National Level Attitude survey on Social cohesion

1. INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

There is an urgent need for systematically collected national level baseline data on attitudes toward social cohesion in Sri Lanka, in the aftermath of a protracted identity based conflict that tended to divide the North and South, fostering divisive tendencies among the ethnic and other groups that form the citizenry of this multicultural nation. The commitment of the government of Sri Lanka to peace and conflict transformation has been reiterated in the election manifesto of the President of Sri Lanka. The situation analysis and baseline dataset generated as outcome of the national survey, it is envisaged, will inform policy formulation and interventions to promote social cohesion and civic education in Sri Lanka.

Two national level research studies conducted in Sri Lanka in 2000 and 2003 provide data on aspects of social cohesion and citizenship. However, delimitations have been imposed in both these studies on sampling to focus on youth; in the age category 16-39, in The National Youth survey (2000) and, 14 year old young people who had completed Grade 9 in the national school system, in the Civic Education in Sri Lanka study (NEREC, 2003). The sampling frame of the proposed survey of attitudes on social cohesion allows for a more representative sampling of the citizenry of Sri Lanka over 18 years of age.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The main objective of this survey is to conduct a situation analysis on the current state of the scene of social cohesion in Sri Lanka, drawing on an attitude survey of a nationally representative sample of adult citizens of Sri Lanka.

The specific objectives of the attitude survey on social cohesion are as follows:

- 1. Conduct a national baseline study of attitudes of citizens of Sri Lanka on social cohesion using a nationally representative sample
 - i.) Analyze the data by selected variables (gender, ethnicity, religion, socio economic status)
- 2. Conduct a baseline study of attitudes of lecturers and trainees of the National Colleges of Education (NCoE)
 - i.) Conduct a baseline study of teachers and students in selected/ ethnically mixed schools/districts with conflict potential
 - ii.) Analyze the sample by sub-samples (lecturers, trainees, school teachers, students)
- 3. Identify and prioritize intervention strategies for promotion of social cohesion, particularly through the school system.

SAMPLING FRAME AND SAMPLE

A representative sample of the citizen of Sri Lanka was the main database of this study. With the Grama Niladhari Division (GND) as the smallest unit of sampling, a population sample from all Provinces was drawn (see sampling frame in annex). The expected sample was 2060, and the actual sample comprised of 1967 citizens. The fact that the Tamil GNDs could not be covered in the North (due to the prevailing situation) meant that the Tamil representation in the sample was reduced significantly; 7 Tamil Grama Niladhari Divisions (in Jaffna and Mulaitivu) and, two GNDs in the Trincomalee district failed to return the data, thus depriving the sample of 80 Tamil and 10 Sinhalese respondents. This loss meant that the Tamil representation in sample was reduced to 7.4% whereas it should have been 11.4%. However, as it was a population sample, ethnic sampling was not purposively done.

THE INSTRUMENT OF DATA COLLECTION

The instrument used in this attitude survey was designed specifically for use in multi-cultural societies with high conflict potential and ethnic/religious tensions. Since 1955, the Arnold Bergstraesser Institute (ABI) at the University of Freiburg, Germany has conducted several public opinion/attitude surveys (structured interviews). The ABI instrument on social cohesion used in the current study has been used in Kosovo, South Africa, Namibia, Malaysia, Indonesia, Israel and Chad. The Ministries of Education of these countries have used the findings of these surveys to modify and rewrite their school curricula and identify target groups for promotion of social cohesion.

Its coverage is comprehensive and the topics range from Politics and Governance issues to Social and Economic affairs which attempts to gauge the attitude and opinions of respondents in plural societies.

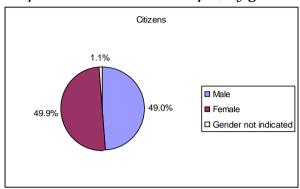
There are 47 questions in the instrument, many of which have sub-divisions. Questions D1-D18 pertains to respondent characteristics. Q:1 to Q:47 are the main items, of which only some have been analyzed and presented, in this summary report.

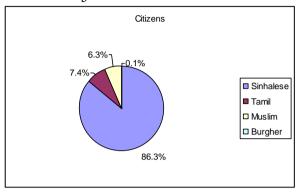
The complete database can be made available on request, from NEREC.

2. DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF SAMPLE

THE SAMPLE OF CITIZENS

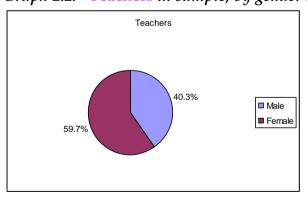
Graph 2.1: Citizens in sample, by gender and ethnicity

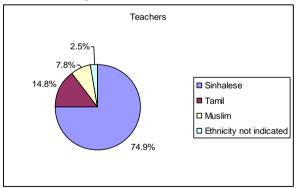




There is balanced representation of gender (purposively ensured by instructing the data collectors to interview 5 females and 5 males in a GND). By ethnicity 86.3% were Sinhalese, 7.4% Tamil and 6.3% Muslims in the sample of citizens. There was a data loss in the North and East (as the survey could not be conducted) resulting in an imbalance in ethnic representation.

Graph 2.2: Teachers in sample, by gender and ethnicity





In the teachers sample, there were more females than male and this reflects the overrepresentation in the profession, of females. In ethnicity, the Tamil and Muslim representation is ensured.

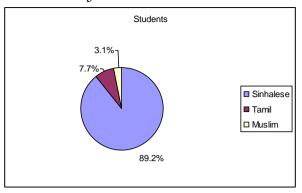
Students

0.2%

48.5%

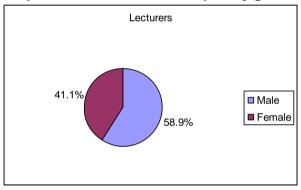
| Male | Female | Gender not indicated

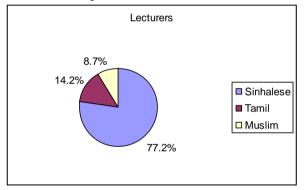
Graph 2.3: Students in sample, by gender and ethnicity



In the student sample, the gender balance is ensured, but not ethnic representation. The loss of Tamil and Muslim respondents due to the prevailing situation meant there was an ethnic in balance in the sample of students.

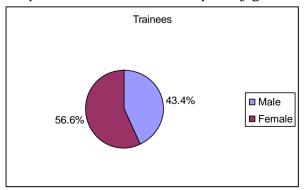
Graph 2.4: Lecturers in sample, by gender and ethnicity

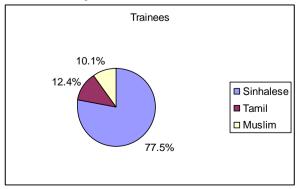




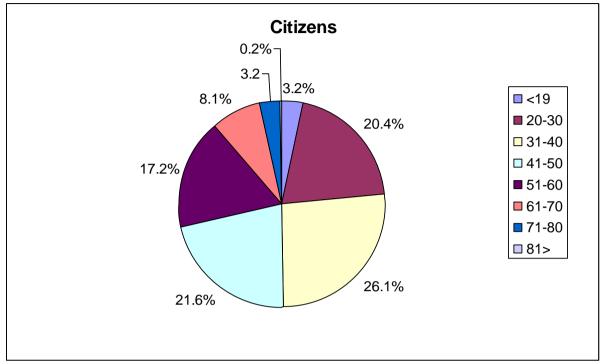
The sample of lecturers comprised of 41.1% females and 58.9% males, from 18 Colleges. Although a more balanced gender sampling could not be ensured, the ethnic balance in the sample was better ensured.

Graph 2.5: Trainees in sample, by gender and ethnicity



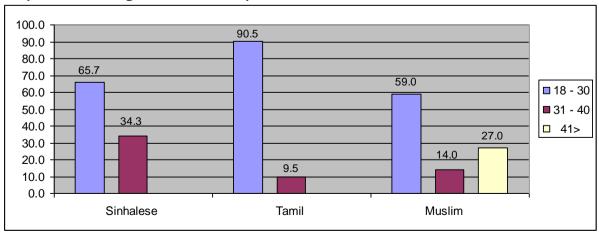


The trainees in this sample were fairly balanced, for ethnicity, less for gender.



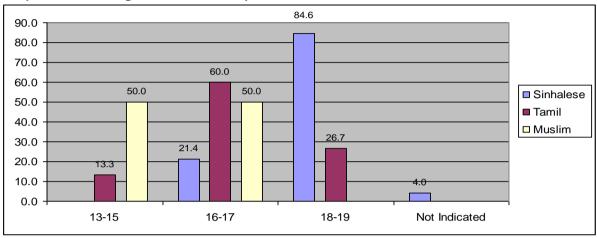
Graph 2.6: The Age Distribution of Citizens

The age distribution of respondents in the sample of citizens show a wide age distribution. The highest percentage of the sample is in the category of 31-40 and the next highest, in the category 41-50. If 40 is taken at the midpoint, 49.4% fall within the age category less than 40 and all others in the category of 41 and above.



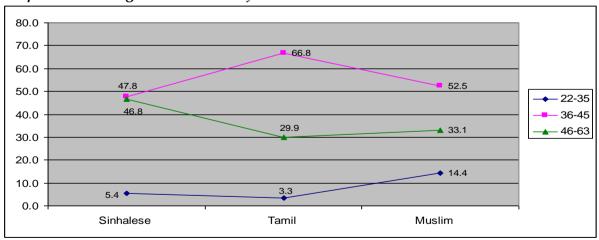
Graph 2.7: The Age Distribution of Teachers

The teachers' ages range fairly closely, in this sample. This is because those who passed out from NCOEs the previous year were the selected sampling frame, for this sample.



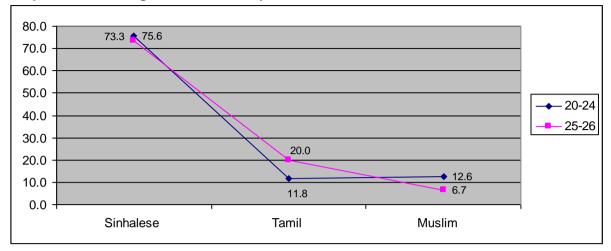
Graph 2.8: The Age Distribution of Students

Students were expected to be 18 and over but in sampling, but teachers have not adhered to these instructions, in selecting students. Therefore, students in the age range 13-19 have formed this sample. They came from the same schools as the teachers.



Graph 2.9: The Age Distribution of Lecturers

The majority of the lecturers are in the range of 36-45 and, a fair percentage in the age range of 36-45.



Graph 2.10: The Age Distribution of Trainees

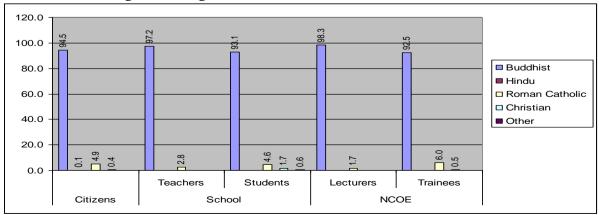
The trainees are in the age ranges of 20-24 and 25-26. Wherever possible, trainees in their final year, were selected, from the 18 colleges.

RELIGION

Table 2.1: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating their religion

Religion	Citizens	School		NCOE	
		Teachers	Students	Lecturers	Trainees
Buddhist	94.5	97.2	93.1	98.3	92.5
Hindu	0.1	-	-	-	-
Roman Catholic	4.9	2.8	4.6	1.7	6.0
Christian	0.4	-	1.7	-	0.5
Other	-	-	0.6	-	-

Graph 2.11: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating their religion



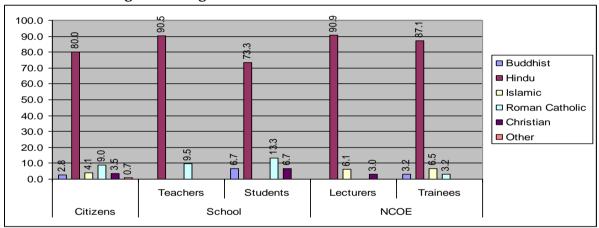
The Sinhalese ethnic community is dominated by Buddhists and of insignificant percentages, of other religions.

Table 2.2: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and

trainees indicating their religion

Religion	Citizens	School		NCOE	
		Teachers	Students	Lecturers	Trainees
Buddhist	2.8	-	6.7	-	3.2
Hindu	80.0	90.5	73.3	90.9	87.1
Islamic	4.1	-	-	6.1	6.5
Roman Catholic	9.0	9.5	13.3	-	3.2
Christian	3.5	-	6.7	3.0	-
Other	0.7	-	-	-	-

Graph 2.12: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating their religion



The Tamil ethnic group is predominantly Hindus by religion, with some representation of Roman Catholic and other religions.

Table 2.3: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and

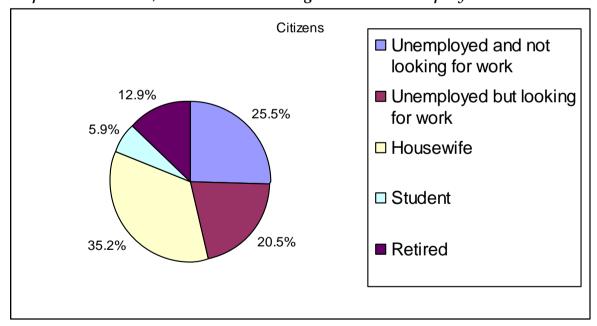
trainees indicating their religion

Religion	Citizens	School		NCOE	
		Teachers	Students	Lecturers	Trainees
Buddhist	0.8	-	-	-	-
Hindu	-	-	-	-	-
Islamic	97.6	100.0	100.0	90.5	90.3
Roman Catholic	0.8	-	-	9.5	9.7
Christian	-	-	-	-	-
Other	0.8	-	-	-	-

120.0 90. 90. 100.0 ■ Buddhist 80.0 ■ Hindu □ Islamic 60.0 ■ Roman Catholic ■ Christian 40.0 Other 20.0 9.\$ 9. 0.8 0.8 0.0 Teachers Students Lecturers Trainees NCOE Citizens School

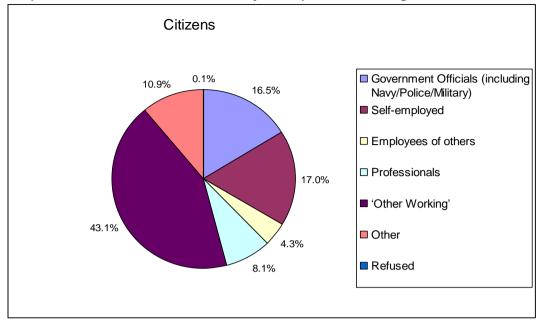
Graph 2.13: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating their religion

The Muslim ethnic community are Islamic by religion, and, with the Roman Catholic religion also represented.



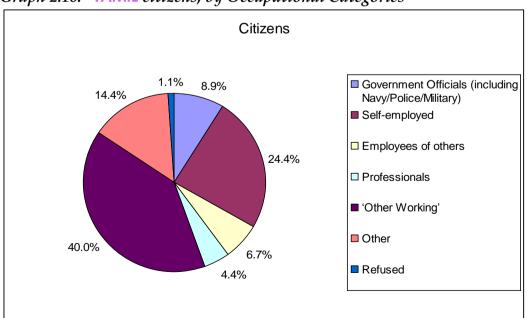
Graph 2.14: citizens, whose status is categorized as 'not employed'

In the citizen's sample there were 1033 respondents who said they were 'not employed'. This figure is quite high but Graph 2.14 indicates the categories they comprise of.



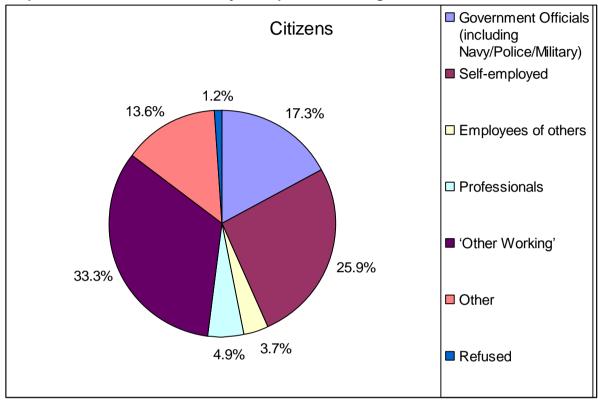
Graph 2.15: SINHALESE citizens, by Occupational Categories

In the Sinhalese ethnic community, the occupational categories of the citizens indicate that 'Other Working' category (which includes unskilled, semi skilled and skilled manual workers) is the largest category followed the self employed, professionals and 'others', those who do not belong to any of the specified categories.



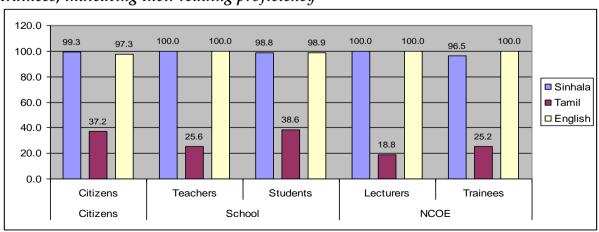
Graph 2.16: TAMIL citizens, by Occupational Categories

In the Tamil ethnic community of citizens, the distribution by occupational categories is very similar, the changes being in percentages only, for eg. more representation of the professionals, and, the category 'Other working'.



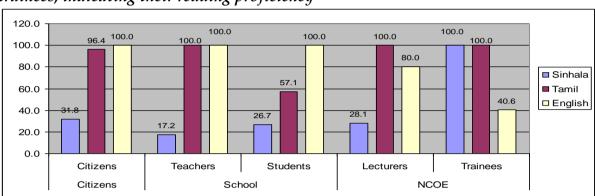
Graph 2.17: MUSLIM citizens, by Occupational Categories

The presentation in the Muslim ethnic community is mostly in the four categories of 'Other working', self employed, professionals and 'Other'.



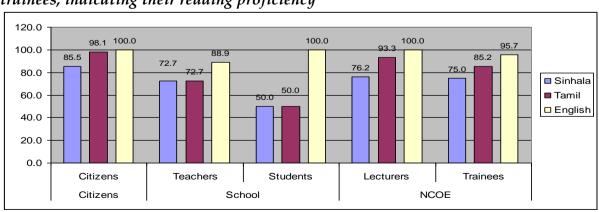
Graph 2.18: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, indicating their reading proficiency

The reading proficiency of the Sinhalese ethnic community indicates that apart from their own mother tongue, they profess to have reading proficiency in English and, some of them, proficiency in Tamil as well among them The teachers (25.6%), students (38.6%) and trainees (25.2%) in particular are noteworthy.



Graph 2.19: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, indicating their reading proficiency

The Tamil ethnic community, like the Sinhalese have indicated reading proficiency, in their mother tongue and English; notable, however is the trainees' limited reading proficiency in English (40.6%). Among the students, only 57.1% have indicated reading proficiency in Tamil; instead they have indicated 100.0% reading proficiency in English. The Trainees have 100.0% in reading proficiency in Sinhalese and Tamil. The lecturers (28.1%), students (26.7%) and teachers (17.2%) have reading proficiency in Sinhalese.

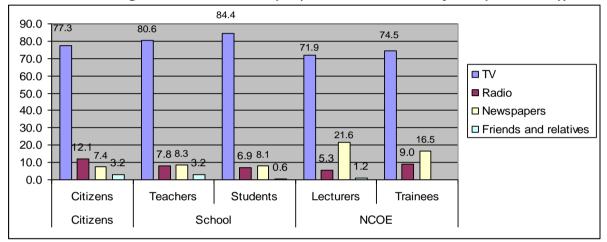


Graph 2.20: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, indicating their reading proficiency

The Muslim ethnic community are the most well placed, in reading proficiency for they are fairly well proficient in reading in all three languages, even the students (50.0%) have reading proficiency in both Sinhalese and Tamil.

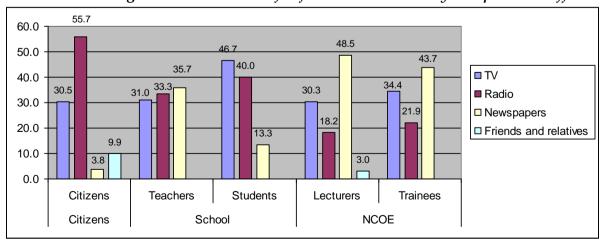
MEDIA PREFERENCES

Graph 2.21: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating their main source of Information on society and political affairs



TV is the predominantly the main source of information, of the Sinhalese ethnic community, with the Radio and Newspapers in second and third place.

Graph 2.22: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating their main source of Information on society and political affairs

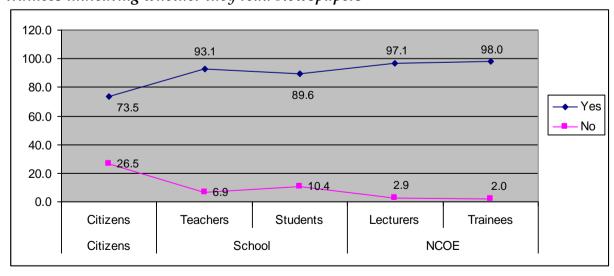


In the Tamil ethnic community however, only the students give preference to the TV as their source of information. The citizens and other sub-samples prefer the Radio and Newspapers.

66.7 70 57.1 60 53.1 51.8 50 ■ TV 38.1 40 ■ Radio 33.3 31.3 26.4 Newspapers 30 □ Friends and relatives 15.6 20 13.6 9.1 10 2.7 0 Citizens **Teachers** Students Lecturers Trainees NCOE Citizens School

Graph 2.23: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating their main source of Information on society and political affairs

The Muslim ethnic community prefers the TV and Newspapers, and Radio takes third place as the main source of information on society and political affairs.



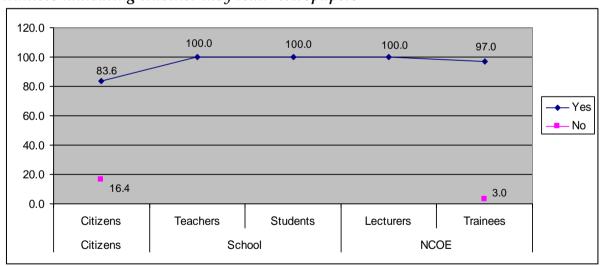
Graph 2.24: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating whether they read Newspapers

The members of the Sinhalese ethnic community said 'Yes' to this question and in the sample of citizens, a small but significant percentage said 'No'

120.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 96.9 93.3 80.0 67.4 - Yes 60.0 No 40.0 32.6 20.0 6.7 3.1 0.0 Lecturers Citizens Teachers Students Trainees Citizens School NCOE

Graph 2.25: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating whether they read Newspapers

In the Tamil ethnic community too, the position was similar to that of the Sinhalese, the vast majority saying 'Yes' and a fair percentage of the citizens saying 'No'.



