The Legacy of The Troubles:

{ Experience of the Troubles,
Mental Health and Social Attitudes }

THE LEGACY OF THE TROUBLES: EXPERIENCE OF THE TROUBLES, MENTAL HEALTH AND SOCIAL ATTITUDES

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Preface

The project was made possible by the funding of the EU Special Programme for Peace and Reconciliation via the intermediary body ADM/CPA. The authors wish to gratefully acknowledge this support. The survey was conducted in the six counties of Northern Ireland and the six Border counties of the Irish Republic. Throughout this report, these areas designated as eligible for funding under the EU Special Programme for Peace and Reconciliation, are referred to as Northern Ireland and the Border Counties, as they are by the funding agency.

The research was funded under Priority 5, measure 5.4 which aims to support projects which will make a positive contribution to peace building as well as provide opportunities for those prevented from fulfilling their potential. The proposed research meets both objectives, the research informs the process of peace and reconciliation and examines the role that conflict experience has in attitude formation. It also represents the first attempt at auditing the relationship between conflict and psychological well being in a representative sample from Northern Ireland and the border regions. Whilst specific recommendations are beyond the scope of this report understanding these effects will provide policy makers and practitioners with the capacity to target needs in this area and thus promote opportunities for those affected by the conflict to fulfil their potential. The research programme also represented a major opportunity for two of Ireland s key educational institutions to engage in a cross-border project.

This report outlines the results of large scale survey conducted to assess the extent of peoples experience of Troubles related violence and its relationship with social identities, social and political attitudes and mental health. This report is targeted at those interested in the impact of the Troubles on victims and survivors as well as those interested in improving community relations and building a lasting peace. Our findings have many policy implications across a wide range of areas such as terms of health care, housing, community relations and social policy.

The report represents an overview of our findings. The scale of this project has been vast. We hope the current report give readers an

accessible and readable insight into the issues we have addressed. Further publications will arise from the project. Next year two Doctoral theses based on further analysis of the data relating to Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder and Social Identification will be submitted for examination by Ciara Downes and Katharina Schmid respectively. A number of manuscripts are currently in preparation which will be submitted to peer-reviewed medical and psychology journals in the coming year. Our web site (http://www.legacyofthetroubles.qub.ac.uk/) will carry details of these publications as they become available.

1. The Legacy of the Troubles: Background and Rationale

1.0 Overview

This research project explores the breadth of conflict experiences reported by a representative sample of the population in Northern Ireland and the Border Counties of the Irish Republic. The effects of these experiences are examined in relation to three ranges of outcomes, mental health, national and religious identification and social and political attitudes. This chapter begins by considering existing knowledge relating to the human cost of the conflict and how mental health effects may interact with collective identity. Secondly, it outlines the importance of identification processes to the understanding of political conflict and concludes by considering how conflict experience is related to social and political attitudes.

1.1 The human cost of the conflict

Following thirty years of political violence, 3,500 deaths, over 35,000 injuries, 16,000 charged with terrorist offences, 34,000 shootings and 14,000 bombings, there are few in families in Northern Ireland's small population (1.7 million) that have not been affected by the conflict. The focus of much of the past research has been on the effects of the conflict on psychological health of those living in communities associated with long running political violence. As a general rule it can be said that studies that examine mental health problems in community populations provide clearer evidence of the effects of political violence than those that monitor the psychiatric admissions, referral rates and drug prescribing practices (Cairns 1994; Daly, 1999).

Clinical studies on the other hand provide little information about the effects of political violence on the population generally but do document its effect on the specific sub-groups. In a widely reported study (Lyons, 1971) considered 100 people in Northern Ireland who had been directly involved in a bomb explosion. In this group of patients, many developed several symptoms. A majority (92%)

displayed an affective disturbance, the commonest form being anxiety or phobic symptoms. Depression and irritability were also common. Similarly (Gidron, Gal and Zahavi, 1999) considered a sample of bus commuters in Israel following a number of fatal bomb attacks on buses. Their study indicated that approximately one fifth of their sample of 50 commuters had relatively high levels of anxiety associated with terrorist attacks.

To date few studies have attempted to examine the impact of the Troubles on post-traumatic symptoms or substance misuse. One study of those affected by the Enniskillen bomb suggested a substantial prevalence of post-traumatic problems, however the sample studied was small and with only those seeking compensation for their injuries represented (Curran, Bell, Murray, Loughrey, Roddy & Rocke, 1990). Another published study included a sample of those seeking compensation for their subsequent post-traumatic problems (Bell, Kee, Loughrey, Roddy & Curran, 1988). The need for research to be undertaken to assess the extent of these problems on a wider societal basis is underscored by evidence that post-traumatic symptoms and substance mis-use are common psychological sequelae to exposure to political violence (Bleich, Gelkopf & Solomon, 2003).

Community surveys, involving random samples of the population are the most effective way of examining the relationship between experience of political violence and mental health. Barker et al. (1988) completed a survey of this type with a random sample of the population in Northern Ireland. 547 people, representative of the population, completed the General Health Questionnaire (GHQ), a standard self-report measure of mental health. Approximately 22% of the sample were subsequently identified as possible 'cases' - having scores that exceeded the widely accepted cut-off point that is indicative of psychopathology. Cairns and Wilson (1984) found a similar level of psychopathology in a random sample of the population of two towns in Northern Ireland. This incidence is

slightly lower than that reported in the rest of the United Kingdom during a similar period (Huppert, Roth & Gore, 1987).

Importantly these previous studies did not measure exposure to political violence. One more recent population study has assessed perceived victimhood and mental health, as measured by the GHQ (Cairns, Mallett, Lewis & Wilson, 2003). The authors found that those who viewed themselves as victims of the Troubles had significantly poorer mental health than those who did not see themselves as victims. However in their sample, those reporting that the Troubles had directly impacted on their lives as measured by three items tapping into exposure to political violence, did not always think of themselves as victims. Further a comparison of the GHQ scores obtained in this study post-ceasefire suggested that they did not differ dramatically from those evidenced during the Troubles.

The current project represents a valuable addition to existing research. It adds to knowledge by measuring reported experience of the Troubles. This adds to the limited pool of information available regarding the lived experience of the Troubles, in Northern Ireland and the Border Counties. The inclusion of the sample from the Border Counties of the Republic is particularly welcome, given the hitherto absence of research examining the impact of the Troubles in the border area. Finally, perceived victimhood and general health, post-traumatic symptoms, physical health and substance misuse are measured in a representative community sample and cross-referenced to respondents' experience of the Troubles.

1.2 Collective Identity, Violence and Social and Political attitudes

Collective identities are believed to contribute uniquely to intractable political conflicts. Though many conflicts, including those in Israel-Palestine, the Basque region and Northern Ireland, relate to tensions over territory, power or resources (Rouhana & Bar-Tal, 1998), collective identification also plays a pivotal role in these political conflicts. Indeed the differences in identity can often take on a

similar meaning as the struggle over power or resources themselves (Kelman, 2001). Markers of identity may be based on nationality, religion or ethnicity; however these differences are frequently recreated and emphasised by opposing social groups.

Understanding these identity processes therefore is crucial to an understanding of inter-group conflict. The bases of people's self-definitions change when they view themselves as group members. Personal identities yield to collective or social identities. In interpersonal situations we react to others uniquely, being influenced by personality and skills for instance. However in inter-group contexts, there are new identity possibilities, as we perceive ourselves as a member of a social group, sharing some or all of the characteristics of the group. Categorizing ourselves as a member of a group has important implications psychologically. Self-esteem becomes bound up with the fortunes of the group. Our choice of social comparators tend to include those from our own rather than the other group, making the latter less relevant sources of information and influence. Finally we tend to depersonalise which contributes to both stereotyping and less cognisant of the diversity within the other group. Interestingly we also have a tendency to self-stereotype; as such collective images of what it means to be British or Catholic can come to dominate our views of ourselves influencing our own identity relevant behaviour (Turner, 1982).

Current thinking suggests that there are many elements to collective identities. As suggested above, one important component of identity is an individual's evaluation of his or her identity, be it private or public regard and the degree of importance he or she attaches to a particular identity. Other elements of identity include ideologies, perceptions of identity threat and values which provide insights into the meaning of a specific collective identity in societal and political terms. As such, these ideologies or values reflect a person's belief system concerning a group's relative status and power within a society (Gurin & Townsend, 1986; Ashmore, Deaux & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; Eidelson &

Eidelson, 2003). The current study examined all of these dimensions of collective identity.

Violence itself also plays an important role in perpetuating conflict and indeed in shaping identities. Any situation of violent political conflict inherently affects the people subjected to it, and research conducted in Northern Ireland has shown that the population has extensive experience of violence even from a very young age (Muldoon & Trew, 2000; Hayes & McAllister, 2001). Experience of conflict is believed to contribute uniquely to people's attitudes to violence. Some have also suggested that direct and indirect experience of violence may be differentially related to social attitudes (Hayes & McAllister, 2001).

When examining the effect of experience on attitudes towards violence, (Shapiro, Dorman, Welker & Clough, 1998) found an increase in favorable attitudes following experience of violent gun use among adolescents. In addition, Slaby & Guerra (1988) argue that attitudes in favour of violent behaviour can generally be regarded as effective predictors of violent behaviour. Consequently, it can be argued that a vicious circle exists, where violence in a sense begets violence. Therefore understanding this relationship between experience of violence, collective identification and social attitudes is central to promoting a climate that is conducive to peace and reconciliation.

1.3 The Current Project

This project represents a unique and ground breaking investigation into the effects of violent experience on psychological health and societal well-being both in Northern Ireland and the Border Counties of the Irish Republic. In keeping with the objectives of Peace II, the study has examined the legacy of the Troubles by examining psychological health and direct and indirect experience of the troubles. Whilst limited evidence is available related to these issues in Northern Ireland, there is a dearth of research on the effects of the conflict on those living in the Border Counties. Further to this, by assessing adherence to traditional

socio-political identities and social attitudes in the context of conflict experiences, this research offers a significant contribution to the existing literature. To date, concern for physical and psychological casualties has resulted in a failure to explore the effects that the conflict has had at a broader social level. Now however, it is timely to consider the legacy of conflict experiences in terms of peace and reconciliation.

1.3a Research Objectives

The four key objectives of this research are:

1. To explore the legacy of the Troubles by documenting the extent of troubles-related experience in a representative sample of the population from both Northern Ireland and the Border Counties of the Irish Republic and consider the relationship between these experiences and background demographic factors such as religious affiliation, socio-economic status and gender (Chapter 3).

2. To explore the legacy of the Troubles by documenting levels of psychological well-being and mental health in a representative sample of the population from both Northern Ireland and the Border Counties of the Irish Republic (Chapter 4)

3. To explore the legacy of the Troubles and readiness for reconciliation by measuring social attitudes related to peace and conflict, such as inter-group trust and sympathy for paramilitary violence. To further consider readiness for reconciliation by examining the nature and strength of socio-political identities associated with the conflict (Chapters 5 & 6)

4. To explore the legacy of the Troubles and consider the opportunities that arise from peace by examining the relationship between experience of violence, socio-political identity, social attitudes and psychological well being. This unique analysis examines the role that direct and indirect experience of conflict has in terms of psychological health and positive social attitudes in a post-conflict society (chapter 4 and 7).

2. Methodology: The Survey, Measure and Sample

2.0 Chapter Overview

This chapter outlines the study undertaken. In the first instance the survey instrument developed for the purposes of the study is outlined before considering the process of participant selection, steps taken to maximise response rates and those taken to ensure the ethical treatment of respondents. Detail regarding the conduct of the survey is also provided with particular attention being paid to the measures employed to ensure the veracity of the data. The chapter concludes by profiling the final achieved sample in terms of age, gender, nationality, religion, social class and area of residence.

2.1 The Survey

The survey instrument consisted of four components. The first measured experience of political violence and indices of mental and physical health. The second related to respondents' perceptions of religious and national identities, the third tapped into aspects of social and political attitudes, whilst the final component accessed demographic information.

2.1a Experience of violence and health measures

In total eight distinct variables or factors were measured in this component of the questionnaire. The first two measures related to respondents' experience of political violence during the Troubles. No standard scale is widely available to measure experience of political violence. A range of methods have been used to measure exposure and there are some key issues that are central to the measurement of experience. A number of authors have opted to use proxy measures of exposure to political violence. These measures are based on the extent of likely exposure given a person's area of residence (Wilson & Cairns, 1992). Whilst this method may have been possible within Northern Ireland, where post-codes have been linked to the intensity of violence over the course of the conflict, no equivalent is available in the Border Counties of the Republic.

Further proxy measures of violence do not allow for the fact that people may have moved residence or that there may be individuals in areas of low violence who have considerable experience of the Troubles.

Asking people about actual experiences is the only method available to address this problem. Self-report of experience is open to biases and the absence of standard scales for this task confounds the problem. The development of the questions to assess troubles related experience was guided by two factors. First, previous research suggested that there are 9 dimensions of events related to political violence (Macksoud, 1992). These are (1) exposure to shelling or combat, (2) displacement,(3) extreme poverty, (4) witnessing violent acts, (5) bereavement, (6) separation from family, (7) physical injury or handicap, (8) being a victim of violent acts, (9) involvement in military activities. As such the measure generated had items that represented all of these dimensions of events. Second, as previous surveys in Northern Ireland have examined experience of violence, albeit in a limited way, the questions were worded to maximize similarity between this and previous studies. This has the advantage of allowing comparability between our surveys and data from1973 (Irish Mobility Survey), 1978 (Social Attitudes Survey), 1995 (Social Identity Survey), 1998 (Northern Ireland Referendum and Election Survey), 2001 (Who are the Victims?).

An additional complicating factor is recently published research which suggests that it is important to account for the impact of both direct and indirect experiences. For instance Hayes and McAllister (2001) argue that direct (personal) experience of conflict has a different effect on social and political attitudes than indirect (family/friend) experience. Therefore this study tapped respondents' self-reported experience of both direct and indirect violence. The final experience survey therefore tapped direct experience of 18 events and indirect experience of 10 events related to the Troubles (see Appendix 1 for copy of questionnaire; items A1, A2). For the purposes of comparison one item (taken

from Cairns et al., 2003) also tapped respondents' perceptions of whether or not they viewed themselves as a victim.

The next section of the survey assessed post-traumatic stress. In the first instance respondents were asked to indicate whether there had been an event over the course of the Troubles that they found particularly distressing. This response was recorded verbatim. Those who reported a particularly distressing event were subsequently asked to complete a measure of post-traumatic stress in relation to their symptoms in the previous month. The measure chosen for this study was the specific stress version of the Post Traumatic Stress Disorder Checklist (PCL). This is a 17 item self-report instrument for measuring PTSD that has been extensively used in research studies and is well regarded (Solomon, Keane, Newman & Kaloupek, 1996). Its content is based entirely on the DSM criteria for PTSD. The instrument has been used for screening in telephone surveys in the US, post September 11th 2001 (Schuster et al., 2001; Schlenger, Caddell, Ebert, Jordan, Rourke & Wilson, 2002). The reliability and validity of the PCL has been well tested and is impressive (Blanchard, Jones-Alexander, Buckley and Forneris, 1996; Walker, Newman, Dobie, Ciechanowski, & Katon, 2002). Importantly, a cut-off score can be used to discriminate cases from non-cases (Blanchard et al., 1996) (see A4b and c for a copy of this measure).

Three measures were used to consider overall psychological health. First, respondents were asked to indicate if they had used alcohol or drugs to cope with their experience of the Troubles (A5). Misuse of alcohol and prescribed medication as a response to the stress of the Troubles was mentioned by a number of people during the interviews with stakeholder prior to the survey. Bleich et al. (2003) in their study of the Israeli population included a question on alcohol misuse in response to terrorist attacks. These questions were adapted for the current study (see A5) resulting in three items relating to respondents'

usage of alcohol, prescribed medication or other drugs to cope with their experience of the troubles.

Second, respondents completed the General Health Questionnaire (GHQ), a measure of psychological well-being. This was the measure of choice for a number of reasons. The GHQ-12 is a widely used screening instrument for detecting psychological strain in the general population. The GHQ can also be scored to indicate 'caseness'. Those with a score above the case threshold are believed to have some level of psychiatric morbidity. The reliability and validity assessments undertaken on this scale are extensive. The reliability of the 12 item measure is comparable to that of the longer versions (Goldberg, Gater, Sartorius, Ustun, Piccinelli & Gureje, 1997). The GHQ has been translated into many languages and the reliability of the scale has been demonstrated in a range of cultures. It has also been used widely in Northern Ireland (see studies by Cairns, Mallett, Lewis and Wilson, 2003). In terms of validity, a large scale WHO study validated the GHQ 12 against the CIDI diagnostic interview on a sample of 5438 people. Gender, age and education did not have any effect on the validity of the measure (see Appendix 1 items B1 for a copy of the scale).

The final component of psychological health measured was tough-mindedness. Tough-mindedness represents a very different dimension of psychological health to that of well-being. Being tough-minded (the bipolar opposite to being tender minded) is unlikely to be associated with poorer levels of well-being. Tough-mindedness can be viewed as the psychological representation of aggressive, anti-social tendencies. Previous research suggests that aggressive or acting out behaviours may be linked to exposure to political violence (Muldoon, Trew & Kilpatrick, 2000). Further Duckitt and Fisher (2003) have suggested that tough-mindedness and authoritarianism are intrinsically related to social and political attitudes. Four personality items were used to tap into tough-mindedness, with higher scores being indicative of higher levels of tough-mindedness.

2.1b Religious and national identity

Central to the current study is the measurement of collective identity. Unfortunately the actual measurement of identity presents itself as a difficult task. There are multiple components to identity and accounting for all is challenging. A recent review of theory and measures (Ashmore et al., 2004) was used to inform the selection of measures for this study.

The most basic element of any collective identity is self-categorisation, which is widely recognized as the heart of collective identity (Deaux, 1996). Self-categorisation can be defined as how you identify yourself in terms of any number of dimensions of the self, for instance, gender (male or female), religion (e.g. Catholic, Protestant), politics (e.g. Unionist, Nationalist) or nationality (British, Irish). Therefore the survey established how respondents saw themselves in terms of both religious and national identity (see Appendix 1 D1 and X for a copy of these items). More specific measures of identity can only be undertaken when the label or identity under consideration has been agreed between interviewer and respondent. Given that religious affiliation is likely to be a less salient dimension of identity in the Irish Republic, and political identities in Northern Ireland and the Republic are not comparable, questions regarding respondents chosen national identity were considered the only viable way to proceed.

Multiple dimensions of identity were examined. Subsequent to self-categorising their national identity (normally though not always as British, Irish or Northern Irish) respondents completed a measure of prototypicality (see Appendix 1 item D3; Abrams, 2000). This measure tells us how alike the person believes they are to other members of the national group and is an indication of the level of comfort they feel when labeling themselves as a member of their preferred national group (Ashmore et al., 2004). The mean of two items was used to compute the total prototypicality score. The scale was very reliable (yielding a Cronbach's alpha of .78). The response format on the scale consisted of a 5-point Likert scale.

Higher scores indicated that respondents viewed themselves as typical of their nationality, while low scores indicated atypicality in terms of the national group. National self-esteem was also measured. Evaluation or esteem judgments are essentially opinions regarding the value of one's group, in this case one's national group. A composite Collective self-esteem (CSE) score was computed on the basis of 12 items (Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992) reflecting participants' overall appraisal of their national group. Higher scores on the CSE are indicative of more positive appraisal of one's nationality.

Perceived discrimination (PD) is a construct viewed as increasingly important in the social psychological literature. It is also a theme that arose in the interviews with stakeholders. A simple measure of PD that tapped day to day perceptions of discrimination on the basis of nationality was used. A three item measure of (Taylor & Turner's, 2002) scale was employed. This measure has been well used and cited in the short window since its development (items D5 of questionnaire in Appendix 1). The total perceived discrimination score was computed using three items by calculating the mean of the three item scores. Again higher scores indicated higher levels of perceived discrimination.

The final dimension of collective identity measured was perceived threat. Five items were used to compute the total identity threat score by calculating the mean of the five items. Perceived threat as a concept is receiving growing attention in the social psychological literature. Perceived identity threat is linked with a person's collective identity, whereby a person may feel his or her own religious identity to be under threat or that because of their collective identity they are personally under threat. This threat may be experienced therefore as fearfulness or it may be experienced as a threat to one's own religious identity because of the situation in Northern Ireland. Indicative items included 'In certain areas I would be afraid of being identified as a Catholic/ Protestant' and 'I would feel threatened if the political parties mainly representing Protestants/ Catholics get into power in Northern Ireland'. Responses on the identity threat scale were

recorded on a 5-point Likert scale, with higher score representing higher levels of perceived identity threat.

Although religious identification was not measured in the multi-faceted manner described above, a range of identity relevant measures of religious identification were included. Self-reported religious affiliation was assessed (items C1-C3) using questions taken from previous large scale surveys such as the census and CHS. Two items were also included to measure inter-religious group trust. Both of these issues were explicitly referred to in stakeholder interviews and are theoretically linked to identity, mental health and conflict experience. The items used are adapted from Brehm and Rahe's trust scale (items C4 in Appendix 1). Higher scores on this scale were indicative of more trust in the other religious tradition.

2.1c Social and Political Attitudes

Altermeyer's (1988) Belief in a dangerous world scale is a 12 item measure that taps into individual's beliefs about the nature of the social world- that is what others are like, how they can be expected to behave and how one should respond in return. Ross (1993) argues that this will be related to socialization experiences, but it should also directly reflect social reality. Situations that change the social reality therefore will have an impact on beliefs and world views. Such situations could be personal experiences or indirect experiences and could be linked to other cognitions such as collective identity values. This measure was shortened to six items subsequent to piloting as it was evident that respondents found the measure repetitive (items F1 a-f in Appendix 1). High scores on this scale indicate beliefs that the world is a dangerous place.

