



**Millward Brown IMS**

**Post Lisbon Treaty Referendum  
Research Findings  
September 2008**

# Table Of Contents



	Page Nos.
<b>EXECUTIVE SUMMARY</b>	(i - iii)
<b>MAIN REPORT:</b>	
1. Turnout	1.
1.1 Reasons for Abstention	2.
2. Ireland's Interests in the EU Post June 12 <sup>th</sup>	3.
3. The Vote and Voter Conviction	4.
3.1 Demographic Profile Analysis	5.
3.2 Timing of Voting Decisions	6.
4. Treaty Knowledge	7.
4.1 Objective Treaty Knowledge	8.
4.2 Effectiveness of Campaign Communications	9.
5. Attitudinal Reasons for Voting Yes and No	11.
5.1 Yes Vote	11.
5.2 No Vote	12.
5.3 Reasons for Vote – Importance Scale	14.
6. Knowledge of the EU	16.
7. Attitudes to EU	18.
7.1 Attitudes to EU Membership	19.
8. Impact of Immigration	21.
9. Aftermath of Lisbon Rejection	22.
9.1 Economic Prospects, Foreign Investment and Irish Influences in the EU	22.
10. Looking Forward	25.
11. EU Communications	27.
<b>APPENDICES:</b>	
1. Methodology	
2. Questionnaire and Results	

## Executive Summary

This report contains the results of research conducted by Millward Brown IMS on behalf of the Department of Foreign Affairs following the result of the Lisbon Treaty referendum on June 12<sup>th</sup> 2008.

The quantitative research consisted of a national opinion poll of 2,101 adults aged 18+. All respondents were on the electoral register and all were Irish citizens i.e. eligible to vote in the recent referendum. The poll was conducted between July 24<sup>th</sup> and July 31<sup>st</sup> 2008. Twelve focus groups were also conducted with a cross section of voter types and demographic groupings. The focus groups were held between the 28<sup>th</sup> of July and the 6<sup>th</sup> of August 2008. (See Appendix for full methodological details).

The following comprise the key findings of the research.

- Turnout for the Lisbon Treaty referendum was 53%, well in excess of the 35% who voted on the first Nice Treaty. The decisive issue was the increase in No voters as a proportion of the total electorate (from 18% at Nice 2 to 28% in June 2008), rather than Yes voters staying at home – which was the key difference between the first and second Nice referenda.
- The main reason for abstaining in this referendum was lack of understanding/knowledge (46%), which is far in excess of any other voluntary or circumstantial reason given for not voting.
- Sixty percent of Irish voters believe that Ireland's interests are best pursued by remaining fully involved in the EU. Fewer than 1 in 5 of the electorate (18%) believe Ireland's interests are best served by opting to be less involved.
- Despite the referendum outcome, Irish people remain amongst the most positive nations in terms of attitudes towards the EU – 73% consider EU membership to be a good thing (*Source: Eurobarometer National Report Ireland 69.2, Spring 2008*). In this study, positive attitudes to the EU stood at 70%, and even among No voters, 63% think the EU is a good thing, well ahead of the EU average of 52%.
- Of all voters, on both sides, some 23% of can be described as 'Soft' voters based on the level of conviction they had when casting their vote (they had some reservations/doubts or were not at all certain). Yes and No voters split evenly between 'Hard' (more convinced) and Soft voters. However, both quantitative and qualitative evidence suggests that the vote may actually have been considerably 'Softer' than this on both sides.
- The key demographic groups in terms of opposition to the Treaty were, 25-34 year olds (59%), the C2 and DE socio economic groups (63% and 65%) and women (56%). Amongst the main political parties, 63% of Fianna Fail supporters voted for the Treaty, 52% of Fine Gael supporters also voted in favour of it. Labour and Green party supporters both voted against (61% and 53% respectively) as did Sinn Fein supporters (88%).\*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The question asked respondents which party they felt close to, not which party they would vote for. It is therefore not comparable with a standard opinion poll measure of party support.

- Much of the Yes vote is underpinned by a strong general feeling of pro-Europeanism rather than Treaty specific motivations. A secondary reason for voting Yes is 'following advice' (22%). The main source of this advice was the government (12%).
- The main reason cited for voting No was 'lack of knowledge/information/ understanding' at 42%. There can be little doubt that this emerged as the primary reason for people voting No.
- Twenty-six percent of No voters mentioned Treaty specific elements that were of concern to them, 20% cited general issues around the referendum, whilst 16% mentioned issues specifically to do with loss of power/independence. All of these specific areas were more likely to have been mentioned by Hard No voters.
- Immigration did not emerge as a significant reason for voting No at a spontaneous level. However it is clear that No voters view immigration considerably less positively than Yes voters in terms of making Ireland a better place to live. This is backed up by the focus group evidence – particularly amongst the C2DE socio-economic group who were more likely to feel their jobs and pay may be under threat from immigration.
- 'No' voters were far more likely to believe that erosion of Irish neutrality, end of control over abortion and conscription to a European army were part of the Lisbon Treaty, revealing key cracks in the debate.
- Loss of Commissioner was also a common concern on the No side. Focus groups revealed that many people believed that the loss of a Commissioner would mean Ireland would have no voice in Europe at all.
- At a wider level, an EU knowledge deficit is clearly present which has undoubtedly contributed to the No vote. This was evidenced in both the opinion poll and the focus group research. Knowledge of EU institutions and how they work appears to be particularly low. The difficulty of advocating a referendum that is based on the premise of institutional reform in this environment is apparent.
- The national media and discussions with family, friends and colleagues were ranked as the most valuable sources of campaign information.
- Yes and No voters differ in terms of the perceived impact on Ireland of the No vote. Yes voters are much more likely than No voters to say our economic prospects have weakened and far fewer are likely to say they remain unchanged (47% versus 66%).
- Fewer voters (on either side) believe that our influence in the EU remains unchanged. Yes and No voters differ markedly on whether our influence has weakened (51% versus 20%). Just over 1 in 5 (22%) of No voters believe that Ireland's position has been strengthened – possibly due to an expectation that Ireland is in a position to renegotiate the treaty.
- When asked directly, respondents cited the issue of protection of workers' rights as being "very important" more often than any other issue (of a defined set of issues) relating to Ireland and the EU. Retaining control over public services in the future was similarly cited.

Although workers' rights and public services did not feature as issues of concern in the focus groups or to any great extent in the open-ended questions, they made some contribution to the different attitudinal profiles of Yes and No voters. However, the key areas of divergence between the Yes and No sides are retaining military neutrality, preventing excessive EU regulation, the rotating loss of the Commissioner and retaining full control over abortion laws. The focus groups reinforce these indications as to where the main battlegrounds between the Yes and No sides lay, with retaining full control over Corporate Tax also featuring as an issue.

- Knowledge of the EU in general and knowledge/understanding of the Treaty in particular are significant issues. Concerns over specific aspects of the Treaty loom large, particularly perceptions of an erosion of neutrality, the Commissioner issue (which many do not seem to properly understand), Corporate tax and to a lesser degree abortion. The focus group results supported these findings.
- Advocating institutional reform to voters who have such sketchy knowledge of how the EU operates is a very difficult task. Communication about the European Union needs to revert to first principles in order to help people understand how the institutions work, Ireland's role within them, and how Lisbon would affect this.

**James MacCarthy-Morrogh, Account Director**

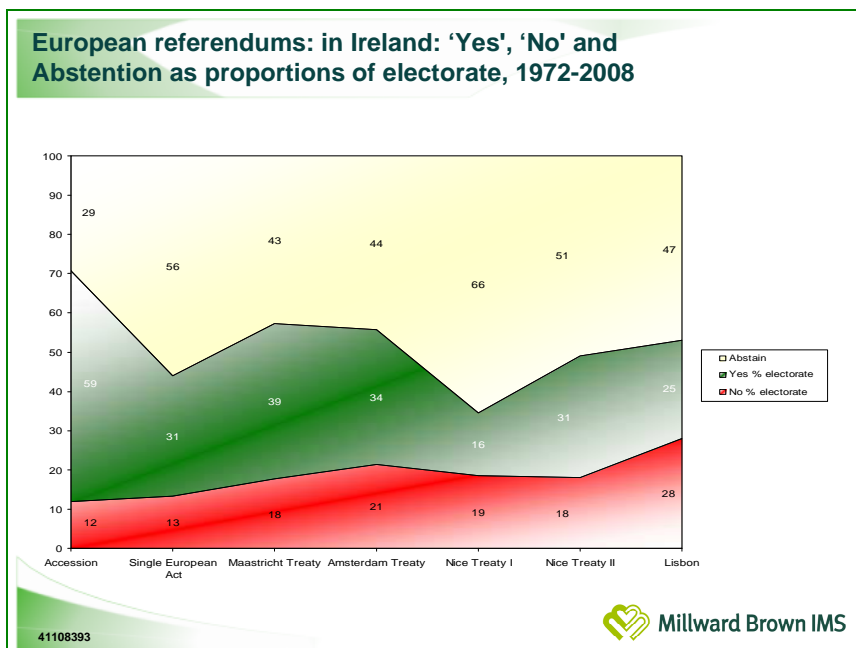
**Bettina MacCarvill, Deputy Managing Director**

**Paul Moran, Research Project Manager**

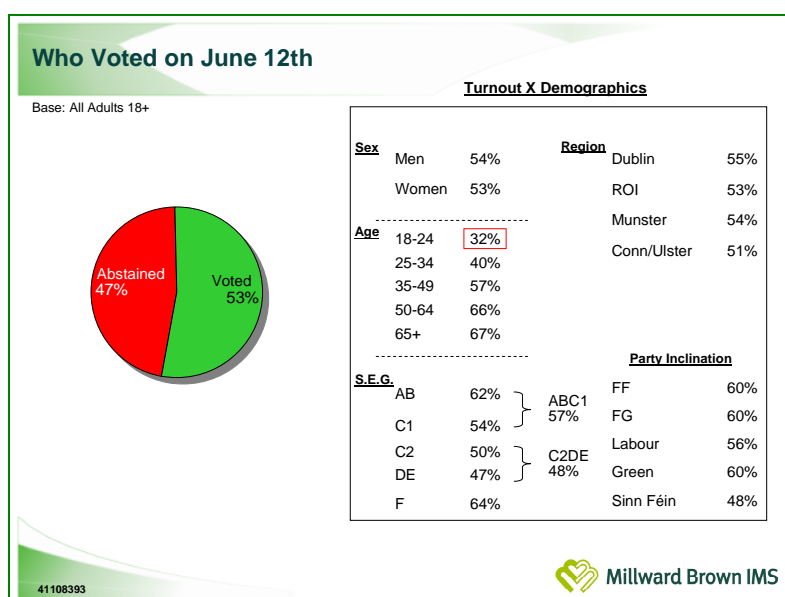
# Main Report

## 1. Turnout

Turnout for the Lisbon referendum was 53%, well in excess of the 35% recorded for the rejection of the Nice Treaty in 2001. The rejection of the Treaty was due to a large increase in the No vote as a proportion of the total electorate (up from 18% at Nice 2 to 28%) rather than a case of Yes voters staying at home – therefore it is important to understand what has changed.



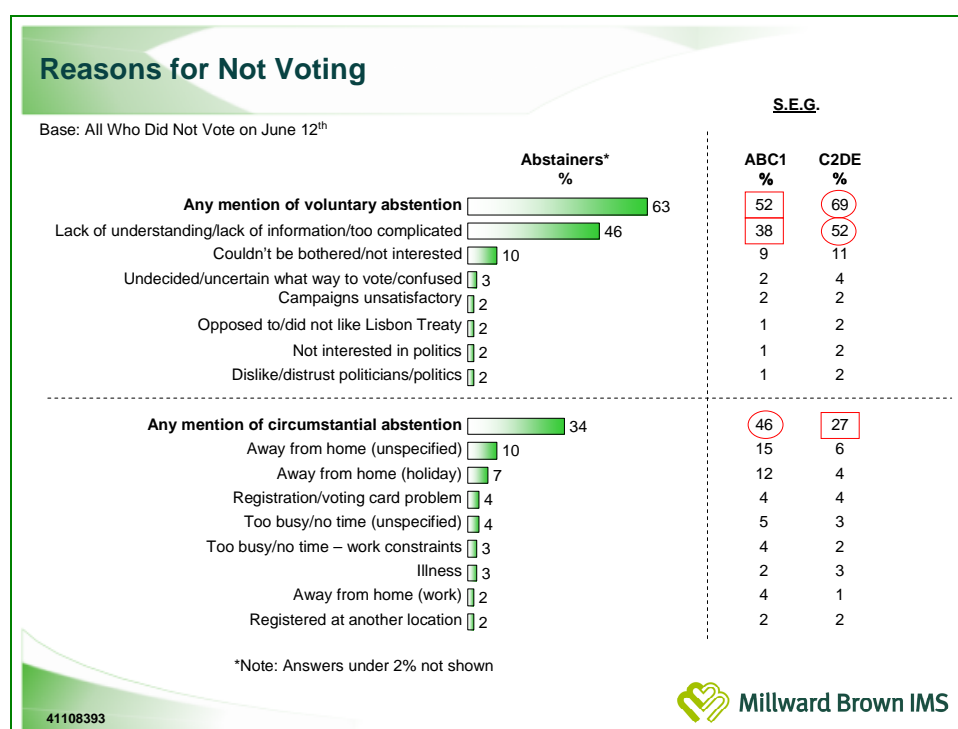
Turnout is strongly related to age, the under 25's were least likely to vote at 32% - with the incidence rising incrementally through the succeeding age groups to 67% of those aged over 65. Socio-economic group is also a determinant of likelihood to vote, with white collar workers at 57%, well ahead of blue collar workers at 48%. Those in the farming community however are the most likely of all social groups to vote - at 64%.



There was some debate between the parties, during the campaign, as to who was mobilising their supporters. There is actually little difference between the 4 largest parties (Fianna Fáil, Fine Gael, Labour and the Greens) on this measure, with around 6 in 10 of their supporters going to the polls. Sinn Féin supporters, in contrast, were the least likely to have voted at 48% turnout.

## 1.1 Reasons for Abstention

Abstention is readily divided into two categories: voluntary and circumstantial. Voluntary abstention is the main reason for not voting - at 63%. The main element of this was a lack of knowledge or understanding of the Treaty - 46%. The C2DE socio economic group are considerably more likely to have both abstained, and to have abstained for voluntary reasons than ABC1s. Lack of knowledge is the key divider of these two groups with 52% of the C2DEs claiming this reason compared to 38% of ABC1s.



Thirty-four percent abstained for circumstantial reasons of various types. In contrast to the voluntary abstainers, the white collar group are considerably more likely to claim circumstantial factors for not voting.

Across the two focus groups of non-voters, reasons for abstention were usually explained by lack of understanding of the Treaty which contributed to a general disinterest in voting. Among the younger non-voter female focus group, many were not at all well informed on political issues, with some struggling to even name the main political parties. They felt they had no political role model and politics had very little relevance to their lives generally.

