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Executive summary

Key findings

Communities around the peace wall

- The experience of residents living near a peace wall varies depending on where they live, their age, gender and religion. However, there is a general upward trend in terms of residents' sense of safety and increasing recognition of the benefits that the peace process has brought to their area from a practical perspective.
- Residents' sense of safety in their community has increased over time. In 2015, a significantly higher proportion of participants reported feeling fairly or very safe (77%) than in 2012 (70%). In 2019, 73% reported feeling fairly or very safe. However, safety remains a key concern for some residents.
- Residents consider access to facilities (26%), transport links (20%) and a strong sense of solidarity (17%) to be the main strengths of their community. The emphasis on facilities and transport over community solidarity suggests that the more practical aspects of life in the local area are growing in prominence.
- Peaceful surroundings (48%), an increased sense of safety (38%) and environmental improvements (24%) are highlighted as the main ways in which communities in peace wall areas have benefitted from the peace process.
- However, almost a quarter of participants (21%) still feel that their area has not benefitted at all and fewer residents in 2019 see an increase in safety than four years ago.
- The majority of residents (88%) have interacted with people outside of their own community identity to some extent. One in 10 (10%) have never done so.
- The majority of residents interact with the community on the other side of their nearest peace wall to some extent (57%), though this was not as evident as with people from a different community identity generally. Over a third of participants (37%) have never had any form of interaction with the community on the other side of the peace wall.

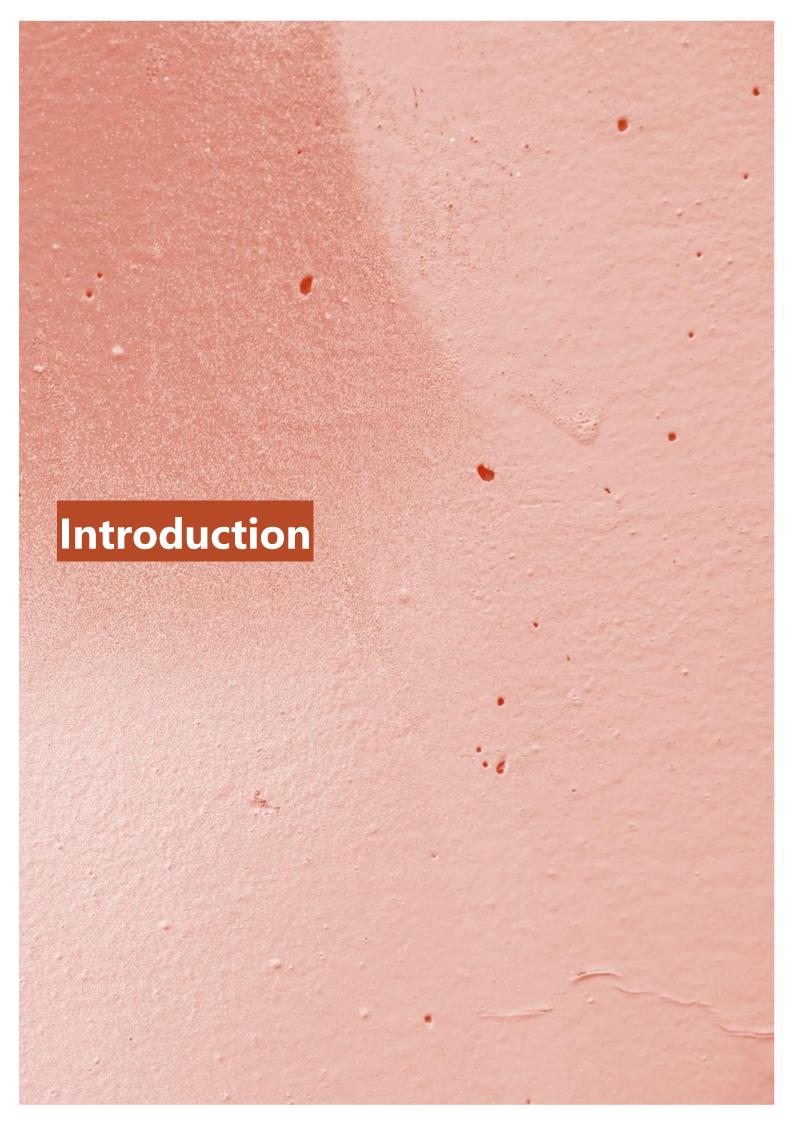
The presence of peace walls

- For people living near a peace wall, it is generally accepted that the predominant function of the walls is to separate communities (64% agree) and to help people feel safer (58%).
- The role of the peace wall as a safety mechanism also remains, but with significantly less prominence in 2019 than in 2012. Nevertheless, security and safety remain key concerns for residents who are in favour of the walls remaining.
- It is broadly agreed that it has a negative impact on Northern Ireland's reputation. That the peace wall sends out a bad image to people abroad is the view most commonly held by residents (59% agree), followed by the notion that it reduces investment in the area (41% agree) and stops communities expanding (34% agree).

• The main sources of advice or guidance on the peace wall are found at a local level. The majority of participants report that they would contact their local community representative if they had a query about their nearest peace wall (42%).

The future of peace walls

- Awareness of the ongoing strategy to remove peace walls by 2023 is mixed, with 53% of residents reporting they know something of the strategy and 47% stating they know nothing at all. Among those who express any awareness of the strategy to remove peace walls, the majority do not consider the Executive's target of removing them by 2023 to be realistic (54%).
- It is generally expected that if the peace walls are not removed, life will continue on as normal and it will have little impact on their community.
- If the peace walls are removed, residents anticipate disruption in various forms, ranging from minor incidents of anti-social behaviour (21%) to constant problems with anti-social behaviour and sectarian violence following the removal of peace walls (22%). Few participants feel that there will be no repercussions, with 11% expecting things to carry on as normal after the peace walls are removed. The general expectation of there being some form of disruption has persisted over time.
- There is broad concern over the police's ability to maintain order if the peace walls were removed. While over a quarter of residents participating in the survey feel confident that the police would preserve peace (27%), just over half are worried about their ability to do so (51%). While there are some encouraging signs of increased confidence in the police, it remains clear that residents are concerned about safety.
- Despite this, residents are generally content to continue with their lives as normal, with almost half of participants stating that they will do nothing if the peace walls are removed (47%).
- It is acknowledged by some residents living near peace walls that removing them would benefit communities on either side (46%).
- Residents consider the most important things to be done in preparation for removing peace walls to be the installation of CCTV cameras (19%), more youth programmes (11%) and opportunities for the two communities to come together (11%). However, 17% stated that they do not want the peace wall to come down no matter what preparations are made.
- Residents have varying ideas about what should happen to their nearest peace wall. Overall, 49% want the wall to go and 42% want the wall to stay. Adopting a more gradual approach to peace wall removal is most commonly cited by participants (32%). However, almost a quarter of participants would prefer things to remain as they are now (24%).
- Ultimately, residents are uncertain about the fate of their nearest peace wall. While 40% are hopeful that there will come a time when there will be no peace walls in their area, just as many are convinced that there will be no such time (40%). A fifth of participants (20%) are unsure what will happen. The split in views on the future of peace walls has been a consistent feature of the public attitudes survey with no significant changes over time.



Introduction

Peace walls in Northern Ireland

The peace walls in Northern Ireland were erected to separate predominantly republican and nationalist Catholic neighbourhoods from predominantly loyalist and unionist Protestant neighbourhoods. Historically, their purpose was to minimise violence between communities at urban interface areas in Belfast, Derry/Londonderry, Portadown and elsewhere during the period of violence in Northern Ireland known as 'the Troubles'.

Architectural and cultural legacies

Peace walls, as physical manifestations of segregation and division, are by no means a form of conflict architecture relegated to the past. Despite not appearing on any map of the city,¹ they are a salient reality for communities within Belfast, Derry/Londonderry and Portadown. While 22 years have passed since the Good Friday Agreement of 1998, marking the end of conflict in Northern Ireland, the hostile architecture of metal barriers, high walls and towering concrete mostly remains intact.

At a local level, communities based around interface areas 'continually perceive and culturally memorise' the causes of the existence of these forms of separation,² perpetuating a sense of 'other'. Especially among individuals living in close proximity to these structures, attitudes towards peace walls are as contested as they are deep-rooted.

As Selim and Abraham observe, the walls have served a dual purpose since the end of the conflict, both as 'canvases' and as 'barriers',³ acting as physical representations of community identity while preventing those with different identities from interacting. The walls simultaneously promote a sense of security and a sense of difference among residents.⁴ Research commissioned by the International Fund for Ireland (IFI) in 2017 found that fear dominates many residents' views towards peace walls.⁵ More recently, the IFI has released updated findings from the attitudinal survey that show, despite growing feelings of safety in interface areas, residents continue to view the peace walls as a safety and security measure.⁶

The policy context

In 2013 the Northern Ireland Executive launched its *Together: Building A United Community* strategy, which includes a 10-year programme for removing interface barriers. The aim of the programme is to 'build a community where everyone feels they can move around without fear of intimidation or prejudice, and where options for local services are not limited by physical or psychological barriers'.⁷

¹ McAtackney, L., 'Peace maintenance and political messages: the significance of walls during and after the troubles in Northern Ireland', *Journal of Social Archaeology 11, 1* (2011), p.80.

² Ibid, p.199.

³ Selim, G & Abraham, A., 'Peace by Piece: (Re) imagining Division in Belfast's contested Spaces through Memory', *Athens Journal of Architecture 2, 3* (2016), pp.198-199.

⁴ McAtackney, L., 'The Many Forms and Meanings of (Peace) Walls in Contemporary Northern Ireland', Review of International American Studies 1, 1 (2018), p. 39

⁵ International Fund for Ireland, 'Peace Walls Programme Attitudinal Survey Summary of Results October 2017' (2017), p.22.

⁶ International Fund for Ireland, 'Peace Walls Programme Attitudinal Survey Summary of Results November 2019' (2019), p.31.

⁷ The Executive Office, 'Together: Building A United Community' (2013), p.9.

A number of policies have since been established to support the delivery of the Executive's T:BUC strategy. The Department of Justice's *Building Safer, Shared and Confident Communities: a community safety strategy for Northern Ireland 2012-2017* was predominantly established to improve community safety. It also proposed to seek local agreement to reduce the number of peace walls.⁸

It is widely understood that interface communities have been locked into a cycle of economic and social deprivation as a result of segregation during and post conflict. In 2013 the Department for Communities launched its *Urban Regeneration* and *Community Development Policy*, which focused on the physical regeneration of interface areas as part of its overarching aim to ensure that people in these segregated areas 'have increasing opportunities to benefit from economic growth'. In 2013 the Department for Communities launched its *Urban Regeneration* and *Community Development Policy*, which focused on the physical regeneration of interface areas as part of its overarching aim to ensure that people in these segregated areas 'have increasing opportunities to benefit from economic growth'.

The main mechanism to deliver the Executive's commitment to remove all interface barriers by 2023 under the T:BUC strategy is the Interface Programme, led by the Department of Justice (DoJ). As part of this programme, the DoJ has facilitated communications between statutory bodies and community groups to help create the conditions for peace wall removal, reduction, reimaging and reclassification, with communities having confidence in the maintenance of peace without physical barriers.¹¹

The T:BUC strategy recognises that interface barriers can only be reduced or removed with local agreement and that 'the approach to individual interfaces needs to be flexible'. ¹² Therefore, understanding the perspective of those living near such barriers is fundamental to developing local approaches and building good community relations.

Background to the research

The influence of collective memory combined with lived experience means that understanding attitudes to peace walls among residents is by no means a straightforward task. Nonetheless, measuring public attitudes and tracking how these change over time is an imperative research exercise given the challenges that the peace walls present to policy makers.

Previous research

In order to address the previously limited amount of quantitative data on public awareness and attitudes towards peace walls in Northern Ireland, in 2012 the Office of the First Minister and Deputy First Minister (OFMDFM) commissioned research among households living in proximity to the peace walls in Belfast and Derry/Londonderry. The research found that over three-quarters of the general public (76%) supported the idea of the peace walls coming down now or in the near future. However, among peace wall residents, less than two-thirds (58%) felt the same way. Meanwhile, the majority of peace wall residents (69%) maintained that the peace walls are necessary because of the potential for violence. Among the general population, this was a minority view (38%).¹³

The research was commissioned again in 2015. Since the 2012 survey, events such as the loyalist protests against Belfast City Council's decision to limit the days of flying the Union flag from Belfast City Hall in 2012 and the dispute over

⁸ Department of Justice, 'Building Safer, Shared and Confident Communities: a community safety strategy for Northern Ireland 2012-2017 (2012), p.27.

⁹ International Fund for Ireland, 'Peace Walls Programme Attitudinal Survey Summary of Results October 2017' (2017), p.32; Selim, G., and Abraham, A. 'Peace by Piece: (Re)imagining Division in Belfast's Contested Spaces through Memory', *Athens Journal of Architecture*, *2*, 3 (2016), p.210.

¹⁰ Department for Communities, 'Urban Regeneration and Community Development Policy' (2013), p.16.

¹¹ Department of Justice Interface Programme, https://www.justice-ni.gov.uk/articles/department-justice-interface-programme.

¹² The Executive Office, 'Together: Building A United Community' (2013), p.62.

¹³ Ibid, p.54.

parading at Ardoyne and Twaddell in 2013 resulted in a hardening of attitudes towards reconciliation, especially within loyalist communities.¹⁴ The research in 2015 found that less than half of residents (49%) wanted to see their nearest peace wall come down now or in the near future, marking a 10 point drop since 2012.¹⁵

The removal of the peace walls by 2023 under the T:BUC strategy is widely understood as 'the ultimate symbolic act of reconciliation between two communities', ¹⁶ yet among those living closest to the walls there are some who would prefer they remain in place. Reconciling these positions is therefore a significant challenge facing policy makers and all government bodies involved in the process of removing peace walls.

The wider context

The years following the last survey in 2015 have been disruptive, with events on a regional and international scale posing significant challenges to Northern Ireland.

In 2017, the dismantling of the peace wall between Springfield Road and Springhill in West Belfast was described as a community-led decision.¹⁷ A year earlier, the replacement of the Ardoyne peace wall in North Belfast with a landscaped pathway, which local residents helped to design, was heralded as a 'sign of progress' in the move towards reconciliation.¹⁸ According to the latest update report from the Northern Ireland Executive, 13 peace walls have been removed in recent years and other removal and replacement schemes are underway.¹⁹

2016 was also a significant year for Northern Ireland in a wider geo-political sense, as the United Kingdom (UK) voted to leave the European Union (EU) despite the majority of voters here voting to remain.²⁰ As the only part of the UK to share a land border with the Republic of Ireland, an EU member state, Northern Ireland has been at the heart of withdrawal negotiations. However, at the time of research (summer 2019) when the UK was due to leave on the 31st October, there was no clear outline of what the implications for Northern Ireland would be. Even at the time of writing, Northern Ireland's position beyond the UK's exit from the EU on 31st January 2020 is uncertain. Some argue that this has serious implications for the peace process in Northern Ireland. One political commentator suggests that 'the creation of an exterior barrier will have a knock-on effect on the existing internal walls'.²¹ This view is supported by research conducted by Ipsos MORI on behalf of Queen's University Belfast, which finds that there are strong expectations among the general public that protests against North-South border checks would quickly deteriorate into violence.²² The risk to public services and initiatives as a result of Brexit were further compounded by the absence of a functioning government in Northern Ireland from January 2017 to January 2020, throughout the withdrawal negotiation period.

¹⁴ Byrne, J., Gormley-Heenan, C., Morrow, D., and Sturgeon, B., 'Public Attitudes to Peace Walls 2015 Survey Results', Ulster University (2015), p.4.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p.21.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p.4.