In relation to political attitudes, voting behaviour and preferences are obviously good indicators and predictors of social attitudes. However, the meaning of a category (national or ethnic) cannot be entirely read from dominant political

discourse or social behaviours such as voting (Todd, under review). Thus whilst we may accept the need to ask voting preference (questions E1 in Appendix 1), supplementary questions from the Northern Ireland Life and Times survey provided additional information related directly to political attitudes regarding the Northern Irish question (items E2, E3, E4). Specific questions regarding the constitutional position/sovereignty of Northern Ireland and attitudes to the Good Friday Agreement were included along with two questions that assessed respondents' sympathy for paramilitary violence, loyalist and republican (questions E5 and E6). The total score on the sympathy for violence score was computed using two items, and was generated by calculating the mean of these two items. A 3-point scale was employed whereby higher scores are indicative of less favourable attitudes in favour of violence.

Three measures assessed additional components of social attitudes. First, one item (item C5) assessed out-group liking. This item which has been used in previous studies in Northern Ireland (Hewstone, Rubin & Willis, 2002) assesses the degree to which respondents like those from the other religious group. Adapted from a wider measure of social dominance orientation developed by Pratto, Sidanious, Stallworth & Malle (1994), one four item sub-scale assessed respondents' belief in retribution. These four items measure desire for vengeance and were used to compute the total score for belief in retribution, and the mean of the four items was calculated for this scale. A 5-point Likert scale was employed with higher scores indicating higher levels of belief in retribution.

A third measure relating to values assessed opinions regarding religious integration and segregation. Items on the scale were selected from the ideology subscale of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black identity (MIBI) (Sellers, Rowley, Tabbye, Shelton & Smith, 1997) and adapted for use in the present survey. Five items were used to compute the total values score by calculating the mean.

2.1d Demographic information

As religious tradition and nationality had already been assessed in the main body of the questionnaire, prior to completing the survey, respondents provided information relating to their age, gender, marital status, area of residence, level of education, employment status and income. The latter items (H4-H11) were used to compile a composite indicator of socio-economic status. Socio-economic status was measured by means of the National Statistics – Socio-economic classification (NS-SEC). The NS-SEC conceptually comprises eight classes. This system of classification can be further reduced to a three-category classification, as used in the present study. The category 'never worked and long-term unemployed' can either be included in the third category of the 3-class solution, or treated as a separate category. Within the context of the present study this category was included in the third class, as few respondents endorsed this class, and treating it as a separate category did not alter the substantial meaning of subsequent analyses. For ease of interpretation of results, the three classes are referenced as follows: High SES, Middle SES and Low SES. Additional details of classification and categorization of occupations into the respective classes can be found in the NS-SEC User Manual, Version 1.2 (June 2004).

2.2 Selecting and Contacting Survey Participants

Stage One involved a simple random sample of household telephone numbers drawn from an electronic copy of British Telecom's domestic listing (for the Northern Ireland sample) and the Eircom's domestic listing (for the Republic of Ireland sample). These numbers were matched with the relevant postal address and a letter was sent to selected households, explaining the nature and purpose of the study (see Appendix 2 for a copy of the letter sent to households). Households that were ex-directory were also written to and asked to contact a free-phone number to indicate willingness to participate in the study. At this point

households were also advised that they could find further information on the project web pages.

Subsequent to advanced posting, each household in the sample was contacted by the Telephone Research Centre. In the first instance the interviewer made contact with a person aged 18 or older. This initial contact person was informed of the survey and told that one adult (aged 18+) would be chosen to complete the survey from that household. The last birthday technique was used to ensure randomisation of respondents within households. The survey was implemented using Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI). The final questionnaire was programmed into the CATI application and rigorous tests were carried out on the programme to ensure that it exactly matched the logic and structure of the paper-based questionnaire. The programme was piloted and the amendments made to the paper based questionnaire were reflected in the updated programme file. A quota control mechanism was programmed into CATI to control for location. The number of interviews within each county therefore was restricted to the proportion of the population within each county based on adult population statistics from the latest Census results (2001 Northern Ireland, 2002 Republic of Ireland). A breakdown of the sample by county is given in Appendix 3. The average length of interview in the survey was found to be approximately 18 minutes per person interviewed. There was no notable difference in the average length of interview for respondents from the Republic of Ireland and those from Northern Ireland. Fieldwork for the survey commenced on 5th October 2004 and was completed on 31st December 2004. A breakdown of the time of day on which the interview was carried out is given in Appendix 3.

2.3 Quality Assurance and Ethical Considerations

The ethical treatment of participants, along with ensuring the quality of the data obtained, were key concerns throughout the research. To this end a number of steps were taken. First, participants were invited to participate in the research by the research team. To underscore the authenticity of the project additional

information was hosted by QUB and UCC websites and all potential participants were given contact details for the researchers in writing. The confidentiality and anonymity of all responses was assured, however participants were also given the opportunity to refuse to participate and/or to withdraw from the interview at any time. Participants were offered a free-phone number where they could contact trained counsellors to discuss any issues that may have arisen as a result of the interview. This free-phone service was active for six months from the start of the project. No calls were received to the number and no participant requested counselling via this system.

In relation to quality assurance procedures, a number was in place for the duration of the survey. All interviews were conducted at RES' Telephone Research Centre based in Belfast. The 24 station facility incorporates Siemens telephony hardware, the call handling software 'Call View' (Swan Solutions) and 'SurveyCraft' Computer Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CAPI) software (part of the SPSS group). A dedicated team of social research interviewers, specifically trained, was used to conduct the survey. Interviewer performance was monitored on a day to day basis through the CATI programme, as well as through back-checking a 10% sample of each interviewer's allocation via the system's 'listening in' facility. These procedures are in line with all assignments conducted by RES on behalf of public sector organisations in Northern Ireland. In addition to these standard quality control procedures, three members of the project steering group visited the Telephone Research Centre regularly to 'listen in' to interviews being carried out. They listened into an additional 20% of interviews and fed back any issues of concern on a daily basis.

2.4 Profile of respondents

The final achieved sample was 3000 participants, 2000 in Northern Ireland and 1000 in the Border Counties of the Republic. The overall response rate was 46%; 49% in Northern Ireland and 41% in the Border Counties, this difference perhaps reflecting the apparent relevance of the survey for respondents in each

jurisdiction (see table 2.1). The response rate was acceptable and well in excess of response rates obtained as a result of postal surveys.

Table 2.1: Sample Breakdown (Response Rate)

	NI		ROI		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Number of completed interviews	2000	49	1000	41	3000	46
Refusals	1881	46	1070	44	2951	45
Didn't keep appointments	213	5	372	15	585	9
TOTAL	**4094**	**100**	**2442**	**100**	**6536**	**100**

A breakdown of the sample profile in terms of gender and age group is given in Table 2.2 below. The gender and age of the respondent was not quota controlled but randomly selected. Consequently, the profile is not completely aligned to the latest census figures (e.g. Northern Ireland (Males 48%, Females 52%), Republic of Ireland (Males 49%, Females 51%).

Table 2.2: Sample Profile of Gender and Age group by Country

	Northern Ireland		Republic of Ireland		Total	
	N	**%**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
Gender						
Male	848	42	459	46	1307	44
Female	1152	58	541	54	1693	56
Age Group						
18-24	130	7	67	7	197	7
25-44	744	37	309	31	1053	35
45-64	737	37	456	46	1193	40
65+	389	20	168	17	557	19
TOTAL	**2000**	**100**	**1000**	**100**	**3000**	**100**

The items relating to self-categorisation of religion and nationality were rebuilt to create categories large enough for analysis. Respondents' religion was coded and subsequently categorised as Protestant, Catholic or other (see table 2.3). 46% of Northern respondents that disclosed their religious affiliation described themselves as Protestant, whilst a majority of Border County respondents described their religious tradition as Catholic (77%). A substantial minority in both jurisdictions described their religious tradition as 'other' (8% of the total sample). A full list of participants' religious affiliation is available in Appendix 3.

The three nationality categories that were chosen most frequently were British, Irish and Northern Irish. The British identity predominated in Northern Ireland(51%) and the Irish identity in the Border Counties (87% of sample). Due to the low frequency count of the remaining nationality choices, these nationality categories were collapsed into a single category, labelled 'Other' which accounts for 2.2 % of the entire sample. A full list of these other nationalities is available in Appendix 3. Due to the small number of other religions and nationalities, their inclusion in subsequent analysis was only considered where sufficient numbers made for a meaningful analysis.

Table 2.3: Sample Profile of Religion, Nationality and Age group by Residential jurisdiction

	Northern Ireland		Republic of Ireland		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Religion						
Protestant	919	46	64	6	983	33
Catholic	685	34	766	77	1451	49
Other	154	8	45	5	199	8
Nationality						
Irish	520	26	873	87	1393	46
British	1015	51	13	1	1028	34
Northern Irish	190	9.5	1	.1	191	6
Other	275	12.5	113	12	50	12
SES						
Low	724	43	389	45	1113	43
Middle	545	32	276	32	821	32
High	440	25	192	23	632	25
NB- N's do not add to 3000 as some participants didn't know or report their religion, SES or nationality.						

Socio-Economic Status

The proportions of the sample in each socio-economic group were similar in Northern Ireland and the Border Counties. The majority of respondents were lower SES (43%), 35% were middle SES whilst 25% were higher SES (see table 2c).

3. Experience of the Troubles

3.0 Overview

The Experience of the Troubles Scale was constructed using items from previous studies conducted in Northern Ireland and elsewhere. Each item of the scale asked respondents to report their experience of a distinct and specific event. Initially the level of reported experience of each event is outlined. The incidence of each experience across demographic groups is then examined highlighting differences in reported experiences between Northern Ireland and the Border Counties. Gender, religious and SES differences in reported experience are also examined.

3.1 Experience of the Troubles

Overall, 50% of respondents had no direct experience of the Troubles, 30% of the sample had direct experience of one or two events and 20% of the sample had experience of three or more events. In relation to indirect experience of the Troubles, again a substantial proportion of respondents had no indirect experiences (54% of all respondents), 25% reported indirect experience of 1-2 events and 21% had indirect experience of three or more Troubles related events.

For the purpose of analysis, the reported prevalence of each experience was examined in relation to gender (males and females), religion (Catholic and Protestant), residential location (Northern Ireland and the Border Counties) and socio-economic status (higher, middle, lower). Table 3.1 details the numbers of participants in each demographic category who reported experience of each event. Percentages refer to those within each category rather than percentages of the total sample. The chi-square statistic was used to determine the extent of the differences between groups. A significant result indicates that the size of differences between the two groups is such that is unlikely to have occured by

chance and the difference between the two groups is therefore considered meaningful. Significant differences are marked with an asterix.

These results suggest that where differences occur, they tend to show that in general women report fewer experiences than men. Catholics tend to report more experience of the Troubles in general than Protestants, however Protestants are more likely to report experience of bombings and to report membership of the security forces than Catholics. Those resident in Northern Ireland reported more experience than those resident in the Republic's Border Counties. Variation across the demographic variables of gender, religion, demographic location and SES are reported separately.

3.2 Direct Experience of the Troubles
3.2a Gender differences and direct experience of the Troubles

Overall, men were more likely to report experience of the Troubles than women. Table 3.1 shows that a higher proportion of men (26.2%) than women (13.1%) reported experience of a riot ($\chi2 = 84.054$, df = 1, p<0.01). Table 3.1 also illustrates the fact that a higher proportion of males (14.1%) than females (7%) reported that they have been caught in a shooting ($\chi2 = 40.364$, df = 1, p<0.01). In terms of reported experience of intimidation, males (25.3%) were also more likely than females (15%) to report this sort of experience ($\chi2 = 50$, df1, p<.01). Men (7.9%) were four times more likely to report being a member of the security forces than women (1.7%) ($\chi2 = 104.776$, df = 1, p = <0.01) and were more than four times as likely to report being threatened by a member of the security forces (13.2%) than women (3.2%) ($\chi2 = 11.540$, df = 1, p = <0.01). Table 3.1 also shows that a higher proportion of men (1.8%) than women (0.5%) reported having been a member of a paramilitary group ($\chi2 = 11.540$, df = 1, p = <0.01), and that a higher proportion reported having been threatened by a member of a paramilitary group (12.4%, 4.7%) ($\chi2 = 58.502$, df = 1, p<0.01).

In terms of witnessing violent acts against others, males (24.7%) were more likely than females (12.5%) to report this experience ($\chi2$ = 74.810, df = 1, p<0.01). When asked about being a perpetrator of violent acts against others, a higher proportion of men (2.2%) than women (0.4%) also reported this sort of experience ($\chi2$ = 20.277, df = 1, p<0.01). Men (7%) were also more likely to report being injured as a result of any incident than women (2.2%) ($\chi2$ = 40.899, df = 1, p<0.01). When asked whether they had ever suffered material alteration to their financial circumstances, both genders again had significantly different levels of reported experience ($\chi2$ = 25.034, df = 1, p<0.01). A higher proportion of men (9.2%) than women (4.6%) reported this experience. Table 3.1 also suggests that men (6.1%) are seven times more likely than women (0.7%) to report that they had been held in detention($\chi2$ = 72.678, df = 1, p<0.01).

Overall while there are clear differences between the genders in terms of their reporting of previous experiences, the concordance between actual experience and later recall of those experiences is unclear. Nevertheless it would appear that men's direct experiences of the Troubles are more common than women's.

3.2b Residential jurisdiction and direct experience of the Troubles

Overall, participants from Northern Ireland reported more Troubles related experience than Border County participants. Participants from Northern Ireland were significantly more likely to report experience of a bombing, a riot, a shooting, intimidation, being threatened by a member of a paramilitary group, having been a witness to violence, having been injured, having been separated from family long-term, to have suffered bereavement, been forced to remain without food or shelter and suffered material alteration to financial circumstances than Republic of Ireland participants.

Table 3.1 illustrates these relationships in greater detail. Three times as many respondents from Northern Ireland had been exposed to a bomb explosion (25.6%) when compared to those from the Border Counties (7.5%) ($\chi2$ =

137.042, df = 1, p = <0.01). In Table 3.1 it can been seen that three times as many participants from Northern Ireland (24%) reported experience of a riot compared to those from the Border Counties (8.5%) ($\chi2$ = 104.244, df = 1, p<0.01). Participants from Northern Ireland and the Border Counties also reported significantly different experience of shootings ($\chi2$ = 39.665, df = 1, p<0.01) with those from Northern Ireland (12.6%) twice as likely to report experience of this event as those from the Border Counties (5.2%).

There were also significantly different experiences of intimidation related to residential jurisdiction ($\chi2$ = 16.063, df = 1, p <0.01). Northern Irish participants (21.6%) were more likely than Border County participants (15.4%) to report exposure to intimidation. Participants from Northern Ireland (8.3%) were more likely than participants from Border Counties (6.3%) to report having been threatened by a member of a paramilitary group ($\chi2$ = 45.957, df = 1, p<0.01). When asked about being a witness of violent acts against others, reported experience across the two residential locations differed significantly ($\chi2$ = 91.095, df = 1, p<0.01). Three times as many Northern Ireland participants (22.6%) as Border participants (8.4%) reported that they had been a witness of violent acts against others. In terms of reporting injury as a result of any incident, Northern Ireland participants (6%) were more likely than Republic of Ireland participants (1.1%) to report this experience ($\chi2$ = 37.828, df = 1, p<0.01). A higher proportion of Northern Ireland participants (3.5%) also reported having been separated from their family long-term (Republic of Ireland 1.4%) ($\chi2$ = 10.415, df = 1, p<0.01).

When asked about experience of bereavement as a result of the Troubles, participants from the two residential locations scored significantly differently also ($\chi2$ = 38.564, df = 1, p<0.01). Participants from Northern Ireland (10.1%) were almost three times more likely to have been bereaved than participants from Border Counties (3.6%). A higher proportion of those from Northern Ireland (2.6%) than from the Border Counties (0.3%) reported that they had been forced

to remain without food or shelter ($\chi2$ = 19.094, df = 1, p<0.01). In terms of participants who had reported suffering material alteration to their financial circumstances, participants from Northern Ireland (8.4%) were again more likely than participants from the Republic of Ireland (3%) to report this sort of experience ($\chi2$ = 31.536, df = 1, p<0.01).

However, despite these differences, respondents from the Border Counties reported experience of all of the range of direct events considered and a substantial minority had experience of bombings (7.5%), riots (8.5%) and intimidation (15.4%)

Table 3.1: Direct Experience of the Troubles

During the Troubles were you exposed to:		*Gender* Males	Females	*Residential Location* ROI	NI	*Socio-economic status* Higher	Middle	Lower
A bomb	**Yes**	281 (21.5%)	305 (18%)	75 (7.5%)*	511 (25.6%)*	127 (20.1%)	164 (20%)	202 (18.1%)
	No	1026 (78.5%)	1388 (82%)	925 (92.5%)*	1489 (74.5%)*	505 (79.9%)	657 (80%)	911 (81.9%)
A riot	**Yes**	343 (26.2%)*	221 (13.1%)*	85 (8.5%)*	479 (24%)*	112 (17.7%)	170 (20.7%)	192 (17.3%)
	No	964 (73.8%)*	1472 (86.9%)*	915 (91.5%)*	1521 (76.1%)*	520 (82.3%)	651 (79.3%)	921 (82.7%)
A shooting	**Yes**	184 (14.1%)*	119 (7%)*	52 (5.2%)*	251 (12.6%)*	63 (10%)	89 (10.8%)	105 (9.4%)
	No	1123 (85.9%)*	1574 (93%)*	948 (94.8%)*	1749 (87.5%)*	569 (90%)	732 (89.2%)	1008 (90.6%)
Intimidated	**Yes**	331 (25.3%)*	254 (15%)*	154 (15.4%)*	431 (21.6%)*	121 (19.1%)	182 (22.2%)	198 (17.8%)
	No	976 (74.7%)*	1439 (85%)*	846 (84.6%)*	1569 (78.5%)*	511 (80.9%)	639 (77.8%)	915 (82.2%)
A member of the security forces	**Yes**	103 (7.9%)*	29 (1.7%)*	35 (3.5%)	97 (4.9%)	13 (2.1%)*	55 (6.7%)*	43 (3.9%)*
	No	1202 (92.1%)*	1664 (98.3%)*	965 (96.5%)	1903 (95.2%)	619 (97.9%)*	766 (93.3%)*	1070 (96.1%)*
Threatened by a member of the security Forces	**Yes**	173 (13.2%)*	55 (3.2%)*	63 (6.3%)	165 (8.3%)	46 (7.3%)	72 (8.8%)	75 (6.7%)
	No	1134 (86.8%)*	1638 (96.8%)*	937 (93.7%)	1835 (91.8%)	586 (92.7%)	749 (91.2%)	1038 (93.3%)
A member of a paramilitary group	**Yes**	27 (1.8%)*	9 (.5%)*	9 (.9%)	24 (1.2%)	4 (.6%)	13 (1.6%)	13 (1.2%)
	No	1283 (98.2%)*	1684 (99.5%)*	991 (99.1%)	1976 (98.8%)	628 (99.4%)	808 (98.4%)	1100 (98.8%)
Threatened by a member of a paramilitary group	**Yes**	162 (12.4%)*	80 (4.7%)*	33 (3.3%)*	209 (10.5%)*	50 (7.9%)	71 (8.6%)	82 (7.4%)
	No	1145 (87.6%)*	1613 (95.3%)*	967 (96.7%)*	1791 (89.6%)*	582 (92.1%)	750 (91.4%)	1031 (92.6%)
A witness of violent acts against others	**Yes**	323 (24.7%)*	212 (12.5%)*	84 (8.4%)*	451 (22.6%)*	107 (16.9%)	166 (20.2%)	180 (16.2%)
	No	984 (75.3%)*	1481 (87.5%)*	916 (91.6%)*	1549 (77.5%)*	525 (83.1%)	655 (79.8%)	933 (83.8%)

Table 3.1: Direct Experience of the Troubles

During the Troubles were you exposed to:		Gender		Residential Location		Socio-economic status		
		Males	Females	ROI	NI	Higher	Middle	Lower
The perpetrator of violent acts against others	Yes	29 (2.2%)*	7 (.4%)*	9 (.9%)	27 (1.4%)	8 (1.3%)	10 (1.2%)	17 (1.5%)
	No	1278 (97.8%)*	1686 (99.6%)*	991 (99.1%)	1973 (98.7%)	624 (98.7%)	811 (98.8%)	1096 (98.5%)
Injured as a result of any incident	Yes	92 (7%)*	38 (2.2%)*	11 (1.1%)*	119 (6%)*	22 (3.5%)	51 (6.2%)	43 (3.9%)
	No	1215 (93%)*	1655 (97.8%)*	989 (98.9%)*	1881 (94.1%)*	610 (96.5%)	770 (93.8%)	1070 (96.1%)
Affected by a serious handicap/injury	Yes	20 (1.5%)	14 (.8%)	5 (.5%)	29 (1.5%)	7 (1.1%)	11 (1.3%)	13 (1.2%)
	No	1287 (98.5%)	1679 (99.2%)	995 (99.5%)	1971 (98.6%)	625 (98.9%)	810 (98.7%)	1100 (98.8%)
Separated from your family long-term	Yes	46 (3.5%)	37 (2.2%)	14 (1.4%)*	69 (3.5%)*	17 (2.7%)	23 (2.8%)	34 (3.1%)
	No	1261 (96.5%)	1656 (97.8%)	986 (98.6%)*	1931 (96.6%)*	615 (97.3%)*	798 (97.2%)	1079 (96.9%)
Forced to leave Northern Ireland	Yes	13 (1%)	11 (.6%)	5 (.5%)	19 (1%)	6 (.9%)	6 (.7%)	9 (.8%)
	No	1294 (99%)	1682 (99.4%)	995 (99.5%)	1981 (99.1%)	626 (99.1%)	815 (99.3%)	1104 (99.2%)
Bereaved	Yes	117 (9%)	121 (7.1%)	36 (3.6%)*	202 (10.1%)*	53 (8.4%)	67 (8.2%)	85 (7.6%)
	No	1190 (91%)	1572 (92.9%)	964 (96.4%)*	1798 (89.9%)*	579 (91.6%)	754 (91.8%)	1028 (92.4%)
Forced to remain without food or shelter	Yes	24 (1.8%)	30 (1.8%)	3 (.3%)*	51 (2.6%)*	16 (2.5%)	14 (1.7%)	17 (1.5%)
	No	1283 (98.2%)	1663 (98.2%)	997 (99.7%)*	1949 (97.5%)*	616 (97.5%)	807 (98.3%)	1096 (98.5%)
Suffered material alteration to your financial circumstances	Yes	120 (9.2%)*	78 (4.6%)*	30 (3%)*	168 (8.4%)*	38 (6%)	55 (6.7%)	70 (6.3%)
	No	1187 (90.8%)*	1615 (95.4%)*	970 (97%)*	1832 (91.6%)*	594 (94%)	766 (93.3%)	1043 (93.7%)
Held in detention	Yes	80 (6.1%)*	12 (.7%)*	25 (2.5%)	67 (3.4%)	17 (2.7%)	31 (3.8%)	32 (2.9%)
	No	1227 (93.9%)*	1681 (99.3%)*	975 (97.5%)	1933 (96.7%)	615 (97.3%)	790 (96.2%)	1081 (97.1%)

3.2c Religion and direct experience of the Troubles

Overall across the sample from Northern Ireland and the Border Counties, it would appear that Catholics are more likely than Protestants to report Troubles-related experiences. The lower level of experience reported overall, together with the proportion of Protestants in the sample and the smaller sample size in the Border Counties, meant that differences in experience related to religious affiliation could not be examined amongst participants from this jurisdiction. Differences in reported experience associated with religion in the Northern Ireland sample only are reported.

