

**22-012252 QUB NI Assembly Election Survey 2022**  
**Questionnaire**

**INTRODUCTION/CONFIDENTIALITY**

Good morning, afternoon, evening. My name is ..... from Ipsos, the independent market and social research agency. Ipsos is carrying out a survey for Queen's University Belfast on social and political attitudes in Northern Ireland. Generally, this interview will take about 30 minutes; however, depending on your answers the interview may be longer or shorter than this time.

I would like to assure you that all the information we collect will be kept in the strictest confidence and used for research purposes only. It will not be possible to identify any particular individual or address in the results. The survey is being carried out in accordance with the Market Research Society Code of Conduct.

It will not be possible to identify any particular individual within the results.

You can view our privacy policy at <link inserted>

Are you happy to take part?

Yes	1	Continue
No	2	Thank and close

Before we begin, I'd like to inform you that Ipsos MORI is a member of the Market Research Society.

All information that you give us will be treated in the strictest confidence and your identity will not be passed on to a third party or connected to your answers in any way.

This questionnaire contains some questions relating to your community background, voting behaviour and, social and political views. This information is collected so that we can ensure we are collecting views from a range of different people and is treated completely confidentially. There are also some questions that are of a sensitive nature, such as in relation to mental health. You are free not to answer if you wish.

Are you happy to proceed with the survey on this basis?

Q\_SpecialCategoryConsent

Yes	1	Continue to Q1
No	2	Thank and close

<b>A1. In which country were you born?</b>		
* Interviewer Instructions: Read Out Responses		
	Northern Ireland	1
	Republic of Ireland	2
	Scotland	3
	England	4
	Wales	5
	Or a different country (Please specify: _____)	8

<b>A2. How much interest do you generally have in what is going on in politics...?</b>		
SHOWSCREEN		
	A great deal	1
	Quite a lot	2
	Some	3
	Not very much	4
	None at all	5
	(Don't know)	8

## VOTING BEHAVIOUR

I'd like to ask you a few questions about the Northern Ireland Assembly election that was held on Thursday 5<sup>th</sup> May this year. 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.

<b>A3.</b> 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	Continue
No	2	Go To A8
(Can't remember/ Refused)	3	Go To A11

<b>A4.</b> Did you vote here in this constituency (interviewer: give name of constituency) or in a different constituency?		
*Interviewer instructions: If necessary, when participants have voted in a different constituency please use the show card with the detailed map of Northern Ireland. This includes all 18 constituencies. Please ask participant to indicate which constituency they voted in. Each constituency will be numbered for ease of identification.		
<i>SHOWSCREEN</i>		
Here in this constituency	1	Continue
In a different constituency (please select the name constituency from the numbered drop down list)	2	
*Note for scripiter: Please provide numbered drop down list of constituencies based on map.		

<b>A5.</b> I have a ballot paper for the [*Note for scripiter: The name of constituency will be driven by response at A4. If 1 at A4, then sample point information should link to look up for constituency, if 2 at A4 then the name of constituency should be looked up from the list provided] constituency.	
*Interviewer Read Out:	
In the election you were allowed to mark '1' beside your first preference candidate, number '2' beside your second preference candidate, and number '3' beside your third preference candidate, and so on for as many of the (*Note to scripiter: insert the total for the number of candidates standing in this constituency – this is driven by the numbers of candidates at each constituency derived from the constituency selected at A4) candidates standing in this constituency as you wished.	
Interviewer: give mock ballot paper to the participant and ask them to complete as they did on the day.	
Read out: Please show how you numbered the candidates when you voted on 5 <sup>th</sup> May. Please fill it in as you did on polling day, or as best you can remember.	
Interviewer once participant has completed ballot paper, ask: Can I just check, were you able to complete this as best as you can remember?	
*Interviewer: collect ballot paper and enter <b>IMMEDIATELY</b> on screen	
<b>Candidate 1</b>	
<b>Candidate 2</b>	
<b>Candidate 3</b>	
<b>Candidate 4</b>	
<b>Candidate 5</b>	
<b>Candidate 6</b>	
<b>Candidate 7</b>	
<b>Candidate 8</b>	
<b>Candidate 9</b>	
<b>Candidate 10</b>	
<b>(Can't remember)</b>	<b>97</b>
<b>(Did not vote)</b>	<b>98</b>
<b>(Refused)</b>	<b>99</b>

<b>A6.</b> Which would you say was <u>more</u> important in deciding how you cast your first preference vote in the Assembly election on 5 <sup>th</sup> May – the party or the candidate him/herself?		
The party	1	Continue
The candidate	2	
(Both the candidates and the party equally)	3	
(Don't know)	8	

<b>A7.</b> If your first preference candidate had been running for any of the other parties, would you still have given a first preference vote to him/her?		
*Interviewer Instruction: Read Out Responses		
Yes	1	Go To A11
No	2	
Depends on other party	3	
(Don't know)	8	

