IN SEARCH OF A SETTLEMENT

Summary Tables of Principal Statistical Results

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MRNI Ltd	Interviewer	2	
46 Elmwood Avenue			
Belfast	Date	•••••	
BT9 6AW			
Tel (01232) 661037	Quest No:		1-4
IN S	EARCH OF A SE	TTLEMENT	
	survey aimed at disco	s from MRNI Ltd. We are vering what the people of Northern ement.	
The questions deal with t	he most important issu	ues and include:	
Human rights Reforming the po A regional assem North/South bod Constitutional is Relations betwee	ably lies		
		widely published in the local press who have been elected to take part	
The research is independ undertaken by Dr Colin I		oseph Rowntree Trust and is being niversity of Belfast.	
All your answers will be	kept completely confid	lential.	
	presentative sample in	and people from across Northern t terms of age, gender, social class, cal area.	
about your background t	o see where you fit into and then I will let you j	l start by asking you a few questions o our sample. We can then work on finish the questionnaire yourself and t.	
Postcode			(273-274)
County			(275)
District Council			(276-277)
Parliamentary Constitue	ency		(278-279)
Telephone Number			

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IN SEARCH OF A SETTLEMENT

Background Questions

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

A. Age

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

All NI

18 - 24	16	(5)
25 - 34	21	
35 - 44	18	
45 - 54	15	
55 - 64	12	
65 and over	18	

Protestant

18 - 24	15	(5)
25 - 34	20	
35 - 44	13	
45 - 54	20	
55 - 64	11	
65 and over	21	

Catholic

18 - 24	17
25 - 34	22
35 - 44	20
45 - 54	12
55 - 64	14
65 and over	15

(5)

DUP

201		
18 - 24	15	(5)
25 - 34	21	
35 - 44	12	
45 - 54	23	
55 - 64	17	
65 and over	12	

UUP

18 - 24	10	(5)
18 - 24	10	(5)
25 - 34	18	
35 - 44	12	
45 - 54	20	
55 - 64	12	
65 and over	28	

Alliance

18 - 24	5	(5)
25 - 34	16	
35 - 44	21	
45 - 54	17	
55 - 64	22	
65 and over	19	

SDLP

18 - 24	14	(5)
25 - 34	22	
35 - 44	23	
45 - 54	11	
55 - 64	11	
65 and over	19	

Sinn Féin

18 - 24	21	(5)
25 - 34	19	
35 - 44	26	
45 - 54	11	
55 - 64	11	
65 and over	12	

B Gender

(Interviewer to code)

All NI

Male	49	(6)
Female	51	

Protestant

Male	47	(6)
Female	53	

Catholic

Male	51	(6)
Female	49	

DUP

Male	54	(6)
Female	46	

UUP

Male	45	(6)
Female	55	

Alliance

Male	50	(6)
Female	50	

SDLP

Male	47	(6)
Female	53	

Sinn Féin

Male	59	(6
Female	41	

C Occupation

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

All N	I	
AB	15	(7)
C1	28	
C2	23	
DE	34	

Protestant		
AB	19	(7)
C1	29	
C2	22	
DE	30	

Catholic		
AB	12	(7)
C1	21	
C2	25	
DE	42	

DUP

AB	15	(7)
C1	18	
C2	29	
DE	38	

UUP

AB	17	(7)
C1	32	
C2	25	
DE	27	

Alliance

111141	100	
AB	33	(7)
C1	32	
C2	12	
DE	23	

SDLP

~~==		
AB	18	(7)
C1	23	
C2	22	
DE	37	

Sinn Féin

AB	6	(7
C1	16	
C2	35	
DE	43	

D Religion

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

SHOWCARD 1

All NI

Protestant	50	(8)
Catholic	40	
Other	2	
Refused	8	

Protestant

Protestant	100	(8)
Catholic	0	
Other	0	
Refused	0	

Catholic

(8)

Protestant	0
Catholic	100
Other	0
Refused	0

DUP

Protestant	92	(8)
Catholic	0	
Other	0	
Refused	8	

UUP

~ ~ ~	_	
Protestant	100	(8)
Catholic	0	
Other	0	
Refused	0	

Alliance

(8)

(8)

Protestant	58
Catholic	30
Other	7
Refused	5

SDLP

~~		
Protestant	0	(8)
Catholic	100	
Other	0	
Refused	0	

Sinn Féin

Protestant	0
Catholic	95
Other	2
Refused	3

E Political support

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

SHOWCARD 2

All NI

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

Protestant

UUP/Ulster Unionist Party/OUP/Official Unionist Party	46	9-10
	70)-10
SDLP/Social Democratic Labour Party	0	
DUP/Democratic Unionist Party	19	
Sinn Fein	0	
Alliance	11	
UK Unionist Party	2	
PUP/Progressive Unionist Party	7	
UDP/Ulster Democratic Party	2	
Woman's Coalition Party of Northern Ireland	1	
Labour Party of Northern Ireland	1	
Other(Write in)	3	
Refused	9	

Catholic

UUP/Ulster Unionist Party/OUP/Official Unionist Party	0	9-10
SDLP/Social Democratic Labour Party	51	
DUP/Democratic Unionist Party	0	
Sinn Fein	34	
Alliance	7	
UK Unionist Party	0	
PUP/Progressive Unionist Party	0	
UDP/Ulster Democratic Party	0	
Woman's Coalition Party of Northern Ireland	1	
Labour Party of Northern Ireland	0	
Other(Write in)	2	
Refused	5	

F Identity (Ask for each option in turn)
Do you feel you are 'Strongly', 'Moderately', 'Slightly' or "Not at all".....?
SHOWCARD 3

All NI	Strongly	Moderately	Slightly	Not at all	
Loyalist	17	13	10	60	(11
Republican	8	8	9	75	(12
Unionist	25	15	10	50	(13
Nationalist	17	12	8	63	(14
'The Centre Ground'	13	20	19	48	(15

All NI	Strongly	Moderately	Slightly	Not at all	1
European	3	18	31	48	(16)
Northern Irish	20	27	20	33	(17)
British	40	13	9	38	(18)
Irish	31	12	12	45	(19)
Both British and Irish	8	15	19	58	(20)

Protestant	Strongly	Moderately	Slightly	Not at all	1
Loyalist	32	24	18	26	(11)
Republican	0	1	1	98	(12)
Unionist	46	25	14	15	(13)
Nationalist	0	2	3	95	(14)
'The Centre Ground'	8	21	20	51	(15)

Protestant	Strongly	Moderately	Slightly	Not at all	
European	1	18	34	47	(16
Northern Irish	22	24	18	36	(17
British	73	16	4	7	(18
Irish	1	12	12	75	(19
Both British and Irish	8	14	20	58	(20)

Catholic	Strongly	Moderately	Slightly	Not at all	1
Loyalist	0	1	0	99	(11
Republican	17	17	21	45	(12
Unionist	1	0	3	96	(13
Nationalist	38	25	16	21	(14
'The Centre Ground'	14	20	19	47	(15

Catholic	Strongly	Moderately	Slightly	Not at all	
European	5	18	28	49	(16)
Northern Irish	17	29	27	27	(17)
British	1	6	15	78	(18)
Irish	70	13	10	7	(19)
Both British and Irish	5	16	18	61	(20)

DUP	Strongly	Moderately	Slightly	Not at all	
Loyalist	61	22	6	11	(11)
Republican	0	1	0	99	(12)
Unionist	70	21	7	2	(13)
Nationalist	0	4	2	94	(14)
'The Centre Ground'	2	18	13	67	(15)

DUP	Strongly	Moderately	Slightly	Not at all	
European	1	16	40	43	(16)
Northern Irish	23	22	20	35	(17)
British	86	9	3	2	(18)
Irish	2	5	6	87	(19)

				12
Both British and Irish	4	7	16	73
UUP	Strongly	Moderately	Slightly	Not at all
Loyalist	27	27	26	20
Republican	0	1	1	98
Unionist	56	28	9	7
Nationalist	0	1	2	97
'The Centre Ground'	2	24	25	49
UUP	Strongly	Moderately	Slightly	Not at all
European	1	19	37	43
Northern Irish	22	26	17	35
British	86	7	1	6
Irish	2	9	10	79
Both British and Irish	9	12	23	56
Alliance	Ctuonale	Modowataly	Clichtly	Not at all
Lovalist	Strongly	Moderately	Slightly	Not at all
Republican	0	6 2	11 7	82 91
Unionist	5	15	18	62
Nationalist Nationalist	8	9	8	75
'The Centre Ground'	45	21	18	16
The Count Ground	1 15			1
Alliance	Strongly	Moderately	Slightly	Not at all
European	2	18	39	41
Northern Irish	25	37	19	19
British	24	36	13	27
Irish	11	28	22	39
Both British and Irish	14	33	15	38
SDLP	Strongly	Moderately	Slightly	Not at all
Loyalist	0	2	1	97
Republican	1	15	23	61
Unionist	1	1	4	94
Nationalist	34	28	22	16
'The Centre Ground'	14	30	25	31
SDLP	Strongly	Moderately	Slightly	Not at all
European	6	19	29	46
Northern Irish	16	36	30	18
British	2	6	20	72
Irish	66	15	11	8
Both British and Irish	5	20	22	53
Sinn Féin	Strongly	Moderately	Slightly	Not at all
Loyalist	O	0	0	100
Republican	51	23	18	8
Unionist	0	0	1	99
Nationalist	57	15	9	19
'The Centre Ground'	3	8	10	79
	<u> </u>		01 0	
Sinn Féin	Strongly 4	Moderately	Slightly	Not at all
		20	23	53
European	•	1.0	2.4	20
European Northern Irish	18	19	24	39
European Northern Irish British	18	0	2	98
European Northern Irish	18			

In Search of a Settlement

1. Reasons for the Northern Ireland Conflict

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

SHOWCARD 4

All NI	Very	Significan	Of Some	Of Little	Of No	
	Significan t	t	Significance	Significanc	Significanc e	
The British state - The continued British presence		15	19	13	21	(21)
in the island of Ireland.						, ,
The Dublin government - The Republic of	29	18	23	16	14	(22)
Ireland's involvement in Northern Ireland affairs and						
perceived 'push' for a united Ireland.						
Political uncertainty - The British Government's	22	17	33	17	11	(23)
pursuit of a political settlement that is acceptable to all						
of the interested parties.						
The Republic's territorial claim - The	38	19	17	12	14	(24)
constitutional claim on the territory of Northern						
Ireland by the Republic of Ireland.						
Northern Ireland politicians - The failure of		22	24	5	3	(25)
Northern Ireland politicians to reach accommodation						
on the political future of Northern Ireland.						
Unaccountable and secretive government - The	40	21	22	10	7	(26)
failure to provide for adequate public scrutiny of						
government decisions and hold Northern Ireland						
public officials to account.						
Lack of equality - Continued discrimination in		18	18	10	11	(27)
employment and equal opportunities in all areas of						
government responsibility.	20	1.0				
Segregated education - The segregation of children	30	18	22	15	15	(28)
into mostly Protestant and Catholic schools.	20	22	2.4	1.2	1.0	(20)
Segregated housing - The segregation of public housing into mostly Protestant and Catholic estates.	28	22	24	13	13	(29)
Cultural and social sectarianism - A lack of	43	26	20	7	4	(30)
respect and appreciation on of the culture and people				,		(50)
of the 'other' tradition.						
Political sectarianism - The division of Northern	47	24	16	5	8	(31)
Ireland politics along sectarian or 'tribal' lines.						
The Catholic Church - The prominent role of the	21	22	22	19	16	(32)
Roman Catholic Church in the island of Ireland.						
The Protestant Churches - Their links with the	18	22	27	19	14	(33)
Orange Order and the role of the 'Established						
Church' in Britain.						
The IRA - The Irish Republican Army and their use	68	11	9	4	8	(34)
of violence.						
The Loyalists - The Loyalist paramilitary groups	55	17	15	7	6	(35)
(UVF, UFF etc.) and their use of violence.						
All paramilitary organisations - The use of	61	18	14	4	3	(36)
violence by all paramilitary groups.]
The British Army - The British Security forces	24	16	21	14	25	(37)
and their use of violence against the civilian						
population in Northern Ireland.						
The RUC - The failure to provide a police service	32	15	19	15	19	(38)
that is acceptable to the whole community.						
Ineffective security - The failure of government and	48	21	17	8	6	(39)
the security forces to deal with terrorism.		<u> </u>]

Protestant	Very	Significan	Of Some	Of Little	Of No	1
	Significan	τ	Significance	Significanc e	Significanc e	
The British state	17	10	23	16	34	(21)
The Dublin government	42	18	19	9	12	(22)
Political uncertainty	20	16	33	19	12	(23)
The Republic's territorial claim	53	19	11	5	12	(24)
Northern Ireland politicians	31	24	32	7	6	(25)
Unaccountable and secretive government	31	21	27	12	9	(26)
Lack of equality	21	20	23	17	19	(27)
Segregated education	25	15	23	19	18	(28)
Segregated housing	23	20	23	16	18	(29)
Cultural and social sectarianism	30	25	29	10	6	(30)
Political sectarianism	30	27	25	7	11	(31
The Catholic Church	29	26	23	13	9	(32)
The Protestant Churches	14	16	24	28	18	(33)
The IRA	87	2	3	1	7	(34)
The Loyalists	53	16	15	9	7	(35)
All paramilitary organisations	67	15	12	3	3	(36)
The British Army	6	8	24	22	40	(37)
The RUC	9	10	22	26	33	(38
Ineffective security	56	20	15	4	5	(39)

Catholic	Very	Significan	Of Some	Of Little	Of No	1
	Significan	t	Significance	Significanc	Significanc	
	t			e	e	
The British state	51	20	15	7	7	(21
The Dublin government	16	18	27	23	16	(22
Political uncertainty	23	16	36	14	11	(23
The Republic's territorial claim	21	21	24	18	16	(24
Northern Ireland politicians	59	22	16	2	1	(25
Unaccountable and secretive government	52	22	17	6	3	(26
Lack of equality	71	14	11	3	1	(27
Segregated education	31	23	22	12	12	(28
Segregated housing	33	24	25	10	8	(29
Cultural and social sectarianism	57	27	12	3	1	(30
Political sectarianism	66	20	8	3	3	(31
The Catholic Church	10	16	22	27	25	(32
The Protestant Churches	21	27	32	9	11	(33
The IRA	45	19	18	8	10	(34
The Loyalists	57	17	16	4	6	(35
All paramilitary organisations	56	20	15	5	4	(36
The British Army	48	24	18	4	6	(37
The RUC	62	20	15	1	2	(38
Ineffective security	34	23	21	14	8	(39

DUP	Very	Significan	Of Some	Of Little	Of No
-	Significan	t	Significance	Significanc	Significanc
	t			e	e
The British state	23	10	18	14	35
The Dublin government	61	7	9	6	17
Political uncertainty	20	16	35	21	8
The Republic's territorial claim	60	12	5	4	19
Northern Ireland politicians	29	19	40	6	6
Unaccountable and secretive government	45	17	22	14	2
Lack of equality	29	16	19	24	12
Segregated education	27	9	20	26	18
Segregated housing	28	14	21	17	20
Cultural and social sectarianism	17	14	37	14	18
Political sectarianism	17	18	36	11	18
The Catholic Church	40	23	16	13	8
The Protestant Churches	17	11	19	27	26
The IRA	86	2	0	3	9
The Loyalists	37	18	20	8	17
All paramilitary organisations	52	20	21	3	4
The British Army	6	10	16	15	53
The RUC	7	6	18	22	47
Ineffective security	58	18	17	4	3

UUP	Very	Significan	Of Some	Of Little	Of No	1
	Significan	t	Significance	Significanc	Significanc	
The British state	14	10	24	16	36	(2
The Dublin government	41	24	16	9	10	(
Political uncertainty	22	17	31	15	15	(
The Republic's territorial claim	57	15	14	4	10	(
Northern Ireland politicians	27	26	30	11	6	(
Unaccountable and secretive government	26	23	27	12	12	(
Lack of equality	15	22	25	15	23	(
Segregated education	23	17	21	19	20	(
Segregated housing	18	25	22	15	20	(
Cultural and social sectarianism	33	24	31	9	3	(
Political sectarianism	32	32	21	6	9	(
The Catholic Church	28	27	26	9	10	(
The Protestant Churches	11	11	32	26	20	(
The IRA	87	2	4	1	6	(
The Loyalists	55	17	14	10	4	(
All paramilitary organisations	69	14	11	3	3	(
The British Army	5	4	22	29	40	(
The RUC	9	8	18	32	33	(
Ineffective security	67	15	10	4	4	(

Alliance	Very	Significan	Of Some	Of Little	Of No	
	Significan	t	Significance	Significanc	Significanc	
	t			e	e	
The British state	27	17	29	22	5	(21)
The Dublin government	12	15	40	21	12	(22)
Political uncertainty	14	12	29	30	15	(23)
The Republic's territorial claim	31	23	22	13	11	(24)
Northern Ireland politicians	57	25	17	1	0	(25)
Unaccountable and secretive government	25	25	29	15	6	(26)
Lack of equality	25	26	23	19	7	(27)
Segregated education	33	22	32	9	4	(28)
Segregated housing	25	22	34	15	4	(29)
Cultural and social sectarianism	42	34	16	7	1	(30)
Political sectarianism	44	34	19	2	1	(31)
The Catholic Church	13	28	27	22	10	(32)
The Protestant Churches	12	28	37	12	11	(33)
The IRA	80	10	6	3	1	(34)
The Loyalists	77	13	4	6	0	(35)
All paramilitary organisations	78	10	9	3	0	(36)
The British Army	17	16	44	11	12	(37)
The RUC	17	24	46	4	9	(38)
Ineffective security	33	40	21	4	2	(39)

SDLP	Very	Significan	Of Some	Of Little	Of No	
	Significan	t	Significance	Significanc	Significanc	
	t			e	e	_
The British state	44	26	16	8	6	(21)
The Dublin government	11	21	32	24	12	(22)
Political uncertainty	22	17	39	12	10	(23)
The Republic's territorial claim	16	24	29	20	11	(24)
Northern Ireland politicians	63	18	16	2	1	(25)
Unaccountable and secretive government	55	22	17	3	3	(26)
Lack of equality	75	12	10	2	1	(27)
Segregated education	35	22	21	14	8	(28)
Segregated housing	35	25	25	9	6	(29)
Cultural and social sectarianism	66	20	10	4	0	(30)
Political sectarianism	72	18	7	0	3	(31)
The Catholic Church	7	19	25	26	23	(32)
The Protestant Churches	19	23	38	12	8	(33)
The IRA	60	16	15	2	7	(34)
The Loyalists	68	14	10	3	5	(35)
All paramilitary organisations	68	15	9	4	4	(36)
The British Army	47	25	20	2	6	(37)
The RUC	65	23	10	1	1	(38)
Ineffective security	39	28	16	14	3	(39)

Sinn Féin	Very	Significan	Of Some	Of Little	Of No	
	Significan t	t	Significance	Significanc e	Significanc e	
The British state	73	13	4	4	6	(21)
The Dublin government	18	13	21	26	22	(22)
Political uncertainty	27	15	36	14	8	(23)
The Republic's territorial claim	24	17	19	20	20	(24)
Northern Ireland politicians	50	35	12	2	1	(25)
Unaccountable and secretive government	48	24	18	6	4	(26)
Lack of equality	69	17	12	1	1	(27)
Segregated education	23	22	25	11	19	(28)
Segregated housing	25	22	25	15	13	(29)
Cultural and social sectarianism	43	37	13	5	2	(30)
Political sectarianism	59	21	9	8	3	(31)
The Catholic Church	16	10	15	29	30	(32)
The Protestant Churches	29	32	22	8	9	(33)
The IRA	20	22	27	18	13	(34)
The Loyalists	37	21	30	6	6	(35)
All paramilitary organisations	30	32	29	7	2	(36)
The British Army	52	28	6	6	8	(37)
The RUC	70	12	15	1	2	(38)
Ineffective security	24	13	28	17	18	(39)

Choosing your options for a lasting settlement

Most of the remainder of this questionnaire will present you with various options on what could be the different parts of a settlement for the future of Northern Ireland. Every effort has been made to address all the problems referred to in question one as human rights issues, as questions of police reform, as part of Strand One, Two and Three of the Stormont Talks or as constitutional reform in the Republic of Ireland or the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Where necessary explanations will be provided.

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

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

SHOWCARD 5

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. Steps towards a lasting peace in Northern Ireland

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

SHOWCARD 6

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
British withdrawal - The British undertaking to	20	14	13	10	43	(40)
leave Northern Ireland in a fixed period of time.						
End Anglo-Irish Agreement- The Republic of	24	17	21	19	19	(41
Ireland end their involvement in Northern Ireland						
affairs.						
Integrate Northern Ireland into the UK - The		14	20	12	34	(42
British Government stop looking for political						
solutions to the Northern Ireland problem and						
simply govern from Westminster.						
Removal of territorial claim - The Republic of	38	13	12	10	27	(43
Ireland remove their claim on the territory of						
Northern Ireland from their constitution.						
Shared political institutions - Reform Northern	21	14	28	18	19	(44
Ireland's political institutions to facilitate the sharing						Ì
of government by the whole society.	,					
Freedom of Information Act - The opening up of	33	25	25	11	6	(45
government to public scrutiny through the						(
introduction of a Freedom of Information Act.						
Bill of Rights - A Northern Ireland Bill of Rights	54	22	17	6	1	(46
that guarantees equality for all.			1,		_	(. 0
School choice - A right to choose integrated	43	24	26	4	3	(47
education.		2 '	20			(. ,
Housing choice - A right to choose integrated	39	24	28	6	3	(48
housing.	. 37	24	20		3	(40
Cultural rights - A Northern Ireland Bill of	49	22	23	4	2	(49
Rights that guarantees and protects the culture of		22	23	7	2	(4)
each community.						
A new political culture - Politics organised along	43	29	19	6	3	(50
lines of political ideology as opposed to sectarian		29	19		3	(30
division.	l.					
Separate politics and religion in the Republic	24	23	27	13	13	(51
		23	27	13	13	(31
of Ireland - Require the Churches and religious institutions in the Republic of Ireland not to get						
directly involved in politics.	0.7	26	26	1.0	1.1	(50
Separate politics and religion in Northern		26	26	10	11	(52
Ireland - Require the Churches and religious						
institutions in Northern Ireland not to get directly						
involved in politics.	7.0	1.0	1.0			
Disband paramilitary groups - Decommission		12	10	4	4	(53
all arms held by paramilitary groups and disband						
their organisations.						
Return army to barracks - Return all military		14	20	11	24	(54
units to their barracks and do not use them for						
internal security operations in Northern Ireland.						
Reform the police - Reform policing services in		10	14	11	31	(55
Northern Ireland to make them acceptable to the	;					
whole community.						
'Crack down' on terrorists - Introduce and		18	13	5	7	(56
enforce stronger and effective anti-terrorist						
measures.						

Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
British withdrawal	1	6	8	12	73	(4
End Anglo-Irish Agreement	36	20	20	17	7	(4
Integrate Northern Ireland into the UK	35	22	25	8	10	(4
Removal of territorial claim	63	19	8	5	5	(4
Shared political institutions	12	10	31	20	27	(,
Freedom of Information Act	24	28	24	15	9	(-
Bill of Rights	37	28	23	10	2	(
School choice	35	25	31	6	3	(
Housing choice	30	24	34	8	4	(
Cultural rights	36	26	30	7	1	(-
A new political culture	31	31	25	9	4	(
Separate politics and religion in the Republic of Ireland	30	23	27	12	8	(
Separate politics and religion in Northern Ireland	31	26	25	11	7	(
Disband paramilitary groups	70	11	10	4	5	(
Return army to barracks	8	13	21	17	41	(
Reform the police	7	8	15	17	53	(
'Crack down' on terrorists	69	19	8	2	2	(

Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
British withdrawal	47	23	17	8	5
End Anglo-Irish Agreement	10	11	19	23	37
Integrate Northern Ireland into the UK	4	2	13	16	65
Removal of territorial claim	7	5	13	16	59
Shared political institutions	32	18	23	17	10
Freedom of Information Act	47	23	22	6	2
Bill of Rights	77	13	8	1	1
School choice	53	21	22	3	1
Housing choice	50	22	22	4	2
Cultural rights	67	19	11	1	2
A new political culture	58	27	10	2	3
Separate politics and religion in the Republic of Ireland		21	27	18	19
Separate politics and religion in Northern Ireland	20	26	27	10	17
Disband paramilitary groups	66	15	9	5	5
Return army to barracks	60	16	18	3	3
Reform the police	70	13	11	3	3
'Crack down' on terrorists	39	18	21	9	13

DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
British withdrawal	1	4	3	4	88	(40)
End Anglo-Irish Agreement	49	10	13	18	10	(41
Integrate Northern Ireland into the UK	44	30	14	5	7	(42
Removal of territorial claim	74	17	3	0	6	(43
Shared political institutions	4	6	32	20	38	(44
Freedom of Information Act	14	23	40	12	11	(45
Bill of Rights	17	21	42	14	6	(46
School choice	26	19	36	7	12	(47
Housing choice	18	10	47	10	15	(48
Cultural rights	26	18	40	8	8	(49
A new political culture	17	13	51	9	10	(50
Separate politics and religion in the Republic of Ireland		18	29	10	10	(51
Separate politics and religion in Northern Ireland	28	30	31	6	5	(52
Disband paramilitary groups	45	14	22	11	8	(53
Return army to barracks	11	2	15	14	58	(54
Reform the police	5	5	8	14	68	(55
'Crack down' on terrorists	66	18	10	1	5	(56

UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
British withdrawal	1	4	5	11	79
End Anglo-Irish Agreement	40	27	17	12	4
Integrate Northern Ireland into the UK	41	25	23	6	5
Removal of territorial claim	68	17	8	3	4
Shared political institutions	11	8	32	23	26
Freedom of Information Act	25	28	24	16	7
Bill of Rights	40	32	19	8	1
School choice	39	27	28	4	2
Housing choice	34	28	34	4	0
Cultural rights	40	27	26	7	0
A new political culture	37	34	19	9	1
Separate politics and religion in the Republic of Ireland	30	29	25	10	6
Separate politics and religion in Northern Ireland	28	29	26	10	7
Disband paramilitary groups	79	9	8	2	2
Return army to barracks	7	11	21	17	44
Reform the police	6	4	11	20	59
'Crack down' on terrorists	77	15	6	1	1

Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
British withdrawal	9	19	22	22	28	(40
End Anglo-Irish Agreement	6	13	34	28	19	(41
Integrate Northern Ireland into the UK	8	9	35	23	25	(42
Removal of territorial claim	25	23	28	14	10	(43
Shared political institutions	25	21	27	11	16	(44
Freedom of Information Act	23	28	27	16	6	(45
Bill of Rights	60	15	24	1	0	(46
School choice	50	37	11	1	1	(47
Housing choice	48	37	11	3	1	(48
Cultural rights	41	34	23	1	1	(49
A new political culture	47	39	9	5	0	(50
Separate politics and religion in the Republic of Ireland		15	31	15	9	(51
Separate politics and religion in Northern Ireland	37	20	13	14	16	(52
Disband paramilitary groups	76	17	3	2	2	(53
Return army to barracks	19	32	37	9	3	(54
Reform the police	8	24	45	9	14	(55
'Crack down' on terrorists	61	27	11	0	1	(56

SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
British withdrawal	36	27	22	10	5
End Anglo-Irish Agreement	7	15	18	24	36
Integrate Northern Ireland into the UK	3	3	15	18	61
Removal of territorial claim	6	4	14	16	60
Shared political institutions	39	20	25	11	5
Freedom of Information Act	53	23	19	5	0
Bill of Rights	82	8	8	1	1
School choice	59	18	20	2	1
Housing choice	52	21	21	4	2
Cultural rights	71	16	10	1	2
A new political culture	62	28	6	1	3
Separate politics and religion in the Republic of Ireland		23	26	24	14
Separate politics and religion in Northern Ireland	19	30	27	10	14
Disband paramilitary groups	85	7	5	2	1
Return army to barracks	60	16	18	3	3
Reform the police	70	18	6	4	2
'Crack down' on terrorists	48	19	18	7	8

Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
British withdrawal	70	16	11	1	2	(40
End Anglo-Irish Agreement	14	11	21	19	35	(41
Integrate Northern Ireland into the UK	5	4	6	6	79	(42
Removal of territorial claim	14	4	4	10	68	(43
Shared political institutions	21	15	19	30	15	(44
Freedom of Information Act	41	23	23	9	4	(45
Bill of Rights	74	17	6	2	1	(46
School choice	47	19	29	4	1	(47
Housing choice	46	18	28	6	2	(48
Cultural rights	63	22	13	1	1	(49
A new political culture	52	26	17	3	2	(50
Separate politics and religion in the Republic of Ireland	13	22	29	11	25	(51
Separate politics and religion in Northern Ireland	19	23	31	10	17	(52
Disband paramilitary groups	39	26	14	11	10	(53
Return army to barracks	77	10	8	3	2	(54
Reform the police	86	3	8	0	3	(55
'Crack down' on terrorists	22	12	28	13	25	(56

3. Protecting the Rights of the People of Northern Ireland

The European Convention on Human Rights

Like the French and American constitutions the European Convention on Human Rights protects individuals by guaranteeing each persons right to life, liberty, freedom of thought and expression, justice and equality (a brief list is given below).

the right....

To life.

Rights

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

To protection from slavery or forced work.

Not to be unlawfully arrested or detained.

To a fair trial.

To freedom of belief and expression.

To free association.

To privacy and family life.

Not to be discriminated against.

To a remedy for breaches of human rights.

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

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
The European Convention on Human Rights - The introduction of the European Convention on Human Rights into domestic law to provide for quick and effective access to these minimum international standards.		23	17	7	2	(57)
Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
The European Convention on Human Rights	32	31	24	10	3	(57)
Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
The European Convention on Human Rights		12	8	4	0	(57)
DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
The European Convention on Human Rights	23	29	27	16	5	(57)
UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
The European Convention on Human Rights	36	29	28	6	1	(57)
Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
The European Convention on Human Rights	51	26	12	9	2	(57)
SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
The European Convention on Human Rights	79	13	6	2	0	(57)
Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
The European Convention on Human	74	9	11	6	0	(57)

An Additional Bill of Rights for Northern Ireland

In addition to protecting these basic rights some recent negotiated settlements, for example South Africa, have included a Bill of Rights to deal with many of the special political, social and cultural problems that lay at the heart of their conflict. A Northern Ireland Bill of Rights could address many of the different political, social and cultural problems reviewed in the earlier questions. Alternatively, as in the past, all these problems could simply be dealt with one at a time through the normal processes of policy and law making. Please indicate which of these various options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Northern Ireland Bill of Rights - An additional Bill of Rights and new laws as may be required to address the special political, social and cultural problems of Northern Ireland.		29	20	8	5	(58)
No Bill of Rights - just new laws - No additional Bill of Rights, just new policies and legislation to address the special political, social and cultural problems of Northern Ireland.		17	35	17	19	(59)
Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Northern Ireland Bill of Rights	27	31	25	11	6	(58)
No Bill of Rights - just new laws	10	15	41	19	15	(59)
Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Northern Ireland Bill of Rights	54	29	9	6	2	(58)
No Bill of Rights - just new laws	16	17	26	13	28	(59)
DUP Northern Ireland Bill of Rights	Essential 29	Desirable 21	Acceptable 28	Tolerable	Unacceptable 6	(58)
No Bill of Rights - just new laws	18	7	39	22	14	(59)
110 Dir of Rights - Just new laws	10	,	37	22	14	(3))
UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Northern Ireland Bill of Rights	25	34	25	8	8	(58)
No Bill of Rights - just new laws	7	20	41	19	13	(59)
Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Northern Ireland Bill of Rights	26	33	27	8	6	(58)
No Bill of Rights - just new laws	13	15	42	19	11	(59)
SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Northern Ireland Bill of Rights	55	32	6	6	1	(58)
No Bill of Rights - just new laws	14	18	25	14	29	(59)
Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Northern Ireland Bill of Rights	59	21	12	6	2	(58)
No Bill of Rights - just new laws	21	16	23	10	30	(59)

Human Rights Courts and Commissions

In addition to a Bill of Rights a special court could be established to hear complaints and the Northern Ireland Standing Advisory Commission on Human Rights could be strengthened to extend its responsibilities for monitoring to include investigations, education and the development of human rights as a part of the culture of Northern Ireland. Additionally a Human Rights Commission could be given the responsibility of bringing individual complaints to court in much the same way as the Northern Ireland Fair Employment Commission. Please indicate which of these options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Human Rights Court - A special Human		25	31	8	5	(60
Rights Court to hear complaints brought)
under a Northern Ireland Bill of Rights.						
Stronger Human Rights Commission -	24	28	31	11	6	(61
A special Commission to monitor,)
investigate and promote Human Rights in						
Northern Ireland.						
Commission with powers to bring cases		26	28	8	6	(62
to court - A Human Rights Commission)
with a responsibility to bring individual						
complaints to court. (Similar to the powers						
of the Fair Employment Commission)]

Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable]
Human Rights Court	21	20	41	11	7	(60
Stronger Human Rights Commission	13	23	38	17	9	(61)
Commission with powers to bring cases to court	21	20	39	11	9	(62)

Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable]
Human Rights Court	51	28	16	3	2	(60
Stronger Human Rights Commission	41	33	20	4	2	(61)
Commission with powers to bring cases to court	50	30	16	3	1	(62

DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Human Rights Court	16	22	44	4	14	(60)
Stronger Human Rights Commission	11	18	37	17	17	(61
Commission with powers to bring cases to court	18	19	36	7	20	(62)

UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Human Rights Court	25	15	45	11	4	(60)
Stronger Human Rights Commission	14	20	42	20	4	(61)
Commission with powers to bring cases to court	20	19	40	15	6	(62)

Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Human Rights Court	20	28	33	14	5	(60
Stronger Human Rights Commission	14	29	38	14	5	(61
Commission with powers to bring cases to court	27	23	33	10	7	(62

SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable]
Human Rights Court	49	31	17	2	1	(60)
Stronger Human Rights Commission	40	37	19	3	1	(61)
Commission with powers to bring cases to court	44	40	15	1	0	(62)

Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Human Rights Court	60	23	11	5	1	(60)
Stronger Human Rights Commission	51	24	15	7	3	(61)
Commission with powers to bring cases to court	63	21	10	6	0	(62)

Economic, social and cultural rights

In addition to the European Convention on Human Rights a Northern Ireland Bill of Rights could include many of the rights that have already been established in other international conventions and treaties. For example the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights includes:

The right to :

Food, clothing and shelter.
Health.
Education.
Work.
Safe and fair conditions of work.
Social security.
Cultural expression.

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

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Ī
Economic, Social and Cultural Rights -	52	24	20	3	1	(63)
The inclusion of international standards for						
economic, social and cultural rights in a						
Northern Ireland Bill of Rights.]
						T
Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Economic, Social and Cultural Rights	41	26	26	5	2	(63)
			,			•
Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Economic, Social and Cultural Rights	72	21	6	1	0	(63)
_						_
DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Economic, Social and Cultural Rights	34	22	32	9	3	(63)
						_
UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Economic, Social and Cultural Rights	44	27	26	3	0	(63)
						_
Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Ī
Economic, Social and Cultural Rights	42	34	23	1	0	(63)
						-
SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Ī
Economic, Social and Cultural Rights	74	23	3	0	0	(63)
						•
Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Ī
Economic, Social and Cultural Rights	70	17	10	3	0	(63)

Collective Rights of peoples and members of minorities

Some international treaties and conventions also include collective rights. These could also be included in a Northern Ireland Bill of Rights or a special Minority Rights Treaty agreed between Britain and Ireland. Please indicate which ones you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Self-determination - The right to self-	46	26	19	5	4	(64)
determination.						
Freedom of religion etc. - The right to		17	17	10	4	(65)
practise their religion, use their language						
and enjoy their culture.						
Language of education - The right to be		18	26	16	11	(66)
taught or educated in their distinctive						
language.						
Participation in government - The right		23	25	8	5	(67)
to participate effectively in government,						
especially on matters affecting them.						
Parity of esteem - The right to parity of	44	24	19	9	4	(68)
treatment and esteem.						
No group membership - The right not to		21	17	6	6	(69)
be treated as members of a distinct						
community against their will.						

Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	ſ
Self-determination	32	30	25	8	5	(64)
Freedom of religion etc.	30	19	28	17	6	(65)
Language of education	11	13	30	29	17	(66)
Participation in government	23	20	37	12	8	(67)
Parity of esteem	26	25	27	15	7	(68)
No group membership	32	24	26	9	9	(69)

Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Ī
Self-determination	63	23	9	1	4	(64)
Freedom of religion etc.	80	14	4	1	1	(65)
Language of education	55	23	20	1	1	(66)
Participation in government	61	23	12	3	1	(67)
Parity of esteem	68	20	9	2	1	(68)
No group membership	76	14	6	2	2	(69)

DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Self-determination	29	26	31	10	4	(64)
Freedom of religion etc.	21	6	31	28	14	(65)
Language of education	8	1	19	41	31	(66)
Participation in government	20	12	38	16	14	(67)
Parity of esteem	19	18	28	24	11	(68)
No group membership	22	12	40	17	9	(69)

UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Self-determination	30	33	23	10	4	(64)
Freedom of religion etc.	34	19	31	14	2	(65)
Language of education	10	14	35	27	14	(66)
Participation in government	21	24	40	11	4	(67)
Parity of esteem	25	29	31	11	4	(68)
No group membership	32	28	25	6	9	(69)

Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Ī
Self-determination	42	33	18	6	1	(64)
Freedom of religion etc.	50	27	19	1	3	(65)
Language of education	17	26	44	8	5	(66)
Participation in government	36	36	19	7	2	(67)
Parity of esteem	52	29	15	4	0	(68)
No group membership	51	34	12	1	2	(69)

SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Ī
Self-determination	59	24	10	2	5	(64)
Freedom of religion etc.	82	14	3	1	0	(65)
Language of education	49	28	20	1	2	(66)
Participation in government	60	25	12	2	1	(67)
Parity of esteem	70	22	6	1	1	(68)
No group membership	77	16	5	1	1	(69)

Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	ſ
Self-determination	79	15	2	1	3	(64)
Freedom of religion etc.	87	10	1	1	1	(65)
Language of education	67	20	12	1	0	(66)
Participation in government	75	15	7	3	0	(67)
Parity of esteem	75	13	9	3	0	(68)
No group membership	86	7	4	2	1	(69)

Collective and Minority Rights in Northern Ireland

These collective rights can be introduced into Northern Ireland Law in a number of different ways. They could be part of a Northern Ireland Bill of Rights, or the British and Irish governments could enter into a treaty on collective and minority rights or, as in the past, all these problems could simply be dealt with one at a time through the normal processes of policy and law making. Please indicate which of these various options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Northern Ireland Bill of Rights - A Bill	35	23	25	10	7	(70)
of Rights that includes collective and						
minority rights.						
British and Irish Minority Rights	25	16	23	15	21	(71)
Treaty - No Bill of Rights but establish a						
treaty between the British and Irish						
governments to protect their minorities in						
accordance with international standards.						
No Collective or Minority Rights for	12	12	27	18	31	(72)
Northern Ireland - No Bill of Rights or						
British/Irish treaty, just new policies and						
legislation to address issues relating to the						
problems of minorities.						

Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
Northern Ireland Bill of Rights	17	23	34	15	11	(70)
British and Irish Minority Rights Treaty	10	8	28	19	35	(71)
No Collective or Minority Rights for Northern Ireland	9	15	32	20	24	(72)

Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Ī
Northern Ireland Bill of Rights	61	25	10	3	1	(70)
British and Irish Minority Rights Treaty	46	28	14	10	2	(71)
No Collective or Minority Rights for Northern Ireland	13	9	21	14	43	(72)

DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Northern Ireland Bill of Rights	12	12	31	23	22	(70)
British and Irish Minority Rights Treaty	5	3	12	17	63	(71)
No Collective or Minority Rights for Northern Ireland	19	15	25	18	23	(72)

UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	ĺ
Northern Ireland Bill of Rights	16	23	36	15	10	(70)
British and Irish Minority Rights Treaty	8	8	32	18	34	(71)
No Collective or Minority Rights for Northern Ireland	7	18	32	21	22	(72)

Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Ī
Northern Ireland Bill of Rights	25	37	26	9	3	(70)
British and Irish Minority Rights Treaty	15	24	38	13	10	(71)
No Collective or Minority Rights for Northern Ireland	10	17	25	16	32	(72)

SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Northern Ireland Bill of Rights	62	22	10	4	2	(70)
British and Irish Minority Rights	44	29	13	12	2	(71)
Treaty						
No Collective or Minority Rights for	10	10	19	17	44	(72)
Northern Ireland						

Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Northern Ireland Bill of Rights	65	26	6	3	0	(70)
British and Irish Minority Rights	52	23	12	10	3	(71)
Treaty						
No Collective or Minority Rights for	19	8	17	13	43	(72)
Northern Ireland						

Some special rights for Northern Ireland

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

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
The right to freedom of political expression	57	22	19	2	0	(73)
The right to freedom of religious expression	61	20	16	3	0	(74)
The right to freedom from incitement to	67	17	12	1	3	(75)
hatred						
The right to freedom of worship	73	17	10	0	0	(76)
The right to freedom from intimidation	78	11	9	1	1	(77)
The right to peaceful demonstrations and	53	22	15	8	2	(78)
parades						
The right to use the Irish language	31	17	22	19	11	(79)
The right to education in Irish language	28	16	23	20	13	(80)
schools						
The right to education in Integrated schools	37	27	21	12	3	(81)
The right to education in Catholic schools	32	19	28	15	6	(82)
The right to education in Protestant schools	35	23	31	9	2	(83)
The right to choose single religion public	21	12	25	19	23	(84)
housing						
The right to choose mixed religion public	32	26	25	11	6	(85)
housing						

Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
freedom of political expression	47	22	28	3	0	(73)
freedom of religious expression	53	21	23	3	0	(74)
freedom from incitement to hatred	57	23	16	1	3	(75)
freedom of worship	65	20	15	0	0	(76)
freedom from intimidation	73	14	12	1	0	(77)
peaceful demonstrations and parades	53	24	16	6	1	(78)
use the Irish language	8	12	27	34	19	(79)
education in Irish language schools	7	8	27	36	22	(80)
education in Integrated schools	23	25	28	20	4	(81)
education in Catholic schools	13	15	41	23	8	(82)
education in Protestant schools	22	24	41	11	2	(83)
choose single religion public housing	13	10	30	24	23	(84)
choose mixed religion public housing	22	25	32	13	8	(85)

Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
freedom of political expression	70	19	8	2	1	(73
freedom of religious expression	76	15	7	2	0	(74
freedom from incitement to hatred	82	7	6	1	4	(75)
freedom of worship	84	12	4	0	0	(76
freedom from intimidation	88	6	4	1	1	(77
peaceful demonstrations and parades	54	18	12	12	4	(78
use the Irish language	63	21	14	2	0	(79
education in Irish language schools	57	24	17	1	1	(80
education in Integrated schools	55	28	14	2	1	(81
education in Catholic schools	56	25	15	3	1	(82
education in Protestant schools	54	21	19	4	2	(83
choose single religion public housing	32	11	23	13	21	(84
choose mixed religion public housing	47	26	19	5	3	(85

DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
freedom of political expression	56	18	24	2	0
freedom of religious expression	59	18	21	2	0
freedom from incitement to hatred	53	24	20	0	3
freedom of worship	66	13	21	0	0
freedom from intimidation	67	12	21	0	0
peaceful demonstrations and parades	66	20	6	7	1
use the Irish language	7	7	14	33	39
education in Irish language schools	5	4	15	35	41
education in Integrated schools	16	9	29	36	10
education in Catholic schools	9	10	41	28	12
education in Protestant schools	34	13	43	10	0
choose single religion public housing	25	13	18	20	24
choose mixed religion public housing	25	10	23	21	21

UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
freedom of political expression	44	25	30	1	0	(73)
freedom of religious expression	54	21	24	1	0	(74)
freedom from incitement to hatred	59	23	15	1	2	(75)
freedom of worship	69	19	12	0	0	(76)
freedom from intimidation	74	14	11	1	0	(77)
peaceful demonstrations and parades	61	21	16	2	0	(78)
use the Irish language	9	9	29	41	12	(79)
education in Irish language schools	8	9	27	42	14	(80)
education in Integrated schools	28	26	29	15	2	(81)
education in Catholic schools	20	14	40	20	6	(82)
education in Protestant schools	26	26	37	8	3	(83)
choose single religion public housing	12	9	32	21	26	(84)
choose mixed religion public housing	26	33	31	7	3	(85)

Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
freedom of political expression	52	25	19	3	1	(73
freedom of religious expression	59	24	16	1	0	(74
freedom from incitement to hatred	78	14	6	0	2	(75
freedom of worship	80	16	4	0	0	(76
freedom from intimidation	84	14	2	0	0	(77
peaceful demonstrations and parades	21	38	23	17	1	(78
use the Irish language	13	35	37	12	3	(79
education in Irish language schools	9	22	47	14	8	(80
education in Integrated schools	33	56	7	4	0	(81
education in Catholic schools	12	27	35	21	5	(82
education in Protestant schools	13	23	41	17	6	(83
choose single religion public housing	7	5	29	33	26	(84
choose mixed religion public housing	17	36	35	4	8	(85

SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
freedom of political expression	70	20	7	2	1
freedom of religious expression	82	12	4	2	0
freedom from incitement to hatred	85	6	5	1	3
freedom of worship	85	12	3	0	0
freedom from intimidation	90	4	4	0	2
peaceful demonstrations and parades	54	16	14	11	5
use the Irish language	57	25	15	3	0
education in Irish language schools	53	24	19	2	2
education in Integrated schools	55	27	16	1	1
education in Catholic schools	59	22	16	3	0
education in Protestant schools	57	20	19	3	1
choose single religion public housing	31	10	19	15	25
choose mixed religion public housing	45	30	15	5	5

Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
freedom of political expression	85	13	1	1	0	(7:
freedom of religious expression	81	15	3	1	0	(74
freedom from incitement to hatred	80	10	4	1	5	(7:
freedom of worship	84	12	3	1	0	(7
freedom from intimidation	90	8	1	1	0	(7
peaceful demonstrations and parades	66	17	7	7	3	(7
use the Irish language	81	13	6	0	0	(79
education in Irish language schools	75	20	5	0	0	(80
education in Integrated schools	64	17	15	3	1	(8
education in Catholic schools	64	22	10	1	3	(82
education in Protestant schools	56	22	14	4	4	(83
choose single religion public housing	41	18	22	8	11	(8
choose mixed religion public housing	51	20	21	7	1	(8

4. Reforming the Police Service

Reforming the police services in Northern Ireland can be divided up into several issues ranging from simply strengthening complaints procedures to changing the character and structure of the force to who has ultimate responsibility for the service.

Police complaints procedures

At the present time complaints against the RUC are investigated by the police and supervised by an independent commission. This commission has asked the government to give it some additional powers. Alternatively it could be replaced by a completely independent agency. Please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Reform existing complaints procedures	18	17	27	14	24 (
- Give the existing commission more scope					
to initiate and supervise complaints but					
maintain the role of the RUC in the					
investigation.					
Create new independent complaints		20	19	10	11 (
procedures - Establish a completely					
independent agency to deal with all aspects					
of investigations into complaints against the					
RUC.					
		•	1	•	
Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Reform existing procedures	22	22	39	11	6 (
Create new independent procedures	13	24	32	14	17
Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Reform existing procedures	12	7	15	17	49 (
Create new independent procedures	75	15	5	3	2
DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Reform existing procedures	29	14	45	10	2 (
Create new independent procedures	23	14	32	9	22
•			•	1	
UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Reform existing procedures	23	29	33	8	7 (
Create new independent procedures					(
1 1					<u> </u>
Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Reform existing procedures	10	19	33	24	14
Create new independent procedures	5	18	41	19	17 (
Processing Processing	1	1	1	<u> </u>	`
SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Reform existing procedures	11	7	17	17	48 (
Create new independent procedures	81	13	3	2	1 (
Create new macpenaent procedures		1			
Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Reform existing procedures	16	9	9	10	56 (
Create new independent procedures	82	4	8	4	2 (
Create new independent procedures	0.2	4	8	4	2

The character of the police force

At the present time the Royal Ulster Constabulary is a largely Protestant police force with a predominantly 'British' character. The culture of the police service could be left much as it is or it could be reformed to make it more acceptable across the whole community. Please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Better training and education - Require	44	30	23	2	1	(88)
special training in cross community						
relations and education in human rights.						
Policing charter - Define the duties and		30	26	6	2	(89)
responsibilities of the service in a policing						
charter and new legislation.						
Monitoring of policing standards -	39	31	21	7	2	(90)
Require all agencies with responsibilities for						
policing to monitor standards and publish						
reports.	4.2	1.0	22	1.2		(0.1)
More Catholic police officers - Make a	42	19	22	12	5	(91)
greater effort to recruit more Catholics.	2.5	1.0	1.5	1.2	2.2	(0.2)
New emblems and symbols - Change the	25	12	17	13	33	(92)
emblems and symbols of the police force to						
make it more acceptable across the whole community.						
	26	12	15	12	35	(93)
New name - Change the name of the Royal Ulster Constabulary to make it more	20	1 2	13	12	33	(93)
acceptable across the whole community.						
Declare membership of 'Loyal Orders' -	36	11	9	12	32	(94)
Require police officers who are part of a		11		12	32	()4)
Loyal Order to declare their membership.						
No members of 'Loyal Orders' - Do not	31	10	9	8	42	(95)
allow members of Loyal Orders to be		10				()0)
members of the police service.						
Modernise oath - Modify the Oath of	29	16	15	10	30	(96)
Allegiance to make it more acceptable across						
the whole community.						
Disarm the police - Only allow specially	17	20	15	8	40	(97)
trained units of the police force to have and						
use fire arms when confronted by an armed						
threat.						
No change - Do not change the character	16	15	15	15	39	(98)
of the RUC, leave the police service as it is.						

Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Better training and education	30	34	34	2	0
Policing charter	24	31	35	8	2
Monitoring of policing standards	23	34	32	9	2
More Catholic police officers	19	23	30	19	9
New emblems and symbols	3	8	14	18	57
New name	3	7	15	16	59
Declare membership of 'Loyal Orders'	9	9	10	18	54
No members of 'Loyal Orders'	5	8	9	9	69
Modernise oath	9	15	14	15	47
Disarm the police	5	12	13	8	62
No change	27	26	23	13	11
-					
Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Better training and education	64	22	11	2	1
Policing charter	51	26	17	4	2
Monitoring of policing standards	60	23	10	5	2
More Catholic police officers	71	14	11	2	2
New emblems and symbols	57	18	15	5	5
New name	59	18	15	4	4
Declare membership of 'Loyal Orders'	71	12	7	5	5
No members of 'Loyal Orders'	69	12	7	7	5
Modernise oath	57	16	11	5	11
Disarm the police	33	31	17	9	10
No change	2	1	6	12	79
DAND			1		•
DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Better training and education	16	23	57	3	1
Policing charter	18	24	41	14	3
Monitoring of policing standards	19	28	36	15	2
More Catholic police officers	13	6	24	36	21
New emblems and symbols	2	9	7	9	73
New name	1	5	7	7	80
Declare membership of 'Loyal Orders'		-			
2	7	6	6	10	71
No members of 'Loyal Orders'	1	3	3	5	88
No members of 'Loyal Orders' Modernise oath	1 14	3 11	3 7	5 11	88 57
No members of 'Loyal Orders' Modernise oath Disarm the police	1 14 6	3 11 4	3 7 5	5 11 1	88 57 84
No members of 'Loyal Orders' Modernise oath Disarm the police	1 14	3 11	3 7	5 11	88 57
No members of 'Loyal Orders' Modernise oath Disarm the police No change	1 14 6 41	3 11 4 35	3 7 5 15	5 11 1 6	88 57 84 3
No members of 'Loyal Orders' Modernise oath Disarm the police No change UUP	1 14 6 41 Essential	3 11 4 35	3 7 5 5 15 Acceptable	5 11 1 6 Tolerable	88 57 84 3
No members of 'Loyal Orders' Modernise oath Disarm the police No change UUP Better training and education	1 14 6 41 Essential 31	3 11 4 35 Desirable 36	3 7 5 15 Acceptable 32	5 11 1 6 Tolerable	88 57 84 3 Unacceptable
No members of 'Loyal Orders' Modernise oath Disarm the police No change UUP Better training and education Policing charter	1 14 6 41 Essential 31 24	3 11 4 35 Desirable 36 31	3 7 5 15 15 Acceptable 32 37	5 11 1 6 Tolerable 1 7	88 57 84 3 Unacceptable 0
No members of 'Loyal Orders' Modernise oath Disarm the police No change UUP Better training and education Policing charter Monitoring of policing standards	1 14 6 41 Essential 31 24 24	3 11 4 35 Desirable 36 31	3 7 5 15 Acceptable 32 37 37	5 11 1 6 Tolerable 1 7	88 57 84 3 Unacceptable 0 1
No members of 'Loyal Orders' Modernise oath Disarm the police No change UUP Better training and education Policing charter Monitoring of policing standards More Catholic police officers	1 14 6 41 Essential 31 24 24 21	3 11 4 35 Desirable 36 31 31 25	3 7 5 15 Acceptable 32 37 37 36	5 11 6 Tolerable 1 7 7	88 57 84 3 Unacceptable 0 1 1 4
No members of 'Loyal Orders' Modernise oath Disarm the police No change UUP Better training and education Policing charter Monitoring of policing standards More Catholic police officers New emblems and symbols	1 14 6 41 Essential 31 24 24 21	3 11 4 35 Desirable 36 31 31 25 2	3 7 5 15 Acceptable 32 37 37 36	5 11 1 6 Tolerable 1 7 7 7 14 25	88 57 84 3 Unacceptable 0 1 1 4 60
No members of 'Loyal Orders' Modernise oath Disarm the police No change UUP Better training and education Policing charter Monitoring of policing standards More Catholic police officers New emblems and symbols New name	1 14 6 41 Essential 31 24 24 21 1	3 11 4 35 Desirable 36 31 31 25 2	3 7 5 15 Acceptable 32 37 37 36 12	5 11 6 Tolerable 1 7 7 7 14 25 22	88 57 84 3 Unacceptable 0 1 1 4 60 63
No members of 'Loyal Orders' Modernise oath Disarm the police No change UUP Better training and education Policing charter Monitoring of policing standards More Catholic police officers New emblems and symbols New name Declare membership of 'Loyal Orders'	1 14 6 41 Essential 31 24 24 21 1 1	3 11 4 35 Desirable 36 31 31 25 2 3 6	3 7 5 15 Acceptable 32 37 37 36 12	5 11 6 Tolerable 1 7 7 14 25 22	88 57 84 3 Unacceptable 0 1 1 4 60 63 58
No members of 'Loyal Orders' Modernise oath Disarm the police No change UUP Better training and education Policing charter Monitoring of policing standards More Catholic police officers New emblems and symbols New name Declare membership of 'Loyal Orders' No members of 'Loyal Orders'	1 14 6 41 Essential 31 24 21 1 1 4 1	3 11 4 35 Desirable 36 31 31 25 2 3 6 4	3 7 5 15 Acceptable 32 37 37 36 12 11	5 11 6 Tolerable 1 7 7 14 25 22 22	88 57 84 3 Unacceptable 0 1 1 4 60 63 58 76
No members of 'Loyal Orders' Modernise oath Disarm the police No change UUP Better training and education Policing charter Monitoring of policing standards More Catholic police officers New emblems and symbols New name Declare membership of 'Loyal Orders' No members of 'Loyal Orders' Modernise oath	1 14 6 41 Essential 31 24 24 21 1 1 4	3 11 4 35 Desirable 36 31 31 25 2 3 6 4 10	3 7 5 15 Acceptable 32 37 37 36 12 11 10 8	5 11 1 6 Tolerable 1 7 7 14 25 22 22 11 21	88 57 84 3 Unacceptable 0 1 1 4 60 63 58 76 51
No members of 'Loyal Orders' Modernise oath Disarm the police No change UUP Better training and education Policing charter Monitoring of policing standards More Catholic police officers New emblems and symbols New name Declare membership of 'Loyal Orders' No members of 'Loyal Orders' Modernise oath Disarm the police No change	1 14 6 41 Essential 31 24 21 1 1 4 1	3 11 4 35 Desirable 36 31 31 25 2 3 6 4	3 7 5 15 Acceptable 32 37 37 36 12 11	5 11 6 Tolerable 1 7 7 14 25 22 22	88 57 84 3 Unacceptable 0 1 1 4 60 63 58 76

Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Better training and education	45	47	8	0	0	(88)
Policing charter	34	48	16	2	0	(89)
Monitoring of policing standards	22	55	14	8	1	(90)
More Catholic police officers	39	46	8	5	2	(91)
New emblems and symbols	9	21	36	20	14	(92)
New name	11	21	38	20	10	(93)
Declare membership of 'Loyal Orders'	34	32	15	10	9	(94)
No members of 'Loyal Orders'	31	30	11	10	18	(95)
Modernise oath	23	42	22	3	10	(96)
Disarm the police	8	42	16	8	26	(97)
No change	6	6	25	28	35	(98)

SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
Better training and education	69	20	9	1	1	(88)
Policing charter	56	28	13	1	2	(89
Monitoring of policing standards	70	19	9	1	1	(90
More Catholic police officers	81	9	9	1	0	(91
New emblems and symbols	62	16	15	4	3	(92
New name	61	18	13	5	3	(93
Declare membership of 'Loyal Orders'	74	13	5	3	5	(94
No members of 'Loyal Orders'	70	13	8	5	4	(95
Modernise oath	63	17	11	2	7	(96
Disarm the police	31	29	20	10	10	(97
No change	2	2	6	14	76	(98

Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Better training and education	64	21	9	3	3	(88)
Policing charter	54	17	19	7	3	(89)
Monitoring of policing standards	61	20	10	6	3	(90)
More Catholic police officers	66	16	10	3	5	(91)
New emblems and symbols	60	16	12	4	8	(92)
New name	66	13	11	4	6	(93)
Declare membership of 'Loyal Orders'	76	7	4	8	5	(94)
No members of 'Loyal Orders'	72	12	6	6	4	(95)
Modernise oath	54	10	5	8	23	(96)
Disarm the police	45	31	11	5	8	(97)
No change	1	1	3	6	89	(98)

The structure of the police force

At the present time the Royal Ulster Constabulary is a single force that has responsibility for providing all policing duties throughout the whole of Northern Ireland. The structure of the police could stay the same or new community services could be created as either part of this force or separate to them. Alternatively the RUC could be disbanded and replaced with either a new single force or several new forces. Please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Create new community policing units		28	27	11	18	(99)
within the RUC - Create new policing						
units to deal with domestic, community and						
non-violent sectarian problems at a local						
level as part of the RUC.						
Create new community policing units		13	24	16	36	(100)
outside the RUC - Create a number of new						
police forces at the local level to deal with						
less serious crimes leaving the RUC to deal						
with more serious crimes for Northern						
Ireland as a whole.						
Create a new single police force -		10	12	10	48	(101)
Disband the RUC and create a new single						
police force with fair representation from the						
whole community.						
Create a number of regional and city		12	16	10	51	(102)
police forces - Disband the RUC and create						
a number of new regional and city police						
forces in, for example, Belfast, (London)						
Derry and East and West of the River Bann.						
No change - Leave current policing	18	14	19	13	36	(103)
structures as they are.						

Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Create new community policing units within the RUC	12	28	36	12	12	(99)
Create new community policing units outside the RUC	3	6	24	19	48	(100)
Create a new single police force	1	2	6	9	82	(101)
Create a number of regional and city police forces	1	2	7	7	83	(102)
No change	30	24	27	10	9	(103)

Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Create new community policing units within the RUC		23	17	10	27	(99)
Create new community policing units outside the RUC	20	22	24	13	21	(100)
Create a new single police force	47	21	17	9	6	(101)
Create a number of regional and city police forces	24	25	29	11	11	(102)
No change	3	1	8	13	75	(103)

DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Create new community policing units within the RUC	12	23	35	11	19	(99)
Create new community policing units outside the RUC	7	5	14	18	56	(100)
Create a new single police force	0	1	0	7	92	(101)
Create a number of regional and city police forces	1	0	6	2	91	(102)
No change	54	22	18	3	3	(103)

UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	ĺ
Create new community policing units within the RUC		29	32	11	14	(99)
Create new community policing units outside the RUC	3	6	23	21	47	(100)
Create a new single police force	0	1	5	6	88	(101)
Create a number of regional and city police forces	0	1	4	7	88	(102)
No change	33	30	27	5	5	(103)

Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Create new community policing units within the RUC		42	34	10	7	(99)
Create new community policing units outside the RUC	4	4	20	21	51	(100)
Create a new single police force	0	8	24	32	36	(101)
Create a number of regional and city police forces	2	8	16	22	52	(102)
No change	8	7	30	32	23	(103)

SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Create new community policing units within the RUC	25	26	16	9	24	(99)
Create new community policing units outside the RUC	19	27	27	13	14	(100)
Create a new single police force	42	26	21	6	5	(101)
Create a number of regional and city police forces	17	30	31	10	12	(102)
No change	1	1	8	15	75	(103)

Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Create new community policing units within the RUC		22	16	10	35	(99)
Create new community policing units outside the RUC	26	20	21	10	23	(100)
Create a new single police force	70	14	7	6	3	(101)
Create a number of regional and city police forces	40	21	25	8	6	(102)
No change	5	2	1	6	86	(103)

Responsibility for Policing Services

At the present time responsibility for policing in Northern Ireland is divided between the Secretary of State, the Chief Constable and the Police Authority of Northern Ireland. Community Police Liaison Committees, established by District Councils, also have a consultation role. These various responsibilities could stay as they are or different individuals and groups could have increased powers or new responsibilities could be given to a new Northern Ireland Assembly. Please indicate which of the following options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable]
More responsibility for the Secretary of	9	10	25	23	33	(104)
State - Give more responsibility for the						
management of the police services to the						
Secretary of State.						
New responsibilities for a new Northern	13	22	26	18	21	(105)
Ireland Assembly - Give new						
responsibilities for the management of the						
police services to a new Northern Ireland						
Assembly.						
More responsibility for the Chief		17	29	16	24	(106)
Constable Give more responsibility for						
the management of the police services to the						
Chief Constable.						
More responsibility for a single Police		15	32	16	25	(107)
Authority - Give more responsibility for						
the management of the police services to the						
Police Authority of Northern Ireland.						
Give responsibility to a number of	6	12	29	25	28	(108)
regional and city Police Authorities -						
Give responsibility for the management of						
the police services to a number of new						
regional authorities in, for example, Belfast,						
(London) Derry and East and West of the						
River Bann.						
More responsibility for Community		17	27	18	26	(109)
Liaison Committees - Give more						
responsibility for the management of the						
police services to the Community Liaison						
Committees.						
No change - Leave the division of	14	16	19	14	37	(110)
responsibility for the police service as it is.]

Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable]
More responsibility for the Secretary of	8	8	23	23	38	(104)
State						
New responsibilities for a new Northern	5	17	29	23	26	(105)
Ireland Assembly						
More responsibility for the Chief	23	26	32	13	6	(106)
Constable						
More responsibility for a single Police	17	23	38	12	10	(107)
Authority						
Give responsibility to a number of	3	6	28	29	34	(108)
regional and city Police Authorities						
More responsibility for Community	4	10	26	21	39	(109)
Liaison Committees						
No change	22	26	30	11	11	(110)

Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
More responsibility for the Secretary of	11	12	30	20	27	(104)
State						
New responsibilities for a new Northern	25	27	24	11	13	(105)
Ireland Assembly						
More responsibility for the Chief	5	6	24	19	46	(106)
Constable						
More responsibility for a single Police	5	5	24	20	46	(107)
Authority						
Give responsibility to a number of	11	21	31	19	18	(108)
regional and city Police Authorities						
More responsibility for Community	22	27	28	13	10	(109)
Liaison Committees						
No change	2	1	5	15	77	(110)

DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
More responsibility for the Secretary of	13	6	18	18	45	(104)
State						
New responsibilities for a new Northern	4	10	18	25	43	(105)
Ireland Assembly						
More responsibility for the Chief	24	18	42	9	7	(106)
Constable						
More responsibility for a single Police	16	19	44	9	12	(107)
Authority						
Give responsibility to a number of	6	5	27	18	44	(108)
regional and city Police Authorities						
More responsibility for Community	7	6	21	16	50	(109)
Liaison Committees						
No change	34	30	25	8	3	(110)

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UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable]
More responsibility for the Secretary of State	8	8	27	27	30	(104
New responsibilities for a new Northern Ireland Assembly	5	14	36	27	18	(105
More responsibility for the Chief Constable	26	29	26	15	4	(106
More responsibility for a single Police Authority	22	23	33	14	8	(107
Give responsibility to a number of regional and city Police Authorities	3	7	27	33	30	(108
More responsibility for Community Liaison Committees	4	9	28	19	40	(109
No change	25	31	31	10	3	(110
Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable]
More responsibility for the Secretary of State	9	12	23	32	24	(104
New responsibilities for a new Northern Ireland Assembly	7	29	42	11	11	(105

Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
More responsibility for the Secretary of	9	12	23	32	24	(104)
State						
New responsibilities for a new Northern	7	29	42	11	11	(105)
Ireland Assembly						
More responsibility for the Chief	12	22	32	21	13	(106)
Constable						
More responsibility for a single Police	12	20	36	20	12	(107)
Authority						
Give responsibility to a number of	5	7	17	37	34	(108)
regional and city Police Authorities						
More responsibility for Community	2	17	24	32	25	(109)
Liaison Committees						
No change	7	9	24	29	31	(110)

SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
More responsibility for the Secretary of	11	13	33	25	18	(104)
State						
New responsibilities for a new Northern	30	25	26	7	12	(105)
Ireland Assembly						
More responsibility for the Chief	5	6	30	22	37	(106)
Constable						
More responsibility for a single Police	6	5	28	22	39	(107)
Authority						
Give responsibility to a number of	9	26	37	16	12	(108)
regional and city Police Authorities						
More responsibility for Community	22	27	29	13	9	(109)
Liaison Committees						
No change	2	1	6	17	74	(110)

Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
More responsibility for the Secretary of	13	13	22	12	40	(104)
State						
New responsibilities for a new Northern	21	27	17	16	19	(105)
Ireland Assembly						
More responsibility for the Chief	5	3	14	8	70	(106)
Constable						
More responsibility for a single Police	3	7	11	15	64	(107)
Authority						
Give responsibility to a number of	13	18	30	15	24	(108)
regional and city Police Authorities						
More responsibility for Community	30	24	24	13	9	(109)
Liaison Committees						
No change	2	5	1	8	84	(110)

Political Reform and the Stormont Talks

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

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

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

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

Negotiations also include constitutional issues.

5. Strand One: Political reform in Northern Ireland

At the present time Northern Ireland is governed under Direct Rule from Westminster with most important decisions being made by the Northern Ireland Office. Additionally District Councils and various Boards (sometimes known as 'quangos') have limited powers over areas of policy such as health, education and local government. Political development in Northern Ireland could include a number of different reforms involving the basic principles for government in a divided society, local government, the establishment of an assembly (similar to the ones proposed for Scotland and Wales) and an Executive responsible for regional government. Please indicate which reforms you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

The Structure and Powers of a Regional Assembly

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Elected Members - An assembly made up	25	26	33	8	8	(111)
from elected representatives.						
Appointed Members - A second chamber		18	37	20	20	(112)
or senate made up from prominent members						
of society.						
Assembly with monitoring powers - A	20	20	33	15	12	(113)
regional assembly is established with						
committees that shadow and monitor the						
departments of the Northern Ireland Office						
(NIO).						
Assembly with administrative powers -	17	23	38	14	8	(114)
A regional assembly is established with						
powers of administration.						
Assembly with planning powers - A		25	34	13	9	(115)
regional assembly is established with						
powers to initiate and develop new policies.						
Assembly with legislative powers - A		23	29	15	15	(116)
regional assembly is established with						
powers to make new laws.						
Assembly with tax altering powers - A		16	33	17	22	(117)
regional assembly is established with						
powers to alter taxes.						
No regional assembly - Northern Ireland	6	10	15	23	46	(118)
should <u>not</u> have a regional assembly.						

Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Elected Members	24	24	37	8	7	(111)
Appointed Members	3	14	40	22	21	(112)
Assembly with monitoring powers	17	18	36	16	13	(113)
Assembly with administrative powers	18	21	38	14	9	(114)
Assembly with planning powers	16	24	35	15	10	(115)
Assembly with legislative powers	15	21	32	16	16	(116)
Assembly with tax altering powers	10	13	32	19	26	(117)
No regional assembly	6	9	14	23	48	(118)

Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Elected Members	25	25	30	11	9	(111)
Appointed Members	7	18	38	19	18	(112)
Assembly with monitoring powers	26	22	32	11	9	(113)
Assembly with administrative powers	15	24	42	11	8	(114)
Assembly with planning powers	24	22	34	12	8	(115)
Assembly with legislative powers	24	22	29	12	13	(116)
Assembly with tax altering powers	16	16	36	14	18	(117)
No regional assembly	7	12	15	23	43	(118)

DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
Elected Members	18	19	47	5	11	(111)
Appointed Members	1	6	29	24	40	(112)
Assembly with monitoring powers	17	14	33	18	18	(113)
Assembly with administrative powers	13	19	40	15	13	(114)
Assembly with planning powers	13	23	37	12	15	(115)
Assembly with legislative powers	17	20	35	8	20	(116)
Assembly with tax altering powers	13	18	31	14	24	(117)
No regional assembly	9	8	13	18	52	(118)
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UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Elected Members	28	22	41	5	4	(111
Appointed Members	4	16	42	20	18	(112
Assembly with monitoring powers	19	19	36	17	9	(113
Assembly with administrative powers	22	22	35	17	4	(114
Assembly with planning powers	19	22	37	17	5	(115)
Assembly with legislative powers	18	19	32	19	12	(116)
Assembly with tax altering powers	9	11	31	25	24	(117
No regional assembly	6	10	13	25	46	(118
						-
Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Elected Members	35	34	16	10	5	(111)
Appointed Members	11	26	38	17	8	(112)
Assembly with monitoring powers	24	13	43	15	5	(113)
Assembly with administrative powers	22	29	34	10	5	(114)
Assembly with planning powers	23	33	27	8	9	(115)
Assembly with legislative powers	21	25	27	16	11	(116)
Assembly with tax altering powers	14	13	35	17	21	(117)
No regional assembly	6	3	17	37	37	(118)
CDID		la	T	lm , ,,	1	1
SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Elected Members	25	24	34	12	5	(111
Appointed Members	4	19	41	18	18	(112
Assembly with monitoring powers	24	25	37	11	3	(113)
Assembly with administrative powers	12	31	44	10	3	(114
Assembly with planning powers	18	27	41	9	5	(115)
Assembly with toy altoping powers	14	27	37	13	9	(116)
Assembly with tax altering powers No regional assembly	9	18	45 18	14	14 49	(117)
110 Tegional assembly	1	14	1 8	18	49	1(118)
Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
Elected Members	22	28	24	9	17	(111)
Appointed Members	11	20	29	17	23	(111)
Assembly with monitoring powers	27	24	18	13	18	(113)
Assembly with indutoring powers Assembly with administrative powers	20	19	30	15	16	(114
Assembly with planning powers	30	20	24	13	13	(115
Assembly with legislative powers	34	19	22	7	18	(113
Assembly with legislative powers Assembly with tax altering powers	26	19	27	8	20	(117)
No regional assembly	17	14	13	24	32	(118)
110 regional assembly	1 /	1 7	1.5	27	32] (110)

Appointments in a Regional Assembly:

,	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Proportionality of appointments -	23	22	27	16	12
Chairpersons and the membership of					
committees are assigned in proportion to the					
representation of each party in the assembly.					
Equality of appointments - Chairpersons	30	17	14	18	21
and the membership of committees are assigned equally between the two main					
traditions.					
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1 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0 0	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Proportionality of appointments	27	23	28	14	8
Equality of appointments	13	13	16	27	31
0.000	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
			2.4	20	18
Proportionality of appointments	18	20	24	20	
Proportionality of appointments Equality of appointments	18 52	25	11	7	5
Equality of appointments	52	25	11	7	5
Equality of appointments DUP	52 Essential	25 Desirable	11 Acceptable	7 Tolerable	5 Unacceptable
Equality of appointments DUP Proportionality of appointments	52 Essential 28	Desirable	Acceptable 26	7 Tolerable 21	5 Unacceptable
Equality of appointments DUP Proportionality of appointments	52 Essential	25 Desirable	11 Acceptable	7 Tolerable	5 Unacceptable
Equality of appointments DUP Proportionality of appointments	52 Essential 28	Desirable	Acceptable 26	7 Tolerable 21	5 Unacceptable
Equality of appointments DUP Proportionality of appointments Equality of appointments	Essential 28 6	Desirable 15 8	Acceptable 26 6	7 Tolerable 21 40	Unacceptable 10 40
Equality of appointments DUP Proportionality of appointments Equality of appointments UUP	Essential 28 6 Essential	Desirable 15 8 Desirable	Acceptable 26 6	Tolerable 21 40 Tolerable	Unacceptable 10 40 Unacceptable
Equality of appointments DUP Proportionality of appointments Equality of appointments UUP Proportionality of appointments	Essential 28 6	Desirable 15 8 Desirable 22	Acceptable 26 6	Tolerable 21 40 Tolerable 9	Unacceptable 10 40
Equality of appointments DUP Proportionality of appointments Equality of appointments UUP	Essential 28 6 Essential 35	Desirable 15 8 Desirable	Acceptable 26 6 Acceptable 31	Tolerable 21 40 Tolerable	Unacceptable 10 40 Unacceptable 3
Equality of appointments DUP Proportionality of appointments Equality of appointments UUP Proportionality of appointments	Essential 28 6 Essential 35	Desirable 15 8 Desirable 22	Acceptable 26 6 Acceptable 31	Tolerable 21 40 Tolerable 9	Unacceptable 10 40 Unacceptable 3
Equality of appointments DUP Proportionality of appointments Equality of appointments UUP Proportionality of appointments Equality of appointments Equality of appointments	Essential 28 6 Essential 35	Desirable 15 8 Desirable 22	Acceptable 26 6 Acceptable 31	Tolerable 21 40 Tolerable 9	Unacceptable 10 40 Unacceptable 3
Equality of appointments DUP Proportionality of appointments Equality of appointments UUP Proportionality of appointments Equality of appointments Alliance Proportionality of appointments	Essential 28 6 Essential 35 11	Desirable 15 8 Desirable 22 11	Acceptable 26 6 Acceptable 31 15	Tolerable 21 40 Tolerable 9 31	Unacceptable 10 40 Unacceptable 3 32
Equality of appointments DUP Proportionality of appointments Equality of appointments UUP Proportionality of appointments Equality of appointments Alliance Proportionality of appointments	Essential 28 6 Essential 35 11 Essential	Desirable 15 8 Desirable 22 11 Desirable	Acceptable 26 6 Acceptable 31 15	Tolerable 21 40 Tolerable 9 31	Unacceptable 10 40 Unacceptable 3 32 Unacceptable
Equality of appointments DUP Proportionality of appointments Equality of appointments UUP Proportionality of appointments Equality of appointments Alliance Proportionality of appointments	Essential 28 6 Essential 35 11 Essential 13	Desirable 15 8 Desirable 22 11 Desirable 38	Acceptable 26 6 Acceptable 31 15 Acceptable 29	Tolerable 21 40 Tolerable 9 31 Tolerable 15	Unacceptable 10 40 Unacceptable 3 32 Unacceptable 5
Equality of appointments DUP Proportionality of appointments Equality of appointments UUP Proportionality of appointments Equality of appointments Equality of appointments Equality of appointments Alliance Proportionality of appointments Equality of appointments	Essential 28 6 Essential 35 11 Essential 13	Desirable 15 8 Desirable 22 11 Desirable 38	Acceptable 26 6 Acceptable 31 15 Acceptable 29 18	Tolerable 21 40 Tolerable 9 31 Tolerable 15 20	Unacceptable 10 40 Unacceptable 3 32 Unacceptable 5 12
Equality of appointments DUP Proportionality of appointments Equality of appointments UUP Proportionality of appointments Equality of appointments Alliance Proportionality of appointments Equality of appointments SDLP	Essential 28 6 Essential 35 11 Essential 13	Desirable 15 8 Desirable 22 11 Desirable 38	Acceptable 26 6 Acceptable 31 15 Acceptable 29	Tolerable 21 40 Tolerable 9 31 Tolerable 15	Unacceptable 10 40 Unacceptable 3 32 Unacceptable 5
Equality of appointments DUP Proportionality of appointments Equality of appointments UUP Proportionality of appointments Equality of appointments Alliance Proportionality of appointments Equality of appointments Equality of appointments	Essential 28 6 Essential 35 11 Essential 13 26	Desirable 15 8 Desirable 22 11 Desirable 38 24	Acceptable 26 6 Acceptable 31 15 Acceptable 29 18	Tolerable 21 40 Tolerable 9 31 Tolerable 15 20	Unacceptable 10 40 Unacceptable 3 32 Unacceptable 5 12

Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Proportionality of appointments	22	22	16	17	23	(119)
Equality of appointments	54	19	11	8	8	(120)

Voting in a Regional Assembly

			1	T.	7
Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
18	21	29	12	20	(121)
16	18	28	18	20	(122)
	12	29	26	28	(123)
15	22	27	18	18	(124)
7	11	31	26	25	(125)
	5	18 21 16 18 5 12 15 22 7 11	18 21 29 16 18 28 5 12 29 15 22 27 7 11 31	18 21 29 12 16 18 28 18 5 12 29 26 15 22 27 18 7 11 31 26	18 21 29 12 20 16 18 28 18 20 5 12 29 26 28 15 22 27 18 18 7 11 31 26 25

Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Simple majority voting	24	25	37	6	8	(121)
Weighted voting for all business	9	12	31	23	25	(122)
Weighted voting for contentious	3	8	29	29	31	(123)
business						
Sufficient consensus for all business	6	14	29	25	26	(124)
Sufficient consensus for contentious	2	9	29	30	30	(125)
business						

Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Simple majority voting	7	15	24	15	39	(121)
Weighted voting for all business	27	25	27	9	12	(122)
Weighted voting for contentious	9	15	32	21	23	(123)
business						
Sufficient consensus for all business	27	32	26	8	7	(124)
Sufficient consensus for contentious	13	13	37	19	18	(125)
business						

DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable]
Simple majority voting	43	20	24	9	4	(121)
Weighted voting for all business	4	5	26	23	42	(122)
Weighted voting for contentious	2	1	22	21	54	(123)
business						
Sufficient consensus for all business	6	5	19	31	39	(124)
Sufficient consensus for contentious	2	7	11	34	46	(125)
business						
	•	•				=
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UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Simple majority voting	27	32	31	4	6	(121)
Weighted voting for all business	12	8	33	27	20	(122)
Weighted voting for contentious	2	9	31	34	24	(123)
business						
Sufficient consensus for all business	7	11	29	29	24	(124)
Sufficient consensus for contentious	0	8	33	34	25	(125)
business						

Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Simple majority voting	14	19	33	17	17	(121)
Weighted voting for all business	13	40	22	12	13	(122)
Weighted voting for contentious	10	10	32	26	22	(123)
business						
Sufficient consensus for all business	8	34	36	12	10	(124)
Sufficient consensus for contentious	7	11	38	22	22	(125)
business						

SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Simple majority voting	8	13	24	17	38	(121)
Weighted voting for all business	27	28	28	8	9	(122)
Weighted voting for contentious	7	19	36	21	17	(123)
business						
Sufficient consensus for all business	28	34	28	8	2	(124)
Sufficient consensus for contentious	12	16	41	18	13	(125)
business						

Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Simple majority voting	6	15	22	10	47	(121)
Weighted voting for all business	32	16	27	9	16	(122)
Weighted voting for contentious	11	14	26	17	32	(123)
business						
Sufficient consensus for all business	29	27	22	8	14	(124)
Sufficient consensus for contentious	16	14	31	14	25	(125)
business						

The Executive in a Regional Government

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Equality executive - Appointments to the		16	17	15	20	(126)
executive are assigned equally between the two						
main traditions.						
Proportional executive - Appointments to the		22	28	19	11	(127)
executive are assigned in proportion to the						
representation of each party in the assembly.						
Majority executive - Appointments to the	6	13	26	23	32	(128)
executive are assigned from the party or						
coalition that can form a majority.						
Principles of non-violence - Appointments to		21	12	7	9	(129)
the executive are assigned only from parties						
committed to principles of democracy and non-						
violence.						

And:

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Secretary of State appoints executive - The	6	9	26	23	36	(130)
Secretary of State appoints a power sharing						
executive.						
Secretary of State nominates executive -	6	17	32	24	21	(131)
The Secretary of State nominates a power						
sharing executive for approval by the assembly.						
Assembly votes for executive - The assembly		25	35	14	8	(132)
appoints the members of the power sharing						
executive.						
Committee Chairs as executive - The	7	16	41	22	14	(133)
Chairpersons of each committee should form						
the executive of the assembly.						
Government by Committee - The assembly	2	9	25	29	35	(134)
should not have an executive. All the business						
of government should be conducted by the						
various committees.						

Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Equality executive	11	12	24	24	29	(126)
Proportional executive	21	24	29	16	10	(127)
Majority executive	6	14	32	25	23	(128)
Principles of non-violence	63	18	10	5	4	(129)
Secretary of State appoints executive	5	8	27	19	41	(130)
Secretary of State nominates executive	5	15	32	24	24	(131)
Assembly votes for executive	20	26	34	12	8	(132)
Committee Chairs as executive	4	13	44	24	15	(133)
Government by Committee	2	6	22	30	40	(134)

Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Equality executive	61	22	10	3	4	(126)
Proportional executive	16	22	29	19	14	(127)
Majority executive	5	9	19	18	49	(128)
Principles of non-violence	34	21	17	10	18	(129)
Secretary of State appoints executive	7	10	24	28	31	(130)
Secretary of State nominates executive	8	21	27	24	20	(131)
Assembly votes for executive	18	23	34	16	9	(132)
Committee Chairs as executive	11	19	38	19	13	(133)
Government by Committee	4	13	25	29	29	(134)

DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Equality executive	4	9	22	14	51
Proportional executive	25	14	24	24	13
Majority executive	20	14	30	15	21
Principles of non-violence	73	14	7	4	2
Secretary of State appoints executive	7	4	19	10	60
Secretary of State nominates executive	8	7	28	30	27
Assembly votes for executive	24	18	28	17	13
Committee Chairs as executive	4	9	37	28	22
Government by Committee	4	6	20	25	45
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UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Equality executive	9	11	22	31	27
Proportional executive	24	27	31	11	7
Majority executive	5	16	31	26	22
Principles of non-violence	70	17	6	4	3
Secretary of State appoints executive	6	10	28	23	33
Secretary of State nominates executive	7	17	30	24	22
Assembly votes for executive	23	29	34	10	4
Committee Chairs as executive	6	13	42	28	11
Government by Committee	1	4	22	32	41
Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Equality executive	27	22	23	13	15
Proportional executive	17	25	25	27	6
Majority executive	4	8	38	27	23
Principles of non-violence	59	28	8	3	2
Secretary of State appoints executive	0	16	29	24	31
Secretary of State nominates executive	0	26	41	23	10
Assembly votes for executive	25	39	22	11	3
Committee Chairs as executive	4	24	40	27	5
Government by Committee	1	7	20	45	27
			•	1	
SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable		Unacceptable
Equality executive	58	26	12	2	2
Proportional executive	14	22	31	22	11
Majority executive	3	12	20	17	48
Principles of non-violence	45	23	16	9	7
Secretary of State appoints executive	9	10	27	32	22
Secretary of State nominates executive	8	25 25	31	26 16	10
Assembly votes for executive Committee Chairs as executive		19	33 43	16	9
Government by Committee	3		26	23	13
Government by Committee	3	16	20	23	32
Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
Equality executive	68	15	7	4	6
Equanty executive Proportional executive	20	16	25	16	23
Majority executive	5	11	12	13	59
Principles of non-violence	14	15	19	13	39
	6		20	13	45
Secretary of State appoints executive		11	19	20	38
		. 10	19	20	
	7		26	1.5	1.0
Assembly votes for executive	19	20	36	15	10
Assembly votes for executive Committee Chairs as executive Government by Committee			36 33 32	15 18 30	10 16 22

The Leadership in a Regional Government

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Leader and Deputy Leader - The assembly	20	28	25	14	13	(135)
should have a leader and deputy leader						
representing the two main traditions.						
A power sharing 'Panel' - A power sharing	10	13	35	20	22	(136)
leadership or 'panel' of three prominent						
politicians.						

And:

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Appointed by the Secretary of State - The	7	8	24	22	39	(137)
Secretary of State appoints the leader and						
deputy leader or power sharing 'panel'.						
Nominated by the Secretary of State - The		12	29	26	24	(138)
Secretary of State nominates the leader and						
deputy leader or power sharing 'panel' for						
approval by the assembly.						
Voted in by the assembly - The members of	16	19	38	16	11	(139)
the assembly appoint the leader and deputy						
leader or power sharing 'panel'.						
Voted for by the people - The leader and		20	21	8	5	(140)
deputy leader or power sharing 'panel' are						
directly voted for by the people of Northern						
Ireland.						

Or:

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
No Leader, Deputy Leader or 'Panel' - The	7	11	33	27	22	(141)
assembly should not have a leader, deputy leader or 'panel'. All the business of government should be conducted by the executive and/or various committees.						

Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Leader and Deputy Leader	15	24	25	19	17	(135)
A power sharing 'Panel'	7	11	35	21	26	(136)
Appointed by the Secretary of State	5	6	24	21	44	(137)
Nominated by the Secretary of State	8	9	29	26	28	(138)
Voted in by the assembly	16	19	37	15	13	(139)
Voted for by the people	50	21	16	7	6	(140)
No Leader, Deputy Leader or 'Panel'	3	10	28	30	29	(141)

Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable]
Leader and Deputy Leader	28	34	25	6	7	(135)
A power sharing 'Panel'	13	17	35	19	16	(136)
Appointed by the Secretary of State	10	9	24	25	32	(137)
Nominated by the Secretary of State	9	16	33	23	19	(138)
Voted in by the assembly	15	21	39	16	9	(139)
Voted for by the people	39	19	27	10	5	(140)
No Leader, Deputy Leader or 'Panel'	12	13	37	26	12	(141)

DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	ĺ
Leader and Deputy Leader	21	14	18	21	26	(135)
A power sharing 'Panel'	10	8	29	19	34	(136)
Appointed by the Secretary of State	7	8	14	6	65	(137)
Nominated by the Secretary of State	11	5	18	36	30	(138)
Voted in by the assembly	19	12	33	25	11	(139)
Voted for by the people	72	5	21	0	2	(140)
No Leader, Deputy Leader or 'Panel'	7	9	18	26	40	(141)

UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Leader and Deputy Leader	15	25	29	19	12	(135)
A power sharing 'Panel'	6	12	40	18	24	(136)
Appointed by the Secretary of State	6	7	27	24	36	(137)
Nominated by the Secretary of State	8	10	30	27	25	(138)
Voted in by the assembly	18	22	39	10	11	(139)
Voted for by the people	49	25	15	7	4	(140)
No Leader, Deputy Leader or 'Panel'	2	10	29	33	26	(141)

Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Leader and Deputy Leader	25	41	20	12	2	(135)
A power sharing 'Panel'	7	25	27	25	16	(136)
Appointed by the Secretary of State	3	9	23	32	33	(137)
Nominated by the Secretary of State	5	12	44	17	22	(138)
Voted in by the assembly	19	25	34	10	12	(139)
Voted for by the people	28	19	30	16	7	(140)
No Leader, Deputy Leader or 'Panel'	0	6	38	25	31	(141)

SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
Leader and Deputy Leader	27	35	30	5	3	(135)
A power sharing 'Panel'	15	16	43	18	8	(136)
Appointed by the Secretary of State	14	9	30	25	22	(137)
Nominated by the Secretary of State	12	23	36	21	8	(138)
Voted in by the assembly	16	25	41	12	6	(139)
Voted for by the people	34	22	32	9	3	(140)
No Leader, Deputy Leader or 'Panel'	13	17	41	18	12	(141)

Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Leader and Deputy Leader	29	31	20	7	13	(135)
A power sharing 'Panel'	13	11	23	26	27	(136)
Appointed by the Secretary of State	4	13	14	19	50	(137)
Nominated by the Secretary of State	7	7	24	26	36	(138)
Voted in by the assembly	13	13	42	20	12	(139)
Voted for by the people	42	17	21	13	7	(140)
No Leader, Deputy Leader or 'Panel'	13	9	34	34	10	(141)

Local Government

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
More powers and responsibilities in	15	22	35	15	13	(142)
general - Give more powers and						
responsibilities to local government even if						
there is no Northern Ireland Assembly.						
Northern Ireland Assembly controls	13	22	43	11	11	(143)
local government - A new Northern						
Ireland Assembly should decide what						
powers and responsibilities local						
government should have.						
Replace boards - Give the work presently	8	24	41	16	11	(144)
undertaken by the various Northern Ireland						
boards to Local Government.						
Fewer councils - Combine some of the	8	20	35	20	17	(145)
smaller 26 District Councils to create larger						
units of local government.						

Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
More powers and responsibilities in	15	24	34	15	12	(142)
general						
Northern Ireland Assembly controls	13	21	44	12	10	(143)
local government						
Replace boards	7	23	40	17	13	(144)
Fewer councils	5	19	33	23	20	(145)

Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
More powers and responsibilities in	17	20	32	17	14	(142)
general Northern Ireland Assembly controls	14	23	41	10	12	(143)
local government						
Replace boards	10	24	46	12	8	(144)
Fewer councils	12	20	36	16	16	(145)

DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable]
More powers and responsibilities in	24	22	30	13	11	(142)
general						
Northern Ireland Assembly controls	21	10	41	15	13	(143)
local government						
Replace boards	14	21	28	24	13	(144)
Fewer councils	8	18	26	18	30	(145)

UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
More powers and responsibilities in	14	26	35	14	11	(142)
general						
Northern Ireland Assembly controls	13	24	43	9	11	(143)
local government						
Replace boards	8	21	44	15	12	(144)
Fewer councils	6	21	29	24	20	(145)

Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
More powers and responsibilities in	10	28	37	15	10	(142)
general						
Northern Ireland Assembly controls	11	33	36	9	11	(143)
local government						
Replace boards	2	31	38	15	14	(144)
Fewer councils	4	26	40	19	11	(145)

SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
More powers and responsibilities in	12	28	33	16	11	(142)
general						
Northern Ireland Assembly controls	15	25	40	11	9	(143)
local government						
Replace boards	11	28	45	10	6	(144)
Fewer councils	13	26	38	10	13	(145)

Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable]
More powers and responsibilities in	25	15	32	14	14	(142)
general						
Northern Ireland Assembly controls	14	19	43	9	15	(143)
local government						
Replace boards	11	21	49	11	8	(144)
Fewer councils	12	19	27	21	21	(145)

Safeguards and Protections

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
Sharing participation - Laws should be		25	16	3	4	(146)
introduced to ensure that the views of						
representatives from the whole community						
are taken into account in all levels of						
government.						
Sharing responsibilities - Laws should		26	24	7	7	(147)
be introduced to ensure that political and						
administrative responsibilities are shared.				_		
Preventing abuse of power - Laws should		19	17	2	2	(148)
be introduced to ensure that 'checks and						
balances' are put in place to prevent abuse						
of power by one group over another. Arbitration - Independent committees or	40	24	23	7	6	(149
courts of arbitrators should be established to		24	23	/	0	(149
resolve problems that become intractable.						
resorve problems that become intractable.]
Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
Sharing participation	34	29	24	6	7	(146
Sharing responsibilities	18	27	33	12	10	(147
Preventing abuse of power	47	24	25	2	2	(148
Arbitration	24	27	31	10	8	(149
Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable]
Sharing participation	74	19	6	0	1	(146)
Sharing responsibilities	65	20	12	1	2	(147
Preventing abuse of power	81	11	6	1	1	(148)
Arbitration	59	21	14	4	2	(149)
DUD	E .: 1	I D . 11	A . 11	m 1 11	TT . 11	7
DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Sharing participation	24	22	31	9	14	(146
Sharing responsibilities	9	21	31	21	18	(147
Preventing abuse of power Arbitration	31 17	21	38	7	3	(148
Arburation	1 /	18	39	6	20	(149
UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
Sharing participation	34	32	26	4	4	(146
Sharing responsibilities	20	31	33	10	6	(147
Preventing abuse of power	47	28	23	0	2	(148
Arbitration	25	24	35	10	6	(149
		·				_
Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Sharing participation	51	35	10	4	0	(146
Sharing responsibilities	33	37	20	3	7	(147)
Preventing abuse of power	64	17	15	2	2	(148)
Arbitration	38	36	9	10	7	(149)
CDID	T	D : 11	A . 11	T 1 11	TT 11	7
SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Sharing participation	76	18	6	0	0	(146
Sharing responsibilities	69	21	9	0	1	(147
Preventing abuse of power	85	10	5	0	0	(148
Arbitration	65	21	11	2	1	(149
Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
Sharing participation	76	17	7	0	Опассернавіе	(146
	. / U	1 1/	/	U	U	- 1
Sharing regnangihilities			1 2	1	0	$(1/1)^{-1}$
Sharing responsibilities Preventing abuse of power	66	15	18	1	0	
Preventing abuse of power Arbitration			18 8 19	1 1 2	0 0	(147) (148) (149)

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

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

The responsibilities of North/South Bodies

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

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Consultation Functions - A requirement to	33	21	20	10	16	(150)
consult on matters of mutual interest.						
Co-operative Functions - A requirement to	34	22	17	9	18	(151)
both consult and co-operate on matters of						
mutual interest.						
Administrative Powers - Powers to	17	21	19	12	31	(152)
administer laws made by the separate						
governments in the North and the South of						
Ireland on matters of mutual interest.						
Strategic Development Powers - Powers to		19	14	10	36	(153)
develop and execute forward planning for the						
island of Ireland as a whole on matters of						
mutual interest.						
Legislative Powers - Powers to make laws		13	16	9	42	(154)
which would apply to the island of Ireland as a						
whole on matters of mutual interest.						
No North/South bodies - There should not	16	10	11	18	45	(155)
be any North/South bodies with any powers or						
functions.						

Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable]
Consultation Functions	16	17	25	13	29	(150)
Co-operative Functions	16	19	19	14	32	(151)
Administrative Powers	3	14	16	18	49	(152)
Strategic Development Powers	3	9	13	12	63	(153)
Legislative Powers	3	5	12	10	70	(154)
No North/South bodies	27	13	13	18	29	(155)

Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Consultation Functions	57	24	15	3	1	(150)
Co-operative Functions	57	25	14	3	1	(151)
Administrative Powers	36	31	21	5	7	(152)
Strategic Development Powers	47	30	16	4	3	(153)
Legislative Powers	44	24	20	7	5	(154)
No North/South bodies	4	3	8	16	69	(155)

DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Consultation Functions	15	9	11	22	43	(150)
Co-operative Functions	16	6	13	15	50	(151)
Administrative Powers	5	8	7	6	74	(152)
Strategic Development Powers	2	7	2	10	79	(153)
Legislative Powers	4	6	2	2	86	(154)
No North/South bodies	43	14	9	13	21	(155)

UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Consultation Functions	14	13	29	14	30	(150)
Co-operative Functions	13	16	25	17	29	(151)
Administrative Powers	1	9	18	22	50	(152)
Strategic Development Powers	3	6	10	13	68	(153)
Legislative Powers	2	2	8	12	76	(154)
No North/South bodies	29	19	13	17	22	(155)

Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Consultation Functions	34	41	13	5	7	(150)
Co-operative Functions	33	44	11	5	7	(151)
Administrative Powers	7	40	27	12	14	(152)
Strategic Development Powers	4	40	30	11	15	(153)
Legislative Powers	5	22	29	21	23	(154)
No North/South bodies	7	6	13	32	42	(155)

SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable]
Consultation Functions	62	24	13	0	1	(150)
Co-operative Functions	61	25	12	2	0	(151)
Administrative Powers	38	35	17	4	6	(152)
Strategic Development Powers	47	33	13	3	4	(153)
Legislative Powers	38	26	23	7	6	(154)
No North/South bodies	3	1	11	14	71	(155)

Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Consultation Functions	54	24	17	5	0	(150)
Co-operative Functions	59	18	18	3	2	(151)
Administrative Powers	41	28	25	1	5	(152)
Strategic Development Powers	55	26	15	3	1	(153)
Legislative Powers	61	21	15	1	2	(154)
No North/South bodies	4	8	8	7	73	(155)

And what areas of government policy should North/South bodies deal with. Please indicate which ones you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
The environment	39	21	19	10	11	(156)
Agriculture	39	21	17	9	14	(157)
Fisheries	38	22	19	9	12	(158)
Tourism	44	21	15	8	12	(159)
Medical care and research	37	19	18	8	18	(160)
Roads and public transport	34	19	20	9	18	(161)
Water, gas and electric	29	22	19	10	20	(162)
Communications	33	21	20	8	18	(163)
Industrial development boards	30	19	20	11	20	(164)
Financial institutions	25	18	22	12	23	(165)
Economic development in general	31	20	18	12	19	(166)
Training and employment	29	21	18	9	23	(167)
Joint representation in Europe	31	19	17	11	22	(168)
Trade	34	18	19	10	19	(169)
Taxation	21	14	18	14	33	(170
Broadcasting and film	22	19	23	16	20	(171
Minority languages	24	16	20	18	22	(172)
Culture and sport	30	19	23	11	17	(173)
Local government and planning	25	14	18	11	32	(174)
Social services	26	14	18	13	29	(175)
Human Rights	43	14	11	10	22	(176)
Education	32	13	16	12	27	(177)
Policing and security	34	13	12	7	34	(178)
Defence	31	13	14	8	34	(179)
Foreign policy	27	15	15	12	31	(180)

Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The environment	24	18	23	14	21
Agriculture	22	18	21	13	26
Fisheries	21	19	23	14	23
Tourism	27	17	22	12	22
Medical care and research	23	16	19	12	30
Roads and public transport	17	15	24	13	31
Water, gas and electric	14	16	23	12	35
Communications	15	17	24	12	32
Industrial development boards	12	13	22	18	35
Financial institutions	7	10	24	18	41
Economic development in general	11	14	24	17	34
Training and employment	11	16	20	14	39
Joint representation in Europe	11	12	19	19	39
Trade	13	14	23	16	34
Taxation	6	7	16	15	56
Broadcasting and film	7	13	23	23	34
Minority languages	6	7	21	26	40
Culture and sport	9	14	27	18	32
Local government and planning	8	6	16	15	55
Social services	9	7	18	17	49
Human Rights	18	13	14	15	40
Education	13	7	18	14	48
Policing and security	14	6	11	9	60
Defence	12	6	12	10	60
Foreign policy	9	7	14	16	54

Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
The environment	63	23	10	4	0	(156
Agriculture	66	21	9	3	1	(157
Fisheries	62	24	10	3	1	(158
Tourism	71	20	6	2	1	(159
Medical care and research	57	24	14	3	2	(160
Roads and public transport	60	23	12	3	2	(161
Water, gas and electric	52	29	12	5	2	(162
Communications	56	26	14	3	1	(163
Industrial development boards	53	29	14	3	1	(164
Financial institutions	50	26	18	5	1	(165
Economic development in general	56	28	10	5	1	(166
Training and employment	56	26	14	3	1	(167
Joint representation in Europe	61	24	12	2	1	(168
Trade	63	22	12	2	1	(169
Taxation	43	19	20	13	5	(170
Broadcasting and film	42	26	23	8	1	(171
Minority languages	51	24	18	6	1	(172
Culture and sport	59	23	14	3	1	(173
Local government and planning	49	23	19	6	3	(174
Social services	50	23	15	8	4	(175
Human Rights	75	14	8	2	1	(176
Education	58	20	12	8	2	(177
Policing and security	61	22	9	4	4	(178
Defence	57	21	14	4	4	(179
Foreign policy	52	26	12	7	3	(180

DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
The environment	18	14	18	22	28	(156)
Agriculture	23	14	13	19	31	(157)
Fisheries	21	14	17	18	30	(158)
Tourism	21	10	17	17	35	(159)
Medical care and research	21	5	13	20	41	(160)
Roads and public transport	18	12	11	18	41	(161)
Water, gas and electric	13	11	14	18	44	(162)
Communications	16	9	13	14	48	(163)
Industrial development boards	16	7	13	18	46	(164)
Financial institutions	13	3	11	21	52	(165)
Economic development in general	9	9	13	19	50	(166)
Training and employment	14	4	13	19	50	(167)
Joint representation in Europe	10	7	11	20	52	(168)
Trade	17	2	18	18	45	(169)
Taxation	10	6	5	18	61	(170)
Broadcasting and film	9	4	20	20	47	(171)
Minority languages	8	8	14	19	51	(172)
Culture and sport	11	9	20	19	41	(173)
Local government and planning	12	0	10	15	63	(174)
Social services	13	2	8	19	58	(175)
Human Rights	14	5	17	16	48	(176)
Education	13	0	17	12	58	(177)
Policing and security	14	2	7	10	67	(178)
Defence	12	6	6	9	67	(179)
Foreign policy	8	6	10	12	64	(180)

UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable
The environment	21	15	28	17	19 (
Agriculture	20	15	23	17	25
Fisheries	22	15	25	18	20
Tourism	25	17	26	14	18 (
Medical care and research	20	16	22	12	30
Roads and public transport	14	10	31	13	32
Water, gas and electric	15	11	28	14	32
Communications	11	14	31	15	29 (
Industrial development boards	13	9	21	18	39 (
Financial institutions	5	11	25	18	41 (
Economic development in general	11	9	29	18	33 (
Training and employment	9	14	22	13	42
Joint representation in Europe	11	9	21	19	40
Trade	11	16	26	17	30
Taxation	4	7	17	15	57 (
Broadcasting and film	6	14	21	26	33 (
Minority languages	5	4	19	27	45 (
Culture and sport	8	9	29	21	33 (
Local government and planning	8	8	12	12	60 (
Social services	8	9	16	16	51 (
Human Rights	15	8	15	21	41 (
Education	11	7	14	17	51 (
Policing and security	11	6	7	9	67 (
Defence	11	4	8	11	66 (
Foreign policy	9	6	11	19	55 (

Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
The environment	42	35	16	4	3 ((156)
Agriculture	32	38	21	4	5 ((157)
Fisheries	29	41	21	4	5 ((158)
Tourism	39	43	14	1	3 ((159)
Medical care and research	26	36	21	3	14 ((160)
Roads and public transport	29	39	17	7	8 ((161)
Water, gas and electric	24	39	22	7	8 ((162)
Communications	27	43	19	7	4 ((163)
Industrial development boards	14	35	34	10	7 ((164
Financial institutions	14	24	41	13	8 ((165)
Economic development in general	15	45	22	11	7 ((166
Training and employment	16	42	30	2	10 ((167
Joint representation in Europe	19	36	26	10	9 ((168)
Trade	26	37	27	1	9 ((169
Taxation	10	15	26	20	29 ((170
Broadcasting and film	13	28	34	13	12 ((171
Minority languages	11	26	40	16	7 ((172
Culture and sport	19	34	33	11	3 ((173
Local government and planning	10	21	30	20	19 ((174
Social services	12	21	34	16	17 ((175
Human Rights	28	42	14	4	12 ((176
Education	21	21	28	14	16 ((177
Policing and security	21	24	21	9	25 ((178)
Defence	21	17	25	10	27 ((179)
Foreign policy	12	22	22	14	30 ((180)

SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
The environment	68	21	9	2	0	(156
Agriculture	69	22	7	2	0	(157
Fisheries	67	23	8	2	0	(158
Tourism	72	22	5	1	0	(159
Medical care and research	53	26	18	3	0	(160
Roads and public transport	60	23	14	3	0	(161
Water, gas and electric	54	29	13	4	0	(162
Communications	58	24	16	2	0	(163
Industrial development boards	52	33	11	3	1	(164
Financial institutions	50	26	17	6	1	(165
Economic development in general	56	31	9	4	0	(166
Training and employment	52	27	15	4	2	(167
Joint representation in Europe	60	25	11	4	0	(168
Trade	66	21	11	1	1	(169
Taxation	39	18	24	15	4	(170
Broadcasting and film	42	29	20	8	1	(171
Minority languages	47	24	21	7	1	(172
Culture and sport	59	21	15	4	1	(173
Local government and planning	48	20	23	7	2	(174
Social services	45	25	17	8	5	(175
Human Rights	76	13	9	1	1	(176
Education	55	19	15	9	2	(177
Policing and security	60	22	10	5	3	(178
Defence	54	22	16	5	3	(179
Foreign policy	52	26	12	8	2	(180

Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
The environment	63	24	10	3	0	(156
Agriculture	71	17	9	2	1 ((157
Fisheries	63	23	10	4	0	(158
Tourism	74	17	4	5	0	(159
Medical care and research	70	21	6	1	2	(160
Roads and public transport	69	24	4	2	1 ((161
Water, gas and electric	61	28	6	1	4	(162
Communications	68	23	6	2	1 ((163
Industrial development boards	68	19	12	0	1 ((164
Financial institutions	62	28	10	0	0 ((165
Economic development in general	68	22	8	1	1 ((166
Training and employment	68	22	8	2	0	(167
Joint representation in Europe	70	19	8	1	2	(168
Trade	70	21	4	4	1 ((169
Taxation	58	23	11	5	3	(170
Broadcasting and film	51	26	21	2	0	(171
Minority languages	67	19	10	4	0	(172
Culture and sport	69	22	8	1	0 ((173
Local government and planning	62	23	13	1	1 ((174
Social services	66	21	9	4	0	(175
Human Rights	88	7	4	1	0 ((176
Education	73	19	6	1	1 ((177
Policing and security	72	21	5	1	1 ((178
Defence	73	19	5	1	2	(179
Foreign policy	65	23	8	3	1 ((180

The structure and control of North/South Bodies

A single 'body' could be established to co-ordinate North/South responsibilities or new bodies could be set up to deal with each area of responsibility as may be required. This body or bodies could be established or dissolved by and be responsible to the British Government in Westminster and the Irish Government in Dublin or between a new Northern Ireland Assembly and the Irish Dail or all of these. Elected politicians could be directly involved in the operation of North/South institutions or their activities could be restricted to administration by civil servants. Finally areas of responsibility could be strictly limited to matters of business with the European Union, or areas of European Union policy in general, or it could include any other areas of mutual concern for the island of Ireland as well as a responsibility for 'harmonising' North/South activities. Please indicate which options you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

Number of North/South bodies

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Single North/South body - One		16	21	16	31	(181)
North/South body established to deal with						
all matters of mutual interest.						
Multiple North/South bodies - Multiple		18	29	16	27	(182)
North/South bodies established to deal with						
each matter of mutual interest.]
_						
Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Single North/South body	4	7	17	17	55	(181)
Multiple North/South bodies	8	18	23	17	34	(182)
						_
Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Single North/South body	33	27	25	11	4	(181)
Multiple North/South bodies	12	19	33	16	20	(182)
						=
DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	-
Single North/South body	1	7	5	21	66	(181)
Multiple North/South bodies	14	7	17	25	37	(182)
						_
UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Single North/South body	5	7	12	21	55	(181)
Multiple North/South bodies	4	19	26	15	36	(182)
						•
Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable]
Single North/South body	13	23	31	10	23	(181)
Multiple North/South bodies	15	23	26	16	20	(182)
						•
SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Single North/South body	25	27	32	11	5	(181)
Multiple North/South bodies	12	22	30	18	18	(182)
-	•	-	-	-		•
Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable]
Single North/South body	44	23	18	13	2	(181)
bligic 1101th/bodth body	77	23	10	13	_	(101)
Multiple North/South bodies	15	17	34	14	20	(182)

