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**Jumping scales and influencing
outcomes: A case study of community
development for environmental justice**

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Abstract

This thesis tells the story of Love Leitrim, a rural community group which formed in opposition to the proposed extraction of shale gas by hydraulic fracturing. The research considers the strategies which Love Leitrim used when campaigning for a national legislative ban on the practice. By presenting a case study of a campaign in which the environment was a political matter of collective contestation, I aim to contribute to a critical community work theorisation of the environment which addresses the structural injustice embedded in environmental conflicts.

Local environmental mobilisations face numerous procedural barriers when seeking to engage with political and regulatory interlocutors across scales. Addressing the scalar dynamics of participation and power is important for the realisation of environmental justice. I use the metaphor of jumping scales to conceptualise this participatory challenge facing communities in environmental conflicts. In order to examine this issue, I adopted a case study approach using multiple methods to examine Love Leitrim's campaign. The research was rooted in sustained dialogue, exchange and collaboration-in-action with Love Leitrim over the course of a year and a half. A thematic analysis was undertaken to identify the strategies used by the group.

I find that several elements contributed to Love Leitrim's ability to jump scales and effect change in the campaign. Firstly, local mobilising based on dialogue, relationships, creativity provided the group with a strong social licence from the community when engaging with interlocutors across scales. Secondly, campaigners shaped the discursive opportunity structure, engaged with politicians as electors (rather than non-experts) and used creative, collective action to demonstrate public resistance to the fracking project. The research concludes that this innovative combination of relational local organising (rooting) and robust political engagement (reaching) enabled campaigners to navigate power asymmetries and make their voices heard across scales.

Dedication

To the people of Leitrim,
wherever they come from.

Acknowledgments

‘We make the road by walking’, as Paulo Freire said (Horton and Freire, 1990: 6), and this PhD journey has been a long road! There so many inspiring campaigners, community workers and friends who I have met along the way, in community halls, at fracking protest sites, Friends of the Earth offices and gatherings and on the streets. It is impossible to thank everyone who has given me food for thought, support and encouragement. There are, though, several who deserve particular mention here.

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List of Abbreviations

CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resource Management
COP	Conference of Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
CSO	Central Statistics Office
DCENR	Department of Communications, Energy and Natural Resources
DUP	Democratic Unionist Party (Northern Ireland)
ENGO	Environmental Non-Governmental Organisation
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
EU	European Union
FF	Fianna Fáil
FFAN	Fermanagh Fracking Awareness Network
FG	Fine Gael
FoE	Friends of the Earth
GAA	Gaelic Athletic Association
GEAI	Good Energies Alliance Ireland
ICA	Irish Countrywomen's Association
IEN	Irish Environmental Network
IFA	Irish Farmers' Association
LAMP	Letterbreen and Mullaghduin Partnership
LDC	Leitrim Development Company
LNG	Liquified Natural Gas
LSC	Leitrim Sculpture Centre
MLA	Member of the Legislative Assembly (of Northern Ireland)
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
NI	Northern Ireland
NISRA	Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency

PBP	People Before Profit
PDR	Permitted Development Rights
PPN	Public Participation Network
PR-STV	Proportional Representation – Single Transferable Vote
RTÉ	<i>Raidió Teilifís Éireann</i> (Ireland’s national public service broadcaster)
SDLP	Social Democratic and Labour Party (Northern Ireland)
SF	Sinn Féin
TD	<i>Teachta Dála</i> (Member of Parliament)
ToR	Terms of reference
UGEE	Unconventional Gas Exploration and Extraction
US	United States
YFoE	Young Friends of the Earth

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Saturday, 14th October 2017 was Global Frackdown Day, the international day of action against the fossil fuel extraction process of hydraulic fracturing, or fracking. In County Leitrim, campaigners were gathering at the Rainbow Ballroom in Glenfarne, which had been the venue of many public meetings over the previous six years of the anti-fracking campaign. On this occasion however, the assembling crowd was there to celebrate the ban on fracking in Ireland which had been signed into law in July of that year. Local campaigners and their families were joined by supporters from across Ireland, as well as New York, Alberta and Germany. Yet, even as the fracking ban was enacted, plans were advancing to construct a liquefied natural gas (LNG) terminal on the Shannon Estuary in south-west Ireland. Campaigners suspected this terminal would be used to import gas from US fracking operations, displacing the averted risk of fracking in Ireland onto communities in North America.¹ With such a range of people gathered in one place, Love Leitrim took the opportunity to call a meeting to discuss the LNG terminal before the celebrations got underway. Tucked away in the attic of the ballroom, surrounded by memorabilia from Ireland's showband music era, twenty campaigners gathered to share information and discuss next steps. Half-way through the meeting, a dozen more people filed into the room. They were members of the Save Our Sperrins campaign against gold mining in County Tyrone and had come to share their story and to learn from the anti-fracking campaigners.

As the campaign against fracking came to a close in Leitrim, the proposition of the LNG terminal in the Republic and gold mining in the North made it clear that that the

¹ That this terminal would be used to import North American fracked gas was later confirmed when US-based New Fortress Energy took over the project in September 2018 (Corkhill, 2018; Quinn, 2018).

island of Ireland would continue to be a flashpoint in the global resistance to extractivism (Hederman, 2019). Acosta (2017) defines extractivism as ‘activities that remove large volumes of non-processed natural resources [...], particularly for export’. The logic of extractivism is the objectification of the earth and the devaluation of communities at the point of extraction who are displaced or experience harmful impacts in the process of extraction (Jewett and Garavan, 2018). While extractivism is indelibly linked to global processes and flows of capital, the destructive impact of extraction is felt first and worst at a local scale – often by marginalised and disadvantaged communities. Such sites have been described as ‘sacrifice zones’ and ‘commodity frontiers’ (Healy et al, 2018: 219), where communities are subjected to the ‘slow violence’ of displacement and landscape destruction effected by the extractivist assumption of ‘conjoined ecological and human disposability’ (Nixon, 2013: 4). Nixon describes ‘slow violence’ as environmental destruction that ‘occurs gradually and out of sight, a violence of delayed destruction that is dispersed across time and space, an attritional violence that is typically not viewed as violence at all’ (p. 19). However, this violence is not passively accepted by the communities upon whom it is wrought. As the gathering in the Rainbow ballroom attests to, community campaigners are organising collectively, networking across scales and actively resisting extractivism and its impacts.

In this thesis, I explore how local campaigners in the north-west of Ireland resisted and prevented the imposition of the extractivist project of fracking imposed by the state in co-operation with transnational capital. Specifically, I present an in-depth case study of Love Leitrim, a campaign group based in Manorhamilton, County Leitrim, whose primary objective was to secure a ban on the practice of fracking on the island of Ireland. My aim in carrying out this research was to contribute to community development practice for environmental justice by exploring the insights which can be gained from studying a successful community based environmental mobilisation. In section 1.2, I set out the context for this case study by briefly describing out the origins of the plans to frack and the development of the anti-fracking movement. I introduce Love Leitrim, consider my own position within the case study and acknowledge the boundaries of the case. In section 1.3, I outline the research context and design, detailing the rationale for this study and describing the

conceptual framework, before stating the research question and briefly outlining the methodology. Finally, in this chapter I explain the structure of the thesis.

1.2 Case study context

1.2.1 The global context of extractivism

As a mode of capitalist accumulation, extractivism is based on the removal of minerals, fossil fuels and agri-crops from the earth and their sale on global economic markets. The term originates from Latin American political discourse where environmental justice movements and scholars have long challenged the hegemony of extractivism as the primary mode of development in the Southern Cone (Galeno, 1999 [1971]; Martinez-Alier *et al.* 2014). Raftopoulos (2017: 390) highlights that Latin American extractivism ‘perpetuates neocolonial power relations based on the export-led growth model, with incalculable environmental consequences’. Extractivism is a process which is emmeshed in global material and financial flows which have been accelerated by the globalisation of capitalist relations since the 1970s (Harvey, 2007). It contributes to and distributes environmental injustice and human rights abuses across multiple scales (United Nations, 2019) as the pursuit of extractivism often means ‘prioritising economic growth and national development agendas over human and environmental rights’ (Raftopoulos, 2017: 392). Extractivism has led to significant political resistance by communities affected by mining operations, mega-projects and associated infrastructure (EJ Atlas, n.d.). With the extractivist model, ‘the realisation of value for transnational corporations is achieved through the international market rather than the internal market’ and so extraction has limited developmental benefits for either communities at the point of extraction or for national economies (López *et al.*, 2015: 157).

Yet the imbrication of the extractivism and neoliberal modernisation agendas means that extractivism is often equated with development by states which pursue it as an economic strategy (Petras and Veltmeyer, 2014). This presents a challenge

for community development, as the practice has been adopted by transnational corporations which 'see themselves as obligated to develop material and symbol strategies to counteract resistance generated at the local level' (López *et al*, 2015: 161). As a result, note Maconachie and Hilson (2013: 349), community development initiatives are often 'sponsored and constructed by corporate entities themselves' with the 'potential for disastrous disconnects to transpire'. The appropriation of community development approaches by transnational corporations raises important ethical and political considerations for community workers (Ranta-Tyrkkö and Jojo, 2019). Yet the community development literature on extractivism has often taken a reformist approach focused on the potential role of community development initiatives to improve outcomes for mining impacted communities (Kemp, 2010, Gilberthorpe, 2013). Taking a different approach, this research focuses on a community's right to resist the implementation of an extractivist agenda altogether and on how community work approaches may be used to support outcomes that protect environmental justice across multiple scales.

1.2.2 Hydraulic fracturing in Ireland

On the 14th February 2011, the people of north-west Ireland and County Clare learned that the Irish government had awarded "Licencing Options" to three companies for petroleum exploration. These awards were the first stage in the process of regulating industrial extraction of shale gas. The shale rock geology of the licence areas meant that a method known as hydraulic fracturing, or fracking, was required to extract the methane gas. Fracking is a controversial form of fossil fuel extraction which has ignited much community resistance around the globe for its negative social and environmental impacts (EJ Atlas, n.d). It requires pumping large amounts of water, sand and chemicals underground to fracture the rock and release pockets of trapped methane gas (*see figure 1.1 and appendix 2*).

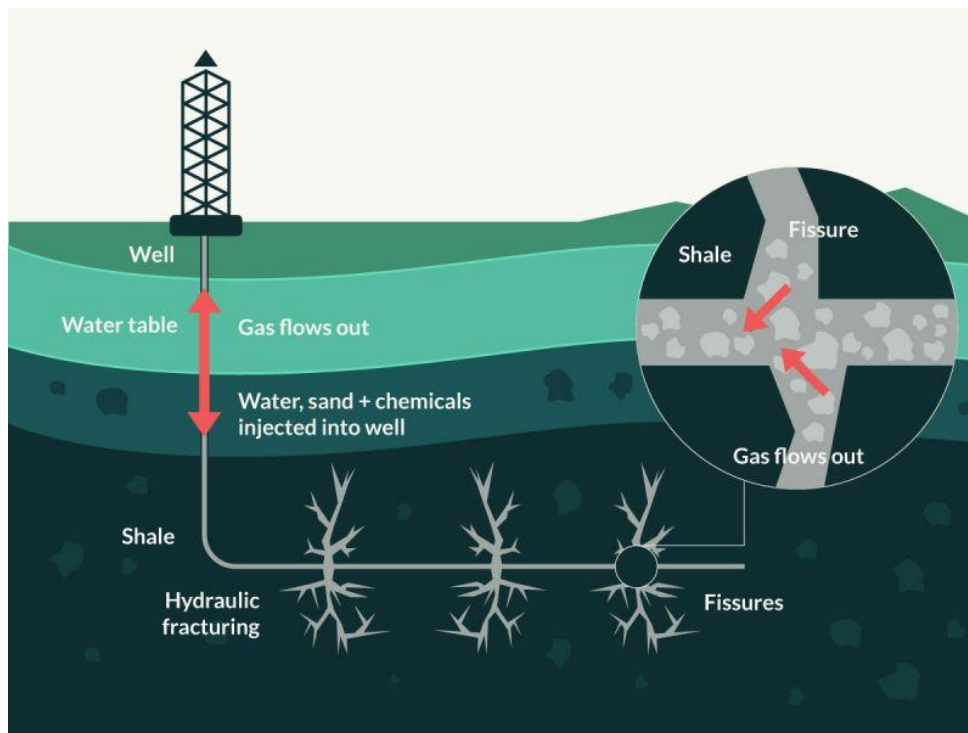


Figure 1.1: The fracking process

The commercial extraction of shale gas by fracking requires large scale drilling which has industrialised the landscape in areas where it has been pursued. In Ireland, communities in the licence areas were not consulted prior to the government's decision and began a six-year campaign seeking a ban on fracking (*see figure 1.2*). The campaign won a major victory with the passing of legislation to ban onshore fracking in July 2017. Various groups continue to campaign to extend the fracking ban to (1) prohibit all offshore oil and gas drilling and to (2) prevent the importation of fracked gas from the US market. Several Love Leitrim campaigners are active in these campaigns (Shannonside News, 2018).

1.2.2 County Leitrim

Leitrim was the county which was to be most impacted by the proposals and the one which saw the most anti-fracking community mobilisations. It is a rural county with a population of 32,044 people (Western Development Commission, 2017: 1). Leitrim land is generally poor, with farming on a commercial scale difficult (Mitchell and Ryan, 2001: 352). Throughout the twentieth century, there was sustained outward migration from the county which contributed to a pattern of rural depopulation, dereliction and decline (Browne, 2011) Today, the population is growing and there is a strong tradition of vibrant and creative community action. This is partly supported by various community development initiatives in the county, but also fuelled by the significant numbers of people who have moved to Leitrim since the 1980s attracted by cheap property and land prices. Many of these people originated in the UK and continental Europe and include artists, writers and those who seek to live alternative lifestyles and farm organically, for example. I present a fuller community profile of Leitrim in chapter six (*section 6.2*).

1.2.3 Love Leitrim

The initial fracking proposition catalysed the formation of over twenty local groups across the north-west and County Clare in 2011. Several of these groups continued in some form throughout the course of the campaign and I present them fully in Chapter six, section 6.3. For this study I have undertaken a case study of Love Leitrim, a local campaign group based in Manorhamilton, north Leitrim. Love Leitrim was established in 2011 with the aim to ban fracking in Ireland. In pursuit of this aim it set three objectives: (1) Create public awareness; (2) Lobby decision makers to meet their aim; and (3) Celebrate positive aspects of Leitrim/Ireland. Love Leitrim organised itself as an open and inclusive group inviting a broad base of members. The group had regular working meetings which were open to new members at any time. Their approach to the campaign combined creative community engagement with

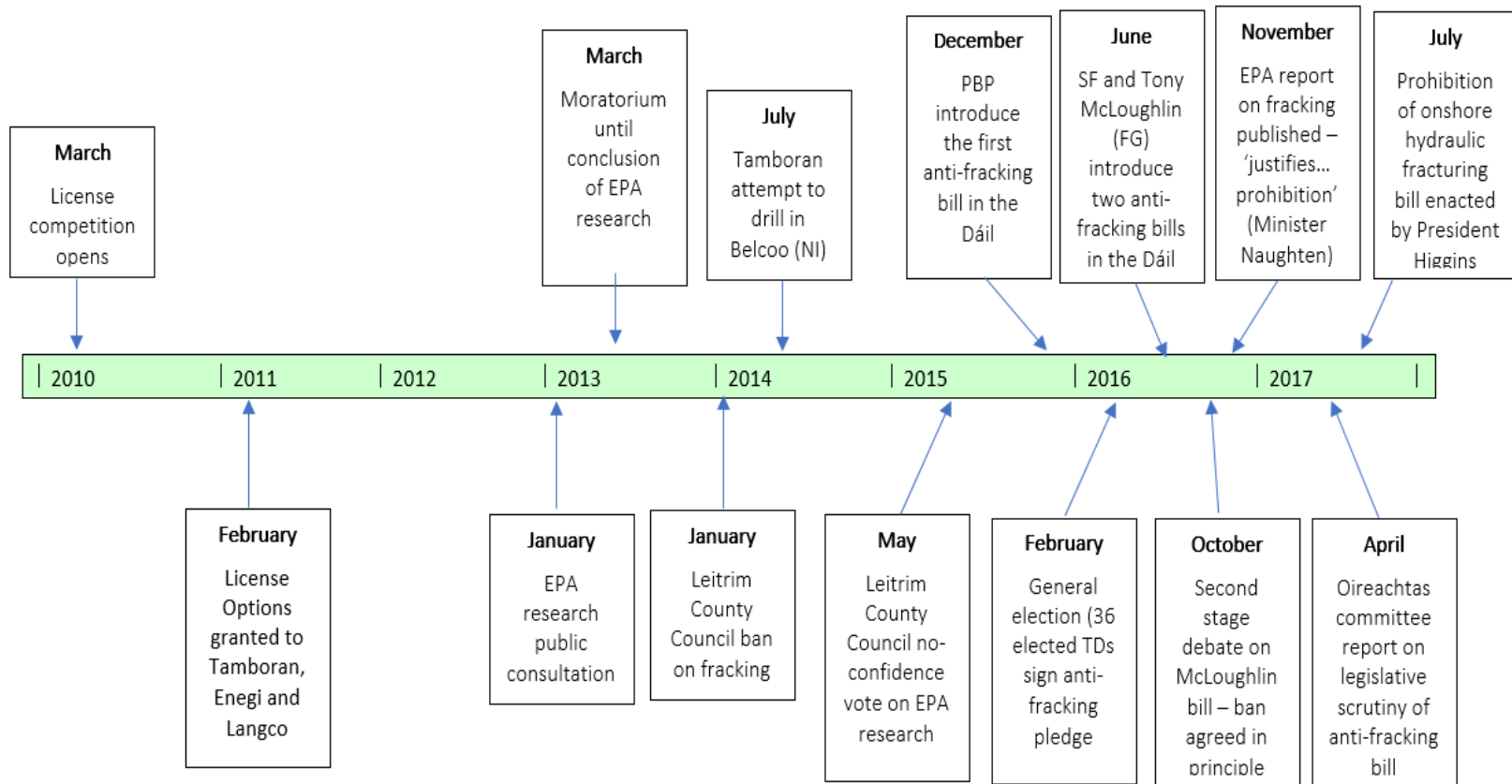


Figure 1.2: Fracking in Ireland: a timeline of political development

political advocacy efforts. This combination was unique in the Irish anti-fracking movement and had broad similarities with a community development approach, which made Love Leitrim a particularly relevant case study for community work research.

1.2.4 Acknowledging the boundaries of my case

The campaign to ban fracking took six years, thousands of hours, two dozen campaign groups operating at different stages in the campaign, hundreds of people and numerous strategies to succeed. At the outset of this thesis, I want to stress the limitations of the present study in not capturing the broader Irish anti-fracking movement in all of its diversity. While there were many groups and many individuals which made up the anti-fracking movement and contributed to this success, this study is a case study of one particular group in the campaign which was inspired by a community development approach in its ways of working. In taking Love Leitrim as my current focus I do not wish to detract from the dedicated efforts of many others, however a detailed account of the wider movement is outside of the scope of this study. Other studies and reviews have taken different foci and are therefore useful in offering a fuller account of the movement. These include De Boissière (2016), McDonagh (2016) and Quinn (2014). Furthermore, Good Energies Alliance Ireland have compiled an interactive timeline which is available online which includes several important documents (GEAI, 2018). In chapter six (*section 6.2*) I present an account of the various other groups which comprised the Irish anti-fracking movement from 2011-2016.

1.2.5 My position within the case

In carrying out this case study research with Love Leitrim I recognised my personal, political and professional commitments as a community worker, environmental activist and researcher. My own initial engagement with the

campaign against fracking in Ireland was as a community work and youth work student undertaking a professional MA in 2011. I carried out a small MA research project where I interviewed three anti-fracking campaigners and two community workers engaged in environmental work. I also carried out participant observation which meant I spent twelve days in Leitrim. During this time, I attended events including a table quiz, a public meeting and a Leitrim *Claiming Our Future*² event organised by anti-fracking campaigners. As well as undertaking interviews, I immersed myself in local life, having cups of tea at kitchen tables, visiting the library and the pub! These informal times provided a chance to discuss and learn about the issues from the community's perspective. I made friends and connections in Leitrim which strengthened my political commitment to solidarity and Leitrim which have been drawing me back since. In 2011, I was also active with Friends of the Earth (FoE) Ireland's youth network. As a network we organised an anti-fracking solidarity campaign, which included a gathering of activists in Leitrim and awareness raising demonstrations in Dublin and Leitrim (Gorman, 2012). In the years since then, I have remained active in the climate justice movement and the FoE Network in Ireland and Europe. Currently I serve as the chairperson of the board of trustees of FoE Ireland, which is one space in which I hope to apply the learning from this thesis.

In stepping into the role of researcher it was important to acknowledge my previous roles and positions within the anti-fracking and climate justice movements. This required me to reflect on the assumptions and values which shaped my formation of the research question, as well as the emotional connections I had with the issue and with research participants. My engaged interpretivist stance meant that I was not attempting to bracket out my experiences or claim to be producing objective research. I must nonetheless acknowledge that my personal and political commitments indelibly shaped my choices as a researcher and the pathways I took in the research process. My decision to undertake in-depth and diachronic case study research with Love Leitrim was informed by my commitment to environmental

² Claiming Our Future was 'a progressive movement for an equal, sustainable and thriving Ireland' (Claiming our Future, 2016: 1). In the aftermath of the 2008/9 financial crisis the group was established by a broad coalition of civil society groups including trade unions, anti-poverty and environmental groups. It held national and local dialogues on the future of politics and society.

justice for the communities impacted by fracking and by my existing connections to the group and campaign. As a researcher I kept a reflexive journal to examine my positionality, values and assumptions in the research process. In chapter four (*section 4.4.1*) and chapter six (*section 6.6*) I reflect further on my own positionality within this case study.

1.3 Research context and design

1.3.1 Community work responses to environmental issues

As we enter the geological age of the Anthropocene, the indelible impact of human action on the planet threatens to exceed ‘safe operating space’ across nine ‘planetary boundaries’ (Rockström *et al.*, 2009; Steffen *et al.*, 2015). The effects of industrialisation, industrial agriculture and global trade, carried out mostly in the global North, have pushed us to the edge of these earth system boundaries. This has significant negative implications for social justice, equity and human rights which are already being experienced by the poorest and most marginalised (OHCHR, 2009). These challenges will continue to be exacerbated unless urgent and transformative action is taken across our societies (IPCC, 2018).

Yet, despite these collective challenges, dominant mainstream conceptualisations of environmental issues tend to focus our attention on individual actions and consumer choices. Environmental action is often framed as a question of buying organic products, electric vehicles and making our homes more energy efficient. In this way, ‘consumer culture and the capitalist mind-set have taught us to substitute acts of personal consumption (or enlightenment) for organised political resistance’ (Jensen, 2009). ‘Weak sustainability’ (Neumayer, 2003) has become dominant in policy making, leading to an individualised, depoliticised and consumer-based conceptualisation of environmental action in public policy (Department of the

Environment, Community and Local Government, 2012; Department of Communications, Climate Action and Environment, 2018).

The dominance of a depoliticised and individualised conceptualisation of the environment in public policy presents a challenge for community development practice, which seeks to promote and support the collective action of communities to address the structural causes of injustice and inequality. In Ireland, community development is defined as:

‘A developmental activity comprised of both a task and a process. The task is social change to achieve equality, social justice and human rights, and the process is the application of principles of participation, empowerment and collective decision making in a structured and co-ordinated way’ (Pobal, 1999; All Ireland Endorsement Body, 2016: 5).

This definition makes it clear that community work³ is a political activity which is carried out collectively with communities and guided by values of justice and equality. Thus, when approaching the environment as an issue for community work it is important to consider how the practice might engage with environmental issues in a critical way which seeks to collectively address the political implications of pollution and environmental degradation.

In order to contribute to the critical community work theorisation of the environment, this thesis explores Love Leitrim’s campaign as an example of a community-based environmental mobilisation against the extractivist project of fracking. Such mobilisations are instances where the environment is raised as a political issue and becomes ‘a matter of fundamental contention’ (Rootes, 2007: 722). In Ireland, the majority of environmental protest mobilisations are local in scope (Garavan, 2007, MacSheoin, 1999). These occur where a community objects to locally unwanted land use that is imposed by outside actors such as the state or private sector. Such local mobilisations are places where communities are contesting the nature of unsustainable development, challenging the uneven distribution of

³ In Ireland, ‘the terms community development and community work are used interchangeably’ in policy and practice (All-Ireland Endorsement Body, 2016: 27). I maintain this convention in this thesis.

environmental burdens and demanding that their ways of life are recognised (Leonard, 2006, 2007).

Borrowing a term from the lexicon of the global climate movement, in this thesis I describe these localities as frontline communities. Movement actors use the term referring to those communities who are affected first and most deeply by environmental degradation of industrialisation and extractivism, as well as the changing climate which these activities have precipitated (Friends of the Earth International, 2018; Front and Centred, 2016; It Takes Roots Delegation, 2016). These communities are often those already most marginalised and disadvantaged in our societies. Moore and Russell (2013) differentiate between (1) 'impacted or affected communities' and (2) 'frontline communities' by suggesting that the latter have 'an added layer of action'. They suggest (p. 13) that 'frontline communities are directly impacted communities who have been able to collectively name the ways they are burdened and are organising for action together'. My case study of Love Leitrim presents an empirical example of one such community which organised for action together.

1.3.2 Scale and participation in environmental mobilisations

The literature on place-based protest in Ireland suggests that a key challenge for such mobilisations is being heard and to influencing outcomes in regulatory spaces beyond the local community (Garavan, 2013; Leonard, 2006). Indeed, the centrality of participation for the realisation of justice is well-recognised (Young, 1990, Fraser, 1998). However, community knowledge and perspectives are often devalued, while scientific and legal discourses are privileged (Tovey, 2007). Thus, questions of participation and democracy are a key concern in Irish local mobilisations (Mullally, 2012). By articulating this concern for participation, Irish place-based protest mirrors similar environmental justice mobilisations globally. Schlosberg (2007: 91) documents how, for example, 'demands for expanded and more authentic public participation are present in climate justice principles put forth by numerous NGOs'.

Supporting the participation of communities in addressing issues of concern to them is also a core principle of Irish community development (All Ireland Endorsement Body, 2016). As a community worker, I was therefore drawn to consider this issue further through my research. In order to develop a conceptual framework around the issue of procedural justice in local environmental mobilisations, I turned to the literature on 'scales' (Fraser, 2008; Marston, 2000; McCarthy, 2005; Swyngedouw, 2004). Scale has become established in the social scientific literature as a method of understanding and analysing socio-spatial practices which are expressed through a 'different, apparently fixed, nested series of levels': the body, the local, the regional, the national and the global (Hoogesteger and Verzijl: 2015: 14).

Scale is commonly held to be a socially constructed category rather than an ontological given (Marston, 2000) and as such conceptions of scale are continuously in flux. Nevertheless, scales can 'appear misleadingly stable' and therefore 'organise hierarchies that bind political, economic and cultural activities in specific ways and become sources of power that organize social practices according to the established hierarchies' (Hoogesteger and Verzijl: 2015: 15). While a natural tendency might be to assume that the broader scales are more powerful, such a conceptualisation has been criticised for failing to acknowledge that power and agency can flow across scales in either direction (Leitner and Miller, 2006).

Scalar analysis has been employed by environmental justice movement scholars to illuminate and analyse the socio-spatial practices and dynamics which contribute to injustice. This analysis points to how 'locally experienced sources of pollution are inevitably rooted in political-economic relations and processes distributed across far-reaching spatial networks' (Bickerstaff and Agyeman, 2009: 784). A scalar analysis can therefore be employed to map 'ecological distribution conflicts' (Martinez-Alier and O'Connor, 1996), which are 'social conflicts born from the unfair access to natural resources and the unjust burdens of pollution' (Conde and Martinez Alier, n.d).

Scalar analysis has also been employed to consider the question of procedural injustice in environmental justice. Using this approach in my case study, I applied

Taylor's (2000) concepts of the 'scale of meaning' and the 'scale of regulation' in order to shed light on the scaler dynamics of participation and power. In this case study, the scale of meaning denotes the point of shale gas extraction, County Leitrim, where the negative burdens of fracking would be felt most keenly and have the greatest meaning for local people. The scale of regulation denotes the regional, national and transnational levels at which the local community was required to engage various interlocutors, such as Leitrim County Council, the Environmental Protection Agency and the Oireachtas (*Irish=parliament*) committee responsible for climate and energy policy.

1.3.3 Research question and methodology

My research question evolved over the course of this study. It was informed by my own practice experience, my engagement of the literature and by undertaking my fieldwork. In chapter six (*section 6.6*) I reflect further on my own positionality and journey through the research process. In its final iteration, the research question which guided this case study was '*how did Love Leitrim's campaign to ban fracking jump scales to influence outcomes at a national policy scale?*' Four research sub-questions explored different elements of my main research question and guided my data collection in the fieldwork:

- 1. What practices do campaigners engage in to build the campaign locally?*
- 2. How do campaigners frame the issue of fracking? How do those framings change across scales?*
- 3. What relationships does the local campaign have with actors from outside of the community?*
- 4. Which policy-making and political spaces do campaigners engage with? What strategies do campaigners use to influence outcomes?*

In order to answer these questions, I immersed myself as a participant-observer in Love Leitrim's campaign and as a resident of the town of Manorhamilton in north Leitrim. Guided by my personal and professional values as a community worker, I

developed an approach to case study research which was both dialogical (rooted in conversations and active engagement) and diachronic (committed over time to the group, the people and the place). To collect data, I carried out interviews with anti-fracking campaigners, analysed documents and images and carried out participant observation. To develop my analysis, I carried out a thematic analysis of my data following Attride-Stirling's (2001) thematic network analysis approach.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

In *chapter one* I have introduced my case study and outlined the research context, conceptual framework and key questions.

Chapter two reviews the literature on community development and the environment. It considers the challenge of participation in environmental action for marginalised communities and explores the challenges for practitioners and communities when seeking to engage with environmental issues in a critical, collective way. Community work's engagement with the discourse of sustainable development is also critically examined. Finally, the theorisation of the environment in recent and relevant community work scholarship is assessed in order to draw out the common themes of analysis and strategies for action this literature proposes.

Chapter three reviews the literature on local, place-based mobilisations in Ireland. It begins by discussing the dichotomy between NGO-based and place-based mobilisations which is a key feature of the literature. It then considers the theorisation of place-based mobilisations in Ireland, before examining the challenges for such mobilisations within classical pluralist environmental governance structures.

I set out my methodology *chapter four*. The philosophical, professional and political considerations which informed the study are outlined. My rationale for a qualitative case study research design is presented and my approach to the research fieldwork is discussed. In this chapter I also set out my research methods and outline my approach to data analysis.

Chapter five is the first empirical chapter of the thesis. It presents a case description which draws from multiple sources to construct a detailed picture of my case study. This includes a community profile of north-Leitrim, an account of the origins of the campaign and an overview of Love Leitrim's campaign from 2011-2017. Finally, chapter five sets out and reflects on my own position within the case.

The findings of this case study research are set out in *chapters six and seven*. Using the thematic networks developed through my data analysis:

- *Chapter six* presents the approach which Love Leitrim took organising collectively around the environment and building a strong base for collective action in the local community.
- *Chapter seven* outlines the group's approach to engaging at the scale of regulation in order to jump scales and successfully campaign for a ban on fracking.

Chapter eight presents an analysis of the findings of the case study in light of the literature reviewed. It outlines several insights which Love Leitrim's campaign may offer community work and other communities facing environmental injustice. Two interrelated sets of strategies are presented, based on my findings: (1) rooting strategies to build a strong local base for collective action and (2) reaching strategies to jump scales and influence outcomes at the scale of regulation.

Finally, in *chapter nine*, the thesis concludes by considering the implications of this study for community work, environmental activism and policy – as well as a discussion of its limitations and future directions for research.

1.5 Conclusion

Chapter one has introduced and set out the context for my case study. The awarding of the Licencing Options in 2011 raised the prospect of the widespread industrialisation of the landscape in north-west Ireland. This catalysed significant community action in opposition to the proposed project, particularly in County

Leitrim, where drilling was expected to first commence. As one of the groups which was established to resist fracking, Love Leitrim took an approach to campaigning which combined local awareness-raising and mobilising with strategic advocacy and collective action. Through this approach, and working with others, the group successfully jumped scales to influence policy at the scale of regulation and to secure a ban on the practice of fracking. This case study of Love Leitrim explores the strategies and practices which enabled the group to do this with the aim of contributing insights from the campaign to community work practice for environmental justice.

Chapter 2

Community work and the environment

2.1 Introduction

‘There are signs’, suggests Henderson (2008: 14) ‘that the environmental agenda is impacting on the thinking and planning of community development’. This chapter is a journey through the community work literature to scout out and make sense of those signs. Environmental issues have been an increasing concern for social movements and governments since the 1960s. Today, sustainable development has become a critical concern for policy-makers globally and nationally, while the negative effects of unsustainable environmental activity is felt in a myriad of localities – often most keenly by the groups and communities which community workers support. As I discuss in section 2.2, community development theory and practice has been slow to engage with environmental issues. However, throughout the 1990s and 2000s a small and growing body of literature has addressed the intersection between community and environment. I consider this literature with a focus on the issue of community participation in collective action to influence environmental decision-making, which is a key consideration for my case study.

In section 2.3, I assess how this community development scholarship has conceptualised and analysed the environment as an issue for practice. I examine the implications of the political dominance of weak and neoliberal forms of sustainability for community work. To do this I draw on the political ecology concept of ‘environmentality’ (Agrawal, 2005, Fletcher, 2010, 2017; Luke, 1995, 1999). Environmentality calls attention to the regimes of governmentality enacted by sustainability policy. Finally, in section 2.4, I compare and discuss the work of several community work theorists who have contributed to a deepening theoretical base for environmental community work (Ife, 2013, 2016; Ledwith, 2007, 2012; Scandrett,

2006, 2010 and Westoby and Dowling, 2009, 2013). Through a critical comparison I draw out the common themes of analysis and strategies for action that these texts propose. What signposts do they offer for practitioners concerned with environmental community development?

2.2 The challenge of participation in environmental decision making

Love Leitrim's campaign to ban fracking was a mobilisation that sought to ensure that the local communities' perspectives were heard in decision-making about shale gas. In this section I explore the community work literature to address issues of participation in environmentalism. In section 2.2.1 I discuss the post-materialist analysis of environmental movement participation and consider the implications of this for community work, which is concerned with justice for marginalised and disadvantaged groups whose environmental interests remain distinctly material. Hillman (2002) suggests that a further challenge to the environmental participation of communities is the tension between strategic global action and local community participation in environmentalism. In section 2.2.2, I consider this tension between strategy and participation in environmental action and explore how this is addressed in the literature (Bickerstaff and Agyeman, 2013; Scandrett, 2010).

2.2.1 Post-materialism and the environmental concerns of marginalised communities

The community development literature was, until recently, characterised by a sparse level of direct and named engagement with questions of environment, environmental justice and sustainability. The *Community Development Reader* (Craig *et al*, 2011) is a collection of twenty-eight key community development texts

spanning from the 1950s to the 2000s, subtitled 'history, themes and issues'. It contains no references to sustainable development, climate change or ecology, and only one reference to the environment as a factor of health inequality (Carlisle, 2011).

Emejulu and Shaw (2010: 5) remind us that 'what community development means at any particular time is defined by all those interests which have sought to name, frame and regulate it.' In Ireland, community work's primary concerns traditionally lie in addressing poverty and discrimination (Motherway, 2006) and as a result, the practice has been slow to develop an analysis of environmental issues that connects with its core concerns around the promotion of social justice and equality (Cannan, 2000). Burningham and Thrush's (2002) study of the environmental concerns of disadvantaged groups critiques the way in which environmental issues are constructed by the environmental movement. They suggest that campaigning on abstract issues such as biodiversity loss and climate change fails to connect with the lived realities of marginalised groups. Similarly, Church (quoted in Twelvetrees, 2008: 183) notes that a 'lack of [local] linkage' with green issues results from the environmental movement's focus on national and global policy issues without making material links to people's lives, particularly those of marginalised communities and groups.

Rather, the dominant framings of environmental issues and their solutions tend to reflect middle class post-materialist values. The post-materialist thesis (Inglehart, 1977; 1997) suggests that when the experience of economic security allows survival to be taken for granted, societal values shift towards an emphasis on quality of life issues. Yet community development has traditionally fought distributive struggles for poverty reduction with communities who continue to be faced with a material concern for survival. As a result, suggests Cannan (2000: 367), community work has focused on 'prioritising jobs and urban economic development as a foundation for welfare'. For the groups and communities which community workers support, environmental considerations often remain rooted in material questions, such as social housing regeneration (Hearne, 2010), fuel poverty (Liddell and Morris, 2010; Walker and Day, 2012) and food poverty (Agyeman and Alkon, 2011). Barca and

Leonardi (2016: 65) suggest that ‘working class communities typically experience nature from subordinate social positions as those most affected by pollution and other industrial hazards.’ Of course, community development is not alone in failing to consider the environment from the perspective of marginalised communities. The trade union movement has been slow to engage with environmental issues such as energy transition which have the potential to impact on working class jobs. Indeed, ‘what most weakens and impairs working class struggles for environmental justice is the division between labour and environmental movements at the grassroots level as well as at national level’ (Barca and Leonardi (2016: 63).

Scandrett *et al.* (2000) also critique the post-materialist analysis because it fails to take into account the material concerns of communities experiencing pollution and degradation. They suggest that mobilisations by such communities is a form of materialist environmentalism which is ‘concerned with the defence of natural resources and environments which are needed for [local] livelihoods, and which are threatened by capital expansion or the state’ (p. 467) A post-materialist conception of environmentalism risks obscuring the significant number of local, place-based environmental justice campaigns that resist the negative material effects of unsustainable development (EJ Atlas, n.d.).

Burningham and Thrush (1999: 40) conclude that a further reason which disadvantaged communities are marginalised in environmental decision-making is because environmentalism and environmental governance is ‘often suffused with jargon that excludes those who are unfamiliar to it’. The environmental movement has been slow to consider and redress the effect of social exclusion on the ability of marginalised communities to engage in public debates, movement activities or decision-making. Agyeman (2013: 5) highlights how because:

‘a lot of environmental organisations [think] that as [they are] saving the world, the environment, for *everyone*, an inherently equitable act, there’s no need to look at, for instance, who’s at the Greenpeace table in terms of workforce, the board of directors, and, in short, who’s setting the agenda’ (*emphasis in original*).

Harter's (2004) case study of Greenpeace Canada argues that the middle-class composition of that organisation meant that the campaigns against logging tended to be proposed, developed and implemented by professional middle-class experts who did not consider the interests of workers in logging communities. This analysis is supported by Scandrett *et al.* (2012), who point to how, for example, 'the historical development of climate change discourse is embedded in the material interests of the classes who have worked on them'. In the Irish context, Yearly (1995: 655) argues that the Irish environmental movement is largely drawn from the knowledge class: 'a new middle class [...] whose occupations deal with the production and distribution of symbolic knowledge' (Berger, 1987: 66). This knowledge class, he suggests, has become dominant in environmental decision-making to the detriment of local communities. Thus, participation is a central issue for environmental justice and environmental community work should assist 'communities to identify and mobilise in support of their collective interests which may be opposed to the interests of the powerful' (Martínez Domínguez and Scandrett, 2016: 161). These issues are important considerations for my case study which I return to consider further in chapter three.

2.2.2 Community work and environmental participation in practice

In seeking to address participatory injustices in environmental governance, several scholars point to the benefit of applying community work principles and values to environmental issues. Ife (2013: 253) stresses that 'the technical nature of many environmental problems [...] can result in an attitude of "leave it to the experts" and runs counter to a community development perspective'. He further argues that a community work approach to environmental development can help to ensure that 'issues of class, gender and race/ethnicity [are] specifically addressed in any developmental programme' (p. 254).

Hillman (2002) describes a tension between 'strategy' and 'participation' at local and global scales in environmentalism which raise challenges for community

participation in environmental decision-making. He suggests that the environmental movement's global focus and concern to act with urgency on issues is often in contradiction with meaningful participatory processes with communities affected by issues. In England and Scotland, Friends of the Earth (FoE) engaged in community development work in the late 1990s and 2000s which has been documented by Scandrett (2010) and Bickerstaff and Agyeman (2013). Based on this work, Scandrett (2010) presents five models of community development for environmental justice as an analytical heuristic (*see figure 2.1*). These models offer an insight into the tensions which arise in practice between strategic campaigning and meaningful participation in environmental justice campaigns. They illustrate a range of possible approaches to community engagement, which range from providing technical support if asked, to locating a community worker in an area with an open agenda.

The tensions between strategy/participation was particularly apparent in FoE's community work in Teesside, England (Scandrett, 2010; Bickerstaff and Agyeman, 2013). In 2001, FoE employed a community worker based in an area of Teesside which was experiencing high levels of both pollution and poverty. The aim of this project was to build local campaigning capacity through 'engaging local communities in developing a common agenda, establishing local networks and providing a "grassroots" office [...] for advice, info and a space to meet" (Bickerstaff and Agyeman, 2013: 788). However, when FoE subsequently commenced a campaign to prevent the breaking-up of ships in Teesside in 2003, 'the campaigning objectives of FoE contradicted the slow pace and inclusive methods of community work, where process is equally if not more important than outcome' (Scandrett, 2010: 62).

The various scales at which environmental problems are perceived and dealt with pose significant challenges for environmental NGOs, both in maintaining contact with grassroots and in avoiding co-option, fragmentation and bureaucratisation through their disconnection with local realities (Hillman, 2002: 350). For environmental organisations, supporting community participation on environmental issues presents a difficult shift, requiring a different set of skills from those needed to engage policy makers. Downie and Elrick (2000: 252) note, it also requires a shift from the logic of advocacy because 'working with people means that you need to be

Model	Description
'Greengairs model'	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Leadership and motivation emerges within a community ▪ Agenda driven locally and community workers/Environmental NGOs drawn on only for specific, usually technical advice ▪ Community workers/ENGOS only get involved if asked by community ▪ Anarchist/Gandhian approach to community development ▪ Risks assuming community is a unified, unproblematic entity which 'always knows best'
'Teesside model'	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ ENGO provides community worker to work in an area of significant environmental injustice ▪ Conflicts inevitable between interests of community and those of ENGO. ▪ Campaign objectives of ENGO contradict slow pace and inclusive methods of community work.
'Ghost ships model'	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ ENGO uses a local issue/community to progress a national campaign. ▪ ENGO employs campaigning and technical experience to win a victory. ▪ No time given to processes of community work
'Scotland model'	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Combines short term intervention in communities in crisis with support for community work in areas of chronic unsustainability. ▪ ENGO provides Freirean popular education training to local community activists and were supported by local community workers ▪ ENGO catalyses the emergence of a movement made up of community campaigners for environmental justice.
'Convergence model'	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Seeks to address contradictions between middle class anarchist inspired activists and working-class union and community organisers. ▪ Uses popular education to build a bridge between ideological and tactical differences. ▪ Equal partnership in dialogue to create campaigns for social change.

**Table 2.1: Practice models: community development for environmental justice
(from Scandrett, 2010)**

adaptable, use language and concepts that people can relate to, be ready to learn and prepare to disagree, and ultimately be prepared not to be in control’.

Cannan (2000), Downie and Elrick (2000) and Hillman (2002) all concur that community work can make a significant contribution to the environmental agenda through its considerable expertise in developing processes of participation which involve people in decisions which affect them. Similarly, Scandrett (2010: 63-4) concludes that community workers occupy a ‘strategic position’ which ‘may have much to offer in the struggle for environmental justice’:

‘Community workers are in a unique position of being socially and geographically located in particular communities, and somewhat immersed in narratives of the local environment, whilst at the same time linked with networks, movements, knowledge sources and experts which are potentially useful in exposing contradictions in that environment’.

Yet, as Twelvetrees (2008) notes, environmental community work is difficult to engage in unless, for example, a particularly egregious instance of pollution can act as a catalyst. Burningham and Thrush (2002) highlights how a starting point for consciousness raising with disadvantaged communities lies in connecting with local concerns. They show that the label of “environmental” is not immediately used by disadvantaged groups to describe issues in their locality. Thus, they suggest, community work on the environment might usefully focus first on amenities, safety and health and well-being, tackling “small” local problems such as dog fouling which ‘are seen as indicators of wider social and economic problems’ (2002: vi) to build a sense of collective power as a precursor to addressing larger issues. Indeed, this approach was initially taken by FoE in Teeside, where the FoE community worker ‘was able slowly to develop an agenda which identified issues of environmental concern, which included pollution but also issues in which FoE had no interest, such as local play areas’ (Scandrett, 2010: 62).

2.3 Engaging critically with the concept of sustainable development

Sustainable development is a key concept in environmentalism which has become central to environmental policy across scales from the global to the local. In section 2.3.1, I examine the community development literature on sustainability and assess how this scholarship has engaged with the concept of sustainability and debates around the concept's contested meaning and use. In section 2.3.2 I explore the evolution of the concept of sustainable development within the global context of neoliberal environmental governance. In particular, I draw on the political ecology concept of environmentality to provide an analytic frame with which to conceptualise how particular forms of environmental subjectivity are created through sustainable development policy making. I consider the implications which this has for community development by looking at the literature on Community Based Natural Resource Management.

2.3.1 Community work and sustainability discourses

Debates about the notion of human progress and development have their roots in antiquity (Du Pisani, 2006), however the term sustainability began to find common usage in English during the second half of the twentieth century as states sought to respond to the emerging ecological crisis caused by global patterns of industrial development, intensive agriculture and trade. The term has its origins in ecology, where it refers 'a state or condition that can be maintained over an indefinite period of time' (Du Pisani, 2006: 91). The publication of *Our Common Future* (1987) by the World Commission on Environment and Development placed sustainable development at the centre of global policy response to the ecological crisis. *Our Common Future* defined sustainable development as 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own need' (p. 40). Following the 1992 Earth Summit, and

its adoption of Agenda 21 the concept of sustainable development became firmly embedded in environmental policy and practice. This has significant implications for community work as it 'led to a number of professionals developing an interest in communities, even in community development' as states and local authorities sought to implement sustainability measures (Scandrett, 2006: 67).

Gamble and Weil (1997) provide an early assessment of the significance of the discourse of sustainable development for community work. Writing two decades ago, they suggested that sustainable development presented major implications for the discipline and that because of this 'community development theory and [...] practice are primed for new directions' (Gamble and Weil, 1997: 219). The promise of sustainable development as a unifying frame, as they saw it, was because it

'connects local and global perspectives; it provides a focus on protection of both the physical environment and human populations; it imposes a long-term view of the consequences of present-day activities; it can serve the goals of gender equity; and it provides a way effectively to integrate social and economic development' (Gamble and Weil, 1997: 211).

In making this assertion they suggest that, for example, sustainable development has acted as useful concept for the global women's movement, which since the 1970s has built a critical global civil society capable of collectivising and connecting concerns around local injustices and putting them on the agenda at a global level.

Gamble and Weil (1997) present a sense of promise for a renewed approach to community work stemming from 'weaving the threads', as Downie and Elrick (2000) put it, of community and environment together. This perspective is shared by several contributions to the literature in the early 2000s which explored how exactly such a weaving might unfold (Downie and Elrick, 2000; Cannan, 2000; Hillman, 2002). These contributions all present a case for a greater community development practitioner engagement with environmental issues. Downie and Elrick (2000), for example, highlight that the discourse of sustainability gained influence in policy debates and thus became a space where questions important to community work, such as justice, equity and participation were framed and contested. However, this

scholarship does not fully engage with the issues and debates around sustainability. In particular, it fails to address the multiple contested meanings of the term in order to evaluate their appropriateness for community work.

Ife (2013: 52) argues that the principle of sustainability, if taken to its conclusion, calls for a radical reformulation of economic policy and social organisation which 'clearly attacks the fundamentals of traditional capitalist economics which is predicated on growth and capital accumulation'. However, Ife notes that *Our Common Future* (1987) stopped short of explicitly developing a critique of growth, or indeed capitalism. This has led to a broad uptake of the concept of sustainability by governments and corporations seeking to maintain growth and use technology to address the problems presented by industrial development. For Ife (2013), sustainability calls for systems to be maintained for the long term, with resources only used at the rate they can be replenished and outputs to the environment limited to the level which they can be absorbed safely. He makes a key distinction between what he calls the 'environmental approach' and the 'green approach' (p. 33). An 'environmental approach' involves the isolation of environmental issues to be addressed by the application of scientific and technical expertise, so that ultimately 'it is not seen as necessary to change the nature of society in any fundamental way' (p. 34). A 'green approach', on the other hand, adopts a more radical analysis which suggests that environmental problems are symptomatic consequences of 'a social, economic and political order that is blatantly unsustainable [...] and hence [...] needs to be changed' (Ife, 2013: 34). Ife suggests that the 'green approach' acknowledges that technology can play a role in addressing environmental problems. However, it understands that technology alone will never address the root causes which lie in the unsustainable structures of human society.

Similarly, Scandrett (2006) makes the distinction between 'weak sustainability' and 'strong sustainability'. Scandrett's terminology of weak and strong is drawn directly from the sustainable development literature and reflective of recognised political discourses of sustainability (Neumayer, 2003). Scandrett (2006: 70) presents a detailed typology of interpretations of sustainability from weak to strong. These broadly correspond with Ife's 'environmental approach' and 'green

approach' respectively. These interpretations extend along on a continuum from 'market based' to 'socialist' and those based on 'localism'. Weak sustainability is preferred by market-based interpretations such as ecological modernisation because it assumes that once natural capital is 'given an exchange value reflected in price, then the environment will be incorporated into a self-regulated economy and the price mechanism will then protect the environment' (Scandrett, 2006: 74). Strong sustainability, on the other hand, refuses to incorporate the environment into the economy but rather points out that the environment places limits on economic activity which, if over-shot, will trigger both global and intergenerational inequalities. Thus, Scandrett (2006: 73-4) notes that 'an understanding of the strong sustainability position as a form of radical global egalitarianism provides a valuable insight for practice' because it addresses the issues of poverty, exclusion and inequality which manifest in the environment

Yet this nuanced analysis is missing in much of the earlier community work literature which uncritically welcomed the transposition of sustainable development to national and local policy making, particularly through Local Agenda 21 and national strategies. Instead scholars argued that sustainable development presented new opportunities for community work to address questions of poverty and inequality through the sustainability frame (Cannan, 2000; Downie and Elrick, 2000). When, for instance, Downie and Elrick (2000: 251) criticise the focus of the UK government's sustainable development strategy on actions aimed at individual behavioural change, they do so because it 'was an opportunity lost' to include community work organisations in consultation processes. What is absent from their critique is a greater depth of engagement with the discourses at play in the shaping of the concept of sustainability, and in particular the way in which weak sustainability has moulded environmental action into an individualised issue that seems to require little more than better consumer choices. Similarly, while Cannan (2000) shows a more nuanced understanding of the politics of the environment, she ultimately endorses the capitalist growth paradigm. She argues that 'the issue becomes less focused on economic growth or no growth, but on the kind of growth, the kind of

economy and the terms of trade that a democratic world should see' (Cannan 2000: 373).

2.3.2 Sustainability and environmentality

For practitioners seeking to navigate a critical path of engagement with the concept of sustainability discourses, the scholarship which highlights the imbrication of sustainable development and neoliberalism is of particular concern (Fine, 2001; Fletcher, 2010; Goldman, 2005; Harvey, 2005; Wilshusen, 2014). In the years since Gamble and Weil (1997) imagined sustainable development as a unifying frame addressing a range of issues for community work, 'the concepts persisted [...] but the critique was lost' (Wilshusen, 2014: 131). This scholarship illustrates how sustainable development has been co-opted as a key mechanism of legitimation for the reform-neoliberalism of the post-Washington consensus the architecture of economic governance (Fine, 2001). Goldman (2005: 272-92) describes the World Bank's creation of a 'regime of green neoliberalism' to replace the much-criticised regime of structural adjustment and debt management. Fine (2001) argues that the discourse of sustainable development was employed to counter social and environmental critiques of the World Bank's activities. Yet through its adoption by the Bank, the institution came to occupy a dominant position of knowledge production (Goldman, 2005) that has contributed to the establishment of the green economy as a hegemonic concept of global policy making (UN Conference on Sustainable Development, 2012; UN Environmental Programme, 2011).

Wilshusen (2014) demonstrates the ways in which neoliberalism came to be embedded in conservation and development discourses. He illustrates how the World Bank adoption of social capital emphasised the 'importance of social connectivity in empowering the subjects of development but also turned attention away from the structural inequities of neoliberal capitalism' (p. 134). Building on Bourdieu's (1986) analysis of capital, Wilshusen (2014) argues that the language of capital, promoted within the sustainable development discourse by groups such as

Forum for the Future, subtly reinforces the logic of neoliberalism within the governance architecture. He suggests that the accumulated labour of communities engaged in conservation and sustainability initiatives is appropriated by the market, while the power dynamics associated with this flow of capital (from social to economic) are concealed. This has the effect of decoupling “natural capital” from its social and ecological contexts and opening it up to the market (MacDonald and Corson, 2012). Thus, by obfuscating inequalities in the accumulation of capital, the regime of green neoliberalism inherent in sustainable development leads to an ‘evasion of inequality’ (Fletcher and Breitling, 2012) and the ‘erasure of power’ (Wilshusen 2014: 155).

The concept of capital (i.e. human, social, natural, physical and financial) was imported into sustainable livelihoods programmes which emerged in the 1990s (Scoones, 1998; DFID, 1999). The concept of ‘sustainable livelihoods’ sought to address Chambers’ (1989) critique that sustainable development did not sufficiently address poverty. However, as Acre (2003: 202) notes, it was eagerly adopted by international institutions and donors who were ‘promoting the withdrawal of the state from community development programmes and favouring the promotion of a neoliberal development discourse based on individual economic values’. Given this, Brocklesby and Fisher (2003) argue that the sustainable livelihoods model is at odds with community development values and approaches. Yet, in the same special issue of the *Community Development Journal* Hinshelwood (2003) and Hocking (2003) make a case that the sustainable livelihoods approach can offer a useful critical tool to focus on poverty. Acknowledging this, the editors call for a critical openness, suggesting that despite the potential pitfalls, skilled community workers may be able to use the sustainable livelihoods to promote transformative change (Brocklesby, Fisher and Hintjens, 2003).

Drawing on Foucault’s concepts of governmentality and biopolitics, a growing body of political ecology scholarship calls attention to how neoliberal conservation and sustainability initiatives contribute to inequality and marginalise the meaningful participation of communities in environmental decision making (Agrawal, 2005, Fletcher, 2010, 2017; Luke, 1995, 1999). This literature has developed the concept of

environmentality as ‘an optic to examine environmental politics, state-society interactions, and the process through which technologies of conduct create new subjects concerned about the environment’ (Jepsen *et al*, 2012: 853). Fletcher (2010, 2017) identifies several forms of environmentality that seek to regulate environmental behaviour through different modes of governance, or ‘governmental rationalities’. These include the neoliberal (incentivising the market), the disciplinary (internalising norms and values) and the sovereign (implementing regulations). All of these forms of environmentality intersect and overlap within policy-making and governance structures. While use of the analytical frame of environmentality has not extended into the community work literature, several scholars have addressed similar issues. Kumar (2005) and de Beer (2013) have drawn out some implications for community work in this shift from state-led (sovereign) ‘fortress conservation’ towards decentralised (disciplinary) community based natural resource management (CBNRM) approaches.

Kumar (2005: 281) notes that this shift is particularly problematic because community is often defined generically ‘by its occupation of a particular geographic space.’ Such a move naively casts community as a harmonious and internally equitable collective and thus obscuring hierarchies and oppressions (Guijt and Kaul Shah, 1998). De Beer’s (2013) case study presents evidence to suggest that CBNRM can enforce tokenistic forms of participation and that co-management of natural resources leads to co-option with little real power unless the community has title to the land. This analysis is insightful, but de Beer does not situate CBNRM within a wider analysis of environmentality and so the question of what communities might be co-opted into is left unanswered.

Agrawal’s (2005) empirical work on the environmentality enacted through forest conservation in Kumaon, India offers one potential answer. Here the concept of community is problematised not just for its false homogenisation, but is exposed as a mediating structure through which environmental subjectivity is constructed by the state to achieve what Agrawal (2005: 178-9) calls ‘intimate government’, which he defines as:

‘dispersing rule, scattering involvement in government more widely, and encouraging careful reckoning of environmental practices and their consequences among Kumaon’s residents. [...] The ability of regulation to make itself felt in the realm of everyday practice depends upon the channelling of existing flows of power within village communities toward new ends related to the environment’.

Environmentality generates new forms of social capital by establishing regimes of decentralised forest governance through initiatives such as REDD+ (Cabello and Gilbertson, 2012). In this way, the labour of Agrawal’s environmental subjects produces capital which is expropriated to allow for the financialisation of nature (Brockington and Duffy, 2010; Sullivan, 2011). Agrawal has been criticised for an over-emphasis on top-down governmentality that obscures the complexities of cultural exchange and political agency at play when communities are engaged by states in conservation efforts (Cepek, 2011). Yet he does draw on Butler’s (1997) work on subjectivity as a reminder that the ‘relations of power within which subjects are formed are not necessarily ones which they enact after being formed’ (Agrawal, 2005: 180).

Agrawal’s (2005) study highlights the tension between meaningful empowerment and ‘dispossession through participation’ (Collins, 2006) inherent in the use of community as a unit of social action by states. This tension is a familiar one for community workers: it is ‘at the crossroads’ (Miller and Ahmad, 1997) of this dichotomy that our practice is situated. Acre (2003: 100) highlights community development’s origins as intervention ‘contributing to the extension of the nation-state in promoting modernisation and political control.’ As such, community work can ‘be responsible for drawing people into bureaucratic structures [...] which too often turn out to be managerial procedures rather than democratic processes’ (Shaw, quoted in Motherway, 2006: 9)

In the intervening years since Gamble and Weil’s early optimistic assessment the reality is that a ‘weak’ form of sustainability has become dominant in global and national policy making, while an ‘interplay of environmentalities’ (Fletcher, 178) have

shaped the possibilities for public participation in environmental governance. It is important to consider the implications of this for critical community work which aims to support communities to address the unjust effects of weak sustainability. The framework for analysis provided by the environmentality scholarship offers a way forward. Indeed Fletcher (2017: 314) suggests that the purpose of the political ecology critique of environmental governance is to champion a *liberation* environmentality that aims to:

‘identify forms of environmental management, grounded in an ideology of participatory egalitarianism, that transcend the growing hegemony of neoliberalism to appropriate and redistribute surplus in ways that do not exploit wage labour and for ends other than capital accumulation’.

However, he notes that the potential for a liberatory environmentality remains under explored in the political ecology literature and calls for further exploration of ‘cases in which this type of liberatory politics may be enacted’ (p. 314). What contribution might community work make to advance such a politics? This is the question to which I now turn.

2.4 Community work and a liberatory politics of the environment

Recent community work scholarship has begun to more clearly and directly articulate the connection between community work and the environment. In this section I compare and discuss the contributions of several community development scholars in order to explore how community work practice might contribute to a liberatory politics of the environment. This analysis includes three community development monographs:

- Jim Ife’s (2013, 2016) *Community Development in an Uncertain World*;

- Margaret Ledwith's (2007, 2012) *Community Development: A Critical Approach*;
- Peter Westoby and Gerard Dowling's (2009, 2013) *Dialogical Community Development*.

