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*ATTITUDES & BEHAVIOUR OF THE IRISH
ELECTORATE IN THE SECOND
REFERENDUM ON THE
TREATY OF NICE*

Professor Richard Sinnott

Richard Sinnott is member of the Politics Department in UCD and leader of the Public Opinion & Political Behaviour Programme of the Institute for the Study of Social Change (ISSC).

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**Attitudes and behaviour of the Irish electorate in
the second referendum on the Treaty of Nice**

Richard Sinnott

**Public Opinion and Political Behaviour Research Programme
Institute for the Study of Social Change, University College Dublin**

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Introduction

A referendum to enable the Treaty of Nice to be ratified was held in Ireland on 7 June 2001. The result was a 54 to 46 per cent majority in favour the No side on a turnout of 35 per cent. There was a Yes majority in only two of the forty-one constituencies in the State. The second referendum, held on 18 October 2002 had a turnout of 49.5 per cent and produced a 63 to 37 per cent majority in favour of ratification of the treaty¹. On this occasion every one of the forty-two electoral constituencies returned a majority in favour of ratification. Thus, the outcome of the second referendum on the Nice Treaty was a notable success for the Irish Government and for all those who had argued for a Yes vote. The significance of the achievement was magnified by the fact that progress in the enlargement of the Union depended on the outcome of the referendum. It is essential, however, to look beyond the immediate outcome in order to identify the factors that contributed to the result, in order to consider the implications of both Nice referendums for the conduct of future referendums in Ireland and in other member states and candidate countries and, more generally, in order to tease out the implications of the Irish experience for the conduct of public debate about European issues in all the member and prospective member states.

Following each of the two Nice referendums [hereafter referred to as Nice1 and Nice2], the European Commission Representation in Ireland [ECR] arranged for a special public opinion survey to be carried out with a view to determining why people voted for or against ratification, or abstained, and what their perceptions, preferences, sources of information and long-term views on European integration were. Both surveys were conducted by Millward Brown IMS/EOS Gallup Europe².

¹ The precise proportions were 53.87 No to 46.13 Yes in the first referendum on a turnout of 34.79 and 62.89 Yes to 37.11 per cent No on a turnout of 49.47 per cent in the second referendum.

² The results of the first survey were analysed in the report "Attitudes and behaviour of the Irish electorate in the first referendum on the Treaty of Nice" (available at www.ucd.ie/issc). The present report focuses on the second survey, fieldwork for which was conducted between 15th November, 2002 and 9th December, 2002. The questionnaire used in the second survey is presented in an appendix to the present report. The report also uses data from the Eurobarometer series of surveys, 1973-2002, in particular from Eurobarometer 57 (spring 2002) and from Eurobarometer 58 (autumn 2002).

Trends in voting in European referendums in Ireland, 1972-2002

Placing the outcome of the Nice referendums in the context of the underlying trends in voting in Irish referendums on European integration highlights the extent of the Nice2 achievement and, at the same time, cautions against any complacent interpretation of the results. The achievement lay in raising turnout from 35 to 49 per cent, in doubling the Yes vote (from 16 per cent of the electorate to 31 per cent) and in holding the No vote to the same share it had in the first Nice referendum (18 per cent in October 2002 compared to 19 per cent in June 2001). The note of caution is suggested by the fact that the outcome of the second referendum did not actually restore the status quo ante. Turnout was, after all, only 49 per cent (compared to 56 and 57 per cent in the Maastricht and Amsterdam referendums respectively). Furthermore, as can be seen from Figure 1, the Yes vote in the second Nice referendum (as a proportion of the electorate) represents a significant decline since the Maastricht referendum (39 per cent in Maastricht, 34 per cent in Amsterdam and 31 per cent in Nice2). All this makes it essential to examine the experiences, attitudes and behaviour of the electorate in the two referendums. Before turning to this however, it is worth placing Irish referendums on European issues in the context of long-term trends in Irish attitudes to European integration.

Figure 1 about here

Irish attitudes to European integration, 1972-2002

Levels of support for European integration in Ireland and in the other member-states can be monitored over the last three decades using the Eurobarometer surveys. The level of support for European integration in Ireland, as in other member-states, varies depending on the question asked. As Figure 2 shows, the highest level of support for integration emerges in response to a question that focuses on the benefits or otherwise of membership of the Union. Over the last decade, in excess of 80 per cent of Irish people have taken the view that Ireland has benefited from membership of the Union (see Figure 2). Overall approval of Ireland's membership of the Union is also at a high level but, on average, is some 10 percentage points lower than the level of support manifested by the benefits question.

These levels of support represent a stark contrast to the situation that obtained in the early 1980s. The increase in support for integration in Ireland from the mid 1980s to 1990 mirrored a similar rise in positive attitudes to membership in the Union as a whole (see Figure 2). However, from 1991 on, the Irish and European lines diverge, Ireland showing some further increase and then stabilising at above 70 per cent approval of membership, while the European average declined sharply in the first half of the 1990s and then bottomed out at about 50 per cent approval of membership.

Figure 2 about here

Perhaps the most important observation to be made on the basis of the data in Figure 2, however, is that enthusiasm for European integration in Ireland is at a much lower level than either the perception of benefits or the general attitude of approval of membership. Consistent with this lack of enthusiasm, indifference to the very existence of the Union in Ireland is quite high (see Figure 2). These attitudes of enthusiasm and indifference are manifested in response to what is often referred to as the dissolution question or indicator in the Eurobarometer surveys. This question poses the hypothetical situation of the scrapping of the Union and asks respondents whether they would be very sorry, indifferent or very relieved in the face of such an outcome. Enthusiasm as measured in this way reached almost 60 per cent in Ireland in the early 1990s. However, since then it has dropped almost 20 percentage points to a low of just over 40 per cent in the spring of 2001. Significantly, this was just before the first Nice referendum. At that point, the combination of indifference and don't know was well ahead of the level of enthusiasm. The gap between these two orientations closed in spring 2002 and this remained the state of public opinion up to and including the referendum of October 2002.

In summary, the attitudinal background against which the two Nice referendums took place was characterised by high levels of general support for European integration accompanied by low levels of enthusiasm and relatively high levels of indifference. This attitudinal context is entirely consistent with the finding of the analysis of attitudes and behaviour in the first referendum that the major factor accounting for the extraordinarily high level of abstention in that referendum was the electorate's sense of not understanding the issues involved. Thus, facing into the second

Nice referendum, the question was whether or not the referendum campaign and/or the more general debate that occurred between the two referendums would succeed in overcoming the knowledge and engagement deficits that exist in Irish public opinion and that had such a marked effect in the first referendum.

The response to the second referendum campaign

The evidence from the second ECR survey points to a greatly increased sense of engagement by the public in the referendum process in Nice2 as measured by a question that asked respondents to evaluate a series of potential sources of information regarding the referendum. However, improvement was not uniform across all sources of information but was concentrated mainly in the media (television, radio, newspapers) and in interpersonal networks (discussion with family, friends and colleagues). The result was a 60 to 70 per cent positive evaluation of the various media and of interpersonal communication as sources of information in the second referendum, evaluations that were more than 20 percentage points higher than in the first referendum (see Figure 3).

A more modest but significant improvement also occurred in the evaluation of the advertisements and leaflets issued by the Referendum Commission and in the evaluation of the Government's White Paper and/or the summary of the White Paper. Thus, for example, the positive rating of the advertisements and leaflets put out by the Referendum Commission went from 30 per cent to 45 per cent. On the other hand, the rating of other sources of information, for example leaflets and brochures distributed by the Yes and No campaigns, the offices of the European Commission and European Parliament and the posters in public places either remained static or declined somewhat.

Figure 3 about here

The second referendum study also sought to measure the utility of other forms of campaigning (see Figure 4). These included Yes and No door-to-door canvassing and leaflets and free newspapers advocating either a Yes or a No vote distributed in church porches. None of these

forms of campaigning had more than minor levels of positive evaluation, being regarded as useful sources of information by only one in six respondents. Despite their limited reach however, these forms of campaigning did have an impact on voting behaviour (see below). The question on evaluations of various sources of information also examined responses to the activities of the National Forum on Europe. The results showed that the Forum was positively evaluated as a source of information on the referendum by one quarter of respondents (i.e. more or less the same level of positive evaluation as the campaigns conducted by each side).

Figure 4 about here

In addition to analysing people's evaluation of various sources of referendum information, the post Nice2 survey also monitored the degree of people's exposure to a range of European institutions and EU-related national institutions. For some of the institutions in question, exposure can be measured across three time points - spring 2002 (EB 57), autumn 2002 (EB 58) and autumn 2002 (ECR Nice2 Survey). Exposure to certain other items is measurable across only two time points (EB 57 and EB 58) and, in the case of certain Irish institutions that are specifically related to the second referendum, the measurement is confined to a single time point - that defined by the post-Nice2 survey. In all cases where a comparison between two or more time points is possible, the evidence shows a significant increase in exposure to the institutions in question between spring and autumn 2002 (see Figure 5). These increases lend further support to the view that the second referendum was indeed characterised by a more extensive process of mobilization and political communication. The increased profile was most evident in the case of the Convention on the Future of the European Union, which went from an awareness level of 32 per cent to 45 per cent between spring 2002 and the immediate post-Nice2 period.

Figure 5 also enables us to put awareness of or exposure to specific Irish institutional aspects of the Nice2 referendum debate in context. Thus overall awareness of the activities of the National Forum on Europe was quite high with 59 per cent of respondents indicating that they had heard of the Forum. This compares to 46 per cent who had heard of the proposal to insert a new clause in the Constitution guaranteeing that Ireland will not join a European common defence, to the 42 per cent who had heard of the Seville Declaration on Ireland's neutrality and to the 28 per cent

who had heard of the new arrangements for the Dáil and Senate to examine European Union proposals on policy and legislation. These figures indicate the upper and to lower bounds of communication on EU-related issues. On the one hand, there is the evidence of high levels of exposure to the Forum, a body that might at its inception have been regarded as an elite talking-shop. On the other hand, the difficulties of communicating specific policy initiatives are underlined by the fact that awareness of the major initiatives undertaken by the Government in advance of the second referendum ranged from a high of 43 per cent to a low of 27 per cent.

Figure 5 about here

Even taking into account this evidence of limited success in ensuring widespread public awareness of these specific policy initiatives, the striking feature of the evidence on communication in the second Nice referendum remains the extent of the increase in both positive evaluation and overall exposure to a wide range of communication. In summarising the evidence in this regard, it is also worth emphasising that the major improvements in communication relate to the mass media, to discussions with family, friends and colleagues, to the Government's White Paper and to the activities of the Referendum Commission. This, it would appear, was a campaign that was conducted mainly through the mass media, through the published material put out by the Referendum Commission and the government and, very importantly, through extensive discussion within families and among friends and colleagues.

To say that this was where the battle was fought is not to deny the contribution of the various groups of activists who campaigned on either side. Indeed, as we shall see presently, all these activities contributed both to the turnout and to the direction of voters' choices. Furthermore, neither the debate in the media nor, ultimately, the debates and discussions among families and friends would have been possible without all the preparations undertaken by the campaigning groups. It is clear, however, that what differentiated this referendum from the first Nice referendum was the positive response of the clear majority of citizens to the main campaign or communication channels mentioned above. This brings us to the question of whether all this improved communication was accompanied by any improvement in the aspect of the referendum that was so problematic in Nice1, namely people's understanding of the issues.

Understanding and knowledge of the issues, 2001-02

The changes in perceived levels of understanding of the issues involved in the Nice Treaty in the two referendums are shown in Figure 6. The more positive campaign or communication experience described in the previous section was indeed associated with a substantial change in people's subjective sense that they understood the issues involved in the Nice Treaty. The proportion claiming to have a good understanding of what the treaty was all about went from 8 per cent to 22 per cent; additionally, the proportion claiming to understand some of the issues but not all went from 28 per cent to 39 per cent. On the other side of the scale, the proportion who were only vaguely aware of the issues involved dropped slightly while the proportion who felt they did not know what the treaty was about at all dropped sharply - from 36 to 16 per cent. Overall, there was a 25percentage point improvement in the level of positive assessment of their understanding of the issues by citizens between Nice1 and Nice2.

Figure 6 about here

A more general measure of subjective assessment of knowledge confirms the foregoing account of improved levels of understanding of the issues in the second referendum, while adding an important qualification. The more general measure is an assessment of knowledge of the European Union, its policies and its institutions (see Figure 7). As this question was fielded in the Eurobarometers of spring and autumn 2002 and in the ECR Nice2 survey, people's assessment of their knowledge of the EU in general can be compared over three time points. The results show that some improvement in people's (subjectively assessed) knowledge of the European Union, its policies and its institutions did occur but that this improvement was only identifiable after the completion of the referendum process. Furthermore, the changes in subjective assessment of knowledge of the European Union were very modest (8 percentage points) by comparison with the changes in subjective assessment of knowledge of the issues in the Nice Treaty. This suggests that an improvement in people's sense of their ability to handle the specific issues that arise from particular treaty changes does not necessarily spill over into a better understanding of the institutions and policies of the Union. This underlines the need for

ongoing debate and an ongoing and effective communication effort dealing with all the issues that arise in the integration process.

Figure 7 about here

Issue perceptions and preferences

To improve people's understanding through a better communication process is one thing, to change their minds may be quite another. Were the improved levels of communication and understanding of the issues arising from the Nice Treaty accompanied by changes in attitude to the issues? The answer is yes and no.

The enlargement issue showed substantial shift in attitudes. Support for enlargement increased from 42 per cent in the wake of Nice1 to 65 per cent in the wake of Nice2; opposition to enlargement remained more or less stable between the two time points (15 per cent and 17 per cent) and all the growth in favourable attitudes was due therefore to a decline in the non-committal or don't know responses (from 43 to 19 per cent).

In assessing these shifts in attitude to enlargement, it is important to note that, because of the ongoing nature of the enlargement negotiations, it was necessary to change the wording of the question relating to enlargement between the first ECR survey and the second. The question in the first survey provided more background information and included a reference to what people see as the possible advantages and possible disadvantages of enlargement. The question in the second survey simply said "The EU is at present finishing negotiations with 10 countries about them joining the EU in 2004.. We are interested in how people feel about this enlargement of the EU. In general terms, are you in favour or against this enlargement of the EU?"

Given the possibility that the simplification of the question and in particular the reference to finishing negotiations might have boosted support for enlargement in the second survey, it is reassuring to note that a standard enlargement question asked in Eurobarometer 57 and Eurobarometer 58 also showed an increase in Irish support for enlargement between spring and autumn 2002 and a substantial decline in don't knows. Indeed, support for enlargement as

measured by Eurobarometer 58 and support for enlargement as measured by the post-referendum ECR survey were virtually identical (65 per cent in EB 58 and 67 per cent in the ECR survey). It is also worth noting that whereas Irish attitudes shifted significantly in the direction of increased support for enlargement between spring and autumn 2002, support for enlargement of the EU as a whole over the same period remained static. In short and taking into account all the questions that have been asked on this topic, there is evidence of a significant shift in Irish support for enlargement between the first and the second referendums.