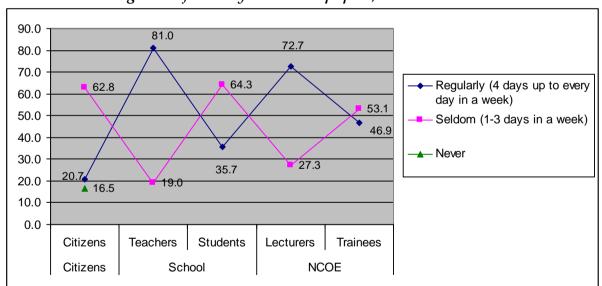
Graph 2.26: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating whether they read Newspapers

The Muslim ethnic community is more consistent in reading Newspapers, those who said 'No' was fewer.

90.0 82.3 74.1 80.0 70.0 Regularly (4 days up to every 75.1 60.1 60.0 day in a week) 52.1 50.0 Seldom (1-3 days in a week) 40.0 30.0 21.5 - Never 20.0 17.0 15.2 10.0 2.5 3.4 0.6 0.5 0.0 Students Citizens Teachers Lecturers **Trainees** NCOE Citizens School

Graph 2.27: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating how often they read Newspapers, in a week

In the Sinhalese ethnic community more people read Newspapers 'Seldom', 1-3 days a week. Those who read 'Regularly', is much less.



Graph 2.28: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating how often they read Newspapers, in a week

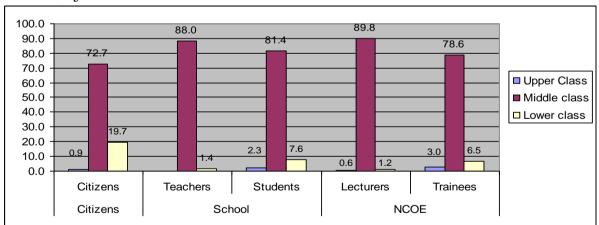
In the Tamil community there is considerable variation in the reading of Newspapers, eg. teachers and lecturers are 'Regular' (4-7 days) readers, but others read 'Seldom', 1-3 days a week.

120.0 100.0 100.0 85.7 - Regularly (4 days up to every 80.0 66.7 day in a week) 62.5 Seldom (1-3 days in a week) 60.0 60.2 37.5 – Never 40.0 28.3 33.3 20.0 14.3 **▲** 11.5 0.0 Citizens **Teachers** Students Lecturers Trainees Citizens School NCOE

Graph 2.29: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating how often they read Newspapers, in a week

In the Muslim ethnic community, the lecturers, teachers, trainees and, some citizens are regular readers of Newspapers, the others read 'Seldom'.

SOCIAL CLASS



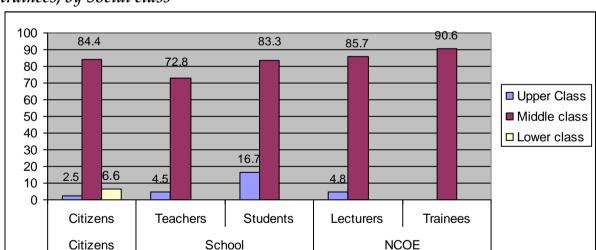
Graph 2.30: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, by Social class

By Social class, the Sinhalese ethnic community is mostly Middle class (when the 3 categories Upper middle class, Middle class and Lower middle class are combined), with the Lower and Upper class represented insignificantly, other than in the main sample, where the Lower class is represented by 19.7%.

120 100.0 93 9 100 86.7 80 ■ Upper Class 60.0 54.1 60 ■ Middle class 31.9 □ Lower class 40 13.3 20 6.1 6.7 1.4 0 Teachers Students Lecturers Trainees Citizens NCOE Citizens School

Graph 2.31: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, by Social class

In the Tamil ethnic community, in the citizen's or main sample, the Middle class and Lower class are fairly represented, compared to the Upper class. In the trainees sample, there is a very small representation of the Lower class and, relatively more representation of the Upper class.



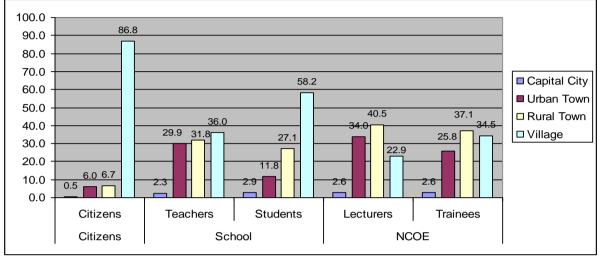
Graph 2.32: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, by Social class

The Muslim community is representative of the Middle class, largely, with the Upper class represented in the sample of students.

THE LOCATION-RURAL/URBAN

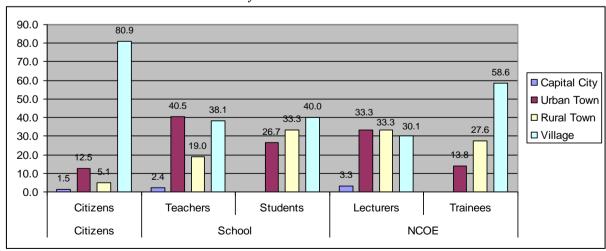
Graph 2.33: - The areas (Rural/Urban) SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees come form

100.0
90.0
86.8



The Sinhalese ethnic group is representative of the urban-rural spread of the population in the country, with about 80.0% of the total sample coming from villages and rural towns.

Graph 2.34: - The areas (Rural/Urban) TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees come form



Likewise, the Tamil ethnic community is representative of the urban-rural spread of the population in Sri Lanka.

Trainees

Citizens

Citizens

Teachers

90.0 76.5 80.0 70.0 60.0 ■ Capital City 50.0 50.0 45.5 37.5 -41.6 50.0 ■ Urban Town 42.9 □ Rural Town 40.0 31.8 28.6 28.5 □ Village 30.0 22.7 20.0 16.7 20.0 10.0 2.6 0.9 0.0

Graph 2.35: - The areas (Rural/Urban) MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees come form

The Muslim ethic community too is mostly from rural-urban areas and urban towns.

Overall, the urban-rural representation in the sample is ensured.

Students

School

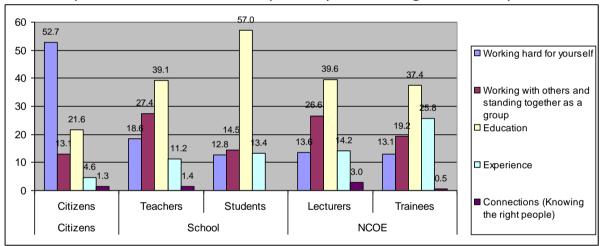
Lecturers

NCOE

3. SUCCESS IN LIFE

Success in life is measured by the responses of the whole group of citizens and the sub samples, to three questions. One asks the respondents, 'What is most important for achieving success in life', indicating a list of factors. They were asked 'What their 'ideal' country was', and 'Whether it would be good if I or a member of my family could find employment overseas'. These two questions were asked to gauge their attitude towards the country, and to assess whether they sought greener pastures elsewhere, to ensure success in life.

Graph 3.1: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees' opinions on what is most important for achieving success in life



In the Sinhalese ethnic community, education was the response that got the highest votes, of all sub-samples, but not of the main sample of citizens of Sri Lanka, who said 'Working hard for yourself' was what is most important for achieving success in life. For the citizens, education was second preference, followed by 'Working with others and standing together as a group'. For social cohesion in the country, it augurs well, that all sub-samples gave second preference to group solidarity.

40

30

20

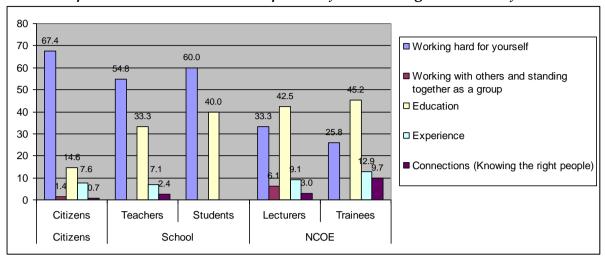
10

18.0

Citizens

Citizens

18.2



TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and *Graph* 3.2: trainees' opinions on what is most important for achieving success in life

In contrast to the Sinhalese ethnic group, for all but one of the sub-samples in the Tamil ethnic group, 'Working hard for yourself is the first preference (of citizens, teachers and students). The sub-samples of lecturers and trainees voted education in first place. It is noteworthy that the Tamil citizens of Sri Lanka seem to have lost faith in education, traditionally considered by them as most important for achieving success in life.

trainees' opinions on what is most important for achieving success in life 80 70.0 ■ Working hard for yourself 70 58.2 60 50.0 Working with others and standing together as a 50

20.0

Students

School

30.3

NCOE

Trainees

Education

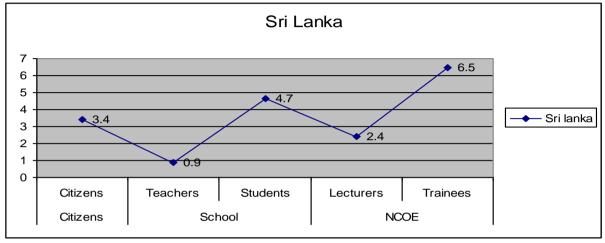
□ Experience

■ Connections (Knowing the right people)

Graph 3.3: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and

Muslims in the sub-samples of students, lecturers and trainees have voted for education in the first place, but not the citizens and teachers. For them 'Working hard for yourself is what is most important for success in life'. The response of the Muslim teachers (in contrast to those of students) is somewhat disturbing. A lack of faith on the part of teachers in education is indicated, but, the lecturers and trainees responses are reassuring, that at least the NCOE system of both lecturers and trainees consider education as most important for achieving success in life.

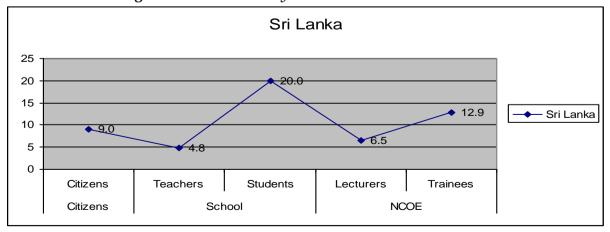
Graph 3.4: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating their 'ideal' country as 'SRI LANKA'



The open-ended question, 'In your mind, which country comes closest to being the ideal country, the country which other countries should attempt to be like', drew a variety of responses, like Japan, India, USA, Singapore, etc.

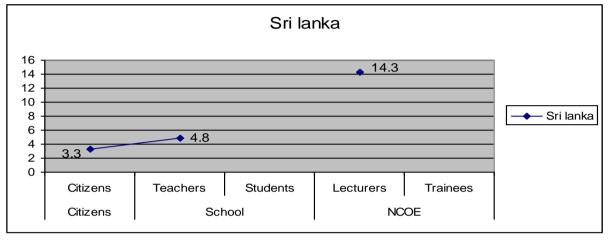
For the Sinhalese ethnic community, Sri Lanka as their ideal country gets very low preference, the highest preference being 6.5%, on the part of trainees.

Graph 3.5: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating their 'ideal' country as 'SRI LANKA'



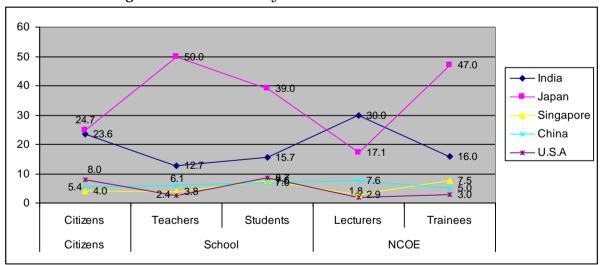
Students in the Tamil ethnic community gave the highest response of all groups, of 20%, for Sri Lanka as their ideal country.

Graph 3.6: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating their 'ideal' country as 'SRI LANKA'



The Muslim lecturers (14.3%) have voted for Sri Lanka as their ideal country.

Graph 3.7: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating their 'ideal' country

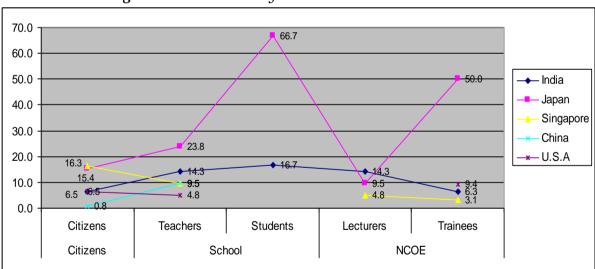


Preference for Japan as their ideal country is indicated by all but the Sinhalese lecturers in the sub-sample. India is the second preference of all sub-samples, as well as the citizens, of the ethnic community, the Sinhalese.

35.0 33.3 **♦** 32.3 30.0 ↑ 29.0 India 26.2 25.8 25.0 Japan 20.0 Singapore 15.0 12.9 China 11.0 10.0 9.7 9.7 9.7 U.S.A 6.7 5.0 3.2 4.8 0.7 4.8 0.0 **Teachers** Students Lecturers **Trainees** Citizens Citizens School **NCOE**

Graph 3.8: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating their 'ideal' country

The Tamil ethnic group, in contrast, considered India as their ideal country; only the students in this ethnic group differed in their pattern of responses, by indicating Japan as their ideal country.

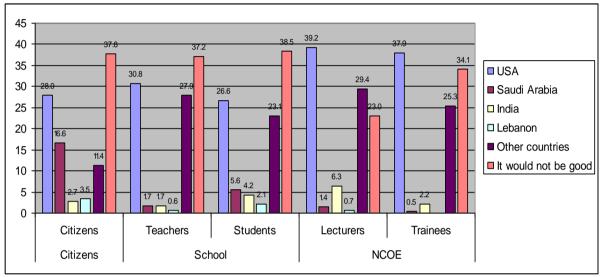


Graph 3.9: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating their 'ideal' country

The Muslim ethnic group showed the highest response (among ethnic groups) for Japan as their ideal country, and this response pattern changes for the lecturers only, who showed a preference for India instead.

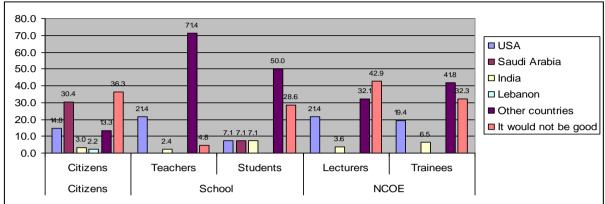
Q2: "It would be good if I or a member of my family could get a job in, indicating four countries, USA, Saudi Arabia, India, Lebanon and, an inclusive category, 'other countries'. Lastly, an option, 'it would not be good' was also presented.

Graph 3.10: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, responding to jobs outside Sri Lanka, for self or a family member (in order of preference)



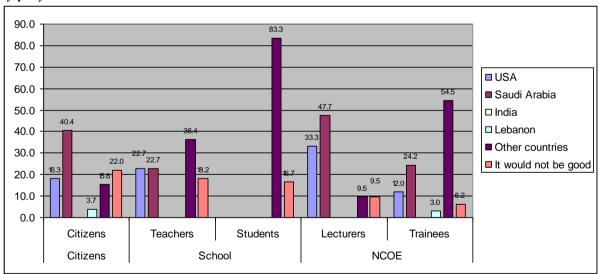
The citizens, teachers and students of the Sinhalese ethnic community were mostly of the opinion that "It would not be good to leave for employment abroad", probably considering the family disruption that is affecting the entire social fabric, particularly family life in Sri Lanka. The lecturers and trainees on the other hand show a relatively high preference for employment in USA. The teachers and students, lecturers and trainees also indicate a preference for 'Other countries' as sites for jobs outside the country.

Graph 3.11: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, responding to jobs outside Sri Lanka, for self or a family member (in order of preference)



The Tamil community of teachers in particular prefer 'other countries' (than those indicated) and, the students show a similar preference. The majority of the citizens and the lecturers indicate that 'it would not be good' to leave for employment abroad.

Graph 3.12: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, responding to jobs outside Sri Lanka, for self or a family member (in order of preference)

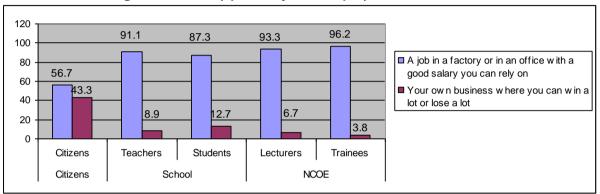


The Muslim ethnic community by and large prefers the 'other countries' and, Saudi Arabia for employment abroad. Of all the ethnic groups, the Muslims are the community which agrees least that it would not be good to go abroad for employment.

4. THE PUBLIC-PRIVATE OWNERSHIP OF BUSINESSES

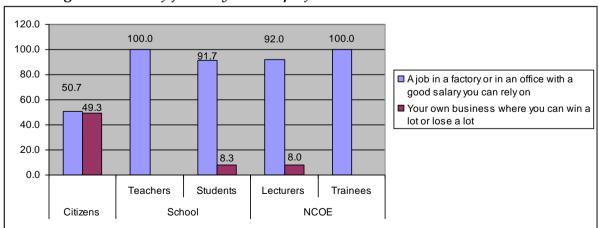
In this cluster of items, there are questions on job preferences, how they would spend the money if they were lucky to win a lot of money, and whether they preferred public or private ownership of businesses.

Graph 4.1: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers, students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating what kind of job they would prefer



Other than the sample of citizens in the main sample, all others in the Sinhalese ethnic community prefer a job with a good salary you can rely on; 43.2% of the Sinhalese citizen group however, prefer 'Your own business where you can win a lot or lose a lot'.

Graph 4.2: TAMIL citizens, school teachers, students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating what kind of job they would prefer



Citizens

School

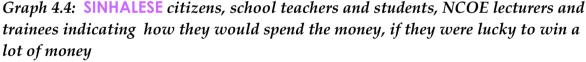
The Tamil ethnic community responded similarly, will all but the citizens' group (49.3%) also coming very close to preferring private enterprise.

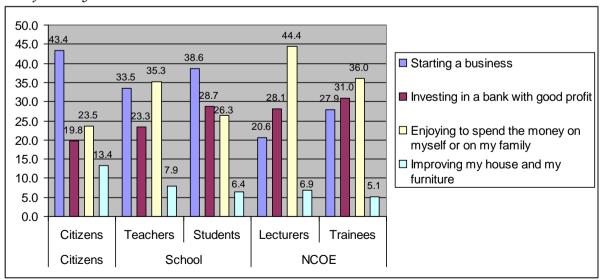
120.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 96.8 100.0 80.0 A job in a factory or in an office with a 50.0 good salary you can rely on 60.0 ■ Your own business where you can win a lot or lose a lot 40.0 20.0 3.2 0.0 Teachers Students Lecturers Trainees

Graph 4.3: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers, students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating what kind of job they would prefer

The Muslim ethnic community have also responded clearly indicating their preferring for private ownership; but the Muslim citizens in the main sample show 50-50% preference for Private and Public enterprise.

NCOE

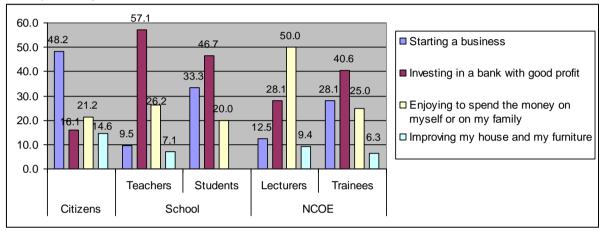




The Sinhalese ethnic community (in the sub samples of lecturers, trainees and teachers) had as their first preference 'Enjoying to spend the money on myself or on

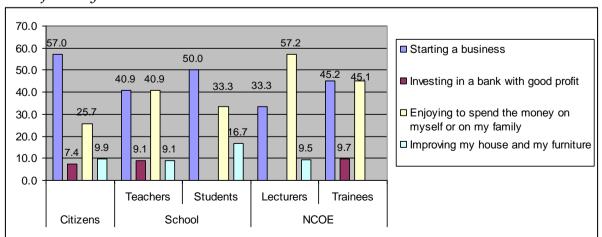
my family'. The citizens and students preferred spending the money starting a business. The teachers were almost equally divided, between enjoying to spend the money on myself or on my family and, on starting a business. Investing in a bank with good profit is the second or third choice of the sub-samples.

Graph 4.5: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and Trainees indicating how they would spend the money, if they were lucky to win a lot of money



In the Tamil ethnic community, the citizen's group were in favour of starting a business, teachers, students and trainees in investing in a bank with good profit and, interestingly, the lecturers preferred to enjoy spending the money on myself or on my family.

Graph 4.6: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and Trainees indicating, how they would spend the money, if they were lucky to win a lot of money

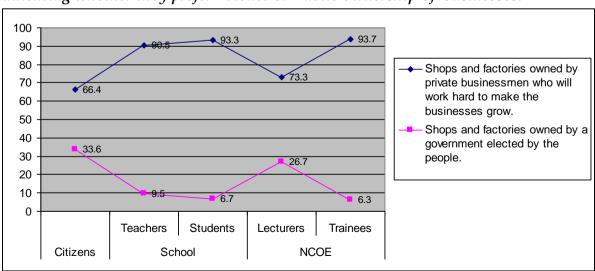


The Muslim ethnic community were very much focused on starting a business, particularly the citizens group, teachers, students and trainees. The lecturers in this ethnic group, also preferred enjoying to spend the money on myself or on my family.

60 50.7 **◆** 55.8 55.3 55.8 53.4 Shops and factories owned by 50 **◆ 46.6** 44.7 44.2 44.2 private businessmen who will 40 work hard to make the businesses grow. 30 Shops and factories owned by a government elected by the 20 people. 10 0 **Teachers** Students Lecturers Trainees Citizens Citizens NCOE School

Graph 4.7: SINHALESE citizen, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating whether they prefer Private or Public ownership of businesses.

