NORTHERN IRELAND REFERENDUM & ELECTION STUDY 1998

Queen's University Belfast and ESRC Centre for Research into Elections and Social Trends

SERIAL NO:]	
WARD NAME:	CONSTITUENCY:	CONSTIT
NAME: ADDRESS:	- - -	
TELEPHONE NUMBER:	*A few interviews on any survey are checked	-
	that people are satisfied with the way the interv my supervisor needs to contact you, it would be telephone number. ADD IF NECESSARY: Yo passed to anyone outside RES.	helpful if we could have your
INTERVIEWER'S NAME:		

CONTACT DETAILS:

	Day	Month	Time	
1st Call				
2nd Call				
3rd Call				
4th Call				
5th Call				

CONTACT:

Full Interview	1	No Longer Lives At This Address	6
Refused	2	Language Problem	7
Ill / In Hospital	3	Demolished / Vacant	8
Away / On Holiday	4	Other (specify)	9
Occupied No Reply	5		

SERIAL NO:		

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Q1 How long have you lived in the town (city, village) where you live now?

Number of years
(If less than 1 year code 00)

Q2 Have you ever lived outside of Northern Ireland for more than six months?

Yes	1	Ask Q2A
No	2	Please go to Q3

Q2A Was that elsewhere in the United Kingdom, in the Republic of Ireland or outside the British Isles? (Circle all that apply)

	Yes	No
Elsewhere in the United Kingdom	1	2
Republic of Ireland	1	2
Outside the British Isles	1	2

NOTE: IF ISLE OF MAN, CODE 'ELSEWHERE IN THE UK'

Q3 How much interest do you generally have in what is going on in politics...**READ OUT...**

A great deal	1
Quite a lot	2
Some	3
Not very much	4
or, None at all	5
(Don't know)	8
(Refused/N/A)	9

Q4 On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in Northern Ireland? Are you......

Very	Fairly	Not Very	Not At All	(Don't	(Refused
Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Satisfied	Know)	/ NA)
1	2	3	4	8	9

Q5 And can you tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following explanations of why there are not more women in politics in Northern Ireland? **SHOWCARD 1**

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree		
Women lose votes	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
Women are not given the opportunities by political parties	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
Men are better politicians than women	1	2	3	4	5	8	9

THE MAY 22ND REFERENDUM

Now I would like to ask you some questions about the recent referendum that was held on May 22nd when people were asked if they supported the Agreement reached by the politicians on Good Friday.

Q6 Talking to people, we found that some people did not manage to vote. How about you, did you manage to vote in the referendum?

Yes	1	Ask Q6A
No	2	Please go to Q7
(Not registered to vote)	3	Please go to Q7
(Don't know)	8	Please go to Q7
(Refused/NA)	9	Please go to Q8

Q6A How did you vote?

Yes	1	
No	2	
(Don't know)	8	Please go to Q8
(Refused/NA)	9	Please go to Q8

Q6B How long before the referendum did you decide that you would definitely vote the way you did?

The day the Agreement was signed	1
After Good Friday but before the last week of the campaign	2
In the last week of the campaign	3
On referendum day itself	4
(Don't know)	8
(Refused/NA)	9

Q6C Was there any time during the referendum campaign when you considered voting in a different way?

Yes	1	Please go to Q8
No	2	Please go to Q8
(Don't know)	8	Please go to Q8
(Refused/NA)	9	Please go to Q8

Q7 If you had voted, would you have voted Yes to the Agreement or No to the Agreement?

Yes	1
No	2
(Don't know)	8
(Refused/NA)	9

Q8 Did you read the Agreement itself?

Yes	1	Ask 8A
No	2	Please go to Q9
(Don't know)	8	Please go to Q9
(Refused/NA)	9	Please go to Q9

IF YES AT Q8

Q8A Did you read <u>all</u> of it in detail, <u>parts</u> of it in detail, or did you just skim through it?

All of it in detail	1
Parts of it in detail	2
Just skimmed through it	3
(Don't know)	8
(Refused/NA)	9

ASK ALL

Which of these statements comes closest to your own view? **SHOWCARD 2**

I support the entire Agreement	1
I support the Agreement as a package, even though there are some parts of it I do not like	2
I cannot support the Agreement as a package but there are some parts of it that I do support	3
I oppose the entire Agreement	4
(Don't know)	8
(Refused/NA)	9

Q10 Here are some statements about the Good Friday Agreement. For each one, please tell me it you think it is a <u>true</u> statement of what the Agreement says or <u>false</u>. If you feel you Don't know, just say so, and we'll skip to the next one. Remember - true, false or Don't know.

		True	False	DK	(Refused / NA)
a)	Northern Ireland has the right to become part of a united Ireland if a majority of people in Northern Ireland vote to do so		2	8	9
b)	Prisoners will not be released if the paramilitary organisations to which they belong have not decommissioned their weapons	1	2	8	9
c)	Parties which win a significant number of seats in the Assembly are guaranteed a place in the Northern Ireland Executive so long as they keep to the conditions of the Agreement	1	2	8	9
d)	No key decision can be made by the Assembly unless 40% of both unionist and nationalist representatives agree	1	2	8	9
e)	Parties with links to paramilitary organisations that have not decommissioned their weapons are not allowed a place on the Northern Ireland Executive		2	8	9
f)	The commision on policing could recommend the creation of a new police force to replace the RUC	1	2	8	9

Q11 Thinking about the Good Friday Agreement, would you say that it benefits unionists more than nationalists, nationalists more than unionists, or that unionists and nationalists benefit equally? PROBE: A <u>lot</u> more or a <u>little</u> more?

