

MRNI Ltd.  
46 Elmwood Avenue  
Belfast  
BT9 6AW

Interviewer .....

Date .....

Tel (01232) 661037

Quest No:

1-4

## The Future of the Peace Process

Good morning/afternoon/evening. My name is ..... from MRNI Ltd. We are currently undertaking a survey aimed at discovering how the people of Northern Ireland view recent proposals put forward for the future of the Northern Ireland peace process.

The research is independently funded by the Joseph Rowntree Charitable 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

(5-6)

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	1	(7)
25 - 34	2	
35 - 44	3	
45 - 54	4	
55 - 64	5	
65 and over	6	

### B. Gender (Interviewer to code)

Male	1	(8)
Female	2	

### C. Occupation

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

---

AB	1	(9)
C1	2	
C2	3	
DE	4	

## 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	1	(10)
Catholic	2	
Other	3	
Refused	4	

## E. Political support

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

### SHOWCARD 3

<b>UUP/Ulster Unionist Party/OUP/Official Unionist Party</b>	01	(11-12)
<b>SDLP/Social Democratic Labour Party</b>	02	
<b>DUP/Democratic Unionist Party</b>	03	
<b>Sinn Féin</b>	04	
<b>Alliance</b>	05	
<b>PUP/Progressive Unionist Party</b>	06	
<b>Northern Ireland Women's Coalition</b>	07	
<b>UUAP/United Unionist Assembly Party</b>	08	
<b>NIUP/Northern Ireland Unionist Party</b>	09	
<b>UKUP/United Kingdom Unionist Party</b>	10	
<b>UDP/Ulster Democratic Party</b>	11	
<b>Other(Write in)</b>	12	
<b>Refused</b>	13	

## 1 – Making the Peace Process Work

From the different parts of the Belfast Agreement listed below please indicate how important you feel each is for the eventual success of the peace process. Please indicate which ones you consider to be 'Very important', 'Important', 'Of some importance', 'Of little importance' or 'Of no importance at all'.

### SHOWCARD 4

	Very important	Important	Of some importance	Of little importance	Of no importance at all	
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	1	2	3	4	5	(1)
The Northern Ireland Executive.	1	2	3	4	5	(2)
The Civic Forum.	1	2	3	4	5	(3)
The North/South Ministerial Council.	1	2	3	4	5	(4)
North/South implementation bodies.	1	2	3	4	5	(5)
The British/Irish Council.	1	2	3	4	5	(6)
The Equality Commission.	1	2	3	4	5	(7)
The new Human Rights Commission.	1	2	3	4	5	(8)
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	1	2	3	4	5	(9)
Cultural and language rights.	1	2	3	4	5	(10)
The reform of the RUC.	1	2	3	4	5	(11)
The reform of the criminal justice system.	1	2	3	4	5	(12)
The early release of prisoners.	1	2	3	4	5	(13)
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	1	2	3	4	5	(14)
Commitments to non-violence, peace and democracy.	1	2	3	4	5	(15)
Decommissioning of paramilitary weapons.	1	2	3	4	5	(16)
Demilitarisation - Security arrangements compatible with a normal peaceful society.	1	2	3	4	5	(17)
Changes to Articles 2 and 3 of the Irish Constitution.	1	2	3	4	5	(18)
Changes to British constitutional law.	1	2	3	4	5	(19)
The Principle of Consent of the people of Northern Ireland to decide their Status.	1	2	3	4	5	(20)
The present status of Northern Ireland as part of the UK.	1	2	3	4	5	(21)
The full implementation of all parts of the Agreement together.	1	2	3	4	5	(22)

Do you want the Belfast Agreement to work?

Yes	1	(23)
No	2	

## 2 – Progress on Implementation of the Belfast Agreement

From the different parts of the Belfast Agreement listed below please indicate how satisfied you are with implementation so far. Please indicate which ones you are ‘Very satisfied’ with, ‘Satisfied’ with, ‘Only just satisfied’ with, ‘Not satisfied’ with or ‘Not satisfied with at all’.

