

# **THE FUTURE OF THE PEACE PROCESS**

## **Summary Tables of Principal Statistical Results**

**Enquiries to:**

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**May 2000**

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Interviewer .....

Date .....

Tel (01232) 661037

Quest No:

## 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 the current state of the peace process and the Review of the Implementation of the Belfast Agreement.

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

Telephone Number

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## 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.

All NI

18 - 24	16
25 - 34	21
35 - 44	18
45 - 54	15
55 - 64	12
65 and over	18

Protestant

18 - 24	12
25 - 34	18
35 - 44	18
45 - 54	20
55 - 64	14
65 and over	18

Catholic

18 - 24	23
25 - 34	22
35 - 44	19
45 - 54	10
55 - 64	10
65 and over	16

DUP

18 - 24	8
25 - 34	26
35 - 44	14
45 - 54	26
55 - 64	11
65 and over	15

## UUP

18 - 24	12
25 - 34	14
35 - 44	17
45 - 54	18
55 - 64	15
65 and over	24

## PUP

18 - 24	30
25 - 34	17
35 - 44	25
45 - 54	17
55 - 64	8
65 and over	3

## Alliance

18 - 24	29
25 - 34	30
35 - 44	19
45 - 54	6
55 - 64	11
65 and over	5

## SDLP

18 - 24	19
25 - 34	20
35 - 44	12
45 - 54	12
55 - 64	14
65 and over	23

## Sinn Féin

18 - 24	24
25 - 34	25
35 - 44	23
45 - 54	10
55 - 64	6
65 and over	12

**B. Gender**

All NI

Male	49
Female	51

Protestant

Male	52
Female	48

Catholic

Male	45
Female	55

DUP

Male	55
Female	45

UUP

Male	57
Female	43

PUP

Male	78
Female	22

Alliance

Male	38
Female	62

SDLP

Male	35
Female	65

Sinn Féin

Male	50
Female	50

**C. Occupation**

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

All NI

AB	17
C1	26
C2	25
DE	32

Protestant

AB	15
C1	28
C2	25
DE	32

Catholic

AB	15
C1	25
C2	25
DE	35

DUP

AB	17
C1	26
C2	30
DE	27

UUP

AB	14
C1	29
C2	25
DE	32

PUP

AB	5
C1	17
C2	39
DE	39

Alliance

AB	5
C1	36
C2	32
DE	27

SDLP

AB	21
C1	29
C2	19
DE	31

Sinn Féin

AB	8
C1	20
C2	26
DE	46

**D. Religion**

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

All NI

Protestant	50
Catholic	40
Other	3
Refused	7



DUP

Protestant	77
Catholic	1
Other	8
Refused	14

UUP

Protestant	96
Catholic	0
Other	0
Refused	4

PUP

Protestant	94
Catholic	6
Other	0
Refused	0

Alliance

Protestant	43
Catholic	57
Other	0
Refused	0

SDLP

Protestant	3
Catholic	87
Other	6
Refused	4

Sinn Féin

Protestant	0
Catholic	100
Other	0
Refused	0

## E. Political support

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

All NI

<b>UUP/Ulster Unionist Party/OUP/Official Unionist Party</b>	22
<b>SDLP/Social Democratic Labour Party</b>	19
<b>DUP/Democratic Unionist Party</b>	16
<b>Sinn Féin</b>	14
<b>Alliance</b>	6
<b>PUP/Progressive Unionist Party</b>	4
<b>Northern Ireland Women's Coalition</b>	1
<b>UUAP/United Unionist Assembly Party</b>	*
<b>NIUP/Northern Ireland Unionist Party</b>	0
<b>UKUP/United Kingdom Unionist Party</b>	*
<b>UDP/Ulster Democratic Party</b>	*
<b>Other(Write in)</b>	10
<b>Refused</b>	8

Protestant

<b>UUP/Ulster Unionist Party/OUP/Official Unionist Party</b>	42
<b>SDLP/Social Democratic Labour Party</b>	1
<b>DUP/Democratic Unionist Party</b>	24
<b>Sinn Féin</b>	0
<b>Alliance</b>	5
<b>PUP/Progressive Unionist Party</b>	7
<b>Northern Ireland Women's Coalition</b>	2
<b>UUAP/United Unionist Assembly Party</b>	*
<b>NIUP/Northern Ireland Unionist Party</b>	0
<b>UKUP/United Kingdom Unionist Party</b>	*
<b>UDP/Ulster Democratic Party</b>	1
<b>Other(Write in)</b>	7
<b>Refused</b>	11

Catholic

<b>UUP/Ulster Unionist Party/OUP/Official Unionist Party</b>	0
<b>SDLP/Social Democratic Labour Party</b>	42
<b>DUP/Democratic Unionist Party</b>	*
<b>Sinn Féin</b>	37
<b>Alliance</b>	9
<b>PUP/Progressive Unionist Party</b>	*
<b>Northern Ireland Women's Coalition</b>	0
<b>UUAP/United Unionist Assembly Party</b>	0
<b>NIUP/Northern Ireland Unionist Party</b>	0
<b>UKUP/United Kingdom Unionist Party</b>	0
<b>UDP/Ulster Democratic Party</b>	0
<b>Other(Write in)</b>	12
<b>Refused</b>	0

## 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'.

All NI

	Very important	Important	Of some importance	Of little importance	Of no importance at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	34	37	18	6	5
The Northern Ireland Executive.	33	36	20	7	4
The Civic Forum.	22	29	33	8	8
The North/South Ministerial Council.	21	31	22	14	12
North/South implementation bodies.	23	30	20	15	12
The British/Irish Council.	20	27	24	16	13
The Equality Commission.	28	32	25	9	6
The new Human Rights Commission.	30	33	25	7	5
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	25	35	28	6	6
Cultural and language rights.	25	26	23	11	15
The reform of the RUC.	37	21	14	12	16
The reform of the criminal justice system.	33	31	22	5	9
The early release of prisoners.	30	20	15	15	20
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	47	36	9	4	4
Commitments to non-violence, peace and democracy.	56	30	10	1	3
Decommissioning of paramilitary weapons.	53	23	12	5	7
Demilitarisation - Security arrangements compatible with a normal peaceful society.	41	34	14	5	6
Changes to Articles 2 and 3 of the Irish Constitution.	21	26	27	14	12
Changes to British constitutional law.	23	30	27	12	8
The Principle of Consent of the people of Northern Ireland to decide their Status.	44	29	18	6	3
The present status of Northern Ireland as part of the UK.	34	30	22	6	8
The full implementation of all parts of the Agreement together.	31	29	23	9	8

## Protestant

	Very important	Important	Of some importance	Of little importance	Of no importance at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	22	36	25	10	7
The Northern Ireland Executive.	20	34	29	11	6
The Civic Forum.	13	23	39	13	12
The North/South Ministerial Council.	7	22	27	24	20
North/South implementation bodies.	7	22	25	25	21
The British/Irish Council.	7	19	27	25	22
The Equality Commission.	13	30	35	12	10
The new Human Rights Commission.	16	32	34	9	9
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	19	31	34	6	10
Cultural and language rights.	14	17	29	16	24
The reform of the RUC.	21	16	16	18	29
The reform of the criminal justice system.	20	28	29	8	15
The early release of prisoners.	18	16	18	17	31
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	44	37	11	3	5
Commitments to non-violence.	57	30	9	1	3
Paramilitary decommissioning.	63	24	9	1	3
NI demilitarisation.	35	35	15	5	10
Changes to Articles 2 and 3.	28	23	24	13	12
Changes to British constitutional law.	21	20	28	17	14
The Principle of Consent.	49	24	17	6	4
The present status of Northern Ireland.	44	28	20	4	4
The full implementation of the Agreement.	24	23	27	13	13

## Catholic

	Very important	Important	Of some importance	Of little importance	Of no importance at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	51	37	9	2	1
The Northern Ireland Executive.	50	37	10	2	1
The Civic Forum.	35	35	24	4	2
The North/South Ministerial Council.	42	36	16	5	1
North/South implementation bodies.	43	37	16	4	0
The British/Irish Council.	38	35	23	3	1
The Equality Commission.	49	34	14	3	0
The new Human Rights Commission.	52	32	12	4	0
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	37	37	21	4	1
Cultural and language rights.	42	35	17	3	3
The reform of the RUC.	62	22	10	3	3
The reform of the criminal justice system.	52	31	14	1	2
The early release of prisoners.	47	23	14	9	7
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	54	32	8	4	2
Commitments to non-violence.	55	29	13	2	1
Paramilitary decommissioning.	39	20	17	16	7
NI demilitarisation.	55	29	13	3	0
Changes to Articles 2 and 3.	13	29	30	16	12
Changes to British constitutional law.	29	39	26	5	1
The Principle of Consent.	42	35	17	5	1
The present status of Northern Ireland.	20	30	26	11	13
The full implementation of the Agreement.	41	35	18	5	1

## DUP

	Very important	Important	Of some importance	Of little importance	Of no importance at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	14	30	24	23	9
The Northern Ireland Executive.	18	23	27	23	9
The Civic Forum.	8	16	40	17	19
The North/South Ministerial Council.	4	16	22	29	29
North/South implementation bodies.	6	18	14	34	28
The British/Irish Council.	8	15	8	39	30
The Equality Commission.	9	28	33	15	15
The new Human Rights Commission.	15	22	37	12	14
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	16	24	37	8	15
Cultural and language rights.	17	17	22	14	30
The reform of the RUC.	29	18	12	13	28
The reform of the criminal justice system.	26	25	21	9	19
The early release of prisoners.	22	20	9	16	33
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	50	36	5	4	5
Commitments to non-violence.	66	22	6	2	4
Paramilitary decommissioning.	71	18	5	2	4
NI demilitarisation.	35	28	13	13	11
Changes to Articles 2 and 3.	29	22	23	13	13
Changes to British constitutional law.	24	23	18	21	14
The Principle of Consent.	56	18	15	7	4
The present status of Northern Ireland.	54	24	12	4	6
The full implementation of the Agreement.	23	15	19	23	20

