

## **The 2003 Northern Ireland Assembly Election Survey**

**Funding body:** ESRC

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### **Introduction:**

The 2003 'second' election to the Northern Ireland Assembly will make history simply for the fact that the Assembly has remained in existence (even if currently suspended) long enough to justify a second election. None of the other Conventions, Forums or Assemblies since 1972 managed to do so. Given the difficulties of sustaining devolved government (not least at present) this is no small feat, and thus there is a unique opportunity to reassess political attitudes and the changing fortunes of the parties, after five years of the impressive highs and lows since the signing of the British-Irish Agreement. While much can, and has been written about the panoply of new institutions derived from the Agreement, if they are to work they must ultimately have some electoral underpinning and continued validation. The Assembly elections of 1998 constituted a new beginning for Northern Ireland because, for the first time since 1973, they were about electing an Assembly, and indirectly an Executive, in the changed context of local politicians being empowered to govern important policy jurisdictions (with other functional areas to follow if cross-community consent proved viable). In 1998 it is clear that nationalists voted overwhelmingly for the new institutions, while the unionist community was fairly evenly divided, though with a slight plurality voting in favour of the Agreement. Survey evidence suggests that this precarious 'yes' vote among unionists has evaporated thus placing the consociational voting procedures within the Assembly in serious jeopardy. Thus one crucial task of this research is to examine changing voting behaviour between the 1998 and 2003 elections, and the effect that this will have on the Assembly, and related institutions.

## **Technical details**

### The overall design

The 2003 Northern Ireland Assembly Election Survey Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey involved 1000 face-to-face interviews with adults aged 18 years or over. The main interview was carried out using computer assisted personal interviewing (CAPI) and the respondent was then asked to complete a self completion questionnaire.

### Fieldwork

All interviews were conducted during the period November 2003 and January 2004. Fieldwork started immediately after the 2003 Assembly election on 26 November.

Interviewing was carried out by social survey interviewers employed by Research and Evaluation Services (RES). All interviews were conducted in the respondents' homes. Interviewers made up to a maximum of five calls before the person identified in the sample was deemed to be 'non-obtainable'. The self completion questionnaire was either completed and handed back to the interviewer at the time of the main interview, or the interviewer called back at a later stage to collect it.

### Sampling design

The survey was designed to yield a representative sample of men and women aged 18 and over living in Northern Ireland. The Postal Address File (PAF) was used as the sampling frame for the survey and a simple random sample of addresses was obtained after stratification into three geographic regions (Belfast, East of the Bann and West of the Bann). This was done to ensure the adequate representation of areas of lower population density and is standard practice in Northern Ireland social surveys. At selected addresses, the person whose birthday came next was selected to be the subject of the survey.

The sample selected was slightly larger than necessary in order to provide reserve addresses. Interviewers were instructed to make a total of five calls, or to have received a refusal or other information confirming that an interview would not be obtained, before being issued with reserve addresses. This was to ensure optimal response from the main sample.

Response rate

**Table 1.1** shows the status of addresses, and the number of addresses in scope. **Table 1.2** shows the figures for non achievement of interviews with individuals drawn in the sample.

<b>Table 1.1 Status of addresses</b>		
Total Addresses Issued	Vacant /Derelict/ Commercial	Total in scope
1946	343	1603

<b>Table 1.2 Breakdown of response</b>		
	No.	%
Achieved	1000	62%
Not achieved	603	38%
Total	1603	

Data preparation

Main survey data was collected via the 'Surveycraft' computer aided interviewing package. This was converted to SPSS format prior to analysis. All paper based data (self completion modules) were entered via the SPSS data entry system. All data were merged and subject to an extensive range of inter and intra variable logic checks.

**Please note that all analyses of the adult data should be weighted in order to allow for disproportionate household size. The weighting variable is called *WTFACOR*. The only exceptions are the few household variables (for example, tenure and household income), which do not need to be weighted.**

**NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY  
ELECTION STUDY 2003**

Main questionnaire

**GENERAL INTRODUCTION**

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

Number of years

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

<b>Yes</b>	1
<b>No</b>	2

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

Q4a Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a supporter of any one of these parties? **SHOWCARD 11**

Alliance Party	11	
Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)	12	Please go to Q4d
Progressive Unionist Party (PUP)	13	
Sinn Fein	14	
Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)	15	
Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)	16	
Women's Coalition	19	
Other Party ( <b>WRITE IN</b> )	20	
.....		
None	21	Please go to Q4b

**IF NONE**

Q4b Do you generally think of yourself as a little closer to one of the parties than the others?

