Election 2007

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Editorial

This edition of *Spotlight* presents the results of the General Election 2007 and examines the regulatory context within which it took place. Some key areas of electoral regulation will be considered during the term of the 30th Dáil. They include the reform of the electoral register, changes to constituency boundaries, the Government response to the second report of the Commission on Electronic Voting (2006) and the commitment to establish an Electoral Commission.

The first part of S*potlight* concentrates on the regulatory framework, the voters and the women candidates. Relevant international research on electoral commissions, turnout and the representation of women in parliament is discussed. For the first time the OSCE[1] Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (OSCE / ODIHR) observed an Irish election and some of their key recommendations are outlined.

Part two provides the results and some analysis of the elections to the 30th Dáil and the 23rd Seanad.

Public Administration & Politics Team
18 December 2007

[1] Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe

Part 1: Election Framework

Dáil Electoral Regulation

The electoral framework in Ireland consists of constitutional provisions and primary legislation. In brief, elections are regulated by Article 16 of Bunreacht na hÉireann, by the Electoral Act 1992, the Electoral Act 1997, and by amending legislation.

Electoral Law

- Article 16 Bunreacht na hÉireann
- The Electoral Act 1992
- The Electoral Act 1997
- The Electoral (Amendment) Act 1996
- The Electoral (Amendment) Act 1998
- The Electoral (Amendment) Act 2001
- The Electoral (Amendment) Act 2002
- The Electoral (Amendment) (No. 2) 2002
- The Electoral (Amendment) Act 2004
- The Electoral (Amendment) Act 2005
- The Electoral (Amendment) Act 2006
- The Electoral (Amendment) Act 2007

The most recent consolidation of electoral legislation took place in 1992, when a single Electoral Act repealed and replaced a number of acts dating back to the 19th century.

There have been a number of changes to Irish electoral law between the 2002 and the 2007 election. For example, the introduction of postal voting for prisoners in the Electoral (Amendment) Act 2006, and changes to the candidate nomination process in the Electoral (Amendment) Act 2007.

The Report on the 2007 election by the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (OSCE/ODIHR) suggested that: "The Irish authorities could usefully consider consolidation of the electoral legislation in order to further enhance its accessibility and facilitate its implementation".[2] The Report also stated that in order to be fully consistent with the 1990 OSCE Copenhagen Document, election legislation should be amended to explicitly permit international and domestic non-partisan observation of elections. This was the first election to which observers from the OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (OSCE / ODIHR) were invited.

Register of Electors

The Electoral Act 1992, as amended, provides the legal basis for the Register of Electors. The legislation assigns the task of compiling the electoral register to the 34 local authorities, who are required by law to prepare and publish a register of electors every year. A draft register is published on 1 November and is made available for examination until 25 November. The final register comes into force on 15 February and is used at each election and referendum held in the succeeding 12 months. In addition, people have a further opportunity to be added to the register via the 'supplement to the register of electors'. Applications for the supplemental register must be received at least 15 working days before polling day.

Problems with electoral registers may arise for many reasons. For example, double-counting, counting the deceased, or counting emigrants may lead to over-estimates, especially in the absence of a systematic facility to check the validity of the electoral register.[3] The accuracy of the register is an important issue in relation to turnout, and is discussed in more detail later in *Spotlight*. In response to concerns about the accuracy of the electoral register, an extensive electoral registration campaign was carried out by local authorities in 2006/7. This involved more than one million modifications to the register, with

[2] OSCE / ODIHR (2007) p. 3
[3] O'Malley (2001)

some 555,000 names being removed and 523,000 names added.[4]

This resulted in 3,066,517 Dáil electors on the Register of Electors published in February 2007.[5] The final figure of 3,110,914 included the electors added onto the Supplement to the Register.[6] The outcome of the campaign was not without its critics, in particular in relation to people taken off the register mistakenly.[7]

The OSCE/ODIHR Report stated that the accuracy of the register was an issue that was brought up repeatedly with their interlocutors before, during and after the 24 May election. "While some officials noted improvements due to the extensive efforts in 2006/2007 initiated by the Department of Environment, all agreed there was a serious need for a more accurate register, including a complete overhaul of the system based on a long-term solution agreed across party lines".[8] Recommendations made by the OSCE/ODIHR included:

- A comprehensive approach (involving consultation with key stakeholders) to further improving the method of compiling the Register of Electors.
- Consideration could be given to a system that provides a unique identifier for each voter.
- A voter who is removed or not added to the voter register due to a clerical error should be added to a supplemental voter list on election day, if proper documentation is provided.

In November 2007, the Minister for the Environment, Heritage and Local Government launched a public information campaign to promote awareness of the Draft Register of Electors. He stressed the need for a concerted effort by all concerned to ensure that the Register is as accurate and comprehensive as possible.[9] Maintaining a rolling register is one of the responsibilities earmarked for the proposed Electoral Commission.

Campaign spending limits

The 1997 Electoral Act, as amended, limited the amount of expenditure which may be incurred by or on behalf of a candidate at a Dáil election. The amounts at issue may be varied by Ministerial order in line with movement in the Consumer Price Index. The limits were duly updated for the 2007 election.

For 2007 the campaign spending limits were:

- €30,150 in a 3-seat constituency
- €37,650 in a 4-seat constituency
- €45,200 in a 5-seat constituency

Candidates are required to report on campaign spending to the Standards in Public Office Commission (SIPO), for the period between the date of the dissolution of the Dáil, and the day of the election. The issue of spending prior to the election period has been raised by some observers, including SIPO. In their 2003 review of the Electoral Acts, SIPO had recommended giving consideration to extending the election period to a date prior to the dissolution of the Dáil.[10] More recently, the OSCE/ODIHR Report suggestsed that 'actual campaign spending begins long before the stipulated period, and some interlocutors expressed the view that spending during the pre-election period rendered limits almost obsolete'.[11]

[4] Presentation to Joint Committee on Environment, Heritage and Local Government, November 13 2007, and PQ Ref 18482/07.
[5] http://www.environ.ie/en/Publications/LocalGovernment/Voting/FileDownLoad,5371,en.doc Accessed 3 December 2007.
[6] http://www.oireachtas.ie/documents/publications/ElectorialHandbook_2007.pdf Accessed 3 December 2007.
[7] 'Call for electoral register probe' *Irish Independent*, May 25 2007; 'Electors omitted from register' *The Irish Times*, May 30 2007; 'Electoral register described as "beyond redemption"', *The Irish Times*, Nov 14, 2007.
[8] OSCE/ODIHIR (2007) p. 11
[9] http://www.environ.ie/en/LocalGovernment/Voting/News/MainBody,15781,en.htm Accessed 3 December 2007.
[10] See SIPO (2003, 2007), and also Weeks, L (2007) 'Appendix 5: regulation of campaign spending' in Gallagher & Marsh (2007).
[11] OSCE/ODIHR (2007) p.4.

They recommended giving consideration to amending the 1997 Electoral Act to extend the reporting period, and once the election is called to undertake a backward review of accounts according to the established reporting timeframe. However, SIPO have outlined some difficulties with distinguishing between normal representational activity prior to an election being called and what could be regarded as electioneering.[12]

Constituency Commission

Part II of the Electoral Act 1997, provides for the establishment of a Constituency Commission to report on constituencies for the election of members to the Dáil and to the European Parliament. The constituencies for the 2007 election were drawn up following the recommendations of the 2004 Constituency Commission, based on Census 2002 population. Following the publication of the final version of Volume 1 of Census 2006 in April 2007, the then Minister for the Environment, Heritage and Local Government, Dick Roche, established a Constituency Commission to review the Dáil and European constituencies The Commission was the third to be established under the 1997 Act and reported in October of this year.[13]

The principle of equality of representation of the population in Dáil Éireann is set out in Article 16.2.2 of the constitution. Article 16.2.3 stipulates that the ratio between the number of members to be elected for each constituency and the population should be, as far as is practicable, the same throughout the country, and that the Oireachtas should be guided by the preceding census data. The Constitution does not, however, lay out what discrepancies of the ratios between different constituencies are allowable.

