



# Sunday Times /Behaviour & Attitudes Opinion Poll

16<sup>th</sup> - 18<sup>th</sup> October 2011

Prepared for



## THE SUNDAY TIMES

Prepared by Ian McShane

J.3221



# Technical Appendix



# Technical Appendix

- The results of this opinion poll are based upon a representative sample of 1,029 eligible Irish voters aged 18 years +.
- As such, the results can be deemed to be accurate to within plus or minus 3.2 percentage points at the 95% confidence level.
- Fieldwork was conducted over the period 16<sup>th</sup> - 18<sup>th</sup> October 2011, with interviewing carried out at the Behaviour & Attitudes Computer Aided Telephone Interviewing (CATI) Unit at Milltown House in Dublin.
- Interviewing was conducted across all 43 constituencies in the country with households selected for interview by way of Random Digit Dialling (RDD).
- The sample is split across RDD landline numbers and RDD mobile telephone numbers, so as to ensure that individuals living in landline only households, mobile only households, and households with both a landline and mobile telephone are represented in their correct proportions.

# Technical Appendix

- The subsequent survey results are weighted to reflect the known demographic profile of Irish adults, utilising the most recently published census population estimates from the Central Statistics Office (CSO).
- All aspects of the survey are conducted in accordance with the technical and ethical guidelines set down by the Association of Irish Market Research Organisations (AIMRO) and the European Society of Opinion & Market Research (ESOMAR).

# Chartered Summary



# Sunday Times/Behaviour & Attitudes Government and Party Leader Satisfaction Levels

	12 <sup>th</sup> February 2011 (f/w: 31 <sup>st</sup> Jan - 12 <sup>th</sup> Feb, 2011)	24 <sup>th</sup> August, 2011 (f/w 16 <sup>th</sup> - 24 <sup>th</sup> August, 2011)	2 <sup>nd</sup> October, 2011 (f/w 20 <sup>th</sup> Sept - 2 <sup>nd</sup> Oct, 2011)	18 <sup>th</sup> October, 2011 (f/w 16 <sup>th</sup> - 18 <sup>th</sup> Oct, 2011)
The Government	5%	42%	34%	36%
Brian Cowen (as Taoiseach)	11%	-	-	-
Mary Coughlan (as Tánaiste)	14%	-	-	-
Michaél Martin	43%	40%	31%	36%
Enda Kenny	40%	62%	51%	58%
Eamon Gilmore	55%	52%	43%	46%
Gerry Adams	40%	48%	50%	50%
John Gormley	27%	-	-	-
Eamon Ryan	-	34%	30%	30%

Q.2

Would you say you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the manner in which the Government is running the country?

Q.3

Would you say you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the way (.....) is doing his job as (.....)?

# Sunday Times/Behaviour & Attitudes Core Party Support Levels

	12 <sup>th</sup> February 2011 (f/w: 31 <sup>st</sup> Jan - 12 <sup>th</sup> Feb, 2011)	24 <sup>th</sup> August, 2011 (f/w 16 <sup>th</sup> - 24 <sup>th</sup> August, 2011)	2 <sup>nd</sup> October, 2011 (f/w 20 <sup>th</sup> Sept - 2 <sup>nd</sup> Oct, 2011)	18 <sup>th</sup> October, 2011 (f/w 16 <sup>th</sup> - 18 <sup>th</sup> Oct, 2011)
Fianna Fáil	11%	12%	11%	11%
Fine Gael	26%	35%	26%	27%
Labour	17%	9%	10%	11%
Sinn Féin	10%	10%	12%	14%
Green Party	1%	2%	3%	1%
Independents/Others	10%	10%	10%	9%
Undecided	25%	22%	28%	27%

Q.

If there was a General Election tomorrow, to which party or independent candidate would you give your first preference vote?

