Local Development Issues

Forum Opinion No. 7

September 1999
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Section 1

Introduction and Overview
Introduction and Overview

1.1 At its Plenary Session on 22nd June 1999, the Forum decided to prepare an Opinion on the local development component of the new National Development Plan 2000-2006, and on provisions for the integrated development of designated disadvantaged urban and rural areas in particular.

1.2 In 1993, the Forum prepared a Report (No. 2)\(^1\) on proposals to establish a Local Development Programme component in the National Development Plan 1994–1999. At that time, we warmly welcomed this Programme initiative as an important extension and development of the Area-based Partnership Approach, which had been initiated under the Programme for Economic and Social Progress 1991–1993 (PESP) and which was very much in line with the Forum's own philosophy of a 'bottom-up' and integrated approach to local development.

1.3 In a subsequent follow-up Report (No. 8), the Forum, while expressing concerns on a number of key issues, was nevertheless in the overall happy with the Government's positive response and acceptance of many of the recommendations which had been submitted in its earlier Report No. 2.

1.4 In the context of the preparation of a new National Development Plan the Forum considered it important to look again at local development, having regard to the experience of the Programme to-date and wider developments such as the new regionalisation of the country for EU Structural Funds purposes and the significant policy debates underway about the integration of local government and local development systems.

1.5 In preparing this Opinion, the Forum has had particular regard to its specific mandate from the Government to consider issues relevant to the implementation of measures and programmes concerned with the achievement of equality and social inclusion, and, in particular, those outlined in its earlier work (most notably in its Reports Nos. 10 and 12).

1.6 This Opinion has been drawn up on the basis of the discussion and debate at the Forum's Plenary Session of June 22nd last and on the basis of the subsequent work of a Forum Working Group which was established to address this task. The Forum's concern to make a timely input into the preparation of

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\(^1\) See list of Forum Publications on pages 70–71 below.
the new National Development Plan set definite time constraints on its work. Consequently, it has not been possible to address detailed administrative arrangements for local development and, in the time available, the Opinion mainly addresses issues concerning the principles and rationale of local development initiatives to-date and for the future.

1.7 The content of this Opinion is as follows:

- **Section 2** presents a brief overview of the Local Development Programme 1994–1999 and discusses its quantitative and qualitative achievements;
- **Section 3** discusses the spatial distribution of poverty and its implications for the underlying rationale of the Local Development Programme;
- **Section 4** considers recent proposals for the integration of local government and local development systems;
- **Section 5** outlines the context for local development in the new National Development Plan – insofar as it is known at this point – and the role of the new Regional Assemblies;
- **Section 6** sets out our proposals on local development measures to address disadvantage in the new National Plan; and
- **Section 7** briefly considers a number of related issues.

1.8 A summary list of recommendations follows in Box 1.

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**Box 1**

**Summary List of Main Recommendations**

(The number references are to corresponding paragraphs in the Opinion)

2.30 The Local Development Programme should continue to be supported in the new National Development Plan (2000-2006).

3.41 The National Development Plan should also include specific investment measures for severely disadvantaged urban areas.

4.10 Specific anti-poverty objectives should be incorporated within County/City Strategies.

4.11 The Task Force proposal for common areas should be approached with flexibility and sensitivity over time.

4.12 Some flexibility should be allowed in the implementation of Community and Voluntary Fora to take account of local conditions.
4.22 The partnership approach is a model that should be incorporated in whatever approach is adopted to address disadvantage at a local level. Decisions about the way forward on these issues should be made following consultation with all the relevant interests involved, including all the Social Partners.

6.5 The principal objective of the Local Development Measures in the new National Development Plan should be "To counter disadvantage through support for communities which make a collective effort based on partnership to maximise the development potential of their areas and to equitably target the opportunities and benefits of development to disadvantaged people within their areas".

6.6 Resources in the Local Development Measures should be clearly targeted at specific named groups including:
  - the long-term unemployed;
  - persons dependent on means tested social welfare payments;
  - lone-parents;
  - Travellers;
  - children at risk of early school leaving;
  - people with disabilities;
  - smallholders and their families;
  - people living in poverty as a result of low-pay;
  - homeless people;
  - ex-prisoners; and
  - young people involved in or at risk of becoming involved in drug abuse.

6.7 New Local Development Measures should allocate resources to develop the capacity to participate of organisations representing the named target groups. Also the involvement of all Partnership and Community Group Board Members should be developed and supported.

6.8 The central role of community development principles and actions should be restated in the new Local Development Measures.

6.9 The issue of gender equality should be addressed within the structures and programmes of the new Local Development Measures.

6.10 The specific objectives of the Local Development Measures, should include the following:
  - to improve the opportunities of the above named target groups in gaining access to employment;
  - to work with young people at risk of early school leaving in order to maximise participation in education;
  - to promote participation of the target groups in lifelong learning;
to improve community infrastructure and capacity;

to increase involvement of communities and, in particular, that of the named target groups in the design and planning of Partnership/Community Group actions and of wider local service delivery; and,

to promote equality policies at a local level.

6.13 The minimum financial allocation that is required for the Local Development Measures 2000-2006 is IR£224 million at 1999 prices.

6.14 Local Development Measures should have priority over other Measures, when it comes to the annual distribution of amounts available under the 'deflator' adjustments.

6.16 Appropriate transitional arrangements for the Local Development Programme should be put in place. This is a matter that must be urgently addressed.

6.18 Area Development Management Ltd. (ADM) should deliver the Local Development Measures in both Regions, in co-operation with the respective Regional Assemblies. Also, ADM should specifically incorporate and operationalise the new regional situation in its own working arrangements.

6.19 All the Social Partners should be represented in Monitoring Committees for each Operational Programme.

6.20 There should be a specific role for ADM in the monitoring arrangements.

6.23 A limited number of key indicators should be agreed to track programme performance.

6.24 ADM should be specifically mandated to develop a system of benchmarking performance in the Local Development Measures.

6.26 Specific structures should be put in place to channel the Local Development Measures contribution to policy development.

7.5 The Community Development Programme should continue to be developed.

7.6 Initiatives for cross-border local and rural development and for targeting poverty and disadvantage, should be explored and developed.
Section 2

Local Development Programme 1994-1999
Local Development Programme 1994–1999

2.1 Local development is one of the four spending priorities identified in the Community Support Framework 1994–1999. There is a single Operational Programme for Local Urban and Rural Development (OPLURD).

2.2 The OPLURD covers three main sub-programmes: (1) a Local Enterprise Programme which funds 35 County Enterprise Boards to support the development of small and micro-businesses; (2) a Programme for the Integrated Development of Designated Disadvantaged and Other Areas which aims to empower communities in the most disadvantaged areas of the country to tackle social and economic problems in an integrated way; and (3) a Programme for Urban and Village Renewal which supports the revitalisation of towns and villages, with larger urban renewal projects being undertaken in Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Galway and Waterford.

2.3 Our focus here is on the Sub-programme for the Integrated Development of Designated Disadvantaged and Other Areas. In practice, this is generally referred to as the Local Development Programme (LDP) and we adopt that usage here.

Local Development Programme

2.4 The OPLURD identifies the principal objective of the Local Development Programme as: “To counter disadvantage through support for communities which make a collective effort to maximise the development potential of their areas” (Government of Ireland, 1995:59).

2.5 The LDP is now the responsibility of the Department of Tourism, Sport and Recreation (D/TSR). It is delivered on the Department’s behalf by Area Development Management Ltd (ADM) which is a non-profit Company limited by guarantee. ADM was set up by the European Commission and the Irish Government in 1992 to channel European funding to local development. Under the Programme, 35 areas have been designated as disadvantaged. In these areas, 38 local Partnership Companies develop and implement the LDP (see Map 1). In addition, the Programme funds 33 Community Groups to carry out agreed programmes of action outside the Designated Areas (see Map 2). The LDP also supports 16 Selected Organisations, which are voluntary or

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2 The four priorities, covering nine Operational Programmes, are: (1) Productive Sector (Industry, Agriculture, Fisheries and Tourism OPs); (2) Economic Infrastructure (Transport, Environment and Economic Infrastructure OPs); (3) Human Resource Development (HROP); and (4) Local Urban & Rural Development (OPLURD).

3 Transferred from the Department of the Taoiseach in 1997.
Map 1 – Partnership Companies in Designated Disadvantaged Areas

Source: Area Development Management Ltd.
Map 2 – ADM-Funded Community Groups in Non-Disadvantaged Areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Community Group</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>Meitheal Forbartha na Gaeltachta Teo.</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Bantry Integrated Development Group</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Sliabh Luachra Ltd.</td>
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<td>IRD Duhallow Ltd.</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Ennis West Partners</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>OBAIR, Newmarket on Fergus Ltd.</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Avondhu Development Partnership</td>
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<td>28</td>
<td>Navan Travellers Workshop Ltd.</td>
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<td>Lucan 2000</td>
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<td>30</td>
<td>Arklow Community Enterprise</td>
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<td>31</td>
<td>Wicklow Working Together</td>
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<td>32</td>
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Source: Area Development Management Ltd.
community organisations that work strategically at national or regional level to support the work of the Partnerships and Community Groups.\footnote{Among the selected organizations are Barnardo's; Chambers of Commerce; Community Workers Co-op; Council for People with Disabilities; Trade Union Trust; INOU; Pace Point (D/TSR 1999:65).}

2.6 The LDP has a total financial allocation of IR£112.8 million over the period 1994–1999. Of this, IR£83.7m has been committed to Partnerships, IR£16.8m allocated to Community Groups and IR£2.5m to Selected Organisations, with the remainder accounted for by inter-Partnership activities and other items (D/TSR, 1999: 7, 43–47).

2.7 Twelve of the 38 Partnerships pre-date the LDP and the remaining 26 were established under the OPLURD. Each Partnership is formally a non-prof company limited by guarantee. Partnership Boards include broadly equal representation of State Agencies, the traditional Social Partners and the local community. While initially Local Authorities were represented on some of the Boards at official level, this was not generally the case for elected public representatives. However, this position has been reviewed and the Boards must now include local councillors. Community Groups supported include both pre-existing organisations and some organisations formed to take part in the Programme. Boards of Community Groups under the Programme also represent a range of sectors, although they need not directly follow the Partnership formula.

2.8 Partnerships and Community Groups were established and Boards formed through a lengthy consultative process (Goodbody Economic Consultant, 1997:98). Also, in the case of Partnerships and Community Groups, the objectives of the Programme are pursued through the formation and implementation of Local Development Plans. These Local Plans were put in place through a detailed process of analysis and consultation at local level. Following their agreement with ADM, they define the ongoing operations of the Partnerships and Community Groups. In short, the Local Development Programme came into operation over a lengthy period, and until 1997, the original 12 PESP Partnerships continued to account for almost all activity under the Programme.