Bunreacht na hÉireann

Article 16.2.2

The number of members shall from time to time be fixed by law, but the total number of members of Dáil Éireann shall not be fixed at less than one member for each thirty thousand of the population, or at more than one member for each twenty thousand of the population.

The Constituency Commission 2007's interpretation of 'equality of ratio and representation' was based on the Supreme Court's interpretation which rejected the view that 'an all but mathematical parity of ratio is to be attained', and which interpreted sub-clause 2.3˚ of Article 16 to mean that that 'a parity of ratio of members to population in the constituencies, through the country is to be attained by the Oireachtas as far as that is capable of being carried into action in a practical way having regard to such practical difficulties as exist and may legitimately, having regard to the context and the provisions of the Constitution generally, be taken into consideration'.[14] The Commission noted the variances recommended by previous commissions and enacted into law by the Oireachtas. The maximum variance recommended by a previous commission and enacted into law was -7.89% in the constituency of Mayo East (1983 Commission).

Table 1 ranks constituencies in their order of variance from the national average population per TD, based on the results of Census 2006. As can be seen this varied from a variance of +21.24% for Dublin West to -10.60% for Dún Laoghaire. A 'plus' figure indicates that a constituency has a population which is above the national average population per TD., while a 'minus' figure has a population below the national average per TD. Thus Dún Laoghaire has a population of 22,833 per TD which is 2,708 below the national average of 25,541 per TD.

Before turning to the changes recommended by

[12] SIPO (2003, 2007).
[13] In addition to two previous statutory Commissions, there were 5 non-statutory Dáil constituency commissions, and reports on European parliament constituencies (Constituency Commission, 2007).
[14] Constituency Commission (2007) pp. 11-12

the Commission, some of the relevant provisions of the Electoral Act, 1997 should be noted. In particular, Section 6.2 provides that the total number of members of the Dáil (subject to Article 16.2.2) shall be not less than 164 and not more than 168, that each constituency shall return three, four or five members; that the breaching of county boundaries shall be avoided as far as practicable; that each constituency shall be composed of contiguous areas; that there shall be regard to geographic considerations including significant physical features and the extent of and the density of population in each constituency; and that (subject to the wider provisions of Section 6) the Commission should endeavour to maintain continuity in relation to the arrangement of constituencies.

Summary of 2007 Constituency Commission recommendations

The Commission points out that there are arguments for and against changing the total number of seats but after detailed consideration, 'decided not to recommend any change because we were satisfied that the present level of membership allows for a reasonable arrangement of constituencies in accordance with the relevant constitutional provisions and our terms of reference'.[15]

The Commission notes that the population ascertained at the 2006 census was 4,239,848, and on this basis total Dáil membership could be fixed at any number between 141 and 211. However, (as noted above) the statutory terms of reference limited the Commission to the range of 164 to 168 seats. The number of members has increased over time, but has stood at 166 since 1980, a level determined on the basis of the 1979 population of 3,368,217. The 2006 population is 871, 631 (25.9%) more than in 1979. This makes the national average population per TD 25, 541 compared to 20,290 in 1979.

The Commission recommends that there should be an increase of one seat (from 3 to 4) in Dublin West, which had the highest percentage variance from the national average population per TD, as Table 1 (above) illustrates. A seat increase was also recommended for Louth (from 4 to 5), along with an expansion of the constituency to include parts of Co. Meath. A decrease in seats was recommended for Dún Laoghaire (from 5 to 4), including the transfer of some territory to Dublin South.

In the Kerry and Limerick area the Commission recommends a comprehensive revision to form three new constituencies of Limerick City (4 seats), Limerick (3 seats), and Kerry North – West Limerick (3 seats), along with minor changes to the constituency of Kerry South.

The Commission recommended revisions to 16 other constituencies. There were no changes recommended for 19 constituencies. Overall, the recommendations are such that the number of five-seat constituencies would fall from 12 to 11, the number of four-seaters would increase from 13 to 15, while the number of three-seaters would fall from 18 to 17.

The highest and lowest variance if the recommendations were implemented would run between +4.73% in the unchanged Carlow – Kilkenny constituency and -6.03% in the unchanged Cavan Monaghan constituency.

It should be noted that 'the final determination of the constituencies for Dáil Éireann is a matter for the Oireachtas to prescribe in legislation: the Commission's role is advisory'.[16] A Bill to implement the Commissions recommendation is in preparation at the Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government and is due for publication in Spring 2008.[17]

[15] Constituency Commission (2007) p. 12.

[16] Ibid p. 9

[17] Minister Gormley proposes legislation to implement Constituency Commission recommendations' Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government, 23/10/2007

Table 1: Current Dáil Constituencies ranked by % variance from national average population per TD.

Dublin West	**+21.24%**
Dublin North	**+17.76%**
Meath East	**+13.79%**
Louth	**+8.91%**
Meath West	**+8.54%**
Laois – Offaly	**+8.00%**
Kildare South	**+5.91%**
Carlow – Kilkenny	**+4.73%**
Waterford	**+4.28%**
Longford – Westmeath	**+3.96%**
Clare	**+3.34%**
Wexford	**+3.17%**
Cork North-West	**+3.04%**
Kildare North	**+2.96%**
Galway West	**+2.61%**
Dublin Central	**+2.46%**
Cork East	**+2.21%**
Wicklow	**+2.08%**
Roscommon – S. Leitrim	**+1.48%**
Cork South-Central	**+1.31%**
Cork South-West	**+0.43%**
Donegal North – East	**-0.52%**
Tipperary North	**-0.91%**
Galway East	**-1.50%**
Dublin Mid-West	**-1.73%**
Dublin South-East	**-1.82%**
Tipperary South	**-2.45%**
Mayo	**-3.03%**
Dublin South-West	**-4.09%**
Dublin North-West	**-4.30%**
Dublin South-Central	**-4.33%**
Dublin North-Central	**-5.36%**
Cavan – Monaghan	**-6.03%**
Dublin South	**-7.05%**
Limerick West	**-7.08%**
Donegal South-West	**-7.29%**
Limerick East	**-7.42%**
Sligo – North Leitrim	**-7.53%**
Kerry South	**-8.13%**
Dublin North-East	**-9.01%**
Kerry North	**-9.37%**
Cork North-Central	**-10.35%**
Dún Laoghaire	**-10.60%**

Source: Oireachtas Library & Research Service, based on information published in Constituency Commission Report 2007

Electoral Commission

The New Programme for Government (June 2007) sets out the details for an independent Electoral Commission to take responsibility for electoral administration and oversight. It is envisaged that the Commission will implement modern efficient practices for the conduct of elections. The Commission will be responsible for the compilation of a new national rolling electoral register and will become a standing Constituency Commission for the revision of constituency boundaries. It will also assume the functions in relation to electoral expenditure currently undertaken by SIPO and examine the issue of financing the political system.

There are Electoral Commissions in most EU states. Some are organised by government departments, others exist as independent organisations. Commissions typically have responsibility for the preparation and running of elections. Other responsibilities may include advising citizens of their electoral rights, monitoring campaign financing, researching electoral matters, deciding on the eligibility of candidates, preparing electoral registers, and observing polling stations during elections. Membership of Electoral Commissions varies. Commissions may have MPs, civil servants,

independent members of the judiciary, people approved by Parliament, voters, experts in a range of areas relating to electoral matters (electoral law, statistics) or a mixture of the above.

The Australian Electoral Commission is responsible for running federal elections and referendums and maintaining the electoral roll. In New Zealand there are three agencies with different responsibilities in relation to elections. In Canada, Elections Canada is the non-partisan agency responsible for conducting federal elections, bye-elections and referendums.

