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SURVEY REPORT

CONFIDENTIAL

THE IRISH TIMES/MRBI
ALL-IRELAND POLL, ON THE
NEW IRELAND FORUM

PRESENTED TO THE IRISH TIMES, BY
MARKET RESEARCH BUREAU OF IRELAND LIMITED.

REF: 3290/84

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The survey was conducted by Market Research Bureau of Ireland Ltd., (MRBI Ltd) exclusively on behalf of The Irish Times during the period 9th to 15th May.

Two independent samples were used.

In the Republic, personal in-home interviews were conducted with a representative quota sample of 1000 electors aged 18 upwards, covering eighty sampling points. Demographic controls within region were applied by age, sex, marital status, S/E class and community type.

In Northern Ireland, a quota controlled sample of 1000 electors was also used; this also extended over 80 sampling points. Demographic controls were applied by age, sex, marital status and community type.

The accuracy level of each sample, is estimated to be approximately plus or minus 3%.

Extracts from the report may be published on condition that due acknowledgement is given to:

The Irish Times and

Market Research Bureau of Ireland Ltd. (MRBI)

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THE NEW IRELAND FORUM

<u>COMMENTARY:</u>	Jack Jones
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JACK JONES
MANAGING DIRECTOR
M.R.B.I. LIMITED

In assessing public reaction to a document as comprehensive as the New Ireland Forum Report, the commercial researcher has two broad technical options available to him.

One is to obtain very general reaction to the report per se, an approach which in isolation is not likely to provide particularly meaningful data. The other technique involves selecting what were considered to be the most important facets contained in the report and then assessing the impact and acceptability of each of these. In informational terms, the MRBI approach involved a combination of both of these general areas.

Fieldwork on the survey commenced on 9th May just six days subsequent to the publication of the Report, and while completed in the Republic by 10th, was continued in Northern Ireland until 15th May.

AWARENESS AND PERCEPTION OF USEFULNESS OF THE REPORT:

(Charts A1 and A2 refer)

The first question in the survey on the Forum, related to basic awareness and was phrased as follows:

"Have you heard of the New Ireland Forum, which has been meeting in Dublin for the past year?"

Not surprisingly, the awareness level in the Republic is exceptionally high with 96% having heard of the Forum. This level was strongly maintained across all demographic groups. There is some slight evidence that young working class females tend to be less aware than average.

In Northern Ireland, awareness of the Forum was also very high at 88% and again young working class females tended to be least aware.

Those who were aware were next asked to rate their perception of its usefulness - the technique involving the presentation of a four point semantic scale.

The question used was:

"Which of the phrases on this card describes how useful or not you consider the Forum to have been?"

"Very useful"

"Fairly useful"

"Not really useful"

"Not at all useful"

"No opinion"

While at this stage, it can be readily assumed that many people might not be aware of the various nuances which might contribute to the criteria of usefulness, nevertheless at the early stage at which the survey was conducted, a majority of electors in the Republic (53%) see the Forum as having been a useful exercise. The greatest degrees of enthusiasm in this respect are evident:

among the middle class (where 62% see it as useful);
among males (64%) rather than females;
among Fine Gael supporters (63%) - the figure among Fianna Fail supporters is also above average at 57%;
 and in geographical terms, rather noticeably in Munster (62%).

Farmers appear to give it solid rather than enthusiastic support on this basis, while young Dublin people are quite apathetic, with a fifth not holding any opinions at all on its usefulness.

Reaction on this criterion among Northern respondents is divided very much along religious and political lines. While overall 26% considered it useful, this dropped to 12% among Protestants while it rose to 48% among Catholics.

The Alliance Party supporters and particularly those of the SDLP and Sinn Fein show the most positive reaction - 45%, 62% and 55% respectively rating the Forum as useful.

DUP supporters are most critical with 72% considering it not worthwhile, while 66% of OUP supporters are also critical.

REACTION TO SPECIFIC FACETS IN THE FORUM REPORT:

(Charts B1 and B2 refer)

Having dealt in paragraph 5.1 with what is described as a "Framework for a New Ireland: Present realities and future requirements, the report then moved on to the primary point in Chapter 5 i.e.

"5.7 The particular structure of political unity which the Forum would wish to see established, is a UNITARY STATE, achieved by agreement and consent, embracing the whole island of Ireland, and providing irrevocable guarantees for the protection and preservation of both the Unionist and Nationalist identities. A UNITARY STATE on which agreement had been reached, would also provide the ideal framework for the constructive interaction of the diverse cultures and values of the people of Ireland".

For this reason, reaction to the concept of a UNITARY STATE was measured on the survey.

In paragraph 5.9, the Report states:

"The Forum in the course of its work, in both public and private sessions, received proposals as to how Unionist and Nationalist identities and interests could be accommodated in different and varying degrees in a New Ireland. The Forum gave careful consideration to these proposals. In addition to the UNITARY STATE, two structural arrangements were examined in some detail - A FEDERAL/CONFEDERAL STATE and JOINT AUTHORITY"

For this reason a measure was also obtained of reaction to each of these two facets.

