

MRNI Ltd  
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Belfast  
BT9 6AW

Interviewer .....

Date .....

Tel (01232) 661037

Quest No:

1-4

## IN SEARCH OF A SETTLEMENT

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

The questions deal with the most important issues and include:

**The principle causes of the conflict and possible solutions**  
**Human rights**  
**Reforming the police service**  
**A regional assembly**  
**North/South bodies**  
**Constitutional issues**  
**Relations between Britain and Ireland**  
**Implementing and agreeing a settlement**

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

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

All your answers will be kept completely confidential.

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

If you would like to take part in the survey I will start by asking you a few questions about your background to see where you fit into our sample. We can then work on a few questions together and then I will let you finish the questionnaire yourself and arrange to collect it when you have completed it.

Postcode

County

District Council

Parliamentary Constituency

Telephone Number

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DATE RECEIVED	
DATE BACKCHECKED	

# IN SEARCH OF A SETTLEMENT

## 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.

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

### B Gender (Interviewer to code)

Male	49
Female	51

### C Occupation: What is or was the occupation of the chief wage earner in your household?

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AB	15
C1	28
C2	23
DE	34

### D Religion

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

#### SHOWCARD 1

Protestant	50
Catholic	40
Other	2
Refused	8

**E Political support**

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

**SHOWCARD 2**

<b>UUP/Ulster Unionist Party/OUP/Official Unionist Party</b>	23
<b>SDLP/Social Democratic Labour Party</b>	20
<b>DUP/Democratic Unionist Party</b>	10
<b>Sinn Fein</b>	15
<b>Alliance</b>	9
<b>UK Unionist Party</b>	1
<b>PUP/Progressive Unionist Party</b>	4
<b>UDP/Ulster Democratic Party</b>	1
<b>Woman's Coalition Party of Northern Ireland</b>	1
<b>Labour Party of Northern Ireland</b>	*
<b>Other(Write in) _____</b>	3
<b>Refused</b>	13

**F Identity**

(Ask for each option in turn)

Do you feel you are 'Strongly', 'Moderately', 'Slightly' or "Not at all"....?

**SHOWCARD 3**

	<b>Strongly</b>	<b>Moderately</b>	<b>Slightly</b>	<b>Not at all</b>
<b>Loyalist</b>	17	13	10	60
<b>Republican</b>	8	8	9	75
<b>Unionist</b>	25	15	10	50
<b>Nationalist</b>	17	12	8	63
<b>'The Centre Ground'</b>	13	20	19	48

	<b>Strongly</b>	<b>Moderately</b>	<b>Slightly</b>	<b>Not at all</b>
<b>European</b>	3	18	31	48
<b>Northern Irish</b>	20	27	20	33
<b>British</b>	40	13	9	38
<b>Irish</b>	31	12	12	45
<b>Both British and Irish</b>	8	15	19	58

# In Search of a Settlement

## 1. Reasons for the Northern Ireland Conflict

People from different communities often hold very different views about the causes of the conflict in Northern Ireland. Please indicate which ones you consider to be 'Very Significant', 'Significant', 'Of Some Significance', 'Of Little Significance' or 'Of No Significance' at all.

### SHOWCARD 4

	Very Significant	Significant	Of Some Significance	Of Little Significance	Of No Significance
The continued British presence on the island of Ireland.	32	15	19	13	21
The Republic of Ireland's involvement in Northern Ireland.	29	18	23	16	14
The British Government's pursuit of a political settlement.	22	17	33	17	11
The Republic's territorial claim on Northern Ireland.	38	19	17	12	14
The failures of Northern Ireland politicians.	46	22	24	5	3
Unaccountable and secretive government.	40	21	22	10	7
The Lack of equality and continued discrimination.	43	18	18	10	11
Segregated education.	30	18	22	15	15
Segregated public housing.	28	22	24	13	13
A lack of respect for the people of the 'other' tradition.	43	26	20	7	4
The sectarian division of Northern Ireland politics.	47	24	16	5	8
The prominent role of the Roman Catholic Church.	21	22	22	19	16
The 'Established Church' in Britain and the Orange Order.	18	22	27	19	14
The Irish Republican Army and their use of violence.	68	11	9	4	8
The Loyalist paramilitaries and their use of violence.	55	17	15	7	6
All paramilitary groups and their use of violence.	61	18	14	4	3
The British Army and their use of violence.	24	16	21	14	25
The failure to provide a police service acceptable to all.	32	15	19	15	19
The failure of government and the security forces to deal with terrorism.	48	21	17	8	6

## **Choosing your options for a lasting settlement**

Most of the remainder of this questionnaire will present you with various options on what could be the different parts of a settlement.