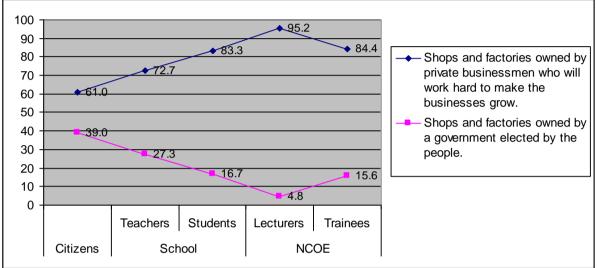
The Sinhalese ethnic community (in main sample and sub samples) were divided between Public or Private ownership of businesses, with Public ownership gaining preference over private ownership. However, significant percentages were in favour of private enterprise.



Graph 4.8: TAMIL citizen, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating whether they prefer Private or Public ownership of businesses.

The choice was clear to all members of the Tamil ethnic community, with all respondents in the sub samples voting in preference of 'Shops and factories owned by private businessmen who will work hard to make the businesses grow'.

Graph 4.9: MUSLIM citizen, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating whether they prefer Private or Public ownership businesses.



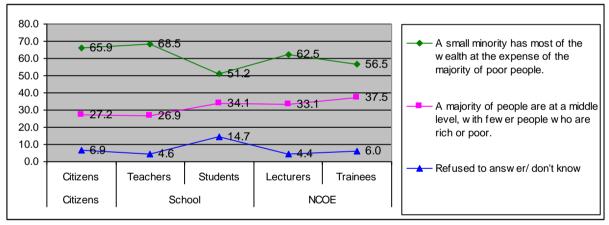
The Muslim ethnic community voted similarly, in clear preference of Private over Public.

5. DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH IN THE COUNTRY

Table 5.1: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and Trainees, indicating how wealth is distributed in the country.

Category	Citizens	School		NCOE	
		Teachers	Students	Lecturers	Trainees
A small minority has most of the wealth	65.9	68.5	51.2	62.5	56.5
at the expense of the majority of poor					
people.					
A majority of people are at a middle	27.2	26.9	34.1	33.1	37.5
level, with fewer people who are rich or					
poor.					
Refused to answer/ don't know	6.9	4.6	14.7	4.4	6.0

Graph 5.1: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and Trainees, indicating how wealth is distributed in the country.

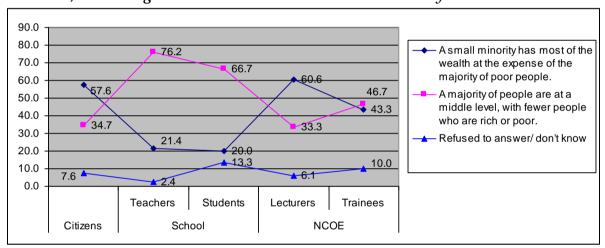


The Sinhalese ethnic community are in overall agreement that a small minority has most of the wealth at the expense of the majority of poor people. A fair percentage (with responses in the 20^s and 30^s) think differently, that a majority of people are at a middle level, with fewer people who are rich or poor.

Table 5.2: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and Trainees, indicating how wealth is distributed in the country.

Category	Citizens	School		NCOE	
		Teachers	Students	Lecturers	Trainees
A small minority has most of the	57.6	21.4	20.0	60.6	43.3
wealth at the expense of the majority					
of poor people.					
A majority of people are at a middle	34.7	76.2	66.7	33.3	46.7
level, with fewer people who are rich					
or poor.					
Refused to answer/ don't know	7.6	2.4	13.3	6.1	10.0

Graph 5.2: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and Trainees, indicating how wealth is distributed in the country.

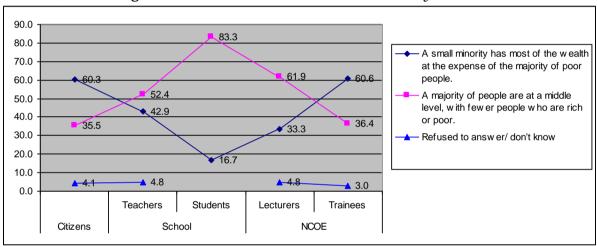


The Tamil ethnic community, on the other hand are of divided opinion. The teachers, students and trainees are of the opinions that the majority of people are at the middle level, with fewer people who are rich or poor. The citizen and lectures on the other hand, are of the opposite view.

Table 5.3: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and Trainees, indicating how wealth is distributed in the country.

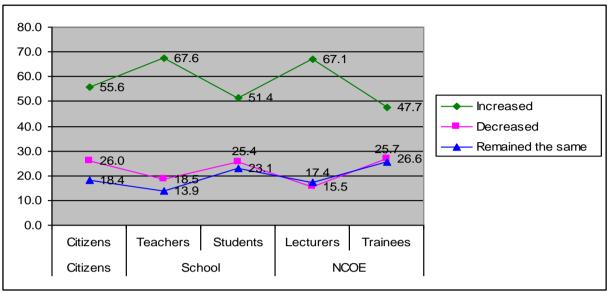
Category	Citizens	School		NC	OE
		Teachers	Students	Lecturers	Trainees
A small minority has most of the	60.3	42.9	16.7	33.3	60.6
wealth at the expense of the					
majority of poor people.					
A majority of people are at a middle	35.5	52.4	83.3	61.9	36.4
level, with fewer people who are					
rich or poor.					
Refused to answer/ don't know	4.1	4.8	-	4.8	3.0

Graph 5.3: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and Trainees, indicating how wealth is distributed in the country.



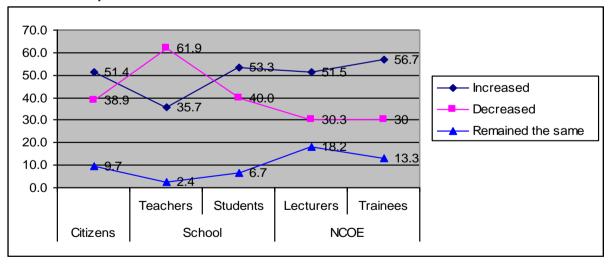
The Muslim ethnic community, like the Tamil community are of divided opinion. The student, lecturers and teachers believe that the majority of people are at a middle level whereas the citizens, trainees and teachers believe to the contrary.

Graph 5.4: The responses of SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating whether in the last 10 years, the difference between the rich and poor has....



The Sinhalese ethnic community is quite convinced that the difference between the rich and poor has increased.

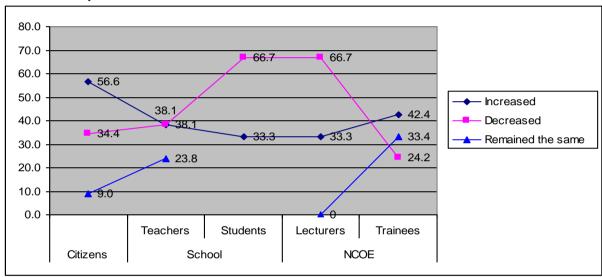
Graph 5.5: The responses of TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating whether in the last 10 years, the difference between the rich and poor has....



The Tamil ethnic community is also of the opinion that the difference between the rich and poor has increased, except for the sub sample of teachers; they (61.9%) were of the opinion that the difference has decreased. There were a considerable

percentage of responses (in the 30s and 40s) to the effect that the difference has decreased. Therefore, in this ethnic community, although the majority believe the difference between the rich and poor has increased, a considerable number also believe that it has decreased or Remained the same.

Graph 5.6: The responses of MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating whether in the last 10 years, the difference between the rich and poor has....

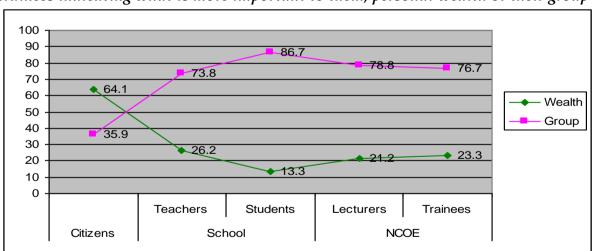


The Muslim ethnic community show a range of responses to the question whether the difference between the rich and poor has increased, decreased or remained the same. For example, those respondents who say that it has increased have indicated so in percentages that range in the 30s and 40s and, the citizen group, by 56.6%. On the other hand, the students and lecturers believe it has decreased. Therefore, the Muslim ethnic community is also divided in their opinions on whether the difference between the rich and poor have increased, decreased or remained the same.

70.0 66.0 60.1 62.5 57.9 60.0 51.4 50.0 48.6 42.1 39.9 40.0 Wealth 34.0 30.0 Group 20.0 10.0 0.0 Citizens **Teachers** Students Lecturers Trainees School NCOE Citizens

Graph 5.7: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating what is more important to them, personal wealth or their group

The Sinhalese ethnic community vote for the group above wealth; the citizen however consider wealth more important. Respondents who voted for wealth (in percentages in the 30s and 40s) indicate that there are strong opinions to this effect, as well.



Graph 5.8: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating what is more important to them, personal wealth or their group

The responses of the Tamil ethnic group show quite clearly that they prefer the group over wealth, except the citizens who have voted otherwise.

NCOE

Citizens

120.0 95.5 100.0 100.0 85.7 80.0 75.0 Wealth 60.0 \$52.9 Group 40.0 47.1 25.0 20.0 **◆ 14.3** 4.5 0.0 Teachers Students Lecturers Trainees

Graph 5.9: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating what is more important to them, personal wealth or their group

The Muslim ethnic community also clearly indicate that they prefer the group over wealth, with the citizen group showing a higher response for wealth as well.

School

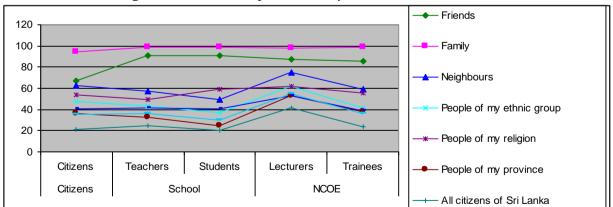
6. TRUST IN INSTITUTIONS

In the questionnaire, of the items clustered together under this heading, 'Trust in Institutions', the first is Q6, and worded as follows: 'People trust and feel close to some people and not to others'. For each of the following types, tell us whether or not you feel close to and trust them.

Table 6.1: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating those whom they trust and feel close to

Description	Citizens	School		Citizens School NCO		OE .	
		Teachers	Students	Lecturers	Trainees		
Friends	67.1	90.7	91.3	87.4	85.8		
Family	94.4	99.1	98.8	98.2	98.5		
Neighbours	62.8	57.6	49.1	75.3	58.7		
People of my ethnic group	47.7	43.1	37.4	61.5	41.8		
People of my religion	54.2	49.3	59.3	61.6	55.2		
People of my province	35.9	32.8	24.6	52.7	38.0		
All citizens of Sri Lanka	20.9	24.4	20.7	41.9	23.9		
People with the same work and life conditions	40.4	41.9	40.6	53.0	38.4		
People from my village/town/home district	34.9	36.2	29.8	54.3	36.1		

Graph 6.1: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating those whom they trust and feel close to



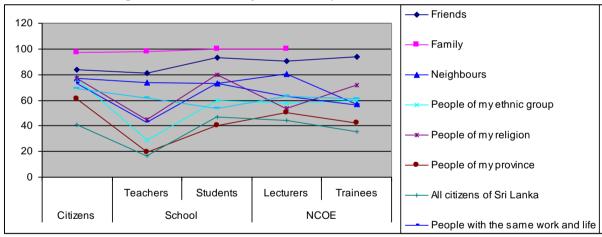
The Sinhalese respondents in the main sample and sub-samples, all consider their family, friends and neighbours, in that order, as those whom they trust and feel close to. The students however trust 'people of my religion' more than their neighbours.

People of my ethnic group are given the fifth preference, over people with the same work and life conditions, people of my province and, All citizens of Sri Lanka.

Table 6.2: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating those whom they trust and feel close to

Category	Citizens	Sch	ool	NC	OE
, ,		Teachers	Students	Lecturers	Trainees
Friends	83.9	81.0	93.3	90.6	93.8
Family	97.2	97.6	100.0	100	-
Neighbours	77.1	73.8	73.3	80.6	56.7
People of my ethnic group	76.1	28.6	60.0	57.7	59.4
People of my religion	76.9	45.2	80.0	53.8	71.9
People of my province	61.2	19.5	40.0	50.0	41.9
All citizens of Sri Lanka	41.1	16.7	46.7	44.4	35.5
People with the same work and life conditions	73.0	42.9	73.3	63.0	56.3
People from my village/town/home district	69.3	61.9	53.3	63.0	61.3

Graph 6.2: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating those whom they trust and feel close to

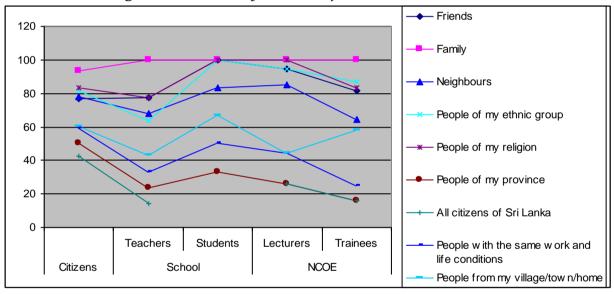


The Tamil respondents in main sample and sub-samples, likewise, all consider family, friends and neighbors, in that order, as those whom they trust and feel close to. The students however, trust 'people of my religion' more that their neighbours. People of my ethnic group are lower down in the preference list (the 6th); People of my province', 'All citizens of Sri Lanka' are in order of preference, the 7th and 8th in the list.

Table 6.3: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating those whom they trust and feel close to

Description	Citizens	School		NC	NCOE		
		Teachers	Students	Lecturers	Trainees		
Friends	83.9	81.0	93.3	90.6	93.8		
Family	97.2	97.6	100.0	100	-		
Neighbours	77.1	73.8	73.3	80.6	56.7		
People of my ethnic group	76.1	28.6	60.0	57.7	59.4		
People of my religion	76.9	45.2	80.0	53.8	71.9		
People of my province	61.2	19.5	40.0	50	41.9		
All citizens of Sri Lanka	41.1	16.7	46.7	44.4	35.5		
People with the same work and life conditions	73.0	42.9	73.3	63.0	56.3		
People from my village/town/home district	69.3	61.9	53.3	63.0	61.3		

Graph 6.3: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating those whom they trust and feel close to

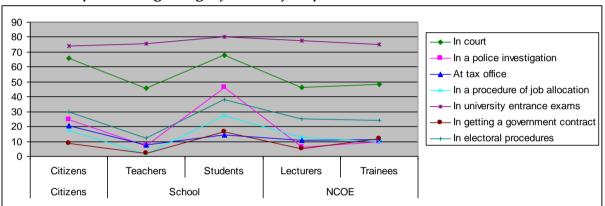


The order of preference, of family, friends and neighbours, is broken by the Muslim ethnic group of students, who give preference to 'People of my religion' after family. 'People of my ethnic group' are given higher preference by students. 'People of my province' and 'All citizens of Sri Lanka' are the lowest in trust according to the Muslim ethnic group.

Table 6.4: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees' responses to getting a fair and just procedure

Category	Citizens	School		NC	OE
		Teachers	Students	Lecturers	Trainees
In court	65.6	45.6	67.7	46.3	48.3
In a police investigation	24.6	7.0	46.4	6.0	9.8
At tax office	20.6	7.6	14.5	10.8	11.2
In a procedure of job allocation	17.4	1.4	27.2	12.8	9.7
In university entrance exams	74.2	75.5	80.1	77.5	75.1
In getting a government contract	8.8	2.2	16.4	5.2	11.7
In electoral procedures	29.9	12.6	38.1	25.0	24.0

Graph 6.4: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees' responses to getting a fair and just procedure



Sinhalese ethnic community in the main sample and sub-samples show faith in University entrance examinations and in courts, in getting a fair and just procedure. Thirdly, they have faith in electoral procedures; however, the students have more faith in police investigations.

Tamil 6.5: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees' responses to getting a fair and just procedure

Category	Citizens	School Teachers Students		NC	OE
				Lecturers	Trainees
In court	84.1	61.9	93.3	84.0	65.4
In a police investigation	30.3	31.7	26.7	36.8	25.0
At tax office	31.1	28.6	40.0	38.9	16.7
In a procedure of job allocation	29.7	59.4	26.7	44.4	25.0
In university entrance exams	46.6	61.9	73.3	77.3	69.2
In getting a government contract	27.6	33.3	33.3	61.1	30.4
In electoral procedures	40.0	28.6	33.3	55.0	32.0

100 90 - In court 80 In a police investigation 70 At tax office 60 50 In a procedure of job allocation 40 In university entrance exams 30 - In getting a government contract 20 In electoral procedures 10 0 Students Teachers Lecturers Trainees NCOE Citizens School

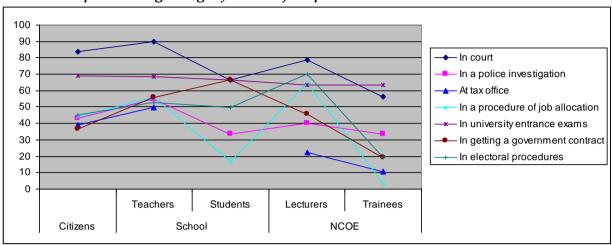
Graph 6.5: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees' responses to getting a fair and just procedure

The Tamil community both in the main sample and sub-samples show faith in the courts and university entrance examinations, in that order, in getting a just and fair procedure. The most variation in responses is received for the item 'in a procedure of job allocation'; citizens, students and trainees have less faith than teachers and lecturers. In police investigations, they have very little faith.

Table 6.6: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and

trainees' responses to getting a fair and just procedure

Category	Citizens	School		School NCOE	
		Teachers	Students	Lecturers	Trainees
In court	83.6	90.0	66.7	78.6	56.3
In a police investigation	43.1	55	33.3	40.0	33.3
At tax office	39.3	50.0	-	22.2	10.7
In a procedure of job allocation	44.1	55.6	16.7	64.7	3.7
In university entrance exams	68.8	68.4	66.7	63.6	63.3
In getting a government contract	36.4	55.6	66.7	45.5	19.2
In electoral procedures	45.1	52.6	50.0	70.0	19.2



Graph 6.6: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees' responses to getting a fair and just procedure

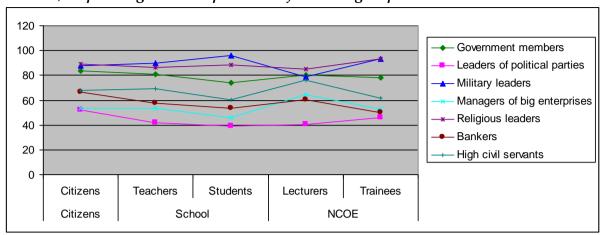
Similar to the other ethnic groups, the Muslim community shows faith in the courts and university entrance examinations, in getting a just and fair procedure. Similar to the pattern of responses of the Tamil ethnic group, the most variation is shown in responses to the item: 'in a procedure of job allocation'; students and trainees have least faith while lecturers, teachers and citizens have faith of getting a just and fair procedure.

Q18 stated: Which of the following influential groups of people do you consider as very important, or as not very important in Sri Lanka?

Table 6.7: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and

trainees, responding to the importance of various groups in Sri Lanka

in this ees, respectively to the importance of curve us groups in or zumin.							
Category	Citizens	School		izens School NCO		OE	
		Teachers	Students	Lecturers	Trainees		
Government members	83.8	80.7	74.3	80.1	78.5		
Leaders of political parties	52.4	41.8	39.1	40.6	46.2		
Military leaders	87.8	89.9	95.8	79.1	93.4		
Managers of big enterprises	53.4	53.7	45.9	64.2	53.1		
Religious leaders	89.2	86.7	88.6	84.7	93.2		
Bankers	66.2	57.7	53.7	60.5	50.3		
High civil servants	67.8	69.0	60.6	76.4	61.8		
Big business men	50.8	46.0	39.3	48.3	44.4		
Members of Parliament	41.1	21.8	39.0	26.5	33.3		

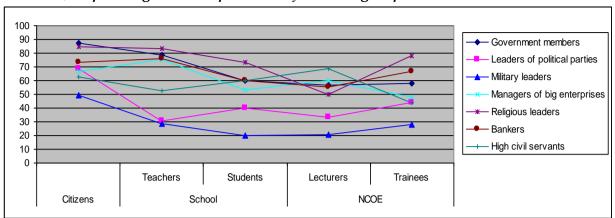


Graph 6.7: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, responding to the importance of various groups in Sri Lanka

Military leaders and religious leaders vie for first priority and government members get third preference of the Sinhalese ethnic group. High civil servants, Bankers, Managers of big enterprises are next in order of priority, with leaders of political parties coming last.

Table 6.8: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, responding to the importance of various groups in Sri Lanka

Category	Citizens	School		Citizens School NCOE			OE
		Teachers	Students	Lecturers	Trainees		
Government members	87.1	78.6	60.0	56.7	57.7		
Leaders of political parties	69.0	31.0	40.0	33.3	44.0		
Military leaders	49.3	28.6	20.0	20.7	28.0		
Managers of big enterprises	66.4	75.6	53.3	60.0	48.0		
Religious leaders	84.9	83.3	73.3	50.0	77.8		
Bankers	73.4	76.2	60.0	55.2	66.7		
High civil servants	62.6	52.4	60.0	69.0	44.0		
Big business men	64.0	57.1	33.3	27.6	32.0		
Members of Parliament	64.5	45.2	66.7	48.3	46.4		



Graph 6.8: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, responding to the importance of various groups in Sri Lanka

In the thinking of the Tamil ethnic community, an interesting contrast (to the other two ethnic communities) is that they consider Military leaders the last in importance in Sri Lanka. Next in order of least importance is Leaders of political parties. Religious leaders and Government members are very important and next in importance are Bankers, Managers of big enterprises and High civil servants.

