

# Power and money — lifting the lid

A research project, by the Sunday Independent has revealed the wealth of those whom we have elected to serve us, writes Philip Ryan



HE Sunday Independent is today publishing a firstof-its-kind Political Rich List.

A month-long research project into our politicians' assets has produced a comprehensive list which aims to gives voters a unique insight into the estimated net worth of the TDs whom they elected to parliament.

many of our long-serving national representatives are their lucrative public service pensions, which would cost millions of euro to buy in the private sector.

Many politicians are also privately wealthy through shareholdings, mini-property empires or ownership of vast

swathes of farmland. For the first time, this newspaper is also revealing the State-supported farming grants paid to TDs, including

three ministers (Page 18). We are not suggesting pol-

iticians are not entitled to the assets they have accumulated over the course of, or before, their political careers.

However, the 158 men and women of Dail Eireann make decisions that affect every aspect of our lives, whether it is in relation to our health, housing or finances.

For much of the last decade, those decisions resulted in our incomes being substan-Central to the wealth of tially reduced. Things have picked up. But now those decisions, or lack thereof, mean the vast majority of the country is priced out of the property market.

> That is why voters deserve, at the very least, a glimpse into the financial standing of the politicians whom they elected to make decisions which will affect their household budgets.

> Most of our TDs are never off the clock. Their telephones are 24-hour helplines for the sick, the poor and the stranded. They also have to face the ultimate job interview every

five years - if they are lucky sources by this newspaper, enough to get that far.

There are plenty of career politicians but it is a dying trade. Those who do dedicate their lives to politics are rewarded for their public service with pension pots that a private sector worker would envy.

Most public representatives had professional lives before they entered politics. They may have been teachers. accountants, lawyers, business owners and farmers. With all this in mind, we should still remember that we pay their. salaries and their pensions.

us - the taxpayers of Ireland.

That is why they are required to give details of their properties, land, businesses companies. and shareholdings.

The Register of Members' Interests is published annually on the Houses of the Oireachtas's official website.

It is far from prescriptive and information provided by each TD is nowhere near uniform. It is also not policed and politicians are taken at their word.

The Sunday Independent decided to look deeper into the details provided by our

lawmakers. A trawl of the register and

along with financial analysts Karl Deeter and Simon Farrell, found significant differences in how TDs fill out the statu-

tory declaration. Some TDs are happy to give detailed information of their assets and interests, while others seem to believe less is more

This is not to suggest that politicians are flagrantly breaking the law by purposely providing inaccurate information. Rather, they are not required to provide precise details of assets and interests which, in certain scenarios, They are accountable to could present them with a

conflict of interest. Take the many TDs who own shares in multinational

Finance Minister Paschal Donohoe transferred his shares in international drinks company Diageo to his wife when it was pointed out to him by the Sunday Independent that the holding could be

seen as a conflict. It could still be argued that transferring the shares to his wife has done very little to remove the conflict.

The minister also has shares in consumer goods conglomerate Proctor & Gamble. We do not know how big other publicly available re- a shareholding he has.

The rules state that politi- estimated value of €351,000 a lot of be desired as far as es around farmland. cians do not have to declare anything below €13,000.

For instance, if a minister held €10,000 of shares in 10 companies (a €100,000 shares portfolio) we wouldn't know because they wouldn't have to declare it.

Education Minister Richard Bruton is, we estimate, the third richest TD, with a potential value of just under €5m. This includes an estimated €117,000 of shares (seven different holdings multiplied by €13,000)

Within that portfolio, he has shares in both Bank of Ireland and AIB - two institutions in which the Government also holds shares.

Mr Bruton's spokesperson said: "While the minister cannot discuss matters relating to Cabinet proceedings. he is guided by the Cabinet handbook in relation to any potential conflicts of interest."

He is not alone. Transport Minister Shane Ross has a holding in Bank of Ireland. among other shares which he holds, including shares in Independent News & Media the company that publishes

the Sunday Independent. Sean Haughey, the son of former Taoiseach Charles Haughey, has the largest declared share portfolio, with an of declaration which leaves

calculated based on the meth- consistency is concerned is odology outlined by Karl Deeter elsewhere on this page.

Mr Haughey has shares in everything from tech giants international food company Nestle. He is also an executive director in Larchfield Securities, which is an unlimited company described as a 'family holding company' in Mr Haughey's declaration.

We don't know any more about the company because it is unlimited, meaning it is not required to publish detailed financial statements.

But again, Mr Haughey the playing breaking no rules. TDs are free field even to be directors of companies which don't need to produce annual accounts.

Michael Lowry only recently changed his refrigeration business, Streamline Enterprises, to an unlimited company. Mr Lowry, whom we estimate to be Dail's highest-valued TD financially. was doing quite well in the refrigeration game before he decided to change the status of his company. We estimate the company was worth around €2m when it last filed ac-

counts three years ago. Another aspect of the rules

around land and property. TDs, for the most part, do accurately declare the property they own and abide by the Amazon and Facebook to rules set out by the Oireachtas.

> However, some give more details than others. Take Tanaiste Simon Cov-

eney. Mr Coveney's declaration says he has one rental property in Cork, which he is currently letting.

# 'The aim is to simply make

It does not mention that the Foreign Affairs Minister also owns a family home in Cork and a Dublin city centre apartment. He does not have to declare these two properties because he lives in both.

But still it's a substantial property portfolio for a politician who was once housing minister.

Former Taoiseach Enda Kenny, on the other hand, lists every single one of his properties, including the Dublin apartment he stays in during

the days that the Dail is sitting. There are similar diferencSome TDs give the size

of their land down to the last acre, while others merely mention the townland where their fields are situated.

Again, no-one is breaking any rules. It's just some TDs are more transparent than others. TDs are reluctant to give details of their assets and many are quick to point out that they have large mortgages on their properties.

They are also anxious to note that the land they own has generally been passed down through generations and they intend to hand it over to their children.

An essential ingredient of a functioning democracy is the openness and honesty of its politicians. In Ireland, we tend to trust our politicians.

There is a presumption that they hold themselves to the same high standard which they expect of us as citizens.

However, history has shown us we have been wrong to blindingly trust all of those who govern us.

The Political Rich List is not highlighting any wrongdoing by our lawmakers.

The aim is to simply make the playing field even.

Voters deserve to know the wealth of those who make decisions on their behalf.

