

IRISH TIMES/ARINS ALL IRELAND RESEARCH 2023

3rd November 2023

DAMIAN LOSCHER, MANAGING DIRECTOR
AISLING CORCORAN, DIRECTOR

THE IRISH TIMES



INTRODUCTION

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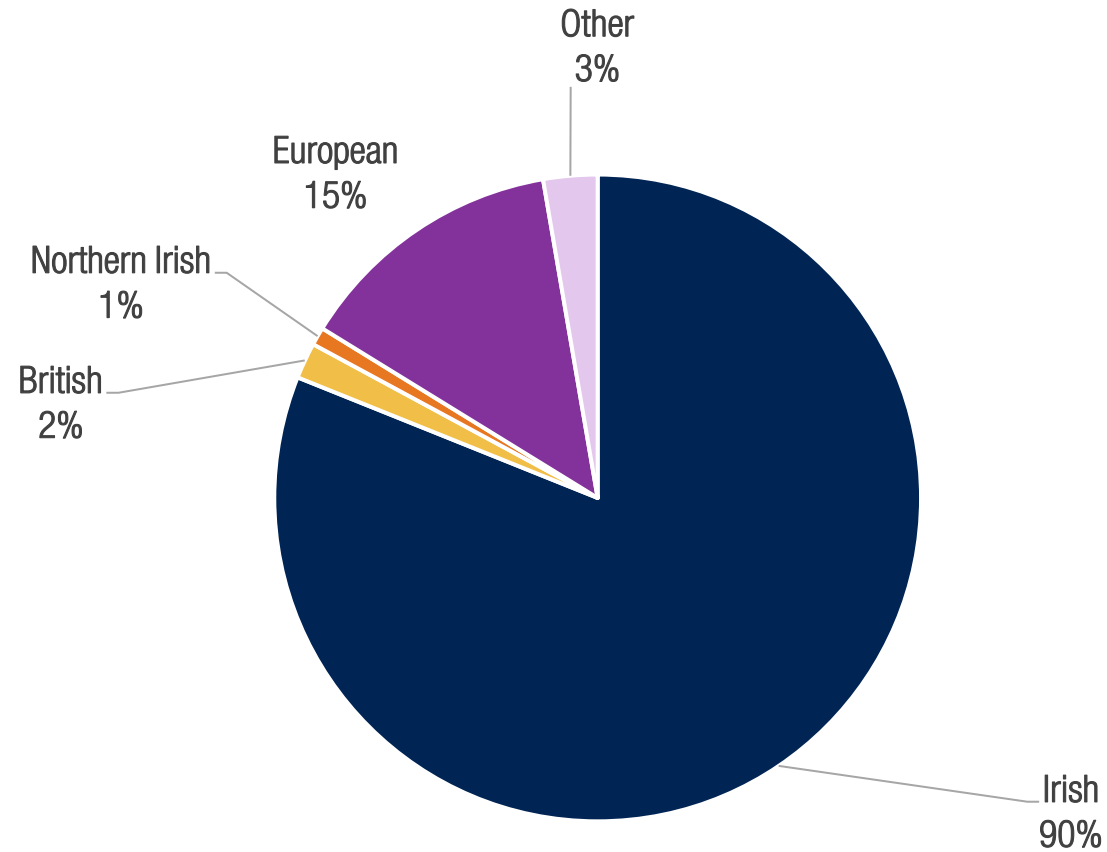
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

- This survey in the Republic of Ireland was conducted on behalf of the Irish Times and ARINS by Ipsos, among a national quota sample of 1,019 representative of the c.3.93m adults aged 18 upwards, covering one hundred sampling points throughout all constituencies in the Republic of Ireland.
- A stratified, random sampling approach was used. Firstly, all sampling units (EDs) in the county were stratified geographically, and sampling points selected within each strata randomly with regard to the population size of each sampling unit. At each point, a random start address was selected, from which the interviewer followed a random route to complete an assignment of interviews adhering to set demographic quota controls.
- Personal in-home interviewing took place between August and October 2023. The accuracy level is estimated to be approximately plus or minus 3.1%. In all respects, the survey was conducted within the guidelines laid down by AIMRO, and by ESOMAR.
- All interviews were conducted in-home by trained and experienced Ipsos interviewers.
- Extracts from the report may be quoted or published on condition that due acknowledgement is given to: The Irish Times/ARINS and Ipsos.

*Throughout this report * denotes small base size.*

NATIONAL IDENTITY



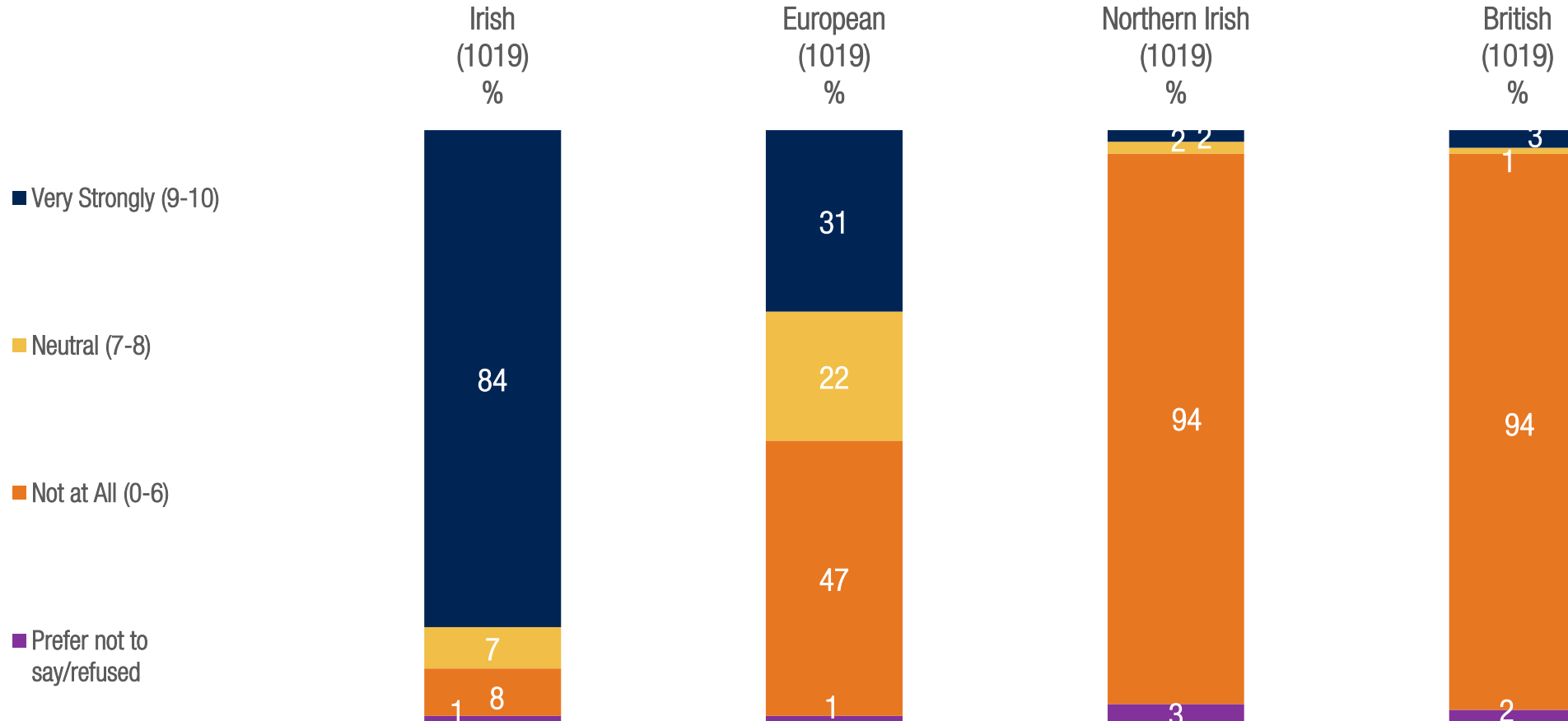


Q.B1 Which of the following best describes your national identity?

Base: All respondents: 1019

NATIONAL IDENTITY - II

New question in 2023

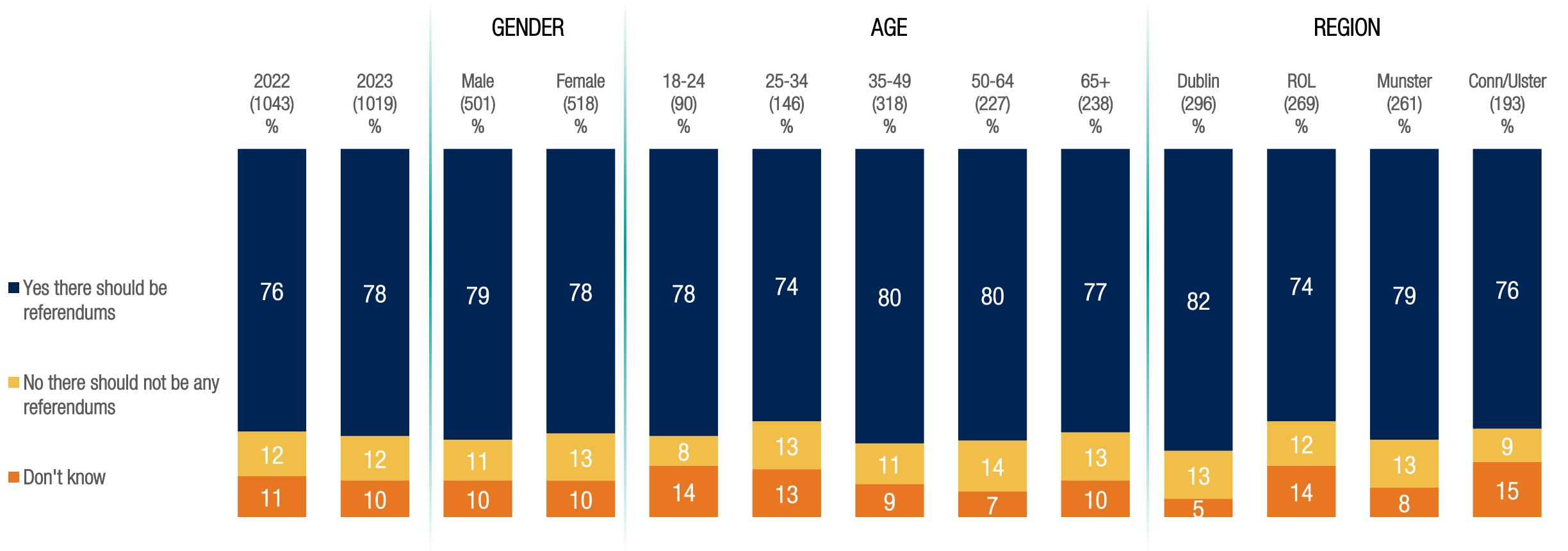


Q.B2 Here is a scale that we would like you to use to describe the extent to which you feel Irish, European, Northern Irish, or British. On the 0 to 10 scale, 0 means 'Not at all' and 10 means 'Very strongly', please choose any number between 0 and 10. To what extent do you feel?

Base: All respondents: 1019

REFERENDUMS NORTH & SOUTH - TREND DATA

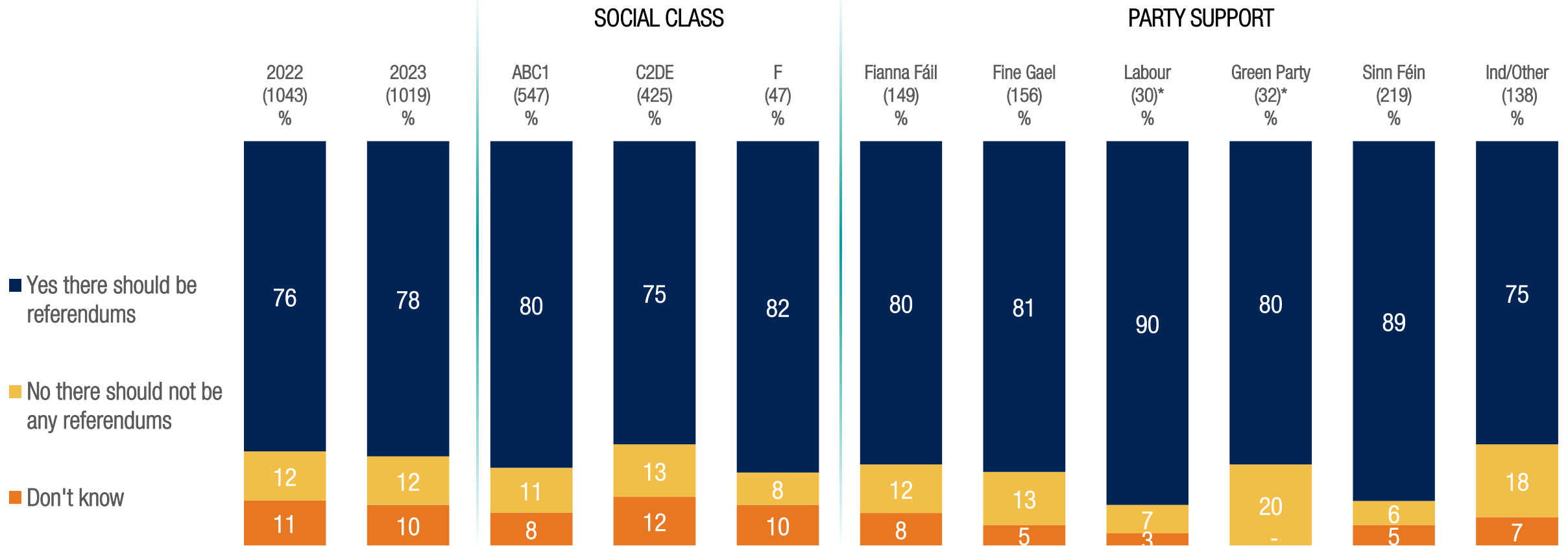
SHOULD THERE BE REFERENDUMS IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND? - I



Q.A1 Do you think there should be referendums in Northern Ireland and in the Republic of Ireland asking people whether they want Northern Ireland to remain in the United Kingdom or to unify with the Republic of Ireland?

Base: All respondents: 1019

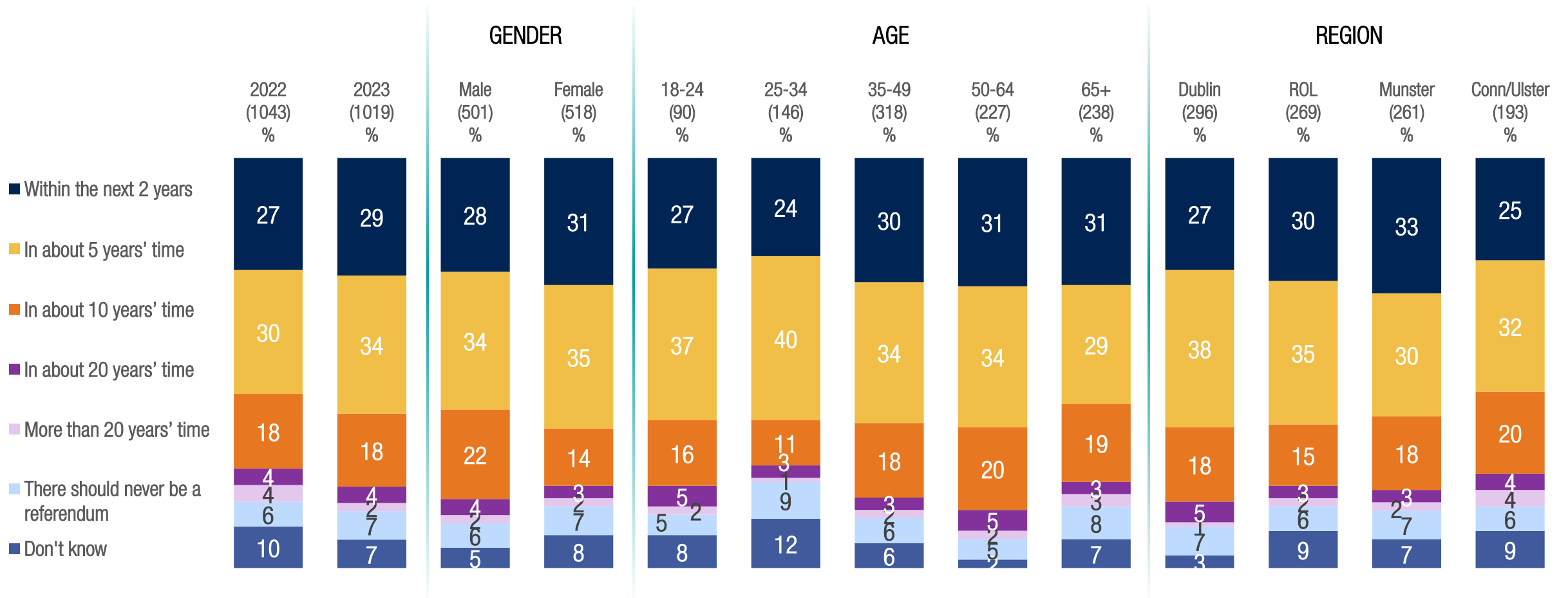
SHOULD THERE BE REFERENDUMS IN NORTHERN IRELAND AND IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND? - II



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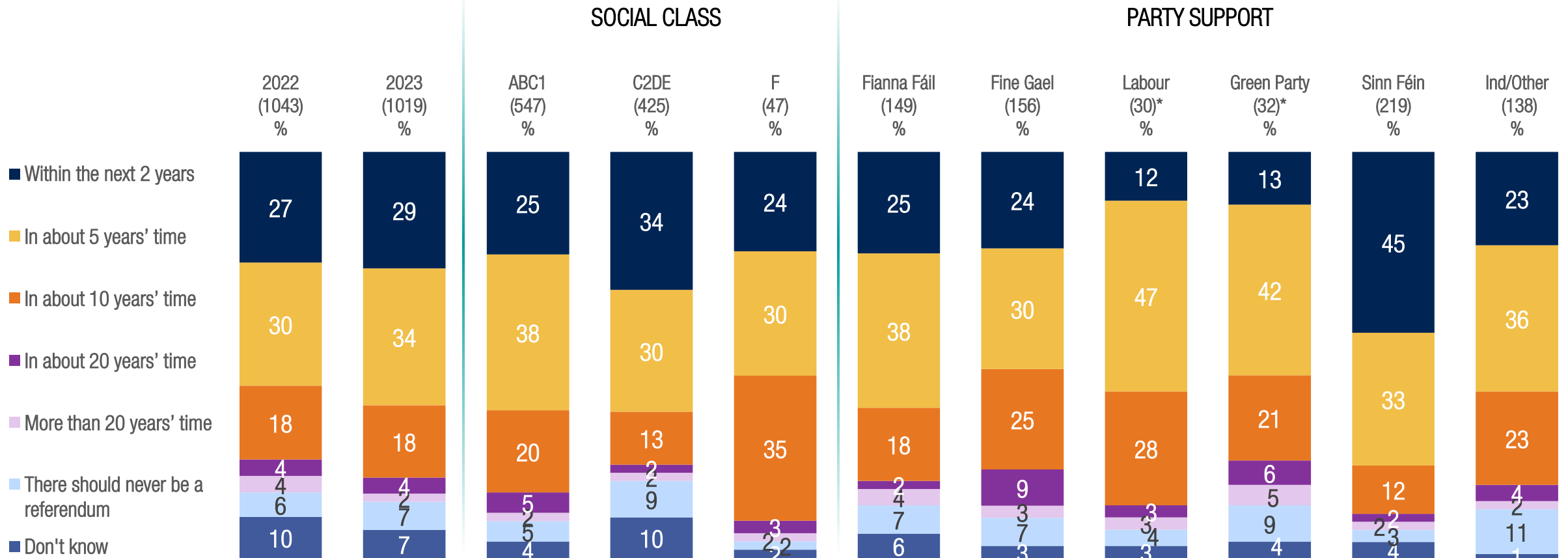
Base: All respondents: 1019

