

COMMISSION FOR VICTIMS AND SURVIVORS

PUBLIC OPINION - TRIBUNALS OF INQUIRY
AND CONSULTATIVE GROUP ON THE PAST
DECEMBER 2009



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1.0 Foreword

This public opinion poll was commissioned by the Commission for Victims and Survivors and reflects a strong desire to deal with the legacy of the Troubles. Looking at the results of the opinion poll, it is important to acknowledge that two out of three people surveyed agree that Northern Ireland needs to deal with the past in order to move on. Those surveyed were also clear that the past needs to be dealt with in a spirit of reconciliation and forgiveness.

From the Commission's point of view this is a positive outcome. The devolved administration agrees, and this is central to their Strategy for Victims and Survivors announced in December 2009.

This survey highlights how little people know about the 31 recommendations set out by the Eames/Bradley Consultative Group on the Past. 90% of the population either could not recall or thought there were no other proposals beyond the £12,000 Recognition Payment.

The Eames/Bradley report saw progress coming across four major themes. Three were built around broad justice issues, continuing investigations using a non-judicial process of "information recovery", and a strand of thematic investigations. The fourth strand of activity they recommended was addressing societal issues. This is an area the Commission had already identified as crucial, so we are pleased that the public have identified that societal issues are important aspects of dealing with the past.

People want this society to work with young people so they have the necessary skills to ensure no repeat of the past. They want improved services for conflict-related health issues, they want an even and equitable spread of economic benefits, they want sectarianism tackled, and they want truth and justice.

Only a quarter of the population support the concept of more Public Inquiries, basing their opinion on the need to achieve truth, and because of the number of unanswered

questions which prevent families achieving "closure." Half were opposed to further Public Inquiries, based on the amount of time they take and the costs.

These findings affirm the Commission's position that dealing with the past can only be achieved through consensus. The survey will help guide us in our continuing discussions on the Past and will assist the Commission in offering advice to government on how we deal with our complex and contested history.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Patricia MacBride', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Patricia MacBride
Chair of the Commission

2.0 Introduction

This report presents the findings from a general public survey conducted on behalf of the Commission for Victims and Survivors in October 2009.

2.1 Background (from Brief)

The Commission for Victims and Survivors (the Commission) was established in June 2008 and is a Non-departmental Public Body of the Office of the First Minister and deputy First Minister (OFMDFM). The principal aim of the Commission is to promote the interests of victims and survivors. The Commission has a range of duties, outlined in the brief, and has published its draft Corporate Plan for 2009-2011. On the basis of the Corporate Plan, the Commission has also submitted their annual work programme, which sets out the specific projects or policy areas they plan to carry out or focus on for that year.

In 2007, the formation of an independent Consultative Group was announced. This group was asked to consult across the community on how Northern Ireland society can best approach the legacy of the events of the past 40 years, and make recommendations on the steps that could be taken to support Northern Ireland society in building a shared future, not overshadowed by the events of the past. This group presented its report in January 2009. The Northern Ireland Office is currently carrying out a public consultation on its key recommendations. The Commission for Victims and Survivors will be submitting a response to this consultation. The results of this research will be used to inform the views of the Commission and may in turn form part of its response to the consultation and any advice they may provide to the government.

2.2 Research Aim and Specifications (from the brief)

Aim of the Project

The overall aim of this project is to determine the public's:

- i. Knowledge of
- ii. Attitude to Public Tribunals of Inquiry
- iii. The main recommendations of the Consultative Group on the Past

Project Specification

The Commission for Victims and Survivors wishes to gauge public opinion on the following:

1. The attitude of the general public to Public Tribunals of Inquiry, such as (but not limited to) the Saville Inquiry, and the inquiries into the deaths of Robert Hamill, Billy Wright and Rosemary Nelson
2. The attitude of the general public on the need for future inquiries on specific instances
3. The attitude of the general public to other forms of legal and non-legal process to seek truth and justice

The results of this survey will be used as a benchmark, where possible, for future year's assessments of public opinion which will be commissioned beyond this exercise.

2.3 Methodology

This research was conducted by means of inclusion on the Millward Brown Ulster Omnibus Survey in October 2009 (7th – 20th October 2009). The total sample size was 1007 respondents, representative of the population in Northern Ireland.

2.3.1 The Millward Brown Ulster Omnibus Survey

The Millward Brown Ulster Omnibus Survey is a twice monthly face-to-face survey conducted amongst a representative sample of the Northern Ireland population. Each survey consists of a freshly drawn sample of 1000 adults aged 16+. The sample is quota controlled to represent the Northern Ireland population in terms of sex, age and social class. 45 sampling points (spread over 80 electoral wards) are drawn using a stratified random sampling method to ensure that the sample is representative in terms of region. This sample is very large and hence allows for analysis by a range of sex, age, social class and regional groupings. All questions included on the Omnibus Survey are confidential to each individual participating client as is the resulting data. While the cost of recruiting a representative sample and collecting a full range of demographic details such as working and marital status, household size, presence and age of children in the household, religion, ethnicity, car in household and tenure is shared by all the participating clients.

All interviewing was conducted by members of the Millward Brown Ulster Interviewer Panel.

All aspects of the research were conducted according to the definitive standards of the IQCS (Interviewer Quality Control Scheme). This scheme is the definitive UK-wide standard for interviewing. We are also members of MRQSA (Market Research Quality Standards Authority), which sets standards in all other spheres including data-processing, analysis, scheduling, and maintenance of internal records. In fact Millward Brown Ulster was the only founder member in Northern Ireland of the Interviewer Quality Control Scheme (IQCS), established by the Market Research Society and leading UK research agencies. These quality standards are similarly held by our new parent company Millward Brown.

As members of the British Market Research Association (BMRA), we have developed our systems to qualify for membership of the BMRA quality assurance scheme MRQSA and ISO 9001. In February 2001 we were audited by SGS Yarsley on MRQSA and ISO

9001 and in November 2006 were audited to a new higher standard ISO20252 and are one of the first research companies in the UK to have achieved these standards. Following our most recent audit in December 2009, we have been certified to ISO 9001 2006 and again to ISO 20252 2006 which has been designed by MRQSA specifically for the Market Research sector.

We are also members of the Market Research Society (MRS) and all our research is conducted fully in accordance with the MRS Code of Conduct.

2.3.2 General Public Sample

The Millward Brown Omnibus Survey, after the initial random selection of sampling points, is based on a quota sampling methodology. The sampling points are drawn from the Millward Brown Ulster Sampling Frame which is based on electoral wards in Northern Ireland, utilising a 2-stage stratification procedure, involving firstly a regional segmentation into 13 areas comprising geographic groupings of Local Government Districts, and secondly, an urban / rural classification based on electoral density. Electoral wards are then clustered into points of approximately equal electoral population taking into account the following requirements:

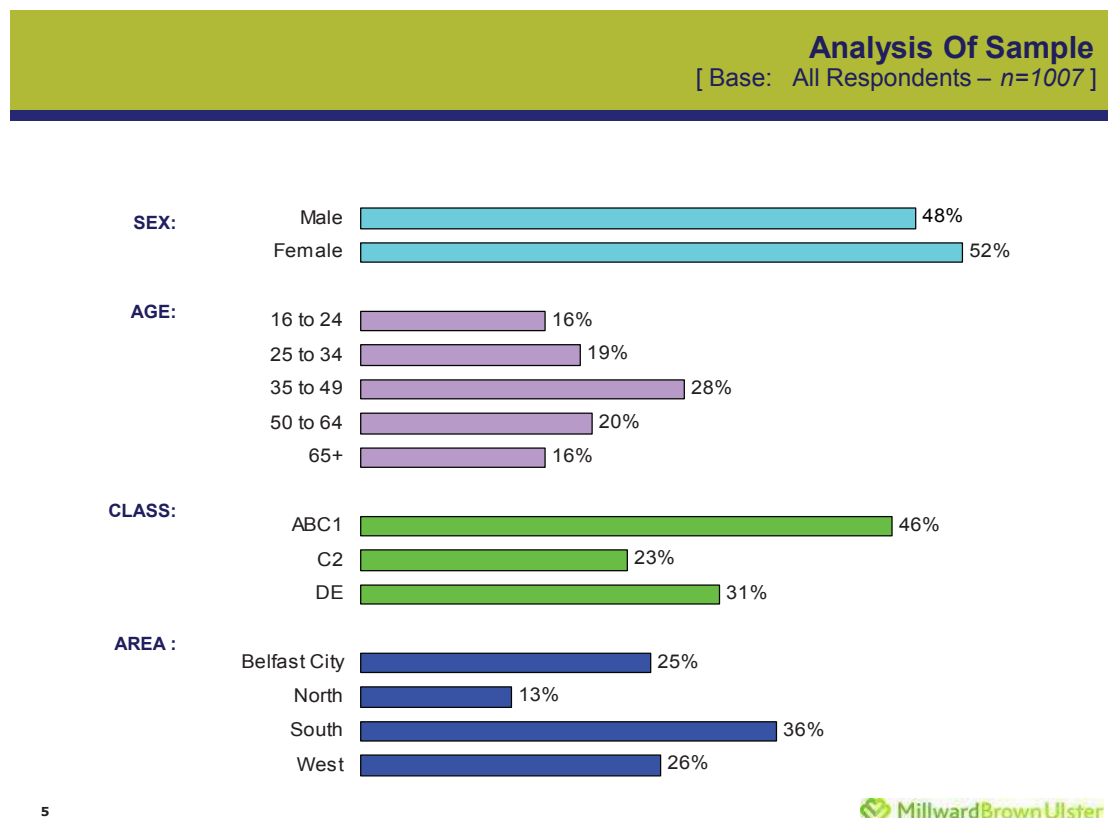
- Wards within each point are contiguous
- Points are exclusively urban or rural
- Wards within a point are broadly homogenous in population structure

Taking into account the most recent boundary changes, the Millward Brown Ulster Northern Ireland Sampling Frame now comprises 311 sampling points. In drawing points from this Sampling Frame, random procedures are adopted, points being selected with probability proportional to population within each of the 13 areas, depending on specific requirements. This sampling procedure is followed for most face to face surveys amongst the general public up to this point. The sampling procedure then continues according to the type required for each project, frequently quota based sampling which is utilised for the Omnibus Survey.

Strict quotas on gender, age and social class are put in place and must be adhered to, thus minimizing bias and ensuring the sample is representative. Part of interviewing training comprises guidance and instruction on respondent selection and recruitment in order to ensure that the resulting samples are as robust, inclusive and transparent as possible.

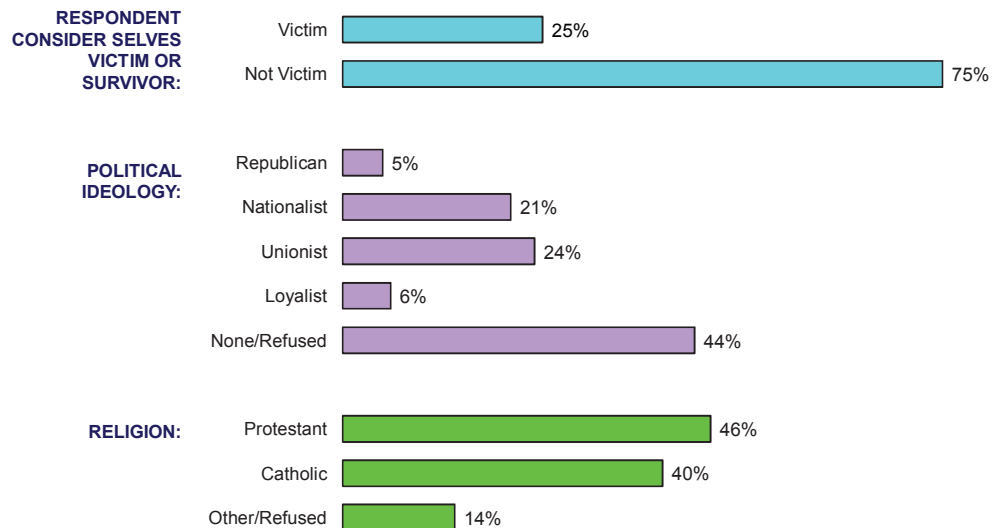
Sampling for the Millward Brown Ulster Omnibus Survey has always been very strict in nature. Each interviewer is issued with an interlocking sample that they must adhere to. This interlocking quota ensures that age and social class are represented within both males and females.

