correctly. Over half of the respondents who possess a 'moderate' political knowledge, have been able to answer 1 or 3 questions related to the provincial and national politics correctly. This largely comprise of the Tamil community.

Political engagement is measured through the respondent's involvement in 8 different political activities. A 'high' political participation is seen amongst the Sinhalese, where they have participated in 5 to 8 political activities. The largest section of the respondents, who have participated in 2 to 4 political activities are considered to have a 'moderate' political participation. This includes a considerable number of Sinhalese and Tamils. Those who participated in just one

activity or those who did not participate in a single activity are considered as having 'low' political participation, which largely comprise Tamils and Muslims.

Civic participation was appraised through involvement in the local community as an active member of a group or association. A 'low' civic participation is observed amongst the Muslims where most of them are either inactive members or not members of a group. The Sinhalese and the Tamils, who mostly fall within the category of 'high' and 'moderate' civic participation, have either been active members of 3 to 6 groups or have been active in 1 to 2 groups.

As to the trust respondents place in the elected and non-elected institutions; national parliament, provincial council, municipal council, the Army, the Police and the Courts, most people place a high level of trust in all these institutions. The politicians earn a significantly low level of trust, particularly amongst the Sinhalese and Tamils.

With regard to the provincial council system and power-sharing, a vast majority of the respondents seem unaware of the 13th Amendment. Nevertheless, they express agreement or support for devolving powers to the provinces.

When asked about the Eastern Provincial Council in particular, a majority stated that the Provincial Council election was held in a legitimate manner. Most of the Sinhalese respondents feel that it was 'completely' free and fair while the Tamils and Muslims feel it is 'somewhat' free and fair. As to the impact of the Chief Minister and the Provincial Council in the Eastern province, a higher percentage of Tamils believe there is a positive impact.

DEVELOPMENT

Overall, an overwhelming majority believe that development has progressed considerably over the last two years. Most respondents believe the situation has improved in terms of jobs opportunities, agriculture, businesses and infrastructure. However, when asked about the important development concerns of their community, they put extra emphasis on the need for improvement in infrastructure and livelihoods - the two key necessities for their personal progress. In fact, respondents express their discontent with the progress in the condition of livelihoods.

Respondents were asked about the improvement in five key facilities over the last year - roads, transport, education, electricity services, access to health care and clean water. On the whole, over half of the respondents believe that roads, transport and education have improved. However, respondents are skeptical of the improvement in terms of accessing better health care, clean water and electricity services. The Tamil community believes that all these five conditions have improved as opposed to the Sinhalese and Muslims who feel that the situation remains the same.

With regard to ‘Negenahira Navodaya’, the government initiated development program for the Eastern province, half of the respondents state that they are aware of it. This includes mostly the Sinhalese. Yet, only one fifth of them claim to have benefitted from it. In fact four out of five respondents state that they have not benefitted from the ‘Negenahira Navodaya’ program.

HUMAN RIGHTS

An overwhelming majority of the respondents state that the human rights situation has improved since the end of war in May 2009. Yet, most of them perceive the improvement only to some extent, which includes mainly the Tamils and Muslims. One fifth of the respondents believe that the human rights situation has greatly improved.

The respondents also state that their security and their freedom of movement have significantly improved in the post-war period. For most of them their personal security has considerably improved since the end of war in May 2009. The freedom of movement, according to the respondents, has greatly improved for the Sinhalese while the Tamils and Muslims feel that progress has occurred only to ‘some extent’.

With regard to having access to human rights protection, respondents state that it has improved over the last year. Most of the Sinhalese and Tamils share this perception as opposed to the Muslims who feel that no change has happened in terms of their access to human rights protection.

ANNEX

Important Issues to the Local Community

Q1. Please rank three issues according to your order of importance. -By Ethnicity		Sinhala	%	Tamil	%	Muslim	%
	1	Improving Roads and Transportation	30.9	Improving Roads and Transportation	31.5	Improving Education	31.3
	2	Clean Water	30.5	Job Opportunities	30.3	Improving Roads and Transportation	26.4
	3	Job Opportunities	22.3	Improving Education	27.0	Job Opportunities	25.1
	4	Improving Education	17.7	Clean Water	21.0	Improving Healthcare	22.2
	5	Land Issues	16.5	Housing	18.6	Clean Water	21.0
	6	Irrigation Water	15.1	Improving Healthcare	17.3	Personal Security	19.8
	7	Personal Security	13.6	Better Electricity Service	11.6	Housing	15.1
	8	Improving Healthcare	12.8	Personal Security	7.4	Reducing Ethnic Tension	7.2
	9	Housing	11.3	Human Rights Protection	7.3	Access to fishing water	6.0
	10	Better Electricity Service	6.8	Access to fishing water	4.9	Human Rights Protection	5.1
	11	Improved access to sell products	5.3	Access to loans	3.9	Better Electricity Service	3.7
	12	Access to loans	5.3	Improved access to sell products	3.9	Irrigation Water	3.3
	13	Human Rights Protection	3.8	Land Issues	3.7	Access to loans	3.0
	14	Reducing Ethnic Tension	2.6	Access to agricultural land	3.6	Improved access to sell products	3.0
	15	Access to agricultural land	1.3	Irrigation Water	3.5	Land Issues	3.0
	16	Access to fishing water	0.3	Reducing Ethnic Tension	2.7	Access to agricultural land	2.7

-By District	Batticaloa		%	Ampara		%	Trincomalee		%
	1	Improving Education	32.0	Clean Water	30.6	Job Opportunities		31.0	
	2	Improving Roads and Transportation	29.7	Improving Roads and Transportation	30.0	Improving Roads and Transportation		29.4	
	3	Housing	26.2	Job Opportunities	24.9	Improving Education		24.6	
	4	Job Opportunities	24.4	Improving Education	22.1	Improving Healthcare		20.8	
	5	Clean Water	19.0	Improving Healthcare	16.9	Clean Water		17.8	
	6	Improving Healthcare	16.9	Personal Security	16.2	Personal Security		14.8	
	7	Better Electricity Service	10.5	Housing	9.9	Housing		10.8	
	8	Personal Security	8.4	Irrigation Water	9.4	Land Issues		10.5	
	9	Human Rights Protection	6.5	Land Issues	7.6	Access to fishing water		7.8	
	10	Access to fishing water	4.1	Better Electricity Service	6.4	Irrigation Water		6.4	
	11	Access to loans	3.8	Reducing Ethnic Tension	6.0	Better Electricity Service		5.5	
	12	Improved access to sell products	3.8	Human Rights Protection	4.8	Human Rights Protection		5.5	
	13	Access to agricultural land	3.5	Access to loans	4.5	Access to agricultural land		3.5	
	14	Irrigation Water	3.3	Improved access to sell products	4.5	Access to loans		3.3	
	15	Land Issues	3.2	Access to fishing water	1.6	Improved access to sell products		3.3	
	16	Reducing Ethnic Tension	3.0	Access to agricultural land	1.4	Reducing Ethnic Tension		2.9	

Improvement in Development, Personal Security & Livelihoods

Q2. Please state to what extent the following conditions have changed in the in Eastern Province over the last two years.

-By Ethnicity

		Sinhala %	Tamil %	Muslim %
Development	Improved	78.2	83.2	84.4
	No Change	20.6	15.2	14.9
	Deteriorated	1.3	1.6	0.7
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Personal Security	Improved	89.2	82.7	90.8
	No Change	10.8	14.1	8.3
	Deteriorated	0.0	3.1	0.9
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Livelihoods	Improved	54.9	54.3	51.9
	No Change	37.9	30.5	35.8
	Deteriorated	7.1	15.2	12.4
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

-By District

		Batticaloa %	Ampara %	Trincomalee %
Development	Improved	82.0	80.1	85.8
	No Change	15.7	19.3	13.4
	Deteriorated	2.3	0.6	0.8
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Personal Security	Improved	83.2	88.2	91.2
	No Change	13.4	11.5	7.9
	Deteriorated	3.4	0.4	0.9
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Livelihoods	Improved	55.2	48.7	60.0
	No Change	28.1	41.1	30.9
	Deteriorated	16.7	10.2	9.1
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

State of Democracy in the Eastern Province

Support for Democracy

Q29. Which one of the following statements do you agree the most?
-By Ethnicity

	Sinhala %	Tamil %	Muslim %
Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government	50.5	42.2	46.0
In certain situations, a dictatorial government can be preferable to a democratic one	5.6	4.5	2.3
It doesn't matter to people like me whether we have democratic or non-democratic Governance	4.5	4.9	7.1
No Opinion	39.4	48.4	44.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

-By District

	Batticaloa %	Ampara %	Trincomalee %
Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government	43.7	48.1	44.7
In certain situations, a dictatorial government can be preferable to a democratic one	5.8	2.7	4.4
It doesn't matter to people like me whether we have democratic or non-democratic Governance	3.8	8.4	3.3
No Opinion	46.7	40.7	47.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Interest in Politics

Q24. Interest in politics

-By Ethnicity

		Very Often %	Rarely %	Never %	Total %
How often would you say you pay attention to news about politics on the radio?	Sinhala	18.6	58.6	22.9	100.0
	Tamil	37.0	48.3	14.8	100.0
	Muslim	40.1	44.1	15.7	100.0
How often would you say you pay attention to news about politics on television?	Sinhala	34.4	50.0	15.6	100.0
	Tamil	44.1	43.0	12.9	100.0
	Muslim	40.2	44.7	15.1	100.0
How often would you say you pay attention to news about politics in newspapers or magazines?	Sinhala	20.8	43.4	35.8	100.0
	Tamil	23.2	40.6	36.2	100.0
	Muslim	23.2	40.1	36.7	100.0
How often do you discuss politics with family and friends?	Sinhala	13.8	51.4	34.7	100.0
	Tamil	22.2	44.1	33.7	100.0
	Muslim	27.2	39.5	33.3	100.0

