



INDEPENDENTS/
OTHERS

RTE

General Election 2011 - Exit Poll

Table of Contents

- Research Design 1 - 8
- Charts 9 - 37
- Conclusions 38 - 42

Appendices:

Sampling Points
The Questionnaire



- Interviewing was spread over the full day from 7:00am to 10.00pm, in a series of time-periods / interview shifts, as follows:-

	No. of Hours	No.	% Int. Shifts	Achieved Interviews	
				No.	%
7:00am - 11:00am	4	34	20%	688	20
11:00am - 3:00pm	4	32	19%	748	21
3:00pm - 6:00pm	3	47	28%	785	22
6:00pm - 10:00pm	4	53	32%	1279	37
	<u>166</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>3500</u>	<u>100%</u>

- In accordance with the 1992 Electoral Act, no interviews took place 100 yards of the polling station.
- Interviewing was continuous throughout each time-period.
- A record of refusals at contact was made.
- In the event of refusal at contact, the interviewer noted sex, approximate age and social class, and sought to replace that person at the first available opportunity with a person sharing similar demographic characteristics.

- Exit Poll undertaken among voters immediately after leaving polling stations on General Election day, Friday 25th February 2011.
- An effective sample of voters were interviewed.
- Poll undertaken in all 43 constituencies.
- 166 polling stations distributed to number of seats for each constituency:-

	No. of Constituencies	No. of Polling Stations
5 Seaters	11	55
4 Seaters	15	60
3 Seaters	17	51
	<u>43</u>	<u>166</u>

- Selection of polling stations within constituency by random probability method, based on size of electorate for each polling station.

- The actual number of interviews achieved was:-

	3 Seaters		4 Seaters		5 Seaters		Total	
No. of Constituencies	17		15		11		43	
Shifts / Polling Stations	Poll St.	No Int.	Poll St.	No Int.	Poll St.	No Int.	Poll St.	No Int.
7:00am - 11:00am	13	282	11	193	10	213	34	688
11:00am - 3:00pm	10	216	14	371	8	161	32	748
3:00pm - 6:00pm	12	174	17	291	18	320	47	785
6:00pm - 10:00pm	16	386	18	402	19	491	53	1279
	<u>51</u>	<u>1058</u>	<u>60</u>	<u>1257</u>	<u>55</u>	<u>1185</u>	<u>166</u>	<u>3500</u>

Fieldwork

- All interviewing was undertaken by fully-trained and experienced interviewers from Millward Brown Lansdowne national field panel.

- Computer processing of completed interviews was undertaken by Millward Brown Lansdowne in-house data analysis unit.
- At the analysis stage, computer weights were applied to the unweighted sample in order to correct for any notable demographic imbalance in the achieved sample.
- The computer weighting was based on several sources: -
 - Profile data from Millward Brown Lansdowne's poll undertaken immediately after the 1992 General Election, which established the demographic characteristics of voters at that election.
 - Profile data from 1997, 2002 and 2007 Millward Brown Lansdowne / Independent pre-election polls, among those who claimed that they were certain or very likely to vote in the General Election.
 - Historical electoral turnout information.

Basis for Weighting

TOTAL		1992 Voters 100%	1997** Certain/ Very Likely To Vote 100%	1997 Un- weighted Voters* %	1997* Voters 100%	2002** Certain/ Very Likely To Vote 100%	2002 Un- weighted Voters* %	2002 Weighted Voters %	2007 Un- weighted Voters* %	2007 Weighted Voters* %	2011 Un- Weighted Voters %	2011 Weighted Voters* %	2011 Population %
SEX	Male	50	50	54	50	49	52	50	50	51	55	52	49
	Female	50	50	46	50	51	48	50	50	49	45	48	51
AGE	18-24	12	14	15	14	13	12	11	12	12	10	10	11
	25-34	22	18	20	20	20	21	20	21	20	21	22	23
	35-49	29	31	34	30	28	32	29	32	31	31	31	29
	50-64	20	20	20	20	23	25	25	24	25	25	25	22
	65+	16	16	11	16	16	11	15	11	12	12	12	15
CLASS	AB	10	13	14	13	13	16	15	18	16	15	13	14
	C1	20	22	26	22	26	31	26	32	30	35	34	28
	C2	25	20	23	21	20	23	22	25	23	23	22	24
	DE	28	29	30	28	27	25	26	21	20	22	21	27
	F	18	16	7	16	13	5	11	5	11	4	10	7
REGION	Dublin	28	27	29	28	31	30	29	30	26	29	24	28
	Rest of Leinster	23	23	25	23	25	23	24	24	23	25	26	26
	Munster	29	29	27	29	27	29	28	28	30	27	29	28
	Conn/Ulster	20	21	19	20	18	19	19	19	21	19	20	18

- The survey results were derived from an Exit Poll commissioned by RTE and carried out by Millward Brown Lansdowne. The poll was conducted among a sample of 3500 voters, interviewed immediately after they had voted in the General Election on Friday 25th February 2011. The sample was spread throughout all 43 constituencies and undertaken at 166 polling stations. Interviews were conducted face-to-face with randomly selected individuals - throughout the hours of polling from 7:00am to 10:00pm. In accordance with the 1992 Electoral Act, no interviews took place within 100 yards of a polling station.
- The accuracy level is estimated to be plus or minus 2.5%. Extracts from the report may be quoted or published on condition that due acknowledgement is given to RTE and Millward Brown Lansdowne.

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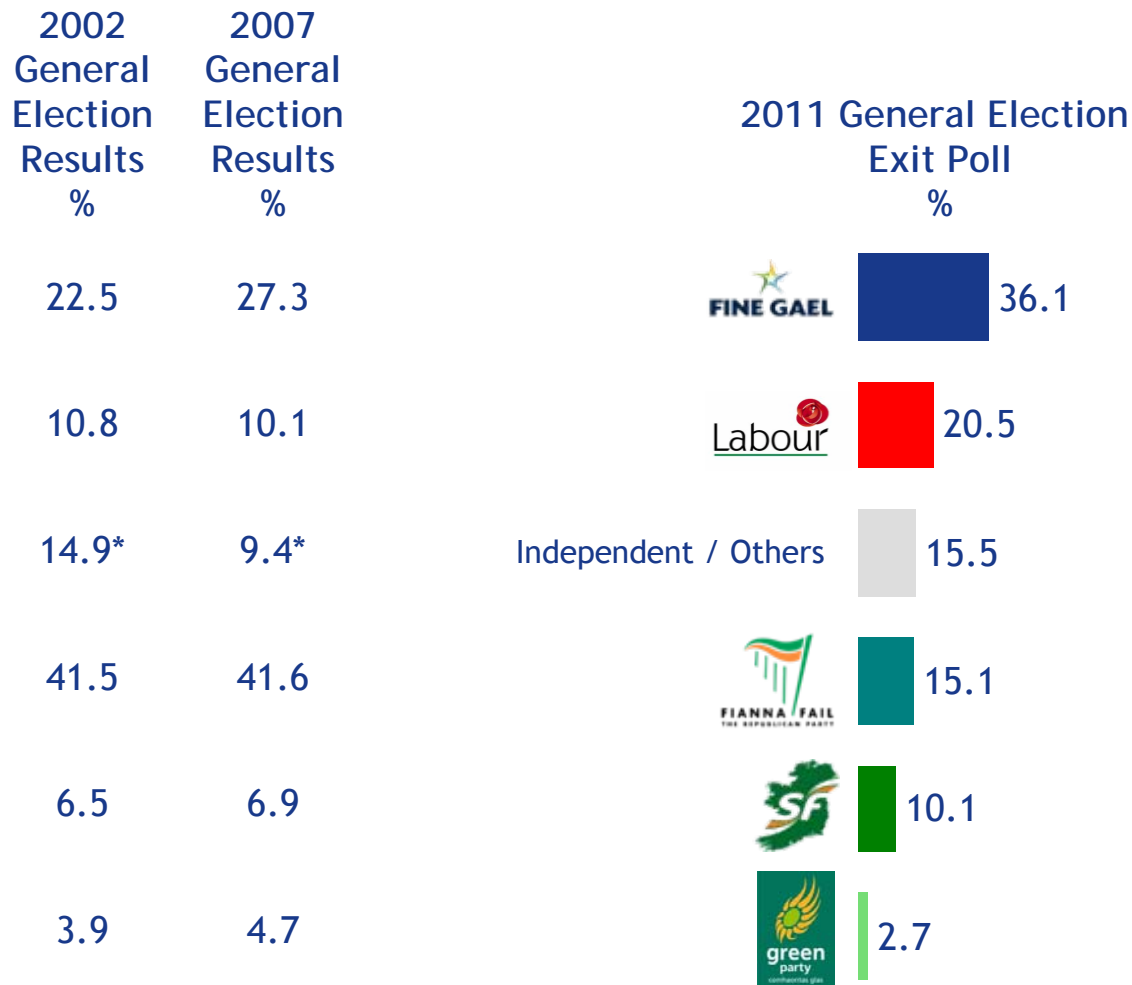
INDEPENDENTS/
OTHERS

RTE

Charts

First preference vote

Base: All Voters








* Includes PDs

Q.1 Which party or independent candidate did you give your first preference vote to in today's General Election?






First preference vote x demographics - I

Base: All Voters

	Total %	Gender		Age				
		Male %	Female %	18-24 %	25-34 %	35-49 %	50-64 %	65+ %
	36.1	36	36	32	32	36	39	43
	20.5	18	24	23	24	20	20	15
Independent / Others	15.5	15	16	20	16	16	14	12
	15.1	17	13	10	13	14	16	23
	10.1	12	9	11	12	11	9	6
	2.7	3	3	4	4	3	2	2

First preference vote x demographics - II

Base: All Voters

	Total %	<u>Social Class</u>			<u>Region</u>			
		ABC1 %	C2DE %	F %	Dublin %	Rest of Leinster %	Munster %	Conn/ Ulster %
	36.1	37	32	49	27	40	38	41
	20.5	23	23	2	31	19	20	11
Independent / Others	15.5	16	15	13	19	12	18	12
	15.1	13	15	25	8	17	16	19
	10.1	7	14	10	11	10	7	15
	2.7	4	2	1	5	3	2	1

Second Preference Vote

Base: All Voters

2011 First Preference

NEXT PREFERENCE VOTE GIVEN TO:

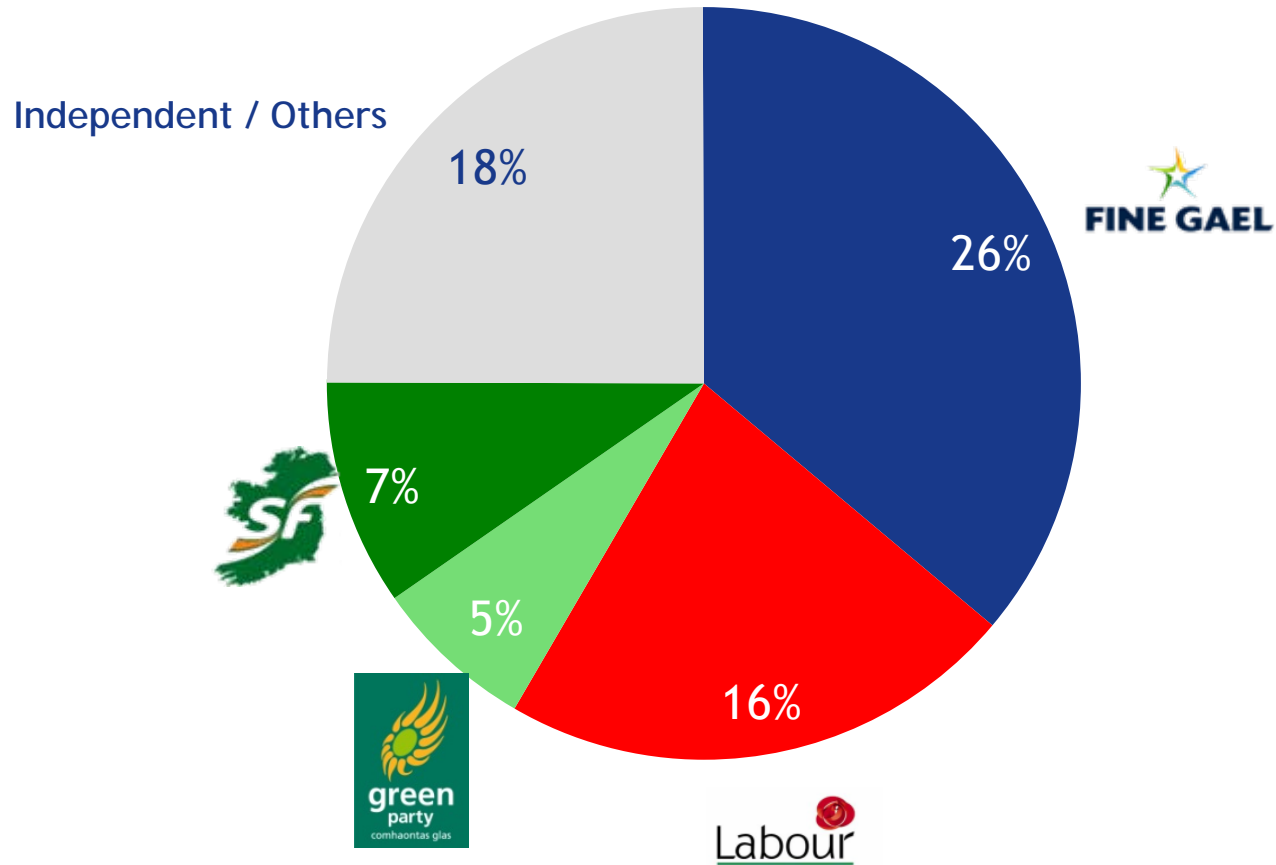


	FIANNA FAIL THE REPUBLICAN PARTY	FINE GAEL	Labour	green party	SF	Independents/ Other
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Independent / Others	18	21	32	25	37	10
Labour	16	32	-	31	23	24
FINE GAEL	26	-	31	28	14	25
FIANNA FAIL THE REPUBLICAN PARTY	-	11	6	9	9	10
SF	7	5	10	3	-	8
green party	5	4	6	-	2	3
None	27	28	15	4	14	19

Q.1 Which party or independent candidate did you give your first preference vote to in today's General Election?
 Q.2 Apart from _____ (NAME PARTY MENTIONED AT Q.1), did you give your next preference vote to any other parties or independent candidates in this General Election or not?