Specific Programme Achievements

2.9 For purposes of planning and monitoring, the work of Partnerships and Community Groups is organised around a framework of six measures. These are:

**Enterprise Creation and Development**: includes business training courses; provision of small loans and grants and advice and support such as bookkeeping services or financial advice, particularly for long-term unemployed people setting up their own businesses;
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Specific Programme Achievements

2.9 For purposes of planning and monitoring, the work of Partnerships and Community Groups is organised around a framework of six measures. These are:

Enterprise Creation and Development: includes business training courses, provision of small loans and grants and advice and support such as bookkeeping services or financial advice, particularly for long-term unemployed people setting up their own businesses;

⁴ Among the selected organizations are Barnardo’s; Chambers of Commerce; Community Workers Co-op; Counci for People with Disabilities; Trade Union Trust; INOU; Fáve Point (D/TSR 1999:65).
Infrastructure and Environmental Actions: includes actions aimed at improving local amenities, environment and tourism and heritage infrastructure;

Preventive Education: actions aimed at supporting educational participation and preventing under-achievement among disadvantaged young people;

Complementary Education and Training: actions to support the participation of adults in formal and informal education;

Services for the Unemployed: placement and advice services to unemployed people, and in particular to the long-term unemployed, including the activities of the Local Employment Service (LES)\(^5\) in Partnership Areas; and

Community Development: includes actions to enhance the capacity of local communities, particularly in areas of economic marginalisation and depopulation, to participate in local development and to counter social exclusion.

2.10 Typically, Partnerships and Community Groups have sub-committees correspon-onding to each of the above measures. The relative weight given to each measure and the specific actions pursued differ depending on the particular local circumstances. For example, most activity under the Services for the Unemployed measure is accounted for by the LES and thus by those Partnerships where the LES was established.

2.11 A recent study describes the activities of the Partnerships as “particularly disparate and complex. This is because, by definition and design, the bottom up approach throws up enormous variety” (ESFPEU, 1999:vii). The work of the Partnerships and Community Groups is wide ranging and this makes it difficult to briefly summarise their achievements. This difficulty was compounded in earlier years by delays in implementing the detailed monitoring of the Programme. A dedicated Performance Monitoring System has now been developed for the OPLURD as a whole\(^6\).

2.12 The following summary of the achievements of the Programme to the end of 1998 is drawn from the 1998 Annual Report on the OPLURD, as submitted to the European Commission by the Department of Tourism, Sport and Recreation earlier this year (D/TSR, 1999:35–65).

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\(^5\) The LES is largely funded from a separate budget by the Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment (D/ETE).

\(^6\) We note the view of the CSF Evaluation Unit that “the system represents a comprehensive blueprint in terms of coverage, consistency and linkage of performance indicators. However, there have been long delays in its implementation. The Evaluators' specification was completed in August 1996, but the system was not operational across the OP by mid-1998. There have also been substantial IT and training costs involved. If the system can be made to work, the heavy investment made in it may be regarded as worthwhile. But it is arguable that the system was too elaborate (not least in terms of the numbers of indicators proposed), and that something less ambitious would have been more practical” (CSF Evaluation Unit, 1998:23).
2.13 In 1998 alone, 5,144 unemployed people set up in business with Partnership and Community Group assistance and usually availing of the Area Allowance Scheme\(^7\). Of these 90% were long-term unemployed. In addition, advice and guidance was given to 4,000 businesses set up with the Programme's support in earlier years. In all, 81% of participants in enterprise activities were men. Participation by women was 19%, up from 12% in 1997. Projects specifically for women in enterprise have been established in 12 Partnerships with more planned. A total of 12,744 business start-ups have been supported in the LDP to the end of 1998.

2.14 Partnerships and Community Groups funded 685 separate environment and/or infrastructure projects in their areas in 1998. These included refurbishment of buildings for community activities, enterprise, childcare etc; support for community tourism or heritage projects; cleaning up or improving canals, rivers and other public amenity areas; and, co-operation with Local Authorities on estate management and tenant participation activities.

2.15 Some 20,400 children and young people participated in LDP-funded preventive education projects in 1998. These included community-based and school-based Homework Clubs and supervised study; funding supplementary literacy/numeracy and language education; Traveller focused education projects and so on. Participation in 1998 represents a major increase in activity in this area; bringing the total participation to-date to 35,000. This followed the provision of Education Co-ordinators in all Partnership Areas, with appointments in the 20 non-PESP Partnerships made in September 1997.

2.16 A total of 7,100 adults, two thirds of whom were women, were assisted in participating in education and training in 1998. Seventy per cent were mature students over 25 years. The types of course attended included secretarial and computing (30%), preparatory and foundation Levels (24%), community development (11%), personal development (8%) and childcare (7%). A total of 18,453 persons were assisted under the complementary education measures to the end of 1998.

2.17 In 1998 some 23,500 people availed of services for the unemployed, which included the work of the LES in Partnership Areas. Of these 4,766 were placed in jobs, 5,200 were placed in Community Employment (CE), 4,200 took part in job-seeking skills courses and about 2,500 were referred to training by FÁS CERT or other bodies. The total number of direct job placements achieved by the Programme to-date is 14,310 of which 11,407 were full-time and 2,903 part time. In addition, over 10,000 people who have availed of Partnership and Community Group supports left the Live Register through making job applications on their own behalf. Of those using the Employment Services, 44% had 4,376 people in Partnership Areas were placed on the Area Allowance Scheme in 1998 (D/TSR, 1999:49).
were long-term unemployed on a Live Register basis and close to 15% were on, or had been on, CE. A further 15% were lone parents and the remainder were mostly unemployed for shorter periods.

2.18 In 1998 over 700 different community and interest groups received funding. A further 1,300 groups were supported with advice and guidance. All Partnerships and most Community Groups employ Community Development Workers. Disadvantaged groups have been particularly targeted in the community development process. These groups include the long-term unemployed, lone parents, Travellers, people with disabilities and disadvantaged women. Partnership and Community Groups have greatly increased the capacity of these most marginalised groups to participate in the decisions and activities affecting their local area.

2.19 In order to assess the relevance of LDP activities to tackling disadvantage we need to know who the beneficiaries were. A study by the external evaluators of the Programme examined the targeting of Partnership activities in 1997 on the basis of the data collected in the Performance Monitoring System (Goodbody Economic Consultants, 1998). Data are reported for individuals in three measures. The data on individuals suggests an overall focus on disadvantage, with 63% long term unemployed and the remainder including lone parents (5%) other unemployed (8%) small holders 3% and so on. In all, 54% of those assisted had low educational qualifications (junior second level or less). Individuals in the enterprise measure were most likely to be long-term unemployed (90%), reflecting the centrality of the Area Allowance in this measure. This was less true of services to the unemployed (49%) though there was little difference between the two measures in the low educational levels of beneficiaries. Overall this study concluded that LDP activities in 1997 were "targeted to those who are known to be disadvantaged. Accordingly, we conclude that the Sub-programme, from the perspective of targeting, is being delivered effectively" (Goodbody Economic Consultants, 1998:55).

2.20 As we have seen above, there appears to have been a similar focus on disadvantage in 1998, although the proportion of individual participants who were long-term unemployed fell from 63% in 1997 to 55% in 1998. The significance of this is hard to assess and does not necessarily suggest a lesser focus on disadvantage. Nevertheless, the participation of long-term unemployed people remains a very important indicator of the Programme's focus.

Underpinning Local Innovation

2.21 It is also important to look behind the mainly quantitative indicators discussed above in order to appreciate what has been achieved within the LDP. This is reflected in the wide range of descriptive and case study material produced
within the Programme. However, we will not attempt to review that material here. Instead, we wish to comment more generally on the nature of the overall contribution of the Programme as we see it. As Mr. Dermot McCarthy, Assistant Secretary, Department of the Taoiseach has argued: "it is very difficult to measure impact. It is one thing to look at the throughput of activity in Programmes, but in a sense that is the least important bit of the Partnerships. Such programmes get people around the table initially to talk about what needs to be done but that is not really the important thing. The most important impacts are the subtle influences on thinking and on the way in which mainstream programmes are delivered both locally and nationally" (McCarthy, 1998:46).

2.22 Firstly, the formation of the Partnerships and Community Groups itself represents a major institutional achievement of the Programme to date. The considerable time and resources devoted to building these organisations can be seen as an important investment in the ‘infrastructure’ of local development. The 1998 OPLURD Annual Report suggests that: "The process has also created a unique forum where the different interests of the local community, the State sector, employers and Trade Unions are combined to address the priority needs of an area" (D/TSR, 1999:35). In addition, the Partnerships and Community Groups are providing an institutional underpinning which plays an important role in mobilising and sustaining a considerable voluntary and community effort which otherwise would have gone untapped to a greater or lesser degree.

2.23 Secondly, this institutional ‘resource’ has produced benefits outside the specific remit of the LDP. The role of Partnerships in underpinning the work of the Drugs Task Force is one example. This was highlighted in the Dáil on February 9th 1999 by the Minister of State with responsibility for Local Development, Mr. Chris Flood T.D.: "An important feature of the initiative is the engagement of local communities in the design and planning of strategies to respond to the drug problem in their areas and in the implementation of approved projects... However, a vital prerequisite to achieving this is the need to develop the capacity of community and voluntary organisations to deliver locally-based drug programmes and services. In the Task Forces areas where strong community structures were already in place prior to the setting up of the initiative, the emphasis in the action plans was on developing and expanding those structures. Accordingly, in such areas, it was possible to get the majority of approved projects up and running relatively quickly. It is notable that these areas either had a long tradition of community involvement in responding to the drug problem or had a local partnership company which had established a strong community network in the area" (Dáil Report Vol. 500, No. 1, 9 February 1999).

2.24 Thirdly, the quantitive achievements of the Partnerships and Community Groups are not simply the result of the application of pre-existing programmes. Rather, in many cases they represent considerable investment in programme development and design. This innovation function of the programme is best
understood by analogy with mainstream research and development. It has both 'process' and 'product' development dimensions. Process development is about enhancing productivity by applying existing programmes to greater effect. This idea underlies the planning approach incorporated into the work of the Partnerships and Community Groups, and their role as a conduit between the public, particularly those experiencing disadvantage, and a range of public services. Also by supporting the mobilisation of 'voice' among groups who particularly rely on State services, they are helping to create (or more correctly release) the demand for more responsive public services which is an essential complement to attempts to promote change on the supply side though the Strategic Management Initiative.

2.25 Fourthly, in regard to 'product development', Partnerships and Community Groups have developed a range of new programme ideas and brought them to the testing stage and beyond. The LES is one of the best-known achievements of the Partnerships in this sense. Another recent achievement is the IT initiative Fast Track into Technology inspired by the Tramlines programme developed in Ballymun. Homework Clubs are another impressively simple programme concept pioneered in the LDP. Specific pilot initiatives have also been developed directly within the Programme. For example, many of the Rural Partnerships and Rural Groups in the Programme are currently developing rural specific initiatives. These include a Low Income Smallholder Households Initiative; Rural Transport; Rural Resettlement and Rural Resource Management Initiatives. In May 1998, arising out of ongoing consultations, a co-ordinator was appointed to work with rural Partnerships and Community Groups in the development of a range of intervention strategies focused on low-income smallholder households to help them to achieve viable household incomes in the future. These have included the introduction of new services designed specifically for smallholder households alongside greater efforts to ensure that smallholders could access existing services and supports. Some 1,300 low-income smallholder households were directly supported during 1998.

