

**THEY SAY CUTBACKS: WE SAY FIGHTBACK  
A CASE STUDY OF A GRASSROOTS ANTI-WATER CHARGES  
COMMUNITY CAMPAIGN GROUP IN CRUMLIN, DUBLIN  
USING A PARTICIPATORY ACTION RESEARCH (PAR)  
APPROACH.**

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It takes a lot of things to change the world:  
Anger and tenacity. Science and indignation,  
The quick initiative, the long reflection,  
The cold patience and the infinite perseverance,  
The understanding of the particular case and the understanding of the ensemble:  
Only the lessons of reality can teach us to transform reality."

— Bertolt Brecht (1929)

### **Acknowledgments**

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Finally, I dedicate this thesis, by way of appreciation, admiration and solidarity to Crumlin community activists, while not forgetting the two other community activists who contributed to the study. This research would not have been possible without their active engagement, cooperation and collaboration, who despite being embroiled in social struggle and the many demands of their own personal lives gave up their valuable time and energy to co-produce this study. 'To be a writer may require a room of one's own, but to be an activist requires an organised collective effort' (Croteau, 2005:38).

'Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed, citizens can change the world. Indeed, it is the only thing that ever has.'

— Margaret Mead (1901-1978)

## **Abstract**

This research project was inspired by a Gramscian orientation towards radical social transformation. The study had a dual purpose. It aimed firstly, to produce new knowledge that could assist in answering perplexing questions relating to the motivations and rationale underlying working class people's unprecedented responses in 2014 to the Irish government's imposition of domestic water charges in an era of crisis driven neoliberal structural adjustments and austerity. This, in turn has given rise to the emergence of the largest non-politically aligned mass movement since the foundation of the State, specifically in the form of the current anti-water charges community movement. Secondly it sought to garner movement relevant knowledge that could positively contribute to activist practice by documenting and analysing subaltern counter hegemonic organisational activity, thus offering insight and understandings of those presently pursuing radical social transformation. An initial review of the existing academic literature revealed little in the way of research on this area of interest thus highlighting both the relevancy and value of this particular study.

The research was conducted by means of a critical qualitative case study of a grassroots anti-water charges community campaign group in Crumlin, Dublin using a participatory action research (PAR) approach. It employed multiple methods namely a focus group and eleven in depth semi structured interviews supplemented with desk top research and a rudimentary analysis of an open community group Facebook page.

One of the key findings revealed by this study was that the primary driving force behind the local community fight back in Crumlin was not the issue of water per se, rather it was triggered by what Gramsci termed 'a crisis of hegemony', where the authority of the State to govern had been called into question. This, the research findings suggest has been largely caused by a combination of several years of inflicted harsh austerity measures, government double standards and perceptions of systemic corruption. This central finding has been corroborated by previous research undertaken by Hearne (2015) on the same topic. The study also found that the local Crumlin campaign had adopted aspects of 'horizontalism' into their campaign structure, decision making and tactics but that this, alongside efforts to maintain their autonomy as a politically nonaligned community group was causing unforeseen tensions and problems among the activists. Finally, the research also highlighted the innovative and widespread use of Information and Communications Technologies (ICT) namely mobile phones and the internet, with Facebook activism, constituting a pivotal counter hegemonic organisational component of the community campaign. The research concludes with a number of recommendations on future research

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## Chapter 1

### Introduction

#### **Making our own history**

*Perhaps the singular contribution of the intellectual tradition of the left, as it has developed since the nineteenth century has been to bring working-class people fully into history, not simply as victims but as actors. The left has understood that working-class people are a historical force and could become a greater historical force. And the left has understood that the distinctive form in which that force expresses itself is the mass movement. (Piven and Cloward 1979:1)*

Since 2014, many working class communities in Ireland have incrementally constituted themselves as a popular oppositional mass movement in direct response to part of the neo-liberal austerity agenda of the Irish State to privatize water. Separately this ‘new’ social movement has also joined together in a broad based alliance with numerous ‘left’ political parties, and trade unions to form an umbrella coalition under the banner of ‘Right 2 Water’. In October 11th 2014, the national campaign to establish water as a human right in Ireland and to demand the rescinding of the Water Services (No.2) Act 2013 to charge for domestic water use was officially launched. The sheer numbers of people who turned out for the demonstration in Dublin city Centre took both organizers’, the government, national and international media and observers by complete and utter surprise, given up to that point Irish opposition and resistance to neoliberal austerity measures had been relatively muted, and sporadic in comparison to other European countries such as Greece, Iceland and Spain who had taken to the streets much earlier and in greater numbers against similar austerity measures. As a community educator and political activist on the demonstration that day, I was also positively confounded by both the turn out and the captivating mood of the people attending. Puzzlement and curiosity as to both the lapse in timing of this spontaneous eruption of



mass protest and the various motivations and rationale of the people participating on that day, sowed the seeds of this research study.

## **Context**

The ‘Our Water is Not For Sale’ public conference, held on Saturday 5<sup>th</sup> April 2014 in the Gresham hotel in O’Connell Street in Dublin laid the foundations for an Irish broad based national campaign against water charges under the rubric of ‘The Right 2 Water’, a title borrowed from a European wide Coalition established to resist EU and member States attempts to privatise water. The forum in Dublin was sponsored and hosted by the ‘People Before Profit Alliance’, an affiliate grouping of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and ‘Unite the Union’. The daylong event was chaired by Brid Smith a PBP candidate in the then forthcoming European election and was addressed by a range of speakers including Marcela Olivera from Cochabamba Bolivia, Professor Michael Gonzalez, a Venezuela writer and activist, Jimmy Kelly ‘Unite the Union’, Clare Daly, TD for North Dublin, Martin Empson, ‘Campaign against Climate Change’, Leslie Franke and Herdolor Lorenzor ‘Right 2 Water’ campaign in Europe, Richard Boyd Barrett, TD for Dun Laoghaire and Tommy Hogan an anti-water charge campaigner, among others (Unite 2014). The aim of the organisers in bringing such a diverse grouping of anti-water charge activists, environmentalists and anti-capitalist campaigners from Ireland, Europe and South America together was to primarily ‘discuss the wider politics of water and privatisation’ their connection to the issue of climate change and to begin the work of developing ‘strategies of resistance in Ireland’. (Unite 2014; Lyons 2015).

Small scale, intermittent grassroots community organising and resistance to water charges had preceded this forum event. Remnants of local groups mainly based in

county Cork who had previously been affiliated to The ‘Campaign against Home and Water Taxes’ (CAHWT) established in July 2011 had been re activated by the presence of Irish water meter contract installers in their local areas in early 2014. In one notable episode of local resistance and people power Irish Water contractors were forced to remove five water meters from a Cork housing estate which had been at the centre of a month-long water meter blockade by local residents and supporters (English 2015). The notion that you could physically resist the installation of water meters was taken up by a local Raheny woman in North Dublin who, spurred on by the Cork example had organised some of the local residents in her own estate to physically prevent water meter installations (Lyons 2015). The community fight back took traction as mainstream and social media reported the daily stand offs between Gardaí, protestors and contractors, word spread, and people organised. First to marshal local people and support were the communities on the north side of Dublin and subsequently other areas across the city soon followed suit, with the campaign extending outwards into other counties beyond the capital city. Meetings were called, Facebook pages appeared and core groups of local activists quickly formed under the radar, preparing their local areas to resist as well as by mobilising and assisting neighbouring areas. During this period ‘the hidden transcripts’ (Scott 1985) of local Irish communities were beginning to reveal themselves in diverse public forms. The few committed activists in Cork who were prepared to continue the fight against austerity measures after the CAHWT had essentially collapsed in 2013 were now beginning to see their perseverance, dedication and commitment bearing fruit.

The reasons for the demise of CAHWT are somewhat disputed but a major setback for those involved in the campaign and its central tactic of boycotting charges came when the Irish government introduced powers to the Department of Revenue to collect the property tax, in effect meaning that monies owing could be deducted at source from

wages, pensions and social welfare payments. This extreme undemocratic and coercive measure came in the wake of calls from campaign organisers for people to boycott the property tax. Following this archaic move by government, the campaign having failed to sufficiently mobilise mass public participation was irrevocably weakened by disagreement and rifts over tactics, especially the proposed tactical turn to local electoral politics promoted by left wing parties to galvanise support. (WSM 2013). The wider contextual backdrop to much of this frenetic grassroots activity in 2014 lies in the unfolding economic events in 2008 in what Gramsci has famously termed ‘an organic crisis’

### **The Irish Crisis**

*Ireland has recently borne witness to the most severe economic contraction in its history (Considine and Dukelow, 2010:1).*

The term crisis seems rather ill disposed on its own to encapsulate the sudden death of economic stability, security and with it the normalcy and certainty of everyday life in Irish society. Overused in present circumstances and having lost its sharp incisive edge to enliven the imagination, many people verbally struggle to find the correct vocabulary to define this historic momentous catastrophic occasion doing true justice to its deleterious and lethal social and economic consequences which continue to scar Irish society.

This was no ordinary economic crisis, if Greenspan (2008), the former chair of the US Federal Reserve found ‘a flaw’ in capitalism’s neo-liberal ideology, then Ireland exemplified its worst possible calamitous defects and weaknesses. Ireland had willingly jumped feet first into the dizzying heights of unfettered global capitalism (Krugman 2011) only to land belly up and knee deep in one of the worst financial disasters of our time. ‘Soft landings’ (Beesley 2007) come no harder than this. ‘The financial crisis that

struck western economies with such force in mid-2008 jolted many certainties' (Kirby and Murphy 2011:1). Ordinary people who felt they were on firm financial ground had that ground taken from beneath them, as all that was seemingly solid in national economic terms melted into air. Economic crises are not a new phenomenon; in fact they are part and parcel of global capitalisms historical propensity to peak and trough. Crisis has become an innate part of the historical lexicon of economic parlance. Ireland, while adept at the use of and lived experience of such language previously, seemed to have somehow forgotten, in an era of sustained economic prosperity just what the term crisis actually spelt in real terms.

The extreme severity and rapid onset of the Irish financial crisis left the country ill prepared and ill-equipped to deal with its magnitude and scale. As events unfolded, it became evident that the Irish Government's unique brand of neo liberal economic orthodoxy, coupled with wilful mismanagement and shabby financial oversight, preceding the meltdown had facilitated wholesale reckless bank lending, financial impropriety and the growth of a property bubble. In short, the abject failures and contradictions of governance, to bring neo-liberalism to heel, was ultimately responsible for facilitating this momentous crisis, in other words, the Irish State primarily became the chief architects of its own economic demise. The complexities and nuances of this particular crisis and the attendant lethal economic and social consequences have become known and felt over time, notwithstanding the unprecedented and austere 'remedial actions' and the talking up of economic growth since 2014, Ireland remains in the midst of crises.

According to O'Riain (2011:318): 'Ireland's economic crisis is most fundamentally a financial crisis, originating in a credit and asset bubble that toppled the banking system and brought with it fiscal, economic and social crises. To capture the enormity and scale of the crisis that befell the Irish State, the International Monetary Fund (IMF

2009:28) succinctly summed it up as a crisis that ‘matches episodes of the most severe economic distress in post Second World War history’.

The real social consequences of these crises are far too often swallowed up in quantification and academic jargon. The structural crisis of neoliberal capitalism has effectively condemned countless thousands to a life of squalid paltry existence. One of the first casualties of economic crisis was the welfare State. The welfare State for all its inherent contradictions has become, in many instances, the last bastion of hope and financial survival for those who are especially in the categories of unemployed, aged, infirm and ethnic minorities. The anatomy of the Irish financial crisis may be intricately complex and for the lay person economically perplexing but its depth and reach in Irish society is widely understood and painfully felt, across classes and especially among the most marginalised and socially excluded sections of Irish people. We know that when the ‘squeezed middle classes’ (Williams 2012) are hurting, the pain felt among those on the bottom rungs of the socio-economic ladder must be particularly excruciating.

While the banking, financial and economic sectors went into melt down ‘...the enormous costs came to be borne by ordinary tax payers, by low income public servants, by the poor, the old and the sick as a wave of austerity budgets raised taxes on moderate and average incomes and massively cut State spending on welfare, health, education and infrastructure’ (Kirby and Murphy, 2011:2).

The zealotry, by which austere fiscal rectitude was implemented by the present Irish Government in attempting to repair Ireland's reputation abroad, restore investor confidence, return to economic competitiveness and re-enter the bond markets by 2014 has earned Ireland the new title as the ‘star pupil of austerity’ (Weeks 2013). ‘To date Ireland’s response to the challenge of the crisis indicates a retreat to a more sharply defined neo-liberal policy paradigm’ (Considine and Dukelow 2010:21).

The Irish Government remains firmly wedded to a failed and seriously flawed model of economic growth, despite the harsh and unprecedented rudimentary lessons of Ireland's own tailored brand of global capitalism. It is often said that those who do not learn the lessons of history are doomed to repeat them or as Marx (1852) famously Stated: 'History repeats itself, first as tragedy, second as farce'.

In the final analysis the crisis we are now living through is ultimately, and above all else, a crisis of values where the invidious and insatiable capitalist pursuit of profit for the few has overridden the welfare and well-being of the rest of society. In Ireland as in other western democratic countries who enthusiastically embraced the neo-liberal model of growth, the longer term solutions to the present crisis are ultimately predicated on political and economic choices as to what future value systems we wish to pursue and what type of society we wish to promote. 'The question, in brief, is whether democracy and freedom are values to be preserved or threats to be avoided [as they have been until now]. In this possibly terminal phase of human existence, democracy and freedom are ... essential to survival' (Herman 1988:304).

A reading of the Irish Government's choices thus far, would strongly suggest that the cost competitiveness, low tax model that helped create the conditions for the current economic malaise have trumped the political choice for a more equalitarian and self-sustaining economic growth model. In the midst of the greatest Irish economic crisis, since the founding of the State, it is evident that rising economic tides do not lift all boats, furthermore the Government self-created economic tsunami, has among other things, destroyed the hopes and aspirations of millions and shifted the financial burden onto those already struggling to stay afloat. Poverty and inequalities have become the new currencies in what could be considered a morally and financially bankrupt State.

'Under the aegis of the economic model the dominant ideas and policies of speculators, builders, bankers – who believe they know best – have infiltrated

our thoughts as common sense when they make no sense at all. The proposition that banks, developers and financial services could be trusted to advance our general well-being is now exposed as a fantasy' (O'Doherty 2012:13)

Despite the enormity, scale and depth of the excruciating financial pain, social suffering and hardship inflicted on the vast majority of Irish people since 2008, their responses over six years were largely incommensurable, incomprehensible and patently demanding of critical analyses and investigation. While the political awakening that has occurred in 2014 has properly dispelled the contemporary common myth that Irish people don't protest or resist, however many questions remain unanswered. Why did austerity take so long to trigger a response? What was the underlying motivation and rationale of thousands of people to rise up and what 'really useful knowledge' can we distil from such inquiries.

### **Rationale**

In light of such unanswered inquiries, I was motivated to attempt to make sense of these gaps in our knowledge and committed to a research partnership in generating new insights and knowledge on salient issues and concerns pertaining to Irish social movements in the form of community. In other words, I aimed to undertake a collaborative qualitative case study which would have some relevance to the practices, understandings and personal development of community activists and social movement knowledge. Community activism and resistance has been relatively marginal as a focus of study in Irish social movement research. 'How and why some people become engaged in risky, nonconventional activity, when success is at best elusive and causes are often lost, is a topic worthy of attention in its own right. How such commitment is sustained over time is a question that bears on our general understanding of human possibility' (Flacks, 2005:11).

I undertook this study with a personal critical bias towards those who perpetrate injustice, inequality, exploitation and oppression. I believe it is important to state my position at the start so that the reader is not way laid or misinformed, however such bias should not be misconstrued as an intellectual pretext for an absence of rigour in investigation or a lack of commitment to systematic social research. As C Wright Mills (1962:11) once remarked ‘I try to be objective I do not claim to be detached’.

I was initially drawn to this research project by a deep sense of curiosity and puzzlement. Why had those Irish people most directly affected by neo-liberal austerity measures not previously revolted until now? What was the underlying motivations and reasoning behind their decision to fight back?

The extant critical literature has pointed to a Gramscian problematic of ‘organic crisis’ concerning key issues pertaining to neo-liberal hegemony and Government legitimacy. Fraser et al (2013: 42) note that much of the analyses in lieu of the crises has been undertaken by some notable journalists and commentators conversely ‘for its part, the critical academic literature on the crisis is actually quite thin’. This research thus aims to both contribute and expand on this literature. Since 25<sup>th</sup> November 2014 I have joined with a group of anti-water charge community activists in the working class area of Crumlin, Dublin to collaboratively engage in Participatory Action Research (PAR).

### **Research Question and Aims**

The community activists in the ‘Crumlin says no to water meter and charges,’ were the primary focus of this case study. The methodology used in conducting this research was qualitative in nature using a descriptive, explorative and Participatory Action Research (PAR) approach. The methods used were a focus group and eleven semi-structured interviews. The interviews were conducted by this author and two other research participants with ten fellow activists in what is locally known as the Crumlin core group



(an organisationally loose non-hierarchical democratic amalgamation of activists coordinating, mobilising and developing the campaign), and one female activist from Walkinstown. In addition I also conducted a short interview with a People Before Profit councillor John Lyons who represents the constituency of Dublin North Central to fill in some of the knowledge gaps relating to initiation of the national ‘Right 2Water’ campaign.



Figure 1 Source Crumlin says No to Water Meter and Charges 2014

## **Research Proposal**

### ***They say cutbacks - we say fight back***

The study was framed as an exploration and collaborative engagement with anti-water charge activists in a traditional working class community in Dublin using a Gramscian perspective.

The aim of the research was twofold:

Firstly I wished to explore the underlying motivation and rationale for working class people's involvement in the campaign against water charges at this particular juncture and;

Secondly the research aimed through adapting a Participatory Action Research (PAR) approach to collaborate in understanding and developing varying aspects and perspectives of social movement knowledge and practice.

### **What did I want to find out?**

The forced imposition of water charges in Ireland in 2014 as part of a larger neo liberal project of austerity and privatisation has unleashed a wave of anger, mobilisation and activism in working class communities across the country. Social and political activism has assumed a variety of forms. Utilising a PAR approach I wished to variously explore, and develop in collaboration with community movement activists, key aspects of activism and strategizing relevant to the anti- water charges campaign.

### **Why did this research matter to me?**

A personal and political sense of blatant injustice and feelings of mutual solidarity were the overriding motivations for choosing this topic. I was drawn specifically to this area of study because of a personal interest in the areas of justice, equality and rights. This interest was fostered in part due to my own lived experiences of growing up in an arena of political conflict where inequality was rife such rights were often denied and injustice was prevalent.

As a lifelong community and political activist I have had an abiding interest in both actively advocating for and pursuing meaningful radical social transformation and resisting the many forms of State and capitalist oppression visited upon working class communities. Given the neo-liberal austerity measures imposed upon Irish citizens

since the onset of the financial crisis in 2008 and the somewhat perceived muted response to these, I was particularly interested in examining why people have chosen this anti-water charges campaign to mobilise and fight back. Moreover I wished to assist in developing aspects of ‘movement relevant research’ (Bevington and Dixon 2005) and knowledge in relation to strategies, education and praxis (Freire 1996; Hall, 1993). It is important to note that this research highlights the autonomy and agency of community activism rather than portraying them as helpless victims or passive accomplices of Irish State neo-liberal hegemony. In addition, for the purposes of this study I also treat geographical grassroots community activism in the form of popular mobilisation, protests and local resistance as social movement.

### **Community profile of Crumlin**

Crumlin gets its name from the Irish *Croimghlinn* meaning ‘crooked glen’ – the valley of the river Camac which winds through it. Crumlin was initially extended as part of a housing development programme by Dublin Corporation in the 1930s and 1940s. Historically it was considered part of Dublin’s outer suburbs and many of its newer inhabitants from the centre of the city considered it as part of ‘the wilds’ (Craft, 1971:68) with his famous caustic wit the notorious author and rebel Brendan Behan described it as the ‘bogs’ (Behan, 1965:21 cited in McKeown & Fitzgerald 1999:15), however with the continuing expansion of the Greater Dublin Area since this period, it is probably more correct to regard it now as part of Dublin’s inner suburbs. The Crumlin area is roughly rectangular in shape bounded by Parnell Road, Crumlin Road, Saint Mary’s Road, Saint Agnes Road, Kimmage Road West, Kimmage Road Lower and Harold’s Cross Road.

## **Population**

Research revealed that the population of Crumlin nearly tripled between 1936 and 1946 - from 12,480 to 31,593 - as a result of Dublin Corporation's house building programme there. Most of the existing corporation houses in Crumlin are now approximately 70 years old. The population of Crumlin reached a peak of 37,684 in 1951 and has fallen in every inter-censal period since then; in 1996 the population of Crumlin stood at 21,527, just over half of what it was in 1951. The census figures for 2011 shows the trend continuing with a decrease in the population to 19,290.

## **Housing**

Crumlin is similar to many parts of Ireland in terms of housing tenure with about eight out of ten houses in owner occupation. In 1961, only 15% of all houses in Crumlin were in owner occupation; this rose to 67% in 1981, rising again to 78% in 1991.

The data available for Dublin 12, of which Crumlin is part points to an older settled community that has not experienced massive immigration. The years of unprecedented economic growth did not impact on raising the relative deprivation in the area. In fact, the opposite occurred as all Electoral Districts in the area experienced increasing deprivation. There are major pockets of deprivation particularly in Crumlin and Drimmagh. Poor education levels and high unemployment are particular challenges that face these areas. Recent figures obtained from Department of Social Protection highlight the large numbers of people who are in receipt of benefits. (DSP 2012).

## **Social Class**

In relation to social class, Crumlin has a higher proportion of persons in manual occupations (55%) compared to Dublin (40%) and Ireland (43%); conversely, it also has a lower proportion of managerial and professional workers (16%) compared to Dublin

(24%) or Ireland (27%). In short, Crumlin is a traditional working class community (Mc Keown & Fitzgerald 1999).

### **Education**

According to the same authors (1999:12) 'More than a third (36%) of all adults in Crumlin left school before the age of 15. This is much higher than in Dublin or Ireland where about a fifth of all adults left before the age of 15'. Research has revealed that nearly two thirds of all adults in Crumlin (62%) have never progressed beyond lower second level education which is the contemporary equivalent of the Junior Certificate; this is a poorer level of educational achievement in comparison to Dublin or Ireland.

### **Community Services**

Crumlin does not differ significantly to many other working class communities in terms of its community services. It has two large Catholic Churches - Saint Agnes and Saint Bernadette, with community centres attached to them which are mainly used to provide services for the local elderly population. The area is served by a large number of local schools and has a number of sports clubs for soccer, Gaelic football, hurling and camogie. It has two youth clubs although only one of them is active. The area also has a number of residents associations although these tend to become socially activated only when there is a threat - or a perceived threat - to their locality (Mc Keown & Fitzgerald 1999). Crumlin lies within the electoral constituency of Dublin South Central 'The constituency is regarded as being one of the country's most left wing with four out of the five TDs from centre-left or left-wing parties (Cullen 2011).

## **Chapter summary**

The three chapters following this introduction outline and succinctly explain the research stages of this critical qualitative case study and participatory action research project. The first chapter begins by sketching a Marxist reading of social movements in the form of hegemony and counter hegemony as well as primarily locating this specific topic of interest within both a historical context and the broader academic social movement literature selectively examining previous studies, highlighting different perspectives and views within the relevant literature while simultaneously critiquing, analysing and evaluating this work.

The Methodology is the focus of chapter two. It is an explicit Statement of what I did, as well as how and why I did it. It outlines and discusses the research design, touching upon sampling, the methods of data collection, ethical considerations and the underlying reasoning for my selection. It concludes with a brief reflexive discussion of the limitations of the research methods utilised, problems and issues that arose during the research process as well as how I sought to overcome these. Chapter three outline the key findings of the research and discusses their import in relation to the research aims. The final chapter is the conclusion. This chapter briefly examines the implications of my research for the topic under investigation and its contribution to the existing stock of knowledge.

## Chapter 2

### Literature review

*A crisis occurs, sometimes lasting for decades. This exceptional duration means that incurable structural contradictions have revealed themselves (reached maturity) and that, despite this, the political forces which are struggling to conserve and defend the existing structure itself are making every effort to cure them, within certain limits, and to overcome them. These incessant and persistent efforts ... form the terrain of the 'conjunctural' and it is upon this terrain that the forces of opposition organise (SPN, 1971:78).*

### Introduction

This literature review is divided into three sections. I begin this section by outlining and explaining key concepts and themes directly related to my area of social inquiry. I define a range of relevant terms including; neoliberalism and austerity, and social movements.

The following section is primarily theoretical, taking the Gramscian problematic of 'organic crisis' (inherent within the processes of capitalism) and the concept of 'hegemony', as the starting point for theorising Irish State responses to the 'great recession' (Fraser et al 2013) and the emergence of subaltern grass-root resistance in the form of a community movement. In essence I apply Gramsci's theory of 'hegemony' and 'counter hegemony' as a framework for discussing this moment in Irish economic, socio-political history (2008-2014). I make the case that the current anti-water chargers movement constitute a counter-hegemonic subaltern force and as such, may help us understand the potential therein for radical transformation. To cite de Nardis and Caruso (2011:20) 'The development or nondevelopment of subaltern masses is for Gramsci a fundamental hermeneutical principle in the analysis of historical processes.

The most important historical factor is not, in fact, represented by the development of economic forces but rather by people's ability to organize into a collective will'.

The final section begins with a brief overview detailing the specific historical peculiarities of the Irish State leading up to the onset of crisis in 2008 and beyond. In doing so it aims to provide a context for understanding how 'the broader structural and cultural conditions' pertaining to Ireland both 'facilitate and constrain the emergence and operation of social movements'.(Snow et al 2006:4) It then moves on to selectively survey and critically engage with the existing literature on Irish social movements, community and other knowledge and ideas pertaining to this area of study, before concluding the review with both a brief synopsis and a reasoned argument as to why this particular research study is deserving of academic inquiry.

## **Key concepts, themes and Definitions**

### **Social movements**

If communities involved in the anti-water charges constitute a social movement, then what type of social movement is it in other words how we may define it? In his book 'Trying to Make Sense of Social Movements' Crossley concludes that (2002:7) there are no watertight definitions of social movements, instead they share a 'family resemblance' rather than a fixed meaning and their explanation ultimately 'rests upon the fuzzy logic of ordinary language use'. Flack (2005:5) attempts to capture both a shared consensus across movement studies and some of the broad similarities by suggesting that 'they are collective efforts, of some duration, and organisation, using non-institutionalised methods to bring about social change'. Despite this intellectual effort for a semblance of clarity, there is no one size fits all categorization of social movements, in fact one author referred to the difficulty of concise definition as 'a theoretical nightmare' (Barker et al, 2013:47). In addition not all movements are or can



be deemed as progressive; therefore it becomes necessary to differentiate between types of social movements. For the purposes of this research study I have adopted the following description: Social movements are forms of collective action that emerge in response to situations of inequality, oppression and/or unmet social, political, economic or cultural demands. They are comprised of ‘an organised set of constituents pursuing a common political agenda of change through collective action’ (Batliwala 2012:3). As an addendum to this, Horn (2013:10) also notes that ‘Recent history has shown that social movements remain a significant force for challenging inequalities and exclusions in society and for proposing new models and visions for more egalitarian and just social, economic and political power relations’.

### **Neoliberalism**

According to Harvey (2005:2): ‘Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterised by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade’. The function of the State in a neoliberal model is primarily to construct and maintain an institutional framework conducive to such practices and their subsequent development. From its ascendancy in the 1970s, Harvey also notes of that this particular capitalist orthodoxy has ‘become hegemonic as a mode of discourse’ with pervasive effects on ways of thought to the point where it has been incorporated into the common sense way many of us interpret, live in and understand the world’ (2005:3).

In short, ‘Neoliberalism can be understood as a particular mode of socioeconomic organisation based around the primacy of the market-a process that is translatable into every single aspect of contemporary life’ (Askanius and Gustafsson 2010:35). Kitchin et al (2012:1306) asserts that ‘a certain species of neoliberalism’ has developed in

Ireland which is ‘ideologically concealed, piecemeal, serendipitous, pragmatic, and commonsensical’. Contemporary Irish Governments while never having espoused an explicit neoliberal ideology, aside from a few ministers (Kirby, 2010), nonetheless displayed, especially over the latter years of the Celtic Tiger period, numerous practices which unequivocally bear the hallmarks ‘discursively and materially with key processes of neoliberalisation’ (Peck and Tickell, 2002 cited in Kitchin et al 2012:1306). In Ireland, as elsewhere, the solutions to the economic crisis are a packaged configuration of different tactics embedded within a new strategic cycle of neoliberalisation with austerity type responses visibly prominent.

### **Austerity**

Austerity is a powerful idea, conceptually problematic and empirically slippery. Blyth (2013:2) defines austerity as: ‘a form of voluntary deflation in which the economy adjusts through the reduction of wages, prices and public spending to restore competitiveness, which is (supposedly) best achieved by cutting the State’s budget, debts and deficits’. This same author (2013:73) persuasively contends that what has happened since the initial onset of the global crisis in 2007 is the ‘greatest bait and switch in modern history’ as business elites, bankers and European politicians have sold a private banking crisis to citizens as a sovereign crisis. This sleight of hand tactic is now clearly evident in Ireland, with Fraser et al (2013:50) noting that ‘the trajectory of Irelands crisis period from 2008-2012 has been dominated by the State’s efforts to rescue the financial system via an act of class restoration that redistributes the burden of paying bank debts from financial and property elites to ordinary workers and citizens’.

Harvey (2005:16) argues that one of the underpinning design logics behind the neoliberal project was to restore class power to an elite by strategically aligning State resources and supports to this strata of society (Kitchin et al 2012:1319). In following

this type of carefully crafted neoliberal rationale, the Irish State have not only shown their ruling class credentials and allegiances through prioritising capital at the expense of labour but have through their raft of neoliberal inspired actions primarily in the form of austerity, structural adjustments and the socialisation of debt openly declared class war.

## **Power**

‘Power is one of the most central-and contentious-concepts in the social sciences’ (Beland, 2006:1). Haugaard (2002:2) adds to the complexity by pointing out that ‘there will never be a single concept of either political or social power because each usage takes place within local, tacit or explicit, theoretical systems’. Given the overriding consensus that power is not an easy concept to define, different theorists throughout history have grappled with its innate complexity and sought to tame its conceptual unruliness and give it a semblance of theoretical coherence. The broad gambit of existing power theories are testimony to its staid reluctance to be singularised. Nonetheless, it has been honed into a series of universally accepted workable frameworks.

While each theory, has been vigorously contested and debated over time, their continued prominence in social scientific literature and their extensive utilisation by varying authors, points to an acknowledgement within social science of the degrees of explanatory and analytical value each theory retains. In addition, they are widely recognized by many social scientists as an integral and indispensable part of their conceptual toolbox to explain and make sense of power relationships.

In addressing the issue of contemporary Irish State-society relations, it is exceedingly difficult to find one theory of power that is all encompassing and theoretically astute enough to capture the minutiae and complexities of these fluid and dynamic

interactions. While, I would argue that all traditional theories of power: Marxist; elite; corporatist; pluralist; radical and patriarchal have some degree of analytical purchase in understanding different aspects of Irish State-society relationships over the lifetime of the State, I make the case that a Marxist theory of power, despite some inherent limitations, nonetheless offers a more powerful, politically potent overarching theoretical framework for both comprehending and differentiating the intricacies and complexities of Irish State-society relations in contemporary Ireland. Such an analysis not only seeks to explain but goes beyond more nuanced descriptive power theories to offer a political normative perspective on existing societal relationships as mediated in diffuse ways by the Irish State, the capitalist market and Irish civil society.

Gramsci's (1891-1937) theory of 'Hegemony' sought to explain power relations within State and society and the strategic alliances involved in both the maintenance of power and the taking of power. Movements from above and movements from below have historically engaged in an incessant struggle, waged on the battleground of civil society. Such a struggle has inevitably involved the strategic construction and fostering of power relations and political strength primarily through the formation of coalitions.

### **Why Gramsci?**

Many people, unaware of Western Marxist doctrine will rightly query why an Italian Communist-Antonio Gramsci (1891-1937) is relevant to the contemporary study of Irish political and social affairs. Western Marxism often emphasises the importance of the study of culture and ideology for an adequate Marxist understanding of society. As a committed revolutionary activist and theorist, he sought to learn the lessons of the defeat of the post-war revolutionary wave, not just in Italy, but throughout Europe, thus his corpus of work provides us with both analytical conceptual instruments and a normative and emancipatory orientation often absent in academic social movement

studies for comprehending and elucidating elite power politics and realizing the emancipatory potentiality inherent in and emanating from projects of critical research. As Cox and Nilsen (2014) argue Marxism is both a theory of and for social movements.

In addition, and perhaps more importantly his focus on ideological and cultural hegemony as a powerful dynamic force in both suppressing dissent and securing the consent of the exploited and oppressed to their own domination gives us a heuristic tool for focused investigation of the social relations of power operating in society. In short ‘we may think of Gramsci as Marxism’s sociologist’ (Burawoy 2001:1). Conversely, it is important to State that some theorists reject Gramsci’s work as being outdated and immaterial to analysing present contemporaneous political situations, claiming that ‘it is too time and place specific to be of use or that the lack of consistency and comprehensiveness of its conceptualizations limits its coherence’ (Jubas 2010:225).

### **Antonio Gramsci and the theory of Hegemony**

What was of profound significance in Gramsci’s theory was the extraordinary insights he provided into an exceptionally wide range of issues pertinent to working class struggle. He argues that ‘culture, politics and the economy are organized in a relationship of mutual exchange with one another, a constantly circulating and shifting network of influence. To this process he gives the name *hegemony*’ (Jones, 2006:5 *italics in original*). Hall (1999:9) elaborates on this dynamic process:

...his notion of ‘hegemony’ forces us to reconceptualise the nature of class and social forces: indeed, he makes us rethink the very notion of power itself—its project and its complex ‘conditions of existence’ in modern societies. The work on the ‘national-popular’, on ideology, on the moral, cultural and intellectual dimensions of power, on its double articulation in State and in civil society, on the inter-play between authority, leadership, domination and the ‘education of consent’ equipped us with an enlarged conception of power, and its molecular operations, its investment on many different sites. His pluri-centered conception of power made obsolete the narrow, one-dimensional conceptions with which most of us had operated.

Hegemony is a concept that emerges progressively in Gramsci's prison writings, and its full meaning cannot be appropriately seized without examining its place within Gramsci's overall studies and its composite relations to the other major aspects of analysis taken up in the Prison Notebooks (See Hoare & Nowell Smith, 1971, Forgas, 1988).

The concept of hegemony had a long history in Russian Marxist literature. It had been a term previously used by Marxists such as Lenin to signify the political leadership of the working-class in a democratic revolution (Anderson' 1976:15). Gramsci, however greatly expanded upon the meaning of the concept, to include the development of a rigorous analysis of how the ruling capitalist class in the form of the bourgeoisie creates and sustains its control through a mix of consent and coercion (Anderson 1976:20): 'the supremacy of a social group manifests itself in two ways, as 'domination' and as 'intellectual and moral leadership' and 'The 'normal' exercise of hegemony on the now classical terrain of the parliamentary regime is characterized by the combination of force and consent, which balance each other reciprocally, without force predominating excessively over consent' (Gramsci 1971:215).

For Gramsci, the social group was not representative of a single class but, rather a shifting and fragile alliance of different social classes with cultural domination stemming from a complex interplay of constant negotiations, alignments and reconfigurations within society: '...the fact of hegemony presupposes that account be taken of the interests and the tendencies of the groups over which hegemony is to be exercised, and that a certain compromise equilibrium should be formed' (Gramsci 1971:216). In short, 'hegemony is a relation, not of domination by means of force, but

of consent by means of political and ideological leadership. It is the organisation of consent' (Simon, 1999:23).

Gramsci further developed the concepts of hegemony and the notion of civil society which is fundamental to it, to aid him in comprehending 'the complex nature of State power in the twentieth century' in Western capitalist society (Sassoon, 2000:70). Mayo, (1999:36) writes that, in Gramscian terms the 'Institutions forming civil society constitutes the cultural bedrock of power'. For Gramsci, education was the decisive, most influential of all the institutions of civil society: 'every relation of hegemony is necessarily an educational relationship' (Forgacs, 1988:339).

Other institutions included the Law, mass media, religion and so forth. Gramsci contends that, in Western capitalist societies as opposed to the East, the State is surrounded and supported by an ensemble of these institutions, which are conceived of as 'a powerful system of fortresses and earthworks' that make its presence felt wherever the State 'trembles' (Forgacs 1988:36). In such circumstances a full frontal attack on the State would be unlikely to succeed, instead an incremental strategic and sophisticated 'war of position' involving 'a long march through the institutions' (Dutschke, 1967 cited in Fontana, 2008:28) was a necessary prelude to taking power. For Gramsci, 'hegemony is characterised by a number a features: it has a non-static nature ...it is incomplete, selective and there exist moments wherein the whole process undergoes a crisis' (Mayo, 1999:38).

It is within the terrain of the conjunctural where the optimum possibilities lie for the subaltern class allied with other social forces to disaggregate the ruling class alliances and effect radical social change or seize power. However, he cautioned that 'immediate economic crises of themselves do not produce fundamental historical events, they can simply create a terrain more favourable to the dissemination of certain modes of

thought, and certain ways of posing and resolving questions involving the entire subsequent development of national life' (Gramsci, SPN, 177-85).

The real work of converting such moments of opportunity into meaningful and substantive social change rests with the subaltern groups, who must assume the responsibility of intellectual autonomous leadership, build expansive alliances with other classes and social forces and win the consent of the masses for their revolutionary programme.

One of the many key concepts which underpinned Gramsci's theoretical framework included 'his work on intellectuals as specialists in a complex historical and social division of intellectual labour' (Sassoon, 2000:4). Gramsci differentiated between traditional and organic intellectuals, the latter being of central importance as leaders and organisers in building and developing the capacities and skills of subaltern groups as a counter-hegemonic force adept at assuming power. In Gramsci's 1926 renowned essay 'Some Aspects of the Southern Question' he succinctly contends that the urban proletariat can only become hegemonic, a ruling class, if it can overcome its economic self-interest and win the support of the poor peasantry and southern intellectuals.

To summarise,

*Hegemony* is a set of ideological practices that maintains the status quo and produces *subaltern* individuals, that is, individuals who are excluded from any such relations of hegemony. *Counter-hegemony* is the process that challenges the status quo and the normative arrangement of political and economic relations, aiming ultimately at human liberation. A key component in the process of counter-hegemony is the role of *organic intellectuals*, the national-popular leaders and organisers from the ranks of the subaltern groups who aim to change the status quo by suggesting new ways of conceptualizing the world (Aronowitz, 2009 cited in Zembylas, 2013:2 *italics in original*).



## **Building a Hegemonic apparatus**

The central questions, which often emerges from social change work for new activist,s primarily revolve around issues pertaining to strategy and tactics. In line with this thinking, the first and most obvious theoretical question that arises from the existential situation is simply ‘what should we do?’ (Barker and Cox, 2002). Secondly, as we come to understand the agency of the various parts of the system, we ask ‘How will the system react?’ Thirdly, we have to ask ourselves, as struggle deepens and success does not seem easily within our grasp, ‘what will work and how will we win?’ (Cox and Nilsen, 2014:4).

In order to defeat political enemies and/or attain objectives we first need to intimately understand them and their modus operandi. It is through such requisite detailed understandings that plans of action can be purposefully developed and efficient tactics devised. Gramsci (1918, SPWI, 48-55) reminds us that ‘In life no act remains without consequences and to believe in one theory rather than another has its own particular impact on action’.

In a similar vein Lenin wrote that ‘There can be no revolutionary movement without a revolutionary theory’. Gramsci as both a scholar and disciple of open or humanist Marxist orthodoxy built upon this premise utilising both his own lived political experiences and drawing on past historical revolutionary failures and successes to articulate his own philosophy of revolutionary praxis and devise an expansive programme of necessary work for those committed to radical change and progressive social transformation.

Although he was writing in a very different period, this I believe that the theoretical ideas and contributions of Gramsci (1891–1937) have a significant contribution to make in analysing and understanding contemporary power and politics in Ireland and in

comprehensively strategizing to upend the existing ruling hegemony. In fact it is within Gramsci's elaboration of hegemony and its finessed constituent parts (common sense, war of manoeuvre/position, civil society, organic intellectual, national-popular) that its potent innovative potential is at once revealed thus recommending itself to those subaltern social movements grappling with the complexities and nuances of winning hearts and minds to the popular democratic struggles for progressive social and revolutionary transformation.

As Gramsci demonstrates in his corpus of work, rigorous analytical investigation of past and present situations pertaining to elite rule in all its manifestations is a necessary precondition for constructing alternatives. This particularly resonates with 'Gramsci's insistence that theory acquires meaning from its usefulness in analysing the concrete' (Sassoon, 2000:50).