Fianna Fail Transfer - Second Preference Vote

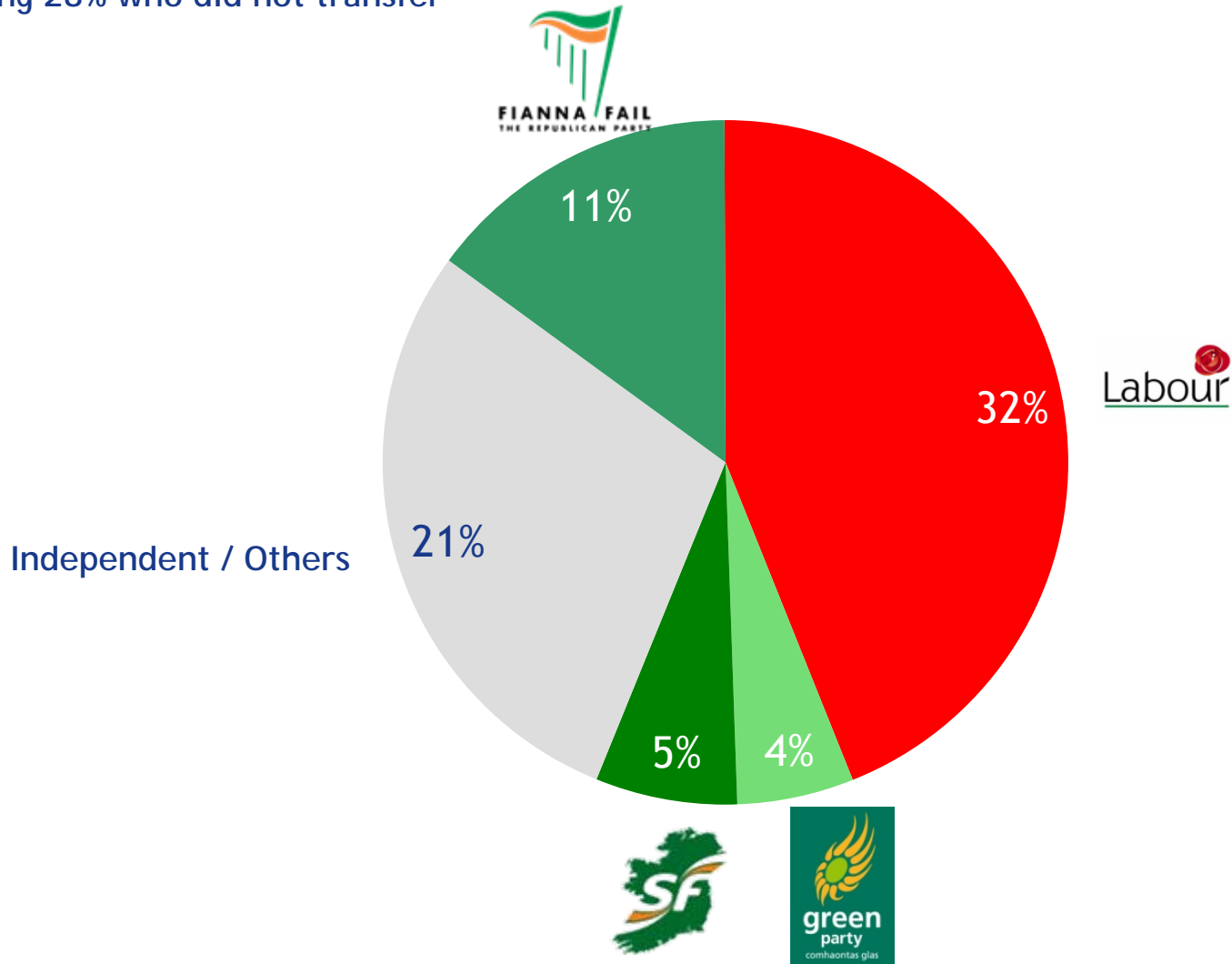
Excluding 27% who did not transfer



Q.2 Apart from _____ (NAME PARTY MENTIONED AT Q.1), did you give your next preference vote to any other parties or independent candidates in this General Election or not?

Fine Gael Transfer - Second Preference Vote

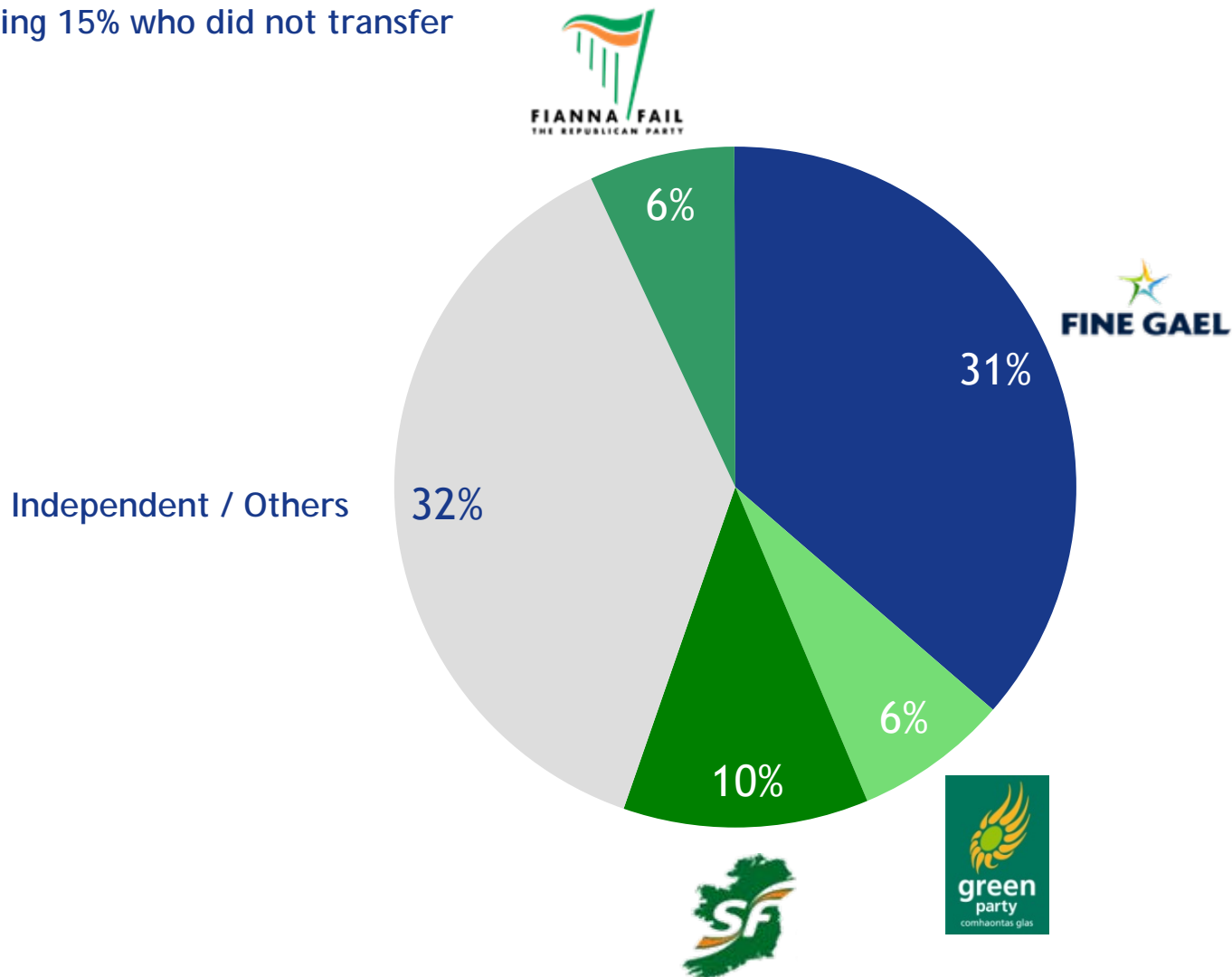
Excluding 28% who did not transfer



Q.2 Apart from _____ (NAME PARTY MENTIONED AT Q.1), did you give your next preference vote to any other parties or independent candidates in this General Election or not?

Labour Transfer - Second Preference Vote

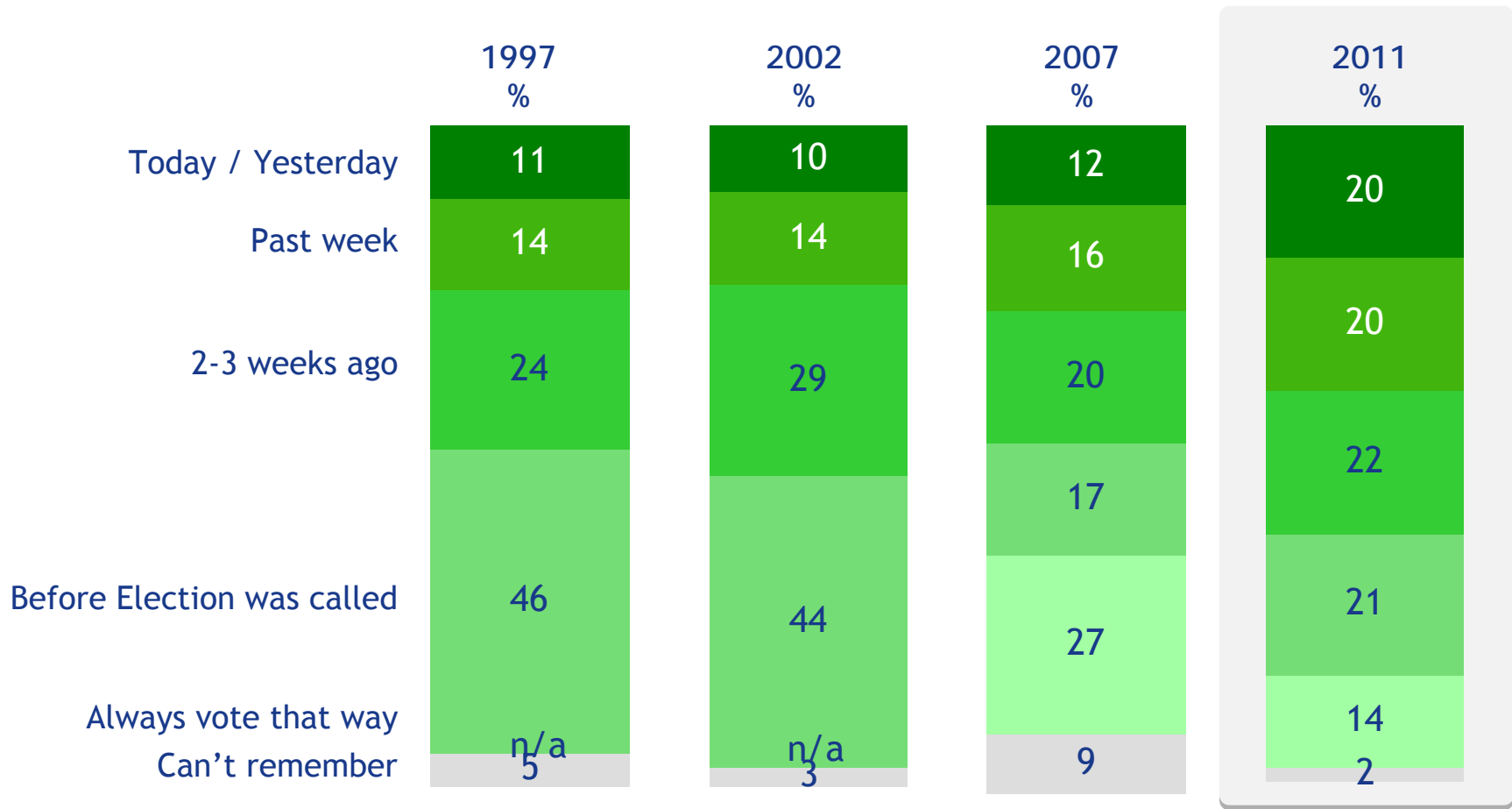
Excluding 15% who did not transfer



Q.2 Apart from _____ (NAME PARTY MENTIONED AT Q.1), did you give your next preference vote to any other parties or independent candidates in this General Election or not?

