

# Ballymun: A Social Profile 2007-2015

Research carried out by Brian Harvey  
with the assistance of *youngballymun*  
2015

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Pioneering Prevention and Early Intervention

# Executive summary

## Background

This report, researched by Brian Harvey with the assistance of *youngballymun*, provides a social profile of Ballymun, Dublin over the pivotal years 2007-2015, presented on the basis of the census (2006, 2011), published reports, interviews and information provided by voluntary and statutory providers and public representatives. The profile looks at demographic and related change; services and investment; the impact of socio-economic change; and future challenges.

## Demographic change

Over this period, the population of Ballymun grew moderately and aged, with considerable internal movement. The population became more diverse, but the number of Travellers fell. There is a high rate of lone parent households. There was upward social mobility, less early school leaving and a small rise in third level participation. The proportion of people reporting the ability to speak Irish fell. There was a growth in the use of cars, internet and computers. The proportion of local authority housing fell, while private rented accommodation rose. Crime rates fell.

In the context of reduced incomes and rising poverty Ballymun remains one of the most disadvantaged communities in Dublin, with high rates of unemployment. For children, the value of Child Benefit payment fell, while the introduction of the Free Pre-School Year represented an investment of about a third the value of the previous Early Childcare Supplement which it replaced.

## Reduced investment

Ballymun suffered from the national disinvestment in social and related services in general and in the voluntary and community sector in particular. Local authority house completions fell from 374 homes a year in 2008 to 71 in 2014. Only 60 new jobs in the Ballymun area are known to have been announced in the period of the study and in 2011 the unemployment rate was 37% for men and 26% for women.

Statutory funding to voluntary and community organisations fell:

- Pobal: down -36.5%
- Ballymun Whitehall Partnership: down -33.6%, terminated 2015
- Ballymun Regeneration Ltd (BRL) community funding stream, down - 23%
- Local Drugs Task Force, - 23%
- Health Service Executive (HSE): down -7.1%

Several voluntary and community organisations closed, while others reduced their services. In one case study a key youth project lost -18.4% of its budget.

In the area of children, funding for the School Completion Programme fell -20.9%. The pupil: teacher ratios worsened from 12.7 to 13.1 and there is evidence of the reduction of learning support resource and other non-classroom teachers, critical for a disadvantaged community. Early years providers struggled to provide services in a complex statutory funding and governance system which left them under-funded and their services more costly to parents.

The principal state investment in Ballymun in the period, Ballymun Regeneration Ltd, led to the demolition of the tower and spine flat block complexes, the development of new housing infrastructure as well as a new civic infrastructure in the form of the central main street. The state opened an Intreo office and launched the Youth Guarantee in Ballymun, but the progression rate of participants to

employment was only 11.2%, an indicator of lack of employment opportunities in the area. Several local authority offices closed.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the story is the investment not made over 2007-2014. Of the flagships of Ballymun regeneration, the metro was cancelled and the shopping centre development has not yet commenced. Both would have made Ballymun a much more attractive place to live and brought in fresh, quality jobs. The proposed industrial and technological park never appeared.

## **Conclusions**

The research concluded that, despite some improvements in housing and the physical infrastructure, Ballymun remains an area of high deprivation, one of the highest in the city of Dublin and nationally. At one level, this is unsurprising, as key welfare rates are set below the poverty line. At least as important as the investment made in the regeneration process is the story of investments not made: the metro, shopping centre and industrial park. The type of industries and services long mapped as necessary for all of northside Dublin, not just Ballymun, have not arrived. The limited new physical infrastructure provided by the regeneration process was not matched by economic, social or industrial infrastructure.

Worse, the pattern of social disinvestment both nationally and locally has likely undone much of the progress made before the economic and social crisis. Voluntary and community organisations and others who document the changing social picture of Ballymun report persistent social problems of poverty, poor housing, unemployment and crime. Young people continue to be at serious disadvantage, with limited prospects. The research heard stories of child poverty, hunger and extreme pressure on low-income families, made worse by new utility charges. Food banks are used intensively. An important indicator of social need is the level of spending by the Society of St Vincent de Paul, which rose by +58%.

Although levels of health services were broadly maintained, investment in education was reduced, especially in those additional teaching and related resources essential for disadvantaged communities. State housing provision declined to the almost inconsequential. At a time when overall state funding nationally fell -6.18%, funding for voluntary and community organisations in Ballymun fell in a band -20% to -36%, matching the national pattern. Many small and important funding lines were eliminated. Voluntary and community organisations closed or reduced their services, while the Ballymun Whitehall Partnership was closed. This period was one of a significant erosion of social capital.

## **Addressing challenges**

Ballymun's experience raises serious questions about the approach followed in both development in general and regeneration in particular. It throws into sharp relief and suggests the limits of the developer-led model of regeneration that is dependent on private investments in such key areas as the shopping centre, industrial park and private housing. These may never arrive, especially in the absence of any state investment, such as the Metro.

This profile identified key areas of focus if the social indicators of Ballymun are to converge toward the Dublin city and national averages:

- The need to complete the original regeneration flagships (metro, shopping centre, industrial and technological park);
- An industrial programme that will provide work opportunities for the present and future generation of children of Ballymun (e.g. workforce training, apprenticeships, SMEs);
- Rebuild income supports, setting them above the poverty line, so as to reduce the persistent poverty that is a dominant feature in the social landscape;

- Meet housing need and improve conditions through an extensive programme of quality public housing provision, renovation and improvement;
- Rebuild the lost social capital in the community; restore funding for voluntary and community organisations;
- Make provision for a strong, prominent, representative, resourced voice for civil society in development;
- Rectify the deficits in documentation of social conditions if the true dimensions of changing social need are to be known. State investment in documentation has almost disappeared since the closing of the Combat Poverty Agency, while voluntary organisations have been stripped of many of the resources to do so.

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# 1. Changing environment in Ballymun

## Key points

- Moderate population growth, with ageing population
- Family fragmentation but falling divorce/separation
- More diverse in terms of nationalities but fewer Travellers
- Less early school leaving, small rise in third level participation
- Fall in proportion of people reporting the ability to speak Irish
- Greater use of computers, internet and cars
- Falling level of local authority housing, more private rented accommodation
- Greater absolute disadvantage but improvements in relative disadvantage in context of economic and social crisis
- Much lower proportions in Ballymun are in managerial and professional employment compared to national population, marginal improvements
- High unemployment rates
- Falling crime
- Rise in poverty rates since 2008-9, with child poverty rates higher
- Greatest losses for those in lowest income groups; increased stress for those experiencing poverty

Ballymun is a long-standing community in north-west Dublin.<sup>1</sup> It became well known for the resettlement there of city centre families in high-rise housing in the 1960s.<sup>2</sup> In 1997, it became the location of the largest regeneration programme in the state's history, carried out by Ballymun Renegeration Ltd (BRL), with investment of at least €755 million, which concluded in 2013.<sup>3</sup> Our principal information on social change in Ballymun comes from the two censi of 2006 and 2011.

## 1.1. Demographic

Ballymun saw moderate population growth over 2006-11, +4.8% but this change was unevenly distributed (table 1). The A division, to the north west, saw a substantial increase of population, +75%, while C (south east) and D (south west) saw reductions between -5.7% and -15.9%: so it was a period of significant internal population upheaval. The Ballymun increase is about half the national level, which was +8.2% but more than the Dublin city rate, +4.2%.

**Table 1: Population change**

Ballymun Electoral Division	2006	2011	Change
A	2,101	3,678	+75.1%
B	3,949	4,012	+1.6%
C	5,921	5,585	-5.7%
D	3,522	2,961	-15.9%
Total	15,493	16,236	+4.8%

Source: Tables 1-13 Central Statistics Office, Census 2006, 2011

<sup>1</sup> Ballymun is defined as Ballymun A,B,C,D,E,F, six districts of the Central Statistics Office classification system, (there are 162 in Dublin), an area of 3.64km<sup>2</sup>; but both BRL and *youngballymun* cover Ballymun electoral divisions A, B, C, D on which this research is focused.

<sup>2</sup> Somerville-Woodward, Robert: Ballymun - a history. Dublin, BRL, 2002 (two vols).

<sup>3</sup> The formal regeneration programme concluded in 2013, but some funding continued into 2014. A skeleton staff was kept to conclude the closedown protocols and is expected to finish 2015.

Looking at the population by life stage (table 2), the population aged over the period, with a decline in the numbers and proportion of children, which fell from 35.2% to 32.5%, and a decline in their share of the population of -5.6%. By contrast, the proportion of the working age population (20 to 64) grew from 56.5% to 58.9%, its share up +6.5%, while the proportion of older people grew slightly from 8.2% to 8.5%, but this is markedly below the national proportion of over 11%.

**Table 2: Population by life stage**

	2006		2011		Change as proportion
Children	5581	35.2%	5268	32.5%	-5.6%
Working age	8949	59.5%	9534	58.9%	+6.5%
Older people	1303	8.2%	1377	8.5%	+5.7%

Children defined as under 20; Working age 20-64; Older people 65+

Looking at family form (table 3), the proportion of single parents (mothers or fathers with children), the family form most at risk of poverty, grew from 55.8% to 60%, an increased share of the population of +4.2%. The national rate of lone parenting is 21.6%, lower in rural areas but higher in urban communities (34% in Dublin city, but low in affluent areas). Ballymun D has the highest rate in the city (70%).

**Table 3: Family form**

	2006		2011		Change as proportion
Couples	1199		1440		
Single mother	1400	55.8%	1874	60%	+4.2%
Single father	115		191		
Pop. sample*	2714		3505		

\* Total population figures were given in table 1, but in this and in some subsequent tables a smaller number may be sampled.

By contrast, there was a reduced rate of family division, with the rate of divorce and separation falling slightly from 8.3% to 7.5%. This is lower than, but not far from, national rates (8.7% to 9.7%) but in the contrary direction, which nationally is upward.

If we look at the proportion of Travellers in the population (table 4), the number of Travellers is small, falling from 295 to 246, down -16.6%. All but a small number are in one division (B, in the north). This contrasts with an increase nationally of +32%. Turning to nationality, the proportion of non-Irish in the population increased from 9.8% to 14.5%, up +4.7% of the share of population, above the national figure (12%).

**Table 4: Number of Travellers**

Ballymun ED	2006	2011	Change
A	4	6	
B	272	217	
C	8	10	
D	11	12	
Total	295	246	-16.6%

Looking at religious affiliation, the proportion not Catholic has increased from 10% to 14.1%, which is lower than the national figure (16%). The proportion of people reporting the ability to speak Irish is falling, down from 28.1% to 26.4%. This is significantly below and counter to the national trend, where the proportion speaking Irish rose slightly to 41.2%.

Table 5 provides a comparison of the proportions in each of the Principal Economic Status (PES) categories against the national picture in 2011, which illustrates the small proportions in Ballymun in the managerial, higher professional and lower professional categories; quite similar proportions in the non-manual and skilled manual categories; but higher proportions in the semi-skilled and unskilled categories. Principal Economic Status is closely linked to household income and is therefore a key determinant of economic wellbeing.

There have been some marginal changes in proportions in Principal Economic Status (PES). Gains are evident for the top four social classes (A, B, C, D), with declines in lower social classes (E, F, G). The proportion of managers has increased from 5.2% to 6%; higher professionals from 1.3% to 1.9%; lower professionals from 3.9% to 5.5%, the largest single gain; and non-manual from 20.4% to 21.5%. If we look at the declines, the proportion of semi-skilled has fallen from 13.8% to 12.3% and unskilled from 9.2% to 7.1%, the largest single fall. These gains are made against a low base, Ballymun D having the lowest proportion of professionals and the highest level of manual workers in the city.