Sample Breakdown based on the main Omnibus Survey (1007 ints)



Analysis Of Sample - Contd

[Base: All Respondents – n=1007]



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2.4 Summary of findings

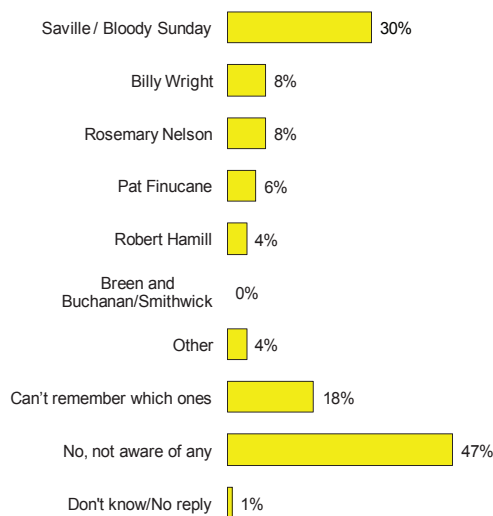
- There was a significant degree of respondents being unable to provide an opinion with regard to many of the questions, either saying they did not know or choosing the middle ground throughout the research findings. The degree to which this happens is an important finding in itself and was particularly prominent amongst respondents aged under 25
- Overall, around a quarter of all respondents were in support of further Public Inquiries, with half saying no to any more
- Respondents who felt there should be further Public Inquiries cited that people still needed to find out the truth, that there were still unresolved issues
- The expense was by far the most frequently cited reason for respondents opposing any further Inquiries

- In terms of attitudes towards Public Tribunals of Inquiry, the majority of respondents agreed that they took too long and are too expensive
- Opinion of the effectiveness of Public Inquiries was divided, although few thought they were very effective
- The majority did feel that it was important that any such Inquiries held should be held in public
- Just 1 in 3 claimed to have heard of the Consultative Group of the Past (or the Eames Bradley Report)
- However two thirds had heard of the recommendation to make payments of £12,000 to the families of the bereaved
- Overall, this idea of a recognition payment to all bereaved families was more likely to be opposed than supported, although again a significant number were unsure
- Few could recall any of the other 30 recommendations
- Just over 6 in 10 agreed that Northern Ireland needs to deal with the past in order to move on
- Even more (just over 7 in 10) agreed that it is important to deal with the past in a way that promotes reconciliation
- High importance was also placed on the idea of forgiveness and its importance in dealing with the past
- In terms of the proposed Legacy Commission, out of a list of possible issues that it might deal with, greatest importance was placed on societal issues, such as working with young people to provide them with the skills to ensure there is no repeat of the past; the provision of improved service to meet healthcare needs and ensuring that economic benefits are equally experienced as well as tackling sectarianism
- Respondents were unsure about the establishment of the proposed Legacy Commission and even more unsure about its effectiveness as a mechanism for dealing with the past
- Relatively few respondents felt that the proposed Legacy Commission could be truly independent

3.0 Findings

3.1 Public Tribunals of Inquiry – Awareness and Support for Further Inquiries

Around half of respondents were not aware of any Public Inquiries currently taking place, with a further 1 in 5 not being able to recall the actual name of one. Otherwise the Saville or Bloody Sunday Inquiry was most likely to be cited



Q.1 Spontaneous awareness of Public Inquiries currently on-going in NI.
[Base: All Respondents – 1007]

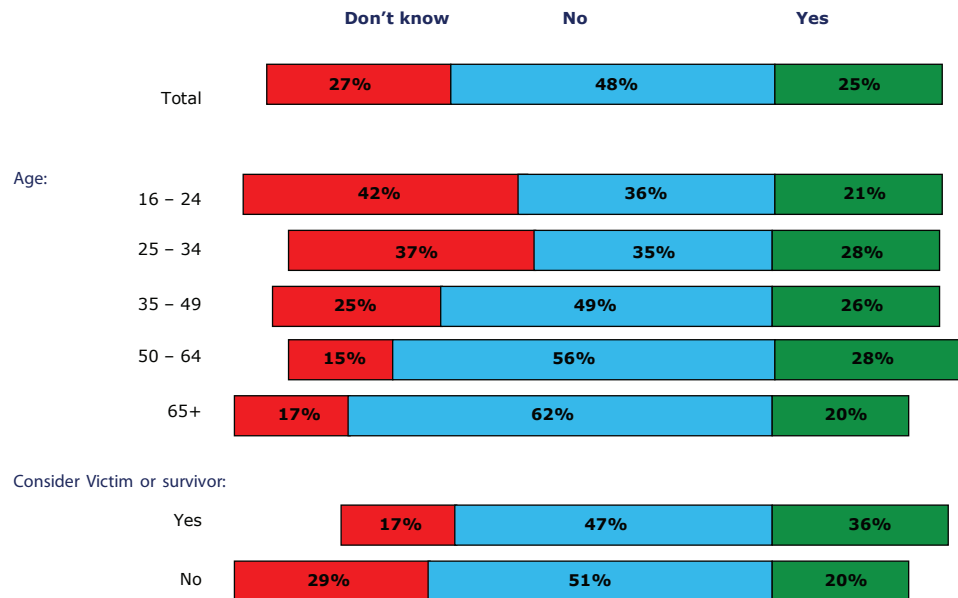
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At the outset of the interview respondents were asked which if they could name any of the current Public Inquiries that were ongoing in Northern Ireland. Just under half (47%) were not aware of any, with a further 1 in 5 (18%) who said they could not just remember which ones were ongoing. Of those who could name any, the majority mentioned Saville or Bloody Sunday, cited by 3 in 10 of the total sample.

Respondents, having been reminded of some of the ongoing Public Inquiries, such as Rosemary Nelson. Billy Wright, Robert Hamill and the Saville or Bloody Sunday Inquiry, were asked if they thought there should be any further Public Inquiries of Inquiry such as those.

Overall a quarter of respondents felt there should be further Public Tribunals of Inquiry, with about half saying no to any more. Those who consider themselves to be victims were more likely to think there should be more. Younger people were less likely to have an opinion.



Q.2 Do you think there should be any further Public Tribunals of Inquiry such as these (list read out and shown)? [Base: All Respondents n=1007]

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A quarter (25%) of the total sample were in support of further Inquiries, almost a half (48%) were not in support while the remainder (27%) were unsure. While the overall proportion of each age group of the general public who were in support of further Public Inquiries was fairly consistent, there was a marked difference in those who either did not support or were unsure. Around 4 in 10 of those aged under 35, said they did not know whether or not there should be any further Inquiries compared to less than 2 in 10 of those aged over 50. The resulting picture would suggest then that out of those who did have an opinion, support for further Public Inquiries was greatest amongst those aged 25-34 and lowest amongst those aged 65+.

However, the degree to which the general public is unsure or has no opinion is an important finding in itself and this high level of uncertainty or having no opinion especially amongst younger members of the general public, features quite significantly throughout the research findings.

Respondents in the main felt there should be further Public Inquiries because people still needed to find out the truth, that there were still unresolved issues



Q.2b Why do you say that?

⁸ [Base: All who think there should be further Public Tribunals of Inquiry n=253]

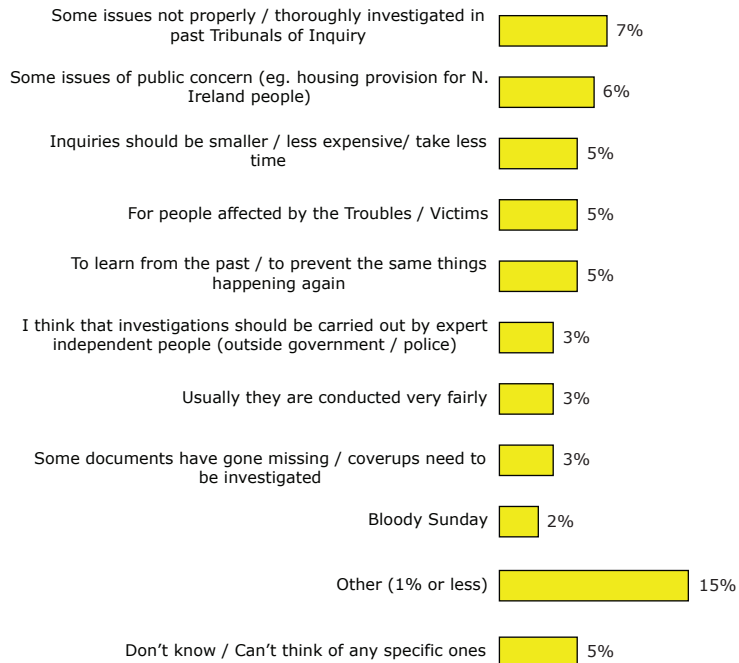
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Those who were in support of further Public Inquiries felt they were 'the only way to get the truth / because they still haven't got the truth of what happened' (41% or 10% of the total sample), or similarly there were 'unresolved issues relating to the past / people needing answers / outstanding issues' (36% or 9% of the total sample), or 'people not knowing what happened to loved ones / families unable to get closure' (23%). Other references were in relation to justice such as 'for the sake of justice / so that justice can be served' (20%) or 'because people who have committed crimes cannot be allowed to get away with it' (9%).

There were some respondents who somewhat qualified their support, in that they felt 'it depends / it would have to be necessary / a really serious matter in exceptional cases' (11% or 3% of the total sample) or 'inquiries should be smaller / less expensive / take less time' (5% or 1% of the total sample).

See chart on next page for continuation of chart above.

Reasons for having more Public Inquiries continued

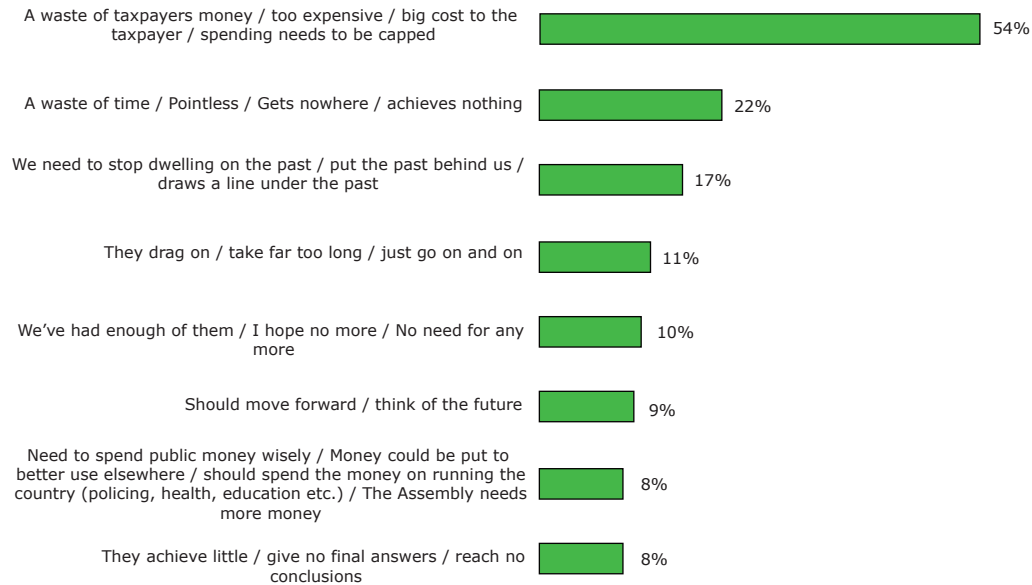


Q.2b Why do you say that (contd)?

9 [Base: All who think there should be further Public Tribunals of Inquiry n=253]

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The expense was by far the most frequently cited reason for respondents who thought there should not be any further Public Inquiries



Q.2c Why do you say that?