A second attitudinal indicator also showed substantial change between the post-Nice1 and post-Nice2 surveys. The indicator in question is the general measure of attitude to integration as such (preference for full integration versus preference for protection of national independence). This particular question has now been asked in a substantial number of opinion polls and attitude surveys including on two occasions in each of the two referendums on the Nice Treaty (see Figure 8). As the boxed-off areas in Figure 8 show, the state and direction of movement of public opinion in the two referendum campaigns was not all that different. In each referendum the integration option started slightly ahead and moved downwards, while the protect-independence option moved slightly upwards. The difference in public opinion in the two campaigns was that support for the two options crossed over in Nice1, while in Nice2 they simply converged on the same point. But these are minor differences. Overall, and confining attention to public opinion within the two campaign periods, this indicator shows little difference between the two campaigns.

Figure 8 about here

Thus, the big difference between Nice1 and Nice2 on this indicator of attitudes is the contrast in public opinion in the aftermath of each referendum. After the first referendum, the don't knows rose to a remarkable 40 per cent while the integration option plummeted to 25 per cent. This shift in public opinion mirrored what had happened on referendum day in June 2001 - the pro-integration voters acted out their state of confusion and stayed at home. The aftermath of Nice2 was very different. As Figure 8 shows, pro-integration sentiment held steady at 43 per cent, the protect-independence sentiment fell back to 37 per cent and the don't knows rose slightly. These

contrasts in public opinion in the aftermath of Nice1 and Nice2 confirm the evidence already considered that the referendum process the second time round was more satisfactory from the voters' point of view and did not create, as it had done in Nice1, confusion and doubt in the minds of the citizens.

Two other points are worth noting from Figure 8. The first is that pro-integration sentiment, which had collapsed in the wake of Nice1, had recovered strongly (to 51 per cent) as early as January 2002. This should not be taken to mean that the second referendum was over before it began. What it indicates is that the normal balance of Irish public opinion, which is a pro-integration balance, was restored relatively soon after the first referendum. However, this restoration merely confirmed the existence of a latent pool of support that would require some very effective campaigning if it were to be mobilised to vote Yes later in the year.

The second additional point to note from Figure 8 is that support for the protect-independence option has risen by 10 percentage points since the mid to late 1990s, thus creating a more challenging public opinion battleground from the point of view of the pro-integration forces.

All the other measures of positive or negative attitude towards European integration issues showed only marginal or nil change between Nice1 and Nice2. Thus, attitudes to the relative power of the big and small countries and attitudes to the way in which policies and decisions are made in the European Union showed a very modest shift in a pro EU direction (see Figure 9 and 10).

Figures 9 and 10 about here

Furthermore, the standard Eurobarometer 'dissolution' measure, which was included in the second ECR survey, showed practically no change between spring 2002 (Eurobarometer 57) and the second referendum. Around that time of the second referendum, 45 per cent indicated that they would be very sorry if the European Union were scrapped compared to 48 per cent who would either be indifferent or gave a don't know response (see Figure 1 above). There was also only a very slight difference in the balance of national and European identity between spring and

autumn 2002. The slight change that did occur was a decline in the proportion having an Irish only as opposed to an Irish and European identity - from 47 per cent to 42 per cent (see Figure 11).

Figure 11 about here

In contrast to the foregoing indicators, which either remained static or changed slightly in a pro-integration direction, attitudes to neutrality and to involvement in EU co-operation on foreign and defence policy showed a marginal change in an anti-integration direction. In this case the proportion giving a don't know or non-committal response (the mid-point on the scale) declined from 41 to 28 per cent, while the responses on the pro-neutrality side went up eight percentage points and the responses on the limit neutrality side of the spectrum went up only three percentage points (see Figure 12). Given that this was the only attitude measure that moved in an anti-integration direction, it may well be that attitudes to neutrality were influenced by the decision to insert a clause in the constitution guaranteeing that Ireland will not join a European common defence.

Figure 12 about here

The second ECR survey also included some attitudinal measures that had not been included in the Nice1 study. These were attitudes to abortion, attitudes to the number of foreigners living in Ireland, a measure of satisfaction/dissatisfaction with the way the government was running the country and respondents' assessments of their own economic situation "these days". The reason for including these measures was to investigate their impact on the Yes and the No vote, particularly in the light of persistent speculation that each of them would, in one way or another, affect the outcome of the referendum. Whether they did so or not will be indicated by how they perform in the multivariate analysis in the final section of this report. In the meantime it is sufficient to note the overall distribution of respondents on the four attitude measures in question.

Attitudes to abortion are skewed towards the anti-abortion end of a nine-point scale. Thus, 48 per cent of respondents opt for points 1 to 3 on the scale (where 1 means abortion is never justified), compared to 10 per cent choosing points 7, 8 or 9 (where 9 means abortion is always justified). The remaining forty per cent of respondents place themselves somewhere in the middle or give a don't know response (see Table 1). The measure of attitudes to the number of foreigners shows that 49 per cent believe that there are too many foreigners living in Ireland, compared to 47 per cent either choosing the response "a lot but not too many", or simply "not too many" and a further 4 per cent opting for the don't know response. On the government satisfaction measure, 59 per cent of respondents were to some degree dissatisfied with the way the government was running the country compared to 37 per cent who were more or less satisfied. Finally, a small minority (seven per cent) felt that their own economic situation these days was very good, but a substantial majority (62 per cent) felt that their economic situation was fairly good and only 27 per cent took a negative view (fairly bad or very bad) of their economic situation. Before turning to a statistical analysis that will include these and the other attitudinal variables discussed so far, it is worth comparing the subjective reasons that citizens gave for their voting behaviour (yes, no or abstention) in the two referendums on the Nice Treaty.

Table 1 about here

Subjective accounts of reasons for voting behaviour

There were significant changes in the subjective explanations of their behaviour that Irish people gave in the first and second Nice referendums. In the case of abstention, the proportion citing lack of knowledge or lack of information or understanding as their reason for not voting fell by almost half (from 44 to 26 per cent) between the first and the second referendums. The other change that occurred in the reasons given for abstention was a significant rise in the proportion saying they were not interested or could not be bothered (see Table 2). In interpreting the significance of this change, it must be borne in mind that those who abstained in the second referendum constitute a much smaller proportion of the electorate and are more likely to be apathetic about politics in general.

Table 2 about here

The changes that occurred in the reasons given for voting Yes were on a more modest scale. General support for integration and for the EU as such went from 44 per cent to 53 per cent while references to enlargement as a reason for voting Yes went from 22 to 29 per cent. The other categories of response to this question remained more or less the same between the two referendums (see Table 3).

Table 3 about here

Consistent with the other evidence of substantial improvements in communication and understanding in the second referendum, lack of information as a reason for voting No fell from 39 per cent in Nice1 to 14 per cent in Nice2. The category "bad idea in general" showed the largest growth between Nice1 and Nice2 (up from seven per cent to 25 per cent), while references to refugee problems and to neutrality and military issues as reasons for voting No also showed some increase. Some new categories of reasons for voting No also cropped up in Nice2, notably references to anti-government or anti-politician sentiment and references to being unwilling to change one's original vote on principle (see Table 4). There was also some increase in the miscellaneous or "other" category.

Table 4 about here

Subjective accounts of the reasons for voters' behaviour of the kind just considered are inevitably incomplete and need to be supplemented by a thorough analysis of the impact of all the voters' attributes - their socio-demographic characteristics, attitudes, perceptions, levels of knowledge etc. - on their voting (or non-voting) behaviour.

Sources of abstention in Nice2

At 50.5 per cent, the rate of abstention in the second Nice referendum clearly points to a continuing problem of non-participation in decisions on EU treaty changes by substantial segments of the population. This is bad from a normative point of view. It also indicates an

element of potential unpredictability and volatility in political behaviour in this area due to differential abstention.

The determinants of abstention in the second referendum on the Nice Treaty can be analysed in two stages. The first step is to examine the socio-demographic determinants of abstention, focusing on voluntary (as opposed to circumstantial) abstention and taking into account the impact of habitual non-voting. The results of such an analysis are presented in Table 5³. They show that having an unskilled working class occupation, being either under 25 or aged 25-34, having a skilled working class occupation or being a farmer were all factors that were conducive to higher levels of abstention in the second Nice referendum. Note, however, that having a lower middle classes occupation made no significant difference to the rate of abstention⁴. It must be emphasised that, while the effects noted are all statistically significant, they fall well short of a comprehensive explanation of abstention in the referendum. In order to move towards such an explanation it is essential to go beyond the socio-demographic variables to include a range of communication and attitudinal effects.

Table 5 about here

The more comprehensive analysis shows that both age categories (being under 25 or aged 25-34) continue to have substantial negative effects even when controlling for the impact of a wide range of other variables (see Table 6). It also indicates that there is a significant gender effect on turnout - when one takes all other influences into account, it appears that women were

³ This and the following four tables present the results of multivariate analyses (specifically logistic regressions) of the determinants of (a) abstention and (b) vote choice. The importance of doing a multivariate analysis is that it allows one to estimate the effect on any given variable controlling for the effects of all other variables in the equation or model. This may involve the discovery of an effect where a simple cross-tabulation shows no differences or, conversely, the discovery that a relationship that appears to exist in a cross-tabulation is actually a function of some other variable or a combination of variables. In a logistic regression the impact of each of the independent variables is indicated by the logistic coefficient (the B column in Table 5). However, a more intuitively satisfactory measure of the effect of each variable is given in the Exp(B)) column. This gives the factor by which the odds of the event occurring (in this case voluntary abstention) changes when the independent variable in question changes by one unit. If this factor is one or very close to one, the variable has no effect. The more the factor exceeds one or the more it is less than one, the greater the effect of the variable (a positive effect if the Exp(B) exceeds one and a negative effect if it is less than one). One must also take account of the column labelled "Significance". This indicates the statistical significance of the effect in question; for example, a significance level of 0.05 or less indicates that the effect in question is significant with a 95 per cent probability.

significantly more likely to turn out to vote in the referendum than men. However, the social class effects that are observable in Table 5 disappear when communication channels, attitudes and perceptions are taken into account.

In the first Nice referendum the fact that one found various channels of communication useful in relation to the referendum had only limited effects on the probability of turning out to vote. In the second referendum a wider array of channels of communication had a positive effect on the level of turnout. These include discussions with family, friends and colleagues, television news and current affairs programmes, newspaper articles and the leaflets distributed by the Yes campaign. On the other hand, those who found the leaflets and brochures circulated by the No side useful were significantly and substantially less likely to vote. It is worth emphasising that it was the people who found the leaflets and brochures of the No side useful or valuable as a source of information who showed a significant tendency to abstain. The problem for the No campaign lay not so much in the evaluation of their literature but rather in the failure of such positive evaluation as there was to translate into participation in the referendum.

Table 6 about here

The failure of the Referendum Commission to influence the level of participation was a striking aspect of the first Nice referendum. The evidence presented above shows that the level of positive evaluation of the advertisements and leaflets put out by the Referendum Commission had increased substantially between Nice1 and Nice2. The impact of this more positive response on turnout is complex. In the final analysis presented in Table 6, the Referendum Commission material does not figure as one of the communication effects having a significant effect on turnout/abstention. However, this appears to be because of the particularly strong impact on turnout of discussions with family, friends and colleagues. If that particular variable is omitted from the analysis, a positive response to the advertisements and leaflets of the Referendum Commission is seen to have the effect of reducing abstention. In short, the evidence suggests that, following a change in its terms of reference, the Referendum Commission did contribute to

⁴ The class effects indicated here are in comparison to having a middle or upper middle class occupation.

raising turnout in the second referendum and further suggests that this role is related to the process of discussion of referendum issues within one's immediate personal network.

Widespread low levels of confidence in people's grasp of the referendum issues had been a major determinant of abstention in the first referendum. We have already seen that in the second referendum people's confidence in their grasp of the issues had increased substantially. However, as Table 6 shows, where lack of confidence persisted, it tended to lead to abstention. The role of knowledge and understanding in facilitating participation in the referendum process is confirmed by the fact that high levels of objective knowledge of European Union affairs and low levels of attention to news about politics were also significant determinants of turnout/abstention.

Being equipped via various communication processes and via knowledge of the issues to participate is one thing, actually being motivated to do so is another. The analysis in Table 6 indicates that one measure of general attitude to European integration - being very sorry when faced with the hypothetical dissolution of the European Union - has a significant effect on turnout. This response was described above as an indicator of enthusiasm for European integration. The evidence suggests that such enthusiasm is conducive to participation. (As this question is asked more or less regularly in the Eurobarometer surveys in all Member States, the finding that it helps to mobilise participation in Europe-related electoral contests is of more than merely Irish interest).

In an effort to probe further into the determinants of voter mobilisation, the statistical analysis included a set of variables indicating which political party, if any, the respondent generally supported. The analysis failed to find any sign that one party rather than another was better at getting its supporters to vote in the referendum. However, the analysis indicated that the political parties as a whole mattered in terms of getting out the vote, in the sense that respondents who had no allegiance to a political party were much more likely to abstain.

Sources of vote choice in Nice²

Turning to the question of the determinants of vote choice, the first point to note is that the negative gender and generational effects on the Yes vote, which had been quite strong in the first

Nice referendum, were no longer operative in the second referendum. This is evident from the socio-demographic analysis (Table 7) and is confirmed by the more comprehensive analysis that includes attitudinal and other effects. Thus, men and women, young and old were equally likely to vote yes. This suggests that the significant communication and/or persuasion gaps vis a vis women and young people that played a role in determining the outcome of the first referendum were substantially addressed in the second referendum.

Table 7 about here

The results in Table 7 also points to the existence of significant social class disparities in referendum voting choice. By comparison with those in middle and upper middle-class occupations, unskilled working class respondents were particularly likely to vote No as where those with the skilled working class and lower middle class occupations.

When the analysis is extended to include a wide range of communication, attitude and political party effects, the class differences just noted disappear or, to put the matter more accurately, are subsumed under a broader range of influences. The first four communication effects are predictable - the Yes and No leaflets and the Yes and No door-to-door canvasses all had substantial and predictable effects on the direction of voting. The next most substantial communication effect leading to a No vote derived from the free newspapers advocating a No vote distributed in church porches.

The other communication or exposure effects affecting the outcome were finding newspaper articles useful, finding the Government's White Paper useful and being aware of the Seville Declaration on Ireland's neutrality, all of which tended to reduce the No vote. Note, however, that being aware of the constitutional reservation on joining a common European defence was associated with voting No. This latter finding suggests that those who were most likely to be aware of the insertion of the common defence reservation in the constitution were also most likely to be No voters. On the other hand, awareness of the new arrangements for the Dáil and Senate to examine European Union proposals on policy and legislation was not associated with a

tendency to vote either one way or the other. The same goes for awareness of the activities of the National Forum on Europe.

The poster campaign, often criticised as leading to an over-simplification of the issues, also had an effect on vote choice - in this case in favour of the No side. A notable feature of the first referendum was the positive effect on the Yes vote of television news and current affairs and the negative effect of radio news and current affairs. In the second referendum both these channels of communication were neutral in their effects.

In terms of attitude to the European Union, the most important attitudinal effect was being in favour of enlargement of the European Union. As Table 8 shows, this had a very substantial effect on increasing the Yes vote. A wide range of other attitudes and issue preferences also influenced the outcome. These include the view that too many issues are decided on by the European Union (positively related to a No vote), feeling very sorry when faced with the hypothetical dissolution of the EU (negatively related), dissatisfaction with the way EU policies and the feeling that Ireland should do all it can to strengthen its neutrality (both positively related to voting No).