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

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

### **SHOWCARD 5**

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

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

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

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

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

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

## 2. Steps towards a lasting peace in Northern Ireland

As steps needed to help secure a lasting peace please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

### SHOWCARD 6

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
British withdrawal from Northern Ireland.	20	14	13	10	43
End the Anglo-Irish Agreement.	24	17	21	19	19
Integrate Northern Ireland into the UK.	20	14	20	12	34
The Republic ends their claim on Northern Ireland.	38	13	12	10	27
Reformed and shared government.	21	14	28	18	19
Open government and Freedom of Information Act.	33	25	25	11	6
A Bill of Rights that guarantees equality for all.	54	22	17	6	1
A right to choose integrated education.	43	24	26	4	3
A right to choose integrated housing.	39	24	28	6	3
A Bill of Rights that protects the culture of each community.	49	22	23	4	2
Politics without a sectarian division.	43	29	19	6	3
Separate politics and religion in the Republic.	24	23	27	13	13
Separate politics and religion in Northern Ireland.	27	26	26	10	11
Disband all paramilitary groups.	70	12	10	4	4
Return the army to their barracks.	31	14	20	11	24
Completely reform the police service.	34	10	14	11	31
Stronger and effective anti-terrorist measures.	57	18	13	5	7

### 3. Protecting the Rights of the People of Northern Ireland

#### The European Convention on Human Rights

The European Convention on Human Rights protects individuals by guaranteeing each person:

*the right.....*

*To life.*

*Not to be tortured or subjected to inhuman or degrading treatment.*

*To protection from slavery or forced work.*

*Not to be unlawfully arrested or detained.*

*To a fair trial.*

*To freedom of belief and expression.*

*To free association.*

*To privacy and family life.*

*Not to be discriminated against.*

*To a remedy for breaches of human rights.*

The new Labour government plan to introduce this Convention into the domestic law of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. This will allow any complaints regarding failures to meet these minimum standards to be heard by courts in the UK and Northern Ireland. Do you think this is 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The European Convention on Human Rights should be part of the domestic law of Northern Ireland.	51	23	17	7	2

#### An Additional Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland

Some recent negotiated settlements have included a Bill of Rights to deal with many of the special political, social and cultural problems that lay at the heart of their conflict. Please indicate which of these options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
An additional Bill of Rights to address the special problems of Northern Ireland.	38	29	20	8	5
No additional Bill of Rights, just new laws to address the special problems of Northern Ireland.	12	17	35	17	19

#### Human Rights Courts and Commissions

How should Human Rights complaints be dealt with? Please indicate which of these options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
A special Court to hear Human Rights complaints.	31	25	31	8	5
A Commission to monitor, investigate and promote Human Rights.	24	28	31	11	6
A Commission with powers to bring Human Rights complaints to court.	32	26	28	8	6

## Economic, social and cultural rights

In addition to the European Convention on Human Rights other international conventions include:

*the right to:*

*Food, clothing and shelter.*

*Health.*

*Education.*

*Work.*

*Safe and fair conditions of work.*

*Social security.*

*Cultural expression.*

These economic, social and cultural rights could be included in a Northern Ireland Bill of Rights. Do you think this is 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Economic, social and cultural Rights should be part of a Northern Ireland Bill.	52	24	20	3	1

## Collective Rights of peoples and members of minorities

Some international conventions also include collective rights. Please indicate which ones you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable' for Northern Ireland.

<b>The right....</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
To self-determination.	46	26	19	5	4
To practise their religion, use their language and enjoy their culture.	52	17	17	10	4
To be taught or educated in their distinctive language.	29	18	26	16	11
To participate effectively in government on matters affecting them.	39	23	25	8	5
To parity of treatment and esteem.	44	24	19	9	4
Not to be treated as members of a distinct community against their will.	50	21	17	6	6

## Collective and Minority Rights in Northern Ireland

Collective rights can be introduced into Northern Ireland law in a number of different ways. Please indicate which options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
A Bill of Rights that includes collective and minority rights.	35	23	25	10	7
A British and Irish Treaty to protect minority rights.	25	16	23	15	21
No Bill of Rights or Treaty to protect minorities, just new policies and laws.	12	12	27	18	31



