

# The Assembly, Voting Intentions, and the Windsor Framework

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## Executive Summary

### The Survey

- The Institute of Irish Studies commissioned Social Market Research (SMR) to conduct a public opinion poll canvassing views on the structures of the Good Friday Agreement (GFA), voting intentions, and the Windsor Framework.
- The survey is based on a sample of 1001 adults in Northern Ireland aged 18+. The survey was conducted using an online panel methodology with the data weighted to be demographically representative of the Northern Ireland adult population.
- Fieldwork was undertaken between 3<sup>rd</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> of March 2023 and in accordance with ISO20252. The survey has a margin of error of +/- 3.1% at the 95% Confidence Level.
- The characteristics of the survey sample are reported in **Table 1**.

**Table 1:** Characteristics of the survey sample (n = 1001)

<b>Gender</b>	(%)
Male	48.8
Female	51.2
<b>Age group</b>	
18-30	28.7
35-59	43.5
60+	27.9
<b>Community background</b>	
Unionist	32.4
Nationalist	27.6
Neither	33.9
Prefer not to say/don't know	6.1

- As illustrated in **Table 2**, which compares how respondents voted in the last Assembly election with the results of that election, the political views of the sample closely reflect the political views of the voting population. Our sample captures the target population of voters of each party to within 1-3%.
- It is a misnomer to regard neithers as detached from constitutional parties. As in they may favour a united Ireland and vote for a party with an explicit constitutional preference. They are less likely to vote but 13.5% vote DUP,

23.1% vote Sinn Fein (SF) and 33.5% vote Alliance. In effect a person may not call themselves a unionist or nationalist but hold very similar perspectives.

- The inclusion of the identity groups, captures non-voters who are not within the group who voted in May 2022. In effect, the identity group data includes more respondents. Their inclusion produces slightly different results, compared to voters, as the identity group contains more non-voters who tend to be more positive or undecided (neither agree nor disagree) .
- 26.6% of neithers did not commit to voting to remain in UK or for a united Ireland compared to 4.9% of unionists and 12.4% of nationalists. With regard to the WF, neithers also tend to be undecided compared to unionists and nationalists.

### **Voting**

- Should there be a fresh Assembly election, the data suggests party fortunes would not alter dramatically.
- Our data show modest increases in support for the DUP, Sinn Fein, and the Alliance Party.
- Voting intentions data show a fall in support for the TUV (-2%) and the SDLP (-1.1%).

### **The Executive**

- The most important priority for respondents was the economy and the cost of living crisis (48.4%).
- The second most important issue (27.2%) was fixing the NHS. 6.1% regard the Protocol/Windsor Framework as the most important priority: this includes 13.9% of unionists compared to 2.1% of nationalists and 3% of neithers.
- 69.4% of unionists chose the economy, cost of living and the NHS as their main priorities. Around 1 in 7 chose (13.9%) the WF/Protocol. Similarly, 74.1% of nationalists selected the economy, cost of living and the NHS as their main priority.
- All 3 identity groups ranked constitutional and legacy issues as significantly less important.
- The majority of voters in most parties – DUP (53.8%), Sinn Fein (69%), SDLP (76.5%), UUP (67.6%), Alliance (71.9%), People Before Profit (55.8%) – take a positive view of the GFA, believing that GFA structures remain *‘the best basis for governing Northern Ireland’* or *‘...require some changes’*.
- The majority of TUV voters disagree, and believe the GFA structures are no longer/have never been a good basis for governing Northern Ireland.

