



Post-Brexit Governance NI

Post-Brexit Clinic

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Prof. David Phinnemore

09 November 2023

*Governance for 'a place
between': The multilevel
dynamics of implementing
the Protocol on
Ireland/Northern Ireland*

[https://www.qub.ac.uk/sites/
post-brexit-governance-ni/](https://www.qub.ac.uk/sites/post-brexit-governance-ni/)

[@PostBrexitGovNI](#)

The Protocol with the Windsor Framework



- Re-set in UK-EU relations... e.g. Horizon
- **UK Government: no renegotiation... focus on implementation**
- EU-UK Joint Committee, EU-UK Specialised Committee on implementation of the Windsor Framework meeting
- **UK and EU adopt decisions implementing Windsor Framework**
- ‘Green Lane’ preparations undertaken:
- **But how green is the ‘Green Lane’?**
- First phase of ‘Green Lane’ goes ‘live’ on 1 October 2023... and operating ‘smoothly’ (UK Government)
- ...
- **But... no return of devolved government in Northern Ireland**

Post-Brexit Governance NI

Testing the Temperature IX

LucidTalk/QUB poll, 20-23 October 2023

Responses: 2751; Weighted Sample: 1104.

Margin of error +/- 2.6% at 95% confidence

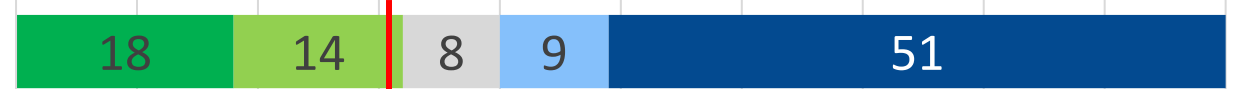
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Opinion of the Protocol/Windsor Framework

Brexit is on balance a good thing for the UK



Particular arrangements are necessary



The Protocol with the Windsor Framework is on balance a good thing for NI



With the Windsor Framework, the Protocol provides appropriate means for managing the effects of...



Reliable information on the Protocol & Windsor Framework is available



I have a good understanding of the Protocol




June '23 results

0% 10% 20% 30% 40% 50% 60% 70% 80% 90% 100%


■ Strongly Agree
 ■ Agree
 ■ Neutral/DK
 ■ Disagree
 ■ Strongly Disagree

Testing the Temperature IX - What do NI Voters Think about the Protocol/Windsor Framework, 20-23 October 2023. Weighted Sample: 1,104

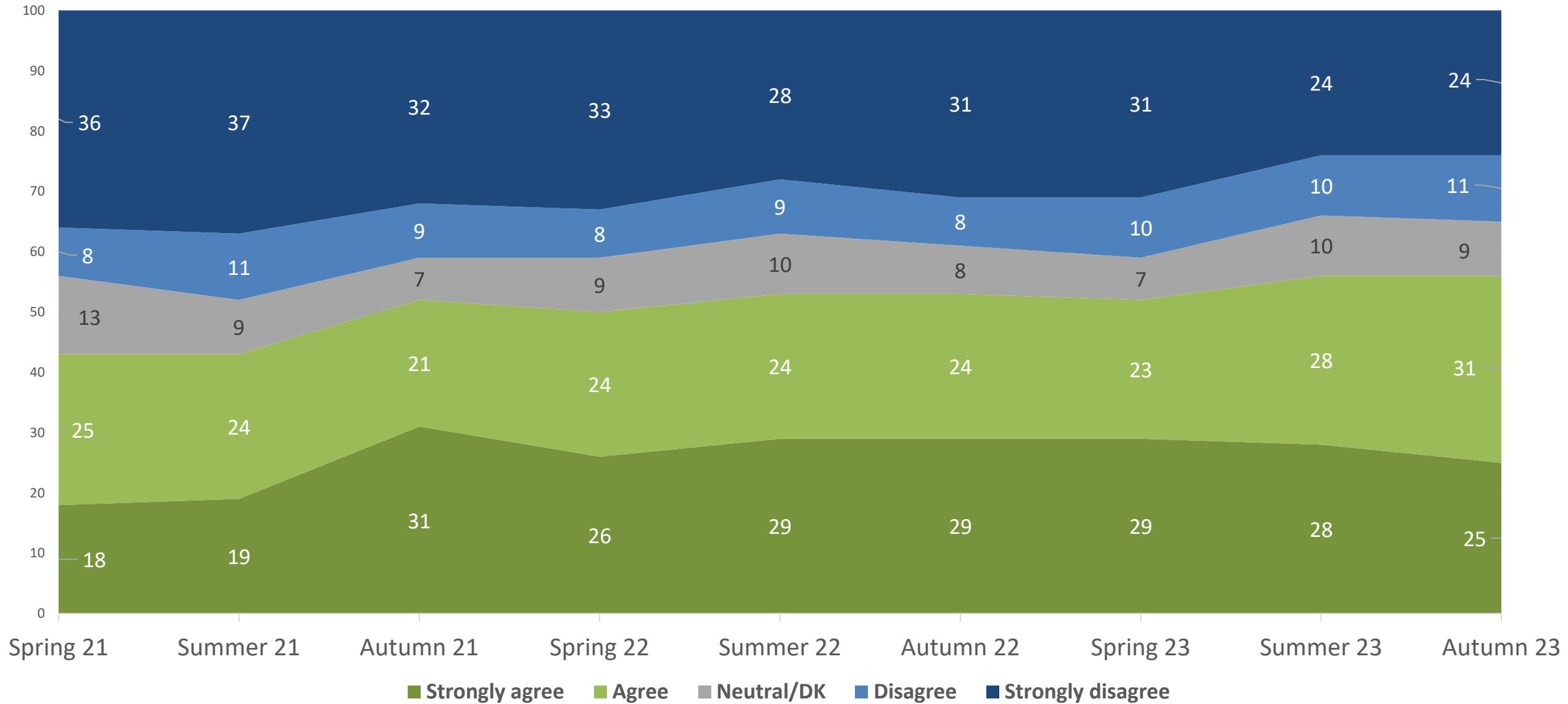
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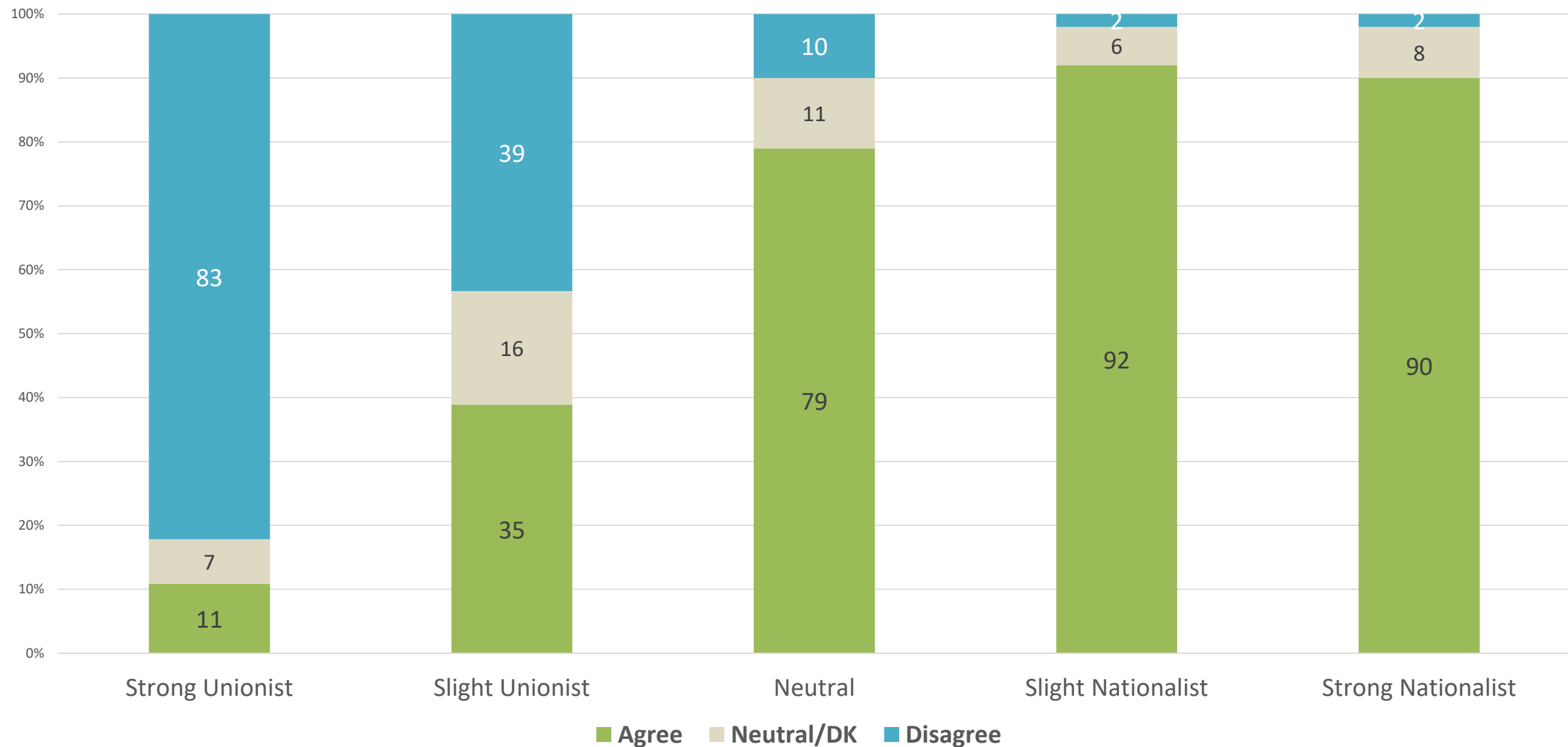
‘The Protocol (with the Windsor Framework) is on balance a good thing for Northern Ireland’



