

MRNI Ltd. Interviewer .....

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Belfast

Date

.....

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Quest No:

1-4

## IMPLEMENTATION OF THE BELFAST AGREEMENT

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 implementation of the Belfast Agreement.

The results of the survey will be analysed and widely published in the local press and in reports that will be sent to all the parties who have been elected to the New 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 \_\_\_\_\_ (5-6)

Parliamentary Constituency \_\_\_\_\_ (7-8)

Telephone Number \_\_\_\_\_

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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	12
25 - 34	21
35 - 44	20
45 - 54	16
55 - 64	13
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	12
C1	27
C2	24
DE	37

## D. Religion

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

### SHOWCARD 2

Protestant	51
Catholic	39
Other	3
Refused	7

## E. Political support

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

### SHOWCARD 3

<b>UUP/Ulster Unionist Party/OUP/Official Unionist Party</b>	22
<b>SDLP/Social Democratic Labour Party</b>	20
<b>DUP/Democratic Unionist Party</b>	12
<b>Sinn Féin</b>	13
<b>Alliance</b>	6
<b>PUP/Progressive Unionist Party</b>	4
<b>Woman's Coalition Party of Northern Ireland</b>	2
<b>UUAP/United Unionist Assembly Party</b>	0
<b>NIUP/Northern Ireland Unionist Party</b>	*
<b>UKUP/United Kingdom Unionist Party</b>	*
<b>Other(Write in)</b>	5
<b>Refused</b>	16

## 1 – Making the peace process work

On May 22<sup>nd</sup> 1998 a majority of the people of Northern Ireland and of the Republic of Ireland accepted the terms of the Belfast Agreement. The Agreement makes many compromises and contains elements that have been included for one community or the other in the hope that the overall package might eventually lead to peace.

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

### SHOWCARD 4

	Very important	Important	Of some importance	Of little importance	Of no importance at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	47	40	8	4	3
North/South bodies.	34	33	18	8	7
The British/Irish Council.	29	30	22	11	8
The Equality Commission.	40	36	16	6	3
The New Human Rights Commission.	39	37	15	6	3
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	41	36	15	5	3
The reform of the police service.	32	23	16	14	14
The reform of the justice system.	33	26	18	13	10
The early release of prisoners.	23	18	19	17	23
The Commission for Victims.	39	35	16	6	4
Decommissioning of paramilitary weapons.	57	27	7	5	4
The demilitarisation of Northern Ireland.	33	27	16	13	12
Changes to the Irish Constitution.	32	29	18	12	9
Changes to British constitutional law.	27	28	22	13	10
All parts of the Agreement together.	44	35	16	3	3

Do you want the Belfast Agreement to work?

Yes	93
No	7

## 2 – Paramilitary activity and decommissioning.

The Belfast Agreement requires a “commitment to non-violence and exclusively peaceful and democratic means” and for “All participants..... to use any influence they have, to achieve the decommissioning of all paramilitary arms within two years.....”

The implementation of these parts of the agreement can be undertaken in a number of different ways. Please indicate which ones you consider to be ‘Very important’, ‘Important’, ‘Of some importance’, ‘Of little importance’ or ‘Of no importance at all’.

### SHOWCARD 5

	Very important	Important	Of some importance	Of little importance	Of no importance at all
The maintenance of the IRA cease-fire.	84	13	2	*	1
The maintenance of the UVF cease-fire.	83	14	2	*	1
An end to all paramilitary beatings and violence.	79	15	3	1	1
An end to all paramilitary recruiting and targeting.	78	16	3	1	2
An end to all other paramilitary activity.	80	15	3	1	1
The start or act of ‘token’ decommissioning undertaken by the LVF last year.	64	22	7	3	4
A start or act of ‘token’ decommissioning by the IRA.	72	17	4	2	4
A start or act of ‘token’ decommissioning by the UVF.	71	18	5	2	4
For Sinn Féin “to use any influence they have, to achieve the decommissioning of all paramilitary arms within two years”	74	17	3	2	3
For the PUP “to use any influence they have, to achieve the decommissioning of all paramilitary arms within two years”	73	18	4	2	3

## 3 – British security arrangements and policing.

With regards to policing the Patton Commission is to make recommendations for the establishment of a new “police service that can enjoy widespread support from, and is seen as an integral part of, the community as a whole”.

