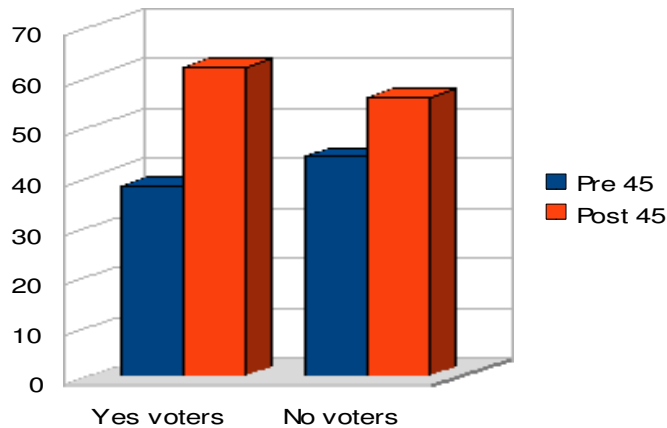


Post Lisbon II Referendum Survey in Co. Westmeath

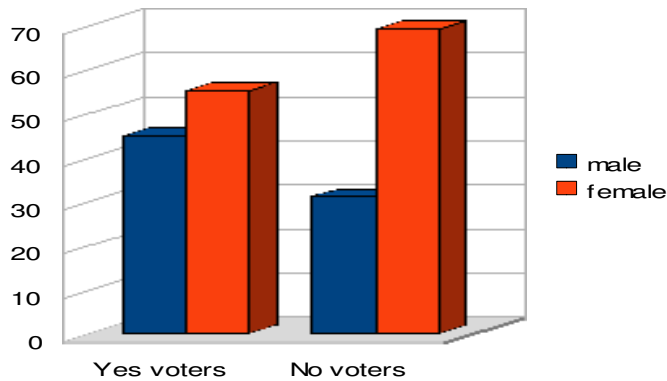
The combined No groups in the county of Westmeath conducted a survey in late October to determine the reasons why the electorate passed the Lisbon treaty. Although only a small sample, c.80 voters, great care was taken to get a representative sample of Westmeath voters. As a check of the accuracy of the survey it was decided to match the areas surveyed (Moate, Kilbixy, Multyfarnham, Rathowen and Mullingar) against tally results from the same specific District Electoral Divisions. It proved quite satisfactory as a way of checking these tally figures, alongwith the overall result of the referendum, and served therefore as a check of the overall accuracy of the survey methodologies used.

What follows is a short summary and graphical illustration of the results of the survey, followed by the more detailed figures.

