

MRNI Ltd.
46 Elmwood Avenue
Belfast
BT9 6AW

Interviewer

Date

Tel (028) 90661037

Quest No:

1-4

Devolution and 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 devolution, suspension of the Northern Ireland Assembly and the future of the peace process.

The results of the survey will be analysed and widely published in the local press and in reports that will be given to *all* the parties elected to the Northern Ireland Assembly.

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

Parliamentary Constituency

Telephone Number

FOR OFFICE USE ONLY	
DATE RECEIVED	
DATE BACKCHECKED	

Background Questions

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

A. Age

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

SHOWCARD 1

18 - 24	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

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

F. Political Identity

Could you please tell me which of the following designations used in the Northern Ireland Assembly best describes your political identity?

SHOWCARD 4

Unionist	1	(13)
Nationalist	2	
Other	3	
Refused	4	

1 – 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 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 stability of these institutions of government.	1	2	3	4	5	(7)
The Equality Commission.	1	2	3	4	5	(8)
The Northern Ireland Human Rights Commission.	1	2	3	4	5	(9)
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	1	2	3	4	5	(10)
Cultural and language rights.	1	2	3	4	5	(11)
Social and economic programs.	1	2	3	4	5	(12)
The reform of policing.	1	2	3	4	5	(13)
The reform of the criminal justice system.	1	2	3	4	5	(14)
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	1	2	3	4	5	(15)
Obligations to non-violence, peace and democracy.	1	2	3	4	5	(16)
Reconciliation and improved community relations.	1	2	3	4	5	(17)
Decommissioning of paramilitary weapons.	1	2	3	4	5	(18)
Demilitarisation and Normalisation - Security arrangements compatible with a normal peaceful society.	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	(24)
No	2	

2 - If Devolution is not Restored

From the different possibilities listed below what do you think will happen if Devolved Government is not restored to Northern Ireland or if Sinn Féin are excluded from holding Ministerial posts in the Executive. Please indicate which ones you consider to be 'Very probable', 'Probable', 'Not sure' about, 'Improbable' or 'Very improbable'.

SHOWCARD 6

The Belfast Agreement and peace process will collapse....	Very probable	Probable	Not sure	Improbable	Very improbable	
Because Unionists will not work the Agreement in good faith.	1	2	3	4	5	(1)
Because Republicans will not work the Agreement in good faith.	1	2	3	4	5	(2)
Because the SDLP have not done everything they could to work with the UUP.	1	2	3	4	5	(3)
Because the UUP have not done everything they could to work with the SDLP.	1	2	3	4	5	(3)
Because of the lack of co-operation and determined commitment by the two governments.	1	2	3	4	5	(4)

And consequently.....

	Very probable	Probable	Not sure	Improbable	Very improbable	
The two governments will go ahead and implement the rest of the Belfast Agreement anyway.	1	2	3	4	5	(5)
Dissident Republican paramilitary groups will become more active.	1	2	3	4	5	(6)
The IRA and other Republican groups will all break their cease-fires and return to war.	1	2	3	4	5	(7)
Dissident Loyalist paramilitary groups will become more active.	1	2	3	4	5	(8)
The UVF, UFF and other Loyalist groups will all break their cease-fires and return to war.	1	2	3	4	5	(9)
The Northern Ireland economy will suffer and unemployment will rise.	1	2	3	4	5	(10)
More young people will leave Northern Ireland.	1	2	3	4	5	(11)
Divisions in Northern Ireland society will deepen and community relations will continue to deteriorate.	1	2	3	4	5	(12)

3 - Trust and Confidence

Who do you think can be trusted to implement the Belfast 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 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 - Reasons for Continued Conflict and Suspension

People from different communities often hold very different views about the causes of continued conflict in Northern Ireland and suspension of the Assembly. Some frequently referred to sources of failure, or contributing factors, are listed below. Please indicate which ones you consider to be 'Very Significant', 'Significant', 'Of Some Significance', 'Of Little Significance' or 'Of No Significance' at all.