#### KARL DEETER: HOW THE LIST WAS COMPILED

First we valued pensions. To do this, we took the pension benefits accrual system. which was obtained from the Oireachtas office, to figure out the amount each TD is eligible for in their annuitytype pensions - and also for lump sums, which are based on years of service. There are many vagaries in this because laws have changed several times.

To allow for this, and give consistent treatment, we assumed that all TDs would have the right to quit at any time (to factor in termination payments), that some would be able to retire immediately (they are already at pension age) or at their normal retirement age (currently 66 to 68). We then made calculations using retirement age based on the current rules - although some may be able to retire before that if they were a TD prior to the rule changes coming in 2004.

Quotes are based on placing a valuation on pensions in the here and now using 'net present values'. This ensures that all of the values are equalised factoring in time We then used an industry

standard pensions quoting engine to get annuity rates from age 69 and above and down as far as age 60. For TDs aged 60 or more, a live annuity quote was used; below that age, we used an assumed annuity rate of 2pc, which is roughly where annuity rates are. The calculation included inflation protection and a spousal pension of 50pc, which mirrors the type of pension that a TD or senator qualifies for.

We can't model for certain things such as senators being able to 'buy' TD years, but we did allow for ministerial pensions which are not paid for by the Oireachtas. In those cases, a person who lasts at least two years in a higher station than TD or senator (everything from ceann comhairle to ministers of state and ministers etc.) will qualify for a pension of 20pc of the higher salaried amount. It goes up every year in increments of 5pc and maxes out at 10 years'



Karl Deeter

service, at which point 60pc of the additional salary is payable as a pension, but there are no lump sum. payments.

Ministers are paid

€69,545 on top of their TD salary so 10 years spent as a minister will get a person a pension on top of their TD pension of €41,727 at retirement. Lump sums were calculated and put into present values. Termination payments were added in at today's values because, once you qualify for them, you don't need to discount the future value or wait until retirement, they can be taken at any time.

For younger TDs, we didn't calculate the entire termination value, only the main lump sum of it, which is currently €15,600. Factoring in all of these things gave us the 'political value' of a politician, which is the comparable asset value they have by the virtue of having held their political seat. We didn't factor in current wages, allowances, other pensions or other benefits from being in committees.

It is worth noting that politicians do make a 6pc contribution of salary toward their pensions. They also pay the pension levy, which is 10pc of salary above €28,750 and below €60,000, and 10.5pc above that.

That means a TD earning the standard €93,599 (which doesn't include expenses or allowances) will pay €6.653. a year in pension levies and €5,615 from their income. Some with long service are also paying for pensions but not accruing additional benefit for doing so because the pensions max out at 20 years' service.

PROPERTY To value everything else, we

looked at declarations made to the Register of Members' Interests — where they are required to declare their interests outside of their political life. This doesn't include family homes, but family homes can be a huge store of wealth so we included them where we could.

It also doesn't include homes they may currently occupy. So if a TD owns a second home in Dublin which they use while they attend the Dail, then they don't have to list that property. Some, such as former Taoiseach Enda Kenny, do list such properties. Others, such as the current Tanaiste, choose not to.

To get details, we looked at guides like Nealon's; we also searched the Land Registry for unregistered property and the Property Registration Authority for property that is registered.

After that, we searched every county in the nation to match politicians' names against folio numbers, then followed up with a Land Registry map search to determine the property in

question. Sometimes this was followed with a Google Maps search and Street Views to ensure we had the best possible understanding of the property.

Then, a comparative valuation was used. Comparisons were taken from live sales on websites such as Daft.ie or MyHome. ie, or, where possible, we checked the Property Price Register. Where that wasn't possible, we used the investment method of valuations

The investment method assumes yields of c. 7pc, so if we were trying to value a retail unit in a local town. we looked at another retail unit and assumed that the annual rent represented 7pc of the value of the property and determined a capital valuation from that,

For land values, we used weighted averages from the Farmers Journal land price publication. This means we potentially undervalue good land and overvalue lesser land but it does give a fair and uniform approach to agricultural land where only the size is known.

The valuing of publicly traded shares assumes a minimum value of €13,000 because that is the threshold above which a declaration has to be made according to the declaration guidelines.

In some cases, a politician may have said they held certain shares that were valued at €1,000. In those instances we reduced the valuation because they had disclosed the actual value themselves.

In all cases we erred on the side of caution and, where we couldn't figure out a valuation, we returned a figure of zero.

If a politician mentioned that something was worth a certain amount on their declaration form, we went with that amount.

#### # BUSINESS VALUE Companies were valued by

taking the equity holders' funds as per account returns in the Companies Registration Office. The equity value, or net

assets, would be divided by the shareholding. If a company was worth

€100,000 and the politician owned 50pc of the shares, we'd value it at €50,000.

Some politicians use unlimited companies and such firms don't have to file accounts (this will change in 2022). In those cases, we took the last known public figure available for the valuation. Larchfield Securities which is partly owned by TD Sean Haughey, have never filed an account we can trace so we cannot place a valuation on it above the minimum sum for declaration.

Directorships and shares of private companies were queried using Vision-Net ie a popular companies searching facility.

In some cases we have estimated the value of a business based on our analysis of publicly available data

The last step was to add all of the 'political value' to the 'non-political value' to give a final 'full value' for each politician.

Karl Deeter is a qualified financial adviser

Pension

value

Name (party)

CARLOW-KILKENNY

value

Property

Sunday Independent 13 May 2018

Total TD

value

Pensions & Lump Sums (Today's values)

# **Sunday Independent** P(t) = T(t)

Lowry, Michael 6,423,873 Healy-Rae, Michael 5,450,512

Bruton, Richard 4,963,220 Haughey, Sean 4,843,677

Kenny, Enda 4,723,308

O Fearghall, Sean 4,221,624 Heydon, Martin 4,114,588

Gallagher, Pat the Cope 4,081,907

McGuiness, John 4,074,202

Howlin, Brendan 3,972,138 10. Kelleher, Billy 3,783,347 11.

Ross, Shane 3,769,335 12.

