

35610  
(Col 1-4)



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Q'aire No (col 5-8)  
**CARD ONE COL 9-10/(01)**

**IRISH ELECTION SURVEY  
FINAL QUESTIONNAIRE**

Good morning/afternoon/evening. I am \_\_\_\_\_ from RED C Research & Marketing, an independent Irish market research agency. We are carrying out a survey today about politics and the recent election. Would you mind answering a few questions?

Respondent's Full Name _____		
Telephone Number _____		Interview Date _____
Interviewer's name _____		Assignment No: <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> * (11-15)
		Constituency code <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> (16-17)
I declare that this interview has been carried out strictly in accordance with your specification and has been conducted within the MRS Code of Conduct with a person unknown to me.	Interviewer's signature.	Checked by supervisor

**SECTION A - ATTITUDES**

**A.** Could I firstly check that you were eligible to vote in the recent Irish General Election?

		(18)	
Yes	1		CONTINUE
No	2		CLOSE
D/K	3		CLOSE

**A1a** Looking back on the recent general election campaign in February of this year, could you tell me if a candidate called to your home?

		(19)	
Yes	1		
No	2		
D/K	3		

**IF YES: SHOW BALLOT SHEET**

**A1b** Which candidates?

**WRITE IN 3 DIGIT CANDIDATE CODES FOR EACH BELOW FROM BALLOT SHEET**

Candidate 1			Candidate 2			Candidate 3			Candidate 4			Candidate 5			Candidate 6		
(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	(26)	(27)	(28)	(29)	(30)	(31)	(32)	(33)	(34)	(35)	(36)	(37)

**A2** Apart from those who may have called with the candidates themselves. From which party, if any, did any other party workers, or representatives of an independent candidate call to your home?

**MULTICODE SHOWCARD A1**

		(38)	
Fianna Fáil	1		
Fine Gael	2		
Labour	3		
Sinn Féin	4		
Green Party	5		
United Left Alliance	6		
Other party	7		
Independent Candidate	8		
NONE	9		

**A3** How closely did you follow the election campaign?

	(39)	
Very closely	1	
Fairly closely	2	
Not very closely	3	
Not at all closely	4	

**A4** On a scale of 0 –7 where 0 means ‘Never’ , 1 means one day a week, 2 means two days a week, and so on until 7 means ‘every day’ of the week, how often do you do the following:

**SHOWCARD A2**

READ OUT. ROTATE ORDER ↓	Never							Every Day		D/K	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7			
Watch television news	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	X	(40)	
Read a newspaper	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	X	(41)	
Listen to NATIONAL radio news	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	X	(42)	
Listen to LOCAL radio news	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	X	(43)	
Visit social media sites, such as Facebook	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	X	(44)	
View a twitter account	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	X	(45)	
Browse online for news	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	X	(46)	

**A4b** During the campaign did you sign up on the internet to receive online information or alerts from a party or candidate? **IF SO**, which party? **MULTICODE**

	(47)	
Fianna Fáil	1	
Fine Gael	2	
Labour	3	
Sinn Féin	4	
Green Party	5	
United Left Alliance	6	
Other party	7	
Independent Candidate	8	
NONE	9	

**A5** Which of the following newspapers do you regularly use for political information?

**SHOWCARD A3**

**MULTICODE**

	(48)	
Irish Times	1	
Irish Independent	2	
Irish Examiner	3	
Irish Star	4	
Evening Herald	5	
Irish Sun	6	
Other weekday paper	7	
Local newspaper/freesheets	8	
Sunday Independent	9	
	(49)	
Sunday Times	1	
Sunday Business Post	2	
News of the World	3	
The Sunday World	4	
Other Sunday paper	5	
None of these	6	
Other (specify) _____	7	

**A6** I will now read out some statements. Please tell me to what extent you Disagree or Agree with each statement. **SHOWCARD A4**

READ OUT – ROTATE ORDER ↓		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Disagree slightly	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	
	There should be very strict limits on the number of immigrants coming to live in Ireland	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	(50)
	The British government should declare its intention to withdraw from Northern Ireland at a fixed date in the future	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	(51)
	People should not have to put up with Travellers' halting sites in their neighbourhood	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	(52)
	A working mother can establish just as warm and secure a relationship with her children as a mother who stays at home	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	(53)
	I would be willing to pay much higher taxes in order to protect the environment	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	(54)
	So many people vote, my vote does not make much difference to <u>who is in government</u>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	(55)
	The assumption that TDs should provide a local service is a strength of the Irish political system	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	(56)
	The presence of large international companies is good for the Irish economy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	(57)
	Ireland should limit the import of foreign products in order to protect its national economy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	(58)