WHEN, IF EVER, DO YOU THINK THE REFERENDUMS SHOULD BE HELD? - I



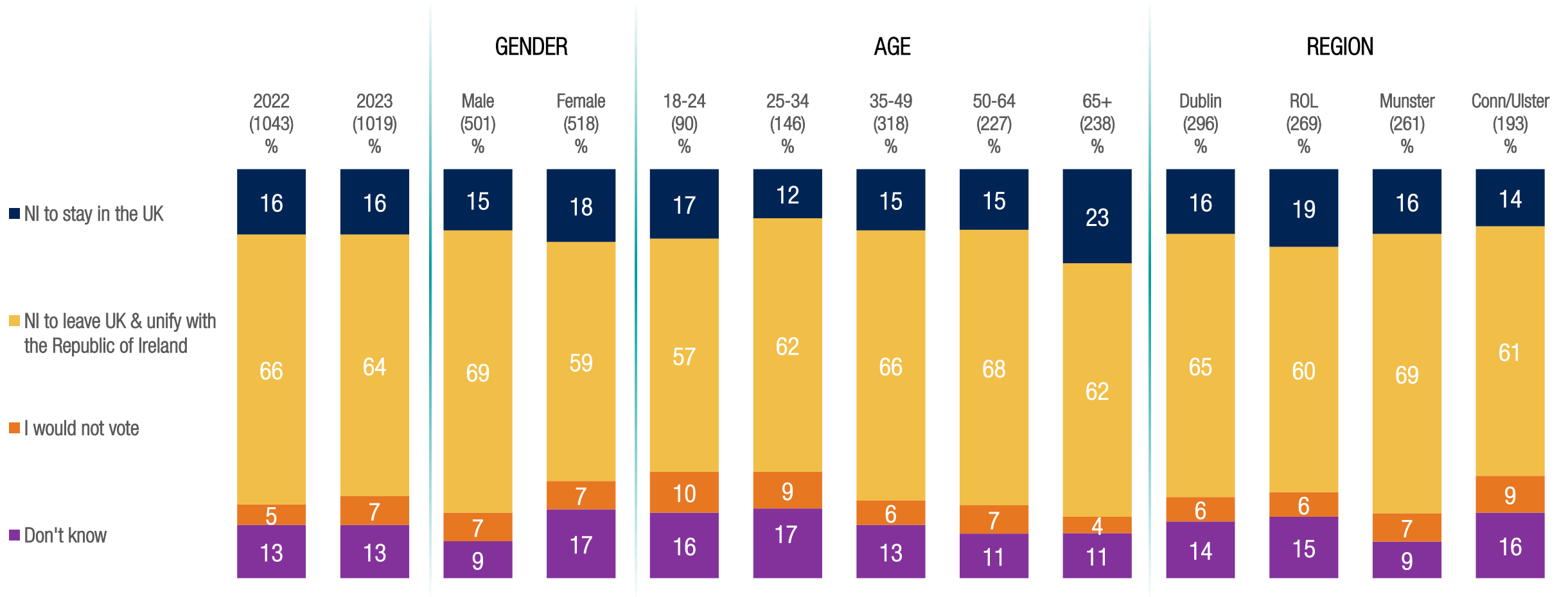
Q.A2 When if ever do you think the referendums should be held?
 Base: All respondents: 1019

WHEN, IF EVER, DO YOU THINK THE REFERENDUMS SHOULD BE HELD? - II



Q.A2 When if ever do you think the referendums should be held?
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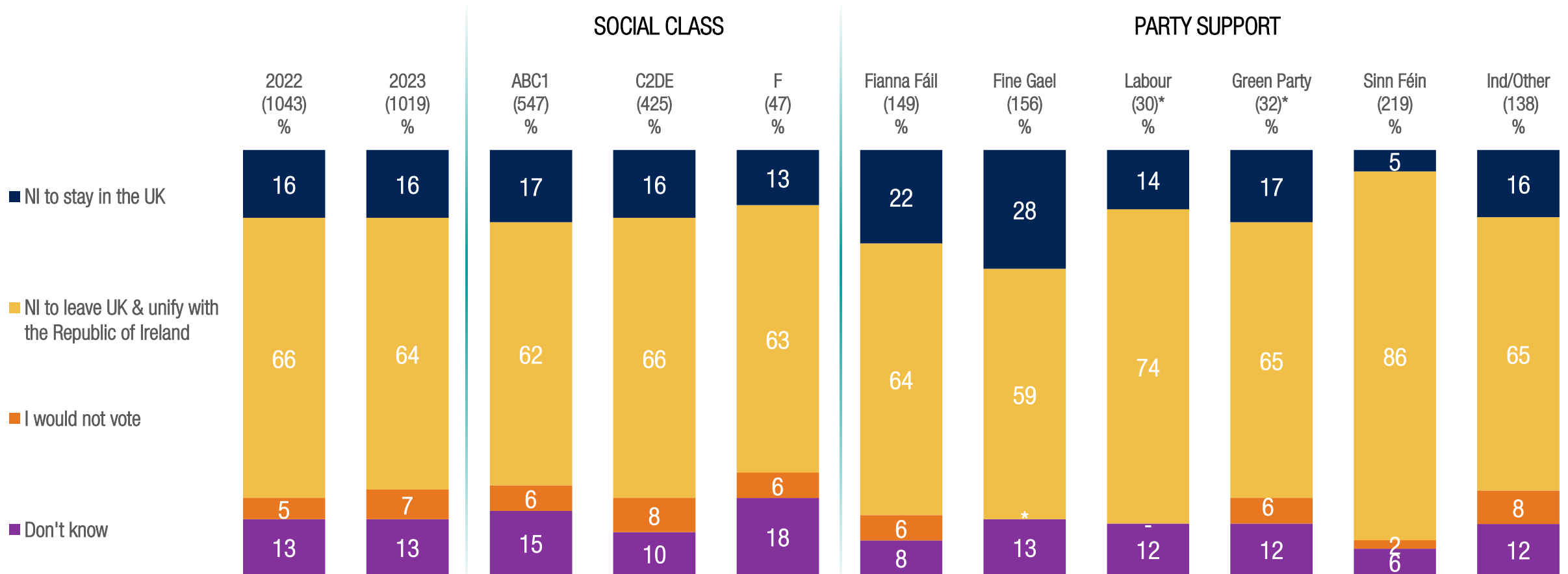
HOW WOULD YOU VOTE IN A REFERENDUM? - I



Q.A3 If there was a referendum in the Republic of Ireland asking people whether they want Northern Ireland to remain in the United Kingdom or to unify with the Republic of Ireland how would you vote in that referendum?

Base: All respondents

HOW WOULD YOU VOTE IN A REFERENDUM? - II



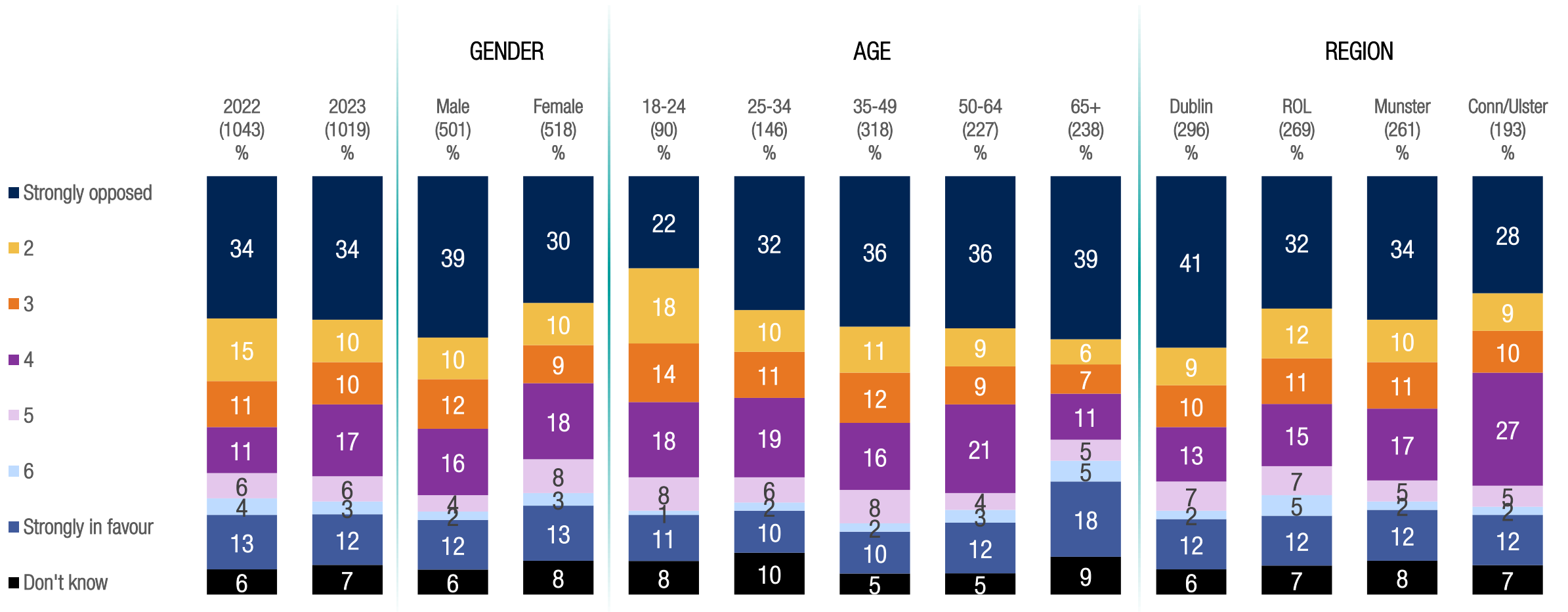
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VIEWS ON A UNITED IRELAND - TREND DATA

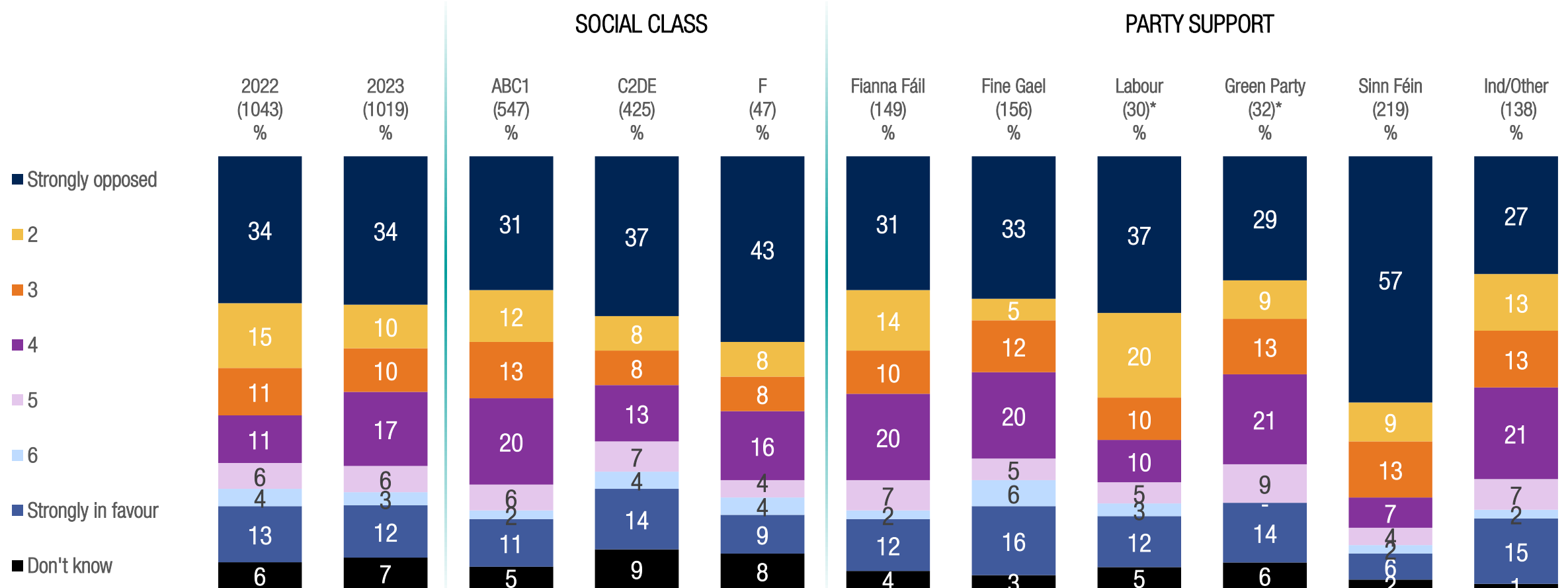


OPPOSED OR IN FAVOUR : NORTHERN IRELAND TO STAY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM - I



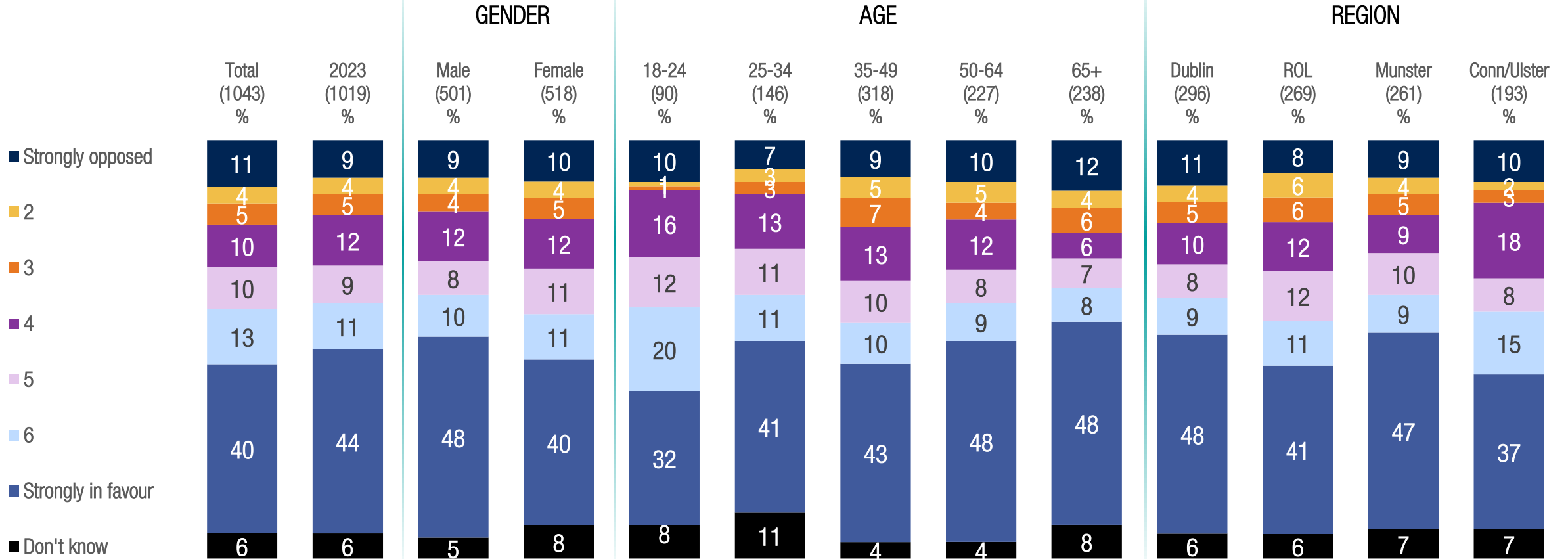
Q.A4 For each of the following options, please indicate the extent to which you would be opposed or in favour : Northern Ireland to stay in the United Kingdom
 Base: All respondents: 1019

OPPOSED OR IN FAVOUR : NORTHERN IRELAND TO STAY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM - II



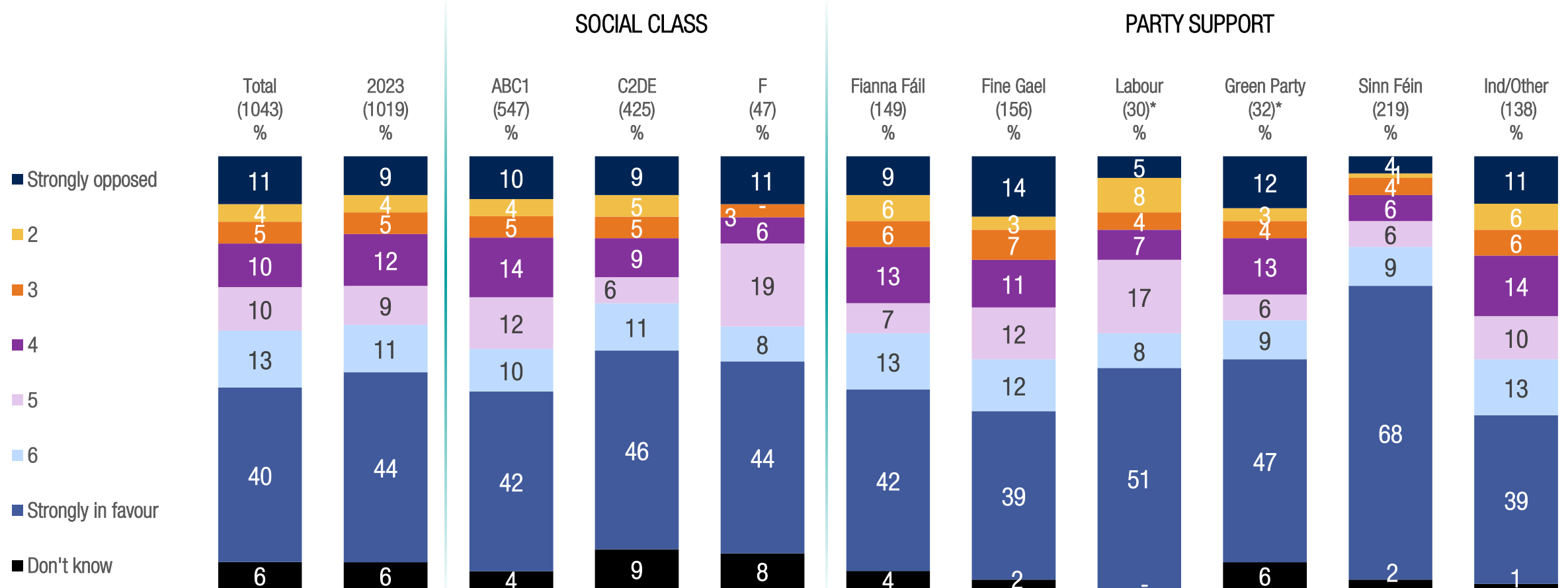
Q.A4 For each of the following options, please indicate the extent to which you would be opposed or in favour : Northern Ireland to stay in the United Kingdom
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OPPOSED OR IN FAVOUR : NORTHERN IRELAND TO LEAVE THE UNITED KINGDOM AND UNIFY WITH THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND - I



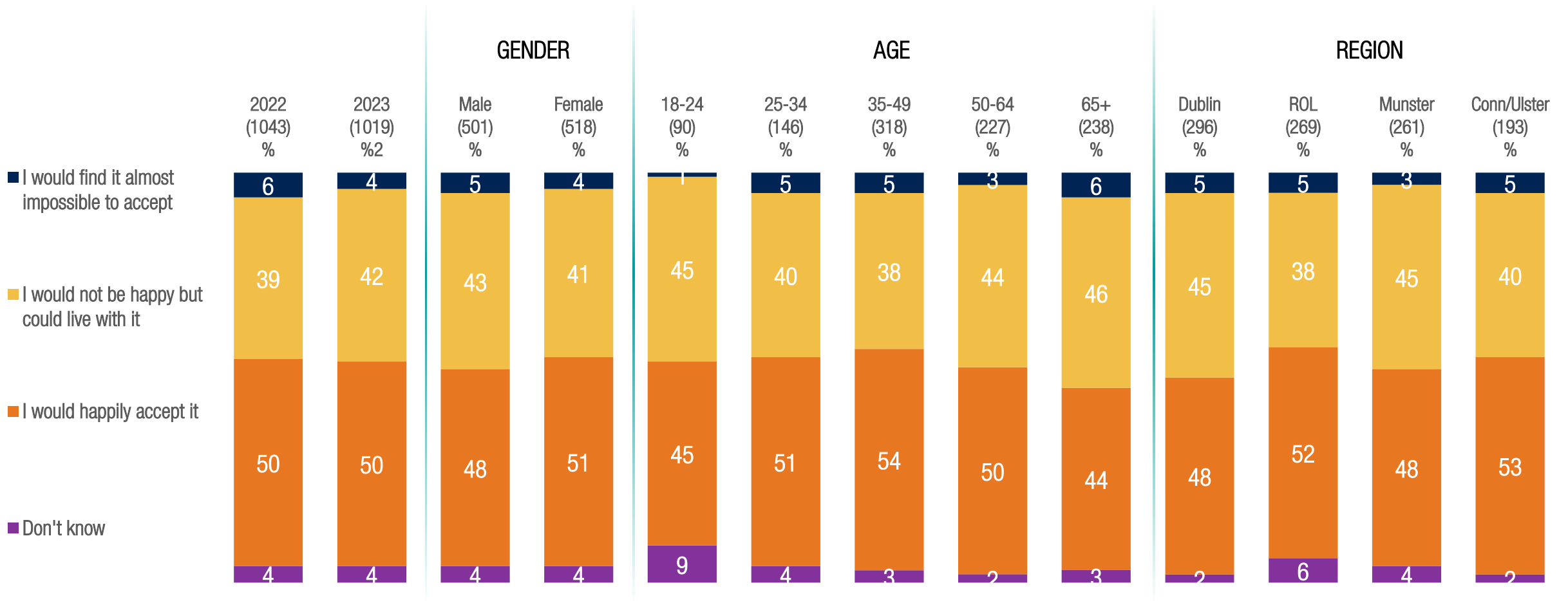
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OPPOSED OR IN FAVOUR : NORTHERN IRELAND TO LEAVE THE UNITED KINGDOM AND UNIFY WITH THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND - II