'The Protocol is on balance a good thing for Northern Ireland' (March 2021-Oct 2023)



'The Protocol is on balance a good thing for Northern Ireland' (affiliation)





Perceived impact of the Protocol



Perceived Impact of the Protocol/Windsor Framework

Ensuring no diminution of individual rights



Protecting the 1998 B/GFA



North/South cooperation



NI place in the UK internal market



NI constitutional place in the UK



Economy of NI



Political stability in NI



British-Irish relations



UK-EU relations



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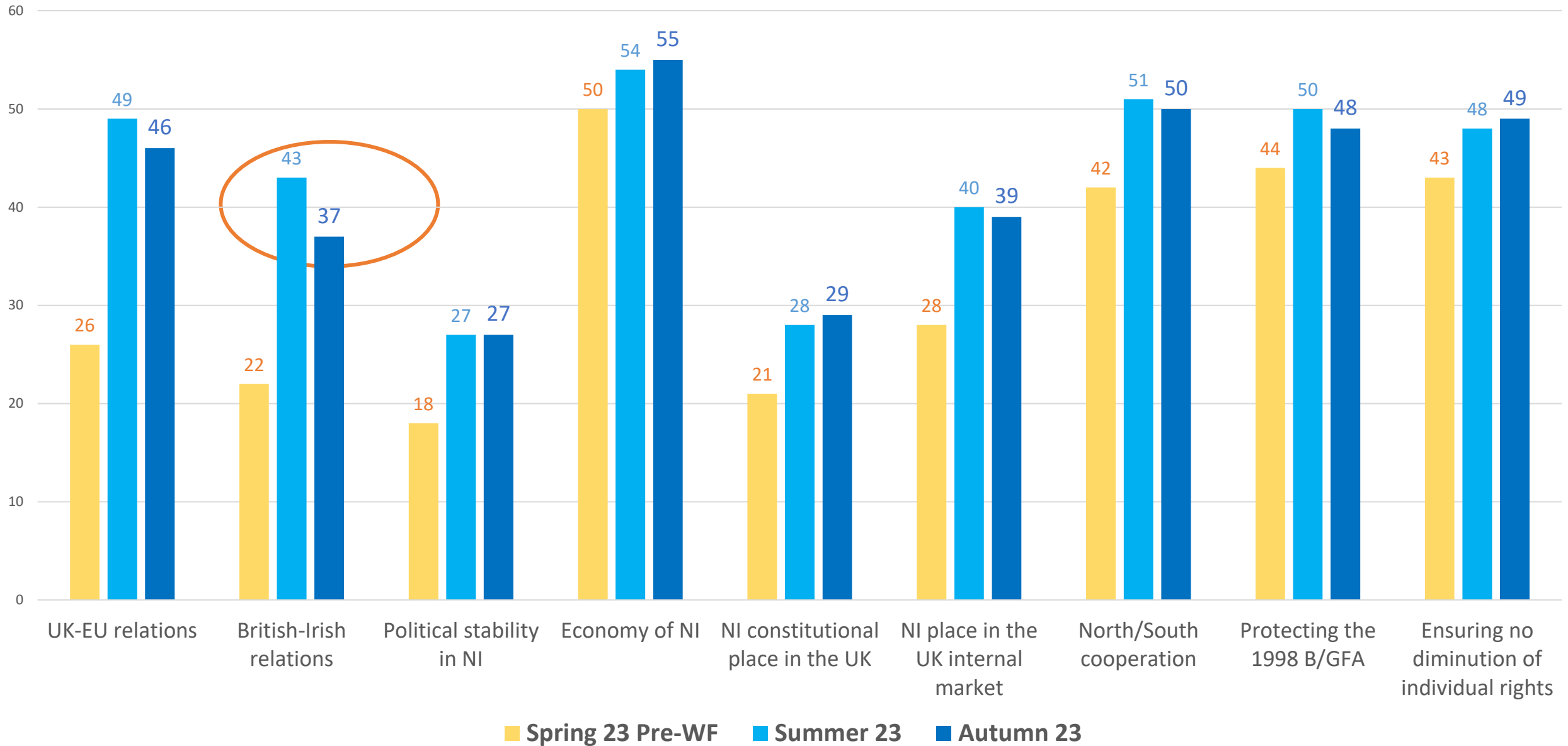
Strongly Positive Positive Neutral/DK Negative Strongly Negative

June '23 results

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(<https://www.qub.ac.uk/sites/post-brexit-governance-ni/ProjectPublications/OpinionPolling/>)

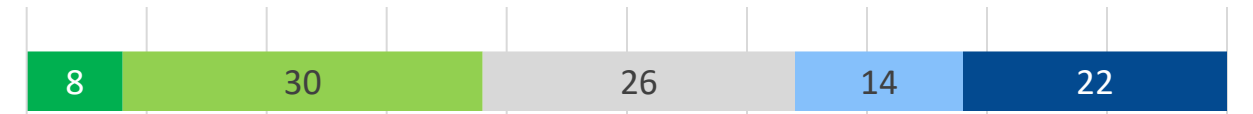
Positive Impact of the Protocol/Windsor Framework (pre- v post-WF)



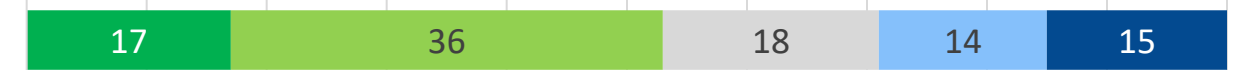
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Views on the Protocol/Windsor Framework

Stormont Brake provides MLAs with welcome opportunity to exercise democratic control over changes/updates to EU law applicable in NI



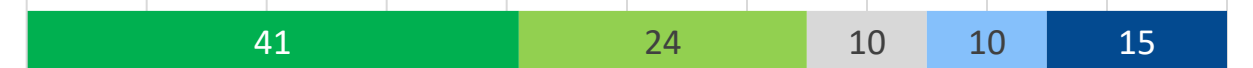
UK & EU engagement with stakeholders in NI, as now envisaged, should mean fewer difficulties in implementation of WF