### SHOWCARD 5

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Only just satisfied	Not satisfied	Not satisfied at all	
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	1	2	3	4	5	(1)
The Northern Ireland Executive.	1	2	3	4	5	(2)
The Civic Forum.	1	2	3	4	5	(3)
The North/South Ministerial Council.	1	2	3	4	5	(4)
North/South implementation bodies.	1	2	3	4	5	(5)
The British/Irish Council.	1	2	3	4	5	(6)
The Equality Commission.	1	2	3	4	5	(7)
The new Human Rights Commission.	1	2	3	4	5	(8)
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	1	2	3	4	5	(9)
Cultural and language rights.	1	2	3	4	5	(10)
The reform of the RUC.	1	2	3	4	5	(11)
The reform of the criminal justice system.	1	2	3	4	5	(12)
The early release of prisoners.	1	2	3	4	5	(13)
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	1	2	3	4	5	(14)
Commitments to non-violence, peace and democracy.	1	2	3	4	5	(15)
Decommissioning of paramilitary weapons.	1	2	3	4	5	(16)
Demilitarisation - Security arrangements compatible with a normal peaceful society.	1	2	3	4	5	(17)
Changes to Articles 2 and 3 of the Irish Constitution.	1	2	3	4	5	(18)
Changes to British constitutional law.	1	2	3	4	5	(19)
The Principle of Consent of the people of Northern Ireland to decide their Status.	1	2	3	4	5	(20)
The present status of Northern Ireland as part of the UK.	1	2	3	4	5	(21)
The full implementation of all parts of the Agreement together.	1	2	3	4	5	(22)

Do you think the political parties are doing enough to implement the Belfast Agreement?

Yes	1	(23)
No	2	

Do you think the two governments are doing enough to implement the Belfast Agreement?

Yes	1	(24)
No	2	

### 3 - If the Negotiations Fail and the Executive is not Re-established

Under the terms of the Belfast Agreement it was agreed that an Executive should be established in the New Northern Ireland Assembly comprised of the First Minister, Deputy First Minister, three UUP Ministers, three SDLP Ministers, two DUP Ministers and two Sinn Féin Ministers.

This Executive is essential for the successful working of all the new institutions of government created under the terms of the Belfast Agreement.

From the different possibilities listed below what do you think will happen if the Executive is not re-established or if Sinn Féin are excluded from it. Please indicate which ones you consider to be 'Very probable', 'Probable', 'Not sure' about, 'Improbable' or 'Very improbable'.

#### SHOWCARD 6

	Very probable	Probable	Not sure	Improbable	Very improbable	
The Belfast Agreement and peace process will collapse because Unionists will not work the Agreement in good faith.	1	2	3	4	5	(1)
The Belfast Agreement and peace process will collapse because Republicans will not work the Agreement in good faith.	1	2	3	4	5	(2)
The Belfast Agreement and peace process will collapse because the SDLP and UUP will not work together to implement it.	1	2	3	4	5	(3)
The Belfast Agreement and peace process will collapse because of the lack of co-operation and determined commitment by the two governments.	1	2	3	4	5	(4)
Dissident Republican paramilitary groups will become more active.	1	2	3	4	5	(5)
The IRA and other Republican groups will break their cease-fires and return to war.	1	2	3	4	5	(6)
Dissident Loyalist paramilitary groups will become more active.	1	2	3	4	5	(7)
The UVF, UFF and other Loyalist groups will break their cease-fires and return to war.	1	2	3	4	5	(8)
The Northern Ireland economy will suffer and unemployment will rise.	1	2	3	4	5	(9)
More young people will leave Northern Ireland.	1	2	3	4	5	(10)
Divisions in Northern Ireland society will deepen and community relations will continue to deteriorate.	1	2	3	4	5	(11)

## 4 - Trust and Confidence

Who do you think can be trusted to implement the Belfast Agreement?

### 4.1 The Parties to the Agreement

The governments and parties who agreed to the terms of the Belfast Agreement are listed below. Please indicate which ones you: 'Trust a lot', 'Trust a little', are 'Not sure about', 'Do not trust' or 'Do not trust at all'.