# Sunday Times/Behaviour & Attitudes Party Support Levels (Excluding Undecideds)

	12 <sup>th</sup> February, 2011 (f/w: 31 <sup>st</sup> Jan - 12 <sup>th</sup> Feb, 2011)	General Election Result 25 <sup>th</sup> February	24 <sup>th</sup> August, 2011 (f/w 16 <sup>th</sup> - 24 <sup>th</sup> August, 2011)	2 <sup>nd</sup> October, 2011 (f/w 20 <sup>th</sup> Sept - 2 <sup>nd</sup> Oct, 2011)	18 <sup>th</sup> October, 2011 (f/w 16 <sup>th</sup> - 18 <sup>th</sup> Oct, 2011)
Fianna Fáil	15%	17%	15%	15%	15%
Fine Gael	34%	36%	44%	36%	37%
Labour	23%	19%	12%	14%	15%
Sinn Féin	14%	10%	13%	17%	19%
Green Party	2%	2%	2%	4%	1%
Independents / Others	14%	16%	12%	13%	13%

Q.

If there was a General Election tomorrow, to which party or independent candidate would you give your first preference vote?



# Presidential Candidates - First Preference Support Levels

	Core Candidate Support	Candidate Support - Excluding Undecideds
Mary Davis (Independent)	2%	3%
Sean Gallagher (Independent)	34%	38%
Michael D Higgins (Labour Party)	24%	26%
Martin McGuinness (Sinn Fein)	15%	17%
Gay Mitchell (Fine Gael)	7%	8%
David Norris (Independent)	5%	6%
Dana Rosemary Scallon (Independent)	2%	2%
Undecided	11%	-

# Presidential Candidates - Second Preference Support Levels

Second Preference Choice	First Preference Choice							
	Total	Mary Davis	Sean Gallagher	Michael D Higgins	Martin McGuinness	Gay Mitchell	David Norris	Dana Rosemary Scallan
<i>Base:</i>	<b>924</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>347</b>	<b>261</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>26</b>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Mary Davis (Independent)	8	-	12	8	2	8	4	14
Sean Gallagher (Independent)	16	29	-	31	27	10	22	20
Michael D Higgins (Labour Party)	26	22	35	-	29	58	40	22
Martin McGuinness (Sinn Fein)	11	8	15	14	-	6	14	7
Gay Mitchell (Fine Gael)	9	5	9	16	3	-	5	12
David Norris (Independent)	8	3	7	12	6	7	-	12
Dana Rosemary Scallan (Independent)	5	0	5	3	12	2	1	-
No second preference	17	33	18	16	20	8	14	11

# Judicial Pay Referendum - Voting Intentions

	Total	Gender		Age			Class			Region				Party Support						
		Male	Female	18-34	35-54	55+	ABC1	C2DE	F	Dublin	Leins	Muns	Conn/ Ulster	Fianna Fáil	Fine Gael	Labour	Sinn Fein	Green Party	Indepe ndent/ Others	Undeci ded
<b>Base:</b>	<b>1029</b>	<b>511</b>	<b>518</b>	<b>323</b>	<b>383</b>	<b>323</b>	<b>456</b>	<b>512</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>294</b>	<b>265</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>186</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>285</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>280</b>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Would vote yes in favour of the amendment	87	86	87	81	90	88	86	86	91	84	88	88	87	81	93	91	87	79	92	78
Would vote no against the amendment	8	9	7	13	6	6	9	8	9	10	7	7	9	14	5	7	9	21	5	11
Don't know	5	5	5	6	4	5	4	6	-	6	5	5	4	5	2	3	4	-	2	11

Q.10a

Two referendums will also be held on the same day as the Presidential election. In one of these referendums we will be asked to vote in favour of or against amending Article 35.5 of the Constitution. The amendment, if passed, would change the current article which states that the remuneration of judges can not be reduced while they are still in office, to one which would allow for reductions to be made to the remuneration of judges if it is in the public interest.