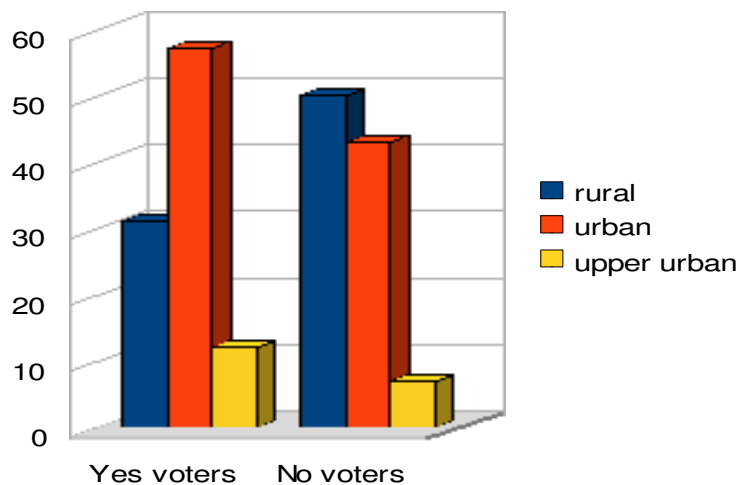
Age profile



Gender Profile

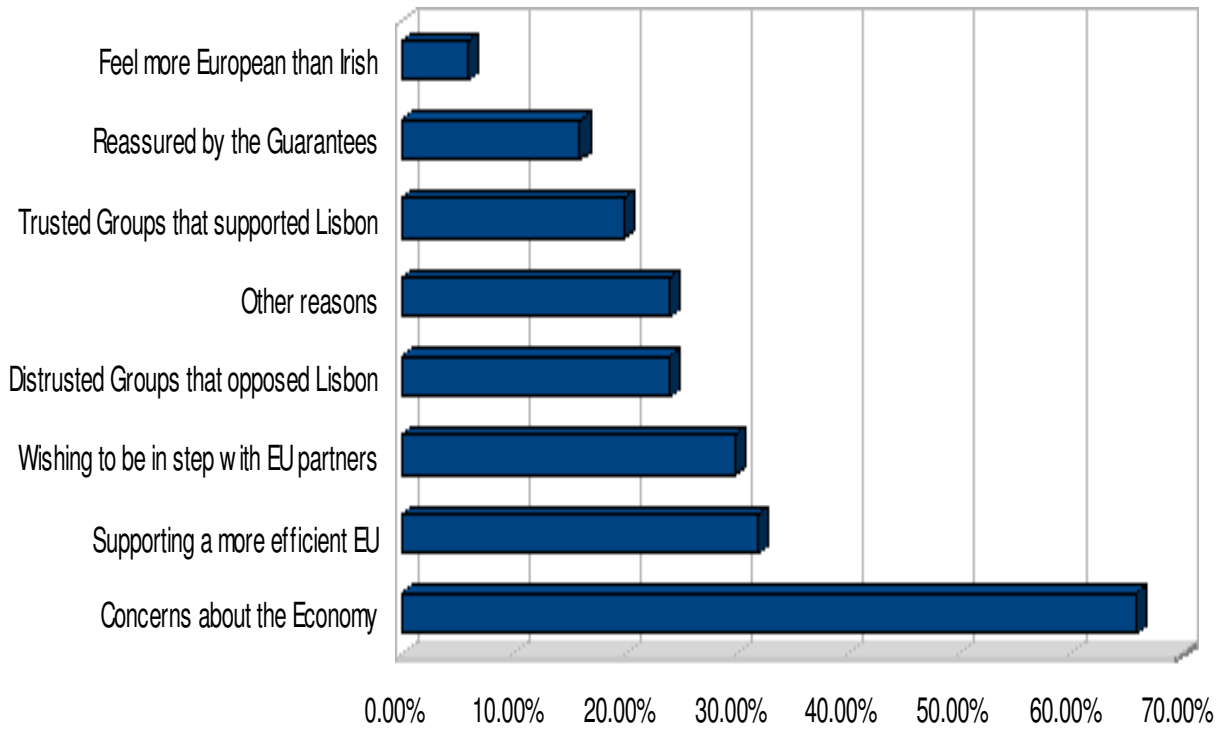


Socio Economic Class



In the overall socio-economic/gender/age profile the most surprising and remarkable statistic was the strength of the No vote in rural areas. (The very high female vote could have been exaggerated by our methodology, while the rural result is certainly genuine.)

Profile of the issues which influenced Yes voters



The Economy was absolutely the main, and frequently the only, issue cited by Yes voters. (Voters could select more than one issue.) The unpopularity of the first issue above highlights that the Yes voters never felt they were somehow creating an EU superstate and abolishing Irish sovereignty, it is clear they would have voted No if they felt that was the case.

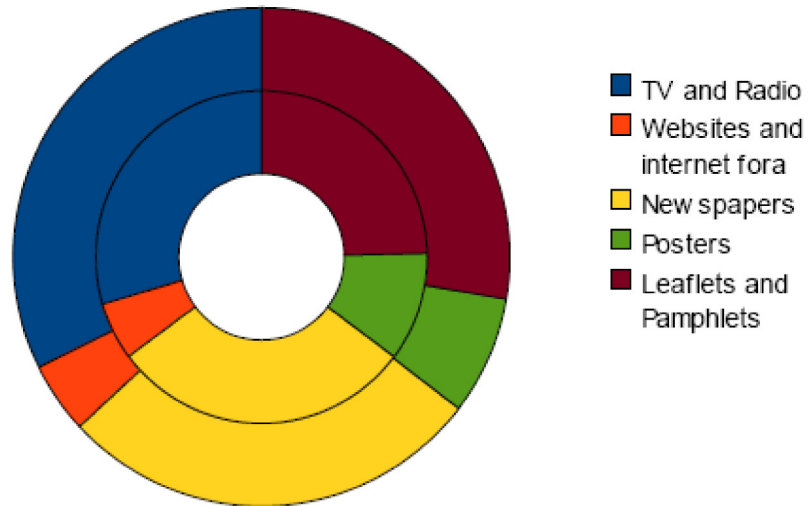
Profile of the issues which influenced No voters



Many No voters felt strongly that they shouldn't have been asked to vote again.