I have selected these three monographs for the two reasons. Firstly, they are designed to be reference books for practitioners and textbooks on community work programmes of education and training. Each have been published in multiple editions, indicating their popularity. Secondly, each sets out a framework or approach to community development and each incorporates environmental issues to some extent. In addition to these three monographs, I have included the work of Eurig Scandrett (2006, 2010) in my analysis. Scandrett's work draws on practice experience in Scotland to theorise the connections between community development and environmental justice. In table 2.2 I present an overview of these theorists that sets out: (1) how each conceptualises the environment as an issue for practice; and (2) the suggested actions each recommends for community work responding to environmental issues. These conceptualisations and proposed responses are then further discussed in sections 2.4.1 and 2.4.2 respectively. When taken together, what sort of foundation do they offer for environmental community work?

Theorist	Analysis of environmental issues	Suggested community work responses
Ife (2013, 2016)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Differentiates between 'Environmental' (ecological modernisation) approach and 'green' (critical, justice-focused) approaches to ecology. ▪ Environmental development is a central concern of 'integrated community development' ▪ 'Issues of class, gender and race/ethnicity must be specifically addressed in any developmental programme' (2013: 254) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Employ community work methods of consciousness raising starting with peoples' concerns about their local environment. ▪ Explore actions and initiatives from conservation and tree-planting to food and energy co-operatives and participatory planning.
Ledwith (2007, 2012)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Commits to environmental justice linked to a political ecology perspective on capitalism. ▪ Stresses how the transnational nature of environmental injustice can provide local points of connection to global issues. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Problematise the perceived inevitability of environmental degradation. ▪ Offer alternatives to the values of capitalism and develop an alternative, localised economics. ▪ Foster alliances between community workers and environmental activists.
Scandrett (2006, 2010)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Sets out a detailed typology of interpretations of sustainable development from 'weak' to 'strong' ▪ Defines sustainable development as <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (1) A good quality of life for all; (2) Participation in decision-making; (3) Fair shares of the world's resources. ▪ Conceptualises the environment as 'a contested space in which injustices are practiced and struggles for justice performed' (2010:63) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Problematise the environment to expose oppressive contradictions inherent in it, identifying these with the community and organise collectively to address them. ▪ Proposes a radical community sustainable development praxis consisting of <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (1) Strong sustainability; (2) Local initiatives; (3) Economic democracy;

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Sets out five models of practice as a heuristic framework for community development for environmental justice (see table 2.1) ▪ Suggests community workers could use their strategic position located between the community, the state and social movements to support environmental justice struggles
Westoby and Dowling (2009, 2013)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Emphasises objectification, disenchantment and addictive consumerism as root causes of environmental unsustainability. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Consider community as a ‘paradigmatic site’ which is a ‘locus of struggle’ for change. ▪ Practice depth, hospitality and solidarity to open- up conversations about environmental issues ▪ Adopt Macy’s (1998) threefold strategy for environmental action: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (1) Build alternative institutions (2) Engage hearts and minds (3) Holding actions at sites of pollution

Table 2.2: Analysis of and responses to environmental issues in key community work scholarship

2.4.1 An environmental justice analysis of pollution and unsustainability

2.4.1.1 An environmental justice lens

Ledwith (2012) emphasises the centrality of environmental justice for critical practice by naming it as one of the ‘five vital dimensions of radical community work’ (p. 2). She does not name or her consider her approach in terms of ‘strong’ or ‘weak’, however her (2012) analysis corresponds with Scandrett’s (2006) strong sustainability. As with Scandrett, she considers inequitable resource use as a central driver of unsustainability and presents an analysis of over-consumption rooted in a political economy perspective. She stresses the connection between the consumption patterns of the global North and the exacerbation of both ecological degradation and inequalities.

Informed by this perspective, Ledwith (p. xii-iii) defines environmental justice as:

‘action to redress exploitation of the environment by capitalism which is destroying biodiversity and causing climate change, endangering species, pollution and degradation of land and water resources. The impact of which is experienced disproportionately by already disadvantaged communities and poorer nations, and so inextricably linked to social justice’.

Ledwith’s (2012) definition identifies the exploitation of the environment by capitalism as the root of environmental degradation. She points to the maldistribution of the impact of this degradation amongst those already disadvantaged by other social injustices. She notes that environmental justice requires action to redress capitalism’s exploitation of the environment.

Collective action is also of central importance to Scandrett (2010: 59), who considers that ‘wherever disempowered people have mobilised to oppose the devaluing of their environment by the economic logic of the powerful this can be understood as environmental justice’. This definition emphasises mobilisation as a key feature of environmental justice. It also offers an insight into the causal process by which capitalism brings about environmental injustice. Capitalism’s inherent logic assumes that the environment can be devalued, extracted and exploited in certain places, and those places

are often inhabited by those with less power in society. Scandrett (2006: 72) also cautions that a drawback of focusing on local sustainability sometimes 'serves to ignore wider social structures'. Mobilising collectively is therefore an important first step for a community seeking to counter the devaluation of their environment by wider structural forces beyond the community.

2.4.1.2 The inequitable valuation of people and places

Ledwith (2012) and Scandrett (2006, 2010) provide a clear structural analysis of environmental justice which points to capitalism's inequitable valuation of people and places as a central mechanism of environmental injustice. In order to fully conceptualise this process of devaluation and how practitioners might address it, it is useful to consider Westoby and Dowling's (2009) analysis of objectification, disenchantment and addictive consumerism as 'core challenges of our times' (p. 108). They suggest that 'objectification refers to processes where people, creatures, the planet, and things are related to as objects within a subject-object relationship' (p. 109) and argue that objectification of nature and people is a key driver of degradation, unsustainability and injustice:

'It is the objectification of flora and fauna that has facilitated a relentless destruction of creatures, forests and habitat. It is the objectification of the planet that has legitimised the rampant exploitation of planetary resources. It is the objectification of people from 'other' cultures, ethnicities, races, classes, genders and sexualities that enables some to dismiss, disrespect and destroy those people' (p. 109).

This analysis provides further insight into the capitalist logic of devaluation as articulated by Ledwith (2012) and Scandrett (2010). The objectification of people as 'other' along the lines of race, class, gender, etc., contributes to certain communities and groups being more likely dispossessed from their environment. Thus, the importance of an intersectional analysis of the process of devaluation becomes apparent. Westoby and Dowling (2009) suggest that objectification, with its reliance on binary divisions and on a positivist ontology, contributes to the 'disenchantment' of our societies. By this, they

mean the hegemonic dominance of a secular rationality which works to 'close out "other" ways of thinking and being' (p. 121).

For Westoby and Dowling (2009), disenchantment is the process by which the dominant meta-narrative of rationality devalues alternative cosmologies and epistemologies. Although they don't make the link to Freire in their analysis of disenchantment, this process aligns with the Freirean ideas of cultural invasion whereby alternative or subaltern ways of knowing and valuing are colonised by a dominant worldview, in this case scientific rationality. They suggest that such 'hegemonic secularism undermines deep engaged pluralism' inhibits the diverse participation of individuals and communities in the 'social-cultural sphere of community life' (p.122). They suggest that devaluing effect of disenchantment fuels addictive consumerism as people seek to replace a lost sense of meaning and value to life. In particular, the authors suggest that addictive consumerism is driven by a desire to *belong*. They suggest that this presents an enormous challenge to community work when:

'Belonging is one of the key criteria of how people understand community, but people addicted to consumption are finding completely new ways to meet their need to belong. [Addictive consumerism] by-passes the sociability of speech and human interaction, intimacy and commitment' (p.131).

Inspired by the work of Zygmunt Bauman they argue that addictive consumerism is a process which is driven by fear, and in particular the fear of becoming flawed consumers. Bauman (2004: 39) suggests that in a world where industrialisation and globalisation has led to a surplus of labour, many people fear becoming 'flawed consumers' in a world where employment is a principle means of distributing wealth and status. Thus, their analysis suggests that the residualising effect of capitalism leads to an existential fear of being devalued.

Taken together, these texts provide a critical conceptualisation of environmental issues within a social and economic context that may inform community work practice on environmental issues. Moving beyond being concerned only with promoting sustainability in community work (Gamble and Weil, 1997; Cannan, 2000); Ife (2013), Ledwith (2012) and Scandrett (2010) have significantly expanded community work conceptualisations of

the environment by engaging in complimentary ways with the literature on environmentalism and environmental justice. Central to this is an understanding how environmental injustice is underpinned by a logic of devaluation. Westoby and Dowling (2009) offer an analysis which highlights how devaluation is enacted through the trends towards objectification, disenchantment and addictive consumerism. This devaluation is four-fold, encompassing the natural world, oppressed communities and groups, alternative worldviews and knowledge, and the sense of self.

2.4.2 Responding to environmental injustice: a community work approach

Building on their analysis of environmental issues, the theorists under consideration here propose several approaches to the practice of environmental community work which seeks to address unsustainability and environmental injustice. Analysed thematically, the approaches proposed by this scholarship can be grouped into four categories of action:

- (a) Consciousness raising and education around environmental issues;
- (b) Resistance to systemic pollution and specific environmental injustices;
- (c) Developing sustainable local solutions and prefiguring a different way of working;
- (d) Relating to others through networks and alliances to scale up actions.

In this section I explore the actions proposed in the literature through these four categories and suggest that when taken together, they offer an outline framework for environmental community work practice.

(a) Consciousness raising and education

Each of the theorists propose problematising the environment and environmental issues as an important starting point of environmental community work. Westoby and

Dowling (2009: 190) suggest that dialogue is a key process for community work because it can support a deconstructive movement which disrupts the 'imaginative construct' of the world we take for granted. Seen in this light people, a central aim of the practice is to create space for 'imaginative literacy', which supports people to 'gain some power over their imaginations, and thereby over the range of possible presents and potential futures' (p. 195). They present a framework for practice which draw on Derrida's conceptualisation of hospitality and envisage community work as a social practice concerned with three core principles of depth, hospitality and solidarity. From this perspective, they consider the role of practitioners in addressing environmental issues, not simply to disseminate information. Rather:

'community workers have the skills to make a critical contribution by opening up new conversations infused with the practice of dialogue, creating spaces and platforms for ordinary people to reveal their fears, come to terms with their doubts and gradually embrace alternatives' (p. 187).

Similarly, Ife (2013) points to how a general concern for the environment can be used as a way of bringing people together in a relatively non-threatening way – establishing practical ways in which 'people can "do their bit for the environment"' (p. 251). This is 'not nearly enough', Ife stresses, 'but it provides a useful starting point for encouraging a broader ecological awareness and for bringing people together at a community level' (p. 251). He suggests that by adapting the Freirean approach to consciousness raising, community workers can relate local environmental concerns to broader structural and political issues as well as holistically to other aspects of community life (p. 252).

Further advancing such a perspective, Scandrett (2012) recasts the environment not just as an issue to be problematised but as an entry point for practitioners in supporting communities to identify and address the causes of their disadvantage. This standpoint is crucially different from an environmental education approach that promotes individual behavioural change as a solution to environmental degradation. He argues that the role of community development is to be 'instrumental in "creating" crises, or more precisely uncovering the crises which are hidden beneath the surface'. Ledwith (2012) similarly proposes such an approach in seeking to relate local environmental issues to broader structural causes. She points to how community workers can problematise the

perceived inevitability of environmental degradation. 'Sustainability and social justice [require] the wealthy examining the destructive nature of consumer lifestyles, in much the same way as anti-discriminatory practice involves Whites understanding the nature of white power and privilege' (p. 169). Scandrett (2010) suggests that 'the process of reacting to acute crises and proactively exposing causes of chronic injustice leads to a cycle of progressively more critical exposure of structural injustices which undermine our communities' (p. 61). This approach conceptualises consciousness raising as an active process united with collective action to address the structural causes of pollution and unsustainable practices.

(b) Resistance to systemic pollution

Taking collective action to resist instances of systemic pollution is a second theme of environmental community work identified in this scholarship. Drawing on the work of Macy, Westoby and Dowling (2009: 184) emphasise the importance of 'holding actions' at sites of pollution. They suggest that such a strategy 'will probably mean confrontation', and while they advocate for 'dialogue before moving to confrontation, we recognise the strategic value of more visible and dramatic public actions' (p. 184). A focus on resistance to environmental injustice is most clearly developed by Scandrett (2011), who sets out five models of practices as a heuristic framework for environmental community development organising to resist systemic pollution (*see table 2.1*). These models are based on approaches adopted by Friends of the Earth campaigners in various cases of community action and illustrate the possibilities for action by community workers supporting local resistance to systemic pollution. These possibilities involve different levels and types of community engagement, ranging from instrumentalising a local community for a national campaign (the 'ghost ships model') to providing support when asked for it by a community ('Greengairs model') and co-ordinating community education and networking ('Scotland model').

One important element in addressing pollution and environmental degradation is to support greater community control of local environmental decision making. Ife (2013)

points to participation and procedural justice as a key element of environmental development. He suggests that environmental decision-making is 'now seen as largely the domain of expert planners, or as being the province of developers' (p. 252). But he notes that 'an important arena for community development is that of local planning' (p. 252), and in particular supporting more participatory planning processes for local land use and economic decision making. Similarly, Scandrett (2006: 74) suggests that in Scotland, the possibility of using the planning process as a way of democratising new developments is under-explored. It is a challenge because 'planning legislation has a presumption in favour of the developer and there is only a narrow window of opportunity for intervention, which is reactive and in the form of an objection' (p. 74).

(c) Build sustainable alternatives

A third common theme of environmental community work proposed by each of the theorists is to build local alternatives to unsustainable practices. In doing so, they suggest practical connections between social, environmental and economic justice issues. Ledwith (2012) suggests that 'social justice and environmental justice come together in community development in places where we offer alternatives to the values of capitalism' (p. 171). She presents a selection of ideas for local economic action which could impact on the environment, including Local Economic and Trading Systems (LETS), Credit Unions, Transition Town initiatives and community gardens. Westoby and Dowling also consider it important to 'create new institutions that reflect the "dreams" of new ways of consuming, growing, producing, commuting, working, and travelling' (p.182). They list community supported agriculture (CSA), bicycle and car co-operatives and local energy production amongst as potential areas of action for community development. Ife (2013: 253) provides a similar list of potential actions, and also suggests practitioners could explore how a community could 'introducing tighter controls on local industry'.

Indeed, for Scandrett (2006: 70), economic democracy is a core component of 'radical community sustainable development'. In seeking to advance economic democracy, he suggests identifying the 'appropriate stakeholders to whom economic

activity should be accountable' (p. 73). Scandrett advances a critique of Local Agenda 21 because it encourages little participation in the local economy. He notes that there are three avenues for democratising the local economy which may be pursued by a community. These are 'community-initiated development; exerting leverage on an existing enterprise; or through planning legislation' (p. 74).

(d) Alliances and networks

The fourth theme which this scholarship points to is the building of strategic alliances and networks between practitioners, communities, NGOs and activists in order to increase the impact of local activities. Ledwith (2007) argues that the 'the collective struggle for social justice and environmental justice is the basis for alliances between community workers and environmental activists' (p. 154). Similarly, Westoby and Dowling (2009: 181-2) stress the importance of scaling up local activities: 'to put it bluntly, we all need to scale up household-like action in a massive way to make [an] ecological impact' by engaging with local councils, regional organisations, national initiatives and global alliances. While this is important, a focus on scaling-up our own efforts to live sustainably risks ignoring the structural nature of unsustainability. It is important, as Scandrett (2010) notes, to understand that 'the environment is a contested space in which injustices are practiced and struggles for justice performed' (p. 63). Starting from this acknowledgement, he suggests that community workers are uniquely rooted in local communities, narratives and environments 'whilst at the same time linked with networks, movements, knowledge sources and experts which are potentially useful in exposing contradictions in that environment' (p 64). This analysis points to the potentially strategic position which community workers occupy between communities and wider structures of injustice and unsustainability.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented a review of the community work literature on the environment in order to consider the signposts it offers for practitioners and communities concerned with the environment. This review has also sought to frame my case study by exploring several issues that are key considerations for local community mobilisations such as Love Leitrim's campaign to ban fracking. In section 2.2, I addressed the issue of community participation in environmental decision-making. I considered the implications of the post-materialist framing of environmental issues for community work. Post-materialism has been critiqued in the literature for failing to address and indeed obscuring the material interests of the marginalised which are rooted in their environments. It is important for practitioners to root our analysis of (and engagement with) environmentalism in the lived realities of the communities with whom we work.

However, such a critical material analysis of the environment is absent from the dominant weak forms of sustainable development which dominate global and national environmental policy-making. Thus, in section 2.3, I critically assessed the community development scholarship on sustainability in order to explore how it addressed this challenge. To do this I drew on the concept of environmentality to further discussion around community work's analysis of and engagement with sustainability and environmental governance. In particular, I noted the potential for a liberatory environmentality which the political ecology scholarship seeks to support.

In section 2.4, I considered the contribution which environmental community development might make to such a politics of liberation. Drawing on recent significant scholarship I advanced an environmental justice analysis which identifies the devaluation of communities and environments as key enabling factors in systemic pollution and unsustainability. Building on this analysis, the outline framework for environmental community work (*figure 2.1*) presents a synthesis of this scholarship in order to identify community work strategies which may support a liberation environmentality.

Chapter 3

Place, protest and environmentalism in Ireland

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I explore the literature on the Irish environmental movement informed by community work concerns to support the participation, empowerment and collective action of communities in pursuit of justice and sustainability. My aim is to illuminate and engage with key issues and debates in the literature on the Irish environmental movement which are important to consider in the development of community work approaches to environmental justice in Ireland. In section 3.2, I discuss the dichotomy between 'official' (NGO-based) and 'populist' (place-based) environmental movements which the literature suggests is a defining characteristic of environmentalism in Ireland. Given my case study's concern with a local mobilisation against fracking, I explore the factors which influence such local mobilisations. In section 3.3, I discuss the literature on 'populist' local mobilisations and explore how these are theorised in terms of the framings used by local actors and their approach to collective action. In this section I also reflect on the culture of political action in rural Ireland which shapes the 'militant particularism' (Williams, 1989: 249; Harvey, 1996) of Irish place-based protest. Section 3.4 situates rural mobilisations in the wider context of participation, pluralism and power in Irish environmental governance. I discuss the literature on public participation in environmental governance, noting that the classical pluralistic approach has been critiqued by a more radical critical pluralism of environmental justice. Finally, I reflect on issues of power, knowledge and class in environmental governance (*section 3.4.1*).

3.2 Local communities and the environment in Ireland

This section explores the literature on Irish environmentalism in order to understand the place of local community mobilisations for environmental justice in the environmental movement. Firstly, in section 3.2.1 I consider what is essentially a defining dichotomy of the movement; the official/populist binary. I contextualise this division in light of the literature on environmental justice more broadly. Following this, in section 3.2.2, I explore the historical and socio-economic factors which have contributed to populist environmental mobilisation in Ireland.

3.2.1 Environmentalism in Ireland: a movement of two halves?

Rootes (1992:2) suggests that 'environmental social movements can be defined as broad networks of people and organisations engaged in collective action in pursuit of environmental benefit'. However, this simple definition belies empirical complexity both in Ireland and globally. Martinez-Alier (2002:1) cautions us that 'not all environmentalists think and act alike'. Indeed, Schlosberg (1999:3) goes so far as to suggest that there is no such thing as 'environmentalism', and that the term is a catch-all 'convenience' which describes 'an amazingly diverse array of ideas that have grown around the contemplation of the relationship between human beings and their surroundings'. Similarly, in Ireland, there are different perspectives around who and what constitutes the environmental movement. Much of the literature on Irish environmentalism stresses the dichotomous nature of the movement, which is broadly characterised by a binary division between "official" and "populist" movement actors (Baker, 1988, 1989, 1990; Tovey, 1992; 1993; 2007; Allen, 2004; Mullally, 2006; Leonard, 2006, 2007, 2014; Garavan, 2007, 2009; Rootes, 2007). This is understood as a division between official issue-based environmental NGOs and populist place-based community activism. In addition to this official/populist binary, Mullally (2006) and Varley and Curtain (2002, 2006) have identified divisions in tactics and approaches to collective action in official and populist forms of

environmentalism, respectively. I return to questions of collective action in section 3.3, but first I consider further the official/populist division.

This binary characteristic of Irish environmentalism was first proposed by Baker and Tovey in their seminal analyses of the movement (Baker, 1988, 1989, 1990, Tovey, 1992). Their work suggested that 'official' Irish environmentalism is broadly made up of established Environmental NGOs (ENGOS) working on issues such as conservation, nature protection and heritage. Official environmentalism is characterised by a large number of academic experts, such as planners, ecologists and economists who work with established ENGOS and in the public sector (Share *et al.*, 2007: 529). Garavan (2007: 850) stresses that 'national-level [environmental] organisations must be seen as vehicles for activism within the formal public sphere and thereby bearers of an instrumental purpose rather than a representative function'. In other words, 'official' environmentalism in Ireland champions causes and interests but is not necessarily rooted in, or legitimated by, popular support.

In contrast, Tovey (1992) characterised 'populist' environmentalism as consisting of mainly rural communities who organise themselves to address particular instances of environmental degradation brought about by polluting industries, dumps, incinerators and motorways. Populist environmentalism has been conceptualised by Tovey (in Share *et al.*, 2007: 529-30) as 'a relatively independent movement of dissent, by ordinary people working at the local level, from the dominant ideologies of modernisation, development and growth'. To an extent this division between official and populist environmental movements mirrors wider societal divisions, with Leonard arguing that:

'the dichotomy between rural communities and urban-based elites has been an ongoing feature of Irish society over the centuries and in some way represents a type of class division within our society between an urbanised elite with links to the political or economic core and local communities that remain marginalised due to ongoing spatial hierarchy' (Leonard, 2006: 5).

However, it is not possible to make a claim that the official/populist binary is structured along class lines. The social class composition and dynamics in rural Ireland are complex and will be explored further in sections 3.3 below.

It is important to note that this division of ‘official’ and ‘populist’ movements is not unique to Ireland. Indeed, there is wide recognition that the environmental movement is made up of different currents which are often in tension with one another. Martinez-Alier (2002) suggests that there are three broad clusters within the environmental movement which are variously concerned with (1) wilderness protection, (2) ecological modernisation and (3) environmental justice (*see table 3.1*). Each of these approaches are coloured by different worldviews and values which lead to different forms of organising. In the US, for example the large environmental NGOs of ‘official’ environmentalism have been called the “Big Ten”, and even been derided as ‘Big Green’ (Klein, 2014: 20), an illusion to the “Big Oil” moniker which environmentalist use to describe the half a dozen companies that control the oil and gas industry. Schlosberg (1999: 107-8) explains that the Big Ten have been criticised by the grassroots environmental justice movement:

‘for their disregard of the wide variety of environmental hazards faced by people of colour, a paternalistic attitude towards low-income and minority communities and grassroots groups, and the lack of attention to diversity in the membership, staff and boards...’

The dynamics and tensions between official environmentalism and populist mobilisations in Ireland will be explored further in section 3.3. But to what extent can populist Irish mobilisations be described as environmental justice struggles? Davis (2006) explored ‘environmental justice’ as a frame in the Irish anti-incinerator campaigns of the 2000s. She notes that while these campaigns were ‘linked through activist networks and by academic studies’ (Davis, 2006: 709) to environmental justice campaigns elsewhere in the world, Irish mobilisations did not draw on environmental justice as a discourse. She concludes that the ‘invocation of an environmental justice discourse was in sum considered irrelevant by campaigners’ (Davis, 2006: 718). Unlike Scotland, where Friends of the Earth succeeded in having it incorporated into policy-making following Scottish devolution (Dunnion, 2003), environmental justice is not a frame which is widely

Current	Major concern	Scientific basis
'The cult of wilderness' (wilderness protection)	The preservation of wild nature but without anything to say on industry and urbanisation	Conversation biology and ecology
'The gospel of eco- efficiency' (Ecological modernisation)	The sustainable management and use of natural resources and the control of pollution using technological advances	Industrial ecology and environmental economics
'The environmentalism of the poor' (environmental justice)	Ecological distribution conflicts caused by economic growth and social inequalities	<i>Difficulty marshalling scientific arguments (see section 3.2.3)</i>

Table 3.1: Currents of environmentalism (adapted from Martinez-Alier, 2002: 14)

articulated in Ireland. Anti-incineration campaigners found more salient frames to convey their arguments in discourses that emphasised the risk of and alternatives to incineration (Davis, 2006: 714-5). In section 3.1.4 below I further examine the discourses employed in local mobilisations to frame their grievances.

Davis' (2006) approach was to explore the employment of environmental justice as a grievance frame for mobilisation in populist mobilisations against incinerators. Yet, as Martinez-Alier (2002: 14) notes, actors in local conflicts over pollution and degradation 'have not often used an environmental idiom'. While environmental justice has not been a prominent frame to articulate grievances in local mobilisations, scholars have used it as an analytical frame to understand populist mobilisations. Scandrett (2010: 59) stresses that 'wherever disempowered people have mobilised to oppose the devaluing of their environment by the economic logic of the powerful this can be understood as environmental justice'. Indeed, Barry and Doran (2016: 321-2) suggest that 'the localised campaigns that have typified the Irish environmental movements myriad of mobilisations

against specific state backed industrial and infrastructural projects are best explained by using an environmental justice [...] framework’.

3.2.2 Factors influencing local environmental mobilisations in Ireland

Local campaigns have long been the most pronounced and significant form of environmental mobilisations in Ireland. Garavan (2007) developed a data-set of environmental protest events spanning from 1982 to 2002 which illustrates that in that period Irish environmental action was ‘profoundly local’, with mobilisation at sub-national level in two thirds of cases (Garavan, 2007: 845). Indeed, in comparison with other the European states, Irish environmentalism has an extraordinarily local character (Rootes, 2003, 2007). It is important to consider the historical factors shaping local environmental mobilisations in Ireland as my case study of community resistance to fracking in the north-west of Ireland can be understood in the context of a rich tradition of rural Irish community action and resistance.

This tradition stretches from the nineteenth century Ribbonmen who organised themselves in opposition to unjust landlords, to the *Muintir na Tíre* (Irish= People of the Country) vocational community development movement of the 1930s-50s, and the 1960s *Gluaiseacht* (Irish=movement) for Gaeltacht (Irish speaking communities) civil rights. The 1970s saw the emergence of community resistance to the environmental hazards of industrial development. Yearly (1995: 659) highlights that rapid Irish industrialisation reliant on transnational corporations ‘led to distinctive environmental threats’ that local campaign groups often saw as outweighing the economic rationale for bringing industry to an area. Similarly, Allen (2001) argues that many instances of Irish environmental protest have been provoked when the risks of industrial development are imposed on communities by the state, anxious to appease multinationals which promised jobs.

By the late 1980s, the lax regulation of the chemical and pharmaceutical industries was causing major concerns in communities living next to factories an experiencing air and water pollution (Allen, 2004). Indeed, while European Economic Community (now EU) membership in 1973 meant that the state began to modernise its environmental

regulations by transposing EU directives into national law, a lack of political will for environmental regulation meant there was little pro-active implementation or indeed compliance with such directives (Flynn, 2006). Until the 1994 establishment of the Environmental Protection Agency, Irish environmental policy remained largely devolved to local authorities which generally sought to accommodate the interests of the farming lobby as well as business (Allen, 2004; Taylor, 2001). Given Ireland's economic strategy of attracting the foreign direct investment of multinationals (Kirby, 2001), there was a broad political concern that environmental regulation could dampen the climate for investment of multinationals (Allen, 2004; Leonard, 1988). In this context, Flynn (2006: 94) incisively questions whether 'local councils [could] be trusted to regulate sophisticated multinational firms that promised local jobs'.

Throughout the 1990s and 2000s, local environmental mobilisations continued to occur over waste, resources and roads issues as the state sought to advance incinerator and roads infrastructural projects. Leonard (2007: 291) suggests that during this period the unregulated economic growth promoted by successive neoliberal minded governments 'led to greater environmental degradation and an undermining of significant aspects of the nation's heritage'. Yearly identified several characteristics of local mobilisations in the 1980s early 1990s. He noted (1995: 600) that protest was 'directed at industrial pollution or associated mining and dumping; it was targeted to a large degree at foreign firms; and it involved local, usually community-based organisations'. By the end of the 1990s, however, Mac Sheoin (1999: 117) suggests that there was a greater 'breath and diversity of targets of opposition' as telecommunications and waste disposal (landfilling and incineration) disputes became a significant catalyst for local activism. He further suggests that the target of many mobilisations had shifted to include 'local as well as transnational capital, and the state, both in local and central forms, as well as its newly privatised form' (Mac Sheoin, 1999: 118).

Share *et al.* (2007: 531) argue that the changing urban-rural relationship is another key factor shaping rural Irish populist mobilisations. They draw on Tovey's (2002) analysis that increasing urbanisation is leading to a shifting balance of political power between the agrarian and industrial elites and those with scientific and technical expertise such as environmental scientists. The agricultural way of life was given 'primary significance by

the state' until economic modernisation from the late 1950s, which saw the state attempt to 'inject new patterns of production and lifestyle into rural communities, through its agenda for multinational led development' (Leonard, 2006: 1). Varley and Curtain argue that rural populist mobilisations in Ireland have essentially been a form of 'rear-guard resistance' by rural communities (Varley and Curtain, 2002). They suggest that these communities have found themselves in a subordinate position in industrialising society are attempting to negotiate power imbalances by organising collectively. Understood as such, they suggest that the concept of populism brings issues of power and powerlessness to the fore in local mobilisations, with the central question for local communities being 'how can these relatively powerless elements, or these "underdog elements", [...] negotiate this power imbalance that is a structural reality that they face?' (Curtain and Varley, 2009). They argue that:

'populist-type collective action on the part of the relatively powerless can be constructed as beginning or continuing a process of generating the "power to" negotiate or counter those dominating and exploiting forces that exert power over subordinate elements of powerlessness (Curtain and Varley, 2006: 425).

In this analysis, populist mobilisations are forms of collective action which allow communities to exert power and thus position themselves to negotiate with other actors.

In his ethnographic work undertaken in the 1960s, Broady (1986 [1971]) noted a trend towards 'rural demoralisation' with increasing urbanisation and industrialisation leading to a de-valuing of rural skills, values and ways of life. Coupled with rural demoralisation, Share *et al.* (2007: 531-2) suggest that from the 1970s onwards, there was a weakening of the political strength of smaller farmers, as 'market led efficiencies favoured larger producers' (Leonard, 2006: 1). Many of these trends were most pronounced in the west of Ireland, the state's 'most problematic periphery', which it has 'struggled to develop [...] on capitalist lines similar to the rest of the country' (Peace, 2005: 497). These issues have led to distinctive manifestations of poverty and deprivation in rural areas which is often dispersed, invisible and difficult to measure (Haase, 2009). Haase and Pratschke (2005: 7) have identified that 'long-term adverse labour market

conditions in rural areas tend to manifest themselves in either agricultural underemployment or in emigration’.

In addition to this division between agrarian communities and industrial elites, today urban-based conservationists, ecologists, recreational groups and tourism interests have increasingly ‘begun to make claims on the Irish countryside’ (Share *et al.*, 2007: 532). As a result, there is an increasingly dominant perspective in policy-making that ‘rural Ireland must be managed and regulated in the interests of the urban population’ (Share *et al.*, 2007: 532). This makes a shift from the understanding of rural as agricultural to re-conceptualisation of rural as environmental – as a space to be managed and regulated by experts (Leonard, 2006: 2). This poses challenges for communities, who as lay-people are forced to address their concerns through scientific, technical and legal expertise. I discuss this issue further in section 3.4.3, reflecting on the question posed by Martinez Allier (2002) of “who has the power to simplify complexity?” in conflicts around environmental issues.

3.3 Theorising ‘populist’ environmental mobilisations

In this section I consider how Irish populist mobilisations have been theorised in the literature. I begin by focusing firstly on the collective action frames used in local environmental mobilisations (*section 3.3.1*) before turning to situate rural populism in the wider political culture of rural Ireland (*section 3.3.2*).

3.3.1 Discourses of discontent: collective action frames in local mobilisations

In this section, I briefly introduce the concept, from the social movement literature, of collective action frames. I then turn to an exploration Leonard’s (2006) concept of ‘rural sentiment’ which seeks to theorise how local campaigns in Ireland have

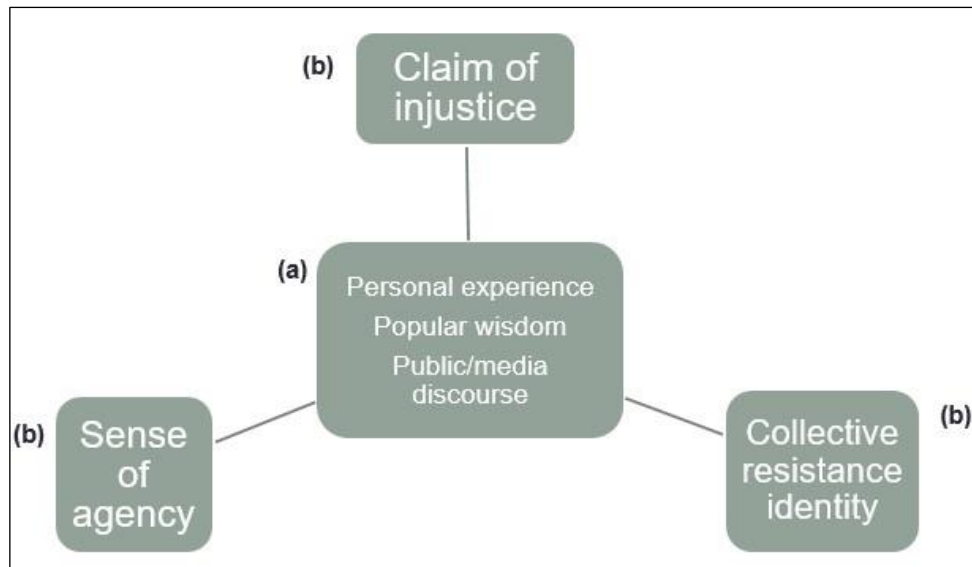


Figure 3.1: Sources (a) and components (b) of collective action frames (adapted from Gamson, 1992)

framed their grievances to mobilise local support. Finally, I consider the origin and rationale for the frame choices of local campaigns seeking to bring about collective action and resolution of their grievances. The social movement literature on collective action frames is concerned with the interpretive act of conceptualising an issue to produce meaning, engage interlocutors and promote a particular course of action. Snow and Benford (1992) define collective action frames as ‘action orientated sets of beliefs and meanings that inspire and legitimate social movement activities and campaigns’. They continue (1992: 137), stressing that a frame is ‘an interpretive schemata that simplifies and condenses the “world out there” by selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of actions within one’s present or past environment.’

The framing perspective suggests that meaning is pivotal because it is ‘prefactory to action’ (Benford, 1997: 40). Gamson (1992: 7-8) has shown that social actors draw on three sources when developing collective action frames (*see figure 3.1*): personal experience, popular wisdom and media discourses. From these three sources, strong collective action frames can be built by careful attention to three frame components:

injustice, agency and identity. The injustice component, he suggests, means that collective action frames express an element of moral indignation. The agency component emphasises collective efficacy and the ability of social actors to alter the undesirable situation. The identity component defines a collectivity, often in opposition to an adversarial opponent or with reference to a decision maker, which catalyses collective action at the structural level.

The literature suggests that local environmental conflicts are highly complex phenomena in which actors draw on a variety of discourses in order to frame their grievances. The reasons for a community to resist polluting industry are rooted in a whole range of local, cultural, historical, ecological, economic and political factors which - while commonalities exist across cases - are different at each conflict site. Paying attention to how an issue is conceptualised offers an insight into issues of power and knowledge which communities must navigate. How does a local community express its grievances to mobilise a base for collective action? How does it make justice claims to interlocutors in order to influence outcomes?

Garavan (2007) suggests that local environmental protests in Ireland are a series of 'defences of place' and that only rarely have such local mobilisations resisting pollution and degradation employed the language of environmentalism to advance a claim for justice. As discussed in section 3.2.1, Davis (2006) shows that local actors have tended not to adopt environmental justice frames because such a discourse carries little weight in public arenas. Rather than drawing on a discourse of environmentalism then, the literature suggests that existing rural social networks create a 'platform for popular discourse' (Peace, 1997: 67). This allows communities to mobilise using frames that draw on localised discourses to evoke a sense of culture, place and community.

Leonard (2006, 2007, 2014) has theorised this as 'rural sentiment'. He argues (2007: 75) that the backdrop of Irish history, culture and politics has 'encoded interpretivistic responses into the collective folk memory of our rural communities', where the connections and networking between mobilising communities and those which came before leads to a 'reinforced and accumulative sentiment' (Leonard, 2006: 15) that shapes collective action responses. Leonard (2006) argues that the process of establishing potent cultural, moral and social frames lie at the heart of any successful

cultural transformation or re-awaking of local sentiment during the course of environmental disputes. Garavan (2007) has critiqued Leonard's assertion that these local populist mobilisations constitute a coherent and continuous environmental movement from the 1970s Irish anti-nuclear campaign at Carnsore Point up until today. However, irrespective of questions of continuity, the concept of 'rural sentiment' is supported by Tovey's (1993) early research on the Irish environmental movement. She suggests that 'Irish environmentalism is best understood as a cultural politics of national identity – a contest regarding changes in Irish society carried out in environmental debates'.

Garavan's case study of the Rossport campaign (2007, 2013) and Peace's (2005) examination of the Mullaghmore dispute lead both scholars to conclude that the local mobilisations pose deep and searching questions about the meaning of "development", the nature of the "good life", the costs of "modernity" and the value of "community". What sort of development is wanted? What sort of communities are we seeking to create or sustain? Garavan's scholarship highlights how these inchoate and normally unconscious concerns are brought to the fore when a community struggles to make sense of and respond to an imposed industry or polluting practice. Peace (2005: 496) suggests that such questioning of the tacit understandings of the status quo means that defences of place 'become enduringly significant rather than just fleetingly disruptive'. However, Peace's discussion is concerned with the status quo at the level of community, where divisions in between locals mean that prior assumptions about consensus and unity [...] no longer hold good' (Peace, 2005: 496).

Leonard (2006: 44) suggests that successive local mobilisations have shown 'the inability to translate rural sentiment into legal efficacy' and that while this has 'stymied many environmental campaigns [...] the legal route was retained by many campaigners as the primary external strategy'. This hints at the challenges faced by local communities in addressing their concerns and influencing outcomes at the scale of regulation. The literature suggests that when local communities attempt to move beyond the local scale, they are 'forced onto far narrower ground' when framing their message in a way that engages interlocutors (Garavan, 2006: 2). This is an issue to which I will return and explore in more detail below (*section 3.4.3*).

Mullally (2006) illustrates how the public discourse around environmental controversies have tended to be centred on questions of dependant development and failures of the regulatory regime so that:

‘What began as a series of localised planning and pollution controversies, translated very quickly into questions about democratic decision-making, the locus of political representation, patterns of interest mediation and perhaps most importantly the nature of democratic participation’ (2006: 157).

Here Mullally highlights how in many local environmental protests “the environment” is the stage on which searching questions about the nature of development and democracy can be posed. Yet adopting such discourses can also provide local communities with the opportunity to jump scales and influence political discourse and policy outcomes beyond the local community itself. Fagan’s (2003: 80) work on regimes of governance in waste and incineration conflicts concludes that communities in siting conflicts adopted a discourse which included political rights and supported campaigners to ‘develop a multi-scalar political agency’.

3.3.2 Populist mobilisations and the political culture of rural Ireland

Varley (1991: 50) highlights that rural mobilisations have tended to adopt an “all together” approach based on the widest possible popular participation’ which characterised early community development efforts by groups such as *Muintir na Tíre*. Citing the examples of the successful 1980s anti-Merrell-Dow campaign in Cork he argues that ‘these instances of community action show marked family resemblances with the new social movements’ because they are ‘not directly structured by the relations of production’ (Lash and Urry, 1987: 195, quoted in Varley, 1991). However, while these rural mobilisations have not adopted class as an organising concept, the literature suggests that class (like environment) is not a salient organising theme in rural Ireland. As Kissane (2002:74) stresses, the ‘dominance of bourgeois values in the Irish countryside’ after Irish independence in 1922 led to a ‘characteristically Irish pattern of political representation with a middle class “national” political elite representing rural

constituencies' (Kissane (2002:78). Thus, local mobilisations must be situated in the context of the particular political culture which developed in rural Ireland in the years following independence.

O' Carroll (2002) grounds the political economy of rural Ireland in the context of state and community relations since the foundations of the state. He describes how the elites of the new nation adopted and co-opted the metaphor of community after the revolutionary and civil war periods (1916-1923), as a rhetorical device to promote the integration and solidarity in the nation, which simultaneously had the effect of invisibilising difference in society. This reliance on 'community' as a depoliticised unit of social action driven by volunteering and active citizenship has been embodied by various discourses throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century. Today it finds expression in modern modes of governance inspired by communitarian thought.

The Irish state's focus on community as a unit of social action can be traced back to the vocationalism of the 1930s. Vocationalism promoted self-regulating voluntary associations and communities working together with the state taking a secondary, co-ordinating role (Hirst, 1993). As a movement, vocationalism grew across Europe following the 1931 publication of the papal encyclical of *Quadragesimo Anno*. This encyclical presented a blueprint for social and political organisation where the various interest groups of a society regulated their own affairs according to the principle of subsidiarity and with minimum state intervention. As a Catholic alternative to socialism, it envisioned strong protection for private property while seeking to limit the worst ills of capitalism. The wholesale adoption of vocationalism as an organisation principle for the state was ended by the shelving of the 1944 report of the Commission on Vocational Organisation (O'Leary, 2000).

Yet the ideas of vocationalism continued to influence strands of integrationalist and consensus minded community development in Ireland, most notably Muintir na Tire. Curtin and Varley (1995: 379) highlight how such vocationalism inspired community development seeks to embody an "all-together" ideology that projects itself as concerned with the common good and capable of transcending class, party, gender, religious and even spatial divisions within localities' (Curtin and Varley, 1995: 379). Such a view of community as a harmonious and internally equitable has been critiqued in the

international development literature (Guijt and Kaul Shah, 1998). O'Carroll (2002: 15) argues that an emphasis on "community" as an organising concept 'established an inflexible notion of boundary between similarity and difference.' As such, the possibility of conflict and dissent was rendered extremely limited as:

'The public sphere, understood as a forum where differences are aired, [...] becomes almost a contradiction in terms, because discourse, dissent and even comment automatically place the speaker beyond the pale' (O'Carroll, 2002: 15).

This vision of community was, he suggests, 'extrapolated to society in an unreflected manner' and thus 'it implied a monolithic system of government. It privileged face-to-face relations over more impersonal societal relations amongst autonomous individuals. It undoubtedly underpinned widespread clientelism' (p. 15).

Indeed, clientelism has been identified in the literature as a major factor in Irish political life (Chubb, 1963; Sacks, 1974; Carty, 1981; Komito, 1985, Hourigan, 2015). Clientelism traditionally involves 'structuring of political power through networks of informal dyadic relations that link individuals of unequal power in relationships of exchange' (Brachet-Marquez, 1992: 94). Theories of modernisation from Durkheim (1984) and Weber (1979) have asserted that clientelism is an anachronistic form of politics, characteristic of pre-modern societies, which would eventually give way to liberal pluralist democracy (Collins and O'Shea, 2003: 90). However, the Irish experience has been described as anomalous in this regard because a 'private morality of obligations' (Clapham, 1982:1) continues to shape Irish public life in defiance of modernisation (Higgins, 1982; Hourigan, 2015). The literature suggests that this is particularly so in rural areas (O'Carroll, 1987) where the politician was traditionally 'the countryman's [*sic*] personal emissary to an anonymous state' (Sacks, 1976: 50-1). In this regard clientelism has been a highly successful approach to securing gains from a 'periphery dominated centre' (Garvin, 1981: 190) where the Dublin government is 'captured by provincial interests' (Collins and O'Shea, 2003: 94).

Yet, at the same time as elements of clientelism may be retained in Irish public life, the state has evolved a complex, rational rules-based bureaucracy where individual political elites rarely have direct control of resources sought by "the client" (Komito,

1985). In light of this, Komito and Gallagher (1999) suggest that Irish clientelism is more accurately described as ‘brokerage’, whereby local communities are linked to national systems through political brokers in exchange for electoral support. They suggest that politicians act as brokers who can catalyse action by cumbersome and unresponsive institutions of public administration with on behalf of ‘bureaucratically illiterate’ (Komito and Gallagher, 1999:211). Chubb argues that clientelism emerged in the early years of the state because citizens did not have sufficient education to navigate bureaucratic rules bases systems. Adshead and Millar (2003: 94) suggest that it is working class people who have cause to rely most heavily on brokerage. However, O’Toole (2010) argues that a clientelist atmosphere of ‘insider intimacy’ pervaded the boom time political elite, while Hourigan (2015) presents compelling evidence of extensive middle-class reliance on “stroke politics”. She suggests that

in the morality of Irish political culture, the entire system of clientelism prioritises ‘being there’- the morality of relationships- over ‘being fair’ the morality of rules [...] By being there for constituents over time, politicians build up a reputation for ‘doing turns’, which is central to being perceived as a ‘good politician’ (Hourigan, 2015: 115-16).

In seeking to understand the pervasiveness of clientelism in Irish political life several scholars point to the influence of the proportional representation by single transferable vote (PR-STV) system (Collins and Cradden, 2001; Hourigan, 2015; O’Sullivan, 1999). PR-STV was initially adopted to protect the interests of the Protestant minority in the Irish Free State and was subsequently enshrined in the 1937 constitution. PR STV has a strong influence on politicians’ approach to constituency work because it requires them to compete against members of their own party (Gallagher, 2008: 523-4), such that ‘it is not war but friendly fire that Irish politicians fear the most’ (O’Toole, 2010). Candidates from the same party cannot compete on issues of policy and therefore are required to distinguish themselves in their constituency work. They must emphasise their ‘local, social and personal links with the electorate’ and cultivate a reputation as assiduous workers on behalf of their constituents which can translate into first-preference votes on election day (Collins and O’Shea, 2003: 96).

Given the extraordinary local character of Irish environmentalism, clientelism as a trend in public administration is an important consideration when it comes to rural environmental conflicts in Ireland. Indeed, scholarly assessment of the classic Carnsore Point anti-nuclear movement points to the central role of local communities campaigning for change through a relationship-based clientelist approach rather than the impact of newly formed anti-nuclear environmental pressure groups (Flynn, 2006: 89). Baker's (1988) assessment of the anti-nuclear movement suggests that while it was important:

‘more decisive was classic old-fashioned lobbying by local residents within Ireland's clientelist party political system. The politicians simply feared a loss of votes in a key constituency during an era of very close elections’ (Baker, 1988).

Electoral clientelism, or brokerage, continues to play a role in Irish public administration as individuals and communities look to elected and prospective politicians to assist them in the navigation of the rules-based bureaucratic systems of the state. Yet despite an awareness of the localised nature of Irish environmental protest, little work has been done to explore the interplay between local environmental mobilisations and electoral clientelism at a local level.

3.4 Participation, pluralism and power in Irish environmental governance

Irish environmental governance has evolved considerably over the last thirty years, with considerable changes to the role of communities in environmental decision-making. In this section I consider this evolution and what it means for local mobilisations which seek to articulate a contentious politics of the environment. Section 3.4.1 surveys of the literature on public participation in Irish environmental governance. Following this, in section 3.4.2 I consider the classical pluralist form of the Irish state's engagement with environmental interest groups, contrasting it with the more critical pluralist vision articulated by the environmental justice literature. Finally in section 3.4.3, I consider questions of knowledge, power and class in environmental governance which present

populist mobilisations with a challenge when seeking to influence decision-making (section 3.4.3)

3.4.1 Public Participation in environmental governance

In the year that the Irish Environmental Protection Agency was established, Deace (1993) argued that the participation of citizens in the Irish policy process was ‘at best, a relatively passive contribution of preferences and values to processes whose parameters have already been set by technical requirements and technical expertise’. In the years since then, environmental governance has placed an increasingly prominent emphasis on public participation in partnering with the state to implement sustainable development policy. Recent developments in this regard have included the Citizens’ Assembly debate on climate action (2017) and the establishment of a National Dialogue on Climate Action (2017). These suggest that models of participatory governance are becoming the norm in Irish climate and environmental policy.

Murphy’s (2011) comprehensive review of the sustainable development literature focuses on the social pillar of sustainability⁴ and illustrates how the concept of public participation is deeply embedded in the discourse of sustainable development. He highlights how participation is seen as important for broadening ownership and acceptance of policy, given that the ‘participation of more social groups increases the likelihood that civil society will deem government policy legitimate’ (Murphy, 2011: 24). Participation in environmental decision making is central to the Rio Declaration (UN, 1991), fostered by the Agenda 21 programme for environmental governance (Coenen, 2009) and given legal effect in Europe by the Aarhus Convention (UNECE, 1997). The transposition of European environmental regulations into domestic law also contributed to this trend towards participation. Thus, from the 1990s, the state developed a more elaborate set of environmental policies (EPA, 1994; Department of Environment, 1997),

⁴ Sustainable development is commonly conceptualised, following the Brundtland Report (World Commission for Environment and Development, 1987) as having three pillars: social, environmental and economic.

which led to an accommodation of environmental concerns and a more nuanced approach to public participation in policy making.

Yet while public participation in environmental decision making is ostensibly a good idea, Jacobs (1999:3 4) notes that governments tend to ‘adopt what might be called a “top-down” approach to participation’ in sustainable development. By this he means that states often adopt the broad parameters of policy objectives which set the context for participation. Furthermore, Jacobs suggests that top-down participation tends to focus on stakeholder interest groups and as a result ‘participation is not seen as requiring a deeper or wider involvement of ordinary members of the public, except through changes in individual behaviour’ (p. 34). This mirrors the biopolitical processes of environmentality discussed in the previous chapter. Jacobs’ assessment is supported by the literature on the Irish environmental movement. Tovey (2007:191) emphasises that ‘the preference of the Irish state, as expressed in its public policy statements and the patterns of its funding to NGOs and agencies, is for environmental activism which takes the “personal” rather than the “collective” form.’

O’Carroll (2002) offers an incisive analysis of institutionalised, partnership-style governance in Ireland. He suggests (2002: 10) that while institutional structures of policy making emphasise ideas of “partnership” and “community”, they nevertheless contribute ‘more to the legitimisation of the *state* than to the cause of community development’ (*emphasis* in original). This is achieved because ‘a significant consequence of the institutional framework has been to limit considerably the scope of existing policies and simultaneously, by less obvious legitimising effect, prevent alternative policies from being considered’. And thus, he concludes, the state ‘achieves its own legitimisation’.

Reflecting on these institutional innovations in environmental governance, Tovey (2007: 187) notes that Irish grassroots community experiences of engaging with policy makers are overwhelmingly negative. She stresses that community interventions are ‘largely unwelcome’, their own expertise ‘disregarded’ and promises ‘not sustained to implementation’. These systematic failures have, Tovey suggests:

'had a radicalising effect on the perspectives that groups have towards the Irish system of environmental governance. It has generated feelings of anger, injustice, and, above all, deep distrust in the good faith of the state and its agencies' (Tovey, 2007: 187).

Tovey (2007:189) argues that even when participatory processes are in place

'the assumption of a deficit model in relation to citizen participants can significantly reduce the usefulness of these processes as a channel for two-way dialogue. They will tend to be experienced more as "disciplining" and "participation closing" rather than "openings" to more democratic forms of governance'.

The literature suggests that such anger and distrust is often articulated in local mobilisations which frame their grievances in terms of governance and democratic deficit.

Jacobs (1999) illustrates how the emphasis on behavioural change and consumer choice for the public in official policy has proceeded alongside greater engagement of stakeholder interest groups. The Irish state has developed sophisticated institutional arrangements for environmental participation which have been informed by the state's existing corporatist approach to social partnership and by European and global best practice in environmental governance. These new forms of environmental governance led to a range of new institutional opportunities for ENGOs, and in the 1990s groups such as An Taisce and Earthwatch (an earlier iteration of Friends of the Earth Ireland) re-positioned themselves to take advantage of the evolving policy space and political opportunity (Mullally, 2006).

While Agenda 21 'developed only weakly in Ireland' (Tovey, 2007: 29) the environment was increasingly a focus of the partnership style of governance (known as Social Partnership) which the state adopted from the 1990s (Turok, 2001; Gaynor, 2011; Larragy, 2014). Irish environmental governance evolved in the 1990s primarily as a response to the waste crisis (Laffan and O'Mahony, 2007), with a model 'patterned on consensual politics and multi-agency partnerships' that rely on self-governing networks to ensure good environmental management practices (Fagan, 2010: 229). Mullally (2006: 161) highlights how processes of institutionalisation lead to 'a demand for institutional

isomorphism' where movement actors adopt more formal structures and networks crystallise into representative structures with "peak organisations" engaging with the state.

Indeed, the state has evolved a considerably more institutionalised relationship to some groups in the environmental movement. In 2009 the Environmental Pillar of Social Partnership was formed 'reflecting the composition of the coalition government, which now included the Green Party as a junior partner' (Stafford, 2011: 75). Twenty-six ENGOs are recognised by the State as members of the pillar. However, while the Environmental Pillar continues to exist, Social Partnership effectively ended in practice almost as soon as the ENGOs were included. There has been no scholarly attention on the Environmental Pillar as a distinct entity. In tandem with the establishment of the Environmental Pillar, the Irish Environmental Network (IEN) was formed as a funding, training and networking mechanism for ENGO. The IEN has a membership that includes all Environmental Pillar members, plus Friends of the Irish Environment, a group which pursues environmental litigation efforts, sometimes working with communities to do so.

As Tovey (2007) shows, these 26 ENGOs hardly represent the sum of what could be called the environmental movement in Ireland. Tovey (p. 4) takes environmentalism to mean 'any actors or groups who are concerned about society's impact on nature, and who try to change this through either new forms of regulation or by offering a vision of alternative social practices'. Her study identified over 100 environmental groups and she notes that this is 'probably an underestimation' of the number of groups in existence (p. 30). The discrepancy in numbers between Tovey's (2007) data and the membership of the state's Environmental Pillar lend credence to the observation of Share *et al.* (2007: 529) that within the Irish environmental movement there are 'conflicts about who is to be included as a legitimate environmental voice and [...] who is on the "lunatic fringe"'. The result of Tovey's (2007) examination of environmental mobilisation in Ireland reveals a pattern of 'a small number of nationally established and generalist types of [ENGOs], a large number of special interest national organisations and a considerable mass of local activist efforts' (p. 32).

The literature on the Irish environmental governance has not kept up with the pace of change in the last decade. The last major monographs on Irish environmentalism were published in the mid-2000s, with few further papers since. As a result, the literature does not take into account the establishment of the Environmental Pillar or IEN. However, considering Tovey's description of the movement, quoted above, it is clear that the evolving institutional arrangements of environmental governance have created a clear empirical demarcation in how the state relates to 'official' and 'populist' environmentalism. The admittance of 26 ENGOs as the Environmental Pillar establishes those groups as the "legitimate voices" of the movement in the eyes of the state.

3.4.2 Pluralism and the institutionalisation of Irish environmental governance

Official environmentalism in Ireland has largely adopted a classical pluralistic form, with environmental interest groups applying pressure on political and policy elites (Richardson, 1993) through political advocacy and campaigning. Pluralist theory suggests that interest groups are the 'key unit of political action' (Schlosberg, 1999: 5) and that public policy is generated through the interplay between various organised groups in a 'complex process of bargaining and interaction that ensures that the views and interests of a large number of groups are taken into account' (Murphy, 2003:20). In this sense a comparison can be made between official environmentalisms in Ireland and in the United States, where the literature offers a deeper analysis. Rootes (2007) highlights how, in the United States, the organisations that make up the environmental movement began as 'elite initiatives' informed by cutting edge scientific knowledge and 'collectively constituted something closer to a public interest lobby or "advocacy community" than anything that might sensibly be described as an environmental *movement*' (Rootes, 2007: 723-4, *emphasis added*). The reality of the environmental movement as a product of elite initiative has been heavily critiqued by the movement for environmental justice which was born out of the 'grassroots concerns with the human consequences of environmental degradation' (Rootes, 2007: 724).

“The environment”, conceptualised as a post-materialist concern by official Irish environmentalism, has generally remained a fringe issue in Ireland, where ENGO membership numbers are relatively low and funding possibilities scarce (Yearly, 1995). This has perhaps contributed to the ready acceptance of many ENGOs, including the more critical groups, to subscribe to Social Partnership and gain access to modest but much needed funding. It also must be accepted that groups have enjoyed relative success in terms of access to financial support, meetings with decision makers and the media, while still being able to maintain critical and oppositional stances. Yet this pluralist model has been critiqued for obscuring and failing to address hierarchies of power. Commenting on the US environmental movement, Schlosberg (1999:4) notes how, 'in taking the role of interest groups in the liberal pluralist model [most US environmental groups] have excluded and marginalised many positions, and limited what counts as a valid environmental perspective. This, Schlosberg (1999: 8) suggests, leads to a 'lack of diversity in the major groups, in terms of both ideas and participants'.

In his later work, Schlosberg (2007) goes on to articulate a vision of critical plurality concerning environmental justice that is rooted in diversity, grounded in context and connected in a networked manner to other spaces of (in)justice. Schlosberg traces several important intellectual roots for this conception of critical pluralism. He highlights how the feminist epistemology of Haraway (1988: 584-5) suggests that 'relativism and totalisation [are] both “god tricks” promising vision from everywhere and nowhere equally and fully'. He therefore advocates situated knowledge and embodied objectivity. Similarly, he notes that Mouffe (1996: 246) articulates a pluralist recognition of difference as a starting point for political analysis. Rather than transcendence, critical pluralism is concerned with “immanence”. In other words, rather than asking “how it always is”, we are invited to consider “how is it here and now?”. This philosophical commitment to a more critical plurality represents a major critique of the institutional models of classical pluralism. This strikes at the heart of an important philosophical question. The intellectual project of the Enlightenment sought to transfer the transcendence of God to 'Man', which in modern secular thought is accorded the same power above nature. Haraway (1988), like Michel Foucault and Bruno Latour, seeks to challenge the barriers between humans, animals and machines. By refusing transcendence, these thinkers challenge the imposition of

hierarchy and dominance that the vision of a transcendent Man has facilitated. Instead they point to the 'plane of immanence' which is 'the continuous project to create and re-create ourselves and our world' (Hardt and Negri, 2000, 91-2).

