



An Chartlann Náisiúnta National Archives

Reference Code:	2016/52/65
Creation Dates:	16 January 1986
Extent and medium:	8 pages
Creator(s):	Department of the Taoiseach
Accession Conditions:	Open
Copyright:	National Archives, Ireland. May only be reproduced with the written permission of the Director of the National Archives.



IRISH MARKETING SURVEYS LIMITED 19, 20 & 21 Upper Pembroke Street, Dublin 2. Phone 761196 Telex 30617

January 16th, 1986.

Dermot Nally, Esq.,
Secretary to the Government,
Department of the Taoiseach,
Upper Merrion Street,
Dublin 2.

Dear Dermot,

I promised last night that I would send you through the detailed breakdown as between the two communities in regard to the survey which was conducted for the Sunday Times/MORI by our subsidiary company, Ulster Marketing Surveys in Northern Ireland, at the conclusion of the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

These are now enclosed and as you will see the dichotomy I spoke of last night is pointed up when one looks at the very different attitudes and aspirations of the Catholic versus Protestant communities.

I hope this is of help by way of background information to you.

Let me take this opportunity of wishing you and all those other tireless workers for peace and reconciliation for the island of Ireland every success on the tremendously important work you are doing on all our behalves.

With warmest regards.

Yours sincerely,

JOHN F. MEAGHER.

Enc1.



Roinn an Taoisigh
Department of the Taoiseach

20 January 1986

Mr John F Meagher
Irish Marketing Surveys Ltd.
19-21 Upper Pembroke Street
Dublin 2.

Dear John

Many thanks for the breakdown of the Sunday Times/MORI poll by Ulster Marketing Surveys which you sent me. It confirms everything I have ever believed. With such deep divisions, the scene approaches the irrational and any solution will be a long time coming. I suppose patience and endurance are the key - with enlightenment, of course, from the sort of surveys you are so good at doing!

I enjoyed the night and particularly the company.

With all best wishes.

Yours sincerely

Dermot Nally

Good morning/afternoon/evening. I amfrom Market & Opinion Research International. We are carrying out a survey about the prospects for Northern Ireland and we would like your opinions.

SHOW CARD 'A'

Q1(a) If there was a by-election in your constituency, which party would you vote for?
IF UNDECIDED OR REFUSED, ASK Q.1(b)

Q1(b) Which party are you most inclined to support?

	BASE NUMBERS	Q1(a) (20)	Q1(b) (21)	%	
Alliance		79	6	9	(20)
DUP		181	9	21	(21)
Official Unionist		287	13	32	
Other Unionist		25	-		
Sinn Fein		85	2	9	
SDLP		198	9	22	
Workers Party		20	3		
Other		10	-	7 (ALL OTHERS)	
Would not vote		55	1		
Undecided/Refused	GO TO Q.1(b)	85	42		

Q2 Please tell me whether each of these suggestions for solving the problems in Northern Ireland is acceptable or unacceptable to you personally.

TICK START

READ OUT	% Acceptable	Not % Acceptable	% No Opinion	
• Northern Ireland remaining fully integrated within the United Kingdom?	72	21	7	(22)
• Northern Ireland to remain part of the United Kingdom with its own Assembly with guarantees for Catholics?	70	19	10	
• Northern Ireland to be an independent state?	20	71	9	
• Northern Ireland to be part of a federal Irish state but with its own Assembly with guarantees for Protestants?	34	59	8	(23)
• Northern Ireland to be fully integrated with the Republic of Ireland?	25	69	6	

SHOW CARD 'B'

Thinking about the new Anglo-Irish Agreement over Northern Ireland, which one of these comes closest to your view? READ OUT STATEMENTS

TICK START

	%	
(a) I like the agreement and it will help to solve Northern Ireland's problems	16	(24)
(b) I like the agreement but it will <u>not</u> help solve Northern Ireland's problems	25	
(c) I <u>dislike</u> the agreement but it will help solve Northern Ireland's problems	4	
(d) I <u>dislike</u> the agreement and it will <u>not</u> help solve Northern Ireland's problems	43	
(e) No opinion	12	

SHOW CARD 'C'

Q4 And taking the agreement as a whole, which one of these comes nearest to your view?

	%		
• Strongly support	10	GO TO Q.5	(25)
• Tend to support	23		
• Neither support nor oppose	16	CONTINUE	
• Tend to oppose	14		
• Strongly oppose	31	GO TO Q.5	
• No Opinion	6		

SHOW CARD 'D'

Q4(a) Here is a list of ways in which opposition to the Anglo-Irish Agreement could be expressed. Please tell me first of all the ones you would be in favour of, and then all the ones you would not be in favour of?

Firstly, which you would support?