WF is best available compromise for addressing concerns of NI people



Protocol provides NI with unique economic opportunities which could benefit NI



Now we have the WF, the Assembly & Executive should be restored & fully-functioning



Implementation of the WF will lead to maintenance of 'necessary conditions for North-South cooperation'



UK Govt is delivering on its Protocol/WF obligation to ensure no diminution of rights under the 1998 Agmt

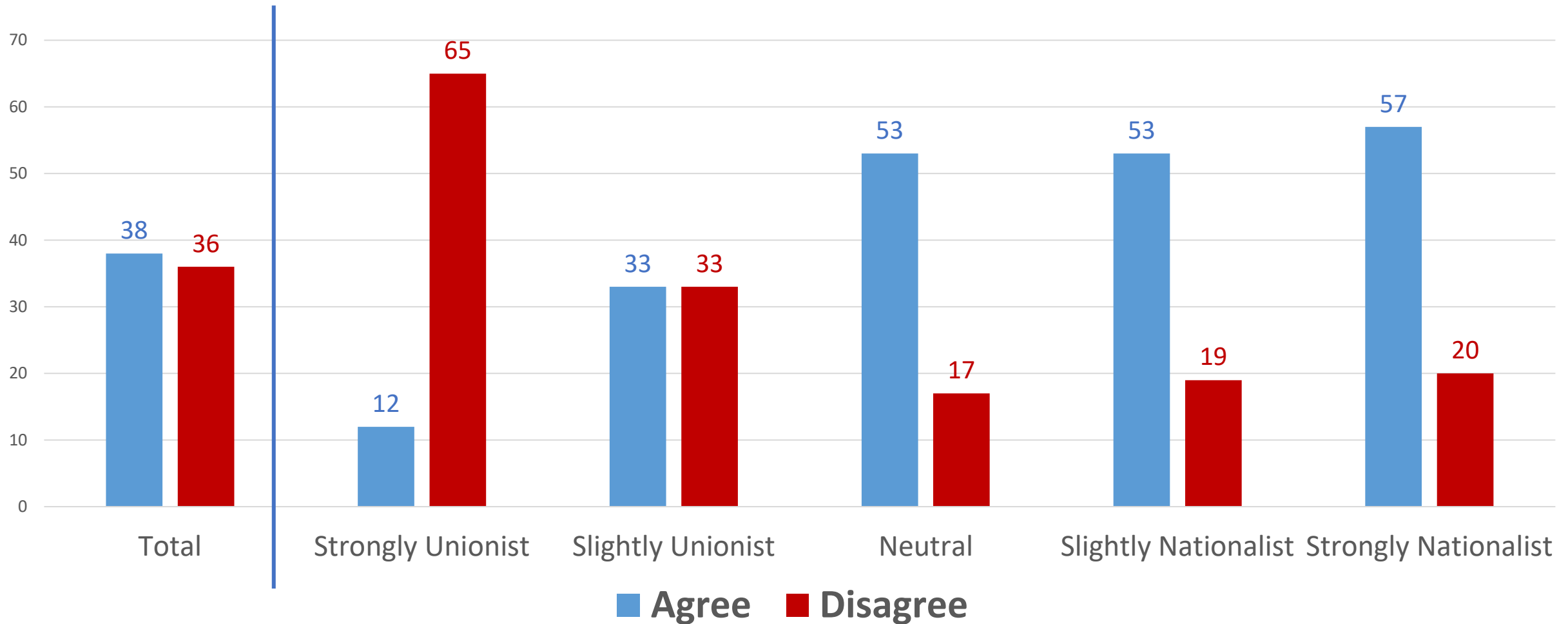


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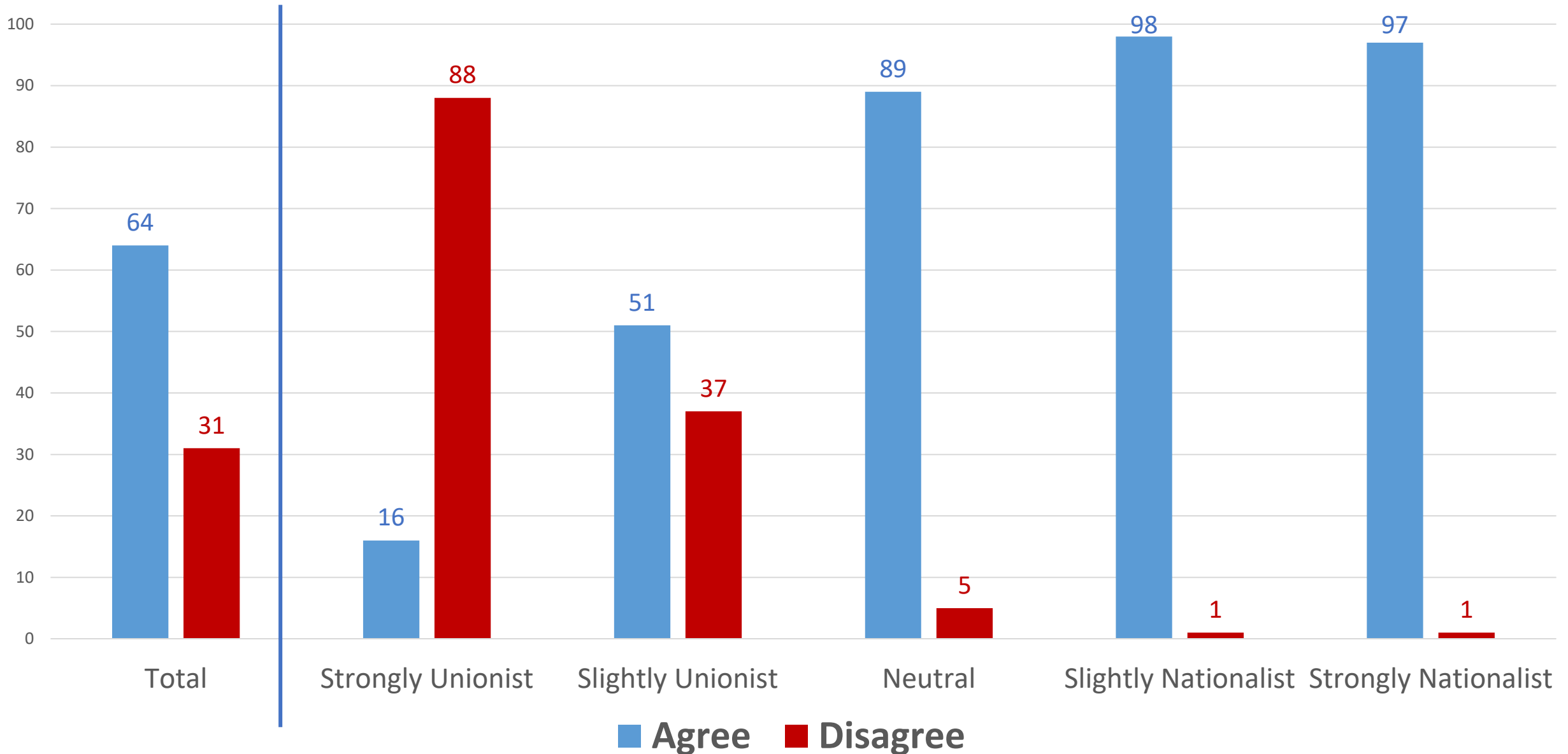
■ Strongly Agree
 ■ Agree
 ■ Neutral/DK
 ■ Disagree
 ■ Strongly Disagree

Stormont Brake

The Stormont Brake provides MLAs with a welcome opportunity to exercise democratic control over changes or updates to EU law applicable in Northern Ireland