#### SHOWCARD 7

	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all	
The British Government.	1	2	3	4	5	(1)
The Irish Government.	1	2	3	4	5	(2)
The Ulster Unionist Party.	1	2	3	4	5	(3)
The Progressive Unionist Party.	1	2	3	4	5	(4)
The Ulster Democratic Party.	1	2	3	4	5	(5)
The Alliance Party.	1	2	3	4	5	(6)
The Women's Coalition.	1	2	3	4	5	(7)
The SDLP.	1	2	3	4	5	(8)
Sinn Féin.	1	2	3	4	5	(9)

### 4.2 The Key People

Some of the key people responsible for the implementation of the Belfast Agreement are listed below. Please indicate which ones you: 'Trust a lot', 'Trust a little', are 'Not sure about', 'Do not trust' or 'Do not trust at all'.

#### SHOWCARD 8

	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all	
Tony Blair.	1	2	3	4	5	(1)
Bertie Ahern.	1	2	3	4	5	(2)
Peter Mandelson.	1	2	3	4	5	(3)
Brian Cowen.	1	2	3	4	5	(4)
Senator George Mitchell.	1	2	3	4	5	(5)
General John de Chastelain.	1	2	3	4	5	(6)
David Trimble.	1	2	3	4	5	(7)
John Hume.	1	2	3	4	5	(8)
Gerry Adams.	1	2	3	4	5	(9)
David Ervine.	1	2	3	4	5	(10)
Gary McMichael.	1	2	3	4	5	(11)
Sean Neeson.	1	2	3	4	5	(12)
Monica McWilliams.	1	2	3	4	5	(13)

## **5 - The Future of the Peace Process**

I would now like to ask you some questions about the recent proposals put forward for the future of the Northern Ireland peace process by the British and Irish Governments in a joint statement; by the two prime ministers in a letter to the parties; and also by the IRA in a separate statement.

For each part of the proposals and statements you will be asked to indicate which ones you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

For the purposes of these questions the meaning of 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' and 'Unacceptable' are outlined on this card:

### **SHOWCARD 9**

**'Essential'** - You believe this is a necessary part of the peace process if it is to be successful and that it should be fully implemented.

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

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

**'Tolerable'** - This is not what you want. But, as part of a successful peace process, you would be willing to put up with it.

**'Unacceptable'** - This is completely unacceptable. You would not accept it, even as part of a successful peace process.

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



## 5.1 The New Proposals

Now please read this card carefully and indicate which parts of the Governments proposals and IRA statement you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

### SHOWCARD 10

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
A commitment to achieve full implementation of all of the remaining aspects of the Good Friday Agreement by June 2001.	1	2	3	4	5	(1)

Including the following rights, safeguards and equality of opportunity -

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Continued support for the victims of violence.	1	2	3	4	5	(2)
The incorporation of the European Convention on Human Rights into British and Irish domestic law.	1	2	3	4	5	(3)
Cooperation between the new Human Rights Commissions in both Northern Ireland and in the Republic of Ireland.	1	2	3	4	5	(4)
The establishment of equality schemes for public authorities in Northern Ireland.	1	2	3	4	5	(5)
British support for minority languages in accordance with European standards including new television programs.	1	2	3	4	5	(6)

Including security -

As early return as possible to normal security arrangements in Northern Ireland consistent with the level of threat.	1	2	3	4	5	(7)
Both governments will take resolute action against any group that threatens or uses violence against the peace process.	1	2	3	4	5	(8)

Including policing and justice -

Legislation will be enacted to implement the Patten report on policing.	1	2	3	4	5	(9)
The new policing board and independent recruitment agency for the Police Service of Northern Ireland will be established.	1	2	3	4	5	(10)
Legislation and a detailed timetable for implementation of the review of the criminal justice system will be published.	1	2	3	4	5	(11)

### SHOWCARD 11

Including prisoners -

In accordance with the terms of the Good Friday Agreement all prisoners qualifying for early release will be released.	1	2	3	4	5	(12)
Measures will continue to be taken to reintegrate prisoners into the community.	1	2	3	4	5	(13)

