



Technical Report
July 2015



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1. Introduction

In June 2014, Social Market Research (SMR) was appointed to conduct the 2015 Northern Ireland General Election Survey. The survey was commissioned by Professor Jon Tonge of the University of Liverpool (project lead) on behalf of academics from the following universities: Queen's University Belfast, University of Leeds, University of Aberdeen, and the London School of Economics and Political Science. The survey was funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC).

2. Study Rationale

The study builds on a series of post general elections surveys conducted in Northern Ireland. In 2010 a similar survey was conducted and funded by the ESRC [(ESRC Northern Ireland 2010 Westminster Election Survey (RES 000-22-4033)]. Essentially the study provides an opportunity to monitor electoral trends as well as elicit public opinion on a range of contemporary social and political issues relevant to Northern Ireland.

2.1 Survey Objectives (2015)

The objectives of the 2015 study were to assess the following:

- How electorate voted in N Ireland;
- Voting behaviour and party choices;
- Voting patterns within a sectarian divide;
- Voting and 'normal' political concerns (e.g. Health etc);
- Perception of political parties and political leaders;
- Views on devolving powers to the Assembly and Executive;
- Views on post-conflict issues; and,
- Views on 'Dissident' groups.

3. Survey Design

The survey is based on interviews with a representative sample of Northern Ireland adults aged 18+ living in Northern Ireland. The survey was conducted using Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing (CAPI) in respondents' homes.

Questionnaire Design

The questionnaire was developed around the survey objectives listed in paragraph 2.1 (see copy of the questionnaire included as Appendix 1). To maintain respondent interest in the survey the aim was to develop a questionnaire which could be administered within 30 minutes. Note that respondents received no incentive (financial or otherwise) to participate in the survey.

Piloting

Prior to main stage fieldwork, the survey was piloted in two phases in March and April 2015. Phase one piloting was based on interviews with 10 respondents with 20 respondents interviewed in phase two. A number of minor issues were identified in the survey questionnaire, with the questionnaire subsequently modified in advance of main stage fieldwork.

Sample Design

The survey was conducted using a probability based sample design utilising Probability Proportionate to Size (PPS). This design ensured coverage of all 18 Parliamentary constituencies with proportionate representation of all constituencies and of selected electoral wards within constituencies.

A total of 100 sampling points (electoral wards) were randomly selected. At stage one of the sampling process, wards were randomly selected (using PPS) from within each constituency. From within each electoral ward, households were selected using Simple Random Sampling (SRS) with each household having an equal chance of selection. The total number of households drawn was determined by the population of the ward in relation to the population of all selected wards representing the constituency.

At selected households respondents were randomly selected for interview on the basis of the 'next birthday' rule which required interviewers to first list all individuals aged 18+¹ living at the address and then select the person with the next birthday.

The Royal Mail Postcode Address File (PAF) was used as the sampling frame for the survey. The PAF provides a listing of all domestic properties in Northern Ireland and is an established means of drawing household-based samples.

The survey aimed to achieve 1500 effective interviews. Taking into consideration the level of refusal, non contacts and invalid addresses the target number of achieved interviews was increased by a factor of 1.7. A total of 2651 addresses were issued with a target to achieve 1500 effective interviews. Table 1 presents a profile of each constituency in terms of the number of addresses issued and the number of interviews achieved.

¹ Those excluded were: people away for 6 months or more; students away at university or college; temporary visitors, boarders and lodgers; and, institutionalised people.

| | Population | Sample Issued | | Achieved Interviews | |
|----------------------------|------------|---------------|-----|---------------------|-----|
| | (%) | n | % | N | % |
| Belfast East | 5.4 | 143 | 5.4 | 105 | 5.8 |
| Belfast North | 5.7 | 151 | 5.7 | 124 | 6.9 |
| Belfast South | 5.2 | 138 | 5.2 | 111 | 6.1 |
| Belfast West | 5.5 | 146 | 5.5 | 91 | 5.0 |
| East Antrim | 5.1 | 135 | 5.1 | 84 | 4.6 |
| East Londonderry | 5.5 | 146 | 5.5 | 116 | 6.4 |
| Fermanagh and South Tyrone | 5.8 | 154 | 5.8 | 55 | 3.0 |
| Foyle | 5.5 | 146 | 5.5 | 102 | 5.6 |
| Lagan Valley | 5.5 | 146 | 5.5 | 112 | 6.2 |
| Mid-Ulster | 5.4 | 143 | 5.4 | 54 | 3.0 |
| Newry and Armagh | 6.2 | 172 | 6.5 | 135 | 7.5 |
| North Antrim | 6.6 | 175 | 6.6 | 113 | 6.2 |
| North Down | 5.2 | 130 | 4.9 | 93 | 5.1 |
| South Antrim | 5.1 | 135 | 5.1 | 80 | 4.4 |
| South Down | 5.8 | 154 | 5.8 | 113 | 6.2 |
| Strangford | 5.2 | 138 | 5.2 | 119 | 6.6 |
| Upper Bann | 6.2 | 161 | 6.1 | 87 | 4.8 |
| West Tyrone | 5.2 | 138 | 5.2 | 116 | 6.4 |
| | 100 | 2651 | 100 | 1810 | 100 |