## UUP

	Very important	Important	Of some importance	Of little importance	Of no importance at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	25	41	25	6	3
The Northern Ireland Executive.	20	41	29	6	4
The Civic Forum.	14	23	42	13	8
The North/South Ministerial Council.	5	25	34	19	17
North/South implementation bodies.	5	24	33	21	17
The British/Irish Council.	5	21	34	22	18
The Equality Commission.	10	29	39	15	7
The new Human Rights Commission.	12	35	35	11	7
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	16	32	36	8	8
Cultural and language rights.	9	18	28	20	25
The reform of the RUC.	16	11	23	18	32
The reform of the criminal justice system.	11	28	35	11	15
The early release of prisoners.	10	13	21	20	36
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	35	41	17	2	5
Commitments to non-violence.	49	38	10	1	2
Paramilitary decommissioning.	63	23	10	1	3
NI demilitarisation.	31	40	14	3	12
Changes to Articles 2 and 3.	21	24	27	12	16
Changes to British constitutional law.	16	23	31	13	17
The Principle of Consent.	42	27	19	6	6
The present status of Northern Ireland.	39	30	22	4	5
The full implementation of the Agreement.	25	27	32	6	10

## PUP

	Very important	Important	Of some importance	Of little importance	Of no importance at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	14	25	38	6	17
The Northern Ireland Executive.	14	25	38	6	17
The Civic Forum.	6	25	44	6	19
The North/South Ministerial Council.	0	8	11	22	59
North/South implementation bodies.	0	3	6	28	63
The British/Irish Council.	0	3	6	39	52
The Equality Commission.	24	27	29	6	14
The new Human Rights Commission.	25	31	32	6	6
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	37	19	22	11	11
Cultural and language rights.	14	6	30	22	28
The reform of the RUC.	28	0	11	33	28
The reform of the criminal justice system.	39	17	38	6	0
The early release of prisoners.	47	11	33	6	3
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	67	22	11	0	0
Commitments to non-violence.	67	22	11	0	0
Paramilitary decommissioning.	56	33	11	0	0
NI demilitarisation.	44	28	28	0	0
Changes to Articles 2 and 3.	60	11	17	6	6
Changes to British constitutional law.	46	3	28	17	6
The Principle of Consent.	76	14	6	6	0
The present status of Northern Ireland.	63	14	17	6	0
The full implementation of the Agreement.	31	19	22	17	11

## Alliance

	Very important	Important	Of some importance	Of little importance	Of no importance at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	41	43	13	3	0
The Northern Ireland Executive.	41	46	10	3	0
The Civic Forum.	30	54	10	6	0
The North/South Ministerial Council.	30	48	14	8	0
North/South implementation bodies.	26	58	10	6	0
The British/Irish Council.	32	48	14	6	0
The Equality Commission.	37	45	13	5	0
The new Human Rights Commission.	40	43	14	3	0
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	24	46	24	6	0
Cultural and language rights.	19	32	38	6	5
The reform of the RUC.	27	33	17	13	10
The reform of the criminal justice system.	30	37	22	6	5
The early release of prisoners.	29	19	16	17	19
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	42	25	19	6	8
Commitments to non-violence.	42	27	24	5	2
Paramilitary decommissioning.	35	25	27	11	2
NI demilitarisation.	32	33	25	8	2
Changes to Articles 2 and 3.	14	33	39	11	3
Changes to British constitutional law.	17	32	36	13	2
The Principle of Consent.	37	22	30	8	3
The present status of Northern Ireland.	29	30	29	10	2
The full implementation of the Agreement.	27	31	32	8	2

## SDLP

	Very important	Important	Of some importance	Of little importance	Of no importance at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	50	43	7	0	0
The Northern Ireland Executive.	49	39	12	0	0
The Civic Forum.	34	40	23	3	0
The North/South Ministerial Council.	34	40	22	4	0
North/South implementation bodies.	36	39	21	4	0
The British/Irish Council.	36	40	22	2	0
The Equality Commission.	42	38	15	4	1
The new Human Rights Commission.	39	42	14	5	0
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	33	46	18	3	0
Cultural and language rights.	32	47	15	3	3
The reform of the RUC.	46	35	12	6	1
The reform of the criminal justice system.	42	45	10	1	2
The early release of prisoners.	21	39	16	16	8
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	46	41	6	6	1
Commitments to non-violence.	58	31	9	0	2
Paramilitary decommissioning.	49	26	18	4	3
NI demilitarisation.	44	39	12	4	1
Changes to Articles 2 and 3.	14	36	30	17	3
Changes to British constitutional law.	18	52	24	5	1
The Principle of Consent.	35	44	19	1	1
The present status of Northern Ireland.	24	38	24	9	5
The full implementation of the Agreement.	37	40	20	1	2

## Sinn Féin

	Very important	Important	Of some importance	Of little importance	Of no importance at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	54	33	6	4	3
The Northern Ireland Executive.	49	41	5	4	1
The Civic Forum.	38	30	25	4	3
The North/South Ministerial Council.	54	31	8	6	1
North/South implementation bodies.	54	31	11	4	0
The British/Irish Council.	44	22	27	5	2
The Equality Commission.	58	28	11	3	0
The new Human Rights Commission.	69	18	8	4	1
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	46	29	20	2	3
Cultural and language rights.	67	22	7	1	3
The reform of the RUC.	91	6	1	1	1
The reform of the criminal justice system.	74	14	11	1	0
The early release of prisoners.	86	9	3	1	1
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	70	23	4	2	1
Commitments to non-violence.	56	31	11	2	0
Paramilitary decommissioning.	30	16	8	32	14
NI demilitarisation.	75	20	4	1	0
Changes to Articles 2 and 3.	17	18	16	22	27
Changes to British constitutional law.	48	29	15	6	2
The Principle of Consent.	58	29	8	4	1
The present status of Northern Ireland.	20	22	18	10	30
The full implementation of the Agreement.	56	32	8	3	1

Do you want the Belfast Agreement to work?

All NI

Yes	85
No	15

Protestant

Yes	74
No	26

Catholic

Yes	98
No	2

DUP

Yes	40
No	60

UUP

Yes	92
No	8

PUP

Yes	78
No	22

Alliance

Yes	100
No	0

SDLP

Yes	100
No	0

Sinn Féin

Yes	96
No	4



## 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'.

All NI

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Only just satisfied	Not satisfied	Not satisfied at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	3	22	29	28	18
The Northern Ireland Executive.	2	21	28	31	19
The Civic Forum.	1	18	36	26	19
The North/South Ministerial Council.	2	21	34	23	19
North/South implementation bodies.	2	21	33	24	20
The British/Irish Council.	2	20	32	26	20
The Equality Commission.	2	21	33	25	19
The new Human Rights Commission.	3	19	35	24	19
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	2	21	34	25	18
Cultural and language rights.	2	20	31	25	22
The reform of the RUC.	2	12	21	26	39
The reform of the criminal justice system.	2	13	23	33	29
The early release of prisoners.	7	18	22	22	31
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	4	17	23	28	28
Commitments to non-violence, peace and democracy.	2	14	28	31	25
Decommissioning of paramilitary weapons.	4	12	24	29	31
Demilitarisation - Security arrangements compatible with a normal peaceful society.	3	14	25	32	26
Changes to Articles 2 and 3 of the Irish Constitution.	3	18	37	26	16
Changes to British constitutional law.	2	18	34	26	20
The Principle of Consent of the people of Northern Ireland to decide their Status.	4	21	34	25	16
The present status of Northern Ireland as part of the UK.	6	19	33	24	18
The full implementation of all parts of the Agreement together.	2	14	31	32	21

## Protestant

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Only just satisfied	Not satisfied	Not satisfied at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	2	20	26	31	21
The Northern Ireland Executive.	2	17	25	34	22
The Civic Forum.	2	15	32	28	23
The North/South Ministerial Council.	4	15	32	27	22
North/South implementation bodies.	4	16	29	26	25
The British/Irish Council.	3	15	31	27	24
The Equality Commission.	2	19	30	26	23
The new Human Rights Commission.	2	16	33	26	23
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	2	17	31	28	22
Cultural and language rights.	2	18	30	23	27
The reform of the RUC.	2	8	21	24	45
The reform of the criminal justice system.	1	11	23	31	34
The early release of prisoners.	3	9	20	23	45
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	3	12	19	26	40
Commitments to non-violence.	2	9	24	32	33
Paramilitary decommissioning.	3	6	17	28	46
NI demilitarisation.	3	15	23	27	32
Changes to Articles 2 and 3.	4	17	36	21	22
Changes to British constitutional law.	3	15	35	24	23
The Principle of Consent.	6	18	27	26	23
The present status of Northern Ireland.	11	20	30	20	19
The full implementation of the Agreement.	2	11	28	30	27

