



# CONFIDENCE IN DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE INDEX

The Centre for Policy Alternatives  
Social Indicator  
February 2022

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# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

## ON THE GOVERNMENT'S PERFORMANCE

- Overall the top three factors that respondents believe the government should focus on is mitigating the spread of COVID-19 (30.3%), control the rise in cost of living (26.1%) and ensure economic growth (25.9%).
- A significant proportion of respondents (67.2%) are dissatisfied with the Cabinet of Ministers' efficiency in mitigating the COVID-19 crisis - The respondents seem to be mostly satisfied with the efficiency of the Public Health Inspectors in their respective localities.
- A majority of respondents (72.1%) are of the opinion that even though chemical fertilisers are not good for one's health, until a viable solution is found, chemical fertilisers should continue to be used to some extent - 23% of the respondents are of the view that chemical fertilisers must be completely stopped immediately, as it is detrimental to health.
- Nearly 45% of the respondents claim that the government should allow foreign companies to invest in the country, as an increase in trade benefits everyone – 37.5% indicate that due to exploitation by foreign companies, the government should not allow foreign investment in the country.
- When compared to what it was during the previous government in power, the respondents claim that there appears to be a decrease in levels of impartiality when enforcing law and order, freedom to criticise the president, political leaders and the military or other civil defence forces. The respondents also claim that there is a decline in the general quality of life.

## ON THE GOVERNMENT'S PLEDGES

- A majority of respondents (64.1%) claim that it is unlikely that during its term in office, the government will recover the country from its current economic crisis.
- Thinking about national security under the current system of governance - a majority of respondents (60.4%) are of the opinion that the country will most likely be secure from internal security threats whilst around 30% oppose this.
- There appears to be a certain degree of scepticism in relation to the government's plans for a new constitution. Whilst nearly one fourth of the respondents indicate that they do not know if the government will introduce a new constitution during its term in office, nearly 40% are of the view that it is unlikely it will do so.

## ON FORMS OF GOVERNANCE

- There appears to be significant support towards having a strong leader who is not inconvenienced by elections.
- When analysing public perception on decision making, it is evident that an overwhelming majority (87.4%) agree that all major decisions pertaining to the country should be taken by experts as opposed to politicians.
- On decision making by religious leaders, a majority of respondents (76.3%) disagree that all major decisions should be taken by religious leaders.
- An overwhelming majority (92.2%) are in support for an elective principle.
- Exactly half of the respondents (50.3%) are of the opinion that more powers should be given to the Parliament by reducing the powers of the President.
- Nationally, a majority of respondents (60.7%) are of the view that there should be more experts as opposed to politicians in government, even though experts may not be proficient in politics.

## ON THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY

- There appears to be overwhelming support towards the Military as a result of their efforts extended in mitigating the COVID-19 crisis in the country. However, when asked as to whether the country should be governed by the Military, a substantial majority (70.8%) expressed disagreement.
- There is considerable support in the Military handling public affairs at a time of crisis, rather than having to follow bureaucratic procedures. This view is particularly most favourable among respondents from the Sinhala community (60.5%), as opposed to those from the ethnic minority communities (Tamil 30.5%, Up Country Tamil 30.2% and Muslim 25.2%).
- Nationally, a majority of respondents (84.1%) indicate that they are satisfied; while a mere 17.4% indicate that they are dissatisfied with the role of the security forces expanding to perform civilian duties.

## ON SOCIAL CONDITIONS

- On household income, a significant proportion of respondents (75.1%) indicate that their household income has got worse - it is predominantly the Up Country Tamil community (63.6%) who indicate that their household income has got a lot worse when compared to what it was two years ago.
- On personal safety, one third of the respondents indicate that their personal safety, when compared to what it was two years ago, has got worse. It is mostly respondents from the minority ethnic communities (Muslim community 45.4%, Tamil community 42.7% and Up Country Tamil community 42.6%) who claim that their feeling of safety has deteriorated than when compared to what it was two years ago.
- A majority of respondents (68.4%) are of the opinion that regulations imposed by the government to control COVID-19 were not duly followed by political leaders.

## ON THE LEGITIMACY OF COVID-19 REGULATIONS

- A majority of respondents (75.1%) indicate that the government imposed regulations were useful to control the spread of COVID-19.

## ON FAIR TREATMENT

- A majority of respondents (nearly 55%) indicate that regulations imposed by the government to mitigate the COVID-19 crisis were not fairly implemented across all citizens in the country.
- It is clear that it is mostly respondents from the ethnic minority communities who claim to have experienced a higher level of discrimination or unfair treatment when COVID-19 regulations were implemented by the Police, Military and health authorities, when obtaining services from local level government officers and when receiving government subsidies, as opposed to those from the majority Sinhala community.
- Comparatively, a significant majority of respondents (58.8%) from the Up Country Tamil community indicate that their political party affiliations resulted in them being unfairly treated when receiving government subsidies.

# INTRODUCTION

The *Confidence in Democratic Governance Index* was conducted in light of assessing the system of governance under the Gotabaya Rajapaksa regime that was elected to power in November 2019.

Although the current regime promised vistas of prosperity and splendor, the soaring cost of living, food shortages and the crippling economy has left the citizenry in disarray. The mismanagement and imprudent social, economic and political policies executed amidst a public health crisis, has resulted in a system of governance that has created a near humanitarian catastrophe.

Multiple presidential task forces headed by military personnel (or those with a military mindset) that bypass existing channels of democratic processes, coupled with an emphasis on Sinhala majoritarian supremacy, has been a few of the key highlights in the current regime.

In this context, the national survey aimed to gather public perception pertaining to the government's performance and pledges, preferred forms of governance, the role of the military, an assessment on social conditions, the legitimacy of COVID-19 regulations and fair treatment during the pandemic.

The research study was conducted by Social Indicator (SI) the survey research arm of the Centre for Policy Alternatives. Since its inception in 1999, SI has employed both quantitative and qualitative methods of research that focus on a wide range of socio- political issues in Sri Lanka. The survey research team comprised of Dr.Pradeep Peiris, Sakina Moinudeen and M.Krishnamoorthy. Shashik Silva assisted with the data analysis. We would like to thank Dr.Paikiasothy Saravanamuttu for his support in implementing this study. The cover photograph is courtesy of Selvaraja Rajasegar, Editor of Maatram (<https://maatram.org>).

# METHODOLOGY

The *Confidence in Democratic Governance Index* was carried out using a semi-structured questionnaire with 1223 sample respondents from the four main ethnic communities (Sinhala, Tamil, Up Country Tamil and Muslim) across all 25 districts of the country. The sample distribution was done considering the district and ethnic population. Due to the many limitations that were faced as a result of the COVID-19 pandemic at the time of field work, SI utilised the snowball sampling technique when selecting the sample respondents. Whilst the enumerators were given a selected number of interviews to be conducted they also had to consider certain categories as preconditions when selecting the suitable respondents - Such as, the locality (Municipal Council, Urban Council and Pradeshiya Sabha), the age and sex of the sample respondents. All interviews were conducted over the phone, and were administered in the first language of both the field enumerator and respondent.

Prior to commencing field work, the field enumerators were given an extensive training on the research study, the survey research tool

and field techniques. The field briefings were conducted in the first language of the field enumerators. Prior to the large- N study, SI conducted a pre-test in order to evaluate the reliability, validity and sequence of the research tool as well as it assessed the respondent's interest and attention to the research tool and study as a whole. Considering various limitations due to the pandemic, field briefings for the field supervisors were conducted online via zoom by the research team. Field work for the national poll was conducted during 19th of September to the 16th of October 2021. A total of 62 field enumerators both males and females from the four main ethnic communities participated in the study.

Approximately more than 10% of the total sample population was quality checked in order to ensure the quality of the data collected. The dataset was weighted in order to reflect the actual district and ethnic proportion of the population. The data set was analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS).

# **THE GOVERNMENT'S PERFORMANCE**

## GOVERNMENT’S PRIORITIES

Considering the context prevalent at the time, the respondents were provided with a list of issues and were asked to rank the top three issues that they felt the government should mainly focus on. Nationally, the top three factors that respondents believed the government should focus on was mitigating the spread of COVID-19 (30.3%), control the rise in cost of living (26.1%) and ensure economic growth (25.9%).

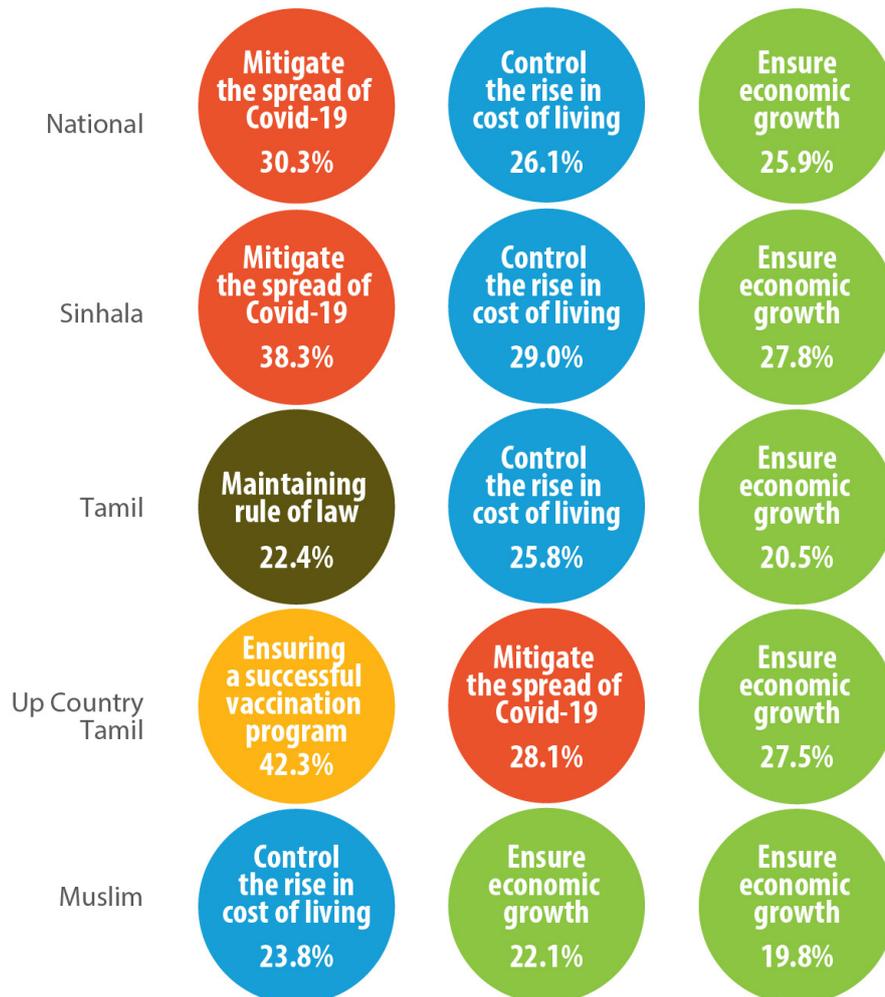
From an ethnic perspective, as for the respondents from the Sinhala community, the top three issues that they believed the government should focus on were mitigating the spread of COVID-19 (38.3%), control the rise in cost of living (29%) and ensure economic growth (27.8%).

As for the Tamil community, they believed that the government should focus on maintaining rule of law (22.4%), control the rise in cost of living (25.8%) and ensure economic growth (20.5%).

The Up Country Tamil community claimed that the government should ensure a successful vaccination program (42.3%), mitigate the spread of COVID-19 (28.1%) and ensure economic growth (27.5%).

The Muslim community indicated that the government’s top most priority should be to focus on controlling the rise in cost of living (23.8%). Ensuring economic growth was selected as both the second (22.1%) and third ranks 19.8% (Please refer figure 1).

Figure 1: Public perception on government’s priorities

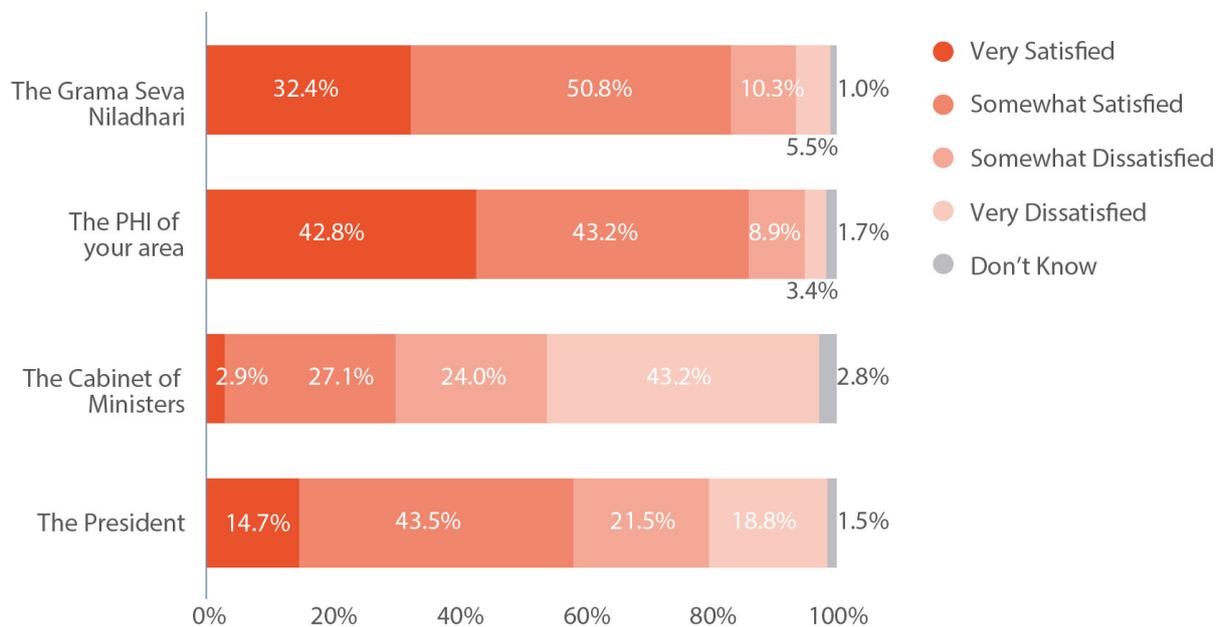


## MITIGATING THE COVID-19 CRISIS

In order to assess the government’s efficiency in mitigating the COVID-19 crisis, the respondents were asked to indicate their level of satisfaction on the President, the Cabinet of Ministers, the Public Health Inspectors and the Grama Niladhari offices in their respective areas.