**Table 5: Principal Economic Status (PES)**

Principal Economic Status	2006		2011		2011	Difference between Ballymun and Ireland figures	Change as proportion of Ballymun population 2006 and 2011
	Ballymun				Ireland		
A Manager	343	5.2%	346	6%	15.4%	9.4%	+0.8%
B Higher professional	83	1.3%	112	1.9%	6.4%	4.5%	+0.6%
C Lower professional	253	3.9%	318	5.5%	12.1%	6.6%	+1.6%
D Non-manual	1340	20.4%	1239	21.5%	20.3%	-1.2%	+1.1%
E Skilled manual	732	11.1%	502	8.7%	8.4%	-0.3%	-2.4%
F Semi-skilled	904	13.8%	711	12.3%	7.8%	-4.5%	-1.5%
G Unskilled	602	9.2%	410	7.1%	3.3%	-3.8%	-2.1%
H Own account*	182	2.8%	154	2.7%	4.3%	1.6%	-0.1%
IJZ**	2129	32.4%	1968	34.2%	21.9%	-12.3%	+1.8%
Sample pop.	6568		5760				

\*'Own account' is a substantial category including self-employed.

\*\*This is farmers, agricultural workers (likely to be very few) and unknown, which may include people who did not give or do not consider themselves to have an occupation.

There has been an improvement in educational standards (table 6). The proportion of those ceasing education at 16 or earlier has fallen from 45.2% to 33.1%, a sharp drop as a proportion of the population (-12.1%), with a small fall for those completing education during the years 17 to 20, down from 25.3% to 24.3%. The proportion ceasing education at 21 or later has risen modestly from 6.6% to 8.9%. Whilst these are important gains, the base in Ballymun is one of the lowest in the city, with Ballymun B having the fourth lowest rate of participation in third level education. The figures suggest that although early school leaving is falling sharply, this has yet to translate into bigger gains in numbers completing second or third level. The principal gender differences may be found in education where, following national

patterns, women outperform men. In the group that ceased education at 21 or over, this is 54% female; while in the group with university degrees, this is 58% female.

**Table 6: Age ceased education**

	2006		2011		Change as proportion
16 and under	4102	45.2%	3171	33.1%	-12.1%
17-20	2303	25.3%	2333	24.3%	-1%
21+	597	6.6%	854	8.9%	+2.3%
Not stated	2065	22.8%	3227	33.7%	
Pop. sample	9067		9585		

We have numbers for people with disabilities and carers (table 7). Whilst small in absolute terms, it is notable that the numbers of both increased significantly, +44.8% respectively and +40.3%, but this could be partly due to higher rates of self-declaration.

**Table 7: People with disabilities, carers**

	2006	2011	Change
People with disabilities	1826	2644	+44%
Carers	479	672	+40%

The census give us two indicators of material and technological acquisition: car ownership (table 8) and electronic connection (table 9). The proportion of households without cars has fallen from 49.6% to 44%. The proportion with one car has increased from 37.4% to 42.2%; the proportion with two cars slightly up from 10.9% to 11.7%; while those with 3 cars or more is about the same. With computer and internet, there has been a rapid change. The proportion with a computer has risen from 39.3% to 63.5%; while the proportion with the internet has risen from 26.2% to 65.1%. A more recent study, albeit in a small sample, found that 94% of 15-17 year olds had Facebook and 73% Snapchat.<sup>4</sup>

**Table 8: Car ownership**

	2006		2011		Change as proportion
No car	2488	49.6%	2542	44%	-5.6%
1 car	1877	37.4%	2434	42.2%	+4.8%
2 cars	545	10.9%	679	11.7%	+0.8%
3 cars+	107	2.1%	116	2%	-0.1%
Pop. sample	5017		5771		

**Table 9: Computer and internet**

	2006		2011		Change as proportion
<b>Computer</b>					
Yes	1986	39.3%	3669	63.5%	+24.2%
No	2795	55.3%	1830	31.7%	-23.6%
Not stated	269	5.3%	274	4.7%	
Pop. sample	5050		5774		
<b>Internet</b>					
Yes	1316	26.2%	3761	65.1%	+38.9%
No	3133	62.4%	1701	29.5%	-32.9%
Not stated	568	11.3%	311	5.4%	

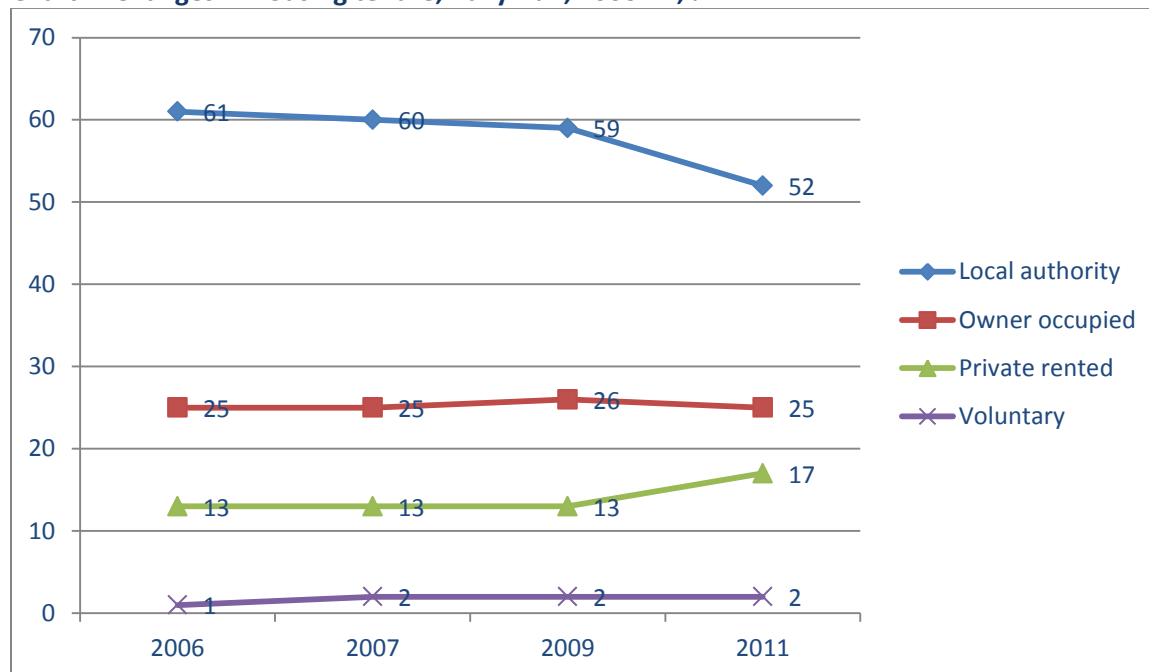
<sup>4</sup> Gleeson, Jack: Local bullying trends revealed. [The People](#), 7th April 2014. N=100.

	2006		2011		Change as proportion
Pop. sample	5017		5773		

General elections provide the best and most comparable figures for voter turnout. The Dublin North West constituency includes, but is not limited to, Ballymun. Turnout figures were 60.42% in 2007 and 67.5% in 2011. Although these were below the national levels of 67.3% and 69.9% respectively, the 2011 election saw a sharp increase in the vote in working class communities, such as Ballymun, Darndale and Cherry Orchard.<sup>5</sup>

Housing patterns in Ballymun are quite different from the national picture. Nationally, local authority housing comprises 7.9% of all housing, higher in Dublin city (11.8%). By contrast, housing tenure in Ballymun has been dominated by local authority provision, 61% in 2006, Ballymun D and B having the highest rates in the city. An important objective of the Ballymun regeneration process was to increase diversity in tenure, the master plan envisaging a transition to 32% local authority and voluntary housing and 68% private. In the event, the principal change over the period 2006-2011 was a reduction in the proportion of local authority accommodation, from 61% to 52%. The proportion of owner-occupied housing remained static (25%) but there was a growth in private rented accommodation, which grew from 13% to 17% (chart 1).

**Chart 1: Changes in housing tenure, Ballymun, 2006-11, %**



Source: Ballymun Regeneration Ltd. Small % other or not stated.

## 1.2. Poverty and deprivation

Ballymun was vulnerable to the effects of the economic and social crisis of 2008. Nationally, unemployment rose from 4.5% in 2007 to 15% in 2012, falling back to 11.8% in 2014. Household

<sup>5</sup> Kavanagh, Adrian: How many Dubliners vote? [Irish Times](#), 19th January 2013.

incomes fell an average of -21%.<sup>6</sup> The Trutz Haase index, which is based on a series of proxies for disadvantage, is used to measure the level of deprivation from one electoral division to another, minus scores indicating the extent of deprivation and plus scores the extent of affluence (table 10).<sup>7</sup>

**Table 10: Disadvantage in Ballymun**

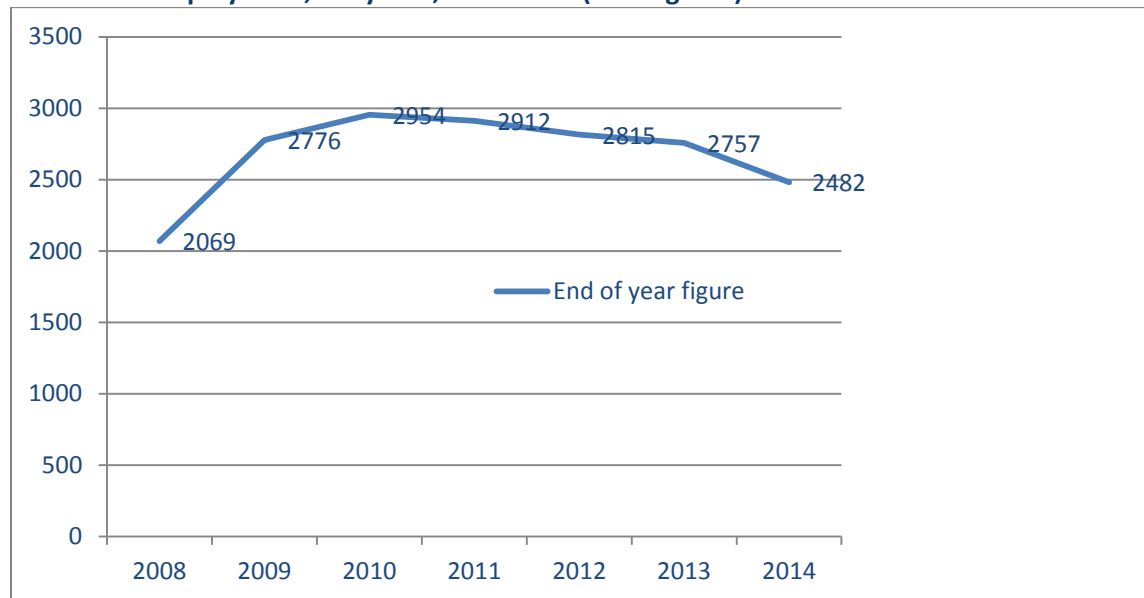
	Absolute			Relative		
	2006	2011	Change	2006	2011	Change
Ballymun A	-15.9	-11.6	+ 4.3	-15.9	-4.6	+11.3
Ballymun B	-20.7	-26.8	-6.1	-20.7	-19.8	+0.9
Ballymun C	-18.4	-20.5	-2.1	-18.4	-13.4	+5
Ballymun D	-20.6	-24.8	-4.2	-20.6	-17.8	+2.9
ABCD (unweighted)	-18.9	-20.9	-2	-18.9	-13.9	+6

Source: Trutz Haase Social and Economic Consultants.