¹⁷ Irish Times, 'Belfast community welcomes dismantling of former peace wall' (2017), [Accessed 23rd July 2019:

https://www.irishtimes.com/news/ireland/irish-news/belfast-community-welcomes-dismantling-of-former-peace-wall-1.3227636]

¹⁸ BBC News, 'Ardoyne peace wall: Martin McGuinness hails replacement as 'sign of progress'' (2016), [Accessed 30th July 2019: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-37046677]

¹⁹ Northern Ireland Executive, 'Together: Building a United Community Strategy: Annual Update 2018/19' [Accessed 23'd October 2019: https://www.executiveoffice-ni.gov.uk/sites/default/files/publications/execoffice/tbuc-annual-report-2018-19 1.pdf

²⁰ The Electoral Commission, 'Results and turnout at the EU referendum, [Accessed 2nd August 2019, <a href="https://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/who-we-are-and-what-we-do/elections-and-referendums/past-elections-and-referendums/eu-referendum/results-and-turnout-eu-referendum]

²¹ Irish Times, 'Two tribes: a divided Northern Ireland' (2017), [Accessed 23rd July 2019: https://www.irishtimes.com/news/ireland/irish-news/two-tribes-a-divided-northern-ireland-1.3030921]

²² Garry, J., McNicholl, K., O'Leary, B., and Pow, J., 'Northern Ireland and the UK's Exit from the EU: What do people think?', Queen's University Belfast (2018), p.6.

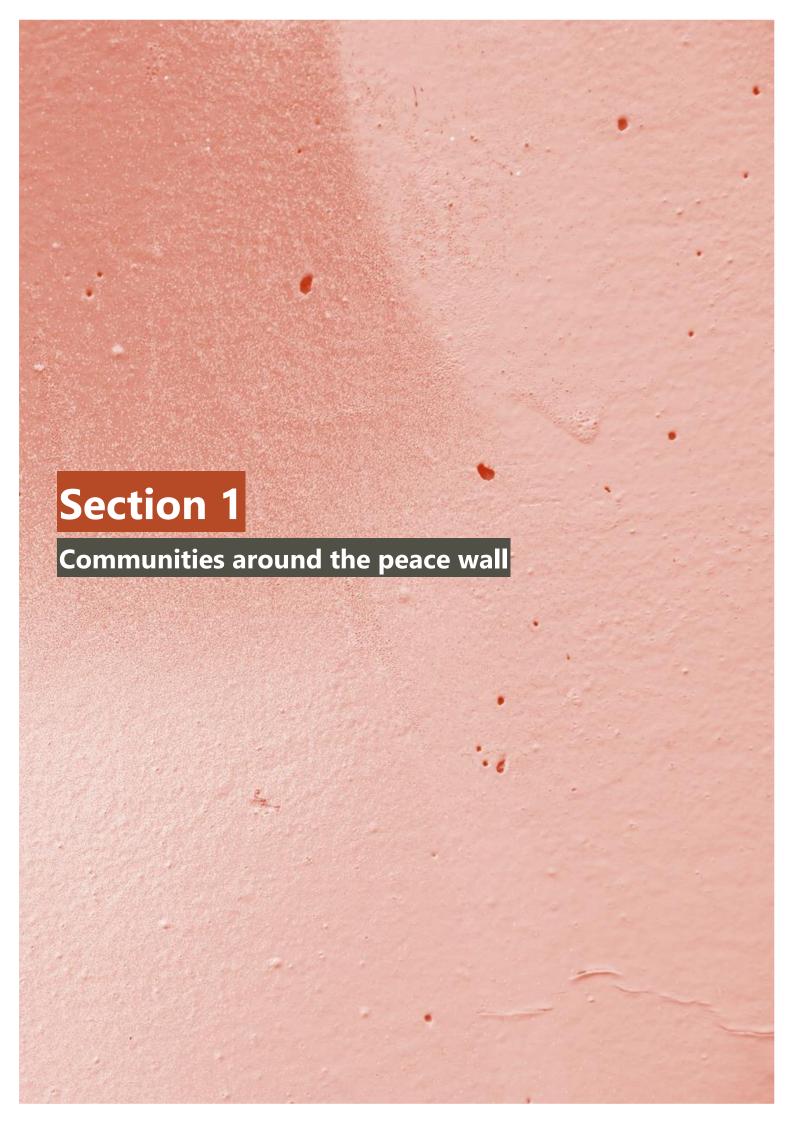
It is in this context that the third wave of research exploring attitudes towards peace walls takes place. Pre-existing research on the issue of interface barriers highlights the spectrum of views that exist and the influence of broader events on these views. It reinforces the importance and necessity of understanding public attitudes towards peace walls and how these persist or shift over time, especially among those for whom they are a feature of daily life.

Research objectives

Following on from the previous two waves of research in 2012 and 2015, the DoJ commissioned Ipsos MORI to conduct the third wave of the attitudes survey. The specific aims of the research are to:

- Understand current attitudes towards the peace walls among residents living in close proximity to a peace wall.
- Measure the extent to which public attitudes have shifted, if at all, since the survey was last conducted in 2015 and 2012.

To meet the objectives outlined above, Ipsos MORI conducted a programme of quantitative research utilising a postal survey methodology. This approach was adopted to ensure the comparability of the research findings with the previous two waves which were also conducted via postal survey. An overview of the methodology for the research can be found at the end of this report, along with a technical note on reading the data.



Section 1

Communities around the peace wall

To measure attitudes towards peace walls and the implications of their removal, it is important to understand the nature of the communities for whom the barriers are a feature of daily life. The characteristics and behaviours of individuals living in close proximity to peace walls influence particular attitudes which, for those responsible for the removal of peace walls, are necessary to consider. This section explores residents' views on their own community and the level of interaction with people from other communities. Under each sub-heading, there is an outline of the 2019 survey results followed by a comparative analysis on key areas to assess the extent to which views have changed since the survey was first conducted in 2012.

Proximity and tenure

Over a third of residents completing a questionnaire in 2019 indicated that they live within a few streets of the nearest peace wall (41%). Around a quarter of residents live at the peace wall (27%).

Table 1.1: Proximity to peace wall (Q7)

Q7. Approximately how far do you live from the nearest peace wall?		
I live at the peace wall	27%	
I live within a few streets of the nearest peace wall	41%	
I live more than a few streets away from the nearest peace wall	18%	
I'm not sure how far away the nearest one is	14%	
Don't know	-	

Over half of the residents who participated in the 2019 survey have been living near a peace wall for more than 15 years (54%). This supports the trend seen in previous waves of the survey that those living in interface areas tend to be long-term residents. It is an important contextual footnote, as differences in views found between those who are relatively 'new' residents and those who have lived in the area for years, as well as differences between those living closest to the peace wall and those living furthest away, reflect this 'lived' experience (see figure 1.2).

Table 1.2: Length of time at property (Q3)

Q3. How long have you lived at this property?		
Less than one year	4%	
One to five years	17%	
More than six years but less than 10 years	12%	
More than 10 years but less than 15 years	12%	
More than 15 years	54%	

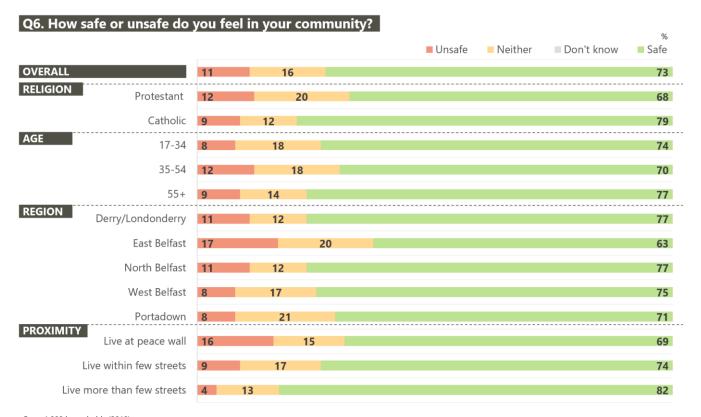
Safety

The majority of residents participating in the survey feel fairly or very safe where they live (73%). One in 10 participants feel unsafe (11%), as shown in figure 1.2.

Residents living in peace wall areas in Derry/Londonderry (77%), North Belfast (77%) and West Belfast (75%) feel safer where they live than residents living in East Belfast (63%). In East Belfast, significantly more residents report feeling unsafe (17%). However, it is worth noting that a fifth of East Belfast residents (20%) report feeling neither safe nor unsafe. There is also variation among Catholics and Protestants. Catholic residents report a higher sense of safety (79%) than Protestant residents (68%). Again, there is a higher proportion of indifference among Protestant residents (20%).

Tenure in peace wall areas and proximity to a peace wall are factors in residents' perception of safety. Among those who live more than a few streets away from their nearest peace wall, 82% report feeling safe compared to 69% of those living at a peace wall. Among this group, a higher proportion report feeling unsafe (16%) than those living further away. Residents who have been living near a peace wall for more than 15 years are significantly more likely to feel safe (77%) than newer residents of less than five years (67%). It might be expected that newer residents would experience a period of unease if they have moved from a different area or would be more unsettled by localised incidents occurring in their area than residents who have lived there for longer. Yet that long-term residents feel the safest, having lived near a peace wall through periods of conflict and relative peace, suggests a positive upward trend in residents' sense of personal safety as memories of violence move further into the past.

Figure 1.2: Safety in the community (Q6)



Base: 1,008 households (2019) Excluded from data: non-response and invalid response Overall, residents' sense of safety in their community has increased over time (see table 1.3). In 2015, a significantly higher proportion of participants reported feeling fairly or very safe (77%) than in 2012 (70%). In 2019 the proportion of participants reporting that they feel safe dropped to 73%, but nevertheless this marks an improvement since the survey first began.

Younger residents in particular feel safer in 2019 (74%) than they did in 2012 (59%). The perception of safety has also varied over time in different communities within Belfast. In North Belfast, a significantly higher proportion of participants feel safe in 2019 (77%) than in 2015 (68%) or 2012 (62%). Conversely, in East Belfast, significantly fewer participants feel safe in 2019 (63%) than in 2015 (74%) or 2012 (73%).

The majority of residents feel safe where they live. However, security remains a key concern among some residents and those who want the wall to stay see it as an important safety mechanism. It is therefore important to understand views on safety to ensure that the dialogue with communities about the removal of peace walls reflect these concerns where they are felt.

Table 1.3: Safety in the community (Q6 trend)

Q6. How safe or unsafe do you feel in your community?

NET UNSAFE (%)				
		2012	2015	2019
OVERALL		11	9	11
	17-34	14	7	8
Age	35-54	10	11	12
	55+	9	8	9
	Derry/Londonderry	12	5	11
	East Belfast	9	13	17
	North Belfast	13	9	11
Region	West Belfast	8	9	8
	Portadown*		10	8

NET SAFE (%)				
		2012	2015	2019
OVERALL		70	77	73
	17-34	59	77	74
Age	35-54	73	76	70
	55+	73	78	77
	Derry/Londonderry	76	79	77
	East Belfast	73	74	63
	North Belfast	62	68	77
Region	West Belfast	76	85	75
	Portadown*		71	71

Base: 2866 households (all waves, net unsafe and net safe): 'DK'/'neither safe nor unsafe' not shown in chart therefore figures may not sum to 100. Excluded from data: non-response and invalid responses *Portadown included from 2015

Quality of life in the community

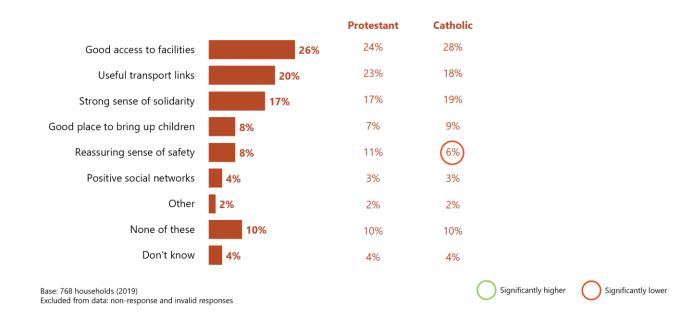
In 2019, residents who participated in the survey consider access to facilities (26%), transport links (20%) and a strong sense of solidarity (17%) to be the main strengths of their community.

Catholic and Protestant residents alike share similar views on the main strengths of their community, although it is notable that a higher proportion of Protestants (11%) remark on the reassuring sense of safety than Catholics (6%), despite feeling less safe in their community than Catholics.

The notion of solidarity, based on shared community values, remains a pertinent perception among residents which should not be overlooked. However, that access to facilities is identified as the main strength of the community, followed by useful transport links, suggests that the more practical aspects of life in the local area are growing in prominence.

Figure 1.3: Strengths of the community (Q4)





Benefits of the peace process

Peaceful surroundings (48%), an increased sense of safety (38%) and environmental improvements (24%) are highlighted as the main ways in which communities in peace wall areas have benefitted from the peace process. One in five participants (21%) feel that their area has seen no benefits from the peace process.

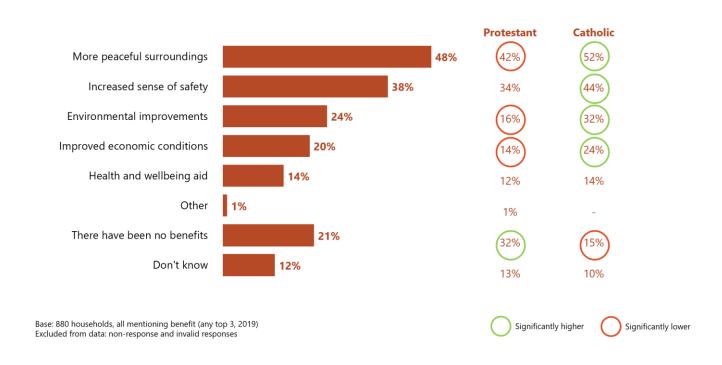
The increased sense of safety is felt across all demographics. However, Catholics are significantly more likely to identify this as a benefit (44%) than Protestants (34%). Catholics are also more optimistic about economic prosperity in their area than Protestants, with almost a quarter (24%) seeing an improvement compared to 14% of Protestants.

It is noteworthy that health and wellbeing aid is not considered to be a benefit of the peace process by the majority, with only 14% identifying this as something which has improved. This is a key health issue not only for communities around the peace wall but for the country overall, as Northern Ireland is reported to have a 25% higher overall prevalence of mental health problems than England, according to a report by the Mental Health Foundation. Evidence suggests that levels of poor mental health are higher within Northern Ireland due to the legacy of conflict. ²³ With cases of suicide more prominent in areas of high deprivation, such as in the constituencies of Belfast West and Belfast North, the implications for communities located around the peace walls- the epicentres of violence during the Troubles – are substantial.

Almost a third of Protestants (32%) feel there have been no benefits at all in their area, which is more than double that of Catholics (15%). This reflects a broader pattern of Catholics being generally more positive than Protestants when considering the benefits of the peace process in their area.

Figure 1.4: Benefits of the peace process (Q5)

Q5. In which of the following ways, if any, has your area benefitted from the peace process?



Interaction with 'other' communities

Almost nine in 10 residents participating in the survey (88%) have interacted with people outside of their own community identity to some extent. One in 10 (10%) have never done so.