## Catholic

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Only just satisfied	Not satisfied	Not satisfied at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	6	24	29	27	14
The Northern Ireland Executive.	3	24	29	28	16
The Civic Forum.	1	20	40	25	14
The North/South Ministerial Council.	1	26	37	21	15
North/South implementation bodies.	1	25	36	23	15
The British/Irish Council.	1	26	31	27	15
The Equality Commission.	2	23	35	24	16
The new Human Rights Commission.	4	22	35	24	15
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	3	23	36	23	15
Cultural and language rights.	3	22	29	27	19
The reform of the RUC.	3	15	19	27	34
The reform of the criminal justice system.	4	16	19	35	26
The early release of prisoners.	14	33	23	19	11
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	5	25	29	26	15
Commitments to non-violence.	3	21	33	27	16
Paramilitary decommissioning.	7	21	34	28	10
NI demilitarisation.	3	14	27	37	19
Changes to Articles 2 and 3.	2	20	37	31	10
Changes to British constitutional law.	0	18	35	30	17
The Principle of Consent.	3	24	39	24	10
The present status of Northern Ireland.	1	17	32	32	18
The full implementation of the Agreement.	1	16	36	33	14

## DUP

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Only just satisfied	Not satisfied	Not satisfied at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	4	16	25	27	28
The Northern Ireland Executive.	5	14	18	35	28
The Civic Forum.	5	12	26	22	35
The North/South Ministerial Council.	8	11	26	21	34
North/South implementation bodies.	8	11	22	25	34
The British/Irish Council.	5	11	27	21	36
The Equality Commission.	3	16	28	22	31
The new Human Rights Commission.	3	13	30	22	32
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	3	11	31	22	33
Cultural and language rights.	1	12	32	18	37
The reform of the RUC.	3	10	11	16	60
The reform of the criminal justice system.	2	11	13	25	49
The early release of prisoners.	3	9	20	13	55
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	6	11	10	22	51
Commitments to non-violence.	4	8	21	23	42
Paramilitary decommissioning.	3	7	13	19	58
NI demilitarisation.	6	15	21	20	38
Changes to Articles 2 and 3.	3	20	33	15	29
Changes to British constitutional law.	4	13	33	22	28
The Principle of Consent.	9	18	22	24	27
The present status of Northern Ireland.	10	18	28	13	31
The full implementation of the Agreement.	4	7	22	28	39

## UUP

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Only just satisfied	Not satisfied	Not satisfied at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	0	23	27	33	17
The Northern Ireland Executive.	1	16	31	34	18
The Civic Forum.	0	13	36	31	20
The North/South Ministerial Council.	2	13	38	29	18
North/South implementation bodies.	2	15	37	26	20
The British/Irish Council.	2	13	36	30	19
The Equality Commission.	1	20	35	27	17
The new Human Rights Commission.	2	16	38	26	18
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	1	17	35	30	17
Cultural and language rights.	1	18	34	26	21
The reform of the RUC.	2	5	24	30	39
The reform of the criminal justice system.	1	9	27	38	25
The early release of prisoners.	0	6	17	32	45
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	2	10	22	31	35
Commitments to non-violence.	2	8	25	37	28
Paramilitary decommissioning.	3	3	16	33	45
NI demilitarisation.	1	15	25	28	31
Changes to Articles 2 and 3.	4	13	36	26	21
Changes to British constitutional law.	2	18	33	25	22
The Principle of Consent.	6	17	29	27	21
The present status of Northern Ireland.	10	19	28	25	18
The full implementation of the Agreement.	2	8	32	33	25

## PUP

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Only just satisfied	Not satisfied	Not satisfied at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	0	8	8	39	45
The Northern Ireland Executive.	0	11	6	39	44
The Civic Forum.	0	6	28	28	38
The North/South Ministerial Council.	6	3	19	33	39
North/South implementation bodies.	6	8	14	28	44
The British/Irish Council.	6	8	8	28	50
The Equality Commission.	0	3	19	33	45
The new Human Rights Commission.	0	3	19	39	39
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	0	3	14	50	33
Cultural and language rights.	6	8	8	39	39
The reform of the RUC.	1	3	1	38	57
The reform of the criminal justice system.	0	0	25	31	44
The early release of prisoners.	17	11	35	31	6
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	0	0	3	47	50
Commitments to non-violence.	0	0	6	61	33
Paramilitary decommissioning.	0	0	17	44	39
NI demilitarisation.	0	0	6	61	33
Changes to Articles 2 and 3.	3	6	32	31	28
Changes to British constitutional law.	0	6	31	31	32
The Principle of Consent.	0	17	17	38	28
The present status of Northern Ireland.	22	33	22	6	17
The full implementation of the Agreement.	0	11	22	56	11

## Alliance

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Only just satisfied	Not satisfied	Not satisfied at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	6	29	52	10	3
The Northern Ireland Executive.	2	30	47	16	5
The Civic Forum.	2	29	52	14	3
The North/South Ministerial Council.	2	29	53	14	2
North/South implementation bodies.	2	32	48	16	2
The British/Irish Council.	2	30	48	17	3
The Equality Commission.	2	27	52	16	3
The new Human Rights Commission.	2	26	52	17	3
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	2	22	60	13	3
Cultural and language rights.	2	30	43	19	6
The reform of the RUC.	0	25	40	22	13
The reform of the criminal justice system.	6	24	40	19	11
The early release of prisoners.	5	22	40	17	16
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	5	22	41	21	11
Commitments to non-violence.	5	16	57	17	5
Paramilitary decommissioning.	7	17	40	22	14
NI demilitarisation.	6	14	52	20	8
Changes to Articles 2 and 3.	0	22	58	14	6
Changes to British constitutional law.	0	27	57	11	5
The Principle of Consent.	2	28	49	16	5
The present status of Northern Ireland.	3	22	58	11	6
The full implementation of the Agreement.	0	25	53	14	6

## SDLP

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Only just satisfied	Not satisfied	Not satisfied at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	6	32	28	27	7
The Northern Ireland Executive.	5	29	27	29	10
The Civic Forum.	1	30	36	28	5
The North/South Ministerial Council.	1	37	34	22	6
North/South implementation bodies.	1	34	34	26	5
The British/Irish Council.	1	39	32	22	6
The Equality Commission.	4	29	33	24	10
The new Human Rights Commission.	7	29	31	26	7
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	5	32	35	22	6
Cultural and language rights.	5	28	25	30	12
The reform of the RUC.	5	20	26	29	20
The reform of the criminal justice system.	4	22	22	38	14
The early release of prisoners.	9	34	24	23	10
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	3	30	26	30	11
Commitments to non-violence.	4	27	27	32	10
Paramilitary decommissioning.	4	26	25	35	10
NI demilitarisation.	3	23	23	37	14
Changes to Articles 2 and 3.	3	33	30	25	9
Changes to British constitutional law.	0	27	32	29	12
The Principle of Consent.	6	32	32	24	6
The present status of Northern Ireland.	1	28	29	33	9
The full implementation of the Agreement.	1	23	30	36	10

## Sinn Féin

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Only just satisfied	Not satisfied	Not satisfied at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	4	17	20	33	26
The Northern Ireland Executive.	1	19	22	31	27
The Civic Forum.	1	14	31	25	29
The North/South Ministerial Council.	2	18	27	22	31
North/South implementation bodies.	2	15	30	20	33
The British/Irish Council.	2	13	26	27	32
The Equality Commission.	1	19	25	24	31
The new Human Rights Commission.	1	20	27	21	31
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	1	20	25	25	29
Cultural and language rights.	1	18	23	23	35
The reform of the RUC.	2	7	10	26	55
The reform of the criminal justice system.	2	11	10	37	40
The early release of prisoners.	23	36	20	13	8
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	4	22	23	28	23
Commitments to non-violence.	1	20	28	25	26
Paramilitary decommissioning.	13	20	36	23	8
NI demilitarisation.	1	8	21	45	25
Changes to Articles 2 and 3.	1	11	29	44	15
Changes to British constitutional law.	1	11	18	38	32
The Principle of Consent.	1	15	37	30	17
The present status of Northern Ireland.	1	10	24	33	32
The full implementation of the Agreement.	1	12	31	33	23

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

All NI

Yes	34
No	66

Protestant

Yes	32
No	68

Catholic

Yes	37
No	63

DUP

Yes	28
No	72

UUP

Yes	32
No	68

PUP

Yes	36
No	64

Alliance

Yes	63
No	37

SDLP

Yes	33
No	67

Sinn Féin

Yes	32
No	68

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

All NI

Yes	54
No	46

Protestant

Yes	49
No	51

Catholic

Yes	60
No	40

DUP

Yes	39
No	61

UUP

Yes	55
No	45

PUP

Yes	33
No	67

Alliance

Yes	71
No	29

SDLP

Yes	76
No	24

Sinn Féin

Yes	39
No	61

### 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'.

All NI

	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.	20	21	31	18	10
The Belfast Agreement and peace process will collapse because Republicans will not work the Agreement in good faith.	26	20	29	20	5
The Belfast Agreement and peace process will collapse because the SDLP and UUP will not work together to implement it.	16	19	35	24	6
The Belfast Agreement and peace process will collapse because of the lack of co-operation and determined commitment by the two governments.	14	16	35	28	7
Dissident Republican paramilitary groups will become more active.	27	28	32	11	2
The IRA and other Republican groups will break their cease-fires and return to war.	22	22	37	14	5
Dissident Loyalist paramilitary groups will become more active.	22	32	36	8	2
The UVF, UFF and other Loyalist groups will break their cease-fires and return to war.	19	30	40	9	2
The Northern Ireland economy will suffer and unemployment will rise.	25	27	33	12	3
More young people will leave Northern Ireland.	25	28	34	11	2
Divisions in Northern Ireland society will deepen and community relations will continue to deteriorate.	24	26	38	10	2