***“When I lived at home it wasn’t a big thing, my family weren’t too fond of watching the news either, I don’t mind watching the news but when it comes to the stuff on politics and all that you do get a bit bored, the government giving out about something.” Non-Voter, Female***

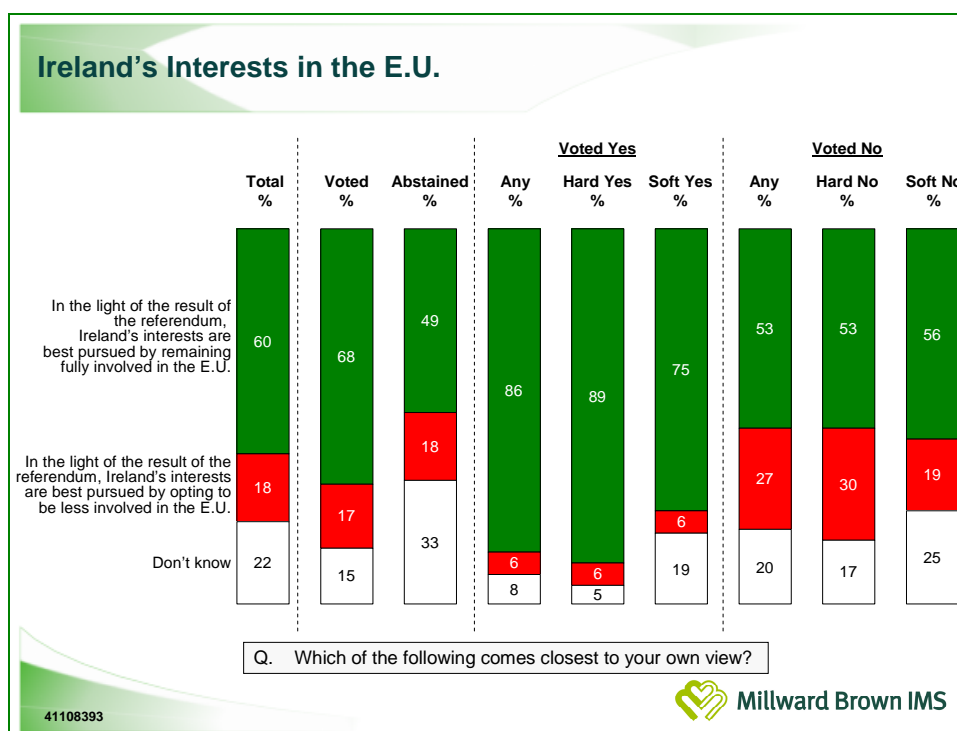
The slightly older non-voter male focus group were mostly poorly educated. While they claimed that they would usually vote in elections they were completely bemused by the Treaty literature and also by both campaigns.

*“But even if you want to inform yourself and try and get educated on it, you’d still need a dictionary to try and explain some of the words that would be in it.” Non-Voter, Male*

*“Two days before the polling, a woman turned around and asked me was I going voting and I says sure why would I vote about something I don’t understand” Non-Voter, Male*

## 2. Ireland’s Interests in the EU post June 12<sup>th</sup>

Notwithstanding the result of the Lisbon Treaty, a significant majority (60%) of the electorate, and particularly among those who voted in the referendum (68%), believe that Ireland’s interests are best pursued by remaining fully involved within the EU.



Fewer than one in five of the electorate (18%) believe we should dilute our involvement within the EU, with three in ten Hard No voters expressing this viewpoint. A majority of all hues of voters, both Yes and No, support continuing full involvement in Europe.

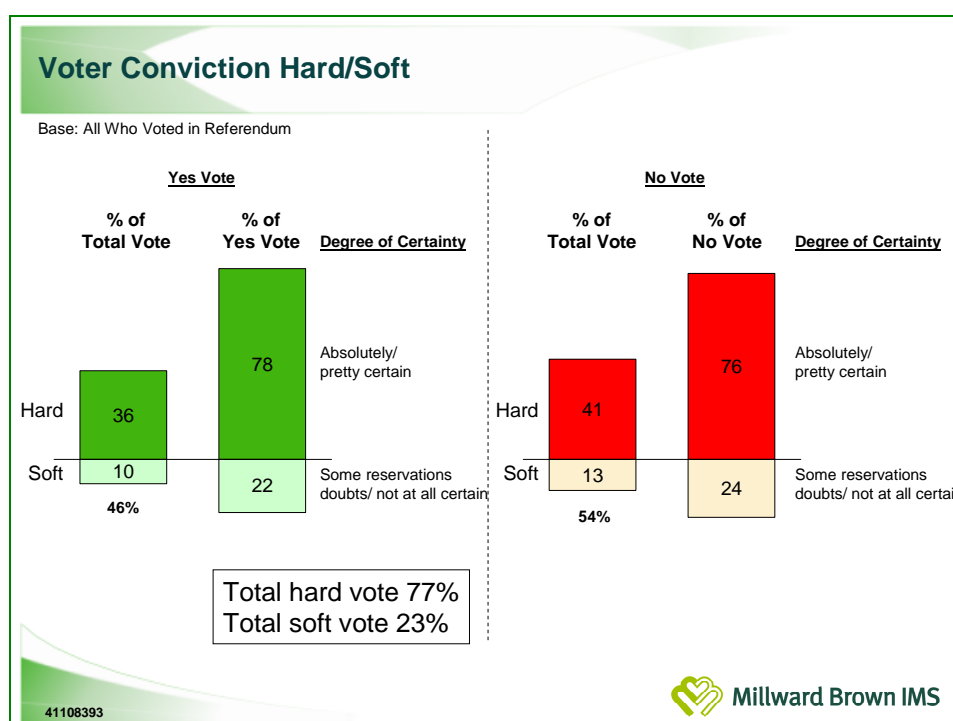
### 3. The Vote and Voter Conviction

The referendum was defeated by a margin of 53.4% to 46.6%. The voter conviction measure used throughout this report is derived from the Yes/No vote and the question:

Q. *When you had made up your mind how to vote in the referendum, how certain were you about your decision to vote in favour of/against (as appropriate) the Treaty. Were you .....*

- Absolutely certain
- Pretty certain
- Some reservations/doubts
- Not at all certain
- Don't Know/NA

The conviction measure is used to define the commitment of the voter to the vote they cast on 12<sup>th</sup> June. This is then used as the principal variable to ascertain voter attitudes throughout the poll and to indicate where the main faultlines in the Lisbon debate lay. The same measure was used when recruiting for focus group participants.



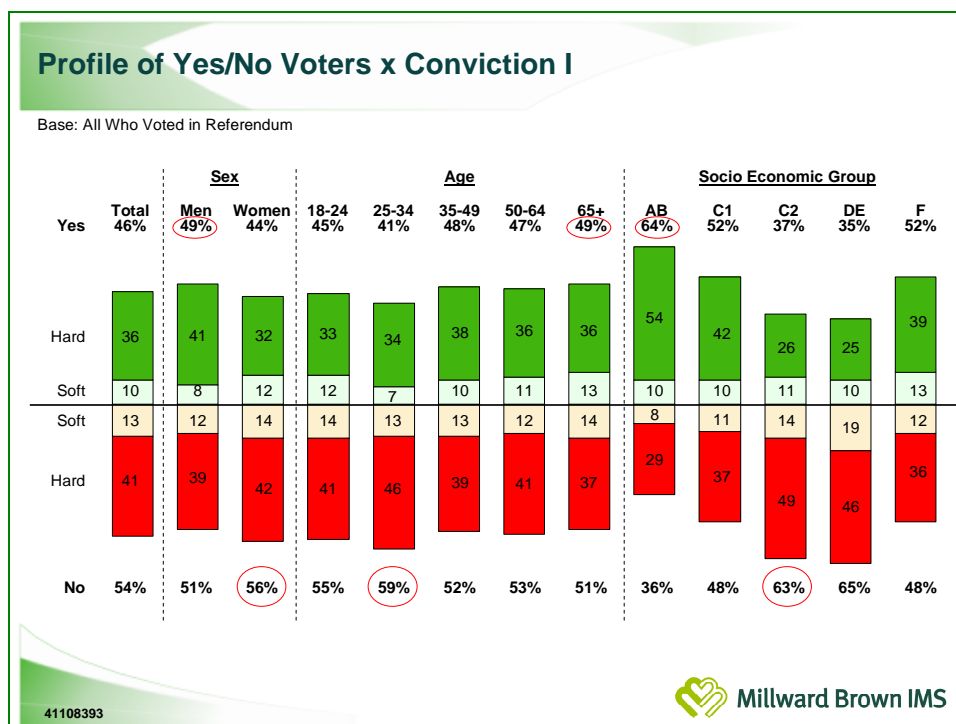
On the Yes side 36% of the total turnout were convinced 'Hard' Yes voters, with a further 10% 'Soft' Yes voters. As a percentage of the total Yes vote this translates as 78% : 22%.

The picture on the No side is similar. Forty-one per cent of all votes cast were 'Hard' No's with 13% 'Soft' No's. As a percentage of the No vote a similar profile to the Yes side emerges at 76% : 24%.

The Soft electorate adds to 23% in total. However, it is worth noting that the "soft" vote on both the Yes and No side is likely to be under-estimated to some degree: the qualitative research and the spontaneous answers from the opinion poll both point towards this.

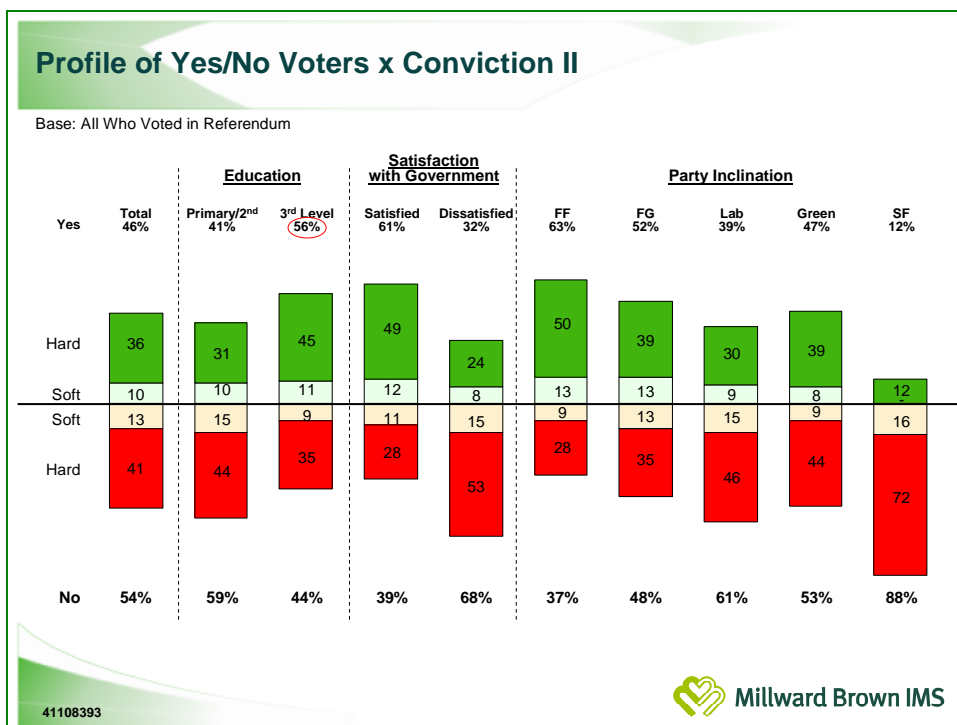
### 3.1 Demographic Profile Analysis

The demographic information is used to profile each conviction group revealing the key battlegrounds for the Lisbon Treaty.



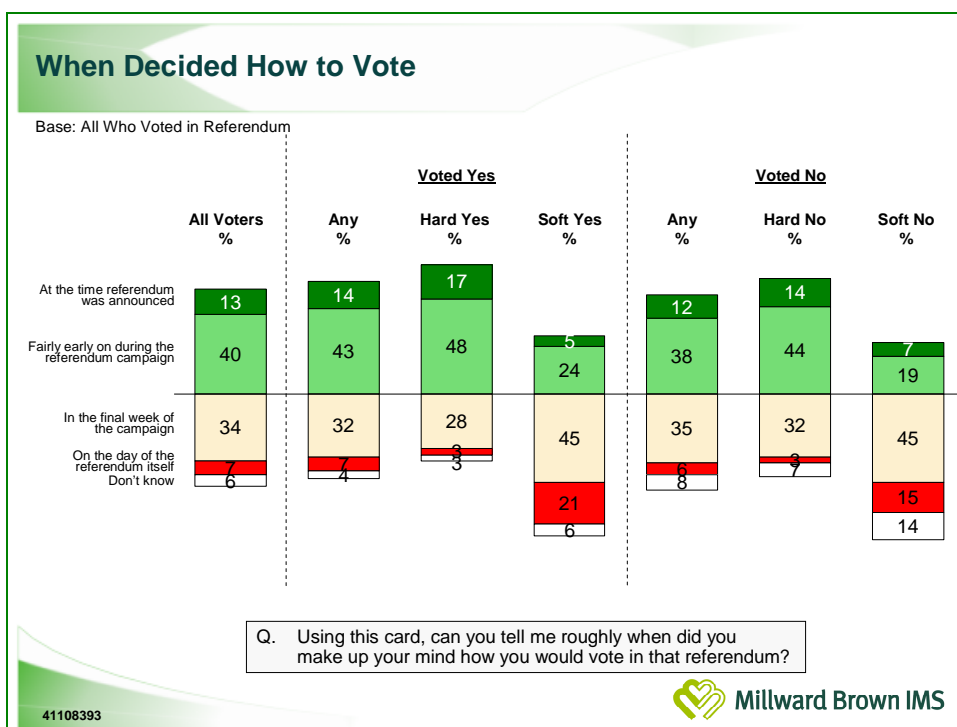
Women recorded a stronger No vote than men (56% to 51%) as did the younger age groups, with 25-34 year olds being most opposed to the Treaty at 59%. Socio-economic group emerges as a clear indicator of voter type (as it did for abstention), ranging from the strong Yes vote of the most affluent AB group (64%) to the equally strong No votes of the blue collar C2DE groups. The farming community, who were a prominent voter group during the campaign and the subject of much coverage, emerge slightly in favour of the Treaty (52%), but with a strong No vote recorded nonetheless.

On the political party front, 63% of Fianna Fáil supporters voted in favour of the Treaty, compared to 52% of Fine Gael supporters and 39% of Labour supporters. Green party supporters were quite evenly divided at 47% Yes versus 53% No, whilst Sinn Féin supporters overwhelmingly followed their party line and voted No at 88%, albeit with the lowest turnout among the parties. The measure used in this poll was whether respondents 'feel close' to a political party, rather than voting intention which is the measure used in a standard opinion poll.



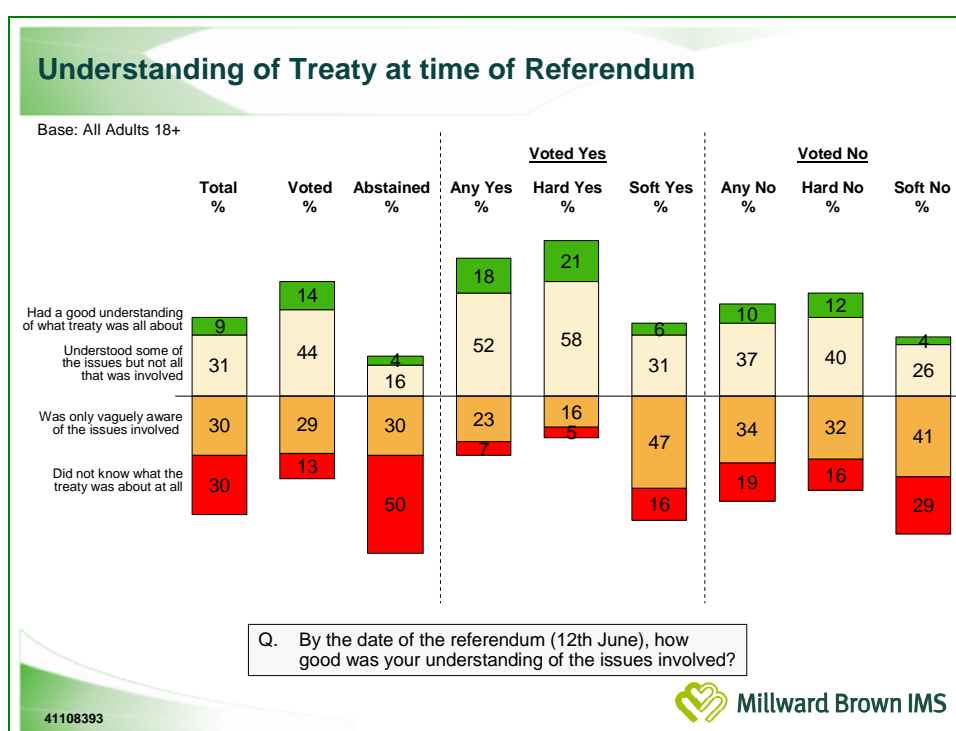
### 3.2 Timing of Voting Decisions

As would be expected, there is a clear relationship between the timing of voting decision and level of voter conviction. The softer the vote, the closer to polling day the voter made up their minds. It is notable how similar each voter group is on this measure; a clear majority of Hard voters (on each side) made up their minds early in the campaign, whilst the Soft vote is almost a mirror image on both sides. Forty-five percent of Soft Yes and No voters made up their minds in the final week of the campaign, with further large proportions, 21% and 15% respectively, not deciding until the day itself. This demonstrates the fluidity of the result and the fact that the referendum was not actually decided until the final day/s of the campaign.



