

VOTED YES

Question 2a

B. Coding frame for reasons respondent voted YES (CODE 1 AT Q1B)

NB If multiple responses given, please code up accordingly

CODES BASED ON ANSWERS GIVEN AT Q2A

1. Attitudinal reasons

- 115/1 Felt it was the right thing to do/**Good gut feeling about it/Had nothing to lose**
- 115/2 Treaty good for Ireland (unspecified)/**Best for us/Is the way forward/Country needs an injection of energy**
- 115/3 Treaty good for Europe (unspecified)
- 115/4 EU has been/is good for Ireland (unspecified)/**Ireland stronger with EU**
- 115/5 EU has been/is good for Irish economy/**Jobs/Economic state of Ireland/to save international trading**
- 115/6 Irish infrastructure has benefited from EU/**Europe is productive**
- 115/7 Treaty makes EU more efficient/allows EU to develop/progress/**Strengthens Europe in the world**
- 115/8 Ireland needs to belong fully to EU/**Cannot manage without EU/Would have no future/Is the only option**
- 115/9 Maintain Irish influence in Europe/**Stronger hold in Europe**
- 115/v Respondent feels European/is a supporter of European integration/**Democracy**

2. Group reasons

- 115/x Good for groups – farmers
- 115/o Good for groups – workers
- 116/1 Good for groups – business
- 116/2 Good for groups – women

3. Followed advice

- 116/3 Followed advice – Government
- 116/4 Followed advice – party
- 116/5 Followed advice – trades union
- 116/6 Followed advice – Irish Farmers Association (IFA)
- 116/7 Followed advice – employer organization
- 116/8 Followed advice – family/friends
- 116/9 Followed advice – local TD/**Politicians**

4. Campaign arguments/protagonists

- 116/v Persuaded by YES arguments/**Agreed with overall principle**
- 116/x Rejected/put off by NO arguments

116/o Put off by NO groups
117/1 Put off by named NO parties

5. Other reasons

117/2 Other reason for YES vote
117/3 Didn't understand it but gave it the benefit of the doubt/**Just decided, was not sure**
117/4 Don't know
117/5 Wanted change
117/6 **Best for our kids/For younger people**
117/7 **We are too small to be isolated/to be left on our own/Better to be in than out/Don't want Ireland to be in a lower league in EU/Europe would look unfavourably at Ireland**
117/8 **More opportunities/prospects**
117/9 **Everyone else was voting YES**
117/V **Understood some of the issues/More clear information**
117/X **Amendments and changes/Changes in abortion**
117/0 **We could keep our rights**

“Other” answers include:

- **Swings and roundabouts**
- **Work for a U.S. company**
- **I knew the treaty of Lisbon was getting in**
- **Couldn't see the point of voting NO**
- **YES**
- **Wouldn't like to discuss**
- **Decision by the German Supreme Court**
- **Because Ireland is gone to the dogs**
- **Had already made my decision in the first referendum**
- **Wanted to vote**
- **Business interests recommended YES**
- **Lack of trust and confidence in the Irish government**
- **Guaranteed soldiers would not be deployed**
- **If we voted NO we would end up voting again**

VOTED NO

C. Coding frame for reasons respondent voted NO (CODE 2 AT Q1B)

NB If multiple responses given, please code up accordingly

CODES BASED ON ANSWERS GIVEN AT Q2A

Information, knowledge, understanding

115/1 Lack of information, knowledge, understanding, treaty too complex

115/2 Not sure of opinion so voted NO/**Not sure of outcome so voted NO**

Loss of power/independence/identity

115/3 Loss of power/domination by large countries, dictated to by other countries/**EU getting more power over Ireland/Brussels has too much power**

115/4 Loss of/threat to Ireland's independence/**crush us**

115/5 Loss of/threat to Irish identity/**kill us**

Attitudes to aspects of European integration

115/6 Against European integration in general/**We are being taken over by European issues/Against beliefs/Better on our own**

115/7 For European integration but Lisbon is a step too far/prefer status quo

115/8 Too much EU regulation/bureaucracy/**Not everything should be decided in Europe**

115/9 Too much immigration

Attitudes to issues in/attribution to the Lisbon Treaty

115/v Lisbon Treaty a bad deal, bad for Ireland/**Not a good idea/Not of much good**

115/x Loss of Irish Commissioner on rotating basis (note: Commissioner sometimes written as Commission)

115/o Loss of control over taxation (unspecified)

116/1 Loss of control over corporate taxation

116/2 Keep Ireland's veto (unspecified)

116/3 Loss of/diminution of Irish neutrality (unspecified)

116/4 Would lead to militarization of Europe

116/5 Would expose Irish people to conscription into a European army

116/6 Would lead to wider availability of abortion in Ireland

116/7 Would lead to introduction of gay marriage in Ireland

116/8 Would lead to introduction of euthanasia in Ireland

116/9 Would threaten/reduce workers' rights, introduce low wages and a "race to the bottom"/**Swedish decision on wages in Europe/Job losses**

116/v Bad for farmers

116/x Bad for workers

116/o Bad for fishermen/**Kicked out of the fishing industry**

Over...