Are you likely to vote yes, in favour of allowing for reductions to be made to judges remuneration if it is in the public interest, or no, against allowing for such reductions to be made?

# Oireachtas Committee Inquiries Referendum - Voting Intentions

	Total	Gender		Age			Class			Region				Party Support						
		Male	Female	18-34	35-54	55+	ABC1	C2DE	F	Dublin	Leins	Muns	Conn/ Ulster	Fianna Fáil	Fine Gael	Labour	Sinn Fein	Green Party	Indepe ndent/ Others	Undeci ded
<b>Base:</b>	<b>1029</b>	<b>511</b>	<b>518</b>	<b>323</b>	<b>383</b>	<b>323</b>	<b>456</b>	<b>512</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>294</b>	<b>265</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>186</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>285</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>132</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>280</b>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Would vote yes in favour of the amendment	76	76	75	72	79	75	75	75	79	76	76	74	77	72	83	80	76	67	82	65
Would vote no against the amendment	18	18	18	21	16	17	18	19	13	17	18	19	17	22	12	19	21	33	15	21
Don't know	6	6	7	6	5	8	7	6	8	7	6	7	6	6	5	1	3	-	3	14

Q.11

In the second referendum we will be asked to vote in favour of or against amending Article 15.1 of the Constitution. The amendment, if passed, would result in the inclusion of a number of sub-sections to Article 15.1, which would give greater powers to Oireachtas Committees to conduct inquiries into matters considered to be of public importance, and to make findings in respect of the person to which the inquiry relates.

Are you likely to vote yes, in favour of giving greater powers to Oireachtas Committees to conduct inquiries into matters considered to be of public importance, or no, against giving Oireachtas Committees greater powers to conduct such inquiries?

# Commentary



# Sunday Times/Behaviour & Attitudes Opinion Poll Series

## Background

Fieldwork for today's poll was conducted over the period Sunday 16<sup>th</sup> - Tuesday, 18<sup>th</sup> October, 2011. As such, interviewing was completed prior to the TG4 Presidential Candidate debate on Tuesday evening.

The Fieldwork will have taken place within a week of the Prime Time Presidential debate on Wednesday, 12<sup>th</sup> October and the ensuing media coverage of the content of that debate and the manner in which it was conducted.

With just over a week to go from the time today's survey was conducted and polling day itself, it is a fact that the election is by no means over, although it is crystal clear that it has by now narrowed into a two-horse race.

# Sunday Times/Behaviour & Attitudes Opinion Poll Series

## Presidential Election

As of this week, we can say with confidence that the next President of Ireland will be either Seán Gallagher or Michael D. Higgins.

With 38% of first preference votes for Gallagher, he is obviously well positioned to push through and capture the Áras next Thursday, with Michael D Higgins on 26% in need of a particularly focused and energetic last week of campaigning if he is to bridge the gap between himself and Gallagher.

Within this context, it is of note that Michael D. Higgins is attracting significantly more second preference votes than is Gallagher. Indeed, of all those expressing a preference for a presidential candidate, a quarter indicate they will grant their second preference to Michael D. Higgins, compared to 16% of all second preferences veering towards Seán Gallagher.

# Sunday Times/Behaviour & Attitudes Inaugural Opinion Poll Series

Percentage-wise, Higgins is attracting considerably more of Gay Mitchell and David Norris's transfers than is Seán Gallagher, with Mary Davis, Martin McGuinness and Dana Rosemary Scallon transferring to both of the front-runners in roughly equal proportions.

With regard to demographic groupings, the two leading candidates are neck-in-neck amongst those aged 55 years +, urban dwellers, and the white collar and professional ABC1 socio-economic grouping. Within Dublin, Michael D. Higgins attracts 37% of first preference support, significantly ahead of Seán Gallagher's 23% in the capital.

The message is clear - the election is Seán Gallagher's to lose, although Michael D. Higgins still has some grounds for optimism. Over the last number of days there has been significant negative media coverage of Sean Gallagher's candidature, and we can expect the last five days of the campaign to be the most ferociously fought in the history of Irish presidential elections.