## Some special rights for Northern Ireland

It may also be necessary to include some rights that deal specifically with some of the political, social and cultural problems that are distinctive features of the Northern Ireland conflict. Please indicate which ones you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

<b>The right to.....</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Freedom of political expression	57	22	19	2	0
Freedom of religious expression	61	20	16	3	0
Freedom from incitement to hatred	67	17	12	1	3
Freedom of worship	73	17	10	0	0
Freedom from intimidation	78	11	9	1	1
Peaceful demonstrations and parades	53	22	15	8	2
The right to use the Irish language	31	17	22	19	11
Education in Irish language schools	28	16	23	20	13
Education in Integrated schools	37	27	21	12	3
Education in Catholic schools	32	19	28	15	6
Education in Protestant schools	35	23	31	9	2
Choose single religion public housing	21	12	25	19	23
Choose mixed religion public housing	32	26	25	11	6

## 4. Reforming the Police Service

Reforming the police services in Northern Ireland can be divided up into several issues.

### Police complaints procedures

At the present time complaints against the RUC are investigated by the police and supervised by an independent commission. Please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable' with regards to this procedure.

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Give the existing commission more scope to initiate and supervise complaints but maintain the role of the RUC in the investigation.	18	17	27	14	24
Establish a completely independent agency to deal with all aspects of investigations into complaints against the RUC.	40	20	19	10	11

## The character of the police force

Please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable' with regards to the future character of the police service.

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Special training in community relations and human rights.	44	30	23	2	1
A policing charter to set duties and responsibilities in law.	36	30	26	6	2
Monitor policing standards and publish reports.	39	31	21	7	2
Recruit more Catholics	42	19	22	12	5
A new name for the RUC more acceptable across the whole community.	25	12	17	13	33
New emblems and symbols more acceptable across the whole community.	26	12	15	12	35
Require police to declare their membership of Loyal Orders.	36	11	9	12	32
Do not allow police to be members of Loyal Orders.	31	10	9	8	42
Make the Oath of Allegiance more acceptable across the whole community.	29	16	15	10	30
The police should not normally be armed.	17	20	15	8	40
Leave the police service as it is.	16	15	15	15	39

## The structure of the police force

At the present time the Royal Ulster Constabulary is a single force that has responsibility for providing all policing duties throughout the whole of Northern Ireland. Please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable' regarding the structure of the police force.

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Create new community policing units as part of the RUC.	16	28	27	11	18
Create new community policing units separate to the RUC.	11	13	24	16	36
Disband the RUC and create a new single police force.	20	10	12	10	48
Disband the RUC and create a number of regional and city forces.	11	12	16	10	51
Leave current policing structures as they are.	18	14	19	13	36

## Responsibility for Policing Services

Present responsibility for policing in Northern Ireland is divided between the Secretary of State, the Chief Constable and the Police Authority of Northern Ireland. Community Police Liaison Committees, established by District Councils, also have a consultation role. Please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable' regarding future responsibility for policing services.

<b>Give more responsibility for the management of the police services to:</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The Secretary of State.	9	10	25	23	33
A new Department of Justice and Northern Ireland Assembly.	13	22	26	18	21
The Chief Constable.	14	17	29	16	24
The Police Authority of Northern Ireland.	12	15	32	16	25
A number of regional and city Police Authorities.	6	12	29	25	28
Community Liaison Committees.	12	17	27	18	26
Or no change - leave the responsibility for the police service as it is.	14	16	19	14	37

## Political Reform and the Stormont Talks

The Stormont Talks have been divided into three parts called Strands.

Strand One covers relationships in Northern Ireland and deals with questions of regional government.

Strand Two covers relationships within the island of Ireland and deals with North/South bodies.

Strand Three covers relationships between the British and Irish governments and deals with a replacement for the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

Negotiations also include constitutional issues.