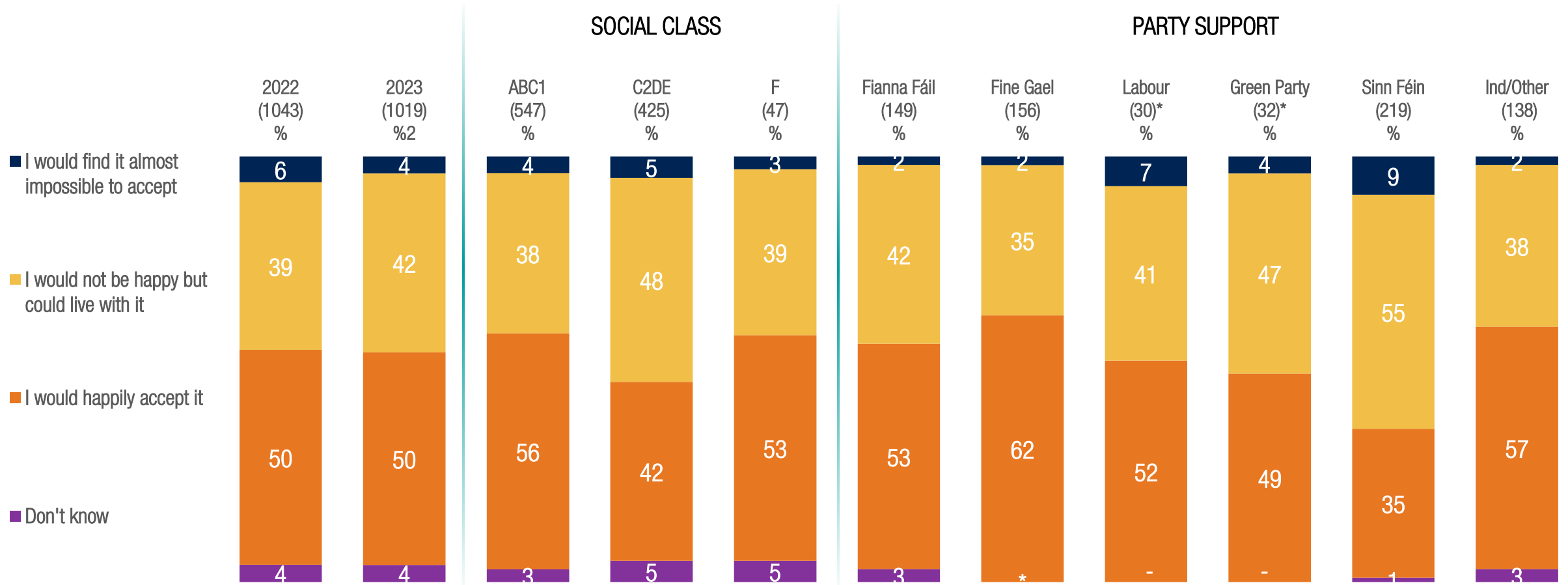
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ACCEPTANCE OF BOTH NI & ROI VOTING FOR NI TO STAY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM - I



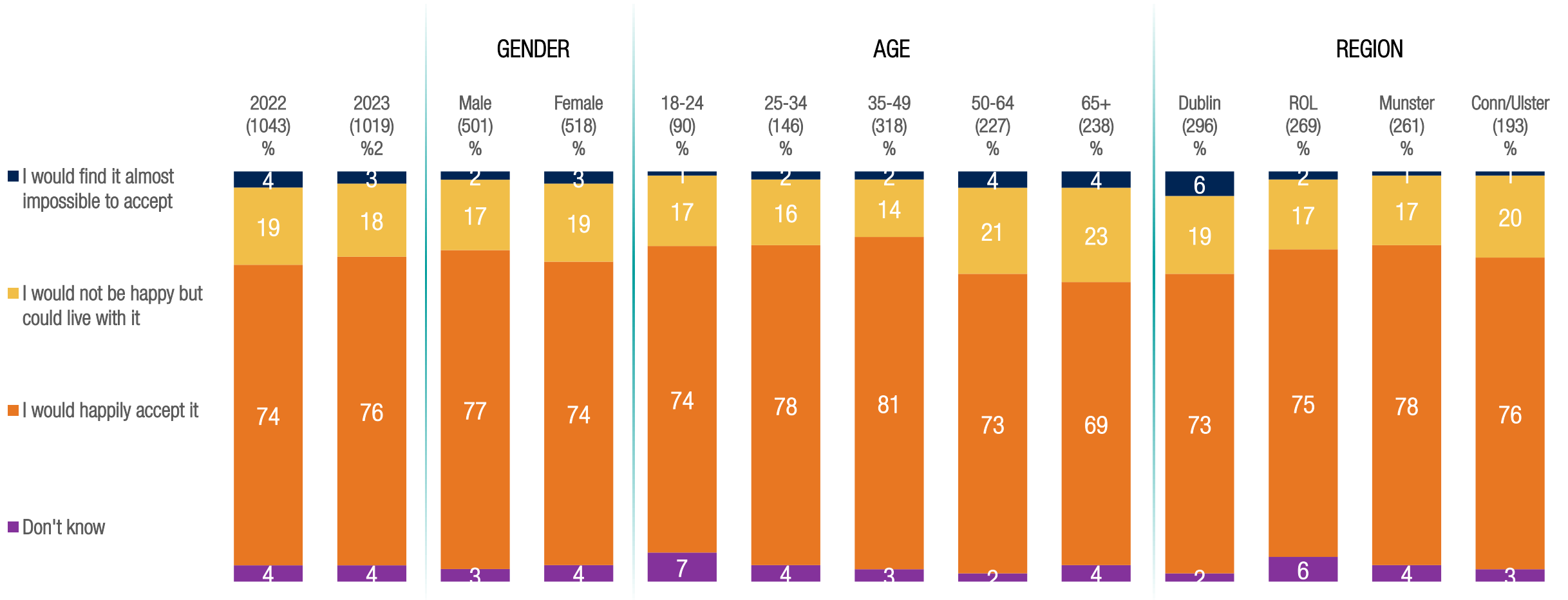
Q.A5 Imagine there was a referendum in Northern Ireland and in the Republic of Ireland and a majority in both places voted for Northern Ireland to stay in the UK. Please indicate what your reaction would be
 Base: All respondents: 1019

ACCEPTANCE OF BOTH NI & ROI VOTING FOR NI TO STAY IN THE UNITED KINGDOM - II



Q.A5 Imagine there was a referendum in Northern Ireland and in the Republic of Ireland and a majority in both places voted for Northern Ireland to stay in the UK. Please indicate what your reaction would be
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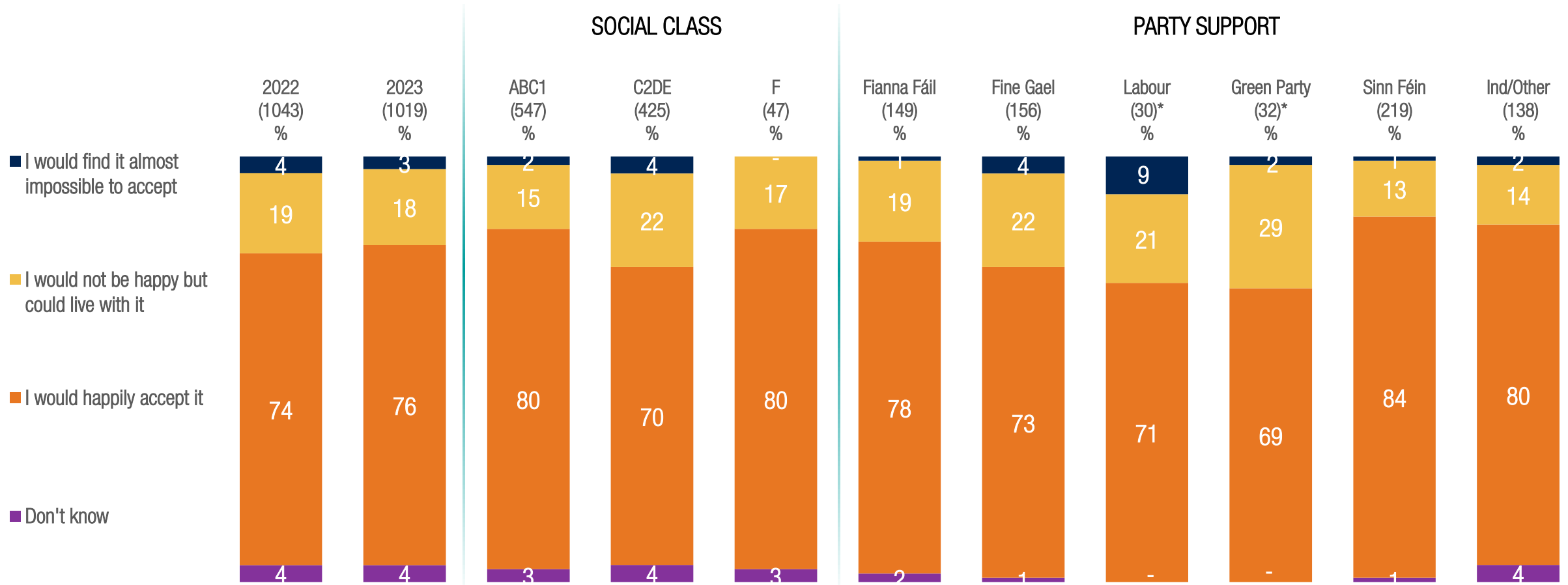
ACCEPTANCE OF BOTH NI & ROI VOTING TO UNIFY NI WITH ROI - I



Q.A6 Imagine there was a referendum in Northern Ireland and in the Republic of Ireland and a majority in both places voted for Northern Ireland to unify with the Republic of Ireland. Please indicate what your reaction would be:

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ACCEPTANCE OF BOTH NI & ROI VOTING TO UNIFY NI WITH ROI - II



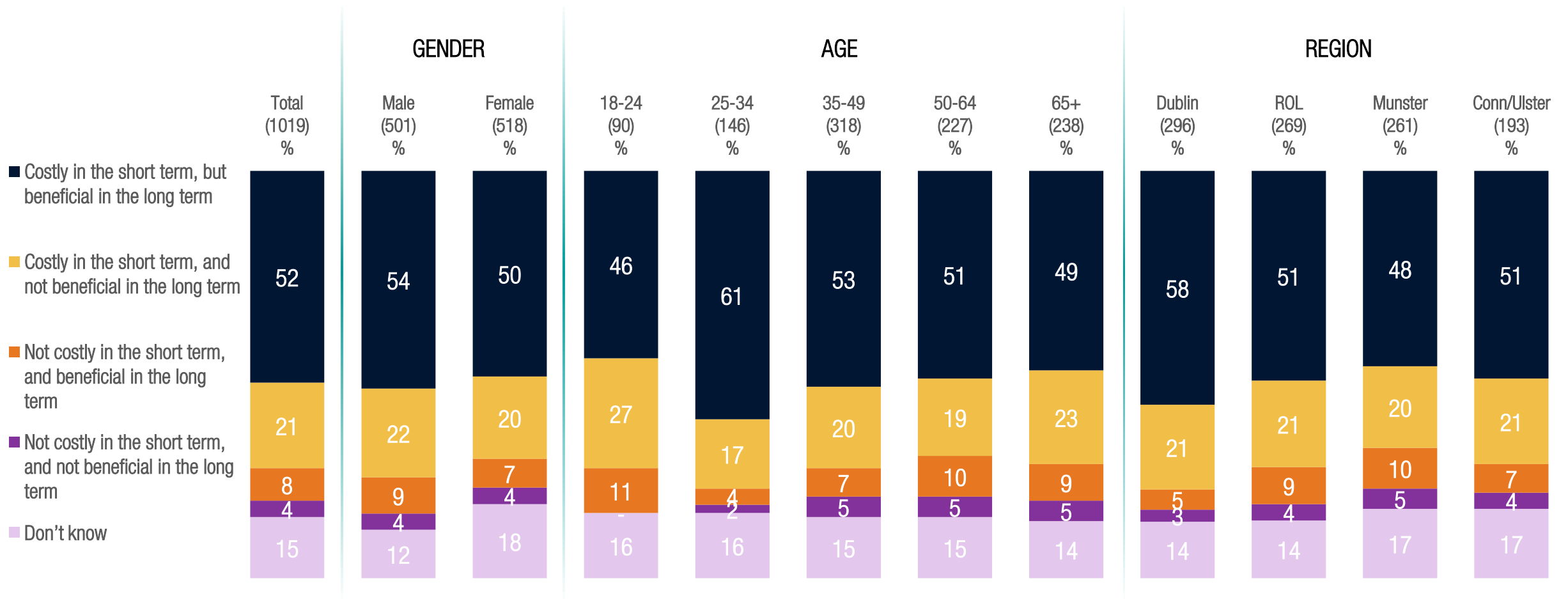
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ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF A UNITED IRELAND

ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF IRISH UNITY TO IMMEDIATE FAMILY - I

New question in 2023

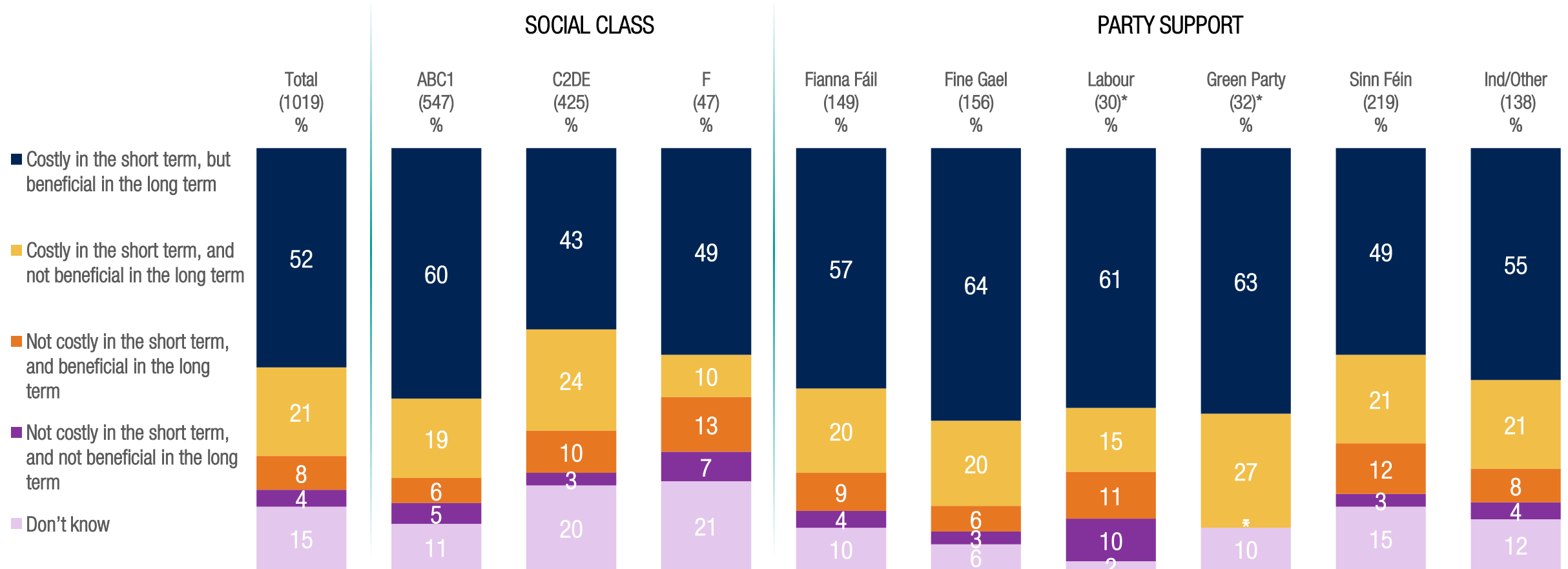


Q.D1 Imagine that there are referendums, North and South, and people in both places voted for a United Ireland. There may be economic consequences, both in the short and the long term. Thinking about the economic consequences of Irish unity for you and your immediate family, do you think Irish unity would be...

Base: All respondents: 1019

ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF IRISH UNITY TO IMMEDIATE FAMILY - II

New question in
2023

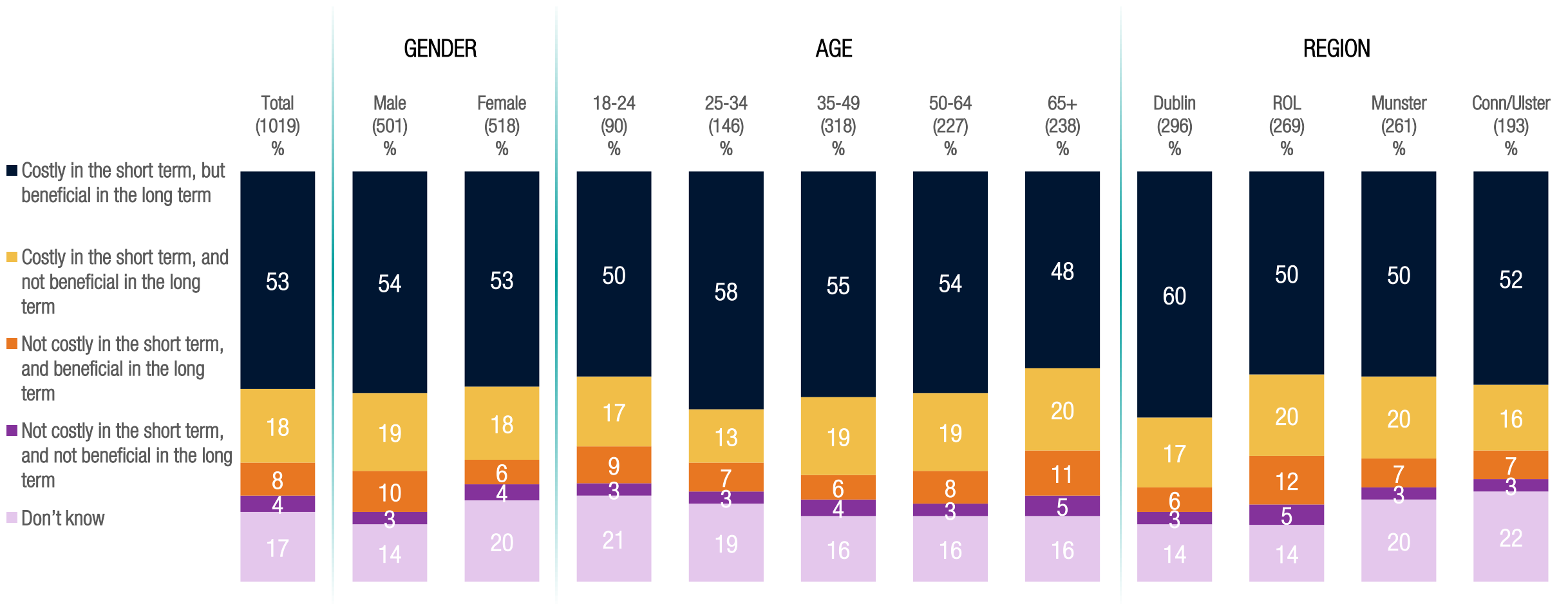


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ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF IRISH UNITY TO THE AVERAGE PERSON - I

New question in 2023

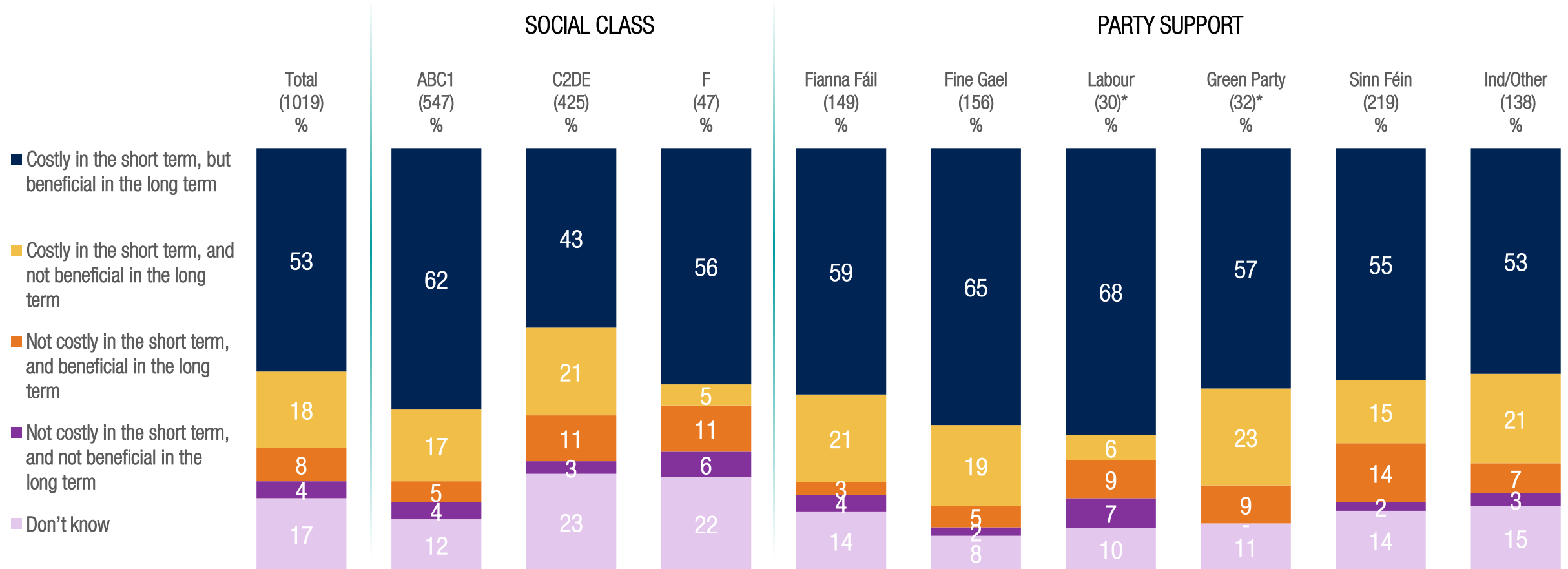


Q.D2 Imagine that there are referendums, North and South, and people in both places voted for a United Ireland. There may be economic consequences, both in the short and the long term. Thinking about the economic consequences of Irish unity for the average person on the island, do you think Irish unity would be...