2.26 Fifthly, the Partnerships and Community Groups social 'infrastructure' and 'development' functions are both invoked where the Local Development Programme is built on in order to develop pilot initiatives in a range of specific areas. To-date, for example, this has included initiatives such as the reform of the Social Employment Scheme (SES) and the creation of Community Employment (CE), the Equal Opportunities Childcare Programme and currently a one-year pilot Rural Re-settlement Initiative being administered by ADM on behalf of the Department of Tourism, Sport and Recreation.

Conclusion

8 These services include information and advice on maximising income from existing sources, on money management and so on. They also include training to develop farming efficiency and off-farm enterprise and employment opportunities. The initiative is currently being evaluated by Fitzpatrick Economic Consultants in order to identify models of good practice, which will then be further refined and built on in the LDP, and in collaboration with other Agencies.
2.27 Initially, there were considerable difficulties in monitoring the extent, nature and beneficiaries of activity pursued in the Local Development Programme. This situation seems to have improved over time. However, while more coherent monitoring of activity may have been achieved, to-date it has not been possible to formally evaluate the overall impact of the Programme. Nevertheless, a considerable body of work has been undertaken. Goodbody Economic Consultants were appointed external evaluator to the Local Development OP in February 1996. In addition to their role in developing the performance monitoring system for the OP they prepared the 'Mid-term Evaluation of the Local Urban and Rural Development Operational Programme' (Goodbody Economic Consultants, 1997), and a follow-up 'Review of Sub-Programme II' (Goodbody Economic Consultants, 1998). They are currently concluding a study on the impact of the OP on the long-term unemployed.

2.28 In addition, the ESF Programme Evaluation Unit prepared an evaluation report entitled 'ESF and the Local Urban and Rural Development Operational Programme' (ESFPEU, 1999). The Comptroller and Auditor General (C&AG) is currently carrying out a value-for-money audit of the Programme, for completion later this year. Also, a final evaluation of the Programme will be prepared on conclusion of the OP.

2.29 While we share a general concern to develop a more thorough evaluation of publicly-funded services, the approach taken must, however, be appropriate to the nature of the activity being evaluated and proportionate to the expenditure involved. In the case of the LDP in the 1994–1999 Plan period, the long formation period and the very wide diversity of actions and objectives under the Programme inevitably put limits on what could feasibly be achieved. However if, as we recommend below (see paragraphs 2.30 and 6.13), the Programme continues and is provided with an enhanced budget in the next Plan period, more effective arrangements for benchmarking performance and for evaluation should be put in place.

2.30 Nevertheless, we consider that what has been achieved in terms of monitoring and reviewing of activity, as well as the wide variety of case study material produced within the Programme, allows us to make a reasonable judgement on the overall merits of the Local Development Programme. Our judgement has also been informed more generally by our individual and collective knowledge of the Programme. We conclude that the Local Development Programme has brought considerable benefits and we recommend that it should continue to be supported in the new National Development Plan (2000–2006).
Section 3

Designated Areas of Disadvantage
Designated Areas of Disadvantage

3.1 The term ‘disadvantaged area’ is used in different ways depending on the policy context and with reference to different spatial levels. For example, debate on regional policy at both EU and national levels is underpinned by a broad notion of spatial disadvantage based on aggregate regional characteristics such as relatively low output levels, infrastructure endowments and so on. In the agricultural policy context, by contrast, very small geographic areas, such as District Electoral Divisions (DEDs) or even townlands, are designated as disadvantaged on the basis of specific indicators of the social structure of agriculture and natural disadvantages.

3.2 In the Local Development Programme, 35 areas were designated as disadvantaged at the outset. However, neither the underlying concept or concepts of disadvantage, nor the relevant indicators, were clearly specified. In local development discourse disadvantaged areas are frequently presented as areas where there is a distinctive concentration of poverty, deprivation or social exclusion9. However, this may not be particularly true of the areas designated as disadvantaged under the LDP. In contrast, one commentator, Professor Brian Nolan of the ESRI, has argued that “The fact that the area based approach has tended to spread out spatially over time to cover more and more of the country is in a sense a rational response to the fact that poverty is not spatially concentrated. That also means that we have to be realistic about what we can ask of area-based policies such as the Area Partnership Companies, and be clear about where they fit in an overall national anti-poverty strategy” (Nolan, 1998:17).

3.3 The emergence of the Local Development Programme has thus provoked considerable debate about what designating an area as ‘disadvantaged’ means. This is not a semantic matter. It raises important issues regarding the nature and causes of disadvantage in Ireland and, in turn, has significant implications for our understanding of the underlying rationale, the policy approach and the results which have been achieved by the Local Development Programme. It is important, therefore, to consider these issues more fully.

*The Geography of Poverty*

3.4 In practice much of the debate has centred on whether and how the information collected in national poverty surveys and/or in the Census can be used to systematically identify the spatial distribution of poverty or deprivation.

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9. Although these terms may each be defined in different ways and are not always seen as synonymous.
Quantitative poverty research in Ireland relies on nationally-representative survey data but this cannot be meaningfully disaggregated down to a small area level. Thus, it cannot be used directly to identify specific spatial concentrations. However, as demonstrated in a recent ESRI study for the Combat Poverty Agency entitled 'Where Are Poor Households' (Nolan, Whelan and Williams, 1998), the survey data can provide a useful picture of the overall geography of poverty.

3.5 While the national survey data cannot provide data on specific small areas, it can be disaggregated in three spatially relevant ways: (i) by region; (ii) by type of area; and (iii) by tenure. Nolan et al (1998) compare the spatial distribution of poverty in 1987 and 1994 using a number of poverty measures. For simplicity, we mainly discuss the 1994 data\(^{10}\) and two of their measures: a relative income poverty line set at 60% of mean equivalent household income and a measure which combines this line with indicators of basic deprivation in households. To simplify exposition, we refer to the first of these as income poverty and the second as consistent poverty.

3.6 It is important to emphasise at the outset that the latest national data (Callan et al, 1999), shows a small increase between 1994 and 1997 in the proportion of households in income poverty (from 34.6% to 36.5% on the measure discussed here) and a marked fall in the proportion of households experiencing consistent poverty (from 14.9% to 9.9%). However, no spatial breakdown of these data is available at this point. As our focus is on the spatial distribution we must rely on Nolan et al (1998). Thus, in what follows, the actual rates of poverty quoted are for 1994 and therefore may not reflect the current situation. Also, some caution is warranted as it is possible that the spatial distribution of poverty has changed between 1994 and 1997, as indeed it did between 1987 and 1994.

(i) Poverty By Region

3.7 Nolan et al (1998) present data for the 1963 Planning Regions. These do not directly correspond to the 1994 Regional Authority areas in all cases\(^{11}\). It is nevertheless possible to derive comparisons at the new NUTS 2 regional level from the ESRI data (see Tables 1 and 2 below).

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\(^{10}\) However data for both years are included in the Tables.

\(^{11}\) The South-East, South-West and Mid-West Regions are the same in both classifications. The 1963 East Region includes the current Dublin and Mid-East. The 1965 Donegal, North-West and North-East Regions together make up the current Border Region. Finally, Roscommon moves from the Midlands Region in the 1963 classification to the current West Region.
Table 1: Risk of Poverty (%) by Region, 1987 & 1994

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>60% Income Line 1987</th>
<th>60% Income Line 1994</th>
<th>60% Income Line + Basic Deprivation 1987</th>
<th>60% Income Line + Basic Deprivation 1994</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Border, Midland &amp; West Region</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donegal and North-West</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>23.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midlands</td>
<td>41.1</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-East</td>
<td>35.7</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern &amp; Eastern Region</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South East</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-West</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-West</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 2: Incidence of Poverty (%) by Region, 1987 & 1994

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Distribution of All Households 1987</th>
<th>Households Below 60% Income Line 1987</th>
<th>Households Below 60% Income Line + Basic Deprivation 1987</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Border, Midland &amp; West Region</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>33.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donegal and North-West</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>9.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midlands</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>7.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North-East</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southern &amp; Eastern Region</td>
<td>70.8</td>
<td>62.8</td>
<td>67.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South East</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>35.6</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>29.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-West</td>
<td>10.9</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>13.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South-West</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: derived from Nolan et al (1998), Table 7.2.
3.8 In the Border Midlands and West Region (BMWR) in 1994, risk of income poverty\textsuperscript{12} at 39.5\% is somewhat higher than the national average of 34.7\%. In the Southern and Eastern Region (SER) it is slightly lower (32.9\%). On the other hand, risk of consistent poverty is slightly higher in the SER (15.2\%) than the national average (14.9\%) while in the BMWR it is slightly lower (14.1\%), but the differences are very small. Overall this implies that the regional incidence of poverty (i.e. proportion of the poor living in the region) broadly follows the regional share of population (Table 2). There is, however, more variation at sub-regional level within the two regions. Within the BMWR, risk of consistent poverty is significantly higher than the average in Donegal/North West (23.5\%) and lower in the West (7.3\%). Within the SER, risk of consistent poverty is somewhat higher than the average in the South East (18.3\%)\textsuperscript{13}.

(ii) Poverty by Type of Area

3.9 The ESRI's analysis by type of area distinguishes between Dublin City and County, other cities (i.e. Waterford, Cork, Limerick and Galway) towns and villages by population size (above and below 3,000) and open countryside (see Tables 3 and 4 below).

3.10 As these Tables show, households living in open countryside face a risk of consistent poverty (9.6\%) that is lower than the national average of 14.9\%. However around one third of all households live in the open countryside. Thus, despite the lower risk level, the incidence of poverty in open country remains significant, accounting for one fifth (21.3\%) of all poor households.

3.11 In urban areas, risk of consistent poverty in Dublin (15.2\%) is close to the national average (14.9\%), with higher risk rates in other cities (19.2\%), towns (18.7\%) and villages (21.7\%). The distribution of poverty across type of urban area reflects both poverty risk and share of population. As a result, Dublin accounts for 29.5\% of all consistently poor households, other cities account for 11.3\% with 22.8\% in towns and 15.1\% in villages.

\textsuperscript{12} Risk of poverty tells us what percentage of the relevant population is poor, on a given measure. Incidence of poverty tells us what percentage of all those living in poverty, on a given measure, is accounted for by the particular group or population.

\textsuperscript{13} The authors warn that the data at this level must be treated with caution as some of the cells have small numbers.
Table 3: Risk of Poverty (%) by Type of Area, 1987 & 1994

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Area</th>
<th>60% Income Line</th>
<th>60% Income Line + Basic Deprivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Open Country</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>37.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village/Town (&lt;3,000)</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>46.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town (&gt;3,000)</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>37.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waterford, Cork Galway &amp; Limerick Cities</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dublin City &amp; County</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>27.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>34.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Table 4: Incidence of Poverty (%) by Type of Area, 1987 & 1994

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Distribution of All Households</th>
<th>Households Below 60% Income Line</th>
<th>Households Below 60% Income Line + Basic Deprivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Open Country</td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td>33.1</td>
<td>42.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village/Town (&lt;3,000)</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town (&gt;3,000)</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waterford, Cork Galway &amp; Limerick Cities</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dublin City &amp; County</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Nolan et al (1998), Table 4.2.