SHOWCARD 8

	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little Significance	Of No Significance	
The failure of Northern Ireland's Executive to work together and provide strong leadership.	1	2	3	4	5	(1)
The DUP are not behind the Belfast Agreement.	1	2	3	4	5	(2)
The UUP threat to 'walk out' and bring down the government.	1	2	3	4	5	(3)
The failure of Republicans to completely abandon violence for exclusively democratic means.	1	2	3	4	5	(4)
The failure of Loyalists to completely abandon violence for exclusively democratic means.	1	2	3	4	5	(5)
The failure of the Security Services to completely abandon illegal methods at all times.	1	2	3	4	5	(6)
The failure to create a political environment in which Loyalists and Republicans will abandon violence.	1	2	3	4	5	(7)
The failure to exclude Sinn Féin from the Executive.	1	2	3	4	5	(8)
Loyalists have been excluded from the political process since the signing of the Agreement.	1	2	3	4	5	(9)
The failure of government departments to adequately deal with the problems of sectarianism.	1	2	3	4	5	(10)
The failure of community leaders to adequately deal with the problems of sectarianism.	1	2	3	4	5	(11)
Communal division maintained by the new institutions of government being organised around strictly Nationalist and Unionist blocks of votes.	1	2	3	4	5	(12)
Police reform has not gone far enough.	1	2	3	4	5	(13)
Police reform has gone too far.	1	2	3	4	5	(14)
The British Government has failed to honour their commitments under the Agreement.	1	2	3	4	5	(15)
The Irish Government has failed to honour their commitments under the Agreement.	1	2	3	4	5	(16)
The peace process is continually threatened by the lack of political progress and suspension.	1	2	3	4	5	(17)
There is no political penalty each time the Unionists withdraw their Ministers from Government.	1	2	3	4	5	(18)

5 - The Future of the Peace Process and Political Development

I would now like to ask you some questions about the future of the peace process and political development in Northern Ireland.

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 Steps Towards a Lasting Peace and Political Stability

People from different communities often hold very different views about the steps that need to be taken in order to secure a lasting peace and political stability in Northern Ireland. Some frequently referred to solutions are listed below. Please indicate which ones you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

SHOWCARD 10

With regard to the Belfast Agreement and institutional stability:

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Fully implement all aspects of the Belfast Agreement.	1	2	3	4	5	(1)
The Implementation Committee should report regularly to the people of Northern Ireland.	1	2	3	4	5	(2)
All Assembly parties should make a commitment to the stability of all the institutions and exclusively democratic and peaceful means.	1	2	3	4	5	(3)

The Government and Parties should clearly say when a party can be excluded from the Executive for:	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Threatening the stability of the institutions.	1	2	3	4	5	(4)
Not adhering to exclusively democratic and peaceful means.	1	2	3	4	5	(5)

With regard to inclusive government and political stability:

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Make appropriate changes to the Belfast Agreement to ensure political stability.	1	2	3	4	5	(6)
Voting should not be exclusively organised around Unionist and Nationalist blocks.	1	2	3	4	5	(7)
Some Ministerial and senior Committee posts should be rotated between the smaller Assembly parties.	1	2	3	4	5	(8)
Policies should be put in place to increase the representation of women in government.	1	2	3	4	5	(9)
Or make no changes to the Belfast Agreement at all.	1	2	3	4	5	(10)

With regard to community affairs:

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Establish an Assembly Committee to monitor the management of community relations, equality and Human Rights.	1	2	3	4	5	(11)
All government policies should be screened for their impact on community divisions.	1	2	3	4	5	(12)
It should be the duty of all government departments and agencies to provide opportunities for community integration.	1	2	3	4	5	(13)

With regard to justice and reconciliation:

The two governments and all the parties to the conflict should:	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Make an honest and full accounting of any past misdeeds and abuses.	1	2	3	4	5	(14)
Stop simply blaming others and say what role they played in the Troubles.	1	2	3	4	5	(15)
Fully co-operate with all relevant public inquiries.	1	2	3	4	5	(16)

With regard to justice and policing:

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
The reform of the PSNI should be completed.	1	2	3	4	5	(17)
All parties with seats on the Policing Board should take up their posts including Sinn Féin.	1	2	3	4	5	(18)
Responsibility for Justice and Policing should be devolved to the Northern Ireland Assembly.	1	2	3	4	5	(19)