Critical pluralism, argues Schlosberg (2007: 180) is a crucial strategy for environmental justice organising 'which has always been network based, and those networks have recognition and democratic process at their core'. In organising in such a way, the environmental justice approach is inherently prefigurative, recognising the need to confront 'the fundamental underlying processes and their associated power structures, social relations, institutional configurations, discourses, and belief systems that generate environmental and social injustices' (Harvey, 1996: 401). Interestingly, at a local level in Ireland there has been significant institutional innovations in civil society engagement and participatory environmental governance which have also draw on the network as an organisational structure, however this is rooted in a classical rather than critical pluralist vision. In 2014, Public Participation Networks (PPNs) were established in each local authority area with major support from the Irish Environmental Network, the co-ordinator of which was appointed to the working group which developed the model (Department of the Environment, Community and Local Government, 2014). As an evolving form of decentralised participatory governance in Ireland, the PPNs have not yet received significant scholarly attention and a full consideration of their purpose and their effect on critical or dissenting engagement with the state is outside the scope of this study. However, it is important to consider how the PPNs have incorporated environmental groups locally

The PPNs include an environmental electoral college (Department of Rural and Community Development, 2016), whose membership is approved by the national IEN and which fail to include – to use Tovey's (2007: 32) term – a 'considerable mass' of local environmental groups. The PPNs exclude, for example, single issues environmental groups from membership of the environmental college. This effectively removes groups in 'populist' category and is far from the critical pluralist vision of environmental justice networking which Schlosberg considers essential for meaningful participatory justice. No "straight" anti-fracking group, could join a PPN, for instance. The PPNs also exclude Tidy Towns committees, which are far from radical environmental groups but are nonetheless

a major starting point for community engagement with the built and natural environment. This “gatekeeping” of membership of PPN environmental electoral colleges is indicative of this conflict around legitimacy and indicates that, to some extent the division between official and populist environmentalism remains an unresolved issue as modes of environmental governance become decentralised.

Mullally (2006) argues that institutionalisation often aims at conflict management, which, as Martinez-Alier (2002:68) notes in the case of subdued social conflict over nuclear waste in the UK and France, ‘does not necessarily imply problem resolution’. Thus, the institutionalisation of environmental concerns shapes the discursive space in a way which has very real impacts on the organisational structures of environmental movement actors (Mullally, 2006) and the sorts of claims they can make in the public discourse (Hajer 1995). Where the state has developed a ‘proliferation of institutionalised modes of resolving, or indeed pre-empting social conflict on contentious environmental issues’ (Mullally, 2006: 147), it can be a significant challenge to the ability of social actors to pose critical alternatives to the dominant social project being advanced through the discourse of sustainable development. ‘What happens?’ asks Mullally (2006: 146), ‘when rather than struggling to place issues on the public agenda movements have to struggle for a stake in the discourse? Do protest, dissent, contestation and critique disappear by virtue of being included in politics?’ There has been little empirical work on effect of the state’s recent moves towards institutionalisation on the environmental movement. Gaynor, writing in 2011, suggests that it ‘remains too early to assess’ the agency of the Environmental Pillar in its dealings with the state (Gaynor, 2011: 517).

Yet the institutionalisation of environmentalism as a policy project can be compared to other areas of Irish civil society which have received more empirical attention. Reflecting on the relationship between the state and civil society, Kirby and Murphy (2009) argue that the state has historically sought to be deeply controlling of civil society in a way that mutes its capacity to be conflictual or transformative. By acting in this way, the state’s:

‘priority is to make Ireland safe for investment by multinational companies and to stifle any debate about the social impacts of

the highly dependent model of development promoted by the Irish state' (Kirby and Murphy, 2009: 153).

Mullally (2006) draws on Giugni's (1998) theorisation of incorporation and transformation as two modalities of social change, noting that while transformation seeks to change 'the basic rules of the game or principles of order' (Giugni, 1998: xix), incorporation can lead to more incremental changes in power relations (e.g. participation in interest intermediation processes), policy changes (e.g. incorporation of movement claims in government agendas) and inclusion in public and media discourses. Mullally (2006) argues that when faced with the choice between these two modalities, many Irish ENGOs have tried to resolve this tension 'by operating on the soft margins of the political system'. But as I noted in section 3.2, 'populist' or local environmental struggles position themselves more directly in opposition to the state and its models of development.

The potential and propensity of local environmental campaigns to take a critical political stance can be contrasted with growing accommodation of official environmentalism and by state institutions and policy discourses. Recalling Rootes (2007: 724) argument that official environmentalism is comprised of 'elite initiatives', he argues that local campaigns have the potential to shift ENGOs out of the 'lobby circuit' (Rootes, 2007: 724) and towards a more contentious politics of environmental justice. In doing so, of course, it is not merely about contention for the sake of conflict. Rather such actions are guided by a concern for participatory justice (Schlosberg, 2007) and addressing the unequitable distribution of power and knowledge in society so that marginalised groups have power in the process of addressing environmental issues.

3.4.3 Power, knowledge and class in the Irish environmental movement

Leonard (2006:239) suggests that 'the formulation of Irish environmental policy could be viewed as emerging in a dualistic response to bottom-up grassroots agitation on the one hand, in addition to top down EU legislation on the other'. However, there are significant challenges faced by those at the bottom who seek to use grassroots agitation to influence environmental policy outcomes. Garavan's (2013) consideration of the

Rosspport case illustrates the difficulties which communities can face in seeking to influence environmental policy outcomes. He suggests that in public debate there is a discursive opportunity structure that suggests or imposes a pattern on what can be meaningfully expressed. His work illustrates how the members of the community who opposed the gas refinery in Mayo were forced to adapt their articulations of opposition to the project in order to make sense within a variety of different discursive opportunity structures where they interacted with various interlocutors. These included, for example, the planning process, conservation regulations and energy policy. For example, Slevin (2010: 128-9) highlights how the Rosspport community has 'become synonymous with community action' for its resistance to 'a multinational corporation backed by the state'. The framing of the campaign against Shell sought to highlight the 'effective giveaway' (Slevin, 2010: 140) of Ireland's oil and gas resources.

Indeed, this process of translation was required not just to engage with various state bodies. Garavan (2013) notes that community members were also at times required to articulate their concerns in using frames that would be understood by the social movement activists and academics who might support the campaign. Thus, the community adopted its concerns to the oppositional discourses which could mobilise support, including environment, sustainability, globalisation, anti-capitalism and resource nationalism. However, this process of translation and negotiation served to 'shape expression of views but also confine and limit voices' because in adapting to these discourses it places 'necessary horizons to the say-able, the thinkable, the imaginable' (Garavan, 2013: 75). Garavan (2013) characterises this as a form of cultural invasion where external versions of reality become imposed making it increasingly difficult for local actors to speak straightforwardly in their own terms. Garavan (2013) highlights that the community sought to adapt to the discursive opportunity structures available in policy and legislation and therefore frame communities' opposition in legalistic and policy terms such as the protection of a Special Area of Conservation. However, he notes his sense that this was hopelessly inadequate in addressing local concerns around far deeper issues of cultural integrity and psychological well-being. Thus, there was a dissonance between the reasons for the community's opposition and the framing of grievances which was permissible within the discursive opportunity structure.

One of the reasons for the potential disempowerment of communities in environmental policy-making and public discourse is that scientific evidence plays a considerable role in environmental policy making. As Yearly (2005: 20) notes, 'many of the objects of environmental concern are only knowable through science', including of course climate change. At the same time, science has not been 'a dependable friend to the environmental movement' given that many scientific research communities are 'committed to activities that heighten environmental hazards' (Yearly, 2005: 20). In the case of fracking for example, most of the scientific knowledge about the nature of the process, its risks and whether those risks may be mitigated came initially from the oil and gas industry itself. In the UK, for example, the Royal Society of Chemistry has positioned itself as an enthusiastic proponent of the exploitation of unconventional methane reserves (Hester and Harrison, 2014).

Faced with making sense of the complex ways in which humans are impacting the earth system and deciding how to respond to that, a key question, is therefore: 'who has the power to simplify complexity?' (Martinez-Alier, 2002: 149). ENGOs, by virtue of having access to the social and cultural capital, can ensure that resources and political action are concentrated on environmental issues. This brings questions of knowledge and power in the official/populist dichotomy in to sharp focus. In the Irish context, the ability to create 'links' with 'influential allies' (Tarrow, quoted in Leonard 2006: 44) with access to social and cultural capital has been essential component of the wider mobilisation process (Leonard, 2006: 44-5). This affects the ability of a campaign to scale up and influence outcomes.

Tovey (2007: 4) suggests that local environmental mobilisations often focus on issues of democracy and participation because their central concerns with issues of nature, natural resources and environmental management tend to privilege expert knowledge in the natural sciences. This creates power-knowledge hierarchies that preclude non-experts and devalue lay voices. Environmental movements often develop complex relationships with expert knowledge: moving between instances of drawing on it to support claims making while also disputing normative global scientific knowledge that conflicts with local and experiential knowledge. As a result, societal disputes over power-knowledge are often at the core environmental mobilisations, and movements

'often find themselves struggling to push out the boundaries of democratic participation within their societies' by seeking drawing on notions of equality and social justice to expand the sphere of participation in environmental decision making (Tovey, 2007: 4).

Yearly (1995: 662) points to the social class dynamics at play in the division between official and populist environmentalism. He assesses (1995: 654) Irish environmentalism in the context of New Social Movements theories which seek to explain environmentalism in the advanced industrialised states as stemming from post-materialism (Inglehart, 1977) and a growing middle class, or 'knowledge class' (Berger, 1987). Yearly (1995: 663) notes that membership of ENGOs in Ireland remains significantly smaller when compared proportionately with their British counterparts. This, he suggests, may be because of a smaller knowledge class 'which forms the natural audience for the environmental message' (Yearly, 1995: 662). Since the mid-1990s the knowledge class has indeed grown substantially, however there is the persistence of a large agricultural sector and a greater geographical dispersal of different social classes. Thus, distinctive nature of the Irish environmental movement, with its official and populist elements, is 'reinforced by [...] the nature of the class composition of Irish society' (Yearly, 1995: 662).

The concept of the 'knowledge class' is a lens which sheds light on the changing class dynamics of post-Fordist societies. Berger (1987: 66) argues that the knowledge class emerged particularly in the global North as 'a new middle class [...] whose occupations deal with the production and distribution of symbolic knowledge' (Berger, 1987: 66). Similarly, Wuthnow and Shrum (1983) suggest that it consists of intellectuals, academics and professionals associated with mass communications, the public sector and public interest groups such as NGO. Occupations in the knowledge class differ from traditional middle-class jobs (accountants, engineers, etc...) because they seek to address the problems of contemporary social life rather than serve the interests of capital. The class is therefore marked by two key factors: (1) an interest in the legitimacy of intervention and regulation; and (2) an interest in securing respect and status based on qualification rather than commercial competition (Calhoun *et al.*, 2005: 318). Share *et al.*, (2007: 530) highlight how the knowledge class has benefited in Ireland from greater environmental regulation and the shift towards green consumption. These have led to a rise in public sector and consultancy jobs in the 'monitoring, advising and recommending strategies for

environmental management under the new environmental regime' (Share *et al.*, 2007: 530).

Tovey (2010: 209-10) points to the socially constructed nature of environmental discourses (including the climate change discourse) which are:

'[N]ever just about scientific facts: it is always a blend of facts and prescriptions targeted at economic and political actors, collectively or as individual citizens. It is an example of biopolitics in action and the knowledge privileged in it are those of science and governance'.

The discourse of environmental governance has adopted a technocratic model of which privileges the scientific knowledge of experts in the framing of the issues at stake as well as the acceptable solutions. This discourse, legitimated by the power of scientific knowledge, has become an increasingly powerful frame with which the knowledge class is effectively 'redirecting social, economic and political relations' (Tovey, 2010: 211) in response to environmental risks such as climate change. In practical terms this has led to a significant political deadlock in environmental policy development as the official environmentalists of the knowledge classes find themselves fighting a rear-guard action led by the agri-business and agrarian elite lobbies. All the while, as protests against Shell in Mayo and fracking in the north-west illustrate, communities are continuing to fight rear-guard actions of their own against imposed development. Political (in)action on climate change is therefore deeply imbricated with questions of power, class and the social structure of society.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has surveyed the literature on local environmental mobilisations in Ireland from several perspectives in order to contextualise my case study of Love Leitrim and to establish the issues and challenges facing communities who are organising in opposition to environmental injustice. In section 3.2 I noted that the literature characterises the movement in Ireland as dichotomous, with a split between official environmentalism of NGOs and experts and populist local mobilisations. Drawing on the

wider literature on environmental justice, I illustrated that this dichotomy is mirrored globally and that local mobilisations by communities are a ubiquitous characteristic of what Martinez-Allier (2002) calls the 'environmentalism of the poor'. Such rural mobilisations have a long history in Ireland. The literature suggests that there are several factors which contribute to local mobilisations in Ireland. Rural disquiet at state sanctioned development that relies on polluting transnational corporations has traditionally been a cause of conflict. Similarly, rural demoralisation, a de-valuing of rurality and the changing relations of power and knowledge between rural communities and urban interests have been identified in the literature as catalysts for conflict.

Section 3.3 considered current theorisations of populist environmental mobilisations in the literature. I explored the concept of rural sentiment (*section 3.3.1*) which Leonard (2006, 2007) uses to conceptualise the phenomena of rural communities relying on localised oppositional discourses that evoke a sense of culture, place and community. These local discourses may be effective in mobilising a local base of opposition, but the literature notes that rural sentiment has not tended provide an effective frame when local communities move beyond the local scale and must engage with planners, regulators, policy-makers and academics. In section 3.3.2, I traced the evolution of the political culture of rural Ireland in order to contextualise rural environmental mobilisations. O'Carroll's illustrates that "community" has long been used as a catch-all organising concept which ignored and invisibilised divisions in rural areas. This emphasis on community as an organising metaphor in public life contributed to a reliance on relationships in public administration. Building on this, the literature shows that a key characteristic of political culture in rural Ireland is electoral brokerage. Irish politicians tend to be extremely responsive to constituents that seek their support in negotiating the rules-based bureaucracy of the state.

In section 3.4, I interrogated the literature on the evolving structures of environmental governance in Ireland, focusing on questions of participation, pluralism and power. Beginning with a survey of the literature on public participation in Irish environmental governance (*section 3.4.1*) I illustrated how institutional innovations in the last thirty years have been designed to incorporate public participation measures into environmental decision making. However, I noted several studies that suggest that local

communities had negative experiences of engagement in these structures. In section 3.4.2 I explore the trend on the part of the state, in policy and practice, towards a classic pluralist mode of engagement with environmental interest groups. I contextualise and critique this trend towards institutionalisation through an engagement with the environmental justice literature on critical pluralism. Local mobilisations have tended to take a critical and contentious stance which contrasts with the growing institutionalisation of a pluralistic model of official environmentalism that is incorporated into governance structures and policy discourses. Finally, in section 3.4.3, I addressed questions of knowledge, power and class in environmental decision making. The literature identifies the particular challenge which lay-people in communities have in framing their concerns within a 'discursive opportunity structure' that privileges the expertise of the 'knowledge class'.

Chapter 4

Methodology

4.1 Introduction

As discussed in chapter two, Fletcher (2017) posits the possibility that a liberation environmentalism could be advanced by identifying forms of environmental management grounded in the meaningful participation of local communities. In considering the contribution which community work might make to a liberation environmentalism, I identified several strategies for environmental community work based on analysis of relevant recent literature. These strategies included supporting community resistance to systemic pollution, which is the area of knowledge this case study seeks to contribute to. In the discussion of the literature on place-based protest in Ireland (chapter three), I noted that a key challenge for mobilisations at the scale of meaning is to navigate the discursive opportunity structure of 'official' environmentalism in order to influence outcomes at the scale of regulation (Garavan, 2013; Leonard, 2006, Tovey, 2007). The ability of a community to jump scales is important to ensure their concerns are addressed in environmental decision-making at wider scales of governance.

In order to better understand this issue and consider community work responses to it, I undertook qualitative case study research with the Love Leitrim anti-fracking group. This research was guided by the following question: 'how did Love Leitrim's campaign to ban fracking jump scales to influence outcomes at a national policy scale?' Four research sub-questions explored different elements of my main research question and guided my data collection in the fieldwork:

1. What practices do campaigners engage in to build the campaign locally?

2. How do campaigners frame the issue of fracking? How do those framings change across scales?
3. What relationships does the local campaign have with actors from outside of the community?
4. Which policy-making and political spaces do campaigners engage with? What strategies do campaigners use to influence outcomes?

In this chapter I discuss my research design and set out my approach to fieldwork, data collection and analysis in order to answer the above questions. In the next section (4.2) I discuss the philosophical and political positions that guided me as a researcher. In section 4.3, I explain my rationale for adopting a qualitative case study research design and consider the implications of this. In section 4.4, I discuss my approach to fieldwork, addressing issues of researcher positionality, reflexivity, access and ethics. Following that, section 4.5 outlines my use of semi-structured interviews, documentary and visual data and participant observation to collect data. Finally, section 4.6 sets out my approach to data analysis, including the development of codes and the formulation of thematic networks from the data.

4.2 Philosophical and political underpinnings

In this section I set out the philosophical and political underpinnings which informed the research. In section 4.2.1 I address issues of ontology and epistemology, which will be further explored in relation to case study research in section 4.3. I then turn to the professional and political commitments which I hold as a community worker undertaking research (*section 4.2.2*).

4.2.1 Ontological and epistemological considerations

This research adopts an interpretivist ontological stance which considers that our social reality is 'continually being accomplished by social actors' (Bryman, 2001: 16). Thus,

'intellectual knowledge is a product of processing information in the conscious mind' (Randsome, 2013: 56) and physical experiences are necessarily interpreted by the mind so that all knowledge is a product of the interpretive process (Delanty, 2005: 138). Interpretation is therefore an ontological reality in all research whether qualitative or quantitative. Kant argues in the *Critique of Pure Reason* that "empirical knowledge" as knowledge of external objective reality presupposes that reality has a structure which can be known, but this external structure is imposed by the internal forms of our mind because the perception of reality is not *passive*. The conclusion of Kantian philosophy is that objective reality exists and but we can only gain knowledge of it through the structures of our mind.

The linguistic turn, precipitated by Wittgenstein, challenged absolutist notions of normative truths. Wittgenstein (2009) coined the term 'language games' to illustrate how context is central to the sharing of meaning. Truth, therefore does not express a universal fixity, but rather understandings of truth are formed within 'epistemic communities' (Haas, 1992), 'who's discursive practices and accepted conventions lead to justified belief' (Miller, 2016: 367). This post-foundational understanding underpins Kuhn's (2012) assertion that science produces situated knowledge and Lyotard's (1984: xxiv) 'incredulity towards metanarratives', which is the basis for the postmodern turn. Miller (2016: 367) notes that language games form the basis of how discourse operates because those who learn language games and practices 'become entwined in the discourse surrounding the practices. The discourse provides cues about appropriate behaviour and shared understanding'. In other words, we become socialised into a discourse.

Epistemology is the philosophy and theory of knowledge. It is concerned with interrogating notions of truth, objectivity, belief and perception (Bernecker and Pritchard, 2010). The central epistemological question with which researchers much address is 'what is the nature of the relationship between the knower or would-be knower and what can be known?' (Guba and Lincoln, 1994: 108). The constructivist approach suggests that in the social world, the relationship between "knower" and "known" is interrelated: 'something is real when constructed in the minds of the actors involved in the situation' (Creswell, 2007: 248). Constructivism argues that all knowledge is historically situated, culturally specific and constituted through discourse. The social sciences are 'the

empirical sciences of historical reality' (Lund, 2014: 225) and this historicity is the essential nature of the social sciences which cannot 'control for context' (Dilley, 1999).

4.2.2 Professional and political considerations

I consciously occupied the position of community development researcher while undertaking this PhD. The principles and values of community development shaped my approach to research and this case study seeks to contribute practically to community work knowledge in the area of environmental justice. The All-Ireland Standards for Community Work (All Ireland Endorsement Body, 2016) require community workers to display professional commitment and integrity with respect to five core values:

1. Collectivity;
2. Community empowerment;
3. Social justice and sustainable development;
4. Human rights, equality and anti-discrimination;
5. Participation.

Similarly, the International Association of Community Development (2016) published a definition of community development which stresses that it is both 'a practice-based profession and an academic discipline that promotes participative democracy, sustainable development, rights, economic opportunity, equality and social justice'. The methodological decisions and considerations which I present in this chapter are informed by these Irish and international principles and values

As a community worker committed to social and environmental justice, I found it essential to also interrogate my methods to ensure I worked in a way that contributed to social change rather than unconsciously reinforcing the hegemonic patterns of power and inequality inherent in our world. From my training and practice as a community worker I was clear about the importance of dialogue, participation and an ethical commitment to individuals and communities in the process of social change. In his life and work, Paulo Freire was committed to the overcoming of the teacher-student dualism which presupposed only the teacher teaches and only the students learn. In this dualism, the

teacher is constructed as a subject while the student is an object. Such a hierarchical division is inherently dehumanising regardless of one's position in the hierarchy (Freire, 1996).

The teacher-student binary is mirrored in the traditional relationship between researcher and respondent where the researcher as a 'miner' for data, as Kvale and Brinkmann (2009: 48) describe. In such an approach, data is extracted from participants like a natural resource. In carrying out this research I was instead drawn to metaphor of the 'interviewer-traveller' who relishes the journey of engaged and in-depth research. Milan (2014: 458) suggests that '[f]or 'qualitative data collection in particular, it appears to be crucial to remember that the Latin meaning of "conversation" is "wandering together with": hence, creating equal and mutually comfortable "wandering" circumstances is essential'. Opposing the mining of data and seeking to wander together with the members of Love Leitrim were important considerations which shaped the fieldwork process. Throughout my time in Leitrim I used my skills as a community worker where appropriate and useful to support the campaign. For example, I played a role as a member of Love Leitrim in several ways, including supporting the *Comhrá* (Irish=conversations) working group that organised the street feast world café. I also co-facilitated an anti-fracking youth arts summer project was carried out in summer 2016.

4.3 Qualitative case study design

In this section I outline the approach to qualitative case study design which I adopted for this research. I begin in section 4.3.1. by addressing the issue of case study boundary, noting the significance of the unit of analysis in the defining of a case study. I then present an outline of my research design using Thomas and Myers' (2015) typology of case study design decisions. In section 4.3.2 I address epistemological issues in case research and draw on the concept of phronesis to outline the form of knowledge which thesis seeks to generate.

4.3.1 Case study boundary and design decisions

This research took the form of a qualitative case study that sought to build a 'complex, holistic picture' (Creswell, 1994) of the phenomenon of Love Leitrim's campaign. Denzin and Lincoln (2003: 4-5) offer a broad definition of qualitative research as 'a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world'. This definition highlights that qualitative research is a series of interpretive acts, undertaken in collaboration with others, which make the social world visible. The choice of a qualitative approach was particularly suitable for addressing my research question. My research sought an understanding the social world from the perspective of Love Leitrim's members, with a particular focus on how campaigners experienced and addressed the challenge of jumping scales. The interpretive and naturalistic characteristics of qualitative inquiry were particularly useful in allowing me to do this.

Case study is a methodology with the ability to capture richness and nuance in social life. Stake (1995: 85) argues that a good case study gives the reader a 'vicarious experience so well constructed that the person feels as if it happened to themselves'. Similarly, Creswell (1996) highlights the importance of case description in the reporting of a case study to allow the reader to fully understand the nuances of the case. The literature on case study presents multiple approaches to case study which incorporate various paradigmatic differences from social constructivism (Creswell, 1998; Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995) to neo-positivism (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Swanborn, 2010; Yin, 2012).

Case study's mailability is particularly notable because it is the *unit of analysis* which determines the methodology as opposed to the theoretical focus of the study. As a result, the question of "What is the 'case' in case study?" is a central concern which a case researcher must concern themselves. The prominent constructivist scholars each address this question in their own language and style. Merriam (1998) suggests that the 'single most defining characteristic of case study research lies in delimiting the object of the study' (p.27). As such, the case is 'a thing, a single entity, a unit around which there are boundaries' (Merriam, 1998: 27). Stake (1995: 2) notes that a case must be a specific

complex, functioning thing: a 'bounded system'. He maintains that a case is 'likely to be purposive, even having a self. The case is an integrated system' (Stake, 1995: 2). Guba and Lincoln (1981: 86) suggest that 'the boundary problem comes down to this: How is the inquirer to set limits to [their] inquiry? What are the rules for inclusion and exclusion? How can the inquirer know what is relevant and what is not relevant?'

Thomas' (2010, 2015) offers clarity on the question of boundedness by providing a subject/object analytical framework for delineating the unit of analysis. He suggests that case study research requires both a subject ('a practical historical unity') and an object ('an analytical or theoretical frame'). In other words, a case should be an 'enquiry around an instance' drawn from a class of phenomena (Adelman, Jenkins and Kemmis, 1983: 2). Thomas further asserts that 'the subject is an interesting or unusual or revealing example through which the lineaments of the *object* can be refracted' (Thomas, 2011: 514). The subject is the prism through which 'facts and concepts, reality and hypotheses' about a phenomenon can be refracted, viewed and studied. By conceptualising the unit of analysis as a prism through which to study an issue, Thomas' (2011: 514) categorisation of a 'key case' mirrors Stake's (1995: 3-4) 'instrumental' type study which involves research on a case to gain understanding of something else.

Thomas and Myers (2015) propose a typology of case study that supports researchers to make clear their design choices. In table 4.1, I have adapted this typology to present my own case study design decisions. In my initial conceptualisation of this case study, I took the anti-fracking movement in Ireland as my unit of analysis, or case subject. However, following some initial fieldwork and reflection, which included interviews with several movement participants, I refined my case subject to one anti-fracking group. My rationale for this was to be able to carry out in-depth, dialogical and diachronic fieldwork. The choice of Love Leitrim as my case subject was based on several factors. Firstly, Love Leitrim had an open and inclusive organisational structure that facilitated a broad-based group membership. It was the only anti-fracking campaign group that was having regular (monthly) public meetings in 2016 when I was undertaking my fieldwork. Secondly, the group's approach to the campaign combined significant local community engagement

Element	Design decisions in this case study	Explanation
Subject of interest	Love Leitrim anti-fracking campaign group.	<i>A key case is one chosen because it exemplifies a phenomenon.</i>
Object	The process by which local communities influence decision making in environmental disputes.	<i>The object is the analytical frame through which the subject is studied.</i>
Purpose	Instrumental.	<i>An instrumental case seeks insights into a particular phenomenon in order to develop theory.</i>
Approach	Theory building.	<i>The case is moving beyond description to develop theories of action.</i>
Methods	Long-term engagement, Semi-structured interviews, Participant observation, Documents, Visual and audio-visual sources.	<i>Case study is a design frame that encourages methodological eclecticism, allowing for a wide variety of methods.</i>
Process	Single and diachronic case.	<i>Single case studies do not compare multiple sites. Diachronic studies show change over time.</i>

Table 4.1: A typology of my case study adapted from Thomas and Myers (2015)

with political advocacy efforts. This combination was unique in the Irish anti-fracking movement and had broad similarities with a community development approach. These factors meant that Love Leitrim was a particularly relevant key case which could provide an insight into my research question and inform disciplinary knowledge in community development.

The object of a case is the analytical or theoretical frame that is applied to the subject of a case in order to establish what the phenomenon under study represents (Thomas, 2015). The object in my case study is the process by which local communities jump scales to influence decision-making in environmental disputes. The forming of this as an object was guided by my reading of the literature on rural environmental mobilisations in Ireland as well as my experience as an anti-fracking and climate justice campaigner. This research presents an 'instrumental case' (Stake, 1995) or 'key case' (Thomas, 2015). In such a case, the boundaries are set around a subject because it is an example of the object of study. My approach to the research is theory building, as I am seeking to contribute to community development theory around the environment. I took Love Leitrim as a single case and my engagement with the group was diachronic. I sought to establish how the group organised itself over the course of time. One of the most important aspects of this diachronic engagement was that enabled me to develop an approach to research consummate with my values and committed to sustained dialogue and relationship building over time.

4.3.2 Epistemological issues in case study research

Thomas (2010) and Thomas and Myers (2015) propose an understanding of case study knowledge as 'abduction not induction, phronesis not theory' (Thomas, 2010). They suggest that a case study does not offer a representative sample but rather derives its analytical potential from the relationship between the subject and object of the case (Thomas, 2011: 514). Abduction has been defined as 'inference to the best explanation' (Miller and Fredericks, 1999) and 'conclusions drawn from everyday generalisation' (Hammersley, 2007) rather than attempting to claim a universal and ahistorical

generalisation. 'With abduction', as Bryman (2012: 401) notes, 'the researcher grounds a theoretical understanding of the contexts and people he or she is studying in the language, meanings, and perspectives that form their worldview' in order to 'come to a social scientific account of the social world as seen from those perspectives'.

Rather, then, than general laws, Thomas (2010) argues that case study research generates 'phronesis'- practical knowledge supporting ethical judgement and professional discernment on the basis of experience:

'Its validation comes through the connections and insights it offers between another's experience and one's own. The essence comes in understandability emerging from phronesis—in other words, from the connection to one's own situation'.

Thus, a case can provide 'exemplary knowledge' (Thomas, 2010: 514), where the ability to exemplify comes from the phronesis (practical, reflexive wisdom) of both the case inquirer and reader. As Stake (1995: 102) suggests, a good case study produces knowledge by supporting the reader with 'good raw material for their own generalising' (Stake, 1995: 102). Thus, the epistemological legitimacy of a case study cannot be derived from its representativeness, but rather derives its analytical potential from the relationship between the subject and object of the case. Validity in case study research comes from its ability to generate knowledge abductively and contribute to a process of phronesis that supports a reader to connect the case with their own situation.

4.4 Approach to fieldwork

To carry out my case study research I spent a year living in Manorhamilton. I was engaged in the work of Love Leitrim as a member of the group, and I was also living day-to-day in the community. This slow and deep process of engagement gave me an insight on the richness and complexity of Leitrim life into which the issue of fracking had emerged. Thus, just as important as my formal interviews and data collection, countless informal interactions supported me to deepen my understanding of the case. Acknowledging the importance of this engaged fieldwork process, in this section I outline

and discuss my approach to fieldwork. I address several overall considerations regarding my approach, including researcher positionality (*section 4.4.1*), negotiating access to the case study site (*4.4.2*), reflexivity (*4.4.3*) and my approach to ethics (*4.4.4*).

4.4.1 Personal stance and positionality

The influence of personal stance and positionality are important issues for researchers to consider when undertaking fieldwork. Savin-Baden and Howell Major (2013: 70) describe how personal stances reflect a researcher's 'deeply held attitudes, opinions and concerns about what is important, which in turn influences their research decisions'. Berger (2015: 220) notes that there are three major ways in which a researcher's positioning may impact on research. Firstly, it can affect access 'because respondents may be more willing to share their experiences with a researcher whom they perceive as sympathetic to their situation'. Secondly, it may also shape how the 'researcher-researched relationship' (p. 220) evolves over the course of a study. Finally, a researcher's positionality affects the way in which language is used, problems are posed and an issue is constructed.

I came to this research with multiple roles and identities (both public and private) that informed my personal stance. My public and professional selves include community work researcher concerned with climate justice. My personal and private selves include being a settled, working class white man, a brother and son, and a person who is deeply moved by injustice. Of course, the division between public and private is somewhat artificial because it ignores that we bring our multiple selves with us to every situation. Denzin (2003: 148) suggests that 'there is no essential self or private, real self behind the public self. [...] There are only different selves, different performances, different ways of being a gendered person in a social situation'. In this section I consider in particular how I have stepped into and performed my researcher-self through undertaking this research process.

It often hits me like a kick in the stomach when I am in spaces where I notice someone is dominating and controlling the conversation to the detriment of other voices. For me,

questions of voice, of *being heard*, are intertwined with dignity, respect and our value as human beings. This is a central concern which motivates me as a community worker and draws me to issues of process and participation. In my practice, I aim to listen to and help to make space for the voices of those who have been silenced, misheard or left out of the conversation altogether. This concern has its origins in my own working-class upbringing: witnessing and experiencing the countless ways in which my family and others in the community were and are disrespected, devalued and rendered voiceless by the slow violence of poverty and the bureaucratic systems of the state.

These lived experiences translated to my researcher positionality. As a researcher I am drawn to the emancipatory tradition of research which is concerned with articulating and amplifying the voices of marginalised and disadvantaged groups. In this thesis my central concern was to hear and to amplify the voices of those impacted by fracking and facing participatory injustices in their attempts to prevent drilling in their communities. I was conscious of the fact that the fracking Licensing Options had been awarded without community consultation and that significant power imbalances existed between Leitrim campaigners, the companies and the state which made it difficult for the voices of frontline anti-fracking communities to be heard.

This concern to support the voices of a frontline community faced with negotiating their participation in an asymmetrical political decision-making process very much mirrored my personal anger at the voicelessness and powerlessness I felt in my council estate childhood. Another effect of my upbringing is that I have found myself struggling to feel confident and to articulate myself in the middle classes spaces I have found myself navigating as I engaged with movements for social and environmental justice. Throughout this research process I have often found myself reticent to articulate my own voice as a researcher, partly from a lack of confidence to claim this space and partly out of a wish to foreground the voices of others. Yet, of course, my positionality shaped my researcher identity and in turn indelibly shaped this piece of work. It is important to be clear about this. To be a researcher is ultimately to be an agent of knowledge production. My positionality shaped the sort of researcher I am, the actions and pathways which I took in the production of knowledge and the form of knowledge which I ultimately produced.

As a researcher I sought to give effect to my concern for listening to the voices of those people impacted by fracking. I sought to meet people where they were at in their own lives, with care and respect for them as human beings, recognising that for them the threat of fracking was only one element of their lives (albeit pressing and at times all-encompassing one). I therefore designed my research as an in-depth diachronic case study in order to be able to develop meaningful relationships with campaigners based on listening, dialogue and simply being together in the busyness and messiness of the campaign. The most significant research decision which shaped this study was the decision to move to Manorhamilton and to participate in the day-to-day activities of Love Leitrim's campaign. This decision fundamentally changed the nature of my case study by enabling a richness and depth of data collection which would not have otherwise been available to me. This provided me with a deep insight into rural life in the north-west of Ireland and the social, cultural and economic milieu which shaped local resistance to fracking. In a very real sense I travelled the journey of the last year of the campaign alongside the members of Love Leitrim. I adopted a case study design because it complemented my aim of foregrounding the perspectives of local campaigners by supporting this in-depth engagement and allowing me to use multiple methods of data collection to present a rich description and thematic analysis of the case.

The personal stance outlined above contributed to my researcher positionality within this case study, which I describe more fully in chapter five, section six. In this chapter will consider the issue of positionality in my fieldwork. In setting out to undertake case study research in the anti-fracking movement, I held multiple formal and informal roles, which shaped my approach to fieldwork and access to the case study site. For example, access to Love Leitrim was facilitated by my position as an activist in the anti-fracking campaign, while being from Dublin meant that I was unfamiliar with local life and issues in the rural north-west. McCurdy and Uldam (2014) propose a 'four-quadrant approach to participant observation' as a heuristic tool to reflect on researcher positionality in ethnographic or case research with social movements. This approach maps research positionality along two axis: (1) insider/outsider and (2) overt/covert.

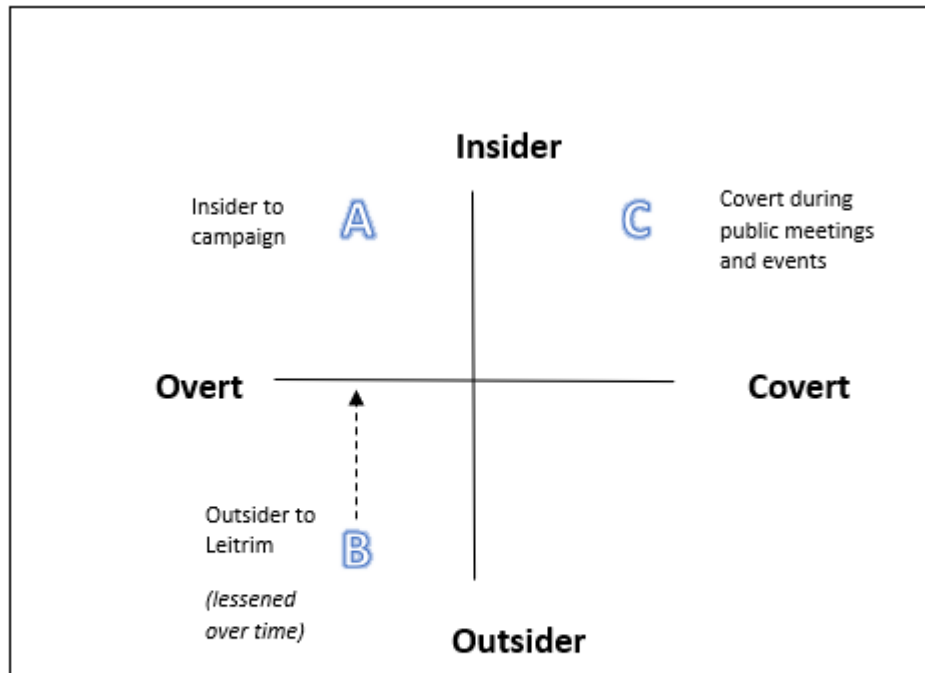


Figure 4.1: My positionality in the fieldwork

This framework was useful in considering my positionality as a researcher and how this changed over the course of the research (see figure 4.1). In setting out to undertake case study research in the anti-fracking movement, I held multiple formal and informal roles, which shaped my approach to fieldwork and access to the case study site. These roles positioned me along the insider/outsider continuum, and my position on this continuum also changed over the course of the research.

Before beginning this research, I was an active participant in the anti-fracking movement through the Young Friends of the Earth network based in Dublin. I had also undertaken my MA research on the anti-fracking campaign in north Leitrim in 2011-2012. As a result, I was familiar with the campaign and I was known to many members of Love Leitrim. To an extent then, I occupied a position as an ‘insider’ in the case study (*position a, figure 4.1*). This allowed me to approach the case with knowledge of the issue and the environmental movement. My immersive engagement in the fieldwork over the course of the year also supported me to more quickly understand the context of issues and events discussed in interviews or addressed in documents. However, my relative insider status also meant that I entered the PhD fieldwork with a prior identity. From my early

activities with the Friends of the Earth youth network, many anti-fracking campaigners who I encountered remembered my association with environmental activism and FoE. For most of the fieldwork, my involvement with FoE was as long-standing youth network activist. I began a more formal engagement when I joined the organisation's board in November 2016. In several interviews, participants made a direct reference to my involvement with FoE. On those occasions I explained my involvement with the organisation and explained the independent, community work focus of the research.

At the same time as being an insider to anti-fracking activism, I was an 'outsider' to Manorhamilton, Leitrim and rural life in general. It was important for me to take the time to gain an understanding of local life and the context in which the campaign against fracking stemmed (*position b, figure 4.1*). Part of the process of orientating myself at the case study site included carrying out a community profile, listening to local radio, reading the *Leitrim Observer* and meeting with community workers in the Local Development Company as well as in the North Leitrim Women's Centre and North Leitrim Men's Group to learn about the issues they addressed in their work. Over the course of the year, my 'outsider' status in the community lessened as I participated in local life (*represented by the dashed line in figure 4.1*). As a "blow-in" to the area, I never became an 'insider'. However north Leitrim is home to many people who have moved there in the last twenty years and local people are generally used to and welcoming of outsiders moving to the area.

4.4.2 Negotiating access and positionality

Gaining access to a social setting is a crucial first step in undertaking research. My 'insider' identity as a movement activist known to Love Leitrim helped me to negotiate access to the case study site. From the outset I took an 'overt' approach to research. I fully disclosed my researcher role at the commencement of this case study. In February 2016 I moved to Manorhamilton and joined Love Leitrim to carry out my case study fieldwork with the group. Before beginning my fieldwork, I approached the group in writing with a proposal to carry out case research as a participant-observer with the group. I followed this by attending a meeting to discuss my proposal for research. The

members present agreed by consensus to allow me to undertake my case study with the group and this was recorded in the minutes. My 'insider' identity facilitated this process of entry negotiation as I was already known to many members of the group. This position deepened over time as I participated in Love Leitrim's activities and became a part of the group.

During the course of my fieldwork, I also attended several meetings, activities and demonstrations which were organised by other groups in the anti-fracking movement. In these spaces I did not withhold my position as researcher, and disclosed it as soon as possible and appropriate, usually in conversation with campaigners. I also explained the purpose of my study at a meeting of the Frack Free Ireland/Northern Ireland network which took place during my fieldwork in May 2016. However, there were several occasions, for example at large public meetings or demonstrations, when I did not publicly disclose my position as a researcher to everyone in attendance. At times therefore, I was positioned as a covert/insider (*position c, figure 4.1*). Similarly, while participating in Love Leitrim activities and engaging with the public (for example at stalls) I also did not immediately disclose my position as a researcher. McCurdy and Uldam (2014) note 'the role of perception [...] and context in ascribing insider/outsider status'. Members of the public who engaged with me may have assumed that I was simply a member of Love Leitrim. In such engagements I was therefore again positioned as a covert/insider. However, I did not actively seek to maintain a covert position and disclosed my researcher position when the opportunity arose in conversations.

4.4.3 Reflexivity and community work research

In adopting a constructionist stance, I was confronted with the 'triple crisis' of qualitative research which has been brought about by postmodern turn. Denzin and Lincoln (2003) summarise that postmodernism problematises the assumptions which underpin qualitative inquiry. Firstly, it questions the assumption that it is even possible for researchers to directly capture lived experience, instigating a crisis of representation. This requires the researcher to expose and address 'our underlying assumptions about the production of knowledge – how do we know, and who can claim to know?' (Day, 2012:

61) Secondly, postmodernism challenges the traditional criteria for evaluating and interpreting research, namely validity, generalisability, reliability, creating a legitimisation crisis. Here, researchers are forced to ask 'what is considered legitimate knowledge, and what role does power, identity and positionality play in this process?' (Day, 2012: 61). Finally, and perhaps most crucially for community work, postmodernism questions our ability to effect change in the world if society is only and always 'a text'. Postmodernism has been criticised for its potential to undermine collective identity and deny the possibility of acting to change the world. Yet as Denzin and Lincoln (2003: 4-5) note, the interpretive, material practices of qualitative research 'make the world visible [and] transform the world.' Qualitative research does have an inherent materiality which effects change in the world.

Reflexivity is a key tool to address the methodological dilemmas of the triple crisis (Day, 2012). Pillow (2003: 173) describes reflexivity as 'an ongoing self-awareness during the research process which aids in making visible the practice and construction of knowledge within research in order to produce more accurate analyses of our research'. In this understanding the purpose of reflexivity is to support the robustness of the research process and address issues of representation and legitimisation by providing 'an "audit trail" of reasoning, judgement and emotional reaction' (Berger, 2015: 222). Furthermore, Savin-Baden and Powell-Major (2013: 75) suggest that reflection is 'part of an emancipatory process' because it supports researchers to become 'critically aware of how and why social and cultural assumptions have constrained researchers' views of themselves'.

I employed several strategies to support reflexivity in the research process. I developed a researcher positionality statement to clarify the personal values, experiences and positions which informed my approach to research. This statement forms the basis of section six in chapter four, where I discuss my own position within the case. Throughout the fieldwork process I kept a fieldwork journal where I reflected on the research process, on the case study, my evolving understanding and my tentative analysis. Similarly, I developed a template for reflecting on interviews, which helped me to reflect on the ideas and biases I had which shaped the encounter, to develop any tentative analysis and to improve my interviewing method.

Berger (2015) illustrates the link between positionality and reflexivity in research and analyses her own experience of moving from the position of outsider to insider during the course of a study. This mirrors my own movement within the fieldwork process. She notes (p. 226) that her expanded perspective as an insider 'affected my construction and theoretical conceptualisation of the narratives told to me by the study participants'. Similarly, my engaged approach to fieldwork expanded my perspective on the phenomenon of Love Leitrim's anti-fracking mobilisation and allowed me to better understand it in the context of campaigners' lives and rural social, political and economic life more broadly. This challenged my initial conceptualisation of the case, which had focused on the role on environmental NGOs in contributing to procedural injustices across scales.

Reflexivity is also conceptualised as an important professional and political task in community development. Ledwith (2007: 598) stresses that "'being critical" is not an intellectual state of mind; it is located in praxis'. This understanding directly challenges the notion that society is simply a text. Ledwith (2012: 41) points to the centrality of action and reflection in her model of critical practice, which envisages two interlinked 'major circuits' entitled 'critical consciousness' and 'hegemony'. She asserts that the role of community development is, in essence, to turn the circuit of critical consciousness so that it affects a shift in hegemonic beliefs and subsequently in the material world. Ledwith provides a working model for how agency is enacted which highlights the role of individual and collective reflexivity as a catalyst for social change.

This community work understanding of praxis influenced my decision to move to Leitrim and to undertake research as both a participant and an observer in the anti-fracking campaign. From this perspective, my concern was not to use reflexivity to avoid bias or to stop myself from 'going native' (Bryman, 2012: 445). Rather, my purpose in reflexive practice was twofold. Firstly, to accurately capture and convey the experience of social reality for the participants of my case study (addressing the issue of representativeness). Berger (2015: 231) notes that actively seeking guidance and feedback from participants, and inviting them to 'tell me what I may be missing' is a useful strategy for addressing the issue of representation. To this end, I undertook a workshop with Love Leitrim to present and discuss my tentative findings and receive the group's

feedback (*see appendix 7*). My second purpose in engaging in reflexivity was to contribute knowledge to support community workers and communities in the pursuit of environmental justice. Such knowledge, rather than being generalisable, may support phronesis and contribute to action for justice which has a material effect in the world. This addresses the issue of legitimation and confronts the suggestion that society is merely a text.

4.4.4 Ethical approach and issues in the fieldwork

As a researcher, I sought to limit the potential for any harm to be caused to participants by my study. In the preceding sections of this chapter, I described how I negotiated access and maintained openness with participants about my research. Living in Manorhamilton I was also open with neighbours and acquaintances about my research interests as a community development researcher curious about community participation in environmental issues. When conducting interviews and the findings development workshop, I took the time to explain (or restate) my own research motivations and the research questions guiding the study. The Maynooth University confidentiality policy was explained verbally as well as being included on written information sheets which were provided for participants. Data was securely and confidentially stored. Generally, when interviewing campaigners, I had already built up a relationship with them through meetings and group activities – sometimes from as early as 2012. As a result of this level of trust, participants were often not particularly concerned with about these technical ethical issues. Nevertheless, I followed Plows (2006: 90) advice that ‘just because people don't mind doesn't mean the researcher shouldn't ask’, when it comes to informed consent.

Now, I turn to consider the ethical issues involved in research with movements and activists and discuss an ethical dilemma I faced in carrying out research with the anti-fracking campaign. In 2016, one person in the wider anti-fracking movement (outside of Love Leitrim) declined a request to be interviewed because of they did not wish to give any “inside information” about the organisation of the movement to the oil and gas

industry. I thanked them for raising the issue and acknowledged their concern, although I could not offer them a satisfactory way of addressing it. This raised an important ethical issue for me about the ethics of carrying out in-depth/insider research with the anti-fracking movement.

As researchers, are we providing knowledge about how movements work which could be used against the people with whom we work? While indirect, such an act would be a form of harm to participants. In reflecting on this and seeking to mitigate any potential harm, I explored the literature on this issue. Flacks (2005: 7) notes that in social movement research 'one ought to be sensitive to the possible ways your work could be used to perpetuate established social arrangements and repress opposition'. Plows (2008) considers the same issue in her 'insider' ethnographic study of the UK environmental direct action movement. She notes that 'the information given in this PhD about activist milieu, case studies and modus operandi could be of use to those government (and commercial) agencies committed to undermining these activist networks' (p. 90). Her strategy was to self-censor by only describing and discussing issues which she felt participants and other activists would accept being in the public domain. I adopted a similar strategy in the production of this PhD thesis and, given the nature of my study I was in a position to directly ask the consent of those who participated. At the conclusion of the research I presented my findings to Love Leitrim and checked for agreement with the group that those present were happy to allow the findings to be publically available.

In seeking to mitigate the potential for harm caused by this ethical dilemma I also drew on Luchies' (2015) ethical framework for social movement research. This framework proposes that research with activists could be usefully rooted in the ethics of (1) movement-relevance, (2) anti-oppression and (3) prefiguration. For Luchies (2015: 529), 'an ethic of relevance emphasises academics responsibility to find [the] places in which to meaningfully contribute to movement building'. Regarding anti-oppression, he considers that it is important for researchers to 'foreground a commitment to activists involved in contesting relations of oppression and a commitment to furthering intersectional resistance' (p. 530). Finally, an ethic of prefiguration refuses to privilege ends over means and is committed to supporting empowering spaces and relationships in the research

process. Recognising my power and privilege as a researcher I aimed to limit power asymmetries and hierarchies by participating as a member of Love Leitrim and opening myself to group accountability over time. This included sharing my findings and tentative analysis and inviting reflection and discussion from the group, both informally and formally as already discussed. Prefiguring a better world was an overarching concern for me. I was guided in this research by my deeply held commitment to justice and belief in the value and potential of solidarity with communities.

4.5 Research methods

In this section I present and discuss the research methods that I employed to generate data for this case study. Case study is a research design strategy which encourages methodological eclecticism to generate rich and vivid descriptions of the phenomena under study (Thomas, 2015). The methods of data collection used in this study were interviews (*section 4.5.1*), documentary analysis, visual and audio-visual analysis (*4.5.2*) and participant observation (*4.5.3*).

4.5.1 Interviews

The research interview was my core data collection method. Kvale (2006: 486) suggests that 'an interview is a conversation that stimulates the interviewee and interviewer to formulate their ideas about the research theme'. Such a deliberate process of dialogue is necessary because researchers are 'looking for answers beyond daily experience' (Rubin and Rubin, 2012: 2). Yet such answers will always be rooted in the experiences of the people engaged in the interview. Thus, the interview is 'not a neutral tool of data gathering, but rather an active interaction between two (or more) people leading to negotiated, contextually based results' (Fontana and Frey, 2005: 698). By living in the community and contributing to the group's work I engaged in an informal process of dialogue and exchange over time. This was important for the interview process in two ways. Firstly, it meant that to an extent I had built a rapport and shared understanding with campaigners before the interviews. Secondly, it meant that the interviews, which

took place over the course of a year, could be used to develop my analysis over time by sharing emerging ideas when appropriate in interviews.

This case study is informed by seventeen in-depth, semi-structured interviews with anti-fracking campaigners over the course of this research project. Each of these interviews, carried out individually, was of at least one-hour duration, with several being one and a half to two hours. Over the course of the campaign, I reframed and refocused my research question as I have describe in section 8.2. Initially, three interviews were conducted with campaigners in the anti-fracking movement outside of Leitrim. However, when I made the decision to adopt Love Leitrim as my research focus I did not include these interviews in my final data analysis. Thus, my final case study draws data from fifteen interviews (*see table 4.2*). Thirteen interviews took place with campaigners at different times over the course of a year from January – December 2016. Two further campaigners were interviewed in June 2018.

Thirteen interviews took place from January – December 2016 with anti-fracking campaigners in north-Leitrim who had varying levels of active participation in Love Leitrim. Interview participants were recruited in two ways. Firstly, an open invitation was extended to the members of the group and several participants responded directly to this.

Pseudonym	Profile
Aidan	Core group member active since 2013. Aidan played an important role several projects throughout the campaign, including the Heart on the Hill initiative and developing/maintaining the Love Leitrim website. Aidan moved to Leitrim in recent years.
Alison	Core group member and former chairperson who was active since 2013. Alison who played a key role in advancing the public health case against fracking, including through submissions and the establishment of the Concerned Health Professionals of Ireland advocacy group. Alison moved to Leitrim in recent years.
Bernie	Core group member who was more active in 2011-2014. Bernie played a role in outreach and media awareness efforts, including by carrying out a symbolic walk to the Dáil (Irish parliament). Bernie grew up in the north-west.
Caoimhe	Core group member who was active since 2011. Caoimhe played a significant role in creative community engagement efforts throughout the campaign. She moved to Leitrim in recent years. Caoimhe was interviewed in 2018 as part of a validity check on my findings.
Chris	Core group member who was active in 2011 and again from 2015. Chris was the Love Leitrim chairperson in during the year of my fieldwork. He played an active role in the group's political advocacy work during this time. Chris moved to Leitrim in recent years.
Claire	Core group member who was active in 2011-2013 and again from 2015. Claire is a community worker who moved to Leitrim in recent years. During the year of my fieldwork she acted as the group's secretary, supporting a group development process. She supported the establishment of the <i>Comhrá</i> (Irish=conversations) working group
Emma	Supporting group member since 2011. Emma played a significant supporting role, including assisting with community activities and creative events. While she did not grow up in Leitrim, she is married into a local family.
Fergus	Core group member since 2012. Fergus is a farmer and played a significant role in raising awareness amongst the farming community in Leitrim and nationally, including through the farming organisations. He grew up in Leitrim.
Margaret	Key campaigner during the Belcoo drilling incident in 2014. Margaret is a community artist active in several community development initiatives in Manorhamilton. She played a significant supporting role in establishing the Belcoo anti-fracking protection camp. Margaret grew up in the north-west.

Michelle	Supporter of Love Leitrim who played a role in several projects over the course of the campaign, including organising a solidarity event with campaigners from the Basque Country and England. Michelle is a community worker and moved to Leitrim in recent years.
Oisín	Core group member since 2011. Oisín carried out important early awareness raising in Leitrim and subsequently played an important role supporting research into technical and scientific issues and compiling submissions. Oisín moved to Leitrim in recent years. Oisín was interviewed in 2018 as part of a validity check on my findings.
Robert	Core group member since 2011. Robert played a significant role throughout the campaign in several ways. He developed the group's technical expertise around fracking and environmental policy and played a leadership role in engagement with policy and political advocacy. He was the group's chairperson in 2014-15. He grew up in Leitrim
Shane	Supporter of Love Leitrim who played a role in several projects over the course of the campaign. Shane is a peace and justice activist who made important links between Love Leitrim and campaigners/communities facing environmental injustice elsewhere He moved to Leitrim in recent years.
Triona	Core group member since 2011. Triona played a significant role throughout the campaign in several ways. She was crucial in early awareness raising and media work and played a leadership role in community engagement efforts throughout the campaign. She held several formal roles in the group including Public Relations Officer and Treasurer. She grew up in Leitrim

Table 4.2: Research interview participant profiles

Following this I adopted a purposive sampling approach and sought interview a variety of participants in order to ensure a mixture between participants with different levels of involvement in the group and the different formal and informal (task-based) roles within the group. I also sought to ensure a balance of gender representation and a mixture between campaigners who were born in Leitrim (“locals”) and those who had moved to Leitrim (“blow-ins”). By seeking a mixture of locals and more recent arrivals was to understand the various perspectives and positions that informed the group’s approach and activities. However, there were more ‘blow-ins’ than ‘locals’ active in Love Leitrim and this is reflected in the sample of participants interviewed. In table 4.2 I present a profile of my research interview participants.

I developed a flexible interview guide that was guided by my research questions. I sought to develop an understanding of (1) the practices that campaigners engaged in to build the campaign; (2) how they framed the issue of fracking locally and with external actors; (3) the relationships between local campaigners and external actors; and (4) how campaigners engage with policy-making and political spaces in order to influence outcomes. I developed a template for reflection which I used around interviews to note any specific issues which I wanted to discuss in the interview and afterwards reflect on the process and content of the interview.

4.5.2 Documents and visual sources

Documents are often used in case studies, and particularly in research with organisations, because they are ‘they are produced and used in social settings and are often loaded with the organisation's cultural values or concerned with the organization's self-image’ (Bloor and Wood, 2011: 58). Thus, they are useful in providing ‘evidence of the ways in which individuals, groups, social settings, institutions and organisations represent and account for themselves’ (Cofey, 2014: 367). Bloor and Wood (2011: 58) categorise the types of document which may be used in research according to authorship (personal/official), access (closed/restricted/open), source (primary/secondary) and reason for production (deliberately for the research/inadvertent).

In this case study I used data from documents and visual sources in two ways: (1) to generate rich description in my community profile and case description (chapter five); and (2) to contribute to the development of my research findings in chapters seven and eight. In constructing a case description I used official, public documents to provide demographic and socio-economic data. These sources included the 2016 census and Pobal's HP deprivation index report for Leitrim (Haase and Pratschke, 2017). Chapter five also draws on openly available official reports and plans such as the Leitrim County Development Plan and the Manorhamilton Rural Economic Development Zone report. Several historical secondary source accounts were also important for compiling the community profile. All documents used in the case description were inadvertent, meaning that they were produced for a reason other than this study.

Several documents also contributed data to inform my research findings as outlined in chapters seven and eight. The majority of these sources were documents which Love Leitrim produced in the course of its activities. Most of these primary sources (meeting minutes, workshop reports) are not private but do not exist in the public domain and can therefore be considered to be of restricted access. One of the documents was first-hand published account of an activist experience at Belcoo which I consider to be a primary source. All of these documents were inadvertent and produced independently of this study. Cofey (2014: 376) suggests that for a reader familiar with the context of a document, 'the text is used to furnish indications or provide physical traces of what the reader interprets or understands as the social reality'. Similarly, I approached documents through the experience of my research interviews and fieldwork and this supported me to develop my interpretation of documents by being able to put them into context. Documents provided further data which allowed me to deepen my understanding of events and activities which conversational partners raised in interviews.

In this case study I also used visual and audio-visual sources for analytic and illustrative purposes. The sources which I have analysed were all produced by campaigners in the course of the campaign. The audio-visual source is a short film produced Love Leitrim in 2016. As such they are 'found' images rather than images created by me as the researcher. Intentionality is an important consideration in visual analysis (Banks, 2011: 398). For what purpose was the image created? The images which

I have analysed in this case study were produced by campaigners with the primary purpose of publicly communicating a message. As with the documents which I used, these images are loaded with cultural values and concerned with self-image (Bloor and Wood, 2011: 58). Thus, these images are useful in understanding how campaigners framed and communicated their messages, as well as how they positioned themselves in relation to the community and actors including other frontline communities and the state. Images were coded using Nvivo data analysis software and formed part of my thematic analysis. I conducted a frame by frame analysis of the audio-visual source whereby I transcribed a description of each frame and produced a written text that could be coded.

4.5.3 Participant observation

During the course of my fieldwork year in Leitrim I actively participated in the activities of Love Leitrim as a member of the group. I have already addressed the ethics of this approach, and in particular concern to contribute to movement-relevance, anti-oppression and prefiguration (Luchies, 2015). In this section I consider how participant observation contributed to the data collection process. Participant observation was an important research method which enabled me to build a rich understanding of the activities of Love Leitrim from the perspective of a group participant. Describing this method of research, Balsiger and Lambelet (2014: 145-6) suggest that

'If "inquiring" could be the label for interviewing and examining the label for archival research, "experiencing seems an especially appropriate label for drawing attention to what is gained through participant observation'.

They note that participant observation is a particularly useful method for gaining insight into the non-formal, non-public and processed-based aspects of an activist group or movement. I undertook ten formal sessions of participant observation during the course of 2016. These sessions included public meetings, demonstrations at the Dáil, a press conference and other campaign meetings. I did not carry out detailed participant observation at Love Leitrim's monthly meetings. Instead I relied on the collectively agreed meeting minutes and my own brief meeting notes and reflections. During sessions of

participant observation I recorded the detail of meetings, activities and encounters. These fieldnotes ranged from brief jotted notes to more detailed accounts. In public meetings, I was particularly concerned to capture verbatim participant quotes.