-By District

		Very Often %	Rarely %	Never %	Total %
How often would you say you pay attention to news about politics on the radio?	Batticaloa	31.9	48.3	19.8	100.0
	Ampara	24.3	59.2	16.6	100.0
	Trincomalee	48.1	36.5	15.4	100.0
How often would you say you pay attention to news about politics on television?	Batticaloa	43.2	40.4	16.4	100.0
	Ampara	34.6	54.4	11.0	100.0
	Trincomalee	44.9	37.5	17.6	100.0
How often would you say you pay attention to news about politics in newspapers or magazines?	Batticaloa	24.3	36.4	39.3	100.0
	Ampara	19.6	46.9	33.5	100.0
	Trincomalee	25.3	37.5	37.2	100.0
How often do you discuss politics with family and friends?	Batticaloa	20.3	46.2	33.5	100.0
	Ampara	13.3	50.1	36.6	100.0
	Trincomalee	36.7	33.2	30.1	100.0

Interest in Politics at Local, Provincial and National Level

Q25, Q26, Q27. Interest in Politics
-By Ethnicity

		Sinhala	Tamil	Muslim
		%	%	%
Local Level	A great deal of interest	34.3	53.4	37.2
	Some interest	55.4	27.9	35.8
	Very little interest	9.3	11.7	15.6
	Don't know/Not sure	1.1	3.5	10.3
	No answer	0.0	3.4	1.0
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Provincial Level	A great deal of interest	13.8	38.0	21.2
	Some interest	64.1	34.1	47.0
	Very little interest	19.1	16.8	15.8
	Don't know/Not sure	2.9	6.4	14.0
	No answer	0.0	4.7	2.0
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
National Level	A great deal of interest	13.1	30.3	20.1
	Some interest	51.5	32.0	46.1
	Very little interest	30.3	21.0	15.6
	Don't know/Not sure	4.7	11.0	16.2
	No answer	0.4	5.7	2.0
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

-By District

		Batticaloa	Ampara	Trincomalee
		%	%	%
Local Level	A great deal of interest	47.9	46.2	31.2
	Some interest	31.5	40.2	42.9
	Very little interest	11.5	10.1	17.0
	Don't know/Not sure	7.7	3.0	5.3
	No answer	1.5	0.5	3.6
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Provincial Level	A great deal of interest	34.1	23.2	19.3
	Some interest	35.9	54.5	48.2
	Very little interest	14.8	17.5	19.0
	Don't know/Not sure	12.1	3.9	9.3
	No answer	3.1	0.8	4.2
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
National Level	A great deal of interest	27.4	19.6	19.6
	Some interest	37.6	46.2	41.9
	Very little interest	15.1	26.7	21.8
	Don't know/Not sure	16.1	5.8	12.8
	No answer	3.8	1.7	4.0
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Political Knowledge

Q16. Would you say that you are very informed, somewhat informed, not very informed or not informed at all about politics in Sri Lanka?

-By Ethnicity

	Sinhala %	Tamil %	Muslim %
Very Informed	6.7	4.7	5.4
Somewhat informed	79.9	83.8	78.6
Not at all informed	13.4	11.5	16.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

-By District

	Batticaloa %	Ampara %	Trincomalee %
Very Informed	5.1	6.5	4.3
Somewhat informed	78.4	82.7	81.4
Not at all informed	16.5	10.7	14.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q17- Q23. Composite Index:
Political Knowledge

-By Ethnicity

	Sinhala %	Tamil %	Muslim %
Low Knowledge	17.8	15.4	27.0
Moderate Knowledge	47.7	63.6	46.9
High Knowledge	34.5	21.0	26.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

-By District

	Batticaloa %	Ampara %	Trincomalee %
Low Knowledge	14.9	20.9	25.0
Moderate Knowledge	61.7	51.1	47.4
High Knowledge	23.3	28.0	27.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Political Participation

Q3+Q11. Composite Index:

-By Ethnicity

	Sinhala %	Tamil %	Muslim %
Low	25.4	43.5	55.7
Moderate	55.0	47.7	31.3
High	19.6	8.7	13.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

-By District

	Batticaloa %	Ampara %	Trincomalee %
Low	41.9	42.9	42.6
Moderate	48.2	43.2	41.3
High	9.9	13.9	16.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Civic Participation

Q12. Composite Index:

-By Ethnicity

	Sinhala %	Tamil %	Muslim %
Low	17.1	39.5	71.1
Moderate	45.2	42.0	25.0
High	37.7	18.4	3.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

-By District

	Batticaloa %	Ampara %	Trincomalee %
Low	47.9	39.5	47.6
Moderate	40.2	37.7	32.1
High	11.8	22.7	20.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Trust In Political Institutions

Q13. Please tell me generally whether you have a lot of confidence, some confidence, or no confidence in each of the following to look after your interest;

-By Ethnicity

		A great deal of Trust %	Some Trust %	No Trust %	Total %
The National Parliament	Sinhala	28.6	56.1	15.3	100.0
	Tamil	7.6	68.4	23.9	100.0
	Muslim	19.9	68.3	11.9	100.0
Your Provincial Council	Sinhala	9.0	57.7	33.3	100.0
	Tamil	11.0	69.2	19.8	100.0
	Muslim	14.4	67.2	18.4	100.0
Your Municipal Council or Pradeshiya Sabha	Sinhala	12.5	56.7	30.9	100.0
	Tamil	18.1	67.1	14.9	100.0
	Muslim	17.7	64.5	17.9	100.0
Politicians	Sinhala	3.5	46.0	50.4	100.0
	Tamil	2.3	40.9	56.9	100.0
	Muslim	10.4	58.1	31.5	100.0
The Army	Sinhala	84.3	15.3	0.4	100.0
	Tamil	1.9	54.4	43.7	100.0
	Muslim	25.2	63.3	11.5	100.0
The Police	Sinhala	54.4	35.9	9.7	100.0
	Tamil	6.6	71.9	21.4	100.0
	Muslim	26.1	63.7	10.1	100.0
The Courts	Sinhala	69.7	27.9	2.4	100.0
	Tamil	28.1	62.5	9.4	100.0
	Muslim	39.3	56.6	4.1	100.0

-By District

		A great deal of Trust %	Some Trust %	No Trust %	Total %
The National Parliament	Batticaloa	11.3	69.9	18.8	100.0
	Ampara	21.3	57.2	21.4	100.0
	Trincomalee	18.6	72.0	9.4	100.0
Your Provincial Council	Batticaloa	10.6	72.2	17.2	100.0
	Ampara	12.8	55.7	31.5	100.0
	Trincomalee	10.6	73.0	16.4	100.0
Your Municipal Council or Pradeshiya Sabha	Batticaloa	12.9	74.1	13.1	100.0
	Ampara	21.3	51.3	27.4	100.0
	Trincomalee	13.2	69.5	17.3	100.0
Politicians	Batticaloa	4.4	53.5	42.0	100.0
	Ampara	8.1	44.2	47.7	100.0
	Trincomalee	2.8	50.3	46.9	100.0
The Army	Batticaloa	7.6	61.9	30.5	100.0
	Ampara	49.9	34.8	15.4	100.0
	Trincomalee	40.1	44.7	15.2	100.0
The Police	Batticaloa	9.6	69.1	21.3	100.0
	Ampara	38.0	51.0	11.0	100.0
	Trincomalee	28.9	60.2	10.8	100.0
The Courts	Batticaloa	28.2	62.1	9.7	100.0
	Ampara	54.6	42.4	3.0	100.0
	Trincomalee	39.0	55.7	5.3	100.0

Women's Role in Politics

Q52. When thinking of women's role in public life, what do you think should be their role in the following organizations?

-By Ethnicity

		Should be members %	Should be not only members but also office bearers %	Should attend but not actively/ occasionally participate %	Women should not have a place in such Organisations %	Total %
CBOs	Sinhala	31.6	67.6	0.8	0.0	100.0
	Tamil	26.4	68.3	2.5	2.9	100.0
	Muslim	39.5	35.3	11.6	13.6	100.0
NGO	Sinhala	33.2	63.6	2.6	0.6	100.0
	Tamil	21.8	66.7	7.0	4.6	100.0
	Muslim	25.1	30.8	12.5	31.6	100.0
Savings group	Sinhala	32.0	66.6	1.4	0.0	100.0
	Tamil	23.9	69.9	5.2	1.1	100.0
	Muslim	39.3	41.4	10.8	8.5	100.0
Religious group	Sinhala	39.3	57.0	2.9	0.8	100.0
	Tamil	21.1	66.8	9.3	2.8	100.0
	Muslim	35.1	43.9	10.5	10.4	100.0
Political party	Sinhala	31.8	63.3	2.5	2.4	100.0
	Tamil	20.0	64.9	9.0	6.1	100.0
	Muslim	31.9	37.1	8.1	22.9	100.0
Cultural group	Sinhala	32.4	65.2	2.2	0.2	100.0
	Tamil	22.9	67.3	6.8	3.0	100.0
	Muslim	33.8	42.0	9.9	14.3	100.0
Neighborhood/ village group	Sinhala	30.3	68.2	1.6	0.0	100.0
	Tamil	23.7	70.4	4.4	1.5	100.0
	Muslim	38.1	40.0	10.8	11.1	100.0
Education/ school group	Sinhala	27.2	72.2	0.6	0.0	100.0
	Tamil	21.1	73.6	4.4	0.9	100.0
	Muslim	31.9	50.8	9.5	7.9	100.0

-By District		Should be members %	Should be not only members but also office bearers %	Should attend but not actively/ occasionally participate %	Women should not have a place in such Organisations %	Total %
CBOs	Batticaloa	21.0	60.7	8.1	10.2	100.0
	Ampara	38.5	57.0	2.3	2.3	100.0
	Trincomalee	37.5	50.8	5.9	5.7	100.0
NGO	Batticaloa	18.8	56.5	9.1	15.6	100.0
	Ampara	30.5	53.5	4.4	11.6	100.0
	Trincomalee	29.4	52.4	10.4	7.8	100.0
Savings group	Batticaloa	22.3	63.2	9.8	4.7	100.0
	Ampara	36.7	59.9	2.2	1.2	100.0
	Trincomalee	34.6	53.3	7.3	4.8	100.0
Religious group	Batticaloa	19.7	61.8	10.3	8.2	100.0
	Ampara	37.5	58.0	3.3	1.3	100.0
	Trincomalee	33.6	46.8	13.2	6.5	100.0
Political party	Batticaloa	14.9	64.9	7.2	13.0	100.0
	Ampara	34.6	52.3	4.9	8.1	100.0
	Trincomalee	31.6	45.9	10.0	12.4	100.0
Cultural group	Batticaloa	17.7	61.9	9.7	10.8	100.0
	Ampara	34.6	60.1	2.4	2.8	100.0
	Trincomalee	35.4	49.8	9.7	5.2	100.0
Neighborhood/ village group	Batticaloa	20.7	62.5	8.8	8.0	100.0
	Ampara	35.7	60.9	2.2	1.3	100.0
	Trincomalee	34.2	53.5	7.9	4.4	100.0
Education/ school group	Batticaloa	18.8	67.4	8.0	5.8	100.0
	Ampara	29.6	68.1	1.5	0.8	100.0
	Trincomalee	31.0	58.7	7.2	3.1	100.0

Female Representation in Parliament, Provincial Council, Local Government

Q53. What is your view of the level of female representation in parliament, provincial council and local government?