## The Windsor Framework

- The data presented on the WF follows a series of Institute surveys which have shown more consensus around the Protocol than assumed but herein we mark a more confident and positive unionist response.
- At times we observe unionists as more affirmative towards aspects of the WF than nationalists. This we assume is based upon a recognition among some nationalists, as the commentator Prof. Colin Harvey argued, of an agreement in red, white and blue gift paper.
- Regarding *'I oppose the Windsor Framework'* 16.9% of voters agreed, around a third neither agreed nor disagreed and 45% disagreed.
- There is an interesting development in that nationalists were slightly more opposed to the WF (19.1%) than unionists (15.7%).
- Regarding *'unionist parties highlighting problems with the Protocol led to better outcomes'* there is significant agreement among DUP (73.0%) and UUP voters (64.7%).
- A quarter of SF voters concurred (23.7%) with a higher share among SDLP supporters (39.1%). Disagreement among unionist, nationalist and neithers was 6.8%, 49.0% and 22.5% respectively.
- Concerning *'the political parties that demanded the Protocol be implemented in full underestimated the need for re-negotiation of the Protocol'* was agreed to by two thirds of DUP (65.4%), UUP (65.7%) and TUV (68.1%) voters.
- Interestingly 42% of SF and over half of SDLP (52.9%) voters agreed.
- The majority (58.4%) supported the proposition that the *'Windsor Agreement means the DUP should re-enter the Executive and the Assembly'*. 46.1% of DUP voters agreed compared to 13.8% who disagreed. UUP voters were more positive (71.3%) with 50.1% of TUV supporters disagreeing.
- Support for this proposition among SF (60.6%) and SDLP voters (59.4%) was near equal. Alliance voters indicated overwhelming support (73.4%). Disagreement among unionist, nationalist and neithers was 15.7%, 4.4% and 5.9% respectively.
- With regard to *'access to both the EU and UK markets is vital to the economy of Northern Ireland'* we measure growing unionist recognition of a potentially positive link between being located within two markets. When measured in July 2022 unionist support was 72% but is now 78.6%. Disagreement among unionist, nationalist and neithers was 3.4%, 1.8% and 0.6% respectively.

- Concerning ‘the Windsor Framework means the ban on GB products such as sausages entering Northern Ireland will be scrapped permanently’ overall agreement was significantly higher (60.6%) than disagreement (8.5%). Unionist voters tend to be more positive.
- Nearly three-quarters of DUP (72.7%) and UUP (72.0%) voters supported the proposition compared to SF voters who only showed marginal majority support (51%).
- Disagreement among unionists, nationalists and neithers was 8.7%, 8.0% and 9.7% respectively.

## 1.0 Voting

Comparing how respondents voted in the May 2022 Assembly election with the election results suggests our sample is representative of voter’s political opinions in Northern Ireland.

**Table 2:** Which party did you give your **FIRST** preference vote to in the next Northern Ireland Assembly election in May 2022? (% share)

	Sample	Target (Vote share AE 2022)	% Difference
Alliance Party	15.4	13.5	+1.9
Aontú	0.4	1.4	-1.0
DUP	22.8	21.3	+1.5
Green	3.0	1.9	+1.1
Northern Ireland Conservatives	1.4	0.01	+1.3
Other	1.1	3.4	-2.3
People Before Profit	2.1	1.1	+1
SDLP	7.9	9.0	-1.1
Sinn Féin	28.5	29.0	-0.5
TUV	5.6	7.6	-2.0
UUP	11.8	11.1	+0.7

The survey asked respondents which party they would give their first preference vote to if an Assembly election was held tomorrow.

The results in **Table 2** indicate that party fortunes would not change dramatically in the event of a fresh election:

- Sinn Fein would remain the largest party, increasing its vote share by 1.6%
- The DUP would remain the second largest party, increasing its vote share by 2.6%.
- Alliance would remain in third position, increasing its vote share by 1.9%.
- TUV (-2.8%) and SDLP (-2.3%) would experience a decline in their share of the vote

**Table 2:** If there was an Assembly election tomorrow, which party would you give your 1st preference vote to? (% share)

	<b>If election tomorrow</b>	<b>Actual vote share 2022</b>	<b>Change</b>
Other	0.5	3.4	-2.9
TUV	4.8	7.6	-2.8
SDLP	6.7	9.0	-2.3
Aontú	0.2	1.4	-1.1
DUP	23.9	21.3	+2.6
Alliance Party	15.4	13.5	+1.9
Sinn Féin	30.6	29.0	+1.6
Green	3.2	1.9	+1.3
Northern Ireland Conservatives	1.3	0.01	+1.2
People Before Profit	2.2	1.1	+1.1
UUP	11.3	11.1	+0.2

### **Executive priorities in the event of the restoration of devolution**

Respondents were asked what they think the Northern Ireland Executive's most important and 2<sup>nd</sup> most important priority should be if and when devolution returns.

The results in **Table 3** indicate:

- A significant share of respondents (48.4%) selected the '*economy/cost of living crisis*' as the most important priority for the Executive.
- 'Fixing the NHS' is the 2<sup>nd</sup> most salient issue, with 27.2% choosing health as their most important priority.
- No other issue reaches double figures (>9.9%) in terms of importance to the public.

- 6.1% rank the Windsor Framework/Protocol as the most important priority (10.6% rank it as the second most important priority)
- Followed by 5.7% who rank reforming the Assembly and Executive as the most important priority (10.9% rank it as the second most important priority).