4.6 Thematic analysis of data

Following data collection, I sought to analyse the data with the aim of building an understanding of how Love Leitrim's campaign to ban fracking successfully jumped scales to achieve a ban on fracking. For case study research, Creswell (2007) advocates an analysis strategy with two elements. Firstly, the production of 'a detailed description of the case and its setting' using multiple sources to analyse the evolution of the case (p. 163). Secondly, the development of case themes by aggregating the data into categories and then collapsing them into themes. Following this process, 'generalisations about the case in terms of the themes' can be made (p. 164). Adopting this analytic approach, I developed a case description and interpreted the data using a thematic analysis approach to identify key themes from the case. Thematic analysis is a widely used approach in social scientific research (Attride-Stirling, 2001; Braun and Clarke, 2006; King, 2004; Nowell *et al*, 2017). Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest that thematic analysis is a useful method of analysis which enables researchers to identify patterns where the aim is to study experiences, perspectives, practices and behaviours. Nowell *et al* (2017:2) note that it is an approach which 'can be widely used across a range of epistemologies and research questions. It is a method for identifying, analysing, organizing, describing, and reporting themes found within a data set.' Thematic analysis is particularly appropriate for case study research as it supports case narrativity, leading to thick description which is the 'unselfconscious hallmark of the case studier' (Thomas, 2010: 580).

Case study supports story-making using abduction (rather than expecting induction) and relying on phronesis (rather than expecting the development of theory). Thomas (2010) argues that case study as a vehicle for 'intelligent noticing' in a 'spirit of inquisitiveness' leading to insight (p. 579). In the following section (4.6.1), I outline the process by which I developed my coding of the data through several rounds. I then go on to describe the

process of building thematic networks using the approach outlined by Attride-Stirling (2001) in section 4.6.2.

4.6.1 Developing codes

I conducted my data analysis using Nvivo qualitative data analysis software. I began my data analysis by coding each source of data with its attributes, including fieldwork setting, participant demographics and time-frame (Lofland *et al.*, 2006). Initially, I began a first cycle of coding using an 'open coding' approach. In this cycle, I analysed interview transcripts line by line, 'splitting' the data into smaller codable moments using a combination of *descriptive and in vivo codes*. However, I found this approach was generating a proliferation of codes without providing clarity or illuminating any real pattern. I therefore refocused my approach and developed an initial set of *structural codes*, based on my research sub-questions, which I used to organise my data (*see table 4.3*). Structural coding 'applies a content-based or conceptual phrase representing a topic of inquiry to a segment of data that relates to a specific research question' (Saldaña, 2009: 66). As an initial coding approach, structural coding 'acts as a labelling and indexing device' (Namey *et al.*, 2008: 141). I used a process of 'lumping' to organise my data according to four structural codes which corresponded to my four research sub-questions.

Following the structural coding of my data I undertook a process of *descriptive coding* (Saldaña, 2009: 70-72). Descriptive coding labels data by summarising the topic of a passage, where 'the topic is what is talked or written about [and] the content is the substance of the message' (Tesch, 1990: 119). Using descriptive coding I summarise patterns in the data, coding texts into segments using a mixture of semantic codes which were descriptive of data or *in vivo* (*e.g. 'political will'*) and latent codes which were related to my conceptual framework (*e.g. 'frontline identity'*). Through this process I developed 78 descriptive codes, guided in my interpretation of the data by my research interest and research questions. Several descriptive codes merited more detailed sub-codes to provide

Structural code	Number of references	Research sub-question
Building power	<i>198 references</i>	What practices did campaigners engage in to build the campaign locally?
Issue framing	<i>129 references</i>	How do campaigners frame the issue of fracking? How do those framings change across scales?
Engaging others	<i>119 references</i>	What relationships does the local campaign have with actors from outside of the community?
Influencing outcomes	<i>135 references</i>	Which policy-making and political spaces do campaigners engage with? What strategies do campaigners use to influence outcomes?

Table 4.3 Structural codes

greater descriptive detail. Where this was the case, I developed “parent” and “child” coding hierarchies. Through this process, descriptive coding provided with me with a categorised inventory of the data’s contents (Saldaña, 2009: 72).

In a second cycle of coding I applied *pattern codes* to develop categories within my data. Pattern coding can be used to identify emerging themes because ‘they pull together a lot of material into a more meaningful and parsimonious unit of analysis’ (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 69). I developed my pattern codes by reviewing first cycle codes to assess their commonality and assign a pattern code where it could ‘synthesis large blocks of data in a single trope’ (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 302). In this way I abstracted and refined the 78 descriptive codes into 18 clusters which became the basic themes of my thematic network (Attride-Stirling, 2001). Clarke and Braun (2014:2) describe how ‘a theme identifies a meaning patterned across the dataset which is important for illuminating the research question.’ My focus in developing the basic themes was on identifying strategies and practices which supported Love Leitrim campaigners to jump scales and influence outcomes.

4.6.2 Building thematic networks

Pattern coding allowed me to begin to identify the themes of the data and I developed visual *thematic networks* which allowed me to organise my data by arranging themes into broad groupings on the basis of related conceptual content. Attride-Stirling (2001) outlines a thematic network approach to data analysis which is a useful tool for data visualisation and analysis. She suggests that thematic analysis allows the researcher to ‘unearth the themes salient in a text at different levels... and facilitate the structuring a depiction of these themes’ (Attride-Stirling, 2001: 387). Using her approach, I developed a thematic network that comprises three levels. *Basic themes* are simple premises characteristic of the data, which I then grouped together form *organising themes* that ‘summarise the principle assumptions of a group of basic themes’ (Attride-Stirling, 2001: 389). Finally, I developed *global themes*, as ‘organising themes that together present an argument, or a position or an assertion about a given issue’ (Attride-Stirling, 2001: 389).

The focus of my data analysis was on identifying the strategies and practices which supported Love Leitrim to organise effectively and to ‘scale up’ campaign to ensure their voices were heard. This focus has its roots in my concern to inform community work practice in the area of environmental justice and sustainable development. With this in mind, cycles of coding resulted in commonalities being identified and structured as following organising themes: ‘building group capacity’, ‘gaining trust/building relationships’, ‘strategic awareness raising’, ‘critical & creative policy engagement’, ‘cross-party political advocacy’, and ‘creative collective action’. The emergence of these organising themes suggested that Love Leitrim campaigners employed distinct strategies at different scales, with the each mutually reinforcing one another. In the final stage of building a thematic network I grouped these interconnected but differentiated strategies according to two global themes:

1. *‘Building a local base’* – This global theme focused on the approaches which Love Leitrim took to organising locally in the north-west in order to develop a strong base of support in the region that allowed them to “jump scales”.

2. *'Jumping scales to Influence outcomes'* – This global theme focused on the strategies which Love Leitrim adopted in order to engage with political, policy-making and regulatory structures in order to influence outcome and ultimately secure a legislative ban on fracking.

For Attride-Stirling (2001), the purpose of a thematic network is not only analytic but is also designed to guide the reader through the researcher's interpretation of the case themes. Thus, these global themes structured two thematic networks which are depicted visually on p. 164 and p. 208 respectively. These networks form the basis for the organisation of findings chapters seven and eight. In these chapters, data from basic themes were used to present a description and interpretation of the data – elaborating an analysis of the strategies and practices which Love Leitrim adopted which enabled the group to jump scales. Chapter six explores the themes which emerged from the case study related to how the group mobilised locally at the scale of meaning. It identifies the strategies and practices which enabled campaigners to root themselves in the local community and build a local base for collective action. Chapter seven explores the case themes concerned with the group's mobilisation at the scale of regulation. It explores how this local base was scaled out to address issues in political, policy and regulatory spaces at the national scale. Finally, chapter eight interprets the patterns of the two thematic networks ('building a base' and 'jumping scales'). My analysis suggests that an innovative combination of local organising ('rooting') and political engagement ('reaching') contributed to Love Leitrim's scale jumping success.

4.7 Conclusion

Chapter four has set out the methodological considerations and decisions that shaped my approach to this case study. I noted that this research takes a social constructionist standpoint which considers that social scientific knowledge is constructed relationally and is historically and culturally situated. As a community worker undertaking research, I also acknowledged my professional and political commitment to social and

environmental justice. These considerations guided my rationale for adopting a qualitative case study research design which allowed me to undertake in-dept, diachronic research with a community group. This instrumental case study sought to generate insight into the phenomenon of Love Leitrim's mobilisation against fracking in order to generate phronetic knowledge useful to other communities resisting environmental injustices and for community development more broadly. The remainder of the thesis presents the results of my fieldwork and my discussion of the data. In chapter five I present a case description before turning in chapters six and seven to present the findings of my thematic network analysis.

Chapter 5

Case Description

'Eight miles north of Dromahaire is Manorhamilton, situated in the centre of a beautiful and interesting part of County Leitrim. It is watered by the Owenmore River – a mountain stream which falls into the River Bonet. The surrounding country is beautifully varied by the dark moorland hills and their precipitous slopes. The winding glens, narrow ravines and fertile valleys, which are the features of the landscape here. In the town the ruins of the splendid baronial mansion built by Sir Frederick Hamilton in 1641 are still to be seen'

- **Irish Tourist Association (1946: 106).**

5.1 Introduction

My research is a case study of the anti-fracking campaign in Ireland, and specifically of Love Leitrim, an anti-fracking group based in north Leitrim. This chapter provides a detailed description of my case, considering four areas: the community, the campaign group, their campaign and my personal position within the case. Firstly, in section 5.1, I present a community profile of Manorhamilton and north Leitrim as the geographic site of my case study. In section 5.2, I present a detailed description of the genesis and early days of the campaign, in 2011. Section 5.3 describes the origins and development of the Love Leitrim campaign group and in section 5.4, I provide an abridged description of the group's campaign from 2011-2017. Finally, in section 5.5, I acknowledge my own positionality with the case study as a community worker, a researcher and an active participant in the anti-fracking movement. I present an account describing my active participation in the case study through multiple roles. Reflecting on my own position within the case that I was researching, I unpack the rationale which guided me on this journey. First though, I turn to an exploration of community life at the site of my case study.

5.2 North Leitrim: a community profile

This section presents a community profile of County Leitrim which briefly reviews the geography and history of the area, considers current demographic and economic trends, highlights social and economic issues of concern to community development and outlines the current community work organisations, structures and programmes in operation in Leitrim. This profile focuses on north Leitrim because this was the specific site of my case study.

5.2.1 Geography and history of Leitrim

Leitrim is a long and thin county in north-west Ireland (*see figure 5.1*) which stretches from Tullaghan on the North Atlantic coast to Drumod, on the border with Longford and Roscommon in the south (*see figure 5.2*). My case study focuses on the north of the county and I was based in Manorhamilton throughout my fieldwork. North Leitrim is characterised by a series of seven glens which recall the area's glacial past. These valleys and the ridges above them are dotted with field systems, ring forts, standing stones and megalithic tombs which indicate human habitation in the landscape since pre-historic times at least 5,000 years ago. During the medieval period, the area was ruled by the O'Rourke clan and formed part of the kingdom of West Breifne. In 1583, the county of Leitrim was created by the English and over the next thirty years the plantation of the county took place with settlers from England and Scotland. It is from these historical antecedents that Manorhamilton, the largest town in north Leitrim, takes its English and Irish names. The English name refers to Frederick Hamilton, a Scottish planter who built a fortified manor house there in the 1620s, while in Irish, the town is known as *Cluinín Uí Ruairc*, or O'Rourke's little meadow.



Figure 5.1: Map of Ireland indicating the position of County Leitrim (dark green) and Northern Ireland (red)



Figure 5.2: Map of County Leitrim

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, several Catholic agrarian secret societies had branches in Leitrim, including the Steelboys and the Defenders (Kelly, 1998). These societies agitated for better tenancy conditions and at times engaged in violence against sections of the protestant community. This in turn stimulated the growth in protestant secret societies, with 29 lodges of the Orange Order operating in Leitrim in 1835 (O' Duigneain, 1997: 20). Leitrim was active in the nineteenth century "Land War" campaigns which saw the escalation and national co-ordination of tenant collective action for rent reductions and tenant rights (O' Duigneain, 1988). This history provided Leitrim with a strong base of support for Irish republicanism (Ó Súilleabháin, 2014). The village of Kiltyclogher is the birthplace of Seán Mac Diarmada, a political organiser and revolutionary who was one of the signatories of the 1916 proclamation.

With the partition of Ireland in 1921, Leitrim became a "border county", sharing a 29 kilometre land border with County Fermanagh, which remained in the United Kingdom. As the Northern Irish civil rights movement of the 1960s gave way to the sectarian violence of the Troubles in the 1970s, the five cross-border roads between Leitrim and Fermanagh were closed. The village of Kiltyclogher was particularly affected as three of the four roads to the village crossed the border. Since the 1995, Leitrim has been included, along with the other border counties in the EU's PEACE programmes which have provided much needed funding for community initiatives in what was then recognised to be 'the most socially and economically disadvantaged county in the republic' (EU Commission, 1997: 16).

5.2.2 Population, economy and poverty in Leitrim

County Leitrim is home to 32,044 people which is an increase of 10.7% in the decade since 2006 (Western Development Commission, 2017: 1). This is a population level last seen in the 1960s (CSO, 2016). Leitrim's population experienced the highest proportionate decline of any county from the Great Famine of the 1840s until the early 1990s (An Foras Taluntais, 1975: 2). The population in the 1841 census was 155, 297 and fell to its lowest point in 1991 when it was recorded at 25,301 (CSO, 2016). Manorhamilton

Ethnic or Cultural Background	Persons
White Irish	26,913
White Irish Traveller	203
Other White	3,155
Black or Black Irish	96
Asian or Asian Irish	305
Other	333
Not stated	710
Total	31,715

Table 5.1: Leitrim population by ethnic or cultural background, 2016

(Source: Census 2016)

is the largest town in the north of the county, with a population of 1,466 (CSO, 2016). Carrick-on-Shannon, the county town, lies in far south of the Leitrim and has a population of 4,062 (CSO, 2016). The third largest town, Drumshanbo, has a population of 902 persons (CSO, 2016). The majority of people in Leitrim are white Irish (84.8%) (*see figure 5.1*). Irish Travellers represent 0.6% of the Leitrim population with approximately 60 Traveller families living in halting site, local authority and private rented accommodation mainly in Carrick-on-Shannon and Mohill (south Leitrim) and Tullaghan (north Leitrim) (Leitrim Traveller Development Group, n.d.). Persons other than white Irish and Irish Travellers make up 12% of the population of Leitrim. The N16 national primary road connects Manorhamilton with both Sligo town (pop.: 19, 199) and Enniskillen (pop. 13,823) and the communities of north Leitrim have strong economic connections to the adjacent counties of Sligo and Fermanagh (CSO, 2016, NISRA, 2011, Western Development Commission, 2017: 2). There is a considerable population of economic commuters in Leitrim, with 4,210 people living in the county who travel outside the county for work, while 2,184 people travel from outside Leitrim to jobs in the county (Western Development Commission, 2017: 2).

According to (Western Development Commission, 2016), the labour force in Leitrim stands at 14, 891 (59.3% of the total population). This includes 12, 728 persons at work (50.7%) and 2,163 unemployed persons. At 8.6%, Leitrim's unemployment rate is 'notably higher than [the national] average' of 7.9% (Western Development Commission, 2016: 1). In 2011, this unemployment rate rose to a height of 18.7% (Leitrim County Council 2016). 10, 230 people (40.7%) are not in the labour force due to illness, retirement, family duties or full time primary or secondary education (Western Development Commission, 2016: 1). Leitrim's largest employers are the health and social care (13.5% of total employment), retail (12.1%) and industry (11.5%) sectors. Health employment is partly driven by Leitrim people commuting to work in health sector employers in Sligo (Western Development Commission, 2017: 2).

North Leitrim has 'over 300 registered business enterprises' (Leitrim County Council, 2016: 10) including several large industry employers based in Manorhamilton. These are Elastometall (a rubber-metal bonding factory), Merenda (a specialist manufacturer of wood veneer products) and Mirror Controls International (producing car mirror parts). Tourism plays an important and growing part in the Leitrim economy. The hospitality sector accounts for 6.5% of total Leitrim employment (Western Development Commission, 2016:2). In 2015, an estimated 144,000 people visited Leitrim as tourists, which contributed at least €34 million to the local economy (Leitrim County Council, 2015: i). The Leitrim Tourism Network was formed in 2013 to promote 'the development of Leitrim as a sustainable, eco-friendly, local-managed tourism destination' (Leitrim Tourism Network, n.d.).

At 8.6%, agricultural employment in Leitrim is double the national average. There are 6,650 people engaged in farming in the county, 'almost all on their own family farm' (Leitrim Local Community Development Committee, 2016: 23). There are 900 farms in north Leitrim (Leitrim County Council, 2016: 10). Leitrim's landscape was shaped by glaciation during the last ice age that created the U-shaped valleys and drumlin hills that characterise the area. This land is considered to be amongst the poorest in Ireland for sustaining agriculture:

'Drumlins are low, elongated isolated hills built up of glacial till which makes very poor farmland. The till is rich in clay and was

extruded under heavy ice pressure and so is very dense in texture. Water cannot easily percolate through it and soils are wet and very difficult to drain. [...] Leitrim is the worst off of all the [drumlin] counties, only one tenth of soils are well drained. Six tenths are poorly drained and much of this is on steeply sloping Drumlin sides. The remained is bog, lake or river occupying the low ground between the drumlins' (Mitchell and Ryan, 2001: 352).

As a result of this topography, commercial farming in Leitrim has long been considered to be a serious challenge. Several reports (An Foras Taluntais, 1975, 1978) from state's agricultural development agency (now Teagasc) in the 1970s stressed the difficulties faced by the county:

'For many years it has been recognised that some of the worst features of western decline are represented in Co. Leitrim. [...] Farming in the county is beset by many problems arising from natural, technical, economic and social forces' (An Foras Taluntais, 1975: 1).

The agency proposed the commercial afforestation of the county despite acknowledging that such an approach is an 'emotive topic in Leitrim and opposition to the acquisition of land for afforestation is strong' (An Foras Taluntais, 1975: 4-5). Indeed Leitrim 'has experienced very strong opposition to forestry development in the past and resistance still exists' (Flécharde *et al.*, 2006: 83). Afforestation continues to be promoted as land-use policy in Leitrim today. At 18.9%, Leitrim has the highest level of afforestation in the state, compared to the national average of 11% (Department of Agriculture, Food and the Marine, 2018). The Save Leitrim campaign continues to oppose the afforestation of Leitrim (McDonagh, 2018).

According to Pobal (2016), levels of affluence in Leitrim are marginally below average. As with the country generally, the economic crash of 2008 precipitated an increase in deprivation in Leitrim. While there has been some recovery since this crash, levels of deprivation remain higher than pre-crash levels (*see table 5.2*). While no area of Leitrim is considered to be affluent, thirteen electoral districts, for example Dromahaire (3.05) and Drumod (1.17), are marginally above average. Six districts in Leitrim are disadvantaged, including Kiltyclogher (-14.27) and Killarga (-10.74). Manorhamilton, the

Year	Absolute Deprivation score	Description
2006	-2.0	Marginally below average
2011	-9.6	Marginally below average
2016	-3.18	Marginally below average

Table 5.2: Pobal HP Deprivation index scores for County Leitrim, 2006-16 (Source: Engling and Haase, 2011; Pobal, 2016)

Social Class	Male	Female	Total
Professional workers	1,067	851	1,918
Managerial and technical	4,031	4,830	8,861
Non-manual	2,496	3,559	6,055
Skilled manual	3,213	1,733	4,946
Semi-skilled	1,846	1,678	3,524
Unskilled	653	403	1,056
All others gainfully occupied and unknown	2,758	2,926	5,684
Total	16,064	15,980	32,044

Table 5.3: Leitrim population by sex and social class (Source: Census 2016)

town at the centre of my case study site, has a score of -1.04. Deprivation scores are calculated in Ireland by Pobal according to the methodology which was developed by Haase and Pratschke (2017). In developing this score, demographic profile, social class composition (*see table 5.3*) and labour market situation are all taken into account.

A SWOT analysis was developed for north Leitrim in 2016 by a working group of the Manorhamilton Rural Economic Development Zone (REDZ), led by Leitrim County

Council⁵ (see table 5.4). This analysis offers a snapshot of local perceptions of the social and economic issues facing north Leitrim. Strengths identified by the group include community spirit and attachment to the land, as well as strong indigenous business and entrepreneurialism. It also highlights the availability of community buildings and sports infrastructure and the strength of the community and cultural sectors in north Leitrim. Strengths identified by the group include community spirit and attachment to the land, as well as strong indigenous business and entrepreneurialism. It also highlights the availability of community buildings and sports infrastructure and the strength of the community and cultural sectors in north Leitrim. Opportunities identified for north Leitrim include the growth of eco-tourism with the potential development of the Greenway and the Geopark (in nearby County Cavan). The analysis notes that steady outward migration of young people, continues to be a challenge and leaves north Leitrim with a high level of population dependency as children and elderly people make up a greater proportion of the population. The analysis emphasises that Leitrim is 'off the policy-makers' radar' and suggests that austerity, public service cuts (including post office closures) and a lack of rural broadband are amongst the greatest threats to prosperity in north Leitrim. Much of this analysis is echoed for the entire county by the Leitrim Local Economic and Community Plan (LECP) (Leitrim Local Community Development Committee, 2015: 28-9).

5.2.3 Community work in Leitrim

Community development in Leitrim is supported primarily by Leitrim Development Company (LDC), the local development company for county Leitrim, with its main office in Drumshanbo and sub offices in Manorhamilton and Mohill. One of forty-nine local development companies in Ireland, LDC is tasked with implementing a variety of

⁵ Following the recommendations of the Commission for Economic Development of Rural Ireland, the Government of Ireland launched an initiative called the Rural Economic Development Zones (REDZ) in 2016. North Leitrim became one of 154 REDZ areas identified across rural Ireland and a plan was prepared in 2016 which focused on Manorhamilton as '*the enterprise and employment driver*' for north Leitrim.

<p style="text-align: center;">Strengths</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Growing population ▪ Quality of life ▪ Community spirit and strong local community infrastructure ▪ Attachment to place and ties to land ▪ Strong indigenous businesses ▪ Strong local entrepreneurialism ▪ A wide range of community buildings and facilities ▪ Sports infrastructure ▪ Heritage assets, both natural and man made ▪ Vibrant community, arts and cultural sectors and activities ▪ Vibrant and varied employment base, especially in Manorhamilton ▪ St Clare’s Comprehensive School ▪ Strong non-Irish national population ▪ Settlement infrastructure ▪ Growing female labour participation 	<p style="text-align: center;">Weaknesses</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Steady out-migration of young people, particularly women ▪ High population dependency rates ▪ Low economic output ▪ Vacant and derelict sites, both urban and rural ▪ Limited local tourist accommodation ▪ Lack of tourist activity packages ▪ Limited local integrated tourism offer ▪ Rural isolation ▪ Not fully capitalising on assets, natural and man made ▪ ‘Off the policy-makers’ radar’
<p style="text-align: center;">Opportunities</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The REDZ initiative ▪ Location on the N16 and proposed Greenaway ▪ Cross-border links ▪ Spectacular landscapes ▪ Archaeological and historical legacies ▪ Manorhamilton’s history, heritage and urban fabric, including vacant sites ▪ 1916 Centenary/Sean Mac Diarmada (ie Diarmada) ▪ Accessibility of Sligo and Enniskillen urban centres ▪ Tourism development ▪ Geopark ▪ Build on current business vigour 	<p style="text-align: center;">Threats</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Austerity limiting public and private investment ▪ Ongoing deficits in broadband and mobile phone coverage ▪ Ongoing public service retraction ▪ Stringent planning policies stymying development ▪ REDZ area treated by others as a ‘backwater’ ▪ Euro/Sterling fluctuations

Table 5.4: The Manorhamilton REDZ area SWOT grid, 2016

programmes which support community development, rural development, social inclusion, social enterprise and labour market activation. The two main programmes with LDC implements, on behalf of the Local Community Development Committee, are the Social Inclusion and Community Activation Programme (SICAP) and the LEADER Rural Development Programme. Running from 2018 to 2022, SICAP is a national community development programme which ‘provides funding to tackle poverty and social exclusion at a local level through local engagement and partnerships between disadvantaged individuals, community organisations and public-sector agencies’ (Pobal, 2017: 9). LEADER is an EU fund which supports “bottom up” rural development across the themes of (a) economic development, enterprise development and job creation, (b) social inclusion and (c) rural environment. Alongside these programmes, LDC implements several other programmes on behalf of the government, including the Rural Social Scheme and Community Employment Scheme (both of which provide employment opportunities for low income groups) and the Better Energy Warmer Homes Scheme which supports energy efficiency retrofitting in the homes of low-income families.

In addition to LDC, there are several other organisations structures which are relevant to community development in Leitrim. Firstly, the North Leitrim Women’s Centre and the North Leitrim Men’s Group operate from Manorhamilton and support targeted community development interventions for women and men. Both initiatives seek to address the rural isolation and marginalisation experienced by older generations living in Leitrim. Secondly, in the south of the county, two Family Resource Centres (FRCs) operate in Carrick-on-Shannon and Mohill. FRCs implement a community-based model of family support using community development principles and approaches. The FRC in Carrick-on-Shannon hosts the Leitrim Intercultural Forum and Women’s Group. These groups support the representation of migrants in Leitrim and provides training, support and social activities for their members. Thirdly, Leitrim Public Participation Network (PPN) supports community groups to engage in decision-making locally, including through membership of local authority Strategic Policy Committees. While the PPNs support the inclusion of local environmental groups, the national PPN guidelines expressly exclude single issue environmental groups. While this precluded several anti-fracking groups from

joining the PPN, Love Leitrim's broader vision and aims ensured the group could qualify for membership.

5.3 Early community responses to fracking in Leitrim

'I think the start of the whole business in Leitrim was about 2011, which was when Tamboran arrived with the caravan of goodies and snake oil!' – Alison

On the 14th February 2011, the Irish Government awarded "Licencing Options" to three companies for petroleum exploration in the Northwest Carboniferous Basin (extending across parts of counties Leitrim, Cavan, Sligo, Donegal, Mayo, Monaghan, Roscommon and Fermanagh) and in the Clare Basin on Loop Head (*see table 5.5*). In Ireland, Licencing Options are awarded to companies which are at the initial stages of petroleum prospecting and require them to carry out a detailed work programme including desk research and baseline boreholes. Following the successful completion of the work programme, a company holding a Licencing Option may apply for an Exploration Licence to begin commercial extraction. While progression from Licencing Option to Exploration Licence is not an automatic right, it does give the company a first right to apply for an Exploration Licence. The terms of the Licencing Option make it clear that the Minister *'will be prepared to consider the granting of a follow up authorisation'* (DCENR, 2011) should the work programme be completed and the company prove to have the financial and technical capacity to extract the resources. Essentially, then, the Licencing Option put the companies on a clear track towards commercial extraction.

Australian company Tamboran Resources and the Irish owned Lough Allen Natural Gas Company were awarded a Licencing Option covering 9, 243, 635 acres and 115, 398 acres respectively in the Northwest Carboniferous Basin. Enegi Oil was awarded their licence option over 122, 317 acres in the Clare Basin. The geology of these basins is made up of shale rock. "Natural gas", a fossil fuel mostly comprised of methane, is trapped in small pockets within the shale that would require the use of hydraulic fracturing in order to be able to extract it. Each company's Licencing Option required them to carry out a

detailed work programme of desk research and initial baseline boreholes. The results of this work programme were required by the Department of Communications Energy and Natural Resources in the form of '*a comprehensive assessment of the petroleum resource potential of the area together with strategies, scoping economics and costed plans for further exploration/exploitation*' (DCENR, 2011). The companies had until 28 February 2013 to complete this work, during which time they were expected to '*conduct... local consultations in preparation for any seismic surveying, drilling or pre-development activity*' (DCENR, 2011).

The community was concerned at the lack of public participation in the decision to award Licencing Options which might potentially turn large tracts of the north-west and County Clare into a 'sacrifice zone' (Klein, 2014) at the hands of the fracking industry. Awareness of fracking initially spread in several ways. Interestingly, experiences of emigration meant that many people in Leitrim had family ties across the world and so personal connections to the Irish diaspora in areas already affected by the practice were important. Heather's sister called her from Australia to tell her '*there's an Australian company [Tamboran] here and they're saying they're going to frack in Ireland.*' Similarly, Chris was alerted by family in Pennsylvania who told him about the film *Gasland*. Pennsylvania was one of the areas already directly affected by fracking and Fergus too had family there:

Like I have cousins in America, in Pennsylvania and when I started telling them about the, the fracking- and I'd never heard of the word fracking - It was them that said to me, "is it fracking that they're going to be at?" I never heard of the word fracking til then.

Encounters with another Irish community which was resisting the oil and gas industry were also important in building early awareness. A showing of *The Pipe*, a documentary about community resistance to Shell's gas pipeline and refinery in County Mayo, presented an opportunity to discuss fracking. The Licencing Options had been announced and were discussed in a post-show audience questions and answers session. Shane reported that one of the Rossport community members provided a '*big alert*' by saying

that *'if this involves a thing called fracking you really need to watch out, because it's really dangerous'*.

Following these initial conversations, Josh Fox's Oscar nominated documentary *Gasland* became a significant early awareness raising tool. Chris realised that *'a good way of initiating a conversation about fracking would be to screen the film.'* Working with Cinema North West he screened it in Drumshanbo, Ballinamore and Manorhamilton using a mobile cinema in May and June 2011. Significantly, the film's producer Trish Adlesic came to Ireland and attended:

'a packed-out screening [in Drumshanbo] which included not just members of the community concerned about the project but also critically... public representatives. So from the very outset we could never say and the public representatives could never say that they weren't aware of this' (Chris).

Gasland became *'an integral part of the protestors' campaign'* (Sligo Today, 2012) and in this respect the Irish anti-fracking campaign was consistent with the "*Gasland effect*" - a global pattern of mobilisation catalysed by communities distributing and watching the documentary. This phenomenon was so marked that an industry-sponsored risk management report sought to advise fracking companies on how to manage community resistance following film-screenings. The report highlighted that *'the anti-fracking movement did not start with Gasland, but would not have gone global without it'* (Control Risks, 2012: 2). Reflecting on those early screenings, Chris felt that *'the critical thing I suppose was that we got in ahead of the companies. The companies really didn't know what hit them.* He felt that this was a crucial strategic advantage for communities in Leitrim who could prepare themselves for the company's approach, *'because we see what had happened in Mayo, the companies got in and ... essentially divided the community.'*

The *Gasland* screenings set a precedence for Leitrim campaigners connecting elsewhere, and particularly to North America where the fracking industry was well advanced, for information and support. Making connections across distance with other frontline communities became extremely important and evidence of the impact which the industry had wrought on communities elsewhere proved invaluable for Irish campaigners in developing their understanding of the issues and building a case against



Company Logo	Company Name	Company description
	<p>Tamboran Resources</p>	<p>Tamboran are an Australian oil and gas exploration company founded in 2009. In 2011 they held assets in Ireland, Northern Ireland, Australia and Botswana. Tamboran’s board and then CEO, Richard Moorman, had significant experience in the exploration and production of unconventional oil and gas in North America. The company’s aim was to leverage that experience in new markets (Tamboran, 2018).</p>
<p>[no logo]</p>	<p>Lough Allen Natural Gas Company (Lanco)</p>	<p>Lanco was an Irish company established in July 2010 by Dublin based investor Thomas Anderson and employed Limerick based oil and gas industry geologist Martin Keeley. The company had no significant previous experience of oil and gas exploration and was dissolved in 2014.</p>
	<p>Enegi Oil</p>	<p>Enegi Oil is a British Company established in 2007 which changed its name to Nu-Oil in 2015. It held a Licencing Option covering much of Loop Head in County Clare. Nu-Oil currently holds licences in Newfoundland in Canada.</p>

Table 5.5: Background on the three fracking companies awarded Onshore Licencing Options in 2011

fracking. At the same time, as I will explore, those connections with similarly affected communities shaped campaigners' identity as part of an international anti-fracking movement.

In May 2011, 'a group of women met in Drumshanbo coffee shop and in doing so formed the first anti-fracking group in the republic of Ireland' (Quinn, 2014). Soon afterwards there was a series of meetings in Drumshanbo with up to 300 people gathering in the old Mayflower Ballroom, which by then was repurposed as a community centre. Oisín recalled that '*there was an enormous amount of energy and there was a lot of people there who had a reasonable handle on campaigns*. However, the meetings were '*very fractious*' with people '*jumping up and walking out of the meeting, kinda fighting with one another at the meetings*' (Caoimhe) over questions of strategy, group name and approach. The meetings were '*acrimonious*' and '*got smaller and smaller*' until '*eventually they broke up with no consensus on how to go forward*' (Oisín). Caoimhe remembered feeling that '*it was actually kind of disturbing because ... I kinda thought we're gonna fail, this isn't going to work ... how are we gonna get a handle on this?*' Rather than one organisation then, a series of different geographic and thematic groups were formed across the licence area.

Initially local groups were established in Ardcarne (County Roscommon), Carrick-on-Shannon, Kinlough, Kiltubrid, Manorhamilton, north Sligo and south Sligo (MA fieldnotes, Oct. 2011). *Talamh* (Irish = ground) was formed by a group of researchers who worked to develop local knowledge and understanding of fracking. The Lough Allen Conservation Society was formed in South Leitrim, and played a crucial role convening early public meetings. However, key members soon left and formed No Fracking Ireland, which was particularly influenced by the politics of radical grassroots activism. The North-West Network Against Fracking also formed in Sligo. Subsequently too, Good Energies Alliance Ireland (GEAI) was established in February 2012, and while based in Ballinaglera, took the approach of formalising as a national NGO. GEAI later joining the Irish Environmental Network and the Environmental Pillar of Social Partnership. Other campaigners developed the Fracking Free Ireland information site and a newsletter for sharing updates amongst campaigners. In 2013 this newsletter was complimented by the establishment of the *Shale Gas Bulletin Ireland* by County Clare based group Keep Ireland Fracking Free. The aim of the *Bulletin* was to '*help Irish decision-makers and journalists*

stay informed about shale gas extraction' and it offered a twice monthly synthesis of news and research on Shale gas developments globally. Fracking Free Clare was also formed and played an important role in that county.

There were certainly divergent viewpoints in the nascent movement with various approaches being taken by different groups. Some of these divisions were based on questions of strategy, while others stemmed from differences in the personal politics of individual campaigners. Undoubtedly though, there was a blossoming of local community organising as people across the north-west came together to discuss what the Licencing Option would mean for their communities. This would lead to an intense burst of grassroots activism across the political spectrum and in local civil society.

Over the summer of 2011, awareness had been growing steadily in the north-west that Tamboran and Lanco had been awarded Licencing Options and were planning to begin industrial production of fracked gas as soon as possible. The RTÉ Drivetime radio programme covered the topic in May 2011 and in July two significant articles appeared in the media. The first was an interview with Tamboran chief executive Richard Moorman in the *Leitrim Observer* in which he told the paper that 'the best gas [in the Options Licence area] is in Leitrim' and that the company sought to focus initial efforts around Thur Mountain near Glenfarne in the north of the county (Leitrim Observer, 2011). The second was a *Journal* piece by Leitrim based film-maker Johnny Gogan. This article, written for an audience outside of Leitrim, describes the political situation locally that summer:

'Leitrim County Councillors have also taken action, requesting the companies involved to come before the council, outline their intentions and answer concerns. The issue has also been raised by Fermanagh MLA Phil Flanagan with Northern Ireland's Minister for Enterprise and Energy Arlene Foster' (Gogan, 2011).

Tamboran had also been awarded the equivalent of a Licencing Option in Northern Ireland, and that licence extended across Fermanagh and right up to the boarder with the republic in North Leitrim and Cavan. This would shape the nature of the campaign profoundly as cross-border co-operation became a necessity for community success.

By the end of July 2011, there was an early online petition which was steadily collecting signatures. Several *Facebook* pages had also been established. In the face of unexpected public awareness and growing opposition, Tamboran adopted a strategy of

attempting to win-over the politicians and the public. *'The companies could see what was happening and they tried to make their presence felt'* noted Chris. *'Particularly this figure Richard Moorman from Tamboran, who was trying to open up contact directly with us [Love Leitrim].'* Moorman's interview in the *Observer* was part of that strategy, as he began to engage the public in detailed discussions of the company's plans. As part of this strategy, Tamboran agreed to the Councillors' request to appear before a meeting of Leitrim County Council. However, by the time that meeting took place on 5 September, there had already been a significant amount of time for the campaign to prepare over the summer.

On 20 August, German geologist Helmut Fehr spoke at the Mayflower Centre on the German experience of fracking. Fehr, as a Green Party politician, discussed the German attempts to secure a moratorium on fracking. The following week (24 -26 August) saw the first run of the Leitrim Sculpture Centre's *So What Is Fracking?* exhibition, *'an artist led project, in association with local discussion groups and LSC'* (LSC information leaflet, 2011). The exhibition presented physical copies of academic papers on the effects of fracking in North America, as well as *'various EU and National reports on fracking, recent films on the effects of fracking, a range of web links, research tools and information, posters and prints'* (LSC information leaflet, 2011). During that week also, on 25 August, RTÉ television's Primetime programme carried its first report on fracking. Triona recalled their visit:

'So they came and filmed here and I think that hit home for a lot of people when they saw this area. And you can talk and talk but there's shots, panoramic views of here, just told it all...'

On the *Primetime* programme, one local told her story as a tourism provider who had recently returned to live in Leitrim. She made the case that several important ecotourism initiatives which were providing local employment and economic benefit would be threatened by fracking.

As the Council meeting with Tamboran drew closer, the Lough Allen Conservation Society organised a public meeting in the Bush Hotel in Carrick-on-Shannon for 1 September. The meeting drew a significant crowd, as an estimated 5-600 people came to hear a presentation on fracking and to have an open discussion. A man with a guitar entertained the crowd with lyrics such as *'when the devil with his hand on the chequebook*

takes advantage of our need', a reminder that these events were taking place in the immediate aftermath of the financial crash and bailout. On Monday 5 September 2011, Tamboran met with Leitrim County Council and made a presentation of their plans to frack. Campaigners from the Lough Allen Conservation Society and others organised a demonstration. On Wednesday, 7 September, Tamboran finally held a public meeting, which also took place in the Bush Hotel. The atmosphere was hostile and there was clear community opposition to the company. The *Irish Times* reported from the meeting, noting that *'local historian Des Guckian compared Tamboran to speculators who bought up cheap land after the Famine'* (McGreevy, 2011). Several local politicians also voiced their opposition, including independent councillor Gerry Dolan. Protestors unfurled a banner behind Moorman on the stage. Following the meeting, an interview between Moorman and a local journalist in the lobby of the hotel turned into a public questions and answers session as Moorman was quizzed by about 30 local people who surrounded him with placards. The entire occasion was captured in eight parts and uploaded to *Youtube* (What the Frack Ireland, 2011).

Moorman's strategy of open engagement with local politicians and the public failed to quieten the building resistance to fracking in the north-west. Paradoxically, the company's willingness to engage with locals provided the campaign with large amounts of information about the scale and nature of the project. Figures from Tamboran's own publicly available presentations were combined with the emerging evidence from North America to visualise the scale and project the potential impacts of the industry. Moorman made the claim that Tamboran would carry out their fracking operations in Ireland without the use of chemicals. Campaigners were sceptical of this claim as it had never been done anywhere else in the world. Reflecting on that period, Robert recalled that *'the companies were really interested in talking about water contamination and wells... very interest in talking about things, technical issues and then solving them we'll say and saying we can do a better cement job and we can do all these different [things to reduce risk]'*. He suggested that the company's approach was to seek a narrow focus on the technical process of fracking at the level of a well. *'And we were very interested in that for a while and then we realised that's their... they were framing that discussion'* (Robert).

The narrow technical focus which Tamboran sought to engage the community on privileged the companies' technical expertise and kept the debate on a terrain that was

comfortable for them. Very quickly though, campaigners realised the need to shift the debate:

'We got some very interesting correspondences, more of it coming from [Tamboran] trying to engage and us going back to him saying, "listen it's not about you and us. It's actually about our regulatory system and our governance system... We don't have an issue with you personally, we have an issue with our own system that has handled this and doesn't have the wherewithal to deal with it." So we didn't get sucked into a dialogue, he was actually a very smooth operator' (Chris).

The early warnings of fracking, the use of *Gasland* as a consciousness raising tool and a summer of community organising across the north-west meant that Tamboran lost the initial public relations battle locally. While the industry had far from given up, their plans were slowed long enough for campaign groups to form and organise.

5.4 The origin and development of Love Leitrim

Following the early Drumshanbo meetings in the summer of 2011, a group of people from north Leitrim began to meet in Manorhamilton, and these meetings attracted several new members from the locality. For Triona, fracking first came conversation with friends and neighbours asking her *"have you seen this film?" [Gasland] And then it came up a few times, and then I went to a Love Leitrim meeting. We weren't even called Love Leitrim, it was just a group of concerned people.'* Posters advertising the meetings were put up locally and this alerted more people:

'I was in Manorhamilton and I spotted a notice for people to go to a Love Leitrim meeting to voice our concerns about the issue. And that was the start of it. So I got involved and the more it went on obviously I've been more, eh, involved! [laughs]' (Heather).

Similarly, Aidan recalled hearing about a meeting, and deciding to attend, *'before we knew it we were part of the Love Leitrim crowd.'* One of the first things the group did was to start conversations in the community, with neighbours and friends. The group *'sent everybody out, cause they had a very small group, and everybody had to go out and talk to at least 10 people about fracking'*, recalled Bernie. *'I was one of the 10 people talked*

to' and from there things *'spiralled out, certainly in terms of awareness'* in the community (Bernie). Crucially, several local people with historic family ties to the area became involved at this stage. This would prove crucial to the success of the campaign in north Leitrim. Although the area had a diverse community of "blow-ins", including artists and "hippies", a significant number of landowners remained "locals" whose families lived in Leitrim for generations. As such, *'local ownership of the campaign'* was important because it *'allowed it to bed in for the long haul'* (Chris).

As the meetings grew in size they moved to the Bee Park community centre. Heather recalled these gatherings as *'a bit sort of eclectic'*, and while *'there was some very interesting characters'* she realised that *'it takes all sorts to do all sorts of things.'* But she remembers an early consensus emerged: *'And one of the very first things kind of agreed upon amongst all the different types and styles of characters at the time, that we were going forward in a positive proactive way. (Heather)'* Triona similarly felt strongly about taking a positive stance as the group:

'because "No fracking"; "Ban fracking"; they're all quite negative terms and to use something positive about something negative, you'll always get more attention plus you can't be side-lined as easily. Because a lot of what we did was boast about how wonderful Leitrim is. You know, rather than the negative "these are coming, they're going to do this and they're going to ruin..." We said: "well Leitrim is absolutely beautiful!" So we often started a meeting with a slideshow of views of the areas'.

Taking an approach to campaigning against fracking by celebrating the positives about Leitrim life became a hallmark of the group. As Triona illustrated, taking of this approach was a conscious strategic decision. Through a series of development days facilitated by two external community workers the group agreed its name would be *Love Leitrim*. The group spent time developing its mission, vision and aims (*see table 5.6*).

The spirit of the group can perhaps be best summed up by how it chose to translate its name into Irish. Rather than a direct translation of *Love Leitrim*, the group chose *'Cuisle Liatroma'*, which translates as *'the pulse of Leitrim'*. This poetic Irish translation was no surprise given that several campaigners were involved in local Irish language activism including film clubs and coffee mornings. Others were active in

establishing Gaelscoil Chluainín, an Irish language primary school in Manorhamilton. Several people were already engaged in supporting community activities and groups such as the local Special Olympics club, the North Leitrim Women's Centre and local arts groups. Indeed, many of the early supporters of Love Leitrim already had their fingers on the pulse of local life. As such it was no surprise that the group sought to position itself at the heart of community life. These early decisions to take a positive approach and engage with the community proved to be extremely important. As I detail in chapter six, these strategies enabled the group to build a strong local base for collective action, including by overcoming activist stereotypes and building trust in the group.

Yet despite being grounded in local community life, *'many of the people who are involved in Love Leitrim didn't have any prior contact with any kind of organising or activism'* (Michelle). This was particularly true when it came to environmental issues. Claire, a community worker, spoke about how *'all my life I've worked in development [on] issues of poverty'* but she admitted that the environment was had been *'very much on the fringes'* for her until now. And while Heather *'always had a keen interest in environmental issues'*, she still found the experience of the campaign to be *'a real learning curve'*. For Emma, the campaign was a *'real education actually'*. She *'grew up in the country, went to school, went to college, got married, had kids, [laughs] all that!'*

Those that did have previous political experience had generally cut their teeth in local electoral politics. Supporters of Fianna Fáil, Fine Gael, The Green Party, People Before Profit and Sinn Féin were all represented in the group's membership, something which the group would later use to their strategic advantage as they sought to transcend party politics and build cross party consensus for a ban. Robert was previously the director of elections in north Leitrim for a political party which successfully ran candidates in the local elections. Yet reflecting on his political involvement in light of the anti-fracking campaign he described local party politics as *'innocent'*:

'People still think that's a sport. Do you know what I mean? It's like "get our tribe in" You know there's people with all of those [political organising] skills - this country is full of them in all parties. They're not always thinking about policy. They're not always thinking about why they're doing something. Sometimes they're just trying to win a game, you

know? ... That's innocence, you know what I mean like?
(Robert).

Robert suggested that what Love Leitrim was attempting to do was to engage in local politics in a new way – to address policy issues rather than simply *'get our tribe in'*. The details of how Love Leitrim went about this is something I will explore more fully in chapter eight, however here it is important to reflect on the thinking and the values behind this approach.

The Licencing Options were awarded in the chaotic last week of the Fianna Fail/Green government in 2011. The backdrop to fracking was the banking crisis and the recent financial bailout by the International Monetary Fund. These issues were very much on campaigners' minds as the group developed and grew. Triona highlighted how:

'We've been through so much in this country, I suppose there's a realisation post Celtic-Tiger you know? The Church has fallen, the banks have fallen, look what's happening with Brexit, you know everything that we would have looked up to in the past has crumbled around us. And at the end of the day you have nothing but yourself, your family and your community. That is the only thing that you can totally rely on. All of the things that people looked up to and adhered to have come down around our ears'.

Triona went on to suggest that the anti-fracking movement should be seen in the context of communities responding to the financial crisis and *'rethinking'* our relationships to one another:

So I think it's a time for re-thinking all of that and I think that a community group like Love Leitrim and the other groups, the other anti-fracking groups, are a space for that to happen as well. So that community and self-reliance can be supported in groups like that'.

This perspective was very influential on the group from an early stage and influenced how the group reached out and connected with other campaigns and movements. Chris recalled how Love Leitrim:

'identified that a new campaign was starting out nationally called Claiming our Future which was very much a civil society response to the financial collapse and the financial crisis. How

people that were having a lot taken away from them, how they could gain control of their destiny’.

Love Leitrim reached out and made links with Claiming our Future, and in return *‘Claiming our Future influenced the spirit of Love Leitrim’* (Chris).

In this context, it is clear that Love Leitrim’s concern to celebrate the positive was not seeking to ignore injustice or paper over the serious issues facing Irish society at that time. Rather the group was seeking to address those issues prefiguratively by embodying a different set of values and enacting their vision for Leitrim in the process of how they campaigned (*see table 5.6*). This was important for several reasons. Firstly, by asserting that Leitrim is a *‘vibrant, creative inclusive and diverse community’* (Love Leitrim constitution), the group directly challenged the underlying assumptions of the fracking project. The attempted imposition of fracking on the north-west imagined large-scale industrialisation and depopulation - which assumed that the communities and the landscape could be sacrificed for the purposes of gas extraction. Ultimately, the fracking project placed a lesser value on the landscape and communities of Leitrim than on the fossil fuel buried beneath them. The positive approach challenged this by celebrating the fact that *‘we were all happy healthy families and we live in a lovely place and we don’t want to lose that’* (Bernie). This gave the group’s critique an “ontological depth”. They were not merely arguing against fracking, they sought to embody a different worldview.

A second reason why the positive approach was important for campaigners was that it set the tone for how the group interacted with one another and with the community. A friendly, fun and conversational approach to awareness raising emphasised and built upon existing relationships in the community. In chapter six, I explore how campaigners used this conversational approach to great strategic effect when building a local base. Thirdly, with its positive vision and creative approach, Love Leitrim attracted and sustained members over the course of a long campaign. The group’s vision (*table 5.6*) was wide enough that it often incorporated a variety of different activities and projects and once, from organising parades and tractorcades, to making Freedom of Information requests and selling campaign t-shirts. Through all of this diverse activity, new friendships and networks were fostered through the group. Many conversational partners spoke about the importance of the friends they made through the campaign. In bringing people together, the campaign resulted in *‘friends for life’* for Heather and *‘a whole new set of friends and contacts that I would have never met*

Love Leitrim Vision Statement

Love Leitrim is an ad hoc community organisation governed by this constitution and was formed to promote all the positive aspects of our beautiful unique county and its contribution to the national wealth and heritage.

Love Leitrim supports long-term sustainable, economic development and the creation of employment, but not at the expense of existing jobs in tourism and farming or the welfare of future generations.

Leitrim is a vibrant, creative inclusive and diverse community. It is a leader in renewable energy, with a sustainable local economy and is a model of good practice for Ireland and beyond that can be expanded further to contribute to the nation's wellbeing. The environment in Leitrim is sustainable and safe, with a beautiful and unspoilt landscape, clean water air and soil and protected flora and fauna. Leitrim is also an ideal place to raise a family.

Love Leitrim will seek to promote and develop environmentally friendly projects, the importance of recycling, sustainable, and renewable clean green energy, and its vibrant and artistic community.

Love Leitrim will do everything in its power to oppose what we see as the single biggest threat to all of these at this present time which is the possible dangers resulting from hydraulic fracturing, or fracking.

Love Leitrim is fully committed to protecting the environment of Leitrim and Ireland as well as the health of our children against fracking through an awareness campaign and non-violent direct action.

(Love Leitrim Constitution, 2016)

Table 5.6: Love Leitrim's vision statement

before’ for Bernie. Emma described the campaign as *‘like a family, you know? You fall in and you fall out and you fall in again.’* The approach and organisational culture of Love Leitrim supported members of the group to deepen their ties in the community:

‘It has hugely increased my community connections and community investment and a feeling of belonging I suppose. And met loads, we simply met loads of people through Love Leitrim as well, socially and that, and that was good’ (Alison).

This section documents the origins and development of Love Leitrim, illustrated through campaigners’ shared reflections and documents from the period. Here I note that the early analysis and approach of campaigners established several principles and ways of working. The group developed a positive vision for Leitrim and sought to enact it prefiguratively. It built trust and raised awareness through conversations and creative contributions to the community. As I show in the proceeding chapter, these things contributed to the group building a strong local base for collective action. But “building a base” remains only half the story. The campaign also sought to influence outcomes at the structural level by establishing a legal ban on fracking. In the final section of this chapter I will present a description of Love Leitrim’s campaign. I will return to discuss the campaign in detail in chapters six and seven.

5.5 Love Leitrim’s campaign – an overview

This section provides an overview of Love Leitrim’s campaign from 2011-2016. The purpose of this section is to provide a description of the group’s activities and the major political developments of the campaign. In chapters seven and eight I go on to present the findings of my case study, which explores Love Leitrim’s campaign in greater detail. Love Leitrim’s campaign to ban fracking took six years, thousands of hours, hundreds of people and numerous strategies to succeed. Over the course of a six-year campaign there were hundreds of meetings, community events, demonstrations and political developments. There are inevitably events which I must leave out of this description. My “rule for inclusion” when developing this timeline was to include all key political events and major public activities of Love Leitrim. Chapter seven and eight build on this

description with a more richly descriptive of Love Leitrim's strategic approach that draws on my case study data to explore Love Leitrim's strategic approach.

For the purposes of description, I have divided the anti-fracking campaign into several stages. Each of these stages were characterised by a different locus of action for Love Leitrim. The early campaign was catalysed by, and focused on, responding to the companies' arrival in Leitrim. Over the course of time, campaigners began to shift focus on the policy and regulatory environment, with a particular emphasis on the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) research. However, as I will explore, the EPA research very quickly lost public confidence. Campaigners then shifted their focus to the space of political decision making with the aim of securing a legislative ban on fracking. Interestingly, the campaign displays a trend towards "scaling out" through the stages, from interaction with the company and local authority to engagement with interlocutors at national and global scales such as regulators, politicians and civil society groups. However, at the same time as this scaling out to address actors outside of the community, Love Leitrim maintained a focus on ensuring a local base for collective action (*discussed in chapter seven*) and on the role of local political representatives as mediators across scales (*considered further in chapter eight*).

Stage	Key issues and activities
<p>Local awareness and responding to the company</p> <p><i>August 2011- June 2012</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Awareness raising locally including film screenings, public meetings, presentations, Manorhamilton St. Patrick’s Day Parade; ▪ Making links with frontline communities and campaigners in other areas including German Helmut Fehr (<i>August 2011; April 2012</i>) and Canadian Jessica Ernst (<i>February 2012, multiple events</i>); ▪ Online engagement with supportive experts including US engineering professor Anthony Ingraffea, US environmental health analyst Theo Colborn and Canadian medical doctor John O’Connor; ▪ Responding to the company’s activities as it seeks to engage with the public, the media, local business and politicians. This included Tamboran’ donation of €20,000 to the Manorhamilton Enterprise Forum; ▪ First meeting with Minister for Communications, Energy and Natural Resources Pat Rabbitte in <i>November 2011</i>. The minister was briefed by a delegation from Leitrim including several Love Leitrim members; ▪ Roscommon County Council (<i>November 2011</i>), Sligo and Donegal County Councils (<i>January 2012</i>) call for a ban on fracking; ▪ <i>6 February 2012</i>: Leitrim County Council unanimously resolved: <i>“That Leitrim County Council calls on Ministers and Government to ensure that the practice of Hydraulic fracturing be excluded as a method of extracting Gas/Oil on the Island of Ireland as in the case of some European countries.”</i> ▪ First demonstration at the Dáil with “Daisy the Cow” on 14 February 2012, during Tamboran’s presentation to politicians in the AV room of Leinster House.

<p>Engaging the regulators: the moratorium and the EPA research</p> <p>June 2012-</p> <p>November 2013</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Responding to the “Aberdeen Report”, the first desktop study commissioned by the EPA. It was written by Dr David Healy of Aberdeen University, an institution with major public links to the oil and gas industry. Love Leitrim organised a public meeting organised on <i>12 June 2012</i> to co-ordinate their response; ▪ Public events with frontline community campaigners including: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Nnimo Bassey of Environmental Rights Action/Friends of the Earth Nigeria and Sr Majella McCarron (<i>August 2012</i>); 2. Activists from Bhopal in India, supported by Afri (<i>September 2012</i>); 3. Anna Kia from Lock the Gate in Australia (<i>April 2013</i>); 4. US expert on the economics of shale gas Deborah Rogers (<i>September 2013</i>). ▪ Meetings with and presentations to the Irish Famers’ Association and other farming organisations; ▪ Cecily Gilligan’s awareness raising walk from Manorhamilton to the Dáil in <i>October 2012</i>, including meetings with Leitrim TDs and senators and Minister of State Fergus O’ Dowd. ▪ Oireachtas Committee hearing on <i>10 October 2012</i>. Aedín McLoughlin of GEAI led the delegation, which included Eddie Mitchel of Love Leitrim. The delegation made the case for public participation in decision making around fracking in general, and in particular the setting of the terms of reference for the EPA research. ▪ EPA research terms of reference were developed by a steering committee of government departments and agencies. In <i>January 2013</i> these terms of reference were opened to public consultation and received 1,356 submissions by the time it closed on <i>8 March 2013</i>. ▪ Love Leitrim co-ordinated the “Application not to Frack” campaign in January and February 2013. This marked the deadline for the Government to consider granting second stage Exploratory Licences (<i>on 28 February 2013</i>) and was supported by several high profile Irish artists and musicians. Love Leitrim presented their application to politicians at the Dáil. ▪ “Global Frackdown Day” (<i>October 2013</i>) in Manorhamilton includes members of Kila and
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	<p>Dervish, and author Brian Leydan.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>22 November</i>: the EPA issued a tender to conduct the research programme on fracking. They note that this research ‘will assist regulators on both sides of the border to form rules on fracking activity’.
<p>Leitrim political engagement/peaceful direct action in Belcoo</p> <p>December 2013 - September 2014</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Local advocacy efforts to seek a ban on fracking in Leitrim County Development Plan 2015-21, including anti-fracking Christmas carols at the Leitrim County Hall in Carrick on Shannon. On <i>12 January 2014</i> Councillors vote to insert a ban on fracking in the development plan. ▪ In January the tendering process for the EPA research programme on fracking was closed. ▪ “Tour of fracking country” Cross border cycling awareness raising event (<i>June 2014</i>) ▪ <i>21 July 2014</i>: Tamboran arrived at 5am in Belcoo and secured the former <i>Acheson and Glover quarry with fences and razor wire with the aim of drilling a test well on the site</i>. They planned to do so under ‘Permitted Development Rights’ (PDR), a form of general planning permission derived from planning legislation. ▪ Love Leitrim members played an important solidarity role supporting local groups including Belcoo Frack Free, the Fermanagh Fracking Awareness Network (FFAN) and the Letterbreen and Mullaghduin Partnership (LAMP). The group organising a large meeting in Manorhamilton to agree a code of conduct and rostered its members to maintain a presence at the site. ▪ <i>31 July 2014</i>: Leitrim County Council passed a motion calling on the Taoiseach and Minister Alex White to intervene with the UK Prime Minister and Northern Irish First Minister to stop the drilling. ▪ <i>11 August 2014</i>: Northern Irish Minister for the Environment, Mark H. Durkin (SDLP) announced that Tamboran could not use PDR to carry out the drilling and would need to apply for planning permission and undertake a full Environmental Impact Assessment. This decision resulted in Tamboran not fulfilling its work programme within the time allotted.

	<p>Minister for Enterprise, Trade and Investment Arlene Foster (DUP) terminated Tamboran’s licence <i>‘as she did not believe the company could complete their work plan’</i> (BBC, 2014).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>August 2014</i>: the EPA awarded the contract to conduct the research programme on fracking to a consortium led by CDM Smith, a publicly pro-fracking global engineering and construction consultancy with significant commercial links to the oil and gas industry.
<p>“Stop the study”: National engagement with the policy process</p> <p>March 2015 - December 2015</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>11 May 2015</i>: Leitrim County Council passed a motion of no confidence in the EPA research which was tabled by Councillor Mary Bohan (FF). In tabling the motion Cllr Bohan highlighted CDM Smith Vice-President Kevin Molloy’s criticism of the fracking ban in New York State. ▪ Following this motion, Love Leitrim and other campaigners worked to ensure Parliamentary Questions were tabled for Minister Alex White. <i>On 10 June</i> the EPA appeared before the Oireachtas Committee to discuss the research. At this hearing they stressed the research was being carried out by a consortium which included Queens University Belfast (QUB). Subsequently campaigners argued that the EPA sought to mislead the committee on this matter as QUB had withdrawn participation; ▪ Love Leitrim’s awareness raising campaign to explain the CDM Smith created life-size characters called ‘Mr Fracking’ and ‘Aunty Frack’ and produced leaflets in the style of a <i>Mr Men</i> book; ▪ <i>July 2015</i>: Love Leitrim launched a “Lock the Gate” campaign on the Australian model which sought to prevent any geological research taking place in Leitrim which could contribute to petroleum prospecting. At this time, the Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies (DIAS) was attempting to carry out research ostensibly into Carbon Capture and Storage methods but using equipment and methods which would provide important data for oil and gas exploration; ▪ <i>6 November 2015</i>: the Stop the Study campaign held a demonstration at the Dáil and briefing for TDs and senators in the AV room of Leinster House (co-ordinated by GEAI).