3.12 The pattern of income poverty by area is different to that of consistent poverty (Table 3). Here, risk is slightly above average in open countryside (37.4%) and in towns (37.2%) and slightly below average in other cities (32%). It follows that the incidence of income poverty in these types of area broadly matches their share of the population. However, risk of income poverty is significantly above average in villages (46.5%) and below average in Dublin (27.4%). As a result, villages include 10% of the population and 14.1% of the income poor while Dublin includes 29.5% of the population and 22.9% of the income poor (Table 4).
3.13 Overall then, the relationship between income poverty and consistent poverty is much weaker in the countryside and stronger in all urban areas. This was also true in 1987.

3.14 Broad urban/rural comparisons depend on how the rural population is defined. Census data conventions classify the rural population as those living in open countryside and in villages of less than 1,500 persons, comprising 42% of the population in 1996. However, the Government has adopted a much wider definition for policy purposes14, effectively viewing the rural population as all those living outside the five major urban areas, or around 64% of the population in total15. On this very wide definition, risk of consistent poverty is somewhat higher in urban areas (15.9%) than in rural areas (14.4%) but the differences are small (see Tables 5 and 6). This means that the urban/rural incidence of consistent poverty broadly matches the distribution of population, as is shown in Table 6. Progressively narrower definitions of rural population produce greater variation in poverty risk between urban and rural areas, with risk falling among the rural population as so defined.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Area</th>
<th>60% Income Line</th>
<th>60% Income Line + Basic Deprivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban 1: Dublin &amp; Other Cities</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>28.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural 1: Towns, Villages &amp; Open Country</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>39.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban 2: Dublin, Other Cities and Towns</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>31.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural 2: Villages &amp; Open Country</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>40.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>34.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


14 Thus the recent White Paper on Rural Development "defines the rural development policy agenda as all Government policies and interventions which are directed towards improving the physical, economic and social conditions of people living in the open countryside, in coastal areas, towns and villages and in smaller urban centres outside the five major urban areas" (D/AF, 1999:vi).

15 This assumes that all of County Dublin is taken as an urban area.
Table 6: Urban and Rural Incidence of Poverty (%), 1987 & 1994

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Distribution of All Households</th>
<th>Households Below 60% Income Line</th>
<th>Households Below 60% Income Line + Basic Deprivation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban 1: Dublin &amp; Other Cities</td>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural 1: Towns, Villages &amp; Open Country</td>
<td>65.0</td>
<td>61.2</td>
<td>76.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban 2: Dublin, Other Cities and Towns</td>
<td>52.9</td>
<td>56.3</td>
<td>42.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural 2: Villages &amp; Open Country</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>43.1</td>
<td>57.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: derived from Nolan et al (1998), Table 4.2

(iii) Poverty by Tenure

3.15 Risk of poverty varies dramatically across tenure types. This is true of both the income and consistent poverty measures. We focus on the second measure here. Risk of consistent poverty varies from 5.5% of mortgaged home-owners to 52% of those renting from a local authority. Between these extremes some 10.5% of outright owners and 24.5% of local authority tenant purchasers were found to be poor (see Nolan et al, 1998: Table 4.3).

3.16 A cross-classification shows that the statistics on poverty risk by tenure vary significantly by area (see Tables 7 and 8). While Local Authority tenants (including tenant purchasers) face a relatively higher poverty risk in all areas, this is less marked in the open countryside (17.5%) than in urban areas where in all cases it is 40% or more. Also, while the overall risk of poverty fell slightly between 1987 and 1994, the risk in urban local authority housing increased significantly in all cases (except villages where it was already extraordinarily high at 52.7% in 1987 falling to 47.5% in 1994). The most dramatic increase occurred in Dublin where the risk went from 32.9% in 1987 to 47.3% in 1994. Local authority tenants (including purchasers) in Dublin account for one fifth (21%) of all those living in poverty nationally and 71% of all poor households in Dublin.
Table 7: Risk of Consistent Poverty (%) by Type of Area and Tenure Type, 1987 & 1994

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Area</th>
<th>Local Authority</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Open Country</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village/Town (&lt;3,000)</td>
<td>52.0</td>
<td>47.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town (&gt;3,000)</td>
<td>31.2</td>
<td>39.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waterford, Cork Galway &amp; Limerick Cities</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>44.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dublin City &amp; County</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td>47.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td>42.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Nolan et al (1998), Table 4.5.

Table 8: Incidence of Consistent Poverty (%) by Type of Area and Tenure Type, 1987 & 1994

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Area</th>
<th>Local Authority</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Local Authority</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Open Country</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village/Town (&lt;3,000)</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town (&gt;3,000)</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waterford, Cork Galway &amp; Limerick Cities</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dublin City &amp; County</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>21.0</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>48.7</td>
<td>51.3</td>
<td>49.5</td>
<td>50.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Nolan et al (1998), Table 4.6

3.17 Also, while local authority tenants everywhere face higher risk of poverty than tenant purchasers, this is most marked in the cities: “The poverty rate for those renting local authority housing in Dublin is 67 per cent and for the other urban centres the figure is 56 per cent: in terms of a housing/area type disaggregation, these are the highest poverty rates in the country” (Nolan et al, 1998:27).

Spatial Distribution of Poverty: An Overview

3.18 What does all this tell us about the spatial distribution of poverty? In essence, it shows that poverty is not typically concentrated by region or by type of area. Within urban areas, poverty is concentrated by tenure and it is likely that insofar as tenure is spatially differentiated so is poverty. However, even where tenure is spatially differentiated the size of area concentrations will obviously
vary with urban size. Overall then, spatial concentrations of poverty of any significant size will probably only be found in the larger urban areas. Such concentrations could account for a significant proportion of the poor in the larger urban areas but will only include a minority of the poor in the country as a whole. This suggests that targeting poverty by area faces considerable difficulties16.

3.19 A good targeting mechanism by definition must achieve reasonably high levels of both effectiveness and efficiency. Efficiency is measured by the proportion of the population that is selected by the particular mechanism (selected areas in this case) who are actually in the intended target group (poor households in this case). This is measured by poverty risk. Targeting effectiveness is measured by the proportion of the intended target population which is actually selected (i.e. incidence). The ESRI data suggest that, for the country as a whole, using specific areas as a mechanism to target poor households cannot be both reasonably efficient and effective. In other words the areas targeted will include a large proportion of non-poor households and exclude a large proportion of poor households. Nevertheless, it does appear that, within larger urban areas there is a greater possibility of targeting poverty efficiently and effectively by area.

Index of Deprivation: Overview

3.20 While the ESRI data presents a clear picture of the overall geography of poverty, it remains true that such survey data cannot be used directly to identify specific areas as disadvantaged or not disadvantaged. Poverty may be unevenly distributed within the categories identified. Thus it remains theoretically possible to find a large local authority housing estate in which no one is poor and/or areas of open countryside in which everyone is living in poverty. The question arises as to whether any other data – usually the Census – can be used to rank specific areas. Census data is available at a range of spatial levels, including very small areas. These Small Area Population Statistics (SAPS) provide a rich resource for local area planning and have in fact been used extensively and with considerable benefit within the LDP. However, the Census does not include data on incomes, thus it cannot be used directly to measure poverty at any level. It does include data (on social class, household structure, economic status etc.) which, in principle at least, may be used to derive indirect indicators of poverty and/or of deprivation (Williams, 1993; Nolan et al, 1998)17. While work along these lines in this country is relatively underdeveloped, such an approach was used to inform the selection of designated areas in the present LDP.

16 Obviously what is meant by 'area' is important here. Broadly, we are thinking here in terms of larger areas like the designated areas in the LDP, though of course these vary widely in terms of territory and population.

17 Note that insofar as Census data is used to attempt to identify poverty, as it is broadly understood in the ESRI analysis, one would necessarily expect that the spatial distribution identified would be consistent with the geography of poverty as described above.
3.21 According to the OPLURD, areas were designated as disadvantaged on the basis of objective criteria. This is generally understood to refer, at least in part, to a ranking of areas on an 'index of deprivation' constructed for the purpose from Census SAPS data (see Combat Poverty Agency, 1993; Haase et al, 1996; Haase 1998) In its latest version, the index is constructed through a factor analysis of thirteen Census indicators (Haase, 1998). District Electoral Divisions (DEDs) are then scored and ranked from 1 to 10, with a ranking of 10 indicating that a DED is among the 10% most deprived DEDs on the index\(^{18}\).

3.22 It has been suggested that this index "established a high degree of consensus about the relative degree of disadvantage between areas, which was a prerequisite for the effective targeting of resources under the Programme" (Gamma, 1999)\(^{19}\). However, in expert debates at least, there is little evidence of such consensus (Pringle et al, 1998; Nolan et al, 1998) Specific technical arguments focus on appropriate procedures for selection of indicators and the weightings used to derive the index.

3.23 There is a more general problem with a lack of clarity regarding the underlying concept of disadvantage which the index is intended to express. It is argued that "the nature of deprivation must be conceptualised in broad terms, so as to include not only income poverty and its consequences, but also social and environmental problems" (Haase, 1998:16). This is broadly in line with procedures adopted elsewhere for identifying disadvantaged urban areas (DoE-UK, 1995). However, a number of additional variables are introduced specifically to capture the underlying economic weakness of rural areas. While the importance of each of these concepts might easily be defended, their combination in one index is seen as problematic. Expert disagreement about the properties of this 'deprivation index' is obviously of some concern and suggests a need for care in its use and interpretation for policy purposes.

### Are the Designated Areas Distinctively Disadvantaged?

3.24 The areas designated as disadvantaged under the Local Development Programme (LDP) cover a large part of the national territory (see Map 1 earlier). This Programme specifically sought to include both rural and urban areas. Nationally, some 54% of the population live in the Partnership Areas.

3.25 Coverage under the LDP varies significantly across regions\(^{20}\). In the BMWR, with 86% of the population living in designated areas, it is immediately obvious that the notion of selective targeting of poverty by area hardly applies. There

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\(^{18}\) Note that the population of DEDs varies widely as does the area covered. It is therefore likely that so does the population and area of each 'decile' group of DEDs. This should be kept in mind particularly when examining deprivation maps which can be visually quite deceptive as a result.

\(^{19}\) This statement appears in all the Data Reports on the Partnership areas, prepared by Gamma for ADM in 1999.

\(^{20}\) The proportion of population covered by Partnerships also varies significantly by sub-regions (from 100% in the West to 11% in the Mid-East) and by County (from 100% to 0%).
are 17 Partnerships in this region (including the OAK Partnership which includes parts of Offaly and Kildare and thus straddles the regional border). Fifteen of these are territorially contiguous and together they cover all of Counties Cavan, Donegal, Leitrim, Longford, Mayo, Monaghan Sligo, Westmeath and part of County Offaly. The other two Partnership Areas are Dundalk and Drogheda. The remainder of Offaly, County Laois and rural County Louth are not covered.

3.26 Risk of consistent poverty in the BMW Region as a whole (14.1%) is close to the national average (14.9%). Risk of consistent poverty in the designated areas within the region can not be significantly different. Even if all the poor in the region lived in the Partnership Areas the overall risk of consistent poverty within the Partnerships in the Region could not exceed 17%.21 The sub-regional data discussed earlier suggests that risk of poverty may be higher than this in some Partnerships but lower in others.