<b>Yes</b>	1	Please go to Q4c
<b>No</b>	2	Please go to Q5

Q4c If yes, which Party? **SHOWCARD 11**

Alliance Party	11
Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)	12
Progressive Unionist Party (PUP)	13
Sinn Fein	14
Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)	15
Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)	16
Women's Coalition	19
Other Party ( <b>WRITE IN</b> )	20
.....	

**IF ANY PARTY NAMED AT Q4a OR Q4c**

Q4d 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

Q5 Do you think that the UK's long-term policy should be...**READ OUT...**

...to leave the European Union,	1
to stay in the EU and try to <u>reduce</u> its powers,	2
to leave things as they are,	3
to stay in the EU and try to <u>increase</u> the EU's powers,	4
or, to work for the formation of a single European government?	5
(Don't know)	8

Q6a Suppose the UK government had to choose between the three options on this card. Which do you think it should choose?

**SHOWCARD**

Reduce taxes and spend less on health, education and social benefits	1
Keep taxes and spending on these services at the same level as now	2
Increase taxes and spend more on health education and social benefits	3
(None of these)	4
(Don't know)	8

Q6b Thinking about things like the health service, schools, the roads, the police and so on, in general, do you think it is better that the standards for such services be...**READ OUT...**

...the same in every part of the UK	1
or do you think each region should be allowed to set its own standards?	2
(Don't know)	8

Q6c And what about the tuition fees university students pay, do you think these should be ...**READ OUT...**

...the same everywhere in the UK	1
or should the Northern Ireland Assembly be allowed to increase or decrease this in Northern Ireland?	2
(Don't know)	8

Q7 On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way democracy works in... **SHOW CARD**

	Very Satisfied	Fairly Satisfied	Not Very Satisfied	Not At all Satisfied	(Don't Know)	(Refused /NA)
Northern Ireland	1	2	3	4	8	9
Great Britain						
Republic of Ireland						

**THE REFERENDUM IN MAY 1998**

Now I would like to ask you some questions about the referendum that was held in May 1998 when people were asked if they supported the Agreement reached by the politicians on Good Friday.

- Q8 Looking back on some of the proposals contained in the Good Friday Agreement, could you tell me how you now feel about...**SHOWCARD**

	<b>Strongly Support</b>	<b>Support</b>	<b>Neither Support nor Oppose</b>	<b>Oppose</b>	<b>Strongly Oppose</b>	<b>(Don't Know)</b>
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
The creation of North-South bodies	1	2	3	4	5	8
The setting up of a Northern Ireland assembly	1	2	3	4	5	8
The removal of the Republic of Ireland's constitutional claim to Northern Ireland	1	2	3	4	5	8
Decommissioning of paramilitary weapons	1	2	3	4	5	8
The requirement that the Executive is power-sharing	1	2	3	4	5	8

- Q9 Thinking about the Good Friday Agreement now, would you say that it has benefited unionists more than nationalists, nationalists more than unionists, or that unionists and nationalists have benefited equally? PROBE: A **lot** more or a **little** more?

Unionists benefited a <b>lot</b> more than nationalists	1
Unionists benefited a <b>little</b> more than nationalists	2
Nationalists benefited a <b>lot</b> more than unionists	3
Nationalists benefited a <b>little</b> more than unionists	4
Unionists and nationalists benefited <b>equally</b>	5
(Don't Know)	8

- Q10 Still thinking about the Agreement, how much do you currently agree or disagree with the following statements? **SHOWCARD**

	<b>Strongly Agree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Neither Agree nor Disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Strongly Disagree</b>	<b>(Don't know)</b>
The Agreement has finally broken the political deadlock in Northern Ireland	1	2	3	4	5	8
The Agreement will lead to a lasting peace in Northern Ireland						
The Agreement will bring economic prosperity to Northern Ireland	1	2	3	4	5	8

Q11 If the vote on the Good Friday Agreement was held again today, how would you vote?

Yes	1
No	2
(I wouldn't vote)	3
(Not registered to vote)	4
(Don't know)	8

Q12 And how did you vote in 1998 when the referendum on the Agreement was held?

