

THE MITCHELL REVIEW

Summary Tables of Principal Statistical Results

Enquiries to:

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Interviewer

Date

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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

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DATE RECEIVED	
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Background Questions

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

A. Age

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

All NI

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

Protestant

18 - 24	15
25 - 34	19
35 - 44	16
45 - 54	18
55 - 64	16
65 and over	16

Catholic

18 - 24	14
25 - 34	20
35 - 44	22
45 - 54	13
55 - 64	15
65 and over	16

DUP

18 - 24	20
25 - 34	16
35 - 44	13
45 - 54	21
55 - 64	12
65 and over	18

UUP

18 - 24	13
25 - 34	17
35 - 44	15
45 - 54	19
55 - 64	18
65 and over	18

PUP

18 - 24	9
25 - 34	23
35 - 44	23
45 - 54	18
55 - 64	20
65 and over	7

Alliance

18 - 24	11
25 - 34	21
35 - 44	34
45 - 54	7
55 - 64	20
65 and over	7

SDLP

18 - 24	9
25 - 34	20
35 - 44	21
45 - 54	16
55 - 64	16
65 and over	18

Sinn Féin

18 - 24	25
25 - 34	25
35 - 44	23
45 - 54	7
55 - 64	8
65 and over	12

B. Gender

All NI

Male	49
Female	51

Protestant

Male	51
Female	49

Catholic

Male	49
Female	51

DUP

Male	56
Female	44

UUP

Male	52
Female	48

PUP

Male	57
Female	43

Alliance

Male	44
Female	56

SDLP

Male	39
Female	61

Sinn Féin

Male	63
Female	37

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

Protestant

AB	13
C1	31
C2	23
DE	33

Catholic

AB	15
C1	24
C2	24
DE	37

DUP

AB	18
C1	23
C2	19
DE	40

UUP

AB	14
C1	32
C2	25
DE	29

PUP

AB	7
C1	34
C2	27
DE	32

Alliance

AB	13
C1	36
C2	26
DE	25

SDLP

AB	20
C1	24
C2	23
DE	33

Sinn Féin

AB	7
C1	21
C2	20
DE	52

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

DUP

Protestant	86
Catholic	4
Other	1
Refused	9

UUP

Protestant	88
Catholic	5
Other	2
Refused	5

PUP

Protestant	77
Catholic	16
Other	2
Refused	5

Alliance

Protestant	53
Catholic	41
Other	3
Refused	3

SDLP

Protestant	5
Catholic	92
Other	0
Refused	3

Sinn Féin

Protestant	0
Catholic	98
Other	2
Refused	0

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

Protestant

UUP/Ulster Unionist Party/OUP/Official Unionist Party	39
SDLP/Social Democratic Labour Party	1
DUP/Democratic Unionist Party	27
Sinn Féin	0
Alliance	6
PUP/Progressive Unionist Party	6
Northern Ireland Women's Coalition	1
UUAP/United Unionist Assembly Party	1
NIUP/Northern Ireland Unionist Party	1
UKUP/United Kingdom Unionist Party	2
UDP/Ulster Democratic Party	1
Other(Write in)	6
Refused	9

Catholic

UUP/Ulster Unionist Party/OUP/Official Unionist Party	3
SDLP/Social Democratic Labour Party	45
DUP/Democratic Unionist Party	2
Sinn Féin	28
Alliance	6
PUP/Progressive Unionist Party	2
Northern Ireland Women's Coalition	1
UUAP/United Unionist Assembly Party	0
NIUP/Northern Ireland Unionist Party	0
UKUP/United Kingdom Unionist Party	0
UDP/Ulster Democratic Party	1
Other(Write in)	3
Refused	9

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

Protestant

	Very important	Important	Of some importance	Of little importance	Of no importance at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	30	32	15	13	10
The Northern Ireland Executive.	29	31	17	12	11
The Civic Forum.	15	26	29	16	14
The North/South Ministerial Council.	12	21	27	22	18
North/South implementation bodies.	13	20	26	23	18
The British/Irish Council.	13	20	27	20	20
The Equality Commission.	19	29	25	16	11
The new Human Rights Commission.	21	30	26	13	10
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	24	28	26	14	8
Cultural and language rights.	13	17	25	25	20
The reform of the RUC.	19	14	19	25	23
The reform of the criminal justice system.	25	22	23	17	13
The early release of prisoners.	17	10	17	24	32
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	49	31	9	7	4
Commitments to non-violence.	54	32	6	5	3
Paramilitary decommissioning.	60	29	5	4	2
NI demilitarisation.	38	30	18	9	5
Changes to Articles 2 and 3.	29	26	21	12	12
Changes to British constitutional law.	18	19	30	19	14
The Principle of Consent.	44	33	16	4	3
The present status of Northern Ireland.	44	33	17	3	3
The full implementation of the Agreement.	30	29	21	11	9

Catholic

	Very important	Important	Of some importance	Of little importance	Of no importance at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	41	43	14	1	1
The Northern Ireland Executive.	40	45	12	2	1
The Civic Forum.	23	42	29	5	1
The North/South Ministerial Council.	34	44	17	4	1
North/South implementation bodies.	36	45	14	4	1
The British/Irish Council.	25	45	21	6	3
The Equality Commission.	39	39	18	3	1
The new Human Rights Commission.	42	39	15	3	1
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	34	42	18	5	1
Cultural and language rights.	40	37	14	6	3
The reform of the RUC.	45	29	19	5	2
The reform of the criminal justice system.	39	38	18	3	2
The early release of prisoners.	26	30	22	14	8
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	42	44	10	3	1
Commitments to non-violence.	50	38	9	2	1
Paramilitary decommissioning.	36	34	16	8	6
NI demilitarisation.	38	43	14	3	2
Changes to Articles 2 and 3.	13	29	31	16	11
Changes to British constitutional law.	17	36	39	6	2
The Principle of Consent.	33	45	17	3	2
The present status of Northern Ireland.	13	36	31	12	8
The full implementation of the Agreement.	39	40	16	4	1

DUP

	Very important	Important	Of some importance	Of little importance	Of no importance at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	20	26	18	18	18
The Northern Ireland Executive.	19	25	22	16	18
The Civic Forum.	9	18	33	19	21
The North/South Ministerial Council.	10	14	20	24	32
North/South implementation bodies.	10	15	17	26	32
The British/Irish Council.	10	16	15	23	36
The Equality Commission.	18	28	20	18	16
The new Human Rights Commission.	22	30	25	11	12
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	24	32	21	11	12
Cultural and language rights.	14	17	18	24	27
The reform of the RUC.	18	9	20	25	28
The reform of the criminal justice system.	25	24	27	12	12
The early release of prisoners.	18	13	21	19	29
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	50	37	7	2	4
Commitments to non-violence.	52	39	6	2	1
Paramilitary decommissioning.	52	36	4	5	3
NI demilitarisation.	39	33	11	10	7
Changes to Articles 2 and 3.	32	29	15	11	13
Changes to British constitutional law.	21	20	20	19	20
The Principle of Consent.	47	37	8	5	3
The present status of Northern Ireland.	42	38	12	4	4
The full implementation of the Agreement.	24	26	13	18	19

UUP

	Very important	Important	Of some importance	Of little importance	Of no importance at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	34	40	15	8	3
The Northern Ireland Executive.	32	37	17	9	5
The Civic Forum.	15	30	29	17	9
The North/South Ministerial Council.	12	27	30	23	8
North/South implementation bodies.	11	21	34	25	9
The British/Irish Council.	12	20	38	20	10
The Equality Commission.	16	27	30	19	8
The new Human Rights Commission.	18	28	31	16	7
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	22	26	29	18	5
Cultural and language rights.	11	20	29	25	15
The reform of the RUC.	21	16	20	22	21
The reform of the criminal justice system.	22	24	20	21	13
The early release of prisoners.	16	11	17	23	33
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	43	31	12	10	4
Commitments to non-violence.	51	31	5	10	3
Paramilitary decommissioning.	60	26	8	5	1
NI demilitarisation.	35	29	21	10	5
Changes to Articles 2 and 3.	25	24	30	12	9
Changes to British constitutional law.	14	20	36	18	12
The Principle of Consent.	41	31	20	6	2
The present status of Northern Ireland.	43	33	18	4	2
The full implementation of the Agreement.	30	37	26	5	2