Unionists benefit a <u>lot</u> more than nationalists	1
Unionists benefit a <u>little</u> more than nationalists	2
Nationalists benefit a <u>lot</u> more than unionists	3
Nationalists benefit a <u>little</u> more than unionists	4
Unionists and nationalists benefit equally	5
(Don't know)	8
(Refused/NA)	9

Q12 Do you think the long-term policy for Northern Ireland should be for it.....**READ OUT**....

to remain part of the United Kingdom	1
or, to reunify with the rest of Ireland?	2
Other (please specify)	3
(Don't know)	8
(Refused/NA)	9

Q13 At any time in the next 20 years, do you think it is likely or unlikely that there will be a united Ireland?

Very	Quite	Quite	Very	(Even	(Don't	(Refused / NA)
Likely	Likely	Unlikely	Unlikely	Chance)	know)	
1	2	3	4	5	8	9

Q14 Now I would like to ask you about your own views on some of the proposals contained in the Good Friday Agreement. Choosing your answer from this card, could you tell me how you feel about...**SHOWCARD 3**

		Strongly Support	Support	Neither Support nor Oppose	Oppose	Strongly Oppose	(Don't know)	(Ref /NA)
a)	The guarantee that Northern Ireland will remain part of the UK for as long as a majority of people in Northern Ireland wish it to be so.	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
b)	The creation of North-South bodies	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
c)	The setting up of a Northern Ireland assembly	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
d)	The removal of the Republic of Ireland's constitutional claim to Northern Ireland	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
e)	The creation of a commission into the future of the RUC	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
f)	Decommissioning of paramilitary weapons	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
g)	The early release of prisoners	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
h)	The requirement that the new Executive is power-sharing	1	2	3	4	5	8	9

Q15 Using a phrase from this card, can you tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statements. **SHOWCARD 1**

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	(Don't know)	(Ref /NA)
a)	Nobody with links to paramilitaries that still have weapons should be allowed to be a government minister	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
b)	The RUC makes it too difficult for Catholics to join	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
c)	Prisoners should not be released until the paramilitaries have handed in their weapons	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
d)	The RUC is a police force that everyone in Northern Ireland should be proud of	1	2	3	4	5	8	9

INTERVIEWER CHECK BACK TO Q6 TO SEE IF RESPONDENT IS ON THE ELECTORAL REGISTER

YES - ON REGISTER	1	Ask Q16
NO - NOT ON REGISTER	2	Please go to Q17

IF ON REGISTER

Now a few questions about the Assembly election that was held on the 25th of June. Your answers to these questions will be of great value in helping us to understand why people vote the way they do. Please remember that this information is **totally confidential.**Talking to people, we found that some people did not mange to vote. How about you, did you manage to vote in the Assembly election?

Yes	1	Ask Q16A
No	2	Please go to Q17
(Don't know)	8	Please go to Q17
(Refused/NA)	9	Please go to Q17

IF VOTED

Q16A And did you vote here in this constituency (give name) or in another one?

Here in this constituency	1	Ask Q16B
Somewhere else (Please write in)	2	Find the appropriate Ballot
		Paper and then ask Q16B
(Don't know)	8	Please go to Q17
(Refused/NA)	9	Please go to Q17

Q16B Here is the list of candidates that stood in your constituency.

GIVE RESPONDENT ENVELOPE AND MOCK BALLOT PAPER

In the election, you were allowed to number as many or as few candidates on your ballot paper as you wished, marking them 1,2,3 etc. Please use this paper to show exactly how you numbered the candidates when you voted on the 25th of June - and then seal it in the envelope

Respondent completed ballot paper	1	Ask Q16C
Refused / NA	2	Please go to Q17

IF BALLOT PAPER COMPLETED, PUT ENVELOPE AWAY AND GO TO Q16C

Thinking about your first choice candidate, did you choose him or her because of any of the following reasons? **SHOWCARD 4**

	Yes	No
I wanted to pick somebody who was in favour of the Good Friday Agreement	1	2
I wanted to pick somebody who was against the Good Friday Agreement	1	2
I wanted to pick somebody whose general views were close to my own	1	2
I wanted to pick somebody who would work hard for local people in this area	1	2
Some other reason (WRITE IN)	1	2

Q16D In the election campaign some of the political parties advised people how to order their preferences. In deciding how to vote, did you yourself take any notice of this advice?

Yes	1
No	2
(Don't know)	8
(Refused/NA)	9

Q16E Do you think that, generally speaking, the leaders of the party to which you gave your first preference vote should stick to their principles, or should they be willing to compromise?