Types of media that 'particularly influenced voters

Yes voters - Outer ring, No voters - Inner ring

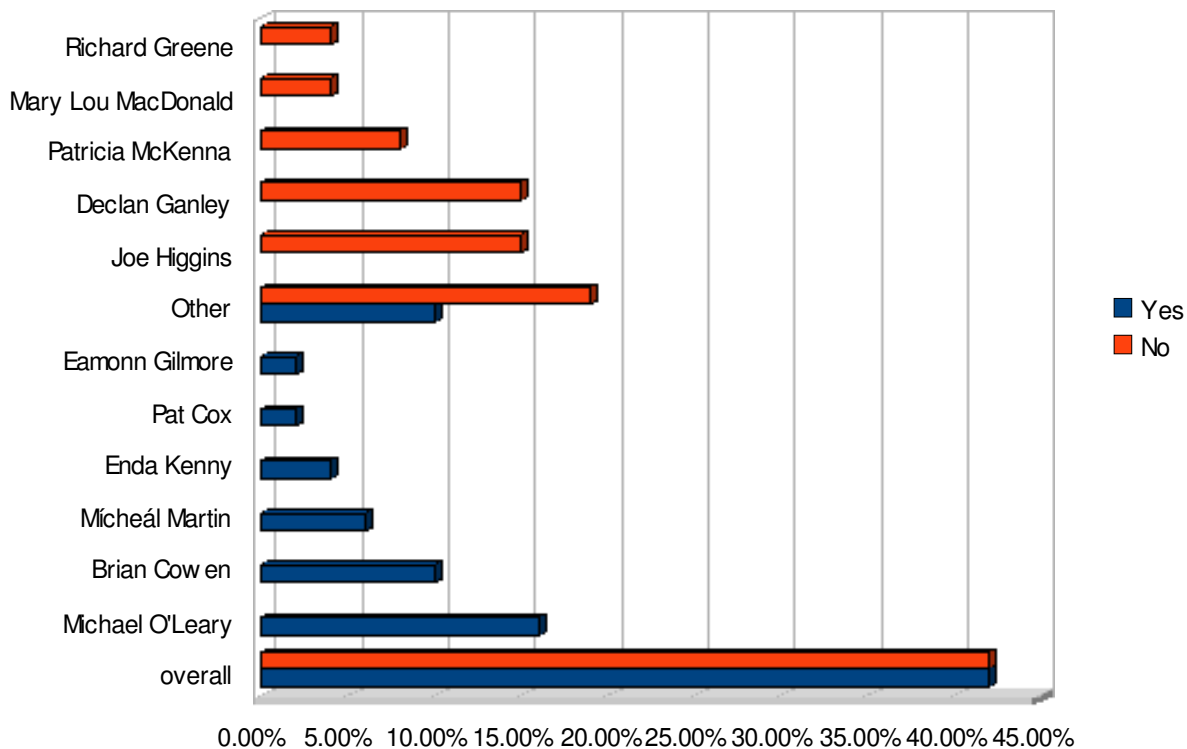


An attempt was made to focus on the types of media that most influence the 'floating voter' by asking what media 'particularly influenced' them. The overall result for the types of media are listed above - all pie charts list the No voter in the inner ring and the Yes voter in the outer one - and the individual preferences within each of the five media are illustrated below.

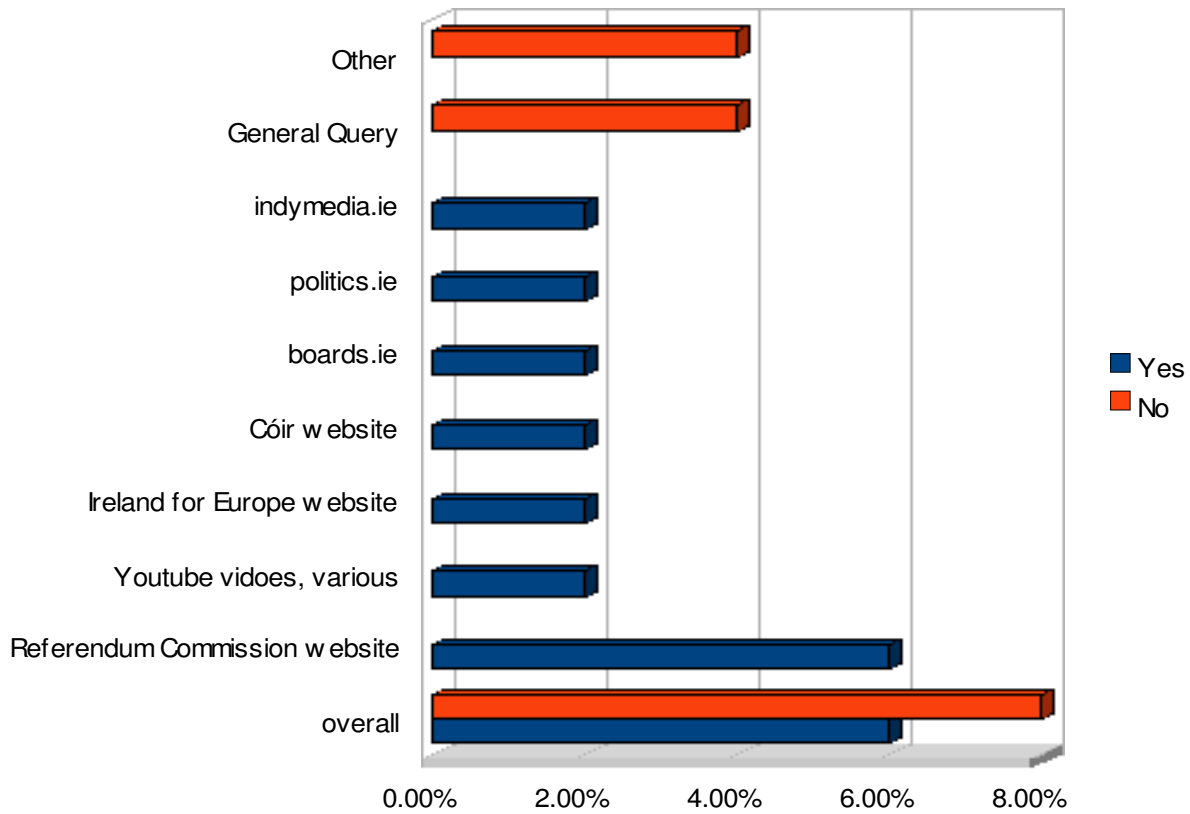
It is very noticeable how little influence is exerted by the internet, despite the huge amount of time and effort expended on it during this campaign. Another noticeable result was the popularity of Michael O'Leary, who is a native of Westmeath. Among the pamphlets it is clear that the Referendum Commission leaflet was the most important, and that it swayed people to the Yes side.