PUP

	Very important	Important	Of some importance	Of little importance	Of no importance at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	32	38	14	9	7
The Northern Ireland Executive.	36	39	14	7	4
The Civic Forum.	18	36	30	9	7
The North/South Ministerial Council.	16	27	32	16	9
North/South implementation bodies.	16	27	27	21	9
The British/Irish Council.	14	25	32	18	11
The Equality Commission.	23	32	34	9	2
The new Human Rights Commission.	23	38	32	7	0
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	27	34	32	7	0
Cultural and language rights.	18	11	32	32	7
The reform of the RUC.	20	16	32	18	14
The reform of the criminal justice system.	25	21	36	9	9
The early release of prisoners.	18	11	21	20	30
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	43	21	23	11	2
Commitments to non-violence.	37	34	22	5	2
Paramilitary decommissioning.	46	21	27	4	2
NI demilitarisation.	32	25	30	9	4
Changes to Articles 2 and 3.	18	27	25	14	16
Changes to British constitutional law.	11	30	32	18	9
The Principle of Consent.	43	34	16	5	2
The present status of Northern Ireland.	37	32	27	2	2
The full implementation of the Agreement.	23	32	34	9	2

Alliance

	Very important	Important	Of some importance	Of little importance	Of no importance at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	62	21	15	0	2
The Northern Ireland Executive.	59	23	10	3	5
The Civic Forum.	36	31	23	8	2
The North/South Ministerial Council.	34	33	23	7	3
North/South implementation bodies.	36	34	20	7	3
The British/Irish Council.	38	29	28	3	2
The Equality Commission.	48	28	23	1	0
The new Human Rights Commission.	41	28	28	3	0
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	39	30	21	8	2
Cultural and language rights.	31	18	26	15	10
The reform of the RUC.	29	25	25	16	5
The reform of the criminal justice system.	26	33	28	8	5
The early release of prisoners.	24	18	20	23	15
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	59	25	13	3	0
Commitments to non-violence.	72	23	5	0	0
Paramilitary decommissioning.	72	21	5	0	2
NI demilitarisation.	51	21	21	5	2
Changes to Articles 2 and 3.	28	21	33	10	8
Changes to British constitutional law.	23	21	36	13	7
The Principle of Consent.	48	26	21	3	2
The present status of Northern Ireland.	41	30	29	0	0
The full implementation of the Agreement.	46	26	23	5	0

SDLP

	Very important	Important	Of some importance	Of little importance	Of no importance at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	50	41	6	2	1
The Northern Ireland Executive.	48	44	7	1	0
The Civic Forum.	28	46	22	3	1
The North/South Ministerial Council.	37	43	17	3	0
North/South implementation bodies.	38	47	14	1	0
The British/Irish Council.	29	50	17	3	1
The Equality Commission.	41	43	15	1	0
The new Human Rights Commission.	44	41	14	1	0
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	35	45	15	4	1
Cultural and language rights.	36	40	15	7	2
The reform of the RUC.	40	36	20	3	1
The reform of the criminal justice system.	36	41	20	2	1
The early release of prisoners.	14	29	30	17	10
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	42	44	11	2	1
Commitments to non-violence.	59	31	6	3	1
Paramilitary decommissioning.	46	39	11	3	1
NI demilitarisation.	40	45	13	2	0
Changes to Articles 2 and 3.	17	39	24	15	5
Changes to British constitutional law.	18	38	36	7	1
The Principle of Consent.	37	46	15	1	1
The present status of Northern Ireland.	15	42	32	9	2
The full implementation of the Agreement.	46	39	11	3	1

Sinn Féin

	Very important	Important	Of some importance	Of little importance	Of no importance at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	31	52	15	1	1
The Northern Ireland Executive.	33	52	12	2	1
The Civic Forum.	20	40	34	4	2
The North/South Ministerial Council.	40	47	10	2	1
North/South implementation bodies.	44	45	8	2	1
The British/Irish Council.	27	43	20	6	4
The Equality Commission.	48	37	12	2	1
The new Human Rights Commission.	50	37	10	2	1
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	43	39	14	3	1
Cultural and language rights.	59	38	2	1	0
The reform of the RUC.	67	26	3	2	2
The reform of the criminal justice system.	57	37	2	2	2
The early release of prisoners.	56	36	2	4	2
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	47	46	6	1	0
Commitments to non-violence.	40	53	7	0	0
Paramilitary decommissioning.	13	30	18	20	19
NI demilitarisation.	42	47	8	1	2
Changes to Articles 2 and 3.	12	19	24	20	25
Changes to British constitutional law.	24	42	31	2	1
The Principle of Consent.	34	45	12	4	5
The present status of Northern Ireland.	10	23	19	23	25
The full implementation of the Agreement.	37	41	13	8	1

Do you want the Belfast Agreement to work?

All NI

Yes	83
No	17

Protestant

Yes	72
No	28

Catholic

Yes	98
No	2

DUP

Yes	50
No	50

UUP

Yes	87
No	13

PUP

Yes	91
No	9

Alliance

Yes	98
No	2

SDLP

Yes	98
No	2

Sinn Féin

Yes	97
No	3

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

Protestant

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Only just satisfied	Not satisfied	Not satisfied at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	4	16	26	29	25
The Northern Ireland Executive.	2	13	27	34	24
The Civic Forum.	2	13	33	30	22
The North/South Ministerial Council.	1	14	32	28	25
North/South implementation bodies.	2	14	28	30	26
The British/Irish Council.	2	16	28	30	24
The Equality Commission.	2	17	34	26	21
The new Human Rights Commission.	2	18	33	27	20
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	2	15	33	29	21
Cultural and language rights.	4	18	28	28	22
The reform of the RUC.	2	11	18	35	34
The reform of the criminal justice system.	1	9	25	33	32
The early release of prisoners.	2	7	11	35	45
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	1	8	19	33	39
Commitments to non-violence.	1	6	19	33	41
Paramilitary decommissioning.	1	3	7	34	55
NI demilitarisation.	2	11	21	36	30
Changes to Articles 2 and 3.	1	7	30	31	31
Changes to British constitutional law.	1	11	35	29	24
The Principle of Consent.	4	15	29	29	23
The present status of Northern Ireland.	11	17	29	24	19
The full implementation of the Agreement.	1	7	29	34	29

Catholic

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Only just satisfied	Not satisfied	Not satisfied at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	1	20	30	32	17
The Northern Ireland Executive.	1	17	24	33	25
The Civic Forum.	1	18	34	32	15
The North/South Ministerial Council.	3	17	33	30	17
North/South implementation bodies.	5	16	30	33	16
The British/Irish Council.	4	16	31	34	15
The Equality Commission.	2	18	35	31	14
The new Human Rights Commission.	2	19	34	32	13
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	1	16	30	34	19
Cultural and language rights.	3	19	28	33	17
The reform of the RUC.	3	16	20	32	29
The reform of the criminal justice system.	2	14	28	34	22
The early release of prisoners.	3	24	32	23	18
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	2	16	33	31	18
Commitments to non-violence.	2	18	28	37	15
Paramilitary decommissioning.	4	13	20	40	23
NI demilitarisation.	1	10	30	38	21
Changes to Articles 2 and 3.	3	15	40	28	14
Changes to British constitutional law.	1	12	37	34	16
The Principle of Consent.	1	21	38	24	15
The present status of Northern Ireland.	1	20	37	23	19
The full implementation of the Agreement.	1	12	31	31	25

DUP

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Only just satisfied	Not satisfied	Not satisfied at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	4	14	21	30	31
The Northern Ireland Executive.	2	10	19	37	32
The Civic Forum.	1	11	25	34	29
The North/South Ministerial Council.	1	7	29	33	30
North/South implementation bodies.	2	7	26	33	32
The British/Irish Council.	2	10	24	33	31
The Equality Commission.	2	13	31	28	26
The new Human Rights Commission.	1	16	30	30	23
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	2	18	29	29	22
Cultural and language rights.	3	17	29	29	22
The reform of the RUC.	2	11	13	35	39
The reform of the criminal justice system.	1	4	25	33	37
The early release of prisoners.	1	6	7	36	50
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	1	9	7	37	46
Commitments to non-violence.	1	4	12	38	45
Paramilitary decommissioning.	1	4	4	41	50
NI demilitarisation.	2	10	18	37	33
Changes to Articles 2 and 3.	1	3	29	31	36
Changes to British constitutional law.	1	10	33	29	27
The Principle of Consent.	4	16	23	30	27
The present status of Northern Ireland.	10	16	28	25	21
The full implementation of the Agreement.	1	7	16	37	39

UUP

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Only just satisfied	Not satisfied	Not satisfied at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	3	21	33	27	16
The Northern Ireland Executive.	1	17	33	32	17
The Civic Forum.	1	18	34	31	16
The North/South Ministerial Council.	2	19	34	30	15
North/South implementation bodies.	4	19	28	32	17
The British/Irish Council.	3	20	28	32	17
The Equality Commission.	3	20	37	26	14
The new Human Rights Commission.	2	19	38	26	15
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	2	16	35	30	17
Cultural and language rights.	6	20	28	29	17
The reform of the RUC.	2	14	21	33	30
The reform of the criminal justice system.	1	12	28	35	24
The early release of prisoners.	3	8	13	37	39
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	1	10	22	34	33
Commitments to non-violence.	2	7	20	36	35
Paramilitary decommissioning.	2	4	8	34	52
NI demilitarisation.	2	4	21	37	26
Changes to Articles 2 and 3.	2	7	34	31	26
Changes to British constitutional law.	1	13	39	28	19
The Principle of Consent.	6	16	33	28	17
The present status of Northern Ireland.	14	21	32	21	12
The full implementation of the Agreement.	2	10	36	31	21