**Table 3:** If and when devolution returns, what should be the Executive’s **most** and **2<sup>nd</sup>** most important priority be? (% share)

	<b>Most important</b>	<b>2<sup>nd</sup> most important</b>
Economy/cost of living crisis	48.4	23.7
Fixing the NHS	27.2	32.3
Windsor Framework/ NI Protocol	6.1	10.6
Reforming the Assembly and Executive	5.7	10.9
Constitutional issues	2.9	1.4
Education	2.8	4.5
Crime/ Law & Order	2.2	5.3
Climate change	2.2	2.1
Housing	1.7	8.0
Other	0.6	0.5
Legacy issues	0.2	0.7

### **Executive priorities by party support and identity background**

Breaking down Executive priority preferences by party support (**Table 4**) indicates the following:

- For Sinn Fein, DUP, Alliance, and UUP voters, the ‘*economy/cost of living crisis*’ is the most important priority, whilst ‘*fixing the NHS*’ is the second most important priority respectively.
- For SDLP voters, fixing the NHS is the most important priority, followed by the economy/cost of living crisis.
- The Windsor Framework/NI Protocol is the second most important priority for TUV voters (27.1%), and is the third most important priority for DUP voters (13.3%).

Breaking down Executive priority preferences by identity background (**Table 5**) discloses the following:

- There is inter-community consensus on the most important issue facing Northern Ireland.
- The economy/cost of living crisis is ranked most important by unionists (40.9%), nationalists (47.7%), and neithers (57.8%).
- Citizens from all three identity backgrounds also rank fixing the NHS as the second most important issue.
- The third most important issue for unionists is the Windsor Framework/ Protocol (13.9%), for nationalists it is the constitutional issues (7.2%) and for neithers reform of the Assembly and Executive (6.2%).

**Table 4:** Executive priorities by party support

	DUP	Sinn Fein	SDLP	UUP	Alliance	TUV	Green	PBP <sup>i</sup>
Economy/ cost of living crisis	41.5	56.5	41.2	44.0	48.5	33.3	32.0	50.0
Fixing the NHS	23.1	21.1	42.6	36.0	34.1	20.8	40.0	44.4
Windsor Framework/ Protocol	13.3	2.4	0	3.0	6.9	27.1	0.0	0.0
Education	8.7	1.6			2.3			
Reforming the Assembly and Executive	3.6	5.7	7.4	13.0	6.8	2.1		5.6
Crime/ Law & Order	3.1	0.8	4.4		1.5			
Constitutional issues	2.6	8.1				6.3		
Housing	2.1	2.0	1.5			6.3		
Climate change	1.5	1.2	2.9	4.0		4.2	28.0	
Legacy issues	0.5							
Other (please specify)		0.4						

**Table 5:** Executive priorities by identity (1<sup>st</sup> priority)

	Unionist	Nationalist	Neither
Economy/cost of living crisis	40.9	47.7	57.8
Fixing the NHS	29.5	26.4	26.3
Windsor Framework/Protocol	13.9	2.1	3.0
Reforming Assembly and Executive	4.9	6.5	6.2
Education	3.7	3.6	1.2
Climate change	2.2	3.2	0.6
Constitutional issues	2.2	7.2	0.6

Housing	1.5	0.7	1.5
Crime/ Law & Order	1.2	2.2	2.7
Legacy issues			0.3
Other (please specify)		0.4	

## 2.0 Perspectives on the Good Friday Agreement

Respondent's views on governance structures and the Good Friday Agreement (GFA) are represented in **Table 6**:

- A quarter (23.1%) take a positive view of the GFA structures and believe that, on the whole, they remain the best basis for governing Northern Ireland.
- However, the plurality of respondents (37%) agree that the GFA structures require some changes in order to work better.
- 7.2% of respondents agrees that '*the GFA structures have never been a good basis for governing Northern Ireland and should be removed*'

**Table 6:** Perspectives on the Good Friday Agreement (% share)

	<b>Agree</b>
The GFA structures remain the best basis for governing Northern Ireland	23.1
The GFA structures remain the best basis for governing Northern Ireland but require some changes in order to work better	37.0
The GFA structures are no longer a good basis for governing Northern Ireland and should be substantially changed	13.1
The GFA structures have never been a good basis for governing Northern Ireland and should be removed.	7.2
Don't know/prefer not to say.	19.7

### Perspectives on the Good Friday Agreement by party support

Breaking down perspectives on the GFA by party support (**Table 7**) leads to the following findings:

- The majority of voters in most parties – DUP (53.8%), Sinn Fein (69%), SDLP (76.5%), UUP (67.6%), Alliance (71.9%), People Before Profit (55.8%) – take a positive view of the GFA, and that GFA structures remain '*the best basis for governing Northern Ireland*' or '*...require some changes*'.
- A majority of TUV voters take a negative view of the GFA, and think that it is no longer, or has never been, a good basis for governing Northern Ireland.