Electronic voting

While electronic voting was not an issue in the 2007 election the government is currently reviewing electronic voting and no decision on its future has yet been made.[18] The 2002 election piloted a system of electronic voting in three constituencies: Dublin North, Dublin West and Meath. In the referendum on 16th October 2002, electronic voting was used in the same three constituencies and in four additional constituencies: Dublin Mid-West, Dublin South, Dublin South West and Dún Laoghaire. Subsequently, the Independent Commission on Electronic Voting and Counting at Elections (known as the "Commission on Electronic Voting") was established on 1 March, 2004, and put on a statutory footing by the Electoral (Amendment) Act 2004. It produced a First Report in December 2004, and a Second Report in July 2006. The commission concluded that 'it can recommend the voting and counting equipment of the chosen system for use at elections in Ireland, subject to further work it has also recommended, but that it is unable to recommend the election management software for such use'.[19]

[18] PQ reply to Questions Nos. 125, 150, 301, 312 and 322 10/10/2007.
[19] Commission on Electronic Voting (2006) p. 7

Turnout in Irish Elections

In the 2007 election the official turnout for the entire country was 67%.[20] However, turnout varied dramatically from constituency to constituency. Dublin South-East had the lowest turnout in the country at 53.8% with Dublin Central and Dublin South-Central next lowest at 55.4% and 55.7% respectably. Tipperary North had the highest turnout at 78.5% with Roscommon – South Leitrim and Cork North-West next highest with 74.4% and 73.4% respectively. Map 1 illustrates the variance in turnout by constituency.

Ireland has had a long standing discrepancy in the turnout between urban and rural areas with urban voters less likely to vote. This was again apparent in the 2007 election with the constituencies with the highest turnout being predominately rural and the constituencies with the lowest turnout all in Dublin.

What affects Turnout?

Research internationally has found that turnout is affected by many varied factors including the political institutions, the mobilisation and resources of voters.

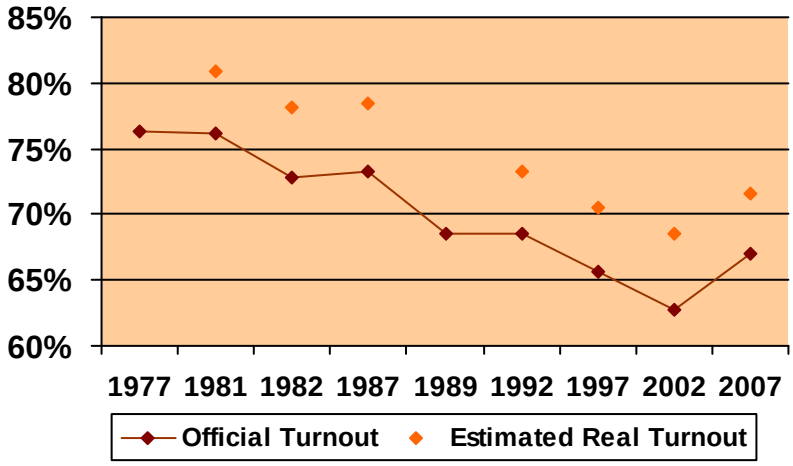
The institutions that surround elections and the political system can affect turnout. Generally it can be said that turnout will be higher in proportional representation (PR) elections because an individual's vote is likely to matter more than in a 'First Past the Post' system. In addition, turnout is higher in countries where voting is compulsory. Furthermore elections held on rest days have higher turnout than those on weekdays. The competitiveness of elections in terms of whether seats can change hands also increases turnout. If there are 'safe' seats the turnouts in these areas tend to be lower.

[20] Dáil Electoral Handbook (2007) p. 58

Political parties can also mobilise their supporters to vote by offering transport to polling stations etc. Direct contact with parties and politicians also can increase turnout. Political parties can have a demobilisation effect if allegations of corruption surround them and potential voters lose confidence in the political system. In addition, non-party actors can try to mobilise individuals to vote such as the "Rock the Vote" campaign which used celebrities to encourage younger people to vote.

Those who have greater wealth, education, political knowledge and experience are more likely to vote. Political knowledge and experience increase with age and thus the likelihood to vote also increases with age.

Figure 1: Official Turnout and Estimated Real Turnout at General Elections 1977-2007



(Source: Nealon's Guide, O'Malley (2001), and Oireachtas Library & Research Service calculations)

Turnout 1977 to 2007

Ireland has had ten general elections between 1977 and 2007. Turnout at these elections fell steadily between 1977 and 2002 but increased in the 2007 election (see figure 1). Official turnout (the share of registered electors who voted) has declined from 76% in 1977 and 1981 to 69% in 1989 and 1992. It fell further in 1997 and in 2002 reached a low of 63%. In 2007 official turnout rose to 67%, however as discussed below about 29% of the increase in turnout is due to improvements in the electoral register.

In the run up to the 2007 election a number of issues of concern were highlighted with the electoral register which suggested the number on the register was inflated. These issues have been highlighted before, for example in O'Malley (2001). O'Malley estimated that the real turnout was between 4.6 and 5.25 percentage points higher than the official turnout by comparing the actual number of voters to the population eligible to register to vote (registered or not).

Using a similar methodology[21] we can estimate a real turnout for 2002 and 2007 (see Figure 1). The real turnout for 2002 is estimated at 68.6%, 5.9 percentage points higher than official turnout and 71.6% for 2007, 4.6 percentage points above official turnout of 67%.

While the level of estimated real turnout is higher than official turnout the trends for the past 30 years are similar. This suggests that the inaccuracy in the register has remained relatively constant over the years. However, the difference between the estimated population eligible to register and the number on the register fell by approximately 56,000 between 2002 and 2007 suggesting that efforts to improve the register in the run up to the 2007 election had some success. Approximately 29% of the increase in turnout can be attributed to these improvements in the register.

[21] O'Malley used estimates of the total population of Irish nationals (and UK national from 1987 onwards). For 2002 and 2007 we use the population of Irish and UK nationals aged 18 enumerated in the Census in 2002 and 2006 provided by the CSO. The 2006 census figure was adjusted to account for deaths, those turning 18 and migration to calculate 2007 figures. The 2007 figures are estimates only and are not official population figures. Different estimates for migration in 2007 give a range for estimated real turnout of between 71.4% and 71.8%, the centre estimate of 71.6% is used in the above analysis.

There is still concern that the register has too many names. Using the estimated population eligible to vote the electoral register is 6.8% (or 199,000 persons) too high. In addition, not all eligible voters are on the register thus this is probably an under estimate. Efforts to improve the accuracy of the electoral register will increase official turnout in future elections.

Measures to Increase voter turnout

Ireland has tried various measures to increase voter turnout in the past few elections. Opening hours at polling stations have increased. Polling stations are now open from 7am until 10.30 pm to reflect the changing patterns of work and commuting facing many voters. Prior to 2002 polling stations were open for 12 hours, in 2002 this was expanded to 15 hours and in 2007 to 15 and a half hours.