Stick to principles	1
Willing to compromise	2
(Don't know)	8
(Refused/NA)	9

ASK ALL

Q17 Can you tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statements. **SHOWCARD 1**

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	(Don't know)	(Refused / NA)
a)	The Agreement has finally broken the political deadlock in Northern Ireland	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
b)	All parties elected to the assembly should try to make it a success, even if they were opposed to the Agreement	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
c)	The assembly will never last	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
d)	The Agreement will lead to a lasting peace in Northern Ireland	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
e)	The Agreement will bring economic prosperity to Northern Ireland	1	2	3	4	5	8	9

Q18 Please choose a phrase from this card to say how you feel about the following political parties. **SHOWCARD 5**

	Strongly in Favour	In Favour	Neither in Favour nor Against	Against	Strongly Against	(Don't know)	(Ref /NA)
Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
Alliance Party	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
Sinn Fein	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
SDLP	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
Progressive Unionist Party (PUP)	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
UK Unionist Party	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
Ulster Democratic Party (UDP)	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
Women's Coalition	1	2	3	4	5	8	9

Q19 Here is a list of some of the main political leaders in Northern Ireland. Which, of them, if any, would you generally trust to act in the best interests of all the people in Northern Ireland? **SHOWCARD 6**. PROBE: Any others?

	Yes	No
Gerry Adams	1	2
John Alderdice	1	2
David Ervine	1	2
John Hume	1	2
Robert McCartney	1	2
Gary McMichael	1	2
Monica McWilliams	1	2
Ian Paisley	1	2
David Trimble	1	2
None	()
(Don't know)	8	3
(Refused / NA)	Ç)

Q20 This card shows a few things that the new assembly might want to bring about. Which of these, if any, do you think is the **most important** for the assembly to bring about? **SHOWCARD 7**

	Q20	Q20A	Q20B
	1st	2nd	3rd
	Most	Most	Most
	Important	Important	Important
Improving the health service in Northern Ireland	1	1	1
Reducing discrimination against Protestants	2	2	2
Making it more likely that Northern Ireland will	3	3	3
eventually leave the UK	3	3	3
Improving education in Northern Ireland	4	4	4
Giving Northern Ireland a stronger voice in the UK	5	5	5
Reducing discrimination against Catholics	6	6	6
Increasing employment opportunities in Northern Ireland	7	7	7

Q20A And, which, if any, is the **second** most important?

Q20B And, which, if any, is the **third** most important?

Q21 Now some questions on social issues that the new Assembly may have to deal with in the years ahead. Do you think it is wrong or not wrong for a couple to divorce? Is it....READ OUT...

Always wrong	1
Almost always wrong	2
Wrong, only sometimes	3
or, Not wrong at all	4
(Don't know)	8
(Refused / NA)	9

Q22 And what about sexual relations between two adults of the same sex? Is it...READ OUT...

Always wrong	1
Almost always wrong	2
Wrong, only sometimes	3
or, Not wrong at all	4
(Don't know)	8
(Refused / NA)	9

Q23 And do you think it is wrong or not wrong for a woman to have an abortion? Is it...READ OUT...

Always wrong	1
Almost always wrong	2
Wrong, only sometimes	3
or, Not wrong at all	4
(Don't know)	8
(Refused / NA)	9

CONSTITUTIONAL SCALE

SHOW SCALE PAGE AND GIVE PENCIL

Please look at this page.

Some people feel that Northern Ireland should never leave the UK.

These people would put themselves in **Box A**. (POINT)

Other people feel that **Northern Ireland should unify with the Irish Republic straight away** These people would put themselves in **Box K**. (POINT).

And other people have views somewhere **in-between**, along here (POINT IF ASKED) IF ASKED YOU MAY CONFIRM THAT BOX F IS THE MIDDLE BOX In the first row of boxes, please tick whichever box closest to your own views about the future of Northern Ireland. **Q24 Northern Ireland** Northern Ireland should unify with the Irish Republic should never leave straight away the UK **Q24A** Now where do you think that the political parties stand? First the Ulster Unionist Party. In the next row of boxes, please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the Ulster Unionist Party. **Northern Ireland** Northern Ireland should unify should never leave with the Irish Republic straight away the UK C G Q24B Now in the next row, please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the Social Democratic and Labour Party that is the SDLP. **Northern Ireland Northern Ireland should unify** should never leave with the Irish Republic the UK straight away Q24C And now, please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the **Democratic Unionist Party (DUP). Northern Ireland** Northern Ireland should unify should never leave with the Irish Republic the UK straight away Q24D Now tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of the Alliance Party. **Northern Ireland** Northern Ireland should unify with the Irish Republic should never leave the UK straight away Q24E And now, please tick whichever box you think comes closest to the views of Sinn Fein. **Northern Ireland** Northern Ireland should unify should never leave with the Irish Republic

the UK

straight away

NOW INTRODUCE THE SELF-COMPLETION

If you don't mind, can I ask you now to fill in the next few questions on this sheet. We have found in the past that many people prefer to fill it in themselves, but if you need help please ask me.