Response Rate

A total of 1810 interviews were achieved from the 2651 addresses issued. This represents a response rate of 68.3%. Note that a total of 73 addresses were identified as being invalid and these addresses were replaced. Table 2 presents a breakdown of the sample outcomes.

| | n | % |
|---|------|------|
| Completed interviews | 1810 | 68.3 |
| Refusal (by respondent) | 173 | 6.5 |
| Refusal (by proxy) | 27 | 1.0 |
| Household refusal (before respondent selection) | 46 | 1.7 |
| Refusal (other) | 5 | 0.2 |
| Respondent not available / not at home at time of call | 130 | 4.9 |
| Mentally / physically not able to participate in survey | 2 | 0.1 |
| Language barrier | 3 | 0.1 |
| Other ² | 4 | 0.2 |
| No contact after 5 visits | 451 | 17.0 |
| TOTAL | 2651 | 100 |

² Includes: away on holiday (n=1); gated entry (n=1); unable to gain access (n=2).

Table 3 presents an analysis of the reasons for refusal to participate in the survey.

| | n | % |
|--|-----|------|
| Bad timing (e.g. sick, children,...), otherwise engaged (e.g. visit) | 74 | 29.5 |
| Not interested | 106 | 42.2 |
| Don't know enough/anything about subject, too difficult for me | 2 | 0.8 |
| Waste of time | 13 | 5.2 |
| Waste of money | 4 | 1.6 |
| Interferes with my privacy / I give no personal information | 16 | 6.4 |
| Never do surveys | 16 | 6.4 |
| Do not trust surveys | 3 | 1.2 |
| Previous bad experience | 1 | 0.4 |
| Don't like subject | 8 | 3.2 |
| Refuses because partner /family / HH gives no approval to cooperate | 1 | 0.4 |
| Do not admit strangers to my house / afraid to let them in | 2 | 0.8 |
| Other ³ | 5 | 2.0 |
| TOTAL | 251 | 100 |

Response Rate by Constituency

Table 4 presents an overview of the response rate by constituency.

| | Sample Issued | Achieved Interviews | Response Rate (%) |
|----------------------------|---------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| Belfast East | 143 | 105 | 73.4 |
| Belfast North | 151 | 124 | 82.1 |
| Belfast South | 138 | 111 | 80.4 |
| Belfast West | 146 | 91 | 62.3 |
| East Antrim | 135 | 84 | 62.2 |
| East Londonderry | 146 | 116 | 79.5 |
| Fermanagh and South Tyrone | 154 | 55 | 35.7 |
| Foyle | 146 | 102 | 69.9 |
| Lagan Valley | 146 | 112 | 76.7 |
| Mid-Ulster | 143 | 54 | 37.8 |
| Newry and Armagh | 172 | 135 | 78.5 |
| North Antrim | 175 | 113 | 64.6 |
| North Down | 130 | 93 | 71.5 |
| South Antrim | 135 | 80 | 59.3 |
| South Down | 154 | 113 | 73.4 |
| Strangford | 138 | 119 | 86.2 |
| Upper Bann | 161 | 87 | 54.0 |
| West Tyrone | 138 | 116 | 84.1 |
| All Constituencies | 2651 | 1810 | 68.3 |

³ Includes: 'door closed in my face and no reason given' (n=1); 'work for Queens' (n=1); 'The man was blind and does not do surveys' (n=1); 'too old to care' (n=1); 'very old' (n=1).

Sampling Errors and Confidence Intervals

As a sample uses only part of a population to estimate certain attributes of that population, there arises the issue of sampling and non-sampling error. The use of a probability based design in this instance allows the calculation of sampling errors i.e. the actual error between the values of the sample estimates and the true population values. Table 5 presents standard errors and confidence intervals for respondent age and sex. Note that Table 5 also presents a comparison of the sample age and sex characteristics compared with Northern Ireland census estimates.

| Table 6 Respondent age and sex compared with NI Population Profile (NI Population aged 18+) | | | | | |
|---|--------|------------|------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| | | Census (%) | Sample (%) | Standard Error of p (%) | 95% Confidence Interval (+/-) |
| Sex (n=1810) | Male | 48 | 48 | 1.2 | 45.7-50.3 |
| | Female | 52 | 52 | 1.2 | 49.7-54.3 |
| Age ⁴ (n=1710) | 18-29 | 22 | 17 | 0.9 | 15.3-18.7 |
| | 30-44 | 27 | 31 | 1.1 | 28.9-33.1 |
| | 45-64 | 32 | 33 | 1.1 | 30.8-35.2 |
| | 65+ | 19 | 19 | 0.9 | 17.2-20.8 |
| Source: Northern Ireland Census of Population (2011 Estimates) | | | | | |

4. Fieldwork

Fieldwork on the survey was conducted between 8 May and 24 June 2015. Interviewers were personally briefed on 27 April 2015 with this briefing attended by Professor Tonge. All interviews were conducted using Computer Assisted Personal Interviewing (CAPI). All interviews were conducted on a face-to-face basis in respondents' homes.

5. Data Preparation

Data from SMR's CAPI system was exported to SPSS. The data were subject to both inter and intra variable validation checks. All data items were appropriately labelled.

