

## After the election.....?

Good morning/afternoon/evening. My name is ..... from MRNI Ltd. We are currently undertaking a survey on behalf of a group of researchers at The Queen's University of Belfast. This poll is funded jointly by the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust and Belfast Telegraph (and is also being conducted with the co-operation of all ten major political parties in Northern Ireland).

After the general election a new government in Westminster will have an opportunity to make a fresh start at the "Talks" and coming to grips with some of the social and political problems that continue to be a source of conflict in Northern Ireland. You may think current government policies for dealing with these matters do not need to be changed or you may think they need to be changed a great deal.

Now here are a selection of policy options on reaching a negotiated settlement, who should be at the "Talks", making progress at the "Talks", Policing, Parades, individual and community "Rights", a Political Settlement, having a Referendum, "Confidence Building Measures" and how you think the party you support is performing on these issues.

Several different options are available for each area of policy. Please indicate which ones you would consider to be **"Preferred"**, **"Acceptable"**, **"Tolerable"** or **"Unacceptable"**.

### SHOWCARD 1

For the purposes of this poll "Preferred", "Acceptable", "Tolerable" and "Unacceptable" mean:

**"Preferred"** - This may not be exactly what you want but this option, or something very similar to it, would be your first choice.

**"Acceptable"** - This option is not what you would prefer if you were given a choice but you could certainly "live with it".

**"Tolerable"** - This option is not what you want. But, as part of a lasting peace settlement for Northern Ireland, you would be willing to put up with it.

**"Unacceptable"** - This option is completely unacceptable under any circumstances. You would not accept it, even as part of a peace settlement.

Please note that you may use each of the separate terms "Preferred", "Acceptable", "Tolerable" and "Unacceptable" as many times as you wish in each question.

### FOR OFFICE USE ONLY

*DATE RECEIVED IN OFFICE*.....

*VALIDATED BY*

.....

*DATE*

.....

*ACCOMPANIED BY*

.....

*DATE*.....

## 1. Reaching a negotiated settlement

- (a) Do you support the principle of a negotiated settlement for the political future of Northern Ireland.

Yes	94
No	6

- (b) Do you think the current “Talks” will lead to a settlement.

Yes	26
No	74

## 2. The “Talks” - Who should be there

Here are some options for the different conditions under which political parties with an electoral mandate and perceived association with paramilitary organisations could be allowed into the “Talks”. Please indicate which of the following options you consider to be “Preferred”, “Acceptable”, “Tolerable” or “Unacceptable”.

### SHOWCARD 2

	Preferred	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
<b>Immediate all party “Talks”</b> - All parties, including those associated with paramilitary organisations, should be allowed into the “Talks” now without any preconditions.	38	12	14	36
<b>All party “Talks” after a ceasefire</b> - All parties, including those associated with paramilitary organisations, should be allowed into the “Talks” as soon as a ceasefire is called and the “Mitchell” principles are agreed to.	35	36	18	11
<b>All party “Talks” after a ceasefire and other preconditions</b> - All parties, including those associated with paramilitary organisations, should be allowed into the “Talks” when a ceasefire is called, the “Mitchell” principles are agreed to and a number of other preconditions, such as a period of “Probation” and a start on decommissioning, are satisfied.	22	37	20	21
<b>No to parties with paramilitary connections</b> - The “Talks” should continue but political parties who have any association with paramilitary organisations should not be allowed to remain in the “Talks”.	13	18	18	51

### 3. The “Talks” - Making progress

Here are some options for making political progress at the “Talks” and making progress with decommissioning. Please indicate which of the following options you consider to be “Preferred”, “Acceptable”, “Tolerable” or “Unacceptable”.

#### SHOWCARD 3

	Preferred	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
<b>Fixed timetable for the “Talks” followed by decommissioning</b> - Political progress in the “Talks” should take place on a fixed timetable. Decommissioning can take place when a settlement is reached.	34	21	19	26
<b>Fixed timetable for the “Talks” and decommissioning</b> - Political progress in the “Talks” and decommissioning should take place in parallel in accordance with a fixed timetable that leads to a settlement.	21	36	27	16
<b>Flexible timetable for both the “Talks” and decommissioning</b> - Political progress in the “Talks” and decommissioning should take place in parallel but no time limits should be set on reaching a political settlement.	18	35	30	17
<b>Fixed timetable for decommissioning followed by the “Talks”</b> - Decommissioning should take place on a fixed timetable that is unrelated to political progress in the “Talks”. The “Talks” should take as long as is required to reach a settlement.	34	23	19	23

### 4. Who should deal with decommissioning

Here are two options for dealing with any major problems that may arise over decommissioning at the “Talks”. Please indicate which of the following options you consider to be “Preferred”, “Acceptable”, “Tolerable” or “Unacceptable”.