The data reflects that a significant proportion of respondents (67.2%) are dissatisfied with the Cabinet of Ministers’ efficiency in mitigating the COVID-19 crisis. The respondents seem to be mostly satisfied with the efficiency of Public Health Inspectors in their respective localities. (Please refer figure 2).

Figure 2: Perception on efficiency in mitigating the COVID-19 crisis, by National



## SRI LANKA'S FERTILISER CRISIS

When asked about the fertiliser ban that was imposed by the government on the 29th of April 2021, a significant proportion of respondents (72.1%) were of the opinion that even though chemical fertilisers are not good for one's health, until a viable solution is found, chemical fertilisers should continue to be used to some extent.

However, 23% of the respondents are of the view that chemical fertilisers must be completely stopped immediately, as it is detrimental to health.

A similar trend in sentiments is seen across ethnicities and localities. (Please refer Table 1).

**Table 1: Perception on the government's fertiliser ban, by Ethnicity and Locality**

	Ethnicity					Locality		
	National	Sinhala	Tamil	Up Country Tamil	Muslim	Municipal Council	Urban Council	Pradeshiya Sabha
We must completely stop the use of chemical fertiliser immediately, as it is detrimental to health	23.0%	22.1%	23.7%	33.1%	17.6%	23.3%	17.2%	23.6%
Even though chemical fertilisers are not good for one's health, until a viable solution is found, we could continue with chemical fertilisers to some extent	72.1%	74.2%	70.5%	54.6%	79.4%	72.9%	77.3%	71.4%
Neither	2.4%	2.8%	1.6%	2.3%	1.5%	0.8%	3.9%	2.4%
Could not understand	0.6%	0.1%	2.1%	0.8%	0.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.7%
No Opinion	1.9%	0.8%	2.1%	9.2%	0.8%	3.1%	1.6%	1.8%
Base	1202	752	190	130	131	129	128	944

## FOREIGN DIRECT INVESTMENTS

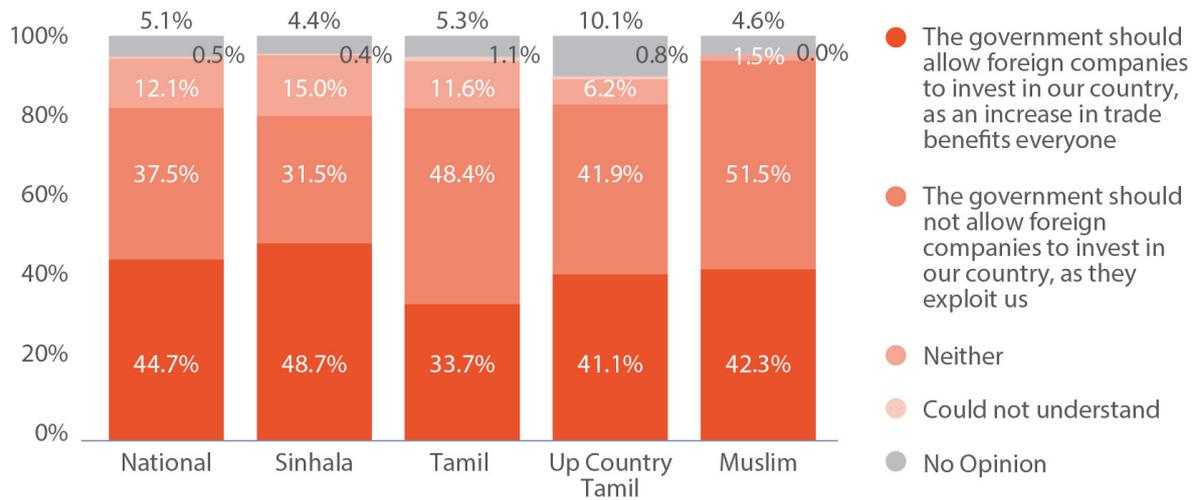
On foreign direct investment, nearly 45% of the respondents are of the view that the government should allow foreign companies to invest in the country, as an increase in trade benefits everyone – 37.5% of the respondents indicate that due to exploitation by foreign companies, the government should not allow foreign investment in the country.

From an ethnic perspective, it is mostly those among the Sinhala community (48.7%) who claim to be favourable, whilst it is mostly those among the Muslim community (51.5%) who are less favourable in allowing foreign companies to invest in the country. (Please refer figure 3)

In terms of locality, it is mostly respondents from Pradeshiya Sabha's (47%) who claim to be in favour of the government allowing foreign companies to invest in the country, since trade benefits everyone. From those who claim that

foreign companies should not be allowed to invest as they create exploitation, it is mostly respondents from the Urban Councils (45.7%) who hold this view. (Please refer Table 2).

**Figure 3: Perception on foreign direct investments, by Ethnicity**



**Table 2: Perception on foreign direct investments, by Locality**

	Municipal Council	Urban Council	Pradeshiya Sabha
The government should allow foreign companies to invest in our country, as an increase in trade benefits everyone	35.7%	36.4%	47.0%
The government should not allow foreign companies to invest in our country, as they exploit us	34.9%	45.7%	36.8%
Neither	18.6%	12.4%	11.2%
Could not understand	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%
No Opinion	10.9%	5.4%	4.3%
Base	129	129	944

The respondents were provided a few scenarios and were asked to compare their experiences with how they feel now, with what they felt during the previous government in power. As such, the respondents were assessed on the levels of impartiality when enforcing law and

order, quality of governance by ruling party politicians, relations with other ethnic groups in society and the level of freedom to criticise the president, political leaders, and the military and other civil defence forces.

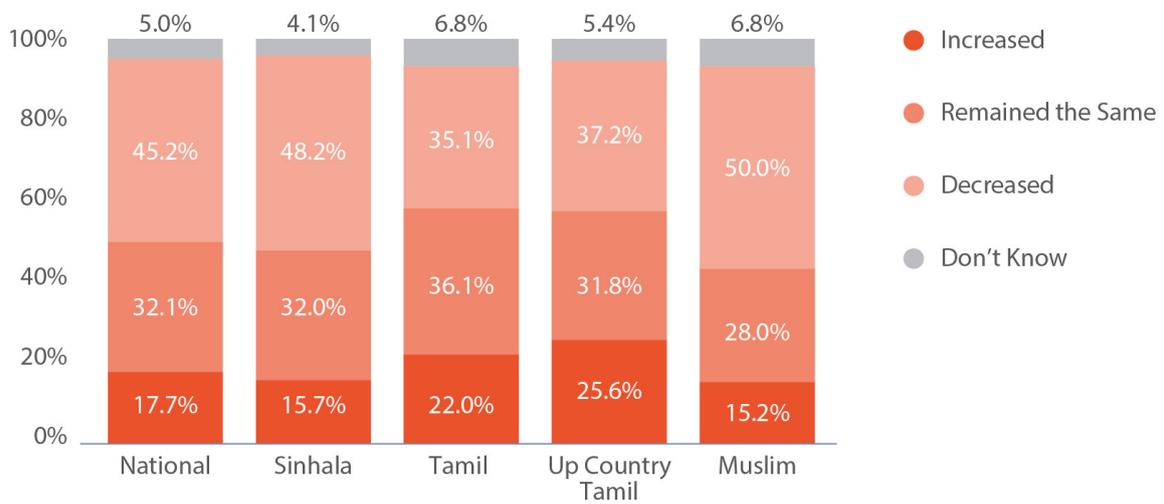
## IMPARTIALITY WHEN ENFORCING LAW AND ORDER

On impartiality when enforcing law and order in the country under the current system of governance, 45.2% of the respondents claim that levels of impartiality have decreased. Approximately 18% indicate that the levels of impartiality have increased. Around one third of the respondents indicate that the situation has

remained the same.

From an ethnic perspective, it is mostly the Muslim community (50%) closely followed by the Sinhala community (48.2%) who claim that there has been a decrease in the levels of impartiality when enforcing law and order in the country. (Please refer figure 4).

Figure 4: Perception on impartiality when enforcing law and order, by Ethnicity

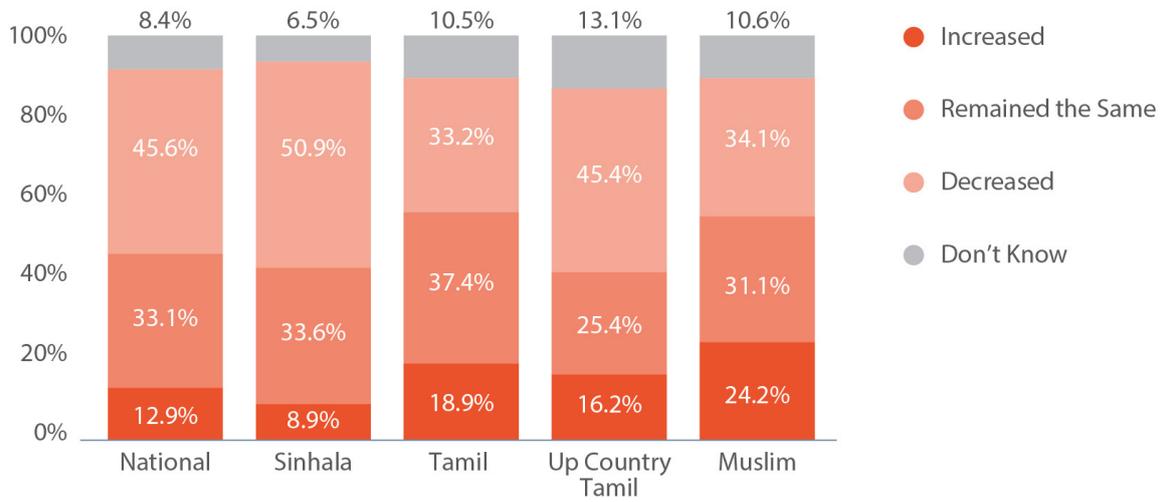


## QUALITY OF GOVERNANCE BY RULING PARTY POLITICIANS

On the quality of governance by ruling party politicians, nearly 46% of the respondents indicate that there has been a decrease in demonstrating high standards of governance by

ruling party politicians, with only 12.9% of the respondents indicating that it has increased. (Please refer figure5).

Figure 5: Perception on the quality of governance by ruling party politicians, by Ethnicity

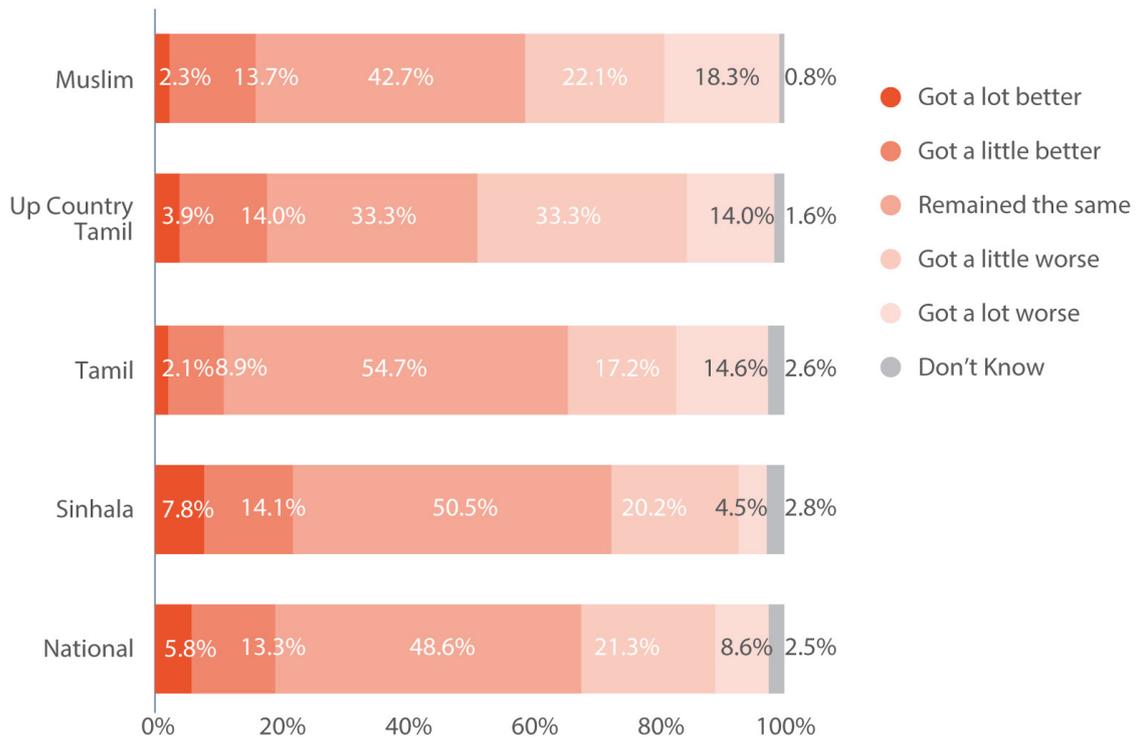


## RELATIONS WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS

Nearly a majority (48.6%) are of the view that their association with persons from other ethnic groups has remained the same when compared to what it was two years ago. Nearly 30% of the respondents claim that it has got worse. From

those who indicate that it has got worse, it is mostly respondents from the Up Country Tamil (47.3%) and Muslim (40.5%) communities who hold this view. (Please refer figure 6).