SELF COMPLETION SECTION

CQ1 How much say do you think a Westminster government **of any party** should have in the way Northern Ireland is run? Do you think it should have...PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

Great deal of say	1
Some say	2
A little say	3
No say at all	4
Can't choose	8

CQ2 And how much say do you think an Irish government **of any party** should have in the way Northern Ireland is run? Do you think it should have... PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

Great deal of say	1
Some say	2
A little say	3
No say at all	4
Can't choose	8

CQ3 Please tick one box for each statement below to show how much you agree or disagree with it. PLEASE TICK ONE BOX ONLY

		Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Can't choose
A	Ordinary people get their fair share of the nation's wealth?	1	2	3	4	5	8
В	There is one law for the rich and one for the poor	1	2	3	4	5	8
С	There is no need for strong trade unions to protect employees' working conditions and wages	1	2	3	4	5	8
D	Private enterprise is the best way to solve Northern Ireland's economic problems	1	2	3	4	5	8
Е	Major public services and industries ought to be in state ownership	1	2	3	4	5	8
F	It is the government's responsibility to provide a job for everyone who wants one	1	2	3	4	5	8

And now to continue with a few questions about ordinary people and politics in Northern Ireland. SHOWCARD 8A ~ 8E

In some countries, people believe their elections are conducted <u>fairly</u>. In other countries, people believe their elections are conducted <u>unfairly</u>. Thinking of the recent assembly election in Northern Ireland, where would you place it on this scale of one to five where **ONE** means that the election was conducted fairly and **FIVE** means that the election was conducted unfairly?

Last election was conducted fairly						Last election was conducted <u>unfairly</u>	DK	Ref / NA	
	1	2	3	4	5		8	9	1

Some people say that political parties in Northern Ireland <u>care</u> what ordinary people think. Others say that political parties in Northern Ireland <u>don't care</u> what ordinary people think. Using this scale, where would you place yourself?

Political parties in						Political parties in	DK	Ref /
Northern Ireland care						Northern Ireland don't		NA
what ordinary people						care what ordinary people		
think						think		
	1	2	3	4	5		8	9

Some people say that the politicians that we elect **know** what ordinary people think. Others say that the politicians that we elect **Don't know** much about what ordinary people think. Using this scale, where would you place yourself?

The Politicans that we elect know what ordinary people think				The Politicans that we elect <u>Don't know</u> what ordinary people think	DK	Ref / NA		
	1	2	3	4	5		8	9

Some people say that no matter who people vote for it **won't make any difference** to what happens. Other say that who people vote for **can make a difference** to what happens. Using this scale, where would you place yourself?

Who people vote for						Who people vote for	DK	Ref /
won't make a difference						can make a		NA
						<u>difference</u>		
	1	2	3	4	5		8	9

When people are asked to express an opinion, do you believe most people in Northern Ireland <u>usually say what they think</u> about politics or do you believe most people <u>usually hide what they really think</u> about politics? Using this scale, what do you think people in Northern Ireland do?

Most people in						Most people in Northern	DK	Ref /
Northern Ireland						Ireland usually <u>hide what</u>		NA
usually say what they						they really think about		
think about politics						politics		
	1	2	3	4	5		8	9

Q30 Thinking back to the forum election, that is the one that took place in 1996 and decided who would be represented in the peace talks, you could cast just one vote for one party list. May I just check, which party did you vote for then, or perhaps you didn't vote in that election?

Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)	11
Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)	12
Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)	13
Alliance Party	14
Sinn Fein	15
Progressive Unionist Party (PUP)	16
Ulster Democratic Party (UDP)	17
UK Unionist Party	18
Women's Coalition	19
Didn't vote	20
(Don't know)	98
Other (please specify)	

Q31 Which of these best describes the way you usually think of yourself? **SHOWCARD 9**

British	1
Irish	2
Ulster	3
Northern Irish	4
Other (WRITE IN)	5
(Don't know)	8
(Refused/NA)	9

Q32 Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a unionist, a nationalist, or neither?

Unionist	1	Please Ask Q32A
Nationalist	2	Please Ask Q32A
Neither	3	Please go to Q33

IF UNIONIST OR NATIONALIST

Q32A Would you call yourself a very strong...(quote answer at Q32)... fairly strong or not very strong?

Very Strong	1
Fairly Strong	2
Not Very Strong	3
(Don't know)	8
(Refused/NA)	9

- Q33 When growing up, would you say your **father** was a unionist, a nationalist, or neither?
- Q34 And when growing up, would you say your **mother** was a unionist, a nationalist, or neither?

	Q33	Q34
	Father	Mother
Unionist	1	1
Nationalist	2	2
Neither	3	3
(It varied)	4	4
(Not brought up in Northern Ireland)	5	5
(Don't know)	8	8
(Refused / NA)	9	9

Now I would like to ask some questions about religious prejudice against both Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland.

- Q35 First, thinking of **Catholics** do you think there is a lot of prejudice against them in Northern Ireland nowadays, a little, or hardly any?
- Q36 And now thinking of **Protestants** do you think there is a lot of prejudice against them in Northern Ireland nowadays, a little, or hardly any?

	Q35	Q36
	Catholics	Protestants
A Lot	1	1
A Little	2	2
Hardly Any	3	3
(Don't know)	8	8
(Refused / NA)	9	9

What about <u>relations</u> between Protestants and Catholics? Would you say they are <u>better</u> than they were 5 years ago, <u>worse</u>, or about the <u>same</u> now as then?

IF 'IT DEPENDS': On the whole...

Better	1
Worse	2
About the Same	3
Other (write in)	4
(Don't know)	8
(Refused/NA)	9

And what about in 5 years time? Do you think relations between Protestants and Catholics will be **better** than now, **worse** than now, or about the **same** as now?