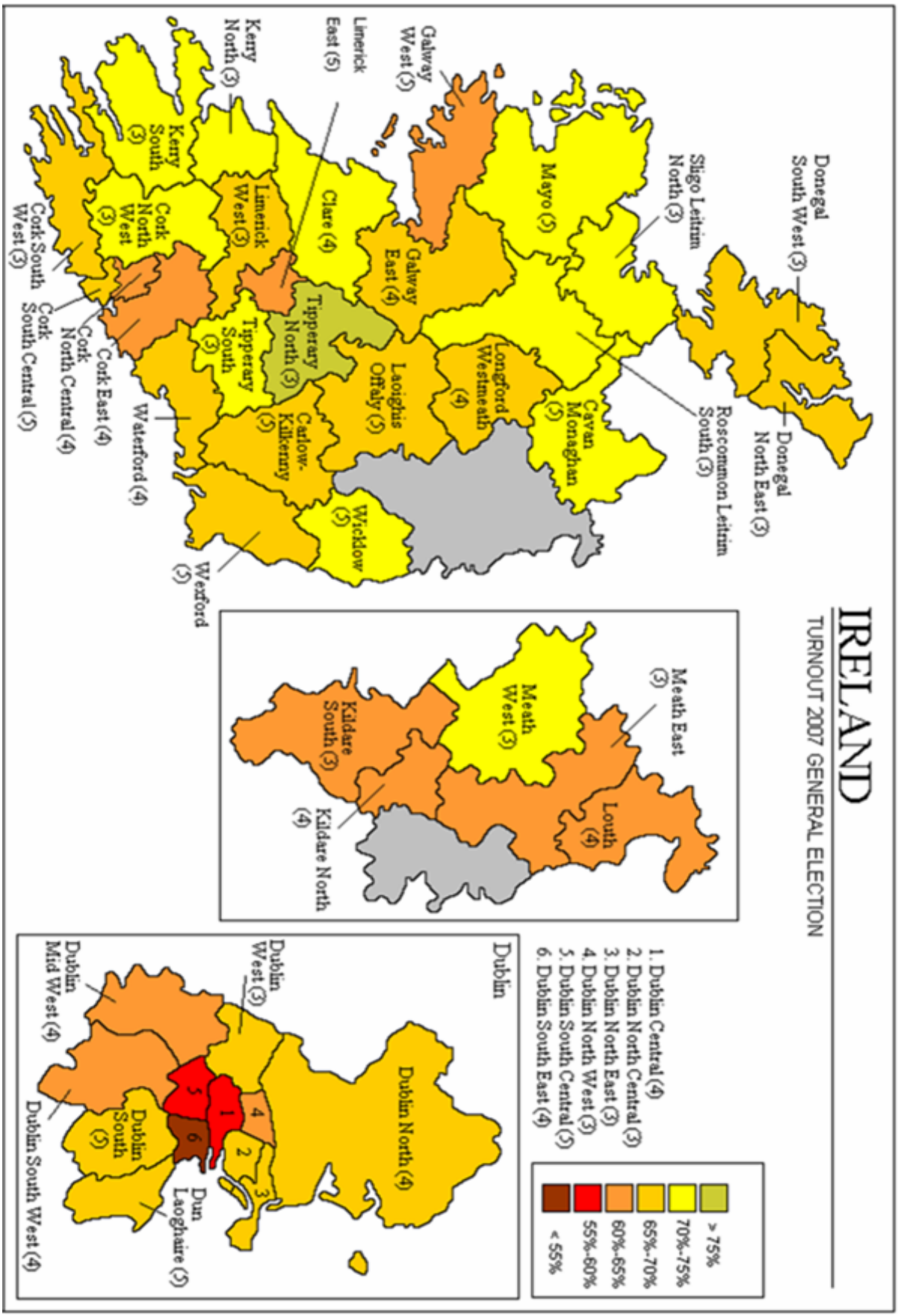
In addition, the use of postal voting has gradually expanded over time. Postal voting had been restricted to specific occupations such as the military, diplomats and police officers and those with debilitating illnesses who could not make it to polling stations. It has now been extended to voters whose occupations prevent them from casting their vote at their local polling station. This includes full time students who are in education away from home. Legislation was passed in 2006 to allow postal voting by prisoners following a judgement by the European Court of Human Rights[22].

Electronic voting has been considered as a way to make it easier for individuals to vote and thus increase turnout. However, after a number of experiments with electronic voting concerns were raised about the transparency, accuracy and secrecy of electronic voting and the system used in Ireland. These concerns have led to the postponement of the introduction of electronic voting.

Finally, the day of the week of polling has been varied to increase turnout. The second Nice treaty referendum was held on a Saturday as was a bye-election in 2001. The turnout for the second Nice referendum was almost 15 percentage points higher than the first Nice referendum which was held on a Thursday (along with two other referendums). However, given the issue involved and other factors it is not possible to attribute the increase in turnout to a Saturday poll.

[22] Hirst v UK (No. 2) Application no. 74025/01 (2005)

Map 1: Turnout



Source: Oireachtas Library & Research Service. Map Adapted from http://psephos.adam-carr.net/countries/i/ireland/

Women in the Oireachtas

The 30th Dáil sees no change in the proportion of women represented with the electorate returning 22 women TDs, the same number as in 2002. This gives women 13% of the 166 seats in the Dáil. While the numbers have remained constant there was a high turnover of women members in the Dáil in 2007: three women did not seek re-election and six lost their seats, two former TDs were returned and six new women TDs were elected.

Of the 470 candidates offered to the electorate in May 2007, 82 were women. This represents the lowest number of women candidates at a general election since 1989.

Table 2: Women Candidates by Party

Party	1997		2002		2007	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Fianna Fáil	14	13%	13	14%	14	13%
Fine Gael	15	16%	15	18%	15	16%
Labour	12	27%	11	24%	11	22%
Progressive Democrats	13	54%	6	30%	7	23%
Green Party	9	35%	9	29%	11	25%
Sinn Féin	2	15%	7	19%	10	24%
Democratic Left[23]	4	31%	n/a		n/a	
Total	69	21%	61	19%	68	14%

Source: Oireachtas Library & Research Service, based on Galligan (2003) and Gallagher & Marsh (2007)

Only two of the smaller parties; Greens and Sinn Féin, show an increase in the number of women candidates over the last three elections. The number of Fine Gael candidates has remained constant at 15. In 2007 Fianna Fáil returned to their 1997 level with 14 candidatures. Labour maintained their 2002 level of 11 in 2007.

[23] Democratic Left merged with the Labour Party in 1999

Thirteen of the 60 Senators are women in the 23rd Seanad. At 21.6% this is the highest level ever. Of 123 candidates for the vocational panels, 23 were women; nine on the Oireachtas Sub-panels and 14 on the Nominating Bodies Sub-panels. There were nine women elected to the vocational panels. Seven of the 24 candidates for the NUI seats were women but none were elected. There were two women candidates out of 11 for the University of Dublin constituency, and one of these was successful. In total there have been four University of Dublin women Senators. Eight women unsuccessful in the Dáil election stood for the Seanad and five were elected.

International comparisons

Ireland ranked 82nd out of 189 countries for the percentage of women in the lower or single house in a list compiled by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) based on information at 31 October 2007.[24] This represents the lowest ranking Ireland has ever received in this classification. In 1997 Ireland was 36th out of 177 countries, and in 2003 it was 60th out of 181 countries.

Based on the same information Ireland ranked 23rd out of the 27 EU countries in terms of the proportion of women members in the lower house of parliament. In only Slovenia, Romania, Hungary and Malta is the proportion of women in parliament lower than in Ireland. In the first eight countries there are at least 25% of seats held by women, with that figure rising to 42% in Finland and 47% in Sweden.

There are upper houses in 12 of the EU Countries and Ireland ranks sixth for the proportion of women in the Seanad after Belgium, the Netherlands, Austria, Spain and Germany.

[24] IPU Women in Parliaments World Classification http://www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm (Accessed 3 December 2007).

Political scientists have described three stages to getting elected: an individual must put themselves forward (self-selection), she/he must be selected to run by the party (party candidate selection) and finally she/he must be selected by the electorate. Research has found barriers to women at the first and second stages. Societal and cultural attitudes create the main barriers to self selection. Internal party selection processes are the most important obstacle to women's political participation.[25] In McNamara & Mooney (2000) lack of funding was reported as the most significant political obstacle by female politicians in Ireland, followed by the attitudes of party politicians. The electorate does not display a bias against women candidates: for voters, incumbency and party are more important than gender.[26]

Measures to improve representation by women can be described as indirect or direct. The former concentrate on removing structural and cultural barriers and usually have long term goals to promote gender equality in society with the expectation of more women putting themselves forward as candidates. The direct measures, sometimes known as 'positive action measures' include the adoption of certain types of electoral systems or gender quotas.