As may be seen, Ballymun’s situation disimproved in absolute terms, along with the rest of the country, but improved in relative terms, Ballymun A the most and Ballymun B the least.

There was a rapid rise in unemployment in Ballymun from 2008, peaking at 2,954 in 2010, since then falling back to 2,484, but still higher than before the crisis (chart 2). The Ballymun rate was 37% male unemployment, 26% female, far higher than the Dublin or national rates, the two highest in the city being Ballymun B (50.5% male, 36.9% female) and Ballymun D (48.5%, 34.9%), with Ballymun C fifth highest in the city (40.3% male, 30.4% female). As is the national pattern, male unemployment has been ahead of female.

**Chart 2: Unemployment, Ballymun, 2008-2014 (live register)**



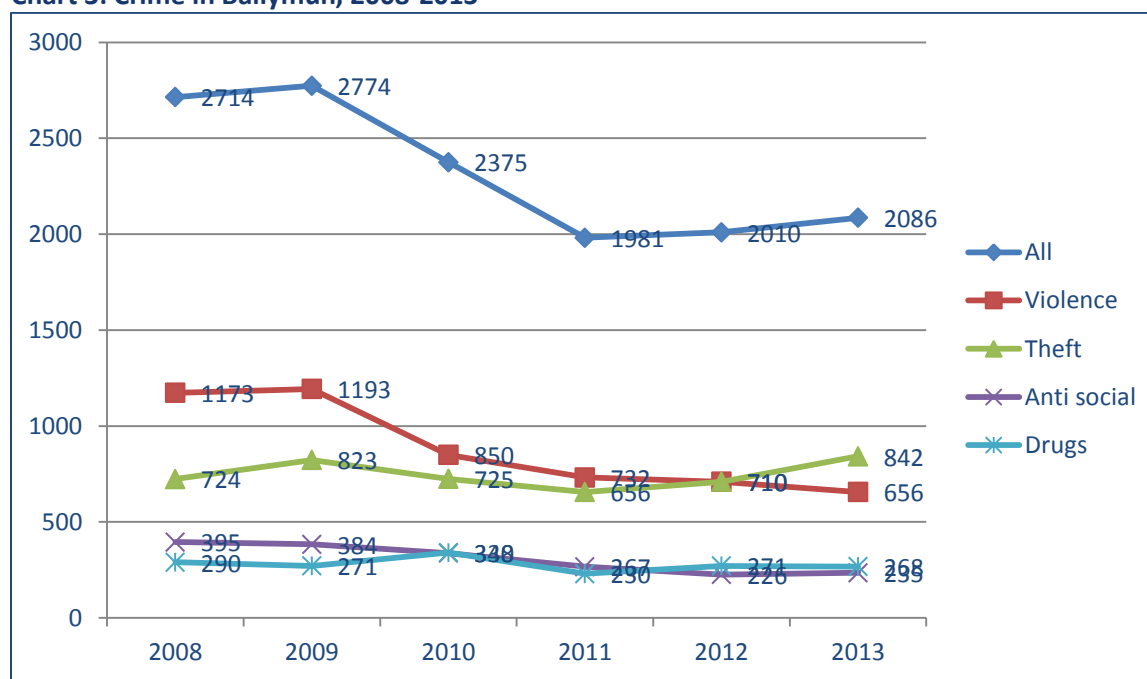
Source: Central Statistics Office live register figures for Ballymun

<sup>6</sup> As measured by fall in consumption: see O’Connell, Brian; O’Toole, Conor; and Žnuderl, Nuša Trends in consumption since the crisis. ESRI Research Note, *Quarterly Economic Commentary*, winter 2012.

<sup>7</sup> The indicators used are the levels of age dependency, lone parenting, early school leaving, social class and unemployment. See Engling, Feline & Haase, Trutz: The 2011 Pobal HP deprivation index - area profile for Dublin city. Dublin, Trutz Haase, 2013.

Crime statistics show an overall downward trend from a high at the 2,700 level in 2008-9 to around the 2,000 level in 2012-13 (chart 3).<sup>8</sup> Within that, violent crime has fallen from 395 crimes in 2008 to 235 in 2013, a faster decline.

**Chart 3: Crime in Ballymun, 2008-2013**



Source: Central Statistics Offices figures for Ballymun station 2008-2013

The proportion of drug offences is both low and consistent, in the 230 to 390 range, but lower now than at the start of the period. Theft-related offences have risen over the period, from 724 at the start to 842. Anti-social offences have fallen consistently and by almost half, from 1,173 to 656.

Numbers in methadone treatment in Ballymun have declined over 2008-2013 from 478 to 402, down 15.9% (table 11). As a proportion of those receiving treatment nationally, this was a decline from 4.7% to 3.7%. This is an ageing population and there is the prospect that these numbers will continue to fall. There is no waiting list for treatment now.

**Table 11: Numbers in methadone treatment, Ballymun**

	Number	% national	Change
2008	478	4.7%	
2009	480	4.5%	
2010	451	4.2%	
2011	417	3.9%	
2012	406	3.7%	
2013	402	3.7%	-15.9%

Source: Ballymun Local Drugs Task Force.

<sup>8</sup> New CSO crime figures welcomed. [The People](#), 21st October 2013.

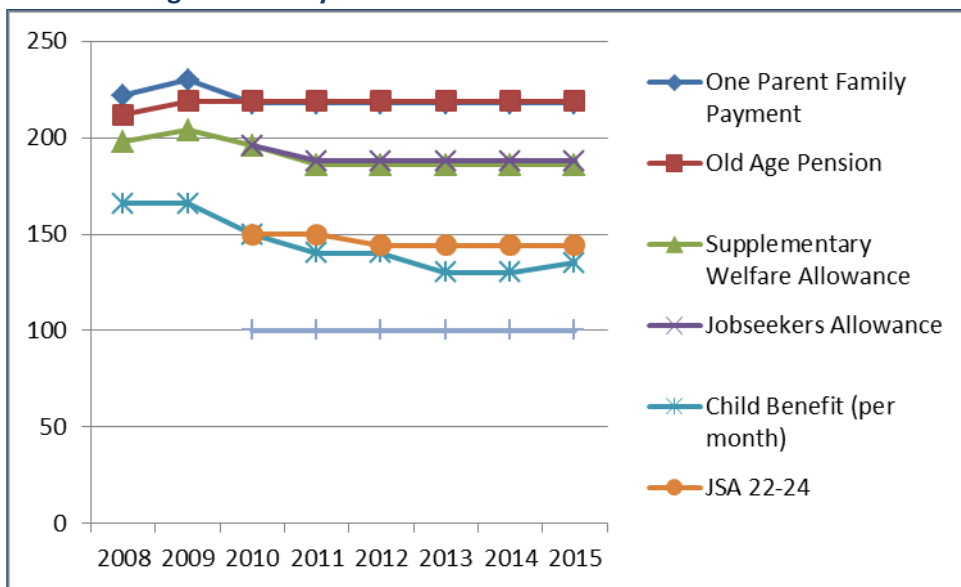
Studies of alcohol consumption put Ballymun slightly above the national picture (94% compared to 90%) and with higher negative consequences on others, 47% compared to national studies in the 27%-28% range. Such harm takes the form of negative effects on family and acquaintances of heavy drinking, especially women; as well as family disruption, physical assault, vandalism, financial trouble, or harm to work and studies.<sup>9</sup> The 15 to 24 age group is especially affected. Particular issues in Ballymun are the level of under-age drinking, street drinking and alcohol-related violence, with criticism of inadequate law enforcement. There was no evident change in pattern between 2006 and 2012.

### 1.3. Policy

The period 2007-2014 significant policy changes in the national policy environment. Following the financial crisis in 2008, the government introduced measures to reduce spending and increase taxation, policies continued by the government elected in 2011:

- Reduction in state spending of -6.18%.<sup>10</sup> Capital funding fell -61.5%;
- Reductions in social welfare rates, principally for the unemployed and in families in receipt of child benefit, with increased conditionality (e.g. one-parent families) (chart 4);
- Reductions in public service numbers from 320,000 to 288,000;
- Increases in taxation, principally the University Social Charge and Local Property Tax, accompanied by waste and water charges;
- Reduction of funding for voluntary and community organisations between -35% and -45%, with a reduction in their workforce of -31%; closure of the Community Development Programme, privatisation of the Local and Community Development Programme.

**Chart 4: Changes in weekly social welfare rates 2008-2015 €**



Reductions in government spending were uneven, affecting some areas of spending more than others (e.g. housing, €1.73bn to €808m, - 53.3%), social welfare (€20.9bn to €19.4bn, -7.2%) while the health budget even rose +1%. Local authority housing construction fell from 4,986 (2007) to 293 (2014);

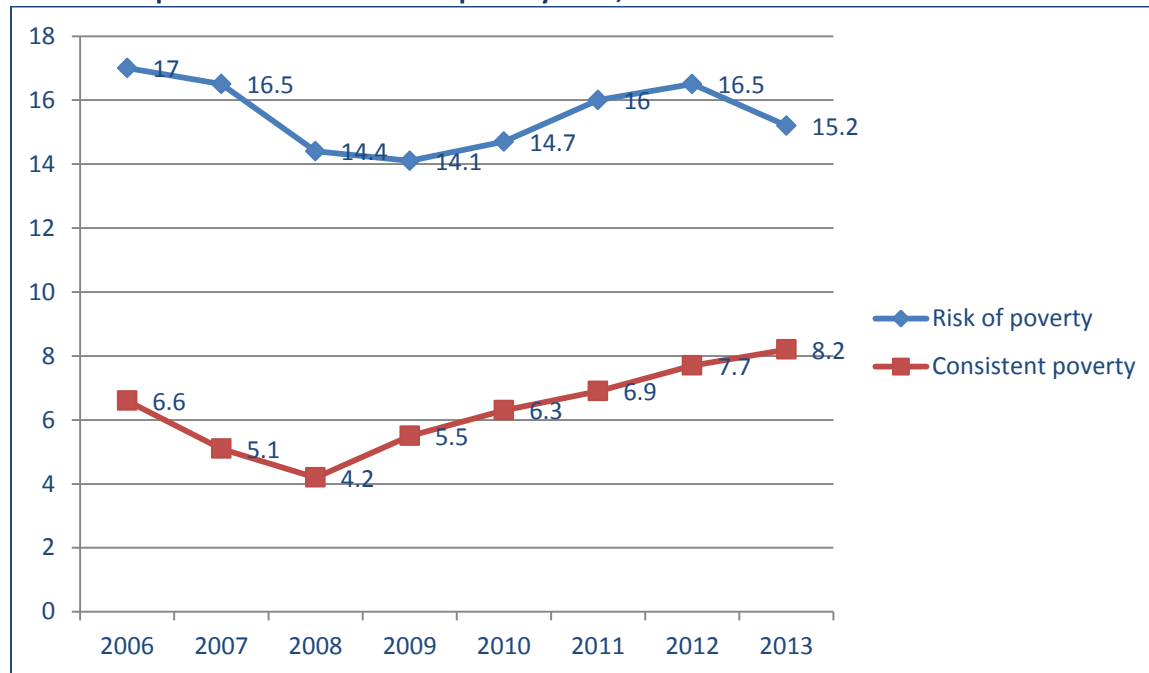
<sup>9</sup> Hope, Anne: Ballymun alcohol survey 2012: key findings and policy implications. Dublin, Ballymun Drugs Task Force, 2013: Ballymun Local Drugs Task Force: Ballymun alcohol survey. Dublin, author, 2012 and A road to change - Ballymun community alcohol strategy. Dublin, Ballymun Drugs Task Force and Safer Ballymun, 2010.