When made vote decision

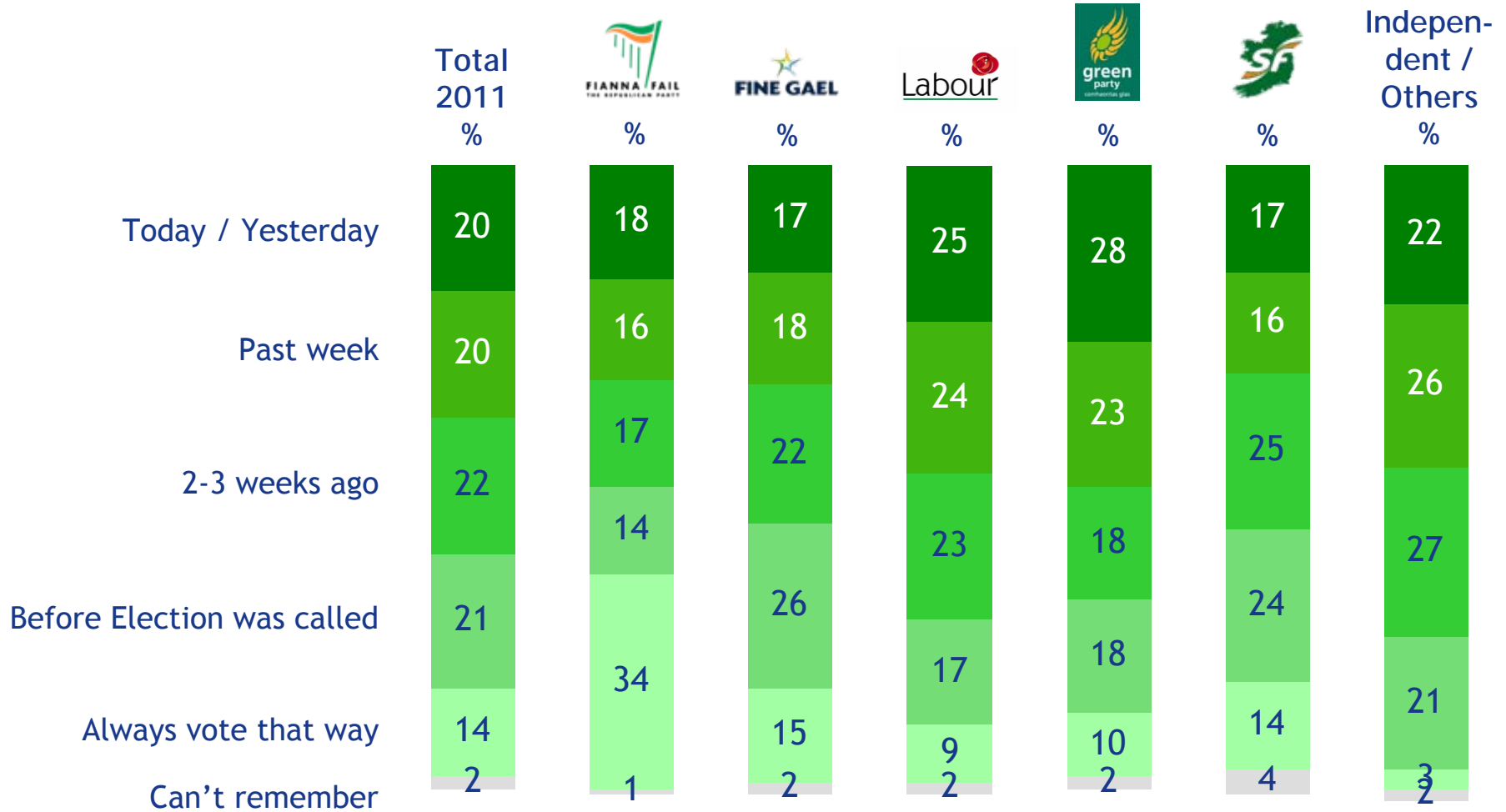
Base: All Voters



Q.6 Can you remember exactly when you finally made up your mind about which party or independent candidate you would give your first preference vote to in this election?

When made vote decision x party first preference

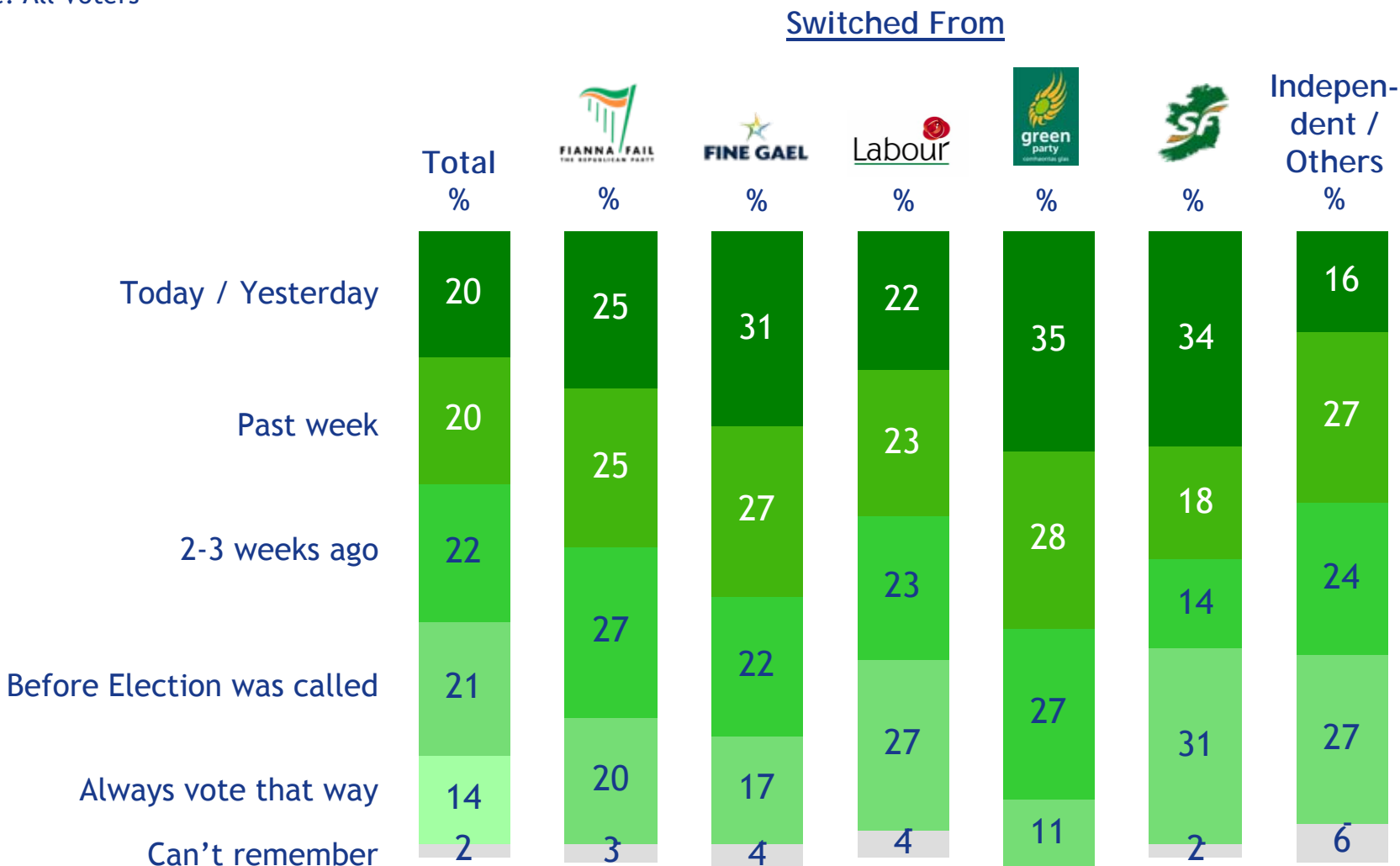
Base: All Voters



Q.6 Can you remember exactly when you finally made up your mind about which party or independent candidate you would give your first preference vote to in this election?

When made vote decision x switchers from 2007

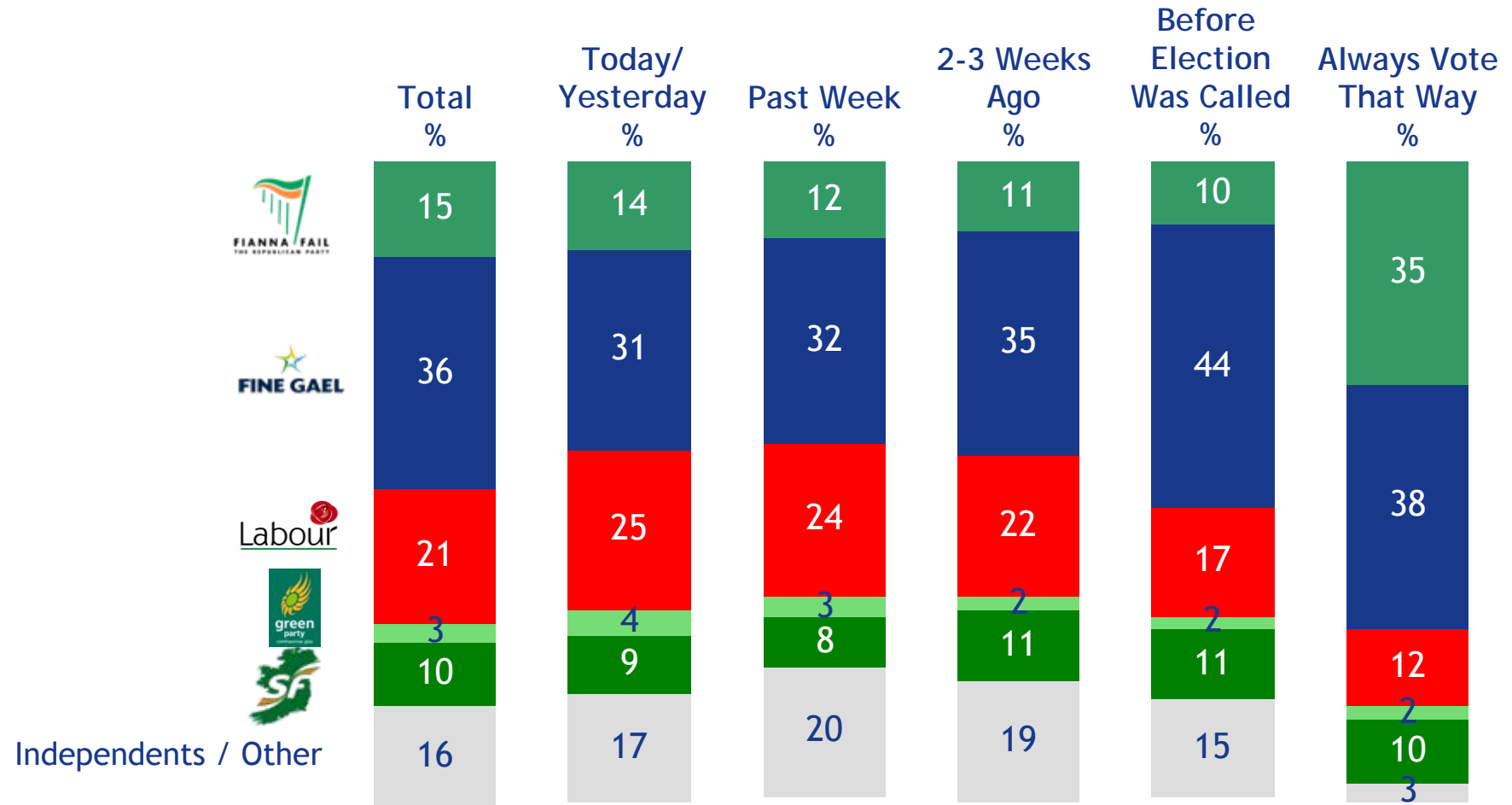
Base: All Voters



Q.6 Can you remember exactly when you finally made up your mind about which party or independent candidate you would give your first preference vote to in this election?

When decided how to vote in 2011




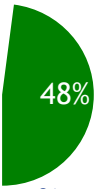
Base: All Voters



Q.6 Can you remember exactly when you finally made up your mind about which party or independent candidate you would give your first preference vote to in this election?