Better	1
Worse	2
About the Same	3
Other (write in)	4
(Don't know)	8
(Refused/NA)	9

About how many of your <u>friends</u> would you say are the same religion as you - that is Protestant or Catholic? Please choose an answer from this card. **SHOWCARD 10. PROBE AS NECESSARY: As far as you know?**

All	1
Most	2
Half	3
Less than Half	4
None	5
(Don't know)	8
(Refused/NA)	9
Other (please write in)	

Q40 What about your <u>relatives</u>, including relatives by marriage? About how many are the same religion as you? **SHOWCARD 10. PROBE AS NECESSARY: As far as you know?**

All	1
Most	2
Half	3
Less than Half	4
None	5
(Don't know)	8
(Refused/NA)	9
Other (please write in)	
•••••	

Q41 And what about your <u>neighbours?</u> About how many are the same religion as you. **SHOWCARD 10**. **PROBE AS NECESSARY:** As far as you know?

All	1
Most	2
Half	3
Less than Half	4
None	5
(Don't know)	8
(Refused/NA)	9
Other (please write in)	

Would you yourself mind or not mind if one of your close relatives were to marry someone of a different religion? IF WOULD MIND: A lot or a little?

Would mind a lot	1
Would mind a little	2
Would not mind	3
(Don't know)	8
(Refusal / NA)	9

Q43 If you had a choice, would you prefer to live in a neighbourhood with people of only your own religion, or in a mixed-religion neighbourhood? **PROBE IF NECESSARY**: Say if you were moving....

Own religion only	1
Mixed-religion neighbourhood	2
(Don't know)	8
(Refusal / NA)	9

And if you were deciding where to send your children to school, would you prefer a school with children of only your own religion, or a mixed-religion school? PROBE IF NECESSARY: Say if you did have school-aged children

Own religion only	1
Mixed-religion school	2
(Don't know)	8
(Refusal / NA)	9

Q45 Would you say nowadays you are...READ OUT...

Very religious	1
Somewhat religious	2
Not very religious	3
Not at all religious	4
(Don't know)	8
(Refusal / NA)	9

Q46 Thinking about the reasons why some Loyalist groups have used violence during the troubles, would you say that you have any sympathy with the reasons for the violence - even if you don't condone the violence itself? Would you say you have...READ OUT...

A lot of sympathy	1
A little sympathy	2
or, No sympathy at all?	3
(Don't know)	4
(Refused / NA)	5

Q47 And thinking about why some Republican groups have used violence during the troubles, would you say that you have any sympathy with the reasons for the violence - even if you don't condone the violence itself? Would you say you have...READ OUT...

A lot of sympathy	1
A little sympathy	2
or, No sympathy at all?	3
(Don't know)	8
(Refused / NA)	9

Q48 I am going to read out a couple of statements about parades and marches. Could you indicate whether you agree or disagree with them? **SHOWCARD 1**

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	(Don't know)	(Refused / NA)
a) The right to march is an important freedom	1	2	3	4	5	8	9
b) No marches should be allowed through areas that are predominantly those of the other tradition unless the residents approve	1	2	3	4	5	8	9

Q49 Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a supporter of any one of these parties? SHOWCARD 11

Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)	11	
Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)	12	
Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)	13	
Alliance Party	14	
Sinn Fein	15	
Progressive Unionist Party (PUP)	16	Please go to Q49C
Ulster Democratic Party (UDP)	17	
UK Unionist Party	18	
Women's Coalition	19	
Other Party (WRITE IN)	20	
None	21	Please go to Q49A

IF NONE

Q49A Do you generally think of yourself as a little closer to one of the parties than the others?

Yes	1	Please go to Q49B
No	2	Please go to Q50

Q49B If yes, which Party? **SHOWCARD 11**

Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)	11
Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)	12
Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)	13
Alliance Party	14
Sinn Fein	15
Progressive Unionist Party (PUP)	16
Ulster Democratic Party (UDP)	17
UK Unionist Party	18
Women's Coalition	19
Other Party (WRITE IN)	20
••••••	

IF ANY PARTY NAMED AT Q49 OR Q49B

Q49C Would you call yourself a very strong...(QUOTE PARTY NAMED) supporter..fairly strong, or not very strong?

Very Strong	1
Fairly Strong	2
Not Very Strong	3
(Don't know)	8
(Refused/NA)	9

EXPERIENCE OF VIOLENCE

A lot of people have suffered during the troubles in one way or another. We would like to ask you some questions about you and your family's experiences. Your answers to these questions will be of great value in helping us to understand the views of people who suffered in one way to another, but if you do not want to answer any of the questions then please just say so and we will go on to the next question.

Q50 During the troubles, were you ever...READ OUT...

		Yes	No	(Don't know)	(Refused / NA)
a)	Caught up in an explosion	1	2	8	9
b)	Caught up in a hijacking	1	2	8	9
c)	Caught up in a riot	1	2	8	9

Q51 Did you have your house searched because of the troubles?

Yes	1
No	2
(Don't know)	8
(Refused/NA)	9

Q52 Were any of your family or close relatives killed or injured because of the violence?

Yes	1
No	2
(Don't know)	8
(Refused/NA)	9

Q53 Did you know anyone (not family or relatives) who was killed or injured in the violence?

Yes	1
No	2
(Don't know)	8
(Refused/NA)	9

Q54 Were you a victim of any violent incidents?