Sassoon (2000:i) argues that 'drawing from the past and broadening contemporary sources of political and academic knowledge can contribute to a grounded, radical hegemonic politics which can shape change'. In line with this thinking I argue that Gramsci's theory of hegemony and its related concepts offers activists just such a possibility. Cox and Nilsen (2014:4) make the salient point that: 'As activists, we need something more from theory or research; we hope for the ability to think beyond our current understanding and identify perspectives that help us develop our practice, form alliances and learn from other people's struggles'.

Digging our way out of the contemporary mental trenches we find ourselves in and onto the political battlefield of civil society, adopting a strategic 'war of position', building alliances in the form of historic blocs while at same time fashioning and fortifying the collective will of the people through intellectually inspired moral, disciplined leadership

and actions of solidarity, are all Gramscian preludes to robust, effective counter hegemonic political engagements.

In short, there are no substitutes for the hard monotonous, painstaking slog of organising, educating and agitating of which Gramsci politically embodied all three. Hall writes that '[He] made himself *par excellence* the 'theorist of the political'. Moreover 'He gave us, as few comparable theorists ever have, an *expanded* conception of 'politics'—the rhythms, forms, antagonisms, transformations specific and peculiar to it as a region' (1999:8 *italics in original*).

Sassoon (2000:101) writes that 'if Gramsci's ideas are to be meaningful today, they have to be developed to take account of contemporary realities'. This aside, repetitiveness of grave historical errors in subaltern struggles, both in Gramsci's time and our own, particularly relating to factionalism, in fighting, doctrinaire thinking, sectarianism, elitism, (the first time as tragedy, the second as farce), has consistently bedevilled both political parties and social movements. These factors have often acted to constrain, or in other circumstances strangle both organisational capacity and overall ability to advance and expand.

Alliances are often doomed to failure as a result of such deleterious, small minded thinking. The lessons to be learned while patently obvious, nonetheless fail to be heeded. Such destructive elements need to be forthrightly confronted, challenged and ultimately rooted out. In the interim, mechanisms need to be put in place to address their malign influences, limit their disastrous negative impacts on overall struggle and build and cement consensus. Discipline, commitment, affirmation and solidarity are, in Gramscian terms the cement which often holds movements together. Broadly speaking, Gramsci held that the key tasks of subalterns is to educate, organise and agitate, with the 'organic' intellectual undertaking a key role in both preparing the ground, providing

direction, and accommodating the counter hegemonic activities of the subaltern groups by filtering ‘good sense’ from common sense. ‘For hegemony, at least in its purest Gramscian sense, is primarily a theory of the subaltern’ (Worth, 2011:82).

In order for subaltern groups to succeed writes Strinati (1995:169) ‘The revolutionary forces have to take civil society before they take the State, and therefore have to build a coalition of oppositional groups united under a hegemonic banner which usurps the dominant or prevailing hegemony. In other words, ‘the key to ‘revolutionary’ social change in modern societies ... [is predicated] upon the prior formation of new alliances of interests, an alternative hegemony or ‘historical bloc’, which has already developed a cohesive world view of its own (Williams, 1992: 27).

Brecher and Costello (1990) argue that the ideal organization for building counter-hegemony may not necessarily be a political party, but may possibly be some sort of ‘labor-community coalitions’ involving a convergence of labor and the new social movements around a shared vision.

An exposition of Gramsci’s theory of hegemony provides the point of departure for a meaningful discussion on the development and articulation of a comprehensive political strategy that goes beyond marching and protests. The challenge for Irish activists seeking progressive transformation is to build upon his insights and, put his theory to work in order to develop ‘strategic thinking, needs and capacities’ (Cox 2014) the method employed by Hall (1991:7) especially resonates here, which was to ‘think in a Gramscian way’ rather than rely solely upon textual analysis’ (Cited in Worth, 2011:391).

In addition, as Gramsci fervently argued, ‘the way to undermine the old is to construct the new’ (Sassoon, 2000:177). ‘Strategies pursued and theories relied on need to be constantly re-examined in a process of ongoing critique. No matter how insightful and

resourceful they are. The work of Gramsci...like those of other advocates of social change are not immune to this process' (Mayo, 1999:122).

To summarise, in this section I have argued that Antonio Gramsci's theoretical innovations retain a contemporary relevance and significance for how Irish activists attempt to make sense of our struggles, to uncover what is practicable and necessary to advance in those struggles and ultimately, if and when certain conditions are efficiently satisfied, how they can emerge from these struggles victorious. I have also concisely described and examined hegemony both as an analytical tool and as an instrument of strategy for radical transformation.

### **Movement context is Ireland**

*'Popular insurgency does not proceed by someone else's rules or hopes; it has its own logic and direction. It flows from historically specific circumstances: it is a reaction against those circumstances, and it is also limited by those circumstances.'* (Piven and Cloward 1979)

According to Cox (2011:2) 'the question 'what kind of movement context is Ireland?' is rarely considered seriously but should be an absolutely basic starting point for research and theory in this area'. The Republic of Ireland is a relatively young country by most European standards, having won partial independence from Britain in 1922. Politically dominated by two parties, Fine Gael and Fianna Fáil, for most of its history, the remnants of an acrimonious treaty vote and an ensuing bitter internecine civil war, with the latter holding political office since 1932 for 61 of 79 years. It has been variously described in the academic literature as a Catholic, conservative, clientelist, corporatist, classless and a late-moderniser (Tovey, Share and Corcoran 2007; Breen et al 1990). 'The two major power blocs in Irish society since 1922 have been the State and the Catholic Church. ... But the history of the relationship between Church and State in

modern Ireland has been characterised not by struggle but rather by peaceful coexistence, each maintaining the power of the other' (See Inglis 1998: 77).

It is also widely acknowledged as being a capitalist Liberal democratic State with a small open economy. In addition, more recently Ireland is classified in international political studies as operating a neo-liberal right wing ideology over the last 10-15 years (Esping Anderson, 1990, Murphy, 2006, Casey, 2007, Geoghan and Powell, 2009 cited in Lynch 2010:11). Patriarchy is usually taken as a given in most Western democratic societies and as such is rarely used as a key descriptive characteristic, however the indelible incorrigible stain it has left on Irish State-society relations and the significant derisive misogynist role that it has played in shaping and influencing Irish political discourse and policy-making requires official acknowledgement.

In more recent times, the Republic of Ireland had earned the title of being the most globalised country in the world (Murphy 2011) a badge it wore with pride during its economic heyday in what became known as the 'Celtic Tiger' era. However its emblematic economic neo-liberal tag has now been somewhat simply replaced, by a sign that reads-bankrupt.

Despite surface appearances, the political mould that was set at the inception of this new fledging Free State, has changed little in its fundamental characteristics since then, and is still clearly identifiable in its institutional political framework, its distinctive clientelist political culture and its overwhelming economic accommodation and deference to the various owners of national and global capital. An ensuing bitter civil war, an ascendant and powerful Catholic Church and a nascent bourgeois farming class were to add to the colour of the already dyed political cast.

According to Considine and Dukelow (2009:25):

...economic and religious influences gained the upper hand over concerns with equality and social rights once Ireland gained Independence. Thus the early decades...were marked by a conservative and cautious approach to welfare expenditure. In addition, there was a strong Catholic influence on policy making; a value system based on rural, patriarchal family living was adhered to; and there was little room for redistributive policies, leaving class distinctions and unequal relations between men and women undisturbed and obscured by a vision of a harmonious agrarian society.

After a decade of rule, Cumann na Ghaedheal was to be replaced by a new political party Fainna Fail in 1931. This populist Republican Party was to have a deeply lasting and profound political impact on Irish State-society relations. Their hegemonic rule and political legacy continues to resonate in all aspects of Irish life, despite their unceremonial, well publicised exit from political office in the last few years. To borrow a phrase from James Connolly if the 'British were masters of ruling by fooling' then Fainna Fail took 'ruling by fooling' to a new refined and exacting level, in their exercise of State power for the duration of their time in high political office and it is to these related matters that we, now turn.

If the emperor in the form of a Fainna Fail government had no clothes, it was to take an unprecedented global cum national financial tsunami in 2008 to expose and reveal the true nature of State power and class interests in Ireland. If proof was needed that the Irish State was an instrument of the ruling class, then the Banking guarantee scheme in 2008, the establishment of NAMA, the bailing out of Anglo Irish bank among other financial institutions and the subsequent and on-going austerity measures that came in its wake was in many ways tangible, irrefutable evidence that the interests of capital were far and above superior to the economic needs and the social welfare of the majority of Irish citizens. There appears a certain resonance to Marx's (1848) maxim that 'The executive of the modern State is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the bourgeois class'.

The decision to open up the economy in 1958 to foreign direct investment set in train a different set of political circumstances for the State to contend with and had longer term political and societal repercussions and ramifications, far exceeding those that were countenanced at that particular epoch. Ireland's overzealousness to be a welcoming host of international capital was reflected in a myriad of financial incentives underpinned by a rather generous tax regime. State-society relations were to be held hostage to these new economic circumstances to the present day. Native economic elites were gradually to be supplanted by an array of International doyens of capitalism who took full advantage in utilising and exploiting the Irish States readiness and enthusiasm to act as a facilitator and an arbiter of multi-national corporations and trans-national capitalism.

The Republic of Ireland was inexorably to become became a tax clearing house (McCabe 2013) and temporary financial launch pad for transnational corporations and the wealthy global elites. Taft (2013:72) agrees writing that 'Ireland has been a safe haven for multinational profits since the 1950s'. In the economic malaise that Ireland finds itself in today, with economic sovereignty ceded to the credit controllers and managers of global neoliberal capitalism under the guise of the 'Troika' (the European Commission (EC) the European Central Bank (ECB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), power relations have shifted, and it is apparent that it is the international ruling class who now clearly dominate the intellectual thinking, functions and political priorities of the Irish State.

Ireland has been crisis driven for most of it historical political and economic life, when it seemed that it had come of age and left its political and economic adolescent past behind in the era of the 'Celtic tiger' spurred by a model of neoliberalism and neo-corporatist social partnership that was born in the depths of economic and social calamity, in the early to mid-1980s (Geoghegan and Powell 2006; Moran 2009), it was



to profoundly disappoint. ‘The Irish economic model which prevailed between 1993 and 2007 was widely heralded as a beacon of what the deep liberalisation of a small open economy might deliver’ (Kitchin et al 2012:1).

For several years the Irish State wrapped in its super hero cloak of neoliberal orthodoxy, strutted the world stage and basked in the glory of its new found status, feted by its neoliberal admirers like an Oscar winning film star, its ‘miracle economy’ a trophy to behold. Finn (2010) writes that ‘Neo-liberal pundits from Thomas Friedman to George Osborne urged the rest of Europe to ‘follow the leapin’ leprechaun’ down the road of low taxes, light regulation and flexible labour markets. After witnessing the transformation of Ireland from basket-case to economic paragon, who could possibly deny the validity of the formula?’

When the global economic house of cards on which such elite fame and capitalist fortune was built came crashing down in 2008, Irish fortunes followed suit and Irish society was once again plunged into the deepest depths of financial and social and political crisis. The official Irish State response was in many ways predictable, Government technocrats and traditional intellectuals in the Gramscian sense of the term were wheeled out of their ivory towers and command posts in their droves and onto the public airways to publicly announce that the only sensible response to crisis was neo-liberal austerity and to sharply decry and rebuke those minority of critical voices who dared to suggest otherwise.

*In every country the process is different, although the content is the same. And the content is the crisis of the ruling class's hegemony, which occurs either because the ruling class has failed in some major political undertaking, for which it has requested, or forcibly extracted, the consent of broad masses ... or because huge masses ... have passed suddenly from a State of political passivity to a certain activity, and put forward demands which taken together, albeit not organically formulated, add up to a*

*revolution. A 'crisis of authority' is spoken of: this is precisely the crisis of hegemony, or general crisis of the State. (Gramsci 1998:210)*

The economic crisis of capitalism that befell our shores was like no other crisis that Irish State had dealt with before, it was by Fraser et al (2013:38) account ‘the first proper neoliberal crisis in Ireland’.

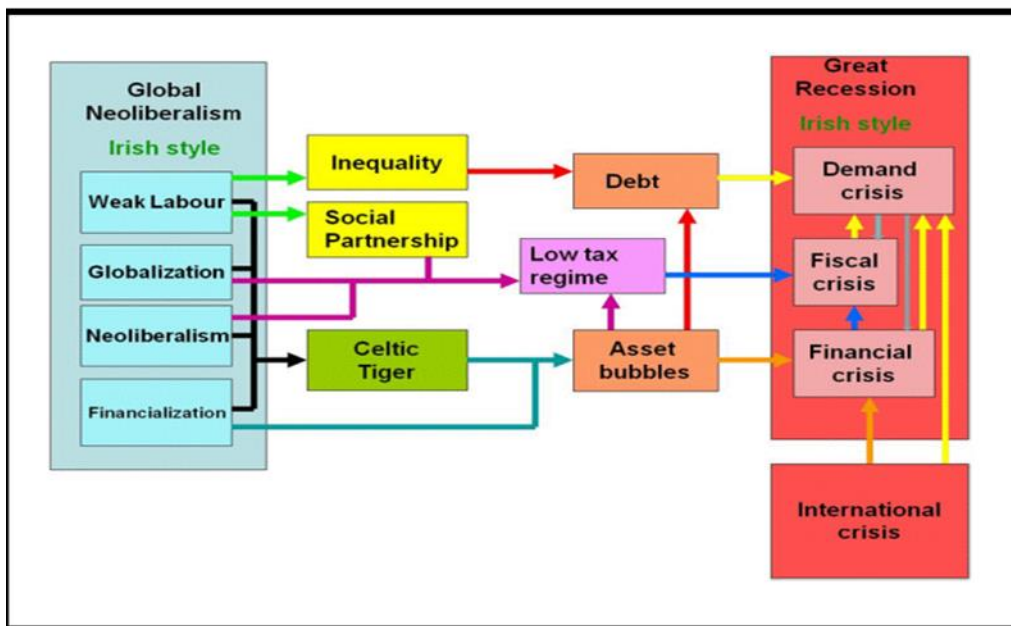


Figure 2 Source: McDonough, T and Dundon, T. (2010)

According to McDonough and Dundon (2010:12) the interaction of four broad dynamic influences, ‘globalisation; Ireland’s adoption of neo-liberalism, increasing financialisation; and the role played by a weakened labour movement’ allows us to ascertain how the Irish crisis has played-out.

The Irish economic crisis is evident in three closely interwoven aspects shown above: a financial crisis, a fiscal crisis, and a demand crisis. The Irish property bubble, the

financial mainstay of the Irish economy burst and the huge over exposure of Irish banks to toxic property loans became a national headline. The spectacular collapse of the banking and property sectors led to a severe contraction in the economy, with the drying up of finances, leading to a huge gaping hole in the public coffers; a far-reaching bank bailout, including the formation of the National Assets Management Agency (NAMA) which has obtained €74 billion of toxic debt from Irish banks; bank recapitalisation (Bank of Ireland) and nationalisation (Allied Irish Bank, Irish Nationwide Building Society, Anglo Irish Bank); massive State borrowing to service the bank bailout and the public sector spend; rising unemployment; and plummeting house prices.

This hazardous state of Irish economic affair resulted in Government bailout of €85 billion from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) – European Union in November 2010, and the electoral ousting of the Fianna-Fail-led government in February 2011 (Kitchin et al 2012:1303). ‘In the period 2008-10, many observers were surprised at how quickly and completely neoliberal orthodoxies reasserted themselves as the only substantial response to the global financial crisis’ (Cox 2012:1).

*The crisis consists precisely in the fact that the old is dying and the new cannot be born; in this interregnum a great variety of morbid symptoms appear* (Gramsci 1971).

### **2008-2014 Morbid Symptoms**

The widespread social ramifications of conscious deliberate political choices by both recent past and present Irish coalition governments have been traumatic in the extreme. The morbid symptoms have included: Long term unemployment, emigration, growing debts, a rise in suicides and mental health problems, housing evictions, homelessness, increases in deprivation and poverty and hunger, a broken health system with people on trolleys in A and E, and hospital waiting lists running into the thousands.

There is a widespread expectation in such exceptional circumstances that people collectively will mobilise, protest and resist such oppression, exploitation and domination. Such anticipations are rooted in notions of century old social class struggles, peasant rebellions and worldwide revolutions where heterogeneous social movements have formed and fought against tyranny and coercion. In addition, given what was already known and trumpeted about the deleterious effects and impacts of neo-liberalism from social movements globally since the nineties, Cox (2012:1) pointedly asks what many other activists were also asking in Ireland as elsewhere ‘Surely this crisis would bring others, especially in communities facing the brunt of the economic collapse, to agree with this analysis and look in different directions?’ The pathways to radical transformative change quite often lead to collective actions in the form of social movements from below.

### **Social movements in Ireland**

The academic literature on social movements in Ireland is intellectually scattered across the social sciences disciplines and relatively scant in their natural domains such as sociology, political science and human geography with a few notable exceptions (Connolly 2003; Connolly and Hourigan 2007; Cox, 2000, 2006, 2010, 2012 2014; Hearne 2015; Tovey; 2007; Leonard 2008). Such a lacuna in the literature seems somewhat surprising given the significant role that social movements have played both past and present in the shaping and reshaping of global and Irish affairs.

Additionally, from a social movement perspective the Irish historical propensity to crises would seem on the surface, fertile ground for the regular emergence of social movement activity of different constituencies and types, popular mobilisations and protests, indeed Ireland has a rich and vibrant history of rebellion and social and political struggle. Cox (2010:4-5) the foremost authority on Irish social movement

studies is keen to remind us of the scale, depth and regularity of our past and current widespread disaffection and grass roots resistance to British colonial and Irish State power through popular mobilisations and collective action:

Ireland is one of the few countries anywhere in the world where peasant movements (the Land War) achieved massive land reform. It is one of the two countries in Western Europe (along with Norway) which successfully achieved independence from a neighbouring power. More recently, the Civil Rights Movement brought the Stormont State down. The women's movement in the South defeated the power of the church and broke the "private patriarchy" of the past. Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer movements have reshaped Irish sexuality. At Carnsore, Ireland became (again) one of the few countries anywhere in the world to defeat nuclear power. The scale of community action, from housing campaigns via anti-drugs movements to contemporary community organising, is unparalleled elsewhere in the global North. In Erris, a tiny community is still holding off Shell and the State, 11 years on – and in the process massively upping the costs of any future resource grabs in the *other* oil and gas fields off the west coast.

‘Nonetheless, Meade argues ‘Ireland is not exactly overburdened with radical media organisation, critical networking forums or broadly inclusive social movements’ (2005: 369 cited in Murphy 2011:174).

### **Global waves of protest and Anti-austerity movements in Europe**

Since the onset of the financial crisis in 2008, demonstrations and protests have become a central and intermittent feature of many countries, cities and towns throughout the world, from Iceland, Tunisia and Egypt to Madrid, Athens, Dublin and New York. On 15 October 2011, the protests went world-wide under the banner slogan of ‘United for Global Democracy’ with coinciding marches, rallies, demos and occupations occurring in more than 950 cities in 82 countries (Red Pepper 2011).

In Europe vicious austerity measures, rising unemployment, and sovereign debt crisis in countries such as Greece, Spain, Portugal, Cyprus and Ireland have led to massive social upheavals and outpourings of anger and indignation spanning several years. Some analyses have regarded these demonstrations and popular mobilizations as a single

global phenomenon (Castells 2012; Mason 2012). These protests seem to share many common features such as anti-austerity, the condemnation of corruption, the critique of mainstream political institutions, the practice of participatory direct democracy, and sometimes the occupation of public squares. According to Sitrin (2012:3) these key contemporary features of protests were become popularised through ‘The Occupy movements throughout the United States, Spain, and Greece’ where many used forms of direct democracy ‘to create horizontal, non-hierarchical social relationships that would allow participants to openly engage with each other.’ The term ‘horizontalism’, from the Spanish *horizontalidad*, was initially used in Argentina after the 2001 popular rebellion.

Through adapting this approach to organising and decision making processes ‘The Occupy movements have put the issue of democracy at the centre stage of debate. Sitrin writes that ‘People have not felt represented in the ‘democracies’ in which they live, and they have exposed the connection of governments to corporations. People around the world say, in our many languages, ‘We have woken up’ and ‘We will not be put back to sleep’ (2012:8). This large global awakening exhibited in the wave of popular protests around the world has much interest and inquiry.

The journalist Paul Mason (2012) attempted to make sense of this global wave of protests and revolts in his book ‘Why Its Kicking off Everywhere’. The broad strokes of his argument emanating from the book are that ‘we’re in the middle of a revolution caused by the near collapse of free market capitalism combined with an upswing in technical innovation, a surge in the desire for individual freedom and a change in human consciousness about what freedom means’ (Mason 2012:3).

## **Why did the Irish not protest?**

‘The dominant perception is that Irish society has responded to the current economic crisis in a relatively muted, moderate and passive fashion’ (Murphy 2011:170). Such perceptions have drawn a mix of international and national commentary and invited a range of academic exploration and examination on the topic (see Allen and O’Boyle 2013, Cox 2011, Hearne 2013, Mercille 2014, Murphy 2011) with a broad consensus emerging from the literature by way of explanation for accounting for this perceived exceptionalism in comparison to European civil society responses to similar economic crises, bailouts and austerity measure.

Key factors cited included: neo corporatist arrangements in the form of social partnership, a tradition of emigration that acted as a ‘pressure valve’ in times of crisis well as historical, cultural and legacies rooted specifically in post colonialism, Catholicism and political populism which gave the institutional arrangements in the Irish State a specific character and shape conducive to strategies of ideological and social control.

Despite the dominant narrative perpetuated of Irish people’s acquiescence and feeble reactions to the State’s harsh economic responses to the crisis, Naughton (2014) contests the widely promulgated view that the Irish did not protest and that the consequences of the Irish government specific ‘troika’ bailout was accepted quietly.

Similarly Cox (2010: 5) also challenges these assertions of a passive response, listing various instances of Irish peoples protestations and mobilised resistance to make the case that the ‘Irish movement experience is different, but it is not less than the western European or the Latin American’. Despite the contradictions and differences noted, Ireland’s reputation as ‘a star pupil of austerity’ (Trichet 2010) underpinned by general public compliance persisted up until 2014, when unexpectedly, Irish people took to the

streets in an unprecedented campaign of widespread local community resistance to the Government's imposition of domestic water charges as part of an agreed EU-IMF austerity package of structural reform.

### **Community and austerity**

'Community is often very important, both as something people fight for and as something people fight with, a source of strength' (Cox 2014). UCC sociologist Hourigan (2015) writing in the Irish Times noted that

'...for those who have studied the history of social protest in Ireland, the traction gained by the anti-water charge campaign is less surprising. Water charges are both a national "austerity" issue and a profoundly local community issue. Furthermore, In Ireland as in other countries that have a past colonial history 'both the "family" and the "community" have a remarkably important place in the Irish value system'.

Ironically it was by their own admission but not in these words, the bungling misguided arrogance of government and their disdainful, threatening and foolhardy taken for granted approach to setting up the utility and the rolling out of the planned austerity scheme through the installation of local metering that ultimately back fired on them. In their anxious rush to please its European pay masters, they somehow misjudged the Irish working class communities' capacity to protect and defend themselves. As Hourigan (2015) recalls it was 'The water-metering process which brought a wave of installers into local communities in 2014 did indeed galvanise a new cohort of activists and swelled the anti-water charge campaign significantly. By late 2014, this group had forced the Government into a significant climb-down on the water charges issue'.

Any discussion of community in Ireland is somewhat problematic, due to its contested nature and the fact that community is a slippery concept defying neat categorisation, with its meaning and peoples understanding of it fluctuating over time. (Jackson and O'Doherty 2012:1, Devlin and Corcoran 2007, Hess 2007). Tovey et al (2007:5)



intimate ‘that there are clear tendencies for ‘community’ to be appropriated and used by the Irish State for its own ends, [nonetheless] the persistence of local solidarities and their creative and reflexive mobilisation by community members remains a distinction feature of Irish civil modernity’. Furthermore, ‘place itself acquires meaning through campaigns, and communities forge identity even as they mobilise against threats to their survival’ (Rootes 2007:722).

The tensions between State, civil society (in a Gramscian sense as part of an ‘integral State’) and notions of community have been exacerbated in more recent times by a neoliberal orthodoxy that promotes the idea that ‘society works best when each person individually seeks to maximise their own utility or satisfaction in the marketplace. Under this economic order, vulnerability or insecurity, which is part of the modern psychological condition, is directly related to our personal failings’ (O’Doherty 2012:6).

Additionally, this has further been compounded by a local and national process of social partnership understood by some as ‘State capture’ (Murphy 2011), or co-option in essence ‘the remaking of community struggle as a form of State-driven service delivery’ (CAP 2000 cited in Cox 2010:5).

In such a strategy the government have been shown to ‘not favour promoting the community as a whole, but rather selected leaders’ (Freire 1996:124). This has effectively politically neutered processes of community development and emptied it of its radical content. The traditional critical voices have been very much silenced, bought off with government funding, corralled into sectors and professionalised. In terms of political niceties ‘Community development has moved away from the politicised action that informed its birth in Ireland in the 1980s’ (Jackson and O’Doherty 2012:3), in what Gramsci would have termed, liquidated. The deliberate government induced dormancy of working class communities in urban and rural Ireland since the onset of crisis was

crucially awakened by the incursion of ‘Irish Water’ meter contractors into local housing estates. The principled idea subscribed to globally that ‘Water is everybody’s and nobody’s’ (Dwinell and Olivera 2014:49) was about to be tested in Ireland as it had been previously in other subaltern communities around the world.

### **Water Wars**

‘Fierce anti-water privatization campaigns and protests have occurred around the world over the past decade’ (Hall et al., 2005; Morgan 2004, 2005; Olivera and Lewis, 2004 cited in Bakker, 2008:236). Bakker notes that Bolivia’s ‘Cochabamba’s *Guerra del Agua*, or ‘Water War’, in 2000 has become a powerful iconic symbol of ‘the potential power of social movements’, and is fêted by numerous anti-water privatization activists as a triumph of community over private capital.’(2008:236-7). The logic of privatisation thesis is underscored by Dwinell and Olivera’s (2014:46) commentary that ‘the privatization of public companies under neoliberalism were not simple transfers of ownership from the public (however defined) to the private, but were accompanied by structural adjustment programmes to facilitate and encourage foreign investment’.

‘As a result of its commodification, water has steadily become the object of globalized economic processes – producing many vexing questions related to, for example: the role of the State and the private corporation in providing water to people; privatization of water services; and the role of domestic water regimes to provide water in a manner that is fair, equitable, transparent, affordable and sustainable’ (Kotzé. 2014:3).

According to Hall et al’ (2013:5) ‘There is now a new push for water privatisation, and it is driven by the austerity policies of cutting back public spending and public services’. These policies are being put into operation by national governments in several countries, and ‘imposed with particular stringency on countries that are subject to “rescue packages” from the IMF and the EU, which both include requirements for extensive privatisations, including of water services’. The package of austerity measures imposed upon Ireland under the terms of the 2010 EU/IMF financial bail-out package

included the introduction of charging for domestic water and sanitation services, which has led to the establishment of a new national water utility ‘Irish Water’ and involves a planned roll out of a nation-wide programme for the installation of domestic water meters.

### **Irish Water Wars**

There have been previous Government attempts to introduce private domestic water charges other than through the public tax system prior to the current effort. In 1997, Irish government abandoned their efforts to introduce a domestic water charge after a three year battle with community activists and others centred mainly in Dublin (see Sreenan 1998). The current campaign waged by the Irish Government at the behest of the ‘troika’ to impose domestic water charges has given rise to the largest non-politically aligned mass community movement since the foundation of the State. While national political and media commentary in the form of debates, discussions, analysis and opinion has occurred on an almost daily bases and invited periodic attention internationally, academia has yet to intellectually catch up with his ‘new’ community movement. To date, only one comprehensive academic study has been compiled.

This new report released in spring 2015 and titled, ‘The Irish Water War, austerity and the ‘Risen people: An analysis of participant opinions, social and political impacts and transformative potential of the Irish anti-water-charges movement’. The forty seven page report comprehensively and robustly describes the findings of a survey of 2,556 water activists and supporters undertaken between December 7th and 14th 2014 using an online survey tool ‘Survey Monkey’ and based on open and closed responses to a list of twenty questions. The author has stated that ‘It was a survey of those who are opposed to, and protesting against, the water charges, and not of the general population’.

This new research undertaken by Dr Rory Hearne and a cohort of MA students from Maynooth University (2015) has found that the recent water protests was motivated by a variety of factors and not just water charges. Additionally the survey also found that ‘, people are protesting at the impacts of austerity, a desire for complete abolition of water charges and against the privatisation of water’. Furthermore the report States ‘ they are also driven by the belief that the current government have, through austerity and the bank bailouts, put the interests of these banks, Europe, and the bondholders before the needs of the Irish people, and that the working, poor and middle income people have paid an unfair burden of austerity’.

The Survey participants variously identified ‘corruption’, ‘cronyism’ and a belief that the ‘establishment parties look after a golden circle of wealthy business people and corporate elite’ as central reasons for this new expression of public anger. According to the author, ‘this is the largest survey of a protest movement undertaken to date in Ireland, with the respondents coming from diverse geographical and occupational backgrounds’. Given the strong relevancy of this research survey report to my own area of interest, I have included a summary of the findings, taken from the report below:

- A majority believe that the campaign will be successful and do not intend to pay the water charges
- 92% stated that they do not intend paying for water charges and 90% felt the tactics of the Right2Water movement have been effective. This indicates a high level of confidence among protestors that the water charges and Irish Water will be abolished. It is also very supportive of the Right2Water trade unions, political parties and grassroots ‘Says No’ groups. Survey respondents believe the protests brought the water charges to the top of the political agenda and made the government “take stock and realise that the people of Ireland have had enough”

and that “they are not taking this one lying down”. Protestors intend to extend the campaign to boycotting the water charge.

- New form of citizen’s action and empowerment

A majority of respondents (54.4%) stated that they had not participated in any previous protest. Respondents felt the water protests have been successful because it ‘is a genuinely grassroots and local movement and has mobilised every village, town and city of this country’ and ‘rallied Irish people from all walks of life’. The respondents explained that, in their view, they have the power to stop the implementation of the water charges through large scale protest, non-payment and protest at water meter installations. This is different from other austerity measures such as the household charge where people did not have the same power to protest as it was enforced by revenue or cuts were made directly to wages and public services.

- Media portrayal

When asked, a majority of respondents described the media portrayal of the anti-water movement as either ‘undermining the campaign’ (46%) or ‘unfair’ (41%). 82.6% were most informed about the campaign from social media while only 6.4% of respondents relied on traditional media outlets.

- Desire for new political party and dramatic political change in Ireland

Very significantly, 45% said they voted for the main large parties (FF/FG/Labour) in 2011 but indicated that they are changing their vote to the opposition Left parties and independents in the forthcoming election. 31.7% said they will vote for PBP/AAA, 27.5% said for Left Independents, 23.9% for Sinn Fein and only 5.6% for ‘Right’ Independents. 77% of respondents said that they believed the most

effective way of getting change was through protesting while only 28% saw contacting a political representative as effective.

Despite the strong support for 'Left' parties, a large proportion (79%) want to see a new political party formed. They identified that the issues such a new party should stand on include anti-austerity; anti-corruption, anti-cronyism; radical political reform and democracy. They want it to stand for fairness, equality, social justice, and the right to housing, health, water, education and protection of the poor and vulnerable. It should also stand up to Europe (particularly on the debt), and 'take back' Irish natural resources (gas, fisheries etc.) 'For the people of Ireland'.

Hearne (2015) explained the significance of these findings:

The outcomes of the survey raise a number of interesting findings and reflections for understanding the Irish anti-water charges movement and its impact on the changing nature of Irish politics and democracy. It suggests that the water movement represents a new form of 'people-empowered' politics. Interestingly, respondents also made reference to the failure of the main political parties to live up to the 'ideals of the Republic'. What is clear from this landmark study is that the water protests have catalysed a process of empowering significant numbers of Irish people who had not been involved in protest or anti-establishment politics before which is likely to have a big impact on Irish politics in coming years.

The potential implications of Hearne's (2015) report findings are politically far reaching both for the future direction of the R2W campaign and perhaps more importantly for progressive social transformation in Ireland.

In light of this, they are crucially deserving of detailed unpacking, comprehensive serious analysis and constructive critique in order to maximise the possible benefits deriving from them, especially in terms of developing future aims, objectives, strategies and tactics for subaltern struggles, here and elsewhere. While such a rigorous undertaking is beyond the scope of this study, I nonetheless think it is important to

highlight some of the apparent weaknesses and abnormalities in the report, given the great political significance, the author rightly attributes to the findings.

I would argue that there some omissions and research biases that come to the fore when reading the report that weaken its analytical veracity. Hearne's failure to adequately describe R2W as a broad coalition and to credit all the tactics employed thus far in the campaign to this coalition, misses a very important if not crucial element in both interpreting the findings and addressing existing tensions. For example, not only does R2W and Sinn Fein not support a mass non-payment campaign but they have been largely absent in protests against water meter installation in local areas. There are, as R2W describe themselves, three distinct pillars comprising the R2W campaign, the political parties, the trade unions and the community (2015).

The community is by far the most active of all the three pillars and by all accounts in terms of their autonomy, networked form and campaigning function deserve to be treated as a movement in their own right.

The failure to differentiate between a movement and a party in posing the question...and then reading the respondents answers, largely as a vote for a new party further confuses interpretation especially given the high respondent rate in the affirmative. While surveys of this type are readily acknowledged for being particularly useful for capturing the breadth of a subject of inquiry, they nevertheless lack a richness and depth necessary for both capturing a lot of valuable experiential details and undertaking comprehensive systematic analyses.

## **Movement of Movements**

The current community movement in Ireland is comfortably enveloped into the broad parameters of what constitutes a worldwide ‘Movement of movements’ (Cox 2006). Water privatisation has become a global issue as has the radical resistance to its commodification which has mobilised and connected hundreds of thousands of people worldwide, the visits to Ireland by anti-water charge activists, particularly from Greece, Bolivia and Detroit is testimony to the interconnectivity and solidarities of such a movement of movements. Coupled with this we can discern processes of cross national diffusion both in terms of framing (e.g. The Right to Water) and tactical repertoires (e.g. use of horizontal forms of democracy, creative practices concerning social media). It is in a sense where the local meets the global, where working class communities, peasant’s movements and the dispossessed find common cause and shared solidarity.

## **Synopsis**

This literature review has outlined a Gramscian theoretical framework of hegemony, while judiciously drawing from many of the relevant concepts contained within this expansive model for both analytical purposes and to assist in developing normative theory. Furthermore, I mapped out the development of a historical landscape, noting important aspects which gives Ireland its unique political, social, economic and cultural characteristics and which in turn variously shape and influence social movement activity. Finally I described and engaged with some of the key authors and texts pertinent to this area of study; with a particular emphasis on factors and issues pertaining to community and grassroots organising against a back drop of neoliberal austerity and anti -water charge campaigning. I conclude this literature review by offering a rationale for undertaking this particular research project.



## **Rationale**

The review of the existing literature in this chapter has highlighted a current deficit in Irish social movement studies relating specifically to the current anti-water charges campaign and working class community struggles in general. Aside from Hearne's (2015) recent survey on the anti-water charges movement and a relatively small activist literature detailing community struggles and campaigns in Ireland (see Bisset 2008; Hearne 2011; Lyder 2005; Siggins 2010,) knowledge gaps quite clearly remain. For these reasons I believe that this research is not only both timely and warranted but that it can make a contribution to the existing stock of knowledge on social movements.

## Methodology Chapter 3

*'For apart from inquiry, apart from the praxis, individuals cannot be truly human. Knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry human beings pursue in the world, with the world, and with each other.'* (Freire, 1996:72)

### Introduction

The methodology chapter is commonly referred to as the 'how', 'why' and 'what' chapter, with the set objectives of informing the reader how the research was designed, why the study used the designated methods as opposed to others and what was done to gather the data. Moreover, it also offers a justification for situating the research within a critical theoretical framework.

This research project was carried out as part of my MA assessment in the disciplines of Sociology and Community Education, under the rubric of Community Education Equality and Social Activism (CEESA). The purpose of this critical qualitative case study was twofold; the first was to explore in partnership with fellow anti-water charge community activists the underlying rationale and motivations that has given rise to the emergence of the largest non-politically aligned mass movement since the foundation of the State, secondly the study also aimed to generate new information and insights that would be beneficial and advantageous to social and community movements in their various struggles for progressive social transformation. In other words, this study aimed to contribute to 'movement relevant research' (Bevington and Dixon 2005) and add to the existing stock of knowledge and requisite understandings.

## Research design

At the outset of this research study I was confronted with both the challenges and dilemmas of research methodology, of greatest concern was how to design an adequate, proficient and coherent research model that was equally robust and flexible to address research problems and answer research questions and withstand the tests of research rigour and validity. According to Jubas (2010) Gramsci clearly recognized, that particular methodologies are more amenable to critical investigation than others. Given the range of disciplines and topics of research as well as critical research's particular reliance on context and social change goals, in his estimation a single methodological standard is unviable:

To think that one can advance the progress of a work of scientific research by applying to it a standard method, chosen because it has given good results in another field of research to which it was naturally suited, is a strange delusion which has little to do with science. There do however exist certain general criteria which could be held to constitute the critical consciousness of every man [sic] of science whatever his "specialization", criteria which should always be spontaneously vigilant in his work. Thus one can say someone is not a scientist if he displays a lack of sureness of the concepts he is using, if he has scant information on an understanding of the previous state of the problems he is dealing with, if he is not very cautious in his assertions, if he does not proceed in a necessary but in an arbitrary and disconnected fashion, if he cannot take account of the gaps that exist in knowledge acquired but covers them over and contents himself with purely verbal solutions and connections instead of stating that one is dealing with provisional positions which may have to be gone over again and developed, etc (Gramsci, 1971: 438–439 cited in Jubas 2010: 234–235).

My considered response to the problems posed above was to adopt a methodological pluralist strategy (della Porta and Keating, 2008) combining a critical qualitative case study with a participatory action research approach within an overall emancipatory framework. The architectural design of the methodology was primarily guided by critical theory and drew selectively on Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci's (1891-1937) seminal work especially his 'Prison Notebooks' to inform my methodological decisions relating to this research project. Gramsci described his own political writings as a 'body

of practical rules for research and detailed observations useful for awakening an interest in effective reality and for stimulating more rigorous and more vigorous political insights' (cited in Hobsbawm 2000:12). Accordingly, I contend that Gramsci's theoretical and conceptual tools used to investigate social phenomena and social relations with a view to transforming capitalist society have a particular resonance with the study at hand and therefore provide much needed guidance and assistance.

### **Epistemology**

In his prison writing Gramsci quite clearly lays out his own epistemological position, which coheres and fits comfortably within a qualitative methodological framework (Juba, 2010:226). Moreover, he also spoke to my own deeply held view following Freire (1996) that intellect alone cannot produce knowledge, rather it is derived and made visible by authentic dialogue, collaboration and partnership drawing on lived experiences, felt emotions and mutual understandings within a given social context. Something that he quite clearly thought was patently absent or deliberately overlooked by the traditional epistemic community who exclusively privileged positivism:

The intellectual's error consists in believing that one can know without understanding and even more without feeling and being impassioned . . . in other words that the intellectual can be an intellectual (and not a pure pedant) if distinct and separate from the nation-people, that is, without feeling the elementary passions of the people, understanding them and therefore explaining and justifying them in the particular historical situation and connecting them dialectically to the laws of history and to a superior conception of the world, scientifically and coherently elaborated—i.e. knowledge. (Gramsci, 1971, p. 418)

This research is primarily attempting to ascertain both 'what is going on here' and examining the subjective understanding and attached meanings these community

activists as working class subalterns have of existing social realities as agents of change working largely within a working class community setting, hence the research on the one hand is primarily descriptive and exploratory in nature, while on the other hand it seeks to foster social transformation. The research study employed a number of qualitative methods: namely semi structured interviews and a focus group, supplementing them with desktop research and rudimentary analysis of a Facebook web page.

*“Washing one's hands of the conflict between the powerful and the powerless means to side with the powerful, not to be neutral.” (Freire 1996)*

According to Denzin, (1994:512) ‘researchers work outward from their own biographies to the worlds of experience that surrounds them’. A sense of injustice, feelings of mutual solidarity and an overriding commitment to assist in contributing to progressive social transformation were highly instrumental in my motivations for choosing this topic of research. In addition I was also drawn to this area of study because of my specific personal interest in the areas of popular education, equality and human rights. This interest was cultivated in part due to my own lived experiences of growing up in a geographical community of intense political conflict in the north of Ireland where inequality was endemic and such rights were often denied or non-existent. Such pervasive social inequalities were ring fenced in a denial of rights, a situation I believe specifically pertains in the Irish Government's neo-liberal policy pursuit of domestic water charges and their imposition of a raft of austerity measures at the behest of capitalist elites.