Attitudes to referendum process

117/1 Used as opportunity to vote against/punish the government;

117/2 Voted no because dislike/distrust politics/politicians

117/3 I did not have confidence in the government/Government was secretive and cagey – failed to provide information and arguments/**Don't trust treaty/Lack of transparency**

117/4 Didn't like being told how to vote without arguments being given/Didn't like being bullied or pushed into voting yes

117/5 Government campaign was arrogant/**Didn't like the government's attitude/Government are all a load of gangsters**
117/6 NO campaign had better and clearer arguments/**Mr. Gunley talks**
117/7 Not convinced by YES arguments/**Did not believe the info supplied**
117/8 Media coverage leading to NO vote
117/9 Peer group discussion leading to NO vote
117/v Voted NO in order to resist all the pressure to vote YES
117/x Not enough discussion and debate

117/o Other reason for voting NO:

- **Nothing is going to change for the better**
- **Treaty never changed**
- **Already voted once**
- **Didn't agree with some issues**
- **Took advice from others**
- **Want to stay Irish**
- **From last referendum**
- **Prefer to stay out**
- **Didn't like Ireland being made into a superstate**
- **I always vote**
- **They could cut dole**
- **Voted NO the first time**
- **Don't know**
- **Wouldn't like to discuss**
- **It was the right thing for me**
- **My business was falling apart and nothing being done for people like me**
- **Michael O'Leary of Ryanair had his own main union leaders going on his own jets & he believes there is something wrong**
- **Ireland is changing**
- **Do not agree with the way it is called**
- **Price of everything has gone up**
- **Agencies could come to Ireland and use employment laws, i.e. Irish Ferries**

Question 2b

Which people/organisations/news sources where the main influence on your decision?

118/1 *Followed advice – Government/Brian Cowen/Changes by government*

118/2 *Followed advice – party*

118/3 *Followed advice – trades union*

118/4 *Followed advice – Irish Farmers Association (IFA)/Farmer's journal*

118/5 *Followed advice – employer organization/IBEC/Business interests*

118/6 Followed advice – family/friends/other people
118/7 Followed advice – local TD/Politicians
118/8 **The Church/Priests**
118/9 **Media**
118/v **TV/News programs/Current affairs programs/RTE**
118/x **Radio**
118/0 **None**

119/1 **Press/Paper/Booklet/Posters/Articles/Literature**
119/2 **Personal/Made up my mind/Good for Ireland/Nobody influenced me**
119/3 **Internet**
119/4 **Freedom**
119/5 **The right thing to do**
119/6 **Bad for Ireland**
119/7 **Didn't understand the treaty**
119/8 **All sources**
119/9 **Don't know**
119/V **Political debates/talks**
119/X **Polls**
119/0 **Our economic situation**

120/1 **None**
120/2 **Businessmen**
120/3 **Student volunteer groups**
120/4 **Referendum Commission**
120/5 **Libertas/Declan Ganley**
120/6 **Workmates/Colleagues**
120/7 **Michael O'Leary/Declan Ganley debate**
120/8 **The Coir Campaign**
120/9 **The 'NO' Campaigners**
120/V **The EU**

DID NOT VOTE

Question 3

A. Coding frame for reasons respondent did not vote (CODE 2 AT Q1a)

NB If multiple responses given, please code up accordingly

CODES BASED ON ANSWERS GIVEN AT Q4

1. Voluntary abstention

121/1 Lack of understanding, lack of information, too complicated/**Didn't make sense**
121/2 Undecided/uncertain which way to vote, confused/could not make up mind
121/3 Campaigns unsatisfactory
121/4 Opposed to/did not like the Lisbon treaty
121/5 Not interested in politics
121/6 Not interested in Europe/European integration
121/7 Couldn't be bothered/not interested/**Will make no difference to me/Hadn't the fire**
121/8 Dislikes/distrusts politicians/politics
121/9 Never votes
121/v Don't know
121/x **Already voted once, that's enough**
121/0 **Felt we were not being told the truth**

2. Circumstantial abstention

122/1 Away from home (unspecified)
122/2 Away from home (work/**studies**)
122/3 Away from home (holiday)
122/4 Registered at another location/**I haven't changed my address**
122/5 Other registration/voting card problem/**Name not on register**
122/6 Too busy/no time – work constraints
122/7 Too busy/no time – family commitments
122/8 Too busy/no time – reason unspecified
122/9 Illness
122/v Disability
122/x Other reason (unspecified)
122/0 **Transport issues**

123/1 I forgot
123/2 **Felt we were being allowed to vote to satisfy the government**
123/3 **Fed up of being told what to do/Sick of it all**
123/4 **Angry with the government**
123/5 **No reason**
123/6 **Would be no good for the country**
123/7 **Election was held on a weekday**
123/8
123/9
123/v
123/x
123/0