## 4. Treaty Knowledge

Before exploring reasons behind voting behaviour, it is worth assessing knowledge of the Treaty. The almost complete detachment from the Treaty of abstainers stands out: 80% vaguely/do not know issues involved. Although voters had a better understanding, this splits along Yes/No lines. Corroborating the spontaneous answers, No voters are far less likely to express an understanding of the Treaty (47% versus 70%). The Soft Yes and Soft No voters have very similar levels of vague/no understanding, illustrating the lack of confidence that existed on both sides even as they went to the polling booths.



Across all focus groups the level of understanding of the Lisbon Treaty is best described as fairly poor, but was probably most pronounced and most likely to explain voter behaviour among Soft No voters. This lack of understanding did contribute to concerns regarding transparency. Some felt there was a real risk that changes would be “slipped through” that would be to Ireland’s disadvantage.

***“I think they just launched something that nobody could understand ... you had to go with your gut I think” Hard Yes, Female***

The level and depth of understanding articulated in the groups tended to be limited to awareness of something to do with changes in legislation to give the EU more power/more control/better structures. Thereafter, knowledge tended to focus on one or two other issues which people had some views on (including neutrality, taxation and loss of Commissioner), but very few had knowledge of multiple issues. Misunderstanding was very common – many people made incorrect assumptions and had a variety of erroneous beliefs.

***“I didn’t know a hell of a lot about the Lisbon Treaty which is a pity because there was an awful lot of scaremongering ...you had so many red herrings”. Hard Yes, Male***

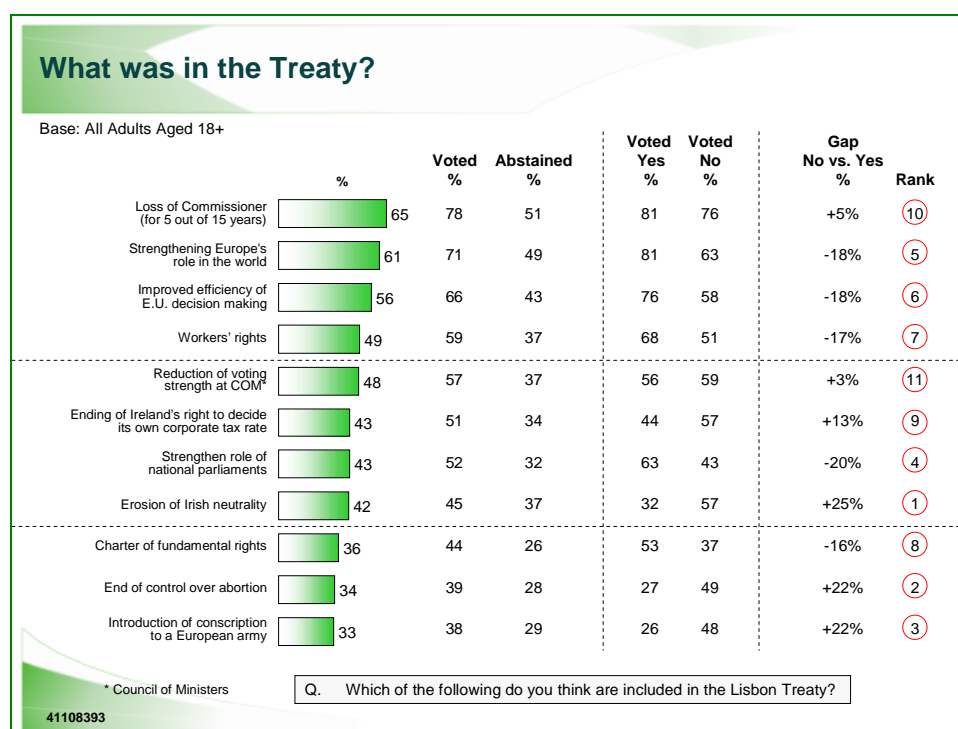
Focus group results also show some emotional responses in this regard. Frustration was the most common emotion. Many people had made efforts to understand the implications of ratification but could not find the answers they were looking for; it was too complex and confusing. Anger was also commonly expressed. Confusion was a prevailing theme. Many were repeatedly swayed in different

directions due to what they described as conflicting evidence. Panic was also evident in some cases – some felt they did not have enough time and were pressurised into making a decision they were not entirely sure or happy with.

***“It’s an awful thing to say but I was completely confused between the two. I felt listening to one politician one day expounding about all the benefits of voting Yes, you kind of say, yeah, I can see that, and then you listen to someone else talking about the No campaign”. Hard No, Female***

## 4.1 Objective Treaty Knowledge

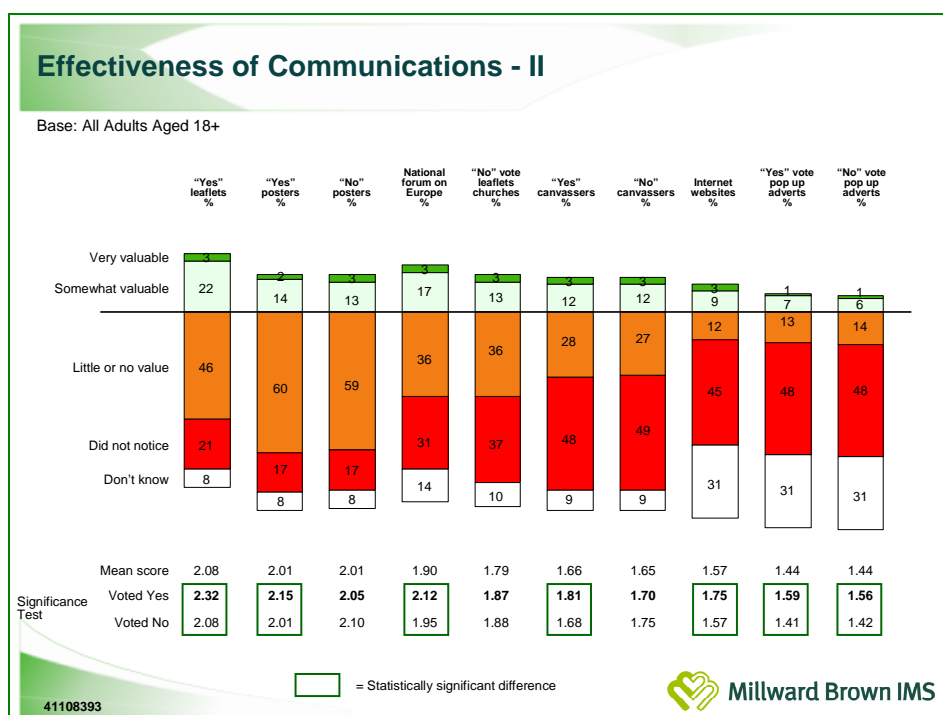
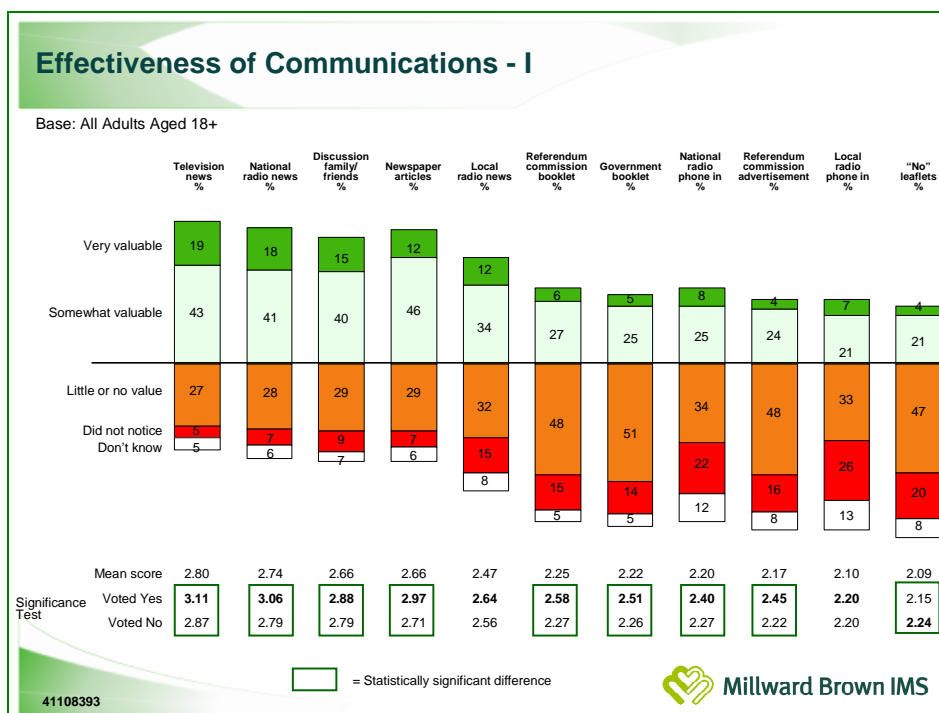
An objective measure of knowledge of the Treaty produces a more complex picture. Using the list shown in the chart below, respondents identified loss of Commissioner (for 5 of every 15 years) as top of the list at 65%. Other key elements/themes of the Treaty were also identified. However, the endorsement of ‘ending of Ireland’s right to decide its own corporate tax rate’ – 43%, ‘erosion of Irish neutrality’ – 42%, ‘end of control over abortion’ - 34%, and ‘introduction of conscription to a European army’ – 33% as being elements of the Lisbon Treaty, demonstrates the level of confusion that surrounded the Lisbon Treaty debate.



An analysis of the gap between Yes and No voters in terms of their objective knowledge of the Treaty adds further credence to this assertion. On this measure ‘erosion of neutrality’ is the most contentious issue (32% Yes versus 57% No). Abortion and conscription come second on this measure. Where perceptions of ‘knowledge’ are so widely at variance across a range of issues, between those who voted for and against the Lisbon Treaty, the crucial areas of divergence become clear.

## 4.2 Effectiveness of Campaign Communications

Survey participants were asked to rate how valuable they found a range of different information sources in the lead up to the Referendum. Television and radio news were rated most valuable, followed by discussion with family members or friends and newspaper articles. Many sources were rated as little or no value or were simply not noticed at all. It is worth noting that the Yes voters tended to rate most of the “neutral” channels (those not directly linked to the Yes or No campaigns) higher than the No voters. This supports the knowledge deficit among many No voters who did not seem to get as much value from different information sources as Yes voters.



The overall findings on the value of the different information channels, is supported by focus group discussions. Yes and No voters were united in their criticism of the lack of clear information on why they should ratify the Lisbon Treaty. Many claimed that they found the information provided on the Treaty impenetrable and fairly incomprehensible. Both the Referendum Commission booklet and the Department of Foreign Affairs' own booklet were perceived to be unduly complex. Yes campaign posters were widely disliked and equally criticised by Yes and No voters. Many felt that they were more about self-promotion than highlighting any tangible benefits of ratification. While No campaign posters were considered to be mis-leading and overly-dramatic by some group participants, they were widely recalled and some of the key messages did resonate with voters. Another issue raised in the groups was the lack of canvassers. People did seem to have an expectation that campaign advocates would have made greater efforts to knock on people's doors, which is supported by the quantitative evidence from the poll.

***“They got bogged down in the detail whereas they should have early on given a synopsis of what it was, there’s no need to be bothering with the details”. Hard Yes, Male***

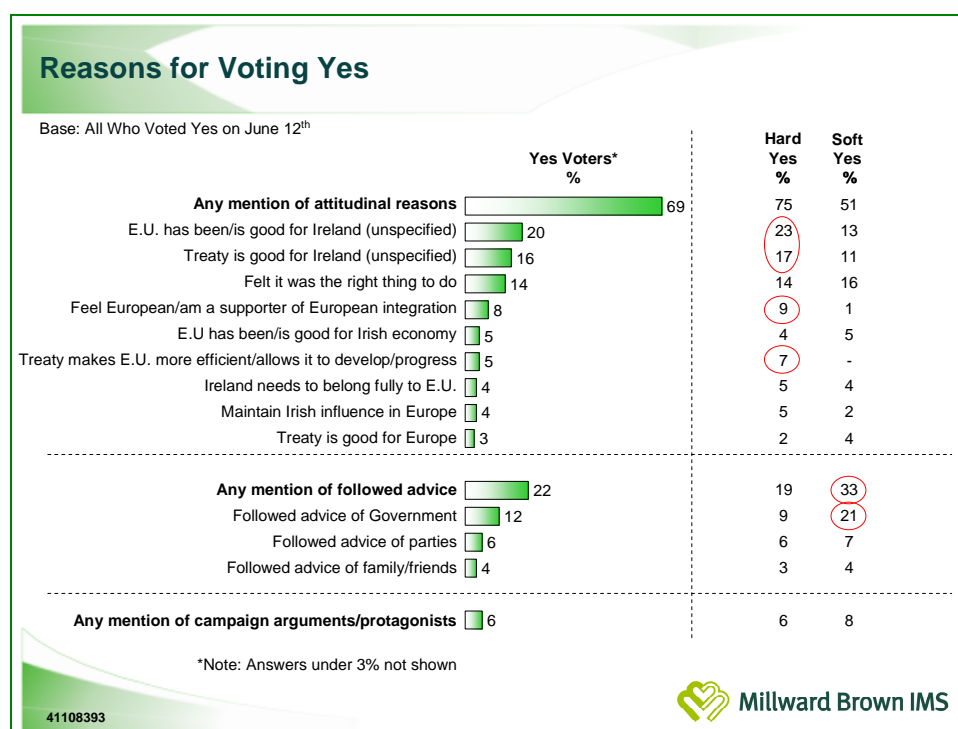
***“I said I’d have a go at it (The Referendum Commission Booklet) to get more knowledge but being honest, I said oh my God, that’s too complicated”. Hard Yes, Female***

***“They couldn’t tell us why it was good for us, nobody was able to tell me this, and believe me, I tried, nobody was able to tell me” Conflict Group, Female***

## 5. Attitudinal Reasons for Voting Yes and No

### 5.1 Yes Vote

The main reasons cited (spontaneously) for voting in favour of the Treaty were general positive attitudes towards the Treaty, or more usually, the EU itself. The non-specific tone of these responses indicates that the Yes vote was largely a pro-Europe vote rather than an endorsement of the Treaty on its specific merits. This illustrates the difficulty the Yes side had in promoting support for the Treaty in its own right. The Yes vote, and in particular the Hard Yes vote was underpinned by goodwill towards Europe and the EU project rather than any particular attachment to the Lisbon Treaty.