## Protestant

	Very probable	Probable	Not sure	Improbable	Very improbable
Unionists will collapse the Agreement.	17	18	28	21	16
Republicans will collapse the Agreement.	41	26	22	9	2
SDLP/UUP will not work the Agreement.	21	24	32	16	7
2 governments will not work Agreement.	20	17	36	22	5
Republicans become more active.	36	31	27	4	2
The IRA will break their cease-fire.	36	29	30	3	2
Loyalist become more active.	25	32	35	7	1
The UVF/UFF will break their cease-fires.	23	30	38	8	1
The Northern Ireland economy will suffer.	25	27	37	9	2
Young people will leave Northern Ireland.	24	29	37	8	2
Community relations will deteriorate.	24	26	40	8	2

## Catholic

	Very probable	Probable	Not sure	Improbable	Very improbable
Unionists will collapse the Agreement.	27	25	33	14	1
Republicans will collapse the Agreement.	11	12	34	34	9
SDLP/UUP will not work the Agreement.	11	13	38	34	4
2 governments will not work Agreement.	8	14	36	35	7
Republicans become more active.	16	25	38	20	1
The IRA will break their cease-fire.	6	13	46	26	9
Loyalist become more active.	18	35	37	9	1
The UVF/UFF will break their cease-fires.	16	29	42	11	2
The Northern Ireland economy will suffer.	25	28	31	13	3
Young people will leave Northern Ireland.	26	28	32	12	2
Community relations will deteriorate.	24	27	36	12	1

## DUP

	Very probable	Probable	Not sure	Improbable	Very improbable
Unionists will collapse the Agreement.	13	16	23	25	23
Republicans will collapse the Agreement.	56	21	16	6	1
SDLP/UUP will not work the Agreement.	20	29	27	15	9
2 governments will not work Agreement.	19	18	36	18	9
Republicans become more active.	41	30	25	3	1
The IRA will break their cease-fire.	40	32	22	4	2
Loyalist become more active.	27	36	29	6	2
The UVF/UFF will break their cease-fires.	23	32	38	5	2
The Northern Ireland economy will suffer.	20	28	32	16	4
Young people will leave Northern Ireland.	20	30	36	11	3
Community relations will deteriorate.	23	26	35	11	5

## UUP

	Very probable	Probable	Not sure	Improbable	Very improbable
Unionists will collapse the Agreement.	20	18	31	18	13
Republicans will collapse the Agreement.	36	23	34	5	2
SDLP/UUP will not work the Agreement.	25	24	34	13	4
2 governments will not work Agreement.	22	17	37	20	4
Republicans become more active.	38	30	27	2	3
The IRA will break their cease-fire.	37	27	32	1	3
Loyalist become more active.	32	27	34	5	2
The UVF/UFF will break their cease-fires.	29	27	34	8	2
The Northern Ireland economy will suffer.	31	21	41	5	2
Young people will leave Northern Ireland.	27	26	38	7	2
Community relations will deteriorate.	28	23	43	5	1

## PUP

	Very probable	Probable	Not sure	Improbable	Very improbable
Unionists will collapse the Agreement.	6	17	25	30	22
Republicans will collapse the Agreement.	33	39	11	11	6
SDLP/UUP will not work the Agreement.	17	19	33	14	17
2 governments will not work Agreement.	28	11	53	8	0
Republicans become more active.	45	33	22	0	0
The IRA will break their cease-fire.	44	22	28	6	0
Loyalist become more active.	0	17	58	25	0
The UVF/UFF will break their cease-fires.	0	22	50	28	0
The Northern Ireland economy will suffer.	11	42	47	0	0
Young people will leave Northern Ireland.	22	25	53	0	0
Community relations will deteriorate.	17	36	47	0	0

## Alliance

	Very probable	Probable	Not sure	Improbable	Very improbable
Unionists will collapse the Agreement.	10	19	58	11	2
Republicans will collapse the Agreement.	13	27	47	10	3
SDLP/UUP will not work the Agreement.	6	24	44	24	2
2 governments will not work Agreement.	10	19	32	36	3
Republicans become more active.	10	32	37	21	0
The IRA will break their cease-fire.	10	27	45	16	2
Loyalist become more active.	10	29	44	17	0
The UVF/UFF will break their cease-fires.	19	21	47	13	0
The Northern Ireland economy will suffer.	17	24	43	16	0
Young people will leave Northern Ireland.	19	24	41	16	0
Community relations will deteriorate.	13	19	52	16	0

## SDLP

	Very probable	Probable	Not sure	Improbable	Very improbable
Unionists will collapse the Agreement.	11	30	34	20	5
Republicans will collapse the Agreement.	8	18	37	30	7
SDLP/UUP will not work the Agreement.	5	14	40	34	7
2 governments will not work Agreement.	3	7	40	38	12
Republicans become more active.	11	24	46	16	3
The IRA will break their cease-fire.	4	19	47	26	4
Loyalist become more active.	15	32	38	11	4
The UVF/UFF will break their cease-fires.	14	27	42	13	4
The Northern Ireland economy will suffer.	22	29	28	17	4
Young people will leave Northern Ireland.	26	26	31	14	3
Community relations will deteriorate.	21	24	36	16	3

## Sinn Féin

	Very probable	Probable	Not sure	Improbable	Very improbable
Unionists will collapse the Agreement.	40	21	25	14	0
Republicans will collapse the Agreement.	10	3	25	46	16
SDLP/UUP will not work the Agreement.	13	10	38	38	1
2 governments will not work Agreement.	11	18	34	34	3
Republicans become more active.	23	22	26	28	1
The IRA will break their cease-fire.	9	5	39	30	17
Loyalist become more active.	23	38	33	6	0
The UVF/UFF will break their cease-fires.	14	38	39	8	1
The Northern Ireland economy will suffer.	33	30	27	7	3
Young people will leave Northern Ireland.	29	33	26	9	3
Community relations will deteriorate.	30	36	26	8	0

## 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'.

All NI

	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
The British Government.	7	36	25	18	14
The Irish Government.	10	35	28	14	13
The Ulster Unionist Party.	6	37	31	15	11
The Progressive Unionist Party.	4	25	43	16	12
The Ulster Democratic Party.	8	18	38	21	15
The Alliance Party.	5	27	45	12	9
The Women's Coalition.	8	25	39	14	12
The SDLP.	15	34	21	14	16
Sinn Féin.	14	21	24	13	28

Protestant

	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
The British Government.	7	35	24	17	17
The Irish Government.	3	24	29	22	22
The Ulster Unionist Party.	12	39	28	13	8
The Progressive Unionist Party.	7	30	43	11	9
The Ulster Democratic Party.	15	24	40	15	6
The Alliance Party.	5	23	44	17	11
The Women's Coalition.	6	17	38	19	20
The SDLP.	4	22	26	21	27
Sinn Féin.	0	8	23	19	50

Catholic

	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
The British Government.	7	35	26	20	12
The Irish Government.	20	48	26	4	2
The Ulster Unionist Party.	0	28	35	21	16
The Progressive Unionist Party.	2	18	42	23	15
The Ulster Democratic Party.	0	7	38	29	26
The Alliance Party.	4	32	50	8	6
The Women's Coalition.	11	34	44	7	4
The SDLP.	32	46	13	5	4
Sinn Féin.	34	35	22	7	2

## DUP

	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
The British Government.	4	23	15	22	36
The Irish Government.	4	14	18	25	39
The Ulster Unionist Party.	3	28	31	20	18
The Progressive Unionist Party.	2	18	42	13	25
The Ulster Democratic Party.	31	23	20	14	12
The Alliance Party.	4	10	43	21	22
The Women's Coalition.	4	14	27	16	39
The SDLP.	4	19	13	13	51
Sinn Féin.	2	8	11	8	71

## UUP

	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
The British Government.	11	42	28	14	5
The Irish Government.	5	26	38	20	11
The Ulster Unionist Party.	23	46	21	9	1
The Progressive Unionist Party.	3	36	48	12	1
The Ulster Democratic Party.	5	28	51	15	1
The Alliance Party.	3	30	53	10	4
The Women's Coalition.	4	20	49	19	8
The SDLP.	3	26	39	23	9
Sinn Féin.	0	9	35	20	36

## PUP

	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
The British Government.	0	19	42	11	28
The Irish Government.	0	0	19	36	45
The Ulster Unionist Party.	0	47	33	3	17
The Progressive Unionist Party.	55	36	3	6	0
The Ulster Democratic Party.	11	25	52	6	6
The Alliance Party.	0	14	31	33	22
The Women's Coalition.	0	0	42	19	39
The SDLP.	0	3	8	39	50
Sinn Féin.	0	0	0	22	78

## Alliance

	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
The British Government.	5	30	46	17	2
The Irish Government.	11	27	49	10	3
The Ulster Unionist Party.	3	25	53	17	2
The Progressive Unionist Party.	3	21	50	24	2
The Ulster Democratic Party.	5	14	50	29	2
The Alliance Party.	17	30	45	8	0
The Women's Coalition.	17	22	45	13	3
The SDLP.	14	22	39	17	8
Sinn Féin.	3	21	38	25	13

## SDLP

	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
The British Government.	8	58	21	6	7
The Irish Government.	19	61	17	2	1
The Ulster Unionist Party.	1	48	36	10	5
The Progressive Unionist Party.	4	29	46	15	6
The Ulster Democratic Party.	1	11	48	26	14
The Alliance Party.	6	47	40	7	0
The Women's Coalition.	15	40	39	6	0
The SDLP.	34	49	12	5	0
Sinn Féin.	14	41	36	9	0