#### SHOWCARD 4

	Preferred	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
<b>Stop the “Talks” until the decommissioning problem is solved</b> - If any major problem arises over decommissioning the “Talks” should stop until that problem is resolved.	31	15	12	42
<b>Do not stop the “Talks”, let a subcommittee deal with decommissioning problems</b> - If any major problem arises over decommissioning that problem should be delegated to a subcommittee of the “Talks” so that the principle delegates can continue to move ahead with other business.	69	10	10	11

## Policing Northern Ireland

Here are some options for the future of the police services in Northern Ireland. Please indicate which of the following options you consider to be “Preferred”, “Acceptable”, “Tolerable” or “Unacceptable”.

	Preferred	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
<b>No need for reform of the policing services in Northern Ireland</b> - No reforms of the RUC, Police Authority and Police Complaints Commission are required.				
<b>Establish a completely independent agency to investigate complaints against the RUC</b> - The recent “Hayes” report recommends replacing the Police Complaints Commission with an independent “Ombudsman”. This proposal to establish a completely independent agency to investigate complaints against the RUC should be implemented without delay.				
<b>Reform the police service</b> - A completely independent agency should be established to investigate complaints against the police and the RUC should be reformed to make it acceptable to both communities in Northern Ireland.				
<b>Replace the police service</b> - The RUC should be disbanded and replaced with a new police service acceptable to both communities.				

## 5. Marching and Parades

Here are some options for dealing with the “North Report” which recommends establishing an independent body to oversee both the mediation and legal control of contentious parades. Please indicate which of the following options you consider to be “Preferred”, “Acceptable”, “Tolerable” or “Unacceptable”.

### SHOWCARD 5

	Preferred	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
<b>Completely reject the “North Report”</b> - The “North” report should be rejected in full. Decisions on contentious parades should continue to be made by the police.	18	9	15	58
<b>Modify “North Report” to give stronger right to parade</b> - All parades “customarily held along a particular route” should be allowed to take place.	22	22	20	36
<b>Modify “North Report” to ensure that all parades and public demonstrations are treated equally before the law</b> - The Legal control of all marches, parades and public demonstrations should be the same for everyone and disputes should be settled as a matter of law by tribunals and courts.	38	29	24	9
<b>Accept the “North Report” in full without delay</b> - The “North” report should be accepted in full by everyone in Northern Ireland and introduced into law without delay.	16	24	23	37
<b>Modify “North Report” to place stronger restrictions on parades</b> - Residents should have a legal right to decide which parades can go through their area.	17	23	18	42

## 6. Individual and Community Rights in Northern Ireland

Some negotiated settlements, for example South Africa, have included a “Bill of Rights” to deal with many of their political, social and cultural problems by giving special protection to the individuals and different communities that make up their society. In Northern Ireland these laws could include, for example, parades and language rights, education and questions of “Parity of Esteem”.

Here are some options for the management of individual and community rights in Northern Ireland. Please indicate which of the following options you consider to be “Preferred”, “Acceptable”, “Tolerable” or “Unacceptable”.

### SHOWCARD 6

	Preferred	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
<b>A government “Bill of Rights” for Northern Ireland</b> - The government should provide a “Bill of Rights” for Northern Ireland whatever happens at the “Talks”.	33	36	19	12
<b>A “Bill of Rights” for Northern Ireland negotiated at the “Talks”</b> - The parties at the “Talks” should negotiate a “Bill of Rights” for Northern Ireland.	25	43	22	10
<b>A “Bill of Rights” for the United Kingdom</b> - A single Bill of Rights for the whole of the United Kingdom with no special provision for Northern Ireland.	25	36	21	18
<b>A “Bill of Rights” for the island of Ireland</b> - A single Bill of Rights for the island of Ireland with special protection for both the Unionist and Nationalist communities.	23	20	22	35

## 7. A Political Settlement

A political settlement for Northern Ireland will require coming to terms with a number of political issues:

**7A.** With regard to the status of Northern Ireland please indicate which of the following options you consider to be “Preferred”, “Acceptable”, “Tolerable” or “Unacceptable”?

### SHOWCARD 7A

	Preferred	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
<b>Separate Northern Irish State</b> - The complete separation of Northern Ireland from both the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland and the establishment of a separate state.	13	18	18	51
<b>Part of the United Kingdom</b> - No change in the sovereignty of Northern Ireland as part of the United Kingdom.	61	14	14	11
<b>A New All Ireland State</b> - A united single state comprised of the whole of Ireland.	18	13	13	56
<b>Joint Authority</b> - Joint authority between the British and Irish governments.	12	23	21	44

**7B.** With regard to relationships between Northern Ireland, the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland, please indicate which of the following options you consider to be “Preferred”, “Acceptable”, “Tolerable” or “Unacceptable”?

**SHOWCARD 7B**

	Preferred	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
<b>No special relationships</b> - No special arrangements need to be established for the government of Northern Ireland beyond those presently agreed to in international law as part of the international community and as partners in the European Union.	42	11	16	31
<b>Anglo-Irish Agreement</b> - Government in consultation with the Irish government under the terms of the Anglo-Irish Agreement.	18	22	23	37
<b>North-South institutions</b> - The establishment of a number of joint institutions between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland to deal with matters of mutual interest.	29	26	22	24
<b>East-West institutions</b> - The establishment of a number of joint institutions between the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland to deal with matters of mutual interest.	11	32	34	23

**7C.** With regards to regional government within Northern Ireland please indicate which of the following options you consider to be “Preferred”, “Acceptable”, “Tolerable” or “Unacceptable”?

