

Contents

<i>List of Tables and Figures</i>	vii
<i>Notes on Contributors</i>	x
<i>Preface</i>	xiii
<i>Dedication</i>	xvi
<i>Plates</i>	between pages xvi and xvii
<i>Glossary and Abbreviations</i>	xvii
<i>Chronology of 2011 Election Campaign</i>	xix
1 The Background to the Election <i>Gary Murphy</i>	1
2 The Parties' Manifestos <i>Jane Suiter and David M. Farrell</i>	29
3 Candidate Selection <i>Theresa Reidy</i>	47
4 Campaign Strategies and Political Marketing <i>Pat Leahy</i>	68
5 Internet Explorers: the Online Campaign <i>Matthew Wall and Maria Laura Sudulich</i>	89
6 On the Campaign Trail <i>Seán Kyne, Ciara Conway, Conor Lenihan, Mary Lou McDonald, Richard Boyd Barrett, Paul Gogarty and Averil Power</i>	107
7 Ireland's Earthquake Election: Analysis of the Results <i>Michael Gallagher</i>	139
8 A Positive Choice, or Anyone But Fianna Fáil? <i>Michael Marsh and Kevin Cunningham</i>	172
9 Preference Voting Under PR-STV 1948–2011 <i>Richard Sinnott and James McBride</i>	205
10 Women and the Election <i>Fiona Buckley and Claire McGing</i>	222
11 The Final Seanad Election? <i>John Coakley</i>	240
12 Government Formation in 2011 <i>Eoin O'Malley</i>	264
13 The Election in Context <i>Peter Mair</i>	283

Appendices

Michael Courtney

Appendix 1: results of the general election, 25 February 2011 298

Appendix 2: members of the 31st Dáil 304

Appendix 3: the government and ministers of state 310

Appendix 4: the Irish electoral system 312

Appendix 5: retirements and defeated incumbents from the 30th Dáil 314

Index 316

List of Tables and Figures

Tables

2.1	Length of party manifestos 1997–2011	35
3.1	Number of candidates by party, 1997–2011	50
3.2	Occupational backgrounds of candidates, 2011	62
3.3	Political experience of candidates, 2011	64
3.4	Gender and family links of candidates, 2011	65
5.1	Percentage of candidates with personal campaign websites (by party) in 2007	90
5.2	Party profiles on Twitter and Facebook	99
5.3	Proportions of candidates from each party using Facebook and Twitter in the campaign	100
7.1	Fate of candidates at 2011 election	141
7.2	Result of 2011 election, with changes since 2007	145
7.3	Party shares of votes and of seats, 2011 election	153
7.4	Uniformity of party support across the country	156
7.5	Transfer patterns at 2011 election (%)	163
7.6	Constituencies where inter-party transfers affected the outcome	164
8.1	Core and potential support 2011 (%)	177
8.2	Time of decision (%)	178
8.3	Party choice of individual voters 2007–11 (%)	180
8.4	First preferences by social class from 2011, and change since 2007 (%)	182
8.5	Vote distribution by age in 2011 and change since 2007 (%)	183
8.6	The most important criterion in deciding how to vote (%)	185
8.7	The most important issue or problem in 2011	187
8.8	Party with best policy in selected areas (%)	189
8.9	Party choice by priority for new government	189
8.10	Party choice by taxation/spending balance (%)	191
8.11	Support for coalition options for all respondents and for supporters of individual parties (%)	196
8.12	First and second party preferences (%)	197
8.13	Poll averages during the campaign (%)	201
10.1	Women candidates and TDs at elections, 1973–2011	224
10.2	Women candidates in the 2011 election	228

10.3	First preference vote by sex and party, 2011 election	235
10.4	Occupational backgrounds of women TDs, 2011	235
11.1	Seanad candidate nominations by panel and sub-panel, 2011	245
11.2	Composition of Seanad electorate, 2011	248
11.3	Results of Seanad panel elections by party, 2011	251
11.4	Distribution of Seanad university electorate by period of first qualification and region, 2011	255
11.5	Overall result of Seanad election, 2011	258
12.1	Seat distributions in 31st Dáil	266
13.1	Aggregate electoral change in Ireland, 2007–11	286
13.2	Mean levels of volatility in Western Europe and Ireland, 1950s–2000s	287
13.3	Europe's most volatile elections since 1945	288
A1.1	Electorate, valid votes and votes for each party	298
A1.2	Turnout, and percentage votes for each party	300
A1.3	Seats and candidates by party	302
A2.1	Members of the 31st Dáil	304

Figures

1.1	Annual change in GDP, 2000–11	22
1.2	Rate of unemployment 2000–11	22
1.3	Satisfaction with government 2007–11	23
1.4	Party support 2007–11	26
2.1	Fine Gael's five-point plan	31
2.2	Estimated economic left-right positions of Irish parties 2007–11	39
2.3	Positions on economic and social policy	41
4.1	Leaflet of Independent candidate Paul Sommerville	76
5.1	The Fine Gael online campaign team in action	91
5.2	Fianna Fáil's 'empty chair' online ad	94
5.3	Labour's 'personalised message from Éamon'	97
7.1	Party support 1922–2011	143
7.2	Fine Gael vote management scheme in Dun Laoghaire	159
8.1	Fianna Fáil in the polls May 2007–February 2011	174
8.2	Best choice for Taoiseach over the campaign	193
9.1	Party loyalty in published vote transfer data, 1948–2011	208
9.2	Average party loyalty in vote transfers, Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael (1948–2011), and proportion of electorate attached to a party (1977–2011)	209

9.3	Party plumping in published vote transfer data, 1948–2011	211
9.4	Fine Gael to Labour and Labour to Fine Gael inter-party transfers in published vote transfer data, 1948–2011	212
9.5	Preference utilisation in e-voting constituencies, 2002 general election	215
9.6	Preference utilisation in selected mock ballot surveys and in e-voting constituencies, 2002 general election	215
9.7	Preference utilisation by party in e-voting constituencies, 2002 general election	216
9.8	Loyalty in published vote transfer data and (two-stage) loyalty in e-voting constituency data, at 2002 general election	218
11.1	Distribution of Seanad panel electorate, 1977–2011	249
13.1	Volatility in Irish elections 1927–2011	286