3.27 The picture is less clear-cut in the SE Region. Here there are 22 Partnerships (again including the OAK Partnership). Overall, 44% of the region’s population live in the existing Partnership Areas with the vast majority living in urban areas. Eleven of the Partnerships are in Dublin and together they account for 56% of the County Population22. The remainder cover the other three County Boroughs in the Region (Limerick, Waterford and Cork), three towns (Bray, Tralee and Wexford), and five rural Partnerships (Counties Waterford and Wexford, West Limerick and South Kerry and OAK in Kildare). There is obviously more spatial differentiation within the Programme in this region but does this mean more area targeting? We consider it likely that, on average, the risk of poverty in the designated areas within the Region is somewhat above the national average, though again variation across designated areas is likely. This view assumes that the urban areas outside Dublin have rates of poverty in line with their ‘area type’ as discussed earlier and that Partnership Areas in Dublin have a higher rate than Dublin as a whole. A reasonable estimate would suggest that the rate of consistent poverty in designated areas outside Dublin could not be more than 20% and may be somewhat less. However, even a rough estimate of the rate of poverty in Partnership Areas in Dublin is not possible23.

3.28 One can compare the Partnership Areas more directly on individual Census variables. For example, in 1996 the designated areas had higher than average rates of unemployment (17.5% as against 14.8% nationally), long-term unemployment (8.3% as against 7% nationally), and lone parenthood (16%)

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21 This is calculated by dividing the Regional poverty rate by the proportion of the regional population covered by the designated areas.
22 Population covered varies among the four administrative counties in Dublin as follows: County Borough 68%; South County 67%; Dun Laoghaire/Rathdown 35%; and Fingal 31%.
23 The maximum possible rate (i.e if all poverty in the Dublin area was located within the Partnerships) is 27%, calculated as at footnote 21 above.
compared to 13.8 % nationally\textsuperscript{24}. In each case there was significant variation among the Partnerships.

3.29 Overall, it seems plausible that on average the rate of poverty is somewhat higher in the Partnership Areas than in the country as a whole and thus higher than in the non-Partnership Areas. It also seems likely that there is considerable variation across the areas designated. However, while some Partnership Areas may be distinctively disadvantaged (i.e. have rates of poverty that are significantly higher than the national average) and others may contain such areas within their boundaries, in the aggregate Partnership Areas are probably not characterised by a notably higher than average concentration of poverty.

\textit{Implications for the Local Development Programme}

3.30 What implications does this analysis have for the Local Development Programme? Broadly here we accept the position of Professor Brian Nolan which we quoted earlier: "The fact that the area based approach has tended to spread out spatially over time to cover more and more of the country is in a sense a rational response to the fact that poverty is not spatially concentrated" (Nolan, 1998:17). However, this does not change our view of the merits of the Local Development Programme set out earlier. Indeed, we think it helps to clarify the particular role and rationale of the Programme.

3.31 The following definition of poverty has been adopted by the Government in the National Anti-Poverty Strategy (NAPS): "People are living in poverty, if their income and resources (material, cultural and social) are so inadequate as to preclude them from having a standard of living which is regarded as acceptable by Irish society generally. As a result of inadequate income and resources people may be excluded and marginalised from participating in activities which are considered the norm for other people in society" (Government of Ireland, 1997:3). The simple corollary of this is that anti-poverty action is aimed at ensuring that everybody, and that means in practice those who are poor, gets the income and the material, cultural and social resources they need to enable them to achieve an acceptable standard of living. This basic objective holds whether poverty is dispersed or concentrated. Clearly, this has implications for a very wide range of public policies – educational, labour market, taxation, income maintenance and so on – at both national and local levels as set out in the NAPS.

3.32 The Local Development Programme is clearly designed as a locally-based or area-based response to poverty. However, it is just one small strand in the wider web of anti-poverty policies. Through its direct programmes and through its wider development roles, the LDP complements and encourages – at a local level – the kind of broad public policy focus on poverty advocated by the National Anti-Poverty Strategy.

\textsuperscript{24} These data were provided by ADM.
3.33 The Programme’s local dimension is more correctly seen as referring to its distinctive role rather than referring to poor localities per se. As we have seen, the Programme mobilises collective effort to address poverty as it exists in the area (as it does in most areas in the country) and promotes the empowerment of poor people and groups at a local level. Partnerships have a particular role to play in promoting local integration, co-ordination and monitoring and thus in improving the efficiency and effectiveness of local service delivery (Fitzgerald et al, 1999:266). Thus poverty is targeted in the Programme mainly because poor people are targeted within the Partnerships, rather than because of the designation of areas per se.

3.34 It also follows that, understanding the role of the Programme in this way, there is in principle no necessary reason for restricting the coverage of the Programme to the existing areas. We return to this issue below.

**Severely Disadvantaged Areas**

3.35 We have argued that: the LDP has developed as an area-based or locally-based response to poverty through promoting co-ordination, mobilisation and empowerment; the rationale for such an approach does not depend on the area having a degree of poverty that is notably greater than the average; that the LDP has brought considerable benefits and on the basis of its record to-date that it should continue to be supported in the new National Development Plan.

3.36 In addition, our earlier discussion concluded that poverty is spatially pervasive and thus, for the country as a whole, it cannot realistically be selectively targeted by area. However, particular concentrations of poverty do exist in our cities. Where such concentrations exist we believe their distinctive needs must be explicitly recognised and addressed. Indeed, this has been recognised to a degree to-date, for example in the Integrated Services Process.

3.37 The argument here is not about whether or not such areas should have local Partnership structures. Rather, it is about the commitment of resources in a range of policy areas. A basic assumption underlying policy discussion of ‘area concentrations of poverty’ is that such concentrations, where they exist, should justify an equivalent concentration of resources to address poverty. We accept this view but it is important to clarify its underlying rationale. In fact, there are a number of possibilities in this regard.

3.38 The first of these is quite straightforward. We suggested that anti-poverty action is aimed at ensuring that everybody, and that means in practice those who are poor, should get the income and the material cultural and social resources they need to enable them to achieve an acceptable standard of living. This objective holds whether poverty is dispersed or concentrated. Some of these resources (e.g. aspects of social welfare and housing expenditure) are specifically targeted
to people on low incomes and will, therefore, be automatically concentrated where such people are concentrated. Where the distribution of resources is not so targeted – either because they are targeted elsewhere or because they are nominally universally provided but access is in reality unequal – specific interventions are required to achieve equity. Again this holds whether poverty is dispersed or concentrated. However, where area concentrations of poverty exist there will be a good pragmatic case for targeting resources on these areas, simply as a mechanism for achieving fair shares.

3.39 A second possible rationale for concentrating resources is that areas where poverty is concentrated face additional difficulties over and above those experienced elsewhere. Here the idea is that concentrations of poverty and the associated social conditions actually cause additional problems for the people living in these areas. In severely-disadvantaged areas the delicate balance of conditions, which elsewhere supports a range of individual and collective actions to enhance the local economic, environmental, social and cultural fabric, may simply not exist. The obstacles may simply be too great. The assumption here is that the concentration of poor households in certain areas, in some sense brings about poorer broader living conditions. In our view there is some evidence for such “neighbourhood effects” – particularly in urban areas – throughout the EU and more widely. The strongest example here is the way the heroin problem and associated medical, crime and other problems have developed in very poor areas. On a more prosaic level another recent ESRI/CPA study found that neighbourhood problems, such as vandalism, litter and public drunkenness, are seen to be much more common by urban local authority tenants than by anyone else (Nolan and Whelan, 1999: Table 5.1: 62–65)

3.40 The concept of ‘cumulative causation’ provides the third possible rationale. The idea here is that the spatial concentration of poor households itself brings about a higher level of household poverty than would otherwise occur. More simply, location is seen as in some sense a cause of poverty. However, arguments of this type remain highly controversial. An important recent Irish study, (Nolan and Whelan, 1999) suggests that such effects are limited at best.

3.41 However, it is important in our view to emphasise that doubts about the significance of the third rationale should not obscure the fact that there are other good arguments for a concentration of resources on severely disadvantaged areas where they exist. The details of what should be done to regenerate those areas in our cities where whole communities have been devastated by long years of mass unemployment and poverty are beyond our remit. However these issues have been, or are being, considered in more detail elsewhere, for example in FitzGerald et al. (1999) and by the National Economic and Social Council. In this regard, we also recommend that there
should be explicit provisions for new investment measures for severely disadvantaged urban areas in the new National Development Plan, and in any new National Agreement.
Section 4

Local Development and Local Government
Local Development and Local Government

4.1 Reform of local government has been an on-going priority of national governments for a number of years. Issues arising in this respect include the overall structure of local government as well as the powers, functions, funding and organisation of local authorities. Also, since the late 1980s, a wide range of publicly-funded local development bodies embodying principles of partnership and participation have been put in place – Area Partnerships, Leader Boards and so on – largely in the context of EU Structural Fund programmes. Here we focus on some issues arising regarding the relationships between the Area Partnerships and local government and the development of partnership and participation at local government level.

Structures and Functions of Local Government

4.2 Local government in Ireland now exists at four levels: Regional (NUTS 2); sub-regional (NUTS 3); county and sub-county. The County/City is the only level at which local government is comprehensive in coverage and directly elected. At this level, thirty-four local authorities are the mainline providers of local government services – twenty-nine county councils and five cities. Regional Authorities and the new Regional Assemblies are made up of elected members of County/City Councils. Sub-county authorities are directly elected but limited in coverage.\(^{25}\)

4.3 The structure and role of local government at sub-county level has been a central issue in the reform agenda (see, for example, Advisory Expert Committee, 1991). The approach which has now been adopted is to promote the formation of Area Committees of County/City Councils, alongside the existing system of town authorities. These Committees are formed for a council electoral district or group of electoral districts. For general council business they are made up of elected councillors for those areas. However, for community development and County Development Board related issues, they will be expanded to include representatives of the Community and Voluntary Sector. It is envisaged that, at least in the larger authorities, Council services will as far as possible be decentralised to Area Committee level.\(^{26}\) As of January 1999, 22 County/City Councils had established Area Committees or were planning to put them in place (D/ELG, 1999:21).

\(^{25}\) At sub-county level, eighty town authorities carry out a representational role for the town with a varying range of local government functions.

\(^{26}\) Recent Review Committees of local authority electoral boundaries were asked to draw up, where possible, electoral areas which would, alone or in combination, have an urban or neighbourhood focal point and which would facilitate the decentralisation of local authority services to area level.
4.4 To-date, the powers of Irish local authorities have been tightly circumscribed and their range of functions narrow by comparison with other EU countries. Reform in recent years has included legislative change to increase the powers of Councils (replacing the ultra vires provision with a general competence). Also, a system of streamlining delivery of all public services at local level is now being introduced (D/ELG, 1999). Local Councils are to have an enhanced role in strategic social and economic planning and thereby in promoting greater co-ordination in the delivery of all public services in their areas. The question of devolving specific public functions or services to local authorities has been under review for some time (Devolution Commission, 1996; 1997). To-date, changes in this area have been quite limited, but have included the recent decision to give local authorities greater responsibility for the housing component of Supplementary Welfare Allowances.

