



Post-Brexit Governance NI

# Post-Brexit Clinic

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Prof. David Phinnemore

22 February 2024

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

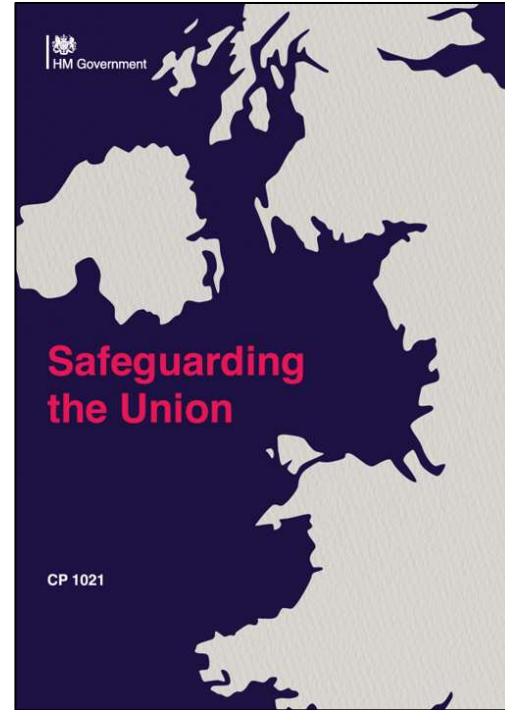
[https://www.qub.ac.uk/sites/  
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# From Windsor Framework to Safeguarding the Union... and Stormont Restored



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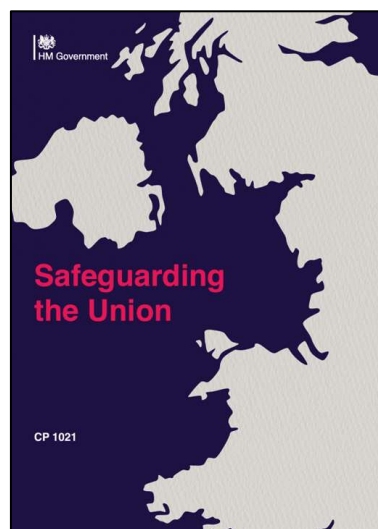


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<https://www.northernireland.gov.uk/topics/your-executive>  
<https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/northern-ireland-assembly-new-decade-new-approach/>

# Post-Brexit Clinic – 22 February 2024



## Post-Brexit Governance NI – Explainer No. 13



### 'Safeguarding the Union' – What is new in the DUP deal and what does it mean for the Windsor Framework?

Katy Hayward and David Phinnemore

The UK Government has published the 'Safeguarding the Union' Command Paper to present a package of measures to secure the DUP's return to power-sharing in Northern Ireland. The Command Paper works within the scope of what was in the UK Government's gift to give, in accordance with UK-EU treaty obligations. But this is not to say it does not contain anything of substance. This Explainer considers what is new in this deal and the ways in which it goes beyond the Windsor Framework.



## Post-Brexit Governance NI

# Testing the Temperature X

LucidTalk/QUB poll, 2-5 February 2024

Responses: 2858; Weighted Sample: 1202

Margin of error +/- 2.3% at 95% confidence



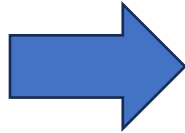
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# Safeguarding the Union



- **New Bodies and Structures**

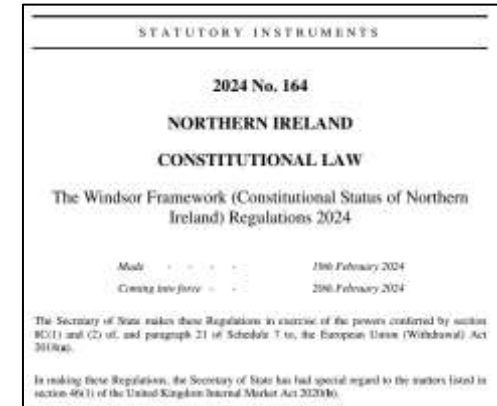
- An Independent Monitoring Panel
- A UK East-West Council
- Intertrade UK
- A Horticulture Working Group
- A Veterinary Medicines Working Group

- **Northern Ireland's place in the UK Internal Market**

- **Changes relating to the NI Assembly**

- **Still to come**

- **Safeguarding the Union?**



# Safeguarding the Union and Trade: Reflecting the Status Quo?

HM Government

## Windsor Framework

- Prohibit export procedures on goods moving from NI to GB
- Reduce customs paperwork (e.g., customs declaration limited to commercial data)
- Third country goods moved from GB into NI added to Green Lane