Yes	1
No	2
(Don't know)	8
(Refused/NA)	9

Q55 Were you intimidated because of the troubles?

Yes	1
No	2
(Don't know)	8
(Refused/NA)	9

		_ , ,	ls about y	ourseir.	
Q1	What age are you?	Years			
Q2	Are you	Male 1			
	·	Female 2			
Q3	Marital Status SHOWCAR	D 12CODE FIRST TO APPLY			
		Single (never married)	1		
		Married or living as marrie			
		Separated	3		
		Divorced	4		
		Widowed	5		
Q4	Highest Educational Qualifi	cation (one only)			
	Degree Leve	l or Higher			1
	BTEC (High	er), BEC (Higher), TEC (Higher), H	NC, HNI)	2
	GCE A'Leve	el (including NVQ Level 3)			3
	BTEC (National	onal), TEC (National), BEC (National	al), ONC,	OND	4
		ding NVQ Level 2), GCE O'Level (CSE Grade 1),	5
		ficate, BTEC (General), BEC (General)	al)		
	,	han Grade 1)			6
	Other (write	in)			7
	-	41.01			
0.5	No formal q		. 1 .1		8
Q5	Which of these descriptions SHOWCARD 13	applies to what you were doing las	t week, th	nat is in the seven	
)5	Which of these descriptions SHOWCARD 13 Working full-ti	applies to what you were doing las	t week, th	nat is in the sever	
Q 5	Which of these descriptions SHOWCARD 13 Working full-ti Working part-ti	applies to what you were doing las me ime, at least 10 hours a week	1 2		n day
)5	Which of these descriptions SHOWCARD 13 Working full-ti Working part-t Not working (s	applies to what you were doing lass me ime, at least 10 hours a week eeking work)	1 2 3	nat is in the sever	n day
)5	Which of these descriptions SHOWCARD 13 Working full-ti Working part-t Not working (s On a Governm	me ime, at least 10 hours a week eeking work) ent Training Scheme	1 2 3 4		n day
Q 5	Which of these descriptions SHOWCARD 13 Working full-ti Working part-t Not working (s On a Governm On ACE (Action	applies to what you were doing lass me ime, at least 10 hours a week eeking work)	1 2 3 4 5		n day
)5	Which of these descriptions SHOWCARD 13 Working full-ti Working part-t Not working (s On a Governm On ACE (Action Retired	applies to what you were doing lass me ime, at least 10 hours a week eeking work) ent Training Scheme on for Community Employment)	1 2 3 4 5 6		n day
)5	Which of these descriptions SHOWCARD 13 Working full-ti Working part-t Not working (s On a Governm On ACE (Action Retired In full-time edit	me ime, at least 10 hours a week eeking work) ent Training Scheme on for Community Employment)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7		n day
)25	Which of these descriptions SHOWCARD 13 Working full-ti Working part-t Not working (s On a Governm On ACE (Action Retired In full-time edu Looking after t	me ime, at least 10 hours a week eeking work) ent Training Scheme on for Community Employment) acation he home	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8		n day
)5	Which of these descriptions SHOWCARD 13 Working full-ti Working part-t Not working (s On a Governm On ACE (Action Retired In full-time edu Looking after t Permanently si	me ime, at least 10 hours a week eeking work) ent Training Scheme on for Community Employment) ucation he home ck or disabled	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	Please go to Q	n day
Q5	Which of these descriptions SHOWCARD 13 Working full-ti Working part-t Not working (s On a Governm On ACE (Action Retired In full-time edu Looking after t Permanently si	applies to what you were doing last me ime, at least 10 hours a week eeking work) ent Training Scheme on for Community Employment) ucation he home ck or disabled and not seeking work)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	Please go to Q	n day
Q5 Q6	Which of these descriptions SHOWCARD 13 Working full-ti Working part-t Not working (s On a Governm On ACE (Action Retired In full-time edu Looking after t Permanently si Not working (a Other (write in	applies to what you were doing last me ime, at least 10 hours a week eeking work) ent Training Scheme on for Community Employment) ucation he home ck or disabled and not seeking work)	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9	Please go to Q	n day
	Which of these descriptions SHOWCARD 13 Working full-ti Working part-t Not working (s On a Governm On ACE (Action Retired In full-time edu Looking after t Permanently si Not working (a Other (write in	applies to what you were doing last me ime, at least 10 hours a week eeking work) ent Training Scheme on for Community Employment) acation he home ck or disabled and not seeking work) IF ANY OF CODES 7-11 AT Q5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	Please go to Q Please go to Q	n day
	Which of these descriptions SHOWCARD 13 Working full-ti Working part-t Not working (s On a Governm On ACE (Action Retired In full-time edu Looking after t Permanently si Not working (s Other (write in INTERVIEWER CHECK: Respondent is	me ime, at least 10 hours a week eeking work) ent Training Scheme on for Community Employment) ucation he home ck or disabled and not seeking work) IF ANY OF CODES 7-11 AT Q5 married / living as married	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	Please go to Q Please go to Q Please go to Q	n day
	Which of these descriptions SHOWCARD 13 Working full-ti Working part-t Not working (s On a Governm On ACE (Action Retired In full-time edu Looking after t Permanently si Not working (s Other (write in INTERVIEWER CHECK: Respondent is	applies to what you were doing last me ime, at least 10 hours a week eeking work) ent Training Scheme on for Community Employment) acation he home ck or disabled and not seeking work) IF ANY OF CODES 7-11 AT Q5	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	Please go to Q Please go to Q	n day
	Which of these descriptions SHOWCARD 13 Working full-ti Working part-t Not working (s On a Governm On ACE (Action Retired In full-time edu Looking after t Permanently si Not working (a Other (write in INTERVIEWER CHECK: Respondent is Respondent is	applies to what you were doing last me ime, at least 10 hours a week eeking work) ent Training Scheme on for Community Employment) acation he home ck or disabled and not seeking work) IF ANY OF CODES 7-11 AT Q5 married / living as married not married / living as married	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	Please go to Q Please go to Q Please go to Q	n day
Q6	Which of these descriptions SHOWCARD 13 Working full-ti Working part-t Not working (s On a Governm On ACE (Action Retired In full-time edu Looking after t Permanently si Not working (a Other (write in INTERVIEWER CHECK: Respondent is Respondent is	applies to what you were doing last me ime, at least 10 hours a week eeking work) ent Training Scheme on for Community Employment) location he home ck or disabled and not seeking work) IF ANY OF CODES 7-11 AT Q5 married / living as married not married / living as married	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11	Please go to Q Please go to Q Please go to Q	n day