Base: All respondents: 1019

ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF IRISH UNITY TO THE AVERAGE PERSON - II

New question in 2023

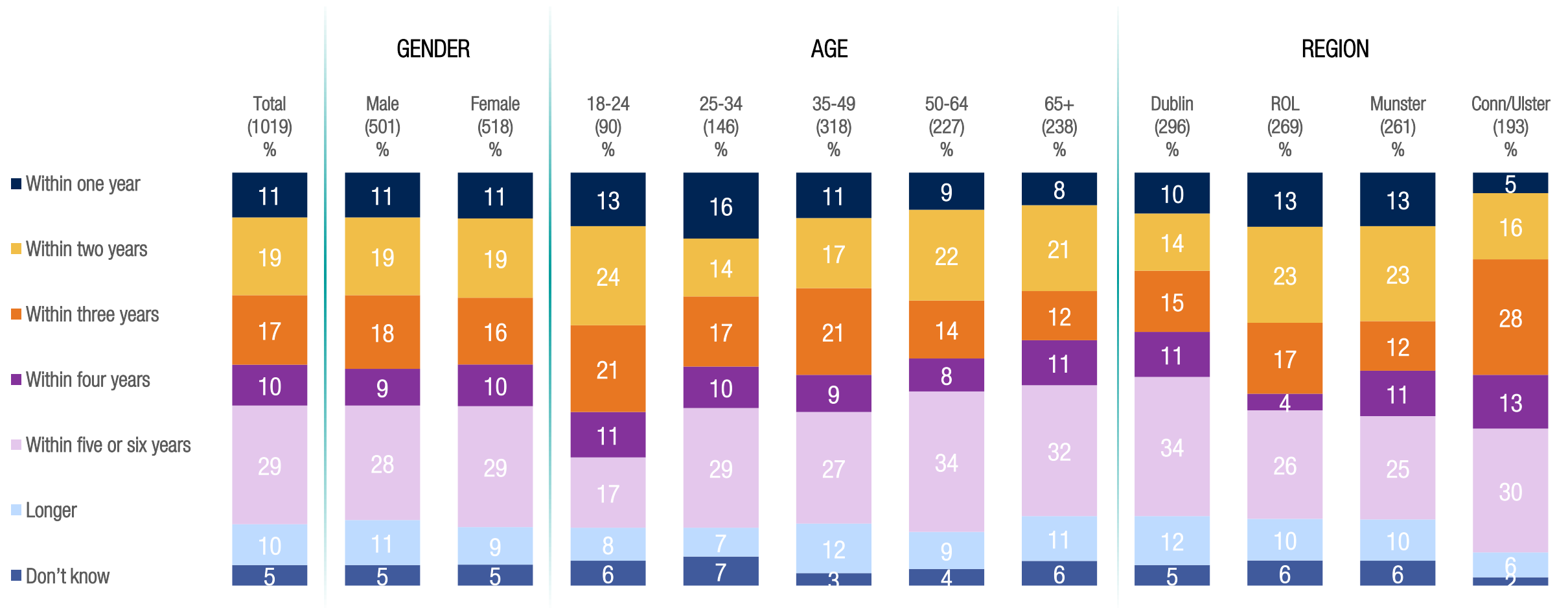


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UNDERSTANDING OF THE PHRASE 'IN THE SHORT TERM' - I

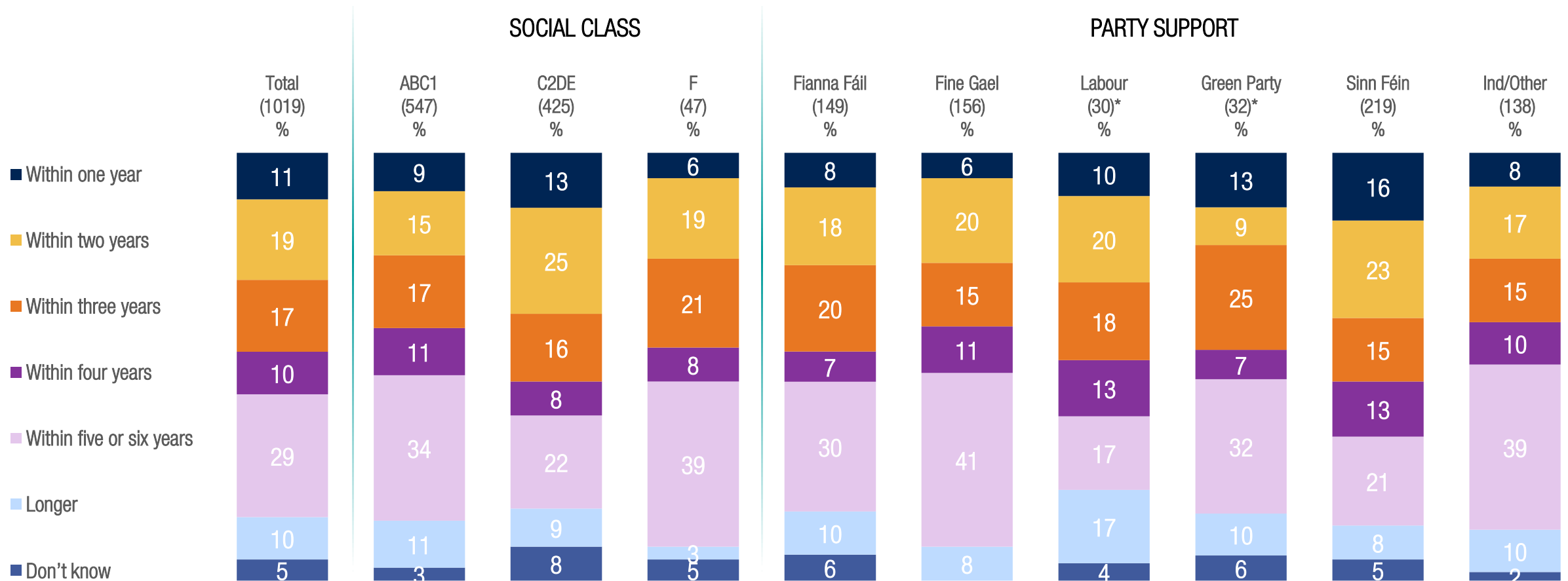
New question in 2023



Q.D3 In discussions about the possible economic consequences of Irish unity, the phrases 'in the short term' and 'in the long term' are often used. I'd like to ask you what, in your own mind, you think these phrases mean.
 Base: All respondents: 1019

UNDERSTANDING OF THE PHRASE 'IN THE SHORT TERM' - II

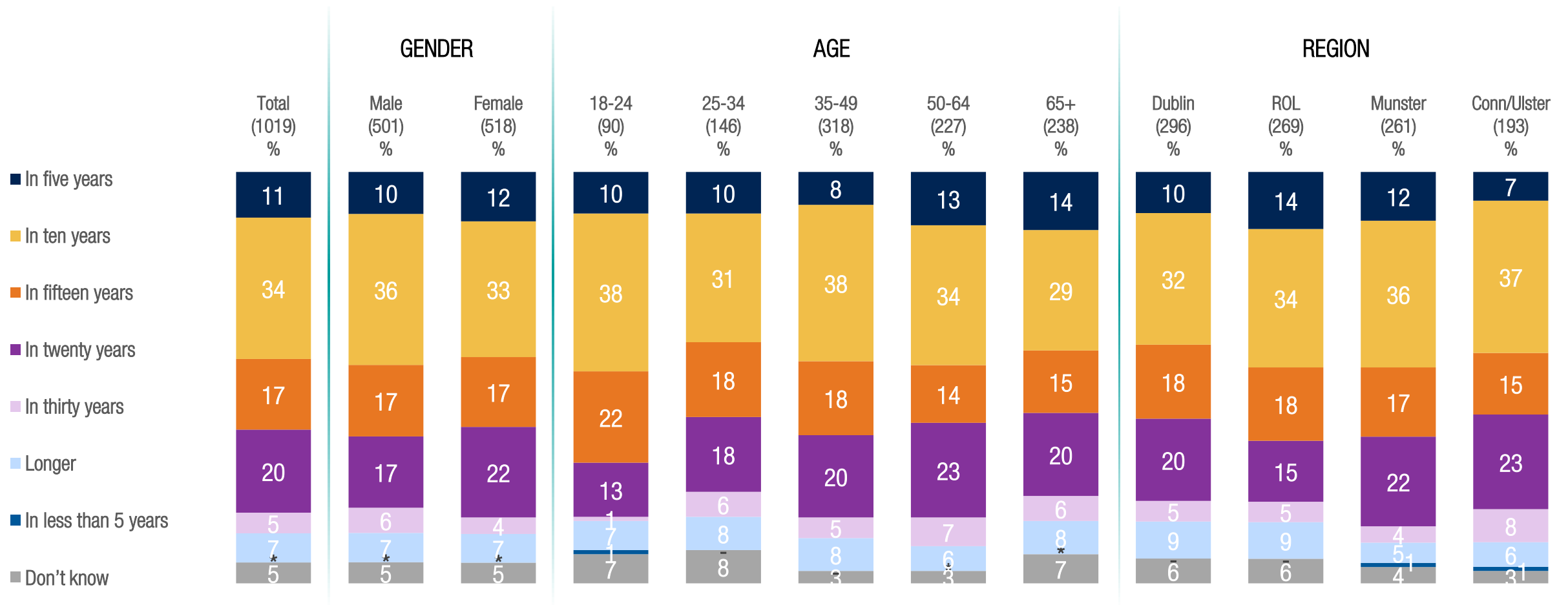
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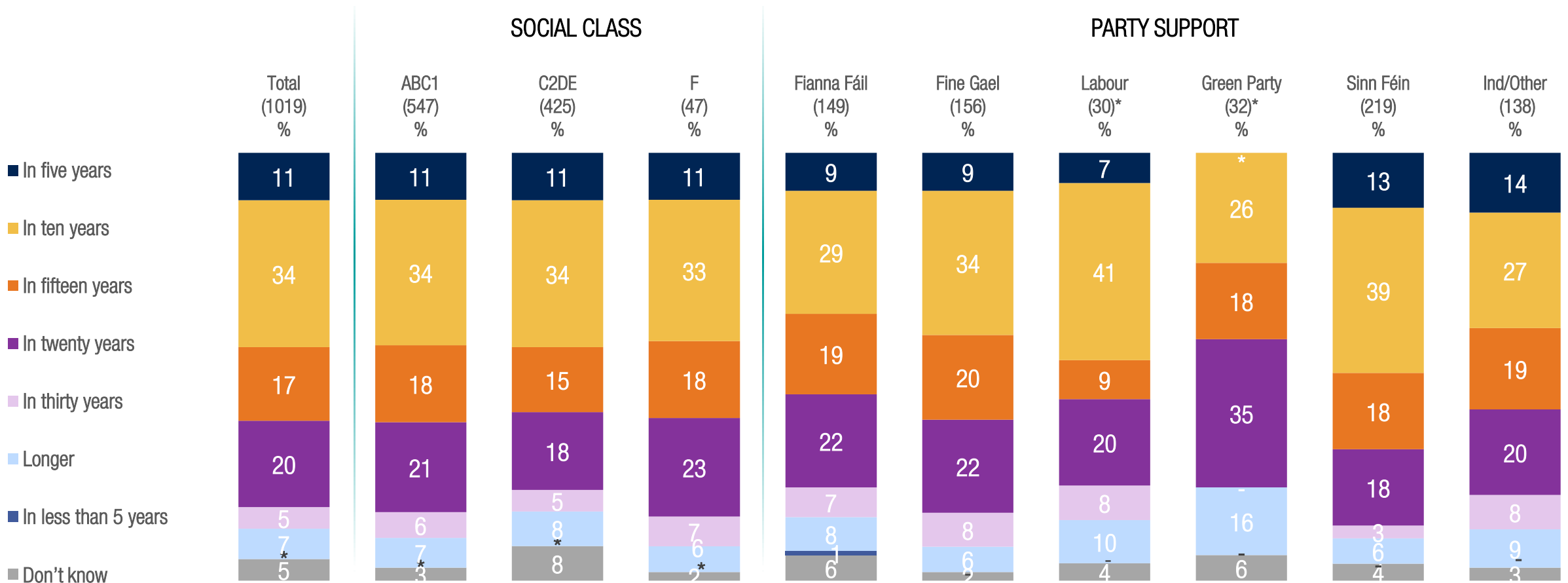


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New question in 2023



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ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF IRISH UNITY AMONG NORTH & SOUTH HOUSEHOLDS - SUMMARY

New question in
2023

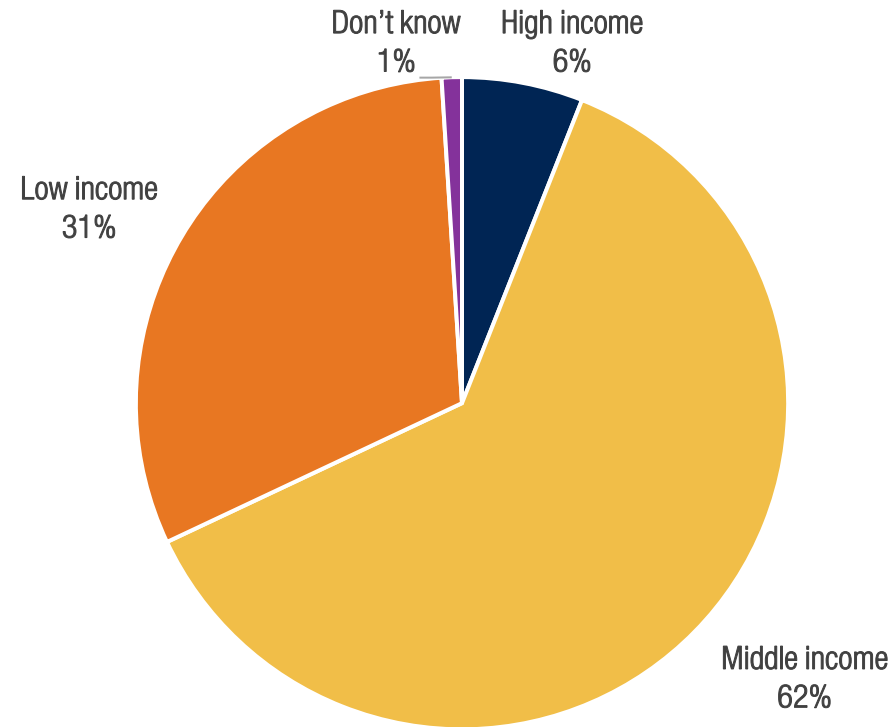
	People in the North in High Income Households %	People in the South in High Income Households %	People in the North in Middle Income Households %	People in the South in Middle Income Households %	People in the North in Low Income Households %	People in the South in Low Income Households %
Economically benefit	24	22	21	14	31	20
Economically lose out	23	21	28	33	27	30
Economically stay the same	27	36	27	32	19	29
Don't Know	25	21	24	21	23	21

Q.D5 Some people may lose out economically if there was a united Ireland and others may benefit economically. In relation to each of the following groups, please tell me if you think that in a united Ireland they would economically benefit, economically lose out, or economically stay the same.

Base: All respondents: 1019

ECONOMIC SITUATION AMONG HOUSEHOLDS - SUMMARY

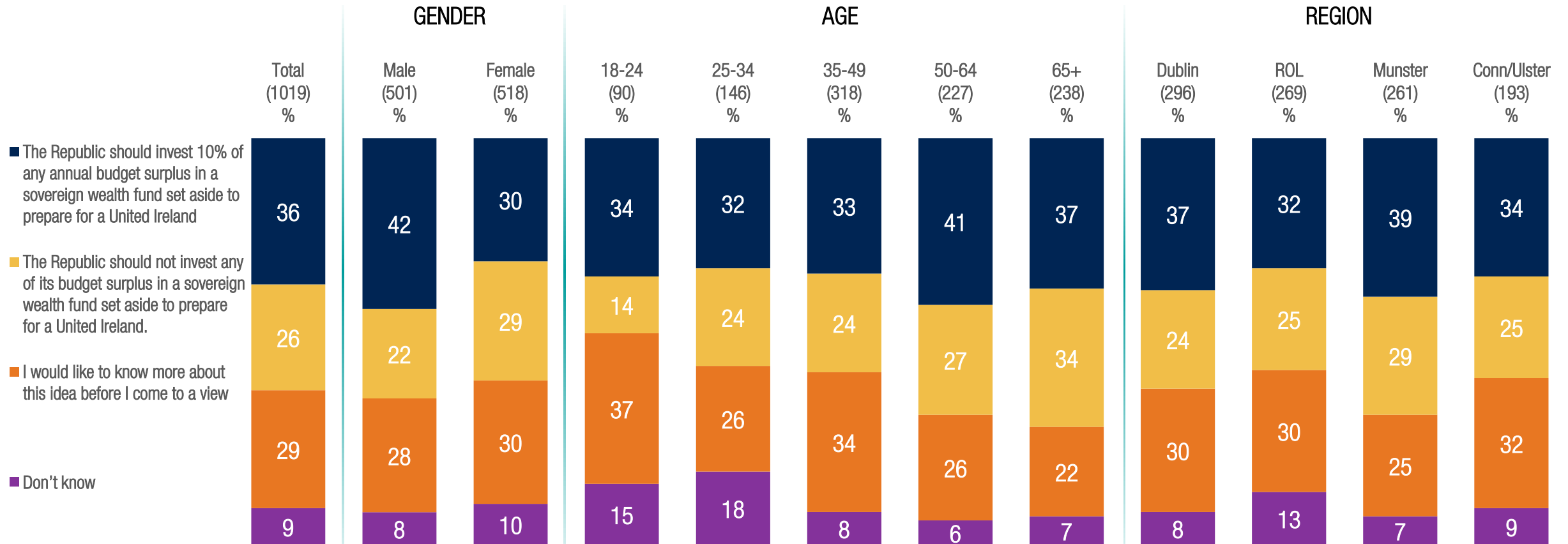
New question in
2023



Q.D6 How would you describe the household that you live in?
Base: All respondents: 1019