Now we have the WF, the NIE/NIA should be fully-functioning



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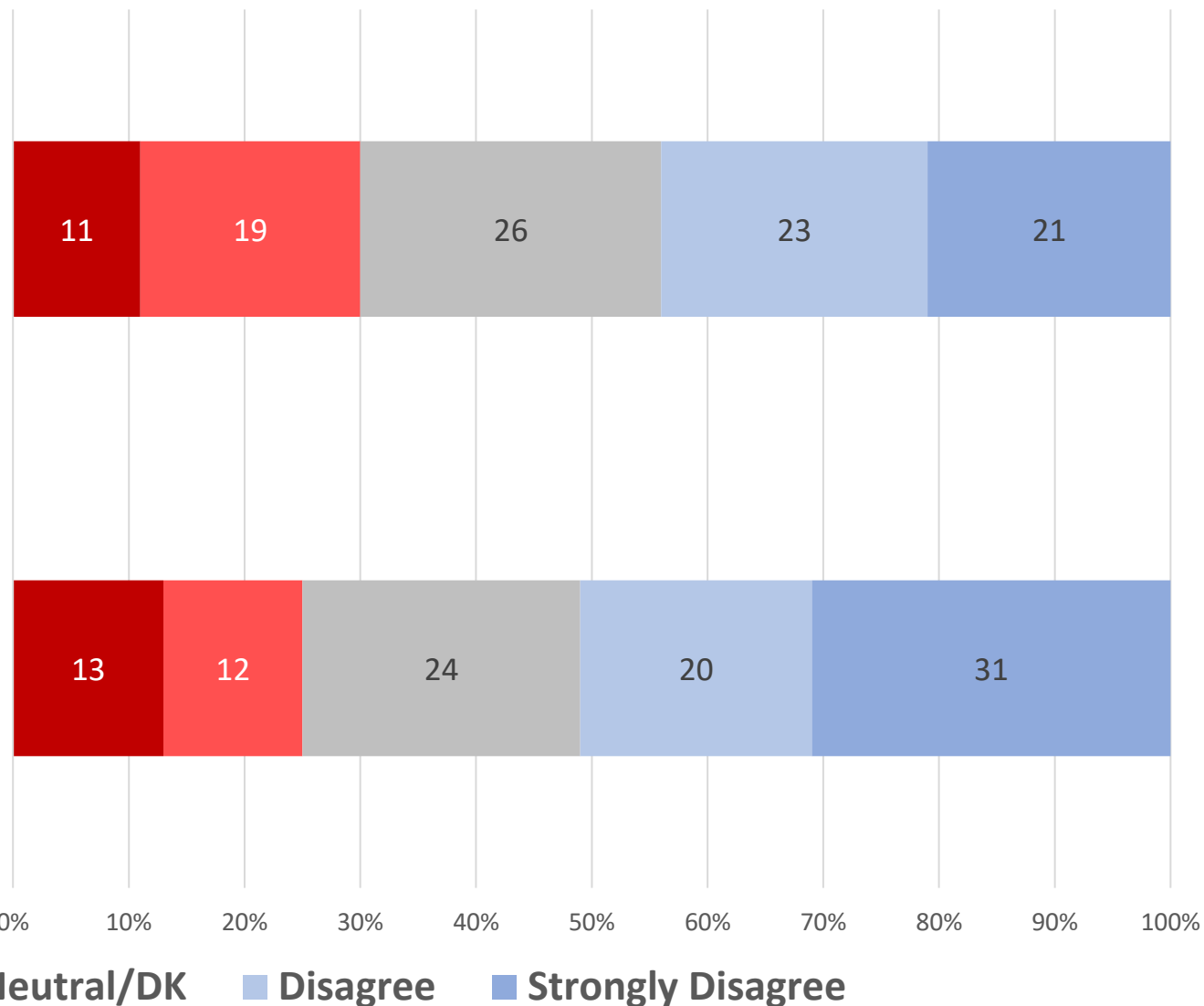
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In the shops

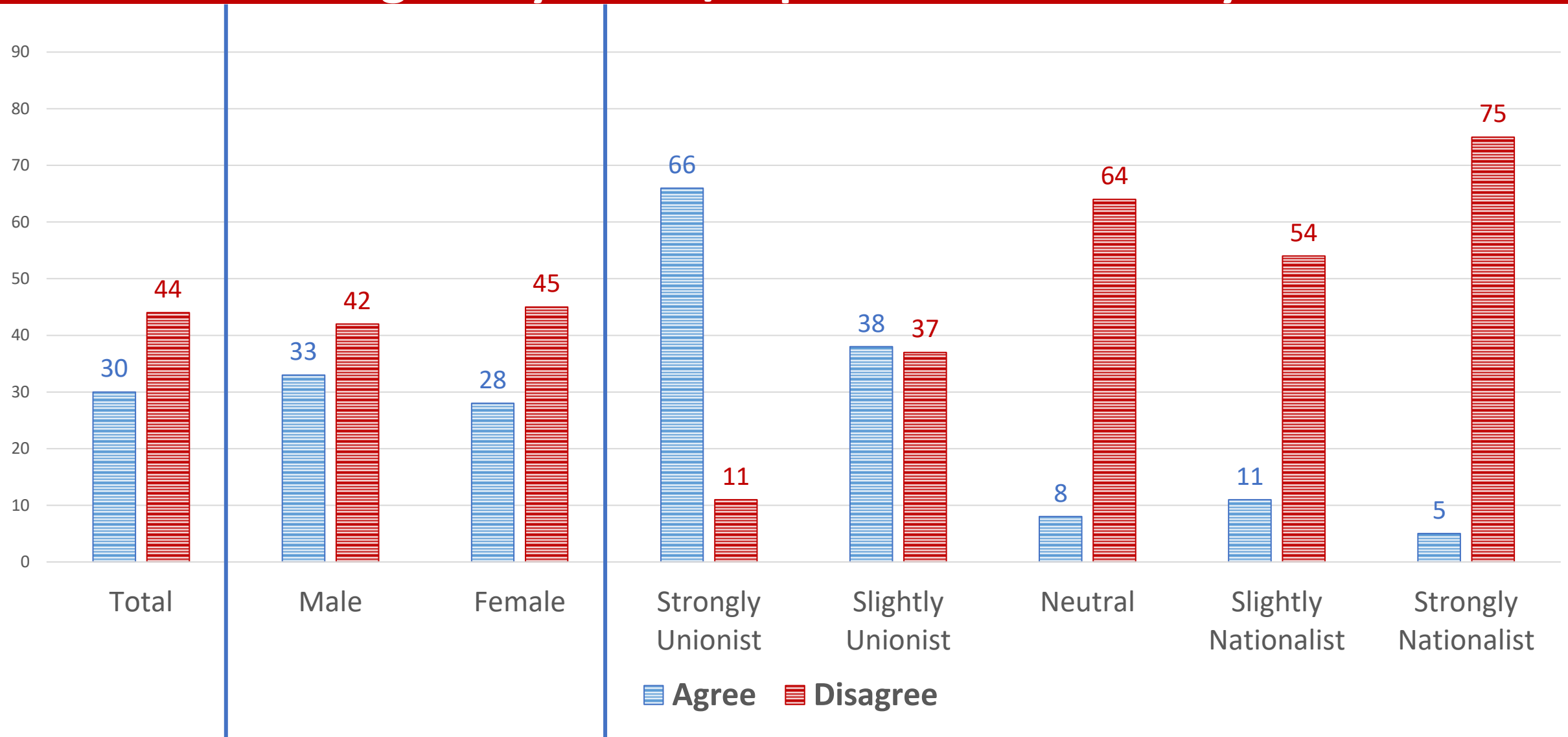


Views on the impact of the Windsor Framework in the shops

GB-produced meat/dairy products I usually buy are no longer available in the grocery stores/supermarkets I usually use