Q7A PROBE AS NECESSARY: What (is/was) the name or title of the job?

NEVER HAD A JOB	1	Please go to Q22
		Please go to Q8

Q8. What kind of work (do/did) you do most of the time? **IF RELEVANT:** What materials / machinery (do/did) you use?

Q9. What training or qualifications (are/were) needed for that job?

Q10. Can I just check, (are/were) you...READ OUT...

An employee	1	Please go to Q11
or, Self employed	2	Please go to Q13B
(Don't know)	8	Please go to Q12

Q11. Can I just check, (are/were) you...READ OUT...

A manager	1
A Foreman or supervisor	2
Neither	3
(Don't know)	8

Q12. Can you tell me the type of organisation you (work / worked) for?

PRIVATE SECTOR FIRM OR COMPANY	1
Incude eg. limited companies and PLCs	
NATIONALISED INDUSTRY OR PUBLIC CORPORATION	2
Include e.g. the Post Office and the BBC	
OTHER PUBLIC SECTOR EMPLOYER	3
Include e.g. Central government, Civil Service, Government Agency, Local Authority, Local Education Authority, Universities, Health Authority, NHS Hospitals, NHS Trusts, GP surgeries, Police, Armed Forces, Northern Ireland Housing Executive	
CHARITY/VOLUNTARY SECTOR	4
Include e.g. charitable companies, churches, trade unions	
OTHER ORGANISATIONS (WRITE IN)	5

- Q13. A. If employee, including yourself, how many people (are / were) employed at the place where you usually (work / worked) from?
 - B. If self employed, (do/did) you have any employees?

Q13A		Q13B	
IF EMPLOYEE		IF SELF-EMPLOYED	
		No employees	0
Fewer than 10	1	Fewer than 10	1
10-24	2	10-24	2
25-29	3	25-29	3
100-499	4	100-499	4
500 or more	5	500 or more	5
(Don't know)	6	(Don't know)	6
(Refused / NA)	7	(Refused / NA)	7

NOW GO TO Q22

If codes 7-11at Q5 and married / living as married

Q14. Which of these descriptions applies to what your (wife / husband / partner) was doing last week, that is the seven days ending last Sunday? **SHOWCARD 13**

Working full-time	1	
Working part-time, at least 10 hours a week	2	
Not working (seeking work)	3	Please go to Q15
On a Government Training Scheme	4	
On ACE (Action for Community Employment)	5	
Retired	6	
In full-time education	7	
Looking after the home	8	
Permanently sick or disabled	9	Please go to Q22
Not working (and not seeking work)	10	
Other (write in)	11	

Now I want to ask you about your (wife's / husband's / partner's)(present / last) job. What (is/was) (his/her) job?

		NECESSARY: What (is / was) the name or	and of the job.	
		SPOUSE / PARTNER NEVER WORKED	1	Please go to Q22
				Please go to Q16
Q16.	What kind o did) (he / sh		ime? IF REL	EVANT: What materials / machinery (does /

Q15.

Q17.	What training	or qualifications	(are / were	needed for that	ioh^{9}
Q1/.	Willat trailing	or quarifications	uic/weic	mccaca for that	IOU:

Q18. Can I just check, (is / was)(she / he)...READ OUT...

An employee	1	Please go to Q19
or, Self employed	2	Please go to Q21
(Don't know)	8	Please go to Q20

Q19. Can I just check, (is / was)(she / he)..READ OUT...

A manager	1
A Foreman or supervisor	2
Neither	3
(Don't know)	8

Q20. Can you tell me the type of organisation (she / he) (work / worked) for?