**A7** In terms of the long term future of Northern Ireland, which would you prefer? Northern Ireland should:...**READ OUT...** **SINGLE CODE ONLY**

		(59)	
	Remain in the UK with a direct and strong link to Britain	1	
	Remain in the UK and have a strong Assembly and government in Northern Ireland	2	
	Or, Unify with the Republic of Ireland	3	
	D/K	4	

### SECTION B – ELECTION 2011

**B1a** Different people feel differently about voting. For some, voting is a DUTY. They feel that they should vote in every election however they feel about the candidates and parties. For others, voting is a CHOICE. They feel free to vote or not to vote in an election depending on how they feel about the candidates and parties.

For you personally, would you say voting is FIRST AND FOREMOST a... **SINGLE CODE**

		(60)	
	Duty	1	
	Choice	2	
	Not Sure	3	

**ASK ALL CODE 1 AT Q.B1a**

**B1b** How strongly do you feel personally that voting is a duty?

		(61)	
	Very Strongly	1	
	Somewhat Strongly	2	
	Not Very Strongly	3	

**ASK ALL**

**B2a** Talking to people about the recent general election we have found that a lot of people *didn't* manage to vote. Which statements on this card best describes what you did?

**SHOWCARD B1 SINGLE CODE ONLY**

		(62)	
	I am sure I voted in the election	1	
	I did not vote in the election	2	
	I thought about voting in the election but in the end I didn't	3	
	I usually vote but didn't this time	4	

**ASK ALL WHO DID NOT VOTE – (CODE 2-4 @ B2a)**

**B2b** Why did you decide not to vote?

**DO NOT READ OUT. WRITE IN. PROBE** Any other reasons? Any others?

	V X 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 (63)
	V X 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 (64)
	V X 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 (65)

**ASK ALL**

**BALLOT PAPER – USE BALLOT PAPER FOR CONSTITUENCY**

**IF VOTED IN FEB 2011 ELECTION (CODE 1 @ B2a) ASK:**

**B4a** I have a ballot paper here for this [or the \_\_\_\_\_] constituency. Please fill it in as you did on polling day – as best you can remember.

**IF DID NOT VOTE IN FEB 2011 ELECTION (CODE 2-4 @ B2a) ASK:**

**B4b** I have a ballot paper here for this [or the \_\_\_\_\_] constituency. Suppose you had voted in the Feb 2011 election, how would you have filled in the ballot paper on Election Day?

**IF RESPONDENT REFUSES TO FILL OUT BALLOT PAPER or IF DID NOT VOTE IN CONSTITUENCY ASK:**

**B4c** Can I ask you which party you gave your first preference vote to?

	(66)	
Fianna Fáil	1	
Fine Gael	2	
Labour	3	
	blank	
Sinn Féin	5	
The Green Party	6	
Independent Candidate	7	
United Left Alliance candidate	8	
Other party (Specify) _____	9	
Did not vote	0	
Undecided	X	
Refused	V	

**ASK B5-B8 TO ALL WHO VOTED AT GENERAL ELECTION FEB 2011, IF DIDN'T VOTE AT ELECTION 2011 GO TO B9.**

**B5a** Did the political party to which you gave your first preference vote in the election ask people in this area to vote for their candidates in a particular order?

**ASK IF YES @ B5a:**

**B5b** And did you vote for the candidates in that order?

	B5	B5b	
	(67)	(68)	
Yes	1	1	
No	2	2	
D/K	3	3	

**B6** Was there any time during the general election campaign when you seriously thought you might give your first preference vote to a different PARTY or grouping?

	(69)	
Yes	1	
No	2	
D/K	3	

**CHECK BALLOT - IF GAVE 1<sup>ST</sup> PREFERENCE TO CANDIDATE FROM A PARTY ASK B7a & B7b, IF GAVE 1<sup>ST</sup> PREFERENCE TO INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE SKIP TO B8a**

**B7a** Which would you say was more important in deciding how you cast your first preference vote in the general election in February of this year – the party or the candidate him/herself?

		(70)	
	Party	1	
	Candidate	2	
	D/K	3	

**B7b** If your first preference candidate had been running for any of the other parties, would you still have given a first preference vote to him/her?

		(71)	
	Yes	1	
	No	2	
	Depends on the other party/ D/K	3	

**ASK ALL GAVE 1<sup>ST</sup> PREFERENCE VOTE TO INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE, OTHERS GO TO B9**

**B8a** Which would you say was more important in deciding how you cast your first preference vote in the general election in February of this year – the candidate him/herself or the fact that the candidate was independent?