TV and Radio

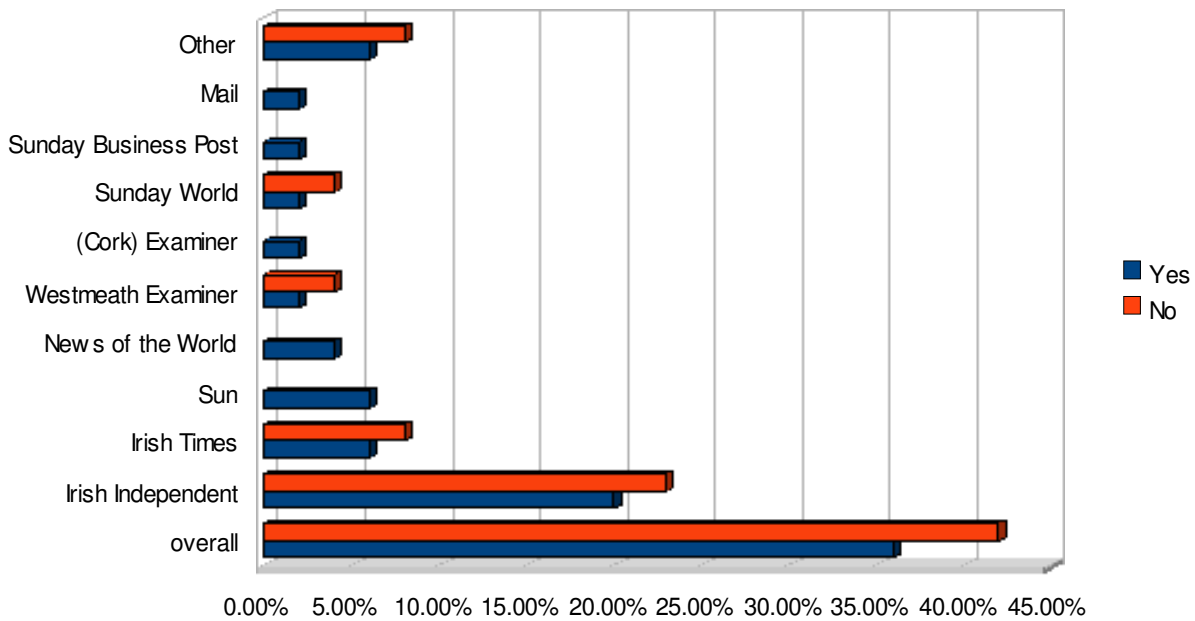
Personalities that persuaded voters



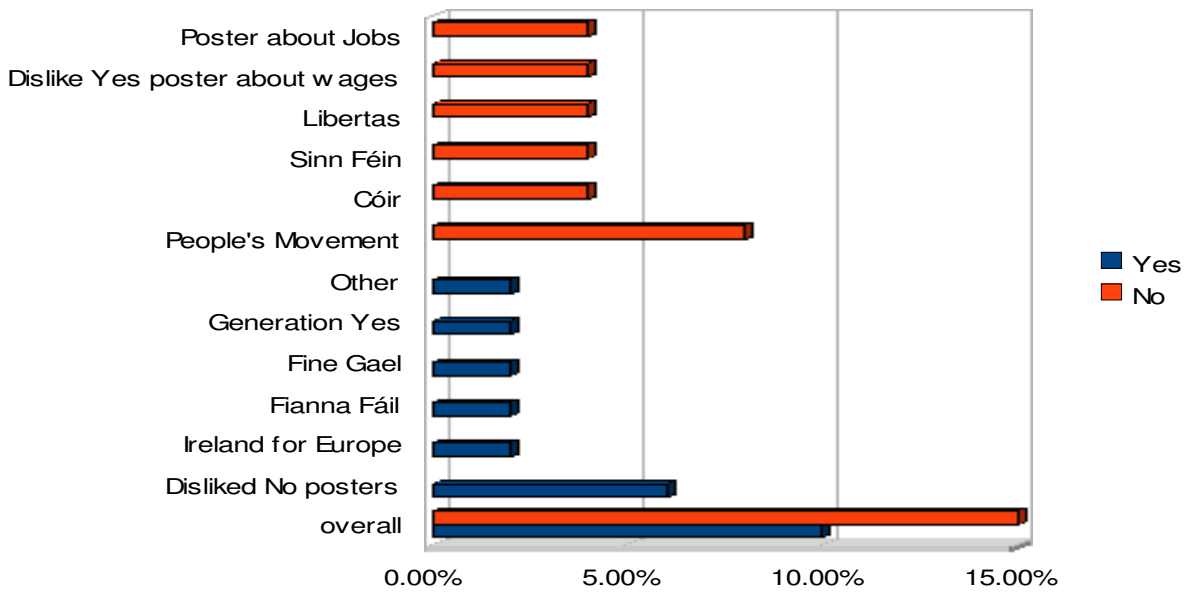
Websites and Internet fora



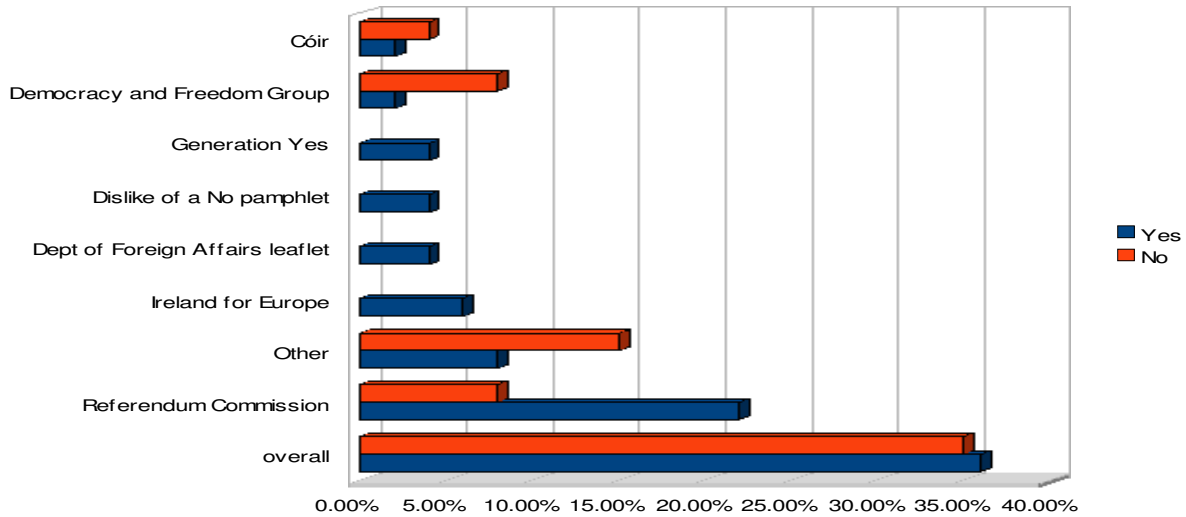
Newspapers



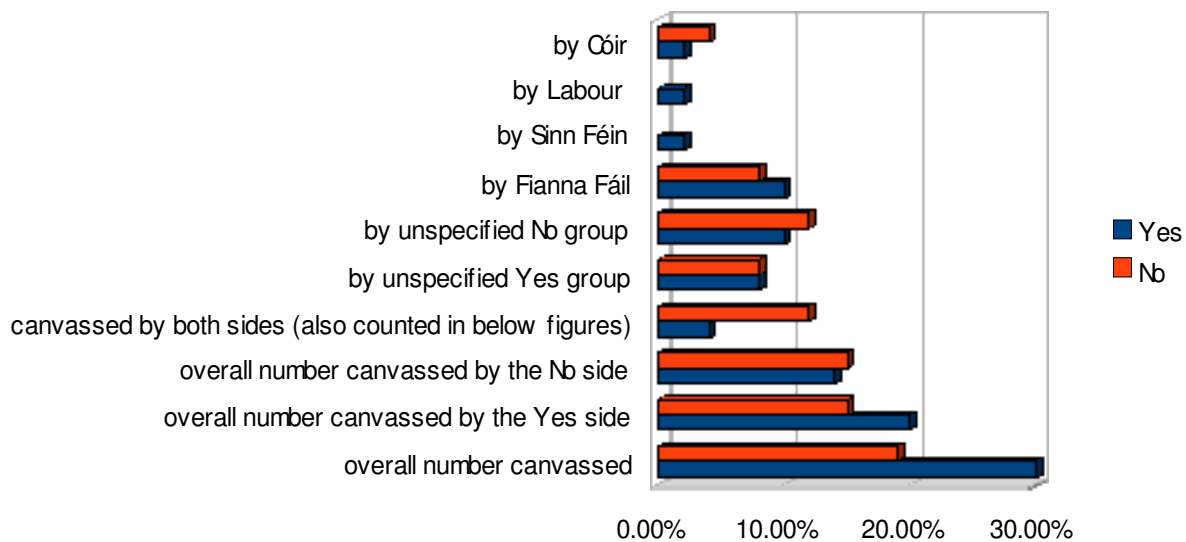
Posters



Leaflets and Pamphlets

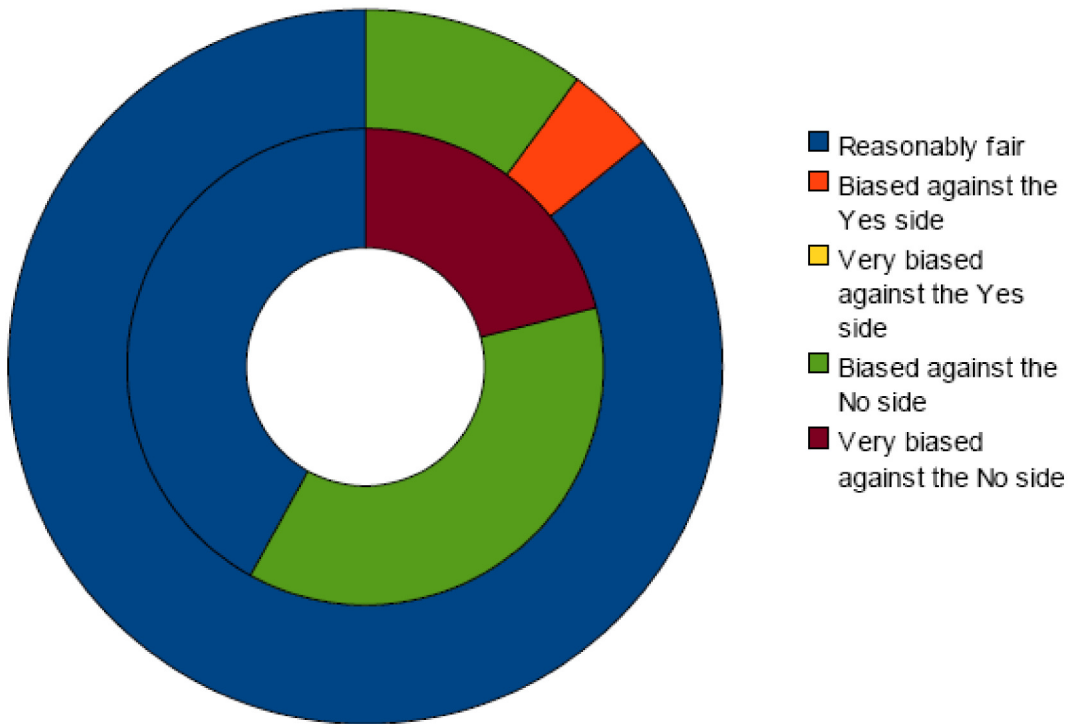


Voters who were canvassed



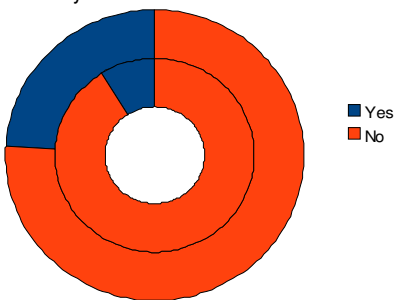
Media Coverage of the Referendum was

Yes voters - Outer ring, No voters - inner ring