<b>A8.</b> If you <u>had</u> voted, would you have voted here in this constituency (interviewer: give name of constituency) or in a different constituency?		
*Interviewer instructions: If necessary, when participants would have voted in a different constituency please use the show card with the detailed map of Northern Ireland. This includes all 18 constituencies. Please ask participant to indicate which constituency they voted in. Each constituency will be numbered for ease of identification.		
<i>SHOWSCREEN</i>		
Here in this constituency	1	Continue
In a different constituency (Please select the name of the constituency from the numbered drop down list)	2	
I would have not voted. <b>IF VOLUNTEERED DO NOT PROMPT</b>	3	Go To A10

<b>Q9.</b> I have a ballot paper for [*Note for scripiter: The name of constituency will be driven by response at A8. If 1 at A8, then sample point information should link to look up for constituency, if 2 at A8 then the name of constituency should be looked up from the list provided] constituency.	
*Interviewer Read Out: In the election voters were allowed to mark '1' beside their first preference candidate, number '2' beside their second preference candidate, and number '3' beside their third preference candidate, and so on for as many of the (*Note to scripiter: insert the total for the number of candidates standing in this constituency – this is driven by the numbers of candidates at each constituency derived from the constituency selected at A8) candidates standing in this constituency as you wished. Suppose you <u>had</u> voted in the Assembly election, how <u>would</u> you have filled in the ballot paper on election day?	
Interviewer: give a mock ballot paper to the participant and ask them to complete as they would have.	
Read out: Please show how you would have numbered the candidates if you had voted on 5 <sup>th</sup> May. Please fill it in as you would have on polling day.	
*Interviewer: collect ballot paper and enter <b>IMMEDIATELY</b> on screen	
<b>Candidate 1</b>	
<b>Candidate 2</b>	
<b>Candidate 3</b>	
<b>Candidate 4</b>	
<b>Candidate 5</b>	
<b>Candidate 6</b>	
<b>Candidate 7</b>	
<b>Candidate 8</b>	
<b>Candidate 9</b>	
<b>Candidate 10</b>	
<b>(Don't know/ refused)</b>	<b>99</b>

A.10.

[ASK ALL THOSE WHO DID NOT VOTE]

People have many reasons for not voting. Could you tell us why you chose not to vote in the election?

[open-ended response]

A11. Thinking back to the 2017 Assembly election in Northern Ireland, can you tell me if you voted in that Assembly election in 2017?

Yes, I did vote	1	Continue
No, I did not vote	2	Go To A13
(Ineligible)	3	
(Don't know/ Can't remember)	8	
(Refused)	9	

A12. Which party did you give your 1st preference vote to at the 2017 Assembly election?

SHOWSCREEN

Alliance Party	1	Continue
Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)	2	
Greens	3	
People Before Profit (PBP)	4	
Sinn Féin	5	
Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)	6	
Traditional Unionist Voice (TUV)	7	
Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)	8	
Other write in.....	9	
(Can't remember/Don't know)	10	
(Refused)	11	

A13. Thinking back to the Westminster election in 2019 (the general election to the House of Commons), can you tell me if you voted in that election?

Yes, I did vote	1	Continue
No, I did not vote	2	Go To A15
(Ineligible)	3	
(Don't know/ Can't remember)	8	
(Refused)	9	

A14. Which party did you vote for at the 2019 general election?

SHOWSCREEN

Alliance Party	1	Continue
Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)	2	
Greens	3	
People Before Profit (PBP)	4	
Sinn Féin	5	
Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)	6	
Traditional Unionist Voice (TUV)	7	
Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)	8	
Other write in.....	9	
(Can't remember/Don't know)	10	
(Refused)	11	

<b>A15.</b> Thinking back to the referendum in June 2016 on the question of the UK's membership of the European Union, can you tell me if you voted in that referendum?		
Yes, I did vote	1	Continue Go To A17
No, I did not vote	2	
(Ineligible)	3	
(Don't know/ Can't remember)	8	
(Refused)	9	

<b>A16.</b> And how did you vote in the referendum: to remain a member of the EU or to leave the EU? <i>SHOWSCREEN</i>		
UK to remain a member of the EU	1	Continue
UK to leave the EU	2	
(Don't know / Can't remember)	3	
(Refused)	4	

<b>A17.</b> <i>[ask all]</i> Imagine that there was another referendum on EU membership... If there was a referendum on whether the UK should <b>re-join</b> the European Union or <b>stay out</b> of the European Union, how would you vote? <i>SHOWSCREEN</i>		
Re-join the EU	1	
Stay out of the EU	2	
(Don't know)	3	

**And now a couple of questions about how your parents voted when you were growing up: when you were about age 14.**

<b>A18.</b> First, your father, which party did he usually vote for? Interviewer: <i>SHOWSCREEN</i> and single code		
Alliance Party	1	Go To A19
Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)	2	
Nationalist Party	3	
Northern Ireland Labour Party	4	
Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)	5	
Sinn Féin	6	
Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)	7	
Other Party ( <b>WRITE IN.....</b> )	8	
(Don't Know)	9	Go To A20
(Did not vote)	10	
(Floating voter/ voted for a range of different parties)	11	
(Do/ did not have father)	12	Go To A21
(None/ Refused)	99	