**Table 7:** Perspectives on the Good Friday Agreement by party support. 'The GFA structures...' (% share)

	DUP	SF	SDLP	UUP	Alliance	TUV	Green	PBP



Remain the best basis for governing NI	20.5	34.3	25.0	13.7	22.7	16.7	18.5	20.5
Remain the best basis but require some changes	33.3	34.7	51.5	53.9	49.2	27.1	25.9	33.3
Are no longer a good basis and should be substantially changed	14.9	11.8	10.3	13.7	15.2	18.8	18.5	14.9
Have never been a good basis and should be removed	16.4	2.4	2.9	2.9		31.3		16.4
Don't know / prefer not to say	14.9	16.7	10.3	15.7	12.9	6.3	37.0	14.9

### Perspectives on the Good Friday Agreement by identity

Breaking down perspectives on the GFA by identity background (**Table 8**) reveals the following:

- There is inter-community consensus that the GFA structures, whilst they may require *'some changes'* in order to work better, *'remain the best basis'* for governing Northern Ireland.
- This is the view of a majority of unionists, nationalists, and neithers.
- Support for the GFA is highest among nationalists, the plurality of whom think GFA structures remain the best basis for governing Northern Ireland as they are at present.
- The plurality of unionists think that whilst the GFA structures remain the best basis for governing Northern Ireland, they require some changes to work better.
- The idea that the GFA structures require some changes is most prevalent among the neithers (43.2%).
- Opposition to the GFA structures is highest among unionists (27.1%) who stated that they *'are no longer, or have never been'*, a good basis for governing NI.

**Table 8:** Perspectives on the Good Friday Agreement by identity background. 'The GFA structures...' (% share)

	<b>Unionist</b>	<b>Nationalist</b>	<b>Neither</b>
Remain the best basis for governing NI	19.7	35.5	15.0
Remain the best basis but require some changes	37.8	33.7	43.2
Are no longer a good basis and should be substantially changed	12.3	11.6	15.3
Have never been a good basis and should be removed	14.8	3.3	3.5

### 3.0 Perspectives on the Windsor Framework

With regard to ‘the Windsor Framework, with regard to goods entering Northern Ireland has removed the border in the Irish Sea for internal UK trade’.

- 66% agreed that this is a positive development with 9.3% disagreed. In general, there is more nationalist party voter support but majority support is within all voting blocs.
- DUP agreement sits at 60.5% compared to 9.3% who disagree. UUP voters are more positive at 78% compared to 4% who disagree. Disagreement is stronger among TUV voters, 47.9% of whom disagree compared to 41.7% who agree.
- 66.2% of SF voters agreed this is a positive development compared to 61.8% of SDLP voters
- Over three-quarters of Alliance voters (78%) agreed.
- Disagreement among unionist, nationalist and neithers was 11.7%, 2.4% and 4.4% respectively.

**Table 9:** The Windsor Framework, with regard to goods entering Northern Ireland has removed the border in the Irish Sea for internal UK trade (% share).

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
DUP	60.5	23.6%	9.3%
SF	66.2	29.0%	
SDLP	61.8	27.9%	5.9%
UUP	78.0	17.0%	4.0%
APNI	78.0	11.4%	3.0%
TUV	41.7	6.3%	47.9%
Green	52.0%	40.0%	4.0%
Aontu	75.0%		
NI Conservatives	66.6%	33.3%	
PBP	72.2%	11.1%	
Other	60.0%	20.0%	10.0%

**Table 10:** The Windsor Framework, with regard to goods entering Northern Ireland has removed the border in the Irish Sea for internal UK trade (% share)

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
Unionist	65.4	15.7	11.7
Nationalist	65.4	25.3	2.2
Neither Unionist nor Nationalist	62.1	22.9	4.4

With reference to *'the Windsor Framework protects Northern Ireland's integral place in the UK internal market. This removes previous arrangements in the Protocol that undermined Northern Ireland's place within the UK internal market'*

- 57.1% agreed that the WF removed previous arrangements that affected Northern Ireland's place within the UK's internal market. Unionist voters were more supportive than those who voted SF.
- 52.3% of DUP voters agreed with 11.3% disagreeing. Again UUP voters were more positive (71.5%). TUV voters had a significant share who disagreed (33.4%) but with a majority who agreed (52.1%).
- Sinn Fein voters were less positive than unionist voters with 48.6% support and 5.3% disagreement. The majority of SDLP voters agreed (54.4%) with less than 2% disagreeing (1.5%).
- Alliance supporters provided high levels of support at 73.7%.
- Disagreement among unionist, nationalist and neithers was 13.6%, 4.0% and 3.5% respectively.