[Base: All Who Think There Should Not Be Further Public Tribunals Of Inquiry n=484

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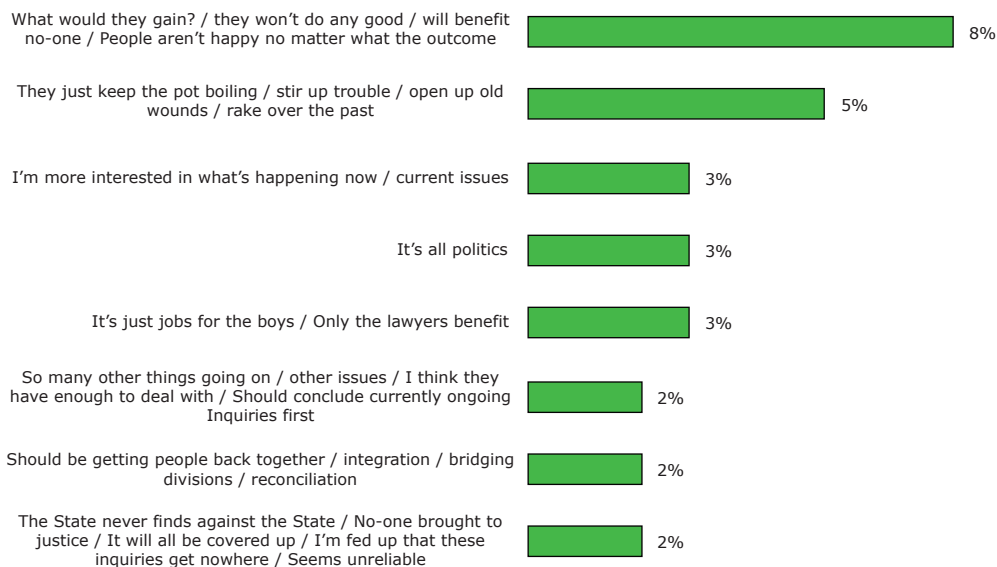
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The chart above and the next two summarise the reasons given for believing that there should **not** be any further Public Inquiries. The overwhelming reason given for not supporting any further Public Inquiries was the expense, with over half (54% or 26% of the total sample) mentioning 'a waste of taxpayers' money / too expensive / big cost to the tax payer / spending needs to be capped', with a further 8% citing that 'need to spend public money wisely / money could be put to better use elsewhere / should spend the money on running the country'.

This was followed by 'a waste of time / pointless / gets nowhere / achieves nothing' (22% or 11% of the total sample) and 'they achieve little / give no final answers / reach no conclusions' (8%).

The third key area was moving on, including 'we need to stop dealing with the past / put the past behind us / draws a line on the past' (17%), 'should move forward / think of the future' (9%) and 'they just keep the pot boiling / stir up trouble / open up old wounds / rake over the past' (5%).

Reasons for not having any further Public Inquiries (Continued)



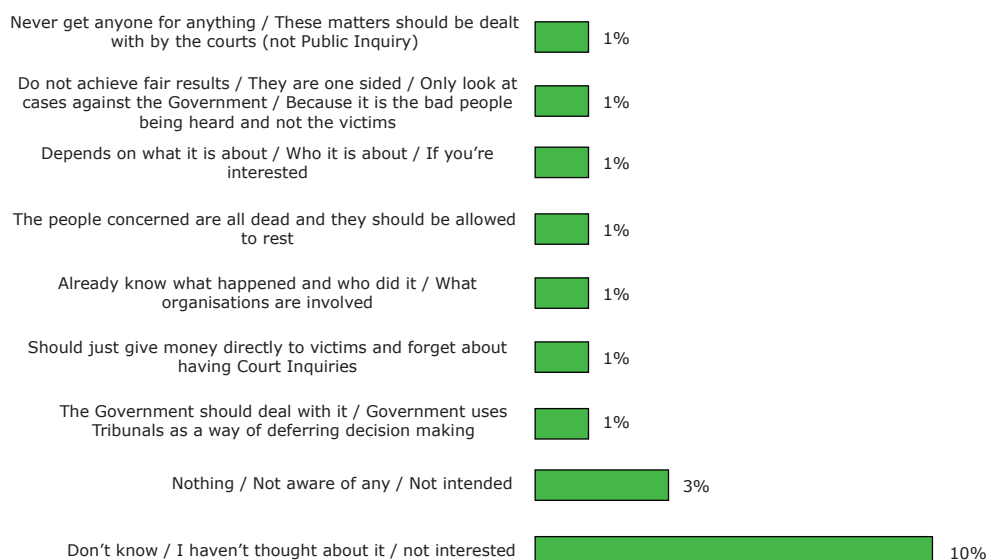
Q.2c Why do you say that?

[Base: All Who Think There Should Not Be Further Public Tribunals Of Inquiry n=484

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Reasons for not having any further Public Inquiries (Continued)



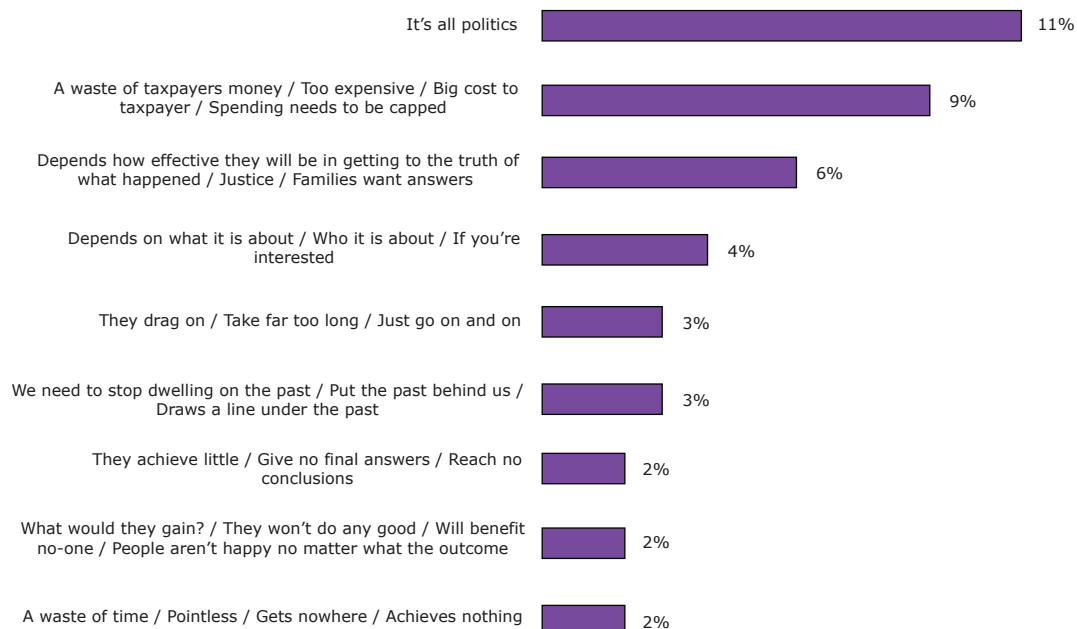
Q.2c Why do you say that?

[Base: All Who Think There Should Not Be Further Public Tribunals Of Inquiry n=484

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Reasons for not knowing whether or not there should be any further Public Inquiries



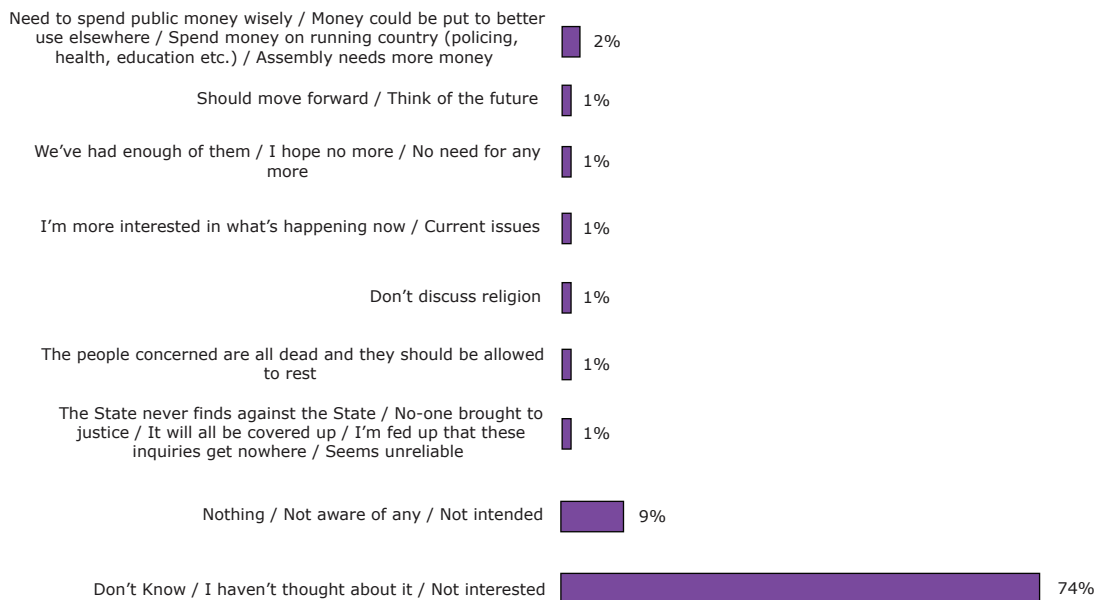
Q.2c Why do you say that?

[Base: All Who Don't Know Whether There Should Or Shouldn't Be Further Public Tribunals Of Inquiry n=270]

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A significant number did not know whether or not there should be any further Public Inquiries and most of these (74%) did not have any particular reason for this, not having thought about it or not interested. Of those who did give a reason, the most frequently cited reply was that 'it's all politics' (11%). Other reasons included mentions of the expense or waste of money, the time taken, achieving little or nothing and that it would depend on how effective they are.

Reasons for not knowing whether or not there should be any further Public Inquiries (Continued) - three quarters had no particular reason



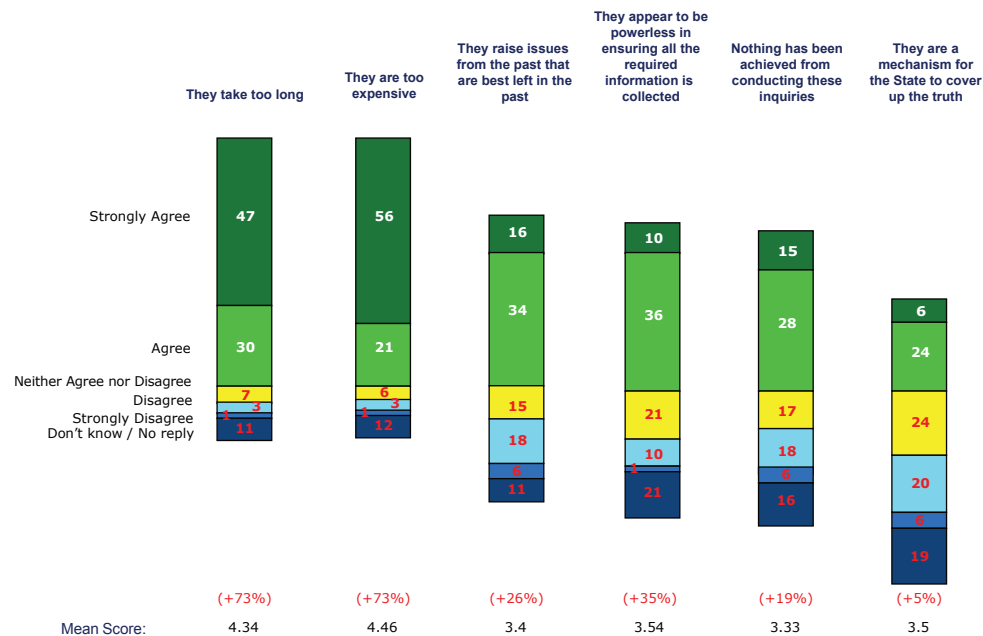
Q.2c Why do you say that?

[Base: All Who Don't Know Whether There Should Or Shouldn't Be Further Public Tribunals Of Inquiry n=270]

MillwardBrownUlster

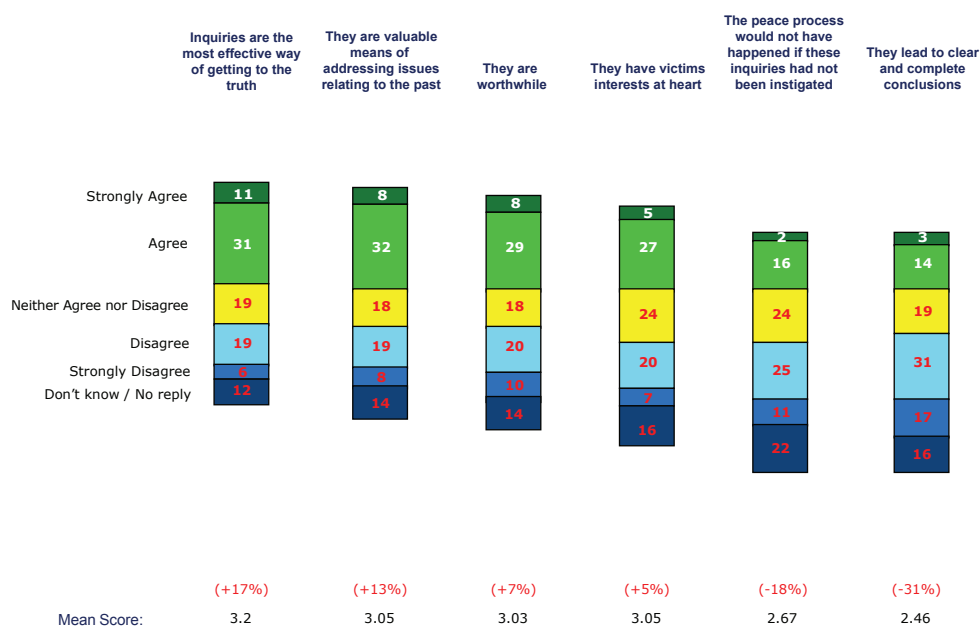
3.2 Attitudes towards Public Tribunals of Inquiry

There was overwhelming agreement that the Public Inquiries take too long and are too expensive.