Table 3.2 shows that overall Catholics had more experience of Troubles related violence than their Protestant counterparts. Almost twice as many Catholics than Protestants reported that they had experienced a shooting ($x2$= 10.9, df = 1, p <0.01), intimidation ($x2$ = 18.1, df = 1, p <0.01) and injury ($x2$= 14.4 , df = 1, p <0.01) as a result of the Troubles. Substantially more Catholics than Protestants in Northern Ireland had experienced a riot ($x2$= 43.2, df = 1, p <0.01), bereavement ($x2$= 10.1, df = 1, p <0.01) and violence against others ($x2$= 34.6, df = 1, p <0.01) as a result of the Troubles (see table 3.2). Although relatively few participants overall (see table 3.1) reported that they had been held in detention, forced to leave Northern Ireland, forced to remain without food or shelter or threatened by security forces, generally these experiences were also reported disproportionately by Catholic respondents (see table 3.2). A higher proportion of Protestants (6%) than Catholics (3%) reported having been a member of the security forces during the Troubles ($x2$ = 7.640, df = 1, p<0.01).

3.2d Socio-economic status (SES) and direct experience of the Troubles

Overall, SES did not appear to relate to reported experience of violence although those from different SES backgrounds did differ in their reporting of membership of the security forces ($x2$ = 19.610, df = 2, p<0.01). Those in social class 2 (middle) were most likely to report having been a member of the security forces

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(6.7%), while those in social class 1 (higher) were least likely (2.1%). This effect may reflect on the measurement of SES by occupation. No other differences across SES were apparent.

Table 3.2: Direct experience of the Troubles: Northern Ireland sample only

During the Troubles were you exposed to:		Religion	
		Protestants	Catholics
A bomb	Yes	234 (25.5%)	189 (27.6%)
	No	685 (74.5%)	496 (72.4%)
A riot	Yes	176 (19.2%)*	230 (33.6%)*
	No	743 (80.8%)*	455 (66.4%)*
A shooting	Yes	79 (8.6%)*	133 (19.4%)*
	No	840 (91.4%)*	552 (80.6%)*
Intimidated	Yes	146 (15.9%)*	209 (30.5%)*
	No	773 (84.1%)*	476 (69.5%)*
A member of the security forces	Yes	55 (6%)*	20 (2.9%)*
	No	864 (94%)*	665 (97.1%)*
Threatened by a member of the security forces	Yes	17 (1.8%)*	131 (19.1%)*
	No	902 (98.2%)*	554 (80.9%)*
A member of a paramilitary group	Yes	8 (.9%)	12 (1.8%)
	No	911 (99.1%)	673 (98.2%)
Threatened by a member of a paramilitary group	Yes	97 (10.6%)	77 (11.2%)
	No	822 (89.4%)	608 (88.8%)
A witness of violent acts against others	Yes	165 (18%)*	209 (30.5%)*
	No	754 (82%)*	476 (69.5%)*
The perpetrator of violent acts against others	Yes	10 (1.1%)	13 (1.9%)
	No	909 (98.9%)	672 (98.1%)
Injured as a result of any incident	Yes	36 (3.9%)*	58 (8.5%)*
	No	883 (96.1%)*	627 (91.5%)*
Affected by serious handicap or injury	Yes	11 (1.2%)	11 (1.6%)
	No	908 (98.8%)	674 (98.4%)
Separated from your family long-term	Yes	21 (2.3%)	41 (6%)
	No	898 (97.7%)	644 (94%)
Forced to leave Northern Ireland	Yes	1 (.1%)*	17 (2.5%)*
	No	918 (99.9%)*	668 (97.5%)*
Bereaved	Yes	77 (8.4%)*	91 (13.3%)*
	No	842 (91.6%)*	594 (86.7%)*
Forced to remain without food or shelter	Yes	16 (1.7%)*	28 (4.1%)*
	No	903 (98.3%)*	657 (95.9%)*
Suffer material alteration to your financial circumstances	Yes	65 (7.1%)	72 (10.5%)
	No	854 (92.9%)	613 (89.5%)
Held in detention	Yes	6 (.7%)*	55 (8%)*
	No	913 (99.3%)*	630 (92%)*

3.3 Indirect Experience of the Troubles

3.3a Gender and indirect experience of the Troubles

In general, it was found that men had more indirect experiences of the Troubles than women. For example, men were significantly more likely than women to report having a close friend or family member who was killed, who was a member of a paramilitary group, who had been bereaved, who had been a witness of violent acts against others, who had been the perpetrator of violent acts against others, and who had been held in detention as a result of the Troubles.

Table 3.3 shows that a higher proportion of men (23%) than women (18%) reported that a close friend or family member had been killed ($\chi^2 = 11.171$, df = 1, p<0.01). Twice the proportion of men (8%) knew someone who was a member of a paramilitary group than women (3.7%) ($\chi^2 = 26.030$, df = 1, p<0.01). When asked whether participants had a close friend or family member who was bereaved a higher proportion of men (21%) than women (15.6%) reported that they knew someone who had been bereaved (14.848, df = 1, p<0.01). Gender differences were also found when participants were asked whether they had a close friend or family member who was a witness of violent acts against others ($\chi^2 = 27.164$, df = 1, p<0.01). Men (25.6%) were once again more likely to report this indirect experience than women (17.7%). More than twice the proportion of men (5.5%) than women (2.6%) reported that they knew someone who was the perpetrator of violent acts ($\chi^2 = 16.801$, df = 1, p<0.01). A higher proportion of men (13%) than women (7.5%) also reported that they knew a close friend or family member that had been held in detention ($\chi^2 = 25.063$, df = 1, p<0.01). Men and women did not differ in their reported indirect experience of the remaining four items (see table 3.3).

3.3b Residential jurisdiction and indirect experience of the Troubles

Overall, participants from Northern Ireland were more likely to report indirect experiences of the Troubles than participants from the Border Counties. Across all items, save one, respondents resident in Northern Ireland reported significantly more indirect experience of the conflict than residents in the Republic (see Table 3.3). For instance a higher proportion of participants from Northern Ireland (25.9%) than from the Border Counties (8.7%) reported that a close friend or family member had been killed as a result of the Troubles (χ^2 = 122.503, df = 1, p<0.01). A higher proportion of participants from Northern Ireland (10.4%) knew someone who was affected by a serious handicap or injury than respondents from the Border Counties (3.4%) (χ^2 = 44.049, df = 1, p<0.01). Similarly, a higher proportion of participants from Northern Ireland (4.7%) than from the Border Counties (2.2%) reported knowing someone who was the perpetrator of violent acts during the Troubles (χ^2 = 11.209, df = 1, p<0.01) (see Table 3.3).

Table 3.3: Indirect Experiences of the Troubles

During the Troubles was *A family member/close friend:*		*Gender* Males	Females	*Residential Location* ROI	NI	*Socio-economic status* Higher	Middle	Lower
Killed because of the violence	**Yes**	300 (23%)*	305 (18%)*	87 (8.7%)*	518 (25.9%)*	135 (24.1%)	171 (20.8%)	211 (19%)
	No	1007 (77%)*	1388 (82%)*	913 (91.3%)*	1482 (74.1%)*	497 (78.6%)	650 (79.2%)	902 (81%)
A member of the security forces	**Yes**	276 (21.1%)	315 (18.6%)	61 (6.1%)*	530 (26.5%)*	125 (19.8%)	180 (21.9%)	208 (18%)
	No	1031 (78.9%)	1378 (81.4%)	939 (93.9%)*	1470 (73.5%)*	507 (80.2%)	641 (78.1%)	905 (81.3%)
A member of a paramilitary group	**Yes**	104 (8%)*	62 (3.7%)*	35 (3.5%)*	131 (6.6%)*	32 (5.1%)	44 (5.4%)	62 (5.6%)
	No	1203 (92%)	1631 (96.3%)*	965 (96.5%)*	1869 (93.5%)*	600 (94.9%)	777 (94.6%)	1051 (94.42%)
Injured as a result of any incident	**Yes**	254 (19.4%)	275 (16.2%)	72 (7.2%)*	457 (22.9%)*	121 (19.1%)	152 (18.5%)	185 (16.6%)
	No	1053 (80.6%)	1418 (83.8%)	928 (92.8%)*	1543 (77.2%)*	511 (80.9%)	669 (81.5%)	928 (83.4%)
Affected by serious handicap/injury	**Yes**	105 (8%)	137 (8.1%)	34 (3.4%)*	208 (10.4%)*	59 (9.3%)	60 (7.3%)	81 (7.3%)
	No	1202 (92%)	1556 (91.9%)	966 (96.6%)*	1792 (89.6%)*	573 (90.7%)	761 (92.7%)	1032 (92.7%)
Forced to leave Northern Ireland	**Yes**	61 (4.7%)	66 (3.9%)	36 (3.6%)	91 (4.6%)	25 (4%)	36 (4.4%)	46 (4.1%)
	No	1246 (95.3%)	1627 (96.1%)	964 (96.4%)	1909 (95.5%)	607 (96%)	785 (95.6%)	1067 (95.9%)
Bereaved	**Yes**	275 (21%)*	264 (15.6%)*	77 (7.7%)*	462 (23.1%)*	123 (19.5%)	162 (19.7%)	170 (15.3%)
	No	1032 (79%)*	1429 (84.4%)*	923 (92.3%)*	1538 (76.9%)*	509 (80.5%)	659 (80.3%)	943 (84.7%)
A witness of a violent acts against others	**Yes**	334 (25.6%)*	300 (17.7%)*	114 (11.4%)*	520 (26%)*	141 (22.3%)	176 (21.4%)	220 (19.8%)
	No	973 (74.4%)*	1393 (82.3%)*	886 (88.6%)*	1480 (74%)*	491 (77.7%)	645 (78.6%)	893 (80.2%)
The perpetrator of violent acts against others	**Yes**	72 (5.5%)*	44 (2.6%)*	22 (2.2%)*	94 (4.7%)*	17 (2.7%)	31 (3.8%)	46 (4.1%)
	No	1235 (94.5%)*	1649 (97.4%)*	978 (97.8%)*	1906 (95.3%)*	615 (97.3%)	790 (96.2%)	1067 (95.9%)
Held in detention	**Yes**	170 (13%)*	127 (7.5%)*	72 (7.2%)*	225 (11.3%)*	64 (10.1%)	77 (9.4%)	115 (10.3%)
	No	1137 (87%)*	1566 (92.5%)*	928 (92.8%)*	1775 (88.8%)*	568 (89.9%)	744 (90.6%)	998 (89.7%)

3.3c Religion and indirect experience of the Troubles.

Again due to small cell size and the differences in reported levels of experience in Northern Ireland and the Border counties, differences in reported experience related to religion are reported for the Northern sample only. The differences reported here relate to the Northern sample only and are illustrated in Table 3.4.

Overall, Catholics reported more indirect experience of conflict than Protestants. A higher proportion of Catholics (30.9%) than Protestants (24%) in Northern Ireland reported that they knew someone who had been killed ($\chi2$ = 9.484, df = 1, p<0.01). Twice the proportion of Catholics (10.4%) than Protestants (4.4%) reported that they knew someone who had been a member of a paramilitary group ($\chi2$ = 22.025, df = 1, p<0.01). Similarly a higher proportion of Catholics (26.7%) than Protestants (20.7%) reported that they had family members or friends who had been injured ($\chi2$ = 8.024, df = 1, p<0.01). A higher proportion of Catholics (27.6%) than Protestants (21.5%) also reported that they knew someone who had been bereaved as a result of the Troubles ($\chi2$ = 7.837, df = 1, p< 0.01). However almost five times as many Protestant respondents (39.3%) reported that they knew someone who had been a member of the security forces compared to Catholic respondents (8.3%) ($\chi2$ = 195.240, df = 1, p<0.01). No differences in reported experience, linked to religion were evident in relation to indirect experience of bereavement and physical injury/handicap.

3.3d SES and indirect experience of the Troubles

Overall, SES did not appear to differ significantly in terms of indirect experience of the Troubles. Respondents reported experience on any item of indirect experience did not differ across SES (see Table 3.2).

3.4 Perceived victimhood

When asked if they ever considered themselves to have been a victim of the Troubles, the vast majority of the sample was clear they had never thought of themselves this way (55%). At the other end of the equation, 8% of Northern

34

Ireland respondents often or very often considered themselves victims of the Troubles, while 2% of residents in the Border Counties felt the same way. These results are illustrated in table 3.4

Table 3.4: Indirect experiences of the Troubles in the Northern Irish sample

During the Troubles was a family member/ close friend:		Religion	
		Protestants	Catholics
Killed because of the violence	Yes	221 (24%)*	212 (30.9%)*
	No	698 (76%)*	473 (69.1%)*
A member of the security forces	Yes	361 (39.3%)*	57 (8.3%)*
	No	558 (60.7%)*	628 (91.7%)*
A member of a paramilitary group	Yes	40 (4.4%)*	71 (10.4%)*
	No	879 (95.6%)*	614 (89.6%)*
Injured as a result of any incident	Yes	190 (20.7%)*	183 (26.7%)*
	No	729 (79.3%)*	502 (73.3%)*
Affected by serious handicap/injury	Yes	95 (10.3%)	78 (11.4%)
	No	824 (89.7%)	607 (88.6%)
Forced to leave Northern Ireland	Yes	28 (3%)*	50 (7.3%)*
	No	891 (97%)*	635 (92.7%)*
Bereaved	Yes	198 (21.5%)	189 (27.6%)
	No	721 (78.5%)	496 (72.4%)
A witness of violent acts against others	Yes	219 (23.8%)*	207 (30.2%)*
	No	700 (76.2%)*	478 (69.8%)*
The perpetrator of violent acts against others	Yes	31 (3.4%)*	51 (7.4%)*
	No	888 (96.6%)*	634 (92.6%)*
Held in detention	Yes	47 (5.1%)*	150 (21.9%)*
	No	872 (94.9 %)*	535 (78.1%)*

The mean number of direct and indirect events experienced across the five response options was also examined. There was a statistically significant difference in direct experience of the Troubles as a function of perceived victimhood ($F(4, 2981)=340.5$, $p<.01$). There was also a statistically significant difference in indirect experience of the Troubles for the five groups ($F(4, 2981)=180.2$, $p<01$). Figure 3a illustrates these effects. Those who reported that they often viewed themselves as victims of the Troubles reported higher levels of both direct and indirect experience of the Troubles than those who never or rarely viewed themselves as such.

Figure 3a: Mean direct and indirect experience of Troubles related events and perceptions of victimhood
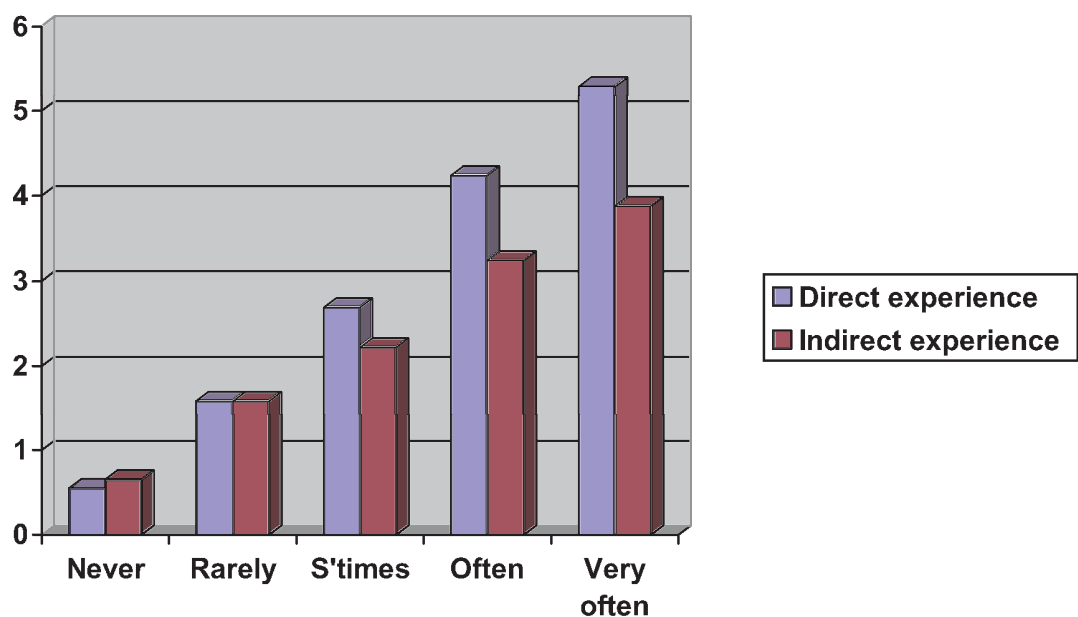
On average therefore it can be said that perceiving oneself as a victim was related to direct and indirect experience of the Troubles. Interestingly however, a small group of respondents who reported no experience of the Troubles on our measure, sometimes or often viewed themselves as victims of the Troubles. Further to this, many of those reporting high levels of Troubles related

experiences never or rarely saw themselves as victims. This pattern of results is illustrated in figure 3b.

Figure 3b: Number of respondents in each category of perceived victimhood in relation to direct and indirect experience of the Troubles
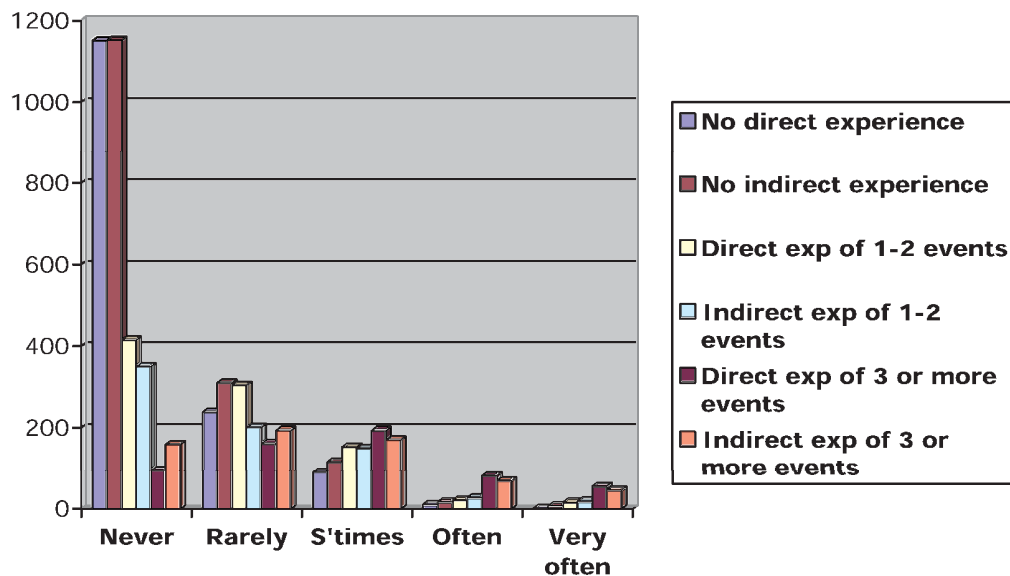
3.5 Conclusions

The findings from this element of the survey offer revealing insight into the nature and extent of people's experiences of the Troubles. A number of conclusions can be drawn from these results. First, approximately one fifth of the population has suffered multiple experiences relating to the Troubles. At the other end of the scale, almost half of the population, in Northern Ireland and the Border Counties, has had little direct or indirect experience of the conflict and do not see themselves as having been affected by the Troubles. In sum, the impact of the conflict has not been felt evenly across the population - some have suffered not at all while others have suffered disproportionately.