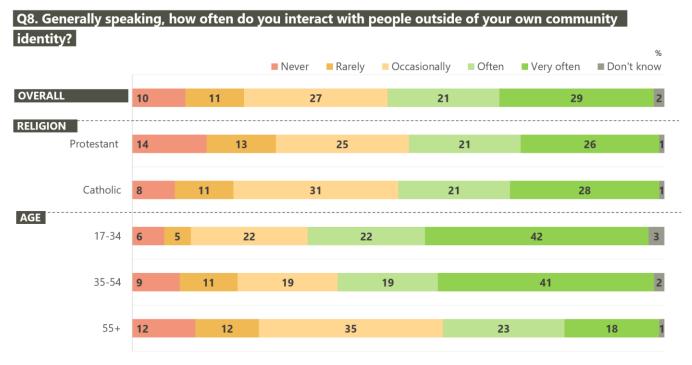
Separation on the basis of religion is apparent. Although the majority of Protestants and Catholics have had some form of interaction with people outside of their own community identity, Catholics are significantly more likely to engage with people from outside of their community identity (90%) than Protestants (85%). Among Catholics, interaction tends to be

²³ Mental Health Foundation, *Mental Health in Northern Ireland: Fundamental Facts 2016*, 2016 [Accessed 22nd October 2019, https://www.mentalhealth.org.uk/sites/default/files/FF16%20Northern%20ireland.pdf]

occasional (31%), however over a quarter of Catholic residents report very frequent interaction with people from a different background (28%). Among Protestants, a significantly higher proportion have never had any form of interaction with the 'other' community (14%).

Cross-community interaction is common across all age groups, however there is a notable increase in the level of interaction among younger residents. Those aged under 55 are twice as likely to interact with people outside of their own community identity very often (42% of 17-34 year olds and 41% of 35-54 year olds) than those aged over 55 (18%). Social interaction is still prevalent among over 55s, however it tends to be on a more occasional basis (35%).

Figure 1.5: Interaction with other community generally (Q8)



Base: 1002 households (2019) Excluded from data: non-response and invalid responses

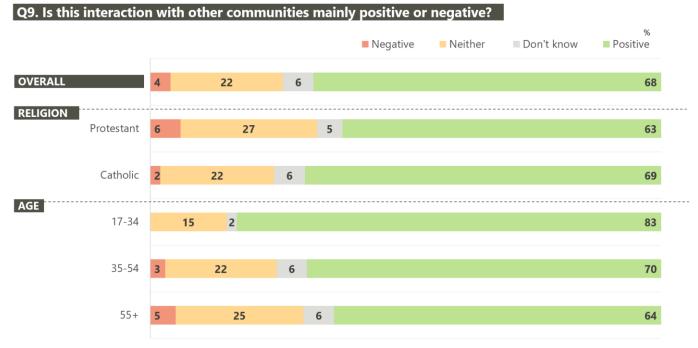
Experience of interaction with other communities

Where residents report some level of interaction with people from another community identity, they generally view the experience as a positive one (68%). Only 4% of participants consider the experience to have been negative (see figure 1.6).

Residents aged under 35 in particular view cross-community interaction in a positive light, with 83% reflecting positively on their experience, compared to 70% of those aged 35-54 and 64% of those aged 55 and over.

There are no significant differences between Catholics and Protestants, the majority of whom consider their experience with people from a different community background to be positive (69% and 63% respectively). Catholic residents are more emphatic, however, with 43% describing it as definitely positive compared to 35% of Protestant residents.

Figure 1.6: Experience with other community generally (Q9)



Base: 892 households (those who interact with people outside of their own community identity, 2019). Excluded from data: non-response and invalid responses

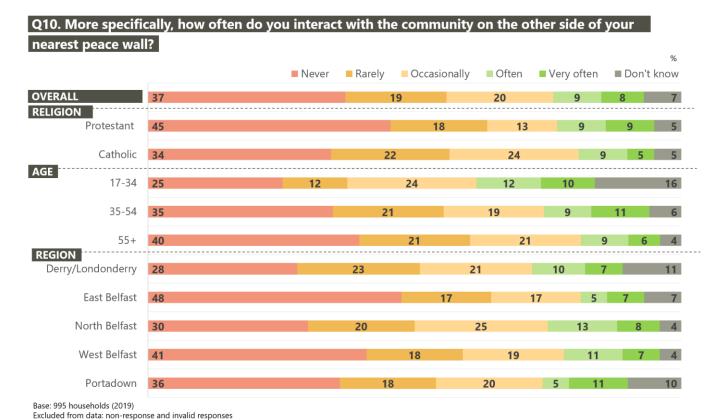
Interaction with the community on the other side of the peace wall

The majority of residents participating in the survey indicated that they interact with the community on the other side of their nearest peace wall to some extent (57%), though this was not as evident as with people from a different community identity generally (see figure 1.7). North Belfast residents reported the highest level of interaction with those on the other side of the wall (66%), compared to residents in Derry/Londonderry (61%), West Belfast (55%), Portadown (54%) and East Belfast (44%).

Over a third of participants (37%) have never had any form of interaction with the community on the other side of the peace wall. This is especially true of residents aged over 55, among whom 40% have never interacted with the community on the other side of the wall, compared to 25% of those aged between 17 and 34 years of age.

Reported separation of neighbouring communities on the basis of religion is more pronounced among Protestants rather than Catholics. Six in 10 Catholics (60%) report some form of interaction with the community on the other side of the peace wall, compared to half of Protestants (50%). Among Protestants, 45% have never had any interaction, while among Catholics, just over a third (34%) report no interaction.

Figure 1.7: Interaction with community on other side of peace wall (Q10)



Experience of interaction with those on the other side of the peace wall

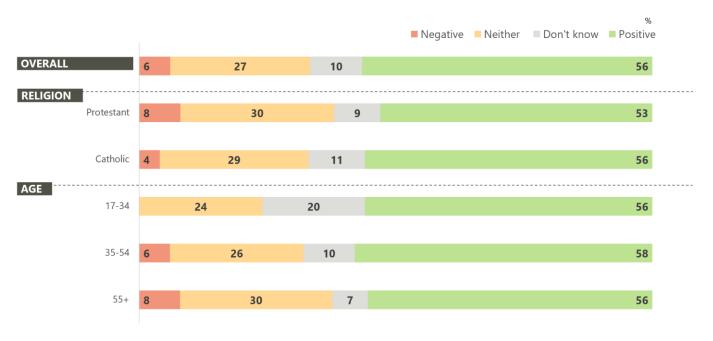
The majority of those who have interacted with the community on the side of the peace wall consider the experience to have been a positive one (56%), while only 6% view it negatively. Over a quarter of participants (27%) are ambivalent, considering it neither positive nor negative. This is true of participants regardless of religion.

Notably, no participants under the age of 35 who participated in the survey viewed their interaction with the community on other side of the peace wall negatively

The experience of residents living near a peace wall varies depending on a range of factors such as where they live, both geographically and in terms of proximity to a peace wall, their age, gender and – most prominently – their religion. Overall, the majority of residents report some level of interaction with people from another community identity and this has increased since 2015. Interaction with people on the other side of the peace wall, however, is less common.

Figure 1.8: Experience interacting with community on other side of peace wall (Q11)



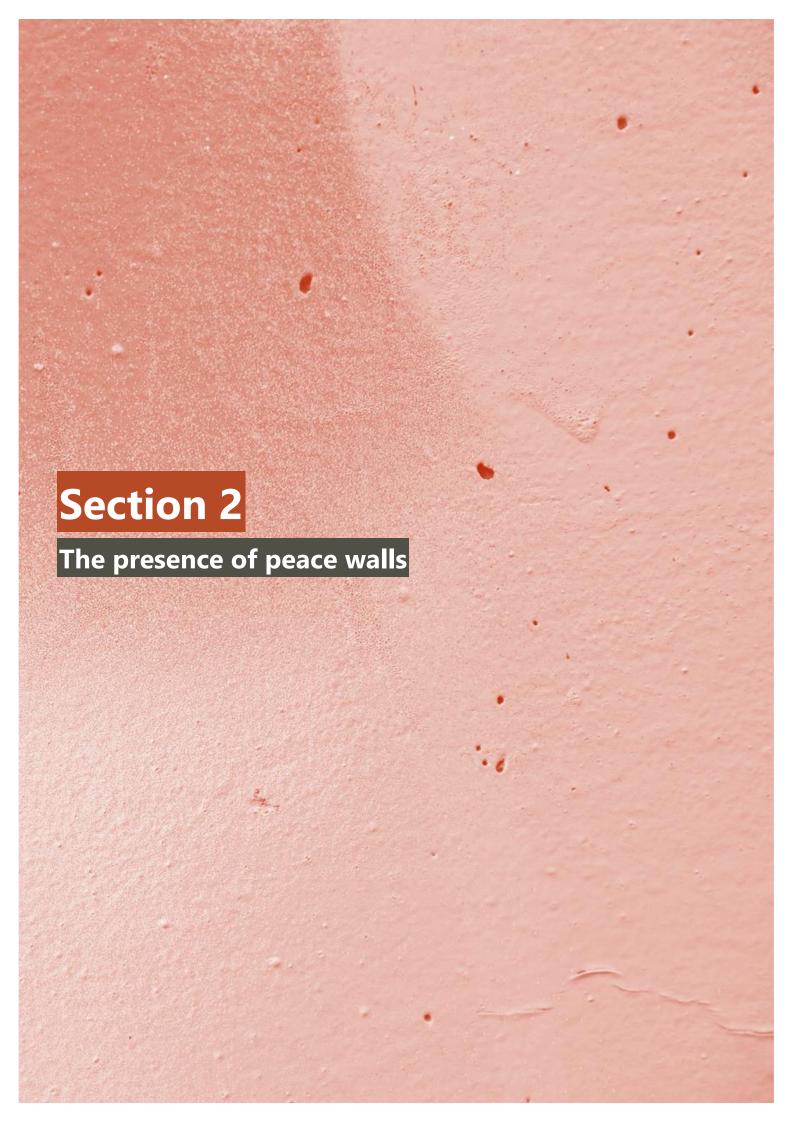


Base: 621 households (those who interact with people outside of their own community identity, 2019). Excluded from data: non-response and invalid responses

Summary

Communities around the peace wall: summary

- The experience of residents living near a peace wall varies depending on where they live, their age, gender and religion. However, there is a general upward trend in terms of residents' sense of safety and increasing recognition of the benefits that the peace process has brought to their area from a practical perspective.
- Residents' sense of safety in their community has increased over time. In 2015, a significantly higher proportion of participants reported feeling fairly or very safe (77%) than in 2012 (70%). In 2019, almost three-quarters report feeling fairly or very safe (73%). However, safety remains a key concern for some residents.
- Residents consider access to facilities (26%), transport links (20%) and a strong sense of solidarity (17%) to be the main strengths of their community. The emphasis on facilities and transport over community solidarity suggests that the more practical aspects of life in the local area are growing in prominence.
- Peaceful surroundings (48%), an increased sense of safety (38%) and environmental improvements (24%) are highlighted as the main ways in which communities in peace wall areas have benefitted from the peace process. However, almost a quarter of participants (21%) still feel that their area has not benefitted at all and fewer residents in 2019 see an increase in safety than four years ago. This highlights the work required at community level to ensure the socio-economic consequences of removing the peace walls, and implications for personal safety, are collectively understood.
- The majority of residents (88%) have interacted with people outside of their own community identity to some extent. One in 10 (10%) have never done so. Reported interaction with people from another community identity has significantly increased since 2015.
- Where residents report some level of interaction with people from another community identity, they generally view the experience as a positive one (68%).
- The majority of residents interact with the community on the other side of their nearest peace wall to some extent (57%), though this was not as evident as with people from a different community identity generally. Over a third of participants (37%) have never had any form of interaction with the community on the other side of the peace wall. Reported interaction with people from the community on the other side of the nearest peace wall has not changed significantly since 2015.
- The majority of those who have interacted with the community on the other side of the peace wall consider the experience to have been a positive one (56%). Over a quarter of participants (27%) are ambivalent about the experience, considering it neither positive nor negative.



Section 2

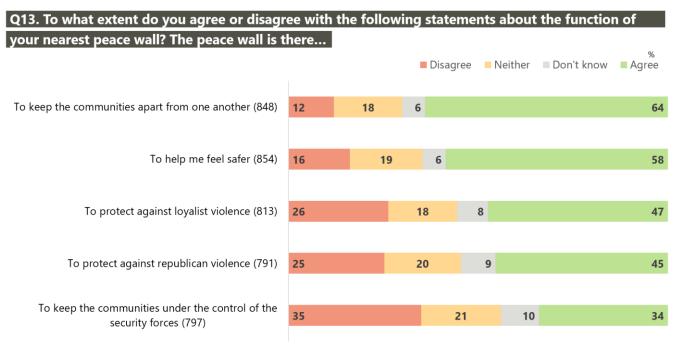
The presence of peace walls

Before considering the implications of the peace walls being removed, participants in the 2019 survey were asked about the role of their nearest peace wall in its current form. This section explores residents' views on the function and impact of the peace walls and considers the preferred sources of support on issues relating to the peace walls. Under each subheading, an outline of the 2019 survey results is followed by a comparative analysis, where applicable.

Function of the peace wall

For residents participating in the survey, the function of the peace wall is predominantly to separate communities for the purpose of safety. However, some residents also consider the peace wall to serve as a form of protection against loyalist or republican violence. There are mixed views over the extent to which peace walls are in place to keep communities under the control of the security forces.

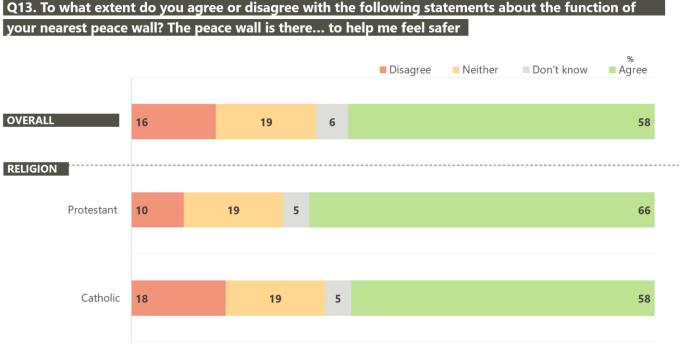
Figure 1.9: Views on the function of the peace wall (Q13)



Base in brackets: all households answering about an element (2019), shown as net agree (agree and strongly agree) and net disagree (disagree and strongly disagree) Excluded from data: non-response and invalid responses

Over half of participants 58% agree that the peace wall helps them feel safer, while 16% disagree. There is, however, fluctuating conviction behind this idea. Among Protestants (who report feeling less safe in their community), a significantly higher proportion agree with the peace wall's function to help people feel safer (66%) compared to Catholics (58%). Understanding the drivers behind feelings of safety among different groups must therefore be a key component in the ongoing consultation about the removal of peace walls at a community level.

Figure 1.10: "The peace wall is there to help me feel safer" (Q13)



Base: 854 households (2019). shown as net agree (agree and strongly agree) and net disagree (disagree and strongly disagree) Excluded from data: non-response and invalid responses

Residents participating in the survey have consistently viewed their nearest peace wall predominantly as a means of keeping two communities apart. However, there has been a significant decline over time. In 2012, almost 8 in 10 (78%) agreed that the function of their nearest peace wall is to separate two communities. In 2015 this view had decreased to 70%, while in 2019 it has dropped further to 64%. While there is agreement on both sides of the community (Protestant and Catholic) that the peace wall exists to keep these two groups apart, fewer think so in 2019. In 2012, 80% of Protestants and 78% of Catholics agreed that the peace wall's function is to separate their respective communities, whereas in 2019, 67% of Protestants and 63% of Catholics agree.

While the majority of participants also consider the purpose of the peace wall to be for safety, this view has also seen a significant decline over time. In 2012, almost nine in 10 (87%) agreed that the peace wall is there to help them feel safer. In 2019 less than two-thirds (58%) agreed. The decline in agreement that the peace wall is there for safety reasons is felt by all regardless of age, religion, gender, proximity to the peace wall or tenure.