Table 8 about here

Certain aspects of attitudes to domestic politics also affected the outcome. Thus, all other things being equal, a tendency to trust trade unions was associated with an increased propensity to vote no, while a tendency to trust employers' organisations was associated with a Yes vote. Attitudes to abortion were also related to the outcome - note however that, once one controls for the effect of the free newspapers advocating a No vote that were given out at church porches, attitude to abortion as such was associated with a reduced tendency to vote no.

As noted above, a number of other attitudes were examined for their potential effects on vote choice. The results show that the view that there are too many foreigners living in Ireland had no significant effect on vote choice. Likewise people's assessment of their own economic situation had no effect. On the other hand, a feeling of dissatisfaction with the way the government was

running the country had a significant but minor effect (the significance level is below the conventional cut-off point of 0.05 and the coefficient points to quite a marginal effect). Moreover, the analysis indicates that a tendency to trust or not to trust the Government had no effect on the direction of voting.

This brings us finally to the influence of the political parties on the direction of voting in the referendum. As noted above, there were no detectable differences between the parties in their ability to influence the turnout. When it comes to the way in which people voted, however, differences in party allegiance had some significant effects. Taking all influences documented in Table 8 into account, being a Fianna Fáil or Fine Gael supporter was associated with voting in favour of the treaty while being a Labour Party supporter was associated with a tendency to vote no. The effect of being a Progressive Democrat or Sinn Fein supporter was also in the predicted direction but neither effect is statistically significant. This lack of statistical significance is likely to be due to the small share of the vote obtained by each of these parties. In the case of the Green Party, however, the evidence suggests that its party supporters were divided in their voting choice as the effect of being a Green Party supporter on the direction of voting was, as Table 8 shows, entirely negligible.

The wider implications

It is self-evident that some of the factors that affected both participation and the direction of voting the Irish referendums on the Nice treaty had a distinctly Irish flavour to them. However, it is also self-evident that there were other influences on voting behaviour in those referendums that have wider implications. In attempting to assess these implications, the first point to bear in mind is that overall Irish attitudes to integration are highly favourable but that this general level of support is accompanied by a lower level of engagement and quite high levels of indifference. On the other hand, it must also be remembered that the level of indifference to integration in Ireland as measured by the Eurobarometer dissolution indicator is less than that found in the majority of member states. Moreover the level of Irish enthusiasm for integration is the fourth highest among the current 15 member states (see Figure 13).

Figure 13 about here

The balance of enthusiasm versus indifference not only varies across the member states (as illustrated in figure 13) but also varies over time. Thus Figure 14 shows that enthusiasm for integration in the Union as a whole has waxed and waned in response to events and to various developments in the integration process. In general, the recent tendency has been for enthusiasm to wane and for indifference to grow, though the latest sounding using this measure suggests a significant upward movement in enthusiasm for integration. The fact that the evidence from the study of behaviour in the second Nice referendum in Ireland shows that participation and vote choice are significantly influenced by the relative levels of enthusiasm and of indifference to integration is an important reminder of the potential significance of the trends documented in Figure 14. While great care must always be taken in extrapolating lessons from one society to another or others, the data presented in Figures 13 and 14 suggest that there may indeed be some lessons that can be learned from recent Irish experience. Furthermore, while a referendum on accession to the European Union is a very different matter from a referendum on the Nice treaty, it can also be anticipated that some lessons from the Irish experience would have implications for the referendums in the candidate countries.

With this in mind, the concluding section of this report summarises the findings of the study of attitudes and behaviour in the second Irish referendum on the Nice Treaty with particular emphasis on the factors (Ireland-specific and general) that influence participation and the direction of voting in an EU referendum.

Summary and conclusions

The second Irish referendum on the Nice Treaty saw a marked improvement in communication and a substantial increase in people's sense that they could understand the issues at stake. The improvements in communication were concentrated in the mass media (television, radio and newspapers) and in interpersonal discussion of the issues. The Government's White Paper or summary of the White Paper and the activities of the Referendum Commission also played a role in this improved communication process.

The improvements in communication were accompanied by a 25 percentage point increase in the proportion of people who felt they understood at least some of the issues involved in the Nice Treaty. On the other hand, the evidence also showed that the communication process had its limits in that specific measures taken by the Government with a view to the second referendum (the insertion of a European defence reservation into the Irish Constitution, the Seville Declaration on neutrality and the new parliamentary procedures for examining EU proposals) generated, at best, only moderate levels of awareness among the public.

By comparison with the period immediately after the first referendum, there was a substantial increase in support for EU enlargement. The indicator of general orientation to European integration (unite/integrate fully versus protect independence) also shifted substantially by comparison with the immediate post Nice1 period but the evidence indicates that this change occurred as early as January 2002 and was not, therefore, a product of the Nice2 campaign. Movement in other attitudes to integration tended to be of very modest proportions. With one exception - attitudes to neutrality - the modest changes that did occur were in a pro-integration direction.

The evidence confirms that these developments had discernible effects on behaviour. The main determinants of increased participation in the referendum were (a) improved communication (via interpersonal discussions, newspaper articles, television news and current affairs, the leaflets of the Yes campaign and, more indirectly, the activities of the Referendum Commission) and (b) higher levels of knowledge of the European Union as measured by both subjective and objective indicators. It should be noted that while radio news and current affairs had a useful/valuable rating almost as high as television news and current affairs, the effect of radio coverage on participation is not distinguishable from the effect of television coverage.

Turnout was also boosted by enthusiasm for European integration and by having an allegiance to one or other of the political parties (there was no evidence of one party having greater success in "getting out the vote" than the others). All other things being equal, gender also affected the

level of participation - in this case, women being more likely to vote than men. Abstention by young people showed itself to be a persistent problem and one that is independent of the various communication and attitudinal effects considered here.

Although the traditional forms of campaigning -- the distribution of leaflets and door-to-door canvassing -- had more limited appeal than the media coverage of the campaign and the issues, they were important factors in securing votes for each side from those to whom they did appeal. Similarly, even though they appealed to only one person in six, the free newspapers advocating a No vote that were distributed in church porches made a significant contribution to augmenting the No vote. The Government's White Paper and the Seville Declaration on Ireland's neutrality tended to reinforce the Yes vote, while awareness of the constitutional clause relating to a common European defence was associated with voting No. Newspaper articles were the only mass media factor that affected the direction of voting - to the benefit of the Yes side.

In terms of attitudes to European integration, the most important pro-treaty effect came from being in favour of enlargement of the European Union. A general feeling of enthusiasm for European integration also boosted the Yes vote. Attitudes that inclined people to vote No included the view that too many issues are decided on by the European Union, the sense of being dissatisfied with the way EU policies are made and the feeling that Ireland should do all it can to strengthen its neutrality.

Domestic political factors also had some impact on the outcome. For example, all other things being equal, a tendency to trust trade unions was associated with an increased propensity to vote No, while a tendency to trust employers' organisations was associated with a Yes vote. Trust in government had no effect on the direction of voting. However, dissatisfaction with the way the government was running the country had a fairly minor though statistically significant effect (leading to voting No). On the other hand, the view that there are too many foreigners living in Ireland had no significant effect on vote choice and the direction of voting was also unaffected by people's assessment of their own economic situation.

Variations in party allegiance had significant effects on vote choice. This was evident in particular in the tendency of Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael supporters to favour ratification while Labour Party supporters, all other things being equal, tended to oppose ratification. Being a Progressive Democrat supporter was associated with a tendency to vote Yes and being a Sinn Fein supporter was associated with a tendency to vote No but neither tendency was statistically significant (due to the small number of cases involved). Being a Green Party supporter had no effect one way or the other. Finally, the analysis of the determinants of vote choice suggest that a significant source of the increased Yes vote was the elimination of the negative generational and gender effects that had been evident in the first Nice referendum.

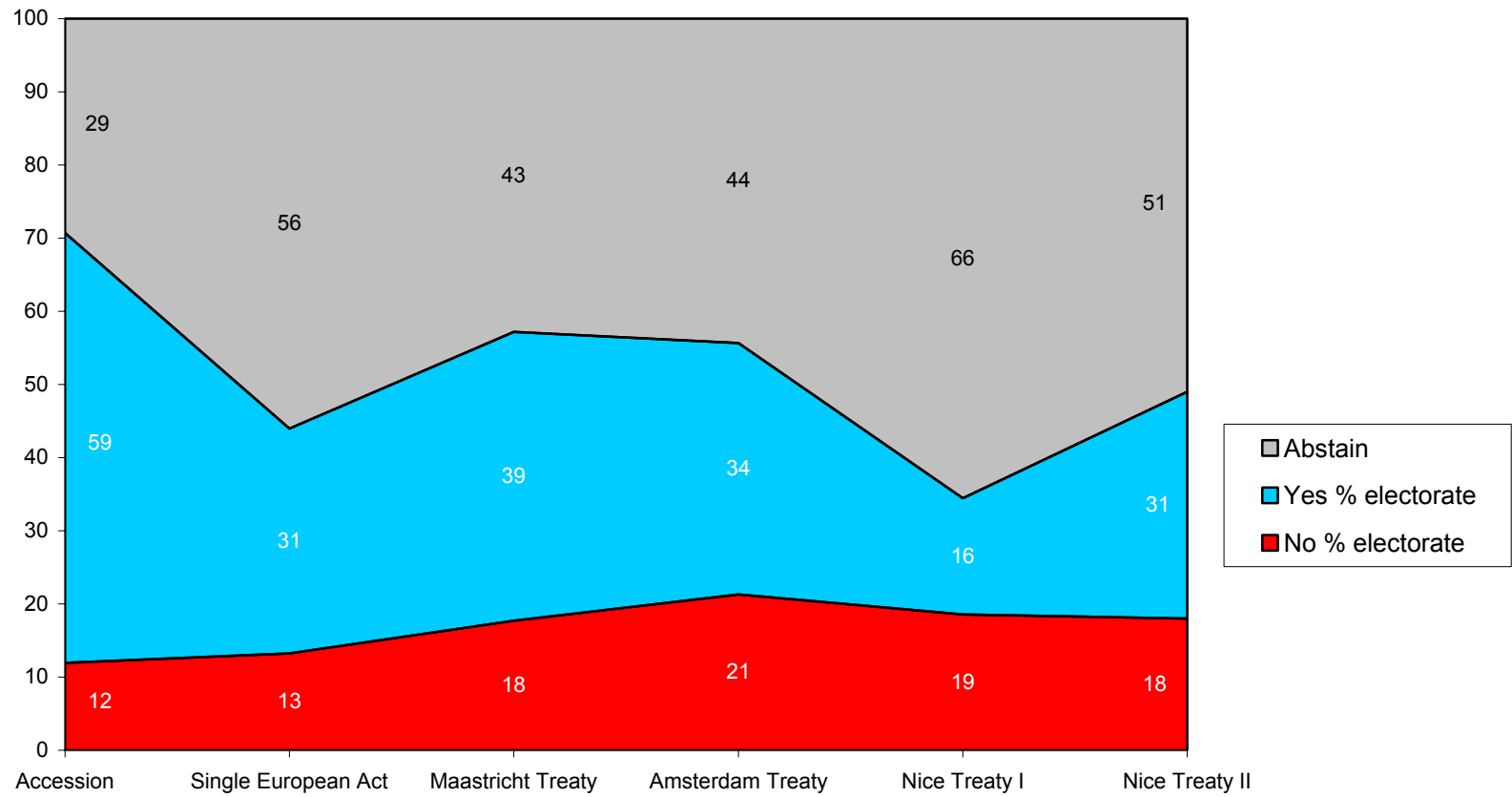
The implications of all this for communication and debate about European integration can be summarised as follows:

- Communication works or can be made to work.
- The main mechanisms by which it works are the mass media and interpersonal discussion.
- When it works, it has demonstrable effects on behaviour in terms of both participation and the direction of vote choice.
- Knowledge and people's sense of assurance about their knowledge also have a significant influence on behaviour.
- Attitudes also influence behaviour and, while it is more difficult to bring about aggregate change in attitude than to bring about change in knowledge and awareness, attitudes do change in response to unfolding events.
- Party allegiance plays a significant role in mobilising participation and in influencing the direction of vote choice, though the direction taken by the choice may not be in accordance with the views of party leaderships.
- Although communication in the area of European affairs can be effective, it is not easy. The difficulties in this case are illustrated by the limited awareness of specific Europe-related policy initiatives taken by the Irish government (the Seville declaration, the constitutional

reservation about joining a European defence, the arrangements for the Dáil and Senate to examine EU proposals)

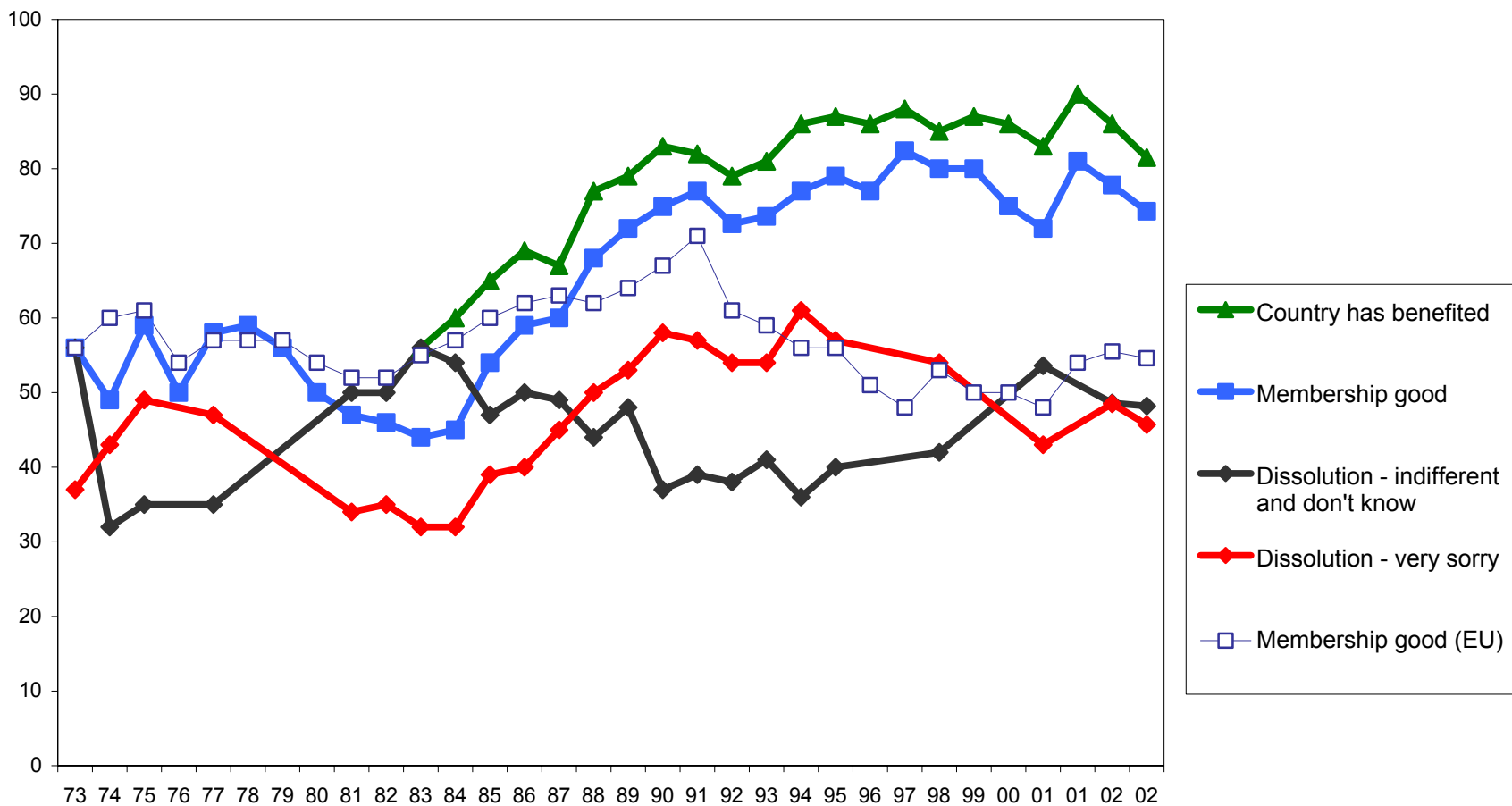
- Although knowledge improved substantially in Nice2 by comparison with Nice1, two-in-five citizens were left uninformed (or feeling uninformed) about the issues and there was very little evidence of a spillover from improved knowledge about Nice to improved knowledge about European affairs generally.
- Turnout in the second Nice referendum in Ireland only looked good by comparison with the disastrous turnout in the first referendum; turnout of just below 50 per cent is not good, from any point of view.
- Thus, there is much to be done by campaigners on both sides and by policy makers at national and European level to create a genuine and on-going debate about European integration. The Irish case is in many ways an illustration of a wider problem and, via the two Nice referendums, can be thought of as a test bed for potential remedies. The challenge for Irish and EU political leaders and policymakers is to continue the effort to engage and mobilise the citizens of Ireland, the citizens of other referendum-holding countries, especially of the candidate countries, and, with a view to consolidating the legitimacy of the Union, also the citizens of those member states that follow the representative rather than the popular route to the ratification of EU treaty changes.