## 5. Strand One: Political reform in Northern Ireland

At the present time Northern Ireland is governed under Direct Rule from Westminster with most important decisions being made by the Northern Ireland Office. Please indicate which reforms you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

### The Structure and Powers of a Regional Assembly

<b>Establish a Northern Ireland Regional Assembly with:</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
An elected assembly	25	26	33	8	8
An appointed second chamber or senate.	5	18	37	20	20
Committees that shadow and monitor the departments of the Northern Ireland Office	20	20	33	15	12
Powers of administration.	17	23	38	14	8
Powers to initiate and develop new policies.	19	25	34	13	9
Powers to make new laws.	18	23	29	15	15
Powers to alter taxes.	12	16	33	17	22
Or no assembly - Northern Ireland should <u>not</u> have a regional assembly.	6	10	15	23	46

### Appointments in a Regional Assembly:

<b>Chairpersons and the membership of committees are assigned:</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
In proportion to the representation of each party in the assembly.	23	22	27	16	12
Equally between the two main traditions.	30	17	14	18	21

### Voting in a Regional Assembly

<b>Voting in the Assembly is by:</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Simple majority for all business.	18	21	29	12	20
'Weighted' majority to ensure the support of both of the main traditions for <u>all</u> business.	16	18	28	18	20
'Weighted' majority for <u>contentious</u> business only.	5	12	29	26	28
'Sufficient Consensus' which requires a majority from <u>both</u> of the main traditions for all business.	15	22	27	18	18
'Sufficient Consensus' for <u>contentious</u> business only.	7	11	31	26	25

### The Executive in a Regional Government

<b>Members of the Executive are appointed:</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Equally between the two main traditions.	32	16	17	15	20
In proportion to the representation of each party in the assembly.	20	22	28	19	11
From the party or coalition that can form a majority.	6	13	26	23	32
Only from parties committed to principles of democracy and non-violence.	51	21	12	7	9

## The Executive in a Regional Government

<b>And the Executive in the Assembly is:</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Appointed by the Secretary of State.	6	9	26	23	36
Nominated by the Secretary of State for approval by the assembly.	6	17	32	24	21
Voted in by the members of the assembly.	18	25	35	14	8
Made up from the Chairpersons of each committee in the assembly.	7	16	41	22	14
Or no executive - All the business of government is conducted by the various committees.	2	9	25	29	35

## The Leadership in a Regional Government

<b>The Assembly should have:</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
A leader and deputy leader representing the two main traditions.	20	28	25	14	13
A 'Panel' of three prominent politicians sharing power.	10	13	35	20	22
<b>And they should be:</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Appointed by the Secretary of State.	7	8	24	22	39
Nominated by the Secretary of State for approval by the assembly.	9	12	29	26	24
Voted in by the members of the assembly.	16	19	38	16	11
Voted for directly by the people of Northern Ireland.	46	20	21	8	5
<b>Or no leader, deputy leader or 'panel':</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
All the business of government is conducted by the executive and/or committees.	7	11	33	27	22

## Local Government

<b>More powers and responsibilities should be given to local government:</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Even if there is no Northern Ireland Assembly.	15	22	35	15	13
But a new Northern Ireland Assembly should decide how this is done.	13	22	43	11	11
To replace the work presently undertaken by various boards.	8	24	41	16	11
And combine some of the smaller 26 District Councils to create larger units of local government.	8	20	35	20	17

## Safeguards and Protections

<b>All levels of government in Northern Ireland should be protected by laws that ensure:</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The views of representatives from the whole community are taken into account	52	25	16	3	4
Political and administrative responsibilities are shared.	36	26	24	7	7
Power can not be abused by one group over another.	60	19	17	2	2
And independent committees or courts of arbitrators should be established to resolve problems that become intractable.	40	24	23	7	6

## 6. Strand Two: Reforming the relationship between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland

The Foyle Fisheries Commission has been established as a 'North/South Body' between the former Northern Ireland parliament at Stormont and the Republic of Ireland to jointly manage the waters of the Foyle estuary. Similar bodies, or a single body, could be established to deal with other matters of mutual concern.

### The responsibilities of North/South Bodies

These bodies could be set up to deal with various aspects of government policy with different powers or functions. Please indicate which powers or functions you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

<b>On matters of mutual interest North/South bodies should:</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Be required to consult.	33	21	20	10	16
Be required to co-operate.	34	22	17	9	18
Have powers to administer laws made by the separate governments in the North and the South of Ireland.	17	21	19	12	31
Have powers to develop and execute forward planning for the island of Ireland as a whole.	21	19	14	10	36
Have powers to make laws which would apply to the island of Ireland as a whole.	20	13	16	9	42
Or there should not be any North/South bodies with any powers or functions.	16	10	11	18	45

And what areas of government policy should North/South bodies deal with:

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The environment	39	21	19	10	11
Agriculture	39	21	17	9	14
Fisheries	38	22	19	9	12
Tourism	44	21	15	8	12
Medical care and research	37	19	18	8	18
Roads and public transport	34	19	20	9	18
Water, gas and electric	29	22	19	10	20
Communications	33	21	20	8	18
Industrial development boards	30	19	20	11	20
Financial institutions	25	18	22	12	23
Economic development in general	31	20	18	12	19
Training and employment	29	21	18	9	23
Joint representation in Europe	31	19	17	11	22
Trade	34	18	19	10	19
Taxation	21	14	18	14	33
Broadcasting and film	22	19	23	16	20
Minority languages	24	16	20	18	22
Culture and sport	30	19	23	11	17
Local government and planning	25	14	18	11	32
Social services	26	14	18	13	29
Human rights	43	14	11	10	22
Education	32	13	16	12	27
Policing and security	34	13	12	7	34
Defence	31	13	14	8	34
Foreign policy	27	15	15	12	31

## The structure and control of North/South Bodies

Please indicate which options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable' with regard to the structure and powers of North/South bodies.

<b>Matters of mutual interest should be dealt with by:</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
One North/South body for everything.	16	16	21	16	31
A separate North/South body for each issue.	10	18	29	16	27
<b>Powers to establish and dissolve North/South bodies should be given to:</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
A Northern Ireland Assembly and the Irish Dail (Parliament).	14	15	22	15	34
Westminster and Dublin.	3	11	20	18	48
Westminster, Dublin and a Northern Ireland Assembly.	13	18	25	16	28
<b>North/South bodies should be:</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Able to act independently.	12	18	24	14	32
Controlled by and responsible to the respective governments, parliamentary bodies and N.I. Assembly who establish them.	17	20	26	17	20
<b>The management of North/South bodies should be undertaken by:</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Elected politicians.	18	16	32	16	18
Civil servants.	4	8	24	24	40
Both elected politicians and civil servants.	6	15	32	21	26
Representatives of business, trade unions, local government etc. as and when required.	15	21	26	18	20
<b>North/South bodies should:</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Only deal with specific projects agreed to by the politicians who set up the bodies.	11	12	32	23	22
Only deal with policies agreed to by the politicians who set up the bodies.	7	11	33	24	25
'Harmonise' their actions, policies and laws in the areas of policy they are responsible for.	11	18	34	18	19
Only deal with policies the European Union is responsible for.	2	8	29	27	34
Only do business with the European Union.	2	7	24	25	42
Deal with all aspects of government business.	15	14	23	17	31
<b>Appointments to a North/South body should be made:</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
In proportion to the representation of each party in the Northern Ireland Assembly.	15	19	27	19	20
Equally between the two main traditions in the North.	20	18	22	17	23
Equally between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland.	20	14	20	14	32
<b>Voting on business in a North/South body requires:</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
A simple majority only.	8	15	25	19	33
A weighted majority.	8	15	28	20	29
A majority from <u>both</u> of the main traditions in the North.	18	17	27	17	21
A majority from <u>both</u> Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland.	18	17	20	15	30
Unanimity - Everyone has to agree.	22	20	19	13	26

## 7. Constitutional Issues

**The Constitution of the Republic of Ireland** makes both legal claims on the territory of Northern Ireland and a claim of jurisdiction.

In an effort to meet the concerns of the different communities in Northern Ireland several possibilities are available for the modification of the Republic's Constitution. Please indicate which reforms you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

<b>The Republic of Ireland's Constitutional claim over Northern Ireland should:</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Be completely deleted.	37	13	9	8	33
Be modified to only allow for a united Ireland with the consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland.	22	16	21	17	24
Be replaced with an 'aspiration' for a united Ireland.	4	11	20	20	45
Be replaced with a responsibility for the well being of the Nationalist Community in Northern Ireland.	7	8	23	23	39
Be amended to reflect any new agreements reached at the Stormont Talks.	6	15	27	25	27
Be replaced with full and guaranteed rights of Irish citizenship for all members of the Nationalist community in Northern Ireland.	14	10	20	20	36
Or the Republic of Ireland's Constitution should not be changed at all.	12	7	13	17	51



**The Constitutional Status of Northern Ireland** as part of the United Kingdom has been established through the Acts of Union and other Acts of Parliament passed in Westminster.