I voted Yes	1
I voted No	2
I didn't vote	3
I wasn't registered to vote	4
(Don't know/Can't remember)	8

Q13 There are a number of different opinions on the Agreement. Please read these four statements and tell me which one is closest to your own opinion.

**SHOWCARD AND READ OPTIONS IN FULL**

The Agreement is basically right and just needs to be implemented in full	1
The Agreement is basically right but the specifics need to be renegotiated	2
The Agreement is basically wrong and should be renegotiated	3
The Agreement is basically wrong and should be abandoned	4
(Don't know)	8

Q14 Still thinking about the Agreement, how much do you agree or disagree with each of these statements?

**SHOWCARD**

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	(Don't know)
Everything that has happened since the Good Friday Agreement was signed makes it more likely that Northern Ireland will eventually join the Irish Republic	1	2	3	4	5	8
Everything that has happened since the Good Friday Agreement was signed makes it more likely that Northern Ireland will stay part of the UK	1	2	3	4	5	8
The experience of power-sharing has meant that nationalists are now more content that Northern Ireland should remain part of the UK	1	2	3	4	5	8
The experience of power-sharing has meant that one day a majority of unionists will agree to Northern Ireland joining the Irish Republic	1	2	3	4	5	8

Q15 Using a phrase from this card, can you tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements?

**SHOWCARD**

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	(DK)
The disbandment of the IRA is needed to move the political situation forward in Northern Ireland	1	2	3	4	5	8
As long as the guns stay silent, it doesn't matter whether they are decommissioned or not	1	2	3	4	5	8
Policing in Northern Ireland would benefit if Sinn Fein was to participate in the policing boards	1	2	3	4	5	8
Having more Catholic police officers hasn't made any difference to the way the police service is run	1	2	3	4	5	8

Q16 Do you think that the reform of the police in Northern Ireland has gone too far, has not gone far enough, or is it about right?

Gone too far	1
Not gone far enough	2
About right	3
(Other WRITE IN)	4
(Don't know)	8

Q17 Do you think that decommissioning of weapons by Republican paramilitaries has gone too far, has not gone far enough, or is it about right?

Gone too far	1
Not gone far enough	2
About right	3
(Other WRITE IN)	4
(Don't know)	8

Q18 And do you think that decommissioning of weapons by Loyalist paramilitaries has gone too far, has not gone far enough, or is it about right?

Gone too far	1
Not gone far enough	2
About right	3
(Other WRITE IN)	4
(Don't know)	8

- Q19 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

- Q20 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

- Q21 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

- Q22 At any time in the next 20 years, do you think it is likely or unlikely that there will be a united Ireland?

<b>Very Likely</b>	<b>Quite Likely</b>	<b>Quite Unlikely</b>	<b>Very Unlikely</b>	<b>(Even Chance)</b>	<b>(Don't Know)</b>
1	2	3	4	5	8

**THE ASSEMBLY AND EXECUTIVE**

Now some questions on the Assembly and Executive.

- Q23 The Northern Ireland Assembly and its Executive have been suspended four times over the last few years. How do you feel about these various suspensions? Would you say that they were mostly justified, or would you say that they were mostly unjustified?

Mostly justified	1
Mostly unjustified	2
(Don't know )	8

- Q24 Different groups have been blamed for the suspensions of the Assembly and its Executive. Choosing your answer from this card, do you think that any of these groups should be blamed for the suspensions?

**SHOWCARD****CODE ALL THAT APPLY**

	Yes	No
The British Government	1	2
The Irish Government	1	2
The Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)	1	2
The Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)	1	2
The Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)	1	2
Sinn Fein	1	2
The IRA	1	2
Other (WRITE IN)	1	2
(Don't know)	8	

- Q25 And which of these do you think should be blamed the most?

The British Government	01
The Irish Government	02
The Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)	03
The Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)	04
The Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)	05
Sinn Fein	06
The IRA	07
Other (WRITE IN)	08
(Don't know)	98

- Q26 How important is it to you that both nationalists and unionists should have control of some ministries?

Very important	1
Important	2
Neither important nor unimportant	3
Unimportant	4
Very unimportant	5
(Don't know)	8

**THE ASSEMBLY ELECTION**

Now a few questions about the Assembly election that was held on the 26th of November. 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**.

Q27 Can I first check, are you on the electoral register?

Yes	1	Please go to Q30
No	2	Please go to Q28
(Don't know)	8	Please go to Q40

Q28 **ASK THOSE NOT ON THE ELECTORAL REGISTER**

Did you decide deliberately not to go on the register or did this happen by mistake?