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>November 2015</i>: Love Leitrim launched its “Heart on the Hill” instillation on Benbo Mountain and called on TDs to halt the EPA study as a first step towards a ban on fracking; ▪ <i>28 November</i>: the ‘Making the Links’ event took place in Manorhamilton with anti-fracking activists from the Basque Country and the UK; ▪ <i>29 November</i>: the Climate March taking place in Dublin before the UN climate conference included a ban on fracking as one of its key demands; ▪ <i>3 December</i>: the EPA again appeared before the Oireachtas Joint Committee on Transport and Communications to answer questions on the fracking research programme. ▪ <i>17 December</i>: Richard Boyd Barrett TD (PBP) introduced the Prohibition of Hydraulic Fracturing Bill 2015. The bill was co-authored by Attracta Uí Bhroin of An Taisce and Kate Ruddock of Friends of the Earth, in association with Love Leitrim. Introducing the bill, Boyd Barrett raised the EPA research in the Dáil and suggested to the Minister that this research was ‘<i>hopelessly compromised</i>’.
<p>“Back the Bill”: towards a legislative ban</p> <p>January 2016 - July 2017</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Love Leitrim organised an election husting for general election candidates in the Sligo Leitrim constituency on <i>13 February 2016</i>. ▪ The Fracking Free Network co-ordinated a “<i>Sign the Pledge</i>” campaign calling on all candidates standing in the election to pledge their active support for a ban if elected. Over 150 candidates signed the pledge, including every candidate standing in the Sligo Leitrim constituency except Gerry Reynolds (Fine Gael). The campaign received notable support from smaller parties and independents. ▪ The general election took place on <i>26 February 2016</i> and resulted in a minority government led by Fine Gael with the support of independents and a confidence and supply arrangement with Fianna Fáil. This configuration made it more likely that backbencher and opposition bills would be considered as the government did not have a majority to block them. ▪ <i>18 May 2016</i>: the Concern Health Professionals of Ireland was launched with a press conference in Buswells Hotel opposite the Houses of the Oireachtas.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>2 June 2016:</i> the Petroleum and Other Minerals Development (Amendment) Bill 2016 was introduced to the Dáil by Sligo-Leitrim TD Martin Kenny (Sinn Fein) ▪ <i>8 June 2016:</i> The Petroleum and Other Minerals Development (Prohibition of Onshore Hydraulic Fracturing) was introduced In the Dáil by Sligo-Leitrim TD Tony McLoughlin (FG). ▪ <i>29 October 2016:</i> The Dáil second stage debate on the Petroleum Act (Amendment) bill took place. ▪ <i>8 November 2016:</i> Richard Boyd Barrett TD (PBP) introduced the Prohibition of Hydraulic Fracturing (Extraction of Hydrocarbon) Bill 2016. This major difference between this bill and the McLoughlin bill was that it provided for a prohibition of fracking both onshore and offshore ▪ <i>21 January 2017:</i> The Oireachtas Joint Committee on Communications, Climate Action and Environment met to discuss the policy issues arising from the Exploration and Extraction of Onshore Petroleum Bill 2016 and the EPA report on Hydraulic Fracturing. At this meeting legislators questioned senior civil servants from the EPA and DCCAIE on the EPA report and the McLoughlin bill. ▪ <i>12 April 2017:</i> The Joint Committee published its report on the Prohibition of the Exploration and Extraction of Onshore Petroleum Bill 2016. ▪ <i>21 and 28 June 2017:</i> The bill was debated by the Seanad and passed its final stages. ▪ <i>6 July 2017:</i> The Petroleum and Other Minerals Development (Prohibition of Onshore Hydraulic Fracturing) Act 2017 was signed into law by President Michael D. Higgins ▪ <i>14 October:</i> Global Frackdown Day, Love Leitrim organised a celebration in the Rainbow Ballroom, Glenfarne to celebrate the ban on fracking.
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Table 5.7: Stages of Love Leitrim’s campaign, 2011 - 2017



Figure 5.3: Announcement from President Higgins on the enactment of anti-fracking legislation

5.6 Researcher, community worker, activist: Positioning myself in the case

My favourite way to arrive in north Leitrim is by bicycle over the back road to Manorhamilton. The road climbs up out of Sligo through the hamlet of Calry and into the little hills which are home to the Deer Park court tomb and countless other megalithic tombs and ringforts. These hills are far from mighty, but they are thick with forest that ensconces the road, leaving the traveller with a sense of entering into a place with a palpable air of magic. If there are fairies anywhere, surely it is here! After seven or eight kilometres the road crosses into County Leitrim, marked by an old black and white sign with Irish script: Contae Liatroma. Ahead the road hugs the shore of Doon Lough and the landscape opens up just enough to reveal the larger mountains to the left: the dramatic stacks of Keelogyboy and Leeann. The road traces a line across the back of Benbo Mountain and on the other side lies the reward of the

long downhill to the floor of the Glencar valley. Finally comes Manorhamilton, sprung up at the heart of the five glens, and my little pink house on Teapot Lane.

During my fieldwork I often made this trip when travelling between Manorhamilton and Maynooth. Returning home to Leitrim my mind was usually churning with thoughts but soon enough the magic of the landscape began to do its work and I found myself being drawn back in to Leitrim life. That journey refocused my attention on why I had come to this beautiful place. Ostensibly, it was to complete my PhD fieldwork. In this sense I was very much Kvale and Brinkmann's (2009:48) 'interviewer-traveller' who 'wanders through the landscape and enters into conversations with the people he or she encounters'. Leitrim was the site of my case study, a landscape and community which was actively being considered as a location to carry out the fossil fuel extraction process of hydraulic fracturing. However, moving to Leitrim was about much more than a research project for me. My motivations for the move were intertwined with my identity as a researcher, but also as a community worker and environmental activist. As a community work researcher in the emancipatory tradition, a concern for engaged and participatory fieldwork informed my research design. I had a strong sense that it would be important for me simply to *be there*, over time, and experience the campaign with the community. I sought to learn *from* and *with* the campaigners. Throughout the process I reflected on my position as a community worker/researcher and on how the anti-fracking campaign might inform community work approaches to environmental justice. A case study approach facilitated all of these concerns.

I moved to Manorhamilton in March 2016 and lived there until February 2017, but my involvement in the anti-fracking campaign began five years earlier in 2011 when I first visited Leitrim to do research for my MA in Community Work and Youth Work. At that time, I was also actively involved in the youth network of Friends of the Earth Ireland and beginning to develop my understanding of environmental justice. On 15 October 2011, a chance encounter with a member of Love Leitrim at a national "Claiming our Future" meeting sparked my interest in the issue of fracking. The Leitrim campaigner had come to Dublin to attend the event in An Taisce's Tailors Hall headquarters which aimed to *'explore some experiences of movement building*

in other parts of the world to enable participants discuss the broader challenges of Irish movement building'. Later, campaigners explained to me that supporting student researchers and film-makers to come to Leitrim was an important outreach strategy for the campaign. Triona recalled how in the early stages:

'We had lots of people, students who came doing PhDs, doing whatever masters, doing whatever they were doing, and that was hugely supportive to us. That all these young people like yourself are going out there and telling this story. We were constantly bringing people down to Fowley's Falls or to the lake or, I actually lost track of how many people came and did videos. I was picking people up, buses left, right and centre who were doing videos for something!'

Two days after the Claiming our Future event, on 18 October 2011, a big public meeting was planned in Manorhamilton. I quickly decided to undertake my research on the issue and made plans to travel west. Manorhamilton, along with the nearby villages of Glenfarne and Kiltyclogher, was believed to be amongst the first areas earmarked for fracking should the company begin extraction. The possibility of fracking here was a live and emotive issue in the community. My small MA research project explored the issue of fracking and the potential links between community work and the environmentalism that might support the campaign and environmental justice generally. Through the research I first got to know Love Leitrim, as I carried out several interviews, attended a public meeting, supported a table quiz fundraiser and went to a Claiming Our Future meeting in Drumshanbo. Soon after the research ended I went on my final placement, and carried many of the same questions into working with rural Liberian communities on forestry rights and land grabbing.

In Leitrim, I had begun to see the symbiotic relationship between social justice and the environment in which we live. In Liberia, I witnessed first-hand how continued racism and neo-colonialism allowed the exploitation of communities and the expropriation of their land for the benefit of capital in the global North. In both Leitrim and Liberia, I saw the importance of the participation, empowerment and collective action of communities to address environmental injustice. These experiences radically transformed my analysis as a community worker and reinforced

my belief in the potential for community work approaches to address environmental injustice.

Returning to Ireland in September 2012 I soon found myself in back Leitrim when Young Friends of the Earth (YFoE) held its network gathering in Drumshanbo. We met with the Leitrim Organic Farmers Association who told us of their concerns, as well as hearing presentations from Aedín McLoughlin (Good Energies Alliance Ireland) and Leah Doherty (No Fracking Ireland). That experience galvanised my engagement once again and I supported the setting up of an anti-fracking working group with YFoE. I took part in a flurry of solidarity activity in Dublin which in retrospect was perhaps more an education for me than it was effective. On one occasion we organised a small moving demonstration through Dublin with activists in ‘fracker’ costumes inviting the public to try ‘fracked water’. We also gathered at the Ha’penny Bridge in Dublin to celebrate Love Leitrim campaigners Ceciliy Gilligan’s 200km walk to the Dáil. However, my active involvement with the campaign dropped off in 2013 when I spent a year in living in Berlin interning with a trade justice organisation and supporting migrant rights and anti-racism work in the city. It was not until 2015, in the second year of my PhD, that I returned to Leitrim and asked Love Leitrim to allow me to work with them as a case study.

In the mean-time, my involvement with environmental activism had grown. I joined the steering group for Friends of the Earth Europe’s youth network, and through them became engaged in the international climate justice movement. We organised several European-wide climate justice gatherings for young people. These gatherings aimed to build activist’s capacity to engage with climate politics as well as build the strength of our network member groups. Through this network I had the opportunity to contribute to Friends of the Earth Europe’s preparations for COP21, the December 2015 UN climate change negotiations, and to join their delegation in Paris. The experience of COP21 exposed me to the world and politics of international civil society, as I followed the negotiations as an NGO observer with a Friends of the Earth badge. My subsequent reflections and analysis of the Paris Agreement were published in the *Journal of Radical Community Work* (Gorman 2016a).

As well as spending time at the negotiations I attended many side events organised by NGOs and social movements. Hearing the perspectives of many critical social and environmental justice groups, particularly from the global South, made a real impact on me. In one meeting facilitated by the French Climate Coalition to discuss post-COP movement strategy, the mood was summed up by one campaigner who noted that while *'following COPs is important... if we are not able to follow the fights on the ground against fossil fuels it will be difficult to have a rooted movement'* (COP21 fieldnotes, 1 December 2015). The importance of solidarity and support for the *'frontline communities'* now at the *'epicentre'* of the movement was emphasised. Oilwatch International director Nnimmo Bassey, who had visited Manorhamilton in 2014, stressed that the global movement *'needs to find a way to address the roots. We need to amplify the successes of frontline communities'*. The meeting developed a consensus around a strategy that *'strengthens local struggles, connects them and scales them up'* (COP21 fieldnotes, 1 December 2015).

During the COP, an international anti-fracking summit also took place which drew together anti-fracking campaigners from 40 countries who had converged in Paris. Arriving at the event I sat next to an American rancher in a cowboy hat. When he learned I was from Ireland he excitedly showed me photos of himself wearing a Love Leitrim *'Farming not Fracking'* t-shirt which he had been sent. It struck me how important an awareness raising tool those t-shirts were. Participants shared *'stories of solidarity and struggle'*, including from the Lock the Gate movement in Australia where 350 communities *'revoked the social licence of the company'* by declaring themselves *'gas-field free communities'*. Noting that a ban in one place can be pointed to by campaigners elsewhere one participant suggested that *'every ban is a success for the whole movement'*. Josh Fox, the director of Oscar nominated fracking documentary *Gasland*, invited participants to:

'look beyond our own battles and see the bigger picture, in the name of compassion, human rights and equality... It will be up to us in the grassroots to author the climate agreement, with a sense of generosity, reaching beyond our own struggles' (COP21 fieldnotes, 9 December 2015).

My engagement with the international climate movement, and especially my time at COP21 and its side events, left me with a deep sense of the importance of supporting frontline communities in the struggle against fracking and for climate justice. As a community worker this approach made intuitive sense, both morally as the right thing to do and strategically to address the issue at source. While in Paris I attended a public talk with Canadian author Naomi Klein. Her popular journalistic monograph, *This Change Everything* (2014) created much debate in the climate justice movement by urging activists and movement organisations to focus on solidarity with the communities who found themselves as the ‘sacrifice zones’ (Klein, 2014) for fossil fuel companies. As I searched the literature on community work I realised that in Ireland and global North our practice was only just beginning to engage with questions of climate change and environmental justice. Eager to address this issue further, I decided to return to Leitrim - and to Love Leitrim – to undertake my PhD fieldwork.

Given my history as an activist with the anti-fracking campaign, I was very much a participant, and to some extent an insider, in the movement which I sought to study. This dynamic required careful consideration as I moved into the role of being a researcher with the movement. Being an insider gave me several advantages as a researcher. I had already built relationships (and friendships) with campaigners in Leitrim that meant a level of trust existed between us. This supported me to gain unparalleled access to the case study site. My knowledge of fracking and wider climate issues also helped me to understand the case context. At the same time though I was a “blow-in” to Leitrim and I was careful to reflect on my outsider position. I sought to develop an understanding of local life and remain sensitive to how I could act in solidarity with the local community. An element of this reflexive strategy was to consider how my values, assumptions and political analysis affected my approach to the fieldwork. Through this reflexive process, I came to understand how my insider position in the environmental movement affected the assumptions I made as a researcher, which in turn shaped my early engagement in the case and interviews with participants. My own personal prejudice included an anger at what I perceived as the mainstream environmental movement’s lack of an environmental

justice focus. I was concerned that official and NGO environmentalism rarely takes up or addresses the environmental concerns of marginalised or disadvantaged groups, including rural communities. Furthermore, when it does, I believed that it tended to “speak for” rather than “stand with” frontline communities. My insider position in the movement, led me to initial framing of the research question to explore the relationship between movement actors and frontline communities in order to address what I considered to be a participatory injustice within the movement. However, as I began my fieldwork I realised that this narrow focus on the relationship between frontline communities and the environmental movement did not reflect the nuances and richness of empirical reality in the campaign. I had assumed that the relationship between movement NGOs and communities was central to addressing environmental injustice. However, during the research process it became clear that this question placed too great an emphasis on the environmental movement as an interlocutor for Love Leitrim. As I reflected on what the data were suggesting, I noticed that focusing on the relationship between the group and the wider movement failed to take into account how campaigners strategically related to other communities, political representatives, policy makers and the media in order to be heard and effect change.

Throughout the period of my fieldwork I continued to hold multiple positions as both a researcher and an actor in the movement. Upon moving to Manorhamilton I requested to Love Leitrim to undertake my fieldwork with the group and I became a member myself. At the group’s annual general meeting, early in the fieldwork, I was proposed for the vice-chairperson role, which was vacant. While the role did not have significant responsibility, I decided against taking a formal role in the group. However, I did feel it was important for me to contribute in a supporting way to the activities of the group and so I took on the role of stock-keeper for the Love Leitrim t-shirts. In May 2016, a fossil fuel company named Infrastrata began test drilling at Woodburn forest near Carrickfergus in County Antrim. I spent a week at the site with the local community, sharing updates and information with Leitrim campaigners and writing a news article about the drilling which appeared in *Village* magazine (Gorman, 2016b). In July 2016 I worked with a team of Love Leitrim volunteers and Friends of the Earth to deliver an anti-fracking youth arts summer programme. The programme

culminated in the young people creating three sculpture pieces which were exhibited alongside artist Brian Connolly's *'Fractured Thinking'* exhibition in the Leitrim Sculpture Centre.

In September and October, as legislation to ban fracking progressed through the Oireachtas I supported Love Leitrim's #BackTheBill campaign, including by liaising and sharing information with Dublin-based activists and organising an online petition on the *Uplift* platform. Later I also made contributions to the community development concerns section of Love Leitrim's submission to the Oireachtas Committee hearing on the anti-fracking bill. In 2016, I joined several members of Love Leitrim to form a sub-group named *Comhrá (Irish= conversation)*. Inspired in part by Liam Scollan's (2016) call to *'reimagine rural Ireland'*, the aim of this group was to *'support community conversations which help to imagine and build a sustainable, inclusive and just future for all in Leitrim and beyond'* (Love Leitrim *Comhrá* document, 2016). After the ban on fracking was enacted in summer 2017, the *Comhrá* group held a hybrid street feast/world cafe style event during the community Stoney Woods Festival. Festival goers shared a meal together on the main street of Kiltyclogher and were invited to reflect on the questions *'What's your wish for Leitrim? What's your wish for your children's future in Leitrim?'*

As a community worker I value justice, solidarity and mutuality, and this was reflected in how I took on the role of researcher during the fieldwork (as noted in chapter four, section 4.4.1). My research project was not a matter of simply mining for data and leaving to write up my report. Instead, as an Interviewer-traveller, my journey as a researcher became intertwined with the community's journey through the campaign. As a researcher I sought to understand and to capture the lived experiences of the campaigners who organised to resist fracking. Participant observation was a key method which enabled this, combined with interviews and documentary analysis which provided me with rich and nuanced data from the case study site. I made a conscious effort to ensure that my presence as a researcher in the community was relevant and useful to the campaign and I sought to ensure ethical accountability and responsibility towards research participants through regular engagement and updates at Love Leitrim meetings. The experience of

working as a researcher alongside Love Leitrim's campaigners alerted me to the possibilities and challenges of such engaged research.

5.7 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to present a detailed description of the case which composed this case study research. In undertaking this description, I have focused on five distinct but interrelated aspects of the case, namely: the community of north Leitrim; the emergence of fracking as an issue in the community; the establishment of Love Leitrim as a response to fracking; Love Leitrim's campaign to secure a ban on fracking; my role within the case as a community worker, activist and researcher.

In section 5.2, I examined my case study site from a historical and socio-economic perspective. In this section I paid particular attention to issues which are important for community work as well as giving an account of the community development structures in county Leitrim. This community profile illustrated that Leitrim is a historically marginalised and poor county on the national periphery. Communities in Leitrim are concerned that they are '*off the policy-makers' radar*' (table 5.4) when it comes to investment in services and support for the rural economy. The profile showed that fracking is not the first or only large-scale industry which has been proposed for Leitrim, with the widespread afforestation of the county also being pursued as a national policy objective in the face of local opposition.

Leitrim's relative marginality in economic and political terms sets the scene for this case study and for the arrival of the fracking companies. Section 5.3 presented the details of this event in 2011, focusing on how the people of north Leitrim first came to know about the fracking project and the initial steps which they took in response to it. At that early stage, the film *Gaslands* was a hugely important awareness raising tool which catalysed action from a range of campaign groups in the north-west. The initial months of the campaign were characterised by the active

presence of the fracking companies in the area, particularly Tamboran. However, Tamboran's strategy of active engagement with the community and local public representatives did not lead to community acquiescence and by late 2011, Love Leitrim had formed in Manorhamilton.

Section 5.4 addressed the origin and development of Love Leitrim. I noted how the group used a conversational approach to build its membership and highlighted how the group adopted a positive and creative approach to campaigning which prefiguratively built community while seeking a ban on fracking. These are important elements of Love Leitrim's approach which I examine further in chapter six. In this section I also noted how Love Leitrim campaigners were drawn from across a broad political spectrum and how the group sought to engage in local politics but with a focus on addressing policy issues at a national level. The group's efforts to 'jump scales' and influence political decision making from the local to the national are the detailed focus of chapter seven. In order to provide further context for the subsequent findings chapters, section 6.4 presented a detailed timeline of the campaign which focused on key political moments and on Love Leitrim's public activities.

Finally, in section 5.6, I have reflected on my own positionality as a researcher noting that I hold multiple identities and positions within the case. I traced my own engagement with the anti-fracking campaign and the journey which led me to undertake this case study research. I acknowledged my position as a community worker, activist and researcher and reflected on how I negotiated these roles during the research process.

Chapter 6

Building a local base for collective action

6.1 Introduction

In order for campaigners to *reach out* and influence outcomes at a structural level it was essential for them to first be *rooted* firmly in the local community. By paying attention to processes and practices which built a local base for collective action, campaigners gained a “social licence” which legitimated their actions, gave weight to the campaign and could be called on for active support at crucial moment. The concept of the social licence is used in the fields of forestry and natural resource extraction to describe how a company gains and maintains the acquiescence of a community to operate⁶ (Gehman *et al.*, 2017; Gunster and Neubauer, 2018; Moffat *et al.*, 2015). Turning the concept on its head, in this chapter I explore how Love Leitrim gained a social licence to campaign against fracking in the north-west. In order to be able to engage politically and influence outcomes at a structural level, it was necessary for campaigners to build a local base for collective action. This chapter outlines the approach which Love Leitrim took to do this.

The chapter is based on the global theme of ‘*building a local base for collective action*’ which emerged in my data analysis process. This global theme focuses on the approaches which Love Leitrim took to organising locally in the north-west in order to develop a strong base of support in the region that allowed them to act politically and structurally to secure a ban on fracking. Through my data collection and analysis, three strands emerged as organising themes which were central to the process of

⁶ Drawing on this concept, Australian community activists developed the ‘Lock the Gate’ movement which worked to systematically revoke the social licence of oil and gas companies seeking to frack there by organising all the landowners in an area to publicly without consent and lock their gates to the industry.

building a local base for collective action. These were (1) *'building group capacity'*, (2) *'gaining trust in the community'* and (3) *'strategic awareness raising'*. The chapter is structured around a discussion of each of these themes. Figure 6.1 (*overleaf*) represents this thematic network visually. This will be followed in chapter seven by a discussion of the second global theme which emerged from my data analysis: *'influencing outcomes at wider scales'*. This global theme focused on the strategies which Love Leitrim adopted to engage with political, policy-making and regulatory structures in order to influence outcome and ultimately secure a legislative ban on fracking.

6.2 Building group capacity

The first practice which supported Love Leitrim to build a local base was to pay attention to the internal capacity of the group and its members. In section 6.2.1, I explore the process by which members of Love Leitrim developed their personal analysis and expertise as campaigners. The group developed a wide-ranging set of expertise and the capacity to inform each other and the wider community about complex technical, scientific and regulatory issues surrounding fracking. A second practice which was important in building group capacity was learning from and exchanging with other communities resisting fracking and similar environmental injustices. This is addressed in section 6.2.2. Love Leitrim developed its capacity through wide ranging exchanges with other communities, from North American anti-fracking campaigners to the Irish community of Rossport who spent over a decade resisting a gas refinery and pipeline. Thirdly, all of this was supported by a sound group structure, with clear aims and objectives, and an open and inclusive culture. Section 6.2.3 examines how Love Leitrim used a loose working group approach, guided by its aims and objectives, which facilitated a diversity of people to engage in a wide variety of different activities through the group.

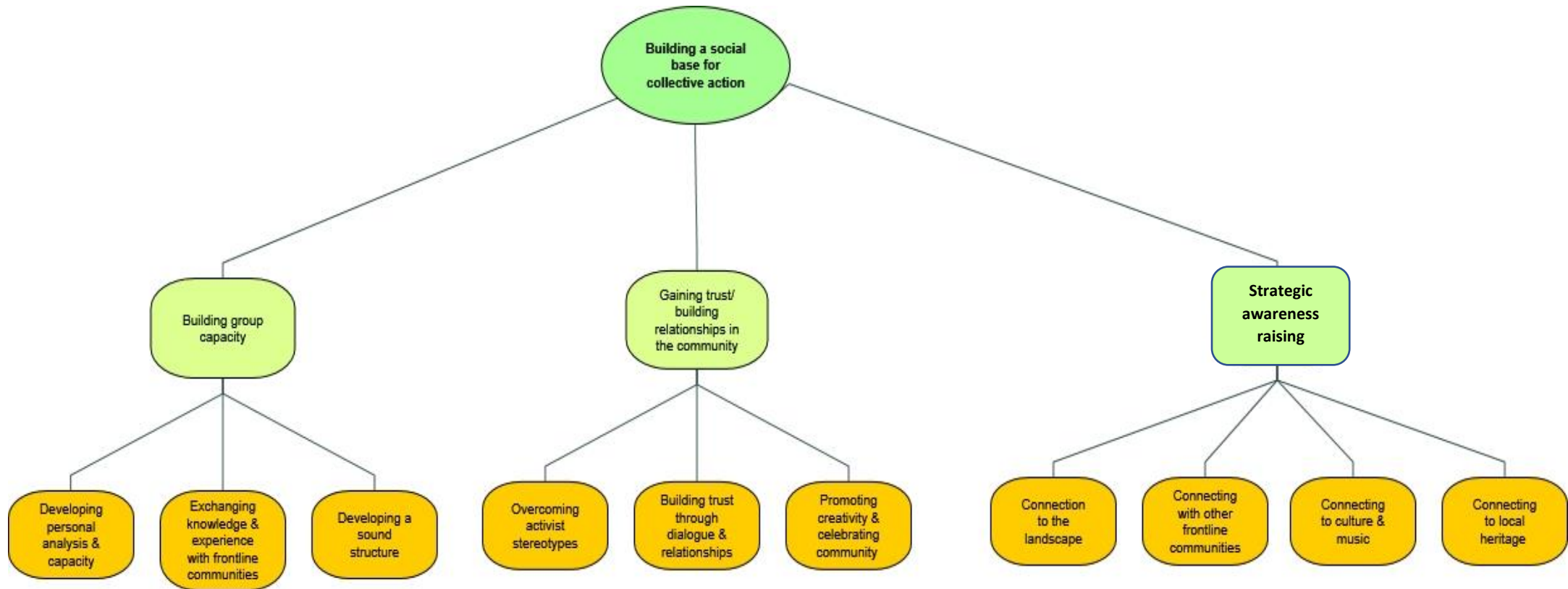


Figure 6.1: Thematic network for building a social base for collective action

6.2.1 Developing personal analysis and expertise

As noted in chapter five, some Love Leitrim members came to the group with political experience garnered from local party politics, but many were new to political activism and particularly to environmental campaigning. Several members of the group described the anti-fracking campaign as *'an education'* (Emma) and a *'learning curve'* (Heather). For Alison, *'all of my Love Leitrim activity is all based on firsts. This is all stuff I hadn't done before. So it's all new'*. Similarly, Heather spoke about the event management skills learned organising Love Leitrim events. This learning by doing approach typified Love Leitrim's approach to campaigning, which meant that the group could *'play to people's strengths and... create avenues for people to contribute through doing what they're good at'* (Shane). In addition to building personal capacity through engagement with the campaign, members of the group developed their own personal analysis and sense of themselves as campaigners. Emma described the experience as *'definitely eye opening'*, noting that *'once you go down, so to speak, the rabbit hole, you kinda see more stuff going on... You're kind of just more astute. I don't know if I can come back out of it now either!'* For Fergus the campaign *'really woke me up. Like before this happened I'd been asleep. I didn't know what was going on around the world until this thing took place'*. Similarly, for Margaret, it *'really would have been only when there was kind of threats of something happening near me, I suppose that I started paying attention really.'*

Robert highlights how the experience of the campaign has irrevocably changed his view of himself and the world:

'Like we're not stupid, but we are... in relation to all the stuff that's happened, in relation to anti-fracking and the environmental stuff, what's going on and what's behind it, you know... completely innocent. And most people are innocent to that like. It's not on the news. It's not being discussed anywhere. It takes a long time to discover what we think now, what we understand as being the world. My idea of what's going on around me has changed a lot. You know we're woken to a different place.'

The campaign provided many consciousness-raising experiences for the

members of Love Leitrim, who developed their understanding and analysis of fracking, environmental justice, governance and democracy through the course of the campaign. Many described the campaign as a positive and empowering experience. Alison felt that it was *'a really positive thing funny enough, to have had an opportunity to work on things and learn this much... I feel like a more useful person now [laughs]. And, and yeah more optimistic. I think eh, I feel empowered to do something'*

Triona reflected on how the campaign helped her to understand *'the power of one, and then the power of more than one and that local groups and community groups do have a voice, and can change, can cause change'*. She went on to note that

'I think we have done that in Love Leitrim [cause change] and it's been a huge learning curve for me because I started off with "oh you need to do a bit of fundraising" and "we need to have t-shirts on at 10ks [runs]", and, you know, we're still doing that cause that's the grassroots stuff but we're also doing the much more advanced stuff as well' (Triona).

Triona suggests here that developing her analysis and the group learning how to combine the *'grassroots stuff'* of community engagement and events with the *'advanced stuff'* of political advocacy was crucial for the success of the campaign.

Addressing the issue of fracking required campaigners to develop their knowledge across a range of areas, from the technical engineering process of drilling to the legal process of licencing as well as fracking's relationship to a range of policy areas such as public health and climate change. Alison noted how:

'it took me a long time to get any way confident in my knowledge because there's so much about the process itself that's all engineering based which is all new to me. The political or licencing part of it, or legal part of it was a whole other ball game that I didn't know anything about, and then the health stuff [evidence] started to come in, so it felt like a huge subject'.

In the face of this challenge, Love Leitrim developed expertise in a range of areas. The *'health stuff'* which Alison spoke about included academic papers and regulators' reports from North America. In 2013, the New Brunswick Chief Medical

Officer, Dr Eilis Cleary, published a health impact assessment of fracking in that Canadian province. This report was extremely useful for the Irish campaign as a credible and official English language report which presented evidence of the negative impact of fracking. Indeed, Dr Cleary, who is herself Irish, subsequently spoke at a public meeting in Enniskillen in 2013.

The availability of health evidence from North America made a significant contribution to the Irish campaign, as Bernie noted:

'I think we kind zoned in on the public health issue because we thought public health affects everybody: tinker, tailor, soldier, spy. Everybody's affected by public health, if you're rich or you're poor... So we thought it was very important to push that. And then to get awareness of other public health concerns in other countries... And the information, like globally, that's been coming in on that has been really important to us.'

In the next chapter, I explore the campaign's use of the public health frame in its advocacy efforts. Here though it is important to stress that information and support from frontline communities and campaigners in North America was extremely important in helping Irish campaigners to develop expertise which they subsequently used to be effective in the policy-making process.

A questioning approach and a peer-to-peer process of information sharing helped members to develop their knowledge of policy and regulatory issues. Robert recalled how *'the one thing we were good at was talking to other people'*, including the fracking companies and politicians. The group engaged openly with its interlocutors and through this, they *'learned a lot quickly'*:

'I mean if we hadn't spoke to the companies, we would have, we wouldn't have known anything. Because like, we asked them questions and they answered those questions – not always with the truth, but I mean we didn't expect the truth, you know we expected an answer. And those answers allowed us to ask more questions. So we educated ourselves by asking questions. And then in order to answer those questions, as the questions grew, then we went further out looking for answers' (Robert).

Through this approach to information gathering and researching the industry, the group made a conscious effort to be what Triona described as *'unreasonably reasonable'*, particularly in their engagement with the fracking companies. Triona recalled that Tamboran *'were almost disappointed how reasonable we were because you know it was harder for them to handle reasonable people'*. Triona suggested that this approach was particularly useful in countering the company's promise to deliver 600 local jobs by getting to company to explain in detail where the jobs would be *'rather than calling them a shower of lying feckers, which they were!'* (Triona).

As the group's focus shifted away from the company and towards engagement with the regulatory system and policy making, ad hoc working groups were established to respond to policy consultations and to gather information through Freedom of Information and Access to Environmental Information requests. This approach built the group's capacity to engage with policy issues and decision makers to influence outcomes. However, at times this process of information gathering also created an informal hierarchy in the group where some members had a greater understanding of the technical, policy and political issues involved. At meetings the smaller group with the expertise tended to spend time *'giving information or explaining developments'*, and Alison felt that at times meetings were like an *'expert-led seminar nearly rather than a community meeting'*. However, she stressed that:

'the people who were in [the group] at that time were probably happy enough cause a lot of us were new and we were learning and we didn't have that much to contribute... And I like learning like that, I like learning by just sitting and listening so that suited me [laughs]'.

At times though, other group members felt lost. Heather recalled that sometimes *'you get home from a meeting and somebody'd ring you and say "what ... was that about? What are we supposed to be doing?"'*. Claire recalled how when she first joined the group:

'for a long time in the meetings I just didn't understand much of what was being said. You know, the information. [It was] mainly the men who were very active and understood all the legislation and that. It was like a

language that was being spoken that was way beyond me and so very hard to actually get to grips with the whole issue of fracking and what it was about’.

Several respondents pointed to the gendered nature of this informal hierarchy in the group, where it tended to be men who first developed technical expertise and contributed to the meetings. However the question of gender relations in the group was never fully addressed, but the group *‘had some workshops to look at how we were working together and that really helped’* (Claire). Indeed, group development workshops became a feature of Love Leitrim’s approach from an early stage and I return to this in section 6.2.3 below.

6.2.2 Exchanging knowledge and experience with frontline communities

In building their awareness and analysis, many campaigners highlighted the importance of connecting with and learning from campaigners and communities around the world. Through Twitter and Facebook campaigners could *‘follow what’s going on all around the world’* (Fergus). Campaigners often discussed other communities facing fracking and similar environmental injustices. During the time of my fieldwork, in 2016-17, the conflict at Standing Rock was an ongoing and pressing issue. The indigenous community and their allies sought to prevent the building of the Dakota Access Pipeline on Lakota land at Standing Rock in South Dakota. Love Leitrim campaigners took part in several solidarity photos for Standing Rock which were posted online and published in the local newspaper (*see figure. 6.2*). For Love Leitrim campaigners this was a well-established approach, and as Bernie noted:

‘We would always have linked, and it’s really powerful if you can, that we would always link the work- what we’re doing in Leitrim- and our concerns in Leitrim very much with global and the experiences of people in other countries’.



Figure 6.2: Two Love Leitrim - Standing Rock solidarity photographs, July 2016

This approach had several benefits in terms of local awareness raising which I explore below in section 6.4. In terms of shaping campaigners' own analysis and identities, these links with other communities facing similar issues were important (*see figure 6.2*). Often in interviews and conversations campaigners raised the situations faced by other communities facing extractivism such as Standing Rock, Woodburn and Lancashire. This '*common ground*' (Shane) between communities, a common experience of extractivism faced by communities, forged a bond across distance and difference. Through this common experience, Leitrim campaigners had more in common with the Lakota than with other Irish communities outside of the licence area. Given this, Leitrim campaigners often related their own activism to other that of other communities facing a similar issue.

Besides the intrinsic value of solidarity and friendship, connections with other frontline communities were extremely useful because they supported Leitrim campaigners to develop their political analysis of the oil and gas industry, as well extractivism and environmental justice more broadly. Michelle suggested that globally '*there are huge similarities ... in terms of the types of things that people are up against*', like '*how it's very often very poor areas. There's obviously the promise of employment*'. Similarly, when Shane met Lakota activists in the US and spoke about the oil and gas industry's approaches to divide the community and secure consent in Ireland, '*they said exactly the same tactics are used there as here. Very, very similar*'. Indeed, Michelle felt that:

'just seeing that in itself [the similarities], I think it's very, I think in terms of [...] conscientisation [...] to see how, how these tactics are used universally, I think that's hugely important for a local community.

Similarly, Shane suggested that simply bringing people together to share their experiences was an important act that connected communities '*not just [in] a theoretical way but in a practical way. And once you get people just spending time together it makes a huge difference you know? In the same room, in the same place for a while rather than just email*'. These connections and sharing information between communities is particularly important, suggested Aidan, because '*the way the industry works, it doesn't want people to particularly know about any disasters*

that have gone on’.

Leitrim campaigners benefited greatly from hearing international speakers such as Jessica Ernst *‘because she has first-hand knowledge of what this industry does if you give them their way, that they just ride roughshod over communities’* (Chris). One Irish community which shared a common experience with the Leitrim campaigners was Rosspport in Mayo, where many locals had fought a long battle against the building of a gas refinery by Shell. In the early stage of the campaign, as Leitrim campaigners sought *‘to figure out what the process was and who the different state agencies were’* (Robert) they decided to go and meet the Rosspport community. Robert recalled how the first time that he travelled to Rosspport, with several others from Leitrim, it has a *‘huge impact on us’*. The Leitrim campaigners were there to hear the experiences of the Rosspport community, but before the meeting they were taken around the area:

‘I remember being brought and stood in front of a compound and I remember seeing all the security and they all had their eyes covered and their mouths covered and bandanas and stuff. I remember them surrounding the car and taking all our photographs and writing down the number... There was four of us there and we were just going, “my God, this is our future!”’ (Robert).

All of these connections to communities and campaigners who shared common experiences with members of Love Leitrim helped to build campaigners’ analysis of fracking and wider environmental justice issues. Robert explained how he came to an understanding of fracking that situated it within a broader context of environmental injustice and broader patterns of extractivism:

‘We realise now at this stage that what we’re doing has happened before and it’s happening all over the world... the fact that companies are going into small communities and take their natural resources, I mean it’s obviously been happening for centuries and we never knew or passed any heed. We were quite happy to carry on with our lives and use everything that we had available to us. But like now we understand that, and we understand the relationship between that and climate change. You know what I mean? So we learned all that’ (Robert).

6.2.3 Developing a sound structure

Taking time to develop and maintain the group's structure was a third element which contributed to the building of group capacity, and it is to this that I now turn. Membership of Love Leitrim was fluid and fluctuated over the course of the six-year campaign. While there was *'a few people who are stoic, who are there from the start and who are still there'*, Aidan described many members involvement as coming *'in waves'*:

'At certain times, you will see some people in the group more active and have more energy to put into the group and so you know a campaign comes up for one of us or one of us is interested in taking on and you may be in a position to bring it forward if you have the energy to put into it. If you have the time and energy to put into it and if there's one person in the group who can do that then it will probably go forward with assistance when it is available from others. So that does happen, somebody might throw themselves into one particular campaign [project] but by the end of it they'll be kind of worn out by it and then maybe need to take time out. So what you've got is sort of waves of people to a certain extent coming and going along with the people who have taken on the solid roles such as the Chair and the Secretary who are there at every meeting but there are others within the group that are sort of, they'll get heavily involved in one campaign but then back off for certain length of time. So there's a cross of different people coming and going. And because of the Love Leitrim structure as well, being open membership you know you have people who come and go...'

This extract from Aidan emphasises several important points about Love Leitrim's organisational structures. He highlights how the group developed an enduring and resilient organisational structure through its flexible project by project engagement of a wider membership, with others provided continuity in the 'solid roles' of chairperson, secretary and treasurer. All of this was facilitated by an open, inclusive and friendly group structure made the group a welcoming space in which a variety of interests and approaches could be accommodated. Love Leitrim was open to anyone

in the community to join and several respondents commented on the importance of the open nature of the group. Bernie stressed that *'it's really important to be very open'* and emphasised that *'there's respect for everyone who comes to a meeting and eh, everybody deserves to be heard. You know, and everybody has something to offer and I think we live that in Love Leitrim... I think the word respect is why Love Leitrim has survived'* (Bernie). This approach meant that the group attracted *'a cross spectrum of people'*, according to Emma, who suggested that the group's *'success has been every walk of life being involved'*.

Ultimately, this ethos of respect and inclusivity meant that many members enjoyed their involvement with Love Leitrim and the group became a positive social space for many people. Alison recalled how *'it has hugely increased my community connections and community investment and a feeling of belonging'*. Similarly, for Triona, the social space of the group was important because *'for me, I got to know a whole new load of friends from it'*. Many campaigners shared similar sentiments, and in particular suggested that the social aspects of the group were important because *'we're very rural, we're very isolated'* (Heather) and *'as a community, the population is quite dispersed in North Leitrim'* (Bernie). From this perspective, suggested Bernie, *'it's actually been great to be part of that network of people, a very diverse network of people'*. Heather described how *'there's blood, sweat and tears gone into Love Leitrim... and there's family, and there's trials and tribulations and everything'*, all of which gave campaigners a sense of ownership over the group.

The pressures of the threat of fracking and the busyness of the campaign galvanised bonding experiences for many campaigners. Heather joked that *'it got to the stage I would have known a couple of Love Leitrim's numbers off by heart. And I didn't even know my own children's!'* Margaret reflected on the experience of site battles and how such events *'created a community in a sense'*. She recalled how *'at one stage in the campaign at Belcoo we were laughing about making... some kind of placards that said: 'the anti-fracking campaign: bringing communities together since... whenever'*. It was also in Belcoo that Triona thought *'this is more than about fracking. This is about communities coming together. And I suppose if there was anything positive about the threat of fracking it's the people that I've got to meet*

over it. You know I have made friends for live through fracking’.

Building on this open and inclusive ethos, the group developed its structures through periodic development days and these structures provided a coherence for Love Leitrim activities while allowing for a diversity of roles and activities. Several local people with community development expertise deliberately remained outside the group in order to be able to facilitate a number of group development days where the group considered its vision, objectives and ways of working. Through these development days Love Leitrim also agreed its written constitution. Several campaigners stressed the importance of these sessions for ensuring the sustainability and longevity of the group. For example, Alison recalled how in 2014 *‘we were having a problem with recruitment and retention, we were taking on too much and we’d sort of lost focus a bit’*. The group met again with the external facilitators who *‘really whipped it into shape and said what’s your aim, what are you doing, how does that relate to your aim, if it doesn’t relate to your aim are you really going to do it?’* (Alison).

There was some disagreement in the group about how often to meet. Some people preferred the face to face contact of regular meetings for information sharing and strategising and for a time the group met weekly. Others felt a weekly meeting was too time consuming and the travel was a logistical and financial burden. The existing convention in the group was for smaller groups to take on ad hoc projects, and following a development day in late 2015, the group formally adopted this approach of working in sub-committees and working groups while continuing to meet as a full group once a month. Sub-committees were established to deal with finances, fundraising and public relations. Other working groups were used to carry out the work of the group (*see table 6.1*).

As legislation to ban fracking progressed through the Oireachtas in 2016, a Legislation working group was also established. Each working group included several members of the group, and a template was developed which working groups used to report to the full meetings of Love Leitrim. Claire explained that:

Love Leitrim working groups 2016

- The Concerned Health Professionals of Ireland Campaign
- Election hustings 2016
- Technical Info gathering and Freedom of Information Letters
- Community Energy Co-op
- Young People's Environment Project
- Community Arts 2016
- Kiltyclogher St Patrick's Parade
- Sign making group
- Fracking Free Network meetings / events
- Vote frack free Pledge campaign and follow ups

(Love Leitrim internal document, April 2016)

Table 6.1: Love Leitrim working groups 2016

'a lot of [the work] happens in smaller groups or people go off on their own and do whatever they need to do under the broad umbrella of Love Leitrim and that's a really good way to work. That people can go off and do the work that needs to be done, but the coming back or even getting the... Not so much the approval but if you're going to be doing something under the auspice of Love Leitrim, it needs to be clear the way you're going to work and how you're going to do it'.

In addition to the sub-committees and working groups, Love Leitrim also formed two companies which could be used *'in order to look for information and to take legal challenges if they become necessary'* (Robert). Establishing the companies meant that a legal action *'wouldn't fall on a person'* (Alison) but it also ensured that the people who might take any legal action would be *'the people who will be affected by fracking'* (Robert). This approach was taken following the advice of the community in Rossport that the community itself should seek to remain in control of any legal action. Robert recalls how:

'We just understood enough to know that it had to be us and not to be all of those really interesting people from the outside who'd love to help and with loads of experience. It actually had to be us because we were the people that would still be here when everything else was gone'.

Shane felt that *'it's good thinking in terms of facilitating people to do what they're good at... If you let people do what they're good at, you get far more benefit out of it than making people do maybe what they're not that good at but they will do anyway maybe cause they believe in it'*. Love Leitrim's organisational structure took this approach and facilitated *'a whole series of little things but everything adds up into a bigger whole'* (Bernie) which allowed a *'wide diversity of people'* (Heather) to be engaged with and contribute to the work of the group. This contributed to the group's longevity because *'whatever your area of expertise is and whatever you want to be doing, it's only sustainable if that's what you're doing'*, suggested Triona. She recalled too how *'some people who had really no involvement before or after just came along and did registration for a 10k [run] and they were happy to do that'*. In addition to ensuring ongoing support for the group to carry out its activities, this open and inclusive approach which drew on different people at different times also contributed to a sense of the group's rootedness in the locality.

6.3 Gaining trust and building relationships in the community

As noted in the previous chapter, many of Love Leitrim's members were active and engaged in local life through a range of community groups and activities. As campaigners, they were attuned to the subtle nuances of rural Irish community life and were able to draw on their existing social networks to gain trust and building relationships in the community. In section 6.3.1, I consider the challenge of overcoming activist stereotypes of the "tree hugging hippy". Campaigners were cognisant that such stereotypes presented a barrier to gaining local trust and fostering collective action in a community which had little tradition of environmental activism. In section 6.3.2, I examine how Love Leitrim members took a dialogical and relational approach to understanding and responding to community concerns about

fracking. This dialogical approach built on relationships and social connections to spread awareness and to knit the campaign into the social fabric of rural life, from the St Patrick's Day parade to participation in the local agricultural show. In doing so, Love Leitrim took a positive and creative approach to contributing to local community life and I explore this further in section 6.3.3. Through the group's active participation in a variety of events, Love Leitrim became embedded as an intrinsic part of local community life rather than remaining a siloed and outward facing campaign group.

6.3.1 Hippies and blow-ins: Overcoming activist stereotypes

Rural Ireland has a strong tradition of radical community action, as I have discussed in chapter three, however the typical "radical" discourses of the left do not have a strong cultural resonance in rural Ireland and attempts to evoke such framings tend not to have sufficient 'narrative fidelity' (Benford and Snow, 1992) to connect with the lived realities of local people's lives. Indeed, many campaigners highlighted the generally negative framing of protestors which they felt was portrayed in the media discourse and which influenced local people's perceptions of collective action. In beginning to develop their collective action frames, campaigners had to be cognisant not just of the arguments in favour of fracking, but also of the '*people who were anti the "anti-people"... people who just didn't like protestors*' (Alison). Heather stressed that working to overcome this was a priority for her:

'a lot of the reactionary environmental issues were seen as bad. The media had portrayed [...] a stereotype of people, you know the long-haired hippy hanging out of a tree [...] to stop the motorway or Carnsore Point, a load of drop outs... you know this sort of image and it was media based'.

Heather refers here to the successful 1970s campaign against nuclear power at Carnsore Point in Wexford. Campaigners also found that the media sought to make comparisons with the anti-Shell gas refinery campaign in Rossport, Mayo. While many campaigners acknowledged the debt they felt they owed to '*the people of the Corrib*' (Robert) for their support and advice, they were also aware of the negative framing of the anti-Shell campaign which the mainstream media discourse had

portrayed and how this might affect their efforts to frame the issues of fracking. Triona recalled how in the early stage of the campaign, *'every interview we did [journalists would ask]: 'ah is this another Rossport?' You know?'* She stressed that *'now we'd be very proud to be compared to the people in Rossport'*, but at the time *'people would use that as a put down to us'*. Campaigners therefore had to thread carefully in order to avoid *'handing the stick to the media to beat us with'* (Triona). Indeed, as Heather recalled, some early actions by the group were met by resistance locally. At a small demonstration when a government minister came to open a community centre being met with hostility by locals:

'we got a tractor and a few of us had a couple of signs. Stood away from them because we weren't going to infringe on the community. It was their event and they were delighted with the minister they were going to show off. But we just stood really quietly and we were asked by several of them to move' (Heather).

While attendance at awareness meetings at the early stages of the campaign was *'reasonably good'*, Fergus noted that *'it was hard to convince some people now. And a lot of the farmers, they wouldn't go to them meetings cause they said: "ah sure it's only hippies that goes to them, and tree huggers", and that's the way a lot of them would have looked at it'*. For many farmers the environment was seen as an issue only for the "tree huggers". At the same time, the case of Rossport was fresh in many locals' minds and there was a fear that the "hippies and lefties" who they saw coming to visit and live in Rossport in solidarity with the campaign there and were perceived to have high-jacked the campaign against the will of the local community.

In early media and popular framings of the anti-fracking campaign *'it was quite clear that we were all supposed to be tree huggers and hippies, which when you were involved - I mean every type of person was there, but we were being misrepresented'* (Robert). Such misrepresentations had the potential to shape local perceptions of activists as far from reflecting people like themselves, and thus had the potential to mute the mobilisation of those who might not quickly associate with activist discourses. Such stereotypical framings have their origins in 1960s hippy

counter-culture but were reinvigorated by the media discourse around the 1990s roads protests in the UK (Wall, 1999). Ironically, they play on the image of the activist (rather than the company) as the invading “other”, coming into the community from outside. In rural Ireland where social capital, authority and power are linked to a person’s historical connection to a place, labelling someone as a “blow-in” or outsider is a powerful frame with which people or ideas may be discredited in a community.

Thus, overcoming activist stereotypes and securing the support of the local community was essential to gaining legitimacy locally. Reflecting this challenge for the campaign, Robert noted that *‘now we seemed to have got across a lot of those barriers but we were very lucky to get across those barriers. They were significant barriers, you know?’*. In order to overcome the barriers, Love Leitrim ensured local participation and leadership in the campaign. At the same time, many campaigners were “blow-ins” who had moved to Leitrim from other parts of Ireland, and *‘being considered a blow-in was [an] issue’* when *‘to come out on an issue’* required the support of the *‘on the land people’* (Heather). “Blow-ins” who were part of the campaign had to be attentive to this issue, as Claire pointed out:

‘Being from Dublin myself [...] Leitrim feels very welcoming but I’m also aware that you can be seen as a blow-in if you are pushing ideas very strongly, whereas if they’re put in a way that are tentative and questioning so that everybody is seen as “we’re all part of this together” [...] Similarly, asking the “what if” questions, or building on what people know. That would be the key thing.’

The group had several members who were locals with generational ties to the land. Their participation and involvement was *‘terribly important’*, suggested Chris, because *‘that allowed [the group] to bed in for the long haul’*. Campaigners intuitively understood the relational way in which we understand the world and make sense of issues by putting new information into context. This meant that the local community were far more likely to trust and accept information which was provided by local people. Robert explained that:

‘You’re an open book in your own home, so when you discover something or learn something, people can really

understand it in the proper context in which it's given... They can read what's being said and they can look at the information through their knowledge about who says it... We were able to access people because of the relationships that we had built previously. But when the stranger comes to say it there isn't that knowledge'.

Fracking was a complex and controversial subject, and campaigners understood that by engaging in conversations and building on existing relationships they could communicate their position more effectively and overcome stereotypes. This understanding was a cornerstone of building trust in the group.

6.3.2 Building trust through dialogue and relationships

Campaigners consistently emphasised the importance of open and undirected conversations with people in the community as a starting point for awareness raising. At an early meeting of concerned community members, which later became Love Leitrim participants set themselves the task to *'talk to ten people about fracking'* (Bernie). This meant that campaigners initially tapped into their local social networks and as a result *'it ... spiralled out, certainly in terms of awareness and the amount of people that know about it'* (Bernie). Information and awareness was spread by *'just talking to people, talking to people I knew [...] You'd meet children's friends at school or playschool...'* (Emma). Taking the time to stop and chat was a very natural way to engage members of the community on the issue and one which Aidan noted had the potential to be more effective than written material:

'People are busy, get a lot of leaflets [...] you're not going to get everybody to read it. Whereas if you call to the door and speak to somebody they're more likely to have a conversation with you'.

Triona highlighted how the group's *'modus operandi was not to come in as an expert but to start a conversation'*:

'And it was "What do you think about this fracking?" Rather than going in and saying "this fracking is terrible bla bla bla!" If you ask the other person's opinion first, it's opening up the

conversation and then you'll know what they're interested in.

You know, cause they'll say:

- "well, I don't know a whole pile about it, you know more than me what do you think?"

- And then you say "well I'm very worried about... but I was chatting to someone down the road and they're very worried about..."

- "Oh god, I never thought of that!"

This short, imagined dialogue illustrated the dialogical approach which campaigners took in their initial steps to open-up conversations about the issue of fracking. She further stressed the importance of not coming across 'as preaching and know it all' and highlighted the importance of remaining curious about others' perspectives:

'It was really funny to see what worried people. There was learning in that for me. What worried me wasn't necessarily what was going to worry other people... So if you wanted to have the conversation with somebody you needed to know what they were interested in'.

Adopting a questioning stance rather than that of an expert meant that campaigners positioned themselves as equal to others in the community and valued others' knowledge and perspectives as a starting point for dialogue. Through a conversational process, they came to understand the issues which concerned the local community about fracking and which were then used to be able to develop salient message framings:

'I noticed all of a sudden that farmers weren't terribly bothered about certain things. They weren't too bothered about industrial zones. But a couple of farmers I know went berserk when they heard about the earthquakes in the UK, in Blackpool. So I said "right, that's it! I'm going to talk about earthquakes!" So I went off and researched them because there had been a lot of problems in Blackpool. So farmers are afraid of earthquakes, so I researched earthquakes and fracking. And then I talked about that!' (Triona).

This process of developing framings through dialogue chimes with Freirean approaches to the construction of generative themes through a listening survey. Campaigners took the time to listen to the concerns of the community which were expressed through countless informal interactions occurring through daily life.

What's more, they intrinsically recognised the heterogeneous nature of social reality for different people and therefore the need to respond directly to the concerns of another person. Campaigners implicitly recognised that meaning is situated, contingent and constructed relationally. This enabled them to develop framings that connected the issue of fracking with the lived reality and the concerns of those with whom they were conversing.

In addition to allowing campaigners to speak directly to the concerns of others, this conversational approach to awareness raising helped the group to embed itself in local life by building on existing social networks. Bernie stressed that:

'what the anti-fracking campaign has very much been about is personal contact. And obviously we live in a quite under-populated part of the country, so the numbers are quite small, and I think that personal contact is something that Love Leitrim has always promoted as being very important. So people actually talk to others, your family, your friends, your neighbours, and obviously getting more and more people on board'.

Conversations, personal contact and relationships were essential to the growth of the awareness, which built on that sense of connection as well as existing social bonds to grow the campaign. Bernie continued: *And it's like anything, when the numbers grow and other people see people involved, people they know, they like or respect, then they're more likely to understand that and to embrace it also - the campaign'.*

As Bernie illustrates, who is involved - and who is *seen* to be involved - were crucial question for the building of a groundswell of support for the campaign. Campaigners were concerned with this from the very early stages of the campaign. The campaign focused its efforts on building the necessary consensus amongst local landowners and businesses, aware that fossil fuel companies often adopt a divide and conquer strategy. At one early public meeting which took place in Manorhamilton in November 2011, for example, the speakers were predominantly locals: an eco-tourism business owner, a councillor who owns a farm and is a member of the Irish Farmers Association, a teacher, a priest, a vet and two community workers. The optics of this was very important.

Love Leitrim's participation and engagement in a wide range of community events meant that it was easier to recruit supporters when needed, who gave their time to run stalls, paint signs and support community events. *'We've had t-shirt sellers at 82 years of age, you know?'* noted Heather. The involvement of those supporters further contributed to the campaign's legitimacy:

'We did a 10k walk and run in Kilty a few years ago as a fundraiser. And people who were never involved in the campaign before or after were involved. I just rang them up and said: "Is there any chance you'd do the registration for us?" "Yeah I'll do it!" And I really wanted different faces to be at registration, so they came and people said: "oh are you involved?" You know? And then, it was great cause I suppose that 10k we had the local GAA club brought out their underage team to do a team event, so all of a sudden, the GAA were supporting us' (Triona).

As this extract shows, the group engaged and involved people in the community to support activities and events which had an anti-fracking angle but were not solely about fracking. People who might not be willing to take part in an explicit protest were happy to be involved in positive, community focused events that nevertheless had an anti-fracking element. This was an important approach for the building of trust in the group by making practical and positive links between Love Leitrim and the wider community. Reflecting on this, Heather felt that *'I think we've had a good record with attending events, the Manorhamilton Show and stuff, and just creating a lot of positivity about it. Just building up trust between people, between the group itself and its name and what it wants, with the community'*.

The Manorhamilton Show is an annual agricultural fair which draws farmers and families from across the north-west. Being from Dublin, I had never been to such an event before my time in Leitrim, but I knew that it was an important occasion in the life of a rural community. "The Show" has an office in the town and membership of its organising committee is a significant social marker. Speaking to me in the week before the 2016 show, Triona reflected how:

'It's interesting Jamie, because here we are organising a stand for the Agricultural Show. The first year they didn't give us a stand because they didn't really know who we

were: were we a crowd of headers [mad people]? They weren't ready for us. And again, I think we handled that very well because that was only the second meeting I was at in Heraghty's [bar] and one man who was very passionate: "Where's the Show office? I'm going up there now to protest!" I said "No, you're not going up there now to protest, I'm handling this." So, I had a friend on the committee and I said: "I can understand that you're not quite sure who we are and that's fine but let's discuss it next year". They now [say], "why haven't you booked your stand in for the show?" Five years on, they're reminding us to be there. And people - that I suppose was the mantra I adopted - people are only ready when they're ready'.

People are only ready when they're ready: what at first seems to be a truism holds a deeper wisdom which guided Love Leitrim in their work to build trust and gain a social licence. Much like the process of awareness-raising through dialogue, campaigners understood that community members were on a journey towards taking a position on fracking (or not), accepting Love Leitrim's perspective as legitimate (or not) and becoming an active campaigner (or not). From this perspective they worked slowly and carefully to gain legitimacy and acceptance in the community. The Manorhamilton Show, as an event at the heart of community life was an important opportunity to be visible, engage people in conversations, to normalise the campaign and crucially, to knit Love Leitrim into the social fabric of the community. From a starting point of being refused a place at the Show, Love Leitrim and the anti-fracking campaign were so embedded in the community that the Show organisers were chasing the group to ensure they had a presence at the event.

6.3.3 Promoting creativity and celebrating community

Love Leitrim sought to embody a '*celebratory aspect*' which was '*actually very affirmative*', suggested Chris. He emphasised that:

'we live in a beautiful place. There's all these great things happening here. It's not that we want to change it, which is often campaigns are seeking to do. We want to stop people changing it... We've got something that is very valuable

here. Let's feel positive about this place and in the process of being positive about it, let's stop this other thing happening that would be incredibly regressive'.

Throughout the course of the campaign to ban fracking, Love Leitrim creatively engaged with the wide variety community events and activities which made up local life in the north-west of Ireland. These events were important occasions for the raising of awareness and for building trust in the group. Heather highlighted how it was important *'just being seen to be out at things'* and that Love Leitrim's *'good record with attending events'* was essential to *'building up trust between people, between the group itself and its name and what it wants, with the community'*. Love Leitrim's participation in community events was also essential to the realising of the group's vision of *'a vibrant, creative, inclusive and diverse community'*. Indeed, a sense of community was an intrinsic value which Love Leitrim promoted in its way of working. Campaigners had an astute sense of the importance of doing this because, as Claire emphasised, they felt it was important for the group to work *'not just on the political but also on that community level, getting the hearts and minds of people involved'*.