Including decommissioning -

Paramilitary organisations will state clearly that they will put their arms completely and verifiably beyond use - specifically -	1	2	3	4	5	(14)
The IRA leadership have agreed to initiate a process that will completely and verifiably put IRA arms beyond use.	1	2	3	4	5	(15)
The IRA leadership have stated that there is no threat to the peace process from the IRA.	1	2	3	4	5	(16)
As a confidence building measure a number of IRA arms dumps will be inspected by agreed third parties.	1	2	3	4	5	(17)
The third parties will include the diplomats Cyril Ramaphosa from South Africa and Martti Ahtisaari from Finland.	1	2	3	4	5	(18)
The IRA dumps will be re-inspected regularly.	1	2	3	4	5	(19)
The third parties will report to the Independent International Commission on Decommissioning - the IICD.	1	2	3	4	5	(20)
In consultation with representatives from the paramilitary organisations the Commission will develop more effective ways to carry out their mandate.	1	2	3	4	5	(21)
The Commission will report to the two governments and these reports will be promptly published.	1	2	3	4	5	(22)

And -

Progress to full implementation of the Agreement will be periodically assessed by the governments and parties.	1	2	3	4	5	(23)
If any difficulties arise with any aspect of implementation, in consultation with the Assembly and Executive, the governments will carry out an immediate review.	1	2	3	4	5	(24)

Finally -

Subject to a positive response to all of these commitments from the Pro-Agreement Parties the restoration of the Northern Ireland Assembly and Executive on May 22 - 2000.	1	2	3	4	5	(25)
--	---	---	---	---	---	------

In conclusion -

Given the new proposals from the two governments and IRA should the Ulster Unionists now go back into the Executive including Sinn Féin?

Yes	1
No	2

 (26)

Additionally -

Should the DUP take their seats in the Executive with the UUP, SDLP and Sinn Féin?

Yes	1
No	2

 (27)

## 6 - What Should be Done if Agreement Can Not be Reached

If agreement can not be reached on the implementation of the Belfast Agreement what should the Governments and parties do?

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

### SHOWCARD 12

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
The two Governments should move quickly and decisively to fill the political vacuum.	1	2	3	4	5	(1)
The Ulster Unionists and Sinn Féin should try and reach an agreement through intense negotiations away from Northern Ireland.	1	2	3	4	5	(2)
The Civic Forum should be established as a consultative body to government.	1	2	3	4	5	(3)
A Shadow Executive should be established to advise the Government.	1	2	3	4	5	(4)
Assembly Committees should be established to advise each Government department.	1	2	3	4	5	(5)
Continuation of Direct Rule from London with no Northern Ireland Assembly.	1	2	3	4	5	(6)
A new Anglo-Irish Agreement.	1	2	3	4	5	(7)
Joint Authority by Direct Rule from both London and Dublin.	1	2	3	4	5	(8)
Joint Authority in combination with a Northern Ireland Assembly.	1	2	3	4	5	(9)
Scrap the Belfast Agreement and negotiate a new agreement.	1	2	3	4	5	(10)
The British and Irish governments should implement as much of the Belfast Agreement as they possibly can.	1	2	3	4	5	(11)

## 7 - If the Governments Implement the Agreement

If the Governments implement the Belfast Agreement this could be done in a number of different ways.

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

### SHOWCARD 13

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
The British and Irish governments should implement the Belfast Agreement but only devolve powers to the new institutions of government when this is possible.	1	2	3	4	5	(1)
Temporary arrangements should be put in place to get the Assembly working providing they lead to the implementation of the Belfast Agreement in full.	1	2	3	4	5	(2)
The Assembly should be responsible for the administration of Northern Ireland but should not have powers to make laws until the parties can form an Executive.	1	2	3	4	5	(3)
The Assembly should be run by departmental committees until the parties can form an Executive.	1	2	3	4	5	(4)
All parts of the Belfast Agreement should be worked by the Assembly under any temporary arrangements agreed for its operation.	1	2	3	4	5	(5)
A new referendum should be held to approve any new or partial arrangements made for the implementation of the Agreement.	1	2	3	4	5	(6)

## 8 - Have you Changed your Mind?

Finally can I please ask you how you voted in the referendum for the Belfast Agreement?

Yes	1
No	2
<i>Did not vote*</i>	3

 (1)

*\*Do not ask but code as required*

And if the Referendum was held today how would you vote?

Yes	1
No	2
<i>Would not vote*</i>	3

 (2)

*\*Do not ask but code as required*

(Do not ask) - Code the following:

Yes to No	1
Yes to Would not vote	2
No to Yes	3
No to Would not vote	4

 (3)