Second, the experiences reported as a result of the Troubles encompass a wide range of events. This is the first community wide survey of conflict experiences undertaken in Northern Ireland or the Border Counties and therefore provides a

useful insight into the lived experience of the troubles for the population as a whole. Overall it is fair to say that the range and extent of Troubles related experiences is considerable. Interestingly, despite the range and extent of many respondents' experiences, only a small proportion of respondents viewed themselves as 'victims' of the Troubles regularly. While those with more experience of the Troubles were most likely to view themselves as victims, others with considerable direct and indirect experience of the Troubles did not necessarily see themselves this way. On the one hand this finding may point to the resilience of the population to the stresses endured over the course of the Troubles. On the other the finding also has important implications for naming and targeting of resources for those most affected by the Troubles. Effectively advertising or targeting resources towards those defined or self-defined as *victims* may act as a barrier to many of those who have been most adversely affected by the Troubles but who may be unwilling to apply the label to themselves.

Third, there is variability in Troubles experiences evident in relation to key demographic factors, namely religion, gender and residential jurisdiction. Overall it would appear that those residing in Northern Ireland have more experience of the Troubles than those in the Republic. This finding is not unexpected given the reality of the Troubles. Nonetheless it is worth noting that there is a small group residing in the Border Counties who report as much experience of the conflict as those most affected in Northern Ireland. It is important that this overall difference does not mask the impact of the Troubles on this smaller and easily ignored group in the Republic of Ireland.

In terms of differences associated with religion, it would appear at least in Northern Ireland that Catholics report more experience of a wide range of Troubles-related events than Protestants. Surprisingly, no differences in reported experience were evidenced in relation to SES. Previous research has found such differences. Our concern here is that this measurement error may

have masked these differences. Future research will examine this issue more carefully. Overall it would appear that men report more experience than women. This finding is consistent with previous studies in Northern Ireland and elsewhere. Importantly these differences in experience may not translate across to differences in impact. The subsequent chapter turns our attention to this issue by examining the impact these experiences may have on mental health.

4. The Troubles, Post-traumatic Stress, Psychological Well-being and Substance Misuse

4.0 Overview

This chapter details events that participants spontaneously reported as particularly distressing over the course of the Troubles. It also details the nature and extent of post-traumatic stress experienced as a result of these events and outlines the demographic characteristics of those most affected by post-traumatic symptoms. Other indicators of health such as substance misuse, and overall psychological well-being are also reported and considered both alone and relative to demographic factors such as gender, religion and socio-economic status.

4.1 Substance misuse

Approximately 3% of all respondents reported current use of alcohol to cope with their experiences of the Troubles. A further 3% reported current use of prescribed medication while 1% reported current use of other drugs to cope with their experiences of the Troubles. In all three cases, the proportion of substance mis-use reported by Northern Ireland respondents exceeded that reported by those residing in the Border Counties.

4.2 Post-Traumatic Stress

4.2a Distressing Events

Of the 3000 participants who responded to the survey, 1269 (42%) said that there had been an event that they had found particularly distressing; 1255 respondents went on to describe this event. These events were then categorised, and the number and percentage of participants in each category calculated.

Half (n=628; 21%) of those participants who reported being particular distressed by a Troubles related event named a bombing(s) as the incident which they had found particularly distressing. Some respondents specified a particular bombing

on a town (e.g. Omagh bombing, Portadown bombing, Enniskillen bombing), while others responded with named bombings (e.g. La Mon, McGurk's bar bomb, Bloody Friday). Bomb scares and being caught in a bomb blast were also included in this category.

131 participants (4%) identified an event which had directly affected their friends/family (e.g. relative shot, friend/relatives affected/murdered, kidnapping of self/family/friends). A further 135 respondents (4%) named events in which they had been directly affected themselves (e.g. forced out of home/to leave country, held up/robbed/hi-jacked, home destroyed intimidation, premises blown up, discovering/seeing injured bodies). 85 (3%) of participants identified shootings as an event that they found particularly distressing. This category included references to particular shootings such as Bloody Sunday, Greysteele and Loughlinisland. Another 'violence' category was constructed to include any other form of violence (e.g. the summer of 1996, attacks on the elderly, attacks on soldiers/police, disturbances/ riots/ fighting). Also included in this category were combinations of bombings and shootings – i.e. those participants who responded with two events. This category made up 13% of responses (230 participants).

35 respondents (1.2%) identified collective actions such as the hunger strikes, workers' strikes, the Holy Cross incident, Drumcree/Portadown marches or internment as the event which they found distressing. The final category was those participants (<1%; 11 in total) who responded to this question by saying that the event they found distressing was the media coverage of the Troubles, or people's perceptions of Northern Ireland.

4.2b Post-Traumatic Stress

Those who reported experiencing a particularly distressing event (N=1269) over the course of the Troubles then indicated the extent to which they had been bothered by the 17 symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). The most prevalent symptoms of PTSD which respondents reported was being upset by reminders of the event. This item showed the highest percentage of respondents who were 'extremely bothered' by this symptom (6.2% - equivalent to 79 respondents). A relatively high percentage of participants were also bothered by attempting to avoid thoughts of the event. 5.9% of participants (79 participants) said that they were extremely bothered by this symptom. A further 5.5% (70 participants) said they were extremely bothered by being constantly on your guard. The least prevalent symptom was impaired concentration, with only 1.3% of respondents being extremely bothered by this symptom (17 of the 1269 participants). Other less common symptoms included memory loss as a result of stress and estrangement from others (1.6% and 1.7% of participants respectively were extremely bothered by these symptoms).

The PCL was used to distinguishing those who were PTSD cases from those who were non-cases based on their symptom scores (Walker *et al.,* 2002). In the Border Counties, the incidence of PTSD was 6% (60 participants); while in the Northern Ireland the incidence was almost double at 12% (239 participants). Figure 4a below illustrates this difference.

While the difference in prevalence rates between Northern Ireland and the Border Counties were significant ($\chi2$ = 13.922, df = 1, p<0.01), no gender, religious or social class differences in prevalence of PTSD were observed.

Figure 4a: Proportion of the sample identified as PTSD cases by jurisdiction
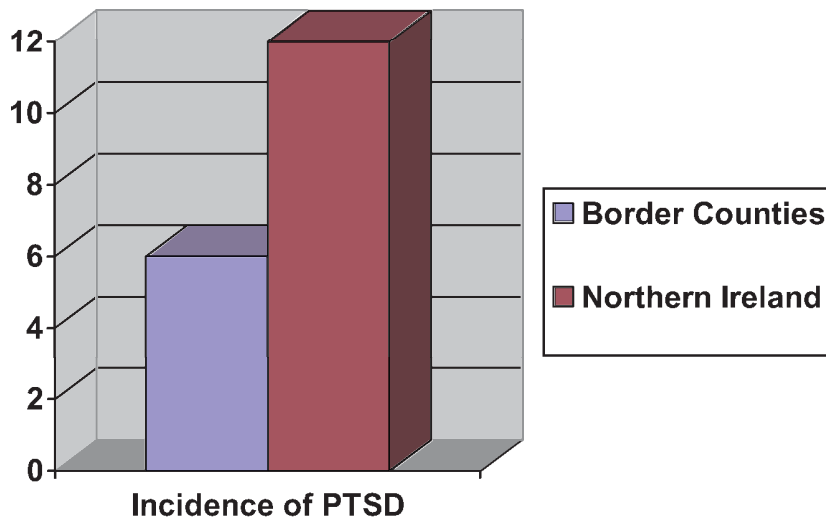
4.2c Profile of those identified as PTSD cases

It would appear that the type of distressing event reported was related to the incidence of PTSD. Respondents were most likely to evidence PTSD as a result of injuries to themselves, incidents that directly affected a friend or family member, or as a result of witnessing a killing or violence other than a bombing or shooting. The incidence of PTSD evidenced in those who reported bombings, shootings and media exposure to events as most distressing events was lower than in the former three groups.

One in ten respondents were considered to have symptoms in response to a distressing Troubles related event that would be considered severe enough to warrant a diagnosis of PTSD. 12% of the Northern sample were categorised as cases, whilst 6% of the sample from the Border Counties were categorised as such. There was no significant variation in the incidence of PTSD related to gender, nationality, age, religious affiliation or marital status.

The incidence of PTSD did however appear to be related to many indicators of socio-economic status. Those classified as PTSD cases were less likely to have a third level education (20% of cases had higher education versus 31% of non-cases), were more likely to be unemployed due to job loss (4.3% of cases, 1.6% of non-cases) or unable to work due to illness (6.7% of cases, 1.3% of non-cases). PTSD cases were more likely to be in unskilled, partly skilled or manual (10.6%, 16.6% and 13.8% respectively) occupations when compared to non-cases (6.1%, 13.5% and 11.1% respectively). PTSD cases also reported lower average household incomes than non-cases. In Northern Ireland, 33% of respondents with PTSD had a household income of less than £20,000 per annum. More than one third of these households had a gross income of less than £10,000 per annum. In comparison, 24% of the remaining households reported an income of less than £20,000 per annum again with one third of these being in the less than £10,000 per annum income group. In the Republic, 32% of PTSD cases lived in a household with an income of less than €20,000. For non-cases, this level of income was only evidenced in 16% of households.

Those categorised as PTSD cases, were six times more likely (12.7% of all cases) to report using alcohol to cope with their experience of the Troubles than those not categorised as PTSD cases (2.3% of non cases reported using alcohol to cope with the Troubles; see table 4.1). This difference was statistically significant ($\chi 2 = 48.785$, df = 1, p<0.01). Similarly, it was found that ten times as many of those classified as PTSD cases (15.7%) reported using prescribed medication to cope with Troubles related experiences (such usage was 1.6% of participants not classified as PTSD cases). This difference was also statistically significant ($\chi 2 = 95.801$, df = 1, p<0.01). Finally six times as many respondents exhibiting symptoms of PTSD reported use of other drugs (4.8% of cases) to cope with their Troubles related experiences in comparison to the low reported usage in non-cases (0.8%). Once again, this difference was statistically significant ($\chi 2 = 11.361$, df = 1, p<0.01).

Table 4.1: Reported substance use among those classified as cases and non-cases of PTSD

	PTSD Symptoms	
	Case	Non-Case
Self-reported alcohol use to cope with Troubles related experiences	12.7%	2.3%
Self-reported prescribed drug use to cope with Troubles related experiences	15.7%	1.5%
Self-reported other drug use to cope with Troubles related experiences	4.3%	.8%

In relation to other Troubles related experiences, those classified as PTSD cases on average reported more direct and indirect experiences of the Troubles than non-cases. Figure 4b illustrates this effect. PTSD cases reported on average having experienced three times as many direct experiences and twice as many indirect experiences as non cases. These differences were significant at the .01 level.

Figure 4b: Mean number of direct and indirect experiences of the Troubles by PTSD classification.
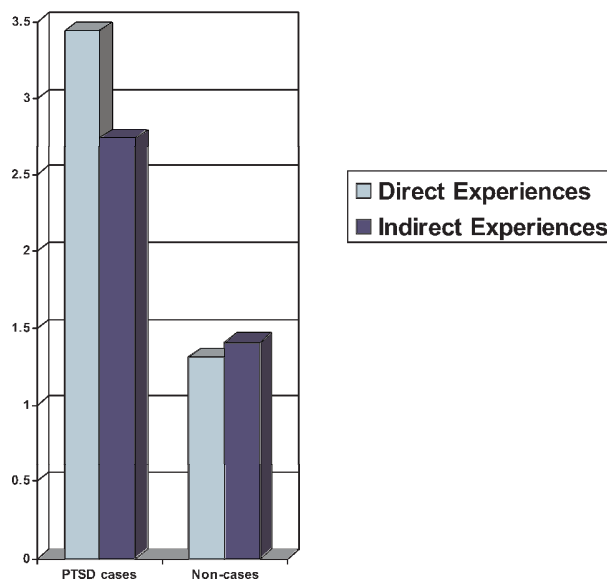
4.3 Psychological Well-being

The General Health Questionnaire (GHQ) is a popular measure of psychological well-being. Higher scores indicate poorer level of psychological well-being. Differences in well-being related to jurisdiction, gender, religious affiliation and socio-economic status were explored. Overall, those resident in the Border Counties of the Republic reported better psychological well-being than respondents resident in Northern Ireland and men reported better psychological well being than women (see Figure 4c). No differences in self-reported well-being was evidenced across religious or socio-economic groups in the Republic. However, there was a trend indicating poorer mental health among Catholic respondents in Northern Ireland when compared to their Protestant counterparts ($F=6.3$ (1,1339), $p<.015$). The scores obtained in this study indicated greater psychological well-being than those obtained in previous studies of Northern Ireland (see Cairns et al, 2003)

Figure 4c: Mean GHQ scores in both residential jurisdictions and for males and females separately
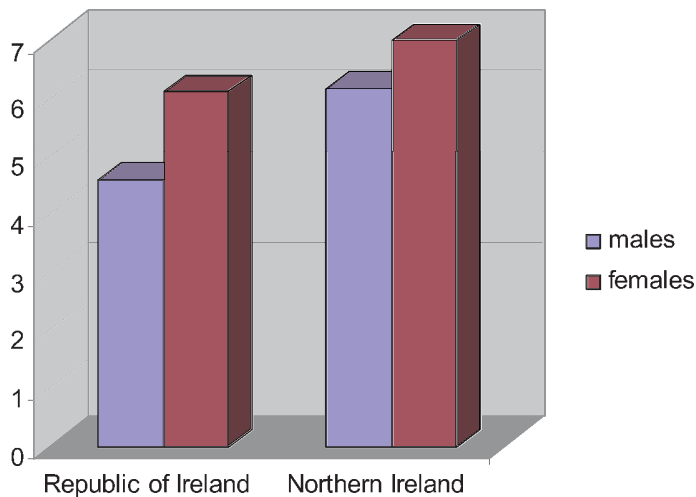
4.4 Tough-mindedness

Traditionally mental health problems have been characterised in terms of internalising or externalising outcomes. Measures such as the GHQ tap into well-being, and as such measures internalising problems such as self-reported anxiety and well-being. The measurement of externalising problems is generally viewed as more difficult as the problems are most likely to be evidenced as acting out, aggressive or anti-social behaviour. Tough-mindedness however can be viewed as a psychological representation of anger and/or acting out behaviour. The measure employed here yielded higher scores where respondents were more tough-minded (range 1-5). The relationship between gender, religion, SES and residential jurisdiction on self-reported tough-mindedness was explored. A gender difference in levels of tough-mindedness was evident in respondents from Northern Ireland ($F28.7$, $(1, 1375)$ $p<.01$), which was not evident among respondents from the Border Counties ($F=.485$, $(1,719)$ $p>.05$). Overall, this can be attributed to the higher levels of tough-mindedness overall evident among Northern Irish men, although it should be noted that the average scores obtained were around the midpoint of the scale (see Figure 4d).

Figure 4d: Toughmindedness, gender and residential jurisdiction
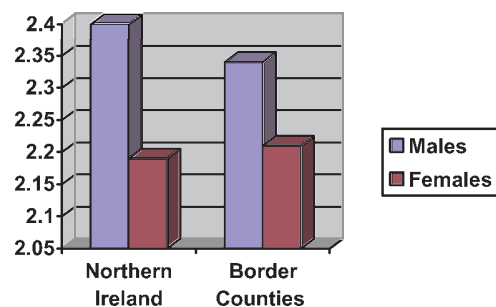
4.5 Conclusions

While a small proportion of the overall population appears to use substances as a result of their Troubles-related experience, there is a significant proportion of the population that are experiencing significant mental health problems which they attribute directly to the Troubles. One in 10 of those surveyed reported

post-traumatic symptoms that are suggestive of clinical PTSD. Although the incidence of those classified as cases was twice as high in Northern Ireland than in the Border Counties of the Irish Republic, 1 in 20 respondents from that location were classified as displaying clinical symptoms.

The profile of those classified as PTSD cases yielded a number of important findings. First certain types of events appear to be linked to PTSD. Events involving personal injury, or a family member or friend being killed would appear to be most strongly linked to PTSD symptoms. Further to this it would appear that those with PTSD are more likely to report multiple Troubles related experiences. Certainly, those identified as PTSD cases had higher direct and indirect experiences of the Troubles than non-cases. Those identified as PTSD cases also had poorer psychological well being generally. These findings, similar to those observed in Chapter 3, suggest that the impact of the conflict has not been felt evenly across the population - some have suffered not at all and others have suffered disproportionately.

Although there was no evidence to suggest that PTSD was more prevalent in men or women, or Catholic or Protestants, there was considerable evidence to indicate that lower socio-economic status respondents were disproportionately affected by PTSD symptomotology. While it could be argued that the symptoms of the disorder may contribute to disadvantage as a result of disability and unemployment, the fact that many of the PTSD cases had lower educational status than non-cases would suggest that social disadvantage increases one's risk of developing PTSD. Irrespective of this argument, those identified as PTSD represent a particularly vulnerable and disadvantaged group in terms of their ability to rely on financial, psychological and social resources.

5. Religious and Nationality Identity

5.0 Overview

This chapter outlines the national and religious profile of the sample. Additional information relating to national and religious identification and how these identities are experienced is provided by a number of measures including respondents' perceptions of their national typicality, their evaluation of their nationality as well as perceptions of religious discrimination, threat and out-group favourability and trust. In all cases, responses on these measures are analysed to explore differences associated with gender, religious and national affiliation for those living in Northern Ireland and the Border Counties separately. Separate analysis were necessary given the difference in response profiles from the two jurisdictions.

5.1 Self-categorised nationality

The three nationality categories that were chosen most frequently were British, Irish and Northern Irish (see table 5.1). Due to the low frequency count of the remaining nationality choices, these categories were collapsed into a single category labelled 'Other'. This other category accounted for 3.7% of the entire sample (see table 5.1).

Table 5.1: Frequencies and percentages of self-categorised nationality for the entire sample

	Frequency	Percent
British	1028	38.5%
Irish	1393	52.1%
Northern Irish	191	7.2%
Other	59	2.2%

Table 5.2 shows that of the 887 Protestants in the Northern Ireland sample, the majority described their national identity as British (84.2%), however 9% of

Protestants described their nationality as Northern Irish, and 3.9% described themselves as Irish. Similarly, the majority of Catholics in the Northern Ireland sample self-categorised as Irish (67.4%), yet a substantial percentage of Catholics described their nationality as British (17.3%) and a slightly higher percentage of Catholics than Protestants self-categorised their nationality as Northern Irish (12.9%).

Table 5.2: Protestants' and Catholics' choice of national identity for Northern Ireland and the Border Counties

			British	Irish	Northern Irish	Other	Total
Northern Ireland	Protestant	N	747	35	80	25	887
		%	84.2%	3.9%	9.0%	2.8%	100%
	Catholic	N	116	451	86	16	669
		%	17.3%	67.4%	12.9%	2.4%	100%
Republic of Ireland	Protestant	N	3	57	1	1	62
		%	4.8%	91.9%	1.6%	1.6%	100%
	Catholic	N	7	730	0	8	745
		%	.9%	98%	.0%	1.1%	100%

In the Border Counties the vast majority of Protestants and Catholics described their nationality as Irish (91.9% and 98% respectively see table 5.2).

Table 5.3 outlines the number of Protestants and Catholics in each national identity category. In Northern Ireland, the majority of people who chose to self-categorise as British was Protestant (86.6%), and 13.4 % of those identifying as British were Catholic. The reverse was true for the Irish identity, with the majority of those categorising their identity as Irish being Catholic (92.8%), yet 7.2% of those who chose the Irish identity were Protestant. For the Northern Irish identity, numbers of Protestants and Catholics are comparable with 48.2% of those who

chose the Northern Irish label being Protestant and 51.8% being Catholic. The results for the Border counties sample are not readily comparable in this instance, given the unequal group sizes related to religious affiliation.

Table 5.3: Frequencies and percentages of Protestants and Catholics in each nationality category for Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland

	Northern Ireland					Republic of Ireland				
	Protestant		Catholic		Total	Protestant		Catholic		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	N	%	N	%	N
British	747	86.6%	116	13.4%	863	3	30.0%	7	70%	10
Irish	35	7.2%	451	92.8%	486	57	7.2%	730	92.8%	787
Northern Irish	80	48.2%	86	51.8%	166	1	100%	0	.0	1
Other	25	61%	16	39%	41	1	11.1%	8	88.9%	9

5.2 Self-reported religious affiliation

All 3,000 respondents were asked whether they regarded themselves as belonging to any particular religion. 2,498 said that they did regard themselves as belonging to a particular religion, while the remaining 502 did not. Of the 2,498 who responded positively to this item, 1,392 said they would describe their religious tradition as Catholic, while 848 described their religious tradition as Protestant. 199 respondents described their religious tradition as 'other'. Of these, 113 stated that they considered themselves to be Christian but of no denomination, 59 respondents stated a particular Protestant denomination. Only a few stated separate religions to which they belonged, for example, Jehovah's Witness, Mormon, Judaism, Islam/Muslim.

Of the 1,000 respondents in the Border Counties, 859 said that they regarded themselves as belonging to a particular religion while the other 141 said that they did not regard themselves as belonging to any particular religion. Of the 859, 740 said they would describe their religious tradition as Catholic while 51 described

their religious tradition as Protestant. 45 respondents described their religious tradition as 'other'.

Of the 2,000 respondents in Northern Ireland, 1639 said that they regarded themselves as belonging to a particular religion while another 361 said that they did not regard themselves as belonging to any particular religion. Of the 1639, 652 said they would describe their religious tradition as Catholic while 797 described their religious tradition as Protestant. 154 respondents described their religious tradition as 'other'.