Figure 6: Perception on relations with other ethnic groups when compared to two years ago, by Ethnicity



## FREEDOM TO CRITICISE THE PRESIDENT AND OTHER POLITICAL LEADERS

There appears to be a close gap between those who claim that freedom to criticise the president and other political leaders has either decreased or remained the same, when compared to what it was during the previous government in power.

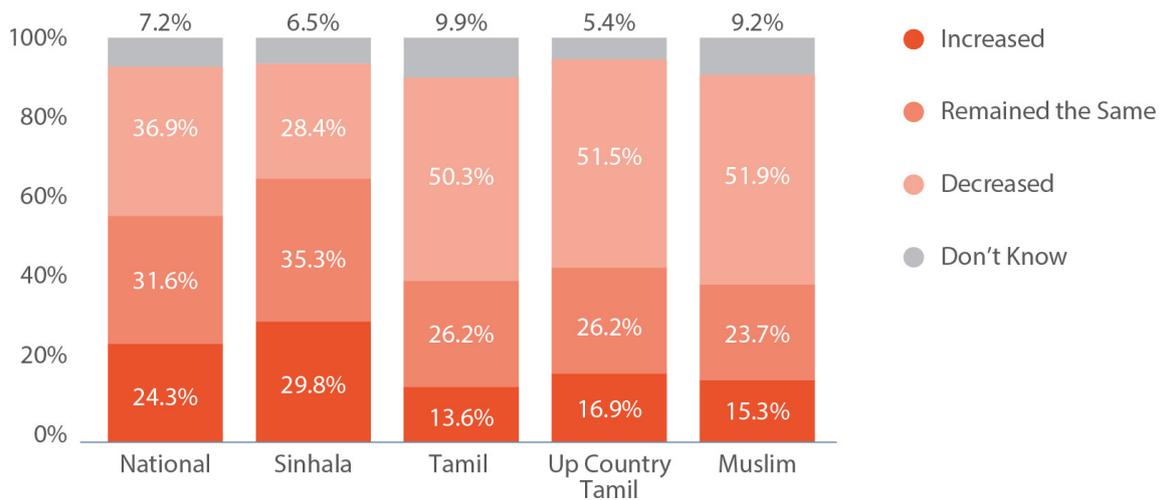
Nearly 37% of the respondents believe that freedom to criticise the President and other political leaders has decreased, whilst nearly 32% of the respondents claim that it has remained the same.

Nearly one fourth of the respondents indicate that there has been an increase in the level

of freedom to criticise the President when compared to what it was during the previous government – this perception is particularly held amongst those from the Sinhala community (nearly 30%).

On the contrary, it is mostly respondents from the minority ethnic communities (Muslim 51.9%, Up Country Tamil 51.5% and Tamil 50.3%) who claim that there is a decline in the level of freedom to criticise the President and other political leaders when compared to what it was during the previous government in power. (Please refer figure 7).

Figure 7: Perception on freedom to criticise the President and other political leaders, by Ethnicity

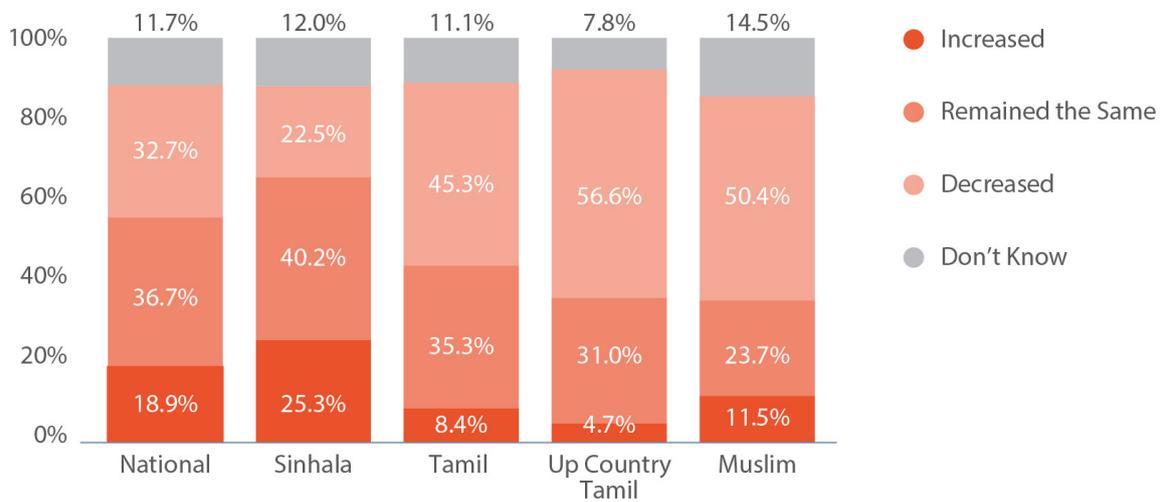


## FREEDOM TO CRITICISE THE MILITARY OR THE CIVIL DEFENCE FORCES

Whilst nearly one third of the respondents indicate that freedom to criticise the Military or the Civil defence forces has decreased, only 18.9% of the respondents indicate that it has increased. Approximately 37% of respondents indicate that freedom to criticise the Military or the Civil defence forces has remained the same.

From those who indicate that freedom to criticise the Military or the Civil defence force has decreased, it is mostly those from the minority ethnic communities who hold this view (Muslim 50.4%, Up Country Tamil 56.6% and Tamil 45.3%). From those who indicate that freedom has increased, it is mostly those from the Sinhala community (25.3%) who hold this view. (Please refer figure 8).

Figure 8: Perception on freedom to criticise the Military or the Civil defence forces, by Ethnicity



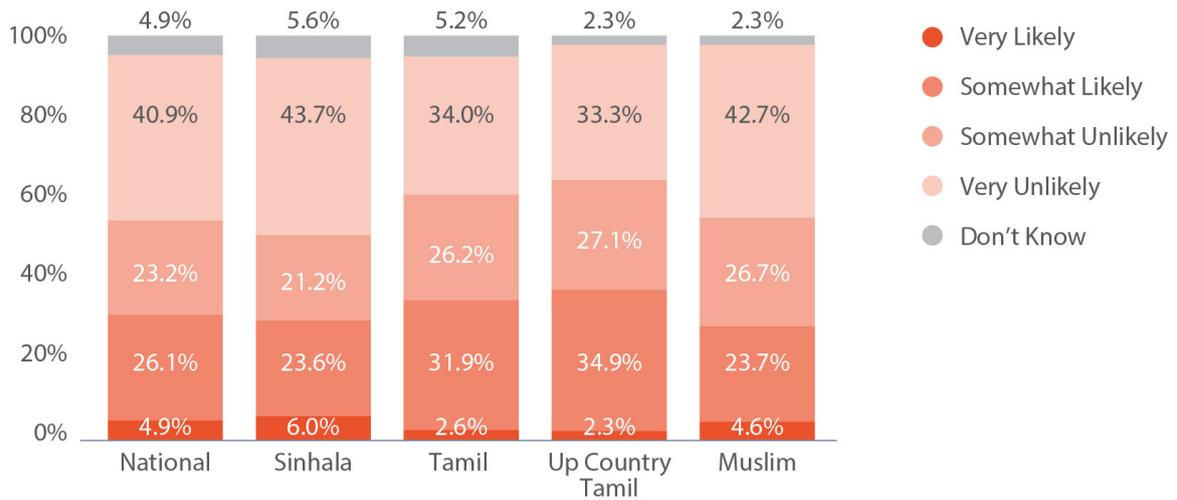
# **CONFIDENCE IN GOVERNMENT'S PLEDGES**

## ECONOMIC CRISIS

It is evident that a majority of respondents (64.1%) claim that it is unlikely that the government will, during its term in office, recover the country

from its economic crisis. This sentiment is shared across all the ethnic communities. (Please refer figure 9).

Figure 9: Perception on recovering the country from its economic crisis, by Ethnicity

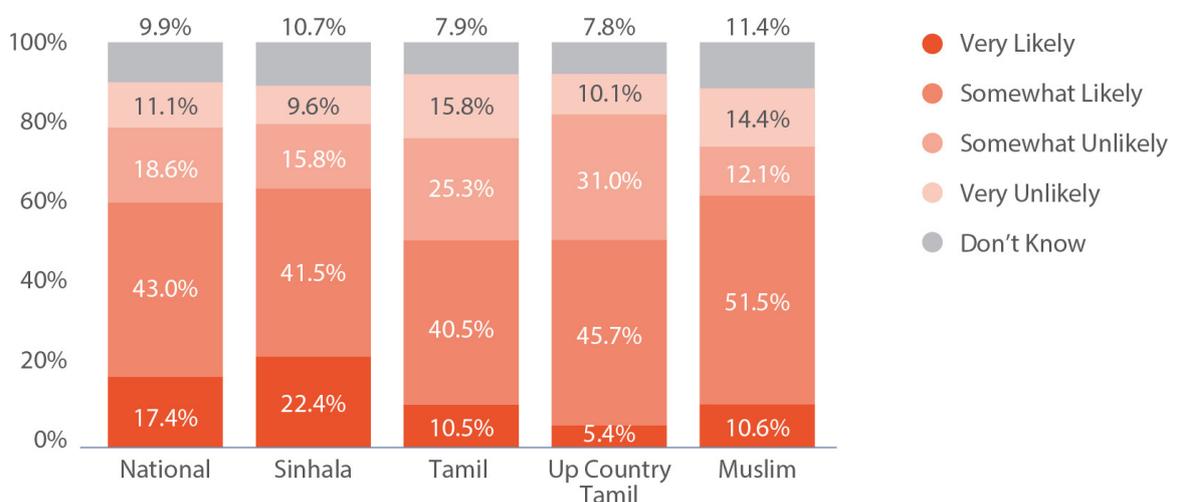


## NATIONAL SECURITY

Thinking about national security under the current system of governance, a majority of respondents (60.4%) are of the opinion that the country will most likely be secure from internal security threats whilst around 30% oppose this.

It is mostly respondents from the Tamil (41.1%) and Up Country Tamil (41.1%) communities who think that the country will most likely not be secure. (Please refer figure 10).

Figure 10: Perception on securing the country from internal security threats, by Ethnicity

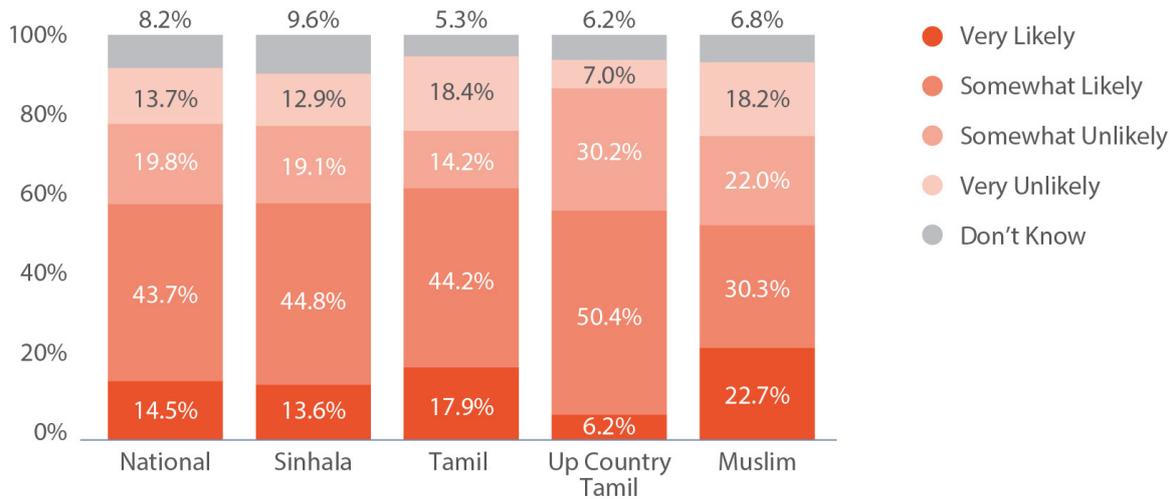


## FOREIGN RELATIONS

Whilst a majority of respondents (58.2%) are of the view that the government will maintain successful foreign relations, nearly one third of the respondents indicate that the government will not. From those who indicate that the

government will not maintain successful foreign relations, it is mostly respondents from the Muslim community (40.2%) who hold this view. (Please refer figure 11).