**SHOWCARD 7C**

	Preferred	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
<b>Devolved Majority Rule</b> - Government by an elected Northern Ireland Assembly that operates on a basis of simple majority rule.	30	16	22	32
<b>Devolved Responsibility Sharing</b> - Elective government that operates on a basis of sharing responsibilities and powers.	38	22	22	18
<b>No Special Regional Government (UK)</b> - Integration into the <b>British</b> state and no separate Northern Ireland laws.	20	22	26	32
<b>No Special Regional Government (Ireland)</b> - Integration into the <b>Irish</b> state and no separate Northern Ireland laws.	13	19	23	45
<b>Separate institutions for the two main communities</b> - Creation of separate structures for the government of each of the two main communities in Northern Ireland.	10	15	20	55

## 8. A Referendum

Here are some options for the use of referendums in Northern Ireland. Please indicate which of the following options you consider to be “Preferred”, “Acceptable”, “Tolerable” or “Unacceptable”.

### SHOWCARD 8

	Preferred	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
<b>A referendum to replace the “Talks”</b> - The “Talks” process should be abandoned and the people of Northern Ireland should decide their own political future through a series of referendums.	26	13	19	42
<b>A referendum to advance the “Talks”</b> - If the “Talks” become “stalled” by serious difficulties a few key issues could be placed before the people in a referendum.	31	36	22	11
<b>A referendum to advise the “Talks”</b> - The issues under discussion at the “Talks” should be placed before the people so that they can advise the politicians on the best way forward.	21	46	22	11
<b>A referendum to endorse a “Talks” settlement</b> - A referendum should only be used to ascertain the will of the people when a final settlement has been agreed to at the “Talks”.	20	39	25	16
<b>No referendums</b> - Only elected politicians should decide the political future of Northern Ireland.	12	6	12	70

## 9. Political Parties

Which ONE of these Northern Ireland political parties do you support?

### SHOWCARD 9

<b>DUP</b>	<b>Democratic Unionist Party</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>UK Unionists</b>	<b>United Kingdom Unionist Party</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>UUP</b>	<b>Ulster Unionist Party</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>UDP</b>	<b>Ulster Democratic Party</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>PUP</b>	<b>Progressive Unionist Party</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Alliance</b>	<b>Alliance Party</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>Women’s Coalition</b>	<b>N.I. Women’s Coalition Party</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Labour (NI)</b>		<b>1</b>
<b>SDLP</b>	<b>Social Democratic Labour Party</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>SF</b>	<b>Sinn Fein</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>Other (Specify)</b> _____		<b>5</b>
<b>Refused</b>		<b>12</b>

## 10A Support for political parties

How much do you think the Northern Ireland party you support is doing to -

### SHOWCARD 10

	A lot	A little	No strong views	Not very much	Nothing at all
Try and reach a political settlement at the Stormont talks	42	24	13	13	8
Resolve the issue of contentious parades	40	26	12	16	6
Build confidence between the two main communities in Northern Ireland	39	26	14	15	7

## 10B. Support for British Government

How much is the British Government doing to -

### SHOWCARD 10

	A lot	A little	No strong views	Not very much	Nothing at all
Try and reach a political settlement at the Stormont talks	10	28	7	38	17
Resolve the issue of contentious parades	10	20	9	35	26
Build confidence between the two main communities in Northern Ireland	11	21	10	35	23

## 10C. Support for Irish Government

How much is the Irish Government doing to -

### SHOECARD 10

	A lot	A little	No strong views	Not very much	Nothing at all
Try and reach a political settlement at the Stormont talks	12	29	10	26	23
Resolve the issue of contentious parades	11	21	14	28	26
Build confidence between the two main communities in Northern Ireland	13	25	12	25	25



## 11. Demographics

A May I now ask into which of the following age ranges you may be placed.

16 - 24	14
25 - 34	21
25 - 44	19

45 - 54	18
55 - 64	14
65+	14

B Record respondents gender.

MALE	47
FEMALE	53

C Could you please tell me the occupation of your head of household.

_____	AB	12
	C1	26
	C2	25
	DE	37

D Could you please tell me which of the following best describes your religion? (Please remember that all responses are totally CONFIDENTIAL).

Protestant	52
Catholic	40
Other	3
Refused	5

NAME	
ADDRESS	
POSTCODE	
TEL NO.	

Thank respondent for their time and give them a thank you note.

*I certify that this survey has been carried out in accordance with your instructions and within the MRS Code of Conduct.*

Interviewer name .....

Date .....

**THIS QUESTIONNAIRE REMAINS THE PROPERTY OF MRNI Ltd.**