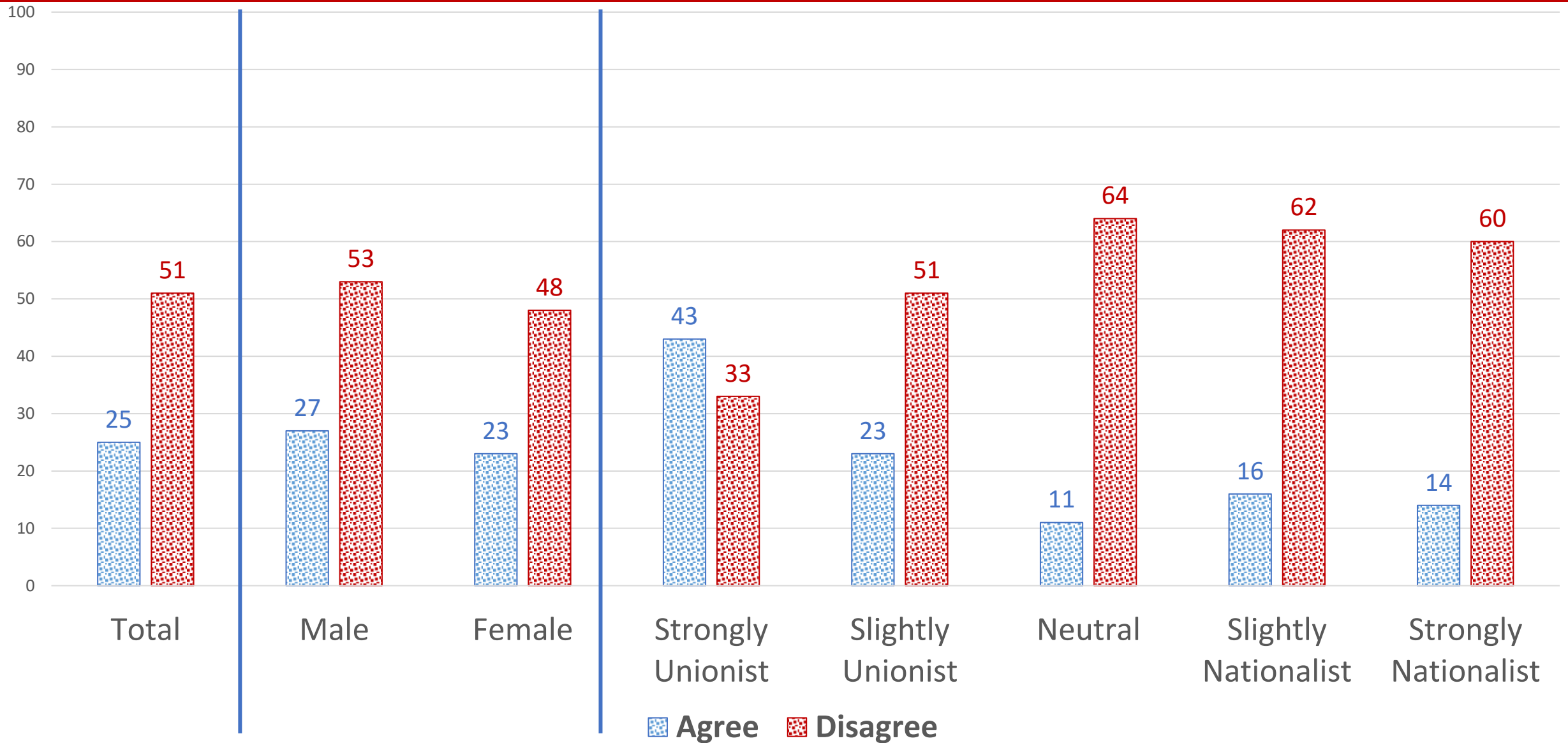
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'It bothers me to see 'Not for EU' labelling on certain products under the WF'



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Views on the bigger picture



Views on the bigger picture

Brexit has led to a centralisation of power in Westminster at the expense of devolution



Future UK governments should rule out the option of the UK rejoining the EU



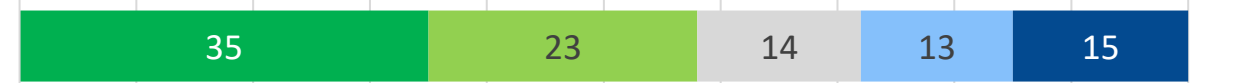
Brexit is delivering the benefits envisaged by the 'Leave' campaign in the 2016 referendum



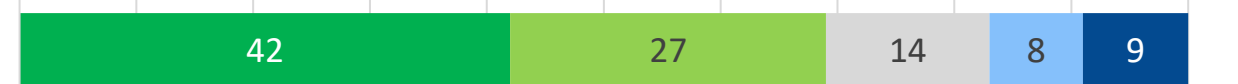
Knowing what I know now about Brexit I would have voted differently in the 2016 referendum



Brexit makes a united Ireland more likely

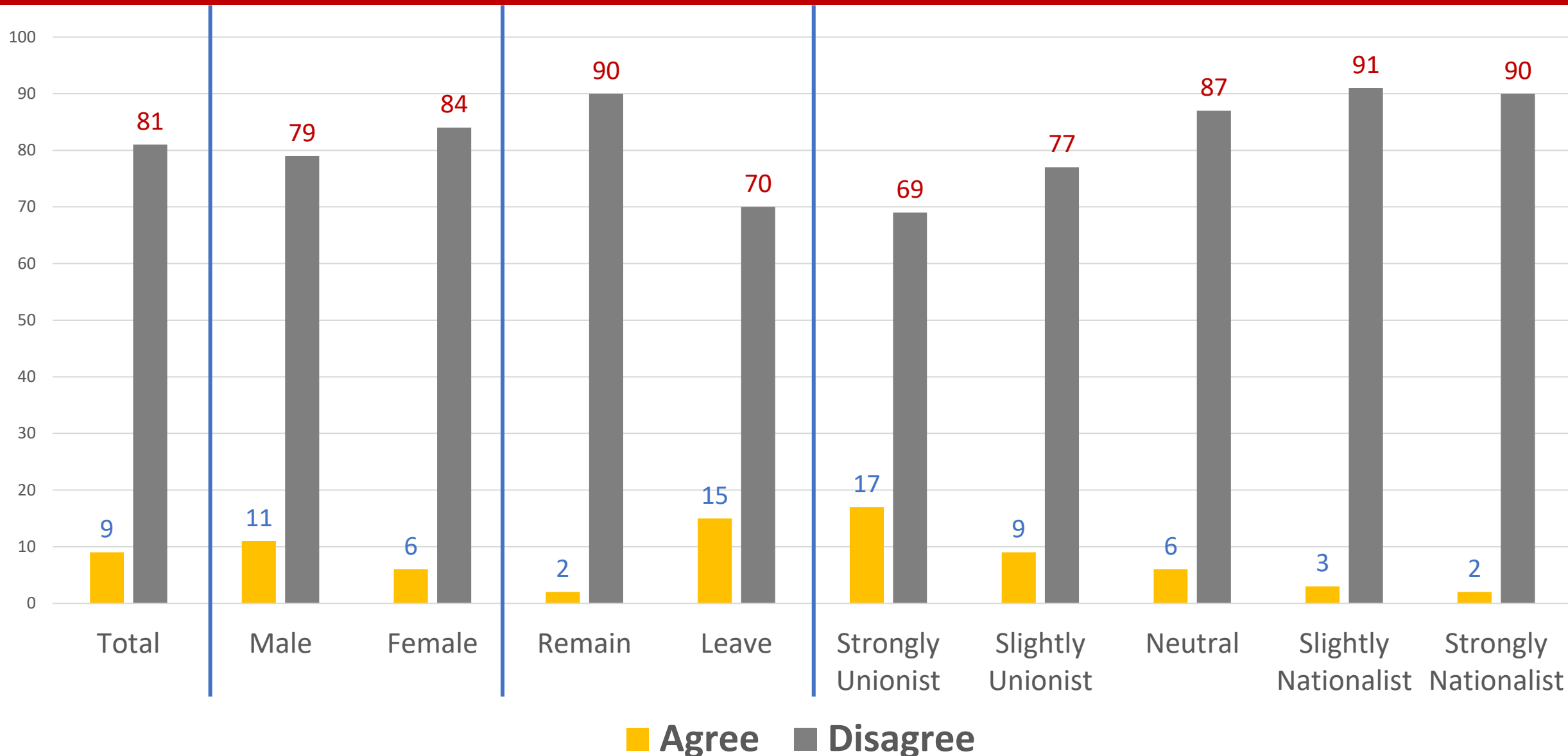


The UK and EU should pursue closer relations under the TCA



■ Strongly Agree
 ■ Agree
 ■ Neutral/DK
 ■ Disagree
 ■ Strongly Disagree

Brexit is delivering the benefits envisaged by the 'Leave' campaign in the 2016 referendum