PUP

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Only just satisfied	Not satisfied	Not satisfied at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	0	7	36	36	21
The Northern Ireland Executive.	0	12	27	43	18
The Civic Forum.	2	20	32	23	23
The North/South Ministerial Council.	0	18	34	23	25
North/South implementation bodies.	10	4	34	27	25
The British/Irish Council.	9	7	36	23	25
The Equality Commission.	2	23	34	25	16
The new Human Rights Commission.	2	28	34	18	18
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	3	2	50	27	18
Cultural and language rights.	4	11	50	21	14
The reform of the RUC.	2	21	25	30	22
The reform of the criminal justice system.	2	9	34	30	25
The early release of prisoners.	5	9	29	23	34
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	0	14	25	32	29
Commitments to non-violence.	5	18	20	25	32
Paramilitary decommissioning.	0	23	9	25	43
NI demilitarisation.	2	18	34	23	23
Changes to Articles 2 and 3.	0	7	41	27	25
Changes to British constitutional law.	0	14	43	27	16
The Principle of Consent.	2	21	27	29	21
The present status of Northern Ireland.	7	11	32	27	23
The full implementation of the Agreement.	0	7	39	29	25

Alliance

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Only just satisfied	Not satisfied	Not satisfied at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	5	21	25	26	23
The Northern Ireland Executive.	2	20	21	29	28
The Civic Forum.	3	21	33	18	25
The North/South Ministerial Council.	2	29	29	15	25
North/South implementation bodies.	3	29	30	13	25
The British/Irish Council.	3	30	28	16	23
The Equality Commission.	2	38	29	11	20
The new Human Rights Commission.	2	38	31	8	21
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	2	29	28	18	23
Cultural and language rights.	3	28	28	16	25
The reform of the RUC.	3	15	21	31	30
The reform of the criminal justice system.	1	20	23	25	31
The early release of prisoners.	2	11	18	21	46
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	3	12	25	16	44
Commitments to non-violence.	4	8	21	31	36
Paramilitary decommissioning.	3	8	8	23	58
NI demilitarisation.	2	11	33	21	33
Changes to Articles 2 and 3.	3	15	43	16	23
Changes to British constitutional law.	2	16	31	15	36
The Principle of Consent.	2	33	28	13	24
The present status of Northern Ireland.	6	33	28	13	20
The full implementation of the Agreement.	3	17	31	21	28

SDLP

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Only just satisfied	Not satisfied	Not satisfied at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	2	25	26	32	15
The Northern Ireland Executive.	1	20	26	33	21
The Civic Forum.	1	18	38	31	12
The North/South Ministerial Council.	3	19	39	28	11
North/South implementation bodies.	3	20	35	30	12
The British/Irish Council.	1	22	35	30	12
The Equality Commission.	2	20	41	26	11
The new Human Rights Commission.	1	20	37	31	11
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	1	18	32	34	15
Cultural and language rights.	2	21	32	32	13
The reform of the RUC.	3	17	26	32	22
The reform of the criminal justice system.	2	15	34	31	18
The early release of prisoners.	3	24	32	22	19
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	2	15	36	29	18
Commitments to non-violence.	3	14	30	36	17
Paramilitary decommissioning.	1	9	17	44	29
NI demilitarisation.	1	12	28	40	19
Changes to Articles 2 and 3.	1	15	40	32	12
Changes to British constitutional law.	2	21	40	26	11
The Principle of Consent.	1	23	43	21	12
The present status of Northern Ireland.	1	23	46	19	11
The full implementation of the Agreement.	1	14	32	31	22

Sinn Féin

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Only just satisfied	Not satisfied	Not satisfied at all
The New Northern Ireland Assembly.	0	11	23	41	25
The Northern Ireland Executive.	0	8	15	38	39
The Civic Forum.	0	9	25	42	24
The North/South Ministerial Council.	0	6	22	39	33
North/South implementation bodies.	1	8	18	44	29
The British/Irish Council.	2	6	21	50	21
The Equality Commission.	1	3	26	44	26
The new Human Rights Commission.	1	6	26	45	22
A Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland.	1	3	23	40	33
Cultural and language rights.	3	9	16	41	31
The reform of the RUC.	2	7	8	32	51
The reform of the criminal justice system.	2	3	14	42	38
The early release of prisoners.	5	27	29	25	14
Support for victims of the 'Troubles'.	3	14	32	37	14
Commitments to non-violence.	2	29	25	34	10
Paramilitary decommissioning.	9	18	27	35	11
NI demilitarisation.	2	4	18	48	28
Changes to Articles 2 and 3.	2	3	22	42	31
Changes to British constitutional law.	5	8	30	38	19
The Principle of Consent.	1	8	26	41	24
The present status of Northern Ireland.	1	5	16	39	39
The full implementation of the Agreement.	1	3	20	41	35

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

All NI

Yes	27
No	73

Protestant

Yes	26
No	74

Catholic

Yes	26
No	74

DUP

Yes	36
No	64

UUP

Yes	27
No	73

PUP

Yes	30
No	70

Alliance

Yes	26
No	74

SDLP

Yes	26
No	74

Sinn Féin

Yes	11
No	89

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

All NI

Yes	44
No	56

Protestant

Yes	39
No	61

Catholic

Yes	52
No	48

DUP

Yes	31
No	69

UUP

Yes	45
No	55

PUP

Yes	46
No	54

Alliance

Yes	53
No	47

SDLP

Yes	60
No	40

Sinn Féin

Yes	31
No	69

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

Protestant

	Very probable	Probable	Not sure	Improbable	Very improbable
Unionists will collapse the Agreement.	19	36	23	13	9
Republicans will collapse the Agreement.	36	46	14	3	1
SDLP/UUP will not work the Agreement.	18	34	33	9	6
2 governments will not work Agreement.	22	33	24	13	8
Republicans become more active.	41	43	14	1	1
The IRA will break their cease-fire.	40	42	16	2	0
Loyalist become more active.	32	41	24	2	1
The UVF/UFF will break their cease-fires.	29	37	30	3	1
The Northern Ireland economy will suffer.	34	36	24	3	1
Young people will leave Northern Ireland.	30	38	26	4	2
Community relations will deteriorate.	32	40	22	4	2

Catholic

	Very probable	Probable	Not sure	Improbable	Very improbable
Unionists will collapse the Agreement.	33	40	17	8	2
Republicans will collapse the Agreement.	14	31	24	20	11
SDLP/UUP will not work the Agreement.	10	23	39	19	9
2 governments will not work Agreement.	14	22	22	28	14
Republicans become more active.	19	33	34	11	3
The IRA will break their cease-fire.	17	26	35	18	4
Loyalist become more active.	28	39	25	7	1
The UVF/UFF will break their cease-fires.	20	32	37	10	1
The Northern Ireland economy will suffer.	35	37	20	6	2
Young people will leave Northern Ireland.	33	43	18	4	2
Community relations will deteriorate.	38	35	20	6	1

DUP

	Very probable	Probable	Not sure	Improbable	Very improbable
Unionists will collapse the Agreement.	13	22	31	16	18
Republicans will collapse the Agreement.	47	39	11	2	1
SDLP/UUP will not work the Agreement.	18	18	42	13	9
2 governments will not work Agreement.	32	31	19	11	7
Republicans become more active.	43	38	17	1	1
The IRA will break their cease-fire.	41	36	21	1	1
Loyalist become more active.	27	30	37	3	3
The UVF/UFF will break their cease-fires.	24	27	41	6	2
The Northern Ireland economy will suffer.	29	32	32	5	2
Young people will leave Northern Ireland.	28	32	32	5	3
Community relations will deteriorate.	30	39	21	6	4

UUP

	Very probable	Probable	Not sure	Improbable	Very improbable
Unionists will collapse the Agreement.	16	42	24	10	8
Republicans will collapse the Agreement.	28	50	17	2	3
SDLP/UUP will not work the Agreement.	16	40	30	9	5
2 governments will not work Agreement.	17	33	28	13	9
Republicans become more active.	41	44	15	0	0
The IRA will break their cease-fire.	38	46	13	3	0
Loyalist become more active.	33	46	17	3	1
The UVF/UFF will break their cease-fires.	29	43	24	3	1
The Northern Ireland economy will suffer.	34	40	23	3	0
Young people will leave Northern Ireland.	30	43	24	2	1
Community relations will deteriorate.	33	44	21	1	1