Figure 1 European referendums: in Ireland: 'yes', 'no' and abstention as proportions of electorate, 1972-2002



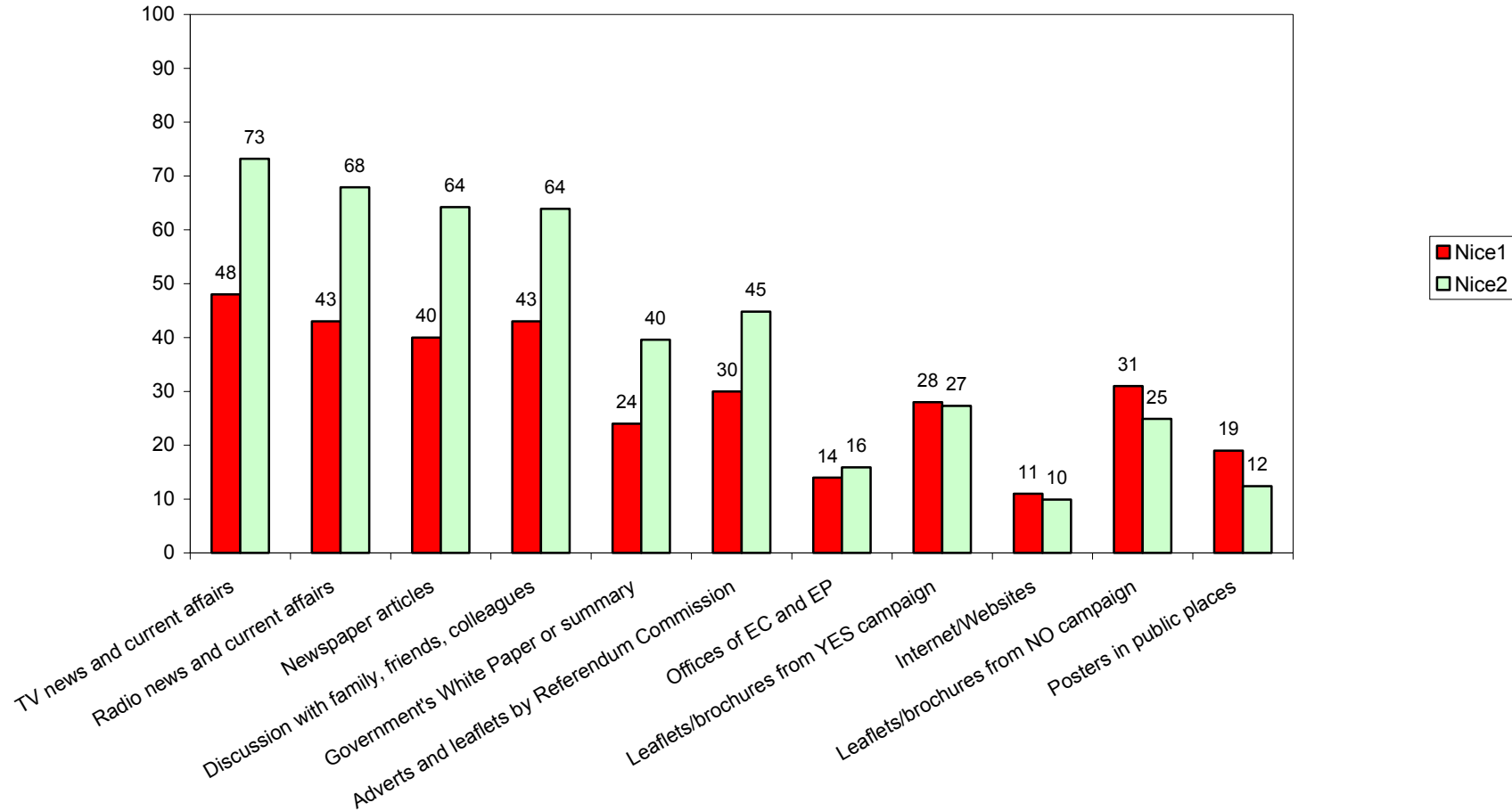
Source: Department of the Environment and Local Government, Referendum Results 1972-2002

Figure 2 Trends in support for European integration - Ireland and EU average, 1973-2002



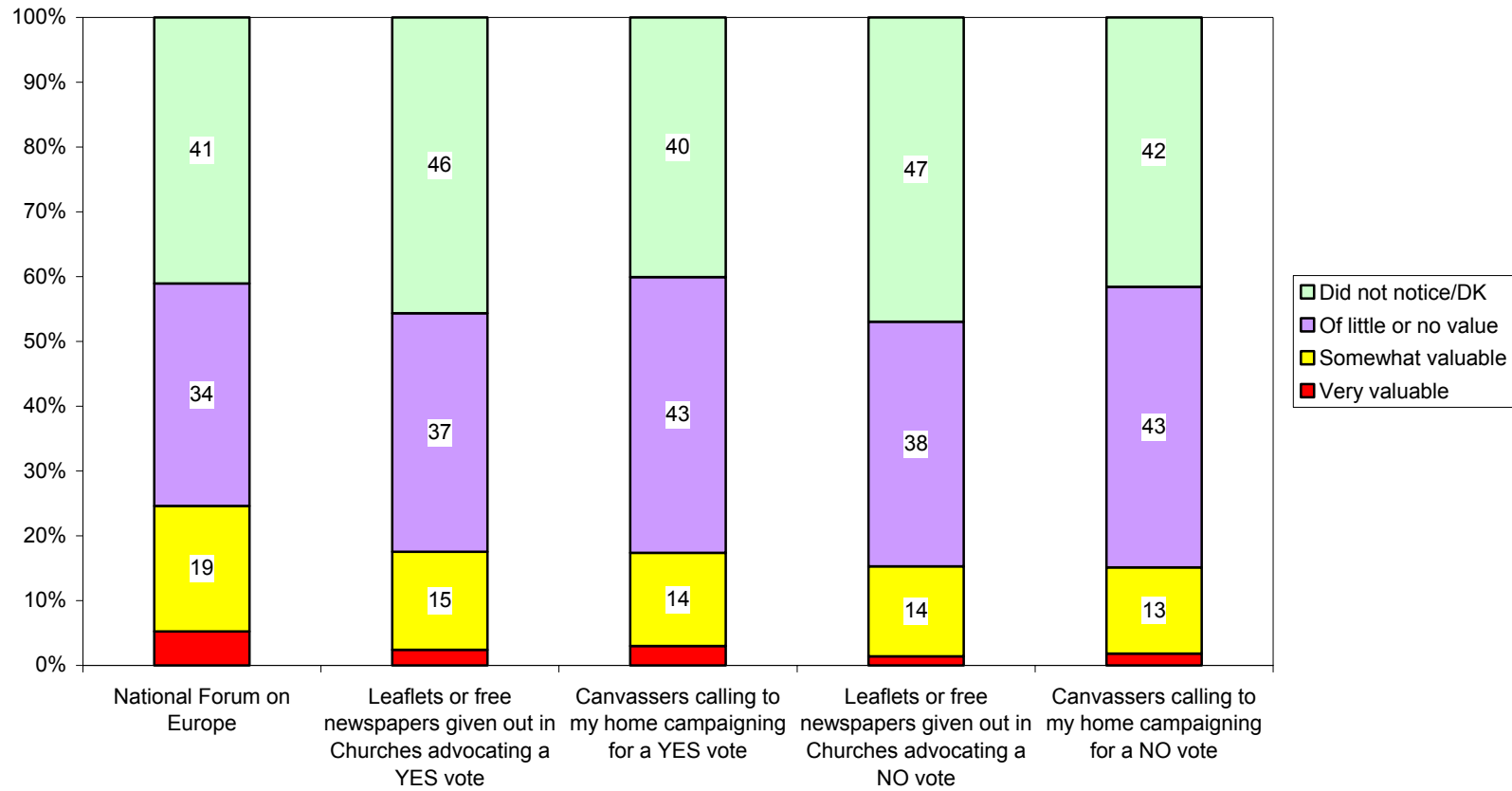
Source: EB3 – EB58.1; Dissolution indicator for Ireland for Autumn 2002 from ECR Nice2 Survey

Figure 3 Evaluation of sources of information in the Nice referendum - per cent very valuable plus somewhat valuable (in descending order of size of increase between Nice1 and Nice2)



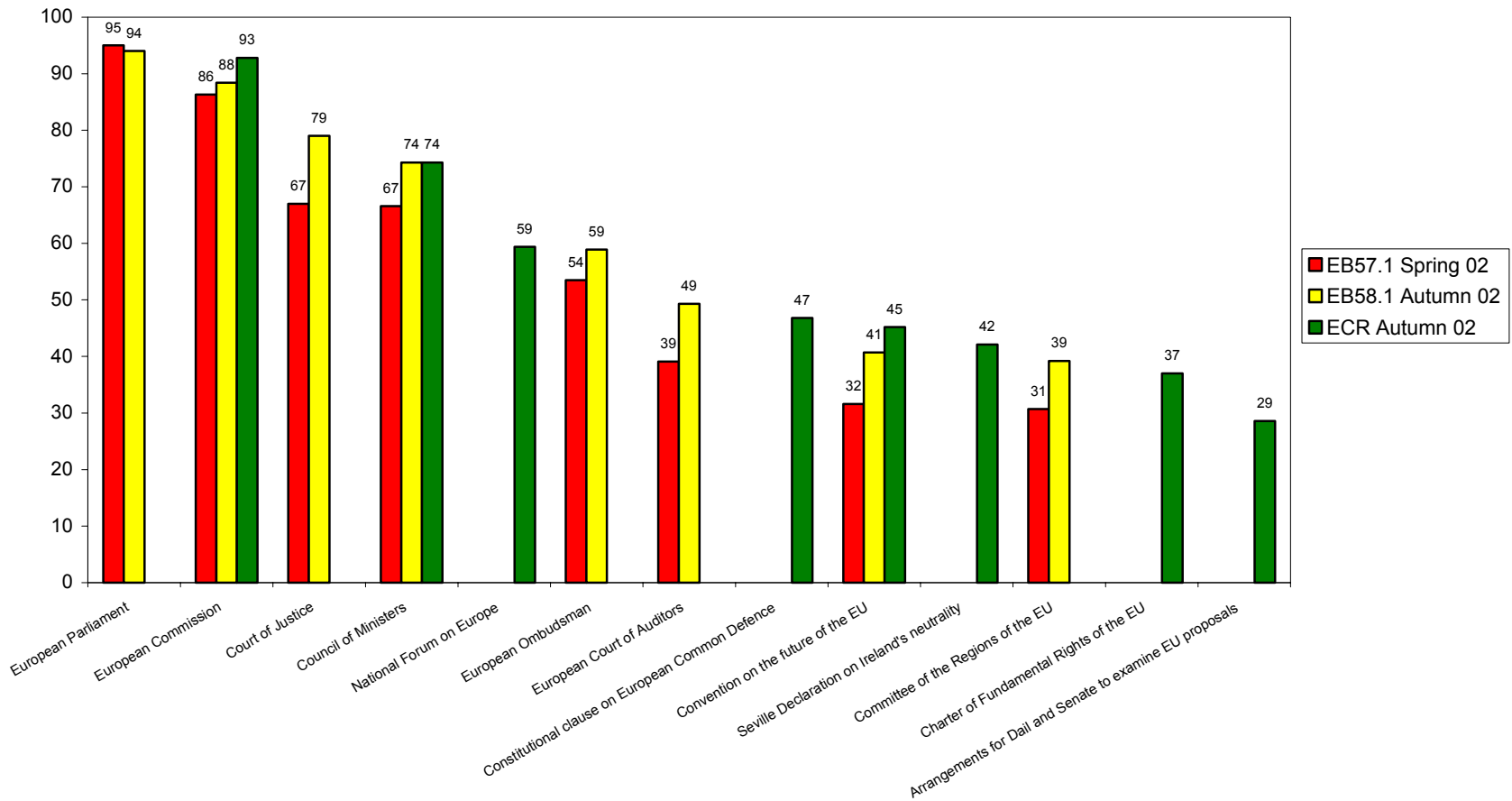
Source: ECR Nice1, Q.4; ECR Nice2, Q.11

Figure 4 Usefulness of sources of information in the second Nice referendum (items not included in/not relevant to Nice1)