6. ISO 20252

The survey was implemented in accordance with ISO 20252 standards of which Social Market Research (SMR) are fully accredited.

⁴ Note that 100 respondents [5.5%] refused to provide their age. Therefore the age profile presented is based on 1710 cases.

Appendix1 (Questionnaire)



FINAL QUESTIONNAIRE

NORTHERN IRELAND GENERAL ELECTION SURVEY 2015

5 MAY 2015



Preamble: INTERVIEWER READ OUT

Good morning/afternoon/evening, my name is [INTERVIEWER NAME] from Social Market Research, an independent research agency. We are undertaking an election survey on behalf of the Universities of Aberdeen, Leeds, Liverpool, LSE and Queen's Belfast.

Please remember that the information you provide is totally anonymous and confidential. Your home address and name will NOT be retained. The researchers are only interested in the overall political trends.

INTERVIEWER NOTE: CONFIRM THAT THE RESPONDENT HAS READ THE CONSENT FORM AND ASK HIM / HER TO CONSENT TO TAKING PART IN THE STUDY

| | | |
|--|---|--------------------------|
| I consent to taking part in the study | 1 | ➔ Proceed with interview |
| I do not consent to taking part in the study | 2 | ➔ Terminate interview |

X1. INTERVIEWER RECORD SAMPLE POINT NUMBER:

X2. INTERVIEWER RECORD INTERVIEWER NUMBER:

X3. INTERVIEWER RECORD HOUSEHOLD ID NUMBER:

SECTION A: Interest in Politics

A1. To begin, how much interest do you generally have in what is going on in politics? **SINGLE**
CODE: SHOWCARD A1

| | |
|-----------------|----|
| A great deal | 1 |
| Quite a lot | 2 |
| Some | 3 |
| Not very much | 4 |
| or, None at all | 5 |
| (Don't know) | 88 |
| (Refused) | 99 |

A2. And in terms of the current political arrangements and institutions, can you please tell me how you feel about the following? **CODE FOR EACH SHOWCARD A2**

| | Strongly Support | Support | Neither Support nor Oppose | Oppose | Strongly Oppose | (Don't Know) | (Refused) |
|---|------------------|---------|----------------------------|--------|-----------------|--------------|-----------|
| The Northern Ireland Assembly and Executive | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| The requirement that Unionists and Nationalists share power | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| Northern Ireland remaining in the UK for as long as a majority in Northern Ireland want | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| North-South or All-Island bodies | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| The Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI) | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |

A3. Staying with current political arrangements, how do you feel about the following statements? **CODE FOR EACH SHOWCARD A3**

| | Strongly Agree | Agree | Neither Agree nor Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree | (Don't Know) | (Refused) |
|---|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|--------------|-----------|
| Unionist and Nationalist parties are cooperating well in the Assembly | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| The First and Deputy First Minister are working well together | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| There is a lasting peace in Northern Ireland | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| Economic prosperity is growing in Northern Ireland | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |

A4. And can you please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements? **CODE FOR EACH SHOWCARD A3**

| | Strongly Agree | Agree | Neither Agree nor Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree | (Don't Know) | (Refused) |
|--|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|--------------|-----------|
| It is necessary for political stability that the DUP and Sinn Fein provide the First and Deputy First Ministers | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| Legislation should require the consent of a majority of Unionist AND Nationalist Assembly members (MLAs) before it can be passed | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| The Northern Ireland Assembly should have taxation powers | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |

- A5. Thinking about the last two decades, how much do you agree or disagree with each of these statements? **CODE FOR EACH SHOWCARD A3**

| | Strongly Agree | Agree | Neither Agree nor Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree | (Don't Know) | (Refused) |
|--|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|--------------|-----------|
| It has become more likely that Northern Ireland will eventually join the Irish Republic | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| It has become more likely that Northern Ireland will stay part of the UK | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| The experience of power-sharing has meant that nationalists are now more content that Northern Ireland should remain in the UK | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| 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 | 88 | 99 |

- A6. And what do you think the long-term policy for Northern Ireland should be? **SINGLE CODE: SHOWCARD A4**

| | |
|--------------------------------------|----|
| To remain part of the United Kingdom | 1 |
| To reunify with the rest of Ireland | 2 |
| Other (please specify) | 3 |
| (Don't Know) | 88 |
| (Refused) | 99 |

- A7. At any time in the next 20 years, do you think it is likely or unlikely that there will be a united Ireland? **SINGLE CODE: SHOWCARD A5**

| | |
|----------------|----|
| Very likely | 1 |
| Quite likely | 2 |
| Even chance | 3 |
| Quite unlikely | 4 |
| Very unlikely | 5 |
| (Don't know) | 88 |
| (Refused) | 99 |

SECTION B: General (Westminster) Election

Now some questions about the General (Westminster) election that was held recently. I want to stress again that this survey is entirely confidential. Your anonymity is guaranteed. The researchers only want to see the overall trends and patterns in Northern Ireland.