PUP

	Very probable	Probable	Not sure	Improbable	Very improbable
Unionists will collapse the Agreement.	16	43	27	12	2
Republicans will collapse the Agreement.	28	52	18	2	0
SDLP/UUP will not work the Agreement.	21	39	29	7	4
2 governments will not work Agreement.	20	39	18	14	9
Republicans become more active.	37	52	9	2	0
The IRA will break their cease-fire.	34	48	16	2	0
Loyalist become more active.	25	50	25	0	0
The UVF/UFF will break their cease-fires.	27	39	30	4	0
The Northern Ireland economy will suffer.	34	46	16	4	0
Young people will leave Northern Ireland.	34	48	16	2	0
Community relations will deteriorate.	32	41	21	4	2

Alliance

	Very probable	Probable	Not sure	Improbable	Very improbable
Unionists will collapse the Agreement.	20	38	33	8	1
Republicans will collapse the Agreement.	29	39	30	2	0
SDLP/UUP will not work the Agreement.	16	30	33	13	8
2 governments will not work Agreement.	15	18	34	23	10
Republicans become more active.	36	43	21	0	0
The IRA will break their cease-fire.	35	26	36	3	0
Loyalist become more active.	35	44	21	0	0
The UVF/UFF will break their cease-fires.	28	25	46	1	0
The Northern Ireland economy will suffer.	36	39	18	5	2
Young people will leave Northern Ireland.	41	38	20	1	0
Community relations will deteriorate.	38	39	20	3	0

SDLP

	Very probable	Probable	Not sure	Improbable	Very improbable
Unionists will collapse the Agreement.	27	42	18	11	2
Republicans will collapse the Agreement.	14	35	26	19	6
SDLP/UUP will not work the Agreement.	7	19	40	22	12
2 governments will not work Agreement.	7	15	27	34	17
Republicans become more active.	20	37	32	9	2
The IRA will break their cease-fire.	19	30	37	11	3
Loyalist become more active.	24	38	28	8	2
The UVF/UFF will break their cease-fires.	16	31	42	9	2
The Northern Ireland economy will suffer.	37	35	21	5	2
Young people will leave Northern Ireland.	35	41	17	5	2
Community relations will deteriorate.	35	34	22	8	1

Sinn Féin

	Very probable	Probable	Not sure	Improbable	Very improbable
Unionists will collapse the Agreement.	56	32	8	3	1
Republicans will collapse the Agreement.	6	13	21	34	26
SDLP/UUP will not work the Agreement.	7	20	51	15	7
2 governments will not work Agreement.	19	30	18	22	11
Republicans become more active.	11	28	34	23	4
The IRA will break their cease-fire.	8	20	25	37	10
Loyalist become more active.	37	40	16	6	1
The UVF/UFF will break their cease-fires.	29	35	19	15	2
The Northern Ireland economy will suffer.	33	43	13	9	2
Young people will leave Northern Ireland.	33	43	17	6	1
Community relations will deteriorate.	43	31	18	7	1

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

Protestant

	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
The British Government.	10	38	18	21	13
The Irish Government.	5	30	18	27	20
The Ulster Unionist Party.	16	44	23	9	8
The Progressive Unionist Party.	10	39	29	14	8
The Ulster Democratic Party.	13	38	27	15	7
The Alliance Party.	8	32	35	16	9
The Women's Coalition.	7	23	35	20	15
The SDLP.	5	25	22	25	23
Sinn Féin.	0	5	15	27	53

Catholic

	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
The British Government.	11	37	21	20	11
The Irish Government.	23	45	20	9	3
The Ulster Unionist Party.	6	23	24	28	19
The Progressive Unionist Party.	3	24	35	23	15
The Ulster Democratic Party.	0	14	28	27	31
The Alliance Party.	12	34	33	13	8
The Women's Coalition.	17	38	31	9	5
The SDLP.	34	43	12	7	4
Sinn Féin.	19	32	29	12	8

DUP

	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
The British Government.	7	23	12	31	27
The Irish Government.	2	19	11	33	35
The Ulster Unionist Party.	8	35	28	15	14
The Progressive Unionist Party.	4	36	32	16	12
The Ulster Democratic Party.	26	35	17	12	10
The Alliance Party.	3	27	35	21	14
The Women's Coalition.	2	16	27	30	25
The SDLP.	2	17	11	34	36
Sinn Féin.	0	3	9	31	57

UUP

	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
The British Government.	11	45	21	16	7
The Irish Government.	4	33	20	31	12
The Ulster Unionist Party.	22	50	15	10	3
The Progressive Unionist Party.	9	39	28	17	7
The Ulster Democratic Party.	6	35	31	20	8
The Alliance Party.	8	33	34	19	6
The Women's Coalition.	8	28	36	20	8
The SDLP.	4	32	23	26	15
Sinn Féin.	0	5	15	34	46

PUP

	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
The British Government.	11	41	23	18	7
The Irish Government.	7	30	23	29	11
The Ulster Unionist Party.	16	45	16	14	9
The Progressive Unionist Party.	48	21	16	11	4
The Ulster Democratic Party.	18	36	27	14	5
The Alliance Party.	9	29	39	14	9
The Women's Coalition.	11	16	27	30	16
The SDLP.	9	25	27	21	18
Sinn Féin.	0	2	21	23	54

Alliance

	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
The British Government.	22	39	26	10	3
The Irish Government.	20	41	28	6	5
The Ulster Unionist Party.	6	44	39	3	7
The Progressive Unionist Party.	7	26	51	8	8
The Ulster Democratic Party.	2	25	44	18	11
The Alliance Party.	38	34	24	2	2
The Women's Coalition.	20	28	48	3	1
The SDLP.	24	33	31	7	5
Sinn Féin.	2	8	36	16	38

SDLP

	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
The British Government.	16	47	21	14	2
The Irish Government.	33	52	12	2	1
The Ulster Unionist Party.	8	31	32	21	8
The Progressive Unionist Party.	6	28	41	16	9
The Ulster Democratic Party.	0	18	37	24	20
The Alliance Party.	19	41	34	5	1
The Women's Coalition.	27	43	25	4	1
The SDLP.	54	39	5	1	1
Sinn Féin.	6	37	38	13	6

Sinn Féin

	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
The British Government.	0	25	11	36	28
The Irish Government.	11	44	26	12	7
The Ulster Unionist Party.	0	10	7	41	42
The Progressive Unionist Party.	1	23	17	36	23
The Ulster Democratic Party.	0	10	5	29	56
The Alliance Party.	0	25	34	21	20
The Women's Coalition.	8	31	44	7	10
The SDLP.	11	59	17	9	4
Sinn Féin.	56	43	0	1	0

4.2 The Key People

Some of the key people responsible for the implementation of the Belfast Agreement are listed below. Please indicate which ones you: 'Trust a lot', 'Trust a little', are 'Not sure about', 'Do not trust' or 'Do not trust at all'.

All NI	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
Tony Blair.	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

Protestant	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
Tony Blair.	8	35	16	20	21
Bertie Ahern.	4	29	25	23	19
Mo Mowlam.	8	23	19	25	25
David Andrews.	4	15	38	23	20
Senator George Mitchell.	10	31	30	16	13
General John de Chastelain.	7	27	38	15	13
David Trimble.	15	46	19	11	9
John Hume.	6	31	21	23	19
Gerry Adams.	1	4	14	28	53
David Ervine.	3	25	35	22	15
Gary McMichael.	3	25	35	22	15
Sean Neeson.	6	18	41	22	13
Monica McWilliams.	6	18	31	24	21

Catholic	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
Tony Blair.	16	38	27	12	7
Bertie Ahern.	22	47	18	8	5
Mo Mowlam.	30	44	12	8	6
David Andrews.	8	37	39	8	8
Senator George Mitchell.	25	47	18	5	5
General John de Chastelain.	16	41	30	7	6
David Trimble.	4	28	24	26	18
John Hume.	36	45	10	5	4
Gerry Adams.	20	34	25	11	10
David Ervine.	5	34	33	16	12
Gary McMichael.	1	17	35	22	25
Sean Neeson.	11	29	38	11	11
Monica McWilliams.	17	35	35	7	6

DUP

	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
Tony Blair.	3	22	10	31	34
Bertie Ahern.	1	18	16	32	33
Mo Mowlam.	5	13	10	33	39
David Andrews.	1	9	27	30	33
Senator George Mitchell.	4	28	21	24	23
General John de Chastelain.	3	25	34	19	19
David Trimble.	4	42	21	16	17
John Hume.	2	18	16	31	33
Gerry Adams.	1	1	9	32	57
David Ervine.	2	30	34	17	17
Gary McMichael.	2	26	34	19	19
Sean Neeson.	2	17	42	22	17
Monica McWilliams.	1	13	24	33	29