-By

Ethnicity

		Fair representation %	Far too low representation but women and parties need to make more of an effort %	Far too low need to introduce quota %	Women have no place in politics %	Don't know/ Not sure %	Total %
Parliament	Sinhala	19.2	35.3	12.5	7.5	25.5	100.0
	Tamil	24.4	48.7	5.1	4.7	17.2	100.0
	Muslim	34.0	29.0	5.5	6.6	24.9	100.0
Provincial Council	Sinhala	13.4	33.0	16.1	8.1	29.5	100.0
	Tamil	15.9	48.7	13.7	3.2	18.5	100.0
	Muslim	22.8	21.7	15.0	11.0	29.6	100.0
Local Government	Sinhala	13.9	31.9	15.4	10.4	28.4	100.0
	Tamil	18.0	37.9	16.8	3.9	23.5	100.0
	Muslim	21.5	14.4	12.4	16.5	35.2	100.0

-By District

		Fair representation %	Far too low representation but women and parties need to make more of an effort %	Far too low need to introduce quota %	Women have no place in politics %	Don't know/ Not sure %	Total %
Parliament	Batticaloa	27.8	43.7	4.1	4.3	20.1	100.0
	Ampara	15.4	46.0	8.9	4.1	25.6	100.0
	Trincomalee	41.8	18.7	8.4	12.0	19.1	100.0
Provincial Council	Batticaloa	18.0	43.7	12.0	4.7	21.6	100.0
	Ampara	8.2	34.5	18.8	7.5	31.0	100.0
	Trincomalee	32.9	24.9	11.2	10.0	20.9	100.0
Local Government	Batticaloa	16.3	33.0	17.0	5.9	27.8	100.0
	Ampara	8.9	29.8	14.2	12.8	34.2	100.0
	Trincomalee	35.2	19.2	12.9	11.1	21.6	100.0

-By Gender

		Fair representation %	Far too low representation but women and parties need to make more of an effort %	Far too low need to introduce quota %	Women have no place in politics %	Don't know/ Not sure %	Total %
Parliament	Male	27.5	37.8	7.3	7.1	20.3	100.0
	Female	25.1	38.3	7.3	5.6	23.7	100.0
Provincial Council	Male	18.5	34.0	15.7	8.3	23.5	100.0
	Female	17.2	35.5	13.9	6.5	26.9	100.0
Local Government	Male	19.3	28.5	14.9	10.8	26.4	100.0
	Female	17.4	27.6	14.6	9.7	30.7	100.0

Provincial Councils

Power Sharing

Supplementary Question 1

Please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following proposals.

-By Ethnicity

		Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Neither Agree nor Disagree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Total %
The powers of regional governments should be increased, even if those of the government at the center have to be decreased.	Sinhala	13.4	36.8	16.6	31.2	2.0	100.0
	Tamil	39.1	49.7	7.5	1.7	2.0	100.0
	Muslim	33.3	46.0	16.4	3.9	0.5	100.0
The powers of some regional governments may need to be increased more than others	Sinhala	0.8	14.2	17.4	58.7	8.9	100.0
	Tamil	35.2	37.9	11.9	7.7	7.3	100.0
	Muslim	19.4	44.8	25.9	8.9	1.0	100.0

-By District

		Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Neither Agree nor Disagree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Total %
The powers of regional governments should be increased, even if those of the government at the center have to be decreased.	Batticaloa	38.9	48.3	8.1	2.2	2.4	100.0
	Ampara	30.0	41.4	15.1	12.6	0.8	100.0
	Trincomalee	24.3	49.0	14.2	11.5	1.0	100.0
The powers of some regional governments may need to be increased more than others	Batticaloa	30.3	36.8	13.9	10.7	8.2	100.0
	Ampara	17.1	33.6	21.7	24.3	3.3	100.0
	Trincomalee	19.7	35.8	16.8	21.9	5.8	100.0

13th Amendment

Q23. What is the basic objective of the 13th Amendment?

-By Ethnicity

	Sinhala %	Tamil %	Muslim %
Strengthen the power of the President against Parliament	1.7	3.1	2.0
Devolve more powers to the provinces	11.2	15.1	12.8
Make Sinhala an official language of Sri Lanka	0.9	1.8	0.9
Increase the centralization of power in Sri Lanka	7.5	2.6	1.8
Don't know/Not sure	77.0	71.7	79.4
Refuse to answer	1.7	5.6	3.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

-By District

	Batticaloa %	Ampara %	Trincomalee %
Strengthen the power of the President against Parliament	2.7	1.1	3.8
Devolve more powers to the provinces	17.1	9.7	14.6
Make Sinhala an official language of Sri Lanka	2.6	0.4	1.0
Increase the centralization of power in Sri Lanka	3.8	3.0	4.4
Don't know/Not sure	68.7	83.0	72.8
Refuse to answer	5.0	2.7	3.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Eastern Provincial Council

Attitudes towards Election & Parties

Q3. Did you vote in the Provincial Council Elections held in May 2008?

-By Ethnicity

	Sinhala %	Tamil %	Muslim %
Yes	82.2	84.5	86.1
No	17.1	13.1	13.6
No Response	0.7	2.4	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

-By District

	Batticaloa %	Ampara %	Trincomalee %
Yes	84.6	85.4	83.0
No	13.3	13.6	16.6
No Response	2.1	1.1	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q4. If yes, which party did you vote for?

-By Ethnicity

	Sinhala %	Tamil %	Muslim %
UPFA	84.3	92.9	71.0
UNF	15.7	3.6	24.2
Other	0.0	3.5	4.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

-By District

	Batticaloa %	Ampara %	Trincomalee %
UPFA	90.1	78.8	75.8
UNF	7.5	17.5	22.8
Other	2.4	3.7	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q5. If no, please state the reason?

-By Ethnicity	Sinhala %	Tamil %	Muslim %
Wasn't able	32.2	29.9	28.1
Wasn't interested	11.1	15.0	5.6
Was not registered	22.2	14.0	24.7
Was too young	27.8	27.1	27.0
Was prevented	1.1	0.9	1.1
Other	5.6	13.1	13.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

-By District	Batticaloa %	Ampara %	Trincomalee %
Wasn't able	31.5	26.1	33.0
Wasn't interested	11.2	6.3	15.9
Was not registered	12.4	17.1	31.8
Was too young	25.8	40.5	12.5
Was prevented	0.0	0.9	2.3
Other	19.1	9.0	4.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q6. When selecting your candidate what were the three most important factors that mattered to you?
(Multiple Responses)

-By Ethnicity	Factors	Sinhala %	Tamil %	Muslim %
	The candidate represents my party	48.2	14.9	32.1
	The candidate represents the party that my family is loyal to	26.6	14.3	32.1
	Because my friends support him/her	14.3	12.0	7.5
	His ability to preserve the culture of our society	29.5	40.4	67.4
	His ability to protect my religion	9.6	22.0	43.5
	The candidate represents my caste	0.8	14.4	10.3
	There is no particular reason	26.0	35.7	15.6
	Candidate who serve the public well	21.9	10.6	14.2
	Candidate who develop the country	5.7	1.7	1.5
	Other	10.9	6.2	6.0

-By District	Factors	Batticaloa %	Ampara %	Trincomalee %
	The candidate represents my party	14.6	40.8	32.6
	The candidate represents the party that my family is loyal to	21.4	26.2	23.7
	Because my friends support him/her	13.5	11.6	7.7
	His ability to preserve the culture of our society	48.2	42.4	50.6
	His ability to protect my religion	26.5	23.1	28.5
	The candidate represents my caste	15.5	8.9	2.4
	There is no particular reason	26.3	18.9	35.4
	Candidate who serve the public well	10.4	18.8	14.4
	Candidate who develop the country	3.3	3.4	1.4
	Other	8.2	8.4	5.9

Q7. Do you believe that the Eastern Province Election was free & fair?		Sinhala %	Tamil %	Muslim %
-By Ethnicity	Was completely free and fair	60.7	35.3	40.2
	Was somewhat free and fair	30.0	50.2	54.2
	Was not free and fair	9.3	14.6	5.6
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

-By District		Batticaloa %	Ampara %	Trincomalee %
	Was completely free and fair	31.4	46.2	57.0
	Was somewhat free and fair	53.4	47.0	33.6
	Was not free and fair	15.2	6.8	9.4
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q8. Will you vote in the upcoming Parliamentary/Presidential Elections?		Sinhala %	Tamil %	Muslim %
-By Ethnicity	Yes	94.9	92.7	94.4
	No	2.9	2.9	4.7
	Refuse to answer	2.2	4.4	0.9
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

-By District		Batticaloa %	Ampara %	Trincomalee %
	Yes	93.8	94.4	93.2
	No	2.8	3.0	5.1
	Refuse to answer	3.4	2.6	1.6
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q9. If yes, have you decided for which political party you will vote for in election?

-By Ethnicity

	Sinhala %	Tamil %	Muslim %
Yes	70.1	24.0	65.6
No	28.0	61.6	30.5
Refuse to answer	1.9	14.4	3.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

-By District

	Batticaloa %	Ampara %	Trincomalee %
Yes	26.9	59.8	66.3
No	59.6	36.0	28.6
Refuse to answer	13.5	4.2	5.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q10. If yes, which party would you cast your vote for?