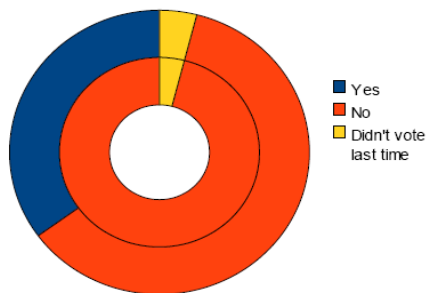


No voters were very clear that bias was evident against their side while Yes voters felt that it was basically fair with some agreeing that there was bias against the No group. The next two graphs clearly show that the No voters were very determined and single minded, unlike the Yes voters they were not very influenced by others and none changed their vote from the previous referendum. Again the inner core contains the No voters and the outer core the Yes ones.

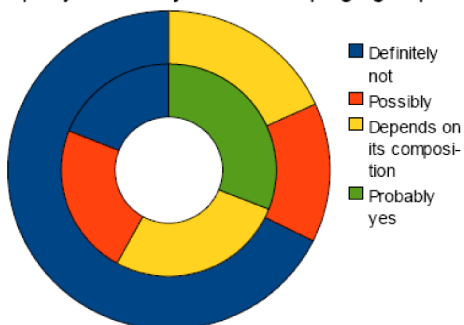
Were you decisively influenced by another Yes or No voter?



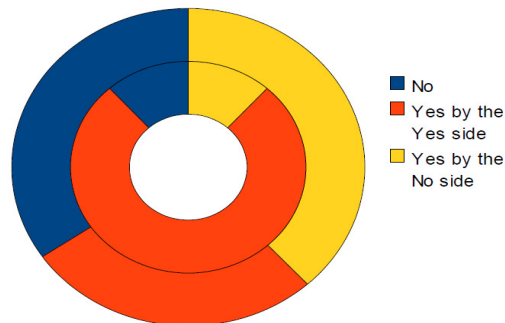
Did you change your vote from last time?



Would you consider voting for a political party formed by the No campaign groups?



Was fear, or scaremongering, a feature of this referendum?



No voters were adamant that fear, or scaremongering, was a predominant feature of the Yes campaign.