17 Q.3 Level of Agreement with statements about Public Tribunals of Inquiry
[Base: All Respondents n=1007]

Otherwise opinion of Public Inquiries was more divided, although respondents were more likely to disagree that they lead to clear and complete conclusions



18 Q.3 Level of Agreement with statements about Public Tribunals of Inquiry (contd)
[Base: All Respondents n=1007]

The two charts above summarise the attitudes towards Public Inquiries. Respondents were read a number of statements and asked how much they agreed or disagreed with each. The statements are presented in the charts in order of agreement. There was overwhelming agreement with the first two statements, ***they take too long*** (with 77% in total agreeing with 47% agreeing strongly) and ***they are too expensive*** (77% agreeing in total and 56% agreeing strongly). The figures in red show net agreement, with 73% more agreeing than disagreeing with both of these statements.

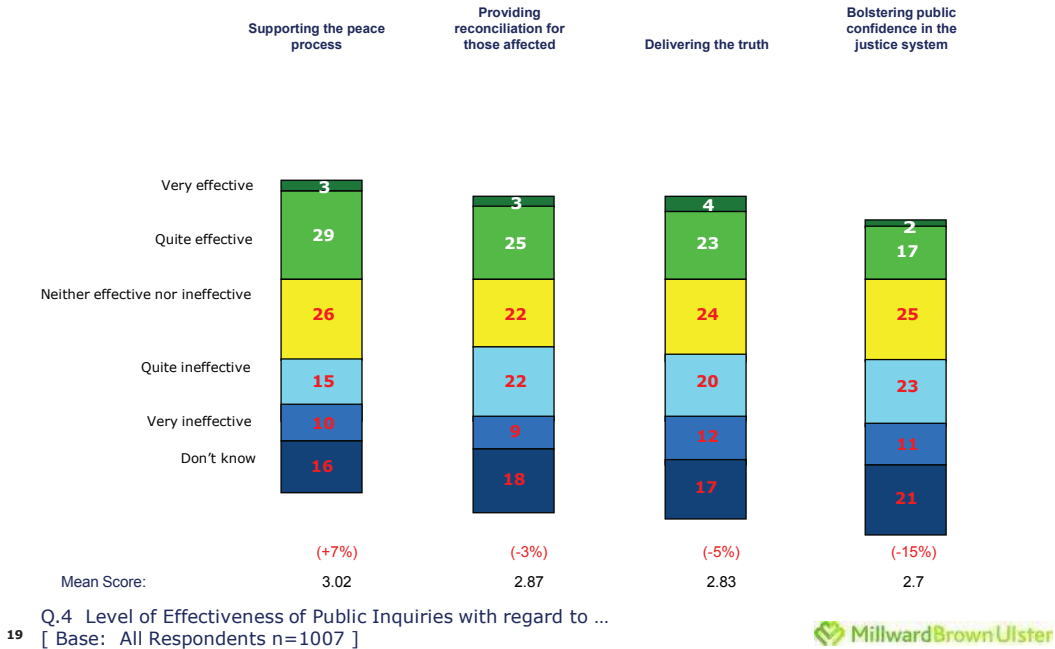
Significantly more respondents (+35%) agreed than disagreed that Public Inquiries ***appear to be powerless in ensuring all the required information is collected***, although just over 4 in 10 either did not agree nor disagree or did not know.

Respondents were also more likely to agree (by 26%) that Public Inquiries ***raise issues from the past that are best left in the past***.

Views were more mixed as to whether or not Public Inquiries ***are worthwhile, have victims' interests at heart*** or ***are a mechanism for the state to cover up***.

Respondents were however much more likely to disagree that such Public Inquiries ***lead to clear and complete conclusions***, and more likely to disagree that ***the peace process would not have happened if these inquiries had not been instigated***.

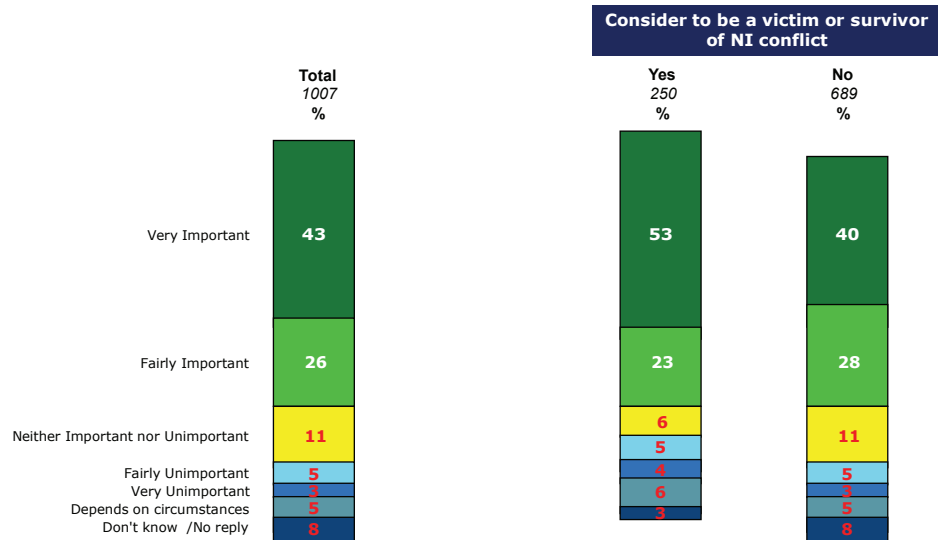
Opinion of the effectiveness of Public Inquiries was also divided, although few thought they were very effective. Many respondents were unsure or chose a middle ground.



Views on whether or not Public Inquiries have been effective were also mixed. With agreement and disagreement fairly balanced in terms whether they have been effective in terms of **supporting the peace process, providing reconciliation for those affected, or delivering the truth**. However, those who did not know or said they were neither effective nor ineffective was high across for all aspects, at more than 4 in 10. Respondents were more likely to disagree that Public Inquiries have been effective in **bolstering public confidence in the justice system**.

More than two thirds (69%) of respondents felt it was at least fairly important that investigations into the past are held in public (see chart on next page). This was slightly higher amongst those who considered themselves to be a victim or survivor of the NI conflict.

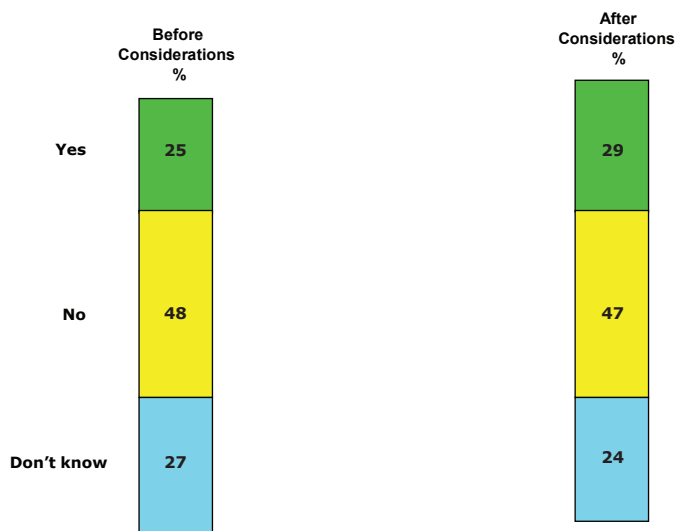
The majority of respondents (69%) did feel it was important that Inquiries are held in public, this was slightly higher amongst those who considered themselves to be victims or survivors.



Q.5 How important or unimportant do you feel it is that investigations into events of past are held in public? [Base: All Respondents n=1007]

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Opinion about future Public Inquiries was largely unchanged after further probing about their views on details of the process



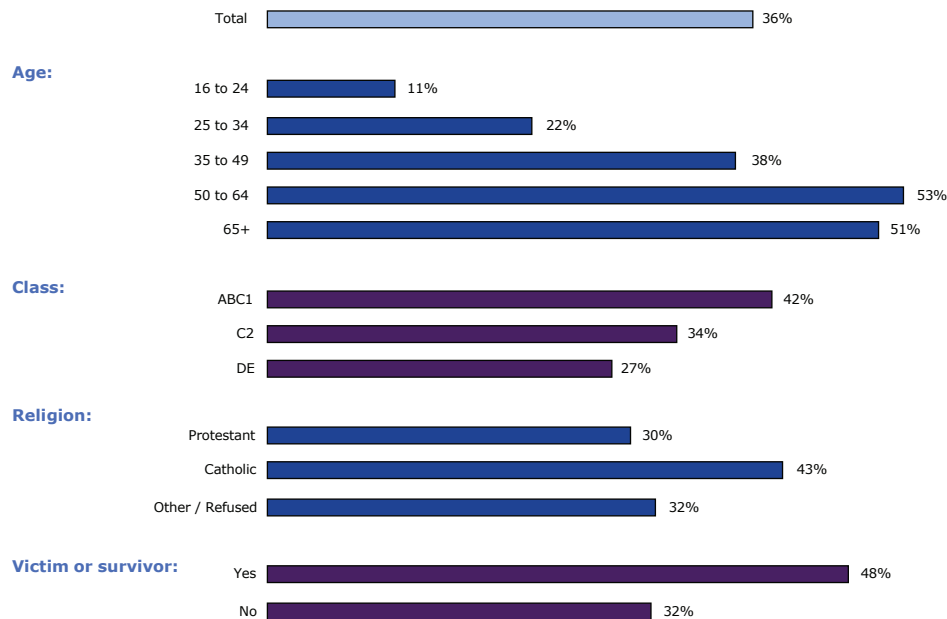
Q.6 Do you think there should be any further Public Tribunals of Inquiry after considerations? [Base: All Respondents n=1007]

MillwardBrownUlster

After having been probed more fully on their views about Public Inquiries, the views on whether or not there should be further Public Inquiries did not change significantly.

3.3 Consultative Group on the Past (The Eames Bradley Report)

Just over 1 in 3 claimed to have heard of the Consultative Group on the Past.

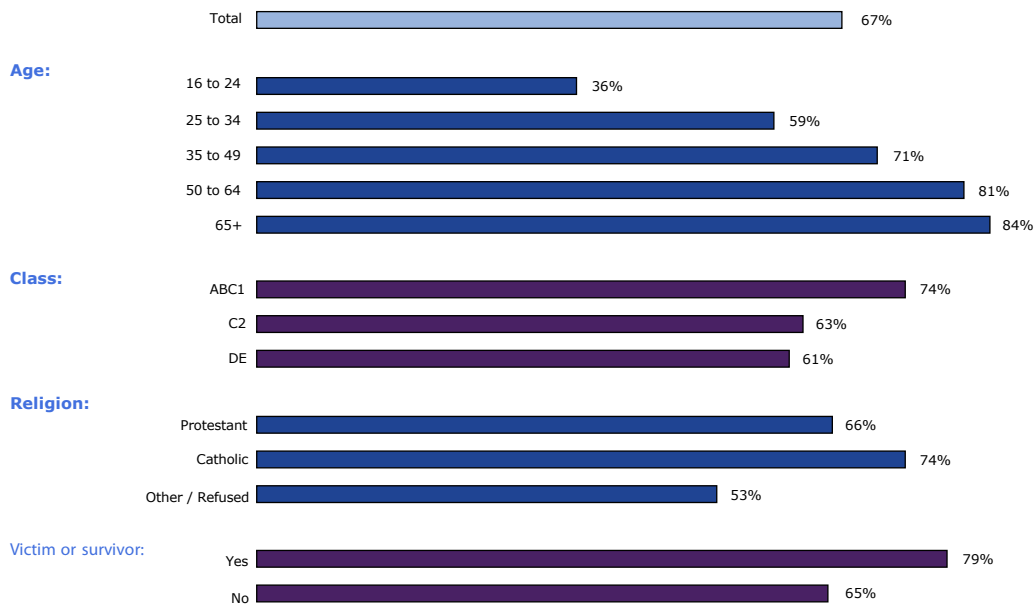


Q.7 Heard of consultative group of the past before today?
22 [Base: All Respondents n=1007]

MillwardBrownUlster

Just over a third had heard of the Consultative Group on the Past, (after being prompted about the Group and their published report). Awareness was much higher amongst those aged over 50 (53% compared to only 11% for those aged under 25). ABC1's (42% compared to 27% of DE's) were also more likely to have heard of the Group as were Catholics (43%) and those who considered themselves to be a victim (48%).