Figure 11: Perception on maintaining foreign relations, by Ethnicity



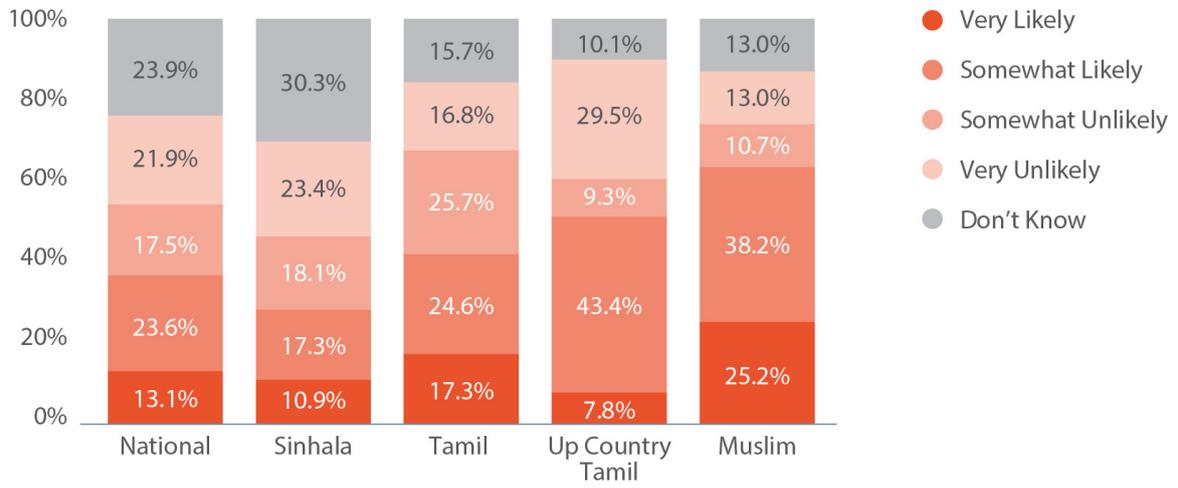
## NEW CONSTITUTION

There appears to be a certain degree of scepticism in relation to the government's plans for a new constitution. Whilst nearly one fourth of the respondents indicate that they do not know, nearly 40% are of the view that it is unlikely that the government will produce a new constitution during its term in office. From those who are of the opinion that the government will produce

a new constitution during its term in office, it is only 36.7% of the respondents who hold this view.

It is interesting to note that it is predominantly respondents from the minority ethnic communities who believe that the government will most likely produce a new constitution during its term in office. (Please refer figure 12).

Figure 12: Perception on a new Constitution, by Ethnicity



# FORMS OF GOVERNANCE

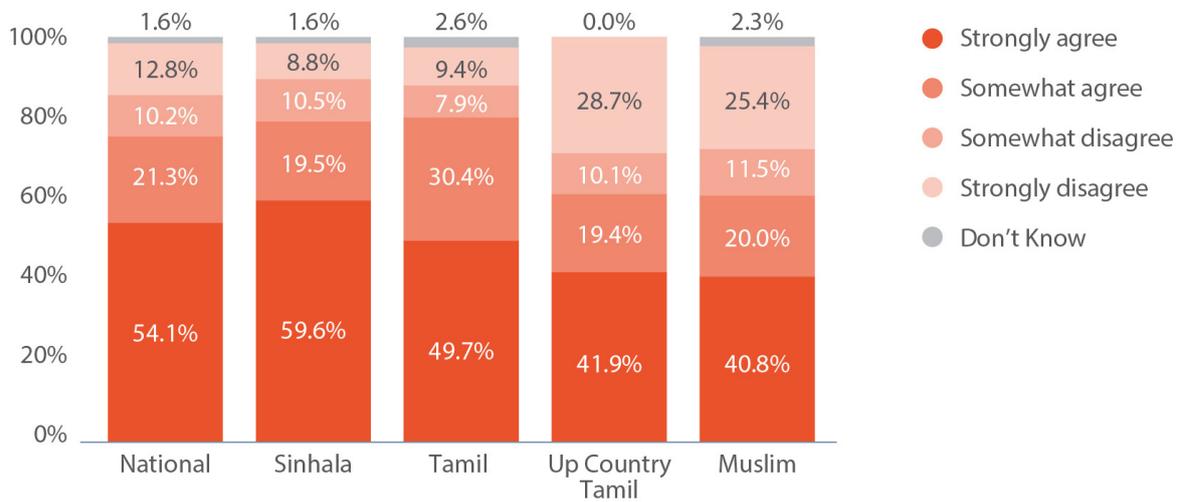
## A STRONG LEADER

The respondents were provided with various ways in which a country could be governed and were asked to indicate their support towards each of them.

There appears to be significant support towards having a strong leader who is not inconvenienced by elections. Whilst a majority of respondents (75.4%) hold this view, only 23% disagree with this.

From an ethnic perspective it is mostly respondents from the Sinhala and Tamil communities who agree that there should be a strong leader who does not have to worry about elections, whilst it is mostly respondents from the Up Country Tamil and Muslim communities who oppose this. (Please refer figure 13).

**Figure 13: Perception about a strong leader who does not have to be inconvenienced by elections, by Ethnicity**

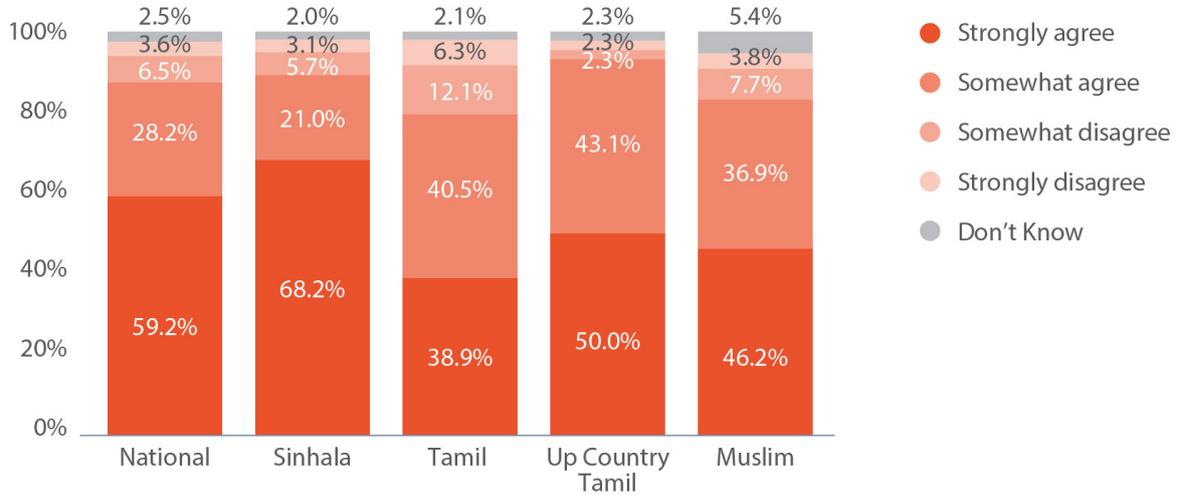


## DECISION MAKING SPEARHEADED BY EXPERTS

When analysing public perception on decision making, it is evident that an overwhelming majority (87.4%) agree that all major decisions that concern the country should be taken by experts rather than politicians. A mere 10.1% disagree with this.

There appears to be a high level of agreement across all ethnic communities that all major decisions should be taken by experts as opposed to politicians. (Please refer figure 14).

**Figure 14: Perception on all major decisions to be taken by experts rather than politicians, by Ethnicity**



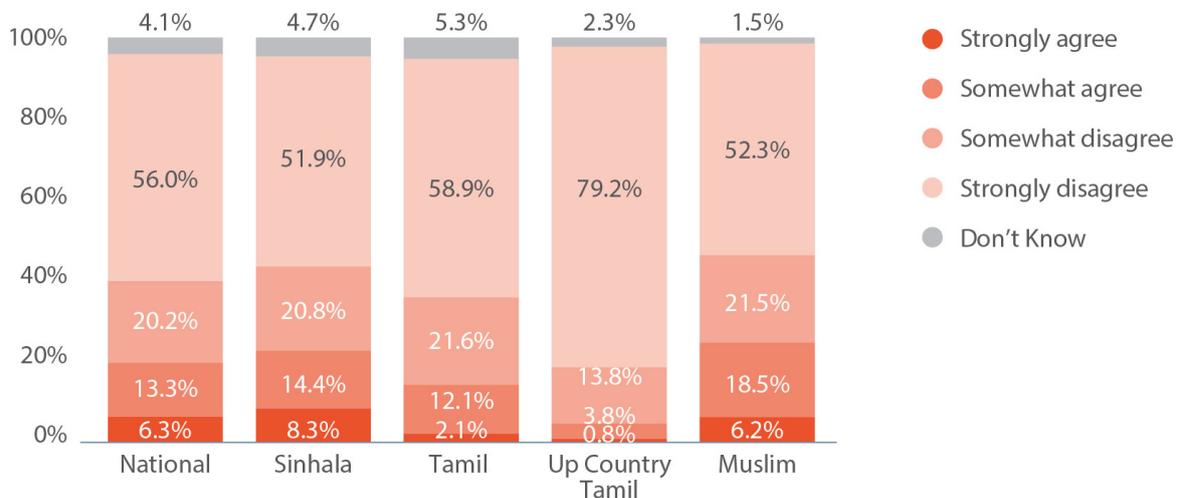
### DECISION MAKING SPEARHEADED BY RELIGIOUS LEADERS

On decision making by religious leaders, a majority of respondents (76.3%) disagree that all major decisions should be taken by religious leaders rather than politicians. Nearly one fifth of the respondents agree with this.

From those who are in favour of this, it is mostly respondents from the Muslim (24.6%)

and Sinhala (22.6%) communities who hold this view. Although a majority of respondents across all ethnic communities disagree with religious leaders taking all major decisions concerning the country - this opinion is more strongly held by respondents from the Tamil (80.5%) and Up Country Tamil (93.1%) communities. (Please refer figure 15).

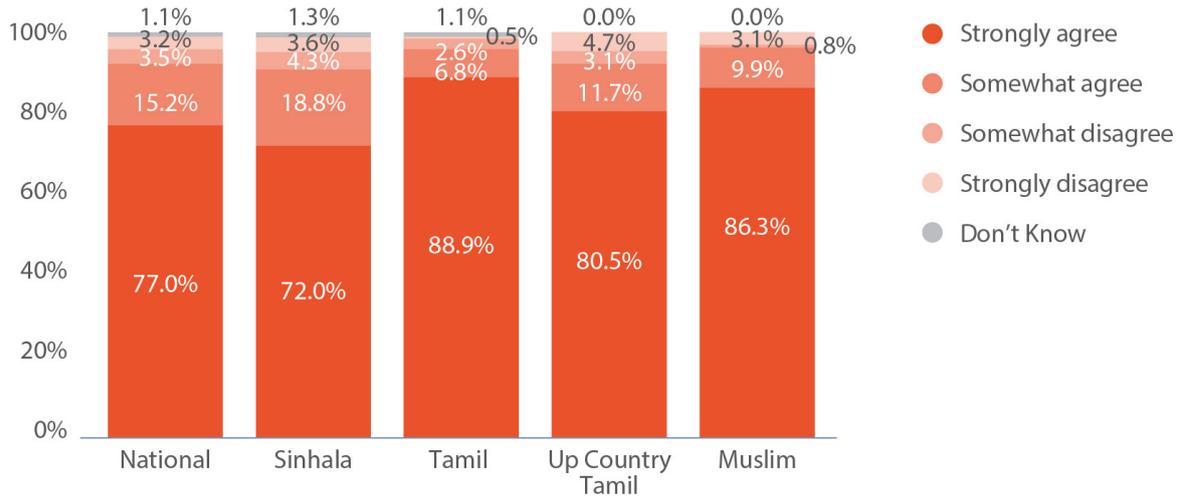
**Figure 15: Perception on all major decisions to be taken by religious leaders rather than politicians, by Ethnicity**



## AN ELECTIVE PRINCIPLE

An overwhelming majority (92.2%) are in support for an elective principle. This pattern recurs across all ethnic communities. Nationally, a mere 6.7% disagree with this. (Please refer figure 16).