## Sinn Féin

	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
The British Government.	2	19	23	38	18
The Irish Government.	15	46	30	6	3
The Ulster Unionist Party.	0	15	25	34	26
The Progressive Unionist Party.	0	13	36	29	22
The Ulster Democratic Party.	0	4	24	31	41
The Alliance Party.	1	17	60	12	10
The Women's Coalition.	5	25	52	12	6
The SDLP.	26	51	13	5	5
Sinn Féin.	61	31	7	1	0

## 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'.

All NI	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
Tony Blair.	7	34	29	14	16
Bertie Ahern.	12	34	26	13	15
Peter Mandelson.	4	23	35	20	18
Brian Cowen.	3	22	45	13	17
Senator George Mitchell.	18	37	29	7	9
General John de Chastelain.	16	34	34	8	8
David Trimble.	8	33	35	13	11
John Hume.	21	34	21	11	13
Gerry Adams.	15	19	22	13	29
David Ervine.	5	28	44	11	12
Gary McMichael.	1	17	49	20	13
Sean Neeson.	7	19	48	15	11
Monica McWilliams.	7	21	44	14	14

Protestant	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
Tony Blair.	6	29	26	15	24
Bertie Ahern.	3	25	27	21	24
Peter Mandelson.	3	22	36	17	22
Brian Cowen.	1	16	43	15	25
Senator George Mitchell.	11	31	33	11	14
General John de Chastelain.	10	27	39	12	12
David Trimble.	13	34	31	11	11
John Hume.	4	31	27	17	21
Gerry Adams.	1	9	20	19	51
David Ervine.	4	25	45	11	15
Gary McMichael.	3	20	48	15	14
Sean Neeson.	4	15	45	20	16
Monica McWilliams.	4	16	40	18	22

Catholic	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
Tony Blair.	8	37	34	15	6
Bertie Ahern.	23	41	29	3	4
Peter Mandelson.	5	20	33	27	15
Brian Cowen.	6	26	50	12	6
Senator George Mitchell.	27	41	25	3	4
General John de Chastelain.	23	40	30	3	4
David Trimble.	2	28	40	17	13
John Hume.	44	36	13	4	3
Gerry Adams.	38	28	24	5	5
David Ervine.	5	32	45	10	8
Gary McMichael.	0	11	50	25	14
Sean Neeson.	12	21	53	10	4
Monica McWilliams.	9	25	54	8	4

## DUP

	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
Tony Blair.	4	20	16	16	44
Bertie Ahern.	3	18	13	23	43
Peter Mandelson.	2	15	22	22	39
Brian Cowen.	1	13	22	16	48
Senator George Mitchell.	11	23	24	15	27
General John de Chastelain.	9	21	29	16	25
David Trimble.	6	22	30	15	27
John Hume.	6	17	16	18	43
Gerry Adams.	2	11	9	14	64
David Ervine.	1	9	42	10	38
Gary McMichael.	0	13	39	16	32
Sean Neeson.	1	8	38	20	33
Monica McWilliams.	4	9	28	15	44

## UUP

	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
Tony Blair.	10	35	30	16	9
Bertie Ahern.	5	32	30	23	10
Peter Mandelson.	6	27	39	19	9
Brian Cowen.	1	19	50	18	12
Senator George Mitchell.	13	38	34	10	5
General John de Chastelain.	12	35	38	12	3
David Trimble.	24	42	24	10	0
John Hume.	5	37	35	13	10
Gerry Adams.	0	9	27	22	42
David Ervine.	3	25	53	18	1
Gary McMichael.	2	18	56	22	2
Sean Neeson.	2	20	49	24	5
Monica McWilliams.	4	18	47	23	8

## PUP

	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
Tony Blair.	0	14	23	17	46
Bertie Ahern.	0	3	19	39	39
Peter Mandelson.	0	6	22	28	44
Brian Cowen.	0	3	29	23	45
Senator George Mitchell.	3	19	22	28	28
General John de Chastelain.	8	14	34	22	22
David Trimble.	0	17	61	0	22
John Hume.	6	6	17	38	33
Gerry Adams.	0	8	0	6	86
David Ervine.	39	55	6	0	0
Gary McMichael.	17	61	22	0	0
Sean Neeson.	1	7	51	18	23
Monica McWilliams.	0	8	37	22	33



## Alliance

	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
Tony Blair.	3	25	57	13	2
Bertie Ahern.	13	29	49	6	3
Peter Mandelson.	11	22	51	10	6
Brian Cowen.	11	22	48	11	8
Senator George Mitchell.	25	21	39	10	5
General John de Chastelain.	24	21	40	13	2
David Trimble.	6	35	44	13	2
John Hume.	11	32	43	11	3
Gerry Adams.	0	19	52	13	16
David Ervine.	6	19	54	13	8
Gary McMichael.	3	10	63	16	8
Sean Neeson.	17	11	57	10	5
Monica McWilliams.	13	10	58	14	5

## SDLP

	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
Tony Blair.	12	53	29	5	1
Bertie Ahern.	27	53	16	4	0
Peter Mandelson.	5	35	36	15	9
Brian Cowen.	5	35	51	9	0
Senator George Mitchell.	28	54	17	1	0
General John de Chastelain.	25	54	21	0	0
David Trimble.	3	48	43	4	2
John Hume.	52	38	8	2	0
Gerry Adams.	18	38	35	7	2
David Ervine.	7	35	48	9	1
Gary McMichael.	1	19	50	19	11
Sean Neeson.	16	29	50	5	0
Monica McWilliams.	12	29	55	4	0

## Sinn Féin

	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
Tony Blair.	4	27	30	26	13
Bertie Ahern.	15	38	37	4	6
Peter Mandelson.	1	8	27	43	21
Brian Cowen.	4	19	51	18	8
Senator George Mitchell.	22	35	36	1	6
General John de Chastelain.	15	32	42	3	8
David Trimble.	1	10	38	29	22
John Hume.	35	41	13	6	5
Gerry Adams.	66	23	4	3	4
David Ervine.	2	32	40	12	14
Gary McMichael.	0	4	47	34	15
Sean Neeson.	6	19	52	16	7
Monica McWilliams.	5	25	51	13	6

## **5 – Building Trust and Confidence**

I would now like you to consider various options for building trust and confidence between the two communities by indicating which ones you consider to be ‘Essential’, ‘Desirable’, ‘Acceptable’, ‘Tolerable’ or ‘Unacceptable’.

For the purposes of this question the meaning of ‘Essential’, ‘Desirable’, ‘Acceptable’, ‘Tolerable’ and ‘Unacceptable’ are outlined on this card:

### **Do you consider this option to be.....**

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

**‘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 successful peace process, you would be willing to put up with it.

**‘Unacceptable’** - This option 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'.

All NI

	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.	26	32	24	5	13

Protestant

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Full implementation by June 2001.	18	25	27	7	23

Catholic

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Full implementation by June 2001.	38	37	19	3	3

DUP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Full implementation by June 2001.	12	21	14	8	45

UUP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Full implementation by June 2001.	20	31	32	6	11

PUP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Full implementation by June 2001.	17	36	19	6	22

Alliance

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Full implementation by June 2001.	17	16	56	6	5

SDLP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Full implementation by June 2001.	45	40	13	2	0

Sinn Féin

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Full implementation by June 2001.	36	36	18	6	4

Including the following rights, safeguards and equality of opportunity -

All NI

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Continued support for the victims of violence.	49	30	16	3	2
The incorporation of the European Convention on Human Rights into British and Irish domestic law.	26	34	26	9	5
Cooperation between the new Human Rights Commissions in both Northern Ireland and in the Republic of Ireland.	24	31	28	10	7
The establishment of equality schemes for public authorities in Northern Ireland.	27	32	28	8	5
British support for minority languages in accordance with European standards including new television programs.	17	29	27	15	12

Protestant

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Continued support for victims of violence.	49	27	18	3	3
Human Rights into British & Irish law.	16	27	37	12	8
Cooperation between Rights Commissions.	12	22	38	15	13
Equality schemes for NI public authorities.	14	28	39	11	8
British support for minority languages.	10	17	30	22	21

Catholic

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Continued support for victims of violence.	52	34	11	3	0
Human Rights into British & Irish law.	41	43	13	3	0
Cooperation between Rights Commissions.	40	42	16	2	0
Equality schemes for NI public authorities.	46	34	17	3	0
British support for minority languages.	26	44	22	7	1

## DUP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Continued support for victims of violence.	53	31	8	4	4
Human Rights into British & Irish law.	9	31	33	16	11
Cooperation between Rights Commissions.	13	24	26	19	18
Equality schemes for NI public authorities.	6	42	23	14	15
British support for minority languages.	4	18	15	20	43

## UUP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Continued support for victims of violence.	41	30	21	4	4
Human Rights into British & Irish law.	17	28	35	13	7
Cooperation between Rights Commissions.	10	25	40	16	9
Equality schemes for NI public authorities.	16	25	43	10	6
British support for minority languages.	11	18	36	24	11

## PUP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Continued support for victims of violence.	84	8	8	0	0
Human Rights into British & Irish law.	33	14	25	17	11
Cooperation between Rights Commissions.	11	14	25	17	33
Equality schemes for NI public authorities.	17	36	36	11	0
British support for minority languages.	11	36	14	17	22