O'Dea, Willie 3,328,472

14. Doyle, Andrew 3,310,987 Barrett, Sean 3,149,253

16. Flanagan, Charles 3,073,626

Deering, Patrick 3,058,458

Fitzgerald, Frances 3,012,305

Noonan, Michael 2964,443 O Cuiv, Eamon 2,948,632

21. D'Arcy, Michael 2938,784

Burton, Joan 2,928,393

Martin, Micheal 2,918,972

24. Durkan, Bernard 2,794,386 25. Smith, Brendan 2,777,166

26. Moynihan, Michael 2,678,458

27. Coveney, Simon 2,612,159

28. Creed, Michael 2,510,736

29. Curran, John 2,492,990

30. Ring, Michael 2,364,674

O'Sullivan, Jan 2324,563

Broughan, Thomas 2,279,091

Breen, Pat 2,244,645 O'Connell, Kate 2,152,020

Scanlon, Eamon 2,088,420

Fleming, Sean 1973,055

Dooley, Timmy 1948,344 37. 38. Greafish, Noel 1,898,390

Kehoe, Paul 1,851,927 39.

40. Penrose, Willie 1,827,704

McGrath, Finian 1,806,133

42. Healy, Seamus 1,774,815 43. Kelly, Alan 1.761.624

44. O'Dowd, Fergus 1,744,964

45. Aylward, Bobby 1,683,671

Zappone, Katherine 1,671,142 47. O Caolain, Caoimhghin 1,660,017

48. Shortall, Roisin 1,660,017

Healy-Rae, Danny 1,628,832

Cannon, Ciaran 1603352 Stanton, David 1596,204

52. Madigan, Josepha 1,432,164

53. Ferris, Martin 1,411,569 54. Donnelly, Stephen 1,386,791

55. Deasy, John 1382,557

56. Donohoe, Paschal 1,345,239 57. English, Damien 1,322,485

58. Breathnach, Declan 1,290,963

59. Naughten, Denis 1,266,742

60. Doherty, Regina 1,251,262 61. Mitchell O'Connor, Mary 1,248,754

62. Varadkar, Leo 1,239,056

63. Canney, Sean 1,220,367

Ryan, Brendan 1,220,195

Harris, Simon 1,164,358 Ryan, Eanson 1,163,219

67. Byrne, Catherine 1,145,974

68. Troy, Robert 1113,688 69. McGrath, Mattie 1,094,522

70. O'Callaghan, Jim 1,076,469 7L Byrne, Thomas 1,074,461

72. Collins, Michael 1.040,622 73. Murphy, Catherine 1,001,588

74. McGrath, Michael 960,839 75. O Snodaigh, Aengus 956,846

76. McHugh, Joe 952,581

79. Daly, Jim 920,063

77. Fitzmaurice, Michael 944,615 78. Phelan, John Paul 922.318

I. Property value is based on declaration. Mr McGeinness says he has since sold his assets.

80. Cahill, Jackie 907,345

O'Sullivan, Maureen 904,798

McConalogue, Charlie 903931 Calleary, Dara 883,596

Crowe, Sean 876,962

Murphy, Dara 875,314

Brassil, John 862,009

Kyne, Sean 828,415 Humphreys, Heather 823,614

Carey, Joe 815,044

Ellis, Dessie 791,146 McDonald, Mary Lou 791,035

Sherlock, Sean 787,869

Harty, Dr Michael 783,237 Corcoran Kennedy, Marcella 780,946

Adams, Gerry 764,482

Daly, Clare 728,644 McLoughlin, Tony 722,482

Collins, Joan 716,542

Fitzpatrick, Peter 684,673

100. Farrell, Alan 668,931

101. Stanley, Brian 651,340 102. Murphy, Eoghan 649,866

103. Casey, Pat 615,954

104. Cowen, Barry 613,644

105. O'Brien, Darragh 612,706 106. MacSharry, Marc 602,028

107. Lahart, John 592,954 108. O'Keeffe, Kevin 589,677

109. Criffin, Brendan 588,332

110. Coppinger, Ruth 586,354 111, Collins, Niall 567,899

112. McEntee, Helen 566,965 113. Halligan, John 528,111

114. Wallace, Mick 528,111

115. Mitchell, Denise 488,371 116. Moran, Kevin Boxer 481,009

117. Doherty, Pearse 476,010

118. Murphy, Paul 472,166 119. Nolan, Carol 469,768

120. Cullinane, David 452,980

121. Martin, Catherine 451,018 122. Naughton, Hildegarde 447597

123. Buckley, Pat 424,296

124. Boyd, Barrett Richard 403,644

125. Pringle, Thomas 403,644 126. Lawless, James 379,049

127. Butler, Mary 378,009

128. O'Brien, Jonathan 374,092

129. O'Donovan, Patrick 366,297 130. Cassells, Shane 354.768

131. Toibin, Peadar 353,415

132. Kenny, Martin 333,026 133. Murphy, Eugene 330,949

134. Murphy O'Mahony, Margaret 315,164 135. Smith, Brid 300,457

136. O'Loughlin, Fiona 275,609

137. O'Rourke, Frank 272.114 138. Chambers, Lisa 271,204

139. Barry, Mick 268,256

140. Browne, James 255,226 141. Moynihan, Aindrias 246,469

142. Smyth, Niamh 215,258 143. Munster, Imelda 166,469

144. Neville, Tom 164,709 145. Connolly, Catherine 156,345

146. Quinlivan, Maurice 126,469

147. Rabbitte, Anne 122,164 148. Brophy, Colm 116,018

149. Kenny, Gino 116,018 150. Brady, John 114,049

151. O'Reilly, Louise 114,049 152. Burke, Peter 110,978

153. Bailey, Maria 110,226 154. Function, Kathleen 101306

155. Rock, Noel 90,212

156. O Laoghaire, Donnchadh 88,74 157. Chambers, Jack 85,908

158. O Broin, Eoin 56,791

ESTIMATED COMBINED WEALTH OF ALL TOS

ALL VALUES

ARE IN EURO

POSITION OF FRANCES FITZGERALD - THE HIGHEST PLACED FEMALE TO ON THE LIST

PARTY

LEADERS

Brendan Howlin, LAB, 3,972,138

Micheal Martin, FF, 2,918,972

Leo Varadkar, FG, 1,239,056

Mary Lou McDonald, SF, 791,035

Aylward, Bobby FF 538,361 26,000 1,119,310 1,683,671 Deering, Patrick FG 411,404 2,647,054 3,058,458 101,306 101,306 Function, Kathleen SF 1,509,202 2,565,000 4,074,202 McGuinness, John FF Phelan, John Paul FG 13,000 922,318 611,818 297,500 CAVAN-MONAGHAN Humphreys, Heather FG 327,120 496,494 823,614 1,660,017 O Caolain, Caoimhghin SF 1,660,017 Smith, Brendan FF 2,777,166 2,252,166 525,000 Smyth, Niamh FF 118,026 97,232 215,258 CLARE Breen, Pat FG 1,164,083 1,080,562 2.244,645 Carey, Joe FG 536,044 279,000 815,044 805,844 1,948,344 Dooley, Timmy FF 1,142,500 Harty, Dr Michael IND 183,330 599,907 783,237 **CORK EAST** Buckley, Pat sF 300,000 424,296 124,296 O'Keeffe, Kevin FF 428,068 589,677 135,609 26,000 Sherlock, Sean LAB 787,869 787,869 145,000 1,596,204 Stanton, David FC 1,451,204 **CORK NORTH-CENTRAL** Barry, Mick sol/PBP 133,256 268,256 135,000 Kelleher, Billy FF 1,401,855 13,000 2,368,492 3,783,347 Murphy, Dara FC 555,314 320,000 875,314 O'Brien, Jonathan SF 374,092 