Table 6.9: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, responding to the importance of various groups in Sri Lanka

Category Citizens **NCOE** Teachers Students Lecturers Trainees Government members 86.9 95.0 80.0 73.3 66.7 Leaders of political parties 70.8 78.9 40.0 53.1 66.7 Military leaders 69.2 78.9 83.3 89.5 87.1 Managers of big enterprises 58.7 57.9 16.7 21.1 46.7 Religious leaders 89.3 95.0 66.7 47.6 90.6 25.8 Bankers 74.8 42.1 33.3 63.2 High civil servants 65.3 65.0 33.3 78.9 61.3 Big business men 62.5 42.1 21.1 25.8 73.7 57.6 Members of Parliament 70.2 66.7 40.0

100 90 80 - Government members 70 Leaders of political parties - Military leaders 60 50 Managers of big enterprises 40 Religious leaders 30 Bankers 20 High civil servants 10 0 Teachers Students Lecturers Trainees Citizens School NCOE

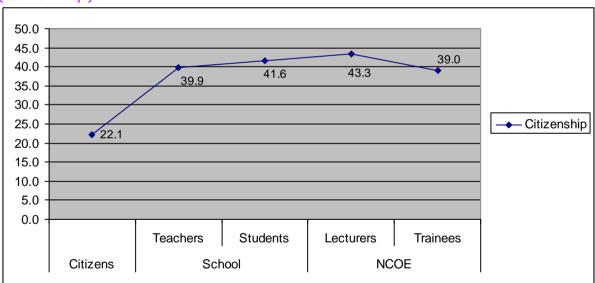
Graph 6.9: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, responding to the importance of various groups in Sri Lanka

In the opinion of the Muslim ethnic community, Military leaders, Government members and, Religious leaders are most important, with considerable variation in the responses of different sub samples. For e.g. the lecturers and students give relatively less importance to Religious leaders. Interestingly, Managers of big enterprises and even Bankers are considered less important (compared to the responses of other ethnic groups).

7. THE ETHNIC DIVIDE

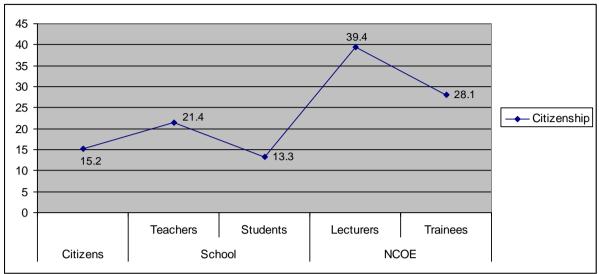
Q: 4 was on the identity of people, how they decribe themselves. 'If somebody asks you what you are, how would you describe yourself? They were given the chance to describe themselves, thrice, as follows; in the first place, I am in the second place, I am in the third place, I am The categories respondents identified themselves with, were many, such as by citizenship, ethnicity and religion. The identity of people, by ethnic group, if strong, leads to ethnic affiliation over and above that of citizenship. What the country needs, at this point in time is a strong citizenship affeliation while retaining each group's ethnic identity. In this analysis, how the respondents described themselves, the first time, is analyzed.

Graph 7.1: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, indicating how they identify themselves; in the first place, I am..... (Citizenship)



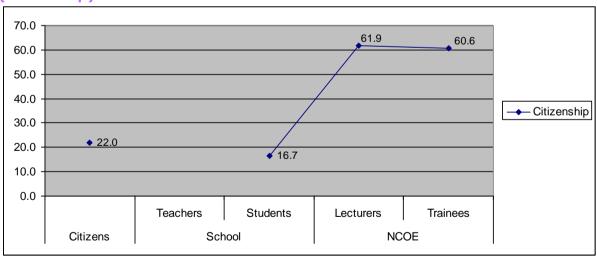
The Sinhalese ethnic community identified themselves primarily by citizenship.

Graph 7.2: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, indicating how they identify themselves; in the first place, I am..... (Citizenship)



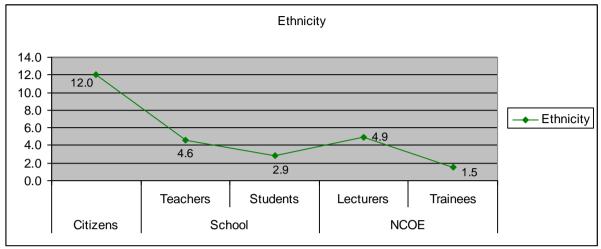
The Tamil ethnic community also identified themselves by citizenship, with the highest citizenship affeliation indicated by lecturers.

Graph 7.3: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, indicating how they identify themselves; in the first place, I am..... (Citizenship)



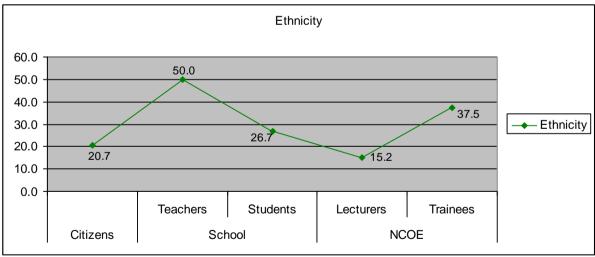
In the Muslim ethnic community, both the lecturers and trainees gave priority citizenship affeliation, in even higher percentages.

Graph 7.4: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees by whole group and, by ethnic group indicating how they identify themselves; in the first place, I am..... (Ethnicity)



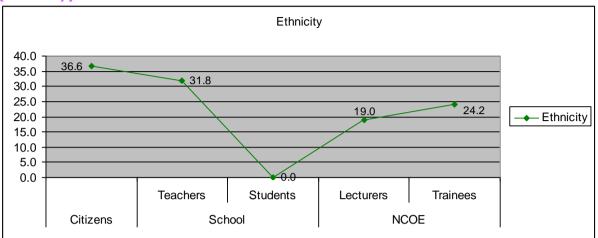
The Sinhalese ethnic community gives very low priority to identification by ethnicity.

Graph 7.5: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating how they identify themselves; in the first place, I am..... (Ethnicity)



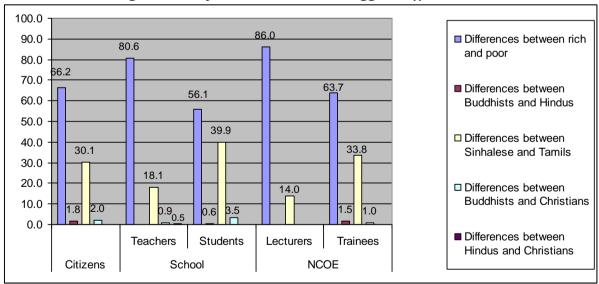
The Tamil ethnic community, particularly the teachers have indicated their identity, in terms of ethnicity.

Graph 7.6: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, indicating how they identify themselves; in the first place, I am..... (Ethnicity)



The Muslim ethnic community also identify themselves by ethnicity; however, notable is the responses of students, who have not considered their identity in terms of ethnicity, at all.

Graph 7.7: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, indicating what they consider to be the biggest difference in Sri Lanka

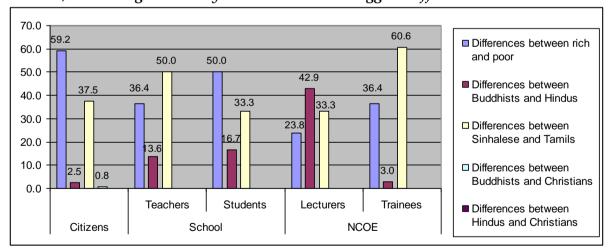


The Sinhalese ethnic community is unanimous in their thinking that the biggest difference in Sri Lanka is that between the rich and poor.

90.0 Differences between 76.2 rich and poor 80.0 70.0 ■ Differences between **Buddhists and Hindus** 60.0 51.5 50.0 □ Differences between 40.0 Sinhalese and Tamils 30.0 21.4 16.7 20.0 □ Differences between 13.3 Buddhists and 10.0 2.8 1.4 2.4 3.0 2.9 Christians 0.0 ■ Differences between Students Lecturers **Trainees Teachers** Hindus and Christians NCOE School Citizens

Graph 7.8: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, indicating what they consider to be the biggest difference in Sri Lanka

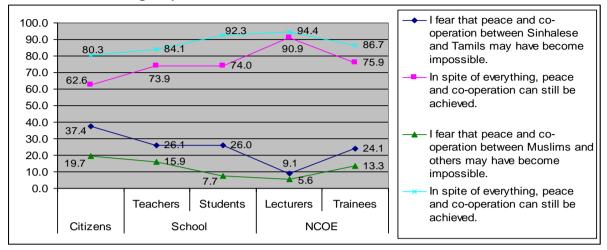
The Tamil ethnic community, in contrast, considers the biggest difference to be that between the Sinhalese and Tamils.



Graph 7.9: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, indicating what they consider to be the biggest difference in Sri Lanka

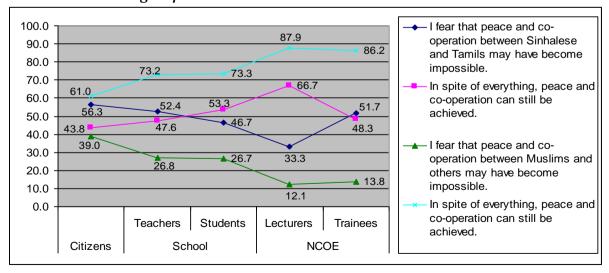
The opinions of the Muslim ethnic community are somewhat divided; the citizens and students consider the biggest difference to be that between the rich and poor. Teachers and trainees, by majority vote, say that the difference between the Sinhalese and Tamils is the biggest difference.

Graph 7.10: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating their opinions on the possibility of peace and cooperation between the ethnic groups.



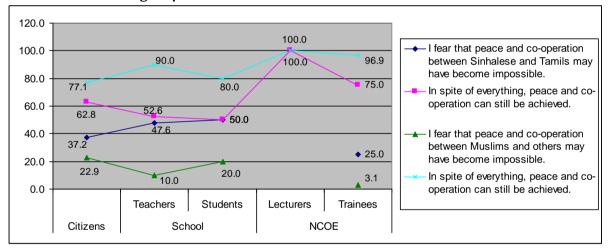
The Sinhalese ethnic community is quite positive and hopeful in their response to this question, the fear that of peace and co-operation between Sinhalese and Tamils may have become impossible. They indicate that in spite of everything, peace and co-operation can still be achieved. Likewise, in respect of the Muslim community and others, the Sinhalese community is even more hopeful that peace and co-operation can still be achieved.

Graph 7.11: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating their opinions on the possibility of peace and cooperation between the ethnic groups.



The Tamil ethnic community makes a very positive response that in spite of everything, peace and co-operation can still be achieved, in response to the fear that peace and co-operation between the Muslims and others may have become impossible; the percentage responses range in the 60s through the high 80s. A majority response is also indicated by some sub samples (for e.g. students and lecturers) with percentage responses ranging in the 40s, that in spite of everything peace and co-operation between Sinhalese and Tamils can still be achieved. The majority of respondents in the citizens' sample, teachers and trainees are not of this view.

Graph 7.12: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating their opinions on the possibility of peace and cooperation between the ethnic groups.

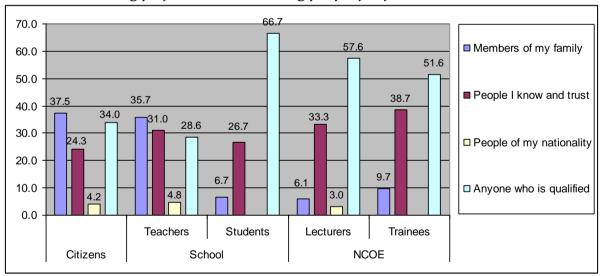


A high percentage response is shown, response to the question: I fear that peace and co-operation between Muslims and others may have become impossible; the Muslim ethnic community, in response to this, has clearly affirmed their thinking, to the effect that in spite of everything, peace and co-operation can still be achieved. (in percentages ranging in the 70s through 100). Their response to the fear that peace and co-operation between Sinhalese and Tamils may have become impossible, is also very positive; they indicate that in spite of everything, peace and co-operation can still be achieved, by responding in percentages ranging from the 50s through 100.

80.0 65.0 67.3 70.0 ■ Members of my family 60.0 49 7 ■ People I know and trust 50.0 40.0 29.6 □ People of my nationality 30.0 23.6 19.4 19.0 18 7 20.0 11.0 11.0 12.4 5.5 6.7 ☐ Anyone who is qualified 10.0 2.4 2.0 0.0 Teachers Students Lecturers Trainees Citizens School NCOE

Graph 7.13: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, indicating preferences in choosing people for jobs in their own business.

For jobs in one's own business, the Sinhalese ethnic community opts to choose 'Anyone who is qualified'; the citizens' second preference is 'Member of my family', and of all other sub-samples, 'People I know and trust'.

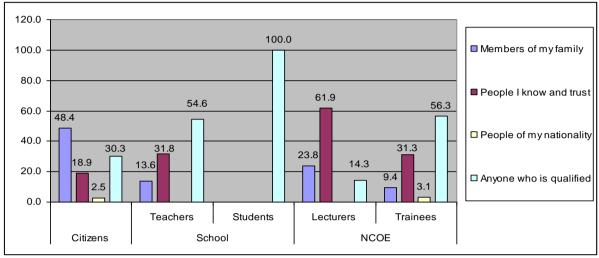


Graph 7.14: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, indicating preferences in choosing people for jobs in their own business.

A similar preference (as that of the Sinhalese) is shown by the students, lecturers and trainees of the Tamil ethnic community, for 'Anyone who is qualified'; but the citizens and teachers opt to choose 'Member of my family' above 'Anyone who is qualified'. 'People I know and trust' is the second preference, of trainees, lecturers,

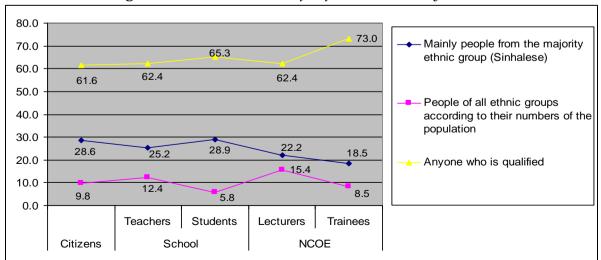
teachers and students. Only the citizens group gave third preference to 'People I know and trust'.

Graph 7.15: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, indicating preferences in choosing people for jobs in their own business.

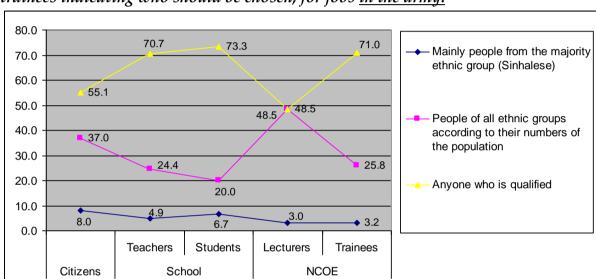


In the Muslim ethnic community, the students, trainees and teachers give first preference to 'Anyone who is qualified'. The citizens group opts for 'Member of my family', for jobs in one's own business. 'People I know and trust' is the first preference of Lecturers and, the second preference of all others, in this group of respondents.

Graph 7.16: SINHALESE Citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating who should be chosen, for jobs <u>in the army</u>.

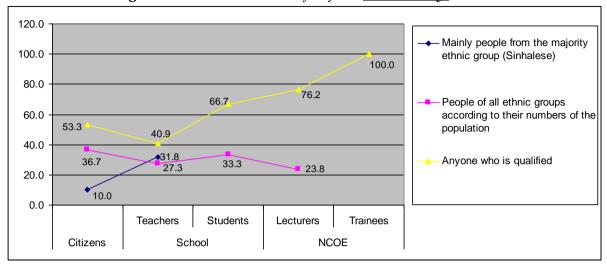


For jobs in the army, the Sinhalese ethnic community primarily would choose 'Anyone who is qualified'; their responses to this option range in percentages in the 60s and 70s. However, all groups would also choose 'Mainly people from the majority ethnic group, the Sinhalese' and, these percentages range in the 10s and 20s. Lesser percentages are indicated for choosing 'People of all ethnic groups', according to their numbers of this community.



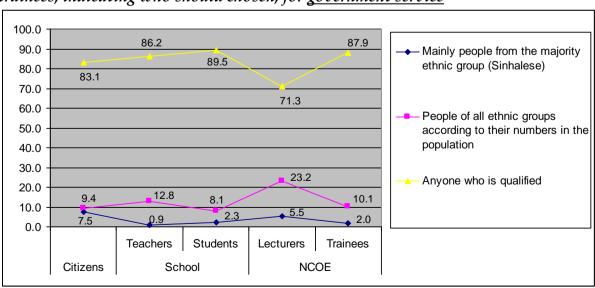
Graph 7.17: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating who should be chosen, for jobs <u>in the army</u>.

The Tamil ethnic community would give jobs in the army to 'Anyone who is qualified', in the first place (with percentage responses ranging from 40s through 70s). They would also choose 'People of all ethnic groups', according to their numbers of the population', with responses to this option ranging from percentages in the 20s through 40s. The option, 'Mainly people from the majority ethnic group (Sinhalese)', got less than 10.0% votes of all respondents.



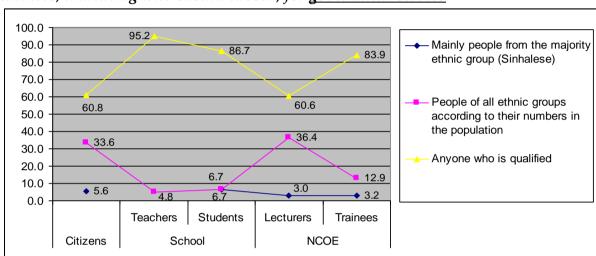
Graph 7.18: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating who should be chosen, for jobs in the army.

The Muslim ethnic community (except the teachers) gave their majority vote to choosing 'Anyone who is qualified'; the percentage responses to this option range in the 40s through 100. Secondly, they would choose for jobs in the army 'People of all ethnic groups', according to their numbers of the population', the percentages to this option range in the 20s and 30s. The citizens and teachers would select 'Mainly people from the majority ethnic group', and the responses were in percentage ranges of the 10s through 30s.



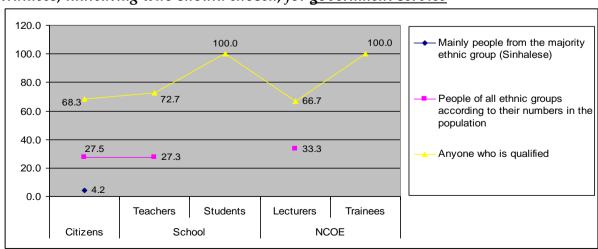
Graph 7.19: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, indicating who should chosen, for government service

The Sinhalese ethnic community would primarily choose for government service, 'Anyone who is qualified', with percentage votes in the high 70s and 80s. 'People of all ethnic groups according to their numbers in the population' is also preferred, but, by percentages ranging in the 10s or less and, 20s; the lecturers in particular have voted for this mode of selection to government service.



Graph 7.20: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, indicating who should chosen, for <u>government service</u>

The Tamil ethnic community would also primarily choose 'Anyone who is qualified', for government service. The choice of a third of the citizens and lecturers is 'People of all ethnic groups according to their numbers in the population'.

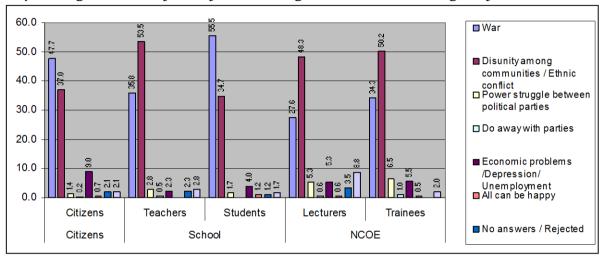


Graph 7.21: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, indicating who should chosen, for government service

The Muslim community categorically state that 'Anyone who is qualified', should be chosen, for government service, with percentages ranging in the 60s through 100. The lecturers, citizens and teachers, responding in percentages ranging from 20s through 30s, have indicated preference for selecting 'People of all ethnic groups according to their numbers in the population'.

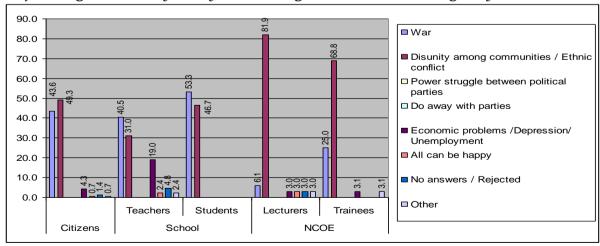
8. GOVERNANCE

Graph 8.1: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, indicating what in their opinion was the most serious political problem confronting our country today which the government should urgently address



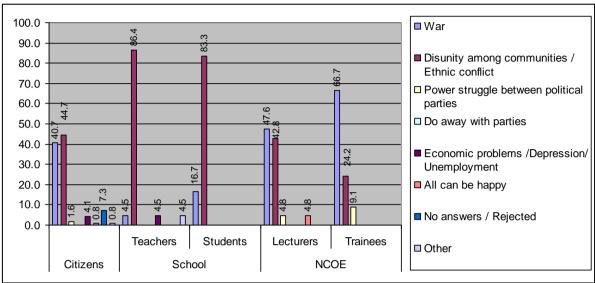
The Sinhalese ethnic community considered the ethnic conflict/disunity among communities and, war to be the most serious problem confronting our country today, which the government should urgently address.

Graph 8.2: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, indicating what in their opinion was the most serious political problem confronting our country today which the government should urgently address



Tamil ethnic community, likewise, endorsed the same view.

Graph 8.3: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, indicating what in their opinion was the most serious political problem confronting our country today which the government should urgently address



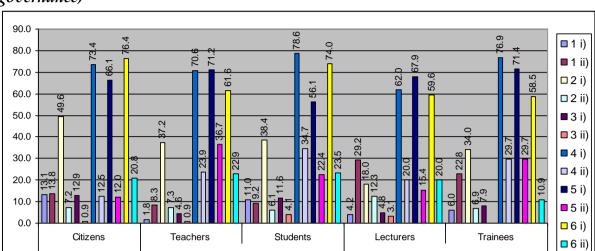
Among the Muslim ethnic community, ethnic conflict and disunity among communities was considered the major political problem confronting our country, particularly by the teachers and students. War was an equally serious political problem confronting the country, which the government should urgently address.