Strategic Planning at County/City Level

4.5 A range of administrative measures to enhance the efficiency of local authorities have been introduced. Alongside the introduction of a new funding system, there have been significant organisational changes aimed at enhancing the strategic policy role of Councillors and of the Council more generally, and at developing a 'partnership' dimension to the operation of local government. In 1998 a system of policy-focused Strategic Policy Committees (SPCs) replaced the traditional local authority committee structure. SPCs are structured around the main functional areas of Councils. They are made up of elected councillors and other representatives from the Social Partners and sectoral interests. Further developments along these lines were addressed by the 'Task Force on the Integration of Local Government and Local Development Systems' set up in June 1998 and which reported in August 1998 (D/ELG, 1998). Greater integration of local development and local government has been Government policy for some years now and the Task Force Report has been adopted as Government policy. The Task Force was asked to remain in place to oversee the implementation process and has to-date issued one further guidance document entitled 'Preparing the Ground: Guidelines for the Progress from Strategy Groups to County/City Development Boards' (D/ELG, 1999)\(^{27}\).

4.6 The Task Force identified the County/City level as the primary unit for the integration process. The existing County/City Strategy Groups (established under the OPLURD) will be the nucleus of a more widely based structure, the County/City Development Boards (CDBs), which will be established in January next. The CDBs will bring together local government, local development, the State Agencies active at local level, and the Social Partners including the community and voluntary sector. 'Preparing the Ground' sets out specific procedures for the formation of Boards (see Box 2).

\(^{27}\) A series of Task Force guidance documents is planned. The next one will deal with the County/City Strategies on Economic, Social and Cultural Developments and is tentatively scheduled for October 1999.
Box 2

Members of the County/City Development Board (CDB)

The four “CDB sectors” and their Members are:

1. **Local Government:**
   - **all SPC Chairs**
   - **the Cathaoirleach/Mayor**
   - **County/City Manager**
   - **Urban Representative**
   - The CDB chair will be either one of the SPC chairs, or the Cathaoirleach/Mayor.

2. **Local Development:**
   - 2 representatives for each of the following 3 types of local development bodies:
     - **County/City Enterprise Board**
     - **LEADER II Group(s)**
     - **ADM-supported Partnership Companies and Community Groups**

3. **State Agencies active at local level:**
   - As appropriate:
     - **Health Board**
     - **FÁS**
     - **Teagasc**
     - **VEC**
     - **Enterprise Ireland**
     - **IDA Ireland**
     - **Regional Tourism Organisations**
     - **D/SCFA regional officer**
     - **SFADCO**
     - **Údarás na Gaeltachta**

4. **Social Partners:**
   - **Employers and Business Organisations** (one Member)
   - **Trade Unions** (one Member)
   - **Agricultural and Farming Organisations** (one Member, where applicable)
   - **Community and Voluntary Organisations** (two Members)

**Selection of CDB Members by the Social Partners:**

- Members for the Business and Employers Organisations Pillar, the Agricultural and Farming Organisations Pillar, and the Trade Union Pillar to be nominated by the organisations represented on the national pillar.
- The exact mechanism will be left to these three national pillars; however, the selected Members should be representative of local organisations active in the respective County/City, because it is the local perspective of the respective pillar that the Members would be expected to bring to the CDB.
- Community and Voluntary Organisations to be given Fora (Community and Voluntary Fora) on Area basis to select their representatives on the CDB and the Area Committees (as expanded for community development and CDB purposes), subject to local consultation; to be organised by the Directors of Community and Enterprise, in consultation with local bodies, who will be building on any such structures that may already exist.
4.7 Most members of the CDBs will be selected by existing organisations, including Area Partnerships and other local development organisations. The two CDB members representing the community and voluntary sector will be selected by new community and voluntary fora, which will be established at Area level, building on existing arrangements where relevant. These fora will also select the local community representatives on the Area Committees (as expanded for community development and CDB purposes).

4.8 The Boards will have two main functions: to increase co-operation between members, including enhanced information flow, – and to work on an agreed County/City Strategy on Economic, Social and Cultural Development to be in place by January 2002. Following this, "all public sector policies would be expected to correspond with the Strategy (especially as it would have been developed in co-operation with their local offices/agencies)" (D/ELG, 1999: 36). The CDBs will be supported by new Directors of Community and Enterprise who have recently been appointed in the 34 County/City Councils.

4.9 Also, the Task Force has recommended that common areas be used by all public service organisations, both at county and at sub-county level where the Local Electoral Areas should be used by all. It is proposed that, wherever possible, Agencies should redefine their areas to coincide with local electoral areas, or a combination of these.

4.10 We have not attempted to make a detailed assessment of the recommendations in the 'Task Force Report' and in 'Preparing the Ground'. Broadly, we welcome the approach set out by the Task Force. More specifically, we see the establishment of County/City Development Boards as a positive step in the development of social partnership at County/City level. We also welcome the commitment to integrated strategic planning represented by the CDBs. We suggest that incorporation of anti-poverty objectives within County/City level planning is particularly important. We note the Task Force view that County/City Strategies will be informed and developed in the context of national strategies in key areas of public policy. We recommend, therefore, that the Task Force should specifically address this matter in the forthcoming Guidance Document on the City/County Strategies.

4.11 The proposal for common areas at county and sub-county level will, however, present difficulties to some of the existing Area Partnerships, and we recommend that this should, therefore, be approached with flexibility and sensitivity over time.

4.12 We note the decision to put specific structures in place ('Community and Voluntary Fora') to ensure community and voluntary sector involvement in meaningful participation and monitoring at sub-county and county level and we recommend that some flexibility should be allowed in their implementation to
take account of local conditions. However, we are concerned, that in the Task Force proposals no provision is made for the involvement of the broader Social Partners at Area Committee level.

Local Government and Targeted Local Development

4.13 Our main concern here though is to raise some more general issues regarding the future of local development. The Task Force distinguished between broad and narrow concepts of community development as follows: "The term 'community development' in its broader meaning refers to a process through which local community life is enhanced through the work of a wide range of community-based/voluntary organisations engaged in a variety of activities. In its more specific meaning, it is often used to convey a focus on disadvantaged, marginalised communities, and then usually implies an emphasis on capacity building and anti-poverty/social-service work" (D/ELG, 1999:32).

4.14 We suggest that it is useful to distinguish broad and narrow concepts of local development along similar lines. Wider local development refers to all the activities, which shape the economic, social and cultural development of localities. However, local development in its more specific meaning is generally used to convey a focus on disadvantage. For purposes of clarity, we will refer to local development in this more specific sense as 'targeted local development'.

4.15 We noted earlier that the principal objective of the Local Development Programme is "To counter disadvantage through support for communities which make a collective effort to maximise the development potential of their areas". Specific community development is an important subset of 'targeted local development', as we understand it. However, as we have seen earlier in our discussion of the Local Development Programme, 'targeted local development' has a range of other dimensions – in planning, co-ordination, mobilisation, programme development and advocacy and so on – which are unified by their focus on addressing disadvantage in the local area.

4.16 In effect, the Local Development Programme has been the main policy vehicle through which 'targeted local development' has been promoted to-date, though other initiatives have also been important, particularly the Department of Social, Community and Family Affairs' (D/SCFA) Community Development Programme (CDP) in regard to 'specific community development'. This is how we understand the particular remit of the Partnership Companies and Community Groups. This is the central strength of the Area Partnership approach and one which is independent of the strengths or weaknesses of particular Partnerships.

4.17 Earlier we argued that in our understanding of the role of the Local Development Programme, there is in principle no necessary reason for restricting its coverage to the existing designated areas (see paragraphs 3.30–3.34 above).
4.18 A central question then is how ‘targeted local development’ will be provided for in the future arrangements envisaged by the Task Force, and in particular what is envisaged outside the existing Partnership Areas? There exists within the Forum a range of views on this issue.

4.19 On the one hand, it is argued that since we are all agreed that the Partnership approach supported under the LDP has by and large succeeded to-date, and since poverty is spatially pervasive, consideration should now be given to the extension of the Area Partnerships to tackle disadvantage throughout the country. In this viewpoint, the Community Groups supported under the LDP could form the core of new Area or Social Inclusion Partnerships outside the currently designated areas.

4.20 On the other hand, it is argued that the lack of definite conclusions from formal evaluations would make extension of the Area Partnerships premature. In addition, it is argued that the Task Force on Integration of the Local Government and Local Development Systems envisages, through the Area Committees, an enhanced role for local authorities, working with local communities, in tackling social disadvantage.

4.21 As stated earlier (paragraph 4.12), we are concerned that no provision has been made for involvement of the broader Social Partners at Area Committee level. There are also some concerns about the two-tier structure proposed for the Area Committees.

4.22 What we can all agree on, however, is that the partnership approach, i.e. involving local communities and the Social Partners, and based on principles of social inclusion, equality and participation of those who are poor or socially excluded, is a model which should be incorporated in whatever approach is adopted to address disadvantage at a local level. We recommend that this partnership ethos should inform all decisions made about the way forward on these issues and that such decisions should only be made following consultation with all the relevant interests involved, including all the Social Partners who are represented in the four pillars to the Partnership process.
Section 5

National Development Plan and Regionalisation
National Development Plan and Regionalisation

5.1 A new National Development Plan to cover the period 2000–2006 is currently being finalised by the Government. The policy priorities and general financial framework for this Plan have already been announced, with the Government stating that, unlike its two predecessors, the new Plan will not be primarily designed to draw down EU Structural and Cohesion Funds. Overall investment over the seven years of the Plan will be in the order of £38 billion at 1999 prices. Within this, the contribution of the Structural Funds will be some £3 billion over the period.

5.2 The Plan will be implemented through five Operational Programmes (OPs). Of these, three OPs at national level will cover Economic Infrastructure, Human Resources and Employment, and, the Productive Sector. These priorities parallel the first three spending priorities of the current CSF. Following the Cabinet’s decision of last November and subsequent negotiations with the EU, two Irish NUTS 2 regions were formed earlier this year and there will be an OP for each of these regions (see next paragraph).

Regionalisation and the EU Structural Funds

5.3 Two new regional authorities, to be known as ‘Regional Assemblies’ were established on July 21st last, in an order made by the Minister for the Environment and Local Government under the Local Government Act 1991. These are: the Border, Midlands and West Regional Assembly which will be based in Ballaghaderreen, Co. Roscommon; and, the Southern and Eastern Regional Assembly will have its headquarters in Waterford City. The existing Regional Authorities will remain in existence and will retain their existing functions. Membership of the Assemblies will be drawn from elected representatives from the relevant Regional Authorities.

5.4 The Regional Assemblies have been given a general responsibility for promoting co-ordination in the provision of public services in their areas. In practice, this will allow them to review the development needs of their regions and to offer advice to Government Departments, State Bodies and Local Authorities with a view to securing a more coherent development of policy and provision of public services in their region as a whole. This co-ordination function echoes the general function of the existing Regional Authorities. However, and in contrast to the Regional Authorities, the Assemblies will have executive functions in regard to the EU Structural Funds.
5.5 The legislation establishing the Regional Assemblies defines their functions in connection with assistance from the EU as follows: "It shall be a function of a regional assembly at the request of the Minister for Finance and in accordance with such terms, conditions, requirements or procedures as he/she may specify —

- To provide such proposals, recommendations, advice or information as may be required by such Minister or any other Minister of the Government in connection with the preparation of any plan, programme or other measure for the purpose of supporting an application to the European Communities for financial assistance.