-By Ethnicity

	Sinhala %	Tamil %	Muslim %
SLFP	62.8	4.9	45.5
UNP	6.7	2.0	3.2
JVP	0.2	0.0	0.0
SLMC	0.0	0.2	6.1
TMVP	0.0	2.0	0.0
TNA	0.0	1.8	0.0
TULF	0.0	0.6	0.0
Not decided	30.4	88.6	45.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

-By District

	Batticaloa %	Ampara %	Trincomalee %
SLFP	11.2	46.2	52.3
UNP	1.8	4.3	5.7
JVP	0.0	0.0	0.3
SLMC	1.1	2.0	2.8
TMVP	1.5	0.2	0.5
TNA	0.9	0.5	0.5
TULF	0.7	0.0	0.0
Not decided	82.8	46.8	37.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q14. What impact has the Provincial Council & the Chief Minister had on the Eastern Province?

-By Ethnicity	Sinhala %	Tamil %	Muslim %
Has greatly helped the Eastern Province secure development	8.1	26.2	12.9
Has been somewhat useful in at least highlighting concern	18.2	35.1	18.0
Has had not had any positive or negative impact	23.5	17.5	19.6
Has been harmful for the Eastern people	8.6	1.9	1.6
Don't know/Not sure	40.3	17.1	44.8
Refuse to answer	1.3	2.3	3.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

-By District	Batticaloa %	Ampara %	Trincomalee %
Has greatly helped the Eastern Province secure development	27.9	12.3	10.4
Has been somewhat useful in at least highlighting concern	32.9	19.1	22.7
Has had not had any positive or negative impact	19.1	21.6	17.8
Has been harmful for the Eastern people	2.1	4.6	4.0
Don't know/Not sure	15.7	40.5	41.9
Refuse to answer	2.4	1.9	3.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q15. There have been reports that the Chief Minister is finding it difficult to exercise the full powers of his office. Why do you think this is so?

-By Ethnicity	Sinhala %	Tamil %	Muslim %
He lacks experience and good advisors	13.7	7.6	10.3
The central government is obstructing him in granting him	5.2	29.6	5.8
A mix of both 1 & 2	12.1	18.8	16.8
Don't know/Not sure	69.0	44.1	67.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

-By District	Batticaloa %	Ampara %	Trincomalee %
He lacks experience and good advisors	11.3	6.2	15.1
The central government is obstructing him in granting him	23.7	8.5	12.8
A mix of both 1 & 2	21.1	12.8	15.9
Don't know/Not sure	44.0	72.4	56.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Development

Q30. Please list all the issues given below according to the importance you assign to them?

-By Ethnicity

CATEGORIES		Very Important %	Somewhat Important %	Least Important %	Total %
Better Electricity Service	Sinhala	46.9	12.1	41.0	100.0
	Tamil	92.1	4.8	3.0	100.0
	Muslim	76.2	18.1	5.8	100.0
Personal Security / Reduced Crime	Sinhala	29.4	17.1	53.4	100.0
	Tamil	90.2	5.6	4.2	100.0
	Muslim	71.1	21.5	7.4	100.0
Clean Water	Sinhala	65.9	13.0	21.1	100.0
	Tamil	90.7	4.9	4.3	100.0
	Muslim	71.4	17.8	10.8	100.0
Irrigation water	Sinhala	54.5	16.2	29.3	100.0
	Tamil	78.6	11.6	9.8	100.0
	Muslim	59.9	30.5	9.6	100.0
Land issues	Sinhala	55.1	16.4	28.4	100.0
	Tamil	73.7	16.1	10.2	100.0
	Muslim	50.6	37.6	11.8	100.0
Human Rights Protection	Sinhala	29.0	18.7	52.2	100.0
	Tamil	84.1	9.3	6.6	100.0
	Muslim	61.2	31.8	7.1	100.0
Reducing Ethnic tensions	Sinhala	24.0	18.1	57.9	100.0
	Tamil	78.2	13.8	8.0	100.0
	Muslim	61.3	30.2	8.4	100.0
Improving Education	Sinhala	57.6	17.8	24.6	100.0
	Tamil	94.3	4.5	1.2	100.0
	Muslim	72.6	23.4	4.0	100.0
Improving Roads and Transportation	Sinhala	71.6	14.7	13.6	100.0
	Tamil	95.8	3.2	1.0	100.0
	Muslim	79.3	17.2	3.5	100.0
Improving Health Care	Sinhala	57.9	19.1	23.0	100.0
	Tamil	95.6	3.2	1.3	100.0
	Muslim	75.3	19.9	4.8	100.0
More jobs	Sinhala	73.1	12.4	14.6	100.0
	Tamil	89.1	8.5	2.4	100.0
	Muslim	68.2	24.4	7.4	100.0
Housing	Sinhala	50.5	25.6	23.9	100.0
	Tamil	88.6	8.6	2.8	100.0
	Muslim	62.1	31.3	6.6	100.0
Access to fishing water	Sinhala	11.6	15.7	72.7	100.0
	Tamil	75.3	17.1	7.6	100.0
	Muslim	43.1	36.6	20.4	100.0
Access to Paddy Land	Sinhala	19.2	18.9	61.9	100.0
	Tamil	75.6	16.5	7.9	100.0
	Muslim	48.3	39.0	12.8	100.0
Access to loans	Sinhala	38.7	21.6	39.7	100.0
	Tamil	79.9	14.5	5.6	100.0
	Muslim	53.5	33.1	13.4	100.0
Improved access to sell products	Sinhala	45.3	14.4	40.3	100.0
	Tamil	77.9	15.1	7.0	100.0
	Muslim	46.6	41.1	12.4	100.0
Equipment to carry out livelihood activities e.g. fertilizer, out board motors	Sinhala	41.7	18.1	40.2	100.0
	Tamil	79.8	13.7	6.5	100.0
	Muslim	48.9	37.8	13.4	100.0

-By District	CATEGORIES	Very Important %	Somewhat Important %	Least Important %	Total %
Better Electricity Service	Batticaloa	93.5	4.9	1.6	100.0
	Ampara	63.1	13.7	23.1	100.0
	Trincomalee	69.0	15.4	15.6	100.0
Personal Security / Reduced Crime	Batticaloa	90.5	6.2	3.3	100.0
	Ampara	50.8	17.1	32.0	100.0
	Trincomalee	65.0	19.3	15.7	100.0
Clean Water	Batticaloa	93.2	3.1	3.7	100.0
	Ampara	73.5	12.9	13.5	100.0
	Trincomalee	63.8	19.7	16.5	100.0
Irrigation water	Batticaloa	79.6	12.2	8.2	100.0
	Ampara	57.7	21.9	20.4	100.0
	Trincomalee	60.4	24.6	14.9	100.0
Land issues	Batticaloa	76.1	16.5	7.4	100.0
	Ampara	50.1	27.6	22.3	100.0
	Trincomalee	58.8	26.1	15.1	100.0
Human Rights Protection	Batticaloa	85.5	9.2	5.3	100.0
	Ampara	45.5	23.2	31.3	100.0
	Trincomalee	56.5	27.1	16.4	100.0
Reducing Ethnic tensions	Batticaloa	81.8	11.9	6.3	100.0
	Ampara	41.6	23.5	34.9	100.0
	Trincomalee	53.8	27.0	19.1	100.0
Improving Education	Batticaloa	96.4	3.0	0.6	100.0
	Ampara	65.0	17.3	17.7	100.0
	Trincomalee	71.2	24.9	3.9	100.0
Improving Roads and Transportation	Batticaloa	95.4	3.3	1.3	100.0
	Ampara	79.0	12.2	8.7	100.0
	Trincomalee	75.9	19.5	4.6	100.0
Improving Health Care	Batticaloa	96.0	2.7	1.3	100.0
	Ampara	67.8	17.4	14.8	100.0
	Trincomalee	72.9	20.1	6.9	100.0
More jobs	Batticaloa	90.1	8.3	1.7	100.0
	Ampara	74.9	14.6	10.5	100.0
	Trincomalee	66.2	23.7	10.1	100.0
Housing	Batticaloa	92.0	5.7	2.3	100.0
	Ampara	58.5	25.4	16.2	100.0
	Trincomalee	57.3	33.0	9.7	100.0
Access to fishing water	Batticaloa	77.7	15.6	6.7	100.0
	Ampara	31.1	25.7	43.3	100.0
	Trincomalee	34.5	30.2	35.3	100.0
Access to Paddy Land	Batticaloa	75.9	16.8	7.3	100.0
	Ampara	33.5	26.7	39.8	100.0
	Trincomalee	47.9	31.6	20.4	100.0
Access to loans	Batticaloa	80.1	15.7	4.1	100.0
	Ampara	51.1	22.5	26.4	100.0
	Trincomalee	48.0	32.3	19.7	100.0
Improved access to sell products	Batticaloa	78.9	15.1	5.9	100.0
	Ampara	41.3	27.7	30.9	100.0
	Trincomalee	59.2	28.6	12.2	100.0
Equipment to carry out livelihood activities e.g. fertilizer, out board motors	Batticaloa	78.3	15.4	6.2	100.0
	Ampara	40.7	28.3	31.0	100.0
	Trincomalee	63.7	25.2	11.1	100.0

Q35. In your opinion do you think the following issues have improved over the last year?

-By Ethnicity

		Improved %	Neither improved nor deteriorated %	Deteriorated %	Total %
Access to Better Electricity Service	Sinhala	48.9	46.6	4.5	100.0
	Tamil	60.9	36.8	2.4	100.0
	Muslim	34.8	64.0	1.2	100.0
	Sinhala	28.6	58.4	13.0	100.0
	Tamil	45.2	45.0	9.8	100.0
	Muslim	33.0	59.3	7.7	100.0
	Sinhala	41.3	54.8	3.9	100.0
	Tamil	67.6	26.2	6.3	100.0
	Muslim	43.1	52.3	4.6	100.0
	Sinhala	50.7	39.8	9.5	100.0
	Tamil	67.0	22.7	10.3	100.0
	Muslim	49.1	36.9	14.0	100.0
Access to Improving Health Care	Sinhala	40.5	56.3	3.2	100.0
	Tamil	53.9	37.4	8.7	100.0
	Muslim	37.7	58.7	3.6	100.0

-By District

		Improved %	Neither improved nor deteriorated %	Deteriorated %	Total %
Access to Better Electricity Service	Batticaloa	58.7	38.4	2.9	100.0
	Ampara	44.8	52.9	2.3	100.0
	Trincomalee	42.1	55.4	2.5	100.0
Access to Clean Water	Batticaloa	44.5	45.9	9.6	100.0
	Ampara	32.2	54.3	13.5	100.0
	Trincomalee	33.6	61.9	4.5	100.0
Access to Improving Education	Batticaloa	76.6	20.8	2.6	100.0
	Ampara	43.7	52.1	4.2	100.0
	Trincomalee	35.1	55.5	9.3	100.0
Access to Improving Roads and Transportation	Batticaloa	71.7	23.3	5.0	100.0
	Ampara	47.7	40.0	12.3	100.0
	Trincomalee	50.9	31.3	17.7	100.0
Access to Improving Health Care	Batticaloa	57.7	38.3	4.0	100.0
	Ampara	40.4	56.5	3.1	100.0
	Trincomalee	35.8	53.3	10.9	100.0

Negenahira Navodaya

Q36. Are you aware of the 'Negenahira Navodaya' Development Program launched by the government of Sri Lanka?

