

The Northern Ireland Peace Monitoring Report

Number Two

Paul Nolan

2013

Data sources and acknowledgements

This report draws mainly on statistics that are in the public domain. Data sets from various government departments and public bodies in Northern Ireland have been used and, in order to provide a wider context, comparisons are made which draw upon figures produced by government departments and public bodies in England, Scotland, Wales and the Republic of Ireland. Using this variety of sources means there is no standard model that applies across the different departments and jurisdictions. Many organisations have also changed the way in which they collect their data over the years, which means that in some cases it has not been possible to provide historical perspective on a consistent basis. For some indicators, only survey-based data is available. When interpreting statistics from survey data, such as the Labour Force Survey, it is worth bearing in mind that they are estimates associated with confidence intervals (ranges in which the true value is likely to lie). In other cases where official figures may not present the full picture, survey data is included because it may provide a more accurate estimate – thus, for example, findings from the Northern Ireland Crime Survey are included along with the official crime statistics from the PSNI.

The production of the report has been greatly assisted by the willing cooperation of many statisticians and public servants, particularly those from the Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, the PSNI and the various government departments. On occasion data tables have been drawn up in response to particular requests and such assistance has been invaluable. Thanks are also due to Dr Robin Wilson for his forensic editing skills, and to Steven Law for the enthusiasm, care and skill he brought to the task of research assistance.

Published by the Community Relations Council, 6 Murray Street,
Belfast BT1 6DN

All enquiries to pnolan@nicrc.org.uk

ISBN: 978 1 898276 54 8



Supported by



Foreword

This is the second time I've written a foreword for the Peace Monitoring Report. Last year it was to launch a new venture; this year it is to mark the development of a project that has already established itself. Following its publication last year there was a series of events – conferences, seminars, roundtables – at which its findings were picked over, debated, and incorporated into policy development. It turned out that our initial hunch was right: there is a need for an annual review that can pull together data from all available sources to present a kaleidoscopic picture of the changing Northern Ireland. The solid evidence base in the first Peace Monitoring Report allowed for a new objectivity in how the problems of a post-conflict society are framed. That doesn't mean that evidence has taken over as the only yardstick for policy-makers in Northern Ireland, but it does mean that there is an objective analysis that is available for those who wish to consult it. And, with 2013 marking the 15th anniversary of the Belfast Agreement, this is a timely moment for such a detailed account of the peace process – its weaknesses as well as its strengths.

There are many people to thank for bringing the report to this stage. It was back in 2009 that the Community Relations Council first began discussion with our colleagues in the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust and the Joseph Rowntree Foundation about the possibility of creating an indicator framework to monitor Northern Ireland's journey out of violence. They were the obvious people to turn to – not just because of the large financial investment each of the two bodies had put into Northern Ireland, but because the individuals concerned had a feel for the situation and each brought to it a strong personal commitment. The Charitable Trust has been a major supporter of the third sector here, while the Foundation has done much to deepen our knowledge of poverty and social exclusion. This was the first time they had jointly funded a project, and we have benefited greatly from the combined wisdom of the staff who have assisted us to date: Stephen Pittam, Celia McKeon and Michael Pitchford from the Charitable Trust, and Nancy Kelley and Aleks Collingwood from the Foundation.

We have also been fortunate – extremely fortunate – in having such a range of expertise on the Advisory Board. Those who have participated have read many drafts, attended many meetings, discussed and debated many times, and always with patience, good humour and most of all, insight. I therefore wish to thank Professor Adrian Guelke, Professor Gillian Robinson, Professor Frank Gaffikin, Professor Jennifer Todd, Professor Paddy Hillyard and Professor Neil Gibson. When Neil joined the Board he was Director of Oxford Economics and that seemed to offer a counter-balance to such professorial expertise. During the course of the last year Neil has joined the professoriate, taking up a chair at the University of Ulster. This means our 'real world' perspective now has to come from Kathryn Torney from the online investigative website, The Detail, and I must say it is a task she performs admirably. The new CEO of the CRC, Jacqueline Irwin, has an unrivalled knowledge of the dynamic of grassroots communities and a keen sense of how research of this kind can be given a practical focus. My thanks to them all. Finally, I must thank the author of the report, Paul Nolan, who has brought the same energy and skill to the task as he did to the first report. This has been a major undertaking and Paul's research, analysis and presentation has made the report essential reading for all those interested in peace building and conflict transformation.

The analysis that is contained in the pages that follow take us from where we left off in February 2012 up to the end of February 2013. It is a year that, in football parlance, has been a game of two halves. For most of 2012 the peace process in Northern Ireland seemed to be stabilising. Following the decision on 3 December at Belfast City Council to limit the flying of the union flag to a limited number of designated days, there was a sudden return to the days of street protests and of images of public disorder. It appeared to the rest of the world that Northern Ireland had simply lurched back to its old sectarian obsessions. This report reveals a much more complex picture and one which allows those events to be placed in perspective. That perspective also allows for a dispassionate analysis of the deeper stresses in the society, and for a consideration of the many positive developments over the past year. It is a hard balance to achieve, but the difficulty in achieving is also the reason why it needs to be done. I commend this report to you.

Tony McCusker
Chairperson

Community Relations Council

Contents

Ten Key Points 5

Introduction and Context 9

1. INTRODUCTION 9

- 1.1 The indicator framework 10
- 1.2 The limitations of the research 12

2 POLITICAL BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT 15

- 2.1 The historical context 15
- 2.2 The current political framework 16
- 2.3 The importance of narratives 18

3 THE ECONOMIC CONTEXT 18

- 3.1 Profiling the workforce 19
- 3.2 The private sector 21
- 3.3 The tourist industry: Our Time, Our Place? 23
- 3.4 Foreign direct investment 25
- 3.5 The public sector 26
- 3.6 The British subvention 27
- 3.7 Can Northern Ireland resource itself? 28

4. THE DEMOGRAPHIC CONTEXT 29

- 4.1 Demography and identity 29
- 4.2 Not just Catholics and Protestants 31

Dimension One 37

The Sense of Safety

1. OVERALL CRIME RATES 38

- 1.1 How violent a society is Northern Ireland? 38
- 1.2 Northern Ireland – the armed peace 41

2. HATE CRIME 41

- 2.1 The recording of hate crime 41
- 2.2 Hate crimes and incidents - a trend overview 43
- 2.3 Does Northern Ireland have more hate crimes than other places? 45
- 2.4 Racist hate crime 47
- 2.5 Sectarian hate crime 49
- 2.6 Homophobic hate crime 52
- 2.7 The prosecution of hate crime - a lack of conviction? 54

3. DOMESTIC VIOLENCE AND SEXUAL CRIME	56
4. THE PARAMILITARIES	56
4.1 Overview	56
4.2 The dissident republicans	58
4.3 Loyalist paramilitaries	62
5 POLICING	64
5.1 Strength and composition	64
5.2 Religion, gender and ethnicity	65
5.3 Perceptions of policing	66
5.4 Stop and search	66
5.5 Complaints and allegations	67
5.6 Historical enquiries team	69
5.7 The rehiring of RUC officers	69
5.8 Covert policing	70
5.9 The flags protest	71
5.10 The policing year - a balance sheet	72
6 THE POLICE OMBUDSMAN	73
7 PRISONS	73
7.1 The prison population	74
7.2 Paramilitary prisoners	75
7.3 Implementing Owers: the management of change	76
7.4 Suicide and vulnerability in prisons	76
8 SAFETY IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE	77
8.1 Internal perceptions of safety	77
8.2 External perceptions	78
9 'PEACE WALLS'	80
9.1 Making the count	80
9.2 When will the walls come down?	81
10 THE MARCHING SEASON	84
10.1 Assessing the year	84

Dimension Two **85**

Equality

1. MEASURING SOCIAL INEQUALITIES IN NORTHERN IRELAND	87
1.1 Wealth, poverty and inequality	87
1.2 Wealth	87
1.3 Investment and income	87
1.4 Income differentials	88

2. POVERTY	89
2.1 Poverty - an overview	89
2.2 Poverty and deprivation - community differentials	90
3. EQUALITY AND INEQUALITY IN THE LABOUR MARKET	95
3.1 Fair employment - is there a level playing field?	95
3.2 The changing demographics of the labour market	97
3.3 Gender inequalities	100
3.4 Youth unemployment and NEETs	101
4. EQUALITY AND INEQUALITY IN EDUCATION	103
4.1 Overall attainment levels	103
4.2 Winners and losers	103
4.3 Gender, class and religion in education	105
4.4 Educational attainment by ethnic minorities	106
4.5 School-leaver destinations	107
6. DASHBOARD OF PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC DIFFERENTIALS	110
Dimension Three	113
<i>Cohesion and Sharing</i>	
1. THE POLICY CONTEXT	115
2. COHESION, HAPPINESS AND UNHAPPINESS IN NORTHERN IRELAND	117
2.1 The measurement of happiness	117
2.2 The measurement of unhappiness - suicide, depression and self-harm	118
3. SHARING AND SEPARATION IN HOUSING	119
3.1 Residential segregation in the 2011 Census	119
3.2 Public housing	122
3.3 The Girdwood controversy	123
3.4 The end of the Northern Ireland Housing Executive	123
4. SHARING AND SEPARATION IN EDUCATION	124
4.1 The management of schooling	124
4.2 Integrated education and shared education	127
4.3 Keeping the religious ethos alive	128
5. SHARING PUBLIC SPACE	129
5.1 The new cosmopolitan Northern Ireland?	129
5.2 Belfast and Derry-Londonderry - a tale of two regenerated cities	129
5.3 Festivals – celebrating together or separately?	130

6. ARTS, SPORTS AND CULTURE	131
6.1 The arts in Northern Ireland	131
6.2 Sports	132
6.3 Language	136
7. PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC AND CIVIC LIFE	139
7.1 Women's representation	139
7.2 The ethnic-minority presence	140
7.3 The LGBT presence	142
8. COHESION AND CIVIL SOCIETY	142
8.1 The voluntary sector	142
8.2 The EU and the funding of peace-building	143

Dimension Four **145**

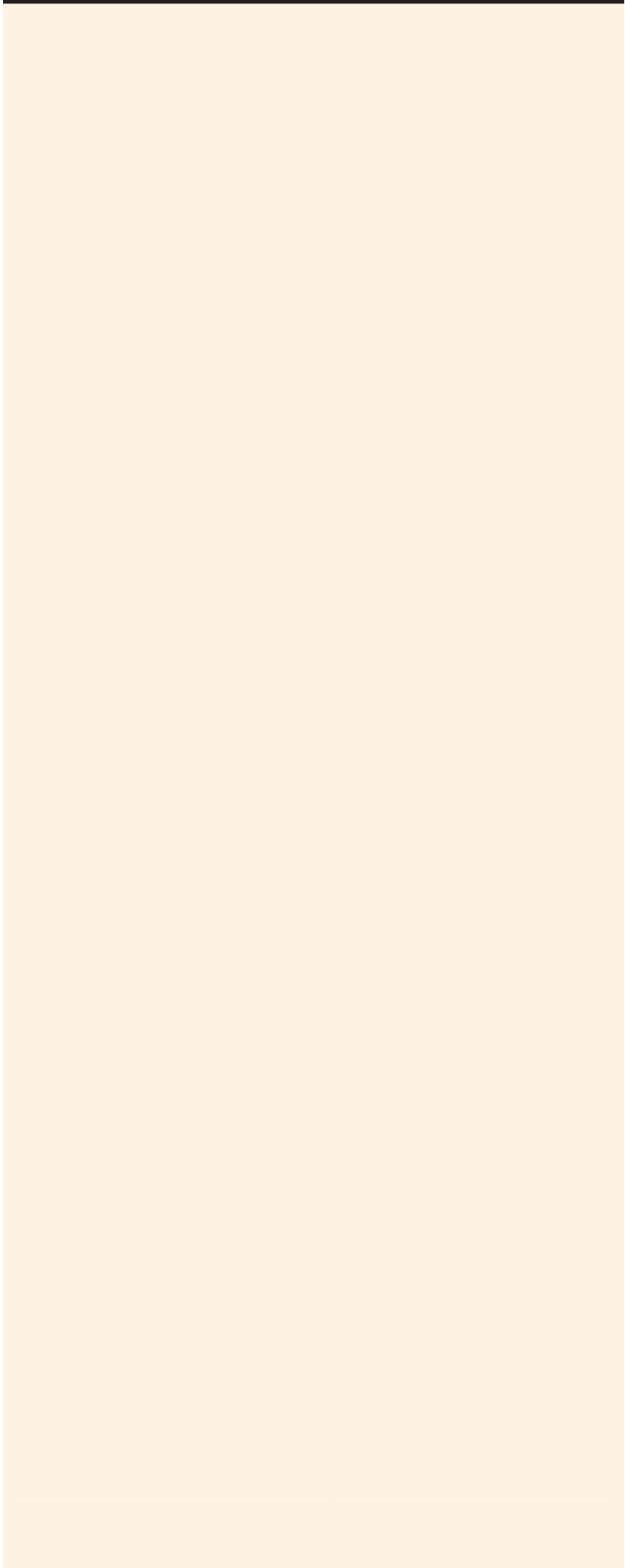
Political progress

1. THE FUNCTIONING OF THE NORTHERN IRELAND ASSEMBLY	147
1.1 Progress and logjams	147
1.2 Bread-and-butter issues	151
1.3 Attitudes to the Assembly	153
2. NORTH-SOUTH AND EAST-WEST	156
2.1 The shifting of the plates	156
2.2 Governmental structures, north-south and east-west	157
2.3 Economic links	158
2.4 Social and cultural links – the weakening ties?	160
3. THE FLAGS PROTEST	160
3.1 The vote in Belfast City Council	160
3.2 The build-up to the vote	161
3.3 After the vote	162
3.4 The political landscape after the flags protest	164
4. DEALING WITH THE PAST	165
5. DECADE OF COMMEMORATION	168
6. THE STATE OF THE PARTIES	169

One Northern Ireland? **173**

References **175**

Glossary **177**



Ten key points

1. The underlying momentum of the peace process was strong in 2012

Up until the first week of December, the year 2012 had been one of the most peaceful for 40 years. The official figures for reported crime show that the lowest crime levels since 1998/99, the period from which comparable data is available. A similar fall-off can be seen in the Northern Ireland Crime Survey. The 2011-12 figures show that 11.2% of all households and their adult occupants were victims of at least one NICS category of crime – again the lowest rate since the survey began operating continuously in 2005. This is almost half the 21.3% figure in England and Wales. Sectarian crime had dropped to below one per cent of all crime, and hate crime generally was down. People in Northern Ireland had become more confident about their own security, and the peace process had experienced some of its most signal achievements – none more remarkable than the handshake between Queen Elizabeth and Martin McGuinness in June, which had seemed to put the final seal on the success of the 1998 Agreement. All of the available data combined to give David Cameron the confidence at the end of November to announce that the next G8 summit would be held in Fermanagh. On 3 December the decision by Belfast City Council to restrict the flying of the union flag to certain designated days was followed by widespread street disturbance. The flags dispute has presented a major challenge for the peace process, but it does not of itself negate the positive developments that have taken place in other parts of the society throughout the year.

2. Northern Ireland is now a society made up of minorities

The release of the key statistics from the 2011 census showed that religious and political identities had undergone a transformation since 2001, and that religious background and national identity are no longer so closely aligned. For the first time the census included a question on national identity, and in the spirit of the Good Friday Agreement respondents were given the option of identifying with more than one. It was an option that only a small proportion (9%) chose to take; the majority chose a single identity. The census returns show there is no longer a majority population in terms of national identity. While 48% of the population is from a Protestant background that does not automatically confer on them a British identity: just under 40% of the population chose that self-description. While those from a Catholic background make up 45% of the population only 25% of the population feel themselves to have an Irish identity. This means that no single national identity is shared by a majority of the population; instead, in terms of national identity, Northern Ireland is now home to a number of minority populations, of different sizes. There is now an important new category, Northern Irish, which accounts for 21% of the population. This figure aligns with other evidence from attitude surveys suggesting that there is a sizeable section of the population which makes devolution its first choice, over either an all-Ireland political framework or an exclusively UK one. The evidence from opinion polls shows the percentage favouring a united Ireland to be consistently under 20%.

3. There is increasing ease with difference

Northern Ireland is now, irreversibly, a heterogeneous society and is showing itself more at ease with difference. The census records that 1.8% of the population are classified as 'ethnic', and another 2% are migrants from the A8 countries. The number of foreign nationals now living in Northern Ireland has risen to 11% of the population. There is evidence of increased integration, and of recent migrants choosing to settle and raise their children in Northern Ireland. The school census for 2012/13 shows that 2.6% of all pupils are from newcomer communities, and 10% of all births recorded in the past year have been to mothers from outside the UK or the Republic of Ireland. While racism and hate crime persist, there is evidence of more positive experiences in the exchanges between the new communities and the host population. The level of racist hate crime has dropped and is comparatively low by UK standards. The level of homophobic crime has also dropped and there has been incremental progress in the respect shown to the LGBT community.

4. The Assembly has faltered as a legislative chamber

In the past year the Assembly has not been used as an effective political forum. The concentration of power in the Executive has had the corresponding effect of diminishing the centrality of the Assembly as the decision-making body. The legislative programme, which had increased in tempo in 2011, faltered in 2012 when only five bills were enacted. MLAs are increasingly inclined to gravitate to the committees a more direct way to achieve results. This has resulted in a chamber that is often under-populated. A continuing focus on symbolic and divisive issues has increased polarisation, but even where a consensus has been reached on bread-and-butter issues MLAs have found it difficult to make progress, or to show any real peace dividend to those areas that are the most disadvantaged and where political alienation is deepest.

5. The real debates on national identity and sovereignty are taking place elsewhere

The attention paid to symbolic issues relating to national identity has obscured the ways in which the content of national identity is being re-shaped by larger forces in Britain and Ireland. While the Republic of Ireland has been pulled tighter into a centralising European Union, the magnetic forces in the UK are pulling sentiment in the opposite direction. A pledge has been given by the Conservative Party that it will hold a referendum on EU membership if it is returned to power. More immediately, a referendum on Scottish independence is scheduled for the autumn of 2014. There are profound implications for both nationalism and unionism in these developments but the debates on national identity within Northern Ireland do not align with those in Ireland, the UK or Europe.

6. The fragility of the peace process has increased because of the continuing absence of a policy on division

The most significant failing of the Executive has been the impasse reached over the Cohesion Sharing and Integration document, which was intended to be the policy framework for community relations. The continuing absence of any agreed strategy for flags, parades or dealing with the past left the political establishment vulnerable to the shocks delivered by particular incidents and events. In addition, public order and the rule of law was undermined by the lack of shared commitment to existing institutions like the Parades Commission and by the absence of clear agreed understandings on the legislation governing public protest. These problems were very much in evidence during the flag dispute that followed Belfast City Council's decision on 3 December 2012 to restrict the flying of the union flag to certain designated days.

7. Some paramilitaries have been marginalised, others have been granted a degree of legitimisation

Paramilitarism remains a threat, as evidenced by the killing of Prison Officer David Black and the many 'punishment' attacks carried out by both republican and loyalist groups. The reduced level of violence and the MI5 analysis of the diminished capacity of dissident republicans gave Secretary of State Theresa Villiers sufficient confidence in October to reduce the threat level in Great Britain (though not in Northern Ireland) from 'substantial' to 'moderate'. However, while dissident republicans have failed to develop a political profile, loyalist paramilitaries have been granted a degree of recognition by their stewardship of their communities during the flags protest, and have been brought back within the unionist fold by the mainstream unionist parties wishing to build a united front in the face of perceived threats to British culture.

8. The flag dispute has exposed the alienation of sections of working-class loyalism

The disturbances that began in December revealed that a section of loyalism still sees itself in fundamental opposition to the peace process. The electoral successes of those unionist parties prepared to work the new dispensation, and the corresponding inability of anti-Agreement unionism to make electoral inroads, had created the impression that the hard rock of resistance to the 1998 settlement had softened over time. The activities of the flags protestors, and the tacit sympathy they were able to call upon within unionism, have shown that an underground stream of opposition has now surfaced in ways that have threatened the solidity of the political detente between unionism and nationalism. In 2010 and 2011 when the threat to the political institutions came from dissident republicans there were strong public displays of solidarity by the political leadership of all parties. This was noticeably absent during the flags dispute; in its place the unionist leadership focused on communal solidarity. Although some unionist politicians participated in the street protests, the leadership did not – a very distinct difference from the expressions of unionist unrest in the 1980s and 1990s, when the party leaders were at the forefront of the disturbances. While the flags protests proved more determined and more persistent than had been expected, the overall scale was very small when compared with the expressions of unionist unrest in those previous periods. The net effect nonetheless has been a re-sectarianisation of politics.

9. There has been a decline of residential segregation and an expansion of shared space

Residential segregation has diminished for the first time in a couple of generations. The data from the 2011 census shows that only 37% of electoral wards are now single identity (as defined by having 80% or more from one communal background). This compares with over 50% having a single identity in the 2001 census. There has also been an increase in wards with mixed identity, where neither community has more than a 50% share of housing. In addition, the amount of neutral urban space where people can experience freedom from communal identities has also been increased by the investment in large-scale arts, conference, and leisure spaces, and the commercial development of inner-city zones that play host to cafes, clubs and retail outlets.

10. Inequality gaps persist but are perceived differently

Political stability cannot be built upon inequality fault lines, and equality gaps persist in variety of ways. The deprivation indices show that Catholics experience considerably more socio-economic disadvantage than Protestants. Sixteen of the top twenty most disadvantaged wards have a majority Catholic population, while only six of the twenty least disadvantaged wards have a Catholic majority. The deprivation indices show that 22% of Catholics live in households experiencing poverty, compared to 17% of Protestants. Those who have entered the labour market operate on a level playing field, and amongst the older age cohorts the numbers of Catholics and Protestants who are unemployed are proportionate to their population size. However, the growth of youth unemployment has opened up a new communal differential: 20% of Catholics aged 18-24 are unemployed, as opposed to 15% of Protestants. The equality imbalances are not all weighted towards one community. Catholics continue to enjoy greater educational success than Protestants, and working class Protestant males continue to underachieve. On both sides these inequality gaps are understood through narratives that allow all new developments to fit within a story that connects with the patterns of the past. The nationalist narrative is of an upward trajectory, while the unionist narrative is one of loss. This latter perspective tends to magnify the sense of diminishing shares, while the nationalist perspective tends to emphasise an historical drive towards equality. The conflict of the two narratives risks a return to zero sum politics where a gain for one is seen as a loss for the other.

Introduction

The first Peace Monitoring Report was launched at the end of February 2012. At the time, the venture seemed sufficiently novel to warrant a long statement at the start of the document explaining why it had been produced and a detailed account of its methodology.¹ This second edition will not rehearse those themes: in the past year the use of the report by commentators, politicians, academics and policy-makers has confirmed the starting assumption – that there is a need for a dispassionate analysis of the trends in Northern Ireland politics and society, and that the dynamics of change require this to be produced annually.

The year 2012 proves a case in point, with the messages coming out of Northern Ireland seeming to point in opposite directions. The first report referred to the new Peace Bridge in Derry-Londonderry as a possible symbol of a new optimism about community relations in Northern Ireland, and it was this that proved of such inspiration to EU Commissioner for Regional Policy, Johannes Hahn, when he joined the Taoiseach, Enda Kenny, and the First and deputy First Ministers for the formal opening in June 2011. They were accompanied by an orchestra and a choir of 600 schoolchildren from both sides of the river. The official programme described the Protestant and Catholic children coming together on the bridge as 'representing the hopes and dreams of our city for the future'. In December 2012, in an equally symbolic act, loyalists protesting about the removal of the union flag from Belfast City Hall blocked the bridge so that no one could get across.

In between those two events, Northern Ireland experienced some of those 'pinch yourself' moments of the peace process, when gestures of reconciliation seemed so extravagant that they would have been thought impossible even five or ten years ago. None could match that in June 2012 when Queen Elizabeth and the former IRA commander Martin McGuinness met in Belfast and shook hands in front of the cameras. Other things that might have been thought equally unlikely in the recent past were also in the headlines in 2012: the collapse of the housing market, the return of large-scale unemployment, the resurgence of dissident republicanism and – something not seen for a generation – loyalist mobs blocking main roads nightly. There are real challenges for the peace process in some of these more sinister developments, but also challenges for those who attempt to analyse the changes. How can the positive trends throughout the year be reconciled with the lurch backwards to communal polarisation following the Belfast City Council vote on the union flag on 3 December? Public disturbances on the scale of the flag protest do not come out of nowhere; equally, the persistence of violent republicanism after a peace deal has been agreed demands an explanation.

The first Peace Monitoring Report can be accessed at
<http://www.community-relations.org.uk/peace-monitor>

The Peace Monitoring Report attempts to record these developments but also to analyse their root causes, to look not only at the phenomena that break out on the surface but also at the less visible stresses within the society, the forces that drive politics on to the streets. It is the force field created by these competing pressures that permits or inhibits the emergence of a peaceful society. The report uses an indicator framework to judge, year on year, which trend is in the ascendant. The same indicators have been used in this second report as in the first. As the contents of this year's report show, however, the overall picture is very different.

1.1 The indicator framework

How do we measure peace? The concept is too loose and baggy to allow of any precision in its measurement and so has to be broken down into distinct but interlocking dimensions which can be tested empirically. The project mission statement said:

An indicator framework will be created to allow the measurement of change towards the goals of equality, social cohesion, sharing, and the ability to deal with political difference through open dialogue and accommodation.

This has been translated into four dimensions, each with its own quantitative and qualitative indicator set.

The Sense of Security

The simplest measure of how peaceful any society is comes from the sense of security experienced by the individual citizen. This has to be assessed in different contexts: the home, the neighbourhood, the workplace and public space. To build evidence we have looked not just at crime statistics but at attitudinal surveys and academic articles which explore the subjective sense of security. Attention has also been paid to differentials between areas and groups. Levels of violence are key indicators of the absence of security, and during the Troubles they were the statistics most frequently used to measure the intensity of the conflict. The decline in violence following the ceasefires provides useful evidence of the journey out of conflict and we have therefore collated data on bombings, shootings, beatings, hijacking, arson attacks and other forms of injury to the person or property. The absence of violence however only provides evidence of what the Norwegian peace activist Johan Galtung first labelled 'negative peace'; to go beyond that to understand the degree of security enjoyed by the citizen means also looking at how much confidence there is in 'positive peace', that is in the rule of law and human rights. The indicators therefore must include not just statistics on violence but also whether people are free from the threat of harm.

Equality

The 'Troubles' erupted against a backdrop of structural inequality in housing, employment and life chances between Catholics and Protestants. This fault-line, therefore, has to be constantly monitored to see if the gap is opening up or closing. The 1998 Agreement emphasises equality as the essential ingredient of any peace settlement: it committed the parties to 'partnership, equality and mutual respect' and an Equality Commission followed soon after. In the past, inequality was closely associated with discrimination but external factors now have a huge influence. Northern Ireland has felt the shocks of a global recession radically restructuring the labour market, creating new differentials. The de-industrialisation of an earlier period hit heavy industries like shipbuilding and engineering, while the current recession is making its impact felt on 21st-century sectors. These blind forces rebalance life chances for Catholics and Protestants in unintended ways. So too do educational policy and the quality of educational provision, which prepare – or fail to prepare – a younger generation for the labour market. Consideration of education and equality also brings gender necessarily into focus: social disadvantage, religious background and gender can combine to create compound effects, so differentials need to be understood in their interaction. The same applies to health, housing, and labour-market data.

Political progress

Progress in this sense does not have to be measured against particular constitutional destinations, such as a united Ireland or further integration with Britain. Instead it can be seen in terms of the ability of political opponents to use dialogue to arrive at mutually satisfactory outcomes, the situation where differences are resolved through dialogue in the public sphere. Since 1998 it has been clear from all the attitudinal surveys that the society as a whole feels most cohesive and purposeful when the political elites show the capacity to trade and pursue shared agendas. We have therefore taken the three-strand approach of the Belfast Agreement to measure how successful the political representatives have been in reaching accommodation in the three main areas: through the north-south bodies, through the 'east-west' axis of British-Irish relations and, most crucial of all, through the working of the Northern Ireland Assembly. Progress in Northern Ireland can be measured by the capacity of the Assembly to channel political differences through a parliamentary forum.

One other critical area concerns the ability of Northern Ireland to deal with the legacy of its past. Regardless of the preferred means to realise this purpose, the measure is how well the governments, politicians and society succeed in draining the toxicity of memories of events committed 10, 20, 30 and even 40 years ago.

Cohesion and sharing

A cohesive society is one where citizens feel themselves to belong to what Benedict Anderson referred to as an 'imagined community': that is, they recognise others as their fellow citizens. This ideal balances celebration of diversity and tolerance of others' cultural practices with sharing and solidarity. The alternative is that those who claim to represent ethnically defined 'communities' prioritise their particular concerns above those they see as different. In extreme cases society is balkanized as identity politics fragment the polity into warring groups, each trying to command the largest share of resources. Northern Ireland has struggled to find the balance between respect for cultural pluralism and shared and equal citizenship. While the term 'shared future' commands a degree of assent, it has proved difficult to plot a route towards that goal. The indicator framework therefore has to provide a dispassionate analysis of the policy context, public provision and the costs of division, and the various attempts within the private, public and voluntary sectors to promote a culture of tolerance. Given that Northern Ireland is now very definitely a multi-ethnic society, it has been necessary also to look at how well it has managed the shift from 'two communities' to embracing a broader cultural diversity.

1.2 The limitations of the research

The Peace Monitoring Report aims to present an evidence-based approach to peace and conflict in Northern Ireland but some humility is in order. The first caveat concerns the reliability of the data. The various sources produce statistics of varying reliability. This is no reflection on their honesty or integrity: in some areas of human experience it is very difficult to establish clear facts. Apart from the Census that takes place every ten years and collects information from every household, most official statistics are based on sample surveys. The precision of the numbers, sometimes presented down to the second or third decimal point, suggests an exactitude that simply is not there. The unemployment figures, for instance, studied carefully each month, are based on asking a sample of the population about their personal circumstances and work. The Labour Force Survey is careful to point out that the findings are open to sampling error but the final figures are nonetheless accepted in the public domain as simple fact.

Crime poses even more of a problem. The widespread perception that police figures for recorded crime are inaccurate is not one the police choose to protest. It is accepted by the Police Service of Northern Ireland and all other forces that the official statistics do not cover those crimes which, for whatever reason, are not reported. For this reason, another set of figures is produced by the Crime Survey for England and Wales and its regional counterpart, the Northern Ireland Crime Survey, and here respondents are asked about their experience of crime, including those crimes they did not report to the police. But criminologists point out that this still excludes 'victimless' crimes like tax or corporate fraud and

therefore skews the figures towards a law-and-order view of how crime is to be understood.

The Peace Monitoring Report approaches this uncertainty by indicating where the data may not be as robust as they appear and by spreading the net wide to capture as many sources as possible. If each dataset may only provide part of the picture, the 145 charts and tables together provide a much larger composite and the volume of data and diversity of sources narrow the margin of error.

The second caveat concerns the consistency of the framework from year to year. The intention is to take stock of the same indicators each year – to see, for example, whether segregation has increased or decreased in schools, housing and workplaces. In particular years however particular data becomes available and demands attention: in last year's report, for example, a large section was given over to an analysis of the May 2011 election results. No election has taken place since to allow for an update on that section. The results of the 2011 Census have been released however and they are of such significance that space has been allocated to them in this report. Also, the first report provided a helicopter overview of the whole of Northern Ireland society including areas such as, for example, health inequalities where little change can be expected within a 12-month period. The focus of this report is less on those background issues and more on the foreground where changes will have a direct impact upon the outworking of the peace agreement.

2 Background And Context

2.1 *The historical context*

The Good Friday Agreement was signed on 10th April 1998. In some accounts it is said to have ended the period of political violence known by the euphemism of the Troubles, a conflict which began at the end of the 1960s and cost the lives of more than 3,500 people. If one dates it from the first civil rights march in 1968 through to the accord that emerged 30 years later, then the span is three times longer than the combined duration of the two world wars. It is of course possible to stretch that span back much further. The Plantation of Ulster in the 17th century gave rise to patterns still discernible today: an ethnic differentiation between English and lowland Scots and the resentful Irish dispossessed. The ethnic markers first became visible at this time: the Irish language and the English, the Catholicism of the native Irish and the Protestantism of the new planters. That identity conflict has remained at the core of the political situation ever since, and the Good Friday Agreement bases itself on a recognition of 'the two communities'. The religious markers do not of themselves explain the content of the conflict: this is not a conflict primarily about religion, but one where religion acts primarily as a marker of national identity. As McEvoy puts it, the conflict 'is about two groups with allegiances to two different national communities, Britain and Ireland, which themselves have a long history of conflict' (McEvoy,2008:8)

The mutually exclusive nature of the associated British and Irish identity claims gave rise to the widespread belief that Northern Ireland was a problem without a solution, a conflict that had to be managed rather than resolved. The innovative thinking that led to the Good Friday Agreement did not consistently accept such a zero-sum equation. Instead of an either/or approach where one identity necessarily negated the other, the Agreement substituted a both-and alternative, allowing that individual residents of Northern Ireland could choose to be 'Irish, or British or both', bearing passports accordingly, without their rights to equal citizenship being thereby diminished – this has proved utterly uncontroversial. Shared devolution of power with a Northern Ireland legislative assembly and executive is now accepted by all parties from Sinn Féin to the Democratic Unionist Party. The same is true of the provisions for north-south co-operation within Ireland, regardless of the state border – initially opposed by unionists who assumed these must be the thin end of an Irish reunification wedge, these now equally pass without remark. More uneasily, a communalist 'parity of esteem' principle was applied by the agreement to the 'two traditions' of British unionism and Irish nationalism, conventionally conceived – this has been the source of repeated subsequent eruptions of violence over parading and flags. And a recent source of tension has been the straightforwardly either-or provision for a border poll on whether Northern Ireland should be part of the UK or the Republic of Ireland – advocated within the past year by both SF and the DUP, for precisely opposite reasons.

The St Andrews Agreement of 2006 entrenched communal vetoes in government to appease the latter party, which hitherto had abjured sharing power with Catholic politicians, so that devolution – suspended in 2002 because of allegations of IRA spying at Stormont – could be renewed in 2007. The Hillsborough Agreement of February 2010 allowed for the devolution of policing and justice two months later, described as the 'last piece of the jigsaw' of post-Agreement governance. On 25 March 2011, when the Assembly dissolved itself for fresh elections, it was the first Northern Ireland parliament to have seen out its full term in four decades.

2.2 The current political framework

The Northern Ireland Assembly is the devolved legislature of Northern Ireland, and has the power to legislate in areas not explicitly retained by the Parliament of the United Kingdom. Powers kept by Westminster are divided into 'excepted matters', which it retains indefinitely, and 'reserved matters', which may be transferred at a later date. The composition and powers of the Assembly are laid down in the Northern Ireland Act 1998. This allows for six Members of the Legislative Assembly (or MLAs) for each of the 18 Westminster constituencies, 108 in total. This affords Northern Ireland more representation than any other part of the United Kingdom. If the representation ratios of the Assembly were replicated at Westminster there would be 3,730 MPs.

Other features of devolved government in Northern Ireland make it exceptional. The system of governance is 'consociational': instead of the

conventional arrangement for diverse societies in contemporary Europe – of shifting inter-party coalitions, changing at election time in response to the popular mood, with human and minority rights militating against a winner-takes-all political culture – all significant parties remain in government in a grand coalition, exercising mutual communal vetoes. More specifically:

- The allocation of Executive seats after an Assembly election is by the D'Hondt proportionality rule. Ministerial portfolios are assigned one at a time, beginning with the party with the highest number of seats. Currently, as the largest party the DUP has first choice of departments, followed by Sinn Féin and so on.
- Every MLA must designate themselves as 'nationalist', 'unionist' or 'other' after their election. For controversial legislation to be enacted it must receive 'cross-community support', which has been taken to mean a concurrent majority of nationalist and unionist MLAs.

The careful weighting given to votes in the power-sharing Assembly has proved not to be as central to its functioning as originally assumed. The most important decisions are made by the Executive, not on the floor of the Assembly, with a mutual veto exercised in negotiations between the two dominant parties, Sinn Féin and the DUP, following the St Andrews Agreement of 2006. This provided that any three ministers in the Executive could demand that a decision by another minister be subjected to the 'cross-community support' test in the Executive itself – these two parties have enough ministries to wield the veto power for their 'side'. The smaller parties allege that this duopoly crowds out alternative views at the Executive table.

The current allocation of Assembly seats, as determined by the May 2011 elections, is:

Chart 1: The current allocation of Assembly seats

Party	Seats	% of first preference votes
Democratic Unionist Party	38	30%
Sinn Féin	29	26.9%
Social Democratic and Labour Party	14	14.2%
Ulster Unionist Party	16	13.2%
Alliance Party	8	7.7%
Traditional Unionist Voice	1	2.5%
Independent	1	2.3%
Green Party	1	0.9%

North-south and east-west

The 'three-strand' Belfast Agreement put in place a complicated set of governance arrangements, where the Assembly is buttressed by structures to facilitate, on the one hand, co-operation with the Republic of Ireland, and on the other, relations with other parts of the UK. Two bodies were set up: the North South Ministerial Council, and the British-Irish Council. While providing, in theory, a symmetry to balance nationalist and unionist ambitions – the latter being advanced as a counterweight to the former – in practice one has found useful business to pursue while the other struggles to establish its role.

The NSMC sits at the apex of six cross-border bodies, the remit of which is to 'develop consultation, co-operation and action within the island of Ireland' on mutual interests. In practice this means the management of overlapping concerns in areas such as trade, tourism, waterways, fisheries and transport. Very little political controversy attends the operation of these bodies, and for the most part their activities are conducted in a brisk and business-like way. The British-Irish Council has found it more difficult to assert its purpose. The 'east-west' remit is extended to include not just Westminster, Dáil and Assembly members but also representatives from Scotland, Wales, Jersey, Guernsey and the Isle of Man.

2.3 The importance of narratives

Politics in Northern Ireland is shaped by fundamentally different understandings within the Protestant and Catholic communities. In recent years it has become customary to use the term 'narratives' to describe the process whereby new facts and ideas are made to fit within the existing stories people tell about themselves and the world. A term that only ten years ago belonged to literary theory has moved rapidly to colonise political science and media commentary. It has particular uses in divided societies where people's perceptions are seldom changed by the dispassionate sifting of evidence; rather they are pressed into the service of existing 'narratives' which allow all new developments to fit within a story that connects with the patterns of the past.

The Middle East is a classic example. The Israeli narrative is to do with a people struggling to escape persecution and defend their historic land, and the foundation of the state in 1948 is seen as the key event in providing that opportunity. That date is also of central importance to Palestinians, but while Israelis refer to it as Independence Day, Palestinians call it the Nakba, or the 'great catastrophe', the date when they were driven from their homes. In the Israeli narrative, the key concept that links 1948 to the present time is security. For Palestinians the key concept is justice. Attempts to promote a peace process must start from the recognition that these competing narratives place different agendas on the table in any negotiation.

Unionists and nationalists also have their own distinct ways of framing current events within narratives that explain to each community the connection with what went before, and in ways that make instinctive sense within that community. The trajectory of events from the signing of the Good Friday Agreement in 1998 until the taking down of the union flag at Belfast City Council in December 2012 is understood in fundamentally different ways.

There is no inherent meaning to the vote on the flag: it is an event that can be read in different ways. Yet, framed by these narratives, no event is judged on its merits, but rather by its place within a pattern. For unionism the key theme is loss; for nationalists it is equality. The vote taken by the City Council on 3 December provided one example of the two narratives in collision. For nationalists it represented a step towards parity of esteem, for unionists it was seen as a loss of large symbolic significance.

3 The Economic Context

The Titanic Centre, which opened its doors in March 2012, offers some historical perspective on the current crisis of the Northern Ireland economy. The first exhibition area to greet visitors is a tableau of Belfast in 1912, the year the ship was built, a time when the city was one of the engines of the industrial revolution. According to historian Jonathan Bardon, Belfast was then home not only to the largest shipyard in the world but was also able to boast the world's largest ropeworks, tobacco

factory, linen mill, aerated water factory, dry dock and tea machinery works (Bardon, 1982). The historical showcase is a reminder of former glories; when visitors step back out of the Titanic Centre's futuristic titanium shell they return to a very different landscape, one where wasteland is more apparent than industry. The two giant gantry cranes, Sampson and Goliath, icons of the city, now tower over the empty windblown spaces of the old shipyard area, newly designated as the Titanic Quarter. In 2003, with a workforce of only 123 people, Harland and Wolff officially registered as a small business. Shipbuilding is not the only industry to have died. In 1912, when the population of the pre-partition six counties was only 1.2 million, there were 150,000 people involved in manufacturing. Today, with a population of 1.8 million, that number has dropped to 75,000. The collapse of the traditional heavy industries was the first major blow to the economy; the 30 years of armed conflict was the second. Now Northern Ireland faces its third major challenge – how to survive a global recession.

It is not well-equipped for the difficulties ahead. An analysis in 2011 of the regional economy by HM Treasury put it baldly:

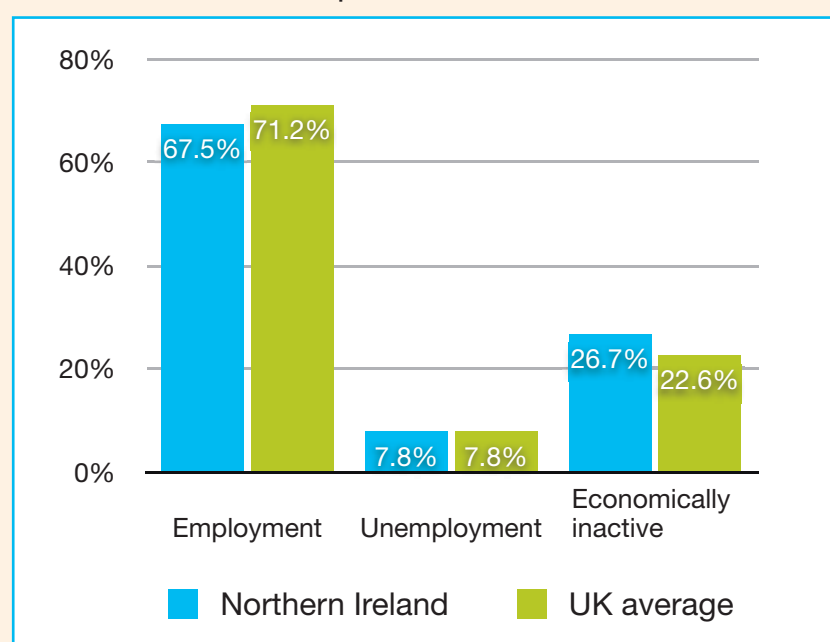
Although the Good Friday Agreement is now more than 12 years old it is obvious that, although helpful, peace has not in itself been sufficient to raise Northern Ireland prosperity to the UK average or even to the UK average excluding South East England. Northern Ireland is still one of the weakest economies in the UK.

It might be added that the UK economy is not without its own difficulties: in February 2013 the credit ratings agency Moody's cut its top AAA credit rating for the first time since 1978 on the expectation that growth will "remain sluggish over the next few years". Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland and Great Britain are all not only struggling within a global recession but having to plot a course within the unfolding drama of the sovereign debt crisis of the eurozone. In these heavy seas any economy requires a very sound structure. The Northern Ireland economy does not have that advantage. It suffers from three distinct but inter-related problems. The three are: the structure of the workforce, the weakness of the productive sector and a reliance upon an equilibrium of low skills and low wages.

3.1 Profiling the workforce

With a population of 1.8 million Northern Ireland has to rely for its tax revenue upon a relatively small workforce. Unemployment is not significantly higher than in other UK regions (in February 2013 it stood at 7.8 per cent, the same as the UK average) but the *employment* rate is the lowest of any UK region – 67.5 per cent against a UK average of 71.2 per cent. The gap is explained by the level of economic inactivity, which in January 2013 stood at 27.2 per cent, significantly higher than the UK average of 22.3 per cent. The claimant count stood at 7.1%, the second highest rate among the 12 UK regions. This is the 34th consecutive month that Northern Ireland has had the highest or second highest rate on this measure.

Chart 2: Breakdown of the labour market, NI and UK
Source: NISRA Labour Market Report, December 2012



The disadvantage of a proportionately small workforce could be offset if that workforce had the right qualifications and skills to perform higher-value tasks in a knowledge-based economy. As Chart 3 shows, however, across the UK the region's workforce has by far the highest proportion of the population with no qualifications and lags significantly behind the average at degree level. This is due in part to historic problems with the education system and in part to out-migration of those with qualifications.

Chart 3: Highest educational qualification 16-64 population
Source: Labour Force Survey, Q2, 2012

	England	Scotland	Wales	NI	UK
Degree or equivalent	25.7%	24.3%	20.5%	20.9%	25.2%
Higher education	8.4%	14.3%	8.9%	7.7%	8.9%
GCE A Level or equivalent	23.1%	24.9%	24.1%	24.6%	23.4%
GCSE grades A-C or equivalent	23.2%	18.3%	26.4%	22.2%	22.9%
Other qualifications	10.1%	7.4%	9.7%	6.4%	9.7%
No qualification	9.5%	10.8%	10.4%	18.3%	9.9%
Total	33,322,000	3,364,000	1,871,000	1,134,000	39,691,000

Across a range of key indicators the region's workforce can be seen to lag behind the UK average (Chart 4). The net effect of this is a chain of underperformance where low productivity in the productive sector affects overall salary levels and these in turn affect the standard of living. On all three measures Northern Ireland lags behind the other UK regions.

Chart 5: Employment by sector. Figures are given in thousands
Source: Labour Force Survey, August 2012

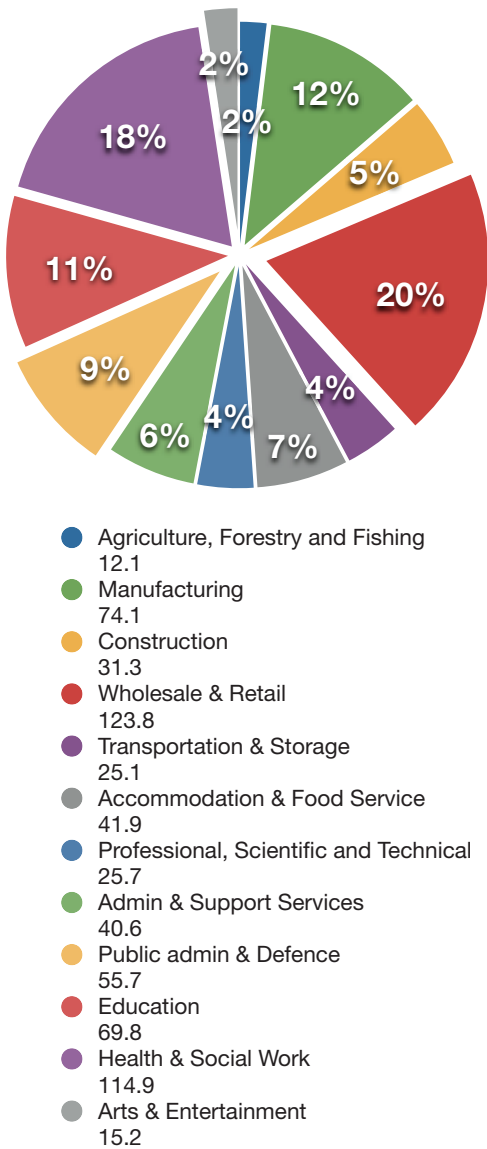


Chart 4: NI workforce comparisons with the UK
Sources: Labour Market Report, December 2012 and Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings (ASHE), November 2012

	N. Ireland	UK average
Employment rate	67.0%	71.5%
Unemployment rate	7.8%	7.8%
Unemployment rate 18-24	20.4%	20.8%
% of total unemployed for one year or more	58.9%	33.9%
% of employed in public sector	30%	21%
Economic inactivity rate	27.2%	22.3%
Claimant count	7.1 %	4.7%
Average weekly hours worked	32.5	31.5
Average weekly wage, f-t and p-t (median)	£360.2	£405.0
Gender pay gap	90.3%	80.3%
Those with no educational qualifications	18.5%	10.4%

Chart 6: NI as a percentage of the UK average on indices of productivity, salaries and living standards
Sources: DETI, NI Economic Strategy, Rebuilding and Rebalancing the Economy: An Evidence Base, 2012, Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings, 2012

	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
Productivity	79.5	80.0	79.8	80.4	80.3	78.9	75.3	75.1
Salaries	87.0	89.0	89.0	91.0	87.0	87.0	89.0	88.0
Living standards	80.0	80.0	80.0	80.0	87.0	78.0	76.0	76.0

Total Northern Ireland jobs
691,490

3.2 The private sector

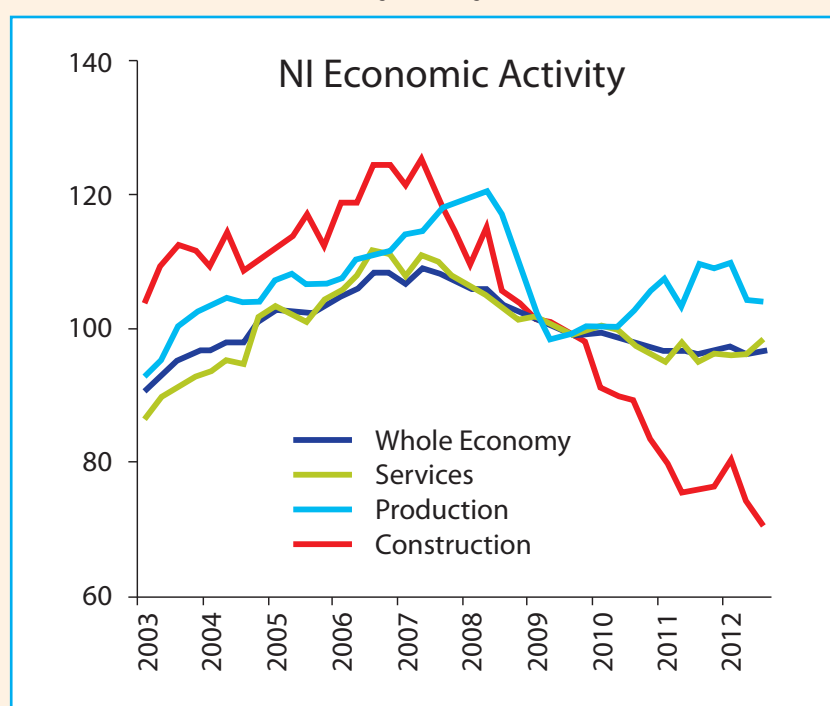
The DETI Economic Commentary published in January 2013 provides a bleak overview of the private sector in Northern Ireland

"The Northern Ireland economy has been more severely impacted by the recession than other UK regions. Output has contracted across all areas of the economy and the latest quarterly output data reveal further falls in production, services and construction. Combined with consistently weaker private sector jobs and claimant count numbers, NI is unlikely to have matched even the UK's modest post recession growth rates and NI growth may well have been largely flat or negative."

(DETI 'Economic Commentary 2013')

Chart 7: The growth and decline of the NI Economy 2003-2012

Source: DETI, 'Economic Commentary', January 2013



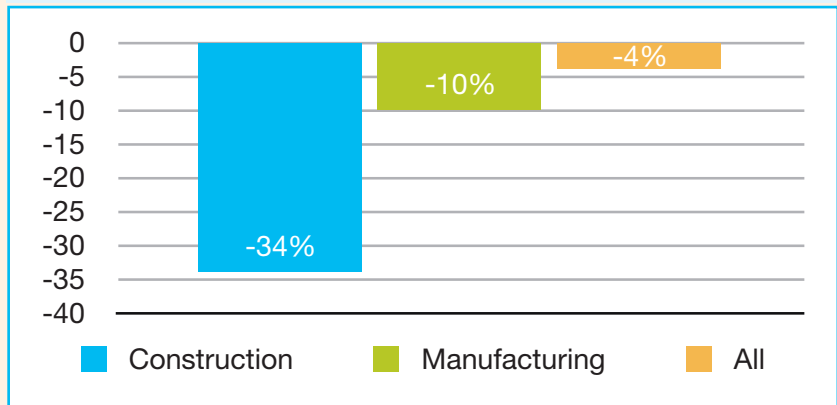
The trajectory of the Northern Ireland economy in the past decade is very much tied up with the property boom and bust. A study by Bond, Gallagher and Ramsey (July 2012) makes the point that Northern Ireland's housing market has always sat outside trends in the UK and Ireland, but that the dramatic increase in house prices and their sudden collapse may be seen as an asset bubble, that is a market that is artificially pumped up by investors willing to pay more than the fundamental value of the property in the belief that prices will continue to escalate. At a certain point, when prices run too far ahead of wages, the bubble explodes. Examining NI as a case in point, the authors point to anecdotal evidence that an overspill of the southern property market led to house price increases that were unsustainable, and in the Q3 of 2007 the house market began its downward spiral. The overall fall in house prices from 2007-2012 is put at a precipitous 55% by the Land and Property Service, using data from stamp duty revenues. This is an even steeper decline that experienced in the Republic of Ireland. The impact was not just on construction, but on directly -related services such as architecture, legal services and estate agency transactions. Meantime, the overall economy

was impacted upon by the general downturn in the UK, and the banking crisis in the Republic. Taking all of these together the impact has been enormous. A total of 43,100 jobs were lost between June 2008 and November 2012. The breakdown is as follows:

Chart 8: Job losses in main industries in Northern Ireland 2008-2012
 Source: Derived from NISRA Labour Force Survey Bulletins

Job losses in main industries in Northern Ireland 2008-2012			
	Construction	Manufacturing	Services
Recent peak	December 2007	June 2007	June 2008
Job losses	16,000	8,300	21,500
% change	34%	10%	4%

Construction has been the most adversely affected sector. One third of all jobs have been lost. The main job losses were in the 2008-09 period. Manufacturing has proved resilient with a 1.9% expansion in 2012. The Business and Financial Services have been the most impacted (down 41%). Other services now very vulnerable.



Source: DETI, Economic Commentary, January 2013

Estimates prepared by Oxford Economics suggest that recovery to 2008 levels of employment is not likely to occur before 2025

For Northern Ireland to escape the low wage/low productivity trap there needs to be more knowledge-based innovation. The Intellectual Property Office produces figures each year on applications for patents: these provide one snapshot of where innovation is taking place. The picture that emerges is one where Northern Ireland stands out as a non-innovative region, one which consistently puts forward fewer applications to the Patents Office than any other UK region. The UK Business Innovation Survey published in May 2012 includes a broader sweep, taking account of any development in products or processes or ways of doing business. It too shows Northern Ireland lagging but not by so much: 14 per cent of regional business could be seen as product innovators as against the UK average of 19 per cent, and process innovation showed a similar gap, with respective ratios of 7 to 10 per cent. Historically, this gap could be explained by the relatively small investment by local firms in research and development, the lowest in the UK (which itself is low by European standards). Since 2009 though the situation has been improving, and a £45m increase in 2011 took it to three times the level it had been in 2008. In 2012 the rate of spending by NI businesses on research and development was 1.2% of GVA, close to the UK average of 1.3%.

Chart 9: Northern Ireland has the lowest number of patents applied for and patents granted of any UK region for 2010 and 2011

Source: Intellectual Property Office, Patent Register 2012

Patents applied for and patents granted by UK region 2010/2011		
Region	Patents Granted	
	2010	2011
East Midlands	111	155
East of England	288	409
London	382	401
North West	201	246
Northern Ireland	7	16
North East	41	70
Scotland	169	207
South East	472	591
South West	244	363
Wales	66	82
West Midlands	163	216
Yorkshire	141	175
Unmatched Postcodes	38	61
Total	2,323	2,992

Estimates prepared by Oxford Economics suggest that recovery to 2008 levels of employment is not likely to occur before 2025. Any optimism has to be tempered by the recognition that shocks from the eurozone crisis or the wider global recession may capsize even these projections. The growth figures also rely not just on indigenous industries but on Northern Ireland making itself appealing to outsiders. This is necessary to boost a sluggish tourist industry and to attract foreign direct investment (FDI).