The question therefore used the following terminology:

"The Forum Report proposed three possible solutions to the problems of Northern Ireland. In terms of the statements on this card, (Very much in favour; Somewhat in favour; Somewhat against or Very much against); to what extent would you favour or not favour each proposed solution?".

A UNITARY STATE, that is one Government and Parliament for the whole 32 counties.

FEDERATION (FEDERAL STATE), that is the two parts of Ireland running their own affairs, under a Central Irish Government.

JOINT AUTHORITY, that is joint rule of Northern Ireland from Dublin and London.

In using this technique, each solution mentioned in the Forum Report was assessed on an independent rating scale basis, i.e. each respondent rated the extent to which they favoured each solution irrespective of the answers to each of the other solutions.

An identical approach was used in the Northern Ireland survey. The following extract illustrates the overall comparable position relative to each solution on this criterion:

	<u>Generally in favour</u>	<u>No opinion</u>	<u>Generally against</u>
	%	%	%
<u>UNITARY STATE</u>			
Republic of Ireland	66	10	24
Northern Ireland	23	14	63
<u>FEDERATION</u>			
Republic of Ireland	55	13	32
Northern Ireland	29	15	56
<u>JOINT AUTHORITY</u>			
Republic of Ireland	27	13	60
Northern Ireland	20	15	65

A number of points are evident from this analysis; No single Forum solution received support to the exclusion of all others among electors in the Republic and the 55% who favour Federation compares satisfactorily with the 66% who favour a Unitary State.

The Joint Authority concept received least support with 27% in the Republic in favour. Some 60% expressed themselves as generally against it, the comparable figures for Federation and Unitary State being 32% and 24% respectively.

The obvious message to the leaders and politicians, based on this survey is that at least two of the suggested solutions would be acceptable to the electorate.

A closer inspection of the data indicates that the greatest degrees of support for the Unitary State apply:

among Fianna Fail supporters (75%);

among those aged over 65 (72%) and

under 24 (70%);

Some 66% of Labour and 64% of Fine Gael voters also favour this concept.

While the concept of Federation attracts highest levels of support

among farmers generally (65%) and

among the middle class (60%);

among Fine Gael voters (64%) (with 57% of Labour and 56% of Fianna Fail supporters also favouring); and in rural areas (60%),

it is also evident that farmers generally tend to support all three proposed solutions to an above average extent, indicating a strong message to the politicians concerned to get on with the job of finding a solution.

Generally, some 60% in the Republic are against Joint Authority, this being particularly strong among Labour voters 72%; with Fianna Fail supporters 66% against and Fine Gael 55% against.

In Northern Ireland just 23% favour a Unitary State; 29% favour Federation and 20% Joint Authority.

Protestants, OUP and DUP supporters are very heavily against the concept of a Unitary State - Protestants 87%, OUP 91% and DUP 94%. While a majority of Alliance Party voters 61% are against the concept, a sizeable minority of 24% favour it.

It is the Catholic community and supporters of the Nationalist parties which most favour the Unitary State - 54% of Catholics, 62% of SDLP voters and 87% of Sinn Fein supporters.

Federation is slightly more acceptable to the Protestants and Unionists - 10% of Protestants favour it; 8% of OUP supporters and 6% of DUP. Interestingly also, marginally more Catholics (58%) and SDLP (73%) supporters favour Federation as a possible solution.

Joint Authority with 20% overall in favour, has quite low support in all groups; with just 10% of Protestants and 36% of Catholics favouring it.

PREFERRED SOLUTION: (Charts C1 and C2 refer)

Following the question on individual assessment of each proposed solution - a further question to determine overall preference was asked:

"Which, if any, of these solutions would you prefer?"
and the comparable figures are:

	<u>Republic of Ireland</u>	<u>Northern Ireland</u>
	%	%
Unitary State	50	14
Federation	22	13
Joint Authority	15	14
None of these	13	59

The figure of 50% preference for the Unitary State concept is considerably below that which many people might have expected having regard to the fact that the Report states:

"the structure of political unity which the Forum would wish to see established is a Unitary State"

It appears the electorate are prepared to take a broad view.

Not unexpectedly some 59% in Northern Ireland would have none of these solutions - as also applies indeed to some 13% in the Republic.