However two thirds had heard of the recommendation to make payments of £12,000 to the families of the bereaved

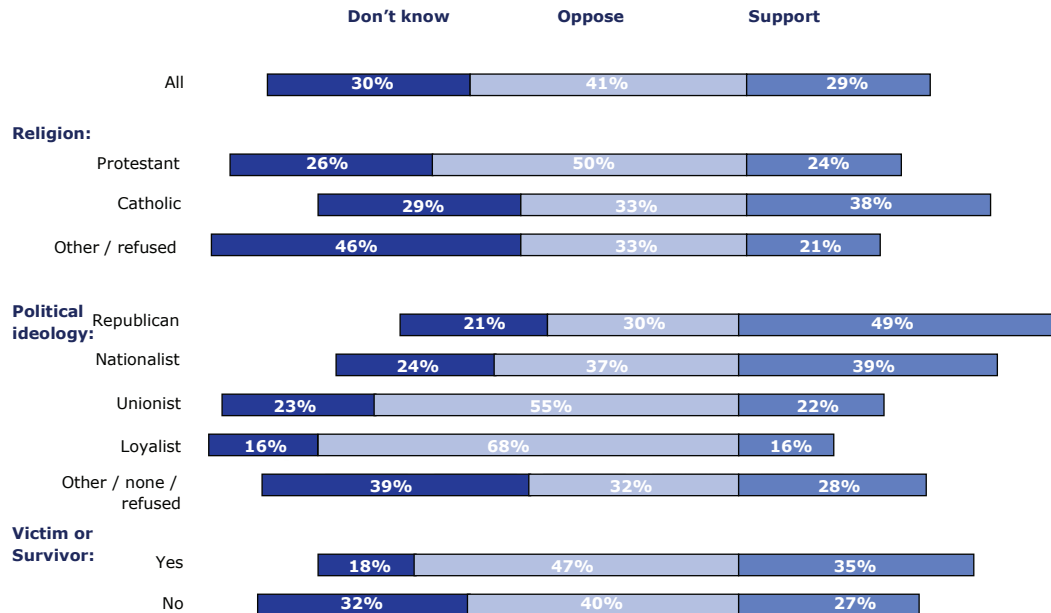


Q.8a Recall hearing about recommendation of making payment of £12,000 to the families of the bereaved? [Base: All Respondents n=1007]

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When further probed that one of the 31 recommendations made in the report by the Consultative Group on the Past involved a recognition payment of £12,000 to families of the bereaved, awareness of this recommendation increased to more than two thirds (67%). Again awareness was greatest amongst those aged over 50 (81%), ABC1's (74%), Catholics (74%) and those who consider themselves to victims or survivors (79%).

Overall the idea of a recognition payment to all bereaved families was more likely to be opposed than supported although a significant number (30%) were unsure. Support was greater however amongst Catholics, those who considered themselves Republican and slightly higher amongst those who considered themselves a victim or a survivor

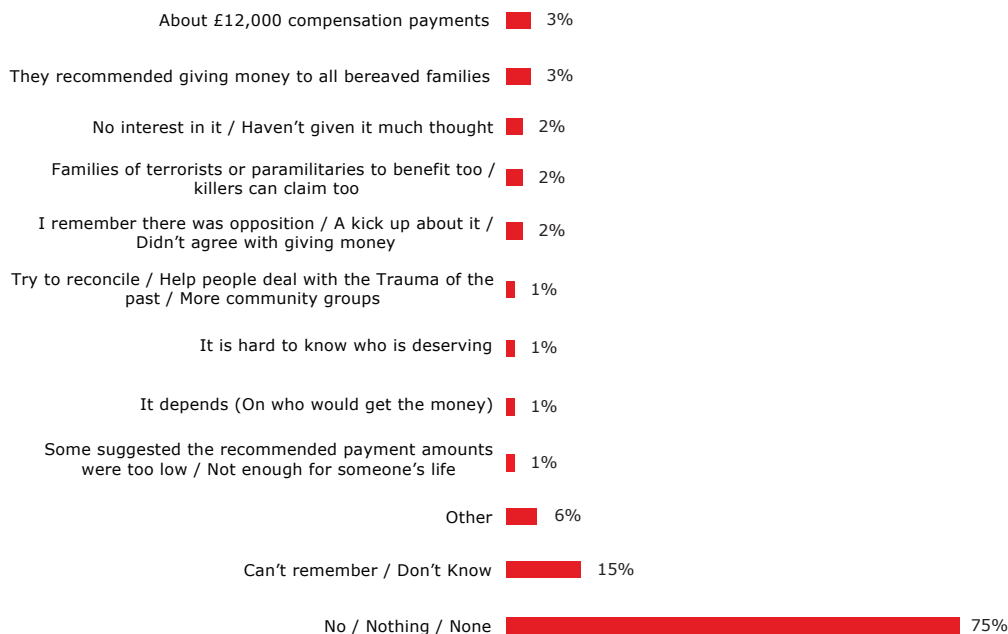


Q.8b Support or oppose idea of recognition payment to all bereaved families
 24 [Base: All Respondents n=1007]

MillwardBrownUlster

Support for the idea of such a recognition payment to all bereaved families was mixed. A significant proportion (30%) did not know whether such a payment should be made or not but otherwise respondents were more likely to oppose (41%) the idea than to support it (29%). Support was greater amongst Catholics (38%), and from those who designated themselves as having a Republican Political ideology (49%) and amongst those who considered themselves a victim or survivor (35%).

Few could recall any of the other 30 recommendations, in fact most replies were still referring to the recognition payment



Q.9 Recall anything about any of other recommendations?
 [Base: All Respondents – 1007]

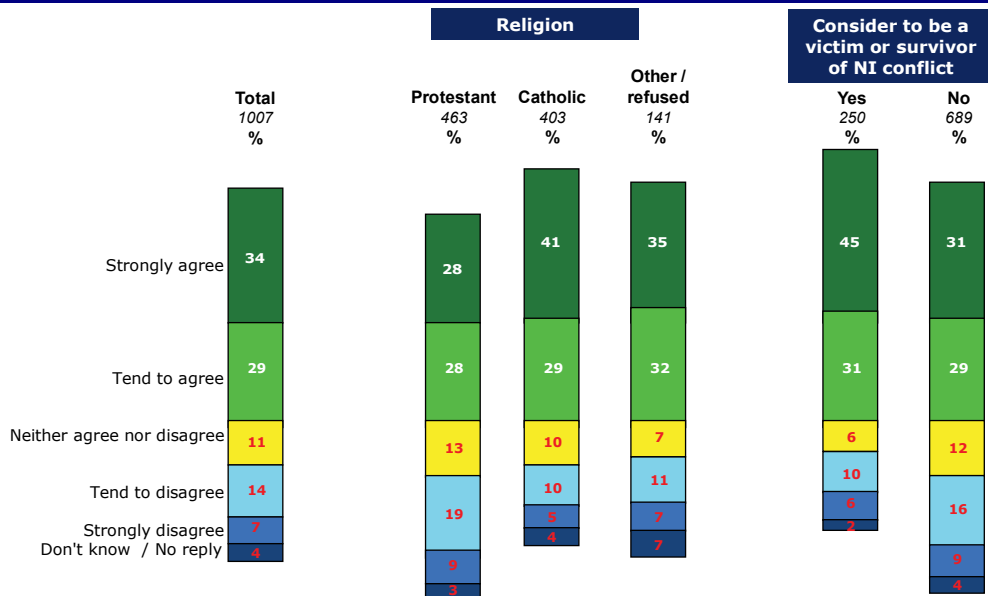
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Few, if any, could cite any of the other 30 recommendations that were made in the Report, with most respondents giving a reply actually referring again to the recognition payment.

3.4 Dealing with the Past

More than 6 in 10 respondents at least tended to agree that Northern Ireland needs to deal with the past in order to move on. Catholics were slightly more likely to agree as were those who considered themselves to be a victim or survivor



Q.10 Agreement that NI needs to deal with the past in order to move on
26 [Base: All Respondents n=1007]

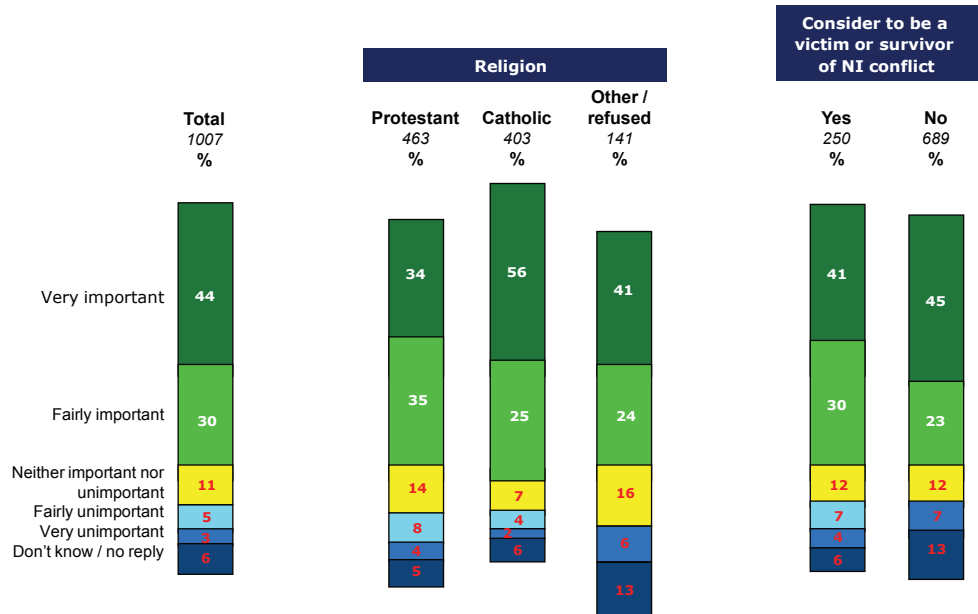
MillwardBrownUlster

The chart above and the next two examine attitudes towards dealing with the past. Firstly, nearly two thirds (63%) agreeing, including a third agreeing strongly, that Northern Ireland needs to deal with the past in order to move on. Those who considered themselves victims or survivors were more likely to agree (76%).

Almost three quarters (74%) felt it was important to deal with the past in a way that promotes reconciliation.

Even more respondents felt that forgiveness was important (86%) in dealing with the past.

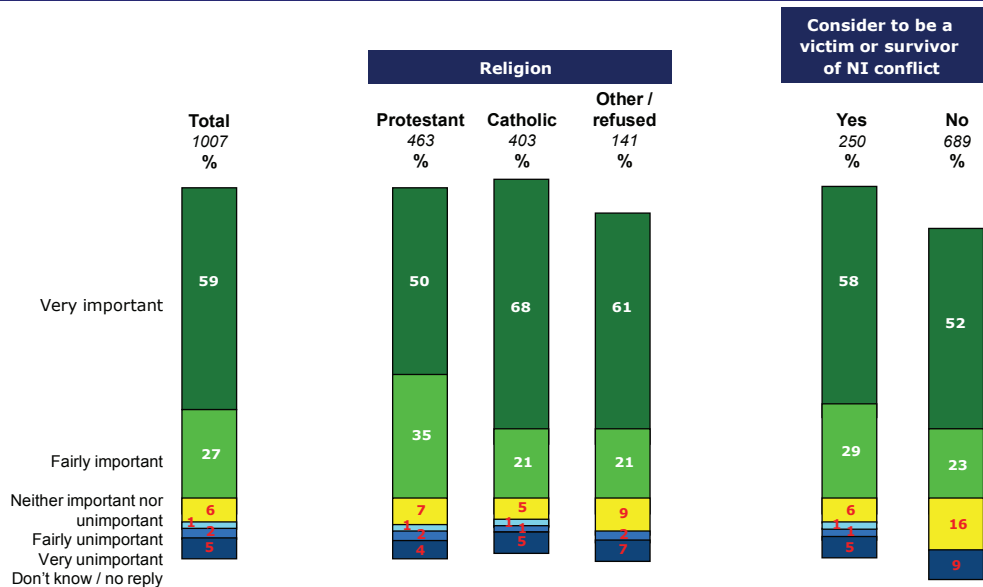
Even more agreed that it was important to deal with the past in a way that promotes reconciliation