- B1. Did you manage to vote in the 2015 General (Westminster) election? **SINGLE CODE:**
[99, REFUSED]

| | | |
|--------------|----|------------|
| Yes | 1 | → Go to B3 |
| No | 2 | → Go to B2 |
| (Don't know) | 88 | → Go to B5 |

- B2. Many people did not vote. Could you please tell us your own reason for not voting? Please give the most important reason. **SINGLE CODE: DO NOT PROMPT**

| | |
|--|----|
| Wasn't registered /not eligible | 1 |
| Illness | 2 |
| Too busy | 3 |
| Forgot | 4 |
| Don't know enough about politics | 5 |
| Didn't like any of the parties or candidates | 6 |
| Don't like the political divide here | 7 |
| Not interested in politics | 8 |
| Do not trust politicians | 9 |
| Other (please specify) | 10 |
| (Don't know) | 88 |
| (Refused) | 99 |

B3. Which party did you vote for in the 2015 General Election? **SINGLE CODE: SHOWCARD B1**

| | |
|---|----|
| Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) | 1 |
| Sinn Fein (SF) | 2 |
| Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) | 3 |
| Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) | 4 |
| Alliance | 5 |
| Progressive Unionist Party (PUP) | 6 |
| Green | 7 |
| Independent Republican | 8 |
| Traditional Unionist Voice (TUV) | 9 |
| UK Independence Party (UKIP) | 10 |
| Other (please specify) | 11 |
| (Don't know) | 88 |
| (Refused) | 99 |

B4. Thinking about the party for which you voted, what was the most important reason for your choice? **SINGLE CODE: SHOWCARD B2**

| | |
|---|----|
| I wanted to pick a party in favour of the Union of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | 1 |
| I wanted to pick a party in favour of a united Ireland | 2 |
| I liked the candidate | 3 |
| I wanted to pick a party that wishes to unite communities | 4 |
| I wanted to pick a party/candidate who would work hard for local people in this area | 5 |
| I wanted to pick a party/candidate with good ideas on issues such as health, education and jobs | 6 |
| Some other reason (please specify) | 7 |
| (Don't Know) | 88 |
| (Refused) | 99 |

B5. What was the single most important issue for you at the recent election from this alphabetical order of possibles? **SINGLE CODE: SHOWCARD B3**

| | |
|------------------------------------|----|
| Crime | 1 |
| Economy | 2 |
| Education | 3 |
| Employment | 4 |
| Environment | 5 |
| Equality | 6 |
| Housing | 7 |
| Immigration | 8 |
| Irish unity | 9 |
| National Health Service | 10 |
| Northern Ireland's place in the UK | 11 |
| Poverty | 12 |
| Welfare | 13 |
| Other (please specify) | 14 |
| There were no important issues | 15 |
| (Don't Know) | 88 |
| (Refused) | 99 |

ONLY ASK B6 IF B1 EQ 1

B6. Which of the following applies to the way you voted? **SINGLE CODE - SHOWCARD B4**

| | |
|--|----|
| I voted for the party that I genuinely support | 1 |
| I voted tactically – for a party I didn't really support – to try and stop another party winning | 2 |
| I voted for another party because the one I really support was not standing in my constituency | 3 |
| I didn't vote | 4 |
| (Don't know) | 88 |
| (Refused) | 99 |

B7. During the election campaign, did a canvasser from any of the following parties visit your home to canvass you? **CODE ALL MENTIONED: SHOWCARD B5**

| | |
|---|----|
| Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) | 1 |
| Sinn Fein (SF) | 2 |
| Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) | 3 |
| Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) | 4 |
| Alliance | 5 |
| Progressive Unionist Party (PUP) | 6 |
| Green | 7 |
| Independent Republican | 8 |
| Traditional Unionist Voice (TUV) | 9 |
| UK Independence Party (UKIP) | 10 |
| Other (please specify) | 11 |
| NO PARTY CANVASSED ME | 12 |
| (Don't know) | 88 |
| (Refused) | 99 |

- B8. What was the **most important** source of election information for you during the campaign?
SINGLE CODE: SHOWCARD B6

| | |
|--|----|
| Television | 1 |
| Radio | 2 |
| Printed newspapers | 3 |
| Online newspapers | 4 |
| Internet/Web | 5 |
| Twitter | 6 |
| Facebook | 7 |
| Party leaflets | 8 |
| Visit or phone call from a political party | 9 |
| Posters | 10 |
| Other (please specify) | 11 |
| (Don't Know) | 88 |
| (Refused) | 99 |

- B9. Thinking back to the **previous Westminster /General Election, in 2010**, can you recall which party you voted for? **SINGLE CODE: SHOWCARD B7**

| | |
|---|----|
| Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) | 1 |
| Sinn Fein (SF) | 2 |
| Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) | 3 |
| Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) | 4 |
| Alliance | 5 |
| Other (please specify) | 6 |
| Can't remember | 7 |
| Didn't vote | 8 |
| (Don't Know) | 88 |
| (Refused) | 99 |

SECTION C: VIEWS ON POLITICAL PARTIES AND ORGANISATIONS

C1. Please say how you feel about the following political parties and organizations:

CODE FOR EACH SHOWCARD C1

| | Strongly Like | Like | Neither Like nor Dislike | Dislike | Strongly Dislike | [Don't Know] | [Ref] |
|----------------------------|---------------|------|--------------------------|---------|------------------|--------------|-------|
| Democratic Unionist Party | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| Sinn Fein | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| Ulster Unionist Party | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| SDLP | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| Alliance Party | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| Traditional Unionist Voice | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| Green Party | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| Progressive Unionist Party | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| UK Independence Party | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| Orange Order | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| Trade Unions | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |

- C2. Which party do you think has been the most effective voice for unionists in Northern Ireland?
SINGLE CODE: SHOWCARD C2
- C3. Which party do you think has been the most effective voice for nationalists in Northern Ireland?
SINGLE CODE: SHOWCARD C2
- C4. Which party do you think has been the most effective voice for all the people of Northern Ireland?
SINGLE CODE: SHOWCARD C2

| | C2 | C3 | C4 |
|---|--------------------|-----------------------|-----|
| | Unionist Interests | Nationalist Interests | All |
| Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Traditional Unionist Voice (TUV) | 3 | 3 | 3 |
| Progressive Unionist Party (PUP) | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| Alliance Party (APNI) | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| Sinn Fein (SF) | 6 | 6 | 6 |
| Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) | 7 | 7 | 7 |
| Other (please specify) | 8 | 8 | 8 |
| None | 9 | 9 | 9 |
| (Don't Know) | 88 | 88 | 88 |
| (Refused) | 99 | 99 | 99 |

Here, in alphabetical order by surname, is a list of some of the main political leaders in Northern Ireland.

C5. On a scale of 0-10, where 0 means you don't rate that leader at all and 10 where you rate that leader very highly indeed, please give us your view on these political leaders':

[For each, Don't Know – 88; Refused – 99]

| | C5 Score (0-10) |
|---------------------------|--------------------|
| Jim Allister (TUV) | |
| David Ford (Alliance) | |
| Billy Hutchinson (PUP) | |
| Alasdair McDonnell (SDLP) | |
| Martin McGuinness(SF) | |
| Mike Nesbitt (UUP) | |
| Peter Robinson (DUP) | |

C6. In politics, people sometimes talk about parties and politicians as being on the left or right. Using the 0 to 10 scale on this card, where the end marked 0 means left and the end marked 10 means right, where would you place yourself on this scale? [Don't Know – 88; Refused – 99] **SINGLE CODE: SHOWCARD C3**

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-------------|
| 0 LEFT | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 RIGHT |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-------------|

C7. And on the same left-right scale, where would you place the DUP? [Don't Know – 88; Refused – 99] **SINGLE CODE: SHOWCARD C3**

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-------------|
| 0 LEFT | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 RIGHT |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-------------|

C8. And on the same scale, where would you place Sinn Fein? [Don't Know – 88; Refused – 99] **SINGLE CODE: SHOWCARD C3**

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-------------|
| 0 LEFT | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 RIGHT |
|-----------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|-------------|

C9. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a supporter of any one political party? **SINGLE CODE:**

| | | |
|--------------|----|-------------|
| Yes | 1 | ➔ Go to C11 |
| No | 2 | ➔ Go to C10 |
| (Don't Know) | 88 | ➔ Go to C10 |
| (Refused) | 99 | ➔ Go to C10 |

C10. Do you think of yourself as a little closer to one party in Northern Ireland than to others?

SINGLE CODE:

| | | |
|--------------|----|-------------|
| Yes | 1 | ➔ Go to C11 |
| No | 2 | ➔ Go to C12 |
| (Don't Know) | 88 | ➔ Go to C12 |
| (Refused) | 99 | ➔ Go to C12 |

C11. Which party? **SINGLE CODE: SHOWCARD C4**

| | |
|---|----|
| Democratic Unionist party (DUP) | 1 |
| Ulster Unionist Party (UUP) | 2 |
| Traditional Unionist Voice (TUV) | 3 |
| Progressive Unionist Party (PUP) | 4 |
| Alliance Party (APNI) | 5 |
| Sinn Fein (SF) | 6 |
| Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) | 7 |
| Other (WRITE IN) | 8 |
| None | 9 |
| (Don't Know) | 88 |
| (Refused) | 99 |

C12. To which, if any, Westminster party, beyond Northern Ireland, do you feel closest?

SHOWCARD C5

| | |
|-------------------------|----|
| Conservatives | 1 |
| Labour | 2 |
| Liberal Democrats | 3 |
| UK Independence Party | 4 |
| Scottish National Party | 5 |
| Plaid Cymru | 6 |
| Other (WRITE IN) | 7 |
| None | 8 |
| (Don't Know) | 88 |
| (Refused) | 99 |

Section D: Attitudes to other Issues

D1. Now here are a range of other issues. What are your views on the following? (88 – Don't Know: 99 – Refused) - **CODE FOR EACH SHOWCARD D1**

| | Strongly agree | Agree | Neither agree nor disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree | (Don't Know) | (Refused) |
|---|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|--------------|-----------|
| Academic transfer tests and selection for schools should stop | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| Gay marriage should be made legal in Northern Ireland | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| The voting age should be reduced from 18 to 16 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| Abortion should be made legal in Northern Ireland | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| The UK should leave the EU | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| Immigration to Northern Ireland has been good for the economy and society | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| Major British political parties e.g. Labour and the Conservatives, should contest elections in Northern Ireland | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| Major Irish political parties such as Fine Gael and Fianna Fail should contest elections in Northern Ireland | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| There should be election pacts between unionist parties | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| There should be election pacts between nationalist and republican parties | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| The DUP and UUP should merge | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |

D2. Thinking about the Northern Ireland peace and political process, would you say that overall it has benefited unionists more than nationalists, nationalists more than unionists, or unionists and nationalists have benefited equally? **SINGLE CODE: SHOWCARD D2**

| | |
|---|----|
| Unionists benefited a lot more than nationalists | 1 |
| Unionists benefited a little more than nationalists | 2 |
| Unionists and Nationalists benefited equally | 3 |
| Nationalists benefited a little more than unionists | 4 |
| Nationalists benefited a lot more than unionists | 5 |
| (Don't Know) | 88 |
| (Refused) | 99 |

D3. Now, I want to ask you some questions regarding women in Northern Ireland politics. Can you please tell me your views on the following statements? **CODE FOR EACH SHOWCARD D3**

| | Strongly Agree | Agree | Neither Agree nor Disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree | (Don't Know) | (Refused) |
|--|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|--------------|-----------|
| There ought to be more women MPs and women elected to the Northern Ireland Assembly | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| Women are better placed than men to represent women's interests in politics | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| There is discrimination against women in public life | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| A woman candidate will lose votes | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| Political parties should be required to put forward a proportion of women candidates | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |

D4. On a scale of 0-10 where 0 means no sympathy whatsoever and 10 means a great deal of sympathy, what is your view of groups involved in on-going violence? [DON'T KNOW, 88; REFUSED, 99] **SINGLE CODE: SHOWCARD D4**

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|------------------------------|
| 0 No sympathy | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 Great deal of sympathy |
|------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|------------------------------|

D5 A lot of people suffered during "the troubles" in one way or another. Overall do you consider yourself to have been a victim of the troubles? **SINGLE CODE**

| | |
|--------------|----|
| Yes | 1 |
| No | 2 |
| (Don't know) | 88 |
| (Refused) | 99 |

D6 When people talk about victims of the troubles there is sometimes disagreement about who should count as a victim. How much do you agree or disagree with these statements about victims and the relatives of those injured and bereaved during the 'troubles'?

CODE FOR EACH SHOWCARD D5

| | Strongly agree | Agree | Neither agree nor disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree | (Don't Know) | (Refused) |
|--|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|--------------|-----------|
| All those people who were killed or injured as a result of the conflict should be seen as victims. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| All those people who were bereaved as a result of the conflict should be treated equally. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| Only innocent people can be called victims of the troubles | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| Everyone in Northern Ireland is a victim of the troubles. | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |

D7. What are your views on dealing with Northern Ireland's past? **CODE FOR EACH**

SHOWCARD D5

| | Strongly agree | Agree | Neither agree nor disagree | Disagree | Strongly Disagree | (Don't Know) | (Refused) |
|--|----------------|-------|----------------------------|----------|-------------------|--------------|-----------|
| Those who admit to carrying out acts of violence during the Troubles should be given an amnesty | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |
| There should be a Truth and Reconciliation Commission to look at all deeds committed during the Troubles | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 88 | 99 |

Section E: Identities and Community Relations

E1. Which of these best describes the way you usually think of yourself?

SINGLE CODE: SHOWCARD E1

| | |
|------------------------|----|
| British | 1 |
| Irish | 2 |
| Ulster | 3 |
| Northern Irish | 4 |
| European | 5 |
| Other (please specify) | 6 |
| (Don't know) | 88 |
| (Refused) | 99 |

E2. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a unionist, a nationalist, or neither?

SINGLE CODE:

| | | |
|--------------|----|------------|
| Unionist | 1 | → Go to E3 |
| Nationalist | 2 | → Go to E4 |
| Neither | 3 | → Go to E5 |
| (Don't Know) | 88 | → Go to E5 |
| (Refused) | 99 | → Go to E5 |

E3. At most elections in Northern Ireland (council, Assembly and European contests, but not those for Westminster) people are allowed to vote for several candidates, in order of preference. What is the likelihood of you giving a lower preference vote to a Nationalist candidate? **SINGLE CODE: SHOWCARD E2**

| | | |
|-----------------|----|------------|
| Very likely | 1 | → Go to E5 |
| Fairly likely | 2 | |
| Fairly unlikely | 3 | |
| Very unlikely | 4 | |
| (Don't Know) | 88 | |
| (Refused) | 99 | |

- E4. At most elections in Northern Ireland (council, Assembly and European contests, but not those for Westminster) people are allowed to vote for several candidates, in order of preference. What is the likelihood of you giving a lower preference vote to a Unionist candidate? **SINGLE CODE: SHOWCARD E2**

| | |
|-----------------|----|
| Very likely | 1 |
| Fairly likely | 2 |
| Fairly unlikely | 3 |
| Very unlikely | 4 |
| (Don't Know) | 88 |
| (Refused) | 99 |

- E5. Do you think there is prejudice against Catholics or Protestants in Northern Ireland these days?

SHOWCARD E3

| Prejudice Against | E5a | E5b |
|-------------------|-----------|-------------|
| | Catholics | Protestants |
| A Lot | 1 | 1 |
| A Little | 2 | 2 |
| Hardly Any | 3 | 3 |
| None at all | 4 | 4 |
| (Don't Know) | 88 | 88 |
| (Refused) | 99 | 99 |

- E6. 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?