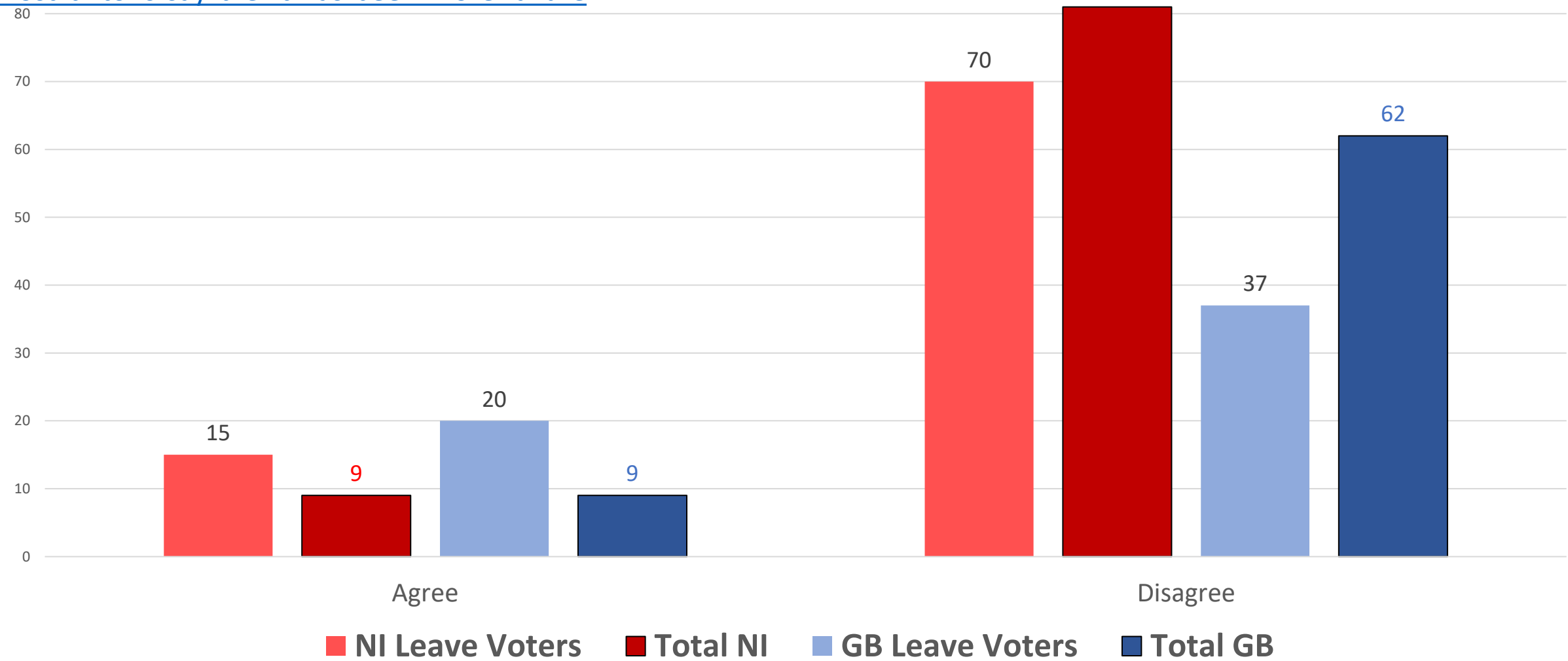


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NI: Brexit is delivering the benefits envisaged by the 'Leave' campaign in the 2016 referendum/ GB: And so far, do you think that Brexit has been more of a success or more of a failure?*

YouGov May 2023: <https://yougov.co.uk/politics/articles/45733-most-britons-say-brexit-has-been-more-failure>

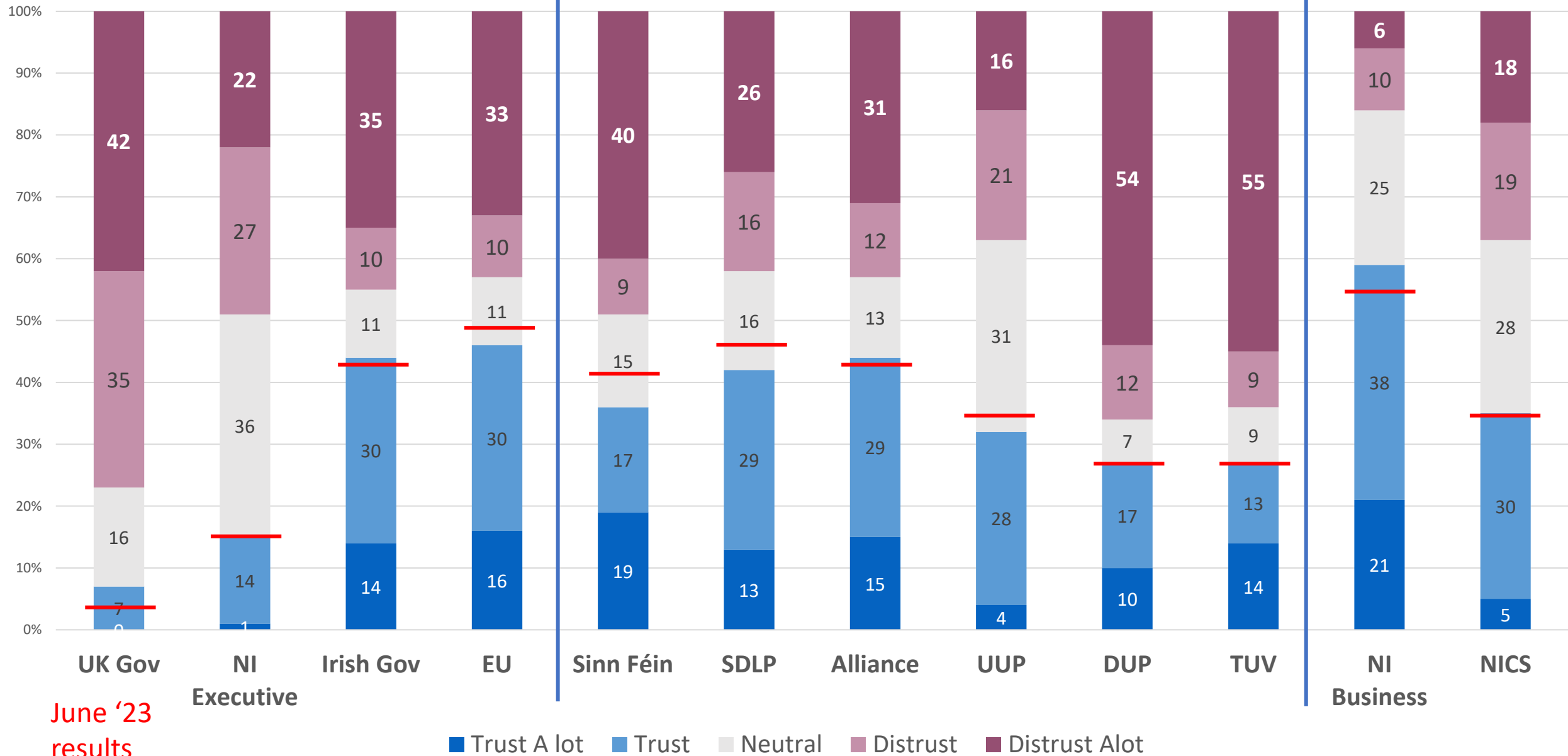




Trust in Managing the Interests of Northern Ireland



Trust in Managing NI Interests in Relation to the Protocol/Windsor Framework (%)