5.3 Perceived prototypicality in relation to nationality

Prototypicality is a term used to refer to how much respondents believe they are characteristic of their national group and is an indicator of the level of identification felt with the national group. The response format on the scale consisted of a 5-point Likert scale, with higher scores indicating higher levels of perceived typicality as a group member. Two questions were used to measure prototypicality and the scale had high reliability (yielding a Cronbach's alpha of .78).   A statistical technique known as Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was conducted to examine the relationship between gender, religion, nationality and prototypicality in the Northern Ireland and Border samples separately. The sample from the Republic evidenced no variations in prototypicality scores across groups.

Two main findings emerged from the analysis of the Northern Ireland sample. First, nationality and religion jointly affected perceived prototypicality ($F_{(3, 1526)}$ = 11.018, $p<.01$, see Figure 5a). Catholics who described themselves as British perceived themselves as being less typically British than Protestants who categorised themselves as British. On the other hand, Catholics who described their nationality as Irish viewed themselves as more typically Irish than Protestants who described themselves as Irish. In addition, Catholics who categorise themselves as Northern Irish believe themselves to be more prototypical of this group than Protestants who see themselves as Northern Irish.

In sum, these results indicate that those who chose the national identity traditionally associated with the other religious group in Northern Ireland are more ambivalent about their nationality. Second, Irish identifiers in Northern Ireland generally view themselves as more emblematic of their national group than British identifiers (F (3, 1526) = 7.2, p <.01) No other variations were found.

Figure 5a: Mean scores for prototypicality for Protestant and Catholic respondents for each nationality category in Northern Ireland
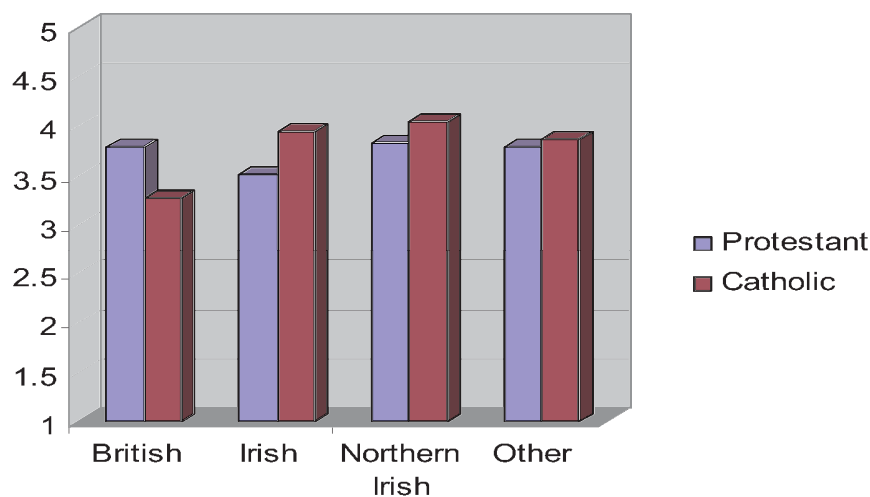
5.4 Collective self-esteem and nationality

Collective Self-Esteem (CSE) relates to the individual's appraisals and general regard for their national group. CSE is an indicator of the degree of importance and regard respondents attach to their national group. It was measured on a 5-point scale with higher scores indicating higher levels of CSE. Overall, CSE scores were higher among respondents from the Border Counties (mean score = 3.94) than Northern Ireland (mean=3.55). This indicates that respondents from the Border Counties generally viewed their preferred nationality more positively than those from Northern Ireland.

Analyses were undertaken to explore variations in CSE across gender, religion and nationality in Northern Ireland and the Border samples. No evidence of variation across groups was found in the sample from the Border Counties of the Republic.

In Northern Ireland two main findings emerged. First overall, those who identified as Irish had more positive views of their nationality than those who identified as either Northern Irish or British (F (3, 3723) = 16.788; p<.001). Second, though Catholics tended to show higher CSE scores than Protestants, this was not true for Catholics who identified as British. (F (9, 3723) = 2.496; p <.01). These effects are illustrated in Figure 5b.

Figure 5b: CSE scores by religion and perceived nationality in Northern Ireland
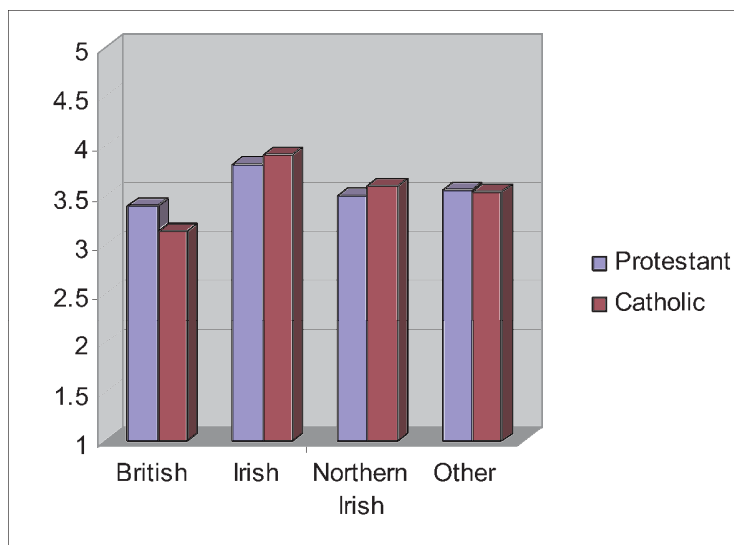
5.5 Perceived discrimination associated with religion

Perceived discrimination experienced on the basis of religion was assessed using three items (range of scores obtainable 1-5). Higher scores on this scale indicated higher levels of perceived discrimination. Reliability analyses indicated that the scale was highly reliable (yielding a Cronbach's alpha of .75). The

Northern Irish sample reported higher perceptions of discrimination (mean= 1.38) than did respondents from the Republic of Ireland (mean score was 1.23), although both represent very low scores on this scale.

Analysis of variance was conducted to examine the effects of gender, religion and nationality on perceived discrimination within the Northern Ireland and Border samples separately. No significant variation across groups in the Border sample was evident. In Northern Ireland those who described themselves as Irish reported higher levels of perceived discrimination than those who described themselves as British ($F_{(3, 1538)} = 3.724$, $p < .01$) (see Figure 5c). No systematic variation was evidenced in relation to gender or religion.

Figure 5c: Perceived discrimination by perceived nationality in Northern Ireland
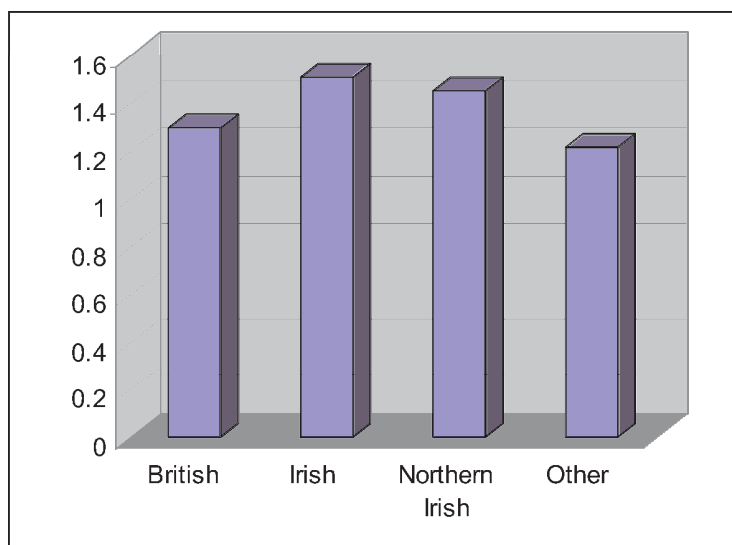
5.6 Perceived identity threat

Perceived identity threat refers not only to a fearfulness of the other group but also to the threat perceived as a result of one's religious identity. Five questions were used to compute the total identity threat score by calculating the mean of the five items. Reliability estimates for the 5-item total identity threat scale indicated an acceptable Cronbach's alpha of .65. Responses on the identity threat scale were recorded on a 5-point Likert scale, with higher scores representing higher perceptions of threat associated with religious group affiliation. Scores for the Northern Ireland sample (mean=2.95) were again higher than scores obtained from the Border Counties sample (mean=2.64), indicating higher levels of perceived threat in Northern Ireland.

Analysis of variance identified no variations in perceptions of threat associated with gender, religion or nationality in the Republic of Ireland sample. Northern Ireland participants' responses were compared across gender, nationality and religion. Again a combination of nationality and religion related to identity threat $(F (3, 1538) = 15.037, p<.01)$ (see Figure 5d). Two main findings emerged. First, although Catholics tended to report higher levels of identity threat, this was not the case for Catholics who identified as British. Indeed Protestants who categorised themselves as British show higher levels of perceived identity threat than Catholics who categorised as British. Second, and in line with this finding, Catholics (M=3.08, SD= .82) reported higher levels of threat than Protestants (M=2.85, SD=.79) in Northern Ireland $(F (1, 1538) = 21.14, p<.01)$.

The results indicated no significant differences between men and women in terms of their perceptions of threat and no significant difference between the different national categories when considered in isolation from religion.

Figure 5d: Perceived identity threat by religion and perceived nationality in Northern Ireland
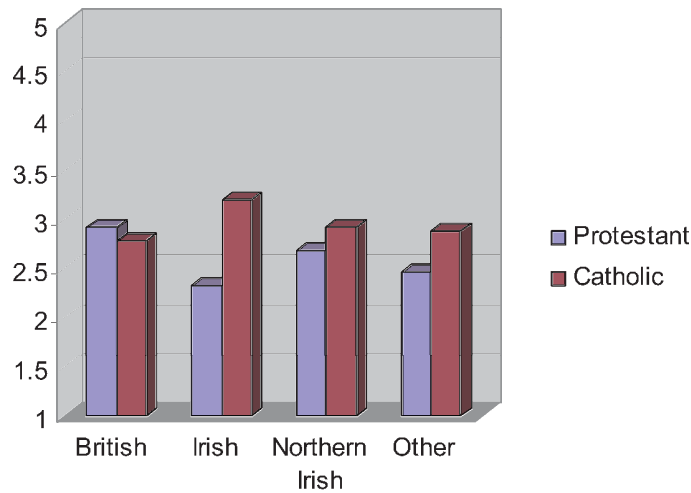
5.7 Ratings of the 'Other' religious group

Participants were asked to indicate their overall feelings towards the other main religious community on a scale of 0 to 100, where 0 is extremely unfavourable and 100 is extremely favourable. Analysis of variance examined the relationship between nationality, gender and religion on favourability ratings of the other main religious group. For participants in the Republic of Ireland, no significant effects were found. Generally scores on this scale indicated those from the other religious group were viewed favourably. However, women in Northern Ireland had more favourable views of the other religious tradition than men (male mean was a favourability rating of 79/100, female mean 83/100; [$F_{(1, 1503)}=5.71$, $p=.017$].). A combination of nationality and religion related to perceived favourability towards the other main religious group [$F_{(2, 1503)}=6.29$, $p<.01$]. Figure 5e below illustrates this effect; overall, Protestants who identified as Irish and Catholics who identified as British had the most favourable views of the opposing religious tradition in Northern Ireland. Conversely it can be said that Irish Catholics and British Protestants had the least favourable views of the other religious tradition in Northern Ireland.

Figure 5e: Favourableness towards the other religion by religion and perceived nationality
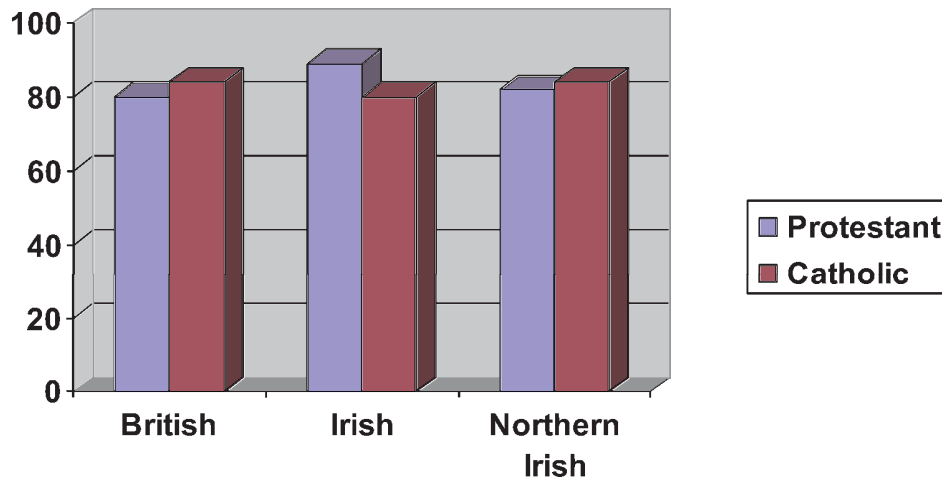
5.8 Intergroup trust

Two items measured trust in the other main religious tradition on a scale of 1 to 4. Overall, higher levels of trust in the other religious tradition were evident in the Border Counties of the Republic (mean=3.67) than in Northern Ireland (mean=3.35). No variations in levels of inter-religious group trust across gender, religion or nationality was evident in the Border Counties, perhaps because of the high absolute levels of trust. In Northern Ireland, religious affiliation of the respondent was related to perceptions of intergroup trust. On average Catholics trusted their Protestant counterparts significantly less than Protestants trusted Catholics ($F=(1, 1486)$ 6.4, $p<.01$). This effect is illustrated in Figure 5f. No variation in levels of intergroup trust across groups was observed.

Figure 5f: Mean inter-group trust by religious affiliation in Northern Ireland.
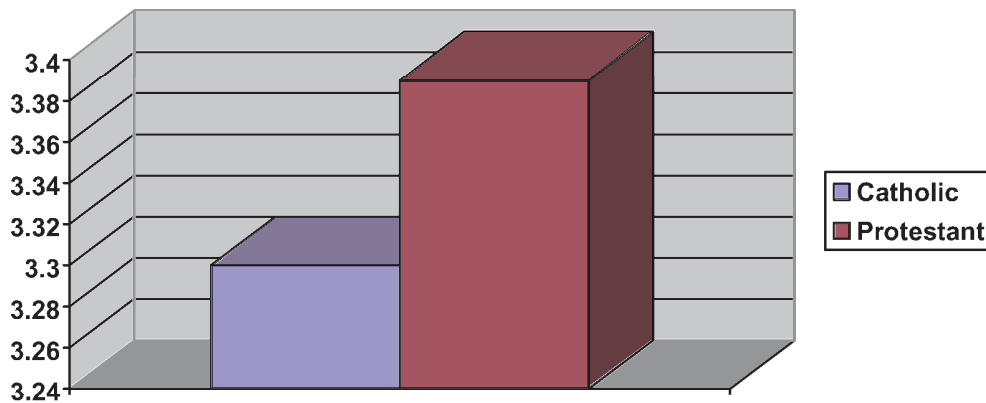
5.9 Conclusions

A number of conclusions can be drawn from the data reported above. First the divisions evident in the views of respondents along national and religious boundaries in the Northern Ireland sample are not evident in the sample from the Border Counties of the Republic. While the majority (85%) of respondents identify with one of the two main religious traditions, Protestants and Catholics in the Border Counties largely identify as Irish. There is no evidence that perceived fit within the group or esteem for the national group is related to religious affiliation. Nor was there evidence that perceptions of threat, discrimination or inter-group trust were related to respondents' religious affiliation. These results suggest that despite the impact of the Troubles in terms of mental health and life experiences in the Border Counties, national identity within these regions is uncontested and attitudinal divisions on the basis of religious affiliation are not readily apparent.

The picture is less optimistic in the Northern Ireland sample. The majority of respondents (82%) were willing to identify with one of the two main religious traditions, and, as expected, Protestants and Catholics tended to identify with different national groups. In line with survey research from the Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey, Protestants were more likely to identify as British and

Catholics as Irish. The proportion of respondents in our sample identifying as Northern Irish (approximately 1 in 10) was less than has been found in previous work (1 in 5). Perhaps the overt theme of the present research may have heightened awareness of identity among respondents, and even polarised perceptions of identity. In addition to the differing patterns of national identification, there were also differences in national self-esteem, perceived fit to the national group and perceived discrimination in relation to national identity. Overall, those who viewed themselves as Irish had more positive appraisals of their nationality, perceived they were more likely to be discriminated against and believed they typified their group more than those who identified as either Northern Irish or British. National collective self-esteem, perceived fit with the national group and perceptions of discrimination were lowest among those who identified as British.

These results highlight the divisions in Northern Ireland society marked by religious and national boundaries. However these boundaries are not impermeable, a small proportion from both religious traditions identified with the national group traditionally associated with the other religion. Thirteen percent of Catholics viewed themselves as British while 7% of Protestants viewed themselves as Irish. These respondents did appear to experience some discomfort with their choice; they perceived themselves as less emblematic of the national group than did those of the other religion. In addition, British Catholics had less positive appraisals of their nationality than British Protestant identifiers; this group also experienced less positive feelings towards their identity than Catholics who viewed themselves as Irish or Northern Irish. Those preferring incongruent national identities did however make more positive ratings of the other religious tradition than those with the traditional religious and national identification patterns.

Overall it can be said that though some have crossed the traditional boundaries, this may represent a difficult psychological position to maintain. Taken together

these results highlight the enduring nature of the divisions in Northern Ireland along religious and national lines, and the complex associations that persist between religion, perceived nationality and feelings towards both 'them' and 'us' .

6. Social and Political Attitudes

6.0 Overview

This chapter outlines findings from a range of measures associated with social and political attitudes. Political attitudes were considered by asking respondents to outline their voting preferences, views of paramilitary groups, preferred options for the future of Northern Ireland and level of support for the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement. Social attitudes that were measured included perceptions of how dangerous respondents saw their world, their belief in retribution, and their values with regard to religious integration and tolerance. Responses on these measures were analysed to explore differences associated with gender, religion and national affiliation for those living in the Northern Ireland and the Border Counties separately. Separate analyses for those living in Northern Ireland and the Republic were again necessary given the difference in response profiles from the two jurisdictions.

6.1 Sympathy for Loyalist and Republican paramilitaries

Two questions asked respondents to state whether they had any sympathy for loyalist or republican violence even if they did not condone the violence itself. Overall the level of sympathy expressed for loyalist and republican violence was similar. Two-thirds of respondents had no sympathy for loyalist or republican violence, one in four had a little sympathy and a small minority had a lot of sympathy for the reasons that loyalist (3%) and republican (4%) used violence (see Table 6.1). Respondents from the Border Counties of the Republic were more likely to express some sympathy for the position of Loyalist and Republican groups than Northern Ireland respondents. Subsequently analysis was conducted to explore variations in responses in Northern Ireland and the Border Counties. There was no evidence of variation in sympathy for loyalist or republican violence associated with gender, religion or nationality in the Border Counties of the Republic.

Table 6.1: Sympathy with paramilitary violence

Thinking about the reasons that some loyalists groups have used violence during the troubles would you say that you have any sympathy for their violence even if you don't condone the violence itself?			
	Northern Ireland	Republic of Ireland	All
A lot of sympathy	1.8%	5.4%	3.0%
A little sympathy	20.9%	34.2%	25.4%
No sympathy	75.4%	56.1%	69.1%
Don't know	1.9%	4%	2.4%
Thinking about the reasons that some republican groups have used violence during the troubles would you say that you have any sympathy for their violence even if you don't condone the violence itself?			
	Northern Ireland	Republic of Ireland	All
A lot of sympathy	3.2%	6.2%	4.2%
A little sympathy	21.6%	36.8%	26.2%
No sympathy	73.6%	53.6%	67.1%
Don't know	1.6%	3.5%	2.5%

In Northern Ireland, religion, gender and nationality related to the level of sympathy expressed for loyalist and republican violence. Overall (see Table 6.2) men expressed more sympathy for the position of both loyalist and republican paramilitaries. Catholics expressed more sympathy than Protestants and Irish respondents more than Northern Irish or British for the position of both loyalist and republican paramilitaries (see Table 6.2). However despite this overall difference, proportionally more Catholic and Irish respondents had sympathy for republican violence than loyalist violence. Similarly, proportionally more Protestant and British respondents had sympathy for the position of loyalist than republican paramilitaries.

Table 6.2: Sympathy with paramilitary violence: Northern Ireland

Thinking about the reasons that some loyalists groups have used violence during the troubles would you say that you have any sympathy for their violence even if you don't condone the violence itself?							
	Males	Females	Protestants	Catholics	British	Irish	Northern Irish
A lot of sympathy	2.1%	1.6%	1.4%	2%	1.7%	2.5%	.5%
A little sympathy	22.3%	19.8%	18.4%	25.7%	17.5%	26%	25.3%
No sympathy	73.8%	75.4%	79%	70.2%	79.2%	69%	72.1%
Don't know	1.8%	3.2%	1.2%	2.0%	1.6%	2.5%	2.1%
Thinking about the reasons that some republican groups have used violence during the troubles would you say that you have any sympathy for their violence even if you don't condone the violence itself?							
	Males	Females	Protestants	Catholics	British	Irish	Northern Irish
A lot of sympathy	4.4%	1.9%	.5%	6.7%	.9%	8.7%	.5%
A little sympathy	22.9%	19.7%	15.2%	30.2%	14.1%	31.3%	27.9%
No sympathy	70.9%	75.2%	82.9%	61.2%	83.5%	57.5%	68.4%
Don't know	1.9%	3.2%	1.3%	1.9%	3.2%	2.0%	3.2%

6.2 Voting preferences

80.4% participants reported that they had voted in the last general election. 1,210 of the 2,000 participants from Northern Ireland specified which party they voted for. 25.1% of these stated that they voted for the UUP while 24.9% voted for the SDLP, 21.4% voted for the DUP, 15.2% for Sinn Fein and 3.3% for the Alliance Party. These results do not reflect the results of the last elections but are however in line with previous surveys which tend to show under-reporting of the DUP and SF vote in Northern Ireland. 704 participants from the Border Counties specified the party they voted for; 50.4% reported voting for Fianna Fail, 27.8% voted for Fine Gael, and 9.4% voted for Sinn Fein.