Do you consider this provision of the Belfast Agreement to be ‘Very important’, ‘Important’, ‘Of some importance’, ‘Of little importance’ or ‘Of no importance at all’.

Very important	Important	Of some importance	Of little importance	Of no importance at all
33	24	17	14	12

“Consistent with the level of threat” the Belfast Agreement requires the British Government to deal with security arrangements in a number of different ways. Please indicate which ones you consider to be ‘Very important’, ‘Important’, ‘Of some importance’, ‘Of little importance’ or ‘Of no importance at all’.

## SHOWCARD 6

	Very important	Important	Of some importance	Of little importance	Of no importance at all
“the reduction of the numbers and role of the Armed Forces deployed in Northern Ireland to levels compatible with a normal peaceful society;”	32	26	19	14	10
“the removal of security installations;”	26	25	22	16	12
“the removal of emergency powers in Northern Ireland; and”	27	22	23	16	12
“other measures appropriate to and compatible with a normal peaceful society.”	33	32	18	11	7

### 4 - Devolution of powers

Under the terms of the Belfast Agreement it has been agreed that the New Assembly will establish ten departments to manage powers devolved to Northern Ireland from Westminster.

Please indicate which ones you consider to be ‘Very important’, ‘Important’, ‘Of some importance’, ‘Of little importance’ or ‘Of no importance at all’.

## SHOWCARD 7

### Areas of responsibility devolved to the New Northern Ireland Assembly

	Very important	Important	Of some importance	Of little importance	Of no importance at all
Agriculture and Rural Development	41	41	14	3	2
Environment	42	43	12	3	1
Regional Development	44	42	11	2	2
Social Development	44	42	10	3	2
Education	59	35	5	1	1
Higher and Further Education, Training and Employment	59	35	5	1	1
Enterprise, Trade and Investment	52	38	8	1	1
Culture, Arts and Leisure	33	39	18	6	4
Health, Social Services and Public Safety	59	35	5	1	1
Finance and Personal	43	44	12	2	1

In the New Northern Ireland Assembly the Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister will have special responsibility for equality. Do you think it would be better if the New Northern Ireland Assembly had a separate ‘Department of Equality’?

Yes	62
No	38

## 5 - Cross border bodies

Under the terms of the Belfast Agreement it has been agreed that six implementation bodies will be established to manage projects in the North and South of Ireland as well as six areas for more general co-operation between the Republic and Northern Ireland.

Please indicate which ones you consider to be 'Very important', 'Important', 'Of some importance', 'Of little importance' or 'Of no importance at all'.

### SHOWCARD 8

**North/South implementation bodies which jointly develop policies on matters of mutual benefit - and implement them.**

	Very important	Important	Of some importance	Of little importance	Of no importance at all
Inland Waterways	24	40	22	8	6
Food Safety	44	39	11	3	3
Trade and Business Development	44	37	12	4	3
Special EU Programs	34	43	16	5	3
Language (Irish and Ulster Scots)	23	28	18	16	15
Aquaculture and Marine Matters	25	37	21	10	7

North/South areas of co-operation with joint development of policies on matters of mutual benefit - but with separate implementation.

	Very important	Important	Of some importance	Of little importance	Of no importance at all
Transport	37	47	12	2	2
Agriculture	39	44	12	3	3
Education	47	39	10	3	2
Health	50	36	8	3	3
Environment	40	43	10	3	3
Tourism	42	43	10	2	3

Please also indicate which of these areas of general co-operation you think should eventually become matters for implementation in both the North and South.

	Co-operation only	Implementation North and South
Transport	46	54
Agriculture	45	55
Education	59	41
Health	60	40
Environment	43	57
Tourism	36	64

## 6 - Establishing the Executive

Under the terms of the Belfast Agreement it has been 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 established or if Sinn Féin are excluded from it. Please indicate which ones you consider to be 'Very probable', 'Probable', 'Not sure' about, 'Improbable' or 'Very improbable'.