As countries do not routinely change their electoral systems it is sufficient to note that proportional representation, specifically List PR systems with large multi-member districts is the most favourable to women's representation and the least favourable system is 'First Past the Post'.[27] In any electoral system bigger constituencies serve women candidates better; parties putting forward more than one candidate will be more likely to include a woman.

Many researchers consider electoral quotas to be an efficient way of attaining real equality and compensation for structural barriers that prevent fair competition. Quotas shift the focus from 'equal opportunity' to 'equality of results'. Opponents of the introduction of gender quotas cite their incompatibility with the principle of democratic representation and voter choice.

The key distinctions between the different types of quota systems are between nomination versus results based quotas and between voluntary party quotas and constitutional and/or legislative quotas. According to the Institue for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) there are 40 countries with 'legal gender quotas' (introduced by constitutional amendment or electoral law) and 50 countries where political parties voluntarily use gender quota systems 'voluntary gender quotas'. There are no gender quotas used in the US or New Zealand.[28] New Zealand is ranked 12th by the IPU and the United States is ranked 68th.

Apart from France, Belgium and Spain, quota systems in Western Europe are voluntary party quotas. The high level of women's representation in the Scandinavian countries is often attributed to the use of gender quotas: however they were not introduced until women had already acquired around 25% of the seats in parliament.[29]

Improving women's representation in Dáil Éireann

In Ireland the failure of political parties to select women candidates has been described as a key factor in the low representation of women in the Dáil.[30] Potentially the application of quotas at the nomination stage could increase the representation of women in the Dáil. This could be achieved either through cross party agreement or by way of legislation.

The candidate-focused nature of the PR STV system is considered an obstacle to the application of quotas. Under this system the 'reserved seat' option offers a method to improve women's representation.[31] In this system all but certain reserved seats are filled in a constituency, and if no women has been elected the highest polling women is deemed elected. The reserved seat option would be highly controversial as it could lead to the election of a candidate who received fewer votes than another.

[25] Galligan (2003, 2005)
[26] Gallagher, M 'Analysis of the Results' in Gallagher, Marsh & Mitchell (2003) p. 91
[27] Laresrud & Taphorn (2007)
[28] IDEA/ Stockholm University. Global Database of quotas for women.
[29] Dahlerup (2004) p. 4
[30] Galligan (2003, 2005) and Buckley (2007)
[31] Larserud & Taphorn (2007).

Dáil Election Results & Analysis

The following section outlines the results of the General Election 2007. Two books that provide detailed analysis of the General Election have recently been published and are available from the Library and Research Service: *Nealon's Guide to the 30th Dáil*[33] and *How Ireland Voted 2007.*[34]

Table 3: Seats by Party 1997, 2002 and 2007

Election:	1997	2002	2007
Fianna Fáil	77	81	**77**
Fine Gael	54	31	**51**
Labour	17	20	**20**
Progressive Democrats	4	8	**2**
Green Party	2	6	**6**
Sinn Féin	1	5	**4**
Others	11	14	**5**
Ceann Comhairle	0[32]	1	**1**
Total	166	166	**166**

The General Election of 24 May 2007 returned 166 TDs to Dáil Éireann from a field of 470 candidates. Nineteen outgoing TDs did not seek re-election, and 30 who did were defeated. The Ceann Comhairle was automatically returned, and the remaining 116 TDs were successful in their re-election bids.[35]

Fine Gael was the only party to expand its representation in the chamber, gaining 20 seats, the largest inter-election increase by any party in a Dáil election. Fianna Fáil returned with four fewer seats than in 2002 to stand at 77 seats, but their share of the first preference votes did not decline. The Green Party received the same number of seats (six) as in 2002. Labour received 20 seats, the same as in 2002. Sinn Féin's total declined by one seat, from five to four, though their share of the first preference votes increased by 0.4%. Fewer Independents were elected, declining from 13 to just 5, and the Socialist Party failed to return any TDs this time around. The Progressive Democrats saw a 75% cut in their Dáil representation, from 8 to 2, while their share of the vote dropped from 4.0% to 2.7%.

Previous Political Experience

Most of the 166 deputies returned were existing members of the Oireachtas, the European Parliament, or local Councils. Of the 166, 116 were members of the 29th Dáil, while 14 were members of the 22nd Seanad. Of the remaining 36 candidates, 25 were either City or County Councillors. There were 11 who did not hold a political office immediately prior to the election[36] and five of these had never held a political office.

Two MEPs (who were not members of the outgoing Oireachtas) stood as candidates but failed to be elected. One sitting MEP was elected, but he had also been a member of the 29th Dáil. Upon being elected a TD to the 30th Dáil he resigned his European Parliament seat.

[32] The outgoing Ceann Comhairle in 1997 did not seek re-election.
[33] Collins, Stephen (2007) *Nealon's Guide to the 30th Dail and 23rd Seanad*. Dublin, Gill & MacMillan.
[34] Gallagher, Michael & Marsh, Michael (eds.) (2007) *How Ireland voted 2007*, London, Palgrave MacMillan.
[35] Gallagher & Marsh (2007) p. 100.
[36] Ibid p. 80.

Multiple Candidates

Fianna Fáil ran a total of 106 candidates (not including the Ceann Comhairle); at least two candidates in each of the 43 constituencies. The party had two candidates in 24 constituencies, three candidates in 18 constituencies, and four candidates in one, Laois-Offaly.

Fine Gael had one candidate in 13 constituencies (8 of which were in Dublin), two candidates in 15 constituencies, three in 12 constituencies and four in 3, a total of 91 candidates. Labour presented at least one candidate in every constituency, and two candidates in seven constituencies. The Green Party had one candidate in every constituency except for Dublin North where there were two.

There was a Sinn Féin candidate in all but three constituencies, and two in Dublin South.Finally, the Progressive Democrats fielded one candidate in 23 constituencies, two in two constituencies, and three candidates in Galway West.

Proportionality of Results

The aim of a Proportional Representation (PR) system is to allocate seats in parliament to parties based on their level of support. Using the percentage of total first preference votes and the percentage of Dáil Éireann seats obtained, Figure 2 (page 15) shows the degree to which this statement is true for each party over the last three general elections (1997, 2002 and 2007).

One can see that Fianna Fáil received a seat bonus at each of the last three general elections (of 11.7, 12.1 and 8.0 seats), and that in the same period Sinn Féin received a seat deficit (of 3.2, 5.8 and 7.5). The trends for Labour, the Progressive Democrats, and the Green party are closer to "perfect proportionality" (i.e. ± 0 seats).

Fine Gael had a seat bonus in both 1997 and 2007, but in 2002 the party received 6.3 fewer seats than it could have expected based on its share of the first preference vote.

Table 4: Percentage of First Preference Votes and Seats by Party and Constituency size

	3-seat	4-seat*	5-seat*
Fianna Fáil	43.9% **51.9%**	40.0% **46.4%**	40.6% **41.8%**
Fine Gael	27.4% **33.3%**	25.4% **25.0%**	28.8% **34.5%**
Labour	9.1% **7.4%**	11.8% **16.1%**	9.7% **12.7%**
Progressive Democrats	1.0% **0.0%**	2.9% **1.8%**	4.2% **1.8%**
Green Party	3.1% **0.0%**	6.0% **5.4%**	5.1% **5.5%**
Sinn Féin	8.0% **1.9%**	6.6% **3.6%**	6.2% **1.8%**
Others	7.4% **5.6%**	7.3% **1.8%**	5.3% **1.8%**
Total	100% **100%**	100% **100%**	100% **100%**
Number of Constituencies	**18**	**14***	**11***
Seats Available	**54**	**56**	**55**

Key: % of First Preference Votes
% of Seats in Dáil Éireann

Source: Oireachtas Library & Research Service

* Cavan – Monaghan is a 5-seat constituency, but treated as if it were 4 seats, given that one of the seats was filled automatically by the outgoing Ceann Comhairle.