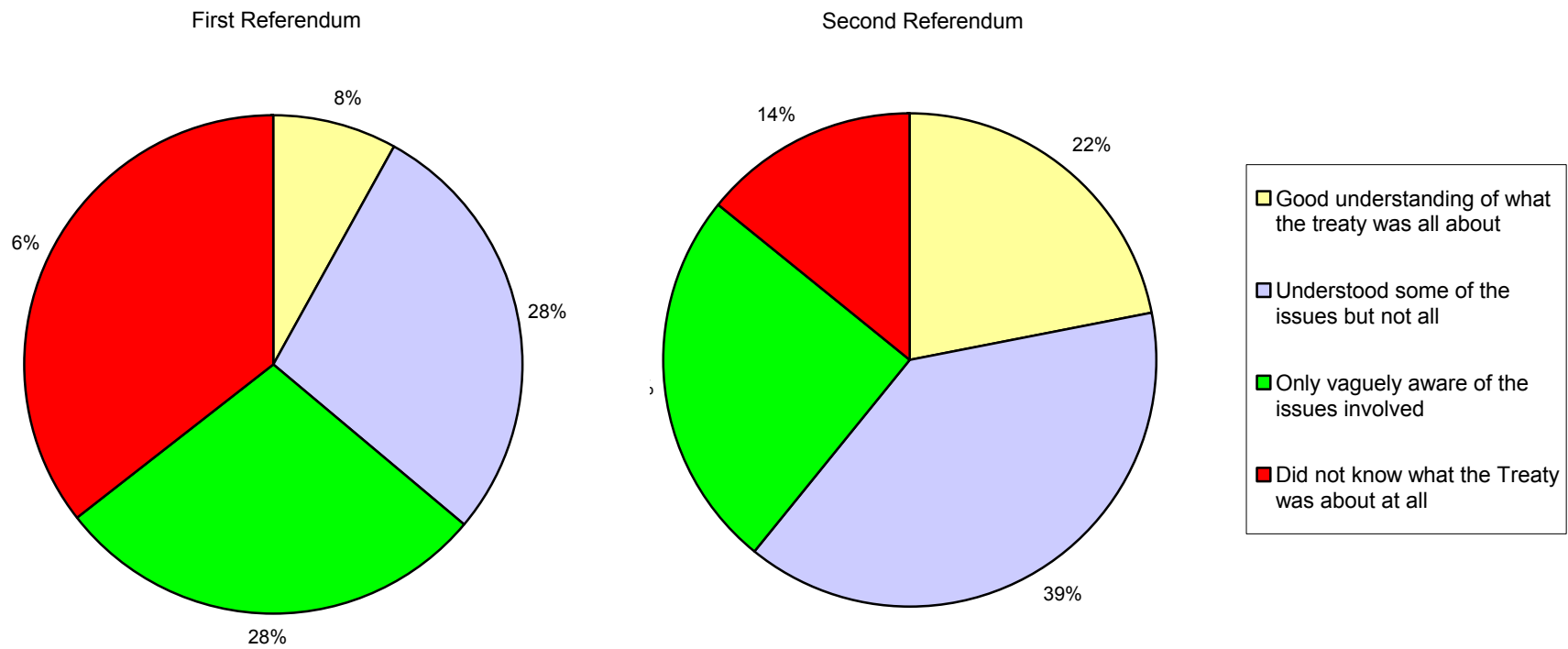
Source: ECR Nice2, Q.11

Figure 5 Heard of selected European institutions and EU-related national institutions, Spring and Autumn 2002 (in descending order of frequency of heard of institutions, Autumn 2002)



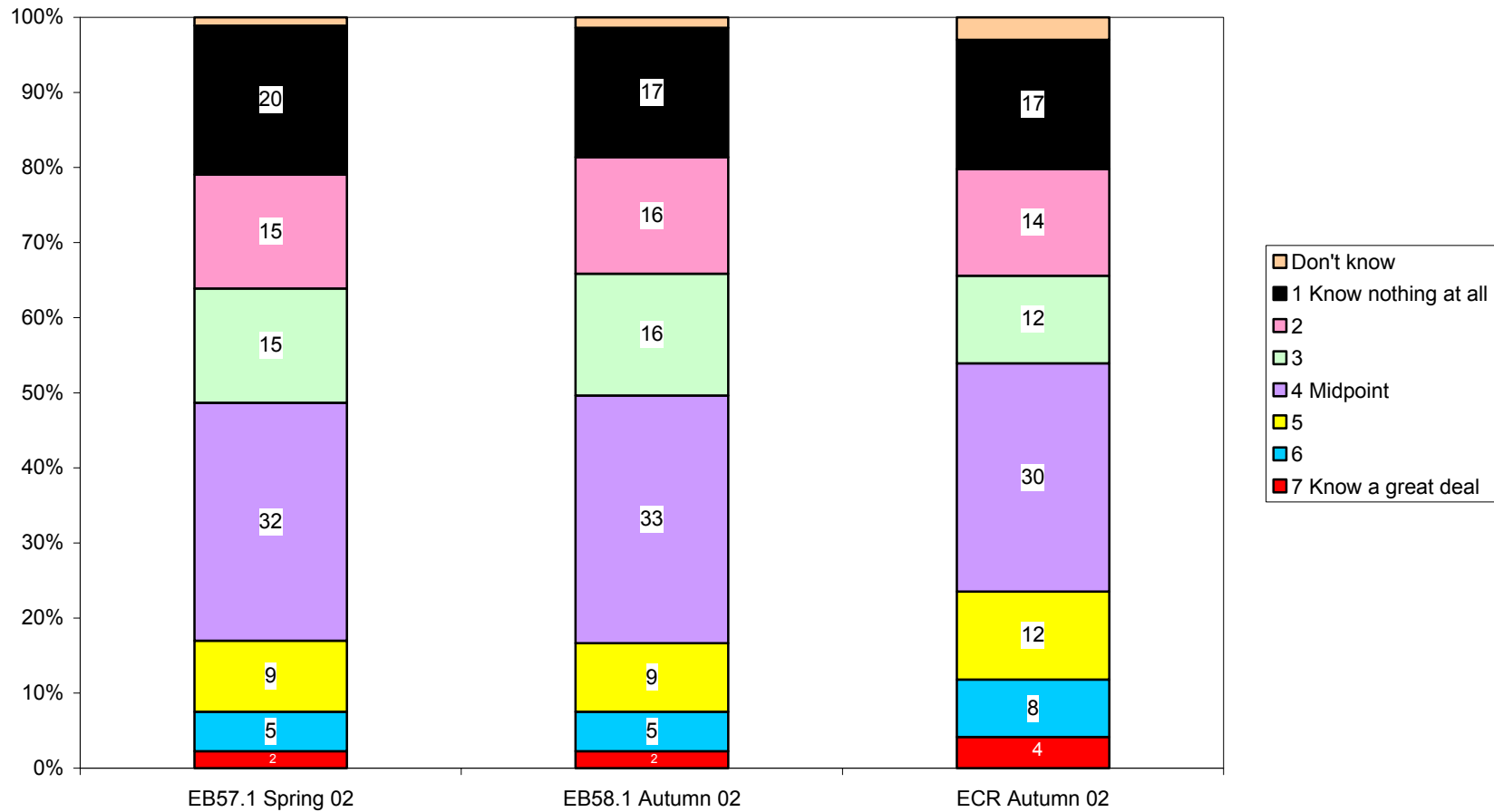
Source: EB57.1, Q.19; EB58.1, Q.19; ECR Nice2, Q.22

Figure 6 Perceived level of understanding of issues involved in the first and second Nice Treaty referendums



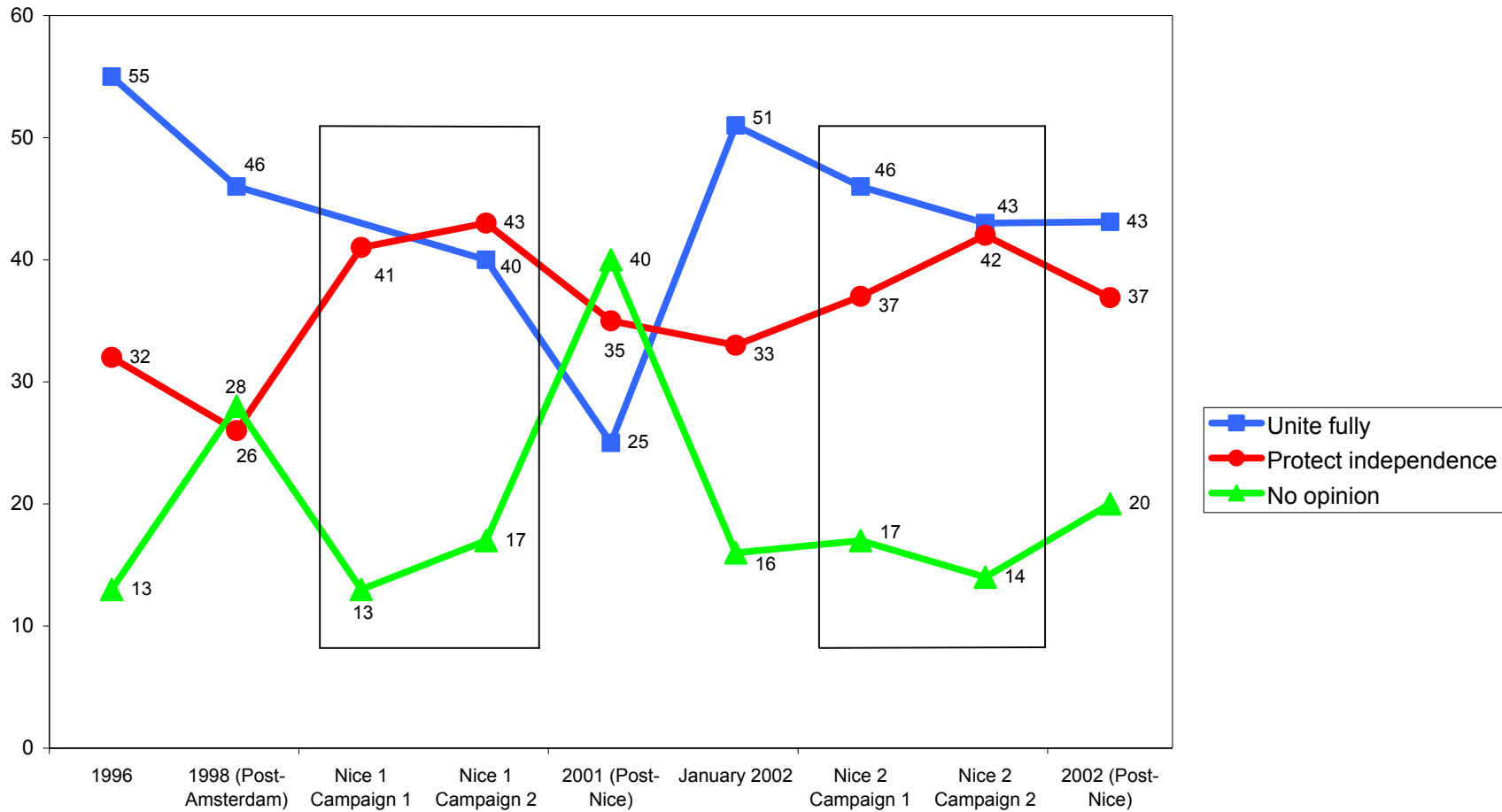
Source: ECR Nice1, Q.5; ECR Nice2, Q.13

Figure 7 Subjective assessment of knowledge of the European Union, its policies, its institutions



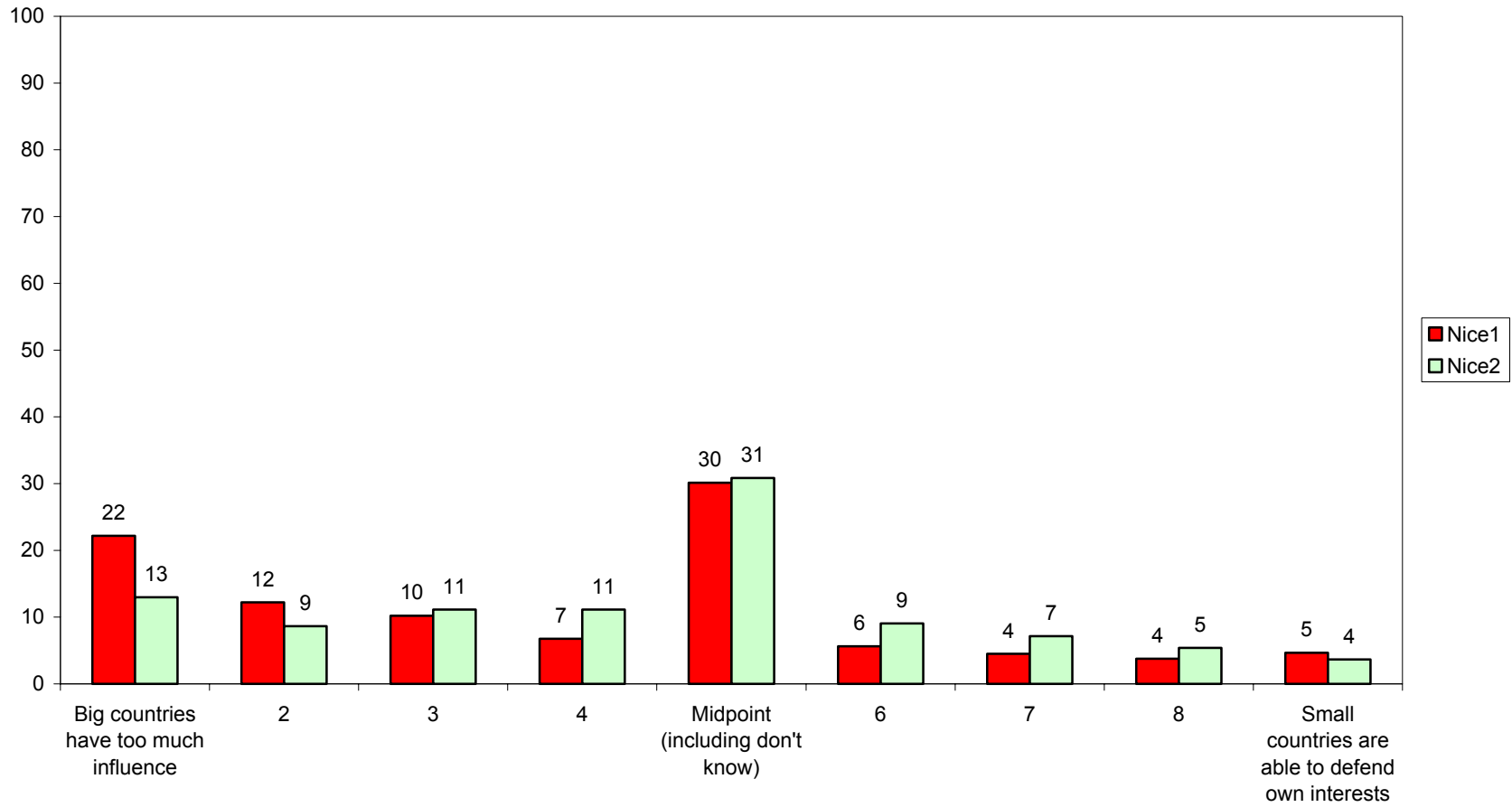
Source: EB57.1, Q.10; EB58.1, Q.9; ECR Nice2, Q.4