### SHOWCARD 9

	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.	21	25	30	15	9
The Belfast Agreement and peace process will collapse because Republicans will not work the Agreement in good faith.	23	27	27	13	9
Dissident Republican paramilitary groups will become more active.	37	32	23	5	3
The IRA and other Republican groups will break their cease-fires and return to war.	33	25	26	11	5
Dissident Loyalist paramilitary groups will become more active.	30	37	24	6	2
The UVF and other Loyalist groups will break their cease-fires and return to war.	25	29	32	10	4
The British and Irish governments will impose the terms of the Belfast Agreement through Joint Authority.	22	27	37	10	5



## **7 – Implementation of the Belfast Agreement**

I would now like you to consider various options for making progress with the implementation of the Belfast Agreement 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:

### **SHOWCARD 10**

**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.**

Now please read this card carefully and indicate which options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

## SHOWCARD 11

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The Executive of the New Northern Ireland Assembly should be established, including Sinn Féin, without any preconditions and without any further delay.	30	12	14	12	33
The Executive of the New Northern Ireland Assembly should be established, including Sinn Féin, and the problem of establishing a credible decommissioning process should be dealt with by General de Chastelain and his International Commission.	22	22	23	14	19
The Executive of the New Northern Ireland Assembly should be established, including Sinn Féin, but they should not be allowed to stay in government if the IRA do not decommission within the two years allowed for in the Belfast Agreement.	27	18	20	12	24
Republicans should co-operate with the RUC with a view to bringing an end to all paramilitary beatings and violence.	49	22	14	6	9
Loyalists should co-operate with the RUC with a view to bringing an end to all paramilitary beatings and violence.	48	24	15	7	6
Everyone should co-operate with a new agreed police service with a view to bringing an end to all paramilitary beatings and violence.	48	22	17	7	7
The Belfast Agreement signed and accepted by the two governments, parties at the Stormont Talks and people of Ireland North and South should be fully implemented without any further delay.	36	22	18	7	16
Contrary to the terms of the Belfast Agreement - which does not link decommissioning to the early release of paramilitary prisoners - no more prisoners should be released until their organisations have made a start on decommissioning.	39	16	18	9	17

## 8 - Building Trust and Confidence

Failure to implement The Belfast Agreement may be due to a lack of trust and confidence between Unionists, Loyalists, Nationalists and Republicans.

In an effort to overcome this problem the parties who signed the Belfast Agreement could take a number of different actions or 'steps'.

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

### SHOWCARD 12

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Loyalist Paramilitary organisations should repeat their apology for the past harms they have done to the Catholic community.	19	25	28	9	18
Mr. Trimble, for the Unionists, should apologise to the Catholic community for the past discriminations they have been subjected to.	12	22	26	10	31
The IRA should apologise for the past harms they have done to the Protestant community.	33	23	23	8	12
The British Prime Minister should apologise to the Irish people for the tragedies of British involvement in Irish affairs.	14	21	22	10	33
The Taoiseach should apologise for the past religious intolerance permitted by the Irish State towards their Protestant community.	16	21	27	12	25
The UVF should repeat their promise never to use their weapons in a 'first strike'.	45	24	22	6	4
Mr. Trimble, for the Unionists, should promise to work all the new institutions of government in good faith with Sinn Féin.	31	19	27	10	14
The IRA should promise never to use their weapons in a 'first strike'.	54	21	21	3	1
All the new institutions of government should be established, including Sinn Féin.	32	18	24	10	16
The UVF should make a start on decommissioning.	51	19	21	7	3
The IRA should make a start on decommissioning.	55	18	19	6	3

Do you think it would be a good idea for the parties who signed the Belfast Agreement to undertake a series of actions or 'steps', similar to those outlined above, in an effort to build confidence and trust between the two communities and move the peace process forward?

Yes	91
No	9