<sup>10</sup> The Wheel: Budget 2015 analysis. Dublin, author, 2014, www.wheel.ie.

voluntary and community housing from 1,695 to 211 (down -94% and -88% respectively). Poverty rates began to rise after 2008-9 (chart 5), with rate for children generally several points higher, 18.8% in 2012 and 17.9% in 2013.

Following the completion of the research phase of this report, significant eligibility changes came into effect for claimants of the One Parent Family Payment, including reducing the age limit of children from 12 to 7 for most claimants. Parents of children aged over 7 were transferred to other social welfare benefits with different criteria and requirements. One Family, Ireland’s national organisation for one-parent families, estimates that 10% of parents in receipt of the One Parent Family Payment are worse off financially as a result of the changes. Parents who are working part time are particularly hard hit by the changes.

**Chart 5: Proportion % below various poverty lines, 2006-2013**



Source: Central Statistics Office: EU Standards of Income and Living Conditions, 2013

The Traveller community was egregiously affected, with reductions in education and housing investment of -86% and -85% respectively.

In its analysis of the impact of the austerity programme alone (i.e. policy-induced changes, as distinct from changes attributable to economic circumstances), the ESRI found that the average income loss was between 11% and 11.75%, but for the lowest income group (which, granted its social indicators, is predominant in Ballymun), the loss was -12.75%, while single unemployed people experienced a loss of -22.4%.<sup>11</sup> Economic stress rose from 0.36 to 0.47 for those living in poverty; more, 0.27 to 0.42 for those in precarious circumstances; and 0.19 to 0.31 for the lower middle class, categories strongly represented in the Ballymun profile.

<sup>11</sup> Keane, Clare; Callan, Tim; Savage, Michael; Walsh, John R; Colgan, Brian: Distributional impact of tax, welfare and public pay policies - budget 2015 and budgets 2009-2015. Dublin, ESRI, 2015.

In the area of children, the most important developments were the Early Childcare Supplement (ECS) (2006) which was replaced by the Free Pre-school Year (FPSY) (2010). Irish investment in early years provision is one of the lowest in Europe (0.25% of Gross Domestic Product) and its childcare among the most expensive, so Ireland was starting from a very low base.<sup>12</sup> The ECS provided a cash payment to the parent of €1,000 for every child under 6, the scheme operating for April-December 2006; all 2007, 2008; and was phased out in 2009. The calculated value of the scheme in Ballymun for this period was €5.118m.<sup>13</sup> Whilst there are arguments for and against the merits of a direct cash payment to parents, for a low-income community like Ballymun this was a valued recognition of the costs of rearing children in general and childcare in particular. The FPSY, introduced 2010, applied only to the pre-school year, for children aged between 3 years, 3 months and 4 years 6 months, and was clearly of no benefit to parents of children outside the limited age range. The cost to the state of the ECS was €506m in 2008, whereas the cost of the FPSY was €170m in the first year in which it was introduced, 2010, now €175m (2014).

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<sup>12</sup> Prevention and Early Intervention Network: The case for prevention and early intervention. Dublin, author, 2014; Oireachtas Library & Information Service: Early childhood education and care. §4, 2012. Dublin, author.

<sup>13</sup> This is a calculated figure based on the number of children under 6 recorded in the 2006 census and assumes a 100% take-up rate. This figure is for Ballymun A, B, C, D.

## 2. Services

### Key points

- Small number of new jobs announced 2007-14 but biggest planned investment projects in Ballymun cancelled
- Local authority house completions down from 374 a year to 71
- Uneven investment in children and early years services
- Reduced resourcing of primary education, disimproved student:teacher ratios
- School Completion Programme funding down -20.9%
- Health service investment appears consistent
- Youth Guarantee progression to employment rate of 11.2%, highlighting lack of local opportunities
- State disinvestment in voluntary and community organisations
- Some key budget lines reduced, others disappear entirely
- Substantial reductions in funding from range of sources for voluntary, community services
- Termination of Ballymun/Whitehall Partnership
- Closure of three early years services

This section attempts to measure the level of investment in and provision of services over 2007-2014. One of the largest capital projects in the state's history was planned for Ballymun, the main station on the €2.5bn, 16.5km Metro North route from the city centre to the airport and Swords, announced 2006, expected to carry 33.3m passenger journeys a year, with a cost-benefit ratio of 2:1. The net economic benefit to Ballymun and other locations was estimated at €1bn, including 3,600 new jobs in the area.<sup>14</sup> There was to have been considerable benefits in access to work, inward investment, facilitating those without cars and improving the environment. In 2011, the Metro North project was cancelled.

The Ballymun Regeneration Programme is costed at €755m, but some higher figures (€942m) have also been given.<sup>15</sup> One of its most important elements and a key part of regeneration programme was to have been a €800m shopping centre served by metro.<sup>16</sup> The loss of the centre was partly attributed to the metro cancelation.<sup>17</sup> The proposed shopping centre site entered receivership and then NAMA in 2012, which eventually released the site to Dublin City Council in summer 2014. The council began to vacate the site for demolition and it became increasingly derelict.<sup>18</sup> The need for such a centre was highlighted when the principal retailer in Ballymun, Tesco, closed in March 2014.<sup>19</sup> By the end of the regeneration, Ballymun was left without a major retailer or shopping centre, with little commercial

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<sup>14</sup> Railway Procurement Agency: Metro North - myths and facts. Dublin, author, 2010; Metro north delay 'body blow' for Ballymun. [The People](#), 14th November 2011.

<sup>15</sup> Dail Eireann, Debates, 21st January 2015, 628 ; Comptroller & Auditor General: Ballymun regeneration. Dublin, author, 2007. These figures are those for direct investment and may not include private sector reliefs foregone. See also Gleeson, Jack: Double blow for local community. [Northside People](#), 1st-8th October 2014.

<sup>16</sup> Gleeson, Jack: Shopping centre saga dates back to 90s. [The People](#), 28th April 2014.

<sup>17</sup> Gleeson, Jack: Transport link could bypass Ballymun. [The People](#), 7th January 2015.

<sup>18</sup> Twomey, Aibhinn: NAMA issued with demand over local shopping centre. [The People](#), 11th March 2013. An up to date account is provided in Holland, Kitty: Ballymun residents say Dublin City Council is dismantling heart of community'. [Irish Times](#), 3rd March 2015. Further damage was done by a fire on 22nd June 2015.

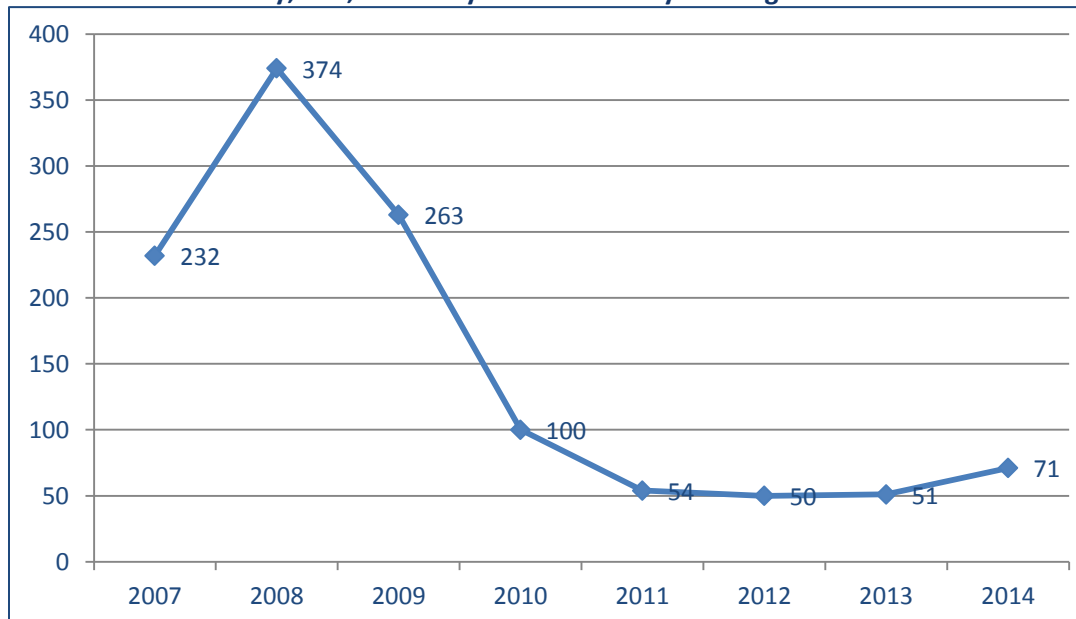
<sup>19</sup> Gleeson, Jack: Sad day for Ballymun. [The People](#), 10th March 2014.

activity and its principal capital project cancelled.<sup>20</sup> A proposed business and technology park failed for lack of private investment.

Two new job enterprises were reported during the timeframe. McDonalds announced 60 jobs in its new €2m outlet in 2011.<sup>21</sup> A social employment enterprise for people with disabilities, Vendability, opened the same year.<sup>22</sup>

In the area of housing, the number of new local authority/BRL homes provided, both for those re-housed from the blocks and otherwise, was 1,194. Most were built during the early period, peaking in 2008 (chart 6). The proportion of voluntary and cooperative housing doubled from a very low base of 1% to 2% (115 homes). Nine Traveller families were re-housed over 2009-2014. Housing repairs were in the range 7,300 to 8,500 each year (but 14,308 in 2013).

**Chart 6: New homes completions, Ballymun, 2007-2014**  
**Local authority, BRL, voluntary and community housing**



Source: Dublin City Council

## 2.1. Children

There was a considerable expansion in childcare in Ballymun following the publication of an action plan drawn up early in the century.<sup>23</sup> The introduction of the means-tested Pobal Community Childcare Subvention (CCS) scheme was intended to make childcare more affordable. The introduction of the Free Pre-School Year in 2010 also reduced early years costs for parents.

A new early years service, Poppintree Early Education Centre, opened in 2010, with an additional 'pop-up' in 2014. However three services closed including Aunt Sally's Crèche, located in a purpose built

<sup>20</sup> Gleeson, Jack: Council moves to vacate Ballymun shopping centre. *The People*, 11th August 2014.

<sup>21</sup> Gleeson, Jack: Double local jobs boost. *The People*, 14th September 2014.

<sup>22</sup> Disability job initiative launched. *The People*, 17th August 2011.