3.3 The tourist industry: Our Time, Our Place?

The tourist industry has never reaped the harvest expected as part of the peace dividend. There are many reasons why it might have happened: the natural beauty of the countryside, a low crime rate, the opportunity for tourists to try somewhere new and to see places very familiar from the headlines and, amplifying all these, countless glowing testimonials in travel guide books and newspaper features. And there was a brief rise in out-of-state visitors in 2007 but a decline set in again in 2008 and figures

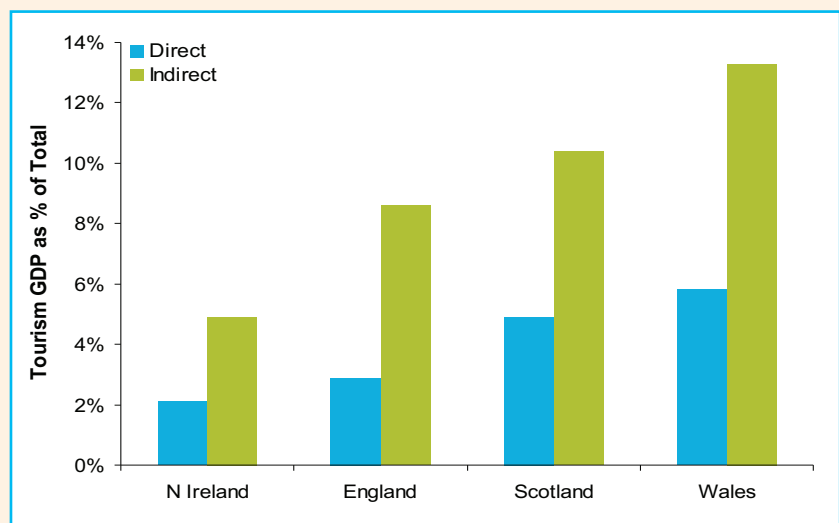
Northern Ireland has the lowest number of patents applied for and patents granted of any UK region

continued to fall in 2009, 2010 and 2011 (see Chart 10). The Northern Ireland Tourist Board announced an ambitious programme of events for 2012, including the opening of the Titanic Centre and the new Giant's Causeway Visitors' Centre and the Irish Open at Portrush. These and other initiatives were packaged together in a programme under the title 'Our Time, Our Place' and the hope was, as the NITB website put it, that 2012 would be the tipping point. The campaign literature for the programme promised that it would generate an additional £140 million for the regional economy and create more than 3,500 new jobs. The statistics issued in November 2012 however show that, rather than reversing a trend, tourism continued the decline that began in 2008. The Republic of Ireland also experienced a downturn in the past year.

Chart 10: Estimated overseas visitor nights and expenditure by country of residence, Jan-Sept 2011 and Jan- Sept 2012
 Source: DETI Tourism Statistics (Provisional statistics, November 2012)

THE CONTINUING DECLINE OF TOURISM						
	Nights			Expenditure		
	2011	2012	% change	2011	2012	% change
Great Britain	3,654	3,007	-18	172	157	-9
Other European	1,803	1,009	-44	61	42	-31
North America	646	1,259	+92	39	39	+1
Other overseas	575	763	+33	33	31	-8
Total	6,677	6,017	-10	305	268	-12

Chart 11: Tourism as a contribution to GDP in NI and England, Scotland and Wales.
 Source: DETI, NI Economic Strategy, Rebuilding and Rebalancing the Economy: An Evidence Base, 2012



Northern Ireland falls very far behind the other UK jurisdictions in the contribution, direct and indirect, which tourism makes to the regional economy.

3.4 Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)

Invest NI estimates that it has promoted 42,600 new jobs, safeguarded at least 19,400 existing jobs and planned investment of some £5.5 billion in the regional economy since 2002, when the agency was established. These claims were however subjected to scrutiny in a review issued by the Northern Ireland Audit Office in March 2012. It found that while Invest NI's performance in the past three years was much improved, its success had been limited. In the eight years of its existence it had spent almost £1.5 billion 'promoting' jobs but some of these 'promoted' jobs were not actually created and some would have been created anyway. In a detailed examination of the 28,000 jobs promoted between 2002 and 2008, the NIAO concluded that only 10,500 were created and fully additional.

A further criticism was of the quality of jobs brought into Northern Ireland, which have tended to be low-skilled and low-wage. Of the posts described above, 60 per cent were in 'contact centres', and only one third of these had wages above the very low median for Northern Ireland's private sector. Since 2008 the situation has improved: salaries in 2008-11 were above the private-sector median for three quarters of the jobs promoted. The Audit Office also reported reasonable success in securing investment in disadvantaged areas. While 30 per cent of the population live in disadvantaged areas, over 70 per cent of new FDI jobs have been located in these areas, and in 2008-11 that rose to 93 per cent. As the report noted however, there is no evidence as to how many residents of disadvantaged areas actually gain employment in the new enterprises. The new target requires FDI projects to be located within ten miles of an economically disadvantaged area, and it is not perhaps surprising that this target was achieved comfortably – indeed, it would be hard to pinpoint an area of Northern Ireland that is not within ten miles of a disadvantaged area.

How does Northern Ireland compare with other regions in attracting FDI? There are difficulties in making like-for-like comparisons between the performances of the investment agencies, since Scotland, Wales, England and the Republic of Ireland all structure their incentive programmes in different ways. If we look simply at incoming jobs, however, Northern Ireland outperforms England but all the UK regions are outperformed by the Republic of Ireland, which enjoys much greater successes in the FDI market – success that has continued after the banking collapse.

The challenge facing Invest NI will be even greater in the future because of the withdrawal of Selective Financial Assistance (SFA). The European Union operates very strict regulations to ensure fair trading across member states, but under the European Commission's Regional Aid Guidelines a dispensation had been granted to Northern Ireland which allowed it to provide financial assistance at levels between 30 per cent and 50 per cent – a very attractive package for foreign investors. From January 2011 this fell to between 10 and 35 per cent and was more geographically focused. After 2013 it will be phased out altogether. Northern Ireland's private sector will then be on a level playing field – but without the advantages of some of the other players.

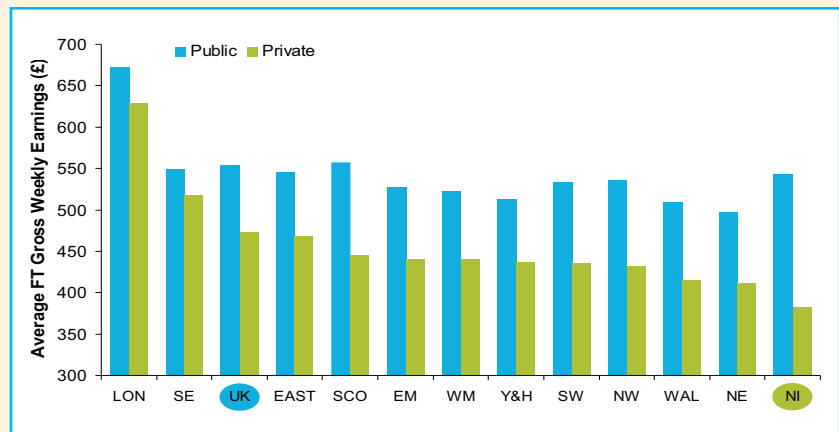
3.5 The public sector

The NI workforce is heavily dependent upon the public sector for employment. This does not of itself mean that the economy is failing – many successful economies have a large public sector (Sweden being one example). The overall lack of productivity in the NI economy however has been attributed to the size of its public sector. At present it accounts for over 30% of all jobs in NI, compared to an average of around 21% in the UK. This is an historic phenomenon: in 1992, when private sector jobs were at their most scarce, the percentage was 37%. The economic boom which followed not only increased the number of jobs in the private sector; it also increased the levels of public spending and in so doing increased employment in the public sector. In 2009 the size of the public sector workforce peaked at 224,330 employees. Numbers have dropped since then: the August 2012 LFS survey puts the total at 214,520 – a shrinkage of 9,810, or -4.4% over three years. This is a smaller reduction than other parts of the UK, and has been achieved largely through natural wastage. To date, NI has not seen the large scale redundancies experienced in the UK public sector, particularly in the English local authorities.

A frequent criticism from the business sector is to do with the wage levels in the public sector, which are much higher than those in the private sector. In 2011 weekly earnings for full-time employees were 41.5% higher than in the private sector – a much greater differential than in the UK, where public sector earnings were 16.7% higher than the private sector (ASHE, 2011). The argument from the business sector is that the high wages in the public sector make it impossible for private enterprise to compete, and that as a consequence the best talent is drained off into government funded-employment. In reality, there are two labour markets, one which exists in broad parity with the rest of the UK, and the other which reflects the low wage/low skill equilibrium of the Northern Ireland private sector. As Chart 12 shows, public sector wages in Northern Ireland are in line with other UK regions (excluding London) but private sector wages are considerably lower.

Chart 12: Public and private salaries across the UK.

Source: DETI, NI Economic Strategy, *Rebuilding and Rebalancing the Economy: An Evidence Base, 2012*



If London salaries are excluded then the NI public salaries (the blue bars) can be seen to be broadly in line with public salary salaries across the UK. Private sector salaries however (the green bars) are by far the lowest – 82.8% of the UK average.

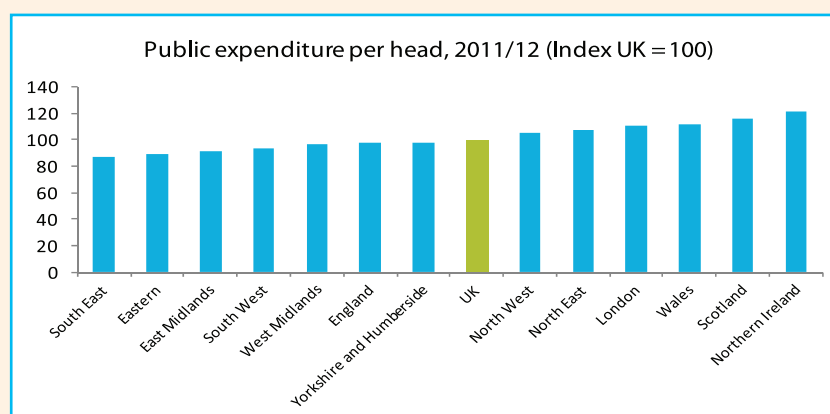
3.6 The British subvention

The Northern Ireland economy does not generate enough revenue to cover current levels of public expenditure. Northern Ireland's running costs are higher per head than those of the other jurisdictions in the UK. As Chart 13a shows, if public expenditure per head in England is set at 100, then on the same scale the figure for Wales is 116.0, Scotland 117.7 and Northern Ireland 123.5.

Chart 13a: Total identifiable expenditure on services by country and region per head in real terms, 2006-07 to 2010-11 Source: ONS Public Expenditure Statistical Analysis, June 2012

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE PER HEAD OF THE POPULATION IN THE UK						
Country	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	Relative values
England	7,740	7,950	8,311	8,796	8,634	100.0
Scotland	9,439	9,699	9,838	10,227	10,165	117.7
Wales	9,078	9,232	9,545	10,002	10,117	116.0
NI	9,851	10,230	10,845	10,849	10,668	123.5

Chart 13b: Public expenditure per head across the UK 2011-12 (Index UK = 100)



Source: House of Commons Library

Given the scale of this expenditure and the low tax yield from Northern Ireland, the regional economy requires considerable support from the Treasury. The details are to be found in the Department of Finance and Personnel's Net Fiscal Balance Report, released in November 2012. The figures are for 2010-11 and they show:

- Aggregate public expenditure was estimated to be £23.2 billion, or 3.4 per cent of the UK total.
- Tax revenue collected in Northern Ireland was estimated at £12.7 billion, or 2.4 per cent of the UK total.
- The fiscal deficit was £10.5 billion.
- The fiscal deficit per head was estimated at £5,850. This compares to a per head figure of £2,454 in the UK as a whole.
- The Northern Ireland fiscal deficit was 38.3 per cent of 2008-09 GVA, considerably higher than the overall UK ratio of 12.3 per cent.

Chart 14: Who pays for Northern Ireland?
Source: DFP Net Fiscal Balance, November 2012

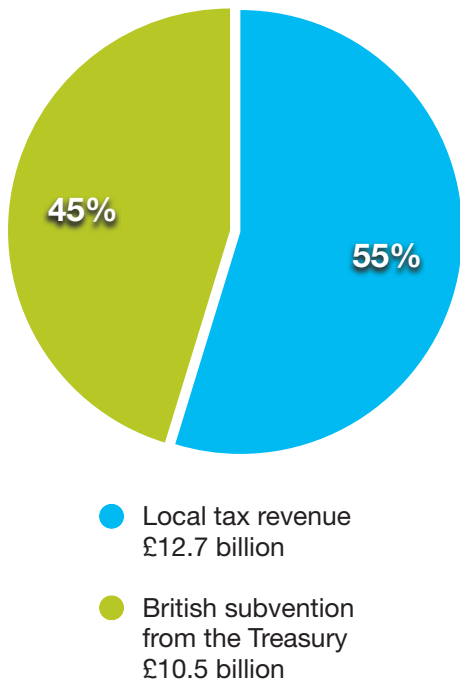


Chart 15: Net Fiscal Balance

NET FISCAL BALANCE				
	2009-10		2010-11	
	NI	UK	NI	UK
Aggregate expenditure	22,657	669,661	23,229	691,666
Aggregate revenue	11,887	507,092	12,703	538,901
Net fiscal balance	-10,770	-162,569	-10,526	-152,765
Net fiscal balance per capita	-6,020	-2,361	-5,850	-2,454
Net fiscal balance as % of GVA	-39.2%	-13.1%	-38.3%	-12.3%

Public expenditure is estimated at £23.2 billion, of which £12.7 billion comes from regional tax revenues, and £10.5 billion comes from the Treasury as the British subvention.

3.7 Can Northern Ireland resource itself?

Oxford Economics estimates that Northern Ireland’s health sector costs approximately £3.5 billion *per annum* to run and that the total bill for social protection (including welfare payments and pensions) is approximately £8 billion. These two together amount to £11.5 billion, which means that there is very little left from total tax revenue to run the rest of the economy. The financial levers available to the Assembly are very limited, since the devolved administration does not have tax-varying powers and cannot introduce additional taxation (unless this is in a sphere which is not taxed by Westminster). There has been no demand from the Assembly to have these powers increased, and the record suggests that MLAs have an aversion to introducing any additional charge on taxpayers. On the contrary, there is a shared sense that the mission of politics is to remove taxes and charges wherever possible.

This might seem to align the Assembly with the tax-cutting ethic of those who are economically right-wing. At the same time as holding to that ethic though the political parties have a shared attachment to the universalist entitlements of the post-war welfare settlement. The contradiction between these two impulses helps to define the force field of social and economic policy-making within the devolved structures. Trapped in the contradiction of wishing to increase public expenditure while at the same time reducing revenue, the Assembly has been looking for a magic formula to allow its various circles to be squared. The idea of boosting the economy by lowering corporation tax has therefore appeared like a *deus ex machina*, but should that fail to arrive, the Assembly will have to face up to hard economic choices.

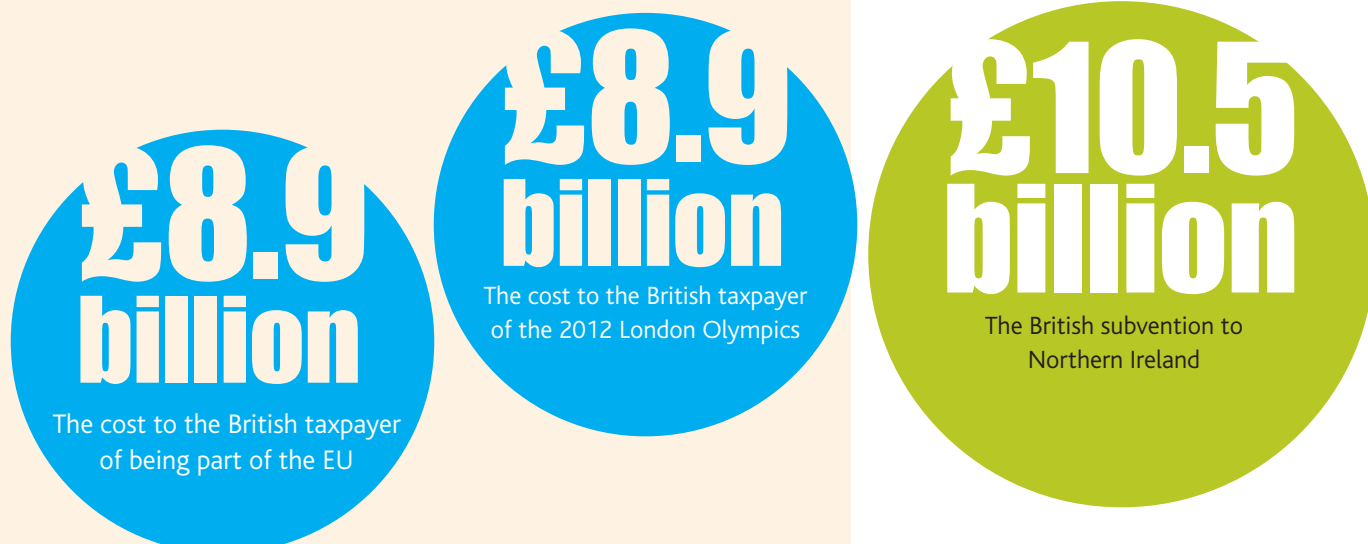


Chart 16: The cost of Northern Ireland

Bubble 1: £10.5 billion The British subvention to Northern Ireland Source: DFP

Bubble 2: £ 8.9 billion The cost to the British taxpayer of the 2012 London Olympics. The final quarterly economic report published by the UK Department for Culture Media and Sport said the overall cost of delivering the games was £8.92 billion, lower than the £9.3 billion set aside.

Bubble 3: £8.9 billion The annual cost to the British taxpayer of being part of the EU. The EU financial year runs from January to December. The Treasury says that in 2011 the UK net contribution to the EU budget was £8.1bn. But for the UK financial year, running from April 2010 to March 2011, the Treasury says the contribution was £8.91bn. The European Commission calculates the UK's contribution in a different way. In 2011 it said the UK's net contribution was 7.25 billion euro (£5.85bn, \$9.4bn).

4 The Demographic Context

4.1 Demography and identity

The results of the 2011 Census were published on 11 December 2012. There was little build-up to their release, possibly because the 2001 results had proved something of an anti-climax. At that time there had been considerable speculation that republicans could win by demography the victory that the IRA had failed to secure through its military campaign. The public construction of the Census figures as a simple headcount was evident in the Belfast Telegraph coverage. On 19 December 2002 its front page resembled the back page after a dramatic sporting fixture: Protestants 53, Catholics 44. In fact that result was less conclusive than the speculation had suggested. Demography slipped quietly out of the political debate.

The results of the 2011 Census changed all that. They were announced just one week after Belfast City Council had voted to take down the union flag, a vote made possible by the fact that unionists no longer commanded a majority within the city. The headline was that the percentage of the regional population from a Protestant background had slipped to 48 per cent, while that from a Catholic background had increased to 45 per cent. Perhaps even more significant were the results of the 2011-12 school Census: Catholic 50.9 per cent, Protestant 37.2 per cent and other 11.9 per cent. The first figure is very close to the simple border-poll majority (50% +1) required by the Good Friday Agreement to allow Irish unification, but the other findings in the 2011 Census returns suggest a much more complex picture.

The questions posed in the Census probed identity through a number of categories and the results showed that religious, political, cultural and national identities are not coterminous: people frame their identities in different ways depending on the question. Identity was explored in four different ways:--

Religious background This question was not about religious belief but about community of origin. The breakdown was as follows:

Chart 17: Religious background

Protestant	Catholic	Other religions	None
48.36%	45.14%	0.92%	5.59%

The increase in the Catholic population from 43.76 per cent in 2001 to 45.14 per cent was, if anything, less than might have been expected (1.38 per cent); the big surprise was the decline in the Protestant population, from 53.13 to 48.36 per cent, a drop of 4.77 per cent. The most likely explanation is the concentration of Protestants in older age cohorts, and Catholics in the younger: natural wastage inevitably shifts the ratio towards Catholics. The size of the drop however suggested that out-migration of Protestants might also be a factor.

Religious belief This question showed clear differences from the question on religious background. For example, while 45.14 per cent of respondents identified themselves as coming from a Catholic background, only 40.76 per cent identified themselves as subscribing to the Catholic religion. The breakdown for Protestants was given by denomination, with a combined total of 41.56 per cent – less than one percentage point more than Catholic believers.

Chart 18: Religious belief

Catholic	Presbyterian	Church of Ireland	Methodist	Other Christian	Other religions	No religion
40.76%	19.06%	13.74%	3.0%	5.76%	0.82%	10.11

National identity For the first time in 2011 a question on national identity was asked and, in the spirit of the Good Friday Agreement, respondents were given the option of identifying with more than one. It was an option that only a small proportion (8.9 per cent) chose to take; the majority (86.1 per cent) chose a single national identity. The other significant result was the proportion – just over one fifth – regarding themselves not as British or Irish but Northern Irish.

Chart 19: National identity

British only	Irish only	N. Irish only	British and Irish only	British and N. Irish only	Irish and N. Irish only	British, Irish & N.Irish only	Other
39.89%	25.26%	20.94%	0.66%	6.17%	1.06%	1.02%	5.00%

Passports held For some the passport is a crucial signifier of identity. Seamus Heaney famously declined inclusion in the Faber book of English Verse in a poem where he declared 'The passport's green'. Responses to this question in the Census and their lack of correlation with other signifiers suggested that for many the choice of passport is more a matter of expediency: cost and convenience are also factors. British passports were found to be by far the most common, with fewer holding Irish passports (20.75 per cent) than claimed an Irish-only identity (25.26 per cent).

The political implications of the Census

The Census results present a challenge to the fundamentals of politics in Northern Ireland. When the Troubles first broke out at the end of the 1960s it was common to discuss the situation as a 'double minority' problem: Catholics were seen as a permanent minority within Northern Ireland, while the Protestant population would constitute a minority if there was ever a united Ireland. That paradigm is now eclipsed: the identification of the Protestant population as the 'majority' no longer has empirical validity. Northern Ireland now only has minorities, whether categorised by religious belief, communal background or choices around national identity.

A century ago the 1911 Census in Ireland showed that in the nine counties of Ulster the population balance was 57 per cent Protestant and 43 per cent Catholic. The unionists in the north-east had to decide between a partition that included these nine counties and a six-county unit that offered a built-in sectarian majority. The latter was chosen as it was thought a 57/43 divide would make the new state ungovernable. The Northern Ireland that emerged had a Catholic population of 33 per cent and the permanence of its minority status seemed guaranteed. The proportions stayed stable until the early 1960s, largely because of Catholic emigration, but the welfare state acted to mitigate Catholic deprivation and their numbers began to grow – with that came an unsettling of unionism. The 2001 Census showed the Protestant/Catholic ratio in Northern Ireland almost identical to that of the nine-county Ulster in 1911.

Catholic numbers have now made a unionist state impossible. That is not the same as saying that Protestants will be voted into a united Ireland. The proportion of the population from a Catholic background is 45 per cent but that identifying as 'Irish only' is little more than 25 per cent, as against 40 per cent identifying themselves as 'British only'. These identifications are in any case not reliable predictors of how people might vote in any border poll but fortunately there is no need to speculate on how the various forms of identification might translate into votes in an Assembly election. The Census data were collected on 27 March 2011, very close to May 2011 when the electorate went to the polls. The unionist share of the vote was 43.2 per cent, the nationalist share 41.1 per cent. The Alliance Party secured 7.7 per cent.

4.2 Not just Catholics and Protestants

Ethnic identities

Those with ethnicities other than 'white' constituted 1.8 per cent of the usually resident population of Northern Ireland in 2011, more than double the proportion in 2001 (0.8 per cent). This is still considerably less than the percentages in the UK as a whole, where ethnic minorities constitute 19.5 per cent of the population, or in the Republic of Ireland (15.5 per cent). The school Census for 2011-12 recorded that 2.9 per cent of pupils came from mixed or ethnic-minority backgrounds. The Census breakdown by ethnic group is as follows:

Chart 20: Ethnic identities in Northern Ireland

Ethnic Group	%
Chinese	0.35%
Irish traveller	0.07%
Indian	0.34%
Pakistani	0.06%
Bangladeshi	0.03%
Other Asian	0.28%
Black Caribbean	0.12%
Black African	0.13%
Black other	0.05%
Mixed	0.33%
Other	0.13%

Note: The experiences of ethnic communities in Northern Ireland are considered in the Cohesion and Sharing section of this report.

Others

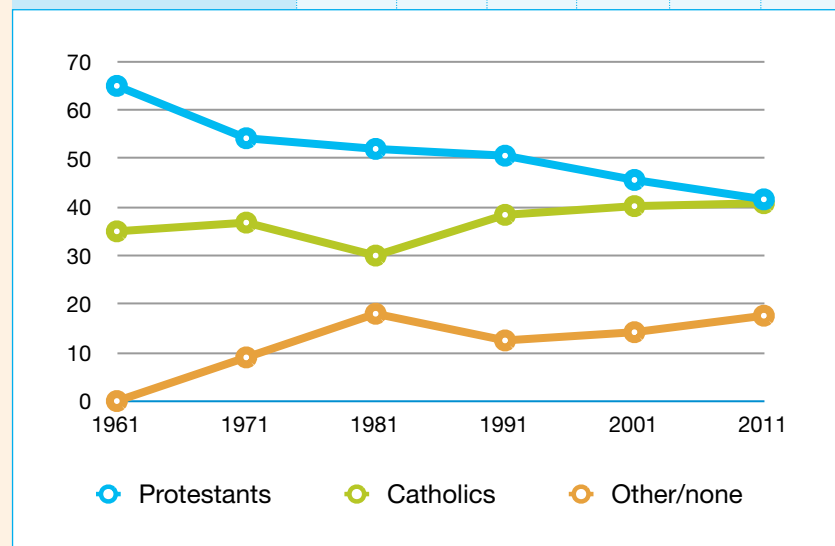
The Census recorded 16.85 per cent of the population who either had no religion (10.11 per cent) or who did not state one (6.75 per cent). In 2001 the total for no religion/none stated was 14 per cent. The 2011 Census showed an increase, and this may give hope to those who wish to see a constituency beyond orange and green. Care must be taken however in how the figure is interpreted. Only 10 per cent were categorically of no religion; no view can be attributed to the 7 per cent who chose not to state one.

Demographic change over 50 years

This table is based on the actual response given to questions about religion, as opposed to communal background, to allow for consistency. In the 2001 Census 14% of those completing the form did not state a religion, but following a process of 'reallocation' all but 3% were re-categorised as either Protestant or Catholic. The 1981 figure also shows a distortion and may be taken to reflect the political rather than demographic realities of the time. The hunger strike had inflamed passions and many nationalists either refused to participate in the Census or did not return details of their religion: hence the dip in the Catholic share and the rise in the Other/None category.

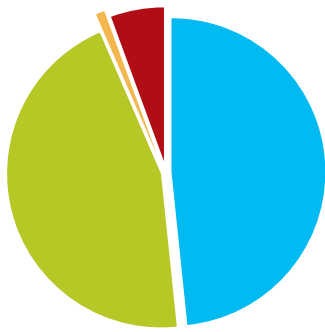
Chart 21: The demographic change 1961-2011, percentage share of the population

	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001	2011
Protestants	65	54.2	52	50.6	45.6	41.6
Catholics	35	36.8	30	38.4	40.2	40.8
Other/none	0	9	18	12.5	14.2	17.6



IDENTITIES IN THE 2011 CENSUS

Chart 22: *Religious Belief*



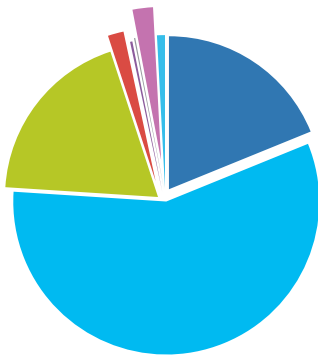
- Protestant 48.36%
- Catholic 45.14%
- Other 0.92%
- Not known 5.59%

Chart 23: *Religious Background*



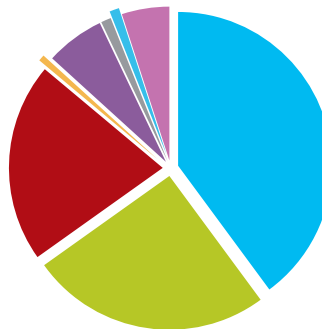
- Presbyterian 19.06%
- Methodist 3%
- Catholic 40.76%
- No Religion 10.11%
- Church of Ireland 13.74%
- Other Denominations 5.76%
- Other Religions 0.82%
- Religion not stated 6.75%

Chart 24: *Passports*



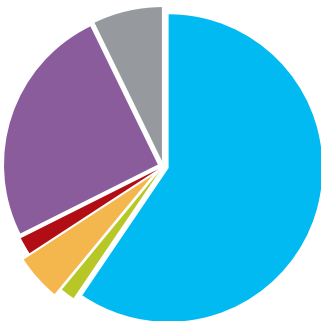
- No Passport 18.85%
- United Kingdom only 57.18%
- Ireland only 18.94%
- UK & Ireland only 1.67%
- UK & other (not Ireland) 0.24%
- Ireland & other (not UK) 0.13%
- EU/EEA (not UK or Ireland) 2.16%
- Other 0.84%

Chart 25: *National Identity*



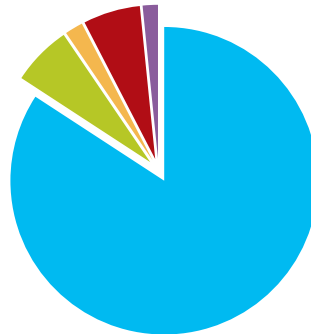
- British only 39.89%
- Irish only 25.26%
- Northern Irish only 20.94%
- British & Irish only 0.66%
- British & Northern Irish only 6.17%
- Irish & Northern Irish only 1.06%
- British, Irish and Northern Irish only 1.02%
- Other 5%

Chart 26: *UK Religious Belief*



- Christian 59.3%
- Hindu 1.5%
- Muslim 4.8%
- Other 1.8%
- No Religion 25.1%
- Religion not stated 7.2%

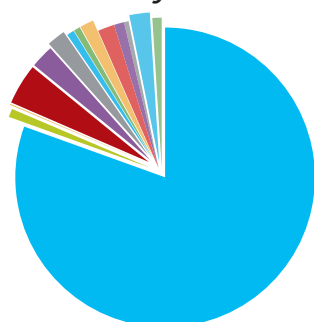
Chart 27: *Republic of Ireland Religious Belief*



- Roman Catholic 84.2%
- Protestant Denominations 6.3%
- Non Christian 1.9%
- No religion 6%
- No answer 1.6%

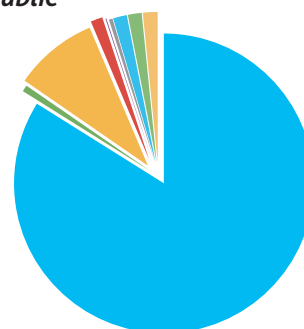
IDENTITIES IN THE 2011 CENSUS

Chart 28: UK Ethnicity



- White British 80.5%
- Gypsy or Irish Traveller 0.1%
- Indian 2.5%
- Bangladeshi 0.8%
- Other Asian 1.5%
- Caribbean 1.1%
- Mixed 2.2%
- Irish 0.9%
- Other White 4.4%
- Pakistani 2%
- Chinese 0.7%
- African 1.8%
- Other Black 0.5%
- Other 1%

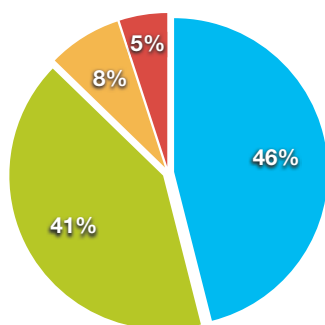
Chart 29: Republic of Ireland Ethnicity



- White Irish 84.5%
- White Irish Traveller 0.7%
- Any other White background 9.1%
- Black or Black Irish - African 1.3%
- Black or Black Irish - Any other background 0.1%
- Asian or Asian Irish - Chinese 0.4%
- Asian or Asian Irish - Any other background 1.5%
- Other including mixed background 1.5%
- Not Stated 1.6%

OTHER MEASUREMENTS OF POLITICAL IDENTITY

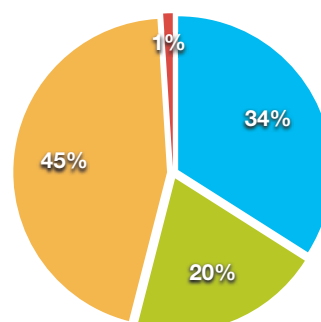
Chart 30: The 2011 Assembly Election



- Combined unionist parties
- Combined nationalist parties
- Alliance
- Others

Chart 31: NI Life and Times 2010

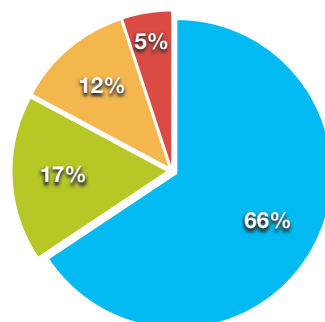
Do you think of yourself as unionist, nationalist or neither?



- Unionist
- Nationalist
- Neither
- Don't know

Chart 32: Spotlight/Ipsos Mori Poll, January 2013

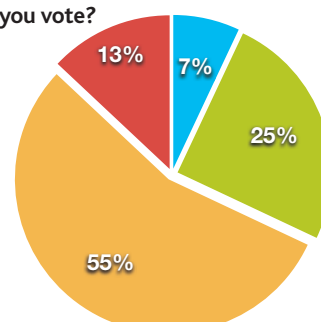
If there was a referendum tomorrow, what would you vote for?



- NI to remain part of the UK
- NI to be joined with the Republic of Ireland outside the UK
- Would not vote
- Don't know

Chart 33: Belfast Telegraph/Lucid Talk Poll, May 2012

If a border referendum was held within the next year how would you vote?



- Yes, for a United Ireland
- Yes, for a United Ireland within 20 years
- Maintaining NI separate from the Republic of Ireland
- No opinion

Dimension One: THE SENSE OF SECURITY

Key points

1. Northern Ireland has experienced the lowest crime levels since 1998/99, the earliest period from which comparable data is available. A similar fall-off can be seen in the Northern Ireland Crime Survey. The 2011-12 figures show that 11.2 per cent of all households and their adult occupants were victims of at least one NICS category of crime – again the lowest rate since the survey began operating continuously in 2005. This compares with a 21.3 per cent figure in England and Wales.
2. The recorded crime statistics show that the level of sectarian crime has dropped and now accounts for less than 1% of all crime. The data on which this assessment is based is of varying reliability. At one end of the spectrum the figures for attacks on symbolic premises can be taken as very robust, at the other end the figures for attacks on the person are likely to be under-reported. The sectarian attacks that took place from December 2012 – February 2013 are not properly reflected in the official statistics.
3. The level of racist hate crime has also dropped and is considerably lower than the rate for other parts of the UK. There are blockages however in the criminal justice system which depress the rate of convictions for hate crime.
4. The overall level of dissident republican activity has fallen, and in October 2012 the Secretary of State, Theresa Villiers acting on the advice of MI5, reduced the threat level in Great Britain (though not in the UK) from 'substantial' to 'moderate'. However, as the killing of the prison officer, David Black shows, the dissident groups are still capable of striking. They have not yet shown themselves able to develop a political profile, and a protracted 'dirty protest' failed to achieve traction in terms of public support.
5. There has been no increase in the number of peace walls and some initiatives have been taken to mitigate their effects.
6. The marching season was more volatile than in recent years and contention over marching bands opened up new tensions that will not easily be resolved.

1. Overall crime rates

1.1 How violent a society is Northern Ireland?

Levels of crime were down again in 2012. Overall crime fell by 3.6 per cent in the twelve months to 31st January 2013 when compared with the twelve months to 31st January 2012. This means crime was at its lowest level since 1998/99 (the first year for which comparable crime data is available). PSNI crime statistics show a consistent downward trend over the past nine years. A peak was reached in 2002-03 with 142,496 recorded crimes, but this has fallen to 103,389 in 2011-12, a decrease of 27.4 per cent, with the year-on-year fall 1.6 per cent since 2010-11. To use the number of crimes per 1,000 of the population as a yardstick: in 1998/99 there were 65 crimes per 1,000; in 2002-03 this peaked at 84, and in 2011-12 it dropped to 57, the lowest since this data series began in 1998-99.

Some categories of crime have not gone down. The decrease in crime has mainly been experienced within property crime, while offences of violence against the person and sexual offences have shown an upwards trend since 2000/01. As a result the profile of crime has changed in the years between 1998/99 and 2011/12. In 1998/99 violence against the person, sexual offences and robbery accounted for 20 per cent of all recorded crime, while property crime accounted for 78 per cent. In 2011/12 property crime represented 60 per cent of all recorded crime, with the proportion of violence against the person, sexual offences and robbery offences increasing to represent 33 per cent of all recorded crime. Perhaps running against expectation, the period of recession has seen burglary fall to its lowest level since 1998-99, and the second lowest level of fraud recorded.

Official figures only count crimes reported and recorded, and a more complete picture comes from the Northern Ireland Crime Survey (NICS), which samples just over 4,000 people. Respondents are asked about crimes they may have experienced, which very often includes crimes not reported to the police. It was estimated in 2010-11 that only around 44 per cent of NICS-comparable crime was reported, very similar to the 43 per cent figure in the Crime Survey for England Wales (CSEW) in this period. The NICS figures parallel the official recorded crime statistics in showing a continuing decrease in crime. The 2011-12 figures show that 11.2 per cent of all households and their adult occupants were victims of at least one NICS category of crime – again the lowest rate since the survey began operating continuously in 2005. This compares with a 21.3% figure in England and Wales. In other words, the risk of becoming a victim of crime in Northern Ireland is almost half that in England and Wales. It is not possible to make comparisons with overall crime rates for the Republic of Ireland as the Central Statistics Office in Dublin does not produce comparable data. It believes that aggregate crime figures bundle together the serious and the trivial, and so only produces data relating to the major crime categories.

Chart 34: Victims of Crime, 2011/12
Source: DoJ 'Experience of Crime' January 2013



In international crime surveys, Northern Ireland once stood out because of its murder rate. This is no longer the case. Homicide data from the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's 36 member states show Northern Ireland with a rate of approximately 1.2 per 100,000, against the OECD average of 2.1 (Chart 17). The data are drawn from 2007-09 and since that time the murder rate in Northern Ireland has continued to fall, reducing from 49 in 2001-02 to 16 in 2011-12, a drop of 67.3 per cent.

Chart 35: Homicide in the OECD member states per 100,000 of the population. Source: OECD Better Life Index, 2012 (data collected in the 2007-09 period). While homicide is very much an exceptional crime it is often used as an indicator in international crime surveys because, unlike other crimes, it is almost always reported. Northern Ireland's homicide rate dropped in 2012 from the 1.2 shown in this chart. There was a total of 16 homicides, or 0.9% per 100,000 of the population.

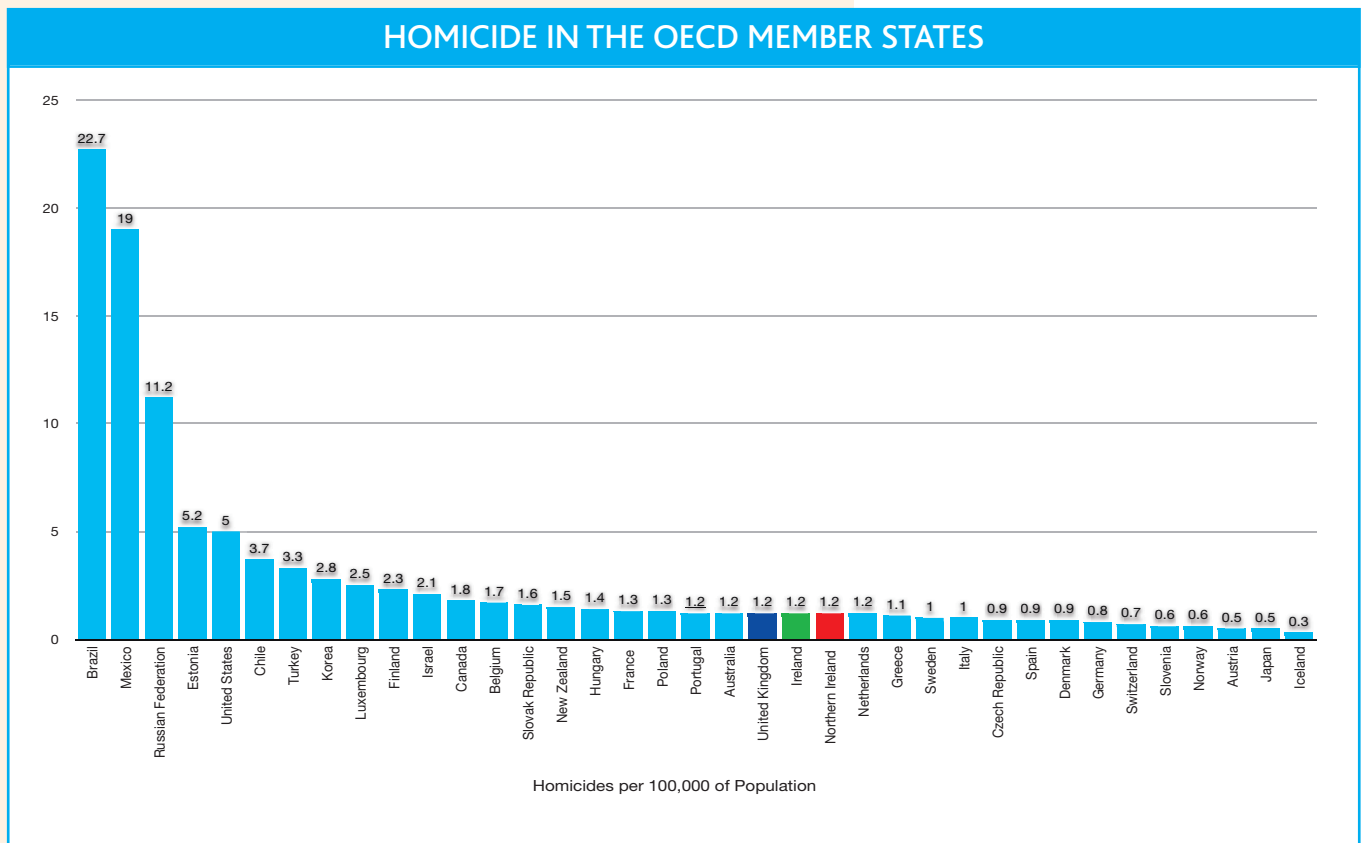


Chart 36: The decline of recorded crime in England and Wales, 2001/02 to 2011/12
Sources: Home Office, British Crime Survey, Crime Survey England and Wales

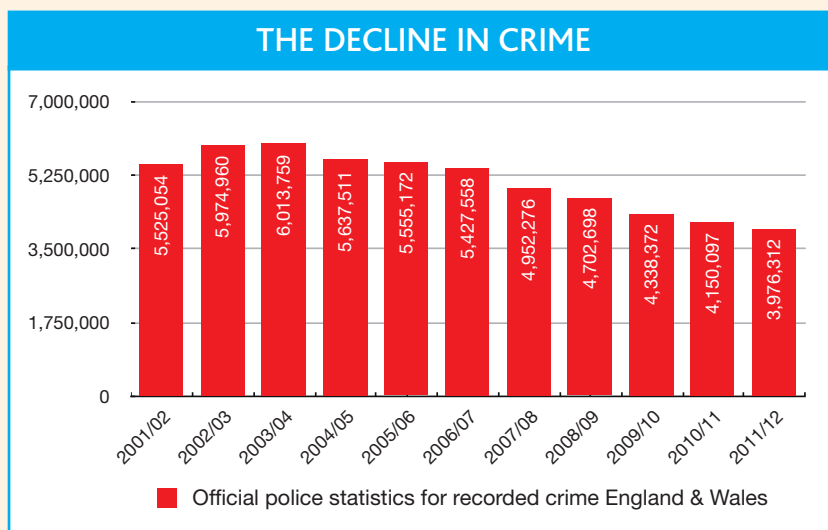


Chart 37: The decline of crime in Northern Ireland, 2001/02 to 2011/12
 Sources: PSNI Statistics, NI Crime Survey SL 17/10/2012

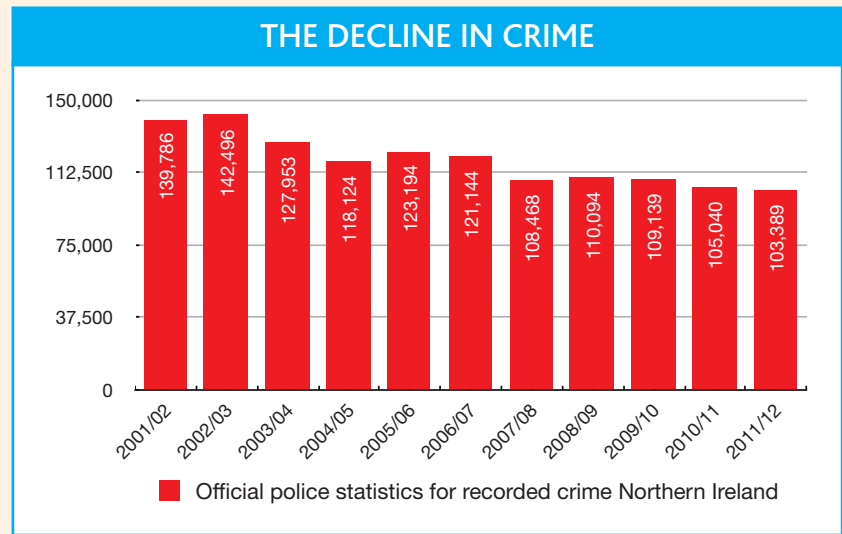
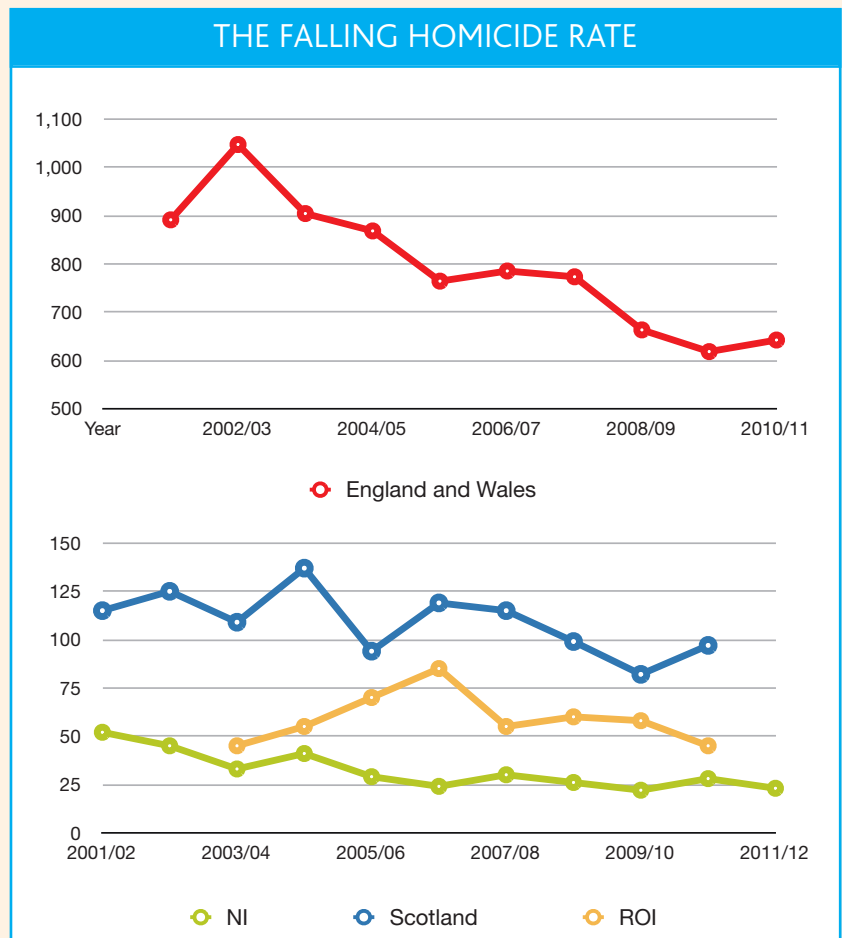


Chart 38: The Falling Homicide Rate

Police recorded crime statistics for each jurisdiction, using the definition of homicide that includes the crimes of murder, manslaughter and infanticide. For the purposes of consistency this table does not include deaths occasioned by dangerous driving, which in the Republic of Ireland is also included as homicide crime.

Sources: PSNI Trends in Police Recorded Crime 1998/99 to 2011/12, Central Statistics Office Dublin, Recorded Crime Trends, Home Office, Scotland Office



1.2 Northern Ireland – the armed peace

There are 153,459 legally held firearms in Northern Ireland. The legal framework was established by the Firearms (Northern Ireland) Order 2004, with minor amendments added in Section 203 of the Justice Act (Northern Ireland) 2011. In essence, civilians are allowed firearms for sporting activities (including paintballing), for the control of pests and wildlife, and for shooting competitions and target shooting. These uses are in line with the EU Firearms Directive (2007). What distinguishes Northern Ireland is the rate of gun ownership.

Data for 2012 from the University of Sydney's Institute of Public Health show this is by far the highest in the UK (Chart 39). Although its data are from 2007, a league table of 178 countries compiled by the Geneva-based Small Arms Survey places Northern Ireland at 25th for gun ownership, the Republic of Ireland at 70th, and England and Wales at 88th. More up-to-date figures were issued by the PSNI in August 2012 in response to an inquiry from the investigative website The Detail. With the number of weapons totalling 153,459, the PSNI said 59,585 civilians in Northern Ireland held firearms licences, 7,018 guns were held by serving police and prison officers, 98 per cent of gun-holders were male and 2,924 licences had been issued as 'personal protection weapons'.

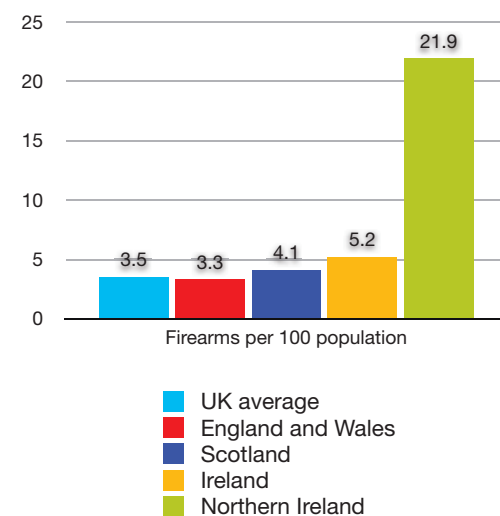
2. Hate crime

2.1 The recording of hate crime

It is notoriously difficult to arrive at an accurate assessment of hate crime. In 2012 the Home Office began a report with the caution 'Research suggests that hate crime is hugely under-reported'. Victims can be reluctant to come forward for fear of attracting further abuse, they may fear their concerns won't be taken seriously and may doubt the ability of the authorities to take any effective action. And lesser crimes are less reported. A small community like those recently arrived in Northern Ireland as refugees from the Horn of Africa tends not to bring its concerns into public view. A study conducted by the Institute for Conflict Research, *The Horn of Africa Community in Belfast: A Needs Assessment* (Young, 2012), showed that only 67 per cent of those who had experienced physical abuse had reported it to the police. In April 2012 the Northern Ireland Council for Ethnic Minorities presented a report to the Assembly on discrimination against the Filipino community, submitting evidence showing that 41.5 per cent of those interviewed had experienced racial harassment in the workplace. Homophobic crime is significantly under-reported. According to the *Through Our Eyes* report (O'Doherty, 2009), jointly sponsored by the Rainbow Project and the PSNI, 64 per cent of homophobic incidents in the previous three years were never reported.

There have been high-profile cases drawing attention to the problem. In September 2012 a Chinese doctor was dragged from his home in Coleraine and badly beaten in the street. On 23 January 2012 the Belfast Telegraph reported on hate crimes against Filipinos, including a nurse being tied to a

Chart 39: Rate of firearms per 100 population
Source: University of Sydney Institute of Public Health.



In the 2012 tables, Northern Ireland has by far the highest rate of gun ownership in the UK.

chair and a hotel worker being locked in a freezer. The case which first prompted the description of Northern Ireland as the 'race hate capital of Europe' dates back to 2004. An Asian shopkeeper, Brij Sharma, was beaten to death in Moneymore, Co Tyrone, by two assailants who had called him a 'Paki bastard'. The racist motivation was not considered by the prosecution and, in a 2004 judgment subsequently criticised by the Police Ombudsman, the two perpetrators were convicted of manslaughter and sentenced to 17 months in prison and 100 hours of community service respectively.

Since then efforts have been made by campaign groups, the PSNI and the criminal justice system to address hate crime, through initiatives like the PSNI-supported umbrella group Unite Against Hate. The legislative framework that has been developed is slightly different from that in England and Wales. It was only in 1995 that data were first collected on racially-motivated crime and only in 1997, one year before the Good Friday Agreement, that race-relations legislation was introduced, creating a number of substantive hate crime offences. This was updated by the Criminal Justice (No.2) Order of 2004 which brought a series of offences together in one piece of legislation. While in England and Wales there are specific offences in law of racially or religiously aggravated assault, in Northern Ireland the crime is pursued as assault with a motivating factor related to hate (racist, homophobic etc) and where a person is convicted of a crime with this 'aggravating' factor a heavier penalty will be imposed. There is in fact no statutory definition of hate crime, but the Northern Ireland criminal justice follows the lead taken by the English police of using the Macpherson approach. The approach, now standard across the UK, allows the victim to determine whether or not a crime is a hate crime. In England and Wales five types of hate crime are recognised: racist, homophobic, disability-related, religious, and transphobic. All five are recognised in Northern Ireland, but a sixth is added, sectarian hate crime, which is distinguished from religion or faith-based crime. On the webpage dealing with hate crime the PSNI provides the following explanation:

The term 'sectarian', whilst not clearly defined, is a term almost exclusively used in Northern Ireland to describe incidents of bigoted dislike or hatred of members of a different religious or political group. It is broadly accepted that within the Northern Ireland context an individual or group must be perceived to be Catholic or Protestant, Nationalist or Unionist, or Loyalist or Republican.

It is the responsibility of the PSNI officer who records each crime or incident to tick the appropriate box on the recording sheet if the victim believes there was a hate motivation that falls within one of the six categories. The correct application of this procedure is not quality-assured by the PSNI Central Statistics Branch but quarterly audits are conducted to ensure any under- or over-recording is corrected. Once the file passes to the Public Prosecution Service, the victim's perception is not sufficient to launch a prosecution: cases taken to the courts must have an evidence base.

2.2 Hate crimes and incidents – a trend overview

The distinction between a hate crime and a hate incident is not a clear one. The essential distinction applied by the PSNI is to do with severity. A crime is an offence that could go to jury trial, together with some more minor offences, such as assault without injury. An incident may be a crime in law, such as disorderly behaviour, but 'not of a level of severity that would result in the recording of a notifiable crime'. In practice, the two are not easily distinguishable.

The overall rates for hate crime have been diminishing over the past two years, and in the past year there have been decreases within each of the six hate crime types. Sectarian crimes were down by 110 (-11.1 per cent), racist crimes were down by 73 (-13.7 per cent), homophobic crimes were down by 17 (-12.4 per cent) and disability crimes were down by 16 (-51.6 per cent). There were also 11 fewer faith/religion crimes and 5 fewer transphobic crimes. A similar pattern of decline can be found in the statistics for hate-motivated incidents.