UUP

	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
Tony Blair.	10	38	19	20	13
Bertie Ahern.	5	32	25	26	12
Mo Mowlam.	10	24	18	30	18
David Andrews.	3	17	43	20	17
Senator George Mitchell.	12	33	34	12	9
General John de Chastelain.	8	32	39	13	8
David Trimble.	23	49	12	9	7
John Hume.	6	39	19	25	11
Gerry Adams.	0	4	13	35	48
David Ervine.	5	31	24	25	15
Gary McMichael.	3	23	34	26	14
Sean Neeson.	5	18	38	29	10
Monica McWilliams.	6	19	35	26	14

PUP

	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
Tony Blair.	14	32	18	20	16
Bertie Ahern.	7	25	32	20	16
Mo Mowlam.	9	27	27	18	19
David Andrews.	7	20	32	25	16
Senator George Mitchell.	7	32	32	16	13
General John de Chastelain.	7	34	27	21	11
David Trimble.	9	43	23	16	9
John Hume.	2	32	27	21	18
Gerry Adams.	0	2	14	20	64
David Ervine.	43	25	14	9	9
Gary McMichael.	11	41	32	7	9
Sean Neeson.	2	27	50	7	14
Monica McWilliams.	9	18	34	16	23

Alliance

	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
Tony Blair.	20	41	29	5	5
Bertie Ahern.	16	39	38	3	4
Mo Mowlam.	25	38	20	11	6
David Andrews.	11	18	57	7	7
Senator George Mitchell.	28	38	21	7	6
General John de Chastelain.	21	33	34	5	7
David Trimble.	13	44	34	5	4
John Hume.	25	43	23	3	6
Gerry Adams.	2	15	33	16	34
David Ervine.	8	28	38	18	8
Gary McMichael.	2	15	56	16	11
Sean Neeson.	34	25	31	7	3
Monica McWilliams.	25	18	33	7	7

SDLP

	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
Tony Blair.	25	48	16	9	2
Bertie Ahern.	31	54	9	4	2
Mo Mowlam.	39	44	13	2	2
David Andrews.	13	45	36	4	2
Senator George Mitchell.	35	46	16	2	1
General John de Chastelain.	27	42	26	4	1
David Trimble.	7	36	26	22	9
John Hume.	58	32	8	1	1
Gerry Adams.	7	41	31	12	9
David Ervine.	9	41	30	13	7
Gary McMichael.	2	26	31	21	20
Sean Neeson.	17	40	31	10	2
Monica McWilliams.	25	39	29	5	2

Sinn Féin

	Trust a lot	Trust a little	Not sure about	Do not trust	Do not trust at all
Tony Blair.	3	31	35	17	14
Bertie Ahern.	12	46	25	6	11
Mo Mowlam.	20	47	13	10	10
David Andrews.	5	31	36	14	14
Senator George Mitchell.	21	55	18	4	2
General John de Chastelain.	7	39	37	8	9
David Trimble.	0	12	13	35	40
John Hume.	13	66	11	6	4
Gerry Adams.	56	40	3	1	0
David Ervine.	2	33	35	14	16
Gary McMichael.	1	10	22	29	38
Sean Neeson.	3	21	37	16	23
Monica McWilliams.	7	32	40	10	11

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

Protestant

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Beginning of the process of reconciliation.	25	26	21	10	18
Committee to co-ordinate implementation.	19	28	24	9	20
Parties not to repeat mistakes of the past.	33	26	25	6	10
Parties commitment to the Agreement.	33	26	22	8	11
Temporary arrangements to run Assembly.	20	26	25	10	19
Parties commitment to Mitchell Principles.	41	25	22	6	6
A 'Complete and Unequivocal Ceasefire'.	60	25	12	2	1
Paramilitaries should say 'The war is over'.	72	18	8	1	1
Paramilitaries should say they will disarm.	71	19	8	1	1
Paramilitaries should end all attacks.	74	16	8	2	0
Paramilitaries work with new NI police.	53	22	18	3	4
Ex-prisoners should do community work.	27	22	20	11	20
Decommission all privately held weapons.	27	20	19	12	22
Government paper on demilitarisation.	37	30	23	7	3

Catholic

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Beginning of the process of reconciliation.	34	40	18	7	1
Committee to co-ordinate implementation.	30	43	20	6	1
Parties not to repeat mistakes of the past.	41	37	17	4	1
Parties commitment to the Agreement.	42	36	14	7	1
Temporary arrangements to run Assembly.	25	41	21	10	3
Parties commitment to Mitchell Principles.	35	44	12	7	2
A 'Complete and Unequivocal Ceasefire'.	37	32	18	10	3
Paramilitaries should say 'The war is over'.	36	37	12	9	6
Paramilitaries should say they will disarm.	38	34	13	11	4
Paramilitaries should end all attacks.	44	33	10	7	6
Paramilitaries work with new NI police.	24	38	15	13	10
Ex-prisoners should do community work.	19	34	26	13	8
Decommission all privately held weapons.	26	36	20	8	10
Government paper on demilitarisation.	23	50	23	3	1

DUP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Beginning of the process of reconciliation.	10	22	19	12	37
Committee to co-ordinate implementation.	10	20	14	13	43
Parties not to repeat mistakes of the past.	25	19	27	8	21
Parties commitment to the Agreement.	24	18	22	13	23
Temporary arrangements to run Assembly.	15	13	22	13	37
Parties commitment to Mitchell Principles.	44	15	23	8	10
A 'Complete and Unequivocal Ceasefire'.	67	15	14	2	2
Paramilitaries should say 'The war is over'.	78	11	9	2	0
Paramilitaries should say they will disarm.	77	13	7	3	0
Paramilitaries should end all attacks.	80	11	7	2	0
Paramilitaries work with new NI police.	47	16	22	5	10
Ex-prisoners should do community work.	27	13	20	15	25
Decommission all privately held weapons.	24	16	18	11	31
Government paper on demilitarisation.	37	28	21	10	4

UUP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Beginning of the process of reconciliation.	32	27	23	15	3
Committee to co-ordinate implementation.	23	32	29	9	7
Parties not to repeat mistakes of the past.	38	32	20	7	3
Parties commitment to the Agreement.	36	34	20	8	2
Temporary arrangements to run Assembly.	23	32	26	11	8
Parties commitment to Mitchell Principles.	41	30	18	10	1
A 'Complete and Unequivocal Ceasefire'.	55	26	15	4	0
Paramilitaries should say 'The war is over'.	68	22	8	1	1
Paramilitaries should say they will disarm.	68	21	8	3	0
Paramilitaries should end all attacks.	73	16	9	2	0
Paramilitaries work with new NI police.	52	25	18	3	2
Ex-prisoners should do community work.	23	26	23	9	19
Decommission all privately held weapons.	24	28	20	10	18
Government paper on demilitarisation.	33	34	25	5	3

PUP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Beginning of the process of reconciliation.	18	36	23	11	12
Committee to co-ordinate implementation.	16	36	25	14	9
Parties not to repeat mistakes of the past.	32	39	25	4	0
Parties commitment to the Agreement.	39	32	18	9	2
Temporary arrangements to run Assembly.	21	32	29	9	9
Parties commitment to Mitchell Principles.	43	21	25	9	2
A 'Complete and Unequivocal Ceasefire'.	62	18	9	11	0
Paramilitaries should say 'The war is over'.	64	20	14	2	0
Paramilitaries should say they will disarm.	68	18	9	2	3
Paramilitaries should end all attacks.	55	29	11	5	0
Paramilitaries work with new NI police.	32	30	23	11	4
Ex-prisoners should do community work.	29	32	30	9	0
Decommission all privately held weapons.	27	32	14	18	9
Government paper on demilitarisation.	27	41	25	7	0

Alliance

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Beginning of the process of reconciliation.	33	36	29	2	0
Committee to co-ordinate implementation.	20	48	26	3	3
Parties not to repeat mistakes of the past.	49	26	25	0	0
Parties commitment to the Agreement.	44	31	25	0	0
Temporary arrangements to run Assembly.	20	34	39	0	7
Parties commitment to Mitchell Principles.	49	30	18	3	0
A 'Complete and Unequivocal Ceasefire'.	61	21	15	3	0
Paramilitaries should say 'The war is over'.	67	23	10	0	0
Paramilitaries should say they will disarm.	72	18	10	0	0
Paramilitaries should end all attacks.	80	13	7	0	0
Paramilitaries work with new NI police.	56	33	11	0	0
Ex-prisoners should do community work.	28	25	34	8	5
Decommission all privately held weapons.	31	26	18	10	15
Government paper on demilitarisation.	36	30	26	8	0

