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46 Elmwood Avenue
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Interviewer

Date.....

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Quest No:

THE MITCHELL REVIEW

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 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

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.

All NI

18 - 24	15
25 - 34	20
35 - 44	18
45 - 54	16
55 - 64	15
65 and over	16

B. Gender

All NI

Male	49
Female	51

C. Occupation

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

All NI

AB	15
C1	29
C2	23
DE	33

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	53
Catholic	38
Other	2
Refused	7

E. Political support

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

All NI

UUP/Ulster Unionist Party/OUP/Official Unionist Party	23
SDLP/Social Democratic Labour Party	18
DUP/Democratic Unionist Party	16
Sinn Féin	11
Alliance	6
PUP/Progressive Unionist Party	4
Northern Ireland Women's Coalition	1
UUAP/United Unionist Assembly Party	1
NIUP/Northern Ireland Unionist Party	1
UKUP/United Kingdom Unionist Party	1
UDP/Ulster Democratic Party	1
Other(Write in)	5
Refused	12

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.	35	36	15	8	6
The Northern Ireland Executive.	34	36	15	8	7
The Civic Forum.	19	32	29	11	9
The North/South Ministerial Council.	22	31	22	14	11
North/South implementation bodies.	23	29	22	15	11
The British/Irish Council.	19	29	25	14	13
The Equality Commission.	28	32	22	11	7
The new Human Rights Commission.	30	33	22	9	6
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	29	33	23	10	5
Cultural and language rights.	24	26	21	17	12
The reform of the RUC.	29	21	20	16	14
The reform of the criminal justice system.	30	29	22	11	8
The early release of prisoners.	20	18	21	20	21
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	46	36	10	5	3
Commitments to non-violence, peace and democracy.	51	36	8	4	1
Decommissioning of paramilitary weapons.	49	32	10	5	4
Demilitarisation - Security arrangements compatible with a normal peaceful society.	38	35	17	6	4
Changes to Articles 2 and 3 of the Irish Constitution.	23	27	26	13	11
Changes to British constitutional law.	18	26	33	13	10
The Principle of Consent of the people of Northern Ireland to decide their Status.	40	38	16	4	2
The present status of Northern Ireland as part of the UK.	31	35	23	6	5
The full implementation of all parts of the Agreement together.	33	34	19	8	6

Do you want the Belfast Agreement to work?

All NI

Yes	83
No	17

2 – Progress on Implementation of the Belfast Agreement

The Belfast Agreement allows for implementation to be undertaken over a two year period. 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	18	27	30	22
The Northern Ireland Executive.	1	15	26	33	25
The Civic Forum.	2	15	33	30	20
The North/South Ministerial Council.	2	15	32	29	22
North/South implementation bodies.	3	14	29	31	22
The British/Irish Council.	2	16	29	32	21
The Equality Commission.	2	18	35	27	18
The new Human Rights Commission.	2	18	34	28	18
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	2	15	33	30	20
Cultural and language rights.	4	18	29	29	20
The reform of the RUC.	2	13	19	34	32
The reform of the criminal justice system.	1	10	26	34	28
The early release of prisoners.	2	14	19	31	34
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	2	11	24	32	31
Commitments to non-violence, peace and democracy.	2	11	22	35	30
Decommissioning of paramilitary weapons.	2	8	12	37	41
Demilitarisation - Security arrangements compatible with a normal peaceful society.	2	11	25	35	27
Changes to Articles 2 and 3 of the Irish Constitution.	1	12	36	30	21
Changes to British constitutional law.	2	10	34	30	24
The Principle of Consent of the people of Northern Ireland to decide their Status.	3	17	32	28	20
The present status of Northern Ireland as part of the UK.	7	19	32	24	18
The full implementation of all parts of the Agreement together.	1	9	29	33	28

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

All NI

Yes	27
No	73

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

All NI

Yes	44
No	56

3 - If the Review Fails and the Executive is not Established

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'.