		(72)	
	Candidate	1	
	Fact that candidate was independent	2	
	D/K	3	

**B8b** If your first preference candidate had been running for FOR A PARTY, would you still have given a first preference vote to him/her?

		(73)	
	Yes	1	
	No	2	
	Depends on the other party/ D/K	3	

**ASK ALL**

**B9.** I would now like you to think back, very carefully, to the last *general election* in June 2007. If you actually voted at the last election could you tell me the party or independent candidate, if any, you actually voted for in the polling station? Was it Fianna Fáil, Fine Gael, Labour, Sinn Féin, the Progressive Democrat's, the Green Party, an Independent candidate or some other party?

**SINGLE CODE ONLY**

		(74)	
	Fianna Fáil	1	
	Fine Gael	2	
	Labour	3	
	Progressive Democrats (PDs)	4	
	Sinn Féin	5	
	The Green Party	6	
	Independent Candidate	7	
	Socialist Party	8	
	Other party (Specify) _____	9	
	Did not vote	0	
	Don't Know / Can't Remember	X	
	Refused	V	

**B10** How interested would you say you are in politics?

		(75)	
	Very interested	1	
	Quite interested	2	
	Not very interested	3	
	Not at all interested	4	

**B11** Prior to the recent election, did you discuss the election with family, friends or acquaintances?

	(76)	
Yes	1	
No	2	
D/K	3	

**B12a** Did you contact any TDs from this constituency in the 12 months before the election?

	(77)	
Yes	1	
No	2	
D/K	3	

SKIP COL (78-80)  
REPUNCH COL 1-9 ON CARD 2, COL 10 (02)

**IF YES AT B12a ASK B12b, OTHERS GO TO B13b**

**B12b** Can you please tell me the names of the TDs you contacted?

**WRITE IN TD 3 DIGIT CODES BELOW (TAKE FROM CANDIDATES ON BALLOT SHEET)**

IF TD NOT RUNNING CODE AS 999

IF TD IN DIFFERENT CONSTITUENCY CODE AS 998

IF DON'T REMEMBER NAME OF TD CODE AS 997

Candidate 1			Candidate 2			Candidate 3			Candidate 4			Candidate 5		
(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)

**ASK FOR EACH CANDIDATE CONTACTED AT B12b**

**B12c** Did you contact them about a matter of national policy; about a matter that concerns the community where you live; or about a matter personal to you or your family? **MULTICODE**

	Cand 1 (26)	Cand 2 (27)	Cand 3 (28)	Cand 4 (29)	Cand 5 (30)
National Policy	1	1	1	1	1
Community where you live	2	2	2	2	2
A matter personal to you or your family	3	3	3	3	3

**ASK ALL CONTACTED TD AT B12 ASK FOR EACH TD CONTACTED**

**B13a** How satisfied were you in the response you received from the TD you contacted?

	Cand 1 (31)	Cand 2 (32)	Cand 3 (33)	Cand 4 (34)	Cand 5 (35)
Very satisfied	1	1	1	1	1
Quite satisfied	2	2	2	2	2
Not very satisfied	3	3	3	3	3
Not at all satisfied	4	4	4	4	4

**B13b** We have a number of political parties in Ireland each of which would like to get your vote. How probable is it that you will ever give your first preference vote to the following parties? Please use the numbers on this scale to indicate your views, where '1' means 'NOT AT ALL PROBABLE' and '10' means 'VERY PROBABLE' **SHOWCARD B2**

READ OUT. ROTATE ORDER ↓	Not at all probable										Very Probable			D/K	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10				
Fianna Fáil	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(36-37)		
Fine Gael	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(38-39)		
Labour	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(40-41)		
Sinn Féin	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(42-43)		
Green party	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(44-45)		
Independent candidate	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(46-47)		
United Left Alliance	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(48-49)		

**ASK ALL:**

Thinking of the Dáil, could you tell me what you think about the way in which TDs spend their time between local issues and national issues. By local issues I mean working to solve the problems of individual constituents, or trying to ensure that their constituency gets a bigger share of resources. By national issues I mean contributing to debates on national policy issues, or playing an active part in drawing up legislation to deal with national issues.

**B14** What proportion of their time do you think that TDs generally spend on local issues vs. national issues?

**WRITE IN - USE LEADING ZEROS**

Local				(50-52)
National				(53-55)

**TOTAL MUST ADD TO 100%**

**B15** And, what proportion of their time do you think that TDs SHOULD spend on local issues vs. national issues? **WRITE IN - USE LEADING ZEROS**

Local				(56-58)
National				(59-61)

**TOTAL MUST ADD TO 100%**

**B16** Which of the qualities shown on this card would you say are particularly important for TDs to have? You may choose more than one, none, or suggest others. **MULTICODE**

**SHOWCARD B3**

	(62)	
Speak their own mind	1	
Speak up for the area they represent	2	
Help individual voters sort out their problems	3	
Be loyal to the party they represent	4	
Other (write in) _____	5	
D/K	8	

**B17** When thinking about the work of a TD, how important are the following aspects of their work? This time please use a 5 point scale where 1 = of little importance and 5 = Of Great Importance.

