

MRNI Ltd
46 Elmwood Avenue
Belfast
BT9 6AW

Interviewer

Date

Tel (01232) 661037

Quest No:

1-4

A COMPREHENSIVE SETTLEMENT

Good morning/afternoon/evening. My name is from MRNI Ltd. We are currently undertaking a survey aimed at discovering what the people of Northern Ireland would find acceptable as a comprehensive settlement for their political future.

The questions deal with the most important issues and include:

A regional assembly
North/South bodies
Relations between Britain and Ireland
Constitutional issues
Human rights and justice
Police reform
Making change work - and finally -
Alternatives to a comprehensive settlement

The results of the survey will be analysed and widely published in the local press and in reports that will be sent to all ten parties who have been elected to take part in the Stormont Talks.

The research is independently funded by the Joseph Rowntree Trust and is being undertaken by Dr Colin Irwin at the Queen's University of Belfast.

All your answers will be kept completely confidential.

The survey involves interviewing one thousand people from across Northern Ireland to complete a representative sample in terms of age, gender, social class, political and religious affiliation and geographical area.

If you would like to take part in the survey I will start by asking you a few questions about your background to see where you fit into our sample.

Postcode

Parliamentary Constituency

Telephone Number

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY	
DATE RECEIVED	
DATE BACKCHECKED	

Background Questions

It is very important that we answer all the questions in this section to ensure that we have given every section of the community a chance to participate in the survey. Please remember that all responses are totally CONFIDENTIAL.

A. Age

Please indicate into which of the following age ranges you may be placed.

SHOWCARD 1

18 - 24	15
25 - 34	22
35 - 44	19
45 - 54	16
55 - 64	13
65 and over	15

B. Gender (Interviewer to code)

Male	48
Female	52

C. Occupation

What is or was the occupation of the chief wage earner in your household?

AB	14
C1	29
C2	22
DE	35

D. Religion

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

SHOWCARD 2

Protestant	51
Catholic	42
Other	2
Refused	5

E. Political support

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

SHOWCARD 3

UUP/Ulster Unionist Party/OUP/Official Unionist Party	23
SDLP/Social Democratic Labour Party	19
DUP/Democratic Unionist Party	13
Sinn Fein	14
Alliance	9
UK Unionist Party	1
PUP/Progressive Unionist Party	2
UDP/Ulster Democratic Party	2
Woman's Coalition Party of Northern Ireland	1
Labour Party of Northern Ireland	*
Other(Write in) _____	5
Refused	11

A comprehensive settlement

If a majority of the political parties elected to take part in the Stormont Talks agreed to the following settlement for the future of Northern Ireland would you vote to accept it in a referendum?

SHOWCARD 4

- * A regional assembly made up from elected members who share responsibilities in proportion to their representation and employing a voting system, with other checks and balances, to ensure the fair participation of the whole community in government and the prevention of abuse of power.**
- * North/South bodies strictly controlled by the elected politicians who establish them to deal with a wide range of issues using various functions and powers appropriate to the areas of government policy being managed.**
- * Replace the Anglo-Irish Agreement and establish a ‘Council of the Isles’ to create a new relationship between London, Dublin, Cardiff, Edinburgh and Belfast appropriate to the needs of the region as a part of Europe.**
- * Constitutional reform that embraces the principle of consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland to keep or change its status, guaranteed rights of British or Irish citizenship, and any other balanced changes required to implement the various agreements made at the Stormont Talks.**
- * A Bill of Rights that deals specifically with the political, social and cultural problems that have aggravated the conflict and a Human Rights Commission with responsibilities and powers to educate, monitor standards and bring cases to court.**
- * Reform the RUC to create community policing units as part of a two tier service restructured with a view to recruiting more Catholics and improving community relations under the authority of a new Department of Justice in a Regional Assembly.**

Yes	77
No	23

If you said ‘Yes’ would you still accept these terms for a settlement even if the political party you supported was opposed to them?

Yes	50
No	50

The different parts of a comprehensive settlement

A comprehensive settlement has to try and deal with the desires and aspirations of both of the major traditions in Northern Ireland. Inevitably some parts of a settlement will be difficult for some sections of the community to accept. I will now ask you some questions about each part of the proposed comprehensive settlement and various options for dealing with its most controversial sections.

For each question or option you will be asked to indicate which ones you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

For the purposes of this poll 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' and 'Unacceptable' mean:

SHOWCARD 5

'Essential' - You believe this option is a necessary part of a lasting settlement and should be implemented under any circumstances.

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

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

'Tolerable' - This option is not what you want. But, as part of a lasting 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 lasting settlement.

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

A regional assembly

Do you consider this part of a comprehensive settlement to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'?

SHOWCARD 6

*** A regional assembly made up from elected members who share responsibilities in proportion to their representation and employing a voting system, with other checks and balances, to ensure the fair participation of the whole community in government and the prevention of abuse of power.**

Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
16	16	38	17	13

And a regional assembly should have?

Please indicate which options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

SHOWCARD 7

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Powers to monitor and administer the departments of the Northern Ireland Office.	15	22	35	15	13
Powers to make new laws.	7	19	36	17	21
Powers to alter taxes.	4	13	34	20	29
A legislative second chamber or senate with powers to review and ratify legislation put forward by the assembly.	4	14	39	21	22
A consultative second chamber or forum with responsibilities to provide expert advice and reports on all aspects of business undertaken by the assembly.	5	14	42	20	19
A special economic, social and cultural committee with responsibilities to provide expert advice and reports on all aspects of business undertaken by the assembly.	7	19	40	19	15
Or no assembly - Northern Ireland should not have a regional assembly.	6	8	22	22	42

North/South bodies

Do you consider this part of a comprehensive settlement to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'?