**Table 11:** The Windsor Framework protects Northern Ireland's integral place in the UK internal market (% share)

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
DUP	52.3	26.7	11.3
SF	48.6	39.6	5.3
SDLP	54.4	39.7	1.5
UUP	71.5	19.6	1.0
APNI	73.7	12.0	5.3
TUV	52.1	8.3	33.4
Green	42.3	30.8	19.2
Aontu	33.3	33.3	
NI Cons	53.9	15.4	30.8
PBP	72.3	11.1	
Other	55.5	11.1	22.2

**Table 12:** The Windsor Framework protects Northern Ireland's integral place in the UK internal market (% share)

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
Unionist	60.5	16.4	5.6
Nationalist	55.3	29.5	4.0

Neither Unionist nor Nationalist	50.7	30.1	3.5
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Regarding ‘the Windsor Framework assures unfettered access for Northern Ireland’s businesses to the GB market on a permanent basis. This removes previous arrangements in the Protocol that undermined such access’.

- 57.7% agreed with 6.6% disagreement. Unionist were generally more supportive than nationalists
- Over 60% of DUP (62.8%) and UUP (68.6%) voters agreed. With less than 9% of voters for these parties disagreeing. TUV supporters were more likely to disagree (25.6%) than agree (21.3%) and there is evidence of undecidedness (36.2% of TUV voters neither agreed or disagreed).
- The majority of Sinn Fein and SDLP voters agreed.
- More than two-thirds of Alliance supporters agreed.
- Disagreement among unionist, nationalist and neithers was 10.2%, 4.4% and 3.0% respectively.

**Table 13:** The Windsor Framework assures unfettered access for Northern Ireland’s businesses to the GB market on a permanent basis (% share)

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
DUP	62.8	23.0	8.2
SF	51.8	35.9	5.7
SDLP	55.0	36.2	1.4
UUP	68.6	17.6	6.8
APNI	72.3	14.6	0.8
TUV	21.3	36.2	25.6
Green	50.0	30.8	11.5
Aontu			50.0
NI Cons	66.7	33.3	
PBP	33.3	50.0	
Other	50.0	20.0	10.0

**Table 14:** The Windsor Framework assures unfettered access for Northern Ireland’s businesses to the GB market on a permanent basis (% share)

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
Unionist	59.0	19.8	10.2
Nationalist	55.8	30.1	4.4

Neither Unionist nor Nationalist	53.3	28.6	3.0
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Concerning *'the Windsor Framework means the ban on GB products such as sausages entering Northern Ireland will be scrapped permanently'*.

- Overall, agreement is significantly higher (60.6%) than disagreement (8.5%).
- Nearly three-quarters of DUP (72.7%) and UUP (72.0%) supported the proposition compared to those who disagreed. A plurality of TUV voters agreed, over one-third disagreed.
- SF voters showed marginal majority support (51%) with nearly 1 in 8 rejecting (11.4%). Two thirds of SDLP voters (63.7%) agreed.
- 62.9% of Alliance supporters agreed.
- Disagreement among unionist, nationalist and neithers was 8.6%, 8.0% and 9.7% respectively.

**Table 15:** The Windsor Framework means the ban on GB products such as sausages entering Northern Ireland will be scrapped permanently (% share)

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
DUP	72.7	16.0	5.2
SF	51.0	32.2	11.4
SDLP	63.7	24.6	2.9
UUP	72.0	16.0	4.0
APNI	62.9	16.7	3.0
TUV	40.4	23.4	34.0
Green	51.8	25.9	18.5
Aontu	66.7		
NI Conservatives	30.8	38.5	30.8
PBP	61.1	22.2	
Other	50.0	30.0	

**Table 16:** The Windsor Framework means the ban on GB products such as sausages entering Northern Ireland will be scrapped permanently (% share)

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
Unionist	65.2	17.2	8.6
Nationalist	59.1	25.4	8.0
Neither Unionist nor Nationalist	54.5	22.9	9.7

The following was observed regarding *'the Protocol which mandated that all goods must be produced to EU, not UK, standards has been removed. This will benefit the economy of Northern Ireland'*

- Just over half of DUP (51.5%) and UUP (58.8%) supported the proposition compared less than 10% of respective voters who disagreed. TUV voters were more likely to agree than disagree but one-third are undecided.
- SF voters showed marginal majority support (51%) with nearly 1 in 8 rejecting (11.4%). Two thirds of SDLP voters (63.7%) agreed.
- 56.8% of Alliance supporters agreed.
- Disagreement among unionist, nationalist and neithers was 12.3%, 10.4% and 7.7% respectively.