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.	25	37	22	10	6
The Belfast Agreement and peace process will collapse because Republicans will not work the Agreement in good faith.	27	39	19	10	5
The Belfast Agreement and peace process will collapse because the SDLP and UUP will not work together to implement it.	15	29	36	13	7
The Belfast Agreement and peace process will collapse because of the lack of co-operation and determined commitment by the two governments.	19	27	24	19	11
Dissident Republican paramilitary groups will become more active.	33	39	22	5	1
The IRA and other Republican groups will break their cease-fires and return to war.	31	35	24	8	2
Dissident Loyalist paramilitary groups will become more active.	30	40	25	4	1
The UVF, UFF and other Loyalist groups will break their cease-fires and return to war.	26	34	33	6	1
The Northern Ireland economy will suffer and unemployment will rise.	34	37	23	4	2
More young people will leave Northern Ireland.	32	39	23	4	2
Divisions in Northern Ireland society will deepen and community relations will continue to deteriorate.	34	38	21	5	2

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.	10	38	19	20	13
The Irish Government.	12	37	19	19	13
The Ulster Unionist Party.	11	36	24	17	12
The Progressive Unionist Party.	7	32	32	18	11
The Ulster Democratic Party.	7	28	28	20	17
The Alliance Party.	10	33	34	14	9
The Women's Coalition.	11	29	33	16	11
The SDLP.	16	33	18	18	15
Sinn Féin.	7	16	21	23	33

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.	11	37	20	17	15
Bertie Ahern.	11	36	23	17	13
Mo Mowlam.	16	32	16	19	17
David Andrews.	6	24	38	17	15
Senator George Mitchell.	15	37	26	12	10
General John de Chastelain.	11	32	35	12	10
David Trimble.	10	39	21	17	13
John Hume.	18	36	17	16	13
Gerry Adams.	8	16	19	23	34
David Ervine.	7	30	32	18	13
Gary McMichael.	2	22	36	21	19
Sean Neeson.	8	23	40	17	12
Monica McWilliams.	10	25	33	17	15

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.

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

All NI

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The Review should establish a relationship building process between all the parties, in particular Sinn Fein and the Ulster Unionist Party, with a collective public act which marks the beginning of the process of reconciliation.	29	31	19	10	11
The 'Yes Parties' should establish a special committee to co-ordinate the implementation of the Belfast Agreement in full.	24	34	22	8	12
All the parties should accept some responsibility for the conflict and state their determination not to repeat the mistakes of the past.	37	30	22	5	6
All the parties should state their absolute commitment to all the provisions in the Good Friday Agreement.	36	31	19	7	7
Temporary arrangements should be put in place to get the Assembly working providing they lead to the implementation of the Belfast Agreement in full.	22	32	24	10	12
All the parties should state their recommitment to the Mitchell Principles of Democracy and Non-violence.	39	32	18	7	4
The two Governments should clearly say what is meant by a 'Complete and Unequivocal Ceasefire'.	51	28	15	5	1
Both the IRA and Loyalist paramilitary groups should say 'The war is over'.	58	26	9	4	3
Both Loyalist and Republican paramilitary groups should indicate their willingness to disarm as part of the peace process.	58	25	10	5	2
Both Loyalist and Republican paramilitary groups should end all so-called 'punishment attacks'.	63	22	9	4	2
Both Loyalist and Republican paramilitary groups should co-operate with the new Northern Ireland Police Service to bring an end to all beatings and violence.	41	29	16	7	7
Ex-prisoners should be encouraged to make a positive contribution to the establishment of a lasting peace through community work.	25	27	22	12	14
Decommissioning should include all privately held weapons.	27	27	20	10	16
The British Government should publish their paper on the demilitarisation of Northern Ireland.	31	38	23	6	2

6 – Decommissioning Under the Terms of the Belfast Agreement

In accordance with the terms of the Belfast Agreement General de Chastelain has published his program for the decommissioning of all paramilitary weapons by his Independent International Commission. From the parts of this program listed below please indicate which ones you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

All NI

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Paramilitary commitments to undertake decommissioning by May 2000.	44	29	18	6	3
Appointment of paramilitary representatives to the Commission. ¹	22	26	23	12	17
Confirmation of how, when and where weapons will be decommissioned.	44	31	16	6	3
Decommissioning with reports made to the two Governments.	38	32	21	5	4
All parts of the Decommissioning Program together.	42	31	19	5	3

¹ The results for this option seem to be out of step with the other options. Regrettably some people must have interpreted this option as meaning that representatives from paramilitary groups would actually join the Decommissioning Commission and not just cooperate with it. The results for this option should probably therefore be disregarded.

7 – Review of the Implementation of the Belfast Agreement

The Belfast Agreement is presently under review in an effort to resolve problems of implementation. From the options listed below please indicate which ones you consider to be ‘Essential’, ‘Desirable’, ‘Acceptable’, ‘Tolerable’ or ‘Unacceptable’.