Figure 16: Perception on a democratically elected people’s representative, by Ethnicity

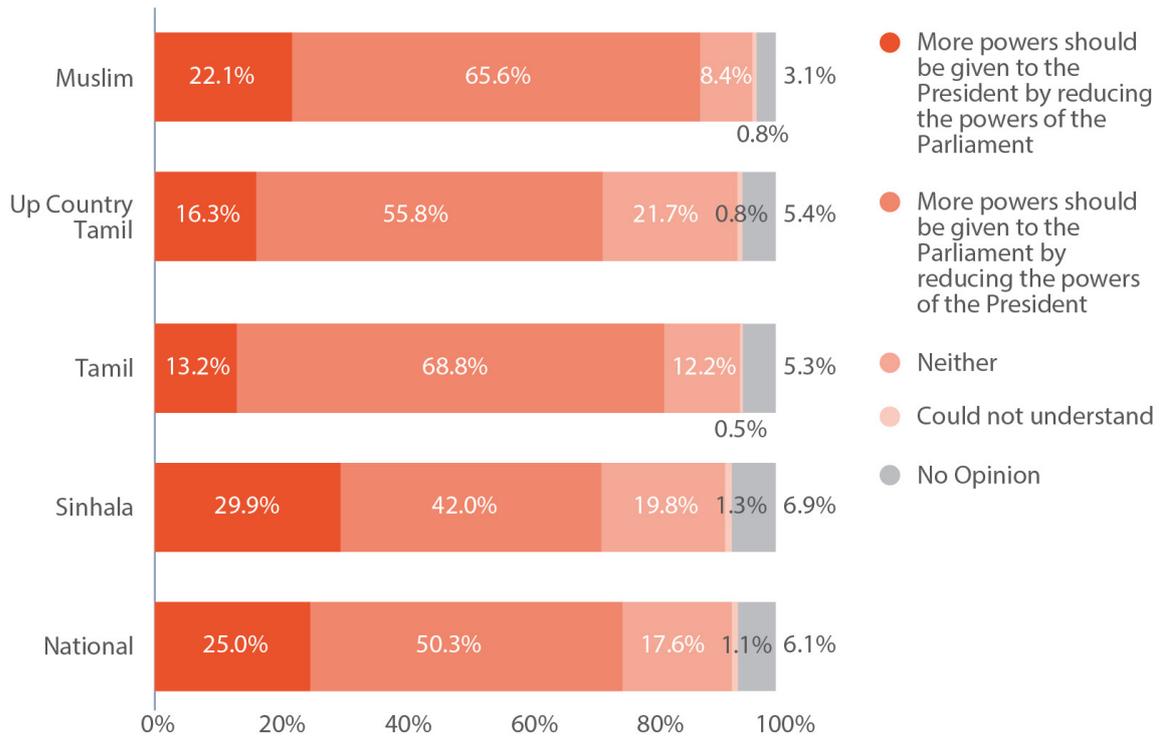


## POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT AND PARLIAMENT

One half of the respondents (50.3%) are of the opinion that more powers should be given to the Parliament by reducing the powers of the President. One fourth of the respondents are of the opinion that more powers should be given to the President by reducing the powers of the Parliament.

Whilst it is mostly respondents from the minority ethnic communities (Tamil 68.8%, Up Country Tamil 55.8% and Muslim 65.6%) who believe that more powers should be vested in the Parliament, as opposed to the President – it is predominantly respondents from the Sinhala community (nearly 30%) who state the contrary. (Please refer figure 17).

Figure 17: Perception on powers vested in the President and Parliament, by Ethnicity

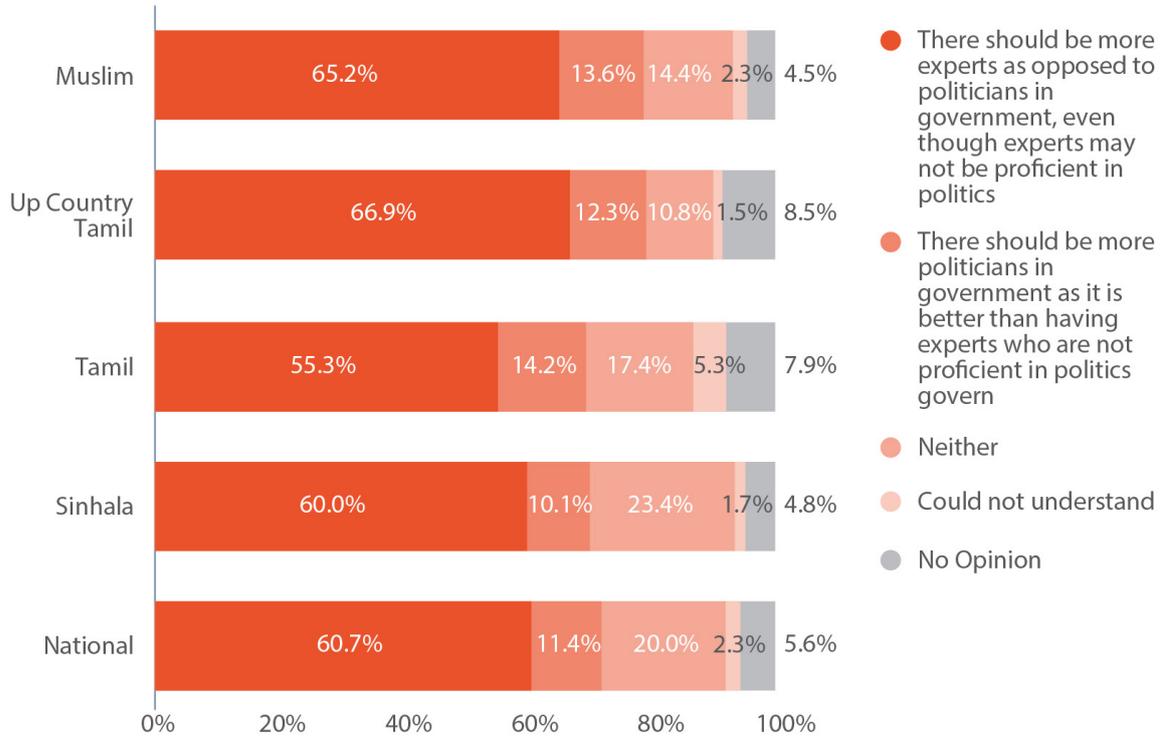


### GOVERNANCE BY EXPERTS VS. POLITICIANS

Nationally, a majority of respondents (60.7%) are of the view that there should be more experts as opposed to politicians in government, even though experts may not be proficient in politics. Only 11.4% of the respondents are of the view that there should be more politicians in government, as it is better than having experts who are not proficient in politics.

From an ethnic perspective, a majority across all ethnic communities are in favour of having more experts as opposed to politicians in government, regardless of the fact that experts may not be proficient in politics. (Please refer figure 18).

**Figure 18: Perception on there being more experts as opposed to politicians in government, even though experts may not be proficient in politics, by Ethnicity**



# ROLE OF **THE MILITARY**

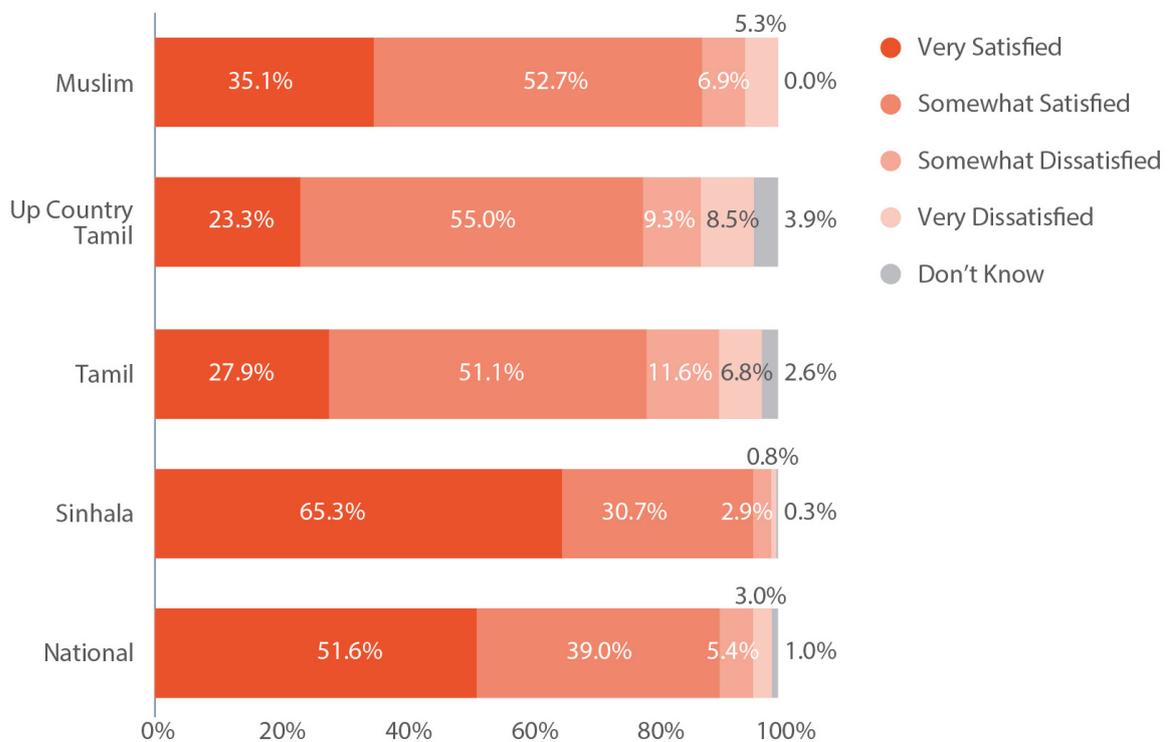
## MITIGATING THE COVID-19 CRISIS

There appears to be overwhelming support towards the efficiency of the Military in mitigating the COVID-19 crisis in the country. Whilst nearly 91% are satisfied, only 8.4% claim to be dissatisfied with the Military’s efficiency in mitigating the COVID-19 crisis.

A significant proportion of respondents across

all ethnic communities claim to be satisfied with the way in which the Military has managed the COVID-19 crisis. It is indicative that it is predominantly the Sinhala community (65.3%) who seem to be mostly in favour of the Military’s role in mitigating the COVID-19 crisis. (Please refer figure 19).

Figure 19: Support towards the efficiency of the Military in mitigating the COVID-19 crisis, by Ethnicity



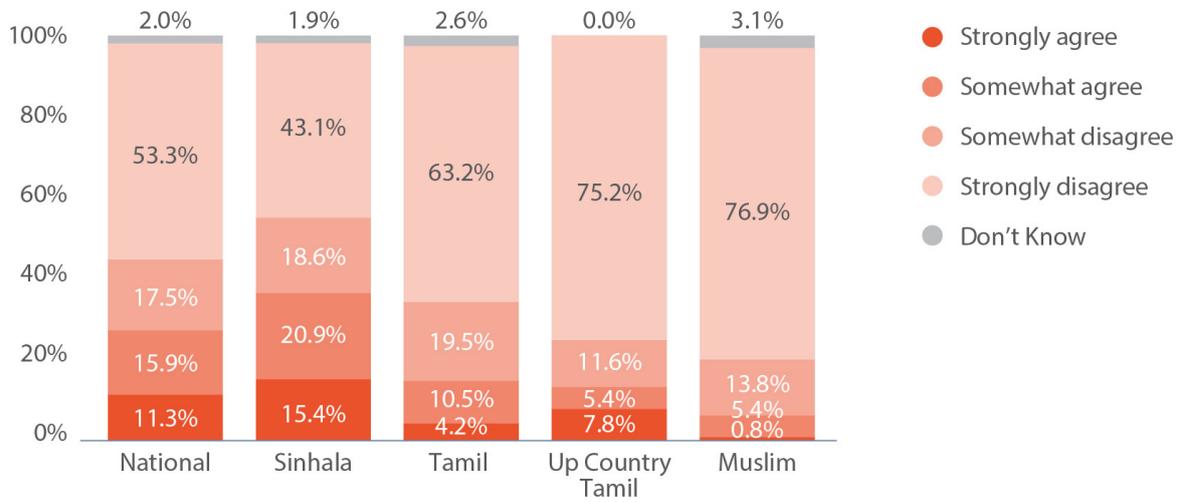
## GOVERNANCE BY MILITARY

When the respondents were asked as to whether the country should be governed by the Military, a significant majority (70.8%) expressed disagreement, whilst a little more than one fourth of the respondents (27.2%) were agreeable to it.

From those who were agreeable to the country being governed by the Military, it was

predominantly respondents from the Sinhala community (36.4%) who held this view. It was mainly respondents from the ethnic minority communities who opposed this - Tamil community (82.6%), Up Country Tamil community (86.8%) and the Muslim community (90.8%). (Please refer figure 20).