-By Ethnicity

	Sinhala %	Tamil %	Muslim %
Yes	77.5	52.2	51.7
No	22.5	47.8	48.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

-By District

	Batticaloa %	Ampara %	Trincomalee %
Yes	50.3	61.1	61.1
No	49.7	38.9	38.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q37. If yes, have you benefited from these programs?

-By Ethnicity

	Sinhala %	Tamil %	Muslim %
Yes	14.6	26.9	19.3
No	85.4	73.1	80.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

-By District

	Batticaloa %	Ampara %	Trincomalee %
Yes	21.1	15.3	26.9
No	78.9	84.7	73.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q39. Have you been consulted by the Government/Provincial Councils/Local Authorities in terms of the development in the area?

-By Ethnicity

	Sinhala %	Tamil %	Muslim %
Yes	6.2	14.8	6.4
No	93.8	85.2	93.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

-By District

	Batticaloa %	Ampara %	Trincomalee %
Yes	12.7	7.9	8.9
No	87.3	92.1	91.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Materially Affected By the War

Q31. Have you been materially affected by the war?

-By Ethnicity

	Sinhala %	Tamil %	Muslim %
Yes, House destroyed/ damaged	19.6	50.6	20.3
Yes, Lost livelihood equipment	1.5	13.1	14.7
No	78.9	36.3	65.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

-By District

	Batticaloa %	Ampara %	Trincomalee %
Yes, House destroyed/ damaged	42.0	14.8	45.6
Yes, Lost livelihood equipment	19.6	5.8	6.4
No	38.4	79.4	48.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Received Any Compensation/ Assistant for the Damage

Q32. If yes, did you receive any Compensation for the damage?

-By Ethnicity

	Sinhala %	Tamil %	Muslim %
Yes	16.4	30.2	12.3
No	83.6	69.8	87.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

-By District

	Batticaloa %	Ampara %	Trincomalee %
Yes	20.8	19.4	29.2
No	79.2	80.6	70.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q40. Of the following institutions, who has given you the compensation/ development assistance? (Multiple Answers Possible)

-By Ethnicity

	Sinhala %	Tamil %	Muslim %
The Government	63.6	32.5	52.5
The Provincial Council	3.1	2.9	3.7
Local Government institutions	6.2	7.6	2.0
NGOs	20.2	54.9	37.0
Other	7.0	2.1	4.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

By District

	Batticaloa %	Ampara %	Trincomalee %
The Government	42.2	47.1	39.8
The Provincial Council	5.9	2.7	0.6
Local Government institutions	3.3	13.5	0.6
NGOs	45.5	30.3	57.4
Other	3.1	6.3	1.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Land Issues

Q42. On land issues, who would members of your community, go to?

-By Ethnicity

	Sinhala %	Tamil %	Muslim %
Mahaweli land Agent	2.8	0.9	0.4
Courts	3.4	3.3	11.2
Police	9.5	43.6	52.7
Army	0.2	0.4	0.1
Local politicians	1.3	0.7	4.5
GA and his staff	72.5	44.6	24.3
Local armed groups	0.0	0.5	0.0
Local NGOs	0.2	0.3	0.3
International Agencies or the UN	0.0	0.1	0.0
Religious leaders	0.2	0.7	3.3
Don't know/ Not sure	9.8	4.9	3.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

-By District

	Batticaloa %	Ampara %	Trincomalee %
Mahaweli land Agent	1.2	2.0	0.2
Courts	6.1	6.7	5.2
Police	45.7	29.3	40.3
Army	0.2	0.2	0.4
Local politicians	3.7	1.5	1.2
GA and his staff	35.8	52.3	45.5
Local armed groups	0.5	0.0	0.2
Local NGOs	0.6	0.1	0.0
International Agencies or the UN	0.0	0.0	0.2
Religious leaders	1.8	0.6	2.1
Don't know/ Not sure	4.4	7.1	4.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Human Rights

Q43. Please state to what extent the human rights violations have improved in the East since the end of the war in May 2009?

-By Ethnicity

	Sinhala %	Tamil %	Muslim %
Greatly improved	42.4	7.6	30.3
Somewhat improved	40.2	78.7	51.7
No change	14.5	12.4	6.4
Somewhat deteriorated	1.9	0.6	6.6
Greatly deteriorated	1.0	0.6	5.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

-By District

	Batticaloa %	Ampara %	Trincomalee %
Greatly improved	12.4	32.9	21.9
Somewhat improved	75.3	43.9	67.0
No change	10.7	11.0	9.3
Somewhat deteriorated	1.2	6.8	0.6
Greatly deteriorated	0.3	5.4	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Personal Security

Q35-2+Q48

In your opinion how has your sense of personal security changed?

-By Ethnicity

		Sinhala %	Tamil %	Muslim %
Personal Security since May 2009	Improved	94.3	90.0	95.3
	No change	5.7	9.2	4.0
	Deteriorated	0.0	0.8	0.7
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Personal Security from December 2008 - December 2009	Improved	78.3	60.0	49.8
	No Change	21.0	36.2	48.9
	Deteriorated	0.7	3.8	1.4
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

-By District

		Batticaloa %	Ampara %	Trincomalee %
Personal Security since May 2009	Improved	89.8	94.7	94.1
	No change	8.8	5.2	5.7
	Deteriorated	1.4	0.1	0.2
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Personal Security from December 2008 - December 2009	Improved	67.3	59.2	57.8
	No Change	29.2	40.0	39.8
	Deteriorated	3.5	0.9	2.3
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Freedom of Movement

Q47. To what extent have the following situations improved in terms of the freedom of movement over the last two years?			Greatly improved %	Somewhat improved %	No change %	Somewhat deteriorated %	Greatly deteriorated %	Total %
-By Ethnicity	Moving in and out of the Eastern province	Sinhala	86.7	11.9	1.5	0.0	0.0	100.0
		Tamil	28.5	67.4	3.0	0.5	0.5	100.0
		Muslim	49.5	49.5	1.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
	Day to day movement within you community	Sinhala	78.3	7.5	14.2	0.0	0.0	100.0
		Tamil	38.4	52.3	8.2	0.3	0.9	100.0
		Muslim	40.9	52.3	6.2	0.3	0.3	100.0
	Engaging in livelihood activities	Sinhala	79.3	7.3	13.5	0.0	0.0	100.0
		Tamil	25.5	60.0	11.3	1.8	1.4	100.0
		Muslim	31.2	40.8	26.4	1.2	0.4	100.0

-By District			Greatly improved %	Somewhat improved %	No change %	Somewhat deteriorated %	Greatly deteriorated %	Total %
	Moving in and out of the Eastern province	Batticaloa	38.4	57.1	3.3	0.5	0.8	100.0
		Ampara	65.3	33.7	0.8	0.2	0.0	100.0
		Trincomalee	47.6	50.6	1.8	0.0	0.0	100.0
	Day to day movement within you community	Batticaloa	46.6	45.3	6.3	0.6	1.2	100.0
		Ampara	55.6	32.9	11.5	0.0	0.0	100.0
		Trincomalee	45.9	44.8	8.7	0.4	0.2	100.0
	Engaging in livelihood activities	Batticaloa	29.7	50.2	16.2	2.0	1.8	100.0
		Ampara	50.4	31.5	17.8	0.2	0.1	100.0
		Trincomalee	44.5	37.1	16.8	1.3	0.4	100.0

Access to Human Rights Protection and Reducing Ethnic Tension

Q35_4, Q35_5.

Do you think the following issues have improved over the last year?

-By Ethnicity

		Sinhala %	Tamil %	Muslim %
Access to Human Rights Protection	Improved	59.6	54.1	39.3
	Neither improved nor deteriorated	37.5	40.4	58.5
	Deteriorated	2.9	5.5	2.2
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Reducing Ethnic tensions	Improved	64.3	54.3	45.8
	Neither improved nor deteriorated	34.5	41.7	51.6
	Deteriorated	1.3	4.0	2.6
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

-By District

		Batticaloa %	Ampara %	Trincomalee %
Access to Human Rights Protection	Improved	54.7	46.1	50.2
	Neither improved nor deteriorated	39.6	52.6	44.9
	Deteriorated	5.7	1.4	4.9
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0
Reducing Ethnic tensions	Improved	61.9	50.6	49.8
	Neither improved nor deteriorated	33.3	48.5	46.9
	Deteriorated	4.7	1.0	3.3
	Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q45. Faced with human rights abuses, who would members of your community go to?

(Ranking Question)

-By Ethnicity

	Sinhala %	Tamil %	Muslim %
Police	85.4	73.9	85.8
Local Politicians	17.3	3.1	40.2
Local Armed Groups	0.8	3.8	2.7
Army	26.6	4.2	7.6
Local NGOs	3.9	21.0	7.9
International Committee for Red Cross (ICRC)	3.1	50.8	16.3
UN or International Agencies	2.7	19.6	11.6

-By District

	Batticaloa %	Ampara %	Trincomalee %
Police	76.9	85.7	79.0
Local Politicians	18.8	20.5	19.3
Local Armed Groups	3.6	2.7	1.2
Army	5.2	11.4	18.7
Local NGOs	20.3	8.0	7.5
International Committee for Red Cross (ICRC)	38.7	13.5	30.4
UN or International Agencies	15.7	9.0	13.3

Action Taken By Institutions

Q46. How satisfied are you with the action taken by the following institutions to protect human rights in the Eastern Province?