Establishing and dissolving North/South bodies

Northern Ireland Assembly and Irish Dail - North/South bodies established or dissolved by and responsible to a Northern Ireland Assembly and the Irish Dail - North/South bodies established or dissolved by and responsible to a Northern Ireland Assembly and the Irish Dail - North/South bodies established or dissolved by and responsible to Westminster and Dublin - North/South bodies established or dissolved by and responsible to Westminster, Dublin and Northern Ireland Assembly - North/South bodies established or dissolved by and responsible to Westminster, Dublin and a Northern Ireland Assembly - North/South bodies established or dissolved by and responsible to Westminster, Dublin and a Northern Ireland Assembly and Irish Dail Sesential Desirable Acceptable Tolerable Unacceptable NI Assembly and Irish Dail Acceptable Tolerable Unacceptable Tolerable	(18 (18 (18 (18 (18
Dail - North/South bodies established or dissolved by and responsible to a Northern Ireland Assembly and the Irish Dail.	(18 (18 (18 (18 (18 (18
Ireland Assembly and the Irish Dail Westminster and Dublin - North/South bodies established or dissolved by and responsible to Westminster and Dublin.	(18 (18 (18 (18 (18 (18
Westminster and Dublin - North/South bodies established or dissolved by and responsible to Westminster and Dublin.	(18 (18 (18 (18 (18 (18
bodies established or dissolved by and responsible to Westminster and Dublin. Westminster, Dublin and Northern Ireland Assembly - North/South bodies established or dissolved by and responsible to Westminster, Dublin and a Northern Ireland Assembly. Protestant Essential Desirable Acceptable Tolerable Unacceptable Unacceptable Tolerable Unacceptable T	(18 (18 (18 (18 (18 (18
responsible to Westminster and Dublin. Westminster, Dublin and Northern Ireland Assembly - North/South bodies established or dissolved by and responsible to Westminster, Dublin and a Northern Ireland Assembly. Protestant NI Assembly and Irish Dail Westminster and Dublin Westminster and Dublin I	(18 (18 (18 (18 (18
Nestminster, Dublin and Northern Ireland Assembly - North/South bodies established or dissolved by and responsible to Westminster, Dublin and a Northern Ireland Assembly.	(18 (18 (18 (18 (18
Ireland Assembly - North/South bodies established or dissolved by and responsible to Westminster, Dublin and a Northern Ireland Assembly.	(18 (18 (18 (18 (18
Essential Desirable Acceptable Tolerable Unacceptable Unacce	(18 (18 (18 (18 (18
to Westminster, Dublin and a Northern Ireland Assembly. Protestant	(18 (18 (18 (18 (18
Ireland Assembly. Essential Desirable Acceptable Tolerable Unacceptable NI Assembly and Irish Dail 5 6 17 18 54 Westminster and Dublin 1 4 12 15 68 Westminster, Dublin and Northern 9 12 19 19 41 Ireland Assembly Irish Dail 26 25 29 12 8 Westminster and Dublin 6 19 31 22 22 Westminster, Dublin and Northern 19 25 33 11 12 DUP	(18 (18 (18 (18 (18
Protestant Essential Desirable Acceptable Tolerable Unacceptable NI Assembly and Irish Dail 5 6 17 18 54 Westminster and Dublin 1 4 12 15 68 Westminster, Dublin Desirable Acceptable Tolerable Ireland Assembly Irish Dail 26 25 29 12 8 Westminster and Dublin 6 19 31 22 22 Westminster, Dublin Assembly Irish Dail 25 33 11 12 DUP Essential Desirable Acceptable Tolerable Unacceptable NI Assembly and Irish Dail 2 6 7 13 72 Westminster and Dublin 0 2 3 14 81 Westminster, Dublin And Northern Io 5 12 11 62 Westminster, Dublin Acceptable Tolerable Unacceptable Westminster and Dublin Desirable Acceptable Tolerable Unacceptable Westminster, Dublin Acceptable Tolerable Unacceptable Westminster, Dublin Acceptable Tolerable Unacceptable Westminster, Dublin Desirable Acceptable Tolerable Westminster, Dublin Desirable Acceptable Tolerable UUP Essential Desirable Acceptable Tolerable Unacceptable NI Assembly Acceptable Tolerable Tolerable NI Assembly Acceptable Tolerable Tolerable	(18 (18 (18 (18 (18
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NI Assembly and Irish Dail 5 6 17 18 54	(18 (18 (18 (18 (18
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Westminster, Dublin and Ireland AssemblyNorthern912191941CatholicEssentialDesirableAcceptableTolerableUnacceptableNI Assembly and Irish Dail262529128Westminster and Dublin619312222Westminster, Dublin and Ireland AssemblyNorthern1925331112DUPEssentialDesirableAcceptableTolerableUnacceptableNI Assembly and Irish Dail2671372Westminster and Dublin0231481Westminster, Dublin and Ireland AssemblyNorthern105121162UUPEssentialDesirableAcceptableTolerableUnacceptableNI Assembly and Irish Dail23241655	(18 (18 (18
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NI Assembly and Irish Dail 26 25 29 12 8 Westminster and Dublin 6 19 31 22 22 Westminster, Dublin and Irish Dail Northern 19 25 33 11 12 NI Assembly and Irish Dail 2 6 7 13 72 Westminster and Dublin 0 2 3 14 81 Westminster, Dublin and Irish Dail Northern 10 5 12 11 62 UUP Essential Desirable Acceptable Tolerable Unacceptable NI Assembly and Irish Dail 2 3 24 16 55	(18 (18
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UUPEssentialDesirableAcceptableTolerableUnacceptableNI Assembly and Irish Dail23241655	(18
UUP Essential Desirable Acceptable Tolerable Unacceptable NI Assembly and Irish Dail 2 3 24 16 55	(18
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Westminster and Dublin 0 4 11 14 71	(18
Westminster, Dublin and Northern 7 11 16 25 41	(18
Ireland Assembly	J
Alliance Essential Desirable Acceptable Tolerable Unacceptable	1
NI Assembly and Irish Dail 22 19 33 12 14	(18
Westminster and Dublin 1 9 30 18 42	(18
Westminster, Dublin and Northern 10 30 31 12 17	(18
Ireland Assembly	`
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SDLP Essential Desirable Acceptable Tolerable Unacceptable	1
NI Assembly and Irish Dail 20 26 34 14 6	(18
Westminster and Dublin 7 22 33 19 19	(18
Westminster, Dublin and Northern 21 28 38 8 5	(18
Ireland Assembly	
Sinn Féin Essential Desirable Acceptable Tolerable Unacceptable	•
NI Assembly and Irish Dail 35 29 22 6 8	-1
Westminster and Dublin 6 19 28 23 24	(18
Westminster, Dublin and Northern 14 18 35 15 18	(18 (18
Ireland Assembly	(18

Responsibility for North/South bodies

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Independent North/South bodies - Once established North/South bodies are able to act independently of parliamentary bodies and Northern Ireland Assembly.	12	18	24	14	32	(186
Governments and Assembly control North/South bodies - North/South bodies are controlled by and responsible to the parliamentary bodies and N.I. Assembly that establish them.	17	20	26	17	20	(187
Protestant [Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Independent North/South bodies	9	10	18	18	45	(186
Governments and Assembly control North/South bodies	15	15	21	18	31	(187
						Ī
Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Independent North/South bodies	18	29	32	9	12	(186
Governments and Assembly control North/South bodies	21	25	33	14	7	(187
DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	İ
Independent North/South bodies	17	6	15	13	49	(186
Governments and Assembly control North/South bodies	9	12	20	18	41	(187
						i
UUP	Essential 7	Desirable	Acceptable 20	Tolerable 15	Unacceptable 49	(10)
Independent North/South bodies Governments and Assembly control North/South bodies	14	9	17	22	29	(186)
Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	(10
Independent North/South bodies Governments and Assembly control North/South bodies	30	30	27	8	26 10	(18) (18)
_	Essari 1	Doci11	A 00	Tol11	Hassari 11	Ī
SDLP Independent North/South bodies	Essential 13	Desirable 39	Acceptable 31	Tolerable 9	Unacceptable 8	(186
Governments and Assembly control North/South bodies	18	25	39	12	6	(187
	· · ·	D		m 1 · ·		1
Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	(186
Independent North/South bodies	25	17	34	9	15	

Management of North/South bodies

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Elected politicians - Elected politicians	18	16	32	16	18	(188)
should be directly involved in the						
management of North/South bodies.						
Civil servants - Civil servants should	4	8	24	24	40	(189)
manage North/South bodies under						
instructions from the two governments.						
Both elected politicians and civil	6	15	32	21	26	(190)
servants - Both elected politicians and civil						
servants should be involved in the						
management of North/South bodies.						
Specialists and experts - Representatives		21	26	18	20	(191)
of business, trade unions, local government						
etc. should be involved in the management						
of North/South bodies as and when						
required.						

Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Elected politicians	14	13	29	19	25	(188)
Civil servants	2	5	25	21	47	(189)
Both elected politicians and civil servants	3	12	28	23	34	(190)
Specialists and experts	8	17	23	21	31	(191)

Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
Elected politicians	24	17	36	14	9	(188)
Civil servants	7	11	25	25	32	(189)
Both elected politicians and civil servants	9	20	40	17	14	(190)
Specialists and experts	24	28	29	12	7	(191)

DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Elected politicians	22	7	23	23	25	(188)
Civil servants	3	1	22	14	60	(189)
Both elected politicians and civil	2	8	21	27	42	(190)
servants						
Specialists and experts	7	11	21	32	29	(191)

UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Elected politicians	13	18	29	14	26	(188)
Civil servants	1	5	27	17	50	(189)
Both elected politicians and civil servants	2	15	24	25	34	(190)
Specialists and experts	4	15	25	20	36	(191)

Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Elected politicians	15	15	39	19	12	(188)
Civil servants	4	12	24	31	29	(189)
Both elected politicians and civil	5	24	36	16	19	(190)
servants						
Specialists and experts	26	22	27	12	13	(191)

SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Elected politicians	24	15	43	13	5	(188)
Civil servants	6	13	28	26	27	(189)
Both elected politicians and civil	6	22	45	16	11	(190)
servants						İ
Specialists and experts	23	34	28	8	7	(191)

Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Elected politicians	28	23	25	14	10	(188)
Civil servants	9	8	18	28	37	(189)
Both elected politicians and civil	13	12	36	22	17	(190)
servants						
Specialists and experts	25	19	37	14	5	(191)

Policy areas of North/South bodies

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Agreed projects - The politicians who set	11	12	32	23	22	(192)
up the North/South bodies should be						
allowed to decide what specific projects they						
should deal with.						
Agreed areas of policy - The politicians		11	33	24	25	(193)
who set up the North/South bodies should						
be allowed to decide what areas of policy						
they should deal with.						
Harmonisation - North/South bodies	11	18	34	18	19	(194)
should be required to 'harmonise' their						
actions, policies and laws in the areas of						
government policy they are responsible for.						
European business only - North/South	2	8	29	27	34	(195)
bodies should be restricted to only doing						
business with the European Union.						
European policy only - North/South		7	24	25	42	(196)
bodies should be restricted to dealing with						
policies for which the European Union is						
responsible.						
All aspects of government business -	15	14	23	17	31	(197)
North/South bodies should be allowed to						
deal with all aspects of government						
business.						

Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
Agreed projects	12	11	26	23	28	(192)
Agreed areas of policy	7	8	26	27	32	(193)
Harmonisation	3	13	30	23	31	(194)
European business only	1	9	25	26	39	(195)
European policy only	1	7	22	24	46	(196)
All aspects of government business	4	7	19	20	50	(197)

Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Agreed projects	10	13	38	24	15	(192)
Agreed areas of policy	8	17	37	23	15	(193)
Harmonisation	23	27	33	14	3	(194)
European business only	3	9	30	28	30	(195)
European policy only	3	7	23	27	40	(196)
All aspects of government business	30	25	26	14	5	(197)

DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Agreed projects	17	10	26	18	29	(192)
Agreed areas of policy	9	8	19	22	42	(193)
Harmonisation	3	10	25	18	44	(194)
European business only	3	8	18	25	46	(195)
European policy only	4	8	16	21	51	(196)
All aspects of government business	7	6	11	20	56	(197)

UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Agreed projects	12	10	27	24	27	(192)
Agreed areas of policy	8	7	29	26	30	(193)
Harmonisation	2	8	33	27	30	(194)
European business only	1	8	30	26	35	(195)
European policy only	0	6	27	27	40	(196)
All aspects of government business	3	5	21	17	54	(197)

Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Agreed projects	10	16	37	25	12	(192)
Agreed areas of policy	9	15	36	27	13	(193)
Harmonisation	12	30	35	12	11	(194)
European business only	0	7	24	30	39	(195)
European policy only	0	4	23	25	48	(196)
All aspects of government business	15	22	31	20	12	(197)

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SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Agreed projects	10	14	51	18	7	(192)
Agreed areas of policy	7	19	48	19	7	(193)
Harmonisation	21	32	37	10	0	(194)
European business only	2	8	38	25	27	(195)
European policy only	3	5	28	25	39	(196)
All aspects of government business	27	27	32	11	3	(197)

Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Agreed projects	12	15	26	23	24	(192)
Agreed areas of policy	12	16	29	21	22	(193)
Harmonisation	28	23	30	13	6	(194)
European business only	6	11	24	27	32	(195)
European policy only	4	11	21	24	40	(196)
All aspects of government business	38	19	27	12	4	(197)

Appointments to North/South bodies

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Proportionality of appointments -	15	19	27	19	20	(198)
Membership of North/South bodies are						
assigned in proportion to the representation						
of each party in the Northern Assembly.						
Equality of appointments - Membership		18	22	17	23	(199)
of North/South bodies are assigned equally						
between the two main traditions in the North						
Assembly.						
Equally North and South - Membership		14	20	14	32	(200)
of North/South bodies are assigned equally						
between Northern Ireland and the Republic						
of Ireland.						

Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Proportionality of appointments	17	17	25	17	24	(198)
Equality of appointments	6	11	22	24	37	(199)
Equally North and South	5	8	16	19	52	(200)

Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Proportionality of appointments	12	19	28	22	19	(198)
Equality of appointments	38	27	21	9	5	(199)
Equally North and South	38	23	26	9	4	(200)

DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Proportionality of appointments	26	10	18	20	26	(198)
Equality of appointments	5	6	17	27	45	(199)
Equally North and South	2	4	8	16	70	(200)

UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Proportionality of appointments	20	17	29	12	22	(198)
Equality of appointments	5	9	22	23	41	(199)
Equally North and South	3	3	19	23	52	(200)

Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	ļ
Proportionality of appointments	5	26	26	23	20	(198)
Equality of appointments	12	34	27	20	7	(199)
Equally North and South	15	32	30	8	15	(200)

SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Proportionality of appointments	11	23	30	21	15	(198)
Equality of appointments	41	27	21	6	5	(199)
Equally North and South	39	22	27	9	3	(200)

Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Proportionality of appointments	15	19	25	19	22	(198)
Equality of appointments	38	25	25	8	4	(199)
Equally North and South	42	17	29	8	4	(200)

Voting on business in a North/South bodies

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Simple majority voting - Voting on all	8	15	25	19	33	(201)
business in North/South bodies is by simple						
majority.						
A weighted majority - Voting on all	8	15	28	20	29	(202)
business in North/South bodies is by a						
weighted majority.						
Majority of both traditions - A majority		17	27	17	21	(203)
from both of the main traditions in the						
North is required to pass business in						
North/South bodies.						
Majority North and South - A majority		17	20	15	30	(204)
from both Northern Ireland and the						
Republic of Ireland is required to pass						
business in North/South bodies.						
Unanimity - Everyone has to agree before		20	19	13	26	(205)
business can be passed in North/South						
bodies.						

Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
Simple majority voting	10	15	22	17	36	(201)
A weighted majority	5	11	26	22	36	(202)
Majority of both traditions	9	10	28	24	29	(203)
Majority North and South	8	11	15	19	47	(204)
Unanimity	21	18	14	13	34	(205)

Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Simple majority voting	6	14	28	19	33	(201)
A weighted majority	9	21	34	15	21	(202)
Majority of both traditions	29	27	26	9	9	(203)
Majority North and South	31	27	28	7	7	(204)
Unanimity	22	23	22	14	19	(205)

DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Simple majority voting	14	11	15	19	41	(201)
A weighted majority	11	7	20	22	40	(202)
Majority of both traditions	5	5	14	30	46	(203)
Majority North and South	8	6	5	15	66	(204)
Unanimity	25	15	7	20	33	(205)

UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Simple majority voting	12	19	22	15	32	(201)
A weighted majority	2	7	31	23	37	(202)
Majority of both traditions	10	9	31	23	27	(203)
Majority North and South	5	9	19	18	49	(204)
Unanimity	22	18	14	12	34	(205)

Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Simple majority voting	2	9	39	20	30	(201)
A weighted majority	2	26	31	20	21	(202)
Majority of both traditions	12	20	42	15	11	(203)
Majority North and South	19	30	23	15	13	(204)
Unanimity	16	34	16	12	22	(205)

SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Simple majority voting	6	14	28	16	36	(201)
A weighted majority	9	22	36	11	22	(202)
Majority of both traditions	33	29	21	12	5	(203)
Majority North and South	32	24	33	6	5	(204)
Unanimity	26	22	20	14	18	(205)

Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Simple majority voting	6	20	22	20	32	(201)
A weighted majority	10	22	37	13	18	(202)
Majority of both traditions	24	23	30	9	14	(203)
Majority North and South	31	29	26	8	6	(204)
Unanimity	17	20	25	14	24	(205)

7. Constitutional Issues

In an effort to meet the concerns of the different communities in Northern Ireland several possibilities are available for the modification of the constitutional relationships that exist between the Republic of Ireland, Northern Ireland and the United Kingdom. This can be done by modifying the Constitution of the Republic of Ireland and the various Acts of Parliament in Westminster that establish the constitutional status of Northern Ireland.

The Constitution of the Republic of Ireland

The Constitution of the Republic of Ireland makes both legal claims on the territory of Northern Ireland and a claim of jurisdiction in its Preamble and in Articles 1, 2 and 3:

Preamble

In the name of the Most Holy Trinity, from Whom is all authority and to Whom, as our final end, all actions both of men and States must be referred,

We, the people of Éire,

Humbly acknowledge all our obligations to our Divine Lord, Jesus Christ, Who sustained our fathers through centuries of trial,

Gratefully remembering their heroic and unremitting struggle to regain the rightful independence of our Nation,

And seeking to promote the common good, with due observance of Prudence, Justice and Charity, so that the dignity and freedom of the individual may be assured, true social order attained, the unity of our country restored, and concord established with other nations.

Do hereby adopt, enact, and give to ourselves this Constitution.

The Nation

Article 1

The Irish nation hereby affirms its inalienable, indefensible, and sovereign right to choose its own form of Government, to determine its relations with other nations, and to develop its life, political, economic and cultural, in accordance with its own genius and traditions.

Article 2

The national territory consists of the whole island of Ireland, its islands and the territorial seas.

Article 3

Pending the re-integration of the national territory, and without prejudice to the right of the Parliament and Government established by this Constitution to exercise jurisdiction over the whole of that territory, the laws enacted by that Parliament shall have the like area and extent of application as the laws of Saorstát Éireann and the like extra-territorial effect.

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

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Complete deletion of territorial claim - The	37	13	9	8	33	(206)
Republic of Ireland's claim of legal right and						
jurisdiction over the territory of Northern Ireland						
should be deleted and no reference should be made						
to the territorial extent of the Republic in much the						
same way as the Constitution of the United States						
of America.						
Change by consent - The Republic of Ireland's		16	21	17	24	(207)
Constitution should be modified to only allow						
Northern Ireland to become a part of a single state						
comprised of the whole of the island of Ireland with						
the consent of a majority of the people of Northern						
Ireland.						
Replace claim with 'aspiration' - The Republic		11	20	20	45	(208)
of Ireland's claim of legal right and jurisdiction						
over the territory of Northern Ireland should be						
replaced with an 'aspiration' for a single state						
comprised of the whole of the island of Ireland.						
Responsibility for Nationalists - The Republic		8	23	23	39	(209)
of Ireland's Constitution should be modified to						
replace their claim on the territory of Northern						
Ireland with a responsibility for the well being of						
the Nationalist Community in Northern Ireland.						(2.1.0)
Talks agreement - The Republic of Ireland's	6	15	27	25	27	(210)
Constitution should be amended to reflect any new						
agreements reached at the Stormont Talks.						
The rights of Irish citizenship - The full rights	14	10	20	20	36	(211)
of Irish citizenship should be guaranteed to all						
members of the Nationalist community in Northern						
Ireland.		_				
No change - The Republic of Ireland's	12	7	13	17	51	(212)
Constitution should not be changed at all.]

Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Complete deletion of territorial claim	62	20	8	4	6	(206)
Change by consent	22	15	19	16	28	(207)
Replace claim with 'aspiration'	1	4	11	19	65	(208)
Responsibility for Nationalists	3	4	18	26	49	(209)
Talks agreement	4	11	21	28	36	(210)
The rights of Irish citizenship	5	5	18	23	49	(211)
No change	4	2	6	16	72	(212)

Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Complete deletion of territorial claim	5	4	9	12	70	(206)
Change by consent	19	18	22	18	23	(207)
Replace claim with 'aspiration'	8	18	32	21	21	(208)
Responsibility for Nationalists	13	12	29	20	26	(209)
Talks agreement	7	20	33	22	18	(210)
The rights of Irish citizenship	27	16	24	14	19	(211)
No change	25	15	21	17	22	(212)

DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Complete deletion of territorial claim	74	14	1	4	7	(206)
Change by consent	19	19	9	19	34	(207)
Replace claim with 'aspiration'	2	3	2	19	74	(208)
Responsibility for Nationalists	3	3	8	34	52	(209)
Talks agreement	6	6	9	34	45	(210)
The rights of Irish citizenship	8	2	8	14	68	(211)
No change	5	1	1	12	81	(212)

UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Complete deletion of territorial claim	67	21	8	1	3	(206)
Change by consent	22	15	19	14	30	(207)
Replace claim with 'aspiration'	1	2	11	17	69	(208)
Responsibility for Nationalists	3	4	18	26	49	(209)
Talks agreement	5	6	22	31	36	(210)
The rights of Irish citizenship	4	4	18	24	50	(211)
No change	4	2	5	17	72	(212)

Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Complete deletion of territorial claim	35	21	20	12	12	(206)
Change by consent	25	19	29	15	12	(207)
Replace claim with 'aspiration'	3	15	21	23	38	(208)
Responsibility for Nationalists	6	6	35	22	31	(209)
Talks agreement	3	21	36	27	13	(210)
The rights of Irish citizenship	7	11	29	30	23	(211)
No change	7	2	10	24	57	(212)

SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
Complete deletion of territorial claim	3	5	10	16	66	(206)
Change by consent	17	20	23	18	22	(207)
Replace claim with 'aspiration'	6	23	34	19	18	(208)
Responsibility for Nationalists	12	18	33	16	21	(209)
Talks agreement	9	26	35	15	15	(210)
The rights of Irish citizenship	28	19	25	10	18	(211)
No change	23	12	23	19	23	(212)

Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
Complete deletion of territorial claim	6	4	2	4	84	(206)
Change by consent	25	9	16	20	30	(207)
Replace claim with 'aspiration'	12	12	28	20	28	(208)
Responsibility for Nationalists	16	10	20	20	34	(209)
Talks agreement	4	15	28	27	26	(210)
The rights of Irish citizenship	30	18	17	13	22	(211)
No change	36	19	21	8	16	(212)

The Constitutional Status of Northern Ireland

The Constitutional Status of Northern Ireland as part of the United Kingdom has been established through the Acts of Union of 1800 and a number of other Acts of Parliament passed in Westminster. For example the 1920 Act establishes the territorial extent of Northern Ireland, the 1922 Act maintains jurisdiction over Northern Ireland, the 1925 Act includes an agreement with the Republic of Ireland on the status of Northern Ireland and the 1973 Act establishes the principle of consent:

Government of Ireland Act, 1920.

Section 1. (2) For the purposes of this Act, Northern Ireland shall consist of the parliamentary counties of Antrim, Armagh, Down, Fermanagh, Londonderry and Tyrone, and the parliamentary boroughs of Belfast and Londonderry, and Southern Ireland shall consist of so much of Ireland as is not comprised within the said parliamentary counties and boroughs.

Section 75. Notwithstanding the establishment of the Parliaments of Southern and Northern Ireland, or the Parliament of Ireland, or anything contained in this Act, the supreme authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom shall remain unaffected and undiminished over all persons, matters, and things in Ireland and every part thereof.

Irish Free State (Consequential Provisions) Act, 1922.

Section 1. (1) Subject to the provisions of the First Schedule to this Act, the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, shall cease to apply to any of Ireland other than Northern Ireland,.....

Ireland (Confirmation of Agreement) Act, 1925.

Schedule. Agreement amending and supplementing the Articles of Agreement for a Treaty between Great Britain and Ireland to which the force of law was given by the Irish Free State (Agreement) Act, 1922, and by the Constitution of the Irish Free State (Saorstat Eireann) Act, 1922.

..... And whereas the British Government and the Government of the Irish Free State being united in amity in this undertaking with the Government of Northern Ireland, and being resolved mutually to aid one another in a spirit of neighbourly comradeship, hereby agree as follows:-

1..... the extent of Northern Ireland for the purposes of the Government of Ireland Act, 1920, and of the said Articles of Agreement, shall be as such as was fixed by sub-section (2) of section one of that Act. (See above).

Northern Ireland Constitution Act, 1973.

Section 1. It is hereby declared that Northern Ireland remains part of Her Majesty's dominions and of the United Kingdom, and it is hereby affirmed that in no event will Northern Ireland or any part of it cease to be part of Her Majesty's dominions and of the United Kingdom without the consent of the majority of the people of Northern Ireland voting in a poll held for the purposes of this section in accordance with Schedule 1 to this Act.

Schedule 1.1. The Secretary of State may by order direct the holding of a poll for the purposes of section 1 of this Act on a date specified in the order, but the date so specified shall not be earlier than 9th March 1983 or earlier than ten years after the date of a previous poll under this Schedule.

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

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
No Union - The constitutional status of Northern		11	8	9	53	(213)
Ireland as part of the United Kingdom should be						
completely removed.						
Change by consent - Northern Ireland should		17	18	16	20	(214)
only be allowed to become a part of a single state						
comprised of the whole of the island of Ireland with						
the consent of a majority of the people of Northern						
Ireland (No change).		1.0	1.0	20	5.0	(215)
Replace status of Northern Ireland with		10	18	20	50	(215)
'aspiration' - The status of Northern Ireland as						
part of the United Kingdom should be replaced with an 'aspiration' for a single state comprised of the						
whole of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and						
the island of Ireland.						
Responsibility for Unionists - The appropriate	8	10	24	23	35	(216)
Acts of Constitution should be modified to replace		10		20		(210)
the claim on the territory of Northern Ireland with a						
responsibility for the well being of the Unionist						
Community in Northern Ireland.						
Talks agreement - The Constitutional status of	8	13	29	22	28	(217)
Northern Ireland should be amended to reflect any						
new agreements reached at the Stormont Talks.						
The rights of British citizenship - The full rights		14	24	15	31	(218)
of United Kingdom citizenship should be						
guaranteed to all members of the Unionist						
community on the island of Ireland.						
No change - The constitutional status and		11	15	12	31	(219)
boundaries of Northern Ireland should not be						
changed at all.						

Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable]
No Union	2	2	7	5	84	(213)
Change by consent	41	18	13	13	15	(214)
Replace status of Northern Ireland with	2	6	18	17	57	(215)
'aspiration'						
Responsibility for Unionists	10	8	20	22	40	(216)
Talks agreement	7	9	25	22	37	(217)
The rights of British citizenship	21	12	18	11	38	(218)
No change	51	19	14	6	10	(219)

Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
No Union	44	22	11	12	11	(213)
Change by consent	14	17	23	20	26	(214)
Replace status of Northern Ireland with 'aspiration'	2	15	17	19	47	(215)
Responsibility for Unionists	6	13	27	25	29	(216)
Talks agreement	9	19	34	20	18	(217)
The rights of British citizenship	9	16	32	18	25	(218)
No change	5	3	13	17	62	(219)

DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
No Union	2	0	3	3	92	(213)
Change by consent	44	20	8	9	19	(214)
Replace status of Northern Ireland with 'aspiration'	3	4	10	20	63	(215)
Responsibility for Unionists	16	4	12	16	52	(216)
Talks agreement	6	4	11	22	57	(217)
The rights of British citizenship	25	12	8	9	46	(218)
No change	64	18	10	0	8	(219)

UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
No Union	1	3	6	1	89	(213)
Change by consent	44	16	13	16	11	(214)
Replace status of Northern Ireland with 'aspiration'	1	6	18	14	61	(215)
Responsibility for Unionists	9	11	20	22	38	(216)
Talks agreement	6	8	25	24	37	(217)
The rights of British citizenship	22	14	18	11	35	(218)
No change	60	22	11	3	4	(219)

Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
No Union	10	4	8	17	61	(213)
Change by consent	30	19	25	21	5	(214)
Replace status of Northern Ireland with	1	10	24	28	37	(215)
'aspiration'						
Responsibility for Unionists	4	7	31	30	28	(216)
Talks agreement	4	21	37	26	12	(217)
The rights of British citizenship	14	15	32	23	16	(218)
No change	16	15	25	21	23	(219)

SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
No Union	38	23	12	16	11	(213)
Change by consent	16	20	21	21	22	(214)
Replace status of Northern Ireland with	4	21	19	16	40	(215)
'aspiration'						
Responsibility for Unionists	8	17	23	23	29	(216)
Talks agreement	13	22	37	10	18	(217)
The rights of British citizenship	10	18	33	14	25	(218)
No change	3	3	14	17	63	(219)

Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable]
No Union	61	26	6	2	5	(213)
Change by consent	11	15	17	18	39	(214)
Replace status of Northern Ireland with	1	9	18	13	59	(215)
'aspiration'						
Responsibility for Unionists	6	13	29	23	29	(216)
Talks agreement	5	16	33	27	19	(217)
The rights of British citizenship	9	16	32	19	24	(218)
No change	6	3	12	9	70	(219)

Alternatively both governments could provide for Joint Authority or Repartition.

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Joint Authority - Shared authority and sovereignty of Northern Ireland with the Republic of Ireland and the full rights of Irish or British citizenship for Nationalists and Unionists in Northern Ireland.		13	19	11	48	(220)
Repartition - Redefine the boundaries of Northern Ireland to ensure that a maximum of Unionists are in the 'North' and a maximum of Nationalists are in the 'South'.	2	6	12	14	66	(221)
Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	7
Joint Authority	2	3	10	10	75	(220)
Repartition	2	5	11	14	68	$\frac{(220)}{(221)}$
Catholic Laint Authority	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable]
Joint Authority Repartition	20	28 6	30 10	10	12 69	(220) (221)
DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable]
Joint Authority	1	1	4	7	87	(220)
Repartition	5	6	8	10	71	(221)
UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	7
Joint Authority	1	3	7	9	80	(220)
Repartition	2	5	14	16	63	(221)
						_
Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	(220)
Joint Authority	3	7	25 5	25 22	43 65	(220) (221)
Repartition	1	/	3	2.2	03	(221)
SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Joint Authority	18	34	29	11	8	(220)
Repartition	2	4	9	12	73	(221)
Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	7
Joint Authority	29	21	33	4	13	(220)
Repartition	3	9	14	9	65	(220)
Mepai auvii	J	,	14	2	0.5	(221)

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

Principles of co-operation

In consultation with the political parties at the Stormont Talks and the Irish communities in England, Scotland and Wales the British and Irish governments intend to negotiate a new treaty to replace the Anglo-Irish Agreement. Such an agreement can be based on a number of principles. Please indicate which principles you consider to be 'Essential', 'Desirable', 'Acceptable', 'Tolerable' or 'Unacceptable'.

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Co-operation - To further co-operation as	27	28	28	12	5	(222)
neighbours and partners in Europe.						
Peace - Achieving lasting peace and stability in	65	19	12	2	2	(223)
Northern Ireland.						
Equal rights - Guarantee the rights of the two	50	19	19	7	5	(224)
major traditions in Northern Ireland.						
Non-violence - Rejection of violence or the threat	66	16	14	2	2	(225)
of violence to promote political objectives.						
Reconciliation - Genuine reconciliation and	44	25	19	5	7	(226)
dialogue between unionists and nationalists.						
Parity of esteem - Respecting the identities of the	51	22	16	5	6	(227)
two communities in Northern Ireland.						
Equality and tolerance - Commitment to a		21	11	1	2	(228)
society in Northern Ireland in which all live in						
peace, free from discrimination and intolerance.	4.0	2.2	1.0			(220)
		22	16	1/	1	(229)
	5.1	1.7	1.7	-	0	(220)
		1 /	1 /	6	9	(230)
• •	47	1.0	1.6	0	0	(221)
		19	10	9	9	(231)
	3.5	1./	20	1./	1.7	(232)
		14	20	17	''	(232)
Democratic participation - The opportunity for both communities to participate fully in the structures and processes of government. Principle of consent - The consent of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland is required for any change in it's status. Recognition of Northern Ireland - The recognition of the present status and wishes of the majority of the people of Northern Ireland. Self-determination - The recognition of the right of a majority of the people of Northern Ireland to formally establish a united Ireland in the future.	51 47 35	17 19	16 17 16 20	7 6 9	7 9 9	(229) (230) (231) (232)

Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Co-operation	16	24	34	19	7	(222)
Peace	56	26	13	2	3	(223)
Equal rights	32	22	26	12	8	(224)
Non-violence	64	16	14	2	4	(225)
Reconciliation	33	24	24	8	11	(226)
Parity of esteem	34	27	23	7	9	(227)
Equality and tolerance	50	29	16	1	4	(228)
Democratic participation	33	23	22	10	12	(229)
Principle of consent	67	14	11	3	5	(230)
Recognition of Northern Ireland	67	18	9	2	4	(231)
Self-determination	28	9	19	20	24	(232)

Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Co-operation	41	32	22	4	1	(222)
Peace	79	12	8	1	0	(223)
Equal rights	75	14	9	1	1	(224)
Non-violence	67	17	12	3	1	(225)
Reconciliation	60	25	11	2	2	(226)
Parity of esteem	74	14	8	2	2	(227)
Equality and tolerance	83	10	5	1	1	(228)
Democratic participation	71	18	7	2	2	(229)
Principle of consent	26	22	24	12	16	(230)
Recognition of Northern Ireland	21	20	25	18	16	(231)
Self-determination	44	21	19	8	8	(232)

DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Co-operation	18	12	31	28	11	(222)
Peace	43	26	19	9	3	(223)
Equal rights	18	19	18	28	17	(224)
Non-violence	50	19	25	1	5	(225)
Reconciliation	19	16	36	6	23	(226)
Parity of esteem	19	26	32	4	19	(227)
Equality and tolerance	29	36	27	1	7	(228)
Democratic participation	20	15	30	13	22	(229)
Principle of consent	67	13	14	2	4	(230)
Recognition of Northern Ireland	77	13	4	2	4	(231)
Self-determination	16	10	11	17	46	(232)

UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Co-operation	18	24	35	19	4	(222)
Peace	59	26	12	1	2	(223)
Equal rights	33	19	37	6	5	(224)
Non-violence	74	12	10	2	2	(225)
Reconciliation	36	29	18	9	8	(226)
Parity of esteem	35	29	24	6	6	(227)
Equality and tolerance	60	23	13	1	3	(228)
Democratic participation	33	23	23	11	10	(229)
Principle of consent	74	15	8	0	3	(230)
Recognition of Northern Ireland	70	18	9	0	3	(231)
Self-determination	33	10	17	21	19	(232)

Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	!
Co-operation	24	42	24	7	3	(222)
Peace	79	20	0	0	1	(223)
Equal rights	66	30	3	0	1	(224)
Non-violence	83	15	1	0	1	(225)
Reconciliation	61	29	9	0	1	(226)
Parity of esteem	68	22	7	0	3	(227)
Equality and tolerance	68	31	0	0	1	(228)
Democratic participation	57	36	4	0	3	(229)
Principle of consent	61	25	6	4	4	(230)
Recognition of Northern Ireland	48	28	10	6	8	(231)
Self-determination	29	28	28	12	3	(232)

SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Co-operation	45	31	18	5	1	(222)
Peace	85	10	5	0	0	(223)
Equal rights	83	11	4	1	1	(224)
Non-violence	83	10	6	1	0	(225)
Reconciliation	68	21	10	1	0	(226)
Parity of esteem	80	11	7	1	1	(227)
Equality and tolerance	89	6	4	1	0	(228)
Democratic participation	79	16	3	2	0	(229)
Principle of consent	35	18	22	18	7	(230)
Recognition of Northern Ireland	25	18	27	23	7	(231)
Self-determination	50	18	16	10	6	(232)

Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
Co-operation	37	34	25	4	0	(222)
Peace	67	12	20	1	0	(223)
Equal rights	68	13	18	0	1	(224)
Non-violence	39	26	27	6	2	(225)
Reconciliation	47	28	18	3	4	(226)
Parity of esteem	61	19	12	4	4	(227)
Equality and tolerance	75	15	7	2	1	(228)
Democratic participation	60	19	15	1	5	(229)
Principle of consent	15	20	28	8	29	(230)
Recognition of Northern Ireland	14	18	22	18	28	(231)
Self-determination	45	20	20	4	11	(232)

Structures for co-operation

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

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Northern Ireland Intergovernmental	11	20	29	16	24	(233)
Conference - The establishment of an						
intergovernmental body which allows for						
consultation between the two governments on issues						
relating to Northern Ireland.						
Northern Ireland Intergovernmental	10	17	33	16	24	(234)
Secretariat - The establishment of a permanently						
staffed intergovernmental organisation in Belfast						
which facilitates consultation between the two						
governments on issues relating to Northern Ireland.	1.1	20	2.1	1.0	20	(225)
British and Irish Intergovernmental	11	20	31	18	20	(235)
Conference - The establishment of an						
intergovernmental body which allows for						
consultation between the two governments on issues relating to Northern Ireland.						
British and Irish Intergovernmental	13	22	27	19	19	(236)
Secretariat - The establishment of a permanently		22	21	17	17	(230)
staffed intergovernmental organisation in Belfast,						
London and Dublin which facilitates consultation						
between the two governments on any issues of						
mutual interest.						
Good relations Inter-parliamentary Body - The	12	20	28	23	17	(237)
establishment of an 'Anglo-Irish Parliamentary						
body' between Dublin and Westminster to promote						
inter parliamentary relations.						
Administrative Inter-parliamentary Body - The	11	14	29	20	26	(238)
establishment of an 'Anglo-Irish Parliamentary						
body' between Dublin and Westminster to promote						
inter parliamentary relations and be responsible for						
the implementation of agreements between London						
and Dublin.						
Council of The Islands - The establishment of a		20	31	20	19	(239)
council that facilitates co-operation between						
Scotland, Wales, England, Northern Ireland and the						
Republic of Ireland as a regional 'Council of The						
Islands' within the European Union. This council						
would be similar to the 'Nordic Council'						
established by Norway, Sweden and Finland.	19	1.1	1.0	1.6	26	(240)
No special structures for co-operation - The Anglo-Irish Agreement should be brought to an end		11	18	16	36	(240)
and should not be replaced with a new British/Irish						
treaty.						
Commonwealth - The Republic of Ireland should	8	8	28	22	34	(241)
rejoin the Commonwealth as a full and active			20		J 7	(2-71)
member of that organisation.						
	l .	<u> </u>	<u> </u>	l .	1	

Protrestant		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Northern Ireland	Intergovernmental	5	12	27	17	39	(233)
Conference							
Northern Ireland	Intergovernmental	4	12	29	18	37	(234)
Secretariat							
British and Irish	Intergovernmental	4	9	31	21	35	(235)
Conference							
British and Irish	Intergovernmental	4	14	25	25	32	(236)
Secretariat							
Good relations Inter-parlia	mentary Body	3	14	23	30	30	(237)
Administrative Inter-parlia	mentary Body	3	8	21	26	42	(238)
Council of The Islands		6	19	27	23	25	(239)
No special structures for co	-operation	31	14	16	14	25	(240)
Commonwealth		9	10	33	23	25	(241)

Catholic		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Northern Ireland	Intergovernmental	17	32	33	12	6	(233)
Conference							
Northern Ireland	Intergovernmental	16	25	38	13	8	(234)
Secretariat							
British and Irish	Intergovernmental	19	32	35	10	4	(235)
Conference							
British and Irish	Intergovernmental	22	32	32	10	4	(236)
Secretariat							
Good relations Inter-parliam		23	29	33	12	3	(237)
Administrative Inter-parlian	nentary Body	21	22	38	13	6	(238)
Council of The Islands		14	19	39	17	11	(239)
No special structures for co-	operation	5	7	17	18	53	(240)
Commonwealth		6	4	21	19	50	(241)

DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Northern Ireland Intergovernme	ental 6	5	13	18	58	(233)
Conference						
Northern Ireland Intergovernme	ental 10	7	14	13	56	(234)
Secretariat						
British and Irish Intergovernme	ental 4	7	10	23	56	(235)
Conference						
British and Irish Intergovernme	ental 4	7	10	20	59	(236)
Secretariat						
Good relations Inter-parliamentary Body	1	4	10	37	48	(237)
Administrative Inter-parliamentary Body	3	1	11	21	64	(238)
Council of The Islands	5	13	15	33	34	(239)
No special structures for co-operation	44	16	9	8	23	(240)
Commonwealth	11	6	25	19	39	(241)

TITID	T	Desirable	A 4 - 1-1 -	Tolerable	II	
UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Northern Ireland Intergovernmenta	7	8	29	19	37	(233)
Conference						
Northern Ireland Intergovernmenta	1 5	9	27	26	33	(234)
Secretariat						
British and Irish Intergovernmenta	1 4	6	35	25	30	(235)
Conference						
British and Irish Intergovernmenta	l 5	11	28	30	26	(236)
Secretariat						
Good relations Inter-parliamentary Body	3	11	28	29	29	(237)
Administrative Inter-parliamentary Body	4	8	19	27	42	(238)
Council of The Islands	9	18	31	23	19	(239)
No special structures for co-operation	37	16	17	11	19	(240)
Commonwealth	12	12	34	22	20	(241)
	-		•	-	-	

Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Northern Ireland Intergovernmenta	7	34	37	12	10	(233)
Conference						İ
Northern Ireland Intergovernmenta	7	25	52	5	11	(234)
Secretariat						İ
British and Irish Intergovernmenta	14	30	38	10	8	(235)
Conference						ĺ
British and Irish Intergovernmenta	11	30	35	17	7	(236)
Secretariat						ĺ
Good relations Inter-parliamentary Body	14	40	32	11	3	(237)
Administrative Inter-parliamentary Body	11	22	43	14	10	(238)
Council of The Islands	11	35	23	12	19	(239)
No special structures for co-operation	10	3	27	29	31	(240)
Commonwealth	9	4	50	24	13	(241)

SDLP		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Northern Ireland	Intergovernmental	19	39	31	7	4	(233)
Conference							
Northern Ireland	Intergovernmental	14	32	37	11	6	(234)
Secretariat							
British and Irish	Intergovernmental	18	38	35	7	2	(235)
Conference							
British and Irish	Intergovernmental	23	36	31	7	3	(236)
Secretariat							
Good relations Inter-parlian	nentary Body	29	33	31	6	1	(237)
Administrative Inter-parlia	mentary Body	24	25	38	9	4	(238)
Council of The Islands		16	20	43	11	10	(239)
No special structures for co-	operation	6	4	20	18	52	(240)
Commonwealth		6	6	21	24	43	(241)

Sinn Féin		Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Northern Ireland	Intergovernmental	16	27	28	22	7	(233)
Conference							
Northern Ireland	Intergovernmental	21	18	35	17	9	(234)
Secretariat							
British and Irish	Intergovernmental	22	25	34	14	5	(235)
Conference							
British and Irish	Intergovernmental	22	27	34	12	5	(236)
Secretariat							
Good relations Inter-parlia		17	22	37	20	4	(237)
Administrative Inter-parlia	mentary Body	20	15	37	20	8	(238)
Council of The Islands		11	18	33	27	11	(239)
No special structures for co-	-operation	3	11	15	14	57	(240)
Commonwealth		6	2	15	11	66	(241)

9. Agreeing a Settlement

Who should vote in a referendum

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

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable]
Northern Ireland only - As a referendum in	33	19	19	11	18	(24
Northern Ireland only.						
North and South separately - As separate but		17	20	15	38	(24
concurrent referenda in both Northern Ireland and						
the Republic of Ireland.						
Island of Ireland - As a single referendum in the	14	11	16	10	49	(24
island of Ireland as a whole.						
UK and Northern Ireland - As a single	8	7	22	17	46	(24
referendum in the United Kingdom of Great Britain						
and Northern Ireland as a whole.						
UK and island of Ireland - As a single	7	8	15	17	53	(24
referendum in the United Kingdom of Great Britain						
plus the island of Ireland as a whole.						

Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Northern Ireland only	52	25	15	5	3	(24
North and South separately	5	11	11	13	60	(24
Island of Ireland	2	2	8	9	79	(24
UK and Northern Ireland	9	9	21	14	47	(24
UK and island of Ireland	5	3	10	11	71	(24

Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Northern Ireland only	10	10	22	19	39	(24
North and South separately	16	26	29	18	11	(24
Island of Ireland	32	23	24	10	11	(24
UK and Northern Ireland	4	6	20	21	49	(24
UK and island of Ireland	11	13	22	23	31	(24

DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
Northern Ireland only	61	21	13	3	2	(24
North and South separately	4	5	9	9	73	(24
Island of Ireland	2	2	3	6	87	(24
UK and Northern Ireland	18	12	18	13	39	(2
UK and island of Ireland	5	1	9	9	76	(24

UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
Northern Ireland only	57	26	15	2	0	(24
North and South separately	7	12	11	11	59	(24
Island of Ireland	2	3	7	7	81	(24
UK and Northern Ireland	8	11	21	14	46	(24
UK and island of Ireland	5	3	9	9	74	(24

Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Northern Ireland only	30	17	28	12	13	(24
North and South separately	7	19	33	21	20	(24
Island of Ireland	6	8	23	21	42	(24
UK and Northern Ireland	4	1	26	26	43	(24
UK and island of Ireland	4	8	26	22	40	(24

SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
Northern Ireland only	10	11	22	15	42	(24
North and South separately	15	30	28	18	9	(24
Island of Ireland	28	22	26	9	15	(24
UK and Northern Ireland	5	8	22	22	43	(24
UK and island of Ireland	10	15	24	22	29	(24

Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Northern Ireland only	11	8	17	19	45	(24
North and South separately	23	22	22	19	14	(24
Island of Ireland	44	24	20	8	4	(24
UK and Northern Ireland	4	4	14	15	63	(24
UK and island of Ireland	14	12	15	20	39	(24

How votes should be counted in Northern Ireland

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

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
A Simple majority - A simple majority of the		19	27	16	19	(247)
people of Northern Ireland - more than 50% - could						
be considered to represent the consent of both the						
Unionist and Nationalist communities.						
A 60% 'weighted' majority - A majority of the	3	18	36	23	20	(248)
people of Northern Ireland - for example 60% -						
could be considered to represent the consent of both						
the Unionist and Nationalist communities.						
A 70% 'weighted' majority - An overwhelming		16	27	19	29	(249)
majority of the people of Northern Ireland - for						
example 70% - could be considered to represent the						
consent of both the Unionist and Nationalist						
communities.						
A separate majority from both Unionist and		9	21	21	42	(250)
Nationalist areas - A separate majority of the						
people living in both Unionist and Nationalist						
District Council areas or Parliamentary						
constituencies or Counties could be considered to						
represent the consent of both communities.						
A separate majority from both Unionist and		8	17	14	51	(251)
Nationalist electoral registers - Everyone in						
Northern Ireland should register as belonging to						
either the Unionist or Nationalist community and						
have their votes separately counted in a referendum.						
Compulsory voting - Everyone in Northern		13	11	12	47	(252)
Ireland should be obliged to vote in a referendum as						
a matter of law and be fined if they do not vote.						

Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
A Simple majority	24	22	25	16	13	(247)
A 60% 'weighted' majority	3	19	34	24	20	(248)
A 70% 'weighted' majority	6	17	28	20	29	(249)
A separate majority from both Unionist and	6	5	18	20	51	(250)
Nationalist areas						
A separate majority from both Unionist and	10	6	14	16	54	(251)
Nationalist electoral registers						
Compulsory voting	19	14	12	10	45	(252)

Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
A Simple majority	12	14	29	17	28	(247)
A 60% 'weighted' majority	3	16	36	23	22	(248)
A 70% 'weighted' majority	15	14	26	17	28	(249)
A separate majority from both Unionist and	7	13	28	22	30	(250)
Nationalist areas						
A separate majority from both Unionist and	9	9	21	15	46	(251)
Nationalist electoral registers						
Compulsory voting	13	13	9	14	51	(252)

DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
A Simple majority	40	19	17	15	9	(247)
A 60% 'weighted' majority	3	17	33	29	18	(248)
A 70% 'weighted' majority	8	16	18	23	35	(249)
A separate majority from both Unionist and	19	7	8	12	54	(250)
Nationalist areas						
A separate majority from both Unionist and	29	6	9	10	46	(251)
Nationalist electoral registers						
Compulsory voting	32	9	14	6	39	(252)

UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
A Simple majority	27	25	23	13	12	(247)
A 60% 'weighted' majority	2	17	39	23	19	(248)
A 70% 'weighted' majority	7	13	36	19	25	(249)
A separate majority from both Unionist and	6	5	21	17	51	(250)
Nationalist areas						
A separate majority from both Unionist and	8	7	17	15	53	(251)
Nationalist electoral registers						
Compulsory voting	16	13	15	9	47	(252)

Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
A Simple majority	12	22	22	23	21	(247)
A 60% 'weighted' majority	7	17	37	21	18	(248)
A 70% 'weighted' majority	9	16	21	31	23	(249)
A separate majority from both Unionist and	3	6	18	27	46	(250)
Nationalist areas						
A separate majority from both Unionist and	10	2	4	20	64	(251)
Nationalist electoral registers						
Compulsory voting	8	15	11	17	49	(252)

SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
A Simple majority	9	16	29	16	30	(247)
A 60% 'weighted' majority	4	12	37	26	21	(248)
A 70% 'weighted' majority	12	13	27	16	32	(249)
A separate majority from both Unionist and	5	15	29	16	35	(250)
Nationalist areas						
A separate majority from both Unionist and	7	10	21	11	51	(251)
Nationalist electoral registers						
Compulsory voting	14	17	10	11	48	(252)

Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
A Simple majority	18	13	30	14	25	(247)
A 60% 'weighted' majority	3	24	29	21	23	(248)
A 70% 'weighted' majority	17	18	25	13	27	(249)
A separate majority from both Unionist and	9	14	26	29	22	(250)
Nationalist areas						
A separate majority from both Unionist and	10	11	22	17	40	(251)
Nationalist electoral registers						
Compulsory voting	15	6	10	19	50	(252)

Registration

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

	All NI	
Yes	63	(253)
No		
	<u> </u>	_
	Protesta	<u>n</u> t

	Protestan	t
Yes	68	(253)
No		

	Catholic	
Yes	62	(253)
No		

	DUP	
Yes	77	(253)
No		

	UUP	
Yes	74	(253)
No		

	Alliance	
Yes	30	(253)
No		

	SDLP	
Yes	63	(253)
No		

	Sinn Féin	l
Yes	75	(253)
No		

10. The Implementation of a Settlement

The introduction of political reforms

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

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Final - The settlement should be final with	12	16	19	15	38	(254)
no more changes allowed.						
Transitional - The settlement should be		17	37	22	17	(255)
final but changes could be introduced over						
an agreed transitional period						
Interim - Allow for an interim agreement		17	38	22	14	(256)
that can be reviewed after a set period of						
time.						
Subject to review - Introduce reforms		19	29	24	17	(257)
slowly subject to periodic assessment and						
review.						

Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Final	17	20	21	14	28	(254)
Transitional	3	14	37	25	21	(255)
Interim	5	10	35	27	23	(256)
Subject to review	8	15	27	26	24	(257)

Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Final	8	11	17	17	47	(254)
Transitional	11	21	34	19	15	(255)
Interim	14	25	40	17	4	(256)
Subject to review	15	24	29	22	10	(257)

DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Final	29	14	24	8	25	(254)
Transitional	9	6	37	20	28	(255)
Interim	5	7	31	26	31	(256)
Subject to review	7	9	29	19	36	(257)

UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Final	12	29	22	13	24	(254)
Transitional	3	18	36	25	18	(255)
Interim	4	11	38	24	23	(256)
Subject to review	7	19	27	25	22	(257)

Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Final	5	5	14	22	54	(254)
Transitional	4	21	36	25	14	(255)
Interim	5	19	44	21	11	(256)
Subject to review	8	23	30	28	11	(257)

SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
Final	10	12	19	14	45	(254)
Transitional	8	25	36	16	15	(255)
Interim	11	32	43	13	1	(256)
Subject to review	17	29	30	21	3	(257)

Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Final	6	13	16	17	48	(254)
Transitional	13	19	33	19	16	(255)
Interim	19	19	37	19	6	(256)
Subject to review	13	17	31	22	17	(257)

Mechanisms for reviewing a settlement

Referendum

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

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
International court - An international		19	31	13	18	(258
court should be established as part of a		17	31	13	10	(230
settlement with the responsibility of ruling						
on disputes.						
Referendum - A mechanism should be put	10	17	30	23	20	(259
in place as part of a settlement that will allow						
voters to change the terms of the settlement						
after a minimum period of 10 years.						
•	•	•	•	•	•	
						_
Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
International court	6	15	34	17	28	(258
Referendum	2	15	29	23	31	(259
Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
International court	37	24	28	7	4	(258
Referendum	18	19	31	22	10	(259
Referencem	1.0				1.0	(20)
DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
International court	10	11	28	11	40	(258
Referendum	8	13	21	19	39	(259
UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
International court	5	14	37	17	27	(258
Referendum	2	13	29	25	31	(259)
Keterendum		13	2,9	23	31	(23)
Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
International court	13	17	31	17	22	(258
Referendum	5	27	45	15	8	(259
					•	-
		•	•	1		7
SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
International court	37	27	29	4	3	(258
Referendum	22	23	31	16	8	(259
Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
International court	44	23	24	6	3	(258
mitti nativilai tvui t	1 '-				1	(23

14

13

31

(259)

11. In Search of a Settlement

The views of the 'other' community

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

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Ī
The 'other' community - The views and	42	19	20	13	6	(260)
aspirations of the 'other' community						
should be part of a settlement.						
Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
The 'other' community	26	18	26	20	10	(260)
Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Aggantable	Tolerable	Unaccentoble	Ī
The 'other' community	61	20	Acceptable 13	4	Unacceptable 2	(260)
The other community	01	20	13	4	2	(200)
DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
The 'other' community	16	10	27	26	21	(260)
						•
LILID	a	I 5 · 11		m 1 11	T	ī
UUP	Essential 24	Desirable 20	Acceptable 28	Tolerable 19	Unacceptable 9	(260)
The 'other' community	24	20	28	19	9	(260)
Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
The 'other' community	59	24	11	3	3	(260)
						•
SDLP	E (* 1	D : 11	I A . 11	T 1 11	77 , 11	ī
·-	Essential 68	Desirable 18	Acceptable 12	Tolerable 2	Unacceptable 0	(260)
The 'other' community	08	1 8	1 2		U	(260)
Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	Ī
The 'other' community	52	23	17	6	2	(260)
•	•		•			•

A settlement 'package'

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

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable]
Separate Northern Irish State - The complete separation of Northern Ireland from both the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland and the establishment of a separate state within the European Union.		8	17	15	57	(261)
Full incorporation into the British State - Direct rule from Westminster and local government similar to the rest of the United Kingdom with no Northern Ireland Assembly or separate laws for Northern Ireland and no Anglo-Irish Agreement.		14	18	16	39	(262)
Continued direct rule (No change) - The continuation of direct rule from London in consultation with the Irish government under the terms of the Anglo-Irish Agreement.		8	21	25	44	(263)
Power sharing and the Anglo-Irish Agreement - Government by a Northern Ireland Assembly and power sharing Executive under the authority of the British government but in consultation with the Irish government under the terms of the Anglo-Irish Agreement.		8	24	23	42	(264)
Power sharing with North-South institutions but no joint authority - Government by a Northern Ireland Assembly, power sharing Executive and a number of joint institutions established with the Republic of Ireland to deal with matters of mutual interest. (But these arrangements will not include joint authority between the British and Irish governments).		11	23	23	40	(265)
Joint authority and power sharing - Government by joint authority between the British and Irish governments in association with an elected power sharing Executive and Assembly.		13	20	14	49	(266)
Separate institutions for the two main communities - Creation of separate structures for the government of each of the two main communities in Northern Ireland, subject to joint authority by the British and Irish governments.		5	17	20	55	(267)
Full incorporation into the Irish State - Full incorporation of Northern Ireland into the Republic of Ireland to create a single state within the European Union.		12	9	9	56	(268)

Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
Separate Northern Irish State	3	8	20	17	52	(261)
Full incorporation into the British State	23	21	23	18	15	(262)
Continued direct rule (No change)	3	12	27	20	38	(263)
Power sharing and the Anglo-Irish Agreement	0	3	17	20	60	(264)
Power sharing with North-South institutions	4	8	17	19	52	(265)
but no joint authority]
Joint authority and power sharing	0	2	13	13	72	(266)
Separate institutions for the two main	0	2	12	16	70	(267)
communities						
Full incorporation into the Irish State	1	1	2	6	90	(268)

Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
Separate Northern Irish State	3	7	13	12	65	(261)
Full incorporation into the British State	1	3	9	12	75	(262)
Continued direct rule (No change)	1	4	12	32	51	(263)
Power sharing and the Anglo-Irish Agreement	5	13	33	30	19	(264)
Power sharing with North-South institutions	3	13	31	26	27	(265)
but no joint authority						
Joint authority and power sharing	10	27	31	13	19	(266)
Separate institutions for the two main	6	7	25	26	36	(267)
communities						
Full incorporation into the Irish State	34	24	18	14	10	(268)

DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Separate Northern Irish State	4	6	24	14	52	(261)
Full incorporation into the British State	30	17	30	14	9	(262)
Continued direct rule (No change)	4	11	24	14	47	(263)
Power sharing and the Anglo-Irish Agreement	0	2	5	14	79	(264)
Power sharing with North-South institutions	2	4	5	14	75	(265)
but no joint authority						
Joint authority and power sharing	0	3	4	10	83	(266)
Separate institutions for the two main	1	3	7	10	79	(267)
communities						
Full incorporation into the Irish State	1	0	0	3	96	(268)

UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
Separate Northern Irish State	2	5	22	19	52	(261)
Full incorporation into the British State	29	21	24	18	8	(262)
Continued direct rule (No change)	3	15	29	18	35	(263)
Power sharing and the Anglo-Irish Agreement	0	3	16	20	61	(264)
Power sharing with North-South institutions	4	9	18	21	48	(265)
but no joint authority						1
Joint authority and power sharing	0	2	11	11	76	(266)
Separate institutions for the two main	0	2	13	16	69	(267)
communities						
Full incorporation into the Irish State	1	2	3	1	93	(268)

Alliance	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Separate Northern Irish State	4	12	10	15	59	(261)
Full incorporation into the British State	7	8	19	21	45	(262)
Continued direct rule (No change)	1	8	22	33	36	(263)
Power sharing and the Anglo-Irish Agreement	4	10	36	28	22	(264)
Power sharing with North-South institutions	8	15	31	21	25	(265)
but no joint authority						İ
Joint authority and power sharing	4	5	28	25	38	(266)
Separate institutions for the two main	6	0	9	23	62	(267)
communities						
Full incorporation into the Irish State	2	9	2	22	65	(268)

SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Separate Northern Irish State	4	9	12	12	63	(261)
Full incorporation into the British State	1	4	11	12	72	(262)
Continued direct rule (No change)	2	4	14	39	41	(263)
Power sharing and the Anglo-Irish Agreement	7	13	42	25	13	(264)
Power sharing with North-South institutions	6	16	37	24	17	(265)
but no joint authority						
Joint authority and power sharing	11	34	32	11	12	(266)
Separate institutions for the two main	3	7	25	25	40	(267)
communities						
Full incorporation into the Irish State	24	22	25	19	10	(268)

Sinn Féin	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
Separate Northern Irish State	1	7	14	12	66	(261)
Full incorporation into the British State	0	6	6	7	81	(262)
Continued direct rule (No change)	1	3	7	20	69	(263)
Power sharing and the Anglo-Irish Agreement	1	13	25	31	30	(264)
Power sharing with North-South institutions	0	10	24	23	43	(265)
but no joint authority						
Joint authority and power sharing	8	25	30	10	27	(266)
Separate institutions for the two main	8	10	28	25	29	(267)
communities						
Full incorporation into the Irish State	58	27	12	1	2	(268)

12. Your views and comments

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

All NI	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
The political party you support.	42	26	19	7	6	(269)
The Television, Radio and Press.	42	28	22	6	2	(270)
The British Government and Northern	50	24	18	6	2	(271)
Ireland Office.						
The Irish Government.	29	16	18	11	26	(272)
						-
Protestant	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
The political party you support.	41	30	18	6	5	(269)
The Television, Radio and Press.	34	29	27	7	3	(270)
The British Government and N.I.O.	53	26	16	4	1	(271)
The Irish Government.	17	12	13	15	43	(272)
						-
Catholic	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
The political party you support.	42	25	22	7	4	(269)
The Television, Radio and Press.	49	28	19	4	0	(270)
The British Government and N.I.O.	48	22	22	5	3	(271)
The Irish Government.	45	23	27	4	1	(272)
		_				•
DUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
The political party you support.	43	23	16	10	8	(269)
The Television, Radio and Press.	40	21	26	10	3	(270)
The British Government and N.I.O.	54	21	16	8	1	(271)
The Irish Government.	12	6	8	12	62	(272)
				T		1
UUP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	
The political party you support.	49	32	12	4	3	(269)
The Television, Radio and Press.	35	29	23	9	4	(270)
The British Government and N.I.O.	56	26	13	4	1	(271)
The Irish Government.	18	14	8	14	46	(272)
Allianas	E (1.1	ID : 11	[A 4.1.1	T 1 11	l 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	1
Alliance	Essential 33	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	(2(2)
The political party you support.		16 26	26 22	13	12	(262)
The Privish Consumerate and N. I.O.	49			0	3	(270)
The British Government and N.I.O.	50	25	19 33	5 15	1	(271)
The Irish Government.	21	11	33	13	14	(272)
SDLP	Essential	Desirable	Acceptable	Tolerable	Unacceptable	1
The political party you support.	38	28	23	7	4	(269)
The Television, Radio and Press.			17	5	0	(270)
,	47	1 1	1 /			
I The British Government and Note I	47 50	31				
The British Government and N.I.O. The Irish Government	50	25	15	7	3	(271)
The Irish Government and N.I.O. The Irish Government.						(271)
The Irish Government.	50 43	25 26	15 24	7 5	3 2	(271)
The Irish Government. Sinn Féin	50 43 Essential	25 26 Desirable	15 24 Acceptable	7 5 Tolerable	3 2 Unacceptable	(271) (272)
The Irish Government. Sinn Féin The political party you support.	50 43 Essential 53	25 26 Desirable 25	15 24 Acceptable 19	7 5 Tolerable 2	3 2 Unacceptable 1	(271) (272) (269)
The Irish Government. Sinn Féin The political party you support. The Television, Radio and Press.	50 43 Essential 53 51	25 26 Desirable 25 28	15 24 Acceptable 19 20	7 5 Tolerable 2 1	3 2 Unacceptable 1 0	(271) (272) (269) (270)
The Irish Government. Sinn Féin The political party you support.	50 43 Essential 53	25 26 Desirable 25	15 24 Acceptable 19	7 5 Tolerable 2	3 2 Unacceptable 1	(271) (272) (269) (270) (271) (272)

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