All NI

	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.	18	25	15	14	28
An inclusive Executive of the New Northern Ireland Assembly should be established and the decommissioning process should be dealt with by General de Chastelain in accordance with his program.	16	28	29	13	14
An inclusive Executive, the de Chastelain program for decommissioning and a day of reconciliation when arms are placed beyond use.	17	32	28	13	10
An inclusive Executive, the de Chastelain program for decommissioning and an end to devolution if these requirements are not met.	12	28	34	12	14
A step by step implementation of the Belfast Agreement in parallel with the de Chastelain program for decommissioning.	11	35	31	12	11
A combination of the best features of these different proposals that can be agreed to by the parties in the Review.	13	32	34	10	11
Given the delays in establishing an inclusive Executive and starting the decommissioning process General de Chastelain should be given a little more time to complete his program of work beyond the Belfast Agreement deadline of May 2000.	14	24	32	12	18

Do you want the review of the Belfast Agreement to be successful?

All NI

Yes	85
No	15

Do you think the review of the Belfast Agreement will be successful?

All NI

Yes	44
No	56

8 - What Can be Done if the Review Fails

If the review of 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.	40	26	20	6	8
The Ulster Unionists and Sinn Féin should try and reach an agreement through intense negotiations away from Northern Ireland.	28	32	18	7	16
The Civic Forum should be established as a consultative body to government.	16	28	34	13	9
A Shadow Executive should be established to advise the Government.	14	29	31	15	11
Assembly Committees should be established to advise each Government department.	16	27	32	15	10
Continuation of Direct Rule from London with no Northern Ireland Assembly.	14	21	30	17	18
A new Anglo-Irish Agreement.	8	14	21	15	42
Joint Authority by Direct Rule from both London and Dublin.	8	16	25	16	35
Joint Authority in combination with a Northern Ireland Assembly.	9	20	35	18	18
Scrap the Belfast Agreement and negotiate a new agreement.	16	18	26	13	27
The British and Irish governments should implement as much of the Belfast Agreement as they possibly can.	14	28	29	12	17

9 - 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.	10	28	33	15	14
Temporary arrangements should be put in place to get the Assembly working providing they lead to the implementation of the Belfast Agreement in full.	10	30	32	13	15
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.	12	30	33	14	11
The Assembly should be run by departmental committees until the parties can form an Executive.	8	25	34	18	15
All parts of the Belfast Agreement should be worked by the Assembly under any temporary arrangements agreed for its operation.	9	29	31	15	16
A new referendum should be held to approve any new or partial arrangements made for the implementation of the Agreement.	16	25	30	14	13

10 - What do you Believe?

Do you believe the Belfast Agreement requires.....?

All NI

	Yes	No
All parties to cooperate with the Independent Commission and use any influence they may have to achieve the decommissioning of all paramilitary arms by May 2000 in the context of the implementation of the overall settlement.	92	8
No Executive including Sinn Féin without an end to all IRA violence and intimidation.	69	31
No Executive including Sinn Féin without a simultaneous start on decommissioning by the IRA.	70	30
No Executive including Sinn Féin without a guarantee that IRA decommissioning will be completed by May 2000.	72	28

Do you believe IRA decommissioning can be completed without.....?

All NI

	Yes	No
Sinn Féin in the Executive.	23	77
An end to Loyalist violence.	23	77
Implementation of the Patten Report on police reform.	37	63
Full Implementation of all of the other parts of the Belfast Agreement.	38	62

Do you believe an inclusive Executive can be established without.....?

All NI

	Yes	No
An end to IRA violence.	29	71
A start on decommissioning by the IRA.	39	61
The completion of IRA decommissioning by May 2000.	42	58
Full Implementation of all of the decommissioning and non-violence commitments of the Belfast Agreement.	41	59

11 - Have you Changed your Mind?

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

All NI

Yes	61
No	22
Did not vote	17

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

(with 'did not vote' removed)

All NI

Yes	74
No	26

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

All NI

Yes	58
No	31
Would not vote	11

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

(with 'would not vote' removed)

All NI

Yes	65
No	35

Cross tabulations of voting change:

All NI

Yes to Yes	47
Yes to No	10
Yes to Would not vote	4
No to Yes	2
No to No	18
No to Would not vote	2
Did not vote to Yes	9
Did not vote to No	3
Did not vote to Would not vote	5