Figure 8 Attitudes to European integration (ISSP measure), 1996-2002



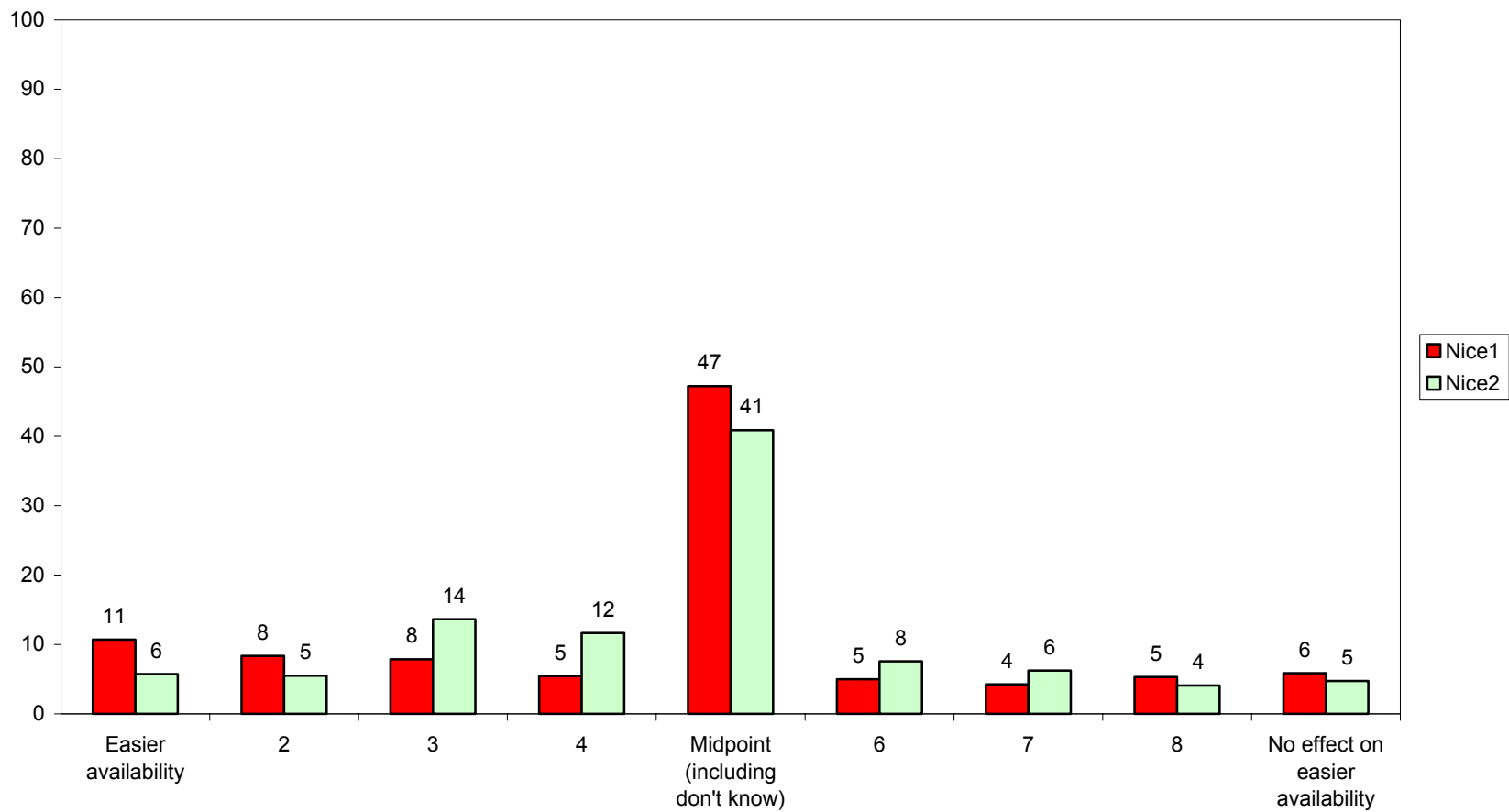
Source: ISSP 1996; Lansdowne 1998; Irish Times/MRBI 2001; ECR Nice1 2001; Irish Times/MRBI 2002; ECR Nice2 2002

Figure 9 Attitudes to power of big and small countries in the EU



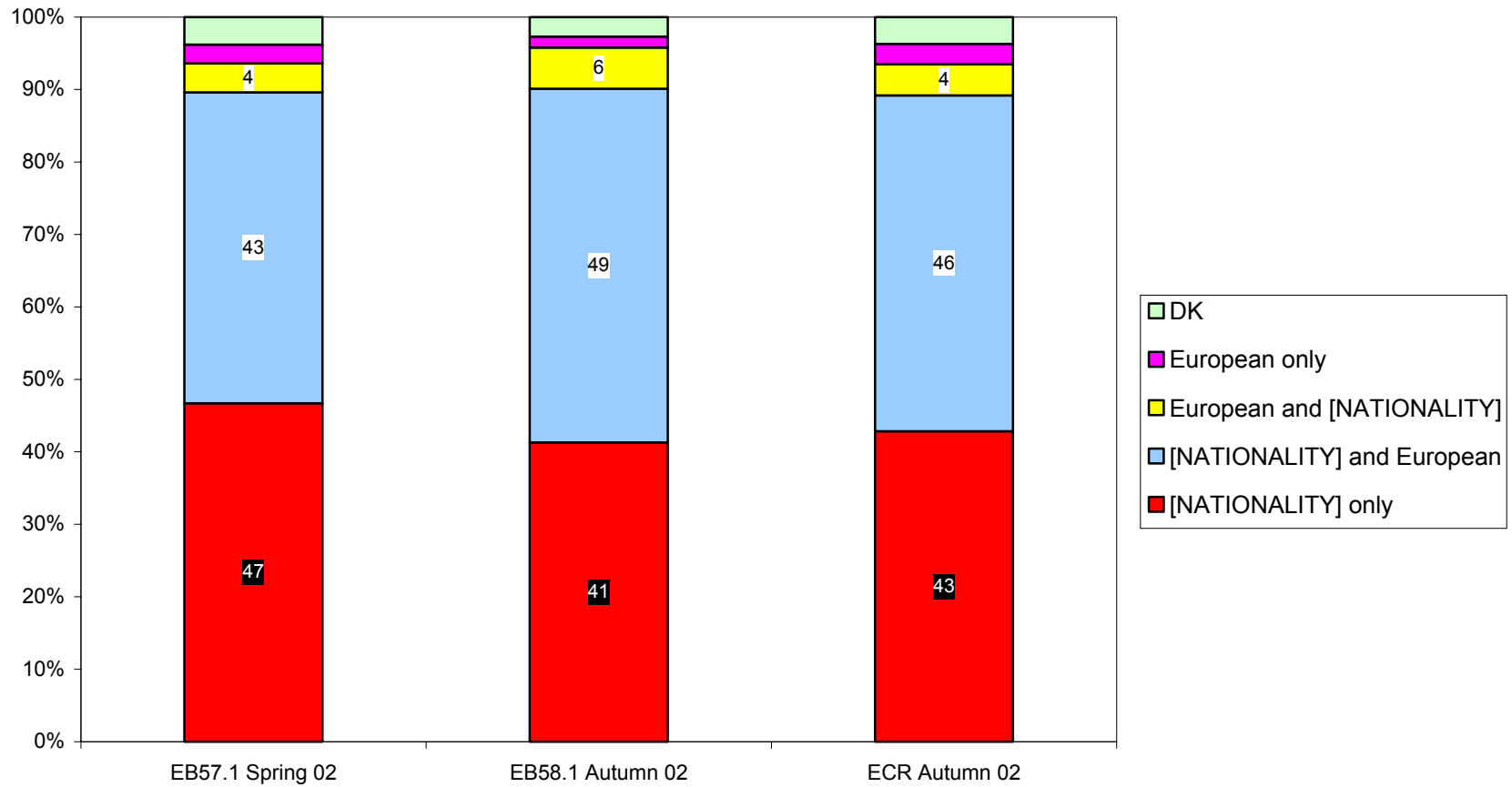
Source: ECR Nice1, Q.6; ECR Nice2, Q.15

Figure 10 Satisfaction with the way in which policies and decisions are made in the EU



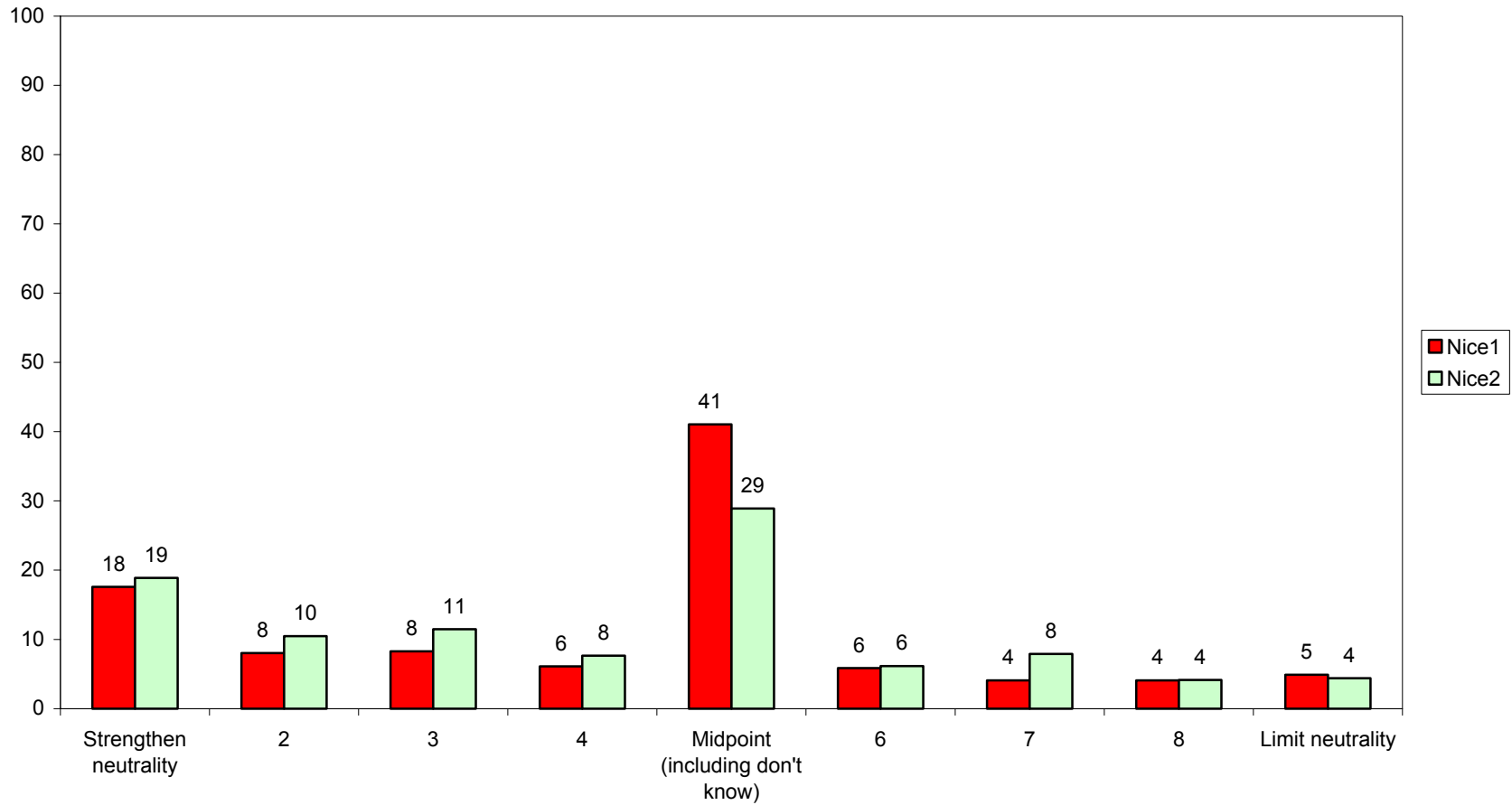
Source: ECR Nice1, Q.6; ECR Nice2, Q.14

Figure 11 Expected national and/or European identity in near future, Spring and Autumn 2002



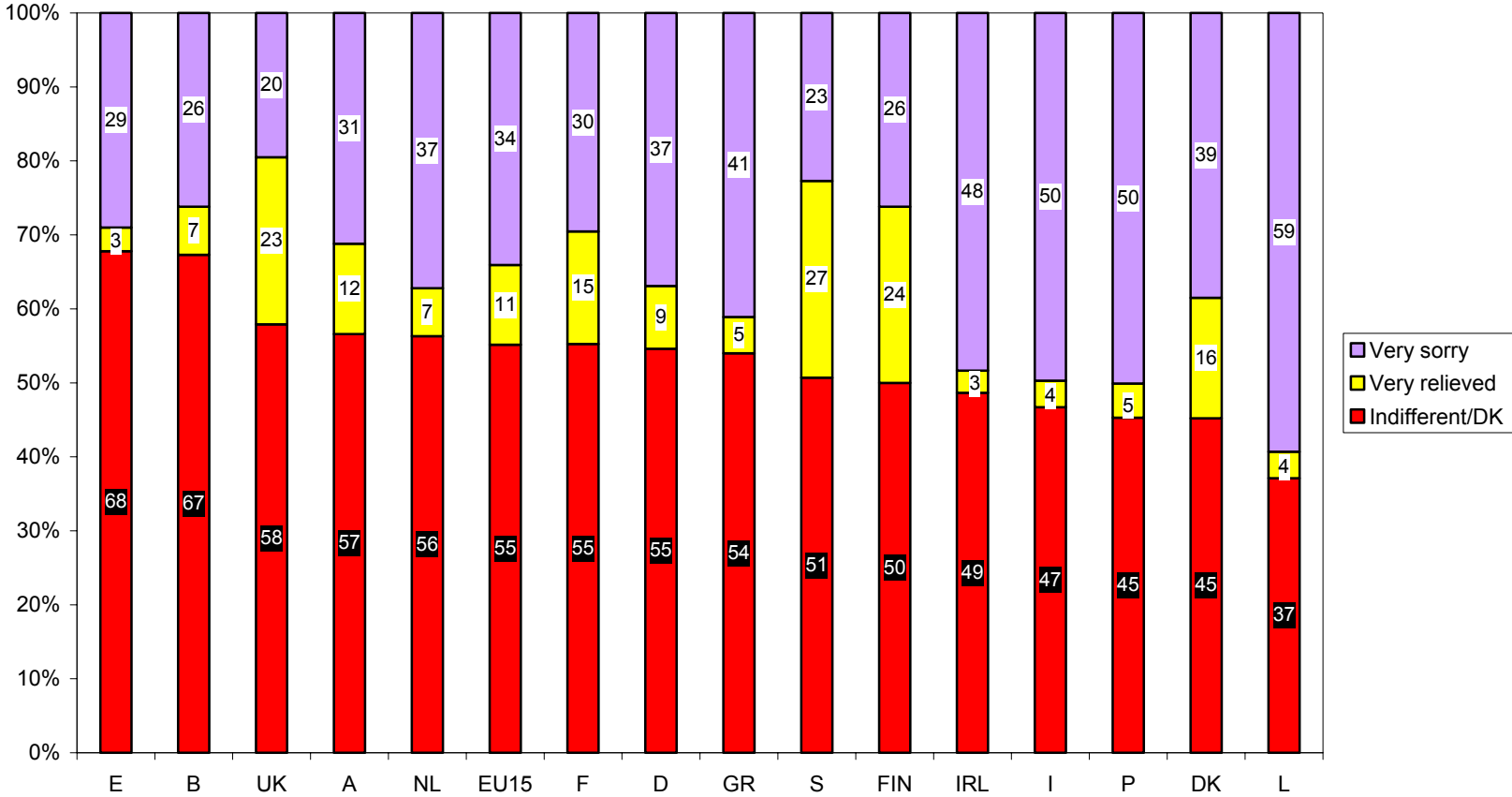
Source: EB57.1, Q.27; EB58.1, Q.32; ECR Nice2, Q.9

Figure 12 Attitudes to neutrality and involvement in EU co-operation on foreign and defence policy