It is important to consider the prospect of peace walls being removed in terms of the perception of their role as a safety mechanism. Among those who want the peace wall to stay, eight in 10 (79%) agree that their nearest peace wall is there for their safety in 2019. However, in 2012, nine in 10 (92%) felt this way. Among those who want the peace wall to go, the decline in agreement over peace walls as a safety measure is even more pronounced; in 2012 84% of participants agreed, while in 2019 less than half of participants (45%) agree. Security and safety therefore remain key concerns for residents

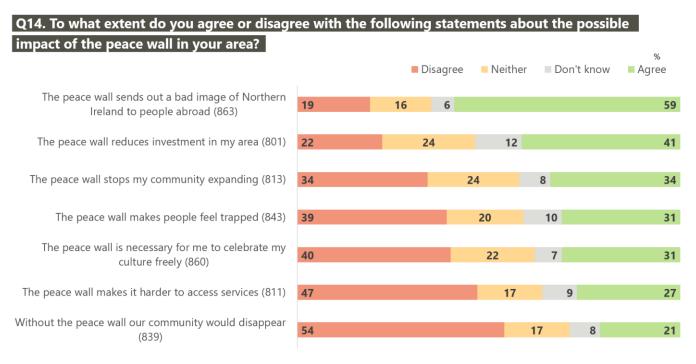
who are in favour of the walls remaining. For those who are in favour of the walls being removed, however, safety is not considered to be the primary function of the peace walls. Furthermore, even among those who want the peace walls to stay, the view that it is there for their safety is waning. This could have implications for how policy makers and community leaders frame discussions around peace wall removal.

There remains a sense among residents that the function of the peace wall is to protect them against violence perpetuated by republicans against Protestants (65% of Protestants agree) and violence perpetuated by loyalists against Catholics (61% of Catholics agree), thus preserving a notion of the peace wall protecting 'us' on the one side from 'them' on the other. This view, however, has waned over time. In 2012, 76% Protestants agreed that the peace walls protected them from republican violence while 88% of Catholics agreed that the peace walls protected them from loyalist violence. That in 2019 Catholics and Protestants alike agree as strongly that the peace walls are there to separate both communities from one another, coupled with the declining view that they protect against loyalist or republican violence, suggests a movement away from this more accusatory attitude of one group requiring more restraint than another. The role of the peace wall as a safety mechanism also remains, but with significantly less prominence in 2019 than in 2012.

Impact of the peace wall

Despite acknowledging the peace wall's function as a means of separating communities and keeping people safe, it is broadly agreed that it has a negative impact on Northern Ireland's reputation. That the peace wall sends out a bad image to people abroad is the view most commonly held by residents participating in the survey (59% agree), followed by the notion that it reduces investment in the area (41% agree) and stops communities expanding (34% agree). Overall, there is weakest conviction behind the possibility that without the peace wall the communities would disappear (21% agree).

Figure 1.11: Impact of the peace wall (Q14)

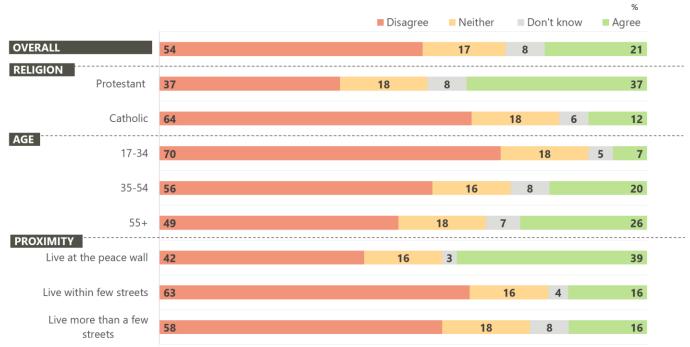


Base in brackets: all households answering about an element (2019), shown as net agree (agree and strongly agree) and net disagree (disagree and strongly disagree) Excluded from data: non-response and invalid responses

The majority of residents disagree that communities would disappear without peace walls (54%) and a fifth (21%) agree. However, there is significant variation among different groups. Those living at the peace wall, for instance, are more likely to agree that their community would be threatened by the removal of the peace wall (39%) than those living within a few streets or more than a few streets away (16% respectively). While over a third of Protestants agree that the peace walls are necessary for the prosperity of their community (37%), significantly fewer Catholics share this view (12%). Younger residents, meanwhile, ardently reject the idea that if the peace walls are removed it will threaten the existence of their communities (70%).

Figure 1.12: "Without the peace wall my community would disappear" (Q14)





Base: 839 households (2019). shown as net agree (agree and strongly agree) and net disagree (disagree and strongly disagree) Excluded from data: non-response and invalid responses

The relative impact of the peace wall has fluctuated over time, with the perceived necessity of the peace wall for freedom of cultural celebration diminishing in importance in 2019 compared to previous years. The image of Northern Ireland abroad, however, continues to be the main concern for residents.

While the perception that the peace walls show Northern Ireland in a negative light has been the most common, it has waned in strength over time. In 2019, 59% of residents agree that the peace wall sends out a bad image of Northern Ireland to people abroad compared to over two-thirds in 2012 (67%).

The peace walls as a necessary form of protection for communities to celebrate their culture freely has also declined in prominence. While in 2012, almost half of residents shared this view (47%), less than a third do so in 2019 (31%). The peace wall providing a safe space for communities to celebrate their culture has also lost prominence on both sides of the community but has fallen most steeply among Catholics. In 2012, 42% agreed that the peace wall is necessary for them to celebrate their culture freely. In 2019, a quarter of Catholic residents feel this way (25%). For Protestants, the role of the

peace wall in protecting their right to cultural expression remains important but has still fallen from a majority view in 2012 (58% agreed) to a minority one in 2019 (46% agree).

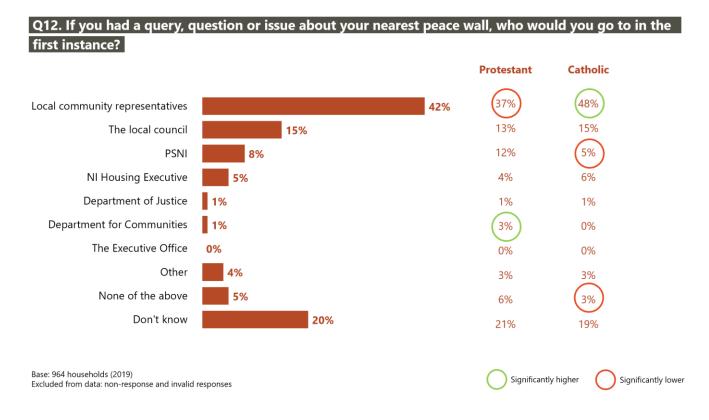
The varying emphasis placed on the peace wall's impact highlights the stark differences in outlook among particular groups. For Protestants, those living closest to the peace wall, older residents and those who want the wall to stay, the focus is more inward-looking, with emphasis on community solidarity and cultural protections. For Catholics, those living furthest away from the peace wall and younger residents, however, the focus is more outward-looking, taking into consideration the broader economic implications of the peace walls for Northern Ireland's image abroad and investment in the area. This again reinforces the need for tailored and targeted dialogue about peace wall removal.

Support

According to residents who took part in the survey, the main sources of advice or guidance on the peace wall are found at a local level. Participants most frequently report that they would contact their local community representative if they had a query about their nearest peace wall (42%), followed by the local council (15%) and then the PSNI (8%). One in five participants (20%) do not know who they would consult.

While local community representatives are identified as the first point of contact by Catholics and Protestants alike, Catholics are significantly more likely to identify local representatives as a source of information (48%) than Protestants (37%). Over one in 10 Protestants (12%) would contact the PSNI, which is significantly higher than Catholics (5%).

Figure 1.13: Who to contact with a peace wall query (Q12)



Summary

The presence of peace walls: summary

- For people living near a peace wall, it is generally accepted that the predominant function of the walls is to separate communities (64% agree) and to help people feel safer (58% agree).
- There remains a sense among residents that the function of the peace wall is to protect them against violence perpetuated by loyalists among Catholics and republicans among Protestants, thus preserving a notion of the peace wall protecting 'us' on the one side from 'them' on the other. However, the trend data suggests there is movement away from this more accusatory attitude of one group requiring more restraint than another.
- The role of the peace wall as a safety mechanism also remains important, but with significantly less prominence in 2019 than in 2012. Nevertheless, security and safety remain key concerns for residents who are in favour of the walls remaining.
- Despite acknowledging the peace wall's function as a means of separating communities and keeping people safe, it is broadly agreed that it has a negative impact on Northern Ireland's reputation. That the peace wall sends out a bad image to people abroad is the view most commonly held by residents.
- The relative impact of the peace wall has fluctuated over time, with the perceived necessity of the peace wall for freedom of cultural celebration diminishing in importance in 2019 compared to previous years.
- The varying emphasis placed on the peace wall's impact highlights stark differences in outlook among particular groups. For Protestants, the emphasis is on community solidarity and cultural protections. For Catholics, however, the focus is on the broader economic implications of the peace walls for Northern Ireland's image abroad and investment in the area. This again reinforces the need for tailored and targeted dialogue about peace wall removal.
- The main sources of advice or guidance on the peace wall are found at a local level. Participants most frequently report that they would contact their local community representative if they had a query about their nearest peace wall (42%), followed by the local council (15%) and then the PSNI (8%). One in five participants (20%) do not know who they would consult.
- Reliance on local support on issues relating to peace walls is consistent with the previous survey and highlights the continued value placed on communication at the community level.



Section 3

The future of peace walls

Communities in Northern Ireland are strong, and people feel a sense of belonging to their neighbourhoods. In these circumstances (and knowing the tendency among residents to seek advice from local sources), community-level engagement on peace wall removal is imperative. Indeed, the T:BUC strategy acknowledges the importance of community agreement, stating that the removal of peace walls can only be done with 'consent and support of the people who live there'.²⁴ This section explores residents' knowledge of the T:BUC strategy and views on the future of the peace wall in their area. An outline of the 2019 survey results is accompanied by a comparative analysis throughout.

Awareness of T:BUC strategy

Almost half of residents participating in the survey claim that they know nothing of the on-going strategy to remove peace walls by 2023 (47%). While the majority of participants know something of the strategy (53%), awareness is limited. Very few participants claimed to know a lot (5%), just over a fifth know a little (21%), while over a quarter acknowledge they know hardly anything (28%). There is no significant variation on the basis of religion. Moreover, there has been no change in levels of awareness since 2015, suggesting that residents are no better informed about the strategy to remove peace walls than they were four years ago.

Table 1.4: Awareness of T:BUC strategy (Q15)

Q15. How much do you know of the on-going strategy to remove all peace walls in Northern Ireland by 2023? **OVERALL PROTESTANT CATHOLIC** A lot 5% 6% 3% A little 21% 20% 23% Hardly anything 28% 28% 28% 47% 46% 46% Nothing at all

²⁴ The Executive Office, 'Together: Building A United Community' (2013), p.54.

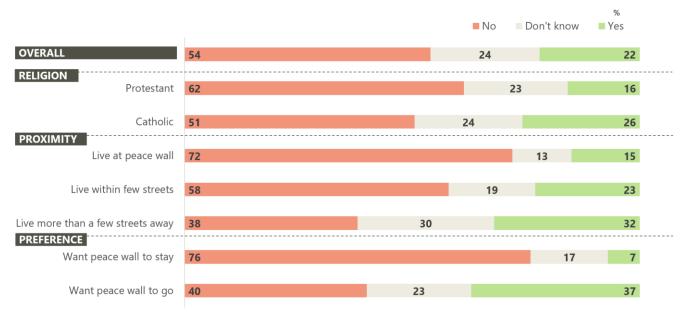
Views on the target for peace wall removal

Among those who express any awareness of the strategy to remove peace walls, the majority do not consider the Executive's target of removing them by 2023 to be realistic (54%). Only one in five participants consider the 2023 target to be achievable (22%).

Scepticism is highest among those who want their peace wall to stay, with 76% considering the target to be unrealistic compared to 40% of those want their peace wall to go. Among those living at the peace wall, whose lives are most directly impacted by the presence of the walls, almost three-quarters do not consider the target to be realistic (72%). Protestant residents are also more sceptical of the target (62%) than Catholics (51%).

Figure 1.14: Views on the target for peace wall removal (Q16)





Base: 1005 households (2019 data) Excluded from data: non-response and invalid responses

Possible outcomes if the peace wall remains

It is generally expected that if the peace walls are not removed, life will continue on as normal and it will have little impact on the community (see figure 1.15).

Overall, the majority of participants feel there will be no changes to jobs in the area if the peace walls remain (71%). There is little variation in this view across different groups, however a higher proportion of Protestant residents adopt this view (76%) than Catholics (69%). For Catholics, there is a stronger perception that things may be worse if the peace wall remains (12%) compared to Protestants (7%).

To a lesser extent, participants also expect access to services like health, education and leisure to be unaffected by the continued presence of a peace wall (67%). Again, Protestants are more likely to hold this view (73%) than Catholics (63%).

Two-thirds of residents do not see the peace walls having any effect on community safety if they remain in place (65%). There are no discernible differences among Catholics and Protestants who share this view. However, a higher proportion of Protestants feel that community safety would be better if the peace wall remains (12%) than Catholics (7%).

It is also generally expected that community relations will not be impacted by the peace walls remaining in place, with almost two-thirds expecting things to remain the same (63%). There is little variation across demographics, however a higher proportion of Protestants anticipate no change (69%) than Catholics (63%).

More than half of participants do not envisage any impact on people's health and wellbeing if the peace walls remain in place (59%). A higher proportion of Catholics expect residents' wellbeing to decline if the peace walls stay in place (19%) than Protestants (13%).

There is broad agreement that the peace walls will not impact on business investment in the area to any great extent (58%). It is also generally perceived that the continued presence of peace walls will not impact on government investment in the area, with 56% of residents expecting things to remain the same.

Overall, 58% of residents expect tourism to continue as it is currently if the peace walls remain in place. Protestants hold the view that tourism will be unaffected to a greater extent (65%) than Catholics (58%). Over half of participants expect that the image of Northern Ireland abroad will be unchanged if the peace walls remain in place (54%). For the majority of participants, the peace walls currently send out a bad image of Northern Ireland and it is therefore assumed that this will continue if they remain in place.

Figure 1.15: Effect on community if peace wall remains (Q26)



Base (in brackets): all answering on element (2019 data). Excluded from data: non-response and invalid responses

The view that there will be continuity in most aspects of life if the peace wall remains is consistent with previous waves of the research. Nevertheless, there appears to be growing optimism in terms of the economic health of the area and Northern Ireland's image abroad. In 2012, there was greater concern among residents that business investment and government investment in the area would be reduced if the peace wall remained (25% and 21% respectively), while in 2019 the proportion of residents expecting the area to be worse off has dropped (to 15% and 14% respectively). Similarly, the idea that Northern Ireland's image abroad would be worse has become a less commonly held view in 2019 (12%) than it was in 2012 (16%).

Since 2012, however, there has been growing concern over community safety. In 2012, 12% of residents were concerned that community safety would become worse if the peace wall remains, rising to 15% of residents in 2019.

Overall, though, the prospect of things staying the same as they are now if the peace wall remains is still considered to be most likely outcome by the majority of residents.