Decided deliberately not to register	1	Please go to Q40
It happened by mistake	2	Ask Q29
(Not eligible WRITE IN)	3	Please go to Q40
(Other – write in)	4	Please go to Q40

Q29 What happened?

**NOW GO TO Q40**

**ASK THOSE ON THE REGISTER**

Q30 Talking to people, we found that some people did not manage to vote. How about you, did you manage to vote in the Assembly election?

Yes	1	Ask Q34
No	2	Please go to Q31
(Don't know)	8	Please go to Q40

Q31 Was this because you decided deliberately not to vote or because you weren't able to vote?

Deliberately decided not to vote	1	Ask Q32
Wasn't able to vote	2	Please go to Q33
(Other – write in)	3	Please go to Q40

Q32 Why did you decide not to vote?

**NOW GO TO Q40**

Q33 Why were you not able to vote?

--

**NOW GO TO Q40**

**IF VOTED**

Q34 And did you vote here in this constituency (give name) or in another one?

Here in this constituency	1	Ask Q35
Somewhere else (Please write in) .....	2	Find the appropriate Ballot Paper and then ask Q35
(Don't know)	8	Please go to Q40

Q35 Here is the list of candidates that stood in your constituency.

**GIVE RESPONDENT ENVELOPE AND REPLICA 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 26th of November - and then seal it in the envelope

**IF RESPONDENT CANNOT REMEMBER EXACTLY, PLEASE ASK THEM TO FILL IN AS MUCH AS THEY CAN REMEMBER**

Respondent completed ballot paper	1	Ask Q36
Refused / NA	2	Please go to Q40

**IF BALLOT PAPER COMPLETED, PUT ENVELOPE AWAY AND GO TO Q36**

Q36 In deciding how to vote in the Northern Ireland Assembly election, what mattered most to you when choosing your first choice candidate or party?

--

Q37 Which would you say was more important in deciding how you cast your first preference vote in the election – the party or the candidate?

Party	1
Candidate	2
(Other – WRITE IN)	3
(Don't know)	8

Q38 Thinking about your first choice candidate, did you choose him or her because of any of the following reasons?

**SHOWCARD****CODE ALL THAT APPLY**

	Yes	No
I wanted to pick somebody who was <u>in favour</u> of the Good Friday Agreement	1	2
I wanted to pick somebody who was <u>against</u> 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

Q39 How long ago did you decide that you would definitely vote the way you did? Was it... **READ OUT...**

a long time ago,	1
a few months ago, before election day,	2
about the time the election was announced,	3
during the election campaign,	4
a few days before election day,	5
or on election day?	6
(Don't know)	8

Q40 How much attention did you pay to reports about the election campaign in the newspapers... **READ OUT...**

a good deal,	1
Some,	2
Not much,	3
or, none at all?	4
(Don't know)	8

Q41 Did you follow the election campaign news on television... **READ OUT...**

a good deal,	1
Some,	2
Not much,	3
or, none at all?	4
(Don't know)	8

Q42 And did you follow the election campaign news on the radio?

a good deal,	1
Some,	2
Not much,	3
or, none at all?	4
(Don't know)	8

Q43 Did you discuss the election with family, friends or acquaintances?

Yes	1
No	2
(Don't know)	8

Q44 Did you see information about political parties and candidates on the internet?

Yes	1
No	2
(Don't know)	8

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED. OTHERS GO TO Q48**

Q45a Did the political party to which you gave your first preference vote in the election ask people in this area to vote for their candidates in a particular order?

Yes	1	Ask Q45b
No	2	Please go to Q46
(Don't know)	8	Please go to Q46

Q45b Did you vote for the candidates in that order?

Yes	1
No	2
(Don't know)	8

Q46 Was there any time during the election campaign when you considered voting in a different way?

Yes	1
No	2
(Don't know)	8

Q47 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

Q48 Regardless of the results of the election, and if you had a completely free choice - which two politicians would you personally like to see as First Minister and Deputy First Minister?