The main contributors in Northern Ireland to the rejection of all three solutions are:

D.U.P.	91%
O.U.P.	81%
Alliance	40% and
Protestants generally	83%

Rejection among these elements is very hard line and significant and a further insight into the real situation is reflected in the following extract which illustrates the actual preferred solution among those rejecting all three Forum options:

	<u>Republic of Ireland</u>	<u>Northern Ireland</u>
	%	%
<u>Rejecting all three solutions</u>	13	59
<u>Personal preferred solution (From list)</u>		
Direct rule to continue	2	31
Majority rule	1	10
Power Sharing	1	6
An independent Northern Ireland	2	6
Re-draw the border	1	1
None of these	6	5

CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE:

Paragraph 5.3 of the Forum Report

"recognises that the building of a New Ireland will require the co-operation of all the people of Ireland"
and later that "The British Government have a duty to join in developing the necessary process that will recognise realities" and finally, "The British and Irish Governments should enter into discussions to create the framework and atmosphere necessary for this purpose"

As a general result of this clause, two final questions were asked:

Q. "Do you think that the representatives of the Political Parties in Britain, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland should hold a conference/meeting to discuss the suggestions made in the Report?"

AND

Q. "How likely do you think it is that such a conference will be held?"

In the Republic, the situation is quite clear cut, in that while a very significant majority (86%) consider that such a conference should be held, a minority (44%) feel that it is likely to take place and just one in ten are reasonably confident that it will.

Farmers generally, Munster electors and Fine Gael and Fianna Fail voters are most emphatic that a conference should be held, although as already commented, the concept attracts very strong support among all groups within the Republic.

As to whether or not the conference will actually be held, Munster electors again emerge as more confident than average, as also are urban residents generally and the middle class. While 48% of Fine Gael supporters feel that a conference is likely to take place (and 42% feel that it will not), Fianna Fail voters appear to be split 50/50 on perception of the likelihood of its taking place.

Labour voters on balance tend to see it not taking place, with other party supporters very much of this opinion.

In Northern Ireland 52% feel a conference should be held, these being mainly Catholics (79%); and SDLP (88%), Sinn Fein (76%) and Alliance Party (76%) supporters.

Two in every three DUP voters and just over half of OUP do not want a conference.

Despite the enthusiasm among the Catholic community for such a conference, there is not widespread belief that it will actually be held - 13% feel it is very likely to take place and 26% fairly likely; a total of 39% compared to the 79% who want it.

The DUP and OUP supporters who don't want a conference are fairly confident or hopeful that it will not happen.

The survey confirms the realization among many politicians that much work still remains to be done.

**CHART A1 RATING OF USEFULNESS
OF NEW IRELAND FORUM**

Very useful	16
Fairly useful	37
Not really useful	14
Not useful at all	17
No opinion	12
Never heard of it	4

Republic of Ireland

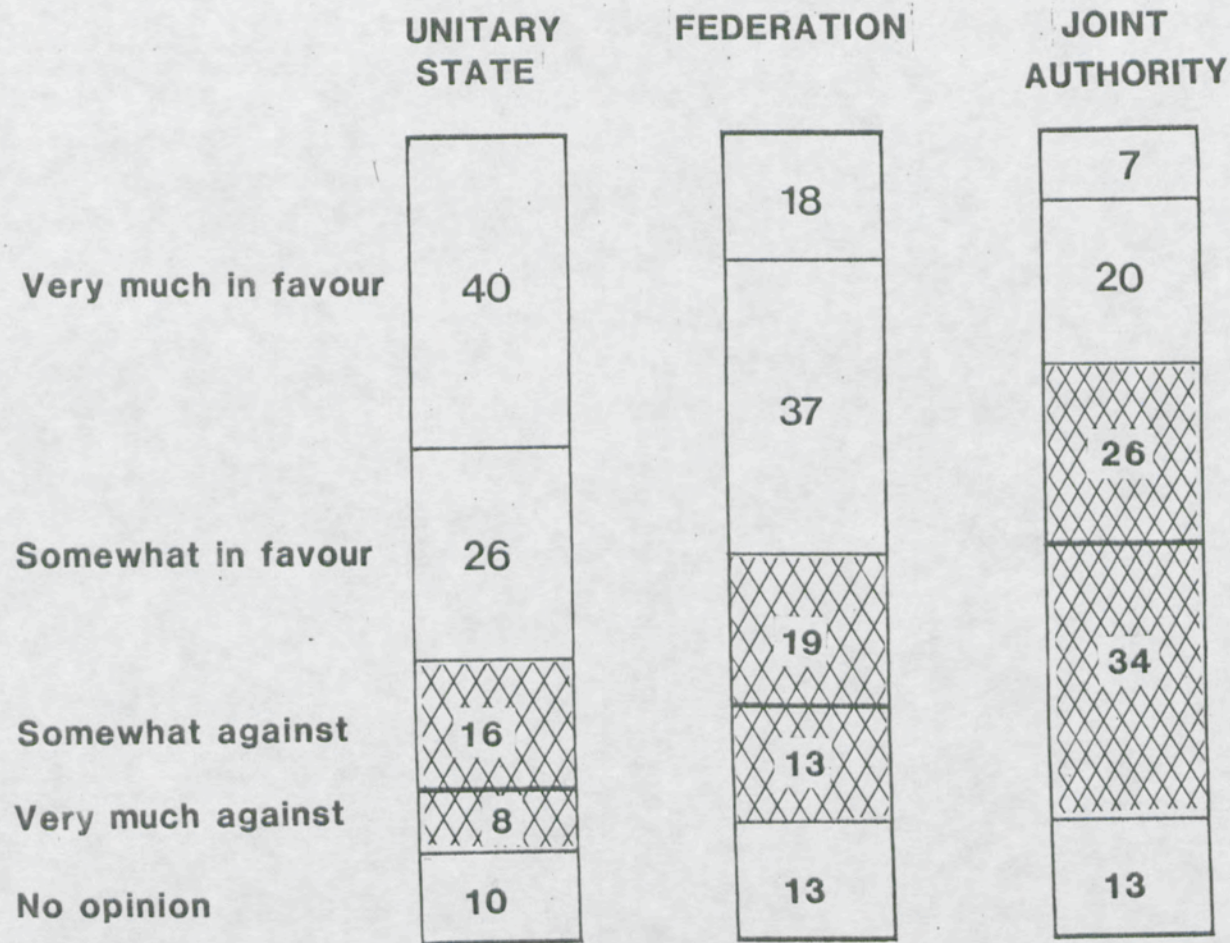
**CHART A2 RATING OF USEFULNESS
OF NEW IRELAND FORUM**