374,092 **CORK NORTH-WEST** Creed, Michael FC 1,540,736 970,000 2,510,736 Moynihan, Aindrias FF 126,469 120,000 246,469 1,499,663 2,678,458 Moynihan, Michael FF 1,178,795 **CORK SOUTH-CENTRAL** 990,000 Coveney, Simon FG 1,622,159 2,612,159 595,000 2,918,972 Martin, Micheal FF 2,323,972 McGrath, Michael FF 525,839 8 435,000 960,839 O Laoghaire, Donnchadh sF 88,749 88,749 **CORK SOUTH-WEST** Collins, Michael IND 153,586 39,000 1,040,622 848,036 Daly, Jim FG 920,063 367,063 553,000 Murphy O'Mahony, Margaret FF 122,164 193,000 315,164 DONEGAL 476,010 476,010 Doherty, Pearse sr Gallagher, Pat the Cope FF 52,000 811,761 4,081,907 3,218,146 McConalogue, Charlie FF 333,931 570,000 903,931 952,581 McHugh, Joe FG 952,581 Pringle, Thomas IND 403,644 403,644 **DUBLIN BAY NORTH** 1,599,091 680,000 2,279,091 Broughan, Thomas IND Bruton, Richard FG 3,068,515 117,000 1,777,705 4,963,220 500,000 Haughey, Sean FF 1,537,677 351,000 2,455,000 4,843,677 McGrath, Finian IND 1,331,133 475,000 1,806,133 Mitchell, Denise SF 108,371 380,000 488,371 **DUBLIN BAY SOUTH** Murphy, Eoghan FC 414,866 235,000 649,866 O'Callaghan, Jim FF 126,469 950,000 1,076,469 O'Connell, Kate FC 103,020 130,000 1,919,000 2,152,020 Ryan, Eamon CP 1,163,219 1,163,219 **DUBLIN CENTRAL** 882,239 1,345,239 Donohoe, Paschal FG 13,000 450,000 McDonald, Mary Lou SF 396,035 395,000 791,035 904,798 O'Sullivan, Maureen IND 904,798

\* The value for shares reflects the number of shareholdings declared on the Register of Interests and the declaration threshold of £13,000 per shareholding

403,644

333,931

612,706

114,049

840,195

1,233,702

3,012,305

116,018

56,791

\*

325,000

335,000

380,000

1,259,288

728,644

668,931

612,706

114,049

1,220,195

2,492,990

3,012,305

116,018

56,791

**DUBLIN FINGAL** 

Daly, Clare IND4CHG

O'Brien, Darragh FF

O'Reilly, Louise SF

Curran, John FF

Kenny, Gino IND

O Broin, Eoin SF

Ryan, Brendan LAB

**DUBLIN MID-WEST** 

Fitzgerald, Frances FC

Farrell, Alan FC

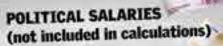
Name (party)	Pension value	Shares*	Business value	Property	Total TD value
<b>医阴茎</b> 切迹型		N. III OI			
DUBLIN NORTH-WEST			Sec. 1		A CONTRACTOR
Ellis, Dessie sF	591,146	0	0	200,000	791,146
Rock, Noel FG Shortall, Roisin SD	90,212	0	0	0	90,212
SHOFEAR, ROISH SO	1,000,017			The same	1,000,017
DUBLIN RATHDOWN					
Madigan, Josepha FG	122,164	22	15	1,310,000	1,432,164
Martin, Catherine GP Ross, Shane IND	1,727,535	41,800	Ž	335,000 2,000,000	451,018 3,769,335
DUBLIN SOUTH-CENTRA	1	1.00%			
Byrne, Catherine FG	820,974	8 1	2	325,000	1,145,974
Collins, Joan IND4CHG	452,600		8	263,942	716,542
O Snodaigh, Aengus SF Smith, Brid SOL/PBP	956,846 140,457			160,000	956,846 300,457
		FILLSON B	1371		The state of the state of
DUBLIN SOUTH-WEST					1.1
Brophy, Colm FG	116,018	A	2		116,018
Crowe, Sean SF	876,962	7 7		450,000	876,962
Lahart, John FF Murphy, Paul SOL/PBP	142,954	8		450,000 333,000	592,954 472,166
Zappone, Katherine IND	471,142		2 1 Cg	1,200,000	1,671,142
		113	61.74 F	Y. P.L. No.	31
DUBLIN WEST	0.000	136	TO L	X TUNE	6000
Burton, Joan LAB Chambers, Jack FF	2,928,393 85,908	5.			2,928,393 85,908
Coppinger, Ruth sol/PBP	411,404	21/2		174,950	586,354
Varadkar, Leo FG	989,056	32	3. 8	250,000	1,239,056
AT AND DESCRIPTION		4 6	11 .		
DUN LAOGHAIRE	***	No.		The The T	
Bailey, Maria FC Barrett, Sean FC	110,226 2,845,253	104,000	200,000		110,226 3,149,253
Barrett, Sean FG Boyd Barrett, Richard sol/PBP	403,644	104,000	200,000		403,644
Mitchell O'Connor, Mary FG	658,754	3		590,000	1,248,754
		W. V.			
GALWAY EAST	150.000	75		129 11116	1
Canney, Sean IND Cannon, Ciaran FC	150,880 835,352	No. You	283,000	1,069,487	1,220,367 1,603,352
Rabbitte, Anne FF	122,164	25 8	-	-	122,164
		Ea. " )	3218	0.2917	
GALWAY WEST				The forest	
Connolly, Catherine IND	156,345		15	0/0.000	156,345
Grealish, Noel IND Kyne, Sean FG	938,390 353,415	9	*	960,000 475,000	1,898,390 828,415
Naughton, Hildegarde FG	272,597	22		175,000	447,597
O Cuiv, Eamon FF	2,948,632	<b>19</b>	10.0	*	2,948,632
The Paris The					
KERRY Brassil, John FF	138,009	39,000	225,000	460,000	862,009
Ferris, Martin <b>s</b> F	1,384,281	59,000	- 225,000	27,288	1,411,569
Griffin, Brendan FG	309,688	2	Evolun	278,644	588,332
Healy-Rae, Danny IND	164,960	13,000	925,872	525,000	1,628,832
Healy-Rae, Michael IND	411,404	*	1,024,758	4,014,350	5,450,512
MII DADE MORTI		TY SA	Willes	With the state of	
CULTURE NORTH Durkan, Bernard FG	1,739,066	2		1,055,320	2,794,386
Lawless, James FF	114,049	3		265,000	379,049
Murphy, Catherine so	755,588	13,000		233,000	1,001,588
O'Rourke, Frank FF	122,164			149,950	272,114
VII DADE COUEN		12 13			
KILDARE SOUTH Heydon, Martin FC	327,689	V- 1		3,786,899	4,114,588
O Fearghail, Sean FF	1,931,924	(ex. )	*1	2,289,700	4,221,624
O'Loughlin, Fiona FF	135,609	77	5	140,000	275,609
			Sur		
Flanagan, Charles FG	2.035,626	13,000		1,025,000	3,073,626
Fleming, Sean FF	1,423,055	-	CE TOTAL	550,000	1,973,055
Stanley, Brian SF	461,340		133	190,000	651,340
		1115	STATE.		
LIMERICK CITY	2712442	01.000	CAR CO	160,000	2064 445
Noonan, Michael FC	2,713,443 3,065,685	91,000 78,000	2	160,000 184,787	2,964,443 3,328,472
YDea Williage	2,324,563	78,000	21 100	-	2,324,563
AND THE RESERVE OF THE PARTY OF		5 HO .	15 11	100	126,469
O'Sullivan, Jan LAB	126,469			The second secon	
O'Sullivan, Jan LAB	126,469	J. C. C.		ST SY A	
O'Dea, Willie FF O'Sullivan, Jan LAB Quinlivan, Maurice SF LIMERICK COUNTY					FARRE
O'Sullivan, Jan <b>LAB</b> Quinlivan, Maurice <b>sF</b>	567,899 164,709				567,899 164,709