**SHOWCARD B4**

READ OUT – ROTATE ORDER	Little importance			Great importance			DK	
Working on legislation	1	2	3	4	5	V		(63)
Raising awareness of important social needs and interests	1	2	3	4	5	V		(64)
Developing policies	1	2	3	4	5	V		(65)
Get as much for their constituency from the government as possible	1	2	3	4	5	V		(66)
Balancing different interests in society	1	2	3	4	5	V		(67)
Representing the individual interests of individual citizens	1	2	3	4	5	V		(68)

**B18** How much do you feel that you know about the way in which the Dáil works and operates on a daily basis? **SINGLE CODE**

	(69)	
A lot	1	
A fair amount	2	
Some	3	
Very little or nothing	4	

**B19** During the election campaign, there were a lot of discussions by various parties about the political reforms that would be made. Considering each one of these, how much do you agree or disagree with each?

**SHOWCARD B5**

READ OUT – ROTATE ORDER ↓		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Disagree slightly	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Strongly agree	
	The Seanad should be abolished	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	(70)
	Cabinet ministers should step down as TDs to concentrate on running their ministries and be replaced by someone else from the same party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	(71)
	Some experts who are not TD's should be brought into the cabinet	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	(72)
	The number of TDs should be significantly reduced	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	(73)
	Local government should be given power to raise and to manage their own finances	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	(74)
	Our PR-STV (Single Transferable Vote) electoral system should be replaced	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	(75)
	Parties should be forced to nominate more women as candidates	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	(76)

SKIP COL (77-80)  
REPUNCH COL 1-8 ON CARD 3, COL 9-10 (03)

**B20** On this card I have a number of opposing statements. People who agree fully with the statement on the left would give a score of '0'. People who agree fully with the statement on the right would give a score of '10'. Other people would place themselves somewhere in between these two views. Where would you place yourself on these scales? **SHOWCARD B6**

<b>21.1</b>	<i>Business and industry should be strictly regulated by the State</i>							<i>Business and industry should be entirely free from regulation by the State</i>	DK				
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(11-12)
<b>21.2</b>	<i>Most of business and industry should be owned by the state</i>							<i>Most of business and industry should be privately owned</i>	DK				
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(13-14)
<b>21.3</b>	<i>European unification has already gone too far</i>							<i>European unification should be pushed further</i>	DK				
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(15-16)
<b>21.4</b>	<i>God definitely does not exist</i>							<i>God definitely does exist</i>	DK				
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(17-18)
<b>21.5</b>	<i>We should protect the environment even if this damages economic growth</i>							<i>We should encourage economic growth even if this damages the environment</i>	DK				
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(19-20)
<b>21.6</b>	<i>There should be a total ban on abortion in Ireland</i>							<i>Abortion should be freely available in Ireland to any woman who wants to have one</i>	DK				
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(21-22)

**B21** In politics people sometimes talk of left and right. Where would you place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means the left and 10 means the right?

LEFT								RIGHT			DK	
0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(23-24)



**B.22a** What has been the issue most important to you personally in this election?

**DO NOT READ OUT. PROBE TO PRE-CODES, SINGLE CODE ONLY**

**B.22b** What has been the issue second most important to you personally in this election?

**DO NOT READ OUT. PROBE TO PRE-CODES, SINGLE CODE ONLY**

	Most Important	2 <sup>nd</sup> most important
	(25)	(28)
Anger with the government	1	1
Been let down by politicians	2	2
Education/Local Schools	3	3
Health services/ Hospitals/Waiting lists	4	4
The state of Irish economy/ management of the economy	5	5
The state of the public finances/deficit	6	6
Job creation	7	7
IMF/EU bailout	8	8
Taxation	9	9
Social welfare cuts/ child benefit/ unemployment benefit etc	0	0
Stable government	X	X
	(26)	(29)
Political Reform	1	1
Universal social charge	2	2
Problems with the banks/ banking crisis	3	3
Public Sector Reform	4	4
Emigration	5	5
Immigration	6	6
Road safety/boy racers	7	7
Drugs	8	8
Negative Equity/ Help with paying my mortgage	9	9
Crime/ Law & Order/ Vandalism	0	0
	(27)	(30)
Ghost Estates	1	1
The environment	2	2
Other (specify)	3	3
No Other		4

