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ASST./ SEC 36712
28 FEB 1994
C.C.R.U.

FROM: PS/SECRETARY OF STATE
28 February 1994

CCRU
- 2 MAR 1994
RECEIVED

- cc PS/Secretary of State (B&L) - B
- PS/Sir John Wheeler (DFP, B&L) - B
- PS/Michael Ancram (DENI, B&L) - B
- PS/Baroness Denton (DHSS, DANI&L) - B
- PS/Mr Smith (DED, DOE&L) - B
- PS/PUS (B&L) - B
- PS/Mr Fell - B
- NI Perm Secs
- Mr Legge - B
- Mr Thomas - B
- Mr Bell - B
- Mr Steele - B
- Mr Williams - B
- Mr Canavan - B
- Mr Maccabe - B
- Mr McCusker - B
- Mr Jardine, DFP

1. Mr. McAis
2. Mr. Jones
Civ. 2/3..
X
2/12

Mr. Crossan.

Mr Watkins - B

PROTESTANT ALIENATION: RESULTS OF RESEARCH

Thank you for your submission of 2 February, enclosing the results of preliminary research into Protestant alienation.

2. The Secretary of State thought this work was very valuable. He has noted that further detailed research will be undertaken and hopes that this may give some insight into whether the intensity of Protestant feelings has changed significantly in recent years. He was encouraged to note the anecdotal evidence that more Protestants are recognising the impact of the Government's social and economic programmes in their areas and agrees that we should continue to stress our current approach of Targeting Social Need wherever that need exists. In this context, he was concerned to note the disbelief in officials statistics on comparative unemployment levels and wonders what can be done to validate them.

3. The Secretary of State agrees that a copy of the report should be handed to the Irish although, in doing so, we shall want to emphasise that the report deliberately concentrates exclusively

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on Protestant feelings because this is an area where, in comparison with Catholic alienation, there has until now been relatively little research.

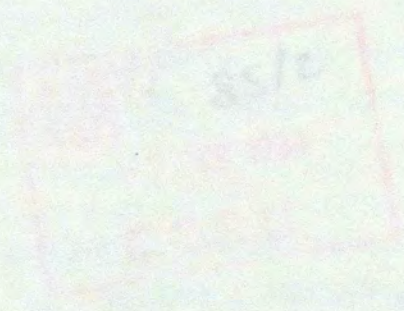
Signed

JONATHAN STEPHENS
Private Secretary

Stephens was grateful for the... to the Secretary of State... very interesting as far as... the... of further work... sensitivities of political... background, elements of... with... who has a feeling for... It might therefore... whether... and quiet way... It could do... little harm.

Signed

KEITH JAGELMAN
PS/Michael Ancran



[Handwritten notes and signatures]

BB/SOFS/17578

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FROM: PS/Michael Ancram
4 February 1994

CCP
-9 FEB 1994
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cc PS/Secretary of State (B&L) - B
PS/Michael Ancram (DENI, B&L) - B
PS/PUS (B&L) - B
PS/Mr Fell - B
Mr Legge - B
Mr Thomas - B
Mr Bell - B
Mr Steele - B
Mr Williams - B
Mr Canavan - B
Mr Maccabe - B
Mr McCusker - B
Mr Jardine, DFP

Mr Watkins - B

PROTESTANT ALIENATION: RESULTS OF RESEARCH

Michael Ancram was grateful for sight of your submission of 2 February to the Secretary of State. The Minister has commented that this is very interesting as far as it goes. He welcomed the prospect of further work. In terms of understanding the tensions and sensitivities of political dialogue in Northern Ireland it is a useful background, elements of which could usefully be shared with Dick Spring who has a feeling for this question. It might therefore usefully be considered whether there is some tactful and quiet way of communicating certain parts of this work to him. It could do little harm.

Signed

K. Cresser

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-7 FEB 1994
C.C.R.U.

KEITH JAGELMAN
PS/Michael Ancram

1. *Dr McCoy* 9/12
2. *Mr Conroy* 9/2..
AC
7/2

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CCRU
- 4 FEB 1994
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DJW/6/1

*Sally, Attached 5/2
'X' please, for Jan.*

FROM: D J WATKINS
US CENT SEC
DATE: 2 FEBRUARY 1994

CC: PS/Sir J Wheeler (B,L&DFP)
PS/Michael Ancram (B&L&DENI)
PS/Baroness Denton (DHSS,DANI&L)
PS/Mr Smith (DOE,DED&L)
PS/PUS (B&L)
PS/Mr Fell
NI Perm Secs
Mr Legge
Mr Thomas
Mr Bell
Mr Steele
Mr Williams
Mr Canavan
Mr Maccabe
Mr McCusker
Mr Jardine, DFP

ASST./ SEC
5/2
- 3 FEB 1994
C.C.R.U.

** R. Carson*

** R. Campbell*

For information of office.

(could I have a copy of s. 7 Annex 1 only p. 1.)