Chart 40: Number of incidents with a hate motivation

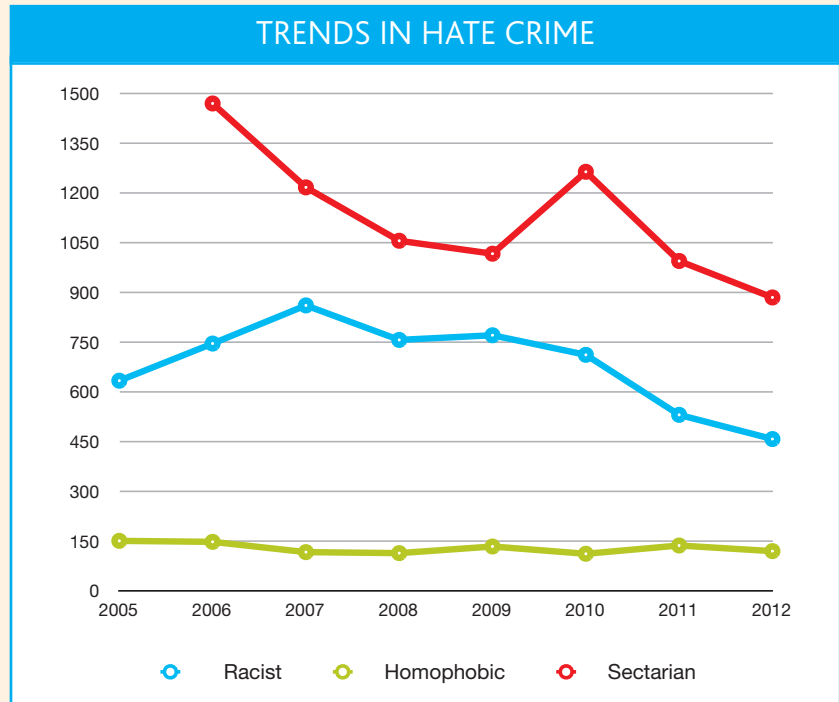
Motivation	2006/07	2007/08	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12
Racist	1,047	976	990	1,038	842	696
Homophobic	155	160	179	175	211	200
Faith/religion	136	68	46	23	21	8
Sectarian	1,695	1,584	1,595	1,840	1,437	1,344
Disability	48	49	44	58	38	33
Transphobic	32	7	10	14	22	3

Chart 41: Number of crimes with a hate motivation

Motivation	2006/07	2007/08	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12
Racist	861	757	771	712	531	458
Homophobic	117	114	134	112	137	120
Faith/religion	120	62	35	15	17	6
Sectarian	1,217	1,056	1,056	1,264	995	885
Disability	48	49	44	58	38	33
Transphobic	32	7	10	14	22	3

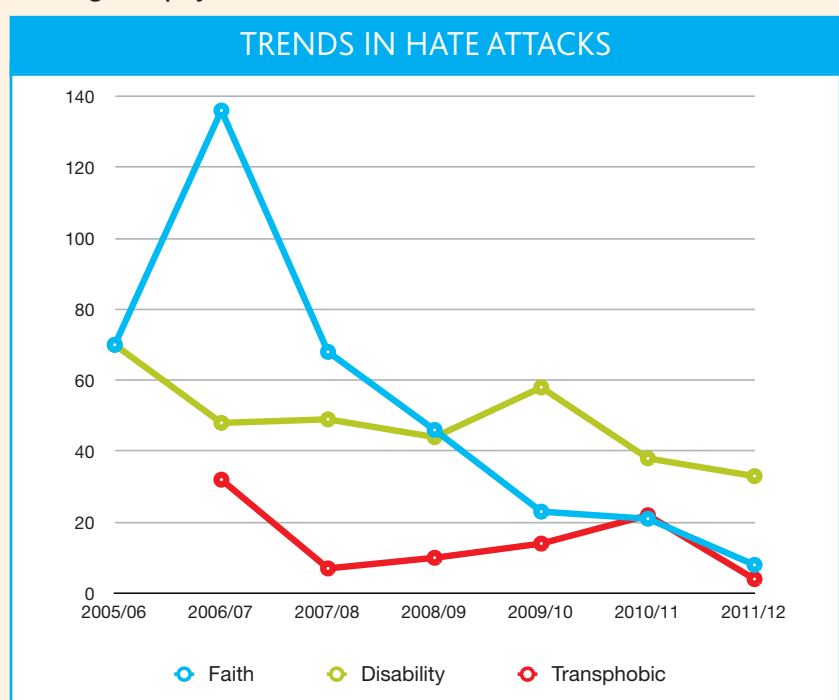
The overall rates for hate crime have been diminishing

Chart 42: Trends in racist, homophobic and sectarian hate crime



The PSNI cautions that in some cases more than one motivation might be attributed to a crime or incident and so there is a degree of overlap in the classification, which can lead to some inconsistency in the totals. Attacks on the Polish community, for example, are always recorded as race crimes but at times these can be seen as religious or sectarian. The widespread burning of the Polish flag on the 12th July bonfires in 2012 earned a rebuke from the First Minister for its racist intent but these occurred in loyalist areas where part of the motivation for the attacks comes from the association of Polish people with Catholicism.

Chart 43: Trends in crimes with hate motivation linked to faith/religion, disability or transgender prejudice



2.3 Does Northern Ireland have more hate crimes than other places?

The number of recorded hate crimes in Northern Ireland in 2011-12 was 1,567. This was 3.3 per cent of the total for England and Wales (47,748). Chart 44 shows Northern Ireland as slightly higher than the average when hate crimes are measured against population size (8.7 v 8.0 per 10,000 people), and significantly above the average when set against total crime figures: 14.4 per 1,000 crimes compared with an average of 11.0 per 1,000 crimes in England and Wales – but then rates for other forms of crime are relatively low in Northern Ireland.

The most common hate crime in the region is motivated by sectarianism. When it is included in the proportion of crimes which are hate crimes, then the Northern Ireland figure is higher than that for England and Wales – 1.4 versus 1.1 per cent. If however sectarianism is excluded so that the measurement is in line with that used across the UK – only counting crimes linked to race, sexual orientation or disability – then the percentage in Northern Ireland is much lower: only 0.6 per cent of all crimes in the region are in these categories.

Chart 44: Hate crime in NI compared with England and Wales
 Sources: Association of Chief Police Officers Crime Statistics (up to 2010-11), Home Office (2011-12), PSNI crime statistics

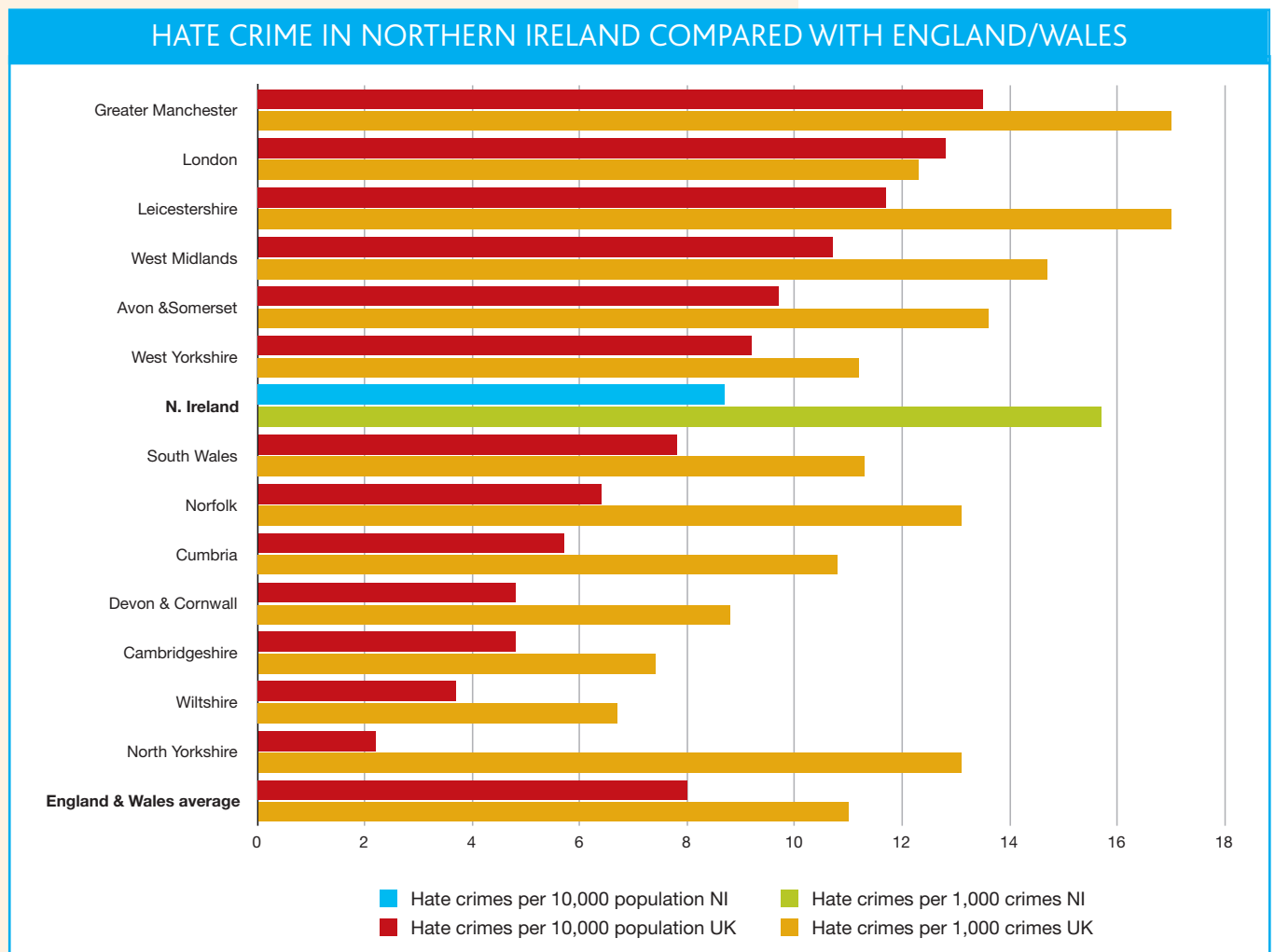


Chart 45

England and Wales Hate Crime

	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12
Race	42454	38670	35311	35,815
Religion	2007	1959	1715	1,621
Sexual orientation	4711	4736	4316	4,252
Disability	1211	1512	1877	1,744
Transgender	298	352	290	315
Total hate crime	50681	47229	43509	43747
Total crime	4,702,697	4,338,295	4,150,915	3,976,312
Hate crime as % of total crime	1.07%	1.08%	1.05%	1.10%

Chart 46

Northern Ireland hate crime, not including sectarian crime

	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12
Race hate	771	712	531	458
Religion	35	15	17	6
Sexual orientation	134	112	137	120
Disability	28	41	31	15
Transgender	2	4	8	3
Total	970	884	724	602
Total crime	110,904	109,139	105,040	103,389
Hate crime (excluding sectarianism) as % of total crime	0.87%	0.80%	0.69%	0.60%

Chart 47

Northern Ireland hate crime, including sectarian crime

	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12
Sectarian	1017	1264	995	885
Race hate	771	712	531	458
Religion	35	15	17	6
Sexual orientation	134	112	137	120
Disability	28	41	31	15
Transgender	2	4	8	3
Total	1987	2148	1719	1487
Total crime	110,904	109,139	105,040	103,389
Hate crime as % of total crime	1.79%	1.96%	1.63%	1.44%

2.4 Racist hate crime

The figures issued by the PSNI in February 2013 show a very slight downward trend for the calendar year 2012 – down from 470 in the year 2011 to 462, a continuation of a trend begun the previous year. The number of racist incidents showed a similar small decline: from 731 in 2011 to 722 in 2012.

Sanction detection rates (see page 50) for crimes with a racist motivation tend to be lower than those for all crimes recorded by the police, regardless of crime type. In 2011-12 the sanction detection rate for violence against the person where there was a racist motivation was 8.5 percentage points lower than for all violence against the person offences and for property crime with a racist motivation the rate was 9.2 percentage points lower. The rate for all crimes where there was a racist motivation was 9.5 percentage points lower than for all crimes recorded. The overall trend though was up on the previous year – from 13.4 to 16.8 per cent.

Chart 48: Detection rates for hate crime 2011-12

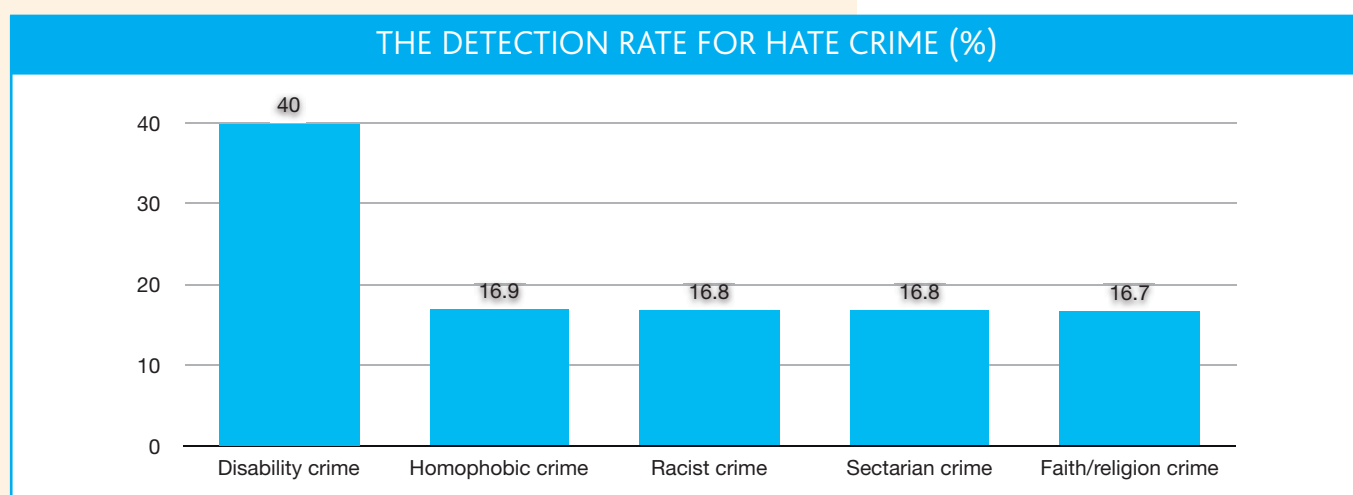


Chart 49: Racist incidents and crimes 2010-11 to 2012-13

Quarter	Incidents	Crimes
2010-11 Q2	231	147
2010-11 Q3	216	129
2010-11 Q4	193	111
2011-12 Q1	196	147
2011-12 Q2	183	107
2011-12 Q3	159	105
2011-12 Q4	158	99
2012-13 Q1	175	10

The victims of racially-motivated hate crime come from all ethnic groups and nationalities but not all are affected to the same degree. The largest group is white but the proportion of victims who are white has gone down from 66 to 47 per cent in the past year. Polish people make up the largest immigrant community in Northern Ireland and from 2007-08 to 2010-11 they made up the largest number of victims. In 2008-09 there were 178 crimes against Poles but since then there has been a steady decline to 45 in 2011-12. The biggest white victim group is now classified as UK and Ireland, which includes Irish travellers. The second largest ethnic victim group is the Asian community and again victimisation has decreased from 135 crimes in 2008-09 to 78 in 2011-12.

The table below allows for an analysis both by ethnic group (e.g. White) and nationality (e.g. Lithuanian). The ethnicity classifications have been grouped into Asian (includes Asian, Bangladeshi, Chinese, Indian, Japanese, Oriental, Other Asian, Pakistani), Black (includes Afro-Caribbean, Black African, Black Caribbean, Black Other), Mixed/Other (includes Arabic or North African, Mixed, Other Ethnic Group), White (includes Dark European, Irish Traveller, North European, South European, White, White European) and Missing/Unknown.

Chart 50: Racist crimes by ethnicity and nationality of victim, 2007-08 to 2011-12

Ethnicity (Nationality)		2007/08	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12
Asian: of which		135	135	123	91	78
	India	30	40	28	26	16
	UK and Ireland	36	21	22	20	17
	China	21	25	14	14	13
	All other nationalities	34	33	43	24	22
	Nationality missing	14	16	16	7	10
Black		40	57	42	46	47
Mixed/Other		36	17	30	20	30
White: of which		468	459	393	274	204
	Poland	152	178	129	88	45
	UK and Ireland	91	81	97	78	55
	Lithuania	29	37	38	20	17
	Slovakia	30	28	12	3	7
	Latvia	12	12	8	10	8
	Portugal	22	21	10	5	7
	Romania	17	5	7	10	15
	All other nationalities	64	62	59	41	30
	Nationality missing	51	35	33	19	20
Ethnicity Missing/Unknown Person		27	57	71	72	77
Total number of racist crimes with a person victim		706	725	659	503	436

Source: PSNI Hate Crime Statistics

The biggest increase over the five years has been in the 'missing/unknown' category (18 per cent). This either means that on the recording form the ethnicity/nationality of the victim has not been given by the person reporting or it has not been recorded by the PSNI officer completing the form.

2.5 Sectarian hate crime

Sectarian attacks are still a daily occurrence in Northern Ireland, with 1,344 incidents in 2011-12 or an average of 3.4 per day. Even those which do not have a large statistical significance can have profound human consequences or be seen to hold a wider symbolic importance. For example, a 38-year-old Catholic woman who lived in a Protestant area in Newtownards awoke on the night of 11 October 2012 to find that an arson attack had filled her house with smoke. She managed to get her three children, aged between 2 and 12, out through an upstairs bathroom window, while she had to be rescued by fire officers. This was the third attack the family had suffered in 13 days. On 20 October the fourth came in the form of flammable liquid poured through the letterbox. The woman decided it had become impossible to live in the area and applied for emergency rehousing. That same weekend a sectarian attack was mounted on an Orange Hall in Glenavy. Two tyres were placed against the front door and set alight, causing fire damage to the front of the building. It was the fourth attack on the building in four years.

Sectarian crime remains the most common form of hate crime in Northern Ireland. The 2011-12 figure for incidents however marked a decrease of 93 (6.5 per cent) on the previous year and the lowest total since the series began in 2005-06. Sectarian crimes also fell, from 995 in 2010-11 to 885 in 2011-12 (11.1 per cent), also to the lowest incidence. The sanction detection rate in 2011-12 was 16.8 per cent, a considerable drop from the 28.8 per cent figure in 2010-11, continuing a pattern of fluctuation (Charts, 53, 54a and 54b).

WHAT DOES THE TERM SANCTION DETECTION MEAN?

A crime is considered detected when the police have identified the person or persons responsible, and that person has been charged or summonsed, cautioned or issued with a warning or a penalty notice. (When the offender is a young person the Public Prosecution Service may consider a Youth Conference more appropriate). Not all sanction detections will necessarily result in a conviction. The PPS may decide not to take the prosecution forward or the defendant may be found not guilty if it does. The sanction detection rate is the number of such detections recorded as a percentage of the total number of crimes over the period.

The victims of hate crime: a changing picture

Chart 51: The victims of racist crime 2007/08

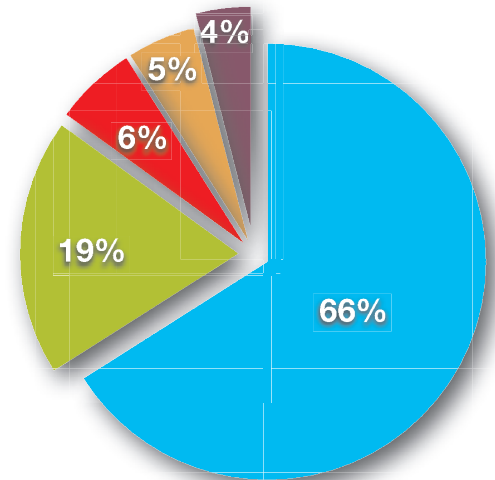
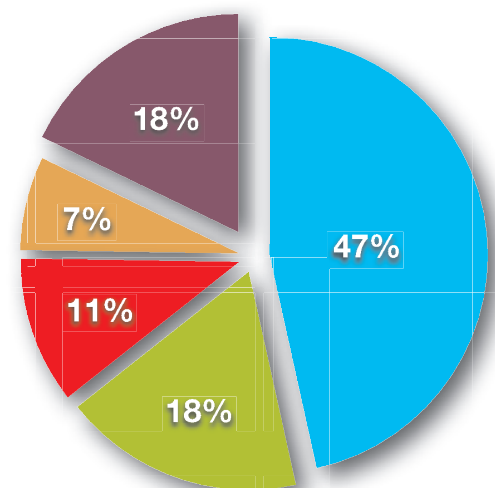


Chart 52: The victims of racist crime 2011/12
Source: PSNI Statistics Branch, Trends in Hate-Motivated Crime



- White
- Asian
- Black
- Mixed/other
- Missing/unknown

Chart 53: Sectarian hate crime: Incidents, crimes and sanction detection rates, 2005-06 to 2011-12

Source: PSNI Statistics Branch, Trends in Hate-Motivated Crime

	2006/07	2007/08	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12
Sectarian incidents	1,695	1,584	1,595	1,840	1,437	1,344
Sectarian crimes	1,217	1,056	1,017	1,264	995	885
Section detection rate	11.1%	14.4%	15.2%	16.9%	28.8%	16.8%

This level of detection compares badly with that for other crimes. The detection rates for sectarian crime lag behind in all categories, with a particularly large gap for violent crimes against the person. Where these have a sectarian motivation, the sanction detection rate is 15.5 percentage points behind those where such motivation is absent. The overall gap is 9.5 percentage points.

SANCTION DETECTION

Chart 54a: Sanction detection rates for sectarian-motivated crime against other crime, 2011-12

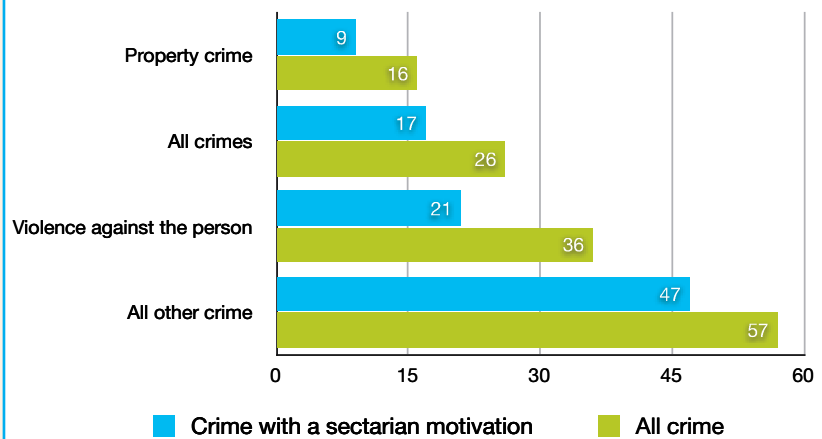
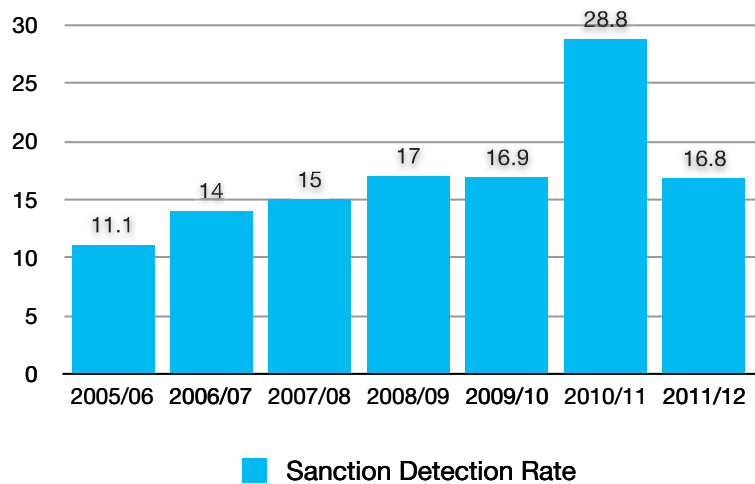


Chart 54b: Sanction detection rates for sectarian crime



Sectarian crime has also diminished as a proportion of all crime. In 2005-06 it accounted for 1.2 per cent, falling in 2010-11 to 0.9 per cent. The biggest relative drop has been in sectarian-motivated violence against the person, dropping from 2.2 per cent of such recorded crimes to 1.3 per cent. Within that category, there has been a steep relative decline in sectarian harassment offences, from 7.5 per cent to 3.1 of such crimes. But sectarian riots or other violent disorders continue to account for a third of such episodes, and their incidence points to a problem with the reliability of the data on sectarian crime. At one end of the spectrum there are statistics which can be considered extremely robust: for example all arson attacks on buildings will be reported for insurance purposes, and so the statistical total for the year can be considered reliable. At the other end of the spectrum, sectarian attacks on the person are much less likely to be reported. During the months from December 2012 to February 2013 the protests on the flags issue led to repeated hostilities at the interface in Belfast between the loyalist protestors and the residents of the Catholic Short Strand. This resulted in community representatives from both sides complaining of sectarian attacks, but since these were reported as attacks on communities rather than attacks on the individual person the intensity of these disturbances is not reflected in the police records.

Chart 55: The decline in sectarian crime as a percentage of all crime

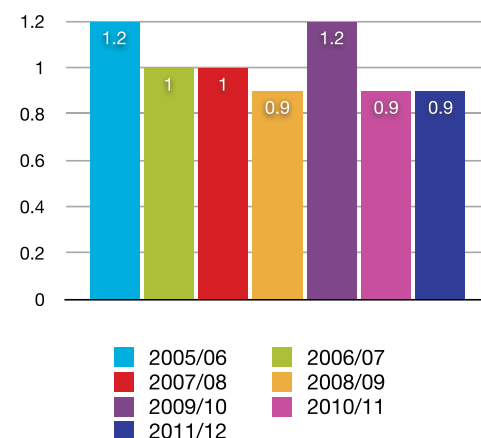
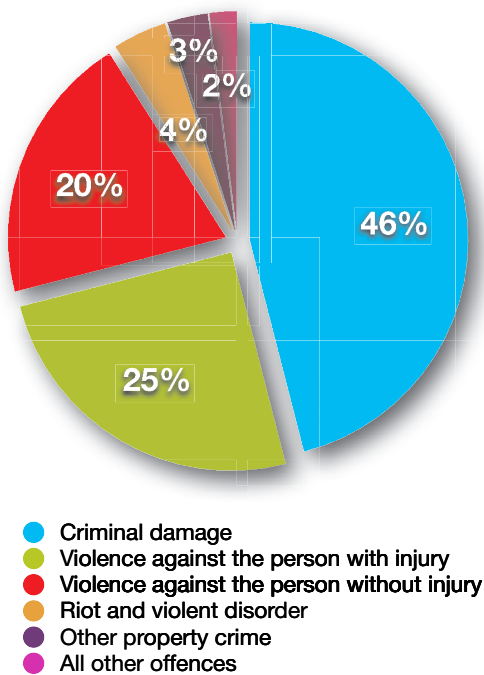


Chart 56: Main sectarian hate crimes as a percentage by crime category where sectarian motives have occurred

Crime	2005/06	2006/07	2007/08	2008/08	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12
Violence against the person	2.2	1.7	1.6	1.4	1.9	1.7	1.3
– With injury	2.2	1.6	1.7	1.5	2.1	1.5	1.4
– Without injury	2.3	1.7	1.4	1.4	1.7	1.8	1.2
– Threats to kill	2.9	2.1	2.4	1.6	2.5	1.1	1.1
– Harassment	7.5	4.5	3.2	4.0	3.6	2.6	3.1
Criminal damage	1.9	1.6	1.5	1.8	2.2	1.6	1.7
– To a dwelling	2.6	2.2	1.9	1.9	2.7	1.7	2.3
– To a building other than a dwelling	1.8	1.4	1.7	3.0	3.4	2.2	1.9
Riot/Violent disorder	33.3	30.6	49.0	26.8	29.9	48.0	33.0
– All other offences	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.2

It is often the case in Northern Ireland that an incident or crime can take on a greater, symbolic significance when 'motivated by sectarian intent', through a ripple effect. Urination in a public place is not usually considered a significant crime but when a loyalist bandsman urinated at the gate of St Matthew's Catholic Church in east Belfast during the Ulster Covenant commemoration event in September 2012 the meaning seemed quite clear. When a photograph of the bandsman appeared on the front page of the Irish News the next day, its predominantly Catholic readership was hugely offended and an already volatile situation immediately made more dangerous.

Chart 57: Sectarian crime by crime type
Source: PSNI Hate Crime Trends, August 2012



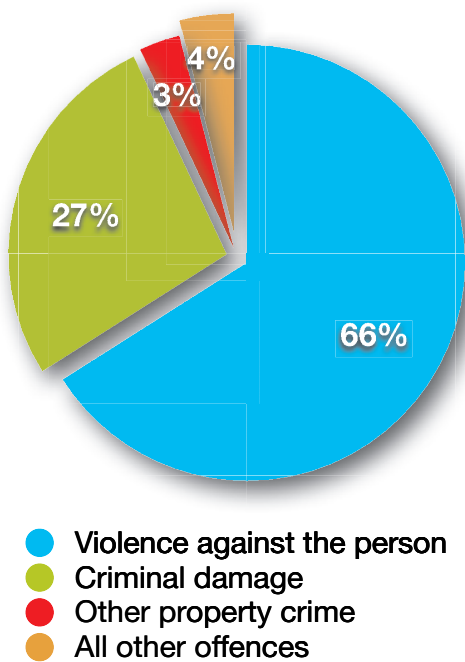
Attacks on symbolic premises

Attacks on symbolic premises have been recorded in official crime statistics since 2007-08. The figures are generally reliable, since attacks on property are almost always reported for insurance purposes. The past year has seen a decrease in such attacks to 56, the lowest since the series began. This represents 6% of all sectarian crime, again the lowest proportion to date. As in all other years, Orange or Apprentice Boys' Halls were the buildings most frequently attacked.

Chart 58: Attacks on symbolic premises, 2007-08 to 2011-12

Type of symbolic premises	2007/08	2008/09	2009/10	2010/11	2011/12
Church or chapel	19	37	24	23	12
GAA or Ancient Order of Hibernians Hall	6	10	15	8	8
Orange or Apprentice Boys Hall	63	61	72	58	32
School	6	13	15	*	4
Total number of attacks	94	121	126	89	56

Chart 59: Homophobic crimes by crime type:



2.6 Homophobic hate crime

The number of homophobic incidents fell by 11 (5.2 per cent) between 2010-11 and 2011-12, following an upward creep in previous years. Recorded homophobic crimes also fell, from 137 in 2010-11 to 120 in 2011-12 (12.4 per cent). These statistics however underestimate the scale of the problem.

A civil case brought to Laganside Court in June 2012 stemmed from a string of attacks between August 2007 and October 2008 against a gay couple in Newtownards – windows were broken, eggs were thrown at their property and their car was vandalised. One of the victims was a former PSNI officer and when the local police failed adequately to investigate the couple made a complaint to the Police Ombudsman, upheld in 2010. The civil action resulted in compensation for the victims and the disciplining of eight officers from the Newtownards PSNI station. A new training scheme for PSNI personnel was put in place involving the Rainbow Coalition, and this partnership commissioned a joint report, *Through Our Eyes* (O'Doherty, 2009), about the experiences of the gay and lesbian community with the criminal justice system.

Despite this increased cooperation between the police and the LGBT community, the sanction detection rates have fallen for the third year in a row. The highest was in 2008-09 (21.6 per cent) but stood at 15.0 per cent in 2011-12. The most common homophobic crime reported to the police is violence against the person, which accounts for two thirds of the total.

TRENDS IN HATE CRIME

Chart 60: Homophobic incidents and crimes, 2006/07 to 2011/12

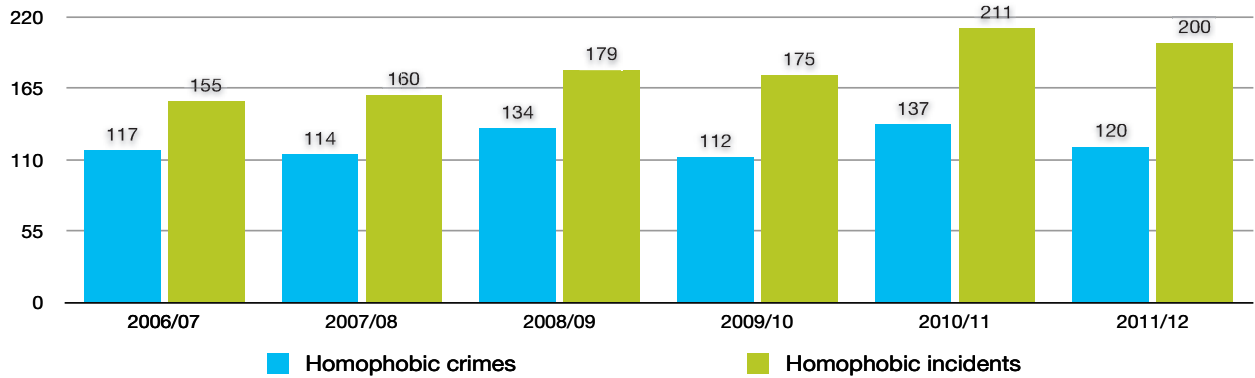


Chart 61: Trends in faith/religion incidents and crimes 2006/07 to 2011/12

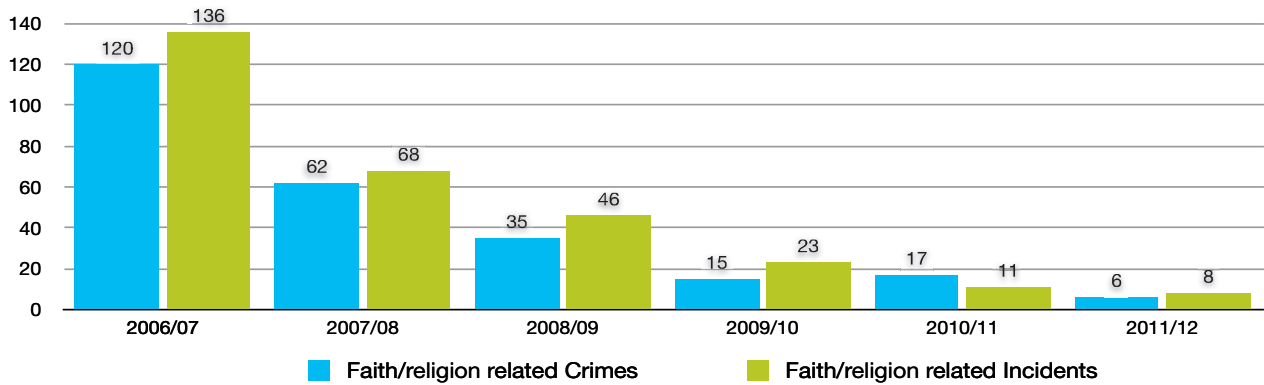


Chart 62: Trends in Disability incidents and crimes 2006/07 to 2011/12

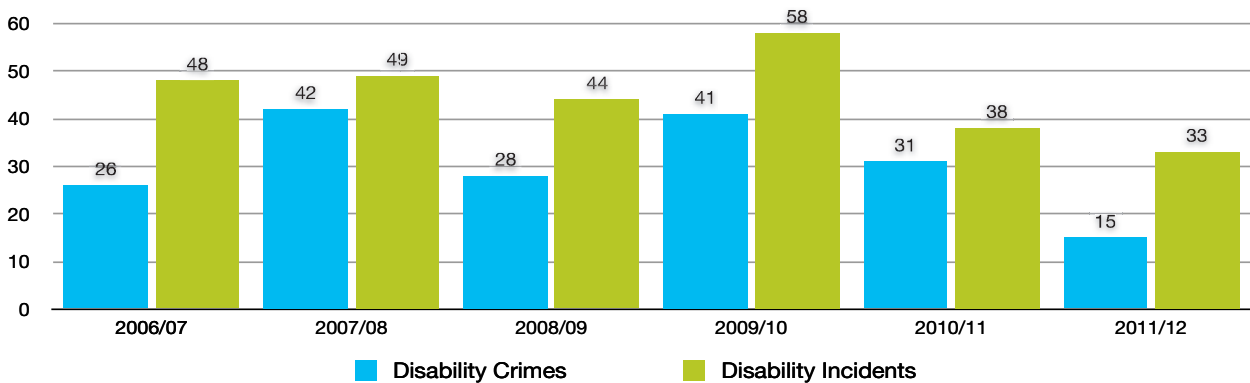
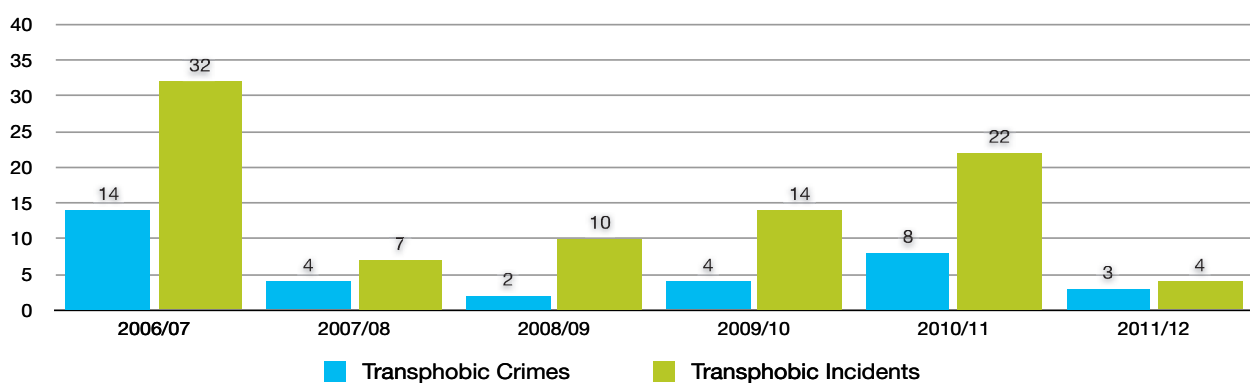


Chart 63: Trends in Transphobic incidents and crimes 2006/07 to 2011/12



2.7 The prosecution of hate crime – a lack of conviction?

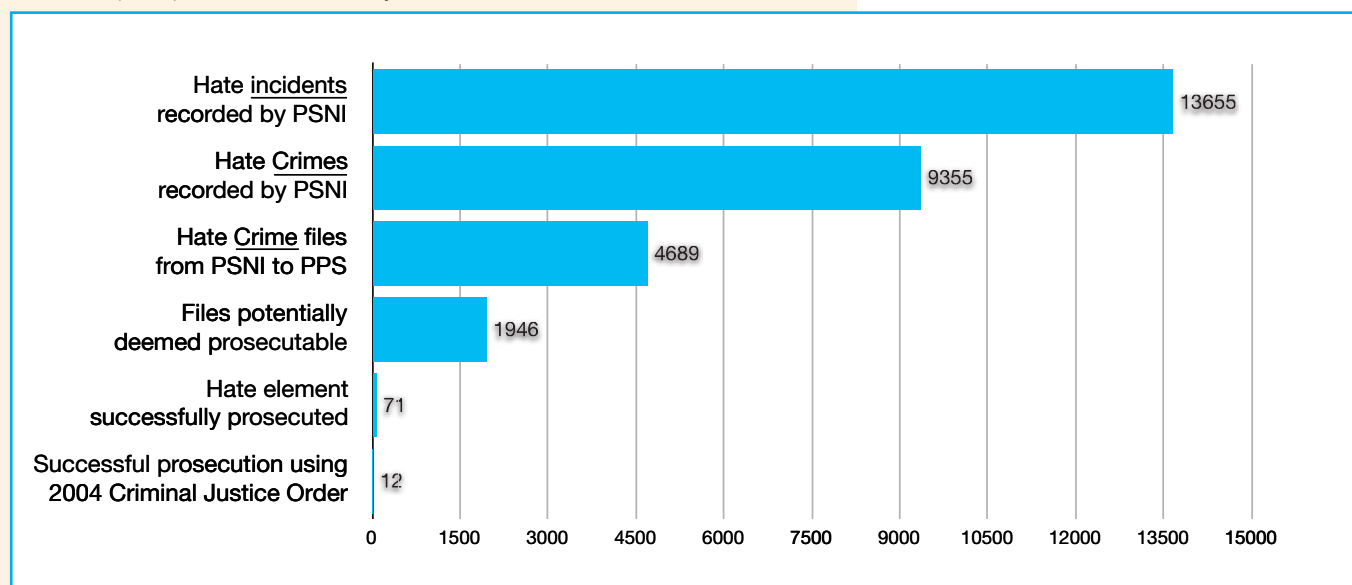
The Criminal Justice (No 2) Order of 2004 flagged a governmental determination to use the full force of the law to address what was then seen to be a new problem. Reviewing the operation of the legislation in 2007, the Criminal Justice Inspectorate (CJI) expressed concern that the number of cases accepted by the Public Prosecution Service (PPS) as meeting the evidential test was very low, a contention repeated in a follow-up review in 2010. According to the Northern Ireland Courts and Tribunals record, 'there have only been 13 occasions when the prosecutor has brought the courts' attention to the "aggravated by hostility" motivation, and 11 occasions when the judge imposed an enhanced sentence under the Criminal Justice (No 2) Order 2004'. The CJI also noted a lack of joined-up data to track the progress of hate crimes through the criminal-justice system.

In 2012 and 2013 further critiques were published of the criminal justice system's record on the processing of hate crime. The Institute for Conflict Research prepared a report, *Criminal Justice Responses to Hate Crime in Northern Ireland*, for the Challenge Hate Crime project developed by the Northern Ireland Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders and the Northern Ireland Prison Service. Despite the difficulty in data reconciliation the report suggests a strong trend is evident. Tracking crimes from the point when first reported by the victim as having a hate motivation, it showed that only 1 per cent of cases resulted in conviction utilising the 2004 order: from the 13,655 incidents and 9,355 crimes reported to the PSNI only 12 successful prosecutions were reported for crimes aggravated by a hate factor. This total of 12 for the 2007-12 period is in line with the previous finding of 11 for the 2004-2010 period. Chart 64 shows how this filtering process in action. The issue was raised again by a report issued by the NI Council for Ethnic Minorities in January 2013, *Race and Criminal Justice in Northern Ireland* (McVeigh, 2013). This report argues that a wider perspective needs to be taken of the issue of race in the criminal justice system – looking, for example, at the numbers of ethnic minorities employed within the system, and whether they are disproportionately identified for stop-and-search procedures – but a main focus of the report is on the need for transparency in the data to allow for a start-to-finish tracking from the first reports made to the police right through to court sentences.

At present the greatest transparency comes from the PSNI statistics. Detailed figures on incidents, crimes and detection rates are available on the PSNI website. From there on it becomes more difficult to track the criminal justice process. The PPS has produced a public document, *Hate Crime Policy* (2011), in which it explains its procedures and the legal basis on which it makes its decisions. Whereas the PSNI records a hate crime when the victim perceives that to have been the motivation, under the 2004 Order the PPS must be satisfied that the evidence in the case is sufficient to provide 'a reasonable prospect' of securing a conviction and that a prosecution is 'in the public interest' before proceeding. It is possible therefore that the PPS may agree that there is sufficient evidence to bring a criminal charge in a particular case but that there is not sufficient to provide 'a reasonable prospect' that the hate motivation can be proved in court.

Chart 64: Screening out hate crimes 2007-12

Source: Institute for Conflict Research/ NI Association for Care and Resettlement of Offenders (2012) 'Criminal Justice Responses to Hate Crime in Northern Ireland'.



The chart above presents the analysis presented in the ICR/NIACRO report. It shows how in the five years from 2007-08 to 2011-12 the PSNI have recorded 13,655 hate incidents across the five categories included within the Criminal Justice (No 2) Order but that the total of successful prosecutions using the 2004 Criminal Justice Order was only 12. The analysis for the year 2011 in the report shows that out of 728 cases only 15% were prosecuted as crimes 'aggravated by hostility'. That does not mean that the bulk of cases escaped prosecution: in 86% of cases a prosecution went ahead but without any hate motivation ascribed.

This might suggest that the problem lies in the reluctance of the PPS to accept the hate motivation presented in the files forwarded by the PSNI. Yet in 2012 when the PSNI passed 750 files flagged as hate crime offences to the PPS, the PPS identified a hate crime motivation in a further 215 crimes, and these were all cases where the PSNI had not detected the hate crime factor (PPS, 2013). This was a point the ICR report had picked up on in its report where it suggested that 42% of the crimes eventually prosecuted under the 2004 Order had not been identified as hate crimes by the police: 'This suggests that the PSNI are failing to identify aggravating factors in a substantial number of cases and, if this is the case, it suggests that a significant number of hate crimes may still not be being recorded as such in PSNI statistics.'

Only when the different parts of the criminal justice system combine to produce a single integrated management information service on hate crime will it be possible to gain a proper appreciation of where the blockages occur. It is possible that some of the problems may be more apparent than real: for example, a more thorough recording by the Courts Service might show that the numbers convicted of hate crime (i.e. those who incur the heavier 'aggravated' penalty) are larger than the current figures show. In the meantime, the three reports mentioned above suggest that it is the criminal justice system itself which is in the dock.

In 86% of cases a prosecution went ahead but without any hate motivation ascribed

3 Domestic violence and sexual crimes

The ethnic conflicts of the past 30 years have focused attention on the connection between political violence and violence against women. In 2012 a report entitled *Addressing Conflict-Related Sexual Violence* provided an inventory of peace-keeping practice in this area, and it has proved to be the case that in the former Yugoslavia and other conflict zones that sexual violence continues after formal peace agreements have been signed. In the literature on ethnic conflict and peace processes the level of sexual violence is seen as a key indicator of stresses within the broader society. This makes the figures for domestic abuse and sexual crime particularly important when Northern Ireland is analysed as a post-conflict society.

Comparisons with other societies are difficult however because of the unreliability of the data. International league tables tend to show that those countries, like Sweden, which are diligent in their data collection tend to top the tables, while an Amnesty International report on rape in 2010 showed that 63 countries provide zero returns, and this figure includes South Africa where a survey in 2009 showed that one in four men admitted to rape. No useful international comparison then can be made with other post-conflict societies, and the question must be re-framed to ask: do the figures for rape and domestic abuse in Northern Ireland suggest a higher prevalence which relates to the conflict or its legacy? Or is it the case that the rates of domestic abuse and sexual crime are broadly similar to those in other parts of these islands? The answer would appear to be the latter, but with significant qualification because of the well-established problem of under-reporting. (A Mumsnet survey of 1,609 members in March 2012 showed that 83% had been subject to a sexual assault not reported to the police). The data on reported crimes – again, it must be assumed that these only represent a small per cent – do not suggest any significantly different pattern prevails in Northern Ireland from other parts of the UK.

The figures on rape show Northern Ireland to have a slightly lower rate per 100,000 of the population than England and Wales, but significantly lower than Scotland (28.6 to 39). The figures for incidents of domestic violence on the other hand show Northern Ireland running consistently ahead of England and Wales. In 2011/12 there were 14 incidents of domestic violence per 1,000 of the population reported to the Police, compared to 10 in England/Wales.

4 The paramilitaries

4.1 Overview

In 1994 the republican and loyalist paramilitaries all declared ceasefires. Today the violence of republican and loyalist paramilitaries is still the everyday reality in Northern Ireland. Some things have changed however.

First, the level of violence is much lower than it was at the height of the Troubles and considerably lower even than in 1999-2002, the previous period of devolution. That was the time of the Holy Cross dispute and the

point when 'dissident' republicans opened a new phase in their campaign (Chart 46). The period of stability that began with the restoration of devolution in 2007 has seen the number of deaths decline from the post-agreement peak in 1998, the year of the Omagh bomb, to an average of one or two per year. The combined totals for deaths, bombings, shootings and assaults in 2012 could be fitted into one day in the peak year of the Troubles, 1972, when the death rate was over 500, an average of 1.3 per day. As Chart 47 overleaf shows, if judged by the annual rate of fatalities, political violence in Northern Ireland comes far below deaths on the road, agricultural accidents or a range of other preventable fatalities.

The second difference lies in the character of the paramilitary organisations. The main republican paramilitaries during the Troubles, the Provisional IRA, the Official IRA and the Irish National Liberation Army, (INLA) have all left the stage. In their place is a new cluster of violent republican groups, trading under a variety of *noms de guerre*. The picture on the loyalist side is more static. The main loyalist groups in 1994 remain the main loyalist groups today: the Ulster Defence Association (UDA) and the Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF). The picture of paramilitarism therefore is not a symmetrical one. The two sets of organisations, republican and loyalist, operate in quite distinct realms and, while they share an attachment to violence, they are driven by wholly different impulses and objectives and represent threats of different kinds.

Chart 65: Security-related deaths, bombings and shootings in Northern Ireland

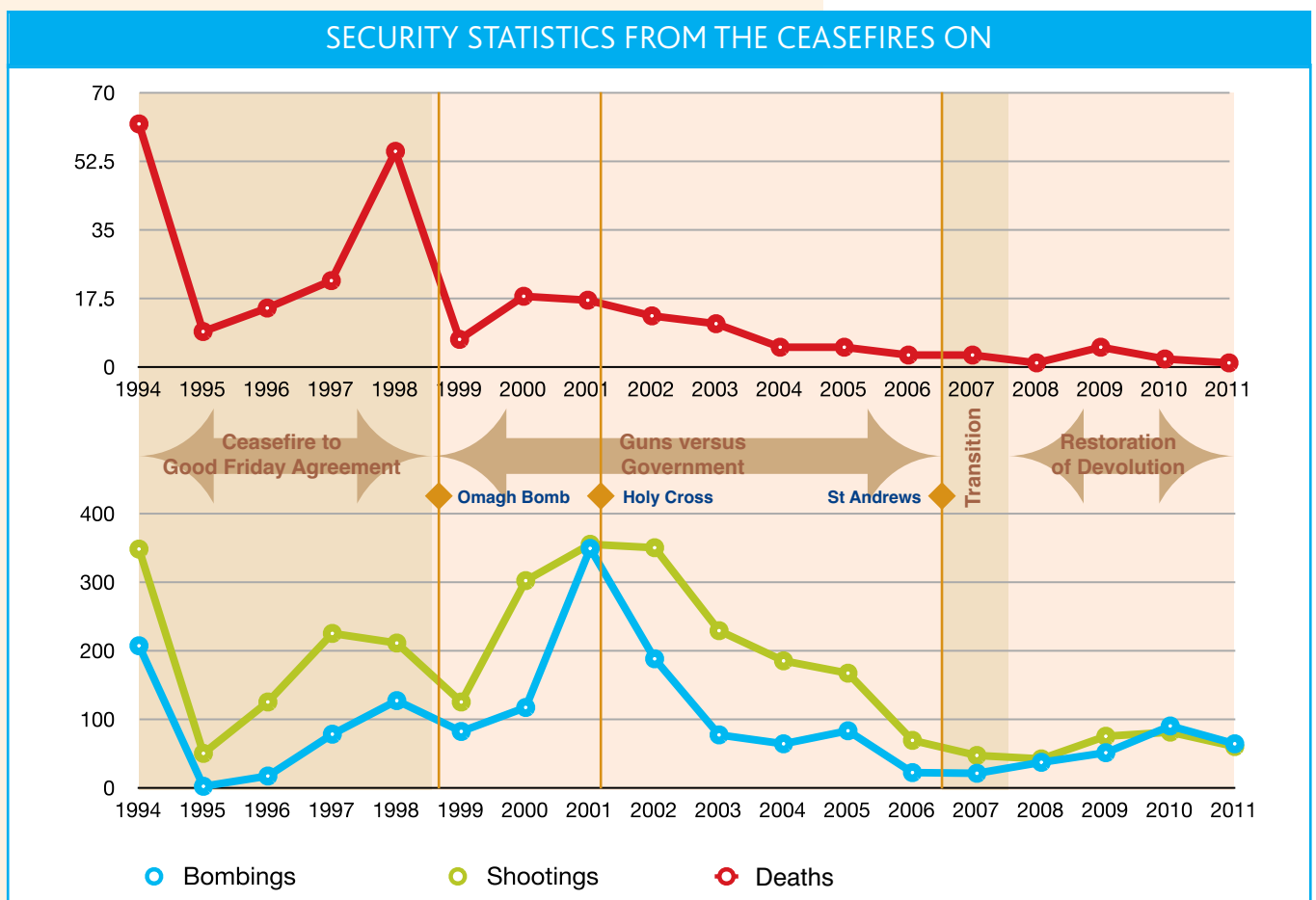


Chart 66; Comparative figures for fatalities in 2011, the most recent year for which a complete set of data is available. Sources: PSNI Crime Statistics, Registrar General's Report

2

Security-related

11

Agriculture-related

59

Road deaths

289

Suicides

The peak periods for violence since the 1994 ceasefires have been 1998, the date of the Omagh bomb, and following that the 2001/02 period when there were frequent suspensions of the Assembly and tensions were high around incidents like the Holy Cross dispute. Since 2001/02 there has generally been a significant decrease in the level of security related incidents recorded in Northern Ireland. There were 17 deaths in 2001/02 and a further 15 in 2002/03. In the year 2012 there were two deaths, both the responsibility of dissident republicans – one of the prison officer David Black and one of Newtonabbey man Danny McKay, who was himself a member of a dissident organisation. Similarly, there were 358 shooting incidents and 318 bombing incidents recorded in 2001/02, compared with 67 shooting incidents and 56 bombing incidents in 2011/12. Paramilitary style shootings have also shown a decrease over the last 10 years with 190 recorded in 2001/02, compared with 33 recorded in 2011/12.

In addition, there were 112 'punishment' assaults recorded in 2001/02 compared with 46 in 2011/12.

It should be noted that these figures are for Northern Ireland only. In recent years republican dissident organisations have become enmeshed in the drug wars in the Republic of Ireland, and the level of fatalities arising from these feuds is higher than the security-related death toll in Northern Ireland. For statistical purposes it is not possible to disentangle the criminal from the political in these cases.

4.2 The dissident republicans

The size of the dissident threat waxes and wanes but has declined following a brief surge in 2009-10. In September 2010 the Chief Constable, Matt Baggott, warned that the dissident threat was at its highest since the 1998 Real IRA bomb in Omagh which killed 29 people. On 29 September 2010 the British Home Secretary, on the advice of the UK's Joint Terrorism Analysis centre, announced that in its calibration of security warnings the threat had been raised from 'moderate', which means that a terrorist attack is possible but not likely, to 'substantial', which means an attack is a strong possibility. This estimation was immediately endorsed by the then Garda Commissioner, Fachtma Murphy. An indication of the increased concern had come at the beginning of 2010 when the head of MI5, Sir Jonathan Evans, reported to the cross-bench Parliamentary Intelligence and Security Committee that 'what was not anticipated when we went into this spending period was the way in which the situation in Northern Ireland has degenerated. In January 2010 the service had more what we would call Primary 1, i.e. life-threatening investigations, in Northern Ireland than we do in the rest of Great Britain'. As a result, Evans explained, MI5 intended to raise its commitment to 'Irish-related terrorism' from 13 to 18 per cent of its effort.

The dissident threat has an impact on how the UK features on the indices of global security. In 2011 the Terrorism Risk Index, published annually by Maplecroft, a global-risk intelligence company, ranked Britain 38th in the world, in the 'medium risk' band. And of the 26 terrorist attacks in the UK between April 2010 and March 2011 all but one occurred in Northern Ireland.

On 24 October 2012 an updated assessment by the Northern Ireland Secretary, Theresa Villiers, readjusted the threat level in Britain from substantial down to 'moderate' (the al-Qaeda threat was kept at 'substantial'). Appearing before the Northern Ireland Affairs Committee on 30 October, she said that the 'sophistication and potency' of the dissident groups was less than it had been a year previously but the threat in Northern Ireland had to be kept at 'substantial'. Two days later, in a high-speed attack on the motorway outside Lisburn, dissident republicans killed the prison officer David Black. There was widespread shock, partly because it was the first killing of a prison officer for 30 years. More immediately, it was also the first killing of any member of the security forces since the murder of the PSNI officer Ronan Kerr in April 2011, a gap of 19 months – the longest since records began in 1969. Other attempts followed on the lives of security personnel.