Table 8.1: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees', opinions on (i) acceptability and (ii) the best solution for our country (on governance)

Country		Citizens	Sch	nool	NC	NCOE	
			Teachers	Students	Lecturers	Trainees	
The country is divided up and groups form	i)	13.1	1.8	11.0	4.2	6.0	
their own states.	ii)	13.8	8.3	9.2	29.2	22.8	
The most numerous group rules, and the	i)	49.6	37.2	38.4	18.0	34.0	
other groups accept what is decided.	ii)	7.2	7.3	6.1	12.3	6.9	
One group (majority or not) rules over the	i)	12.9	4.6	11.6	4.8	7.9	
others, and people that refuse to accept this have to keep quiet or leave.	ii)	0.9	0.9	4.1	3.1	-	
A single party open to everyone rules	i)	73.4	70.6	78.6	62.0	76.9	
without opposition.	ii)	12.5	23.9	34.7	20.0	29.7	
A joint government with a quota for all	i)	66.1	71.2	56.1	67.9	71.4	
major groups.	ii)	12.0	36.7	22.4	15.4	29.7	
All people vote for any party they like, and	i)	76.4	61.6	74.0	59.6	58.5	
the winning party (parties) rules (rule) with other parties in the opposition.	ii)	20.8	22.9	23.5	20.0	10.9	

NCOE

Citizens



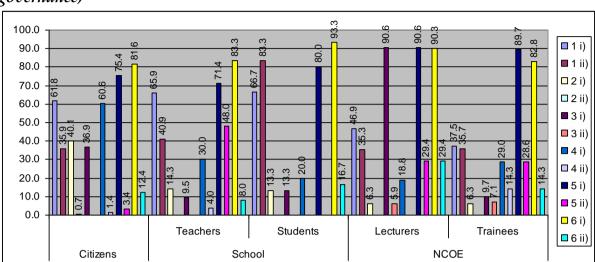
Graph 8.4: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees', opinions on (i) acceptability and (ii) the best solution for our country (on governance)

The highest responses by the Sinhalese ethnic community, on acceptability of solutions was to the last 3 options but, when asked to opt for the best solution for our country, their highest responses to all three were below 36.7%. This is the dilemma faced by Sri Lanka, in the choice of a form of governance acceptable to all communities.

School

Table 8.2: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees', opinions on (i) acceptability and (ii) the best solution for our country (on governance)

Country		Citizens	Sch	nool	NC	OE
			Teachers	Students	Lecturers	Trainees
The country is divided up and groups form	i)	61.8	65.9	66.7	46.9	37.5
their own states.	ii)	35.9	40.9	83.3	35.3	35.7
The most numerous group rules, and the	i)	40.1	14.3	13.3	6.3	6.3
other groups accept what is decided.	ii)	0.7	-	-	-	-
One group (majority or not) rules over the	i)	36.9	9.5	13.3	90.6	9.7
others, and people that refuse to accept this have to keep quiet or leave.	ii)	-	-	-	5.9	7.1
A single party open to everyone rules	i)	60.6	30.0	20.0	18.8	29.0
without opposition.	ii)	1.4	4.0	-	-	14.3
A joint government with a quota for all	i)	75.4	71.4	80.0	90.6	89.7
major groups.	ii)	3.4	48.0	-	29.4	28.6
All people vote for any party they like, and	i)	81.6	83.3	93.3	90.3	82.8
the winning party (parties) rules (rule) with other parties in the opposition.	ii)	12.4	8.0	16.7	29.4	14.3



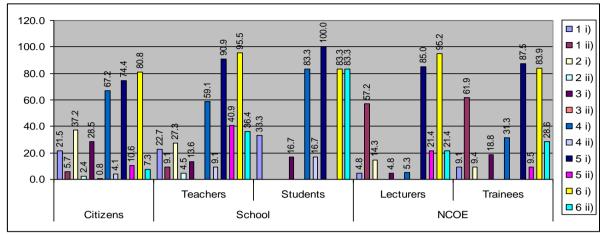
Graph 8.5: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees', opinions on (i) acceptability and (ii) the best solution for our country (on governance)

The Tamil ethnic communities prefer the country to be divided up and groups to form their own states and this is the best solution, to this community. They also voted for the option of a joint government with a quota for all major groups, but percentage responses to this option dropped drastically when asked to opt for the 'best solution'. The same pattern of responses were repeated, in the case of last option.

Table 8.3: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees', opinions on (i) acceptability and (ii) the best solution for our country (on governance)

Country		Citizens	Sch	nool	NC	OE
			Teachers	Students	Lecturers	Trainees
The country is divided up and groups	i)	21.5	22.7	33.3	4.8	9.1
form their own states.	ii)	5.7	9.1	-	57.2	61.9
The most numerous group rules, and the	i)	37.2	27.3	-	14.3	9.4
other groups accept what is decided.	ii)	2.4	4.5	-	-	-
One group (majority or not) rules over the	i)	28.5	13.6	16.7	4.8	18.8
others, and people that refuse to accept this have to keep quiet or leave.	ii)	0.8	-	-	-	-
A single party open to everyone rules	i)	67.2	59.1	83.3	5.3	31.3
without opposition.	ii)	4.1	9.1	16.7	-	-
A joint government with a quota for all	i)	74.4	90.9	100.0	85.0	87.5
major groups.	ii)	10.6	40.9	-	21.4	9.5
All people vote for any party they like,	i)	80.8	95.5	83.3	95.2	83.9
and the winning party (parties) rules (rule) with other parties in the opposition.	ii)	7.3	36.4	83.3	21.4	28.6

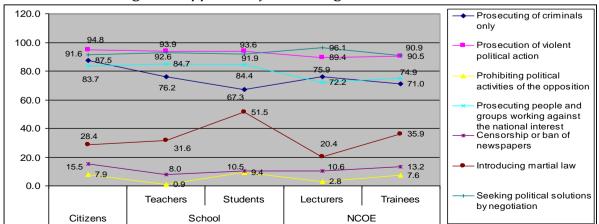
Graph 8.6: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees', opinions on (i) acceptability and (ii) the best solution for our country (on governance)



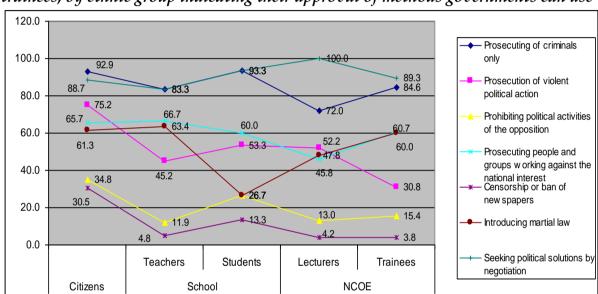
The Muslim lecturers and trainees thought the country be divided up and groups form their own states would be the best solution for our country but, this solution is not at all acceptable, going by the statistical picture. The last three solutions are acceptable to most sub-samples of the Muslims but not the 'best solution for the country', going by how they have voted for each. This portrays the dilemma faced by the country, in its choice of mode of governance acceptable to all ethnic communities.

DEMOCRATIC RULE

Graph 8.7: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and Trainees, indicating their approval of methods governments can use

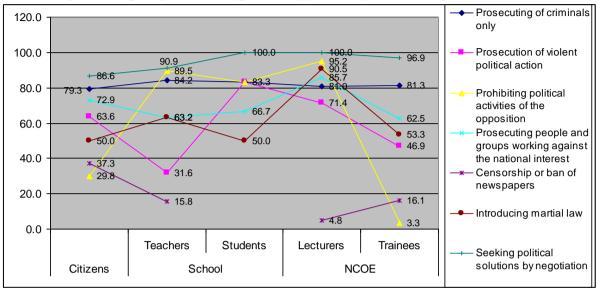


The Sinhalese ethnic community are all in favour of 'Prosecution of violent political action', 'Seeking political solutions by negotiation', 'Prosecuting people and groups working against the national interest' and, 'Prosecuting of criminals only', in that order (with approval of over 67.3%). 'Introducing martial law' is preferred by majority of students, Censorship or ban of newspapers and, Prohibiting political activities of the opposition, by very few of the different samples.



Graph 8.8: TAMIL Citizens, School teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, by ethnic group indicating their approval of methods governments can use

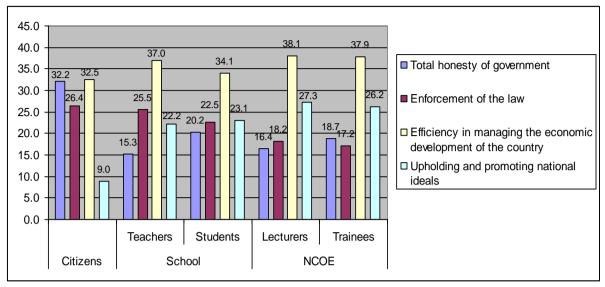
Prosecuting of criminals only and Prosecuting people and groups working against the national interest are favoured by over 72.6% votes, of the ethnic Tamil community. They are generally not in favour of Prohibiting political activities of the opposition, nor the Censorship or ban of newspapers. However, Introducing martial law is agreeable to all but the students. The most significant response of the Tamil ethnic community is to, 'Prosecution of violent political action'. Except the citizen group, the agreement of all other group range in percentages in the 30s, 40s and 50s whereas the Sinhalese community voted for this in the 90s.



Graph 8.9: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees by ethnic group indicating their approval of methods governments can use

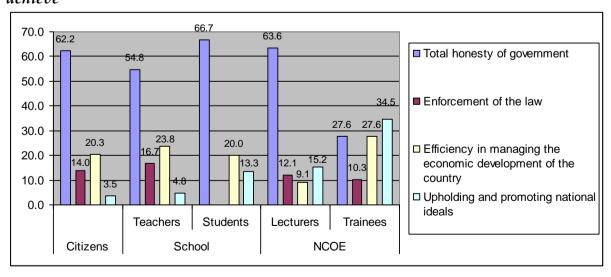
The Muslim ethnic community show very high agreement with seeking political solution by negotiation and, Prosecuting of criminals only. They are also in favour of Prosecuting people and groups working against the national interest. The response pattern of the Muslim ethnic community to Prosecution of violent political action is varied; the teachers response is particular is noteworthy (31.6%) as against the students (83.3%). Prohibiting political activities of the opposition is another method for which responses varied widely, from the lowest agreement of the trainees and citizens to very high agreement on the part of teachers, students and lecturers. Introducing martial law is agreeable to 50.0% or more of all categories of respondents.

Graph 8.10: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees responses' on 'the most important thing that the government should achieve'



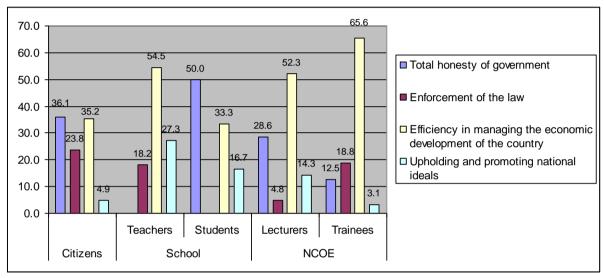
To the Sinhalese ethnic community, Efficiency in managing the economic development of the country, Upholding and promoting national ideals, Enforcement of the law are the most important things that the government should achieve.

Graph 8.11: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees responses' on 'the most important thing that the government should achieve'



The Tamil ethnic community vary clearly indicates that total honesty of government is most important to them and, all others are secondary. Upholding and promoting national ideals is of least important, particularly to the teachers (4.8%), a cause for grave concern, for the education system.

Graph 8.12: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees responses' on 'the most important thing that the government should achieve'



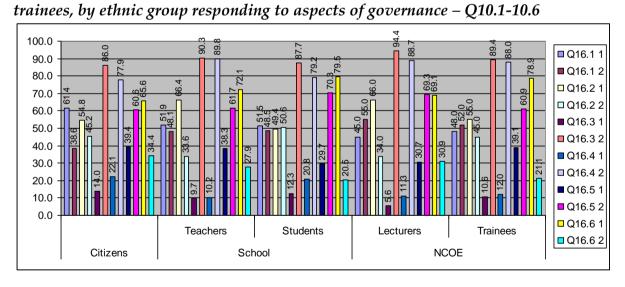
To the Muslim ethnic community, 'Efficiency in managing the economic development of the country' and, 'Total honesty of government' is very important.

Table 8.4: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, by ethnic group responding to aspects of governance – Q10.1-10.6

		Cotogowy	Citizens	School		NCOE	
		Category	Citizens	School		NCOE	
				Teachers	Students	Lecturers	Trainees
Q16.1	1	All people vote for any party they like and the winning party (parties) rules (rule) with other parties in the opposition.	61.4	51.9	51.5	45.0	48.0
	2	More than one party, each with its own plan for the country's future.	38.6	48.1	48.5	55.0	52.0
Q16.2	1	A Prime Minister who's power is balanced by the parliament.	54.8	66.4	49.4	66.0	55.0
	2	A Prime Minister who can act without interference by members of parliament.	45.2	33.6	50.6	34.0	45.0

Q16.3	1	Judges, who follow instructions given by government	14.0	9.7	12.3	5.6	10.6
	2	Judges, who apply the law whatever the government says	86.0	90.3	87.7	94.4	89.4
Q16.4	1	Control of newspapers by government in order to prevent disunity.	22.1	10.2	20.8	11.3	12.0
	2	Newspapers free to criticise government and enjoy freedom of expression.	77.9	89.8	79.2	88.7	88.0
Q16.5	1	A state authority, which controls particular interests and preserves social harmony.	39.4	38.3	29.7	30.7	39.1
	2	Freedom for people to pursue different interests provided they respect the rules.	60.6	61.7	70.3	69.3	60.9
Q16.6	1	Local authorities, which are elected by the people of the respective region, town or village.	65.6	72.1	79.5	69.1	78.9
	2	Local authorities which are appointed by the central government	34.4	27.9	20.5	30.9	21.1

Graph 8.13: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and

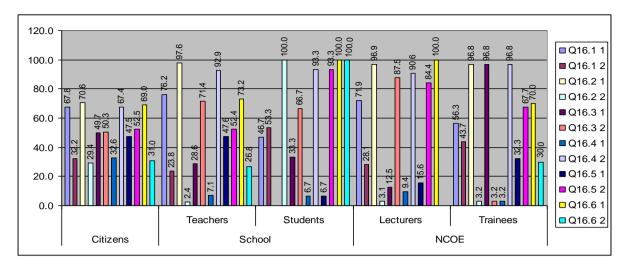


The majority of the Sinhalese ethnic community, the citizens and all sub samples generally agree with the tenets of democratic rule, listed above. The one exception is the students (50.6%) voting for 'A Prime Minister who can act without interference by members of parliament', no doubt a response to our own system of parliamentary democracy, as its operates.

Table 8.5: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, by ethnic group responding to aspects of governance – Q10.1-10.6

		Description	Citizens		iool	NCOE		
				Teachers	Students	Lecturers	Trainees	
Q16.1	1	All people vote for any party they like and the winning party (parties) rules (rule) with other parties in the opposition.	67.8	76.2	46.7	71.9	56.3	
	2	More than one party, each with its own plan for the country's future.	32.2	23.8	53.3	28.1	43.7	
Q16.2	1	A Prime Minister who's power is balanced by the parliament.	70.6	97.6	-	96.9	96.8	
	2	A Prime Minister who can act without interference by members of parliament.	29.4	2.4	100.0	3.1	3.2	
Q16.3	1	Judges, who follow instructions given by government	49.7	28.6	33.3	12.5	96.8	
	2	Judges, who apply the law whatever the government says	50.3	71.4	66.7	87.5	3.2	
Q16.4	1	Control of newspapers by government in order to prevent disunity.	32.6	7.1	6.7	9.4	3.2	
	2	Newspapers free to criticise government and enjoy freedom of expression.	67.4	92.9	93.3	90.6	96.8	
Q16.5	1	A state authority, which controls particular interests and preserves social harmony.	47.5	47.6	6.7	15.6	32.3	
	2	Freedom for people to pursue different interests provided they respect the rules.	52.5	52.4	93.3	84.4	67.7	
Q16.6	1	Local authorities, which are elected by the people of the respective region, town or village.	69.0	73.2	100.0	100.0	70.0	
	2	Local authorities which are appointed by the central government	31.0	26.8	100.0	-	30.0	

Graph 8.14: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, by ethnic group responding to aspects of governance – Q10.1-10.6



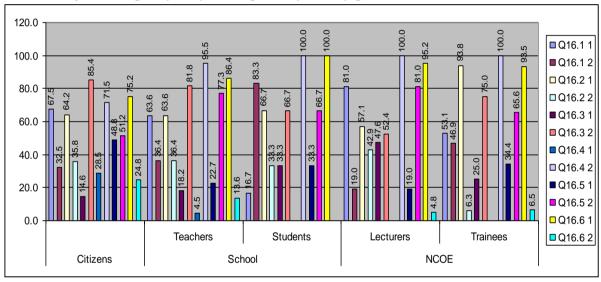
The majority of the Tamil community likewise, generally agrees with the tenets of democratic rule, listed above. The exceptions are 100.0% of the students voting for 'A Prime Minister who can act without interference by members of parliament' and 96.8% of the trainees who vote for 'Judges, who follow instructions given by government'. The citizens and teachers (47.5% and 47.6% respectively) show preference for 'A state authority, which controls particular interests and preserves social harmony' as against 'Freedom for people to pursue different interests provided they respect the rules'.

Table 8.6: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, by ethnic group responding to aspects of governance – Q10.1-10.6

Description Citizens School NCOE Students Teachers Lecturers Trainees Q16.1 All people vote for any party they 67.5 63.6 16.7 81.0 53.1 like and the winning party (parties) rules (rule) with other parties in the opposition. 32.5 83.3 19.0 46.9 More than one party, each with its 36.4 own plan for the country's future. Q16.2 57.1 93.8 A Prime Minister who's power is 64.2 63.6 66.7 balanced by the parliament. A Prime Minister who can act 35.8 36.4 33.3 42.9 6.3 without interference by members of parliament. Q16.3 Judges, who follow instructions 14.6 18.2 33.3 47.6 25.0 given by government Judges, who apply the law 85.4 81.8 66.7 52.4 75.0 whatever the government says Q16.4 Control of newspapers by 28.5 4.5 government in order to prevent disunity.

	2	Newspapers free to criticise government and enjoy freedom of expression.	71.5	95.5	100.0	100.0	100.0
Q16.5	1	A state authority, which controls particular interests and preserves social harmony.	48.8	22.7	33.3	19.0	34.4
	2	Freedom for people to pursue different interests provided they respect the rules.	51.2	77.3	66.7	81.0	65.6
Q16.6	1	Local authorities, which are elected by the people of the respective region, town or village.	75.2	86.4	100.0	95.2	93.5
	2	Local authorities which are appointed by the central government	24.8	13.6	-	4.8	6.5

Graph 8.15: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, by ethnic group responding to aspects of governance – Q10.1-10.6



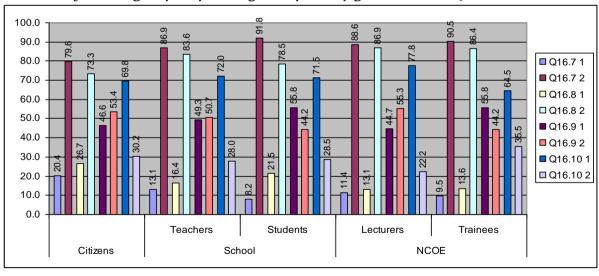
The majority of the Muslim community likewise, generally agree with the tenets of democratic rule, listed above. The few exceptions are, 42.9% lecturers voting for 'A Prime Minister who can act without interference by members of parliament' and 47.6% lecturers who vote for 'Judges, who follow instructions given by government'

Table 8.7: SINHALESE citizens, sSchool teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, by ethnic group responding to aspects of governance – Q10.7-10.10

		Description	Citizens	School		NCOE	
				Teachers	Students	Lecturers	Trainees
Q16.7	1	A government which allows one state language only.	20.4	13.1	8.2	11.4	9.5

	2	A government which gives everybody the right to use his own language in public, in offices, courts and Parliament.	79.6	86.9	91.8	88.6	90.5
Q16.8	1	A government which makes laws to make sure that people live according to the rules of religion.	26.7	16.4	21.5	13.1	13.6
	2	A government which believes that there should be no enforcement in matters of religion and which leaves religion to the believers' conscience.	73.3	83.6	78.5	86.9	86.4
Q16.9	1	Shops and factories owned by private businessmen who will work hard to make the businesses grow.	46.6	49.3	55.8	44.7	55.8
	2	Shops and factories owned by a government elected by the people.	53.4	50.7	44.2	55.3	44.2
Q16.10	1	A government which tries to make all people as equal as possible in wages, housing and education, even if incomes are heavily taxed.	69.8	72.0	71.5	77.8	64.5
	2	A government which allows people who are clever and work hard to become wealthier than others, even if some remain permanently poor.	30.2	28.0	28.5	22.2	35.5

Graph 8.16: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, by ethnic group responding to aspects of governance – Q10.7-10.10

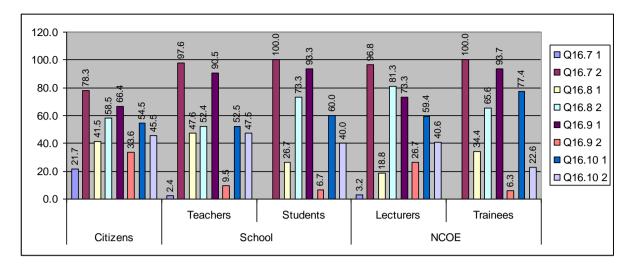


Q: 16.7 and 16.8 concerned, 'The right to use his own language', and 'A government which makes laws to make sure that people live according to the rules of religion'. Q: 16.9 has already been discussed, in the section on Public-Private ownership of Businesses; Q: 16.10 concerns the governments' policy of ensuring egalitarianism as against free enterprise. On the question of state language, it is noteworthy that a percentage of citizens, teachers and lecturers of the Sinhalese ethnic community, though small, vote for a government which allows one state language only.

Table 8.8: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, by ethnic group responding to aspects of governance – O10.7-10.10

		Description	Citizens	Sch	nool	NC	OE
				Teachers	Students	Lecturers	Trainees
Q16.7	1	A government which allows one state language only.	21.7	2.4	-	3.2	-
	2	A government which gives everybody the right to use his own language in public, in offices, courts and Parliament.	78.3	97.6	100.0	96.8	100.0
Q16.8	1	A government which makes laws to make sure that people live according to the rules of religion.	41.5	47.6	26.7	18.8	34.4
	2	A government which believes that there should be no enforcement in matters of religion and which leaves religion to the believers' conscience.	58.5	52.4	73.3	81.3	65.6
Q16.9	1	Shops and factories owned by private businessmen who will work hard to make the businesses grow.	66.4	90.5	93.3	73.3	93.7
	2	Shops and factories owned by a government elected by the people.	33.6	9.5	6.7	26.7	6.3
Q16.10	1	A government which tries to make all people as equal as possible in wages, housing and education, even if incomes are heavily taxed.	54.5	52.5	60.0	59.4	77.4
	2	A government which allows people who are clever and work hard to become wealthier than others, even if some remain permanently poor.	45.5	47.5	40.0	40.6	22.6

Graph 8.17: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, by ethnic group responding to aspects of governance – Q10.7-10.10



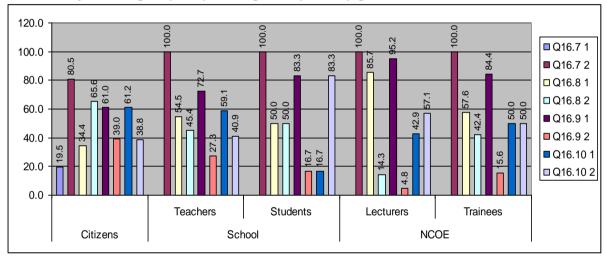
In the Tamil ethnic community too, in the citizen group, there is a percentage of respondents voting for a government which allows 'one state language only'. There is a significant percentage of citizens and teachers (41.5 % and 47.6% respectively) who believe in 'A government which makes laws to make sure that people live according to the rules of religion'.