### **Qualitative Approach**

According to Silverman (2000:1): ‘The choice between different research methods should depend upon what you are trying to find out’. My selection of a critical

qualitative approach was primarily influenced by my overall Stated aims and objectives, however pragmatism was not my sole reason, as Denscombe (2005:228) points out the use of the term ‘qualitative’ strongly suggests an intellectual allegiance to a specific set of assumptions about the nature of the social world being studied and the most suitable way to investigate it.

The utilisation of a critical qualitative approach in social research is not devoid of social science critique. While there is a general consensus that all research methodologies have strengths and limitations, ‘the qualitative approach is often singled out in social science textbooks as being less scientific, and paling in significance to quantitative approaches’ (Silverman: 2005:1). Conversely, It is now accepted that an alternative set of criteria to critically evaluate research is more suitable for research premised around a post-positivist/postmodern world; ‘a world that is recognized as infinitely complex and without a defined ‘truth’; recognizes and values subjectivities; and is unlikely to be captured by statistics alone’ (O’Leary 2010:29). Moreover, Becker (1996:126) writes that a key selling point for a majority of qualitative researchers lies in ‘the significant epistemological and ontological advantage’ that qualitative methods permits, in order to ‘grasp the point of view of the participant’.

Qualitative research normally follows an inductive process, with an inductive approach, data is collected and theoretical insights are *derived from the data*. In other words, the theory is ‘induced’ from the data rather than having conclusions about what the data should look like if the data is true (Kalof et al 2008:85 italics in original). Despite the drawbacks and limitations noted, there remains a strong acknowledged claim by numerous researchers for the validity of this mode of research. A critical qualitative research methodology is particularly suited to this present research study and its requisite aims because of its capacity to generally provide an in-depth and interpreted

understanding of the social world, by learning about people's social and material circumstances, their experiences, perspectives and histories.

### **Participatory Action Research (PAR)**

*Participatory research is defined as systematic inquiry, with the collaboration of those affected by the issue being studied, for purposes of education and taking action or effecting change. (Green et al 2003:419)*

Taylor and Rupp (2005:242) highlight the fact that: The term participatory action research has been used in a variety of ways and in a number of different academic fields to refer to methods that democratise the knowledge process and aim to transform both the theories and practices of actors in local setting. In concert with Green et al (2003) they also perceive participatory research as ‘simultaneously a tool for education and development of consciousness as well as mobilisation for action’.

An essential methodological constituent factor in strengthening the democratic ethos of this study was participatory Action research (PAR). While all research is participatory Humphries (2008:5) asserts that a fundamental distinctive differential between conventional and participatory strategies is patently visible in the location of power in the research process. In addition she also notes that participatory research takes an overtly political stance, with a specific emphasis on ‘empowering disenfranchised and marginalised groups to take action to transform their lives’.

My overriding objective in utilising this approach was to achieve a situation where power is shared among researcher and research participants with the emphasis on the study being such that it is with and for the participants, rather than research on them. Moreover it was intended that by adopting such an approach that it would in some small measure contribute to a nurturing of emancipatory social transformation. As Fay (1993:

34 cited in Henn et al 2009:17) explains ‘to have the practical force it requires, critical theory must become an enabling, motivating force for its audience – it must, in short, empower them. This empowerment has emancipation as its goal’.

By extension, Fals Borda and Rahman (1991: 3-4) write that: ‘This experiential methodology implies the acquisition of serious and reliable knowledge upon which to construct power, or countervailing power, for the poor, oppressed and exploited groups and social classes—the grassroots—and for their authentic organisations and movements’. Notwithstanding its radical potential, they tempered their words by also stating that it is ‘not a finished product, an easy blueprint or a panacea’ (1991:29).

While taking on board such caution, this research study nonetheless had determinedly aimed to realize such a radical potential through the development of a community of praxis in which a process of collective consciousness raising or ‘conscientization’ (Freire, 1996), could be fostered through the course of the research in the form of dialogue and reflection enabling ‘people [to] develop their power to perceive critically the way they exist in the world with which and in which they find themselves; they come to see the world not as a static reality, but as a reality in process, in transformation’ (Freire, 1996: 64).

Gramsci also believed that the fundamental idea underpinning praxis was to create understanding of social relations and the ability to change them among the working class with research playing an important in this process:

Critical activity is the only kind possible, particularly in the sense of posing and resolving critically the problems that present themselves as an expression of historical development. But the first problem which has to be formulated and understood is this: that the new philosophy cannot coincide with any past system, under whatever name. Identity of terms does not mean identity of concepts . . . There may be different heads under the same hats. (Gramsci, 1971:455–456 cited in Jubas 2010:233)



## **PAR: theoretical merits and practical limitations**

As previously stated, participatory action research approaches regularly come with a ‘health warning’ from those researchers who have adapted it in their respective projects. For example Kindon et al (2007) cautions against getting carried away with high research ideals by pointing out that ‘participatory action research expresses large goals, not easily achievable’. PAR’s innovative and creative potential grounded in an ethos of democratic participation and partnership was, for this author its central attraction, however I was also mindful from a reading of the literature pertaining to PAR of its numerous challenges and limitations (see, Gillan 2010, Kemmis et al 2005, Szolucha 2012).

Some critiques of PAR have specifically highlighted concerns about ‘the under theorization of power and the possibilities for marginalization that occur within participatory processes striving for consensus and collective action’ (see Cooke and Kothari, 2001). This salient caveat was uppermost in my mind, due to the tensions created between satisfying academic conventions and timelines and at the same time sustaining a commitment to activism throughout the research process. Such tensions are further complicated, given that research is more often than not a messy, iterative and challenging endeavour that requires practical premeditated reasoning and organisation that grounds theoretical and planned aspirations and expectations in the lived reality of research participants.

As Schmidt, (2000) points out: ‘A central challenge with participatory action research (PAR) pertains to discrepancies between principles and practice. What sounds simple in theory (e.g., establishing a respectful collaboration) is often much more complex in real community settings’. Nonetheless, distinctive methods of movement-relevant and participatory research are currently being established in innovative forms that take on

board the various issues, needs and concerns of movement participants. A commitment to democratic processes and continual relationship-building involving all research participants underpins such approaches. While the customary role and status of academic researchers are typically challenged by such changes from what's considered the norm, the ultimate reward usually comes in the form of 'richer knowledge, speaking to participants' lived experience and contributing actively to a genuinely participatory democracy...' (Cox and Szolucha 2013).

### **Case Study**

Yin (1984:23) defines case study research as 'an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context, especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are not clearly evident'. In the realm of social sciences, case study is often recommended as a comprehensive choice of methodology but outside of the general consensus that case study places real life context in the forefront of the inquiry, 'there are virtually no specific requirements guiding' its use (Meyer, 2001 :329). Research qualities typically associated with case studies include; 'use of multiple ways of gathering information, a holistic concern with relationships between elements of the case, its usefulness in investigating new or little understood phenomena, and its basis in the concrete' (Meyer, 2001; Sturman, 1999 cited in Jubas 2010:235). In other words, it allows for a holistic in-depth exploration and understanding of complex issues, something that was particularly important to this study.

The case study method has been frequently criticised for its perceived absence of rigour and the biased predisposition of the researcher in their interpretation of the data. Foundations for establishing reliability and generalisability are also called into question when a small sampling is deployed. Notwithstanding these research critiques,

researchers continue to employ the case study method principally in studies of real-life situations impacting social issues and problems. Case studies from various disciplines are also extensively reported in the social science literature. (See Baxter and Jack 2008). One of the reasons for choosing this method was its appropriateness to my research aims. As Bevington and Dixon point out ‘There is little doubt that social movement histories and case studies can help inform other social movements (Green, 2000). And, indeed, from what we have seen, activists actively seek out these accounts. They offer valuable lessons that can then be translated by activists into their own movements’ (2005:191).

### **Sampling**

The study used a non-probability sampling method namely purposive sampling for recruitment of the research participants, believing that it was the most appropriate approach conducive to the research aims. Non probability sampling is typically used for exploration and qualitative analysis (Sarantakos 1993). In this particular study, the relevancy of the research subjects to the topic and the fact that it held the prospect for ‘a more intensive portrait of activities and actors’ (Schutt 2009:152) recommended it as an appropriate method for a community case study using a participatory action research approach. Furthermore, it offered the opportunity to gain an in-depth understanding that could yield important information about a broader population. (Schutt 2009:167). Herbert Rubin and Irene Rubin (1995:66) recommend three guidelines for selecting key informants when designing any purposive sampling strategy. Key Informants should be: ‘Knowledgeable about the cultural arena or situation or experience being studied; willing to talk; and representative of the range of points of view’. With these recommendations in mind I moved to the next stage of attempting to identify and contact potential research participants.

## **Access**

Initial access to the anti-water charges community campaign group in Crumlin, Dublin was achieved via an activist and friend involved in this local movement and whom I had got to know personally from time spent studying together as under graduates on the same course at Maynooth University as well as being politically active on campus. This had an added advantage in that he was both conversant with research and could personally vouch for my honesty, integrity and trustworthiness.

My first contact with members of the core group of the ‘Crumlin says no to water meters and charges’ campaign, was via a focus group in mid-November 2014 arranged by the ‘gate keeper’. The aim had been to collectively recruit the group by comprehensively explaining and detailing the initial research proposal, and the participatory action research (PAR) approach to conducting the study. It was also by way of introducing myself both personally and politically. As an ‘outsider’, it was critically important that the group had sufficient information and the potential means to judge my credibility, trustworthiness and honesty both as an activist and researcher who had more than a passing interest in the anti-water charges campaign and their contribution to it. While I was aware that establishing my credibility would be a longer term process, I also believed from my own life experiences that first impressions, were crucial to convincing the group as to the overall merits of granting me access and buying into the idea of collaborative research project.

Both a focus group and semi-structured interviews employed sequentially and supplemented by desktop research and a rudimentary analyses of a community Facebook ‘page’ lent itself to informing discussions, identifying themes and enhancing the potential production of raw data to provide conceptual clarity relating to the set aims

of the research project. In the following sections I describe each method and outline how they were utilised in the study.

### **Focus Groups**

According to Kitzinger (2005: 57), the focus group method is an ‘ideal’ approach for examining the stories, experiences, points of view, beliefs, needs and concerns of individuals. Focus groups are recognised and acknowledged within the general research community as a formal method of interviewing a group of participants on a topic of interest (Liamputtong, 2011; Morgan, 1997).

The focus group generally applies the same principles used in depth interviews utilising open-ended questions, and with the primary focus being on listening and learning from the participants (Morgan 1997: 9), these exact same emphasises also notably correspond to the ways in which participatory action research works as well. Focus groups are especially suitable to elicit multiple perspectives or responses on a particular topic or issue. They also permit the researcher to observe the dynamics of the group and interactions that occur between the various group members.

The drawbacks of focus groups mainly have to do with the potential restraints that a group setting can place on participant’s responses. Moreover, the mediator of the focus group must also be adept in group process and interviewing techniques to maximise the benefits and success of the research method.

The initial focus group meeting was comprised of nine people, seven males and two females, excluding myself. The meeting was held in an upstairs office of a local community centre in mid-November 2014 and lasted approximately two hours. After my opening pitch to the group there followed a lively discussion and good humoured interaction, it was largely free flowing needing little guidance or interjection from

myself apart from intermittent explanation and clarification of the proposed research project and responding to direct questions. While the overall response to the research project was positive, I could detect a reticence and cautiousness among certain group members regarding my bona fides as an activist scholar. This was to be naturally expected, relationships of trust invariably need to be built and respect earned over time and is part and parcel of the challenges of adopting a PAR approach as opposed to 'hit and run research' (Lynch 1999). Notwithstanding this implicit hesitancy all present agreed to cooperate in the research.

A second focus group meeting was initially scheduled for mid-May 2015 to discuss a summary of the initial findings but had to be postponed due to campaign activities in the local community. A further attempt to convene the meeting was also thwarted by similar circumstances, with only two out of the ten activists turning up and in the end, due to time constraints it was decided to abandon the idea altogether. Printed copies of the draft findings were distributed along with the agenda for the meeting by the two activists present and feedback was actively encouraged via personal contact and emails. The difficulties inherent in attempting to undertake research during a live campaign rather than retrospectively was patently apparent in this instance and is something to be more seriously considered when doing research in real time.

### **Interviews**

In the preceding period, eleven interviews were conducted mostly with those present at the first focus group meeting. An attempt was made to address the gender imbalance in the initial focus group by actively recruiting and interviewing female activists involved in the local campaign but who were not in attendance at the initial group get-together. Three women were approached separately to become involved in the study but only one acceded to the request. In the end, and after discussion with another fellow activist we

successfully recruited a female activist from a neighbouring campaign group in Walkinstown. This decision had an unexpected research merit in that it added a comparative element to the research study. An additional interview was arranged with John Lyons a community activist and People Before Profit councillor in North Dublin by a Crumlin activist in May 2015 with the intention of filling in knowledge gaps concerning the wider National anti-water charges campaign.

Webb and Webb (1932:130) describe the in-depth interview as: ‘Conversation with a purpose’. According to Bryman qualitative interviewing differs significantly in the approach taken by the interviewer. There are two main types of interviewing techniques; unstructured and semi-structured (2008:438). May (2004:120-1) asserts that social researchers need to comprehend the subtleties of interviewing, become adept in using the method and understand the different techniques of conducting interviews and analysing the data, together with an awareness of their strengths and limitations.

Given the study’s interrelated set of aims, I decided to opt for the semi-structured interview method. An interview guide was prepared drawing extensively from Kvale’s (1996) ‘ten suggested different kinds of questions’ (cited in Bryman 2008:445-6) and incorporating the key themes the study wished to pursue with the research participants (see appendix). A pilot study was undertaken prior to commencing the formal interviewing process. This was conducted with an activist and co researcher from the Crumlin core group with a number of set aims, these were: to experiment with and ascertain whether a narrative approach may be a more responsive and productive option to conducting the interview; to practice interviewing skills and techniques and to become familiar with the audio recording equipment. While the narrative technique worked well in this particular instance I decided, given the mix of different personalities

that a dialogic conversationalist approach would be more conducive to eliciting information.

### **The semi structured Interviews**

The in depth interviews with the research participants were conducted by myself and two other activists using an audio recording device. Ten guiding questions were prepared dealing with varying aspects of the overall research project (see appendice). Five of the interviews took place in an upstairs office of a local sports complex, where one of the activists volunteered, three in people's homes, one in a Dublin city council cafe, one in a local pub and another in a local community facility. They were all conducted at different dates between December 2014 and May 2015.

From overall impressions formed transcribing these interviews, it was clear that all were cordial and relaxed with the individual research participants all displaying familiarity with the subject of the study and the lines of inquiry pursued. Each of the researchers had listened attentively, to each of the responses, interjecting at infrequent moments to probe and/or seek clarification and elaboration. There was no set time agreed in conducting the interviews. The shortest interview lasted approximately seven minutes and the longest forty six minutes.

No ethical issues arose before, during or after the conducting of the semi structured interviews. As is common practice in research projects of this nature, all the audio recorded interviews had been safely and securely retained for authentication purposes until such times as the research has been completed. In addition, the research participants have also been given a copy of their transcribed interviews and asked for their feedback.



## **Facebook (FB) Analysis**

It was not the original intention of this research study to undertake an analysis of Crumlin says NO to water meter and charges Facebook page, given the significance that the majority of the community activists attached to this medium of communication it became apparent that FB was fundamental to all aspects of the campaign. That said, time constraints did not permit a thorough or systematic analysis. I gained access to the page via a friend as I am not a member of Facebook and over a period of a week I surveyed the administration postings, the materials posted, shared, viewed and liked as well as the comments posted over a period of a year (June 2014-June 9th 2015) (see appendix).

## **Values**

‘Research as a purely objective activity removed from all aspects of politics and power is a myth no longer accepted in the research world’ (O’Leary 2010:28). In short, no research can be value free. To cite Baker et al (2009: 16): ‘Research is inevitably politically engaged, be it by default, by design or by simple recognition. No matter how deep the commitment to value neutrality, decisions regarding choice of subject, paradigmatic frameworks and even methodological tools inevitably involve political choices, not only in terms of the discipline, but even in terms of the wider purposes and goals.

The issues of values constantly arises in the course of social research, while it is more commonly accepted that value free research is an impossibility, this, I believe should not be used as a pre text for a lowering of other standards in the research process. The study endeavoured to ensure at all times throughout the research process that the integrity and credibility of the research was not affected to any great degree by personal bias, following Bulmer (1984:5) who Stated that: ‘Sociological research, is primarily

committed to establishing systematic, reliable and valid knowledge about the social world’.

### **Ethical Considerations**

*‘Any research study raises ethical considerations’ (Lewis 2003:51).*

As a conscientious activist and scholar, engaged with other human beings in the pursuit of knowledge, equality and social justice, I was aware of my ethical responsibilities and obligations in undertaking social research. Such fundamental requirements are also laid down by Maynooth University and undergirded by the following overriding principle: ‘The rights and dignity of human participants in research must at all times be maintained. We acknowledge the diversity between people and the need to act with an ethic of respect and equality throughout our research activities’ (NUIM Ethics committee, 2014:8). Moreover the study was further guided in the research by the ‘three basic ethical principles to which all research involving human participants should adhere: Respect for persons; Beneficence; Justice’.

Taking cognizance of all of the above, I had endeavoured to the best of my ability to ensure full compliance and upmost rigour in ethically proofing the proposed study and in safeguarding all fellow research participants and data, throughout all stages of the research process. In short, ethical considerations; informed consent, rights of participants, confidentiality, anonymity, integrity, non-maleficence, and data protection, were instituted and maintained throughout. All research participants voluntarily gave their informed consent both aurally and in writing, with the exception of one. The research participants individually agreed to waive their right to anonymity. In addition, each research participant was also offered a copy of the thesis after completion.

## **Data Analysis**

Qualitative research is founded on ‘the theoretical and methodological principles of interpretive science’. Many qualitative researchers perceive analysis ‘as a description of events and of development of concepts, categories and hypotheses’ (Sarantakos 1993:298). Spencer et al (2003:200) point out that: ‘unlike quantitative analysis, there are no clearly agreed rules or procedures for analysing qualitative data’. On the same theme Corbin and Strauss (2008:71) writes that there is no definitive right or wrong method to conducting an analysis, it is, in their view ‘largely intuitive’. Despite this ambiguity the principal aim for researchers is to produce ‘new understandings’ by thoroughly examining and making sense of the data. This requires a suitable and successful strategy underpinned by ‘methodological rigour’ as raw data can be extremely complex and cumbersome, so much so that it is easy to ‘get lost in the detail and lose focus’. Employing a systematic approach without compromising on the iterative and reflexive aspects required should greatly assist in the process of analysis (O’Leary 2010:257-261).

For O’Leary analysis consists of: (1) identifying biases and noting overall impressions; (2) reducing, organising and coding your data; (3) searching for patterns and interconnections; (4) mapping and building themes; (5) building and verifying theories; and (6) drawing conclusions. Some researchers draw an analogy between mining in the everyday sense of the word and data analysis to effectively describe and explain both the technical aspects and the precision and focus demanded so that the end product-your findings ‘tells a full and powerful story that is in rich dialogue with theory’ (2010:263)

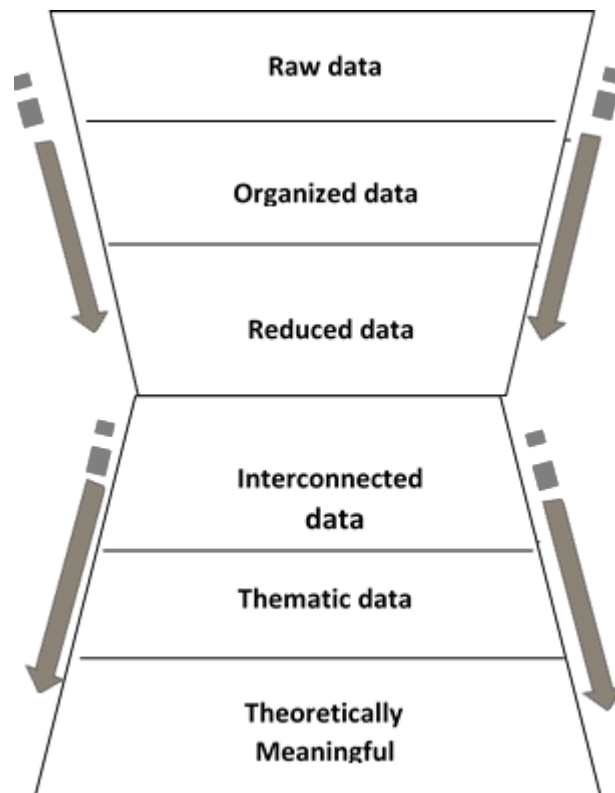


Figure 3 Source O’Leary 2010:263

While there were several data analysis options available O’Leary (2010) offered a simple, straight forward yet comprehensive approach that allowed me to ‘think my way through the data’. In light of this I decided to adopt her recommended approach to ‘the process of reflective qualitative analysis’. This required me to follow a number of sequential steps, which allowed for identification and categorisation of the raw data into a number of key themes for the presentation of findings:

1. Organise the raw data
2. Enter and code that data
3. Search for meaning through thematic analysis
4. Interpret meaning and;

5. Draw conclusions - all the while keeping the bigger picture, i.e. research questions, aims and objectives, methodological constraints and theory, clearly in mind. (O'Leary 2010:257)

An inductive approach was taken overall to the analysis, such an approach entailed familiarisation with emerging themes during data collection, and in the subsequent transcribing of the focus group and interviews, this developing 'intimate' relationship continued up to the stage of writing up. The data produced from both the semi structured interviews and focus group were transcribed and organised utilising the separate interview questions as an organising structure. Supplementary notes taken from interviews and focus group meetings assisted both the process of transcription and the ordering of the raw data.

Using a lap top computer I coded and categorised each individual's response to the individual questions asked using the pre-determined themes and headings of each separate inquiry. I then made multiple printed copies that I 'fine combed' using different coloured highlighter pens in order to identify and highlight the various patterns, themes, interconnections and ideas. I subsequently introduced the Gramscian framework I had adapted for the study along with the literature review to dialogue with the data to assist with the interpretation of meaning. This ongoing meticulous process is best described as iterative, rather than linear as it constantly involved retracing steps.

One of the key challenges throughout the process of analysis was to maintain the richness of the data without diluting its meaning. The research findings produced were rich in detail and covered, albeit to varying degrees, all topics of relevant interest and key themes. New unexpected themes also emerged which are briefly discussed in the findings section.

## **Reflexivity and limitations**

Reflexivity merges the process of deliberation with self-critical analyses. It thus permits the researcher to engage honestly in personal introspection, be more conscious of the influence they inexorably have on the research data they collect and enhances ‘the sensitivity of their analysis and interpretations of data’ (Somekh and Lewin 2005:348 cited in Humphries 2008:28).

My contribution to the Crumlin campaign since formally committing to working with the group in November has consisted of regularly attending core group meetings, assisting in printing and distributing leaflets, marching under the Crumlin banner at national demonstrations and helping to organise a successful local water charges meeting involving members of the Crumlin group as part of an activist ‘Grassroots gathering’ event which was held in the neighbouring area of Drimnagh, Dublin in April 2015.

At the latter end of this study, I produced a template newsletter and window poster (see appendix) using some of the research findings, humorous anecdotes as well as Facebook photos and materials from the ‘Crumlin says no to water meter and charges’ page. The idea for the newsletter came from one of the activists in the group. I hoped that the newsletter would both act as a stimulus for engaging with and reflecting upon the research and in improving upon my efforts would have some practical value for the local campaign.

Due to living some distance from Crumlin, attending college, working part time and various family commitments, my personal contribution to the Crumlin community campaign thus far was limited, nonetheless with the campaign ongoing and having more free time after completing college, I plan to dedicate more hours to working alongside the group.

In explaining the research proposal at the initial focus group meeting I had stressed that I wanted the research to be a genuinely collaborative project. All the research participants were initially invited to conduct their own interviews with fellow activists and I actively encouraged them to take up the offer throughout the research process. Despite my best efforts to adhere to the practice and principles of PAR, the majority of the research participants did not fully engage in the research study.

I believe, on reflection there were a number of reasons for this, perhaps central was my perceived status as an 'outsider' and the fact that we were in the midst of a live campaign that took precedence over research priorities. Notwithstanding this limited engagement I fervently believe that the participatory action research adopted in this research study was the correct one and that it retains its validity and merits as the most suitable approach in conducting critical research. Moreover, I believe its partial success does not negate its use rather it points up practical weaknesses that can be addressed and resolved in future studies.

There were eleven separate interviews carried out in total - seven male and four female activists. Seven of the activists, two women and five men out of a total of eight who had attended the original focus group meeting give interviews, unfortunately, and despite some initial enthusiasm (agreement) especially from the women, only two of the research participants availed of the opportunity to conduct interviews. One activist conducted three of the interviews and another conducted one while I undertook to handle the remaining six and to transcribe all the audio recordings. All the community activists who had participated in the focus group were given a transcribed copy of the audio recording of the meeting and were asked for their feedback, some remarked on different aspects of the discussion especially around the issue of democracy and group participation. Similarly, each of the activists were given a copy of their individual

interview transcripts and asked for their response. I distributed the individual transcripts once they were completed at the meetings, some of the activists interviewed who had yet to receive their own copy were anxious to see them and queried when they would receive them.

On deliberating upon the research process, I believe that both the focus group and interview transcripts acted as form of praxis and had facilitated an element of personal introspection relating to varying aspects of individual and collective activism, thus adding to learning and self-understanding. Furthermore I consider this type of PAR research to be a form of activism both in the documenting of social history, the production of local knowledge and creating a space for education dialogue, interaction and reflection. Conversely despite these successes the study's emancipatory aim through the conscious employment of a participatory action research was limited, concurring with the notion that 'an emancipatory intent is no guarantee of an emancipatory outcome' (Acker et al, 1983:431). A majority of the activists involved did not fully engage in the process I was personally tested by the many tensions arising from my position as an instigator and benefactor of the research, in such instances, there is a need to remind oneself of your own motivation and commitment for undertaking activist research accepting as Baker et al (2009:176) sum it up 'The dilemma posed by unequal power relations between the researcher and the research subject is not readily resolved', but always striving towards what 'Francesca Cancian defines as engaged social movement scholarship '...challenging inequality by empowering the powerless, exposing inequities in the status quo and promoting social changes that equalise the distribution of resources' (1993:92 cited in Croteau, 2005:27).



## **The research Process**

To borrow a phrase from O’Leary (2010) ‘taking a leap into the social research world’ requires a composite of learned skills, time management schedules and a life jacket made of infinite patience and rugged determination, While I made every effort to plan ahead and left ample room for contingencies etc., there are I contend some unforeseen events and circumstances in social research that can’t be catered for regardless. That said the world did not cave in during my research project nor did the issues that arose during the varying stages of this research process seriously affect or impinge upon the integrity and credibility of the subsequent findings.

However I was challenged intermittently by technical, practical and ethical issues during the research process that at times required, seeking advice of fellow activists various degrees of flexibility, reflexiveness and slight adjustments as each problem arose. For example a particular issue concerning activist subjectivity emerged in one of the interviews where a research participant spoke frankly and at length about a particular incident that involved other members of the campaign group. He felt very strongly about the issue and believed it had not been adequately addressed, thus much of the interview was taken up with the issue concerned and bore clear elements of anger, frustration and irritation. I subsequently discussed the issue with the activist concerned and the possible implications of printing his comments, he agreed that the interview was not the proper forum to air his grievances and that the best course of action was to omit those parts not conducive to building relations of trust and solidarity within the group. It should be noted that at no time did I seek to censor or silence the activist concerned. An ability to read and manage group dynamics is crucially important in conducting research of this type, especially when your status as an outsider prevents full disclosure of problems or you are unfamiliar or unaware of underlying tensions or difficulties.

Attesting to the credibility of your data and the trustworthiness of your results, in spite of obstacles you may have faced or restrictions you may have encountered requires honesty and explication. O’Leary (2010:38) cautions against the temptation to gloss over or down play limitations you may have encountered in the research process. Both methods used to generate the raw data i.e. semi structured interviews and a focus group did not present any significant practical problems. Bloor et al (2006:23) notes that: ‘Scientific research is typically evaluated using measures of rigour such as reliability, validity and generalizability. However, compared with quantitative research, qualitative research has been less concerned with the traditional application of these measures’.

While acknowledging the limitations of the methods (i.e. semi-structured interviews and focus groups) employed, in terms of generalizability, reliability and representativeness, it is widely accepted by those in the research community who use such methods that these limitations are balanced out by the richness of the data produced and the subjective understandings acquired (Schutt 2006: 20-23). These limitations have been offset in this research study by both using a multi-method qualitative case study design and supplementing this with a ‘thick description’ (Geertz 1973) of the research process and findings.

## **Summary**

In this chapter, I have introduced the methodology, the underpinning values that shaped its architectural design and the methods I believed were most appropriate to answering the research questions. While my ontological and epistemological standpoint had a direct bearing on the research design, I remained conscious and alert to the need to be pragmatic rather than dogmatic, thus ensuring that the methodologies employed were fit for purpose in achieving my overall research goals. An explicit acknowledgement of

my own research bias outlined at the outset of this research affords the reader an ability to judge and evaluate the rigour of the research process and outcomes.

This research project had identified an area of social movement studies that I believed warranted inquiry. Its primary aims, objectives and an underpinning rationale have been firmly established. The aforementioned epistemological and ontological stance of the researcher is reflected in the research design and methods chosen, and that it is I believe both consistent and coheres with the Gramscian theoretical lens chosen in conducting this study. The next chapter is a presentation and discussion of key finding and finishes with a conclusion.

## Findings and Discussion Chapter

### Introduction

Chapter three outlined and discussed the epistemological and methodological choices made in conducting this study. These specific choices have a bearing on the presentation and analysis of the data in this chapter.

The participatory action research (PAR) approach adopted as an integral part of the study created a learning space and facilitated local community activists currently engaged in an ongoing campaign of resistance and opposition to water charges to both discuss and critically reflect on both the personal and the political aspects and dimensions of collective action and individual participation in the campaign. By actively and selectively engaging both at an individual and collective level in the research process they became authors, editors and producers of knowledge.

Two middle-aged family men from opposite ends of Crumlin, Dublin 12 and a Facebook page were the rudimentary beginnings of a local community fight back against water charges in the summer of 2014. As the local campaign gathered momentum, (ironically on the back of Irish waters incursion into the community to install water meters) these men were soon joined by other residents and supporters, male and female, young and old from a diverse range of occupations and backgrounds culminating in the establishment of ‘Crumlin says no to water meters and charges group’.

This research study collaboratively and in a spirit of cooperation both documents and analyses this local community fight back. It tells a story of how a group of largely middle aged working class people, new to activism and with few resources, knowledge,

skills or experience began to educate themselves and others, organise and develop their campaign as well as simultaneously agitate locally and nationally in open defiance and collective opposition to the Irish government's imposition of water charges. The account of this fight back uses a selection of key research findings variously drawn from both a focus group meeting and ten semi structured interviews with activists from Crumlin and one female activist from Walkinstown. It is also supplemented by details taken from a Facebook page established by the group at the outset of the campaign.

The chapter has been organised and presented under thematic headings appropriate to the research aims and objectives. They are interspersed by a selection of direct quotations taken from the attentive 'conversations' with the activists. They are in many senses both a recorded social history of a mainly unemployed, predominately male urban working class community activist core group who through a process of conscious decision making have found themselves at the forefront of a counter hegemonic struggle in what is quite clearly an unambiguous display and demonstration of their agency, dynamism and hunger for progressive radical social change.

Moreover, these activists' stories provide a counter weight and refutation to official government and intellectual narratives of the Irish crisis, water charges and austerity. It publically unveils their thoughtful and critical reflections on many key aspects of contemporary working class struggle. Furthermore, it also highlights various structural and organisational dimensions, decision making processes and disparate outcomes of their own innovative practice as new community activists centrally involved in a grassroots campaign of defiant resistance and opposition to the Irish State's enforcement of water charges and meters and their steadfast commitment to social, economic and political issues that deeply affect and concern them.

Many other themes emerged from the collated data, which unfortunately could not be included here due to space constraints nonetheless they are important to acknowledge, these include issues relating to patriarchal attitudes, global issues and the real and perceived impacts and outcomes the campaign has had on the local community and the activists themselves thus far. It is important to note that I use the terms research participant and activist interchangeably to denote the participatory and collaborative ethos of the research.

### **The emergence of a counter hegemonic struggle**

The 28<sup>th</sup> August 2014 was D day for Crumlin. Irish water, the newly established utility had informed local residents by post a few days previously that they intended to meter the area and to expect their arrival. The few existing local activists had anticipated their impending arrival and had prepared as best they could for such an eventuality. A communique was drafted by one of the founding members of the group Brendan Barron and another activist and released on the Crumlin Facebook page on the eve of the planned incursion it read: ‘Crumlin you are getting meters installed in the next few days get your neighbours together and stop this double tax you are already paying for water. Please, Please share this on your page it is up to you to stop them installing meters don’t leave it to others’. Now all they could do was wait.

A phone call came the following morning, Brendan Condrón one of the original anti-water charge community activists and Facebook administrator recounts taking the call ‘it was a kind of a panic, listen they are on Clonmacnoise road beside where the shops used to be’. When Brendan arrived at the scene a few of the local left wing councillors, Tina Mc Veigh and Pat Dunne, a woman resident and her daughter and a few bemused and curious local onlookers had already gathered. Some had already taken up the positions on the shores, Jakey another research participant in the study and part of the

Crumlin campaign takes up the story ‘The contractors were in the process of unpacking the now familiar orange barriers and they had begun to set them up directly outside my house, I got them and threw them onto the road and told them in no uncertain terms that there would be no meter going in here.’ From that day on Jakey was committed.

The greatest majority of the new activists involved in the research Ger, Gavin, Adele, Eve and Shay tell similar stories of how they became active in the campaign in the first few days, motivated in part through the presence of water meter contractors in their neighbourhood and the existing community protests against them. Maria from Crumlin and Antoinette from Walkinstown, a neighbouring area subsequently got involved after hearing of the protests through postings on the Crumlin Facebook page. This popular American corporate social networking site was now a hive of frenetic political activity after becoming the new central communications hub for coordinating, mobilising, and giving daily status updates via mobile phone videos and photographs of the ensuing community battle.

Antoinette inspired by the Crumlin campaign and worried about herself and her neighbours not having the money to pay the water charges took the initiative and with the initial assistance of two local women TD’s set up her own campaign group. Shay remarked that ‘the exceptionally good weather give a festive type feel to the protests over the following three and a half weeks with people in tee shirts and shorts’, open air makeshift canteens of sandwiches teas and coffees supplied by shops and friendly neighbours hastily arranged to feed the growing number of protestors, some who had come from across Dublin to lend a hand and show solidarity.

Over the period in question, Crumlin activists were kept busy organising local street meetings, making up hand drawn posters and ensuring that Irish Water had no room to pull a fast one. Further to this, they also established friendly relationships with the

workers and an understanding with the local Guards that the resistance to installing water meters would be entirely peaceful. When the contractors finally gave up and left Crumlin for the adjacent area of Kimmage in September not one single meter had been installed. For this local group of newly seasoned community activists with no prior involvement in politics nor no experience of organising or coordinating protests, to take on the Irish State and win was no small victory.

### **From common sense to good sense**

*Gavin: as I said its everything it's not just about the water ...it's the straw that broke the camel's back and that's what the water charges is... everyone knows somebody that suffered from austerity since they started bringing all this in and it's just getting worse and worse every year and the people have had enough where do you start making a stand? Someone has to say that's it*

The 'morbid symptoms' of six years of crisis driven Irish austerity measures since 2008 had produced a slow pent up of anger, frustration and despair among those worst affected. These feelings had eventually found a collective release through the issue of water privatisation. The idea that 'water is everybody's and nobody's' was instrumental in unifying a geographically divided people. The community activists each, in their own personal way had expressed that this was *a final straw* in their personal capacity and that of their family, friends and community to endure financial hardship and social suffering, the government had effectively crossed a line.

One woman activist passionately spoke of losing a friend to suicide and related it directly to government structural adjustment programmes and the lack of proper full time employment. Government workfare activation schemes such as 'Job Bridge' and 'Community Employment (CE)' were pushing people over the edge; in the most extreme cases suicide *'it's a big huge vicious circle this water thing... there's a lot more*



*mental health I think after rising with this.... and that's why I'm really really pushing against this water charge.'*

Other reasons cited were: *'double taxation'* or *'unfair taxes'* *'false promises'* *deeply unjust* or *inequitable charges* *'a step towards privatisation'*. Some activists described their involvement in the campaign as *'a battle'* *'a war'* *'a revolution'* between government and community. These articulated responses quite clearly are demonstrative of what Gramsci termed *'a crisis of legitimacy'*.

The community activists in Crumlin had succinctly expressed throughout their in depth interviews a clear realization that something needed to be done, however it was not only the issue of privatisation and austerity that preoccupied them and aroused their anger and indignation.

At a focus group meeting in mid-November 2014 they distinctly identified and described what lay at the root of all that was wrong in the Irish political system. Over the course of two hours they gave a searing critique that amounted to the consensus, that there was *'No democracy in this country'*. For these activists, the Irish water utility was held to be a microcosm of all that was wrong; it personified (through Denis O'Brien) a culture of political corruption, cronyism and nepotism endemic in the Irish system since its foundation.

*Ger: ...look at our government right it's a two party right it's always been a two party ...you have F .G and F.F since the beginning of the State there's never been either F .G or F.F not in government it's either been one or other right now they have a two party system right they don't listen to the people they're not listening to the people we are telling them we don't want Irish water we don't want charges we don't want their austerity and their coming out with all this bullshit there coming out with all this fucking will give you this and these concessions and those concessions...*

Irish water was seen as a cash cow for political and financial elites. The exposure of hypocritical double standards; while the majority Irish citizens could barely scrape through, those in privileged positions were awarding themselves generous bonuses and

moving public monies into the hands of private elites (consultants etc.). Simultaneously Ireland's natural resources were being given away without consultation.

In short, what research participants articulated was that the system was irreparably broken and that it couldn't be fixed by replacing one political master for another. The actual system itself needed replacing.

Gramsci termed 'a crisis of hegemony' is when the authority of the State to govern had been fundamentally called into question. Such a breach in State rule Gramsci argues, 'occurs either because the ruling class has failed in some major political undertaking, for which it has requested, or forcibly extracted, the consent of broad masses ... or because huge masses ... have passed suddenly from a State of political passivity to a certain activity.'

### **Counter-hegemony**

There is some overlap between structure and organisation, strategy and tactics and people's perceptions of them. The Crumlin core group subscribes to Right 2 Water's strategic aims and objectives, however some of the activists within the group describe in their interviews going beyond the initial campaign strategy of abolishing Irish water and the recognition of the human right to water to talk about abolishing the current government and fundamentally changing the Irish political system of governance and democracy. One female research participant went so far as to say that this was an EU problem and that we should withdraw from this institution all together.

The Crumlin core group were extremely keen to stress their use of '*peaceful non-violent tactics*' in resisting water meter installations in their local community. This came across as a badge of honour and pride for many and could be seen as a stout moral

defence of attempts to criminalise and demonise protesters and the campaign by elements within government, business and the mainstream media.

What is glaringly obvious is that the group does not have an adequate strategic framework outside of the R2W coalition which is stymying their growth and inhibiting their potential despite their determination, and success in thwarting Irish Waters attempt to install meters in the area on two occasions.

### **Types of activities**

The Crumlin ‘core group’ (an organising nuclei of activists) has collectively been involved in a wide range of campaign activities. Some members have also variously participated in other related austerity protest activities on an individual basis. These different actions can be broadly described under the subheadings of educating, organising and agitating. Education, in the broad sense of the word has largely taken the form of leafleting, postering, administering, updating and promoting a Facebook page as well as producing and disseminating information and ideas through various outlets. One female activist emphasised and underlined the importance of a process of self-education ‘*educating myself because I was an early school leaver, em... and as I said I find that self-education in myself I think I’m learning more within myself, about myself doing it this way than I think I would have learnt in school.....*’. Education in this respect has also involved members of the group conducting and sharing their own online research.

Forms of agitation used to date have included; local Protests marches and participation in national demonstrations, street meetings, white line pickets, picketing, boycotting, acts of solidarity with other community groups. These have been used to varying degrees and with some regularity to sustain, develop and stir up interest in the campaign and related issues. They have been also used to demonstrate opposition and support.

Another major event initiated by one of the female activists was the hosting of a delegation from the ‘Detroit Water Brigade’ a group of activists from the Detroit area in the United States who were also agitating for water to be recognised as a human right and against water charges and archaic penalties. As part of their visit to Ireland in December 2014, members of the Crumlin core group were part of a delegation welcoming them at Dublin airport as well as organising a well-attended local meeting, showcasing community talent and an active and lively engagement between the invited visitors, guests and local residents. Two research participants also referred to offering support and assistance for other notable campaigns, i.e. The Dunne’s Stores strike and the Grey Hound (bin) Strike that have emerged in the course of anti-water charges protests.