<b>A19.</b> Would you say that he was a strong supporter of this party?		
Yes	1	Go To A21
No	2	
(Don't know/ refused)	8	

<b>A20.</b> Generally speaking, did he tend to support one particular party more than the others? If so, which one? Interviewer: <i>SHOWSCREEN</i> and single code		
Alliance Party	1	Go To A21
Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)	2	
Nationalist Party	3	
Northern Ireland Labour Party	4	
Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)	5	
Sinn Féin	6	
Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)	7	
Other Party ( <b>WRITE IN.....</b> )	8	
(Don't know)	9	
(Refused)	10	

<b>A21.</b> And now your mother, which party did she usually vote for? Interviewer: <i>SHOWSCREEN and single code</i>		
Alliance Party	1	Go To A22
Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)	2	
Nationalist Party	3	
Northern Ireland Labour Party	4	
Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)	5	
Sinn Féin	6	
Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)	7	
Other Party ( <b>WRITE IN</b> .....)	8	
(Don't Know)	9	Go To A23
(Did not vote)	10	
(Floating voter/ voted for a range of different parties)	11	Go To A24
(Do/ did not have mother)	12	
(None/ Refused)	99	

<b>A22.</b> Would you say that she was a strong supporter of this party?			
	Yes	1	Go To A24
	No	2	
	(Don't know/ refused)	3	

<b>A23.</b> Generally speaking, did she tend to support one particular party more than the others? If so, which one? Interviewer: <i>SHOWSCREEN and single code</i>		
Alliance Party	1	Go To A24
Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)	2	
Nationalist Party	3	
Northern Ireland Labour Party	4	
Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)	5	
Sinn Féin	6	
Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)	7	
Other Party ( <b>WRITE IN</b> .....)	8	
(Don't know)	9	
(Refused)	10	

**I now have some questions on political support / affiliation.**

<b>A24.</b> Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a supporter of any one of these parties? <i>SHOWSCREEN</i>		
Alliance Party	1	Go To A27.
Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)	2	
Greens	3	
People Before Profit	4	
Sinn Féin	5	
Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)	6	
Traditional Unionist Voice (TUV)	7	
Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)	8	
Other Party ( <b>WRITE IN</b> .....)	9	
None	99	Continue

<b>A25.</b> Do you generally think of yourself as a little closer to one of the parties than the others?		
Yes	1	Continue
No	2	Go To B1.
(Don't know)	8	
(Refused)	9	

<b>A26. Which party?</b> <i>SHOWSCREEN</i>		
Alliance Party	1	Go To A27.
Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)	2	
Greens	3	
People Before Profit (PBP)	4	
Sinn Féin	5	
Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)	6	
Traditional Unionist Voice (TUV)	7	
Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)	8	
Other Party (WRITE IN.....)	9	Go To B1.
(None)	99	

<b>A27. Would you call yourself a very strong (*NOTE TO SCRIPTER: The name of the party to be inserted here is driven by the response of codes 1 through 8 at A24. Otherwise the name of the party should be driven by responses 1 through 8 at A26. All other respondents should be excluded from this question) supporter, fairly strong or not very strong?</b> <i>SHOWSCREEN</i>		
Very strong	1	Go To B1
Fairly strong	2	
Not very strong	3	
(Don't know)	4	
(Refused/NA)	5	

**POLITICAL OUTLOOK**

I now have a few questions for you on your political outlook.

<b>B1. Which of these best describes the way you usually think of yourself?</b> <i>SHOWSCREEN</i>		
British	1	
Irish	2	
Northern Irish	3	
Other (WRITE IN.....)	5	
(Don't know)	8	

<b>B2. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a unionist, a nationalist, or neither?</b>			
unionist	1	Continue	
nationalist	2		
neither	3	Go To B4.	

<b>B3. Would you call yourself a very strong (*Note to scripter: Insert answer if 1 at B2 or 2 at B2, otherwise skip to B4), fairly strong, or not very strong?</b>			
Very strong	1	Go To B5.	
Fairly strong	2		
Not very strong	3		
(Don't know)	8		

<b>B4. Would you say that you tend to be a little more unionist, a little more nationalist, or would you say you are neither?</b>			
A little more unionist	1	Continue	
A little more nationalist	2		
neither	3		
(Don't know)	8		

B5. On the whole, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with the way democracy works in Northern Ireland? Are you...?

SHOWSCREEN

very dissatisfied	1
fairly dissatisfied	2
fairly satisfied	3
very satisfied	4
(Don't know)	8

B6. Using a phrase on this card, please tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statements...

SHOWSCREEN SINGLE CODE PER ROW

RANDOMISE STATEMENTS

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	(Don't know)
There should be strict limits on the number of days the Union flag can be flown on public buildings	1	2	3	4	5	8
Parades should only be allowed after talks between marchers and residents	1	2	3	4	5	8
There should be an Irish Language Act to promote the rights of Irish speakers	1	2	3	4	5	8
The IRA's violent campaign during the Troubles was totally unacceptable and always wrong	1	2	3	4	5	8
The violent campaigns of the UDA and the UVF during the Troubles were totally unacceptable and always wrong	1	2	3	4	5	8

B7. Using a phrase on this card, please tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statements...