VIEWS ON WHETHER THE REPUBLIC SHOULD INVEST ANNUAL BUDGET SURPLUS IN A SOVEREIGN WEALTH FUND - I

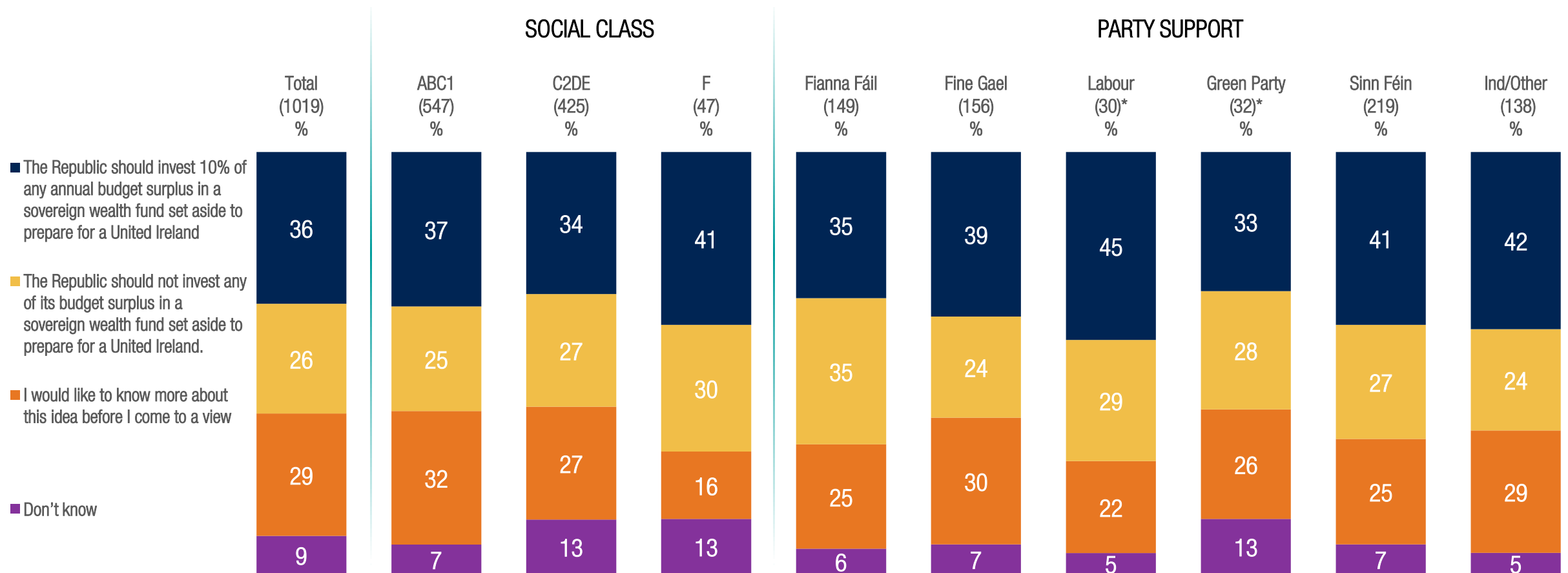
New question in 2023



Q.D7 Which view is closest to your own?
 Base: All respondents: 1019

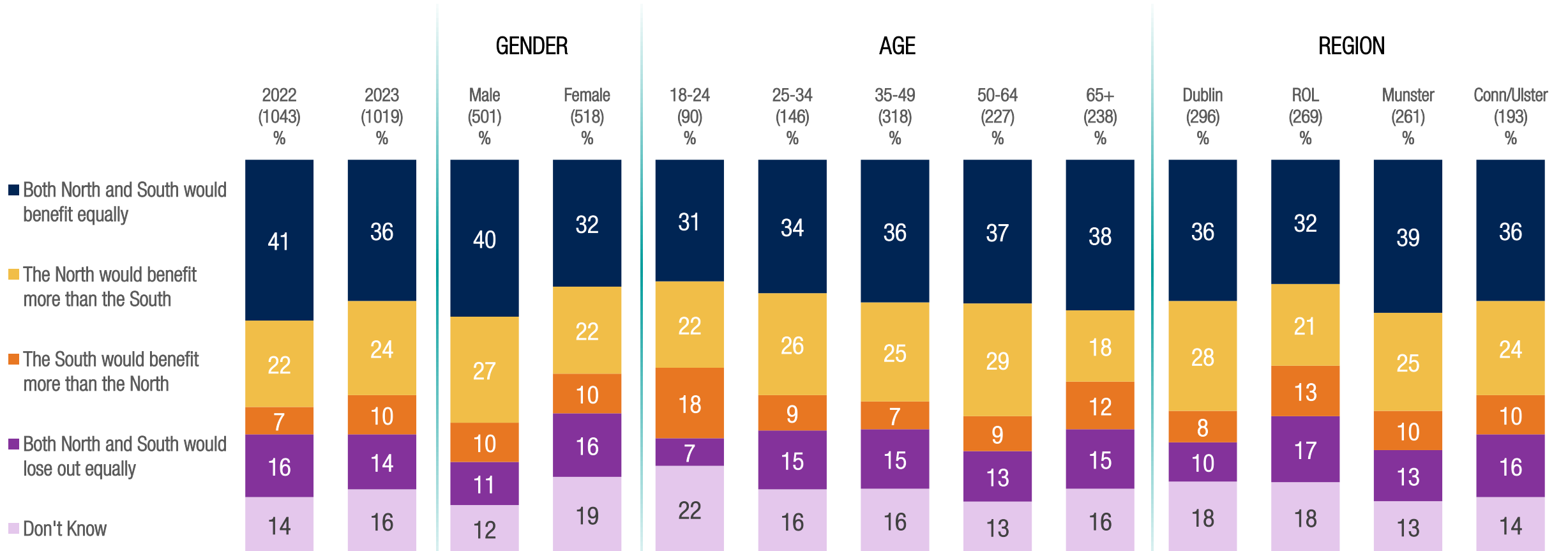
VIEWS ON WHETHER THE REPUBLIC SHOULD INVEST ANNUAL BUDGET SURPLUS IN A SOVEREIGN WEALTH FUND - II

New question in 2023



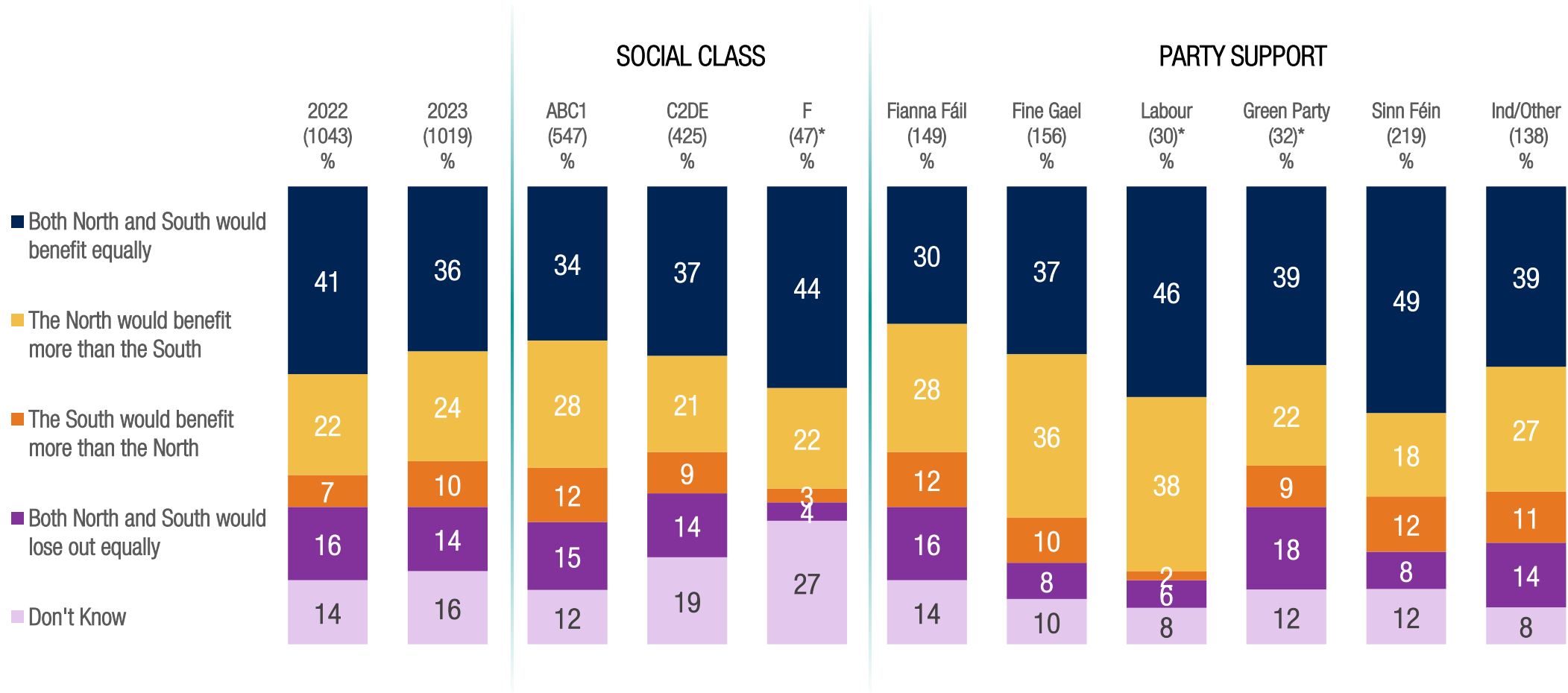
Q.D7 Which view is closest to your own?
 Base: All respondents: 1019

BENEFITS/LOSSES AS A RESULT OF A UNITED IRELAND – I



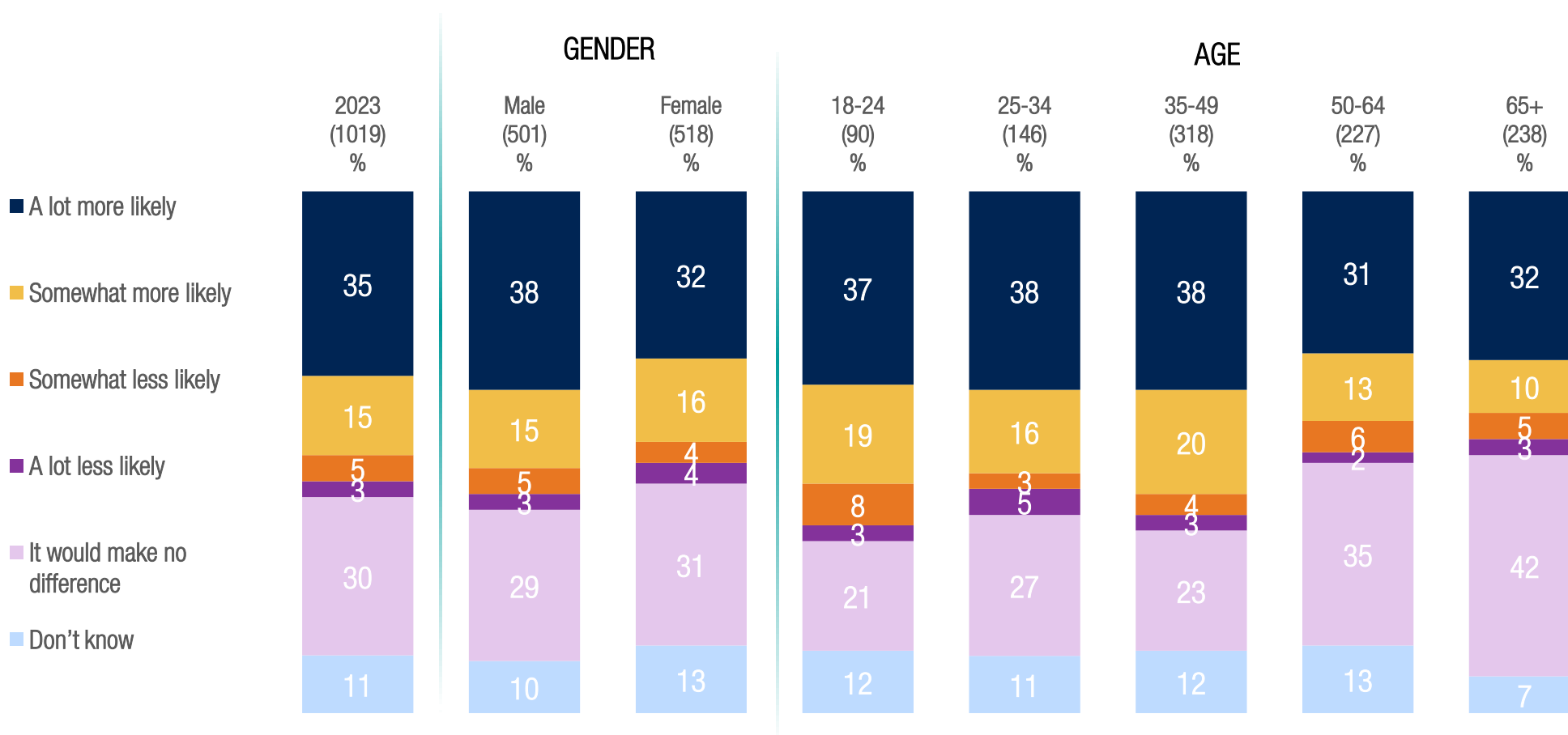
Q.D8 Which of the following statements is closest to your view? If there was a united Ireland....
 Base: All respondents: 1019

BENEFITS/LOSSES AS A RESULT OF A UNITED IRELAND – II



Q.D8 Which of the following statements is closest to your view? If there was a united Ireland....
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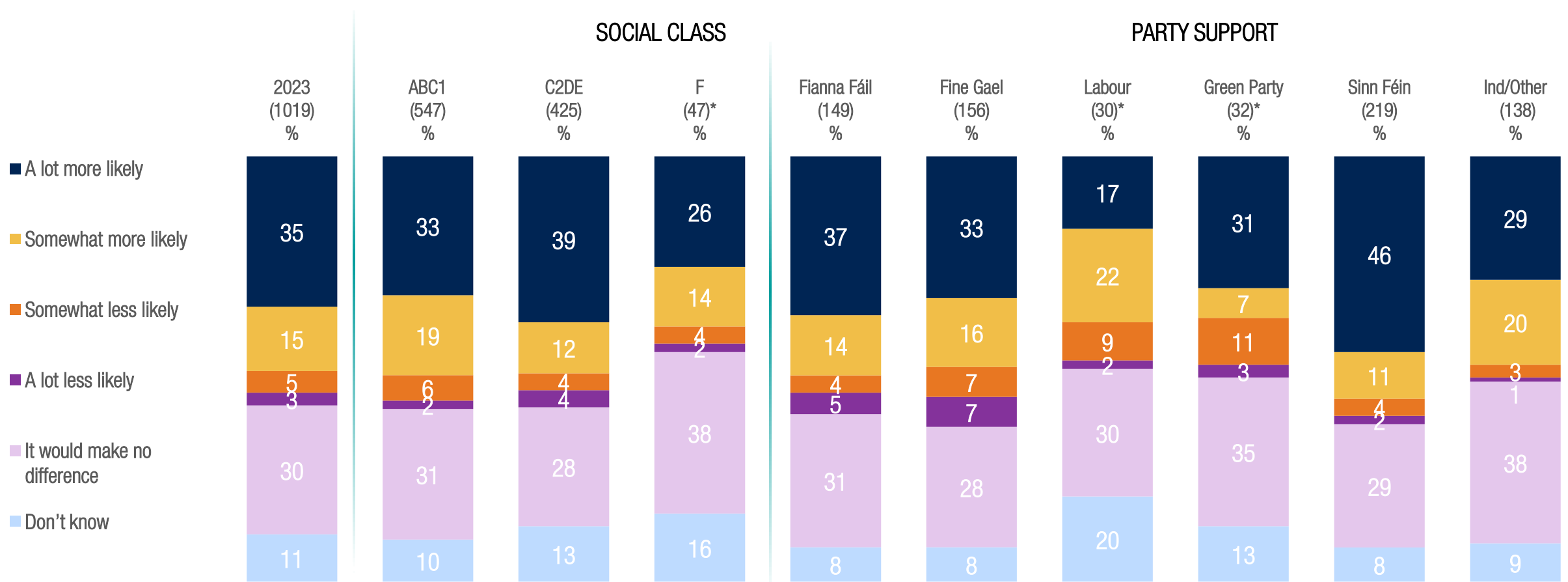
LIKELIHOOD TO VOTE FOR IRISH UNITY ACCORDING TO IMPACT ON INCOME - €4,000 A YEAR BETTER OFF - I



Q.D9 I would now like to ask you how you feel about a united Ireland under specific conditions. In relation to each please tell me whether it would make you a lot more likely to vote for a united Ireland, somewhat more likely to vote for a united Ireland, somewhat less likely to vote for a united Ireland, a lot less likely to vote for a united Ireland, or whether it would make no difference to how you vote.

Base: All respondents: 1019

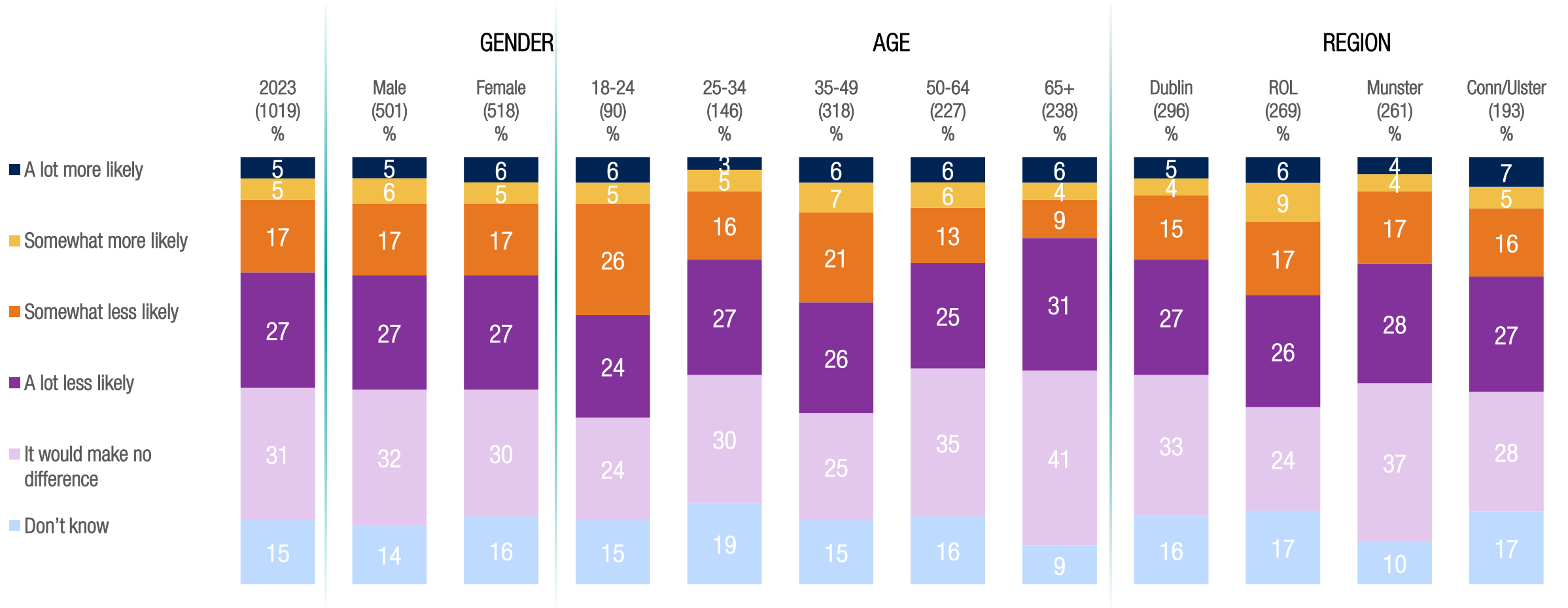
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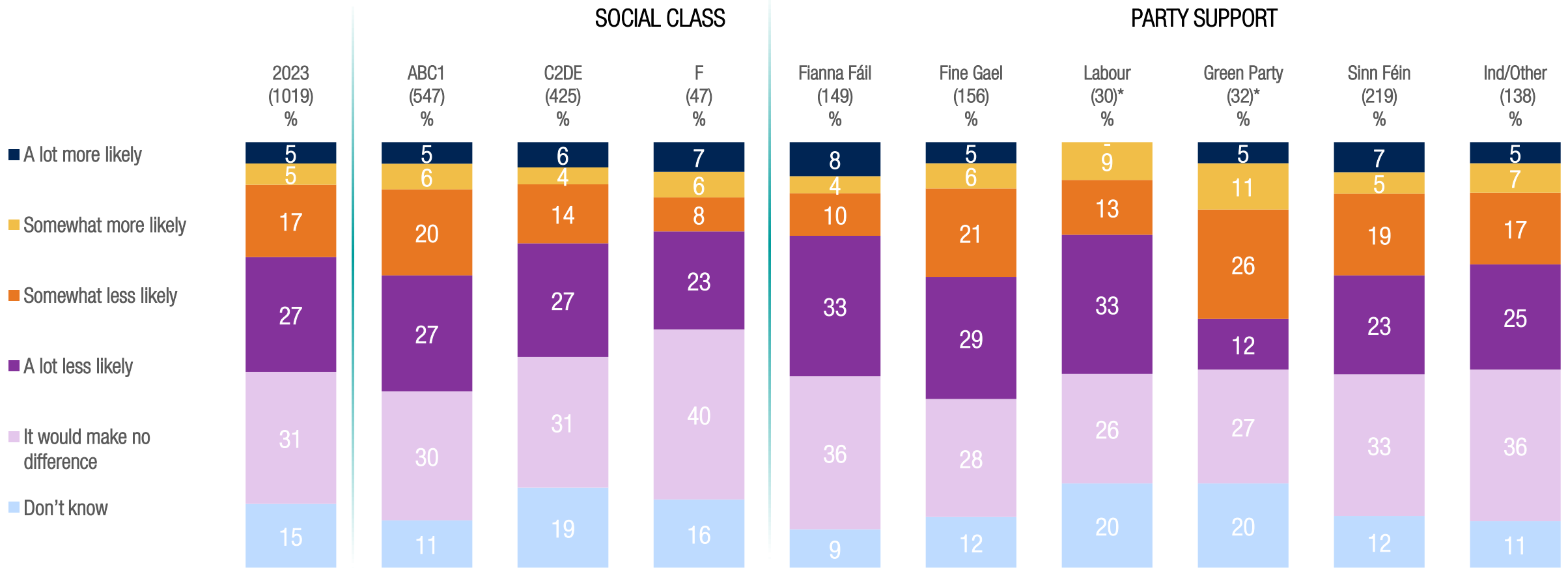
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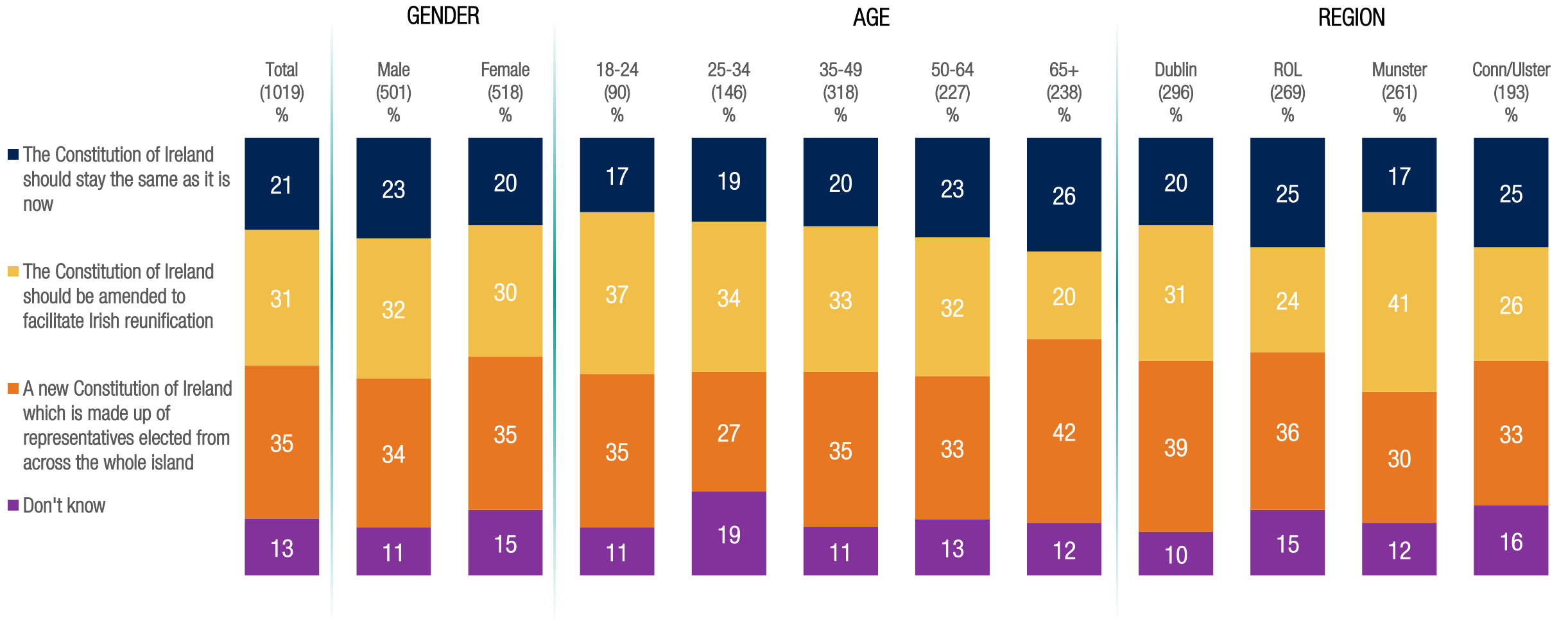
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PRESIDENCY, SENATE AND THE CONSTITUTION OF IRELAND