Figure 20: Perception governance by the Military, by Ethnicity

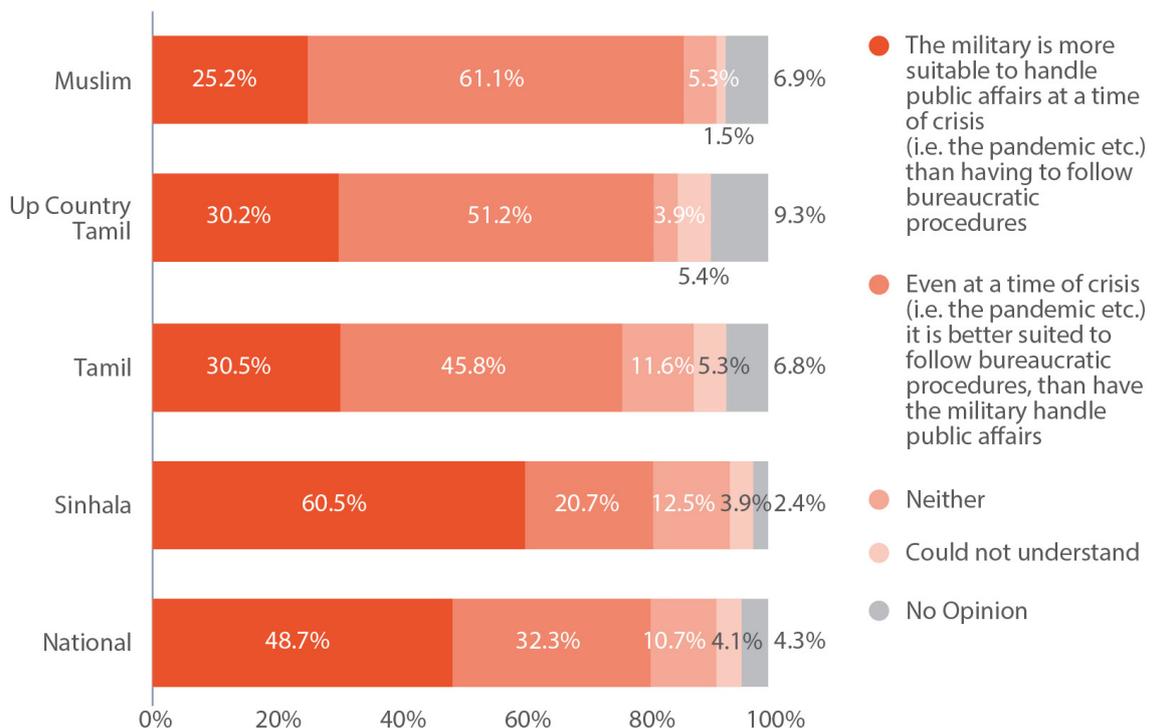


## HANDLING PUBLIC AFFAIRS AT A TIME OF CRISIS

On the Military handling public affairs at a time of crisis, nearly one half of the respondents (48.7%) are of the opinion that it is more suitable for the Military to handle public affairs at a time of crisis, as opposed to having to follow bureaucratic

procedures. Nearly one third of the respondents (32.3%) are of the opinion that even at a time of crisis, it is best suited to follow bureaucratic procedures, than have the military handle public affairs. (Please refer figure 21).

Figure 21: Perception on the Military handling public affairs at a time of crisis, by Ethnicity



## SECURITY FORCES PERFORMING CIVILIAN DUTIES

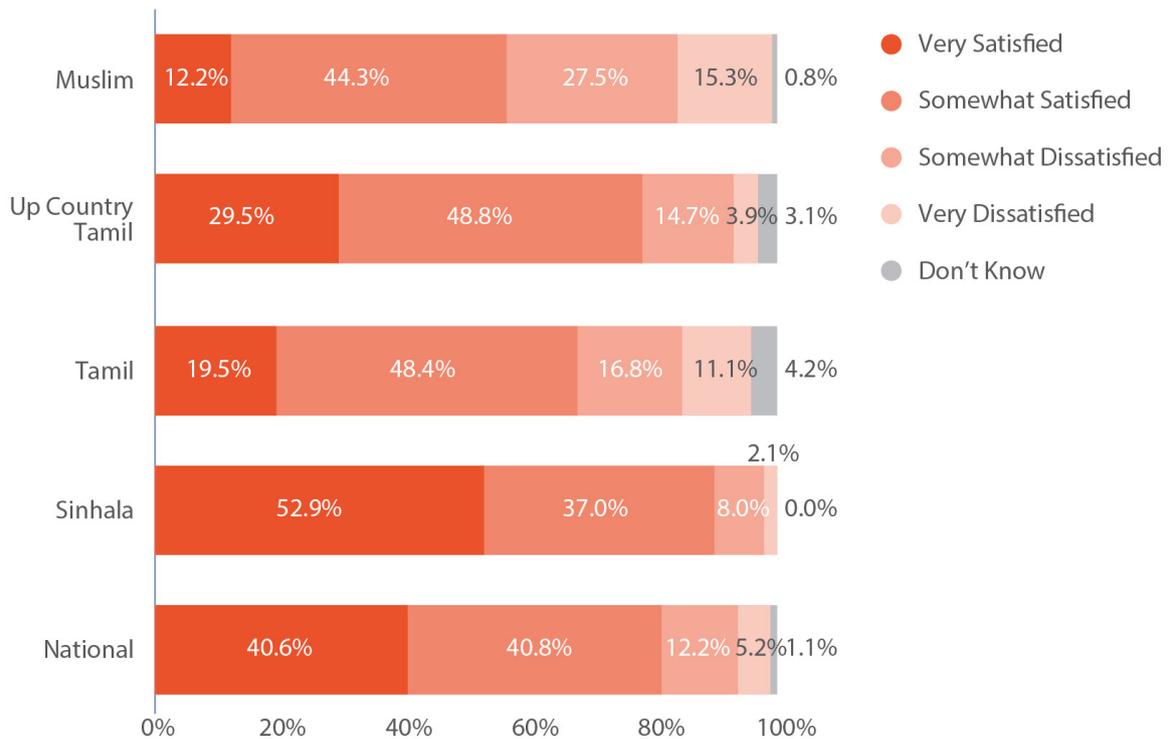
The respondents were asked to indicate as to how satisfied they were with the role of the security forces expanding to perform civilian duties.

Nationally, a majority of respondents (81.4%) indicate that they are satisfied; while a mere 17.4% state that they are dissatisfied with the role of the security forces expanding to perform civilian duties.

Although a majority across all ethnic communities

indicates that they are satisfied, it is mostly respondents from the Sinhala community who appear to be very satisfied with the role of the security forces expanding to perform civilian duties (52.9%). From those who indicate that they are very dissatisfied, it is mostly respondents from the Muslim community (15.3%) closely followed by respondents from the Tamil community (11.1%) who hold this view. (Please refer figure 22)

**Figure 22: Perception on the role of the security forces expanding their duties to perform civilian tasks, by Ethnicity**



# **ASSESSMENT OF SOCIAL CONDITIONS**

In order to assess basic social conditions that affect the day to day lives of people, the respondents were asked compare their current

household income, feeling of personal safety and quality of life with what it was two years ago.

## HOUSEHOLD INCOME

On household income, a significant proportion of respondents (75.1%) indicate that their household income has got worse, with 43.7% of the respondents stating that it has got a lot worse, when compared to what it was two years ago.

What is strikingly evident when analysing public perception on household income is that from those who indicate that their household income

has got a lot worse, it is mostly respondents from the Up country Tamil community (63.6%) who hold this view. (Please refer figure 23).

In terms of locality, a slightly higher percentage of respondents from the municipal council areas in comparison to other localities claim that when compared to what it was two years ago, their household income has got a lot worse. (Please refer figure 24)

Figure 23: Perception on household income when compared to two years ago, by Ethnicity

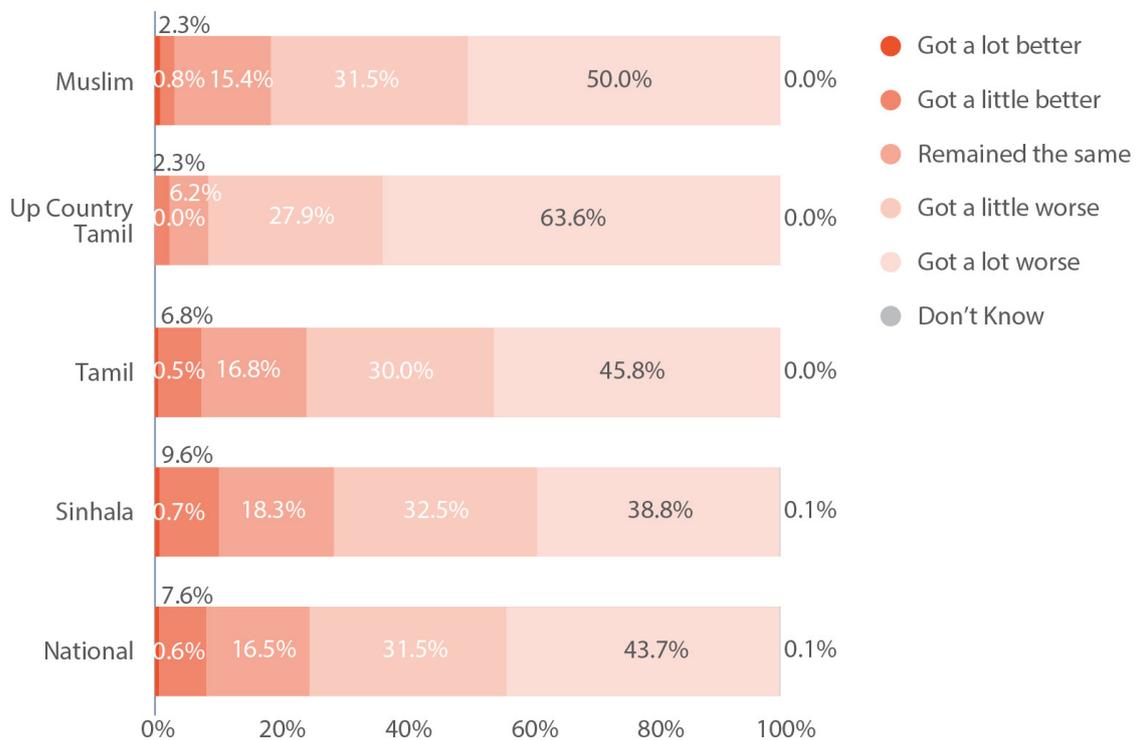


Figure 24: Perception on household income when compared to two years ago, by locality



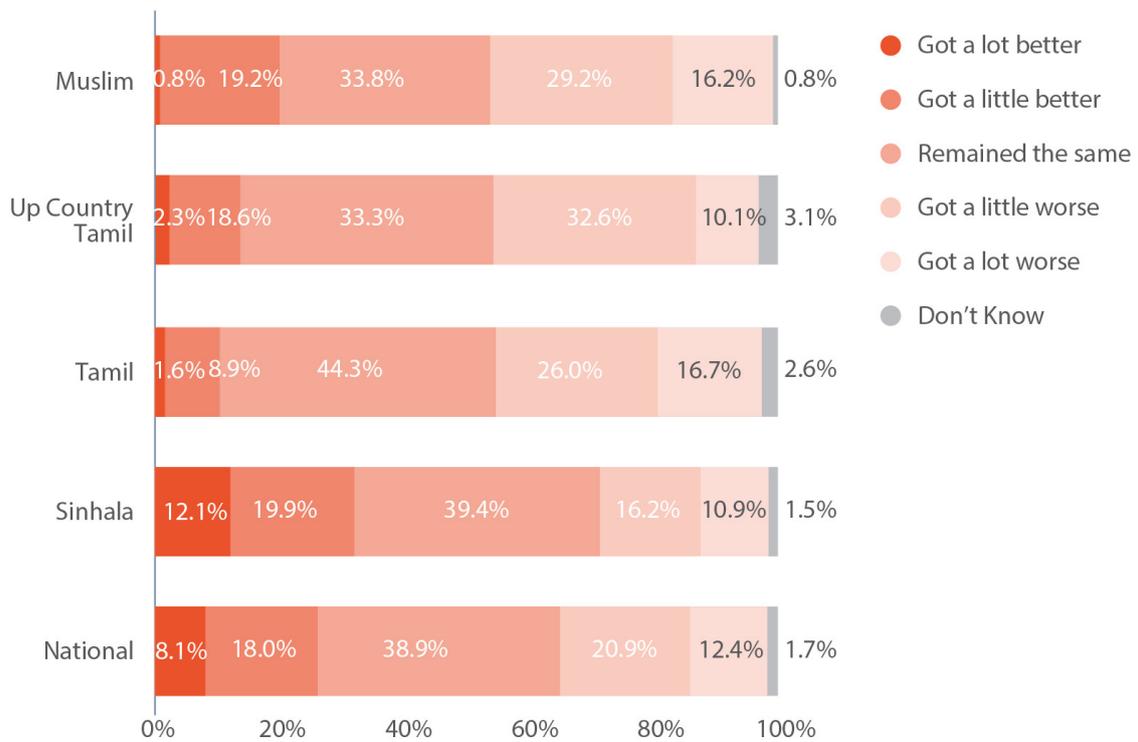
## PERSONAL SAFETY

On personal safety, one third of the respondents (33.3%) indicate that their personal safety, when compared to what it was two years ago, has got worse. Nearly 40% of the respondents indicate that it has remained the same. Only 26.1% of the respondents indicate that it has got better.