The second most important reason for voting Yes (overall) is 'following advice' (22%) – which is an indicator of the difficulty Yes voters had in coming up with specific reasons for their decision. 'Following advice' was particularly evident amongst the Soft Yes voters, illustrating their lack of identification with the Treaty. They were persuaded, largely by the Government (21%), to vote yes. This lack of confidence behind their own decision further underlines their position as 'Soft' voters.

The survey findings were echoed in the focus groups, where Yes votes were often not based on direct support for the Treaty, but based on support for the Government, support for other political parties advocating a Yes vote and general support for the EU. Dislike or distrust for some of those advocating a No vote was also an important driver of Yes votes. In addition, it was clear from the focus groups that quite a number of Yes voters had been unable or unwilling to make up their own mind, so had turned to – and had been completely influenced by – another person (typically a close family member). They simply trusted their views and went with it.

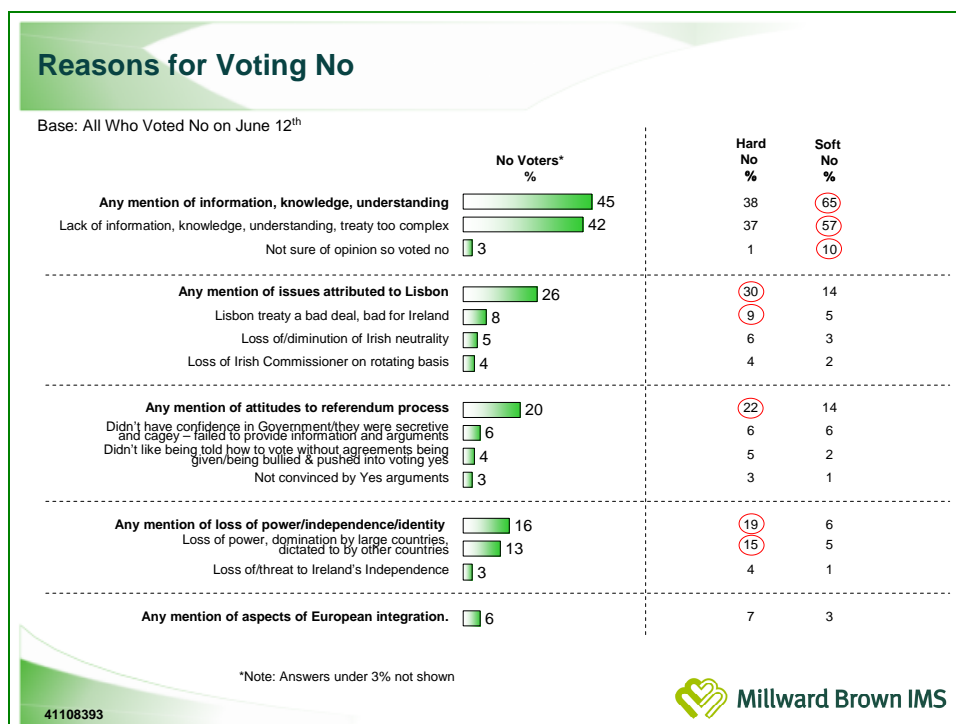
***"I basically went, well I voted this Government in, I trusted them to vote them in, I trust them to make the decisions for me". Hard Yes, Female***

***"I voted Yes on the basis that I didn't like the line up of some of the people telling us to vote No, I thought some of their claims were spurious at best." Hard Yes, Male***

**“I just didn’t have a clue and I was just saying to my parents what way was I supposed to vote, and they said well we are voting Yes ... so I just took it and said if my parents are voting Yes so am I”. Soft Yes, Female**

## 5.2 No Vote

The key (spontaneous) factor behind the No vote was a lack of understanding of the Treaty, which is mentioned by 45% of No voters. Indeed, 65% of Soft No voters cite this reason, clearly indicating that lack of knowledge was the deciding issue in the campaign.



A number of other categories also emerge as reasons for voting No, all of which are more prominent amongst Hard No voters. Thirty percent of this key voter group actually cite issues relating to the Treaty itself. This group were also exercised by the nature and tone of the referendum process. Loss of power to large countries is also offered as a specific reason for voting No (13%). These findings compound the overall effect of No voters being more likely to find *actual cause* to vote against the Treaty.

Reasons for No votes identified in the focus groups were quite similar to survey findings. Lack of understanding was a key issue along with specific concerns about particular aspects of the Treaty (erroneous or otherwise).

There were a number of general concerns not directly related to the Treaty which influenced voter decisions. One of the key issues in the focus groups was a feeling of pessimism about current and short-term economic prospects. It was frequently mentioned in the groups that if the Referendum had taken place 12-18 months ago, that there would have been little difficulties in having it voted through. The decline in consumer confidence appears to have led to a more inward looking and protectionist type sentiment. As a result, people start trying to apportion blame. Rising interest rates were blamed on the EU by some focus group participants. Some also feel the Euro is responsible, in part at least, for rising prices in Ireland. In a tightening jobs market people also feel less open to immigration. There is no question that this contributed in some measure to a No vote.

***“So they (immigrants) can all come here and take the wealth from here, we are so small that we don’t really benefit from it I think. There are loads of them and only a small amount of us and there was a certain amount of money here, which is after running out now.” Soft No, Female***

There also appears to be a certain level of malaise about the political establishment, leading to a greater level of mistrust of public representatives. People seem less likely to accept politicians “at their word” and they are more likely to start questioning motivations. However, only a small percentage spontaneously mentioned mistrust of politicians as the reason for their voting behaviour in the opinion poll. Across many of the focus groups, there was some suspicion expressed about three main political parties advocating a Yes vote. Some felt that “there must be something in it for them”.

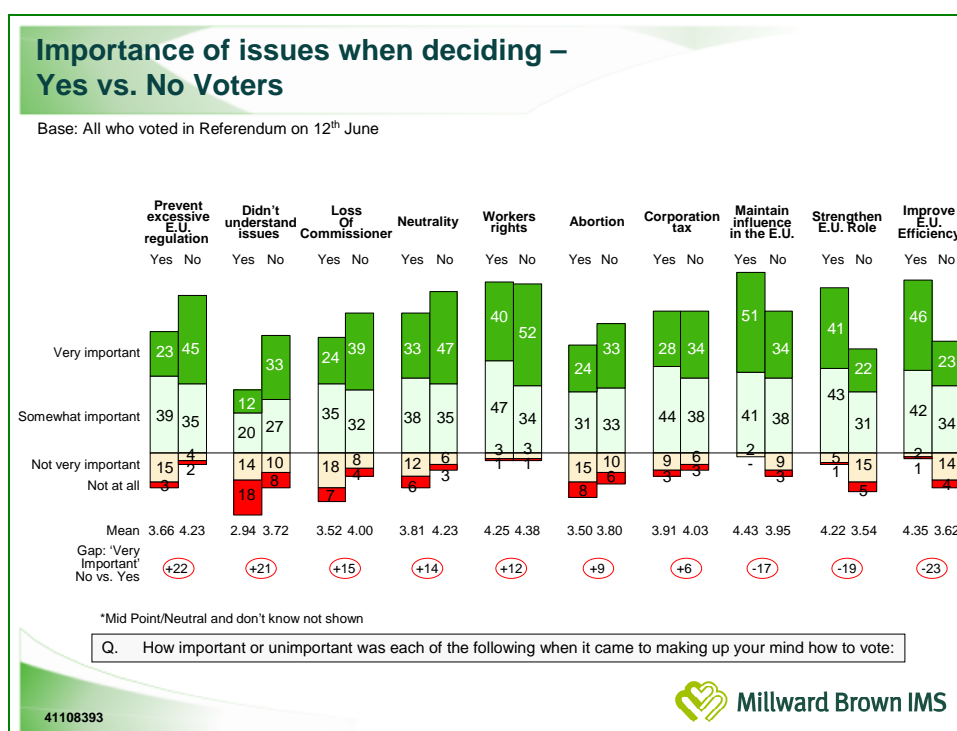
***“Everyone has lost respect in the politicians that are in government at the moment like, there are too many tribunals and stuff going on, everything, they are lying about all those things, you’re thinking what are they leading us into now, do you know.” Soft No, Female***

***“It’s down to trust then of the people delivering it to you. And I think in fairness a lot of the politicians have lost the trust of a lot of people in this country.” Conflict Group, Male***

### 5.3 Reasons for Vote – Importance Scale

A further analysis of voter motivations can be made using the list shown to the survey respondents. For each topic respondents were asked how important or unimportant (using a 5 point scale) it was for them when making up their mind how to vote. The analysis shown is based on the *degree of difference* between Yes and No voters on the key 'Very Important' level of endorsement. This approach allows for a more nuanced look at voter preoccupations when making up their minds, rather than focusing solely on absolute scores.

On this measure 'preventing excessive EU legislation' records the widest gap between Yes and No voters (22 percentage points). 'Loss of Commissioner' and 'Neutrality' also record considerable divergence, as well as the more general complaint of not understanding the issues. Although workers' rights has one of the highest levels of absolute endorsement (40% and 52% for Yes and No voters respectively), it does not record such a *wide gap* between the Yes and No vote (12 percentage points) - in terms of making up their mind how to vote. It is clearly an issue of importance to both sides, but it does not appear to be a matter of such contention as the other issues.



Where Yes voters exceed No voters in terms of 'Very Important' voting influences, the main issues are 'maintaining influence in the EU' (17 percentage points), 'Strengthening the EU's role in the world' (19 percentage points) and 'improving EU efficiency' (23 percentage points). This analysis backs up the spontaneous reasons given for voting, in the sense that No voters' concerns tend to be more specific whilst Yes voters are more likely to focus on broader EU issues.

In the focus groups one of the most commonly expressed worries by No voters was about what was usually described as Ireland "losing a Commissioner". Many were firmly convinced that in this regard Ireland were going to be at a disadvantage to the larger nations. This was exacerbated by extreme vagueness about how EU decision-making works, many believing that during the years when Ireland have no Commissioner, Ireland would have no voice.

***“I think too when we heard the Commissioner would only be there every 5 years, well I mean straight off the top of your head then you’re like, that was No for a lot of people, they could see this group of guys out there with black suits, none of them Irish, making decisions for us.” Hard No, Female***

Taxation was widely known to have been raised as an issue in debate about the Treaty, which made many uneasy. Often this concern was vague and general. In the better informed groups there was specific awareness of an issue to do with Corporate tax and that Ireland would come under pressure to harmonise rates with the rest of Europe, which was regarded as a potentially disastrous scenario in terms of job retention and employment creation.

***“My main concern would be you know the whole, our whole corporate tax rate, now the French seem to be on the band wagon, you know they were going to bring in a common zone tax rate, now if that came into force in Ireland you could say goodbye to the Intels, the Dells, the Googles.” Hard No, Male***

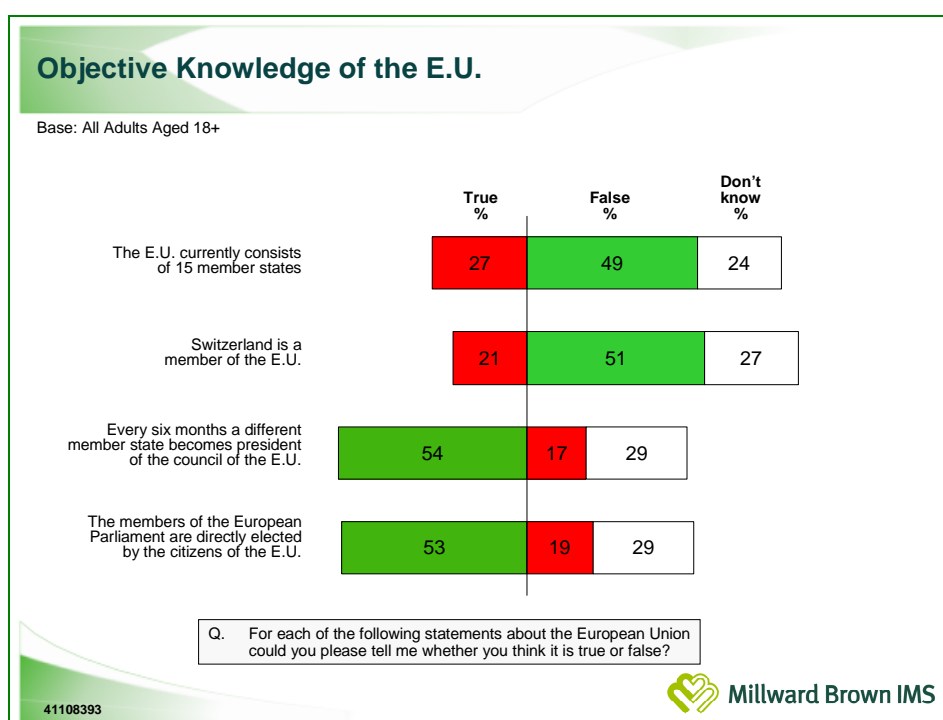
Worries in the defence area ranged from a vague sense that our neutrality might somehow be undermined, to a specific fear that Irish people could be conscripted into a European Army. For many, there seemed to be degrees of neutrality, and a fine line between the acceptable and the unacceptable – for example, “peacekeeping” missions are generally acceptable.

The “ethical” concern, in general terms, was that social values might somehow be thrust upon us that would be incompatible with our own values. Opinions on this issue varied very widely, with some young urban No voters rejecting these arguments completely, but some of the older, rural group participants seeing this as a real threat against which it was vital to take a stand. Another general concern about the enlarging EU was that Ireland’s voice would become increasingly diluted.

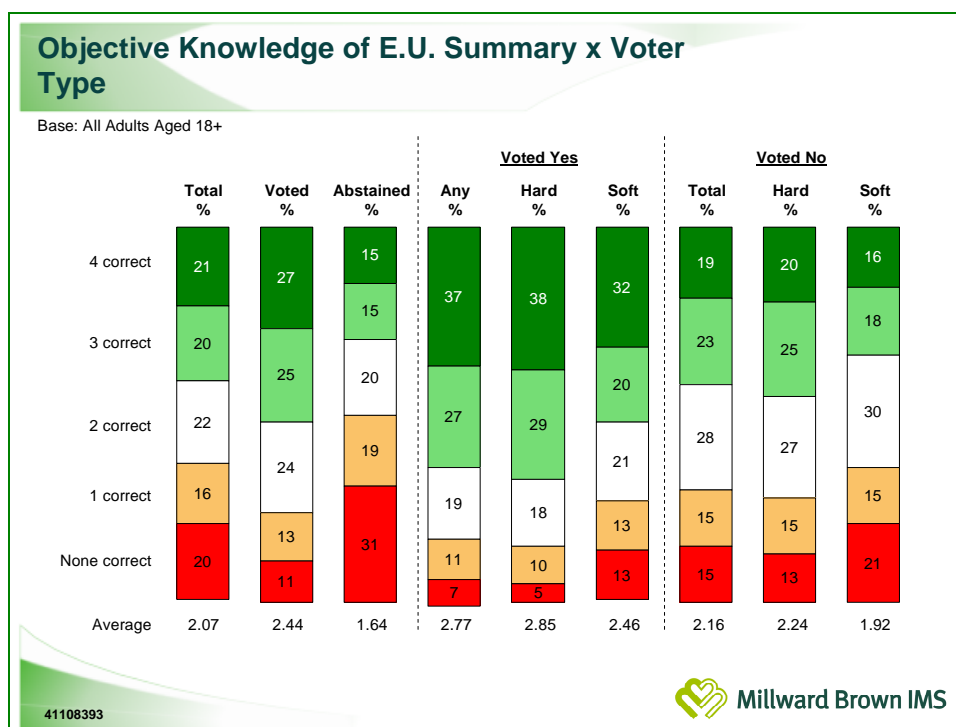
Many No voters felt that the Yes campaign had given the impression of assuming that a Yes vote was more or less certain. This had been received with resentment and there were undoubtedly some who had voted No largely as a protest at the sense of being forced into something without adequate consultation, and who were happy to have made a gesture of defiance against this attitude. This evidence is confirmed by the survey findings.