In an effort to meet the concerns of the different communities in Northern Ireland several possibilities are available for the modification of the constitutional status of Northern Ireland. Please indicate which reforms you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

<b>The Constitutional status of Northern Ireland as part of the United Kingdom should:</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Be completely removed.	19	11	8	9	53
Only allow for a united Ireland with the consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland (No change).	29	17	18	16	20
Be replaced with an 'aspiration' for a single state comprised of the whole of the British Isles and Ireland.	2	10	18	20	50
Be replaced with a responsibility for the well being of the Unionist Community in Northern Ireland.	8	10	24	23	35
Be amended to reflect any new agreements reached at the Stormont Talks.	8	13	29	22	28
Be replaced with full and guaranteed rights of British citizenship for all members of the Unionist community on the island of Ireland.	16	14	24	15	31
Or the constitutional status and boundaries of Northern Ireland should not be changed at all.	31	11	15	12	31
<b>Alternatively both governments could provide for Joint Authority, or Repartition.</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Shared authority and sovereignty of Northern Ireland with the Republic of Ireland.	9	13	19	11	48
Redefine the boundaries of Northern Ireland so that a maximum of Unionists are in the 'North' and a maximum of Nationalists are in the 'South'.	2	6	12	14	66

## 8. Strand Three: Reforming the relationship between the Republic of Ireland and the United Kingdom

### Principles of co-operation

The British and Irish governments intend to negotiate a new treaty to replace the Anglo-Irish Agreement. Such an agreement can be based on a number of principles. Please indicate which principles you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Co-operation in Europe	27	28	28	12	5
Peace and stability in Northern Ireland.	65	19	12	2	2
Equal rights of the two major traditions.	50	19	19	7	5
Rejection of violence for political objectives.	66	16	14	2	2
Reconciliation between unionists and nationalists.	44	25	19	5	7
Respecting the identities of the two communities.	51	22	16	5	6
A society free from discrimination and intolerance.	65	21	11	1	2
Both communities to participate fully in the structures and processes of government.	48	22	16	7	7
The consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland is required for any change in it's status.	51	17	17	6	9
The recognition of the present status and wishes of the majority of the people of Northern Ireland.	47	19	16	9	9
The right of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland to establish a united Ireland in the future.	35	14	20	14	17

### Structures for co-operation

Additionally agreement could also to be reached on the kinds of 'bodies' or institutions that should be established to facilitate co-operation. Please indicate which 'bodies' or institutions you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

#### As part of a new treaty that replaces the Anglo-Irish Agreement the British and Irish governments should establish:

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
A special organisation for consultation between the two governments on Northern Ireland issues only.	11	20	29	16	24
Offices in Belfast for consultation between the two governments on Northern Ireland issues only.	10	17	33	16	24
A special organisation for consultation between the two governments on any issues of mutual interest.	11	20	31	18	20
Offices in London, Dublin and Belfast for consultation between the two governments on any issues of mutual interest.	13	22	27	19	19
An Inter-parliamentary body to promote good relations between Dublin and Westminster.	12	20	28	23	17
An Inter-parliamentary body responsible for all agreements made between London and Dublin.	11	14	29	20	26
A regional 'Council of The Islands' that facilitates co-operation between Scotland, Wales, England, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland.	10	20	31	20	19
Or the Anglo-Irish Agreement should be brought to an end and should not be replaced.	19	11	18	16	36
However the Republic of Ireland should rejoin the Commonwealth.	8	8	28	22	34

## 9. Agreeing a Settlement

### Who should vote in a referendum

The terms of a settlement will have to be voted on in a referendum. In practice most of the issues covered in this questionnaire will probably have to be dealt with together as parts of a settlement 'package'. Please indicate which options for a referendum you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
A referendum in Northern Ireland only.	33	19	19	11	18
Separate but concurrent referenda in both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland.	10	17	20	15	38
A single referendum in the island of Ireland as a whole.	14	11	16	10	49
A single referendum in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland as a whole.	8	7	22	17	46
A single referendum in the United Kingdom of Great Britain plus the island of Ireland as a whole.	7	8	15	17	53

### How votes should be counted in Northern Ireland

Agreement at the Stormont Talks requires the consent of the political parties who represent a majority from both the Unionist and Nationalist communities in Northern Ireland. How should this principle of 'Sufficient Consent' be applied in a referendum? Please indicate which methods you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
A simple majority - more than 50%	19	19	27	16	19
A 'weighted' majority - about 60%.	3	18	36	23	20
A large 'weighted' majority - about 70%.	9	16	27	19	29
Everyone living in Unionist and Nationalist areas having their votes counted separately - (District Councils, Parliamentary constituencies or Counties could be used).	7	9	21	21	42
Everyone in Northern Ireland registering as a Unionist or Nationalist and having their votes counted separately.	10	8	17	14	51
Everyone in Northern Ireland being obliged to vote by law and being fined if they don't.	17	13	11	12	47

### Registration

If a method of voter registration were to be used would you be willing to register as either a Unionist or Nationalist?