## Domestic reforms

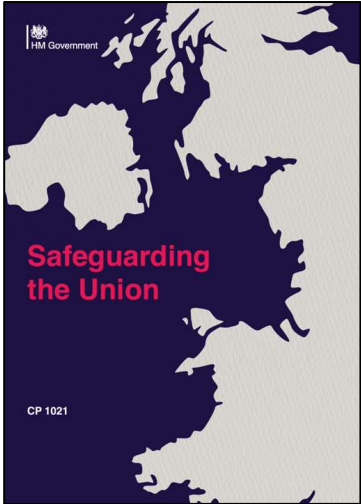
- Commitment to apply full checks on RoI goods moving to GB
- Commitment to apply the MAPs to NI goods in all scenarios

## Novelties?

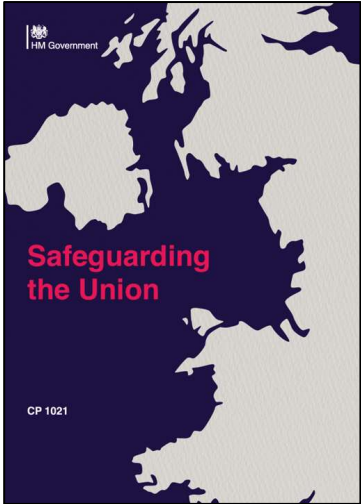
- IM Guarantee
- UK TRQs

Safeguard  
the Union

CP 1021



- Commitment that more than 80% of all freight movements between GB to NI will be treated as not at risk of moving towards the EU
- Backed by independent scrutiny:
  - Independent Monitoring Panel
  - Assess fluctuations in NI-GB Trade over 6-month period
  - Assessment finds decline is “to the detriment” of the UK IM, the government must respond swiftly
- Target could create problematic incentives



- Amendment of JC Decision No 1/2023 (“at-risk” regime)
- Old regime made it impossible for NI businesses to benefit from UK TRQs (including TRQs in UK FTAs)
- New regime allows goods covered by TRQs to be considered not at risk:
  - EU-UK approved list of TRQs covered by regime
  - Operators must be registered with TTS
  - Operator needs to apply for access to UK TRQ

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# After the DUP 'deal'



1.	dup	187 times	Relevance 1
2.	brexit	84 times	Relevance 0.5
3.	deal	70 times	Relevance 0.43
4.	party	59 times	Relevance 0.38
5.	stormont	51 times	Relevance 0.34
6.	northern ireland	42 times	Relevance 0.33
7.	protocol	46 times	Relevance 0.32
8.	government	38 times	Relevance 0.28
9.	windsor framework	33 times	Relevance 0.28
10.	question	33 times	Relevance 0.26

# Opinion of the Protocol/Windsor Framework

The Protocol with WF and DUP deal provides unique economic opportunities for NI

Brexit is on balance a good thing for the UK

Particular arrangements are necessary

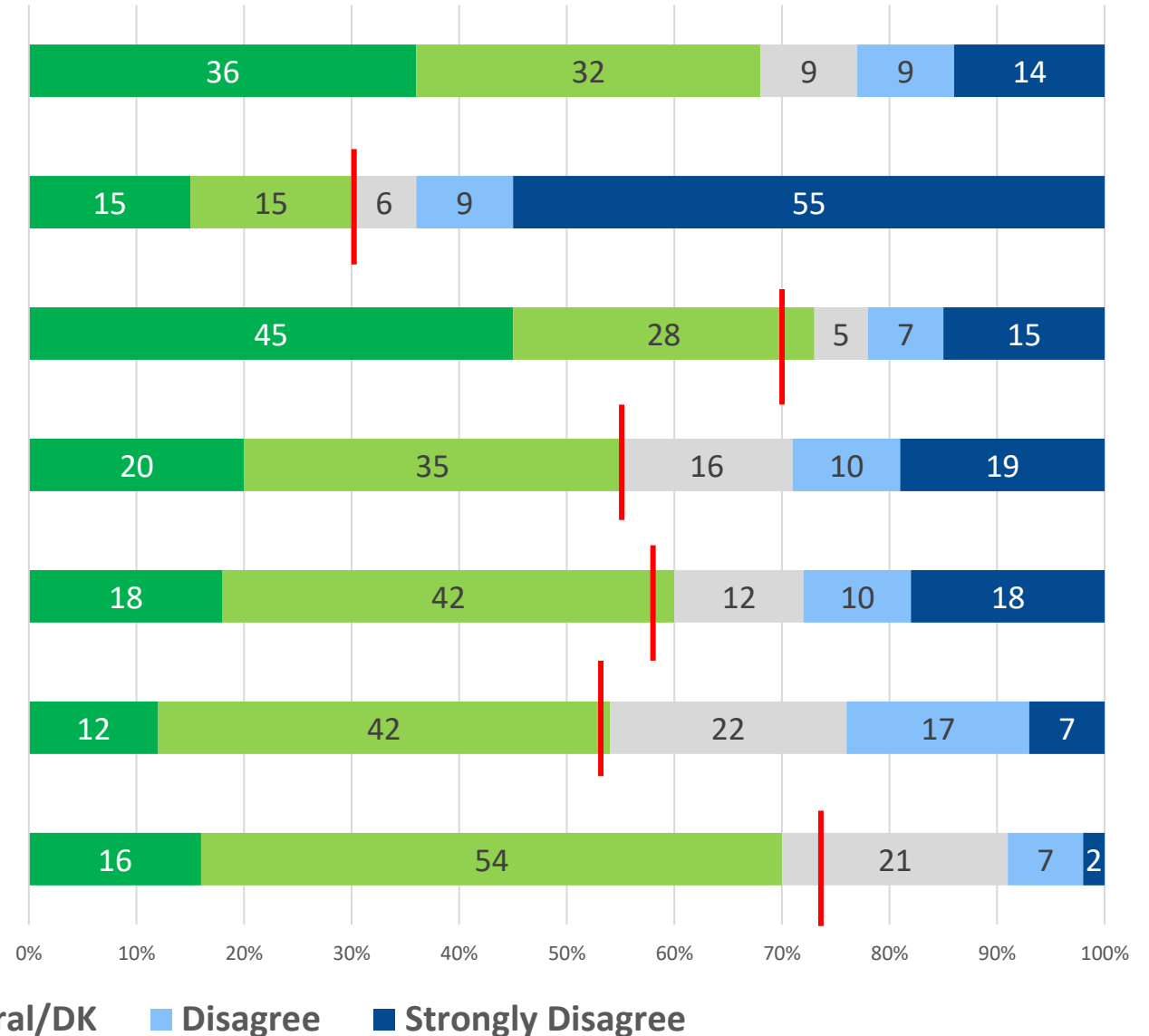
The Protocol with the Windsor Framework & DUP deal is on balance a good thing for NI