- To manage, in accordance with Council Regulation (EC) No. 1260/1999 of the 21st June 1999, such EC programmes of financial assistance for the development of the assembly’s region as that Minister may specify.

- To monitor the implementation in its region of programmes in respect of which financial assistance is made available by the European Communities.

- The Minister for Finance may recoup to each regional assembly the amount of any approved costs incurred by the assembly in the discharge of functions under this article, which costs shall be shown separately in each estimate and statement of accounts prepared by each such assembly”.

5.6 While not specifically stated in the legislation, the Government has made it clear that the Regional Assemblies will be responsible for the management of the respective Regional Operational Programmes. This signals a new departure, as up to now the function of managing Structural Fund Programmes in this country has been the preserve of Central Government. The exact details of the Assemblies’ management role have, however, yet to be clarified28.

Social Inclusion in the National Development Plan

5.7 The Government has already made known its commitment to ensuring that the objectives of the Local Development Programme will be addressed in the new National Development Plan, and in each region. This was highlighted in its Statement on Regionalisation issued following the Cabinet decision last November, which stated that “the Government is especially anxious to emphasise that the regionalisation approach will not in any sense deflect it from its commitment to tackle social exclusion whether urban or rural. In relation to those programmes in the area of social exclusion which are eligible for EU co-financing under the current round, the Government will, within the overall parameters of EU and other funding available in the two proposed new regions, ensure that the objectives of these programmes remain a priority”.

28 The EU legislation cited above defines a 'managing authority' as follows: "any public or private authority or body at national, regional or local level designated by the Member State, or the Member State when it is itself carrying out this function, to manage assistance for the purposes of this Regulation. If the Member State designates a managing authority other than itself, it shall determine all the modalities of its relationship with the managing authority and of the latter's relationship with the Commission".
5.8 This has since re-affirmed by the Taoiseach: "I also want to reiterate the Government's commitment, given at the time of the decision on regionalisation, to addressing the issues of urban blackspots and rural poverty in the Plan. The Government is particularly committed to tackling social exclusion whether urban or rural and the problems of many of the poorer urban and rural areas will continue to be addressed through targeted measures in the Plan" (An Taoiseach, Mr. Bertie Ahern T.D., June 1st 1999).

5.9 It is understood that each Regional OP will incorporate in some form the three sub-programmes currently included in the OPLURD. They will also include some spending in areas such as local roads, tourism and heritage. It is understood that the current Local Development Programme will be included in a wider Sub-programme on Social Inclusion which will also incorporate a number of other measures including the Local Drugs Task Forces, the Young Peoples Services and Facilities Fund and spending in other areas such as childcare.
Section 6

Local Development in the National Plan
6.1 Earlier on we reviewed the operation of the Local Development Programme (LDP) to-date and concluded that it has brought considerable benefits and should continue to be supported and built on in the new National Development Plan (NDP). We note that others have made similar recommendations (Fitzgerald et al, 1999). We emphasise here that this conclusion holds despite the welcome changes that have taken place in our national circumstances in recent years. Dramatic improvements in our economy have resulted, inter alia, in impressive reductions in long-term unemployment and in at least some measures of poverty (see paragraph 3.6 above). However, the nature and scale of poverty and long-term unemployment are such as to continue to require a significant and focused public response in both urban and rural areas by all interests in our society.

6.2 We have suggested that poverty is targeted in the LDP insofar as poor people are targeted within the Partnerships, rather than because of the designation of areas per se. Instead of referring to poor localities as such, the Programme’s local dimension is more correctly seen as referring to its distinctive role: in promoting integration and co-ordination of services at a local level; in mobilising collective effort to address poverty as it exists in the area (as it does in most areas in the country); and in promoting local co-ordination and empowerment of poor people and groups at a local level. While the LDP is only one small strand in the overall web of anti-poverty policies, we believe its particular contribution remains important. In rural areas, the LDP is the only area-based initiative that is specifically dedicated to addressing poverty and exclusion.

6.3 In the light of our earlier discussions, a number of specific policy issues arise regarding provisions for local development in the new National Development Plan. We recognise, of course, that separate Operational Programmes will be prepared for each Region and that even where similar Local Development Measures are included in both, they may be differently tailored in either case. Here, we set out some general views regarding provisions for local development, which we recommend, should be addressed in both Regional Plans.

**Overall Objective of New Local Development Measures**

6.4 To-date the principal objective of the Local Development Programme has been “To counter disadvantage through support for communities which make a collective effort to maximise the development potential of their areas”.
6.5 If, as we have argued, poverty is addressed in the LDP through the targeting of its activities rather than because of the designation of areas per se, this should be clearly reflected in the objectives of the new Local Development Measures. We recommend, therefore, that the principal objective of these Measures in the new Plan should be as follows: "To counter disadvantage through support for communities which make a collective effort based on partnership to maximise the development potential of their areas and to equitably target the opportunities and benefits of development to disadvantaged people within their areas".

Specific Objectives

6.6 We recommend that resources in the Local Development Measures should be clearly targeted at named groups including:

- the long-term unemployed;
- persons dependent on means tested social welfare payments;
- lone-parents;
- Travellers;
- children at risk of early school leaving;
- people with disabilities;
- smallholders and their families;
- people living in poverty as a result of low-pay;
- homeless people,
- ex-prisoners; and
- young people involved in or at risk of becoming involved in drug abuse.

6.7 Also in seeking to ensure a continued focus on social exclusion, and recognising the economic, social and cultural barriers that impede participation of poor and excluded people, we recommend that the allocation of resources to develop and enhance the capacity to participate of organisations representing the named target groups be specified within the new Local Development Measures. It is also important that the involvement of all Partnership and Community Group Board Members be developed and supported.

6.8 In addition, new Local Development Measures should restate the central role to be played by community development principles and actions, and the existing understanding of community development, as contained in the ADM Guidelines, should be retained. In this regard, it is important that these principles inform all aspects of the operation of the LDP, whether it be enterprise actions, education or infrastructure development, for example.
6.9 There is also a particular need to address issues of gender equality within the structures and programmes of the new Local Development Measures. We note here the recent conference on this issue held by ADM and urge that its recommendations be pursued as a matter of urgency.

6.10 These priorities should be reflected in the specific objectives of the Local Development Measures, which we recommend should include the following:

- to improve the opportunities of the above named target groups in gaining access to employment;
- to work with young people at risk of early school leaving in order to maximise participation in education;
- to promote participation of the target groups in lifelong learning;
- to improve community infrastructure and capacity;
- to increase involvement of communities and, in particular, that of the named target groups in the design and planning of Partnership/Community Group actions and of wider local service delivery; and
- to promote equality policies at a local level.

Financial Allocations

6.11 It is understood that, in the National Development Plan 2000–2006, new Local Development Measures will be included in a wider Sub-programme on Social Inclusion in each Region. To-date, neither the proposed financial allocation for this sub-programme as a whole, nor for the Local Development element within it, nor are known. Here our focus is exclusively on the Local Development Measures, however they are framed within the new Operational Programmes.

6.12 Our starting point is that the financial allocation for the Local Development Measures in the National Development Plan should at a **minimum** provide for the level of activity currently achieved in the existing Programme. It is important to emphasise that this necessarily requires a significantly higher average annual allocation than that provided under the current Plan. As we noted earlier, the formulation and implementation of the Local Development Programme in the 1994–1999 Plan period took place on a phased basis. While the pre-existing twelve Partnerships formed under the PESP Area-based Programme were fully operational throughout the period, the establishment of the remaining Partnerships and Community Groups in the Programme took place over an extended period. In our view then, it is the level of activity achieved in the latter years of the Programme, and the associated expenditure levels, which should be taken as the starting baseline for determining an appropriate financial allocation in the new National Development Plan.
6.13 In 1998, total expenditure on the Local Development Programme amounted to IR£32 million, with the same level of expenditure expected in 1999 (D/TSR, 1999). Expenditure of this order must, therefore, be recognised, as the minimum average annual allocation required in the new Plan period. On this basis the overall minimum allocation required for 2000–2006 is IR£224 million at 1999 prices. We emphasise again that this should be the minimum funding required for the Local Development Measures alone, however they are framed in the new Plan, and not for the new sub-programmes as a whole or any other element therein.

6.14 However, even this amount allows for no expansion of Programme activities. In our view, this must be provided for in at least two ways. Firstly, simply taking the present extent of the Programme as given, we believe that provision must be made for some expansion of Programme activities as the Partnerships and Community Groups continue to develop. Secondly, any further extension of the coverage of the Measures would also require additional financial allocations. Overall provision here will depend on wider decisions taken regarding the future of local development. However, we specifically recommend that when it comes to the annual distribution of amounts available under the ‘deflator’ adjustments, the proposed Local Development Measures should have priority over other Measures, except those targeted at rural disadvantage.

_Transitional Arrangements_

6.15 While we understand that Local Development Measures will be included in the new National Plan, no arrangements have as yet been put in place to manage the transition period between the ending of the current Operational Programme and final agreement on the two new Regional Operational Programmes. Agreement on the latter with the EU Commission is not expected before the middle of next year at the earliest. This inevitably leads to considerable uncertainty regarding the future for those directly involved in the Programme. Earlier experience (i.e. at the introduction of the OPLURD) shows the strong negative impacts such uncertainty can have on the Programme on the ground, with a real danger of loss of momentum at all levels. This has very practical impacts in terms of maintaining board involvement as well as at staff levels. Inevitably, it also has negative effects through limiting the commitments the Partnerships, Community Groups and Selected Organisations can offer to the groups and individuals with whom they work.

6.16 We understand that interim arrangements have been put in place in other areas, for example in regard to the County Enterprise Boards and in relation to the human resources area more generally. We recommend that appropriate transitional arrangements for the Local Development Programme should also be put in place to ensure continuity and to avoid disruption in the flow of resources and consequently in the local development process. We believe that
this is a matter that must be urgently addressed by the Government, and
announced, if possible prior to, but certainly no later than, the final decisions
on the new National Development Plan.

Management and Delivery

6.17 As noted earlier, in the new Community Support Framework, the Regional
Assemblies will become the managing authorities of the Regional OPs. We note
that the Government has at the same time also emphasised the importance of
the existing delivery arrangements. For example, the Taoiseach recently said
"In deciding on appropriate regional structures, the Government has sought to provide for
significantly enhanced regional involvement in the planning, monitoring and
implementation of regional policy in the new NUTS 2 regions while, at the same time, not
to jeopardise the effectiveness of our existing delivery arrangements" (An Taoiseach, Mr.

6.18 This Statement was made in the context of the new regional arrangements as a
whole. Specifically, in relation to the Local Development Measures, and in
order to maintain momentum, coherence and shared learning between the two
Regional Measures, we recommend that Area Development Management
(ADM) should deliver the Local Development Measures in both Regions, in co-
operation with the respective Regional Assemblies. We also recommend that
ADM should specifically incorporate and operationalise the new regional
situation in its own working arrangements.