## 6. Knowledge of the EU

As 'lack of knowledge' is a key factor in terms of both abstention and voting No, it is logical to widen the focus to include knowledge of the EU more generally and to see if this in turn is related to voting patterns. Of the four questions asked in relation to the EU, only 21% could answer all 4 correctly, whilst the average number of correct answers was just over 2 out of 4. This knowledge of the EU varies greatly by voter type. Nearly 1 in 3 abstainers could not answer a single one of the questions, which once more indicates their general disconnect from EU issues. Yes and No voters also differ markedly in their general EU knowledge. Thirty-seven percent of Yes voters got all 4 right compared to only 19% of No voters. The Soft Yes vote is also much better informed than the Soft No vote – the latter can answer less than 2 questions correctly on average. This finding stands in contrast to the earlier similarities between these voter groups in terms of subjective knowledge of the Treaty itself.



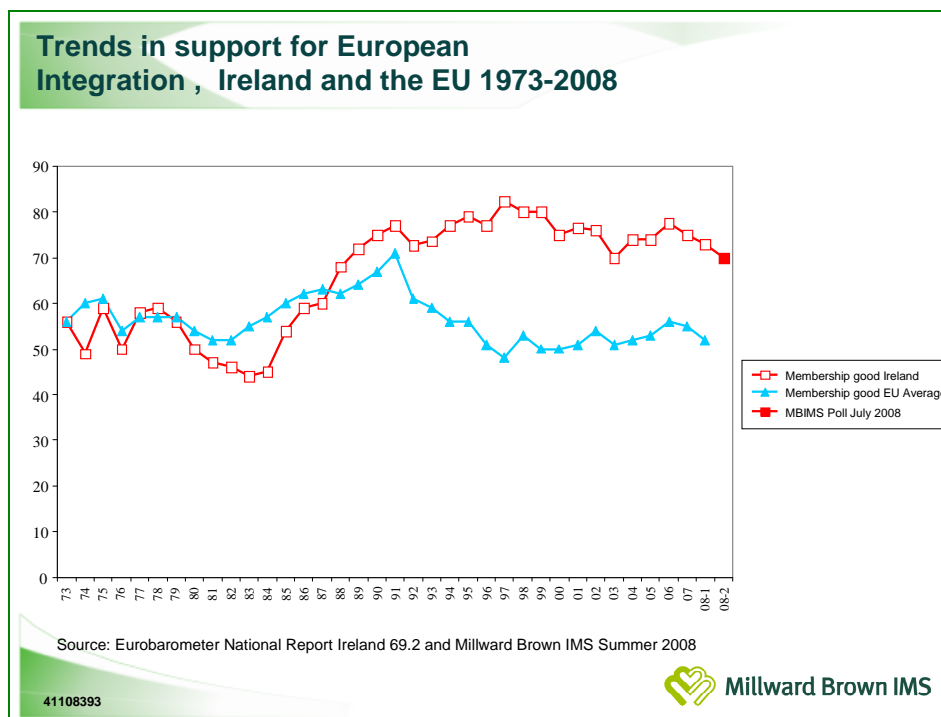
It is clear from these findings that the 'lack of information/knowledge' problem that underpins the No vote, goes well beyond the boundaries of the Lisbon Treaty. The knowledge deficit extends into a basic understanding of the EU itself and this is particularly the case for those who voted No to the Lisbon Treaty. The fact that the Hard No voter has less objective knowledge of the EU than the Soft Yes voter illustrates the knowledge gap that has to be bridged between both sides of the Lisbon debate.



Across all focus groups, there was very limited awareness, even among those educated to a high level, of how the EU operates. There was very little understanding of the distinction between the European Council, Council of Ministers, European Commission, and the European Parliament. The vast majority of group participants did not understand how decisions were made in the EU. This has important implications for how the loss of a Commissioner for a period of time was interpreted. Many assumed that by not having a Commissioner, that Ireland would simply have no voice/no decision-making representation in the EU whatsoever.

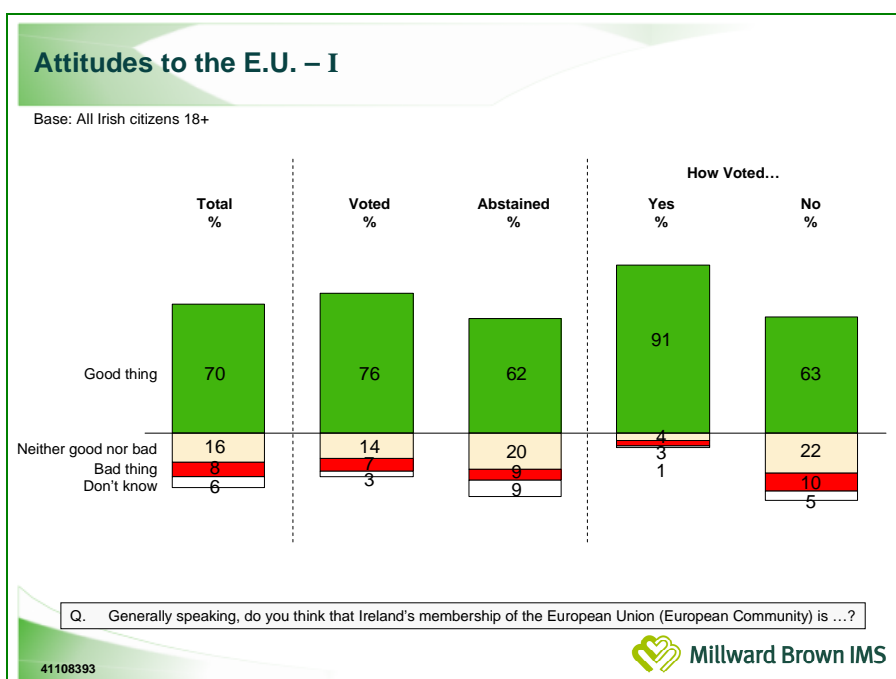
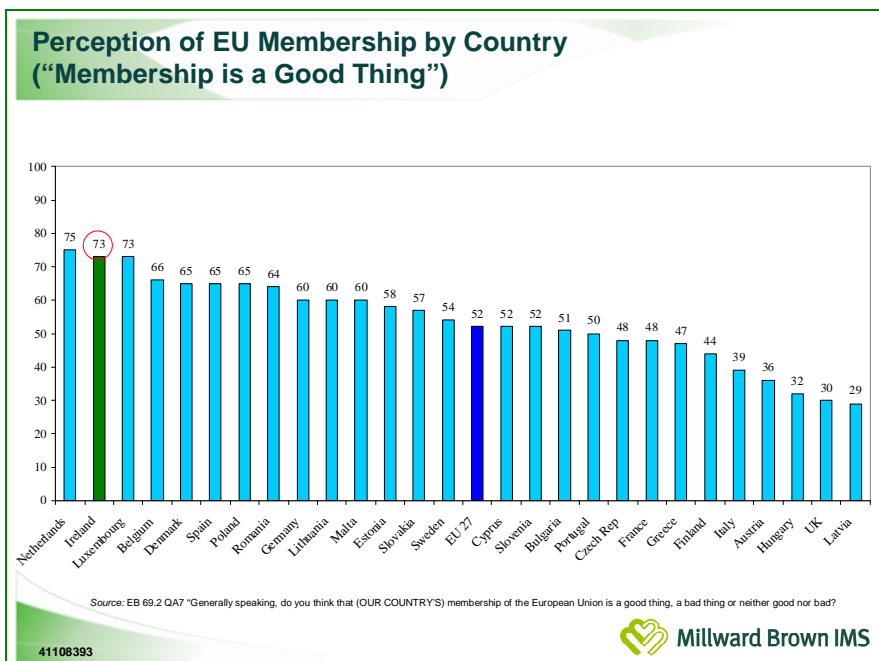
## 7. Attitudes to the EU

Irish people have been amongst the most positive in Europe in terms of their attitudes towards the EU. Although the No side were for the most part at pains to say they were not anti-European it is instructive to compare voter groups on some standard measures of EU support.

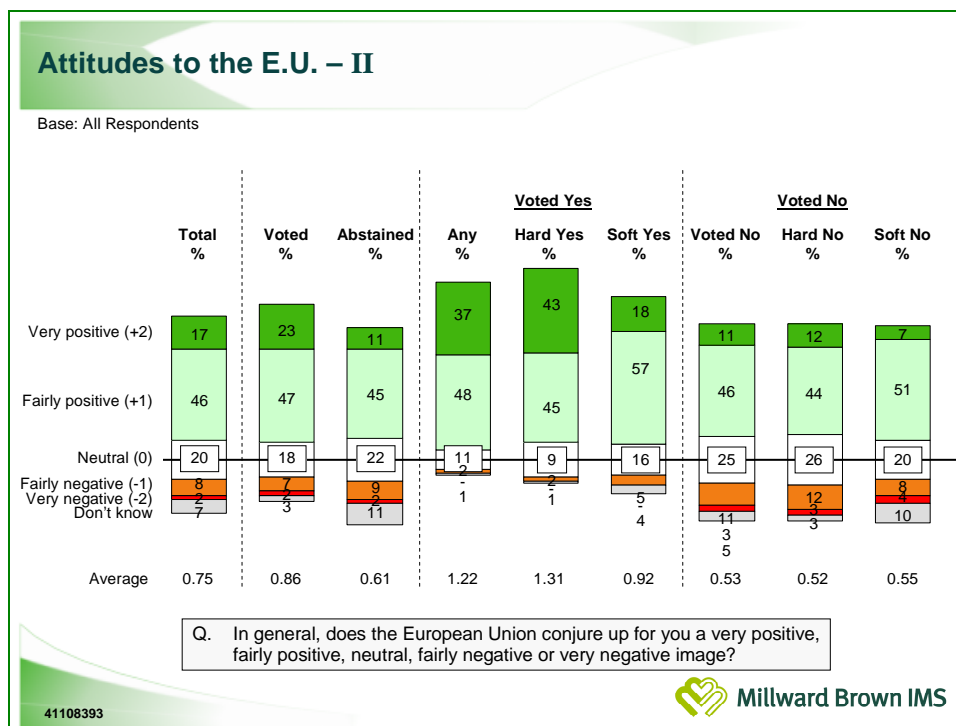


## 7.1 Attitudes to EU Membership

On this measure, Ireland at 73% support comes second only to the Netherlands on the EU support scale (based on the Eurobarometer Spring 2008 findings). When this measure was asked again by Millward Brown IMS in July, a similar overall result was found and only 8% of the Irish electorate believed the EU to be a bad thing. The abstainers and No voters showed a very similar pattern to one another. Sixty-three percent of No voters said the EU is a good thing indicating that they are still positive and indeed are well above the EU average of 52%. About 20% of these two voter groups are ambivalent (neither a good nor bad thing) whilst a minority of some 10% actively think the EU is a bad thing. These results are in contrast with the UK, for example, where only 30% of all voters think the EU is a good thing.



A more sensitive measure is the positive/negative scale which seeks to determine actual degrees of enthusiasm or negativity towards the EU. Sixty-three percent of Irish adults have a very or fairly positive view of the EU whilst only 10% have a fairly or very negative view. However the differences between the Yes and No sides clearly demonstrate that Irish attitudes to the EU cannot be taken for granted. Thirty-seven percent of Yes voters are very positive towards the EU compared to only 11% of No voters.



Similar to the survey findings, in the focus groups **there was a strong majority sense that Europe has been good for Ireland, and can continue to be.** This was particularly evident among those aged 40+ who were well aware that Ireland had been a net beneficiary for many years and who could recall very lean economic periods.

*“I think it is very good for us like, the amount of money that the EU has put into Ireland in the last 15 years, has been astronomical, I think it has really helped the economic growth of the country from say the early, mid-90s to the present day.” Soft Yes, Male*

*“I mean prior to the EU we were forced to sell everything practically to Britain and we got a poor price for it, now it’s an open market around Europe.” Conflict Group, Female*

*“I’d have to say it has been very much a positive aspect to Irish life from when we joined first, no question it helped us. I mean it certainly helped farmers I’m sure.” Soft No, Male*

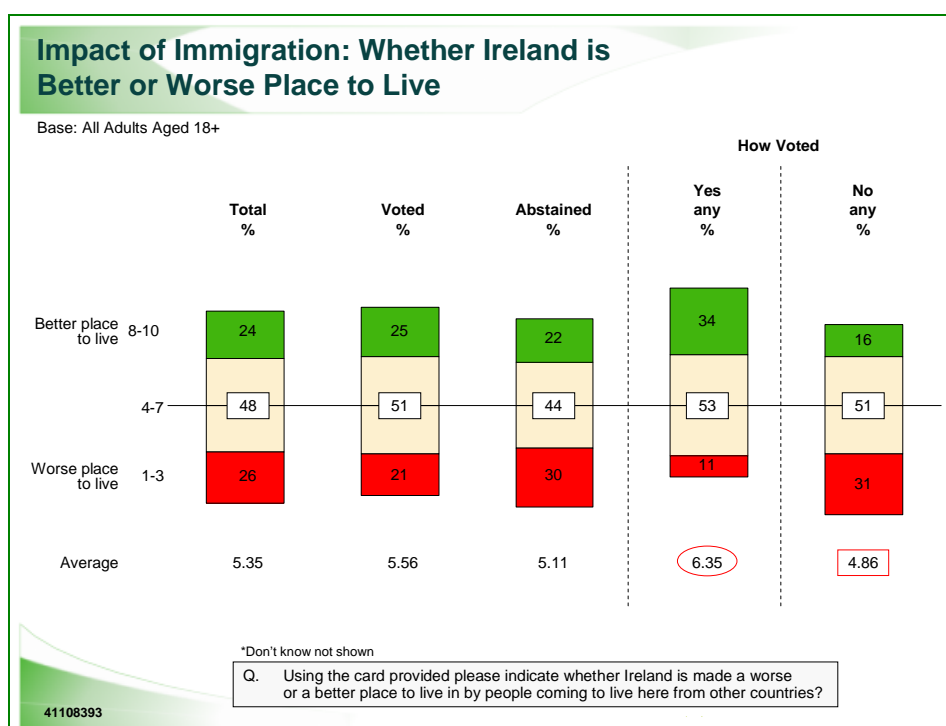
Younger group participants (those aged under 30), particularly those from lower socio-economic groups, were often less enthused about Ireland’s membership of the EU. Quite a number struggled to identify specific benefits associated with it and instead focused on negatives such as rising interest rates, and a perception that the Euro was responsible for “rip-off Ireland” and rising prices generally.

*“I think the Euro though is what is after killing people, do you know I really do I think it is just, there is no value for money since it came in, from the day it came in, I think do you know that would be the one thing that I would have against being part of the EU, is going for the euro.” Soft No, Female*

## 8. Impact of Immigration

We examined the issue of immigration to explore its impact on voter decisions. At a spontaneous level it did not really materialise as an issue for either Yes, or more particularly No voters. It can therefore be assumed that it did not factor greatly in voters' decision making at an overt level.

A specific question on immigration was included in order to further probe voter attitudes to this issue. On average, Irish adults rank the impact of immigration at just over 5 out of 10 on the 10 point scale (is Ireland made a worse or better place to live in by people coming to live here from other countries?). Those who abstained are somewhat less positive on this measure. However a wider contrast is evident between those who voted Yes and those who voted No. Yes voters score 6.35 out of 10 compared to No voters 4.86 – a statistically significant difference. Those who give the lowest scores (1-3) i.e. that Ireland is a worse place to live number 11% for the Yes voters and 31% for No voters. This is a large proportion of No voters who believe immigration has had a negative impact. Although the issue did not come up explicitly it appears from this analysis that it is an underlying concern for many of those who voted No – whether or not it actually led to their voting decision.