As the Seat Bonus Chart (Figure 2) indicates, in 2007 the three largest parties gained a greater proportion of Dáil seats than their share of the first preference vote. Correspondingly the smaller parties received a lower proportion of

Dáil seats than their share of the first preference vote would suggest. Sinn Féin received 6.9% of the total first preference vote and 2.4% of total Dáil seats (a deficit of 4.5 percentage points, or the equivalent of approximately 7½ Dáil seats).

It should be noted that the data in Figure 2 measures party support in terms of first preference votes, and that in the reality of the PR-STV system, party support is more nuanced than can be measured by first preferences alone.

Size of Constituency

The data in Table 4 presents the percentage of first preference votes and percentage of Dáil seats won by each party depending on the size of the constituency. The table highlights the effect of district magnitude on the overall outcome.

For example, Fianna Fáil won 51.9% of the seats available in 3-seat constituencies (28 out of 54 seats). However in 5-seat constituencies the proportion of Dáil seats won by Fianna Fáil was much closer to the party's share of First Preference votes. In contrast, the three smaller parties combined won only one seat in a 3-seat constituency, compared to six in 4-seat constituencies, and five in 5-seat constituencies.

Table 4 shows that in this case the larger parties tend to win a greater proportion of seats in smaller constituencies than their share of the first preference vote. The results of the 2007 Dáil election reflect the trend that greater district magnitude leads to greater proportionality. This trend may help to explain the 'seat bonus' shown in Figure 2.

Transfers

Some of the more notable trends in transfers are summarised below.

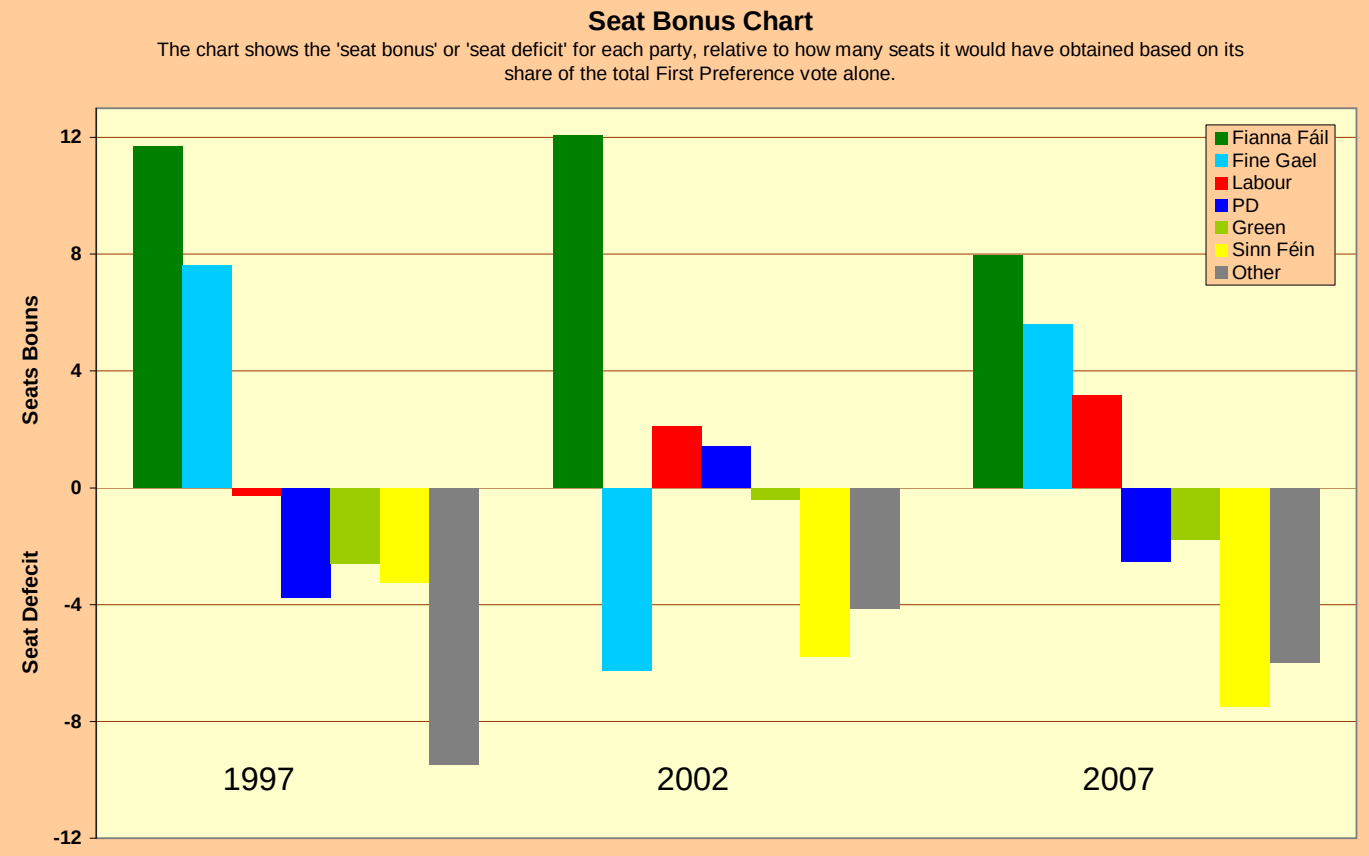
In constituencies where there were multiple candidates of the same party, the rate of internal transfer of votes between these candidates was estimated as follows: Fianna Fáil 66.9%, Fine Gael 64.4% and Labour 42.5%.[37]

The pattern of transfers between parties rarely breached 50%, only those of Fine Gael candidates to Labour doing so (approximately 59%).[38] The reverse figure (Labour to Fine Gael) was approximately 57%.[39] Fianna Fáil received relatively few transfers from other parties, with the exception of the Progressive Democrats (49.0%).

Sinn Féin tended to receive few transfers from any party and, for example, received fewer transfers from Fine Gael and Labour voters than Fianna Fáil (15% to 17.4% for Fine Gael voters, and 10.7% to 15.1% for Labour voters).[40]

[37] Gallagher, M, (2007) chapter 6, 'The Earthquake that Never Happened. Analysis of the results' by Michael Gallagher p. 94.
[38] Sinnott, R (2007) 'Transfer Analysis' in *Nealon's Guide to the 30th Dáil & 23rd Seanad*, p.186.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Op. cit. Gallagher (2007).