Very useful	8
Fairly useful	18
Not really useful	17
Not useful at all	29
No opinion	16
Never heard of it	12

Northern Ireland

CHART B1

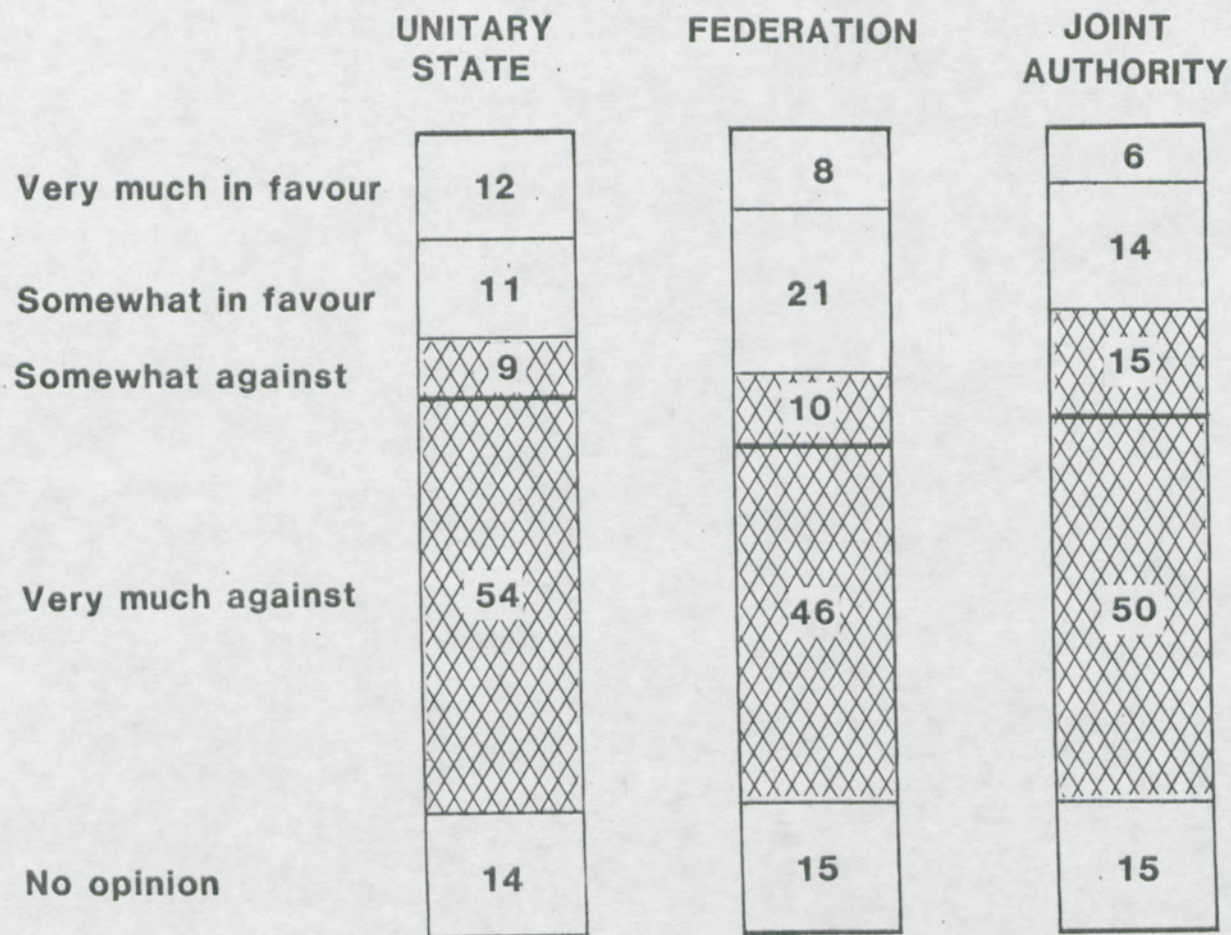
REACTION TO PROPOSED SOLUTIONS



Republic of Ireland

CHART B2

REACTION TO PROPOSED SOLUTIONS



Northern Ireland

**CHART C1 OVERALL PREFERENCE FOR
PROPOSED SOLUTIONS**

Unitary State	50
Federation	22
Joint Authority	15
None of these	13

Republic of Ireland

CHART C2 **OVERALL PREFERENCE FOR
PROPOSED SOLUTIONS**

Unitary State	14
Federation	13
Joint Authority	14
None of these	59

Northern Ireland

Table 1: Awareness of and rating of usefulness of New Ireland Forum

	TOTAL	Co. Dublin	Rest of Lein.	Mun- ster	Conn /Uls	Ur- ban	Ru- ral	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+	ABC1	C2DE	F1	F2	Male	Fe- male	F.F	F.G	Lab- our	Ot- her	D.K Ref
<u>AWARENESS:</u>																							
Aware	96	96	97	97	95	96	97	93	96	97	98	96	98	94	100	96	98	95	96	99	100	88	94
Not aware	4	4	3	3	5	4	3	7	4	3	2	4	2	6	-	4	2	5	4	1	-	13	6
<u>RATING OF USEFULNESS:</u>																							
Very useful	16	18	9	20	13	17	14	8	14	20	16	21	20	13	17	11	19	13	15	20	13	9	13
Fairly useful	37	32	40	42	34	35	40	34	37	38	38	37	42	32	37	44	35	39	42	43	37	21	24
Not really	14	14	15	12	14	14	13	18	13	14	11	12	11	16	11	14	13	15	12	14	16	28	14
Not at all	17	11	22	15	22	14	21	13	17	18	21	15	12	18	26	20	19	15	15	14	19	25	23
No opinion	12	21	11	8	12	16	9	20	15	7	12	11	13	15	9	7	12	13	12	8	15	25	20
TOTALS	1000	301	226	286	187	558	442	193	236	244	215	112	316	478	123	83	504	496	368	286	62	32	252

SAMPLE: 1000 adults aged 18+: Republic of Ireland

Table 2: Extent of being in favour of each of the three possible solutions

[illegible]

Table 2 contd. Extent of being in favour of each of the three possible solutions

	TOTAL	Co. Dublin	Rest of Lein	Mun- ster	Conn /Uls	Ur- ban	Ru- ral	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+	ABC1	C2DE	F1	F2	Fe- Male	Fe- male	F.F	F.G	Lab- our	Ot- her	D.K Ref.