Switchers - Trends and Profiles

Base:

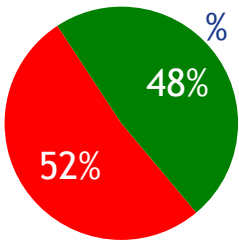
		1997	2002	2007	2011
<u>Switched vote from previous election</u>		 20%	 19%	 21%	 48%
<u>Gender</u>	Male	54	52	53	52
	Female	46	48	47	48
<u>Age</u>	18-24	8	2	4	5
	25-34	23	21	21	24
	35-49	37	36	39	49
	50-64	20	28	26	26
	65+	13	14	11	9
<u>Social Class</u>	AB	18	18	18	13
	C1	27	27	34	37
	C2	24	23	24	23
	DE	23	26	13	20
	F	8	6	4	8
<u>Region</u>	Dublin	37	33	33	27
	Rest of Leinster	21	24	23	25
	Munster	28	26	24	30
	Conn / Ulster	13	17	20	17

Q.1 Which party or independent candidate did you give your first preference vote to in today's General Election?

Q.3a Did you vote in the last General Election in 2007?

Q.3b Which party did you give your first preference vote to in the 2007 General Election?

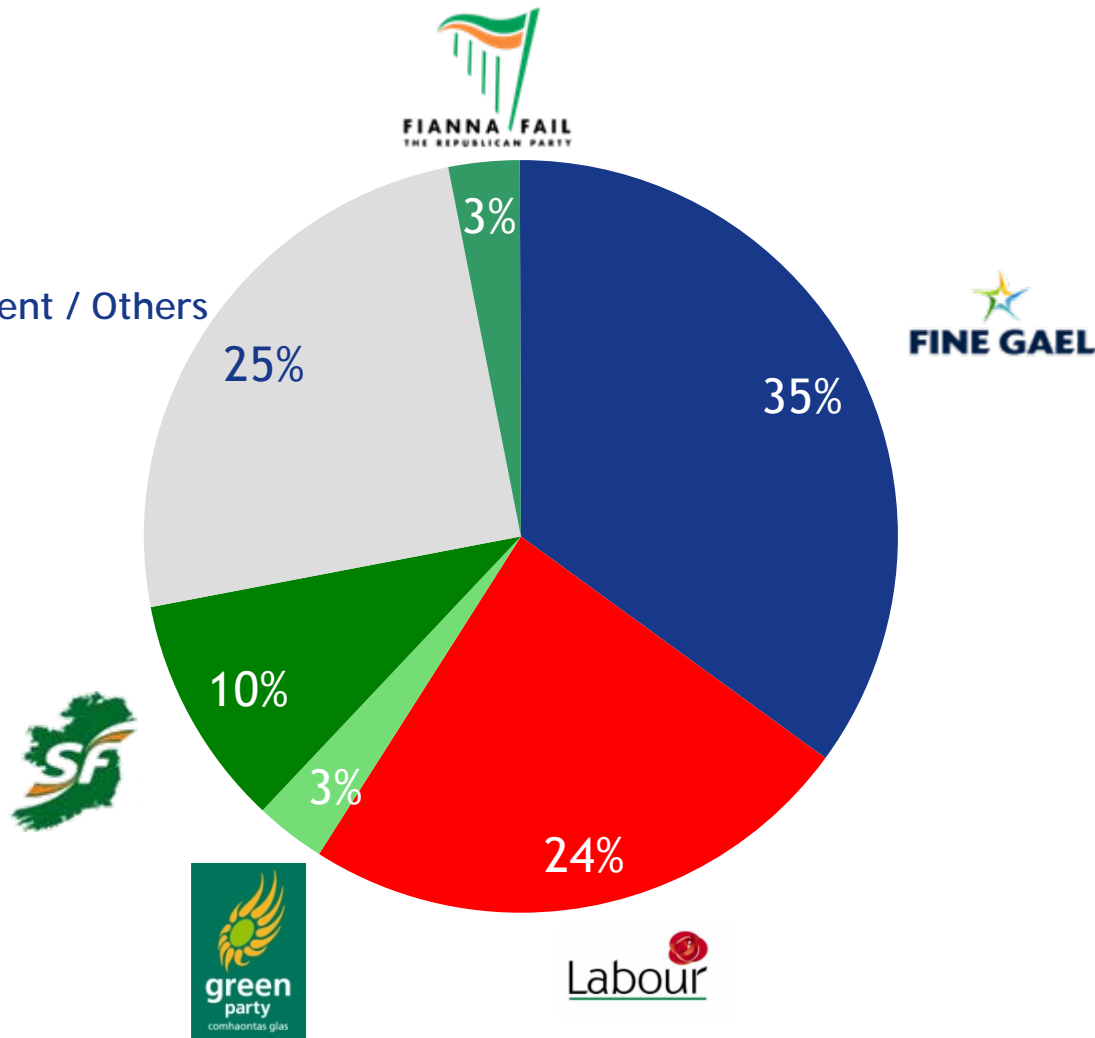
Switchers 2011



% Voters who switched from 2007

Did not











Independent / Others



Q.1 Which party or independent candidate did you give your first preference vote to in today's General Election?
 Q.3a Did you vote in the last General Election in 2007?
 Q.3b Which party did you give your first preference vote to in the 2007 General Election?

Switchers 2011

Base: All switched party from 2007 Election

<u>Switched to:</u>	Total	<u>Switched From</u>					Independent / Others*
							
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
 FIANNA FAIL THE REPUBLICAN PARTY	15.1	-	12	7	5	10	6
 FINE GAEL	36.1	42	-	39	24	27	55
 Labour	20.5	24	45	-	39	23	15
 green party	2.7	2	7	2	-	7	5
 SF	10.1	10	10	10	8	-	19
Independent / Others	15.5	22	25	43	25	34	-

* Includes PD's

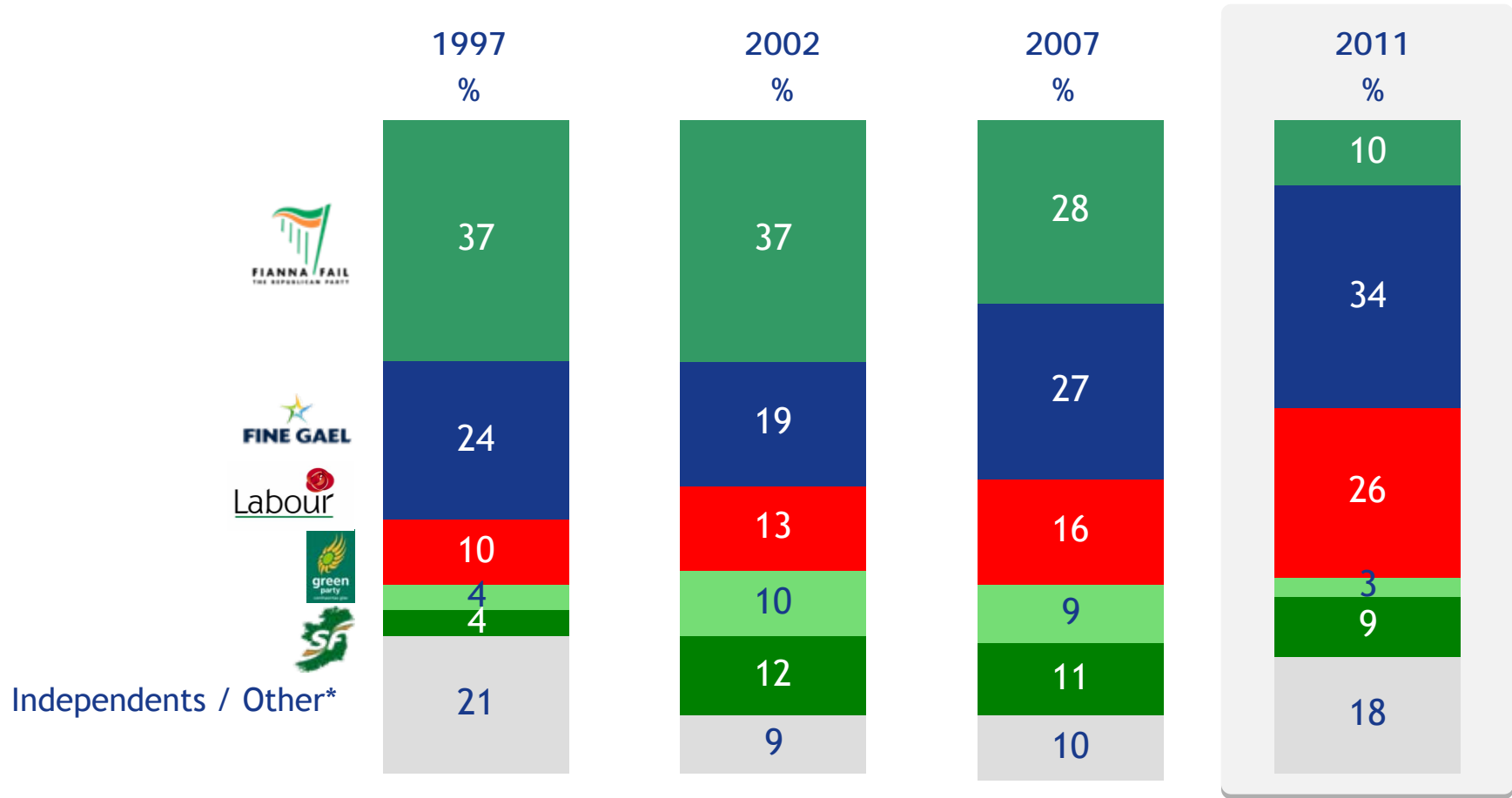
Q.1 Which party or independent candidate did you give your first preference vote to in today's General Election?

Q.3a Did you vote in the last General Election in 2007?

Q.3b Which party did you give your first preference vote to in the 2007 General Election?

First preference vote - First-time voters

Base: First-time voters













* Includes PD's

Q.1 Which party or independent candidate did you give your first preference vote to in today's General Election?

First preference vote x party closeness

Base: All Voters

Close to...

	Total 2011 %	Not close to party %	 FIANNA FAIL THE REPUBLICAN PARTY %	 FINE GAEL %	 Labour %	 green party environmental party %	 SF %	Independents/ Other %
 FINE GAEL	36.1	36	15	87	5	9	3	-
 Labour	20.5	22	9	4	83	-	1	-
Independent / Others	15.5	18	10	4	8	7	2	92
 FIANNA FAIL THE REPUBLICAN PARTY	15.1	11	61	3	2	4	4	-
 SF	10.1	10	4	1	1	-	90	8
 green party environmental party	2.7	3	1	1	1	79	-	-

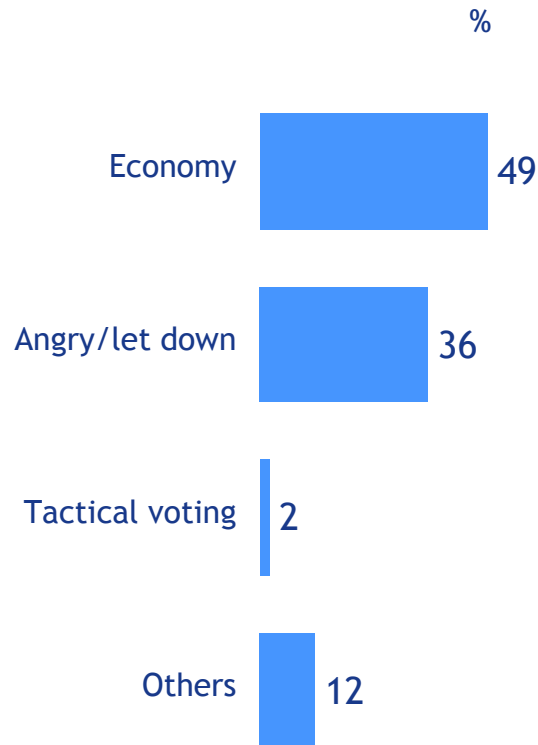
Q.1 Which party or independent candidate did you give your first preference vote to in today's General Election?

Q.4a Do you usually think of yourself as close to any political party?

Q.4b Which party is that?