With the WF & DUP deal, the Protocol provides appropriate means for managing Brexit in NI

Reliable information on the Protocol & Windsor Framework is available

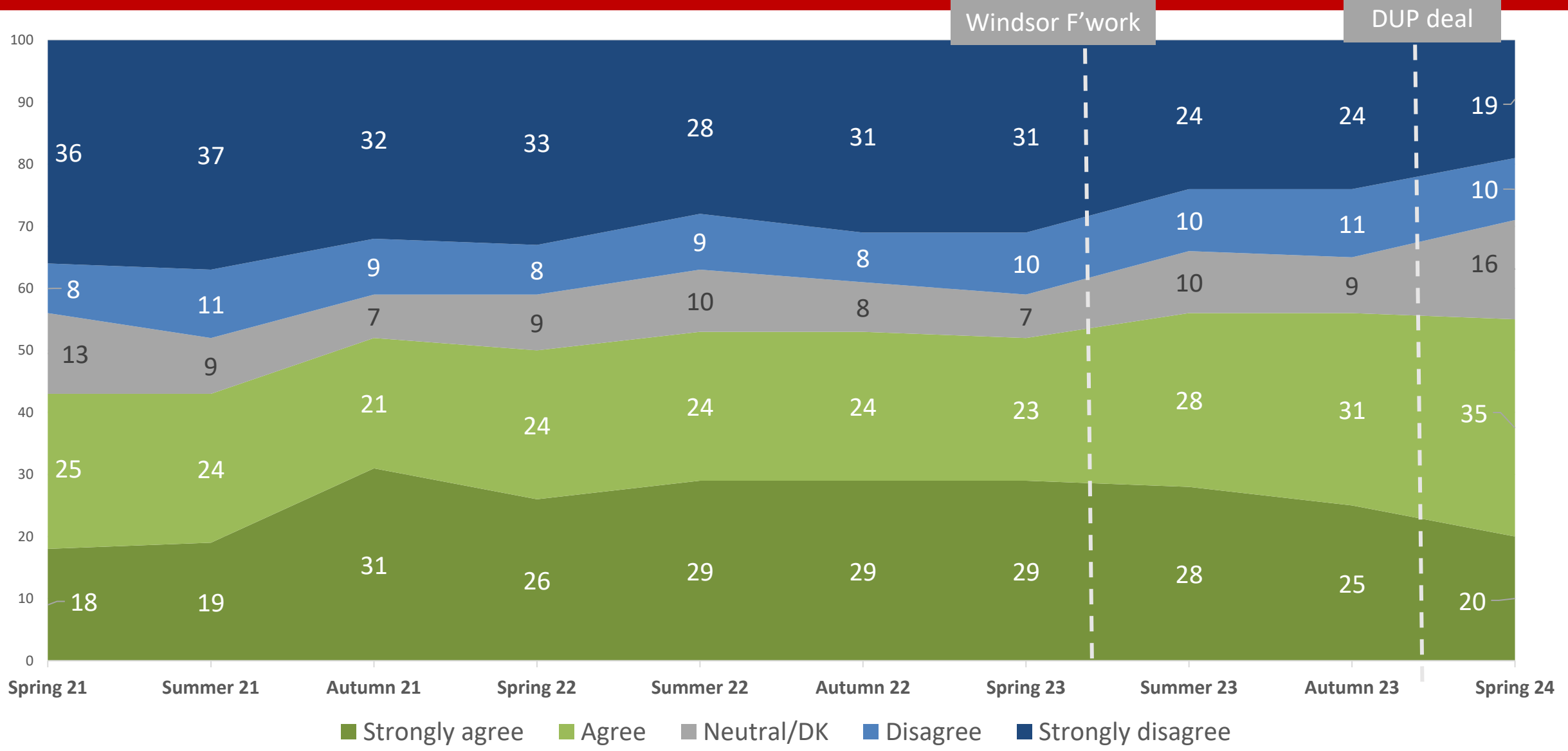
I have a good understanding of the Protocol