<u>JOINT AUTHORITY:</u>																							
Very much in favour	7	7	7	6	7	7	7	4	6	8	8	7	7	8	5	4	7	7	8	8	3	3	4
Somewhat in favour	20	19	23	16	26	19	22	20	22	18	20	23	20	20	21	23	20	21	18	27	19	16	17
No opinion	13	15	5	7	27	14	11	13	12	11	13	20	12	14	7	19	10	16	8	10	6	16	25
Somewhat against	26	27	32	24	19	25	27	28	24	23	30	21	26	26	24	22	27	25	26	23	37	19	26
Very much against	34	32	33	47	21	35	33	35	36	40	29	29	35	32	43	32	36	31	40	32	35	46	28
Mean Rating	<u>2.40</u>																						
TOTALS	1000	301	226	286	187	558	442	193	236	244	215	112	316	478	123	83	504	496	368	286	62	32	252

Sample: 1000 adults aged 18+: Republic of Ireland

Table 3: Preferred possible solution

	TOTAL	Co. Dublin	Rest of Lein	Mun- ster	Conn /Uls	Ur- ban	Ru- ral	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+	ABC1	C2DE	F1	F2	Male	Fe- male	F.F	F.G	Lab- our	Ot- her	D.K Ref.
<u>SOLUTION PREFERRED:</u>																							
A Unitary State	50	45	50	61	41	48	52	53	52	47	48	50	44	53	47	54	54	46	58	42	56	56	45
Federation	22	23	21	24	20	21	24	23	23	21	24	20	26	19	27	22	21	24	20	29	21	9	20
Joint Authority	15	14	19	10	17	16	13	13	15	18	13	13	17	14	12	13	14	15	14	19	13	9	12
None of these	13	18	10	5	22	15	11	11	10	14	15	17	13	14	14	11	11	15	8	10	10	26	23
<u>FURTHER SOLUTION PREFERRED AMONG THOSE WHO HAVE NO PREFERENCE ABOVE:</u>																							
Direct rule	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	-	5	2	2	2	-	2	1	2	-	2	6	2
Power sharing	1	2	-	*	1	1	*	1	-	2	2	-	2	1	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	2
Majority rule	1	1	1	*	2	1	1	-	1	2	1	2	1	1	-	5	1	1	1	1	-	-	2
Re-draw border	1	1	1	-	2	1	1	1	-	*	2	1	1	1	-	1	1	*	1	*	-	6	1
Independent Northern Ire.	2	3	3	2	1	3	2	1	2	4	3	3	2	3	2	1	2	3	2	2	8	3	1
None of these	6	9	3	1	14	7	6	6	5	5	7	6	5	6	10	4	4	9	1	6	-	11	15
TOTALS	1000	301	226	286	187	558	442	193	236	244	215	112	316	478	123	83	504	496	368	286	62	32	252