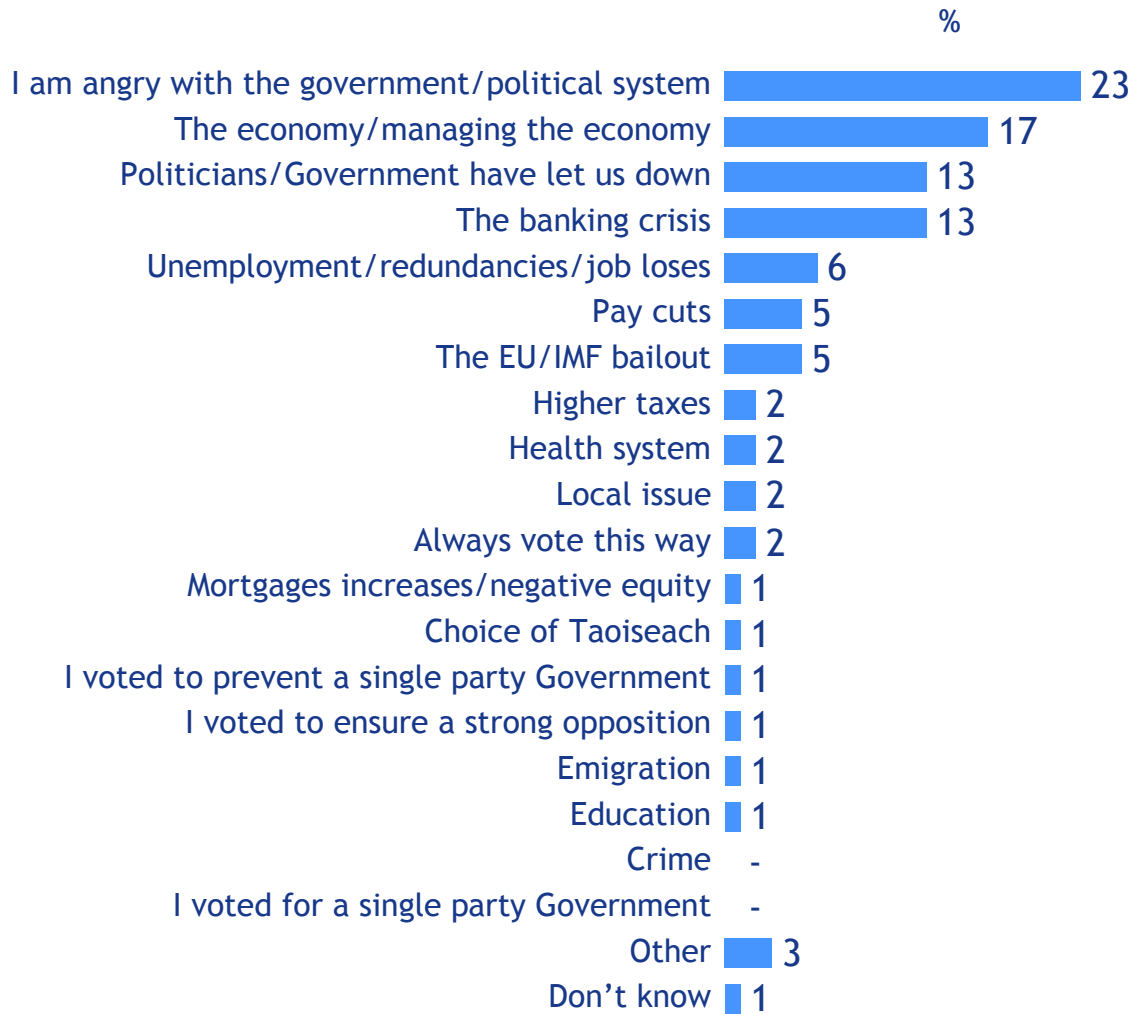
Issues Influencing Vote

Base: All Voters



Issues Influencing Vote

Base: All Voters



Issues Influencing Vote

Base: All Voters

2011 First Preference






	Total %	 FIANNA FAIL THE REPUBLICAN PARTY %	 FINE GAEL %	 Labour %	 green party %	 SF %	Inds/ Other %
Economy	49	55	49	52	35	43	46
Angry/let down	36	17	40	36	36	45	41
Tactical voting	2	5	1	2	9	2	1
Others	12	21	9	9	21	9	11

Issues Influencing Vote

Base: All Voters

2011 First Preference




	Total	 FIANNA FÁIL THE REPUBLICAN PARTY	 FINE GAEL	 Labour	 green party	 SF	Inds/ Other
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
I am angry with the government/political system	23	10	25	24	21	28	27
The economy/managing the economy	17	19	20	17	14	10	15
Politicians/Government have let us down	13	6	16	13	15	16	14
The banking crisis	13	18	13	12	7	15	11
Unemployment/redundancies/job loses	6	6	5	7	5	4	6
Pay cuts	5	4	3	9	7	7	5
The EU/IMF bailout	5	5	6	4	-	5	6
Higher taxes	2	2	1	2	-	2	1
Health system	2	4	1	2	2	2	2
Local issue	2	2	1	1	2	1	3
Always vote this way	2	8	2	1	5	1	*
Mortgages increases/negative equity	1	1	1	1	1	*	1
Choice of Taoiseach	1	2	*	*	-	*	1
I voted to prevent a single party Government	1	1	*	2	1	1	*
I voted to ensure a strong opposition	1	4	*	*	7	1	*
Emigration	1	-	2	1	3	2	*
Education	1	1	1	3	2	1	1
Crime	*	*	*	-	-	*	*
I voted for a single party Government	*	1	1	*	1	-	*
Other	3	4	2	2	7	2	4
Don't know	1	2	*	*	-	1	1

Issues Influencing Vote

Base: All Voters






Switched To

	Total %	 FIANNA FAIL THE REPUBLICAN PARTY %	 FINE GAEL %	 Labour %	 green party %	 SF %	Inds/ Other %
Economy	49	52	49	53	37	47	49
Angry/let down	36	33	44	37	49	41	38
Tactical voting	2	9	1	3	4	3	1
Others	12	6	7	7	9	8	11

Issues Influencing Vote

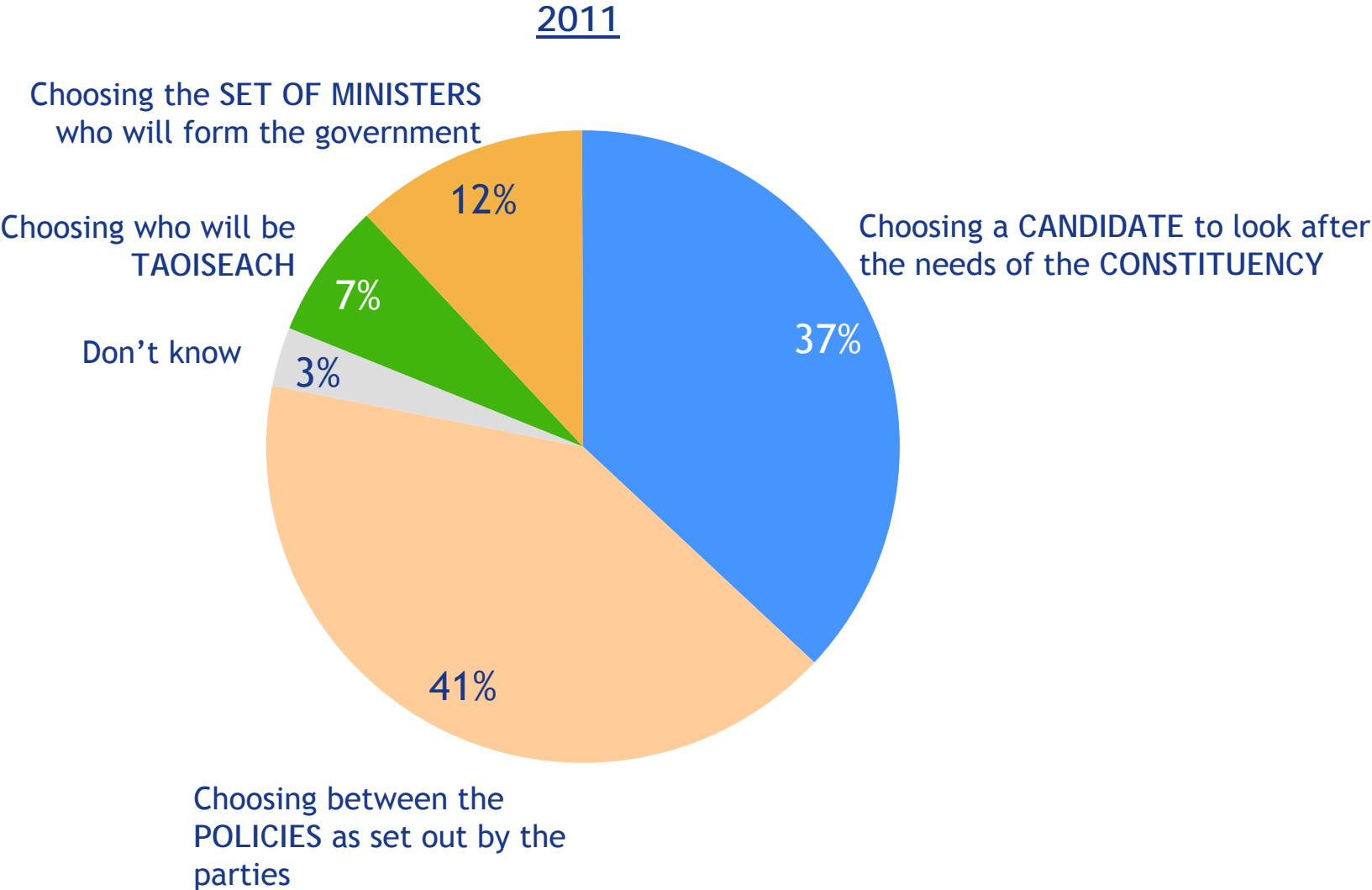
Base: All Voters

Switched To

	Total						Inds/ Other
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
I am angry with the government/political system	23	19	24	22	29	26	25
The economy/managing the economy	17	18	21	18	16	12	17
Politicians/Government have let us down	13	14	19	15	20	16	13
The banking crisis	13	9	13	15	12	18	14
Unemployment/redundancies/job loses	6	7	3	5	2	3	5
Pay cuts	5	10	4	8	7	9	5
The EU/IMF bailout	5	5	5	4	-	4	7
Higher taxes	2	-	1	2	-	2	1
Health system	2	-	1	2	-	1	3
Local issue	2	-	1	*	4	1	3
Always vote this way	2	-	*	-	-	-	1
Mortgages increases/negative equity	1	3	1	1	-	-	1
Choice of Taoiseach	1	-	*	*	-	-	*
I voted to prevent a single party Government	1	3	*	3	-	1	1
I voted to ensure a strong opposition	1	4	*	*	2	2	*
Emigration	1	-	2	*	3	1	-
Education	1	2	*	2	-	1	1
Crime	*	2	-	-	-	1	*
I voted for a single party Government	1	3	*	3	-	1	1
Other	3	2	2	2	2	4	4
Don't know	1	-	*	*	-	-	1