FF Fiants Fail FG Fine Gael SF Sint Fein LAB Labour IND Independent GP Green Party
SOL/PBP Solidarity/People Before Profit IND4CHG Independents for Change SD Social Democrats

Values are estimated based on the methodology outlined on page 15

Name (party)	Pension value	Shares*	Business	Property	Total TD value
LONGTON WESTERN			19 6 3		
LONGFORD-WESTMEATH Burke, Peter FG	97,978	13,000			110,978
Moran, Kevin Boxer IND	138,009	15,000	*	343,000	481,009
Penrose, Willie LAB	1,451,204	1		376,500	1,827,704
Troy, Robert FF	309,688		69,000	735,000	1,113,688
				Name of the last	
LOUTH		URI			
Adams, Gerry SF	537,482		87,000	140,000	764,482
Breathnach, Declan FF	150,880	1,000	*	1,139,083	1,290,963
Fitzpatrick, Peter FC Munster, Imelda SF	614,398 126,469		5	70,275 40,000	684,673 166,469
O'Dowd, Fergus FG	1,744,964	9	5		1,744,964
		WAY.	111111	13.19	
MAYO		MAG	I Land		
Calleary, Dara FF	693,596	7	*	190,000	883,596
Chambers, Lisa FF	91,704			179,500	271,204
Kenny, Enda FC	3,315,686	-		1,407,622	4,723,308
Ring, Michael FG	2,074,674		1	290,000	2,364,674
MEATH-EAST					
Byrne, Thomas FF	449,461	3		625,000	1,074,461
Doherty, Regina FG	381,262	8	2	870,000	1,251,262
McEntee, Helen FG	281,965	2	2	285,000	566,965
MEATH-WEST					
Cassells, Shane FF	104,768		*	250,000	354,768
English, Damien FC	913,985	. 1		408,500	1,322,485
Toibin, Peadar SF	353,415	2		- Secretary Control	353,415
	a 2000/04/04	4.11		1 1116	
OFFALY	444.000	Chairs,		224 015	70000
Corcoran Kennedy, Marcella FG		*		336,915	780,946
Cowen, Barry FF Nolan, Carol SF	403,644			210,000	613,644 469,768
Noian, Carol SF	104,768		•	365,000	409,708
ROSCOMMON-GALWAY					
Fitzmaurice, Michael IND	396,035	1	*	548,579	944,615
Murphy, Eugene FF	130,949	3	-	200,000	330,949
Naughten, Denis IND	1,266,742	2	7		1,266,742
SLIGO-LEITRIM					
Kenny, Martin SF	118,026			215,000	333,026
MacSharry, Marc FF	602,028	*		213,000	602,028
McLoughlin, Tony FG	537,482			185,000	722,482
Scanlon, Eamon FF	728,084	8		1,360,336	2,088,420
	W. 251.45.V.	12 . 3	1400	MATAKA PA	
TIPPERARY			STATE		
Cahill, Jackie FF	156,345	65,000		686,000	907,345
Healy, Seamus IND	1,389,815 693,174		-	385,000	1,774,815
Kelly, Alan LAB Lowry, Michael IHD	2,150,498	13,000	2,187,000	1,068,450 2,073,375	1,761,624 6,423,873
McGrath, Mattie IND	774,522	-	-	320,000	1,094,522
WATERFORD Butler, Mary FF	138,009			240,000	378,009
Cullinane, David SF	282,980	200	3	170,000	452,980
Deasy, John FC	902,557	47.72		480,000	1,382,557
Halligan, John IND	528,111	3			528,111
Control of the second		13100			
WEXFORD Browne, James FF	110.226	2 1		145,000	255,226
D'Arcy, Michael FC	523,938	13,000	-	2,401,846	2,938,784
Howlin, Brendan LAB	2,672,138	-		1,300,000	3,972,138
Kehoe, Paul FG	1,101,762		22	750,165	1,851,927
Wallace, Mick IND4CHG	528,111		168	IST A VIL	528,111
MICKLOW		15	- Dest		
WICKLOW	114,049		27		114,049
Brady, John SF	The state of the s	108,000		365,000	615,954
Brady, John SF Casev, Pat FF	142.954	THE RESERVE AND ADDRESS OF THE PARTY OF THE	THE RESERVE OF THE PERSON NAMED IN	Carrier and the Carrier and th	
Casey, Pat FF	142,954 346,791			1.040.000	1.386.791
All the Control of th	142,954 346,791 716,049	- National Control of the Control of	•	1,040,000 2,594,938	
Casey, Pat FF Donnelly, Stephen FF	346,791			- Committee of the Comm	1,386,791 3,310,987 1,164,358