Table 8.9: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, by ethnic group responding to aspects of governance – Q10.7-10.10

		Description	Citizens	s School		NCOE	
				Teachers	Students	Lecturers	Trainees
Q16.7	1	A government which allows one state language only.	19.5	-	-	-	-
	2	A government which gives everybody the right to use his own language in public, in offices, courts and Parliament.	80.5	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Q16.8	1	A government which makes laws to make sure that people live according to the rules of religion.	34.4	54.5	50.0	85.7	57.6
	2	A government which believes that there should be no enforcement in matters of religion and which leaves religion to the believers' conscience.	65.6	45.4	50.0	14.3	42.4
Q16.9	1	Shops and factories owned by private businessmen who will work hard to make the businesses grow.	61.0	72.7	83.3	95.2	84.4
	2	Shops and factories owned by a government elected by the people.	39.0	27.3	16.7	4.8	15.6

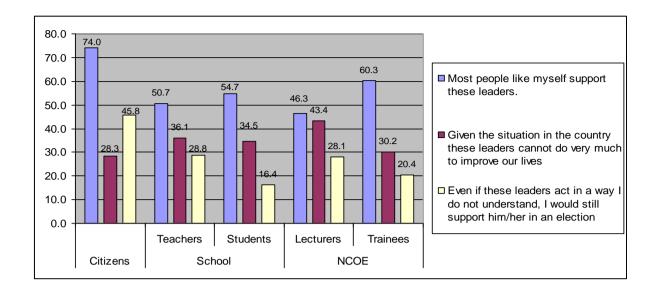
Q16.10	1	A government which tries to make all people as equal as possible in wages, housing and education, even if incomes are heavily taxed.	61.2	59.1	16.7	42.9	50.0
	2	A government which allows people who are clever and work hard to become wealthier than others, even if some remain permanently poor.	38.8	40.9	83.3	57.1	50.0

Graph 8.18: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, by ethnic group responding to aspects of governance – Q10.7-10.10



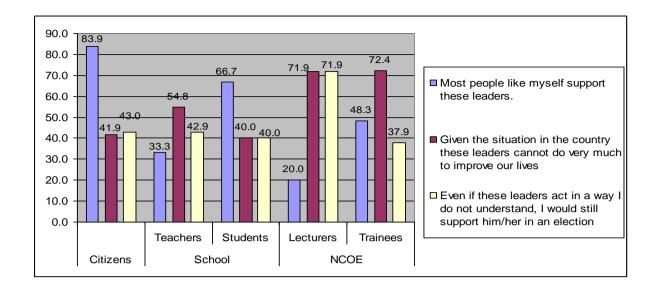
In the Muslim ethnic community, more than 50.0% of all sub-samples, except the citizens, believe that 'The government should makes laws to make sure that people live according to the rules of religion'. In the Muslim community too, a small percentage (19.5%) of citizens believe in a government which allows one state language only.

Graph 8.19: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, indicating agreement with the following statements



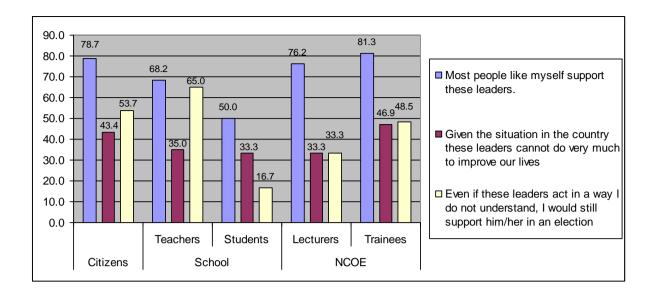
In the Sinhalese ethnic community over 46.3% of all groups agree that 'Most people like myself support these leaders and, nearly three fourth of the citizens group agree with this statement. With the statement 'given the situation in the country these leaders cannot do very much to improve our lives ', there is percentage agreement ranging in the 20s, 30s and even in the 40s (lecturers). The least agreement of the Sinhalese ethnic community is with the last statement; 'Even if these leaders act in a way I do not understand, I would still support him/her in an election'; other than the citizens group, all other sub samples have responded with percentage on the low side of 10s and 20s.

Graph 8.20: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, indicating agreement with the following statements



In the Tamil ethnic community, the citizens and students agree (with percentages ranging in the 60s and 80s) with the first statement and in the other sub-samples, less so (percentages ranging in the 20s through 40s). With the second statement the lecturers and trainees agree, in percentages ranging in the 70s and, the teachers, with percentages in the 50s. The citizens and students also agree, with percentages ranging in the 40s, with the last statement that 'Even if these leaders act in a way I do not understand, I would still support him/her in an election'; there is percentage agreement of approximately 40.0% and above, going up to the 70s in the case of lecturers.

Graph 8.21: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, indicating agreement with the following statements



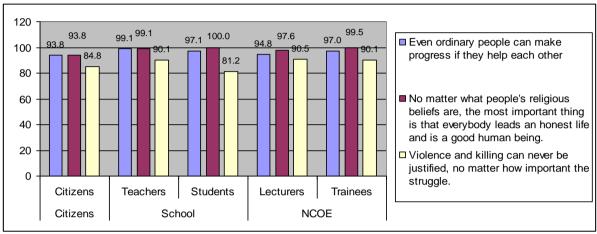
In the Muslim ethnic community, there is agreement with the first statement, in percentages above 50.0%. The agreement with the second statement is in lesser percentages, ranging in the 30s and 40s. With the last statement, there is over 50.0% agreement on the part of teachers and citizens and, lesser agreement on the part of other sub-samples.

9. SOCIAL AFFAIRS

Social affairs was measured by a set of items in question 07 (7.1 - 7.12). These are presented in four sets of items, with three questions in each.

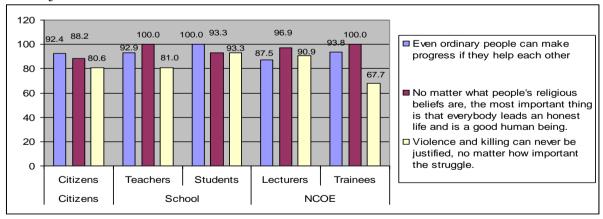
Question 7: Here are a number of things which people say about social affairs in our country. Please tell us for each of the following statements whether you agree or disagree.

Graph 9.1: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating their agreement with statements 'about social affairs' in our country.



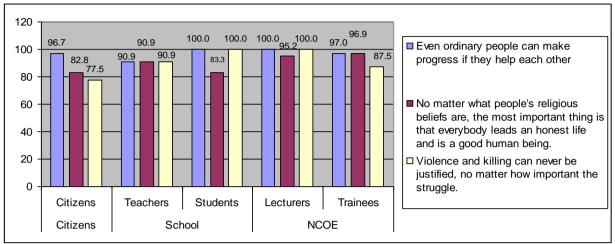
The Sinhalese ethnic community (both in the main sample and, sub samples) show very high agreement with all three statements, which are of a generic nature.

Graph 9.2: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating their agreement with statements 'about social affairs' in our country.



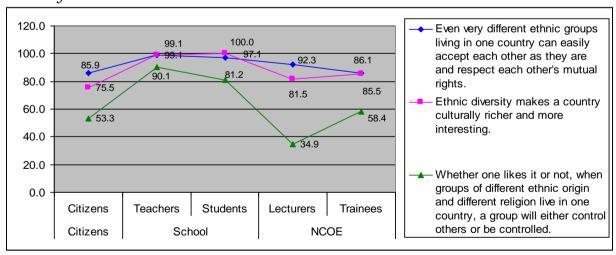
In the Tamil ethnic community also, there is above 80% agreement with the three statements.

Graph 9.3: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating their agreement with statements 'about social affairs' in our country.



In the Muslim ethnic community too, there is 82.8% and above agreement with the three statements except with the statement that 'Violence and killing can never be justified, how hard the struggle'; only 77.5% Muslim respondents in the main sample of citizens agreed with this statement, with 22.5% disagreeing.

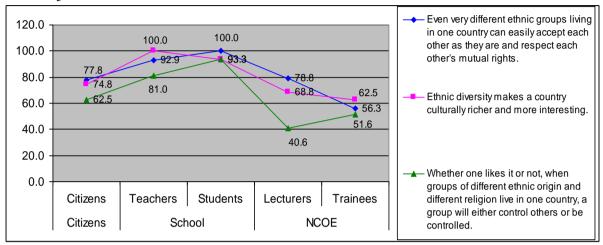
Graph 9.4: SINHALESE citizens school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating their agreement with statements 'about social affairs' in our country.



Percentage agreement of the Sinhalese ethnic community (in main sample and by sub samples) with the first two statements, is by more than 75.5%. The third statement was more controversial and, therefore, there was disagreement that a

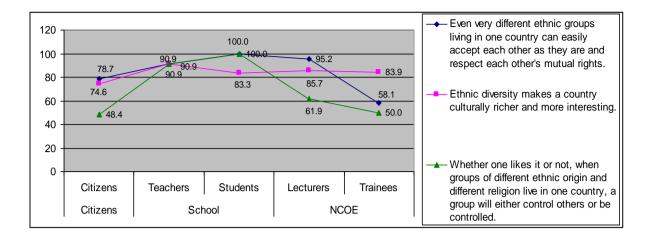
group will either control others or be controlled; the lecturers, citizens and trainees were the samples that disagreed with this statement.

Graph 9.5: TAMIL citizens school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating their agreement with statements 'about social affairs' in our country.



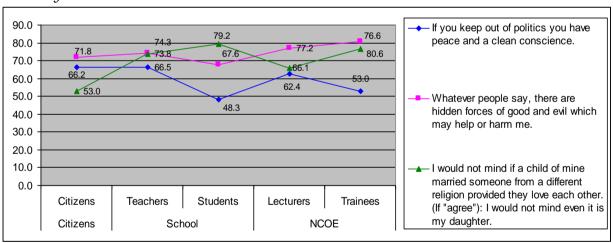
The Tamil ethnic community (in main sample and sub samples) agreed with the statements, but with significant numbers in the sub-groups disagreeing. Even for the statement 7.2, there was only 56.3% agreement (by trainees) and, 62.5% agreement on statement 7.3 (by trainees). The statement they disagreed with most was the last (7.4); only 40.6% of the lecturers and 51.6% of the trainees agreed that 'whether one likes it or not, when groups of different ethnic origin and different religion live in one country, a group will either control others or be controlled'.

Graph 9.6: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating their agreement with statements "about social affairs" in our country.



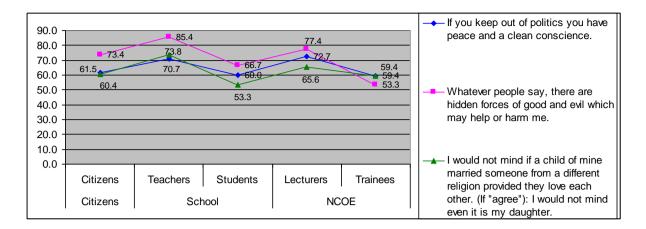
The Muslim community (in main sample and, sub samples) agreed with the first two statements; but their was considerable variation in their responses to the last statement, with the lowest percentage (48.4%) agreement by the Muslim in the main sample and, by the sample of trainees. Even the lecturers' agreement was 61.9%.

Graph 9.7: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating their agreement with statements 'about social affairs' in our country.



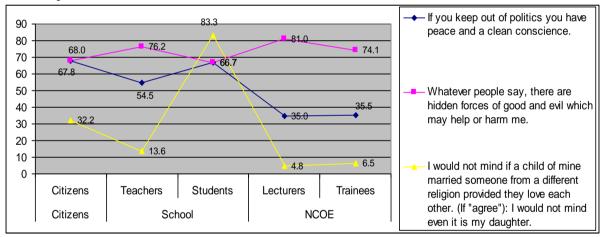
These statements on politics, destiny and, marriage out of religion drew fairly varied responses within the Sinhalese ethnic community (both in the main sample and, sub samples). The students and the trainees disagreed with the statement on politics and, the citizens in the main sample, with marriage out of religion.

Graph 9.8: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating their agreement with statements 'about social affairs' in our country.



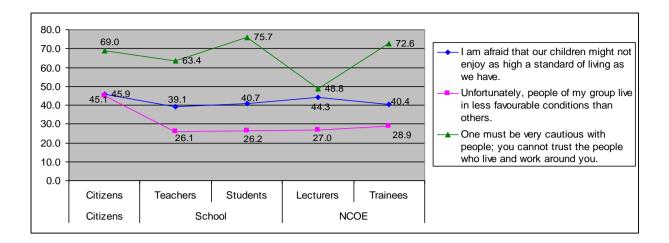
The Tamil ethnic community (in the main sample and, in sub samples) also there was less agreement on the trainees and students.

Graph 9.9: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating their agreement with statements 'about social affairs' in our country.



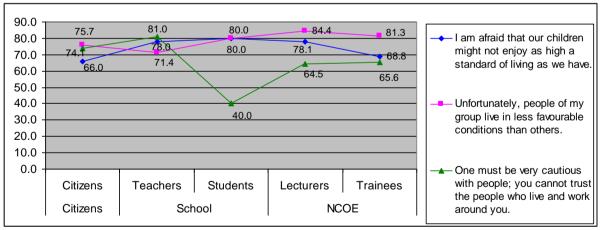
The Muslim ethnic group (in main sample and, the sub samples) disagreed with the question on politics (the lecturers and trainees). The most disagreement on the part of all but one sub-group was on marriage out of religion; the sub-group of students however, agreed whole heartedly with marriage out of religion, provided it was a love marriage.

Graph 9.10: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers, students and NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating their agreement with statements 'about social affairs' in our country.



Item 7.10, 7.11 and 7.12 were all negative statements and, with two of these, the Sinhalese ethnic community (in the main sample and in sub samples) agreed, with 45.9% or less agreement. With the 1st statement (7.10), the agreement was of less than the majority (48.8%) of the lecturers. Generally, the fact that the majority disagreed with two of the statements which are negative indicates that their outlook is more positive than negative.

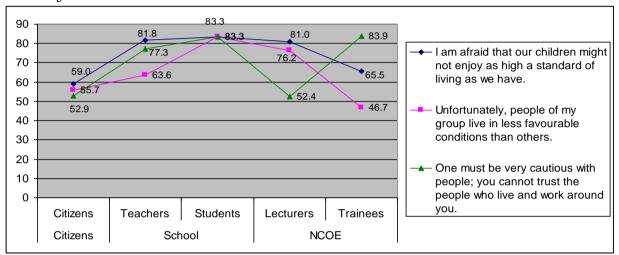
Graph 9.11: TAMIL citizens, school teachers, students and NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating their agreement with statements 'about social affairs' in our country.



The members of the Tamil community and less positive than the Sinhalese ethnic community for they agree with all three negative statements (with 64.5% or more agreement). Only the sub sample of students (40.0%) with less than a majority

agreed that 'one must be very cautious with people; you cannot trust the people you live and work round you'.

Graph 9.12: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers, students and NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating their agreement with statements 'about social affairs' in our country.



In the Muslim ethnic community (in the main sample and, sub samples) the thinking is more negative, for a majority have agreed with all statements but one; 'unfortunately, people of my group live in less favourable conditions than others'.

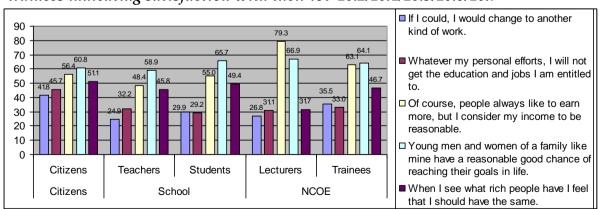
10. SATISFACTION WITH THEIR LOT

A number of items in the questionnaire asked respondents to indicate their satisfaction with life, like Q: 33 which states: Thinking about your life in this country (referring to members of respondent's group), how do you feel? Respondents are then asked to visualize their life imagining how things will be, ten years' hence. Again, they are asked to respond to the question of whether they are better or worse off today, than they were ten years ago and, one year ago. Other questions are asked to find out how secure or insecure they feel and, in general, their satisfaction with their lot. All these responses have been clustered together, 'under Satisfaction with their lot'.

Table 10.1: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating satisfaction with their lot-10.2/10.4/10.5/10.6/10.7

Description	Citizens	Sch	ool	NCOE	
		Teachers	Students	Lecturers	Trainees
If I could, I would change to another kind of work.	41.8	24.9	29.9	26.8	35.5
Whatever my personal efforts, I will not get the education and jobs I am entitled to.	45.7	32.2	29.2	31.1	33.0
Of course, people always like to earn more, but I consider my income to be reasonable.	56.4	48.4	55.0	79.3	63.1
Young men and women of a family like mine have a reasonable good chance of reaching their goals in life.	60.8	58.9	65.7	66.9	64.1
When I see what rich people have I feel that I should have the same.	51.1	45.8	49.4	31.7	46.7

Graph 10.1: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating satisfaction with their lot-10.2/10.4/10.5/10.6/10.7

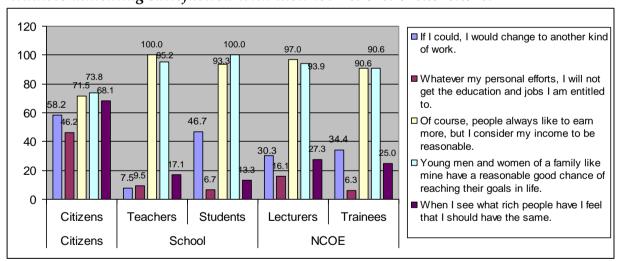


The citizens and the Sinhalese are the most disgruntled, as their responses to the first two questions, and the last question indicates. The students and trainees join them in saying 'When I see what rich people have, I feel that I should have the same'.

Table 10.2: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating satisfaction with their lot-10.2/10.4/10.5/10.6/10.7

Description	Citizens	Schoo	ol	NCOE	
		Teachers	Students	Lecturers	Trainees
If I could, I would change to another kind of work.	58.2	7.5	46.7	30.3	34.4
Whatever my personal efforts, I will not get the education and jobs I am entitled to.	46.2	9.5	6.7	16.1	6.3
Of course, people always like to earn more, but I consider my income to be reasonable.	71.5	100.0	93.3	97.0	90.6
Young men and women of a family like mine have a reasonable good chance of reaching their goals in life.	73.8	95.2	100.0	93.9	90.6
When I see what rich people have I feel that I should have the same.	68.1	17.1	13.3	27.3	25.0

Graph 10.2: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating satisfaction with their lot-10.2/10.4/10.5/10.6/10.7

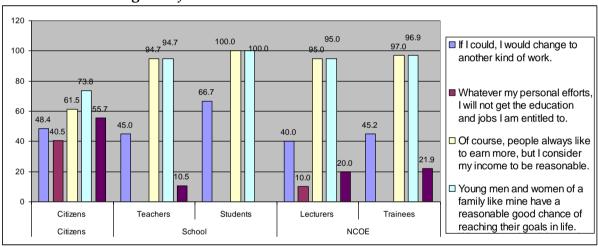


In the Tamil community too, the citizens are the most disgruntled, as their responses to the questions 1, 2 and 5 indicate. Interestingly, the students are the sub-sample who wish to change to another kind of work!

Table 10.3: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating satisfaction with their lot-10.2/10.4/10.5/10.6/10.7

Description	Citizens School		NC	OE	
		Teachers	Students	Lecturers	Trainees
If I could, I would change to another kind of work.	48.4	45.0	66.7	40.0	45.2
Whatever my personal efforts, I will not get the education and jobs I am entitled to.	40.5	-	-	10.0	0.0
Of course, people always like to earn more, but I consider my income to be reasonable.	61.5	94.7	100.0	95.0	97.0
Young men and women of a family like mine have a reasonable good chance of reaching their goals in life.	73.8	94.7	100.0	95.0	96.9
When I see what rich people have I feel that I should have the same.	55.7	10.5	-	20.0	21.9

Graph 10.3: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating satisfaction with their lot-10.2/10.4/10.5/10.6/10.7



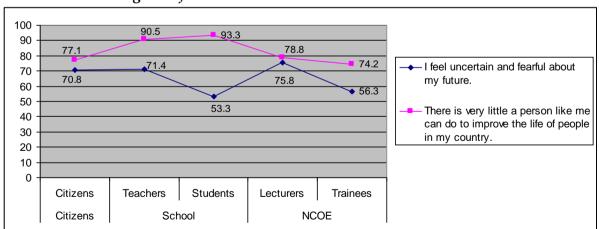
In the Muslim ethnic community, all samples have indicated that 'If I could, I would change to another kind of work' (The percentages range from the 40s through 60s). The citizens are also disgruntled that 'they do not get the education and jobs they are entitled to' (40.5%). It is only the citizens group that feel frustrated (55.7%), when they see what rich people have.

The Muslim ethnic community is convinced that a small minority has most of the wealth at the expense of the majority of poor people.

60 54.4 50 I feel uncertain and fearful about 40 35.7 my future. 39.1 30 32 4 31.0 There is very little a person like 25.1 me can do to improve the life of 20 people in my country. 20.0 17.8 14.1 10 0 Teachers Students Lecturers Trainees Citizens School NCOE Citizens

Graph 10.4: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating satisfaction with their lot-10.11/10.13

The Sinhalese ethnic community expressed uncertainly about the future, with percentage responses ranging from the 20s to the 30s, also, helplessness in their in ability to improve the life of people in the country (percentages ranging in the 10s through 50s). The citizens in particular have expressed this helplessness (54.4%), reflecting the position of the common man.