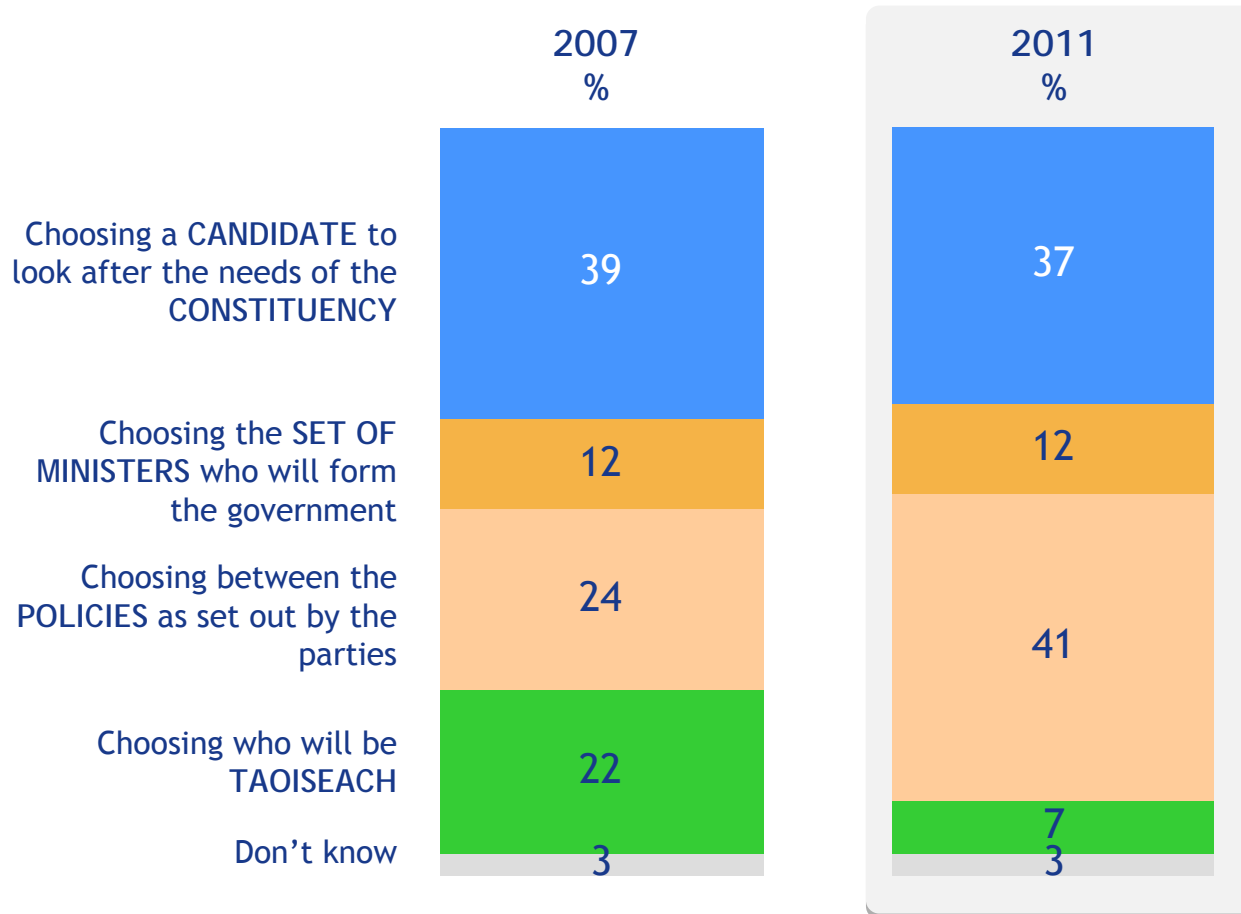
Factors behind voting behaviour - I

Base: All Voters



Factors behind voting behaviour - II

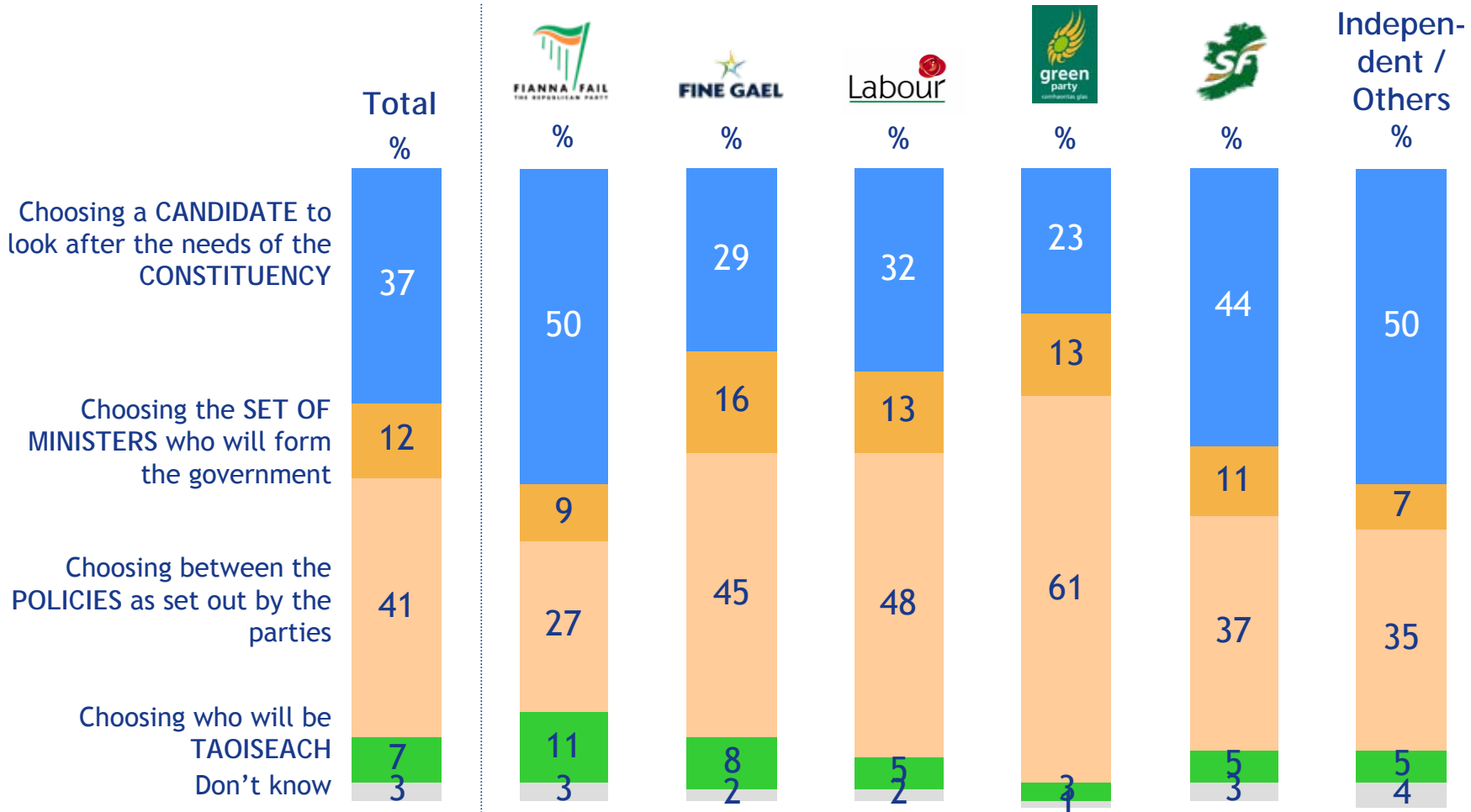
Base: All Voters



Factors behind voting behaviour - III

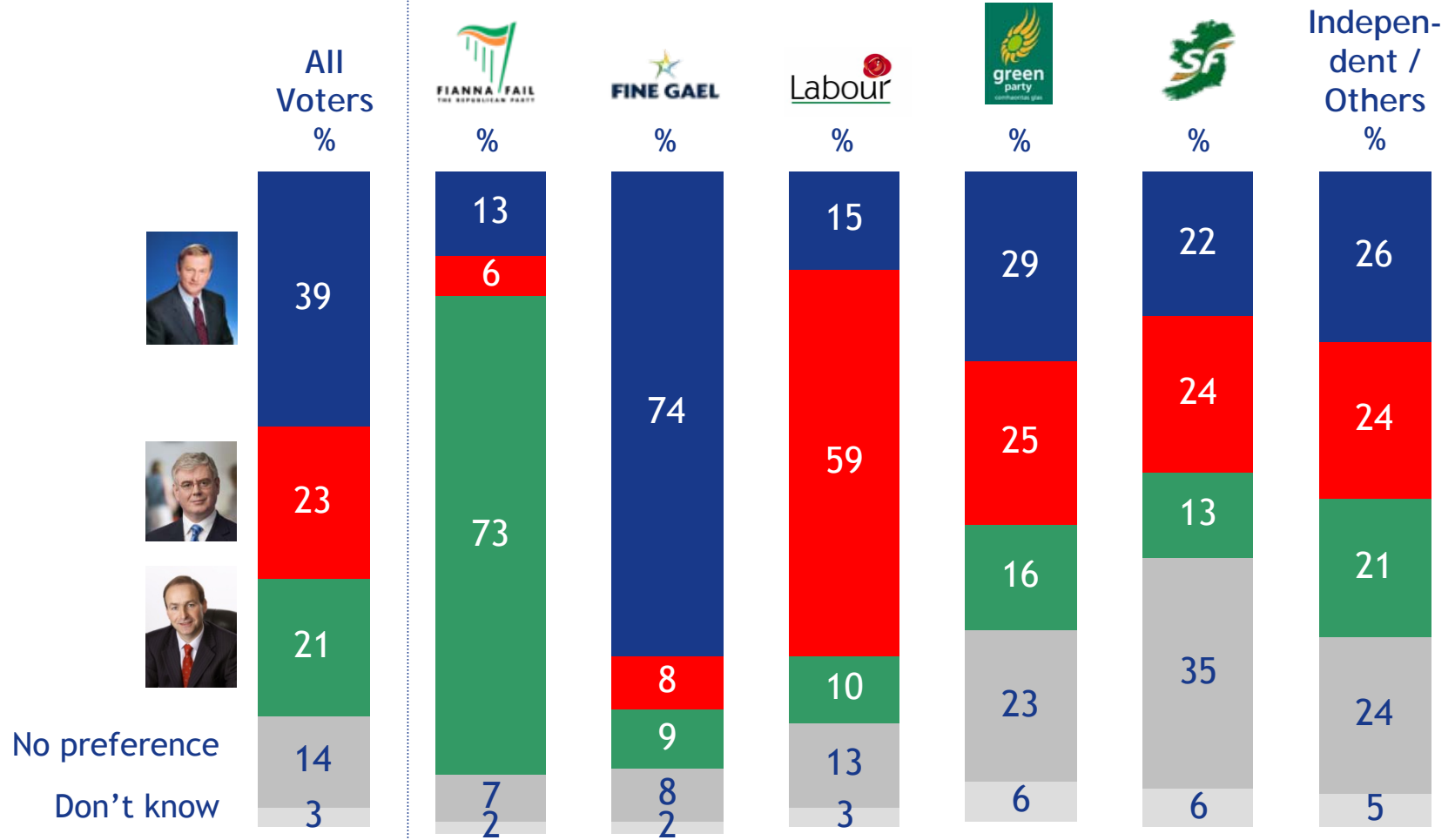
Base: All Voters

First Preference 2011



Preferred Taoiseach x first preference vote

Base: All Voters



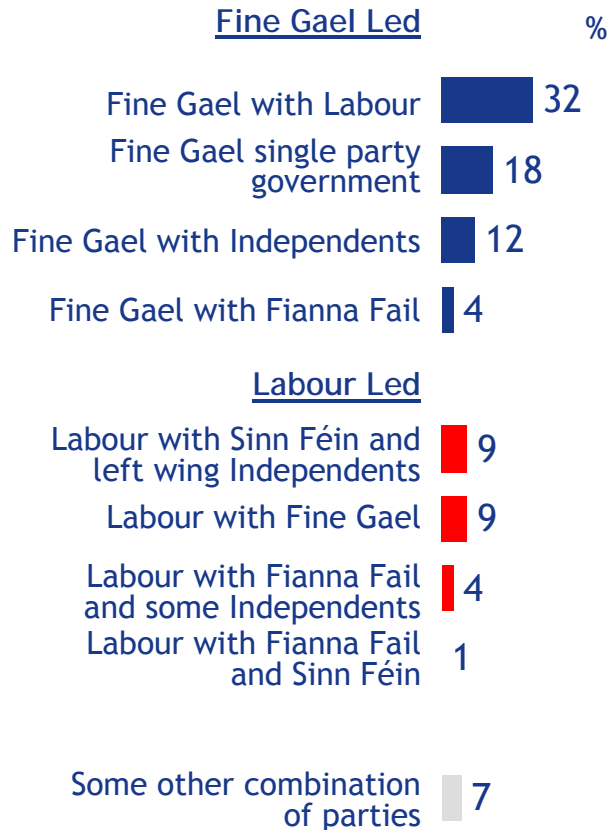
No preference

Don't know

Preferred Government

Base: All Voters

1st Preference Vote 2011

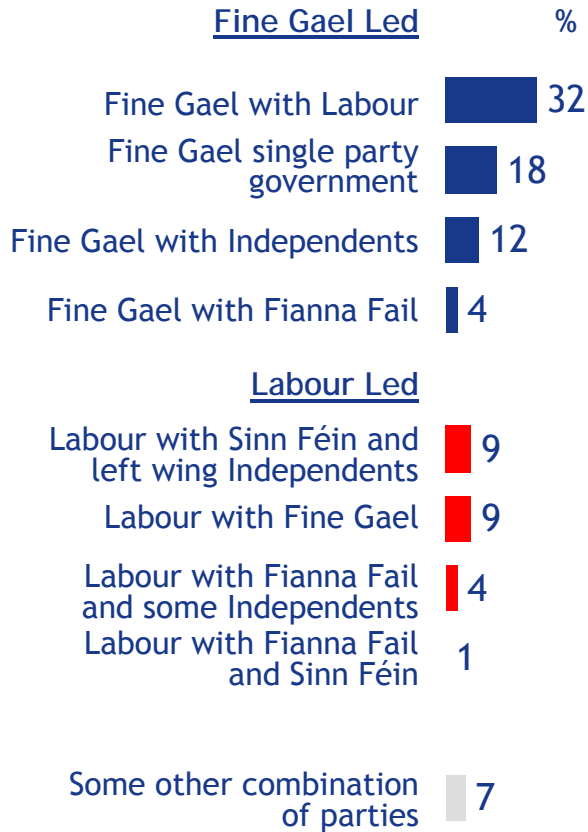


					Independents/Other
%	%	%	%	%	%
39	21	43	14	35	20
40	8	1	5	14	8
13	6	2	4	9	32
2	17	1	2	1	1
*	2	10	48	6	12
2	3	32	2	6	5
*	17	3	1	1	3
*	4	1	5	-	1
1	14	5	15	22	11

Q.8 There are various ways in which a Government might be formed after this election. Which one of these would you prefer?

Preferred Government

Base: All Voters



<u>Gender</u>		<u>Age</u>					<u>Social Class</u>		
Male	Female	18-24	25-34	35-49	50-64	65+	ABC1	C2DE	F
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
31	32	24	30	31	36	33	33	31	28
20	17	13	13	19	20	26	20	14	30
12	12	14	11	12	11	11	12	11	16
4	4	6	4	3	4	6	4	3	6
9	10	11	14	10	6	3	6	14	1
8	10	13	8	9	9	7	10	10	1
4	4	4	5	4	4	3	4	4	4
2	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	2
7	7	10	8	6	8	6	8	7	5

Q.8 There are various ways in which a Government might be formed after this election. Which one of these would you prefer?