**Table 17:** The Protocol which mandated that all goods must be produced to EU, not UK, standards has been removed (% share)

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
DUP	51.5	33.2	8.7
SF	45.9	36.2	12.2
SDLP	51.5	32.4	8.8
UUP	58.8	22.5	9.8
APNI	56.8	20.5	5.3
TUV	37.5	33.3	25
Green	56.0	16.0	20.0
Aontu	50.0		25.0
NI Cons	91.7		8.3%
PBP	17.6	70.6	
Other	55.6	22.2	

**Table 18:** The Protocol which mandated that all goods must be produced to EU, not UK, standards has been removed (% share)

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
Unionist	49.6	28.9	12.3
Nationalist	52.0	29.2	10.4
Neither Unionist nor Nationalist	46.6	29.2	7.7

A particularly emotive issues concerned medicines. Regarding *'the movement of medicines from GB to Northern Ireland is now unfettered. This has removed fears over the supply and availability of medicines'*

- Two thirds agreed that fears over the supply of medicines had been removed.
- Over 70% of DUP (71.3%) and UUP voters (75.5%) were in agreement. TUV voters were less supportive (56.3%) with 29.1% disagreeing
- SF voters were generally supportive (58.4%) with SDLP more supportive 63.2%
- Alliance voters were significant supportive (73.5%)
- Disagreement among unionist, nationalist and neithers was 7.7%, 5.0% and 4.2% respectively.

**Table 19:** The movement of medicines from GB to Northern Ireland is now unfettered (% share)

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
DUP	71.3	17.9	5.7
SF	58.4	31.0	5.7
SDLP	63.2	27.9	4.4
UUP	75.5	12.7	5.9
APNI	73.5	12.9	
TUV	56.3	10.4	29.1
Green	55.5	25.9	14.7
Aontu	66.6		
NI Cons	50.0	25.0	25
PBP	83.4	5.6	
Other	80.0		

**Table 20:** The movement of medicines from GB to Northern Ireland is now unfettered (% share)

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
Unionist	70.1	14.5	7.7
Nationalist	67.2	20.9	5.0
Neither Unionist nor Nationalist	63.7	22.1	4.2

As concerns *'the EU's acceptance of the principle of differentiating Northern Ireland-only goods from those destined for the single market is an important breakthrough'*

- Just over half of all voters agreed (53.6%) compared to 6.8% in disagreement.
- 64.1% of DUP supporters agreed compared to 6.2% who disagreed 1% who disagreed. 72% of UUP supporters agreed compared to 1% who disagreed. Disagreement was highest among TUV voters (31.2%).
- More SDLP (59.4%) than SF (55.9%) voters agreed.
- The majority of Alliance voters (67.2%) were in agreement
- Disagreement among unionist, nationalist and neithers was 8.9%, 4.3% and 2.1% respectively.

**Table 21:** The EU's acceptance of the principle of separating Northern Ireland-only goods from those destined for the single market was an important breakthrough? (% share)

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
DUP	64.1	21.5	6.2
SF	55.9	34.3	4.0
SDLP	59.4	33.3	1.4
UUP	72.0	18.0	1.00
APNI	67.2	18.3	2.3
TUV	39.6	25.0	31.2
Green	61.5	30.8	3.8
Aontu	66.7		
NI Cons	41.7	33.3	25.0
PBP	35.2	52.9	
Other	70.0	10.0	

**Table 22:** The EU's acceptance of the principle of separating Northern Ireland-only goods from those destined for the single market was an important breakthrough? (% share)

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
Unionist	61.8	19.1	8.9
Nationalist	61.2	26.1	4.3
Neither Unionist nor Nationalist	54.8	29.5	2.1

The following was observed regarding *'the Windsor Agreement established what is known as the Stormont Brake. This is intended to create a role for MLAs in the decision on whether or not to apply new EU rules. This will remove the Protocol's democratic deficits and European Court of Justice's (ECJ) oversight'*.



- Over twice as many unionists agreed (39.1) than disagreed (15.4). Within nationalism support was close to 4 times (42.4 v 10.9) higher when comparing those who agreed and those who disagreed.
- As is characteristic of some of the issues and themes concerning the WF, a significant share of unionists (29.8%), nationalists (32.8%) and neithers (40.7%) neither agreed nor disagreed.