SDLP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Beginning of the process of reconciliation.	37	45	15	3	0
Committee to co-ordinate implementation.	36	43	16	5	0
Parties not to repeat mistakes of the past.	42	43	10	4	1
Parties commitment to the Agreement.	48	40	9	3	0
Temporary arrangements to run Assembly.	23	53	16	6	2
Parties commitment to Mitchell Principles.	42	48	7	1	2
A 'Complete and Unequivocal Ceasefire'.	49	33	14	3	1
Paramilitaries should say 'The war is over'.	49	39	6	4	2
Paramilitaries should say they will disarm.	50	39	8	2	1
Paramilitaries should end all attacks.	58	33	8	0	1
Paramilitaries work with new NI police.	35	46	12	5	2
Ex-prisoners should do community work.	19	42	18	10	11
Decommission all privately held weapons.	21	41	23	8	7
Government paper on demilitarisation.	19	59	19	3	0

Sinn Féin

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Beginning of the process of reconciliation.	34	33	17	16	0
Committee to co-ordinate implementation.	22	39	29	10	0
Parties not to repeat mistakes of the past.	39	26	28	7	0
Parties commitment to the Agreement.	32	38	20	10	0
Temporary arrangements to run Assembly.	23	33	27	15	2
Parties commitment to Mitchell Principles.	24	42	24	9	1
A 'Complete and Unequivocal Ceasefire'.	13	42	18	20	7
Paramilitaries should say 'The war is over'.	9	42	10	22	17
Paramilitaries should say they will disarm.	9	26	23	29	13
Paramilitaries should end all attacks.	11	34	17	22	16
Paramilitaries work with new NI police.	7	24	9	31	29
Ex-prisoners should do community work.	19	28	25	19	9
Decommission all privately held weapons.	37	29	15	4	15
Government paper on demilitarisation.	31	40	22	6	1

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

Protestant

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Decommissioning by May 2000.	55	22	18	3	2
Paramilitary representatives appointed.	25	21	21	10	23
Decommissioning modalities confirmed.	55	28	13	3	1
Decommissioning and reports.	49	27	19	2	3
All parts of Decommissioning Program.	53	26	18	2	1

Catholic

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Decommissioning by May 2000.	28	38	19	10	5
Paramilitary representatives appointed.	19	32	25	15	9
Decommissioning modalities confirmed.	29	32	21	12	6
Decommissioning and reports.	24	37	24	9	6
All parts of Decommissioning Program.	27	38	20	9	6

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.

DUP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Decommissioning by May 2000.	53	12	22	7	6
Paramilitary representatives appointed.	19	18	16	8	39
Decommissioning modalities confirmed.	63	19	13	2	3
Decommissioning and reports.	53	22	16	4	5
All parts of Decommissioning Program.	58	21	17	3	1

UUP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Decommissioning by May 2000.	54	25	18	2	1
Paramilitary representatives appointed.	23	23	23	13	18
Decommissioning modalities confirmed.	50	30	13	6	1
Decommissioning and reports.	44	34	18	2	2
All parts of Decommissioning Program.	53	26	16	4	1

PUP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Decommissioning by May 2000.	50	25	23	0	2
Paramilitary representatives appointed.	32	29	30	5	4
Decommissioning modalities confirmed.	43	34	18	2	3
Decommissioning and reports.	41	29	30	0	0
All parts of Decommissioning Program.	39	36	20	5	0

Alliance

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Decommissioning by May 2000.	64	21	13	2	0
Paramilitary representatives appointed.	21	21	23	20	15
Decommissioning modalities confirmed.	59	29	7	5	0
Decommissioning and reports.	49	38	13	0	0
All parts of Decommissioning Program.	52	26	18	2	2

SDLP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Decommissioning by May 2000.	35	45	15	4	1
Paramilitary representatives appointed.	18	34	25	16	9
Decommissioning modalities confirmed.	35	37	20	7	1
Decommissioning and reports.	35	40	19	5	1
All parts of Decommissioning Program.	35	44	14	6	1

Sinn Féin

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Decommissioning by May 2000.	8	29	20	25	18
Paramilitary representatives appointed.	27	26	20	14	13
Decommissioning modalities confirmed.	7	27	21	24	21
Decommissioning and reports.	6	28	28	21	17
All parts of Decommissioning Program.	8	30	27	16	19

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

Protestant

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Executive without any preconditions.	10	18	14	14	44
Executive with de Chastelain program.	11	22	30	15	22
Executive, Chastelain & arms beyond use.	14	28	30	13	15
Executive, Chastelain & penalties.	15	24	34	12	15
Step by step implementation & Chastelain.	13	30	33	12	12
A combination of the best features of these.	13	28	35	11	13
Extension of May 2000 deadline.	9	20	33	14	24

Catholic

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Executive without any preconditions.	30	34	18	14	4
Executive with de Chastelain program.	23	37	27	11	2
Executive, Chastelain & arms beyond use.	19	40	26	11	4
Executive, Chastelain & penalties.	8	35	34	12	11
Step by step implementation & Chastelain.	9	41	29	14	7
A combination of the best features of these.	15	36	32	10	7
Extension of May 2000 deadline.	22	31	30	10	7

DUP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Executive without any preconditions.	6	18	6	7	63
Executive with de Chastelain program.	13	15	21	8	43
Executive, Chastelain & arms beyond use.	15	21	19	17	28
Executive, Chastelain & penalties.	14	19	29	13	25
Step by step implementation & Chastelain.	10	21	28	15	26
A combination of the best features of these.	9	21	31	13	26
Extension of May 2000 deadline.	5	17	25	11	42

UUP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Executive without any preconditions.	10	19	17	17	37
Executive with de Chastelain program.	9	24	32	22	13
Executive, Chastelain & arms beyond use.	14	29	34	17	6
Executive, Chastelain & penalties.	13	24	40	12	11
Step by step implementation & Chastelain.	13	33	34	17	3
A combination of the best features of these.	12	27	42	12	7
Extension of May 2000 deadline.	7	23	35	17	18

PUP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Executive without any preconditions.	11	14	36	18	21
Executive with de Chastelain program.	11	30	36	16	7
Executive, Chastelain & arms beyond use.	13	39	27	14	7
Executive, Chastelain & penalties.	18	36	30	9	7
Step by step implementation & Chastelain.	11	41	39	4	5
A combination of the best features of these.	11	32	46	11	0
Extension of May 2000 deadline.	14	25	34	11	16

Alliance

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Executive without any preconditions.	10	15	33	19	23
Executive with de Chastelain program.	16	26	46	7	5
Executive, Chastelain & arms beyond use.	26	31	34	7	2
Executive, Chastelain & penalties.	25	23	31	15	6
Step by step implementation & Chastelain.	21	39	31	7	2
A combination of the best features of these.	21	46	28	2	3
Extension of May 2000 deadline.	23	23	36	7	11

SDLP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Executive without any preconditions.	24	36	19	16	5
Executive with de Chastelain program.	27	39	29	4	1
Executive, Chastelain & arms beyond use.	25	47	22	6	0
Executive, Chastelain & penalties.	10	44	35	7	4
Step by step implementation & Chastelain.	12	50	29	7	2
A combination of the best features of these.	16	45	32	4	3
Extension of May 2000 deadline.	25	30	33	7	5

Sinn Féin

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Executive without any preconditions.	64	26	7	3	0
Executive with de Chastelain program.	25	39	14	21	1
Executive, Chastelain & arms beyond use.	7	29	30	19	15
Executive, Chastelain & penalties.	2	22	31	18	27
Step by step implementation & Chastelain.	5	22	27	24	22
A combination of the best features of these.	9	18	27	25	21
Extension of May 2000 deadline.	18	33	24	16	9

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

All NI

Yes	85
No	15

Protestant

Yes	80
No	20

Catholic

Yes	93
No	7

DUP

Yes	58
No	42

UUP

Yes	91
No	9

PUP

Yes	91
No	9

Alliance

Yes	98
No	2

SDLP

Yes	96
No	4

Sinn Féin

Yes	94
No	6

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

All NI

Yes	44
No	56

Protestant

Yes	36
No	64

Catholic

Yes	58
No	42

DUP

Yes	21
No	79

UUP

Yes	45
No	55

PUP

Yes	41
No	59

Alliance

Yes	72
No	28

SDLP

Yes	63
No	37

Sinn Féin

Yes	45
No	55

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

Protestant

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Governments fill the political vacuum.	37	23	19	8	13
Intense negotiations away from NI.	22	25	17	10	26
The Civic Forum as a consultative body.	14	22	36	15	13
Shadow Executive to advise Government.	13	22	33	17	15
Committees to advise each department.	13	22	34	17	14
London Direct Rule and no NI Assembly.	17	23	32	13	15
A new Anglo-Irish Agreement.	8	9	17	15	51
Joint Authority from London and Dublin.	6	8	18	15	53
Joint Authority and NI Assembly.	8	16	32	19	25
Scrap BA and negotiate a new agreement.	25	20	31	9	15
The 2 governments implement Agreement.	13	20	29	14	24