Secondly, which you would oppose?

	% FAVOUR (26)	NOT % FAVOUR (27)	
• Organising a public petition against the agreement	76	15	(26) -
• Holding a General Election by Unionist MPs	62	29	(27)
• <u>resigning their seats at Westminster</u>	54	37	
• Mass demonstrations and marches	38	53	
• Strikes designed to make the agreement unworkable	14	83	
• <u>Armed revolt</u>	22	72	
• <u>Rent and rate strikes</u>	20	70	
• Refusal to pay water or electricity charges	20	68	
• Declaring Northern Ireland independent of <u>United Kingdom</u>	6	5	
• None of these	6	6	
• No opinion			

Q5 Do you think the agreement will or will not improve the prospects for peace in Northern Ireland?

	%	
Will	20	(28)
Will Not	68	
No Opinion	12	

Q6

Do you think the Anglo-Irish Agreement.....

- (a) Will lead to more or less violence in Northern Ireland in the long term ?
- (b) Makes it more or less likely that there will be a united Ireland ?
- (c) Will lead to more or less support for the IRA ?

	% MORE	% LESS	% NEITHER	% NO OPINION
(a) Violence	56	20	17	7
(b) United Ireland	53	23	16	8
(c) IRA support	32	31	24	13

Q7 Some people say Mrs Thatcher has betrayed Northern Ireland over the Anglo-Irish Agreement, others say she is doing her best for Northern Ireland. Which, if either, comes closest to your view ?

Betrayed	36
Doing her best	42
Neither	14
No opinion	7

Q8 From what you know or have heard about the agreement, do you think it does or does not give Dublin a veto over what happens in Northern Ireland ?

Does	58
Does not	25
No opinion	17

Q9 Do you think there should or should not be a referendum held in Northern Ireland on the Anglo-Irish Agreement ?

Should	61
Should not	28
No opinion	11

Q10 And if a referendum was held, would you vote in favour or against the agreement ?

In favour	35
Against	51
No opinion	14

Q11 Do you support or oppose all-Ireland courts with Irish judges sitting alongside British judges to try serious terrorist offences ?

In favour	40
Oppose	45
No opinion	15

U. 5934

(1)(2)(3)(4)

CLASSIFICATION

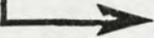
(5) (6) (7) (8)

OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

RELIGION

- Catholic 1
- Protestant 2
- Other 3

(12)



SEX	Male	46
	Female	54
AGE (STATE.....)	18 - 24	17
	25 - 34	18
	35 - 49	27
	50 +	38
CLASS	ABC1	36
	C2	23
	DE	41

ASSIGNMENT NUMBER

(13) (14) (15) (16) (17) (18) (19)

I certify that this interview was carried out in accordance with instructions.

INTERVIEWER.....NUMBER.....DATE.....

© THIS QUESTIONNAIRE IS THE PROPERTY OF MORI, Old Queen Street, London

Good morning/afternoon/evening. I am from Market & Opinion Research International. We are carrying out a survey about the prospects for Northern Ireland and we would like your opinions.

SHOW CARD 'A'

Q1(a) If there was a by-election in your constituency, which party would you vote for?
IF UNDECIDED OR REFUSED, ASK Q.1(b)

	Q1(a) (20) <i>BASE NUMBERS</i>	Q1(b) (21)
Alliance	43	3
DUP	3	-
Official Unionist	2	1
Other Unionist	-	-
Sinn Fein	83	2
SDLP	190	9
Workers Party	14	3
Other	5	-
Would not vote	31	1
Undecided/Refused	44	22

(20) -
(21)

Q2 Please tell me whether each of these suggestions for solving the problems in Northern Ireland is acceptable or unacceptable to you personally.

TICK START
[]
|
[]

READ OUT	% Acceptable	Not % Acceptable	% No Opinion
• Northern Ireland remaining fully integrated within the United Kingdom ?	39	47	14
• Northern Ireland to remain part of the United Kingdom with its own Assembly with guarantees for Catholics ?	64	26	10
• Northern Ireland to be an independent state ?	14	75	12
• Northern Ireland to be part of a federal Irish state but with its own Assembly with guarantees for Protestants ?	67	23	11
• Northern Ireland to be fully integrated with the Republic of Ireland ?	58	32	11

(22)
(23)

SHOW CARD 'B'

Thinking about the new Anglo-Irish Agreement over Northern Ireland, which one of these comes closest to your view? READ OUT STATEMENTS

TICK START
[]
|
[]

	%
(a) I like the agreement and it will help to solve Northern Ireland's problems	31
(b) I like the agreement but it will <u>not</u> help solve Northern Ireland's problems	36
(c) I <u>dislike</u> the agreement but it will help solve Northern Ireland's problems	4
(d) I <u>dislike</u> the agreement and it will <u>not</u> help solve Northern Ireland's problems	16
(e) No opinion	13

(24)

SHOW CARD 'C'

Q4 And taking the agreement as a whole, which one of these comes nearest to your view ?