<sup>23</sup> Ballymun Childcare Task Force: Action plan 2001-2004. Dublin, author, 2001.

facility constructed in the context of the physical regeneration of the area, Little Rascals and Born Free. Financial sustainability of early years settings remains a challenge (see section 3.3). The Dublin North West Local Childcare Resource Service closed in 2015. A new €1.4m building for 76 children was opened for Our Lady’s Nursery, replacing a pre-fab used for 41 years.<sup>24</sup> A new Gaelscoil has been promised for 2015.<sup>25</sup>

Between 2007 and 2012 an investment of €15m was made by the then Office of the Minister for Children and the Atlantic Philanthropies through the Prevention and Early Intervention programme to resource *youngballymun* as an area-wide initiative to improve learning and wellbeing outcomes. From 2013-2016, *youngballymun* continues to be funded as one of 13 sites under the Area Based Childhood (ABC) project although with significantly reduced allocation of €5 million over three years.<sup>26</sup>

Ballymun benefitted from the interagency School Attendance Initiative in 11 primary and one secondary school using part-time attendance promoters. Attendance for primary school children in Ballymun in 2008 was 90.3%, typical of a disadvantaged area (90.4%), but below the national average (93.7%).<sup>27</sup> The average was brought down by a significant group of non-attenders, 30.5% missing more than 20 days or more per year, much higher than the average for disadvantaged areas (24.3%) or the national average (11.8%). Following the School Attendance Initiative, primary school attendance rose to 91.9% by 2012 and non-attendance for the 20 days+ group fell to 24.7%. There were significant improvements among Traveller children and chronic non-attenders (51 days or more).

The Ballymun Educational Support Team School Completion Programme (BEST SCP) was a central partner in the School Attendance Initiative. BEST SCP was one of 124 local projects which comprised school principals, home-school liaison coordinators, parents and voluntary and statutory agencies. The national SCP budget fell between 19.5% and 33% over 2012-14, with Ballymun funding falling from €470,700 in 2008 to €364,773 in 2014 (-20.9%) (table 12), leading to staff reductions (e.g. 11-month year, two redundancies, increments frozen).<sup>28</sup>

**Table 12: Funding for BEST SCP Ballymun 2007-2014, €**

Year	Amount	Change
2007	416,470	
2008	470,700	+2%
2009	470,700	-
2010	448,734	-5%
2011	435,275	-3%
2012	403,228	-7.4%
2013	390,132	-3.25%
2014	367,773	-6.5%
2007-2014		-20.9%

Source: BEST School Completion Programme

<sup>24</sup> Minister opens new nursery building. *The People*, 12th November 2012.

<sup>25</sup> Twomey, Aoibhinn: Broad welcome for schools programme. *The People*, 10th March 2012.

<sup>26</sup> Boost for local children. *The People*, 2nd December 2013. Its predecessor programme, the Prevention and Early Intervention Programme (PEIP) was allocated €30m for five years for three sites (Tallaght, Darndale, Ballymun).

<sup>27</sup> Burtenshaw Kenny Associates: Evaluation of Ballymun school attendance community action initiative. Dublin, Ballymun Whitehall Area Partnership, 2012. This initiative covered not only the immediate area served by Young Ballymun but the wider partnership area.

<sup>28</sup> Dail Eireann, Debates, 30th September 2014, 63-66; Future of School Completion Programme - focus paper addressing key issues in educational disadvantage, unpublished paper in draft, 2015.

In line with the demographic fall in the younger age group, the numbers attending primary school in Ballymun fell from 2,286 to 2,124 (-7%). The numbers of ordinary, mainstream teachers fell from 179 to 162 (-9%), which led to a slight worsening of the student:teacher ratio, from 12.7 to 13.1 (table 13). Data provided by schools indicated reductions in the resources for classroom teachers, learning support resource teachers, resource teachers for Travellers and English as an additional language teachers. One school had 9 classroom teachers in 2009 and 2014, but learning support teachers fell from 3.8 to 2.8; when rising rolls in 2012 would have led to an extra post, this was refused. In another case, staffing fell from 8 classroom and 2 full-time and one part-time resource teachers to 7 classroom teachers, 1 full-time and two part-time resource teachers, while two special classes were lost. The Ballymun Principals Network warned that cuts to DEIS schools would lead to a worsening of ratios, with potentially a consequential adverse effect on literacy, numeracy and attendance.<sup>29</sup>

**Table 13: Schools: students, teachers and class size, 2007-2013**

School	2007			2013		
	Pupils	Teachers	Size	Pupils	Teachers	Size
Sn an Spioraid Naoimh C	326	24	13.6	273	17	16
Holy Spirit Boys	383	26	14.7	338	25	13.5
Our Lady of Victories	223	19	11.7	246	18	13.6
Sn na Maighdina Muire B	151	12	12.6	131	13	10
Sn na Maighdina Muire	145	13	11.2	127	11	11.5
Scoil An Tseachtar Laoch	200	13	15.4	210	13	16.2
St Joseph's Junior	109	16	6.8	144	14	10
St Joseph's Senior	180	15	12.0	129	14	9.2
Bantiarne na Bmunna B	189	15	12.6	185	14	13.2
Bantiarne na Bmunna G	195	14	13.9	155	13	11.9
Gaelscoil Bhaile Munna	185	12	15.4	186	10	18.6
	2286	179	12.7	2124	162	13.1

Source: Department of Education and Skills. 2007 figures derived from columns M (total pupils) and number of teachers from columns N, O, P); 2014 from column N (pupils) and U (teacher totals).

## 2.2. State services

Although employment services were the subject of dissatisfaction by a sample of service users<sup>30</sup>, there were two significant investments in employment services during the timeframe of this study. The first was the one-stop-shop welfare and activation office, Intreo (2013). The second was the Youth Guarantee scheme (2014), Ballymun, one of 18 EU-funded pilots, designed to ensure that all 18-24 year olds out of work had the offer of continued education, apprenticeship, traineeship, work experience or quality employment within four months of becoming unemployed.<sup>31</sup> The pilot engaged with 739 young people with counselling and a personal progression plan. Of these, 49% went on to further education or training and 16.5% onto employment programmes (Tus, Community Employment, Gateway). 7.4% went into full-time employment and 3.8% into part-time employment, an indicator of the small number of employment opportunities open in the area.<sup>32</sup> Those engaged had been a substantial distance from the

<sup>29</sup> Twomey, Aoibhinn: Locals join mass school protest. [The People](#), 13th January 2012. DEIS = Delivering Equality of opportunity In Schools, the system to focus resources on schools in disadvantaged areas.

<sup>30</sup> Carvalho, Laura Matins de & Conway, Annabelle: Service users in the Ballymun area. Dublin, Innovate Ballymun, 2014.

<sup>31</sup> Department of Social Protection: Minister Burton announces green light for Youth Guarantee Scheme in Ballymun. Dublin, author, 4th July 2013; Gleeson, Jack: Euro job chief visits Ballymun [The People](#), 26th May 2014. Gleeson, Jack: Major boost for jobless. [The People](#), 15th July 2013.

<sup>32</sup> Devlin, Maurice: Key learning from the Ballymun Youth Guarantee Project. Dublin, Department of Social Protection, 2015.

labour market and it was hoped that they will be now better prepared. Small numbers of non-cooperators were sanctioned, but eventually almost all engaged with the programme.

Health budgets were least affected by reductions in staff numbers since 2008, the HSE has been subject to a recruitment moratorium as part of the Financial Emergency Measures in the Public Interest meaning that many disciplines, including those in Primary Care that partner with youngballymun (Public Health Nursing, Speech and Language Therapy, Psychology), have been stretched to cover for staff on leave without replacement. As with other public sector staff, health practitioners, were affected by disimproved hours and financial terms under the Haddington road agreement. Ballymun Speech and Language Therapy (SLT), with four staff in Ballymun, generally met or exceeded its targets of seeing 80% to 90% of children within four months of referral, its staffing having been broadly constant. The Public Health Nursing service in Ballymun consists of six full time Public Health Nurse caseloads, one part time caseload holder and two Registered General Nurses, with staffing remaining broadly stable. PHNs' role involves working with young children and their families and care for older people and patients discharged from hospital, as well as care to families based in homeless accommodation in the area.

Adult education services (literacy, levels 1-4) were maintained, albeit with a -5% funding cut. The number of students was constant and the service able to keep up with demand, the exception being English language teaching.<sup>33</sup>

Some services closed: Dublin City Council closed four satellite offices, relocated to the Civic Centre; the motor tax office closed in 2014, largely due to people renewing on line, meaning the loss of a key tenant in the Civic Centre offices.<sup>34</sup>

### **2.3. Voluntary and community services**

We know that there are in the order of 114 to 128 voluntary and community organisations in Ballymun.<sup>35</sup> They cross a wide range from very small, unfunded groups to larger service providers with professional staff. There has been new community infrastructure established in the period from 2007 in the form of the Ballymun Principals Network, Childcare Providers Network, the Community Health Forum and the *youngballymun* Service Implementation Teams. BRL provided a defined funding stream for some voluntary and community organisations in Ballymun but this has now been substantially reduced. If we look at funding for community and voluntary services:

- HSE funding of community and voluntary services fell by -7.1%. Home help services increased +3%, but others fell between -20.1% and -31.9%. Funding for some individual services ceased (table 14);
- Pobal funding fell by -36.5% (table 15) and partnership funding by -33.6% (table 15);
- Funding for the Ballymun Whitehall Partnership fell -33.6% over 2007-13 before its termination in 2015 (table 16);
- BRL funding for voluntary and community organisations fell -23% (table 17).

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<sup>33</sup> Precise statistics not available.

<sup>34</sup> Gleeson, Jack: Double blow for local community. *Northside People*, 1st-8th October 2014.

<sup>35</sup> Comptroller & Auditor General: Ballymun Regeneration. Dublin, author, 2007 gives a figure of 128 in 2007: Ballymun Partnership: List of community organisations of the Ballymun Whitehall area, updated June 2014. Dublin, author, 2014, unpublished, gives a list of 114. BRL gave an indicative figure of 120.

**Table 14: HSE funding, voluntary, community organisations, 2007-2013**

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	Change
Tir na nOg day nursery	398,000	434,000	389,000	376,000	323,000	244,000	271,000	-31.9%
Residential project	692,000	692,000	674,000					
Home help	1,577,000	1,898,000	1,942,000	1,713,000	1,642,000	1,721,000	1,625,000	+3%
Our Lady's nursery	425,000	506,000	470,000	505,000	418,000	371,000	330,000	-22.4%
Star project	177,000	180,000	172,000	162,000	153,000	145,000	137,000	-22.6%
Drugs task force					52,000	103,000	132,000	
Youth Action Project			676,000	637,000	602,000	568,000	540,000	-20.1%
Total	3,269,000	3,710,000	4,323,000	3,393,000	3,190,000	3,152,000	3,035,000	-7.1%
(National HSE funding €m)	13.499	14.43	14.774	14.201	13.686	13.679	13.635	+1%

Source: HSE: Annual reports, 2007-2013. Because funding for the residential project was concluded in 2010, a change assessment is not made. Funding for drugs task forces were transferred into the HSE budget in stages from 2011 and are likewise excluded from the final column calculation.

**Table 15: Pobal funding, voluntary and community organisations, Ballymun, 2007-2013**

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	Change
Childcare current	196,200	316,604	488,980	547,076	409,887	206,266	586,307	+198%
Childcare capital	1,300,000							0
Dormant accounts /RAPID/ NTMA/misc	134,115	158,428	93,279	217,393	30,900	16,300	1,479	-98.9%
Equality for Women Measure	8,606		24,000	30,000				0
Millennium Fund	73,832	74,440	74,440	13,121				0
CCTV			80,000	500,000	100,000			0
Totals	1,712,753	549,472	760,699	1,307,590	879,708	222,566	1,087,786	-36.5%

Source: Pobal: Annual reports, accounts and schedule of beneficiary payments, 2007-2013.