For most of 2012, however, dissident republicans were much more focused on their role as community enforcers and their victims have been mostly from the communities from which they come, north and south of the border. It is estimated that during the Provisional IRA campaign 'punishment' attacks accounted for about 15 per cent of its activities but it was a role that organisation did not always relish. But for the dissidents the community enforcer role provides a market opportunity. Given that the PSNI have to be wary of hoax 'come on' calls, local people may find they get a more direct response to anti-social behaviour from republican vigilante groups. The role confers a degree of legitimacy that the dissidents cannot find in electoral politics and it brings two additional advantages. First, it is almost risk-free: the PSNI detection rate for these attacks is under 4 per cent and, even when prosecutions are brought forward, cases tend to collapse as witnesses will not go into the witness box. Secondly, in the Republic, where anti-partition rhetoric now has little resonance, dissidents are able to present themselves as crusaders against the contemporary problem of drug gangs.

In 2008 a new group emerged in Derry with the name Republican Action Against Drugs. The drugs problem is not as severe in Northern Ireland as in the UK or the Republic, and is at its least severe in the Western Health Board area where RAAD began its campaign. Shootings however became more frequent, more devastating and more provocative. In December 2011 RAAD shot the nephew of Martin McGuinness in both legs. In February 2012 it claimed its first fatality when it shot the Derry man Andrew Allen (24) in a house in Buncrana. RAAD warned that ten more men were under a death sentence unless they left the city. In April 2012 a mother told the Derry Journal that she had brought her son by appointment to be shot in both legs. Explaining her decision, she said: 'It could have been worse. I honestly feared that he was going to be found dead having overdosed in a flat somewhere ... I also believe that it was better he is shot in the legs now, than shot in the head further down the line.' Following this incident a large protest rally was held in the city. Within a week, however, RAAD shot another young man in both arms and legs across the border in Co Donegal. In August 2012 it announced it had joined forces with the Real IRA to create a new organisation, to be known simply as the IRA.

Chart 67: The timeline of dissident killings, March 2007 – October 2012

THE TIMELINE OF DISSIDENT CRIME										
	1 Mar 07 31 Aug 07	1 Sept 07 29 Feb 08	1 Mar 08 31 Aug 08	1 Sept 08 28 Feb 09	1 Mar 09 31 Aug 09	1 Sept 09 28 Feb 10	1 Mar 10 31 Aug 10	1 Sept 10 28 Feb 11	1 Mar 11 31 Aug 11	1 Sept 11 28 Feb 12
CIRA	2				1					
RIRA		1	2							
ONH					2	1				
RAAD										1
Unspecified dissident									1	
Total	3	1	1	0	3	1	0	0	1	1

Chart 68: Dissident murders – victims and perpetrators, March 2007– October 2012

DISSIDENT MURDERS - VICTIMS AND PERPETRATORS						
Perpetrators	Victims					
	British army	PSNI	Uninvolved civilians	Republican paramilitary	Loyalist paramilitary	Total
CIRA	0	1	0	2	0	3
RIRA	2	0	0	1	0	3
ONH	0	0	0	1	0	1
RAAD	0	0	1	0	0	1
Unspecified dissident	0	1	0	0	0	1

While all dissident organisations have emerged from the same gene pool, the simplest way to distinguish between them is by identifying the point at which they felt the need to break with the mainstream IRA. Within the dissident organisations it is accepted that those who left first had particular foresight. The corollary is that those who stuck with the Adams/McGuinness leadership beyond the 1998 Agreement are seen to have been more easily duped. In this narrative of betrayal and steadfastness, the dissident groups came into being in the sequence in chart 69.

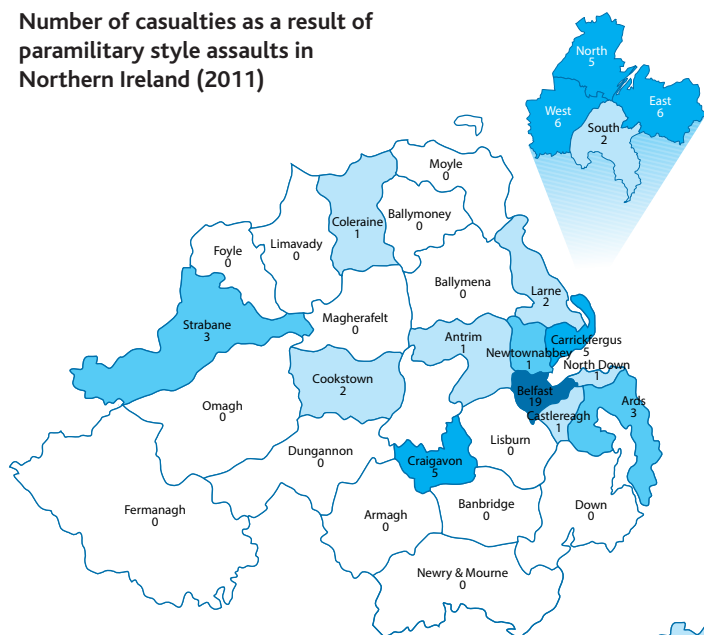
The level of dissident violence is down on past years and is in fact the lowest for violent republicanism since the start of the Troubles. The merger of the three factions in August 2012 to create the single organisation called 'the IRA' is a measure of weakness rather than strength, and the knitting together of tightly-knotted small groups increases the possibility of infiltration. The degree of surveillance and infiltration has been obvious in the period since the killing of the Prison Officer David Black at the start of November: there have been a string of thwarted operations and arms finds. The arrests also show evidence of concerted police operations north and south of the border. For example, on 23 February 2013 the Gardaí arrested two armed men in a car in Togher, Co. Cork; some days later on 26 February the PSNI recovered a rocket launcher and a warhead during a search of a house in west Belfast.

Chart 69: The dissident groups

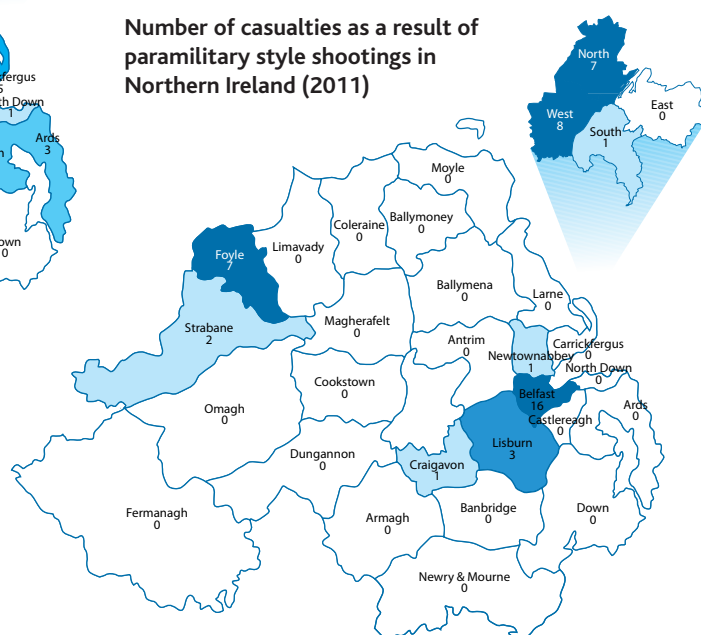
DISTINGUISHING THE DISSIDENT GROUPS			
Group	Date of emergence	Distinguishing features	Political voice
Continuity IRA	The split came in 1996 when hardliners refused to accept the policy to take seats in the Dail. The military campaign began in 1994 following the IRA ceasefire.	Led originally by an 'old guard' leadership of Ruairi O'Bradaigh and others from the pre- troubles IRA the group has struggled to seem relevant.	Republican Sinn Féin
The Real IRA/IRA	Real IRA broke with the IRA over the peace process in 1997. Soon after its launch was responsible for the Omagh bomb. Merger of three groups in 2012 to form new 'IRA'.	Made up of three factions: the Real IRA, RAAD and a group of former Provisionals from Tyrone. Has greater capacity than the other dissidents.	32 County Sovereignty Movement
Óglaigh na hÉireann	First noted in 2006, but achieved notoriety with a series of attacks in 2010.	Political leadership very associated with annual Ardoyne disturbances.	Republican Network for Unity

NUMBER OF CASUALTIES - ASSAULTS AND SHOOTINGS

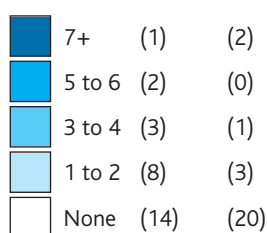
Number of casualties as a result of paramilitary style assaults in Northern Ireland (2011)



Number of casualties as a result of paramilitary style shootings in Northern Ireland (2011)



Area Overall assaults shootings



The dissidents have also had difficulty expanding their political base. A prolonged 'dirty protest' in Maghaberry Prison, begun in May 2012 over the technology used for body searches, ended in November without the authorities making any significant concessions and without the protest achieving any real traction beyond the dissidents' own support.

4.3 The loyalist paramilitaries

Loyalist violence was at its lowest level in 2012. There were no killings, no bombings and one shooting. There were 19 paramilitary assaults carried out by loyalists (up to November 2012), compared with 25 at the same point the previous year, and 46 in 2010. The decrease in assaults, almost always inflicted within their own communities, was accompanied by increased visibility at street disturbances. Loyalist paramilitaries were very much in evidence during the 'marching season' – on the one hand acting as stewards, often risking opprobrium from their own supporters for imposing discipline, yet on the other being heavily involved in rioting themselves, particularly during the Carlisle Circus disturbances in Belfast in September, when 62 PSNI officers were injured over 72 hours. This particular riot had arisen out of a dispute over a republican march in the Clifton Street area, the focal point for sectarian tension in the summer of 2012. While the police were unwilling to concede that the episode had been organised by the UVF, there was photographic evidence of UVF leaders in the front line of those attacking the police and the disturbances only ended when a go-between was brought in to talk with the UVF leadership.

Much hangs on whether loyalist paramilitaries are to be viewed as active partners in the peace process or ostracised as criminal gangs. Considerable delicacy attends the official response to particular events, such as the murder of the former UVF member Bobby Moffett in May 2010. Moffett was shot dead in broad daylight on the Shankill Road in Belfast. The Independent Monitoring Commission was asked to provide a ruling on whether the killing breached the terms of decommissioning agreed to by the UVF leadership in May 2007, when it dedicated itself to 'a civilian, non-militarised role'. The IMC found that the murder had been ordered by the leadership but, in a controversial decision, ruled that the organisation was not in breach of the decommissioning agreement and did not therefore have to be 'specified' once more. (The effect of specifying an organisation is that a prisoner who supports such a group is ineligible for release under the Northern Ireland (Sentences) Act or, if released, is liable to recall to jail. The UVF is in the unusual situation of being banned but not specified.)

In October 2012 the Moffett case came back to haunt the PSNI. Two and a half years after the killing, no one had been charged with the murder. The Police Ombudsman announced he was setting up an inquiry into allegations of collusion between the police and the UVF. The Ombudsman confirmed he was examining allegations that police failed to properly investigate a series of fatal shootings in north and west Belfast between 1989 and 2010, including the Moffett murder.

In February 2012, a 'supergrass' trial concluded after running for 71 days at Belfast Crown Court. The two 'accomplice witnesses', brothers Robert and

Ian Stewart, were giving evidence against 13 of their former UVF comrades for the murder of the UDA man Tommy English in 2000. The case collapsed after the brothers proved themselves unreliable witnesses but opened to the public the culture of the UVF in north Belfast. The picture presented was one of casual sadism, sectarianism and internal feuding, accompanied by drugs, alcohol, prostitution and sexual violence.

Good loyalists and bad loyalists?

Commentaries on loyalism have tended to create a distinction between progressive and regressive elements. At the time of the Good Friday Agreement the UVF-linked Progressive Unionist Party was cast as the progressive wing. The newly-formed party had proved itself flexible and willing to engage in the political debate, and the fact that it espoused a form of proletarian politics made it appear like a welcome break from the politics of the past. A sharp contrast was provided by the crassness and criminality of the UDA leadership – the 'bling brigadiers' like Johnny Adair, John Gregg and Andre Shoukri. Those roles have now reversed. It is the UVF which is now seen as the recidivist paramilitary organisation, in contrast with the UDA, which has been feted in respectable circles as the progressive face of loyalism. In May 2011, for example, six of its leaders were treated as honoured guests of the Irish President when the Queen made her visit to the Garden of Remembrance in Dublin. In October 2011 a UDA delegation visited Washington where they made calls on the Irish Embassy, the Northern Ireland Bureau and the offices of various Congressmen (officials conspired to ignore the inconvenient fact that the UDA is an illegal organisation). During the flags dispute senior UDA figures let it be known, *sotto voce*, that they thought the protest was misconceived, and the working arrangements between the UDA and Sinn Féin in the interface areas of north Belfast helped to keep the lid on trouble while UVF heartlands became the focal points for the street demonstrations. In the end both organisations received a fillip when the DUP and the UUP invited figures from the loyalist paramilitary organisations to join them in the pan-unionist Unionist Forum.

It is not clear that this role as 'community representatives' will provide a sufficient reason for their continuing existence. The dissident republican groups can explain their mission with reference to the 'unfinished revolution' of the Irish people. However wrong-headed it seems to others, to those inside the organisations this objective provides a clear reason to exist. Loyalist paramilitaries do not have any real coherent explanation for their existence in a post-conflict society. It is difficult to present any rationale for an armed organisation in the post-decommissioning period, or for why some individuals should present themselves as 'brigadiers'. The claim is that this is a 'transition' period and that the authority of the paramilitary leadership is required to smooth the way to a peaceful society. This argument would be more plausible if the UVF and the UDA were not still recruiting young volunteers. No date has been set for the disbandment of structures or the standing down of members. Loyalist paramilitaries continue to send mixed messages about whether they are inside or outside the peace process.

Loyalist paramilitaries do not have any coherent explanation for their existence in a post-conflict society.

5. Policing

5.1 Strength and composition

The PSNI was ordered to make £135 million worth of savings within the four-year Comprehensive Spending Review (CSR) period ending in 2015. It has met its targets to date without any involuntary redundancies, relying upon a recruitment freeze and natural wastage. But a £30 million shortfall is projected for 2013-15, and in an interview with the Belfast Telegraph the Deputy Chief Constable, Judith Gillespie, said this would require 'radical thinking'. One option in England and Wales has been to retire compulsorily officers with 30 years service – a difficult option for the PSNI, given how it has lost skills through the Patten reform process.

Compared with Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland the PSNI has been relatively protected. In England and Wales more than 24,000 police jobs have gone as a result of spending cuts since the general election. And the Garda Commissioner, Martin Callinan, told the Justice Committee of the Dáil on 22 November 2012 that while the number of Gardaí had fallen by about 1,000 in the past two years, there would have to be a further reduction to 13,000 by the end of the year to meet the terms of the EU-IMF bailout – an overall drop of 10%.

These reductions will serve to widen the gap between the number of police officers per head of population in Northern Ireland and the comparable figures elsewhere: in England and Wales there are 418 citizens for every police officer, while in Northern Ireland there are 252.

Chart 70: Number of police officers in proportion to population compared with rest of UK and ROI

Sources: PSNI, Home Office, Garda commissioner statement to the Dáil, 22 November 2012

	Population	Police Officers	Head of pop per officer
England & Wales	56075900	134101	418
Scotland	5254800	17436	301
ROI	4487000	13,472	330
NI	1789000	7086	252

5.2 Religion, gender and ethnicity

The Patten Commission saw religious balance as crucial to the success of the new police force and set a 50/50 quota to apply until such time as a threshold of 30 per cent Catholic composition had been achieved. In March 2011 the then Secretary of State, Owen Paterson, determined that with 30.3 per cent of police officers Catholic this had been attained and the quota arrangement was terminated. This decision was supported by the Justice Minister, David Ford. The target had however only been reached for police officers. The Patten Commission had applied the quota to all staff, but amongst other staff the Catholic percentage was only 18.7 per cent. Last year's Peace Monitoring Report drew attention to another problem: while the PSNI had been successful in recruiting Catholic police officers, it had problems retaining them. Of those who left before one year's service 57.8 per cent were Catholic and 36.4 per cent Protestant. The religious breakdown at the end of 2012 showed the Catholic percentage had actually gone up fractionally, from 30.3% in 2011 to 30.4%. However, given the predominance of Protestants in the older cohorts leaving through natural wastage the increase in the Catholic percentage should have been greater – suggesting that this year again more Catholic recruits are leaving than Protestants.

Chart 71: Religious composition Catholics in the PSNI
 Figures accurate at 01/11/2012

Police officers				
	% perceived Protestant	% perceived Catholic	% perceived Other	Total
2011	67.5	30.3	2.2	7156
2012	67.4	30.4	2.2	7086
Other staff				
	% perceived Protestant	% perceived Catholic	% perceived Other	Total
2011	78.1	18.7	3.3	2,512
2012	77.9	18.9	3.2	2,486

Gender was not an issue for the Patten Commission but, in line with societal trends, has become more prominent in policing debates since. In 2001 when the PSNI was established 13.3 per cent of officers were female; that figure has doubled to 26.8 per cent – the same percentage as in England and Wales. Addressing a conference in Dublin in November 2012 organised by the feminist group Hanna's House, DCC Gillespie spoke of the difficulty she had experienced in even being selected for entry and how debates on policewomen wearing trousers were still live when she joined the force in 1982. Only after a legal judgment in 1994 were female officers allowed their own weapons.

Chart 72a: Catholic police officers in 1999

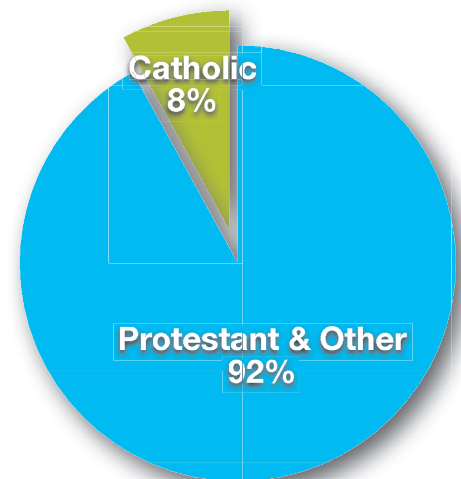


Chart 72b: Catholic police officers 2012

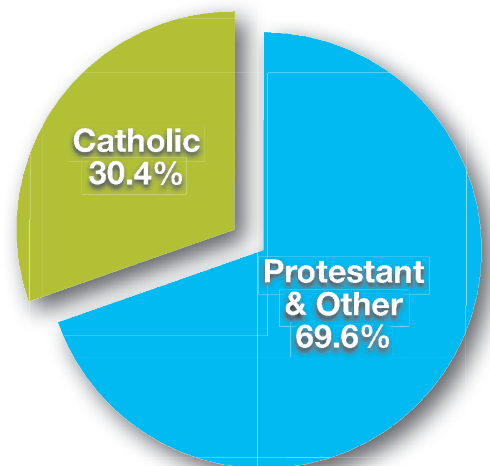
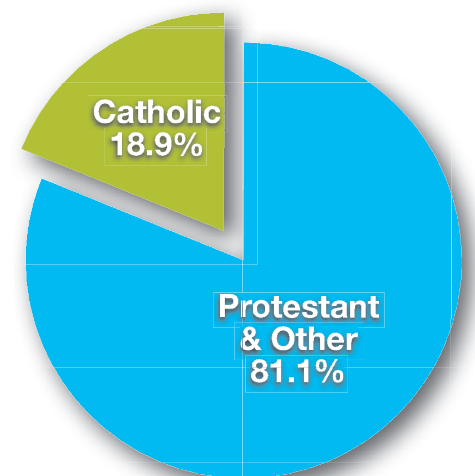
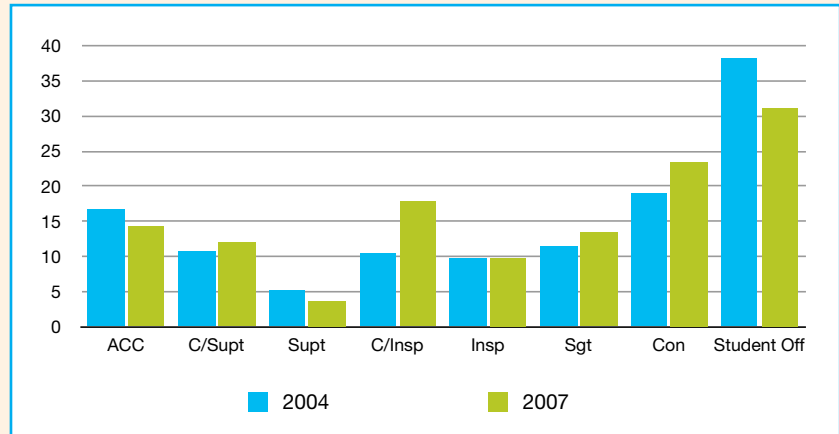


Chart 72c: Other PSNI staff who are Catholic



The figure for ethnic recruits remain much lower than the percentage of ethnic minorities as a whole – only 0.5%. In numbers that amounts to 8 officers, and in operational terms there is at least one ethnic minority officer in each policing district.

Chart 73: Female composition of the PSNI by rank



5.3 Perceptions of policing

Perceptions of the PSNI have been on a steady upward gradient since its formation in 2001. And a survey commissioned by the Department of Justice found a further increase in confidence, from 60.6 per cent in 2010-11 to 65.5 per cent in 2011-12. An even higher figure is recorded in the January 2012 module of the Omnibus Survey commissioned by the Policing Board: 84 per cent had 'some' or 'a lot' or 'total' confidence in the ability of the police ability to provide a day-to-day policing service. Some cautions must be entered. Satisfaction drops when the questions shift from a generalised attitude to the police to particular questions based on actual experience, particularly when the focus is on those areas with higher crime rates. In the Omnibus survey, for example, 30 per cent were very/fairly dissatisfied with the level of police patrols and among those who had had direct contact with the PSNI 26% were very/ fairly dissatisfied. And a communal differential remains: while 74 per cent of Protestants were very/fairly satisfied that the PSNI treat the people of Northern Ireland fairly, the figure for Catholics was 62 per cent.

5.4 Stop and search

Last year's Peace Monitoring Report drew attention to the high level of use of stop-and-search powers and the low level of arrests (3.5%) following the searches – in some situations this ratio can be construed as evidence of police harassment. Following the London riots in August 2011, a report by the Guardian and LSE, *Reading the Riots*, showed that 73% of those accused of attacking the police had been subject to stop-and-search in the previous 12 months. Following this, the Metropolitan Police set an arrest target of 20% for those subjected to search procedures, though by January 2013 the record showed only a marginal increase, from 11% to 11.9% (Shiner, 2013).

The situation in Northern Ireland is different because of the scale of the dissident threat. For example, the peak in the use of Northern Ireland's special 'emergency-type' police powers, the Terrorism Act 2000 (TACT) and the Justice and Security (Northern Ireland) Act 2007 (JSA) came in 2010 immediately after the killings of two soldiers at Massereene Barracks. The use of these powers is monitored by David Anderson, the Independent Reviewer of Terrorism Legislation in the UK, and Robert Whalley, the Independent Reviewer of JSA. The PSNI Human Rights Committee also sought opinion during the year and meetings with community representatives throughout Northern Ireland showed that while some people took reassurance from the use of these police powers, for many others the uses of the powers had undermined community confidence and in particular their view of the 'normalisation of policing' (PSNI Human Rights Report, 2013:30). In the opinion of those critical of the use of the police powers it was thought possible that their use might even have increased support for dissident groups.

The PSNI figures for 2011/12 show some decrease in the use of stop-and-search powers and some increase in the percentage leading to arrest – though by UK standards the percentages of arrest is still very low.

Chart 74: Numbers of people subject to stop-and-search powers

	Number of people stopped /searched	% leading to arrest
2010/11	49,392	3.5%
2011/12	37,210	4.7%

5.5 Complaints and allegations

According to the 2011-12 report of the Police Ombudsman, 3,336 new complaints were received, approximately the same as the previous year. The number of allegations contained within these complaints was 5,896, a decrease of 7% on 2010-11. The most common allegation (35 per cent) concerned some form of failure of duty. This can relate to the caution shown by police towards emergency calls, in case they are traps set by dissidents. Ten years ago, in 2001-02 half of all complaints were about oppressive behaviour. That category now accounts for 33 per cent.

Chart 75a: Complaints and allegations against PSNI

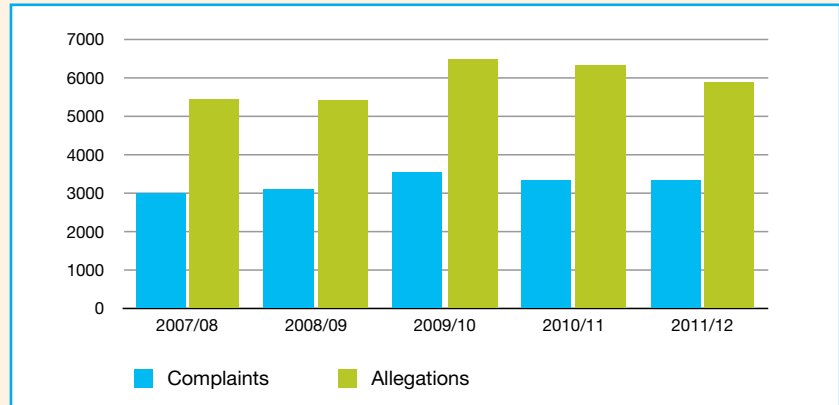


Chart 75b: Complaints against the police across the UK 2011-12 (total numbers)

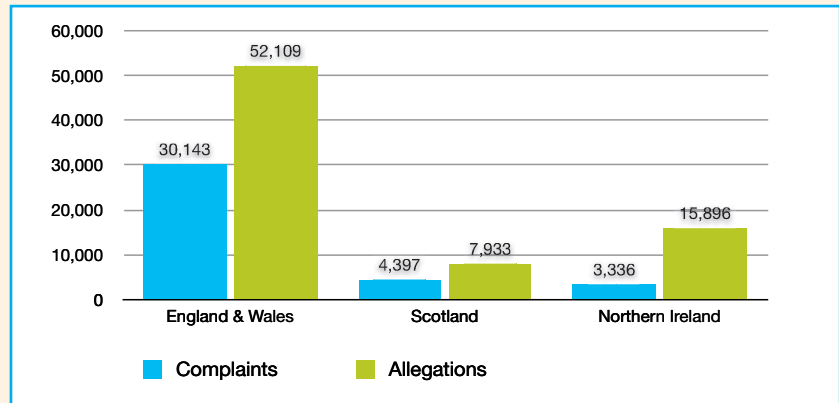


Chart 76: The nature of the allegations against the PSNI Source: Annual Report of the Police Ombudsman, 2011-12

Allegation type	2010/11	2011/12
Failure of duty	2,510	2,091
Oppressive behaviour	1,906	1,944
Incivility	696	614
Other	1,214	1,247
Total	6,320	5,896

5.6 The role of the Historical Enquiries Team

The Historical Enquiries Team (HET) is a special investigative unit attached to the PSNI. It was set up in 2005 to re-examine all the deaths during the Troubles, as listed in the official police files. A total of 2,002 murders were unsolved at the point when the HET was set up, but the HET inquiries extend beyond these to include all deaths from 1968 to the signing of the Belfast Agreement in 1998. The investigation schedule is for the most part chronological, working from the first deaths onwards, but it does on occasion make exceptions. In 2007 the then Police Ombudsman, Nuala O’Loan, asked the HET to investigate the activities of the UVF in Mount Vernon. The investigation, then known as Operation Ballast, was the largest

undertaken by the HET, but in December 2009 the HET passed it on to PSNI Crime Operations where it was re-named Operation Stafford. In 2012 the PPS decided to proceed with the prosecution of the 'supergrass' case referred to above. After 72 days the case collapsed. The costs were put at £11.5 million. A view has grown up within loyalism that the HET is pursuing a vendetta against it. But by February 2013, having reviewed just over 1,700 cases, the HET had passed 39 on to PSNI Crime Operations – 26 republican and 13 loyalist.

In the past year the HET has attracted both praise and criticism. An independent assessment of its engagement with families of victims showed that 88 per cent had found the process beneficial and a 97 per cent score was awarded when it came to professionalism and sensitivity. The criticism has concerned itself with the independence of the unit. A University of Ulster academic, Dr Patricia Lundy, has concluded from research into HET investigations of killings by British Army personnel that military witnesses have been treated more favourably. The Chief Constable has asked Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary to review the HET's handling of these cases.

5.7 The rehiring of RUC officers

On 3 October 2012 the Northern Ireland Audit Office (NIAO) issued a shocking report on the human-resources practices of the PSNI. It said that procurement had 'not always met with the high standards of governance and accountability expected of public sector bodies in Northern Ireland' and that at one point it was 'out of control'. More than £44 million in fees and salaries had been paid to the recruitment agency Grafton without competition from other bidders. In the first year alone the contract was worth £4.6 million. The report also showed that more than 1,071 former Royal Ulster Constabulary officers who had left the police with large redundancy packages had been brought back through the Grafton recruitment exercise. Of these:

- 256 were rehired within three months of leaving
- Of those, 127 were rehired within a month
- 54 within a week
- 21 were back within a day
- Two were even employed as agency staff before they had officially left the PSNI.

The largest share of agency days (56 per cent) worked between 2002 and 2012 were by former RUC. In total, 19% of the 5,500 staff who left the RUC were rehired. The temporary posts filled though Grafton were originally described as administrative but a letter to the Policing Board in January 2012 revealed that former RUC officers were working in sensitive policing operations. These included 59 working in the department that investigates all serious crime, including paramilitary incidents. A further 19 were revealed to be working for specialist operations, responding to serious criminal and paramilitary episodes.

None of this sat well with the Patten recommendations, though the PSNI's Director of Human Resources, Joe Stewart, told the Assembly Public Accounts Committee: 'Without being able to encourage them to leave there was no way of achieving the 30 per cent target (for Catholic officers) that we did achieve. The focus was on getting people out the door.' To that end, the severance package was the most generous offered to any police force anywhere in the world: a total of £500 million was expended on the 5,000 RUC who left. The rehiring programme described in the NIAO report cast doubt on the terms of the package and the probity of PSNI management practices. It did nothing to reassure Catholics that the PSNI represented a break with the past.

5.8 Covert policing

The devolution of policing and justice to the Northern Ireland Assembly in 2010 was incomplete. Sensitive 'national security issues' were not given over to the Stormont Assembly, but following the St Andrews Agreement in 2006 were placed under the authority of MI5. This arrangement is set out in what is referred to as Annex E of the St Andrews Agreement, but in fact the text of the Agreement makes no reference to this Annex. Instead it was the subject of a separate agreement by the British and Irish governments 'building on useful discussions which had already taken place with the political parties on the issues'. The inter-government agreement provided safeguards, principally by making the new arrangements subservient to the European Convention on Human Rights. Article 6, for example, forbids the use of 'agents provocateurs' for entrapment purposes, while Article 2 sets out the requirement to protect human life, even where it might expose the identity of an agent.

The growing dissident-republican threat has meant policing has retained a stronger covert aspect than envisaged at the time of Patten and, with it, more secrecy on operational matters. The Patten report had stated (in bold) that 'the presumption must be that everything should be available for public scrutiny unless it is in the public interest – not the police interest – to hold it back'. By definition, covert policing is hard to see or assess. Stories regularly appear in the nationalist press about attempts to recruit informers. Kieran Doherty was shot in 2010 by his former comrades in the Real IRA. His family was convinced there had been MI5 involvement, and their case was taken up by the SDLP MLA Mark Durkan. Lord Alex Carlile of Berriew QC, who reviewed the use of anti-terrorism legislation from 2005 to 2011 and advised ministers on the activities of the security services (including MI5), was asked by the Northern Ireland Secretary to investigate the claim. His report, completed in March 2011, found the agency not to have been involved in the death but only this conclusion was released – the rest of the material was not revealed to the family.

In December 2012 the Committee on the Administration of Justice (CAJ) released a report, *The Policing You Don't See*, which registered strong concern about covert policing. The report drew attention to the fact that Patten had characterised the old Special Branch as a 'force within a force',

£434,000

Amount paid to police informants (Covert Human Intelligence Sources) in 2011/12

Source: Assembly Question AQ F-2012-03053

and suggested Northern Ireland now had two police forces – one open and accountable, the other a secret body operating as ‘a force outside a force’.

5.9 The flags protest

The flags protest tested the PSNI crowd management strategy to the limit. That strategy is based on limitation of direct physical force contact with protestors and rioters; instead the police use surveillance, and identification, followed afterwards by arrests and prosecutions in order to make the likelihood of punishment so high that protestors will be persuaded to stay within the law. In the case of the annual dissident set-piece event, the Ardoyne riot on the 12th July, the strategy appeared to be paying off. What had worked in one situation however was not guaranteed success in another, and a police response designed to deal with a three night riot was not necessarily appropriate for the street disturbances that began with the vote in Belfast City Council in December and ran over three months. As the dispute ground on through January and February there was mounting criticism of the tolerance shown by the PSNI to the illegal blocking of streets, and a very particular anger from the residents of the Catholic Short Strand that they had been made subject to prolonged intimidation by the weekly march past their area. The PSNI defence of their strategy was that no-one was killed and - other than the police themselves - no-one was seriously injured throughout the three month period. The Chief Constable Matt Baggott repeatedly made the argument that his first duty was the protection of life and, by that criterion, the strategy would have to be deemed successful. The price however was the acceptance of *force majeure* as an operational tactic, a compromising approach that has left the PSNI vulnerable to further displays of force, particularly in the marching season. Other forms of policing will suffer the knock-on effects of the flags protest. Assistant Chief Constable Will Kerr told a meeting of the Policing Board on 7 March 2013 that the costs were approximately £20 million and that this would have an impact on other areas of policing. The final additional cost came in the form of approximately 100 injuries to police officers.

Note: A fuller account of the flags dispute can be found in the Political Progress section of this report.

5.10 The policing year - a balance sheet

The PSNI marked its tenth anniversary in November 2011. The Chief Constable said his ambition was that the service would become 'the finest in the world' by 2021. The ambition set in the Patten report was for a police force at one with its society: 'Policing with the community should be the core function of the police service and the core function of every police officer.' The PSNI and the wider community of Northern Ireland are far from realising that harmony. The long drawn-out flags protest saw the police in an uneasy relationship with working-class loyalist communities, while under attack from nationalists for what was seen as an inconsistent approach to street protests. The other signal problem has been the persistence of the security threat from dissident republicans. In its 2011 report on the PSNI, the HMIC estimate that this accounts for over one third (36 per cent) of the entire PSNI budget. In addition, there are 'legacy' costs, the largest the annual running costs of the HET, estimated to be £6 million. The most serious curtailment of resources however in the past year was the start of the 2011-15 Spending Review, which requires the PSNI to reduce its budget by a further £135 million over four years. Over 80 per cent is spent on staff, which means the efficiency plan is fundamentally connected to human-resource planning, with obvious consequences for neighbourhood policing. The overall approval ratings recorded earlier in 2012 may be at their highest ever but, in the most disadvantaged areas where most friction between people and police is recorded, the 'failure in duty' recorded in the Police Ombudsman's report (see page 66-68) allows a marked opportunity for paramilitaries to step in as local enforcers.

The failures of politics became problems of public order and then these in turn were then seen as failures of policing

The most disappointing aspect of the year, as far as the PSNI was concerned, was the way in which the failures of politics became problems of public order and then these in turn were then seen as failures of policing. One expression of this problem was the refusal of the Assembly to countenance a form of community policing where the burden would be shared with its partner agencies. Instead, the new Policing and Community Partnerships load the responsibilities on to the police. And even in those situations of shared collective responsibility, such as the Flags Protocol, the end stop has proved to be the police despite commitments given by others. A similar situation exists in relation to dealing with the past: when the idea was first mooted for an historical enquiry team, it was assumed it would be part of a much wider societal process but none has emerged. The most visible way in which the police were left to cope with the failure of the political process during the year came in the disorder which accompanied the marching season and, later, the flags protest, when police were very often the human shock absorbers for the contestations on the streets. In total almost 200 police officers have been injured in the past year, a human cost that is not sustainable in the longer term.

In terms of its reputation, however, the greatest damage to the PSNI was self-inflicted – the RUC rehiring. The recruitment exercise seemed not so much a way to advance Patten as reverse it. The pledges given to the Policing Board and to the Public Accounts Committee assuaged concerns to some extent. The re-emergence of collusion claims towards the end of

the year, however, particularly in the De Silva report on the UDA killing of Solicitor Pat Finucane in 1989 and the Police Ombudsman's investigation of the killing of Bobby Moffett, ensured that the link with the predecessor RUC would remain problematic – a difficult end to a difficult year for a force whose members had suffered much in the turmoil.

6. The Police Ombudsman

The purpose of the Office of the Police Ombudsman for Northern Ireland (OPONI) is 'to deliver a police complaints system in which the public and police officers can have confidence'. In an unusual move the Office issued a statement on 17 July 2012 to reaffirm its independence. Three critical reports had been published: the most damaging, issued by the Criminal Justice Inspectorate in October 2011, concluded that the bar of independence had been lowered. This seemed justification of the claim by families who had pursued allegations about RUC collusion in historic cases that the Ombudsman enjoyed too close a relationship with the police. The report helped speed the departure of Al Hutchinson from the post and in April 2012 it was announced he would be replaced by the person who had headed up the CJI at the time of the critical report, Michael Maguire. The press statement in July was intended to signal a new broom and evidence for this tougher approach came in October 2012 when it was announced that the OPONI was opening an investigation of possible collusion between the PSNI and the UVF in the Shankill area, including a review of the shooting of Bobby Moffett.

A survey conducted by NISRA in January and February 2012 found that 77 per cent of respondents who were aware of the Office were confident that it dealt with complaints impartially, albeit Protestant respondents (81 per cent) were more likely than Catholic (70 per cent) to say so. Only 52 per cent of respondents who had had experience of the office, however, were satisfied or very satisfied with the service they had received – a fall from 59 per cent in 2010-11.

7. Prisons

The killing of the prison officer David Black in November 2012 was not entirely unexpected. Officers had been briefed in the previous weeks to take extra care with surveillance and three had moved house. A long-running 'dirty protest' in Maghaberry prison had significantly raised the temperature between the prison authorities and the various dissident groups on the protest. Of the 41 republicans protesting, three were in prison for crimes associated with surveillance of prison officers.

A wide-ranging review headed by Dame Anne Owers and published in October 2011 recommended root-and-branch reform of a prison service that 'had become demoralised and dysfunctional, resigned to bad press and routine criticism' (Belfast Telegraph, 1/3/11). The review had been initiated by David Ford who said: 'From my first day in the job as Justice Minister, it was clear to me that our prison service would have to be

fundamentally reformed.’ The Northern Ireland Prison Service (NIPS) had not gone through a Patten-style overhaul as part of the peace process. As a result it had, according to a CJI report, maintained a high-security regime for all prisoners only necessary for a few.

7.1 The prison population

Northern Ireland has a small prison population in comparison with rest of the UK and indeed other OECD countries. The figure of 93 prisoners per 100,000 of the population places Northern Ireland at the liberal end of the spectrum along with Denmark and the Netherlands. England and Wales, by contrast, have the highest rates in Western Europe.

Chart 77: Prison population: inmates per 100,000 population, 2012
Source: International Centre for Prison Studies (2012)

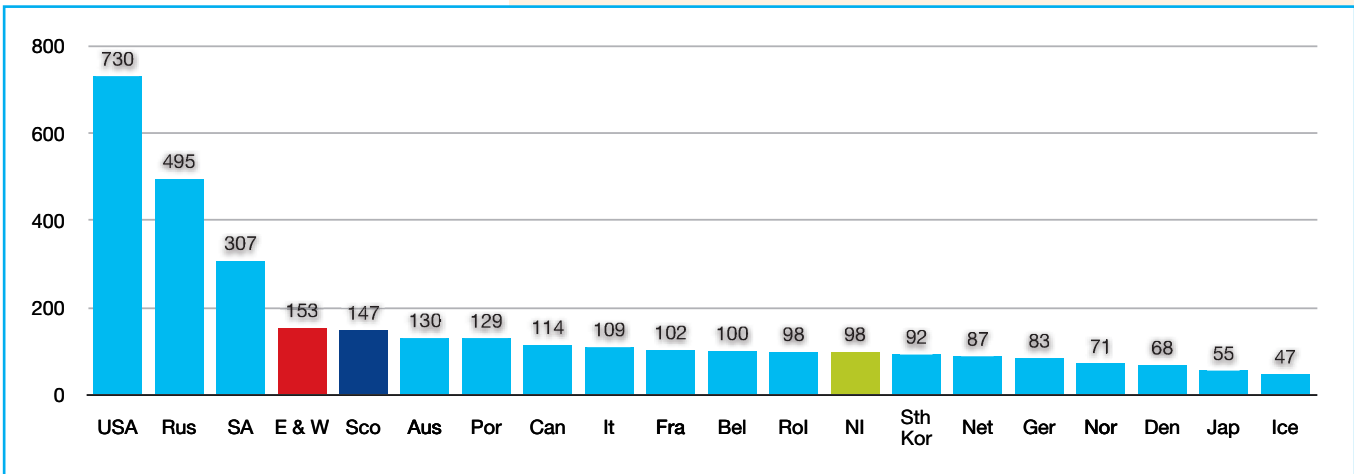


Chart 78: Prison populations in numbers

PRISON POPULATIONS		
	2011/12 average	Per 100,000
England and Wales	86,778	154.7
Scotland	8,178	154.8
Northern Ireland	1,729	96
Republic of Ireland	3,610	80.5

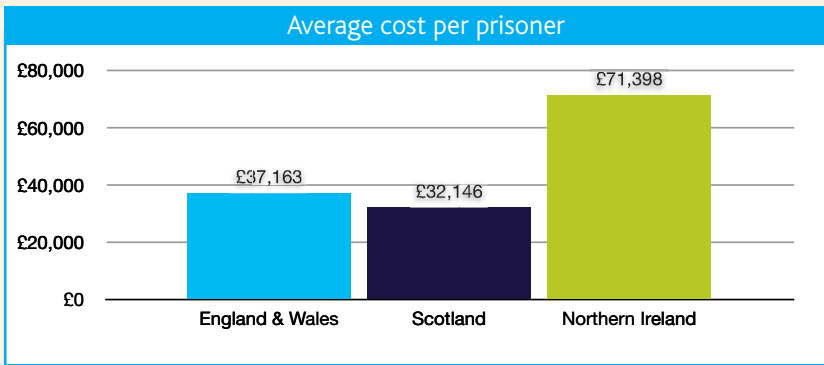
Prison Population Eng & Wales									
	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Pop	73,657	74,480	76,190	77,982	79,734	83,194	83,454	85,002	85,374
Remand	13,073	12,495	12,864	13,067	12,844	13,440	13,456	13,004	12,464

Ministry of Justice, 2012

Prison Population NI									
	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
Pop	1,160	1,274	1,301	1,433	1,466	1,490	1,465	1,465	1,682
Remand	385	446	444	529	525	507	505	508	590

Department of Justice, 2012

Chart 79: The cost per prisoner



The Northern Ireland prison population is inflated by the number of people incarcerated for non-payment of fines. Between January 2006 and October 2011, the number of fine-defaulters who served a prison term was 14,259 – around one third of the intake. The Justice Minister, Mr Ford, has sought alternatives to imprisonment in these cases.

7.2 Paramilitary prisoners

A small number of prisoners with paramilitary connections are allowed a dispensation that sees them housed apart from other inmates. At the end of October 2012 41 republicans and 22 loyalists had separate status – 3.5 per cent of the prison population.

The early release of paramilitary prisoners comprised one of the most controversial parts of the 1998 Agreement, though seen by the organisations involved as crucial to their support for the new dispensation. Provision was made through the Northern Ireland (Sentences) Act 1998, which established Sentence Review Commissioners to oversee the process. A released prisoner could not be a supporter of a specified paramilitary organisation or be involved 'in the commission, preparation or instigation of acts of terrorism'. Any breach of these conditions would allow the Northern Ireland Secretary (not the Department of Justice) to invite the Sentence Review Commissioners to consider evidence to justify a return to prison. Between 1998 and 2012 482 prisoners were given early release and 21 were recalled.

Chart 80: Prisoners released under the Early Release Scheme, 1998 -2012

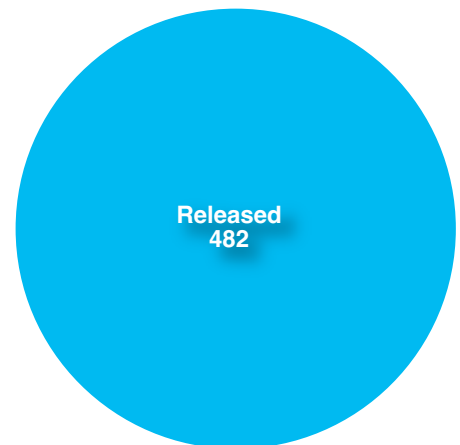
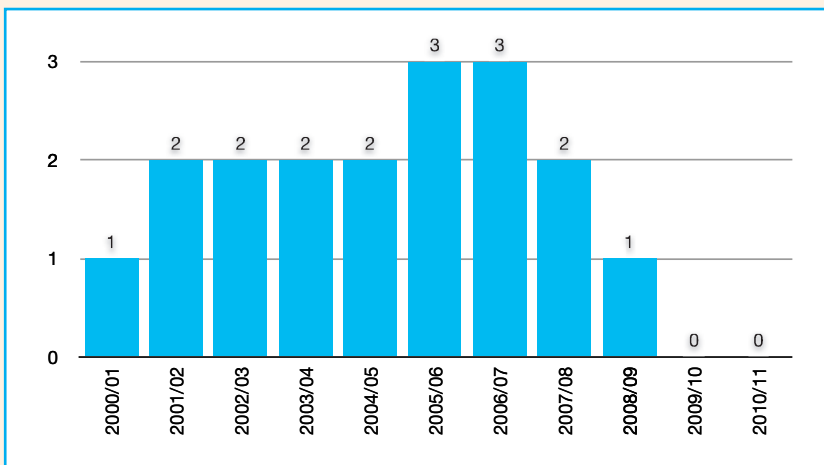


Chart 81: Number of life sentence prisoners recalled, 2002-2011



7.3 Implementing Owers – the management of change

The Owers report made 40 recommendations, including a properly resourced change programme, more flexible working practices and a review of staff numbers. A Strategic Effectiveness and Efficiency (SEE) programme was launched, with a deadline of 2015 for the recommended changes and a far-reaching savings target of some £39 million. The package is not however as far reaching as the Patten report. It did not, for example, introduce a quota system to rebalance the workforce. At a meeting of the Assembly's Justice Committee on 29 October the new Director-General, Sue McCallister, admitted that the Catholic response to the recruitment drive had been 'disappointing' and spoke of the need to 'raise our game in terms of recruiting more Catholics'. She said she would work with the Equality Commission to do so. To facilitate a culture change a generous retirement package was offered to existing staff, including a lump sum of up to £120,250, depending on time served. The offer was put out to the 644 staff and by March 2012 544 officers had opted to accept the offer, although only 154 were accepted for the first tranche. The SEE programme does not just seek to achieve a reduction in numbers but a comprehensive staff restructuring, with an emphasis on new uniformed grades, fewer management positions and lower ratios of staff to prisoners. In 2010-11, staff costs averaged £42,738, compared with £38,568 in England and Wales.

Owers suggested that the crown could be removed from the badge of the new-look prison service. In November 2011 an Assembly debate became a full-scale row when the First Minister, Peter Robinson, threatened resignation if the crown was removed from the badge or the uniform: 'It will be blocked, it is simply not on the agenda.' The Justice Minister did not press the case but in an answer to a parliamentary question in March 2012 said the matter was still under review.

Owers also recommended that the service try to find 'an effective and less intrusive method than full body searching', one of the sources of the 'dirty protest'. The prisoners' organisations have pointed to the use of electronic body scanners in Portlaoise; the Justice Minister points to the differences between the two regimes, including the presence of a company-strength detachment of the Irish Defence Forces in Portlaoise prison. In September the Prison Service began an experiment using millimetre-wave scanning equipment, technology in widespread use in airports across Europe. The dissidents shot Mr Black before any results came through. In February 2013 it was announced that the three-month pilot scheme had shown the scanning equipment was inadequate to the task.

7.4 Suicide and vulnerability in prisons

The suicide rate in Northern Ireland's prisons is higher than in England/Wales, where it was 6.8 per 10,000 prisoners in 2010 and 7.3 in 2011. In Northern Ireland there were two suicides in 2010, four in 2010 and three in 2011. While it is not valid to make comparisons based on such low numbers, the ratio for these three years is 14, 28 and 18 per 10,000 respectively. The Prison Ombudsman has conducted inquiries into all 30 deaths in custody since

2005 and has drawn attention to the deficiencies in procedure in each of the suicide cases. There is now a Supporting Prisoners at Risk programme but following its introduction in 2010 the numbers of suicides and attempted suicides continued to increase (Chart 82). There was also a big jump in self-harm cases, from 30 to 78, in 2009-10. It is possible that some of this increase is due to better recording.

Chart 82: Suicides and attempted suicides, 2006 -2012

Year	Suicides	Attempted suicides
2006	1	10
2007	1	7
2008	1	7
2009	1	15
2010	2	69
2011	4	77
2012	3	75 (at October 2012)

Chart 83: Self-harm in the prisons

	Serious self-harm	Other	Total
2007	5	53	58
2008	3	28	31
2009	1	29	30
2010	3	75	78
2011	2	82	83
Total	14	267	281

Source: reply by the Justice Minister, 28/10/12, Assembly Hansard, Vol 77, No WA3. Of the serious cases of self-harm, three involved hanging, one was an overdose and ten were caused by deep cutting.

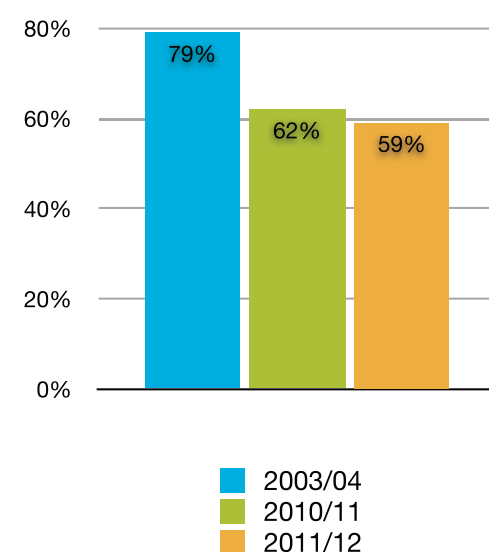
8. SAFETY IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE

8.1 Internal perceptions of safety

The Northern Ireland Crime Survey asks respondents annually not only about their experience of crime but also their fear of victimisation. A consistent feature of the NICS survey over the years has been the tendency of people to believe that crime levels are rising, even when they are not. That tendency is no longer so pronounced. Around three-fifths (59%) of NICS 2011/12 respondents thought crime levels in Northern Ireland had increased in the preceding two years, down from 62% in 2010/11 and 20 percentage points below that observed in 2003/04 (79%).

The drop is in line with the long-term trends in police recorded crime and the NICS. Despite a lower prevalence of crime in Northern Ireland, respondents to NICS 2011/12 displayed higher levels of worry about crime than their counterparts in England and Wales: violent crime (19% v 14%); burglary (15% v 11%); and car crime (12% v 10%). This generalised fear of crime among respondents did not translate into directly into a fear for their own safety: they were less likely to perceive *themselves* as victims of crime than those in the CSEW survey: (9% v 13%); and car crime (15% v 18%).

Chart 84: Those who believe crime is increasing



Two-thirds (67%) of NICS 2011/12 respondents felt that 'fear of crime' had a minimal impact on their quality of life, with a further 27% claiming it had a moderate effect. The remaining five per cent stated that their quality of life was greatly affected by their 'fear of crime'. Among those NICS 2011/12 respondents most likely to state that their lives are greatly affected by 'fear of crime' were: residents in areas of self-perceived high Anti-Social Behaviour (12%); recent victims of crimes reported to the police (11%); people living in social rented accommodation (11%); and those with a limiting illness or disability (11%).

8.2 External perceptions

In the past year, there have been a series of extravagant gestures by governments to suggest that the settled view in international diplomatic circles is that the Northern Ireland peace process is now secure. In April 2012 the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) held its annual conference in Dublin and the Irish government, which was hosting the event, chose as its theme 'Shared Future: Building and Sustaining Peace – the Northern Ireland Case Study'. On 20 November the prime minister, David Cameron, announcing that the 2013 G8 summit would be held at the Lough Erne Hotel in Fermanagh, said he wanted the world to see 'just what a fantastic place Northern Ireland is'. The European Commission President, Jose Manuel Barroso, and the European Council President, Herbert van Rompuy, both of whom will attend the conference, said: 'This choice underlies the transformation that has taken place in Northern Ireland, to which the European Union has contributed, notably through the Peace Programme of funding for projects which help to reconcile communities.'

This same confidence allowed Derry-Londonderry to win the bid to host the UK City of Culture in 2013 and, with that, the Turner Prize. It allowed the small seaside town of Portrush to host the Irish Open in the summer of 2012, and MTV to bring its annual award show to the Odyssey Arena in Belfast in November 2011. The buoyant mood was pumped up further by reports in the international tour guides. The National Geographical Traveller listed Northern Ireland as one of the top destinations in the world for 2012. Trip Advisor placed Belfast at number 8 in its list of top European cities. Its website said: 'Belfast has grown into a cosmopolitan destination and become a popular weekend break spot. With feelings of optimism and life pulsing through the city, Belfast makes for an energising getaway.' Derry-Londonderry was listed as the 4th best destination in the world in the 2013 Lonely Planet guide. The entry read: 'Derry is a brilliant example of a city that has bounced back from difficult times. This is a city with heart, which shines through in its exciting arts and music.'

Tourists voted otherwise with their feet, however. In 2008 there were some 2 million visitors, in 2010 there were 1.7 million and in 2011 around 1.5 million. Statistics for the first half of 2012 showed a 13 per cent fall from the same period in 2011, while the UK as a whole saw an increase of 1.9 per cent. The Republic of Ireland regularly outpaces the north in its tourist numbers. While Northern Ireland's total population is 40.3 per cent that of

the Republic, its visitor numbers were 32.7 per cent of those in the Republic. The continuing perception of Northern Ireland as a place of conflict has to be the most obvious factor. (See page 24).

The same reluctance to come to Northern Ireland can be seen in higher education enrolments. While 27 per cent of Northern Ireland students took up places in universities in Great Britain in 2010-11, 3.5 per cent of students enrolled in NI universities were from Great Britain. That is almost double the figure for 2010-11, but the upward trend is unlikely to continue as students from Great Britain will have to pay the full £9,000 fee from 2013. The figure for international student enrolments is much more encouraging and marginally ahead of the UK average. It may be that most of the overseas students are enrolled for postgraduate study and are selecting niche specialisms – or that the negative press about Northern Ireland does not make it to key enrolment markets such as China, which provided 555 students, or Malaysia which provided 210. Some care must be taken with figures for overseas enrolments however: 1,105 were registered with the University of Ulster but actually based in London or Birmingham.

Chart 85

GB students in NI Higher Education Institutions						
	06/07	07/08	08/09	09/10	10/11	11/12
GB students	990	1,085	1,305	1,510	1,445	1,825
Total students	61,950	48,200	48,240	50,990	52,000	51,905
% of total	1.6%	2.3%	2.7%	2.3%	2.8%	3.5%

Chart 86

International students in NI Higher Education Institutions						
	06/07	07/08	08/09	09/10	10/11	11/12
International	2,050	1,740	1,995	2,015	2,315	2,190
Total Students	61,950	48,200	48,240	50,990	52,000	51,905
% of total	3.3%	3.6%	4.1%	3.4%	4.5%	4.2%

27%

The number of NI students enrolled in GB universities

3.5%

The number of GB students enrolled in NI universities

9 The Peace Walls

9.1 Making the count

The ironically named 'peace walls' remain the most visible symbol of division in Northern Ireland and are frequently invoked when commentators seek to illustrate the scale of the problem. It has become a commonplace to observe that there were only 22 when the Agreement was signed in 1998, and that the number has multiplied since. Addressing the Assembly in June 2012 the Prime Minister chose a different yardstick, measuring the growth in their number from the St Andrews Agreement in 2006 (37 to 48). Mr Cameron said he was disappointed that devolved government had not managed to deal with the problem.