### **Organisation and structure**

There had been mixed opinions and views expressed by the research participants as to the strengths, weaknesses and efficacy of the structural and organisational elements of the campaign. There had been varying reasons and a host of mitigating factors influencing and shaping these elements. Experiments in horizontal democratic structuring, organisation and decision making have received a mixed reception among activists within the core group causing tension among some members, while others believe that this has been a positive innovative development grounded in real participatory democracy. However, paradoxically an unintentional order of hierarchy existed. In the activists own words;

*We started off about two months into the campaign... we decided that we would have a structure...we would put a structure ...so we got about twelve members on a committee which was very representative of every one that was there you know and I thought it was grand it was probably a little too big for decision making purposes but it was very democratic in its own way that was reflected of everyone in a whole it was one of those combinations I'd rather see that it was all encompassing and hard to work as opposed to very tight and easy to work and not representative so I was happy from the point of*

*view of that, so that lasted for all about a week and some people were grumping and griping about it saying listen we never wanted this hierarchy sort of thing*

*... we discuss things openly between each other, nobody makes a decision we then put a vote to the people and what way they want to do it*

Another significant element that had previously affected the structure and organisation of the campaign was the presence of Irish Water on the ground in Crumlin. This had given the campaign group an impetus and thus acted as a catalyst to mobilising, coordinating and developing structural and organisational capacity. The views and opinions expressed by the research participants relating to the structure and organisation of the campaign and core group should not be read as fixed, given that the campaign is a live one and that campaigns are always dynamic and in a state of continual flux which in turn will have a direct bearing on different aspects of organisation and structure.

One research participant described how Irish water meter installer's physical presence in the area had played a significant role and stimulus in the organisation and the structure of the local campaign. During the three and a half weeks in the summer of 2014 that Irish water were on the ground in Crumlin, activists and supporters, had a clear focus on what needed to be done and how it should be done, however when Irish water left the vicinity of Crumlin, the same motivation and energy that had been apparent dwindled. This same research participant recognized that organising and sustaining a campaign is an ongoing activity that peaks and dips for a variety reasons and factors, however they also realized that one of the negative impacts of inactivity was bickering and back biting. There was a general acknowledgement of this by many research participants and that constant efforts were necessary to hold things together and prepare for future activities.

Another of the research participants '*felt the local campaign was up against a wall at the moment*' and '*had reached a dead end*'. He similarly felt that Irish Waters presence

had acted as a recruiting agent and motivating factor but since they had moved on, activities had been reduced to what he saw as the limited tactic of marching. For this research participant the big question was: *'Where do you go from here?'* He felt that the tactical merit of pushing for a no payment campaign was self-evident among members and supporters while he believed that there was sufficient opposition to the water charges to win and abolish Irish Water; however he saw this as only a partial victory, *'the problem is the government-the whole government'*.

Two of the activists gave differing detailed personal and historical accounts of the structure and organisation of the campaign as well as its existing state at the time of interviewing, of these research participants, one was relatively upbeat as to its current form and function whereas the other person was perhaps more cynical and downbeat.

### **Autonomy**

Some community activists have emphasised that they wish to maintain autonomy or independence from party political influence and control from whatever quarter, they believe that all parties are pursuing *an agenda* in their involvement with local communities that is suspect. Furthermore, having found their own voice both individually and collectively as a group they express the view that they don't need or want party political representation or politicians to speak on their behalf.

*Well as far as I'm concerned look they're like sales men as far as I'm concerned, they're going to tell you what they want you to believe and want you to think you know there selling themselves to you, so..... that's how... can you trust someone that's trying to sell you something all the time?*

*I am seeing left parties that are... to me...appear to be more for the party than for the people*



Figure 4 Authors picture 2014

### **Mainstream media and the role of social media**

The battle for cultural hegemony - the winning of hearts and minds - to the ruling ideas of the dominant class is an ongoing active engagement, taking various forms and waged in mainstream media. Gramsci viewed mainstream media as a powerful institution located within civil society whose central role was to ‘manufacture consent’. All the activists were united in their adverse criticism of Irish mainstream media, particularly RTE and those sections of the press owned by Denis O’Brien. They were particularly scathing around media coverage of the campaign and their selective negative reporting:

The research also highlighted the innovative and widespread use of Information and Communications Technologies (ICT) namely mobile phones and the internet, with Facebook activism, constituting a pivotal counter hegemonic organisational component of the community campaign.

## **The role of social media in the campaign**

*Well I don't believe I'm actually going to say this, thank god for Facebook... it's a way of communicating seeing the truth... Powerful, em if we had no Facebook today or in the last two years we wouldn't have the strength we have today ...Facebook is powerful... it's the main communication network*

One of my key findings was the centrality of social media to the community campaign. Social media is a generic term used to describe a variety of web-based platforms, applications and technologies that allow people to socially interact with one another online. Many of the research participants particularly identified and highlighted Facebook a free social networking website, as being critical to the campaign. They variously described it as an accessible, indispensable main communication hub that could be used as both a research resource networking and linking in with other groups as well as swapping information, ideas and stories. However this adulation came with a caveat expressed by some research participants both in terms of surveillance by the State, political opponents and others as well as limitations in reaching out to those with no personal access.

It was not the original intention of this research study to undertake an analysis of Crumlin says NO to water meter and charges Facebook page, given the significance that the majority of the community activists attached to this medium of communication it became apparent that Facebook was fundamental to all aspects of the campaign. That said, time constraints did not permit a thorough or systematic analysis, therefore most of the findings are tentative nonetheless they give an approximation of the types of use, the gender profile of those engaging and commenting on the material and administrators posts, the amount and variety of materials as well as its varying purposes and uses (see appendix).



There is a notable deficit in Irish social movement studies relating to the centrality of social media, information and communication technologies and social networking sites such as Facebook to contemporary social movement activism particularly in areas of knowledge production and dissemination, tactics and strategy and building alliances. Furthermore, studies such as this take on an added importance, given the perceived threat to hegemony, evident in recent Irish minister's absurd commentary relating to mobile phone ownership and hysterical responses to their prevalent and creative use by social activists in the recent campaigns.

### **Optimism and Politicisation: An awakening**

Given that most of the activists in the Crumlin core group started from having no previous political involvement, their dynamic and ongoing participation in the campaign and their interactions with other activists and materials both on and offline has led to an accelerated critical awareness; an awakening. This has occurred at different levels and in various forms and has been variously described and outlined explicitly and implicitly by those interviewed.

*Brendan: one of things I noticed that's brought about a massive change all over the place is people are now much more politically aware people use to just plod along and stayed at home in and a lot of people didn't bother vote*

*Ger: they never cared... didn't give a rats*

*Gavin: didn't give a shit like really it's gonna be one it's gonna be another what difference does it make which fucking one was scamming ya you know*

*Antoinette: I think I am more equipped because I have been around more political people I have been watching clips...on Facebook and whatever and I would be more aware now than I was before*

Critical political awareness, the awakening, has brought about a renewed sense of hope.

The activists in the Crumlin group were largely optimistic about the prospects of

winning the campaign however not everyone shared in this unbridled optimism. Others were less sanguine about the prospects for the campaign and who would ultimately decide the fate of Irish water and charges

*Ger: We are going to win this...we are going to win this...people power will overcome it... we are going to win this.*

*Jakey: Well I was a hundred per cent sure but now I don't know*

### **Solidarity**

A sense of togetherness, ties of friendship and shared solidarity were also evident in many of the accounts, one of the activists succinctly captured this shared bond –

*I've met many new friends...and people I'm proud to call my friends and without them I couldn't keep going on my own...*

Antoinette, who belonged to a different anti-water charges group in neighbouring Walkinstown explained that the makeup of this core group was quite different from the one in Crumlin especially in relation to gender and social class:

*'Most of our core group are actually employed or else attending college, em...there are about three of us that are not employed and we are the ones that do all the day work. unemployed, our group seems to be at the opposite end of the scale from other groups that I see... in that most of us are employed... there's about twelve of us in the core group and the gas thing is the majority of us are women'*

Additionally she elaborated

*'we find an awful lot of people that want to get involved are people that can't pay not the people that just don't want to pay but that can't pay...you know over forty em and that's become redundant recently em...or that they just can't afford to pay. So we have a very mixed bag. People on the core group are probably between the ages of 26-50 years old...55 but the outer group that we work with would probably be older again....the ones that would be out protesting the meters in Cherryfield they would be older rather than the younger ones..'*

## **Synopsis of findings**

A central finding emanating from this research was that the primary driving force behind the local community fight back in Crumlin was not the issue of water per se rather it had been generated by what Gramsci called ‘a crisis of hegemony’; where the authority of the State to govern had, for a myriad of reasons, lost its legitimacy. This key finding has been corroborated by previous research undertaken by Hearne (2015) on the same topic. Primary factors cited by activists in explaining this historic moment, included years of inflicted harsh austerity measures, government double standards, systemic corruption, cronyism, and nepotism. In essence, the *common sense* neo-liberal policies imposed by Government had lost all validity.

Additionally the research found that the Crumlin community campaign had adopted aspects of ‘horizontalism’ into their campaign structure and organisation, decision making and tactics, however, this was found to be more theoretical but less evident in practice. Efforts to maintain their autonomy as a non-politically-aligned community group was causing frictions and unforeseen difficulties internally between the activists, and externally in relations with Political Parties and Unions.

Finally, the research findings also significantly drew attention to the innovative widespread use of Information and Communications Technologies (ICT) namely mobile phones and the internet, with Facebook activism, constituting a pivotal counter hegemonic organisational component of the community campaign.

## **Conclusion**

This campaign in Crumlin, Dublin has led a majority of local community activists to engage in a deep rounded analysis and critique of the function and form of representational democracy and to begin a process of seeking solutions and alternatives. In doing so the existing ruling class dominant world view that ‘there is no alternative’ (TINA) vigorously and continually promoted by the Irish State has been irreparably shattered. As the findings in this research clearly demonstrate local residents are no longer willing to passively conform or remain silent instead, fight back has become the watchword of local community activism in this working class area in Crumlin, Dublin.

## Chapter 5

### Conclusion and Recommendations

*'The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways. The point, however, is to change it' (Marx 1845)*

I set out on this particular research journey as an activist scholar in November 2014 with a sense of purpose, namely a quest for 'really useful knowledge' and with a final research goal in mind, wrapped in a notion of Gramscian emancipatory social transformation. I was initially drawn to the study by a mix of curiosity and perplexity concerning what many activists now term 'an awakening' that found its initial expression in early 2014 largely as a community fight back against water privatisation.

The research was strategically shaped to subjectively explore this new social phenomena while at the same time contribute to social activist practice by documenting and analysing key aspects of counter hegemonic working class community organising thus producing 'movement relevant knowledge' (Bevington and Dixon 2005). In line with these objectives the research study adapted a qualitative case study methodology and a participatory action research (PAR) approach. Selectively drawing on a Gramscian framework of hegemony, both for its usefulness as an analytical framework (to better understand power relations in Irish society) and as a way of supporting those activists thinking about creating the conditions for radical political and social change.

In addition I also employed multiple methods namely a focus group and eleven in depth semi structured interviews supplemented with desk top research and a rudimentary analysis of an open community group Facebook page.

## Summary and Interpretation of findings

The Qualitative case study research is particularly renowned for its dual capacity to allow for focused analysis and produce rich in depth empirical findings and I believe this has been substantiated in the data produced here.

The research found, in answering the study's central inquiry and in line with a recent previous study that the issue of water privatisation had triggered their immediate unified collective response and acted as a spur in galvanising the local community resistance in Crumlin but that the underlying motivations and rationale were far wider and deeper than had been initially anticipated. The cumulative replies from the activists involved in the study add up to a Gramscian 'crisis of hegemony' or 'a general crisis of the state'.

What began as an economic crisis in 2008 quickly unmasked the structural contradictions inherent in the system but so long hidden. While the mantra that we were *all in this together*, and all needed to make the necessary *sacrifices*, it became apparent that this applied only to the less well off. The Denis O'Brien's of Ireland continued to accumulate, and quite blatantly so.

Such circumstances present emancipatory and radical possibility but can only be realized, I would suggest by community groups such as Crumlin formally constituting themselves as a movement and realizing their unified power and autonomy within the current broad alliance of left wing parties and progressive trade unions of which they are part. This would significantly increase the communities' real potential to variously transform the Irish political, social, economic and cultural landscapes

The documenting and analysing of the community fight back in Crumlin has permitted me to draw a number of tentative conclusions, firstly all the community research participants who contributed to this research were both new to activism, and relatively

middle aged and predominately male. The majority were also unemployed or in precarious employment. Their relative inexperience in campaigning coupled with their expressed distrust and in many cases disdain of all things political in (a narrow sense of the word) has brought with it its own peculiar set of problems and difficulties, which in the main has inhibited their growth and prevented them from reaching their true development. Tensions were also compounded by experimenting in aspects of ‘horizontalism’. Many of the problems and challenges they currently face internally could be resolved through processes of popular education, development of strategic thinking and inclusive open democratic practices. Notwithstanding these observed difficulties, the ‘Crumlin community says No to water meter and charges’ have over the course of a year demonstrated remarkable resilience, tenacity and fortitude in both physically but peacefully resisting water meter installations despite State provocation and standing up to attempts to both silence and deny them their democratic rights to be heard and listened to.

Most importantly perhaps and central to this thesis, the evidence gathered from research participants suggests that we are at the beginning of the end, ‘the old is [indeed] dying’ the death throes of a historical systemically corrupt system of ruling class hegemony masked by a façade of representational democracy can be heard across the communities of this part of the island.

### **The open question is what type of new system do we want?**

In looking to the future, community activists from the Crumlin say no to Water meters and Charges that participated in the research have clearly and fervently articulated a desire for a form of real participatory democracy that is people centred rather than party centred by political vested interests. Communities are seedbeds of real democratic

change. Many of the community activists expressed the opinion that they have no desire to be represented anymore.

### **Recommendations for future research**

The Anti-water charges campaign in Ireland is still very much a live issue whose impacts and influences are still being felt across the political, social and economic landscape both here and internationally it is an issue that to date has produced very little in terms of academic and social movement research, though there is no doubt given its significant potential to remake and reshape Irish society and social relations that such a dearth in the literature may be rectified in the weeks, months and years ahead. Many issues of key importance to social researchers generally and activist scholars more particularly were raised in this study but due to word limitations and time constraints were only raised or highlighted rather than examined. These included but were not limited to the areas of gender, community organising and development, transnational diffusion of ideas and practices, participatory action research, class, social history and forms and functions of social movements. In particular the review of literature undertaken as part of this study has identified a notable deficit in Irish social movement studies relating to the centrality of social media, information and communication technologies and social networking sites such as Facebook to contemporary social movement activism particularly in areas of knowledge production and dissemination, tactics and strategy and building alliances. Furthermore, studies such as this take on an added importance given the perceived threat to hegemony, evident in recent Irish minister's absurd commentary relating to mobile phone ownership, and hysterical responses to their prevalent and creative use by social activists in the current campaign. In short, for these stated reasons among others I believe that this research project can



make a valuable contribution to the existing stock of knowledge in social movement studies.

Despite the fact that the ruling classes continue to both own and control the means of production of mass media and exert untold power to conform to their reality, these local community activists have, revealed a creative capacity to circumvent the hegemonic norm by appropriating an online Facebook space and shaping it to their own activist needs to communicate, share information and ideas, recruit and mobilise. By doing so they have shown a determination not to be corralled, silenced or ignored but to insist and ensure that the voices of the marginalised impoverished and oppressed are not only heard but amplified and strengthened.

Who's Country? Our Country -Who's Flag? Our Flag- Who's streets? Our streets

WHO'S WATER? OUR WATER.

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## Appendices

### Appendix 1: Consent Form

Research proposal:

An exploration and collaborative engagement with anti-water charge activists in a working class community in Crumlin, Dublin using a Gramscian perspective.

The aim of the research is twofold:

I wish to explore the underlying motivation and rationale for working class people's involvement in the campaign against water charges;

The research aims through adapting a Participatory Action Research (PAR) approach to collaborate in developing varying aspects of social movement knowledge.

MA Community Education Equality and Social Activism (CEESA)

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This research will form part of the requirements for my MA in Community Education Equality and Social Activism (CEESA). The purpose of the study is to examine, explore and develop in collaboration with social movement activists in the anti- water charge campaign (utilising a PAR approach) key aspects of activism and strategizing.

I wish to interview you primarily in relation to your activism around the anti-water charges campaign in the Crumlin area in Dublin.

The interview will be with your permission recorded by audio digital recording. All data collected will be stored securely. Your anonymity will be protected to the best of my ability at all times. You will have access to your data at your own discretion. You may withdraw from the research at any time prior to publication.

The material may, with your consent be accessible to other researchers and activists in the future. The interviews do not constitute any form of counselling or support. However if you experience distress and or discomfort as a result of taking part in the research I would strongly suggest that you contact a suitable professional through the family, support network, or your family doctor. If during your participation in this study you feel the information and guidelines that you were given have been neglected or disregarded in any way or if you are unhappy about the research process please contact the secretary of NUIM Ethics Committee at Research. [ethics@nuim.ie](mailto:ethics@nuim.ie) .

Please be assured that your concerns will be dealt with in a sensitive manner.

Signed:

Date

## **Appendix Two: Interview Questions**

### **Interview questions**

- 1 Can you tell me something about your own personal/political back ground?
- 2 Can you tell me about how you first got involved in the anti- water charges campaign?
  - A Motivations/ rationale
  - B What sustains your commitment?
  - C Why now?
- 3 What types of activities have you been involved in to date
- 4 Can you tell me something about the organisation and structure of the campaign locally?
- 5 The social and economic diversity of the group
- 6 Your relationships with other activists
- 7 Strategy and tactics-how they are decided, how effective, future plans, lessons learnt
- 8 Net working with other groups/organisations/parties-alliances
- 9 The difficulties encountered both personal and organisational
- 10 How optimist are you about the campaigns success
- 11 In what ways do you believe your involvement in the campaign has shaped your own political views generally?
- 12 What role do you think the media has played in the campaign?
- 13 What do think about the role of social media in the campaign?
- 14 Is there anything else you would like to say or comment on?

### Appendix 3: Data Profile

<b>Personal Information</b>					
<b>Name</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Gender</b> M/F	<b>Marital Status</b>	<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Social Media Profile</b>
<b>Brendan Barron</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>Married</b>	<b>Driver</b>	<b>Facebook</b>
<b>Shay Le Strange</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>Married</b>	<b>Youth Advocate</b>	<b>Facebook/Twitter</b>
<b>Adele Kenny</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>Single</b>	<b>Kitchen Assistant</b>	<b>Facebook</b>
<b>Gavin Harold</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>Single</b>	<b>Builders Labourer</b>	<b>Facebook</b>
<b>Evelyn Bracken</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>Married</b>	<b>Stay at home parent</b>	<b>Facebook</b>
<b>Gerard Kelly</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>Single</b>	<b>Warehouse Operative</b>	<b>Facebook</b>
<b>Brendan Condron</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>Married</b>	<b>Unemployed</b>	<b>Facebook</b>
<b>Jakey</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>M</b>		<b>Unemployed Labourer</b>	<b>No</b>
<b>Maria</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>Married</b>		<b>No</b>



<b>John Lyons</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>single</b>	<b>Councillor</b>	<b>Facebook/Twitter</b>
<b>Antoinette Courtney</b>	<b>F</b>	<b>Married</b>	<b>Parent</b>	<b>Facebook</b>

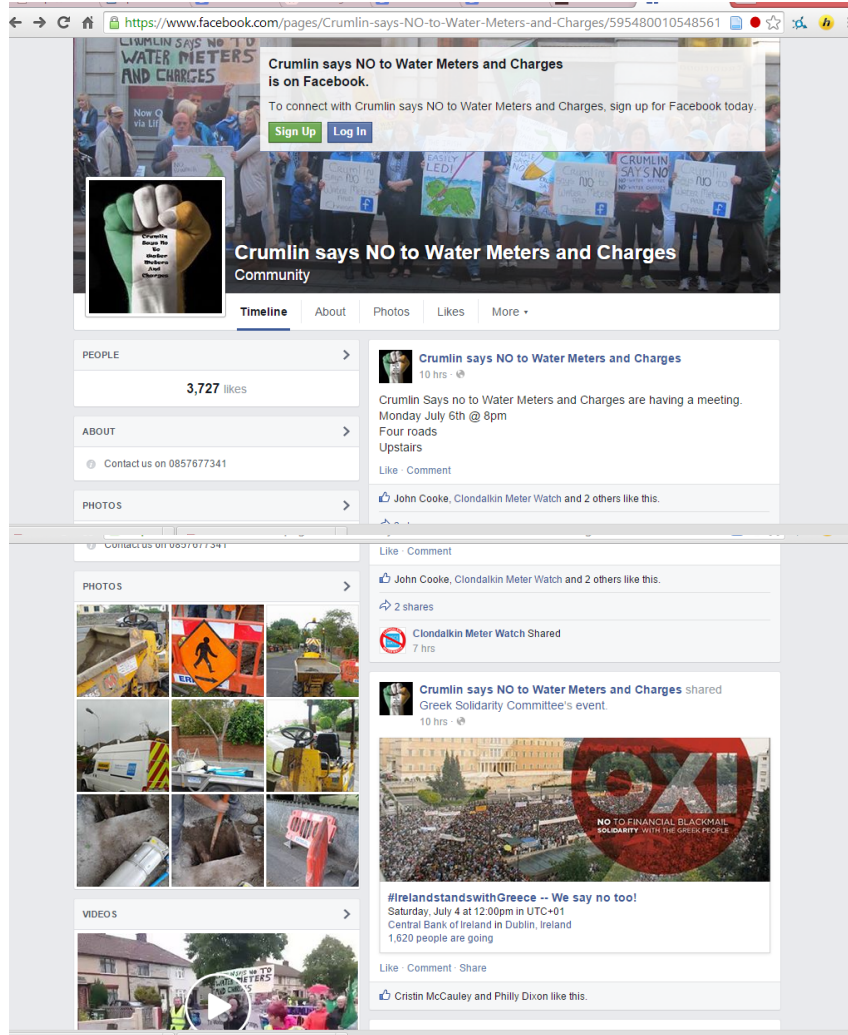
## Appendix 4: Time Line June 2014-2015.

### CRUMLIN SAYS NO TO WATER METERS AND CHARGES

#### JUNE 2014

Facebook page established and people begin to organise themselves in a local community campaign

group



## AUGUST 2014

Irish Water meter installers arrive in Crumlin-28<sup>th</sup> August.

A number of street meetings are organised around various locations in Crumlin between August and September to rally support against water meters and charges and to discuss with local people their issues and concerns relating to the matter. These street or on the



green local assemblies are well attended by residents.

Bangor Rd Crumlin September 2014 Water metering stopped in Crumlin over a 6 week period Irish Water were stopped from installing a single meter in Crumlin. At this point in the protest the Gardaí accepted this type of protest as peaceful and kept a discreet distance. However as the protest continued and moved to the wider Dublin 12 area, this was to change and the Gardaí became partisan in favour of Irish waters position. As a consequence skirmishes between protesters and Gardaí became a regular occurrence with Crumlin protesters arrested on a regular basis.



## SEPTEMBER 2014

Crumlin goes global- Brendan Condon an anti-water charge activist give an interview with BBC world service.



Irish Water installers move out of Crumlin after local community activists and supporters successfully prevented them from installing one single meter. The same crews move into Kimmage.

A protest staged outside of the GPO on O'Connell Street against the new charges set to be introduced by Irish Water. The protest was organised by the group 'Dublin Says No' and saw protesters from different areas in the city including Tallaght and Crumlin as well as others from around the country coming into the capital's city centre.



## OCTOBER 2014

Crumlin group mobilises and marches as a community in National demonstration organised by The Right 2 Water coalition

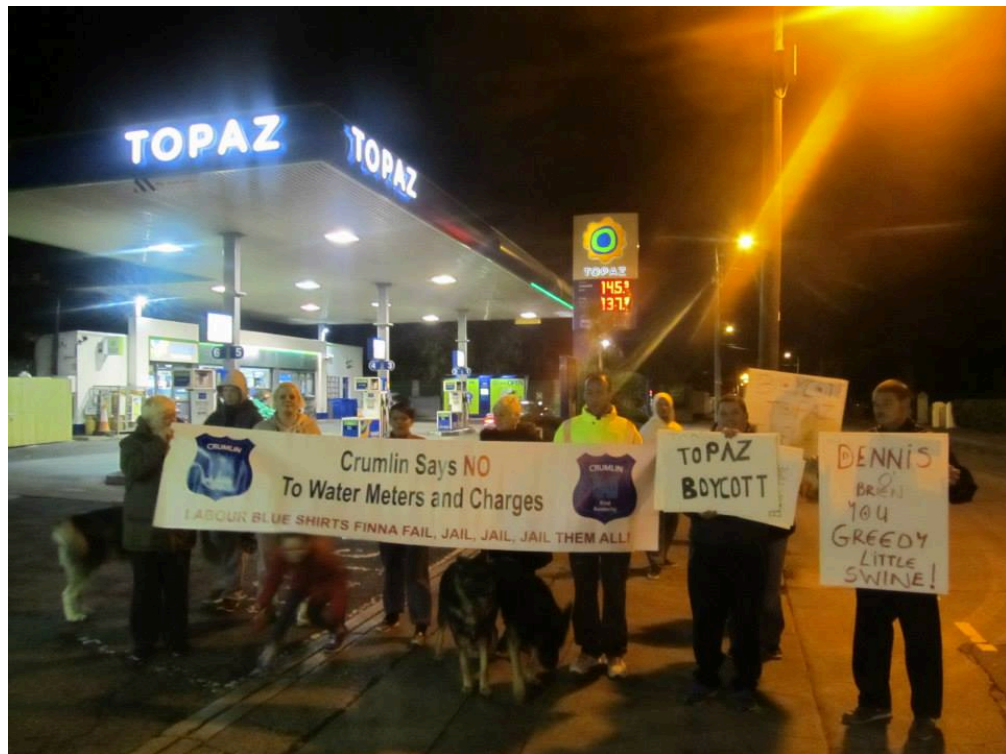


## NOVEMBER 2014

Local community in Crumlin turn out in their thousands to protest the government's imposition of water meters and charges. The local demonstration was part of a larger mobilisation attracting upwards of 200,000 people



Local community activists host a well-attended public meeting on Anti-water charges on 24th November 2014



Crumlin says no to water meter and charges organise a boycott of local Topaz garage in Crumlin In the same month, a local female community activist initiates contact with Detroit Water Brigade on Facebook leading to a formal invitation to visit Ireland in December 2014

## DECEMBER 2014

Crumlin says no to Water meters and Charges hosts a delegation from Detroit Water Brigade in a local community centre on December the 9<sup>th</sup> 2014. The meeting was attended by over two local hundred people, speakers from the Right 2 Water and local youth and community groups who danced for the visitors

Crumlin says no to water meters and charges meet up with other community anti-water charges groups from the Southside of Dublin at the rear of St Patricks Cathedral to march to the back of the national parliament Dail Eireann, where they were joined by thousands of other activists and supporters

Shay Le'Strange a Crumlin anti-water charges activist addresses a Right 2 Water assembly in Merrion Square Dublin attended by approximately 100,000



## JANUARY 2015



Crumlin activists and supporters mobilise and march to O'Connell Street in Dublin centre as part of a community organised demonstration called by 'Dublin says No'. Turnout for what was primarily a Dublin Demonstration. Organisers put the numbers in the region of 40,000.

### FEBRUARY 2015

Crumlin says no to water meter and charges attend 'a free the five' rally after marching from Dame Street to Mountjoy gaol in Dublin. The five protesters from the north side of Dublin had been arrested and jailed after defying an injunction to not 'interfere' in the installation of water meters in north Dublin

### MARCH 2015

Crumlin says No to water meter and charges mobilises locally for Right 2Water demonstration in Dublin city centre. The community group meets up with other South side anti-water charge groups and supporters opposite St James hospital before marching to Heuston station, where they were joined with other community groups before proceeding down the quays to O'Connell Street. Also in the same month, Community activists from the Crumlin group assisted local residents from Maryland in peacefully protesting against water meter installation. Gardaí were out in full force to assist Irish Water workers install meters against resident's wishes. Crumlin activists can



be seen assisting with a soup stand set up to feed the protesters. Only two water meters were installed that morning despite the presence of over 30 Gardaí.

### APRIL 2015

Irish Water contractors return to Crumlin accompanied by large force of Gardaí. Several protestors were arrested, including the local TD Joan Collins and a local councillor Pat Dunne while peacefully demonstrating. A local march to Crumlin Garda stations are organised to protest against the arrests and demand their release. Contractors do not return and no meters are installed. All protestors are released without charge.



Crumlin community activists attend and speak at an indoor public meeting in Drimnagh on water charges organised locally as part of 'The Grassroots gathering'. Local community activists from Crumlin says no to water meters and charges attend a three day course on 'political Economy' organised by the Right 2 Water.



Crumlin says no to water meter and charges organise a half day seminar on the logic of privatisation in a local community centre in Drimnagh. Stevie... from the Trademark group in Belfast gives a presentation and hosts a lively and informative discussion on political economy.

### MAY 2015

A number of street meetings are again organised around various locations in Crumlin to rally support against water meters and charges particularly around the campaign of non-payment and to discuss with local people their issues and concerns relating to the matter., as well as give people information and an update on the campaign These street

**CRUMLIN SAYS NO  
TO  
WATER METERS AND CHARGES**

**BOYCOTT THE WATER BILLS**

**"FROM MOTOR TAX TO V.A.T.  
IRISH WATER'S NEVER FREE"**

**STREET MEETINGS**

**DAY/DATE: THURSDAY 28/5/2015**

**1<sup>st</sup> Meeting  
VENUE: THE GREEN ON CAPTAINS AVENUE  
TIME: 6:45 P.M.**

**2<sup>nd</sup> Meeting  
VENUE: OUTSIDE THE MISSION HALL  
ON CASHEL ROAD  
TIME: 7:30 P.M.**

*Come to your closest meeting*



or on the green local assemblies are well attended by residents

## **JUNE 2015**

Crumlin says no to water meters and charges collaborate with other south side anti-water charge groups in organising a local march and demonstration. The Crumlin group marches from their own area to a central location at Walkinstown roundabout where other groups have converged. Brendan Condron addresses the assembled crowd of upwards of two thousand people

*boycott the water charge* **CRUMLIN WATER PROTEST** *boycott the water charge*  
**LOCAL MARCH**  
**SATURDAY, 6TH JUNE 2015**

**LOCAL COMMUNITIES AGAINST WATER CHARGES**  
**MARCHING TOGETHER**  
**TO WALKINSTOWN ROUNDABOUT**

TO PROMOTE NON PAYMENT OF IRISH WATER BILLS  
**COME AND SUPPORT YOUR LOCAL COMMUNITY**  
**IN THE FIGHT AGAINST WATER CHARGES**  
**NO WAY WE WONT PAY**  
LOCAL MEETING POINT  
TRANSPORT CLUB CLOHER ROAD @ 12.45 PM  
MARCHING TO WALKINSTOWN ROUNDABOUT @ 2PM



## **Appendix 5 : Focus Group Meeting (edited).**

**Thursday 25<sup>th</sup> November 2014.**

**Anti-water charges campaign Focus Group meeting in Crumlin**

Brendan: Can this include research that has already been done?

Criostoir: yes it can, the research can be whatever the group wants it to be.

Gavin: like your saying videos and all, there are already plenty of websites set up the likes of the videos from our protest, videos of the garda and the actions of the garda doing stuff, and plenty of video footage out there you know

Ger: there's hundreds of photographs taken all over

Criostoir: yes

Brendan: from day one, we have videos and photos from day one

Gavin: its history in other words

Shay: it's a piece of history in its own right where it can stand up were if anyone could walk in tomorrow and write a book and say listen this has happened and that but it can't stand up because there is no... as Criostoir said he has to be fairly unbiased so his is going to academically everybody has a biased the reality is everybody has a biased so Criostoir is coming with a biased he is part of the campaign

Gavin: were all biased as well all laughing....

Shay: so basically that's what his trying to achieve to leave something behind that we will I think I would be very proud to say that in 10 years or 15 years' time when this is all dead and gone and hopefully we move to a better society and we can look back and say that's what actually happened that's how we felt about it and if he does a good enough job of it, it `can stand up and do that so basically that's were his coming from if does that makes sense ?

Brendan: As long as we get a free signed copy of the book

Shay: and you'll get a free copy, it will only cost 30 Euros laughing...

Brendan: on the research side of it, Maria actually researched Irish water as a utility and she went into link after link...

Maria: I went into link after link but it's got to the stage now were I search globally as in the top 10 water companies ...I fear that if this was to go through that one of them ten could actually come in here then after Irish water do you get me ?

Criostoir: yes

Maria: So that's why I'm just saying kind of that when you go onto their pages and when you go into their specific sites like it takes a bit of time you have to get their names then you go into their websites their main websites have a look at them then you can also go into wall street and have a look at their shares but what their pulling in do

you know what I mean that's the thing one of them top ten is going to come somewhere down the line if this Irish water is allowed...

Gavin: It was the same with the video 'Blue Gold'

Maria: Well 'Blue Gold' then comes in after that then that's kind of the link of the global market of it then the other side of it is the world is watching us and they are going to be watching on the 10<sup>TH</sup> December big time and are we going to have the likes of England saying well hold on here a minute?

Gavin: Well have you not seen the protest going on over in London last week? And against austerity measures and all...

Maria: well it's starting and its already starting with the kids as well the teenagers are coming out, the students are starting to come out, so you know people are starting to wake up all even all around Europe and then is it becoming a global thing were all countries are going to start wakening up to their government. And then the other side of it as well when you go further into these videos right you see were Obama is it an America thing getting pushed on Europe is there a say so that is coming from their thinking, there is...

Gavin: yes well... you see that new economic trade agreement thing there trying to push through the TTIP or something it's called there on about now pushing that through if that comes through then it changes all new laws against trade employment... Everything changes

Brendan: one of the things Maria found as well was that the facts that's only coming out now about whether or not Irish water could be privatised and it was the government said it couldn't be and it came out 'recently that it only needed the minster for the environment and who was the other one somebody else it only needed two signatures to be privatised you actually discover...

Gavin: It was always in the pipeline

Maria: I know, I think that was always in the pipeline and to be honest

Everyone talking.....inaudible!

Brendan: she saw that in when you were researching Irish water because I remember that you said it to me about the signatures

Ger: yes, but they said that in the Dail last week

Maria: because I actually think up to a about year ago I think that was paid off already and signed off a year back there was something I came across and when I read down I had to read down it again and I said this bloody thing has already been signed off this already has been paid off about a year I'm talking about a year back cause why are they so adamant on really pushing and pushing for this they would have given up weeks ago on this they would pulled men they would have pulled them workers out of it. And why the high presence of Gardaí there's something hidden there amongst all of this

All talking.....inaudible

Gavin: why

Gavin: yes its European project

Ger: eternal wealth, fucking hell!

Maria: has that money been passed over a year ago already?

Shay: it would have... it would have been

Gavin: It was part of the bailout...

Brendan: could be related to that article 9.4 that's coming out now were Irish exemption to paying water in Europe it's excepted by the rest of the E.U Bertie Ahern

Maria: Bertie Ahern 2004

Brendan: was it Bertie Ahern?

Maria: 2004 or 2003

Brendan: they only way that it can be gotten rid of is if the government give it back... sign off on it and say we don't want it anymore are the government **punching** to give that back

Criostoir: ok

Brendan: if they get people to agree to pay for water the people are no longer accepting that we have the right to free water so they could give that back to the E.U and it could be privatised

Adel comes into the room.....

Criostoir: just hold on... sorry I'm Criostoir

Adel: hello

Criostoir: Glad to meet you

Brendan: It's the digger driver laughs.....

Criostoir: sorry just to sort of bring you up to speed, basically we were just talking about the anti-water charges campaign I'm from Maynooth university, and for my sins and I have been asked to do a bit of research as part of my M.A thesis and I have decided to study the Irish anti-water charges campaign and the reason I'm here tonight is I'm try to recruit people to work with me on the research like so we can explain a wee bit more after the meeting is over but I have asked people would they commit to maybe giving roughly 7 hours of their time...to the research project

Gavin: yes you have no shortage of people wanting to voice their opinions on it anyway there's plenty of contacts from other groups all around the areas and where you can get actually other people off other areas and other groups they tell people from the area themselves you know

Criostoir: but it has to be contained, especially when you're interviewing people you know...

John: But really... basically Irish waters all down to money whichever way you look at it the amount of money that's poured in to it already and you look at what's on the Irish water

Board their all fucking failures you know your man from Sligo left nearly a million euro debt from the city council up there and he walks into a job with Irish water

All talking.....

Gavin: yes Enda Kenny called it a scheme... is should have been called a scam!

Gavin: your man clearly fucked up real big!

Brendan: hundred million wasted and no receipt, no record of where that money went

Ger ..... it was written off... tax write offs than gets government contracts fucking Anglo write off and

Gavin: tax exile

Gavin: yep!

John: doesn't make fuckin sense to me or you if you went in with a C.V like that you be fucked out the door

Ger: yea it's all a money thing their all just trying to fucking get their wealth together this will do it for them

All talking at once....inaudible

John: when you think about it everybody is complaining... alright the water rates is another thing were all complaining about that the people that have got the jobs in it there's your man Dennis O'Brien two weeks before he got the contract [he had] 3 hundred million wrote off in a debt now if you were in debt and you got a thousand pound debt wrote off in the bank and went in two week later what would they tell you?

Ger: yea laughing...

John: do you know what I mean he got the job he did the same with..... Telephones as well... back handers

Ger: this is why I think this goes a lot deeper than Ireland a lot deeper than Europe not only Ireland but a lot deeper than Europe like America is heavily involved you know

All talking.....inaudible

Gavin: bond holders getting paid, bank to bank bailouts, the way the country has gone on evictions the State of the health system, it not only about water anymore

Ger: I mean the way to look at it is right you have gold you have gas you have oil you have diamonds right that's all going to run out water won't

? Mm No

Ger: Water won't its like have an eternal wealth form..... You know

John: There's is another thing I was thinking last night the VAT right the VAT has to go on to that water..... all talking at once..... What I'm saying is the VAT still has to go on to it the 100 per cent VAT isn't on it

Brendan: so are you saying it 160 or 260 plus VAT



Johnny: course it is yea they have to put the VAT on to it it's a private company and that's at 23%

Jake: your time is up Johnny laughing.....

Shay: what's the story on that digger driving I'm hearing more about it?

Ger: she was sitting on the side of the thing... I said if you're going on that thing go up further

Shay: did you drive it?

Adel: no I was on the track

Ger: she was scuffed of it in 10 seconds they were all over her

Adel: they were all on their way over

Shay: look I think that Criostoir doesn't want to completely direct the research and that he wants people to give an input and let them what do you feel would be relevant if you were looking back maybe in 10 years' time what part of this research would be relevant how you as involved as a person yourself you what I mean or how the organisation involved or you know what I mean the impact it had on you the impact it had on your neighbours you know what in mean what do you think is really important what worth researching that's worth leaving behind that's or that can be used that's of value to people in the future you know

Brendan: one of things I noticed that's brought about a massive change all over the place is people are now much more politically aware people use to just plod along and stayed at home in and a lot of people didn't bother vote

Ger: they never cared... didn't give a rats

Gavin: didn't give a shit like really

Gavin: it's gonna be one it's gonna be another what difference does it make which fucking one was scamming ya you know

Jake: Knocks [on the table] one at a time. Please..... Rick go ahead

Ger: yea I'm sure there's people in this country up to a year ago if you said who's the fucking Taoiseach they wouldn't be able to tell you know what I mean but now everybody knows his name... all laughing

Brendan: one of the things as well I notice and I think it's a disgrace is that this party whip any minster can have an idea that agrees with the people he is representing but because of the party whip he is told it doesn't matter you can't vote that way you vote the way the party wants you to vote or you're out

All talking.....inaudible

Brendan: that's a fucking joke it's an absolute joke... party whips have be done away with

Ger: turning off mics on independents [in the Dail]

Gavin: As I was saying what's happening in the rest of Europe as well there's this new thing called direct democracy and its coming in, in a few European States and all and that's seem to be the way that the people are looking at it now is like they want them all the same the way the countries run you know I don't know too much about it me self but...

Criostoir: there's a movement called the Indignados that was set up around austerity in Spain and they formed a political party there just recently... about a year now like and they stood in the European elections and they got 5 MEPs elected and Syriza in Greece are another anti-austerity party coalition and the talk is that they could be in government in Greece in the next six months so obviously people are taking to protesting in different forms

All talking.....inaudible

Gavin: there's a lot of part of Europe as well I know a few it is actually the start of the... [Inaudible]?

John: It should be people you know going for the election right you know someone says were not putting up the water rates bla bla bla your given 2 fucking years basically and if you don't come across with something that you promised on going into government you should be fucked out

Ger: yea you're gone 2 years that's all they should get

All agreeing.....

Brendan your held accounted for

John: There should be a monitoring there to say hang on a minute you said your gonna do this if you haven't done it out you go

Ger: none of this 5 or 6 years

Brendan: and if you do a good job you get another 2 years

All agreeing

Ger: it's the way De Valera used to do it when he was a Taoiseach he would do something great and then he fuckin called a general election and then everybody would vote him in then he do something great again and another general election be called you know what I mean

Criostoir: do you think you would keep the whole party system or voting like would you sort of consider other forms of politics?