Preferred Government - Fine Gael Led

Base: All choosing Fine Gael led Government

First Preference

Fine Gael Led

%

Fine Gael with Labour 48

Fine Gael single party government 28

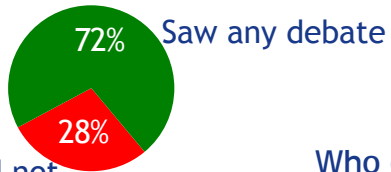
Fine Gael with Independents 18

Fine Gael with Fianna Fail 6

	 %	 %	 %	 %	 %	Independents/ Other %
Fine Gael with Labour	41	41	91	54	59	33
Fine Gael single party government	43	16	3	20	24	13
Fine Gael with Independents	14	12	4	18	15	52
Fine Gael with Fianna Fail	2	32	2	8	2	2

Outcome of TV debates

Base: All who watched TV debates



Who came out best? (All Watching)

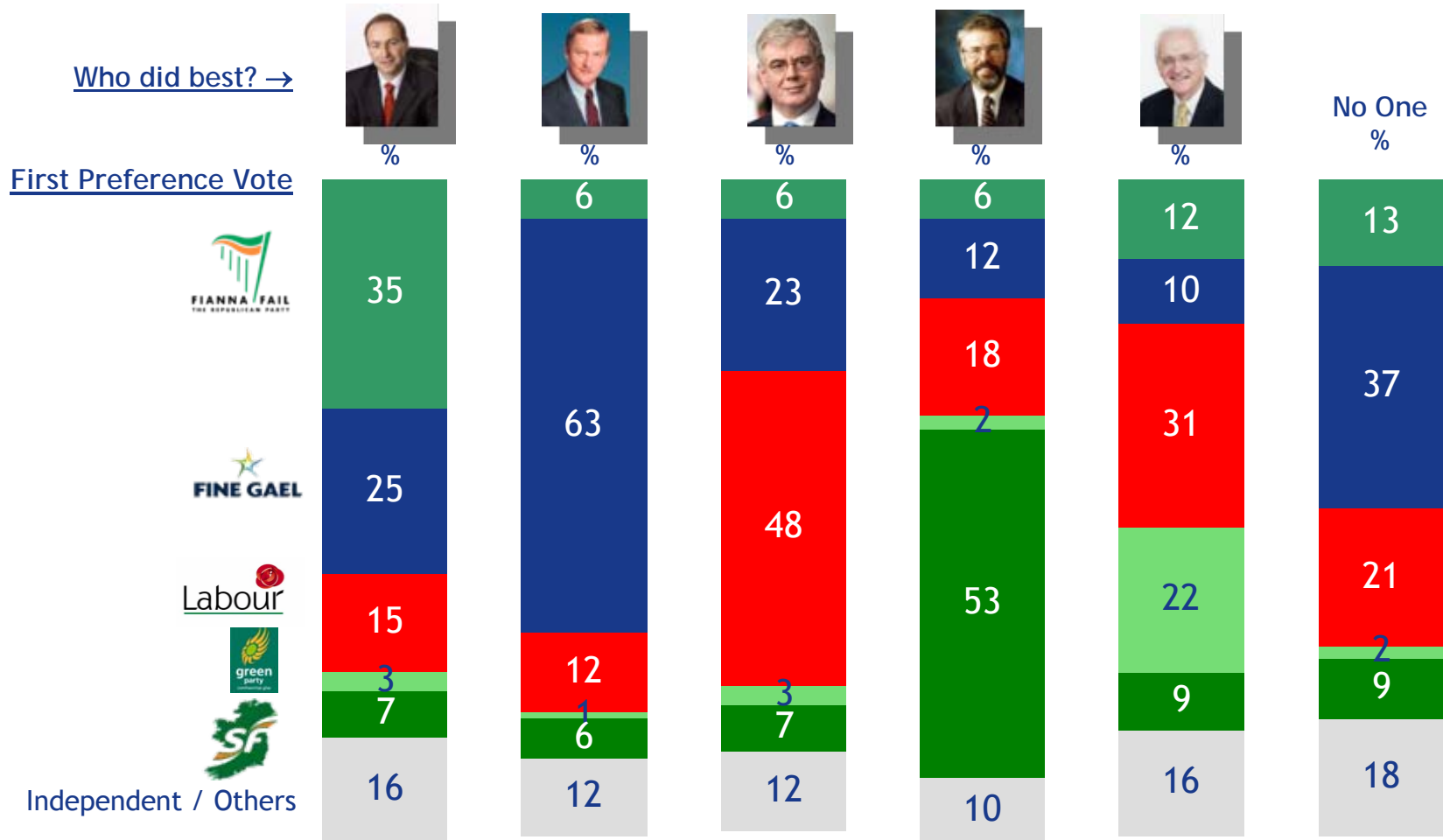


First Preference 2011

	FINE GAEL	FIANNA FAIL	Labour	SF	green party	Independents/ Other
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Micheál Martin	22	68	23	23	36	36
Enda Kenny	50	10	18	17	13	25
Eamon Gilmore	9	5	34	11	15	12
Gerry Adams	2	2	5	29	3	4
John Gormley	1	2	3	2	19	3
No one came out best	17	13	17	17	14	20

Effect of TV Debate on Voting Decision

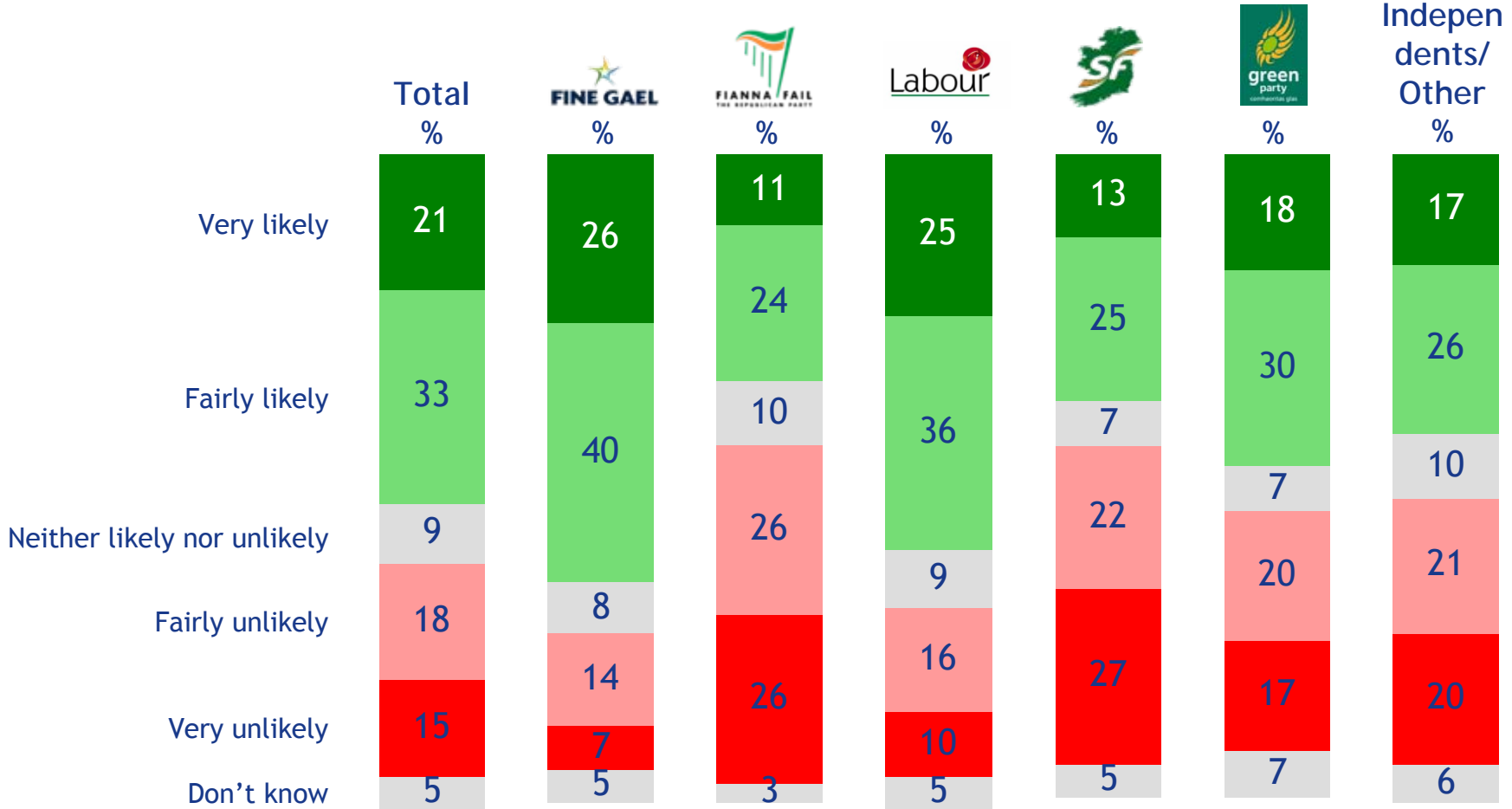
Base: All who watched TV debates



Likelihood of Fine Gael / Labour Coalition Government to run its full 5-year term

Base: All Voters

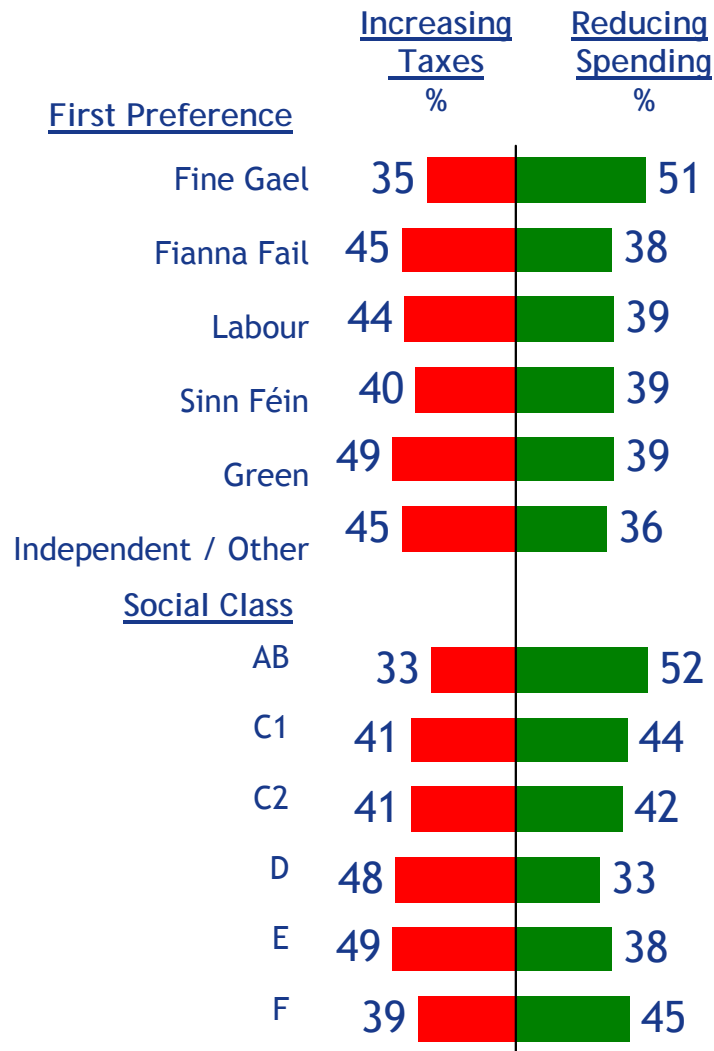
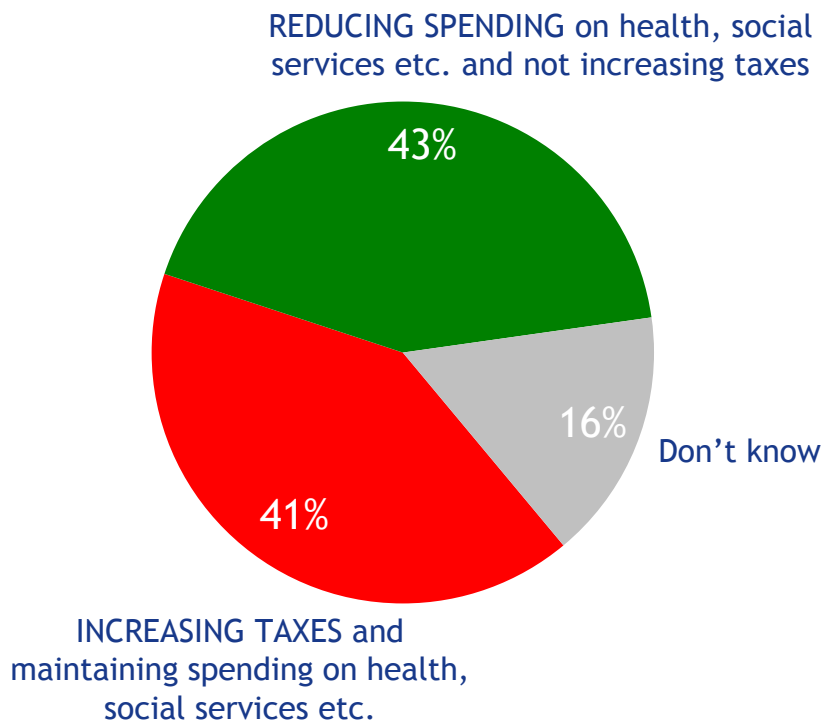
First Preference Vote



Q.9 How likely or unlikely do you think it is that a Fine Gael and Labour Coalition Government would run its full 5 year term?