### SECTION C – POLITICAL ATTITUDES

**C1** I'd like to know what you think about each of our political parties. After I read the name of a party, please rate each party on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you STRONGLY DISLIKE that party and 10 means that you STRONGLY LIKE that party. If you come to a party you haven't heard of or you feel you do not know enough about, just say 'Don't know' **SHOWCARD C1**

READ OUT. ROTATE ORDER ↓	Strongly dislike										Strongly Like			D/K	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10				
Fianna Fáil	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(31-32)		
Fine Gael	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(33-34)		
Labour	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(35-36)		
Sinn Féin	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(37-38)		
Green party	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(39-40)		
United Left Alliance	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(41-42)		

**C2** And what do you think of various party leaders? After I read the name of a party leader, please rate them on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you STRONGLY DISLIKE that candidate and 10 means that you STRONGLY LIKE that candidate, If I come to a party leader you haven't heard of or you feel you do not know enough about, just say 'Don't know' **SHOWCARD C1**

READ OUT. ROTATE ↓	Strongly dislike								Strongly Like				D/K	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10			
Micheál Martin	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(43-44)	
Enda Kenny	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(45-46)	
Eamonn Gilmore	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(47-48)	
Gerry Adams	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(49-50)	
John Gormley	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(51-52)	
Brian Cowan	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(53-54)	

**C3** Next I'd like to know what you think about some of the candidates who stood in this constituency for political parties. After I read the name of a candidate, please rate each candidate on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means you STRONGLY DISLIKE that candidate and 10 means that you STRONGLY LIKE that candidate. If you come to a candidate you haven't heard of or you feel you do not know enough about, just say 'Don't know' . **WRITE IN SCORE FROM 0-10 FOR EACH OF TOP 10-11 PERFORMING CANDIDATES IN CONSTITUENCY - DON'T KNOW SHOULD BE RECORDED AS X**

**USE SHOWCARD "X" - INTERVIEWER NOTE 'CANDIDATE 01' RELATES TO THE FIRST CANDIDATE THAT APPEARS ON SHOWCARD X, 'CANDIDATE 02' RELATES TO THE SECOND CANDIDATE ON THE LIST AND SO ON.**

Candidate 01	(55-56)	Candidate 06	(65-66)	Candidate 11	(75-76)
Candidate 02	(57-58)	Candidate 07	(67-68)		
Candidate 03	(59-60)	Candidate 08	(69-70)		
Candidate 04	(61-62)	Candidate 09	(71-72)		
Candidate 05	(63-64)	Candidate 10	(73-74)		

**SKIP COL (77-80)  
REPUNCH COL 1-8 ON CARD 4, COL 9-10 (04)**

**C4** Thinking back over the last four years – the lifetime of the 2007 to 2011 Fianna Fáil/PD/Green government – would you say that the ECONOMY in Ireland over that period of time got a lot better; a little better; stayed the same; got a little worse; or got a lot worse? **SINGLE CODE**

	(11)	
Got a lot better	1	
Got a little better	2	
Stayed the same	3	
Got a little worse	4	
Got a lot worse	5	
D/K	6	

**ASK ALL CODE 1-5 AT C4, IF DON'T KNOW AT C4 – SKIP TO C7**

**C5** Do you think this was MAINLY due to the policies of that government or NOT MAINLY DUE to the policies of that government? **SINGLE CODE**

	(12)	
Mainly due to the policies of that government	1	
Not mainly due to the policies of that government	2	
D/K	3	

**C6** Would a Fine Gael/Labour coalition have handled the economy better in the past?

	(13)	
Yes	1	
No	2	
D/K	3	

**ASK ALL**

**C7** Thinking back over the last four years – the lifetime of the 2007 to 2011 Fianna Fáil/PD/Green government – would you say that the HEALTH SERVICES in Ireland over that period of time got a lot better; a little better; stayed the same; got a little worse; or got a lot worse? **SINGLE CODE**

	(14)	
Got a lot better	1	
Got a little better	2	
Stayed the same	3	
Got a little worse	4	
Got a lot worse	5	
D/K	6	

**ASK ALL CODE 1-5 AT C7, IF DON'T KNOW AT C7 – SKIP TO C10**

**C8** Do you think this was MAINLY due to the policies of that government or NOT MAINLY DUE to the policies of that government? **SINGLE CODE**

	(15)	
Mainly due to the policies of that government	1	
Not mainly due to the policies of that government	2	
D/K	3	