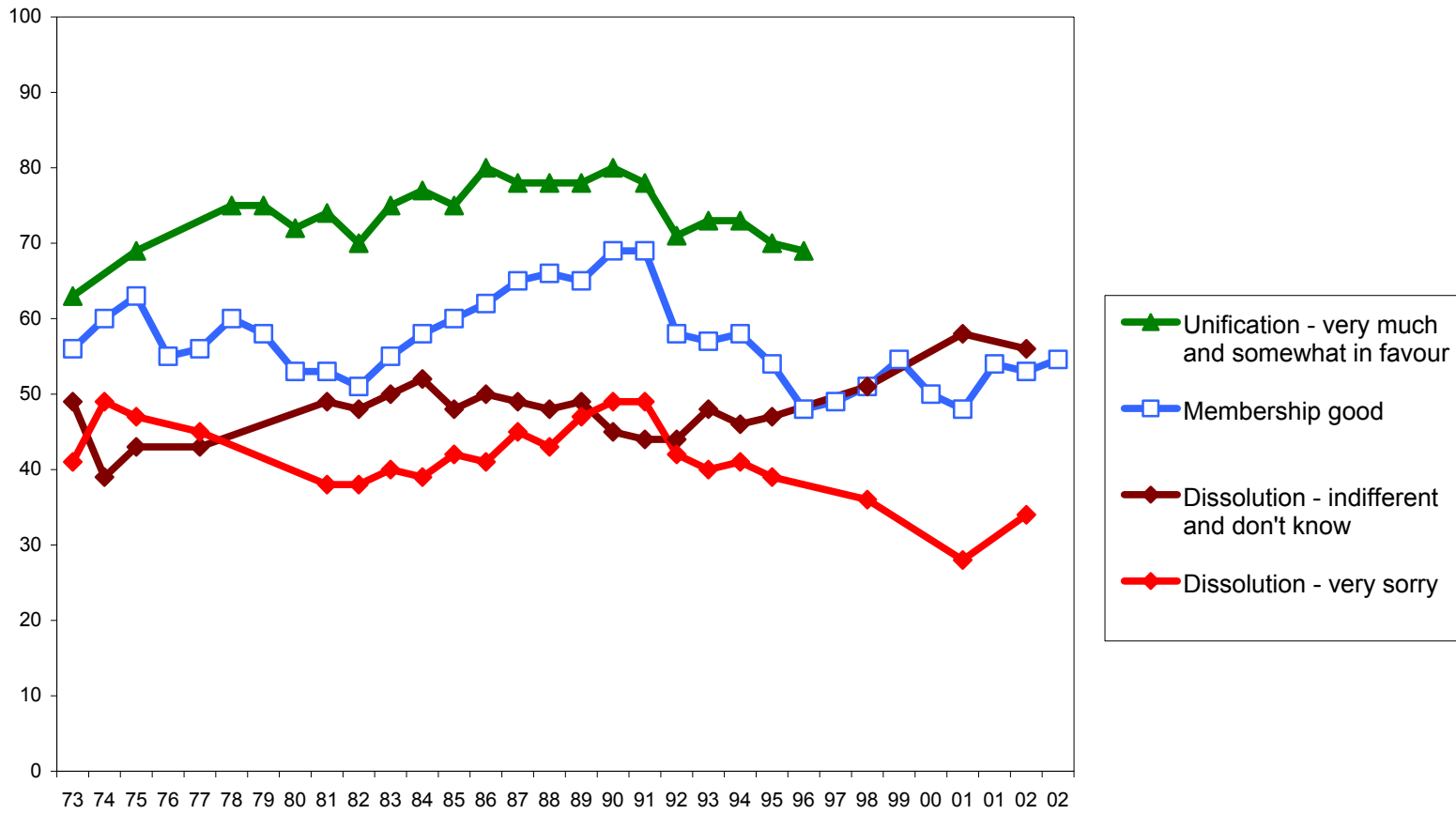
Source: ECR Nice1, Q.6; ECR Nice2, Q.15

Figure 13 Feelings if the EU were to be scrapped by country (in descending order of very relieved plus indifferent/dk), Spring 2002



Source: EB57.1, Q.17

Figure 14 Attitudes to the European Union on three Eurobarometer indicators (unification, membership and dissolution) in all member states, 1973-2002



Source: EB3 – EB58.1

Table 1 Attitudes to selected issues

<i>(a) Abortion</i>	
1 Abortion is never justified	25.6
2	12.6
3	10.1
4	6.4
5	19.6
6	7.4
7	4.9
8	2.5
9 Abortion is always justified	2.5
No opinion/Don't know/No Reply	8.5
 <i>(b) Foreigners living in Ireland</i>	
Too many	48.6
A lot, but not too many	38.9
Not too many	8.4
Don't know/NA/No reply	4.1
 <i>(c) Satisfaction with way government is running country</i>	
Very satisfied	2.7
Quite satisfied	34.2
Quite dissatisfied	32.5
Very dissatisfied	26.8
Don't Know/NA/No Reply	3.7
 <i>(d) Own economic situation these days</i>	
Very good	7.4
Fairly good	61.5
Fairly bad	19.9
Very bad	6.6
Don't know/NA/No reply	4.7
 <hr/>	
n =	1203
<hr/>	

Source: ECR Nice2, Q.15, Q.19, Q.24, Q.26

Table 2 Reasons for abstention in the first and second Nice referendums

	Nice1	Nice2
Lack of understanding/Lack of information	44	26
Not interested/Not bothered	20	32
On holiday/Away from home	15	13
Registration/Voting card problem	10	16
Too busy/Work constraints	8	9
Illness/Disability	4	4
Other	0	5
n =	630	395

Source: ECR Nice1, Q.3; ECR Nice2, Q.4

Table 3 Reasons for voting 'yes' in the first and second Nice referendums

	Nice1	Nice2
Generally a good idea, development of existing commitments	44	53
Enlargement a good thing, give others a chance	22	29
Influence of government, political party, politician, TV debate	14	11
Advice of family or friends	4	5
Other	10	11
Don't know	6	1
n =	204	625

Source: ECR Nice1, Q.2; ECR Nice2, Q.3

Table 4 Reasons for voting 'no' in the first and second Nice referendums

	Nice1	Nice2
Lack of information	39	14
Loss of sovereignty/independence	16	8
Neutrality and military issues	12	17
Bad idea in general	7	25
Influence of political party, politician, TV debate	6	5
Would create refugee problems	3	11
Abortion issue	1	1
Advice of family or friends	1	2
Anti-government/anti-politician		10
Refuse to change vote		5
Other	2	14
Don't know	13	2
n =	300	223

Source: ECR Nice1, Q.2; ECR Nice2, Q.3

Table 5 Multivariate analysis of voluntary abstention - socio-demographic effects

Variable	B	S.E.	Significance	Exp (B)
Habitual non-voting	3.8712	1.0579	0.0003	48.0016
<i>Socio-demographic effects</i>				
Unskilled working class	1.3885	0.2916	0.0000	4.0089
Under 25	1.1834	0.2009	0.0000	3.2655
Age 25-34	0.9096	0.1918	0.0000	2.4833
Skilled working class	0.9036	0.2992	0.0025	2.4684
Farmer	0.7521	0.3445	0.0290	2.1214
Lower middle class	0.2321	0.3112	0.4557	1.2612
Female	-0.1509	0.1560	0.3332	0.8599
Constant	-2.2865	0.2845	0.0000	
Initial log likelihood function	1134.9203			
Improvement in fit	109.034			
Degrees of freedom	8			
Nagelkerke R ²	0.151			

Source: ECR Nice2

Table 6 Regression of voluntary abstention - socio-demographic, communication and attitudinal effects

Variable	B	S.E.	Significance	Exp (B)
Habitual non-voting	1.7341	1.1413	0.1287	5.6638
Socio-demographic effects				
Age 25-34	0.7939	0.2556	0.0019	2.2120
Under 25	0.6575	0.2744	0.0166	1.9300
Female	-0.6110	0.2114	0.0038	0.5428
Communication effects				
Discussion with family	-1.1748	0.2210	0.0000	0.3089
NO leaflets useful	1.0604	0.3960	0.0074	2.8875
YES leaflets useful	-0.7749	0.4076	0.0573	0.4607
Television news programmes	-0.5513	0.2761	0.0459	0.5762
Newspaper articles	-0.5438	0.2694	0.0435	0.5806
Knowledge/Engagement effects				
Subjective knowledge	0.7836	0.1212	0.0000	2.1894
Attention to news about politics	0.5073	0.1750	0.0037	1.6608
Objective knowledge	-0.3368	0.1754	0.0548	0.7141
Attitudinal effects				
Dissolution of EU - very sorry	-0.5947	0.2354	0.0115	0.5517
Party effects				
Supports no party	0.4551	0.2422	0.0602	1.5764
Constant	-2.7794	0.5399	0.0000	
Initial log likelihood function	1126.4853			
Improvement in fit	477.821			
Degrees of freedom	14			
Nagelkerke R ²	0.561			

Source: ECR Nice2

Table 7 Multivariate analysis of the 'no' vote - socio-demographic effects

Variable	B	S.E.	Significance	Exp (B)
Unskilled working class	1.1479	0.2980	0.0001	3.1515
Skilled working class	0.6461	0.3058	0.0346	1.9082
Lower middle class	0.5882	0.2958	0.0467	1.8008
Under 25	-0.3759	0.2852	0.1875	0.6867
Farmer	-0.1660	0.3840	0.6656	0.8471
Age 25-34	0.0450	0.2247	0.8412	1.0461
Female	-0.0194	0.1697	0.9088	0.9808
Constant	-1.5991	0.2757	0.0000	
Initial log likelihood function	876.68183			
Improvement in fit	28.453			
Degrees of freedom	7			
Nagelkerke R ²	0.053			

Source: ECR Nice2

Table 8 Multivariate analysis of the 'no' vote - communication, attitudinal and party effects

Variable	B	S.E.	Significance	Exp (B)
Communication effects				
YES leaflets useful	-2.6627	0.6744	0.0001	0.0698
NO leaflets useful	2.4026	0.6813	0.0004	11.0524
YES door-to-door canvass useful	-2.3595	0.9843	0.0165	0.0945
NO door-to-door canvass useful	1.4937	0.9659	0.1220	4.4534
NO leaflets in Churches useful	1.2345	0.4080	0.0025	3.4367
Newspaper articles useful	-0.8175	0.2848	0.0041	0.4415
Government's White Paper useful	-0.7094	0.2861	0.0132	0.4920
Seville Declaration on Ireland's neutrality	-0.7075	0.3133	0.0240	0.4929
Constitutional clause Common Defence	0.6349	0.3229	0.0493	1.8869
Posters on poles and billboards useful	0.6040	0.4052	0.1360	1.8294
Heard of National Forum on Europe	-0.2356	0.2864	0.4107	0.7901
Dail and Senate to examine EU proposals	0.0677	0.3202	0.8326	1.0700
Attitudinal effects (European)				
Too many issues decided by the EU	1.2537	0.2761	0.0000	3.5033
Dissolution of EU - very sorry	-1.0653	0.2631	0.0001	0.3446
Dissatisfied with way EU policies are made	0.4975	0.1216	0.0000	1.6447
Should strengthen neutrality	0.2402	0.1030	0.0196	1.2715
Attitudinal effects (domestic)				
In favour of enlargement of the EU	-1.3979	0.2849	0.0000	0.2471
Trust Trade unions	0.5805	0.2935	0.0479	1.7869
Trust employers' organisations	-0.5488	0.2976	0.0651	0.5777
Abortion never justified	-0.5071	0.2932	0.0837	0.6022
Too many foreigners living in Ireland	-0.3083	0.2676	0.2493	0.7347
Dissatisfied with way government running country	0.1948	0.1086	0.0728	1.2151
Own economic situation bad	-0.1353	0.1208	0.2628	0.8734
Trust the Irish government	0.0581	0.3216	0.8567	1.0598
Party effects				
Usually support Labour	0.9125	0.4619	0.0482	2.4906
Usually support Fine Gael	-0.8460	0.4204	0.0441	0.4291
Usually support Progressive Democrats	-0.7559	0.7972	0.3430	0.4696
Usually support Sinn Fein	0.7250	0.5674	0.2013	2.0647
Usually support Fianna Fail	-0.6639	0.3317	0.0453	0.5148
Usually support The Green Party	0.1679	0.5641	0.7660	1.1828
Constant	-1.3820	0.7775	0.0755	
Initial log likelihood function	876.6818			
Improvement in fit	417.485			
Degrees of freedom	30			
Nagelkerke R ²	0.616			

Source: ECR Nice2

APPENDIX – THE QUESTIONNAIRE

PUBLIC OPINION SURVEY
© Millward Brown IMS Limited: November 2002

ASK ALL ADULTS AGED 18+

*Good morning/afternoon/evening. I am from Millward Brown IMS.
We are carrying out a survey and I would be grateful for your help in answering some questions. Do you have about 15 minutes to answer some questions about European Affairs?*

CARD – COL 10/(1)

SHOW CARD ‘1’

Q.1 In general, do you pay attention to news about each of the following?

SINGLE CODE FOR EACH

Tick Start

-
-
-
-
-
-
-

READ OUT & ROTATE ORDER BETWEEN INTERVIEWS	A LOT OF ATTENTION	A LITTLE ATTENTION	NO ATTENTION AT ALL	DON'T KNOW	
1. Politics	1	2	3	4	(11)
2. The European Union	1	2	3	4	(12)
3. The economy	1	2	3	4	(13)
4. Sport	1	2	3	4	(14)
5. The environment	1	2	3	4	(15)
6. Foreign policy/international affairs	1	2	3	4	(16)
7. Culture	1	2	3	4	(17)

Q.2a) On the 19th of October last, a referendum was held on the Treaty of Nice (pronounced Niece). 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 Nice that was held last month?
SINGLE CODE

IF VOTED (IF CODE 1 AT Q.2a) ASK, OTHERS GO TO Q4:

Q.2b) How did you vote in that referendum - in favour or against the Nice Treaty? **SINGLE CODE**

SHOW CARD ‘2’

Q.2c) Using this card, can you tell me roughly when did you make up your mind how you would vote in the referendum? **SINGLE CODE**

Q.2a)		
▪ Yes – voted	1	(18)
▪ Did not vote	2	
▪ Don't Know/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)	3	

Q.2b)		
▪ Voted - In favour	1	(19)
▪ Voted - Against.....	2	
▪ Don't know/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)	3	

-		
Q.2c)		
▪ At the time the referendum was announced.....	1	(20)
▪ Fairly early on during the referendum campaign	2	
▪ In the final week of the campaign.....	3	
▪ On the day of the referendum itself	4	
▪ Don't Know/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)	5	

Q.3a) What were the main reasons why you voted in favour/against (AS APPROPRIATE) the Nice Treaty in the referendum last month? **PROBE FULLY AS FOLLOWS:** Were there any other reasons? And anything else? **AND RECORD VERBATIM**

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 V X O	(21)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 V X O	(22)

Q.3b) When you had made up your mind to vote in the referendum, how certain were you about your decision to vote in favour of/against (as appropriate) the Treaty. **READ OUT** - Were you? **SINGLE CODE**

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Absolutely certain 1 ■ Pretty certain 2 ■ Some reservations/doubts 3 ■ Not at all certain..... 4 ■ Don't Know/NA (DO NOT READ OUT) 5 	(23)
---	------

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

Q.4 Why did you not vote? **PROBE FULLY AS FOLLOWS:** Were there any other reasons? And anything else? **AND RECORD VERBATIM**

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 V X O	(24)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 V X O	(25)

ASK ALL

Q.5a) As you may remember, a referendum on the Treaty of Nice was **also** held in June of last year (2001). Again, many people did not vote in that referendum. How about you? Did you vote in the first referendum on the Nice Treaty in June of last year? **SINGLE CODE**

<p>Q.5a)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Yes – voted 1 ■ Did not vote 2 ■ Not eligible (DO NOT READ OUT)..... 3 ■ Don't Know/NA (DO NOT READ OUT) 4 	(26)
---	------