\*Includes capital spending

**Table 16: Partnership funding, 2007-2013, Ballymun/Whitehall Partnership**

	€	Change
2007	1,108,087	
2008	1,065,991	
2009	NA	
2010	Main	898,334
	CDPs	123,263
2011	1,029,753	
2012	829,600	
2013	735,122	-33.6%

Source: Pobal Annual reports, accounts and schedule of beneficiary payments, 2007-2013

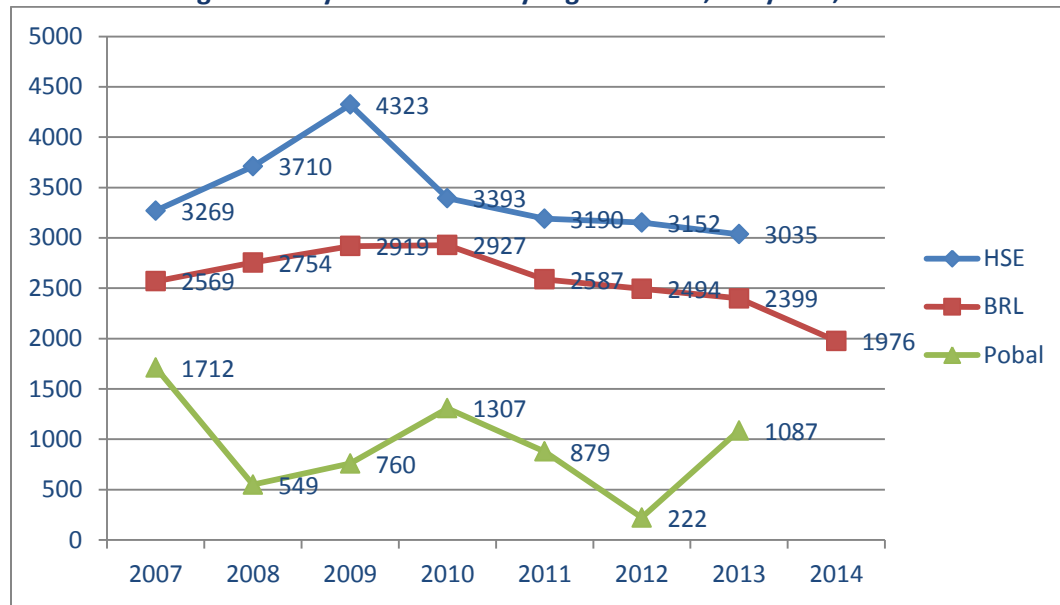
**Table 17: BRL funding for voluntary and community organisations in Ballymun, 2007-14**

	€	Change
2007	2,569,554	
2008	2,754,000	
2009	2,919,000	
2010	2,927,500	
2011	2,587,000	
2012	2,494,314	
2013	2,399,980	
2014	1,976,400	-23%

Source: Dublin City Council

Chart 7 provides an overview.

**Chart 7: Funding voluntary and community organisations, Ballymun, 2007-2014 €000**



Other funding streams disappeared (Millennium Fund) or almost so (RAPID, Dormant Accounts). Such cuts in funding have inevitably led to closures:

- Two Community Development Programme projects closed: Ballymun Community Action Programme (BCAP) (2008) and CAFTA (2014);
- Three pre-schools (Aunt Sally's, Little Rascals, Born Free), one of which was purpose-built as part of the regeneration plan;
- Tus Nua walk-in mental health service, the only one in the area (2014);<sup>36</sup>
- Coultry Youth Club, attended by over 80 youngsters a week (2011).<sup>37</sup>
- Women's Resource Centre;
- Others came close to closure, such as the Men's Centre.<sup>38</sup>

Funding for the Ballymun Whitehall Area Partnership, which had worked in the area since 1991, ended in 2015 as part of the process of the privatisation of the Local and Community Development Programme. Ten core and 100 supported staff and their services were lost from the area, along with knowledge, skills, experience and institutional memory.<sup>39</sup>

Other organisations reduced services. A 2014 study of 130 community organisations, with a more detailed look at 24, found that almost all had suffered reductions in funding in the previous three years in a range up to -50%.<sup>40</sup> In detail:

- Funding for Ballymun Community Law Centre fell from €340,924 in 2010 to €197,208;
- Ballymun Children and Family Centre, which took over the role of the Drop In Well, was subject to an annual -5% cut to all Family Resource Centres in 2012, 2013 and 2014 at a time when demands of services increased (e.g. counselling);

<sup>36</sup> Gleeson, Jack: Nurses criticize Tus Nua closure. [The People](#), 1st December 2014; Frustration as Tus Nua closes down, 24th November 2014; Tus Nua protest in Ballymun, 21st July 2014; Patients fear closure of mental health centre, 7th July 2014.

<sup>37</sup> Magee, Jessica: Anger over youth club closure. [The People](#), 5th October 2011.

<sup>38</sup> Twomey, Aoibhinn: Cutbacks end men's drop-in service. [The People](#), 25th June 2012; Reprieve for local drop-in centre. [The People](#), 30th July 2012.

<sup>39</sup> Holland, Kitty: Strike ballot due as community partnerships set to close. [Irish Times](#), 10th April 2015.

<sup>40</sup> Carvalho, Laura Matins de & Conway, Annabelle: Community organisations in the Ballymun Whitehall area. Dublin, Innovate Ballymun, 2014.

- Some youth organisations suffered substantial cuts, for example Ballymun Regional Youth Resource (BRYR), a 10% cut of €146,000 in 2013;<sup>41</sup>

Core funding for the Ballymun Local Drugs Task Force under the National Drugs Strategy budget fell by -23% between 2008 and 2013.<sup>42</sup> Other drugs funding was cut more severely. In 2010, the Department of Education and Science announced that it would cease funding of six projects in Ballymun. In the event, two were saved, but four were closed (BITE afterschool project, minibus project, Drug Prevention Grant Scheme, Youth at Risk Grant Scheme). At the same time, changes were made to the conditions attached to participation in drugs rehabilitation projects, lowering payments for participants and budgets for training and running costs.<sup>43</sup> This led nationally to a reduction in participation of -16% to -46% depending on the category. Moreover, reductions in the public service meant a loss of participation on the task force of representatives of the Department of Social Protection, FAS, Probation service and the education sector, reducing interagency cooperation.

### Case study 1: two youth projects

Case studies of two youth projects give an example of the manner in which services have been cut. In the first (table 18), the overall reduction was -18.4%, which was less than the general level of reductions in the voluntary and community sector nationally, but three times the fall in funding of overall government spending, -6.18%. Services were first cut back in 2011 by an 8% cut in SPY, 9.25% in YP1 and 8% in YP2; with the removal of an administration grant in 2012; a 2% cut in 2013 and a 3.75% cut in 2014. Staffing (3 FTE, 4 CE) was maintained, but with a pay cut of -10%.

In a second youth project helping young people at risk of substance misuse, funding from the City of Dublin Youth Service Board fell from €210,000 in 2008 to €100,000 in 2011, down -52.4% and was discontinued the following year, 2012 (-100%). HSE funding from 2008 to 2014 fell by -22.5%. These cuts resulted in the loss of two staff, with the remainder moved to shorter working hours. This led to a waiting list for counselling and longer response times to clients presenting in crisis. The 8-week Schools Drug and Alcohol Awareness Programme was closed in 2012. The out-of-hours and weekend service provided by the contact and outreach service closed for Sundays.

**Table 18: youth project funding**

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	Change
SPY	118,000	111,510	101,200	101,200	101,200	99,176	95,456	-19.1%
YP1	100,423	99,218	87,348	87,348	87,348	85,601	82,390	-18%
YP2	31,100	31,100	37,324	27,324	27,324	26,778	25,773	-17.1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>249,523</b>	<b>241,828</b>	<b>225,872</b>	<b>215,872</b>	<b>215,872</b>	<b>211,555</b>	<b>203,621</b>	<b>-18.4%</b>

SPY = Special Projects for (Disadvantaged) Youth; YP = Young People's Services and Facilities Fund, in two tranches, YP1 and YP2.

<sup>41</sup> Twomey, Aoibhinn: Savage cuts to local youth services slammed. Dublin People, 4th March 2014.

<sup>42</sup> Information supplied by Ballymun Local Drugs Task Force.

<sup>43</sup> Citywide: Barriers or bridges? Drugs rehabilitation projects - the road to recovery. Dublin, author, 2014.

## 3. Impacts

### Key points

- Persistent social problems of poverty, housing, unemployment and precarious employment, crime
- Young people continue to be at serious disadvantage
- Early years providers struggle to provide services in complex system which leaves them under-funded, costly to parents
- Free pre school year provides half the hours of earlier child care scheme
- Reports of child poverty, hunger, extreme pressure on people on low incomes
- Spending by Society of St Vincent de Paul up +58%

### 3.1. Changing social need

A picture of changing social need is available from a number of voluntary and community organisations. First, Ballymun Community Law Centre (BCLC) provided an overview of the impact of economic and social change in Ballymun, noting a growth in cases in three areas:

- Social welfare, the principal issue being conditionality, (e.g. cut-off of payments for one-parent families, disability payments; evidence of old files being trawled back years for over-payment, with claimants then presented with substantial bills likely to incur debt);
- Housing pressure (clients unable to get on the waiting list): poor standards in local authority and private rented accommodation (e.g. damp); increased rents; unavailability of rent supplements;<sup>44</sup> lack of cyclical maintenance (e.g. drains);
- Employment queries such as employers changing terms and conditions unilaterally to reduce costs, unfair dismissals and issues around redundancy, indicating a precarious labour market.

A youth project has given us a second picture of changing social need and the impact of policy on young people.<sup>45</sup> When asked to describe their community, young people identified family difficulties, crime, anti-social behaviour and early school leaving as issues as well as others in relation to sexual identity; bullying and intimidation; mental well-being (e.g. depression, low self-esteem and isolation); and limited economic opportunities. According to one youth worker, 'young people are disillusioned now. Before 2008, they had a hope of a job and training, but that's gone now. Jobs are still top of the wish list, but the prospects for them are now poor.' Although chapter 1 showed that more Ballymun students were going to further or higher education the financial challenges can be large.

A third profile of changing local social needs has been provided by the Ballymun Local Drugs Task Force.<sup>46</sup> Despite the demolition of the tower blocks, Ballymun remains an area of concentrated deprivation. Some problem behaviour associated with the flats may have been displaced to adjacent areas, such as residential housing and parks. There continues to be on-going use of drugs and the polydrug use of combined illegal and legal drugs, (e.g. z-drugs, benzodiazepenes, tranquilizers, internet-obtained tablets), sometimes combined with alcohol.<sup>47</sup> A report *Responding to Benzodiazepine use in Ballymun* was published 2011. Crystal meths emerged as a form of new drug, one that could be made at

<sup>44</sup> Uniquely in Ballymun, in order to keep out low-income tenants, rent supplements are not available.

<sup>45</sup> Poppintree Youth Project: information supplied for this research, 26th January 2015, including Young people's needs assessment and society and community context, 2014.

<sup>46</sup> Information supplied by Ballymun Local Drugs Task Force for this research, 27th January 2015.

<sup>47</sup> Minister Shortall launches report on responding to benzodiazepine use in Ballymun. Dublin, Department of Health, 21st June 2011.

home.<sup>48</sup> There remains the need for services based on the pillars of supply reduction; education, prevention and intervention; treatment and rehabilitation.