APPENDIX A

Results of the Survey conducted in Co. Westmeath on the result of the Lisbon II referendum, October 2009

Referendum tally results matched to the DEDs where the survey was conducted:

District Electoral Division	Yes tally	No tally	Yes survey	No survey
Mullingar East (CBS No. 104)	237 (76%)	75 (24%)	13 (72%)	5 (28%)
Kilbixy (Ballynacargy No. 88)	188 (67%)	94 (33%)	11 (55%)	9 (45%)
Moate	45 (60%)	30 (40%)	8 (73%)	3 (27%)
Rathowen	67 (60%)	45 (40%)	7 (58%)	5 (42%)
Multyfarnham	200 (70%)	84 (30%)	12 (75%)	4 (25%)

Socio Economic Group/Gender/Age profile of Yes and No voters¹:

Age	Yes voters	No voters
pre 45	18 (38%)	11 (44%)
post 45	29 (62%)	14 (56%)
Sex		
male	22 (45%)	8 (31%)
female	27 (55%)	18 (69%)
Socio Economic District		
rural	18 (31%)	14 (50%)
urban	33 (57%)	12 (43%)
urban, upper socio economic group	7 (12%)	2 (7%)

Q 1.

A. Issues picked by Yes voters as influencing their choice in the referendum ²	
Concerns about the Economy	33 (66%)
Supporting a more efficient EU	16 (32%)
Wishing to be in step with EU partners	15 (30%)
Distrusted Groups that opposed Lisbon ³	12 (24%)
Other reasons ⁴	12 (24%)
Trusted Groups that supported Lisbon ⁵	10 (20%)
Reassured by the Guarantees	8 (16%)
Feel more European than Irish	3 (6%)

B. Issues picked by No voters as influencing their choice in the referendum	
Feel it was undemocratic to be asked twice	23 (88%)
Concerned about implications for Labour Laws and Rights	17 (65%)
Concerned about EU dictating Irish tax Laws	15 (58%)
Concerned about implications for Irish Sovereignty	14 (54%)
Concerned about EU deciding Irish moral questions e.g. abortion	12 (46%)
Concerned about implications for Irish neutrality	9 (35%)
Concerned about implications for level of Immigration	9 (35%)
Distrusted groups that supported Lisbon ⁶	8 (31%)
Trusted groups that opposed Lisbon ⁷	4 (15%)
Wish to leave EU	3 (12%)
Other reasons ⁸	3 (12%)

Q 2.

Media sectors that 'particularly influenced' Yes and No voters	Yes	No
(a) Tv and radio, overall percentage influenced by	21 (42%)	11 (42%)
Personalities who persuaded voters		
Michael O'Leary	8 (16%)	
Brian Cowen	5 (10%)	
Mícheál Martin	3 (6%)	
Enda Kenny	2 (4%)	
Pat Cox	1 (2%)	
Eamonn Gilmore	1 (2%)	
Other	5 (10%)	5 (19%)
Joe Higgins		4 (15%)
Declan Ganley		4 (15%)
Patricia McKenna		2 (8%)
Mary Lou MacDonald		1 (4%)
Richard Greene		1 (4%)
(b) Internet websites and fora, overall percentage influenced by	3 (6%)	2 (8%)
Referendum Commission website	3 (6%)	
Youtube videos, various	1 (2%)	
Ireland for Europe website	1 (2%)	
Cóir website	1 (2%)	
boards.ie	1 (2%)	
politics.ie	1 (2%)	
indymedia.ie	1 (2%)	
'General Query'		1 (4%)
Other		1 (4%)
(c) Newspaper articles and editorials, overall percentage influenced by	18 (36%)	11 (42%)
Irish Independent	10 (20%)	6 (23%)
Irish Times	3 (6%)	2 (8%)
Sun	3 (6%)	
News of the World	2 (4%)	
Westmeath Examiner	1 (2%)	1 (4%)
(Cork) Examiner	1 (2%)	
Sunday World	1 (2%)	1 (4%)
Sunday Business Post	1 (2%)	
Mail	1 (2%)	
Other	3 (6%)	2 (8%)
(d) Posters, overall percentage influenced by	5 (10%)	4 (15%)
Disliked No posters ⁹	3 (6%)	
Ireland for Europe	1 (2%)	
Fianna Fáil	1 (2%)	
Fine Gael	1 (2%)	
Generation Yes	1 (2%)	
Other	1 (2%)	
People's Movement		2 (8%)
Cóir		1 (4%)
Sinn Féin		1 (4%)
Libertas		1 (4%)
Dislike Yes poster about wages		1 (4%)

'Poster about Jobs'		1 (4%)
(e) Leaflets and Pamphlets, overall percentage influenced by	18 (36%)	9 (35%)
Referendum Commission	11 (22%)	2 (8%)
Other	4 (8%)	4 (15%)
Ireland for Europe	3 (6%)	
Dept of Foreign Affairs leaflet	2 (4%)	
Dislike of a No pamphlet ¹⁰	2 (4%)	
Generation Yes	2 (4%)	
Democracy and Freedom Group	1 (2%)	2 (8%)
Cóir	1 (2%)	1 (4%)

Q 3.