SHOWSCREEN SINGLE CODE PER ROW

RANDOMISE STATEMENTS

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	(Don't know)
Government should redistribute income from the better off to those who are less well off	1	2	3	4	5	8
Big business takes advantage of ordinary people	1	2	3	4	5	8
Ordinary working people do not get their fair share of the nation's wealth	1	2	3	4	5	8
There is one law for the rich and one for the poor	1	2	3	4	5	8
Management will always try to get the better of employees if it gets the chance	1	2	3	4	5	8



## POLITICAL REPRESENTATION

I now have some questions about the political parties in Northern Ireland.

**B8.** How good or bad do you think each political party is at representing the interests of the Protestant community in Northern Ireland – very bad, fairly bad, neither good nor bad, fairly good or very good at representing the interests of Protestants?

SHOWSCREEN  
SINGLE CODE PER ROW

	Very bad at representing the interests of Protestants	Fairly bad	Neither good nor bad	Fairly good	Very good at representing the interests of Protestants	(DK)
Alliance	1	2	3	4	5	8
Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)	1	2	3	4	5	8
Greens	1	2	3	4	5	8
People Before Profit (PBP)	1	2	3	4	5	8
Sinn Féin	1	2	3	4	5	8
Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)	1	2	3	4	5	8
Traditional Unionist Voice (TUV)	1	2	3	4	5	8
Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)	1	2	3	4	5	8

'And another question about the parties...'

**B9.** How good or bad do you think each political party is at representing the interests of the Catholic community in Northern Ireland – very bad, fairly bad, neither good nor bad, fairly good or very good at representing the interests of Catholics?

SHOWSCREEN  
SINGLE CODE PER ROW

	Very bad at representing the interests of Catholics	Fairly bad	Neither good nor bad	Fairly good	Very good at representing the interests of Catholics	(DK)
Alliance	1	2	3	4	5	8
Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)	1	2	3	4	5	8
Greens	1	2	3	4	5	8
People Before Profit (PBP)	1	2	3	4	5	8
Sinn Féin	1	2	3	4	5	8
Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)	1	2	3	4	5	8
Traditional Unionist Voice (TUV)	1	2	3	4	5	8
Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)	1	2	3	4	5	8

'And one more question about parties and representation...'

**B10. How good or bad do you think each political party is at representing the interests of both communities in Northern Ireland (the Catholic community and the Protestant community) – very bad, fairly bad, neither good nor bad, fairly good or very good at representing the interests of both communities?**

SHOWSCREEN  
SINGLE CODE PER ROW

	Very bad at representing the interests of both communities	Fairly bad	Neither good nor bad	Fairly good	Very good at representing the interests of both communities	(DK)
Alliance	1	2	3	4	5	8
Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)	1	2	3	4	5	8
Greens	1	2	3	4	5	8
People Before Profit (PBP)	1	2	3	4	5	8
Sinn Féin	1	2	3	4	5	8
Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)	1	2	3	4	5	8
Traditional Unionist Voice (TUV)	1	2	3	4	5	8
Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)	1	2	3	4	5	8

**B11. During the last week, on roughly how many days did you talk about politics with other people?**

No days	One day	Two days	Three days	Four days	Five days	Six days	Seven days	DK
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

**B12. Are you, or have you ever been, a member of any political party?**

SHOWSCREEN

Yes, I am a member of a party	1
I am not a member now but used to be	2
No, I have never been a member	3
(Don't know)	8

**B13. Thinking now about how active you are in politics and community affairs, during the last 12 months, have you done any of the following?**

	Yes	No	DK
Contacted a politician, government or local government official?			
Signed a petition on the internet?	1	2	3
Signed a petition not on the internet?	1	2	3
Done any work on behalf of a political party or action group?	1	2	3
Given any money to a political party, organisation or cause?	1	2	3
Taken part in a public demonstration?	1	2	3
Bought or refused to buy any products for political or ethical reasons?	1	2	3
Gone on strike or taken industrial action?	1	2	3

**B14.** Using a phrase on this card, please tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statements...

*SHOWSCREEN  
SINGLE CODE PER ROW  
RANDOMISE STATEMENTS*

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	(Don't know)
Young people today don't have enough respect for traditional values	1	2	3	4	5	8
For some crimes, the death penalty is the most appropriate sentence	1	2	3	4	5	8
Censorship of films, magazines and the internet is necessary to uphold moral standards	1	2	3	4	5	8
Same sex couples should not be allowed to get married	1	2	3	4	5	8
Abortion should be freely available in Northern Ireland to any women who wants to have one	1	2	3	4	5	8

**B15.** Using a phrase on this card, please tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statements...

*SHOWSCREEN  
SINGLE CODE PER ROW  
DO **NOT** RANDOMISE THESE STATEMENTS*

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	(Don't know)
We should encourage economic growth even if this damages the environment	1	2	3	4	5	8
Immigration to Northern Ireland has been good for the economy and society	1	2	3	4	5	8
Politicians don't care much about what people like me think	1	2	3	4	5	8
Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what is going on	1	2	3	4	5	8

**...and now some questions about a possible referendum in Northern Ireland**

**B16.** Do you think there should be a referendum in Northern Ireland asking people whether they want Northern Ireland to remain in the United Kingdom or to unify with the Republic of Ireland?