-By Ethnicity

		Very Satisfied %	Somewhat Satisfied %	Very Dissatisfied %	Total %
Central Government	Sinhala	47.8	45.5	6.7	100.0
	Tamil	5.7	77.6	16.7	100.0
	Muslim	21.3	72.5	6.2	100.0
Chief Minister of the Province	Sinhala	5.2	59.9	35.0	100.0
	Tamil	10.0	76.9	13.1	100.0
	Muslim	13.5	70.1	16.4	100.0
Local human rights Organizations	Sinhala	5.6	68.7	25.7	100.0
	Tamil	20.8	72.0	7.2	100.0
	Muslim	16.3	76.7	7.0	100.0
International human rights Organizations	Sinhala	3.7	68.9	27.4	100.0
	Tamil	26.4	68.3	5.3	100.0
	Muslim	17.3	74.7	8.0	100.0
The international Community	Sinhala	5.4	61.6	33.0	100.0
	Tamil	16.6	73.3	10.1	100.0
	Muslim	14.6	77.4	8.0	100.0
Political parties	Sinhala	4.1	57.6	38.3	100.0
	Tamil	1.9	48.5	49.6	100.0
	Muslim	17.6	66.0	16.4	100.0
Media	Sinhala	23.1	70.0	6.9	100.0
	Tamil	24.4	71.0	4.6	100.0
	Muslim	29.7	66.3	4.0	100.0
Religious leaders	Sinhala	33.7	61.8	4.5	100.0
	Tamil	18.1	63.3	18.7	100.0
	Muslim	36.7	59.9	3.4	100.0
Police	Sinhala	31.8	56.2	12.1	100.0
	Tamil	17.2	72.2	10.5	100.0
	Muslim	30.2	63.8	5.9	100.0

-By District		Very Satisfied %	Somewhat Satisfied %	Very Dissatisfied %	Total %
Central Government	Batticaloa	9.4	75.7	15.0	100.0
	Ampara	25.7	64.5	9.8	100.0
	Trincomalee	32.1	62.1	5.8	100.0
Chief Minister of the Province	Batticaloa	9.9	76.6	13.5	100.0
	Ampara	10.1	63.5	26.4	100.0
	Trincomalee	10.6	74.0	15.3	100.0
Local human rights Organizations	Batticaloa	14.5	78.6	6.9	100.0
	Ampara	20.1	69.6	10.3	100.0
	Trincomalee	14.8	70.8	14.5	100.0
International human rights Organizations	Batticaloa	19.7	72.2	8.1	100.0
	Ampara	21.5	68.0	10.5	100.0
	Trincomalee	17.5	72.3	10.3	100.0
The international Community	Batticaloa	12.8	76.5	10.6	100.0
	Ampara	15.5	70.3	14.2	100.0
	Trincomalee	14.4	72.3	13.3	100.0
Political parties	Batticaloa	4.8	62.3	33.0	100.0
	Ampara	14.7	49.4	35.9	100.0
	Trincomalee	4.6	61.8	33.7	100.0
Media	Batticaloa	27.6	68.5	3.9	100.0
	Ampara	28.1	67.4	4.5	100.0
	Trincomalee	21.6	71.6	6.7	100.0
Religious leaders	Batticaloa	19.5	71.1	9.3	100.0
	Ampara	37.7	54.6	7.7	100.0
	Trincomalee	26.1	59.6	14.3	100.0
Police	Batticaloa	15.1	74.8	10.1	100.0
	Ampara	32.0	58.4	9.5	100.0
	Trincomalee	27.7	64.2	8.2	100.0

Reconciliation & Peace Building

Q49. Who do you think should take up the task of community relations and peace building?

-By Ethnicity

	Sinhala %	Tamil %	Muslim %
Government	1.8	0.8	1.7
Politicians	47.2	26.0	40.2
Religious leaders	15.6	7.1	21.7
Civil society	34.9	46.2	35.2
International actors	0.5	20.0	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

-By District

	Batticaloa %	Ampara %	Trincomalee %
Government	0.7	2.5	0.4
Politicians	41.8	37.8	27.9
Religious leaders	12.7	16.7	13.8
Civil society	27.7	39.2	54.0
International actors	17.2	3.8	3.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Q50. Main Obstacles to Reconciliation
(Ranking Question)

-By Ethnicity

	Sinhala %	Tamil %	Muslim %
Insecurity	35.9	48.4	48.6
Distrust between communities	61.3	61.8	64.2
Distrust between politicians	49.7	52.4	51.4
Lack of development	29.6	30.9	26.5

-By District

	Batticaloa %	Ampara %	Trincomalee %
Insecurity	47.8	41.7	46.7
Distrust between communities	62.5	62.2	63.2
Distrust between politicians	53.7	52.7	46.6
Lack of development	28.0	33.6	23.0

Q51. In your opinion, how do you think reconciliation in the east can be addressed?

-By Ethnicity

	Sinhala %	Tamil %	Muslim %
It will automatically happen	18.3	1.8	6.7
It will require equal development for all the communities	18.3	50.2	25.5
It will require political involvement by the main political actors	6.6	2.6	3.9
It will require the involvement of religious leaders	4.3	3.5	13.8
Require the involvement of all actors political, religious and other civil society actors	52.6	41.9	50.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

-By District

	Batticaloa %	Ampara %	Trincomalee %
It will automatically happen	3.7	11.4	8.9
It will require equal development for all the communities	43.0	27.6	28.0
It will require political involvement by the main political actors	4.1	4.3	4.2
It will require the involvement of religious leaders	6.4	9.4	4.2
Require the involvement of all actors political, religious and other civil society actors	42.8	47.4	54.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Minorities

Supplementary Question 2

Now I will read out some statements on ethnic relations. Please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements

-By Ethnicity

		Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Neither Agree nor Disagree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Total %
The Govt./state should treat minorities in the same way as it treats the majority	Sinhala	33.3	61.5	2.5	2.5	0.2	100.0
	Tamil	66.5	31.1	1.3	0.5	0.5	100.0
	Muslim	69.3	25.6	4.4	0.5	0.2	100.0
Giving equal treatment is not enough, the government should give special treatment to minorities	Sinhala	0.7	12.9	15.4	52.3	18.7	100.0
	Tamil	41.6	35.3	8.0	6.6	8.5	100.0
	Muslim	31.0	32.0	24.5	11.6	1.0	100.0
Even if it is not liked by the majority, the govt./state must protect the interest of the minorities	Sinhala	17.8	57.1	15.4	9.2	0.5	100.0
	Tamil	60.4	29.0	8.2	2.0	0.4	100.0
	Muslim	42.7	39.5	15.8	1.9	0.2	100.0
Minorities should adopt the ways of the majority community	Sinhala	9.4	43.9	18.2	20.8	7.8	100.0
	Tamil	12.6	15.7	14.0	29.6	27.9	100.0
	Muslim	6.9	17.1	20.6	38.3	17.1	100.0

-By District

		Strongly Agree %	Agree %	Neither Agree nor Disagree %	Disagree %	Strongly Disagree %	Total %
The Govt./state should treat minorities in the same way as it treats the majority	Batticaloa	70.9	25.6	1.9	1.0	0.6	100.0
	Ampara	57.1	38.7	3.3	0.8	0.1	100.0
	Trincomalee	48.1	47.8	2.5	1.4	0.2	100.0
Giving equal treatment is not enough, the government should give special treatment to minorities	Batticaloa	42.5	29.4	12.8	8.0	7.3	100.0
	Ampara	18.9	25.6	21.2	24.4	9.9	100.0
	Trincomalee	23.5	33.4	8.8	26.5	7.8	100.0
Even if it is not liked by the majority, the govt./state must protect the interest of the minorities	Batticaloa	61.0	26.3	10.2	2.1	0.3	100.0
	Ampara	34.5	43.8	16.3	5.1	0.3	100.0
	Trincomalee	37.8	49.5	8.9	3.3	0.5	100.0
Minorities should adopt the ways of the majority community	Batticaloa	10.3	13.1	14.6	27.9	34.1	100.0
	Ampara	9.4	30.1	19.8	32.3	8.5	100.0
	Trincomalee	11.1	27.8	16.4	28.8	15.9	100.0

KNOWLEDGE, ATTITUDES AND PERCEPTIONS SURVEY IN THE EASTERN PROVINCE

NOVEMBER 2009

CONDUCTED BY SOCIAL INDICATOR

105, FIFTH LANE, COLOMBO 03, TP: 2370473

SERIAL NO:

HOUSEHOLD NO:

INTERVIEWER:

NAME OF INTERVIEWER:

I here by certify that all information provided here is true and accurate and has been obtained from the respondent as instructed.

Signature of Interviewer

INTERVIEWER: ALL STATEMENTS IN BOLD LETTERING ARE INSTRUCTIONS FOR YOU AND SHOULD NOT BE READ OUT TO THE RESPONDENT.

Good morning /afternoon/ evening. My name is _____ and I represent Social Indicator, a research organisation that conducts independent research on social issues. We are currently conducting a knowledge, attitudes and perceptions survey in the Eastern Province. We would appreciate it if you could spend some of your valuable time to answer a few questions for us.

I hereby assure you that your views expressed will be treated with utmost confidentiality. Your views will be combined with those of others so that no one will be able to identify who you are or your views on any issue.

SUPERVISOR:

NAME OF SUPERVISOR:

DATE OF BACK-CHECKING:

STATUS 1. VALID
 2. INVALID
 3. SUSPICIOUS

IF **INVALID**, STATE REASONS:

IF **SUSPICIOUS**, STATE REASONS:

SIGNATURE OF SUPERVISOR

KISH GRID

- A. Can you please tell me the number of people living in this household who are between the **ages of 18 to 65 years?**

USE THE KISH GRID TO SELECT YOUR RESPONDENT

TOTAL NUMBER OF PEOPLE	HOUSEHOLD NO									
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	1
3	3	3	2	2	1	1	3	3	1	2
4	4	1	3	4	3	1	2	2	1	2
5	1	1	5	3	2	2	4	5	4	1
6	6	4	1	5	4	1	2	6	3	5
7	5	2	3	1	7	7	3	2	6	4
8	2	5	4	1	1	3	5	4	8	7
9	3	4	6	7	5	8	1	9	2	5
10	7	10	8	3	2	4	1	6	1	5

● MARK THE NUMBER OF THE CHOSEN PERSON ON THE GRID

- a. Can I speak to _____ (the person chosen through the Kish Grid) please?