VIEWS ON THE CONSTITUTION OF IRELAND IN THE EVENT OF IRISH UNITY - I

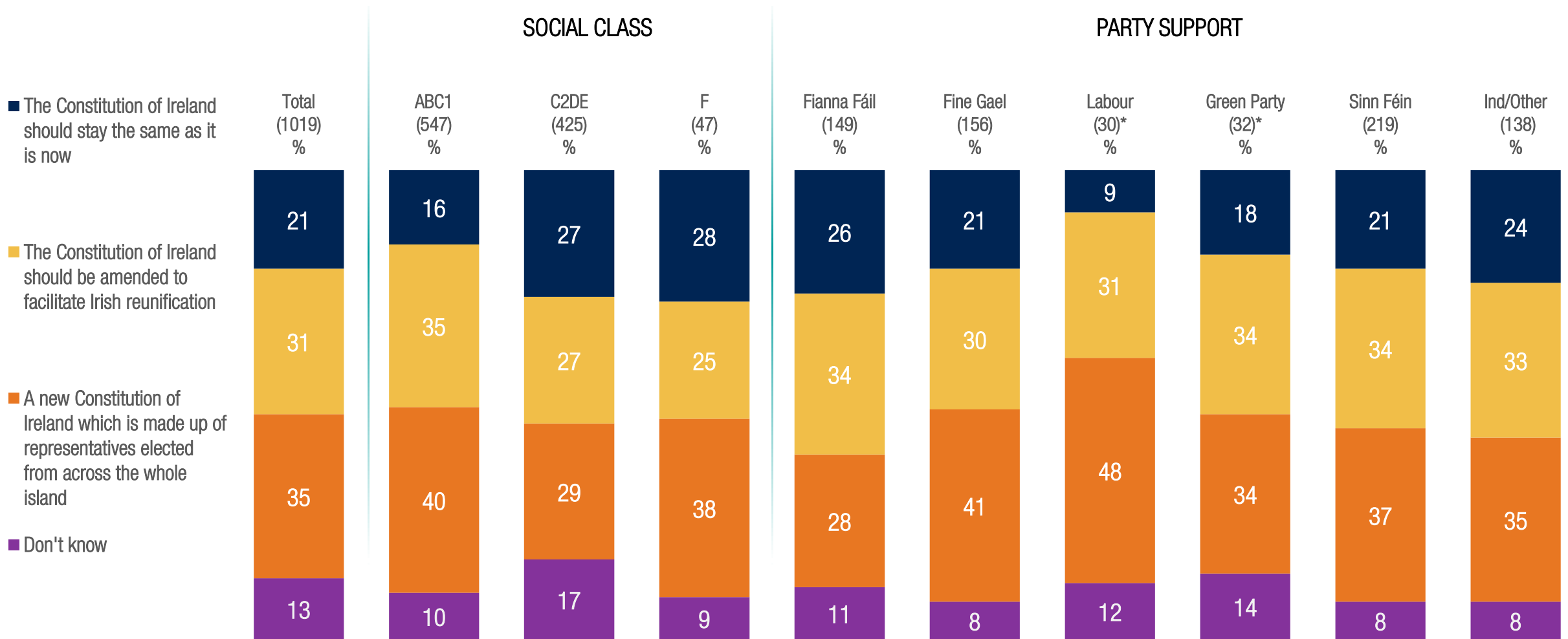
New question in
2023



Q.F1 In the event of Irish reunification, there are three possible positions regarding the existing Constitution of Ireland. Which one do you prefer, if any?
Base: All respondents: 1019

VIEWS ON THE CONSTITUTION OF IRELAND IN THE EVENT OF IRISH UNITY - II

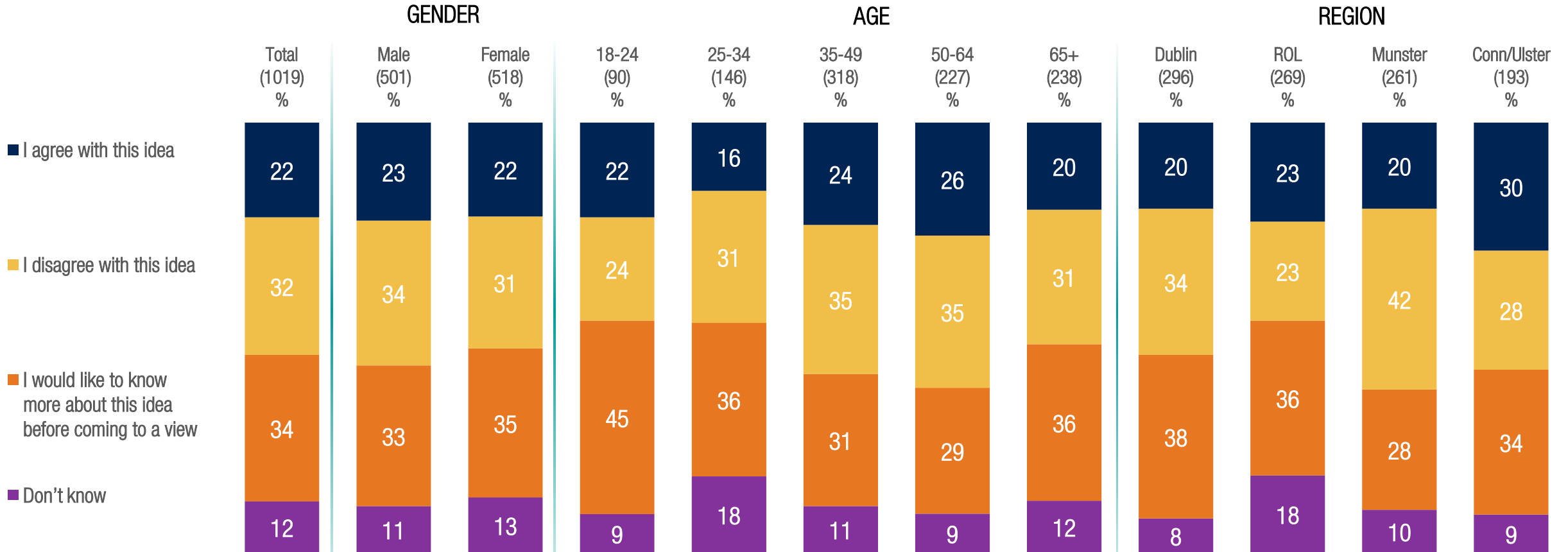
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VIEWS ON WHETHER FUTURE VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES SHOULD HOLD BOTH IRISH AND BRITISH CITIZENSHIP - I

New question in 2023

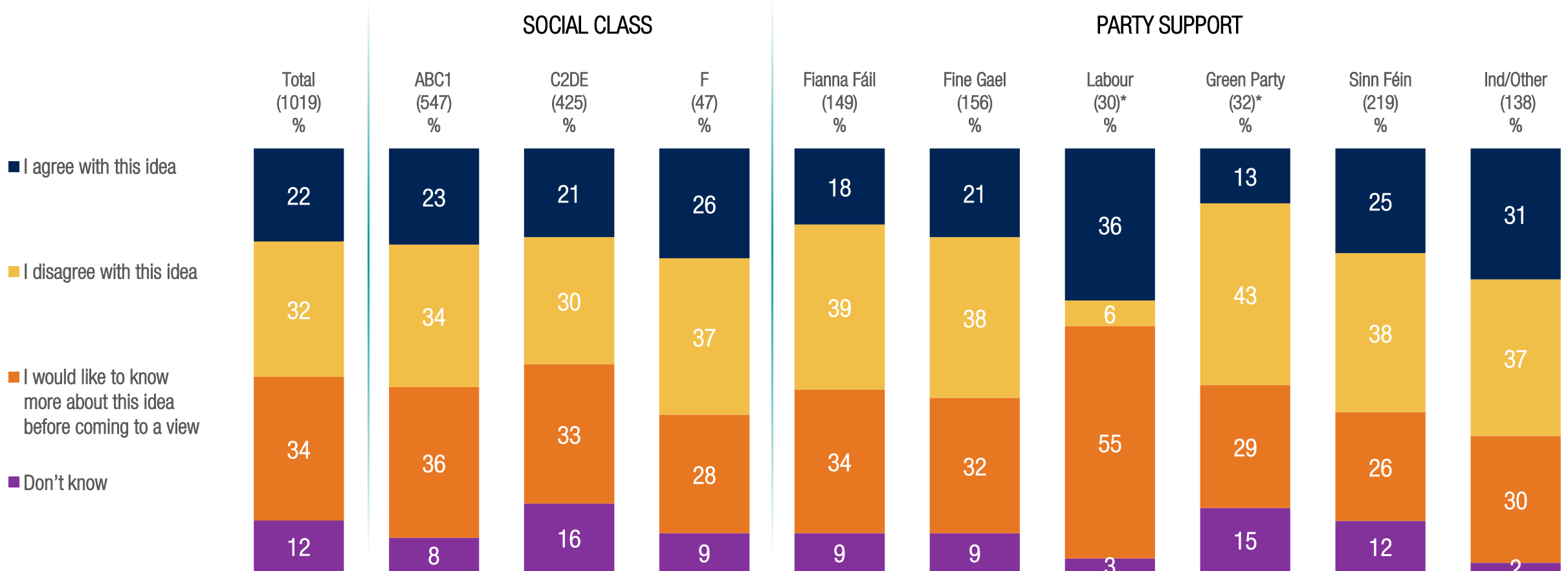


Q.F2 In the event of Irish reunification, here is an idea on how Ireland's presidency might be changed to help make people in the North who identify as British feel as included as possible in a United Ireland. Please choose one of the following responses.

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VIEWS ON WHETHER FUTURE VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES SHOULD HOLD BOTH IRISH AND BRITISH CITIZENSHIP - II

New question in 2023

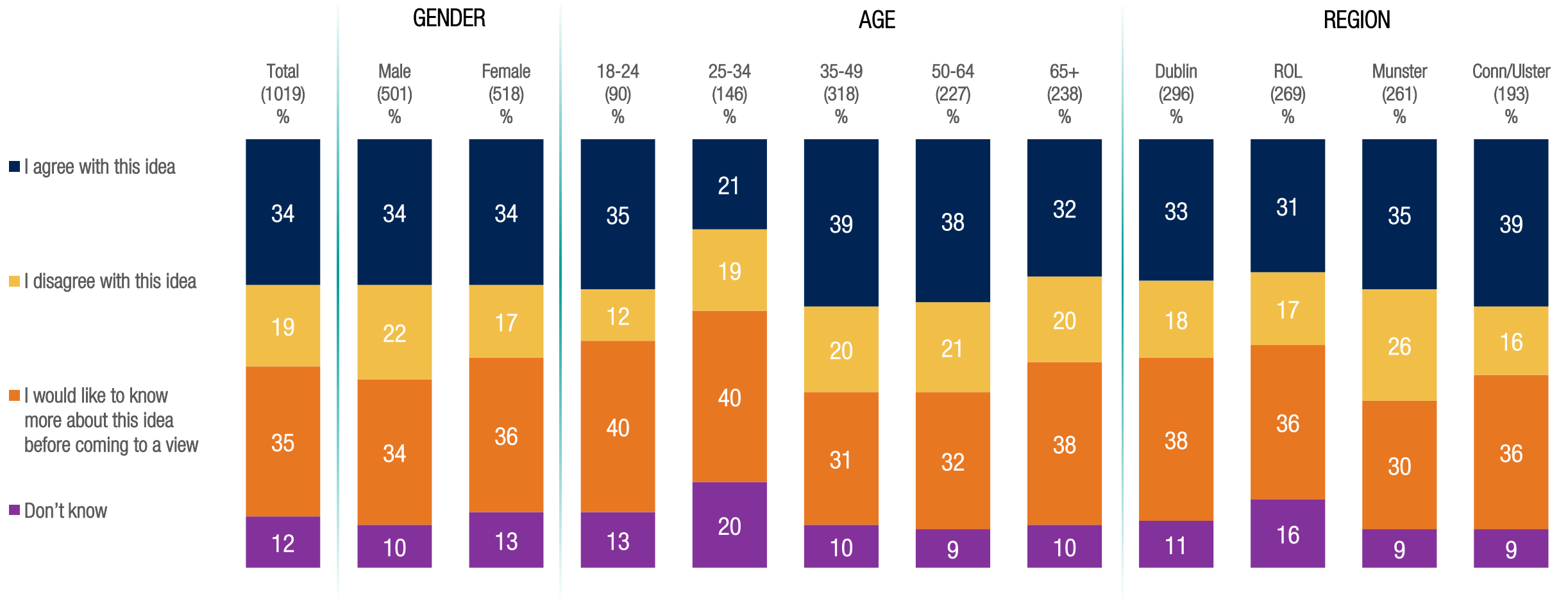


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VIEWS ON THE ROLE OF THE PRESIDENT & VICE-PRESIDENT WITHIN DECISION MAKING ON CHOSEN SENATORS - I

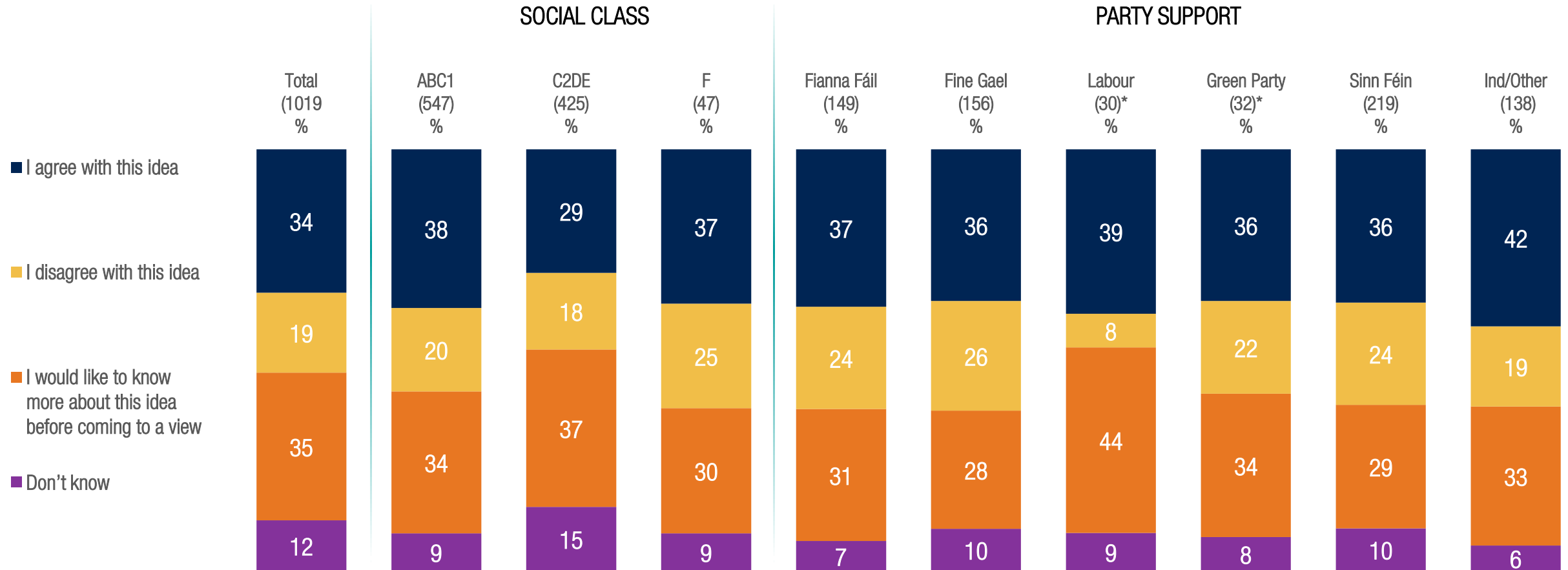
New question in 2023



Q.F3 Under the Constitution of Ireland, the Taoiseach (or Prime Minister) appoints 11 of Ireland's 60 Senators. It is proposed that in a United Ireland the President and the new Vice-President would jointly decide who these 11 Senators would be and would be obliged to ensure that they are representative and inclusive of the whole island. Please choose one of the following responses.