It is mostly respondents from the Sinhala community (32%) who feel that they are safer

now, than when compared to two years ago. On the contrary, it is mostly respondents from the minority ethnic communities (Muslim community 45.4%), Tamil community 42.7% and Up Country Tamil community 42.6%) who claim that their feeling of safety has worsened than when compared to what it was two years ago. (Please refer figure 25)

Figure 25: Perception on personal safety when compared to two years ago, by Ethnicity

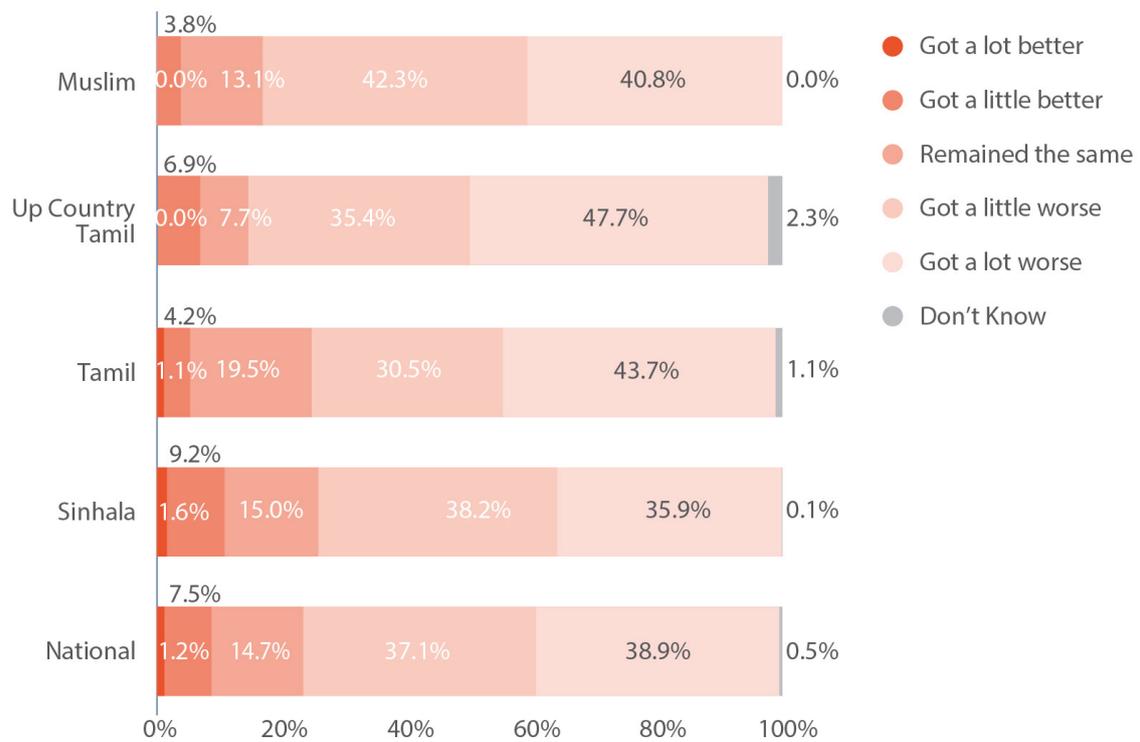


## QUALITY OF LIFE

A significant majority of respondents (76.1%) indicate that their quality of life has got worse, whilst only 8.7% of the respondents claim that it has got better, when compared to what it

was two years ago. Approximately 15% of the respondents state that their quality of life has remained the same. (Please refer figure 26)

Figure 26: Perception on quality of life when compared to two years ago, by Ethnicity

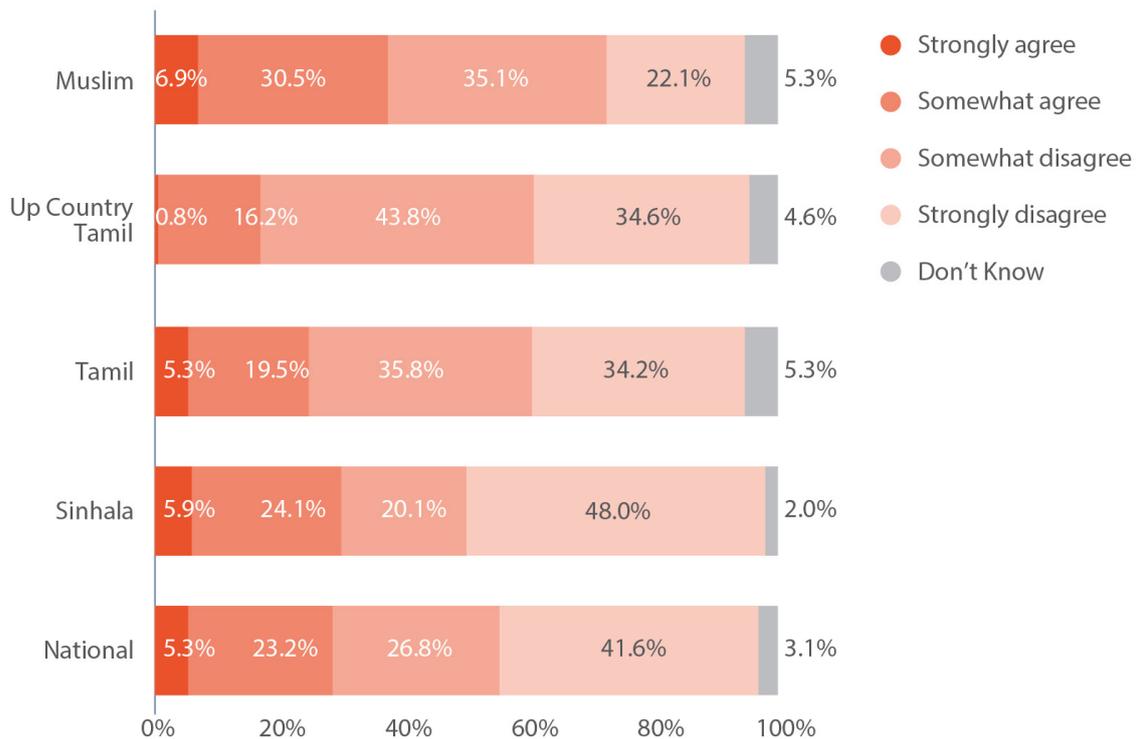


# **LEGITAMACY OF COVID-19 REGULATIONS**

### ADHERENCE TO COVID-19 REGULATIONS BY POLITICIANS

A majority of respondents (68.4%) are of the opinion that regulations imposed by the government to control COVID-19 were not duly followed by political leaders – only 28.5% oppose this. (Please refer figure 27)

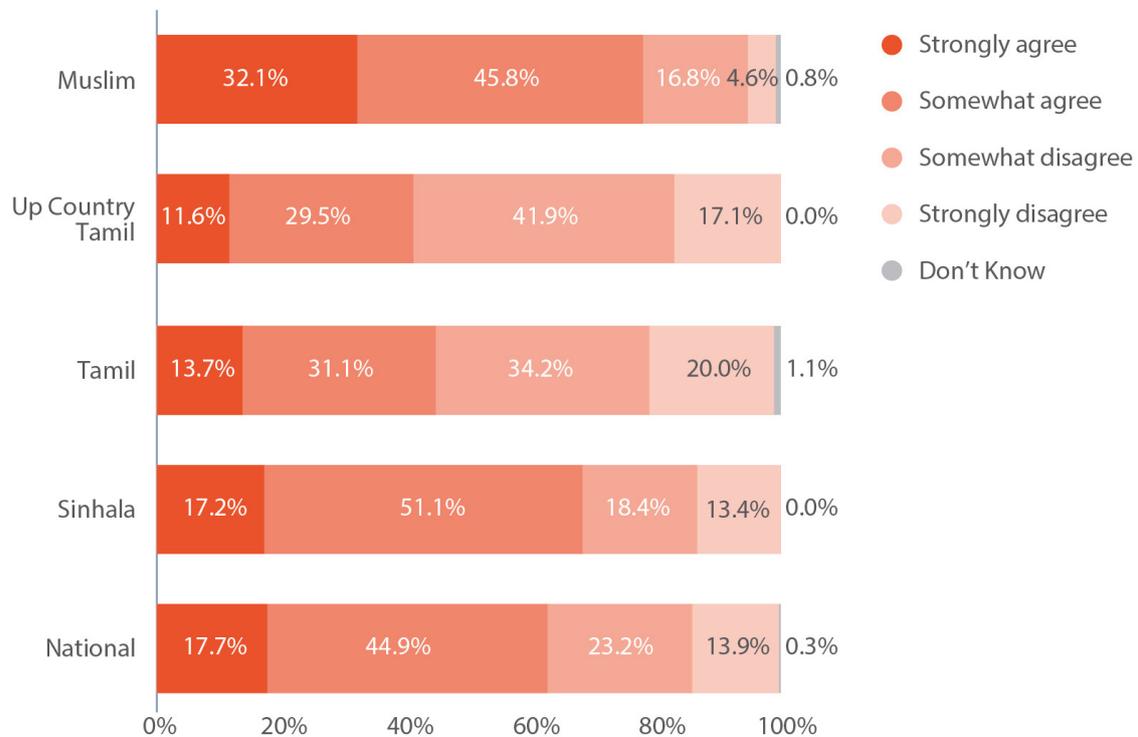
Figure 27: Perception on whether regulations imposed by the government to control COVID-19 were duly followed by political leaders, by Ethnicity



### ADHERENCE TO COVID-19 REGULATIONS BY NEIGHBOURS

A majority of respondents (62.6%) are of the view that people in their locality or surrounding vicinities did not duly follow government imposed regulations that aimed to control the COVID-19 crisis. (Please refer figure 28 and Table 3)

**Figure 28: Perception on whether regulations imposed by the government to control the COVID-19 crisis were duly followed by neighbours, by Ethnicity**



**Table 3: Perception on whether regulations imposed by the government to control the COVID-19 crisis were duly followed by neighbours, by Locality**

	Type of Locality		
	Municipal Council	Urban Council	Pradeshiya Sabha
Strongly agree	23.3%	24.8%	16.0%
Somewhat agree	39.5%	31.8%	47.5%
Somewhat disagree	18.6%	27.9%	23.2%
Strongly disagree	17.8%	14.7%	13.2%
Don't Know	0.8%	0.8%	0.1%
Base	129	129	944

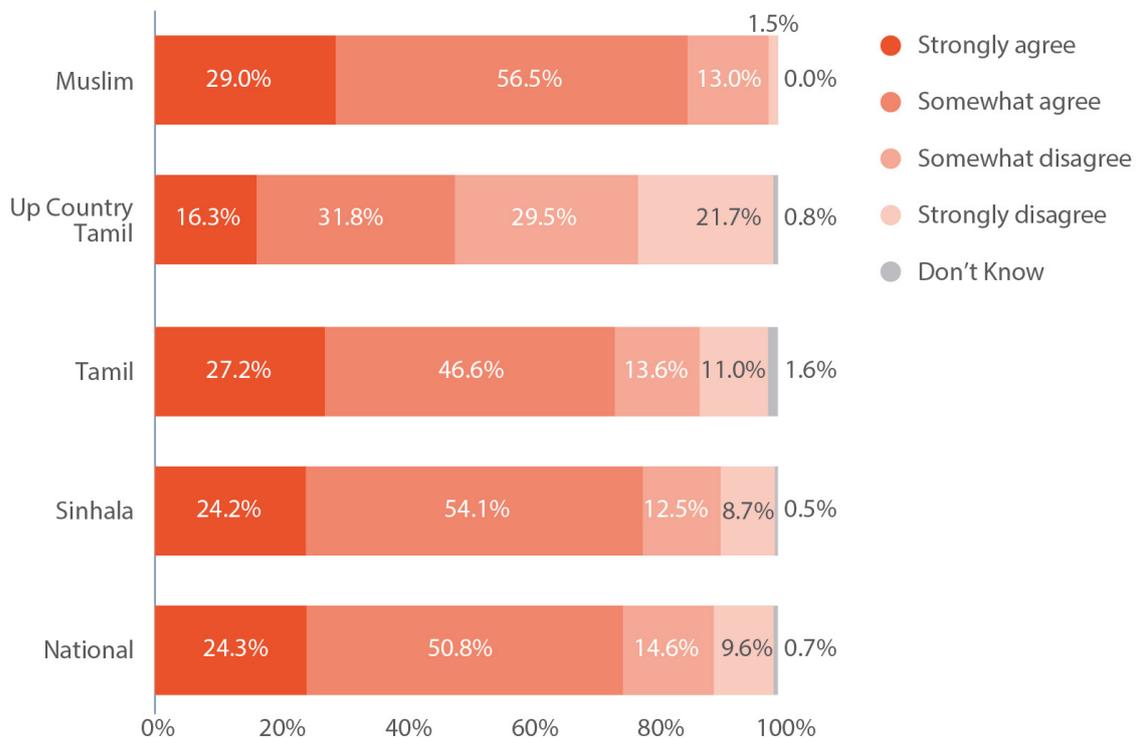
## WERE COVID-19 REGULATIONS USEFUL?

A majority of respondents (75.1%) indicate that the government imposed regulations were useful to control the spread of COVID-19.