Oct '23 results



# 'The Protocol with WF and DUP deal is on balance a good thing for N. Ireland'

(March 2021-Feb 2024)



Testing the Temperature X - What do NI Voters Think about the Protocol/Windsor Framework, 2-5 February 2024. Weighted Sample: 1,202  
<https://www.qub.ac.uk/sites/post-brexit-governance-ni/ProjectPublications/OpinionPolling/>

# 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

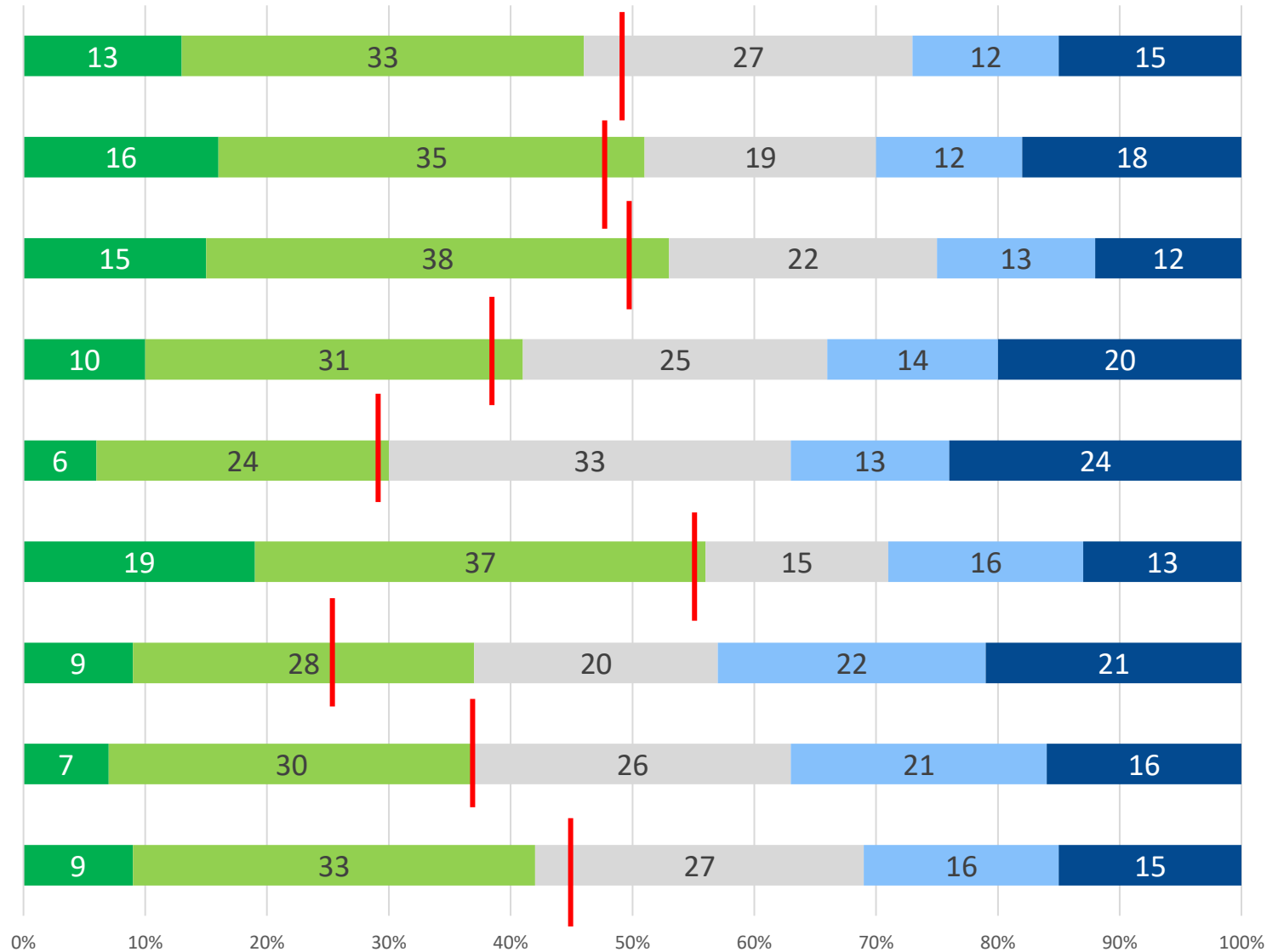