First Minister	Deputy First Minister

- Q49 Please choose a phrase from this card to say how you feel about the following political parties  
**.SHOWCARD**

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

- Q50 Which party do you think has been the most effective voice for unionists in Northern Ireland?  
**CODE ONE ONLY**  
**SHOWCARD**

- Q51 And, which party do you think has been the most effective voice for nationalists in Northern Ireland?  
**CODE ONE ONLY**  
**SHOWCARD**

	Q50	Q51
	Unionist	Nationalist
Alliance Party		
Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)		
Progressive Unionist Party (PUP)		
Sinn Fein		
The Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)		
Ulster Unionist party (UUP)		
Women's Coalition		
Other (WRITE IN)		
None		
(Don't know)		

- Q52 Can you tell me how much you agree or disagree with these statements?  
**SHOW CARD**

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	(Don't Know)
In the course of the peace process, Sinn Fein has changed as a party and has become more willing to compromise with unionists.	1	2	3	4	5	8
In the course of the last Assembly, the DUP changed as a party and became more willing to compromise with nationalists.	1	2	3	4	5	8

Q53 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
Mark Durkan	1	2
David Ervine	1	2
David Ford	1	2
Robert McCartney	1	2
Monica McWilliams	1	2
Ian Paisley	1	2
David Trimble	1	2
Cedric Wilson	1	2
None	0	
(Don't Know)	8	
(Refused / NA)	9	

Q54a This card shows a few things that any new assembly might want to bring about. Which of these, if any, do you think is the **most important** for a new assembly to bring about? **SHOWCARD**

Q54b And, which, if any is the **second** most important?

Q54c And, which, if any is the **third** most important?

	Q54a	Q54b	Q54c
	1st Most Important	2nd Most Important	3rd Most 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 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

NOW INTRODUCE THE SELF-COMPLETION

**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

Q1 Please tick whichever box closest to your own views about the future of Northern Ireland.

IF ASKED YOU MAY CONFIRM THAT BOX F IS THE MIDDLE BOX

Northern Ireland should never leave the UK	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	Northern Ireland should unify with the Irish Republic straight away

If you don't mind, can I ask you now to fill in the rest of the 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.

Q2 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...**

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

Q3 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...**

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

Q4 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
Ordinary people get their fair share of the nation's wealth	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 8
There is one law for the rich and one for the poor	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 8
There is no need for strong trade unions to protect employees' working conditions and wages	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 8
Private enterprise is the best way to solve Northern Ireland's economic problems	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 8
Major public services and industries ought to be in state ownership	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 8
It is the government's responsibility to provide a job for everyone who wants one	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 8

Q5 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
People like me have no say in what the government does	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 8
Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me cannot really understand what is going on	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 8
It doesn't really matter which party is in power, in the end things go on much the same	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 8
Voting is the only way people like me can have any say about how the government runs things	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 8

**And now to continue with a few questions about ordinary people and politics in Northern Ireland.**

- Q55 In some countries, people believe their elections are conducted **fairly**. In other countries, people believe their elections are conducted **unfairly**. 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 <b>unfairly</b>					DK	Ref / NA
	1	2	3	4	5					8	9

- Q56 Some people say that political parties in Northern Ireland **care** what ordinary people think. Others say that political parties in Northern Ireland **don't care** what ordinary people think. Using this scale, where would you place yourself?

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

- Q57 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 Politicians that we elect <b>know</b> what ordinary people think					The Politicians that we elect <b>don't know</b> what ordinary people think					DK	Ref / NA
	1	2	3	4	5					8	9

- Q58 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 <b>won't make a difference</b>					Who people vote for <b>can make a difference</b>					DK	Ref / NA
	1	2	3	4	5					8	9

- Q59 When people are asked to express an opinion, do you believe most people in Northern Ireland **usually say what they think** about politics or do you believe most people **usually hide what they really think** about politics? Using this scale, what do you think people in Northern Ireland do?

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

- Q60 Thinking back to the 1998 Assembly election, that is the one that took place in June 1998 to elect the first Northern Ireland Assembly. Can you tell me to which party you gave your first preference vote?

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

- Q61 And if there had been a **general election** to the UK House of Commons on 26<sup>th</sup> November, do you think you would have voted in that election or do you think you would not have voted?  
**IF YES: which party do you think you would have voted for?**  
**DO NOT PROMPT**

Would not have voted/Not eligible	0
Alliance Party	1
Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)	2
Sinn Fein	3
Social Democratic and Labour party (SDLP)	4
Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)	5
Women's Coalition	6
Other Party (WRITE IN)	11
Refused	12
Don't know	98

- Q62 In deciding how to vote, what would have mattered most to you when selecting your preferred candidate or party?