All talking...inaudible

Gavin: no I think that the whole has to be changed

Ger: it has to be a peoples...

Gavin: the voting has to stay

Brendan: your voting 123456 could be 20 candidates you pick one of them and that's one vote and that's it what the fuck is this transfer votes the person that don't even get a vote fuck them they don't get in the people that get the vote get in get in end off

Maria: get transfers then

Brendan: no transfers

John: Basically I think here there's too many T.Ds in this country for the size of it

Gavin: yea cause that's what get half of them their seats... the transfers

John: There's four and a half or five million whatever there is in this country I also remember going back a couple of years right the fella on the late late show Gay Byrne was even doing it and his from Kansas or someplace like that your man turned around and said how many senators have you got you know all this your man said we don't have senators there T.Ds they are called and he said how many is there in your house of parliament and he said there's probably around 300 and he said what's your population and I think it was like 4 million at the time Gay Byrne said 4 and he said we've got 10 and half living in our State and there's 9 off us that runs it

All laughing... and talking..

Gavin: It's the same in England there's half the amount of councillors in England as well

John: you know I mean that's ridiculous when it comes to people because if you have I mean the majority is there all the time but if you go independent but I think now to be quite honest with you because Tony Gregory proved it he was the one that kept Fianna Fail in this country and when we got everything that he wanted he'd go against Ireland he got all the inner city done up and everything else the minute all you asked him for his vote he said no blew away

All talking together...

Ger: And greased a few drug dealers as well

Ger: Healy Rae done the same thing

Brendan: less roads for the country

Ger: there's the Ceann Comhairle right the present Ceann Comhairle is a Fine Gael man do you know what I mean how you could have the head speaker of the house being part of the government you know what I mean

John; They elect them they're elected

Ger: They should be elected by the people

John: and not only doesn't that he have to go through election for the next year

Gavin: they should be independent that should be an independent person run that... that's out what a hundred years ago now so times have change its time to move on from that

Criostoir: maybe one of the things worth looking at... you are talking a lot about democratic systems and how they work maybe it would be worth looking at something like that I mean some of these social movements Shay mentioned earlier use a political... called participatory democracy

Shay: yes

Criostoir: and the time in Egypt Spain and Greece what they used to do I think they had one in Kimmage the other night ... was an assembly where the people come together the way we do at public meetings only different... where everyone has a say

Gavin: that could have been...

Criostoir: yea it's another form of democracy rather than representative democracy I think it was Ken Livingston who said... if voting changed anything they would abolish it ... that we think we live in a democratic society but we really don't so obviously most people here who are talking about the form of democracy we have in Ireland think there's something seriously wrong with it like...

Ger: No democracy in this country

Criostoir: maybe that's something that we could include in our research

John: I don't know I know you know a bit about politics but is it not right what they do in Italy they have a general election and they bring in 9 consultants to run the country the people that are elected to the government actually don't run the country

All talking. And laughing.....inaudible.

Ger: that's nearly the same what happens here

Gavin: they ... consultants

Ger: Denis O'Brien Denis O'Brien Denis O'Brien Laughing...

John: they have nothing to do with the government there individuals

Ger: there's like the people's council so to speak

Jake: can I just say something about it

A knock laughing...

Jake: Back to our main speaker

Shay: I would love to hear personally I know I'm supposed to take a bit of a back seat but I can still participate because I'm told I could a little bit but I love to know I know why I got involved in it but I love to know why people got involved I'm seeing such diverse types of people I have never met politically before this involved I'm just amazed I think it's brilliant I'm fascinated by it I'm amazed about it at the same time about what caused it

John: yea but you know this might not be about the water rates do you know what I mean

Gavin: as I said it's everything it's not about just about the water you said we have got a sign that's gone up the straw that broke the camel's back and that's what the water charges is... the straw that broke the camel's back... everyone knows somebody that suffered from austerity since they started bringing all this in and it's just getting worse and worse every year and the people have had enough where do you start making a stand? Someone has to say that's it

John: the gas thing about it right come January they saying you gonna have an extra 2 or 300 euros in your pocket because if you're working with your tax right now they

telling you that you have to pay 60 Euros out that what they given you to pay your water fucking rates you know what I mean

Shay: Adel what got you involved what made you get out and get involved

Adel: barely ...get on ...with managing the kids you know what I mean... barely surviving without paying for water

Shay: it seems to be down to that with most of the people

Gavin: well me personally I don't pay me bills I still live at home with my mother and father you know what I mean

Everyone laughing...

Ger: so do me so do I I'm the same

Gavin: it's not about... I'm not paying my bill for me as I said like it's a 30:30 you reach were you say look I crossed the field one day and seen Irish water at the corner and said me bollocks to this I'm not having this around here and I stood with the people that were standing there and from then you just got more involved in it you hear more stories about the way things are going more about the austerity the more you hear about the bank bailouts payoffs the fucking back hander's this just makes you even feel worse it's like you want to see the bleedin end off them now all together

John: I think of everyone involved with Iceland when your man the prime minster turned around and said we didn't bail him out we fuckin jailed him

All laugh...

Ger: there's another thing about Iceland

Brendan: when they had a bank bailout I think the fact that Denis o Brien had debt written off 300 million and he got a contract that he had no experience and he didn't have a company he bought a company that was going into bankruptcy and got a contract for Irish water I think people were that was one of the big things that sickens a lot of people they said hang on a fucking minute

Gavin: as they said there was a company that came in to put in the meters for free and they turned them down

Ger: it's like a millionaire saying right I'm going to buy a load of spoons right and you gonna have to use them spoons and if you don't use those spoons I'm gonna lock you up you what I mean it's so stupid

Gavin : when Fianna Fail were the same man I remember Fianna Fail got a building built and the story went out that they got a price 150 million of a reputable builder to build it they got a price off 200 million from another builder that had experience in the same buildings and a price off 250 off another one and who did they go for the one for 250 million a 100 million dearer than the price they were after getting of another builder who would have done the same job perfectly and that's why because he is a mate of your mans that fucking knows your man

John: you see they all have their own building mates

Brendan: who was it was it, Thames water that offered to install the meters for free one of the English water companies and I mean they have a lot of years behind them so they offered to install them for free they were obviously the ones after the contract when they privatised... that was their target but they offered to install the meters for free but Denis o Brien having his 300 million written off then got the contract

Criostoir: yea I think people are becoming wise to what the government were at ...like obviously they thought they could do this under the radar and people would eventually just accept it

Gavin: but they done it the sneaky way they done it sneaky with the bin charges the household charges you know what I mean the U.S.C charges brought in on peoples wages as a temporary fund to help bailout the bank six years later it's still getting stopped out of peoples wages and we're meant to be austerity finished

Jake: Okay Vincent thank you!

Jake: what was I going to say... can we get a scrapbook made from the start when we started the committee off would that be good idea like?

Criostoir: yes definitely

Jake: we got the photographs and we ask people say again get your photographs of how you kicked off and why you were doing it no I'm just saying we got photographs of different people

All talking at once...inaudible

Criostoir: yes you can decide

Shay: I think that's brilliant ...And putting underneath it why we're doing it

Maria you see the photographs on the Crumlin page and you see where there was only an handful of the Crumlin core group kind of when we started off first in the morning and then when you go on then see the photographs you see the residents starting to come out then you see the different faces in the so again you could kind throw the first lot that came out first

Jake: good girl good thinking!

Gavin: but when people see other people standing up and fighting back they say hang on a minute and especially when it's in your own local neighbourhood really you that's your man from across the road like the same when I was living up in Banger like that I was walking by I knew one and that knows... heya what's the story and another lad would be walking by he ended up joining the group

Ger: I never knew these people before in my entire life I could have been sitting beside them in the pub I wouldn't have known them none of them I knew Maria though

All laughing and talking...

Gavin: but Maria you came out you know

Brendan: the very first house they tried was jakeys house the very first house they tried to plume

All talking over each over...inaudible

Jake: I have a great story to tell...

Jake: I came out with a hammer that's a great story

All laughing...

Jake: but at the end of it is do we win do we win what were we going to win we think were gonna bring the government down

Ger: you have to have the confidence you know we have the people behind us

All: we are we are...

Gavin: I think the government are after bringing themselves down

Ger: but then again you look at our government right it's a two party right it's always been a two party it's like the American you have F .G and F.F since the beginning of the State there's never been either F .G or F.F not in government it's either been one or other right now they have a two party system right they don't listen to the people they're not listening to the people we are telling them we don't want Irish water we don't want charges we don't want their austerity and their coming out with all this bullshit there coming out with all this fucking will give you this and these concessions and these concessions

Gavin: and then they're on about we need money and we have to pay for this and pay for that yet they let our oil go for nothing and our gas go for nothing and our fisheries are being cut into bleeding buttons compared to what the rest of Europe cash for our own waters and they make up billions of Euros a year out of it

Ger: mean they really actually... think we're idiots when in fact when you listen to them talking... they're the idiots do you know what I mean

Gavin: that's it either they're idiots or they're scammers ...so they have to be either be in on all the corruption because they're not incompetent obviously these are educated people like they're not that stupid and yet they come across as stupid it's the things they do are stupid or else it's just corruption

Ger: I mean the bleeding Tánaiste of Ireland coming around and saying what type of phones are they using how can they afford to have those phones now that is very stupid thing to say

Gavin: another T.D telling you cut back on your children's Christmas presents and you can pay for your water bills

Brendan: do you think the water comes from the sky

Ger: what's was it your one from Leitrim said as well... what was it she said em let them collect the rain and drink that water

Gavin: remember the protest it was lashing rain all the protesters can collect that rain yea...

Brendan: on that subject one of the things someone only said recently... I saw it on one of the pages I can't remember who it was... the rights of water contract actually gives them the right to your rain water

All: that's right you're a 100 per cent

Brendan: but they have the right to your rain water

Gavin: any water that falls basically

Ger: well let them have the rain water just leave our water alone

All talking at once...inaudible

Brendan: your rain water running off your roof you're not harvesting it your letting it run out through your drains you're being charged for the rain running through you drains as part of this charge shit what the fuck!

Ger: yes it's mad isn't it my cousin collects it in big barrels ...lives in Galway he uses it for his vegetables you know

All talking: ....inaudible

Shay: I think just on the... as to whether their educated or whether their intelligent or what intelligent comes in loads of different forms you know what I mean? just because they went to university or they went to where ever if doesn't actually make them capable of doing anything there's one really good paper we read a couple of years back and it was a women in America and she said how could middle class or upper class people who go to university then try and govern us when they don't know anything about us they don't know how we live who we are and yet basically they keep thinking it's only 2 euro... they have no connect with us as ordinary people

All talking at once...inaudible

Johnny: Enda Kenny said last week

Jake: if you wanna speak Johnny put your hand up... all laughing...

Johnny: Enda Kenny gets out and said the average earning average wage is 35,000 in this country

Shay: no he was on about the tax rate

Johnny: that works out at 17.50 an hour he hasn't got a clue what his talking about

Gavin: that's how stupid he is!

Brendan: the very first again at the protest when it started outside your house Jakey that Walter the foreman came along and your one Geraldine was there and they were arguing with them saying we want to see your safe pass we want to see you work permit and he turned around and said you want to get yourself educated straight away he was talking down to people he came back to us the next day in fairness his own workers weren't pleased they lit on him the two women but he came back to us the next day all friendly and I just turned round to him... because he was all smiles nearly putting his arm around you excuse me you weren't like this yesterday when you were telling people you want to go and get yourself educated you were well schooled I said but you're not



fucking educated cause you don't know how to talk to people and it was his own lads then that told us they told him to shut the fuck up

Gavin: as I said there is a difference between schooling and educating

Brendan: there's education and schooling

Criostoir: look rather than keep people here all night, and you know there is a lot of information it's about how you filter it or prioritise it, the type of information or knowledge you want to be recorded, people don't have to I mean the research is in such a way that if you don't want to commit to it that's fair enough if at any time during doing the research that you feel you haven't time or something comes up in your life or you just lose interest then that's grand just ...say look I haven't the time if people honestly give it some consideration as I say I know people are very busy in their own life's and they're committing a lot of time to the campaign as Shay said I think it is very important to record our own history and I think that's the value and the importance of this type of research if we could meet say three times or we can meet as many times as you want we can even meet in the pub as much as we can meet here

Brendan: only if you're buying laughing....

Criostoir: we can meet as many times as you want but taking into account how busy people are...

Brendan: well between now and Christmas could be a problem

Shay: you were talking about next meeting next January

Gavin: yea well if you were to do it after Christmas like what's an hour or so once a month there's probably a protest every month or after being at a protest

Brendan: we will have leaflets for you to distribute before the 10<sup>th</sup> December what's the longest road...all laughing

Criostoir: yes that's no problem at all

Gavin: No would the simplest thing to do be a question and answer stuff that you're trying to research if you put that down as a questionnaire and get it filled in because as you say you're getting a lot of mixed answers of different times of different people

Criostoir: : but I think that would it would be a benefit... a benefit of doing an individual interview and again like there is things like confidentiality and whatever else people don't want their names mentioned

Jake: no harm our names are being mentioned our fucking faces are all over the place all laughing...

Brendan: Criostoir: when does this have to be handed in?

Criostoir: next July

Brendan: hopefully this will be done and dusted by then we can say what we want...

John: well would it not be better off if one just wrote it out for everyone else you know everyone doing the research and then they could give it to the person

Ger yea go ahead

Gavin: no as I was saying the likes of videos, pictures that's easy stuff you know

Shay: I don't think Criostoir: wants you to go out and physically do research he is looking for you to maybe interview one person and talk to one person is that what you want?

Criostoir: yes you could interview someone if that what you wanted to do

Shay: that's a contribution you want to make to it or you may just feel you want to sit in the focus groups if you know what I mean Criostoir came up with a great idea in the house if everybody pick 2 photographs between now and maybe January and said you know what they mean so much to me maybe it could be Jake with a hammer on the first day or Gavin with the two dogs and the garda says o fuck I'm not going near him... all laughing something like that and if you pick 2 photographs and even if you want to Facebook me and say there's two and they mean such a thing because of such a thing....

Maria: there is actually a great photograph of the group I think you were there that day yourself ...and a photograph of Sheila on the ground drawing the posters and that was near the start of the campaign

All talking about the protests...inaudible

Criostoir: can you tell me who the Crumlin Facebook pages ...its recorded history anyway we can just take it of the website and use it for research

Gavin: like I said there's loads of stuff there

Criostoir: we're sort of going to have to confine it to Crumlin but obviously talk about the global situation [concerning water]

Gavin: I'm sure you got a few good ones of the big march in Crumlin

Ger: yes there some good ones there

Brendan: the dogs just the dogs is a great photograph as well because obviously no worker will go near those fuckers all laughing

Criostoir: well look we can agree like you... don't have to commit fully now I just want to get a sense of whether people are interested or not

Maria: Adele are you interested? Don't mind her... she listens

Brendan: but there is a photographic historical record from we started right up to now on the Facebook page

Criostoir: maybe it could be more focused given the fact that we could use it maybe for an exhibition you know what I mean that you could travel with it go wherever you want and use it collectively to talk about that ...

Brendan: are you going to get them all developed and framed?

Criostoir: yes okay

All talking...

Ger: document every photograph you know like say Jake is standing there with hammer Jake stands with hammer while Brendan eats his sandwich everyone laughs

Criostoir: yes if people could talk to other people that didn't come tonight and sort of explain to them about tonight and shay has agreed to be a co-researcher as well so he will be the point of contact. Thanks for coming tonight...hopefully I will see you all soon.

## Appendix 6: Interview Transcripts (1 &2)

### Interview transcript 1

#### Shay interviewing Antoinette

Shay-Can you tell me something about your own personal politics and your own background leading into these water protests

Antoinette-I didn't have a political background whatsoever though I always voted and I always voted for independents. I never had a strong political opinion until the water charges come in. Em...it was only when that came in that I decided to get involved and done it more for community work rather than politics. So I don't have a political background.

Shay-Did you vote on a regular basis?

A-I used to vote all the time, I usually voted left wing em but to be honest with you I wasn't politically aware until now.

Shay-ok

A- Maybe in the last eight months I have become politically aware but not until now had I been politically aware about anything.

Shay-any interaction with politics of any description?

A- No, none at all

Shay-so can you tell me how you first got involved in the anti-water charges campaign?

A-I actually saw a post on Facebook one of the days from Crumlin who had initially set up their protest in the summer and I knew they would be coming in here. and I thought we needed some type of resistance because I knew I couldn't afford to pay and I knew a lot of neighbours couldn't afford to pay so I actually contacted Brid Smith, em she was the only politician I knew in the area at the time and she helped me set up a street meeting and from there then Joan Collins got involved and we set up a core group.

Shay-and when would that have been roughly?

A-That would have been back in last October I think it was...maybe September October that we set up the core group

Shay-So your motivation then was?

A -I knew I couldn't pay and a lot of my neighbours were worried about it and they couldn't pay, so I thought I would take the initiative and set something up instead of waiting for it to happen.

Shay-Very good, how did you sustain that commitment to the protest? Because it's a fair commitment...I know myself.

A-Yea, it's a big commitment and it's very hard, obviously I have a young daughter and she's in school but because she is in school between nine and twelve I have a lot of time in the mornings that are free and I can go out and protest meters going in and I can work

on non- payment stuff then at home and we would have a lot of our core group stuff in the evening the likes of canvassing so... so it works out well enough with her hours at school and my family are very supportive of what I'm doing so they help me out if I really need them to mind her but I try not to do that, I try to get it all done in the time I have free when she's not here...so you know ,so, yea.

Shay- do you find your enthusiasm waning at times and rises as you get a victory or defeat can you describe that a bit maybe

A-Absolutely yea, I find it hard to do door to door to be quite honest with you when we are canvassing at the doors, and... sometimes you might get a bit of a negative response I suppose or go into an area sometimes that's a bit more leafy...and they are not into resisting the meters. It does demoralise you a bit but you know at the same time you go into other areas and they are really just so glad of your help that gives you the lift that you need to keep on going all the time... or sometimes you might be at the shopping centre and somebody will stop you and ask how's your water charges going and that gives you a lift as well because you know that someone realizes you are doing it for the good of the community and it's not just you know something that's not going to go away like the bin charges...it just keeps you going you know what I mean

Shay-Your situation is not very dissimilar to my own...ok em...what sort of activities have you been involved in to date?

A-obviously we have been out resisting the meters we had them in Cherryfield before Xmas and after Xmas and then I have joined Crumlin and Driminagh and Dublin 8 and other areas as well to stop meters going in. Em we have done a lot of work on non-payment...to do with leaflets we have dropped the whole of Walkinstown with non-payment leaflets already and we plan to do another batch again...we have been holding public meetings...em we have been doing name capturing...at churches, at shopping centres...we try to hold activities regularly to let residents know we are still here and we haven't gone away and to make sure they have a designated phone number to ring if they spot Irish water in the area...em I think that's it

Shay-Can you tell me something about the structures and organisation in Walkinstown, what way that works?

A-well initially when it was set up I used to chair quite a lot of meetings because we were still finding our feet with each other and over time it evolved into less of a committee and more into a core group where the chair was actually passed around...and everybody gets to bring a different agenda for every meeting up...there's no leader as such in our core group at all...everybody does what they can in their own kind of time limits, some are working some are in college em some of us have more time than others but the way we work is that everybody has a turn of the chair em suggestions are thrown out and we take a vote on absolutely everything no matter how small it is...obviously we go by majority rule, em if one member felt very strongly about something that's actually going to upset them...we would probably have a rethink about what we are doing but it's very fair it's very democratic We are very democratic, em as no leaders whatsoever in the group and it works...it works for us.

Shay-You feel that it's more by consensus as opposed to democratic rule in that it's getting people to buy into the idea?

A-Yea it is...a lot of them are converted they don't need much convincing of buying into it...we are all pretty much of the same mind-set...we are very gelled as a group. We have actually developed great friendships out of it, I think we are quite likeminded and the gas thing about our group is the greatest majority of the group are women there's only two men in the group at the same time they are of the same mind-set as us so it works very very well but I find that we don't need a chair because we respect each other enough to stop listen and then speak em...now it's only just become like that now there was an awful lot of tension and we had more members and there was tension in the group...and there was some kind of infighting but that since has resolved itself...but em but at this stage we are very gelled.

Shay-do you think the fact that there is more women in the group helps with that dynamic

A-I don't know whether it helps but I think we are very unique group but sometimes when you have a lot more women in a group you find quite more conflict because women are so opinionated but I think that everybody in our group are very much relaxed because we know we are fighting for the same thing so just because each of us goes about it a different way doesn't mean we can't make it work, ah...I think the group is unique in terms of women but I just think the dynamic is just good personality wise not because of the gender, I just think the personalities match and they gel very well.

Shay-I can tell you from the Crumlin group that it's very male orientated and you have very strong opinions there you talk about women being opinionated but men are as well...they don't always come to a consensus... I think it's different for your group in that you can come to a consensus...then that's very interesting in that you have an ability to move away from this democracy thing and go to consensus were everybody gets something out of it and there's no one being left behind.

A-Absolutely...yea I think we have learned from mistakes, because we were initially set up, the group em we are all very strong characters and very opinionated but we see from the mistakes that other people have made in the group but they have since left...and they weren't willing to go with this you know...this democratic em process...it was like, you know maybe one person would take over the meeting for twenty minutes and certain things weren't getting covered. But now we know that we have a certain time limit on these topics...if we can't resolve it within that time...we leave it take a break and come back to it at the end of the meeting...and it works because it gives people a chance to calm down and actually evaluate what they really think rather than acting on their emotions. You know we just find that that works better you know we leave one topic after ten minutes and say look...maybe we need to take a break and from that now and come back to it at the end when we have maybe other things covered and we aren't under pressure to get results too quickly. You know so it does work

Shay-How many people, roughly would be in the core group?

A- I think there is eleven or twelve of us.

Shay-that's big numbers.

A-It is big numbers for us but the thing is ...I'm probably the least with experience of campaigning within the group...em all of the others may have been involved in the likes of bin campaigns or maybe strike action. They have all had some type of back

ground...one of our members actually ran I think in a local election em before but he acts only as a resident in our group, he's not allowed to push any agenda in the group and he never has thank god and its worked out for us

Shay-I love that idea from a personal point of view ...I like this idea about it being not just being about democracy and having a vote and someone being left behind because of the vote...if you can put an issue to the side, park it and come back to it [A-and compromise]...inevitably it involves compromise....doesn't it a little bit of give and take on both sides and nobody is left behind.

A-Yea, absolutely, that's generally what happens say I suggest something that I feel strongly about and another person didn't we would probably try to meet half way on it, instead of one idea just being completely shut down...instead of saying that's rubbish we are not going with it we would try to meet half way in the middle on it for it to work

Shay-What would be the socio-economic makeup of the wider group in Walkinstown area?

A-Most of our core group are actually employed or else attending college, em...there are about three of us that are not employed and we are the ones that do all the day work. A lot of them would be professionals em...they would maybe work in the health sector, one of the other girls is actually doing a thesis, on I think... on child protection, at the moment...so em...it's not necessarily all unemployed, our group seems to be at the opposite end of the scale from other groups that I see... in that most of us are employed... a lot of other groups have more time on their hands to do protests and that but people that are involved in the area lately are older...there an awful lot of older members coming on board that live in the area...one women that's come on board with us em from Cherryfield, she came to one of our public meetings and she came up to me at the end and told me how worried she was and told me about her parents' house that she inherited and she wasn't in very good health and she sits in the house with a coat on because she can't afford to heat her house right...I found that heart breaking I really did. And she said I don't know what I am going to do if I have to pay this because she said, I don't have any money I can't afford to heat the house, so what am I going to do so she has become very involved not on the core group but whenever there's an activity day going on or anything going on in the area-she's there and we find an awful lot of people that want to get involved are people that can't pay not the people that just don't want to pay but that can't pay...you know over forty em and that's become redundant recently em...or that they just can't afford to pay. So we have a very mixed bag. People on the core group are probably between the ages of 26-50 years old...55 but the outer group that we work with would probably be older again...the ones that would be out protesting the meters in Cherryfield they would be older rather than the younger ones...ok?

Shay-Ok very good...I think we covered some of this strategy and tactics... in regards to networking with other groups, organisations or parties or alliances...how do you's go about that?

A-We kinda ...we don't...we kind of agreed at the very beginning that we didn't want this to be a political platform for any party to be able to canvass from....Joan Collins and Brid [Smith] were crucial in setting up our group and since then they more or less left it to us to do it ourselves, em we do link in with them now and again and they have

been quite good for printing and all that...that kind of thing and if there's something we aren't sure about we might ring and ask-what do you think? But essentially the decision is made by the core group itself so...it's very non-political...em if there's public meetings obviously...we will invite guest speakers from different political parties but the gas thing at the last public meeting we had we actually asked all the political parties...not just left wing...and obviously the other ones didn't turn up...em ...but they were invited because we wanted it to be as democratic and as transparent as possible. Em... you know yourself we are linked in to the other groups like in Crumlin, Driminagh, Dublin 8 and we worked on that non-payment leaflet together that went very well actually em I think that will continue cos we kind of need... because in Walkinstown a lot of us is working when water meter programmes come up here... we will rely heavily on other areas to support us...and you know it is crucial...even in the likes of Greenhill's we have been up there any time when the meters were going in up there. You know we've been also helping them out door knocking on non-payment as well but we are linked in with other groups as well and most of them have no political agenda.

Shay-Ok difficulties encountered both personally and organisationally...you covered that right...how optimistic are you about the campaigns success?

A-We will beat it I know we will beat it because...I'm going by statistics from what we encountered since we have been out canvassing...and if I'm going by people in Walkinstown I would say there's about seventy per cent...sixty five per cent of people are not going to pay, I would say maybe twenty per cent will pay...and the rest are undecided at the moment... we would be more interested in targeting the undecided...there's no point in kind of preaching to the converted people Em I think we will win it.

Shay- In what way do you believe your involvement in the water campaign have shaped your own political views generally?

A-I think as I said previously I think I was always left wing in terms of mind set but not very politically aware... I would never have spoken to politicians at the door step but now I will ...em sorry yea I would more inclined now when someone comes knocking at the door looking for a vote to question them whereas I wouldn't before I would have taken the information and I probably would have consulted with my family about who they were voting for and then made the decision but now..... I think I am more equipped because I have been around em more political people em I have been watching clips...on Facebook and whatever and I would be more aware now than I was before...em so I think I would probably go for more left wing politics...more so now than ever.

Shay-The role media is playing is an interesting one from loads of points of views... I am fascinated by it because it's something I would have studied and I really think it's an amazing role...so give us your take and if you could include everything from the general media, to newspapers to Facebook...incorporating everything give us your overview of what you think it's like

A-I don't believe anything that I read in mainstream media anymore, nothing em...there seems to be this propaganda machine operating at the moment in Ireland...in Irish media and it's always a negative spin put on anybody that goes against what their



agenda is. The only information that I would believe is kind of coming from sources on Facebook that I know are credible. so it's not that I believe everything that's on Facebook, I'd kind of look at people I would trust and I would look at the links that they are sharing, have a read and then make my own opinion on it but I think there is a Hugh media bias here at the moment... and the only real information that you are going to get is from kind of swapping stories with likeminded people on Facebook.

Shay-our news!

A-Yea, yes, and I actually said to someone recently that it would be a very lucrative business-to set up... a newspaper that actually reported the truth of what people really think rather than just going with some type of Government agenda em.. that would be a newspaper that would actually sell, people would be willing to pay the euro for and not to get a load of lies put in through their front door... but yea some of the local papers are actually ok. I have seen a piece on the Dublin 8 resistance in the local news and that was actually quite accurate...em but mainstream media...the likes of The Herald, The [Irish] Independent would...would completely boycott them now....myself

Shay-you see a difference between the mass media and there's obviously a reason there...they have one agenda and the local newspapers are giving you some information that they think is valuable

A-They aren't operating to any particular agenda or they're not in anybody's back pocket... you know that they have no reason...to report falsely, whereas obviously mainstream media does

Shay-What about RTE how do you find them over the duration of the campaign?

A-well obviously they say that they are not a State run entity but they are because you can tell by the twists again that they put on you can tell by the way the protests haven't had coverage here was Hugh protests and they might have got two minutes and the running joke at the minute is there was thirteen people standing outside the GPO so obviously.....they are playing down the protest movement at the moment and they are playing down the amount...of figures and they are saying they are dwindling...I don't think it actually is dwindling

Shay-ok is there anything else you would like to say or comment on that I possibly missed out?

A-Not really like...I think...I think this is working... but I have seen in a lot of the groups that we have worked with that there's an agenda being pushed in other areas and I don't...necessarily believe in that I don't like it... I know that everything in a public forum is political but I don't think that a residents group or a grass roots movement needs as much political influence as I have seen...some residents involved in this campaign don't actually realise that there's an agenda being pushed on them em because I didn't at the beginning, I wouldn't have copped on to it at all but now I would... I would cop on...Oh look that's Sinn Fein doing that or People before Profit doing that, now you would know...em what they are doing. We had a protest on Loughinstown roundabout a few weeks ago and Sinn Fein turned up with all these flags and I actually I turned around to them and said this is actually a residents group you are welcome to be here but can you lower two of them flags please...and they did because they know if they want to keep us on side and have some involvement at public

meetings then they will need us...I think there is...I don't think that every area is grass roots I think there is a lot of political influence in other areas and I think we are very lucky that we have taken control of our area and we don't allow that carry on...and I think Crumlin have done the same actually...they don't tolerate any type of political influence...like you could say that we are quite strong groups because of that...you know there's no interference or no agenda

Shay-and would you see politics coming through afterwards would you see not just being an activist-you have become an activist like it or lump it...and you are always going to be labelled as an activist for the rest of your life and I don't ...I think that's a positive thing I think that can be flattering depending on your point of view whether it can be a compliment because it gives you some credit for some self- thought [A-it does] for informed ideas so would you see it as having an influence on your thinking going forward are you politicised now more than you have been...and I don't mean that by joining a political party...are you more aware of how politics works...what's going on around...in that regard now

A- Yea I would be very aware of agendas and what each political party would be looking for, I don't think I would ever be interested in being involved in politics or with any particular group...em I would always remain at community level em and I think that politics to some extent changes people regardless I don't think it's a conscious decision...for a lot of the independents or smaller left wing campaigns but inevitably it changes you...yea I think everybody that's involved in this campaign would be politically aware now...you have no choice because it's the stuff that you read

Shay-do you believe that the...at that community level should have a say then politically[A-yes absolutely] that goes beyond political parties...real democracy were you would have a smallish group were maybe you would have two hundred people living in an actual area having a say in what happens in their area

A-yea...I do... I actually believe in that type of direct democracy...I do, I think there should be community forums set up to report back to maybe the local TD's or whoever their local rep they should have a direct influence...I also think that

Shay-so it's not a ...on all politics, it's the type of party politics that's the problem

A-I do I'm not saying that one group is bad...I think that some of them just get led down the garden path by what they are doing...they start off with great intentions...but I just think they are deaf?...sometimes and they make poor decisions I don't think anybody went ahead with the intention of screwing the country...I think there were some very very poor decisions made by people who weren't equipped to make them.....and I think that if each community had a forum set up so that they could have a direct say in what way the country was run it would probably work out better and people would be more accountable...politicians would be more accountable em you know if you are in a job and you aren't doing a good job then you are sacked...and I think it should be the same for Government if they aren't doing a good job we should be able to revoke the vote that we give them.

Shay-Thanks that went Brilliant.

## Interview transcript 2

Ger Kelly interviewed by Gavin Harold.

Gavin-Can you tell me something about your own personal and political background

Ger-My family were Fianna fail all their lives basically...I never really chose a political party myself as such but over the last few months now during this water protesting I have got kinda more politicised, kinda understood a lot about political parties how they work and I have met certain political parties and people from those parties and no well...me now I wouldn't be exactly I will choose a party kind of person but you never know what will happen.

Gavin-You wouldn't come from a political back ground?

Ger-No I am not from a political back ground definitely not from a political back ground but my family would be Fianna Fail supporters but me I am not... I don't support any of them.

Gavin -Can you tell me about how you first got involved in the anti-water charges campaign?

Ger-Yea I was walking up the Road in Crumlin one day I was after buying a new Liverpool jersey and I thought to myself...what is them lads standing up there for? And then. I met a few lads and they were saying we are stopping these meters from going in...you know I sort of had a bit of a clue about it but I wasn't a hundred per cent sure what was going on but I was informed there on the line...basically these people want to stick these meters in the ground they want to charge us for them so I stood with the lads and that was it pretty much that was the summer of last year.

Gavin-What made you want to get involved, what was your thinking in getting involved?

Ger-I was ... sick of austerity, sick of the people getting screwed over every fuckn... I was sick of the people getting messed around all the time including my own parents...my own parents are old age pensioners you know and I was sick of them... Government austerity coming down on the vulnerable of the community. I was sick of a lot of things you know. The fact that I hadn't got a proper job in a couple of years an everything it was all frustration that built up me ...I said grand and I went ahead with that you know.

Gavin-So why now, why did you now get involved all that's happened over the past years and everything that's been going on like there's been austerity for the last six years in the country...there's been property taxes there's been cuts to welfare, there's been cuts to social housing... there's been cuts to pensioners why now like?

Ger-I was educated a bit more, I mean through the water protests I learned a lot, stuff that I didn't actually know and I never knew to be honest what we could actually do about it. Did the people have a chance could we do something about this? You know Why are the Irish people like this why are they lying down on their backs when this is happening? You know...through the water meter protests and the austerity thing I learned ...I learned a lot I was educated you know.

Gavin-Basically that was enough?

Ger- Yea that was enough for me it was like the straw that broke the camels back basically...you know that was enough for me...now I had a choice... a chance and a choice.

Gavin-You seen there was resistance there to it?

Ger- You know like I seen no resistance for a lot of things you know or minimum resistance and you know now this is Ireland awake it's great.

Gavin-What type of activities have you been involved in to date?

Ger-Well as in protest activities? [Gavin-yea] I was involved in with em... there a couple of years ago... tracking down the Central Bank, what do you call it? The lock out? No the bleedn.... [Gavin-Dame Street?] Occupy yea yea...I was involved with them for a bit I actually did security for them one night a couple of nights actually.. I'm a big bastard...and they were saying ....here...give me a hi-vis jacket...there you go Occupy... I stayed out with them a few times...apart from that that was it yea

Gavin-Up to date activities now what type of activities would you be involved in?

Ger-Right now...anti-water meter protests...I am involved in them a hundred per cent... we support the Dunne strike at the moment yea

Gavin-Can you tell me something about the organisational structure of the campaign in Crumlin?

Ger- Well we have at the moment tops thirty five core group we have a web site 'Crumlin says No to water meters and charges'...we have a phone which is my phone number anybody in Crumlin see's Irish water vans anywhere... they ring me any time of the day or night... I will get on the phone... right lads, this is what's happening we are down on Kildare road or Devenish road we need help... there's twenty or thirty people there from other areas.. We're basically linked in with every other group...around the area including north side groups as well, yea there you go we have a good organisation.

Gavin-What about the people in the group like socially and economically...how would the mix be in the group?

Ger-Well they are all pretty much working class people you know I mean we all come from a working class back ground me personally I come from Dublin 8 so,, I moved to Crumlin twenty five years ago with my mother and father, I lived there on and off I'm back in Crumlin now but yea they are the same type of people that I've grew up with all me life they are working class people they like a drink.. they are all nice people...we all have a drink together occasionally...we have parties every now and then it's great. The Crumlin group, we're a tight group we are a tight knit group we are a good group.

Gavin-This more or less leads into the next question what's your relationship like with the other group members?

Ger- I would like to say that every one of the group are friends of mine and we socialise I wouldn't say a lot but we socialise when we can...we have a few beers together and it's cool and I love it.

Gavin-How do you's work on decision making tactics you know if something has to be done how effective?

**Ger-** We hold meetings quite regularly and...votes are... it's a democracy... I mean if we want to march on Drimmagh say for a laugh right, it will be voted in or it will be voted out and that's the way it is...you know what I mean it's like... there's no leaders as such we are a residents group and we have unity between us and we call votes it's a democracy...absolute democracy

Gavin-How effective do you think the group has actually been?

Ger- Well, let's put it this way they came into Crumlin Irish Water that is, they came into Crumlin for three weeks and we stopped them putting in meters in Crumlin then the same group went over to Drimmagh we stopped them from putting meters in Drimmagh, we have gone everywhere we have been...Crumlin says No to water meters and Charges have been involved in every aspect of the campaign all over Dublin so yea it's pretty effective.

Gavin-How about future plans how do you see yourselves going from here like...we have stopped them where do we go from here?

Ger -Well it's going to be a choice of... they are going to come back to Crumlin and they are going to try it again. We will be there we will stop them, we will stop them anywhere...anywhere around Crumlin, I reckon a lot of people who have been involved in the campaign are also getting politicised as well so there might be a couple of independent candidates running for election around the Crumlin area say.

Gavin-What type of lessons have we learned from say the likes of them coming to the area and how best to stop them?

Ger-We've learned to keep it absolutely peaceful, to keep it within the boundaries of the law because if you go outside of the boundaries of the law that gives Irish water, and the Gardaí, carte blanche to destroy our campaign and Irish independent for example today down in Mount Argus an Irish Independent or Herald or whatever he was photographer came along just to take pictures to demonise the campaign but no we didn't we kept it peaceful...and we let all those lads leave and we are the same in Crumlin that's where it's going...we are going to be peaceful about it... always.

Gavin-How do you find other groups getting involved, parties organisations, political party organisations?

Ger-So long as they keep it peaceful within the law they are welcome in Crumlin anytime.

Gavin-What difficulties have you encountered say with the group and getting things organised with other people...and?

**Ger-**Well, there's been a bit of bickering within the group like a lot of people wouldn't agree with a certain tactic...say for example we want to go over to Edenmore...somebody might say hold on we don't need to do that you know and blah blah...you know you have that kind of bickering...but at the end of the day Crumlin as a group will stick together right and we will support anybody...residents from any area basically what we are saying right is no water meters anywhere in Dublin that's what we are saying and we are fully behind that but in a peaceful way.

Gavin-How optimistic are you about getting the result out of the campaign?

**Ger-** We are going to win this...we are going to win this...people power will overcome it... we are going to win this.

**Gavin-** That's confidence for you. In what ways do you believe your involvement in the campaign has shaped your own political views in general?

**Ger-** Well I have met people from political parties... I would come from a blind person if you like... like someone that wasn't exactly.... who didn't know what was left or right or whatever to... I wouldn't call myself a leftist I would call myself a right winger I would call myself a 'peoplist' if you like, politically I am for the people not for a party... that's it yea

**Gavin-** What role do you think the media has played in the campaign?

**Ger-** Ah stop don't get me started. The mainstream media of Ireland have destroyed or have tried to destroy the campaign...The Independent particularly Is owned by Denis O'Brien who owns siteserv who owns GMC Sierra so they are gonna try and demonise and destroy the campaign...they have made up so many stories the radio has made up so many stories...I basically me I'm an admin on a ...Facebook page called boycott RTE, I don't watch RTE, I don't watch TV3, I don't watch TG4 I don't watch anything involving the State unless it involves football or rugby Ok well that's grand I don't see sport as a political thing but the mainstream media in Ireland tries to demonise it's one sided its biased.

**Gavin-** What role do you think social media has played in the campaign?

**Ger-** Social media... If it hadn't been for social media we wouldn't have a campaign. Facebook is unreal you know... we have... if it wasn't for Facebook we wouldn't have a campaign. All of Dublin would be metered and we would be under the couch...social media is amazing.

**Gavin-** Is there anything else you want to say or comment on?

**Ger-** Well, there's one thing I would like to say...Denis O'Brien I hope you are listening to this right and your government right and all your lackeys right...The Irish people won't take it anymore cos we are awake now and we understand what's going on. A couple of years ago I hadn't a clue right and I am sure there's a lot of people from the Crumlin group who hadn't a clue what was going on...they'd stick their head out the door oh it's another guy sticking in a meter and the whole lot...They didn't know but now we know right now we know what's going on and we know about your corruption and we are going to end your corruption right and hopefully we are going to topple your little fucking government...excuse the language that's all I got to say.

**Gavin-** Thanks very much.

Interview ends

## Appendix 7: Facebook Analysis June 10<sup>th</sup> 2015

### First protest in Crumlin today-mobile phone video

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#) Feel free to share this video with your friends. The more views the more support.