TD Senator Additional payor Taoiseach Tanaiste Minister Minister of State Ceann Comhairle Leas-Cheann Comhairle €32,140 Cathaoirleach Leas-Cathaoirleach Leader of Seanad

€93,599 €66,277 €98,634

€83,919 €69,545 €32,140 €69,545 £44,780 £24,674 €19,634

We contacted every TD by email seeking to clarify details contained in their declarations. This was followed in with followed up with phonocalls and text mossages. The vast majority of TDs

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# Why we call politicians' pensions gold-plated

#### Karl Deeter

PENSIONS

IF a politician has a pension that we value at €2m, that doesn't mean they will get €2m or that they could sell it for that sum - rather it means that if any other person in society wanted to buy a pension of the same amount they would have to have a savings pot of that sum.

When you get a pension that gives you a guaranteed sum every month as a percentage of a salary, it's referred to as a 'defined benefit' pension, Such schemes are not typically available any more.

Politicians still get this even though similar schemes are failing in the real world where new entrants have to pay for the retirees - but when the State is footing the bill, this doesn't happen.

The cost of paying political pensions is part of the more than €430bn in pensions liabilities which this country has (CSO figures for 2015).

Of that sum, €350bn is unfunded, which means we have not put aside any money in advance to pay for those pensions (of which political pensions are only a small

Instead it comes out of whatever taxes are collected in the year in question, hence the description 'unfunded

Our political valuations don't factor in the annual €93,599 wage of TDs, nor do of those office's salaries.

they factor in the generous allowances, expenses or additional incomes they receive by sitting on committees.

It just focuses on termination payments (a €15,600 lump sum they can get when they stop being a TD), the oneoff lump sum at retirement (a maximum of €140,399 tax free), the TD annual pension (a maximum of €46,800 a year) and the office holders' pensions, which we'll consider

When a TD holds an 'office' (Taoiseach, Tanaiste, minister, minister of state or Ceann Comhairle) for two years, they qualify for a 20pc pension of the higher office salary earned at retirement.

This goes up by 5pc every year to a maximum of 60pc of the office salary if they serve

The Taoiseach earns an additional €98,634 per year on top of their TD salary so. for example, if a TD held the office of Taoiseach for 10 years and they were a TD for 20 years, they'd get the maximum TD pension of €46,800 and €59,180 on top of it, giving a total of €105,980 per year.

This example is made for demonstration, obviously no sitting TD was the Taoiseach for 10 years but several have been ministers, ministers of state or Ceann Comhairle for long enough to get maximum office pensions which are made up of sums from each

To make a 'valuation' we compared what a TD would get at retirement and then showed what it would cost an 'ordinary Joe' to purchase similar benefits.

We can work through the following example: a 55-yearold TD has served 20 years, of which eight were as a minister and four were as a minister of state. The minister of state years can translate into minister years so they will be able to get the full TD pension of €46,800 and 60pc ministerial pension of €41,727 on top of it. Their annual income will be €88,527 per year - we'll use that later as an example.

Now to make a comparison, a person who is 55 today can retire at age 68. We use an industry standard pensions quoting engine to check an-

There is no exact 'like for like' but we do make certain assumptions such as inflation protection and a spousal pension where we assume the spouse is the same age.

For a 68-year-old in the private sector wanting to buy a pension today, they would be offered an 'annuity rate' of 0.03243, which means every year the insurance company would give them 3.243pc of their money back as a pension every year for as long as they live, guaranteed.

We can't know what pension rates will be in the future, so we price the 55-year-old as if they were 68 and assume

that they'll get the same price when their time comes.

Now we have to do two things. Firstly, figure out the lump sum value that would give you a guaranteed €88,527

That's simple maths, if €88,527 equals 3.243pc then 100pc is €2,729,787, to which we add their future lump sum payment of €140,399, giving a total value of €2,870,186.

Then this has to be discounted back to a value in today's money.

In this case, retirement is 13 years away so to express the money of tomorrow, today you reverse the compound interest formula and the 'present value, or 'what it's worth right now' is €2,218,747.

By example, a 30-year-old. hoping to retire at age 68 would have to put aside about €32,000 a year, markets would have to grow at over 6pc a year and have no market crashes for 38 years to match

A politician can get similar results in half that time for less than half that cost with a guaranteed outcome at the end, something that no pension elsewhere can promise.

This is why people in the financial services industry rightly refer to political pensions as being 'gold-plated' -they are simply the very best money can buy.

Karl Deeter is a qualified



PENSION CALCULATIONS: Taoiseach Leo Varadkar earns an additional €98,634 per year on top of his TD salary

#### SHARES

## Two ministers have shares in taxpayer-owned bank

Wayne O'Connor

A GOVERNMENT Minister has shares in two state-owned of €13,000. banks, while another has shares in bailed out Bank of

interests shows Education worth of shares in Bank of Minister Richard Bruton and Ireland and another estimated Transport Minister Shane €13,000 in shares in "Irish Life Ross have shares in Bank of & Permanent". The company Ireland, while Mr Bruton also has a stake in a second stateowned bank, Permanent TSB,

The Department of Finance monitors the performance of the country's state-owned banks and the sale of any Government shares needs to be approved by Cabinet, Taxpayers continue to own a 14pc stake in Bank of Ireland and a 74.9pc share in Permanent TSB. Under rules enforced by the Standards in Public Office Commission (Sipo), Dail members must declare their other occupations and direc-

and gifts they have received. They must also declare any shares they own over the value

Mr Bruton has declared shares with an estimated worth of €117,000. This in-An Oireachtas register of cludes an estimated €13,000 changed its name to Permanent TSB Group Holdings in May 2012 but all share certificates in the old company name remain valid.

> The Education Minister has also declared shares in five other companies and an interest in investment funds at AIB and Irish Life. A spokesman for Mr Bruton said the minister takes steps to avoid a conflict of interest.