* less than 0.5%

Sample: 1000 adults aged 18+: Republic of Ireland

MRBI/3290/84 REPUBLIC OF IRELAND: REACTION TO NEW IRELAND FORUM

Table 4: Whether or not the representatives of the political parties in Britain, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland should hold a meeting to discuss the suggestions made in the Forum Report and likelihood of such a meeting being held

	TOTAL	Co. Dublin	Rest of Lein	Mun- ster	Conn /Uls	Ur- ban	Ru- ral	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+	ABC1	C2DE	F1	F2	Male	Fe- male	F.F	F.G	Lab- our	Ot- her	D.K Ref.
<u>MEETING:</u>																							
Should be held	86	81	88	92	80	83	89	84	84	86	88	86	85	83	92	92	87	84	90	93	85	72	73
Should not be held	7	9	10	5	2	8	5	7	8	9	5	3	7	8	2	2	7	7	7	5	13	22	6
Don't know	7	10	2	3	18	9	6	9	8	5	7	11	8	9	6	6	6	9	3	2	2	6	21
<u>LIKELIHOOD OF BEING HELD:</u>																							
Very likely	11	14	5	13	12	14	8	13	9	9	13	13	15	9	9	10	11	11	13	12	8	3	10
Fairly likely	33	35	21	41	32	36	30	28	34	38	31	34	33	34	28	31	33	33	33	36	37	19	30
Neither	10	10	4	11	14	9	9	11	9	8	10	11	7	10	13	11	9	10	8	10	5	13	11
Fairly unlikely	27	25	36	23	25	24	31	31	29	23	26	27	26	27	26	32	28	26	28	28	21	38	25
Very unlikely	18	15	33	12	15	16	22	17	17	21	20	15	18	18	24	16	19	18	18	14	29	25	21
Don't know	1	1	1	-	2	1	-	-	2	1	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	3
TOTALS	1000	301	226	286	187	558	442	193	236	244	215	112	316	478	123	83	504	496	368	286	62	32	252

Sample: 1000 adults aged 18+: Republic of Ireland

Table 5: Awareness and rating of usefulness of the New Ireland Forum

	TOTAL	Prot- estant	Cath- olic	Other	OUP	DUP	All- iance	SDLP	Sinn Fein	Ot- her	D.K. Ref.	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+	Male	Fe- male	ABC1	C2DE
<u>AWARENESS:</u>																				
Aware	88	90	84	93	94	85	92	89	82	71	83	79	88	91	92	87	92	84	93	84
Not aware	12	10	16	7	6	15	8	11	18	29	17	21	12	9	8	13	8	16	7	16
<u>RATING OF USEFULNESS:</u>																				
Very useful	8	2	17	-	2	-	10	25	25	7	5	4	8	6	11	9	7	9	9	7
Fairly useful	18	10	31	26	10	4	35	37	30	11	18	22	18	17	18	15	19	17	21	16
Not really useful	17	18	14	33	24	8	29	11	14	22	14	18	19	20	16	9	20	14	21	14
Not at all useful	29	44	8	26	42	64	14	6	-	22	19	17	26	35	34	33	36	23	29	30
No opinion	16	16	14	8	16	9	4	10	13	9	27	18	17	13	13	21	10	21	13	17
TOTALS	1000	602	382	16	271	159	83	139	56	27	265	185	204	244	227	140	480	520	405	595