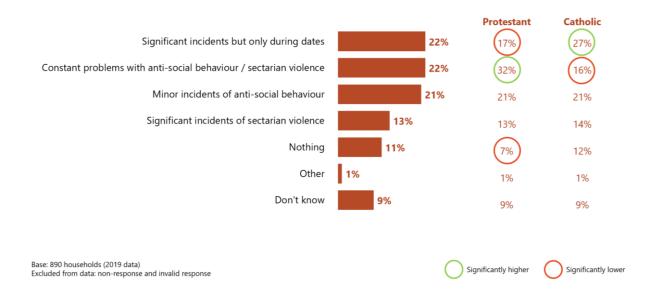
Possible outcomes if the peace wall is removed

If the peace walls are removed, the majority of residents anticipate disruption in some form, ranging from minor incidents of anti-social behaviour (21%) to constant problems with anti-social behaviour and sectarian violence following the removal of peace walls (22%). A fifth of residents expect there to be significant incidents of anti-social behaviour and sectarian violence but only around particular dates (22%), while a small proportion of residents think there will be significant incidents of violence, regardless of events, between the communities previously separated (13%). Few participants feel that there will be no such repercussions, with only one in 10 expecting things to carry on as normal after the peace walls are removed (11%).

Catholic and Protestant residents have different expectations of what could happen if the peace walls are removed. Among Catholics, the greatest concern is that there will be significant incidents of anti-social behaviour and sectarian violence, but only flaring up around certain dates (27%). Fewer Protestants consider that the incidents of violence would be contained to particular points in the year (17%), but rather expect constant problems. Almost a third of Protestant residents expect on-going sectarian violence (32%) compared to 16% of Catholics.

Figure 1.16: Possible outcomes if the peace wall is removed (Q21)

Q21. What would happen if the peace wall was removed?



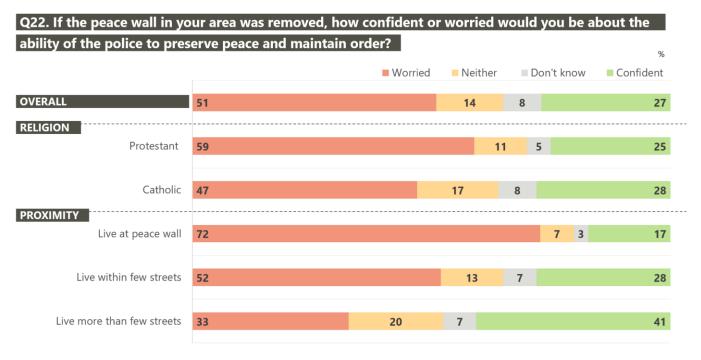
The general expectation of there being some form of disruption, ranging from minor to major incidents of violence, has persisted over time. The spike in expectations of significant incidents of sectarian violence found in 2015, whether ongoing or contained to anniversary and march dates, has not held in 2019. Rather, since 2012 a higher proportion of residents expect that nothing will happen if the peace wall is removed and that everything would stay as it is (from 5% in 2012 to 11% in 2019). However, there is also a higher degree of uncertainty since 2012, when 5% of residents said they did not know what would happen, while in 2019 one in 10 residents are unsure (9%).

Confidence in policing around peace walls

There is broad concern over the police's ability to maintain order if the peace walls were removed. While over a quarter of residents participating in the survey feel confident that the police would preserve peace (27%), just over half are worried about their ability to do so (51%). A significantly higher proportion of Protestant residents are worried about the preservation of peace (59%) than Catholic residents (47%).

Proximity to a peace wall also affects how residents view the ability of the police. Among those who live at the peace wall, almost three-quarters are worried about the ability of the police to maintain order (72%). Those who live more than a few streets away are considerably less concerned, with a third of residents stating they would be worried about the police being able to preserve peace (33%).

Figure 1.17: Confidence in policing around peace walls (Q22)



Base: 999 households (2019 data) Excluded from data: non-response and invalid response Overall, concern about the ability of the police to maintain order has decreased since 2012, when 57% of residents reported that they were fairly or very worried about this. In 2019, just over half of residents (51%) express such worry. In the 2019 survey Catholics are significantly less worried about the ability of the police to maintain order than Protestants. This was also found in the 2015 survey. However, in 2012 residents on both sides of the community were worried. The shift has therefore been in reduced concern among Catholic residents, from 57% in 2012 to 47% in 2019.

While there are some encouraging signs of increased confidence in the police, it remains clear that residents are concerned about safety, making it vital for policy makers to outline measures that will help preserve peace after the peace walls are removed.

Likely responses to peace wall removal

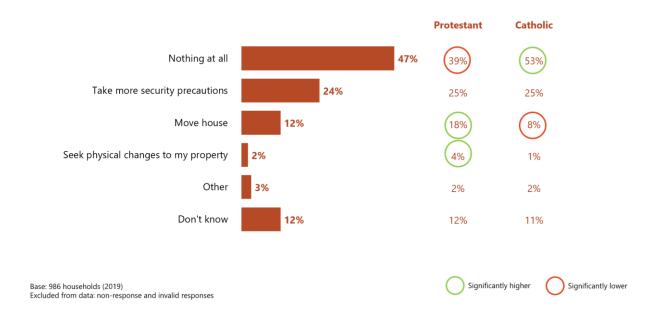
If the peace walls are removed almost half of residents surveyed would make no changes to their living arrangements or lifestyle whatsoever (47%), while almost a quarter of residents (24%) would take more security precautions (see figure 1.18). Despite the broad expectation of some kind of disruption, ranging from minor incidents to serious on-going sectarian violence, residents are generally content to continue with their lives as normal, albeit cautiously. For some, the removal of peace walls would be unbearable. One in 10 residents state they would move out of the area (12%).

Catholics are also significantly more likely to do nothing in response to peace walls coming down (53%) than Protestants (39%). Indeed, Protestant residents are more likely to move away (18%) than Catholics (8%).

Proximity to a peace wall appears to have a notable influence over responses to peace wall removal. Those living within a few streets (54%) or more than a few streets away (56%) from their nearest peace wall are significantly more likely to take no action than those living at the peace wall (27%). For those living at the peace wall, however, the possibility of having to leave the area is very real, with almost a third of residents stating that they would move away (31%) compared to 6% of those living with a few streets and 2% of those living more than a few streets away.

Figure 1.18: Response to peace wall removal (Q23)

Q23. If the peace wall in your area was removed, what would you do?



The actions residents state they would take in response to the peace walls being removed has remained broadly consistent over the last four years, with it being the most likely outcome that people would do nothing at all. While there appears to have been a significant shift in residents stating that they would take no action, this is likely due to the presence of 'don't know' and 'other' options which were added to the 2019 survey and were selected by 15% of participants.

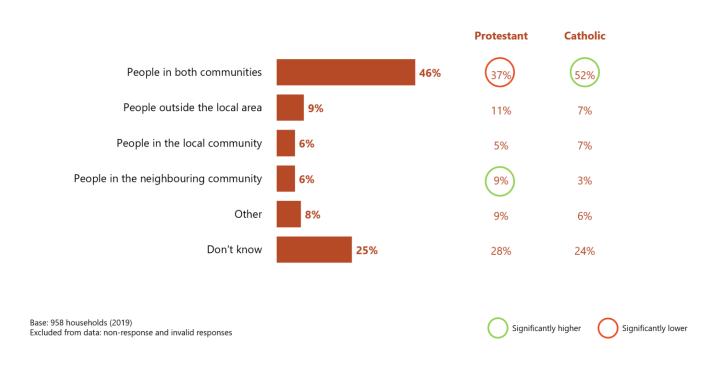
Who will benefit

It is generally acknowledged by residents living near peace walls that their removal would benefit communities on either side (46%), as shown in figure 1.19. However, there is also a high degree of uncertainty around who will benefit most, with a quarter of residents stating they are unsure (25%). Catholics are more likely to recognise benefits for both communities (52%) than Protestants (37%).

Almost a fifth of residents living nearest the peace wall (18%) gave 'other' responses, identifying businesses, police, politicians, paramilitaries and tourists as groups who stand to benefit most. However, the majority of participants giving another answer feel that nobody will benefit from the peace walls being removed.

Figure 1.19: Who will benefit most from peace wall removal (Q28)

Q28. Who do you think would benefit most from the removal of the peace wall in your area?



Preparations: community consent

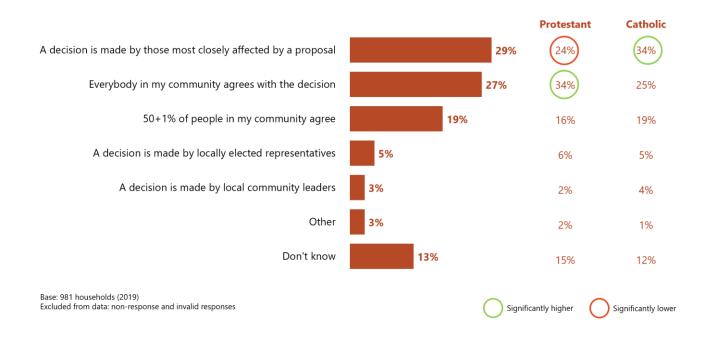
The definition of 'community consent' most commonly cited by residents participating in the survey is that a decision is made by those most closely affected by a proposal to make changes to the current peace wall (29%), as shown in figure 1.20. However, this is closely followed by the idea that 'community consent' is everyone in the community agreeing with the decision (27%). Almost a fifth of residents define 'community consent' as majority agreement within the community (19%). The range of ideas on what 'community consent' means poses a significant challenge to those responsible for obtaining it.

This is further complicated by the varying interpretations among different groups. For instance, Catholics tend to view 'community consent' as a decision made by those most closely affected by a proposal (34%). Protestants tend to consider 'community consent' to be a unanimous decision within the community (34%).

Despite these nuances, it is clear that residents consider 'community consent' to be a decision by residents themselves and not representatives.

Figure 1.20: The meaning of 'community consent' (Q24)

Q24. What, if anything, does the concept of 'community consent' mean to you?



'Community consent' among residents rather than representatives is consistent with the 2015 survey. However, while the largest proportion of residents favoured a unanimous decision by all in the community in 2015 (38%), in 2019 a decision being made by those most closely affected by the proposal is most favoured (29%). However, it must be noted that 13% of residents responded 'don't know' in 2019, which was not available as an option in the 2015 survey.

Views continue to be mixed between unanimous agreement, agreement among the majority or agreement among those most closely affected. Given the range of views on what community consent means to residents, obtaining it is a challenge that will likely require flexibility. As highlighted in the 2015 report, it is important that local residents feel included in any

process to remove peace walls, are consulted on proposed changes and given the opportunity to have their concerns heard and responded to.²⁵

Preparations: consultation

Residents are generally open to most channels of communication about potential changes to their nearest peace wall. In response to this multiple-choice question, the most commonly cited channel was via local newspaper (72%), despite not being a normal method of consultation (see figure 1.21).

Regular meetings (65%) and social media updates (65%) were also identified. There are more mixed views on door to door consultations, although residents appear to be more willing to engage with community leaders (54%) than political representatives or independent groups (46% respectively). This reticence about direct, one-on-one conversations with political figures reflects broader trends in levels of trust in society. Recent research by Ipsos MORI has found that trust in elected government institutions and political parties is consistently lower than in other institutions or professions and is on a downward trend. Local councils, however, tend to receive higher levels of trust than government ministers or politicians generally.²⁶ The lean towards consultation via local channels also corresponds with stronger inclinations towards community level interaction.

Just under half of all residents say they would like to be consulted about potential changes to their nearest peace wall via door-to-door consultation by political representatives (46%). Protestants are among those who are more eager for this (52%). Catholics are more in favour of direct engagement with community leaders (58%).

Around one in 10 participants stated that they do not want to know about potential changes to their local peace wall (12%), which is relatively low. This indicates that residents are generally engaged on the issue and would generally prefer to be informed through indirect means, such as their local newspaper and social media, or in a group setting through public meetings.

²⁵ Byrne, J., Gormley-Heenan, C., Morrow, D., and Sturgeon, B., 'Public Attitudes to Peace Walls 2015 Survey Results', *Ulster University* (2015), p.20.

²⁶ Ipsos MORI, 'Trust: The Truth?', 2019 [Accessed 11th November 2019, https://thinks.ipsos-mori.com/trust-the-truth/]

Figure 1.21: Preference for consultation method (Q17)

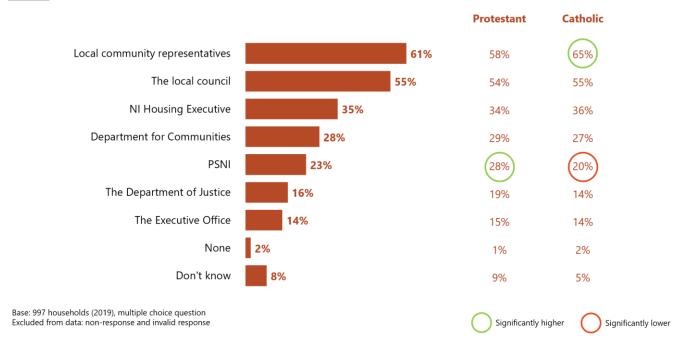
Q17. In principle, how would you like to be consulted about any of the following potential changes to your local peace wall?



Base (in brackets): all answering on element (2019) Excluded from data: non-response and invalid responses Furthermore, when asked who residents would expect to keep them informed about issues relating to peace walls, the majority of residents chose local community representatives (61%) and the local council (55%). There are, however, some notable variations among certain groups. For the majority of Catholics (65%), it is expected that local community representatives would keep them informed. Due to concerns around safety, it follows that a higher proportion of Protestants would expect to hear from the PSNI about their local peace wall (28%).

Figure 1.22: Preference for who should keep residents informed (Q18)





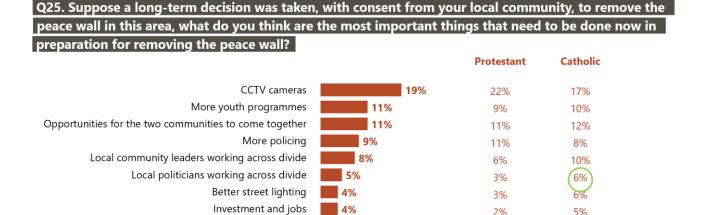
Preparations: things to consider

As shown in figure 1.23, in preparation for removing peace walls residents consider the most important thing to be the installation of CCTV cameras (19%), more youth programmes (11%) and opportunities for the two communities to come together (11%).

It is notable that almost a fifth of residents do not want the peace walls removed, no matter what preparations are made (17%). This is especially the case among Protestants, almost a quarter of whom do not want the peace walls removed under any circumstances (24%).

That the top considerations among residents is a combination of cross-community initiatives and safety measures highlights the paradoxical nature of the peace walls, on the one hand safeguarding while on the other undermining peaceful relations between communities. However, these are also practical ways in which residents can be reassured of maintained safety and normality without the need for peace walls.

Figure 1.23: Considerations for removing the peace wall (Q25)



17%

Base: 588 households selecting most important thing (2019 data). Excluded from data: non-response and invalid respon

Significantly higher



The future of the peace walls: personal preference

I don't think the peace wall should come down

New housing where needed Physical improvement in the area

Don't know

Addressing the fundamental question of whether peace walls should be removed or kept in place is complex, given the range of views on when and under what conditions they should come down – if at all - among residents. Ultimately, there is slightly more of an appetite for the peace walls to be removed (49%) than to remain in place (42%), but it remains a contested issue. The prospect of the peace wall coming down some time in the future (32%) is the most common preference, however almost a quarter of residents want the peace wall to stay exactly as it is with no changes (24%).