"While the minister cannot discuss matters relating to Cabinet proceedings, he is guided by the Cabinet handtorships, properties owned book in relation to any poten-

tial conflicts of interest."

Transport Minister Shane Ross has declared shares worth an estimated €2,000 in Bank of Ireland. He has also declared shares in Altas Investments plc, a toll roads and energy storage company formerly known as NTR. These shares have been valued at €800 and are on the market. The total estimated value of all his shares is €41,800. He also has shares in a Scottish investment trust and Independent News & Media, A source close to Mr Ross said a conflict of interest has not

arisen at Cabinet meetings. Fianna Fail TD Sean Haughey also has shares in Bank of Ireland. He has declared shares in 27 companies with an estimated total worth of €351,000.

The estimated values reflect the number of shareholdings declared and the Sipo declaration threshold of

#### LANDLORDS



ESTIMATED VALUE: Michael Healy-Rae is among several landlords in the Dail

# Michael Healy-Rae is Dail's biggest landlord

#### Philip Ryan

KERRY TD Michael Healy-Rac is ranked second on today's Sunday Independent Political Rich List with an estimated value of €5.4m.

Mr Healy-Rae is by far the Dail's biggest landlord with 10 rental properties in Kerry and Tipperary:

His substantial property portfolio also includes land, business premises and his family home in Kilgarven.

Research by the Sunday Independent and financial analyst Karl Deeter estimates his vast property holdings are worth €4m.

Mr Healy-Rae also has several business interests including a plant hire company, a service station and a post office.

The research project estimates his business value to be around €1m.

Meanwhile, the public service pension he has accumulated over his seven years as a TD would be worth more than €400,000 if it was bought on private market

However, when questioned about his extensive property portfolio, Mr language and personal

was asked to confirm the 18 properties and pieces of land he has listed on the Dail Register of Members' Interests. Over the course of a

conversation, the deputy shouted: "You'd swear I'm some sort of criminal. "Any time I could lose

three-minute telephone

my seat, I could be on my arse," he added. Mr Healy-Rae, a mar-

ried father of five, then moved on to personal family insults directed at the journalist asking questions about his assets. "I have said it before

about people educating children and sending them to school and getting them jobs and you end up in a job that you have there insulting your parents' work and their savings by being a stupid journalist writing rubbish," he said.

Mr Healy-Rae told the Sunday Independent he is up to my eyes in debt and trying to pay off mortgages every week

Mr Healy-Rae's brother Danny is ranked 50th in the Political Rich List with an estimated value of €L6m.

Our analysis shows Danny Healy-Rae's land and properties to have an estimated value of around of €525,000. His business interests are worth

€925,000. This includes a plant hire company and pub. Danny is a first-time TD and the current worth of his pension on the private market is £13,000.

Danny has become the

more prominent of the

two brothers since he was elected through his Dail contributions on climate change and drink-driving legislation. Michael is the biggest

but not the only landlord in the Dail. Analysis of the Dail declaration of interests shows one fifth of TDs have rental properties.

The 30 landlords include Tanaiste Simon Coveney, Minister for Justice Charlie Flanagan, Minister for Defence Paul Kehoe and Minister for Agriculture Michael Creed.

Five more Fine Gael TDs listed investment properties or rental incomes among their declared interests or said they are landlords, Dublin Bay South TD Kate O'Connell

has five investment properties, two in Westmeath and three in Dublin. The list also includes Ceann Comhairle Sean O Fearghail, 12 other Fianna Fail TDs, Labour TD Alan Kelly and four more In-

dependent TDs including former minister Sean Canney, who has four letting properties.

#### **CAP PAYMENTS**

# Three Fine Gael ministers receive EU farm payments

#### Philip Ryan

THREE Fine Gael ministers receive EU-funded farming grants, the Sunday Independent can reveal.

The ministers are among seven TDs who received Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) payments in 2016, according to records published by the Department of Agriculture.

The farming grants form the largest part of the EU's budget and are paid to farmers throughout the union.

The grants are aimed at supporting the agriculture sector through direct payments to farmers and investment in rural supports and initiatives. All farmers, including TDs and ministers, are entitled to apply for the grants to subsidise their farming incomes. Most farms would be unsustainable without CAP payments.

Minister of State for Financial Services and Insurance Michael D'Arcy received €28,578, according to the Department. Mr D'Arcy, a Wexford TD, owns more than 200 acres of farmland and wood-

MINISTERS OF STATE Michael D'Arcy FG €28,578 Services and Insurance

Andrew Doyle FG €25,621 Forestry and Horticulture

Pat Breen FG E13,718 Employment, Business, EU Dweller Single Market and Data Protection

Pat Deering FG C19,219 Michael Collins IND £10,270 Bobby Aylward FF €16,834

land in Gorey. The minister's dairy farm has been in his family for generations. Similarly, Minister of State

Declan Breathnach FF €4,832

for Food, Forestry and Horticulture Andrew Doyle is a fifth generation farmer. Mr Doyle owns 158 acres of land in Roundwood, Co Wicklow, where he rears suckler cows and sheep. Records show he received a grant totalling €13,718.

Clare-based Minister of State Pat Breen confirmed he

received a CAP payment of €13,718 in 2016. Fine Gael TD for Carlow-Kilkenny Pat Deering received a €19,219 farming payment. Mr Deering runs his family's dairy farm in Carlow.

In the same constituency, Fianna Fail TDs Bobby Aylward received a €16,834 payment for his farm. Mr Aylward owns a 105-acre farm in his home town of Mullinavat. He actively campaigns on behalf of the farming community in Leinster House

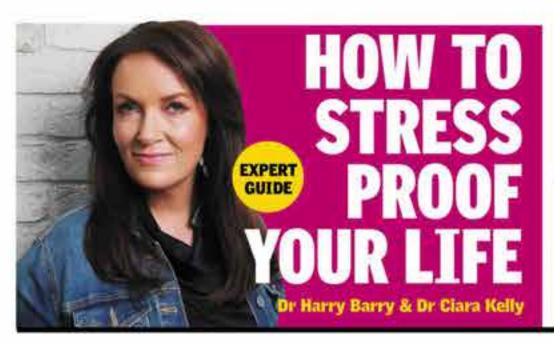
His Fianna Fail colleague, Declan Breathnach owns a 90-acre farm in Dundalk. Mr Breathnach, a Louth TD, received a €4.832 CAP payment. Independent TD for Cork South West Michael Collins said the most recent grant he received totalled around €10,000. Mr Collins said he employs staff to run his farm while he is in Dublin on Dail

He said the farm, which struggles to turn a profit, has been in his family for generations and he hopes to pass it on to his children when he retires from farming and

Mr Healy-Rae said it

#### Healy-Rae resorted to foul insults.

was "load of s""" when he



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# Sunday Independent Vol. 113 No. 19 13 May 2018 city final

## Angry daughter speaks out on mother's cancer death

INSTOE !