With regard to paramilitary fugitives or 'On the Runs' (OTRs):

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Paramilitaries should allow all exiled persons to 'come home' before the question of their fugitives is dealt with.	1	2	3	4	5	(20)
Paramilitaries should complete all necessary steps to secure public confidence in a lasting peace before the question of their fugitives is dealt with.	1	2	3	4	5	(21)
Paramilitary fugitives should be given amnesty.	1	2	3	4	5	(22)
Paramilitary fugitives should only be given amnesty after they have given an account of their activities to the authorities.	1	2	3	4	5	(23)
Paramilitary fugitives should be processed through the courts and then 'released on license'.	1	2	3	4	5	(24)
Security Service and other state offenders should be treated the same as paramilitary offenders.	1	2	3	4	5	(25)

With regard to paramilitary activity:

The IRA and Loyalist paramilitaries should:	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
End any involvement in organised crime.	1	2	3	4	5	(26)
End all targeting.	1	2	3	4	5	(27)
End all paramilitary attacks and 'punishment beatings'.	1	2	3	4	5	(28)
End all their intelligence gathering operations.	1	2	3	4	5	(29)
Require their members to 'Stand Down'.	1	2	3	4	5	(30)
Decommission all their weapons.	1	2	3	4	5	(31)
Disband their paramilitary organisations.	1	2	3	4	5	(32)

With regard to peace and security:

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
The British Government should take all necessary steps to normalise security arrangements in Northern Ireland.	1	2	3	4	5	(33)
An independent monitor should report on all aspects of violence in Northern Ireland and who was responsible.	1	2	3	4	5	(34)
An independent commissioner should draw up plans for and monitor progress towards normalisation and peace.	1	2	3	4	5	(35)
The British and Irish governments should direct their security, police and legal services to use all possible means to end all paramilitary activity.	1	2	3	4	5	(36)
Programs of regeneration and transformation should be established to assist communities with paramilitary links to achieve 'normalisation'.	1	2	3	4	5	(37)

With regard to elections:

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Elections should only be held when agreement is reached and devolved powers are restored to the Northern Ireland Assembly.	1	2	3	4	5	(38)
Elections should be held on the agreed date next May.	1	2	3	4	5	(39)
Elections should be held instead of suspension.	1	2	3	4	5	(40)

Do you think Direct Rule or Devolved Government is best for Northern Ireland?

Direct Rule	1	(41)
Devolved Government	2	

Which combination of First and Deputy First Minister do you think will produce the greatest stability for Northern Ireland?

Ulster Unionist and SDLP	1	(42)
Ulster Unionist and Sinn Féin	2	
Democratic Unionist and SDLP	3	
Democratic Unionist and Sinn Féin	4	
<i>None of the above*</i>	5	

**Do not ask but code as required*

6 - What Can be Done if the Negotiations Fail

If the negotiations on the future of the Belfast Agreement fail what should the Governments and parties do?

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

SHOWCARD 11

	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 Civic Forum should be maintained as a public voice.	1	2	3	4	5	(2)
A Shadow Executive should be established to advise the Government.	1	2	3	4	5	(3)
The Assembly Committees should be re-established to advise each Government department.	1	2	3	4	5	(4)
Continuation of Direct Rule from London with no Northern Ireland Assembly.	1	2	3	4	5	(5)
End suspension and have fresh elections.	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)
Bring in an electoral system that more evenly distributes seats and power between the small and large parties.	1	2	3	4	5	(10)
Bring in an electoral system that distributes more seats and power to the largest parties.	1	2	3	4	5	(11)
The British and Irish governments should implement as much of the Belfast Agreement as they possibly can.	1	2	3	4	5	(12)
Scrap the Belfast Agreement and negotiate a new agreement.	1	2	3	4	5	(13)
Negotiate a united Ireland.	1	2	3	4	5	(14)

7 - Have you Changed your Mind?

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

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

**Do not ask but code as required*

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

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

**Do not ask but code as required*

(Do not ask) - Code the following:

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