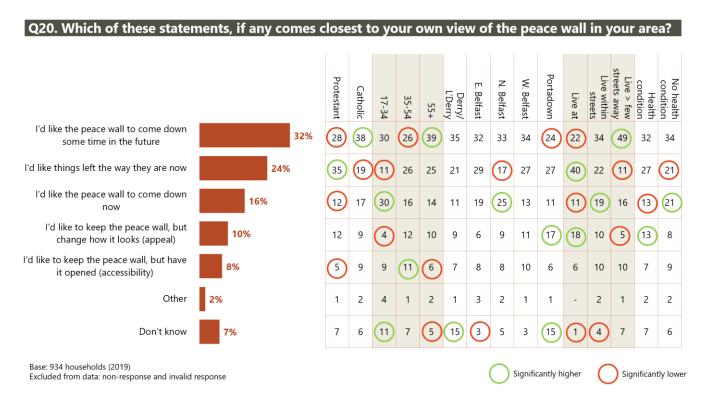
Adopting a more gradual approach to peace wall removal is most commonly cited by participants. Overall, almost a third of residents support the idea of peace walls being removed some time in the future (32%). Over 55s in particular are in favour of removal at some stage (39%), compared to 30% of 17-34-year olds and 26% of 35-54-year olds. Over a third of Catholics also share a preference for future removal (38%), more so than among Protestants (28%).

Almost a guarter of participants would prefer things to remain as they are now (24%). This is particularly the case among those living at the peace wall, of whom 40% are seeking no change. Those living with a few streets or more than a few streets away from a peace wall are significantly less likely to want it to remain in place (22% and 11% respectively). Protestant residents have a greater tendency towards this position of maintaining the status quo (35%), compared to 19% of Catholic residents. Those living with a physical or mental health condition are also significantly more likely to want to keep things as they are (27%) than those who are not (21%).

For others, the idea of immediate peace wall removal is preferred. While 16% take this view overall, among younger residents there is a particular eagerness for immediate peace wall removal. A significantly higher proportion of residents aged under 35 share a preference for this (30%) compared to 35-54-year olds (16%) and over 55s (14%). Those living in North Belfast are also more likely to want immediate removal of their peace wall (25%) than in West Belfast (13%),

Derry/Londonderry (11%) and Portadown (11%). However, overall the prospect of immediate peace wall removal is not widely supported.

Figure 1.24: View of the peace wall all options and demographics (Q20)



Over time, support for removal of the peace walls has remained relatively stable, with 39% stating a preference for their nearest peace wall to remain in place either as it is now or with some changes in 2012, compared to 43% in 2015 and 42% in 2019. There has, however, been a significant decrease in the proportion of residents wishing to see their peace wall removed immediately or at some point in the future. In 2012, over half of residents stated that they wanted the wall to go (58%), while in 2015 and 2019 just under half of residents share this view (49%). A higher degree of uncertainty is also observed, with 3% stating they did not know in 2012 increasing to 7% in 2019.

Shifts in views have been most pronounced among residents living closest to the peace wall. In 2012, 54% stated that they want their nearest peace wall to stay and 44% stated that they want their nearest peace wall to go. In 2019, the proportion of residents wishing to see the continuation of the peace wall has risen to 65% and the proportion seeking removal has dropped to 33%.

In West Belfast, there has also been a decline in support for peace wall removal. In 2012, 60% of residents stated a preference for their nearest peace wall to be removed immediately or in the future. In 2019, this has dropped to 48%. Those aged 35-54 are also significantly more likely to support the continuance of peace walls in 2019 (50%) than the same age group surveyed in 2012 (37%). Among Protestants, there was a spike in the proportion of residents preferring their nearest peace wall to stay from 46% in 2012 to 61% in 2015. In 2019, the proportion has fallen to 52%, but with a majority still supporting the continuation of peace walls. Despite Catholics having a more optimistic outlook generally, there has been a notable decrease in the proportion of residents wishing to see their peace wall removed now or at some stage, from 62% in 2012 to 55% in 2019. A corresponding rise in uncertainty among this group is observed (2% in 2012, 9% in 2015 and 6% in 2019).

Encouragingly, younger residents are more likely to support the removal of peace wall since 2019 (60%) than the same age group surveyed in 2015 (54%).

Profiling preference: CHAID analysis

To try and understand the factors which influence attitudes towards the peace walls, CHAID analysis was undertaken.²⁷ The analysis identifies two clear groups and the overwhelming determinant factor in preference for peace walls remaining in place or being removed is religion. Those who would prefer the peace walls to remain in place are typically Protestant. Concerns over safety and a tendency towards cultural protectionism are the drivers behind the preference to keep the peace walls in place among Protestants. Vulnerability is also a key factor for Protestants, with support for the peace wall remaining strongest among those who have a long-term physical or mental health condition or have children at home.

Those who would like to see their nearest peace wall be removed immediately or at some point in the future are predominantly Catholics and tend to be under the age of 35. This group tend to be more heavily influenced by the image of Northern Ireland abroad.

Notions of community solidarity are important and remain a consistent feature of interface communities, however more practical considerations are growing in prominence, especially among those who share a preference for peace walls to be removed. These different shades of opinion on the peace walls and divergent priorities reinforce the importance of flexible and targeted communications to address the unique concerns of peace wall residents.

The future of the peace walls: perception of preference

When considering how other groups might feel about the peace wall, there is an element of uncertainty especially when thinking about the preferences of various public bodies. However, when considering their own views compared to that of their community or the neighbouring community, residents are more assertive (see figure 1.25).

When thinking of themselves personally, 37% say they want the peace wall to remain. When considering local people from within their own community, it is thought by the majority of residents that people in their community want the peace wall to remain (52%). Just under half of residents also think that people from the neighbouring community want the peace wall to stay (43%).

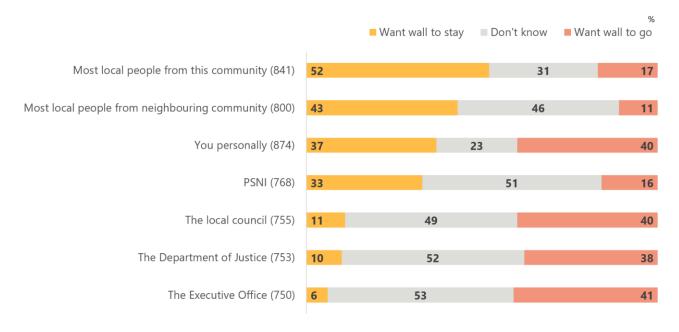
As they consider the preferences of various public bodies, it is more commonly felt that public bodies want the wall to go, including The Executive Office (41%), the local council (40%) and the Department of Justice (38%). The exception is the police service, with a third of residents expecting that the PSNI would prefer that peace walls to remain in place (33%). However, there is a great deal of uncertainty. Over half of participants do not know how most public bodies view the peace walls. Over half of residents say they do not know whether or not bodies such as The Executive Office (53%), the

²⁷ Chi-squared Automatic Interaction Detection (CHAID) analysis, also known as a decision tree, is a statistical test used to identify whether any variables, such as age or gender, are significant in influencing a specific research outcome; in this case, views on the existence of peace walls. This technique offers a method of effectively searching for relationships between the variables and a particular measure and is largely used to understand the connection between groups and issues under study. CHAID analysis takes data from a sample of participants and looks for distinct groups, which, according to their responses to independent variables, will profile a dependent variable. This analysis was conducted on the unweighted data collected from the 2019 postal survey.

Department of Justice (52%) or the PSNI (51%) want the peace walls to be removed. Almost half of participants are not sure of the position of their local council (49%).

Figure 1.25: Perception of preference (Q19)

Q19. Who do you think wants the peace wall in your community to stay or go?



Base in brackets: All household answering per item (2019) Excluded from data: non-response and invalid response

The perception that public bodies have a preference for peace walls to be removed has been growing over time. In 2012, 23% of residents thought that the local council wanted the peace walls to go, which has increased to 40% in 2019. Similarly, where 24% thought that the Executive Office favoured removal in 2012, this perception has increased to 41% in 2019. In 2012, 22% thought the DoJ wanted peace wall removal, which has increased to 38% in 2019.

Views on the preference of the PSNI has remained an exception, with the reverse pattern evident. In 2012, 13% thought that the PSNI wanted the peace walls to remain, which has increased to 33% in 2019.

Despite this growing perception of public bodies supporting peace wall removal (with the exception of PSNI), the high level of uncertainty among residents about what these groups favour has persisted.

The idea among residents that others within and outside their community are more in favour of peace walls remaining, juxtaposed to their own preference for peace walls to be removed, has also seen an upward trend. While people personally want their peace wall to go, the perception that others in their community and in the neighbouring community do not has increased over time. While in 2012, 20% felt that people in their own community wanted the peace wall to stay, in 2019 this has risen to 52%. In 2012, 18% of residents felt that people in the neighbouring community also wanted the peace wall to stay, which has risen significantly to 43% in 2019.

A higher proportion of residents perceive there to be greater resistance to peace wall removal generally than is actually the case according to people's own stated preference. Cross-community initiatives to encourage an open dialogue may help overcome this possible misperception among residents.

The lack of awareness of the strategy to remove the peace walls and uncertainty, compounded by the range of attitudes towards the future of peace walls among residents, presents a challenge for policy makers and community leaders to reconcile those on different sides of the argument.

Envisaging a time without peace walls

Ultimately, residents are uncertain about the fate of their nearest peace wall (see figure 1.26). While 40% are hopeful that there will come a time when there will be no peace walls in their area, just as many are convinced that there will be no such time (40%). A fifth of participants (20%) are unsure what will happen.

Despite shifts in personal preference and perceptions of what others would prefer, the split in views on the future of peace walls has been a consistent feature of the public attitudes survey with no significant changes over time.

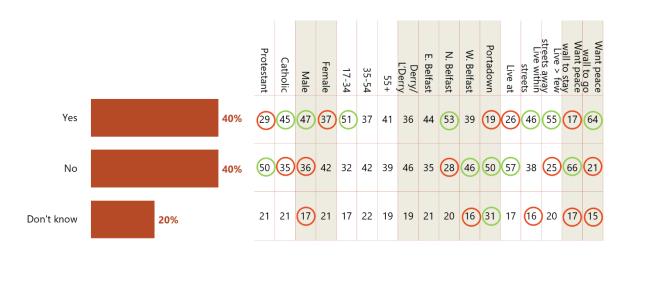
The ability among residents to imagine a time without peace walls varies significantly between groups. Residents under the age of 35 (51%), males (47%), Catholics (45%) and those living within a few streets (46%) or more than a few streets away from the nearest peace wall (55%) tend to be more optimistic about a future without peace walls. In North Belfast, the majority of residents also envisage a time when all peace walls will be removed (53%), marking a significant increase from previous years (40% in 2015 and 37% in 2012). This could be a reflection of the recent progress seen by residents to reduce the number of peace walls in the area as highlighted in the T:BUC annual report, which assesses progress in the delivery of the interface programme over the last year. The report refers to seven projects underway in 2018/19, four of which are in North Belfast.²⁸

Those who do not envisage a time without peace walls include those living at the peace wall (57%), Protestants (50%) and residents living in Portadown (50%) or West Belfast (46%). While pessimism among these groups has remained consistent over time, it is notable that those living in Portadown have become significantly more certain that peace walls will not be removed from their town, up to 50% in 2019 from 36% in 2015.

²⁸ Northern Ireland Executive, 'Together: Building a United Community Strategy: Annual Update 2018/19' [Accessed 23rd October 2019: https://www.executiveoffice-ni.gov.uk/sites/default/files/publications/execoffice/tbuc-annual-report-2018-19 1.pdf]

Figure 1.26: A future without peace walls? (Q27)

Q27. Can you envisage a time when there will be no peace walls in this area?



Base: 992 households (2019) Excluded from data: non-response and invalid response Significantly higher Significantly lower

Although views over the possibility of a time when there will be no peace walls remain mixed, that residents in North Belfast are among the more optimistic about the future is an indication of progress.

Summary

Removal of peace walls: summary

- Awareness of the ongoing strategy to remove peace walls by 2023 is mixed, with 53% of residents reporting they know something of the strategy and 47% stating they know nothing at all. There has been no change in levels of awareness since 2015. Among those who express any awareness of the strategy to remove peace walls, the majority do not consider the Executive's target of removing them by 2023 to be realistic (54%).
- It is generally expected that if the peace walls are not removed, life will continue on as normal and it will have little impact on their community.
- If the peace walls are removed, residents anticipate disruption in various forms, ranging from minor incidents of anti-social behaviour (21%) to constant problems with anti-social behaviour and sectarian violence following the removal of peace walls (22%). The general expectation of there being some form of disruption has persisted over time.
- There is broad concern over the police's ability to maintain order if the peace walls were removed. Just over half of residents are worried about their ability to do so (51%).
- Despite this, residents are generally content to continue with their lives as normal, with almost half of participants stating that they will do nothing if the peace walls are removed (47%).
- It is acknowledged by some residents living near peace walls that removing them would benefit communities on either side (46%).
- Residents consider the most important things to be done in preparation for removing peace walls to be the installation of CCTV cameras (19%), more youth programmes (11%) and opportunities for the two communities to come together (11%). However, 17% stated that they do not want the peace wall to come down no matter what preparations are made.
- Residents have varying ideas about what should happen to their nearest peace wall. Overall, 49% want the wall to go and 42% want the wall to stay. Adopting a more gradual approach to peace wall removal is most commonly cited by participants (32%). However, almost a quarter of participants would prefer things to remain as they are now (24%).
- When considering how other groups might feel about the peace wall, there is an element of uncertainty, especially when thinking about the preferences of various governing bodies. However, it is generally felt that public bodies want the peace walls to be removed and this perception has increased over time.
- Ultimately, residents are uncertain about the fate of their nearest peace wall. While 40% are hopeful that there will come a time when there will be no peace walls in their area, just as many are convinced that there will be no such time (40%). The split in views on the future of peace walls has been a consistent feature of the public attitudes survey with no significant changes over time.



Conclusion

Recent headlines indicate that there is growing support for removing barriers in Northern Ireland among those living in proximity to them.²⁹ However, the findings from the third wave of this attitudinal survey indicate that while there is slightly more of an appetite for the removal of peace walls, the preference for them to remain is still considerable, and that peace walls remain a contentious issue for those living at interface areas.

The T:BUC strategy recognises that interface barriers can only be reduced or removed with local agreement and that 'the approach to individual interfaces needs to be flexible'.³⁰ The findings from the 2019 attitudes survey demonstrate why this is so important, highlighting distinct groups with particular views for or against removal. These views are underpinned by a range of attitudes towards, and in some cases deep-seated concerns about, the peace walls.

The experience of residents living near a peace wall varies depending on where they live, their age, gender and religion. However, there is a general upward trend in terms of residents' sense of safety and increasing recognition of the benefits that the peace process has brought to their area from a practical perspective. Residents' sense of safety in their community has also increased over time. However, safety remains a key concern for some residents, particularly among Protestants, those living in East Belfast and those living closest to the peace wall.

It is generally expected that if the peace walls are not removed, life will continue on as normal and it will have little impact on their community. If the peace walls are removed, residents anticipate disruption in various forms, ranging from minor incidents of anti-social behaviour to constant problems with anti-social behaviour and sectarian violence following the removal of peace walls. Few participants feel that there will be no repercussions, with only one in 10 expecting things to carry on as normal after the peace walls are removed. The general expectation of there being some form of disruption has persisted over time.

There is broad concern over the police's ability to maintain order if the peace walls were removed. While over a quarter of residents participating in the survey feel confident that the police would preserve peace, just over half are worried about their ability to do so. While there are some encouraging signs of increased confidence in the police, it remains clear that residents are concerned about safety, making it vital for policy makers to outline measures that will help preserve peace after the walls are removed.

Despite the broad expectation of some kind of disruption, ranging from minor incidents to serious ongoing sectarian violence, and concerns about the ability of the police to maintain order, residents are generally content to continue with their lives as normal.