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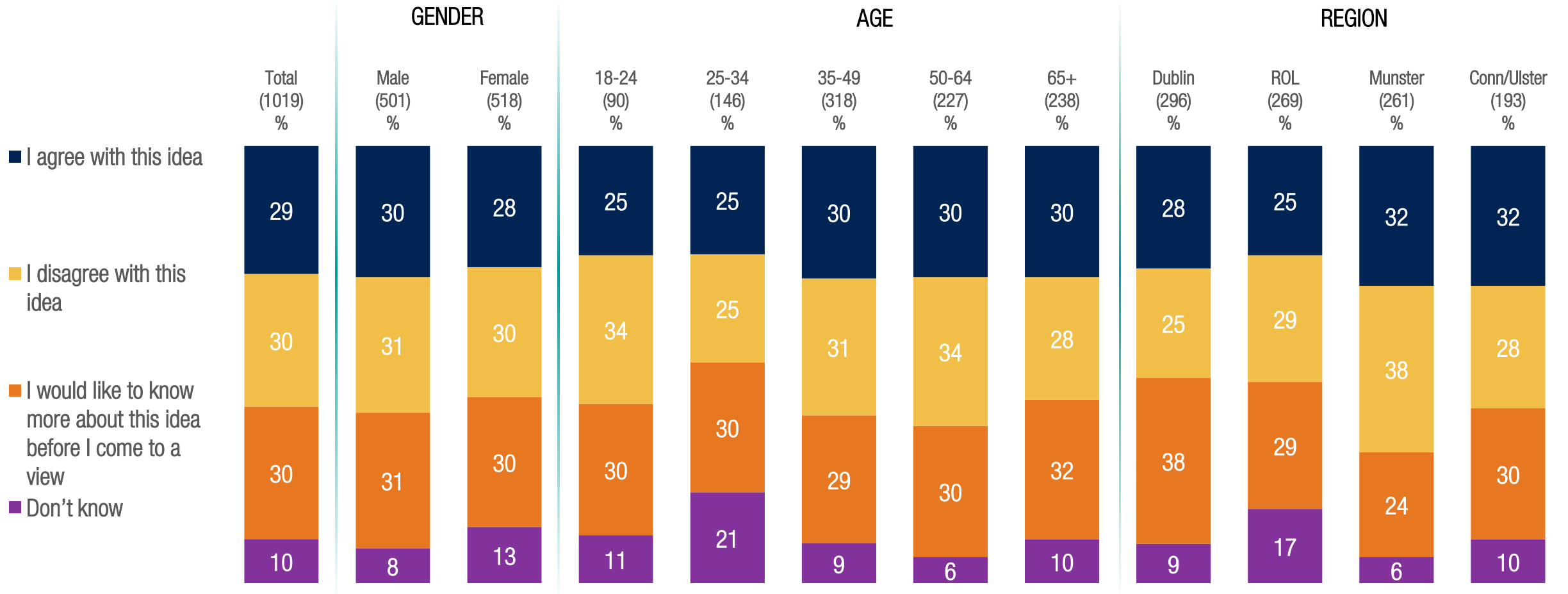
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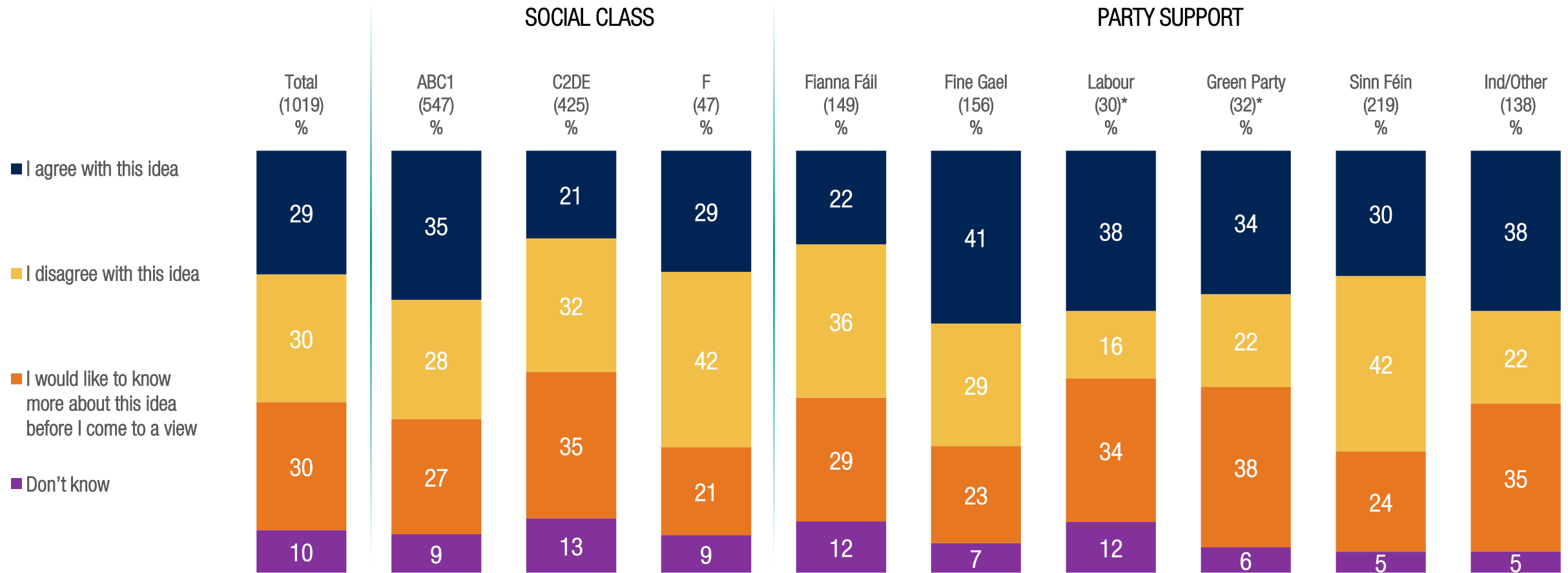
VIEWS ON HOLDING A REFERENDUM TO DECIDE WHETHER TO KEEP EXISTING OR TO CHANGE NATIONAL FLAG AND ANTHEM - I



Q.G1 If, in referendums North and South, people voted for a United Ireland, afterwards there may be calls to change some of the existing symbols used in the Republic, such as the national flag and anthem. Please choose one of the following responses.

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VIEWS ON HOLDING A REFERENDUM TO DECIDE WHETHER TO KEEP EXISTING OR TO CHANGE NATIONAL FLAG AND ANTHEM - II



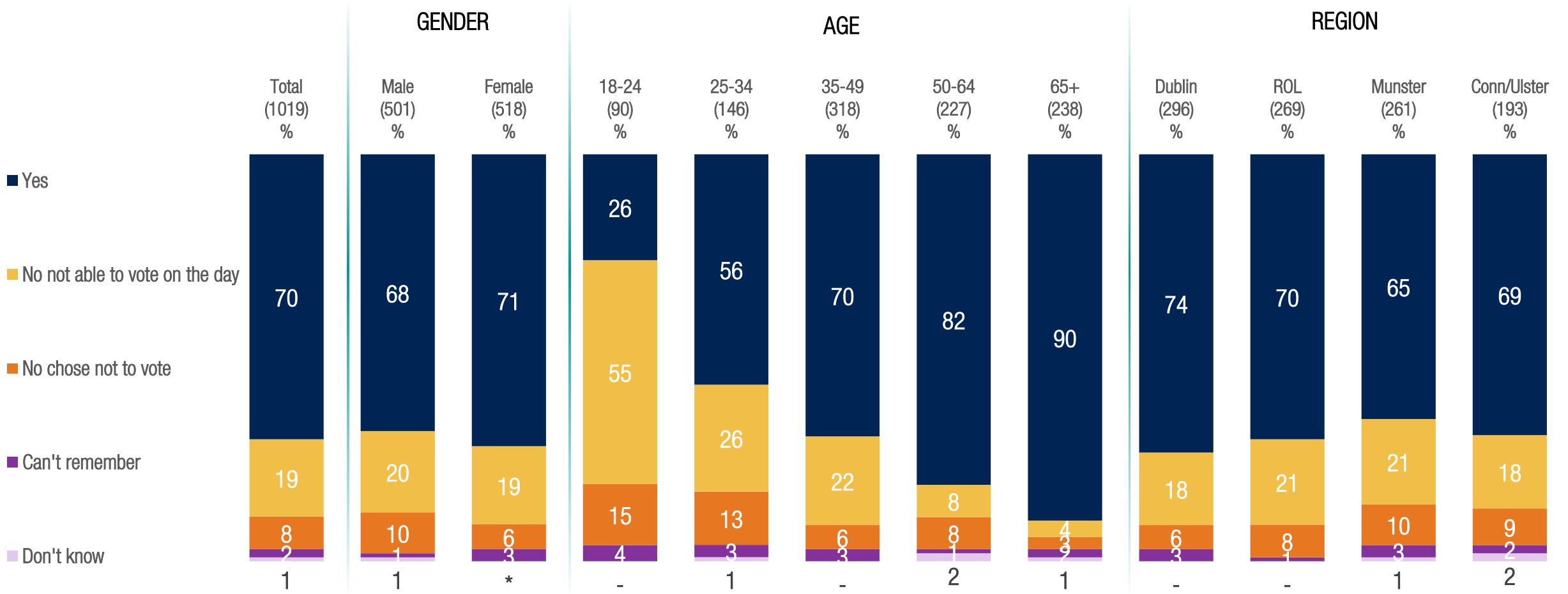
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POLITICS AND POLITICAL VIEWPOINTS

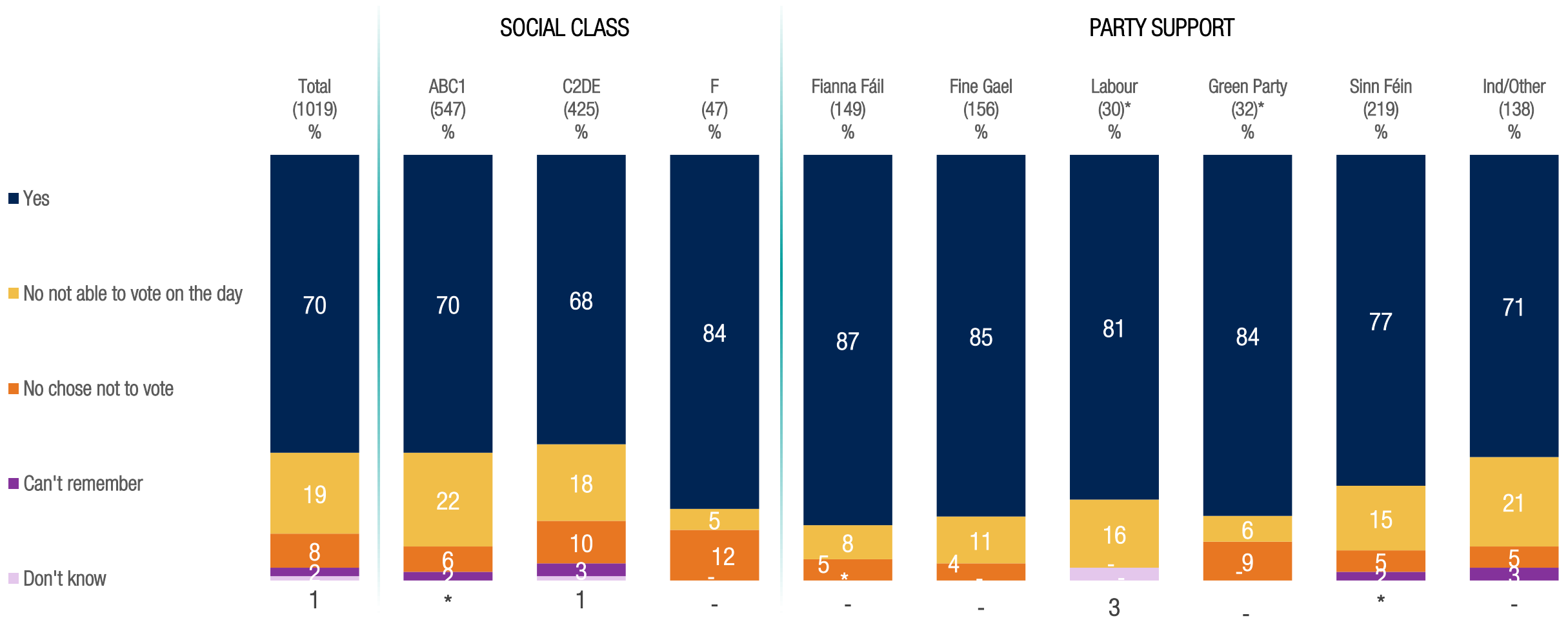


DID YOU VOTE IN THE LAST GENERAL ELECTION IN 2020? - I



Q.C1 Thinking back to the 2020 General Election did you vote in that election or on the day were you not able to vote or did you choose not to vote?
 Base: All respondents: 1019

DID YOU VOTE IN THE LAST GENERAL ELECTION IN 2020? - II



Q.C1 Thinking back to the 2020 General Election did you vote in that election or on the day were you not able to vote or did you choose not to vote?
 Base: All respondents: 1019

PARTY SUPPORT

	Last General Election %	General Election Tomorrow %
Fianna Fail	23	21
Fine Gael	22	20
Labour	5	4
Green Party	5	5
Sinn Fein	25	31
Ind/Others	12	18
Can't recall	8	-

Q.C2(a) To which party or independent candidate did you give your first preference vote?

Base: All respondents who voted (Yes at QC1): 708

Q.C3(a) If there was an election tomorrow to which party or independent candidate would you give your first preference vote?

Base: All respondents: 724

VIEWS ON SOCIETAL ISSUES



MOST IMPORTANT NATIONAL TOPICS OVER NEXT TEN YEARS

	2022 (1043) %	2023 (1019) %
More and better housing for all	79	81
Increased funding and improvements in healthcare	71	81
Economic growth and prosperity	69	68
Contributing to better management of climate change	46	51
Recovering from the coronavirus pandemic	25	16
Achieving a united Ireland	15	22
Preparing for a referendum on a united Ireland	12	20
Keeping Northern Ireland in the UK	3	4
Don't know /None of these	3	4

Q.H Please indicate which in your view are the most important subjects for the country over the next ten years.

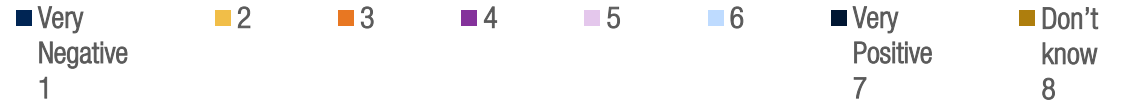
Base: All respondents: 1019

EXPERIMENT 1 - THE COMMONWEALTH

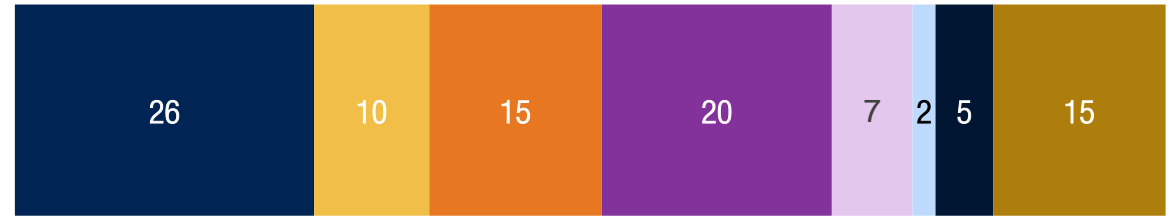


FEELINGS TOWARD THE COMMONWEALTH

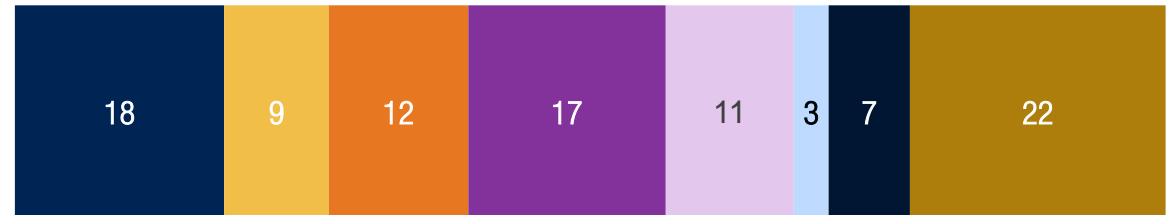
New question in 2023



Among those who saw 'the Commonwealth, once known as the British Commonwealth, emerged from the British Empire. King Charles III is the Head of the Commonwealth'



Among those who saw 'the Commonwealth is made up of 56 independent countries, and 36 of them are Republics with a president as their Head of State. The Commonwealth Games are held every four years in a different member state'



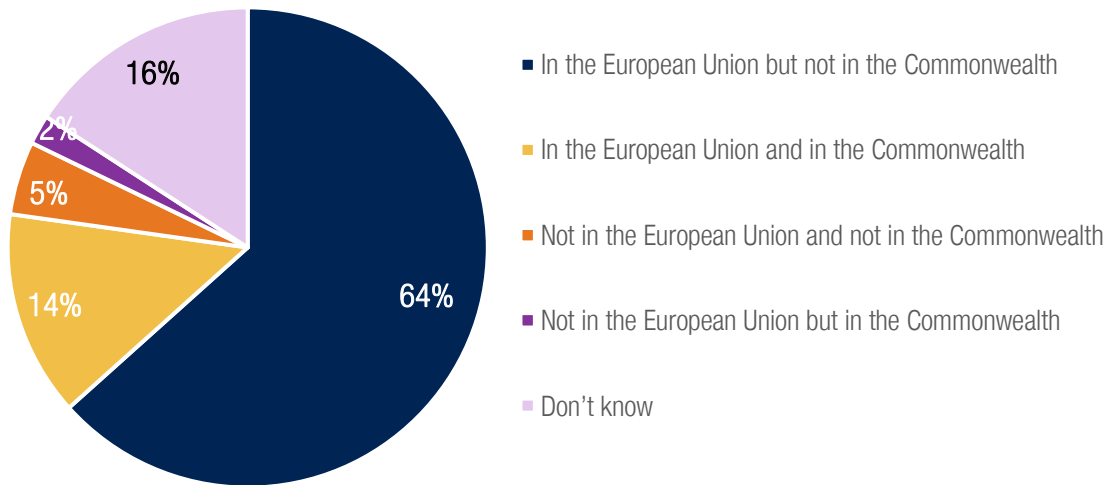
Q.L1a Please indicate how you feel about the Commonwealth.
 Base: All respondents assigned either condition A or B : 501/518



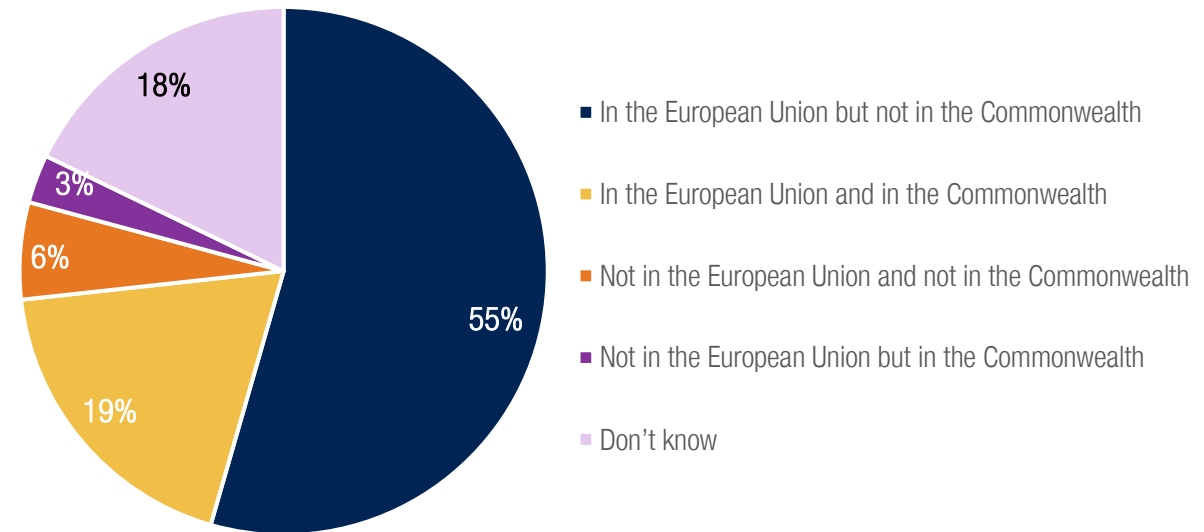
PREFERRED OPTION FOR COMBINATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS TO WHICH A UNITED IRELAND COULD BELONG

New question in 2023

Among those who saw 'the Commonwealth, once known as the British Commonwealth, emerged from the British Empire. King Charles III is the Head of the Commonwealth'



Among those who saw 'the Commonwealth is made up of 56 independent countries, and 36 of them are Republics with a president as their Head of State. The Commonwealth Games are held every four years in a different member state'



Q.L1b Imagine there is a new United Ireland. Of the following combinations of international organisations to which a United Ireland could belong, which is your preferred option?
 Base: All respondents assigned either condition A or B: 501/518