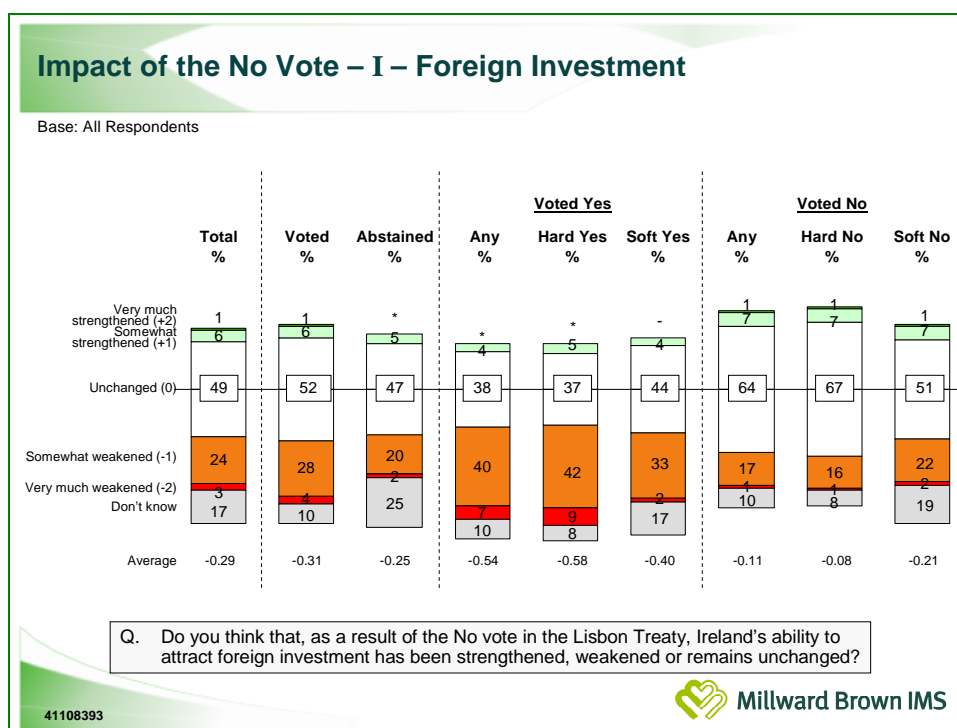


From the focus groups, those from lower socio-economic groups in particular, were also more likely to cite rising immigration levels as a negative consequence of EU membership. Many felt their job prospects were under greater threat and remuneration levels were being driven down by immigrants willing to work for less pay.

## 9. Aftermath of Lisbon Rejection

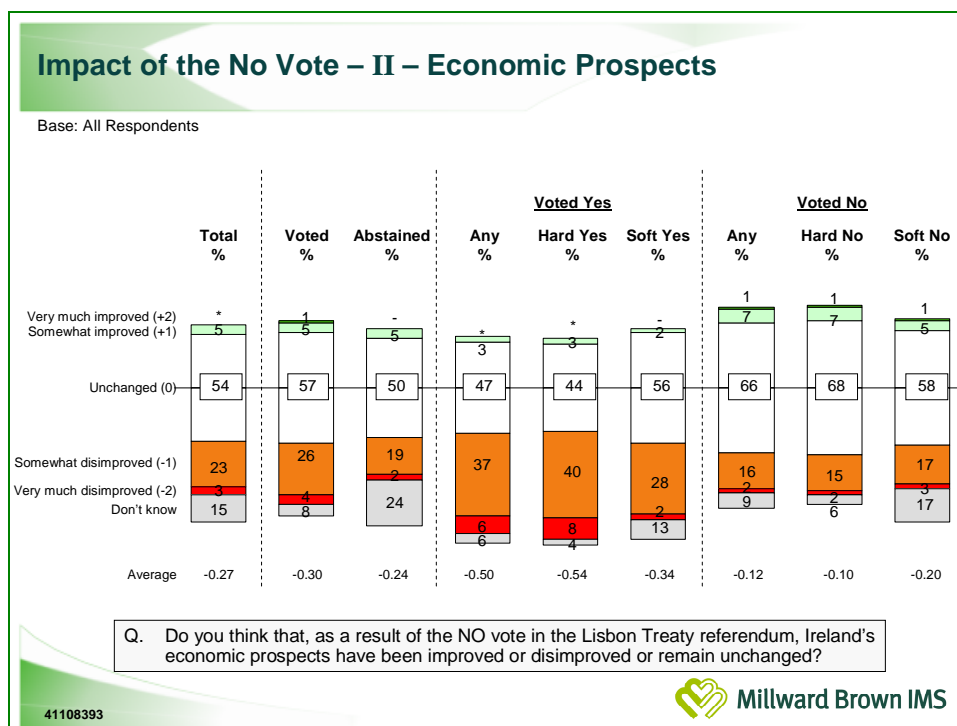
### 9.1 Economic Prospects, Foreign Investment and Irish influence in the EU

A series of questions were asked to elicit voter attitudes and expectation regarding the impact of the No vote on foreign investment, economic prospects and Ireland's influence in the EU. When asked if Ireland has been strengthened or weakened in terms of attracting **Foreign Investment** post June 12<sup>th</sup>, nearly one in four (24%) of the electorate felt the country's prospects had been somewhat weakened. Just seven percent felt the outcome had led to Ireland being "very much" or "somewhat" strengthened. It is notable that 17% still had no idea of the possible impact post referendum. Whilst nearly half (49%) felt Ireland's position had remained unchanged, there may well be a proportion of these who are simply unsure, and are thus unwilling to speculate one way or the other.



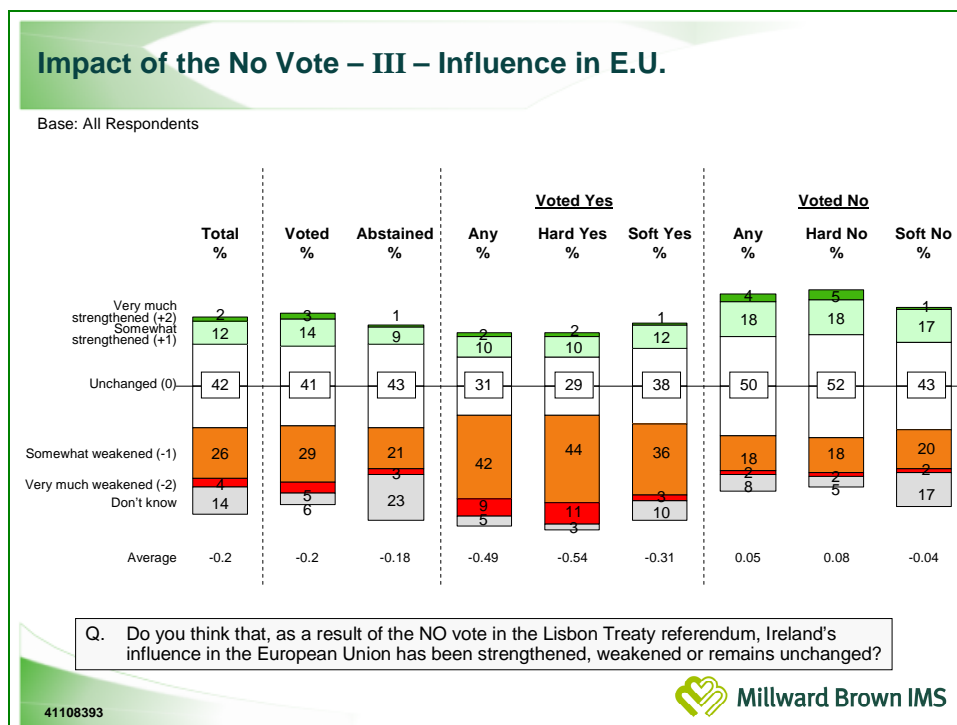
When voting conviction is examined, Hard No and to a lesser extent Soft No voters are most likely to believe that our **Investment prospects** have remained unchanged. What is striking is the high proportion of Soft voters of either hue who cannot give an opinion (17% and 19% respectively for Yes and No voters).

The likely impact on **Economic Prospects** largely mirrors the opinions voiced on Foreign Investment. Over four in ten (43%) of Yes voters believe prospects have “somewhat” or “very much” disimproved in light of the referendum result, again driven by Hard Yes voters. Overall, two thirds of No voters believe that our prospects remain unchanged.



Similar to when evaluating Foreign Investment, Soft voters emerge as being more likely to be unsure of the possible ramifications of the No vote on economic prospects. This lack of conviction, even among actual voters after the event, is indicative of the confusion generated by the messages communicated both during the campaign and the lack of clarification in light of the result.

Opinions diversify somewhat when considering the impact **on Ireland's influence within the EU** post June 12<sup>th</sup>. Whilst Yes voters still believe that our influence has been diminished, No voters are slightly more likely to believe Ireland's influence has been strengthened. Again, Hard No voters are most likely to express this view.



There is more of an acknowledgement that our influence within the EU has now changed, for better or worse, with just 41% of voters believing that the June 12<sup>th</sup> result has had no impact on our influence within the Union and just six per cent not being able to express an opinion.

Among both Yes and No voters, there are significant proportions who believe our influence has been strengthened, undoubtedly guided by the belief that the Treaty cannot be ratified without Ireland's consent. This in turn has led to the belief in some quarters that Ireland is in a position of power in terms of being able to 'renegotiate' the content of the Treaty in our favour.

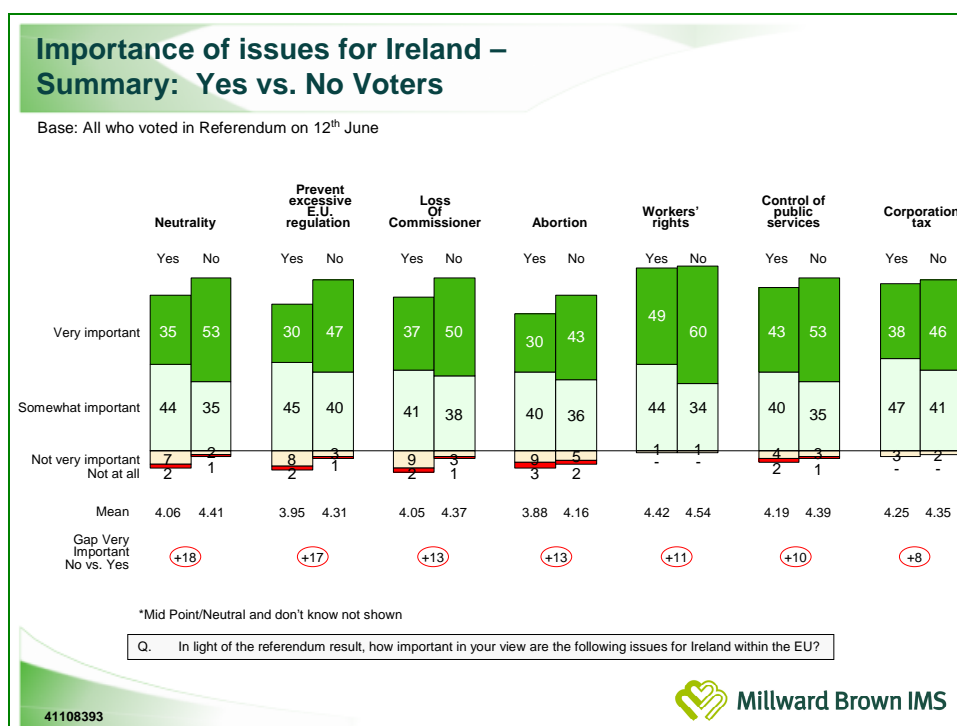
All focus group participants were very unclear about the likely consequences of having rejected the Lisbon Treaty. There was some sense that the decision was likely to have some sort of negative repercussions for Ireland but impressions of what these might be were extremely vague – although many had heard talk, for example, of a "two-speed Europe", none had any idea of what this might mean. No voters were inclined to play down the negative consequences (though rarely to deny them) and Yes voters had more generalised unease than specific concerns so, on balance there was a lack of any really strong concern about what might happen as a result.

When prompted with suggestions that there might be a two-tier Europe and that Ireland might not be at the "heart of Europe" in terms of developments and advancement, soft No voters in particular, visibly shifted uncomfortably in their seats and there seemed to be less bravado generally among No voters.

## 10. Looking Forward

In light of the referendum result, an important objective was to measure the importance of a given set of issues for Ireland in the EU.

When asked which issues are important in light of the referendum, Workers' rights was nominated by Yes and No voters as well as abstainers as being the most important issue, with 53% overall believing this to be very important. Furthermore, nearly half (45%) believe that Ireland retaining control over its public services was very important. Although workers' rights and public services did not feature as issues of concern in the focus groups or to any great extent in the open-ended questions, they did contribute to the different attitudinal profiles of Yes and No voters. However, the key areas of divergence (an analysis of the gap between Yes and No voters) are **retaining military neutrality** (an 18 percentage point gap), **preventing excessive EU regulation** (a 17 percentage point gap), the **loss of the Commissioner** on a rotating basis and **retaining full control over abortion laws** (a 13 percentage point gap each). The focus groups reinforce these indications as to where the main battlegrounds between the Yes and No sides lay, with retaining full control over Corporate Tax also featuring as an issue.



When analysed by voter group, another trend emerges. The opinions felt by Yes voters (both Hard and Soft) are quite similar in their depth of conviction. However, the opinions of the overall No vote are largely a function of the depth of conviction of the Hard No voters – they are far more likely to rate each issue as being 'very important' compared to the Soft No voters. This reiterates the suggestion that the No voters and No campaign were more motivated and assured in their beliefs at the time of the referendum.

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From the focus groups four key issues emerged as the most important for voters – loss of a Commissioner; Ireland retaining control over corporate and income tax; Ireland retaining control over ethical issues, especially any laws concerning abortion and euthanasia; and Ireland retaining its military neutrality. Ireland retaining control over its public services such as education and health was not raised to any great degree in any of the groups. It did not emerge as a point of contention or concern. There was concern expressed that workers' rights be protected but this was noted at quite a vague and general level. For the reasons outlined previously it is reasonable to suggest that these issues were not at the heart of the matter.

In the focus groups there was a very general feeling that the Irish people were going to be asked to vote again, sooner or later, whether on the same or on a revised document. Although many had voted No simply through lack of understanding, and some were prepared to consider changing their minds if the same document were presented with clearer explanations, the general consensus at the time, was that if presented unchanged it could result in an even more negative result. No voters in particular often expressed offence at the idea that their decision would not be respected.

***“I think realistically they’re going to have to, not start from scratch but try and format it another way, start on a different way, you can’t I think do anything with this one, I think they’re going to have to accept that this is dead.” Hard No, Female***

***“I think that if the government tried to sign up to it without the consent of the people I think you would be faced into serious trouble.” Soft No, Male***

## 11. EU Communications

Greater understanding of how the EU operates and greater awareness of how Ireland benefits from EU membership is important.

Despite not having a good understanding of how EU institutions operate, there was fairly limited appetite for additional information, particularly among younger group participants. Few felt that they would realistically take the time or go to the bother to inform themselves in any great detail. Older group participants (those aged 35+), were more open to learning more and felt that if the EU was going to become more important to Ireland then it was important for them to be better informed.