In preparing for peace wall removal, residents emphasise key considerations that are security-focused, such as fitting more CCTV cameras, and community-focused, such as more opportunities for cross-community interaction and more youth programmes. That the top priorities for residents are a combination of security measures and cross-community initiatives highlights the paradoxical nature of the peace walls, on the one hand safeguarding while on the other undermining peaceful relations between communities. However, these are practical ways in which residents can be reassured of

²⁹ BBC News, 'Peace walls: Support for removing barriers in Northern Ireland grows' (2019), [Accessed 13th November 2019: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-northern-ireland-50390275]

³⁰ The Executive Office, 'Together: Building A United Community' (2013), p.62.

maintained safety and normality without the need for peace walls. Despite some concerns over safety and the risk of disruption, it is more widely recognised that both sides of the community stand to gain from peace walls being removed.

Ultimately, residents are uncertain about the fate of their nearest peace wall. While some are hopeful that there will come a time when there will be no peace walls in their area, similar numbers are convinced that there will be no such time. The rest are unsure what will happen. The split in views on the future of peace walls has been a consistent feature of the public attitudes survey with no significant changes over time.

The figures show that views towards peace walls fall along religious lines. Protestants are typically in favour of peace walls remaining in place, while Catholics are typically in favour of peace walls being removed. These views are influenced by different experiences and divergent attitudes. Among Protestants, there is a stronger sense that the peace walls are a necessary security measure, granting residents the freedom to celebrate their culture. If the peace walls were removed, there is concern that their communities would disappear and constant problems with anti-social behaviour and sectarian violence will ensue. Views among Catholics are driven more by the image of Northern Ireland abroad and investment in peace wall areas.

These different perspectives on peace walls demonstrate the need for flexibility in community engagement, with a tailored and targeted dialogue about peace wall removal that addresses the particular concerns of different groups living in interface areas.

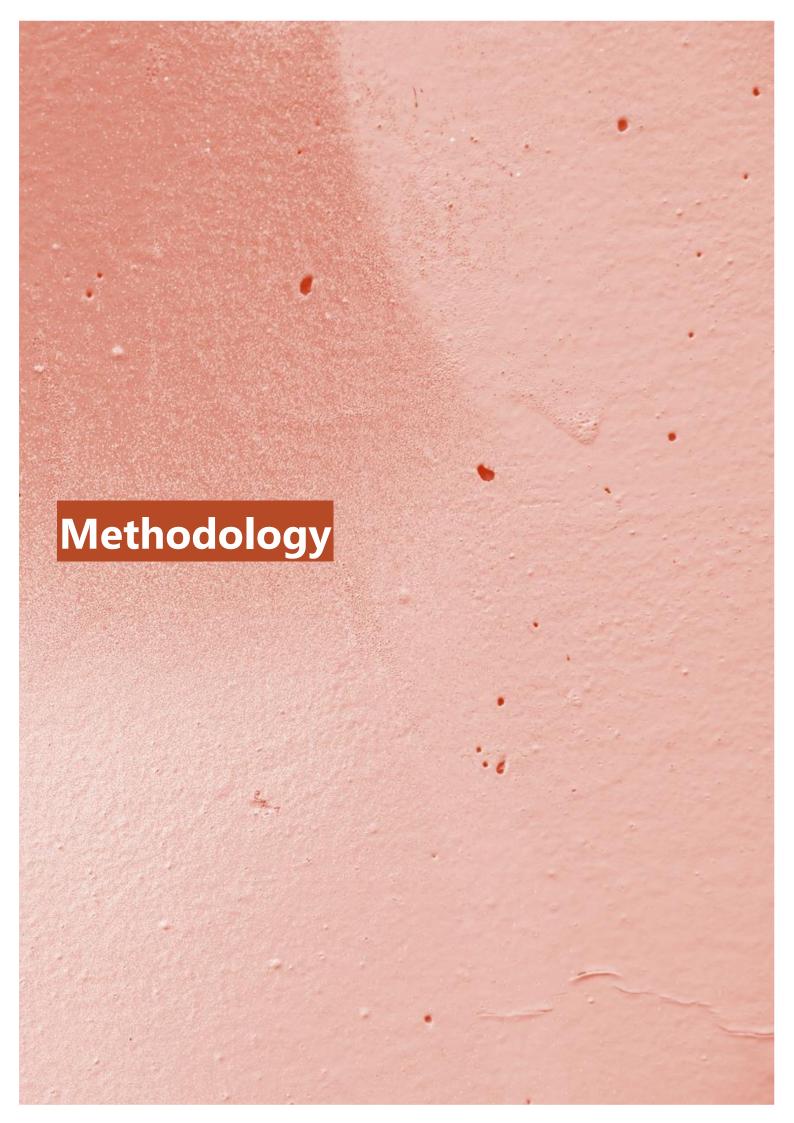
It is also recognised in the T:BUC strategy that the removal of peace walls can only be done with the consent and support of local communities.³¹ The range of ideas on what 'community consent' means among residents, however, poses a significant challenge to those responsible for obtaining it. Despite these nuances, residents are clear that 'community consent' means a decision made by residents themselves and not representatives.

Cases where peace walls have been successfully dismantled are a testament to this model. The replacement of the Ardoyne peace wall in 2016 was described as a community-led initiative, as the wall was replaced with a landscaped pathway designed by local residents. The T:BUC annual report also refers to several replacement schemes underway in 2018/19, which have involved a range of consultations with the communities affected.³² The case of Ardoyne and the higher proportion of replacement schemes taking place in North Belfast interface areas may be contributing to the more positive outlook found among residents in this part of the city. Reported levels of safety have increased among residents in North Belfast since the survey was first conducted in 2012. Those living in North Belfast are more connected, frequently interacting with people from another community identity and viewing the experience positively. Perhaps due to the successful dismantling of peace walls in the area, a higher proportion of residents favour immediate removal of peace walls and are more optimistic about a future with no peace walls in Northern Ireland.

Fundamentally, there is no consensus among residents about peace walls because they represent something different to all who reside near one. It is important that these differences are understood so that consultation with communities can be targeted and flexible, addressing the concerns that still exist among those who remain to be convinced of the benefits of life without peace walls.

³¹ *Ibid*, p.54.

³² Northern Ireland Executive, 'Together: Building a United Community Strategy: Annual Update 2018/19' [Accessed 23rd October 2019: https://www.executiveoffice-ni.gov.uk/sites/default/files/publications/execoffice/tbuc-annual-report-2018-19 1.pdf]



Methodology

Overview

Ipsos MORI conducted a programme of quantitative research utilising a postal survey methodology. This approach was adopted to ensure the comparability of the research findings with the previous two waves which were also conducted via postal survey.

The paper questionnaire was sent to a random sample of 8,400 households in peace wall areas in Belfast, Derry/Londonderry and Portadown between June and August 2019. With 1,022 people returning a completed questionnaire, an overall response rate of 12% was achieved.

The fieldwork was split predominantly across two waves, with 4,000 households receiving a questionnaire in June. A cover letter, detailing the purpose of the research and instructions for completing and returning the questionnaire, was also included in the initial pack. A week later, reminder postcards were sent to participants who had not returned a questionnaire to encourage participation. Following this, Ipsos MORI's team of highly trained face-to-face interviewers conducted reminder calls, visiting addresses who had yet to respond to the survey. To boost response rates, questionnaires and reminder cards were sent to a reserve sample of 400 households at the end of June. Following these measures, a total of 661 people had returned a questionnaire. A further 4,000 households were sent a questionnaire and reminder card in August, of which 361 returned a completed questionnaire.

There are a number of distinctions between the 2012 and 2015 surveys which should be noted:

- In 2012, the research took the form of two distinct postal surveys; one administered to a cross-section of residents situated on or within a short distance from a peace wall in Belfast and Derry/Londonderry and another administered to a cross-section of the general population. The 2015 survey focused on the first cohort (residents) only.
- In 2015, Lurgan/Portadown was introduced to the sample.
- In the 2012 survey, a £10 incentive voucher was offered to those who participated in the research. In 2015, no such incentive was offered.³³

The 2019 survey followed the same approach as the 2015 survey, however, given the lower response rate a larger sample was used to achieve the target number of responses. Furthermore, 'other specify' options were added to most questions in 2019 that were not present in previous waves of the survey. Please see the technical note at the end of this section for more information.

In this section, a detailed overview of the methodology, a summary of the fieldwork and an analysis of the sample is provided.

³³ Byrne, J., Gormley-Heenan, C., Morrow, D., and Sturgeon, B., 'Public Attitudes to Peace Walls 2015 Survey Results', Ulster University (2015), p.5.

Sampling

For this research, sampling was conducted on probability proportionate to the target population, meaning that each unit of the population had an equal chance of being sampled. In order to achieve this, a two-stage stratified sampling approach was adopted.

The first stage involved establishing the sampling frame of adults aged 18 or over living in the neighbourhoods adjacent to peace walls in Belfast (sub-sectioned into East, West and North), Derry/Londonderry and Portadown. The DoJ provided a database containing 28,763 household addresses within a 250-metre radius of a peace wall in these areas, which formed the sampling frame. For the purpose of this research, a peace wall is recognised as a structure put up by a branch of government to help contain the violence and disorder associated with the time period they went up.³⁴

The second stage of the sampling process involved the identification of addresses within each sample area. A systematic random sample of 8,400 addresses were chosen to take part in the survey, stratified by peace wall location. The Postal Address File (PAF) was used as a cross-reference. The PAF is the most widely used sample frame for high quality social surveys in the UK and comprises a list of addresses in the United Kingdom that is maintained by the Royal Mail.

A breakdown of targets per area and sample obtained is detailed below:

Targets and sample by area

	Target	Sample size	Achieved interviews
North Belfast	250	2,050	258
West Belfast	290	2,470	306
East Belfast	170	1,515	171
Derry/Londonderry	170	1,365	163
Portadown	120	1,000	120
Unknown region	-	-	4
Total	1,000	8,400	1022

A random sample was required for this research and it was important that only one person per household completed the questionnaire. In order for a sample to be truly random it is essential that each household has an equal chance of being selected. Furthermore, the individuals within the household must have an equal chance of being selected to participate. While this is difficult to control in practice due to the autonomous nature of the survey, selection was based on the 'next-birthday rule'. The cover letter sent out with the questionnaire explained that the eligible individual within the household with the next birthday should complete the questionnaire.

³⁴ Definition provided by the Department of Justice for the purpose of this research

Survey design

The questionnaire, provided by the DoJ, was consistent with that used in 2012 and 2015 for tracking purposes. There is, however, always a careful balance to be struck between maintaining questions for key tracking purposes and ensuring it is an up-to-date survey instrument that adheres to legal and industry standards. Over time, these conditions change and therefore a collaborative review of the questionnaire took place to ensure it was in line with best practice, while maintaining the comparability of data between the survey waves.

The survey, as in previous waves, explored the following:

- Reported proximity to a peace wall and views on the community.
- Extent of cross-community interaction.
- Perceptions of the function of peace walls.
- Awareness of strategy to remove peace walls.
- Views on roles and responsibilities regarding peace walls.
- Views on methods of transforming and removing peace walls.
- Views on the impact of removing peace walls.

A series of demographic questions were asked for analysis purposes, including:

- Age
- Gender
- Housing status
- Voting preference
- Working status
- Education level
- Community background
- Ethnicity
- Nationality
- Disability status
- Marital status

A copy of the questionnaire is appended to this report.

Data preparation

The data from the self-completion questionnaires was input in batches of 200 using an excel template. A data input manual was developed to accompany the data input sheet to ensure consistency of data entry. Within each batch, 10% of the questionnaire data was entered by another individual, or 'double-punched', to check for errors or inconsistencies. Once validated, the data was exported into SPSS. The data was then subject to a number of logic checks to ensure accuracy and consistency. In order to create a combined data file, the 2012 and 2015 datasets underwent the same cleaning and processing measures as the 2019 data.

Sample analysis and data weighting

In line with previous waves of the research, weighting was applied to the data to account for the sample design effects of selecting participants based on households and stratifying the sample by peace wall location. An overview of the weighting factors is provided below.

The first weight applied to the data is a design weight, or 'place weight', which accounts for disproportionate household size. In a single occupancy household, an individual has a 100% chance of completing the questionnaire, while a house comprising two adults gives each individual a 50% change of completing the questionnaire. A single adult household therefore has a greater impact on the survey results. Place weighting therefore smooths out the effect of household size in a given area.

The second is a weighting factor to account for the regional targets set. In 2019, for example, the target number of responses per region were as shown in the table below. The achieved number of responses per region, also shown in the table below, resulted in North Belfast and West Belfast being over-represented in the data, and Derry/Londonderry being under-represented. Corrective weighting was therefore applied to re-balance the results in line with the targets set for each area.

Weight 1 (household size) and weight 2 (area) have been calculated separately for each set of data from the 2012, 2015 and 2019 surveys, as the achieved household sizes and area targets vary across each survey wave. The third weight, which is the result of multiplying weights 1 and 2, provides an overall weighting factor which is applied to the combined data for comparative analysis.

As was the case in 2012 and 2015, a higher proportion of Catholics participated in the study than Protestants. Catholic participants represent 48% of responses in 2019, while Protestants make up 36%. In 2015, 59% of participants were Catholic and 32% were Protestants. Previous research has shown that interface areas in Belfast have been increasingly populated by individuals from a nationalist background, which may explain this disparity.³⁵ The table below shows the breakdown of responses by key demographic groups used in the analysis, showing the unweighted totals (based on actual responses received) and weighted totals. Please note that, with the exception of CHAID analysis (see chapter 3), all analysis was conducted on the weighted data.

³⁵ Byrne, J., Gormley-Heenan, C., Morrow, D., and Sturgeon, B., 'Public Attitudes to Peace Walls 2015 306Survey Results', Ulster University (2015), p.8.

Technical note

The incidence of non-response and invalid answers are variable and disproportionately high for some questions. To ensure consistency and avoid skewing valid results, all non-responses and invalid answers are excluded from the analysis. Base sizes will therefore vary according to the number of valid responses received for each question.

Significance testing has been applied between demographic groups to explore the extent to which views vary between groups of people (such as based on age or proximity to a peace wall) which are likely to be real and not due to sampling variability or chance. On the charts in the report, green circles or red circles are used to denote a figure which is significantly higher or lower than other figures within a demographic group. The data has been tested to a 95% confidence level. Only statistically significant differences between groups are commented on in the report.

It is also important to note the inclusion of 'other specify' and 'don't know' options in the 2019 survey which were not present in the 2015 or 2012 versions. For consistency in the reporting of figures, all 'other specify' responses from 2019 and all 'don't know' responses are included in the combined data. The frequency of 'other' responses is low and is not expected to have a significant impact on the data, however any comparative analysis included in this report is intended to be indicative and should therefore be read as such. All charts showing combined data, with the inclusion of 'other' or 'don't know' responses applying to 2019 only, are caveated accordingly.

Please note that due to the effects of computer rounding, totals may not sum to 100%.