• Strongly support	22	GO TO Q.5
• Tend to support	38	
• Neither support nor oppose	20	CONTINUE
• Tend to oppose	6	
• Strongly oppose	5	
• No Opinion	9	GO TO Q.5

(25)

SHOW CARD 'D'

Q4(a) Here is a list of ways in which opposition to the Anglo-Irish Agreement could be expressed. Please tell me first of all the ones you would be in favour of, and then all the ones you would not be in favour of ?

	% FAVOUR (26)	NOT % FAVOUR (27)
• Organising a public petition against the agreement	43	28
• Holding a General Election by Unionist MPs <u>resigning their seats at Westminster</u>	23	32
• Mass demonstrations and marches	23	36
• Strikes <u>designed to make the agreement unworkable</u>	17	45
• Armed revolt	8	66
• <u>Rent and rate strikes</u>	13	60
• Refusal to pay water or electricity charges	13	47
• Declaring Northern Ireland independent of <u>United Kingdom</u>	17	40
• None of these	23	6
• No opinion	4	6

(26) -
(27)

Firstly, which you would support ?

Secondly, which you would oppose ?

Q5 Do you think the agreement will or will not improve the prospects for peace in Northern Ireland ?

	%
Will	39
Will Not	44
No Opinion	16

(28)

Q6

Do you think the Anglo-Irish Agreement.....

- (a) Will lead to more or less violence in Northern Ireland in the long term ?
- (b) Makes it more or less likely that there will be a united Ireland ?
- (c) Will lead to more or less support for the IRA ?

- (a) Violence
- (b) United Ireland
- (c) IRA support

	% MORE	% LESS	% NEITHER	% NO OPINION
(a)	37	36	18	10
(b)	40	29	21	10
(c)	14	48	25	13

Q7 Some people say Mrs Thatcher has betrayed Northern Ireland over the Anglo-Irish Agreement, others say she is doing her best for Northern Ireland. Which, if either, comes closest to your view ?

Betrayed	7
Doing her best	62
Neither	23
No opinion	8

Q8 From what you know or have heard about the agreement, do you think it does or does not give Dublin a veto over what happens in Northern Ireland ?

Does	46
Does not	43
No opinion	11

Q9 Do you think there should or should not be a referendum held in Northern Ireland on the Anglo-Irish Agreement ?

Should	30
Should not	53
No opinion	17

Q10 And if a referendum was held, would you vote in favour or against the agreement ?

In favour	65
Against	16
No opinion	19

Q11 Do you support or oppose all-Ireland courts with Irish judges sitting alongside British judges to try serious terrorist offences ?

In favour	66
Oppose	16
No opinion	18

U. 5934

(1)(2)(3)(4)

CLASSIFICATION

--	--	--	--

(5) (6) (7) (8)

OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

RELIGION

- Catholic 1
- Protestant 2
- Other 3

(12)



SEX Male 46 Female 54

AGE (STATE.....)

- 18 - 24 18
- 25 - 34 19
- 35 - 49 27
- 50 + 35

CLASS ABC1 29 C2 23 DE 48

ASSIGNMENT NUMBER

(13)	(14)
------	------

(15)	(16)	(17)
------	------	------

(18)	(19)
------	------

I certify that this interview was carried out in accordance with instructions.

INTERVIEWER.....NUMBER.....DATE.....

© THIS QUESTIONNAIRE IS THE PROPERTY OF MORI, Old Queen Street, London

PROTESTANTS

U.5934

OPINION POLL

Good morning/afternoon/evening. I am from Market & Opinion Research International. We are carrying out a survey about the prospects for Northern Ireland and we would like your opinions.

SHOW CARD 'A'

Q1(a) If there was a by-election in your constituency, which party would you vote for ?

IF UNDECIDED OR REFUSED, ASK Q.1(b).

Q1(b) Which party are you most inclined to support ?

	Q1(a) (20) %	Q1(b) (21) %	
Alliance <i>BASE NUMBER</i>	36	3	(20) -
DUP	178	9	
Official Unionist	285	12	(21)
Other Unionist	25	-	
Sinn Fein	2	-	
SDLP	8	-	
Workers Party	6	-	
Other	5	-	
Would not vote	24	-	
Undecided/Refused	41	20	

Q2 Please tell me whether each of these suggestions for solving the problems in Northern Ireland is acceptable or unacceptable to you personally.