## Alliance

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Continued support for victims of violence.	27	14	49	10	0
Human Rights into British & Irish law.	17	22	48	11	2
Cooperation between Rights Commissions.	17	19	54	8	2
Equality schemes for NI public authorities.	13	27	47	13	0
British support for minority languages.	16	16	56	10	2

## SDLP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Continued support for victims of violence.	52	37	9	2	0
Human Rights into British & Irish law.	33	51	13	2	1
Cooperation between Rights Commissions.	32	49	17	2	0
Equality schemes for NI public authorities.	44	38	15	3	0
British support for minority languages.	19	47	24	7	3

## Sinn Féin

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Continued support for victims of violence.	59	34	6	1	0
Human Rights into British & Irish law.	54	34	9	2	1
Cooperation between Rights Commissions.	58	35	6	1	0
Equality schemes for NI public authorities.	63	25	11	1	0
British support for minority languages.	42	42	13	3	0

## Including security -

## All NI

As early return as possible to normal security arrangements in Northern Ireland consistent with the level of threat.	33	30	28	6	3
Both governments will take resolute action against any group that threatens or uses violence against the peace process.	38	25	27	6	4

## Protestant

Return to normal security arrangements.	27	26	34	8	5
Resolute action against threats & violence.	39	18	30	8	5

## Catholic

Return to normal security arrangements.	42	34	19	4	1
Resolute action against threats & violence.	37	33	25	4	1

## DUP

Return to normal security arrangements.	23	30	28	8	11
Resolute action against threats & violence.	44	16	25	4	11

## UUP

Return to normal security arrangements.	29	21	43	5	2
Resolute action against threats & violence.	40	18	30	10	2

## PUP

Return to normal security arrangements.	39	25	11	19	6
Resolute action against threats & violence.	22	8	29	19	22

## Alliance

Return to normal security arrangements.	17	14	61	8	0
Resolute action against threats & violence.	17	14	59	10	0

## SDLP

Return to normal security arrangements.	36	45	12	5	2
Resolute action against threats & violence.	41	37	17	5	0

## Sinn Féin

Return to normal security arrangements.	52	30	14	3	1
Resolute action against threats & violence.	40	34	23	2	1

## Including policing and justice -

## All NI

Legislation will be enacted to implement the Patten report on policing.	26	22	23	10	19
The new policing board and independent recruitment agency for the Police Service of Northern Ireland will be established.	23	20	27	12	18
Legislation and a detailed timetable for implementation of the review of the criminal justice system will be published.	26	25	32	11	6

## Protestant

Legislation to implement the Patten report.	11	13	24	16	36
Police board & PSNI recruitment agency.	8	10	31	18	33
Legislation for criminal justice system.	14	18	40	17	11

## Catholic

Legislation to implement the Patten report.	49	30	20	1	0
Police board & PSNI recruitment agency.	48	32	17	3	0
Legislation for criminal justice system.	44	32	21	3	0

## DUP

Legislation to implement the Patten report.	5	13	14	11	57
Police board & PSNI recruitment agency.	4	11	21	7	57
Legislation for criminal justice system.	14	23	35	15	13

## UUP

Legislation to implement the Patten report.	13	16	25	20	26
Police board & PSNI recruitment agency.	10	10	32	25	23
Legislation for criminal justice system.	16	17	37	21	9

## PUP

Legislation to implement the Patten report.	28	6	6	22	38
Police board & PSNI recruitment agency.	0	6	11	33	50
Legislation for criminal justice system.	22	17	39	11	11

## Alliance

Legislation to implement the Patten report.	14	11	58	14	3
Police board & PSNI recruitment agency.	10	14	52	22	2
Legislation for criminal justice system.	11	19	54	16	0

## SDLP

Legislation to implement the Patten report.	33	41	22	4	0
Police board & PSNI recruitment agency.	38	39	20	3	0
Legislation for criminal justice system.	31	42	23	4	0

## Sinn Féin

Legislation to implement the Patten report.	73	17	8	0	2
Police board & PSNI recruitment agency.	65	24	9	1	1
Legislation for criminal justice system.	68	20	10	1	1

Including prisoners -

All NI

In accordance with the terms of the Good Friday Agreement all prisoners qualifying for early release will be released.	22	19	25	14	20
Measures will continue to be taken to reintegrate prisoners into the community.	20	21	27	17	15

Protestant

All prisoners qualifying will be released.	12	12	22	18	36
Reintegrate prisoners into the community.	9	15	27	23	26

Catholic

All prisoners qualifying will be released.	38	29	24	8	1
Reintegrate prisoners into the community.	37	31	23	8	1

DUP

All prisoners qualifying will be released.	4	15	18	11	52
Reintegrate prisoners into the community.	9	9	20	20	42

UUP

All prisoners qualifying will be released.	9	20	25	25	21
Reintegrate prisoners into the community.	48	23	23	4	2

PUP

All prisoners qualifying will be released.	39	11	25	19	6
Reintegrate prisoners into the community.	33	22	36	3	6

Alliance

All prisoners qualifying will be released.	8	17	58	11	6
Reintegrate prisoners into the community.	11	8	63	13	5

SDLP

All prisoners qualifying will be released.	19	40	25	14	2
Reintegrate prisoners into the community.	20	41	19	19	1

Sinn Féin

All prisoners qualifying will be released.	62	22	13	1	2
Reintegrate prisoners into the community.	33	27	28	10	2



## Including decommissioning -

## All NI

Paramilitary organisations will state clearly that they will put their arms completely and verifiably beyond use - specifically -	44	26	21	5	4
The IRA leadership have agreed to initiate a process that will completely and verifiably put IRA arms beyond use.	46	25	20	6	3
The IRA leadership have stated that there is no threat to the peace process from the IRA.	48	22	20	5	5
As a confidence building measure a number of IRA arms dumps will be inspected by agreed third parties.	44	23	20	5	8
The third parties will include the diplomats Cyril Ramaphosa from South Africa and Martti Ahtisaari from Finland.	31	25	27	8	9
The IRA dumps will be re-inspected regularly.	42	22	20	7	9
The third parties will report to the Independent International Commission on Decommissioning - the IICD.	36	24	25	7	8
In consultation with representatives from the paramilitary organisations the Commission will develop more effective ways to carry out their mandate.	33	26	27	7	7
The Commission will report to the two governments and these reports will be promptly published.	36	26	27	6	5

## Protestant

Paramilitary arms beyond use.	51	20	19	4	6
IRA arms beyond use.	55	18	16	7	4
No threat to the peace process from IRA.	55	15	17	5	8
IRA arms dumps inspected by third parties.	50	17	17	4	12
Cyril Ramaphosa and Martti Ahtisaari.	36	17	25	7	15
IRA dumps will be re-inspected regularly.	50	17	16	3	14
The third parties will report to the IICD.	42	19	22	5	12
The IICD will become more effective.	40	20	23	5	12
The IICD will report and published.	43	22	23	3	9

## Catholic

Paramilitary arms beyond use.	37	31	25	6	1
IRA arms beyond use.	36	33	24	6	1
No threat to the peace process from IRA.	39	30	24	6	1
IRA arms dumps inspected by third parties.	36	31	23	7	3
Cyril Ramaphosa and Martti Ahtisaari.	27	35	28	8	2
IRA dumps will be re-inspected regularly.	35	26	25	12	2
The third parties will report to the IICD.	30	28	30	9	3
The IICD will become more effective.	26	32	31	10	1
The IICD will report and published.	27	30	32	10	1

## DUP

Paramilitary arms beyond use.	57	18	9	3	13
IRA arms beyond use.	63	13	9	9	6
No threat to the peace process from IRA.	62	11	8	6	13
IRA arms dumps inspected by third parties.	51	9	10	8	22
Cyril Ramaphosa and Martti Ahtisaari.	27	15	22	4	32
IRA dumps will be re-inspected regularly.	47	11	13	1	28
The third parties will report to the IICD.	31	20	17	8	24
The IICD will become more effective.	26	21	22	8	23
The IICD will report and published.	32	24	25	3	16

## UUP

Paramilitary arms beyond use.	54	22	17	5	2
IRA arms beyond use.	56	15	21	3	5
No threat to the peace process from IRA.	48	24	20	3	5
IRA arms dumps inspected by third parties.	37	20	27	9	7
Cyril Ramaphosa and Martti Ahtisaari.	53	19	19	4	5
IRA dumps will be re-inspected regularly.	44	23	24	4	5
The third parties will report to the IICD.	41	23	27	4	5
The IICD will become more effective.	47	24	22	4	3
The IICD will report and published.	28	26	35	7	4

## PUP

Paramilitary arms beyond use.	47	22	19	6	6
IRA arms beyond use.	53	11	19	6	11
No threat to the peace process from IRA.	47	22	14	6	11
IRA arms dumps inspected by third parties.	53	22	14	0	11
Cyril Ramaphosa and Martti Ahtisaari.	52	17	14	0	17
IRA dumps will be re-inspected regularly.	58	17	8	0	17
The third parties will report to the IICD.	69	6	8	0	17
The IICD will become more effective.	58	17	8	0	17
The IICD will report and published.	69	11	6	3	11

## Alliance

Paramilitary arms beyond use.	21	19	52	6	2
IRA arms beyond use.	24	17	47	10	2
No threat to the peace process from IRA.	17	24	46	11	2
IRA arms dumps inspected by third parties.	21	25	41	11	2
Cyril Ramaphosa and Martti Ahtisaari.	11	30	44	13	2
IRA dumps will be re-inspected regularly.	14	25	47	11	3
The third parties will report to the IICD.	13	24	49	11	3
The IICD will become more effective.	13	29	37	19	2
The IICD will report and published.	17	32	33	16	2