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [1](#) · [28 August 2014 at 20:30](#)

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	You are heroes!	Worthy cause u get my support
2.	Well done	Class well done
3.	Well done	I love this!!!! VICTORY FOR CRUMLIN!!!!
4.	Good on you Crumlin!	
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [1](#) · [14 September 2014 at 20:34](#) · [Edited](#)

### Day two of protest-mobile phone video

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	<b>Der on Cashel road now</b>	
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [2](#) · [29 August 2014 at 10:25](#)

	FEMALE	MALE
2.	That looks like a road off Sundrive	I recognize that voice, think it's the foreman that cut off water to 3homes with OAPs living in them frown emoticon-male
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>

## More help today stopping water meters been installed



	FEMALE	MALE
1.	I have my no Meter sign in the window... Fair play to you all taking a stand..	I hope they lock you up and throw away the key
2.	Go on Sharon	Do want a lend of my dog they won't get near ya
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [1](#) · [2 September 2014 at 10:32](#)

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Even if they do fit them ... i wont b paying any way they can take it from Enda Kenny's wage	
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [1](#) · [2 September 2014 at 10:02](#)

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	James Marshall with an attitude like yours it probly will	Go on Terry Maguire don't make it easy anyway!!
2.	Water workers at top of Bangor again same place as yesterday  Ah Sharon ya'll have to come help us when they hit Tallaght now yr a pro!!	Go on Sharon ya little beaut ya
3.	go on ye ting xxxx	
<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>



[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [1](#) · [1 September 2014 at 21:06](#)

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	you are famous now.	
2.	Fair play to her Hun xx	
3.	Fair play Jakey	
4.	I know Ann look at me	
5.	I know karen had to	
6.	Lol she is gas	
7.	Fair play Sharon	
8.	Good on you	
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>3</b>

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)

[2 September 2014](#) · [Edited](#) · Meter Mick chatting up the Southside women. Don't think they're interested.



	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Fair play to you all	Wait till I tell Anne tongue
2.	Fair play to you all	
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)

	FEMALE	MALE
--	--------	------

1.		Yes Peter is Mick really the father  It's like a scene from the Jeremy Kyle show, sorry couldn't resist it
2.		Well done
<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>2</b>

### Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges

2 September 2014 · Brendan with Dave from Clondalkin who came down to support us



	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Fair play <a href="#">Brendan</a> <a href="#">Condron</a> xx	
2.	well done	
3.	keep up the good work	
4.	Well done all, I sure do not want my mum & dad paying another bill to line their greedy pockets....Keep it up, fantastic show of unity...Is that Whiskey in that cup;-)	
5.	Well done to you all keep up the good work	
<b>Total</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>0</b>

Something wrong here oh yea Brendan does not have a cup of tea in his hand  
Admin

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [3 September 2014 at 01:28](#)

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)

[2 September 2014](#) · [Edited](#) ·

Irish Water pulling out again and not one meter installed in 4 days-mobile phone video

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Good on ye's keep up the great work i grew up on Downpatrick rd & my parents still stay there & i was telln them wat u were doin & they were delighted,i now live on Scotland & i'm sharing it so everyone can see how much the Irish people are been robbed-	
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [7](#) · [2 September 2014 at 16:16](#)

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#) We are out at 8am but could be anywhere in Crumlin we get word were they are and we get the local residents out then to help us

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Fair play to the people in Crumlin standing there ground xx	
2.	Good stuff I'm free Thursday morning I'll be up again to help just ring me smile emoticon	
3.	Where exactly are u guys & wat time are u there from???	
4.	well done	
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [1](#) · [2 September 2014 at 21:51](#)

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)

[3 September 2014](#) · Another day protesting and a another new face Carol we are getting stronger. Ray McHugh came up to support us



	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Good on yous keep it up over here in Manchester most people pay depending on there income	Fantastic work keep it up
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>

Another day another disaster for Irish Water.  
 Protest day 5  
 No meters fitted.  
 As always great turnout from local residents. If this is an indication of the resistance in Crumlin, Irish Water ate getting flushed down the drain.

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#) Thanks Kat, if they show up post to this page and we will support you and your neighbours. In the words of a song, " You'll never walk alone".

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Well done Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges I hope resistance and people power are high in the Grove or I will be on my own when they come here !!	Fair play to Crumlin showing us how it's done brilliant

2.		Look at who's house n van is in d back round Darren Cruise
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>

**Where Martin Admin**

**brilliant , hopefully everyone will get out and stand up for our selfs . Say NO to water meters**

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	What road is that anyhow ...	
2.	Well done keep going	
3.	Good on Crumlin my home town	
<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>

**[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)**

**[4 September 2014](#) · [Edited](#) · Great support again today Bangor/Cloyne junction**



**[Baldoye Anti Water Meter Task Force](#) YOU people are awesome!!!**

**Following your lead Pam, Paul & Co. Admin**

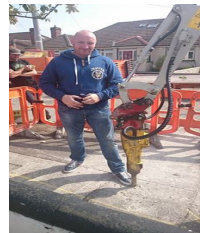
**No meters in Crumlin yet Admin**

	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>
1.	Keep up the great work	
2.	Well done	
3.	fair play to u all	
4.	Well done keep it up	
5.	if we all stand together the powers that be might start taken notice well done all of you.	
6.	Well done	
<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>0</b>

**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**

**4 September 2014 · Damien Farrell first on Blarney Park to stop digging on his own this morning**

**Keep up the good work Damo Admin**



	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>
1.	Hope when they are on clonard rd people will stop them.	Well done Damien always there helping the people out.
2.	Well done Damien Farrell smile emoticon	
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>

**Gavin Harold We can only support the people on the road if you live on the road or near we need residents with us**

	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>
1.	Good man <a href="#">Damien Farrell!</a>	Damien well done.
2.	Well done damo	good job Damien don't trust them no matter how friendly they seem to be they are not your friends

		keep the digger on the trailer
3.	Go on the damo	
4.	Well done	
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)

[4 September 2014](#) · [Edited](#) ·

**Legendary Lasses**



	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Very good ha ha	Great Ladies.
2.	Lol nanny Jew jew	
3.	Ladies well done xxx	
4.	Oh she's gonna kill u! Hahaha	
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)

[8 September 2014](#) ·

**Rutland Grove work stopped residents giving us tea**

**Thanks Sean Admin**



	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Keep up the resistance	Fare play to yous
2.	Well done guys	Keep up the good work gav and the rest who are turning out to keep those robbing fuckers out
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)



[8 September 2014](#) · [Edited](#) · [Now on Bangor come out and help](#)

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	you guys deserve medals well done everyone	Well done folks
2.	Fair play to ye all if i did,nt have to work i,d be out there with yee all.	there going to do the water charges anyway use are wasten ur time standing at corners when u think about it
3.	Fair play to you all	Bit late now catch a grip of yourselves 3 years ago wen it was proposed this should of happened. Better get jobs people pay your bills
4.	It's gonna make no difference paying for Human right it's disgraceful	Best of luck smile emoticon Shower of bastards are bk in Edenmore, outside me gaff again
5.	This is great guys	
<b>Total</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)

[8 September 2014](#) · [Edited](#) ·

Dermot helping us at the protest  
Pssst, don't let Joan see your phone Joan.



Dermot came from Walkinstown to Crumlin in his wheelchair to help us out thanks a million Dermot Admin

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	keep up the good work	
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>



## Irish Water pulling out of Rutland Grove and no meters done Admin

[9 September 2014](#) · [Edited](#) ·

**Packing up on Kildare Road  
No meters installed**

**1,415 Views**

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Good work today People.	The people of crumlin,rathvale,edenmore,tallaght,clondalkin,ballyer etc etc will not be moved by iw,fg,labour or any so called political parties!!!!
2.	<a href="#">Tina MacVeigh</a> I got my application form in the post today!  Well done:)	can they not see they are not wanted , Kenny ya traitor the ppl wont give in
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [8](#) · [9 September 2014 at 21:29](#)

## [Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#) Lovely

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Excellent.	If you sign forms they send you it's a contract
2.	Don't sign	Should have took that machine and trailer for me
3.	Well done	good man Damo
4.	Fair play to you all guys on Kildare road	Good work
5.	Or to tamper with anything that effects your personal water supply??	
6.	Quick question...if you to not sign their form's accepting them, do they have a legal or constitutional right to tamper with the basic right to water??	Damien Farrell- Cheers Jim and everyone else. We'll be back out tomorrow early Kat around Crumlin. Get onto the page Crumlin Says No To Water Meters and Charges if or when ye see them and we'll be down.
7.	Well done!	

8.	Fair play and Thank you !	
9.	fair play to you	
<b>Total</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>5</b>

**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**

**11 September 2014** ·

**When will I Will I be Famous**



	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>
1.		Well done, the reporter that wrote that said that Crumlin remains a free water republic, he needs to be told that we've been paying for our water since the 80s! 2% onto vat was for water and 5% onto motor tax was for water! So Crumlin remains a only twice charged for water and not three times republic?!!!
<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>



	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>
1.	Never!	Bloody hell gum shields are expensive aren't they
2.	Great work everyone smile emoticon	Very well done!!
3.	keep up the good	Brilliant lads. Great to see it taking

	work	off and getting plenty of support.
4.	Nice!	Well done to everyone!
5.		Well done,,
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)

[12 September 2014](#) · [Edited](#) ·

12 days of protest with the now familiar sight of Irish Water staff packing up to go home. Oh and still no meters in Crumlin.

1,474 Views

[Gavin Harold](#) And we will be out for a hundred more if we have to well done everyone involved smile emoticon

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [19](#) · [12 September 2014 at 15:19](#)

[Damien Farrell](#) 12 Days now [Darren Glennon](#) and not a single meter in.They didnt even go into the Grove today at all.They tried to be smart with a decoy on Sundrive Road but as soon as all crews and sites were secure we turned Sundrive Road into a public protest.What a backfire....they were sick.Anybody know what homeless charity is looking for the old shore cappings to scrap for funds as we know somebody who has a few to donate.

Dean, as we State at all our street meetings, we will protest with all residents. What we unfortunately cannot do is protest for them. Admin

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [9](#) · [12 September 2014 at 15:27](#)

[Damien Farrell](#) Thanks for that Dean.Activists stopped installation there yesterday and prevented it again today.Residents have been contacted and provided with contact details should Irish Water return and in our oponion they will as eight houses are fitted with boun...[See More](#)



	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>
--	---------------	-------------



1.	Fair play to each and everyone of you x	Good stuff Damien Farrell <u>Admin</u>
2.	Good on you guys keep the good work up go Crumlin	Well done to all concerned. Seen them taking the digger off when I was leaving for work this morning! Was freaked they might get some meters in!
3.	People power.,well done to all who tuck part x	Great work can anyone tell me where the next one is and ill round up some body's
4.	i wonder where the diggers sleep at night	They are on ravenstable drive beside kcr builders providers looks like der putting the last few meters in
5.	Well done	
<b>Total</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>

### [Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)

**12 September 2014** · You've seen Ollie our youngest protestor, well this gentleman is our eldest. People of Crumlin, I give you Mr. Paddy Dwyer at 81yrs young, protesting on Leighlin road. Directly outside the childhood home of another Crumlin legend, Philip Parris Lynott.

**Ger Kelly** my father brendan kelly 78 was with us on bangor/podde keep it up our seniors

**Good stuff Gerard. Admin**



	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>
1.	Your dad looks great Louise Mahony smile emoticon fair play to him	
2.	and Co you are all doing a fantastic job. Fair play and thank you. They are yet to reach Stannaway Rd but hopefully I can	

	help when they do. If not I'll send down a few sambos smile emoticon	
3.	Bless them! Fair dues Crumlin. Your doing great!!	
4.	Fair play	
5.	way to go...fair play to him x	
<b>Total</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>0</b>

**Marina Moorhead Well done Dad. You're never too old to stand up for your rights!**

	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>
1.	Fair play well done	Brilliant work everyone Do we need to watch for them over the weekend any idea if they will be ...
2.	Great stuff	Well done guys.
3.	Fairplay	
4.	Fair play	
5.	way to go...fair play to him x	
<b>Total</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>

**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**

**15 September 2014 · Edited · Rathdrum residents run Irish Water out. Great to support them. Day 13 and Crumlin still saying no.**

**1,870 Views**

	<b>FEMALE</b>	MALE
1.		<b>called water isnt even fit for purpose with fluoride in it</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>

**Refuse to pay admin They arrived in Crumlin on Thursday 28th August admin**

	<b>FEMALE</b>	MALE
1.	Whoop keep it up,it gives us all hope!!	run a muck
2.	Keep on fighting till u win good luck	Rathdrum rd I'm from that road well done
3.	Excellent. Keep the shites out.	Well done to you all great work You's are doing
4.	Well dun Rathdrum	Keep the good work up disgrace that we have to be
5.	Brilliant job guys keep em out	Thanks to the people who supplied the teas. X
6.	David they can't by law turn your water off, they threatened a pressure reduction but they can't isolate an individual house in many cases to even do that. Return your pack and don't enter into a contract with them.	They cant turn it off. Water is a basic human right. Also the stopcock for most houses in crumlin (defo rutland grove) is in the house. We the householder has the power.
7.	Well done wish I was der to help fair play to all my neighbours	Power to the People .
8.	Push them out and keep them out Return to Sender No Contract...well done Rathdrum.	Just out of interest, how exactly are you going to say no to water charges? Given that meter or not, they're going to bill you.
9.	David see call to Irish Water who confirmed by law they cannot cut you off and are not able	

	to reduce your water to a trickle.	
10.	Well done keep up the good work	
<b>Total</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>8</b>

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [1](#) · [15 September 2014 at 19:18](#)

[Ger Kelly](#) day 14 isnt it?

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [1](#) · [15 September 2014 at 18:40](#)

[Eve Bracken](#) I'm back

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	keep up the good work wish i was there to help you from the murphys at 56 rathdrum rd	So then they'll just turn your water off. This isn't a government body, it's a new private company. They have no obligation to provide you with water. You don't seem to have thought this through.
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>

[Crumlin](#) says **NO** to Water Meters and Charges

[18 September 2014](#) · [Edited](#) ·

**Mobile phone video First farewell in Drimnagh today, Kilworth road. More help needed now on Mourne road**

**886 Views**

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	I'm on the corner of kilworth and Cooley. It's amazing the power of the people. So hard to believe that those men were outside from 7:30am and left at 3pm having stood around all day. The only thing they did was set up and put everything in place but never even chipped the surface. Amazing. I'm not into protesting about anything but I can't believe how	

	strong the people are on this! And I do believe we can make a difference! What an achievement, I just hope it continues! Keep up the good work people! Xxx	
2.	Which end u on	
3.	Great	
4.	Well done!	
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>

### [Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)

[19 September 2014](#) · [Edited](#) ·

Irish Water got a hole dug in Drimmagh yesterday. After the riled residents demanded no meter be installed an agreement was reached. Outcome to follow.

986 Views

[Pat Dunne](#) They dug this hole behind our backs yesterday. However it was a victory to have it filled back in and concreted today without a meter installed. The only work done by Irish Water over three weeks of protest was to dig one hole and then have to fill it in again. Great resistance from the ordinary people of Crumlin, Kimmage and Drimmagh

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Hahaha what's the bets there'll be writing in that wet cement before it dries! Female watch dis	Feel sorry for the workers not their fault why dont they get them to fix pot holes in roads instead of wasting their time filling in holes they made for no reason
2.		I opened the meter thing today and this is what I found
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>

**Linda, get some neighbours together and get organised. Admin**



	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Thats it people power fair play to you all... IW where	



	in my eState to day and not one person came out, it makes me sick	
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)

**21 September 2014 · Edited · Page 4 the Irish Sun on Sunday Are you getting worried Kenny? More and more coverage creeping in. Can ya feel our hot breath on the nape of your neck? Our ranks are swelling. Be afraid, be very afraid. The people are waking up to your treachery.**



**Agree completely Catherine, after all we were there to be seen. Admin**

	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>
1.	I was on the protest yesterday. I don't know if other people noticed there was people there with scarves over their face and masks on. To me that's wrong and scary and won't win us any Surport from onlookers. We got out to protest for our basic human right so covering up faces to me is wrong. Just wondering what anyone else thinks.	
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>

[Baldoyle Anti Water Meter Task Force](#) And there were thousands not hundreds

[Like · Reply · 11 · 21 September 2014 at 16:06](#)

	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>
1.	Maybe not Gerard, but at least they had the balls to give us	

	coverage □. I saw a young fella with a scarf over his face trying to goad the police... I shouted at him to stop acting like a f***ing idiot, that we wanted no trouble and he slunk back into the crowd like the coward he was.	
2.	Keep the pressure up lets win this fight up	
3.	Stay united with or without scarfs united u stand divided u fall	
<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>

**Heard there may be something in the Sunday Mirror.Admin**

	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>
1.	It just adds a different element to it. If I was an on looker I would see it as trouble and stay away. It's sending the wrong signal.	There was no mention of this on RTE News..... one wonders why? CENSORSHIP ?
2.	I am really really struggling to like anything from the Sun but I'm glad that this was covered...	Kenny is only afraid of his banking bosses.IFSC turns over more money than Rest of us.our oppertunity is to keep pressure on him before election as when electin is over wr the scum on their shoes for 3 years.
3.		<a href="#">Gavin Harold</a> Page two iin the irish sunday mirrior
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [4](#) · [21 September 2014 at 18:09](#)

[Baldoye Anti Water Meter Task Force](#) Catherine that was a separate march, which takes place every year. No worries, it was a fabulous peoples march.

	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>
1.	Come on everyone out there who has still to support no water	Again the cops say 450 . Go back and count

	charges if you don't know what to do find someone to explain it to you the more that's on the no water charges the better for all the households in ireland let's keep list water from putting in the meters the more on our side the better .	
2.	This is brilliant the goverment is joke what there doing is horrible the people think this is a joke and there right to do this anyone that just keeps talking about these people are doing something about this so do something about it and stop complaine all i can say this is horrible	Gavin Harold These reporters should realy know how to count hundreds as in thirty odd hundred smile emoticon
3.		Fuck them all out now and stop their pensions
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [2](#) · [21 September 2014 at 16:14](#)

[Baldoye Anti Water Meter Task Force](#) Well said, can't keep ignoring the elephant in the room.

	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>
1.	About time	Peaceful protest get our point across , peaceful .
2.		Shower of oblivious may have made better headline ??
3.		Onward we march , huge demonstration to be held at garden of remembrance 11th October @ 2.00pm
4.		Mr kenny it hasnt even begun, Saturday was a little ripple thats going to gather momentum and turn into a tidal wave thats going to wash you and your comrades out good and proper, the next march will be bigger, and the one after that too. Are you nervous yet? Course not. Just be patient your government is crumbling.

5.		Keep it going...all the best
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [1](#) · [21 September 2014 at 20:17](#)

[Robert Bates](#) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=bIBX5xBMoyM&index=1...>

[The Ballad of Patrick Murphy by John Spillane.mov](#)

Well lads we had a brilliant day in...

YOUTUBE.COM



	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Well done to everyone	
2.	Well you were certainly yourself yesterday Na Fulacht Fia Moore wink emoticon	
3.	<a href="#">Bernie Hughes</a> I agree people should not cover their faces at protests .	
<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [5](#) · [21 September 2014 at 15:36](#)

A rally of people is very hard to organise. Remember, NO UNION organised this, just people in a group called Dublin Says No. Just ordinary folk. People are diverse and no one can tell who will show up and what way they will act.

[Ger Kelly](#) Any other papers??? I wouldn't piss on the sun

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)

[25 September 2014](#) ·

We dropped over to Edenmore and Airfield to show our support



	FEMALE	MALE
1.	You all are the Best for standing up for your rights More power to you all	Woodbine Rd Dublin 5 2 holes dug out and filled in in an hour.....
2.	Do you know Our tap water It has so much poisonous flouride in	Thank God for injunctions, it brings out the best in people

	it... <a href="#">See More</a>	
3.	Fairplay	Stand up stay strong gmc are trying to set a precedent there by seeking to discredit you. Then the gutter press will send out word that the protests are dying off. Fair play to you all.
4.	Whatever you do dont drink the poisonous fluoridated tap water	Yes Nicola the more the people the stronger the power
5.	Is it worth coming over from tallaght now???	Remember we were in Crumlin etc. We recon all crews from crumlun for iw are here with support from the Guards
<b>Total</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>

## POWER TO THE PEOPLE



## [Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)

[30 September 2014](#) ·

here is your water meter bill charges if your foolish enough to pay for them

	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>
1.	Dofe won't be paying they can fuck of	Won't be paying anything, why would anyone pay for water use? Water Is a natural source! Everyone needs to stick together and NOT PAY!! They can't arrest a whole country
2.	We'll I won't be paying nothing my tap water isent even drinkable	what a joke, see ye in jail
3.	Well I won't be paying anything	
4.	No way am i	

	paying	
5.	they can shove it up there arses I wont be paying !!!	
6.	They can go Sing for it	
7.	Seriously do they realise people are on the bread line and just pull hundreds of euros for water well I won't be able for a holiday the women's prison in mount joy doesent look that bad so that's where I'll be going cause I am not paying for something that is essential to live, I've paid taxes, bin charges, household tax but not water	
8.	Will not be paying no way	
9.	Me Eighter they can go and fuck themselves !!	
10.	No way I am paying anyway and if everyone stands together they simply cannot lock up the whole Country.	
11.	I ain't paying nothing	
12.	Fuckin disgraceful	
13.	It hard enough to live without more stupid bills cumin	

	in	
14.	the water is not fit to drink,so shouldnt have to pay for it,buying water as it is in shop to drink is dear enough,cant b paying for tap water plus bottle water.	
<b>Total</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>2</b>

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [1](#) · [30 September 2014 at 21:17](#)

	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>
1.	Not a cent, can't bill ye without a contract....no contract!!!!	Problem is the government can just take it out if your wages if your the owner of property as far as I know . Fucking disgrace is what they are
2.		They may as well wipe their arse with that?
3.		Wont be getting a cent from me anyway. Keep up the good work.
4.		Will most definitely not be paying a dame dime to this water fuck them come near my apt, and getting a smack of a lump hammer.
5.		you do realize it costs money to get that water too your homes? Make sure your pipes aren't leaky! (\$120 for one month here near chicago)
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>

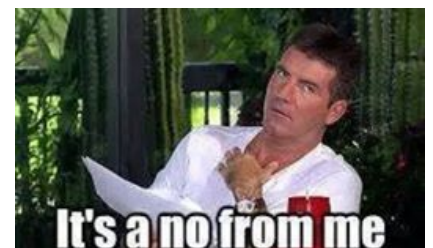
### [Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)

[1 October 2014](#) · A few photos put together by the phone of protests

278 Views

•

Send all ur video&pics of Garda& [#irishwater](#) bullyin to all media outlets who listen via twitter as RTE and TV3 wont broadcast it @CNNInternatDesk @SkyNews @BBCNewsNI @FRANCE24 Please RT spread the word [http://www.ipetitions.com/.../boycott-rte-and-all.../...](http://www.ipetitions.com/.../boycott-rte-and-all.../)



**Boycott RTE (and all other media that lies to us) female**

I just visited [www.ipetitions.com](http://www.ipetitions.com) and signed an important petition. I really care about this cause and hope you'll show your support for it.

**IPETITIONS.COM**

	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>
1.	<b>Keep up fighting hope will win</b>	
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>

**Crumlin says no NO to Water Meters and Charges**

**1 October 2014** · Are you with us?



**Hands up who won't be paying there water bill**

	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>
1.	U better believe it! Men every other person I know along with our children	Yes I'll be there with many Friends!!
2.	For sure	The Irish have one last chance to stand up for themselves or forever hold there heads in shame,..so let's get out there!!!..
3.	I be there	Yes and Brenda, they are trying to feec us!
4.	Too right and Tallaght say hell Noooooooo	Yep.
5.	Yes I be there	Absolutely
6.	Will b der	
7.	There digging on captains road	
8.	Sorry I will be washing my hair	
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>5</b>

**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**



[4 October 2014](#) · can the people of crumlin like and share this.it would be great if all the people of crumlin could go as one united group for next sat the 11th of oct..thanks

RIGHT2WATER PRE-BUDGET PROTEST  
SATURDAY, 11TH OCTOBER 2014  
WATCH THIS SPACE  
PEOPLE OF CRUMLIN MEETING AT THE  
IRISH INDEPENDENT BETWEEN 1PM TO 1.30

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#) yeh  
adele irish independent on abbey st.

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [5 October 2014 at 07:28](#)

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Way to go Crumlin	<a href="#">Ger Kelly</a> So then we hook up with Drimnagh at the ambassador??
2.	c u there	
3.	<a href="#">Adele Kenny</a> we meet at the same spot as the last time	
<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [5 October 2014 at 00:09](#)

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	<a href="#">Sandra Martin</a> is that there meeting point ger?	
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)

[6 October 2014](#) · don't think so Enda not this time



	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Fuck u Enda	If only we could trick all the OAPs into thinking the meters are something to do with their pensions. There'd be marches everywhere! Ps fuck you Enda also.
2.	I hope enda will be fired and sack out of the government get rid of him	Thanks for sharing my Meme everyone.
3.	What Enda can do with his opinion of the Irish people along with his water charges	
<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>

[Justice against Corruption in Ireland corruption and cronyism in power in the justice departments http://www.independent.ie/.../cronyism-at-its-heart-is...](http://www.independent.ie/.../cronyism-at-its-heart-is...)



[Cronyism, at its heart, is simply about us helping out our friends - Independent.ie](http://www.independent.ie/.../cronyism-at-its-heart-is...)

**When one of my sons was still at school and... INDEPENDENT.IE**

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Fuck ye again Enda	..did you not make this?!!
2.	Fk you enda	Can't wait for the 11th enda you Kenny ya scumbag your sacked
3.	No way enda	Too right.
4.	I thought the Irish people were free. You don't tell free people in a democracy what to do. They tell those in power what to do and if	

	they don't then it is called a revolution!	
5.	Fuk you again enda	
<b>Total</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>

### [Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)

**9 October 2014** · For the past 9-10 weeks brunch was al fresco in the leafy suburbs of Crumlin, Drimnagh, Bluebell and Clonbrassil close. Today there's something weird and wonderful, dining in the warm confines of your own home.

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Fair play job well done !!!!	<a href="#">Gavin Harold</a> Would yes say they got the hint
2.		Leafy burbs of Crumlin and Driminagh sounds like something from Mary poppins
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>

### [Like · Reply · 1 · 9 October 2014 at 14:27](#)

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Enjoy it smile emoticon	
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>

### [Like · Reply · 1 · 9 October 2014 at 14:27](#)

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Enjoy ... Job well done !	<a href="#">Ger Kelly</a> somebody giz a lift to donaghmede or bray bit of action there
2.		<a href="#">Ger Kelly</a> youll be even more knackered when your paying for the water that makes your tea or coffee lol
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [1](#) · [9 October 2014 at 12:37](#)

	FEMALE	MALE
1.		<a href="#">Ger Kelly</a> corruption and injustice doesn't take breaks why should we!
<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [1](#) · [9 October 2014 at 12:30](#)

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)

[11 October 2014](#) ·

**Derek turn now**



	FEMALE	MALE
1.	<a href="#">Joeanna Barton</a> 100,000 people. BOOM!	
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [4](#) · [11 October 2014 at 22:52](#)

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	<a href="#">Joeanna Barton</a> Mr Government man. You tried to batter us when you thought that the eyes of Ireland were not upon you. You threatened and insulted us. You told us we had no right to protest peacefully. You jailed us. But we rose up. Heed this. For everyone	

	you intimid... <a href="#">See More</a>	
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [2](#) · [11 October 2014 at 23:42](#)

	FEMALE	MALE
1.		Damien Farrell Well done Crumlin & Drimnagh Says No.Looks like youse had a well deserved cracker of a night.I hope you ALL realise how inspirational YOUR community based peoples movement has been to so many other communities.
<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [1](#) · [12 October 2014 at 13:27](#)

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#) added 79 new photos to the album: [water meter march 11/10/2014](#) — with [Keith Reilly](#) and [2 others](#) in [Dublin, Ireland](#).

[12 October 2014](#) ·

The day the IRISH people decided to rise and take back their power NOW ENDA AND CO PUT THAT IN YOU PIPE AND SMOKE IT...OH AND GIVE A MESSAGE TO THE GLOBAL MARKET AND YOUR MATE'S WORLDWIDE WE CAN'T AND WON'T BE BOUGHT.... Thanks so much to everyone who took part today what a day...



	<a href="#">FEMALE</a>	<a href="#">MALE</a>
		<a href="#">When's the next one. We have to grow and expand on this. We can't let the momentum go.</a>

<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>
--------------	----------	----------

hi Richard I think the 1st of nov there is talk of a boycott...keep an eye out im sure it will be posted on fb...Admin

**Justice against Corruption in Ireland** These are the people responsible for the huge miscarriages of justice in Ireland that is continuing thanks to cronyism and corruption by Labour and FG. Liz Howlin (Basic Solicitor) , Brendan Howlins relation head of PROSECUTIONS SECTION in the DPP s of...[See More](#)



**The State doesn't want taped conversations used in Ian Bailey case**

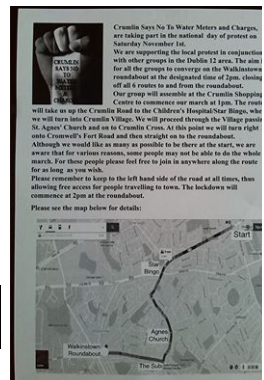
The former journalist is taking a wrongful arrest case...

THEJOURNAL.IE

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Amazing photos couldn't find yours yesterday but it was a great day to see the people of Ireland sick together	Sickning the amount of € spent to get here! Irish Wasters = Ultimate greed against a nation squeezing local economies to dictatorship.
2.	You tell 'em.	
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>

**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**

**24 October 2014** · This is the leaflet which we will be distributing throughout the Crumlin area in the coming days. It has been decided to support the call for local protests, so as to allow people who for whatever reason cannot go to town. Having supported both the 2014 lockout and the right2water protests in the city centre we feel it is time to highlight the resistance locally. We want to take this opportunity to wish every success to all protests taking place countrywide. Let's make the government backbenchers sit up and take notice of the threat to their seats by mass protests in every city, town, village and local communities, the length and breadth of OUR Ireland. It's Halloween weekend, bring the kids in fancy dress, dress up yourself. Tell your family, friends and neighbours. LETS GET THIS PARTY STARTED.SHARE SHARE SHARE



	FEMALE	MALE
--	--------	------

1.		same here, John. I shall also be bringing a few friends along with THEIR Families, Food too! smile emoticon
<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [5](#) · [24 October 2014 at 15:23](#)

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	<a href="#">Eve Bracken</a> I'll b there I'm bringing my little girl also all DA locals around my area r going	great flyer.. what u guys think ?? grin emoticon
2.	Gregg, you must be staying up all Friday night as it will take that long to get the grub ready for everyone at the rally !!!!!!! ;8-)	
3.	Can't make this one Hope its bigger again than the last one....	
4.	I'll be there to x	
5.	and then is the march heading to town	
6.	good lad kieran fair play to youx	
<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>1</b>

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#) added 105 new photos from 1 November 2014 to the album:[CRUMLIN SAY NOTO WATER METERS 1ST NOV](#) — with [Johnny Carmody](#) and [Adele Kenny](#) at [CRUMLIN SAYS NO TO WATER METERS AND CHARGES](#).

**1 November 2014** · Well what can we say only a massive thank you to all the people of crumlin who came out to join us today thanks so much also to our neighbours from drimnagh,walkinstown and greenhills what a day...now irish water take note we don't want you back in our areas.well done to everyone



	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Great day worth getting soaked for delighted with turn out	<a href="#">Damien Farrell</a> Well done all.Glad to see so many campaigners old and new acquaintances....oh and I see the orange jacket came out of the closet again.
2.	Well done everyone! The people have spoken!!!!	What a great day what a turn out
3.	Great turn out xx	Had to Damo Admin
4.	Well done everyone and what a great turn out	
5.	Well done Drumlin!!!	
<b>Total</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [1](#) · [1 November 2014 at 20:26](#)

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Carmody habe you had a stroke you never told me about?	John carmedy
2.	Great to be Irish great day	
3.	great turn out very proud	
4.	I have to say it was amazing to be part of it and if we stick together	



	we will win.	
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [1](#) · [1 November 2014 at 19:44](#)

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Great turnout today the people have spoken	PROUD OF WHAT WE DONE TODAY, PROUD TO BE IRISH LET PUT AN END TO THESE GREEDY MONEY
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [1](#) · [1 November 2014 at 19:26](#)

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Well done everyone	
2.	Well done all!	
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#) added a new photo.

[1 November 2014](#) ·

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#) added 10 new photos to the album: [crumlin says no to water meters boycott topaz](#) — with [Eve Bracken](#) at TOPAZ FORTFIELD RD.

[3 November 2014](#) ·

1st night of protest on FORTFIELD RD GARAGE 3/11/14  
THIS IS PART OF DENIS O'BRIEN LITTLE  
NEST EGG HIS POT OF GOLD..

	FEMALE	MALE
		<a href="#">A nest egg given to the greedy cunt by the greedy cunts in power. Lets take it all back and then deal with them accordingly.</a>



<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>
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[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [13](#) · [3 November 2014 at 22:12](#)

	<b>FEMALE</b>	MALE
1.	Fair play to you all! Telling everyone I know to boycott topaz!	Burn it down would be better, ther little hidden nest eggs they scrounged from the misery of the Irish people, OUT WITH THIS GOVERNMENT
2.	Well done everyone, seen u's out there tnite in the freezing cold. U's are doin great work	<a href="#">Ger Kelly</a> Ffs the night I go back on the piss proper
3.	Keep up the brilliant work	brilliant people starting to make the connections of State of all our natural resources. Shell/Topaz to sea, Irish water to hell
4.	Well done peeps, hit him where it hurts, lovin it,	
5.	Well done lads. So proud of every single person up there tonight	
6.	well done omg finger in every pie such greed	
7.	If you need bodies I'll gladly help out	
8.	Brilliant! More power to you.	
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>2</b>



[John Deadhappy Brady https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=D7OVLjXP8Xc](https://m.youtube.com/watch?v=D7OVLjXP8Xc)

[Christy Browne Finds Out Irish Water Installed A Meter.](#)

**YOUTUBE.COM**

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [2](#) · [3 November 2014 at 22:50](#)

	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>
1.	Total respect to you all hit them in there pocket	
2.	So proud of you guys!!	
3.	Well done	
4.	well done	
5.	Well done	
6.	How long did u keep it empty for ??	
<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>0</b>

	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>
1.	I'LL BE THERE	Yeahhhh, off with ther heads bleedin gangsters the lot of them , PROFIT BEFORE PEOPLE, new government please
2.	I heard march on the 6th Rally on the 10th, means those who can't afford to	

**Oct 11th - 100,000 march.**  
**Nov 1st - 200,000 march in unison across Ireland.**  
**1 pm Dec 10th**  
**Surround The DAIL**  
STAY AWAY FROM WORK. MAKE THEM LISTEN TO THE PEOPLE!

	take the day off work can still protest on the 6th.	
3.	Why mid week?	
4.	Is this a call for a national strike?	
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>

[Like · Reply · 2 November 2014 at 20:29](#)

[Cian MacCormaic https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jl2VweAB7zk](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Jl2VweAB7zk)



[Anonymous - November 5th 2014 \(Million Mask March\) #OpNov5](#)

[Anonymous - November 5th 2014 \(Million Mask...](#)

[YOUTUBE.COM](#)

[Like · Reply · 2 November 2014 at 11:58](#)

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)

[29 November 2014 ·](#)

Right people, here's the deal. The call is for all to wear a Santa hat for the rally at the Dáil on Dec. 10th. Why not buy from here and make some money for a local charity at the same time.



	FEMALE	MALE
1.	I bought 1 from McDonald's yesterday and its great cause for crumlin childrens hospital only 2 euro folks their small sizes tho	<a href="#">Gavin Harold</a> Im serious me uncle done a lot of fund raising for the hospital and was told there better buying the stuff for the hospital there self because it didn't get used for what it should
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [2](#) · [29 November 2014 at 18:31](#)

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	McDonalds?	<a href="#">Gavin Harold</a> Sure moneys raised more than likly go towards the ceos of the hospital rather than the stuff that's needed
2.	<a href="#">Eve Bracken</a> Were do we get them	
3.	Thanks Great idea	
<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)

**4 December 2014** · Crumlin Says No to Water Meters and Charges are hosting an evening reception for The Detroit Water Brigade. This will take place on 9 - 12 – 2014 In the Clogher Road Sports Centre. The time is 7 pm - 9 pm. The event is mainly by invitation, but there will be up to a maximum of 100 available spaces for local residents on a strictly first come first served basis. There will be an introduction by our host to begin the evening, which will be followed by a few short videos. Entertainment will then be provided by, The Phoenix Variety Group. We will then have a speaker from, Right2Water. This will be followed by a presentation to the people of Detroit from the people of Crumlin and we will then hear from their speaker. Finally we will have questions from the floor for our honoured guests.



	FEMALE	MALE
1.	united we stand	Hope i get an invite ! ? like emoticon
2.	That's fabulous go Crumlin	Well i hope i am on the list
3.	Would love to be there	
<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)

[7 December 2014](#) · Arrive arrive-o Arrive arrive-o From Detroit to Dublin  
Arrive arrive-o

9,880 Views

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	welcome to ireland and thank you	welcome friends
2.	Welcome to our little gem of a country no surrender get the corrupt govt out for good	
3.	Welcome to Ireland	
4.	Welcome to Ireland!	
5.	HI looking forwardt to seeing u all on the 10 <sup>th</sup>	
6.	Welcome	
7.	Welcome	
8.	Welcome to Ireland smile emoticon	
9.	Welcome	
<b>Total</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>1</b>

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [1](#) · [7 December 2014 at 11:34](#)

[Sligo Says No](#) Welcome to Ireland

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Such lovely people Eve	Solidarity
2.		welcome to our humble abode.
3.		Respect
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)

[10 December 2014](#) · [Edited](#) · Crumlin Says No speaker Shay L'estrange addresses 120,000 at the Right2Water protest rally today.

3,441 Views

	FEMALE	MALE
1.		<a href="#">Graham Crabbe</a> Simple, direct and easy message to understand. From this day on people should run for government who want to run this country fairly not for grotesque pensions.
<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [3](#) · [10 December 2014 at 18:22](#)

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	<a href="#">Sandra Martin</a> great shay well done you did us proud today x	Well done
2.	I'd say there was more than 120,000 out today. Well done to all!!	well said
3.	Well done Shay fair play to u.xx	Fair play <a href="#">Shay James L'estrage</a>
4.	Well done <a href="#">Shay James L'estrage</a>	Great speech shay fair play
5.	Well done Shay !!	Well done Shay, great speech
6.	Well done x	
7.	Proud to say i was their.	
<b>Total</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)

[23 December 2014](#) · [Edited](#) · We, the people of Crumlin Says No, want to wish you all a very Merry Christmas and Prosperous New year. We want to take this opportunity to thank you all for your support throughout the year and look forward to working with you all to bring these unjust charges to an end. In

particular, we must express our thanks to the following, for their sponsorship and assistance in hosting the reception for the Detroit Water Brigade. Clogher Road Sports Centre Pearse College... [See More](#)



[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#) Its a pleasure to stand with yes all .

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [3](#) · [23 December 2014 at 15:03](#) · [Edited](#)

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Brilliant job done by all thank yous and happy xmas smile emoticon	<a href="#">Ger Kelly</a> Happy Christmas to all my comrades also
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [4](#) · [23 December 2014 at 13:36](#)

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	happy christmas from a Crumlin native living in Tallaght	<a href="#">Shay James L'estrange</a> Happy Christmas to a fantastic group of people who I am proud to have stood with
2.	Happy christmas from Canada	<a href="#">Gavin Mc Donagh</a> Well said, same to you all and keep up the good fight, we will bring this down United
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>2</b>

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [1](#) · [23 December 2014 at 20:58](#)



	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Well done all happy Christmas	<a href="#">David Scanlon</a> Happy Christmas Folks, my wish is that We get a New Democratic Ireland in 2015 and that we won't have to March No more!! Long Live The Republic!!
2.	<a href="#">Eve Bracken</a> Well said	
3.	Well done to you all	



<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>
--------------	----------	----------

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)

[26 January](#) · Primrose avenue off Dorset St Help needed now

8,239 Views

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#) Oisin, yes help still needed

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [1](#) · [26 January at 14:15](#)

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	I see they have a guy trying to block the camera. Another footpath destroyed by the Cowboys. One against 6 is the odds IW like because they are cowards and bullies.	
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#) Off Dorset St/Wellington st

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [1](#) · [26 January at 14:23](#)

	FEMALE	MALE
1.		Cowboys in action
<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)

[29 January](#) · [Edited](#) · Interesting article in the herald this evening. New guidelines from the national broadcast authority. Note the highlighted section. Last line says, "which undermines the authority of the State". Explains why they refuse to show the protests.