PRIVATE SECTOR FIRM OR COMPANY	1
Incude eg. limited companies and PLCs	
NATIONALISED INDUSTRY OR PUBLIC CORPORATION	2
Include e.g. the Post Office and the BBC	
OTHER PUBLIC SECTOR EMPLOYER	3
Include e.g. Central government, Civil Service, Government Agency, Local Authority, Local Education Authority, Universities, Health Authority, NHS Hospitals, NHS Trusts, GP surgeries, Police, Armed Forces, Northern Ireland Housing Executive	
CHARITY/VOLUNTARY SECTOR	4
Include e.g. charitable companies, churches, trade unions	
OTHER ORGANISATIONS (WRITE IN)	5

- Q21. A. If employee, including your (*wife / husband / partner*), how many people (*are / were*) employed at the place where (*he / she*) usually (*works / worked*) from?
 - B. If self employed, (does / did) your (wife / husband / partner) have any employees?

Q21A		Q21B	
IF EMPLOYEE		IF SELF-EMPLOYED	
		No employees	0
Fewer than 10	1	Fewer than 10	1
10-24	2	10-24	2
25-29	3	25-29	3
100-499	4	100-499	4
500 or more	5	500 or more	5
(Don't know)	6	(Don't know)	6
(Refused / NA)	7	(Refused / NA)	7

Q22. Do you regard yourself as belonging to any particular religion? IF YES: Which? DO NOT PROMPT

1	No religion
97	Refused
2	Christian - no denomination
3	Roman Catholic
4	Church of Ireland / Anglican / Episcopal
5	Baptist
6	Methodist
7	Presbyterian
21	Free Presbyterian
22	Brethren
23	URC / Congregational
27	Other Protestant (WRITE IN)
8	Other Christian (WRITE IN)
9	Hindu
10	Jewish
11	Islam / Muslim
12	Sikh
13	Buddhist
14	Other non Christian (WRITE IN)
98	(Don't know)

Please go to Q26A

Q23 In what religion, if any, were you brought up? PROBE IF NECESSARY: What was your family's religion? DO NOT PROMPT

1	No religion
97	Refused
2	Christian - no denomination
3	Roman Catholic
4	Church of Ireland / Anglican / Episcopal
5	Baptist
6	Methodist
7	Presbyterian
21	Free Presbyterian
22	Brethren
23	URC / Congregational
27	Other Protestant (WRITE IN)
8	Other Christian (WRITE IN)
9	Hindu
10	Jewish
11	Islam / Muslim
12	Sikh
13	Buddhist
14	Other non Christian (WRITE IN)
98	(Don't know)

Please go to Q26A

Q24 Apart from special occasions such as weddings, funerals, baptisms and so on, how often nowadays do you attend services or meetings connected with your religion? PROBE AS NECESSARY

Once a week or more	1
Less often but at least once in two weeks	2
Less often but at least once a month	3
Less often but at least twice a year	4
Less often but at least once a year	5
Less often	6
Varies too much to say	7
Never or practically never	8

If married / living as married,

Q25 Is your (husband / wife / partner) the same religion as you?

Yes, same religion	1
No, not same religion	2
No religion at all	3
(Refusal / NA)	8

Q26 Did you ever attend a mixed or integrated school in Northern Ireland, that is, a school with fairly large numbers of both Catholic and Protestant children?

Yes	1	Please go to Q26A
No	2	Please go to Q27
(Don't know)	8	
(Refused/NA)	9	

If ves

Q26A Was this a formally integrated school or was it a school that was just fairly mixed?

Integrated school	1
School that was just fairly mixed	2
(Don't know)	8
(Refused/NA)	9

Q27 And has any child in your care ever attended a mixed or integrated school in Northern Ireland, with fairly large numbers of both Catholic and Protestants attending?

IF YES: IN NORTHERN IRELAND OR SOMEWHERE ELSE?

Yes, in Northern Ireland	1
Yes, somewhere else	2
No, did not	3
My children are not yet at school	4
Never had any children (in my care)	5
(Don't know)	8

Q28 Do you ever think of yourself as belonging to any particular class? If yes, which class is that?

Yes, middle class	1	Please go to Q29
Yes, working class	2	Please go to Q29
Yes, other (WRITE IN VERBATIM)	3	Please go to Q28A
No	4	Please go to Q28A
(Don't know)	8	Please go to Q28A
(Refused / NA)	9	Please go to Q29

If other, no or Don't know at Q28,

Q28A Most people say they belong either to the middle class or the working class. If you had to make a choice, would you call yourself...READ OUT...

Middle class	1
or, Working class?	2
(Neither)	3
(Don't know)	8
(Refused / NA)	9

Q29 What is your income before tax and national insurance contributions? Include all income from employment and benefits? **SHOW CARD 14** - NOTE: PERSONAL NOT HOUSEHOLD INCOME

Under £3,000 per annum (less than £60 per week)	1
£3,000 - £3,999 per annum (£60 - £80 per week)	2
£4,000 - £6,999 per annum (£80 - £135 per week)	3
£7,000 - £9,999 per annum (£135 - £195 per week)	4
£10,000 - £14,999 per annum (£195 - £290 per week)	5
£15,000 - £19,999 per annum (£290 - £385 per week)	6
£20,000 - £25,999 per annum (£385 - £500 per week)	7
£26,000 - £29,999 per annum (£500 - £580 per week)	8
£30,000 - £39,999 per annum (£580 - £770 per week)	9
£40,000 + per annum (£770+ per week)	10
(Don't know)	88
(Refused / NA)	89

Q30 Length of interview

Hours	Mins	

Q31 Date of interview

			9	8
Day	Mo	Month		r