June '23 results

Trust A lot Trust Neutral Distrust Distrust A lot

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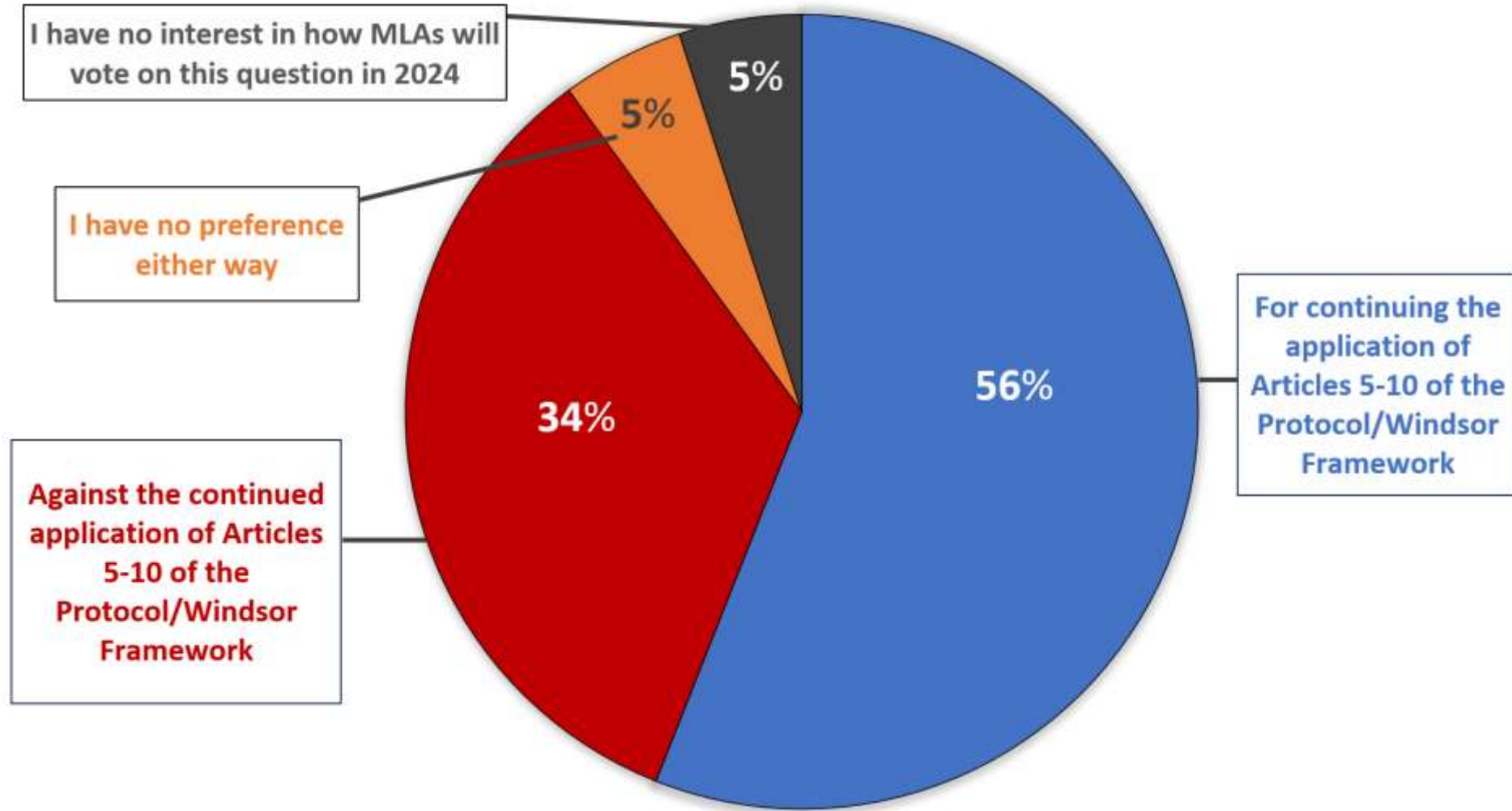


The Protocol and the MLA vote on 'Democratic Consent'



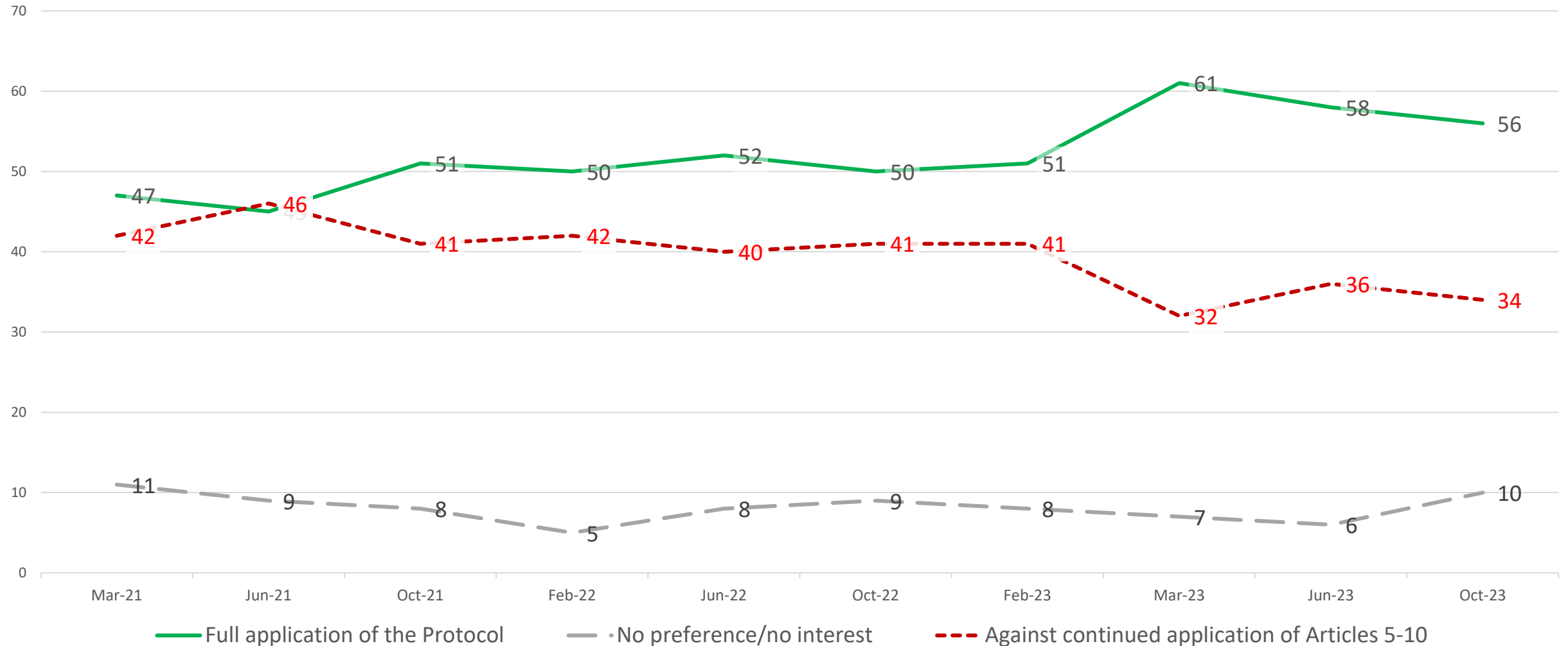
Democratic Consent in 2024

Based on what you currently know, and are experiencing now, how would you like the MLAs for whom you vote[d] in the 2022 NI Assembly election to vote in 2024 on the Protocol? (%)