Approximately one fourth of the respondents oppose this. From those who indicate that the regulations imposed by the government was

not useful, it is mostly respondents from the Up Country Tamil community (51.2%) who hold this view. (Please refer figure 29)

**Figure 29: Perception on whether regulations imposed by the government to control the spread of COVID-19 were useful, by Ethnicity**



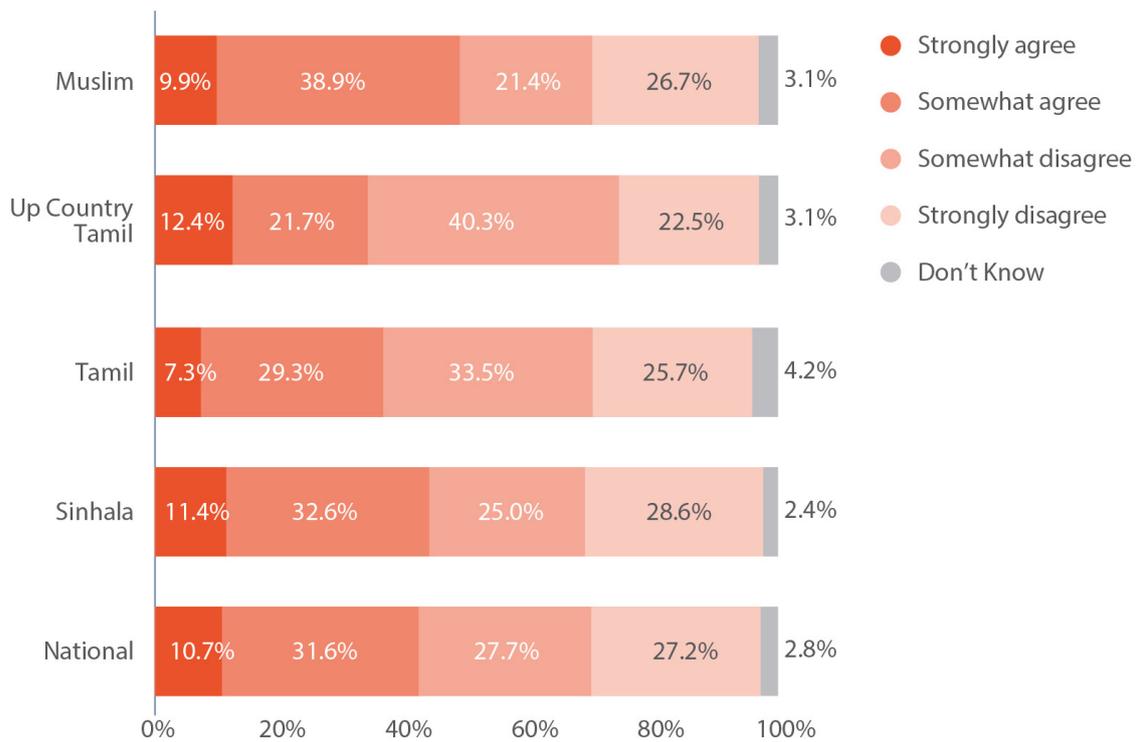
# FAIR TREATMENT

## IMPLEMENTATION OF COVID-19 REGULATIONS IMPOSED BY THE GOVERNMENT

A majority of respondents (nearly 55%) indicate that the regulations imposed by the government to mitigate the COVID-19 crisis were not fairly

implemented across all citizens in the country. Around 42.3% state the contrary. (Please refer figure 30)

Figure 30: Perception on whether regulations imposed by the government to control COVID-19 were fairly implemented among all citizens, by Ethnicity



## PERCEPTION ON FAIR TREATMENT BASED ON ETHNICITY

The respondents were asked to indicate if either they or any member of their family has had to face any form of discrimination or unfair treatment as a result of their ethnic background when COVID-19 regulations were implemented by the police, military and health authorities as well as when obtaining services from local government officers, when receiving the COVID-19 vaccinations and government subsidies. When analysing the data on a national level, it is clear

that it is respondents from the ethnic minority communities as opposed to those from the majority Sinhala community who claim to have experienced a higher level of discrimination or unfair treatment when COVID-19 regulations were implemented by the Police, Military and health authorities, when obtaining services from local level government officers and when receiving government subsidies.

### Implementation of COVID-19 regulations by the police

As for fair treatment when COVID-19 regulations were implemented by the Police, it is mostly respondents from the Sinhala community (90.8%) who claim that they had not faced any form of discrimination or unfair treatment. From

those who claim that they have, it is mostly respondents from the Up Country Tamil (53.8%) and Muslim (52.5%) communities who hold this view. (Please refer Table 4)

**Table 4: Have you or any member of your family been unfairly treated because of your ethnic background when COVID-19 regulations were implemented by the police, by Ethnicity**

	Ethnicity				
	National	Sinhala	Tamil	Up Country Tamil	Muslim
Yes	32.9	9.2%	40.6%	53.8%	52.5%
No	67.1	90.8%	59.4%	46.2%	47.5%
Base	163	65	32	26	40

### Implementation of COVID-19 regulations by the Military

As for fair treatment when COVID-19 regulations were implemented by the Military, it is mostly respondents from the Sinhala community (96.3%) who indicate that they have not faced any discrimination or unfair treatment. From

those who have, it is mostly respondents from the Tamil (52.6%) and Up Country Tamil (50%) communities who hold this view. (Please refer Table 5)

**Table 5: Have you or any member of your family been unfairly treated because of your ethnic background when COVID-19 regulations were implemented by the Military, by Ethnicity**

	Ethnicity				
	National	Sinhala	Tamil	Up Country Tamil	Muslim
Yes	26.9	3.7%	52.6%	50.0%	28.6%
No	73.1	96.3%	47.4%	50.0%	71.4%
Base	80	27	19	6	28

### Implementation of COVID-19 regulations by health authorities

From those who indicate that they have not faced any discrimination or unfair treatment when Covid-19 regulations were implemented by health authorities, it is mostly respondents from the Sinhala community (98.8%) who hold

this view. From those who indicate that they have, it is mostly respondents from the Muslim community who hold this view (40%). (Please refer Table 6)

**Table 6: Have you or any member of your family been unfairly treated because of your ethnic background when COVID-19 regulations were implemented by health authorities, by Ethnicity**

	National	Ethnicity			
		Sinhala	Tamil	Up Country Tamil	Muslim
Yes	17.9	1.2%	28.9%	23.1%	40.0%
No	82.1	98.8%	71.1%	76.9%	60.0%
Base	184	86	45	13	40

### When obtaining services from local level government officers

On fair treatment when obtaining services from local government officers, all respondents from the Sinhala community (100%) are of the view that they have not faced any discrimination or unfair treatment. It is mostly respondents from the Muslim community (40%) closely

followed by those from the Up Country Tamil community (35.7%) who claim that they have faced discrimination or unfair treatment when obtaining services from local government officers. (Please refer Table 7)

**Table 7: Have you or any member of your family been unfairly treated because of your ethnic background when obtaining services from local level government officers, by Ethnicity**

	National	Ethnicity			
		Sinhala	Tamil	Up Country Tamil	Muslim
Yes	18.4	0.0%	26.3%	35.7%	40.0%
No	81.6	100.0%	73.7%	64.3%	60.0%
Base	150	68	38	14	30

### When receiving the COVID-19 vaccination(s)

It is mostly the Sinhala community (99.3%) who claim that they have not faced any discrimination or unfair treatment when receiving the COVID-19 vaccination(s). From those who indicate that they

have, it is mostly respondents from the Muslim community (35.9%) who hold this view. (Please refer Table 8)

**Table 8: Have you or any member of your family been unfairly treated because of your ethnic background when receiving the COVID-19 vaccinations, by Ethnicity**

	National	Ethnicity			
		Sinhala	Tamil	Up Country Tamil	Muslim
Yes	10.8	0.7%	17.3%	25.0%	35.9%
No	89.2	99.3%	82.7%	75.0%	64.1%
Base	261	150	52	20	39

### When receiving government subsidies

On fair treatment when receiving government subsidies, it is mostly those from the Up Country Tamil community (55.9%) who claim that they have faced discrimination or unfair treatment,

whilst it is mostly respondents from the Sinhala community (99.2%) who indicate that they have not faced unfair treatment when receiving government subsidies. (Please refer Table 9)

**Table 9: Have you or any member of your family been unfairly treated because of your ethnic background when receiving government subsidies, by Ethnicity**

	National	Ethnicity			
		Sinhala	Tamil	Up Country Tamil	Muslim
Yes	21.2	0.8%	33.3%	55.9%	44.7%
No	78.8	99.2%	66.7%	44.1%	55.3%
Base	232	124	36	34	38

## PERCEPTION ON FAIR TREATMENT BASED ON POLITICAL PARTY AFFILIATIONS

The respondents were asked to indicate if they had faced any form of discrimination or unfair treatment as a result of their political party affiliations when COVID-19 regulations were implemented by the police, military and health authorities, when obtaining services from local government officers, when receiving the COVID-19 vaccinations and government subsidies.

Overall, it is mostly respondents from the Up Country Tamil community who claim to have experienced unfair treatment or discrimination as a result of their political party affiliations when COVID-19 regulations were implemented by the Police, Military and health authorities, when obtaining services from local level government officers and when receiving government subsidies.

### Implementation of COVID-19 regulations by the police

As for those who indicate that they have faced unfair treatment as a result of their political party affiliations when COVID-19 regulations were implemented by the Police - it is mostly

respondents from the Up Country Tamil community (50%) who hold this view. (Please refer Table 10)

**Table 10: Have you or any member of your family been unfairly treated because of your political party background when COVID -19 regulations were implemented by the police, by Ethnicity**

	Ethnicity				
	National	Sinhala	Tamil	Up Country Tamil	Muslim
Yes	14.9	0.0%	15.6%	50.0%	15.0%
No	85.1	100.0%	84.4%	50.0%	85.0%
Base	261	65	32	26	40

### Implementation of COVID-19 regulations by the Military

From those who have been treated unfairly as a result of their political party affiliations when COVID-19 regulations were implemented by the Military, it was mostly respondents from the Up

Country Tamil community (33.3%) followed by the Tamil (26.3%) and Muslim (21.4%) communities who hold this view. (Please refer Table 11)

**Table 11: Have you or any member of your family been unfairly treated because of your political party background when COVID -19 regulations were implemented by the Military, by Ethnicity**

	Ethnicity				
	National	Sinhala	Tamil	Up Country Tamil	Muslim
Yes	16.0	0.0%	26.3%	33.3%	21.4%
No	84.0	100.0%	73.7%	66.7%	78.6%
Base	79	26	19	6	28

### Implementation of COVID-19 regulations by health authorities

Whilst there appears to be no unfair treatment experienced by respondents from the Sinhala community when COVID-19 regulations were implemented by health authorities, respondents from the Up Country Tamil (15.4%), Muslim

(15%) and Tamil (13%) communities indicate that they have been unfairly treated as a result of their political party affiliations when COVID-19 regulations were implemented by health authorities. (Please refer Table 12)

**Table 12: Have you or any member of your family been unfairly treated because of your political party background when COVID -19 regulations were implemented by health authorities, by Ethnicity**

	Ethnicity				
	National	Sinhala	Tamil	Up Country Tamil	Muslim
Yes	7.5	0.0%	13.0%	15.4%	15.0%
No	92.5	100.0%	87.0%	84.6%	85.0%
Base	183	86	46	13	40

### When obtaining services from local level government officers

It is mostly respondents from the Muslim (23.3%) and Up Country Tamil (20%) communities who indicate that as a result of their political party

affiliations, they have had to face unfair treatment when obtaining services from local government officers. (Please refer Table 13)

**Table 13: Have you or any member of your family been unfairly treated because of your political party background when obtaining services from local government officers, by Ethnicity**

	Ethnicity				
	National	Sinhala	Tamil	Up Country Tamil	Muslim
Yes	14.1	10.3%	13.2%	20.0%	23.3%
No	85.9	89.7%	86.8%	80.0%	76.7%
Base	151	68	38	15	30

### When receiving COVID-19 vaccination(s)

From those who indicate that they have faced unfair treatment as a result of their political party affiliations when receiving COVID-19

vaccination(s), it is mostly respondents from the Muslim community (17.9%) who hold this view. (Please refer Table 14)

**Table 14: Have you or any member of your family been unfairly treated because of your political party background when receiving COVID-19 vaccinations, by Ethnicity**

	Ethnicity				
	National	Sinhala	Tamil	Up Country Tamil	Muslim
Yes	6.2	2.7%	5.8%	10.0%	17.9%
No	93.8	97.3%	94.2%	90.0%	82.1%
Base	260	149	52	20	39

### When receiving government subsidies

Nationally, nearly 30% of the respondents claimed that they have, while 71% of the respondents claim that they have not experienced unfair treatment when receiving government subsidies as a result of their political party affiliations. From an ethnic perspective, as opposed to other ethnic communities,

comparatively a significant majority of respondents (58.8%) from the Up Country Tamil community indicate that their political party affiliations resulted in them being unfairly treated when receiving government subsidies. (Please refer Table 15)

**Table 15: Have you or any member of your family been unfairly treated because of your political party background when receiving government subsidies, by Ethnicity**

	Ethnicity				
	National	Sinhala	Tamil	Up Country Tamil	Muslim
Yes	29.5	26.6%	22.2%	58.8%	21.1%
No	70.5	73.4%	77.8%	41.2%	78.9%
Base	232	124	36	34	38