27 Q.11 Importance of dealing with the past in a way that promotes reconciliation in our society
[Base: All Respondents n=1007]

MillwardBrownUlster

High importance was placed on the idea of forgiveness and its importance in dealing with the past, with almost 9 in 10 rating this as important

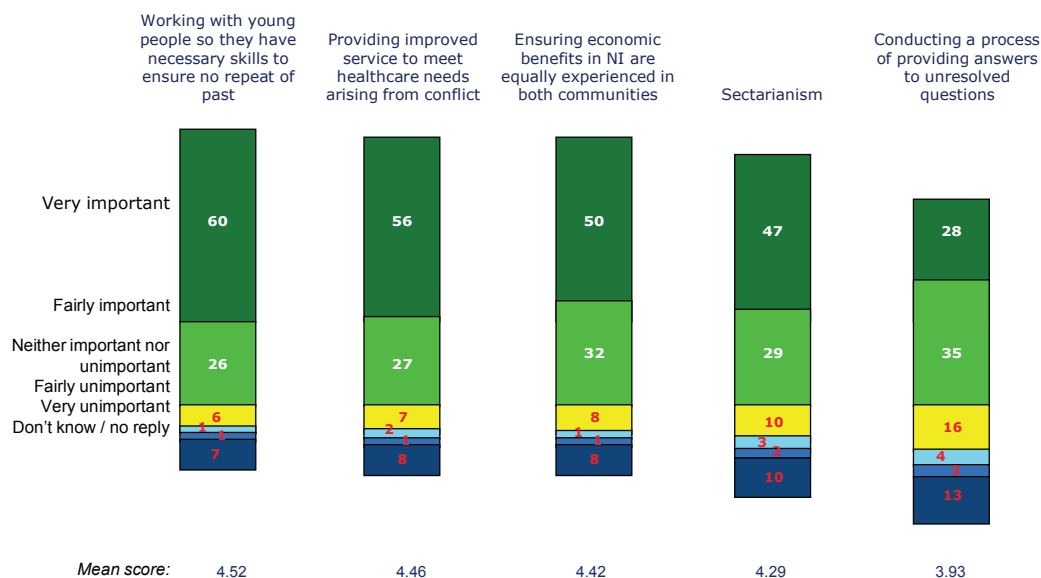


28 Q.12 Importance of forgiveness in dealing with the past
[Base: All Respondents n=1007]

MillwardBrownUlster

3.5 Proposed Legacy Commission

Greatest importance was placed on the proposed Legacy Commission in dealing with societal issues such as working with young people to provide them with the skills to ensure there is no repeat of the past, the provision of improved service to meet healthcare needs, ensuring that economic benefits were equally experienced and tackling sectarianism



29 Q.13 Importance of process dealing with each issue
[Base: All Respondents n=1007]

MillwardBrown Ulster

One of the recommendations of the Group was to establish an independent Legacy Commission to deal with the legacy of the past by combining processes of reconciliation, justice and information recovery. The proposed Legacy Commission would also contribute ideas to tackle a number of society issues. Respondents were asked if this proposed Legacy Commission was established, to rate how important it is that it would deal with each of a number of issues (See next two charts below).

Greatest importance was placed on the Proposed Legacy Commission dealing with certain societal issues, with the majority of respondents (at least 3 in 4) rating **working with young people so that they are provided with the skills necessary to ensure there is no repeat of the past, including through education programmes, to inform young people, in a balanced way, about the nature and impact of the conflict**, as at least fairly important (86% with 60% rating this as very important). This was followed

by ***providing improved services to meet healthcare needs arising out of the conflict, including dealing with trauma, suicide and addiction***, rated at least fairly important by a similar number (83%, with 56% very important) and ***ensuring the economic benefits experienced across post-conflict Northern Ireland are equally experienced in deprived areas in both communities*** (82% at least fairly important – 50% very important).

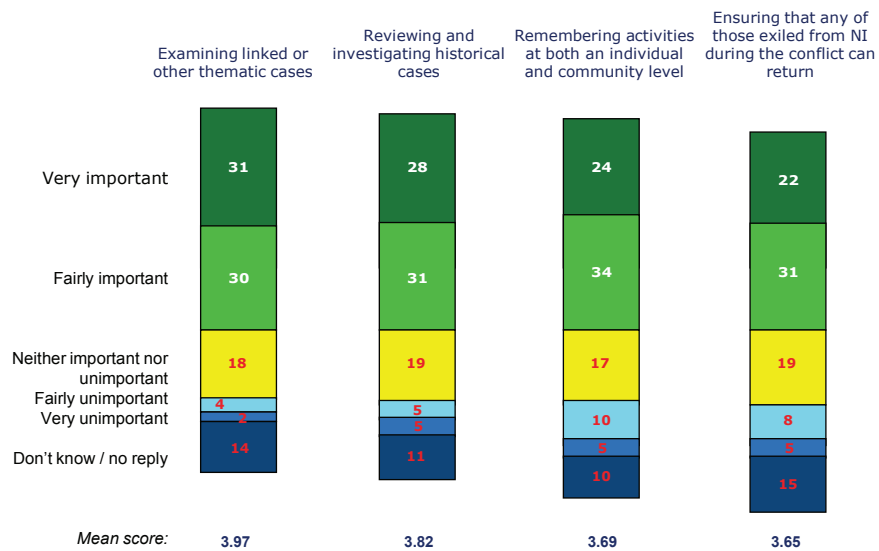
The majority (76%) also felt it was important to deal with ***sectarianism***.

Over half (58%) at least felt it was fairly important (a quarter thought it was very important) for the Proposed Legacy Commission to take responsibility for ***remembering activities (including storytelling, memorials, and a Day of Reflection) at both an individual and community level***.

At least half felt the remainder of the issues were also important, these issues were those surrounding justice and information recovery.

Finally, a similar number felt it was at least fairly important to ensure ***that any of those exiled from Northern Ireland during the conflict can return, if it is their desire to do so***.

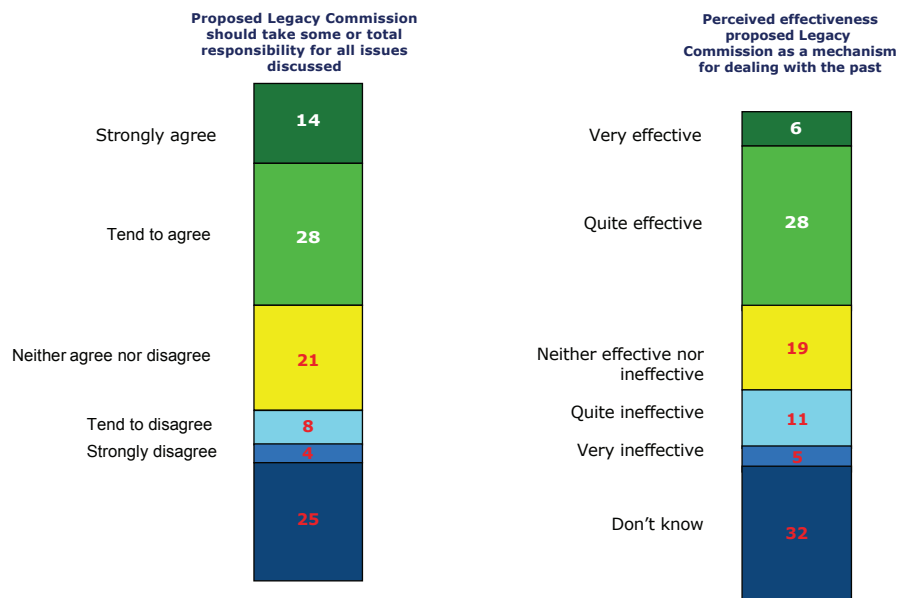
All remaining issues read to respondents were much more likely to be considered important than unimportant albeit a little less so than those above



30 Q.13 Importance of process dealing with each issue (contd)
[Base: All Respondents n=1007]

MillwardBrownUlster

Respondents did still appear unsure about the establishment of the proposed Legacy Commission to take at least some of the responsibility for these issues, although for those with a clear opinion, the number agreeing was greater than those disagreeing. Again respondents were unsure about the effectiveness of this proposed Legacy Commission in dealing with the past



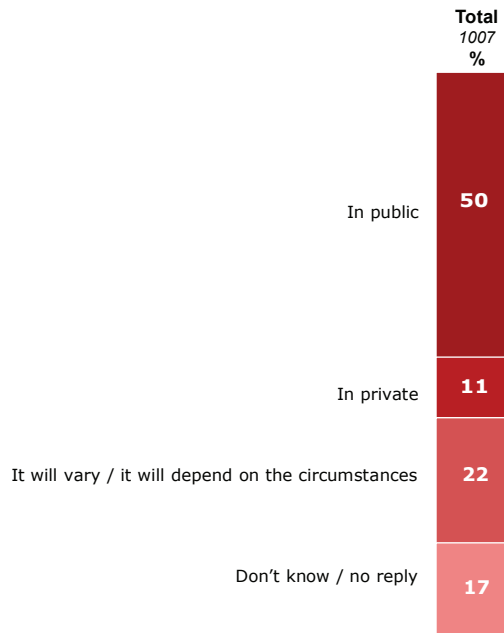
32 Q.15 Agreement that proposed Legacy Commission should take responsibility for issues and
Q.16 Perceived effectiveness of proposed Legacy Commission as a mechanism for dealing with the past. [Base: All Respondents n=1007]

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While many of the issues in the last two charts are already being dealt with to some degree by other organisations, respondents were asked if they agreed with the establishment of the proposed Legacy Commission to take some or all of the responsibility for all of these issues. A significant proportion were unsure (25%) or could not agree nor disagree (21%). Of the remainder, most did at least tend to agree (42%) of the total sample, with 14% agreeing strongly.

Even more were unsure or undecided (over half in total) about the effectiveness of the proposed Legacy Commission as a mechanism for dealing with the past. Of the remainder, just over 3 in 10 (34%) thought it might be at least quite effective, while just under 2 in 10 felt it would be ineffective.

The view that any future examinations of thematic cases should take place in public as opposed to private was very much supported

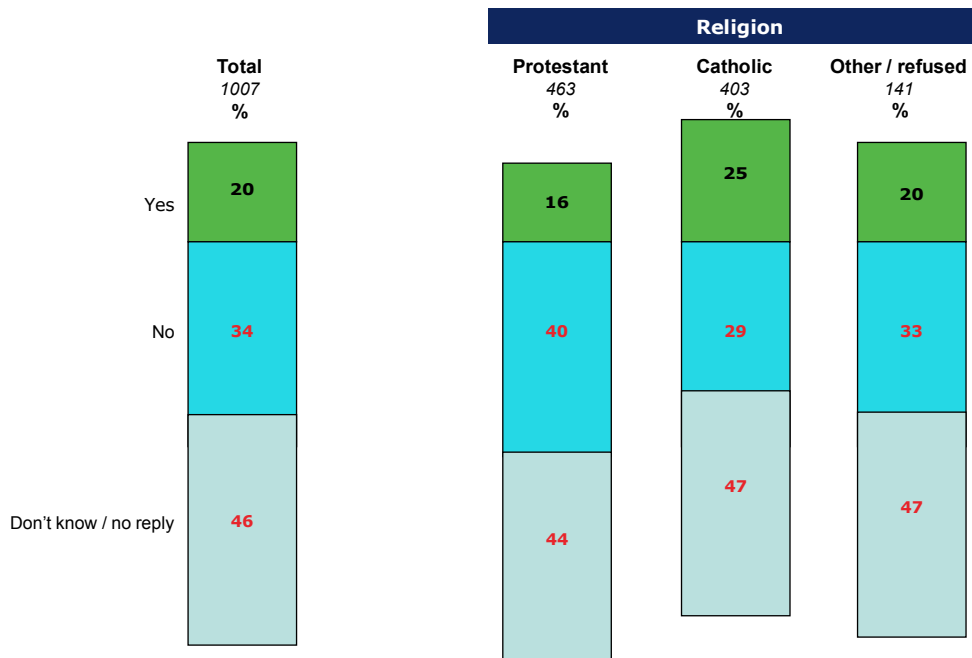


31 Q.14 Think examinations should take place in public or private
[Base: All Respondents n=1007]

MillwardBrownUlster

Respondents were also told that it is proposed that these examinations to be conducted by the proposed Legacy Commission into cases with similar or linked themes or ones of particular public concern would take place without public hearings, in order to facilitate more open and frank disclosure and avoid the constant publicity of present inquiry proceedings. However, when asked, half of all respondents felt they should actually be in public, just 1 in 10 felt they should be private, while the remainder either did not know or thought it should depend on the circumstances.