A fourth overview is available from Depaul Ireland, which developed a project to respond to homelessness and alcohol shortly before the start of our period of study.<sup>49</sup> This recorded positive developments, such as a reduction in perceptions of alcohol as a 'very serious' problem (90% down to 55%) and a belief that services were now more accessible (41% improving to 73%). The principal social problems identified in Ballymun were crime, anti-social behaviour and substance misuse, with a defined need for support for children affected by alcohol. Street drinking had decreased.

### **3.2. Housing and physical environment**

The biggest visible impact in the area has been housing, with the demolition of the tower and spine blocks. Former residents have relocated in more conventional accommodation. Evidence that housing is a resurgent issue is evident from the annual reports of the law centre, where housing accounted for a small proportion (8%) of enquiries in 2010, but became the second largest field of enquiries by 2012-2013 (over 40%). There have been fresh problems, as noted by one informant, including maintenance of new houses and managing bill payments.

The true extent of housing need is not known: statistics are not available on those on the housing list with a Ballymun address. Ballymun was affected by the worsening of the city's homeless problem and families found themselves no longer able to pay private rented accommodation.<sup>50</sup> The Housing Action Group specifically demanded that the controversial ban on rent allowances for local or other residents, introduced in 2007 as part of the regeneration programme, be lifted.<sup>51</sup> Harrowing stories were recorded of young homeless families, some given temporary accommodation in the Metro hotel<sup>52</sup>, 17 of whom have infant children who have accessed *youngballymun* Ready Steady Grow services.

### **3.3. Education and early years**

There are diverse and broad ranging elements in the continuum of statutory supports provided for children. First, income provided for parents to support their children declined sharply, with the reduction in child benefit (€166 to €135, down -18.7%) and the elimination at the end of 2009 of the Early Childcare Supplement (ECS), which had been worth an estimated €5.118m per annum to parents in Ballymun.

Second, early years care provision and other childcare facilities are a key support for families, although the extent to which this is subsidised by government varies and the systems through which Government provides the investment are complex. Government investment through Pobal (table 15), rose from €196,200 (2007) to €586,307 (2014), an increase of +198% from a very low base. However, the increase is largely accounted for by the introduction of funding for the Free Pre School Year, and needs to be positioned in the context of the cessation of the Early Childcare Supplement.

The Community Childcare Subvention (CCS), the main scheme supporting childcare for families on low incomes, operates according to a complex system of payments for providers, with 12 different payments

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<sup>48</sup> Twomey, Aoibhinn: Addicts turning to crystal meth. [The People](#), 5th December 2011.

<sup>49</sup> Higgins, Brian: Changing needs, changing responses. Dublin, Depaul Ireland Ballymun Case Management Team, 2012.

<sup>50</sup> Gleeson, Jack: Homeless mum's hotel nightmare. [The People](#), 15th December 2014.

<sup>51</sup> Gleeson, Jack: Action on housing demanded. [The People](#), 14th July 2014.

<sup>52</sup> Gleeson, Jack: Homeless family in hotel drama. [The People](#), 24th February 2014.

across three bands and four sessional rates, which, in the view of providers are insufficient to meet the costs (indeed, the department concerned makes it clear that it is a subsidy to reduce childcare costs).<sup>53</sup> In September 2012, the capitation grant was reduced 5%, as was eligibility across the bands, the latter having the greater impact, between them reducing funding for providers by 20%.<sup>54</sup> Individual childcare providers struggle to attract and manage diverse funding lines to keep their provision going, some attracting HSE grants and others running local fund-raising campaigns. In one case, the CCS provided only a third of the cost of running the service, the balance made up by grants and parental contributions.

What parents pay for these childcare services varies. Although services can obtain the CCS scheme, keeping costs down also depends on HSE grants, fund-raising and other ad hoc resourcing. Some services charge nominal amounts, others €25 to €45. There is a complex system whereby the Community Welfare Officer (CWO) may refund parents a proportion of childcare costs or may pay a centre directly. For parents outside the limits to qualify for subsidy, childcare costs may exceed €100 a week. Payments from the various funding sources can be unpredictable. In one case, the CCS was withdrawn and some children dropped out as a consequence.

The Free Pre-School Year (FPSY), while welcome for the saving in costs to parents, provides less time than the childcare subvention scheme. Whereas the CCS provides 20 hours per week for 51 weeks (1,020 hours), the FPSY is 15 hours per week for 38 weeks (570 hours). Because it is free, some parents may switch to this scheme, reducing the funding to the childcare provider. Providers receive a capitation grant (€62.50 for each child) for the FPSY, but which *youngballymun* believes is insufficient to cover the full staffing costs.

In 2007, there was a total capacity of 519 early years places, with an occupancy of 454 children, in 16 settings in Ballymun. By summer 2015, the number of children catered for was 547, but in a much smaller number of settings.<sup>55</sup> An analysis of eight providers found that, despite catering for a 20% more children, their income had fallen over 2008 to 2013 from €2,995,435 to €2,940,818, down -1.8%.<sup>56</sup> Clearly, the introduction of the FPSY clearly did not lead to an overall increase in funding for these early years settings.

The systems supporting early years settings in disadvantaged areas such as Ballymun are extremely complex in their management structure, different service arrangements, multiplicity of funding systems (HSE, Tusla, Community Welfare Officers, local authorities, training supports and parental contributions) and means tests (banding). The childcare sector remains, in the view of those working in the area, under-resourced, with the urgent need for investment in the employment terms and conditions and professional training and development of its workforce.<sup>57</sup>

While all services in Ballymun are community-based services, Dublin-wide research into early years provision indicates that staffing is 43% part-time in private services and 55% in community-based

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<sup>53</sup> Department of Children and Youth Affairs: Guide to the CCS programme and administrative procedures, 2014. Dublin, author, 2014.

<sup>54</sup> Early Childhood Ireland: Community childcare subvention survey, from [www.earlychildhoodireland.ie](http://www.earlychildhoodireland.ie).

<sup>55</sup> Research, analysis and case study carried out here for *youngballymun* by Paddy White.

<sup>56</sup> These were Our Lady's Nursery, Poppintree, Ballymun East, Tir Na nOg, St. Margaret's, Women's Resource Centre, Axis and Naoinra.

<sup>57</sup> [www.acpireland.com](http://www.acpireland.com)

services. Frontline staff hourly wages range from €10.93 to €11.34, which compare poorly to the average industrial wage of €21.07 and €32.94 in the education sector, a function of its under-funding.<sup>58</sup>

### **Case study 2: Closure of early years centre**

One early years setting which had a long standing history and strong reputation in the area closed in 2014. The setting had moved to a purpose-built premises as part of the regeneration process and had an excellent indoor and outdoor learning environment. The service was well known as being very supportive of parents, particularly those seeking to return to education and was closely connected with health and other local services to signpost families for support as necessary. Siblings of children who had previously attended the service returned year after year. There was a baby room, toddler room and pre-school room catering for approximately 40 children with 17 staff. The whole staff team actively engaged in professional training and development, the implementation of the High Scope curriculum and Síolta quality assurance process.

The introduction of the Free Pre School Year in 2010, coupled with tightening of budgets in HSE and Tusla led to the closure this local early years setting. The change incentivised families to switch from the Childcare Subvention scheme to the Free Pre School Year scheme, which does not require a parental contribution.

In addition to the Childcare Subvention, a number of families would also have had part of their parental contribution covered by funding from Community Welfare Officers. At the same time as the Free Pre School Year was introduced, HSE and Tusla budgets were coming under pressure and the criteria for additional support from the Community Welfare Officer was tightened leading to a significant reduction in the number of families supported in this way. A number of parents could not afford the increased parental contribution and were forced to remove children from the early years centre or switch to Free Pre School Year if the child was at the right age. With this reduction in funding, the centre was no longer financially viable and was forced to close.

### **3.4. Income, family circumstances and children**

As chart 4 noted, the economic and social crisis saw a reduction in funding for various services and payments to families, including child benefit: Ballymun residents organised a protest.<sup>59</sup> One service for children in Ballymun noted how some 'children are not dressed for the weather and come in during the winter in t-shirts. They have soles falling off their shoes. They don't have copies for class: so as to not embarrass them, we make sure we have copies, pens, pencils and small things. We give them all a hot meal. We bring them on a holiday because otherwise some would never get one'.

A second service noted how 'families say that they have less money. You can see this in food. We provide a breakfast and dinner for our service. Since doing this, school attendance has soared and participation has improved enormously. Tesco runs a scheme for charities to collect food approaching sell-by date and we collect up to 10 crates a week.' Several benefited from the provision of food banks, such as those of Crosscare, one pre-school using €4,000 worth of food in a year. A third service for children described how it provided a homework club: 'it's obvious that the children are hungry when

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<sup>58</sup> Meehan Tully & Associates: Financial sustainability in childcare services - a current perspective. Dublin City Childcare Committee, 2015.

<sup>59</sup> Gleeson, Jack: Thousands march against 'cruel' cuts. [The People](#), 28th October 2013.

they arrive, so we give them sandwich and milk before they start. As for adult callers to our service, they are asking for food (such as bread), clothes and even toilet rolls. The amount of form-filling has increased in recent years, which has made the problems of those who cannot read or write ever more apparent, so we help with that too'. The privatisation of utilities has also squeezed incomes: from 2013, families who previously benefited from the city council waiver now have to pay for private bin collections. 'On top of that, the system whereby electricity for Travellers in a site was paid for by a common line and deducted from rent has been replaced by metering in each house, which is likely to cost more'.

The Society of St Vincent de Paul is the largest organisation in Ireland working with people living in poverty and disadvantage. The demands on it are an important indicator of social need. Spending in Ballymun rose from €458,000 in 2008 to €724,000 in 2014, up +58%. According to the society, although housing conditions have improved, that is the only area of significant improvement. Despite reductions in reported levels of crime, the Society believes that violence, drugs, antisocial behaviour and quality of life have not improved at all and people are struggling. The Society of St Vincent de Paul has found itself having to spread its resources much more thinly. People have experienced lengthy delays getting their entitlements, such as jobseeker allowance, fuel allowance and rent allowance. Community Welfare Officers have not been able to help the way that they used to. The society has found itself paying for people's welfare for lengthy periods, waiting for entitlements to come through. In one case the Society paid rent allowance for a year in order to avoid eviction of a family whose child had autism: the parents had been advised that moving home would have a serious impact on the child's development. In another case it took twelve meetings in order to secure rent allowance for a lone parent.

## 4. Analysis, implications, challenges

### Key points

- Ballymun continues to be at economic disadvantage
- BRL achieved demolition of towers and new physical infrastructure, but economic and social investment has lagged
- Key investments not made include metro, a shopping centre and an industrial park
- The level of social need remains acute with most welfare supports set below the poverty line
- The regeneration model adopted is dependent on private investment and unlikely to substantively address disadvantage and inequality
- There is a need for pro-active programme of industrial and economic development, with investment in public housing
- BRL has been replaced by a 'civic alliance' but this must develop a meaningful civil society role
- There is a need to re-build social capital
- Social documentation now very limited meaning that the full dimensions of social conditions may not be known

### 4.1. Conclusions

Demographic analysis found that Ballymun combines modest population growth with substantial internal movement within the community. The population is ageing, with falling numbers and proportions of children, an increase in the population of working age and a small increase in the numbers of older people. It has become more diverse, with an increase in non-Irish nationalities and non-Catholics. The proportion divorced and separated is low and falling. There is evidence of improvement in social mobility (increases in the first social classes A, B, C, D; reductions in the lower, E, F, G) with an improved educational performance, a sharp decline in those ceasing school before 16, a lesser decline for 17-20s and an improvement in those 21 and over. Girls outperform boys. There are indicators of material improvement, such as car ownership, internet and computers. Crime rates have fallen.