Yes, there should be a referendum	1
No, there should not be a referendum	2
(Don't know)	3

**B17.** When, if ever, do you think the referendum should be held?

*SHOWSCREEN*

Within the next 2 years	1
In about 5 years' time	2
In about 10 years' time	3

In about 20 years' time	4
More than 20 years' time	5
There should never be a referendum	6
(Don't know)	7

**B18.** If there was a referendum in Northern Ireland asking people whether they want Northern Ireland to remain in the United Kingdom or to unify with the Republic of Ireland, how would you vote in that referendum?

SHOWSCREEN

Northern Ireland to remain in the United Kingdom	1
Northern Ireland to leave the United Kingdom and unify with the Republic of Ireland	2
I would not vote ( <i>spontaneous</i> )	3
(Don't know)	4

**B19.** If there was a referendum, how likely is it that you would turn out to vote in the referendum? Please use this scale where '1' means you definitely would not vote and '7' means you definitely would vote. Please pick any number between 1 and 7.

SHOWSCREEN

<b>Definitely would not vote</b>							<b>Definitely would vote</b>	<b>Don't Know</b>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	

**B20.** For each of the following options, please indicate the extent to which you would be opposed or in favour, using this 1 to 7 scale, where '1' means you are strongly opposed and '7' means you are strongly in favour...

SHOWSCREEN

	<b>Strongly opposed</b>							<b>Strongly in favour</b>	<b>Don't know</b>
a) Northern Ireland to remain in the United Kingdom	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
b) Northern Ireland to leave the United Kingdom and unify with the Republic of Ireland	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	

**B21.** Imagine there was a referendum in Northern Ireland and in the Republic of Ireland, and a majority in both places voted for Northern Ireland to remain in the UK. Please indicate what your reaction would be: SHOWSCREEN

I would find it almost impossible to accept	1
I would not be happy, but could live with it	2
I would happily accept it	3
Don't know	4

**B22.** Imagine there was a referendum in Northern Ireland and in the Republic of Ireland, and a majority in both places voted for Northern Ireland to unify with the Republic of Ireland. Please indicate what your reaction would be: SHOWSCREEN

I would find it almost impossible to accept	1
I would not be happy, but could live with it	2
I would happily accept it	3
Don't know	4

**B23.** Some people feel close to a particular political party while other people feel distant from it. Taking each party in turn, do you feel very close to the party, fairly close, neither close nor distant, fairly distant from the party or very distant from it? *SHOWSCREEN CODE ONCE PER ROW*

	Feel very close to	Feel fairly close to	Neither close nor distant	Feel fairly distant from	Feel very distant from	Don't know
Alliance party.....						
Democratic Unionist Party (DUP) .						
Green Party.....						
People Before Profit (PBP).....						
Sinn Féin .....						
Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP) .....						
Traditional Unionist Voice (TUV)						
Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)						

**B24.** And some people feel close to particular political leaders and politicians while other people feel distant from them. Taking each of the following political leaders and politicians in turn, do you feel very close to them, fairly close, neither close nor distant, fairly distant or very distant from them? *SHOWSCREEN CODE ONCE PER ROW*

	Feel very close to	Feel fairly close to	Neither close nor distant	Feel fairly distant from	Feel very distant from	Don't know
Naomi Long						
Jeffrey Donaldson						
Claire Bailey						
Michelle O'Neill						
Colum Eastwood						
Doug Beattie						
Jim Allister						
Gerry Carroll						

**PROTOCOL QUESTIONS**

**B25.** The Protocol on Ireland/Northern Ireland was jointly agreed by the UK and the EU to "address the unique circumstances on the island of Ireland, to maintain the necessary conditions for continued North-South cooperation, to avoid a hard border and to protect the 1998 Agreement in all its dimensions" (Article 1(3)). The Protocol means that Northern Ireland has left the EU along with the rest of the UK, but there are checks on goods moving between Great Britain and Northern Ireland. What do you think of the Protocol? *SHOWSCREEN*

Very strongly support the Protocol	1
Fairly strongly support the Protocol	2
Neither support nor oppose the Protocol	3
Fairly strongly oppose the Protocol	4
Very strongly oppose the Protocol	5
Don't know	6

**B26.** The alternative to the Protocol is to have checks on goods on the border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland. What would your preference be? *SHOWSCREEN*

As is, with checks between Great Britain and Northern Ireland	1
To change, so that checks are on the land border between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland	2
Don't know	3

**B27.** Using a phrase on this card, please tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statements...

*SHOWSCREEN SINGLE CODE PER ROW  
DO NOT RANDOMISE THESE ONES*

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	(Don't know)
Brexit is on balance a good thing for the United Kingdom.	1	2	3	4	5	8
Brexit is on balance a good thing for Northern Ireland	1	2	3	4	5	8
The Protocol is on balance a good thing for Northern Ireland	1	2	3	4	5	8

**B28.** How well or badly do you think each of the following governments handled issues relating to Brexit and the Protocol?