IF VOTED (IF CODE 1 AT Q.5a) ASK, OTHERS GO TO Q7:

Q.5b) How did you vote in that referendum - in favour or against the Nice Treaty? **SINGLE CODE**

<p>Q.5b)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Voted - In favour 1 ■ Voted - Against..... 2 ■ Don't Know/NA (DO NOT READ OUT) 3 	(27)
---	------

Q.6 What were the main reasons why you voted in favour/against (AS APPROPRIATE) the Nice Treaty the first time round. **PROBE FULLY AS FOLLOWS:** Were there any other reasons? And anything else? **AND RECORD VERBATIM**

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 V X O	(28)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 V X O	(29)

IF DID NOT VOTE IN FIRST REFERENDUM (June 2001) (IF CODE 2 AT Q.5a) ASK: OTHERS GO TO Q8

Q.7 Why did you not vote? **PROBE FULLY AS FOLLOWS:** Were there any other reasons? And anything else? **AND RECORD VERBATIM**

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 V X O	(30)
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 V X O	(31)

ASK ALL

SHOW CARD '3'

Q.8 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? **SINGLE CODE**

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Too many issues are decided on by the European Union 1 The number of issues decided on by the European Union at present is about right 2 More issues should be decided on by the European Union 3 I have not really thought about it 4 It depends on the issue (DO NOT READ OUT) 5 Don't Know/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)..... 6 	(32)
--	------

Q.9 In the near future, do you see yourself as...?
READ OUT – SINGLE CODE

■ Irish only	1	(33)
■ Irish and European	2	
■ European and Irish.....	3	
■ European only	4	
■ Don't Know/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)	5	

Q.10 If you were told tomorrow that the European Union had been scrapped, would you be very sorry about it, indifferent or very relieved?
SINGLE CODE

■ Very sorry	1	(34)
■ Indifferent	2	
■ Very relieved.....	3	
■ Don't Know/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)	4	

SHOW CARD '4'

Q.11 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 second referendum on the Nice Treaty -- the one that was held last month. 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? **SINGLE CODE FOR EACH**

Tick Start

READ OUT & ROTATE ORDER BETWEEN INTERVIEWS ↓	Very Valuable	Some-What Valuable	Of Little or No Value	Did Not Notice/ Come across	Don't Know/ NA	
<input type="checkbox"/> Advertisements and leaflets put out by the Referendum Commission.....	1	2	3	4	5	(35)
<input type="checkbox"/> The Government's Nice White Paper or information guide	1	2	3	4	5	(36)
<input type="checkbox"/> The activities of the National Forum on Europe.....	1	2	3	4	5	(37)
<input type="checkbox"/> Newspaper articles.....	1	2	3	4	5	(38)
<input type="checkbox"/> Television news and current affairs programmes	1	2	3	4	5	(39)
<input type="checkbox"/> Radio news and current affairs programmes	1	2	3	4	5	(40)
<input type="checkbox"/> Canvassers calling to my home campaigning for a YES vote	1	2	3	4	5	(41)
<input type="checkbox"/> Canvassers calling to my home campaigning for a NO vote	1	2	3	4	5	(42)
<input type="checkbox"/> Leaflets/brochures circulated by the parties and organisations campaigning for a YES vote	1	2	3	4	5	(43)
<input type="checkbox"/> Leaflets/brochures circulated by the parties and organisations campaigning for a NO vote.....	1	2	3	4	5	(44)
<input type="checkbox"/> Leaflets or free newspapers given out in Churches advocating a YES vote	1	2	3	4	5	(45)
<input type="checkbox"/> Leaflets or free newspapers given out in Churches advocating a NO vote.....	1	2	3	4	5	(46)
<input type="checkbox"/> Offices of the European Commission and European Parliament in Ireland.....	1	2	3	4	5	(47)
<input type="checkbox"/> Internet/websites	1	2	3	4	5	(48)
<input type="checkbox"/> Discussion with family, friends and colleagues.....	1	2	3	4	5	(49)

- Q.12 And how about the posters on poles and billboards? Did you find them very valuable, somewhat valuable, of little or no value or did you not notice or come across them at all?
SINGLE CODE

Very valuable.....	1	(50)
Somewhat valuable.....	2	
Of little or no value.....	3	
Did not notice or come across.....	4	
Don't Know/NA (DO NOT READ OUT).....	5	

- SHOW CARD '5'**
Q.13 By the date of the referendum (19th October), how good was your understanding of the issues involved? Please use this card to choose the phrase that applies best to you. **SINGLE CODE**

I had a good understanding of what the Treaty was all about.....	1	(51)
I understood some of the issues but not all that was involved.....	2	
I was only vaguely aware of the issues involved.....	3	
I did not know what the Treaty was about at all.....	4	
Don't Know/NA (DO NOT READ OUT).....	5	

SHOW CARD '6'

- Q.14 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? **SINGLE CODE**

KNOW NOTHING AT ALL									KNOW A GREAT DEAL	DON'T KNOW	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	(52-53)

SHOW CARD '7/1 to 7/4' in turn

- Q.15 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. **SINGLE CODE FOR EACH**

SHOW CARD '7/1'

I am quite satisfied with the way in which policies and decisions are made in the European Union									I am quite dissatisfied with the way in which policies and decisions are made in the European Union	No Opinion/Don't Know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		X	(54)

SHOW CARD '7/2'

The big countries in the European Union have far too much power and influence									The small countries in the European Union are well able to defend their own interests	No Opinion/Don't Know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		X	(55)

SHOW CARD '7/3'

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									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	No Opinion/Don't Know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		X	(56)

SHOW CARD '7/4'

Abortion is never justified									Abortion is always justified	No Opinion/Don't Know	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		X	(57)

- Q.16 The European Union is at present finishing negotiations with 10 countries about them joining the European Union in 2004. We are interested in how people feel about this enlargement of the European Union.

In general terms, are you in favour or against such enlargement of the European Union?
SINGLE CODE

■ In favour.....	1	(58)
■ Against.....	2	
■ Don't Know/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)	3	

SHOW CARD '8'

- Q.17 As regards the European Union in general, which of the following comes closest to your own view?
SINGLE CODE

■ Ireland should do all it can to unite fully with the European Union.....	1	(59)
■ Ireland should do all it can to protect its independence from the European Union	2	
■ Can't choose, don't know (DO NOT READ OUT)	3	

ASK IF CODES 1 or 2 AT Q17, OTHERS GO TO Q19

- Q.18 Could you tell me whether you are very certain about this view, somewhat certain or not certain at all? **SINGLE CODE**

■ Very certain.....	1	(60)
■ Somewhat certain.....	2	
■ Not certain at all.....	3	
■ Don't Know/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)	4	

ASK ALL

- Q.19 Generally speaking, how do you feel about foreigners living in Ireland? Are there too many, a lot but not many, or not too many? **SINGLE CODE**

■ Too many	1	(61)
■ A lot, but not too many	2	
■ Not many.....	3	
■ Don't Know/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)	4	

SHOW CARD '10'

- Q.20a) Can you tell me the name of the **President** of the European Commission in Brussels?

SINGLE CODE

■ Jacques Delors	1	(62)
■ Valéry Giscard d'Estaing	2	
■ Gerhard Schroeder	3	
■ Romano Prodi	4	
■ Don't Know/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)	5	

SHOW CARD '11'

- Q.20b) And what is the name of the current Irish European Union Commissioner?

SINGLE CODE

■ Peter Sutherland.....	1	(63)
■ Ray McSharry	2	
■ Barry Desmond	3	
■ David Byrne.....	4	
■ Don't Know/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)	5	

- Q.21 I would like to ask you a question about how much trust you have in certain institutions. For each of the following institutions, please tell me if you tend to trust it or tend not to trust it? **SINGLE CODE FOR EACH**

Tick
Start

READ OUT & ROTATE ORDER BETWEEN INTERVIEWS	TEND TO TRUST	TEND NOT TO TRUST	DON'T KNOW	
1. The press	1	2	3	(64)
2. Radio	1	2	3	(65)
3. Television	1	2	3	(66)
4. Political parties	1	2	3	(67)
5. The Civil service	1	2	3	(68)
6. The Irish government	1	2	3	(69)
7. The Dáil	1	2	3	(70)
8. The European Union	1	2	3	(71)
9. The Church	1	2	3	(72)
10. Trade unions	1	2	3	(73)
11. Employers' organisations	1	2	3	(74)
12. Farmers' organisations	1	2	3	(75)

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Card 2 – Col 10/(2)

- Q.22 Have you ever heard of...? **SINGLE CODE FOR EACH**

READ OUT	YES	NO	DON'T KNOW	
1. The European Commission	1	2	3	(11)
2. The Council of Ministers of the European Union	1	2	3	(12)
3. The Convention on the Future of the European Union	1	2	3	(13)
4. The National Forum on Europe	1	2	3	(14)
5. The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union	1	2	3	(15)
6. The new clause in the Constitution guaranteeing that Ireland will not join a European Common Defence	1	2	3	(16)
7. The Seville Declaration on Ireland's neutrality	1	2	3	(17)
8. The new arrangements for the Dáil and Senate to examine European Union proposals on policy and legislation	1	2	3	(18)

- Q.23 And, for each of them, please tell me if what it does or says makes you feel more in favour or less in favour of the European Union? **SINGLE CODE FOR EACH**

READ OUT	YES More in favour	NO Less in favour	DON'T KNOW	
1. The European Commission	1	2	3	(19)
2. The Council of Ministers of the European Union	1	2	3	(20)
3. The Convention on the Future of the European Union	1	2	3	(21)
4. The National Forum on Europe	1	2	3	(22)
5. The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union	1	2	3	(23)
6. The new clause in the Constitution guaranteeing that Ireland will not join a European Common Defence	1	2	3	(24)
7. The Seville Declaration on Ireland's neutrality	1	2	3	(25)
8. The new arrangements for the Dáil and Senate to examine European Union proposals on policy and legislation	1	2	3	(26)

SHOW CARD '12'

- Q.24 Overall are you generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the way the government is running the country? **SINGLE CODE**

■ Very satisfied	1	(27)
■ Quite satisfied	2	
■ Quite dissatisfied.....	3	
■ Very dissatisfied	4	
■ Don't Know/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)	5	

Q.25 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

▪ Voted in all of them	1	(28)
▪ Voted in most of them.....	2	
▪ Voted in only some of them.....	3	
▪ Not voted in any of them	4	
▪ Don't Know/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)	5	

Q.26 What about your own economic situation these days? Would you say it is...? **READ OUT – SINGLE CODE**

▪ Very good	1	(29)
▪ Fairly good.....	2	
▪ Fairly bad	3	
▪ Very bad.....	4	
▪ Don't Know/NA (DO NOT READ OUT)	5	

Q.27 In political matters people talk of “the left” and “the right”. How would you place your views on this scale?

(SHOW CARD ‘13’ – DO NOT PROMPT. IF CONTACT HESITATES, ASK TO TRY AGAIN) SINGLE CODE.

LEFT									RIGHT		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	(30-31)	

Refusal..... 11 (30-31)

Don't Know (**DO NOT READ OUT**)..... 12

Q.28 Which, if any, of the political parties do you usually support? **DO NOT PROMPT SINGLE CODE**

▪ Fianna Fáil.....	1	(32)
▪ Fine Gael	2	
▪ Progressive Democrats	3	
▪ Labour.....	4	
▪ Workers' Party.....	5	
▪ Socialist Party	6	
▪ The Green Party	7	
▪ Sinn Féin	8	
▪ Other Party (State _____ _____ & code).....	9	
▪ None of these (DO NOT READ OUT)	V	
▪ Don't Know/NA (DO NOT READ OUT) ..	X	

Card 2 Cols 33-80 Blank

CLASSIFICATION

FULL NAME:
(Block Capitals)
FULL ADDRESS:
(Block Capitals)

Mr./Mrs/Ms _____

Card 3 - Col 10(3)

<p>SEBEL OW</p>	<p>(11) Yes (Code & Specify -Tel. No.)</p> <p>1 _____</p> <p>2 _____</p>	<p>• AGE: (State exact and code)</p> <p>(16) (17)</p> <p>18 - 24..... 1</p> <p>25 - 34..... 2</p> <p>35 - 49..... 3</p> <p>50 - 64..... 4</p> <p>65+..... 5</p>	<p>(16-17)</p> <p>(18)</p>
	<p>• SEX:</p> <p>Male..... 1</p> <p>Female..... 2</p>	<p>(12)</p>	<p>• FINISHED EDUCATION:</p> <p>At primary level..... 1</p> <p>At secondary level..... 2</p> <p>At third level..... 3</p> <p>Still at school/college..... 4</p>
<p>• WHETHER RESPONDENT WORKING:</p> <p>Housewife (full time)..... 1</p> <p>At school..... 2</p> <p>Full time student (third level)..... 3</p> <p>Temporarily unemployed (Actively seeking work)..... 4</p> <p>Permanently unemployed..... 5</p> <p>Retired..... 6</p> <p>Full time (30 hours or more)..... 7</p> <p>Part time (8-29 hrs per wk)..... 8</p> <p>Self employed..... 9</p>	<p>(13)</p>	<p>• TIME INTERVIEW STARTED:</p> <p>Hours Minutes</p> <p>Record time in hours and minutes, using the 24 hour clock.</p>	<p>(20-23)</p>
<p>• RESPONDENT IS:</p> <p>Chief Income Earner..... 1</p> <p>Not Chief Income Earner..... 2</p>	<p>(14)</p>	<p>• TIME INTERVIEW ENDED:</p> <p>Hours Minutes</p> <p>Record time in hours and minutes, using the 24 hour clock.</p>	<p>(24-27)</p>
<p>• OCCUPATION OF CHIEF INCOME EARNER:</p> <p>Record full job details:</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>If Manager/Self Employed State No. of Employees. Specify Qualifications/ Training.</p> <p>_____</p> <p>_____</p> <p>If FARMER, state no. of acres:</p> <p>_____</p>	<p>(15)</p>	<p>• DATE OF INTERVIEW:</p> <p>e.g. 5th Dec = 0 5 1 2</p> <p>(28) (29) (30) (31)</p>	<p>(28-31)</p>
<p>• CLASS:</p> <p>AB..... 1</p> <p>C1..... 2</p> <p>C2..... 3</p> <p>D..... 4</p> <p>E..... 5</p> <p>F50+..... 6</p> <p>F50-..... 7</p>	<p>(15)</p>	<p>• LENGTH OF INTERVIEW:</p> <p>(32) (33)</p> <p>WRITE IN MINUTES</p>	<p>(32-33)</p>
<p>• COLOUR COVER:</p> <p>White..... 1</p> <p>Green..... 2</p>	<p>(15)</p>	<p>(34)</p>	<p>(34)</p>

<p>CHIEF INCOME EARNER QUESTION:</p> <p>Which member of your household would you say is the Chief Income Earner - that is the person with the largest income whether from employment, pensions, state benefits, investments or any other source. If "EQUAL INCOME" relate to OLDEST.</p> <p>TE _____</p>	<p>Checked by Interviewer:</p> <p>Edited/Coded:</p> <p>ASSIGNMENT NUMBER</p> <p>(35) (36) (37) (38) (39)</p>	<p>Initials:</p>
<p>OUO - Quality Control:</p> <p>Phone 1 Post _____</p> <p>Checked by: _____</p>	<p>INTERVIEWER NO:</p> <p>(40) (41) (42) (43)</p>	