Yes

No –

- Respondent is not willing to give interview (**MOVE TO NEXT HOUSEHOLD**)
- Respondent is not available

IF THE CHOSEN RESPONDENT IS NOT AVAILABLE SET AN APPOINTMENT TO CONDUCT THE INTERVIEW LATER.

1. I will read out a list of issues that may be important to your local community. Please rank three issues according to your order of importance. (Please Rotate). [READ ANSWERS]

Issues	Rank
1. Personal Security	
2. Human Rights Protection	
3. Reducing Ethnic Tension	
4. Land Issues	
5. Improving Education	
6. Improving Roads and Transportation	
7. Improving Healthcare	
8. Clean Water	
9. Irrigation Water	
10. Housing	
11. Better Electricity Service	
12. Job Opportunities	
13. Access to fishing water	
14. Access to agricultural land	
15. Access to loans	
16. Improved access to sell products	
17. Other (specify) _____	

2. Please state to what extent the following conditions have changed in the in Eastern Province over the last two years.

Conditions	Greatly improved	Somewhat improved	No Change	Somewhat Deteriorated	Greatly Deteriorated	Don't know/Not sure	No response
1. Development	1	2	3	4	5	98	99
2. Personal Security	1	2	3	4	5	98	99
3. Livelihoods	1	2	3	4	5	98	99

3. Did you vote in the Provincial Council Elections held in May 2008?

1. Yes
2. No (GO TO Q5)
3. No Response (GO TO Q5)

4. If yes, which party did you vote for?

1. UPFA –United People's Freedom Alliance (with TMVP)
2. UNF – United National Front (with SLMC)
3. NMC – National Muslim Congress
4. EPDP-Eelam People's Democratic Front
5. Other _____
6. Don't know/Not Sure
7. Refuse to answer

5. If no, please state the reason?
1. Wasn't able (sick, away from home)
 2. Wasn't interested
 3. Was not registered
 4. Was too young
 5. Was prevented
 6. Other.....
 7. Don't know/ Not sure
 8. Refuse to answer
6. When selecting your candidate what were the three most important factors that mattered to you?
1. The candidate represents my party
 2. The candidate represents the party that my family is loyal to
 3. Because my friends support him/her
 4. His ability to preserve the culture of our society
 5. His ability to protect my religion
 6. The candidate represents my caste
 7. There is no particular reason
 8. Other.....
 9. Don't know/Not sure
 10. Refuse to answer
7. Do you believe that the Eastern Province elections were free and fair?
1. Was completely free and fair
 2. Was somewhat free and fair
 3. Was not free and fair
 4. Don't know/Not sure
 5. Refuse to answer
8. Will you vote in the upcoming Parliamentary/Presidential Elections?
1. Yes
 2. No **(GO TO Q11)**
 3. Refuse to answer **(GO TO Q11)**
9. If yes, have you decided for which political party you will vote for in election?
1. Yes
 2. No **(GO TO Q11)**
 3. Refuse to answer **(GO TO Q11)**
10. If yes, which party would you cast your vote for?
1. SLFP – Sri Lanka Freedom Party
 2. UNP – United National Party
 3. JVP – Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna
 4. SLMC – Sri Lanka Muslim Congress
 5. TMVP – Tamil Makkal Viduthalai Puligal
 6. TNA – Tamil National Alliance
 7. EPDP- Eelam People's Democratic Front
 8. TULF – Tamil United Liberation Front
 9. Other _____
 10. Don't Know/ Not sure
 11. Refuse to answer

11. I am going to read a list of other kinds of political activities besides voting. Please tell me how often you have done any of these activities within the last one year? ASK FOR EACH. READ OUT Have you ever:

Conditions	Never	Sometimes	Often	No response
1. Worked with a neighborhood or community group to improve local conditions	1	2	3	99
2. Taken part in a protest march or demonstration	1	2	3	99
3. Disobeyed a law you considered unjust	1	2	3	99
4. Attended a political party meeting or rally	1	2	3	99
5. Contacted a party official to ask for a favor or raised an issue	1	2	3	99
6. Expressed your views on local governance to government officials or your political party	1	2	3	99
7. Been persuaded by someone from a political party to vote or support the party – eg. attending a meeting or demonstration	1	2	3	99

12. Let's turn to your role in your local community. I am going to read a list of groups and I'd like you to tell me whether or not you are a member of each group and whether you are active in the group during the past one year.

	Active Member	Member	Inactive Member	DK/NA
1. Religious Organisation/ Association	1	2	3	4
2. Trade Union or Farmer's Association	1	2	3	4
3. Professional or Business Association	1	2	3	4
4. Women's Group	1	2	3	4
5. People's Forum or other NGO sponsored Local Planning Group	1	2	3	4
6. Funeral Society or other neighborhood based group	1	2	3	4

13. Please tell me generally whether you have a lot of confidence, some confidence, or no confidence in each of the following to look after your interest;

Conditions	Great Deal of Trust	Some Trust	No Trust	Don't know/ Not sure	No response
1. The National Parliament	1	2	3	98	99
2. Your Provincial Council	1	2	3	98	99
3. Your Municipal Council or Pradeshiya Sabha	1	2	3	98	99
4. Politicians	1	2	3	98	99
5. The Army	1	2	3	98	99
6. The Police	1	2	3	98	99
7. The Courts	1	2	3	98	99

14. What impact has the Provincial Council and the Chief Minister had on the Eastern Province?
1. Has greatly helped the Eastern Province secure development assistance and address problems
 2. Has been somewhat useful in at least highlighting concerns of Eastern people
 3. Has had not had any positive or negative impact
 4. Has been harmful for the Eastern people
 5. Don't know/Not sure
 6. Refuse to answer
15. There have been reports that the Chief Minister is finding it difficult to exercise the full powers of his office. Why do you think this is so?
1. He lacks experience and good advisors
 2. The central government is obstructing him in granting him full powers or funds
 3. A mix of both 1 & 2
 4. Don't know/Not sure
 5. Refuse to answer
16. Would you say that you are very informed, somewhat informed, not very informed or not informed at all about politics in Sri Lanka?
1. Very Informed
 2. Somewhat informed
 3. Not at all informed
 4. Don't know/Not sure
 5. Refuse to answer
17. Do you know how long the term of office is for the President of Sri Lanka? i.e, after the election, how many years does the President stay in office before the next election?
-
18. Could you tell me the name of the current Prime Minister of Sri Lanka?
-
19. According to Sri Lanka's Constitution, what is the official language/s of Sri Lanka? Is it ...
1. Sinhala only
 2. Sinhala and Tamil
 3. Sinhala and English
 4. Sinhala, Tamil and English
 5. Don't know/Not sure
 6. Refuse to answer
20. Can you tell me which Political Party/alliance is in the opposition in your Provincial Council?
-
21. What is the name of the Chief Minister of your Province:
22. How many members of the parliament are from your district?.....

23. What is the basic objective of the 13th Amendment?

1. Strengthen the power of the President against Parliament
2. Devolve more powers to the provinces
3. Make Sinhala an official language of Sri Lanka
4. Increase the centralization of power in Sri Lanka
5. Don't know/Not sure
6. Refuse to answer

24. Now I want to ask you about your interest and involvement in politics.

	Very Often	Rarely	Never	Don't know	No Response	No Access to TV/Radio/ Newspapers etc.
1. How often would you say you pay attention to news about politics on the radio?	1	2	3	98	99	0
2. How often would you say you pay attention to news about politics on television?	1	2	3	98	99	0
3. How often would you say you pay attention to news about politics in newspapers or magazines?	1	2	3	98	99	0
4. How often do you discuss politics with family and friends?	1	2	3	98	99	0

25. Thinking of your local area/village, would you say you have a great deal of interest, some interest, or very little interest in local affairs?

1. A great deal of interest
2. Some interest
3. Very little interest
4. Don't know/Not sure
5. No answer

26. Thinking of the Eastern Province, would you say you have a great deal of interest, some interest, or very little interest in provincial politics?

1. A great deal of interest
2. Some interest
3. Very little interest
4. Don't know/Not sure
5. No answer

27. Thinking of the national politics, would you say you have a great deal of interest, some interest or very little interest in national politics and national affairs?

1. A great deal of interest
2. Some interest
3. Very little interest
4. Don't know/Not sure
5. No answer

28. Please tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with the following statement:
 "Democracy may have problems but it's better than any other form of government."
1. Strongly agree
 2. Agree
 3. Neither Agree nor Disagree
 4. Disagree
 5. Strongly Disagree
 6. Don't Know/ Not Sure
 7. Refuse to Answer

29. Which one of the following statements do you agree the most? [Read Answers]
1. Democracy is preferable to any other kind of government
 2. In certain situations, a dictatorial government can be preferable to a democratic one
 3. It doesn't matter to people like me whether we have democratic or non-democratic
 4. Don't know/not sure
 5. No Response
 6. Refuse to answer

30. Please list all the issues given below according to the importance you assign to them?
 (1 means 'very important' and 10 means 'least important')

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Better Electricity Service	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
2. Personal Security / Reduced Crime	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
3. Clean Water	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
4. Irrigation water	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
5. Land issues	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
6. Human Rights Protection	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
7. Reducing Ethnic tensions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
8. Improving Education	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
9. Improving Roads and Transportation	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
10. Improving Health Care	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11. More jobs	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
12. Housing	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
13. Access to fishing water	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
14. Access to Paddy Land	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
15. Access to loans	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
16. Improved access to sell products	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
17. Equipment to carry out livelihood activities eg fertilizer, out board motors	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

31. Have you been materially affected by the war?
1. Yes, House destroyed/ damaged
 2. Yes, Lost livelihood equipment (boats, ploughs)
 3. No (**GO TO Q33**)
 4. Refuse to answer (**GO TO Q33**)

32. If yes, did you receive any compensation/ assistance for the damage?

1. Yes
2. No

33. Have you lost a family member in the war?

1. Yes
2. No (GO TO Q35)

34. If yes, did you receive any compensation/ assistance?

1. Yes
2. No

35. In your opinion, do you think the following issues have improved over the last year?

	Improved	Neither improved nor deteriorated	Deteriorated	DK/ NS	No response
1. Access to Better Electricity Service	1	2	3	98	99
2. Personal Security / Reduced Crime	1	2	3	98	99
3. Access to Clean Water	1	2	3	98	99
4. Access to Human Rights Protection	1	2	3	98	99
5. Reducing Ethnic tensions	1	2	3	98	99
6. Access to Improving Education	1	2	3	98	99
7. Access to Improving Roads and Transportation	1	2	3	98	99
8. Access to Improving Health Care	1	2	3	98	99

36. Are you aware of the ‘Negenahira Navodaya’ development program launched by the government of Sri Lanka?

1. Yes
2. No (**GO TO Q39**)

37. If yes, have you benefitted from these programs?

1. Yes
2. No (**GO TO Q39**)

38. If yes, in which way have you benefitted from it?

.....