Getting people more engaged in EU affairs will be challenging. Very simple, clear and easily accessible information will be required. Documents with any dense, difficult text are unlikely to generate much enthusiasm. Any publication aimed at communicating how the EU operates and how Ireland benefits from EU membership, should focus on the following:

- Very simple and plain language, jargon do be avoided e.g. qualified majority voting
- Use of lots of visuals, maps, images e.g. a visual history of the EU
- Simplified explanation of how decisions are made in the EU and how Ireland's voice is represented in those decisions
- Highlight changes that have been implemented that have specifically benefitted Irish people e.g. investment in roads, legislative changes, education and work programmes.
- Highlight clearly how Ireland's economy has benefitted from EU membership to date e.g. destination of Ireland's exports pre and post EU membership
- Highlight EU advances made in the protection of human rights and workers rights
- Highlight how the EU is working to protect the environment and responding to the challenges of climate change
- Highlight how Irish people can have their say in Europe and influence how the EU develops e.g. contacting local TDs (EU policies are part of national policies), MEPs, NGOs who advise the EU on policy (e.g. consumer associations, environmental groups) and contacting the European Commission directly.

***“I wouldn't know very much about the ins and outs and the inner workings of the EU, I wouldn't be extremely well versed on the inner workings of the Irish Government as well, I wouldn't go out of my way to learn a lot more about how the Irish government or the EU works, just leave that to the politicians and watch the football.” Hard No, Male***

***“Making them more accountable and somebody actually saying well you know you spent a fortnight out there (in the EU), lets hear what you spent your fortnight doing and how is it going to influence our lives.” Soft No, Male***

# Appendices



**Millward Brown IMS**

## Appendix 1: Methodology

### Quantitative Methodology:

- A national opinion poll was conducted as the quantitative element of this research project.
- Sample size: 2,101.
- Nationally representative all voters aged 18+ (eligible to vote).
- Quotas were set according to 2006 census, based on region, sex, age and socio- economic group.
- Poll conducted between July 24<sup>th</sup> and July 31<sup>st</sup> 2008.
- Margin of error +/-2.1%

### Technical Note on Quantitative Data:

- Post interview the data was weighted to be representative of the known turnout and the known Yes/No vote. Post election surveys commonly record levels of turnout and result in excess of the actual figures due to post facto justification on the voter's behalf. Weighting is required to represent the actual turnout and result in the final data tables. In this case the turnout figure was weighted down, whilst the incidence of Yes vote was weighted up to their true proportions.
- The following weighting factors were used in this survey:
  - Turnout: weighting factor 0.82
  - Yes vote: weighting factor 1.09

## Qualitative Methodology

Twelve focus groups were conducted at five different locations around the country between the 28<sup>th</sup> of July and the 6<sup>th</sup> of August 2008.

Participants were recruited on a free-find basis. All group participants were on the Electoral Register and eligible to vote in the recent Referendum. Members of any political organisation, lobby group or anyone involved in canvassing on the recent Referendum were excluded from participation. In identifying Hard and Soft voters, the same voter conviction question was used from the quantitative survey. The table below details the profile of participants in each of the groups.

Group	Location	Voter Type	Gender	Criteria
1	Dublin	Hard No	Male	18-24, C1C2
2	Dublin	Hard Yes	Female	40-54, C1C2
3	Mullingar	Non-Voters	Female	18-24, C2D
4	Mullingar	Soft-No	Male	40-54, ABC1F
5	Dublin	Soft Yes	Male	25-39, C1C2F
6	Dublin	Conflict Group	Male	25-39, C1C2
7	Kilkenny	Soft Yes	Female	18-24, C1C2F
8	Kilkenny	Hard Yes	Males	55+, ABC1
9	Cork	Soft No	Female	25-34, C2D
10	Cork	Conflict Group	Female	40-55, ABC1
11	Mayo	Hard No	Female	55+, ABC1
12	Mayo	Non-Voters	Male	25-39, C1C2F

## Appendix 2: Questionnaire and Results

41108393

**Lisbon Treaty Public Opinion Poll  
 Topline Results  
 © Millward Brown IMS: September 2008  
 Fieldwork Dates – 24<sup>th</sup> – 31<sup>st</sup> July 2008**

**Base: (2,101) All Adults 18+  
 Unless Otherwise Stated**

<p>A Are you a citizen of Ireland <b>and</b> on the Electoral Register i.e. eligible to vote in Irish Referendums?</p>	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 5%;"></td> <td style="width: 85%;"></td> <td style="width: 10%; text-align: right;">%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>▪ Yes .....</td> <td>100</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>▪ No .....</td> <td>-</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>			%	▪ Yes .....	100		▪ No .....	-	
		%								
▪ Yes .....	100									
▪ No .....	-									

<p>Q.1a) <b>On the 12<sup>th</sup> June last, a referendum was held on the Treaty of Lisbon.</b> As you may remember, many people did not vote in that referendum. How about you? Did you vote in the referendum on the Treaty of Lisbon that was held in June?</p>	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 5%;"></td> <td style="width: 85%;"></td> <td style="width: 10%; text-align: right;">%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>▪ Yes – voted .....</td> <td>53</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>▪ Did not vote .....</td> <td>47</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>			%	▪ Yes – voted .....	53		▪ Did not vote .....	47	
		%								
▪ Yes – voted .....	53									
▪ Did not vote .....	47									

**IF VOTED (CODE 1 AT Q.1a) ASK, OTHERS GO TO Q4:**

<p>Q.1b) How did you vote in that referendum - in favour or against the Lisbon Treaty?  <i>Base: All Who voted (1,354)</i></p>	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 5%;"></td> <td style="width: 85%;"></td> <td style="width: 10%; text-align: right;">%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>▪ Voted - In favour .....</td> <td>46</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>▪ Voted - Against.....</td> <td>54</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>			%	▪ Voted - In favour .....	46		▪ Voted - Against.....	54	
		%								
▪ Voted - In favour .....	46									
▪ Voted - Against.....	54									

<p><b>SHOW CARD</b>          Q.1c) Using this card, can you tell me roughly when did you make up your mind how you would vote in that referendum?  <i>Base: All Who voted (1,354)</i></p>	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="width: 5%;"></td> <td style="width: 85%;"></td> <td style="width: 10%; text-align: right;">%</td> </tr> <tr> <td>▪ At the time the referendum was announced .....</td> <td>13</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>▪ Fairly early on during the referendum campaign ..</td> <td>40</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>▪ In the final week of the campaign .....</td> <td>34</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>▪ On the day of the referendum itself.....</td> <td>7</td> <td></td> </tr> <tr> <td>▪ Don't Know/NA .....</td> <td>6</td> <td></td> </tr> </table>			%	▪ At the time the referendum was announced .....	13		▪ Fairly early on during the referendum campaign ..	40		▪ In the final week of the campaign .....	34		▪ On the day of the referendum itself.....	7		▪ Don't Know/NA .....	6	
		%																	
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▪ In the final week of the campaign .....	34																		
▪ On the day of the referendum itself.....	7																		
▪ Don't Know/NA .....	6																		

Q.2a) What were the main reasons why you voted in **Favour/Against (AS APPROPRIATE)** the Lisbon Treaty in the referendum last month? **Were there any other reasons? And anything else?**

*Base: All Who voted (1,354)*

<p><b>REASONS FOR VOTING YES:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <b>Any mention of attitudinal reasons..... 69</b></li> <li>▪ EU has been/is good for Ireland (unspecified)..... 20</li> <li>▪ Treaty is good for Ireland (unspecified)..... 16</li> <li>▪ Felt it was the right thing to do ..... 14</li> <li>▪ Feel European/am a supporter of European integration ..... 8</li> <li>▪ EU has been/is good for Irish economy ..... 5</li> <li>▪ Treaty makes EU more efficient/allows it to develop/progress ..... 5</li> <li>▪ Ireland needs to belong fully to EU..... 4</li> <li>▪ Maintain Irish influences in Europe ..... 4</li> <li>▪ Treaty is good for Europe..... 3</li>   <li>▪ <b>Any mention of followed advice ..... 22</b></li> <li>▪ Followed advice of Government ..... 12</li> <li>▪ Followed advice of parties ..... 6</li> <li>▪ Followed advice of family/friends ..... 4</li>   <li>▪ <b>Any mention of campaign arguments/protagonists..... 6</b></li> </ul> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>* NOTE: Answers under 3% not shown</b></p>	
<p><b>REASONS FOR VOTING NO:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ <b>Any mention of information, knowledge, understanding ..... 45</b></li> <li>▪ Lack of information, knowledge, understanding, treaty too complex..... 42</li> <li>▪ Not sure of opinion so voted no ..... 3</li>   <li>▪ <b>Any mention of issues attributed to Lisbon ..... 26</b></li> <li>▪ Lisbon treaty a bad deal, bad for Ireland..... 8</li> <li>▪ Loss of/diminution of Irish neutrality ..... 5</li> <li>▪ Loss of Irish Commissioner on rotating basis ..... 4</li>   <li>▪ <b>Any mention of attitudes to referendum process..... 20</b></li> <li>▪ Didn't have confidence in Government/they were secretive and cagey – failed to provide information and arguments ..... 6</li> <li>▪ Didn't like being told how to vote without agreements being given/ being bullied and pushed into voting yes ..... 4</li> <li>▪ Not convinced by Yes arguments..... 3</li>   <li>▪ <b>Any mention of loss of power/independence/identity ..... 16</b></li> <li>▪ Loss of power, domination by large countries, dictated to by other countries..... 13</li> <li>▪ Loss of/threat to Ireland's independence..... 3</li>   <li>▪ <b>Any mention of aspects of European integration ..... 6</b></li> </ul> <p style="text-align: center;"><b>* NOTE: Answers under 3% not shown</b></p>	

Q.2b) When you had made up your mind how to vote in the referendum, how certain were you about your decision to vote in favour of/against (as appropriate) the Treaty. Were you .....

*Base: All Who voted (1,354)*

	%
▪ Absolutely certain .....	43
▪ Pretty certain .....	34
▪ Some reservations/doubts.....	16
▪ Not at all certain .....	5
▪ Don't Know/NA .....	2

**SHOW CARD**

Q.3 How important or unimportant was each of the following when it came to making up your mind how to vote:

<b>READ OUT ↓</b> <i>Base: All Who voted (1,354)</i>	Very Important (5)	Important (4)	Neither /Nor (3)	Not very Important (2)	Not at all Important (1)	Don't know	Mean Score
<input type="checkbox"/> Protection of Irish neutrality ..... %	41	36	7	9	4	3	4.03
<input type="checkbox"/> Loss of Irish Commissioner for 5 out of every 15 years..... %	32	33	12	13	5	5	3.77
<input type="checkbox"/> To keep Ireland's veto on corporate taxation ..... %	31	41	11	7	3	7	3.98
<input type="checkbox"/> To protect Ireland's policy on abortion..... %	29	32	15	12	7	5	3.66
<input type="checkbox"/> To protect workers' rights ..... %	46	40	7	3	1	3	4.32
<input type="checkbox"/> To prevent too much EU regulation..... %	35	37	13	9	2	4	3.96
<input type="checkbox"/> To strengthen Europe's role in the world..... %	31	37	14	10	3	5	3.87
<input type="checkbox"/> To maintain Ireland's influence within the EU..... %	42	39	8	6	2	3	4.18
<input type="checkbox"/> To enable the EU to be more efficient..... %	34	37	14	8	2	4	3.96
<input type="checkbox"/> Because I did not understand the issues involved..... %	23	24	20	12	12	10	3.37

**IF DID NOT VOTE (CODE 2 AT Q.1a) ASK: OTHERS GO TO Q.5**

Q.4 Why did you not vote?  
 Were there any other reasons? And anything else?  
*Base: All Who did Not Vote (744)*

REASONS FOR NOT VOTING:	%
▪ <b>Any mention of voluntary abstention</b> .....	<b>63</b>
▪ Lack of understanding/lack of information/too complicated .....	46
▪ Couldn't be bothered/not interested .....	10
▪ Undecided/uncertain what way to vote/confused.....	3
▪ Campaigns unsatisfactory .....	2
▪ Opposed to/did not like Lisbon Treaty .....	2
▪ Not interested in politics .....	2
▪ Dislike/distrust politicians/politics .....	2
▪ <b>Any mention of circumstantial abstention</b> .....	<b>34</b>
▪ Away from home (unspecified).....	10
▪ Away from home (holiday) .....	7
▪ Registration/voting card problem.....	4
▪ Too busy/no time (unspecified).....	4
▪ Too busy/no time – work constraints .....	3
▪ Illness .....	3
▪ Away from home (work).....	2
▪ Registered at another location .....	2
<i>* NOTE: Answers Under 2% Not Shown</i>	

Q.5 In the near future, do you see yourself as...?  
*Base: All Adults 18+ (2,101)*

▪ Irish only .....	45
▪ Irish and European .....	48
▪ European and Irish. ....	3
▪ European only .....	1
▪ Don't Know/NA.....	3

**SHOW CARD**

Q.6 By the date of the referendum (12<sup>th</sup> June), how good was your understanding of the issues involved? Please use this card to choose the phrase that applies best to you.

▪ I had a good understanding of what the Treaty was all about.....	9
▪ I understood some of the issues but not all that was involved .....	31
▪ I was only vaguely aware of the issues involved .....	30
▪ I did not know what the Treaty was about at all .....	30
▪ Don't Know/NA .....	1

**SHOW CARD**

Q.7 And how about the European Union in general? Using this scale, how much do you feel you know about the European Union, its policies, its institutions?

		<b>%</b>
1	↑ Nothing at all.....	10
2	.....	9
3	.....	14
4	.....	15
5	.....	21
6	.....	12
7	.....	9
8	.....	6
9	.....	1
10	↓ Know a great deal.....	1
<hr/>		
	Don't know .....	1
	Mean Score.....	4.46

Q.8 For each of the following statements about the European Union could you please tell me whether you think it is true or false?

	<b>True</b>	<b>False</b>	<b>Don't Know</b>
▪ The EU currently consists of fifteen Member States..... %	27	49	24
▪ Switzerland is a member of the European Union..... %	21	51	27
▪ Every six months, a different Member State becomes the President of the Council of the European Union..... %	54	17	29
▪ The members of the European Parliament are directly elected by the citizens of the EU..... %	53	19	29

Q.9 Generally speaking, do you think that Ireland's membership of the European Union (European Community) is ...?

	<b>%</b>
▪ A good thing.....	70
▪ A bad thing.....	8
▪ Neither good nor bad.....	16
▪ Don't know .....	6

Q.10 In general, does the European Union conjure up for you a very positive, fairly positive, neutral, fairly negative or very negative image?

	<b>%</b>
▪ Very positive (2) .....	17
▪ Fairly positive (1).....	46
▪ Neutral (0).....	20
▪ Fairly negative (-1).....	8
▪ Very negative (-2) .....	2
▪ Don't know .....	7
▪ Mean Score.....	+0.75

**SHOW CARD**

Q.11 Do you think that, as a result of the NO vote in the Lisbon Treaty referendum, Ireland's influence in the European Union has been strengthened, weakened or remains unchanged?

	<b>%</b>
▪ Very much strengthened (2).....	2
▪ Somewhat strengthened (1).....	12
▪ Unchanged (0).....	42
▪ Somewhat weakened. (-1).....	26
▪ Very much weakened (-2).....	4
▪ Don't know .....	14
▪ Mean Score.....	-0.20

**SHOW CARD**  
 Q.12 Do you think that, as a result of the NO vote in the Lisbon Treaty referendum, Ireland's **economic prospects** have been improved or disimproved or remain unchanged?

	%
▪ Very much improved (2).....	*
▪ Somewhat improved (1).....	5
▪ Unchanged (0).....	54
▪ Somewhat disimproved.(-1).....	23
▪ Very much disimproved (-2).....	3
▪ Don't know .....	15
▪ Mean Score.....	-0.27

**SHOW CARD**  
 Q.13 Do you think that, as a result of the no vote in the Lisbon Treaty referendum, Ireland's **ability to attract foreign investment** has been strengthened, weakened or remains unchanged?