EXPERIMENT 2 - THE SHAMROCK

FEELINGS TOWARD THE SHAMROCK AS A SYMBOL

New question in
2023



Among those who saw 'the shamrock is strongly associated with the celebrations on St. Patrick's Day'



Among those who saw 'the shamrock is a national symbol of Ireland and is also used as an emblem of the Royal Irish Regiment of the British Army'



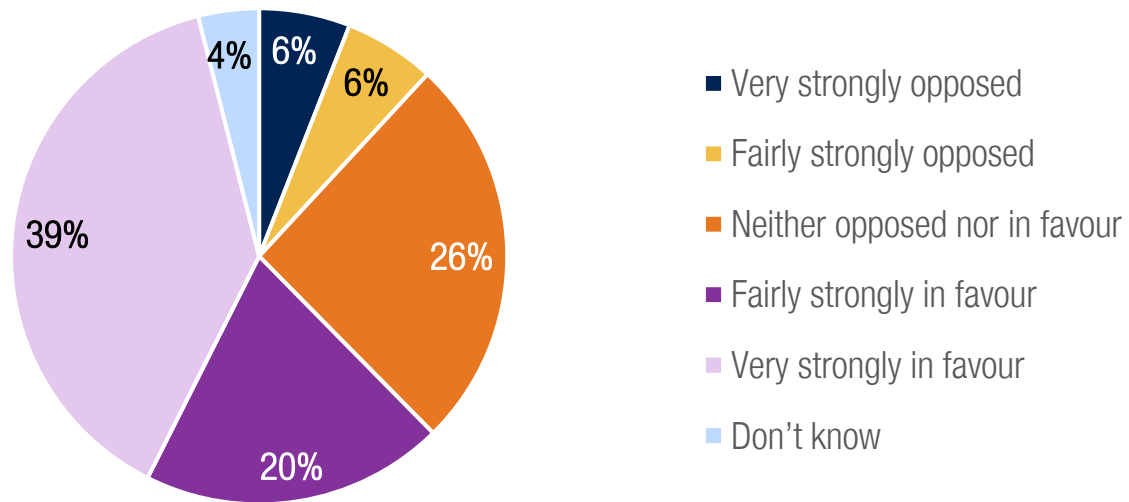
Q.L2a Please indicate how you feel about the shamrock as a symbol

Base: All respondents assigned either condition A or B: 493/526

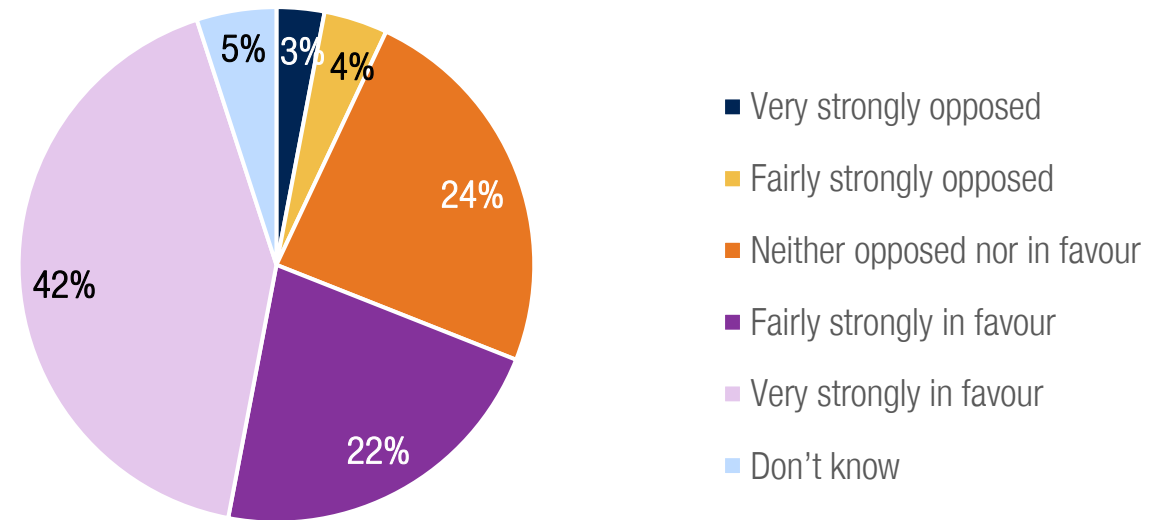
SUPPORT FOR A PROPOSAL TO HAVE THE IMAGE OF THE SHAMROCK ON ONE OF THE EURO COINS

New question in
2023

Among those who saw 'the shamrock is strongly associated with the celebrations on St. Patrick's Day'



Among those who saw 'the shamrock is a national symbol of Ireland and is also used as an emblem of the Royal Irish Regiment of the British Army'



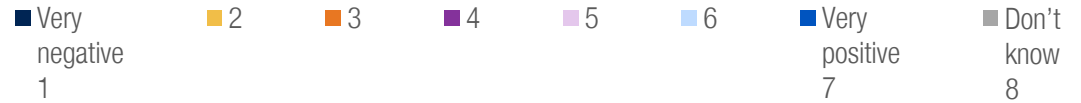
Q.L2b If there was a proposal to have the image of the shamrock on one of the Euro coins, would you be....?
Base: All respondents assigned either condition A or B; 493/526

EXPERIMENT 3 - THE POPPY

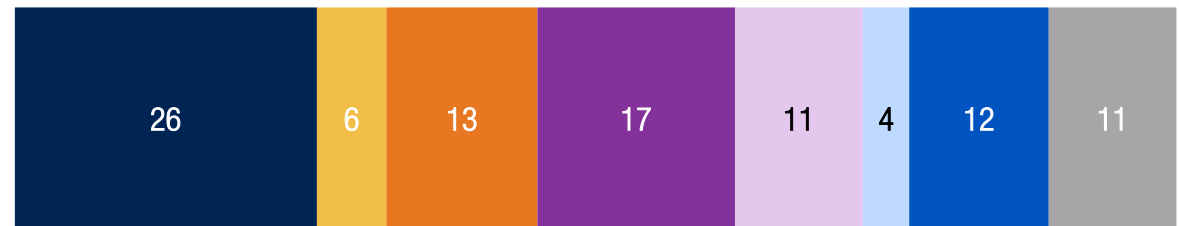


FEELINGS TOWARD THE POPPY AS A SYMBOL

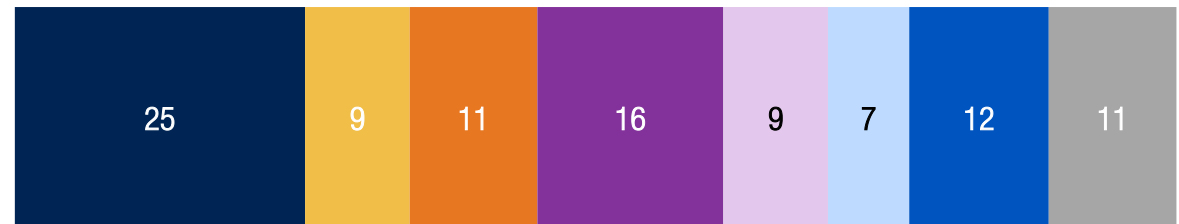
New question in 2023



Among those who saw 'poppies are worn to honour and remember those in the British armed forces who lost their lives on active service from the beginning of the First World War up to the present day'



Among those who saw 'the poppy is a symbol of remembering those who have died in war and conflict and is a symbol of a hopeful and peaceful future'

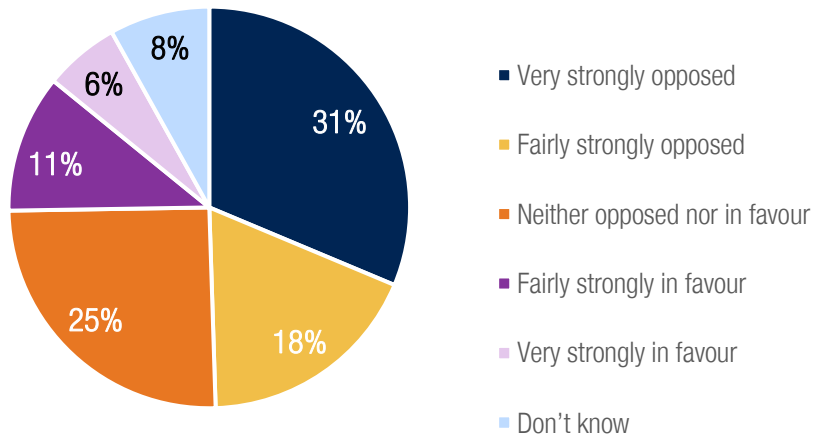


Q.L3a Please indicate how you feel about the poppy as a symbol
 Base: All respondents assigned either condition A or B: 496/523

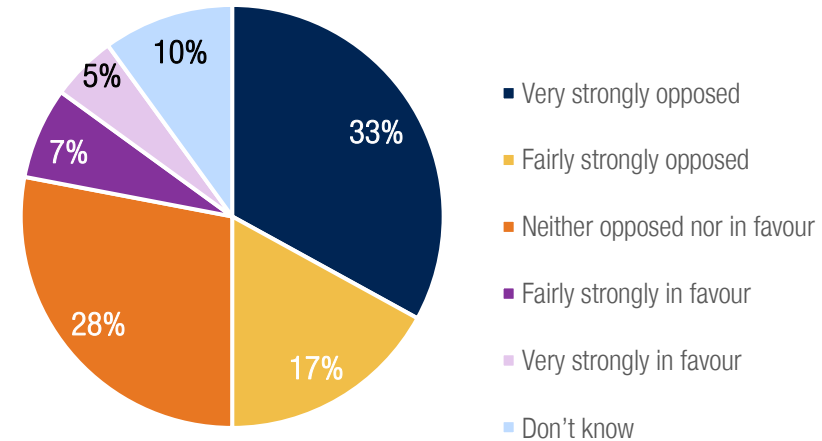
SUPPORT FOR A PROPOSAL TO HAVE THE IMAGE OF THE POPPY ON ONE OF THE EURO COINS

New question in
2023

Among those who saw 'poppies are worn to honour and remember those in the British armed forces who lost their lives on active service from the beginning of the First World War up to the present day'



Among those who saw 'the poppy is a symbol of remembering those who have died in war and conflict and is a symbol of a hopeful and peaceful future'

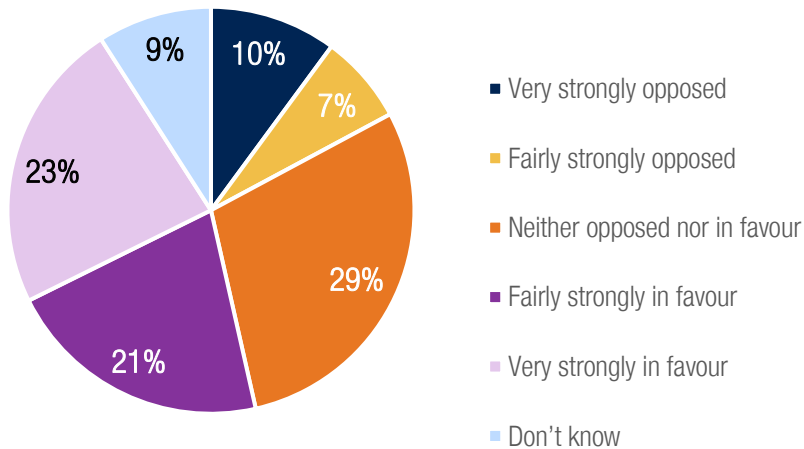


Q.L3b Imagine there was a new United Ireland and there was a proposal to have the image of the poppy on one of the Euro coins. Would you be...?
Base: All respondents assigned either condition A or B: 496/523

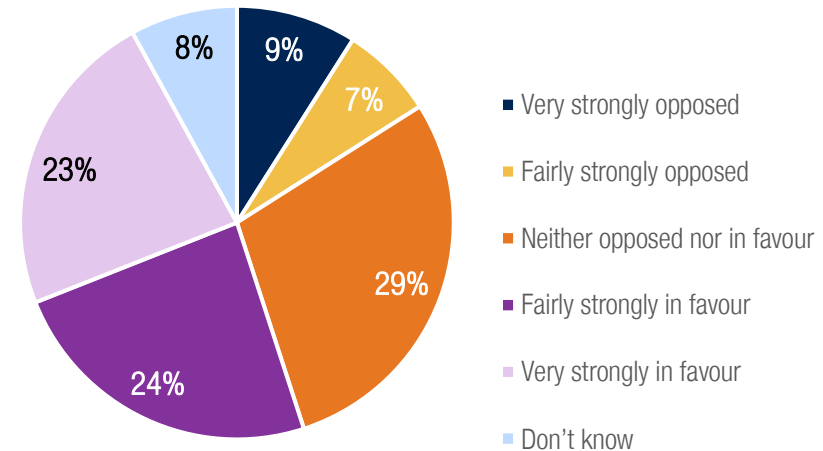
SUPPORT FOR COMMEMORATING THOSE WHO LOST THEIR LIVES SERVING IN THE ARMED FORCES DURING THE TWO WORLD WARS

New question in 2023

Among those who saw 'poppies are worn to honour and remember those in the British armed forces who lost their lives on active service from the beginning of the First World War up to the present day'



Among those who saw 'the poppy is a symbol of remembering those who have died in war and conflict and is a symbol of a hopeful and peaceful future'



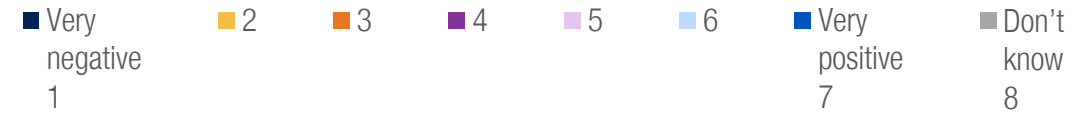
Q.L3c Are you in favour of, or opposed to, commemorating those who lost their lives serving in the armed forces during the two world wars?
Base: All respondents assigned either condition A or B: 496/523

EXPERIMENT 4 - THE NATIONAL FLAG OF IRELAND



FEELINGS TOWARD THE NATIONAL FLAG OF IRELAND - SUMMARY

New question in 2023



Among those who saw 'since the formation of the Irish State, the national flag has been the republican tricolour. It was famously flown during the 1916 Easter Rising and in the Irish War of Independence against British rule'



Among those who saw 'the flag was designed to represent the two main political traditions on the island. The white in the centre represents lasting peace between "orange" and "green"'



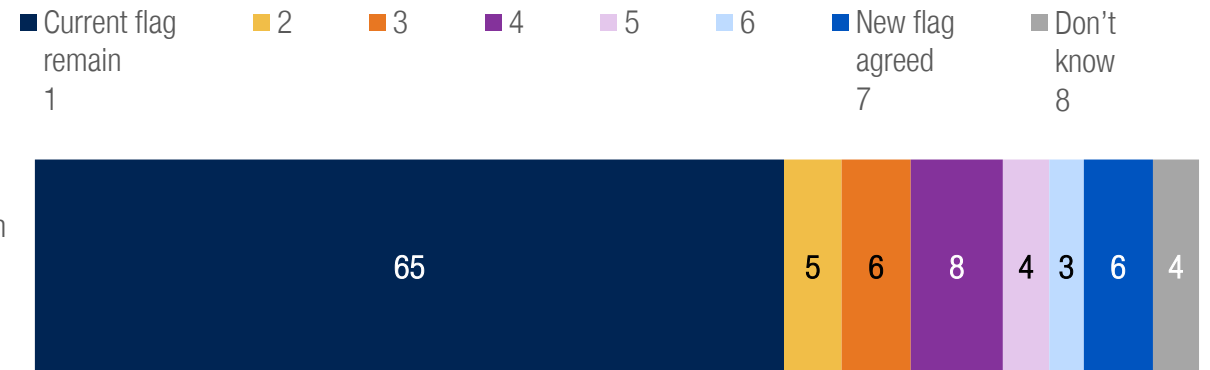
Q.L4a Please indicate how you feel about the national flag of Ireland.

Base: All respondents assigned either condition A or B: 496/523

VIEWS ON A NEW FLAG FOR A UNITED IRELAND

New question in
2023

Among those who saw 'since the formation of the Irish State, the national flag has been the republican tricolour. It was famously flown during the 1916 Easter Rising and in the Irish War of Independence against British rule'



Among those who saw 'the flag was designed to represent the two main political traditions on the island. The white in the centre represents lasting peace between "orange" and "green"'



Q.L4b Imagine there was a new United Ireland. Please indicate your views on this scale...

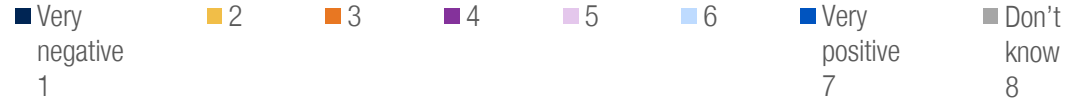
Base: All respondents assigned either condition A or B: 496/523

EXPERIMENT 5 - THE RED HAND OF ULSTER



FEELINGS TOWARD THE RED HAND OF ULSTER

New question in 2023



Among those who saw 'the Red Hand is a symbol often used to represent Ulster. It is used by loyalist paramilitaries on their flags'



Among those who saw 'the Red Hand is a symbol often used to represent Ulster. It is used by the Gaelic Athletic Association – the GAA – on its Ulster flag to represent one of the four provinces of Ireland. The Red Hand is also on the Ulster Banner which is



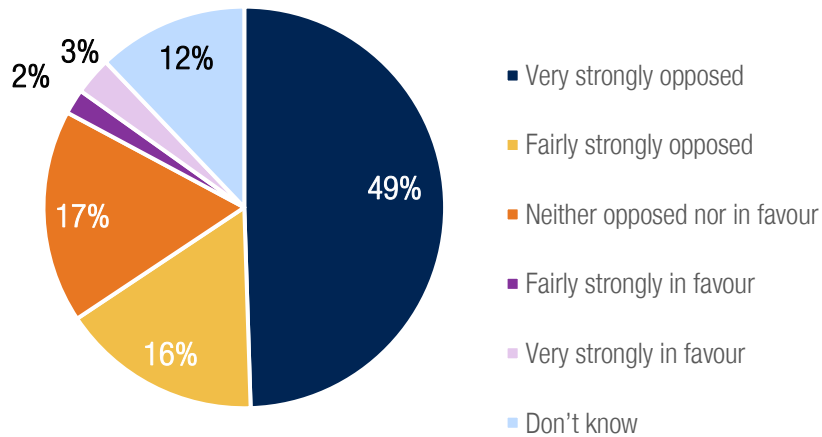
Q.L5a Please indicate how you feel about the Red Hand of Ulster as a symbol
 Base: All respondents assigned either condition A or B: 481/538



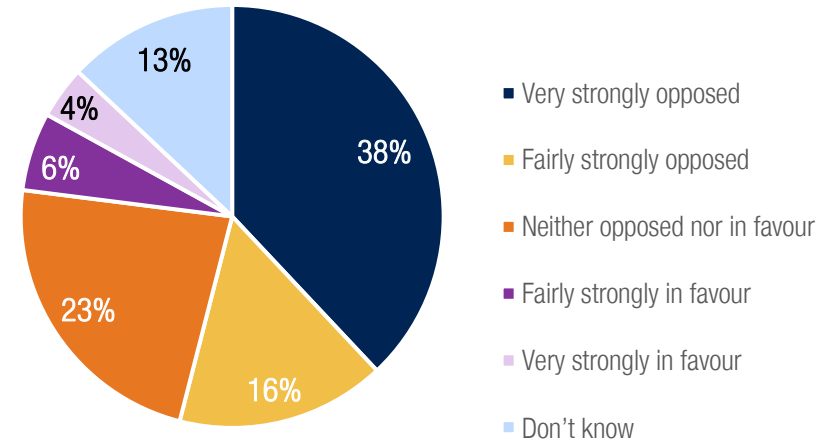
SUPPORT FOR A PROPOSAL TO HAVE THE IMAGE OF THE RED HAND OF ULSTER ON ONE OF THE EURO COINS

New question in
2023

Among those who saw 'The Red Hand is a symbol often used to represent Ulster. It is used by loyalist paramilitaries on their flags'



Among those who saw 'The Red Hand is a symbol often used to represent Ulster. It is used by the Gaelic Athletic Association – the GAA – on its Ulster flag to represent one of the four provinces of Ireland. The Red Hand is also on the Ulster Banner which is the flag used to represent the Northern Ireland football team.'



Q.L5b Imagine there was a new United Ireland and there was a proposal to have the image of the Red Hand of Ulster on one of the Euro coins. Would you be.?
Base: All respondents assigned either condition A or B: 481/538

THANK YOU