	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Its a joke. I hope they fall and fall hard.	People are just coping on to the one sided shite that's on RTE..
2.	Lynn, this	

	government and Dennis O Brien have the media tied up in knots. Look at rte headline news yesterday, something that happened last Friday making headline news two days before a protest march. Government control,government spin.	
3.	So basically they will not be allowed broadcast anything that shows Gardai in a bad light?.. isnt that what North Korea does??	
<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#) State t.v

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [29 January at 06:50](#)

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)

[16 February](#) · [Edited](#) · We've had the 3 minute mile

Ladies and gentlemen we now give youThe 3 minute yard

Crumlin says no and D8+D12 with residents slow marching Irish water crews out of Rialto

3,321 Views



	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Good on you all. Three cheers for Tina - she's a force of nature!	
2.	Well done to all.	
3.	<a href="#">Tina MacVeigh</a> It took almost three hours for	

	them to get three vans out, one by one. Hope they get the message, we don't want them in Dublin 8!	
4.	Well done	
5.	I'd say the garda were near tempted to join in lol	
6.	Fair play to you all smile emoticon	
<b>Total</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>0</b>

**Baldoyle Anti Water Meter Task Force I don't see any terrorists**

	<b>FEMALE</b>	MALE
1.	<b>well done</b>	
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>

**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges This video is 3 minutes long look how far they get**

**Like · Reply · 1 · 16 February at 14:27**

**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**

**17 February · Shrove Tuesday**

**5,313 Views**

**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges Ah Limerick, you're a lady Áine O'Connor**

**Baldoyle Anti Water Meter Task Force "You can Shrove your water meters up your arse" ...sorry - couldn't resist**

	<b>FEMALE</b>	MALE
1.	Nice one legends	Fair play to everyone there
2.	Ah if I'd known I'd have lent you my love heart pan!! You could have shared them with Denis o briens lads! Female	Absolute legends.

3.	Haha legends □□□□ Female	
4.	The mighty irish well done lads	
5.	This brilliant fare/play ..!!!	
<b>Total</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [1](#) · [17 February at 15:43](#)

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	<a href="#">Eve Bracken</a> Love d vibe	Well done guys,,as the saying goes.." An Empty Bag Wont Stand "
2.	They were tasty	
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [1](#) · [17 February at 15:34](#)

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	<a href="#">Adele</a> <a href="#">Kenny</a> Well done all	
2.	Lol Respect from Limerick lads	
3.	Lol brilliant fair play to ye! but here lads, that was a woeful sad looking pancake! Come down to Limerick & I make ye some decent ones	
<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [1](#) · [17 February at 15:51](#)

	<b>FEMALE</b>	MALE
1.		Heyas here 085..... Im on camden st...giz ashout if yis need a hand today..just back from a wander round rialto lookin 4 de dissidents
<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>

### [Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)

[20 February](#) ·

**First day of protest after our fellow peaceful protesters were incarcerated for between 28 & 56 days. Did it put the fear of god into us? You tell me.**

**12,656 Views**

	<b>FEMALE</b>	MALE
1.	Great community, united against injustice the 5 would be proud of you all -----Free the 5	No gardai ?
2.	Well done and we will never give up.and down with all these people who say Aw we're	well done

	going have to pay anyway. GRRRRR	
3.	Wonderful vid. Very inspiring. I can't wait for IW to come back to our eState. We drove out the last shower. I have a feeling they won't be coming bk.	Well done
4.	Well done to you all	thats bloody brilliant, good on you guys...
5.	You Dubs are truly incredible - respect!!!	Well done to all great stuff
6.	well done	<a href="#">Derek Delaney</a> Brilliant
7.	Well done to all involved.	
8.	Well done you guys	
9.	Love it free free	
10.	Well done	
11.	<a href="#">Suzanne Matthews</a> Well done guys the fighting Irish	
12.	<a href="#">Shirley Dillon</a> Super well done to all involved	
13.	<a href="#">Anna Barton</a> wel done all	
14.	People power	
<b>Total</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>6</b>

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#) Yes [Ray Elliott](#), took pics of all the protesters

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [21 February at 00:53](#)

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)

[21 February](#) · Some of the crowd for FREE THE FIVE

2,577 Views

	FEMALE	MALE
--	--------	------

1.	Well done everyone	
2.	Or singing a bob Marley song get up stand up for rights	
3.	<a href="#">Marie Broderick</a> RTE said five thousand. Paul Murphy said in his speech there were ten thousand. That's about right. While we were up at Parnell Monument, people were still crossing O'Connell Bridge!	
4.	Radio nova just said a thousand people marched , looks like my radio is lying yet again . Well done all	
5.	Never taught we would be outside Mountjoy prison singing fields of athenry	
6.	Brilliant guys	
7.	well done to everyone	
8.	Well done everyone! Great turnout to support the families of the prisoners. First time outside mount joy for me, Karen	
<b>Total</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>0</b>

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)

**24 February · [Kilmainham](#) · Rialto resists**

**2,702 Views**

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#) Under wraps

	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>
1.	Brilliant you got Connor McGregor to do the video!!!!	Well done

2.	Now its the fighting Irish and the neck of them bringing that in because its a human right scumbags next they be charging us for walking □ down the road	Well done Rialto smile emoticon great job
3.		Everything Under wraps or is help needed?
4.		Job well done ,same can't be said for Irish water or the private security team on your streets
5.		We'll done Rialto
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>

### Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges

**26 February** · Pat Dunne, Damien Farrell and Tina McVeigh councillors and representatives out every day supporting Dublin 8

	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>
1.	Jessica Core-Hughes Fair play. Bernie was	The people united shall NEVER be defeated.





	delighted to hear that the people are standing strong!	
2.	Well done	
3.	well done keep it up	
4.	Well Done	
<b>Total</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>

**[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)**

**[3 March](#)**

**[#freethe5](#)**

**NAME AND SHAME- THE FOLLOWING DUBLIN CITY COUNCILLORS VOTED AGAINST FREEING THE 5 WATER PROTESTERS!**

CATHERINE ARDAGH (FF), KIERAN BINGHY (FG), BRENDAN CARR (LAB), AINE GLANCY (LAB), MANNIX FLYNN (IND), MARY FREEHILL (LAB), ALISON GILLILAND (LAB), DEIRDRE HENEY (FF), JANE HORGAN-JONES (LAB), TERESA KEEGAN (IND), FRANK KENNEDY (FF), DERMOT LACEY (LAB), RAY McADAM (FG), PABBY McCARTAN (FG), RUAIRI McGIMLEY (IND), REBECCA MOYNIHAN (LAB), KATE O'CONNELL (FG), NAOISE O'MUIRI (FG), NIALL RINE (IND), NOEL ROCK (FF), PABBY SMYTH (FG)

	<b>FEMALE</b>	<b>MALE</b>
1.	Ah so you can pick and choose the laws that suit you.	Name and Jail the people responsible for all this corruption, than you wouldn't have these five in prison ..
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>

**[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#) Don't forget if ye stick an empty wheelie bin under your down pipe they'll give ye a 100 back**

**[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#) Your supposedly so well educated and your still going to pay into the scam that is Irish water**

**[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#) If u think the phrase being a sheep is name calling u have more to worry about than my grammar block the page it wont come up on your news feed**

**[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#) I didn't ask you a question**

**[1 Reply](#)**

**[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#) I take it you be paying for your water again because this corrupt government mad it a law**

**[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [4 March at 09:19](#)**

**[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#) Who's law its not for the majority of people when injustice becomes law resistance becomes duty**

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [4 March at 07:59](#)

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#) I didn't ask were you paying it i know you will like a good little sheep y u on this page if your no help your a hindrance

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	None of your business. Fact is that the council have voted to interfere with the judiciary.	
2.	The 5 can free themselves any time they want they just have to agree to abide by the law	
3.	Name and shame the ones that think its ok to interfere in the judicial process. Now That is political policing!	
4.	Well Done	
<b>Total</b>	<b>Same persons comments 1</b>	<b>0</b>

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)

[20 April](#) · [The march through crumlin village](#)

3,116 Views

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Fair play	
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [1](#) · [21 April at 12:36](#)

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	well done everyone	
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [1](#) · [21 April at 12:30](#)

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Well done to you all	Great turn out.
2.	Well done every one	well done folks
3.	<a href="#">Ashley Penney</a> No way we wont snd will ever fukin pay	Well done
4.	<a href="#">Allison Donegan</a> Go for it	<a href="#">Des Coffey</a> Good on you Crumlin.
5.	<a href="#">Joan Burke</a> Well done crumlin	<a href="#">Evo Gannon</a> Well done yous have just been on utv news
6.	<a href="#">Debbie Brooks</a> Well done crumlin!! smile emoticon	<a href="#">Jon Yeo</a> Fair play
7.	<a href="#">Tina Maxwell</a> Go guys n gals	<a href="#">Jo Mulraney</a> well done every one
8.	<a href="#">Fran Duffy</a> No Sarah that was last night x	
9.	<a href="#">Sarah Duffy</a> Was this the one we were at <a href="#">Fran Duffy</a> or was it more recent?	
<b>Total</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>7</b>

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)

[21 April](#) · Bahahaha

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)

[23 April](#) · [Edited](#) · Help needed now at Dolphins Barn Army turning the gun on Jakey Brilliant harmless bit of fun, with the approval of



**the lads inside. It's good to have a laugh now and again.**

	FEMALE	MALE
1.		<a href="#">Patrick Corrigan</a> Is that a water cannon that's pointed at him?
<b>Total</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>

**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges Ger O'Shea, think you'll find this was just a bit of craic, with the approval of the lads inside. Personal attacks, such as calling someone a dope over a bit of harmless fun, will not be tolerated. Please edit or delete the comment.**

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	<a href="#">Maggie May</a> Is that photoshop or has Kim Un Kenny arrived out there.	<a href="#">Matt Dempsey</a> Youd need more than that to get rid of jakey he is like a brick wall ha
2.	<a href="#">Danielle Donnelly</a> thats my uncle jakey just make sure he does get shoot haaa well done to ever one stoping the water meters and charges	
3.	<a href="#">Jennifer Farrell</a> Wouldn't be surprised what the government will do next ha	
<b>Total</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>

**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges Where do you live [Rita Kelty](#)?**

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	<a href="#">Caroline Farrell</a> Go Jakey go..brilliant xx	<a href="#">Patrick Corrigan</a> Is that a water cannon that's pointed at him?
2.	<a href="#">Eve Bracken</a> Love it	<a href="#">Derek Buckley</a> great pic...
3.	<a href="#">Joan Burke</a> Go jakey lol	<a href="#">Dermot Aughney</a> Paper would pay for that Brilliant
4.	<a href="#">Donna Oreilly</a> No better	<a href="#">Hector Dwyer</a> love it lol

	man .well done jakey	
5.	<a href="#">Rita Kelty</a> They just went by my house.wondering what there doing around here	
6.	<a href="#">Sharon Apps</a> Pmsl 2 funny	
7.	<a href="#">Bernadette Whelan Otoole</a> great picture .....	
8.	<a href="#">Michelle Clarke</a> Fare play	
9.	<a href="#">Angela Higgins</a> Lovin these pics	
10.	<a href="#">Sandra McGhee</a> Me good owl neighbour fair play go jakey	
11.	<a href="#">Michelle Kilbride</a> Hahahaha	
<b>Total</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>4</b>

## [Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#)

[28 April](#) ·

1,639 Views

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Have to share!	<a href="#">s</a> It has always been a fight for water rights everywhere in the world. God bless all of you in Ireland for not giving in. It is your water and you already pay for it and are exempt from paying for it again.
2.	<a href="#">y</a> nice one Crumlin	You're a warrior Brendan, well done.....see you Friday.

3.		Well said like emoticon it was said a long time ago all irish assets were going to be stripped and sold off, looks like the tree is coming to bear fruit.
4.		Here here well said let's all get out on Friday
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>



[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#) shared [Martin O'Brien's album](#).

[7 June at 18:25](#) ·



[Martin O Brien](#) added 56 new photos to the album: [Crumlin Says NO!](#)

### Protest.

its a community thing, likeminded people coming together to fight with words and presence of mind for something that regardless of the here and now matters more for the future of our Children.

The Young and the Young at heart, the fire of patriotism burning within calling out to our Government for fairness in a world gone mad with injustice and a one-sided opinion of what's best for our country, where apparent corruption goes unpunished yet is rewarded with money and power.

This protest, small as it was symbolized the coming together of a greater community good, where neighbours in our communities stood shoulder to shoulder sharing the knowledge that the greater good didn't just end at their front gates to their houses across the city, side by side they walked the roads and streets of Crumlin calling out to all who would listen to them and follow the vision of the few political minds within our community that have the wherewithal to stand up to our political masters who had taken our votes and betrayed us with broken promises and stand proud, powerful and untouchable behind the bureaucracy and the law that protects them.

These photos herein are mere shadows of the past, but they are a reflection of Community Spirit, the people within are ore our blood in family, our neighbours and our friends, Irish Men and Women with a Vision for a better future for all of us!

[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#) shared [Jos Connie Hayes's video](#).

[9 June at 02:29](#) ·

No way We already pay

1,727,590 Views

[Jos Connie Hayes](#)

Right lads I'm asking you all to watch this it will blow you away and when your done Share share share to everyone you know plssssssss

[Lorraine Mc Cabe](#) Why weren't the LED PIPES Replaced Years Ago with All the Tax Payers Money???????????? CHANCERS

[Like](#) · [Reply](#) · [2](#) · [9 June at 10:36](#) · [Edited](#)



[Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges](#) Unfortunately not Lorraine.

[Like](#) · [9 June at 19:20](#)

	FEMALE	MALE
1.	Well on it's way to 1.7 Million views, i think the message is getting out there.	shoot the bastards THIEVES
2.	Omg are they taking the piss or what ... everyone watch this and share	Unbelievable
3.		A country run by crooks for crooks.
4.		Wat a shore of dirty fuk basterds
<b>Total</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>

NB: All are original and have not been corrected for grammar errors.



# JUNE 20th



**WE ARE DOING IT FOR THE KIDS**

## **Facebook Analysis**

### **Introduction**

It was not the original intention of this research study to undertake an analysis of Crumlin says NO to water meter and charges Facebook page, given the significance that the majority of the community activists attached to this medium of communication it became apparent that FB was fundamental to all aspects of the campaign. That said, time constraints did not permit a thorough or systematic analysis, therefore most of the findings are tentative nonetheless they give an approximation of the types of use, the gender profile of those engaging and commenting on the material and administrators posts, the amount and variety of materials as well as its varying purposes and uses. I gained access to the page via a friend as I am not a member of Facebook and over a period of a week I surveyed the administration postings, the materials posted, shared, viewed and liked as well as the comments posted over a period of a year (June 2014-June 9th 2015) (see appendice 5). Up to the 9<sup>th</sup> June 2015 the page had 3,713 'Likes'. During a period of a year there were 1,404 photographs uploaded to the page and forty videos. Approximately 315 Females and 167 Males (148 in the difference) have commented on a range of material from mobile phone/YouTube videos, administrator posts, photographs, posters and other people's comments. Two of the top posts related to a message of solidarity from the Detroit Water Brigade in November 2014 and a mobile phone video showing their arrival in December of the same year. The comments on the page were mainly reactive rather than proactive, succinct and mostly comprised of messages of solidarity and support for the community activists and the campaign. Other comments, mostly acerbic and derogatory in nature were aimed directly at the current Government and senior government members including the present Taoiseach and Tánaiste. A small number of the people commenting on the page were living in Australia, Canada the U.K and America, one photograph displayed on the page showed a young person from Vietnam holding a hand written message of solidarity. A range of emotions were displayed from humour and empathy to outrage and defiance. There was a constant sharing of ideas and information with the administrators posting on an almost daily basis. The page was also variously used for mobilisation and education, affirmation and displays of solidarity appeals for assistance and tactical coordination

The administrators can omit, delete or edit posts, comments and other material from the page. Facebook also reserves the right to remove material(s) that are in contravention of their Stated policies, therefore it is practically impossible to accurately account for all the material posted since the page was established.

The first anti-water charges Facebook page was originally established by Brendan Barron as Lower Crumlin says no to water charges in May 2014, but was changed to encompass the whole of Crumlin under its current title 'Crumlin say No to water meter and charges' after Brendan Condrón suggested that it would make more sense to have one page for the whole of the community. The page was founded in June 2014, with the two Brendan's acting as administrators. Posting to the page were quite limited up until August 28<sup>th</sup> 2014, but became active in parallel with the arrival of Irish Water meter contractors on the same date.

# Facebook videos



**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**  
Page Liked · 6 June ·

Today's protest

1,803 Views

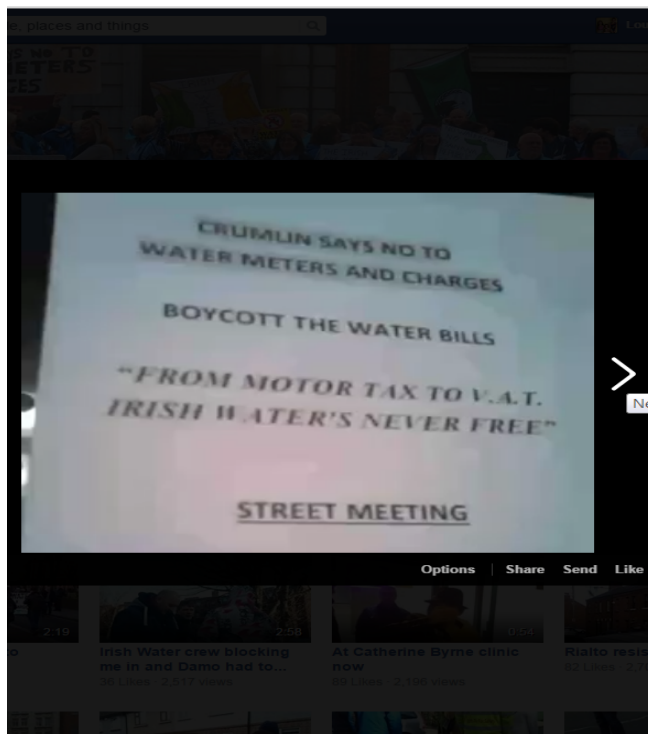
Like · Comment · Share

64 people like this.

23 shares

Write a comment...

Games You May Like See All



**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**  
Page Liked · 17 May ·

Sure what else would you be doing on a Sunday night. 450 leaflets changed from the 11th. to the 18th.

622 Views

Like · Comment · Share

18 people like this. Top Comments

- Linda Endof Kenny Mccormack So today Ye Like · Reply · 2 · 18 May at 14:54
- Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges Yes Linda Endof Kenny Mccormack Like · Reply · 18 May at 16:29

Write a comment...

Options Share Send Like

Irish Water crew blocking me in and Damo had to...  
At Catherine Byrne clinic now  
Rialto resists

people, places and things

Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges

Page Liked · 28 April ·

1,651 Views

Like · Comment · Share

81 people like this. Top Comments ·

18 shares

**Dee Dee Collins** It has always been a fight for water rights everywhere in the world. God bless all of you in Ireland for not giving in. It is your water and you already pay for it and are exempt from paying for it again.  
Like · Reply · 4 · 28 April at 21:48

**Fergus Lennon** Well said it was said a long time ago all Irish assets were going to be stripped and sold off, looks like the tree is coming to bear fruit.  
Like · Reply · 2 · 28 April at 21:10

**Thomas Coombes** You're a warrior Brendan, well done...see you Friday.  
Like · Reply · 2 · 28 April at 21:52

**Mary Talbot** Have to share!  
Like · Reply · 1 · 28 April at 20:36

**Antoinette Courtney** nice one Crumlin  
Like · Reply · 2 · 28 April at 20:29

**AR Bathrooms** Here here well said lets all get out on Friday  
Like · Reply · 2 · 28 April at 20:22

View 1 more comment

Write a comment...

Options Share Send Like

Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges

Page Liked · 20 April ·

The march through crumlin village

3,189 Views

Like · Comment · Share

184 people like this. Top Comments ·

30 shares

**Amy Sarsfield** Fair play  
Like · Reply · 1 · 21 April at 12:36

**Geraldine Kavanagh** well done everyone  
Like · Reply · 1 · 21 April at 12:30

**Macker Seán** Great turn out.  
Like · Reply · 2 · 21 April at 08:35

**Yvonne Coss** Well done to you all  
Like · Reply · 1 · 21 April at 01:38

**Peter Roche** well done folks  
Like · Reply · 1 · 21 April at 01:27

**Rita Kelty** Well done every one  
Like · Reply · 1 · 21 April at 00:23

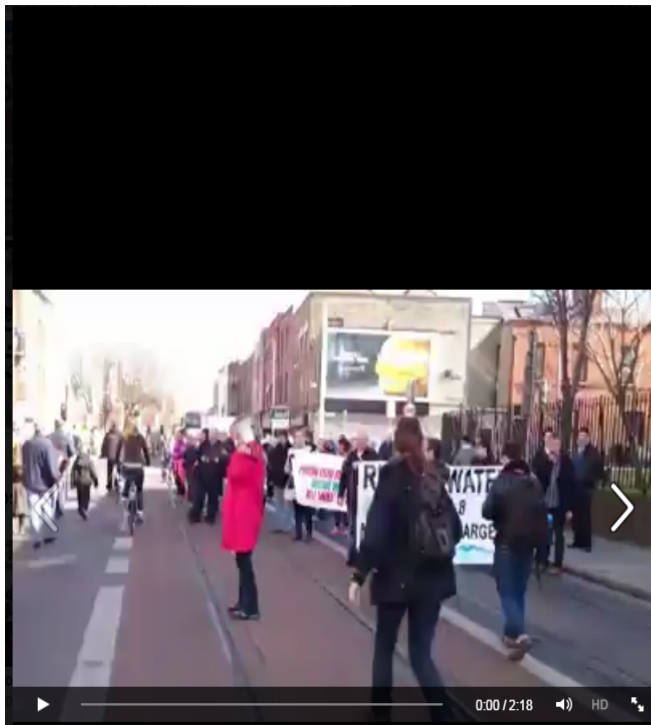
View 13 more comments

Write a comment...

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Play Bible Today

Play Bible Today



**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**  
Page Liked · 21 March · 🌐

Making there way to Heuston Station

5,627 Views

Like · Comment · Share

👍 94 people like this. Top Comments ▾

🔗 51 shares

**Rachel Ni Siacais** Raging I can't be there today ... 1st one I've missed 😞  
Like · Reply · 👍 3 · 21 March at 13:51

**Shannen McBride** Edel McBride Natasha Ryan  
Like · Reply · 👍 3 · 21 March at 20:29

↳ 2 Replies

Write a comment... 📷



**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**  
Page Liked · 8 March · Edited · 🌐

Irish Water crew blocking me in and Damo had to move them for me

2,517 Views

Like · Comment · Share

👍 36 people like this. Top Comments ▾


🔗 12 shares

**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges** No Paula we are not we are doing great we are at the moment helping our friends in Dublin 8 at the moment. We have never been stronger  
Like · Reply · 👍 1 · 9 March at 20:02

**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges** Pm sent to you  
Like · Reply · 👍 1 · 8 March at 13:14

**You can stick your water meters up your arse, world pics** Can we get the back story here, i am not being rude but I cannot understand what this is about. cheers.  
Like · Reply · 👍 6 · 8 March at 13:01

**Antoinette Courtney** here they are blocking myself, Aoife & Ciara in to an estate ...we were sitting in the car and didnt even engage with them. they roared abuse at us until Tony McDonnell came along and had words with them. They then threatened him too.

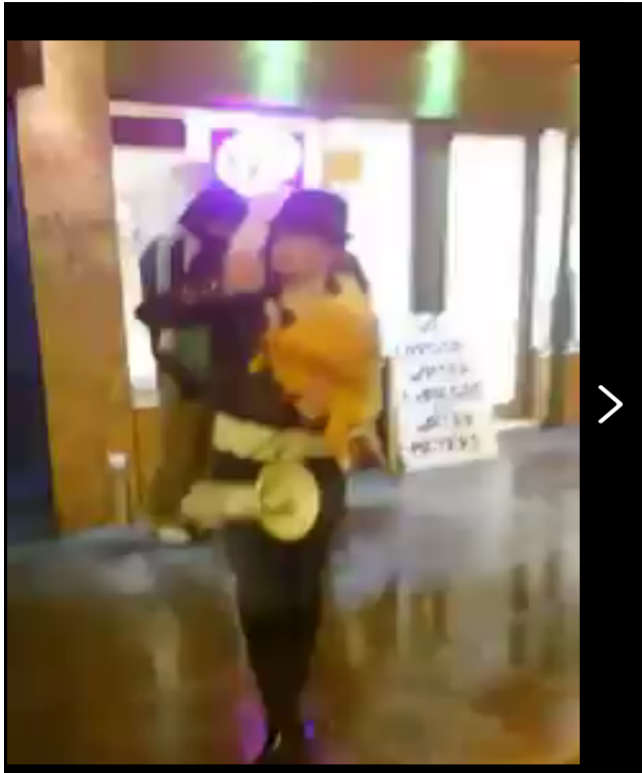


Like · Reply · 👍 2 · 8 March at 13:43

**Geraldine Chaney** Irish water getting desperate

Write a comment... 📷

Options | Share | Send | Like



**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**  
Page Liked · 2 March · 🌐

At Catherine Byrne clinic now

2,196 Views

Like · Comment · Share

👍 89 people like this. Top Comments ▾

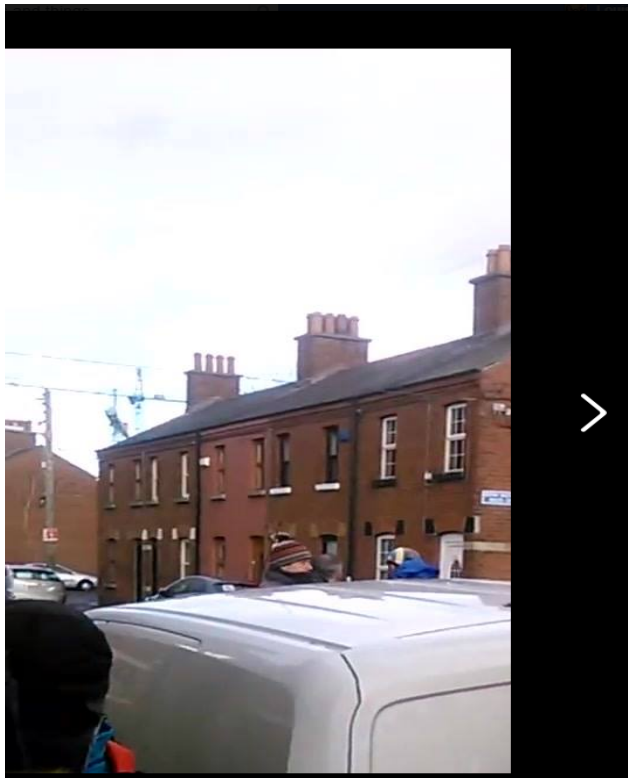
➦ 18 shares

**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges** Yep bud just ended bout 20 mins ago (Ger)  
Like · Reply · 👍 3 · 2 March at 20:07

**Wayne O Broin** Inchicore village  
Like · Reply · 👍 1 · 2 March at 19:36

**Andy Whelan** Soo proud....  
Like · Reply · 3 March at 13:37

Write a comment...



**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**  
Page Liked · 24 February near Kilmainham · 🌐

Rialto resists

2,709 Views

Like · Comment · Share

👍 82 people like this. Top Comments ▾

➦ 29 shares

**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges** Under wraps  
Like · Reply · 👍 2 · 24 February at 15:44

**Oisín Ó'Rimheá** All good  
Like · 👍 2 · 24 February at 15:58

**Paula Notpayingwatercharges Shevlin** Brilliant you got Connor McGregor to do the video!!!!  
Like · Reply · 👍 2 · 24 February at 22:46

**John Waine** Well done  
Like · Reply · 👍 2 · 24 February at 19:14

**Wayne O Broin** Well done Rialto 😊 great job  
Like · Reply · 👍 3 · 24 February at 16:29

**Oisín Ó'Rimheá** Everything Under wraps or is help needed?  
Like · Reply · 👍 2 · 24 February at 15:19

**Geraldine Chaney** Job well done ,same can't be said for Irish water or the private security team on your streets  
Like · Reply · 👍 1 · 25 February at 21:18

View 2 more comments

Write a comment...



**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**  
Page Liked · 21 February ·

Some of the crowd for FREE THE FIVE

2,581 Views  
Like · Comment · Share

143 people like this. Top Comments · 33 shares

- Sandra Moran Flannery** Well done everyone  
Like · Reply · 1 · 22 February at 13:59
- Sharon Devine** Or singing a bob Marley song get up stand up for rights  
Like · Reply · 1 · 22 February at 02:40
- Marie Broderick** RTE said five thousand. Paul Murphy said in his speech there were ten thousand. That's about right. While we were up at Farnell Monument, people were still crossing O'Connell Bridge!  
Like · Reply · 3 · 21 February at 18:36
- Sue Collins** Radio nova just said a thousand people marched, looks like my radio is lying yet again. Well done all 😊  
Like · Reply · 1 · 21 February at 17:47
- Margaret Breslin** Never taugt we would be outside Mountjoy prison singing fields of athenny  
Like · Reply · 4 · 21 February at 17:43
- Trish Boyle** Brilliant guys  
Like · Reply · 1 · 21 February at 17:31

View 2 more comments

Write a comment...



**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**  
Page Liked · 20 February ·

First day of protest after our fellow peaceful protesters were incarcerated for between 28 & 56 days. Did it put the fear of god into us? You tell me.

12,666 Views  
Like · Comment · Share

209 people like this. Top Comments · 143 shares

- Ray Elliott** No gardai?  
Like · Reply · 3 · 20 February at 20:06
- View 1 more reply
- Bea O'Neill**  
  
Like · 2 · 21 February at 11:30
- Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges** Yes Ray Elliott, took pics of all the protesters  
Like · Reply · 21 February at 00:53
- Therese Hutchinson** Great community, united against injustice the 5 would be proud of you all -----Free the 5  
Like · Reply · 1 · 24 February at 18:08

Write a comment...

**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**  
Page Liked · 17 February ·

Shrove Tuesday

5,317 Views  
Like · Comment · Share

121 people like this. [Top Comments](#)  
63 shares

**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges** Ah Limerick, you're a lady Aine O'Connor  
Like · Reply · 1 · 17 February at 15:49

**Baldoyle Anti Water Meter Task Force** "You can Shrove your water meters up your arse"...sorry - couldn't resist  
Like · Reply · 7 · 17 February at 15:35

**Robert Davis** Fair play to everyone there  
Like · Reply · 1 · 17 February at 16:50

**Debbie McKillion** Nice one legends  
Like · Reply · 2 · 17 February at 16:17

**Carol Finnegan** Ah if I'd known I'd have lent you my love heart pan!! You could have shared them with Denis o briens lads!  
Like · Reply · 1 · 17 February at 16:13

**Brian Henderson** Haha legends  
Like · Reply · 1 · 17 February at 16:10

[View 12 more comments](#)

Write a comment...

People you may know [See All](#)

**Matthew Taylor (Matt)**  
2 mutual friends  
[Add Friend](#)

Options Share Send Like

**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**  
Page Liked · 17 February · Edited ·

Being slow marched out and pull in for a pancake??  
Only in Ireland

3,209 Views  
Like · Comment · Share

67 people like this. [Top Comments](#)  
24 shares

**Paddy Banks** Statement due from I.W.  
Like · Reply · 2 · 17 February at 16:38

**Janette O'Rourke** Catherine O'Rourke  
Like · Reply · 1 · 17 February at 16:30

Write a comment...

People you may know [See All](#)

**Matthew Taylor (Matt)**  
2 mutual friends  
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**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**  
 Page Liked · 16 February · Edited ·

We've had the 3 minute mile  
 Ladies and gentlemen we now give you  
 The 3 minute yard  
 Crumlin says no and D8+D12 with residents slow  
 marching Irish water crews out of Rialto

3,324 Views

Like · Comment · Share

105 people like this.

Top Comments

48 shares

**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges** This video is 3 minutes long look how far they get  
 Like · Reply · 1 · 16 February at 14:27

**Baldoyle Anti Water Meter Task Force** I don't see any terrorists  
 Like · Reply · 2 · 16 February at 14:26

**Breda Walsh** Good on you all. Three cheers for Tina - she's a force of nature!  
 Like · Reply · 1 · 16 February at 18:41

**Breda Fanning** Well done to all.  
 Like · Reply · 1 · 16 February at 17:06

**Tina MacVeigh** It took almost three hours for them to get three vans out, one by one. Hope they get the message, we don't want them in Dublin 8!  
 Like · Reply · 4 · 16 February at 15:39

**Janet Furlong** Well done  
 Like · Reply · 1 · 16 February at 15:09

View 5 more comments

Write a comment...



Options · Share · Send · Like

**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**  
 Page Liked · 9 February ·

2,040 Views

Like · Comment · Share

65 people like this.

Top Comments

17 shares

**Stephen Dunne** Check the tax disc in the window and see dose it say goods or recovery ? If it says recovery and the tax is 330 for the year its been used I legally.  
 Like · Reply · 9 February at 19:59

**Margaret Breslin** Well done  
 Like · Reply · 9 February at 17:10

**Paula Notpayingwatercharges** Shevlin 4 shams just hanging around the streets haha  
 Like · Reply · 10 February at 15:58

Write a comment...



**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**

Page Liked · 12 February near Kilmainham · 🌐

2,005 Views

Like · Comment · Share

👍 50 people like this.

Top Comments ▾

↪ 4 shares



**Vicky White** Me??? Not at all Christina ☐☐

Like · Reply · 👍 1 · 12 February at 17:32



**Muiris Stack** Amhlaibh Ó Loingsigh Mark Doyle Graham Jeffery recognise the house/street

Like · Reply · 👍 1 · 22 February at 00:43



**Christina Burke** Vicky White u running a muck today 🍻🍻

Like · Reply · 12 February at 17:31



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People you may know

See All



**Matthew Taylor** (Matt)

2 mutual friends

➕ Add Friend

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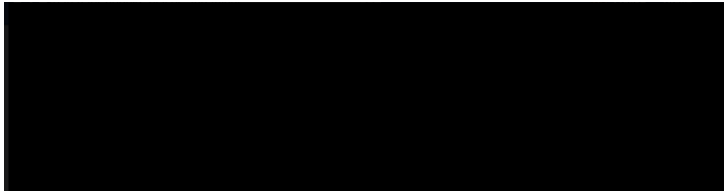


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**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**

Page Liked · 11 February · 🌐

Slow marching out Irish water after they drove truck at protesters

2,270 Views

Like · Comment · Share

👍 99 people like this. Top Comments ▾

🔄 12 shares



**Audrey Hickey** Nice 1 folks

Like · Reply · 13 February at 06:48



**Peter Roche** well done

Like · Reply · 12 February at 17:50



**Paula Notpayingwatercharges Shevlin LOVE** IT LADS up the ra

Like · Reply · 12 February at 09:59



Write a comment...



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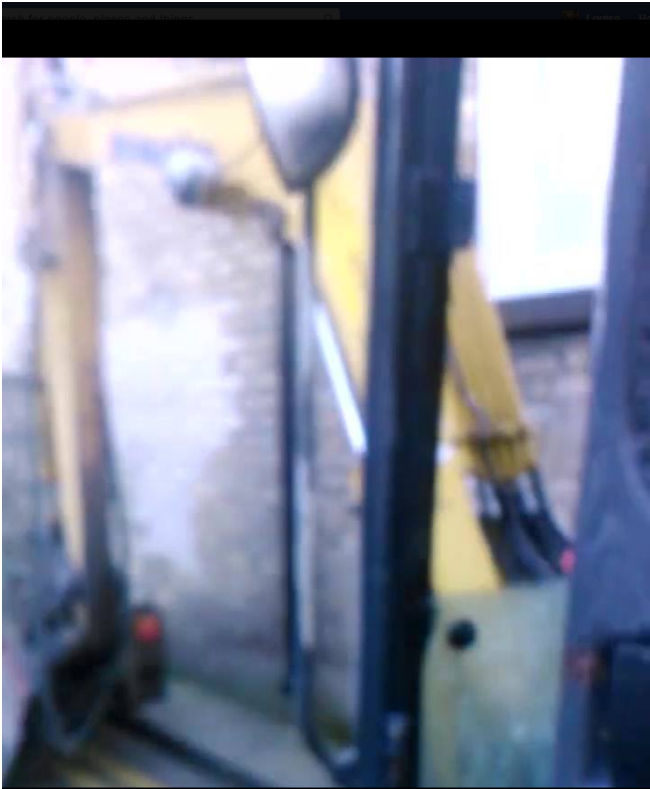
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**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**  
Page Liked · 3 February near Kilmainham ·

Only in Ireland

3,671 Views

Like · Comment · Share

35 people like this. Top Comments ▾

23 shares

Michelle Mockler Metcalfe Genius 😂 Lol  
Like · Reply 1 · 3 February at 10:30

Bea O'Neill Jaysuss  
Like · Reply · 3 February at 13:44

Write a comment...



**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**  
Page Liked · 9 February ·

441 Views

Like · Comment · Share

25 people like this.

1 share

Write a comment...

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100,000 players  
 Play Now

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sseairtricity.com  
Get Up To 15% Off Home Electricity & 10% Off Gas.  
Switch Online Today!



**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**  
 Page Liked · 10 December 2014 · Edited ·

Crumlin Says No speaker  
 Shay L'estrage addresses 120,000 at the Right2Water protest rally today.

3,446 Views  
 Like · Comment · Share

223 people like this. Top Comments ▾

45 shares

**Graham Crabbe** Simple, direct and easy message to understand. From this day on people should run for government who want to run this country fairly not for grotesque pensions.  
 Like · Reply · 3 · 10 December 2014 at 18:22

**Sandra Martin** great shay well done you did us proud today x  
 Like · Reply · 5 · 10 December 2014 at 17:16

**Karen Bloomfield** I'd say there was more than 120,000 out today. Well done to all!!  
 Like · Reply · 3 · 10 December 2014 at 17:04

**Sharleen Fallon** Well done Shay fair play to u.xx  
 Like · Reply · 1 · 10 December 2014 at 17:56

**Sinead Rogers** Well done Shay James L'estrage  
 Like · Reply · 1 · 10 December 2014 at 17:35

**Jon Lennon** Fair play Shay James L'estrage  
 Like · Reply · 1 · 10 December 2014 at 17:31

[View 7 more comments](#)

Write a comment...



**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**  
 Page Liked · 26 January ·

Primrose avenue off Dorset St  
 Help needed now

8,244 Views  
 Like · Comment · Share

51 people like this. Top Comments ▾

100 shares

**Maggie May** I see they have a guy trying to block the camera. Another footpath destroyed by the Cowboys. One against 6 is the odds IW like because they are cowards and bullies.  
 Like · Reply · 6 · 26 January at 09:22

**Linda Ryan Mc Carthy** Paul Ryan  
 Like · Reply · 1 · 26 January at 18:32

**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges** Off Dorset St/Wellington st  
 Like · Reply · 1 · 26 January at 14:23

**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges** Oisín, yes help still needed  
 Like · Reply · 1 · 26 January at 14:15

**Noel Beggs** Cowboys in action  
 Like · Reply · 27 January at 23:58

[View 11 more comments](#)

Write a comment...

People you may know [See All](#)



**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**  
Page Liked · 7 December 2014 ·

Arrive arrive-o  
Arrive arrive-o  
From Detroit to Dublin  
Arrive arrive-o

9,881 Views

Like · Comment · Share

188 people like this. [Top Comments](#)

121 shares

- Anne du Noyer** Welcome to our little gem of a country no surrender get the corrupt govt out for good  
Like · Reply · 4 · 7 December 2014 at 11:59
- Geraldine Kavanagh** welcome to ireland and thank you  
Like · Reply · 2 · 7 December 2014 at 19:22
- Rita Tierney** Welcome to Ireland  
Like · Reply · 2 · 7 December 2014 at 15:12
- Jane Waters** Welcome to Ireland!  
Like · Reply · 1 · 10 December 2014 at 00:15
- Traolach O'Breas** welcome friends  
Like · Reply · 1 · 8 December 2014 at 14:38

[View 13 more comments](#)

Write a comment...

People you may know [See All](#)

**Michael Thornton**



**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**  
Page Liked · 29 November 2014 · Edited ·

An Oul sing song  
Nice change and got the crowd going.

2,531 Views

Like · Comment · Share

94 people like this.

27 shares

- Tony Conlon** Brilliant!  
Like · Reply · 1 · 29 November 2014 at 19:40

Write a comment...



**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**  
Page Liked · 2 November 2014 ·

1,293 Views

Like · Comment · Share

101 people like this. Top Comments

4 shares

- Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges** A jaysus I'm too shy to look lol  
Like · Reply · 1 · 2 November 2014 at 23:39
  - Michelle Byrne** Geooooon Brendan Condron  
Like · Reply · 2 · 2 November 2014 at 23:15
  - Anthony Donegan** Gewaaaaan Brendan ya legend  
Like · Reply · 2 · 2 November 2014 at 22:46
  - Ger Kelly** The speaker condron  
Like · Reply · 2 · 2 November 2014 at 21:47
- Write a comment...