NI constitutional place in the UK

Economy of NI

Political stability in NI

British-Irish relations

UK-EU relations



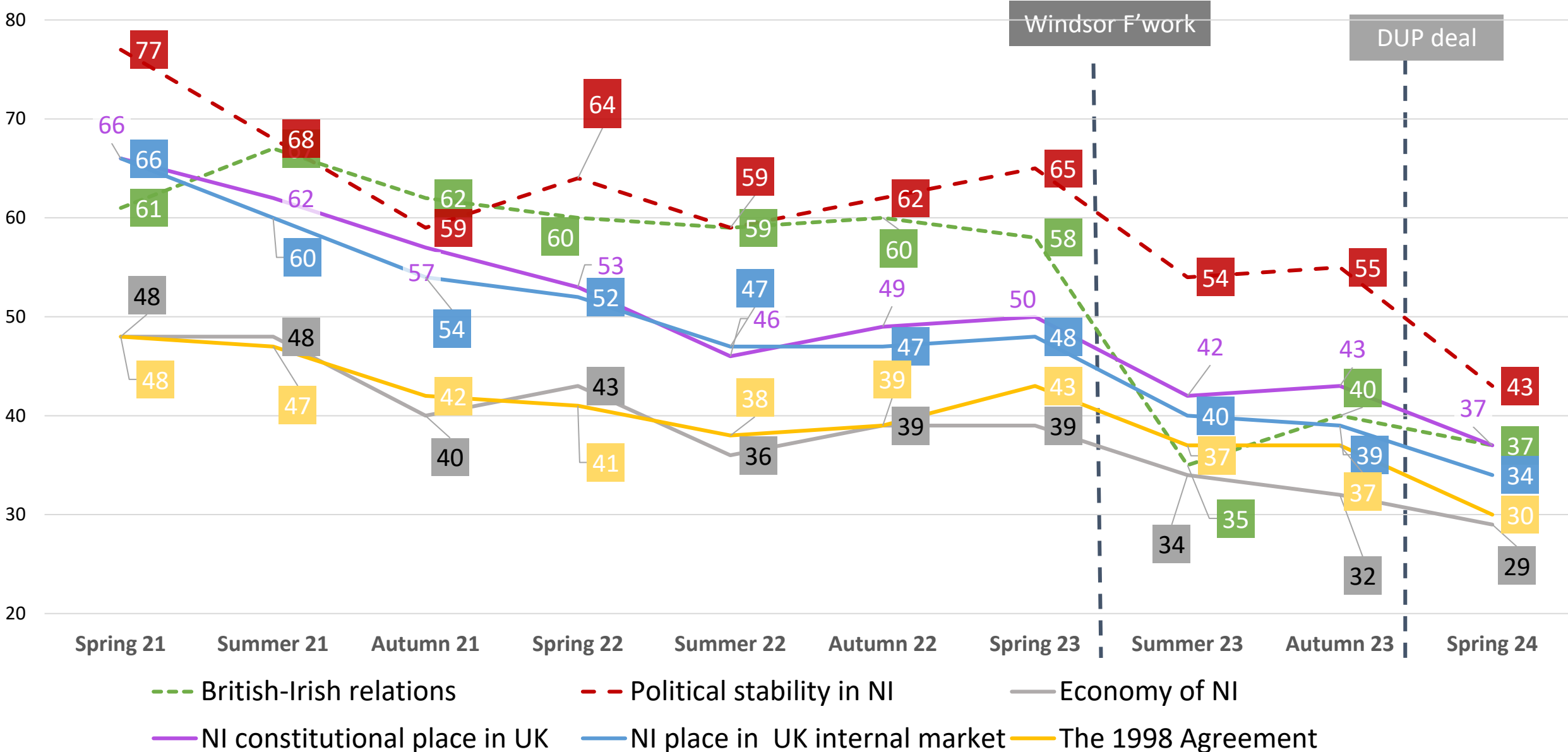
Oct '23 results

Strongly Positive Positive Neutral/DK Negative Strongly Negative

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# 'Negative' re: Protocol/WF effects on... (March 2021-Feb 2024)

