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Can Northern Ireland become 'normal'?

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Summary

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- 'Normality' and universal norms
- Rule of law and civil rights
- Populist politics
- Constitutional attitudes
- 'Bread-and-butter' issues
- Institutional political focus
- Conclusion









Rule of law

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 Do you have sympathy with the reasons for violence from loyalist/republican groups even if you don't condone the violence itself (%)?

| | Loyalist groups | Republican groups |
|--------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| A lot of sympathy | 3 | 5 |
| A little sympathy | 26 | 25 |
| No sympathy at all | 70 | 69 |
| Don't know | 2 | 2 |









Rule of law

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 Compare results for 1998, when violence was more strongly delegitimised:

| | Loyalist groups | Republican groups |
|--------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| A lot of sympathy | 2 | 3 |
| A little sympathy | 16 | 11 |
| No sympathy at all | 77 | 82 |
| Don't know | 4 | 3 |









Rule of law

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Results for Catholics only:

| | Loyalist groups | Republican groups |
|--------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| A lot of sympathy | 3 | 11 |
| A little sympathy | 24 | 31 |
| No sympathy at all | 70 | 55 |
| Don't know | 3 | 3 |









Human rights

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 Do you think the authorities should have the right to detain people for as long as they want without putting them on trial (%)?

| Definitely should have right | 23 |
|----------------------------------|----|
| Probably should have right | 35 |
| Probably should not have right | 21 |
| Definitely should not have right | 15 |
| Can't choose | 16 |









Human rights

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Results for Protestants only

| Definitely should have right | 30 |
|----------------------------------|----|
| Probably should have right | 36 |
| Probably should not have right | 21 |
| Definitely should not have right | 8 |
| Can't choose | 5 |









Human rights

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 Should organising protest marches and demonstrations be allowed (%)?

| Definitely | 23 |
|----------------|----|
| Probably | 37 |
| Probably not | 20 |
| Definitely not | 13 |
| Can't choose | 7 |









Populist politics

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Political party feel closest to (2007) / support (1998)
(%)

| | 2007 | 1998 |
|----------------------------|------|------|
| Democratic Unionist | 20 | 9 |
| Sinn Féin | 14 | 7 |
| Ulster Unionist | 18 | 25 |
| Social Democratic & Labour | 20 | 22 |
| Alliance | 8 | 8 |
| Other | 2 | 8* |
| None of these | 15 | 12 |
| Other answer / don't know | 2 | 11* |





Possible rounding errors





Populist politics

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 Best performances by main populist radical right parties in European (lower-house) parliamentary elections (Mudde)

| Country | Party | High score (year) |
|----------|---|-------------------|
| Austria | Freiheithliche Partei Österreichs (FPÖ) | 26.9 (1999) |
| Russia | Liberal'no-demokrathcheskoi partii Rossii (LDPR) | 22.9 (1993) |
| Belgium | Vlaams Belang (VB) | 16.8 (2003) |
| | Front national (FNb) | 6.9 (1995) |
| Romania | Partidul România Mare (PRM) | 19.5 (2000) |
| France | Front national (FN) | 14.9 (1997) |
| Denmark | Dansk Folkepartei (DFP) | 13.2 (2005) |
| Slovakia | Slovenská národná srana (SNS) | 11.7 (2006) |









Identity

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 Do you think of yourself as a unionist, a nationalist or neither (%)?

| Unionist | 36 |
|-------------|----|
| Nationalist | 24 |
| Neither | 40 |









Identity

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• Compare 1998:

| Unionist | 40 |
|-------------|----|
| Nationalist | 25 |
| Neither | 33 |









Consent

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 If the majority of people in Northern Ireland ever/never voted to become part of a united Ireland do you think you (%)

| | Ever voted for a united Ireland | Never voted for a united Ireland |
|--|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Would find this almost impossible to accept? | 12 | 4 |
| Would not like it, but could live with it if you had to? | 46 | 34 |
| Would happily accept the wishes of the majority? | 39 | 58 |
| Don't know | 3 | 4 |









'Bread-and-butter' issues

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 Do you think it is more important that the Assembly spends its time dealing with policy issues or constitutional issues (%)?

| Policy issues | 65 |
|-----------------------|----|
| Constitutional issues | 12 |
| Both equally | 20 |
| Don't know | 3 |









Policing and justice

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 On constitutional issues that the Assembly will have to deal with, which of these do you think is the most important (%)?

| Devolution of policing and justice | 53 |
|---|----|
| Securing Northern Ireland's union with the United Kingdom | 26 |
| Bringing about a United Ireland | 9 |
| None of these | 7 |
| Don't know | 6 |









Institutional focus

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• Which of the following has the most influence/ought to have most influence over the way Northern Ireland is run (%)?

| | Which has most influence | Which ought to have most influence |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------|---|
| Northern Ireland Assembly | 36 | 68 |
| UK government at Westminster | 45 | 11 |
| Local councils | 7 | 11 |
| Irish Government | 2 | 3 |
| European Union | 3 | 2 |
| Other | 1 | 1 |
| Don't know | 5 | 3 |









Conclusion

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- Positive trends towards democratic normality in stress on 'bread-and-butter' issues and assembly, more tolerance on constitution
- But strong authoritarian hangover from 'troubles': significant (indeed rising) sympathy for reasons for violence, weak support for civil liberties, polarisation towards populist parties
- Result: deadlocks on range of day-to-day issues, reinvolvement of London, little legislation, devolution of policing/justice postponed
- · All in all, still some way from 'normality'