*SHOWSCREEN SINGLE CODE PER ROW*

	Handled very well	Handled fairly well	Neither Well nor badly	Handled fairly badly	Handled very badly	(Don't know)
The UK Government	1	2	3	4	5	8
The Northern Ireland Executive	1	2	3	4	5	8
The Irish Government	1	2	3	4	5	8
The European Union	1	2	3	4	5	8

**B29.** And how well or badly do you think each of the following political parties handled issues relating to Brexit and the Protocol?

*SHOWSCREEN SINGLE CODE PER ROW*

	Handled very well	Handled fairly well	Neither Well nor badly	Handled fairly badly	Handled very badly	Don't know
Alliance Party	1	2	3	4	5	8
Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)	1	2	3	4	5	8
Greens	1	2	3	4	5	8
People Before Profit (PBP)	1	2	3	4	5	8
Sinn Féin (SF)	1	2	3	4	5	8
Social Democratic & Labour Party (SDLP)	1	2	3	4	5	8
Traditional Unionist Voice (TUV)	1	2	3	4	5	8
Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)	1	2	3	4	5	8

**B30.** Members of the Northern Ireland Assembly (MLAs) are due to vote on the continued application of Articles 5-10 of the Protocol – those relating to the movement and regulation of goods to and from Northern Ireland – at the end of 2024. Based on what you currently know and are experiencing, how would you like the MLAs to vote in 2024 on the Protocol? *SHOWSCREEN*

In favour of continuing the full application of the Protocol, including Articles 5-10	1
Against the continued application of Articles 5-10 of the Protocol	2
I don't know how the MLAs should vote	3
I don't know enough about the Protocol to make an informed decision	4

<b>B31. To which of the following opinions do you feel closest? SHOWSCREEN</b>	
The Protocol should be scrapped even if it means the end of the Northern Ireland Assembly and the Executive	1
The Northern Ireland Assembly and the Executive should be maintained even if there are difficulties with the Protocol	2
Neither	3
Don't know	4

**...and now some questions about the system of government in Northern Ireland**

**B32.** There are a number of different opinions on the Good Friday or Belfast Agreement, which was signed in 1998. Which one of these statements is closest to your view?

*SHOWSCREEN*

The Agreement remains the best basis for governing Northern Ireland as it is	1
The Agreement remains the best basis for governing Northern Ireland but needs to undergo some changes to work better	2
The Agreement is no longer a good basis for governing Northern Ireland and should be substantially changed	3
The Agreement has never been a good basis for governing Northern Ireland and should be removed	4
Other answer (please write in)	5
I don't know	8
Prefer not to say	9

**B33.** As part of the Good Friday or Belfast Agreement, Northern Ireland has a power-sharing government at Stormont. It works as follows: The Executive (or government) in Northern Ireland is made up of the main parties. The two most important positions in the government – the First Minister and deputy First Minister – are held by the main nationalist party and the main unionist party. They are identical in power, but not in their titles. On important issues, there needs to be support from both unionists and nationalists. Here are some statements that are broadly in favour of power-sharing government in Northern Ireland. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each statement:  
*SHOWSCREEN CODE ONCE PER ROW*  
**DO NOT RANDOMISE THESE ONES**

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	(DK)
Overall, power-sharing has been good for Northern Ireland.	1	2	3	4	5	8
The largest party overall should provide the First Minister and the largest party from the other main community should provide the deputy First Minister	1	2	3	4	5	8
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	8

**B34.** And here are some statements that are broadly opposed to power-sharing in Northern Ireland in its current form. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each statement:

SHOWSCREEN CODE ONCE PER ROW

DO NOT RANDOMISE THESE ONES

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	(DK)
Power-sharing has been bad for Northern Ireland	1	2	3	4	5	8
We should get rid of the power-sharing system of government altogether in Northern Ireland, and instead any combination of parties that together have a majority in the Assembly should be able to form a government	1	2	3	4	5	8
There should be no cross community vote because it just lets one side – either unionist or nationalist – block key decisions being made	1	2	3	4	5	8
Instead of all the main parties being in Government, we should have a form of Government in which there's a very clear distinction between some parties being in Government and others being in Opposition.	1	2	3	4	5	8

**B35.** Currently the First Minister and Deputy First Minister have identical powers, they differ only in their titles. Which of the following options do you prefer?

SHOWSCREEN

Their titles should be changed, so that both are called Joint First Minister

Their titles should stay as they are, with the First Minister being nominated by the largest party

These positions should be abolished and replaced by something else

Don't Know

**B36.** And how well or badly do you think each of the following political parties handled issues relating to the Covid 19 pandemic?