# Sunday Times/Behaviour & Attitudes Inaugural Opinion Poll Series

Sinn Féin will undoubtedly be pleased with the progress of Martin McGuinness's campaign thus far. While McGuinness was never likely to win the election, the net effect of his campaign will have been to maximise Sinn Féin's party vote across the country in advance of the 2014 local elections so as to ultimately increase its Dáil representation at the following General Election.

As it stands, McGuinness is in second place, (behind Sean Gallagher and ahead of Michael D Higgins) amongst male voters and is within 2 to 5 percentage points of Higgins within the broad 18-54 year old age bracket, rural areas in general, and the C2DE blue collar socio-economic grouping.

David Norris, Mary Davis and Dana Rosemary Scallon all run the risk of losing their deposits on Thursday, with both Davis and Scallon having drifted so far out by this stage that even their transfers will have little or no effect on the final outcome of the election.

Finally, Fine Gael is facing a disastrous presidential result, with its ill-chosen candidate Gay Mitchell likely to limp home in fourth or fifth place. Even within his own Dublin heartland, Mitchell has only managed to garner 10% first preference support in this week's poll, and less than one in five Fine Gael supporters indicate they will opt for their party's candidate.

# Sunday Times/Behaviour & Attitudes Inaugural Opinion Poll Series

## Referenda Polls

The Referendum which asks us to vote either in favour of or against allowing for reductions to judge's remuneration if it is in the public interest looks set to be carried by a resounding majority.

Given the nature of the referendum and the prevailing economic and socio-political climate, it would be surprising if the result was anything but a yes. Regardless of whether public opinion shifts in relation to this referendum during the final week before polling day, it is likely that it will be passed by circa nine in ten of all those casting a vote.

A significant majority is also set to vote in favour of giving greater powers to Oireachtas committees to conduct inquiries into matters of public importance. Thus, three-quarters of the Irish electorate suggest they will vote in favour of amending article 15.1 of the constitution. Again, while the precise scale of the majority in favour of the referendum could well change over the coming days, the amendment is likely to be passed comfortably.

# Sunday Times/Behaviour & Attitudes Inaugural Opinion Poll Series

## Party Support and Government/Leaders Satisfaction

Party support levels are quite stable in comparison with the last Behaviour & Attitudes/Sunday Times Poll of three weeks ago.

Fine Gael stands at 37% support - practically identical to its share of the vote at February's General Election, and a remarkable achievement in many ways considering the difficulties it has had to navigate as the main Government party over the last number of months.

Labour's support has been moving in the right direction from its own perspective since the August Behaviour & Attitudes/Sunday Times Poll, and now stands at 15% of first preference support. In fact, Labour currently attracts 29% support in Dublin, which is exactly the same as Fine Gael's level of support in the capital, and twice that of Sinn Féin.

Satisfaction with the Government has increased since the last poll by two percentage points, while Enda Kenny's personal rating has improved seven points, and Eamonn Gilmore's, three points.

# Sunday Times/Behaviour & Attitudes Inaugural Opinion Poll Series

## Party Support and Government/Leaders Satisfaction

All in all, people are reasonably happy with the Government and its leadership, at a time when there have been some positive international reports on the Irish economy, and its prospects for recovery in the medium to long term.

Meanwhile, Sinn Féin consolidates its position as the second most popular party in the country, with the equivalent to over 400,000 voters indicating they would likely vote for the party in the event of a General Election.

At 15% support, Fianna Fáil has made no progress whatsoever in terms of rehabilitating itself in the collective mind of the Irish electorate, with satisfaction levels with Micheál Martin as Fianna Fáil leader still lowest of all leaders, albeit having improved from 31% a few weeks ago to 36% today.

Ian McShane,  
Managing Director  
Behaviour & Attitudes

# Thank you