In October 2012 a University of Ulster report commissioned by OFMDFM however put the total at 99 (Byrne et al, 2012). The difference between the official statistics and those produced by other sources is mainly to do with the distinction between a 'peace wall' and an 'interface'. The Department of Justice (DoJ) only recognises as a peace wall a structure erected by statutory bodies for the purpose of preventing violent hostilities between antagonistic communities. The DoJ is now responsible for 58 such structures, 41 of which are walls or fences and 17 gates or barriers. The majority (41) are in Belfast and the remainder are split between Derry/Londonderry (11) and Portadown/Lurgan (6). The last peace wall to be erected was at Hazelwood Integrated Primary School in January 2008.

The Belfast Interface Project defines an interface as 'any boundary line between a predominantly Protestant/unionist area and a Catholic area'. In its 2012 report *Belfast Interfaces: Security Barriers and Defensive Use of Space* it attributes the growth in their number (from 88 to 99) in 2008-2012 largely to a reclassification of pre-existing barriers, some unidentified in a previous (2008) report and others reclassified as 'blighted land'. In addition to the DoJ's 58 peace walls, then the Belfast Interface Project counts:

- 14 examples of a mixture of fences with vegetation which acts as a buffer
- 12 locations where roads are closed to vehicles but allow pedestrian access
- 8 locations where there is a wall alone
- 7 locations where roads have gates which are closed occasionally

The responsibility for these interfaces is not housed with a single authority. Instead the ownership is distributed across a range of agencies, as detailed in Chart 87.

Chart 87: Who owns Belfast's peace walls?

Source: Belfast Interface Project, 2011

Owner	Total	Central	East	North	West
Department of Justice	58	3	6	30	19
Northern Ireland Housing Association	19	5	3	6	4
Private	7	2	1	3	2
Unknown	4				3
Department for Regional Development	3	3			
Housing Association	2				1
Invest NI	2	1		1	1
Belfast City Council	1			1	
Belfast Metropolitan College	1			1	
Department for Social Development	1			1	
Belfast Health and Social Care Trust	1			1	
Total	99	14	10	44	30

The overwhelming majority of interfaces are in north and west Belfast (75 per cent), which also contains nine out of the top ten areas of multiple deprivation in Northern Ireland (NIMDM, 2010). Beyond Belfast: Contested Spaces in Urban Rural and Cross Border Settings (2010) explored segregated communities outside the capital, examining towns and villages which are sometimes divided by fences, flags and murals but also by roads, rivers and wastelands.

9.2 When will the walls come down?

The first peace wall was erected to separate the lower Falls from the lower Shankill in August 1969. Originally a makeshift, temporary structure, it has been in place in one form or another for almost 44 years; the Berlin Wall only lasted for 28. In 2011 Belfast City Council adopted an Alliance Party motion setting 2019 as the target for the removal of all the walls – the 50th anniversary of the first going up. In January 2012 the International Fund for Ireland announced a £2 million programme for interface communities to facilitate the removal of peace walls and barriers. In September 2011 a gate in the Alexandra Park wall in Belfast – whose construction coincided with the first IRA ceasefire – was opened for the first time, if only for a few hours each day. And on Christmas day 2011, the Northumberland Street security gate was declared open on Sundays.

These moves have not presaged any larger shift. Various surveys to date do not show a groundswell for immediate removal of the walls but most people who live close to the interfaces do want them down in the long term. A 2008 study

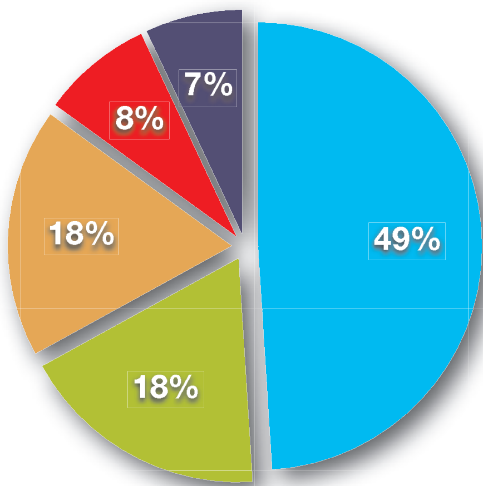
by the US-Ireland Alliance reported that 80 per cent of people living in close proximity to an interface barrier were in favour of its removal when safe to do so (Vargo, 2008). The most recent (2012) survey, conducted by Byrne et al, found that 58 per cent of interface residents were in favour of the barriers being removed now or at some point in the future, a view endorsed by 76 per cent of the wider population. A recent study by the Institute for Conflict Research (Bell, 2012), based on interviews with 60 young people from both sides of the interface divide, found that most believed that relations between Catholics and Protestants were better than they had ever been and that they themselves were 'less sectarian' than their parents' and grandparents' generations.

10 The marching season

The 'marching season', which used to run from Easter through to the end of September, now stretches to cover almost the entire year. The first in 2012 was organised by the Pride of the Bann flute band in Coleraine on 3 January, and the last took place in north Belfast on 14 December, organised by the Tigers Bay Protestant Boys. Taking the year as a whole there were 4,320 marches, an increase of 358 on 2011. The number has gone up considerably since 1985 when the total was 1,897, and it would appear from the figures that some marches described as 'traditional' relate to quite recent traditions.

A large majority of the 2012 marches were uncontested but of those which were contested (221) restrictions were placed on 69 per cent. Two-thirds (65 per cent) of all marches were organised as an expression of the unionist/loyalist tradition – 2,660 in total. A much smaller proportion (3 per cent) were nationalist/republican, the remainder being organised by a diverse range of social groups such as trade unions, churches and charities.

Chart 88: The unionist marches – a breakdown
Source: The Parades Commission



- Orange Order
- Royal Black Perceptory
- Loyalist bands
- Apprentice Boys
- Other

Chart 89: The marches – a breakdown

Total number of parade notifications	4,320
No. of contentious parades (69% of which had restrictions imposed)	221
No. of Unionist/Loyalist parades	2,660 (65%)
No. of Nationalist/Republican parades	139 (3%)

As has become customary, there were riots in Ardoyne in July, between republican demonstrators and police seeking to ensure the safe passage of Orange Order marchers. But a new flashpoint was opened up following an incident outside St Patrick's Catholic Cathedral in another part of north Belfast. On 12 July, while attention was focused on Ardoyne, a loyalist band called the Young Conway Volunteers stopped on their way past St Patrick's and, marching in a circle, played The Famine Song, a tune associated with Glasgow Rangers and used to taunt Celtic supporters. It has been judged by the Judiciary Appeal Court in Scotland to be racist and deep offence was taken by the parishioners and the residents of the surrounding Catholic area, Carrick Hill. The incident was captured by one resident on a mobile phone camera and given considerable exposure on the internet and local

media. In response, the Parades Commission placed restrictions on a subsequent march, that of the City of Belfast Grand Black Chapter on 25 August. The Young Conway Volunteers were barred from participating and another 32 bands restricted to a single drumbeat as they passed the church. On the morning of the march an open letter to the Northern Ireland Secretary was published, signed by senior unionists, including the First Minister, Peter Robinson, and every elected unionist in Belfast. It directed its anger solely at the Parades Commission, urging the Secretary of State to 'rid us all of this turbulent body'. The Young Conway Volunteers marched past the cathedral once more and, while most bands adhered to the Parades Commission ruling, some played music. One, the South Belfast Protestant Boys, stopped outside the cathedral and played the Sash.

Anger from both communities boiled over on to the streets. Loyalists saw the determinations of the Parades Commission as part of a concerted attempt to disallow their culture; nationalists took grave offence at the behaviour of the bandsmen outside their churches and at the reluctance of unionist politicians to distance themselves from it. In the first week of September a parade by the dissident-linked Republican Network for Unity was followed by three nights of rioting by loyalists in the Carlisle Circus area and 67 PSNI officers sustained injuries. Tension continued to build in the run-up to the largest unionist demonstration for many years, the centenary commemoration of the signing of the Ulster Covenant. There were again breaches, albeit more minor, of the Parades Commission ruling as the marchers passed St Patrick's. The marching season, which at times threatened to spiral out of control, had cleared its last main hurdle.

Chart 90: PSNI Use of force during the marching season, 2012

Source: PSNI

Date	Policing district	Arrested & charged	AEP rounds	AEP hits	Water cannon
26 June	A	3	0	0	No
2 July	A	1	0	0	No
11-13 July	A	57	6	4	No
12 July	H	2	0	0	No
8 August	A	4	0	0	No
11 August	A	3	0	0	No
11 August	H	2	0	0	No
25 August	A	9	0	0	No
2-4 Sept	A	47	6	2	Yes

Note: (1) Policing District A is North and West Belfast. Policing District H comprises Coleraine, Ballymoney, Moyle, Ballymena and Larne.

(2) AEP stands for Attenuating Energy Projectile, the replacement for plastic bullets.

10.1 Assessing the year

The summer of 2012 left the PSNI badly bruised, literally. An Assistant Chief Constable, Will Kerr, said the police could not be expected to absorb this level of violence indefinitely. Policing the parades cost £7.4 million, the most expensive year in this regard for some time – even before allowing for the knock-on losses in tourism and inward investment. There was no sign however of any easing in the stand-off between the Orange Order and the Parades Commission, with which it refuses to engage. Despite the urging of the DUP, it also refuses to accept the compromise replacement agreed by the political parties at Hillsborough in 2010.

There were however some positive aspects to the year:

- Some of the traditional flashpoints, like the Tour of the North in Belfast or the Rasharkin parade, were much quieter in 2012. The Apprentice Boys march in Derry-Londonderry, which throughout the Troubles was a major flashpoint, has come to serve almost as a model for constructive mediation. In October the EU Peace III Programme announced a grant of £2 million to the Apprentice Boys to help create a new museum to commemorate the 1689 siege.
- The Orange Order lifted its ban on talking to Catholic residents' groups. The relaxation of the rule is tentative and not obligatory. It does not require local lodges to discuss with Catholic residents in contentious situations but it does allow for this possibility where the lodge deems it appropriate. Following the controversy around St Patrick's Cathedral there were some limited discussion with parishioners.
- Discussions were begun at a high level in the autumn of 2012 to help prevent a repetition of the disturbances of recent years. These were convened by the OFMDFM and the Orange Order had a private, face-to-face meeting with the Deputy First Minister, Martin McGuinness – something that hitherto would have been ruled out of the question.

Dimension Two: EQUALITY

Key points

1. The focus on poverty in Northern Ireland has eclipsed wealth as a category for research, which means that discussions of inequality lack empirical foundation. There is evidence however of wide disparities between rich and poor.

2. By comparison with other UK regions, Northern Ireland households derive the lowest level of income from savings and investments but are at the top of the league table for the proportion of income derived from benefits.

3. Community differentials still persist between Protestants and Catholics: on a range of indicators Catholics experience much greater socio-economic disadvantage. The deprivation indices show that 22% of Catholics live in households experiencing poverty, compared to 17% of Protestants. Sixteen of the top 20 most deprived wards are Catholic, and only 6 of the least deprived wards are Catholic.

4. A legislative framework of equal opportunities has been successful in combating religious discrimination and the existence of a level playing field, together with demographic changes, has led to a rebalancing of the workforce with many more Catholics in employment.

5. The recession is having different impacts on different sectors. Construction has suffered the greatest job loss and this affects Catholics more than Protestants. Conversely, shrinkage in security has had more effect on Protestants.

6. Youth unemployment is on the increase and a community differential has opened up: 15 per cent of Protestants in the 18-24 year-old age group are unemployed but for Catholics in the same category the figure is 20 per cent.

7. There are stark inequalities in health. The gap in life expectancy between the most deprived and the least deprived areas is 11.6 years. There is also a community differential: the life expectancy of a Protestant male is 77.6 years but that of a Catholic male 76.3 years.

8. Northern Ireland primary schools have scored remarkable successes in the past year, achieving the highest scores in the English-speaking world for reading and mathematics. Despite these successes, inequality gaps are in evidence at post-primary level and 29% of adults in Northern Ireland have no educational qualifications.

9. Girls continue to out-perform boys and Catholics continue to out-perform Protestants. Those not on free school meal entitlement outperform those who are. Grammar schools out-perform non-grammars. This layering of differentials creates a compound effect so that at one end of the attainment gap the success rate for Catholic girls not on free school meals at A Level (grades A*-E) is 66.2 per cent, while at this same level the success rate for Protestant boys on free school meals is 13.4 per cent.

1. Measuring social inequalities In Northern Ireland

1.1 Wealth, poverty and inequality

The concept of inequality has taken on a new centrality in policy debates since the onset of the recession. In a book that has quickly become a classic, Wilkinson and Pickett (2009) presented a considerable body of evidence to support the thesis that income inequality is the root cause of a wide range of social problems, including violent crime, poor educational attainment, mental ill-health and a range of other adverse health outcomes. In its 2011 report *Divided We Stand: Why Inequality Keeps Rising*, the OECD showed how income inequality had increased in 17 of the 22 member countries between the mid-1980s and the late 2000s. The standard measure for inequality is the Gini coefficient, which places the differences between the rich and the poor on a scale where 0 equals perfect equality (i.e. everyone has the same income) to 1.0 (where one individual holds all income).

Despite its importance as a measure of inequality, and despite the emphasis on equality in political discourse in Northern Ireland, no government department produces Gini coefficient tables that would allow comparisons to be made with elsewhere. The hold of poverty on the research agenda has led to the eclipse of inequality as a category. There are however some indicators that allow for the creation of a partial picture of the gap between rich and poor.

1.2 Wealth

WealthInsight, which specialises in finance data, defines a multi-millionaire as having net assets above \$30 million. It produces an annual report on high net-worth individuals. The 2012 edition provides a breakdown of the UK's 10,000 multi-millionaires by place of residence. Unsurprisingly, London accounts for nearly half of the UK total, with 4,200. Belfast has 96 or 35.8 per 100,000. Proportionately, this places it ahead of all UK cities except London and oil-rich Aberdeen.

1.3 Investment and income

Despite the presence of a number of multi-millionaires, finance capital does not loom large in the Northern Ireland economy. Only 1 per cent of the population derives income from investments, half the UK average. Indeed, as Chart 91 shows, Northern Ireland has the lowest proportion of households deriving income from stocks and shares, premium bonds and national savings bonds. Conversely, the region has the highest proportion of households with no accounts at all. The strength of the Irish credit-union movement can be seen in the high proportion of households with this type of account: 10 per cent, as against 1 per cent in England and 3 per cent in Scotland.

Chart 91: High Net Worth Individuals in the UK.
Sources: WealthInsight 2012 / Guardian, 13/9/12

WHERE THE MULTIMILLIONAIRES LIVE		
City	Number of multi-millionaires	Number per 100,000
London	4,220	51.6
Manchester	170	33.8
Glasgow	158	26.7
Edinburgh	134	27.6
Birmingham	130	12.1
Leeds	115	15.3
Aberdeen	115	53.0
Belfast	96	35.8
Liverpool	78	16.7
Cardiff	72	20.8

When all sources of household income are combined, Northern Ireland falls at the extremes on two further indicators. It has the lowest proportion of households deriving income from wages and salaries – 59 per cent, against the UK average of 64 per cent. It also has the highest proportion on disability benefits: 3 per cent, against the UK average of 1 per cent. And it shares the proportion (8 per cent) on other social security benefits with the North-East, the North-West and the West Midlands in England.

Chart 92 Sources of Household Income by Country and Region (%)

SOURCES OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY COUNTRY AND REGION (%)									
Region	Wages & salaries	Self-employed	Investments	Tax credits	State pension	Other pension	Disability benefits	Other social security benefits	Other
North East	61	5	1	3	9	8	2	8	3
North West	61	7	2	3	8	7	2	8	3
Yorks & Humber	63	7	1	3	8	8	2	6	3
East Midlands	62	7	2	2	8	8	2	6	3
West Midlands	60	7	2	3	9	7	2	8	3
East of England	64	11	2	2	7	7	1	5	2
London	71	9	1	1	4	4	1	5	4
South East	65	8	3	1	6	9	1	4	4
South West	60	8	2	2	9	10	1	6	3
<i>Country</i>									
England	64	8	2	2	7	7	1	6	3
Wales	61	5	1	3	9	8	3	8	2
Scotland	66	6	1	2	7	7	2	6	3
NI	59	11	1	2	7	6	3	8	2
UK	64	8	2	2	7	7	1	6	3

1.4 Income differentials

Average annual earnings in Northern Ireland, at £27,809, are the second lowest among UK regions – Wales comes bottom at £26,944. Wales also has the fewest at the upper end of the earnings table, with only 5.6 per cent of the workforce earning above £50,000 per year; once again, Northern Ireland is second from bottom with 6.7 per cent.

On all measures London is exceptional, its average earnings skewed by some particularly high salaries at the top. Leaving London aside, there is very little variation between the regions and small nations, including Northern Ireland, in term of their internal inequalities of income.

Chart 93: Earnings by Region

Source: Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings, 2011. Table created for Peace Monitoring Report

EARNINGS BY REGION				
Region	Mean earnings	% earning between £20,000 and £34,999	% earning between £35,000 and £49,999	% earning £50,000 and over
North East	£27,996	42.8	15.4	6.8
North West	£28,996	41.3	16.8	7.9
Yorkshire and The Humber	£28,513	43.6	15.7	6.8
East Midlands	£29,045	41.9	16.5	7.7
West Midlands	£28,901	41.9	16.2	7.8
South West	£29,035	43.4	15.7	7.9
East	£30,858	42.8	17.8	10.4
London	£47,954	35.5	24.1	25.7
South East	£34,399	41.1	19.6	14.5
Wales	£26,944	42.3	15.6	5.6
Scotland	£30,803	44.1	16.5	9.3
Northern Ireland	£27,809	40.2	17.6	6.7

Comparisons with the Republic of Ireland show some surprising results. A large-scale study of income inequality in Ireland was produced in 2012 by a group of economists from University College Cork (McCarthy et al). Using data from the Central Statistics Office and the Revenue Commissioners the authors show that inequality actually fell in the Republic during 2006-08 – a period more often associated with the rise of the super-wealthy – when the Celtic Tiger was still strong. The report goes on to show that as the recession began to bite, inequality grew substantially: the Gini coefficient increased from 29.3% in 2009 to 31.6% in 2010. Figures released by the Central Statistics Office in February 2013 show little change in 2011 – a Gini coefficient of 31.1%

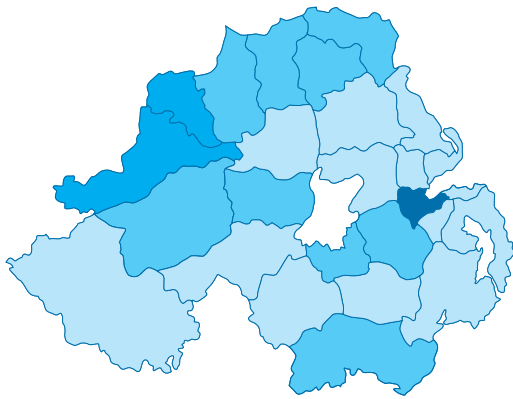
2 Poverty

2.1 Poverty in Northern Ireland - an overview

The Department for Social Development publishes an annual summary of poverty indicators in Northern Ireland, drawing on data compiled from the Family Resources Survey (FRS) and Households Below Average Income (HBAI) datasets. To make comparisons with other UK regions it uses income and poverty figures published by the Department for Work and Pensions (DWP). In 2010-11, the most recent year for which figures are available, 20 per cent of the population, or 355,000 people, were in relative

The rise in unemployment has had little effect on poverty levels, possibly because the jobs that were lost were so low paid

Chart 94: Mapping child poverty in Northern Ireland



Key: % of children in families on out of work benefits

- 40% or More
- 30-40%
- 20-30%
- 10-20%
- 0-10%

Antrim	14%
Ards	15%
Armagh	16%
Ballymena	16%
Ballymoney	20%
Banbridge	14%
Belfast	34%
Carrickfergus	16%
Castlereagh	13%
Coleraine	21%
Cookstown	20%
Craigavon	21%
Derry	35%
Down	20%
Dungannon	19%
Fermanagh	19%
Larne	17%
Limavady	26%
Lisburn	21%
Magherafelt	17%
Moyle	23%
Newry and Mourne	25%
Newtownabbey	17%
North Down	13%
Omagh	22%
Strabane	32%

Source: Centre for Research in Social Policy, Loughborough University/ End Child Poverty, 2012

poverty – using the standard definition of living below 60 per cent of median income, before housing costs.

This has remained fairly static since 2002-03, despite the recession and the growth of unemployment. The depression of wages has shifted the median income down, so that individuals who were formerly below the poverty line may have been moved above it without having experienced any rise in living standards. And many of the jobs lost were low-paid and the associated drop in income is not sufficient to make a significant statistical difference.

A study by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (MacInnes *et al*, 2012) concluded that on most indicators Northern Ireland was converging with the other regions of the UK – particularly with Wales and the north of England in terms of worklessness and dependence on Disability Living Allowance. The report described Northern Ireland as being 'in a pause' before the recession really bites. The size of the public sector makes it very vulnerable to public expenditure cuts and, since women make up the majority of the workforce in this sector, progress on female employment could be threatened.

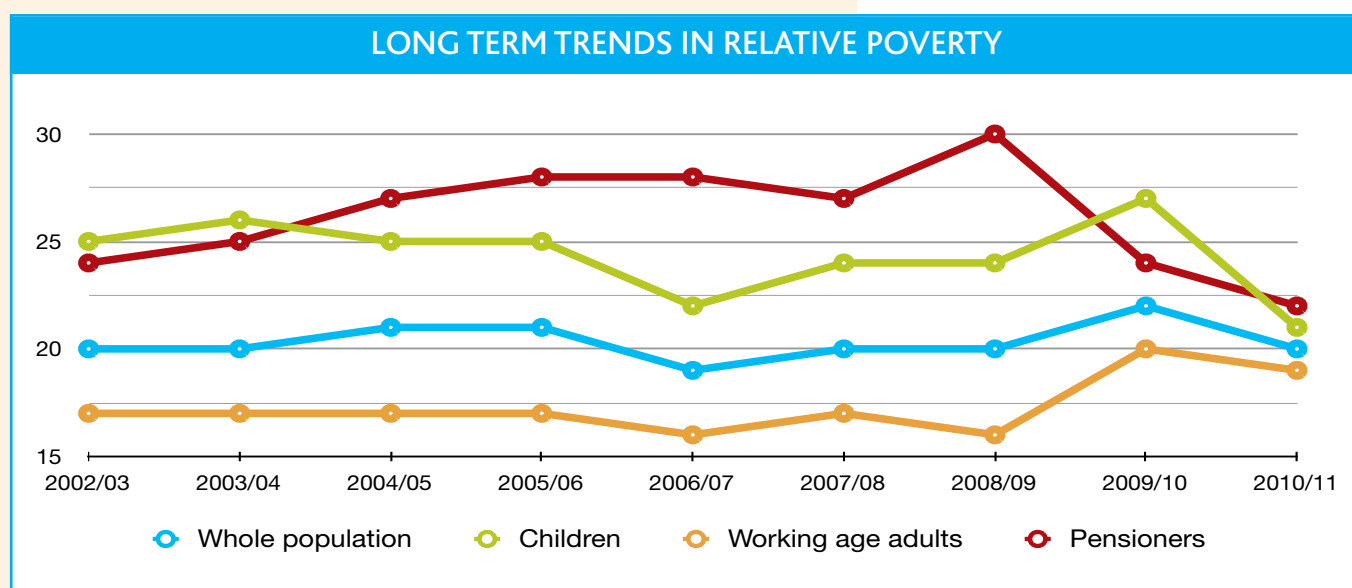
When the various indices of poverty are put together in a composite picture (Chart 95) the long-term picture is of an overall drop in the level of relative poverty, but with a particularly large drop in pensioner poverty – a reverse of a trend which had its peak in 2008/09. On the data produced by the DSD child poverty has also dropped in the past year. The End Child Poverty campaign maps poverty in the UK each year, based on an analysis carried out by researchers from Loughborough University. This draws upon tax data and the most recent report, issued in February 2013, places West Belfast as the parliamentary constituency having the second highest level of child poverty in the UK, 46 % (Manchester Central has the highest level). When the tables are presented by local authority, rather than by parliamentary constituencies, Derry is ranked number 4 (35%), Belfast number 5 (34%) and Strabane number 14 (32%), giving NI three places in the top twenty.

2.2 Poverty and deprivation - community differentials

The data on poverty suggest that, 15 years after the Belfast Agreement held out the hope of equality between Protestants and Catholics, major differentials still exist, with Catholics experiencing much higher material deprivation than Protestants. The Northern Ireland Multiple Deprivation Measure (NIMDM), as reviewed in 2010 by NISRA, comprises seven domains – income, employment, health, education, proximity to services, living environment and crime – weighted as follows:

- Income deprivation 25 per cent
- Employment deprivation 25 per cent
- Health deprivation and disability 15 per cent
- Education, skills and training deprivation 15 per cent
- Proximity to services 10 per cent
- Living environment 5 per cent
- Crime and disorder 5 per cent

Chart 95: Long-term trends in relative poverty (BHC) for different groups
 Source: Department of Social Development, Northern Ireland Poverty Bulletin, Dec 2012



	2002/03 (%)	2003/04 (%)	2004/05 (%)	2005/06 (%)	2006/07 (%)	2007/08 (%)	2008/09 (%)	2009/10 (%)	2010/11 (%)
Whole population	20	20	21	21	19	20	20	22	20
Children	25	26	25	25	22	24	24	27	21
Working age adults	17	17	17	17	16	17	16	20	19
Pensioners	24	25	27	28	28	27	30	24	22

Summary deprivation measures are available for electoral wards, local government districts and Assembly areas. Chart 97 shows that only six wards with a majority-Catholic population feature in the 20 least disadvantaged, while only five predominantly Protestant areas fall into the most deprived.

A comprehensive measure of community differentials at household level is provided by the annual Family Resources Survey. This is not based on income ratios, but on the ability of households to meet certain basic costs. The report issued in February 2013 shows that 22% of Catholics lived in households experiencing poverty, compared to 17% of Protestants. This is according to data collected in 2010-1, and the percentages are the same both before and after housing costs. On every single measure on the deprivation indices Catholic families experience more deprivation than Protestants:

Chart 96: Deprivation in Northern Ireland

FAMILIES WHICH DO NOT HAVE ENOUGH MONEY TO:		
	Protestant	Catholic
Keep home in decent order	26%	64%
Take holidays one week a year	34%	54%
Have household contents insurance	34%	57%
Save £10 a month	35%	53%
Have 2 pairs of shoes per adult	25%	65%
Replace worn-out furniture	31%	55%
Replace/repair broken electrical items	36%	52%
Keep accommodation warm	25%	62%
Not fall behind in one or more household bill	34%	56%
Have friends/family round for drink/meal at least once a month	28%	63%
Money to spend on yourself (not on your family)	33%	53%

Source: DSD, Family Resources Survey, Deprivation Indices, February 2013

The fact that six of the most affluent areas are now Catholic is evidence of the upward mobility of the Catholic middle class

The tables for most and least deprived areas are drawn from the 2010 Multiple Deprivation Measure (MDM) of NINIS. The most obvious feature of the tables is the community differential: 16 of the most deprived wards are Catholic, while only six of the least deprived wards are Catholic. This static picture masks a very significant change. The 2011 Census figures show a considerable turnaround in the communal identity of the areas. If the community characteristics from the 2001 Census are applied then 18 of the top 20 most affluent areas are all Protestant. The 2011 Census shows that four of the top 20 have changed community complexion over that ten-year period: Cairnshill, Knockbracken, Galwally and Carryduff have all moved from majority Protestant to majority Catholic areas. In some cases the margin is very small: Galwally, for example, is 46.9% Catholic and 44.6% Protestant. However, the fact that six of the most affluent areas are now Catholic is evidence of the upward mobility of the Catholic middle class; that the four new areas are all in Peter Robinson's Castlereagh ward is evidence of a remarkable demographic shift.

Chart 97: The least and most deprived wards

LEAST DEPRIVED WARDS				MOST DEPRIVED WARDS			
Rank	Ward	Town/City	Majority Population	Rank	Ward	Town/City	Majority Population
1	Wallace Park	Lisburn	Protestant	1	Whiterock	Belfast	Catholic
2	Hillfoot	Castlereagh	Protestant	2	Falls	Belfast	Catholic
3	Cairnshill	Castlereagh	Catholic	3	New Lodge	Belfast	Catholic
4	Knockbracken	Castlereagh	Catholic	4	Shankill	Belfast	Protestant
5	Gilnahirk	Castlereagh	Protestant	5	East	Strabane	Catholic
6	Jordanstown	Newtownabbey	Protestant	6	Crumlin	Belfast	Protestant
7	Stormont	Belfast	Protestant	7	Clonard	Belfast	Catholic
8	Ballymacash	Lisburn	Protestant	8	Creggan Central	Derry	Catholic
9	Bluefield	Carrickfergus	Protestant	9	Ardoyne	Belfast	Catholic
10	Galwally	Castlereagh	Catholic	10	Twinbrook	Lisburn	Catholic
11	Ballyloughlan	Ballymena	Protestant	11	Upper Springfield	Belfast	Catholic
12	Cultra	North Down	Protestant	12	The Diamond	Derry	Catholic
13	Carryduff West	Castlereagh	Catholic	13	Colin Glen	Lisburn	Catholic
14	Ballyholme	North Down	Protestant	14	Duncairn	Belfast	Protestant
15	Strand	Coleraine	Protestant	15	Greystone	Limavady	Catholic
16	Lisbane	Ards	Protestant	16	Waterworks	Belfast	Catholic
17	Knockagh	Carrickfergus	Protestant	17	Creggan South	Derry	Catholic
18	Crawfordsburn	North Down	Protestant	18	Ballymacarrett	Belfast	Catholic
19	Malone	Belfast	Catholic	19	Woodvale	Belfast	Protestant
20	Stranmillis	Belfast	Catholic	20	Brandywell	Derry	Catholic

Source: NINIS Multiple Deprivation Measure website

- Protestant
- Catholic

A male in Whiterock in west Belfast can expect to live 12 years less than a male in Wallace Park, Lisburn

Chart 98 shows how life circumstances vary between the most disadvantaged ward, Whiterock in west Belfast, and the least disadvantaged, Wallace Park in Lisburn. On average a man living in the former can expect to live nearly 12 years less than his counterpart in the latter ward.

Key indicators	Whiterock	Wallace Park
Life Expectancy Male	69.9	81.6
% with no qualifications (16-74)	64.6	19.2
% in full time employment	18.5	59
% unemployed	10.4	1.4
% of unemployed who are long term	41.6	18.2
% of people with limiting long term illness	29.6	5
% health good or fairly good	79.5	98.3
% households rented (total)	63.9	21.4
% households (housing executive)	59.6	0.5
% claiming housing benefit (16-74)	37	1
% lone parent households with dependent children	24.4	2.7
% of households with no cars or vans	68	6

During the flags dispute that ran through the winter of 2012-13, much attention was focused on east Belfast and it was frequently asserted that the unrest was not just about the removal of the union flag from the City Hall but underlying social and economic disadvantage. When the consequent, Unionist Forum met in January 2013 it set up eight working groups, one charged with developing 'proposals to tackle deprivation and under-achievement in the unionist community'. Yet the official Assembly constituency profiles for East Belfast and its predominantly-Catholic counterpart of West Belfast (Chart 99) show that the latter is significantly more disadvantaged. The life expectancy of a man in West Belfast is three years less (75.5 versus 72.5) and the proportion of children in poverty (42.7) is virtually double that of East Belfast.

Investment by Invest NI in East Belfast in 2011-12 was £13.3 million, as against £4.2 million for West Belfast. And this does not include the following recent projects there: the Titanic Centre (£75 million), the new Belfast Metropolitan College Campus (£44 million) and the new Public Records Office (£30 million). These have been situated in Titanic Quarter, a major development on the old extended shipyard estate. Belfast City Council envisages that expenditure on regeneration of the area will come to £7 billion over 20 years. These investments do not necessarily translate into jobs for the unemployed of east Belfast and many of the most disadvantaged residents do not feel any ownership of the new structures

that have grown up in the shadow of the Harland & Wolff cranes. That argument however cannot be extended into a claim that investment has not found its way into this part of the city.

Chart 99: East Belfast & west Belfast statistical profile

EAST BELFAST & WEST BELFAST STATISTICAL PROFILE			
Indicator	Year	East Belfast	West Belfast
Population Size	2010	90,402	90,758
Life Expectancy (M)	2008-2010	75.5	72.5
Life Expectancy (F)	2008-2010	80.3	78.4
% of children living in poverty	2010	21.8	42.7
School leavers with 2 A-Levels	2010/11	52.5	48.6
School leavers with 5 GCSEs	2010/11	68.3	69.2
Invest NI Assistance (£ million)	2011/12	13.27	4.22
Overall Recorded Crime per 100,000	2011/12	5,816	9,650
Overall Recorded ASB incidents per 100,000	2011/12	3,644	5,095

Source: NI Assembly Constituency Profiles

3. Equality and inequality in the labour market – the impact of the recession

3.1 Fair employment - is there a level playing field?

Discrimination in housing and employment were the grievances that drove the early civil rights movement. The strict equal opportunities regulation introduced by direct rule administrations has transformed the landscape, as shown by a series of key reports:

- **In 2004** the Equality Commission published *Fair Employment in Northern Ireland: a Generation On* (Osborne and Shuttleworth, 2004), a collection of essays by social scientists. The overall conclusion was that the discrimination that had characterised employment practices in previous decades had by and large disappeared but historical imbalances remained, with differentials in employment patterns.
- **In 2005** the OFMDFM published a survey called *Labour Market Dynamics*. This concluded that the inequality gap was narrowing but again attention was drawn to particular imbalances between sub-groups of the two communities.

- In 2012 the Assembly published a research paper, *Fair Employment in Northern Ireland: The Decades of Change, 1990-2010* (Russell, 2012). This concluded that discrimination was no longer a significant factor in employment practice and that the new and more benign environment was not just the product of legislative oversight but had also been driven by educational, demographic and social change.

These large-scale changes do not preclude discrimination at the micro-level and individuals who feel that they have been the victim of religious discrimination have resort to the Fair Employment Tribunal. The statistics issued by the Office of the Industrial Tribunals and the Fair Employment Tribunal for the past three years suggest that religious discrimination is no longer of political significance: in only four cases was the claimant’s case upheld. Nevertheless, in 2011-12, 28 cases (15.6 per cent) were settled between the parties and 38 (21.2 per cent) resolved through conciliation – in some cases the employer may have settled as the evidence suggested they were likely to lose.

Chart 100: Discrimination cases brought before the Fair Employment Tribunal

FAIR EMPLOYMENT CASES						
Breakdown	2009/10		2010/11		2011/12	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Settled between the parties	53	19.6	48	23.7	28	15.6
Conciliation	62	22.9	50	24.6	38	21.2
Withdrawn	97	35.8	67	33.0	85	47.5
Dismissed for failure to comply	0	0	3	1.5	1	0.6
Dismissed after pre-hearing review	2	0.7	2	1.0	0	0.0
Dismissed	56	20.7	31	15.3	26	14.5
Allowed	1	0.4	2	1.0	1	0.6
Fair Employment Tribunal total	271	100	203	100	179	100

3.2 The changing demographics of the labour market

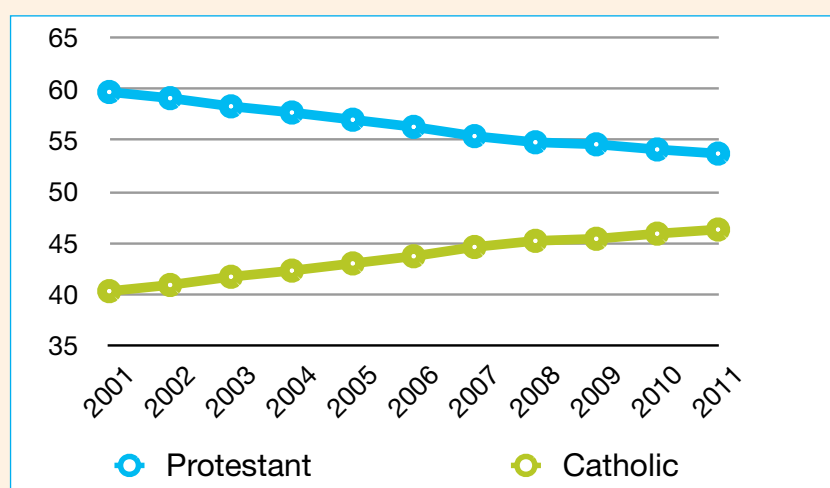
The recession is contracting the job market at the same time as increased numbers of young people are trying to gain entrance. Employment fell from 799,000 to 745,000 between 2008 and 2009 and has shrunk every year since, albeit more slowly. In its annual review of the monitored workforce the Equality Commission (Monitoring Report No 22, November 2012) recorded a contraction in 2011 of 0.6 per cent, following 0.9 per cent tightening in 2010. The increased proportion of Catholics in the younger age cohorts has led to a restructuring of the workforce, although that has slowed since the recession began.

Monitoring by the Labour Force Survey and the Equality Commission shows the following long-term trends:

- Between 1990 and 2011 the working-age population added 32,000 Protestants (6 per cent), 120,000 Catholics (32 per cent) and 80,000 other/non-determined (150 per cent) (Source: Equality Commission Monitoring Report, No 22, Dec 2012).
- The difference in the proportion of Protestants and Catholics in the working-age population has fallen from 13 percentage points in 1990 (54-41) to 3 percentage points in 2011 (46-43) (Source: Labour Force Survey Religion Report, December 2012).
- The monitoring of applicants for jobs has shown a steady increase in the proportion who are Catholic. In 2010-11 the proportion of Catholic applicants was 51.6 per cent, an increase of 6.8 percentage points on the 2001 figure (Source: Equality Commission Monitoring Report, No 22)

Chart 101: The changing ratios of Protestants and Catholics in the monitored workforce (all employees)

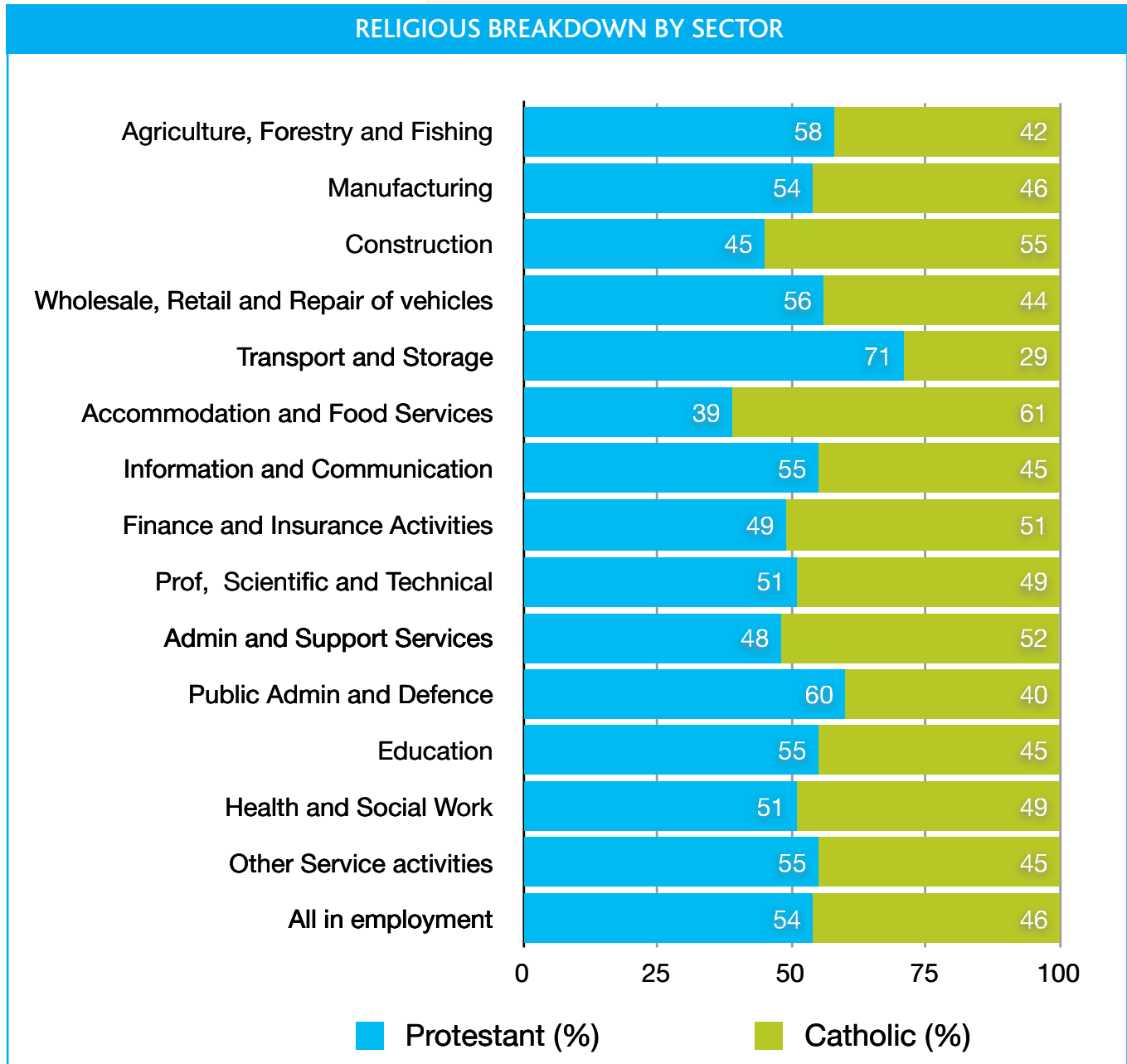
Source: Equality Commission Monitoring Report, 2011, No 22, issued December 2012



Note: The statistics compiled by the Equality Commission are for the monitored workforce, not the workforce as a whole. Monitoring covers approximately two-thirds (64-67 per cent) of all those in employment.

The dynamics for the private sector and the public sector were different in 2011. The private sector experienced a slight increase of 622 employees (or 0.2 per cent), while the public sector shed 3,506 jobs or 1.8 per cent of the workforce. Both saw a 0.4 percentage points increase over the 2010 returns in the Catholic proportion, reaching 46.0 per cent of the private sector and 46.8 per cent of the public.

Chart 102: Religious breakdown by major industrial sectors Source: Labour Force Survey Religion Report 2011, published December 2012



Sectoral changes

Because of the distribution of Protestants and Catholics across employment sectors, the recession has had differential impacts. Construction has been the sector most badly hit: from the peak of the boom in 2007 to the trough of 2012 it has shed approximately 16,000

jobs, or 34 per cent of its workforce. Since public-sector contracts now account for half of all construction output, spending cuts are likely to deepen the crisis still further. According to the Labour Force Survey Religion Report of December 2012, 11 per cent of employed Catholics depend on this sector for work, compared with 7 per cent of Protestants.

By contrast, a higher proportion of Protestants work in public administration and defence – 11 per cent, compared with 8 per cent of Catholics. Its contraction predates the recession, due in part to improvements in the security situation. Between 2001 and 2011 the Protestant share of this workforce fell by 50%, while from a much lower base the Catholic share increased by 69 per cent.

Chart 103: The rise and fall of construction, 2005-2012 Source: Northern Ireland Construction Bulletin, January 2013

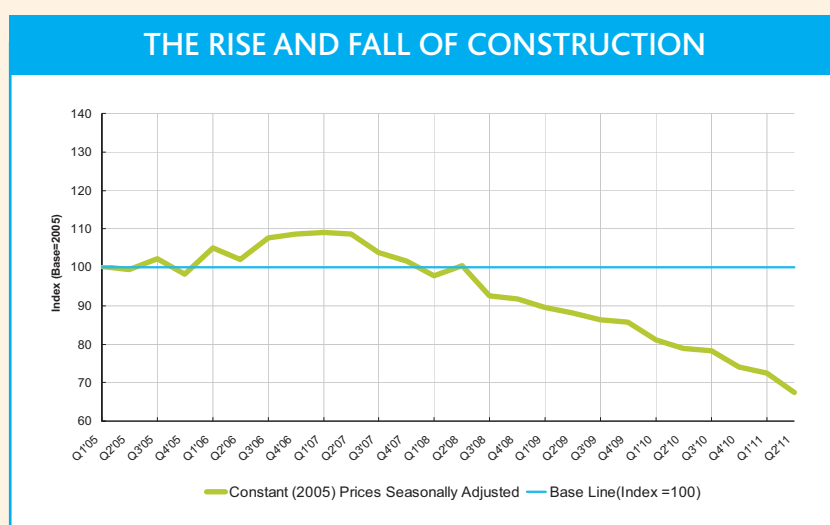
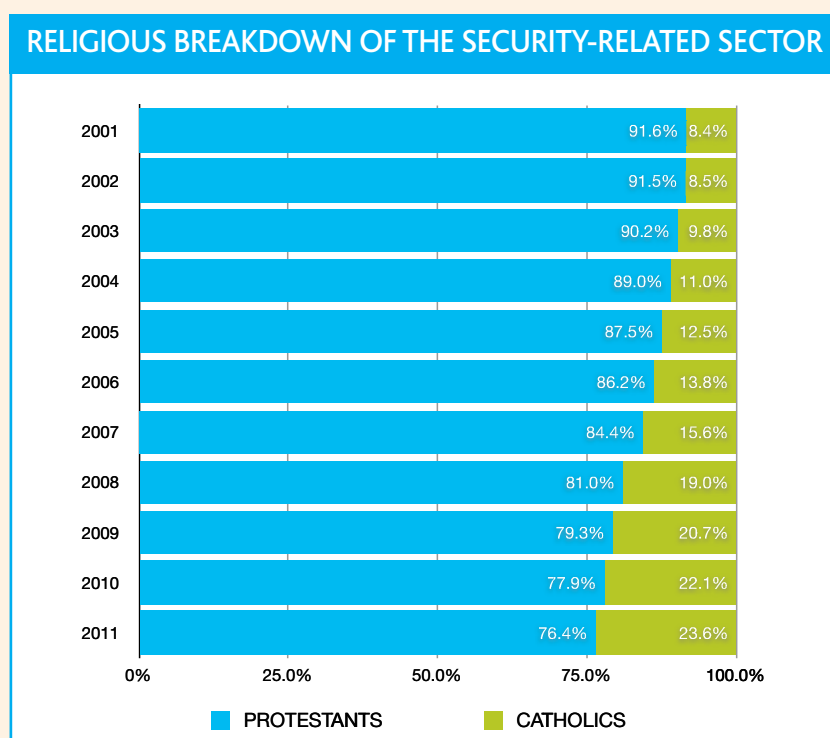


Chart 104: Changes in religious composition of employees in security-related sector



The Civil Service

An analysis of equality statistics for the Northern Ireland Civil Service was issued by NISRA in September 2012. The analysis, based on staff in post in January 2012, showed the community composition to be 52.8 per cent Protestant and 47.2 per cent Catholic. The narrowing of the differences in the public sector generally has seen the proportions of the two communities converge but a temporary embargo on recruitment and promotion within the General Service grades in 2010 froze the differentials. The Catholic proportion is slightly higher in the NICS than in the general workforce (45.0 per cent) and represents an increase of 5.5 percentage points from the 2000 figure of 41.7 per cent. The increase of 1.9 percentage points in Protestant representation between 2011 and 2012 is due in large part to the inclusion of 1,744 NICS Prison Grades staff (of whom 88.7 per cent were Protestant). Conversely, the fall of 1.6 percentage points between 2008 and 2009 was largely due to the transfer of around 1,200 NICS staff (of whom 86.0 per cent were Protestant) to the PSNI.

An additional analysis for the Assembly (Barry, November 2012), noted that the proportion of staff who were Catholic was highest in the most junior grades and lowest in the most senior. This has been an historic problem but the report registered significant changes in the higher management grades in the 2008-12 period, with an 18.2 percentage point increase of Catholics at Grades 6/7 and a 14.8 percentage points rise at Grade 5 and above.

Despite these advances, the report concluded that female, Catholic, disabled and older candidates tended to be less likely to make it through selection tests to the next stage of recruitment competitions: Protestants performed better than Catholics in eight out of nine tests. The general pattern to emerge from the report is that there is a fairly consistent pattern whereby males, Protestants, those without a disability and younger age groups generally perform better in these tests. The report expressed concern that this had remained 'consistent and unchecked' for at least ten years and that no investigation of the underlying problem appeared to be in prospect.

3.3 Gender inequalities

The recession has put a halt to improvement in the gender balance of the workforce. Historically, the female employment rate has been low and at 62.8 per cent for women aged 16-64 is still three percentage points below that in Great Britain. The long-term trend had been to narrow that gap, and the total of 374,000 women in employment in 2012 is 34 per cent higher than in 1995. But the NISRA report *Women in Northern Ireland 2012* shows that while the female employment rate in Great Britain registered a slight increase in 2011 (0.4 per cent), the trend in Northern Ireland was in the opposite direction, with a decrease of 0.5 per cent.

The most comprehensive survey of the labour market is the biennial Census of Employment carried out by the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Investment, which covers 55,000 organisations. The 2011 report

concluded that women had experienced more job losses than men in the previous 12 months (10,486 compared to 4,485). Most male job losses were full-time (80.4 per cent), while female jobs losses were almost evenly split between full- and part-time. While full-time employment in Northern Ireland has an even male/female balance (51/49), part-time employment is 70 per cent female.

The ratio of female earnings to men's has also shown a small reversal. In 2011 the ratio was 91.2 per cent but in the Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings (ASHE) report for 2012 it had slipped to 90.3 per cent. This is still better than the UK average of 80.3 per cent. Women make up 64 per cent of the public sector where they are on UK-wide pay scales, while men make up 58 per cent of the private sector where wages are lower and the public/private balance of employment tilts towards the former in Northern Ireland.

Chart 105: The gender gap in earnings, 2012
Source: Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings

THE GENDER PAY GAP									
	Gross Hourly Earnings Excluding Overtime (£)						Ratio women to men (%)		
	Men			Women			Full-time	Part-time	All
	Full-time	Part-time	All	Full-time	Part-time	All			
2012	11.40	7.14	10.59	11.37	7.96	9.57	99.7	111.5	90.3
2011	11.00	7.45	10.34	11.11	7.85	9.43	101.0	105.4	91.2

3.4 Youth unemployment

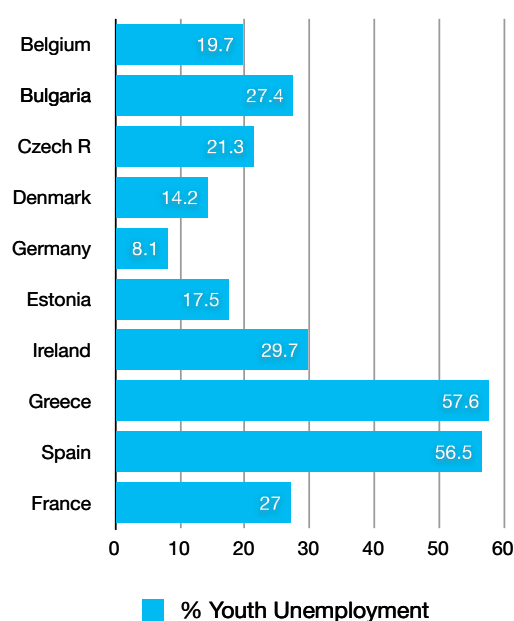
The unemployment rate Northern Ireland in the December 2012 Labour Market Monthly Bulletin (NISRA) stood at 7.8 per cent, identical to the average for the UK. This was below the European Union (10.6 per cent) and Republic of Ireland (15.1 per cent). The December 2012 figure for 18-24 year olds was 19.2 per cent, compared with a UK average of 19.4 per cent and 23.7 per cent in the EU as a whole.

While the Northern Ireland figure is not higher than the UK average, there is a concerning aspect. The fault line between Protestants and Catholics has begun to open up: in the December 2012 report, 20 per cent of economically active Catholics in the 16-25 year age bracket were unemployed, compared with 15 per cent of Protestants in the same category.

NEETs

Policy attention has focused on those identified as 'not in employment, education or training' or NEETs. A Department of Employment and Learning policy document, 'Pathways to Success', was launched in May 2012 with an initial investment of £9 million in 18 projects. The

Chart 106: Youth unemployment (%) in the European Union, November 2012
Source: Eurostat



introduction to the document linked the concentration of NEETs in 'the communities that experience high levels of exclusion and bear the greatest strain in terms of material and social deprivation' with the fact that 'these communities were those that suffered most from violence, and that continue to experience segregated patterns of living and, to a significant extent, working'.

The term, confusingly, is sometimes used to refer to the 16-19 age group and sometimes to the 16-24 cohort. As Charts 107a and 107b show, in 2012 Northern Ireland was below the UK average for NEETs in the first category, but above it in the second.

Chart 107a

Those not in employment education or training, aged 16-19					
	England	Scotland	Wales	Northern Ireland	UK average
Oct- Dec 2010	14.7%	16.9%	17.6%	15.2%	15.1%
Jan-March 2011	13.2%	16.3%	16.6%	19.0%	13.8%
April –June 2011	14.5%	17.4%	13.1%	15.6%	14.7%
July- Sept 2010	18.7%	20.5%	21.7%	16.4%	19.0%
Oct-Dec 2011	14.2%	14.2%	26.3%	14.2%	14.8%
Jan- March 2012	13.0%	14.9%	21.8%	12.9%	13.6%
April-June 2012	13.9%	17.9%	18.7%	14.0%	14.4%
July-Sept 2012	16.4%	19.2%	22.6%	14.2%	16.9%

Chart 107b

Those not in employment education or training, aged 16-24					
	England	Scotland	Wales	Northern Ireland	UK average
Oct- Dec 2010	19.1%	18.2%	23.4%	21.7%	19.3%
Jan-March 2011	17.7%	17.3%	21.6%	20.7%	18.0%
April –June 2011	18.4%	20.0%	21.3%	18.4%	18.7%
July- Sept 2010	21.8%	19.4%	26.7%	21.4%	21.9%
Oct-Dec 2011	18.6%	19.1%	28.0%	20.5%	19.2%
Jan- March 2012	17.8%	18.9%	24.6%	20.9%	18.4%
April-June 2012	18.6%	20.4%	23.8%	24.4%	19.2%
July-Sept 2012	20.4%	21.6%	22.4%	22.6%	20.6%

4. Equality And Inequality In Education

4.1 Overall attainment levels

For the first time Northern Ireland has participated in two major international league tables for primary education, the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) and the Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS). The results, released in December 2012, were based on tests taken in 2011 in 60 countries and in the case of Northern Ireland involved the participation of 3,586 Year 6 students from 136 schools. The league tables showed Northern Ireland primary schools performing extremely well, indeed better than in any other English-speaking countries.

Chart 108

READING	SCIENCE	MATHS
1. Hong Kong	1. Republic of Korea	1. Singapore
2. Russian Federation	2. Singapore	2. Republic of Korea
3. Finland	3. Finland	3. Hong Kong
4. Singapore	4. Russian Federation	4. Chinese Tapei
5. Northern Ireland	5. Chinese Tapei	5. Japan
6. United States	6. United States	6. Northern Ireland
7. Denmark	7. Czech Republic	7. Belgium (Flemish)
8. Croatia	8. Hong Kong	8. Finland
9. Chinese Tapei	21. Northern Ireland	9. Russian Federation

The results of both studies were released on 12 December, coinciding with the publication of the 2011 Census results. These showed that almost one in three adults in Northern Ireland (29 per cent) have no educational qualifications, prompting the Minister, John O'Dowd, to urge a debate on the future delivery of post-primary education. Sir Robert Salisbury, who chaired the Literacy and Numeracy Taskforce which reported in 2011, said bluntly (Belfast Telegraph, 12/12/12): 'Selection has a lot to do with that. It demotivates a lot of students. Equality of opportunity is not the case in Northern Ireland.'