In working at the community level, Love Leitrim was acknowledging and contributing an already vibrant local life. The group took part in the many local events which took place annually, including St. Patrick's Day parades, Christmas fairs and the even Glenfarne Gala Scarecrow Competition - which humorously describes itself as *'Leitrim's number 1 scarecrow competition'*. These events provided an opportunity for the group to address the issues in innovative and creative ways. For example, Claire described Love Leitrim's participation in the 2016 St. Patrick's Day in Kiltyclogher:

'We took part in the parade in Kiltyclogher and had a re-enactment of a wedding, an old [style] wedding for this couple to reaffirm their vows and they were being married by St. Patrick! But also it was about their commitment to one another and to the relationships within Leitrim... the relationships with the land and so we were all asked as part of the parade did we commit to loving one another and to loving the land and then going out to the people on the side-lines and asking them to make that commitment. So,

it was a very warm, fun way of bringing the issues to more and more people and I don't think that there was anybody there that didn't feel they didn't belong or were involved in it. So that was a really good thing to do... very positive. And I think people will remember that. And plus, they had beautiful signs that people carried both in Irish and English and also the message was basically - didn't have anything about fracking but it had about loving the land and nurturing it and nurturing one another'.

Love Leitrim took part in the Global Frackdown international day of anti-fracking action, which was developed and promoted by US NGO Food and Water Watch. The event takes place in October each year and the group often used this occasion to positively celebrate community while acting in solidarity with other communities facing fracking around the world. Bernie recalled how:

'one year we planted lots and lots of daffodil bulbs. So you know ... on that particular day, Global Frackdown Day, we put lots and lots of blubs all around Manorhamilton, at the castle and all the public areas. And it was really nice then because they came up in the spring and they were kind of a positive thing. And we always have a photo op. Of course we take a photo and we send it in the local papers and get anybody that we can to publicise it'.

Here Bernie reveals another important reason for engaging in positive and community focused events – such occasions were often covered by the local media and thus provided a hook for the group to be able to raise fracking in the media. In the case of the daffodil planting, local councillors joined for the occasion and the photo opportunity, which contributed to the group's legitimacy in the eyes of the public. I discuss Love Leitrim's relationship with the media and with politicians further in chapter eight.

The group often had stalls selling t-shirts and badges at community events such as the Manorhamilton Show and open days in the Organic Centre in Rossinver. Reflecting this practice in 2016, Triona pointed out that *even though we don't sell very much of those things, cause the market is saturated it's still a presence at things'.*

She stressed that *'we need to keep the presence [...] because people think it's gone away. If they haven't heard from us they think it's gone away. They're never going to hear it from national media. And people need to know it's not gone away and be vigilant'*. In addition to joining in with local events which offered an opportunity to communicate with community members, Love Leitrim members individually and collectively often also supported other events and activities in the social life of the community such as sponsored walks and cycles, or *'supporting local businesses like the Organic Centre, just having a stall there and sharing it with Leitrim Tourism Network so you're promoting eco-tourism'* (Heather). They did this without the explicit aim of promoting the group's cause, but by being present and support of others the campaign implicitly contributed to the vibrant sense of community in the north-west.

A sense of community was an intrinsic value which Love Leitrim promoted in its way of working. This was typified by the group's organising of a street feast world café event during a community festival which saw people come together over a meal to discuss the questions *'What's your wish for Leitrim?'* and *'What's your wish for your children's future in Leitrim?'* (see figure 6.3). Celebrating and strengthening community was a radical act which challenged the fundamental assumptions of the fracking project – a politics of disposability which assumed that Leitrim could be sacrificed to fuel the hydrocarbon economy. Through large-scale industrialisation and depopulation fracking presumed a future for Leitrim as a sacrifice zone of the fossil fuel economy. Love Leitrim was not just standing in opposition to fracking or the worldview which contributes to extractivism, and not just promoting an alternative ontology with its communications and messaging, it was actively constructing the alternatives in the way that it worked and how its members related to one another. Working in this way was particularly important for campaigners who felt:

'We've been through so much in this country. I suppose there's a realisation post Celtic Tiger you know? The Church has fallen, the banks have fallen, look what's happening with Brexit, you know? Everything that we would have looked up to in the past has crumbled around us. And at the end of the day you have nothing but yourself, your family and your community. That is the only

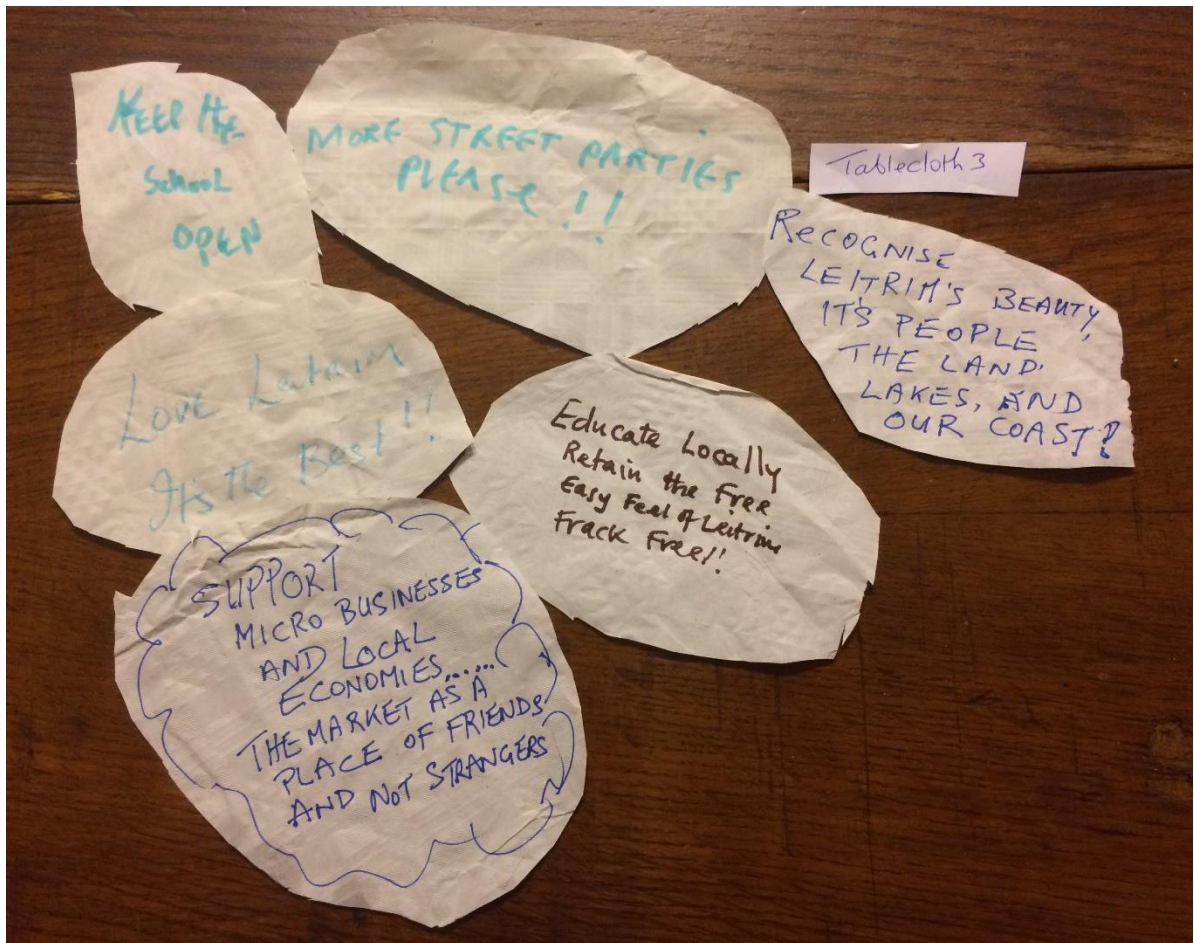
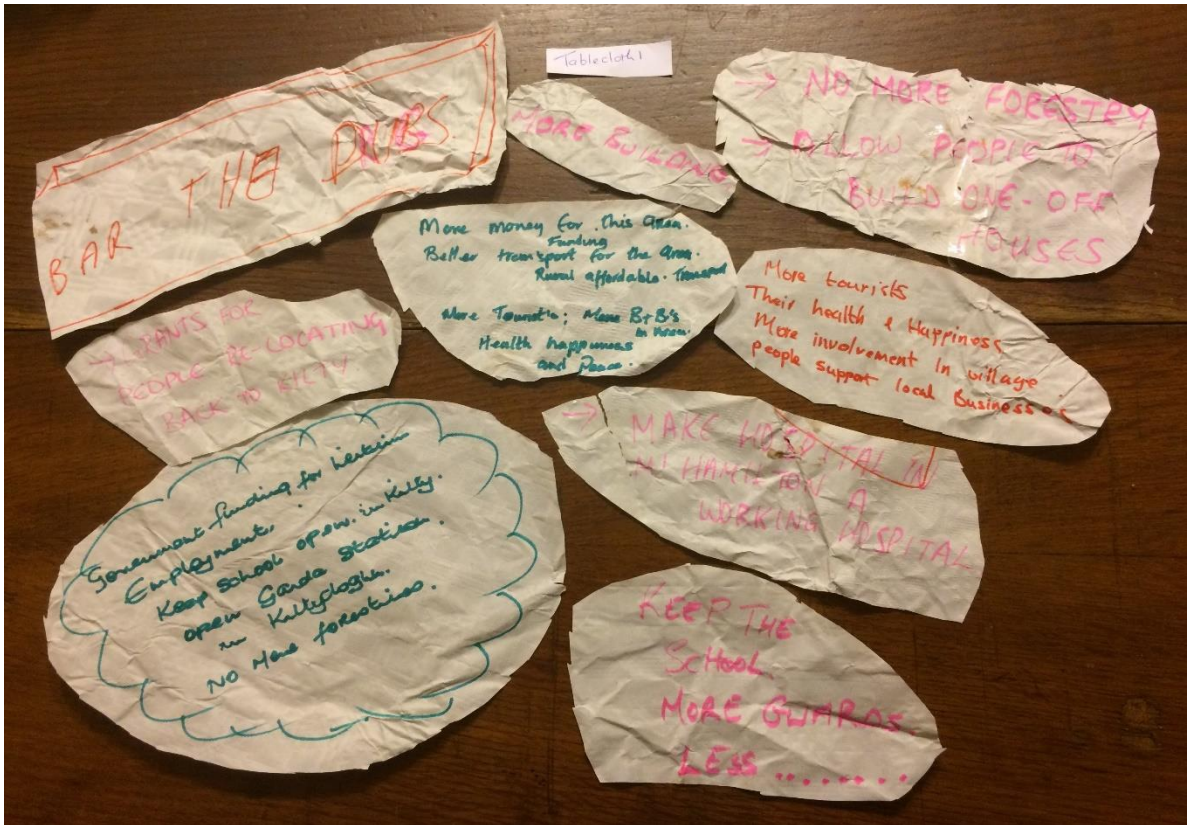


Figure 6.3: 'What's your wish for Leitrin?'

thing that you can totally rely on. All of the things that people looked up to and adhered to [have] come down around our ears. So that community and self-reliance can be supported in groups like that' (Triona).

Triona points to the reality that beyond simply campaigning for a piece of legislation to ban fracking, Love Leitrim and the other campaign groups became a space for campaigners to re-connect with intrinsic values, re-imagine ways of being and re-new a strong sense of community.

6.4 Strategic local awareness raising

Love Leitrim became deeply rooted in local life in a way which provided a powerful social licence and a base for collective action towards the achievement of a ban on fracking. Strengthening the group's capacity, gaining trust and building relationships locally were key steps which led to Love Leitrim being able to communicate its message in the community. In this section, I explore the range of approaches which Love Leitrim took to strategically raise awareness locally throughout the campaign. I use the word "strategic" to emphasis the purposeful nature of the group's awareness raising: to keep the issue in the public eye and on the agenda locally in order to bolster campaigning efforts to secure a ban on fracking.

Section 6.4.1 highlights how the group used the local landscape as a creative tool for awareness. I discuss the group's use of signs as well as their collaboration with an artist to develop a large instillation on a mountainside. Section 6.4.2 discusses how campaigners hosted community activists from around the world who shared their stories and contributed to community awareness in Leitrim. Section 6.4.3 explores the connections which Love Leitrim fostered with artists and musicians in order to raise awareness. These connections contributed to a popular consensus against fracking by engaging people at an emotional level as well as tapping into popular wisdom and critical counter-cultures. Finally, in section 6.4.4, I consider how the group related the campaign against fracking to local heritage. In particular I focus on the how the group related to the Easter Rising of 1916 during the centenary celebrations of that revolutionary struggle against the British Empire.

6.4.1 Connecting to the landscape

The erection of signs in the landscape was a very early first step in the awareness raising undertaken by activists even before formal groups were established. Emma recalled that *'the first thing I do remember was signs, anti-fracking signs, just small little ones on the main road'*. The appearance of the signs was curious for Emma, who initially wondered *'why would someone go to the bother of making the sign [and] putting it up on the main road just out there?'*. But the signs were a catalyst to think *'ok, we'll have to look at this'*. Other campaigners recounted similar experiences, while Bernie spoke about how the *'Farming not Fracking'* sign outside her cottage on a tourist walking trail often led to *'one more conversation'* being had as people stopped to take pictures. Having the sign there contributed to *'getting the message out in a little quiet way.'* Later in the campaign, Love Leitrim and other campaigners held several sign-making workshops for community members where old election posters were repainted and repurposed (see table 6.2 and figure 6.3).

Placing the signs in the landscape played on the contrast between the pristine countryside and the fore-shadowed pollution and industrialisation which they represented. It was a powerful way to convey a message *'because people are stunned by the beauty of the countryside and then to think that something like fracking could take place [here]'*. (Triona). At the same time, many signs were playful, funny and eye catching. Triona continued: *'I had relatives here from county Meath yesterday and they were saying oh the signs are fantastic: "get your hands off our rocks!"* [Laughs]. Several of the signs we made specifically to coincide with the G8 meeting taking place in Fermanagh, just a short distance across the border from Leitrim in Northern Ireland. Campaigners used this global geopolitical event as a hook to raise their concerns about fracking, linking with other communities facing similar concerns.

CLEAN AIR ✓ DIRTY GAS X	LEITRIM NOT FOR SHALE	3000 GAS WELLS=ONE HUGE MESS
CLEAN AIR NOT DIRTY GAS	HI FRACKING BYE HEALTH	HANDS OFF OUR ROCKS
TOURISM NOT FRACKING	TOGETHER AGAINST FRACKING	LOVE OUR LOUGHS
HI FRACKING BYE TOURISM	CLEAN WATER DIRTY GAS	FRACKING <u>NO</u> QUACKING WAY
FARMING NOT FRACKING	NO FRACKING 'COS WE'RE WORTH IT	NOT ONE WELL
OUR HEALTH IS NOT FOR SHALE	YES WE CAN BAN FRACKING	DON'T FRACTURE OUR FARMS
FISHING NOT FRACKING	TAKE A STAND TO SAVE OUR LAND	OUR CHILDREN'S HEALTH BEFORE OTHERS WEALTH
DON'T FRACTURE OUR FUTURE	FARMERS AGAINST FRACKING	DON'T FRACK HERE
DON'T FRACTURE OUR LAND	NO FRACKING	BAN FRACKING
ONCE YOU FRACK YOU CAN'T GO BACK	DRILLING... SPILLING... KILLING... FRACKING!	FRACKING VERBOTEN
LISTEN TO FARMERS DON'T FRACTURE OUR COMMUNITIES KEEP US HEALTHY	GAS DE SHISTE NO MERCI!	POR UNA IRLANDE LIBRE DE FRACKING
¿ FRACKING? NO GRACIAS		

Table 6.2: Love Leitrim anti-fracking sign texts



Figure 6.4: 'Yes we can ban fracking' sign, Glenfarne, 2013



Figure 6.5: The Heart on the Hill instillation, 2015

A second way in which Love Leitrim used the landscape itself to evocatively raise awareness was with the 2015 Heart on the Hill project. Working with artist Darragh Wilkins, through an artist in the community grant from Leitrim County Council Arts Office, Love Leitrim erected a luminous heart with a 120-metre circumference on the commonage of Benbo Mountain, overlooking Manorhamilton (see *figure 6.4*). The heart was created by LED lights which were timed to turn on at night time, presenting a striking visual image which could be seen from many places around the town. In the press release on the occasion of its first lighting, JoAnne Neary of Love Leitrim stated that the Heart on the Hill was '*a declaration of love for the place we live in, not just Leitrim, the whole of Ireland*'. The Heart on the Hill was installed for the duration of the UN climate talks in Paris, also coincided with a key moment in the campaign to stop the EPA research to develop regulations for fracking. Neary tied the campaign to stop fracking to the climate talks, stating that '*we want our governments and TDs to do the right thing for us and the future of our children and move away from fossil fuels and fracking as well*'. The heart provided an innovative hook to connect the local with the global and raise awareness about the policy processes underway in Dublin and Paris. Interestingly too, it generated a sense of community and relationship to place.

6.4.2 Connecting with other frontline communities

A key approach to awareness raising was the hosting of international campaigners in the north-west. Several international guest speakers addressed community meetings during the course of the campaign. These included US expert on shale gas finance Deborah Rodgers, Canadian public health doctor Eilis Cleary, Nigerian campaigner Nnimmo Bassy, then chairperson of Friends of the Earth International, and Frack Action campaigners from New York. A full list of international visitors is given in the previous chapter, however probably the most significant guest speaker was Canadian activist Jessica Ernst, whose February 2012 presentation to a packed meeting in Glenfarne was described by many campaigners as a key moment in the campaign. Attendance at the meeting was so high that '*even the Parish Priest*

said that he couldn't even get a parking spot', recalled Emma. 'So yeah, everyone came and that was it. I just thought that was it, we have people now'. Ernst is a former oil and gas industry engineer who found herself battling against the pollution of fracking industry on her own land in Alberta. She told her own personal story, the power of which was heightened by own industry insider credentials and social capital as a landowner. Reflecting on the event, Triona recalled that:

'I looked through the room and I could see all the farmers, the landowners, who are the important people to have there, the IFA which would be a very traditional conservative organisation and four of those guys were sitting in front of me at the meeting. And people were really listening. Really listening'.

Bringing campaigners from communities affected by fracking and other environmental injustices was a powerful and evocative way to support local community members to learn about the realities of fracking and the extractive industries from people who had experienced them at first-hand. Love Leitrim worked to *'connect up with people'* who could share their *'experience of being in fracked areas'* so that communities in the licence area could *'see what's the consequences, what's the reality of it?'* (Bernie). National organisations such as Afri and Friends of the Earth supported local campaigners to bring guest-speakers on several occasions. Such *'linking things up [...] not just a theoretical way but in a practical way'* (Shane) was very important for the campaign because *'once you get people just spending time together it makes a huge difference you know? In the same room, in the same place for a while rather than just email'*. (Shane)

Campaigners felt that such face to face encounters, where people from other frontline communities told their stories, were particularly effective because

'when someone comes, I think it's kind of on a human level people can appreciate and understand. And even if you're the Taoiseach or Barack Obama, people still go and they talk to them and they tell them their stories and that stays with you. It's probably a little bit more haunting than getting an email or report'. (Bernie)

Here Bernie points again to the relational process of meaning making that contributed to the development of awareness in the fracking zone. While internet

communications and reports are important, connecting with other frontline communities was a powerful way to bring the issues alive for people and '*when they tell their personal story, [...] that's made a difference*' (Bernie).

6.4.3 Connecting to culture and music

The processes of dialogue and building relationships with other communities connected with people's lived realities and experiential knowledge in a way which rooted the campaign in the community. Connecting to local heritage and culture further contributed to this by catalysing conversations and connecting local popular wisdom with the issue of fracking. Love Leitrim engaged with artists and celebrities in order to raise awareness and develop a popular consensus against fracking in creative and innovative ways. This related fracking to a wider popular, cultural and historical narrative that resonated with communities in the north-west. Interestingly, campaigners could use heritage and culture to connect into and accentuate the more radical strands of the popular imagination, drawing on critical counter-narratives through creative processes in ways that overcame the potential for falling into activist stereotypes.

'The Fracking Song' (see table 6.3) was performed on several occasions by local band the Mullies Crowd including at the St Patrick's Day parade and a concert hosted by Love Leitrim for the "Global Frackdown" international day of anti-fracking action. In 2012 this concert took place in the Market Square in Manorhamilton and in 2014 in the town's theatre, the Glens Centre. Haunting but defiant, the song is a powerful example of how, by tapping into cultural currents, campaigners could address the issue of fracking in a more critical way. The song connects the threat of fracking to the lived experience of emigration and to popular conceptions of elites who '*take what they can*': an idea with particularly strong popular resonance at the time when the licences were granted immediately after the financial crash in 2011. Popular wisdom is often carried in aphorisms, folk songs and ballads, stories and histories and can be understood as the assemblage of collective narratives with which we draw from to understand the world. Support from the Mullies Crowd, along

*'And the stones rattle and hum:
They can see after 100s and 100s of years,
what's going on here,
Cause there's a man,
He came with a plan,
to take what he can.*

*In 2012 when the coast was clear,
The mountains were all lovely once again
they built concrete blocks
for the workers to come,
whilst the children left for foreign lands,*

*In 2014 in a time unseen,
they'll be ravaging the mountains once
again,
when the hilltops choke
and the land is broke
and the water smells of kerosene.*

*And the stones rattle and hum,
they can see after 100s and 100s of years
what is going on here'*

Table 6.3: 'The Fracking Song' by the Mullies Crowd

with other musicians and artists, was important because it allowed the campaign to draw on this popular wisdom, which often comprises critical sentiments that form the basis of counter-hegemonic narratives.

Cultural events were an important tool for consciousness raising in the campaign. Indeed, some members of the group became active in the campaign through such events. Alison explained how she became active after one such event:

'In fact, it was all Donal O'Kelly's fault. We went to see his play Fionnuala about the Corrib situation and after the show they were talking about oil and the petroleum companies and what they're like and that kind of thing... In the after-show discussion somebody must have started talking about fracking

and that it was a possibility that it would come here, and whatever else’.

Donal O’Kelly’s play was performed on several occasions in Leitrim, at the early stage of the campaign as well as a special 2015 screening during a visit of international anti-fracking campaigners to Leitrim which took place on the eve of the UN climate conference in Paris. O’Kelly’s play intertwines the story of Shell’s Corrib refinery project with Irish mythology and a poignant reflection on the recent Irish history of institutional abuse. The play meditates on the question of what happens when ordinary people stay silent and do nothing in the face of injustice and abuse of power. It emotively taps into Irish cultural heritage and popular indignation at institutional abuse. By performing it in Leitrim, it also served to conceptually connect the Rossport community’s struggle against the oil and gas industry with what was then facing the Leitrim community.

As Alison’s experience shows, artistic events provided a key opportunity to raise awareness of the issue for people in the community. Reflecting on this, Shane suggested that *‘whenever you do imaginative events [...], it has an unpredictable spin off benefit [...] once you get people together: ideas bounce off each other’*. After-show discussions allowed space for reflection on the issue in a way that shapes an audience’s framing of an issue because *‘there would be a new little nugget or a new way of looking at it. Somebody comparing it with where they come from and you know all that is good. It serves a purpose’* (Shane).

By presenting new or alternative stories, experiences or ideas in a way that connects with people imaginatively and emotionally, creative approaches connected the lived realities of people in the community with the more critical or counter-hegemonic ideas infused in popular wisdom and with the stories of similar communities facing similar challenges. Imaginative events, art projects and installations provided the campaign with the opportunity to approach the issue from a different angle that could act as a catalyst for consciousness raising. Indeed, Shane argued that the function of art is to act *‘as a kind of an energiser’* and a *‘catalyst’* that *‘can give extra impact to movements’* because *‘it enhances the conversations and maybe creates new information and just generates as well maybe a higher level of urgency among people who are there’* (Shane).

In addition to forging links with local musicians through staging concerts such as the Global Frackdown, Love Leitrim invited many musicians and artists to lend their voice to the campaign by wearing a Love Leitrim t-shirt. Indeed, Triona recalled that as:

‘the Fleadh was coming up we got “music” [t-shirts]. We found that a lot of musicians [...] were willing to wear a t-shirt but sometimes the ‘farming not fracking’ didn’t make sense for musicians so we got the ‘love music, hate fracking’.

Love Leitrim was very active at the 2015 *Fleadh Cheoil* (Irish= festival of music), the national traditional music festival held in nearby Sligo. The group sold the ‘Love Music’ t-shirts and used Twitter to thank and promote artists who wore them. Throughout the campaign the t-shirts were worn by a wide variety of musicians including Christy Moore, Liam Kelly, Kila, The Henry Girls and many local musicians such as Mick Blake. Love Leitrim actively engaged with musicians through social media. A search of Love Leitrim Twitter data from February 2015 and November 2017 shows that the group sent 39 tweets with the keywords ‘music’, ‘musician’ or ‘song’ (see table 6.4).

Engaging with musicians with a local and national profile, as well as musical events, was a powerful awareness raising tool for Love Leitrim for several reasons. Connecting with local events helped to link the campaign into the local life of the community. Support from musicians also helped to legitimise the campaign’s

Purpose of tweet	Number
Thanking musicians for support	4
Advertising ‘Music not fracking’ t-shirts	3
Connecting with festivals	7
Supporting local musical events	6
Supporting local musicians	15
Promoting a Love Leitrim musical event	4

Table 6.4: Twitter as a tool for engaging with musicians, 2015-2017

message in the popular conscience both locally and outside of the north-west. It further helped to accentuate the campaign's messaging amongst diverse audiences who might not have been aware of the issue or connected into activist spaces where fracking was known about.

6.4.4 Connecting to local heritage

In addition to connecting with musicians, campaigners made links with local heritage, and in particular with the Ireland's revolutionary past which was a particularly salient frame in the final year of the campaign. The centenary of the 1916 rising took place during the year of my fieldwork and central to the commemorations in Leitrim was the remembrance of Seán Mac Diarmada, one of the signatories to the 1916 proclamation who was born in Kiltyclogher, the village on the border with Northern Ireland where fracking was expected to first take place in the republic

The revolutionary history of Leitrim remains very much alive in the memory of the community, and as Fergal recalled that history can shape how people interpreted current events:

'Seán Mac Diarmada would have been a distant relation of mine as well like. His mother and my great grandmother would have been sisters, so that's how far back it was... He was brought up at a time when the landlord, the local landlord, he had a place in Glenfarne, an estate in there and there was evictions then... There was people put out of their homes cause they weren't able to pay their rent. Which is happening today, these days now. And that's what would have probably started him off, to see these things happening... Standing up for people's rights' (Fergus).

The occasion of the Easter Rising centenary was also a crucial year for the campaign, with several bills to ban fracking being sponsored by different parties and progressing through the Dáil (see appendix 3). Love Leitrim drew on the popular imagination surrounding the centenary on several occasions throughout the year, including the St. Patrick's Day parade in Kiltyclogher, where campaigners dressed as a wedding party from the turn of the last century and staged a céilí at the crossroads in the

village. During the parade campaigners held placards pledging to ‘*protect the landscape for our children*’ and ‘*to cherish our environment*’ which were designed to recall the lettering of the 1916 Proclamation of the provisional government of the republic.

The centenary of the Easter Rising was a powerful frame for campaigners to adopt because the events of 1916 are commonly understood as a revolt against the injustice and oppression of empire, with the Proclamation promising to “cherish all the children of the nation equally”. Drawing on elements of the rhetoric surrounding the rising. Love Leitrim drew on this in a video which it released in the final stage of the campaign as it was calling for the public to support legislation to ban fracking being prepared by various parties. One segment, shows footage of the Kiltyclogher parade which was discussed in section 6.2.3. The recording and re-use of that footage illustrates how Love Leitrim was conscious of the power of that imagery:

Visual 8:	Footage of children in a parade wearing turn of the 20th century costumes and carrying large printed placards in Irish and English saying: <p style="text-align: center;"><u>WE PLEDGE</u> TO CHERISH our environment</p>
Caption 8:	<i>"Reminding what's important"</i>
Visual 9:	Celi dancing in turn f the 20th century cosumes on the street in Kiltyclogher

Table 6.5: Description (A) of segments of the Love Leitrim “Better Together” video

Further along, the film directly connects the campaign and support for the legislation with the Irish republican tradition and MacDiarmada:

Visual 19:	Still of woman holding a child in her arms and looking over a gate towards a lake across a field. Gate has a sign which reads: NO \$HALE GAS
Sound 4:	Water falling
Visual 20a	A shot of Foley's Falls through the trees...
Caption 20a:	<i>"Legislation to ban fracking"</i>
Visual 20b:	...panning upwards through the trees...
Caption 20b:	<i>"is being prepared by different parties"</i>
Visual 20c:	... to the blue sky visible through a clearing
Caption 20c:	<i>"Lets move away from fossil fuels together"</i>
Visual 21:	Sean Mac Diarmada's thatched, white washed family cottage
Caption 21: :	<i>"And have a..."</i>
Visual 22:	Close up of the plinth of the Sean Mc Diarmaida statue at the crossroads in Kiltyclogher. The writing on the plinth reads: I DIE THAT IRELAND MAY LIVE Leitrim men and those who have fallen in Leitrim since 1916 <i>(lists names)</i>
Caption 22:	<i>"... Legacy to be proud of."</i>

Table 6.6 Description (b) of segments of the Love Leitrim "Better Together" video

While the visual of the thatched cottage does not explicitly state that it is the Mac Diarmada homestead, the image of the cottage is such a well-known and powerful cultural symbol locally that it is hardly necessary for the video to name it as such.

Through the film, campaigners make a clear link between the legacy of Mac Diarmada and the question of the legacy that the community might pass on to future generations depending on whether or not fracking was banned.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the ways in which Love Leitrim rooted itself in the local community of north-west Ireland and build a social licence for collective action. It has been structured around three organising themes which focus on the specific strategies and practices which enabled the group to do this.

The first practice was the *building group capacity*. Campaigners developed their capacity and analysis through a learning by doing approach. The members of the group were encouraged and supported by each other to try out activities which they had never done before and in this way, they build their campaigning skills and capacity. An invaluable source of learning for campaigners were the experiences of other communities affected by and resisting similar environmental injustices. Meeting and exchanging experiences with other campaigners provided Love Leitrim members with insight and understanding about the nature of fracking, the oil and gas industry and the dynamics of environmental injustice more broadly. The learning and capacity of individual campaigners was consolidated by the formation of a sound and resilient organisational structure. The group established its vision for Leitrim and objectives at an early stage of the campaign. Following from this, it adopted an open and flexible organisational structure that encouraged and enabled a wide variety of different activities to take place guided by the vision and objectives.

The second practice which supported the group to build a local base for collective action was to pay attention to *gaining trust and building relationships in the community*. Love Leitrim was aware that environmental activist stereotypes of the long haired hippy posed a challenge for gaining trust in a rural community with little experience of militant or radical activism. In order for the campaign to be accepted and mainstreamed in the community, campaigners began by listening to

the concerns of local people and engaging in dialogue to build their frames and messages through conversations which connected with the lived realities of their interlocutors. They built on existing relationships and social networks to strategically knit the campaign into the social fabric of local life. This was a slow process which required continuous attention throughout the campaign to ensure the group maintained its presence in local life. Campaigners were helped in this task by the positive and celebratory approach which Love Leitrim adopted. The group worked to enact its positive vision of a vibrant and thriving community in Leitrim through its active participation and contribution to local events.

Having developed the group's capacity and built relationships of trust in the local community, the third practice which was important in enabling Love Leitrim to build a local base for collective action was *strategic awareness raising*. The group undertook to raise awareness through a variety of creative means. Campaigners evocatively used the landscape itself through their placement of funny and quirky signs which referenced current events such as the G8. The heart on the hill instillation similarly caught the public's attention and conveyed the group's message without requiring any words. Building on the exchange of knowledge between campaigners, Love Leitrim hosted a variety of anti-fracking and environmental justice activists for public meetings and exchanges in the north-west. This approach effectively contributed to local awareness by providing people in the community with the chance to learn from the experiential knowledge of people similar to themselves. Campaigners reached out to artists and musicians who could promote the group's message. Their use of social media was particularly effective in this regard and forging relationships with artists and musicians allowed the group to tap into more critical and counter-cultural ideas in ways which people in the community could relate to. Similarly, by connecting with Leitrim's revolutionary heritage in positive and creative ways they connected the campaign to that tradition.

Through these three practices, Love Leitrim built a base in the local community which provide them with a social licence to campaign against fracking in the north-west of Ireland. By *rooting* themselves in the local community, the group could effectively *reach out* and influence outcomes at crucial junctures throughout

the campaign. The following chapter will continue this theme and explore more fully how the group navigated the political structures in pursuit of a ban on fracking.

Chapter 7

Jumping scales to influence outcomes

'My son [...] said to me once, "how come everybody in [our village] knows about Dublin?" He was about six. "And not everybody in Dublin knows about [our village]?" And that kind of basically sums up, you know... that's exactly it. The issue of fracking is way, way out there. It's "up there", it's like something that happens in Pennsylvania, in America, in Australia, it's just way, way out there!'

- Heather

7.1 Introduction

As noted in chapter five, Leitrim is rural county which is geographically and politically marginal to the centre of decision making in Dublin. Campaigners were sensitive to the potential lack of social capital and political power which arose from their geographic and economical marginality from the centre of power. This chapter is an exploration of the other strategies which the group adopted to mitigate for Leitrim's marginality, jump scales from the local to the national and influence policy on fracking. The awarding of Licencing Options to the three oil and gas companies in February 2011 took place without any consultation with the affected communities within the licence area. The political decision was taken at the "scale of regulation" by politicians and the state's civil servants. No one at the "scale of meaning", where this decision would have its first and most devastating material effects, was consulted. The campaign which emerged in the fracking affected areas was essentially a campaign of the communities at the scale of meaning to "jump scales" and influence outcomes at the scale of regulation.

The previous chapter explored how Love Leitrim built a strong local base for collective action by building the group's capacity, gaining trust in the community and working strategically to raise awareness of fracking. These practices rooted the group's campaign in the local community and gave them an effective social licence to campaign against fracking. Building on this rootedness in the community, Love

Leitrim worked to jump scales from the local to the national, in order to influence policy and political decision making at a structural level. This chapter explores the practices which enabled the group to jump scales. It is based on the second global theme which emerged from my thematic analysis of the case study data: *'Influencing outcomes at wider scales'*. This global theme focused on the strategies which Love Leitrim adopted in their engagement with political, policy-making and regulatory structures in order to influence outcome and ultimately secure a legislative ban on fracking. The chapter is structured around an exploration of the organising themes which form this global theme. These organising themes are (1) *'critical and creative policy engagement*, (2) *'cross-party political advocacy'* and (3) *'creative collective action'* (see figure 7.1).

7.2 Critical and creative engagement with the policy process

In this section I consider Love Leitrim's engagement with politicians and policy makers in the regulatory process. Campaigners not only engaged in designated public consultations, they also acted to ensure those consultations took place and used consultations strategically to grow the campaign and reinforce their messages with decision makers. In the case of the EPA study, Love Leitrim actively supported the Stop the Study campaign which resulted in the political marginalisation of the regulatory research into fracking and paved the way for a legislative ban on fracking. Crucially, by gaining the support of local and national politicians, including the relevant Oireachtas (parliamentary) committee, campaigners leveraged a greater impact in the regulatory process than if they had simply responded to government public consultations. In this way campaigners ensured that the issue of fracking remained a live issue in the public political sphere. This was important because it meant that the decision-making process did not disappear into the black box of policymaking where the community's concerns would have to be framed according

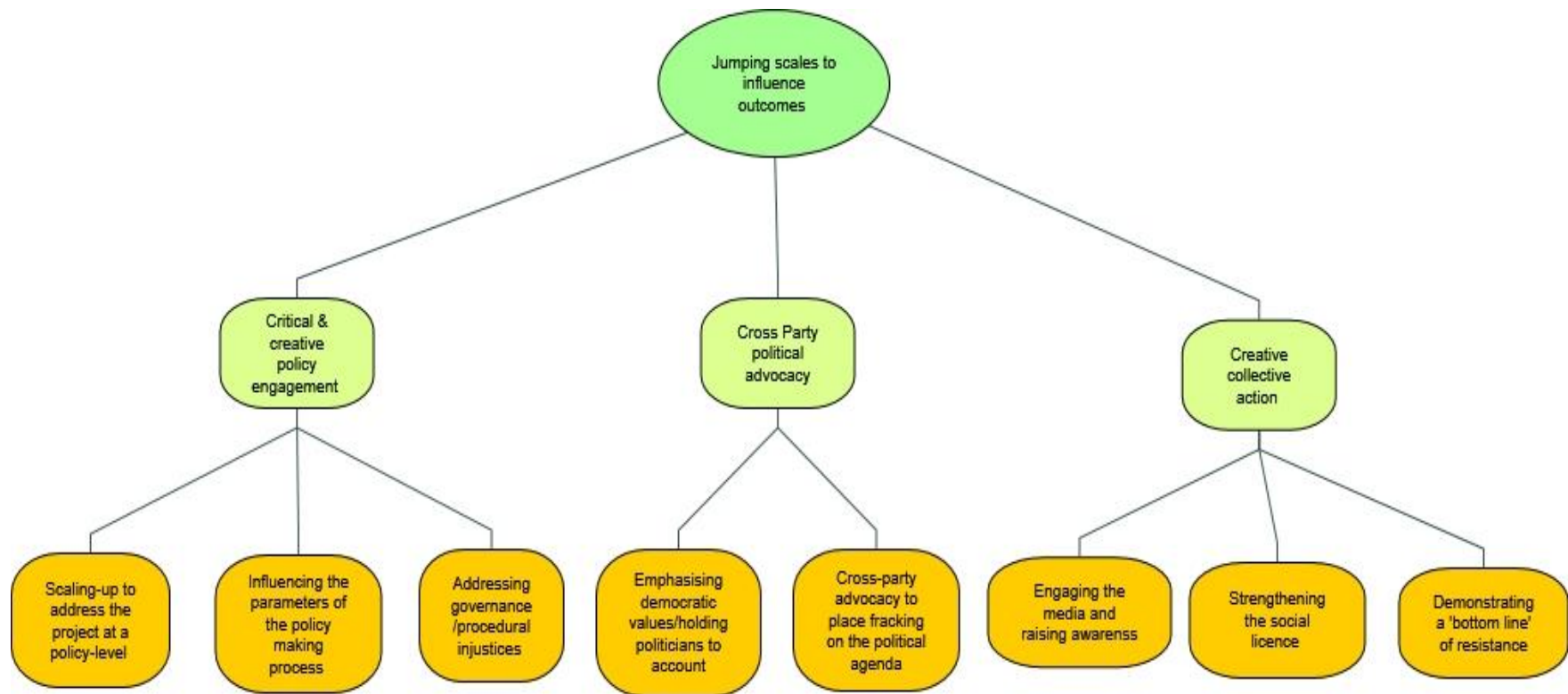


Figure 7.1: Thematic network for jumping scales to influence outcomes

to the discursive structures of the policy field and would have to compete with the interests of those with greater scientific and technical expertise.

7.2.1 Scaling-up to address the fracking project at a policy-level

As noted in chapter five, Tamboran was initially very active with its public outreach efforts in Leitrim. Campaigners felt that the company sought to engage the community in conversations around the narrow technical issues surrounding single well pads and how they considered that such a single drill site could be made safe. Indeed, *'the way in for the industry is one well at a time'*, suggested Robert, because while a single well *'would have to go through a planning process and an [Environmental Impact Assessment] process, it probably would've got through it because there wouldn't have been any way of stopping that on the basis of what was proposed'*. Campaigners were concerned that this approach would effectively amount to "project-splitting", which is defined as 'dividing the project into separate parts so that each part is below an applicable threshold' and therefore subject to lesser regulations than they would be if considered as a whole (EPA, 2015). While Tamboran wanted to discuss issues at the level the well pad, Robert stressed how:

'the one well at a time scenario isn't safe for communities but it's easier for the industry because they can say things like, "well we just want to see if there's anything down there and if there's nothing down there then we'll leave... So, you really have nothing to worry about" Whereas in fact you have everything to worry about because with the backing of government they're getting into a position where they're unstoppable. Because no government has the money to give these companies to compensate them later on.'

During my research fieldwork I took part in solidarity visits to the sites of UK fracking operations at Woodburn in Antrim and Preston New Road in Lancashire where I observed the effect of communities being forced to address their concerns at the level of a single well. In both cases, the planning authorities ruled in favour of

the companies because within the confined parameters in which they could consider the issue, the potential effects of a single drill site were not deemed to be insurmountable. For example, after the UK government overturned Lancashire County Council's ban on fracking to allow Caudrilla to commence operations, the only recourse left to the local community was for the residents immediately adjacent to the site to object through the planning process. When the complainants raised the issue of noise pollution from the drilling, the planning authority ruled in their favour but simply instructed Caudrilla to erect noise barriers to mitigate this issue (PhD fieldnotes, July 2017).

From an early stage, Love Leitrim campaigners believed it was essential that these conversations be shifted in scale, from the one well at a time approach to addressing the project as a whole. Robert explained:

'We should have been taking at the high level, so that's where we had our conversations. We talked about the impact on tourism, the impact on farming and the impact on public health. And we didn't talk about the impact of one well, we talked about the impact of the 3000 wells. So we had the conversation at the level that we should have been having it at rather than at the level that was being performed in front of us'.

Tamboran provided the community with the information that they ultimately expected to develop 3,000 wells across the licence area. Using this information, along with data on density and scale from fracking operations in North America, campaigners began to address questions at the full scale of the project. Love Leitrim produced a simple but effective visual which illustrated how such a large-scale project might impact on the north Leitrim landscape (*figure 7.2*). Campaigners understood the need to scale up the conversation and address the entire project rather than being drawn into a debate over a single well which stood the chance of being more easily approved by the regulators.

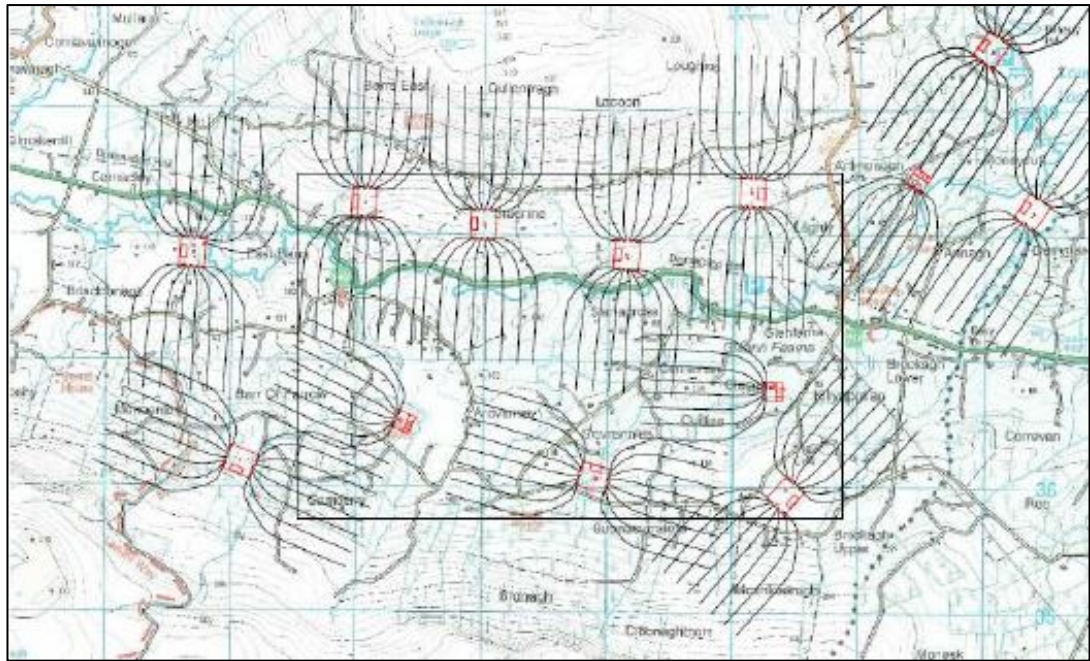


Figure 7.2: Projected fracking well pads in Glenfarne, north Leitrim (Briefing to Minister Rabbitte, 2011).

Addressing the entire project at a policy level was a key concern for Love Leitrim campaigners throughout the campaign because they felt that fracking *'had to be fought at government level. There's where you had to get it stopped. [W]hen you have to go out to the gate to stop them you're too late then'* (Fergus). Love Leitrim campaigners took the view that it was important to remember to *'never take your eye off the fact if you're not impacting on your own national regulatory and political hierarchies then you're not getting there'* (Chris). By focusing on the total number of wells and the size of the fracking project expected during the industrial production rather, than confining objections to single test wells, campaigners called attention to the fact that the project represented a major industrial project which would require special consideration by the planning and regulatory authorities. Responding to pressure from communities, Minister Rabbitte instructed the Environmental Protection Agency to undertake research into the environmental implications of fracking in autumn 2011. This decision provided campaigners with the opportunity to engage with the policy making process.

7.2.2 Influencing the parameters of the policy making process

When the initial desktop study by University of Aberdeen academic David Healy (Healy, 2012) did not include any public consultation, ensuring public participation in subsequent research became a major concern for communities in the licence area. Campaigners sought to influence how the research would be conducted and what it would consider because there was a concern that the study could be *'really about how to develop a regulatory model, how to do baseline work that needs to be done so that [the companies] can continue'* (Robert). But as the state developed the terms of reference (ToR) for the EPA study, they initially proposed a very limited consultation in a meeting with representatives of the Environmental Pillar of Social Partnership who met Minister O'Dowd in September 2012:

'At the meeting the Department maintained that they were not in a position to hold a formal public consultation. But they said they were open to receiving our views on the TOR in writing. We stated that they needed to hear the views of people in the affected communities. They reiterated that they couldn't hold a public consultation but offered to pay for the hiring of a short-term contractor (at an estimated cost of around €4,000) to compile the views of interested parties to be submitted alongside our own' (Communication from the Environmental Pillar on the ToR for the EPA research on fracking, October 2012).

Local people in the licence areas felt that this lesser form of public consultation on the study's ToR was unacceptable, as Robert recalled:

'What the EPA had proposed through the environmental network [Pillar], was that we'd do a partial consultation so that people would [...] write our opinions on the EPA draft document and then they'd gather those ideas together and then make a submission to the EPA. And we sort of got a bit excited that this was happening and we rejected that. We said we wanted a full public consultation and we wanted information about what was going on'.

Leitrim campaigners publicly refused this approach, which was also labelled by Friends of the Earth (FoE) as a *'non-public consultation'* (Statement by FoE, October

2012). This outcry secured a full public consultation which then became a *'big priority'* (Alison) for Love Leitrim. The group used the consultation to raise the issue of public health, which did not feature in the draft ToR (EPA, 2013) but represented the biggest concern for people in the licence areas.

Aidan explained that *'what we were doing was asking [the EPA] to include public health in their study because their draft study plan didn't mention public health [...] Our push was to get people to sign [submissions] to include public health in the study'*. Love Leitrim organised community meetings and facilitated people in the community who had no internet access to be able to engage in the consultation. The efforts of campaigners led to *'about six hundred signatures'* from Leitrim (Aidan). In total, 1356 submissions were received by the EPA from across the island of Ireland (the study had a cross-border remit). The majority of these submissions made reference to public health as an issue. This ensured that considering public health was established as a key test of the public's trust in the study's legitimacy. Ultimately, this influenced the final wording of the terms of reference which stated that *'[t]he aim of the Research Programme is to further our understanding of the potential impacts on the environment and human health from UGEE projects/operations'* (EPA, 2013).

Ensuring a full public consultation and using that consultation to raise the issue of public health in the study terms of reference were important steps for campaigners. Public health was a key grievance which mobilised a wide base of opposition to fracking in the communities of the licence area. As a result, Love Leitrim *'kind of zoned in [...] on the public health issue because we thought public health affects everybody: tinker, tailor, soldier, spy. Everybody's affected by public health if you're rich or you're poor'* (Bernie). At the same time, peer-reviewed public health evidence from North America was emerging to corroborate the anecdotal examples of the dangers which were presented in *Gaslands*. Campaigners realised that the weight of this emerging evidence would be useful in advocating a ban in Ireland. Speaking in 2016, a year before the ban, Bernie explained that *'one of the things we realised even in 2012 [was] if we can actually delay this process for 3,4,5,6 years- and I think that's still what still believe- if we can keep delaying it, in 10 years time it will probably be completely discredited'*. Public health thus became a significant policy

ground with which campaigners sought to ‘jump scales’ to express the concerns of the communities in the policy arena. Ultimately, it led campaigners to form the Concerned Health Professionals of Ireland (CHPI) group which built on the social capital of health professionals to advocate for a ban.

The EPA Research consultation gave campaigners an experience of mobilising to influence policy through the official public participation process. However, Alison found the process frustrating because:

‘the language was all used properly, there would be public consultation, there would be interim reports, there would be bla, bla, bla [But] they changed wording in [the ToR] that had no meaning and then said “we listened and we [...] took account of what you were saying’.

Another Love Leitrim member vividly expressed the frustrations of campaigners with the regulatory process when he asked, *‘how you circumvent the stone wall set up by the state to frustrate citizens?’* (Love Leitrim minutes, 3 March 2016). Nevertheless, the work of campaigners ensured that public health was a criterion for public acceptance of the research. Issues of participation, governance and procedural justice also emerged as crucial for Love Leitrim and informed the group’s campaign to make an *‘Application for a Licence Not to Frack Ireland’* to the government.

7.2.3 Addressing governance issues and procedural injustice in the policy process

In this section I consider Love Leitrim’s Application for a Licence Not to Frack Ireland (hereafter the Application Not to Frack) as a key document which illuminates several important aspects of Love Leitrim’s approach to campaigning. At the same time as campaigners were mobilising local people to participate in the consultation on the EPA research terms of reference, Tamboran and Enegi were preparing applications for full exploration licences. Such a licence would allow companies to commence exploratory hydraulic fracturing operations in Ireland. For a time, Chris feared the companies might *‘steal the march on the regulatory environment’* because

'we're not prepared in a regulatory or political sense to handle something like this'. At that time, it was unclear what decision the Minister would take regarding the companies' applications. Recalling that period, Alison pointed to the challenge campaigners felt in trying to hold the system to account and be heard in decision making:

'We'd no faith in the way the system ran. So it seemed very possible to us that a company would go in, [...] promise millions, have a little whisper in the ear and do a private deal that nobody would know about. And I don't necessarily mean even crooked, but just that seemed to be the way they did business. [F]or us that meant we'd no "in" there, we'd no way of knowing it was happening, no way of preventing it, no way of even making our feelings known about it.'

Here Alison articulates a concern shared by many Love Leitrim campaigners that the opacity of the policy process, coupled with imbalances of power and influence would render affected communities voiceless at the scale of regulation. As Robert noted, these concerns caused the group to *'change our focus then, and we started to look at things like governance'*. At the start of the campaign, he explained:

'We were talking to people about the size of the project. But by the end of the [first] two years we were talking about "why the project?" "How we ended up with the project?", "what could have happened?" and "what should have happened?" - against what did happen'.

Focusing on the governance process and identifying opportunities to intervene in the decision-making process at a political level thus became an essential strategy for group seeking to address the scalar and procedural injustice which they identified. Once campaigners developed an understanding of the regulatory and policy making processes, they *'started to focus on making progress in relation to what's going to happen next'* and asking themselves *'[s]o what have we to stop from happening next?'* (Robert).

Following the EPA research consultation, what campaigners felt they had to stop from happening next was the fracking companies receiving full Exploration Licences. As with the EPA research consultation this was a technical regulatory issue.

In theory, if the companies met the regulatory requirements, there would be no barriers to them receiving the green light from the state to commence exploratory fracking operations. Yet, unlike the EPA research, this regulatory step had no formal process for public consultation or participation. Undaunted by this Love Leitrim determined to submit a tongue-in-cheek '*Application for a Licence Not to Frack Ireland*', which playfully but powerfully subverted the lack of public participation. Triona explained the group's approach:

'We got it into the local papers with a dotted line and a scissors, so you could cut it out. [W]e had them on stands, people were signing them and giving them back to us and we were posting them in. And that was fantastic, that was fantastic. And I mean the active age groups, the ICA groups, they were all signing. Sometimes they had one for everybody as a group.'

The application was addressed to Minister Rabbitte and began by poetically recalling the classic "We, the People" declaration of popular sovereignty:

'We, People of Ireland and friends of Ireland, hereby apply to the Petroleum Affairs Division for a licence not to carry out hydraulic fracturing in Ireland. Due to economic necessity, human and animal health and future happiness of communities, we feel it is imperative that our wishes are carried out. The pending deadline of February 28 for applications by gas companies for exploration licences is, for us, a deadline for our futures' (Application for a Licence Not to Frack Ireland, 2013).

While this was essentially a classic petitioning tactic, the creative approach of styling it as an application for a licence not to frack allowed the campaigners to shape the narrative of the licencing process. Love Leitrim's application framed the issue as the minister making a choice between the rights of communities in the licence areas on the one hand (*see table 7.1*), and the rights of industry on the other. The application named a series of 'rights' which were in effect a series of justice-claims addressing issues of recognition, redistribution and participation. Triona recalled that in drafting the application the group asked itself '*what are the most important things... about fracking?*' and '*had a few runs*' at drafting the document. This process

The reasons we need a licence granted for Ireland not to be fracked are:

- Our right to exist in a rural area, not an industrial zone;
- Our right to live and work in an area without 24-hour noise and light pollution;
- Our right to clean, uncontaminated water;
- Our right to continue to live in our own community;
- Our right to carry out our indigenous businesses of tourism, food production, farming and agri-food unhindered;
- Our right to have our elected representatives carry out our wishes;
- Our right not to have our natural resources used for the benefit of others;
- Our right not to have our reputation as a clean environment abroad spoiled;
- Our right not to have our health damaged for the good of multinational companies.

Table 7.1: Extract from the Application for a Licence Not to Frack Ireland

focused the group on its key messages to decision-makers. The Application Not to Frack is therefore an important document because it gives an insight into the key grievances expressed by Love Leitrim and how they framed those grievances strategically when engaging with decision makers.

The list of rights calls for a *recognition* of rurality as a way of life to be respected. It claims a right for communities to be rooted in the locality of the licence area and to '*carry out our indigenous businesses of tourism, food production, farming and agri-food*'. The list also addresses the *distribution* of environmental burdens by fracking, including the water, noise and light pollution. It contrasts the potential public health burden on communities with the potential benefits accrued to multinational companies. Regarding *participation*, the list calls to account the structures of representative democracy by affirming the '*right to have our elected representatives carry out our wishes*'. It expresses popular democratic control over '*our natural resources*', which should not be '*used for the benefit of others*.'

On the day of the deadline for the state to consider the company's applications, Love Leitrim gathered at Dáil Éireann to deliver their application to politicians. The group issued a press release quoting local tourism provider Nuala McNulty, who said:

'Throughout this process people have been forgotten about. We want to put people back into the centre of decision making. It's as simple as this. We are asking the Irish government: Are you with your people or not? We need them to show us they are with us by halting any further licences' (Love Leitrim press release, 28 February 2013).

This statement made a strong claim of procedural injustice. The Application Not to Frack highlighted grievances with the lack of accountability and public participation in the licencing process. This focus on governance enabled campaigners to discursively jump from the scale of a localised place-based struggle to one which was emblematic of wider democratic discontents and therefore of national importance. By constructing the application as a moral question and evocatively asking if the government was *'with [its] people or not?'*, Love Leitrim tapped into the popular discourse of disillusioned with the political establishment in the immediate aftermath of the financial crisis. At that time in there was a wave of journalistic and academic monographs published which analysed the Celtic Tiger's demise and proposed political pathways for change (Murphy and Kirby, 2011; O'Toole, 2011). Similarly, civil society was responding with a variety of campaigns, movements and manifestoes such as Claiming Our Future, which was one of the groups which influenced Love Leitrim's thinking with its vision of republican renewal and approach to values-based campaigning (Claiming our Future 2016).

By tapping into this popular discourse of disillusionment and political renewal, the Application Not to Frack *'captured the imagination of the public and high-profile artists'* (Love Leitrim press release, 28 February 2013). Love Leitrim approached a variety of public figures to support the application. Several well-known Irish musicians pledged their support, including Christy Moore, Glen Hansard, Eleanor Shanley (of De Danann) and Rossa O Snodaigh (of Kila). Several

Leitrim GAA players also made applications. Love Leitrim used this public support to raise awareness of the issue in the local community through social media and coverage in the *Leitrim Observer*.

The Application Not to Frack as well as the EPA public consultation demonstrated that there was significant public opposition to fracking. This led to the state announcing that it would not continue with a policy on fracking until the results of the EPA research could be considered. This was in effect a moratorium which halted the impending award of Exploratory Licences to Tamboran and Enegi until at least 2015, when the research was due to be concluded. In a press release, the Department of Communications, Energy and Natural Resources explained that *‘[a]pplications for exploration licences that proposed the use of hydraulic fracturing as part of an unconventional gas exploration programme would be subject to an environmental impact assessment.’* The release quoted Minister O'Dowd, who stated that

‘[S]uch an environmental impact assessment must be informed by the findings of further research to be commissioned by the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and that no decision would be made on any proposal for the use of hydraulic fracturing in exploration drilling in Ireland until there has been time to consider the outcome of this further EPA research’ (DCENR Press Statement, 7 March 2013).

This section has explored the ways in which Love Leitrim campaigners addressed fracking as a policy issue. Firstly, I highlighted how campaigners understood the need to scale out the conversation and address the issues inherent in the entire project rather than being drawn into debates over a single well or test sites. Similarly, they realised that it was important to influence the parameters of the policy making and regulatory process, and used the frame of public health to ensure the concerns of communities in the licence areas were reflected in the EPA terms of reference. Finally, they were concerned with questions of procedural justice, transparency and democracy in the policy making process. The application not to frack was an example of how Love Leitrim creatively raised this issue. Building

on this concern for the governance of the process, Love Leitrim campaigners adopted a practice of active engagement with local and national politicians as key interlocutors in the debates around the policy and regulatory processes. It is to this engagement that I now turn.

7.3 Cross-party political advocacy

In this section I discuss Love Leitrim's strategies for engagement with political decision-makers. This includes the councillors of Leitrim County Council and TDs with constituencies in the licence areas, but also sympathetic TDs from other parties, those sitting on the relevant committees, opposition spokespeople and ministers. Love Leitrim engaged with political decision makers in several ways. In section 7.3.1, I discuss the way in which the group sought to hold elected representatives to account. They did this locally by asking representatives to take up the concerns of their constituents. More broadly the group emphasised the values of democracy and sought to hold the democratic system to account with its own espoused values. In section 7.3.2 I examine Love Leitrim's strategy of cross-party advocacy. Campaigners sought to navigate the political system without being party political and focused on bringing about policy change. Engaging with representatives across the party political spectrum was a key strategy which enabled campaigners to jump scales from the local to the national.

7.3.1 Emphasising democratic values and holding elected representatives to account

In this section I consider how Love Leitrim related to and engaged with the political system at a local level in Leitrim. As I have already noted, the group took inspiration from Claiming Our Future and emphasised the principles of democracy,

transparency and accountability in decision making. Here I examine how these principles informed the way the group engaged with local councillors and TDs.