39. Have you been consulted by the Government/Provincial Councils/Local Authorities in terms of the development in the area?

1. Yes
2. No

40. Of the following institutions, who has given you the compensation/ development assistance?

[Read Answers – Multiple Answers Possible]

1. The Government
2. The Provincial Council
3. Local Government institutions (MC/UC/PS)
4. NGOs
5. Other.....
6. Don't know/Not sure

41. In terms of land, what are the issues you are facing at present? (MULTIPLE ANSWERS POSSIBLE)

1. Unable to prove ownership due to the loss of legal documents (no valid deeds and permits for the land)
2. Have abandoned due to security reasons
3. My land is illegally occupied
4. Other.....
5. Don't have any issues
6. No response

42. On land issues, who would members of your community go to?

[Only one Answer – the main member]

1. Courts
2. Police
3. Army
4. Local politicians
5. Government Agent and his staff
6. Local armed groups
7. Local NGOs
8. International agencies or the UN
9. Religious leaders
10. Others.....
11. Don't know/ Not sure

43. Please state to what extent the human rights violations have improved in the East since the end of the war in May 2009?

1. Greatly improved
2. Somewhat improved
3. No change
4. Somewhat deteriorated
5. Greatly deteriorated
6. Don't know/ Not sure
7. Refuse to answer

44. If the answer to q43 is 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 please give reasons for your answer.

.....
.....
.....

45. Faced with human rights abuses, who would members of your community go to?
(List three in order of preference)

Issues	Rank
1. Police	
2. Local politician	
3. Local Armed groups	
4. Army	
5. Local NGO	
6. ICRC	
7. UN agency or International Agencies	

46. How satisfied are you with the action taken by the following institutions to protect human rights in the Eastern Province?

	Very Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Very Dissatisfied	No Response
1. Central Government	1	2	4	99
2. Chief Minister of the Province	1	2	4	99
3. Local human rights organizations	1	2	4	99
4. International human rights organizations	1	2	4	99
5. The international community	1	2	4	99
6. Political parties	1	2	4	99
7. Media	1	2	4	99
8. Religious leaders	1	2	4	99
9. Police	1	2	4	99

47. To what extent have the following situations improved in terms of the freedom of movement over the last two years?

	Greatly improved	Somewhat improved	No change	Somewhat deteriorated	Greatly deteriorated	Don't know/Not sure	Refuse to answer
1. Moving in and out of the Eastern province	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. Day to day movement within your community – visiting relatives, collecting firewood etc	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. Engaging in livelihood activities - Accessing paddy land, fishing, cattle herding etc	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

48. In your opinion, how has your sense of personal security changed since the end of the war?

1. Greatly improved
2. Somewhat improved
3. No change
4. Somewhat deteriorated
5. Greatly deteriorated
6. Don't know/Not sure
7. Refuse to answer

49. Who do you think should take up the task of community relations and peace building within the communities? [One Answer]

1. Politicians
2. Religious leaders
3. Civil society
4. International actors
5. Other.....
6. Don't know/Not sure

50. I will read out some of the main obstacles to reconciliation. Please rank them according to your order of importance.

Issues	Rank
1. Insecurity	
2. Distrust between communities	
3. Distrust between politicians	
4. Lack of development	
5. Other.....	

51. In your opinion, how do you think reconciliation in the East can be addressed?

1. It will automatically happen
2. It will require equal development for all the communities
3. It will require political involvement by the main political actors
4. It will require the involvement of religious leaders
5. It will require the involvement of all actors political, religious and other civil Society actors
6. Don't know/ Not sure
7. Refuse to answer

52. When thinking of women's role in public life, what do you think should be their role in the following organizations?

Organisation	Women should be members	Women should not only be members but also be office bearers	Women should attend but not actively/ occasionally participate	Women have no place in such organisations	DK/ Not sure
1. CBO (Community Based Organisations)	1	2	3	4	99
2. NGO	1	2	3	4	99
3. Savings group	1	2	3	4	99
4. Religious group	1	2	3	4	99
5. Political party	1	2	3	4	99
6. Cultural group	1	2	3	4	99
7. Neighborhood/village group	1	2	3	4	99
8. Education /school group	1	2	3	4	99
9. Other (Specify)	1	2	3	4	99

53. What is your view of the level of female representation in parliament, provincial council and local government?

	Parliament	Provincial Council	Local Govt.
1. Fair representation	1	2	3
2. Far too low representation but women and parties need to make more of an effort	1	2	3
3. Far too low need to introduce quota	1	2	3
4. Women have no place in politics	1	2	3
5. Don't know/Not sure	1	2	3

54. Now we would like to ask you some questions about different ethnic groups in Sri Lanka. Which of the following groups in Sri Lanka best describes you?

1. Sinhala
2. Tamil
3. Up-country Tamil
4. Muslim
5. Others (*Specify*).....

55. How often you tend to come into contact with people from other ethnic groups?

1. Daily
2. Once a week or more
3. Once a month or more
4. Once a year or more
5. Rarely/Never
6. No Response

56. According to your understanding, what is the size (percentage) of your own ethnic group in this village? _____

Supplementary Questions (SP)

SP1. Now I would like to ask few questions about your views on power-sharing. Please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following proposals.

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know/ Not sure
a. The powers of regional governments/authorities should be increased, even if those of the government at the centre have to be decreased.	1	2	3	4	5	98
b. The powers of some regional governments/ authorities may need to be increased more than others.	1	2	3	4	5	98

SP2. Now I will read out some statements on ethnic relations. Please tell me whether you strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements.

Statements	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know/ Not Sure
a. The Govt./state should treat minorities in the same way as it treats the majority	1	2	3	4	5	98
b. Giving equal treatment is not enough, the government should give special treatment to minorities	1	2	3	4	5	98
c. Even if they are not liked by the majority, the govt./state must protect the interest of the minorities	1	2	3	4	5	98
d. Minorities should adopt the ways of the majority community	1	2	3	4	5	98

DEMOGRAPHICS

1. Sex:

1. Male 2. Female

2. Religion:

1. Buddhism 2. Hinduism 3. Islam
4. Roman Catholicism 5. Christianity (Non-RC) 6. Other _____

3. Age: _____

4. Ethnicity:

1. Sinhala 2. Tamil 3. Up-country Tamil 4. Muslim 5.
Burgher 6. Other _____

5. First language:

1. Sinhala 2. Tamil 3. English 4. Other _____

6. Occupation of the respondent _____

7. Could you please tell me your educational qualifications? **(SINGLE CODE ONLY)**

1. Cannot read and write	8. Advanced Level
2. Literate but no formal education	9. Vocationally trained
3. Up to grade 5	10. Technically trained
4. Grade 6-9	11. Professional
5. Up to O' Level	12. Undergraduate
6. O' Level	13. Graduate and above
7. Up to Advanced Level	

8. Total monthly income of the household:

1. Below Rs 5000 4. Rs 15,001-Rs 20,000
2. Rs 5001-Rs 10,000 5. Rs 20,001-Rs 25,000
3. Rs 10,001-Rs 15,000 6. Rs 25,001 & above

1. RESPONDENT'S NAME:		
2. ADDRESS:		3. TEL NO:
4. PROVINCE	5. DISTRICT:	
6. DIVISIONAL SECRETARIAT:		
7. GN:		
8. TYPE OF AREA: 1. Rural 2. Urban		
9. LGB:		
10. DATE:	11. START TIME:	12. END TIME:

THANK YOU!

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

- How do you assess **democracy** in the area? (In terms of the institution, elections etc)
- What does democracy means to you?
- In your opinion, what are the most crucial **development** issues in this area?
- What are the development activities that have taken place in this area?
- Have you heard of 'Nagenahira Navodaya' development program launched by the Sri Lankan government?
- Were you involved in these development activities?
- Have you benefitted from these programs? If yes, in which way have you benefitted?
- Have you been consulted by the Govt./PC/LA in terms of the development in the area?
- Which institutions have provided you the compensation/development assistance?
- Do you have any issues with regard to land?
- If yes, what are the issues you face in terms of land?
- On land issues, who would members of your community go to?
- Who do you think should take up the task of **reconciliation and peace building** within the communities?
- What are the obstacles to reconciliation?
- How do you think the reconciliation in the East can be addressed?
- Do you think the **security** situation has improved since the end of war?
- If not, why?
- Do you think you have a political voice/ your voice is being heard (Freedom of speech)?
- Do you think you have freedom of movement?
 - Moving in and out of the eastern province
 - Day to day movements within your community
 - Engaging in livelihood activities
 - High Security Zone (HSZ) – resettlement in the HSZ
- Do you think the human rights violations (killings/ disappearances) have improved in the East since the end of war?
- Faced with human rights abuses, who would members of your community go to?
- How satisfied are you with the action taken by the institutions to protect human rights in the Eastern Province?

Social Indicator (SI) is an independent social research organisation, which conducts polls on socio-economic and political issues. Operating under the Board of Directors of the Centre for Policy Alternatives (CPA), SI was established in September 1999, and filled a longstanding vacuum for a permanent, professional and independent polling facility in Sri Lanka on social and political issues.

Polling is an instrument of empowerment, a means by which the silent majority of the public can express their opinions on issues affecting them. Our mission is to conduct surveys on key social issues, thereby providing a means through which public opinion can influence the public policy debate.



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