4.2 Winners and losers

Each year Northern Ireland outperforms the other UK jurisdictions in exam performance. In 2012, at GCSE level Northern Ireland was 1.6 points ahead of the UK average in the success rate at A* grade and 5.5 points ahead at grades A*-C. Similarly, in the A-Level results the proportion at Grades A* and A was 31.9 per cent in Northern Ireland, ahead of the English figure of 27.0. Not all share in this success, however. A critical report by the NI Audit Office, *Improving Literacy and Numeracy in Northern Ireland Schools*, appeared in

Northern Ireland primary schools have the highest success rate in the English-speaking world in tests for Reading and Maths

Because of the selective system failure is clustered in particular areas

February 2013 pointing out how a pattern of underachievement begins in the final year of primary school, and how this attainment gap widens as pupils move through the schooling system:

- At the end of primary school, more than one in six do not achieve the expected standard in literacy and numeracy.
- By Key Stage 3, more than one in five do not achieve the expected standard in literacy and numeracy.
- By GCSE, two in five fail to achieve the standards deemed necessary to progress to sixth form studies at school; further education; training; or step onto the employment ladder.

This last figure means that 40%, or 9,000 pupils, are still leaving full-time education not having achieved the required standards in literacy and numeracy. Moreover, as the report points out, there is a stubborn 10% of pupils who leave school having failed to achieve even a single grade G at GCSE English or Maths.

Educational underachievement is by no means just a Northern Ireland problem. English schools also turn out 40% of pupils without five good GCSEs year on year. The difference in Northern Ireland is the way in which the problem is concentrated in particular schools and particular areas. Of the 213 post-primaries, 111 had less than 50% of pupils achieve the benchmark standard of five good GCSEs (Belfast Telegraph, 6/3/12). According to the online investigative news website, The Detail (28/11/12) a third (34%) of all NI post-primary schools failed to meet the key target of at least 35% matching against the benchmark.

Chart 109

HOW NORTHERN IRELAND OUTPERFORMS THE OTHER UK JURISDICTIONS - GCSE RESULTS 2009-2012					
Country	Grades	2009	2010	2011	2012
UK average	A*	7.1	7.5	7.8	7.3
	A*&A	21.6	22.6	23.2	22.4
	A*- C	67.1	69.1	69.8	69.4
	A* - G	98.6	98.7	98.8	99.0
England	A*	7.1	7.5	7.8	7.3
	A*&A	21.5	22.6	23.3	22.3
	A*- C	66.9	69.0	69.8	69.5
	A* - G	98.6	98.7	98.8	99.0
N. Ireland	A*	9.1	8.9	8.5	8.9
	A*&A	27.1	27.5	27.7	27.9
	A*- C	75.1	75.3	74.8	75.6
	A* - G	98.6	98.7	98.7	99.0
Wales	A*	6.2	6.1	6.6	6.5
	A*&A	18.9	19.2	19.5	19.2
	A*- C	66.5	66.4	66.5	65.4
	A* - G	98.5	98.7	98.7	98.7

Source: Wales Online, posted 23/8/12 (www.walesonline.co.uk)

In this table the percentages given are for pupils attaining a qualification at each given level. With 75.6% of pupils achieving a GSSE at level A*-C NI enjoys considerably more success than England or Wales.

4.3 Gender, class and religion in education

There are very clear patterns in educational attainment in Northern Ireland. Using Free School Meal Entitlement (FSME) as a proxy for social disadvantage (a standard measure), it can be seen that those from disadvantaged backgrounds do not do as well as other pupils. Girls do better than boys. Catholics do better than Protestants. Grammar schools do better than non-grammars. In 2010-11 the proportion of school leavers entitled to free school meals who achieved five good GCSEs was 31.7 per cent, less than half the success rate (65.1 per cent) of others. Of girls, 64.3 per cent achieved that benchmark, as against 55.0 per cent of boys. The Catholic attainment rate at this level was 61.2 per cent, while for Protestants it was 57.9.

The really large inequality gaps open up when these determinants compound each other. Thus 71.6 per cent of Catholic girls without FSM entitlement achieved 5 good GCSEs in 2010-11, while only 18.6 per cent of Protestant boys on FSME did so. The A-level results show the same gap. Treating two or more A*-E grades as the bar, Catholic girls without FSM entitlement had a 66.2 per cent success rate, while for Protestant boys with FSME entitlement this was only 13.4 per cent.

The extent of Protestant underachievement in inner-city areas can be seen in the NINIS table for wards with lowest levels of attainment: the top 10 are all in the Belfast area, and 7 of the ten are in Protestant working-class areas:

Chart 110

AREAS WITH LOWEST LEVEL OF EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT			
1	Shankill	BELFAST	Protestant
2	Crumlin (Belfast LGD)	BELFAST	Protestant
3	Woodvale	BELFAST	Protestant
4	Falls	BELFAST	Catholic
5	Dunanney	NEWTOWNABBEY	Protestant
6	Ballymacarrett	BELFAST	Catholic
7	The Mount	BELFAST	Protestant
8	Whiterock	BELFAST	Catholic
9	Duncairn	BELFAST	Protestant
10	Shaftesbury	BELFAST	Protestant

Source: Multiple Deprivation Measures, NINIS, 2010

Success at A-level (A*-E)

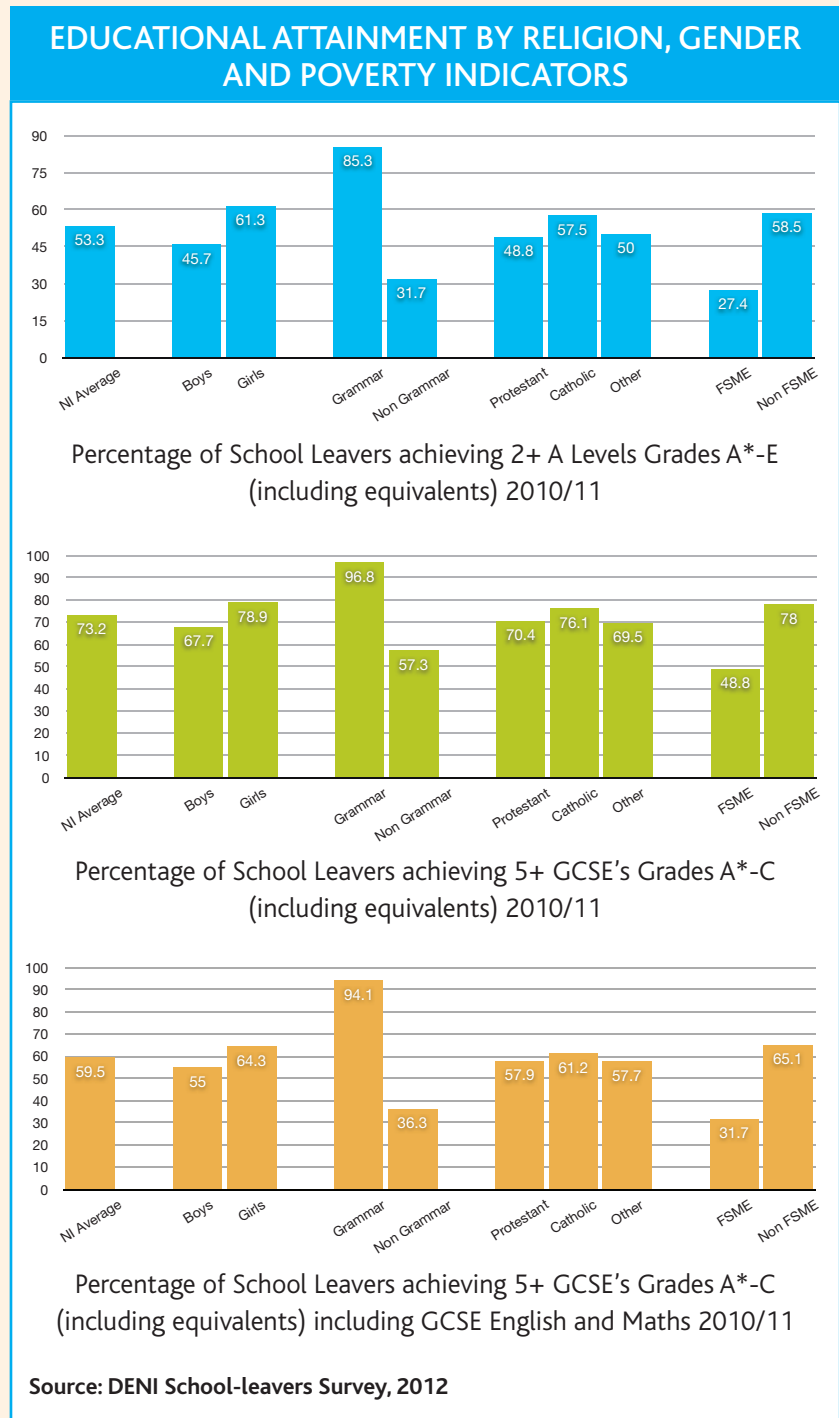
66.2%

The success rate for Catholic girls not on free school meals.

13.4%

The success rate for Protestant boys on free school meals.

Chart 111: Educational attainment



4.4 Educational attainment by ethnic minorities

On the whole, there is very little distinction between the overall attainment of those from ethnic minorities and others in Northern Ireland's secondary schools. The numbers from ethnic-minority backgrounds are at this stage very small – only 391 or 1.7 per cent of the post-primary population. That figure does however conceal quite striking differences as the term 'ethnic community' describes children from very different backgrounds. The stock community (that is, those who have been here for more than one generation) includes those from families who work

in education or health and who are less likely to be eligible for FSME. White newcomer children are also less likely than average to be on FSME, while newcomer children from Black, Black African or Pakistani and Bangladeshi backgrounds are more likely to be eligible. Three-quarters of Irish travellers are on free school meals.

Chart 112: Qualifications of school-leavers by ethnic origin, 2010-11

QUALIFICATIONS OF SCHOOL-LEAVERS BY ETHNIC ORIGIN, 2010/11				
Qualification	White		Minority ethnic community	
	Numbers	%	Numbers	%
3+A Levels A*-E	11,022	48.4	191	48.8
2+ A Levels A*-E	12,127	53.3	215	55.0
At least 5 GCSEs A*-C	16,669	73.2	280	71.6
At least 5 GCSEs incl. English and Maths	13,589	59.7	202	51.7
At least 5 GCSEs A*-G	21,311	93.6%	344	88.0
No GCSEs	500	2.2	21	5.4
No formal qualifications	417	1.8	21	5.4
Totals	22,769	100	391	100

4.5 School-leaver destinations

The trends evident in schooling shape the destinations of school leavers:

- Half of Catholic girls go on to higher education (51 per cent), but less than one third of Protestant boys (31.9 per cent).
- Protestant boys are out-performed in higher education entry by Protestant girls (45.5 per cent) but Protestant girls are still almost five percentage points behind Catholic girls.
- More Protestants than Catholics go on to further education colleges (36.0 versus 29.1 per cent).

The difficulties for Protestant working-class boys are most apparent vis-à-vis entry to higher education. According to an answer given to an Assembly Question on 30 October 2012 by the Education Minister, just 25 Protestant boys in receipt of free school meals who attended non-grammar schools the previous year went on to university; the number of FSME boys who had attended grammar schools and progressed to higher education was even lower (23). Protestant girls from FSME backgrounds did slightly better: 39 from non-grammar schools and 33 from grammar schools went on to university.

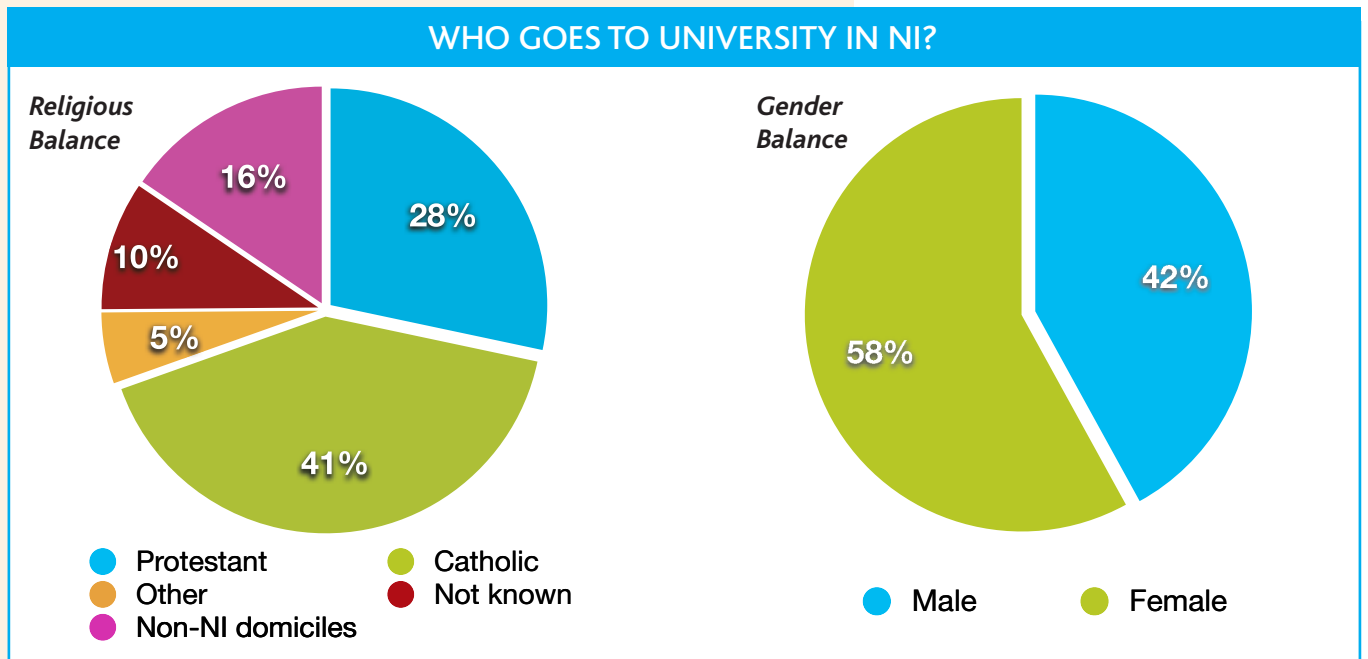
Half of Catholic girls go on to higher education but only one third of Protestant boys

Chart 113: School-leaver destinations

WHERE THEY GO: SCHOOL-LEAVER DESTINATIONS BY GENDER AND RELIGION			
Protestant	Boys	Girls	Total
Institutions of higher education	31.9%	45.5%	38.6%
Institutions of further education	37.6%	34.3%	36.0%
Employment	8.2%	5.8%	7.0%
Unemployment	3.6%	3.6%	3.6%
Training	16.6%	8.7%	12.7%
Destination unknown	2.2%	2.1%	2.1%
Catholic	Boys	Girls	Total
Institutions of higher education	38.3%	51.2%	44.6%
Institutions of further education	30.0%	28.2%	29.1%
Employment	7.1%	5.7%	6.4%
Unemployment	4.0%	3.9%	4.0%
Training	18.4%	9.1%	13.8%
Destination unknown	2.2%	1.9%	2.0%

The ratio of Catholics to Protestants in Northern Ireland universities stayed stable from 2009-10 to 2010-11. Catholics accounted for 41.2 per cent of all enrolments, up just 0.1 per cent on the previous year. Protestants accounted for 28.3 per cent, the same proportion as in 2009-10. The same stability can be seen in the gender balance, where male-female ratios have stabilised at about 40:60. In 2006-07 female enrolments made up 60.3 per cent of the total, and in 2010-11 the figure was 58.7 per cent. In that same period there was a very slight increase in the number of students from ethnic minorities. In 2006-07 there were 1,355 ethnic-minority students at Northern Ireland universities, making up 2.8 per cent of the total. In 2010-11 that number had increased to 1,580 students or 3.0 per cent.

Chart 114: University attendance



Religion and gender in Northern Ireland universities

The ratio of Catholics to Protestants has stabilised in recent years. With minor fluctuations Catholics make up just over 40% of enrolments and Protestants just under 30%. The figures for 2011/12 show the following:

Protestants:	14,505 (28.9%)
Catholics:	21,75 (41%)
Other:	3,510 (6.8%)
Not known:	3,970 (7.6%)
Non-NI domiciles:	8.645 (16.6%)

The gender balance has also stabilised at around 60% female. The breakdown for 2011/12 is:

Female:	58%
Male:	42%

DASHBOARD VIEW OF PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC DIFFERENTIALS

Chart 115: *Census Data*

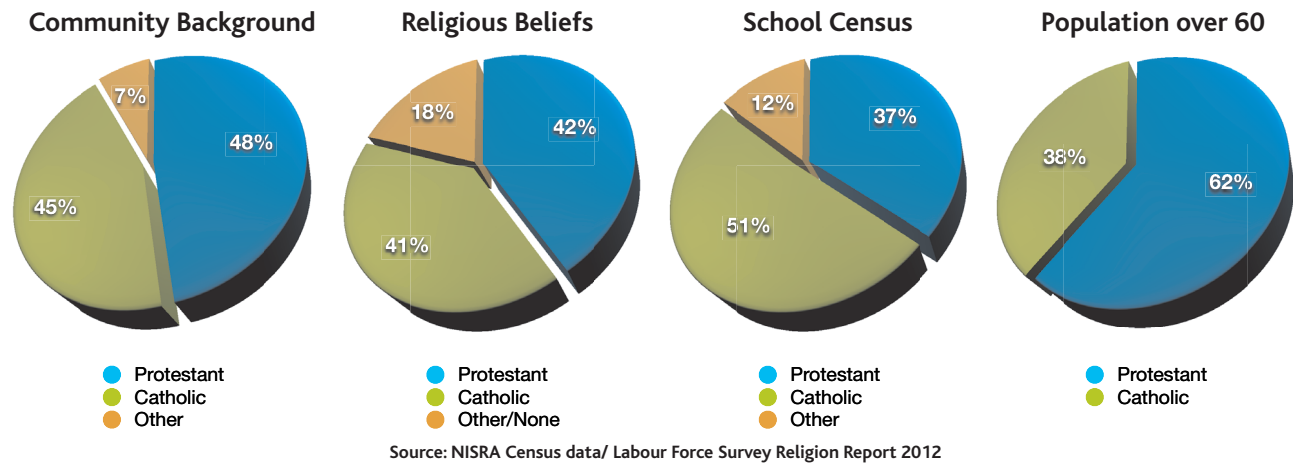
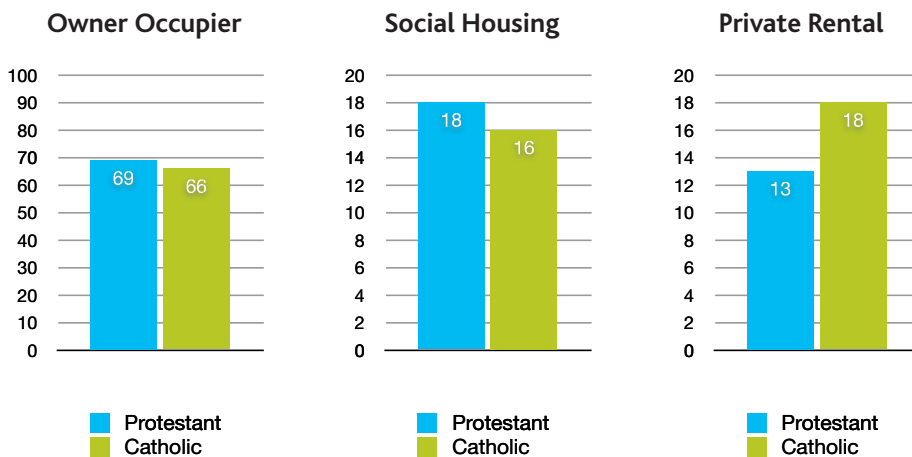


Chart 116: *Housing*

Life Expectancy



76.7
The life expectancy of male Catholics

77.6
The life expectancy of male Protestants

Source: Labour Force Survey Religion Report, December 2012

Source: DHSPPS Health inequalities monitoring system

Chart 117: *Education*

% of pupils achieving 2+ A level grades A*-E



36%
of Catholics on free school meals achieved 5 good GCSE's but only

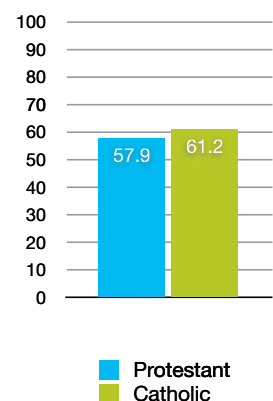
23%
of Protestants achieved this level

51%
of Catholic girls go on to University

but only

32%
of Protestants boys go on to University

% of school leavers achieving 5+ GCSEs A*-C



Source: DENI School-leavers Survey, 2012

DASHBOARD VIEW OF PROTESTANT AND CATHOLIC DIFFERENTIALS

Chart 118: *Labour Market*

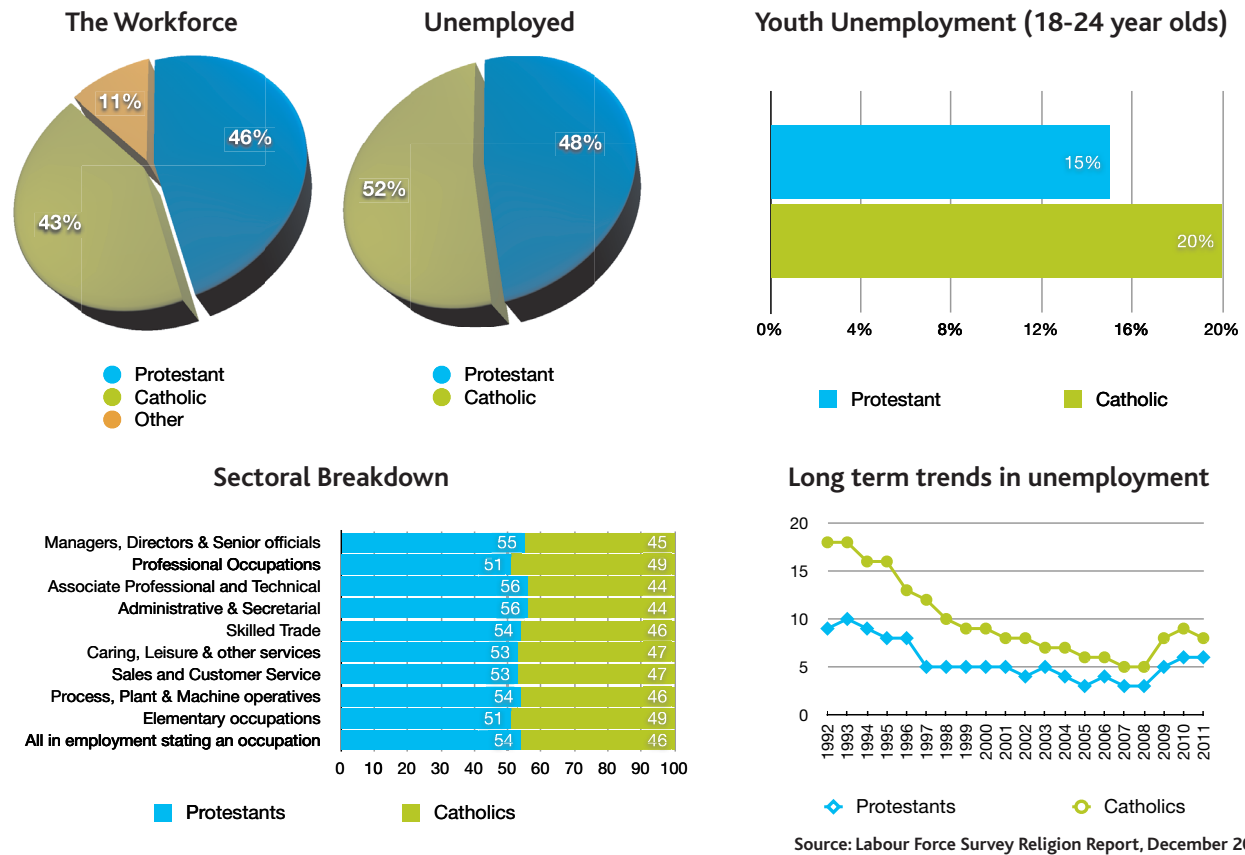


Chart 119: *Security*

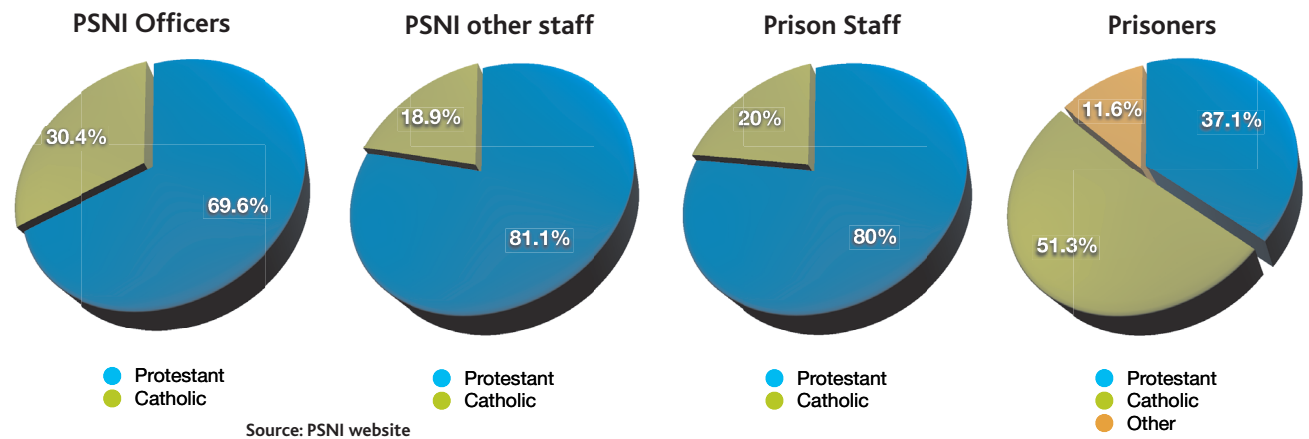
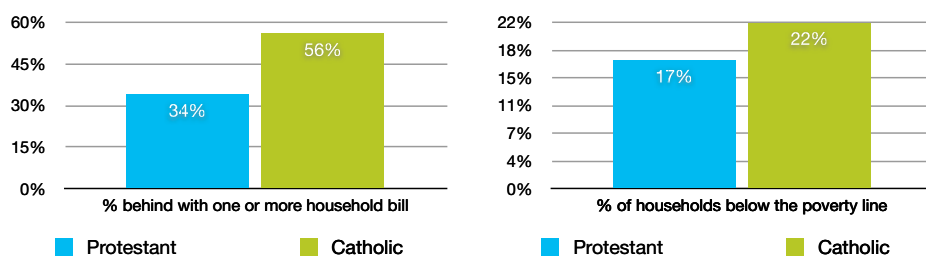


Chart 120: *Poverty*



Source: Family Resources Survey, 2013

16

of the 20 most deprived wards are Catholic.

Dimension Three: Cohesion and Sharing

KEY POINTS

1. The failure of the political parties to progress the policy document 'Cohesion Sharing and Integration' meant there was no strategic framework to deal with the crises that erupted in 2012 concerning marches and flags. The polarisation that has resulted has served to make the problems even more difficult to resolve.
2. There has been a significant shift in patterns of housing choice. For the first time in a couple of generations there has been a move towards more sharing of areas. The proportion of electoral wards with a single identity (as defined by having 80 per cent or more of the same religion) is now only 37 per cent. In 2001 it was over 50%.
3. The changes in the ratios of Catholics and Protestants in ward areas have also been affected by the arrival of the new communities, particularly those from the A8 countries. Evidence from the school Census, the Registrar General reports and the Northern Ireland Housing Executive suggests that, while some migrants have returned home, many have chosen to settle and to raise children in Northern Ireland. Northern Ireland has become, irreversibly, a society with different ethnicities and this has been accepted as the 'new normal'.
4. There is further evidence of ability to live with difference in the increasing accommodation of the LGBT community. A vote in the Assembly to support gay marriage was defeated by only five votes and the LGBT community has experienced further increases in recognition from public bodies.
5. The move towards a more cosmopolitan culture and the consumption patterns in the new shared spaces has been boosted by large-scale funding of arts and culture venues and, in Derry-Londonderry, by the preparations for the City of Culture year.

6. Educational divisions have not been eroded in the past year. The proportion of pupils in integrated schools has risen only fractionally and 93 per cent of children still attend schools identified as either Protestant or Catholic. In policy terms there has been a decisive swing away from integrated education. The idea of shared education, which accepts the reality of the dual system but works to increase co-operation, has eclipsed integrated schooling as an ideal for the Northern Ireland Executive.

7. The dual nature of Northern Ireland society was illustrated during the London Olympics. Northern Ireland athletes were very successful, bringing home five gold medals. They did not win these as representatives of Northern Ireland, however, but of Team GB and Team Ireland. And while some went to a victory celebration with the Queen at Buckingham Palace, others went to celebrate with President Higgins in Áras an Uachtaráin. The identity dilemma was given a sharp focus by Rory McIlroy, who publicly expressed his unhappiness about having to choose either a British or an Irish identity. This ambivalence is consistent with Census evidence about the numbers now choosing a Northern Ireland rather than a British or Irish identity.

8. The survey evidence suggests that overall the people of Northern Ireland enjoy higher rates of life satisfaction than the rest of the UK. Despite this general pattern, the suicide rate has been rising, as has the consumption of anti-depressants. Some of this may be due to the recession but since the suicide increase began during the economic boom it is probably connected to the undischarged trauma of those who were children at the height of the Troubles.

1. The policy context

The tensions and disorders during the 'marching season' and the widespread disorder that accompanied the flag dispute drew international attention to the fact that the Northern Ireland peace process has not healed relations between Protestants and Catholics. What might surprise international observers even more is the fact that, 15 years after the peace agreement was signed, the Northern Ireland Assembly has still not produced a strategic framework for dealing with community relations. The core problems of relationships between the two communities and how their separate traditions are to be accommodated within a single policy were given eloquent expression in the Belfast Agreement, but no governmental programme has followed on that would allow the generalities of the document to be translated into a coherent framework for action. The history of this fractious saga follows.

2000: In the Draft Programme for Government (page 25) the OFMDFM made a commitment to a cross-departmental structure to improve community relations. Subsequently, Dr Jeremy Harbison, former Deputy Secretary at the Department of Social Development, was commissioned to undertake a review of community relations.

2001: Riots in the English cities of Bradford, Burnley and Oldham led to a questioning of policies that were seen as promoting the separation of cultures. The Cattle report (known formally as *Community Cohesion: The Report of the Independent Review Team*) put a new emphasis on the concept of cohesion.

2002: In January Dr Harbison produced a report which said that existing policies and programmes were not sufficient to prevent a deeply segregated society reproducing its divisions. He recommended that the Executive should produce a clear strategy, with a vision of integration and well-defined policy goals. The Executive did not however debate his review before its suspension in October that year and the reintroduction of direct rule from London.

2003: In January a consultation paper was launched, *A Shared Future: A Consultation Paper on Improving Relations in Northern Ireland*. Submissions were invited and evidence was taken from focus groups and questions in the April 2003 Omnibus survey. The majority favoured a more shared and pluralist society, but the survey evidence suggested that 40 per cent supported existing segregation. A republican critique rejected the starting analysis, arguing that it ignored the role of the British state in the initiation and perpetuation of sectarianism.

2005: In March the direct-rule administration published *A Shared Future: Policy and Strategic Framework for Good Relations in Northern Ireland*. The document was robust in its support for 'sharing over separation in delivering policies and services'. The focal points were education, housing and law and order and there was a trenchant tone: 'Separate but equal is not an option. Parallel living and the provision of parallel services are unsustainable both morally and economically.'

At this point there was nationalist and a unionist version of how to achieve good relations

2006-2009: A Triennial Action Plan was produced, requiring government departments to plot the development of the strategy against a baseline of 'good relations' indicators which would allow impact to be measured year-on-year. This sense of purpose was not shared by the Northern Ireland Assembly, reconvened in 2007: there was no strong sense of ownership over what was seen as a direct-rule document, shelved when Alliance sought Assembly endorsement for it.

2008: The Programme for Government 2008-11 did not mention *A Shared Future* and put only a light emphasis on 'a shared and better future, based on tolerance and respect for cultural diversity'. In April 2008 the Equality Directorate in OFMDFM said it was working on what it called a Cohesion, Sharing and Integration strategy.

2009: A cross-party working group on the Cohesion Sharing and Integration (CSI) document failed to make progress. The First Minister, Peter Robinson, blamed Sinn Féin for the impasse. In September Sinn Féin published its own 43-page document, *Rights and Respect: An Executive Programme for Cohesion, Sharing and Integration*. The paper prioritised equality over good relations, asserting: '[E]quality is the foundation of Good Relations; Good Relations cannot be built on inequality.' The DUP responded by publishing its version of CSI in turn. At this point there was nationalist and a unionist version of how to achieve good relations.

2010: David Ford refused to sign off on the Hillsborough Agreement devolving policing and justice to the Assembly until it was agreed that there would be a renewed attempt to create a community-relations policy. A draft of CSI was issued for consultation but was considered anodyne and met an overwhelmingly negative response. An open letter to OFMDFM signed by more than 150 reconciliation practitioners, victims campaigners, ethnic-minority representatives, academics and sportspeople bemoaned its 'poverty of vision' (Belfast Telegraph 29/11/10) and it was effectively withdrawn. An analysis of the 288 responses to the public consultation by Wallace Consulting (2011) confirmed that this was the universal response.

2011: Following Assembly elections in May, in September the main parties agree to establish a new working group.

2012: In May OFMDFM announced the new policy would be published before the summer recess. Shortly afterwards, Alliance announced it was leaving the working group. Its leader and Justice Minister, Mr. Ford, said that SF and the DUP were fostering 'an illusion' that they were dealing with sectarianism, and that not enough had been done on schools, housing or flags. In July the First Minister and the Deputy First Minister issued a joint statement saying that agreements had been reached on a number of policy areas; the UUP then left the working group, claiming that the announcement by Messrs Robinson and McGuinness had clearly demonstrated 'the contempt they hold for the political process'. The SDLP, DUP and SF continued to work on the document and before the end of the year a draft was circulated to the leaders of all the parties.

2013: In January the draft was leaked. It was 100 pages long and included a 'buddy scheme' for nursery and primary schoolchildren and support for anti-sectarian classes. The document set a radical target date of 2022 for the removal of all 'peace walls' but there was no agreement on the key issues of flags, marches and the Parades Commission which arbitrates them. The leak prompted Alliance to issue its own 70-page document, *For Everyone*. This put a strong emphasis on integrated education, suggesting that all new-build schools should be integrated. It also suggested that the 'designated days' policy on flags it supported in Belfast City Council should be applied across all the councils in Northern Ireland, including the nationalist ones which have never flown the flag. Its proposals on 'peace walls' were less ambitious than those in the leaked document: Alliance suggested that 20 per cent of the structures should be dismantled by 2023, which it described as a more realistic target.

2. Cohesion, happiness and unhappiness in Northern Ireland

2.1 The measurement of happiness

The people of Northern Ireland enjoy a relatively good sense of well-being, according to the 2012 Office of National Statistics (ONS) *Subjective Well-being Annual Population Survey*, launched in 2010 as part of an international trend to place well-being under the government microscope. Four questions were asked (offering respondents a scale of zero to 10):

- Overall, how satisfied are you with your life nowadays?
- Overall, to what extent do you feel the things you do in your life are worthwhile?
- Overall, how happy did you feel yesterday?
- Overall, how anxious did you feel yesterday?

The 16-19 and 65-79 age cohorts rated their life satisfaction highest – between 7.7 and 7.8 out of 10 – while those in middle age were least satisfied. The Scottish islands of Eilean Siar, Orkney and Shetland proved the happiest places but Northern Ireland scored higher than the UK average on all four questions.

Chart 121

AVERAGE	UK	NI
Overall, how satisfied are you with your life nowadays?	7.41	7.54
Do you feel the things you do in life are worthwhile?	7.66	7.77
Overall, how happy did you feel yesterday?	7.28	7.40
How anxious did you feel yesterday?	3.14	3.12

2.2 The measurement of unhappiness - suicide, depression and self-harm

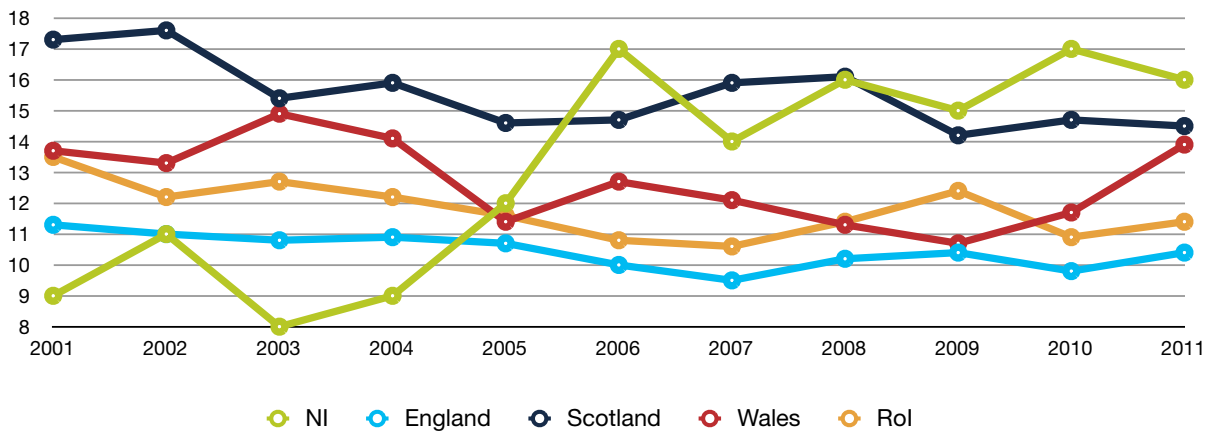
Against this positive picture, the growth of suicide in Northern Ireland indicates that many individuals are experiencing deep crises. The number taking their own lives has risen from 159 to 2001 to 289 in 2012, which means that Northern Ireland has gone from having the lowest rate of suicide in the UK to the highest. The peak year was 2011, when 313 people took their own lives. According to figure given to the Assembly's Health Committee in January 2013, there were 223 suicides in the first nine months of 2012. For the past two years there have been about five times as many suicides as fatal road accidents – despite an investment of over £32 million in suicide prevention since 2006.

For the past two years the number of suicides has been about five times the number killed in road accidents.

There is an established correlation between suicide and unemployment and a cross-border study, *Young Men and Suicide*, funded by the main health agencies in Ireland and published in January 2013 makes a connection between the spike in young male suicides and the economic downturn. Yet the growth in suicide in Northern Ireland is not explained by the recession alone. A study by Professor Mike Tomlinson of Queen's University (Tomlinson, 2012) pointed out that the big increase coincided with the move from violence to peace, particularly in the early 2000s when the economy was booming. The most vulnerable age group has moved up to the 35-44 band, the cohort who grew up when the Troubles were at their worst and who may therefore be carrying within them unexpurgated trauma from childhood.

Chart 122: Suicides

NUMBER OF SUICIDES PER 100,000 OF THE POPULATION 2001-2011



	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
NI	9	11	8	9	12	17	14	16	15	17	16
England	11.3	11.0	10.8	10.9	10.7	10.00	9.5	10.2	10.4	9.8	10.4
Scotland	17.3	17.6	15.4	15.9	14.6	14.7	15.9	16.1	14.2	14.7	14.5
Wales	13.7	13.3	14.9	14.1	11.4	12.7	12.1	11.3	10.7	11.7	13.9
RoI	13.5	12.2	12.7	12.2	11.6	10.8	10.6	11.4	12.4	10.9	11.4

Tomlinson's study also looked at self-harm and found that among nine cities in the UK and Ireland, the highest rate was in Derry. In 2009 it had 611 presentations for hospital admission per 100,000 of the population, compared with 352 in Dublin. There is also an established correlation between self-harm and suicide, as there is between suicide and the use of anti-depressants. The National Advisory Committee on Drugs recently reported on the prevalence of sedative or tranquilliser and anti-depressant use among adults aged 15-64 years island-wide in 2010-11. Rates were 14 per cent for lifetime use, 7 per cent for last-year use and 3 per cent for last month – significant increases on the last survey in 2006-07, particularly among men.

Chart 123: NI suicide statistics by age, 2001-2011

Source: Registrar General Reports

	<15	15-29	30-44	45-59	60-74	75-85	85+
2001	1	58	57	31	16	5	0
2002	2	60	62	42	10	6	1
2003	1	38	53	35	13	4	0
2004	0	34	51	40	16	4	1
2005	2	52	70	56	27	6	0
2006	3	85	96	77	25	4	1
2007	4	57	75	73	23	9	1
2008	3	86	94	63	28	8	0
2009	1	74	89	68	21	7	0
2010	1	99	93	80	28	8	4
2011	3	90	92	83	31	7	3

3. Sharing and separation in housing

3.1 Residential segregation in the 2011 Census

Over the past ten years the people of Northern Ireland have shown an increased willingness to share residential space. The first set of data from the housing modules of the 2011 Census was unpacked at the end of February 2013 and initial analysis, using the 582 wards as the basis for comparison, suggests that residential self-segregation has decreased.

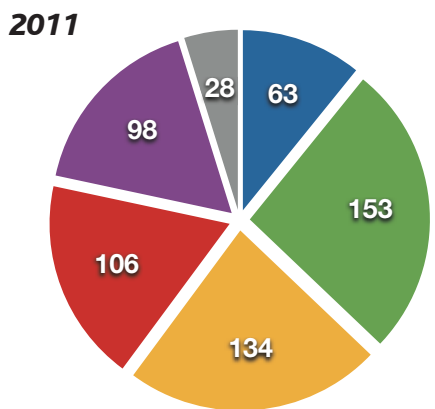
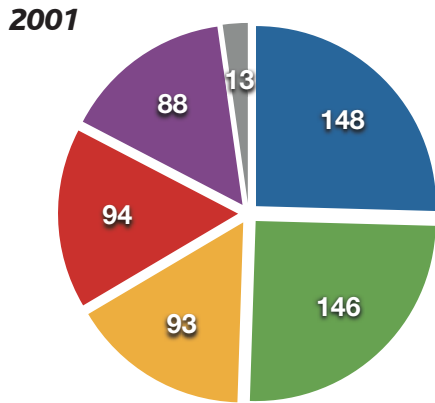
This is the first time in a couple of generations that the two main communities have shown an increased willingness to live in proximity to each other. The main changes to have occurred between 2001 and 2011 are:

- An increase in the number of wards where no community has a majority of over 50%. This has gone up from 13 (2.2%) to 18 (4.8%).

Chart 124

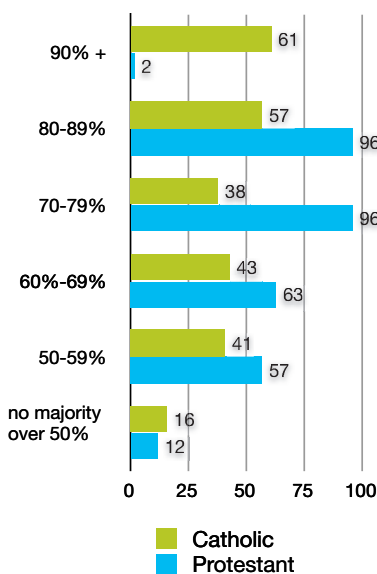
THE DECLINE OF SEGREGATION IN HOUSING

SOURCE: DERIVED FROM THE CENSUS



Number of Wards

- 90% or more single identity
- 80-89% single identity
- 70-79% single identity
- 60%-69% single identity
- 50-59% single identity
- no majority over 50%



- A decrease in the number of ward that could be categorised as 'single identity' (using the yardstick of 80% or over from one community). This has gone down from being over half of all wards (55.5%) to just over one-third (37.1%)
- A decrease in the number of single identity wards with a density of over 90% from one community. This has gone down from just over half (50.5%) to just over one-third (37.1%).

Amongst the most extremely segregated wards, those that have more than 90 per cent of one identity, the vast majority are Catholic – 61 out of 63 wards. The top six are all in Derry-Londonderry, perhaps a legacy of the housing allocations in the period before the reforms brought in by the NI Housing Executive. The demographic shift in the population is also evident in the wards with Protestant majorities. A total of 28 wards have changed community composition in the ten year period: all from Protestant to Catholic. None has changed in the opposite direction. There has also been an important shift in those areas where a Protestant population is in decline and new immigrant communities are moving into vacated properties. Duncairn ward in north Belfast, for example, had a 90% Protestant population in 2001 and this has declined to 64%, while those listed as Other/None has increased to 10%. This is a common pattern across Northern Ireland.

Further evidence of the changes comes from the work of Shuttleworth (2013). He uses the Index of Dissimilarity (D) to test the 2011 Census for residential segregation. This takes values between 0 and 1, where a value of zero would mean that all wards have the same proportion of Catholics and Protestants and a value of 1 would indicate that all wards contain either Catholics or Protestants but not both together – so a smaller value of D indicates greater mixing. Comparing ward data for 1991, 2001 and 2011 Shuttleworth looks at both 'religion' and 'community background'. In 1991 D for religion was 0.620; in 2001, it was 0.617 for religion and 0.601 for community background; in 2011, it was 0.581 for religion and 0.561 for community background. The overall picture in Shuttleworth's analysis then is of a decline in segregation – though an uneven one, with little change in the most segregated areas such as east and west Belfast and the housing estates of Derry-Londonderry.

Chart 125

Either religion	2001 Wards		2011 Wards	
	No.	%	No.	%
Less than 50% of both religions	13	2.2	28	4.8
50 -59%	88	15.1	98	16.8
60 – 69%	94	16.2	106	18.2
70 -79%	93	16.0	134	23.0
80 – 89%	146	25.1	153	26.3
90%	148	25.4	63	10.8

Chart 126: Concentrations of religious background at ward level. In each case the name of the electoral ward is followed by the name of the local government district in which it is situated.

Source: Derived from the NINIS and the 2011 Census

	HIGHEST DENSITY OF CATHOLICS	HIGHEST DENSITY OF PROTESTANTS	HIGHEST DENSITY OF OTHER RELIGIONS	HIGHEST DENSITY OF NONE
1	Shantallow E Derry 97.8	Ballylough Moyle 91.4	Shaftsbury Belfast 6.7	Harbour N Down 17.0
2	Creggan South Derry 97.3	Bushmills Moyle 90.7	Windsor Belfast 5.8	Loughview N Down 16.8
3	Springtown Derry 96.9	Dunluce Coleraine 89.2	Island Belfast 4.6	Whitehill N Down 16.0
4	Beechwood Derry 95.9	Ahoghill Ballymena 89.1	Botanic Belfast 3.9	Bloomfield N Down 15.4
5	Creggan Central Derry 95.9	Carnmoon Moyle 88.9	Rostulla Newtownabbey 3.8	Conlig N Down 15.2
6	Shantallow W Derry 95.7	Cullybackey Ballymena 88.9	Stranmillis Belfast 3.0	Woodstock Belfast 14.5
7	Termon Omagh 95.7	Kells Ballymena 88.8	Ballynaveigh Belfast 2.9	The Mount Belfast 14.3
8	Camrough Newry 95.5	Craigywarren Ballymena 88.6	Woodstock Belfast 2.8	Aldergrove Antrim 14.1
9	Crossmaglen Newry 95.4	Ballynure Newtownabbey 88.4	Strand Coleraine 2.7	Clandeboyne N Down 14.0
10	Washing Bay Dungannon 95.2	Broughshane Ballymena 88.4	Finaghy Belfast 2.6	Demesne Armagh 13.9

TOP TEN MOST MIXED WARDS

	Ward Name	Electoral Area	Council Area	Catholic %	Protestant %	Difference%
1	The Highlands	Benbradagh	Limavady	49.1	49.0	0.1
2	Farranshane	Antrim South East	Antrim	44.6	44.8	0.2
3	Tempo	Enniskillen	Fermanagh	49.4	48.6	0.8
4	Windsor	Balmoral	Belfast	41.6	40.7	0.9
5	Wynchurch	Castlereagh Central	Castlereagh	45.2	44.3	0.9
6	Lecumpher	Magherafelt Town	Magherafelt	47.5	49.7	2.2
7	Ballykelly	Bellerena	Limavady	49.8	47.5	2.3
8	Galwally	Castlereagh West	Castlereagh	46.9	44.6	2.3
9	Ebrington	Waterside	Derry	46.5	48.9	2.4
10	Mallusk	Antrim Line	Newtownabbey	44.7	47.1	2.4

3.2 Public housing

Figures released from the 2011 Census in January 2013 showed a radical rebalancing of public and private accommodation. There has been a 128 per cent increase in households renting from a private landlord since 2001, from 41,700 to 95,200. Conversely, there has been a drop in the proportion of Housing Executive households, from 19 to 12 per cent. This alters the pattern of separation as the public and private sectors distribute communal identities in different ways.

Chart 127: Changes in household patterns
Source: NISRA 2011 Census

	2001	2011
NI Housing Executive	19%	12%
Housing Association or charitable trust	2.6%	3.4%
Private rental	6.6%	14%

The Northern Ireland Housing Executive (NIHE) does not monitor the religious background of its tenants but studies it commissioned (Shuttleworth and Lloyd, 2007, 2009) suggested that 91 per cent of NIHE tenants living in estates in Belfast fell into the 'very polarised' category, which it defines as having 80 per cent or more of one identity. The NIHE Housing Bulletin (Autumn 2009), summarising the data, estimated the religious balance to have been 53 per cent Catholic and 43 per cent Protestant in 2001. The dynamic that has reduced the numbers in public housing has also shifted these ratios radically: the majority is now Protestant. The Continuous Tenant Omnibus Survey (2011) reported that 55 per cent of Executive tenants surveyed described their household as Protestant and 39 per cent Catholic.

The NIHE does monitor the waiting list by religion. The figures for September 2012 show the Catholic proportion to be disproportionate to overall populations ratios.

Chart 128: NIHE waiting list, Sept 2012

CATHOLIC	PROTESTANT	OTHER	UNKNOWN
41%	36%	9%	13%

The imbalance is relatively slight across Northern Ireland but there are pockets where it is more lop-sided and where housing decisions are freighted with political meaning. In north Belfast, where Catholics make up 47.5 per cent of the waiting list and Protestants 22.4 per cent, there is a huge demand for additional housing. Protestants have been moving out of north Belfast, leaving some houses vacant, while there are Catholics on the other side of its many 'peace walls' who live in seriously overcrowded houses and tower blocks. In a less sectarian society the overspill could be accommodated by Catholics moving into the vacant houses but in north Belfast the 'peace line' is not transgressed.

Protestants are now the majority of tenants in Housing Executive properties

3.3 The Girdwood controversy

The withdrawal of the British army from Girdwood barracks in north Belfast left a 27-acre site vacant between Catholic and Protestant neighbourhoods. This windfall should have helped ease local housing tensions but instead exacerbated them. The land was taken into the possession of the Department of Social Development in 2006 and plans were drawn up for new housing. Measured objectively, housing need was clearly weighted towards the Catholic side: at that time the NIHE had 970 Catholics and 395 Protestants on the waiting list. In 2010 the then Minister for Social Development, Alex Attwood of the SDLP, announced that 200 houses were to be built on the land. It was assumed that with the application of the normal rules these would go to Catholics. But in May 2011 Nelson McCausland of the DUP took over as minister and immediately scrapped the plan. In May 2012 the DSD announced a development plan for a range of 'shared development opportunities' to support social, sports, economic and residential development. The new plan included a community hub and housing on the Catholic edge and the Protestant edge of the site. In the Protestant areas where demand was low leaflets were given out to encourage local residents to apply.

In the controversy which followed, it was alleged that the decision not to allocate on the basis of objective need represented a betrayal of the principle of fair allocation of public resources. The counter-argument was that sustainable development in north Belfast required not just social housing but a mix of tenures, recreational and other facilities, and that a shared-future agenda would try to retain both communities on the one site. The development plan, supported by both Sinn Féin and the DUP, seemed to take these considerations into account. The argument remains poised between those who prioritised the equality principle in housing and those whose model of regeneration included other factors.

3.4 The end of the Northern Ireland Housing Executive

In January 2013 Mr McCausland announced that the NIHE would be broken up and its functions transferred to housing associations. Its role in ending discrimination in housing – one of the main drivers of the early civil-rights movement – is well-documented in all histories of the Troubles. Key to this was the points-based Housing Selection Scheme introduced in 1974 and which, with various revisions, remains in use to the present time. The NIHE's function as a builder of new homes largely disappeared with budget cuts, however, and its role as landlord for 90,000 homes mired it in scandals and disputes. Reports from the Audit Office became increasingly critical of its management of maintenance contracts and a consultation document issued in 2011 made it clear that the status quo was not an option.

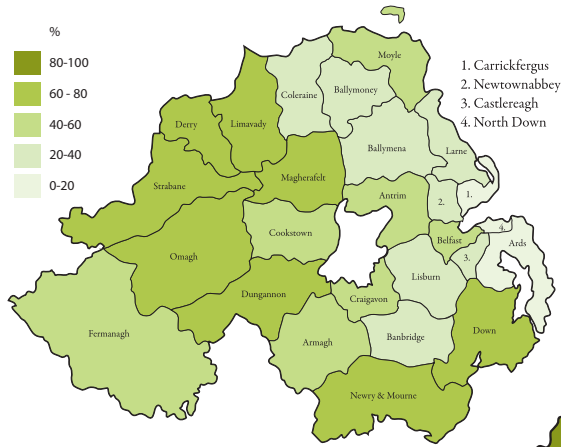
What is not clear is what will happen to the anti-sectarian function in any new arrangement. The Northern Ireland Act (1998) gave the Housing Executive a key role in promoting good relations and community cohesion. A Community Relations Strategy issued in 2004 took this a step further and set out the NIHE's commitment to mixed housing where practicable, desirable and safe. But the lack of resources for new build has limited what

the NIHE can do to create mixed housing estates. It has tried through its Shared Neighbourhood Programme to help communities develop a good-relations culture and to ensure its own staff are attuned to the need to make community relations a prime concern through awareness training. One practical change has been to the form completed by prospective tenants: where previously they were asked if they wished to be housed in a Catholic or a Protestant area, they are now given the additional option of 'mixed' housing.