6.3 The future of Northern Ireland

Participants indicated their preferred political option for Northern Ireland. Over the entire sample from the presented options, 33.4% stated they would like to see Northern Ireland remain part of the UK, 27.4% stated they would like Northern Ireland to be under joint control of Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland, 24.8% would like to see Northern Ireland become part of the Republic of Ireland, and the remaining 14.4% said they would like a Northern Ireland state independent of the UK and the Republic of Ireland.

For the purposes of analysis, the participants' reported preferences were examined in relation to religion, gender and nationality. The analysis was conducted using the chi-square statistic. Tables 6.3 and 6.4 detail preferences with regard to various solutions for the future of Northern Ireland across these factors for Northern Ireland and the Border Counties separately. Percentages refer to the proportion of people within each religious, national or gender grouping that endorsed that particular solution. Significant differences are marked with an asterix (again a corrected .01 significance level is used).

Differences across groups in the preferred solutions for Northern Ireland emerged in the Border counties sample (see Table 6.3). Five times as many Protestants (35% of the total group) endorsed Northern Ireland remaining part of the UK than did Catholic respondents (7% of Catholic respondents endorsed this option). Double the proportion of Catholics (44%) as Protestants (19%) preferred the idea of Northern Ireland becoming part of the Republic. Finally a gender difference was apparent. Overall men in the Border Counties (47% of men) more than women (39% of women) were likely to state a preference for Northern Ireland becoming part of the Republic in the future.

Table 6.3 : Preferences regarding the future of Northern Ireland in the Republic of Ireland by gender and religion

Would you prefer...?	Religion*		Gender*	
	Protestants	Catholics	Males	Females
NI to remain part of the UK?	20(35%)	43(7%)	41(10%)	44(9%)
NI to become part of the Republic?	11(19%)	320(44%)	202(47%)	188(39%)
A NI state impendent of the UK and the Republic	11 (19%)	126 (17%)	54 (13%)	111 (23%)
Joint control of NI by GB and the Republic	15(27%)	208(29%)	129(30%)	136(28%)

Note: differences across nationality were not examined given the small cell sizes associated with Northern Irish and British nationalities in this sample.

In Northern Ireland, religion, gender and nationality were related to preferred options for the future of Northern Ireland (see Table 6.4). Overall Protestants stated a strong preference for remaining part of the UK (68% of all Protestants preferred this option) while Catholics were equally as likely to support joint control by Ireland and the UK (37%) or becoming part of the Republic (35%). This pattern was echoed in the pattern of preferences apparent in relation to nationality. Those of British nationality stated a strong preference for Northern Ireland remaining part of the UK (67% of all British identifiers) with Irish respondents preferred the option of Northern Ireland becoming part of the Republic - although the extent of the support for this option among Irish respondents was at a lower level (42% of all Irish respondents in Northern Ireland). Joint control of Northern Ireland by the UK and the Republic enjoyed similar levels of support across all three national groups, British (20% of all British respondents), Irish (34% of group) and Northern Irish (33% of this group).

Table 6.4: Preferences regarding the future of Northern Ireland in Northern Ireland by religion, gender and perceived nationality

Would you prefer…?	Religion* Protestant	Catholic	Gender Males	Females	N'tionlity* British	Irish	Northern Irish
NI to remain part of the UK?	601 (68%)	74 (11%)	357 (45%)	485 (45%)	647 (67%)	45 (9%)	53 (30%)
NI to become part of the Republic?	32 (4%)	225 (35%)	154 (19%)	145 (14%)	33 (3%)	203 (42%)	24 (14%)
A NI state independent of the UK and the Republic?	90 (10%)	106 (17%)	85 (11%)	150 (14%)	94 (10%)	72 (15%)	41 (23%)
Joint control of NI by GB and the Republic?	157 (18%)	239 (37%)	202 (25%)	292 (27%)	193 (20%)	166 (34%)	58 (33%)

*indicates significant differences at the .01 level

6.4 Level of support for the Belfast / Good Friday Agreement

94% of participants responded to the item asking if they could indicate their current level of support for the Belfast / Good Friday Agreement. 71.4% supported the Agreement, while 11.4% stated their opposition to it. 17.2% of respondents stated they neither supported nor opposed the Agreement. Participants were then asked which sections of the community have benefited most from the Belfast / Good Friday Agreement. Of the 86% who responded to this question, 48.7% said Unionists and Nationalists equally, 29.3% said Nationalists had benefited most, 19.8% said neither group had benefited and 2.3% said Unionists had benefited more than Nationalists.

Participants' responses were examined in relation to religion (Catholics and Protestants), gender and nationality (for the Northern Ireland respondents only; British, Irish and Northern Irish). The analysis was conducted using the chi-square statistic. Tables 6.5 and 6.6 show the levels of support for the agreement in each jurisdiction. Percentages refer to those within each category rather than percentages of the total sample. Significant differences are marked with an asterix (again a corrected .01 significance level is used).

In the Border Counties, despite the very high level of support for the Agreement, overall the level of support was less strong among Protestant respondents. Although the majority supported the Agreement (76%) and only one respondent opposed it, 23% of respondents stated they neither supported nor opposed the agreement; a significantly lower proportion of Catholic respondents were of this opinion

Table 6.5: Level of support for the Agreement in the Border Counties

With regard to the Good Friday Agreement, do you...?	Religion*		Gender	
	Protestants	Catholics	Males	Females
Strongly support it?	17 (30%)	354 (49%)	224 (51%)	216 (44%)
Support it?	26 (46%)	302 (42%)	174 (39%)	220 (45%)
Neither?	13 (23%)	49 (7%)	34 (8%)	45 (9%)
Oppose it?	0 (0%)	14 (2%)	6 (1%)	8 (2%)
Strongly oppose it?	1 (2%)	8 (1%)	5 (1%)	5 (1%)

In Northern Ireland, support for the Agreement was twice as high among Catholics (87% supporting or strongly supporting the agreement) than Protestants (46% strongly supporting or supporting the agreement) Support was also higher amongst those who identified as Irish (85%) and Northern Irish (68%)

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than amongst British identifiers (50% of this group strongly supported or supported the agreement). The corollary of this finding was also true - opposition to the agreement was highest among Protestants (26% of this religious group) and British identifiers (24% of this national group). A gender difference in responses was also noted (see Table 6f). Overall both support for and opposition to the agreement was stronger amongst men - 30% of men strongly supported the agreement and 11% strongly opposed it, as compared to 23% and 6% of women respectively. On the other hand, women tended to express more neutral views – 26% of women and 16% of men stated they neither supported nor opposed the agreement in Northern Ireland.

Table 6.6: Level of support for the Belfast / Good Friday Agreement in Northern Ireland

With regard to the Good Friday Agreement, do you ?	Religion*		Gender*		Nationality*		
	Protestant	Catholic	Males	Female	British	Irish	Northern Irish
Strongly support it?	105(12%)	302(46%)	250(30%)	242(23%)	140(15%)	221(45%)	57(31%)
Support it?	301(34%)	257(39%)	287(35%)	404(38%)	331(35%)	197(40%)	68(37%)
Neither?	243(28%)	75(12%)	131(16%)	275(26%)	261(27%)	58(12%)	41(22%)
Oppose it?	114(13%)	9(1%)	64(8%)	82(8%)	113(12%)	8(2%)	5(3%)
Strongly oppose it?	115(13%)	12(2%)	88(11%)	64(6%)	114(12%)	10(2%)	15(8%)

6.5 Dangerous World Scale

Participants were asked how strongly they agreed or disagreed on a 5 point scale with a series of statements from the Dangerous World Scale (DWS). Higher scores on this scale indicate that respondents viewed the world as a more dangerous place. The alpha score for the scale was 0.55, indicating moderate reliability.   Analysis of variance was used to examine the relationship between nationality, gender and religion on dangerous world beliefs for participants from Northern Ireland and the Border Counties separately. No variation between groups was evident in the sample from the Border Counties. For participants in Northern Ireland, nationality has a significant impact on DWS scores, with those who categorised their nationality as British viewing the world as a more dangerous place than those who categorised as Irish or Northern Irish $(F(2,1498)=3.98, p<.02$, see figure 6a). Scores on this measure are slightly higher than have been found in US and Australian samples (Altemeyer, 1988; Duckitt and Fisher, 2004)

Figure 6a: DWS scores by perceived nationality in Northern Ireland
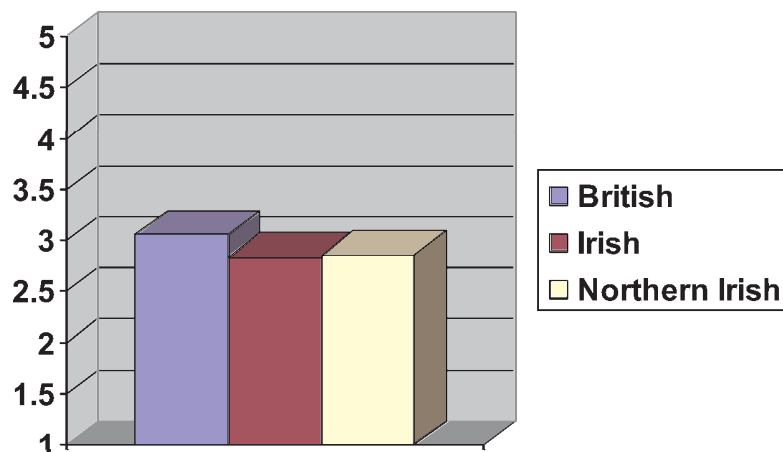
6.6 Belief in retribution

Belief in retribution was assessed using four items. Reliability estimates suggest that the scale's reliability was satisfactory (Cronbach's alpha of .59). A 5-point

scale was employed with higher scores indicating a greater belief in retribution. Northern Ireland respondents (mean=3.57) had higher belief in retribution on average than those from the Border Counties of the Republic (the mean was 3.41). These scores were above the midpoint on the scale and higher than those obtained with a US sample (Pratto & Sidanius, 1999).

Analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to examine the effects of gender, religion and nationality on belief in retribution in the Northern Ireland and Border county samples separately. Results show that British identifiers believed in retribution more than Irish or Northern Irish identifiers F (3, 1534) = 10.872, p<.01). This difference in illustrated in Figure 6b. No other significant variations were observed in the Northern Ireland group and no variations were noted among respondents from the Border Counties of the Republic.

Figure 6b: Belief in Retribution scores by perceived nationality in Northern Ireland
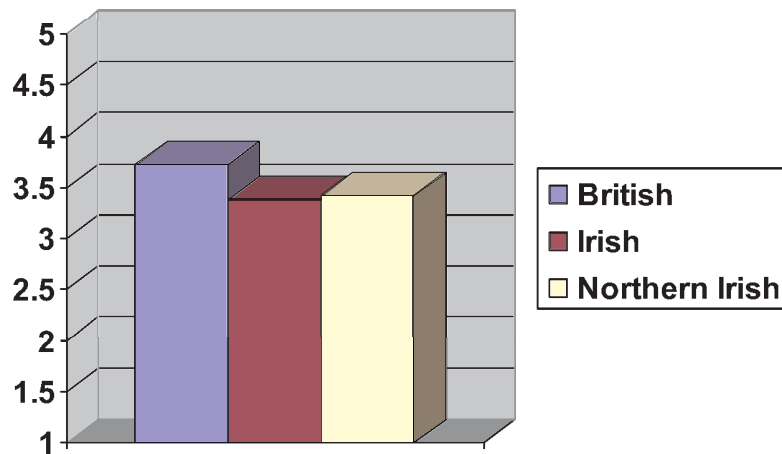
6.7 Values

Five items were used to tap attitudes towards religious integration and segregation. Responses on the values scale were recorded on a 5-point scale, with higher scores representing more positive values towards religious integration and tolerance of the other religious tradition. The mean score on the scale for the entire sample was 4.44, with the mean for those residing in Northern Ireland (4.41) being lower than recorded for those from the Republic of Ireland (4.50). These represent high scores on the scale and are therefore indicative of generally favourable attitudes to the other main tradition.

Analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to examine the effects of gender, religion and nationality on values in the Northern Ireland and Republic of Ireland samples. No variation in attitudes was evident across groups in the Border Counties of the Republic. Nationality and religion combined affected value scores in the Northern sample ($F_{(2, 2299)} = 5.193$, $p<.01$, see Figure 6c). Protestants who viewed themselves as British, and to a lesser extent Protestants who self-categorised as Irish, had less favourable attitudes than British and Irish Catholics. Catholics who identified as British had particularly favourable attitudes

to integration. Those who defined themselves as 'other' in terms of national group membership tended to have very favourable attitudes to religious integration in comparison to the three main categories of national group membership.

Figure 6c: Attitudes towards integration / segregation by perceived nationality in Northern Ireland
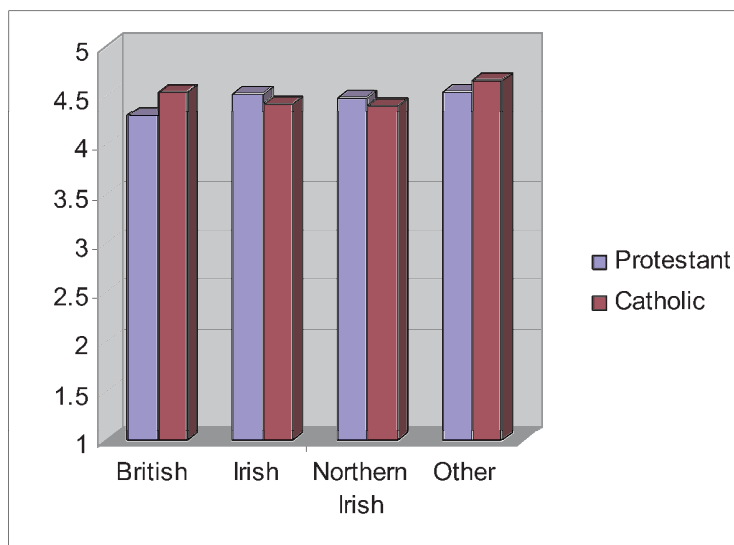
6.8 Conclusions

A number of key findings have emerged from this section of the survey. First, it would appear that women express more neutral political opinions across a range of issues than their male counterparts. Women were less likely to express sympathy for the position of paramilitaries and were less likely to strongly oppose or support the Belfast Good Friday Agreement. These findings are consistent with previous findings which suggest that in situations of political violence, men tend to have stronger political views than women.

Second, there are a number of issues relating to those who identify as British. British identifiers (irrespective of religion) in Northern Ireland view the world as a more dangerous place, have stronger belief in retribution and are those most likely to state, irrespective of the reasons for engaging in that violence, that they

have no sympathy with violence. They are also the national category least likely to support the Belfast / Good Friday Agreement and are the most cohesive in terms of their preferred option for the future of Northern Ireland. Two in three of this national group wish to see Northern Ireland remain part of the UK. The relative cohesion of social and political attitudes amongst British identifiers together with the low level of support expressed for the Agreement amongst this group is likely to pose difficulties for the implementation of the agreement.

Interestingly British identifiers do not score highly on measures of identity threat (chapter 5) or indeed experience of the Troubles (chapter 7). Indeed their scores on these measures were lower than amongst Irish and Northern Irish identifiers. These apparent paradoxical findings point to the different levels upon which the Troubles have impacted. At one level British identifiers have experienced less violence over the course of the Troubles and report lower levels of day to day identity threat, probably because of their status as the majority within Northern Ireland. On another level, British identifiers have more anxiety about the level of danger in the world and have stronger views on 'law and order'. Again these findings are consistent with their majority group status. Overall, these differences highlight the problems that arise from the ambient effects of political violence. *Perceived* danger is heightened amongst those whose experience of the Troubles has been relatively low. Further there is divergence on highly salient dimensions of social attitudes evident between the majority (British) and minority (Irish) groups.

Third, despite traditional Unionist fears, support for Northern Ireland becoming part of the Republic is partial in the Republic, with fewer than 50% of Border County respondents endorsing this option for the future of Northern Ireland. Similarly, approximately one third of Catholic and Irish respondents in Northern Ireland endorsed this option for the future of Northern Ireland. However a further one third Catholic and Irish as well as one third Northern Irish would like to see joint control of Northern Ireland by the UK and Irish governments. Importantly all

four options for the future of Northern Ireland (remaining part of the UK, becoming part of the Republic, an independent Northern Ireland and joint control) were endorsed by at least 10% of respondents. This highlights the complexity of resolving the constitutional status of Northern Ireland to the satisfaction of all.

Chapter 7: Experience of Violence, Social Identification and Social and Political Attitudes

7.0 Overview

This chapter outlines the relationship between direct and indirect experience of violence and the many measures of identity and attitudes outlined in the previous chapters Again these relationships are outlined for respondents from Northern Ireland and the Border Counties separately, not least because of the significant differences between respondents from the two jurisdictions on measures of experience, attitudes and identification.

7.0a: An explanatory note on the method of analysis

The proceeding analysis explores the relationship between direct and indirect experience of violence and mental health, social identification and social and political attitudes. These relationships are explored in the first instance using partial correlations. Partial correlations tell us the strength[1] and direction[2] of the relationship between two factors whilst accounting for the influence of additional factors. The need to account for additional factors is crucial in this instance. Chapter 3 indicates that experience of violence varies systematically in relation to

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[1] The closer the value of the correlation co-efficient to 1, the stronger the relationship between the two variables or factors under consideration. The extent of any relationship can also be expressed as the square of the correlation coefficient; this statistic (called variance explained) tells us the extent to which variability in one factor can be attributed to another.

[2] The direction of the relationship is indicated by the sign (+ or-) of the correlation. Positive relationships show an association in the same direction, (e.g. increased temperatures associated with increased daylight) whereas negative relationships evidence an association in opposite directions (higher prices associated with lower product demand).

gender and religion. Chapter 5 and 6 outlines evidence that gender, nationality and religion are related to identification processes and social and political attitudes. Therefore correlations between experience of violence and mental health and attitudinal indices were calculated whilst controlling statistically for the role of gender, religion and nationality. As such any relationship observed is attributable to the relationship between experience and the outcome index rather than any shared co-variation as a result of gender, religion or nationality.

In a small number of cases relating to substance mis-use and political attitudes, correlations could not be undertaken as the data obtained were categorical (section 7.3). In these cases, we examined reported differences in direct and indirect experience of violence across the range of responses whilst controlling for gender and nationality. As such it can be concluded that any difference in substance misuse or political opinion observed is related to an experience rather than nationality or gender.

7.1 Experience of the troubles and mental health

In the sample from Northern Ireland, post-traumatic symptoms and direct and indirect experience of the troubles were strongly related. Twenty four percent of the variability in PCL scores can be attributed to direct experience of troubles violence, whilst 10% of variance can be attributed to indirect. Statistically significant positive relationships were also obtained between psychological well-being and direct and indirect experiences of conflict, although only 1.5% and 1% of the variance in GHQ scores was attributable to direct and indirect experience of the troubles respectively. In both cases poorer mental health was associated with more experience of the troubles. Overall therefore it can also be said that direct experiences appeared to have the stronger impact. In the sample from the Republic of Ireland, direct and indirect experiences of conflict, post-traumatic symptoms and psychological well-being were not as strongly related, although the same pattern of relationships was evident. This weaker relationship between Troubles related experience and mental health in the sample from the Border

Counties is likely to be related to the fact that overall these respondents had less experience of the troubles.

Table 7.1: Direct and indirect experience and mental health indices

	Republic of Ireland			Northern Ireland		
Experience	PCL	GHQ	Tough	PCL	GHQ	Tough
Direct	.30*	.11	.09	.49*	.12*	.06
Indirect	.29*	.17*	.13	.32*	.10*	.05

Note: * indicates that the relationship is significant at the .01 level; PCL: Posttraumatic checklist score, GHQ: General Health Questionnaire Score; Tough: Toughmindedness score.

Use of prescribed drugs (F=(1, 1715) 18.9, p<.01) as well as the use of other drugs (F=(1, 1715) 8.3, p<.01) was associated with significantly more direct Troubles related experiences in Northern Ireland respondents. This effect is illustrated in figure 7a. Indirect experience also tended to be related to such drug use although these effects were weaker (p<.05). Interestingly in the Border Counties increased alcohol (F=(1,887) .47, p<.035), and other drug use (F=(1. 887) 12.98, p<.01) in response to Troubles related experiences was more strongly related to increased indirect experience. These effects were evidenced irrespective of gender and national affiliation.

Figure 7a: Reported use of prescription and other drugs and average number of direct experiences of the troubles in Northern Ireland
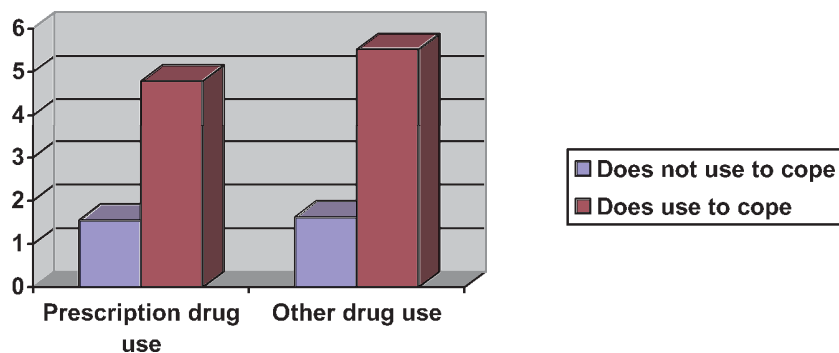
7.2 National identification and Experience of the Troubles.