SINGLE CODE: SHOWCARD E4

| | |
|----------------|----|
| Better | 1 |
| Worse | 2 |
| About the Same | 3 |
| (Don't Know) | 88 |
| (Refused) | 99 |

- E7. Which one of these statements comes closest to your views on the flying of national flags on public buildings in Northern Ireland? **SINGLE CODE: SHOWCARD E5**

| | |
|--|----|
| No national flags should be flown | 1 |
| The Union Flag of the United Kingdom should be permanently flown | 2 |
| The Union Flag of the United Kingdom should be flown, but only on designated days | 3 |
| The Union Flag of the United Kingdom and the tricolor of the Irish Republic should be flown together | 4 |
| Only the Ulster Banner / the Northern Ireland flag should be flown | 5 |
| Only the Irish tricolor should be flown | 6 |
| Other (please specify) | 7 |
| (Don't Know) | 88 |
| (Refused) | 99 |

- E8. Which of these terms do you most prefer to use for Northern Ireland? **SINGLE CODE: SHOWCARD E6**

| | |
|------------------------|----|
| Northern Ireland | 1 |
| The North | 2 |
| The Six Counties | 3 |
| Ulster | 4 |
| Other (please specify) | 5 |
| (Don't Know) | 88 |
| (Refused) | 99 |

- E9. Which of these statements comes closest to your view of Orange Order parades? **SINGLE CODE: SHOWCARD E7**

| | |
|---|----|
| The Orange Order should be able to parade wherever it wants, without restrictions | 1 |
| The Orange Order should be able to parade past mainly nationalist areas only if there is prior agreement with local residents | 2 |
| The Orange Order should not be allowed to parade past mainly nationalist areas | 3 |
| Other (please specify) | 4 |
| (Don't Know) | 88 |
| (Refused) | 99 |

E10. Do you think the Parades Commission is doing: **SINGLE CODE: SHOWCARD E8**

| | |
|------------------------------|----|
| A very good job | 1 |
| A good job | 2 |
| Neither a good nor a bad job | 3 |
| A bad job | 4 |
| A very bad job | 5 |
| (Don't know) | 88 |
| (Refused) | 99 |

E11. Would you yourself mind or not mind if one of your close relatives were to marry someone of a different religion? **SINGLE CODE: SHOWCARD E9**

| | |
|---------------------|----|
| Would mind a lot | 1 |
| Would mind a little | 2 |
| Would not mind | 3 |
| (Don't Know) | 88 |
| (Refused) | 99 |

E12. 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?
SINGLE CODE:

| | |
|-----------------------|----|
| Own religion only | 1 |
| Mixed-religion school | 2 |
| (Don't Know) | 88 |
| (Refused) | 99 |

E13. And finally in this section, which of these statements comes closest to expressing what you believe about God **SINGLE CODE: SHOWCARD E10**

| | |
|--|----|
| I don't believe in God | 1 |
| I don't know whether there is a God and I don't believe there is any way to find out | 2 |
| I don't believe in a personal God but I believe in a Higher Power of some kind | 3 |
| I find myself believing in God some of the time but not at others | 4 |
| Whilst I have doubts I feel that I do believe in God | 5 |
| I know God really exists and have no doubts | 6 |
| (Don't know) | 88 |
| (Refused) | 99 |

Section F: Background

Finally, can I ask you some details about you? To repeat, this is purely for coding – your anonymity is guaranteed and your name and address are not stored.

F1. How old are you? **INTERVIEWER RECORD AGE (REFUSAL=999)**

F2. INTERVIEWER RECORD GENDER. **SINGLE CODE**

| | |
|--------|---|
| Male | 1 |
| Female | 2 |

F3. What is your marital Status? **SINGLE CODE: SHOWCARD F1**

| | |
|------------------------|----|
| Single (never married) | 1 |
| Married | 2 |
| Living as married | 3 |
| Separated | 4 |
| Divorced | 5 |
| Widowed | 6 |
| Refusal | 99 |

F4A. Including you, how many adults aged 18+ live in your household? **INTERVIEWER INSERT NUMBER**

F4B. How many dependent children do you have aged under 16? **SINGLE CODE:**

| | |
|-------------|----|
| None | 0 |
| 1 | 1 |
| 2 | 2 |
| 3 | 3 |
| 4 | 4 |
| 5 | 5 |
| More than 5 | 6 |
| [Refusal] | 99 |

F5. What is your highest educational qualification? **SINGLE CODE: SHOWCARD F2**

| | |
|--|----|
| 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 (please specify) | 8 |
| [Refusal] | 99 |

F6. Which of these descriptions applies best to you? **SINGLE CODE: SHOWCARD F3**

| | | |
|---|----|--------------------------|
| Working full-time | 1 | → Go to F8 → Go to F8 |
| Working part-time | 2 | |
| Not working (seeking work) | 3 | → Go to F7 → Go to F7 |
| Retired | 4 | |
| In a Government Training Scheme | 5 | → Go to F12 |
| In full-time education | 6 | |
| Looking after the home | 7 | → Go to F7 |
| Permanently sick or disabled | 8 | |
| Not working (and not seeking work) | 9 | |
| Caring for elderly or disabled person full-time | 10 | |
| Other (please specify) | 11 | |