What should incoming Government concentrate on?

Base: All Voters

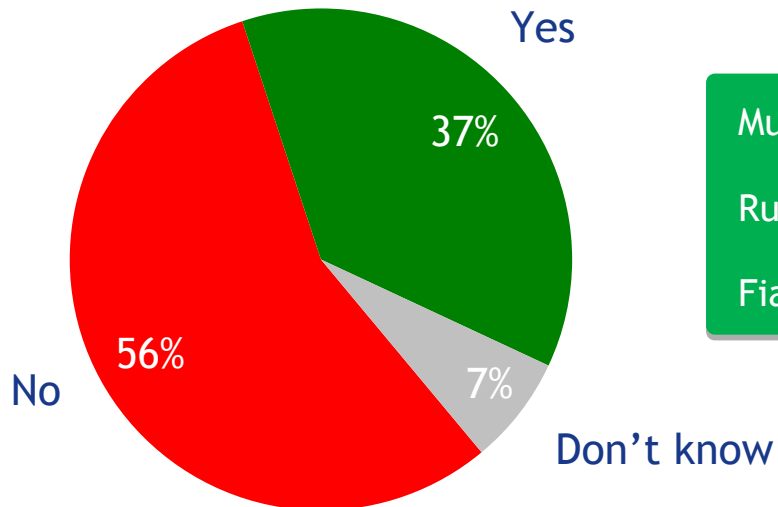


Will Fianna Fail lead a Government within the next 10 years?

Base:

'No' Higher Among

18-24	61%
Dublin	62%
C2DE	59%
Labour	62%
Fine Gael	62%



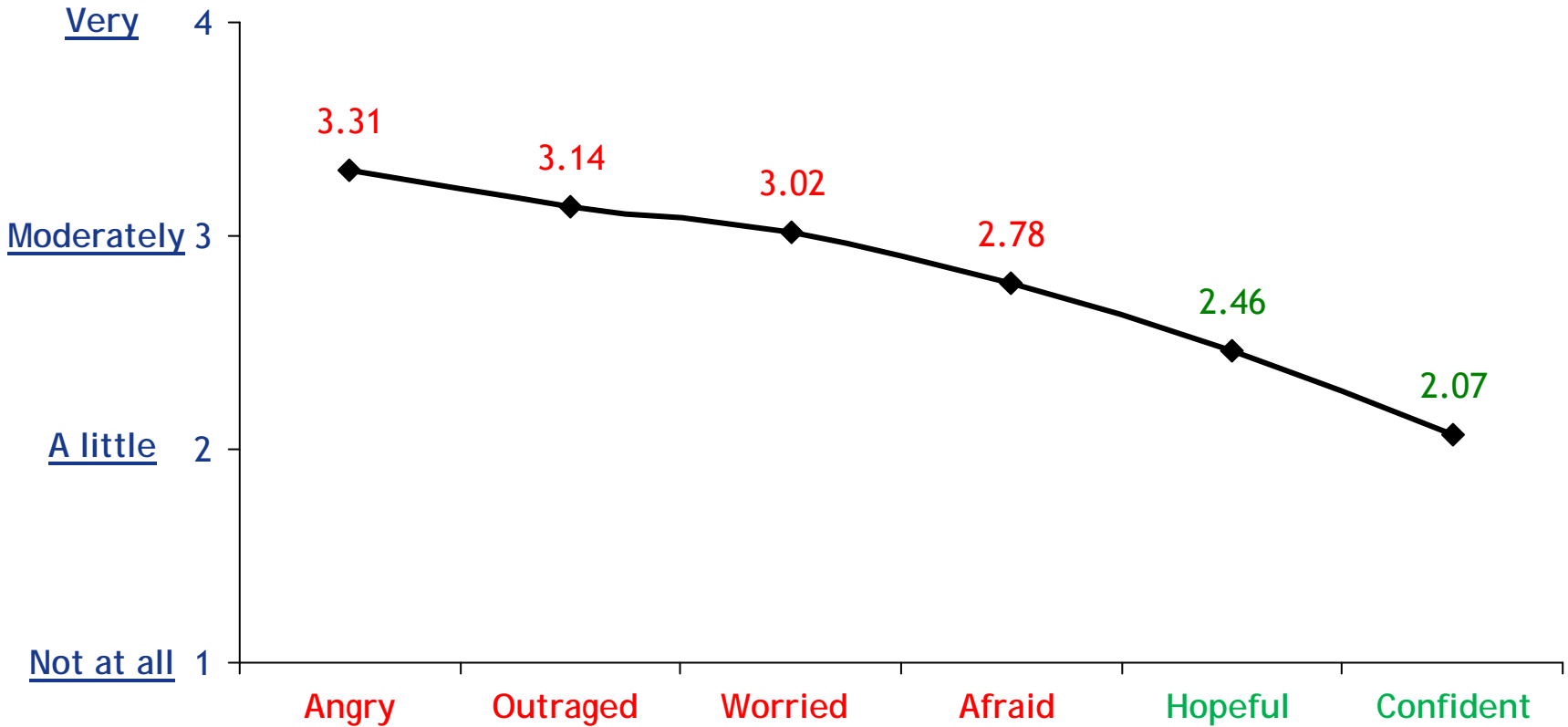
'Yes' Higher Among

Munster	41%
Rural	40%
Fianna Fail Voters	73%

How the voters feel?

Base: All Voters






Mean Score (1-4)



Q.14 Generally speaking, for each of these words, how do you feel about the way things are going in the country these days? Would you say you are very, moderately, a little or not at all...?

How the voters feel?

Base: All Voters

	First Preference 2011					
						Independent/ Others
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Angry	2.85	3.34	3.42	3.18	3.56	3.38
Afraid	2.51	2.77	2.88	2.54	2.95	2.83
Confident	2.30	2.17	1.96	2.10	1.82	1.93
Hopeful	2.68	2.54	2.34	2.55	2.29	2.34
Worried	2.72	3.00	3.13	2.91	3.17	3.11
Outraged	2.56	3.17	3.28	3.04	3.48	3.24

Mean Score: 4 = Very; 3=Moderately; 2= A little; 1= Not at all

Q.14 Generally speaking, for each of these words, how do you feel about the way things are going in the country these days? Would you say you are very, moderately, a little or not at all...?



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Conclusions

- The 2011 General Election has redrawn the political map of Ireland, absolutely.
- Fianna Fáil has been given a very painful beating by the electorate, much as has been threatened in the pre-election polls. Fianna Fáil has slumped to just 15% of the first preference vote, compared to the previous lowest figure recorded by the party of 26% in 1927 (or, in more recent times, their 39% in 1992). The banking crisis and the economic meltdown has not been even remotely forgiven- and Micheál Martin ascensions to party leadership has not materially affected the outcome.
- Fine Gael have not suppressed their all-time high of 39% in 1982. Their first preference score is a handsome 36% but this will not be enough to achieve the single party government that many of their supporters may have dreamed of. It is, nevertheless, a signal success for Enda Kenny after the doubts expressed about his leadership.
- Labour have had history-making election too- just passing their best of 19.5% in 1992 to reach 20.5% this time. They have performed extremely well in Dublin, to become the biggest party in the capital, edging ahead of Fine Gael.
- Sinn Féin can also claim to have made another breakthrough, reaching 10% of the national vote and moving up to 15% in Connacht/Ulster. They will be a bigger presence in the 31st Dáil.
- The Greens have slipped to 3% of the national vote, taking a share of the blame for the meltdown. Their seat count will be highly dependent on the way their vote is concentrated in particular constituencies.

- The Independents and others (such as the United Left Alliance) have collectively scored more first preference votes than Fianna Fáil - the unthinkable have become a reality. The number of TD's from these ranks will also be highly sensitive to the intensity of the transfers from other candidates but we can expect to see many more on the Dáil benches.
- The exit poll's evidence on the likely transfer patterns is instructive. Independents/others and Labour receive the highest next vote, ahead of Fine Gael. Fianna Fáil is very unlikely to receive transfers (only 8%) from any quarter, thus denting its prospects for boosting poor first preference. Sinn Féin is the least likely to pick up transfers, it seems - and its voters opt chiefly for Independents/Others or Labour, presumably in a left-leaning embrace. Roughly one in three Labour or Fine Gael voters go to each other, while the Green voters move in the main to Labour and Fine Gael.
- The nature of each party's vote is very interesting. Support for Fine Gael rises with age but it is the most chosen party in each age group and farmers are most drawn to the party. By contrast, Labour support is even across the white-collar and blue collar spectrum but very low among farmers. Fianna Fáil does especially badly in Dublin, where its representation may be minimal.
- In 2011, some of the voting decision were made quite late - as many as 20% claim to have made up their mind Thursday or Friday and as many in the previous week. This is substantially higher than in the previous three elections.
- It is evident that Labour was more prominent among the past week deciders than in earlier decision periods (even though more opted for Fine Gael). We can see that the diehard party loyalists revisited their habits this time.
- As many as 1 in 2 of those who voted in 2007 claim to have their party this time around - Fine Gael and Labour were chosen by 6 in 10 of these switchers but Independents/Others accounted for a further

- 2007 Fianna Fáil voters who switched came in the main to Fine Gael (42%) and Labour (24%) but Independents/Others claimed 22% of them, and Sinn Féin 10%. Those who moved from Fine Gael went chiefly to Labour - but a similar percentage went in the exact opposite direction.
- First-time voters opted for Fine Gael (34%), ahead of Labour (26%) and Independents/Others at 18%. One in 10 chose Fianna Fáil as their first vote party.
- OTHER ISSUES
- The economy was the chief influence on how people chose to vote (almost half mentioned this) but it is remarkable that the emotional side of voting was so prominent, at over 1 in 3 voters claiming to feel angry or let down. Not surprisingly, Fianna Fáil and Green voters were the most inclined to mention other issues as the motive for their voting choice.
- Compared to 2007, this election was notable the greater emphasis by voters on choosing between the policies set out by the parties (41%). Choosing a candidate to look after the needs of the constituency was next (37%, barely changed on 2007) but the choice of Taoiseach was deemed much less relevant this time. Fianna Fáil and Sinn Féin voters were most motivated by choosing a candidate to look after the constituency - while the Greens were the most driven by policies.
- Enda Kenny is the most favoured as Taoiseach, with Eamonn Gilmore scoring more strongly than Micheál Martin. Party support affects this choice in a predictable manner.

- The people's preferred Government is Fine Gael leading a coalition with Labour, at nearly 1 in 3, with slightly more opting for a single party Fine Gael administration than other potential Fine Gael led coalitions. About 1 in 4 chose a Labour-led coalition and less than 1 in 10 another combination.
- Fine Gael voters were marginally more inclined to prefer a single party government over a Labour coalition, whereas nearly half of Labour voters prefer a Fine Gael led government of some form, and one third dream of a Labour-led coalition with Fine Gael. Not surprisingly, in light of campaign statements, Sinn Féin voters plump most for a coalition of Labour, Sinn Féin and the left-wing Independents. In this forced choice situation, Fianna Fáil voters chiefly go for a Fine Gael option.
- Just over 7 in 10 voters saw at least one of the televised leader debates in their various guises. There seems to have been no clear winner across the whole series, with Micheál Martin edging ahead of Enda Kenny and Eamonn Gilmore in a distant third place. Just as many people said that no one came out best, though.
- Micheál Martin's performance were highly rated by Fianna Fáil voters. Nevertheless, only 1 in 3 of those saying Micheál Martin did best actually voted Fianna Fáil - perhaps the decision to punish the party had been too ingrained for many to overcome.
- The final salutary lesson for Fianna Fáil is that only just over 1 in 3 of those who voted for them in 2011 can envisage Fianna Fáil leading a government within the next 10 years. It will take a long time to mend their reputation (but just look at Fine Gael nine years after 2002 Armageddon).

- THE FUTURE
- Just over half of voters believe that a Fine Gael and Labour coalition is very or fairly likely to run its full 5-year term, rising to nearly two thirds of Fine Gael or Labour voters. Predictably perhaps, Fianna Fáil and Sinn Féin voters are more sceptical about the prospects.
- Opinions are evenly divided about whether the incoming government should focus most on reducing spending on health, social services etc. or increasing taxes while maintaining these services.
- Our final point is to remind the incoming government of the depth and intensity of the voters' mood. The exit poll results have identified a very angry and outraged population, with worry and fear very evident. Hope and confidence are severely lacking - so much reassurance is necessary from the new government. At a time of such national economic challenge, this could be a very tricky challenge.



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Appendices