At the heart of Love Leitrim's approach to the political system was a belief in the importance of holding the system to account, which for Chris was a '*central tenet of the whole campaign*'. He explained:

'We have a system of "democracy", and I'm using inverted commas at the moment, but it's only system that we have. A lot of the time people think they feel so betrayed by it, they think "we're just not going to deal with it". But actually, why not confront it with its own contradictions? Which campaigns like Love Leitrim have managed to do. We've managed to confront them at every phase with the failure of their studies, whether it was Aberdeen University or whether it's the CDM Smith [EPA] study. [...] That's probably the ethos of Love Leitrim: use the system that's there, make it work rather than just try and bypass it or rant at it.'

Here Chris illustrates how Love Leitrim campaigners felt that the democratic political system requires the legitimisation of the governed and therefore could be confronted with its contradictions when it fails to live up to its espoused democratic principles.

As well as focusing on this at a systemic level, campaigners also sought to hold individual politicians to account in the constituencies of the licence area. Triona recalled how, in a meeting with local politicians she stressed that '*you're all here, you're our elected representatives, I said, we're your employers, we've put you into that job and I'll be looking for accountability on it*'. She went on to reflect on the campaign and suggested that it was '*democracy in action and it was people taking responsibility, and taking responsibility to make it happen through the channels [...] the channels being the political system. Warped and all as it is, you still have to use it*'.

Campaigners used the group's set of anti-fracking t-shirts as an effective tool to get politicians and local personalities to show support for the group. Heather spoke about how she was always on the look-out for an opportunity to '*get [politicians] in the [ban fracking] t-shirt, get them standing beside you, [...] get them under a sign,*

just get them! This tactic was particularly effective because the group followed up by posting such photos to Twitter or submitting them to the *Leitrim Observer*. Fine Gael Councillor Sean MacDiarmid was photographed planting daffodils with the group in 2013. Similarly, Fianna Fáil TD Mark MacSharry publicly wore a Love Leitrim t-shirt to a charity fundraising event.

On several occasions throughout the campaign, members of Love Leitrim met with the minister, or more frequently the minister of state responsible for natural resources. In Ireland (under the Ministers and Secretaries Act, 1924) a minister is a 'corporation sole'. This is a legal title which conveys a minister with significant authority and responsibilities by virtue of their office. Indeed, 'ministerial responsibility forms a central element of the institutional structure of Irish parliamentary politics and government' (Government Reform Unit, 2014: 15) As such, while it is accepted that practically, ministers cannot make or oversee every decision in the complex bureaucracy of a modern government department, they nevertheless retain overall political and legal responsibility for actions in their department and are accountable to parliament for these (Government Reform Unit, 2014: 15-18). Campaigners understood this role of ministers in the policy making process and when meeting him they focused on questions of the probity of the process:

'When we meet the minister, we're talking to him about corruption because we feel that that's his job... to make sure the process is fair and transparent... I mean his biggest job has to be to make sure it's happening straight and there isn't corruption happening of any kind. So they're the kind of conversations that we have with the ministers when we meet them' (Robert).

This focus on holding ministers to account for ensuring a fair and accountable process was important for campaigners because they felt that the initial decision-making process which led to the awarding of the licences was not transparent. Robert continued:

'We talk about what actually happened and made decisions and how could that happen, or how could they allow that to happen you know? When it was obviously

wrong you know? [...] You have a project with 3,000 wells landing on your doorstep that nobody knew anything about. You know and you don't have any, any ministers coming and saying "this is what we propose to do, this is going to save Leitrim, or it's going to be great for Leitrim" No, instead you have companies turning up and say that we're ready to start fracking and we just have to apply for a few things'.

As the policy making process advanced, with the EPA research underway, campaigners continued to highlight ministerial accountability for the probity of the process. For example, Love Leitrim campaigners, along with Aedín McLoughlin of GEAI, met with Minister Joe McHugh in the Dáil following attendance at an Oireachtas committee hearing. They express their concern that *'the research study was completely compromised and must be stopped'* (GEAI, n.d.). Campaigners also expressed the view that tendering for phase two of the research should not proceed. This second phase would require baseline monitoring of air, water and seismicity, requiring researchers to set up instrumentation on lands in Leitrim. These campaigner advocacy efforts were augmented by working with opposition politicians to publicly raise the issue of the research in the Oireachtas. This strategy of cross-party advocacy is what I turn to now.

7.3.2 Cross-party advocacy to place fracking on the political agenda

In order to advance the aim of securing a ban on fracking, Love Leitrim adopted a position of *'trying to be apolitical and yet try[ing] to work a political system'* (Heather). The group had a political aim to influence politicians and to shape public policy. However, in order to do so, they adopted a non-partisan approach towards party politics. Facilitated by the group's inclusive structure and ethos of respect, Love Leitrim drew its membership from across several political parties and none:

'We have people who are members of the Green Party, people who are members of Fine Gael, one woman who

attends our meetings is a Fianna Fáil councillor- so we had “ins” through all of those people’ (Triona).

Furthermore, by paying attention to practices that built a base for collective action, including dialogue and relationship building, the group’s broad network of social connections extended into most spheres of local life. This loosely networked a diverse group of people and interests together in an effective coalition to campaign for a ban on fracking. The group’s extended email list included 300 people, all of whom had played a role or in some way expressed a stake in the group. Thus, by ensuring Love Leitrim was rooted in the local community, the group not only gained a social licence to act locally but the group could draw on the social, cultural and political capital of this broad network.

7.3.2.1 Informing politicians and catalysing political action

Campaigners realised that *‘the politicians aren’t experts in this either, so they’ve got to be brought up to speed as it were, and become properly informed’* (Thomas). Recalling one Love Leitrim meeting in summer 2014, when Tamboran were attempting to commence drilling in Belcoo, Triona explained how:

‘Meetings started to swell and swell and swell in Manorhamilton and at one stage I remember just stepping back and looking around me at a meeting and I counted: we had a TD and I think about 7 councillors from Leitrim and Sligo and they were there for us to inform them.

Love Leitrim meetings were a non-partisan space where elected representatives could be informed about fracking developments, as well as work in partnership with campaigners and be encouraged to act. At the meeting during the Belcoo drilling crisis, for example:

‘[S]ome people broke out into another room with them to work on the wording to call for a ban and I thought this is actually democracy in action. And I suppose it blew that myth that the elected representatives know more than us. They don’t. They don’t’ (Triona).

7.3.2.2 Targeting advocacy across the political divides

Love Leitrim built relationships with local politicians from every party that was represented in Leitrim and sought to work with all political representatives with the aim of securing a ban on fracking. As Robert explained:

'We're afraid of our lives and we're talking to hopefully all of the population and we're looking at all of the political divides. So we're looking at what do Fianna Fáil people think? What do - who in the campaign is talking to Fianna Fáil? Who's talking to Fine Gael? So I suppose that's different in that we're, I suppose, more people, looking at things in a completely different way'.

As a result, the group *'always had strong contact with public representatives and is well respected'* (Love Leitrim meeting minutes, February 2016). Campaigners used these relationships to raise issues at key moments throughout the campaign.

For example, following the awarding of the EPA research contract to the CDM Smith-led consortium, Love Leitrim campaigners worked with local councillors to brief them on the issues around the research. As a result of this effort, on 11 May 2015, Councillor Mary Bohan of Fianna Fáil tabled a successful Leitrim County Council motion of no confidence in the research. Subsequently, Leitrim based Fianna Fáil senator Pascal Mooney and Sligo-Leitrim Sinn Fein TD Michael Colreavy raised the issue of CDM Smith's involvement in the research on 10 June 2015 when the EPA appeared before the Joint Oireachtas Committee on Transport and Communications. At that hearing Senator Mooney commented that he had received *'press releases issued by the Love Leitrim group which is actively involved in anti-fracking activities in County Leitrim and expressing alarm [about the research]'*. Later in 2015, with the EPA research still underway, Love Leitrim worked with People Before Profit TD Richard Boyd Barrett to draft the Prohibition of Hydraulic Fracturing Bill 2015 (*See appendix A*). This was the first bill to ban fracking which was introduced to the Dáil. While campaigners did not expect this bill to receive enough support to be enacted, the introduction of the bill allowed Boyd Barrett to raise the issue of the EPA research

publicly, which continued to build pressure on the minister regarding the study (PhD fieldnotes, June 2018).

7.3.2.3 Securing a local political consensus against fracking

Love Leitrim worked with other anti-fracking groups to secure a ban on fracking in the Leitrim County Development Plan in 2014. Love Leitrim used cross-party advocacy, local press and social media work in the weeks ahead of the vote. On the night of the council meeting, campaigners from several anti-fracking groups held a vigil:

'We all went to Leitrim County Council and we were outside so when the councillors were arriving [...] we were all there and we had little signs and petitions and banners. We also sang which was actually a very nice thing as well. And we've got good singers in our group!' (Bernie).

The council voted in favour of a motion to insert a ban on fracking into the County Development Plan by seventeen votes to one, with four abstentions. Worryingly for campaigners, the one vote against (and the four abstentions to) the motion came from Fine Gael, the government party. Nevertheless, there was a clear consensus amongst the other parties which led to *'the politicians [...] realising that there's a popular vote against it'* (Chris).

The vote resulted in council policy 124, which cited the precautionary principle and declared that *'UGEE projects/operations shall not be permitted within the County of Leitrim'* (Leitrim County Development Plan 2015-21). Responding to the vote, Love Leitrim stated that:

'We're delighted that the council have sided with the people and sent such an emphatic message to the government and to the oil and gas industry. Their action today means there is no democratic mandate for fracking – and gives the government a perfect opportunity take the people's will into account and ban fracking not just in Leitrim but in Ireland as well' (Love Leitrim press release, February 2014).

7.3.2.4 Using elections to secure political buy-in for a ban

Love Leitrim worked with other anti-fracking groups to organise Vote Frack Free initiatives during the 2014 local and European elections as well as for the 2016 general election. For the general election, the group organised an election hustings event (see figure 7.3) which thirteen (of eighteen) candidates in the Sligo-Leitrim constituency attended. All in attendance pledged to support a ban against fracking (Love Leitrim meeting minutes, February 2016). As a result of this initiative, all of the TDs elected for the Sligo-Leitrim constituency in 2016 had publicly pledged their support for a ban on fracking, which *'did us [Love Leitrim] a lot of favours because [...] those that ended up as TDs were now committed to bringing that message'* (Alison). In total, 36 elected TDs from across all political parties had pledged their support for a ban on fracking through the initiative.

Love Leitrim's engagement with politicians was supported by their efforts to build a strong base of support for a ban on fracking, which were discussed in the previous chapter. The group was keen to ensure that as many local people as possible engaged their councillors and TDs and encouraged them to support a ban on fracking. Campaigners understood that while Love Leitrim had a good reputation with politicians, it was still very important that there was wide local backing for a ban because:

'it's the people on the ground that the politicians listen to when it comes down to it. If there is enough people on the ground asking the politician "why are you allowing this to happen?" the politician will listen whereas if the, if it's only certain groups approaching the politician it doesn't have quite as much power behind it. Certainly, the groups have a better level of power than individuals talking to a politician but [...] to have everybody in an area asking their politician about an issue has much more of an impact than just a small group' (Aidan).



Figure 7.3: Candidates at the 2016 Love Leitrim general election hustings ⁷

Love Leitrim adopted a similar approach to cross-party advocacy when it came to the final stages of the campaign and moves towards legislating for a ban on fracking. Following the success of the Vote Frack Free initiative, three separate bills and one parliamentary motion calling for a ban were tabled during 2016 (*see appendix 3*). Love Leitrim established a legislation working group to co-ordinate efforts to progress a ban on fracking (Love Leitrim minutes, 7 July 2016). Indeed, Love Leitrim members had already played a role in several of these bills, lobbying for their introduction and liaising with their drafters and with Friends of the Earth in order to shape their wording (PhD fieldnotes, summer 2016; Love Leitrim legislation group correspondence, October 2016). At the same time, the group sought meetings with

⁷ It should be noted that the 50-50 group, which is a national campaign organisation for gender parity in Irish politics is particularly active and vocal in north-west Ireland.

Fianna Fáil TDs, who had not tabled legislation but whose support would be crucial for any bill to progress. In late July 2016, campaigners met with Fianna Fáil TD Eamon Scanlon informally at the Manorhamilton Agricultural Show where he was photographed wearing a Love Leitrim anti-fracking t-shirt and said he was *'very willing to support us and would support an agreed piece of legislation'* (Love Leitrim minutes, 4 August 2016).

In the Dáil, the government has priority to for the debate and enactment of its legislative programme. All non-government legislative proposals are called Private Members' Bills and are selected each week by lottery at the Business Committee meeting to agree the subsequent week's agenda. By the literal luck of the draw, Tony McLoughlin's bill was drawn in the lottery and scheduled for second stage debate on Thursday, 27 October 2016 (*see appendix 5 for an explanation of the legislative stages*). Responding to this development, Love Leitrim launched the '#BackTheBill' campaign. Campaigners co-ordinated local press and social media work and organised a flotilla of canoeists and anglers on Lough MacNea. High profile celebrity anti-fracking campaigners were contacted and tweeted their support for the bill, including Bianca Jagger, Glen Hansard and Mark Ruffalo. The *Leitrim Observer* led with an article which discussed the #BackTheBill campaign and quoted extensively from Love Leitrim spokespeople. Speaking on behalf of the group, Eddie Mitchell said *'we are appealing to our TDs to work together across parties and back this bill to ban fracking. We need our elected representatives to secure support for the legislation within their parties'* (Leitrim Observer, 26 October 2016).

While McLoughlin was a government TD, the bill was not guaranteed to receive the support of the government. Campaigners learned that while Minister Naughten was willing to support the bill in principle he sought to significantly delay its consideration by the Dáil. On 25 October, two days before the debate, Minister Dennis Naughten published the government's proposal to postpone the second stage reading until 30 June 2017. The proposal stated that this was in order to allow for consideration of the EPA research and detailed scrutiny of the bill. Love Leitrim felt that this was *'kicking the can down the road'* (LL legislation group correspondence, October 2016) and contacted opposition TDs to call on them to oppose this

amendment. Campaigners focused particular attention on Fianna Fail as the minority government required that party's support if their proposal was to succeed.

Working with Dublin based climate activists and Friends of the Earth, Love Leitrim produced a postcard which was delivered to every TD with key messages about the bill that focused on public health, community safety, climate and the rural economy (PhD fieldnotes, October 2016). In addition, they engaged in advocacy efforts with all opposition parties, working closely with Friends of the Earth campaigners to do this. The two key issues were to ensure that parties with their own bills would support McLoughlin's and that Fianna Fail would withhold support for the postponement motion. Ultimately these efforts worked, the government accepted that it would not win a vote on the motion and did not table it. Instead the second stage debate took place as planned with all parties supporting the legislation. Following this success, the bill was referred to the Joint Oireachtas Committee on Communications, Climate Action and Environment for legislative scrutiny and a public consultation was announced. The committee was also tasked to consider the interim report of the EPA research, which, in the end, was the only formal output of that research process.

7.4 Creative collective action

This section explores the role of collective action and resistance in Love Leitrim's campaigning. Being an anti-fracking campaigner is *'like being a watchkeeper'* suggested Emma:

'Keeping an eye on everything and making sure that this is not getting in. It's kinda like guarding, you know, a castle with a fort around it! [laughs] That's what it's like. That's what it's been like for the last five years. If you see any weakness in the walls you have build-up straight away, you have to get in there. You can't let anything in. You have to remain vigilant.'

Emma's powerful metaphor of guarding a castle evokes the sense of stress and siege which campaigners felt over the course of the long campaign. It highlights that for people in the licence areas the issue of fracking was not abstract or theoretical but intrinsically tied up with their lives and livelihoods. For campaigners, resistance to fracking was of existential importance.

As I have explored in chapter three, 'rearguard resistance' (Varley and Curtain, 2002) in rural Ireland has tended to be characterised by communitarian populism rather than socialist, anarchist or deep green inspired activism. Nevertheless, as Garavan (2007) shows, resistance has played an important role in the tactical repertoire of rural Irish environmentalism. Alongside this rural culture of resistance, there have been some examples of direct action environmentalism in Ireland, particularly since the 1990s. As in the UK at that time, Irish activists focused on roads expansion projects such as in the Glen of the Downs in Wicklow. In the 2000s, this militant particularism was internationally influenced by the alter-globalisation movements and organisations such as Gluaiseacht were formed. Locally, the Rossport community's campaign against Shell became a focus for direct action activism, with a solidarity camp drawing activists from across Ireland and internationally. However, most people in rural Ireland, including the fracking areas, have little experience of the discourses and practices of anarchist inspired, non-violent direct action tactics. Indeed, as I discussed in chapter seven, campaigners felt that activism was discredited by powerful images of the "tree-hugging" activist and the negative ways in which protests such as Rossport were portrayed in the media. Given these hegemonic stereotypes, and the non-confrontational and integrationalist tendencies of rural populism identified by Varley and Curtain (2002), how did Love Leitrim campaigners relate to and incorporate ideas and practices of collective action and resistance into their campaign? What was the militant particularism which arose in north Leitrim?

7.4 Collective action to resist fracking

7.4.1 Engaging media and raising public awareness

The first way in which Love Leitrim used collective action was to raise awareness of issues and to frame the public discourse on fracking. Campaigners adopted many creative approaches to collective action for this purpose including rallies, carol singing, photo stunts and solidarity actions. A key challenge highlighted by campaigners was reach the media and public in the capital and campaigners took several steps to capture media attention. Love Leitrim, along with other campaign groups gathered outside the Dáil on key moments throughout the campaign. Leitrim-based sculptor Jackie McKenna donated the mould for a life-size sculpture of a cow which she made⁸. The mould became “Daisy the Cow”, Love Leitrim’s mascot. Triona explained that Daisy was *‘on the road to Dublin, up and down, up and down... [She] was outside the Dáil maybe about 10 times.’*

Daisy was eye catching and unusual. She was evocative of rural life and the key *‘farming not fracking’* message of the group. Triona explained how Daisy provided an attention hook because she *‘added a bit of fun element to a very serious campaign and the media loved her.’* During the “Back the Bill” campaign Daisy again made public appearances in Leitrim, including for the St. Patrick’s Day parade (see figure 7.4). These creative, fun and celebratory elements were an important part of Love Leitrim’s approach to collective action. As Heather explained, the group aimed for its collective action efforts to be *‘a little bit pleasant, a little bit funny [and] have a bit of a surprise in it maybe’*. And while Triona suggested *‘other groups probably see us as big aul softies’*, she argued that *‘I think we get the results.’* Several campaigners in Love Leitrim developed their skills in press and social media work and the group used these channels to publicise collective action and to reach wider audiences. Love Leitrim combined public action with media work and advocacy. A

⁸ The finished piece is named ‘City Cow’ and is located in Wolf Tone Park in Dublin city.



Figure 7.4: Daisy the Cow supporting the Back the Bill campaign, 2017

powerful example of how the group did this was the 2013 protest walk which Love Leitrim member Bernie undertook the Dáil. I turn now to explore this example.

Making a physical link to the media and decision makers in Dublin was important for campaigners, who feared that they were on the periphery of decision making. Conscious of this, Bernie walked over 200kms from Manorhamilton to 'Dáil Eireann which is obviously the seat of power. The seat of government, where they're going to be making the decisions for us in the north-west'. Bernie felt that it was 'a very simple way to protest'. She was influenced in her decision to do the walk by 'famous examples in history' including Gandhi and Maori activist Whina Cooper who led a walk to parliament for Maori land rights. Bernie felt that 'it was quite a simple and a symbolic and a powerful thing to do'.

Bernie used the walk to raise awareness by carrying a petition and engaging in conversations in communities on the route. The novelty of the 200km walk also provided an important media hook which Love Leitrim took advantage of. The group secured print coverage in the *Leitrim Observer* and *Sligo Champion*, as well as the

Irish Times. Interviews were arranged on several local radio stations as Bernie crossed the country. As a fluent Irish speaker, she also secured an interview on *Radio na Gaeltachta*, the national Irish language radio station. As Bernie made her way to Dublin, Love Leitrim made contact with Dublin anti-fracking activists, including members of Young Friends of the Earth and No Fracking Dublin to organise a welcome reception when Bernie arrived at the Ha'penny Bridge in Dublin. Bernie's walking protest and the publicity it received ensured that several TDs were prepared to meet with her and a small delegation from Love Leitrim which joined her at the Dáil. Campaigners secured a meeting with Minister of State Joe McHugh (FG) as well as discussing the campaign with Richard Boyd Barrett (PBP), Claire Daly (Independent) and Leitrim TDs John Perry (FG) and Michael Colrevey (SF).

7.4.2 Strengthening the social licence

In addition to engaging the media and raising public awareness, Love Leitrim campaigners used collective action in order to demonstrate the strength of local opposition to fracking and illustrate that the campaign had the backing of the local community. Campaigners worked with key groups in the local community to organise public demonstrates against fracking. In 2014, Love Leitrim worked with Fermanagh campaigners and cross-border angling groups to hold a rally of a loose, '*non-political*' coalition of anglers called 'Fishermen Are Resisting Tamboran', which was consciously abbreviated to F.A.R.T. (*see figure 7.5*). Anglers were again mobilised during the Back the Bill campaign and a photo stunt on Lough MacNea made the front page of the *Leitrim Observer* on the day before the Dáil debated the bill (*Leitrim Observer*, 2016: 1).

As well as working with anglers, Love Leitrim understood that the farmers were a crucial group with traditional power and influence in the community. Love Leitrim worked with local IFA members to organise a tractorcade during the G8 meeting in Enniskillen. The group decided to use the G8 as a strategic mobilising moment, but felt that rather than going to Enniskillen itself, organising the event



Figure 7.5: Fishermen Are Resisting Tamboran demonstration poster

locally was *'actually more important'* because it was *'a show of solidarity with the farmers who are the landowners'* (Triona). As local farmer and member of both Love Leitrim and the IFA, Fergus played an important role in organising the event through *'word of mouth... knocking on doors and phone calls and what have you'*. Using this informal approach through his social networks he *'went around a lot of them and they all agreed to come on the tractor run'*. The tractorcade was a public display of the farming community's strong anti-fracking stance.

Triona recalled how the group organised the event with the aim of *'really bringing the farming organisations on board'*. She felt that this aim was achieved when local IFA leaders, who had yet to make any public statement on fracking *'realised, "uh oh, we're not representing the members here!" I mean 60 tractors in Leitrim is a lot! It mightn't be a lot anywhere else, the French farmers on the Champs*

Elise, 60 wouldn't be many but here it is' (Triona). The 2013 tractorcade helped to cement Love Leitrim's social licence locally by presenting a public display of the farming community's backing of the campaign. When a tractorcade was next organised, one year later in County Fermanagh, the purpose was even more urgent as campaigners sought to demonstrate the resistance which Tamboran would face in attempting to drill at a quarry site near Belcoo. It is to the group's use of collective action as a form of resistance that I now turn.

7.4.3 Demonstrating resistance

Community resistance established and enforced a bottom line for communities which made it clear that they would not accept fracking or any research that could assist the roll out of fracking. This was illustrated by resistance to Tamboran's attempted drilling in Belcoo, as well as the 2015 Lock the Gate campaign. Robert argued that communities can be local nodes of resistance to *'fundamental large problems that aren't that easy to solve'* because *'one of the things small communities can do is simply say no'*. And while that can mean that a project or industry *'moves off to a place where the community isn't as strong'*, at the same time he felt that *'every time a community resists, it empowers another community to resist'*.

As I noted in chapter seven, many Love Leitrim campaigners were inspired and influenced by the community of Rossport and their campaign against Shell. The example of the community in Rossport showed campaigners in Leitrim that resistance was possible:

'They held back Shell for fifteen years, so we immediately knew at the very beginning that we could hold back fracking just by saying "no" and that if we were honestly serious about not allowing the project that it would mean that the guards and the army [...] would have to come into Leitrim to push through a project that isn't sustainable at that level' (Robert).

The early successes of the campaign in the Republic of Ireland led to a political moratorium on the granting of exploration licences. This meant that the terrain of the campaign shifted from the physical landscape of the licence areas to the regulatory and policy making arenas. However, in Northern Ireland there were two occasions when exploratory oil and gas drilling was attempted and catalysed local mobilisations to resist it, in 2014 at Belcoo, County Fermanagh and in 2016 at Woodburn, County Antrim. These “site battles” (as such instances are labelled in the lexicon of environmental activism) took place in communities outside of Leitrim yet had a significant impact on Love Leitrim campaigners and on the wider political and policy-making processes south of the border.

Campaigners from Leitrim played a particularly prominent role supporting the Belcoo mobilisation because the Belcoo site was *‘just the other side of the border. Like literally a few miles’* (Bernie) because Tamboran wanted to use data from the Belcoo exploratory bore hole to fulfil its work programme in the republic where it had no licence to drill. But community resistance was successful in Belcoo, and for many campaigners this victory was a personal highlight of the campaign. Campaigners felt that Woodburn, however, was *‘just disastrous’* (Shane) and *‘definitely not a victory for the campaign’* (Michelle) because *‘they [the company] weren’t stopped but they found nothing... so they left anyway’* (Fergus). Here I will consider the strategic lessons which campaigners observed about their experiences of organising direct action resistance.

Tamboran arrived at the Belcoo drill site very early in the morning on 21 July 2014 in a *‘convoy accompanied by large numbers of police’* (White, 2015: 95). Fergus explained how the company *‘only left in letters at people’s doors at 5 o’clock in the morning that they were erecting a gate and putting up their razor wire and what have you’*. By the end of the first day hundreds of local people arrived at the site. However, there was initially no agreed consensus on the tactics, principles or limits to direct action at the site and on that first day there was an incident where someone *‘rattled the gate ...and the security men pushed him back’* (Fergus). The campaigner was arrested, which was *‘unfortunate for the person involved and unfortunate for the whole campaign’* (Heather). Partly on the basis of this incident Tamboran applied for and was successful in securing an injunction which:

'Targeted "unknown persons" and also specifically a cross-community anti-fracking group – Fermanagh Fracking Awareness Network -, the plan being to split the community along sectarian lines, and to make it seem that we were troublemakers' (White, 2015: 96-7).

Campaigners felt that this injunction was an attempt to take the energy out of the mobilisation and to discourage others from attending the protest site. Indeed, Aidan felt that initially *'a lot of people were very weary'* about attending the site:

'because you know, you're going up the fences and seeing these big strong guys with their big strong dogs looking very menacing. And outside the fence were a lot of police all standing around in their stab [vests]... Also looking, you know, a little bit intimidating to say the least'.

At the same time there were local political sensitivities between the nationalist and unionist communities which posed challenges for collective action and had to be considered. This was particularly important to consider for campaigners from Leitrim, who were crossing the border to support the camp. As Bernie stressed *'you don't want people to feel like you're stepping on their toes... they're the local people and they're doing things how they want but you're going there to support them'*. All of this presented a difficult context for collective action and campaigners adopted several strategies in order to proceed.

Firstly, Love Leitrim's approach was one of solidarity and supporting what local people in Fermanagh wanted to do in the campaign. Emma explained how *'we went in obviously to help but we didn't try to take over. We said we're here, we're to support you, but we're not going to tell you what to do. So, and then that, it takes time. And people, you have to remember were in shock and anger so people had to be given a little bit of time just to figure out'* Aidan explained that campaigners from Love Leitrim took it in turns to go to the site:

'just offering help or bringing up a bit of food if we could. That kind of thing, just working in the background, offering support and kind of just partly being there just showing your faces around to show that they weren't standing alone.... Like for example, I mean, we went up with a car load of wood one time, for the fires, kinda thing, just small little things in the background'.

A second strategy which was important was to develop some consensus about the purpose of the camp and the tactics which campaigners would use to stop the drill. On the second day of Tamboran's occupation of the quarry in Belcoo, campaigners met to try to develop this action consensus at what became:

'quite a volatile meeting [...] where lots of stuff was trashed out [...] about action or not action and who can do what. Or who's deciding what [...] And that kind of thing was aired in a fairly dramatic but definitely public way' (Margaret).

It was agreed that while they would not obstruct workers coming and going they would also not allow the drill on to the site, and if it came to it would resist this through civil disobedience. With many campaigners from Leitrim wishing to support the action at Belcoo, Love Leitrim also organised a meeting in Manorhamilton where a code of conduct for solidarity activists was agreed and a roster of stewards developed. *'Peaceful'* recalled Fergus, *'it had to be a peaceful protest so we all had to agree to that at the meeting'* because *'others were going to bring tractors and pull down the gates. But if you start that then you're getting the so-called law on [the company's] side then and you're the baddy'*.

While a divergence in thinking around strategy between groups in Belcoo led to two separate camps being established, it nevertheless *'felt like we were there with a clear consensus that we were there to try and stop the drill from going in'* (Margaret). Campaigners contrasted this action consensus in Belcoo with a lack of clarity on the purpose and objective of the mobilisation at Woodburn. Several Leitrim campaigners who travelled to the County Antrim site felt that while people's presence was *'useful and valuable'* (Margaret), there was no consensus on the purpose of the camp. Similarly, Michelle felt that the action at Woodburn was *'largely symbolic'* and there was no agreement there that direct action would be used in order to stop the drill.

A third strategy which campaigners at Belcoo adopted was to create a positive and family friendly space which would attract the support of local people who had never experienced any kind of protest action before and were potentially intimidated by the approach of the company and the police at the site. Along with the code of

conduct, Love Leitrim members devised a rota to ensure that campaigners were there as much as possible. Chris felt that *'Leitrim was key then when it came to Belcoo [...] because the strong organisation here was able to support what was happening in Fermanagh in a non-directional way'*. Triona recalled how the camp *'became a sort of a summer party'* with many neighbours, friends and family converging on the site. The site infrastructure was developed, with a marquee and tea making facilities. Portaloos were put in place by the local authority following a discussion with the police. Music and activities were organised at the site, including an anti-fracking children's choir which performed in front of the gates to the compound (*see figure 7.6*). Emma recalled being *'a few times up there and we brought the kids sometimes as well. It was a good atmosphere. We always felt welcome and the locals were very good'*.

Finally, campaigners took local cultural and political sensitivities into account in how they organised the camp at Belcoo. As noted by White (2015), it was important to ensure that the camp was a cross-community space where both unionist and nationalist communities felt comfortable and welcome to attend. Indeed, when a petrol bomb attack took place on the house of one of the fracking site security guards, campaigners were careful to distance themselves from the attack (Moriarty, 2014). In order to create a welcoming, cross-community space, artists, musicians and religious leaders from both communities were invited to come to the site. On one evening, there was *'what would traditionally be an Orange band there, what would traditionally be a green, you know, Catholic and Protestant choir all singing together up there'* (Triona).

When the company had secured and established the site it was preparing to bring the drill onto the site. At that point:

'it was getting so serious the local people had organised a mass, an ecumenical mass so there was a Catholic priest.... there was a Protestant and Presbyterian [minister] and they were there to give a service and they were really there because they were trying to calm people down, they were worried about people being arrested and we all knew that the rig was imminent' (Robert).



Figure 7.6: Belcoo Children's anti-fracking choir

As tensions mounted, the community prepared for confrontation in order to prevent the arrival of the drill. However, the camp received the word that the Northern Irish Minister for the Environment had ruled that Tamboran required full planning permission for the drilling and so their plans were halted. The gathering turned into a celebration, with campaigners from all communities *'celebrating together. And I thought this is more than about fracking. This is about communities coming together'* (Triona).

The drilling had been halted by campaigners working with Friends of the Earth Northern Ireland in order to challenge Tamboran's use of a legal loophole known as Permitted Development Rights (PDR) which allowed them to by-pass an Environmental Impact Assessment. Petitioning, advocacy meetings and *'stuff that was going on in the background'* (Robert) were important in stopping the company, but the physical resistance of campaigners at the Belcoo site was crucial to the success of the campaign:

'really it was about what was happening there [at the camp]. It wasn't possible to bring that forward because there were too many people willing to stand our ground and just it wasn't possible. There was an army of people willing to stand up against this obvious injustice that you're talking about and it was just clear it couldn't happen. So that was brilliant, for us to get there and to prove that if you build a campaign that you can stop these projects and you can win. That's the solution. That's just simply the solution, if we can keep doing that, that's how it works (Robert).

This victory was achieved by *'just normal everyday people who suddenly realised they were standing on a line protesting because if they didn't do it there was nobody else to do it'* (Aidan).

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the strategies and practices which Love Leitrim adopted in order to influence outcomes in policy and political decision-making spaces which were at a scale beyond the affected local communities in north-west Ireland. In conceptualising this challenge I have borrowed the metaphor of 'jumping scales' and I have structured this chapter around the 'jumping scales' thematic network which I developed from my data analysis. Three organising themes emerged from this analysis and formed the structure for this chapter.

The first strategy which Love Leitrim adopted in order to jump scales was *critical and creative policy engagement*. Several practices contributed to this strategy. Firstly, rather than being led by the industry's focus on single well pads, campaigners scaled up their framings of the issue to address the entire project and the consequences of the industrialisation of the landscape. Secondly, rather than simply engaging with the state on consultation terms not of their own making, Love Leitrim sought to actively shape the parameters of the policy making process by placing pressure on the state to hold a public consultation on the terms of reference for the EPA research. Campaigners used that consultation to ensure that the key concerns

of the community around public health were raised, and to ensure that health was established as the key test for public confidence in the study. Thirdly, rather than only engaging with regulators and policy-makers to raise concerns about the maldistribution of environmental burdens in the north-west, campaigners widened the debate by framing their concerns in terms of participation, governance and democracy. This focus on participation and the governance process led campaigners to focus on identifying opportunities to intervene in the decision-making process at a political level.

Campaigners felt that engaging with politicians was essential in order to address scalar and procedural injustice. Thus, *cross-party advocacy* was a further strategy which Love Leitrim adopted. In taking this approach the group adopted several practices. Campaigners sought to emphasise democratic values and to hold the system to account by its own logic. This included emphasising to local representatives that they expected them to represent their views and that they would be held to account for this. It also meant that campaigners stressed the minister's responsibility for the probity of the process around the licencing decisions. Love Leitrim sought to build relationships with politicians across all parties and none. They recognised the unique roles which local constituency TDs, opposition TDs and Oireachtas committee members could play in raising the issue of fracking in the Dáil and they worked with these in different combinations throughout the campaign. Furthermore, by securing a local political consensus against fracking with the Leitrim County Council ban and through the Vote Frack Free initiatives, campaigners hoped that local politicians would influence policy within their own parties, thus having a multiplier effect.

Love Leitrim complimented its policy and advocacy work with *strategic and creative collective action*, which the group employed in a number of ways. As I have noted, while collective action in Ireland has its roots in communitarian populism more than anarchist inspired direct action, resistance has nevertheless been a feature of rural Irish community action. Love Leitrim campaigners used collective action and resistance tactics and strategies in order to halt Tamboran's attempts to drill in the area and to further their aim of securing a ban on fracking. Campaigners understood the need for creative, media friendly actions which could draw attention to Love

Leitrim's framing of the issue amongst the press and the public and create media and social media hooks which enabled the group to spread its message. The group used collective actions to strengthen their social licence and their position in relation to interlocutors by organising key sections of the community, such as farmers and anglers, to participate in public protest actions. The group adopted a strategy of resistance as a bottom line 'no' to fracking, as was the case at the Belcoo camp. Sensitive to local dynamics in Belcoo, campaigners sought to act in solidarity with the local community. They supported Fermanagh campaigners to cultivate a peaceful culture of resistance at the site and to create a space which was welcoming for all. This ensured that the resistance at Belcoo was strong and sustainable enough to force politicians to re-evaluate their decision to allow Tamboran to drill.

Chapter 8

Being rooted and jumping scales - insights from the case

8. 1 Introduction

My case study has told the story of Love Leitrim’s campaign against fracking. Chapter five provided a contextualising case description, including a community profile of north Leitrim, and a description of origins and development of Love Leitrim. Chapter six presented my findings on how the group rooted itself in the local community to build a strong for social licence and base for action. Following this, chapter seven, explored how campaigners navigated a course through the process of political decision making to secure a ban on fracking. In this chapter I consider the insights which Love Leitrim’s campaign offers to other frontline communities and to community workers supporting campaigns for environmental justice.

In section 8.2, I reflect on the reflexive shaping of my research question through my own praxis as a community worker, climate justice activist and researcher. Following this, section 8.3 presents my analysis of the community work literature on the environment and set out several “rooting strategies”, drawn out of my findings, for local campaigners seeking to build a base for collective action in communities experiencing environmental injustice. Finally, in section 8.4 I discuss the obstacles which communities face in jumping scales to effect outcomes at the scale of regulation. I identify several “reaching strategies”, based on my data analysis which could support campaigners in communities at the scale of meaning to influence outcomes at the scale of regulation.

8.2 Reflexive shaping of the research question

Six months after I moved to Manorhamilton, I was sitting at Michelle's kitchen table looking out over across the valley to Benbo mountain. This was the hill on which the "Heart on the Hill" had been illuminated in 2015. *'So, where is the story of your PhD taking you?'* she asked. I took a sip of coffee and pondered the question. We had been reflecting together on how stories emerge, grow and develop. How the act of writing takes the writer on a journey guided by an unconscious logic that often only becomes clear in the writing. At the outset of this PhD research, I sought to contribute to Irish community work theory and practice in relation to the environment. My motivation for doing so interfolded questions of the political and the personal, as a community worker committed to justice, as a climate activist concerned with the environment and as a person of working class origin now positioned in the knowledge class. I held these identities and the questions which sprung from them as I moved from the negotiating halls of COP21 to the community centre in Manorhamilton.

As my own research curiosities encountered the lives and concerns of others, I felt I was spinning together the threads of a story. These threads revealed themselves slowly, through serendipitous encounters with people and landscapes. I treated this process of action and reflection as a reflexive dialogue with the world. In this chapter I reflect on these threads, on my research journey and on the story which this research text tells. The questions which guided this PhD study evolved through a reflexive process of 'living life as inquiry' (Marshall, 1999) over the course of the research. My initial interest in the links between community work and the environment was informed by MA experiences in Leitrim and Liberia. These experiences also shaped my personal commitment to justice, professional values as a community worker and positionality as I navigated membership of the knowledge class. My involvement in Friends of the Earth's European youth network, and participation in the FoE International delegation to COP21, informed my analysis and understanding of the procedural and participatory injustices inherent in how climate change is addressed in global environmental governance. This shaped my initial

iteration of my research question, which was concerned with the relationship between local community campaigners in the anti-fracking campaign and the wider movement for climate justice.

In Paris, I observed how Northern NGOs had more resources and capacity to influence outcomes than Southern movements and frontline communities. Yet these subaltern groups adopted strategies to address this, with organisations and communities using the opportunity of the summit to network across struggles and to strategise a 'frontline fightback' which sought to place 'the voices of marginalised and oppressed groups front and centre in the fight for justice' (Gorman and Ranke, 2015). This experience of global climate movement organising helped me to contextualise my reading of the Irish environmental movement literature. This emphasises a binary division between official environmentalism and populist mobilisations (Mullally, 2006, Tovey, 1991, 2007). Case study research by Leonard (2006, 2007) and Garavan (2007, 2013) has illustrated that hierarchies between knowledge and different languages of valuation pose difficulties for local communities who wish to resist the imposition of environmental burdens. Yet the global experience indicated that this is not a case of Irish exceptionalism. Rather, the Irish picture conforms to a global pattern of division between communities experiencing environmental injustice (however articulated) and NGOs and activists who claim the discourse of environmentalism.

In February 2016 I moved to Manorhamilton in north county Leitrim and began to undertake my fieldwork with the Love Leitrim anti-fracking campaign group. The group was an empirical instance of the phenomenon which I sought to study - a local campaign formed around an environmental dispute which was seeking to influence outcomes at the scale of regulation. As I began my fieldwork in Leitrim, I was guided by the research question 'how do local anti-fracking campaigners conceptualise and construct their relationships with national and global movements for environmental justice?' By asking this question I focused on local campaigners' understanding of themselves in relation to wider movements, as well as exploring the actions they undertook to make any such links tangible.

This research question guided my early fieldwork, but it evolved as I participated in the campaign, reflected on interviews and informal interactions and continued to engage with the literature. In its final formulation, the question which I have sought to answer is ‘how did Love Leitrim’s campaign to ban fracking jump scales to influence outcomes at a national policy scale?’ Guided by this question and my concern to develop useful practice knowledge, I undertook a thematic network analysis (Attride-Stirling, 2001) of my data in order to identify the strategies and practices which supported Love Leitrim to jump scales. The thematic network which developed from this process formed the basis of my two substantive findings chapters. Chapter seven focused on how the group built a local base for collective action in Leitrim. This strong community infrastructure supported campaigners to scale out from Leitrim to address interlocutors, inform policy processes and influence outcomes. The process by which the group did this was explored in chapter seven. In sections 8.3 and 8.4, I reflect on my findings in light of the literature in order to draw out the insights from my case study for community work practice and for communities who face environmental injustice.

8.3 Being rooted in community and addressing root causes of environmental injustice

In this section I explore the insights for environmental community work which can be drawn from Love Leitrim’s approach to building a base for collective action. I begin by considering Love Leitrim’s approach to campaigning in light of the in light of the community work literature on environmentalism. The literature notes the challenge of starting where people are at and engaging communities on their own terms with environmental issues. How can campaigners and community workers root their environmental actions in the lives and lived realities of the communities where they work? How can they begin to address the root causes of environmental injustice while working at the local scale? In section 8.3.1, I consider how Love Leitrim’s way of working contributed to addressing the root causes of environmental injustice, before turning in section 8.3.2 to present a set of strategies for practice based on my

analysis of Love Leitrim's campaign which could support community workers to root environmental action in local communities.

8.3.1 Addressing the root causes of environmental injustice

For community development, starting where people are at in environmental work has proven to be a challenge (Twelvetrees, 2008). Research by Burningham and Thrush (2002) illustrates that the environment, in its post-materialist articulation, is not widely used as a discursive frame by disadvantaged groups to articulate their concerns. Martinez-Allier (2002) illustrates that the language of post-materialist environmentalism is just one discourse that can be evoked to articulate concerns about the spatial distribution of pollution or degradation. As Davis (2006) notes, environmental discourses are often absent or less relevant in the framing of local mobilisations. Love Leitrim's campaign mirrored this trend in its framing of the issues and its approach to engaging with the community. In its local messaging and communications the group focused on issues of health, the dangers to tourism and agriculture and on governance and democracy.

In this way, there are clear similarities between Love Leitrim's mobilisation and the materialist environmentalism which Scandrett *et al.* (2000) suggest tends to be concerned with the defence of local resources and livelihoods in the face of capital expansion or the state. The term environmental justice was not used to articulate grievances or as a mobilising frame in the anti-fracking campaign, yet the campaign clearly coheres with definitions of environmental justice in the community work literature. The campaign to prevent the extraction of shale gas in Ireland fits Ledwith's (2012: xii) definition of environmental justice as 'action to redress exploitation of the environment by capitalism'. It also chimes with Scandrett's (2010) assertion that environmental justice is typified by mobilisations where communities 'oppose the devaluing of their environment by the logic of the powerful'.

The fracking project envisaged further depopulation and the industrialisation of County Leitrim. By positioning itself defiantly as '*Cuisle Liatroma*' (the pulse of

Leitrim) the group's approach stood counter to this attempt to devalue the environment and the communities of the north-west by the state and market. Through its ways of working and by promoting creativity and celebrating community, Love Leitrim prefiguratively challenged the politics of disposability, which leads to capitalism's inequitable valuation of people and places and is a key driver of environmental injustice. An ethos of openness, respect, inclusivity and friendship was central to Love Leitrim's approach. This was strategically important, as it ensured that the group had a wide base of support to draw on when taking action. But this way of working also addressed the ontological grounds of devaluation that have been identified by Westoby and Dowling (2009) – objectification, disenchantment and addictive consumerism driven by a desire to belong. In this way, it may be said that Love Leitrim was a radical organisation, in that campaigners attempted to prefiguratively address the root causes of injustice and degradation through articulating and practicing another way of being in the world.

Westoby and Dowling (2009) point to the importance of supporting communities to think, dream and act in creative ways. They suggest that such 'imaginative literacy' can support communities to expand 'the range of possible presents and potential futures'. While Love Leitrim campaigners did not always frame their experiences in Freirean terms, most spoke about how the campaign had impacted on their understanding of the world, so that many felt '*we're woken to a different place*' (Robert). Crucially too, the campaign provided many with an appreciation of '*the power of one, and then the power of more than one and that community groups do have a voice and can... cause change*' (Triona). Building on these personal experiences of campaigners, Love Leitrim's approach was to gain trust and build relationships in the community through dialogue, creativity and community engagement. Taking an active part in community life was crucial in 'opening up new conversations [and] creating spaces and platforms for ordinary people to reveal their fears' and imagine alternatives (Westoby and Dowling, 2009: 187).

Love Leitrim's approach engaged with the local community to strategically raise awareness and build a political consensus against fracking. Campaigners understood the importance of being rooted in the community, while also seeking

name and address the root causes of the issue. The case study therefore offers some important insights for community work that seeks to overcome the obstacles to starting where people are at in environmental engagement. How did Love Leitrim root itself firmly in the local community?

8.3.2 Putting down roots: Strategies for building a strong local campaign for environmental justice

In this section I present a set of “rooting strategies” which could support community workers and community campaigners to build support for collective action for environmental justice. These strategies are based on the practices that Love Leitrim engaged in to gain a social licence for their campaign against fracking. The Irish environmental movement literature suggests that local responses to environmental degradation have mobilised around a frame of ‘rural sentiment’ (Leonard, 2006, 2007) or ‘communitarian populism’ (Varley and Curtain, 2002, 2006) in order build a successful base for collective action. To an extent, this theorisation of populist mobilisation framing in Ireland appears to be confirmed by my case study of the Love Leitrim campaign. The group did not mobilise as a purely environmental campaign but rather developed a vocabulary of opposition that drew on discourses of community, rural life and the promotion of indigenous economic activity. These discourses enabled Love Leitrim to build a base of support for collective action because the frames which they evoked had greater ‘narrative fidelity’ (Benford and Snow, 1992) and therefore enabled them to connect with the lived realities of local people’s lives.

However, the literature on local mobilisations has not fully considered how rural sentiment is formed and how it might be used purposively to build and sustain collective action. Leonard (2006), for instance, assumes that rural sentiment is a dormant and latent presence in rural communities that is automatically activated by the potential imposition of a polluting industry. This conceptualisation is ambiguous and offers little further guidance in developing a framework for action by

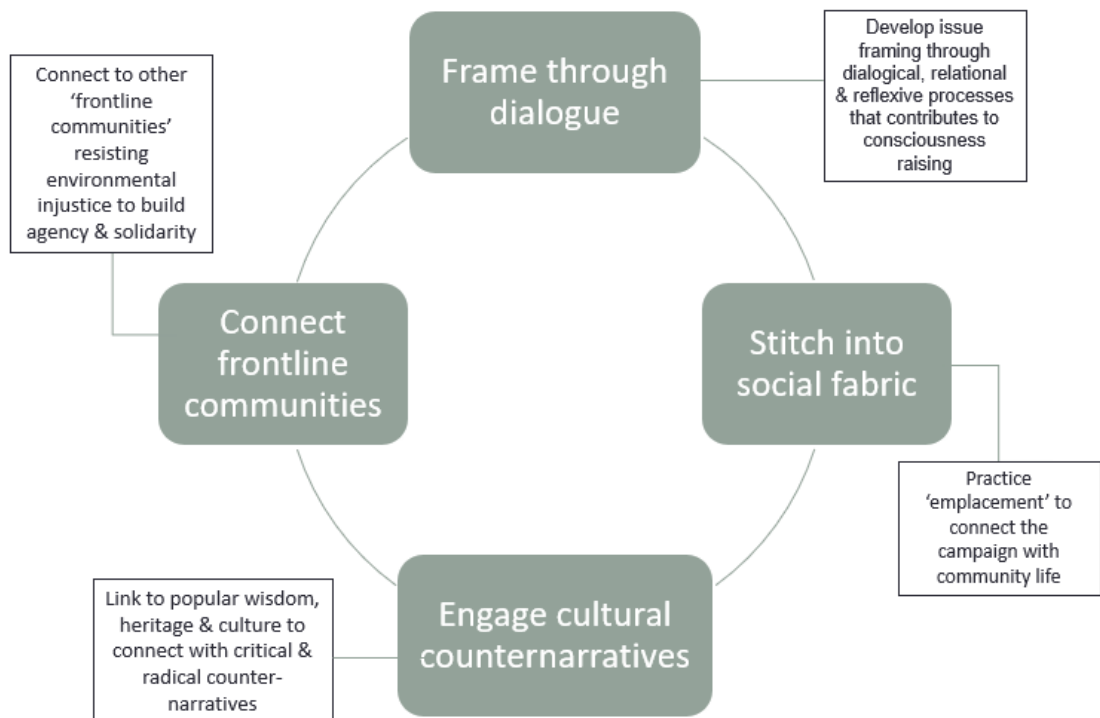


Figure 8.1: Rooting strategies to build a social licence for action

communities who may need to mobilise in future ecological distribution conflicts. My case study of Love Leitrim has supported me to advance knowledge about how a rural community mobilised in practice to bring about a ban on fracking. Synthesising my findings, I suggest that there are four strategies which were central to the group's approach to rooting local resistance to fracking (*see figure 8.1*). I discuss each of these in turn below. These strategies offer an insight into how a community might actively seek to root resistance to extractivism or other environmental injustices in a frontline community.

(a) Develop frames through dialogue

Love Leitrim members carefully developed their collective action frames through conversations with friends, neighbours and others in the community. Simple

tactics such as committing to talk to ten people each week led to awareness ‘spiralling out’ (Bernie). Love Leitrim members spoke to others in the informal spaces of their daily routine, such as at the school gate, in the supermarket and after mass. Campaigners emphasised the importance of open and undirected conversations with people in the community as a starting point. They took the time to listen to the concerns of the community which were expressed through countless informal interactions occurring through daily life. This process of developing framings through dialogue chimes with Freirean approaches to the construction of generative themes through a listening survey. The literature on collective action frames addresses questions of scale, values, effectiveness and creativity in the production of frames. However, less attention has been given to the relational and contextual nature of meaning-making and how this impacts on the development of strong collective action frames. However Love Leitrim’s approach suggests that recognising the heterogeneous nature of social reality for different people, and therefore the need to respond directly to the concerns of another person, was crucial to the resonance of collective action frames. This approach implicitly recognised that meaning is situated, contingent and constructed relationally. This enabled campaigners to develop collective action frames that connected the issue of fracking with the lived reality and the concerns of those with whom they were conversing with.

(b) Stitch the campaign into the local social fabric

Love Leitrim’s efforts to shape perceptions of the group and the campaign had an embodied and relational element which mirrors Westoby and Dowling’s (2009: 40-1) concept of ‘emplacing’, or treating ‘community as a process of ongoing place-making’. In the anti-fracking campaign, the relationship between the production of meaning and the processes of social interaction between people were an important consideration in the effective framing of the issue. Love Leitrim’s approach to framing the issue of fracking went beyond carefully choosing the language and images used to convey a message. Nor did the group simply rely on rational argument, scientific evidence or well-written policy briefs, although all of

these played a role. Rather, the group knit itself into the social fabric of local life by maintaining a positive and supportive presence at local events. Love Leitrim members ran stalls at many different local events, selling t-shirts and giving information. They supported fun-runs and parades by acting as marshals. They contributed scarecrows to the scarecrow competition and Christmas trees to the Christmas tree fair. All of these activities served to emplace the group as a positive feature of local life. These place-making activities provided opportunities for Love Leitrim to interact with people, but also made it possible for the group to more effectively communicate its message as they were a well-known and liked part of the community.

Love Leitrim's emplaced approach to framing worked, not by focusing all the time on fracking and what they were against, but by promoting the things they were for: a sense of community and relationship to the landscape, implicitly therefore *'promoting to an extent that sense of loss. What we'll lose if fracking does happen'* (Heather). This emplaced and relational aspect of meaning making is crucial to understanding how people are affected to make change. By paying attention to the relational and spatial process at the heart meaning-making, Love Leitrim's framing of the issues engaged people by fostering an intrinsic sense of community and care for one another and the land. Building on existing relationships and social bonds the campaign generated a local consensus around the issue of fracking which supported them to engage with policy makers and politicians in order to influence outcomes at the scale of regulation.

Love Leitrim campaigners understood that community members were on a journey towards taking a position on fracking and either accepting Love Leitrim's perspective as legitimate or not. From this perspective they worked slowly and carefully to gain legitimacy and acceptance in the community. For example, the Manorhamilton Show, as an event at the heart of community life was an important opportunity to be visible, engage people in conversations, normalise the campaign and crucially, to knit Love Leitrim into the social fabric of community life. From a starting point of being refused a place at the Show, by 2016 Love Leitrim was so rooted in the community that the Show organisers were chasing the group to ensure

they had a presence at the event. Love Leitrim became deeply rooted in local life in a way which provided a powerful social licence and a base for collective action in the final year of the campaign as legislation was proposed and went through the Oireachtas.

(c) Engage culture to open-up space for counter-narratives

The strategies of building frames through dialogue and stitching the campaign into the local social fabric connected with people's lived realities and experiential knowledge in a way which rooted the campaign in the community and contributed to a sense of agency by building a shared understanding of local people resisting fracking. Campaigners also used culture as a medium to open-up space for dialogue and for counter-narratives. This strategy catalysed conversations and connected with popular wisdom (to use Gamson's phrase) on the issue of fracking. This research has shown how Love Leitrim engaged with artists and celebrities to raise awareness and develop a popular consensus against fracking in creative and innovative ways. From the folk and traditional Irish musical traditions to Ireland's revolutionary past, the process of cultural framing of connected fracking to wider popular, cultural and historical narratives that resonated with communities in the north-west. This process of engaging with culture tended to connect into and accentuate the more radical strands of the popular imagination, drawing on critical counter-narratives through creative processes. By engaging culture, campaigners could present new or alternative stories, experiences or ideas in a way that connected with people imaginatively and emotionally. Imaginative events, art projects and installations provided the campaign with the opportunity to approach the issue from a different angle that could connect with popular wisdom, act as a catalyst for consciousness raising and contribute to the development of an alternative paradigm.

(d) Connect frontline communities experiencing similar issues

Connecting communities experiencing similar issues was the strategy of engaging in public dialogue and exchange with communities affected by fracking and

similar environmental injustices. Throughout the course of the campaign, many different people came to Leitrim to share their stories of resistance to extractivism and environmental degradation. This included campaigners from Nigeria, Bhopal, Latin America and North America. Connecting communities was a powerful and evocative way to support local community members to learn about the realities of fracking, the extractive industries and environmental injustice from people who had experienced them at first-hand. The practice of connecting communities and campaigners engendered a sense of agency by giving local community members a sense of people like them taking collective action to address similar issues.

Love Leitrim worked to *'connect up with people'* who could share their *'experience of being in fracked areas'* so that communities in the licence area could see *'what's the reality of it?'* (Bernie). National organisations such as Afri and Friends of the Earth supported local campaigners to bring guest-speakers on several occasions. Such *'linking things up [...] not just a theoretical way but in a practical way'* (Shane) was very important for the campaign because *'once you get people just spending time together it makes a huge difference you know? In the same room, in the same place for a while rather than just email'* (Shane). These face to face encounters, where people from other frontline communities told their stories, were a powerful way to bring the issues alive for the wider community. This framing practice was effective because as humans we are relational beings. Our understanding of the world is rooted in our social interactions with others and with our environment. While internet communications and the sharing of knowledge through reports are important, connecting with other frontline communities is a powerful way to bring the issues alive for people. As Bernie noted, when people from other communities come and *'when they tell their personal story, [...] that's made a difference'* (Bernie).

8.4 Reaching out and resisting environmental injustices across scales

In this section, I consider the challenges to communities jumping scales and influencing national outcomes. The issue of procedural justice is central to environmental justice (Schlosberg, 2007) and the literature on local environmental mobilisations in Ireland has identified participation as a challenge for communities. How did Love Leitrim reach out beyond the scale of meaning to resist fracking and impact policy outcomes at the scale of regulation? I begin with a discussion of the challenges for communities when jumping scales which positions my case study within the literature (*section 8.4.1*). I then turn to a discussion of the strategic insights which Love Leitrim's campaign might offer communities and community workers seeking procedural justice in environmental disputes (*section 8.4.2*).

8.4.1 The challenge of jumping scales: Community participation in environmental decision-making

The literature on the environmental movement in Ireland suggests that Irish environmental protest is overwhelmingly local in scale. Local mobilisations tend to be catalysed by conflict over the siting of projects such as incinerators, roads and energy infrastructure. These conflicts arise when a community believes such a project will unduly hamper their pursuit of social, economic, cultural and political wellbeing. Varley and Curtain (2006) theorise these 'populist mobilisations' as an attempt by communities to generate power in decision-making processes through collective action. Love Leitrim's campaign fits with such a theorisation. The group's campaign arose from the state's decision to allow petroleum exploration in Leitrim. They were particularly concerned that *'throughout this process people have been forgotten about'*. As a result, Love Leitrim sought *'to put people back into the centre of decision making'* (Love Leitrim press release, 28 February 2013).

Yet, the literature demonstrates the significant challenges which communities face when seeking to put people from frontline communities into the centre of decision-making. In this thesis I have used the metaphor of ‘jumping scales’ to conceptualise this challenge of negotiating power asymmetries to influence outcomes in environmental dispute. In particular, I have applied Taylor’s (2000) concepts of the ‘scale of meaning’ and the ‘scale of regulation’ in order to shed light on the scalar dynamics of participation and power. In my case study, the *scale of meaning* denotes the point of shale gas extraction, where the negative burdens of fracking would be felt most keenly and have the greatest *meaning* for local people. However, in order to have a meaningful say in fracking policy, the local community was required to engage with policy-making and political interlocutors at the *scale of regulation* where decisions about their local environment were made. Ensuring participation and procedural justice was a central concern for Love Leitrim. Campaigners were clear that *‘if you’re not impacting on your own national regulatory and political hierarchies then you’re not getting there’* (Chris).

The literature illustrates that communities seeking to jump scales face several difficulties. Garavan (2007, 2013) has explored the challenges facing the Rosspoint community in effectively communicating their innate opposition Shell’s project. In attempting to influence the outcome of that dispute, local people were required to develop expertise and proficiency in a range of policy areas. In doing so, the community was required to translate its grievances into salient frames which would be understood by its interlocutors within the parameters of the discursive opportunity structure (Garavan, 2013). Furthermore, the literature suggests that environmental governance structures, while supporting public participation, tend to privilege expert knowledge and this creates power-knowledge hierarchies that preclude non-experts (Tovey, 2007). As Ife (2013: 252) notes, environmental community work should therefore seek to take taking environmental decision making out of ‘the domain of expert planners’ and ensure lay-knowledge is taken into consideration. Love Leitrim, working with other campaigners, succeeded in taking the debate on shale gas out of the domain of experts and catalysed the enactment of a

legislative ban on fracking. Drawing on insights from my case study I now turn to consider the strategies which enabled campaigners to do this.

8.4.2 Reaching out: Strategies to jump scales for environmental justice

The literature on environmentality, discussed in chapter two, traces the construction of the environment in discourse, policy and governance structures. Fletcher (2010, 2017) theorises several modes of environmental governance (neoliberal, disciplinary and sovereign) which seek to shape the environmental subjectivity of communities and individuals. Fletcher (2017) calls on political ecology scholars to consider how their work contributes to a 'liberation environmentality' that supports forms of environmental management that are 'grounded in an ideology of participatory egalitarianism' (p. 314). A politics of liberation environmentality seeks to support communities to actively manage their environment in ways which are of benefit to the community rather than just the market or the state.