SHOWSCREEN CODE ONCE PER ROW

	Handled very well	Handled fairly well	Neither Well nor badly	Handled fairly badly	Handled very badly	Don't know
Alliance Party	1	2	3	4	5	8
Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)	1	2	3	4	5	8
Greens	1	2	3	4	5	8
People Before Profit (PBP)	1	2	3	4	5	8
Sinn Féin (SF).	1	2	3	4	5	8
Social Democratic & Labour Party (SDLP)	1	2	3	4	5	8
Traditional Unionist Voice (TUV)	1	2	3	4	5	8
Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)	1	2	3	4	5	8



**B37.** Using a scale from 0 to 10, where '0' means 'very unlikely' and 10 means 'very likely', how likely is it that you would ever vote for each of the following parties?

*SHOWSCREEN CODE ONCE PER ROW*

	Very unlikely 0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Very likely 10	(DK)
Alliance Party												
Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)												
Green Party												
People Before Profit (PBP)												
Sinn Féin												
Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)												
Traditional Unionist Voice (TUV)												
Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)												

**B38.** Here is a scale that we would like you to use to describe to what extent you think of yourself as British, Irish, Northern Irish or European. On a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means 'Not at all' and 10 means 'Very strongly', where would you place yourself?

First of all, to what extent do you think of yourself as British....?

*SHOWSCREEN CODE ONCE PER ROW*

	Not at all 0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Very strongly 10	(DK)
British												
Irish												
Northern Irish												
European												

**B39.** And here is a scale that we would like you to use to describe the extent to which you see yourself as middle class

*SHOWSCREEN CODE ONCE PER ROW*

	Not at all middle class 0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Very strongly middle class 10	(DK)

**B40.** And here is a scale that we would like you to use to describe the extent to which you see yourself as working class

*SHOWSCREEN CODE ONCE PER ROW*

	Not at all working class 0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Very strongly working class 10	(DK)

**B41. How often do you post information on political issues, or post your views about political issues, on either Facebook or Twitter?**

SHOWSCREEN CODE ONCE PER ROW

- Never
- A few times a year
- A few times a month
- A few times a week
- A few times a day

**DEMOGRAPHICS**

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 attitudes 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

<b>C1</b>	<b>Gender:</b>	Male	1	Female	2
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[third category: 'in another way']

<b>C2 What was your age last birthday?</b>		
Record exact age (WRITE IN)		Go To C4
Refused	-99	Go To C3

<b>C3b: Interviewer estimate of the age of respondent</b>		
Write in estimate of exact age _____ (note to interviewer: this is your best guess of how old the respondent is)		Go To C4

<b>C.4 How many people are there in your household aged 16 + including yourself?</b>								
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9+

**C.5 How many children under the age of 16 are there in your household?**

C6 Please indicate to which occupational group the Chief Income Earner in your household belongs, or which group fits best.

The Chief Income Earner is the person in your household with the largest income, including you. If the Chief Income Earner is retired but still has the largest income via an occupational pension, please answer for their most recent occupation.

If the Chief Income Earner is not in paid employment but has been out of work for less than 6 months, please answer for their most recent occupation.

**SINGLE CODE**

<b>Self Employed / Business Owner</b>	1	<b>CONTINUE</b>
<b>Skilled manual worker</b> (e.g. Skilled Bricklayer, Carpenter, Plumber, Painter, Bus/ Ambulance Driver, HGV driver, AA patrolman, pub/bar worker, etc.)	2	<b>C2</b>
<b>Semi or unskilled manual work</b> (e.g. Manual workers, all apprentices to be skilled trades, Caretaker, Park keeper, non-HGV driver, shop assistant)	3	<b>D</b>
<b>Supervisory or clerical/junior managerial/professional/ administrative</b> (e.g. Office worker, Student Doctor, Police Constable, Firefighter, Foreman with 25+ employees, salesperson, etc.)	4	<b>C1</b>
<b>Intermediate managerial/professional/administrative</b> (e.g. Newly qualified (under 3 years) doctor, Solicitor, Board director small organisation,	5	<b>B</b>

middle manager in large organisation, teacher, principal officer in civil service / local government, military lieutenant)		
<b>Higher managerial/professional/administrative</b> (e.g. Established doctor, Solicitor, Architect, Board Director in a large organisation (200+ employees), head teacher, police/fire chief, top level civil servant / public service employee, high ranking military officer)	6	<b>A</b>
<b>Casual worker – not in permanent employment</b>	7	<b>D</b>
<b>Student</b>	8	<b>C1</b>
<b>Housewife / Homemaker</b>	9	<b>E</b>
<b>Retired and living on state pension</b>	10	<b>E</b>
<b>Unemployed or not working due to long-term sickness</b>	11	<b>E</b>
<b>Full-time carer of other household member</b>	12	<b>E</b>

**ASK IF C6=CODE 1 “SELF-EMPLOYED/BUSINESS OWNER”**

C7. As a self-employed business owner, is your business... (Select one)