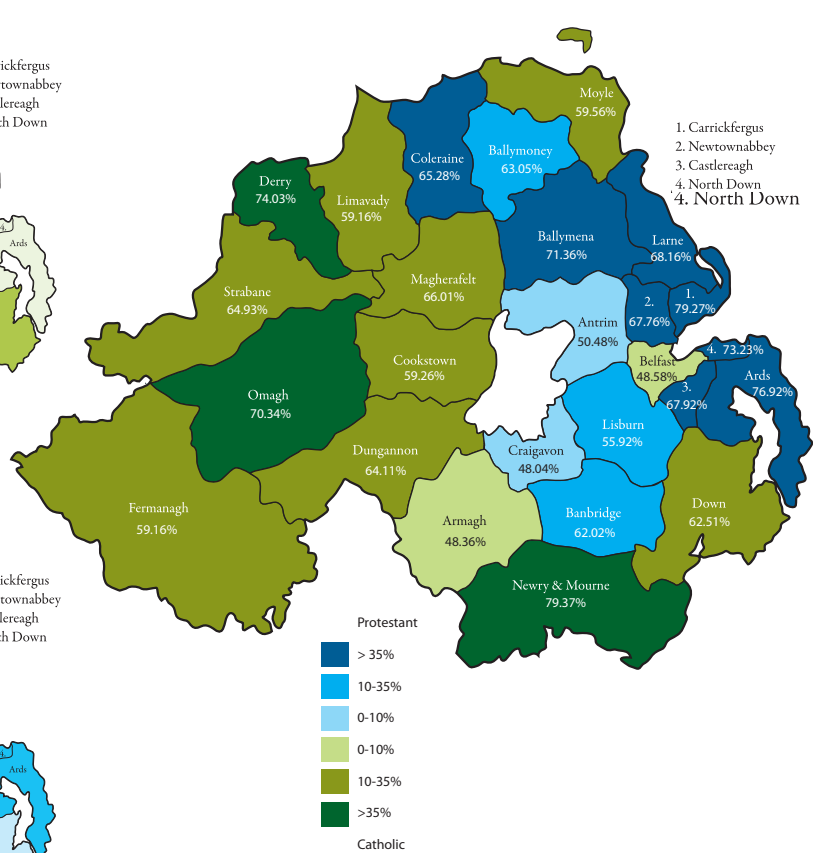
Chart 129: Residential segregation

RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION

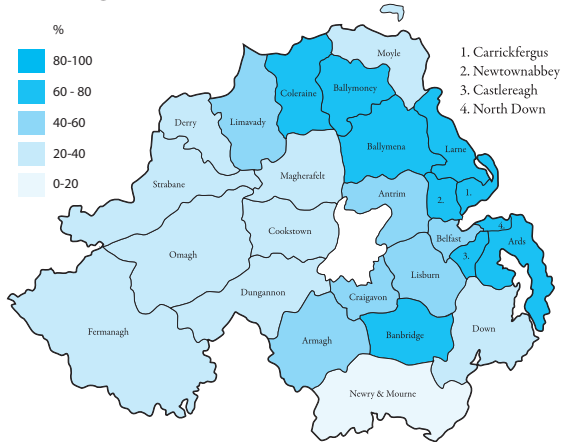
Catholic percentage in each of the 26 local government districts



The density of separation in each of the 26 local government districts



Protestant percentage in each of the 26 local government districts



4. Sharing and separation in education

4.1 The management of schooling

In the past year there has been considerable talk about the harm done by the divisions in Northern Ireland's schooling system but very little change has resulted. There have been plenty of false dawns. The 1989 Education Reform Order placed a duty on the Department of Education to 'encourage and facilitate integrated education'. In 1998 the Good Friday Agreement

(Section 13) contained a specific pledge 'to facilitate and encourage integrated education and mixed housing'. In 1999 Martin McGuinness as Minister of Education announced his support for integrated education and seemed to be making good on this commitment in January 2000 when his department announced the building of two new integrated schools. Since that time politicians of every party might have taken encouragement from the consistent support shown in attitude surveys for more integration in education. The most recent figures are those from a Belfast Telegraph/Lucid Poll published on 28 February 2013 which found that 79% of parents would support a request for their child's school to become integrated, and that 69% agreed an integrated school was the best preparation for living in a diverse society. The figure of approximately 70% support has been consistent for many years: in the last NI Life and Times survey (2010) 70 per cent of respondents said they would like to send their children to mixed schools. Pupil enrolments are however just below one tenth of that: in 2011-12 the proportion of pupils in integrated schools was 6.8 per cent, a marginal increase on the 6.5% figure of the previous year. The gap between the positive attitudes shown in attitude surveys and the enrolment figures is frequently commented upon as an illustration of how people show more liberal selves to pollsters, but the practical problems that arise from residential segregation and the absence of supply in particular are likely to be more important factors. Figures released by the Integrated Education Fund (2013) show that 16.5% of those who applied for a place in an integrated school could not be accommodated. In addition the processes for transforming an existing school into an integrated one are complex and difficult to manage. The pace of change therefore is slow: it is estimated on current trends (Fergus, 2013) it will take another 499 years for all NI's schools to become integrated.

In 2010 the debate on integrated education took on a new complexion when the DUP leader and First Minister, Mr Robinson, described the school system as 'benign apartheid', adding: 'Religious segregation at universities would be considered absurd so why should it continue to be tolerated at primary and secondary school level?' This was interpreted by the Catholic hierarchy as an attack on the autonomy of the Catholic school system. The Auxiliary Bishop of Down and Connor, Donal McKeown, insisted that the right of parents to send their children to 'faith schools' was guaranteed by European human rights legislation and defended Catholic education using the language of cultural diversity: 'It is the hallmark of a stable and pluralist society.' The battle lines drawn then remain in place. A political divide has opened up which replicates that in other societies struggling to live with ethnic and cultural difference. The dilemma of education policy in a pluralist society has been described this way (Hughes and Donnelly, 2012: 496): 'The essence of the debate concerns the right to a separate education in line with religious or cultural ideals in liberal democracies, against the role that separate schools are perceived to play in perpetuating division and sectarianism.' The authors point out that those who debate the issue internationally do so from a standpoint of 'ideological advocacy' with little regard for evidence and say that there remains 'surprisingly little' evidence for the societal benefits of either approach.

Chart 130a: Numbers of Protestant and Catholic pupils by school type, 2011-12

SCHOOL MANAGEMENT TYPE	Religion of Pupils			Total
	Protestants	Catholics	Other	
Nursery				
Controlled	2,039	1,092	718	4,134
Catholic/maintained Nursery/reception	60	1,567	150	1,777
Protestant/voluntary	2,488	497	1,456	4,441
Catholic/maintained	107	3,867	199	4,163
Primary				
Controlled	51,463	3,877	15,884	71,224
Catholic	730	71,657	1,604	73,991
Controlled integrated	1,462	869	878	3,209
Grant-maintained Integrated	1,786	2,316	1,214	5,316
Preparatory				
Protestant/Other Controlled	965	204	785	1,954
Catholic	-	-	-	-
Secondary (non-grammar)				
Controlled/Protestant	25,020	652	4686	30,358
Catholic	333	40,893	478	41,704
Controlled integrated	1,810	440	463	2,713
Grant-maintained Integrated	3,997	3,957	1,464	9,418
Grammar Schools				
Protestant (Controlled and grant-maintained)	25,262	3,425	6,595	35,282
Catholic	255	26,524	318	27,097
Special schools	1,724	1,949	856	4,549
All schools	119,658	164,008	38,353	322,019

Chart 130b: Numbers of schools by school type and religious breakdown of enrolments by percentage, 2011-12

SCHOOL TYPE	No of schools	Enrolments by percentage		
		Protestant	Catholic	Other
Primary				
Protestant	392	72.3%	5.4%	22.3%
Catholic	378	1.0%	96.9%	2.1%
Integrated	42	45.6%	27.1%	27.4%
Secondary				
Protestant	56	82.4%	2.1%	15.4%
Catholic	71	0.8%	98.1%	1.1%
Integrated	20	47.9%	36.2%	15.9%
Grammar				
Protestant	39	72.4%	9.1%	19.5%
Catholic	29	0.9%	97.9%	1.2%

Note: These figures are drawn from the DENI School Statistics, 2011-12, but they do not include:

- The term 'controlled' refers to state controlled schools which are de facto Protestant schools.
- the statistics for Irish-medium education – there are currently 23 Irish-medium primary schools and there is one post-primary school.
- the full breakdown for special schools, hospital schools and independent schools, available on the DENI website (www.deni.gov.uk).

When Mr Robinson expanded on his original statement by suggesting a commission to examine a way of bringing about integrated education across the region, the Deputy First Minister, Mr McGuinness, said that he was set on a 'collision course which will lead us into a total and absolute mess' (Belfast Telegraph, 14/2/11). Sinn Féin sees integrated education as an assimilationist strategy to neuter Irish nationalism. The main champion of integration is the Alliance Party. In its *For Everyone* document it set a target of 20 per cent of pupils in integrated schools by 2020, and suggested that all new build should be integrated. The predominantly Catholic Irish News paraphrased this through the front-page headline 'End Catholic schools'.

4.2 Integrated education and shared education

In the draft version of CSI leaked in February 2013 no target was set for integrated schools. The draft Education Bill to set up the new Education and Skills Authority (ESA) would place a duty on ESA under clause 25 to encourage and facilitate the development of education in an Irish-speaking school but no corresponding duty regarding integrated education. The bill appears to contain no mechanism for the establishment of new integrated schools, controlled or grant-maintained, and does not provide for the integrated sector to be represented on the ESA board. Over the past year integrated education has been eclipsed in government policy and replaced with a model more suited to the binary model of government. Instead of integration, the Northern Ireland Executive favours a model based on good relations between two fixed blocs. That has become known as shared education.

In essence, the shared-education approach accepts a religiously divided school system but tries to make the walls more porous by encouraging practical co-operation. In the jargon of the Department of Education, it 'delivers educational benefits to learners, promotes the efficient and effective use of resources, and promotes equality of opportunity, good relations, equality of identity, respect for diversity and community cohesion.' The economic realities that have forced it on the Assembly's agenda are to do with falling school rolls and the possibility of closures. Shared education presents a practical alternative as well as one that allows principles to be aligned with economics. The Programme for Government has embraced it with enthusiasm, giving three strong commitments:

The shift that has taken place over the past year has been the eclipse of integrated education in government policy, and its replacement with a model more suited to the binary model of government.

- to establish a ministerial advisory group to explore and bring forward recommendations to advance shared education (this group was set up in July 2012),
- to ensure that all children have the opportunity to participate in shared education programmes by 2015, and
- to substantially increase the number of schools sharing facilities by 2015.

Opinion polls suggest that the idea enjoys public favour. A Belfast Telegraph poll in June 2012 asked: 'Should the Education Minister encourage state and Catholic schools to share facilities and/or teachers in view of falling pupil numbers and cuts in funding?' Three out of four who expressed an opinion said yes, but including the undecided support was lower at 54 per cent.

4.3 Keeping the religious ethos alive

Shared respect for religious values in Northern Ireland comes at a cost. Five institutions offer teacher training to steadily reducing cohorts of trainees: Queen's University, the University of Ulster, the Open University, St Mary's Training College and Stranmillis Training College. In 2008 it was announced that Stranmillis would merge with Queen's. St Mary's said it would remain independent to protect its Catholic ethos. Stranmillis was established as a state-funded, non-denominational college and there should not therefore have been a problem in the merger with a secular institution like a university. In practice, since St Mary's has trained Catholic teachers the Stranmillis tradition has been to train teachers for the controlled (Protestant) sector. The *de jure* position proved less important than the *de facto* situation when Mr Robinson blocked the merger in 2012, saying that if the Catholic college would not join in he felt it necessary to protect the 'ethos' of Stranmillis. The college itself, mired in financial difficulties, wished to proceed with the merger but in March 2012, when its representatives appeared before a Stormont committee, they were advised by MLAs to 'stop flogging a dead horse'.

OFMDFM has also been resistant to calls to come into line with the rest of Europe on legislation on fair employment in teacher education. Two exemptions to European law have been granted. One was for a temporary quota system (now ended) to allow for an affirmative-action programme to help increase the number of Catholics in the PSNI. The other, contained in EU directive 2000/78/EC, makes it legal for Catholic school authorities to discriminate in the appointment of teachers. A long-running campaign by the human-rights activist Jeff Dudgeon met strong resistance when he sought the documentation that provided the rationale for this policy. He received a response to his Freedom of Information request in November 2012, 320 days after he first lodged it and one day before his High Court case on the matter was due to open.

5. Sharing public space

5.1 *The new cosmopolitan Northern Ireland?*

The 2012 Peace Monitoring Report drew attention to the way Northern Ireland has been revitalising itself through a 'cappuccino culture' that is making town centres attractive places for a form of relaxed socialisation that was unknown during the Troubles. This is not driven by policy-makers but by small entrepreneurs who have opened the cafes, bars and night clubs, and by the big UK stores which have been playing catch-up on a retail market that had long been neglected. As the novelist David Park put it (Saturday Review, the Guardian, 21/4/12), 'I remember those times in the 70s when Belfast closed at six o'clock. The city is slowly Europeanising itself. We're not quite Paris but we are seeing a flourishing, the potential for wider perspectives...'

The new skies are not cloudless. The only place where there was public disorder connected to the journey of the Olympic torch around the UK was in Derry-Londonderry, where on 4 June dissidents staging a protest forced a brief detour before the torch was carried over the Peace Bridge.

5.2 *Belfast and Derry-Londonderry - a tale of two regenerated cities*

Belfast

The city's dividing lines have proved increasingly porous in the past year, its regeneration hugely important in converting territory that was once 'orange' or 'green' into neutral space. The Titanic Centre is a case in point: Catholics may have been driven out of the shipyard after the first world war but their grandchildren and great-grandchildren queue to see Belfast's biggest tourist attraction on the site where those historical events took place. The walkway that follows the River Lagan from the Titanic Centre goes past the Odyssey Stadium (home of the ice hockey team, the Belfast Giants) and the Waterfront Concert Hall and from there it is a short hop to the Cathedral Quarter and the new MAC arts centre.

All of these new public projects have increased the amount of shared space. They fit the idea promoted by the American sociologist Elijah Anderson of the city offering a 'cosmopolitan canopy' where people from different social backgrounds can meet on equal terms (Anderson, 2010). The consumerist identities that find expression in these spaces are more middle-class than working-class, but to present the developing city in terms of social exclusion is to miss the ways in which even those in the most deprived areas are given wider horizons. As Gaffikin and Morrissey (2012: 228) conclude a book chapter on Belfast, the new places 'will not magically transform enmity into amity. However, they may transform antipathy into empathy, offering a more widespread civic capacity to engage, and sometimes even robustly contest, with "the other" within a public ethics of trust, respect and reciprocity.'

Derry-Londonderry - the City of Culture

Derry-Londonderry spent much of 2012 preparing for 2013, when it is the UK City of Culture. It won the bid in 2010 – the year an OECD report identified the city as the weakest part of the UK economy, noting that its employment rate was a mere 55.4 per cent. An End Child Poverty report issued in January 2013 showed a 35 per cent rate of child poverty, the fourth worst of UK local authority areas. These are not the city’s only problems. The idea that it should take on a UK title of any sort created tension with dissident republicans, who have twice attempted to bomb the City of Culture premises and who have run a brutal campaign of ‘punishment’ shootings vying in the Irish and British media with the publicity urging people to visit the city to experience the culture on offer.

Despite these problems, the city has produced an impressive programme of more than 140 events for the year, including a new commission by the London Symphony Orchestra, performances by the Royal National Ballet, the return of the Field Day theatre company, a visit by the Nobel prizewinning poet Seamus Heaney and the hosting of the Turner Prize. Courtesy of the Culture Company’s principal partner, BT, Derry-Londonderry is now 100 per cent superfast-broadband-enabled, the first Irish or UK city to be so. Over half of the total cost, or £12.6 million, comes from the Northern Ireland Executive. The hope is that the city will experience a boost similar to that experienced by Liverpool when it played host to the European City of Culture in 2008.

5.3 Festivals - celebrating together or separately?

The first Peace Monitoring Report used festivals as one indicator of whether the people of Northern Ireland chose to celebrate together or in their respective communities. It looked at the 53 different festivals held in Belfast, the city that has promoted itself as hosting a ‘festival of festivals’. In 2012 there were two fewer, 50 in all. Some particular festivals had been very particular to their year, like the Celebration of Indian Republic Day, and while new ones have come into existence others have fallen by the wayside, victims of the recession. Using the same categories as before, the 50 festivals break down as follows:

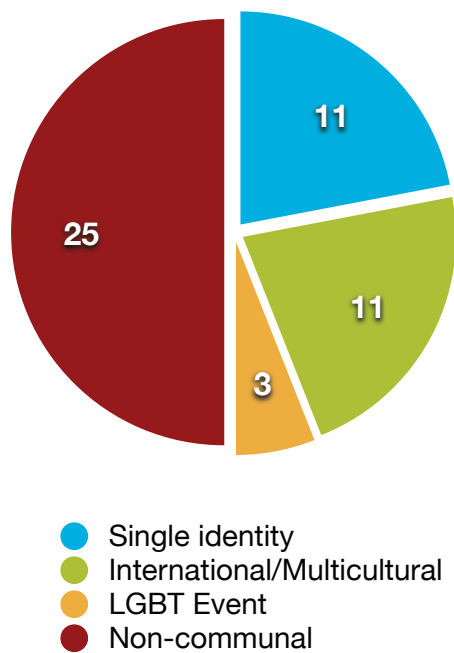
11 single-identity festivals, like Feile an Phobail or Orangefest, which may be open to all but which bear the stamp of one community – down one from 12 in the previous survey;

11 intercultural/multicultural events, such as the Mela or the Chinese New Year celebrations - the same number as before;

3 Pride events - the Pride Festivals in Belfast and Derry-Londonderry were joined in 2012 by one in Newry;

25 non-specific, non-communal events, the largest and most heterogeneous category, which includes the Nashville Songwriters’ Festival, the University of Ulster Festival of Art and Design, Chilli Fest and the

Chart 131



disability arts festival - four fewer than in the previous survey and vulnerable to cuts in arts budgets but still representing half of the total.

6. Arts, sports and culture

6.1 *The arts in Northern Ireland*

The architect Ciaran Mackel has observed that Northern Ireland likes things to be on the grand scale. Place names include the Giant's Ring and the Giant's Foot, and where the world's largest ships were once built, the cranes are named Samson and Goliath (Mackel, 2009). The biggest public art construction, the RISE sculpture at Broadway roundabout, towers 37.5 metres above the traffic. The new Titanic Centre is 38 metres high, matching the Titanic's hull. Height isn't everything, however, and the scale of other signature landmarks can be measured in cost. The renovations to the new Lyric Theatre cost £18.1 million. The new Metropolitan Arts Centre (MAC), which opened in April 2012, also cost £18 million. The new Peace Bridge in Derry-Londonderry, the length of two and a half football pitches, cost £14 million.

Not all of Northern Ireland's artistic output can be measured this way. For three generations since the late 1960s, the most famous cultural export has been poetry. The first flowering actually came just before the outbreak of the Troubles with the work of Seamus Heaney, Derek Mahon and Michael Longley, and was continued in the next generation by the virtuoso group including Paul Muldoon, Ciaran Carson and Medbh McGuckian. The third generation made up of writers like Sinead Morrissey, Alan Gilles and Leontia Flynn is much less interested in the old binaries of Planter/Gael or British/Irish, considered of such import in the 1970s, and are drawn instead to the mobile, fluid identities of a globalised world. It is a perspective which allows them to touch on the Northern Ireland experience without ever being identified by tribal loyalties.

For prose writers, the opposite is the case. The year 2012 saw a crop of novels that deal very directly with the Troubles: Adrian McKinty's *The Cold Cold Ground* is set in the Belfast of the hunger strikes and has a Catholic detective as its central character; Brian McGilloway's *The Nameless Dead* weaves a fiction around the work of the (real-life) Commission for the Location of Victims' Remains, and Anthony Quinn's *Disappeared* again uses a Catholic detective to delve into the murky world of the conflict. These followed the publication in 2008 of *The Truth Commissioner* by David Park, a novel which explored the moral ambiguities of truth recovery in Northern Ireland and helped create a market outside the region for Troubles-related fiction.

The distribution of arts funding

Northern Ireland has not yet experienced the cuts to arts funding experienced in Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland. Expenditure by the Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure actually increased from £15.2 million in 2010-11 to £16.1 million in 2011-12, a growth of 5.8 per cent. Charts 132a and 132b

show the distribution of this funding across the electoral constituencies of Belfast and they reveal a curious pattern. There is a consistent underspend in East Belfast in comparison to other parts of the city. There are reasons why South Belfast receives the largest share of revenue – usually about 50 per cent each year. Many of the main cultural institutions (the Lyric Theatre, the Grand Opera House, the Crescent Arts Centre) are based there and it is HQ for the Ulster Orchestra and Belfast City Council which disburses much of the Sport NI budget. Much of the money spent in East Belfast goes to sports facilities rather than art, which may express a cultural preference.

Charts 132a and 132b: Arts funding in Belfast

REVENUE FUNDING FOR CULTURE, ARTS AND LEISURE					
Constituency	2007-08 £000	2008-09 £000	2009-10 £000	2010-11 £000	2011-12 £000
North Belfast	2,541	3,605	3,561	3,145	3,592
South Belfast	4,720	5,351	6,882	6,542	7,592
East Belfast	91	248	491	793	887
West Belfast	1,933	2,286	3,274	1,998	2,972
Total	9,285	11,490	14,208	12,478	15,050

CAPITAL FUNDING FOR CULTURE ARTS AND LEISURE					
Constituency	2007-08 £000	2008-09 £000	2009-10 £000	2010-11 £000	2011-12 £000
North Belfast	170	550	1,036	871	386
South Belfast	15,832	2,289	2,568	341	410
East Belfast	0	0	1,519	234	4
West Belfast	602	824	558	1,284	241
Total	16,604	3,663	5,681	2,730	1,041

6.2 Sports

It is frequently observed that sport can help bring people from different backgrounds together. A policy document issued in 2011 by the European Commission (2011: 4) emphasised the social benefits of sport across Europe in healing division, 'including those in postconflict regions'. Northern Ireland can provide examples but equally it can provide evidence of how sports activities tend to draw demarcation lines around the two main communities. The 2012 Olympians from Northern Ireland travelled to and returned from London as Team GB or Team Ireland and their victories were celebrated separately – an open-top bus tour for the boxers in Belfast and a

town-hall reception for the rowers in Coleraine. Following this, the Team GB Olympians and Paralympians were hosted by the Queen at a reception in Buckingham Palace. The Team Ireland Olympians and Paralympians were hosted by President Michael D Higgins at a reception in Áras an Uachtaráin. Appeals for a shared celebration met a muted response from the Culture, Arts and Sports Minister, Carál Ní Chuilín, who provided a private reception for the medal-winners and their families one month after their return.

This separation of national identities and therefore of sporting loyalties may not seem like the expression of a successful peace process but it is the natural outworking of the Good Friday Agreement's provisions for respect for two traditions and two cultures. This 'back-to-back' development, where the two cultures remain bonded together while facing in opposite directions, is not however the complete sporting picture.

Sporting loyalties also cut across the sectarian divide, although the patterns are complex, intersected by class and gender and vary considerably from sport to sport. There are also important differences in the patterns between active participation in sports and the loyalties that attach to them. The most extreme example of the gap between the two is provided by Gaelic football. The large-scale Sports and Physical Activity Survey (SAPAS), which used a sample of 4,365 respondents, showed that Gaelic football was only the 14th most popular choice of sporting activity, involving no more than 1 per cent of the population. Its cultural significance however is massively in advance of this. According to the GAA Yearbook for 2011 there are 584 clubs in Ulster, and they provide much more than sports facilities: they are used for weddings, cultural evenings, charitable fundraising and community development of every kind. In many Catholic communities it is the GAA that provides the social glue that links across class, and increasingly, rural and urban divides. The rise of GAA culture has been fuelled to some extent in the north by the rivalry between Armagh and Tyrone. In 2012 however it was another Ulster team which secured victory in the All-Ireland final: for northern supporters the fact that Donegal lies outside Northern Ireland's borders only demonstrated the irrelevance of the border in the formation of sporting loyalties.

Ulster rugby also enjoyed success during 2012 but its successes serve to demonstrate the asymmetrical relationship between the two sporting cultures. Rugby is favoured more by Protestants but while Gaelic sports (football, hurling and handball) have been tied historically to the Irish nation-building project, rugby does not have the same close relationship with Britishness. Ulster Rugby is part of the Irish Rugby Football Union, a body created before partition, and through it Ulster is linked to the other three historic provinces of Connaught, Leinster and Munster. The shirt sponsor is the Bank of Ireland and Ulster players are well represented in the Irish national team. The structures do not however lock Ulster into an island-only framework: through them the team is able to compete in the RaboDirect Pro 12 and the Heineken cup. And the IRFU has worked conscientiously to ensure that flags, emblems and anthems are inclusive of northern and southern identities. While the Irish national anthem, *Amhrán na bhFiann* (The Soldier's Song) is sung at matches played in the Aviva

Stadium in Dublin, it is accompanied by the more recent composition by Phil Coulter, 'Ireland's Call', introduced deliberately as a unifying anthem. Outside of the Aviva Stadium, the latter is the only official team song. At the 2011 Rugby World Cup, the Ireland team entered the field of play at the beginning of their matches with the Irish tricolour and the flag of Ulster.

Football - the game of two halves

While Gaelic football and rugby inhabit their own realms, and while the Olympic sports like rowing and boxing where Northern Ireland athletes excelled are very much minority pursuits, football enjoys common currency in both communities and is the team sport shown to enjoy the greatest participation in the SAPAS survey (7.5 per cent). Unsurprisingly then, it has acted as a lightning rod for wider social tensions. In November 2012, for example, Cliftonville, a team with mainly Catholic support, hosted a match against its Protestant rival Linfield. Negotiations between the boards of the two clubs had resulted in an agreement that Remembrance Day would be marked by a two-minute silence but to make it a more inclusive act the silence would honour the memory of 'all those who had lost their lives in world conflict'. On the day the silence was broken by boos and the sound of Cliftonville fans singing what were described as 'sectarian songs' – though an irate Cliftonville supporter wrote to the Irish News to protest that they had not been singing anything sectarian but a song to commemorate Aidan McAnespie, a young Catholic murdered by a British soldier.

The Union of European Football Associations (UEFA) has a 10-point plan for clubs to tackle racism. The Irish Football Association (IFA) has adapted this to include the sectarian dimension, meaning that clubs which don't comply with the guidelines – which since the 2011-12 season have required them to have a policy to address issues of 'community relations' in their area – are at risk of losing their licence to play in UEFA-supported competitions. The 2011 Justice Act introduced new laws on sectarian chanting and a fine of up to £1,000 can be applied to anyone convicted of this offence at football, GAA or rugby games. The IFA has since 2000 embarked on a wider campaign against intolerance and to promote inclusion in the sport, under the banner of 'Football for All'. Beginning at international level, the campaign has cascaded down to Irish League and amateur clubs and to the grassroots.

Cross-community initiatives

Political leadership has been in evidence for cross-community initiatives in sport in the past year. In May 2012, the Deputy First Minister, Mr McGuinness, attended a soccer match at Windsor Park, long seen as a bastion of Protestant sports culture. In August his Sinn Féin colleague and Sports Minister, Ms Ní Chuilín, followed his lead and attended her first international match at Windsor. She not only applauded the team but the efforts of the IFA in working to change the culture: 'In the past Windsor Park has been the scene of sectarian singing and chanting and I recognise the very real efforts that have been made by the IFA to tackle sectarianism at their matches.' She did not in fact take her seat until after the British national anthem had been

sung, following the example set three years previously when the then Sports Minister, Edwin Poots, attended a GAA match for the first time – Mr Poots only arrived after the Irish anthem had been played. In January 2012 the First Minister, Mr Robinson, attended his first GAA match in Armagh as a guest of the Ulster Council. Mr McGuinness was on hand to welcome him and said afterwards: 'Peter got a very warm reception from everyone he met at the game. It was wonderful to have him there.'

The traffic at political level is in tune with developments at the grassroots. The GAA and the IFA have been in close co-operation to build relations over a number of years and in 2012 launched the Sport in the Community initiative, funded by the DSD and designed to help the two organisations share skills and resources in areas such as marketing and the management of volunteers. Peace Players International has established a branch in Northern Ireland, using sport to unite and educate young people from Protestant and Catholic interface communities. Reflecting its American origins, the Peace Players organisation usually promotes basketball but in Belfast it developed the Game of Three Halves to encourage Protestant and Catholic children to sample Gaelic football, soccer and rugby. There were 900 participants on its programme in the past year. The 2011 Young Life and Times Survey showed that while just over half of all children surveyed socialised or played sports with those of a different religion on occasion, the figure for those who did it 'very often' was just one in three (36 per cent).

Chart 133: How often do you socialise or play sport with people from a different religious community to yourself?

	%
Very often	36
Sometimes	30
Rarely	19
Never	12
Don't know	3

Chart 134: Results for people of different religions

	%		
	Catholic	Protestant	No religion
Very often	34	36	43
Sometimes	29	32	28
Rarely	21	17	16
Never	14	11	11
Don't know	2	4	4

Source: Young Life and Times, 2011

The three golfers

The international success of Northern Ireland's three leading golfers defies sociological explanation. The astonishing run of successes began in 2010 when Graeme McDowell won the US Open. In 2011 Rory McIlroy took the title. In the same year Darren Clarke won the British Open. In 2012 Rory McIlroy became world number one after winning the US PGA. Darren Clarke was vice-captain of the victorious 2012 Ryder cup team, and Royal Portrush hosted the Irish Open.

Having achieved global success, Northern Ireland's most famous son, McIlroy, found himself facing a question he thought he had left far behind: what are you? From a Catholic family, McIlroy had attended a state school in the dormitory town of Holywood, Co.Down, and had grown up without a strong attachment to any political culture. He had announced that he would represent Team GB at Rio in the 2016 Olympics, saying he had always felt more British than Irish. It was not a sentiment that endeared him to nationalists and the resulting hostility led to him withdrawing the statement of allegiance, saying he would need time to think it over. The new settlement may allow you to choose whether you wish to be Irish or British but, as McIlroy discovered, it does not allow you to be neither.

6.3 Language

Information on languages emerged from two sources in the latter part of 2012: the Continuous Household Survey, which samples 4,500 households, and the 2011 Census. The tendency in Northern Ireland for some to see surveys or Census questions as an opportunity for ethnic affirmation has however resulted at times in a degree of over-claiming on language competence (Sweeney, 1987).

The 2011 Census introduced a new question on 'main' language and found that English was not the main language for 3.1 per cent of the population aged 3 or over. Of those who do not have English as their first language, more than twice as many speak Polish as do any other language, making up 1 per cent of the total. Relative to its population, Dungannon was found to have the highest prevalence of main language other than English (9.3 per cent), almost double that of Belfast (4.8 per cent). It also had the joint highest percentage, with Craigavon, of people for whom Polish was their first language (2.4 per cent).

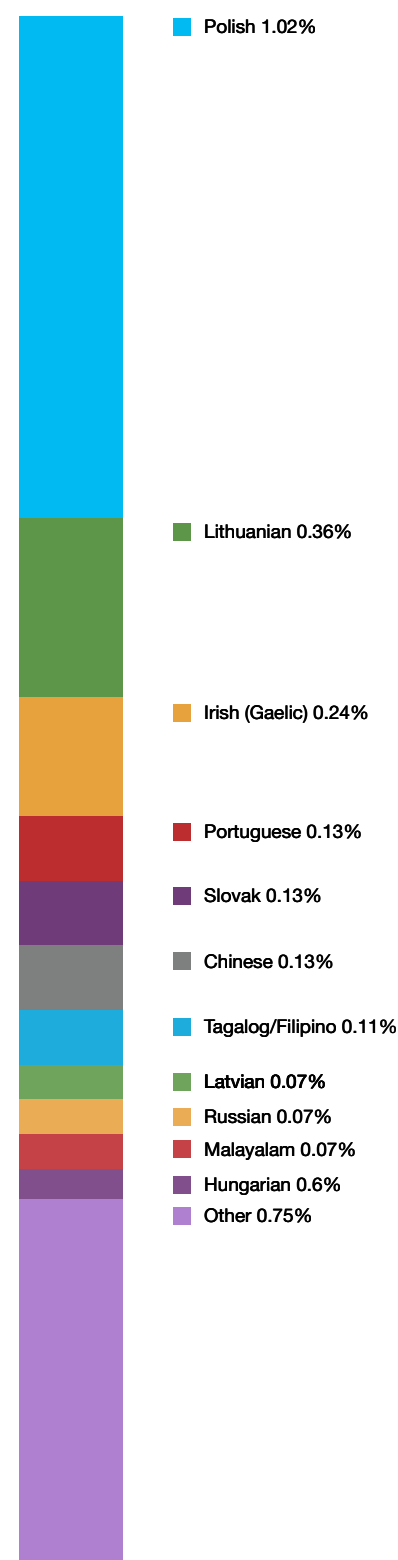
The expansion of the number of first languages spoken has come through immigration, particularly from eastern Europe since 2004. In this same period there has been a contraction of language competence in the overall population. According to a British Council report, *Language Rich Europe*, issued in November 2012, Northern Ireland has a weak profile when it comes to learning languages and is 'a long way from being self-sufficient in producing linguists in languages likely to be needed' by its businesses. As part of the 2007 curriculum reform, languages were made optional. This resulted in a 19 per cent drop in numbers sitting GCSE examinations over three years with French, as the first foreign language taught, the worst hit.

Northern Ireland has a weak profile when it comes to learning languages

Chart 135: Language in Northern Ireland

MAIN LANGUAGES IN THE 2011 CENSUS	
English	98.86
Polish	1.02
Lithuanian	0.36
Irish (Gaelic)	0.24
Portuguese	0.13
Slovak	0.13
Chinese	0.13
Tagalog/Filipino	0.11
Latvian	0.07
Russian	0.07
Malayalam	0.07
Hungarian	0.06
Other	0.75

MOST COMMONLY SPOKEN FIRST LANGUAGES IN SURVEY OF SCHOOL CHILDREN	
Language	Speakers
English	299,000
Polish	3,847
Lithuanian	1,564
Irish	986
Portuguese	755
Filipino	650
Cantonese	571
Malayalam	518
Latvian	359
Slovak	294



Despite these developments, the policy debate in Northern Ireland has remained firmly fixed on Irish and Ulster-Scots.

Ulster Scots

The Ulster-Scots agency (Tha Boord O Ulster Scotch) was established as a part of the North/South Language Body set up following the Good Friday Agreement of 1998. It is responsible for promoting awareness, delivering educational programmes and offering funding for various events and projects. Its strategic priorities until 2013 include supporting communities engaged in Ulster-Scots activities and widening access to culture and heritage for both residents and tourists. For the first time, the 2011 Census included questions relating to Ulster Scots and found that among residents aged 3 years and over, 4.1 per cent could understand Ulster Scots, 8.1 per cent had some ability and 0.9 per cent had the ability to speak, read, write and understand it. The Continuous Household Survey reported higher figures, with 14 per cent able to understand, 15 per cent having some knowledge and 4 per cent being able to read and speak. More Protestants have an understanding of Ulster Scots than Catholics (21 versus 8 per cent) and people living in rural areas are more likely to have knowledge than people living in urban areas (20 versus 12 per cent). The survey also showed that 10% of the population would like to learn more about Ulster Scots, with a higher proportion of Protestants than Catholics expressing interest (13 versus 6 per cent).

Irish

Foras na Gaelige is the other part of the Language Body, tasked with promoting the Irish language 'throughout the Island of Ireland'. Its functions are much the same as those for the Ulster Scots Agency. Foras na Gaelige says there has been an upsurge in interest in the Irish language. Irish-medium schools have been important in its development. In the academic year 2011-12, 4,691 children were enrolled in Irish-medium education: 45 nurseries (Naíscoileanna) with 1,047 pupils, 36 primary schools (Bunscoileanna) with 2,892 pupils and 4 post-primary schools with 752 pupils. Yet the 2011 Census showed only a modest increase in proficiency: in 2001, 10.4 per cent of the population had 'some ability in Irish' and in 2011 this had only risen to 10.65 per cent. Breaking this down, 5.3 per cent said they understood Irish and 3.7 per cent were able to speak, read, write and understand it. As with Ulster Scots, the Continuous Household Survey reported higher figures. According to its 2011-12 report, 13 per cent have knowledge of the Irish language and 11 per cent can understand spoken Irish, while fewer people can speak, read or write Irish (8, 6 and 5 per cent respectively). A higher proportion of Catholics than Protestants have knowledge of Irish (29 versus 2 per cent) and more people living in rural areas have knowledge of Irish than those living in urban areas (16 versus 11 per cent).

Little progress has been made on an Irish Language Act, despite a commitment to its introduction as part of the St Andrews Agreement in 2006. When he was Minister for Culture, Arts and Leisure, Nelson McCausland of the DUP stalled progress in the absence of similar promotion for Ulster-Scots. Despite Sinn Féin taking over the Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure after the May 2011 elections, there is still no Irish Language Act as it has not been possible to broker an agreement in the Assembly in the face of unionist opposition.

Chart 136: Knowledge of Ulster-scots and Irish

KNOWLEDGE OF ULSTER-SCOTS AND IRISH		
Level of Knowledge of Ulster-Scots	2011/12 CHS %	2011 Census %
Some ability	15	8
Can understand only	9	5
Can understand and speak	2	1
Can understand, speak and read	1	0* <small>*- less than 0.5%</small>
Can understand, speak, read and write	1	1
Any other combination of abilities	2	1
No ability	85	92
Level of Knowledge of Irish	2011/12 CHS %	2011 Census %
Some ability	13	11
Can understand only	4	4
Can understand and speak	1	1
Can understand, speak and read	1	0* <small>*- less than 0.5%</small>
Can understand, speak, read and write	4	4
Any other combination of abilities	3	1
No ability	87	89

Sources: Continuous Household Survey, 2012, NISRA, 2011 Census

7. Participation in public and civic life

7.1 Women's representation

In the 2011 Assembly election 20 women were elected as MLAs, 18.5 per cent of the total. That is a higher proportion than in the Dáil, where women comprise only 15 per cent of TDs, but is the lowest of the four parliaments/assemblies in the UK – the highest being the National Assembly for Wales, with 39.6 per cent women. In the parallel local-government elections in 2011, 23.5 per cent of those elected were women. One commentator (Hinds, 2013:107) has calculated that 'at the current rate of progress it would take sixteen election cycles, about sixty-five years, for women to become 50 per cent of MLAs, and thirteen elections, spanning fifty-two years, to reach gender balance in councils'. The proportions for female representation in the various political forums are as follows:

Chart 137: Women's representation

Political forum	Number of women representatives	%
NI Assembly	20	18.5%
NI Executive	3	23.1%
Local District Councils	128	23.5%
Westminster	4	22%
European Parliament	2	66%

Co-options in the event of a seat becoming vacant could be used to promote change. But the 14 Assembly seats that became vacant in 2007-10 were all filled by the co-option of men.

Outside the political realm women remain significantly under-represented:

- On the 118 publicly appointed bodies in Northern Ireland, only 17 chairs are held by women, a decrease on the 2011 figure of 21.
- The proportion of female public appointments is fractionally up – from 34 to 35 per cent. But this does not mark a significant increase on the 32 per cent figure that obtained in 1995.
- In 2011-12 the proportion of business plans approved by Invest NI advanced by women was 38 per cent. Women’s entrepreneurial activity has traditionally been lower in Northern Ireland than in other parts of the UK. According to research published by DETI, fear of failure remains the biggest obstacle.

7.2 The ethnic-minority presence

The numerical profile of Northern Ireland’s ethnic communities has been clarified by the 2011 Census. The details are included in The Demographic Context above, with the main statistic that the ethnic population has grown from 0.8 per cent of the total in 2001 to 1.8 per cent in 2011. This figure does not include those from the new communities who would be classified as white, i.e. the A8 countries (Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia). Taken together these accounted for a further 2 per cent of the population (35,700 people) on Census day. If they are included in the definition of ethnic then the total rises to close to 4 per cent. The monitoring of migration patterns by NISRA suggests that the in-migration peak of 2006-07 has given way to a decline that has taken the net migration figure below zero. In 2010-11 there was a net loss of 3,200 people (21,700 in and 24,900 out). That is not the same as saying that the migrants who arrived have left: the out-migration figure is for all parts of the population, and there is plenty of evidence that the new communities who arrived in the first decade of the century are making Northern Ireland their permanent home. The evidence comes from

Newcomer children in School Census

8,936

pupils designated as 'newcomers' in the 2012/13 School Census (Source: DENI). This represents approximately 2.6% of all pupils. There are 2,518 in post-primary schools but more than double that amount, 6,418, in primary schools.

the number of births to mothers from outside Northern Ireland (Chart 138), the number of ethnic-minority children in the school system (see page 140), and the numbers given permanent accommodation in NIHE housing (Chart 139).

If the difficulty of making quantitative assessments of the size of the ethnic-minority population is lifting, then the difficulty of making assessments of the quality of their experience of life in Northern Ireland is increasing. The problem lies in trying to generalise across such a diverse range of experiences. At one end of the social spectrum are those members of the 'stock' community who have been in Northern Ireland for two or more generations and who are well represented in business and the professions, particularly health and education. The main ethnic groups who fall into this category are Chinese and Asian. At the other end of the spectrum is the only indigenous group, Irish travellers. They are categorised as ethnic in the north of Ireland but not in the Republic, and tend to be the outliers on most tables of poverty, disadvantage or educational underachievement. The new eastern-European communities fall in between these poles, but again their experiences in Northern Ireland are extremely diverse. A report for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, *Poverty and Ethnicity in Northern Ireland* (Wallace, McAreavey and Atkin, 2013), sets a balance between the positive and negative experiences of the new communities. Acknowledging the persistence of hate crime, the authors reflected: "Whether Northern Irish society is more racist than elsewhere is debatable; people from minority ethnic groups report negative experiences in other countries too. Despite publicised race attacks in the region there have been many reports of positive neighbourliness and acceptance." One complicating factor arises from the intersection of ethnic and sectarian identities. The indications are that the new communities do not seek to align themselves with unionist or nationalist identities but residential segregation means that by dint of living in one area or another, and sending their children to local schools, they can become 'accidental' Protestants or Catholics. To date, the only political presence comes through the Alliance MLA Anna Lo, a member of the long-established Chinese community.

Chart 139: Ethnic minorities in public housing

MIGRANT WORKERS AND NIHE HOUSING IN THE 12 MONTHS UP TO JULY 2011	
Number of migrant worker households who were tenants	779
Number of migrant worker households who applied for social housing	1,870
Number of migrant worker households who were allocated housing	268
Number of migrant workers applying as homeless	795

Source: NIHE Equality Unit 'Black and Minority Worker Mapping Update, 2011

Chart 138: Number of births to mothers from outside NI

2001	661
2002	724
2003	896
2004	1,130
2005	1,104
2006	1,448
2007	1,954
2008	2,347
2009	2,318
2010	2,473
2011	2,477

In 2011 approximately 10% of all births were to mothers from outside the UK or Ireland. Half of these (1,210) were to mothers from the A8 countries.

Source: Registrar General Annual Report, December 2012

In Northern Ireland there are very few household names who have come out as gay

7.3 The LGBT presence

Last year's Peace Monitoring Report said: 'In many small ways the gay community in Northern Ireland is gaining the confidence to become more visible, amid more relaxed attitudes.' That process of slow but positive change has continued. Perhaps the most obvious sign of the changing mood came in October 2012 with a vote in the Assembly on same-sex marriage. The motion had been proposed by the Green Party and supported by Sinn Féin. The DUP had put down a petition of concern, meaning the motion would require cross-community support; since that was not forthcoming from the two unionist parties, the motion failed. Nevertheless, it was defeated by only five votes. Three UUP MLAs (Michael Copeland, Danny Kinahan and Basil McCrea) voted in favour and the debate was for the most part conducted in respectful and non-belligerent terms. And if same-sex marriage is still a bridge too far, civil partnerships have become an unexceptional part of Northern Ireland life. The Registrar General's Annual Report, published in November 2012, showed there had been 89 civil partnerships in 2011 – a drop from the 116 recorded the previous year but up slightly on the 86 in 2008.

There were other signs of change too. Pride festivals, usually a bellwether for acceptance of gay culture, continued to grow. Now in its 22nd year, the Belfast parade is claimed to be the largest of its kind in Ireland and in the top ten in the UK. In 2010 Derry-Londonderry hosted its first Pride event and in 2012 Newry followed suit. There has been increased engagement between the gay community and politicians. Perhaps most remarkably – given that his party once led a Save Ulster from Sodomy campaign – the DUP Mayor of Belfast, Gavin Robinson, hosted a meeting with the LGBT community in the City Hall as part of the Pride Week events. And there has been increased visibility in the workforce, with LGBT staff support networks in Health and Social Care, and the Department of Justice. The Local Government Staff Commission and Belfast City Council are among employers scoping the possibility of LGBT staff support groups.

Public role models accelerate social change and in Great Britain and Ireland there are many famous gay people who make no secret of their sexuality. That has been much slower to develop in Northern Ireland where there are very few household names who have come out as gay.

8. Cohesion and civil society

8.1. The voluntary sector

Civil society frequently plays an active role in peace processes. One survey has noted that of the 640 peace agreements between 1990 and 2007 389 made explicit reference to civil-society involvement (Bell and O'Rourke, cited in Brewer et al, 2011: 13). In Northern Ireland however the claims that were made for civil society in the period leading up to and immediately after the Good Friday Agreement (see, for example, Cochrane and Dunn, 2002) are no longer seen as relevant in the period of devolved government. It is one of the ironies of devolution in the UK that, rather

than seeing policy divergence in the third sector, 'the direction of travel in all four regimes has remained remarkably similar' (Alcock, 2009). The voluntary/community sector in Northern Ireland, rather than finding its compass in relation to local politics, resembles very closely its counterparts in England, Scotland and Wales. Throughout the four jurisdictions, there is an emphasis on compacts, service agreements and on delivering government agendas. In Northern Ireland the voluntary sector, now regulated by a Charity Commission, has established, successively, a 'compact' (1998) and a 'concordat' (2011) with government. The stated purpose of the Concordat is 'to help create the conditions in which a vibrant and sustainable voluntary and community sector can thrive, working closely with Government in the design and delivery of policy and services in the interests of the people of Northern Ireland'.

The outworking of that has been somewhat disappointing. The Northern Ireland Council for Voluntary Action produces a State of the Sector report which tracks changes in attitudes amongst its members to government. In 2008, 37.1 per cent of respondents had expected that devolution (renewed in 2007) would be positive for the sector. But in the 2012 report only 22.4 per cent adjudged devolution to have been positive in the previous 12 months. Only 16.3 per cent said they expected devolved legislation to improve their organisation's operating environment over the next year, while 18.1 per cent believed it would make the environment worse and 29 per cent said that it would make no difference.

The turning away from more active political engagement may be something to do with the organisational focus of NICVA affiliates. The largest concerns were disability (24.2 per cent) and children and families (20.1 per cent). Only 1.5 per cent had community relations as their main concern, 0.5 per cent poverty and 0.2 per cent ethnicity. The period when the voluntary sector was active in promoting innovative forms of governance seem to have drawn to a close with the mothballing of the Civic Forum in 2002. Although this body is suspended rather than abolished, (and has statutory underpinning in the Northern Ireland Act of 1998), there has been little demand for its return.

8.2 The European Union and the funding of peace-building

The first Peace Monitoring Report provided a detailed breakdown of the extraordinary amount of money that has gone towards peace-building in Northern Ireland. From the start of the first EU Peace programme in 1995 up to 2011 it estimated that, counting only the major donors, a total of £2.5 billion had been received – some 59 per cent of it coming from the EU. In January 2013 a special conference was held in Brussels to celebrate the achievements of the three successive Peace programmes. Somewhat inconveniently, the First and Deputy First Ministers, whose partnership was supposed to embody the new rapprochement, had not been seen in public together for a month because of their divisions over the flags protest. Addressing delegates, Mr Robinson said that peace and reconciliation was 'very much a work in progress'. The awkwardness was eased by the

presentations given by three grassroots funded projects: the Theatre of Witness, whose presentations are based on real-life events, including personal experiences of the Troubles, performed by the people involved; Groundwork Northern Ireland, which develops environmental projects with a reconciliation focus; and Football for All, which (as indicated above) engages football fans in anti-sectarian activity. These three were selected to represent the 450 projects, ranging from community-based organisations to ex-prisoner groups, local authorities, arts groups, religious organisations, trauma-counselling services and sporting organisations involved in the Peace III Programme.

The Peace III Programme has an overall budget of £266,313,446. This is allocated across five themes:

Chart 140: Peace III Programme themes:

Theme	Overall budget (£)	Expenditure at 30/10/12
1.1 Building positive relations at local level	112,734,640	65,376,845
1.2 Acknowledging the past	40,000,000	18,486,653
1.3 Creating shared public spaces	65,600,000	23,696,376
1.4 Key institutional capacities for a shared society	32,000,000	4,895,458
1.5 Technical assistance	15,978,806	9,358,657
Totals:	266,313,446	121,813,989

Source: Assembly Question (AQW 18097/11-15)

A bid has gone forward for a fourth EU Peace Programme. There is support within the EU for it, but whether or not it succeeds depends on the willingness of the UK government to provide a share of match funding. If it fails to materialise, there is no expectation that the gap will be filled by funding from the Assembly. As detailed in the first Peace Monitoring Report, since 1994 almost 90% of funding for peacebuilding in Northern Ireland has come from external sources.

Dimension Four: POLITICAL PROGRESS

KEY POINTS

1. The failure of the political parties to use the Assembly effectively has meant that the tempo of the legislative programme has slowed in the past year.
2. The failure is partly to do with the continuing focus on symbolic and divisive matters but the Assembly has also found it difficult to make progress on bread-and-butter issues and continues to find it hard to identify a peace dividend that results from its efforts.
3. The cultural contestation over flags and symbols has distracted attention from the ways in which sovereignty is being reconfigured within the relationships involving the UK, the Republic of Ireland and the European Union. The more profound changes to the meaning of national identity and sovereignty are being ignored.
4. The economic ties within these islands, north/south and east/west, have continued to tighten and the economic logic of co-operation runs ahead of the political interest in the links.
5. A deep-rooted alienation amongst sections of the Protestant working class had been exposed by the flags dispute, but there is no evidence of any particularly strong feeling on the flying of the union flag at Belfast City Hall before the distribution of 40,000 leaflets on the subject in November 2012.
6. The street disturbances that began in December 2012 have done serious damage to Northern Ireland's international reputation and also served sharply to increase polarisation. In the face of this threat to the peace process, the political parties have failed to show the same united front as was shown after attacks by dissident republicans.
7. Last year's Peace Monitoring Report suggested that Northern Ireland politics was moving towards the position where there was simply one big Catholic party and one big Protestant party. Increased co-operation between the DUP and the UUP represents a further step in that direction.

1. The functioning of the Northern Ireland Assembly

In early December 2012 the Spectator magazine summarised the year thus: 'It may not feel like it, but 2012 has been the greatest year in the history of the world.' That claim might have been regarded with some scepticism but in early December the people of Northern Ireland had good reason to feel that 2012 had perhaps been the best year they had experienced for decades. There had been one particularly shocking killing and the violence of dissident republicans against members of their own community had been more than usually callous but, seen against longer-term trends, paramilitary violence was still at its lowest for 40 years. And, as the section on The Sense of Safety in this report shows, not just political violence was on the wane: crime was at its lowest level for more than a decade, and this general decline in crime levels was also reflected in the drop-off in sectarian crime and hate crime more generally. The Northern Ireland Assembly had returned after the 2011 elections with confidence that another full term would be served. The good relations indicators compiled by OFMDFM showed progress in all the everyday ways in which the communities interacted. On the political high wire no one could gainsay the powerful symbolism of the historic handshake between the Queen and Martin McGuinness at the Lyric Theatre in June. As the year drew to a close, the momentum of the peace process seemed unstoppable.

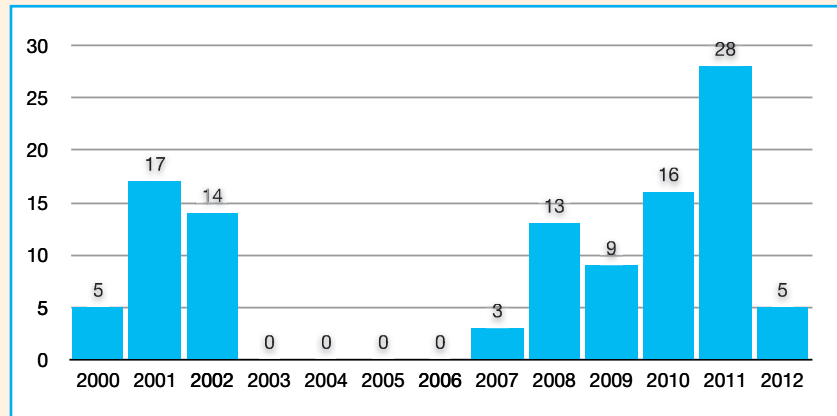
By mid-December everything had changed. What had at first appeared a routine contestation over the flying of a flag on a building had opened up old wounds so wide that the optimistic assessment at the beginning of the month seemed to come from some distant period. By Christmas Northern Ireland was back on the front pages of the world's press with images of burning cars, water cannons spraying crowds and masked figures blocking the night-time streets. To echo Dickens, the year which had seemed like the best of times had turned back into the worst of times. Or, to borrow another line from that famous opening to A Tale of Two Cities, 'it was the spring of hope, it was the winter of despair'. As the flags dispute dragged on into January and February of 2013 the political mood became increasingly bleak. Politics had leached away from the chamber at Stormont and on to the streets. A combination of factors had combined to create the largest crisis the peace process had experienced in a decade.

By mid-December everything had changed.

1.1 Progress and logjams

The fourth Assembly convened on the 11 May 2011, following elections three days earlier. During the previous mandate the pace of legislation had begun to speed up, as MLAs became more accustomed to working the parliamentary machine. In 2009 only nine acts were passed. Following the Hillsborough Agreement of February 2010 16 bills went through before the end of the calendar year and before the end of the Assembly term in May 2011 another 28 were approved. In 2012 however the pace faltered. Only five acts were passed by the Assembly, fewer even than in 2009. There was some spillover in the first two months of 2013 as bills made their way through the system but the drive that had characterised the period after Hillsborough had slowed considerably.

Chart 141: Bills introduced in the Assembly, 1999-2012



ACTS PASSED BY THE NI ASSEMBLY, MAY 2011–FEB 2013	
Title of bill	Last stage completed
2011 Budget (No 2) Bill	27 July
2012 Rates (Amendment) Bill	28 February
Pensions Bill	1 June
Budget Bill	20 March
Budget (No 2) Bill	20 July
Air Passenger Duty Bill	11 December
2013 Superannuation Bill	9 January
Inquiry into Historical Abuse Bill	18 January
Charities Bill	18 January

“You wanted an Assembly – you’ve got an Assembly – now prove to us what you can really do with it.”

Alex Kane, unionist commentator, Belfast News Letter, 25/2/13

The functioning of any democratic forum should not be judged simply by the volume of legislation but by the quality of debate and by how it engages the interests and passions of the electorate. The routine nature of the legislative programme of the Assembly failed to engender that engagement. In fact it often appeared as if the MLAs themselves were not engaged: viewers of the late-night BBC programme Stormont Today were used to seeing proposers of motions addressing empty seats. A Freedom of Information request by the News Letter evinced the response that on 40 occasions between February and September 2012 MLAs had not presented themselves to ask their allotted question. The Speaker, William Hay, accused the offending MLAs of treating the Assembly with ‘total and absolute contempt’ (News Letter, 29/3/13).

On occasion the disrespect seems to flow in the other direction. When the Social Development Minister, Nelson McCausland, wished to serve notice of his intention to abolish the Northern Ireland Housing Executive he did not come to the house but conveyed his intention through a written statement on 9 January 2013. The previous day, Fintan O’Toole had

published an article in the Irish Times, 'Democratic Scrutiny is dead in the Dail'. He described how a 156-section bill introducing a property tax had been put through the Dáil without a dot or comma being changed.

North and south in Ireland, the power of the executive is such that there is no need to win an argument in the chamber. In the Republic, Fine Gael and Labour formed a coalition in 2011 enjoying the largest majority in the history of the state. Decisions made around the cabinet table will automatically be carried in the Dáil. In the Northern Ireland Executive, the Sinn Féin-DUP duopoly does not need (and does not try) to persuade the smaller parties before it embarks on a course of action. MLAs are free to debate legislation that comes forward but with little chance of changing any bill that has joint SF/DUP endorsement. Small wonder then that many choose to concentrate their efforts in the committees, where there is more chance their individual contributions will carry weight.

Logjams

In July 2012 the Executive announced agreement on 10 policy areas that would be taken forward 'over the next couple of weeks'. The statement was intended to forestall criticism that Stormont had been inactive. Its programme was light by comparison with the other devolved UK institutions. The National Assembly for Wales set a schedule of 20 bills for approval, while the Scottish Parliament had 15 bills to process in the 2012-13 year – including the momentous Referendum Bill on independence. In the event the Northern Ireland Assembly had difficulty making progress on any of its more contentious areas and in January 2013 the Irish News ran a headline 'Executive "drifting aimlessly" as progress stalls on decisions'. It reported that six months after the July statement progress had only been made on three of the ten pledges.

The failure to get agreement on the strategy known as Cohesion Sharing and Integration (CSI) proved disastrous, as the marching season gave way to the flags dispute without agreement on these inflammatory issues or on the structural problems of segregated housing and education. This was by no means the only logjam following the return of devolved government in 2007: on some measures, like the abolition of selective education, disagreement proved so fundamental that they fell out of any legislative programme; on others, like reducing corporation tax, the parties found agreement but were unable to overcome external obstacles, and in a third category were those policy areas where inertia seemed to take over. The main logjams follow.