F7. Have you worked in a paid job in the past? **SINGLE CODE**

| | | |
|-----------|----|-------------|
| Yes | 1 | → Go to F8 |
| No | 2 | → Go to F12 |
| (Refusal) | 99 | |

F8. Do (did) you work as an employee or are (were) you self-employed with employees, or self-employed without employees? **SINGLE CODE - SHOWCARD F4**

| | | |
|---|---|-------------|
| Employee | 1 | → Go to F9a |
| Self-employed with employees | 2 | → Go to F9b |
| Self-employed/freelance without employees | 3 | → Go to F11 |

F9a. How many people work (worked) for your employer at the place where you work (worked)? **SINGLE CODE**

| | | |
|------------|---|-------------|
| 1-24 | 1 | ➔ Go to F10 |
| 25 or more | 2 | |

F9b. How many people do (did) you employ? **SINGLE CODE**

| | |
|------------|---|
| 1-24 | 1 |
| 25 or more | 2 |

F10. Do (did) you supervise any other employees? (A supervisor or foreman is responsible for overseeing the work of other employees on a day-to-day basis.) **SINGLE CODE**

| | |
|-----------|----|
| Yes | 1 |
| No | 2 |
| (Refusal) | 99 |

F11. Which of the following best describes the sort of work that you do (did)? **SINGLE CODE:**
SHOWCARD F5

| | |
|--|----|
| Modern professional occupations such as: teacher – nurse – physiotherapist – social worker – welfare officer – artist – musician – software designer | 1 |
| Clerical and intermediate occupations such as: secretary – personal assistant – clerical worker – office clerk – call centre agent – nursing auxiliary – nursery nurse | 2 |
| Senior managers or administrators (usually responsible for planning, organizing and co-ordinating work, and for finance) such as: finance manager – chief executive | 3 |
| Technical and craft occupations such as: motor mechanic – fitter – inspector – plumber – printer – tool maker – electrician – gardener – train driver | 4 |
| Semi-routine manual and service occupations such as: postal worker – machine operative – security guard – caretaker – farm worker – catering assistant – receptionist – sales assistant | 5 |
| Routine manual and service occupations such as: HGV driver – van driver – cleaner – porter – packer – sewing machinist – messenger – labourer – waiter/waitress – bar staff | 6 |
| Middle or junior managers such as: officer manager – retail manager – bank manager – restaurant manager – warehouse managers - publican | 7 |
| Traditional professional occupations such as: accountant – solicitor – medical practitioner – scientist – civil/mechanical engineer | 8 |
| (Refusal) | 99 |

F12. Are you currently a member of any of the following organisations?
MULTI CODE

| | |
|-----------------|----|
| Political party | 1 |
| Trade Union | 2 |
| Orange Order | 3 |
| None of these | 4 |
| (Refused) | 99 |

F13. Do you regard yourself as belonging to any particular religion? **SINGLE CODE:**
SHOWCARD F6

| | |
|---|----|
| No religion | 1 |
| (Roman) 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 |
| Church of Nazarene | 15 |
| Jehovah's Witness | 16 |
| Mormon | 17 |
| Protestant – no denomination | 18 |
| Christian – no denomination | 19 |
| Hindu | 20 |
| Jewish | 21 |
| Islam/Muslim | 22 |
| Sikh | 23 |
| Buddhist | 24 |
| Other (please specify) | 25 |
| (Don't know) | 88 |
| [Refused] | 99 |

F14. And in what religion, if any, were you brought up? (Ask community religious background if necessary) **SINGLE CODE: SHOWCARD F6**

| | |
|---|----|
| No religion | 1 |
| (Roman) 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 |
| Church of Nazarene | 15 |
| Jehovah's Witness | 16 |
| Mormon | 17 |
| Protestant – no denomination | 18 |
| Christian – no denomination | 19 |
| Hindu | 20 |
| Jewish | 21 |
| Islam/Muslim | 22 |
| Sikh | 23 |
| Buddhist | 24 |
| Other (please specify) | 25 |
| (Don't know) | 88 |
| [Refused] | 99 |

F15. 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?

SINGLE CODE: SHOWCARD F7

| | |
|-----------------------|----|
| 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 have a religion | 7 |
| (Don't know) | 88 |
| (Refused) | 99 |

F16. Is your (husband/wife/partner) the same religion as you? **SINGLE CODE**

| | |
|---|----|
| Yes, same religion | 1 |
| No, not same religion | 2 |
| No religion at all | 3 |
| Not applicable / no husband/wife/ partner | 88 |
| (Refused) | 99 |

- F17. What is your annual total household income before tax and national insurance contributions? (INCLUDE ALL INCOME FROM EMPLOYMENT AND BENEFITS) **SINGLE CODE:**
SHOWCARD F8

| | |
|----------------------------|----|
| Under £10,000 per year | 1 |
| £10,000 - £19,999 per year | 2 |
| £20,000 - £29,999 per year | 3 |
| £30,000 - £39,999 per year | 4 |
| £40,000 - £49,999 per year | 5 |
| £50,000 - £59,999 per year | 6 |
| £60,000 - £69,999 per year | 7 |
| £70,000 or above per year | 8 |
| (Don't Know) | 88 |
| (Refused) | 99 |