**C9** Would a Fine Gael/Labour coalition have handled the HEALTH SERVICES better in the past?

	(16)	
Yes	1	
No	2	
D/K	3	

**C10** Generally speaking, how do you feel about the way things are going in the country these days? For each of the following emotions can you tell whether you are Extremely, Very, Moderately A little, or Not at all feeling this. So first of all how \_\_\_\_\_ are you or not about the way things are going in the country. **SHOWCARD C2**

READ OUT – ROTATE ORDER ↓	Not at all	A little	Moderately	Very	Extremely	DK	
Angry	1	2	3	4	5	V	(17)
Afraid	1	2	3	4	5	V	(18)
Proud	1	2	3	4	5	V	(19)
Hopeful	1	2	3	4	5	V	(20)
Worried	1	2	3	4	5	V	(21)
Outraged	1	2	3	4	5	V	(22)

**C11** I am going to name a number of organisations. For each one, could you tell me how much confidence you have in them: is it a great deal of confidence, quite a lot of confidence, not very much confidence or none at all? **SHOWCARD C3**

READ OUT – ROTATE ORDER ↓	None at all	Not very much confidence	Quite a lot of confidence	A great deal of confidence	DK	
The church	1	2	3	4	V	(23)
Trade Unions	1	2	3	4	V	(24)
The Gardaí	1	2	3	4	V	(25)
The courts	1	2	3	4	V	(26)
Political parties	1	2	3	4	V	(27)
Banks	1	2	3	4	V	(28)
The Dáil	1	2	3	4	V	(29)
The Civil service	1	2	3	4	V	(30)
RTÉ	1	2	3	4	V	(31)
Local authority/local government	1	2	3	4	V	(32)
The European Union	1	2	3	4	V	(33)

**C12** How HONEST do you think each of the following politicians are, using the 0-10 scale where 0 means you think that politician IS NOT VERY HONEST and 10 means you think that politician IS VERY HONEST? **SHOWCARD C4**

READ OUT. ROTATE ↓		Not very honest								Very honest			D/K	
	Micheál Martin	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(34-35)
	Brian Cowen	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(36-37)
	Enda Kenny	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(38-39)
	Eamonn Gilmore	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(40-41)
	Gerry Adams	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(42-43)

**C13** To what extent do you think that the following politicians are in touch with ordinary people, using the 0-10 scale where 0 means you think that politician IS NOT VERY IN TOUCH and 10 means you think that politician IS VERY IN TOUCH? **SHOWCARD C5**

READ OUT. ROTATE ↓		Not very In touch								Very In touch			D/K	
	Micheál Martin	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(44-45)
	Brian Cowen	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(46-47)
	Enda Kenny	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(48-49)
	Eamonn Gilmore	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(50-51)
	Gerry Adams	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(52-53)

**C14** How good do you think that the following politicians would be at running the country, using the 0-10 scale where 0 means you think that politician would be NOT VERY GOOD at running the country and 10 means you think that politician would be VERY GOOD? **SHOWCARD C6**

READ OUT. ROTATE ORDER ↓		Not very Good								Very Good			D/K	
	Micheál Martin	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(54-55)
	Brian Cowen	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(56-57)
	Enda Kenny	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(58-59)
	Eamonn Gilmore	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(60-61)
	Gerry Adams	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(62-63)

SKIP COL (64-80)  
REPUNCH COL 1-8 ON CARD 5, COL 9-10 (05)

**SECTION D – THE ECONOMY**

**D1** I would like you to look at the scale from 0 to 10 on this card. A '0' means government should MAINTAIN TAXES and SPEND LESS on health and social services, and '10' means government should INCREASE TAXES A LOT and SPEND THE SAME on health and social services. where would you place yourself in terms of this scale **SHOWCARD D1**

Government should MAINTAIN TAXES and SPEND LESS on health and social services						Government should INCREASE TAXES A LOT and SPEND THE SAME on health and social services				D/K			
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	X	(11-12)

**D2** Thinking about each of the following, and bearing in mind that government might need more revenue in order to maintain spending levels on public services, would you be in favour of, or opposed to, the introduction of each one of these measures in order to raise revenue for the public finances?