Only 1 in 5 felt that the proposed Legacy Commission can be truly independent, although 1 in 2 respondents were unsure



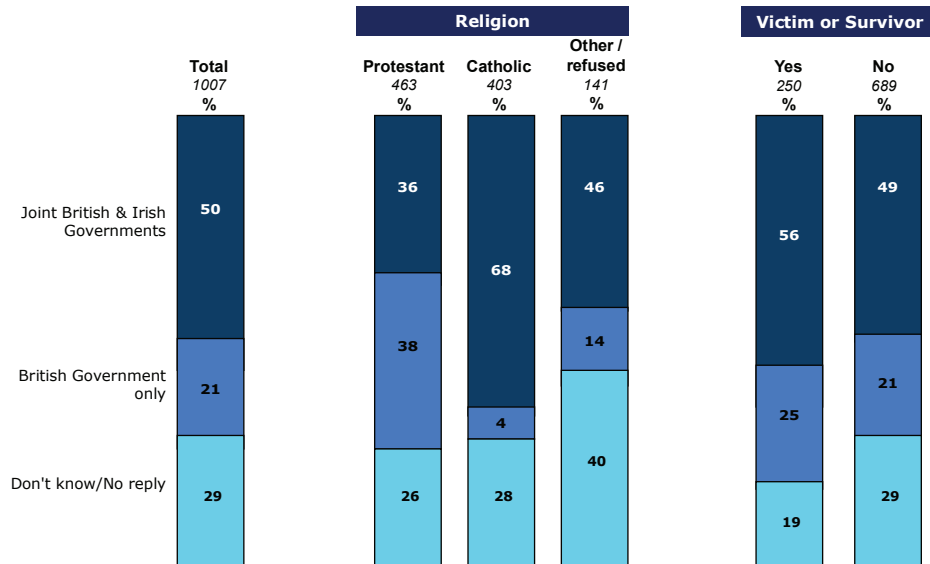
33 Q.17 Believe that such a legacy commission can be truly independent
[Base: All Respondents n=1007]

MillwardBrownUlster

There were mixed opinions on whether or not such a Legacy Commission could be truly independent, with only 1 in 5 believing it could, 1 in 3 thought it would not be independent while half (46%) were unsure.

Half (50%) of all respondents thought that if the Legacy Commission was established, it should be run jointly by the British & Irish Governments. Catholics (68%) were more likely to take this view. However, there was a similar significant number (29%) who did not have a view. (See below).

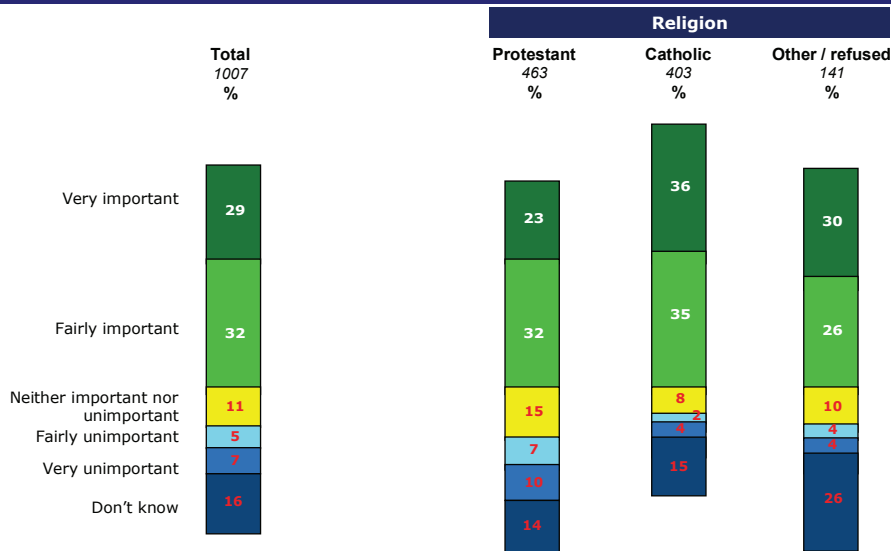
Half of respondents believed that the Legacy Commission should be run jointly by the British and Irish Governments. This was much higher amongst Catholics



34 Q.18 Who think should run legacy commission if established
[Base: All Respondents n=1007]

MillwardBrown Ulster

Finally, just over 6 in 10 respondents thought it was important that the experience of other countries who have experienced conflict should be drawn on in setting up and running a legacy commission



35 Q.19 Importance of drawing experience of other countries who have experienced conflict in setting up and running a legacy commission
[Base: All Respondents n=1007]

MillwardBrown Ulster

Finally, just over 6 in 10 (61%) respondents believed it was at least fairly important to draw on the experience of other countries, who have experienced conflict, when setting up and running such a Legacy Commission.

Appendices:

OMNIBUS – TECHNICAL NOTE ON SAMPLE DESIGN

In selecting the Omnibus sample, Northern Ireland is initially stratified into four basic regions as illustrated by the following map.

These regions have been defined on the basis of being internally homogeneous and comprise:

- **Belfast City**
- **North** (mainly County Antrim and the Northern part of Greater Belfast)
- **South** (mainly Counties Down and Armagh, and the Southern part of Greater Belfast)
- **West** (mainly Counties Londonderry, Tyrone and Fermanagh)

Within each stratum, sampling points are then selected with a probability proportional to the adult population for that area, and an additional control ensures the correct balance between urban and rural points. These sampling points are freshly selected for each survey in advance.

Within each sampling point, demographic quotas are set on the basis of age and social class characteristics for males and females.

<p>SOCIAL GRADE CLASSIFICATIONS – NORTHERN IRELAND</p> <p>GRADE “A” – UPPER MIDDLE CLASS</p> <p>Architect</p> <p>Barrister</p> <p>Botanist</p> <p>Chartered Accountant</p> <p>Clergyman</p> <p>Company Director</p> <p>Chemist</p> <p>Commander, and above (Navy)</p> <p>Doctor</p> <p>Dentist</p> <p>Editor</p> <p>Farmer with more than 50 acres</p> <p>Headmaster of large school</p> <p>Lieutenant Colonel, and above (Army)</p> <p>Lieutenant Commander (Navy)</p> <p>Manager of large factory, store or bank</p> <p>Physician</p> <p>Police Superintendent</p> <p>Surgeon</p> <p>Specialist</p> <p>Solicitor</p> <p>Senior Civil Servant (Principal and above)</p> <p>Senior Local Government Official (e.g., Town Clerk, Treasurer, Country Planning Officer)</p> <p>Senior Journalist</p> <p>Senior Executive</p> <p>Stock Broker and Jobber</p> <p>Senior Engineer with a Degree</p> <p>Senior Qualified Engineer in large factory</p> <p>University Professor</p> <p>Person living in comfort on investments or private income</p> <p>Retired person where the Head of Household before retirement would have been Grade “A”</p>	<p>GRADE “B” – MIDDLE CLASS</p> <p>Civil Servant in Executive or Similar Grade</p> <p>Curate</p> <p>Captain (Army)</p> <p>Farm Manager / Farmers with 30-50 acres</p> <p>Headmaster / Headmistress of smaller school (Primary or Secondary)</p> <p>Industrial Scientist</p> <p>Journalist</p> <p>Librarian (Senior qualified)</p> <p>Matron of large hospital</p> <p>Manager (office or business) with 6 or more under their management</p> <p>Manager of small branch office of bank or insurance company</p> <p>Manager of small factory or business or of department in a large factory or business</p> <p>Major (Army)</p> <p>Owner of medium sized business</p> <p>Proprietor with 3 or more paid employees</p> <p>Police Inspector</p> <p>Qualified Engineer</p> <p>Senior Assistant Master or Mistress</p> <p>Senior Secondary or Vocational School – teachers in charge of a department</p> <p>University Lecturer</p> <p>Person with private income living in a rather less luxurious way than Grade “A”</p> <p>Retired person where the Head of Household before retirement would have been Grade “B”</p>	<p>GRADE “C” – LOWER MIDDLE CLASS</p> <p>Actor who is not AB status</p> <p>Bank Clerk</p> <p>Clerk</p> <p>Calculating Machine Operator</p> <p>Clerk - Receptionist</p> <p>Commercial Traveller</p> <p>Company Representative</p> <p>Dispenser</p> <p>Despatch Clerk</p> <p>Entertainer</p> <p>Junior University Lecturer</p> <p>Junior Librarian</p> <p>Junior Civil Servant</p> <p>Lower Managerial and Clerical supervisory grades (where these are not primarily manual workers)</p> <p>Local Government Clerk</p> <p>Laboratory Assistant</p> <p>Manager (office or business) responsible for 1-5 employees</p> <p>Manager of small retail shop</p> <p>Musician</p> <p>Mid-wife</p> <p>Nurse</p> <p>Any State Registered Nurse (male or female)</p> <p>Primary, secondary or vocational school teacher, (younger or without special responsibility)</p> <p>Pharmacist</p> <p>Physiotherapist</p> <p>Proprietor with 1-2 employees</p> <p>Radiographer</p> <p>Shop assistant with special responsibilities or training</p> <p>Typist</p> <p>Telephonist</p> <p>Telegraphist</p>
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<p>GRADE "C2" – SKILLED WORKING CLASS</p> <p>Bricklayer Bus Driver Blacksmith Charge-hand Carpenter Coal Cutter Coppersmith Crane / Excavator Driver Electrical Filter Electrician Electrolyper Engine Driver Foreman Furnace-man Fitter Finisher (paper and board manufacturer) Filer Farmer Labourer/Farmer with holding of less than 30 acres Leading Fireman Long Distance Lorry Driver Glazier Guard (goods and passenger) Grinder Housekeeper (in charge of others) Hewer Joiner : Linotype Operator : Miner Moulder Milwright Ordinary Policeman Linesman Linotype Operator Miner Moulder : Milwright</p>	<p>GRADE "C2" ... CONTINUED</p> <p>Machine Man Manager of small shop who, in fact, does most of the work Ordinary Policeman Overlooker Overseer, whose work is mainly manual (these may be found in nearly all trades and industries) Porter Post Office Sorter Plasterer Plumber Painter Plater Process Engraver Riveter Skilled Knitter (hosiery or other knitted goods) Smelter Stereotyper Stevedore Storeman (who is in charge of others) Senior Shop Assistant (barmen / storemen whose work is mainly manual, but overseeing junior shop assistants / barmen / storemen) Toolmaker Turner Typesetter Vehicle Builder Welder Retired Person who, before retirement would have been in "C" Grade and has a pension other than state pensions or has private means</p>	<p>GRADE "D" OTHER WORKING CLASS</p> <p>Blender Boot and Shoe Maker Barman Carder Comber Cutter (Clothing \Manufacturer) Drawer Doubler Dyer Hospital Attendant / Assistant without training or responsibility Housekeeper Most Unskilled Workers Machine Assembler Milkman Ordinary Seaman (Navy) Presser Processor Private or Equivalent (Army) Postman Spinner Sprayer Twister Textile Printer Van Driver Weaver Woolsorter Retired Person, who before retirement would have been Grade "D" and has a pension other than state pension or has private means</p> <p>GRADE "E" – LOWEST LEVELS OF SUBSISTENCE</p> <p>Broadly, Grade "E" consists of pensioners, widows or families, casual or lowest grades of worker and those who through periods of sickness or lack of opportunity or employment are unable to take their places in the high grades. Head of Household who is Grade "E" and there are no other wage earners of higher grade.</p>
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Sampling Points

***** RANDOM SAMPLE *****

Date: 17/10/2008 at 11:4:0

U9910A

Region Title: NORTHERN IRELAND ELECTORATE

Population size = 1275580

Number of points selected = 45 Sample size = 28346

Area: BELFAST CITY 01

1	CHERRYVALLEY		BELFAST
2	BALLYNAFEIGH	4422	BELFAST
3	CAVEHILL	4070	BELFAST
4	ENLER/GRAHAMS BRIDGE	4137	CASTLEREAGH
5	FALLS PARK	4464	BELFAST
6	JORDANSTOWN/ROSTULLA	7324	NEWTOWNABBEY
7	MALONE	4394	BELFAST
8	MOSSLEY/HAWTHORNE	4186	NEWTOWNABBEY
9	ORANGFIELD	4402	BELFAST
10	WYNCHURCH/HILLFOOT	3909	CASTLEREAGH
11	MUSGRAVE	4147	BELFAST

Area: GREATER BELFAST NORTH 21 (RURAL POINTS 22)