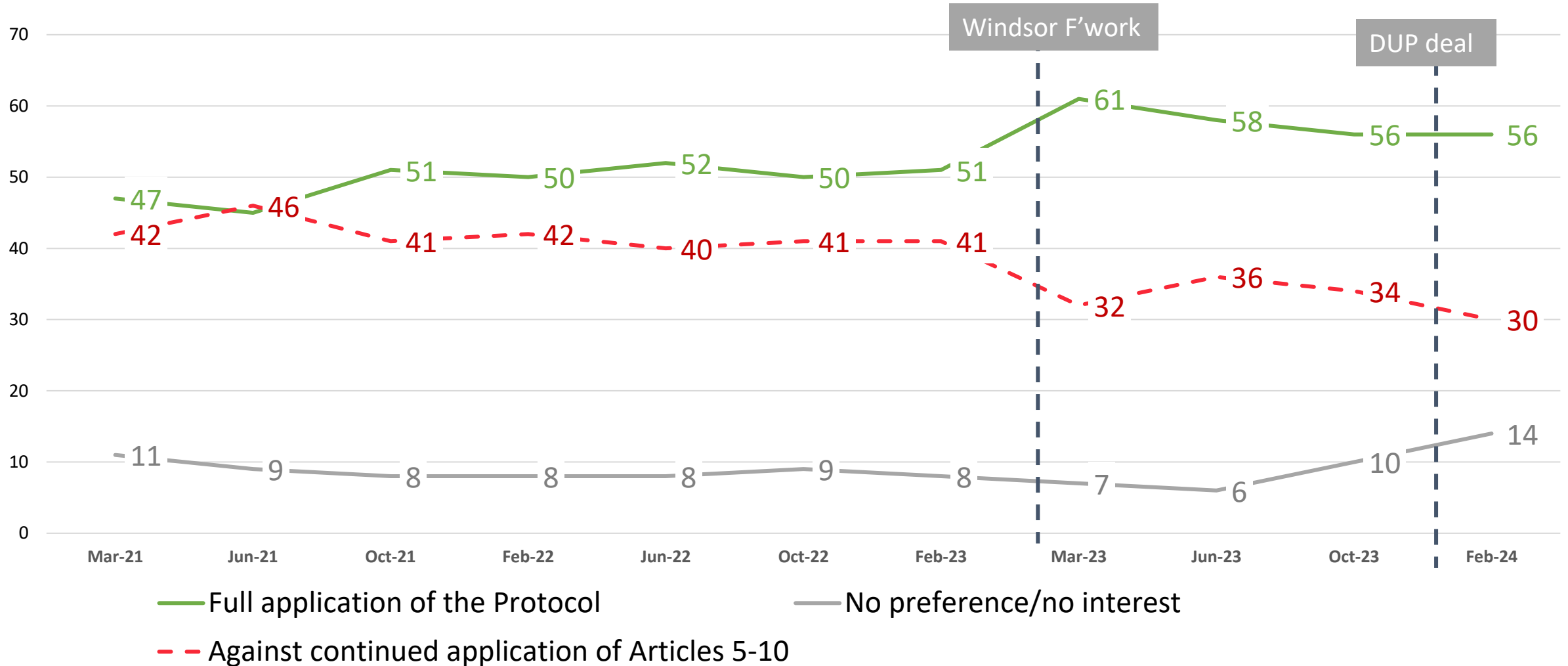


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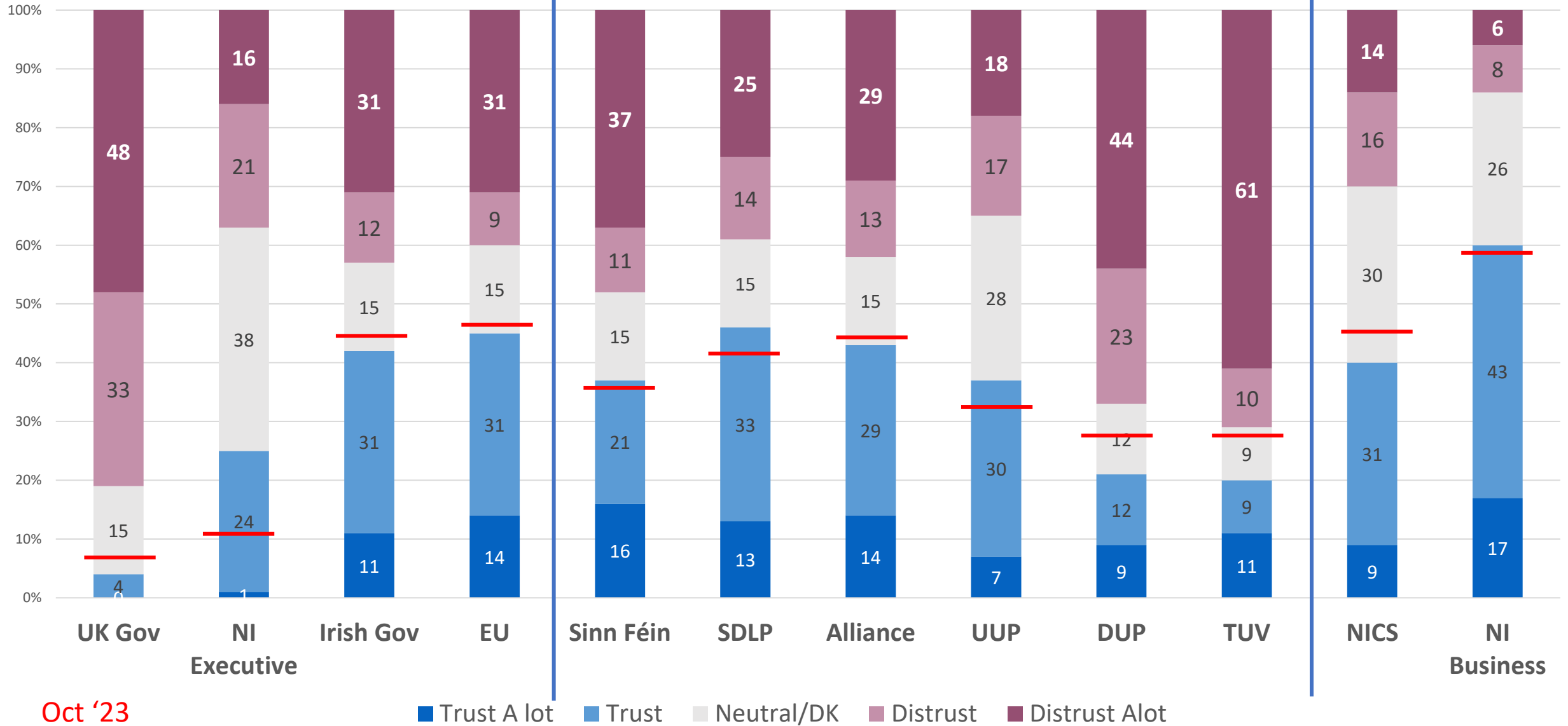
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# Democratic Consent in 2024