READ OUT. ROTATE ORDER ↓		In Favour Of	Opposed To	D/K	
	Property Tax	1	2	3	(13)
	Water Charges	1	2	3	(14)
	The sale of state assets such as ESB	1	2	3	(15)
	Re-Introduce student fees	1	2	3	(16)

**D3** In the past few years the economy has been in recession. How responsible, if at all, are each of the following for the poor economic conditions of the past two years? Extremely responsible, Very responsible, moderately responsible, A little responsible, Not at all responsible

**SHOWCARD D2**

<b>READ OUT – ROTATE ORDER</b> ↓	Not at all responsible	A little responsible	Moderately responsible	Very responsible	Extremely responsible	DK	
The Irish Government	1	2	3	4	5	V	(17)
The European Union	1	2	3	4	5	V	(18)
Department of Finance and Irish Central Bank	1	2	3	4	5	V	(19)
International economic situation	1	2	3	4	5	V	(20)
Bankers	1	2	3	4	5	V	(21)
Membership of the euro	1	2	3	4	5	V	(22)

**D4** Which, if any, of the following have happened to you or someone in your household since the 2007 general election?

<b>READ OUT. ROTATE ORDER</b> ↓	Applies	Does not apply	D/K	
Made redundant/ lost job	1	2	3	(23)
Had a pay freeze in work	1	2	3	(24)
Had a pay cut in work	1	2	3	(25)
Employer has cut working hours	1	2	3	(26)

**D5** In 2011, how worried, if at all, are you about... **SHOWCARD D3**

<b>READ OUT – ROTATE ORDER</b> ↓	Not at all worried	Not very worried	Quite worried	Very worried	DK	
Paying your household bills	1	2	3	4	V	(27)
Having to reduce your standard of living	1	2	3	4	V	(28)
Losing your job	1	2	3	4	V	(29)
Paying your mortgage	1	2	3	4	V	(30)

**D6** Now I am going to read out some more statements that other people have made about the economy. Considering each one, can you please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each?

**SHOWCARD D4**

<b>READ OUT – ROTATE ORDER</b> ↓	Strongly Disagree	Disagree slightly	Neither agree nor disagree	Slightly agree	Strongly agree	
The government was wrong to accept the bailout from the EU/IMF	1	2	3	4	5	(31)
A new government should be able to get much better terms on the loan from the EU/IMF	1	2	3	4	5	(32)
We should “burn the bondholders”: that is, we should default on debt in the banks rather than take on more debt for the country	1	2	3	4	5	(33)
We are all to blame for the economic problems in Ireland as we all got too greedy	1	2	3	4	5	(34)
Those having difficulty in keeping up with their mortgage repayments should be assisted by financial support from the government, paid by all taxpayers	1	2	3	4	5	(35)

**SECTION E – POLITICAL CLOSENESS**

**E1** Do you usually think of yourself as close to any political party?

	(36)		
Yes	1	Go to E2	
No	2	Go to E4	
D/K	3	Go to E4	

**ASK ALL YES AT E1 – OTHERS SKIP TO E4**

**E2 Which party is that? DO NOT READ OUT. RECORD 1<sup>ST</sup>, 2<sup>ND</sup> AND 3<sup>RD</sup> MENTIONS IF MORE THAN ONE MENTIONED ASK**

**E3 Which party do you feel closest to?**

	E2			E3	
	1 <sup>st</sup> mention SINGLE CODE	2 <sup>nd</sup> mention SINGLE CODE	3 <sup>rd</sup> mention SINGLE CODE	CLOSEST SINGLE CODE	
	(37)	(38)	(39)	(40)	
Fianna Fáil	1	1	1	1	
Fine Gael	2	2	2	2	
Labour	3	3	3	3	
Sinn Féin	4	4	4	4	
Green party	5	5	5	5	
Other party	6	6	6	6	
D/K REFUSED	7	7	7	7	

**ASK ALL NO / DON'T KNOW AT E1**

**E4 Do you feel yourself as a little closer to one of the political parties than the others?**

	(41)	
Yes	1	Go to E5
No	2	Go to E7
D/K	3	Go to E7

**ASK ALL YES AT E4**

**E5 Which party is that? DO NOT READ OUT. RECORD ONE PARTY ONLY**

	(42)
Fianna Fáil	1
Fine Gael	2
Labour	3
Sinn Féin	5
The Green Party	6
Other party	7
D/K, Refused	V

**ASK ALL CODE PARTY AT E5**

**E6 Do you feel very close to this party, somewhat close, or not very close? SINGLE CODE**

	(43)
Very close	1
Somewhat close	2
Not very close	3

**ASK ALL**

**E7** Now I would like to ask you some factual questions about politics. It doesn't matter if you know the answers or not, we are just interested to see how close people are to politics in Ireland. So, first of all do you know how many seats there are currently in the Dail?