- Q63 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

Q64 Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a unionist, a nationalist, or neither?

Unionist	1	Please ask Q65
Nationalist	2	Please ask Q65
Neither	3	Please go to Q66

**IF UNIONIST OR NATIONALIST**

Q65 Would you call yourself a very strong...(quote answer at Q64)... fairly strong or not very strong?

Very Strong	1
Fairly Strong	2
Not Very Strong	3
(Don't know)	8

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

Q66 First, thinking of **Catholics** - do you think there is a lot of prejudice against them in Northern Ireland nowadays, a little, or hardly any?

Q67 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?

	Q66	Q67
	Catholics	Protestants
A Lot	1	1
A Little	2	2
Hardly Any	3	3
(Don't Know)	8	8

Q68 What about relations between Protestants and Catholics? Would you say they are **better** than they were 5 years ago, **worse**, or about the **same** 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

Q69 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

- Q70 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

- Q71 About how many of your relatives, including relatives by marriage, 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
Other (please write in).	10

- Q72 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

**BACKGROUND SECTION**

Finally, I would like to ask you some background questions about yourself. These enable us to check that we have obtained a proper cross section of the Northern Ireland public. They also allow researchers to analyse whether there are differences in attitude between different groups of people. I must stress that the survey is confidential and that before the data is passed on by us for analysis all names and addresses are deleted. It is therefore impossible to identify any individual or their responses

Q1 Do you (or your family) own or rent this house/flat/bungalow?

**PROBE IF NECESSARY**

OWNS:Outright	1
Buying on mortgage	2
Buying on Co-ownership Scheme	3
RENT: Housing Executive	4
Housing Association	5
Private Landlord	6
OTHER: WRITE IN	7
(Don't know)	8

Q2 Number in household

--	--

Q3 Household information

(Forward write sex from Section 1)

Person	Resp	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8
Age								
Agegroup								
0 – 17	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
18 – 24	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
25 – 44	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
45 – 64	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
65 – 74	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
75+	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
(Don't know/Refused)	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Male	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Female	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Relationship to respondent								
Spouse/Partner		2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Son/Daughter		3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Parent/Par in Law		4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Other Relative		5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Other non-relative		6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Hhld member with legal responsibility for accommodation (includes joint or shared)	Yes: 1 No: 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2	1 2

Q4 Marital Status **CODE FIRST TO APPLY**

Single (never married)	1
Married	2
Living as married	3
Separated	4
Divorced	5
Widowed	6

Q5 Highest Educational Qualification (one only) **SHOWCARD**

Degree Level or Higher	1
BTEC (Higher), BEC (Higher), TEC (Higher), HNC, HND	2
GCE 'A'Level (including NVQ Level 3)	3
BTEC (National), TEC (National), BEC (National), ONC, OND	4
GCSE (including NVQ Level 2), GCE 'O'Level (including CSE Grade 1), Senior Certificate, BTEC (General), BEC (General)	5
CSE (other than Grade 1)	6
No formal qualification	7
Other (write in)	8

Q5a How old were you when you completed your continuous full-time education?

15 or under	1	Still at school	6
16	2	Still at college or university	7
17	3	Other (Write in)	8
18	4	(Don't know/Can't remember)	98
19 or over (WRITE IN)	5		

Q6 Which of these descriptions applies to what you were doing last week, that is in the seven days ending last Sunday?

**SHOWCARD****IF ON HOLIDAY OR TEMPORARILY SICK ASK WHAT THEY ARE USUALLY DOING**

Working full-time	1	Go to Q6a
Working part-time	2	
Not working (seeking work)	3	Go to Q7
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	
Not working (and not seeking work)	10	
Caring for elderly or disabled person full-time	11	
Other (write in)	12	

Q6a How many hours a week do you normally work in your job?

--	--

Q6b Are you currently a member of a trade union?

Yes	1	Go to Q8
No	2	
(Don't know)	8	

Q7 Can I just check, have you ever had a job?

Yes	1	
No	2	Go to Q15

**IF 1 OR 2 AT Q6, OR CODE 1 AT Q7**

Q8 Now I want to ask you about your (*last*) job.  
What (*is/was*) your job?

**WRITE IN JOB TITLE**

Q9 What kind of work (*do/did*) you do most of the time?  
**IF RELEVANT:** What materials/machinery (*do/did*) you use?

--

Q10 What training or qualifications (*are/were*) needed for that job?