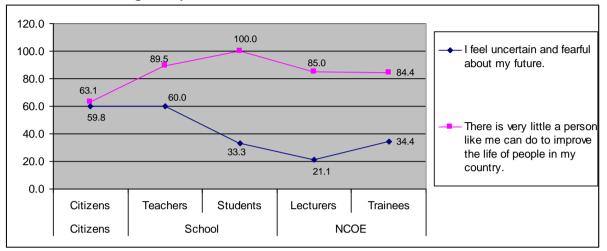


Graph 10.5: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating satisfaction with their lot-10.11/10.13

The Tamil ethnic community feels this uncertainly and fear about the future much more, as the statistics indicate; their responses are in the percentages of 70s through

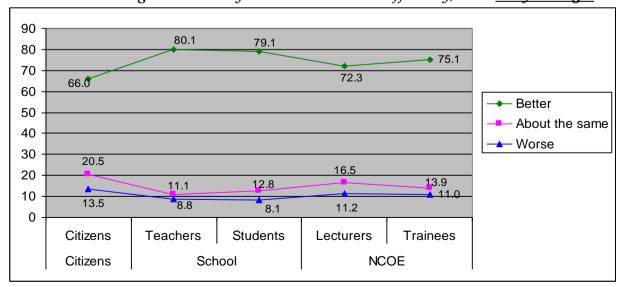
90s. Likewise, they feel helpless to improve the life of people in the country, responding in percentages ranging from the 50s through the 70s.

Graph 10.6: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating satisfaction with their lot-10.11/10.13



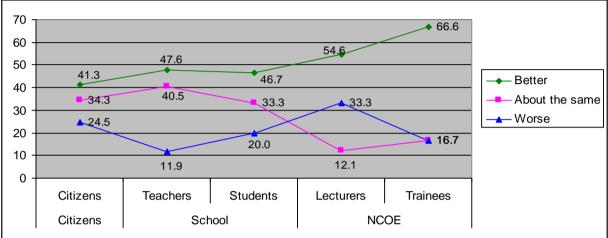
The Muslim ethnic community is equally uncertain and fearful about their future, their responses ranging from percentages in the 60s through 100. They feel less helpless than the Tamil ethnic community the percentages ranging from 20s through 50s. The citizens group have responded highest (59.8%), in this group of respondents.

Graph 10.7: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating whether they are better or worse off today, than <u>ten years ago</u>.



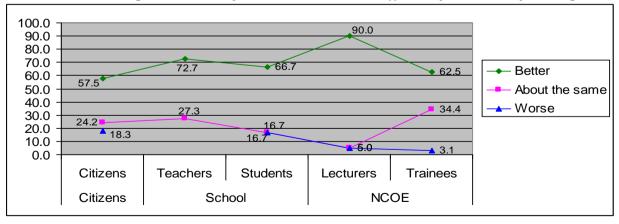
This question asked respondents to compare life today, to life ten years ago, and indicate whether they are better or worse off. The responses of the Sinhalese ethnic community to this question is very positive, with respondents indicating 'better', in high percentages.

Graph 10.8: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating whether they are better or worse off today, than ten years ago.



The Tamil ethnic community responded in mixed mode, with relatively lesser percentage responses in the category 'better', more respondents voting for 'about the same', and a relatively significant percentage saying 'worse'.

Graph 10.9: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating whether they are better or worse off today, than ten years ago.

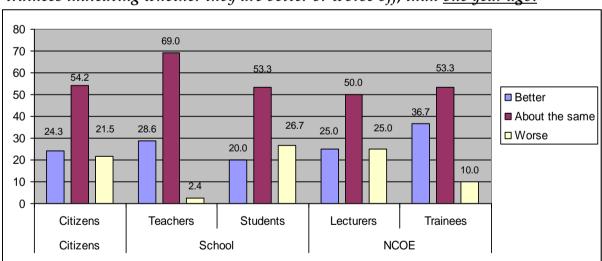


The Muslims ethnic community's response is similar to that of the Sinhalese; it is a very positive response in the category 'better'.

70 61.9 55.3 60 53.0 51.2 50 ■ Better 35.3 30.7 36.6 35.9 40 28.0 ■ About the same 30 □Worse 11.1 20 13.2 12.2 10.1 9.4 10 0 Citizens **Teachers** Students Lecturers **Trainees** NCOE Citizens School

Graph 10.10: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating whether they are better or worse off, than one year ago

Compared to life one year ago is it better or worse? The majority votes of the main sample of citizens and of all sub-samples in the Sinhalese ethnic community is that they are better off or, that it is 'About the same'.



Graph 10.11: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating whether they are better or worse off, than one year ago.

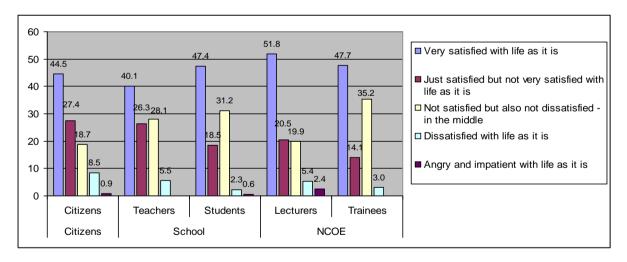
In comparison to the responses of the Sinhalese community, the Tamil ethnic community have chosen the response 'About to the same'. (majority response in the main sample and, all sub samples). The responses to the category 'Better' are all in percentages that fall in the 20s. A relatively significant percentage of responses are in the category 'Worse'.

90 76.2 80 68.8 66.7 70 60 ■ Better 43.8 42.1 45.5 50 ■ About the same 40 25.0 □ Worse 30 19.0 14.0 16.7 16.7 20 4.8 6.2 10 Students Citizens Teachers Lecturers **Trainees** Citizens School NCOE

Graph 10.12: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating whether they are better or worse off, than one year ago.

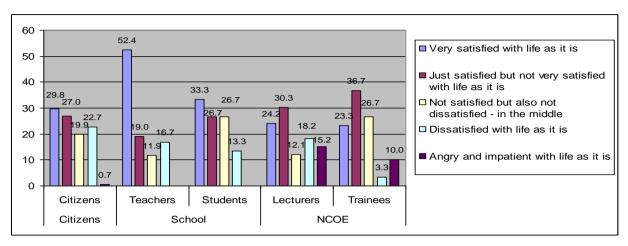
The Muslim ethnic community, somewhat similar to the Tamil community, respond in the category 'About the same'. The teachers and citizens are the exception, for they have responded in the category 'Better'.

Graph 10.13: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, indicating the degree of satisfaction they (as a group) feel, with life in Sri Lanka.



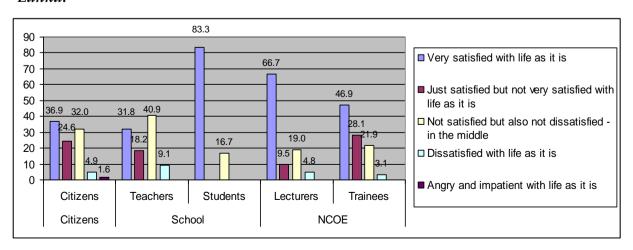
The Sinhalese ethnic community (in the main sample and by sub samples) are generally very satisfied with life in Sri Lanka, when the first 3 categories of responses are put together. All in this community indicate that they are 'Very satisfied with Life as it is', going by the responses to the first category alone.

Graph 10.14: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, indicating the degree of satisfaction they (as a group) feel, with life in Sri Lanka.



The Tamil ethnic community's responses when compared, are similar (citizens, teachers and students); all but the teachers' response to the category 'Very satisfied with life as it is', in the percentage ranges of 20s and 30s, whereas the Sinhalese ethnic community's responses were in the 40s. The category 'Just satisfied but not very satisfied with life as it is' is a strong response category as well, with this community. A fair percentage of responses are in the negative category 'Dissatisfied with life as it is', which is understandable, given the turbulent situation they experience, constantly.

Graph 10.15: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees, indicating the degree of satisfaction they (as a group) feel, with life in Sri Lanka.

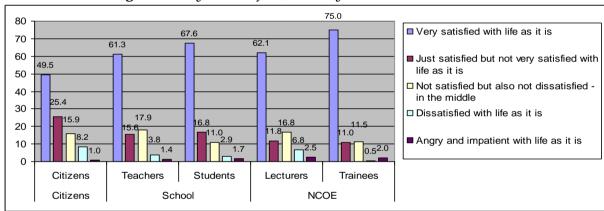


The Muslims ethnic community are relatively better off than the Tamil community, as indicated by their responses in the category 'Very satisfied with life as it is'. The teachers seem to be the only exception to this. A relatively lesser number of respondents have chosen the response 'Dissatisfied with life as it is'.

Table 10.4: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating how they would feel, in ten years' time.

Category	Citizens	School		NCOE	
		Teachers	Students	Lecturers	Trainees
Very satisfied with life as it is	49.5	61.3	67.6	62.1	75.0
Just satisfied but not very satisfied with life as it is	25.4	15.6	16.8	11.8	11.0
Not satisfied but also not dissatisfied - in the middle	15.9	17.9	11.0	16.8	11.5
Dissatisfied with life as it is	8.2	3.8	2.9	6.8	0.5
Angry and impatient with life as it is	1.0	1.4	1.7	2.5	2.0

Graph 10.16: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating how they would feel, in ten years' time.



How they would feel, in ten years' time is very positive, in the case of the Sinhalese ethnic community. They have, nearly all, responded in the first three (positive) categories, to this question.

Table 10.5: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating how they would feel, in ten years' time.

The state of the s							
Category	Citizens	School		NCOE			
		Teachers	Students	Lecturers	Trainees		
Very satisfied with life as it is	33.1	61.9	33.3	28.1	55.2		
Just satisfied but not very satisfied with life as it is	28.1	19.0	40.0	21.9	13.8		
Not satisfied but also not dissatisfied - in the middle	19.4	11.9	26.7	21.9	20.7		
Dissatisfied with life as it is	18.0	7.1	-	12.5	10.3		
Angry and impatient with life as it is	1.4	-	-	15.6	-		

70 55.2 ■ Very satisfied with life as it is 60 50 Just satisfied but not very satisfied with life as it is 40 □ Not satisfied but also not 33.1 33.3 26.7 21.9 dissatisfied - in the middle 30 20.7 ■ Dissatisfied with life as it is 19.0 20 1.9 10.3 ■ Angry and impatient with life as it is 10 0 Teachers Students Citizens Lecturers **Trainees** Citizens School NCOE

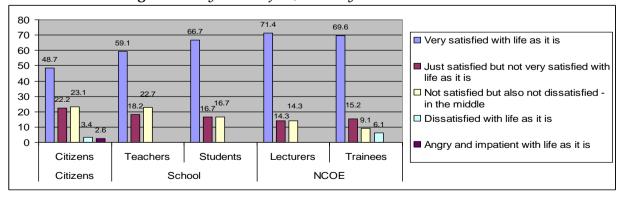
Graph 10.17: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating how they would feel, in ten years' time.

Likewise, the Tamil ethnic community, particularly the teachers and trainees, have responded positively, in category one; with the citizens and other sub samples, the responses are in the same category but mostly in percentages that range in the 20s and 30s in the sample a few are. 'Dissatisfied' with life as it is, as indicated by a few.

Table 10.6: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating how they would feel, in ten years' time.

Description	Citizens	School		NCOE	
		Teachers	Students	Lecturers	Trainees
Very satisfied with life as it is	48.7	59.1	66.7	71.4	69.6
Just satisfied but not very satisfied with life as it is	22.2	18.2	16.7	14.3	15.2
Not satisfied but also not dissatisfied - in the middle	23.1	22.7	16.7	14.3	9.1
Dissatisfied with life as it is	3.4	-	-	-	6.1
Angry and impatient with life as it is	2.6	-	-	-	-

Graph 10.18: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees indicating how they would feel, in ten years' time.



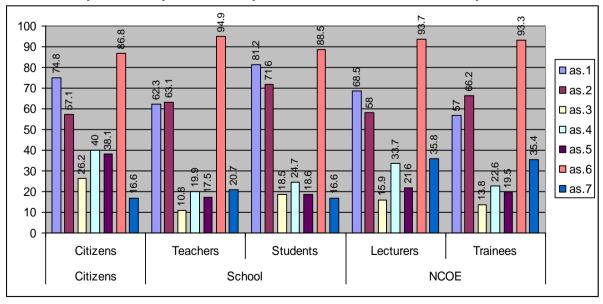
The Muslim ethnic community, like the Sinhalese, have responded very positively in category 1, 'Very satisfied with life and it is'.

11. COUNTRY SPECIFIC QUESTIONS ON SOCIAL COHESION

Table 11.1: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees' responses to questions on peace talks and, how to obtain peace.

	Description	Citizens	School		NCOE	
			Teachers	Students	Lecturers	Trainees
as.1	.Do you keep abreast of the peace talks being held?	74.8	62.3	81.2	68.5	57
as.2	Do you think that by holding peace talks a solution may be reached for the ethnic problem?	57.1	63.1	71.6	58	66.2
as.3	Do you envisage that a decision for peace may be arrived at within a short period of time?	26.2	10.8	18.5	15.9	13.8
as.4	Do you think that the peace accord will prevail till a solution acceptable to all is reached?	40	19.9	24.7	33.7	22.6
as.5	Do you think that peace is an agreement to be reached by politicians?	38.1	17.5	18.6	21.6	19.5
as.6	Do you think that civil society should have a greater say and a role to play in obtaining peace for Sri Lanka?	86.8	94.9	88.5	93.7	93.3
as.7	Have you participated in any activity held on behalf of peace, since 2002?(e.g. join processions, peace walks, protests, discussions/ TV or Radio discussions (over the phone), conferences, writing to news papers)?	16.6	20.7	16.6	35.8	35.4

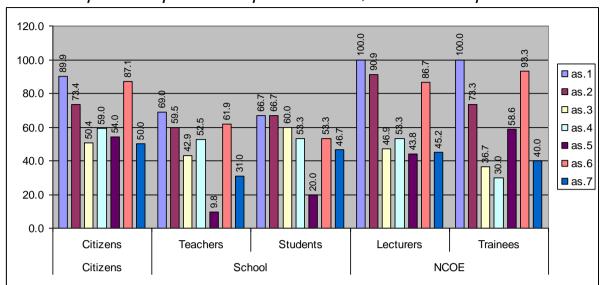
Graph 11.1: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees' responses to questions on peace talks and, how to obtain peace.



The majority in the Sinhalese ethnic community keep abreast of the peace takes being held and, think that a solution may be reached for the ethnic problem by holding peace talks. But they are sceptical that a decision for peace may be arrived at, within a short period of time or that peace will prevail till a solution acceptable to all is reached. The citizens and lecturers are somewhat hopeful (40.0% and 33.7% respectively), of the latter. They do not think that peace and agreement to be reached by politicians; civil society has a role to play, and a greater say in obtaining peace for Sri Lanka (responses to this are over 86%). But when it comes to active participation, they have been lukewarm, the highest participation reported being in the percentage range of 30s.

Table 11.2: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees' responses to questions on peace talks and, how to obtain peace.

	Description	Citizens	School		NCOE	
			Teachers	Students	Lecturers	Trainees
as.1	Do you keep abreast of the peace talks being held?	89.9	69.0	66.7	100.0	100.0
as.2	Do you think that by holding peace talks a solution may be reached for the ethnic problem?	73.4	59.5	66.7	90.9	73.3
as.3	Do you envisage that a decision for peace may be arrived at within a short period of time?	50.4	42.9	60.0	46.9	36.7
as.4	Do you think that the peace accord will prevail till a solution acceptable to all is reached?	59.0	52.5	53.3	53.3	30.0
as.5	Do you think that peace is an agreement to be reached by politicians?	54.0	9.8	20.0	43.8	58.6
as.6	Do you think that civil society should have a greater say and a role to play in obtaining peace for Sri Lanka?	87.1	61.9	53.3	86.7	93.3
as.7	Have you participated in any activity held on behalf of peace, since 2002?(e.g. join processions, peace walks, protests, discussions/ TV or Radio discussions (over the phone), conferences, writing to news papers)?	50.0	31.0	46.7	45.2	40.0



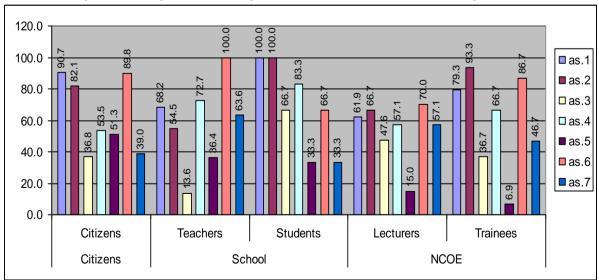
Graph 11.2: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees' responses to questions on peace talks and, how to obtain peace.

The ethnic Tamil community (the majority) are in agreement with Q1 and Q2. With Q3, They are more hopeful (than the Sinhalese ethnic community) that a decision for peace may be arrived at, within a short period of time; the responses to Q3 range in percentages from 30s through 50s. Likewise there is a majority response to Q4, that peace will prevail till a solution acceptable to all is reached. Only the trainees disagree (30.0%). The citizens and trainees, by majority vote, rely on the politicians to bring about a solution; all groups, however peace for Sri Lanka, their responses in percentages ranging from 50s through 90. In participation too, the Tamil ethnic community has been more pro-active, their responses to Q7 ranges in percentages from 30s to 50s.

Table 11.3: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees' responses to questions on peace talks and, how to obtain peace..

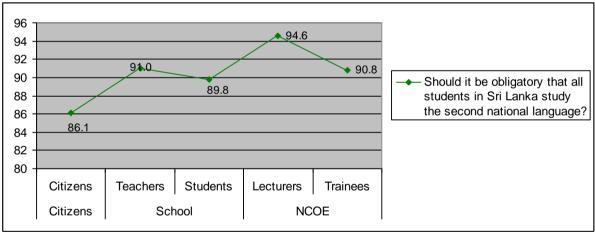
	Description	Citizens	Sch		NCOE		
			Teachers	Students	Lecturers	Trainees	
as.1	Do you keep abreast of the peace talks being held?	90.7	68.2	100.0	61.9	79.3	
as.2	Do you think that by holding peace talks a solution may be reached for the ethnic problem?	82.1	54.5	100.0	66.7	93.3	
as.3	Do you envisage that a decision for peace may be arrived at within a short period of time?	36.8	13.6	66.7	47.6	36.7	
as.4	Do you think that the peace accord will prevail till a solution acceptable to all is reached?	53.5	72.7	83.3	57.1	66.7	
as.5	Do you think that peace is an agreement to be reached by politicians?	51.3	36.4	33.3	15.0	6.9	
as.6	Do you think that civil society should have a greater say and a role to play in obtaining peace for Sri Lanka?	89.8	100.0	66.7	70.0	86.7	
as.7	Have you participated in any activity held on behalf of peace, since 2002?(e.g. join processions, peace walks, protests, discussions/ TV or Radio discussions (over the phone), conferences, writing to news papers)?	39.0	63.6	33.3	57.1	46.7	

Graph 11.3: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees' responses to questions on peace talks and, how to obtain peace.



The ethnic Muslim majority are in agreement with Q1 and Q2. Like the Tamil community, they are also more hopeful (than the Sinhalese) that a decision for peace may be arrived at, within a short period of time; the responses to Q3 range in percentages from 30s through 60s, with one exception, the teachers (13.6%). The majority, in response to Q4, also believe that peace will prevail till a solution acceptable to all in reached. Only the majority of the citizen group think that peace is an agreement to be reached by politicians; but, the vast majority of respondents believe that civil society should have a greater say and role to play, in obtaining peace for Sri Lanka. In participation, the Muslim community has also been more proactive, as indicated by their responses to Q7, ranging from percentages from the 30s through 60s.

Graph 11.4: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees responses to the study of 2NL



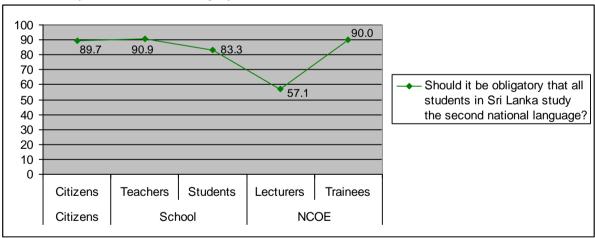
Overall, the response to this question on the part of the Sinhalese ethnic community is very positive. Even the citizen group has responded with 86.1% votes that 2NL should be studied by all students in Sri Lanka, all sub samples have responded higher.

100.0 90.0 90.0 80.0 80.6 70.0 61.9 60.0 Should it be obligatory that all 50.0 students in Sri Lanka study 53.3 the second national language? 40.0 30.0 20.0 10.0 0.0 Citizens Teachers Students Lecturers **Trainees** School NCOE Citizens

Graph 11.5: TAMIL Citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees responses to the study of 2NL

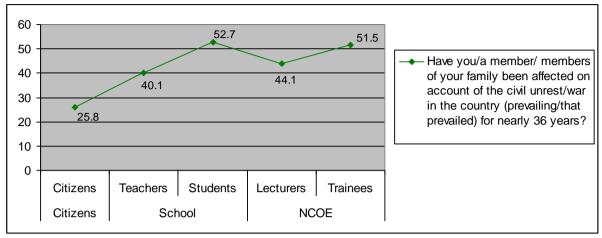
The Tamil ethnic community have also shown a majority favourable response although from the point of view of 2NL teaching and learning in school, the response of Tamil students and teachers is not very promising.

Graph 11.6: MUSLIM Citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees responses to the study of 2NL



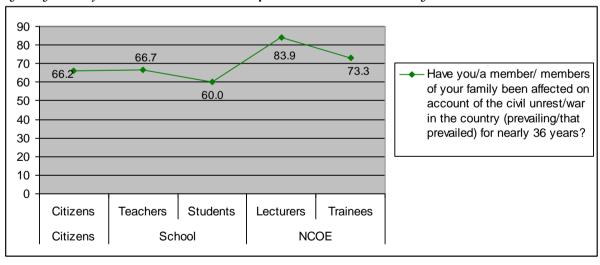
The Muslims ethnic community's response is highly favourable, but not the Muslim lecturers, whose response, is 57.1%.

Graph 11.7: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees responses to whether member/s of their families and, relatives were affected by 36 years of war/ civil unrest that prevailed in the country.



How the Sinhalese ethnic community has been affected by the civil unrest the last 36 years is indicated by the Students and Trainees' (52.7% and 51.5% respectively) responses.