12	FOUNTAIN HILL/STEEPLE/STILES	4679	ANTRIM
13	GREENISLAND/GORTALEE/KNOCKAGH	4690	C'FERGUS

Area: GREATER BELFAST SOUTH 11 (RURAL POINTS 12)

14	LISNAGARVEY/TONAGH	4321	LISBURN
15	KILWEE	2527	LISBURN
16	BROADWAY/BANGOR CASTLE	4784	NORTH DOWN
17	CONLIG/CLANDEBOYE	6519	NORTH DOWN
18	HARBOUR/PRINCETOWN	4560	NORTH DOWN
19	GLENNAVY	3169	LISBURN (R)

Area: NORTHERN URBAN 31

20	GLEBE/NEWHILL/ROUTE	3935	BALLYMONEY
21	BLACKHEAD/WHITEHEAD	3283	C'FERGUS

Area: NORTHERN RURAL 32

22	CRAIGYWARREN/DUNMINNING/GLENRAVEL	5583	BALLYMENA
23	ARMOY/GLENSHESK/KINBANE/MOSS SIDE&MOYARGET	2715	MOYLE

Area: SOUTHERN URBAN 41

24	BALLYDOWN/FORT	4632	BANBRIDGE
25	DEMESNE/DOWNS/THE MALL		ARMAGH
26	CLONALLAN/SEAVIEW	5188	NEWRY&MOURNE
27	DRUMALANE/ST.MARYS	4085	NEWRY&MOURNE
28	ROSTREVOR/BURREN AND KILBRONEY	4303	NEWRY&MOURNE

Area: SOUTHERN RURAL 42

29	BALLYWALTER/MILLISLE	5259	ARDS
30	BALLYMARTIN/KILLYLEA/MILFORD	5284	ARMAGH
31	CARRIGATUKE/DERRYNOOSE/KLLEEN	5695	ARMAGH
32	THE BIRCHES	2300	CRAIGAVON
33	KILMORE/SAINTFIELD	4511	DOWN

Area: NORTH WEST URBAN 51

34	CHURCHLAND/THE CUTS	4889	COLERAINE
35	PORTSTEWART/STRAND	4183	COLERAINE
36	BRANDYWELL/THE DIAMOND	3877	DERRY
37	CULMORE	5226	DERRY

Area: NORTH WEST RURAL 52

38	GREYSTEEL	2683	LIMAVADY
39	SWATRAGH/UPPERLANDS/VALLEY	5241	MAGHERAFELT

Area: WESTERN URBAN 61

40	OLDTOWN/NEW BUILDINGS/TULLAGH	4613	COOKSTOWN
41	CAMOWEN/DERGMONEY/DRUMRAGH	5213	OMAGH

Area: WESTERN RURAL 62

42	ALTMORE/COALISLAND WEST & NEWMILLS/DONAGHMORE	4756	DUNGANNON
43	AUGHNACLOY/BALLYGAWLEY/CASTLECAULFIELD	4917	DUNGANNON
44	DRUMNAKILLY/OWENKILLEW/TERMON	4815	OMAGH
45	NEWTOWNSTEWART/PLUMBRIDGE/VICTORIA BRIDGE	4855	STRABANE



ENTER START TIME

HRS:.....

MINS:.....

October (A) Omnibus

Good morning / afternoon / evening. I am from the market research company Millward Brown Ulster and we would like to ask you some questions on a number of topics. The first topic is about Public Tribunals and other issues dealing with the future in Northern Ireland so your answers are important. Anything you tell me will be strictly confidential and will be part of a total of 1000 interviews across all of Northern Ireland.

SECTION 'A' – LOCAL INTEREST **ASK ALL**

Q.1 A number of Public Tribunals are currently ongoing in Northern Ireland. Can you think of any? PROBE: Any others? DO NOT PROMPT 9 / 2

Rosemary Nelson	1	(10)
Billy Wright	2	
Robert Hamill	3	
Pat Finucane	4	
Breen and Buchanan/Smithwick	6	(10)
Saville / Bloody Sunday	7	
Others (specify).....	0	(10)
Can't remember which ones	V	
No, not aware of any	X	

SHOWCARD A1 (SHOWING LIST FROM QUESTION)

Q.2a The current Tribunals of Inquiry include Rosemary Nelson, Billy Wright, Robert Hamill and the Saville Inquiry or Bloody Sunday. Do you think there should be any further public Tribunals of Inquiry such as these?

Yes	1	ASK Q2B	(11)
No	2	ASK Q2C	
Don't know	3	ASK Q2C	

IF YES AT Q2A

Q.2b Why do you say that? Were you thinking of any cases in particular?

	(12)
	-
	(13)

IF NO OR DON'T KNOW AT Q2A

Q.2c Why do you say that?

	(14)
	-
	(15)

ASK ALL – SHOWCARD A2

Q.3 Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with the following statements about Public Tribunals of Inquiry?

READ OUT – ROTATE – TICK START		Strongly agree	Agree	Neither nor	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Don't know	
<input type="checkbox"/>	Inquiries are the most effective way of getting to the truth	1	2	3	4	5	6	(16)
	They raise issues from the past that are best left in the past	1	2	3	4	5	6	(17)
	They are worthwhile	1	2	3	4	5	6	(18)
	They take too long	1	2	3	4	5	6	(19)
	They lead to clear and complete conclusions	1	2	3	4	5	6	(20)
	They are too expensive	1	2	3	4	5	6	(21)
	They have victims interests at their heart	1	2	3	4	5	6	(22)
	They are a mechanism for the state to cover up the truth	1	2	3	4	5	6	(23)
	The peace process would not have happened if these Inquiries had not been instigated	1	2	3	4	5	6	(24)
	They appear to be powerless in ensuring all the required information is collected	1	2	3	4	5	6	(25)
	They are a valuable means of addressing issues relating to the past	1	2	3	4	5	6	(26)
<input type="checkbox"/>	Nothing has been achieved from conducting these Inquiries	1	2	3	4	5	6	(27)

SHOWCARD A3

Q.4 How effective or ineffective do you feel Public Tribunals have been with regards to the following?

READ OUT		Very effective	Quite Effective	Neither effective nor ineffective	Quite ineffective	Very Ineffective	Don't know	
	Providing reconciliation for those affected	1	2	3	4	5	6	(28)
	Bolstering public confidence in the justice system	1	2	3	4	5	6	(29)
	Supporting the peace process	1	2	3	4	5	6	(30)
	Delivering the truth	1	2	3	4	5	6	(31)

SHOWCARD A4

Q.5 How important or unimportant do you feel it is that investigations into events of the past are held in public?

Very important	1	(32)
Fairly important	2	
Neither important or unimportant	3	
Fairly unimportant	4	
Very unimportant	5	
Depends on circumstances	6	
Don't know	7	

Q.6 After these considerations, do you think there should be any further public Tribunals of Inquiry such as these?

Yes	1	(33)
No	2	
Don't know	3	

Q.7 The Consultative Group of the Past was formed in 2007 to consult across the community on how Northern Ireland Society can best approach the legacy of the events of the past 40 years. This group was asked to make recommendations on the steps that might be taken to support Northern Ireland in building a shared future that is not overshadowed by the events of the past. They published their report, also known as the Eames Bradley Report, in January of this year. Before today had you heard of the Consultative Group of the Past?

Yes	1	(34)
No	2	
Don't know	3	

Q.8a One of the 31 recommendations of the Consultative Group of the Past was to make a payment of £12,000 to families of the bereaved. Do you recall hearing about this recommendation?

Yes	1	(35)
No	2	
Don't know	3	

Q.8b Do you support or oppose the idea of a recognition payment to all bereaved families?

Support	1	(36)
Oppose	2	
Don't know	3	

Q.9 Do you recall anything about any of the other recommendations? What other details can you remember?

		(37)
		-
		(38)

SHOWCARD A5

Q.10 To what extent do you agree or disagree that Northern Ireland needs to deal with the past in order to move on?

Strongly agree	1	(39)
Tend to agree	2	
Neither agree nor disagree	3	
Tend to disagree	4	
Strongly disagree	5	
Don't know	6	

SHOWCARD A6

Q.11 How important or unimportant is it to deal with the past in a way that promotes reconciliation in our society?

Very important	1	(40)
Fairly important	2	
Neither important or unimportant	3	
Fairly unimportant	4	
Very unimportant	5	
Don't know	6	

SHOWCARD A6 AGAIN

Q.12 How important is forgiveness in dealing with the past?

Very important	1	(41)
Fairly important	2	
Neither important nor unimportant	3	
Fairly unimportant	4	
Very unimportant	5	
Don't know	6	

SHOWCARD A6 AGAIN

Q.13 One of the recommendations of the Group was to establish an independent Legacy Commission to deal with the legacy of the past by combining processes of reconciliation, justice and information recovery. The proposed Legacy Commission would also contribute ideas to tackle a number of society issues. If such a process was established, how important or unimportant do you feel it is to deal with each of the following issues?

	Very important	Fairly important	Neither important nor unimportant	Fairly unimportant	Very unimportant	Don't know	
Sectarianism	1	2	3	4	5	6	(42)
Remembering Activities (including storytelling, memorials and a Day of Reflection) at both an individual and community level	1	2	3	4	5	6	(43)
Working with young people so that they are provided with the skills necessary to ensure there is no repeat of the past, including through education programmes, to inform young people, in a balanced way, about the nature and impact of the conflict	1	2	3	4	5	6	(44)
Providing improved services to meet healthcare needs arising out of the conflict, including dealing with trauma, suicide and addiction	1	2	3	4	5	6	(45)
Ensuring that the economic benefits experienced across post-conflict Northern Ireland are equally experienced in deprived areas in both communities	1	2	3	4	5	6	(46)
Ensuring that any of those exiled from Northern Ireland during the conflict can return, if it is their desire to do so	1	2	3	4	5	6	(47)
Reviewing and investigating historical cases with the view to prosecuting if any new evidence comes to light	1	2	3	4	5	6	(48)
Conducting a process of providing answers, to unresolved questions of importance in individual cases to relatives and victims, separate from any intention to prosecute	1	2	3	4	5	6	(49)
Examining any cases that appear to be linked or have a similar theme particularly ones that remain of public concern such as specific areas of paramilitary activity or alleged collusion	1	2	3	4	5	6	(50)

Q.14 It is proposed that examinations to be conducted by the proposed Legacy Commission, of cases with similar or linked themes or ones of particular public concern, would take place without public hearings, in order to facilitate more open and frank disclosure and avoid the constant publicity of present inquiry proceedings. Hence there would be no new public inquiries. Do you, personally, think that these examinations should take place in public or private?

In public	1	(51)
In private	2	
It will vary / It will depend on the circumstances	3	
Don't know	4	

SHOWCARD A7

Q.15 Some of the issues and responsibilities we have discussed are already being dealt with to some degree by other organisations, to what extent do you agree or disagree with the establishment of this proposed Legacy Commission to take some or total responsibility for **ALL** of these issues?

Strongly agree	1	(52)
Tend to agree	2	
Neither agree nor disagree	3	
Tend to disagree	4	
Strongly disagree	5	
Don't know	6	

SHOWCARD A8

Q.16 How effective or ineffective do you feel the proposed Legacy Commission would be as a mechanism for dealing with the past?

Very effective	1	(53)
Quite Effective	2	
Neither effective nor ineffective	3	
Quite ineffective	4	
Very ineffective	5	
Don't know	6	

Q.17 Do you believe that such a Legacy Commission can be truly independent?

Yes	1	(54)
No	2	
Don't know	3	

Q.18 If it was to be established, who should run this Legacy Commission? Do you think it should be..(READ OUT)?

Joint British & Irish Governments	1	(55)
British Government only	2	
Don't know	4	

SHOWCARD A9

Q.19 How important or unimportant do you feel it is to draw on the experience of other countries, who have experienced conflict, in setting up and running a legacy commission?

Very important	1	(56)
Fairly important	2	
Neither important nor unimportant	3	
Fairly unimportant	4	
Very unimportant	5	
Don't know	6	

SHOWCARD A10

Q.20 To ensure that we have spoken to a fully representative sample of citizens of Northern Ireland please tell me which of these best describes your political ideology?

Republican	1	(57)
Nationalist	2	
Unionist	3	
Loyalist	4	
Other (specify).....	5	
None	6	
Refused	7	

SHOWCARD A11

Q.21 And, could you tell me if you would consider yourself a Victim or Survivor of the Conflict in Northern Ireland. For these purposes the definitions of Victims and Survivors are listed on this showcard. I don't need you to tell me which applies to you, just whether or not any apply to you. So please just answer yes or no.

Yes	1	(58)
No	2	
Refused	3	
Don't know	4	