Voters who were canvassed	Yes	No
overall number canvassed	15 (30%)	5 (19%)
overall number canvassed by the Yes side	10 (20%)	4 (15%)
overall number canvassed by the No side	7 (14%)	4 (15%)
canvassed by both sides (also counted in above figures)	2 (4%)	3 (12%)
by unspecified Yes group	4 (8%)	2 (8%)
by unspecified No group	5 (10%)	3 (12%)
by Fianna Fáil	5 (10%)	2 (8%)
by Sinn Féin	1 (2%)	
by Labour	1 (2%)	
by Cóir	1 (2%)	1 (4%)

Q 4.

Media Coverage of the Referendum was	Yes	No
Reasonably fair	41 (85%)	10 (42%)
Biased against the Yes side	2 (4%)	
Very biased against the Yes side		
Biased against the No side	5 (10%)	9 (37%)
Very biased against the No side		5 (21%)

Q 5.

Were you influenced by a committed Yes or No voter?	Yes	No
Yes	12 (24%)	2 (9%)
No	37 (76%)	21 (91%)

Q 6.

Did you change your vote from the last time?	Yes	No
Yes	17 (35%)	
No	30 (61%)	25 (96%)
Didn't vote last time	2 (4%)	1 (4%)

Q 7.

Would you consider voting for a political party formed by the No campaign groups?	Yes	No
Definitely not	33 (67%)	5 (19%)
Possibly	7 (14%)	6 (23%)
Depends on its composition	9 (18%)	7 (27%)
Probably yes (two No voters added in 'definitely yes')		8 (31%)

Q 8.

Do you consider that fear, or scaremongering, was a feature of the referendum campaign	Yes	No
No	19 (38%)	3 (12%)
Yes by the Yes side	15 (30%)	19 (79%)
Yes by the No side	21 (42%)	3 (12%)

Footnotes

1. Not all the survey sheets specified these characteristics, and hence are not counted in these figures. This is also true of the subsequent figures that follow below, Q1, e.g., was completed by 50 of 51 Yes voters.
2. Note that each person surveyed can select more than one issue. The percentages given are the proportion of overall Yes and No voters who selected the particular issue on their sheet.
3. Two selected C  ir here, 1 selected Sinn F  in and Libertas, 1 selected Sinn F  in ("because Mary Lou didn't condemn murder"), and 1 mentioned 'fundamentalists'.
4. Two selected: "got a lot from the EU already" and also two selected: "should be properly committed members". One each selected: "Only way forward", "EU Commissioner kept", "church was in favour", "women would be in dark ages without the EU", "other citizens might suffer loss of allowances", "for a change, for an alternative", "No 'No' canvassers came to the door".
5. Two selected Labour and one Fianna F  il. Numerous Yes voters added comments like "don't trust any of them" and "don't trust the government".
6. Three selected the government.
7. One opted for C  ir.
8. One person specified that "other countries did not have a vote on Lisbon" and another stressed the loss of fisheries to the EU.
9. Two specified C  ir's poster on wages.
10. One disliked a C  ir leaflet and another person disliked two leaflets, one from the People's Movement and one from Libertas.

APPENDIX B

Tallies collected by the People's Movement in the county of Westmeath for the Lisbon II referendum campaign 2009

Box 7 (Boys N.S. Athlone) Yes 100 No 86
Box 8 Yes 88 No 88
Box 13 (Brawney Estate Athlone) Yes 33 No 111
Box 16 Yes 60 No 80
Box 18 Yes 120 No 41
Box 31 Yes 30 No 27
Box 32 (Athlone Institute of Technology Hospitality Bldg) Yes 175 No 76
Box 34 Yes 60 No 30
Box 37 (Moate) Yes 45 No 30
Box 62 (Belview) Yes 51 No 60 (half tally)
Box 70 Yes 147 No 66
Box 74 (Curraghmore N.S.) Yes 299 No 51
Box 75 (Gamtere Mullingar) Yes 117 No 68
Box 80 Yes 170 No 46
Box 82 (St Colman's N.S.) Yes 98 No 124
Box 88 (West Ballynacargy) Yes 188 No 94
Box 96 Yes 200 No 50
Box 104 (CBS Mullingar) Yes 237 No 75
Box 108 (Educate Together) Yes 118 No 101
Box 109 Yes 35 No 120
Box 113 Yes 78 No 40
Box 121 (Multyfarnham N.S.) Yes 200 No 84
Box 151 (Coole) Yes 120 No 101

Athlone Yes 69 No 38 (half tally)
Boher Yes 70 No 50 (part of)
Cornamaddy N.S. Yes 206 No 61
CBS Mullingar Yes 93 No 23
Gaelscoil Mullingar Yes 98 No 74
Rathowen Yes 67 No 45

(Tallies collected and survey conducted by Mrs June Kelly, Mrs Mary Quintiliani, Paddy Boyhan, Patrick Hussey and Brian Nugent. Many many thanks too to all those and to all who participated in the survey.)