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? (%)



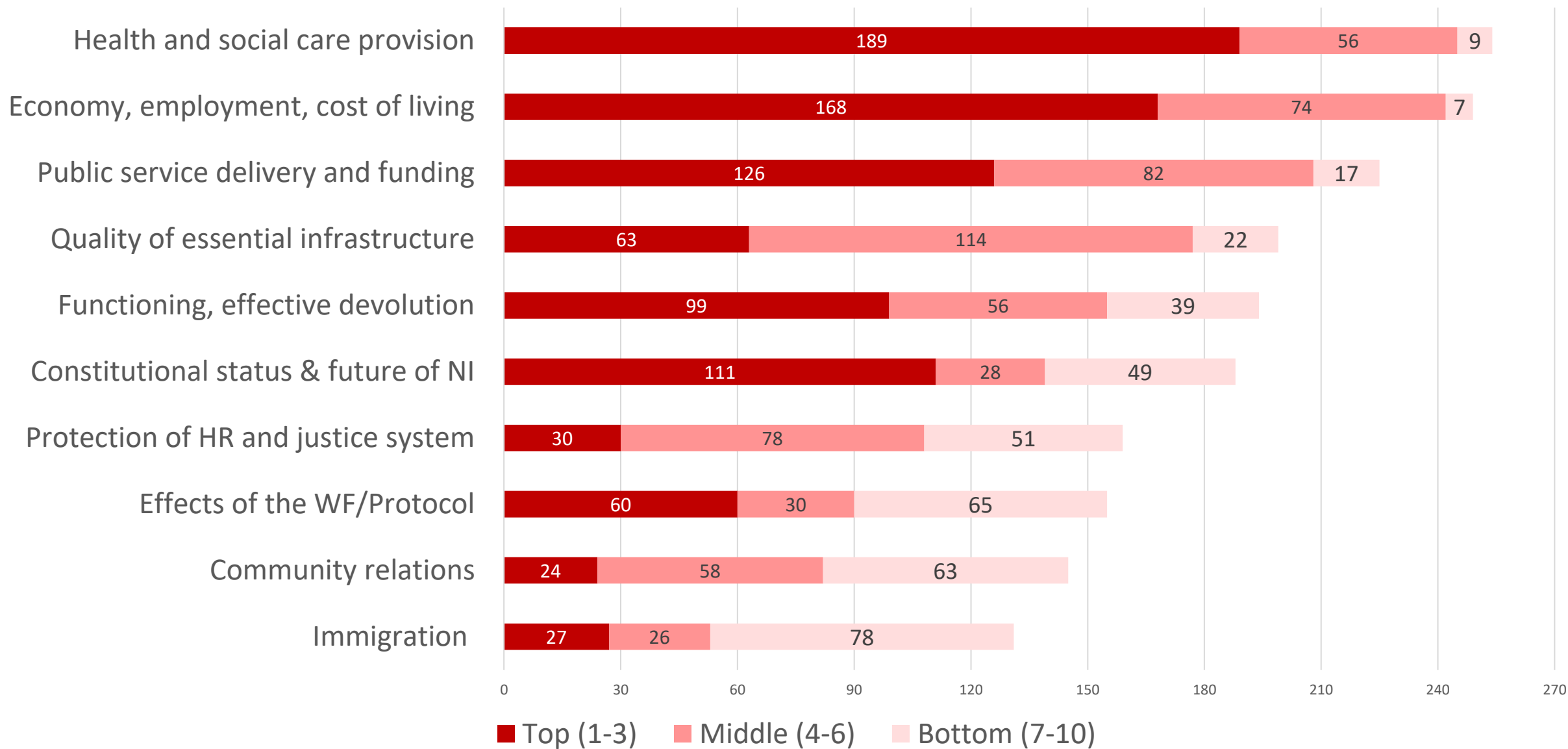
# Trust in Managing NI Interests in Relation to the Protocol/Windsor Framework (%)