TICK START

|

<u>READ OUT</u>	% Acceptable	Not % Acceptable	% No Opinion	
• Northern Ireland remaining fully integrated within the United Kingdom ?	94	3	2	(22)
• Northern Ireland to remain part of the United Kingdom with its own Assembly with guarantees for Catholics ?	74	15	10	
• Northern Ireland to be an independent state ?	23	68	8	
• Northern Ireland to be part of a federal Irish state but with its own Assembly with guarantees for Protestants ?	11	83	6	(23)
• Northern Ireland to be fully integrated with the Republic of Ireland ?	2	95	3	

SHOW CARD 'B'

Thinking about the new Anglo-Irish Agreement over Northern Ireland, which one of these comes closest to your view ? READ OUT STATEMENTS

TICK START

|

	%	
(a) I like the agreement and it will help to solve Northern Ireland's problems	5	(24)
(b) I like the agreement but it will <u>not</u> help solve Northern Ireland's problems	16	
(c) I <u>dislike</u> the agreement but it will help solve Northern Ireland's problems	5	
(d) I <u>dislike</u> the agreement and it will <u>not</u> help solve Northern Ireland's problems	62	
(e) No opinion	12	

SHOW CARD 'C'

Q4 And taking the agreement as a whole, which one of these comes nearest to your view ?

	%		
• Strongly support	2	GO TO Q.5	(25)
• Tend to support	12		
• Neither support nor oppose	14		
• Tend to oppose	19	CONTINUE	
• Strongly oppose	49		
• No Opinion	3	GO TO Q.5	

SHOW CARD 'D'

Q4(a) Here is a list of ways in which opposition to the Anglo-Irish Agreement could be expressed. Please tell me first of all the ones you would be in favour of, and then all the ones you would not be in favour of ?

Firstly, which you would support ?

Secondly, which you would oppose ?

	% FAVOUR (26)	NOT % FAVOUR (27)	
• Organising a public petition against the agreement	79	11	(26) -
• Holding a General Election by Unionist MPs <u>resigning their seats at Westminster</u>	66	26	(27)
• Mass demonstrations and marches	58	33	
• Strikes designed to make the agreement unworkable	41	50	
• Armed revolt	15	81	
• Rent and rate strikes	23	70	
• Refusal to pay water or electricity charges	21	70	
• Declaring Northern Ireland independent of <u>United Kingdom</u>	20	69	
• None of these	2	4	
• No opinion	3	4	

Q5 Do you think the agreement will or will not improve the prospects for peace in Northern Ireland ?

Will	7	(28)
Will Not	83	
No Opinion	10	

- Q6 Do you think the Anglo-Irish Agreement.....
- (a) Will lead to more or less violence in Northern Ireland in the long term ?
 - (b) Makes it more or less likely that there will be a united Ireland ?
 - (c) Will lead to more or less support for the IRA ?

	% MORE	% LESS	% NEITHER	% NO OPINION
(a) Violence	68	9	15	8
(b) United Ireland	61	19	12	7
(c) IRA support	45	19	23	13

Q7 Some people say Mrs Thatcher has betrayed Northern Ireland over the Anglo-Irish Agreement, others say she is doing her best for Northern Ireland. Which, if either, comes closest to your view ?

Betrayed	56
Doing her best	29
Neither	8
No opinion	7

Q8 From what you know or have heard about the agreement, do you think it does or does not give Dublin a veto over what happens in Northern Ireland ?

Does	72
Does not	16
No opinion	12

Q9 Do you think there should or should not be a referendum held in Northern Ireland on the Anglo-Irish Agreement ?

Should	82
Should not	11
No opinion	6

Q10 And if a referendum was held, would you vote in favour or against the agreement ?

In favour	15
Against	76
No opinion	10

Q11 Do you support or oppose all-Ireland courts with Irish judges sitting alongside British judges to try serious terrorist offences ?

In favour	22
Oppose	66
No opinion	12

U. 5934
(1)(2)(3)(4)

CLASSIFICATION

(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
-----	-----	-----	-----

OCCUPATION OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

RELIGION

Catholic 1
Protestant 2
Other 3

(12)

<u>SEX</u>	Male	47
	Female	53
<u>AGE (STATE.....)</u>	18 - 24	15
	25 - 34	17
	35 - 49	28
	50 +	40
<u>CLASS</u>	ABC1	41
	C2	23
	DE	36

ASSIGNMENT NUMBER

(13) (14)

(15) (16) (17)

(18) (19)

I certify that this interview was carried out in accordance with instructions.

INTERVIEWER.....NUMBER.....DATE.....

© THIS QUESTIONNAIRE IS THE PROPERTY OF MORI, Old Queen Street, London