As nationality is a categorical variable, the relationship between respondents preferred nationality and direct and indirect experience of the troubles was analysed separate to the other identity dimensions. There was no association between preferred national category and reported experience amongst respondents from the Border Counties of the Republic. However preferred national identity was related to direct ($F=(2, 1510)= 4.3$, $p<.015$) and indirect experience ($F=(2, 1510)$ 7.4, $p<.01$) of the Troubles in Northern respondents. This relationship was evidenced irrespective of religious affiliation and gender and is illustrated in figure 7b. British identifiers had the lowest number of direct and indirect troubles related experiences, Irish identifiers had on average twice the number of direct experience as British identifiers. Northern Irish identifiers had fewer direct experiences than Irish identifiers but more indirect experiences.

Figure 7b: Nationality and direct and indirect experiences of the troubles in Northern Ireland
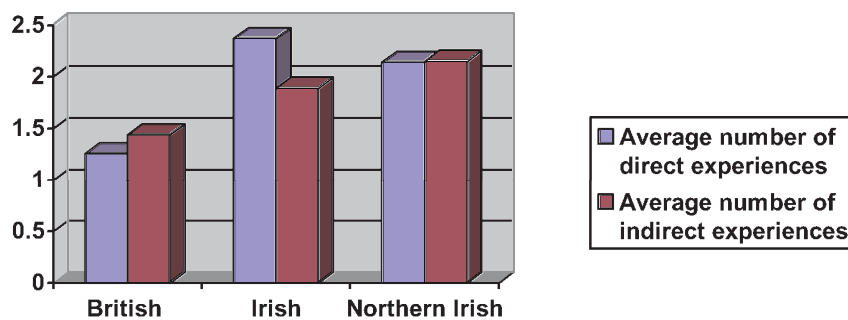
Collective self-esteem and perceptions of prototypicality with regard to national group membership was not related to experience of Troubles related violence. In both Northern Ireland and the Border Counties of the Republic, perceived discrimination and identity threat evidenced the same pattern of relations with direct and indirect experience of conflict. Increased perception of discrimination on the basis of religion was related to increased experience of direct and indirect troubles related events. These correlations were moderate. A weaker

relationship between direct and indirect experience of the Troubles and levels of perceived religious identity threat was also evidenced. Those respondents who were more fearful of the other group or perceived a threat to their own religious identity because of the situation in Northern Ireland tended to have more direct and indirect experience of the troubles (see table 7.2). Again direct experience tended to have a stronger impact on these identity measures than indirect experience.

Table 7.2: Direct and indirect experience and identity measures

	Republic of Ireland				Northern Ireland			
Experience	CSE	P'Typ	Id Th	PD	CSE	P'Typ	Id Th	PD
Direct	.04	.00	.15*	.20*	.01	.03	.13*	.31*
Indirect	-.02	-.02	.17*	.19*	.00	.02	.16*	.23*

Note: * indicates that the relationship is significant at the .01 level; CSE: Collective Self-esteem score; P'Typ: Score relating to identity prototypicality; Id Th: Perceived identity threat score; PD: Perceived discrimination score.

7.3 Social and Political Attitudes and Experience of the Troubles

Little evidence of relationships between social attitudes measures and experience of the Troubles was observed. Where effects were observed they were weak, though consistent. Belief in retribution was negatively related to both direct and indirect experience of the troubles in both jurisdictions; as such it can be said that more Troubles related experiences tended to be associated with less interest in vengeance. Similarly, inter-group trust was negative related to direct and indirect experience of the Troubles, those with more experience having less trust in the other religious group. In all cases however, experience of the Troubles explained 1% or less of the variability in these scores.

Table 7.3: Direct and indirect experience attitude measures

	Republic of Ireland				Northern Ireland			
Experience	Values	DWS	BR	Trust	Values	DWS	BR	Trust
Direct	-.01	-.01	-.09*	-.13*	.02	.07	-.06^	-.14*
Indirect	-.00	-.03	-10*	-.17*	-.02	.03	-.08*	-.13*

Note: * indicates that the relationship is significant at the .01 level and ^ indicates a relationship significant at the .05 level; Values: Score on the measure of values related to religious integration; DWS: Scores on the Dangerous World Scale; BR: Scores on the Belief in Retribution Scale.

Whilst the relationship between experience of the Troubles and social attitudes measures were weak, there was considerable evidence of variability in political attitudes related to Troubles related experience. For instance support for the Agreement related to direct (F=(4, 1613) 6.1, p<.01) and indirect experience (F=(4, 1613) 4.2, p<.01) of the Troubles amongst respondents in Northern Ireland. Overall those with the most direct and indirect experience of the Troubles were most likely to express strong support or opposition to the Agreement.

Figure 7c: Support for the Agreement and mean number of direct and indirect experiences of the Troubles in Northern Ireland

Direct Experience   Indirect Experience
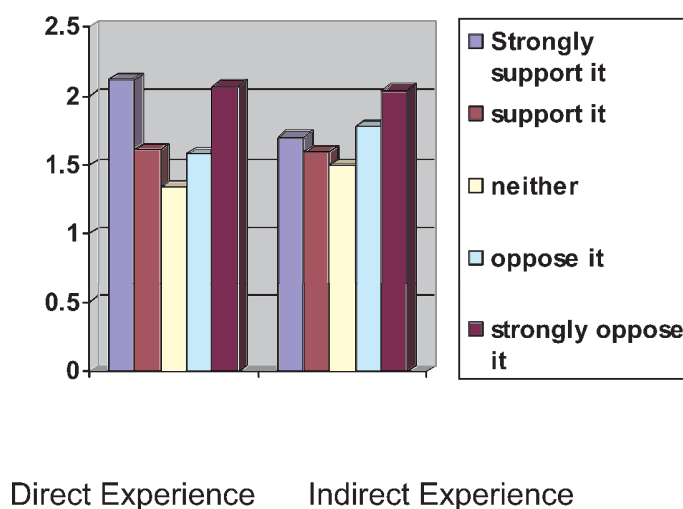
A similar pattern emerges in relation to the preferred options for the future of Northern Ireland which was related to both direct ($F=(4,1604)$ 5, $p<.01$) and indirect ($F=(4,1604)$ 4.7, $p<.01$) experience of the Troubles in Northern Ireland respondents. Overall, those with the most experience of the Troubles tend to favour the most radical options for Northern Ireland's future; namely an independent Northern Ireland or becoming part of the Republic. It is interesting to note that those who state that they don't know their preference for the future of Northern Ireland, followed by those who are happy with the current situation are those with the least direct and indirect experience of the Troubles.

Direct Experience   Indirect Experience
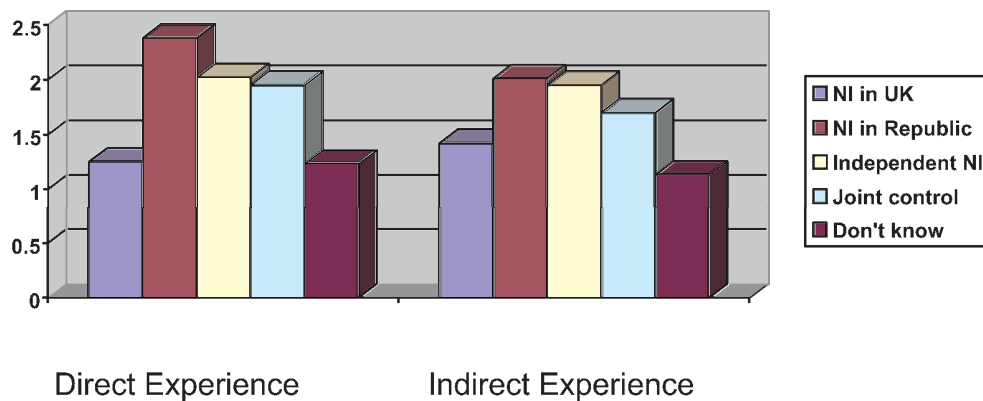
Finally, data from both Northern Ireland and the Border Counties of the Republic evidenced a relationship between experience of the Troubles and sympathy for the paramilitaries position. In the Border Counties, support for loyalist ($F=(2, 810)$ 6.8, $p<.01$) and republican ($F= (2, 810)$ 5.6, $p<.01$) paramilitaries was related to indirect experience of the troubles. Overall, those with a little or a lot of sympathy with the position of paramilitaries reported more indirect experiences of the troubles (see figure 7d). Indeed those with a lot of sympathy for the position of the Republican paramilitaries had almost twice as many indirect experiences of the Troubles as those with no sympathy for this group.

Figure 7d: Sympathy for violence and mean number of indirect troubles events experienced in the Republic of Ireland.
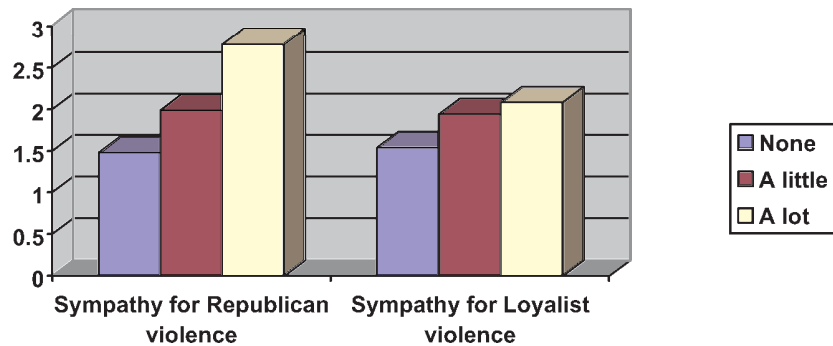
A similar pattern emerged in relation to direct (F=(2, 1612) 10.2, p<.01) and indirect (F=(2, 1612) 8.3, p<.01) experience of the Troubles and sympathy for the position Republican paramilitaries in Northern Ireland. Those with the most experience of the Troubles were those who expressed the most sympathy with the position of the Republican paramilitaries. There was some evidence that a mirror effect of indirect experience on the attitudes towards loyalist paramilitaries (F=2, 1613), p<.05), in particular those who expressed a little sympathy with the loyalist position reported significantly more Troubles related events on average than those who had no sympathy for the loyalist position (p<.01; see figure 7e).

Figure 7e: Sympathy for loyalist violence and mean number of indirect troubles events experienced in Northern Ireland.
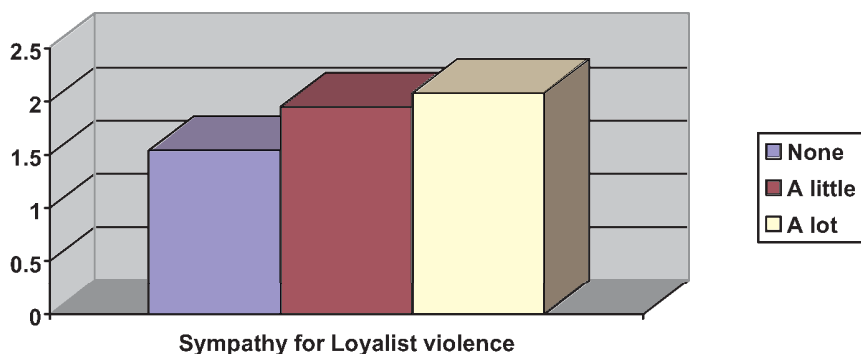
7.4 Conclusions

Overall the findings outlined suggest that experiential factors have a pivotal role in understanding the political, social and psychological impact of the troubles and political violence more generally. This evidence suggests that experience of the Troubles is related to mental health indices such as PTSD and psychological morbidity as well as substance use. No conclusions can be drawn regarding the impact of Troubles related experiences on acting out or anger related behaviours.

These findings also indicate that experience of the Troubles is related to changes in social identification processes. Most importantly self-categorised or preferred nationality appeared to be related to Troubles related experiences, irrespective of gender or religion. Choice of national identity is related to a host of attitudinal factors (see chapter 5 and 6) and is crucial to understanding of the situation in Northern Ireland. It is important therefore to acknowledge that national identity in Northern Ireland may mark more than group membership and cultural ideas about the nature and meaning of ones national group; it may also speak to contemporaneous differences in experience over the course of the Troubles. This may serve to increase the perceived distance between these national groups.

Experiential factors were also fundamentally related to political attitudes. Importantly these relationships held across religious group affiliation and nationality. Overall, these differences in attitudes related to experience can be characterised as stronger views being associated with greater experience of the Troubles. Those most affected by the Troubles are those most likely to strongly support or oppose the Agreement, those most affected by the Troubles are those most likely to have sympathy for the reasons paramilitaries engage in violence even if they do not condone the violence and those with the most experience of the Troubles are those who prefer the most radical alteration to constitutional status position of Northern Ireland in the future.

Whilst there has been some debate about the relative impact of direct and indirect experience of political violence in the literature, this study would suggest that directly experienced events have a more substantial impact on psychological and attitudinal factors than vicariously experienced events. Although the impact of direct events in the Border Counties was generally not evidenced, and indirect events did appear to have a greater impact in this jurisdiction, this failure to identify any such effects is probably attributable to the relatively low absolute levels of direct experiences. Overall, it is our contention that directly experienced events have stronger social, political and psychological sequelae in situations of political violence.

8: Executive Summary

8.1 Background and Aims

In response to a call for proposals by ADM/CPA under the second round of European Union Special Support Programme for Peace and Reconciliation, this research project was developed and subsequently funded from September 2003 - December 2005.

The aim of the research was to examine the Legacy of the Troubles in Northern Ireland and the Border Counties of the Republic. This legacy has been explored in a number of distinct ways but focused around two primary themes. First, people's experience of political violence and the mental health consequences of the Troubles are examined. Second, the project considers religious and national identification processes as well as social and political attitudes in relation to the Troubles. By combining these two normally distinct areas of research, the project offers a unique and groundbreaking opportunity to examine both the mental health consequences as well as the wider social sequelae of the Troubles.

The research was driven by four key objectives:

1. To document the nature and extent of Troubles-related experiences in a representative community sample in Northern Ireland and the Border Counties of the Republic.

2. To consider the nature and extent of mental health problems in these regions.

3. To explore social and political attitudes and socio-political identities, such as nationality and religion, in the Border Counties and Northern Ireland.

4. To explore the effects of experience of the Troubles in relation to mental health and social attitudes.

8.2 Methodology

A telephone survey of 3000 households, 2000 in Northern Ireland and 1000 in the Border Counties of the Republic, was undertaken. Households were sampled using a stratified sampling technique and the final achieved sample was representative of the wider population as evidenced by the demographic, national and attitudinal profile of the respondents.

Subsequent to the household being notified of their selection into the sample in writing by Queen's University, a follow up call was made to the household. An adult from that household was then randomly selected and invited to participate in the study. During the course of the subsequent 20 minute telephone interview, respondents completed a range of psychological and attitudinal measures.

Extensive pilot testing of the survey, together with the use of standardised and well validated psychological instruments, facilitated the measurement of direct and indirect experience of the Troubles, psychological well-being, post-traumatic symptoms, national and religious identification and social and political attitudes during the interview. All responses were coded using a quantitative framework and the data were analysed using standard statistical procedures.

8.3 Main Findings
8.3a Experience of the Troubles

- ➢ One in five people has suffered multiple experiences relating to the Troubles.
- ➢ One in two people in both Northern Ireland and the Border Counties, has had little direct or indirect experience of violence and do not see themselves as having being affected by the Troubles.
- ➢ In sum, the impact of the conflict has not been felt evenly across the population - some have suffered not at all while others have suffered disproportionately.

- The range and extent of Troubles related experiences is considerable in Northern Ireland and the Border Counties. For instance experience of intimidation is reported by 1 in 4 in Northern Ireland and 1 in 6 in the Border Counties.
- 1 in 10 in Northern Ireland and 1 in 25 in the Border Counties have been bereaved as a result of the Troubles.
- Despite the range and extent of many respondents' experiences, only a small proportion of respondents viewed themselves as 'victims' of the Troubles regularly.
- Those with more experience of the Troubles were most likely to view themselves as victims, however there were many with considerable direct and indirect experience of the Troubles that did not see themselves this way.
- There is variability in the levels of reported experience of the Troubles related to gender, jurisdiction and religion.
- Nonetheless across Northern Ireland and the Border Counties there is evidence that the violence associated with Troubles has impacted on life experiences.

8.3b Psychological Well Being and the Troubles

- A considerable proportion of the population have experienced significant mental health problems which they attribute directly to the Troubles.
- One in 10 of those surveyed reported post-traumatic symptoms that are suggestive of clinical Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD).
- Although the incidence of those classified as PTSD cases was twice as high in Northern Ireland than in the Border Counties, 1 in 20 respondents from the latter location were classified as displaying clinical symptoms.
- Lower socio-economic status respondents were more likely to be affected by PTSD symptoms.

- ➢ Certain types of events appear to be strongly linked to PTSD. Events involving personal injury, or a family member or friend being killed would appear to be most strongly linked to PTSD symptoms.
- ➢ Those with PTSD symptoms are more likely to have repeated exposures to traumatic events.
- ➢ A small proportion of the overall population use prescribed and other drugs as a result of their Troubles-related experience. Those identified as PTSD cases were most likely to use prescribed and other drugs.
- ➢ The prevalence of PTSD symptoms did not differ with gender or religious affiliation.
- ➢ Comparison with previous research findings suggests psychological well-being has improved at the population level in Northern Ireland.
- ➢ PTSD symptoms and psychological well being are strongly related to experiences of the Troubles. The impact of direct experiences is stronger than that of indirect or vicarious experiences.

8.3c Social Identification and the Troubles.

- ➢ The results highlight the significant divisions in Northern Ireland society as marked by religious and national boundaries.
- ➢ The overwhelming majority (82%) of respondents identified with one of the two main religious traditions in Ireland.
- ➢ The overwhelming majority of respondents from the Border Counties identified as Irish irrespective of religious affiliation. As expected, in Northern Ireland, the majority of Protestants and Catholics identified with different national groups.
- ➢ There was evidence that perceptions of threat, perceived discrimination and inter-group trust were more negative in Northern Ireland than in the Border Counties.
- ➢ Considerable division across the range of identity and attitude measures was evident in Northern Ireland. This was not evidenced in the Border Counties.

- ➢ Differences in national self-esteem and perceived fit to the national group were evident in Northern Ireland.
- ➢ Those who viewed themselves as Irish had more positive appraisals of their nationality, perceived they were more likely to be discriminated against and believed they typified their group more than those who identified as either Northern Irish or British.
- ➢ Perceptions of esteem, discrimination and fit were lowest among those who identified as British.
- ➢ A small proportion from both religious traditions identified with the national group traditionally associated with the other religion. Thirteen percent of Catholics viewed themselves as British while 7% of Protestants viewed themselves as Irish. These respondents did appear to experience some discomfort with their choice having less positive appraisals of their nationality and viewing themselves as a poor fit within the group.
- ➢ Troubles-related experiences are related to respondents preferred nationality.
- ➢ Experience of the Troubles is also related to perceptions of discrimination on the basis of religion and perceptions of threat.

8.3d Social and Political Attitudes and the Troubles

- ➢ Women express more neutral political opinions across a range of issues than their male counterparts. Women were less likely to express sympathy for the position of paramilitaries and were less likely to strongly oppose or support the Belfast / Good Friday Agreement.
- ➢ British identifiers (irrespective of religion) in Northern Ireland view the world as a more dangerous place and have a stronger position on retribution than their Northern Irish or Irish counterparts.
- ➢ British identifiers are also those least likely to report sympathy with the position of either Loyalist or Republican paramilitaries. They are also the national category least likely to support the Belfast / Good Friday

Agreement and are the most cohesive in terms of their preferred option for the future of Northern Ireland. Two in three of this national group wish to see Northern Ireland remain part of the UK.

➢ There is far less consensus about the preferred options for the future of Northern Ireland among the Irish and Northern Irish identifiers.

➢ Support for Northern Ireland becoming part of the Republic is partial in the Border Counties, with fewer than 50% of respondents endorsing this option for the future of Northern Ireland. Similarly, approximately one third of Catholic and Irish respondents in Northern Ireland endorsed this option for the future of Northern Ireland.

➢ All four options for the future of Northern Ireland (remaining part of the UK, becoming part of the Republic, an independent Northern Ireland and joint control) were endorsed by at least 10% of respondents.

➢ Experience of the Troubles is fundamentally related to political attitudes. These effects hold across religious group affiliation and nationality.

➢ Those most affected by the Troubles are those most likely to strongly support or strongly oppose the Agreement.

➢ Those most affected by the Troubles are those most likely to have sympathy for the reasons paramilitaries engage in violence even if they do not condone their violence.

➢ Those with the most experience of the Troubles are those who prefer the most radical alteration to constitutional status position of Northern Ireland in the future.

8.4 The Way Forward

The results are now available in the public domain and they raise many significant issues in terms of personal and group responses to thirty years of violence, on both sides of the border.

At this time, the researchers feel it is appropriate to stand aside and allow the results to speak for themselves. In this way it is hoped that debate will be

generated among the experts, the practitioners and policy makers alike, as to how best to address the issues that have been raised.

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APPENDIX 1

Legacy of the Troubles

Paper copy of CATI program

Section A - Experience of the Troubles

We would like to ask you some questions about your experiences during the troubles.