Bill of rights: Following lengthy consultation in 2008, the Northern Ireland Human Rights Commission delivered its recommendations to the Assembly on how to make good the Belfast Agreement's commitment to considering additional human rights provision for Northern Ireland. The NIHRC's report was roundly rejected and since that time there has been no progress on an agreed policy. The prospects do not look good for any fresh initiative. In Britain the coalition government's Commission on a UK Bill of Rights, set up in 2011, delivered its report in 2012 but could not suggest an agreed way forward on a UK basis. In an attempt to keep the

In both the north and south of Ireland the power of the executive is such that there is no need to win an argument in the chamber.

issue alive the NIHRC issued a document in September 2012 called 'Is That Right?', setting out once more the arguments why legislation on rights would help underpin the peace process.

Single Equality Act: At various times in the last 20 years Northern Ireland has been in advance of Britain and Ireland in its anti-discrimination legislation but it has now fallen behind. In 2010 a Single Equality act was introduced to cover England, Scotland and Wales, bringing nine pieces of legislation together in a single act and ironing out any inconsistencies. Northern Ireland was not included. The need for a single legal instrument is even greater in the region, where 30 separate pieces of legislation need to be harmonised. A first step was taken with the creation of an Equality Commission in October 1999. This replaced four predecessor single-issue bodies and a Single Equality Act was to follow. The first consultations began in 2001 and, although a Green Paper and a draft Bill followed, the fitful progress was held up by the various suspensions of the Assembly. As part of the St Andrews Agreement the two governments and the political parties committed themselves to bringing forward a Single Equality Bill but in 2007 work was suspended and in 2012, as in each year since 2007, there was no progress.

Education and Skills Authority: The Education and Skills Authority has long been seen as the flagship for incompetence in the Assembly. It was first announced in 2006 as a cost-saving reform of the cumbersome system which sees education in Northern Ireland administered by eight bodies, including five education and library boards and the Council for Catholic Maintained Schools (CCMS). It was estimated that amalgamation would save £20 million per year. By the end of October 2012, however, £12 million had been spent without the body coming into existence. An Education Skills Authority Implementation Team has been in existence and a Director Designate has been in post with, as the regional newspapers frequently point out, a salary higher than that of the Prime Minister. In response to an Assembly Question in January 2013, the Education Minister revealed that his department had relatedly commissioned no fewer than 22 consultants since 2006-07, at a cost of £872,246. The latest target date for the ESA was April 2013 but in response to an AQ on 6 February the minister said: 'Work is currently ongoing to establish both structures and budgets.'

Selective education: An attempt to get rid of the '11+' has ended up with two selection procedures at age 11, one for Protestant children and one for Catholic children. In his final act as Education Minister before the suspension of devolution in 2002, Martin McGuinness abolished the examination but there was no legislation to close the grammar schools and they fought a fierce rearguard campaign against the ending of academic selection. The exam was not formally ended until 2008, when Mr McGuinness' party colleague and successor, Caitriona Ruane, fought a bitterly ideological campaign with the grammar lobby, but it re-emerged in a binary form. Two consortia of schools now manage the selection process: the Association for Quality Education in the Protestant grammar sector and the Post Primary Transfer Consortium, driven mainly by the CCMS. In

June 2012 the Catholic bishops promised to phase out academic selection in their sector but not all Catholics want to follow the church's guidance on selection. According to league table produced by the Belfast Telegraph, eight out of the top ten grammar schools are Catholic and are seen as key to Catholic social mobility. The multiplying difficulties on this issue make any new legislation unlikely.

Teacher training: Northern Ireland has five institutions which offer teacher training. An attempt to merge two of them, the School of Education at Queen's and Stranmillis Training College (which has mainly Protestant enrolments), was halted when the First Minister decided that the new arrangement might disadvantage the Protestant tradition (see page 128).

Department of Employment and Learning: In January 2012 Sinn Féin and the DUP agreed to extend the term of office of the Alliance Party leader, David Ford, in the Justice Ministry – the only compromise that could work with such a sensitive department. This gave Alliance two seats in the Executive, more than its Assembly representation justified, but to deal with that problem it was decided simply to abolish the Department for Employment and Learning where Alliance's Stephen Farry was minister. Uncertainty about how the department's functions would be redistributed however prevented any new structure coming into place.

Irish Language Act: An Irish Language Act has been an important part of the agenda of both nationalist parties and the failure to enact legislation to protect the language leaves the UK in breach of its obligations under the Council of Europe Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. A commitment in the St Andrews Agreement to an Act has not been honoured (see page 138).

The combined effect of these disagreements has been to silt up the channels through which politics delivers to the electorate. The emphasis on cultural contestation has been at the expense of delivery on social and economic issues. The provisions of the Good Friday Agreement have not prevented this relapse into the communal trenches. The architects of the Agreement attended to how power would be balanced within the Assembly; what they did not foresee was that the Executive would arrogate its authority and attempt to make progress through trade-offs behind closed doors.

1.2 Bread-and-butter issues

It is often said that if the politicians focused on 'bread-and-butter issues' they would find much more agreement and connect much better with the electorate. The recent experience of the Assembly in developing social and economic policy supports the thesis that common ground can be found when the agenda moves on from those issues that mark cultural differences, but the record also shows a failure to turn good intentions into an effective peace dividend.

The emphasis on cultural contestation has been at the expense of delivery on social and economic issues.

Corporation tax

The deep structural problems of the Northern Ireland economy have had the effect of creating all-party unity around the idea of lowering corporation tax to 12.5 per cent, the same rate as in the Republic of Ireland. While taxation elsewhere is the fundamental issue that divides left and right, there has been virtual unanimity on the issue. Even Sinn Féin, which tries to maintain a broadly socialist perspective, has supported the idea – but then economics in Northern Ireland is never just about economics. For nationalists an alignment of the tax system north and south is another stage on the road to an all-island economy. For unionists, the alignment would put an end to what they see as the unfair advantage enjoyed by the Irish economy. For politicians of every stripe the idea of lowering corporation tax has held the appeal of being a 'magic bullet' to fix an economy that otherwise seems beyond repair.

All-party agreement is not enough to make this deal happen however. The shortfall in corporation tax would be offset by the Treasury through deductions in the Northern Ireland block grant. In the early projections that was put at £200-£300 million per year but by the time the Prime Minister met the First Minister and Deputy First Minister in November 2012 that estimate had drifted upwards to £700 million – an increase sufficient to make everyone think again. Because of the constitutional implications there is no expectation of any move on this before the referendum on Scottish independence.

Welfare Reform Bill

On 8 March 2012 the Welfare Reform Act received Royal Assent at Westminster. The reforms are a sweeping package, each element provoking controversy, including the 'bedroom tax' and the household cap on benefits. In the Assembly, a consensus quickly assembled around concern that the effects would be greater in Northern Ireland, due to the larger numbers on disability payments, the size of families, the rate of child poverty and a range of other factors. In reality, the 'parity principle' for social welfare across the UK meant that the Assembly had bumped up against the limit of its powers. Sinn Féin at first suggested the Assembly could devise its own welfare system, drawing upon the money from the Treasury, but the impracticality of the suggestion meant the party fell back on the more traditional stance of arguing for harder negotiations with the British government. In the end some licence was agreed by Westminster, as a result of which the universal credit scheme will not be introduced in Northern Ireland until April 2014, six months after the rest of the UK, housing benefits will be paid to landlords rather than tenants and 'where necessary' benefit payments will be staged. The Northern Ireland bill has still to complete its passage through the Assembly but, while the concessions from Westminster allowed some honour to be rescued from the negotiations, the efforts of the politicians, supported by the church leaders, were not sufficient to safeguard the region from cuts which could remove up to £600 million from the £4 billion welfare bill.

Neighbourhood Renewal and anti-poverty measures

There has been a genuine wish across the unionist and nationalist parties to provide a shield for those most threatened by the recession. A raft of measures have been introduced to free people from, among other things, prescription charges, water charges and increased university tuition fees and, at the same time, to grant free transport to everyone over 60 years of age, provide financial assistance with fuel bills and freeze domestic rates. A neighbourhood-renewal scheme was introduced in 2003 to assist those areas with the highest rankings on the multiple deprivation measure. In the 2003-2010 period some £140 million of the block grant was spent on this programme. Evaluations attempted by the Department for Social Development floundered because of the absence of any rigorous baseline data or defined outcome targets. The main conclusion however was gloomy: 'Such evidence as there is suggest that the gap between the most deprived areas in Northern Ireland and the rest has not closed in any substantial way (and it is likely that the most deprived areas and the rest has not closed in any substantial way)' (DSD, 2011, cited in Knox, 2013).

An independent assessment by Prof Colin Knox of the University of Ulster supported this view. Using data from the Northern Ireland Neighbourhood Information Service, he compared areas included in the programme with those that were not and he found:

- the educational gap narrowed by less than 1 per cent between 2007-08 and 2010-11;
- the number of Disability Living Allowance claimants increased at a faster rate in the programme areas than in the non-programme areas – in 2000 the gap was 8.6 per cent and in 2011 it was 9.2 per cent;
- the gap in the suicide rate increased dramatically, from 7.7 per 100,000 of the population in 2000 to 15.9 in 2010, and
- the gap in male life expectancy increased from 5.6 years in 2001-03 to 6.1 years in 2008-10.

Knox found that 42 of the 56 wards ranked in the 10 per cent most deprived wards in 2001 were also ranked most deprived in 2011. Those wards are also those where opposition to the peace process – from dissident republicans or loyalist flag protesters – is strongest. The Assembly had hoped to deliver a peace dividend that would secure support for the political process but its best attempts to move the most disadvantaged areas out of poverty have shown no appreciable result, economically or politically.

1.3 Attitudes to the Assembly

In more conventional political arrangements, an election provides the electorate with a chance to 'throw the rascals out'. This option does not exist in Northern Ireland where, in the words of the old anarchist slogan, whoever you vote for the government gets in – that is the nature of a mandatory coalition. One alternative open to voters is to abstain

altogether. In the May 2011 Assembly election a sizeable proportion took this option: voter turnout was only 54.7 per cent, down from 62.9 per cent in 2007. This still compared favourably, however, with the other devolved institutions: in 2011 the turnout for the Scottish Parliament was 50.4 per cent and for the National Assembly of Wales just 41.4 per cent.

A telephone survey of 1,200 commissioned by Dr John Garry of Queen’s, conducted in the wake of the May 2011 election, sought to establish the importance attached by voters to the performance of the parties in the Assembly. Respondents gave negative assessments of the Assembly’s handling of the economy, education and health – the bread-and-butter issues – but very positive assessments of the increased stability that had come with devolved government. Peace, justice and stability were also the areas where most credit was given to the Assembly (as opposed to external forces), though the area where most agency was attributed to the Assembly was education and this received a strong negative rating of -46 per cent, a verdict that relates to the failure to resolve the 11+ controversy. Yet, despite the failings in particular policy areas, the lives of both Catholics and Protestants were seen to have improved, albeit with a stark community differential. The lives of Protestants were perceived to have improved by a balance of six, while the lives of Catholics were thought to have improved by the much higher balance of 42. Insofar as any credit was given to regional parties, the results suggested voters attributed responsibility for the ‘lives of Protestants’ to the DUP and for ‘the lives of Catholics’ to Sinn Féin.

Chart 142: Assembly voter survey

HOW THE ASSEMBLY IS ASSESSED: A VOTER SURVEY		
	Did things get better or worse? (balance of opinion)	Mainly due to the policies of NI govt (%)?
Economy	-50	31
Education	-46	58
Health	-46	45
Policing and justice	+33	50
Peace/Security/Stability	+45	45
Lives of Protestants	+6	33
Lives of Catholics	+42	35

Source: Garry, 2013

A different set of results came in a poll conducted one year later by the Lucid Talk agency for the Belfast Telegraph. This was also a telephone survey with a similar sample size of 1,267. It was conducted in May 2012. The results showed that fewer than one in ten respondents thought the Assembly had performed better than direct-rule administrations.

Compared to direct rule from Westminster, how would you rate the performance of the Northern Ireland Assembly:

Excellent: 1%
 Good: 8%
 Poor: 27%
 Very poor: 14%
 No difference: 33%
 No opinion: 17%

Like the poll conducted by Garry, the Lucid Talk poll allowed for calculations of net favourability. The favourable responses were swamped by the unfavourable:

Chart 143: Attitudes to the Assembly

ATTITUDES TO THE ASSEMBLY ASSESSED BY NET FAVOURABILITY:	
Male	-45%
Female	-37%
Public sector	-40%
Private sector	-36%
Protestant	-42%
Catholic	-37%
Other/None	-49%
Overall	-40%

Source: Lucid Talk Poll, Belfast telegraph 12/6/12

Despite the professed dissatisfaction with the Assembly across all social groups, few want to see it abolished – only 18%. There is no significant community differential on this and the biggest support for scrapping the Assembly (33 per cent) came from those not identifying with either the Catholic or the Protestant tradition.

The rise of the values agenda

One function of the Assembly is to give expression to the conservative social attitudes in Northern Ireland, and to block liberalising measures from Westminster. At the height of the flags dispute the First Minister defended devolution against the loyalist protesters who demanded the restoration of direct rule, by contending that it allowed Stormont to distance itself from Westminster in socio-cultural terms. In a press release issued in January 2013, he said of the protesters: 'Let them explain to the people the benefit of Water Charging and higher Regional Rates which would automatically follow Direct Rule. And are they content to have Westminster impose same sex marriages and abortion on demand on our community? Such folly. Have they so quickly forgotten the decisions of direct rule in the past?'

Despite the professed dissatisfaction with the Assembly across all social groups, few want to see it abolished

A poll conducted by the Belfast Telegraph at the DUP conference in November 2012 suggested its members are even more socially conservative than their leader: while Mr Robinson had expressed the view that abortion should be available to rape and incest victims, 42 per cent of those surveyed disagreed. On gay marriage, 90 per cent supported his policy of opposition. This allowed a cross-community pact to be developed with the SDLP to try, effectively, to outlaw the Marie Stopes Clinic which had opened in Belfast in 2012 to provide the first private abortion service on the island of Ireland. Despite public pressure from the Catholic Church, and the expression of some misgivings by Martin McGuinness, Sinn Féin did not join this coalition.

2. North-south and east-west

2.1 *The shifting of the plates*

The attention paid in Northern Ireland to symbols of national identity has obscured the substance of what these identities mean in a changing Europe. The tectonic plates have shifted in the past year. In October 2012 the Edinburgh Agreement was signed by the Scottish First Minister, Alex Salmond, and the Prime Minister, David Cameron, confirming the Scottish Parliament's power to hold a referendum on independence whose outcome would be respected by both governments. When the people of Scotland go to the polls in autumn 2014 they could end the historic union with Britain dating back to the Acts of Union of 1707; if they do, the meaning of unionism in Northern Ireland will be changed forever. Three months later, on 23 January 2013, Mr Cameron announced to the House of Commons that there would be an in/out referendum on the UK's membership of the European Union by 2017 if his Conservatives were to win the next general election. Should the UK choose to leave then Northern Ireland would find itself cut off from the Republic of Ireland in a new form of partition that would completely reconfigure what used to be called 'the totality of relationships' in these islands. The possible permutations of these two scenarios interacting with each other expands the possibilities exponentially: not only is there the possibility of Ireland being intersected by a land border between the EU and the countries outside the EU, but the implications of a new independent state in Scotland would profoundly alter the geometry of relations within these islands. As O'Ceallaigh and Kilcourse put it, 'The issues of Scottish independence and the UK's role in the EU have become linked politically because Scotland's more Europhile attitudes sit uneasily with English Euroscepticism' (2013: 2).

The multiplying uncertainties of sovereign relationships in these scenarios are as yet hypothetical. What has happened to Irish sovereignty is not, however. The terms of the €85 billion (£68.2 billion) bail-out by the troika of the European Commission, the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund in late 2010 meant the effective transfer of economic policy from Dublin to Frankfurt and Berlin. This was brought home in humiliating fashion in November 2011 when it was revealed that

the details of the Irish government's budget had been seen by a committee of the Bundestag (and sent to every finance minister in Europe) before being presented to the Dáil. Some easing of the terms of the bailout repayment came at the beginning of February 2013 when the Irish government struck a deal to exchange the promissory note it provided to the failed Anglo Irish Bank for long-term, interest-only government bonds, which will not have to be fully repaid until 2053. The Wall Street Journal (7/2/13) took a cool view of this: 'Ireland's immediate burden has been eased, but Irish taxpayers will still spend decades paying the price demanded by the ECB at the height of the panic in 2008.'

In October 2012 the Taoiseach, Enda Kenny, was named 'European of the Year' by the association representing German magazine publishers. The choice that had faced the Republic at the height of the financial crisis was whether to 'burn the bondholders' and strike out on its own, as Iceland had done after its financial collapse, or to accept the subjugation of Irish sovereignty to Europe. The recognition now given to Ireland as 'the posterchild of austerity Europe' (Daily Telegraph, 16/1/13) is a measure of how far it has pursued this latter course. It is completely bound in with a centralising Europe while the magnetic forces in the UK are pulling national sovereignty in the opposite direction. The shifting dynamic means that the axis of Belfast/Dublin/London will not be sufficient for effective economic policy-making. The economist John Bradley suggests that Irish policy-making in the future is likely to 'involve Dublin, Belfast, Edinburgh, Cardiff and London, and the requirement to make this completely consistent with Ireland's equally close but far more important connections with Brussels and Washington' (Bradley, 2013:3). These larger movements go largely unnoticed in Northern Ireland, where the debate on a border poll initiated by the Sinn Féin president, Gerry Adams, has been conducted in terms largely unchanged for 40 years, since the previous such poll in 1973.

2.2 Governmental structures, north-south and east-west

North-south

A new north-south body came into existence in 2012. Strand 2 of the Belfast Agreement had made provision for an inter-parliamentary forum to encourage collegiality and regular contact between MLAs and TDs. Unionist hesitation stalled progress but, encouraged by the non-contentious way the North-South Ministerial Council (NSMC) had discharged its business, the two parliaments finally held the inaugural meeting of the North/South Inter-Parliamentary Association at Stormont Buildings in July 2012 and its first plenary session took place on 12 October in the Seanad chamber in Dublin. The association is jointly chaired by the Ceann Comhairle, Sean Barrett, and the Speaker of the Northern Ireland Assembly, William Hay. It has 48 members, drawn in equal numbers from the two parliaments, and the practical matters under discussion at the first meeting included the Ulster canal and child protection.

Ireland is now completely bound in with a centralising Europe while the magnetic forces in the UK are pulling national sovereignty in the opposite direction.

A much busier agenda is pursued by the North-South Ministerial Council, which oversees the work of six implementation bodies. A plenary session of the NSMC took place on 2 November 2012 and the communiqué referred to 15 heads of agreement. As usual, these were made up of the practical matters of cross-border co-operation as might be found between any two neighbouring states in Europe – though the DUP, which holds the tourism portfolio in the north, balked at the idea of rendering all-Ireland the big 2013 diaspora initiative by the Republic, *The Gathering*, because it played so much on Irish identity.

East-west

The parallel to the North-South Inter-Parliamentary Association is the British-Irish Parliamentary Association. It was set up in 1990 and brings together parliamentarians from Westminster and the Oireachtas for goodwill exercises. The more practical agenda is handled by the British-Irish Council (BIC), created under Strand 3 of the Belfast Agreement. Its 19th summit took place at Cardiff Castle on 26 November 2012. Chaired by the First Minister of Wales, Carwyn Jones, the summit brought together representatives from the UK and Irish Governments, the devolved UK executives, the Government of the Isle of Man and the States of Jersey and Guernsey. The BIC has struggled to establish a role for itself or to enjoy other than token support. An Assembly question from Jim Allister revealed that in 2010 the running costs of the NSMC (shared between the two governments) were £2,509,457 while the costs for the British-Irish Council were only £170,000. At the Cardiff meeting, however, the agenda was more substantial than before, touching energy infrastructure – an issue that had moved from the margins to being of keen interest vis-à-vis economic links between Britain and Ireland.

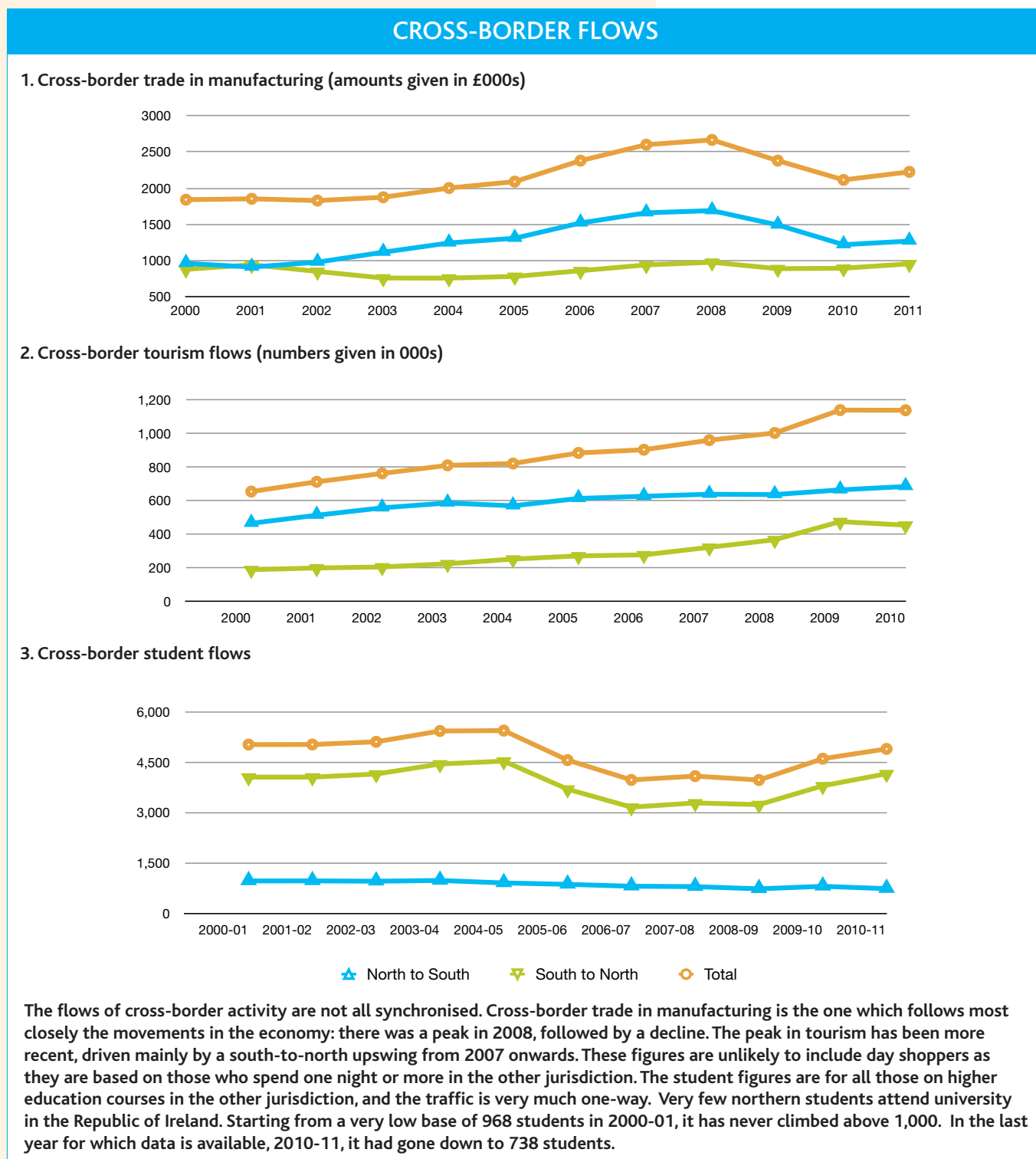
2.3 Economic links

The energy infrastructure discussed by the BIC has as its centrepiece the East West Interconnector, a project begun in 2007 and inaugurated on 20 September 2012 in Meath by the UK Secretary for Energy and Climate Change, Ed Davey, and the Taoiseach, Mr Kenny. It is a high-voltage, direct-current submarine and subsoil power cable running between Rush in north Co Dublin and Barkby beach in northern Wales. It will allow Irish suppliers (particularly wind generators) access to the British market and vice versa. It underscores that, however much Ireland turns its face to Europe, Britain remains its main trading partner; Britain in turn does more business with Ireland than with Brazil, Russia, India and China combined. Ireland was the third largest European investor in the UK in 2010, while the UK is likewise the third largest investor in Ireland.

The boom-and-bust of the Irish property market has meanwhile had the effect of bringing the economies of the north and south of Ireland closer together. In 2007-11 18,000 construction jobs were lost in the north, alongside a staggering 166,000 in the south. Two of Northern Ireland's four main banks, devastated by the property collapse because of their exposure to developers, are Irish owned and another has significant operations in the south. To try to recoup some of its banking losses, incurred through

guaranteeing bank deposits in September 2008, the Irish government established the 'bad bank', the National Assets Management Agency (NAMA), which calculates that it holds £3.5 billion in property loans relating to Northern Ireland – leaving the northern economy very exposed to the disposal of that debt. Northern Ireland does not, of course, have to borrow to cover its annual fiscal deficit of £10.5 billion, met by the Westminster subvention; the Republic, by contrast, was forced into an austerity programme as a condition of its bail-out.

Chart 144: Cross-border flows



2.4. Social and cultural links – the weakening ties?

The peace agreement allowed for greater co-operation north-south and east-west and the laws of economics have determined a high volume of traffic in all these directions. In addition, cross-border relationships have been fostered by the EU Interreg and Peace programmes. On the model of peace-building favoured by the EU, economic partnerships lay the basis for cultural exchanges and by the slow molecular processes of reciprocity the borders between north and south should now be much more porous. The Director of the Centre for Cross-Border Studies, Andy Pollak, however sees a falling away of interest in north-south issues. In February 2013 his monthly blog described southern interest in the north as at 'an all-time low'.

The loss of attention amongst politicians in the Republic has an easy explanation: the all-consuming nature of the financial crisis has had first claim on public attentions, and the broader convulsions of Irish society – notably the scandals surrounding the Catholic church – have eclipsed issues connected to the north. The success of the Queen's visit put a seal on the period of history known as the Troubles and the Irish political elite feels it has discharged its responsibilities. One indicator of the new mood was the decision not to proceed with the plan, agreed at St Andrews, to build a motorway to link Monaghan with Derry – the unity of the country by motorway remains an aspiration, like political unity, but there is no longer an operational plan for either.

3. The flags protest

3.1 The vote in Belfast City Council

On 3 December 2012 Belfast City Council voted to change its policy on the flying of the union flag atop the City Hall. While hitherto the flag had flown 365 days a year, it would henceforth be flown on 18 designated days. The previous week, the Strategic Policy and Resources Committee had voted 11-9 to remove the flag altogether but that decision required a vote by the whole council. Unionists lost control of the council in 1997, since when the balance of power has been held by the Alliance Party. The impasse between the no-flags policy supported by nationalists and the all-year policy of the unionists was broken when a compromise Alliance motion in favour of the designated days was passed by 29 votes to 21. The councillors were still in their seats when they heard breaking glass at the back of the building and jeering and chanting from a 1,000-strong crowd of protesters, who had broken through police barriers. Eight people, including two female officers, were injured and later that night there were disturbances at St Matthew's Catholic Church and a bus was hijacked by protesters as they made their way back to east Belfast. The loyalist flag protest had begun and with it the most serious challenge to the peace process in a decade.

3.2 The build-up to the vote

In 2002 the then new Lord Mayor of Belfast, Alex Maskey of Sinn Féin, chose to display the Irish tricolour along with the union flag in the Lord Mayor's parlour, thus giving expression to the party's emphasis on parity of esteem. In pursuit of this same objective, an objection was raised under section 75 of the Northern Ireland Act to the flying of the union flag over City Hall. In October 2002, the council agreed to carry out an Equality Impact Assessment (EQIA). The findings were considered at a meeting in May 2004 which decided not to change the policy. Seven years later the issue was back on the agenda. In March 2011 the Sinn Féin group wrote to the Chief Executive and on 17 June the Strategic Policy and Resources Committee agreed that the EQIA should be updated to facilitate a review. Sinn Féin was also attempting meanwhile to change the policy on flags at Stormont. On 12 April it proposed to the Assembly Commission, the body which oversees the running of the Stormont estate, the joint flying of the union flag and the tricolour but unionist opposition meant that the flying of the flag on designated days was reaffirmed.

The locus of the debate then moved back to Belfast City Council. On 18 May 2012 the council considered a draft report of the EQIA findings and agreed a 16-week consultation, including two public meetings at the Ulster Hall in September. The response was muted: only two people attended the first meeting and only one the second. The 879 written responses revealed a polarisation between the nationalist and unionist positions:

- about 350 people supported no change,
- about 350 people supported flying the tricolour alongside the union flag whenever it is flown,
- about 150 people expressed a preference for no flag or a neutral flag, and
- fewer than 10 supported the option of designated flag days.

In addition there was a petition with 14,740 signatures, many gathered at the Covenant Day event. It is not the practice of government bodies to process petitions which bypass the consultation procedure and so the EQIA focused on the written responses and the submissions received, together with the results of a staff survey. While the assessment recognised that any approach would cause offence to some, it ordered the options into the following hierarchy of preference:

1. designated flag days only,
2. designated flag days plus specified additional days,
3. no flag or a neutral flag and
4. two flags.

What are the designated days?

The Crown body responsible for flag protocol in the United Kingdom is the College of Arms and it lists the following dates:

9 January	Birthday of The Duchess of Cambridge
20 January	Birthday of The Countess of Wessex
6 February	Her Majesty's Accession
19 February	Birthday of The Duke of York
10 March	Birthday of The Earl of Wessex
11 March	Commonwealth Day (second Monday in March)
17 March	St Patrick's Day (in Northern Ireland only)
21 April	Birthday of Her Majesty The Queen
9 May	Europe Day
2 June	Coronation Day
10 June	Birthday of The Duke of Edinburgh
15 June	Official Celebration of Her Majesty's Birthday
21 June	Birthday of The Duke of Cambridge
17 July	Birthday of The Duchess of Cornwall
15 August	Birthday of The Princess Royal
10 November	Remembrance Day (second Sunday)
14 November	Birthday of The Prince of Wales
20 November	Her Majesty's Wedding Day

It was anticipated that if the nationalist voting strength had resulted in a two-flags policy there would have been considerable unionist anger. The Alliance compromise motion which won the day in December 2012 seemed much less threatening, aligning the City Hall policy with that of the Assembly and with unionist-dominated councils such as neighbouring Lisburn – which, with a DUP majority, had adopted the designated-days policy in 2006. The liberal-unionist MLA Basil McCrea pointed out that designated days was the formal policy of the UUP, as it was of the loyalist Progressive Unionist Party.

Meantime, in early November, after the consultation had closed, 40,000 leaflets were distributed in east Belfast. They were printed in the distinctive yellow colour of the Alliance Party but the message was distinctly anti-Alliance. The leaflet, a joint initiative by the DUP and the UUP, declared: 'At the minute Alliance are backing the Sinn Féin/SDLP position that the flag should be ripped down on all but a few days.' In bold type it urged: 'Let them know you want the flag to stay'. The phone numbers of the Alliance HQ and its East Belfast office were given at the bottom. By the time of the next council meeting in mid-November, Alliance members were reporting angry and abusive phone messages.

3.3 After the vote

The day after the vote was taken, an east Belfast Alliance councillor, Laura McNamee, moved out of her home as a result of internet threats; the PSNI advised her not to return. Gerry Kelly of Sinn Féin also said he had received a death threat. The next day, 5 December, the attacks on Alliance intensified. A loyalist mob set fire to the party office in Carrickfergus, Co Antrim, destroying the building. There was an attempted arson at the constituency office of the Alliance Minister for Employment and Learning, Mr Farry, in Bangor, Co Down; the home in Bangor of a couple who are both Alliance councillors was also attacked. A death threat was made against the East Belfast Alliance MP, Naomi Long, and the police car guarding her office was attacked. The attackers smashed the car window and lobbed a petrol bomb in at a young policewoman, an incident treated by the PSNI as attempted murder.

The street protests quickly became regular. Facebook messages were posted every morning giving times and the streets to be blocked. Although the core of the protest remained in east Belfast, the blockades spread to Protestant areas across Northern Ireland. To take just one day, on 25 January 2013 protests took place in Antrim, Ballyclare, Ballymoney, Carrickfergus, Dundonald, Dunmurray, Glengormley, Larne, Newtownabbey, Whitehead, Ballynahinch, Bangor, Greyabbey, Kilkeel, Coleraine, Garvagh, Magherafelt, Derry-Londonderry, Newbuildings and Portadown, among other locations. The business community voiced its despair and there were appeals for people to come into Belfast city centre to sustain the shops and restaurants whose trade was slumping. A campaign, Backin Belfast, was launched by Belfast City Council at a cost of £1.5 million. The council provided £400,000, Belfast businesses donated offers and giveaways worth £500,000 and the Stormont Executive donated £600,000.

The irony of a donation from the Executive was not lost at a time when DUP and UUP politicians were seen blocking the streets. Unionist leaders were keen to stress that they only supported peaceful demonstrations but what constituted a peaceful protest quickly became part of the problem. The PSNI took what Assistant Chief Constable Will Kerr called 'the least worst option' of not confronting the protesters. This tactic that had been applied to the Ardoyne riots linked to 12 July parades over several years: rather than charging the rioters the police used surveillance, detection and identification to lead towards prosecution. It was a strategy that paid dividends when faced with a three day disturbance but after three months of blocked roads Alliance and nationalist politicians became more and more critical of what they saw as the indulgence, indeed facilitation, of illegal parades and roadblocks.

Each Saturday a loyalist rally took place outside the City Hall, after which the protesters walked back along the main road into east Belfast. Their route took them past the Catholic enclave of Short Strand and inevitably there were sectarian clashes. The Short Strand residents complained of feeling besieged. In February 2013 it became public that the Parades Commission and the PSNI had a fundamental difference on the legal issues surrounding the parades. In a blunt interview with the Irish News on 26 February the head of the Parades Commission said that the Chief Constable, Matt Baggott, had 'got it all wrong on illegal marches'. He said legal advice the commission had received was very clear: the street demonstrations were not parades and if people blocked streets they were in breach of the law and should be arrested. The Chief Constable said that the legislation, the Public Processions Act, was not helpful as the required standard of proof to secure a conviction was too high. He called for the legislation to be reviewed.

At the political level little was done to ease the situation. A new Unionist Forum held its first meeting at Stormont on 10 January, and was described by the DUP and UUP leaders, respectively Peter Robinson and Mike Nesbitt, as being 'the most representative group of the unionist community to meet in 50 years'. Those present included figures publicly associated with loyalist paramilitary organisations and when asked about paramilitary involvement Mr Robinson replied: 'We will talk to anyone who wants to talk to us about how we can move forward in an exclusively peaceful and democratic manner'. Although it cast its net wide the forum did not manage to engage the leadership of the street protests, which responded by setting up its own People's Forum. The other Assembly parties argued that the flags dispute could not be resolved by unionists alone and that cross-community agreement would be necessary. A Sinn Féin proposal to establish a special committee to deal with flags, emblems, symbols and language at Parliament Buildings was defeated after unionists opposed it.

During previous crises in the peace process, the two governments stepped in in the role of patrons to broker a deal, often sugaring it with cash. But the Economist (12/1/13) observed: 'One thing is clear: the cash-strapped Westminster government cannot pour money into Northern Ireland, as it

Between 3 December 2012 and 28 February 2013 there were:

201 Arrests

149 people charged

146 PSNI officers injured

The policing bill in that period was

£20m

has in the past when trouble has flared ... Northern Ireland's devolved government will have to cope with this problem by itself. It is quite a test.'

3.4 The political landscape after the flags protest

All peace processes are vulnerable to the actions of what conflict studies academics call 'spoiler' groups. In recent years the main perceived threat to the 1998 settlement has come from republican dissident groups but, as last year's Peace Monitoring Report pointed out, their main effect has been the opposite to that intended, serving to consolidate unionist-nationalist cooperation. The parades disputes of the late summer 2012 and the flag dispute that followed on have produced a different reaction, with a re-sectarianisation of politics and a move back into the communal trenches.

One obvious manifestation of the new climate came in February 2013 with the selection of candidates for the mid-Ulster by-election. Sinn Féin put forward the party stalwart Francie Molloy, who had been named under Commons privilege by a DUP MP as having been involved in the murder of a former RUC reservist, Eric Lutton (an allegation denied by Mr. Molloy). The DUP and the UUP decided not to contest the election as separate parties but to fight a united campaign. Their agreed candidate was Nigel Lutton, son of Eric, instantly giving the election a focus on the past. When the UUP leader, Mr Nesbitt, was asked by the News Letter (20/2/13) about Lutton's views on taxation, abortion or gay marriage, he said Northern Ireland voters made their decisions on 'orange and green issues' and confessed himself at a loss as to why the newspaper would have thought any other issue relevant. The shoulder-to-shoulder solidarity shown by politicians in the face of the dissident threat, particularly after the Massereene shootings and the killing of Ronan Kerr, has been entirely absent. In its place has been a distancing of unionism and nationalism, the long-term effects of which are hard to predict.

More immediately obvious are the short-term effects of the events that began in December. A large group of people, mainly young, mainly male, mainly Protestant working-class will serve prison sentences and labour thereafter with the burden of a criminal record. Northern Ireland's international reputation has taken a heavy blow, and with it the prospects for trade and tourism. New flashpoints have been created which have the potential to erupt on the significant dates in the calendar. Loyalist paramilitaries have been legitimated as spokespersons and as custodians of public order in their communities. There has been a weakening of trust in the law and its application with respect to parades. The overall confidence that there is a successful peace process has been eroded, both internally and externally.

The longer-term perspective measures these events against what has gone before. Although the protests made for dramatic images, as cars burnt against a night sky, such scenes were not new. The numbers involved were tiny compared with the crowds involved in the Drumcree demonstrations of the 1990s and even tinier when compared with the mass demonstrations of unionists against the Anglo-Irish Agreement in the

The overall confidence that there is a successful peace process has been eroded, both internally and externally.

1980s. Another crucial difference with those expressions of unionist alienation is that on those previous occasions the leaders of mainstream unionism were on the streets leading the protests – most notoriously, when Ian Paisley and David Trimble marched hand-in-hand down Garvaghy Road in Portadown in 1995 to celebrate their victory in the Drumcree stand-off. During the flags protest some junior politicians from the main unionist parties participated in the blocking of roads but the leadership of the DUP and the UUP maintained a wary distance. No senior politician was involved in a confrontation. And, while there was clear paramilitary involvement, in particular by the Ulster Volunteer Force, such activities were very much confined to particular areas. While east Belfast acted as the main locus for the protests, north Belfast where Sinn Féin and the Ulster Defence Association have established good working relationships remained quiet – as did most parts of Northern Ireland. There were no deaths and no serious injuries. The Assembly continued to meet and while the political settlement has been shaken it has proved capable of absorbing this set of shocks.

What has been brought into view is the persistence of a strand of unionist opposition to the terms of the peace settlement. The electoral successes of the DUP and the failure of the more fundamentalist Traditional Unionist Voice to gain any real traction with the Protestant electorate suggested that the hard core of resistance had softened. But in his recent 470-page history of Ireland, having noted the successes of the Belfast Agreement, Thomas Bartlett concluded:

On the other hand there remains a very large loyalist underclass, poorly educated, mostly unskilled, and socially disadvantaged who harbour a belief that their position in Northern Ireland has drastically slipped, and that their culture is no longer valued. The capacity of this section of loyalism to make mayhem through its continued tolerance for paramilitarism should not be underestimated. While such a large reservoir of hatred, rancour, and resentment remains in Northern Ireland it is hard to feel optimistic. (Bartlett, 2010: 470)

The subsequent rise in unemployment and the social effects of an austerity budget on both communities are likely to keep any optimism in check. The peace process has survived a difficult year, but it will take renewed commitment from the political parties to assist it through the next period.

4. Dealing with the past

There is no disagreement that Northern Ireland has to find a way to address the legacy of the past but there is no agreement on how this might be achieved. It is not a devolved issue so, formally speaking, it is a matter for the British government to decide. In January 2012 the then Secretary of State, Owen Paterson, opened a round of talks with the leaders of the main parties but these proved inconclusive. In January 2013 his successor, Theresa Villiers, spoke of the 'enormous challenge' presented by this issue. The reason why the issue remains so alive and yet at impasse is that, almost 20 years after the first ceasefires, the conflict now takes the

form of a war of narratives. Each political side wishes not only to see its historical interpretation validated, but the other side's account invalidated.

Compare former Yugoslavia. The proceedings of the International Criminal Tribunal on Yugoslavia (ICTY) are followed closely in the Balkans because they deal not just with the guilt or innocence of particular individuals but with the historic rights and wrongs of the countries involved in the war. Thus, when the ICTY found the Croatian generals Ante Gotovina and Mladen Markačić guilty of war crimes in 2011 the verdict was seen as a devastating indictment of Croatia's foundational belief that it had fought a war of national liberation. When a year later, in November 2012, the ICTY overturned its own verdict and declared the men innocent, the opposite message was received: the war of the Croatian people was seen as having received international justification. People crowded into the town squares to celebrate, children were given a day off school and the narrative written into the school textbooks suddenly had a new reference point. In Serbia the verdict met with sullen disbelief. The President, Tomislav Nikolić, condemned the verdict as 'political', adding that it would 'open old wounds'.

In Northern Ireland both nationalists and unionists want a verdict that validates their own narratives. Unionists feel the nationalist narrative has been gaining steady ground. One of the complaints made by the flag protesters was about 'inquiries' which they felt dealt exclusively with nationalist concerns. In this context the term 'inquiries' may be taken as a generic for four distinct processes, all of which cause concern to unionists and all of which were in evidence in 2012:

Government-appointed investigations: The Saville Inquiry into the Bloody Sunday killings was said by the Prime Minister to be the last of the large-scale public inquiries and he refused to fulfil the pledge given by his predecessor Tony Blair to hold a public inquiry into the murder of the Belfast solicitor Pat Finucane. Instead he appointed a barrister, Sir Desmond de Silva, to review the evidence. The De Silva report, published in December 2012, documented evidence of extensive state collaboration with loyalist gunmen. Mr Cameron accepted that the report revealed 'shocking levels of collusion'.

Police Ombudsman inquiries: The Office of the Police Ombudsman has oversight of the police as its *raison d'être* and this is not just to do with policing in the present day: it also has a remit to investigate the policing of the Troubles, addressed by a special unit with 40 staff. Inquiries like that conducted in 2011 into the bombing of McGurk's Bar in 1971 have found the old RUC at grave fault.

Historical Enquiries Team: This special unit of the PSNI has a remit to investigate all unsolved murders of the Troubles (see page 68). As indicated earlier, more republicans than loyalists have been charged as a result of its efforts. But since one of its early investigations – undertaken at the request of the Police Ombudsman – was into collusion between police and the Mount Vernon UVF there remains a perception of bias in loyalist circles. The statistical record issued by the HET in February 2013 does not bear this out: it shows that of the 39 cases it has passed on to PSNI Crime Operations 26 were republican and only 13 loyalist.

Coroner reports: In 2012 the Attorney General for Northern Ireland, John Larkin QC, using the Coroners Act (Northern Ireland) 1959, ordered the Coroner to conduct inquests into 14 deaths from the early years of the Troubles. These include the deaths of 11 civilians killed by the Parachute Regiment in Ballymurphy in west Belfast in 1971 and the death of Gerald Slane, shot by the UDA in 1988, a case in which security-force collaboration is alleged. The Senior Coroner, John Leckey, suspended the inquests during a preliminary hearing, saying that the Attorney General had exceeded his powers and the inquests were in breach of national security. The matter went to the Advocate General's Office and the ruling supported the Attorney General. The suspension was then lifted.

Unionist leaders see these various investigations as a concerted way of putting the security forces in the dock and reinforcing a view of the past in which Catholics were always the victims. The core of the unionist grievance is that while individual killings may have been processed through the courts and IRA activists may have served prison sentences there has been no forum in which the cumulative effect of the IRA campaign can be measured and judged.

The republican perspective is quite different. The core grievance is that a revisionist history is allowing the conflict to be presented as, in essence, an ethnic quarrel between Catholics and Protestants. In the republican perspective the British presence was historically the prime mover and the British government has yet to be put in the dock for the secret war it fought during the Troubles and for its breaches of human rights. The Sinn Féin position is that these issues will only be addressed by an international truth commission, and the party pledges that if such a process is put in place republicans would present an honest account of their actions. This latter claim is treated with scepticism by unionists who point out that Martin McGuinness persists with the story that he left the IRA in 1974 and Gerry Adams denies he was ever a member. But the prospect of any international tribunal ever being established grows more and more unlikely with each passing year.

That does not mean that nationalists see the four processes described above as an acceptable substitute. While unionists saw the De Silva report as just another way to incriminate the security forces, nationalists were angered by the way in which Mr Cameron resiled from the government commitment to a full public inquiry. The Finucane family denounced Mr De Silva's final report as a 'sham'.

While these different approaches to the past remain in contention the prospect of finding agreement has been diminished by the disappearance of one option. Mr Paterson had been enthusiastic about the possibility of what he called 'the Salamanca approach'. This referred to the Historical Documentation Centre in Salamanca, in which documents relating to the Spanish Civil War are stored. The idea that had attracted him was that the past in Northern Ireland could be dealt with 'by the historians, not the lawyers'. This possibility has now been eliminated by the 'Boston tapes' controversy. An attempt by Boston College to set up an oral archive of the Troubles ran into trouble when it was revealed that interviews with the

deceased IRA man Brendan Hughes had implicated Mr Adams in the murder of the mother-of-ten Jean McConville in west Belfast in 1971. The Old Bailey bomber Dolours Price subsequently gave a newspaper interview which corroborated Mr Hughes' story: she said that Mr Adams had been her commanding officer in the IRA and had given the order for Ms McConville's execution. The two co-ordinators of the Boston project, authors Ed Moloney and Anthony McIntyre, fought legal battles throughout 2012 to prevent the release of the tapes but the decisive moment may have come in January 2013 with the death of Ms Price. With the two main witnesses dead it is not clear that the PSNI will sustain its legal action. The more important long-term consequence will be for the prospect of truthful documentation of the events of the Troubles, related by those who participated in them. With this option gone, in January 2013 the First Minister, Mr Robinson, invited the leaders of the main parties to join him in another round of talks about dealing with the past.

5. Decade of commemoration

The year 2012 marked the beginning of a decade of commemoration. Beginning with the 100th anniversary of the signing of the Ulster Covenant in 2012 there follows a long procession of significant anniversaries: the 100th anniversary of the start of the First World War in 2014 and then in 2016 the twin anniversaries of the Easter Rising and the Battle of Somme. These are just examples of the commemorations that run on until the 100th anniversary of the Government of Ireland Act in 2020 and the establishment of the first Northern Ireland government in 2022. Commemoration is divisive in Northern Ireland: as the literary critic and commentator Edna Longley puts it, 'we commemorate *our* dead, we don't commemorate *your* dead' (Longley, 2001). In anticipation of the potential for polarisation around the planned public events, the Community Relations Council and the Heritage Lottery Fund launched an initiative on 'remembering in public space'. A range of historical bodies and civil-society organisations signed up to principles designed to ensure that these calendar dates could be used to interrogate the history and dispel myths, rather than as occasions for simple ethnic affirmation.

The first large-scale event took place on 19 May. Balmoral Review Day was a commemoration of the event which took place on Easter Tuesday 1912, when 100,000 gathered at Balmoral to show their opposition to Home Rule. The 2012 commemoration created a degree of nervousness as it featured present-day UVF men dressed in the historical costumes of the original UVF, marching past the Catholic Short Strand area, but the day passed off peacefully. The mood had changed by the time it came to Ulster Day at the end of September. The event being commemorated, the original Ulster Day, was the occasion in 1912 when opposition to Home Rule reached its peak with the signing of a covenant at Belfast City Hall. There were in total 471,414 signatories and their pledge was to use 'all means which may be found necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland'. The message to the British government of the day was that unionist loyalty to British identity might necessitate the taking up of

arms to defeat the bill, and that adherence to British law was contingent upon those laws not threatening the position of Ulster Protestants.

One hundred years later, the commemoration event rekindled that defiance. The Parades Commission had placed restrictions on the march because the route would go past St Patrick's Church on Donegall Street where, earlier in the summer, loyalist bandsmen had caused offence by playing *The Famine Song* outside St Patrick's Cathedral. On the morning of the march an open letter signed by the DUP leader, Mr Robinson, and every elected unionist politician in Belfast, together with senior representatives of the loyal orders, was published in the regional press. The letter, which was addressed to the Secretary of State, condemned the 'monstrous determination' of the Parades Commission and warned of the serious consequences for the peace process, saying the decisions of the Parades Commission could 'spark a series of events that takes us back to a place which none of us wish to return to'. The interpretation put upon this turn of events by the loyalist marchers was that they had been given political and moral, if not legal, permission to breach the determination of the Parades Commission. In this way the unionist leaders re-enacted the spirit of the original event by suggesting that the commission's rulings, although they have the force of law, could be set aside if it was judged they were not in the greater interest of unionism. The decade of commemoration had begun with history repeating itself.

6. The state of the parties

The first Peace Monitoring Report suggested that the gravitational pull in Northern Ireland politics was towards the scenario of just one large Catholic party and one large Protestant party. One year on, the Unionist Forum became the vehicle for a pan-unionist unity and an electoral pact for a by-election in mid-Ulster expressed this ethnic political strategy. Experience shows that where either the nationalist or the unionist bloc puts aside party differences to galvanise the communal vote the main effect is to galvanise the vote on the other side of the divide. In the Westminster election of 2010, when the two unionist parties supported an agreed candidate in Fermanagh/South Tyrone, a large section of the SDLP vote swung in behind the Sinn Féin candidate, Michelle Gildernew, allowing her to take the seat by a margin of only four votes on a 69.3% turnout. Politics in Northern Ireland conforms to Newton's third law of motion – that for every action there is an equal and opposite reaction. The more that unionism circles the wagons, the more likely it becomes that nationalists will do the same. To date, the SDLP has proved more resilient than had been expected, but a pan-unionist alliance increases the pressure on nationalism's smaller party.

While this movement back into the communal blocs could be predicted, it was however by no means inevitable. Indeed, during the course of 2012 Mr Robinson had signalled very clearly that he was taking unionism in the opposite direction – in search of Catholic votes. In an interview with the *London Times* on 19 November he said that in the future the security of

the union would rely upon Catholic votes and that these were winnable. His political instinct was proved correct one month later when the Census results showed that while the percentage of the population from a Catholic background had risen to 45 per cent, only 25 per cent self-identified as Irish. Even more surprising were the results of a BBC Spotlight / Ipsos Mori poll in January 2013. Nearly a quarter of those who identified themselves as Sinn Féin voters (23 per cent) told the pollsters they would back the status quo in a border poll and more than half of SDLP supporters (56 per cent) said they would opt to stay in the UK if a poll was held tomorrow.

The acceptance of the present constitutional position is of course very different from voting for the DUP but Mr Robinson's strategy may have had more to it than the ostensible purpose of attracting Catholic votes. Just as the British Conservative Party had to shed its 'nasty party' image by adopting measures it had opposed (like supporting the aid budget), the DUP ambition of recreating big tent unionism could only succeed if it could secure the votes of those unionists who in the past found Paisleyite anti-Catholicism distasteful. Mr. Robinson addressed this issue directly at the DUP conference on 24 November when he said: 'As the leader of a party that seeks to represent the whole community I'm not prepared to write off over 40 per cent of our population as being out of reach. And I know that building this new constituency will require as much of an adjustment from us as it will require a leap of faith from those whose votes we seek.' The task, he told delegates was 'not to defeat, but to persuade'. This shift to the centre had the potential to win sufficient sections of the unionist middle class to the newly moderate DUP to allow it to reproduce the hegemony once enjoyed by the old Unionist Party before the rise of Ian Paisley.

Within days of the speech, however, the vote on the flag issue at Belfast City Council tripped the switch that reversed the direction of unionist politics. Unionist unity was accelerated but not according to the vision of civic unionism presented in Mr Robinson's speech; rather, it was ethnic unionism that was given expression in the Unionist Forum and the DUP-UUP electoral pact in mid-Ulster.

Nationalism meanwhile took encouragement from the Census data. On 2 January 2013 the Sinn Féin president, Mr Adams, used his new-year address to call for a border poll. The argument was set out on the party website:

- The northern state was gerrymandered to allow for a permanent unionist two thirds majority.
- But the Census figures published in December reveal that only 40% of citizens there stated that they had a British only identity.

- A quarter (25%) stated that they had an Irish only identity and just over a fifth (21%) had a Northern Irish only identity.
- That's 46% of citizens consciously opting for some form of Irish only identity.
- The political and demographic landscape in the north is changing

While, as the last bullet point says, the political landscape may be changing, the evidence of the Census and of the Spotlight / Ipsos Mori poll does not suggest that it has changed sufficiently to allow for a majority vote – or anything like it – for a united Ireland within Northern Ireland (the willingness of the southern electorate to endorse it is assumed in the SF analysis). Mr Adams' call was however for a referendum within the span of the next Assembly and Oireachtas – quite possibly in 2016, the centenary of the Rising. And he might hope that this long lead-in time would allow momentum to build up, just as the SNP hopes the mood on the Scottish independence referendum will pass from negative to positive during campaign. For Sinn Féin the immediate task is to get a united Ireland back on the table as a 'thinkable' option.

The fact that the campaign was announced in the middle of the flags protest, when unionists were on the streets expressing their insecurity, did not create the sense that republicanism was attentive to this section of the electorate. In fact it served immediately to negate Sinn Féin's other campaign, launched by the party chair, Declan Kearney, in February 2012 – a meaningful discussion with unionists about reconciliation. Unionism, by definition, is going to find it difficult to be reconciled with nationalism in this form. It had already been unsettled by Martin McGuinness' candidature in the 2011 Irish Presidential election, as this suggested that Sinn Féin was not wedded to making Northern Ireland work but to politics on the island of Ireland. This ambiguity has haunted unionist acceptance of the peace agreement from the outset. For pro-agreement unionists the compromises of 1998 can be accepted if they bring about peace and security, but they must be seen as a terminus. For republicans the arrangements are a stage along the way to a united Ireland.

The events of the year came dangerously close to unstitching the web of creative ambiguity that holds unionists and nationalists together. The polarisation that followed on from the marching season, the Census results and the flags protest could very clearly be seen in the results of the Spotlight/Ipsos Mori poll. They showed that even though Sinn Féin and the DUP practise a form of détente in government, the percentage of Protestants who would vote for the former is zero. The percentage of Catholics who would vote for the UUP is zero. The proportion of Catholics who would for the DUP is 1 per cent, the same as the percentage of Protestants who would vote for the SDLP. At the start of 2013, the re-sectarianisation of politics in Northern Ireland was almost complete.

Chart 145: The 2010 NI Life and Times Survey

PREFERENCES FOR THE LONG-TERM FUTURE OF NORTHERN IRELAND (NILT SURVEY, 2010)			
%	Protestant	Catholic	None/ None stated
To remain part of the UK with direct rule	6	21	14
To remain part of the UK with devolved government	46	69	47
To reunify with the rest of Ireland	4	33	17
Independent state	4	1	4
Other answer	4	1	7
Don't know	8	3	10

Source: The Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey 2010 (ARK, 2011)

Chart 146: The Spotlight/IPSOS/MORI Poll, 2013

IF THERE WAS A REFERENDUM TOMORROW WOULD YOU VOTE FOR? (SPOTLIGHT /IPSOS MORI POLL, 2013)					
%	Total	Nationalists		Unionists	
		Social class ABC1	C2DE	Social class ABC1	C2DE
NI to remain as part of UK	65	46	33	93	95
United Ireland	17	35	43	3	1
Would not vote	12	12	18	2	3
Don't know	5	7	6	2	1

Source: Spotlight / Ipsos Mori, January 2013

These two tables are not directly comparable, as the range of questions was slightly different, as was the wording. The NILT survey asked about preferences for the long-term future, while the Spotlight poll asked how respondents would vote if the referendum were held tomorrow. The methodology however was the same as both used face-to-face interviews and they had a similar sample size: 1,046 in the Spotlight survey and 1,205 in the 2010 NILT (there was no NILT survey in 2011). There is a striking consistency in the two surveys: both put support for a united Ireland at 17% while UK solutions (with or without devolution) receive 65% support in the Spotlight poll and 61% in the NILT survey.