## SDLP

Paramilitary arms beyond use.	45	37	13	5	0
IRA arms beyond use.	43	39	13	5	0
No threat to the peace process from IRA.	53	32	10	5	0
IRA arms dumps inspected by third parties.	46	34	14	5	1
Cyril Ramaphosa and Martti Ahtisaari.	32	40	19	9	0
IRA dumps will be re-inspected regularly.	42	32	18	7	1
The third parties will report to the IICD.	38	37	21	4	0
The IICD will become more effective.	32	38	24	6	0
The IICD will report and published.	37	34	25	4	0

## Sinn Féin

Paramilitary arms beyond use.	30	28	32	8	2
IRA arms beyond use.	32	23	36	8	1
No threat to the peace process from IRA.	32	23	31	8	6
IRA arms dumps inspected by third parties.	26	26	36	8	4
Cyril Ramaphosa and Martti Ahtisaari.	32	15	28	21	4
IRA dumps will be re-inspected regularly.	29	16	34	15	6
The third parties will report to the IICD.	23	25	38	12	2
The IICD will become more effective.	23	20	40	15	2
The IICD will report and published.	29	33	27	11	0

And -

All NI

Progress to full implementation of the Agreement will be periodically assessed by the governments and parties.	29	29	29	7	6
If any difficulties arise with any aspect of implementation, in consultation with the Assembly and Executive, the governments will carry out an immediate review.	30	27	30	7	6

Protestant

Progress periodically assessed.	30	22	30	7	11
If difficulties arise there will be a review.	33	21	30	6	10

Catholic

Progress periodically assessed.	28	38	27	7	0
If difficulties arise there will be a review.	25	33	32	9	1

DUP

Progress periodically assessed.	23	21	26	7	23
If difficulties arise there will be a review.	20	26	26	6	22

UUP

Progress periodically assessed.	28	26	35	7	4
If difficulties arise there will be a review.	34	20	38	5	3

PUP

Progress periodically assessed.	55	14	11	3	17
If difficulties arise there will be a review.	61	14	6	8	11

Alliance

Progress periodically assessed.	14	19	62	5	0
If difficulties arise there will be a review.	8	25	57	10	0

SDLP

Progress periodically assessed.	37	40	18	5	0
If difficulties arise there will be a review.	34	37	23	5	1

Sinn Féin

Progress periodically assessed.	29	33	27	11	0
If difficulties arise there will be a review.	25	28	33	13	1

Finally -

All NI

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.	30	26	27	9	8
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Protestant

The restoration of the NI Assembly and Executive on May 22 - 2000.	24	21	28	12	15
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Catholic

The restoration of the NI Assembly and Executive on May 22 - 2000.	39	32	24	5	0
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DUP

The restoration of the NI Assembly and Executive on May 22 - 2000.	16	13	24	14	33
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UUP

The restoration of the NI Assembly and Executive on May 22 - 2000.	24	26	32	13	5
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PUP

The restoration of the NI Assembly and Executive on May 22 - 2000.	56	19	8	0	17
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Alliance

The restoration of the NI Assembly and Executive on May 22 - 2000.	11	19	64	6	0
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SDLP

The restoration of the NI Assembly and Executive on May 22 - 2000.	41	38	19	2	0
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Sinn Féin

The restoration of the NI Assembly and Executive on May 22 - 2000.	45	23	23	9	0
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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?

All NI

Yes	79
No	21

Protestant

Yes	63
No	37

Catholic

Yes	98
No	2

DUP

Yes	38
No	62

UUP

Yes	72
No	28

PUP

Yes	78
No	22

Alliance

Yes	92
No	8

SDLP

Yes	98
No	2

Sinn Féin

Yes	100
No	0

Additionally -

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

All NI

Yes	74
No	26

Protestant

Yes	63
No	37

Catholic

Yes	87
No	13

DUP

Yes	38
No	62

UUP

Yes	71
No	29

PUP

Yes	78
No	22

Alliance

Yes	89
No	11

SDLP

Yes	89
No	11

Sinn Féin

Yes	83
No	17

And -

Should the Ulster Unionists still refuse to go back into the Executive if the only outstanding issue is whether the name of the RUC is changed to Police Service of Northern Ireland?<sup>1</sup>

All NI

Yes	35
No	65

Protestant

Yes	50
No	50

Catholic

Yes	16
No	84

DUP

Yes	51
No	49

UUP

Yes	46
No	54

PUP

Yes	58
No	42

Alliance

Yes	68
No	32

SDLP

Yes	15
No	85

Sinn Féin

Yes	8
No	92

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<sup>1</sup> The double negative and complex phrasing of this question has led to it being misread by many of those being interviewed. For example 100% of Sinn Féin supporters wanted the UUP in the Executive in the first of these three questions but 8% have now changed their mind if the name of the RUC is changed! This is clearly an impossible result. Similarly a majority of Alliance voters, 68%, do not want the UUP in the Executive if the name of the RUC is changed while only 51% of DUP supporters share this view! Again an impossible result. On reflection the results for this question should be disregarded although it is interesting to note which party supporters tended to read the question correctly and which frequently did not!



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

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

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

All NI

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The two Governments should move quickly and decisively to fill the political vacuum.	29	27	24	8	12
The Ulster Unionists and Sinn Féin should try and reach an agreement through intense negotiations away from Northern Ireland.	27	24	25	10	14
The Civic Forum should be established as a consultative body to government.	19	26	31	12	12
A Shadow Executive should be established to advise the Government.	18	23	32	15	12
Assembly Committees should be established to advise each Government department.	15	23	35	15	12
Continuation of Direct Rule from London with no Northern Ireland Assembly.	17	19	29	13	22
A new Anglo-Irish Agreement.	9	12	24	15	40
Joint Authority by Direct Rule from both London and Dublin.	8	14	25	22	31
Joint Authority in combination with a Northern Ireland Assembly.	10	16	35	22	17
Scrap the Belfast Agreement and negotiate a new agreement.	16	15	24	15	30
The British and Irish governments should implement as much of the Belfast Agreement as they possibly can.	17	18	36	14	15

## Protestant

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Governments fill the political vacuum.	20	25	23	10	22
Intense negotiations away from NI.	14	20	27	15	24
The Civic Forum as a consultative body.	12	19	32	16	21
Shadow Executive to advise Government.	12	17	35	17	19
Committees to advise each department.	12	17	34	16	21
London Direct Rule and no NI Assembly.	23	20	36	12	9
A new Anglo-Irish Agreement.	10	12	23	16	39
Joint Authority from London and Dublin.	6	8	21	17	48
Joint Authority and NI Assembly.	7	12	35	18	28
Scrap BA and negotiate a new agreement.	28	21	25	12	14
The 2 governments implement Agreement.	8	13	37	17	25

## Catholic

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Governments fill the political vacuum.	41	30	23	6	0
Intense negotiations away from NI.	43	30	21	6	0
The Civic Forum as a consultative body.	28	34	29	8	1
Shadow Executive to advise Government.	27	28	30	12	3
Committees to advise each department.	20	29	35	13	3
London Direct Rule and no NI Assembly.	8	19	19	14	40
A new Anglo-Irish Agreement.	9	12	23	15	41
Joint Authority from London and Dublin.	10	22	28	28	12
Joint Authority and NI Assembly.	12	22	34	27	5
Scrap BA and negotiate a new agreement.	4	7	17	18	55
The 2 governments implement Agreement.	29	25	35	10	2

## DUP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Governments fill the political vacuum.	13	21	16	10	40
Intense negotiations away from NI.	10	16	16	14	44
The Civic Forum as a consultative body.	7	19	23	11	40
Shadow Executive to advise Government.	5	17	26	16	36
Committees to advise each department.	3	17	29	14	37
London Direct Rule and no NI Assembly.	29	21	28	9	13
A new Anglo-Irish Agreement.	9	7	15	11	58
Joint Authority from London and Dublin.	4	7	14	16	59
Joint Authority and NI Assembly.	5	9	29	13	44
Scrap BA and negotiate a new agreement.	40	23	18	10	9
The 2 governments implement Agreement.	7	10	21	13	49

## UUP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Governments fill the political vacuum.	20	33	24	9	14
Intense negotiations away from NI.	19	20	32	15	14
The Civic Forum as a consultative body.	13	25	30	20	12
Shadow Executive to advise Government.	13	17	38	20	12
Committees to advise each department.	14	20	33	21	12
London Direct Rule and no NI Assembly.	21	21	36	11	11
A new Anglo-Irish Agreement.	9	16	25	18	32
Joint Authority from London and Dublin.	8	9	25	19	39
Joint Authority and NI Assembly.	6	13	36	21	24
Scrap BA and negotiate a new agreement.	20	20	27	13	20
The 2 governments implement Agreement.	9	14	41	21	15

## PUP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Governments fill the political vacuum.	19	11	36	17	17
Intense negotiations away from NI.	0	8	53	22	17
The Civic Forum as a consultative body.	17	8	58	6	11
Shadow Executive to advise Government.	17	19	36	17	11
Committees to advise each department.	22	19	26	22	11
London Direct Rule and no NI Assembly.	44	11	31	14	0
A new Anglo-Irish Agreement.	17	6	11	11	55
Joint Authority from London and Dublin.	0	0	6	17	77
Joint Authority and NI Assembly.	28	6	22	22	22
Scrap BA and negotiate a new agreement.	45	33	11	8	3
The 2 governments implement Agreement.	0	0	31	36	33