Even as various modes of environmentality are employed to regulate environmental subjectivities, there continues to be many troublesome environmental subjects who serve to ensure that 'the environment remains a matter of fundamental contestation' as Rootes (2007) puts it. Local mobilisations, such as the Love Leitrim's campaign, offer examples of critical dissent and collective action around the environment. In this section I consider the insights which Love Leitrim's mobilisation offers to communities and community workers seeking to practice a politics of liberation environmentality. Influencing the political decision-making process locally and nationally was a key aim for Love Leitrim. The challenging context for the participation of communities at the scale of meaning suggests that the success of the anti-fracking movement in Ireland is particularly worthy of consideration. What strategies did Love Leitrim practice that aided the group in jumping scales? How did Love Leitrim negotiate this political system and political culture in order to effect change? Drawing on my findings in the context of this literature, I suggest there

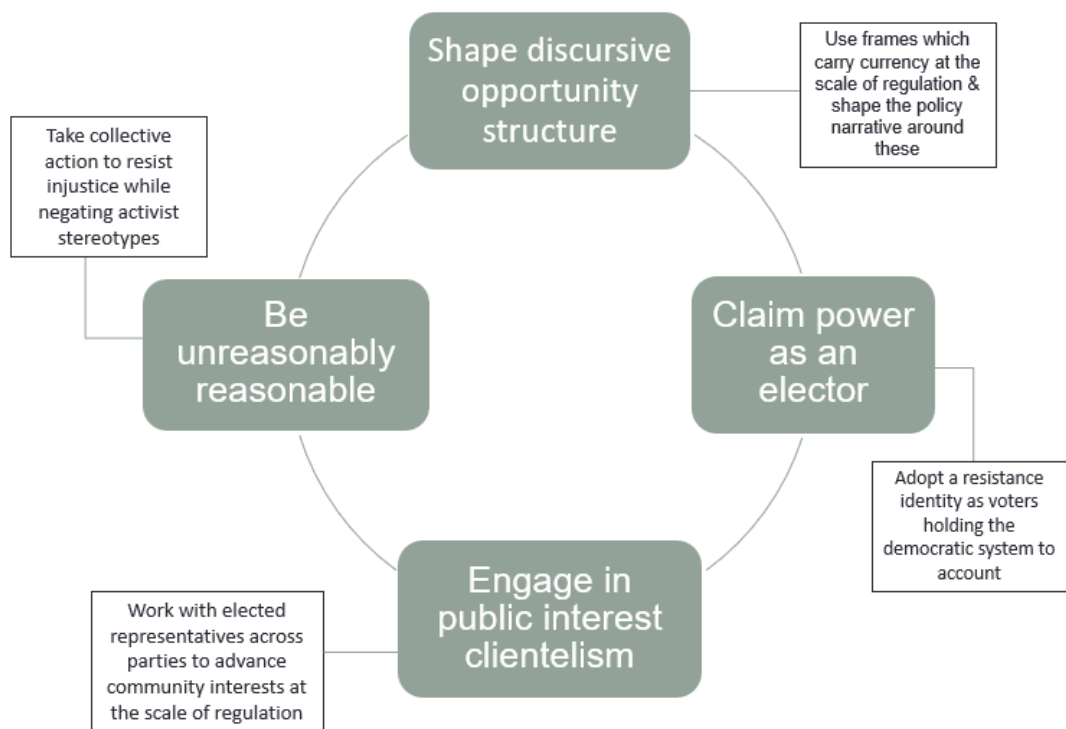


Figure 8.2: Reaching strategies to jump scales

are four scale-jumping strategies that were important for Love Leitrim and may provide guidance for other communities seeking procedural justice (*See figure 8.2*). I now turn to a discussion of each of these in turn.

(a) Shape the discursive opportunity structure

Garavan (2013) defines discursive opportunity structure as ‘the extent to which institutional and political structures permit actors to address what they regard as the causes of conflict, and the extent to which their arguments are recognised as legitimate by their interlocutors and permitted to have an effect on policies and decisions’. Love Leitrim campaigners sought to actively shape the discursive opportunity structure within which the policy debate on fracking was taking place. When engaging with decision makers, regulators and the media at the scale of regulation, the group framed its concerns around the issues of (1) public health and

(2) democracy and governance. These frames supported campaigners to discursively jump scales and to engage effectively with interlocutors at the scale of regulation because these frames were meaningful and relevant at that scale. This is significant given that many local campaigns have been 'stymied' by 'the inability to translate rural sentiment into legal efficacy' (Leonard, 2006: 44) at the scale of regulation.

Using these frames, campaigners worked strategically and creatively shape the discursive opportunity structure. This involved stepping outside of the narrow parameters of the consultative process in order to shape the broader narrative which governed their interaction with decision makers. The EPA terms of reference consultation (where campaigners refused the narrow Environmental Pillar facilitated consultation) and the Application Not to Frack (where the group submitted a counter-application not to frack on the day the companies applied for exploration licences) are two examples of this. Yet, the literature suggests that environmental governance structures, while ostensibly supporting public participation, tend to privilege expert knowledge and this creates power-knowledge hierarchies that preclude non-experts (Tovey, 2007).

In Love Leitrim's efforts to shape the discursive opportunity structure and to overcome the potential power-knowledge asymmetries, public health became a significant scale-jumping frame for several reasons. Firstly, concerns for public health were the most significant grievance expressed by the local community at the scale of meaning. Thus, framing fracking as a public health risk had a clear fidelity to local concerns. Secondly, the emerging health impact research from North American fracking sites provided campaigners with evidence which could be utilised in interactions with interlocutors at the scale of meaning. Thirdly, campaigners felt that peer-reviewed medical evidence and the opinions of the medical profession '*have more cache with the politicians*' (Alison). Members from Love Leitrim were instrumental in the establishment of the Concerned Health Professionals of Ireland (CHPI) advocacy group. CHPI was crucial to highlighting the public health case for a ban on fracking and shaping the political debate as draft legislation was introduced to the Oireachtas in summer 2016.

Democracy and governance was also a significant scale-jumping frame which supported campaigners to shape the discursive opportunity structure and negate potential power-knowledge asymmetries at the scale of regulation. By articulating their opposition to fracking using a democracy and governance frame, Love Leitrim displayed broad similarities to other local mobilisations, which Tovey (2007:4) suggests 'often find themselves struggling to push out the boundaries of democratic participation within their societies'. There are several scale jumping strategies which are connected to the group's use of a democracy and governance frame, and it is to these which I now turn.

(b) Claim the power of the elector

Love Leitrim's approach to holding public representatives accountable positioned the group strategically as concerned citizens in a democracy. Indeed, Chris stressed the importance of holding the democratic system to account as a '*central tenet of the whole campaign*'. Campaigners developed a 'resistance identity' (Gamson, 1992) as *electors*: the individuals who collectively constitute the sovereignty of a democracy - or in other words, as people with the right to vote in local, national or European elections. Acting as electors placed campaigners in a position of relative power in the electoral clientelist system created by the political culture of rural Ireland. From this position, campaigners questioned the democratic legitimacy of fracking and raised concerns about the probity and transparency of the political decision-making process. In claiming the power of the elector, Love Leitrim sought to '*use the system that's there [and] make it work rather than just bypass it or rant at it*' (Chris). This concern translated to the group's interactions with (1) local politicians in the constituencies of the licence area (at the scale of meaning), and (2) the ministers and ministers of state who had political oversight of the licencing process (at the scale of regulation).

At the scale of meaning, Love Leitrim engaged critically and creatively with local politicians. The group adopted a '*get them in the t-shirt*' (Heather) approach to public accountability. Campaigners used the anti-fracking t-shirts strategically for photo

opportunities with politicians. A politician who might not make a public statement on the issue of fracking would find it harder to refuse a photograph in the moment. Campaigners made effective use of social media and the local newspapers to publicise politician's wearing of the t-shirts. There were several other tactics were important in securing local political accountability and I discuss these further in sub-section (c) below.

Claiming the power of the elector is a strategy which is most effective when seeking accountability from the local politicians whose seats depend directly on campaigner's votes. However, while local politicians were moved by campaigners to express support for the campaign over time, it was the minister who held ultimate accountability for the licencing process at the scale of regulation. Thus, campaigners had to develop tactics which allowed them to scale up their ability as electors to hold the democratic system to account. They recognised that ministerial responsibility is a central tenet of institutional structure of Irish government and focused their engagement with the minister around that. On several occasions during the campaign, Love Leitrim members secured meetings with ministers responsible for the licencing and regulatory processes. At these meetings campaigners consistently raised issues of the probity of the processes and highlighted the minister's accountability for how decisions the fracking licences and later EPA study were made by the state and the EPA. Similarly, the public tactic of submitting an "Application Not to Frack" placed an emphasis on public participation in the democratic process and evocatively asked if political representatives were '*with your people or not?*' This focus on ministerial responsibility and public accountability was important way in which campaigners claiming the power of electors jumped scales to engage with interlocutors at the scale of regulation.

(c) Engage in public interest clientelism

In chapter three, I discussed rural Irish political culture, which provides an important context for local mobilisations. The literature strongly indicates a culture

of electoral clientelism, or political brokerage, in local Irish politics. Indeed, Baker's (1988) analysis of the Carnsore Point anti-nuclear campaign (discussed in chapter three) stresses the important role of electoral clientelism to the success of that campaign. Yet despite the notably local characteristic of Irish environmental protest, the relationship between this culture of electoral clientelism and the characteristics of populist environmental mobilisations has received little scholarly attention. In this section I consider how Love Leitrim related to the political culture of rural Ireland.

Love Leitrim engaged with politicians from all parties and none with a public interest to prevent fracking. Robert explained how this approach sought to engage in local politics to influence policy-making around fracking, rather than to '*get our tribe in*'. Given that the Options Licences were awarded to the fracking companies without public consultation, campaigners expressed serious concern with '*the way the system ran*' (Alison). In particular, Alison felt that the decision to frack might be taken with the community having '*no way of knowing it was happening, no way of preventing it, no way of even making our feelings known about it*'. In seeking to overcome this procedural injustice, Love Leitrim adopted an approach of robust engagement with elected representatives and candidates, an approach I term "public interest clientelism". This is the third scale jumping strategy which I have identified from my thematic analysis. This strategy built on campaigners' claiming the power of electors and repurposed the political culture of electoral clientelism in rural Ireland in the public interest to secure a ban on fracking. The literature illustrates that local politicians must cultivate a reputation as assiduous workers on behalf of the constituents in order to distinguish themselves as politicians, including from members of their own party (Collins and O'Shea, 2003; Gallagher, 2008; Hourigan, 2015). Thus, campaigners recognised that in Irish politics, constituents have particular leverage over their representatives who are responsive to elector pressure.

It is important to note that clientelism in Ireland has been more accurately described as brokerage, or electoral clientelism (Komito and Gallagher, 1999). Politicians do not have direct control of resources but can act as brokers in two ways: (1) supporting constituents to navigate bureaucratic rules base systems and (2)

catalysing action by the institutions of the state on behalf of citizens. Love Leitrim's approach to public interest clientelism similarly sought to engage local politicians in order to navigate the rules-based systems and to make institutions at the scale of regulation responsive to local concerns. The literature has examined the use of electoral clientelism by individuals seeking to resolve personal difficulties with state institutions (Adshead and Millar, 2003) and its potential to corrupt rules-based systems such as planning by prioritising 'being there over being fair' (Hourigan, 2015). However little attention has been paid to how the political culture of electoral clientelism may be used in the public interest by a community at the scale of meaning in order to impact decision-making at the scale of regulation. My case study of Love Leitrim offers an insight into how this was achieved in the anti-fracking campaign.

The strategy of public interest clientelism was based on several tactics. Love Leitrim sought "ins" with political parties by building working relationships with politicians. Campaigners used these relationships to inform and encourage local politicians to represent their concerns around fracking and support a ban on the practice. Indeed, meetings of the group were open, with some politicians attending regularly and many attending at key points in the campaign such as during the Belcoo drilling crisis. Heather described this attempt to transcend partisan politics as *'trying to be apolitical yet try[ing] to work a political system'*. While this engagement was respectful and friendly, it was also critical and robust. Working with other campaign groups, Love Leitrim built enough political consensus against fracking to secure the inclusion of a ban on fracking in the 2014 Leitrim County Development Plan. This tactic secured a local democratic mandate to prevent fracking. Love Leitrim also supported the vote frack free initiatives of the Frack Free Network during the 2014 local and European elections as well as the 2016 general election. These initiatives built on the power of the elector to turn the individual act of voting into a public and collective tactic which demonstrated that voters would hold politicians to account for their position on fracking.

As with the strategy of claiming the power of the elector, the strategy of public interest clientelism was most effective at a local level. Yet the group also tailored the strategy to its engagement with decision makers at the scale of

regulation. Given the difficulties which communities face in navigating environmental governance structures at the scale of regulation which privilege scientific and technical expertise, campaigners sought to ensure public debate in the political arena. This positioned campaigners as electors holding politicians to account rather than as lay-people with insufficient scientific knowledge to influence the policy making process. Campaigners understood the different potential roles which different politicians could usefully play in the parliamentary process to advance the campaign.

The group took a non-partisan approach to engaging with decision-makers across the political spectrum in the Oireachtas, approaching politicians to (1) submit Parliamentary Questions to the minister; (2) use their party's time in the Dáil to propose anti-fracking legislation, as with the 2015 People Before Profit Bill; and (3) raise issues at committee hearings, including on the EPA study and during legislative scrutiny of the bill to ban fracking. While the politicians were also not generally experts in environmental science, geology or engineering, their position as democratically elected representatives meant that the regulators in the EPA were accountable to them. Thus, by working with politicians across the political spectrum and through various stages of parliamentary process, campaigners ensured their concerns were addressed at the scale of regulation.

(d) Be unreasonably reasonable

In this section I consider Love Leitrim's strategic approach to collective action in light of the literature on the dynamics of 'populist' mobilisations in rural Ireland. In doing so, I develop the reaching strategy of being 'unreasonably reasonable' To conceptualise this strategy I have drawn an *in vivo* concept directly from Triona's description of Love Leitrim's approach to engaging with Tamboran in 2011 and 2012 (*discussed in chapter seven*). She explained that the group's stance was to be '*unreasonably reasonable*' with Tamboran when the company claimed 600 local jobs would be created by fracking. By asking reasonable questions and drawing Tamboran

into a public debate, campaigners could publicly refute the company's claims. *'It was harder for them to handle reasonable people'*, she suggested.

As I undertook my fieldwork and developed my analysis, I came to see that being 'unreasonably reasonable' was a stance that characterised Love Leitrim's approach to collective action. Members of the group offered me numerous examples of this throughout the campaign, from their creative use of stunts to supporting the creation of a family friendly camp at Belcoo and the standard of non-violence to which campaigners adhered. Adopting the stance of being 'unreasonably reasonable', campaigners actively negated activist stereotypes which might have otherwise have been evoked to discredit the group or made it difficult to mobilise a base or jump scales.

The literature illustrates that populist, place-based protest has been a significant feature of Irish environmentalism at least since the 1970s, when rural communities began to experience the negative effects of the state's economic agenda for multinational-led development. Lax Irish environmental standards meant that pollution and environmental degradation were treated as externalities to be borne by the local environment and nearby communities. The community mobilisations which took place across the north-west and in County Clare to resist fracking are also broadly consistent with the three characteristics of rural Irish populist mobilisation defined by Yearly (1995: 600). These are that it is (1) 'directed at industrial pollution or associated mining and dumping'; (2) 'targeted to a large degree at foreign firms'; and (3) 'involves local, usually community-based organisations'. Indeed, these mobilisations can be described as an environmental social movement according to Roote's (1992) definition. They constituted 'broad networks of people and organisations engaged in collective action in pursuit of environmental benefit' (Roote, 1992:2).

In being unreasonably reasonable, Love Leitrim's approach could be seen as pragmatic, and seeking to influence incremental legislative and regulatory change. However, much of Love Leitrim's values, organisational culture and tactics mirror a radical populist approach. The group's aim to ban fracking and *'move away from fossil fuels together'* (Love Leitrim Better Together film, 2016) presents a

fundamental alternative to the economic status quo. The group's participatory, open and inclusive organisational culture meant that the group was membership led and invited direct participation. This harnessed 'the power clustered and embedded in collective identities and solidarities that characterise group life at local level' (Varley and Curtin, 2002: 25). In terms of tactics, Love Leitrim's stance of being unreasonably reasonable did not preclude the group adopting a bottom-line of resistance to fracking, which placed the group in fundamental opposition to the state. The group actively supported community resistance in Belcoo and campaigners also initiated a Lock the Gate campaign to stop any research that could provide information to the oil and gas industry.

8.5 Conclusion

I began this chapter by reflecting on my research journey, which led me to explore the question of how Love Leitrim's campaign effectively jumped from the scale of meaning to the scale of regulation (*section 8.2*). By exploring this question, my research has sought to draw out the insights which this successful campaign offers to frontline communities facing similar environmental injustices and to community workers who might seek to support them. I then presented an analysis and discussion of my research findings in light of the two bodies of literature which this thesis has engaged with. These are the community development literature on the environment and the literature on local environmental mobilisations in Ireland. Drawing on this literature, I presented a discussion of the two interdependent processes which supported Love Leitrim to jump scales in the anti-fracking campaign, which I have described as rooting and reaching. Campaigners worked to root the group and campaign in the local community and ensure support for collective action, while also making efforts to reach out and influence outcomes at the scale of regulation.

In section 8.3, I recalled the challenge which community work faces in engaging with environmental action that is articulated as a post-materialist concern.

Love Leitrim provides an example of a materialist environmental mobilisation where the defence of the environment was rooted in a concern for livelihoods and the health and well-being of communities. Thus, the group offers a valuable insight into how a community may be mobilised collectively to address an environmental concern. I then turned in section 8.4 to the difficulties which local mobilisations must overcome in seeking to affect political and policy outcomes in environmental governance. Love Leitrim's contribution to the success of the anti-fracking campaign points to potential strategies which may be used by communities seeking to root an environmental campaign in the local community and reach out to effect change at wider scales in environmental governance (*see figure 8.3*). Together, these strategies offer a strategic framework for action in environmental community work.



Figure 8.3: A practice framework for work with frontline environmental justice communities

Chapter 9

Conclusion - Building bridges between worlds

9.1 Bridges of understanding

'Time is an enormous long river... My elders were the tributaries... every struggle they went through... and every poem they laid down flows down to me. If I take the time to ask... I can build that bridge between my world and theirs, I can reach down into that river and take out what I need to get me through this world'.

- Utah Phillips⁹

The pacifist-anarchist folk singer Utah Phillips actively engaged his audience with the songs and stories of historical struggles for freedom, dignity, equality and justice. By recalling such stories and keeping them alive in memory, Phillips understood that he could build bridges of critical understanding between past struggles and the listeners' present. For Phillips, histories of struggle provided practical and ethical knowledge to 'get [...] through the world.' Similarly, Robert Stake (1995) suggests that a good case study acts a bridge between the world of the reader and the world described in the case. The epistemological value of case study research is that it provides the reader with connections and insights between another's experience and one's own (Thomas, 2010). Thus, case studies support "phronesis", or the building of practical, ethical knowledge which can be translated into action in the world. This practical knowledge acts like a bridge in two ways: (1) It creates an opportunity to learn from others' perspectives and (2) it opens-up new directions and possibilities for action.

⁹ Lyrics from the 1996 song 'Bridges' on the album *The Past Didn't Go Anywhere* (produced by Ani DiFranco).

Seeking to generate such practical knowledge, I immersed myself as a participant-observer in Love Leitrim's campaign and as a resident of the town of Manorhamilton in north Leitrim. Guided by my personal and professional values as a community worker, I developed an approach to case study research which was both dialogical (rooted in conversations and active engagement) and diachronic (committed over time to the group, the people and the place). The findings and analysis which I have presented in this thesis are the result of sustained, formal and informal dialogue, exchange and collaboration-in-action with the group and with the wider community of north Leitrim. It was my privilege to be welcomed into the lives and worlds of Love Leitrim's members, to hear their stories and learn from their campaign.

These conversations, exchanges and collaborations built of bridges of understanding between me and the worlds of the people in the campaign and the community. In turn, my hope is that this case study may act as a bridge between readers and the world of the case study, so that this research can support others to learn from Love Leitrim's campaign. By presenting an exemplar of a successful community-based mobilisation against extractivism, this study offers insight into how community workers and frontline communities might organise for environmental justice in the Irish context and more broadly. In this concluding chapter, I reflect on and consider the bridges of understanding and potential action leading from this case study research.

In section 9.2 I consider the key contributions which this study makes to both the scholarly literature on environmental activism and community development. Following that, in section 9.3, I consider the current global context for environmental activism and reflect on the implications of the study's findings for frontline campaigners and community workers concerned with environmental justice. I then turn to acknowledge the limitations of this research and identify future research directions building on the study (*section 9.4*). Finally, I close the chapter by returning to reflect on my own motivations for undertaking doctoral research (*section 9.5*).

9.2 Contributions to the environmental justice and community development literature

In this section I set out and discuss the key contributions which this research makes to the scholarly literature on environmental justice and community development. I begin by discussing how the rooting and reaching strategies provide a practical framework which may support local mobilisations to influence outcomes at the scale of regulation. I then turn to consider the insights my case offers to environmental community development which seeks to contribute to a liberatory politics of the environment. Finally, I consider the contribution my research makes to understanding the role of translocal connections between frontline communities in order to support both rooting and reaching.

(a) Rooting and reaching: Strategies to jump scales in environmental conflicts

A first major contribution of this research is to address the challenge of jumping scales in populist environmental mobilisations. Frontline communities facing environmental injustices often experience significant challenges in being heard and influencing outcomes in regulatory spaces beyond the local scale (Garavan, 2009; Leonard, 2006). Martinez-Alier (2002) illustrates how, in such cases, the difficulty of being heard is augmented by how the environment is valued and accounted for differently by social actors at different scales. Local communities at the scale of meaning are often required to translate non-monetary valuations of the environment (and intrinsic opposition to environmental destruction) into legal, scientific and techno-rational framings that have efficacy at the regulatory scale. In this contest between different languages of valuation, the inability to generate enough procedural power to 'simplify complexity' often stymies populist mobilisations seeking to prevent environmental injustice (Martinez-Alier, 2002: 149). The literature suggests that this is also a particular challenge in local Irish mobilisations (Leonard, 2006; Varley and Curtain, 2006). It is clear that how a local

environmental justice struggle negotiates the jump between the scale of meaning and the scale of regulation is crucial to the potential success of a campaign.

Through an examination of Love Leitrim's successful campaign against fracking, this research has explored the question of how local mobilisations jump scales to influence outcomes in environmental disputes. The study suggests that local campaigners can address power asymmetries across scales through a combination of relational, local organising (rooting) and robust political engagement (reaching). Rooting and reaching are distinct strategies which are tailored to the differing challenges of organising at the scale of meaning and scale of regulation, but which mutually reinforce the other's effectiveness.

Rooting requires local mobilising based on dialogue, relationships and creativity which root a campaign in the social world and material concerns of a community. My research suggests that paying attention to situated and relational processes of meaning-making and framing is important for enabling a campaign to organise politically and collectively around the environment at the local scale. This finding extends the social movements framing literature (Snow and Benford, 1992) by foregrounding the importance of social context to the interpretive act of producing effective collective action frames. Drawing on this, the rooting strategies outlined in chapter eight may support a campaign to achieve a local social licence and broad base of support. This local support can then be mobilised at key moments to support campaigners' efforts to jump scales. This finding offers an insight into the mechanisms by which 'rural sentiment' (Leonard, 2006) may be successfully mobilised in local campaigns.

Moving beyond the local scale, my research demonstrates how a local mobilisation can 'translate rural sentiment into legal efficacy' (Leonard, 2006: 44). The reaching strategies which I set out in chapter eight offer a framework to support campaigners in navigating procedural power and knowledge asymmetries. Garavan (2013) illustrates how the discursive opportunity structure imposes a pattern on what can be meaningfully expressed in political discourse. While this often inhibits local mobilisations, my research documents a case where local campaigners successfully navigated the discursive opportunity structure at the scale of regulation.

Love Leitrim used frames such as public health and democracy which were meaningful in discursive spaces at the political and regulatory scales. The public health frame had fidelity to local concerns but allowed campaigners to draw on North American health evidence and the social cache of the healthcare professionals. Using these, campaigners established the assessment of public health risks as a key test of public confidence in the EPA research on fracking and any subsequent political decision to allow fracking in Ireland.

Yet, as Tovey (2007) notes, communities engaging with policy makers tend to find the experience overwhelmingly negative due to a deficit model of citizenship which stresses that communities are not scientific experts and devalues local community expertise. She suggests that this reduces the possibility for dialogue and closes off participation. In addressing this Love Leitrim not only shaped the discursive opportunity structure, but also engaged strategically with electoral politics. The group engaged local and national politicians as electors holding the democratic system to account, rather than as non-experts debating complex environmental policy. This suggests that the potential for community voices to be devalued in the regulatory and policy-making processes can be mitigated against by strategically claiming power as an elector acting in the public interest and engaging with the electoral clientelist culture of rural Ireland. The literature examines electoral clientelism in relation to individuals seeking to resolve personal difficulties with state institutions (Adshead and Millar, 2003), as well as its potential to corrupt rules-based systems such as planning by prioritising 'being there over being fair' (Hourigan, 2015). Yet beyond Baker's (1988) assessment that electoral clientelism played an important role in the Carnsore anti-nuclear campaign, the relationship between clientelism and populist environmental mobilisations has received little scholarly attention. My case illuminated the relationship between the political culture of electoral clientelism and environmental campaigning in Ireland to provide new insights into how populist local mobilisations engage with the political system in pursuit of change.

(b) Environmental collective action and a politics of liberation environmentalism

A second major contribution which this research makes is to address the challenges, identified in the community development literature, to critical and collective organising around the environment. In this way, my case offers an insight into how community work practice might usefully contribute to a politics of liberation environmentalism (Fletcher, 2017) which critically contests injustices manifesting in the environment. The literature suggests that the barriers to collectivising around the environment are three-fold. Firstly, the framing of environmental concerns as post-materialist lacks connection to the lived realities of many, especially marginalised, communities (Burningham and Thrush, 1999; Scandrett *et al* 2000). Secondly, mainstream environmental discourses such as sustainable development construct the environment as a depoliticised and technical issue that fosters the internalising of environmental action and masks the ways in which questions of power, inequality and oppression are played out in the environment (Scandrett *et al*, 2012; Wilshusen, 2014). Indeed, as Fletcher (2010, 2017) has demonstrated, several forms of environmentalism operate through a variety of governmental rationalities in order to place responsibility for environmental action on individuals as active citizens and conscious consumers. Finally, environmental issues are framed narrowly as technical and scientific concerns which devalue the perspectives of non-experts and limit communities' ability to influence outcomes in environmental decision making (Martinez-Alier, 2002).

This case study presents an instance of a local campaign which collectively organised around the environment as an issue of political contestation and thus offers an insight into how barriers to collectivising around the environment may be overcome. My research finds that local mobilising around the environment can be effective when it built bridges with the social world and material concerns of local people. This embeds a campaign in local concerns, knowledge and social networks. Love Leitrim's campaign organised around such local concerns as farming livelihoods and public health, which were directly threatened by fracking. By listening to the concerns of a local community, campaigners can uncover the generative themes

which can be used to build successful collective action frames which catalyse mobilisation. In addition, listening to local concerns also opens space for dialogue, reflection, sense-making and analysis in a community, contributing to a broader base of support. Engaging cultural counternarratives and connecting to frontline communities are two further rooting strategies which are important for grounding environmental action in a critical context. Scandrett (2010) describes the importance of community work for 'uncovering the crises' by reacting to an initial environmental injustice and working to progressively expose the systemic cause. These strategies support this process of uncovering by positioning a local mobilisation within historic traditions of popular struggle and in relationship with other contemporaneous sites of resistance to environmental injustice. Cultural events and encounters with other frontline campaigners engage the public with new knowledge and political analysis in ways that connect emotionally and imaginatively with people.

(c) Translocal connections and jumping scales

The third major contribution which this research makes is to demonstrate the importance of translocal connections in supporting communities to jump scales. The community development literature emphasises the importance of alliances and scaling up action (Ledwith, 2012; Westoby and Dowling, 2009). Scandrett (2010: 64) similarly suggests that community workers are linked with networks and knowledge sources 'useful for exposing contradictions in the environment' through popular education and consciousness raising. My research further adds to this by providing an insight into the crucial role of translocal connections - symbolic and practical solidarity - between frontline communities in order to support rooting and reaching. Such connections are significant because they connect a local campaign to broader networks of resistance to environmental injustice.

Translocal connections support capacity building amongst local campaigners. Sharing common concerns with other frontline communities supported Love Leitrim campaigners to develop their understanding of fracking and political analysis of environmental injustice. For example, the group learned from listening to the

Rosspport campaigners' experiences of navigating environmental governance regulatory regimes. This helped to build campaigners analysis of environmental justice which located their own resistance to fracking within a broader context of resistance to extractivism. As Robert said, '*we realise now... that what we're doing has happened before and it's happening all over the world*'. In addition to sharing knowledge and building capacity between local campaigners, visits from other frontline activists are important for consciousness raising and awareness raising in the wider community. Hosting campaigners with a lived experience of fracking and other environmental injustices was a powerful way to bring the issues alive for the wider community. Several Love Leitrim members suggested that Jessica Ernst's visit was a crucial turning point in the campaign.

In addition to supporting capacity building and consciousness raising, networking with other frontline campaigners supports campaigning in several ways. Firstly, it allows for the exchange of knowledge and skills between campaigners. For example, Frack Action (New York) supported Irish campaigners to establish the Concerned Professionals of Ireland. Secondly, translocal connections help frontline communities to amplify each other's struggles and demands. Decentralised actions such as Global Frackdown Day scaled up local action and visually demonstrated the global distribution of anti-fracking struggles. Beyond such visible displays of solidarity, linking struggles is important when attempting to exert influence in policy processes across scales. Anti-fracking campaigners across Europe met on several occasions in Brussels to discuss EU climate and energy policy. Similarly, the anti-fracking conference at COP21 was an opportunity for local campaigners to link fracking into wider climate policy discussions at the global scale.

9.3 Bridges to action for campaigners and community workers

At the time of writing in 2019, global temperatures stand at 1°C above pre-industrial levels as a result of human-induced climate change. Across the world,

communities are experiencing extreme weather events such as flooding, droughts and storms which are most drastically affecting the global South and marginalised communities in the north. Climate change's significant negative implications for social justice, equity and human rights are already being experienced. These will continue to be exacerbated unless urgent and transformative action is taken (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2018). While the context is stark, there has been a significant burst of climate activism across the globe. The Fridays For Future movement sparked by climate activist Greta Thunberg has led to hundreds of thousands of young people taking part in school strikes for climate. Since its first UK-based actions in October 2018, Extinction Rebellion has erupted as a serious force for climate activism, staging major occupations, disruptions and creative protest actions in large cities across the global North. Their actions have inspired a renewed wave of climate activism in the North which has already exceeded the peak of the last major wave of global climate activism in the 2000s.

Alongside these mass mobilisations, there have been significant political developments and policy innovations in the area of climate and energy. In May 2019, Dáil Eireann declared a climate and biodiversity emergency. The parliaments of Canada, France and the UK, as well as eleven Irish local authorities, have also declared a climate emergency. This level of urgency in political rhetoric is driven by the fact that more people than ever before are engaged in climate related civil disobedience. If such declarations are met by action commensurate with the scale of the crisis, it will mean significant societal and economic change. However, it is important to note that the strong emphasis on *climate justice* in the earlier wave has been replaced by calls for urgent *climate action* 'to prevent climate breakdown' (Department of Communications, Climate Action and Environment, 2019). In this time of crisis and transition it is important ensure a focus on justice and equity in climate policy and all mitigation and adaptation measures. This will require addressing the political issues inherent in environmental conflicts. In this section, I consider how environmental campaigners and community development practitioners might begin to do this.

(a) Take a critical, problem-posing approach to the environment

A critical conceptualisation of the environment as a “paradigmatic site”, where meaning is made and values are contested through every-day interactions, provides an important starting point for bold and imaginative environmental community work. Understood as such, the environment is a space where taken for granted assumptions about our human relationships with one another and the world around us may be questioned and problematised. In this conceptualisation, the environment provides a basis around which to organise collectively and is thus an important locus of struggle for justice. As a first step towards engaging with the environment, community work must consider how inequalities and injustices manifest spatially in the world around us, intersecting with and exacerbating other inequalities such as rurality, class, ‘race’/ethnicity and gender.

(b) Resist framings of the environment that depoliticise or individualise issues

It is important for practitioners to consider how different discourses, reflecting different material interests, seek to shape both our understanding of environment problems and the solutions proposed to them. When approaching the environment as a concern for practice, it is therefore important for community workers to reflect critically on the discursive construction of environmental issues. The dominant mainstream conceptualisations of sustainable development, for example, places emphasis on ecological modernisation, green growth and individual behavioural change. The challenge for community work practice is to identify ways to work collectively to address the structural causes of environmental degradation. This requires resisting attempts to construct responses to environmental issues around technological solutions and individual behavioural change.

My case study of Love Leitrim has presented an example of how a community organised collectively to bring about a structural change in policy and legislation which prevented fracking. The state’s attempt to impose the fracking project was a catalyst for a political and contentious conceptualisation of the environment which

led to collective action in the communities affected. By ensuring that the environment ‘remains a matter of fundamental contestation’ (Rootes, 2007: 722), the fracking campaign stood in contrast to the dominant depoliticised and consensual vision of participation embedded in sustainable development.

(c) Find points of connection between environment issues and people’s daily lives

Thinking critically and politically about the environment is important for community development, but so too is acknowledging that people do not generally experience “the environment” as a separate or siloed issue. ‘We do not live single issue lives’, as Audrey Lorde says (2007: 138). It is therefore important to root engagement with the environment in the lives and concerns of the communities with whom we work as practitioners. For people in the fracking licence area, the issue of gas extraction was not siloed as an environmental issue, but was interconnected with questions of community, livelihood, heritage and identity. Campaigners made practical connections between these issues in analysis and action. Base-building strategies, including framing through dialogue and stitching the campaign into the social fabric strengthened the connection between community, environment and the local economy, integrating the campaign more fully into local life.

(d) Foster translocal networks of solidarity and support

By focusing on community as a locus of environmental action there is a danger that responsibility for environmental action could be placed solely on communities. In such a case, community development could contribute to a reinforcing of environmentality. It is therefore important for practitioners to consider how local action may be connected to wider movements for environmental justice and be scaled-up influence structural outcomes. Building translocal networks of solidarity and exchange between communities with common concerns or

experiences is one way to begin to address this. Love Leitrim built links of solidarity with other frontline communities. This located their local campaign within broader networks of resistance to fracking, extractivism and environmental injustice. Such translocal networks can provide practical support, such as with New York campaigners' assistance with the establishment of CHPI.

(e) Engage politicians rather than regulators and emphasise the democratic right to shape policy

Environmental policy, which governs outcomes for communities remains broadly the preserve of states. Thus, it is essential that community workers consider how environmental action by local communities moves beyond local action and translocal exchange in order to influence structural outcomes. The strategies identified in this research, including shaping the discursive opportunity structure, claiming power as an elector and engaging in public interest clientelism illustrate potential avenues for scaling-up local action. In seeking to engage with and influence environmental policy, Love Leitrim campaigners adopted a resistance identity as electors in a democracy. This meant that the campaign was fought around questions of governance and democracy rather than on narrow technical or legal term. Such an approach is crucial to enable communities to side-step potential power and knowledge asymmetries that could devalue their perspective and inhibit their ability to participate effectively.

In seeking to shape environmental policy, the scale-jumping strategies which I have identified in this case study could be usefully extended beyond mobilisations against the maldistribution of environmental burdens such as fracking. These strategies provide signposts to support collective action aimed at securing environmental benefits for communities too. For instance, a just energy transition away from fossil fuel dependency, as well as the equitable adaptation to the effects of a changing climate. The skills and values of community work practitioners could play an important role to ensure that the energy transition is not just a technical question of mitigation and adaptation, but also contributes to the building of

equitable and resilient communities. For example, the generation of renewable energy through community-owned micro-grids is one mitigation response which has the potential for additional community development benefits in terms of social inclusion and local economic development.

9.4 Limitations and future research directions

This study has presented in-depth, dialogical and diachronic case study of Love Leitrim's campaign to prevent fracking in north-west Ireland. My focus as a community work researcher led to my decision to focus on Love Leitrim, as it was the group which sought to adopt a community development approach. By setting the boundaries of my case study around Love Leitrim's campaign, my aim was to build a detailed picture of how the group's members negotiated the challenge of scaling-up their campaign and influencing outcomes at the scale of regulation. This boundary decision allowed me to undertake an in-depth study of the micropolitics of Love Leitrim. This was significant because it offers an insight into environmental justice mobilising in Ireland at a time when there is a global pivot in the climate justice movement towards supporting local mobilisations and connecting frontline communities. However, it also gave rise to the most significant limitation of this research, which is that it has not considered in detail other groups in the anti-fracking or wider environmental movements. As I acknowledged in chapter six, Love Leitrim was one of several groups which comprised the anti-fracking movement. Consideration of this wider movement was beyond the scope of this study and merits further research. There are several research directions which could usefully be pursued in this regard.

Firstly, further research could be carried out to understand the local mobilising dynamics between campaigners and groups in the licence area. Campaigners shared recollections of early meetings in south Leitrim which were acrimonious and fractious. Subsequently south Leitrim did not develop a broad-based community campaign in the same vein as Love Leitrim in the north of the county. Further research could illuminate the local dynamics which shaped and

constrained mobilisation. Secondly, this research has not been concerned with the processes of inter-group collaboration and networking in the anti-fracking movement, including through the Frack Free Network. Nor did this study focus on campaign groups based in County Clare. Additional research is required to fully capture the breath and scope of the Irish anti-fracking movement. Thirdly, given that my interest was in capturing this experience from the perspective of campaigners at the scale of meaning, I did not expand my case study to consider the perspectives of movement actors such as the NGOs Afri, Friends of the Earth and the No Fracking Dublin solidarity group. All of these groups played useful roles over the course of the campaign and valuable insights could be gained from studying the roles and contributions of NGOs and activists from outside the community.

I have already noted several global political developments in section 9.3 above which provide important backdrop for this study. The first and most pressing one is of course the reality of the climate crisis. Another notable global development has been the significant growth in populist social and political movements with a far-right ideology. This is important to consider given this study's focus on populist environmental mobilisations. The Brexit vote, the rise of the far-right across Europe and the elections of presidents such as Bolsonaro (Brasil), Duterte (Phillipines) and Trump (United States) all point to this populist swing to the far-right. In charting this rise, the justice theorist Nancy Fraser suggests that the failure of 'progressive neoliberalism' as a hegemonic block is key driver of far-right populism. Progressive neoliberalism, she argues (2018), 'combined an expropriative, plutocratic economic program with a liberal-meritocratic politics of recognition'. Progressive neoliberalism's championing of diversity was combined with a drive to deregulate, globalise and financialise the economy. This meant that material conditions for many communities grew worse even while there was rhetorical commitment to diversity. Debates have begun amongst political ecology scholars around how to understand and engage with this rise in populism from a progressive position (*Aranda, 2019; Dunlap, 2019*). This is an important area of consideration for both environmental justice and community development which merits further research.

9.5 Conclusion

Communities experiencing environmental injustice face significant challenges in being heard and influencing outcomes in regulatory spaces beyond the local scale. The key thesis which this study advances is that the two-fold strategic approach of rooting and reaching provide a framework for addressing this participatory injustice. This framework offers a practical insight into how community workers and environmental justice campaigners might support consciousness raising and collectivisation around the environment as well as assisting communities to negotiate power asymmetries across scales in order to influence campaign outcomes. This framework illuminates into how community work might practically contribute to a critical, collective and liberatory politics of environmental justice. Beyond environmental issues, the framework has practical relevance for community workers supporting communities seeking to jump scales and address structural injustices – as well as for community work education and training.

As this study drew to a close and I considered my own next steps, I found myself reflecting on my motivations for undertaking doctoral research. These motivations were shaped by three 'Cs': my commitments, my concerns and the context in which I found myself. As a researcher, community worker and activist my central commitment is to social and environmental justice. I recognise that environment is a key locus of struggle in the fight to achieve justice. I am further committed to community development as a crucial practice which can support the achievement of justice by supporting frontline groups and communities to build their analysis and to collectivise around issues of mutual concern. A second motivation was my own concern with voice, with people being heard and valued. In particular, I was angered with voices being disregarded and lost in environmental decision making. Finally, my decision to undertake this research was shaped by the social and political context which I found myself in. The escalating climate crisis starkly highlights the need to halt the exploitation of fossil fuels, curb extractivism and decarbonise our societies. It is crucial that equity and justice are cornerstones of this transition. These

motivations spurred me to complete this piece of work. By documenting and analysing the story of Love Leitrim's campaign against fracking it is my deepest hope that other communities resisting extractivism and fighting for justice can learn from their successful struggle.

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Appendix 1

Consent and information sheet

Information Sheet

Exploring the relationship between local and global anti-fracking campaigns

PhD research project by Jamie Gorman

This research project is being carried out by Jamie Gorman, a PhD researcher at the Department of Applied Social Studies, Laraghbryan House, Maynooth University, Co. Kildare. You can contact Jamie by email or telephone:

- jamie.gorman@nuim.ie
- +353 1 708 6489

This research project is supervised by Dr Hilary Tierney, Department of Applied Social Studies, Laraghbryan House, Maynooth University, County Kildare. You can contact Dr Tierney by email or telephone:

- hilary.tierney@nuim.ie
- +353 1 708 6489

The project

Thank you for participating in this study. The objective of the project is to explore how local anti-fracking campaigners in north-west Ireland relate to and work with campaigners nationally and internationally. This will inform ideas about how campaigners can work better together to support each other.

Consent and voluntary participation

You are being asked to participate in this project by being interviewed. Your participation in the project is entirely voluntary. You have the right to withdraw your

consent and to discontinue participation without giving any reason and at any time in the research process.

Confidentiality

You have the right to anonymity in the study and no names or any identifying information will be used in the study. All data will be stored in an encrypted computer folder. Once the study has been completed, anonymous transcripts will be deposited in an archive where other researchers may consult them.

You should note that in some circumstances, confidentiality of research data and records may be overridden by courts in the event of litigation or in the course of investigation by lawful authority. In such circumstances the University will take all reasonable steps within law to ensure that confidentiality is maintained to the greatest possible extent.

Complaints and support

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 process, please contact the Secretary of the Maynooth University Ethics Committee at research.ethics@nuim.ie or +353 (0)1 708 6019. Please be assured that your concerns will be dealt with in a sensitive manner.

Consent form

Exploring the relationship between local and global anti-fracking campaigns

PhD research project by Jamie Gorman

I agree to participate in Jamie Gorman's research study.

Please tick each statement below:

The purpose and nature of the study has been explained to me verbally and in writing.

I am participating voluntarily.

I give permission for my interview to be recorded.

I understand that I can withdraw from the study, without repercussions, at any time, whether before it starts or while I am participating.

I understand that I can withdraw permission to use the data within two weeks of the receiving the transcript, in which case the material will be deleted.

I understand that anonymity will be ensured in the write-up by disguising my identity.

Signed:

Date:

Participant Name in block capitals:

Signed:

Date:

Researcher Name in block capitals:

Appendix 2

Background note on fracking

Questions of 'peak oil' and energy security have driven interest in the exploitation 'unconventional' and hard to reach deposits of methane gas since the 1970s (Hardy, 2014: 3-4). There are three categories of unconventional gas known as shale gas, tight gas and coal bed methane. Each of these require specialised drilling techniques in order to be recovered (Rogers, 2011: 121). Here I consider shale gas only, as this is the category of gas deposit in the Lough Allen basin of north-west Ireland. In the early 2000s, petroleum prospectors in the Barnett Shale basin of northern Texas made the technological breakthroughs that enabled gas to be extracted from shale rock at commercially viable levels. This breakthrough involved combining horizontal ("directional") wellbore drilling, developed in the 1980s (Helms, 2008) with the technique of hydraulic fracturing ("fracking") which was developed for standard vertical wells in the 1940s (Wilber, 2012: 3). Fracking involves injecting the wellbore with a mix of water, sand and chemicals under enough pressure to split the rock formation and release trapped pockets of gas. Applying the fracking technique to directional drilling had never before been undertaken and allowed prospectors to recover previously inaccessible gas deposits.

Hardy (2014: 7) defines fracking as:

a well-stimulation technique which consists of pumping a fluid and a propping agent ("proppant"), such as sand, down the wellbore under pressure to create fissures in the hydrocarbon-bearing rock. Propping agents are required to "prop open" the fracture once the pumps are shut down and the fracture begins to close. The ideal propping agent is strong, resistant to crushing, resistant to corrosion, has a low density and is readily available at low cost. The products that best meet these desired traits are silica sand, resin-coated sand (RCS) and ceramic proppants. The fractures start in the horizontal wellbore and can extend for several hundred metres while the sand holds the fissures apart, allowing the gas to flow into the wellbore.

Recovery of the injected fluids is highly variable, depending on the geology, and ranges from 15 to 80%.’

The International Energy Agency (2009: 397) estimated that this technological advance has enabled the recovery of 380 trillion cubic metres of unconventional gas, or 125 years of current global methane consumption (Rogers, 2011: 121) in addition to existing conventional methane supplies. The recovery of unconventional methane deposits using hydraulic fracturing and directional drilling poses additional technical and engineering challenges which are unique to this approach. Immediate environmental risks at fracking sites relate to water quality (Craven, 2017), including ‘gas migration, contaminant transport through induced and natural fractures, wastewater discharge, and accidental spills’ (Vidic *et al.*, 2013). Fracking also gives rise to concerns about public health (Glauser, 2014; McCoy, 2018), the food system (Pothukuchi *et al.*, 2018) and climate change (McJeon *et al.*, 2014). Proponents of the process argue that these risks can be effectively mitigated or are outweighed by the economic and energy security benefits.

The opening-up of unconventional methane deposits to extraction has created a fracking boom in North America which has been described as the ‘Shale Gas Revolution’ by proponents (Stevens, 2010, 2012) and a ‘fracking frenzy’ by environmental groups (Friends of the Earth Europe, 2014). Petroleum companies are now rapidly expanding the use of fracking globally. Many small and medium size operators are involved in this global expansion of unconventional gas exploration and extraction. Wilber (2012: 45) highlights how in North America, these smaller operators have:

‘comparatively limited capital [to undertake extraction, so] their common strategy involved trying to “lock up” land that will later prove valuable to large companies. The intention of these smaller operations is to sell rights to the land – “flipping it” at a higher price as [...] bigger companies become involved.’

Similarly in Ireland, the three petroleum companies who secured Licencing Options (*see table 5.5*) were relatively small industry operators with little financial capital with which to fund commercial extraction without the support of larger companies.

Appendix 3

Proposed legislation and parliamentary motions to ban fracking, 2015-2017

Date introduced	Title of Bill/Motion	Sponsor	Wording of the ban	Notes
17 December 2015	Prohibition of Hydraulic Fracturing Bill 2015	Richard Boyd Barrett (People Before Profit Alliance)	<p><i>‘[N]o Minister, Agency, Planning Authority or Body acting on behalf of the State shall grant any of the following:</i></p> <p><i>(a) an authorisation and/or grant of any consent, licence, permit, lease or undertaking for the purposes of Hydraulic Fracturing prospecting, exploration or extraction;</i></p> <p><i>(b) the authorisation of development consisting of any installation for Hydraulic Fracturing and/or for any facilities, including any ancillary facilities, or any infrastructure necessitated by hydraulic fracturing within the State.</i></p> <p><i>The references to “within the State” in subsection (1) should be</i></p>	<p>(a) This bill was introduced in the 31st Dáil (2011-2016) and subsequently withdrawn.</p> <p>(b) This bill was drafted by Attracta Ui Bhroin of An Taisce and Kate Ruddock of Friends of the Earth, working closely with Love Leitrim.</p> <p>(c) This bill addresses the issue of off-shore fracking in Ireland’s territorial waters. At the time there were no off-shore licences issued which required the use of fracking and this provision was a precautionary one.</p>

			<i>construed to also include the territorial waters of the State.'</i>	
31 May 2016	Notice of Motion regarding hydraulic fracturing in Ireland and Northern Ireland	Eamon Ryan, Catherine Martin (Green Party)	This motion called for the Government to recognise the concern over exploratory drilling in Antrim, raise the issue on an intergovernmental level with the Northern Ireland Executive, and seek an all-island ban on fracking.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) This motion was never formally voted on by the Dáil. (b) It was introduced by the Green Party at the time of the Woodburn drilling in Northern Ireland. (c) While not legislation, this motion is the only parliamentary attempt to deal with fracking on an all-island basis.
2 June 2016	Petroleum and Other Minerals Development (Amendment) Bill 2016	Martin Kenny, Brian Stanley (Sinn Fein)	<p><i>'Section 3 of the Petroleum and Other Minerals Development Act 1960 is hereby amended by inserting the following subsection:</i></p> <p><i>"(2) No ancillary right shall be deemed to exist where the extraction of gas is by way of unconventional methods of gas exploration and extraction."</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) This bill was drafted by Sinn Fein and introduced by Sligo Leitrim TD Martin Kenny and party spokesperson on energy Brian Stanley. (b) The bill also included several other provisions, including for public consultation during the process of granting exploratory licences, review of licences by the Oireachtas and ensuring that licences include <i>'a social clause to provide agreed benefits for the local area'</i>.
8 June 2016	Prohibition of the Exploration and Extraction of Onshore	Tony McLoughlin (Fine Gael)	<i>(1) 'it shall not be lawful for a person to search for, get, raise, take, carry away or work petroleum by means of hydraulic fracturing.'</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) While Tony McLoughlin was a government TD, this legislation was a Private Member's Bill.

	Petroleum Bill 2016		<p>(2) <i>The prohibition in subsection (1)—</i></p> <p>(a) <i>shall apply in respect of petroleum that is situated in the State including the internal waters, and</i></p> <p>(b) <i>shall not apply in respect of petroleum that is offshore.’</i></p>	<p>(b) The bill was drafted by McLoughlin with technical support from Love Leitrim and Friends of the Earth.</p> <p>(c) This bill was the first one to be drawn, by chance, in the lottery of Private Member’s Bills.</p> <p>(d) The bill received cross-party support and was enacted as Petroleum and Other Minerals Development (Prohibition of Onshore Hydraulic Fracturing) Act 2017.</p> <p>(e) The government agreed to support the bill with several drafting amendments proposed by the Attorney General. This bill applied to onshore fracking specifically.</p>
8 November 2016	Prohibition of Hydraulic Fracturing (Extraction of Hydrocarbon) Bill 2016	Richard Boyd Barrett (Anti-Austerity-Alliance/People Before Profit)	<p><i>‘[N]o Minister, Agency, Planning Authority or Body acting on behalf of the State shall grant any of the following:</i></p> <p>(a) <i>an authorisation and/or grant of any consent, licence, permit, lease or undertaking for the exploration or extraction of hydrocarbon from coal seams, shale rock or tight sands in Ireland,</i></p>	<p>(a) This bill was drafted by People Before Profit with technical advice from Friends of the Earth.</p> <p>(b) The bill defines Ireland as ‘the land and territorial waters of the State’, therefore prohibiting fracking both on and off-shore.</p>

			<i>(b) the authorisation of development consisting of any installation for the purpose of hydraulic fracturing and/or any other method of extracting hydrocarbon from coal seams, shale rock and/or tight sands.'</i>	
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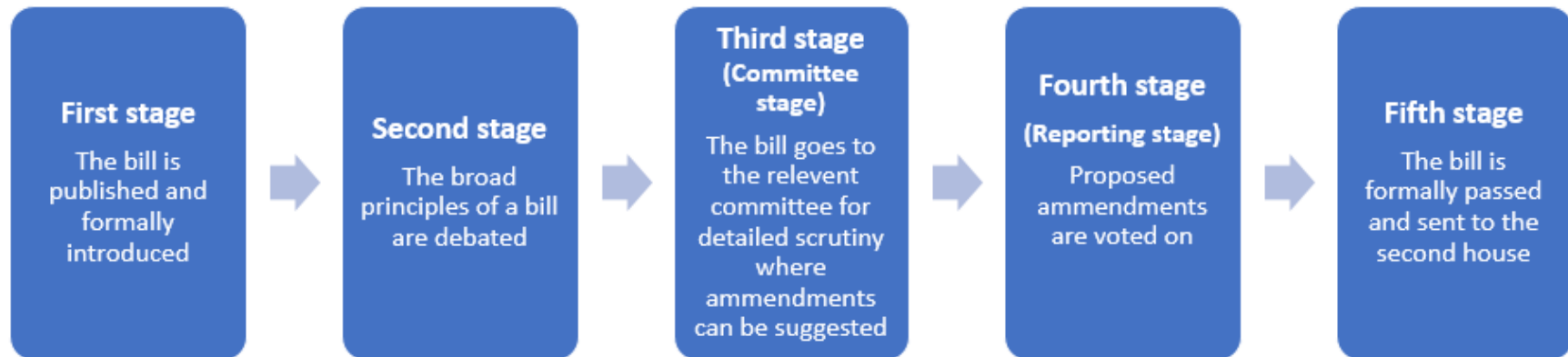
Appendix 4

Ministers with responsibility for natural resources, 2007-2018

Date	Minister	Party	Minister of State	Party
2007- Jan 2011	Eamon Ryan	Green Party	Conor Lenihan	Fianna Fáil
Jan-March 2011	Pat Carey	Fianna Fáil	Conor Lenihan	Fianna Fáil
2011-2014	Pat Rabbitte	Labour	Joe McHugh	Fine Gael
2014-2016	Alex White	Labour	Fergus O Dowd	Fine Gael
2016- 2018	Denis Naughten	Independent	Sean Kyne	Fine Gael

Appendix 5

Stages of the legislative process



Note: Legislation can be introduced in either the Dáil or the Seanad. It progresses through the same stages in both houses, however in the Seanad the entire house acts as the committee for the third stage.

Appendix 6

Analytic Memos

Analytic Memo - Fergus

Memo	<p>It was interesting to see the way in which Fergus saw me as someone who was going to go out and take action outside of Leitrim in order to convince people. At times he was focused on the actions I should take, offering suggestions such as talking to farmers outside of Leitrim, to children and their parents. He understood me as someone who should or could '<i>go and get the message out...</i>' He reflected on his own difficulties in doing that at the Ploughing Championships where he found it difficult to engage people with the issue of fracking</p> <p>He was very visual and descriptive rather than abstract and conceptual in explaining his concerns about fracking. He drew fluidly from US and Canadian cases of how fracking had affected farmers and communities, sharing striking images and examples. There's something about the value of <i>showing</i>; of visuals and videos from frontline communities that help to make abstract ideas real. He related the issue of fracking in Leitrim to cases of other communities, which provided a clear reference point for conceptualising the issue and the dangers faced. He used imagery and painted a picture of what fracking would do to the landscape. In the vignette about Belcoo he moved fluidly to talking about North Dakota and the Dakota Access Pipeline (which I hadn't even heard about!). Having watched videos online he was able to describe police violence vividly, and to make the connection between the sorts of intimidation tactics used in Ireland and elsewhere.</p>
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Analytic Memo – Heather

Quote	<i>'People power, legal stuff, pressuring politicians' -</i>
Memo	Heather highlights the three strategic prongs that the Belcoo campaign acted on. 'People power' is an alliterative metaphor for the physical presence of people at the gates of the quarry, the Belcoo Community Protection Camp. The physical presence of the community at the camp signalled their willingness to resist the project. At the same time, legal avenues were pursued and politicians were lobbied.

Analytic Memo - Heather

Quote	<i>'sometimes I just think leave them off and we'll do it ourselves but unfortunately we need the political willpower, we need to the systems that we have in place at the minute to support'</i>
Memo	LL's strategy was very much about influencing the political process and making local politicians accountable to the community's will. The community might not have had been able to contest the regulators or the EPA on their terms, but the politicians were able to do so. They made the EPA study a public and political issues rather than an issue of policy to be decided by civil servants and scientists.

Analytic Memo - Triona

Quote	<i>'Well for us the huge frustration for a long time was no media coverage and then we had lots of people, students who came doing PhDs, doing whatever masters, doing whatever they were doing, and that was hugely supportive to us. That all these young people like yourself are going out there and telling this story. We were constantly bringing people down to Ferdys falls or to the lake or, I actually lost track of how many people came and did videos. I was picking people up, buses left, right and centre who were doing videos for something'</i>
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Memo	<p>The campaigners negotiated the local and the global strategically acting as a mediating "node" between the community of meaning and the outside world. This builds on Garavan's work on "how to make sense when no one is listening" in Rosspport. Here what we see is a community that has developed strategies which enables it to "speak" and make sense through the mediation of others who could amplify their voices. In this vignette Triona is talking about how the campaign engaged outside actors, in this case me, to be able to tell their stories outside of the locality. To act as translators who could translate the story for outside audiences. The community retained a greater control over the framing of the stories by building relationships with the "translators" - like me who came to see the campaigners as friends. Indeed, that's how I became involved. Yes, the issues may have been reframed using different language, but this was done with campaigners knowledge that they were using this re-framing strategically.</p>
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Analytic memo- Alison

Quote	<p><i>'Summer 2014, the first compendium came out and really at that stage I thought this is it. That the death knell. They're won't be any discussions about fracking because look at all this evidence. But it just went, not exactly unnoticed but people didn't, it didn't have the effect I thought it would.'</i></p>
Memo	<p>This is really interesting. It's not simply about having the evidence, which can fail to have the effect expected, but about creating the conditions for the evidence to make an impact in public policy making. Reading the transcripts of the Oireachtas EPA hearings it's clear that this is a case of scientific discourses being politicised and facts being fought over. Facts alone, as Alison experienced here, do not mean that policy will change automatically. Evidence based policy making still contains huge, political assumptions about what is admissible as evidence and what is not. The campaign had to work hard to ensure that public health was considered and the public health evidence made admissible in policy formation.</p>

Appendix 7

Love Leitrim PhD Findings Workshop Plan

1st September 2018, Bee Park Community Centre, Manorhamilton

Time	Activity	Note
13.30	Campaign timeline Tea, coffee and a catch-up	Visual timeline of campaign moments around the room – everyone invited to contribute moments
10.05	Welcome and introduction	Run through the plan for the afternoon Verbally explain the information sheet and check that everyone has signed consent form
14:00	Reflection icebreaker	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Greatest learning... b. Proudest moment... c. If I could do that again...
14:30	'Building a base' – How Love Leitrim gained a social licence to campaign against fracking	Short presentation of findings Small group discussion guided by following questions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Does this ring true to you? b. Is there anything I'm missing? c. Are you happy for this information to be publicly available? Plenary feedback & discussion
15:00	Break	
15:15	'Jumping scales' – How Love Leitrim worked strategically to secure a ban on fracking	Short presentation of findings Small group discussion guided by following questions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Does this ring true to you? b. Is there anything I'm missing? c. Are you happy for this information to be publicly available? Plenary feedback & discussion
15:45	Open discussion and feedback	
16.30	Close	