--

Q10a What (*does/did*) your employer (the organisation) make or do at the place where you (*work/worked*), or from which you (*do/did*) your work?

--

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

... an employee, or, self-employed?	1	Go to Q12
	2	Go to Q14b

Q12 Can I just check, (*are/were*) you...**READ OUT**...

... a manager,	1	Ask Q12a
A foreman or supervisor,	2	
or, neither?	3	Go to Q13
(Don't know)	8	

Q12a How many people (do/did) you manage or supervise?

**ENTER NUMBER**

--	--	--

Q13 And (do/did) you work in the public, private or voluntary sector?

Public sector	1
Private sector	2
Voluntary/charity sector	3
(Don't know)	8

Q14 a **If employee:** including yourself, how many people (are/were) employed at the place where you usually (work/worked) from?

b **If self employed:** How many employees (do/did) you have?

<b>IF EMPLOYEE</b>	
Fewer than 10	1
10-24	2
25-99	3
100-499	4
500 or more	5
(Don't know)	8

<b>IF SELF-EMPLOYED</b>
-------------------------

**ENTER NUMBER**

--	--	--

**CODE 00 IF NONE**

**CODE 998 IF DK**

**ASK IF HAS LIVING PARTNER (CODES 2, 3 AT Q4)**

**WIDOWS AND WIDOWERS GO TO Q15B AND ASK ABOUT LATE PARTNER**

**OTHERS GO TO Q23**

Q15 Which of these descriptions applies to what your (wife/husband/partner) was doing last week, that is the seven days ending last Sunday?

**SHOWCARD**

**IF ON HOLIDAY OR TEMPORARILY SICK ASK WHAT THEY ARE USUALLY DOING**

Working full-time	1	Go to Q15a
Working part-time, at least 10 hours a week	2	
Not working (seeking work)	3	
On a Government Training Scheme	4	Go to Q15b
On ACE (Action for Community Employment)	5	
Retired	6	
In full-time education	7	
Looking after the home	8	
Permanently sick or disabled	9	
Not working (and not seeking work)	10	
Caring for elderly or disabled person full-time	11	
Other (write in)	12	

Q15a And how many hours a week does he/she work in his/her job?

--	--

**GO TO Q16**

Q15b Can I just check, has he/she ever had a job?

Yes	1	
No	2	Go to Q23

**IF CODE 1 OR 2 AT Q15, OR CODE 1 AT Q15B**

Q16 Now I want to ask you about your (*wife's/husband's/partner's*)(*present/last*) job.  
What (*is/was*) (*his/her*) job?

**WRITE IN JOB TITLE**

Q17 What kind of work (*does/did*) (*he/she*) do most of the time?

**IF RELEVANT:** What materials/machinery (*does/did*) (*he/she*) use?

Q18 What training or qualifications (*are/were*) needed for that job?

Q18a What (*does/did*) (*his/her*) employer (the organisation) make or do at the place where (*he/she*) (*work/worked*), or from which (*he/she*) (*do/did*) (*his/her*) work?

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

... an employee	1	Go to Q20
or, self-employed?	2	Go to Q22b

Q20 Can I just check, (*is/was*)(*she/he*)...**READ OUT**...

... a manager,	1
A foreman or supervisor,	2
or, neither?	3
(Don't know)	8

Q21 And (*do/did*) (*he/she*) work in the public, private or voluntary sector?

Public sector	1
Private sector	2
Voluntary/charity sector	3
(Don't know)	8

- Q22 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:** How many employees (*does/did*) your (*wife/husband/partner*) have?

IF EMPLOYEE	
Fewer than 10	1
10-24	2
25-99	3
100-499	4
500 or more	5
(Don't know)	8

IF SELF-EMPLOYED			
<b>ENTER NUMBER</b>			
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>
<b>CODE 00 IF NONE</b>			
<b>CODE 998 IF DK</b>			

- Q23 Do you regard yourself as belonging to any particular religion?  
If yes, which? **DO NOT PROMPT**

No religion	1
Refused	99
Catholic	2
Church of Ireland/Anglican/Episcopal	3
Baptist	4
Methodist	5
Presbyterian	6
Free Presbyterian	7
Brethren	8
United Reform Church (URC)/Congregational	9
Pentecostal	10
Church of Scotland	11
Elim Pentecostal	12
Reformed Presbyterian	13

Ask Q25

Non-subscribing Presbyterian	14
Salvation Army	15
Church of Nazarene	16
Jehovah's Witness	17
Mormon	18
Protestant - no-denomination	19
Christian - no denomination	20
Hindu	21
Jewish	22
Islam/Muslim	23
Sikh	24
Buddhist	25
Other (WRITE IN)	26
(Don't know)	98

**ASK IF NOT REFUSED AT Q23**

- Q23a In what religion, if any, were you brought up?