SHOWCARD 8

*** North/South bodies strictly controlled by the elected politicians who establish them to deal with a wide range of issues using various functions and powers appropriate to the areas of government policy being managed.**

Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
16	18	21	21	24

In practice North/South bodies will probably be managed by a 'Council of Ministers' from Northern Ireland and the Republic. Should this 'Council of Ministers' be appointed from the executive of the Northern Ireland Assembly and Irish Dail or be directly elected by proportional representation North and South.

Please indicate which options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

SHOWCARD 9

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
A 'Council of Ministers' from the Northern Ireland Assembly and Irish Dail.	8	13	26	19	34
A 'Council of Ministers' directly elected North and South.	11	15	28	17	29

And who should have the final responsibility for decisions taken by North/South bodies?

Please indicate which options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

SHOWCARD 10

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The Northern Ireland Assembly.	11	14	31	16	28
The Irish Dail.	2	3	15	17	63
Both the Northern Ireland Assembly and Irish Dail.	8	14	29	20	29
The 'Council of Ministers'.	2	10	39	20	29
The North/South body when they have been given permission to act independently.	2	15	32	19	32
The North/South body acting independently at all times.	5	14	26	19	36
Civil Servants from the Northern Ireland Office and Irish Government.	1	5	21	31	42

Relations between Britain and Ireland

Do you consider this part of a comprehensive settlement to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'?

SHOWCARD 11

*** Replace the Anglo-Irish Agreement and establish a 'Council of the Isles' to create a new relationship between London, Dublin, Cardiff, Edinburgh and Belfast appropriate to the needs of the region as a part of Europe.**

Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
5	17	33	22	23

And what should be the relationship between North/South bodies and a 'Council of the Isles'.

Please indicate which options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

SHOWCARD 12

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
North/South bodies should be subordinate to the 'Council of the Isles'.	6	6	20	20	48
North/South bodies and the 'Council of the Isles' should work along side each other.	7	16	32	20	25
The 'Council of the Isles' should be subordinate to North/South bodies.	5	6	24	20	45
Or no 'Council of the Isles' - the Anglo-Irish parliamentary body as it now exists should assume responsibility for issues of common interest throughout the two islands.	4	9	21	23	43

British and Irish constitutional reform

Do you consider this part of a comprehensive settlement to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'?

SHOWCARD 13

*** Constitutional reform that embraces the principle of consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland to keep or change its status, guaranteed rights of British or Irish citizenship, and any other balanced changes required to implement the various agreements made at the Stormont Talks.**

Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
29	20	31	12	8

Alternatively you may think the people of the island of Ireland as a whole should decide the status of Northern Ireland?

Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
15	12	13	10	50

Human rights and justice

Do you consider this part of a comprehensive settlement to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'?

SHOWCARD 15

*** A Bill of Rights that deals specifically with the political, social and cultural problems that have aggravated the conflict and a Human Rights Commission with responsibilities and powers to educate, monitor standards and bring cases to court.**

Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
27	23	29	15	6

Police reform

Do you consider this part of a comprehensive settlement to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'?

SHOWCARD 16

*** Reform the RUC to create community policing units as part of a two tier service restructured with a view to recruiting more Catholics and improving community relations under the authority of a new Department of Justice in a Regional Assembly.**

Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
19	14	20	17	30

Alternatively you may want more radical reform?

SHOWCARD 17

*** A new policing service reflective of the community as a whole and accountable to an all island body.**

Do you consider this option to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'?

Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
18	9	17	11	45

Making change work

The political reforms reviewed in the previous questions will have to deal with many different issues and it is entirely possible that some of the new institutions created as part of a comprehensive settlement will not deliver the hoped for changes.

Here are some options for dealing with this critical issue. Please indicate which ones you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

SHOWCARD 18

All executive members of a Northern Ireland Assembly, 'Council of Ministers', North/South bodies or 'Council of the Isles' should agree to a 'Duty of Service' that includes:

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
A commitment to undertake and fulfil the responsibilities of their office.	39	25	23	9	4
A commitment to the principles of democracy and non-violence.	58	17	16	6	3

SHOWCARD 19

And with regard to any failure to comply with this 'Duty of Service' both complaints and appeals should be dealt with by:

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
An Ethics Committee of a Northern Ireland Assembly.	9	16	33	18	24
The Secretary of State.	2	8	29	27	34
The British and Irish Governments.	5	12	32	26	25
An all Ireland 'Council of Ministers'.	3	14	29	19	35
The 'Council of the Isles'.	2	9	32	23	34
A Court of Law.	8	16	37	20	19
A Special Constitutional Court.	12	12	33	23	20
A Special International Court.	11	14	30	23	22
The voters at an election.	15	19	30	20	16

Section D - Additional questions

9A

Do you want Northern Ireland to be part of the United Kingdom?

All NI

Yes	69
No	31

Or do you want Northern Ireland to be part of the Republic of Ireland?

Yes	32
No	68

2. Do you want Northern Ireland to have a devolved parliament similar to those planned for Scotland and Wales?

Yes	58
No	42

(If yes) And do you want a Northern Ireland parliament to have powers to alter taxes?

Yes	38
No	62

GROSS RESULT - 'Yes - Yes' percentage of those who said 'Yes' or 'No'

3. Should the political future of Northern Ireland be decided by: (Read Out A+B only)

All NI

A	A simple majority - 50% + 1 of those who vote in a referendum?	36
B	A larger percentage that would guarantee a majority had been attained from each section of the community?	49
C	Neither of these.	15

4. Do you believe that a comprehensive settlement agreeable to all the main parties and all the main paramilitary organisations is possible?

Yes	31
No	69

5. If any of the main paramilitary organisations breaches their cease-fire would you support the government introducing new legal measures to suppress terrorism?

Yes	74
No	26