Appendix

Appendix

2019 questionnaire

If you require assistan	ce, phon	e us for free on 0808	2024 9	970	
ection 1: Your home and community					
How many people live in this ho including yourself?	ousehold,	Q4 Which of these, if a	COURSE OF THE PROPERTY OF		
ease write in:		PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX Positive social networks			
		Strong sense of solidarity			
Q2 How many people living in this		Good place to bring up child	ren		
household are aged 18 or over?		Reassuring sense of safety			
ease write in:		Good access to facilities			
		Useful transport links			
Q3 How long have you lived at this property?		Other (please write in):			
		None of these			
PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX		Don't know			
Less than 1 year					
1 to 5 years		Q5 In which of the follow			, has
More than 6 years but less than 10 years		your area benefitted process?	from th	e peace	
More than 10 years but less than 15	П	process:			
years		PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX ONL CAN SELECT UP TO THREE BEI		CH COLUN	IN. YOU
15 years or more		CAN SELECT OF TO TIMEE DE	Тор	2nd	3rd
Don't know	Ш	Improved economic	benefit	benefit	benefit
		Improved economic conditions			
		More peaceful surroundings			
		Increased sense of safety			
		Health and wellbeing aid			
		Environmental improvements			
		Other (please write in):			
		There have been no benefits			
		Don't know	n		

+ 19-007836 V7		Don't know	Never Skip to Q10	Rarely	Occasionally	Often	Very often	PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX	Q8 Generally speaking, how often do you interact with people outside of your own community identity?		I'm not sure how far away the nearest	I live more than a few streets away from the nearest Peace Wall	Peace Wall	ts of the nearest		PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX	Q7 Approximately how far do you live from the nearest Peace Wall?		Don't know			fe nor unsafe	Fairly safe	Very safe	DI FACE TICK ONE BOY	community?	O6 How safe or unsafe do you feel in your	+
Please continue to next page.				Don't know			Somewhat positive Neither positive nor negative	PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX Definitely positive	Q11 Is this interaction with the other community mainly positive or negative?		know	Rarely Never Skip to Q12	Occasionally		PLEASE TICK Y ONE BOX Very often	other side of your nearest Peace Wall?	Q10 More specifically, how often do you interact with the community on the	Don't know	Definitely negative	Somewhat negative	Neither positive nor negative	Somewhat positive	Definitely positive	PLEASE TICK V ONE BOX	negative?		Q9 Is this interaction with other	+
																						_						
+ 19-007836 V7	The Peace Wall makes people feel trapped	The Peace Wall makes it harder to access some services like health, education or leisure	Without the Peace Wall our community would disappear	Northern Ireland to people abroad	The Peace Wall code out a had improve	The Peace Wall stops my community expanding	The Peace Wall is necessary for me to celebrate my culture freely	PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX ONLY FOR EACH ROW	Q14 To what extent do you agree or dispossible impact of the Peace Wall	To keep the communities under the control of the security forces	To help me feel safer	To keep the communities apart from one another	To protect against Republican violence	To protect against Loyalist violence	PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX ONLY FOR EACH ROW	Q13 To what extent do you agree or dis function of your nearest Peace Wa		None of the above	Otner (please write in):	The Executive Office	PSNI	Department for Communities	Department of Justice	The Local Council	NI Housing executive	Local community representatives	PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX	+ Q12 If you had a query, question or issuin the first instance for assistance?
	The Peace Wall makes people feel trapped	The Peace Wall makes it harder to access some services like health, education or leisure	Without the Peace Wall our community would disappear	Northern Ireland to people abroad	The Peace Wall reduces investment in my area	Od	The Peace Wall is necessary for me to celebrate my culture freely	ACH ROW		To keep the communities under the control of the security forces	To help me feel safer	the communities apart from	To protect against Republican violence	To protect against Loyalist violence	PLEASE TICK & ONE BOX ONLY FOR EACH ROW Strongly agree			None of the above	Other (please write in):	The Executive Office	PSNI	Department for Communities	Department of Justice	The Local Council	NI Housing executive	Local community representatives	PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX	
19-007836 V7			Without the Peace Wall our community would disappear	Northern Ireland to people abroad			celebrate	PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX ONLY FOR EACH ROW Strongly agree Agree		unities under the control of	To help me feel safer	the communities apart from	To protect against Republican violence	To protect against Loyalist violence	PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX ONLY FOR EACH ROW Strongly agree Agree			None of the above	Other (please write in):	The Executive Office	PSNI	Department for Communities	Department of Justice	The Local Council	NI Housing executive	Local community representatives	PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX	
19-007836 V7			ne Peace Wall our community would	age o			celebrate	ACH ROW Strongly agree		unities under the control of		the communities apart from one			Neither PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX ONLY FOR EACH ROW Strongly agree Agree agree nor disagree disagree			None of the above	Other (please write in):	The Executive Office	PSNI	Department for Communities	Department of Justice	The Local Council	NI Housing executive	Local community representatives	PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX	
19-007836 V7			ne Peace Wall our community would				celebrate	ACH ROW Strongly agree Agree		unities under the control of		the communities apart from one			PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX ONLY FOR EACH ROW Strongly agree Agree agree nor Disagree disagree			None of the above	Other (please write in):	The Executive Office	PSNI	Department for Communities	Department of Justice	The Local Council	NI HOUSING EXECUTIVE	Local community representatives	PLEASE TICK Y ONE BOX	
			ne Peace Wall our community would	ike o:			celebrate	ACH ROW Strongly agree Agree agree nor disagree	To what extent do you agree or disagree with the follow possible impact of the Peace Wall in your area?	unities under the control of		the communities apart from one			ACH ROW Strongly agree Agree agree nor disagree	To what extent do you ag function of your nearest F		above	Otner (please write in):	The Executive Office	PSNI	Department for Communities	Department of Justice	The Local Council	NI Housing executive	Local community representatives	PLEASE TICK & ONE BOX	Q12

Don't want to know	Local newspapers	Social media updates	Regular public meetings	Door to door consultation by independent company/group	Door to door consultation by community leaders	Door to door consultation by political representatives		Q17 In principle, how would you like to be consulted about any of the following potential	Don't know	No	Yes	PLEASE TICK Y ONE BOX	Q16 Do you think the Executive's target to remove all Peace Walls by 2023 is realistic?		Nothing at all	Hardly anything	A little	A lot		PLEASE TICK V ONE BOX	Ireland by 2023?	Q15 How much do you know of the on-going strategy to remove all Peace Walls in Northern	Ireland by 2023. The following questions are about this initiative:	Section 2: Removing Peace Walls in Northern Ireland The Northern Ireland Executive has an on-going strategy to remove all Peace Walls in Northern
							Yes	e consulted abou					remove all Pea									oing strategy to r	e about this min	ern Ireland joing strategy to
							No	rt any of the foll	_				ce Walls by 2023	_								remove all Peace	duve.	remove all Peace
							Don't know	owing potential					3 is realistic?	I								Walls in Northerr		e Walls in Northerr
	Don't know	Other (please write in):	PSNI	ine Department of Justice	The Executive Office (TEO)	The Local Council	Most local people from the neighbouring community	Most local people from this community	You personally	PLEASE TICK V ONE BOX ONLY FOR EACH ROW	Q19 Who do you think wants the Peace Wal		Section 3: The Peace Wall in your area	Don't know	None of the above	Other (please write in):	The Executive Office	PSNI	Department for Communities	Department of Justice	The Local Council	Local community representatives NI Housing Executive	PLEASE TICK V ALL THAT APPLY	
_	Don't know	Other (please write in):	- SN	Department of Justice		The Local Council	Most local people from the neighbouring community	Most local people from this community	You personally	PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX ONLY FOR EACH ROW Want it to stay	Q19 Who do you think wants the Peace Wall in your comm		Section 3: The Peace Wall in your area	Don't know	None of the above	Other (please write in):	The Executive Office	PSNI	Department for Communities	Department of Justice	The Local Council	Local community representatives NI Housing Executive	PLEASE TICK ✓ ALL THAT APPLY	
		Other (please write in):		Department of Justice					You personally		Q19 Who do you think wants the Peace Wall in your community to stay or go?		Section 3: The Peace Wall in your area	Don't know	None of the above	Other (please write in):	The Executive Office	PSNI	Department for Communities	Department of Justice	The Local Council	Local community representatives NI Housing Executive	PLEASE TICK ~ ALL THAT APPLY	your area?

+ 19-007836 V7 Please continue to next page.					Don't know	enter (proceed serve in)	Other (please write in):	Constant problems with anti-social behaviour and sectarian violence	Some significant incidents of anti-social behaviour and sectarian violence, but only during dates, anniversaries or marches	Some significant incidents of sectarian violence	Minor incidents of anti-social behaviour	Nothing, everything would stay the same as it is now	PLEASE FICK V ONE BOX	DIRACTURE (DATE DOL	Q21 If the Peace Wall in your area was removed, what do you think is most likely to happen?		Don't know	Other (please write in):	I would like to keep the Peace Wall, but change how it looks to make it more appealing	I would like to keep the Peace Wall, but have it opened up for some accessibility	I would like the Peace Wall to come down some time in the future		would like the Peace Wall to come down now	I would like things left the way they are now	PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX	Q20 Which of these statements, if any, comes closest to your own view of the Peace Wall in your area?	+	
+															2				,								+	
+																											+	
19-007836 V7	Don't know	Other (please write in):	A decision is made by local community leaders	A decision is made by locally elected representatives	A decision is made by those most closely affected by a proposal	50 + 1 % of people in my community agree	Everybody in my community agrees with the decision	PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX	Q24 What, if anything, does the concept of 'community consent' mean to you?		Don't know	Other (please write in):	Nothing at all	Take more security precautions	Seek physical changes to my property	Move house	PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX	Q23 If the Peace Wall in your area was removed, what would you do?	OUI LINIUW	Very worried	Fairly worried	Neither confident nor worried	Fairly confident	Very confident	PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX	Q22 If the Peace Wall in your area was removed, how confident or worried would you be about the ability of the police to preserve peace and maintain order?		
Please continue to next page.									consent' mean to you?									rould you do?								nfident or worried would you be abotain order?		

People's health and wellbeing	The image of Northern Ireland abroad	leisure	Tourism to this area	Government investment in this area	Community safety	Business investment in this area	Relations between the two communities	Jobs in this area	DIFACE TICK / ONE BOX ONLY FOR FACE	Q26 If the Peace Wall remains in your community, what effect do you think it will have on the following?	Don't know	I don't think the Peace Wall should come down no matter what preparations are made	Other (please write in):	Opportunities for the two communities to come together	Investment and jobs	Physical improvement in the area	Local community leaders working together across the political divide	New housing where it is needed	Local politicians working together across the political divide	More policing	More youth programmes	Better street lighting	CCTV cameras to be installed in the area		SELECT OF TO FOOR OF HOMS.	PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX ONLY FOR EACH COLUMN, STARTING WITH THE MOST IMPORTANT. YOU CAN	things that need to be done now in preparation for removing the Peace Wall?
									Things will be worse	ur community, w	-	w n		ome										Most		DLUMN, STARTING V	is area, what do w in preparation
,									e Things will be the	hat effect do y														2nd most important		NITH THE MOST I	you think are t
								Dette	Thi	ou think it w														3rd most		MPORTANT. YO	the Peace Wa
								□ Kilow		II have on														4th most important		U CAN	ortant III?
DOIL VAIDA	Don't know	Flat/apartment	Bungalow	House	a) I live in a	PLEASE TICK V O	Q31 PI			Please write	Q29 What w		Section 4: Ab Just to finish differences b		Don't know	Other (please w	People outside	People in both	People in the n		PLEASE TICK ✓ C		Q28 Who do	Don't know	No	Yes	PLEASETICK ✓ C
DOTE MICH		Flat/apartment	Bungalow	House	a) I live in a	PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX FC			Today William	Please write in:			Just to finish off, pleas differences between t		Don't know	Other (please write in):	People outside the local a	People in both communiti	People in the neighbourin		PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX		Q28 Who do you thir	Don't know	No	Yes	PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX
_]	Bungalow Rented from a private landlord		a) I live in a b) The property is	PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX FOR EACH COLUMN	Please tick						Section 4: About you. Just to finish off, please complete the followir differences between the views of different gr		Don't know	Other (please write in):	People outside the local area	People in both communities	People in the neighbouring community	December in the least assessment	PLEASE TICK Y ONE BOX		Q28 Who do you think would benefit most t	Don't know	No	Yes	PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX
	Association Don't know]				PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX FOR EACH COLUMN	Please tick		10000 11110 111		What was your age on your last Q30 birthday?	c	Section 4: About you. Just to finish off, please complete the following questio differences between the views of different groups of pe		Don't know	Other (please write in):	People outside the local area	People in both communities	People in the neighbouring community	Decade in the Level assessment	PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX		Q28 Who do you think would benefit most from the r	Don't know	No	Yes	PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX
	Association Don't know	Rented from NI Housing Executive or Housing	Rented from a private landlord	Owned					Male		What was your age on your last Q30 birthday?	c	Section 4: About you. Just to finish off, please complete the following questions which will help us to see if there are any differences between the views of different groups of people. Your answers will be confidential.		Don't know	Other (please write in):	People outside the local area	People in both communities	People in the neighbouring community	Decade in the local community	PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX		Q28 Who do you think would benefit most from the removal of the Peace Wall in your area?	Don't know	No	Yes	PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX

10-007836.1/7	Don't know	Other (please write in):	Student at secondary or grammar school	Student at technical college or higher education institution	Student at third level education college or university	Looking after the home	Unemployed (not seeking work)	Unemployed (seeking work)	Retired from full-time job	Working less than 8 hrs/week	Working 8-29 hrs/week	Working full-time (30+ hours/week)	PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX	Q33 Which of these best describes you?	Don't know		Other (please write in):	Traditional Unionist Voice (TUV)	People Before Profit	Conservative	Progressive Unionist Party (PUP)	Worker's Party	Alliance	Ulster Unionist Party (UUP)	Social Democratic and Labour Party (SDLP)	Sinn Féin	Democratic Unionist Party (DUP)	PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX	party would you probably give your first vote?	Q32 If there was an election to the Northern Ireland Assembly tomorrow, to which	+
22										Don't know	Tertiary (e.g. university or college degree)	Primary (e.g. early childhood education) Secondary (e.g. GCSE or A-Level)	PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX	17 Wilders you ingliest level of education:			Not applicable/never worked		on a private pension, please answer on the basis of your former occupation)	and on a state pension only. If you are	(Dlagge tick this how if you are retired	Full time student	Unskilled manual	Partly skilled	Skilled manual	Skilled non-manual	Managerial or Technical	PLEASE IICK V ONE BOX		Q34	
10 007000 07												Don't know	Other (please write in):			Chinese	Asian	Black	White	FLEASE IICA Y ONE BOX	DI TAGE TICK A CALE DOL		O37 Which of these groups do you consider		Don't know	[] (please write in):	Other	nt	PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX	ched in Q36 What is your religion?	+
	Don't know	Not at all	Yes a little	Yes a lot	PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX	your ability to carry out day-to-day activities?	Q40 Does your condition or illness reduce	Ī	Prefer not to say Skip to Q41] [_	last for 12 months or more?	Q39 Do you have any physical or mental health conditions lasting or expected to		Don't know		(please write in):	Filipino	Cities to the control of the cities of the c	Other Factors European		Bulgarian	Polish	Portuguese	Northern Irish		British	PLEASE TICK ✓ ONE BOX	Q38 What is your nationality?	

		5
41	Is there anyone living with you who is sick, disabled or elderly whom you look after or give special help (for example, a sick, disabled or elderly relative, wife, husband, partner, child, friend)?	
LEAS	SE TICK ✓ ONE BOX	
Yes		
No		
Don'	t know	
242	What is your marital status?	
LEAS	SE TICK ✓ ONE BOX	
Sing	le (never married)	
Mar	ried and living with husband/wife	
A civ	/il partner in a legally-recognised Civil Partnership	
Mar	ried and separated from husband/wife	
Divo	rced	
Wide	owed \Box	
Othe (plea	er ase write in):	
Don	't know	
	Thank you for completing this questionnaire.	
	se return your questionnaire in the pre-paid envelope provided (you do not need to add a stamp).	ł
Plea		-
Plea		
f you	cannot find or did not receive the pre-paid envelope, please contact us on the number provided at the beginnin the questionnaire. Please remember to leave your name and telephone number so we can contact you about sending a replacement return envelope.	g
f you	the questionnaire. Please remember to leave your name and telephone number so we can contact you about	g

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The Social Research Institute works closely with national governments, local public services and the not-for-profit sector. Its c.200 research staff focus on public service and policy issues. Each has expertise in a particular part of the public sector ensuring we have a detailed understanding of specific sectors and policy challenges. This, combined with our methods and communications expertise, helps ensure that our research makes a difference for decision makers and communities.