A1.   During the troubles were you ever been…

	Yes	No
caught in a bomb explosion	1	2
caught in a riot	1	2
caught in a shooting	1	2
intimidated	1	2
a member of the security forces	1	2
threatened by the security forces	1	2
a member of a paramilitary group	1	2
threatened by a member of a paramilitary group	1	2
a witness of violent acts against others	1	2
the perpetrator of violent acts against others	1	2
injured as a result of any incident	1	2
affected by serious handicap/injury	1	2
separated from your family	1	2
forced to leave Northern Ireland	1	2
bereaved	1	2
forced to remain without food or shelter	1	2
suffered material alteration to their financial circumstances	1	2
held in detention	1	2

A2.   As a result of the troubles was a member of your family or a close friend ever…

	Yes	No
killed because of the violence	1	2
a member of the security forces	1	2
a member of a paramilitary group	1	2
injured as a result of any incident	1	2
affected by serious handicap/injury	1	2
forced to leave Northern Ireland	1	2
bereaved	1	2
a witness of violent acts against others	1	2
the perpetrator of violent acts against others	1	2
held in detention	1	2

A3.　How often have you considered yourself to be a victim of the troubles?

Would you say　**READ OUT**

Never	1
Rarely	2
Sometimes	3
Often	4
Very often	5
Don t know	6

A4a.　Thinking of your experiences over the course of the troubles, has there been any event that you found <u>particularly</u> distressing?

Yes	1	Go to A4b
No	2	Go to A5

A4b.　Could you please describe the event that you found very distressing?

_____

_____

_____

A4c.　Thinking of that event, would you say that you

READ OUT　　**CODE ONE ONLY (MOST SEVERE)**

Were directly affected yourself	1
Witnessed the event	2
Knew someone who was personally affected by the event	3
Upset by the news coverage of the event	4
Or in some other way affected (please specify)	5

A5. I am now going to read through a list of different symptoms and for each I would like to know how often you have been bothered by each of them in the last month as a result of any experiences you have had because of the troubles.

Please use a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 means "not bothered at all" and 5 means "extremely bothered".

To what degree are you bothered by…

	1 - Not at all bothered	2	3	4	5 – Extremely bothered	Don't know
Memories that overrun other thoughts involuntarily	1	2	3	4	5	9
Flashbacks	1	2	3	4	5	9
Upset by reminders	1	2	3	4	5	9
Distressing dreams	1	2	3	4	5	9
Physical reactions to reminders	1	2	3	4	5	9
Attempting to avoid thoughts of the event	1	2	3	4	5	9
Attempting to avoid reminders of the event	1	2	3	4	5	9
Memory loss as a result of stress	1	2	3	4	5	9
Unable to enjoy life	1	2	3	4	5	9
Estrangement from others	1	2	3	4	5	9
Feel emotionally numb	1	2	3	4	5	9
Unable to be forward looking and plan into the future	1	2	3	4	5	9
Sleep difficulty	1	2	3	4	5	9
Irritability/Anger	1	2	3	4	5	9
Impaired concentration	1	2	3	4	5	9
Constantly being on your guard	1	2	3	4	5	9
Easily scared or Very jumpy	1	2	3	4	5	9

A6. Do you currently use any of the following to cope with your experience of the troubles…?

	Yes	No
Alcohol	1	2
Prescribed medication	1	2
Other drugs	1	2

Section B - General Health Questionnaire

The next set of questions relate to your general outlook on life.

B1.   How often have you recently…

	Never/Not at all	A little	Sometimes	Always/A lot	Don't know
Been able to concentrate on whatever you are doing	1	2	3	4	5
Lost much sleep over worry	1	2	3	4	5
Felt that you are playing a useful part in things	1	2	3	4	5
Felt capable of making decisions about things	1	2	3	4	5
Felt constantly under strain	1	2	3	4	5
Felt you couldn't overcome your difficulties	1	2	3	4	5
Been able to enjoy your normal day to day activities	1	2	3	4	5
Been able to face up to your problems	1	2	3	4	5
Been feeling unhappy and depressed	1	2	3	4	5
Been losing confidence in yourself	1	2	3	4	5
Been thinking of yourself as a worthless person	1	2	3	4	5
Been feeling reasonably happy all things considered	1	2	3	4	5

B2.   Over the last 12 months would you say your health on the whole has been…?   **READ OUT**

Good	1
Fairly good	2
Not good	3
Don't know	4

B3.   Do you have a long standing illness, infirmity or disability? By longstanding I mean anything that has affected you over a period of time or is likely to affect you over a period of time.

Yes	1
No	2

Section C – Religion

The next set of questions relate to Protestants and Catholics perceptions of each other

C1.   Do you regard yourself as belonging to any particular religion?

Yes	1	Go to C2a
No	2	Go to C3a

C2a.   How would you describe your religious tradition?

Protestant	1	Go to C4.1
Catholic	2	
Other	3	Go to C2b
Refused	4	Go to C4.1

C2b.   How else would you describe your religious tradition?
CODE ONE ONLY

Church of Ireland/Anglican/Episcopal	1
Baptist	2
Methodist	3
Presbyterian	4
Free Presbyterian	5
Brethren	6
United Reform Church (URC)/Congregational	7
Pentecostal	8
Church of Scotland	9
Elim Pentecostal	10
Reformed Presbyterian	11
Non-subscribing Presbyterian	12
Salvation Army	13
Church of Nazarene	14
Jehovah's Witness	15
Mormon	16
Protestant - no-denomination	17
Christian - no denomination	18
Hindu	19
Jewish	20
Islam/Muslim	21
Sikh	22
Buddhist	23
Other (please specify)	24

(Don't know)	25

C3a. Would others perceive you as belonging to a particular religion?

Yes	1	Go to C3b
No	2	Go to C4.1

C3b. How would you describe your religious tradition?

Protestant	1	Go to C4.1
Catholic	2	
Other	3	Go to C3c
Refused	4	Go to C4.1

C3c. How else would you describe your religious tradition?

Church of Ireland/Anglican/Episcopal	1
Baptist	2
Methodist	3
Presbyterian	4
Free Presbyterian	5
Brethren	6
United Reform Church (URC)/Congregational	7
Pentecostal	8
Church of Scotland	9
Elim Pentecostal	10
Reformed Presbyterian	11
Non-subscribing Presbyterian	12
Salvation Army	13
Church of Nazarene	14
Jehovah's Witness	15
Mormon	16
Protestant - no-denomination	17
Christian - no denomination	18
Hindu	19
Jewish	20
Islam/Muslim	21
Sikh	22
Buddhist	23
Other (please specify)	24
(Don't know)	25

C4.1.   In general, do you think most people from the other main religious

group would try to take advantage of you if they got a chance, or would they

try to be fair?   **READ OUT**

Always would take advantage	1
Sometimes would take advantage	2
Sometimes would try to be fair	3
Always would try to be fair	4
Don't know	5

C4.2. Would you say most of the time people from the other main religious
       group try to be helpful, or that they are mostly looking out for themselves?
       READ OUT

Always try to be helpful	1
Sometimes try to be helpful	2
Sometimes looking out for themselves	3
Always looking out for themselves	4
Don't know	5

C5.   Could you indicate your overall feeling towards the other main religious
        community on a scale of 0 to 100?   **CODE ONE ONLY**

Extremely unfavourable	0
Very unfavourable	10
Quite unfavourable	20
Fairly unfavourable	30
Slightly unfavourable	40
Neither unfavourable nor favourable	50
Slightly favourable	60
Fairly favourable	70
Quite favourable	80
Very favourable	90
Extremely favourable	100

Ask ALL

C6.   To what extent do you agree or disagree that…?

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Don't know
Protestants/Catholics and Catholics/Protestants can never live in true harmony because of their ethnic differences	1	2	3	4	5	6
We should strive to integrate all institutions which are segregated by religion	1	2	3	4	5	6
Catholics/Protestants should feel free to interact socially with Protestants/Catholics	1	2	3	4	5	6
People should not consider nationality or religion when choosing or engaging in leisure time activities, such as sports, art, reading a book etc…	1	2	3	4	5	6
People of both religions would be better off if they were more concerned with the problems facing all people rather than just focussing on their own group	1	2	3	4	5	6
Catholics/Protestants should not marry Protestants/Catholics and visa versa	1	2	3	4	5	6

C7.   To what extent do you agree or disagree that…?

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Don't know
I feel threatened if the political parties mainly representing Protestants/Catholics are in power in Northern Ireland	1	2	3	4	5	6
When I see an Irish Tricolour/Union Jack flown in an area, I feel as though my Protestant/Catholic identity is under threat	1	2	3	4	5	6
Catholics/Protestants do not pose a direct threat to me or my family	1	2	3	4	5	6
I feel threatened when Protestants/Catholics express their identity and celebrate their cultural traditions	1	2	3	4	5	6
If the political parties that Protestants/Catholics vote for got into power, they would work towards the benefit of all people in Northern Ireland, whether Catholic or Protestant	1	2	3	4	5	6
In certain areas I would be afraid of being identified as a Catholic/Protestant	1	2	3	4	5	6
It is important for Catholics/Protestants to value their identity and celebrate their cultural traditions	1	2	3	4	5	6
I feel safe when I see the Union Jack/Irish Tricolour flown in an area	1	2	3	4	5	6

Section D - Nationality

Now some questions about nationality.

D1. What do you consider your nationality to be?   **CODE ONE ONLY**

British	1	
Irish	2	
Northern Irish	3	
Anglo-Irish	4	Go to D2
European	5	
Other (please specify)	6	
Don't know	7	Go to next section
Refused	8	

D2. To what extent are you typically…(textfill from D1)?
CODE ONE ONLY

Strongly disagree	1
Disagree	2
Neither agree nor disagree	3
Agree	4
Strongly agree	5
Don't know	6

D3. And would you think it is accurate if you were described as being typically…(*textfill from D1*)?   **CODE ONE ONLY**

Strongly disagree	1
Disagree	2
Neither agree nor disagree	3
Agree	4
Strongly agree	5
Don't know	6

D4.   To what extent do you agree or disagree that…

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Don't know
You often regret that you are (*textfill from D1*)	1	2	3	4	5	6
Overall, being (*textfill from D1*) is considered good by others	1	2	3	4	5	6
Overall, being (*textfill from D1*) has very little to do with how you feel about yourself	1	2	3	4	5	6
In general, you are glad to be (*textfill from D1*)	1	2	3	4	5	6
Most people consider (*textfill from D1*), on the average, to be more ineffective than other national groups	1	2	3	4	5	6
Being (*textfill from D1*) is an important reflection of who you are	1	2	3	4	5	6
Overall, you often feel that being (*textfill from D1*) is not worthwhile	1	2	3	4	5	6
In general, other respect (*textfill from D1*)	1	2	3	4	5	6
Being (*textfill from D1*) is unimportant to your sense of what kind of person you are	1	2	3	4	5	6
You feel good about being (*textfill from D1*)	1	2	3	4	5	6
In general, others think that (*textfill from D1*) are unworthy	1	2	3	4	5	6
In general, being (*textfill from D1*) is an important part of your self image	1	2	3	4	5	6

D5. I would now like to know how often different events may have occurred that were related to your nationality.

Please use the scale of 1 to 5, where 1 means 'the occurrence has never happened' and 5 means 'it has happened very often'

	1 – The occurrence has never happened	2	3	4	5 – It has happened very often	Refused	Don't know
How often are you treated with less respect because of being (*textfill from D1*)	1	2	3	4	5	7	9
How often do people act as if they are better than you because of being (*textfill from D1*)	1	2	3	4	5	7	9
How often are you threatened or harassed because of being (*textfill from D1*)	1	2	3	4	5	7	9

Section E - Political Attitudes

E1a. In the last general election did you vote?

Yes	1	Go to C1bni/roi
No	2	Go to C2

E1bni. To which political party did you vote for?
(for Northern Ireland residents)

Sinn Fein	1
Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)	2
Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)	3
SDLP	4
Progressive Unionist Party (PUP)	5
Alliance Party	6
Women's Coalition	7
Green Party	8
Other Party (please specify)	9
Don't know	10
Refused	11

E1broi. To which political party did you vote for?
(for Republic of Ireland residents)

Fianna Fail	1
Fine Gael	2
Green Party	3
Labor Party	4
Progressive Democrats	5
Sinn Fein	6
Socialist Party	7
Other Party (please specify)	8
Don't know	9
Refused	10

E2. Various solutions have been suggested for the future of Northern Ireland. I am going to read a list of proposed solutions and would like to know which one you prefer the most.

Would you prefer...?　　　　**READ OUT**

Northern Ireland to remain part of the UK	1
Northern Ireland to become part of the Republic of Ireland	2
A Northern Ireland stated independent of the UK and the Republic of Ireland	3
Joint control of Northern Ireland by Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland	4
Don't know/Refused	5

E3.   In relation to the Belfast Good Friday Agreement, could you indicate your current level of support for the agreement.

Do you...?   **READ OUT**

Strongly support it	1
Support it	2
Neither	3
Oppose it	4
Strongly Oppose it	5
Don't know	6

E4.   Which sections of the community have benefited from the Belfast Good Friday Agreement? **CODE ONE ONLY**

Unionists	1
Nationalists	2
Unionists and Nationalists equally	3
Neither	4
Don't know/Refused	5

E5.   Thinking about the reasons that some <u>loyalist</u> groups have used violence during the Troubles, would you say that you have any sympathy with the reasons for the violence- even if you don't condone the violence itself?

Would you say you have...?   **READ OUT**

A lot of sympathy	1
A little sympathy	2
No sympathy	3
Don't know/Refused	4

E6.   Thinking about the reasons that some <u>republican</u> groups have used violence during the Troubles, would you say that you have any sympathy with the reasons for the violence- even if you don't condone the violence itself?

Would you say you have…?　　　**READ OUT**

A lot of sympathy	1
A little sympathy	2
No sympathy	3
Don't know/Refused	4

E7. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the statement…?

READ OUT

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Don't know
For a terrible crime, there should be a terrible punishment	1	2	3	4	5	6
Even the worst criminal should be considered for mercy	1	2	3	4	5	6
Those who hurt others deserve to be hurt in return	1	2	3	4	5	6
Punishment should fit the crime	1	2	3	4	5	6

Section F - Dangerous World Scale

F1.   To what extent do you agree or disagree with the statement…?

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Don't know
It seems that every year there are fewer and fewer truly respectable people, and more and more persons with no morals at all	1	2	3	4	5	6
Although it may *appear* that things are constantly getting more dangerous and chaotic, it really isn't so	1	2	3	4	5	6
Any day now, chaos and anarchy could erupt around us	1	2	3	4	5	6
Our society is *not* full of immoral and degenerate people who prey on decent people	1	2	3	4	5	6
The "end" is *not* near. People who think that earthquakes, war, and famines mean God might be about to destroy the world are being foolish.	1	2	3	4	5	6
If our society keeps degenerating the way it has been lately, it's liable to collapse and everything will be chaos	1	2	3	4	5	6
I am afraid to leave my own area	1	2	3	4	5	6
I shop and socialise outside my own locality	1	2	3	4	5	6

F2.   To what extent do you agree or disagree that each of the following words apply to you…?

RANDOMISE	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Don't know
Unsympathetic	1	2	3	4	5	6
Tough minded	1	2	3	4	5	6
Affectionate	1	2	3	4	5	6
Gentle	1	2	3	4	5	6

Background section

H1.   Age

18 to 24	1
25 to 44	2
45 to 64	3
65+	4

H2.   Gender

Male	1
Female	2

H4.   What is the highest level of education you have completed?
CODE ONE ONLY

No schooling	1
Primary school education only	2
Some secondary education	3
Complete secondary education	4
Some third level education at college, university	5
Complete third level education at college, university	6
Don't know	7
Refused	8

H5.   What is your employment status?   **CODE ONE ONLY**

Self-employed	1
Working full-time	2
Working part-time, at least 10 hours a week	3
Seeking work for the first time	4
Unemployed, that is having lost or given up a job	5
Home duties	6
Unable to work due to permanent illness or disability	7
Not working, but seeking work	8
Not working and not seeking work	9
On a Government training scheme or education training scheme	10
On a Government employment scheme	11
Retired	12
Student	13

Other (please specify)	14
Refused	15

H6.　Have you ever had a paid job?

Yes	1	Go to H7
No	2	Go to H12
Refused	9	

H7.　What is the job title of your main occupation?

_____
_____
_____

H8.　And briefly describe what the work involves?

_____
_____
_____

H9/10/11. If farmer, what area of land do they farm?

9998 = More than 10,000　　　9999 = Don't know

	Acres/hectares

H12.　Could you please tell me your marital status?　**CODE ONE ONLY**

Single	1
Married	2
Co-habiting	3
Separated	4
Divorced	5
Widowed	6
Refused	7

H13roi.　Which of the following areas would best describe your locality?
　　　　(for Republic of Ireland residents)
　　　　READ OUT　　CODE ONE ONLY

Dublin City	1
Other large city (Cork, Galway, Limerick)	2
Small city (Kilkenny, Waterford)	3
Town between 10,000 and 40,000 people	4
Town between 1,000 and 10,000 people	5
Village, rural area or open country	6
Don't know	7

H13ni. Which of the following areas would best describe your locality?
(for Northern Ireland residents)
READ OUT   CODE ONE ONLY

Belfast City	1
Other large city	2
Small city	3
Town between 10,000 and 40,000 people	4
Town between 1,000 and 10,000 people	5
Village, rural area or open country	6
Don't know	7

H14roi. What is your total annual household income before tax and social insurance contributions?

(for Republic of Ireland residents)

Less than €10,000 per annum (Less than €195 per week)	1
€10,000-€14,999 per annum (€195 - €290 per week)	2
€15,000-€19,999 per annum (€290 - €385 per week)	3
€20,000-€29,999 per annum (€385 - €580 per week)	4
€30,000-€49,999 per annum (€580 - €960 per week)	5
€50,000-€74,999 per annum (€960 - €1440 per week)	6
€75,000-€99,999 per annum (€1440 - €1920 per week)	7
€100,000 and over (€1920 per week and more)	8
Don't know	9
Refused	10

H14ni. What is your total annual household income before tax and social insurance contributions?

(for Northern Ireland residents)

Less than £10,000 per annum (Less than £195 per week)	1
£10,000-£14,999 per annum (£195 - £290 per week)	2
£15,000-£19,999 per annum (£290 - £385 per week)	3
£20,000-£29,999 per annum (£385 - £580 per week)	4

£30,000-£49,999 per annum (£580 - £960 per week)	5
£50,000-£74,999 per annum (£960 - £1440 per week)	6
£75,000-£99,999 per annum (£1440 - £1920 per week)	7
£100,000 and over (£1920 per week and more)	8
Don't know	9
Refused	10

Appendix 2: Copy of letter sent to householders

1 October 2004

The Occupier
«ad1»
«ad2»
«ad3»
«postcode»

Dear Sir / Madam,

RE: LEGACY OF THE TROUBLES

Researchers from the school of Psychology at Queens University Belfast are conducting a major research project entitled "the Legacy of the Troubles".

The study is investigating the experience people have had of the troubles and how this has influenced their lives and their views of the community to which they belong and the 'other' community.

The core of the research will involve a survey of 3000 people selected at random throughout Northern Ireland and the 6 border counties of the Republic of Ireland. As your name and address was one of those selected to take part in the survey, we would like to select one individual from your household aged 18 or over to take part in a telephone survey which will take between 15 – 20 minutes to complete.

Over the next 2 weeks you should receive a telephone call from one of our interviewers inviting someone from your household to take part.

The survey is entirely confidential and all 3000 responses will be amalgamated before being analysed.

If you have access to the internet you can find out more about the research by visiting http://www.legacyofthetroubles.qub.ac.uk/.

Otherwise, if you have any queries about the project you can call one of the survey team on freephone 0800 0525745.

I do hope you will agree to take part.

Yours faithfully

Dr. Orla Muldoon

Appendix 3

Table 1: Sample Profile by County (quota controlled)

County (NI)	N	%	%*	County (ROI)	N	%	%*
Antrim	816	41	41	Cavan	162	16	13
Armagh	158	8	8	Donegal	292	29	32
Derry	272	14	13	Leitrim	52	5	6
Down	494	25	25	Louth	210	21	24
Fermanagh	66	3	3	Monaghan	128	13	12
Tyrone	194	10	10	Sligo	156	16	13
TOTAL	2000	100	100	TOTAL	1000	100	100

* Target percentages based on Census data (2001 NI, 2002 ROI)

Table 2: Breakdown of interviews completed by timeslot (% of total)

Day	Timeslot			Total
	10 am – 2 pm	2 pm – 6 pm	6 pm – 9 pm	
Monday	2.3	9.6	11.7	23.6
Tuesday	2.3	11.3	11.3	24.9
Wednesday	2.8	9.0	8.6	20.5
Thursday	1.9	7.1	7.1	16.1
Friday	2.7	5.2	0.8	8.7
Saturday	4.7	1.6	-	6.3
Total	16.6	43.9	39.6	100.0

Table 3: Frequencies and percentages of self-categorised nationality for the entire sample

	Frequency	Percent
British	1028	34.3%
Irish	1393	46.4%
Northern Irish	191	6.4%
Anglo-Irish	12	.4%
European	16	.5%
Scottish	7	.2%
New Zealander	1	.0%
Cosmopolitan	1	.0%
British-Irish	10	.3%
Ulster	1	.0%
Hungarian	1	.0%
Chinese	1	.0%
mixed	1	.0%
English	5	.2%
African	1	.0%
Ulster-Scots	1	.0%
Hindu	1	.0%

Table 4: Frequencies and percentages of self-categorised nationality for the entire sample

	Frequency	Percent
Protestant	983	32.8%
Catholic	1451	48.4%
Don't regard themselves and not perceived by others as belonging to any particular religion	358	11.9%
Christian- no denomination	113	4%
Refused	59	2%
Other	23	1%
Jehovah's Witness	4	.2%
Mormon	2	.1%
Jewish	1	.0%
Islam/Muslim	1	.0%
Agnostic	1	.0%
Quaker	3	.2%
Latter day Saints	1	.0%