Sample: 1000 adults aged 18+: Northern Ireland

MRBI/3290A/84 NORTHERN IRELAND: REACTION TO NEW IRELAND FORUM

Table 6: Extent of being in favour of each of the three possible solutions

	TOTAL	Prot- estant	Cath- olic	Other	OUP	DUP	All- iance	SDLP	Sinn Fein	Ot- her	D.K. Ref.	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+	Male	Fe- male	ABC1	C2DE
<u>A UNITARY STATE:</u>																				
Very much in favour	12	1	30	-	-	1	5	33	67	28	8	19	11	12	9	9	13	11	10	13
Somewhat in favour	11	3	24	38	1	1	19	29	20	24	13	15	14	9	10	11	12	11	9	13
No opinion	14	9	21	19	8	4	15	10	8	12	29	16	12	15	11	16	11	17	11	16
Somewhat against	9	7	13	13	7	2	20	13	2	4	12	11	9	9	8	9	8	10	12	7
Very much against	54	80	12	30	84	92	41	15	3	32	38	39	54	55	62	55	56	51	58	51
Mean Rating	2.18																			
<u>FEDERATION:</u>																				
Very much in favour	8	2	18	13	1	2	6	21	12	33	9	10	10	6	7	8	7	9	7	9
Somewhat in favour	21	8	40	38	7	4	33	52	47	24	20	22	22	23	20	17	22	20	23	20
No opinion	15	10	23	25	8	7	13	13	14	12	30	21	16	13	11	18	12	18	12	16
Somewhat against	10	11	10	-	13	5	25	7	12	4	9	12	10	11	10	8	10	10	13	9
Very much against	46	69	9	24	71	82	23	7	15	27	32	35	42	47	52	49	49	43	45	46
Mean Rating	2.35																			
<u>JOINT AUTHORITY:</u>																				
Very much in favour	6	2	11	6	3	1	9	16	4	-	6	3	8	5	8	5	6	5	6	6
Somewhat in favour	14	8	25	13	7	3	24	33	14	16	15	12	16	16	15	8	14	14	16	13
No opinion	15	9	23	25	7	3	11	12	22	29	28	21	14	12	10	18	13	16	11	17
Somewhat against	15	11	22	6	12	5	27	26	20	8	16	15	19	14	16	12	15	16	18	14
Very much against	50	70	19	50	71	88	29	13	40	47	35	49	43	53	51	57	52	49	49	50
Mean Rating	2.11																			
TOTALS	1000	602	382	16	271	159	83	139	56	27	265	185	204	244	227	140	480	520	405	595

Sample: 1000 adults aged 18+: Northern Ireland

MRBI/3290A/84 NORTHERN IRELAND: REACTION TO NEW IRELAND FORUM

Table 7: Preferred possible solution

	TOTAL	Prot- estant	Cath- olic	Other	OUP	DUP	All- iance	SDLP	Sinn Fein	Ot- her	D.K. Ref.	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+	Male	Fe- male	ABC1	C2DE
<u>SOLUTION PREFERRED</u>																				
A Unitary State	14	2	34	7	1	-	16	35	69	28	12	24	15	13	9	10	14	14	10	17
Federation	13	5	25	33	6	5	19	29	14	37	13	16	12	13	13	12	14	13	15	12
Joint Authority	14	10	18	13	12	4	25	21	6	-	17	12	17	12	18	6	16	11	15	13
None of these	<u>59</u>	<u>83</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>81</u>	<u>91</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>48</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>62</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>62</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>58</u>
<u>FURTHER SOLUTION PREFERRED AMONG THOSE WHO HAD NO PREFERENCE ABOVE:</u>																				
Direct rule	31	46	7	31	43	53	16	6	2	18	29	19	28	32	34	41	29	32	31	30
Power sharing	6	7	5	6	9	2	14	2	-	7	6	4	7	7	6	8	6	7	8	5
Majority rule	10	15	1	6	17	20	4	-	-	-	5	9	7	11	11	8	11	8	11	9
Re-draw border	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	2	1	1	-	1	1	1	1	1	1
Independent Northern Ireland.	6	10	1	-	10	13	6	1	-	10	2	5	8	7	5	6	5	7	5	7
None of these	5	4	8	4	1	3	-	6	7	-	14	10	5	5	3	8	4	7	4	6
TOTALS	1000	602	382	16	271	159	83	139	56	27	265	185	204	244	227	140	480	520	405	595

Sample: 1000 adults aged 18+: Northern Ireland

Table 8: Whether or not the representatives of the political parties in Britain, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland should hold a meeting to discuss the suggestions made in the Forum report and likelihood of such a meeting being held

	TOTAL	Prot- estant	Cath- olic	Other	OUP	DUP	All- iance	SDLP	Sinn Fein	Ot- her	D.K. Ref.	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+	Male	Fe- male	ABC1	C2DE
<u>MEETING</u>																				
Should be held	52	35	79	69	34	21	76	88	76	42	60	58	61	51	49	41	51	54	54	51
Should not be held	34	52	6	19	54	68	20	2	4	26	21	26	26	38	40	39	38	30	36	32
Don't know	14	13	15	12	12	11	4	10	20	32	19	16	13	11	11	20	11	16	10	17
<u>LIKELIHOOD OF BEING HELD:</u>																				
Very likely	11	10	13	-	15	4	12	20	16	8	5	10	13	9	12	9	10	12	11	11
Fairly likely	20	17	26	13	17	15	23	30	29	8	21	19	20	21	23	18	18	23	22	19
Neither	16	15	16	18	12	14	11	12	19	15	23	20	14	13	16	21	14	17	12	19
Fairly unlikely	19	19	18	25	21	13	25	13	18	27	21	22	17	21	14	20	18	20	21	17
Very unlikely	34	39	27	44	34	54	29	25	18	42	30	29	36	36	35	32	40	28	34	34
TOTALS	1000	602	382	16	271	159	83	139	56	27	265	185	204	244	227	140	480	520	405	595

Sample: 1000 adults aged 18+: Northern Ireland

Ass. No. _____ Quest. No. _____

MRB1/3290A/B4

Good morning/afternoon, I am from a research company and we are conducting a survey.