**Table 23:** The Windsor Agreement has established what is known as the Stormont Brake. Making new EU rule compliance a decision for MLAs (% share)

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
DUP	40.5	31.3	17.5
SF	33.1	49.0	11.5
SDLP	47.1	27.9	4.4
UUP	41.1	32.4	6.9
APNI	33.3	25.0	15.9
TUV	20.4	40.8	32.6
Green	36.0	44.0	
Aontu	50		
NI Cons	61.5	15.4	23.1
PBP	16.7	66.7	5.6
Other	30.0	30.0	30.0

**Table 24:** The Windsor Agreement has established what is known as the Stormont Brake. Making new EU rule compliance a decision for MLAs (% share)

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
Unionist	39.1	29.8	15.4
Nationalist	42.4	34.8	10.8
Neither Unionist nor Nationalist	25.6	40.7	11.5

With regard to the summative question *'the EU and UK government in delivering the Windsor Framework removed many of the negative consequences of the Protocol'*

- 55.4% agreed with 8.8% disagreeing.
- Just under half of (48.7%) of DUP voters agreed compared to 7.7 who disagreed. There was stronger UUP support (71.3%) and less support among TUV voters (36.7%) with 32.7% of the latter party in disagreement.
- Just over half of SF (51.2%) and SDLP voters (57.3%) were supportive. A similar share of Alliance supporters agreed (55.4%)

- Disagreement among unionist, nationalist and neithers was 11.4%, 6.2% and 4.8% respectively.

**Table 25:** The EU and UK government in delivering the Windsor Framework removed many of the negative consequences of the Protocol (% share)

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
DUP	48.7	34.4	7.7
SF	51.2	38.2	6.1
SDLP	57.3	26.5	8.8
UUP	71.3	16.8	4.0
APNI	72.5	12.2	2.3
TUV	36.7	26.5	32.6
Green	50.0	23.1	23.1
Aontu	33.3		33.3
NI Cons	50.0	25.0	25.0
PBP	35.0	15.0	35.0
Other	50.0	37.5	

**Table 26:** The EU and UK government in delivering the Windsor Framework removed many of the negative consequences of the Protocol (% share)

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
Unionist	56.2	22.2	11.4
Nationalist	54.9	30	6.2
Neither Unionist nor Nationalist	47	33.1	4.8

In overall terms regarding *'the Windsor Agreement means the DUP should re-enter the Executive and the Assembly'*

- The majority (58.4%) supported the proposition compared to 9.3% who disagreed. Nationalists and Alliance voters tended to be more positive.
- Nearly half of DUP voters (46.2%) agree compared to 13.8% who disagreed. UUP voters were more positive (71.3%).
- 50% of TUV supporters disagreed.
- Support among SF (60.7%) and SDLP voters (59.4%) was near equal.
- Alliance voters indicated overwhelming support (73.4%).
- Disagreement among unionist, nationalist and neithers was 15.7%, 4.4% and 5.9% respectively.

**Table 27:** The Windsor Agreement means the DUP should re-enter the Executive and the Assembly (% share)

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
DUP	46.1	27.2	13.8
SF	60.6	31.6	4.5
SDLP	59.4	24.6	5.8
UUP	71.3	17.8	2.0
APNI	73.4	12.1	4.6
TUV	18.8	22.9	50.1
Green	65.4	15.4	11.5
Aontu	66.6		
NI Conservatives	54.6	27.3	9.1
PBP	88.9	5.6	
Other	22.2	44.4	22.2

**Table 28:** The Windsor Agreement means the DUP should re-enter the Executive and the Assembly (% share)

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
Unionist	44.9	22.2	15.7
Nationalist	67.5	20.6	4.4
Neither Unionist nor Nationalist	55.8	27.4	5.9

Respondents reflected upon *'access to both the EU and UK markets is vital to the economy of Northern Ireland'*

- 83.5% of voters agreed that access to both the EU and UK markets is vital to the economy of Northern Ireland
- When measured in July 2022 unionist support was 72% this has now grown to 78.6. Nationalists are also more supportive (78.6% to 89.9%) with a growth in support from neithers (77.5% to 79.7%).
- Disagreement among unionist, nationalist and neithers was 3.4%, 1.8% and 0.6% respectively.