Figure 2: Seat Bonus Chart



	1997			2002			2007		
	% 1st Pref. Votes	% Seats	% Bonus	% 1st Pref. Votes	% Seats	% Bonus	% 1st Pref. Votes	% Seats	% Bonus
Fianna Fáil	39.3%	46.4%	**+7.1%**	41.5%	48.8%	**+7.3%**	41.6%	46.4%	**+4.8%**
Fine Gael	27.9%	32.5%	**+4.6%**	22.5%	18.7%	**-3.8%**	27.3%	30.7%	**+3.4%**
Labour	10.4%	10.2%	**-0.2%**	10.8%	12.1%	**+1.3%**	10.1%	12.0%	**+1.9%**
Progressive Democrats	4.7%	2.4%	**-2.3%**	4.0%	4.8%	**+0.9%**	2.7%	1.2%	**-1.5%**
Green Party	2.8%	1.2%	**-1.6%**	3.8%	3.6%	**-0.2%**	4.7%	3.6%	**-1.1%**
Sinn Féin	2.55%	0.6%	**-2.0%**	6.5%	3.0%	**-3.5%**	6.9%	2.4%	**-4.5%**
Others	12.3%	6.6%	**-5.7%**	10.9%	8.4%	**-2.5%**	6.6%	3.0%	**-3.6%**

The '% Bonus' columns in the table are represented on the graph in terms of the equivalent number of Dáil seats (e.g. Fianna Fáil 1997: 7.1% seat bonus = 11.7 seats)

Source: Oireachtas Library & Research Service

Dáil Results

Constituency No. Seats | Turnout	Elected Name (Party) [Count]
Carlow – Kilkenny 5 seats | 66.6%	John McGuinness (FF) [1], Bobby Aylward (FF) [1], Phil Hogan (FG) [7], MJ Nolan (FF) [8], Mary White (Gr) [9]
Cavan – Monaghan 5 seats | 72.1%	Rory O'Hanlon (FF) [n/a][41], Brendan Smith (FF) [1], Caoimhghin Ó Caoláin (SF) [1], Margaret Conlon (FF) [4], Seymour Crawford (FG) [4]
Clare 4 seats | 71.4%	Timmy Dooley (FF) [4], Tony Killeen (FF) [7], Pat Breen (FG) [8], Joe Carey (FG) [9]
Cork East 4 seats | 64.4%	Michael Ahern (FF) [3], Ned O'Keeffe (FF) [4], David Stanton (FG) [6], Séan Sherlock (Lab) [6]
Cork North-Central 4 seats | 63.1%	Billy Kelleher (FF) [1], Bernard Allen (FG) [7], Kathleen Lynch (Lab) [7], Noel O'Flynn (FF) [7]
Cork North-West 3 seats | 73.4%	Michael Creed (FG) [3], Michael Moynihan (FF) [4], Batt O'Keeffe (FF) [5]
Cork South-Central 5 seats | 65.5%	Micheál Martin (FF) [1], Michael McGrath (FF) [1], Deirdre Clune (FG) [6], Simon Coveney (FG) [6], Ciarán Lynch (Lab) [6]
Cork South-West 3 seats | 69.7%	Christy O'Sullivan (FF) [2], PJ Sheehan (FG) [4], Jim O'Keeffe (FG) [4]
Donegal North-East 3 seats | 68.0%	Joe McHugh (FG) [1], Dr. James McDaid (FF) [7], Niall Blaney (FF) [8]
Donegal South-West 3 seats | 66.2%	Mary Coughlan (FF) [1], Pat Gallagher (FF) [2], Dinny McGinley (FG) [3]
Dublin Central 4 seats | 55.4%	Bertie Ahern (FF) [1], Tony Gregory (Ind) [6], Cyprian Brady (FF) [8], Joe Costello (Lab) [8]
Dublin Mid-West 4 seats | 61.4%	John Curran (FF) [1], Paul Gogarty (Gr) [6], Mary Harney (PD) [6], Joanna Tuffy (Lab) [6]
Dublin North 4 seats | 68.6%	Michael Kennedy (FF) [3], Trevor Sargent (Gr) [8], Darragh O'Brien (FF) [9], James Reilly (FG) [10]
Dublin North-Central 3 seats | 68.8%	Richard Bruton (FG) [1], Séan Haughey (FF) [3], Finian McGrath (Ind) [5]
Dublin North-East 3 seats | 65.6%	Tommy Broughan (Lab) [4], Terence Flanagan (FG) [4], Michael Woods (FF) [4]
Dublin North-West 3 seats | 60.4%	Noel Ahern (FF) [1], Pat Carey (FF) [3], Róisín Shortall (Lab) [3]
Dublin South 5 seats | 68.9%	Seamus Brennan (FF) [1], Tom Kitt (FF) [3], Olivia Mitchell (FG) [7], Eamonn Ryan (Gr) [8], Alan Shatter (FG) [9]
Dublin South-Central 5 seats | 55.7%	Sean Ardagh (FF) [1], Michael Murphy (FF) [3], Mary Upton (Lab) [9], Catherine Byrne (FG) [10], Aengus Ó Snodaigh (SF) [10]
Dublin South-East 4 seats | 53.8%	Chris Andrews (FF) [3], Lucinda Creighton (FG) [5], Ruairi Quinn (Lab) [5], John Gormley (Gr) [5]
Dublin South-West 4 seats | 62.8%	Conor Lenihan (FF) [1], Brian Hayes (FG) [1], Pat Rabbitte (Lab) [2], Charlie O'Connor (FF) [6]
Dublin West 3 seats | 65.5%	Brian Lenihan (FF) [1], Leo Varadkar (FG) [5], Joan Burton (Lab) [5]

[41] The outgoing Ceann Comhairle is returned automatically.

Constituency No. Seats | Turnout	Elected Name (Party) [Count]
Dún Laoghaire 5 seats | 66.4%	Mary Hanafin (FF) [1], Barry Andrews (FF) [2], Eamon Gilmore (Lab) [7], Sean Barrett (FG) [9], Ciaran Cuffe (Gr) [10]
Galway East 4 seats | 68.7%	Paul Connaughton (FG) [8], Michael Kitt (FF) [8], Ulick Burke (FG) [9], Noel Treacy (FF) [9]
Galway West 5 seats | 64.2%	Éamon Ó Cuiv (FF) [1], Michael D Higgins (Lab) [10], Padraig McCormack (FG) [12], Noel Grealish (PD) [13], Frank Fahey (FF) [13]
Kerry North 3 seats | 71.0%	Jimmy Deenihan (FG) [1], Tom McEllistrim (FF) [4], Martin Ferris (SF) [4]
Kerry South 3 seats | 73.3%	John O'Donoghue (FF) [3], Tom Sheahan (FG) [5], Jackie Healy-Rae (Ind) [6]
Kildare North 4 seats | 63.7%	Áine Brady (FF) [1], Emmet Stagg (Lab) [5], Michael Fitzpatrick (FF) [5], Bernard Durkan (FG) [6]
Kildare South 3 seats | 61.7%	Seán O'Fearghail (FF) [1], Seán Power (FF) [1], Jack Wall (Lab) [3]
Laois-Offaly 5 seats | 69.6%	Brian Cowen (FF) [1], Olwyn Enright (FG) [8], Sean Fleming (FF) [9], Charles Flanagan (FG) [9], John Moloney (FF) [11]
Limerick East 5 seats | 64.8%	Willie O'Dea (FF) [1], Peter Power (FF) [2], Michael Noonan (FG) [2], Jan O'Sullivan (Lab) [8], Kieran O'Donnell (FG) [8]
Limerick West 3 seats | 69.5%	Niall Collins (FF) [1], John Cregan (FF) [3], Dan Neville (FG) [3]
Longford – Westmeath 4 seats | 66.1%	Willie Penrose (Lab) [5], Mary O'Rourke (FF) [7], Peter Kelly (FF) [7], James Bannon (FG) [7]
Louth 4 seats | 64.7%	Séamus Kirk (FF) [5], Dermot Ahern (FF) [5], Fergus O'Dowd (FG) [5], Arthur Morgan (SF) [6]
Mayo 5 seats | 73.0%	Enda Kenny (FG) [1], Michael Ring (FG) [2], John O'Mahony (FG) [8], Dara Calleary (FF) [8], Beverly Flynn (Ind) [8]
Meath East 3 seats | 64.3%	Mary Wallace (FF) [1], Shane McEntee (FG) [8], Thomas Byrne (FF) [8]
Meath West 3 seats | 72.6%	Noel Dempsey (FF) [1], Johnny Brady (FF) [2], Damien English (FG) 7]
Roscommon – South Leitrim 3 seats | 74.4%	Michael Finneran (FF) [4], Frank Feighan (FG) [4], Denis Naughten (FG) [4]
Sligo – North Leitrim 3 seats | 70.1%	Eamon Scanlon (FF) [5], John Perry (FG) [5], Jimmy Devins (FF) [5]
Tipperary North 3 seats | 78.5%	Michael Lowry (Ind) [1], Noel Coonan (FG) [6], Marie Hoctor (FF) [6]
Tipperary South 3 seats | 71.6%	Tom Hayes (FG) [5], Mattie McGrath (FF) [6], Martin Mansergh (FF) [8]
Waterford 4 seats | 68.0%	Martin Cullen (FF) [1], John Deasy (FG) [9], Brian O'Shea (Lab) [10], Brendan Kenneally (FF) [11]
Wexford 5 seats | 67.1%	John Browne (FF) [1], Brendan Howlin (Lab) [5], Seán Connick (FF) [5], Paul Kehoe (FG) [6], Michael D'Arcy (FG) [7]
Wicklow 5 seats | 71.6%	Dick Roche (FF) [4], Joe Behan (FF) [5], Liz McManus (Lab) [8], Billy Timmins (FG) [9], Andrew Doyle (FG) [8]