**DO NOT READ OUT OR PROMPT ANSWER SINGLE CODE ONLY**

166 exactly	1	(44)
160-170, but not 166 exactly	2	
Other	3	
D/K	4	

**E8** Who is the current Irish Commissioner to the EU? **DO NOT READ OUT OR PROMPT ANSWER SINGLE CODE ONLY**

Marie Geoghegan-Quinn	1	(45)
Other	2	
D/K	3	

**E9** Who was the Minister for Health from 2004 until January this year? **DO NOT READ OUT OR PROMPT ANSWER SINGLE CODE**

Mary Harney	1	(46)
Other	2	
D/K	3	

**E10** Who is the current First Minister of Northern Ireland? **DO NOT READ OUT OR PROMPT ANSWER SINGLE CODE**

Peter Robinson	1	(47)
Other	2	
D/K	3	

## CLASSIFICATION QUESTIONS

**F1** Which of these best describes your job position?

Managing Director/ CEO	1	(48)
Company Director	2	
Manager	3	
Team leader	4	
Clerical/ office staff	5	
Student	6	
Manual worker	7	
Other	8	

**F2** Which of the following best describes where you live?

A town or city with a population of more than 1,500	1	(49)
A town, village or rural district with a population of less than 1,500	2	

**F3** What is your overall annual household income before tax, including any benefits you may be entitled to?

Under €20,000	1	(50)
€20,000 - €24,999	2	
€25,000 - €29,999	3	
€30,000 - €34,999	4	
€35,000 - €39,999	5	
€40,000 - €49,999	6	
€50,000 - €74,999	7	
€75,000 - €99,999	8	
€100,000 - €149,000	9	
€150,000+	X	
Refused	0	

Now, I just want to ask a few questions to help classify you in our sample...

<b>F4. GENDER</b> (51)		<b>F10. DEPENDENT CHILDREN</b> (58)	
Male	1	Any dependent children under 16	1
Female	2	No dependent children under 16	2
<b>F5. MARITAL STATUS</b> (52)		<b>F11. HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION X AGE</b>	
Married	1	Write in number of persons living in household for each:	
Living as married	2	Children aged less than 14 years	(59)
Single	3	Persons aged 14 to 17 years	(60)
Widowed/Divorced/Separated	4	Person aged 18-59	(61)
<b>F6. WORKING STATUS</b> (53)		Persons aged 60+	(62)
Housewife	1	<b>F12. TRADE UNION MEMBER:</b>	
At School	2	Self (63)	Other Member in h/hold (64)
Full time student	3	Yes	1
Temporarily unemployed	4	No	2
Persons aged 30-60	5		
Person aged 60 or more	6		
Full time working (30+ hours)	7	<b>F13. EMPLOYER</b> (65)	
Part time working (<30 hrs week)	8	Private sector	1
		Public sector	2
		Semi state body	3
<b>F7. EMPLOYMENT</b> (54)		<b>F14. NATIONALITY:</b> (66)	
Self Employed	1	Irish	1
Employee	2	UK	2
		Rest of Europe	3
		Rest of World	4
<b>F8 OCCUPATION OF CHIEF INCOME EARNER</b>		<b>F15. EDUCATION LEVEL ACHIEVED TO DATE:</b> (67)	
<i>INTERVIEWER: PROBE FULLY WRITE IN FULL DESCRIPTION AND GIVE JOB TITLE. USE PRECISE TERMS SUCH AS 'RETAIL STORE MANAGER' NOT 'MANAGER. IF TEACHER, RECORD PRIMARY OR SECONDARY. IF RETIRED, RECORD OCCUPATION PRE-RETIREMENT</i>		Primary	1
		Junior cert or equivalent	2
		Leaving cert or equivalent	3
		Diploma or Certificate	4
		University Degree /equivalent (completed)	5
		University Degree /equivalent (incomplete)	6
		<b>F16. AGE (write in and then code below):</b> (68-70)	
			(71)
		18-24	1
		25-29	2
		30-34	3
		35-39	4
		40-44	5
		45-49	6
		50-54	7
		55-59	8
		60-65	9
		65+	0
<b>CODE SOCIAL CLASS</b> (56)			
AB	1		
C1	2		
C2	3		
D	4		
E	5		
F 50+	6		
F 50-	7		
<b>F9 TENURE: SINGLE CODE</b> (57)			
Owned without mortgage or loan	1		
Owned with mortgage or loan	2		
Local authority tenant	3		
Private tenant	4		
Other Specify	5		



THANK AND CLOSE – COMPLETE FINAL QUESTIONS OVERLEAF

F17 Interviewer Record Interview length in minutes

(72-73)

F18 Interviewer Record judgement on how knowledgeable the respondent is about politics, on a scale of 1-5 where 1 is very little or no knowledge and 5 is very knowledgeable indeed.

(74)

F19. DATE OF INTERVIEW: DAY

(75-76)

MONTH

(77-78)