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**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**  
Page Liked · 2 November 2014 ·

Singing in the rain

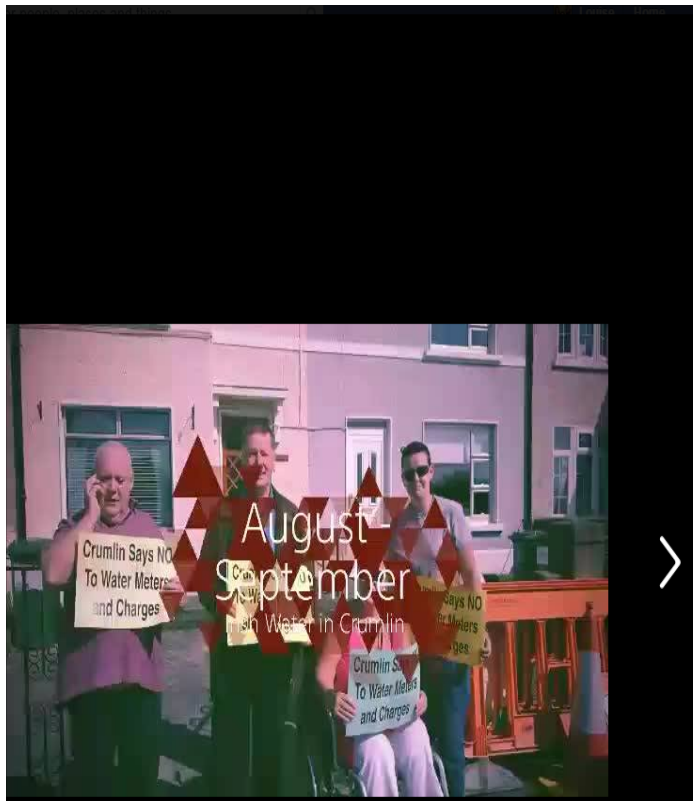
971 Views

Like · Comment · Share

72 people like this.

14 shares

- Daniel Byrne** Sean Ivory  
Like · Reply · 1 · 2 November 2014 at 21:24
- Write a comment...



**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**  
 Page Liked · 21 September 2014 · Edited ·

My phone put this together itself when I get the hang of it I make one with more photos

449 Views

Like · Comment · Share

96 people like this. [Top Comments](#)

1 share

**Noeleen Byrne** Sorry page 4  
 Like · Reply · 3 · 21 September 2014 at 11:38

**Tina MacVeigh** Hang on to it Noleen  
 Like · Reply · 2 · 21 September 2014 at 15:45

**Noeleen Byrne** Great photo in on the second page of the sun today  
 Like · Reply · 2 · 21 September 2014 at 11:36

Write a comment...



**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**  
 Page Liked · 19 September 2014 · Edited ·

Irish Water got a hole dug in Drimmagh yesterday. After the niled residents demanded no meter be installed an agreement was reached. Outcome to follow.

987 Views

Like · Comment · Share

64 people like this. [Top Comments](#)

22 shares

**Pat Dunne** They dug this hole behind our backs yesterday. However it was a victory to have it filled back in and concreted today without a meter installed. The only work done by Irish Water over three weeks of protest was to dig one hole and then have to fill it in again. Great resistance from the ordinary people of Crumlin, Kimmage and Drimmagh  
 Like · Reply · 12 · 19 September 2014 at 16:48

**Ger Jones** Feel sorry for the workers not their fault why dont they get them to fix pot holes in roads instead of wasting their time filling in holes they made for no reason  
 Like · Reply · 9 · 19 September 2014 at 11:55

**Carol Finnegan** Hahaha what's the bets there'll be writing in that wet cement before it dries!  
 Like · Reply · 3 · 19 September 2014 at 13:05

**Rachel Brady** Claire Whelan watch dis  
 Like · Reply · 3 · 19 September 2014 at 11:59

**Thomas Lvs Rosaleena** I opened the meter thing today and this is what I found







**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**  
Page Liked · 18 September 2014 · Edited ·

First farewell in Drimnagh today, Kilworth road. More help needed now on Moume road

889 Views

Like · Comment · Share

149 people like this. Top Comments

14 shares

**Mags Murphy Gallagher** I'm on the corner of kilworth and Cooley. It's amazing the power of the people. So hard to believe that those men were outside from 7:30am and left at 3pm having stood around all day. The only thing they did was set up and put everything in place but n... See More  
Like · Reply · 4 · 18 September 2014 at 21:54

**Angela Higgins** Which end u on  
Like · Reply · 3 · 18 September 2014 at 13:06

**Angela Minto** Mags Murphy Gallagher  
Like · Reply · 3 · 18 September 2014 at 21:49

**Trisha Burke** Great  
Like · Reply · 1 · 18 September 2014 at 22:29

**Sandra McShane** Well done!  
Like · Reply · 18 September 2014 at 22:53

Write a comment...



**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**  
Page Liked · 12 September 2014 · Edited ·

12 days of protest with the now familiar sight of Irish Water staff packing up to go home. Oh and still no meters in Crumlin.

1,476 Views

Like · Comment · Share

212 people like this. Top Comments

56 shares

**Gavin Harold** And we will be out for a hundred more if we have to well done everyone involved  
Like · Reply · 19 · 12 September 2014 at 15:19

**Damien Farrell** 12 Days now Darren Glennon and not a single meter in. They didnt even go into the Grove today at all. They tried to be smart with a decoy on Sundrive Road but as soon as all crews and sites were secure we turned Sundrive Road into a public protest. What a backfire... they were sick. Anybody know what homeless charity is looking for the old shore cappings to scrap for funds as we know somebody who has a few to donate.



Like · Reply · 15 · 12 September 2014 at 15:57

**Damien Farrell** Thanks for that Dean. Activists stopped installation there yesterday and prevented it again today. Residents have been



**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**  
Page Liked · 15 September 2014 · Edited ·

Rathdrum residents run Irish Water out. Great to support them. Day 13 and Crumlin still saying no.

1,872 Views

Like · Comment · Share

229 people like this. Top Comments

37 shares

**Peter Cooling** so called water isnt even fit for purpose with fluoride in it  
Like · Reply · 7 · 15 September 2014 at 17:30

**Sarah Reilly** Whoop keep it up, it gives us all hope!  
Like · Reply · 5 · 15 September 2014 at 18:05

**Christina Shillibeer** Keep on fighting till u win good luck  
Like · Reply · 6 · 15 September 2014 at 17:11

**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges** Refuse to pay  
Like · Reply · 3 · 15 September 2014 at 19:24

**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges** They arrived in Crumlin on Thursday 28th August  
Like · Reply · 3 · 15 September 2014 at 18:43

View 21 more comments

Write a comment...



**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**  
 Page Liked · 8 September 2014 · Edited ·

Irish Water pulling out of Rutland Grove and noeters done

Like · Comment · Share

179 people like this. Top Comments ▾

35 shares

**Jed Lisa Noonan** Should have took that machine and trailer for me  
 Like · Reply · 4 · 8 September 2014 at 18:13

**Joseph Stynes** Good work  
 Like · Reply · 1 · 9 September 2014 at 16:05

**Kat Creagh** Fair play and Thank you !  
 Like · Reply · 2 · 8 September 2014 at 23:50

**James Bingham** good man Damo  
 Like · Reply · 4 · 8 September 2014 at 17:15

**Linda Hughes** fair play to you  
 Like · Reply · 3 · 8 September 2014 at 20:30

[View 2 more comments](#)

Write a comment...

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**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**  
 Page Liked · 3 September 2014 · Edited ·

Another day another disaster for Irish Water.  
 Protest day 5  
 No meters fitted.  
 As always great turnout from local residents. If this is an indication of the resistance in Crumlin, Irish Water ate getting flushed down the drain.

Like · Comment · Share

129 people like this. Top Comments ▾

31 shares

**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges** Thanks Kat. If they show up post to this page and we will support you and your neighbours. In the words of a song, "You'll never walk alone".  
 Like · Reply · 8 · 3 September 2014 at 22:39

**Billy Burchell** Fair play to Crumlin showing us how it's done brilliant  
 Like · Reply · 5 · 3 September 2014 at 23:49

**Kat Creagh** Well done Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges I hope resistance and people power are high in the Grove or I will be on my own when they come here !!  
 Like · Reply · 4 · 3 September 2014 at 22:15

**Martin Doyle** Look at who's house n van is in d back round Darren Cruise  
 Like · Reply · 1 · 4 September 2014 at 07:28

**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges** Where Martin  
 Like · Reply · 4 September 2014 at 07:38

**Karen Mills** Brilliant, hopefully everyone will get out and stand up for our selfs . Say NO to water meters  
 Wht road is that anyhow ...  
 Like · Reply · 1 · 4 September 2014 at 01:49

[View 2 more comments](#)

Write a comment...



**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**  
 Page Liked · 9 September 2014 · Edited ·

Leaving Rutland Grove  
 No meters installed

510 Views

Like · Comment · Share

135 people like this. [Top Comments](#)

16 shares

**Tom McCann** Waste of time we're all going to end up paying anyway? 😡😡😡  
 Like · Reply · 12 September 2014 at 04:55

**James Bingham** hope your out on the st phily  
 Like · Reply · 9 September 2014 at 21:23

**Tina Yeomans** good on you all  
 Like · Reply · 10 September 2014 at 08:16

Write a comment...



**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**  
 Page Liked · 28 August 2014 · Edited ·

First protest in Crumlin today  
 Crumlin Says No 1  
 Irish Water. 0

Like · Comment · Share

145 people like this. [Top Comments](#)

130 shares

**Thomas Dolan** Well done guys  
 Like · Reply · 3 · 28 August 2014 at 14:56

**Thomas Harold** What's the score now lads 😊  
 Like · Reply · 23 April at 11:26

**Paul Sinclair** Well done lads...!!!!

No contract with Irish Water (a Private Company) means you are not obliged to have a meter... that's LAW...!!!!. See More  
 Like · Reply · 2 · 29 August 2014 at 13:59

**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges** Feel free to share this video with your friends. The more views the more support.  
 Like · Reply · 1 · 28 August 2014 at 20:30

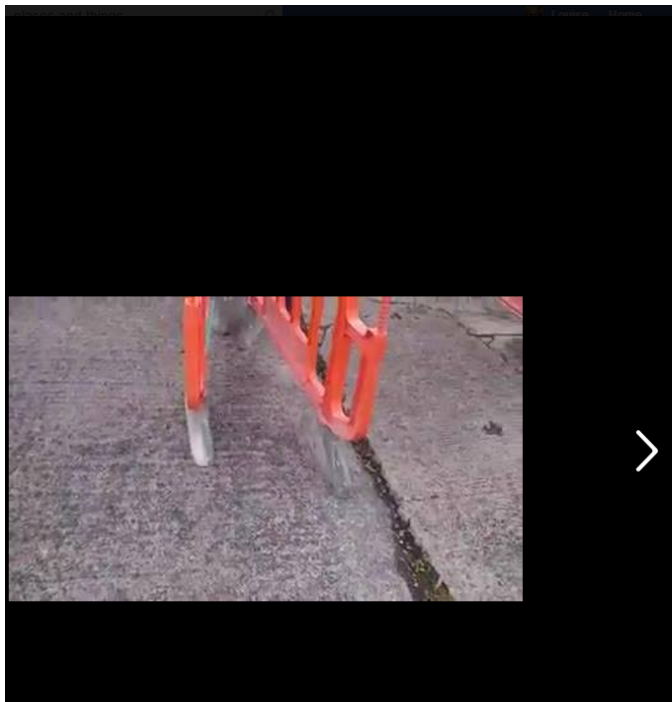
**Chris Benson** Class well done  
 Like · Reply · 2 · 28 August 2014 at 15:47

**Maurice Heaphy** Well done Crumlin!  
 Like · Reply · 1 · 29 August 2014 at 20:01

[View 10 more comments](#)

Write a comment...

People you may know [See All](#)



**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**  
Page Liked · 29 August 2014 · Edited ·

Irish Water pulling out of Blamey Park

Like · Comment · Share

19 people like this. [Top Comments](#)

26 shares

**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges** Mark Egan do you have that photo or video of him  
Like · Reply · 1 · 29 August 2014 at 13:21  
1 Reply

**Barbara Dunne** Der on Cashel road now  
Like · Reply · 2 · 29 August 2014 at 10:25

**Catcon Hicks** That looks like a road off sundrive  
Like · Reply · 29 August 2014 at 15:01

**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges** Thanks it is not Dave here  
Like · Reply · 29 August 2014 at 14:44

**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges** Post it here  
Like · Reply · 29 August 2014 at 13:21

**Mark Egan** I recognize that voice, think its the foreman that cut off water to 3homes with OAPs living in them 😊  
Like · Reply · 1 · 29 August 2014 at 12:58

Write a comment...



**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges**  
Page Liked · 2 September 2014 · Edited ·

Irish Water pulling out again and not one meter installed in 4 days

Like · Comment · Share

92 people like this. [Top Comments](#)

3 shares

**Debbie Stewart** Good on ye's keep up the great work i grew up on downpatrick rd & my parents still stay there & i was told them wat u were doin & they were delighted,i now live on scotland & i'm sharing it so everyone can see how much the Irish people are been robbed  
Like · Reply · 7 · 2 September 2014 at 16:16

**Crumlin says NO to Water Meters and Charges** We are out at 8am but could be anywhere in Crumlin we get word were they are and we get the local residents out then to help us  
Like · Reply · 3 · 2 September 2014 at 17:19

**Caroline Farrell** Fair play to the people in crumlin standing there ground xx  
Like · Reply · 4 · 2 September 2014 at 15:31

**Carol Finnegan** Good stuff I'm free Thursday morning I'll be up again to help just ring me 😊  
Like · Reply · 3 · 2 September 2014 at 16:35

**Kieran Keogh** Pamela Byrne  
Like · Reply · 1 · 2 September 2014 at 16:46

[View 3 more comments](#)

Write a comment...

## APPENDIX8: UNITE THE UNION CONFERENCE

Sponsored by **Unite the Union**



Water is a basic human need and therefore ought to be a basic human right. Yet, those who profit from its overuse and abuse are determining the future of one of the earth's most vital resources. A handful of multinational corporations, backed by the World Bank and the European Union, are aggressively taking over the management of public water services around the world, dramatically increasing the price of water to the local residents and profiting from the people's search for solutions to the water crisis.

The corporate agenda is clear water should be treated like any other tradable good, with its use determined by market principles. At the same time, governments are signing away their control over domestic water supplies by participating in trade agreements and institutions that effectively give private corporations unprecedented access to the water of signatory countries.

Irish people have long resisted the introduction of water charges and following a sustained three-year campaign succeeded in abolishing water charges in 1997. Now under the guise of EU imposed austerity water charges of €300 plus per year are being imposed.

Water charges are just the latest burden the Government plans to impose on the Irish people -- after bin charges, the Universal Social Charge and the Property Tax along with wage cuts and welfare cuts of austerity -- all designed to keep the banks and our European paymasters sweet.

The "Our Water is Not for Sale" Forum will bring together activists opposed to charges, environmental and anti-capitalist campaigners from Ireland and Europe as well as leading campaigners from South America to discuss the wider politics of water and privatisation, we will consider how they relate to climate change and other environmental issues, and crucially, we will focus on developing strategies of resistance.



Cochabamba resists water privatisation, 2000.

To Book a place at the Conference email:  
**brid.smith@dublincity.ie**

text book to **087 9090166**  
or contact

**Brid Smith PBP candidate for Europe**

**People Before Profit**  
**Our Water Is Not for Sale**  
**Public Conference**

**Cllr Brid Smith** *People Before Profit Candidate for Europe*

**Marcela Olivera** *Cochabamba, Bolivia*

**Professor Mike Gonzalez** *Venezuela writer & activist*

**Jimmy Kelly** *Unite the Union*

**Clare Daly** *TD for Dublin North*

**Martin Empson** *Campaign Against Climate Change*

**Leslie Franke & Herdolor Lorenz** *Right2Water Campaign*

**Richard Boyd Barrett** *TD for Dún Laoghaire*

**Tommy Hogan** *Anti-Water Charges Campaigner*

**Saturday April 5TH 10.30-05:00pm**

**Gresham Hotel, O'Connell Street**

**WATER CHARGES**



Sponsored by: **Unite the Union** and **Cllr Brid Smith PBP**

### CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

**Registration** 10:00 - 10:30

**Welcome from Conference Speaker** 10:30 - 10:45

**Cllr. Brid Smith**

(People Before Profit Dublin Euro Candidate)

**SESSION ONE** 10.45 - 12.15

**Water as a Human Right – Against Privatisation**

**SPEAKERS:**

**Jimmy Kelly** (Regional Sec. Unite)

**Clare Daly TD**

**Martin Empson** (Campaign Against Climate Change)

**BREAK** 12:15 - 12:30

**SESSION TWO** 12.30 – 13.45

**The Great Water Revolt from South America to Europe.**

**SPEAKERS:**

**Marcela Olivera** (Participant in the Great Water Revolt in Cochabamba, Bolivia 2000)

**Leslie Franke** (Right 2 Water Campaign, Europe)

**Professor Mike Gonzalez** (Venezuela writer & activist)

**LUNCH** 13:45-14:30

**ROUNDTABLE "RESISTANCE" WORKSHOPS** 14.30– 15.45

or

**FILM SCREENING:**

Award winning documentary "How Water Makes Money". Introduced by the filmmakers Leslie Franke and Herdolor Lorenz.

**BREAK** 15.45 16:00

**SESSION THREE** 16:00 17:00

**Building the Resistance Today**

**SPEAKERS:**

**Cllr Brid Smith** (PBP Dublin Euro Candidate)

**Richard Boyd Barrett TD**

**Tommy Hogan** (Anti-Water Charges Campaigner)

**SPEAKERS**



**Brid Smith**

Councillor Brid Smith from Ballyfermot played a leading role in the campaigns against the Bin Charges and the Property Tax. She is now People Before Profit candidate for Europe in Dublin.



**Marcela Olivera**

Marcela Olivera, a water commons organizer. After graduating from the Catholic University in Cochabamba, Bolivia, Marcela worked for four years in Cochabamba as the key international liaison for the Coalition for the Defense of Water and Life, the organization that fought and defeated water privatisation in Bolivia. Since 2004 she has been developing and consolidating an inter-American citizens' network on water justice named "Red VIDA" as part of her work at the Water for All Campaign for Food and Water Watch.



**Professor Mike Gonzalez**

Mike Gonzalez is Emeritus Professor of Latin American Studies from Glasgow university, now living in Venezuela. He has written widely on Latin American history including on Cochabamba, Che Guevara, the Cuban Revolution and a new biography of Hugo Chavez socialist for the 21st Century



**Jimmy Kelly**

Jimmy Kelly is the Irish Regional Secretary of Unite the Union and has been leading the campaign against austerity and for an investment-based alternative in Northern Ireland and in Republic of Ireland.



**Martin Empson**

Martin Empson is a leading member of the Campaign Against Climate Change in Britain, and writer on environmental issues including a major recent book, Land and Labour: Marxism, ecology and human history.



**Leslie Franke and Herdolor Lorenz**

Leslie Franke and Herdolor Lorenz established Kernfilm, a film production company in 1985 in Hamburg Germany. Their recent films include "Blue Gold in the Garden of Eden", "H2O up for sale" The award winning "Water Makes Money".

They work with "Right2Water" campaign in Europe.

## APPENDIX 9: NEWSLETTER AND POSTER



### **CRUMLIN SAYS NO TO WATER METERS AND CHARGES COMMUNITY NEWSLETTER**



## ENOUGH IS ENOUGH!



### **CRUMLIN COMMUNITY SAYS A DEFIANT NO TO WATER METERS AND CHARGES.**

THE TIDE IS INDEED TURNING AGAINST THE GOVERNMENTS IMPOSITION OF WATER CHARGES ON ALREADY BELEAGUERED COMMUNITIES WHO HAVE BORNE THE BRUNT OF SAVAGE AND UNJUST AUSTERITY MEASURES, UNEMPLOYMENT, AND EMIGRATION SINCE 2008. THE WAVES OF PROTESTS AND RESISTANCE WITH COMMUNITIES SUCH AS CRUMLIN AT THE FOREFRONT OF THE CAMPAIGN HAVE FORCED A MASSIVE GOVERNMENT CLIMB DOWN BEFORE CHRISTMAS.

HOWEVER, THE WATER WAR IS NOT YET WON. WE NEED THE COMMUNITY OF CRUMLIN TO FURTHER UNITE IN THEIR OPPOSITION BY SUPPORTING A NATIONAL BLANKET BOYCOTT OF IRISH WATER AND THEIR REGRESSIVE WATER CHARGE TAX. REMEMBER WE ARE ALREADY PAYING FOR OUR DOMESTIC WATER AND WASTE SERVICES THROUGH OUR INCOME AND CAR TAXES AND VAT. THIS GOVERNMENT NEEDS TO HEAR OUR MESSAGE LOUD AND CLEAR- WE CANT PAY AND WE WONT PAY AGAIN

**CRUMLIN SAYS NO TO WATER METERS AND CHARGES**

TWO MIDDLE AGED FAMILY MEN FROM OPPOSITE ENDS OF CRUMLIN, DUBLIN AND A FACEBOOK PAGE WERE THE RUDIMENTARY BEGINNINGS OF THE LOCAL COMMUNITY FIGHT BACK IN THE SUMMER OF 2014. AS THE LOCAL CAMPAIGN GATHERED MOMENTUM, ON THE BACK OF IRISH WATERS INCURSION INTO THE COMMUNITY TO INSTALL WATER METERS THESE MEN WERE SOON JOINED BY OTHER LOCAL RESIDENTS AND SUPPORTERS, MALE AND FEMALE, YOUNG AND OLD FROM A DIVERSE RANGE OF OCCUPATIONS AND BACKGROUNDS CULMINATING IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF 'CRUMLIN SAYS NO TO WATER METERS AND CHARGES GROUP'. SINCE THE RESIDENTS CAMPAIGN IN CRUMLIN BEGAN IRISH WATER HAS TWICE ATTEMPTED TO INSTALL WATER METERS IN THE AREA BOTH BEFORE AND AFTER CHRISTMAS BUT THE TENACITY, RESILIENCE AND COMMITMENT OF LOCAL ACTIVISTS AND SUPPORTERS HAVE SUCCESSFULLY THWARTED THESE ATTEMPTS, WITH NO METERS HAVING BEEN INSTALLED TO DATE. DESPITE THE SUCCESS OF THE CAMPAIGN THUS FAR, AND THE OPTIMISM OF THE CAMPAIGN GROUP REGARDING ITS POTENTIAL FOR SUCCESS, ACTIVISTS CAUTION AGAINST COMPLACENCY AND URGE LOCAL RESIDENTS TO JOIN THEM IN THE FIGHT BACK AGAINST GOVERNMENT AUSTERITY MEASURES

AS ONE ACTIVIST HAS PUT IT 'THE ONLY PEOPLE WHO CAN DEFEAT THIS CAMPAIGN IS OURSELVES' LETS INSURE THIS WON'T HAPPEN. BOYCOTT THIS REGRESSIVE TAX, LET YOUR LOCAL AND NATIONAL REPRESENTATIVES KNOW YOU ARE AGAINST PAYING FOR WATER AGAIN JOIN THE CAMPAIGN, DISPLAY THE ENCLOSED POSTER PROMINENTLY IN YOUR FRONT WINDOW AND IF YOU HAVE ANY QUESTIONS OR QUERIES CONTACT US ON FACEBOOK.

**TIME LINE JUNE 2014-2015 CRUMLIN SAYS NO TO WATER METERS AND**

**JUNE 2014**

**FACEBOOK PAGE ESTABLISHED**



**AUGUST 2014**

**IRISH WATER METER INSTALLERS ARRIVE IN CRUMLIN-28TH AUGUST**

A NUMBER OF STREET MEETINGS ARE ORGANISED AROUND VARIOUS LOCATIONS IN CRUMLIN BETWEEN AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER TO RALLY SUPPORT AGAINST WATER METERS AND CHARGES AND TO DISCUSS WITH LOCAL PEOPLE THEIR ISSUES AND CONCERNS RELATING TO THE MATTER. THESE STREET OR ON THE GREEN LOCAL ASSEMBLIES ARE WELL ATTENDED BY RESIDENTS.





CRUMLIN COMMUNITY ACTIVISTS ATTEND AND SPEAK AT AN INDOOR PUBLIC MEETING IN DRIMNAGH ON WATER CHARGES ORGANISED LOCALLY AS PART OF 'THE GRASSROOTS GATHERING'.

LOCAL COMMUNITY ACTIVISTS FROM CRUMLIN SAYS NO TO WATER METERS AND CHARGES ATTEND A THREE DAY COURSE ON 'POLITICAL ECONOMY' ORGANISED BY THE RIGHT 2 WATER.

CRUMLIN SAYS NO TO WATER METER AND CHARGES ORGANISE A HALF DAY SEMINAR ON THE LOGIC OF PRIVATISATION IN LOCAL CENTRE IN DRIMNAGH. STEVIE... FROM THE TRADEMARK GROUP IN BELFAST GIVES A PRESENTATION AND HOSTS A DISCUSSION ON.....



## MAY 2015

**CRUMLIN SAYS NO TO WATER METERS AND CHARGES**  
**BOYCOTT THE WATER BILLS**  
 "FROM MOTOR TAX TO V.A.T. IRISH WATER'S NEVER FREE"  
**STREET MEETINGS**  
 DAY/DATE: THURSDAY 28/5/2015  
 1<sup>st</sup> Meeting  
 VENUE: THE GREEN ON CAPTAINS AVENUE  
 TIME: 6:45 P.M.  
 2<sup>nd</sup> Meeting  
 VENUE: OUTSIDE THE MISSION HALL ON CASHEL ROAD  
 TIME: 7:30 P.M.  
*Come to your closest meeting*



A NUMBER OF STREET MEETINGS ARE AGAIN ORGANISED AROUND VARIOUS LOCATIONS IN CRUMLIN TO RALLY SUPPORT AGAINST WATER METERS AND CHARGES PARTICULARLY AROUND THE CAMPAIGN OF NON-PAYMENT AND TO DISCUSS WITH LOCAL PEOPLE THEIR ISSUES AND CONCERNS RELATING TO THE MATTER., AS WELL AS GIVE PEOPLE INFORMATION AND AN UPDATE ON THE CAMPAIGN THESE STREET OR ON THE GREEN LOCAL ASSEMBLIES ARE WELL ATTENDED BY RESIDENTS



## **NOVEMBER 2014**

**LOCAL COMMUNITY IN CRUMLIN TURN OUT IN THEIR THOUSANDS TO PROTEST THE GOVERNMENT'S IMPOSITION OF WATER METERS AND CHARGES. THE LOCAL DEMONSTRATION WAS PART OF A LARGER MOBILISATION ATTRACTING UPWARDS OF 200,000 PEOPLE**



**LOCAL COMMUNITY ACTIVISTS HOST A WELL-ATTENDED PUBLIC MEETING ON ANTI-WATER CHARGES ON 24TH NOVEMBER 2014**



**CRUMLIN SAYS NO TO WATER METER AND CHARGES ORGANISE A BOYCOTT OF LOCAL TOPAZ GARAGE IN CRUMLIN**

**LOCAL COMMUNITY ACTIVIST INITIATES CONTACT WITH DETROIT WATER BRIGADE ON FACEBOOK LEADING TO A FORMAL INVITATION TO VISIT IRELAND IN DECEMBER 2014**

**DECEMBER 2014**



CRUMLIN SAYS NO TO WATER METERS AND CHARGES HOSTS A DELEGATION FROM DETROIT WATER BRIGADE IN A LOCAL COMMUNITY CENTRE ON DECEMBER THE 9TH 2014. THE MEETING WAS ATTENDED BY OVER TWO HUNDRED PEOPLE, SPEAKERS FROM THE RIGHT 2 WATER AND LOCAL YOUTH AND COMMUNITY GROUPS WHO DANCED FOR THE VISITORS

CRUMLIN SAYS NO TO WATER METERS AND CHARGES MEET UP WITH OTHER COMMUNITY ANTI-WATER CHARGES GROUPS FROM THE SOUTHSIDE OF DUBLIN AT THE REAR OF ST PATRICKS CATHEDRAL TO MARCH TO THE BACK OF THE NATIONAL PARLIAMENT DAIL EIREANN, WHERE THEY WERE JOINED BY THOUSANDS OF OTHER ACTIVISTS AND SUPPORTERS

SHAY LE STRANGE A CRUMLIN ANTI-WATER CHARGES ACTIVIST ADDRESSES A RIGHT 2 WATER ASSEMBLY IN MERRION SQUARE DUBLIN ATTENDED BY APPROXIMATELY 100,000

**JANUARY 2015**

CRUMLIN ACTIVISTS AND SUPPORTERS MOBILISE AND MARCH TO O'CONNELL STREET IN DUBLIN CENTRE AS PART OF A COMMUNITY ORGANISED DEMONSTRATION CALLED BY 'DUBLIN SAYS NO'. TURNOUT FOR WHAT WAS PRIMARILY A DUBLIN DEMO ORGANISERS PUT THE NUMBERS IN THE REGION OF 40,000.



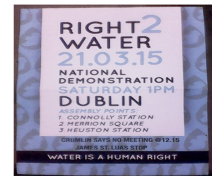
**FEBRUARY 2015**

CRUMLIN SAYS NO TO WATER METER AND CHARGES ATTEND 'A FREE THE FIVE' RALLY AFTER MARCHING FROM DAME STREET TO MOUNTJOY GAOL IN DUBLIN. THE FIVE PROTESTERS HAD BEEN ARRESTED AND JAILED AFTER DEFYING AN INJUNCTION TO NOT 'INTERFERE' IN THE INSTALLATION OF WATER METERS IN NORTH DUBLIN



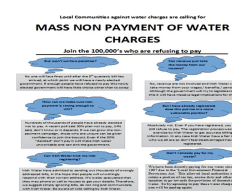
**MARCH 2015**

CRUMLIN SAYS NO TO WATER METER AND CHARGES MOBILISES LOCALLY FOR RIGHT 2 WATER DEMONSTRATION IN DUBLIN CITY CENTRE. THE COMMUNITY GROUP MEETS UP WITH OTHER SOUTH SIDE ANTI-WATER CHARGE GROUPS AND SUPPORTERS OPPOSITE ST JAMES HOSPITAL BEFORE MARCHING TO HEUSTON STATION, WHERE THEY WERE JOINED WITH OTHER COMMUNITY GROUPS BEFORE PROCEEDING DOWN THE QUAYS TO O'CONNELL STREET.



**APRIL 2015**

IRISH WATER CONTRACTORS RETURN TO CRUMLIN ACCOMPANIED BY LARGE FORCE OF GARDAÍ. SEVERAL PROTESTORS WERE ARRESTED WHILE PEACEFULLY DEMONSTRATING. A LOCAL MARCH TO CRUMLIN GARDA STATIONS ARE ORGANISED TO PROTEST AGAINST THE ARRESTS AND DEMAND THEIR RELEASE. CONTRACTORS DO NOT RETURN AND NO METERS ARE INSTALLED. CRUMLIN LAUNCHES MASS NON-PAYMENT CAMPAIGN.



**SEPTEMBER 2014**

CRUMLIN GOES GLOBAL- BRENDAN CONDRON AN ANTI-WATER CHARGE ACTIVIST GIVE AN INTERVIEW WITH BBC WORLD SERVICE.



IRISH WATER INSTALLERS MOVE OUT OF CRUMLIN AFTER LOCAL COMMUNITY ACTIVISTS AND SUPPORTERS SUCCESSFULLY PREVENTED THEM FROM INSTALLING ONE SINGLE METER. THE SAME CREWS MOVE INTO KIMMAGE

A PROTEST WAS STAGED OUTSIDE OF THE GPO ON O'CONNELL STREET AGAINST THE NEW CHARGES SET TO BE INTRODUCED BY IRISH WATER. THE PROTEST WAS ORGANISED BY THE GROUP 'DUBLIN SAYS NO' AND SAW PROTESTERS FROM DIFFERENT AREAS IN THE CITY INCLUDING TALLAGHT AND CRUMLIN AS WELL AS OTHERS FROM AROUND THE COUNTRY COMING INTO THE CAPITAL'S CITY CENTRE.

**OCTOBER 2014**

CRUMLIN GROUP MOBILISES AND MARCHES AS A COMMUNITY IN NATIONAL DEMONSTRATION ORGANISED BY THE RIGHT 2 WATER COALITION



**JUNE 2015**

*Boycott the water charge* **CRUMLIN WATER PROTEST LOCAL MARCH** *Boycott the water charge*  
**SATURDAY, 6TH JUNE 2015**

LOCAL COMMUNITIES AGAINST WATER CHARGES  
MARCHING TOGETHER  
TO WALKINSTOWN ROUNDABOUT

TO PROMOTE NON PAYMENT OF IRISH WATER BILLS  
COME AND SUPPORT YOUR LOCAL COMMUNITY  
IN THE FIGHT AGAINST WATER CHARGES

**NO WAY WE WON'T PAY**  
LOCAL MEETING POINT  
TRANSPORT CLUB KILCROHER ROAD @ 12:45 PM  
MARCHING TO WALKINSTOWN ROUNDABOUT @ 2PM



CRUMLIN SAYS NO TO WATER METERS AND CHARGES COLLABORATE WITH OTHER SOUTH SIDE ANTI- WATER CHARGE GROUPS IN ORGANISING A LOCAL MARCH AND DEMONSTRATION. THE CRUMLIN GROUP MARCHES FROM THEIR OWN AREA TO A CENTRAL LOCATION AT WALKINSTOWN ROUNDABOUT WHERE OTHER GROUPS HAVE CONVERGED. BRENDAN CONDRON ADDRESSES THE ASSEMBLED CROWD OF UPWARDS OF TWO THOUSAND PEOPLE

THEY SAY CUT BACKS WE SAY FIGHT BACK WHAT BEGAN PRIMARILY AS A LOCAL COMMUNITY CAMPAIGN ABOUT A SINGLE ISSUE OF MAJOR CONCERN AROUND WATER PRIVATISATION IN IRELAND HAS SINCE DEVELOPED AND EXPANDED INTO WIDER ISSUES OF DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE, NEO-LIBERAL AUSTERITY AND PROGRESSIVE SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION. THIS CAMPAIGN IN CRUMLIN, DUBLIN HAS LED A MAJORITY OF LOCAL COMMUNITY ACTIVISTS TO ENGAGE IN A DEEP ROUNDED ANALYSIS AND CRITIQUE OF THE FUNCTION AND FORM OF REPRESENTATIONAL DEMOCRACY AND TO BEGIN A PROCESS OF SEEKING SOLUTIONS AND ALTERNATIVES. IN DOING SO THE EXISTING DOMINANT WORLD VIEW THAT 'THERE IS NO ALTERNATIVE' (TINA) VIGOROUSLY AND CONTINUALLY PROMOTED BY THE IRISH STATE HAS BEEN IRREPARABLY SHATTERED. AS THE LOCAL COMMUNITY CAMPAIGN CLEARLY DEMONSTRATES LOCAL RESIDENTS ARE NO LONGER WILLING TO PASSIVELY CONFORM OR REMAIN SILENT INSTEAD, FIGHT BACK HAS BECOME THE WATCHWORD OF LOCAL COMMUNITY ACTIVISM IN THIS WORKING CLASS AREA IN CRUMLIN, DUBLIN.

'I GET UP EVERY MORNING BELIEVING THAT I AM GOING TO SUCCEED... I THINK, I STRONGLY BELIEVE THAT AT THE MOMENT IF WE DIDN'T HAVE THESE PROTESTS I CAN ASSURE YOU IT WOULDN'T BE A HUNDRED AND SIXTY EURO A YEAR AND THE PLACE WOULD PROBABLY BE SOLD ALREADY...SO WE ARE GETTING SOMEWHERE AND THAT'S A START.'

A FEW FUNNY MOMENTS IN THE CAMPAIGN..



JAKEY-THERE WAS ONE LOCAL MARCH IN CRUMLIN THE PEOPLE THAT TURNED OUT ... WE WERE AMAZED IT ACTUALLY MADE MY HAIR I HAVE NO HAIR BUT IT MADE MINE STAND ON ME HEAD THERE WAS THREE TO FIVE THOUSAND PEOPLE TURNED UP FOR CRUMLIN ABSOLUTELY GREAT.



JAKEY MIGHT BE HAIRLESS BUT HE'S DEFINITELY FEARLESS



BRENDAN WAS IN THE CELL JUST INSIDE THE DOOR AND THE CELL DOOR WAS OPENED THERE WAS ANOTHER SERGEANT COMING THROUGH BUT WHEN HE LOOKED THROUGH THE LITTLE PANE OF GLASS IN KILMAINHAM HE LOOKED AT ME, AND I HAD A BEARD ON HE THOUGHT IT WAS GERRY ADAMS FOR SOME REASON AND HE SAID FUCKING HELL HE SAID ITS GERRY ADAMS IN THERE WHAT AM I BLEEDING GOING TO DO WITH HIM SO HE [BRENDAN] STARTED LAUGHING HE HAD ANOTHER LOOK IN F... IT'S NOT GERRY ADAMS SO HE COMES IN TO ME AND SAID I LOOKED THROUGH THAT WINDOW AND I COULD HAVE BLEEDING SWORN IT WAS GERRY ADAMS SITTING THERE AND I SAID HOW AM I GOING TO DEAL WITH THIS F..... WHAT AM I GOING TO DO WITH GERRY ADAMS AM I GOING TO CHARGE HIM OR WHAT AM I GOING TO DO?



JAKE AND SHAY WERE FOLLOWING AN IRISH WATER VAN AROUND CRUMLIN DURING THE FIRST ATTEMPT TO INSTALL WATER METERS IN THE AREA. SHAY GOT SEPARATED FROM THE VAN AT A SET OF TRAFFIC LIGHTS, AND ASKED JAKE TO JUMP OUT AND LOOK AROUND THE CORNER TO SEE WHERE THAT VAN WENT, JAKE ENTHUSIASTICALLY COMPLIED AND RAN SPEEDILY ROUND THE CORNER TO SEE IF HE COULD CATCH A GLIMPSE OF THE SAID VAN. WITH NO SIGN HE RAN BACK AT DOUBLE SPEED AND JUMPED INTO THE CAR TO LET SHAY KNOW...AND YOU WOULDN'T BELIEVE WHAT HAPPENED? JAJEY IN HIS RUSH TO GET BACK ON THE TRAIL OF THE VAN AND HAD ACCIDENTLY JUMPED INTO SOMEONE ELSE'S CAR!



ADELE DOESN'T KNOW WHOSE SIDE SHE'S ON

VOICES FROM THE MARGINS

ONE ACTIVIST WROTE: "WELL, THERE'S ONE THING I WOULD LIKE TO SAY...DENIS O'BRIEN I HOPE YOU ARE LISTENING TO THIS RIGHT AND YOUR GOVERNMENT AND ALL YOUR LACKEYS. THE IRISH PEOPLE WON'T TAKE IT ANYMORE COS WE ARE AWAKE NOW AND WE UNDERSTAND WHAT'S GOING ON. A COUPLE OF YEARS AGO I HADN'T A CLUE AND I AM SURE THERE'S A LOT OF PEOPLE FROM THE CRUMLIN GROUP WHO HADN'T A CLUE THAT WAS GOING ON...THEY'D STICK THEIR HEAD OUT THE DOOR OH IT'S ANOTHER GUY STICKING IN A METER AND THE WHOLE LOT...THEY DIDN'T KNOW BUT NOW WE KNOW RIGHT NOW WE KNOW WHAT'S GOING ON AND WE KNOW ABOUT YOUR CORRUPTION AND WE ARE GOING TO END YOUR CORRUPTION RIGHT AND HOPEFULLY WE ARE GOING TO TOPPLE YOUR LITTLE GOVERNMENT"

ADELE - I was never one for voting, you know that way, but now I would because i know the other side gets it you know, so now I would vote.

SANDRA - Its a big huge vicious circle, this water thing... There is alot more mental health problems I think after rising with this... And thats why I really pushing against this water charge.

SHAY - I decided I would get in and get my hands dirty and actually stand with the people that live in the community that I live in

EVE - I'm very positive about the outcome of the campaign. I do not enter things I lose... They might get a meter in but they wont be getting paid no bills.

GAVIN - Well without facebook to be honest I wouldnt know shit... Fair enough.. You would be talking to people but the amount of research you can do, videos you can watch like I'd say you wouldn't have... a third of the resistance thats out there now today without the likes of social media.

BRENDAN C - I was at the start really optomistic and then there was a kinf of trail off but... I am more optomitic now because I have met people from all over the country who are actively involved and they have... community activism is rife all over the country now for all aspects of austerity be it housing, health, the water that we are doing, anything you name it there's people out there fighting over it and... it's great to be part of that.

BRENDAN B - I've met many new friends... and people I'm proud to call my friends and without them I couldnt kepp going on my own...

JAKE - We have not got any media coverage at all, none whatsoever. We had a big march there, 150,000 - and they turned around and said 50,000 ...so we're not really getting anything.



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**The Main Caricature of Irish News & Media and Fine Gael's favourite businessman, Denis O'Brien, has also moved into the water metering business.**

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**FINE GAEL** is a major shareholder in the water metering business.

Denis O'Brien is Chairman and principal shareholder of the publicly listed water utility, the largest shareholder is the Irish-Chinese News & Media. In April last year the group did a deal with the Irish banks, which include AIB and Bank of Ireland, where the banks were left with a portfolio of an amount of €1.5 billion in exchange for a shareholding in the group worth approximately €1 billion.

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# NO METERS HERE



## I'M BOYCOTTING THE WATER TAX