	%
▪ Very much strengthened (2).....	1
▪ Somewhat strengthened (1).....	6
▪ Unchanged (0).....	49
▪ Somewhat weakened (-1).....	24
▪ Very much weakened (-2).....	3
▪ Don't know .....	17
▪ Mean Score.....	-0.29

**SHOW CARD**  
 Q.14 Which of the following comes closest to your own view?

	%
▪ In the light of the result of the referendum, Ireland's interests are best pursued by remaining <b>fully</b> involved in the EU .....	60
▪ In the light of the result of the referendum, Ireland's interests are best pursued by opting to be <b>less</b> involved in the EU.....	18
▪ Don't know .....	22

**SHOW CARD**  
 Q.15 What does the European Union mean to you personally?

	%
▪ Peace.....	24
▪ Economic prosperity.....	46
▪ Democracy.....	21
▪ Workers' rights.....	27
▪ Our freedom to travel, study and work anywhere in the EU .....	55
▪ Cultural diversity .....	23
▪ Stronger say in the world.....	29
▪ The Euro. ....	48
▪ Unemployment .....	11
▪ Bureaucracy.....	16
▪ Waste of money .....	8
▪ Loss of our cultural identity.....	15
▪ More crime .....	11
▪ A lot of immigration.....	25
▪ Loss of independence .....	13
▪ Lower wage rates.....	9
▪ Other (SPONTANEOUS).....	1
▪ Don't Know .....	5

Q.16 I have a number of statements here that people sometimes make. I would like you to indicate on this scale which of each pair of opposing statements comes closest to your view. A score of one would indicate that you agree fully with the statement on the left. A score of nine would indicate that you agree fully with the statement on the right. Of course your view could be somewhere in between. Also of course there may be issues that you have no particular view on. If so, please just say this and we will move on to the next item.

Q.16a) **SHOW CARD**

<p><b>I am quite satisfied with the way in which policies and decisions are made in the European Union</b> (1)</p>	←		→	<p><b>I am quite dissatisfied with the way in which policies and decisions are made in the European Union</b> (9)</p>	<p>No Opinion/ Don't Know</p>	<p>Mean Score</p>
<p>% 5      6      11      11      17      12      11      7      7</p>					14	4.86

Q.16b) **SHOW CARD**

<p><b>The big countries in the European Union have far too much power and influence</b> (1)</p>	←		→	<p><b>The small countries in the European Union are well able to defend their own interests</b> (9)</p>	<p>No Opinion/ Don't Know</p>	<p>Mean Score</p>
<p>% 11      11      11      11      12      13      9      7      4</p>					11	4.89

Q.16c) **SHOW CARD**

<p><b>Ireland should do everything it can to strengthen its neutrality even if this means being less involved in European Union co-operation on foreign and defence policy</b> (1)</p>	←		→	<p><b>Ireland should be willing to accept limitations on its neutrality so that it can be more fully involved in European Union co-operation on foreign and defence policy</b> (9)</p>	<p>No Opinion/ Don't Know</p>	<p>Mean Score</p>
<p>% 14      9      10      8      12      13      11      7      4</p>					13	4.76

**SHOW CARD**

Q.17 Using the card provided please indicate whether Ireland is made a worse or a better place to live in by people coming to live here from other countries? **SINGLE CODE**

	↑		%
1	↑	Worse place to live.....	11
2		.....	6
3		.....	9
4		.....	9
5		.....	18
6		.....	10
7		.....	11
8		.....	11
9		.....	5
10	↓	Better place to live.....	8
-----			
		Don't know .....	3
		Mean Score .....	5.35

**SHOW CARD**

Q.18 European integration has been focussing on various issues in the last years. In your opinion, which aspects, if any, should be emphasised by the European Institutions in the coming years.

	<b>%</b>
▪ The Single Market .....	17
▪ Environment Issues.....	40
▪ Human Rights Issues .....	44
▪ Development Issues.....	31
▪ Peace Keeping .....	37
▪ Immigration Issues .....	40
▪ The fight against crime .....	48
▪ Energy issues .....	47
▪ Solidarity with the EU's poorer regions .....	21
▪ None of these .....	*
▪ Other .....	2
▪ Don't know .....	7

Q.19 Which of the following do you think are included in the Lisbon Treaty?

	<b>%</b>	<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>Don't Know</b>
<input type="checkbox"/> Loss of Irish Commissioner for 5 out of every 15 years .....	%	65	9	26
<input type="checkbox"/> Ending of Ireland's right to decide its own corporate tax rate.....	%	43	22	35
<input type="checkbox"/> The introduction of conscription to a European army .....	%	33	37	30
<input type="checkbox"/> The reduction of Ireland's voting strength in the Council of Ministers.....	%	48	18	34
<input type="checkbox"/> The end of Ireland's control over its policy on abortion .....	%	34	33	33
<input type="checkbox"/> The erosion of Irish neutrality .....	%	42	30	29
<input type="checkbox"/> Improved efficiency of EU decision-making.....	%	56	15	29
<input type="checkbox"/> Strengthening Europe's role in the world.....	%	61	12	27
<input type="checkbox"/> Improved protection of workers' rights.....	%	49	19	32
<input type="checkbox"/> Strengthening the role of National Parliaments in EU decision-making .....	%	43	20	37
<input type="checkbox"/> The Charter of Fundamental Rights.....	%	36	14	50

**SHOW CARD**

Q.20 There has been a lot of discussion recently about the European Union. Some people say that too many issues are decided on by the European Union, others say that more issues should be decided on by the European Union. Which of the following statements comes closest to your view?

	<b>%</b>
▪ Too many issues are decided on by the European Union .....	32
▪ The number of issues decided on by the European Union at present is about right .....	29
▪ More issues should be decided on by the European Union.....	5
▪ I have not really thought about it .....	18
▪ It depends on the issue .....	7
▪ Don't Know/NA .....	9

**SHOWCARD**

Q.21 In light of the referendum result, how important in your view are the following issues for Ireland within the EU?

	Very Important (5)	Important (4)	Neither /Nor (3)	Not very Important (2)	Not at all Important (1)	Don't know	Mean Score
▪ Each Member State having an EU Commissioner ..... %	38	40	7	5	1	9	4.19
▪ Ireland retaining full control over its corporation tax ..... %	39	40	8	2	*	10	4.29
▪ Ireland retaining its military neutrality.... %	41	39	7	4	1	7	4.24
▪ Ireland retaining full control over its abortion law ..... %	35	36	13	6	2	7	4.03
▪ Ensuring that workers' rights are protected..... %	53	36	4	1	*	6	4.50
▪ Ireland retaining control over its public services such as health and education ..... %	45	35	7	4	1	7	4.28
▪ Ensuring that there is not too much EU regulation..... %	35	41	11	5	1	7	4.12

**SHOW CARD**

Q.22 Which one of these is the **most** important to you? The **second** most important? The **least** important?

	Most Important %	2 <sup>nd</sup> Most Important %	Least Important %
▪ Each Member State having an EU Commissioner .....	17	12	14
▪ Ireland retaining full control over its corporation tax .....	13	16	11
▪ Ireland retaining its military neutrality .....	18	15	11
▪ Ireland retaining full control over its abortion law.....	7	9	19
▪ Ensuring that workers' rights are protected.....	20	23	6
▪ Ireland retaining control over its public services such as health and education .....	18	18	10
▪ Ensuring that there is not too much EU regulation .....	6	6	25

**SHOW CARD**

Q.23 There are many different ways in which people get information in relation to referendums. I have a list here of several possible sources of information. Please say how useful, if at all, you found each of them in the lead up to the referendum on the Lisbon Treaty on 12<sup>th</sup> June. Using this card, would you say you found each of the sources mentioned very valuable, somewhat valuable, of little or no value, or did you not notice or come across the source in question at all?

	Very Valuable (4)	Some-What Valuable (3)	Of Little or No Value (2)	Did Not Notice/Know/ Come across (1)	Mean Score	
<input type="checkbox"/> Advertisements put out by the Referendum Commission ..%	4	24	48	16	2.17	
<input type="checkbox"/> The booklet put out by the Referendum Commission .....	6	27	48	15	2.25	
<input type="checkbox"/> The booklet put out by the Government .....	5	25	51	14	2.22	
<input type="checkbox"/> The activities of the National Forum on Europe.....	3	17	36	31	1.90	
<input type="checkbox"/> Newspaper articles.....	12	46	29	7	2.66	
<input type="checkbox"/> Internet Websites* .....	3	9	12	45	31	1.57
<input type="checkbox"/> YES vote pop up adverts on the internet* .....	1	7	13	48	31	1.44
<input type="checkbox"/> NO vote pop up adverts on the internet* .....	1	6	14	48	31	1.44
<input type="checkbox"/> Television news and current affairs programmes .....	19	43	27	5	5	2.80
<input type="checkbox"/> National radio news and current affairs programmes .....	18	41	28	7	6	2.74
<input type="checkbox"/> Local radio news and current affairs programmes.....	12	34	32	15	8	2.47
<input type="checkbox"/> National radio phone-in/text-in programmes.....	8	25	34	22	12	2.20
<input type="checkbox"/> Local radio phone-in/text-in programmes .....	7	21	33	26	13	2.10
<input type="checkbox"/> Canvassers calling to my home campaigning for a YES vote .....	3	12	28	48	9	1.66
<input type="checkbox"/> Canvassers calling to my home campaigning for a NO vote .....	3	12	27	49	9	1.65
<input type="checkbox"/> Leaflets/brochures circulated by the parties and organisations campaigning for a YES vote.....	3	22	46	21	8	2.08
<input type="checkbox"/> Leaflets/brochures circulated by the parties and organisations campaigning for a NO vote .....	4	21	47	20	8	2.09
<input type="checkbox"/> Leaflets or free newspapers available in churches advocating a NO vote .....	3	13	36	37	10	1.79
<input type="checkbox"/> Discussion with family, friends and colleagues.....	15	40	29	9	7	2.66
<input type="checkbox"/> YES posters on poles and billboards .....	2	14	60	17	8	2.01
<input type="checkbox"/> NO posters on poles and billboards .....	3	13	59	17	8	2.01

*Q24-27 asked of those who saw information on the Internet (610)*

**SHOWCARD**

- Q.24 Which of these best describes the **types of website** that you visited?
- Q.25 Which type would you say you **visited most often**?
- Q.26 Which would you say were **most useful** to you in determining how you eventually decided to vote?
- Q.27 Did you **contribute to discussion boards** or blogs on any of these websites, if yes, which ones?

	<b>Q.24</b>	<b>Q.25</b>	<b>Q.26</b>	<b>Q.27</b>
	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>
▪ YES Campaign Websites.....	25	9	7	5
▪ NO Campaign Websites .....	23	14	11	6
▪ Neutral Websites.....	39	31	27	15
▪ Not Stated/Don't Know .....	43	46	54	77

- SHOW CARD**
- Q.28 Overall are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the way the government is running the country?

	<b>%</b>
▪ Very satisfied (4).....	4
▪ Quite satisfied (3).....	40
▪ Quite dissatisfied (2) .....	31
▪ Very dissatisfied (1) .....	21
▪ Don't Know/NA .....	4
▪ Mean Score.....	2.30

- Q.29 Thinking about the **general elections** since you have become eligible to vote, would you say that, as far as you can remember, you have .....? **READ OUT – SINGLE CODE**

	<b>%</b>
▪ Voted in all of them.....	47
▪ Voted in most of them.....	30
▪ Voted in only some of them .....	16
▪ Not voted in any of them.....	6
▪ Don't Know/NA .....	1

- Q.30 What about your own economic situation these days? Would you say it is...?

	<b>%</b>
▪ Very good (4).....	10
▪ Fairly good (3).....	59
▪ Fairly bad (2).....	24
▪ Very bad (1) .....	5
▪ Don't Know/NA .....	2
▪ Mean Score.....	2.75

- Q.31a) Do you **feel close to** any of the political parties?

Which **one** is that?

**IF NO**

- Q.31b) Do you feel yourself **a little closer** to one of the political parties than the others?

Which one is that?

*\*Base: All not close to a political party (1,051)*

	<b>Q.31a</b>	<b>Q.31b*</b>
	<b>Feel Close to</b>	<b>A Little Closer To</b>
	<b>%</b>	<b>%</b>
▪ FF .....	26	6
▪ FG .....	11	2
▪ Labour.....	5	2
▪ Green.....	2	1
▪ Sinn Fein.....	3	2
▪ PDs .....	1	-
▪ Other .....	2	-
▪ Not close to any .....	50	37

## CLASSIFICATION DETAILS

<p><b>SEX:</b> %</p> <p>Male ..... 50</p> <p>Female ..... 50</p> <hr/> <p><b>MARITAL STATUS</b> %</p> <p>Married/living as married ..... 58</p> <p>Single ..... 33</p> <p>Widowed/divorced/separated ..... 9</p> <hr/> <p><b>REGION</b> %</p> <p>Dublin ..... 26</p> <p>Rest of Leinster ..... 27</p> <p>Munster ..... 28</p> <p>Connaught / Ulster ..... 19</p> <hr/> <p><b>AGE</b> %</p> <p>18-21 ..... 6</p> <p>22-24 ..... 8</p> <p>25-34 ..... 23</p> <p>35-49 ..... 27</p> <p>50-64 ..... 21</p> <p>65+ ..... 15</p> <hr/> <p><b>CLASS:</b> %</p> <p>AB ..... 14</p> <p>C1 ..... 27</p> <p>C2 ..... 24</p> <p>DE ..... 26</p> <p>F50+ ..... 7</p> <p>F50- ..... 2</p> <hr/> <p><b>RESPONDENT IS:-</b> %</p> <p>Housewife ..... 17</p> <p>*Self-employed ..... 12</p> <p>* Employee ..... 52</p> <p>Unemployed/searching for a job ..... 4</p> <p>Unemployed/not searching for a job ..... 3</p> <p>Student ..... 4</p> <p>Retired ..... 9</p>	<p><b>* IF SELF EMPLOYED/EMPLOYEE STATE</b></p> <p><b>INDUSTRY TYPE:</b> %</p> <p>Building/construction ..... 8</p> <p>Computers / IT ..... 2</p> <p>Finance ..... 2</p> <p>Agriculture ..... 6</p> <p>Food production ..... 2</p> <p>Government/Civil Service/Teaching/Healthcare ..... 12</p> <p>Leisure ..... 1</p> <p>Manufacturing ..... 4</p> <p>Media ..... *</p> <p>Professionals (Doc, lawyer, accountant, architect) ... 3</p> <p>Retail/wholesale/distribution ..... 2</p> <p>Tourism/travel ..... -</p> <p>Other Services ..... 9</p> <p>Other write in ..... 6</p> <hr/> <p><b>* RESPONDENT WORKS IN:</b> %</p> <p>Public sector ..... 21</p> <p>Private sector ..... 40</p> <hr/> <p><b>FINISHED EDUCATION:</b> %</p> <p>At primary level ..... 9</p> <p>At secondary level ..... 57</p> <p>At third level ..... 30</p> <p>Still at school/college ..... 4</p> <hr/> <p><b>ATTENDS MASS/CHURCH SERVICE:</b> %</p> <p>Daily ..... 2</p> <p>Weekly ..... 35</p> <p>Several times a month ..... 11</p> <p>Only occasionally ..... 36</p> <p>Never ..... 14</p> <hr/> <p><b>NO. OF PEOPLE IN H'HOLD (Incl Respondent)</b></p> <p>1 ..... 13</p> <p>2 ..... 27</p> <p>3 ..... 20</p> <p>4 ..... 23</p> <p>5+ ..... 16</p>
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