<b>Yes</b>	<b>63</b>
<b>No</b>	<b>37</b>

## 10. The Implementation of a Settlement

### The introduction of political reforms

A comprehensive settlement will have to deal with many changes to political life. This could be done all at once, or gradually over a period of time, perhaps subject to periodic review. How do you think a settlement should be implemented? Please indicate which options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The settlement should be final with no more changes allowed.	12	16	19	15	38
The settlement should be final but changes could be introduced over an agreed transitional period	7	17	37	22	17
Allow for an interim agreement that can be reviewed after a set period of time.	9	17	38	22	14
Introduce reforms slowly subject to periodic assessment and review.	11	19	29	24	17

### Mechanisms for reviewing a settlement

Even if an overall settlement can be agreed and does receive consent intractable disputes may arise or parts of the settlement may need to be radically reformed at some time in the future. Please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

As part of a settlement:	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
An international court should be established with the responsibility of ruling on disputes.	19	19	31	13	18
A mechanism should be put in place that will allow voters to change the terms of the settlement after a minimum period of 10 years.	10	17	30	23	20

## 11. In Search of a Settlement

### The views of the 'other' community

How important do you think it is for people in Northern Ireland to recognise the views and aspirations of the other community as part of a settlement? Do you think it is 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'?

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The views and aspirations of the 'other' community should be part of a settlement.	42	19	20	13	6

### A settlement 'package'

A comprehensive Northern Ireland settlement will probably have to deal with all of the issues covered in this questionnaire. Such a 'package' will be placed before the people of Northern Ireland in a referendum. Please indicate which of the following settlement 'packages' you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
<b>Separate Northern Irish State</b> - The complete separation of Northern Ireland from both the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland and the establishment of a separate state within the European Union.	3	8	17	15	57
<b>Full incorporation into the British State</b> - Direct rule from Westminster and local government similar to the rest of the United Kingdom with <b>no</b> Northern Ireland Assembly or separate laws for Northern Ireland and <b>no</b> Anglo-Irish Agreement.	13	14	18	16	39
<b>Continued direct rule (No change)</b> - The continuation of direct rule from London in consultation with the Irish government under the terms of the Anglo-Irish Agreement .	2	8	21	25	44
<b>Power sharing and the Anglo-Irish Agreement</b> - Government by a Northern Ireland Assembly and power sharing Executive under the authority of the British government but in consultation with the Irish government under the terms of the Anglo-Irish Agreement.	3	8	24	23	42
<b>Power sharing with North-South institutions but no joint authority</b> - Government by a Northern Ireland Assembly, power sharing Executive and a number of joint institutions established with the Republic of Ireland to deal with matters of mutual interest. (But these arrangements will not include joint authority between the British and Irish governments).	3	11	23	23	40
<b>Joint authority and power sharing</b> - Government by joint authority between the British and Irish governments in association with an elected power sharing Executive and Assembly.	4	13	20	14	49
<b>Separate institutions for the two main communities</b> - Creation of separate structures for the government of each of the two main communities in Northern Ireland, subject to joint authority by the British and Irish governments.	3	5	17	20	55
<b>Full incorporation into the Irish State</b> - Full incorporation of Northern Ireland into the Republic of Ireland to create a single state within the European Union.	14	12	9	9	56

## 12. Your views and comments

A settlement has to deal with a lot of difficult and sometimes complex issues. Do you think more should be done to explain these issues to the general public:

<b>By:</b>	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The political party you support.	42	26	19	7	6
The Television, Radio and Press.	42	28	22	6	2
The British Government and Northern Ireland Office.	50	24	18	6	2
The Irish Government.	29	16	18	11	26

**Finally if you have any views and comments on any of the issues dealt with here please feel free to add them below:**