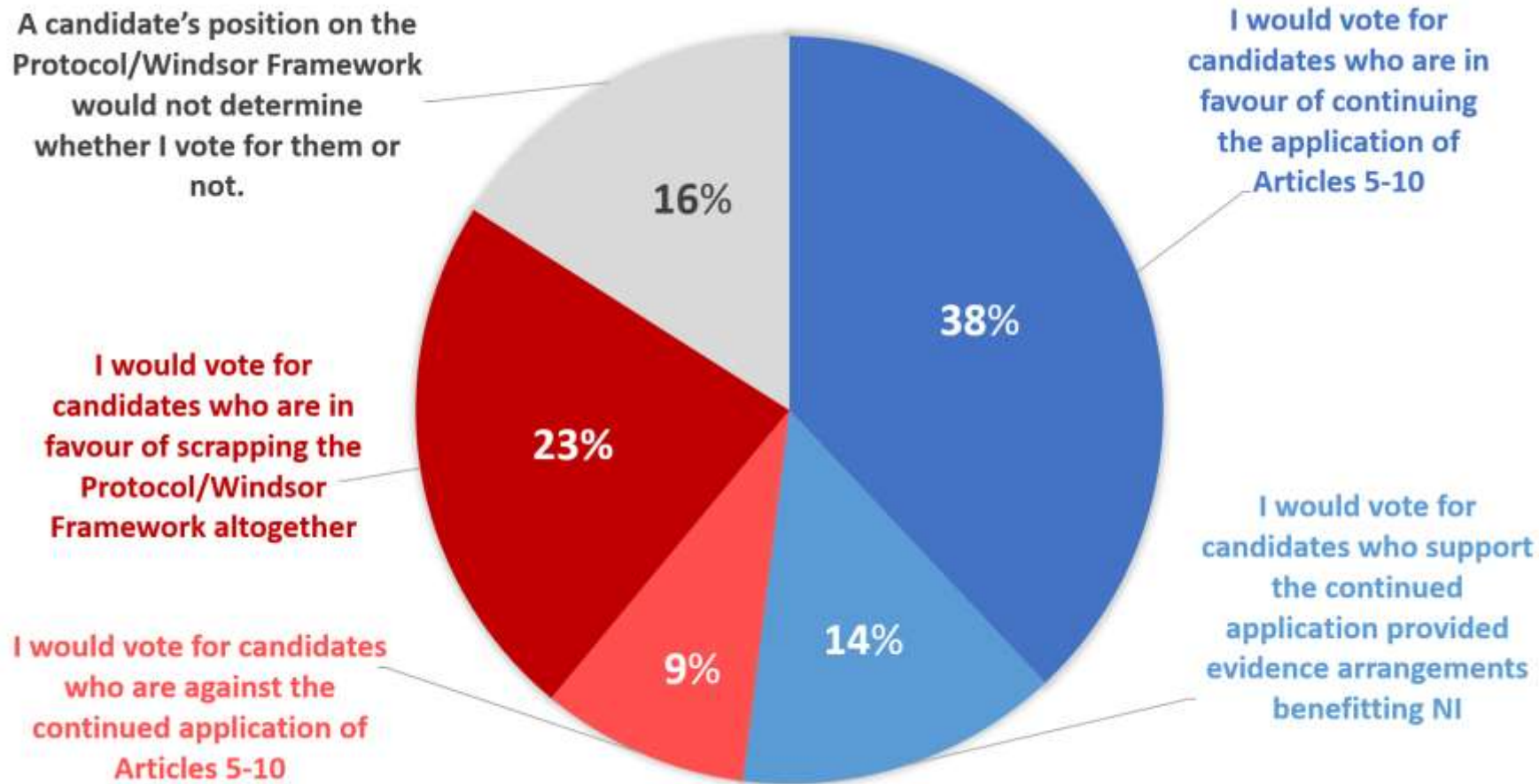
Democratic Consent in 2024

Based on what you currently know, and are experiencing now, how would you like the MLAs for whom you vote[d] in the 2022 NI Assembly election to vote in 2024 on the Protocol? (%)



Democratic Consent in 2024... and an NI Assembly Election

If an election to the NI Assembly were held in the next twelve months, how important do you think a candidate's position on the Protocol would be for your vote? [%]



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Qualitative Comments



'Any additional comments on the survey or the topics covered in it?'

378 comments on topic of the poll from the 2751 total respondents (14%)

unweighted data – analysed according to prevalence of dominant theme (%)

Theme	2023			2022			2021		
	Oct	Jun	Feb	Oct	Jun	Feb	Oct	Jun	Mar
View Brexit as folly / mess / the problem	22	16	7	6	5	4	9	9	15
Negative view of the Protocol/Framework	18	30	30	26	25	25	29	26	29
Positive view of the Protocol/Framework	10	10	14	20	20	29	32	19	16
Critical of the DUP	9	11	12	13	12	18	4	9	10
Support for / Expectation of 'United Ireland'	8	5	3	3	1	3	2	4	6
Critical of lack of NI Executive	8	6	14	13	10	-	-	-	-
Brexit in Name Only for NI	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Critical of the UK government	3	3	2	2	5	1	5	6	3
Concerned about misinformation	3	3	4	5	8	5	7	10	5
Reform NI devolution	2	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	-

'Any additional comments on the survey or the topics covered in it?'

EG: Negative View of Protocol/Framework

Negative in Principle
(14%)

"The Windsor Framework is a sell-out of Northern Ireland and must be scrapped before the Executive is restored. On balance, had I known our government would betray us, I may have voted remain in the referendum as the lesser of two evils."

"Get rid of the whole Protocol, it's undemocratic."

"Place the EU border where it should be – between the UK and the EU, not the UK and the UK."

Negative in Effect
(5%)

"The Framework is making it hard for every day hard working individuals and businesses to go about their business."

"Windsor Framework will mean higher costs and less choice for consumers. It may be good for business but will not [benefit] end users with postage / product selection and trade deals in future meaning Northern Ireland will lose out."

EG: Positive View of Protocol/Framework

Positive as 'Least-Worst' (5%)

"Brexit was a terrible decision to be thrust on NI. Whilst the WF is not perfect, it is required, but political leaders, especially those who pushed Brexit on us, should be held to account and made to find ways to benefit from the Framework."

"Brexit was a DISASTER. The Windsor Framework is a necessary result of this disastrous outcome."

Positive as Beneficial or Potentially Beneficial (6%)

"The Protocol is essential to the economic success of NI and needs to be maintained. People here did not vote for Brexit and do not accept it, and that needs to be recognised. Ironically, acceptance of the NIP is the best opportunity [for] maintaining NI as part of the UK. Certain politicians though are too blinded to that to see past their own antiquated policies."

"The Protocol is a fantastic opportunity for NI."

"I voted to remain in the EU. NI could benefit economically by using the Framework to its favour, the benefits need to be promoted and explored by NI business with investment from Invest NI."

'Any additional comments on the survey or the topics covered in it?'

EG: Views on Brexit

Brexit as mess / folly / the problem (22%)

"Brexit has been a disaster for the UK as a whole and caused political turmoil here. Those who supported and championed Brexit in NI showed such bad judgement and total lack of strategic planning."

"Brexit is, was, and always will be one of the greatest self-inflicted damages ever committed by the UK."

"The problem was never the Windsor Framework or the Protocol or the Backstop. The problem was always Brexit. It has stirred up unnecessary tension in our community."

Brexit in Name Only, especially for NI (5%)

"Brexit has not been delivered. It is Brexit in name only. There are too many politicians with self-interests and no desire to make Brexit work by ditching ALL EU red tape regulations."

"Northern Ireland didn't get Brexit. Act of Union was changed without consent and needs to be restored or Stormont may never return."

"Brexit has not been "done"."

EG: Views on Democratic Unionist Party

Critical of DUP (9%)

"The Protocol/Windsor Framework is a long way down our list of problems. The DUP should get back in Stormont or some alternative should be carried out before the whole place falls apart."

"The Northern Ireland Executive should get back to work already. This is ridiculous. The Windsor Framework is in place and it's going to work great. It is not going to be removed or altered so the Executive should be up and running by now. The DUP should be ashamed of themselves for letting their people suffer."

Support for DUP (2%)

"Devolution should not be restored until the DUP's seven tests are met."

"DUP tests have not been met yet. No Unionist party should be entering devolved government and implementing the Protocol and Framework as this was the promise to their electorate."

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