Seanad Election 2007

Legislation for Seanad Elections

- Articles 18 and 19 Bunreacht na hÉireann
- Seanad Electoral (Panel Members) Act 1947
- Seanad Electoral (Panel Members) Act 1954
- Seanad Electoral (University Members) Act 1937
- Electoral Act 1997
- Electoral (Amendment) Act 1998

Source: Oireachtas website

Seanad elections have been described as 'professional politicians elections' because the majority of the electorate are elected representatives.[43] Due to the abolition of the dual mandate the electorate for the vocational panels increased by 126 since 2002.[44] The electorate for the vocational panels in 2007 was made up of the 880 members of the 34 City and County Councils, 166 incoming TDs and 50 outgoing Senators. (Of the 60 outgoing Senators, 14 were elected as TDs to the 30th Dáil. Four were nominees of the Taoiseach, and their vacancies were filled by the Taoiseach on 3 July leaving 50 Senators in the electorate for the 23rd Seanad). Of the 1,096 electors for the vocational panels, 1,086 returned ballot papers. The number of valid votes is recorded for each panel, on the Seanad Results page.

The Seanad election has also been described as a 'coda'[45] to the Dáil election because of the linkages between the two elections. Many defeated Dáil candidates are elected/appointed to the Seanad. There were 28 unsuccessful Dáil candidates in 2007 elected/appointed to the 23rd Seanad. There were 14 members of the 22nd Seanad elected to the 30th Dáil. Ten members of the 23rd

Table 5. Political Composition of 23rd Seanad[42]

Party	Vocational Panels	University Seats	Taoiseach's nominees	Total
Fianna Fáil	22	0	6	**28**
Fine Gael	14	0	0	**14**
Labour	6	0	0	**6**
Progressive Democrats	0	0	2	**2**
Green Party	0	0	2	**2**
Sinn Féin	1	0	0	**1**
Others	0	6	1	**7**
Total	**43**	**6**	**11**	**60**

[42] Ivana Bacik is a member of the Labour Party but is not taking the Labour Whip in the Seanad and therefore is counted as an Independent.
[43] Gallagher, M & Weeks, L (2003) 'The Subterranean election of the Seanad' in Gallagher, Michael, Marsh, Michael & Mitchell, Paul (eds.) How Ireland voted 2002 London, Palgrave MacMillan p.197
[44] Reidy, T (2007) p.189

[45] Gallagher & Weeks (2003) p.198.

Seanad had been members of the 29th Dáil and failed to retain their seats; five on the vocational panels and five of the Taoiseach's nominees. Fifteen members of the 23rd Seanad are new to the Oireachtas, including 6 of the Taoiseach's nominations.

As Table 5 illustrates a majority of Senators in the 23rd Seanad (32, 53.3%) belong to the government parties, and for the first time there are representatives from Sinn Fein and the Green Party.

There are 60 seats in the Seanad: 43 are filled by election to the Vocational panels, six by the University constituencies and 11 are appointed by the Taoiseach.

Vocational Panels

Candidates for the Vocational panels may be nominated to one of two sub panels. They can be nominated by an organisation listed on the Register of Nominating Bodies (known as an 'outside nomination'), or they can be nominated by four members of the Oireachtas (incoming TDs or outgoing Senators) and this is known as an 'inside nomination'.

There are a minimum number of candidates that must be returned from each sub panel, which varies from panel to panel. This became an issue in the 2007 election on the Cultural and Education Panel. A candidate from the Oireachtas (Inside) Sub Panel was eliminated by default after 3 candidates had been returned from this Sub Panel and the remaining two seats had to be filled from the Nominating Bodies (Outside) Sub Panel.

The count for the vocational panel finished on 26 July 2007. Fifteen of the 43 vocational panel members were also members of the 22nd Seanad.

University Seats

The electorate for the six university seats is made up of graduates of the constituent institutions of the NUI and the University of Dublin. The count for the university seats finished on 26 July 2007. Four of the six University panel members were also members of the 22nd Seanad.

Taoiseach's nominations

The Taoiseach appointed the final 11 members of the Seanad on 3 August 2007. There were 2 members of each of the two smaller coalition parties, and one independent among the Taoiseach's nominations.

Seanad Results

Vocational Panel No. Seats | Valid Poll	Elected Name (Party)
Administrative 7 seats | 1,070	Mark Daly (FF), Paschal Donohoe (FG), Camillus Glynn (FF), Tony Kett (FF), Nicky McFadden (FG), Brendan Ryan (Lab), Diarmuid Wilson (FF)
Agricultural 11 seats | 1,072	Paul Bradford (FG), Paddy Burke (FG), Peter Callanan (FF), John Carty (FF), Pearse Doherty (SF), Alan Kelly (Lab), Pat Moylan (FF), Francis O'Brien (FF), John Paul Phelan (FG), Eugene Regan (FG), Jim Walsh (FF)
Cultural & Educational 5 seats | 1,072	Cecilia Keaveney (FF), Labhrás Ó Murchú (FF), Ann Ormonde (FF), Liam Twomey (FG), Alex White (Lab)
Industrial & Commercial 9 seats | 1,067	Larry Butler (FF), Paudie Coffey (FG), Paul Coghlan (FG), Dominic Hannigan (Lab), Marc MacSharry (FF), Denis O'Donovan (FF), Joe O'Reilly (FG), Kieran Phelan (FF), Mary White (FF)
Labour 11 seats | 1,067	Jerry Buttimer (FG), Donie Cassidy (FF), Maurice Cummins (FG), Geraldine Feeney (FF), Frances Fitzgerald (FG), John Gerard Hanafin (FF), Fidelma Healy Eames (FG), Terry Leyden (FF), Michael McCarthy (Lab), Ned O'Sullivan (FF), Phil Prendergast (Lab)

University Constituency No. Seats	Elected Total Electorate[46] | Valid Poll No. Candidates
National University of Ireland 3 seats	Rónán Mullen, Joe O'Toole, Feargal Quinn Total electorate: 103,085 | Valid votes: 35,989 24 candidates
Dublin University 3 seats	Ivana Bacik, David Norris, Shane Ross Total electorate: 48,880 | Valid votes: 16,917 11 candidates

[46] Reidy (2007) p.200

Taoiseach's nominations By Party | 11 seats	Name, Profession
Fianna Fáil	Martin Brady, former TD Ivor Callely, former TD Maria Corrigan, Dún Laoghaire councillor John Ellis, former TD Lisa McDonald, Wexford councillor Brian Ó'Domhnaill, Donegal councillor
Green Party	Dan Boyle, former TD Deirdre de Burca, Wicklow councillor
Progressive Democrats	Ciarán Cannon, Galway councillor Fiona O'Malley, former TD
Non-party	Eoghan Harris, Journalist

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