Having said that, Ballymun remains an area of high deprivation, one of the highest in the city and nationally, characterised by high unemployment. The proportion of single parents rose from 55.8% to 60%, a group known to be vulnerable to poverty. Despite some positive changes in Principal Economic Status, the proportion in managerial and professional classes in Ballymun is starkly below the national profile. Although a detailed labour market analysis of Ballymun is not readily to hand, a thoughtful study by Borscheid of the adjacent partnership area, Northside, is likely applicable across both segments of the city. It was marked by declining retail and manufacturing, poor transport links, the failure to attract new industries (e.g. pharma, biotech, logistics) and insufficient investment in upskilling low-skilled workers for whatever new work opportunities could be created.<sup>60</sup>

These outcomes throw into relief the limits to what the regeneration process could achieve, for it must be set against market forces, the crisis that followed 2008 and subsequent government decisions. The BRL model of regeneration included investment to rectify a historic legacy of inadequate housing and poor planning. Its principal impact was the demolition of flat complexes, the rehousing of their tenants

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<sup>60</sup> Borscheid, Matthias: New skills for new jobs? Challenges in accessing the labour market for marginalized communities in north Dublin. *Irish Review of Community Economic Development Law and Policy*. vol 1, §3, 2012.

and a modern physical infrastructure in the new town centre in the form of civic offices for statutory services, Axis theatre and a number of hotels). A criticism of the regeneration process is that economic and social regeneration has lagged behind physical regeneration.<sup>61</sup> During the regeneration process BRL provided a stream of funding for voluntary and community organisations (table 17) of between €1.9m and €2.9m annually.

Turning to the broader picture, it is important to make a whole-spectrum analysis of investment in Ballymun over 2007-2014, above and beyond BRL. This suggests that:

- Investment in health services appears to have been constant;
- There was fresh state investment in the form of an Intreo office and the 2014 pilot Youth Guarantee.
- At the same time, the Dublin City Council motor tax office was closed along with four satellite offices around the community;
- The loss of the ECS was a substantial blow to parental incomes for child support.
- Whilst families benefitted from the introduction of the Free Pre-School Year in 2010, the new scheme provided only about half the hours of the CCS with greatly reduced overall investment. An analysis of eight early years providers found that their income had fallen over 2008 to 2013 by -1.8% with a 20% increase in the number children attending. Funding for the School Completion Programme fell -20.9% at a time when programme costs rose and had to be absorbed;
- Staffing of primary schools has seen some reductions, especially resource and support teacher hours. There has been a slight disimprovement in student: teacher ratios at primary level.
- Despite the earlier BRL rehousing programme, there has been a surge in housing pressure and homelessness, mirroring the national picture with the hotels built as part of the regeneration providing temporary accommodation for homeless families.
- There has been a significant disinvestment in voluntary and community organisations in the key areas of work against drugs; youth services; and local and community development. These reductions have been in the range -20% to -36%. The record shows that a number of services have closed, while others have sharply reduced their services. Apart from children's services, the quantum of services provided by the voluntary and community sector has declined. Important supplementary funding lines, such as Dormant Accounts and RAPID, fell to the inconsequential.
- The closure of the Whitehall Ballymun Partnership is symbolic of the overall disinvestment with further loss of services, knowledge, expertise, skills and institutional memory.

Evidence of social need, available from the censi, the observational work of voluntary and community organisations and newspaper reports, indicate that the relative level of social need in Ballymun remains high. Although the 2011 census showed marginal improvements in the areas of social mobility and educational achievement, these were improvements from one of the lowest baselines in the country and there remains a significant disparity with national averages. Deprivation and unemployment indicators still place Ballymun among the most disadvantaged electoral divisions in the city.

We do not have specific income data for Ballymun, but observational data confirm the negative impact of government decisions in the area of income support. Chart 4 outlined the reduction of key income supports, such as Job Seeker Allowance (JSA), One Parent Family Payment, Supplementary Welfare Allowance (SWA) and child benefit. Most welfare rates (pensions are an exception) are set below the poverty line (e.g. JSA, €188 weekly, SWA €186; against a poverty line of €204.25), meaning that such

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<sup>61</sup> Kintrea, Keith & Muir, Jenny: Integrating Ballymun? Flawed progress in Ireland's largest estate regeneration scheme. Town Planning Review, vol 80, §1, January 2009.

families will, by definition, be in poverty.<sup>62</sup> Observational data from voluntary and community organisations present a bleak picture of low incomes, hunger, housing need and fuel poverty. The +58% increase in Society of St Vincent de Paul spending is telling.

## 4.2. Model of regeneration

An equally significant aspect of the story is the investment not made over 2007-2014. The two flagship projects of the Ballymun regeneration, Metro North and the Ballymun shopping centre, were both cancelled. Both would have made Ballymun a more accessible and vibrant place to live and positioned the town to attract new, quality jobs and investment with the proximity of the M50, M1 and airport. Only 60 new jobs (the McDonalds development) are known to have been announced over the period<sup>63</sup>. An important part of the narrative of Ballymun, as told in the documentary record, is the historical background of drug-taking, crime, vandalism and deterioration of the physical environment which the community has continually worked to combat and overcome.

Even if the *youngballymun* strategy, bringing together children's service providers together in a collective initiative to measurably improve outcomes for children should succeed, the potential value in terms of the life chances of adults in accessing employment cannot realistically be secured unless an economic, investment and infrastructural development strategy also is urgently put in place.

The regeneration experience raises significant questions as to the model of development adopted. From the 1980s, Ireland followed an Atlantic, developer-led model of regeneration.<sup>64</sup> The BRL regeneration was incomplete, with no current prospects for the building of the metro, while the shopping centre and business park await private development, as does still unmet housing need. Local authority, voluntary and community house building has now dwindled to the inconsequential, 71 in 2013 (chart 6). BRL sketched an ambitious plan for private sector construction and a transition from a housing tenure dominated by the public sector to one led by the private sector. 40ha have been zoned for private residential housing (up to 2,500 units), but their construction is dependent on private investment. This is in line with state housing policy, one of private building, privately-funded social housing, private rented and a small number of local authority homes.<sup>65</sup> Depending on private investment to come in is not a pro-active approach to regeneration.

The role of civil society, voluntary and community organisations, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) is critical for the success of future economic and social regeneration. BRL had a problematic record in its relationship with civil society groups, for which it was at one stage sharply criticised, but subsequently sought to address this through the creation of the Ballymun Community Facilities Forum (BCCF) as proposed by the Ballymun Community Organisations Network (BCON).<sup>66</sup> Following the closing of BRL in December 2013, the Ballymun Town Civic Alliance was formed.<sup>67</sup> It comprises 20 to 24 members to meet quarterly, drawn from business, national and local elected representatives and

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<sup>62</sup> EU-SILC: Survey of Income and Living Conditions, 2012. Dublin & Cork, Central Statistics Office, 2014. The poverty line is 60% of median income, which in 2012 was €10,621 (for purposes here, divided by 52).

<sup>63</sup> There is no readily available record of support for enterprises in Ballymun by either the Industrial Development Authority or Enterprise Ireland.

<sup>64</sup> Andrew MacLaran & Sinead Kelly (eds): *Transforming Dublin - Neoliberal urban policy and the transformation of the city*. London, Palmgrave MacMillan, 2014.

<sup>65</sup> Department of the Environment, Community and Local Government: *Support, supply and reform - social housing strategy, 2020*. Dublin, author, 2014.

<sup>66</sup> Ballymun Community Organisations Network: *Building for change - a community facilities strategy for Ballymun*. Dublin, author, 2007.

<sup>67</sup> Gleeson, Jack: *End of an era*. [The People](#), 2nd December 2013.

national and local officials, working through three sub-committees (economic, social regeneration and physical/environmental). The draft constitution proposes three places for community and social representatives. In spring 2015, local people were invited to apply for nomination to the alliance as community representatives. Eight were deemed eligible, from whom three were selected by the city council.<sup>68</sup>

This is a top-down approach, one representative of the old, questionable model of regeneration, with a minimal civil society presence, one that provides little space for civil society to bring and develop its own analysis, ideas, vision, questions, models and energy. It would have been preferable for civil society to organise its own representation. Even in its now much-depleted state, civil society has the most potential to drive future economic, social and industrial regeneration. This can only be effective if it has a strong, defined and prominent role derived from its own mandate.

### **4.3. Looking Forward**

The challenges to be addressed in the future include continuing and building on integrated investment in the learning and wellbeing of children; accompanying this investment with strong socio-economic strategy to ensure much improved economic and social opportunities as children grow up; and to working bring social indicators in Ballymun much closer to converging on the Dublin average.

It is important that the key commitment in the Government’s national policy framework for children and young people, Better Outcomes, Brighter Futures, to “Adopt a multidimensional approach to tackling child poverty, building on the life cycle approach in the National Action Plan for Social Inclusion, 2007-2016 and informed by the European Commission’s Recommendation on ‘Investing in children: Breaking the cycle of disadvantage’, as part of the Social Investment Package” is fully realised.

In the context of Ballymun key priorities include:

- Return to and complete the two flagships of regeneration (metro, shopping centre);
- Develop a pro-active programme to support industrial and economic development (e.g. programme for Small and Medium Size Enterprises (SMEs)), with the training of the workforce accordingly, for example through apprenticeships;
- Rebuild income supports, set above the poverty line, so as to reduce the persistent poverty that is the dominating feature of the social landscape;
- Meet housing need and improve conditions through an extensive programme of quality public housing;
- Rebuild social capital in the community: restore funding for voluntary and community organisations, ensuring value-based, impactful and quality provision of services;
- Make provision for strong, prominent, resourced, representative voice for civil society in future development, with the space to bring its own ideas and new models of regeneration.

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<sup>68</sup> It is intended that this representation later be filled via the Public Participation Network.

## Final comment by the author

A final comment is the low level of documentation of social conditions in Ballymun, related to decisions taken in the aftermath of 2008. Few state agencies appear to collect data on an area basis, making one dependent on infrequent, quinquennial censi. The principal state agency which used to do so, the Combat Poverty Agency, was closed in 2009, as were numerous social agencies subsequently. On the voluntary and community side, the stripping out of their capacity left them with almost no resources to document the changing reality of their areas. Perhaps the most consistent documentary trail on social trends may have been set down by the journalists of the *Northside People*. Rectifying these deficits is an important priority, or the true dimensions of changing social need will remain unknown.

# Annex

## Terms of reference

*youngballymun* has asked for research to analyse and describe the evolving economic, social and fiscal context within which it is operating, specifically to:

- Map the significant policy developments and changes to funding over the period from 2007-14 (including Budget 2015 and the impact on local service budgets of the closure of Ballymun Regeneration Limited ((BRL));
- Describe the impact on services in Ballymun;
- Detail the implications for *youngballymun's* service partners (for example, loss of teachers and learning support resource teachers in schools);
- Outline the impact of changes in policy and funding for families living there;
- Comment on the impact that this is likely to have on *youngballymun's* work.

## Method

This was carried out by:

- Desk research using published information from statutory bodies, voluntary and community organisations;
- Requests for information from the providers of health, social, educational, youth community and law enforcement services;
- Additional information from telephone and personal requests.

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