Catholic

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Governments fill the political vacuum.	44	30	22	3	1
Intense negotiations away from NI.	36	43	17	3	1
The Civic Forum as a consultative body.	18	37	32	10	3
Shadow Executive to advise Government.	14	41	28	13	4
Committees to advise each department.	19	37	28	12	4
London Direct Rule and no NI Assembly.	8	18	29	23	22
A new Anglo-Irish Agreement.	8	20	25	16	31
Joint Authority from London and Dublin.	12	27	36	16	9
Joint Authority and NI Assembly.	9	25	42	16	8
Scrap BA and negotiate a new agreement.	2	14	19	19	46
The 2 governments implement Agreement.	16	42	28	8	6

DUP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Governments fill the political vacuum.	22	16	22	13	27
Intense negotiations away from NI.	15	12	11	12	50
The Civic Forum as a consultative body.	11	13	32	16	28
Shadow Executive to advise Government.	11	16	24	18	31
Committees to advise each department.	13	14	27	21	25
London Direct Rule and no NI Assembly.	14	19	36	14	17
A new Anglo-Irish Agreement.	5	10	11	9	65
Joint Authority from London and Dublin.	3	5	16	10	66
Joint Authority and NI Assembly.	6	9	24	21	40
Scrap BA and negotiate a new agreement.	39	23	18	7	13
The 2 governments implement Agreement.	9	12	19	14	46

UUP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Governments fill the political vacuum.	40	27	23	6	4
Intense negotiations away from NI.	21	34	23	9	13
The Civic Forum as a consultative body.	11	30	33	20	6
Shadow Executive to advise Government.	10	28	35	19	8
Committees to advise each department.	11	28	37	17	7
London Direct Rule and no NI Assembly.	17	30	28	16	9
A new Anglo-Irish Agreement.	6	12	20	20	42
Joint Authority from London and Dublin.	3	12	20	18	47
Joint Authority and NI Assembly.	7	22	32	21	18
Scrap BA and negotiate a new agreement.	17	19	33	13	18
The 2 governments implement Agreement.	12	27	30	18	13

PUP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Governments fill the political vacuum.	41	20	27	7	5
Intense negotiations away from NI.	25	27	25	16	7
The Civic Forum as a consultative body.	25	23	27	14	11
Shadow Executive to advise Government.	27	25	25	16	7
Committees to advise each department.	21	25	34	9	11
London Direct Rule and no NI Assembly.	16	27	27	16	14
A new Anglo-Irish Agreement.	11	11	23	18	37
Joint Authority from London and Dublin.	11	9	25	23	32
Joint Authority and NI Assembly.	7	21	36	25	11
Scrap BA and negotiate a new agreement.	16	25	34	9	16
The 2 governments implement Agreement.	11	16	50	9	14

Alliance

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Governments fill the political vacuum.	49	23	20	8	0
Intense negotiations away from NI.	38	39	20	3	0
The Civic Forum as a consultative body.	26	25	41	7	1
Shadow Executive to advise Government.	25	35	34	3	3
Committees to advise each department.	23	36	33	7	1
London Direct Rule and no NI Assembly.	26	18	33	8	15
A new Anglo-Irish Agreement.	18	10	26	15	31
Joint Authority from London and Dublin.	18	16	28	17	21
Joint Authority and NI Assembly.	18	18	41	15	8
Scrap BA and negotiate a new agreement.	20	23	24	13	20
The 2 governments implement Agreement.	26	31	28	8	7

SDLP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Governments fill the political vacuum.	53	31	15	1	0
Intense negotiations away from NI.	41	44	12	2	1
The Civic Forum as a consultative body.	20	38	35	6	1
Shadow Executive to advise Government.	17	46	25	9	3
Committees to advise each department.	24	39	28	8	1
London Direct Rule and no NI Assembly.	12	19	34	21	14
A new Anglo-Irish Agreement.	9	21	28	15	27
Joint Authority from London and Dublin.	14	29	40	11	6
Joint Authority and NI Assembly.	14	30	42	10	4
Scrap BA and negotiate a new agreement.	3	13	19	19	46
The 2 governments implement Agreement.	21	43	30	2	4

Sinn Féin

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Governments fill the political vacuum.	30	36	24	6	4
Intense negotiations away from NI.	24	49	24	3	0
The Civic Forum as a consultative body.	16	32	25	19	8
Shadow Executive to advise Government.	14	26	29	22	9
Committees to advise each department.	13	30	23	26	8
London Direct Rule and no NI Assembly.	5	10	15	18	52
A new Anglo-Irish Agreement.	13	20	11	9	47
Joint Authority from London and Dublin.	17	24	24	22	13
Joint Authority and NI Assembly.	6	20	30	22	22
Scrap BA and negotiate a new agreement.	2	11	11	1	64
The 2 governments implement Agreement.	11	41	20	16	12

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

Protestant

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Implement BA & devolution as possible.	11	23	34	13	19
Temporary arrangements to run Assembly.	11	21	32	15	21
Administrative Assembly then Executive.	11	23	37	14	15
Departmental committees then Executive.	9	17	37	19	18
All BA under temporary arrangements.	10	22	33	14	21
New referendum to approve any changes.	21	24	32	12	11

Catholic

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Implement BA & devolution as possible.	8	36	31	20	5
Temporary arrangements to run Assembly.	11	42	31	11	5
Administrative Assembly then Executive.	14	41	24	14	7
Departmental committees then Executive.	5	41	26	18	10
All BA under temporary arrangements.	7	44	25	16	8
New referendum to approve any changes.	7	28	28	18	19

DUP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Implement BA & devolution as possible.	10	11	21	15	42
Temporary arrangements to run Assembly.	5	13	22	14	46
Administrative Assembly then Executive.	12	12	31	18	27
Departmental committees then Executive.	4	11	29	26	30
All BA under temporary arrangements.	9	11	25	17	38
New referendum to approve any changes.	33	20	24	14	9

UUP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Implement BA & devolution as possible.	10	26	38	18	8
Temporary arrangements to run Assembly.	11	24	37	21	7
Administrative Assembly then Executive.	9	29	37	19	6
Departmental committees then Executive.	10	18	41	22	9
All BA under temporary arrangements.	9	25	38	18	10
New referendum to approve any changes.	17	28	35	12	8

PUP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Implement BA & devolution as possible.	9	25	41	21	4
Temporary arrangements to run Assembly.	11	21	41	9	18
Administrative Assembly then Executive.	11	25	57	5	2
Departmental committees then Executive.	18	18	39	18	7
All BA under temporary arrangements.	9	27	34	16	14
New referendum to approve any changes.	18	13	39	14	16

Alliance

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Implement BA & devolution as possible.	16	33	43	3	5
Temporary arrangements to run Assembly.	15	42	33	5	5
Administrative Assembly then Executive.	25	34	38	3	0
Departmental committees then Executive.	13	25	41	15	6
All BA under temporary arrangements.	18	23	44	10	5
New referendum to approve any changes.	12	15	36	11	26

SDLP

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Implement BA & devolution as possible.	12	44	28	13	3
Temporary arrangements to run Assembly.	11	55	25	7	2
Administrative Assembly then Executive.	17	43	28	8	4
Departmental committees then Executive.	7	45	32	10	6
All BA under temporary arrangements.	9	52	27	6	6
New referendum to approve any changes.	6	34	29	17	14

Sinn Féin

	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Implement BA & devolution as possible.	4	26	26	36	8
Temporary arrangements to run Assembly.	13	26	32	19	10
Administrative Assembly then Executive.	5	42	10	24	19
Departmental committees then Executive.	4	34	13	26	23
All BA under temporary arrangements.	6	32	14	31	17
New referendum to approve any changes.	8	24	18	15	35

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

Protestant

	Yes	No
All parties to cooperate to achieve decommissioning.	94	6
No inclusive Executive without an end to IRA violence.	81	19
No inclusive Executive without IRA decommissioning.	80	20
No inclusive Executive without IRA May 2000 deadline.	79	21

Catholic

	Yes	No
All parties to cooperate to achieve decommissioning.	87	13
No inclusive Executive without an end to IRA violence.	52	48
No inclusive Executive without IRA decommissioning.	57	43
No inclusive Executive without IRA May 2000 deadline.	66	34

DUP

	Yes	No
All parties to cooperate to achieve decommissioning.	92	8
No inclusive Executive without an end to IRA violence.	83	17
No inclusive Executive without IRA decommissioning.	82	18
No inclusive Executive without IRA May 2000 deadline.	80	20