**PROBE IF NECESSARY: What was your family's religion? DO NOT PROMPT**

No religion	1
Refused	99
Catholic	2
Church of Ireland/Anglican/Episcopal	3
Baptist	4
Methodist	5
Presbyterian	6
Free Presbyterian	7
Brethren	8
United Reform Church (URC)/Congregational	9
Pentecostal	10
Church of Scotland	11
Elim Pentecostal	12
Reformed Presbyterian	13

Non-subscribing Presbyterian	14
Salvation Army	15
Church of Nazarene	16
Jehovah's Witness	17
Mormon	18
Protestant - no-denomination	19
Christian - no denomination	20
Hindu	21
Jewish	22
Islam/Muslim	23
Sikh	24
Buddhist	25
Other (WRITE IN)	26
(Don't know)	98

**IF REFUSED AT Q23 OR Q23A GO TO Q25****IF NO RELIGION AT Q23A GO TO Q25**

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
2 or 3 times a month	2
Once a month	3
Several times a year	4
Less frequently	5
Never	6
(Don't know)	8

Q25 Would you say nowadays you are...**READ OUT...**

very religious,	1
somewhat religious,	2
not very religious,	3
or, not at all religious?	4
(Don't know)	8
(Refusal / NA)	9

**IF MARRIED/LIVING AS MARRIED**

Q26 Is your (husband/wife/partner) the same religion as you?

Yes, same religion	1
No, not same religion	2
No religion at all	3

Q27 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	Ask Q27a
No	2	Please go to Q28
(Don't know)	8	

**ASK IF CODE 1 AT Q27**

Q27a 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

- Q28 And has any child in your care ever attended a mixed or integrated school in Northern Ireland, with fairly large numbers of both Catholics and Protestants attending?

Yes	1
No	2
My children are not yet at school	3
Never had any children (in my care)	4
(Don't know)	8

- Q29 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 Q30
Yes, working class	2	Please go to Q30
Yes, other (WRITE IN VERBATIM)	3	Ask Q29a
No	4	Please go to Q30
(Don't know)	8	Please go to Q30
(Refused/NA)	9	Please go to Q30

If other, no, Don't know at question 29.

- Q29a Most people say that 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)	4
(Don't know)	8
(Refused/NA)	9

- Q30a What is your personal income before tax and national insurance contributions?  
Please just give me the number on the card.

**SHOWCARD**

**INCLUDE ALL INCOME FROM EMPLOYMENT AND BENEFITS**

Under £3,000 per year (less than £60 per week)	1
£3,000 - £3,999 per year (£60 - £80 per week)	2
£4,000 - £6,999 per year (£80 - £135 per week)	3
£7,000 - £9,999 per year (£135 - £195 per week)	4
£10,000 - £14,999 per year (£195 - £290 per week)	5
£15,000 - £19,999 per year (£290 - £385 per week)	6
£20,000 - £25,999 per year (£385 - £500 per week)	7
£26,000 - £29,999 per year (£500 - £580 per week)	8
£30,000 - £39,999 per year (£580 - £770 per week)	9
£40,000 + per year (£770+ per week)	10
I DO NOT WISH TO ANSWER THIS QUESTION	11
(Don't know)	98

**IF NO OTHER ADULTS IN HHLD FORWARD WRITE CODE FROM PREVIOUS QUESTION**

- Q30 And what is the total income of your household from all sources before tax and national insurance contributions?  
Please just give me the number on the card.

**SHOWCARD****INCLUDE ALL INCOME FROM EMPLOYMENT AND BENEFITS**

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
<b>I DO NOT WISH TO ANSWER THIS QUESTION</b>	11
(Don't know)	98

- Q31 Does anyone have access to the internet or World Wide Web from this address?

Yes	1
No	2
Don't know	8

- Q32 Do you yourself ever use the internet or World Wide Web for any reason (*other than your work*)?

Yes	1
No	2

**THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THIS INTERVIEW**