PS/Secretary of State (B&L)

PROTESTANT ALIENATION : RESULTS OF RESEARCH

Introduction

1. The Secretary of State will recall various discussions over the course of 1993 about Protestant alienation when it was suggested that many in the Protestant community were becoming alienated from Government because of a perception that in constitutional, economic and social issues, Protestants were disadvantaged in comparison to Catholics.
2. There was a dearth of empirical evidence about the views of the Protestant community. We sought advice from Professor Seamus Dunn, Director of the Centre for the Study of Conflict at the University of Ulster at Coleraine. Professor Dunn confirmed that there was no

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*Mr Canavan,
Thanks. The Summary was prepared by me. 3/2.*

Mr McCusker

2... Mr Canavan

2 3/2

5/2

Sally

h. p. c.

X/

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contemporary evidence about the views of the different communities other than material in the British Social Attitude Survey. That particular survey was very broad in its scope, however, and could not cover the full range of issues where evidence of alienation might exist.

Research : Basis and Findings

3. We then explored with Professor Dunn the possibility of having some specific research undertaken to explore the subject in more detail and subsequently the Centre for the Study of Conflict brought forward a research proposal to the Policy Planning Research Unit (PPRU) of the Department of Finance and Personnel. The proposal suggested a two stage approach: initially, a scoping study to be undertaken to provide some immediate feedback on the views of different parts of the Protestant community that would then serve as a useful pilot survey to form the basis of a more detailed attitudinal survey.
4. The scoping study, supported by PPRU, was completed towards the end of 1993, before the publication of the Joint Declaration. A summary of the various findings is included at Annex 1. The report itself, which is fairly short and quite readable, is attached at Annex 2.
5. The report highlights a sense of concern and alienation amongst Protestants on constitutional, economic and social issues and suggests that the Government should be concerned to recognise these perceptions in the community. The report goes on to recommend that much more detailed research should be undertaken about alienation in both communities, involving attitudinal survey work which would be methodologically more sound than the scoping study. PPRU believes that this research would be important in informing Ministers and officials about

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perceptions on a range of Government policies; discussions have begun with the Centre about taking this forward. The results of that research will be helpful in assessing the views of the different communities on the implementation of the Government's social and economic programme and also their perceptions of constitutional issues following the Joint Declaration. The Government is seen to be responding positively to 'Obiter dicta' on and disadvantage in both communities. This is an area which is extremely sensitive in the context of

6. All is not gloomy, however. There is some anecdotal evidence that perceptions in Protestant areas on social and economic issues are changing. For example, we have been working very closely with community leaders in the Shankill area in the development of a strategic plan for the area and it seems to be widely recognised that the Government is taking very seriously the levels of social and economic disadvantage, which are clearly evident in those areas. That was not the perception some time ago. A further recent example was remarks made by Peter Robinson at the laying of the first brick for a community, economic and social facility for Ballybeen in East Belfast. At the reception following the event he was lavish in his praise for the Making Belfast Work programme, suggesting that the Government now recognised fully that social and economic disadvantage existed in Protestant areas and that programmes were being targeted accordingly. Views on the majority community the study may help to develop more accurately.

Policy Implications

Conclusion

7. On constitutional issues, the report confirms the strength of feelings in the Protestant community following the signing of the Anglo-Irish Agreement, and that those feelings have endured. It will be interesting to learn from a wider study whether views have altered significantly in the aftermath of the Joint Declaration.

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8. On social and economic issues, the report confirms the feedback which officials have been getting over the last 18 months though the recent anecdotal evidence seems to suggest that the Government's policy of targeting need wherever it ~~is~~ exists is beginning to pay dividends. Policy presentation is critical and it is important that the Government is seen to be responding positively to deprivation and disadvantage in both communities. This is an area which is extremely sensitive in the context of Making Belfast Work programmes, but sensitivity is required in the presentation and implementation of all policies.
9. More generally, the report should be helpful to Departments in underlining perceptions of aspects of policy implementation, but it does not argue for, or suggest, any radical shift in policies. In any event, it would be premature at this time to make significant changes in policy approaches before we have the results of more detailed research.

Publication

10. The University will almost certainly publish the findings of their study in due course and it would be sensible, therefore, to hand an early copy of the report to the Irish whose views on the majority community the study may help to develop more accurately.

Conclusion

11. The Secretary of State is invited to:
- (i) note the results of the preliminary study of Protestant alienation, and that further detailed research will be undertaken;

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Appendix 1

- (ii) note recent anecdotal evidence that the impact of the Government's social and economic programmes in Protestant areas is more widely recognised and acknowledged;
- (iii) agree that the existing approach of Targeting Social Need is the appropriate policy response to addressing disadvantage wherever it exists; and
- (iv) agree that a copy of the report should be handed to the Irish at a suitable point.

DJW.

D J WATKINS

change to Direct Rule implied to some that they were, from that point on, "no East, enduring guarantees for all time". Some expressed the view that ministers were "unavailable and unapproachable, especially for local politicians". Some suspected that the SDLP were favoured in an attempt to "isolate Sinn Fein from their community and reduce their popularity". Legislative and administrative changes since Direct Rule were blamed for adding to uncertainty and insecurity. Some of the examples cited were "The Flags and Emblems Act", "legislation of Irish language", "Fair Employment legislation", and "lack of investment in Protestant areas".

For many, the Anglo-Irish Agreement was "the real moment of tragedy" which marked "the beginning of the end for the union". "Protestants were placed in the paradoxical and stressful position of seeking to retain something which they themselves believed to be gone for ever". There was also a feeling of betrayal, that the Agreement was carried out "behind backs". Many

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