Maeve Sheehan, Philip Ryan and Alan O'Keeffe

A GRIEVING daughter has revealed that her mother was one of the 17 women who died after receiving incorrect smear test results.

Grace Rattigan said her mother, Catherine Reck, was wrongly told in 2010 that abnormalities in her mother's smear tests were "low-grade". She

said her mother was asked to return aged 48, in April 2012.

the abnormalities identified in her going for smear tests, she said. mother's screening were in fact "high grade" and would have resulted in would be swept under the carpet. her urgent treatment.

for another test in six months. She Dublin, said the news was a devas- just numbers. People speaking out is developed cervical cancer and died, tating shock to her family, six years putting names to these numbers, it's after her mother's death. Her family Ms Rattigan said her family was are speaking out to encourage others. told at a meeting with her moth- to come forward and to promote the done to them." er's clinician last Thursday that message that women should keep

This would be about numbers. It Continued on page 2

Ms Rattigan, from Tallaght in wouldn't even be names, it would be putting faces to the 17 women and their families and what has been

Ms Rattigan represents the fourth family to speak out "If people did not speak out, this since Vicky Phelan exposed the

### POLITICAL RICH LIST: WHERE DOES YOUR TD RANK? SEE INSIDE

# Half of TDs now worth over €1m

#### CHAMPIONS OF EUROPE



GLORY: Leinster fashioned a breath-taking finale as they once again became European club champions beating Racing 92 in Bilbao 15-12, and capped a golden year for Irish rugby after the national team's Grand Slam win. Photo: INPHO/Dan Sheridan

#### Philip Ryan and Wayne O'Connor

ALMOST half of all TDs in Leinster House are worth more than €1m, according to the Sunday Independent's Political Rich List.

The first-of-its-kind research project has estimated the combined potential wealth of all 158 TDs to be in excess of €216m

The analysis by this newspaper and financial expert Karl Deeter found that central to this wealth is the gold-plated public service pensions which TDs receive on retiring from politics.

by Mr Deeter shows how pensions accumulated by the country's most senior politicians would cost millions of euro to buy in the private

The Political Rich List also provides voters for the firsttime with an estimated value of the non-political assets of TDs - whose decisions impact on the finances of every home



The research project examined several publicly available sources of information to calculate estimated values for property, land and businesses owned by TDs.

The insight into the wealth Comprehensive research of the people who govern the country estimated that controversial Independent TD Michael Lowry is the wealthiest politician in the Dail.

> Mr Lowry's State pension and personal assets are estimated to be worth a massive

The second wealthiest TD is Kerry TD Michael Healy-Rae, with an estimated value

Mr Healy-Rae is by far the

SEE PAGES 15-18

biggest landlord in the Dail with 10 rental properties. However, Mr Healy-Rae told the Sunday Independent he is "up to my eyes in debt and trying to pay off mortgages

every week' His brother Danny Healy-Rae's assets are valued at €1.6m, bringing their combined estimated family wealth

Minister for Education Richard Bruton, with a €4.9m estimated value, is the highest ranked member of Cabinet.

Former Taoiseach Charles Haughey's son Sean Haughey is estimated to be worth €4.8m but this does not include his share in the €9m

will recently left by his mother

Former Taoiseach Enda Kenny is fifth wealthiest TD with an estimated value of £4.7m.

Fine Gael is by far the richest political party with all 50 TDs having a combined wealth

Fianna Fail's 44 TDs are worth almost €70m, while Sinn Fein's 23 members of the Dail are worth an estimated

The research also established a significant gender divide among the country's national politicians when it comes to their personal

Of the 75 TDs estimated to be worth €1m, just 11 are female politicians.

Former Tanaiste and Minister for Justice Frances Fitzgerald is the first female on the list in 18th place. She is worth €3m based on the value of her

pension in private market. Labour Party leader Brendan Howlin is the richest

Continued on page 3

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BRENDAN O'CONNOR

# The randy old goats of Ennis

HE Silly Season saw the sun come out so it tried to make an appearance. We barely noticed it had happened until we found ourselves looking at goats in Ennis for an inordinate amount of the main evening news. The camera lingered on various shots of the goats walking around Ennis.

These goats looked hard as hell, and they didn't give a damn. These goats were afraid of no one. They strutted around like the last gang in town. Like Oasis in their heyday. The people of Ennis were at pains to say that they bore the goats no ill will, but they would like

to find a suitable bome for them. It has been agreed for the time being that road signs will be put up warning about the goats. But it is not resolved. Presumably on a slow news day later in the summer, there will be a follow up story about the goats finding a home. The goats are apparently 'procreating like there's no tomorrow", which, presumably, if you're a goat, there isn't. Goats tend to live in the now.

Bizarrely, this wasn't the only silly season story last week about randy old goats wandering the streets of Ennis. We also learnt that a couple who were charging

€250 an hour for sex, with both of them, at their home, were up in court last week and got a fine.

It all sounded very good natured. He was from Barcelona, which will always be a good excuse for anything in Ireland, such is our love of Fawlty Towers, and apparently the couple didn't realise what they were doing was illegal. They were almost too co-operative with the gardai, to the point where their co-operation was likened to on-the-job training for the cops.

Like the goats, no one seemed to bear them any ill will. They're clearly a liberal lot in Ennis in the summer. Though there were calls for them to be castrated. We're back to the goats now. Keep

The winner of 'silly season story of the week' though, was the ongoing saga of Daniel O'Donnell's superfan who was one of

the people operating a cocaine factory. This story keeps going for a number of reasons

The fact that there is Late Late footage of her helps. Also, there's the fact that she is young and attractive, yet she is a fan of Daniel O'Donnell. And then, of course, there is the fact that she was running a cocaine factory. Surely there is a TV show in this, where Daniel and Majella visit drugmaking facilities around the country to be welcomed by delighted superfan proprietors.

Let's call it 'Daniel and Majella's coke and E. bad trip! If we could get Dermot Bannon and Francis Brennan involved too, to make the places over, it'd be a surefire hit.

It would be broadcast. over summer obviously, in the silly season. Maybe the mission could be to find a nice home for the goats.