UUP

	Yes	No
All parties to cooperate to achieve decommissioning.	93	7
No inclusive Executive without an end to IRA violence.	80	20
No inclusive Executive without IRA decommissioning.	80	20
No inclusive Executive without IRA May 2000 deadline.	77	23

PUP

	Yes	No
All parties to cooperate to achieve decommissioning.	89	11
No inclusive Executive without an end to IRA violence.	71	29
No inclusive Executive without IRA decommissioning.	68	32
No inclusive Executive without IRA May 2000 deadline.	70	30

Alliance

	Yes	No
All parties to cooperate to achieve decommissioning.	91	9
No inclusive Executive without an end to IRA violence.	74	26
No inclusive Executive without IRA decommissioning.	80	20
No inclusive Executive without IRA May 2000 deadline.	93	7

SDLP

	Yes	No
All parties to cooperate to achieve decommissioning.	92	8
No inclusive Executive without an end to IRA violence.	60	40
No inclusive Executive without IRA decommissioning.	65	35
No inclusive Executive without IRA May 2000 deadline.	71	29

Sinn Féin

	Yes	No
All parties to cooperate to achieve decommissioning.	86	14
No inclusive Executive without an end to IRA violence.	28	72
No inclusive Executive without IRA decommissioning.	28	72
No inclusive Executive without IRA May 2000 deadline.	34	66

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

Protestant

	Yes	No
Sinn Féin in the Executive.	32	68
An end to Loyalist violence.	31	70
Implementation of the Patten Report on police reform.	41	59
Full Implementation of all of the other parts of the Belfast Agreement.	44	56

Catholic

	Yes	No
Sinn Féin in the Executive.	11	89
An end to Loyalist violence.	16	84
Implementation of the Patten Report on police reform.	36	64
Full Implementation of all of the other parts of the Belfast Agreement.	32	68

DUP

	Yes	No
Sinn Féin in the Executive.	36	64
An end to Loyalist violence.	35	65
Implementation of the Patten Report on police reform.	36	64
Full Implementation of all of the other parts of the Belfast Agreement.	47	53

UUP

	Yes	No
Sinn Féin in the Executive.	29	71
An end to Loyalist violence.	29	71
Implementation of the Patten Report on police reform.	46	54
Full Implementation of all of the other parts of the Belfast Agreement.	43	57

PUP

	Yes	No
Sinn Féin in the Executive.	16	84
An end to Loyalist violence.	18	82
Implementation of the Patten Report on police reform.	25	75
Full Implementation of all of the other parts of the Belfast Agreement.	32	68

Alliance

	Yes	No
Sinn Féin in the Executive.	16	84
An end to Loyalist violence.	7	93
Implementation of the Patten Report on police reform.	38	62
Full Implementation of all of the other parts of the Belfast Agreement.	34	66

SDLP

	Yes	No
Sinn Féin in the Executive.	13	87
An end to Loyalist violence.	16	84
Implementation of the Patten Report on police reform.	41	59
Full Implementation of all of the other parts of the Belfast Agreement.	36	64

Sinn Féin

	Yes	No
Sinn Féin in the Executive.	3	97
An end to Loyalist violence.	15	85
Implementation of the Patten Report on police reform.	20	80
Full Implementation of all of the other parts of the Belfast Agreement.	28	72

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

Protestant

	Yes	No
An end to IRA violence.	21	79
A start on decommissioning by the IRA.	26	74
The completion of IRA decommissioning by May 2000.	31	69
Full Implementation of all of the decommissioning and non-violence commitments of the Belfast Agreement.	35	65

Catholic

	Yes	No
An end to IRA violence.	42	58
A start on decommissioning by the IRA.	59	41
The completion of IRA decommissioning by May 2000.	61	39
Full Implementation of all of the decommissioning and non-violence commitments of the Belfast Agreement.	52	48

DUP

	Yes	No
An end to IRA violence.	18	82
A start on decommissioning by the IRA.	22	78
The completion of IRA decommissioning by May 2000.	25	75
Full Implementation of all of the decommissioning and non-violence commitments of the Belfast Agreement.	35	65

UUP

	Yes	No
An end to IRA violence.	22	78
A start on decommissioning by the IRA.	29	71
The completion of IRA decommissioning by May 2000.	34	66
Full Implementation of all of the decommissioning and non-violence commitments of the Belfast Agreement.	35	65

PUP

	Yes	No
An end to IRA violence.	29	71
A start on decommissioning by the IRA.	30	70
The completion of IRA decommissioning by May 2000.	27	73
Full Implementation of all of the decommissioning and non-violence commitments of the Belfast Agreement.	32	68

Alliance

	Yes	No
An end to IRA violence.	26	74
A start on decommissioning by the IRA.	20	80
The completion of IRA decommissioning by May 2000.	23	77
Full Implementation of all of the decommissioning and non-violence commitments of the Belfast Agreement.	29	71

SDLP

	Yes	No
An end to IRA violence.	29	71
A start on decommissioning by the IRA.	44	56
The completion of IRA decommissioning by May 2000.	51	49
Full Implementation of all of the decommissioning and non-violence commitments of the Belfast Agreement.	46	54

Sinn Féin

	Yes	No
An end to IRA violence.	67	33
A start on decommissioning by the IRA.	92	8
The completion of IRA decommissioning by May 2000.	90	10
Full Implementation of all of the decommissioning and non-violence commitments of the Belfast Agreement.	68	32

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

Protestant

Yes	53
No	31
Did not vote	16

Catholic

Yes	76
No	9
Did not vote	15

DUP

Yes	26
No	56
Did not vote	18

UUP

Yes	70
No	16
Did not vote	14

PUP

Yes	77
No	14
Did not vote	9

Alliance

Yes	84
No	10
Did not vote	6

SDLP

Yes	80
No	3
Did not vote	17

Sinn Féin

Yes	74
No	9
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

Protestant

Yes	64
No	36

Catholic

Yes	89
No	11

DUP

Yes	32
No	68

UUP

Yes	82
No	18

PUP

Yes	85
No	15

Alliance

Yes	90
No	10

SDLP

Yes	96
No	4

Sinn Féin

Yes	89
No	11

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

All NI

Yes	58
No	31
Would not vote	11

Protestant

Yes	43
No	46
Would not vote	11

Catholic

Yes	80
No	11
Would not vote	9

DUP

Yes	29
No	65
Would not vote	6

UUP

Yes	50
No	39
Would not vote	11

PUP

Yes	52
No	41
Would not vote	7

Alliance

Yes	72
No	20
Would not vote	8

SDLP

Yes	89
No	4
Would not vote	7

Sinn Féin

Yes	80
No	10
Would not vote	10

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

(with 'would not vote' removed)

All NI

Yes	65
No	35

Protestant

Yes	49
No	51

Catholic

Yes	88
No	12

DUP

Yes	31
No	69

UUP

Yes	56
No	44

PUP

Yes	56
No	44

Alliance

Yes	79
No	21

SDLP

Yes	95
No	5

Sinn Féin

Yes	89
No	11

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

Protestant

Yes to Yes	34
Yes to No	15
Yes to Would not vote	5
No to Yes	2
No to No	27
No to Would not vote	1
Did not vote to Yes	8
Did not vote to No	3
Did not vote to Would not vote	5

Catholic

Yes to Yes	70
Yes to No	4
Yes to Would not vote	1
No to Yes	3
No to No	5
No to Would not vote	2
Did not vote to Yes	8
Did not vote to No	2
Did not vote to Would not vote	5

DUP

Yes to Yes	16
Yes to No	7
Yes to Would not vote	3
No to Yes	3
No to No	53
No to Would not vote	0
Did not vote to Yes	10
Did not vote to No	4
Did not vote to Would not vote	4

UUP

Yes to Yes	43
Yes to No	21
Yes to Would not vote	6
No to Yes	1
No to No	14
No to Would not vote	1
Did not vote to Yes	7
Did not vote to No	3
Did not vote to Would not vote	4

PUP

Yes to Yes	43
Yes to No	27
Yes to Would not vote	7
No to Yes	5
No to No	9
No to Would not vote	0
Did not vote to Yes	5
Did not vote to No	4
Did not vote to Would not vote	0

Alliance

Yes to Yes	69
Yes to No	10
Yes to Would not vote	5
No to Yes	0
No to No	10
No to Would not vote	0
Did not vote to Yes	3
Did not vote to No	0
Did not vote to Would not vote	3

SDLP

Yes to Yes	76
Yes to No	3
Yes to Would not vote	1
No to Yes	2
No to No	0
No to Would not vote	1
Did not vote to Yes	11
Did not vote to No	1
Did not vote to Would not vote	5

Sinn Féin

Yes to Yes	71
Yes to No	2
Yes to Would not vote	1
No to Yes	2
No to No	4
No to Would not vote	4
Did not vote to Yes	7
Did not vote to No	4
Did not vote to Would not vote	5