**Table 29:** Access to both the EU and UK markets is vital to the economy of Northern Ireland (% share)

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
DUP	74.9	19.0	1.5
SF	85.3	12.7	2.0
SDLP	94.0	4.5	

UUP	94.1	5.9	
APNI	86.3	4.6	
TUV	56.3	27.1	16.7
Green	88.5	11.5	
Aontu	100.0		
NI Conservatives	92.3	7.7	
PBP	100.0		
Other	66.6	33.3	

**Table 30:** Access to both the EU and UK markets is vital to the economy of Northern Ireland (% share)

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
Unionist	78.6	12.5	3.3
Nationalist	89.9	7.9	1.8
Neither Unionist nor Nationalist	79.7	13.9	0.6

In term of *'unionist parties highlighting problems with the Protocol led to better outcomes'*

- The issue of outcome and unionist approach provides a more divided set of results.
- Highest levels of support were among DUP (73.0%) and UUP voters (64.7%).
- A quarter of SF voters concurred (23.7%) with a higher share among SDLP supporters (39.1%). Significant shares of each disagreed (42.3% and 31.8%)
- 24.8% of Alliance voters agreed, compared to 29.3% who disagreed.

**Table 31:** Unionist parties highlighting problems with the Protocol led to better outcomes (% share)

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
DUP	73.0	12.8	8.7
SF	23.7	33.1	43.2
SDLP	39.1	21.7	31.8
UUP	64.7	20.6	7.9
APNI	24.8	33.8	29.3
TUV	47.9	37.5	14.6
Green	7.7	53.8	38.4
Aontu	33.3	33.3	33.3
NI Conservatives	58.3		41.7

PBP	52.6	10.5	36.9
Other	87.5	12.5	

**Table 32:** Unionist parties highlighting problems with the Protocol led to better outcomes (% share)

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
Unionist	68.3	16	6.8
Nationalist	23.6	22.5	49.8
Neither Unionist nor Nationalist	31.3	35.5	22.4

Regarding *'the political parties that demanded the Protocol be implemented in full underestimated the need for re-negotiation of the Protocol'*

- Just over half of voters agreed (51.1%) with around 1 in 10 disagreeing (10.7%)
- Around two thirds of DUP (65.4%), UUP (65.7%) and TUV (68.1%) agreed.
- Interestingly 42% of SF and over half of SDLP voters agreed (52.9%). Less than 20% of each respectively disagreed.
- Just over a third of Alliance supporters agreed (36.6%)
- Disagreement among unionist, nationalist and others was 4.6, 21.1 and 7.9 respectively.

**Table 33:** The political parties that demanded the Protocol be implemented in full underestimated the need for re-negotiation of the Protocol (% share)

	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree
DUP	65.4	20.9	2.0
SF	42.0	40.0	16.3
SDLP	52.9	22.1	14.7
UUP	65.7	27.5	3.9
APNI	36.6	30.5	14.5
TUV	68.1	21.3	8.50
Green	24.0	40.0	28.0
Aontu		33.3	33.3
NI Conservatives	50.0	25.0	
PBP	16.7	55.6	11.1
Other	88.8	11.1	

**Table 34:** The political parties that demanded the Protocol be implemented in full underestimated the need for re-negotiation of the protocol (% share)

	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Neither agree nor disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>
Unionist	62.9	20.9	4.6
Nationalist	39.9	29.3	21.1
Neither Unionist nor Nationalist	41.0	37.2	7.9

Finally, respondents were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with the statement *'I oppose the Windsor Framework'*

- 16.9% of voters agreed (i.e. they oppose the WF), around a third neither agree nor disagree. 45% disagreed that they opposed.
- Around a third of DUP, SF and SDLP voters neither agreed or disagreed.
- Only 4.9 of UUP voters oppose the WF compared the 54.2% of TUV voters. 29.2% of TUV neither agreed nor disagreed.
- Disagreement with the proposition was highest among UUP (70.9%) and Alliance voters (53.3%).
- Agreement among unionist, nationalist and neithers was 15.7%, 19.2% and 9.2% respectively.

**Table 35:** I oppose the Windsor Framework (% share)

	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Neither agree nor disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>
DUP	22.8	33.0	36.0
SF	18.8	36.7	39.6
SDLP	5.8	39.1	46.3
UUP	4.8	21.4	70.9
APNI	0.8	21.4	63.3
TUV	54.2	29.2	12.5
Green	11.5	34.6	50.0
Aontu			66.6
NI Conservatives	38.5	15.4	46.2
PBP	16.70	44.4	33.3
Other		37.5	50.0

**Table 36:** I oppose the Windsor Framework (% share)

	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Neither agree nor disagree</b>	<b>Disagree</b>
Unionist	15.7	28.9	45.8

Nationalist	19.2	24.5	47.3
Neither Unionist nor Nationalist	9.2	39.8	41.3

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<sup>i</sup> PBP is People Before Profit