<b>Semi-skilled Manual trade</b> (e.g. Window cleaner, Provincial taxi driver, labourer, etc.)	1	<b>SEG GRID X</b>
<b>Skilled Manual trade</b> (e.g. Electrician, Plumber, Mechanics, London Taxi driver, etc.)	2	<b>SEG GRID Y</b>
<b>Semi-skilled Non-Manual trade</b> (e.g. Shopkeeper, Wholesaler, Hotelier, etc.)	3	<b>SEG GRID Y</b>
<b>Skilled Non-Manual trade</b> (e.g. Draughtsman, Chiropodist, Photographer, etc.)	4	<b>SEG GRID Z</b>

C8. How many employees do you have? (Select one)

Number of employees		Grid X	Grid Y	Grid Z
None – just me	1	<b>D</b>	<b>C2</b>	<b>C1</b>
1 – 5	2	<b>C2</b>	<b>C1</b>	<b>B</b>
6 – 25	3	<b>C1</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>A</b>
25+	4	<b>B</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>A</b>

**C9\_SEG**

<b>A</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>B</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>C1</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>C2</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>D</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>E</b>	<b>6</b>

**SHOWSCREEN CODE ONCE PER ROW**

<b>C10. What is your highest level of educational qualification?</b>	
Degree Level higher degree, postgraduate	1
Degree Level undergraduate	2
BTEC (Higher), BEC (Higher), TEC (Higher), HNC, HND	3
GCE 'A' Level (including NVQ Level 3)	4
BTEC (National), TEC (National), BEC (National), ONC, OND	5
GCSE (including NVQ Level 2), GCE 'O' Level (including CSE Grade 1), Senior Certificate, BTEC (General), BEC (General)	6
CSE (other than Grade 1)	7
No formal qualification	8

<b>Other (write in)</b>	9
_____	
_____	

<b>C11. How old were you when you completed your continuous full-time education?</b>			
15 or under	1	Still at school	8
16	2	Still at college or university	9
17	3	Other (Write in)	10
18	4	(Don't know/Can't remember)	98
19	5		
20	6		
21 or over ( <b>Write in</b> ).....	7		

<b>C12 Do you regard yourself as belonging to any particular religion? If yes, which? DO NOT PROMPT</b>					
No religion	1	CONTINUE	Non-subscribing Presbyterian	14	CONTINUE
Refused	99		Salvation Army	15	
Catholic	2		Church of Nazarene	16	
Church of Ireland/Anglican/Episcopal	3		Jehovah's Witness	17	
Baptist	4		Mormon	18	
Methodist	5		Protestant – no denomination	19	
Presbyterian	6		Christian – no denomination	20	
Free Presbyterian	7		Hindu	21	
Brethren	8		Jewish	22	
United Reform Church (URC)/Congregational	9		Islam/Muslim	23	
Pentecostal	10		Sikh	24	
Church of Scotland	11		Buddhist	25	
Elim Pentecostal	12		<b>Other (WRITE IN)</b>	26	
Reformed Presbyterian	13	(Don't know)	98		

<b>ASK ALL</b>					
<b>C13 In what religion, if any, were you brought up? PROBE IF NECESSARY: What was your family's religion? DO NOT PROMPT</b>					
No religion	1	CONTINUE	Non-subscribing Presbyterian	14	CONTINUE
Refused	99		Salvation Army	15	
Catholic	2		Church of Nazarene	16	
Church of Ireland/Anglican/Episcopal	3		Jehovah's Witness	17	
Baptist	4		Mormon	18	
Methodist	5		Protestant – no denomination	19	
Presbyterian	6		Christian – no denomination	20	
Free Presbyterian	7		Hindu	21	
Brethren	8		Jewish	22	
United Reform Church (URC)/Congregational	9		Islam/Muslim	23	
Pentecostal	10		Sikh	24	
Church of Scotland	11		Buddhist	25	
Elim Pentecostal	12		<b>Other (WRITE IN)</b>	26	
Reformed Presbyterian	13	(Don't know)	98		

<b>C14 Apart from special occasions such as weddings, funerals, baptisms and so on, how often nowadays do you attend religious services or meetings?</b>	
<b>SHOWSCREEN</b>	
Several times a week	1
Once a week	2
2 or 3 times a month	3

Once a month	4
Several times a year	5
Less frequently	6
Never	7
(Don't know)	8

<b>C15</b> Would you say nowadays you are... <b>READ OUT...</b>	
very religious	1
somewhat religious	2
not very religious	3
or, not at all religious?	4
(Don't know)	8
(Refusal/NA)	9

<b>C16.</b> Did you ever attend a grammar school?	
Yes	1
No	2
(Don't know)	8
(refused)	9

**Thank and Close**

<b>C41.</b> Interviewer to complete: Which of the following did you see in the area in which the participant lives?	
CODE ALL THAT APPLY	
Unionist flags	1
Unionist emblems	2
Unionist murals	3
Kerb stones painted red, white and blue	4
Irish flags	5
Irish emblems	6
Republican murals	7
Kerb stones painted green, white and orange	8
Graffiti	9
Litter/ fly- tipping	10
ANYTHING ELSE: WRITE IN ( _____ )	11
None of the above	12