## Alliance

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Governments fill the political vacuum.	17	27	47	6	3
Intense negotiations away from NI.	11	30	49	8	2
The Civic Forum as a consultative body.	13	22	57	6	2
Shadow Executive to advise Government.	16	19	48	14	3
Committees to advise each department.	13	21	49	14	3
London Direct Rule and no NI Assembly.	2	32	36	22	8
A new Anglo-Irish Agreement.	8	24	36	24	8
Joint Authority from London and Dublin.	6	25	33	30	6
Joint Authority and NI Assembly.	14	17	43	24	2
Scrap BA and negotiate a new agreement.	6	14	55	19	6
The 2 governments implement Agreement.	13	21	50	14	2

## SDLP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Governments fill the political vacuum.	47	37	15	1	0
Intense negotiations away from NI.	44	41	11	2	2
The Civic Forum as a consultative body.	24	47	24	4	1
Shadow Executive to advise Government.	26	33	29	9	3
Committees to advise each department.	26	35	24	10	5
London Direct Rule and no NI Assembly.	14	22	20	15	29
A new Anglo-Irish Agreement.	14	9	22	15	40
Joint Authority from London and Dublin.	13	24	29	24	10
Joint Authority and NI Assembly.	20	19	40	15	6
Scrap BA and negotiate a new agreement.	6	4	15	21	54
The 2 governments implement Agreement.	30	26	32	10	2

## Sinn Féin

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Governments fill the political vacuum.	39	25	25	10	1
Intense negotiations away from NI.	47	17	23	9	4
The Civic Forum as a consultative body.	39	22	25	13	1
Shadow Executive to advise Government.	34	23	27	14	2
Committees to advise each department.	19	28	34	17	2
London Direct Rule and no NI Assembly.	5	17	12	10	56
A new Anglo-Irish Agreement.	6	11	18	12	53
Joint Authority from London and Dublin.	8	18	21	33	20
Joint Authority and NI Assembly.	5	26	22	41	6
Scrap BA and negotiate a new agreement.	3	6	6	17	68
The 2 governments implement Agreement.	31	25	32	9	3

## 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'.

### All NI

	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.	12	26	37	13	12
Temporary arrangements should be put in place to get the Assembly working providing they lead to the implementation of the Belfast Agreement in full.	13	29	32	12	14
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.	10	27	38	13	12
The Assembly should be run by departmental committees until the parties can form an Executive.	11	23	35	15	16
All parts of the Belfast Agreement should be worked by the Assembly under any temporary arrangements agreed for its operation.	14	23	35	14	14
A new referendum should be held to approve any new or partial arrangements made for the implementation of the Agreement.	18	23	31	15	13

### Protestant

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Implement BA & devolution as possible.	7	20	35	16	22
Temporary arrangements to run Assembly.	7	21	35	13	24
Administrative Assembly then Executive.	7	23	37	14	19
Departmental committees then Executive.	8	18	36	13	25
All BA under temporary arrangements.	7	21	34	14	24
New referendum to approve any changes.	23	26	28	12	11

### Catholic

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Implement BA & devolution as possible.	18	35	37	10	0
Temporary arrangements to run Assembly.	19	39	29	10	3
Administrative Assembly then Executive.	13	32	37	13	5
Departmental committees then Executive.	15	31	31	18	5
All BA under temporary arrangements.	25	24	33	15	3
New referendum to approve any changes.	14	20	31	20	15

## DUP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Implement BA & devolution as possible.	6	14	27	13	40
Temporary arrangements to run Assembly.	6	14	24	12	44
Administrative Assembly then Executive.	6	13	29	20	32
Departmental committees then Executive.	6	11	27	19	37
All BA under temporary arrangements.	2	15	25	15	43
New referendum to approve any changes.	26	28	27	6	13

## UUP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Implement BA & devolution as possible.	12	23	37	16	12
Temporary arrangements to run Assembly.	7	26	38	14	15
Administrative Assembly then Executive.	7	25	42	10	16
Departmental committees then Executive.	8	16	46	11	19
All BA under temporary arrangements.	8	19	41	15	17
New referendum to approve any changes.	18	26	33	12	11

## PUP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Implement BA & devolution as possible.	11	0	28	22	39
Temporary arrangements to run Assembly.	22	0	39	22	17
Administrative Assembly then Executive.	11	22	45	11	11
Departmental committees then Executive.	28	17	35	14	6
All BA under temporary arrangements.	22	22	37	19	0
New referendum to approve any changes.	50	22	11	17	0

## Alliance

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Implement BA & devolution as possible.	5	21	62	10	2
Temporary arrangements to run Assembly.	13	24	44	16	3
Administrative Assembly then Executive.	11	23	43	20	3
Departmental committees then Executive.	5	29	43	17	6
All BA under temporary arrangements.	11	29	36	19	5
New referendum to approve any changes.	13	30	37	17	3

## SDLP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Implement BA & devolution as possible.	21	38	36	5	0
Temporary arrangements to run Assembly.	24	40	30	6	0
Administrative Assembly then Executive.	16	32	38	10	4
Departmental committees then Executive.	18	30	30	18	4
All BA under temporary arrangements.	25	24	35	14	2
New referendum to approve any changes.	16	23	31	18	12

## Sinn Féin

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Implement BA & devolution as possible.	18	32	37	13	0
Temporary arrangements to run Assembly.	14	38	30	11	7
Administrative Assembly then Executive.	12	35	35	13	5
Departmental committees then Executive.	19	28	27	19	7
All BA under temporary arrangements.	33	23	27	13	4
New referendum to approve any changes.	15	13	24	24	24

## 8 - Have you Changed your Mind?

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

All NI

Yes	69
No	19
Did not vote	12

Protestant

Yes	59
No	29
Did not vote	12

Catholic

Yes	84
No	8
Did not vote	8

DUP

Yes	31
No	58
Did not vote	11

UUP

Yes	72
No	19
Did not vote	9

PUP

Yes	86
No	14
Did not vote	0

Alliance

Yes	87
No	10
Did not vote	3

SDLP

Yes	95
No	1
Did not vote	4

Sinn Féin

Yes	80
No	9
Did not vote	11

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

(with 'did not vote' removed)

All NI

Yes	78
No	22

Protestant

Yes	66
No	34

Catholic

Yes	91
No	9

DUP

Yes	35
No	65

UUP

Yes	79
No	21

PUP

Yes	86
No	14

Alliance

Yes	90
No	10

SDLP

Yes	99
No	1

Sinn Féin

Yes	90
No	10



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

All NI

Yes	66
No	23
Would not vote	11

Protestant

Yes	47
No	39
Would not vote	14

Catholic

Yes	88
No	6
Would not vote	6

DUP

Yes	29
No	63
Would not vote	8

UUP

Yes	53
No	32
Would not vote	15

PUP

Yes	64
No	28
Would not vote	8

Alliance

Yes	82
No	13
Would not vote	5

SDLP

Yes	95
No	0
Would not vote	5

Sinn Féin

Yes	87
No	6
Would not vote	7

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

(with 'would not vote' removed)

All NI

Yes	74
No	26

Protestant

Yes	55
No	45

Catholic

Yes	94
No	6

DUP

Yes	32
No	68

UUP

Yes	64
No	36

PUP

Yes	70
No	30

Alliance

Yes	86
No	14

SDLP

Yes	100
No	0

Sinn Féin

Yes	94
No	6

## Cross tabulations of voting change:

## All NI

Yes to Yes	59
Yes to No	8
Yes to Would not vote	3
No to Yes	4
No to No	14
No to Would not vote	0
Did not vote to Yes	4
Did not vote to No	1
Did not vote to Would not vote	7

## Protestant

Yes to Yes	41
Yes to No	12
Yes to Would not vote	5
No to Yes	3
No to No	26
No to Would not vote	1
Did not vote to Yes	2
Did not vote to No	1
Did not vote to Would not vote	9

## Catholic

Yes to Yes	91
Yes to No	0
Yes to Would not vote	4
No to Yes	1
No to No	0
No to Would not vote	0
Did not vote to Yes	3
Did not vote to No	0
Did not vote to Would not vote	1

## DUP

Yes to Yes	23
Yes to No	6
Yes to Would not vote	2
No to Yes	2
No to No	54
No to Would not vote	1
Did not vote to Yes	4
Did not vote to No	3
Did not vote to Would not vote	5

## UUP

Yes to Yes	48
Yes to No	18
Yes to Would not vote	6
No to Yes	5
No to No	14
No to Would not vote	0
Did not vote to Yes	1
Did not vote to No	0
Did not vote to Would not vote	8

## PUP

Yes to Yes	61
Yes to No	17
Yes to Would not vote	8
No to Yes	3
No to No	11
No to Would not vote	0
Did not vote to Yes	0
Did not vote to No	0
Did not vote to Would not vote	0

## Alliance

Yes to Yes	78
Yes to No	6
Yes to Would not vote	3
No to Yes	3
No to No	6
No to Would not vote	0
Did not vote to Yes	2
Did not vote to No	0
Did not vote to Would not vote	2

## SDLP

Yes to Yes	91
Yes to No	0
Yes to Would not vote	4
No to Yes	1
No to No	0
No to Would not vote	0
Did not vote to Yes	3
Did not vote to No	0
Did not vote to Would not vote	1

## Sinn Féin

Yes to Yes	75
Yes to No	5
Yes to Would not vote	0
No to Yes	8
No to No	1
No to Would not vote	0
Did not vote to Yes	4
Did not vote to No	0
Did not vote to Would not vote	7