Oct '23 results

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# Rank the following issues in terms of how important they are to you at present (out of 10)\*



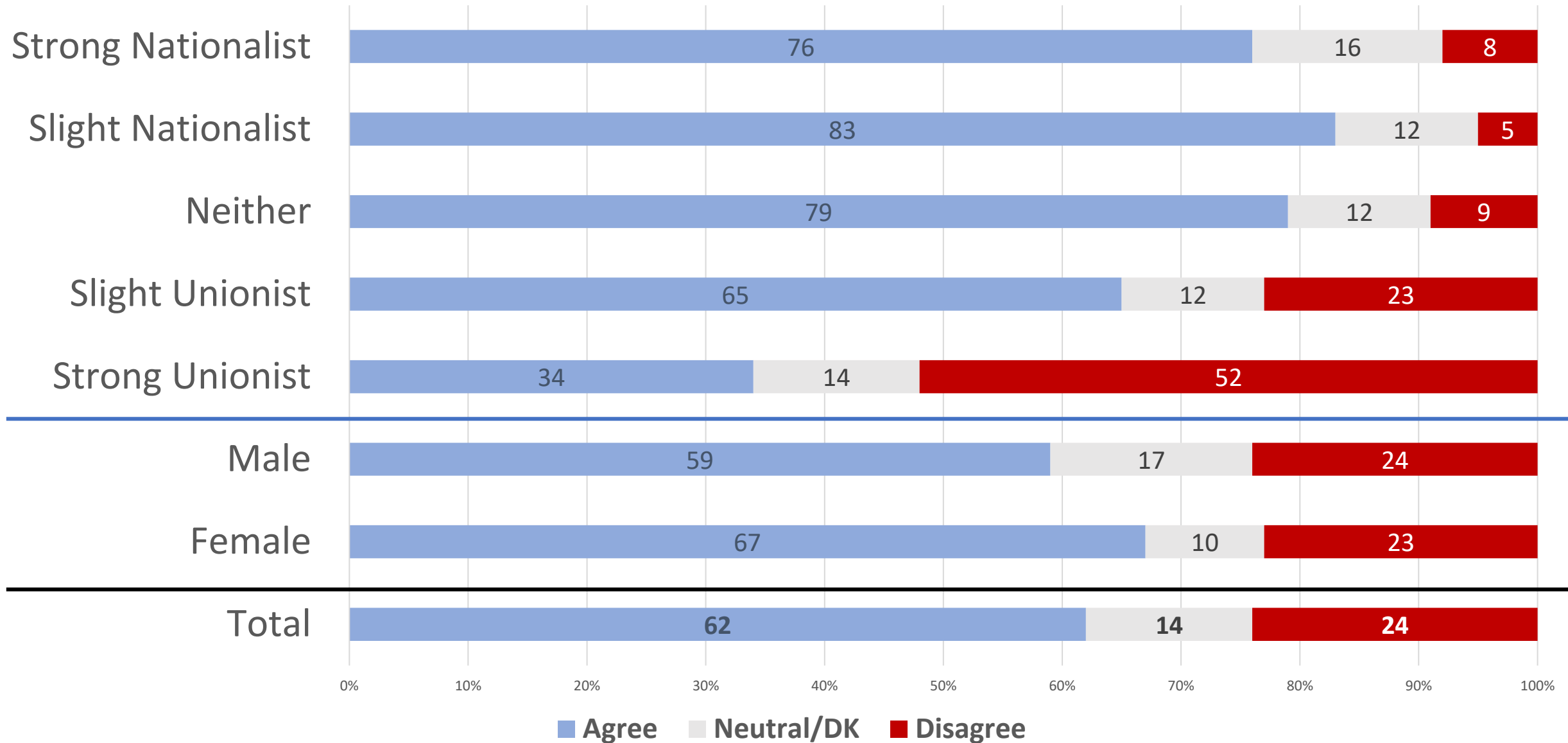
\* [Top 1-3 weighted x3; Middle 4-6 weighted x2; Bottom 7-10 weighted x1]

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# Political debate should move on from Brexit/WF



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# I would like MLAs to use the 'Stormont Brake' to block updates to EU legislation regardless of political or practical consequences