Q.1 Have you heard of the New Ireland Forum, which has been meeting in Dublin for the past year?

Yes 1 No 2 GO TO Q.3

Q.2 Which of the phrases on this card describes how useful or not you consider The Forum to have been?

SHOW CARD: Very useful 1
Fairly useful 2
Not really useful 3
Not useful at all 4
No opinion 5

Q.3 The Forum Report proposed 3 possible solutions to the problems of Northern Ireland.

In terms of the statements on this card, to what extent would you favour or not favour each proposed solution?

SHOW CARD:

READ OUT SOLUTIONS: ROTATE START AND TICK THE ONE COMMENCED WITH:

Very much in favour	Somewhat in favour	No op.	Some- what against	Very much against
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☐ A UNITARY STATE, that is one Government and Parliament for the whole 32 counties

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

☐ FEDERATION, that is the two parts of Ireland running their own affairs under a Central Irish Government

1	2	3	4	5
---	---	---	---	---

☐ JOINT AUTHORITY, that is joint rule of Northern Ireland from London and Dublin

1	2	3	4	5
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Q.4 Which if any, of these solutions would you prefer?

A Unitary State 1
Federation 2
Joint Authority 3
None of these 4

IF NONE, ASK -

Q.5 Which if any, of these solutions would you prefer?

SHOW CARD:

Direct rule from London to continue 1
Power Sharing 2
Majority rule 3
Re-draw the border 4
An independent Northern Ireland 5
None of these 6

Q.6 Do you think that the Representatives of the Political Parties in Britain, Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, should hold a conference/meeting to discuss the suggestions made in the Forum Report?

Yes ... 1 No 2 Don't know 3

(a) How likely do you think it is that such a conference will be held?

SHOW CARD:

Very likely 1
Fairly likely 2
Neither likely nor unlikely .. 3
Fairly unlikely 4
Very unlikely 5

98TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

523413 A. IV
H. CON. RES. 310

Expressing the sense of the Congress that the participants in the New Ireland Forum are to be commended for their efforts to bring about genuine progress in the search for a just and peaceful solution to the problems of Northern Ireland.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MAY 17, 1984

Mr. DONNELLY (for himself and Mr. FOLEY) submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Expressing the sense of the Congress that the participants in the New Ireland Forum are to be commended for their efforts to bring about genuine progress in the search for a just and peaceful solution to the problems of Northern Ireland.

Whereas the people and the Congress of the United States are deeply troubled by the unending cycle of violence in Northern Ireland which has been a reality of life there for too long;

Whereas the communities of Northern Ireland have suffered great loss of life, political uncertainty, and chronic high unemployment;

Whereas the young people of Northern Ireland are becoming increasingly alienated by the disintegrating society around them;

Whereas the divisions between the two communities in Northern Ireland appear to be widening;

Whereas the problems of Northern Ireland cannot be met by security measures alone, but require an increased emphasis on a political process which seeks the support of both communities;

Whereas the New Ireland Forum represents a significant initiative in Ireland, and is a unique opportunity to achieve real progress towards peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland;

Whereas the process initiated by the New Ireland Forum is a highly ambitious effort that is based on the doctrine of consent, and not of confrontation;

Whereas all democratic parties that oppose violence, North and South, were invited to participate in the Forum's search for a just and workable framework to solve the problems of Northern Ireland;

Whereas many Americans have been concerned by the lack of progress in bringing about a just and lasting solution to the problems of Northern Ireland, and are interested in supporting initiatives that could achieve progress towards a peaceful political solution to those problems;

Whereas the New Ireland Forum issued a report on May 2, 1984, which condemns violence and those who support it, identifies the major problems in Northern Ireland, and outlines potential frameworks for resolving those problems;

Whereas the New Ireland Forum process and the May 2nd report represent an opportunity to strengthen Anglo-Irish

cooperation and dialog towards resolving the Northern Ireland problem and furthering reconciliation between the two communities; and

Whereas the Prime Minister of Ireland recently visited the United States where he had important discussions with the President and the Congress: Now, therefore, be it

1 *Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate*
2 *concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that—*

3 (1) the participants in the New Ireland Forum are
4 to be commended for their efforts to promote potential
5 frameworks for progress towards reconciliation of the
6 two communities in Northern Ireland; and

7 (2) all political parties in Northern Ireland, the
8 British Government, and the Irish Government, should
9 review the findings and recommendations of the report
10 of the New Ireland Forum in the spirit in which they
11 were offered, that of dialog and hope.

12 SEC. 2. The Clerk of the House of Representatives shall
13 transmit a copy of this concurrent resolution to the President.

O