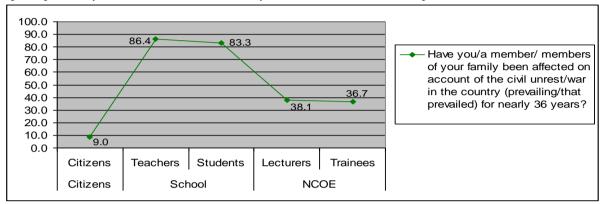
Graph 11.8: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees responses to whether member/s of their families and, relatives were affected by 36 years of war/civil unrest that prevailed in the country.



The Tamil ethnic community's responses, in percentage ranges of 60s through 80s, speak for itself. The magnitude of the effects of civil unrest/war, on the Tamil community over the last 36 years, is spelt out in the analysis to follow. The effects on social cohesion, can be disastrous, and healing, a long, pains taking and constructive

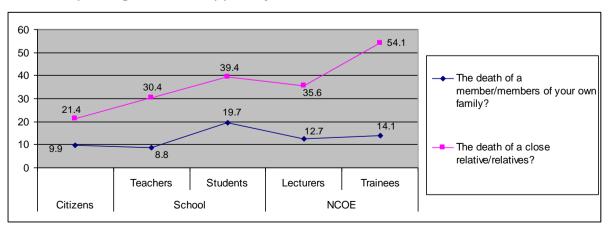
process in all fronts, for only if a sustained and genuine all-out effort is made, can healing be effective.

Graph 11.9: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees responses to whether member/s of their families and, relatives were affected by 36 years of war/ civil unrest that prevailed in the country.



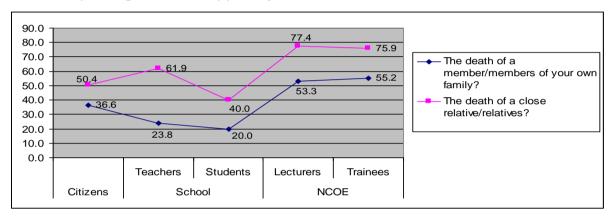
The Muslim community's responses are varied, from a very low percentage of the citizen group reporting being affected, the lecturers and trainees reporting in the percentage range of 30s and, the teachers and students, reporting being affected with responses in the high 80s. Altogether, the Muslim community's responses also show that the task of healing is stupendous, if social cohesion is to be brought about, in the country.

Graph 11.10: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees reporting on deaths of family member/s and relative/s.



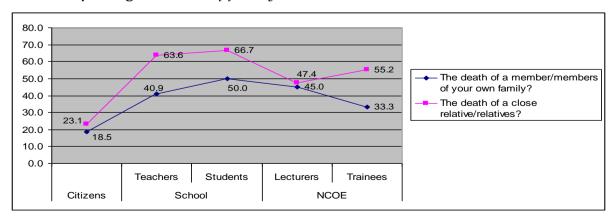
The Sinhalese ethnic community report deaths of family members on account of civil strife/war related causes, in percentages ranging from 8.8-19.7. Their reporting is much higher, of deaths of close relative/s; the percentages range in the 20s through 50s. This shows that the Sinhalese ethnic community, which reports the lowest numbers of deaths, has not by any means spared the trauma of civil strife/war, over the years.

Graph 11.11: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees reporting on deaths of family member/s and relative/s.



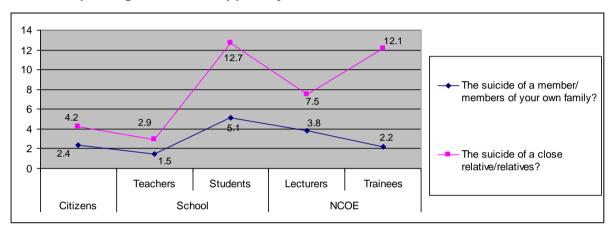
In contrast, the Tamil ethnic community has reported deaths of family members, in percentages ranging from the 20s through 50s. Their reporting of deaths of close relative/s is very much higher, the percentages ranging from the 40s through 70s. Therefore, the death toll of the Tamil community is very high, causing losses that are irreparable. The impact of such loss of life, on social cohesion, can be severe.

Graph 11.12: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees reporting on deaths of family member/s and relative/s.



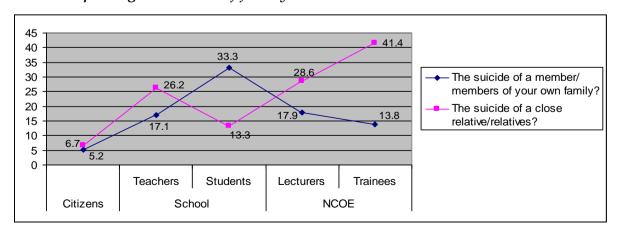
The Muslim ethnic community's loss of life reported is equal to that of the Tamil community. They report deaths of family members, in percentages ranging from 10s to 50s and, the deaths of relatives, in higher percentage, in the range of 20s to 60s. Therefore, the Muslim community also has suffered a very high loss of life, and the consequences can be disastrous, to social cohesion in the country as a whole.

Graph 11.13: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees reporting on suicides of family member/s and relative/s.



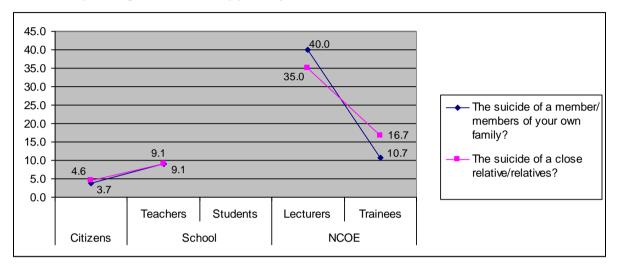
War and civil strife related suicides has been a regular feature, over the years, in Sri Lanka causing untold suffering and pain of mind to those left behind. Suicides are reported by the Sinhalese ethnic community. The highest reporting of suicides, of members of family in this sample, in the Sinhalese ethnic community is 5.1% (by students) and, of members of relative/s, 12.7%, also by the sub-sample of students.

Graph 11.14: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees reporting on suicides of family member/s and relative/s.



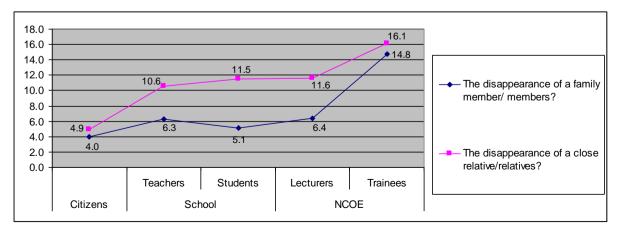
In the Tamil ethnic community, the students have reported the highest percentage of 33.3% suicides by members of family and, the lecturers have reported the highest percentage of 41.4% of suicides, by relative/s.

Graph 11.15: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees reporting on suicides of family member/s and relative/s.



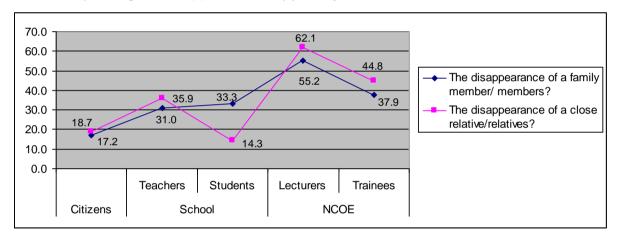
In the Tamil ethnic community, the lecturers and students reported the highest percentage of suicides; the suicides of members of family are reported by as high a percentage as 40.4% of the lecturers, and of relative's, by 35.0%. The trainees also have reported suicides of members of family and, of relatives in percentage ranging in the 10s.

Graph 11.16: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees reporting on disappearances of family member/s and relative/s.

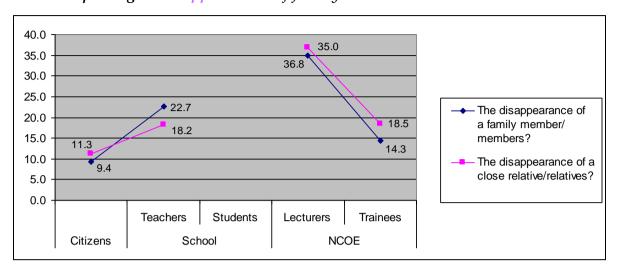


The disappearances of people, of all walks of life, in times of civil strife and war is a persistent human rights issue, and brings untold pain of mind to family members and others. In the ethnic community of the Sinhalese, the trainees in this sub-sample report the highest percentage of disappearances of family members, 14.8%. The disappearance of close relative/s is reported more, by all sub-samples except the main sample; the highest reported is by the trainees, 16.1%.

Graph 11.17: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees reporting on disappearances of family member/s and relative/s.

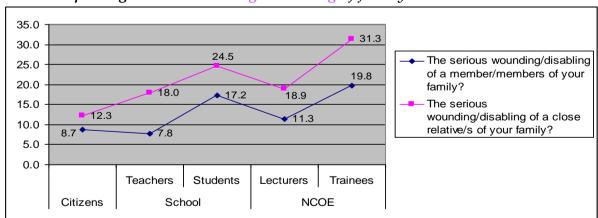


In the Tamil ethnic community, the lecturers report the highest percentage of disappearances, of both family members and relatives (55.2 and 62.1% respectively). The citizens group as well as all sub-samples have reported disappearances of family members, the percentages ranging from the 10s through 50s; similarly, the reporting of disappearances of close relative/s, in the citizens group as well as in all other sub-samples ranges within the percentages of 10s and 50s. This is an extremely high reporting of disappearances by one ethnic community and, speaks for the Tamil community's anguish and distress, for disappearance in a sense, is worse than death, for those they leave behind.



Graph 11.18: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees reporting on disappearances of family member/s and relative/s.

The Muslim community's reporting of disappearances is very similar to their reporting of suicides; in this case however, not only the lecturers and trainees, but also the teachers and citizens have reported disappearances. The highest reported is that of disappearances of relative/s (36.8%) and, of family members (35.0%) by lecturers. The trainees, teachers and citizens have reported the disappearance of members of family and of relative/s, in percentages ranging from 9.4% to 22.7%.



Graph 11.19: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees reporting serious wounding / disabling of family member/s and relative/s

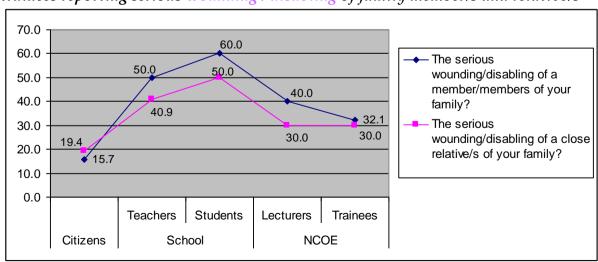
The numbers are very high, of the casualties of war/civil unrest, and in this sample, they reported the serious wounding/disabling of family members and relative/s. In the Sinhalese ethnic community, the trainees have reported the highest percentages,

of family members (19.8%) and of relative/s (31.3%) getting seriously wounded/disabled. All sub-samples, including the main-sample have reported wounding/disabling, in percentages that range from 10s and less, to 30s.

50.0 47.6 46.7 45.0 37.9 40.0 34.5 35.0 The serious wounding/disabling of 30.1 35.7 a member/members of your 30.0 family? 25.0 The serious wounding/disabling of 26.1 20.0 a close relative/s of your family? 22.0 • 17.2 15.0 10.0 5.0 0.0 **Teachers** Students Lecturers Trainees NCOE Citizens School

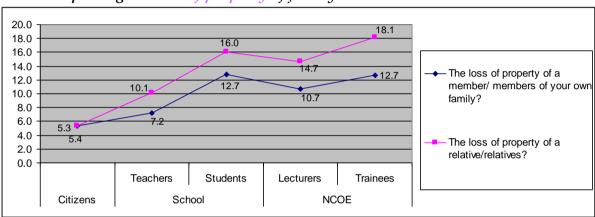
Graph 11.20: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees reporting serious wounding / disabling of family member/s and relative/s

In the Tamil ethnic community the teachers and students have a very high percentage of serious casualties of close relative/s, in the percentage range of 40s. The lecturers report the highest percentage of the serious wounding/disabling of members of family members, 37.9%. It is noteworthy that Tamil citizens group also has reported a fair member of casualties, second only to the number of deaths.



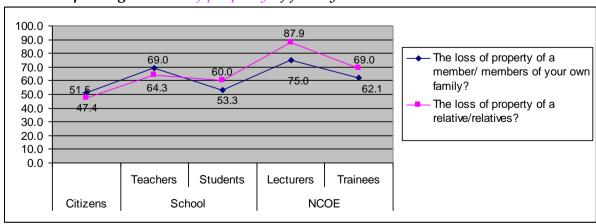
Graph 11.21: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees reporting serious wounding / disabling of family member/s and relative/s

The Muslim ethnic community has recorded the highest number of serious casualties, of all ethnic groups. It is as high as 60.0% reporting of the casualties of family members and 50.5%, reporting of relatives getting seriously wounded/disabled. All sub-samples have reported wounding and disabling, in high percentages; the reporting of disabling of family members, in the percentage ranges of 10s through 60s, and of relative/s, in the percentage range of 10s through 50s.



Graph 11.22: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees reporting the loss of property of family member/s and relative/s

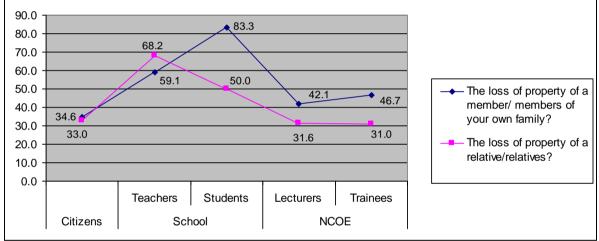
The Sinhalese ethnic community has reported the loss of properly, of family members and relative/s and the percentages range from 10s or less to 12.7% in case of family and, of relative/s, the percentages range from 10s or less to 18.1%.



Graph 11.23: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees reporting the loss of property of family member/s and relative/s

Compared to property losses suffered by the Loss of property of Sinhalese ethnic community, in the Tamil ethnic community's Losses as high as 87.9%, of family members, as reported by the sub-sample of lecturers. The same sub-sample has reported the loss property, of relative/s (75.0%) The citizens group has also reported the loss of property of family members and of relative/s, in significant numbers. The percentage responses of the main sample and all sub-samples are in the range of 50s through 80s in the case of members of family and, in the range of 40s through 70s in the case of relatives.

Graph 11.24: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees reporting the loss of property of family member/s and relative/s 90.0 **83.3** 80.0

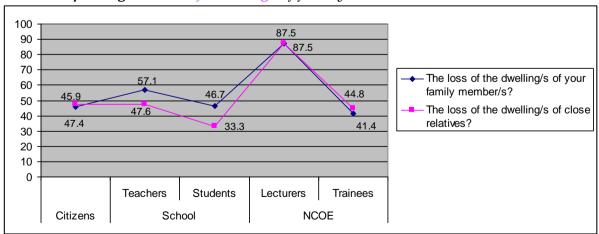


The loss of property is almost equally severe, as the data indicates, and as reported by the Muslim ethnic community. The students have reported the loss of property of members of family, being as high as 83.3%; and teachers (68.2%) have reported the loss of property of relatives. The losses reported by the main sample and subsamples range in percentages from the 30s through 80s and, from the 30s through 60s, in the case of members of family and of relatives, respectively.

16.0 13.9 14.0 12.8 12.0 10.0 - The loss of the dwelling/s of 10.1 your family member/s? 8.0 6.0 5.1 5.7 4.0 2.0 The loss of the dwelling/s of close relatives? 0.0 Teachers Students Lecturers Trainees NCOE Citizens School

Graph 11.25: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees reporting the loss of dwellings of family member/s and relative/s

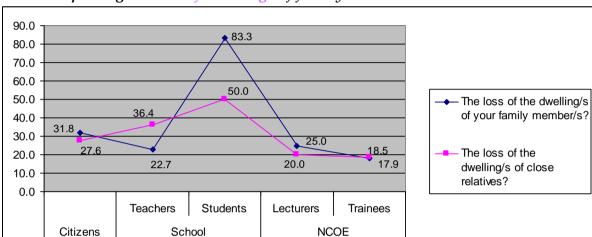
Properly loss and, the loss of dwellings in particular can be disastrous to families, for the loss of one's dwellings has long lasting psychological effects on people, over and above other impacts. Over the years, the war has caused losses of dwellings, of innocent civilians in particular, leading to displacement and migration. The Sinhalese ethnic community, as shown in the data, were not spared such losses, in spite of the fact that the arena of war, was most of the time in the North and East of the country. The loss of dwellings is reported by the Sinhalese community, in all sub-samples, and the highest recorded is by the students (13.9%).



Graph 11.26: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees reporting the loss of dwellings of family member/s and relative/s

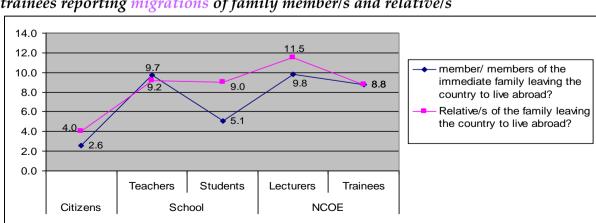
The Tamil ethnic community records an all time high of reported losses (87.5%), of both the members of family and, relatives (of lecturers). In the main sample and in

all sub-samples, the loss of dwellings are reported, varying in percentage ranges from the 30s through 80s. It is difficult to even grasp the magnitude of these losses, and what its implications are, in terms of the human psyche. For social cohesion in the country, the picture is truly daunting.



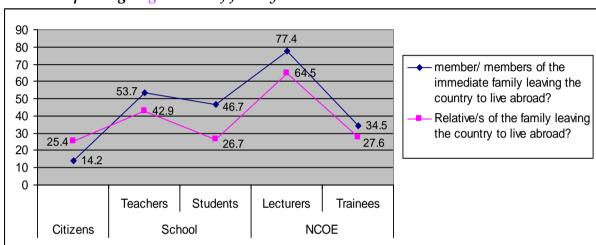
Graph 11.27: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees reporting the loss of dwellings of family member/s and relative/s

The Muslim ethnic community's reported losses (by students) is no less severe, for 83.3% and 50.0% of the students have reported the loss of dwellings of family members, and those of relatives. In the main sample and sub-samples, the loss of dwellings, as reported, vary in percentages ranging in 10s through 50s in the case of relatives, from 10s through 80s in the case of family members.



Graph 11.28: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees reporting migrations of family member/s and relative/s

The migrations caused by civil war/strife in the country assumed the proportions of an exodus, from time to time. The multiple displacements, of civilians in particular, eventually led to migrations, of those capable of doing so. The migrations reported, by the Sinhalese ethnic community show that no one community has been spared, over the years. In this community, the highest recorded of civil strife/war related migrations is by the sub-sample of lecturers (11.5%).



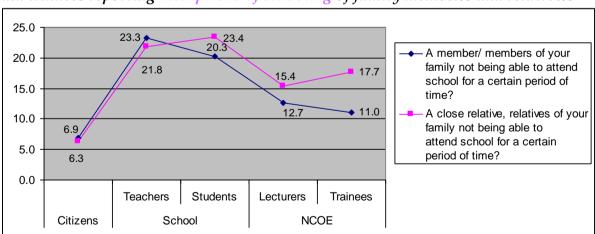
Graph 11.29: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees reporting migrations of family member/s and relative/s

In contrast, the Tamil ethnic community records the highest percentage of migrations by family members reported by one ethnic group, 77.4% (reported by lecturers). The highest number of migrations of relative/s was also reported by lecturers. The percentage ranges are from the 10s through the 70s, in the case of family members and, 20s through 60s in the case of relatives. The main sample and all sub-samples reported migrations of family members and relatives, in varying percentages.

45.0 40.9 40.0 35.0 35.0 33.3 31.8 member/ members of the 30.0 28.6 immediate family leaving the 25.0 country to live abroad? 21.4 20.0 Relative/s of the family leaving 19.8 16.7 the country to live abroad? 15.0 **√** 13.2 10.0 5.0 0.0 Students Lecturers Trainees **Teachers** Citizens NCOE School

Graph 11.30: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees reporting migrations of family member/s and relative/s

The Muslim community's migrations were relatively less, percentage-wise. For eg 40.9% of teachers and 35.0% of the lecturers reported migrations of relative/s. The Muslims in the main sample and sub-samples also reported migrations, the percentages ranging from 40s in the case of members of family and, 10s to 30s in the case of relatives.

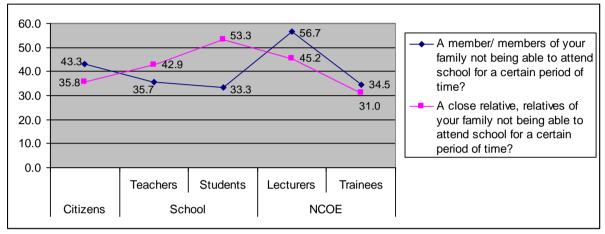


Graph 11.31: SINHALESE citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees reporting disruptions of schooling of family member/s and relative/s

The schooling of children and others were badly affected by the civil strife/war, in varying degree, over the years. That this was a phenomenon in all parts of the

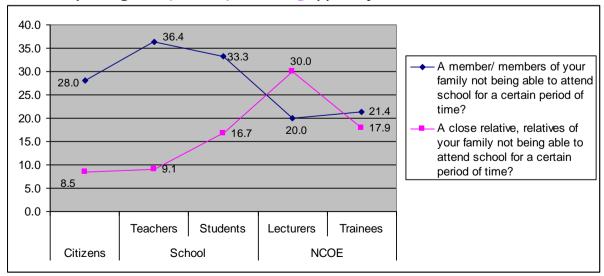
country is revealed, by the responses of the Sinhalese ethnic community, to this question. The teachers and students reported the highest percentage (in the 20s), of members of their own families and those of relatives not being able to attend school, for a certain period of time.

Graph 11.32: TAMIL citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees reporting disruptions of schooling of family member/s and relative/s



In the Tamil ethnic community, disruption of schooling was of a much higher magnitude, in percentages ranging from the 30s through the 50s. In the main sample and in sub-samples, the pattern of responses are similar, with the students and lecturers recording the highest percentages (in the 80s).

Graph 11.33: MUSLIM citizens, school teachers and students, NCOE lecturers and trainees reporting disruptions of schooling of family member/s and relative/s



The Muslim ethnic community also reported disruptions of schooling, ranging in percentages of 10s and less, through the 30s. In the main sample and sub-samples, respondents indicated that schooling of both family members and relatives were disrupted, for varying lengths of time.