Monitoring

6.19 Under the present CSF, there has been some concern, particularly among the
Social Partners including the community and voluntary sector, regarding the
difficulties of achieving meaningful participation in Programme monitoring.
We recommend representation of all the Social Partners in Monitoring
Committees for each OP. We also recommend that consideration should be
given to establishing a sub-committee in each Region specifically for the Social
Inclusion Sub-programme.

6.20 Integrated local development was a significant Sub-programme within
OPLURD, but will be a smaller part of the new regional OPs. It is important,
therefore, that an adequate voice for local development should be provided for
in the monitoring and delivery arrangements and, for this purpose, we
recommend that there should be a specific role for ADM in the monitoring
arrangements.

Benchmarking and Evaluation

6.21 Earlier on in the lifetime of the present LDP there were considerable diffi-
culties in monitoring the extent, nature and beneficiaries of activity pursued
under the Programme. This situation has improved over time. However, to-date
it has not been possible to formally evaluate the impact of the Programme.
6.22 In the case of the LDP in the 1994–1999 Plan period, the long formation period and the very wide diversity of actions and objectives under the Programme inevitably put limits on what could feasibly be achieved. However, lessons should be drawn from this and more effective arrangements for evaluation and for benchmarking performance should be put in place in the next Plan period.

6.23 We share a general concern to develop evaluation of publicly-funded services, while emphasising that the approach taken must be appropriate to the nature of the activity being evaluated and proportionate to the expenditure involved. Local development is a complex activity with a range of objectives and we suggest in this context that a limited number of key indicators should be agreed to track programme performance. We also endorse the view of the external evaluators that data from the Performance Management System must be: “complemented by other research and evaluation approaches which can capture the full range of actions taking place under the sub-programme – both direct and indirect” (Goodbody Economic Consultants, 1998:9). These evaluations should be quantitative and/or qualitative, as appropriate.

6.24 We also recommend the development of a system of benchmarking performance among the Partnerships and Community Groups themselves as an essential element in evaluating and enhancing performance within the Programme. The role we envisage for benchmarking has been most clearly articulated by Professor Charles Sabel who introduced the concept into the Irish local development debate “Projects undertaken in one partnership in an area such as employment training can be compared to like projects undertaken by other partnerships, and the general designs of similar partnerships – for example how each organises the internal discussion of project modifications – can be compared as well. Systematic evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of projects and partnerships in relation to others of the same kind is the equivalent in public administration of benchmarking the performance of one module or make of car by comparison to the competition. Thus, in public institutions as in private firms, changes in the parts of the product and organisation that outperform the best current alternative, internal or external, would gradually lead to changes in the corresponding wholes; and these encompassing changes, again tested against the most attractive alternatives, would prompt the next round of partial reform” (Sabel, 1996: 95). We recommend that ADM be specifically mandated to develop benchmarking in the Local Development Measures.

Mainstreaming and Policy Learning

6.25 Again following Sabel, we distinguish between ‘horizontal’ and ‘vertical’ dimensions of policy-learning. Horizontal learning is essentially about identifying and promoting best practice across the Programme. Our earlier recommendations on evaluation and benchmarking are obviously crucial in this regard. Vertical
learning is about the transmission of lessons learned in the Programme into the wider policy-making process. While this is an objective of the LDP there is some disagreement about whether and how such learning has in fact taken place. The recent ESF Programme Evaluation Unit study of the LDP was particularly concerned about weaknesses in this area (ESFPEU, 1999).

6.26 However, it is clear that, whether or not the lessons learned through the local development process are taken on board in local or national policy-making depends on many factors other than the quality of the learning process within the Local Development Programme itself. We believe that it is necessary to enhance the Local Development Programme's contribution to policy learning and policy formation, at both local and national levels, and also among the Social Partners. We recommend, therefore, that structures be put in place to channel the Programme's contribution to policy development in this regard.
Section 7

Other Policy Issues
Other Policy Issues

7.1 Here we briefly consider a number of other issues arising in regard to the local development process and the Local Development Programme.

*Community Development Programme*

7.2 The Community Development Programme (CDP) was established in 1990 in recognition of the role of community development in tackling poverty and disadvantage. The Department of Social, Community and Family Affairs has overall responsibility for management of the CDP, which core funds community development resource centres and projects in communities experiencing social and economic disadvantage. Projects in the Programme include generalist resource centres located in particular areas and specialist community projects, for example, Travellers, Lone Parents. These provide a range of supports, development opportunities and services to community groups and individuals within their areas.

7.3 The Programme currently funds 102 local projects, with a further 34 new local projects in the pipeline. A network of eight Regional Support Agencies (with two more in the process of being set up) support the CDP at local level. In addition to the Regional Support Agencies, the Department funds five Specialist Support Agencies which have a national focus and expertise in working with specific groups i.e., Travellers, people with disabilities, violence against women, drugs, and pre-development training. A further specialist support agency (Community Arts) is in the process of being set up.

7.4 The Department’s strategy in the period to be covered by the next National Development Plan in respect of supports for the Voluntary and Community Sector includes: development and enhancement of the existing programmes providing support for local self-help and community development; strengthening regional support structures for these programmes; and enhanced co-ordination between its programmes and local development programmes.

7.5 The Community Development Programme has played an important role in ensuring participation by disadvantaged communities in articulating and addressing the issues that concern them and in partnership initiatives such as the Local Development Programme. It has helped create and resource autonomous organisations of and for such communities that are capable of participating at this level alongside the other social partners. We understand that the Department of Social, Community and Family Affairs is exploring the
possibilities, in the context of the next National Development Plan, of bringing about greater synergy between the Community Development Programme and the successor arrangements to the Local Development Programme. We recommend that the CDP should continue to be developed, as provided for in Partnership 2000, in the context of the next National Development Plan.

_Cross-Border Dimension_

7.6 In the context of institutional development on the island of Ireland, North and South, we note the parallel proposals for local development within aspects of the cross-border implementation bodies and areas of co-operation agreed within the Good Friday Agreement. It is important that opportunities for sharing experience, co-operation and learning should be maximised. Initiatives for cross-border local and rural development and for targeting poverty and disadvantage should be explored and developed. Specific programmes should be related to the joint chapter in the Community Support Frameworks and the new special programme, Peace 2 (RENEW), LEADER + and INTERREG.
References


Gamma (1999) *Partnership Area Data Reports* prepared for ADM.


Terms of Reference and Constitution of the Forum

1. The main task of the Forum will be:-
   • to monitor and analyse the implementation of specific measures and programmes especially those concerned with the achievement of equality and social inclusion;
   • to do so through consideration of reports prepared by teams comprising the social partners, with appropriate expertise and representatives of relevant Departments and Agencies and its own Secretariat;
   • with reports to be published by the Forum with such comments as may be considered appropriate; and
   • to ensure that the teams compiling such reports take account of the experience of implementing bodies and customers/clients, including regional variations in such experience.

2. The Forum may consider such policy issues on its own initiative or at the request of the Government.

3. Membership of the Forum will comprise representatives from the following four strands:
   • the Oireachtas;
   • employer, trade union and farm organisations;
   • the voluntary and community sector; and
   • central government, local government and independents.

4. The terms of office of members will be for an initial period of at least two years during which alternates may be nominated. Casual vacancies will be filled by the nominating body or the Government as appropriate and members so appointed shall hold office until the expiry of the current term of office of all members. Retiring members will be eligible for re-appointment.

5. The Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson of the Forum will be appointed by the Government.

6. The Forum will decide on its own internal structures and working arrangements.

7. The Forum will be under the aegis of the Department of the Taoiseach and funded through a Grant-in-Aid which will be part of the overall Estimate for that Department. The annual accounts of the Forum will be submitted for audit to the Comptroller and Auditor General.

8. Finally, the staffing and conditions of employment of the Forum’s Secretariat will be subject to the approval of the Department of the Taoiseach.
Membership of the Forum

Independent Chairperson: Maureen Gaffney

Deputy Chairperson: Dermot McCarthy

(i) Oireachtas
Fianna Fáil:

Noel Ahern T.D.
Seán Haughey T.D.
Beverley Cooper-Flynn T.D.
Michael Kitt T.D.
Senator Margaret Cox
Senator Paschal Mooney
Gerry Reynolds T.D.
Paul McGrath T.D.
Bill Timmins T.D.
Senator Mary Jackman
Senator Therese Ridge
Derek McDowell T.D.
Senator Joe Costello
Senator Helen Keogh
Michael Lowry T.D.

Fine Gael:

Labour:

Progressive Democrats:
Independents:

(ii) Employer, Trade Union and Farm Organisations

(a) Employer/Business Organisations:

IBEC:

Small Firms Association:
Construction Industry Federation:
Chambers of Commerce/
Tourist Industry/Exporters Association:

(b) Trade Unions:

(c) Agricultural/Farming Organisations:

Irish Farmers Association:
Irish Creamery Milk Suppliers Association:
Irish Co-Operative Organisation Society:
Macra na Feirme:
Irish Country Womens Association:

Brendan Butler
Aileen O'Donoghue
Lilian O'Carroll
Mirette Corboy
Carmel Mulroy
Eamonn Devoy
Blair Horan
John Tierney
Manus O'Riordan
Joan Carmichael

John Dillon
Pat O'Rourke
Mary Coleman
Eileen Doyle
Eva Coyle

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(iii) **Community and Voluntary Sector**

*Womens Organisations:*
- Ursula Barry
- Gráinne Healy
- Susan McNaughton

*Unemployed:*
- Mike Allen
- Joan Condon
- Mary Murphy

*Disadvantaged:*
- Joe Gallagher
- Chris McInerney
- Janice Ransom

*Youth:*
- Gearóid Ó Maoilmhíchil

*Older People:*
- Paddy Donegan

*Disability:*
- Roger Acton

*Environment:*
- Jeanne Meldon

*Others:*
- Fr. Seán Healy
- Mary Murphy

(iv) **Central Government, Local Government and Independents**

(a) **Central Government**

*Secretary-General, Department of Finance*

*Secretary-General, Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment*

*Secretary-General, Department of Social, Community and Family Affairs*

*Secretary-General, Department of Tourism, Sport and Recreation*

*Secretary-General, Department of the Environment and Local Government*

(b) **Local Government**

*General Council of County Councils:*
- Councillor Constance Hannify
- Councillor Tom Kelleher
- Councillor Enda Nolan

*Association of Municipal Authorities:*
- Councillor Tadhg Curtis

*County and City Managers Association:*
- Donal O’Donoghue

(c) **Independents**

- Professor Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh, National University of Ireland, Galway
- Ms. Marian Vickers, Northside Partnership
- Ms. Helen Johnston, Surg Equipment Ltd.
- Mr. Niall Fitzduff, Rural Communities Network
- Ms. Noreen Kearney, Trinity College, Dublin

**Secretariat**

*Director:*
- Seán Ó hÉigeartaigh

*Policy Analysts:*
- Laurence Bond
- Diarmuid Ó Conghaile
- David Silke

*Executive Secretary:*
- Michelle Ryan
# Forum Publications

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